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Editors' Introduction

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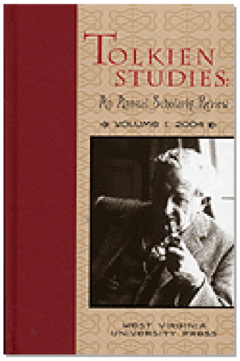
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Editors' Introduction

This is the seventh 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.

In this issue we are especially pleased to publish Tolkien's early fiction "The Story of Kullervo" and the two existing drafts of his talk on the Kalevala, transcribed and edited with notes and commentary by Verlyn Flieger.

With this exception, 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.

The Editors also wish to call attention to the Cumulative Index to volumes one through five of *Tolkien Studies*, compiled by Jason Rea, Michael D.C. Drout, Tara L. McGoldrick, and Lauren Provost, with Maryellen Groot and Julia Rende. The Cumulative Index is currently available only through the online subscription database Project Muse.

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Michael D. C. Drout
Verlyn Flieger

Abbreviations

B&C	*Beowulf and the Critics*. Ed. Michael D. C. Drout. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2002. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 248.
Bombadil	*The Adventures of Tom Bombadil*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963.
CH	*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, 2007; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007.
FG	*Farmer Giles of Ham*. Ed. Christina Scull and Wayne G. Hammond. London: HarperCollins, 1999. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999.
FR	*The Fellowship of the Ring*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1954; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1954. Second edition, revised impression, Boston: Houghton Mifflin,1987.
H	*The Hobbit.* London: George Allen & Unwin, 1937. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1938. *The Annotated Hobbit*. Ed. Douglas A. Anderson. Second edition, revised. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002.
Jewels	*The War of the Jewels*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: HarperCollins; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994.
Lays	*The Lays of Beleriand*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: George Allen & Unwin; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985.
Letters	*The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Ed. Humphrey Carpenter, with the assistance of Christopher Tolkien. London: George Allen & Unwin; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981.
Lost Road	*The Lost Road and Other Writings.* Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: Unwin Hyman; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987.
Lost Tales I	*The Book of Lost Tales, Part One*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984.

Lost Tales II	*The Book of Lost Tales, Part Two*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: George Allen & Unwin; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984.
MC	*The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984.
Morgoth	*Morgoth's Ring*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: HarperCollins; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993.
OFS	*Tolkien On Fairy-stories: 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*. London: George Allen & Unwin 1955; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1956. Second edition, revised impression, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987.
S	*The Silmarillion*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977. Second edition. London:HarperCollins, 1999; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001.
Sauron	*Sauron Defeated*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: HarperCollins; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992.
SG	*The Legend of Sigurd and Gudrun*. 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: George Allen & Unwin; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1986.
SWM	*Smith of Wootton Major: Extended Edition*. Ed. Verlyn Flieger. London: HarperCollins, 2005.

TL	*Tree and Leaf*. London: Unwin Books, 1964; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965. Expanded as *Tree and Leaf, including the Poem Mythpoeia [and] The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth Beorhthelm's Son*. London: HarperCollins, 2001.
TT	*The Two Towers*. London: George 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: George Allen & Unwin; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980.
War	*The War of the Ring*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: Unwin Hyman; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1990.

The Books of Lost Tales: Tolkien as Metafictionist

Vladimir Brljak

> When new *Beowulf* was already antiquarian, in a good sense, and it now produces a singular effect. For it is now to us itself ancient; and yet its maker was telling of things already old and weighted with regret, and he expended his art in making keen that touch upon the heart which sorrows have that are both poignant and remote. If the funeral of Beowulf moved once like the echo of an ancient dirge, far-off and hopeless, it is to us as a memory brought over the hills, an echo of an echo. (*MC* 33)

I

It has often been noted that J.R.R. Tolkien's renowned lecture on *Beowulf*, defending the integrity of the Anglo-Saxon poet's art against those modern readers for whom this art was an embarrassment redeemed only by the poem's value as an historical and linguistic document, was on another level also a defense of, and a blueprint for, his own literary work. As T. A. Shippey has remarked, "Tolkien felt more than continuity with the *Beowulf*-poet, he felt a virtual identity of motive and of technique" (2003, 47; see also Shippey 2007). Various aspects of this special affinity have since been looked into, including specific points of motive and technique: for example the "unexplained" and "unattainable vistas" (*Letters* 210, 333), a technique indebted to such "vistas" in *Beowulf*. Following Tolkien's cues, the importance of these has long been acknowledged. Like the *Beowulf* poet, he had at his disposal a large amount of background material which, skillfully inserted at strategic moments, could greatly increase the tale's mimetic potency. The vistas remained in background, unexplained and unattainable, but depicted against such a background, the foreground could jump off the page, immersing its reader in a fantastic world realized with an unprecedented "reality" or "depth."

Besides the "vistas," however—as Christopher Tolkien noted long ago (*Lost Tales I* 4-5), in connection to the same passage cited at the beginning of this paper—Tolkien also set out to reproduce that singular effect of which he speaks, the effect of the work reaching us as an echo of an echo (of an echo . . .) from a remote antiquity, expending his art in increasing the distance between the (mostly) Modern English text the reader would be holding in his or her hands and the fictional characters and events of which it told. For this purpose, he integrated his major works of fiction into an intricate metafictional structure, presenting them within their fiction precisely as such echoes of echoes: translations of redactions of ancient works, telling of things even more ancient. This metafictional framework, it will be argued here, is both the cornerstone and crowning achievement of Tolkien's mature literary work. Indeed, "framework" is a revealing metaphor: the problem is precisely that when they are discussed, these elements in Tolkien's work often tend to be thought of as merely a frame, extraneous and secondary to that which it frames, which is where the true interest supposedly lies.

Tolkien critics have, of course, broached these issues before. Verlyn Flieger has addressed them on several occasions, with increasing complexity and sophistication: besides exploring the use of metafiction throughout Tolkien's opus, Flieger has drawn attention to Tolkien's models in medieval literature and the modern reception of that literature, to the use of metafictional devices by ninenteenth- and early twentieth-century century novelists, or to the parallels between Tolkien's work and the work of his "postmodernist" contemporaries.[1] Other scholars have been covering some of the same terrain: Mary R. Bowman, for example, has argued that "*The Lord of the Rings* goes beyond being an absorbing and moving story to constitute a meditation on the nature of story" (273); Gergely Nagy writes that "Tolkien's focus on the written text as the only appropriate medium in which the creation of a world can be performed leads to important theoretical considerations about the different discourses of culture" (642). The present article would like to add to these discussions by further specifying and elaborating a number of points where such specification and elaboration seems necessary.

Two interrelated questions may be discerned: what is the *form* and what is the *function* of the metafictional elements in Tolkien's work? The questions, as I say, are interrelated, indeed interdependent, yet it seems best to begin with that of function, for it appears that the misunderstanding of the function of Tolkien's metafiction has been the main factor in the misunderstanding of its form. By and large, those readers of Tolkien who have taken account of the metafiction have seen its function as that of intensifying the mimetic potency of the works. Shippey's word for this was "depth":

> one might say, it was a pity that Tolkien did not get on with telling more stories, that he was . . . so preoccupied not with what was told, but with how the telling came to be transmitted. Was he ever to gain any advantage from these professional tangles? . . . There is a one-word answer to that question, which is "depth," the literary quality Tolkien valued most of all. (2003, 308)

Through the intricate manuscript history recounted in the Note on the Shire Records found at the end of the Prologue to *The Lord of the Rings*, or the bewildering mass of materials assembled in its Appendices, the pseudo-editorial apparatus vouches for the tale's "depth," "reality," "authenticity," "richness" etc. This is not just another fantastic adventure tale: here are the sources, here the numerous copies and redactions, here extracts from other related works, maps, chronologies, genealogies, grammars, alphabets, calendars. Tolkien's metafiction has "immediate antecedents in some of the popular fantasy fiction of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as H. Rider Haggard's *She* and *King Solomon's Mines*, books presented from the outset as found manuscripts put into shape by an outside editor, their presumed actuality bolstered by footnotes"; it is a hypertrophied, hyperrealist descendent of these pseudo-editorial "attempt[s] at verisimilitude by artifact" (Flieger 2005, 75, 83).

Where Poe had a simple manuscript found in a bottle, Tolkien has whole libraries of books-within-the-book, in a variety of meticulously invented languages and alphabets; where Stevenson had an "authentic" treasure map, Tolkien has several detailed, painstakingly crafted, realistically scaled maps of an entire continent; where Jules Verne had a "facsimile" of a parchment containing a mysterious cryptogram found in a runic manuscript of Snorri's *Heimskringla*, and Haggard a similar "facsimile" of a fourth-century pottery shard inscribed in correct fourth-century Greek, Tolkien hand-crafted three "actual" tattered fragments of his Book of Mazarbul, carefully burning, damaging and soiling the paper in accordance with the text's description of the remains of the Book as "slashed and stabbed and party burned, and . . . so stained with black and other dark marks like old blood that little of it could be read" (*FR*, II, v, 335).

Like Shippey with his "depth," Flieger has also viewed the metafictional elements as part and parcel of a "quest for verisimilitude," or, in a different set of terms, as the necessary component of "a true mythology, with all the layering and multiple narrators and overlapping texts and variant versions that characterize mythologies in the real world" (2005, 74, 84). Radical statements of such a view can be found in her 2002 paper "The Footsteps of Ælfwine," where the metafictional strategies ("not stories but data," "fossilization," "excavating for artifacts") are unfavorably opposed to "immediately experiencing myth" (2002, 186). It is to be noted that Flieger's views on these matters have since changed substantially in several respects: in particular, her paper "A Postmodern Medievalist?" contains important observations on some of Tolkien's metafictional devices, perceptively analyzing the conversation between Frodo and Sam at the Stairs of Cirith Ungol as "an image of postmodern indeterminacy," casting the reader into the position of being "neither wholly in the narrative (for we have been reminded that we are reading a book) nor wholly outside it (for as long as we are reading it, the book we are reading has not yet been finished)" (2005, 24-25). Elsewhere, however, when dealing with other metafictional devices found in Tolkien's work, and especially with the pseudophilological apparatus of *The Lord of the Rings*, Flieger's commentary pulls in the opposite direction, towards "mythology" and "immediate experience."

For example, discussing Tolkien's models in real-life mythographers, she notes how "he had models aplenty, but like the work of Lönnrot, they all, to some degree, emphasized their distance from the material they retold" (89). This "distance" is also exemplified by Snorri and the compilers of Old Irish texts, who prefaced their works with statements drawing a clear line between the fabulous contents they recorded and their own Christian beliefs, or by "the more scientific folklore scholars, such as the Grimms and Lönnrot, [who] looked on the stories they collected and published as fossils of ancient beliefs that they sought to preserve" (90). In Tolkien, it is implied, there is no such "distance": "The task Tolkien set himself was not just to create a mythology but to give it credibility." "Credibility" is not, as such, a bad word: Tolkien certainly aimed at a kind of "credibility." It becomes problematic, however, when it is made to oppose "distance" as the feature distinguishing Tolkien's invented mythology from the heavily mediated and "fossilized" real-life mythologies of the *Prose Edda* or the *Kalevala*. This denial of "distance" is often reiterated: it is Tolkien's "clear intent that the book as held in the reader's hand should also be the book within the book" (2005, 77); by employing metafictional devices, Tolkien wished to "to bridge the fictive world of the story and the outside, real world, to connect inside with outside and fantasy with actuality through the idea of the book" (2006, 285), etc.

Of course, Flieger is absolutely right to point out Tolkien's *initial* indebtedness to real-life mythologies and the tortuous routes by which they reach modern readers: bent, in his early writings, on creating, or re-creating, an English mythology, Tolkien indeed first set out "to create an authentic and convincing oral tradition, a legacy of songs and stories attributed to identifiable bards and storytellers and perpetuated by subsequent performers," followed by "a stage or stages of transmission in which this body of material could come to be written down by later redactors," followed by "some sort of believable frame within which the manuscript material—much of it needing not just transference from one medium to another, but presumed 'translation' from one or more of his invented languages into English—could find its way into print in his own twentieth century" (2005, 61). All of this, and much more in Flieger's criticism, is exceptionally perceptive as far as the early "Silmarillion" writings are concerned. The problem is that she often extends these notions into the later work in spite of the fact that Tolkien had by that point abandoned them in favor of other ones; or rather, that in spite of the shifts and turns of Tolkien's creation she tends to view all of his writings—including works abandoned, unfinished or merely drafted,[2] or the different and often contradicting drafts and versions of the same work—as somehow cumulatively cohering into an all-encompassing "mythology," and to then view this "mythology," rather than just the published, authorized works, as the proper, or at least as the ultimate, locus of a Tolkien critic's attention.[3]

For example, near the end of the chapter "The Tradition" in *Interrupted Music*, which discusses not only the metafictional structures of the "Silmarillion," but also of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, Flieger claims that Tolkien's work—all of it, early or late, comprising the "mythology"—"flesh[es] out, piece by piece, story by story, and poem by poem . . . the description he had written to Waldman" (83), i.e. the well-known and much-debated passage where Tolkien describes his original plans for "a body of more or less connected legend . . . which I could dedicate . . . to England" (*Letters* 144-45).[4] Symptomatically, no importance is accorded to the fact that this passage both opens and closes with rather emphatic disclaimers: "Do not laugh! But once upon a time (my crest has long since fallen) . . . Absurd." As elsewhere, however, Tolkien's self-deprecating humor downplays his actual seriousness about the matter under discussion: far from being realized point by point, much of Tolkien's original conception had indeed fallen away by the date of the Waldman letter (1951), with even more to follow in the next decade or so.

But these are all points which will be further developed below: for the present, it is important to note that according to what seems to be the dominant view, the metafictional element in Tolkien's work is important, but primarily as a frame, validating and authenticating the framed by producing the quality one may refer to as verisimilitude, depth, credibility, and so forth. It is my view that this understanding of Tolkien's metafiction—in its final authorized form, implemented in the 1966 second edition of *The Lord of the Rings*—needs to be significantly revised, indeed almost reversed altogether. Although the elements which make up most of the metafictional interface are found in technically marginal parts of *The Lord of the Rings*, the Prologue and the Appendices, their importance, as I will try to explain below, is absolutely central to Tolkien's mature literary work. "There is no record," we read in the final sentence of the final section of the now-standard second-edition Prologue, the convoluted Note on the Shire Records, "of the day when at last he [Celeborn] sought the Grey Havens, and with him went the last living memory of the Elder Days in Middle-earth" (*FR* 25). Exaggerating for effect, it could almost be said that the whole of the main narrative of *The Lord of the Rings* is a vast prologue to this sentence, rather than the other way round. In the midst of the great adventure the reader, especially a careless one, is prone to submit to the illusion: after all, a good tale is supposed to "take us there." But the pseudophilological metafictional interface fulfills a task which is equally, if not more important—the task of dragging us back again, back into the "here," into the poignant awareness of the distance, of the chain of mediations stretching across an immense span of time and through the hands of various intermediaries. Tolkien's mature fiction is centrally concerned precisely with this inability of the text to ever take us to that vanished, irretrievable "there," from which even living memory was but the first remove.

I believe this argument is borne out by a careful reading of Tolkien's work, and in particular that aggregate of devices which constitutes the work's metafictional dimension: the fictional pseudophilological commentary on the origins and textual history of *The Hobbit*, *The Lord of the Rings*, and *The Silmarillion* included within these fictions, chiefly in the fictional editorial apparatus to the main narrative of *The Lord of the Rings*. This apparatus, however, retro- and proactively encompasses the other two works which either present us with a considerably different interface, or else lack the explicit acknowledgment of it: *The Hobbit* because it was too early,[5] *The Silmarillion* because it was too late and because the posthumous edition failed to implement Tolkien's final views on what he referred to as the works' "machinery" (*Peoples* 26; see especially note 6 below). The most important portions of *The Lord of the Rings* in this respect are the already mentioned Note on the Shire Records concluding the Prologue, Appendix F, containing sections on "The Languages and Peoples of the Third Age" and "On Translation," and the references to the composition of the Red Book of Westmarch found in the main narrative itself. Various other texts are also of interest and some of these will be discussed below. Before moving on to conclusions, the following sections of this paper will present a brief overview of the metafictional interface as it stands in its final authorized form, as well as of the long development which led to it.

II

What exactly, it first needs to be asked, is *The Lord of the Rings*, as self-presented within its own fiction? Any answer to this question must immediately acknowledge the fact that this self-presentation contains some conflicting elements and cannot be construed into a fully coherent account. In the final analysis, however, these occasional contradictions and inconsistencies are of minor importance: ultimately, the metafictional interface is a success (and in fact complete coherence could be easily achieved with minimal editorial interventions for which authorial sanction is easily found; see especially note 6 below). In what follows I will argue that in its final authorized form, minor inconsistencies notwithstanding, *The Lord of the Rings* is a translation into Modern English of a late redaction of one part of a heterogeneous, five-volume work, written in an immemorial past, in one of the languages spoken in that immemorial past, specifically the language of hobbits, which was a variant of the language serving as the *lingua franca* of Third-Age Middle-earth, called by its speakers *Westron*, "Common Speech." In *The Lord of the Rings*, English translates Westron, and different varieties of English translate the different varieties of Westron.

This main ultimate source—but only the *main* and only the *ultimate* source—of the narrative published as *The Lord of the Rings* is known as the Red Book of Westmarch. In the Note on the Shire Records we learn that it "was so called because it was long preserved at Undertowers, the home of the Fairbairns, Wardens of the Westmarch," and how "it was in origin Bilbo's private diary, which he took with him to Rivendell. Frodo brought it back to the Shire, together with many loose leaves of notes, and during S.R. 1420-1 he nearly filled its pages with his account of the War" (*FR* 23). This anticipates the numerous glimpses at the composition of the Red Book which the reader is afforded in the main narrative of *The Lord of the Rings*. The first of these comes in "Many Meetings": when Bilbo and Frodo meet in Rivendell, the uncle lets the nephew know that he has, among other things, been busy writing "some more of my book" (*FR,* II, i, 243). The Ring casts a shadow on the meeting and Bilbo laments: "Don't adventures ever have an end? I suppose not. Someone else has to carry on the story. Well, it can't be helped! I wonder if it's any good trying to finish my book?" (244). Further references to "the book" and "the story" are found in the course of this and the following chapter, "The Council of Elrond." After the Fellowship departs, the hobbits continue to refer or allude to Bilbo's book, or more generally to the tales to be told and songs to be sung about their deeds—most notably in the conversation between Frodo and Bilbo at the stairs of Cirith Ungol.

The next we see of "the book" is when the hobbits are reunited in Rivendell. Now Bilbo gives Frodo, among other things, "three books of lore that he had made at various times, written in his spidery hand, and labeled on their backs: *Translations from the Elvish, by B.B.*" (*RK,* VI, vi, 265). (Back in "The Council of Elrond" we had seen a glimpse of the written sources Bilbo used in his *Translations*—"the storied and figured maps and books of lore that were in the house of Elrond" [*FR,* II, iii, 290]—as well as oral ones, the many Elvish songs and tales to which he was exposed there.) "The book," however, is at a standstill. "I don't think, Mr. Frodo, that he's done much writing while we've been away," observes Sam, fearing that "he won't ever write our story now" (266). Overhearing this, Bilbo confesses that:

> when I have time to write, I only really like writing poetry. I wonder, Frodo my dear fellow, if you would very much mind tidying my things up a bit before you go? Collect all my notes and papers, and my diary too, and take them with you if you will. You see, I haven't much time for the selection and the arrangement and all that. Get Sam to help, and when you've knocked things into shape, come back, and I'll run over it. I won't be too critical!

It is this "diary," then, along with the disheveled "notes and papers," that is the ultimate source of *The Hobbit* and the germ of *The Lord of the Rings*, while the three volumes of the *Translations* are the ultimate source of *The Silmarillion*.

Frodo takes the four volumes to the Shire. The next we hear of the Red Book is two chapters and two years later. Before his departure, we are told, Frodo:

> went through his writings with Sam, and he handed over his keys. There was a big book with plain red leather covers; its tall pages were now almost filled. At the beginning there were many leaves covered with Bilbo's thin wandering hand; but most of it was written in Frodo's firm flowing script. It was divided into chapters, but Chapter 80 was unfinished, and after that there were some blank leaves. The title page had many titles on it, crossed out one after another (*RK*, VI, ix, 307)

The many crossed-out titles are in Bilbo's hand, relating fairly transparently to the development of Tolkien's fiction. The first four refer to the matter approximately corresponding to the matter of *The Hobbit*: "*My Diary. My Unexpected Journey. There and Back Again. And What Happened After.*" The remaining refer to the matter approximately corresponding to the matter of *The Lord of the Rings*: "*Adventures of Five Hobbits. The Tale of the Great Ring, compiled by Bilbo Baggins from his own observations and the accounts of his friends. What we did in the War of the Ring.*" Upon completing the account of the War and thus nearly finishing that volume of the Red Book, Frodo entered a new title, encompassing all four volumes:

> THE DOWNFALL | OF THE | LORD OF THE RINGS | AND THE | RETURN OF THE KING | (as seen by the Little People; being the memoirs of Bilbo | and Frodo of

> the Shire, supplemented by the accounts of | their friends and the learning of the Wise.) | Together with extracts from Books of Lore translated by | Bilbo in Rivendell

There is thus a single volume comprising matter corresponding to *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*—originally Bilbo's diary, continued by Frodo—along with three volumes of Bilbo's *Translations*, comprising matter corresponding to the projected *Silmarillion*.[6]

The account of the War is finished by Sam, as Frodo naturally cannot write of his own leaving: "'I have quite finished, Sam,' said Frodo. 'The last pages are for you'" (*RK*, VI, ix, 307). Sam completes the account and, as we learn in "The Tale of the Years" included in Appendix A to *The Lord of the Rings*, leaves the four volumes in the keeping of his daughter Elanor before his own passing across the sea. The Red Book remains in the keeping of Sam's family in Westmarch. There—going back now to the Note on the Shire Records—a fifth volume is added, "containing commentaries, genealogies, and various other matter concerning the hobbit members of the Fellowship" (*FR* 23): the matter of this fifth volume corresponds to the matter found in the Prologue and Appendices to *The Lord of the Rings*.[7] These five volumes, then, preserved together "probably in a single red case,"[8] are the proper referent of the title "Red Book of Westmarch," and are the main ultimate source—but, again, only the *main* and only the *ultimate* source—from which the three English translations ultimately derive.

The matter of this derivation, however, is much more complex than is usually acknowledged. First of all, "the original Red Book has not been preserved." This is Tolkien's initial blow to the reader's expectations of there-taking verisimilitude—the handwriting at least, if nothing more, of the tale's heroes has perished. The Note then proceeds to explain that

> many copies were made, especially of the first volume, for the use of the descendants of the children of Master Samwise. The most important copy, however, has a different history. It was kept at Great Smials, but it was written in Gondor, probably at the request of the great-grandson of Peregrin, and completed in S.R. 1592 (F.A. 172). Its southern scribe appended this note: Findegil, King's Writer, finished this work in IV 172. It is an exact copy in all details of the Thain's Book in Minas Tirith. That book was a copy, made at the request of King Ellesar, of the Red Book of Periannath, and was brought to him by the Thain Peregrin when he retired to Gondor in IV 64. (*FR* 23-24)

Copies of copies, echoes of echoes, each inserting a further layer of distance and mediation. To those living in the Third Age, the events of earlier ages glimpsed in the "vistas" are something which happened, in the words of the bewildered Frodo at the Council of Elrond, "a long age ago" (*FR*, II, ii, 256). But already to Elanor, born in the final year of the Third Age, the War of the Ring was itself a thing of the past, before her time. For Pippin's great-grandson, some two hundred years later, it would have inevitably moved on into the long-age-ago. Eventually, all of this would sink into the once-upon-a-time, and keep sinking in the course of untold ages—until *an* account, a distant sustained-third-person-narrative descendant of the original Red Book, surfaces in the hands of a (fictional) modern English translator-editor.

As the original account of the War began to be copied it inevitably entered that process of continual revision characteristic of manuscript culture—with which Tolkien as a professional medievalist was intimately acquainted—in which its content fluctuated both in quantity and in quality. "In Minas Tirith," for example, "it received much annotation, and many corrections, especially of names, words, and quotations from the Elvish languages; and there was added to it an abbreviated version of those parts of *The Tale of Aragorn and Arwen* which lie outside of the account of the War" (*FR* 24). On the other hand, the fact that "the chief importance of Findegil's copy is that it alone contains the whole of Bilbo's 'Translations from the Elvish'" (*FR* 24) shows that the most drastic of the quantitative changes were those of subtraction. Moreover, as has already been noted, the Red Book is not the only ultimate source for *The Hobbit*, *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Silmarillion*: there are, in fact, several others, which are themselves based on others still. Indeed, not only are there further books within the book within the book—there are entire libraries. The Note on the Shire Records tells us that by "the end of the first century of the Fourth Age there were already to be found in the Shire several libraries that contained many historical books and records" and that the "largest of these collections were probably at Undertowers, at Great Smials, and at Brandy Hall," the respective dwellings of the families of Sam, Pippin and Merry. These are to be presumed to have contained copies of the Red Book of some sort or another, yet the Note expressly states that "since Meriadoc and Peregrin became the heads of their great families, and at the same time kept up their connexions with Rohan and Gondor, the libraries at Bucklebury and Tuckborough contained much that did not appear in the Red Book." (Clearly one idea behind all this was to let most of the major characters contribute something to the story: the bulk of the ultimate source was written by Bilbo, Frodo and Sam, but obviously Tolkien wanted to credit other members of the Fellowship with at least symbolic contributions).

The Note continues:

> In Brandy Hall there were many works dealing with Eriador and the history of Rohan. Some of these were composed or begun by Meriadoc himself, though in the Shire he was chiefly remembered for his *Herblore of the Shire*, and for his *Reckoning of Years* in which he discussed the relation of the calendars of the Shire and Bree to those of Rivendell, Gondor, and Rohan. He also wrote a short treatise on *Old Words and Names in the Shire*, showing special interest in discovering the kinship with the language of the Rohirrim of such "shire-words" as *mathom* and old elements in place names.

Merry's *Herblore* is "quoted" by the pseudo-editor in the second section of the Prologue. In the editorial note opening the Appendices we are similarly told that the "actual extracts from longer annals and tales are placed within quotation marks." A number of such "extracts" appears in Appendix A, all differing in various points of style and content from the main text in which they are embedded, and which, presumably, is to be attributed to the pseudo-editor and represents his condensed, historiographic report of the matter found in these and the rest of the "sources." Most of the "extracts" are no longer than a paragraph or two, but there are also, for example, several pages from "THE | TALE OF ARAGORN AND ARWEN" (*RK* 337): this tale is attributed to a specific author—Barahir, the grandson of Faramir[9]—while the authorship of the texts from which the other extracts are taken is unspecified.

However, the changes to the Red Book did not consist merely in addition and omission, contraction or expansion, and in fact these are less important than the *qualitative* changes which the source text underwent. In Tolkien's final conception, the Red Book was not—and this point cannot be emphasized enough—"a manuscript containing the texts of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*" (Bowman 274), or even "a manuscript collection of tales" (Flieger 2006, 285). This ought to be rather obvious unless, for one thing, we are to imagine that Bilbo, Frodo, and Sam wrote of themselves in third person.[10] Frodo's title and its terms of choice—"the *memoirs* of Bilbo | and Frodo of the Shire, supplemented by the *accounts* of | their friends and the *learning* of the Wise" (my emphasis)—consistently fail to describe a sustained literary narrative, or compendium of narratives. There is even unequivocal "proof" of this in the rare glimpse we are afforded of the original text of the Red Book (or an early copy). That glimpse is found at the end of the section "Durin's Folk" in Appendix A, where a short excerpt is given under the caption: "*Here follows one of the last notes in the Red Book*" (*RK* 362). Its style is the non-literary reportage of a chronicle and the narrator is an impersonal "we": "We have heard tell that Legolas took Gimli Glóin's son with him because of their great friendship," and so forth.[11] Again, the very fact that it is one of the last *notes* from the Red Book which is said to be reproduced here is indicative: *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* are not—not even the Appendices—collections of "notes," translations of "lore," "diaries," "memoirs," "records," or anything of the sort.[12]

One must infer, then, that the original Bilbo-Frodo-Sam volume was a text very different from *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*. It was not a sustained literary narrative, or even a collection of shorter literary narratives, but rather a heterogeneous compilation—"memoir" or "chronicle" are perhaps acceptable approximations—aiming foremostly at recording the historical events with which it was concerned, as well as their background and aftermath. The transformation of the ultimate sources into the works translated as *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* may be presumed to have involved the shift to third-person narration, addition of dialogue and various other narrative detail, careful handling of the plot, and so forth—anything, in short, that would be involved in the literarization of a non- or at best a semi-literary text.[13] This finally brings us to the crucial question raised by the metafictional interface: who, within the work's fiction, writes, and who translates into Modern English, the text which we read as *The Lord of the Rings*?

Tolkien's first answer to this question was the most straightforward one: it is J.R.R. Tolkien who, drawing on the Red Book, writes *The Lord of the Rings*. This is the conception found in the draft for the first-edition Foreword reproduced in Christopher Tolkien's *Peoples of Middle-earth*, where "this tale is drawn from the most part in the Great Red Book of Samwise. It has been written during many years for those who were interested in the account of the great Adventure of Bilbo" (19) etc. The second stage, found in the Foreword as actually published in 1954, still credits Tolkien, but only as an editor and translator, rather than the actual writer of the work, in addition to which it is specified that the editor-translator has "in this tale adhered more closely to the actual words and narrative of my original than in the previous selection from the Red Book, *The Hobbit*" (*Peoples* 25). It is well known that Tolkien went on to explicitly retract and expurgate the framework of the 1954 Foreword from the second edition of 1966, which introduced a firm distinction between the actual writer and the unnamed fictional translator-editor (see, however, n. 17 below). What is not acknowledged is that in this final conception *The Lord of the Rings* is no longer simply a translation of the respective portion of the Red Book. As already noted, Tolkien must have come to understand that construing the relevant portion of the Red Book as a sustained literary narrative, which is then simply translated into English, could not account for point of view, dialogue and other literary qualities of the narratives published as *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*.[14] The final step, then, besides divorcing the actual author from the fictional editor, was to construe the Red Book as a "memoir" or "chronicle," and thus to implicitly attribute its conversion into sustained literary narrative to a later author or authors.[15]

Nothing is known about the identity of the performer, or performers, of this adaptation, and yet not only must their role be presumed, but must be presumed to have been considerable. If this is not acknowledged—if the respective portions of Red Book are simply equated with *The Hobbit*, *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Silmarillion*—one is inevitably drawn to the conclusion reached by Flieger, according to which:

> It will not do to pursue too far the notion of *The Lord of the Rings* as serially written by Bilbo, Frodo, and Sam. Too many things will not fit comfortably into the concept—narrative voice, point of view, the amount of knowledge each of these 'authors' could have had at any one time. If these are put together, the whole concept falls apart. It is best seen as an authorial conceit but not as a substantial structural factor, an expedient way for Tolkien to collect his often narratively disparate material into one scheme. (2005, 79)

Flieger's repeated discouragement of pursuing the notion to its logical conclusions (2005, 68-69) and her doubts about "how seriously . . . to take the whole conceit of the Red Book," are directly consequent on the equation of the Bilbo-Frodo-Sam volume with *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*. Indeed, *if* we pursue the notion of *The Hobbit* as written by Bilbo, and of *The Lord of the Rings* as serially written by Bilbo, Frodo, and Sam, the thing will fall apart—but this, I propose, is the wrong notion to pursue. Rather, we ought to take the conceit as seriously as it demands to be taken, and pursue it to the final conclusion, which must be that the Red Book of Westmarch contained *not* the texts translated as *The Hobbit*, *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Silmarillion*, but only the *main* and the *ultimate* sources from which these texts were, at some later point, "drawn."[16]

All the problems noted by Flieger disappear with the premise of this unknown literary synthesizer, or several of them, somewhere down the line. She observes, for example, that many elements in Frodo's part of the account could not have in fact been written by Frodo, as only Sam has experienced the events in question, such as Gollum's plunge into the flames of Orodruin. There are in fact much graver "problems" of this kind: what, for instance, about the experiences of Pippin and Merry? All of this, however, is easily accounted for once we realize that it was not Bilbo, Frodo and Sam who, within the fiction, wrote the texts we read, in fictional translation, as *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*. Of course, this inevitably raises—and was *meant* to raise—the question of the "authenticity" of these texts. We do not know who wrote them and in what circumstances. We have no means of reconstructing the process by which this author—let us, for ease of reference, employ the singular—transformed the "memoir" into "feigned history" or literary narrative. We cannot determine which elements he found in the source-texts and which were later additions, interpolations, creative fictional embellishments—it is, for example, this unknown author who must have contributed most of the dialogue.[17] What we are reading, then, is perhaps best described by the words of the pseudo-editor of *Farmer Giles of Ham*—"a legend, perhaps, rather than an account; for it is evidently a late compilation, full of marvels" (*FG* 3).

At any rate, it is clear that Tolkien went out of his way to undermine the (intra-fictional) authenticity of the narrative we find ourselves reading. Who can now differentiate between what is authentic and deriving from eye-witness accounts and what is not? *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* are exactly like *Beowulf* in this respect: to use them in an attempt to reconstruct the "historical" or "mythological" truth about the imaginary world and events of which they tell is just as erroneous as using *Beowulf* to reconstruct the actual world of pagan Germanic tribes. There can be no doubt that Tolkien originally conceived of his "sub-creation" as aspiring to or even possessing such authenticity; there can also be no doubt, as the next section will show, that he still clung to important vestiges of this idea as late as the 1950s. Yet neither can there be any doubt about the fact that he ultimately discarded it in favor of a very different, indeed in some sense diametrically opposite, approach: a *via negativa* which still—indeed even more fervently—strives after "authenticity," but in which this "authenticity" can only manifest itself in the negative, as absence, as that which must be postulated to lie beyond the actual artifacts, which have to be seen as inauthentic, derivative, mediated. As Flieger has remarked of the various versions of the story of Túrin Turambar and their intra-fictional original, the Sindarin *Narn* of Túrin, "the significant point in this welter of texts is the clear presence of an absence" (2005, 110). The only thing to be added to this formulation is that it is a correct description of much more of Tolkien's work than the Túrin writings, for "to go there"—to claim an unmediated authenticity for the artifacts themselves, the actual English texts—was, according to Tolkien's final views of these matters, "to destroy the magic" (*Letters* 333).

III

Many years of meditating over the issue of the book's "machinery" led to its final conception, implemented only in the 1966 second edition of *The Lord of the Rings*.[18] To put it crudely, but more or less accurately, in Tolkien's original conception the Shire was (proto-)England, the hobbits were the (proto-)English, and their language an Old Germanic tongue related to Old English. In the earliest draft of the Prologue for *The Lord of the Rings*—Christopher Tolkien's "P1," dated by him to 1938-39 (*Peoples* 3)—the hobbits "spoke a very similar language (or languages) . . . as we used to" and "the lands in which they lived, changed though now they are, must have been more or less in the same place in which they still linger: the North-west of the old world" (*Shadow* 311).

It was inevitable for various problems to arise with this conception. For one thing, Tolkien wished to disassociate his elves, dwarves, and the rest, from the popular conceptions of beings bearing those names. Indeed, by the late 1930s he was already considering the idea that at least some of these problematic terms and concepts in his work could be presented as fictional translations from the original languages, approximating the concepts found in the fictional source-texts. Thus in a 1937 letter he notes that his "dwarf" and "gnome" are "only translations into approximate equivalents of creatures with different names and rather different functions in their own world" (*Letters* 23). A letter from a few months later, further specifying that "*elf*, *gnome*, *goblin*, *dwarf* are only approximate translations of the Old Elvish names for beings of not quite the same kinds and functions" (*Letters* 31), is interesting in that it shows that hobbit-Westron was still not an option at this point. The same letter continues:

> These dwarves are not quite the dwarves of the better known lore. They have been given Scandinavian names, it is true; but that is an editorial concession. Too many names in the tongues proper to the period might have been alarming. Dwarvish was both complicated and cacophonous. . . . The language of hobbits was remarkably like English, as one would expect: they only lived on the borders of The Wild, and were mostly unaware of it. Their family names remain for the most part as well known and justly respected in this island as they were in Hobbiton and Bywater.

He took the names out of the *Edda*: now he is so hard pressed to explain them away that Dwarvish must suffer the indignity of being complicated and cacophonous, demanding translation for the benefit of the modern reader. The original idea of a link between the Shire and England is still dominant, and the time distance between the world of the story and the modern world is much smaller than it would eventually end up being: the runes used "by Thorin and Co., for special purposes, were comprised in an alphabet of thirty-two letters . . . similar to, but not identical with the runes of Anglo-Saxon inscriptions. There is doubtless an historical connection between the two" (*Letters* 32).

But how could you claim that Hobbitese was "remarkably like English," and yet at the same time claim that English words such as *elf* were translations from "Old Elvish"? Why would (proto-)English-speaking hobbits employ Old Elvish words for these beings, which then required translation? Or was the entire thing a translation from "Old Elvish"? Tolkien described the above-quoted letter as a "joke" (*Letters* 35). In reality, it was semi-serious at least: careless decisions made a long time ago were coming back to haunt him, and the more attentive of his readers were beginning to ask legitimate questions which were proving increasingly difficult to answer. He could not change the names of his characters, races, realms, and yet neither could he leave these questions unanswered, not only because this would disappoint the curiosity of these inquisitive readers, but because he himself came to appreciate their significance for the total effect of the works. What he could and did do is devise a metafictional interface presenting them as translations and approximations by the pseudo-editor. "I realize that a lot of work will be needed" (*Letters* 31): he may have meant it as a joke when he wrote it, but a lot of work is exactly what he ended up doing.

There is ample evidence of it, for example, in the evolving drafts of the Prologue. By "P5," a manuscript from about a decade later than "P1," the hobbits—a crucial step—"spoke the languages of Men" (*Peoples* 7-8). "P6" elaborates: "And if ever Hobbits had a language of their own (which is debated) then in those days they forgot it and spoke ever after the Common Speech, the Westron as it was named" (*Peoples* 17, n. 14). And it was not just the English of the hobbits: it was also the Old English of Rohan—it was, in principle, any language appearing in the work. The pseudo-translation problem "has given me much thought," we read in a 1954 letter: "It seems seldom regarded by other creators of imaginary worlds, however gifted as narrators" (*Letters* 174). "The story has to be told, and the dialogue conducted in a language; but"—in stark contrast to his old view of the hobbit-language being "remarkably like English, as one would expect":

> English cannot have been the language of any people of that time. What I have, in fact done, is to equate the Westron or wide-spread Common Speech of the Third Age with English; and translate everything, including names such as *The Shire*, that was in the Westron into English terms, with some differentiation of style to represent dialectal differences. Languages quite alien to the C. S. have been left alone. . . . . Languages, however, that were related to the Westron

> presented a special problem. I turned them into forms of speech related to English. Since the *Rohirrim* are represented as recent comers out of the North, and users of an archaic Mannish language relatively untouched by the influence of *Eldarin*, I have turned their names into forms like (but not identical with) Old English. (175)

By this time, then, Tolkien was firmly on track: what remained was the final step of divorcing reality from fiction by introducing a fictional translator-editor.

But when was "this time"? Interestingly, it seems to have been soon after the first volume, along with the original Foreword, was out of his hands. The above quoted letter, which is to Naomi Mitchison, who proof-read the first two volumes of *The Lord of the Rings*, is dated April 24, 1954.[19] According to Humphrey Carpenter, "Tolkien's contract stipulated that the manuscript of the book should be delivered, ready for the printer, by 25 March 1953" (*Letters* 165). Two weeks past his deadline, Tolkien sent in the first two books of the *Fellowship* and "the original Foreword, which of course need not be printed yet, since I cannot find my notes of the additions and alterations which you thought would be required in view of the publication of the work in three volumes" (*Letters* 167). Thus at least some kinds of changes were intended, but as already noted above, the Foreword as published in July 1954 still establishes a firm link between the real and the fictional world: hobbits no longer speak English, but Tolkien's children and friends, to whom the book is dedicated, are still suspected to be their distant descendants. In short, the 1954 Foreword still retains important vestiges of Tolkien's original idea of a direct link between Middle-earth and England: the story of the maturing of his vision is the story of the gradual abandonment and transformation of this idea.

It was not long before Tolkien came to regret this Foreword, relishing the opportunity to remove it from the second edition of 1966. Christopher Tolkien has published the following marginal note to the original Foreword in his father's copy of the first edition: "This Foreword I should wish very much in any case to cancel. Confusing (as it does) real personal matters with the 'machinery' of the Tale is a serious mistake" (*Peoples* 26). And so he did: the second edition saw the replacement of the original with the now-standard Foreword, as well as key changes to the metafictional peritext, in particular the addition of the Prologue, including the Note on the Shire Records. In effect, the second edition brought out, for attentive readers at any rate, a drastically different work.[20] Even more: it retroactively made the same drastic changes to *The Hobbit*, while the new "machinery" also secured a place for the projected third work.

The framework helped Tolkien right other regrets, such as the one about having written the children's book that was *The Hobbit*. There was no possibility of it being left outside the total "Tale," but now he could justify its style by attributing it to other, fictional authors: of the Red Book "many copies were made," we find out in the already quoted passage from the Note on the Shire Records, and "especially of the first volume, for the use of the descendants of the children of Master Samwise." In other words, Bilbo's memoirs became a favorite with children and in the process underwent some modification making them more palatable to this audience; the modern editor is merely translating what has come down to him.[21]

But if Tolkien was still capable of committing the "serious mistake" as late as 1954, metafictional elements—the means by which the mistake would eventually be corrected—are present already in some of Tolkien's very earliest writings. They are crucial to his early conceptions of "The Silmarillion." In *The Book of Lost Tales*, an abandoned work begun in 1916-17, an Angle mariner named Eriol (in Elvish) or Ælfwine (in English), father of Hengest and Horsa the settlers of England, reaches the Elvish island of Tol Eressëa (England-to-be) far in the unnamed western sea (the Atlantic Ocean), and becomes the first Man to whom are told, by a series of Elvish tellers, tales about the beginning of the world and its subsequent history: the tales which represent the first form of "The Silmarillion."[22] The *Lost Tales* were abandoned in an unfinished state, yet several different designs exist for the work's completion, all of them involving a book-within-the-book device: in what appears to be the most developed of these, Eriol writes down the tales he is told on the island in some form and later Heorrenda—his son with an Elvish woman he marries there—edits them into a coherent narrative, producing what is called the Golden Book of Tavrobel; *The Book of Lost Tales* would thus be a translation into Modern English of this Old English work. Even before the *Lost Tales*, in one of his notebooks Tolkien added Old English titles to the fair copies of his poems—most of which date to the war years of 1914-16—with the possible intention being that of presenting them as fictional translations from Old English.[23] Obviously, these devices anticipate their more complex descendents such as the Red Book of Westmarch.

There were further developments of this scheme: especially interesting is the material dating from the 1930s, where Tolkien was working on the concept of a tri-partite work collectively known by the Elvish title *Pennas*, comprising the *Quenta Noldorinwa* ("History of the Noldoli") and the texts Christopher Tolkien has dubbed *The Earliest Annals of Valinor* and *The Earliest Annals of Beleriand* (so as to distinguish them from the several subsequent reworkings).[24] These are of interest because they are no longer presented as based by Ælfwine on Elvish *tales*, but on Elvish *writings*: replacing oral with written sources, this conception adds a further layer of distance between the reader's "here" and the text's increasingly remote "there."[25] On the other hand, there exist drafts, one of them "substantial" (*Shaping* 205), of the Old English versions of these texts: the "actual" Old English translations made by Ælfwine (*Shaping*, Appendix 1). These are particularly indicative of Tolkien's conflicted view on the issue of "machinery": he is devising increasingly complex metafictional mediatory structures, yet he is also producing the "original" texts themselves, still very much bent on somehow tying all of it into the English mythology he originally envisioned himself as creating. Indeed, the conflict is there in the very title—for how does one, in fact, write a book of lost tales? If the tales are lost, how can there be a book—and if there is a book, in what sense can they be said to be lost? The unheard melodies are sweeter—or, as Tolkien put it in 1945, a "story must be told or there'll be no story, yet it is the untold stories that are most moving" (*Letters* 110).

But how does one tell the untold? The importance of this question to Tolkien is perhaps best illustrated by the whole of the passage in which the often cited Keatsian maxim is found. "There are two quite diff[erent] emotions," he says, discussing his personal feelings not only towards *The Lord of the Rings*—at this point still a work in progress—but literature in general:

> one that moves me supremely and I find small difficulty in evoking: the heart-racking sense of the vanished past (best expressed by Gandalf's words about the Palantir); and the other the more 'ordinary' emotion, triumph, pathos, tragedy of the characters. That I am learning to do, as I get to know my people, but it is not really so near my heart, and is forced on me by the fundamental literary dilemma. A story must be told or there'll be no story, yet it is the untold stories that are most moving. I think you are moved by *Celebrimbor* because it conveys a sudden sense of endless *untold* stories: mountains seen far away, never to be climbed, distant trees (like Niggle's) never to be approached—or if so only to become 'near trees' (unless in Paradise or N's Parish). (*Letters* 110-11)

This, then—how to tell the untold, how to make present the heart-rackingly vanished—was Tolkien's *fundamental* literary dilemma. The final sentence of the cited passage, with its references to "Leaf by Niggle," also shows how the discussion could, and perhaps should, be further extended to the question of the relations between Tolkien's literary views and his religious beliefs, but such a discussion would far exceed the bounds of the present inquiry. At any rate, it ought to be clear that it took many years until Tolkien finally found the right solution to his fundamental literary dilemma, the proper way in which to write books of lost tales, telling and untelling them in the same breath—and the metafictional "machinery" was the key to how it was to be done.

IV

J.R.R. Tolkien's three major works of fantastic fiction, along with some of his other minor and/or unpublished writings, gain much by being viewed as works of fantastic metafiction. It would seem, however, that apart from some excellent commentary by Tolkien specialists they are rarely so approached, in spite of the fact that they employ a generous repertory of metafictional devices. One reason for this has already been suggested: a full appreciation of the metafictional dimension in Tolkien's work demands a considerable, although not in any way extraordinary, deal of attention on the behalf of the reader, especially when it comes to passages and sections which may at first glance appear to be of marginal interest. Other reasons are also not hard to discern. As Jorge Luis Borges wrote in his essay on what happens "When Fiction Lives in Fiction," there are, broadly speaking, two kinds of stories within stories: those where the "two planes" do "intermingle," and those where they do not (2000, 160). Even though both these kinds of stories are properly called "metafictional"—both are examples of fiction living in fiction—most critics have followed Borges in being primarily interested in this first, self-referential, "intermingling" kind of metafiction, where the metafictional elements serve chiefly to *disrupt* the mimetic illusion. Yet while metafictional writing can certainly be parodical and anti-mimetic, it is not, as Borges noted, necessarily so, and in fact the same metafictional devices can be introduced into a work with the opposite aim. Such is the case with the pseudo-editorial conceits: the work contains a fiction about its fiction, yet it does so in order to increase, rather than undermine, its mimetic potential. It thus seems best to view "metafiction" as a repertory of devices which can be used for various purposes, in different kinds of works.

Tolkien's metafictionalist mode is interesting in that it does not really coincide with either of the two extremes. It is certainly not bent on metafictional effects of the parodical, "intermingling" kind, yet neither is it entirely devoid of them; on the other hand, neither does it aim at the pure hyperrealism of the "found manuscript" tradition. Tolkien's characters, as Bowman writes, "would never be shown reading a chapter of *The Lord of the Rings* during the chapter itself. But they are frequently shown writing it. He manages to operate at a meta-fictional level while preserving the illusion of historicity and the integrity of a very traditional kind of narrative" (286). And not only does this, as Flieger is quite right to point out, make Tolkien's work much more "postmodern" than critics have hitherto acknowledged: it can in fact make some classic postmodernist metafiction—Flieger's example is Fowles's *French Lieutenant's Woman*—seem rather crude in comparison with certain passages in *The Lord of the Rings*, especially the conversation between Sam and Frodo on the Stairs of Cirith Ungol. Anyone interested in twentieth-century metafiction should certainly pause to consider this "most critically interesting, theory-orientated passage in the book," the passage which is indeed "the measure of [Tolkien's] skill and modernity as writer," even though it "is also one of the quietest, calling no attention to itself yet accomplishing much the same thing as does Fowles" (Flieger 2009, 24-25).[26]

In fact, Tolkien's work bears various further similarities precisely to the work of Fowles and kindred postmodernist writers of what Linda Hutcheon and others have discussed as "historiographic metafiction." Of course, the issues that "mainstream" historiographic metafiction raises directly—issues regarding the status of the presumed fact of the historian and the presumed fiction of the novelist, and the relation between the two—can be raised only indirectly in Tokien's work, but this is simply because the history in question is a history of a palpably fantastic rather than the actual world. Within its own domain, however, the historiography of this fictional world is exposed to all the "provisionality and indeterminacy" which actual-world historiographic metafiction raises with respect to actual-world historiography, all the "intense self-consciousness" about how both history and fiction get written (Hutcheon 111-13). A key element in Tolkien's fiction is an elaborate metafiction about its own emergence from a basically historical work: about the way in which parts of a heterogeneous "chronicle" came to be transformed into literary narratives. The qualities Hutcheon attributed to "postmodernism"—that it "establishes, differentiates, and then disperses stable narrative voices (and bodies) that use memory to try to make sense of the past," that it "both installs and then subverts," "both asserts and is capable of shattering" (118)—are curiously fitting descriptions of Tolkien's fantastic metafiction, and even as they relate to an imaginary rather than the real world, certain implications for the real world, and the ways of writing about it, are hardly avoidable.[27]

Other classics of postmodernist metafiction would bear interesting comparisons. Take, for example, another well-known text by Borges, the Foreword to the 1949 *Garden of Forking Paths*:

> It is a laborious madness and an impoverishing one, the madness of composing vast books. The better way of going about it is to pretend that those books already exist, and offer

> a summary, a commentary on them. That was Carlyle's procedure in *Sartor Resartus*, Butler's in *The Fair Haven*—though those works suffer under the imperfection that they themselves are books, and not a whit less tautological than the others. A more reasonable, more inept, and more lazy man, I have chosen to write notes on *imaginary* books. (1998, 67)

As it happens, in that same year Tolkien brought to completion many years of work on a vast book, an undertaking which many of his peers indeed saw as a laborious and impoverishing madness. However, the vast book also contained summaries of and commentary on itself, as well as on entire libraries of other imaginary books: it was, in fact, both at the same time. The text was presented, precisely in accordance with Borges's prescription, as already existing, yet it was not merely alluded to, or commented upon, but actually produced in all its laborious and maddening vastness. And yet, this vastness was, in a crucial sense, illusory—ultimately, the work is a ruin. To read it responsibly means to savor to the full this state of ruin, even as it may appear that one is reaching that desired point of verisimilitude and "depth."

Tolkien's major works of fantastic fiction, as presented in the final authorized form of *The Lord of the Rings*, are constructed to generate this twofold, self-consuming effect: to present the reader with a vision of a fantastic golden age, yet to ultimately drive home the point that this age is forever gone, that it is unattainable even as a mimetic illusion, that the reader has in fact never, in spite of having been led on to believe so, had any authentic experience of it, except in the negative—in experiencing the impossibility of ever experiencing it. To miss this, to read for the tale and the "myth" and ignore the metafictional "machinery," or reduce it to the marginal status of a framework, is to severely under-read Tolkien's mature work. A particularly vivid example of such under-reading—its canonization, one might almost say, at least as far as popular reception is concerned—is readily found in the Peter Jackson films, only partly excused by the fact that here even the nature of the medium conspired towards it. When a hobbit speaks English on the page, every good reader knows that what he or she is reading is actually a translation of a redaction of a distant record of an immemorial past in which hobbits did not speak English. The word *hobbit* itself, as we are informed on the very last page of *The Lord of the Rings*, is an "invention" on the behalf of the English "translator": "In the Westron the word used, when this people was referred to at all, was *banakil* 'halfling'. But at this date the folk of the Shire and of Bree used the word *kuduk*" (*RK* 416). When he is not lost in Hollywood translation, then, "Sam Gamgee," the "hobbit" of the "Shire," is really Banazîr Ban Galbasi, a *kuduk* of the *Sûza*, and so forth.

There is thus much to be said for the sober statement issued in December 2001, amid all the media frenzy, by Christopher Tolkien, claiming *The Lord of the Rings* to be "unsuitable to transformation into visual dramatic form" (Associated Press 2001). "Unsuitable" is not, of course, the same as "impossible": rather, it is precisely this "unsuitability," arising from the complex metafictional structure of the work, which ought to present a creative challenge when it comes to adaptations in other media, a challenge of which Peter Jackson's films display very little awareness.

At any rate, a responsible reader does not lose sight of the metafiction and the twofold effect it is designed to produce. On the one hand, Tolkien's mature fiction hands out the familiar promise of hyperrealism: presenting itself as a translation of a pre-existing work, a found manuscript, it stages that effacement of authorial presence which normally aims at maximizing a work's mimetic, "there"-taking potential. On the other hand, this mimetic carrot is hanging from an implacably anti-mimetic, "back"-again stick, and the realization of the distance between the narrative and its ultimate original—and beyond, between this original and the (fictional) historical reality of which it was the earliest account—prevents responsible readers from ever arriving. Tolkien lures us in with the promise of verisimilitude and "depth," yet once hooked, rewards us with radical mediation, insurmountable distance, unappeasable lack: with "sorrows" exactly like those of *Beowulf*, "both poignant and remote." The fiction supplies the poignancy, the metafiction contributes the remoteness: the result is a vast, intricately designed structure, but one which has been erected with such painstaking care only to increase the spectacle of its premeditated and inevitable collapse. And the central achievement, the "touch upon the heart," resides neither in the standing structure, nor in the remaining rubble, but precisely in the collapse.

Notes

1 See Flieger 2001, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009.

2 Flieger 2004 anticipates this criticism, but surely the Neoplatonic counterargument is far from compelling: "It could be argued nonetheless that the whole question [of *The Notion Club Papers*] is not just moot but irrelevant, since Tolkien never followed through, either by completing *The Notion Club Papers* as a self-contained work, or by effecting the enormous shift in perspective and psychology that 'doing' Atlantis as the frame and entry-point for the whole mythology might have brought about. The change was never carried out, and what we have is what we get. What we get is an unfinished symphony whose implications outrun its execution. Over against this, I would argue with Sir Philip Sidney that 'the skill of the artificer standeth in the

idea of foreconceit of the work and not in the work itself'; or at least, that the idea or foreconceit is as important as the execution. This is especially so in the case of Tolkien, where the skill of the artificer is contained in the foreconceit, though the work itself was never fully realized" (61).

3 Hence, for example, Flieger's tendency to treat the so-called "Silmarillion" as a *work*: indeed, enumerating Tolkien's "major works" she omits the 1977 *Silmarillion*, listing "the 'Silmarillion' with its multitude of storytellers and poets, *The Hobbit*, and *The Lord of the Rings*" (2007, 216). Elsewhere she writes that "without *The Silmarillion* as originally published, there would be no audience for its more detailed and comprehensive successor, the twelve-volume series History of Middle-earth, which provides exactly the framework its editor felt was lacking in the earlier and in some ways premature book" (2005, 63). But for all its interest, the "Silmarillion" provides nothing of the sort: although it incorporates texts of many literary works (and/or variants of these works), Christopher Tolkien's series is not itself a literary work but rather an extensively documented study in "genetic criticism," and although any of the included works may be read for its individual merit, the "Silmarillion" cannot be considered a successor to *The Silmarillion* any more than the sixty-three volumes of the *James Joyce Archive*, the bedrock of Joycean "genetics," can be considered a successor to *Ulysses* or *Finnegans Wake*.

4 For an even more explicit statement, see the Afterword to Flieger 2005.

5 *The Hobbit* was in fact first drawn into the Red Book "machinery" prior to the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*, when the changes to the text in its second edition of 1951, required for its synchronization with *The Lord of the Rings*, were explained by a note added to the prefatory section: "More important is the matter of Chapter Five. There the true story of the ending of the Riddle Game, as it was eventually revealed (under pressure) by Bilbo to Gandalf, is now given according to the Red Book, in place of the version Bilbo first gave to his friends, and actually set down in his diary. This departure from the truth on the part of a most honest hobbit was a portent of great significance. . . . . Its explanation lies in the history of the Ring, as it is set out in the chronicles of the Red Book of Westmarch, and it must await their publication" (Tolkien 2002, 28). This note distinguished, then, the "chronicles" of the Red Book from Bilbo's "diary." It was dropped when it came to contradict Tolkien's new view—implemented in the 1966 edition of *The Lord of the Rings*—according to which the relevant

volume of Red Book was "in origin Bilbo's private diary" (*FR* 23; see Tolkien 2002, 28).

6 As is well known, even Christopher Tolkien first missed this and later came to regret it: as he noted in the Foreword to the first volume of his *History of Middle-earth*, it is due to this omission that *The Silmarillion* as published in 1977 "has no 'framework', no suggestion of what it is and how (within the imagined world) it came to be. This I now think to have been an error" (*Lost Tales I*, 5). He then proceeds, citing Robert Foster's *Complete Guide to Middle-earth*, to identify the "Silmarillion" with the three volumes of Bilbo's *Translations*: "the 'books of lore' that Bilbo gave to Frodo provided in the end the solution: there is, so far as I know, no other statement on this matter anywhere in my father's writings; and (wrongly, as I think now) I was reluctant to step into the breach and make definite what I only surmised." This raises the question of whether the "solution" ought to be implemented in a revised edition of *The Silmarillion*. Regardless of its riches, Christopher Tolkien's *History of Middle-earth* and the various texts comprising its "Silmarillion" are no substitute for a revised *Silmarillion*—an actual edition of the work, which, even though posthumous, is produced according to the editor's best knowledge of the author's final intentions regarding this work. While the "Silmarillion" has its charms, to which the present reader is by no means impartial, they are charms of a different sort than those of a *Silmarillion*, whether as we have it presently, or as we would have it if it was presented in accordance with Tolkien's final authorized view of the matter, i.e. as Bilbo's Rivendell translations of Elvish "lore." This new *Silmarillion*—a translation of a translation—would, for a sensitive reader at any rate, be a far different work than either the present *Silmarillion* or the "Silmarillion" material published in *The History of Middle-earth*. Indeed, Tolkien has left behind not only an idea of *what* ought to be done, but even one specific suggestion as to *how* it could be done, namely the one found in the set of marginal notes in one of his copies of the first edition of *The Lord of the Rings* which Christopher Tolkien has reproduced in *Peoples*, 14. The first of these notes specifies the place in the Prologue where "should be inserted Note on Shire Records." However, Tolkien "wrote against this later: 'I have decided against this. It belongs to Preface to *The Silmarillion*.'" The eventual inclusion of the Note in the second edition of 1966 was evidently the result of yet another change of mind, but does this diminish the potential relevance of these notes to an editor of *The Silmarillion*? In the apparent absence of later suggestions as to the specific form which the "machinery" is to take, why should the inclusion of the Note in the second edition of

The Lord of the Rings preclude the employment of the relevant portion of the same Note as a preface to *The Silmarillion*?

7 The fictional editor lets us know that the "legends, histories, and lore to be found in the sources" from which the Appendices are derived "are very extensive," and that "only selections from them, in most places much abridged, are here presented," with the "principal purpose . . . to illustrate the War of the Ring and its origins, and to fill up some gaps in the main story" (*RK* 313).

8 Partly a biographical wink to Tolkien's desire to publish his major works of fiction in the form of such a compendium, integrated into "one long Saga of the Jewels and the Rings" (*Letters* 139).

9 See the Note on the Shire Records: "In Minas Tirith [the Thain's Book] received much annotation, and many corrections . . . and there was added to it an abbreviated version of those parts of *The Tale of Aragorn* and [*sic*] *Arwen* which lie outside of the account of the War. The full tale is stated to have been written by Barahir, grandson of the Steward Faramir, some time after the passing of the King" (*FR* 24). Even here, then, we are reading *parts* of an *abbreviation*—abbreviated by whom? abbreviated when?—of Barahir's tale, rather than the original.

10 The anonymous reviewer of this article suggested a parallel in the historical "commentaries" of Julius Caesar, these being examples—unique ones, as far as I am aware—of historiographic narratives where the author is not only a participant in the historical events narrated but also continuously refers to himself in the third person. Yet even if we were to imagine the hobbits' "memoirs" as similar to Caesar's works, this would not account for much besides the third-person narration: a hobbit equivalent of the *Gallic War* would still be only raw material for *The Lord of the Rings*. Incidentally, the contemporary testimony of Hirtius (in his supplementary book of the *Gallic War*) and Cicero (in his *Brutus*) states that Caesar's purpose in the "commentaries"—the "clear and correct" brevity of which Cicero likened to "nude figures, straight and beautiful; stripped of all ornament of style as if they had laid aside a garment" (227)—was not to write history proper, but precisely to "furnish others with material for writing history" (Cicero 227; cf. Caesar 516-17).

11 Typically, moreover, layers of mediation are introduced as the editor informs us that this section was "probably derived from Gimli the Dwarf, who maintained his friendship with Peregrin and Meriadoc and met them again many times in Gondor and Rohan" (*RK* 313)—

probably derived by whom, where from, when?

12 The "Silmarillion" is a somewhat different matter, for it is in origin precisely a translation of Elvish "lore"; see further comments below.

13 The rejected Epilogue actually touched on this precise matter, and a predictable development may be traced between its early and late versions. In the early version, first appearing at the end of "the long draft manuscript A" and thus to be dated to 1948 (see *Sauron* 12-13, 114), we see Sam answering his children's questions about what he had just been "reading aloud (as was usual) from a big Red Book on a stand" (*Sauron* 114). The nature of the questions—e.g. "I want to hear about the Spider again. I like the parts best where you come in, dad" (115)—strongly suggests that the Red Book contains a story, a narrative; indeed the very fact the book is being read to *children* makes it improbable that it was at this point conceived as a non- or semi-literary "chronicle." In the revised version the "framework and presentation were radically changed" (121); Christopher Tolkien notes, on the evidence of the summary of the Epilogue in the 1951 Waldman letter, that this version was written "at a very late stage" (129). Instead of Sam reading and answering questions—instead, then, of an oral context—we now see him "sitting at the old well-worn desk, and with many pauses for thought he was writing in his slow round hand on sheets of loose paper" (121). The Red Book is still read aloud, on special occasions; it also still has "chapters" (which will survive into the final text: cf. n. 17 below); but the shift from telling to writing is indicative. "Mr. Frodo, he left the last pages to me," says Sam, "but I have never yet durst to put hand to them. I am still making notes, as old Mr. Bilbo would have said" (*Sauron* 122). We then see an excerpt from these notes, which is in the form of questions from Sam's wife and children—"because only you has heard all the Book more than once"—and Sam's largely inconclusive and conjectural answers. Having read a bit of this to Elanor, he sighs: "It isn't fit to go in the Book like that. It isn't a bit like the story as Mr. Frodo wrote it. But I shall have to make a chapter or two in proper style. Mr. Meriadoc might help me. He's clever at writing, and he's making a splendid book about all the plants" (124). But what is the "proper style"? How are we to imagine "the story as Mr. Frodo wrote it"? The rejection of the Epilogue makes these questions irrelevant for the purposes of interpretation of the published work, yet it is interesting to note that summarizing the Epilogue in the Waldman letter, Tolkien writes that Sam is "struggling to finish off the Red Book, begun by Bilbo and nearly completed by Frodo, in which all the events (told in The Hobbit and The Lord [of the Rings]) are recorded" (*Sau-*

ron 132; this passage is omitted in the *Letters*). The word-choice here, "recorded," seems significant and may perhaps be taken to reflect Tolkien's increasing tendency to view the Red Book as a "record"—a chronicle, memoir, diary, or any combination of these—which was only eventually re-worked into literary narrative(s). The rejected Epilogue is also interesting for its "facsimiles" (in the second version) of the King's letter to Sam (see *Sauron* 130-31).

14 The projected *Silmarillion* presented even greater problems and the often-discussed letter of 1963 sees Tolkien "doubtful . . . about the undertaking" of finding the right "presentation" and "shape" for the work; see *Letters*, 333, and Christopher Tolkien's commentary in *Lost Tales I*, 3-6, and *Peoples*, 14.

15 The time-frame for this final step can be narrowed to 1961-66, for the Prologue to the 1961 *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil and Other Verses from the Red Book* still presents us with a "machinery" which is roughly half-way there: "The Red Book contains a large number of verses. A few are included in the narrative of the *Downfall of the Lord of the Rings*, or in the attached stories and chronicles; many more are found on loose leaves, while some are written carelessly in margins and blank spaces. . . . The present selection is taken from the older pieces, mainly concerned with legends and jests of the Shire at the end of the Third Age, that appear to have been made by Hobbits, especially by Bilbo and his friends, or their immediate descendants. Their authorship is, however, seldom indicated. Those outside the narratives are in various hands, and were probably written down from oral tradition" (Tolkien 1998, 61). Almost everything about the second conception has collapsed: where there was direct correspondence between the Red Book and the English texts there is now a heterogeneous compilation of stories, chronicles, marginal additions, poems. However, one very important vestige of the second conception remains: the Red Book still contains a "narrative" which obviously corresponds to that of *The Lord of the Rings*.

16 Again, for obvious reasons the situation with *The Silmarillion* is less clear than with the other two works, but even if *The Silmarillion* were presented as an exact translation of Bilbo's *Translations*, it would still be a translation of a translation, at least once removed from the original—indeed, Bilbo's role in its composition must then be taken as roughly analogous to the role performed by the unknown synthesizer(s) of the narrative translated as *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*. Secondly, it would be a translation of a translation of "lore," thus of something already "fossilized," mediated and derivative: as

Christopher Tolkien has observed, even without a framework, "the compendious and epitomising form and manner of *The Silmarillion*, with its suggestion of ages of poetry and 'lore' behind it, strongly evokes a sense of 'untold tales', even in the telling of them; 'distance' is never lost" (*Lost Tales I* 4).

17 Here also the anonymous reviewer suggested a parallel in the classical historians and their habit of inventing or reconstructing the speeches of historical personages, citing Thucydides: "Of the various speeches . . . it has been hard to reproduce the exact words used either when I heard them myself or when they were reported to me by other sources. My method in this book has been to make each speaker say broadly what I supposed would have been needed on any given occasion, while keeping as closely as I could to the overall intent of what was actually said" (12). One thing to note here is that even if we allow—and we probably should—for the presence of some such invented/reconstructed speeches in the ultimate source, this in itself inserts a further layer of distance from the "actual" events recounted: even in this source-text, then, we would be reading an invention or reconstruction from memory rather than a record of the actual speech. However, this convention of premodern historiography was restricted to *important* speeches—indeed primarily to *speeches* rather than just any dialogue. Even if we allow that the origins of *some* of the dialogue found in the narrative fictionally translated as *The Lord of the Rings* are to be traced to such a source, surely this cannot have been the case with *all* of it. This "excess" of dialogue is precisely one of the qualities which distinguishes literary from historiographic writing and consequently demands the positing of an intermediary stage of literarization.

18 It is worth repeating that there remain a few minor and ultimately inconsequent inconsistencies and loose ends, or at least elements which can be taken as such. For example, the 1966 text of *The Lord of the Rings* still has the hobbit-volume of the Red Book consisting of over eighty "chapters" (*RK* VI, ix, 307). On the one hand, this may be seen as suggestive of the old conception in which the hobbits' account was a "story" (cf. n. 13); on the other, the mere fact of a text being divided into chapters does not tell us anything about its nature. Another such "loose end" is presented by the inscriptions on the jacket of *The Hobbit* and the title page of *The Lord of the Rings*, but see the discussion in n. 20 below.

19 Tolkien and Mitchison apparently continued to communicate on these matters. In another of his letters to her, dated October 15,

1959, he writes: “I shall, if I get a chance, turn back to the matter of the Red Book and allied histories soon” (*Letters* 300).

20 It must be noted here, however, that a relic of the old conception survived into the second edition, and hence into all subsequent ones—namely the untranslated two-part inscription appearing on the title-page, reading: “[The upper portion, in *Cirth*:] THE LORD OF THE RINGS TRANSLATED FROM THE RED BOOK [the bottom portion, in *Tengwar*:] of Westmarch by John Ronald Reuel Tolkien herein is set forth the history of the War of the Ring and the return of the King as seen by the Hobbits” (see Hammond and Scull liii). A similar runic inscription had already appeared on the dust jacket of the British edition of *The Hobbit*: “THE HOBBIT OR THERE AND BACK AGAIN BEING THE RECORD OF A YEARS JOURNEY MADE BY BILBO BAGGINS OF HOBBITON COMPILED FROM HIS MEMOIRS BY J R R TOLKIEN AND PUBLISHED BY GEORGE ALLEN AND UNWIN LTD.” On this inscription and its variants in other editions see Appendix B in Anderson’s *Annotated Hobbit* (Tolkien 2002); the underlined letters represent a single runic character. What weight is to be attributed to these, especially the former? On the one hand, it is clearly in keeping with the first conception, forging a direct link between the fictional and the real world—on the other, as such it starkly contradicts Tolkien’s elaborate interventions into the second edition. Given the fact that they commit the exact same “serious mistake” that Tolkien had expurgated, it is to be concluded either that this was overlooked, or, more likely, that it was not deemed important enough to revise: after all, the title-page is not properly—much less the jacket, in the case of *The Hobbit*—part of the work, and quite possibly Tolkien felt that the old conceit could be left to stand without affecting the new “machinery.” As Flieger notes, it is “one thing to slip a personal reference into a jacket decoration that in all probability few readers would notice, let alone translate, but quite another to so mix fact and fiction that he seemed to be having it both ways” (2005, 69). It is, however, also interesting to note that the revised version of the *Hobbit* inscription which Tolkien produced for the 1966 school edition by Longmans, Green and Company omits any personal reference, reading simply “THE HOBBIT OR THERE AND BACK AGAIN EDITION FOR SCHOOLS PUBLISHED BY LONGMANS GREEN AND CO.” (Tolkien 2002, 379).

21 T. A. Shippey has expressed dissatisfaction with Tolkien’s pursuit of the pseudo-translation conceit, which he claims to have “led him, indeed, into yet further inconsistencies, or rather disingenuousness.

Tolkien was obliged to pretend to be a 'translator'. He developed the pose with predictable rigour, feigning not only a text to translate but behind it a whole manuscript tradition, from Bilbo's diary to the Red Book of Westmarch to the Thain's Book of Minas Tirith to the copy of the scribe Findegil. As time went on he also felt obliged to stress the autonomy of Middle-earth—the fact that he was only translating analogously, not writing down the names and places as they really had been, etc. Thus of the Riddermark and its relation to Old English he said eventually 'This linguistic procedure [i.e. translating Rohirric into Old English] does not imply that the Rohirrim closely resembled the ancient English otherwise, in culture or art, in weapons or modes of warfare, except in a general way due to their circumstances . . .' (*RK* 414, n. 1). But this claim is totally untrue. With one admitted exception, the Riders of Rohan resemble the Anglo-Saxons down to minute details" (2003, 117). Had Shippey meant to say that the claim was *factually* untrue, then this would have been easily conceded: of course Tolkien based the Rohirrim on the Anglo-Saxons, just like he took the dwarves' names out of the *Edda*. But this is irrelevant as far as the *fictional* truth is concerned: surely to exercise our "willing suspension of disbelief," or whatever we choose to call it, and read in accordance with the pseudo-translation device as instituted in Appendix F, is to succumb to art, rather than to fraud.

22 See *Lost Tales I*, 22-27; this is but one of several of Tolkien's conceptions of the Eriol/Ælfwine story, which Christopher Tolkien has described as being "among the knottiest and most obscure matters in the whole history of Middle-earth and Aman" (*Lost Tales I* 23).

23 Douglas A. Anderson, personal communication. Christopher Tolkien makes note of these Old English titles in the *History of Middle-earth*—see *Lost Tales I*, 27-8, 32, 91, 108, 138, 204; *Lost Tales II*, 271, 295, 298; and *Shaping*, 214—but does not specify that they appear as marginal additions to this one notebook of fair copies, while they are not found in the various other versions. That the purpose of the Old English titles was to present the poems as fictional translations has been argued by John Garth, who notes of "The Voyage of Earendel the Evening Star" that "Tolkien gave the title in Old English too . . . as if the whole poem were a translation" (46), but given the actual nature and provenance of the Old English titles—and Garth seems unaware of the fact that the "Voyage" is not unique in this respect—this must remain speculation. It seems possible that Tolkien considered the idea at one point and subsequently rejected it. It is also of interest that the manuscript of "The Fall of Gondolin" leaves empty space for Heorrenda's translation into Old English of one of

the Elvish songs heard and recorded by Eriol in Tol Eressëa (*Lost Tales II* 145). The Modern English text was thus to be at three removes from the original oral performance: possibly, then, this may have also been the (temporary) idea behind the Old English titles.

24 *Shaping*, 262; see 292-93 for Christopher Tolkien's discussion of the "broad" and "narrow" (referring to the *Quenta Noldorinwa* alone) sense of *Pennas*.

25 The title of the *Quenta Noldorinwa* states it to be "the brief History of the Noldoli | or Gnomes, drawn from the Book of Lost Tales | which Eriol of Leithien wrote, having read | the *Golden Book*, which the Eldar call *Parma* | *Kuluina*, in Kortirion in Tol Eressëa, the | Lonely Isle" (*Shaping* 77-78). "Drawn from": not a translation of Eriol's work, then, but of a redaction by some other, unknown author. In contrast to the *Quenta*, Eriol's original composition based on an Elvish source, the *Annals* are presented as his translations of the Elvish works of Pengolod of Gondolin (or, alternatively, begun by Rúmil, the inventor of the first Elvish script, and continued by Pengolod): see relevant material in *Shaping*.

26 An additional irony, as Flieger point out, is the fact that this passage in which Tolkien is "being postmodern with a vengeance" is in fact based on an analogous passage in *Beowulf*, where the poet celebrating the deeds of Beowulf introduces into his poem a poet celebrating the deeds of Beowulf: "Well then, is the *Beowulf* poet anachronistically postmodern? Or is the technique surprisingly medieval? What exactly do these terms refer to?"

27 There is also a rather striking parallel in what Hutcheon saw as the propensity of historiographic metafiction for characters who are "ex-centrics, the marginalized, the peripheral figures of fictional history," and for projecting "no sense of cultural universality" (114). In *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, the hobbits perform precisely such a role: normally an ex-centric race on the periphery of Middle-earth, they suddenly find themselves in the center of both the story and the cataclysmic events it recounts, and consequently their record of the great War of the Ring is the record of these events "as seen by the Little People," rather than the great races of this world.

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Faërian Cyberdrama: When Fantasy becomes Virtual Reality

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> "To say that the works of J. R. R. Tolkien have influenced the [computer role-playing game genre] is akin to saying that the Big Bang influenced the universe." —Matt Barton[1]
>
> "Any sufficiently advanced technology is indistinguishable from magic." —Clarke's Third Law[2]

Without so much as a shadow of doubt, J. R. R. Tolkien single-handedly revolutionised (if not created) the genre of fantasy with his extensive ouvre of Arda, most notably in *The Silmarillion* and *The Lord of the Rings.* The success of his narrative world is evidenced by the many copycat fantasy novels his trilogy sparked. What these Tolkienesque writers seem to ignore is his theoretical foundation and personal view of Fantasy as artfully expressed in an essay about the aesthetics of fantasy fiction, called simply "On Fairy-stories."

Apart from the lifetime of education displayed in the essay, the beauty of Tolkien's *ars mythopoetica* piece comes from the vivid defence of the power of imagination at a time when accusations of escapism were quite biting in the wake of the Great War and in the shadow of a new one, connected by the rise of the modern industrial society. But what its author perceived to be the soul-sucking mechanisation of life (and death) in Europe in fact turned out to be the very tool that enabled the emergence of the most consistent form of experiencing narrative worlds: computer games.

The connexion between "On Fairy-stories" and computer games is especially thrilling since it has been noted that works like *The Silmarillion* and *The Lord of the Rings* "paved the way for a new type of game, one that would allow fans to go beyond reading and actually enter worlds of fantasy to play a role in their own adventures" (Barton 19). If the impact of Tolkien's narrative works on computer games is indeed as strong as Matt Barton would have us believe, the theoretical essay of Tolkien should have similar correspondences with the theories surrounding the virtual worlds we inhabit today.

Far from the nightmarish visions of humankind enslaved by machines, recent tools of simulation have proved highly valuable in developing more expressive and immersive kinds of stories, which have made us more aware of ourselves as a thinking and feeling species. In fact, it shouldn't really come as a surprise that Tolkien's idea of an enchantingly coherent fictional world can be grasped best in theory by the discipline of ludology/game studies, a field devoted to the study of both analogue and digital games: Tolkien was, albeit unwittingly, a key propagator of that revolution through his notion of sub-creation, the elvish skill of fantasy. To show how this could be possible, we need to point out the similarities between the concept of Faërie and virtual reality, and Faërian Drama and computer games, as well as to transpose a religiously inspired theory of fantasy fiction unto a medium thriving on technological innovation.

Interfacing the theory of Faërian Drama with ludology also opens up the possibility of an integrative, interdisciplinary theory of aesthetics that stems from the power of the fictional world to present itself to the human imagination in ever more immersive manners. Furthermore, game designers can benefit from using the aesthetics of Faërian Drama to enhance their fictional worlds and allow their players a greater sense of freedom and agency by empowering the player to alter narrative threads and see its effects in the game-world. But the most haunting effect of Tolkien's fairy-tale aesthetics remains its uncanny anticipation of full-blown virtual reality, an outcome that is all the more surprising for Tolkien's conservative Christian world-view.

The whole of "On Fairy-stories" is centred on the idea that fantasy should be understood etymologically, and the etymological chain points towards a coherent theory of make-believe in the human mind. Among others, the *OED* reveals two, equally important meanings for the English word *fantasy*: the better-known sense of "imagination; the process or the faculty of forming mental representations of things not actually present" (s.v. "fantasy" 4.) and the one in scholastic psychology, where it is similarly understood as the "mental apprehension of an object of perception; the faculty by which this is performed" (s.v. "fantasy" 1.). Both senses allow for conceptualising imagination and fantasy as a form of *mental simulation*. This capability of the human mind is exploited admirably for a wide variety of purposes in everyday life. For the most part, it is used to navigate ourselves in the real world, orienting ourselves between objects and people, creating a makeshift model of reality that is interpretable by us. The *OED* lists the scholastic psychological sense as an obsolete form, but in recent years, another psychological framework of social epistemology has been devised, a cognitive approach that is based on the concept of mental simulation, called *simulation theory*.

For the purposes of this essay, we need at least a hazy sketch of how simulation theory envisions interactions between human minds.[3] The theory holds that the mind is capable of producing a functionally adequate (but not perfect) representation of the environment around itself. Furthermore, it can make elaborate guesses as to the inner states of other human beings by recognizing their visual clues of non-verbal expressions of emotion and producing a similar (enough) expression and pose in the mind. Simulation theory claims that this replication of mental states aids the mind in empathising with other humans via the proprioceptory simulation of emotions. This theory shows that the faculty of imagination in its developed form enables human beings to contemplate real as well as hypothetical scenarios. Most importantly, it gives us the ability to imagine mental states we do not have.

> Imagination's output, so understood, is not a single type of state but any one of a number of mental-state types, most of which are not suppositions. When I imagine feeling elated, I do not merely suppose *that* I am elated; rather, I *enact*, or *try* to enact, elation itself. Thus, we might call this type of imagination '*enactment imagination*.' (Goldman 47)

Going along the etymological chain, to *simulate* (from the Latin word *simulare*, to "to make like, to imitate, counterfeit, etc.") bears the meaning "to feign, pretend, counterfeit, imitate" (*OED* s.v. "simulate" v., 1.) Finally, the verb *feign* comes from the same Latin verb, *fingere*, from which our noun "fiction" is formed (feign, v; fiction, n.). Now we have come full circle: when we fantasise, we imagine the possible world of someone else that has been brought to our attention, but that simulation shall remain an approximation, a feigning nonetheless. Yet, fiction is exactly this: an empathic, mental exploration of a world different from our own. But how come we take so much pleasure in it?

> According to the E[nactment]-imagination hypothesis, affective responses to fiction occur because fiction serves as a series of textual or theatrical props that fuel a viewer's or reader's E-imagination into producing all sorts of surrogate states. The states are surrogates of believing, seeing, desiring, and so forth, and many bear a close resemblance to their natural, nonsurrogate counterparts. Thus, just as the natural counterparts are apt to generate certain emotions, the surrogates are apt to generate roughly similar emotions. (Goldman 287)

Fiction-generated simulations of this sort, as opposed to the declarative language use of everyday life, "are not supposed to re-present what is but to explore what could be . . . . To simulate, in this case, is to test a model of the world" (Ryan 63). This worldness of fantasy fiction is acknowledged by Tolkien, who rightfully claims that fairy-stories are not stories about fairies but about Faërie, "the realm or state in which fairies have their being" (*OFS* 32), thus locating it in both spatial and psychological terms as an "Other-world" (*OFS* 55).

This elementary distinction is the reason why he can say that "a 'fairy-story' is one which touches on or uses Faërie, whatever its own main purpose may be: satire, adventure, morality, fantasy" (*OFS* 32). Fairy-stories, therefore, do not make up a genre of their own, but they have their own functions and values, and are not grouped together by a common theme but a specific tone and a manner of engagement with the world. To us, the tone is not that relevant, for the extensive survey of satiric and moral tones in fiction and speechcraft has been part and parcel of literary theory and rhetoric. On the other hand, adventure and fantasy *are* markers used in the description of video game genres and, as such, they signify a manner of engagement with the world. But before we focus on engagement, we should turn to what these worlds consist of.

Tolkien conveys a strong sense of the otherworldly as a defining characteristic of the fairy-story in his text. Yet it is precisely the verbal nature of his approach that makes talking about fairies a doomed effort for him. "It cannot be done. Faërie cannot be caught in a net of words; for it is one of its qualities to be indescribable, though not imperceptible" (*OFS* 32). Faërie appears to be a sacred place, invulnerable and impenetrable by the words of mortal men, save for the chance encounters with the other-world. It is sacred in the sense that explaining and naturalising the experience would miss the point: its quasi-religious effect of the reader transported into another world. Or so Tolkien's argument goes. What this above quote does show, though, is that we all sense the other-worldly magic of fiction and that its hold on us is a strong psychological force, not yet quite understood in Tolkien's time.

Nonetheless, fairy-stories have their Achilles' heel, too. Tolkien goes on to say that however inclined the author of such stories might be, there remains one condition, one key cornerstone to the writing of fairy-stories: "if there is any satire present in the tale, one thing must not be made fun of, the magic itself. That must in that story be taken seriously, neither laughed at nor explained away" (*OFS* 33). That is a curious proviso, one that echoes another exclusion of Tolkien; he also removes from this set of tales those that are primarily concerned with journeying as they are "travellers' tales" (34) and "any story that uses the machinery of Dream . . . to explain the apparent occurrence of its marvels" (35). Why would he not permit any explanation of the activities of faërie present in the tale?

The effect of the unexplained activity of beings-in-hiding is a powerful psychological force. Explanations pointing out the artifice of human creativity that produces the fantastic elements within these tales are a form of "[deliberately cheating] the primal desire at the heart of Faërie: the realization, independent of the conceiving mind, of imagined wonder" (*OFS* 35). This, and the other desires which Tolkien claims to be the essential fuel of fairy-tales, whether he would have liked calling it so or not, are a form of magical thinking, and this faërie is magic, pure and simple. Ariel Glücklich describes the magical ritual in his *The End of Magic* as an act which "is meant to express the desire for a particular state" (62). He goes on to link this with an Austinian, performative view of language, and states that magic employs such language use, "based on analogical reasoning" (ibid.).

Tolkien attributes the faërie-like power of language to the abstracting and generalising properties of language use (though he pushes adjectives into the limelight instead of verbs) to which Austin's performative approach is added. Speaking first of the invention of adjectives and then their incorporation into sentences that transcend their semantic categories, Tolkien writes: "If it could do the one, it could do the other; it inevitably did both" (OFS, 41). As a form of analogical thinking, this is when performative language use oversteps its boundaries, becomes magical and "pretends to produce . . . an alteration in the Primary World" (*OFS* 64). The analogical reasoning behind the act of Magic betrays the desire for "power *in this world*, domination of things and wills" (ibid. emphasis added).

A further argument for considering faërie as magic in the anthropological sense is Tolkien's claim in Bodleian Tolkien MS. 6 fol. 15 that "[t]he marvels of Faerie are true, if at all, only on a different plane" (*OFS* 265). Instead of binarising truth and falsehood, throughout the text, he interrogates the ends to which faërie is used. The same thing is said of magic by Glücklich: "[Magical acts] can be judged not by standards of true/false but rather by those of valid/invalid, correct/defective, or felicitious/infelicitous" (62). In Tolkien's case, the correct-defective axis is replaced by its moral equivalents, good and evil. At any rate, any explanation of faërie or marking of the way to Faërie will result in the inevitable interpenetration of the two worlds, as wo/men will want to recreate the ritual and possess its power to affect the world they live in instead of the fictional world. And since humankind is fallible, such magic is prone to become a tool for domination in their hands (*Letters* 145). To Tolkien, it is for this heartfelt ethical reason that (F/f)aërie should remain indescribable and inexplicable.

Still, the whole essay hinges on the describing, or rather, circumscribing of faërie. This wrestling with the unutterable prompted the editors of the critical edition, *Tolkien on Fairy-Stories*, to remark upon another key passage of the Bodleian Tolkien MS. 16 fol. 28 as follows: "The flurry of terms deployed here—Art, Enchantment, Wizardry, Magic, Science, delusory belief, elvish craft, Fantasy—is confusing and is itself confused. Tolkien was not satisfied with the distinctions among the words" (*OFS* 140). The numerous attempts to clear up the confusion arising from the complex, philosophically and theologically infused terms, for the most part, proved successful enough to carry a consistent aesthetics of the fairy-tale on its back. But by demonstrating the terminological haziness surrounding the word "fairy" and "Faërian Drama" in Tolkien's essay, I seek to call attention to the ways his theory of Faërie can be interfaced with virtual reality and game studies.

Playing along with the fictional accounts of fairies, Tolkien often refers to them as if he were not entirely unconvinced about their existence in real life, for example, when mentioning the "intention of elves" (*OFS* 63). In another case, he displays genuine agnosticism towards them: "for if elves are true, and really exist independently of our tales about them, then this is also certainly true: elves are not primarily concerned with us, nor we with them" (32). It is especially puzzling when, in another passage, he essentially says that fairies are creations of the human mind: "Of [the desire for a living, realized sub-creative art] the elves . . . are largely made" (64) and that they are "only a product of Fantasy itself" (ibid.).

Tolkien's spectrum of beliefs and desires about fairies (whether fictional or 'factual') can only be resolved of this huge cognitive dissonance if we look at a previous version of the text that preceded the final essay. The haziness (or deliberate attempt to leave the fairies undisturbed) is still found in Manuscript B of "On Fairy-stories," but here he does not shy away from extended commentary on the genesis of fairies. Even so, he side-steps the question of their "Real (objective) existence" (*OFS* 254), while at the same time also giving the clearest and most useful definition of them as "inherent powers of the created world . . . non-incarnate minds (or souls) . . . minor spirit[s] in the process of creation who aided as 'agent[s]' in the making effective of the divine . . . idea or some part of it" (*OFS* 254-255).

We can clearly see that Tolkien is struggling to grasp the idea of how fairies enchant the appreciators of the elvish craft, how they become agents of faërie in fairy-stories without the use of material-technological means. In this massive web of wor(l)ds, fairies can be caught not by defining and describing *what they are*, but what they do. You can catch fairies no easier than catching yourself fall asleep.

Yet we have a strong propensity to attribute agency to a vast array of beings and objects in the physical world. Philosopher and cognitive scientist Alvin I. Goldman points out how "we spontaneously interpret a wide variety of moving shapes as agents driven by mental states" (Goldman 15). In fact, it is rather easy to understand the similarity between the birth of fairy-like creatures in the virtual worlds we create, and the mental simulation of the real world we live in because of the way we perceive actions. As Brenda Laurel puts it:

> Using the broadest definition, all computer programs that perform actions that are perceived by people can be said to exhibit agency in some form. The real argument is whether that agency is a 'free-floating' aspect of what is going on, or whether it is captured in 'entities'—coalesced notions of the sources of agency. The answer, I believe, is that even when representations do not explicitly include such entities, their existence is implied (Laurel, 60).

Fairies are agents in the Tolkienian sense because they have effectuated some parts of the divine idea of the world, but they can also be called agents in the interface-design sense because their existence is implied by those who explore the otherworldly representational system of Faërie. Thinking of fairies this way is helpful in clearing up the confusion surrounding their description. Describing them is not needed for a theory of Fantasy because only the *actions* of the fairies matter. Small wonder that drama and not literature should be that prime vehicle for the elves to work their magic. As "workers of illusion" (*OFS* 35) in the Faërian Drama they put on, they *act*, by which they delude Men but not themselves; they exercise their creative Art in it (63). For all his representational technophobia in human drama, Tolkien conceives of the ultimate *Gesamtkunstwerk* as a Faërian Drama, and not literature, or any other then-existent cultural form; and that alone should merit a deeper inquiry into what exactly goes on when the elves perform.

Yet, this is the greatest and most aching gap in Tolkien's text. The editors remark that "no definition of what the faërian [drama] consists of is given" (*OFS* 112), which is further exacerbated by the fact that "no examples of such 'plays' . . . are given" (ibid.) either**.** The lack of a clear definition, I propose, is due as much to the theological inspiration of the essay as to its pioneering vision of a shared, inhabitable Secondary World. Tolkien was right to say that "in this world [the desire for a living, realized sub-creative art] is for men unsatisfiable" (64) and that "'Faërian Drama' . . . can produce Fantasy with a realism and immediacy beyond the compass of any human mechanism" (63); but let us not forget that these lines were written before the era of electronic entertainment. In 1939, when the essay was composed, who would have dreamt that in about forty years' time, people would create interactive textual worlds which responded to (a form of) natural language input of one or several people? The idea that gave birth to computer adventure games and multi-user dungeons was not even a pipe dream in the days of World War II for anyone but a pipe-smoking philologist enchanted by the tales of old. Today, this sub-creative art is accessible and widely enjoyed, even if it is not preferable by antimodernist standards.

But even if we do not have Tolkien's definition of the matter (*métier*) of Faërian Drama, we *do* know its effect on the spectators witnessing it. According to Tolkien, faërie's "Enchantment produces a Secondary World into which both the designer and spectator can enter, to the satisfaction of their senses while they are inside" (*OFS* 64). He says that "[i]f you are present at a Faërian Drama you yourself are, or think that you are, bodily inside its Secondary World" (63). Tolkien's description is a hauntingly familiar one for those who have spent some time studying virtual reality. Brenda Laurel's definition of VR is

> a medium in which the human sensorium is surrounded by (or immersed in) stimuli that are partially or wholly generated or represented by artificial means, and in which all imagery is displayed from the point of view of an individual participant, even as he or she moves around (Laurel 199).

Of course, the differences are just as obvious as the similarities. For Tolkien, the drama of the elves is so convincing that we cannot differentiate from our own perception of the real world, and that is done purely by faërie instead of technology. But where can we draw the line between the Art(ifice) of literature and the laborious, scientific workings of technology? Today, the confluence of technology and narrative is slowly but surely eroding this distinction between the two realms, if we ever needed that binary opposition at all. Recently, Julian Kücklich has pointed out that literary theory and a ludological approach to textual worlds can be successfully fused (Küklich 100-107); but Tolkien's theory of Fantasy, too, enables us to approach the VR systems of literature and technology in a syncretic manner.

The mental simulation of images is what Tolkien calls "Art, the operative link between Imagination and the final result, Sub-creation" (*OFS* 59), which is spatially and temporally rendered into a Secondary World. That Sub-creation should be called a form of simulated interaction (more explicitly: a program) is evident in the fact that Tolkien differentiates it from mere symbolic interpretations or representations of the world (42). When weaved and expressed with elvish skill, Imagination can turn into Art, the creation and mental simulation an interesting other-world. Fantasy, used in the Tolkienian sense, is then to "embrace both the Sub-creative Art in itself and a quality of strangeness and wonder in the Expression" (59-60). To put it another way: in Fantasy, we experience the design of the narrative other-world itself (the effect of the imaginer) and the mental simulation's aesthetics (the effect on its imaginee) at the same time.

And here is Tolkien's key thought that will enable us to incorporate technological VR systems as we conceive of them today: "That the [simulated or fantasised] images are of things not in the primary world . . . is a virtue, not vice" (*OFS* 60). Even if it is clear that he uses the word "virtue" in its sense of "a particular moral excellence" (*OED* s.v. "virtue," sb., I/3.) but he could as well have meant it in its preserved sense of "efficacy arising from physical qualities; esp. the power to affect the human body in a beneficial manner" (II/9b.), the simple "operation" of laws (II/9f.), or even referring to its adjectival form's usage as "capable of producing a certain effect or result" (virtual, a., 3.). We can now see that the Fantasy Tolkien thinks can be easily described as a *virtual reality*. According to Tolkien, the very nature, "the primal desire at the heart of Faërie [is] the realization, independent of the conceiving mind, of imagined wonder" (*OFS* 35). Displays of virtual reality environments are capable of doing just that.

Tolkien is right to say that Fantasy was easiest apprehensible in his own day in the narrative Art of fiction (as compared to painting or drama), which allows for a Secondary World to be created that leaves the possibility open, for example, for a world of green suns. But since then, computers have taken over as the primary image-making tool, and computer-generated imagery inundates comic books, animations and films produced today (which is one of the reasons why a decent adaptation of the *Lord of the Rings* was even possible). Tolkien's view of Art and faërie offers us a three-fold approach to the building of a working, internally consistent VR environment: "To make a Secondary World inside which the green sun will be credible . . . will probably require *labour and thought*, and will certainly demand a special *skill*, a kind of elvish craft" (*OFS* 61; emphasis added). As we have seen, that elvish craft is the sub-creative act of simulation, but this skill, labour and thought are found both in (reading and writing) fictional narratives and in virtual reality simulations on the computer.

Nevertheless, these two types of simulations ultimately stem from two subtly differing sources. Goldman makes it clear that computational simulations do not work the same way as mental simulations do (Goldman 35). The former type does model some operating system by processing information, but this modelling does not force the simulation to go through the same processes as the original system, whereas in a mentalising simulation, the mind recreates the muscular and thought processes involved in the simulated action or state of mind. VR systems, with their carefully calculated, sense-encompassing displays still remain in the computational domain of simulation.

For all its immersive capacities, most full-body virtual reality environments lack one thing that is essential for any comparison to be made with Tolkien's elusive concept: the narrative itself. For the need of narrative, we explicitly have to think of Faërian Drama as a computer game and not just any old virtual reality installation. It is not Faërian Painting or Sculpture, but Drama that Tolkien was talking about. It is the narrative essence of faërie that is the ultimate tool capable of fulfilling "certain primordial human desires" such as "to hold communion with other living things" (*OFS* 34-35), or the desire to have a world where dragons could exist, or "the Great Escape: the Escape from Death" (74), the last of which, admittedly, comes dirt cheap in computer games in the form of ubiquitous resurrection and additional player lives.

No matter how adamant Tolkien was in wanting to put the treeness of trees in written narrative, only in a virtual reality simulation can all about trees be said, when every movement of every leaf or branch can be modelled under all circumstances (whether possible or impossible) if one has the elvish craft in her to write a program for that. No matter how careful he has been in condemning the char/actor-driven action of Human Drama (*OFS* 63), it is only in its Faërian counterpart that dragons, in all their might and wisdom, can roam the same lands as humans, when artificial intelligence scripts can give them superhuman knowledge of the simulated world. No matter how much we would like to, the closest we can come to escaping death is being resurrected by our fellow players when we have died in a computer game.

There is another desire described by Tolkien, this time in the Manuscript B version of the essay, where he claims that in Faërian Drama,

> The real desire is not to enter these lands as a natural denizen (as a knight, say, armed with a sword and courage adequate to this world) but to see them in action and being as we see our objective world—with the mind free from the limited body . . . .(*OFS* 294)

However, because the player accesses the in-game world from several perspectives (first, third, and even second person), she can be, and is often situated in the game as both a natural denizen (the player's *avatar*) and as a mind free from the avatarial body (the latter of which is freed from the body via the interface in first person, and even more so when we see it from behind or up above, in third-person or isometric 3D perspective, respectively). Seeing the game-world in action and being can also apply to another viewpoint often employed, the God's eye view. What is more, with fully integrated 3D game engines, fixed perspectives have given way to dynamic camera movements, which allow an even more versatile display of the events taking place.

Similarly, in the narrative space of computer games, the parallel operations of the writer's and the author's skill, labour and thought breaks down and a new, multi-layered theoretical formulation is to be sought. The reason the need arises is because the physical act of reading a book is very simple once we are able to understand language: we only have to move our eyes and turn the occasional page, the imaginative re-enactment is done by the mind, as simulation theory proves. On the other hand, when we explore a VR environment, the visual and computational simulation is already done by the system but, in turn, *we* have to move and act, to which actions the faërian machine responds by displaying the results of our actions. This makes it a cybernetic system, in other words, a "system that contains an information feedback loop" (Aarseth 1). The cybernetic loop is what creates engaging interactions between humans and machines, but the human interactor has to perform, to play along with the fiction if she wants to explore the virtual world. Of course, exploration implies an imbalance of knowledge in favour of the computer, so the three requirements of Tolkien, skill, labour and thought are not required of the two sides in equal measure or form but each side will have a different share of the common work to produce the full experience of digital narrative in the VR environment.

On the side of the game author(s), the visionary *thought* is the act of designing the game itself (i.e. the outline of what events can unfold in the virtual world, what rules bind the player and the simulational system together, etc.), the special *skill* that is beyond simply using the computer is the skill of programming (to create the interpretational framework of the VR environment and to implement the game design) and the artistic *labour* is the image-making, the story-telling, the representation of the imaginary, implemented spaces in visually interpretable terms. On the side of the interactors (or game-players), the *thought* required of them is the perception, mental simulation and evaluation of the current game state, the acquired *skill* is the knowledge of the VR environment's rules of interaction and a sequence of relevant responses to the game state and the ludic *labour* that drives the game forward is the input, the work of the game-player.

Even though traditional narratives can be fairy-stories, they do not produce such independent action from their authors until we reach the simulational capabilities of the computer, where true examples of "real wills and powers exist[ing behind the fantasy], independent of the minds and purposes of men" (Ryan 41) appear. However, to Tolkien's easy-to-imagine chagrin, those independent minds and purposes are not imaginary fairies, but human programming independent of their creators, or, as they are better known, Artificial Intelligence programs, machine-elves created by humans that are nonetheless "real" in the game-world. We know precious little about what roles the fairies play in their otherworldly dramas after they have weaved their enchantment on its spect/actor, but Verlyn Flieger embraces an idea close to the heart of computer games. She says that fairies "are [not] the chief actors in fairy-stories;

they are there simply to interact with . . . the human being who . . . wanders into the enchanted world" (Flieger 23), which is perfectly in line with our interpretation of Faerian Drama as a computer game, down to her "simply," which hints at the fact that the human interactor is at the helm of these cybernetic adventures, querying and quarrelling with the supernatural/artificial agents in their obediently performed roles much in the same manner as AI non-player characters do.

Besides the information imbalance I have mentioned earlier, one of the reasons why the labour of the player is different from that of the reader is because while reading a book, watching a movie, contemplating an art object only compels the beholder to interpret the work, games actively seek out the input of the player, forming the narrative and transforming the player at the same time. This latter kind of work or labour is one of the essential elements that make cybertextual/VR adventures different from the narrative pleasures of reading and is termed ergodicity. The ergodic work is the "nontrivial effort . . . required to allow the reader to traverse the text" (Aarseth 1) which makes the interaction possible between humans and machines.

Tolkien's Imagination is nothing fancier than the display capabilities of the machine and the mental representation of this visual information in the human mind, the human-computer interface. The operative link of Art is the feedback loop which connects the two into a cybernetic environment and Sub-creation is the interactive evaluation of input and the continuous turn-taking of the faërian machine and its user.

This is the kind of magic that is "not an end in itself, its virtue [being] in its operations" (*OFS* 34) to which Fantasy aspires but cannot reach. The word "operation" is a handy one to describe the essence of computer games: the constant interactive turn-taking is the life-blood and the fuel of cybernetic joy and this joy is worthy of the name "Enchantment." It would not be *magical* in the Tolkienian vocabulary because, as Eskelinen and Tronstad would say, "the non-trivial work is usually not an end in and of itself. Or, at least, it is not very pleasurable if it is" (Eskelinen and Tronstad 199). It is also them who distinguish between the mainly *interpretative* skills engaged by older media and the mainly *configurative* practice that is the purposeful modification of the player's actions required by games (ibid.). Seeing the ludic, configurative practice as essential to both computer games and Faërian Drama strengthens Tolkien's claim that it is qualitatively different from both human dramas and stories in its enthralling aesthetics.

Previously, we have come to the conclusion that Faërian Dramas must necessarily take place in a VR environment, capable of producing Enchantment. In Flieger and Anderson's remark on Tolkien's description of Faërian Drama, they draw attention to the immediacy and vividness, the heightened sensory arousal that the magic of the elves produces (*OFS* 138). Tolkien denounces human drama as a vehicle for Fantasy because it makes visible which ought to be imagined, it actually presents the events in an act of conjuring and it introduces "an inner or tertiary world [which is] a world too much" (62). Such a tertiary world need not exist for the enchanted player in the Faërian Drama.

In human drama, the actors and the spectators are separated and, for the most part, effectively divided by the fourth wall. The invisible fourth wall operates as the interface through which we see the play. Though most theatre-goers have (or have developed) a fairly long attention span, this setup nonetheless gives the spectators both opportunity and time to have an outlook on their immediate surroundings. The representation is seen as a representation, and no one is shocked by that fact. On the other hand, when fairies weave their Enchantment, the representation as representational framework disappears.

Could this conceivably happen on the computer? Brenda Laurel suggests so.

> In a theatrical view of human-computer interactivity, the stage is a virtual world. It is populated by agents, both human and computer-generated, and other elements of the representational context . . . . The technical magic that supports the representation, as in the theatre, is behind the scenes. Whether the magic is created by hardware, software, or wetware is of no consequence; its only value is in what it produces on the 'stage.' In other words, *the representation is all there is.* Think of it as existential WYSIWYG (Laurel 17).

Most of the things in the passage quoted above are familiar ground by now: on the stage, the technical magic has virtual power; the virtual stage is the place where interactions between humans and machines take place for shared enrichment, and the computer agents correspond to Tolkienian fairies. But how do the elves make everything outside the stage disappear, and when they do so, do they not cheat the human interactors?

Though Tolkien claims that people witnessing the fairy-play are deluded, that is, deceived or being played with "to [their] injury or frustration" (*OED* s.v. "delude" v., 1), I dare say that they are not deluded but merely played with, they are "at play" in an illusionary world. Among theorists of virtual reality, this illusion of Enchantment is called *immersion*. Janet Murray defines immersion as "the experience of being transported to an elaborately simulated place . . . . the sensation of being surrounded by a completely other reality . . . that takes over all of our attention, our whole perceptual apparatus" (Murray, 98). Immersion is at the heart of the Art of simulation, but it is only successful as long as the technological devices that create the Enchantment do not hinder the VR experience. This is a difficult task, because in an ideal Faërian Drama

> you are in a dream that some other mind is weaving, and the knowledge of that alarming fact may slip from your grasp. [Experiencing] *directly* a Secondary World . . . is too strong, and you give to it Primary Belief, however marvellous the events. (*OFS* 63)

By this definition, the simulated content should not break the immersive trance, and this requires almost fairy-like capabilities because the technology behind the illusion ought to go away completely. But Tolkien's essay is about narrative Art being the closest to fairy-magic because of its relative transparency compared to Drama and painting. Since the physical disappearance of media objects are impossible, the best the enchanting technology can opt for is media transparency.

There is one problem with transparency, though. If the transparency is too accurately achieved, the wanderers of Faërie/VR might find themselves drawn too deep into the Secondary World with no hope of escape. In Tolkien's account, fairies are kind enough to end the play of their own accord, but if a human being willingly enters the simulation, there is a faint possibility that the simulation will hold him in thrall for too long, never allowing the interactor to return to the primary world. We need not fear this dystopian scenario; the Faërian Drama we have wrought ourselves is quite engaging, but not totally enthralling. Of complete enthrallment, Ryan writes that:

> It matters crucially that some media, and some representations within a given medium, achieve greater transparency than others. The traversal of signs is to be deplored only . . . when immersion is so deep that it precludes a return to the surface. . . . To restore contact with the surface, we need an alternative to the metaphor of the text as world that complements . . . the poetics of immersion. (Ryan 176).

This slight gap between the Primary and the engagement with the realised Secondary World serves as a saving grace, the in-built delivery from our own enslavement – we are still "being played with" rather than "being played." Tolkien had to introduce a proviso objecting to the satire of the magic in narrative Fantasies for no other reason that the level of engagement is not deep enough to create Primary Belief (or ludic immersion) in and of itself. On the other hand, satire is part and parcel of computer games because the immersion is much stronger compared to other media and the ironic distance is welcome and refreshing in such a powerfully enchanting medium. Instead of the text just as world, Ryan opts for seeing the text as both a world and a game, within which "we must . . . immerse and de-immerse ourselves periodically in order to fulfil, and fully appreciate, our dual role as member of the textual world and players of the textual game" (Ryan 199).

And so, Tolkien's pure story-making, narrative Art has to give way to the Enchantment of simulational games in the quest for enacting a part in a Faërian Drama. The VR environment is superior to human drama and narrative in immersing the experiencer into the projection of Fantasy in a Secondary World as it does not require a tertiary one to exist. Immersion and the transparency of the medium render the Primary World of the player in the Faërian Drama so insignificant as to virtually disappear during (the) play. There are aspects of gameness, though, which shape the narrative of the Faerian Drama or the computer game without the intrusive interface.

Inner consistency, one of Tolkien's criteria for a proper fantasy world is achieved in both fairy-stories and computer games by selecting a handful of interactions from the Primary World, embedding them in the simulated Secondary World and imbuing these possible actions with a value relative to the ends one strives for. In other words, the inner consistency of a Faërian Drama is provided by the rule system. The way Jesper Juul puts it:

> The rules of a game . . . *set up potential actions*, actions that are meaningful inside the game but meaningless outside. It is the rules of chess that allow the player to perform a checkmate—without the rules, there is no checkmate, only meaningless moving of pieces across a board. Rules specify *limitations* and *affordances*. They prohibit players from performing actions such as making jewelry out of dice, but they also add meaning to the allowed actions and this *affords* players meaningful actions that were not otherwise available; rules give games *structure*. (Juul 58)

What Tolkien calls "the great mythical significance of prohibition" (*OFS* 49) can be rendered onto the ludological plane of computer game studies as the actions provided and prohibited by the rule system that constitutes the game. In like manner, the Moral Law, which he discusses in a passage in his Manuscript B (254) can be translated not only as an inherent ability of all sentient beings to know right from wrong, but also as a universal rulebook and a value system which valorises the outcome of all the actions taken (played) by the inter-actors of a Faërian Drama/ computer game, and even in real life.

Therein lies the main loss from not knowing what sort of plays the elves put on for humans; we do not know how, and by whom is the Faërian

Drama judged to be beautiful: the elves or the humans? We do not know what the humans in that illusionary state act like, either, or whether they have any real say in how the Drama progresses.

In ludology, theoreticians differentiate between two types of games: games of progression and games of emergence. "In progression games, Juul says, "the player has to perform a predestined set of actions in order to complete the game" (5). Compared to this newer form, the older, more well-known game structure of emergence is defined as one "where a game is specified as a small number of rules that combine and yield large numbers of game variations for which the players must design strategies to handle" (ibid.). The difference between fairy-stories on the one hand and computer games on the other is that fairy-stories are narrative and therefore pure progression without many explicitly ludic qualities, while computer games tend to forego story-telling, whenever possible, to give the players exciting gameplay that is dependent upon emergent rules rather than fiction.

It is worth noting, though, that "computer game" as such is a very wide term, one that extends from platform-jumping and abstract "bat and ball" games through carefully storied adventure games to the vast narrative worlds of MMORPGs. Tolkien's theory suits these latter types of game-worlds the best, which thrive on full-bodied enchantment, rather than arcade games of skill that rely on the more visceral (but just as satisfying and enjoyable) forms of muscular story-telling. Since the fairies weave these tales so elaborately that we know nothing about what actually *happens* during a Faërian Drama, we can only guess that in the immersive, enchanted state of the human spect-actors, the actors are not improvising (which would be the theatrical equivalent of emergent gameplay) but they enact a story in some shape or form that is reminiscent of narrative progress towards a desired goal: the (happy) end, Tolkien's *eucatastrophe.*

Let us remember that this is not to say that fantasy novels (by their virtue of being a written narrative) are inferior to the gameplay of the simulated work. That is not so. But the reason why Tolkien was able to (re)invent Fantasy as a genre is because he created a pleasurable and well-thought-out world with the aesthetics of a Faërian Drama in mind. Most of the second-rate work churned out by his imitators fail when utilising exactly this aesthetic set of principles and the result is a host of unimaginative creatures acting in an awkwardly humanoid manner that is closer to the "On Fairy-stories" account of Drama rather than of proper narrative Art. For us, the children of the digital age, however, what remains most chilling and convincing in the vision of Faërian Drama is its echoes in the experience of the game-playing mind merging with the avatarial body in a Secondary World. It can remain nothing more than speculation but, judging from his wariness of the delusion of the elves, I sense that such a technologised application of Enchantment would have utterly horrified Tolkien, and yet, today's gaming industry owes much to his excitement and exploration of the human imagination in experiencing secondary worlds of narrative.

A masterpiece of a simulated game cannot be hierarchically ranked as superior or inferior to a masterpiece of literature, though, because they both use the tool-kit of their own form with talent and manage to engage us, immerse us to a great extent into a narrative. But an average game is already ahead of an average novel of Fantasy since the simulated game as a form, from its very beginning, has incorporated the player into its Secondary World and is thus enchanting it in an act of Faërian Drama. For those of us who are wary of this state of affairs, I offer the final consolation that as long as they remain entertaining and joyful activities, both narrative and games will remain central to our lives without one incapacitating or superseding the other.

As we have seen, video game theory enabled us to draw comparisons between ludic and written narrative, two seemingly incommensurable cultural forms: one driven by immersive action, the other by emotional contemplation. But at their deepest, both forms play on our capacity to simulate other people's feelings and behaviour. If there is any kudos to be handed out, it goes to cognitive science's contribution to unlocking the secrets of the mind. A naturalistic, cognitive account of the mind and its ability to empathise with others might just provide the humanities with an overarching framework from which to develop a syncretic model of all cultural forms, their strengths and weaknesses, giving us the key to getting ever closer to an all-encompassing form, an admittedly twenty-first century version of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

While this hypothetical end point to the evolution of a cultural form might fill us not only with a sense of awe, but of scepticism and even a whole-hearted refusal of such a powerful tool to alter the human mind's perception of reality, our moral sense and critical faculties remain what they are, both a pre-requisite and a product of our capability to empathise with other beings in our worlds. On our own, we can hardly transform these worlds, but we also know this: that the exercising of agency in both the material and the virtual worlds depend on our ability to feel sympathy towards others, to self-organise and to commit ourselves to deeds. Through the elaborate simulations of complex systems and narratives, humankind has never been more aware of how individual agents can work together for a shared goal to shape the world. For all of Tolkien's imagined resistance to computerisation, this vision of awareness, responsibility and fellowship is consistent with his ideal of human action as portrayed in his works. And technology aligning with human ends is more than he could have hoped for.

NOTES

1 202.

2 189.

3 This short summary of simulation theory is based on Alvin I. Goldman's *Simulating Minds*, especially Chapter 2 (23-52).

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Coleridge's Definition of Imagination and Tolkien's Definition(s) of Faery

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Verlyn Flieger and Douglas A. Anderson have identified the word "Faery" as perhaps "the single most important term in Tolkien's critical lexicon," but it is not always clear what he means by it (*OFS* 85). Tolkien introduces his most basic definition of the word in his seminal essay "On Fairy-stories," when he writes that "fairy-stories are not in normal English usage stories *about* fairies or elves, but stories about Fairy, that is *Faërie*,[1] the realm or state in which fairies have their being." However, when it comes to elaborating on "the nature of *Faërie*," he appears to back off: "I will not attempt to define that, nor to describe it directly. It cannot be done. Faërie cannot be caught in a net of words; for it is one of its qualities to be indescribable, though not imperceptible." Yet within this same paragraph, he does attempt to define Faery—as "Magic" (*OFS* 32). In earlier draft material for the essay (which has only recently been published with Flieger and Anderson's new edition) he also defines Faery as both "the occult power in nature behind the usable and tangible appearances of things" and "the power to achieve beauty" (*OFS* 264, 269). And, as Flieger and Anderson have pointed out, "On Fairy-stories" cannot be taken as "Tolkien's last word on the subject," for he later discusses Faery in a companion essay to his short story *Smith of Wootton Major* (*OFS* 157). There, he adds both "love" and "Imagination" to his definitions of Faery (*Smith* 101). Flieger insists that while Tolkien's spellings of the word may have varied,[2] "his concept remained consistent" (*Smith* 60). But with no less than five definitions—none of which seem particularly consistent with each other—one is tempted to ask, "Well, which of them is it?" I believe there is in fact an answer to this question but one that nevertheless proves Flieger right. Imagination may be taken as Tolkien's "definitive" definition of Faery, not simply because it was the last one that he gave, but because it incorporates all of his previous attempts to define the term.[3]

When Tolkien defines Faery as "Imagination" in his essay on "Smith of Wootton Major," he specifies that the word "Imagination" is being given "without definition because taking in all the definitions of this word . . ." (*Smith* 101). That he did not have in mind Coleridge's definition of imagination when he wrote this is inconceivable, for it is certainly the most famous definition of imagination in the English language. Indeed, Tolkien immediately follows up with a series of epithets that confirm what he means by "Imagination": "esthetic: exploratory and receptive;

and artistic; inventive, dynamic, (sub)creative" (101). The phrase "exploratory and receptive" corresponds to Coleridge's "primary" imagination, the "prime Agent of all human Perception," while "artistic" and "inventive" correspond to Coleridge's "secondary" imagination, which differs from the primary not in kind but only by degree and "in the mode of its operation," for it "dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to re-create. . . . " The word "dynamic" corresponds to Coleridge's claim that imagination "is essentially *vital*, even as all objects (*as* objects) are essentially fixed and dead." Most importantly, "(sub)creative" is Tolkien's characteristic way of putting Coleridge's idea that imagination is "a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM." These are all the major features of Coleridge's definition (*Biographia* 1: 304). And it is precisely through this reference to Coleridge that Tolkien's definition of Faery as "Imagination" incorporates his other attempts to define the term.

To demonstrate this, I will begin with Tolkien's definition of Faery as "Magic." However, as soon as Tolkien has defined Faery as "Magic" in "On Fairy-stories," he immediately redirects the reader through a footnote to a later passage where he expresses regret for having used this word, since "Magic should be reserved for the operations of the Magician" (*OFS* 32, 64). Yet in earlier draft material for the essay, he discusses both magic and Faery in precisely this context. "In the Middle Ages," writes Tolkien, "natural magic excluded the invocation or use of 'spirits', but included operations whose efficacy depended on occult power . . . occult because it depended on the use or tapping of the underlying powers of nature" (*OFS* 262). Such powers "must of course theologically considered derive ultimately from God," but they "are inherent in the world as created, external to God" (268). It is here that Tolkien defines Faery as "the occult power in nature behind the usable and tangible appearances of things," that power "which the magician tried or pretended to use, but in which and by which fairies have their actual being" (264, 262). This is one sense, then, in which Faery, i.e. "the realm or state in which fairies have their being," is indeed "magic": "For 'magic' is that by which fairies live and have their being: they are creatures of faierie" (259).

However, this raises the question: do fairies have their being in the imagination or in "magic," i.e. "the occult power in nature"? It is another way of asking whether or not fairies are real. Such a question may seem absurd, and indeed, there are moments throughout the draft material when Tolkien explicitly denies that he is even considering it: "I am, of course, only attempting to deal with the present situation: that is the nature and function of elves and their magic as I perceive them now in European tradition as it has become, and as I think others perceive" (*OFS* 259). For, whether or not "we believe in the objective [criteria?] of the occult powers which magic uses or seeks to use, we must if we are to discuss even the literary effect of 'magic' in a story, seek to understand what they are supposed to be" (268). However, there are other moments when he seems to take the question more seriously, quipping that he preserves "a fairly open mind" about the existence not only of fairies—but policemen: "But the romances that have gathered round these potent beings I now find are largely incredible: many are the inventions of people with little or no direct knowledge of the creatures, drawing on older books and their own fancy. The same is true of fairies" (234, 272).

If fairies do exist, according to Tolkien, they are indeed "inherent powers of the created world, deriving more directly and 'earlier' (in terrestrial history) from the creating will of God . . ." (*OFS* 254-55). For example, a

> tree-fairy (or a dryad) is, or was, a minor spirit in the process of creation who aided as 'agent' in the making effective of the divine Tree-idea or some part of it, or . . . even of some one particular example: some tree. He is therefore now bound by use and love to Trees (or a tree), immortal while the world (and trees) last—never to escape, until the End. (255)

Such fairies are rather like the Valar, the sub-creative "gods" of Tolkien's mythology, and their lesser kin, the Maiar.[4] In a letter to Milton Waldman, Tolkien (who was a Roman Catholic) writes that he used these races as a literary device "to provide beings of the same order of beauty, power, and majesty as the 'gods' of higher mythology, which can yet be accepted—well, shall we say baldly, by a mind that believes in the Blessed Trinity" (*Letters* 146). However, in another letter (this one to W. H. Auden), Tolkien maintains, "I don't feel under any obligation to make my story fit with formalized Christian theology, though I actually intended it to be consonant with Christian thought and belief . . ." (355). Indeed, what Tolkien was able to accept "baldly" in the context of literary faith seems to have troubled him when he began to consider it as a real possibility.

For after a discussion in the draft material for "On Fairy-stories" in which he admits not only that fairies might exist, but that if they do exist, they are "a subject for investigation independent of nearly all our fairy stories," he writes out a prayer in Latin (*OFS* 257-58). After a similar discussion, in which he mentions that *if* one were discussing "the real objective existence of fairies," Faery might prove both as difficult and as "relatively simple" to define as such realities as "life, death, mind," and "matter," he writes out another prayer in Latin (263). And after the very passage in which he defines Faery as "the occult power in nature behind the usable and tangible appearances of things" and explains how, historically, this idea came to be "[in] opposition with religion," he writes out yet another Latin prayer (264). These prayers do not flow logically out of what is said before them or into what is said after them and cannot have been meant by Tolkien for inclusion in the final text even at the time (257-58, 263-64). Rather, Tolkien was, in fact, *praying* these prayers, but writing them down as he prayed them instead of (or in addition to) speaking them, with the curious result that we now have a record of what he prayed. Flieger and Anderson have identified the three prayers as most of the Gloria, the last portion of the Preface of the Eucharistic Prayer (i.e. "Sanctus sanctus," etc.) and the Te Deum (*OFS* 298-99). All three are prayers of worship that assert the preeminence of God, precisely that point of monotheistic religion with which the "occult" definition of Faery would be "in opposition" (qtd. in *OFS* 298-99). In keeping with these prayers, Tolkien removes any serious consideration of the existence of fairies from the final version of his text, and when he defines Faery years later in his essay on "Smith of Wootton Major," it is imagination of which he speaks, not any "occult power" behind nature (*OFS* 27-84; *Smith* 84-101).

However, in the thought of Coleridge, imagination and the power behind nature are "essentially one" (*Friend* 497-98).[5] Coleridge calls this power "*natura naturans*" or "nature in the active sense," as distinguished from "*natura naturata*" or "nature in the passive sense"—as Tolkien puts it, "the usable and tangible appearances of things" (*Philosophical* 370). While we can say of any one phenomenon in *natura naturata*, "this comes from such and such another phenomenon or group of phenomena," we cannot say the same thing about *natura naturata* itself, that is, the whole of phenomena, for "the solution of phenomena can never be derived from phenomena" (*Friend* 500). Rather, just as thought is the product of thinking, so *natura naturata* is the product of *natura naturans*, which can literally be translated as "nature 'naturing,'" that is, "nature *becoming*" (Barfield 22-24). However, Coleridge insists that this power behind nature, *natura naturans*, cannot be called "occult,"[6] for it is not "deemed," as Barfield puts it, "to possess an exclusively objective existence, in spite of being imperceptible" (25). Rather, *natura naturans* is "essentially one" with the imagination, "that is, of one kind," or as Barfield expresses the relationship, they form "one indivisible whole" (*Friend* 497-98; Barfield 61). This idea is perhaps not so strange when one realizes that it is simply one more way of saying that imagination is "a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM," for what is *natura naturans* but the "the eternal act of creation" itself?

Thus, Tolkien's definition of Faery as "the occult power in nature behind the usable and tangible appearances of things" is incorporated into his definition of Faery as "Imagination" through Coleridge's definition of imagination, but in such a way that it is cleansed of its "occult" aspect, which Tolkien came to feel was incompatible with his religious beliefs. This also means that imagination is ultimately "the realm or state in which fairies have their being," as one may have expected. Indeed, discussing "the 'gods' of higher mythology" in the final version of "On Fairy-stories," Tolkien states that

> natural objects can only be arrayed with a personal significance and glory by a gift, the gift of a person, of a man. Personality can only be derived from a person. The gods may derive their colour and beauty from the high splendours of nature, but it was Man who obtained these for them, abstracted them from sun and moon and cloud; their personality they get direct from him; the shadow or flicker of divinity that is upon them they receive through him from the invisible world, the Supernatural. (*OFS* 42-43)

It is as if he is saying with Coleridge, "we receive but what we give, / And in our life alone does Nature live . . . ("Dejection" ll. 47-48).

Now, that is one way in which Tolkien defines Faery as "Magic," but there is another, as well. In "On Fairy-stories," as I have already noted, Tolkien contrasts the sense in which he is using "Magic" to define Faery from "Magic" as "the operations of the Magician." However, he also attempts to define positively what he means by "Magic" in his definition of Faery. For example: "The magic of Faërie is not an end in itself, its virtue is in its operations: among these are the satisfaction of certain primordial human desires" (*OFS* 34). Fairy-stories, that is, "stories about Fairy," can indeed "offer a kind of satisfaction and consolation" to these desires, which include such "pardonable weaknesses or curiosities" as the desire to explore the ocean as freely as a fish or to soar through the sky like a bird or simply "to survey the depths of space and time" (73, 34-35). And there are "profounder wishes," too, "such as the desire to converse with other living things. On this desire, as ancient as the Fall, is largely founded the talking of beasts and creatures in fairy-tales, and especially the magical understanding of their proper speech" (73). There is even "the oldest and deepest desire," the desire to escape from death (74). But "the primal desire at the heart of Faërie" (or alternatively, "the heart of the desire of Faërie") is "the realization, independent of the conceiving mind, of imagined wonder"—in other words, "Fantasy, the making or glimpsing of Other-worlds . . ." (35, 55).

This desire, fantasy, is even identified with Faery itself. For when Tolkien expresses regret at having used the word "Magic" to define Faery (since it "should be reserved for the operations of the Magician"), he offers another word instead: "Enchantment," a term he uses to refer to the "elvish craft" of "'Faërian Drama'—those plays which according to abundant records," i.e. fairy-stories, "the elves have often presented to men . . ." (*OFS* 63-64). Tolkien explains, "Enchantment produces a Secondary World into which both designer and spectator can enter, to the satisfaction of their senses while they are inside . . ." (64). This means that if "you are present at a Faërian drama you yourself are, or think that you are, bodily inside its Secondary World. The experience may be very similar to Dreaming and has (it would seem) sometimes (by men) been confounded with it" (63). In other words, Enchantment "can produce Fantasy with a realism and immediacy beyond" any human means (63). Nevertheless, to "the elvish craft, Enchantment, Fantasy aspires, and when it is successful of all forms of human art most nearly approaches" (64).

Tolkien explains fantasy through "the invention of the adjective" (*OFS* 41). The human mind is capable not only of seeing "*green-grass*" but of seeing "that it is *green* as well as being *grass*" (*OFS* 41). Fantasy is what happens when the mind takes the adjective "*green*" from the noun "*grass*" and reapplies it to another noun—"*sun*," for example, with a new result: "the green sun" (41, 61). It is in such fantasy, says Tolkien, that "Faërie begins" and "Man becomes a sub-creator" (42). But what is fantasy (and therefore Faery) but imagination? For "this sub-creative art which plays strange tricks with the world and all that is in it, combining nouns and redistributing adjectives" can be none other than Coleridge's secondary imagination, which "dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to re-create . . ." (*OFS* 64).

Unfortunately, one of the most common starting points for studying the relationship between Tolkien and Coleridge has in the past been Tolkien's discussion of the words "Imagination" and "Fancy" in "On Fairy-stories," in which he takes issue with a certain distinction between them and seems to identify his definition of fantasy more with "Fancy" (to which, of course, it is etymologically related) than "Imagination."[7] However, Flieger and Anderson have recently shown that Tolkien was not referring to Coleridge's famous distinction between imagination and fancy at all, but to the fourth definition under the entry for "fancy" in the first edition of the OED (*OFS* 110). There, "fancy," is defined as being "synonymous" in early use "with IMAGINATION: the process and the faculty of forming mental representations of things not present to the senses; chiefly applied to the so-called creative or productive imagination, which frames images of objects, events, or conditions that have not occurred in actual experience" (qtd. in *OFS* 110).

This would indeed include Tolkien's concept of fantasy, but any definition of "fancy" that is synonymous with "imagination," can obviously not be attributed to Coleridge. Coleridge's concept of fancy, on the other hand, could *not* include Tolkien's concept of fantasy, because it cannot come up with anything new through the redistribution of adjectives. Rather, it is limited to "fixities and definites" and like the memory "must receive all its materials ready made from the law of association" (*Biographia* 1: 305). The OED goes on to report that in later use, fancy and imagination "(esp. as denoting attributes manifested in poetical or literary composition) are commonly distinguished: *fancy* being used to express aptitude for the invention of illustrative or decorative imagery, while *imagination* is the power of giving to ideal creations the inner consistency of realities" (qtd. in *OFS* 110). Now, this does correspond roughly to Coleridge's distinction between imagination and fancy in the indicated context of "attributes manifested in poetical or literary composition," especially as elaborated in his 1808 lectures on Shakespeare's poetry (*Literature* 67-68, 81-82). However, Tolkien takes the "earlier" definition of fancy and the "later" definition of imagination and argues against a distinction between *them*, but it is a distinction that neither Coleridge nor even the OED has made (*OFS* 59). Thus, he may be right to think "the verbal distinction philologically inappropriate, and the analysis inaccurate," but the error is entirely his own (59). It leads him to assume that "imagination" has been set up in opposition not simply to Coleridge's concept of fancy but to one that includes his own concept of fantasy, as well, since this latter concept of "fancy" is, after all, only a synonym for imagination in the first place. The mere presence of the words "imagination" and "fancy," however, has been enough to lead critics to assume that Tolkien was arguing against Coleridge.[8] Once this confusion has been cleared away, it becomes obvious that Tolkien's concept of fantasy corresponds not to Coleridge's concept of fancy (as I have explained above) but to his concept of the secondary imagination.

Thus, Tolkien's definition of Faery as "Magic," in the sense of the "Enchantment" to which fantasy aspires, is also incorporated into his definition of Faery as "Imagination" through Coleridge's definition of imagination. If there is any essential difference between Faery and mere human fantasy, it is that Faery is an ideal "state wherein will[,] imagination and desire are directly effective—within the limitations of the world. Above all where beauty—of all three the most magical—is natural and relatively effortless," as Tolkien writes in the draft material for "On Fairy-stories," "ready to hand of those that wish for it, like the free water of an unfailing spring" (*OFS* 254, 257). This is related to Tolkien's definition of Faery as "the power to achieve beauty," which he calls "a magic related to the mystery of art" (269). Speaking idealistically of "pure faierie," Tolkien claims that the "beautiful things produced by faierie retain unalloyed the beauty of the vision that precedes the making . . ." (256). Likewise, Tolkien speaks of "the effortless production in excelsis unalloyed, of those beauties for which we strive (laboriously) through the arts of hand

and tongue and achieve only impurely" (222-23). Coleridge was known to discuss the imagination in similarly idealistic terms,[9] and there can be no doubt that he considered "the power to achieve beauty" to be the "synthetic and magical power" of imagination (*Biographia* 2: 16). Once, he even refers to the imagination as "[t]his beautiful and beauty-making power" ("Dejection" 63).[10] Therefore, Tolkien's definition of Faery as "the power to achieve beauty" is also incorporated into his definition of Faery as "Imagination."

That leaves only the definition of Faery as "love," which Tolkien introduces in his essay "Smith of Wootton Major" (*Smith* 101). "The love of Faery is the love of love," writes Tolkien, but it is not romantic love of which he speaks. Rather, "love" in this sense is "a relationship towards all things, animate and inanimate, which includes love and respect, and removes or modifies the spirit of possession and domination" (94). This "relationship towards all things" is in other words "an unpossessive love of them as 'other'" (101).

This is related to Tolkien's concept of "recovery," which he discusses in "On Fairy-stories" as one of the benefits fairy-stories ("stories about Fairy") can offer (*OFS* 59). Recovery is the "regaining of a clear view. . . so that the things seen clearly may be freed from the drab blur of triteness or familiarity—from possessiveness" (*OFS* 67). Tolkien, who apart from his obvious fame as a popular author is best known for his criticism of *Beowulf*, describes this "drab blur of triteness" in terms of the kind of "hoarding" so condemned in that poem:[11]

> This triteness is really the penalty of "appropriation": the things that are trite, or (in a bad sense) familiar, are the things that we have appropriated, legally or mentally. We say we know them. They have become like the things which once attracted us by their glitter, or their colour, or their shape, and we laid hands on them, and then locked them in our hoard, acquired them, and acquiring ceased to look at them. (*OFS* 67)

Fantasy, however, can be the key that unlocks the hoard:

> Creative fantasy, because it is mainly trying to do something else (make something new), may open your hoard and let all the locked things fly away like cage-birds. The gems all turn into flowers and flames, and you will be warned that all you had (or knew) was dangerous and potent, not really effectively chained, free and wild; no more yours than they were you. (68)

Perhaps Tolkien's most striking example of fantastic recovery is the myth of Pegasus, by whom all ordinary horses have been "ennobled" (68).

In this way, then, Faery is "a breaking out (at least in mind) from the iron ring of the familiar, still more from the adamantine ring of belief that it is known, possessed, controlled, and so (ultimately) all that is worth being considered . . ." (*Smith* 101). And it is here that Coleridge's famous distinction between imagination and fancy really does become important, because Tolkien's contrast of Faery on the one hand with these "iron" and "adamantine" rings on the other actually corresponds to it. While Coleridge considered fancy to have its own proper role as a mental faculty, he also felt that it was "easily debased" (Barfield 87). In its debased form, fancy brings about those very "fixities and definites" that include "all objects (as objects)," which according to Coleridge's definition of imagination are "essentially fixed and dead" (Barfield 87-88). The debased form of "*passive* fancy," as Barfield calls it, corresponds to Tolkien's "iron ring of the familiar": it is in Coleridge's words "the film of familiarity and selfish solicitude" or "the lethargy of custom" (Barfield 87; *Biographia* 2: 7). But when one deliberately chooses to consider only "objects (as objects)," the debasement of passive fancy becomes "the debasement of *active* fancy," as Barfield puts it, in which anything that cannot be considered in such terms is denied to even exist (87). This corresponds to Tolkien's "adamantine ring," which consists in the belief that what is familiar "is known, possessed, controlled, and so (ultimately) all that is worth being considered." In either case, it is the role of the "vital" imagination to overcome the "dead" fancy (Barfield 87-88), just as fantasy can cause all the inanimate treasures locked in one's mental hoard to suddenly come alive and "fly away like cage-birds," the gems all turning "into flowers and flames." So, too, is it the role of Faery as "love" to overcome the "iron" and "adamantine" rings of which Tolkien speaks. Thus, his definition of Faery as "love" is incorporated into his definition of Faery as "Imagination," and once again, it is through Coleridge's definition of imagination.

This means that all of Tolkien's definitions of Faery—as "Magic," as "the occult power in nature behind the usable and tangible appearances of things," as "the power to achieve beauty," and as "love"—have been incorporated into his one definition of Faery as "Imagination" through its reference to Coleridge's own definition of this word. Thus, Flieger has been right to claim that Tolkien's concept remains consistent. As one final proof of this, I would like to conclude with a quotation from the draft material of "On Fairy-stories" that seems to indeed incorporate at once all these different aspects of Tolkien's definition of Faery:

> What is this faierie? It reposes (for us now) in a view that the normal world, tangible visible audible, is only an appearance. Behind it is a reservoir of power which is manifested in these forms. If we can drive a well down to this reservoir we shall tap a power that can not only change the visible forms of things already existent, but spout up with a boundless wealth forms of things never before known—potential but unrealized. (*OFS* 270)

* * *

It is worth noting that the significance of the role that Coleridge has played in this paper is twofold. First, Tolkien's definition of Faery "recovers" Coleridge's definition of imagination, much the way Faery itself is supposed to provide recovery for everything else, to free it all "from the drab blur of triteness or familiarity." Coleridge's definition of imagination is so often taught that it has certainly become one of the things we have mentally "appropriated." We say we *know* it. And yet how many readers were surprised to learn or at least to be reminded that Coleridge saw imagination as the power behind nature, for example, or some other aspect of Tolkien's definition of Faery? Even to consider imagination as simply "the realm or state in which fairies have their being" is to let a potentially stale concept out of its cage.

Second and perhaps more importantly, Tolkien's definition of Faery is, after all, only a definition, that is, a starting off point. His *usage* of the term, while outside the scope of this paper, carries the concept he shared with Coleridge into regions Coleridge never wrote about, especially in a work like *Smith of Wootton Major*, a story where much of the action is actually *set* in Faery itself (*Smith* 5-62).

NOTES

1 Although I will use the consistent spelling "Faery" when referring to this word myself, I will retain the various other spellings Tolkien experimented with when quoting him directly: "Faërie," "faierie," etc.

2 See note 1 above.

3 It must be said, however, that even this "definitive" definition has its limitations, for Tolkien's claim that "*Faërie* cannot be caught in a net of words" should still be kept in mind. It seems there always remained something for him in the term outside of his own attempts to define it. Nevertheless, those attempts remain the best indication of what he meant by the term, and "Imagination" is itself the best of these, for it incorporates all the others.

4 See *S* (25, 30).

5 Although I will continue to cite Coleridge's works directly in the text, the following summary of his ideas is based on the chapter "Naturata and Naturans" in *What Coleridge Thought*, a comprehensive study by Tolkien's fellow Inkling Owen Barfield (22-25).

6 Barfield cites *Philosophical* (340) and *Selected* (567) as examples of this (199-200).

7 For the most important example of this, see Seeman, who in turn quotes other examples. For Tolkien's discussion itself, see *Tolkien On Fairy-stories* (59-60). Another major starting point (also considered by Seeman) has been Tolkien's discussion of Coleridge's phrase "willing suspension of disbelief," and it is in fact the better place to begin, given the problem discussed below.

8 Again, see Seeman.

9 See, for example, *Biographia* (2: 15-18).

10 In the immediate context of "Dejection: An Ode," Coleridge is speaking of "Joy," but in the next stanza, he identifies this joy (which he now lacks) as his "shaping spirit of Imagination" (63, 76-86).

11 See, for example, *Beowulf* ll. 1749-58. Michael D. C. Drout claims that while scholars of Anglo-Saxon concur on very little indeed, "we do concur, and have for more than a half century, that J. R. R. Tolkien's '*Beowulf*: The Monsters and the Critics' is the single most important critical essay ever written about *Beowulf*, that most revered and studied of all Anglo-Saxon literary monuments" (1).

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"Strange and free" —On Some Aspects of the Nature of Elves and Men

Thomas Fornet-Ponse

In her recent article on fate and free will in Middle-earth, Verlyn Flieger highlights the character of these concepts as being human interpretations of phenomena—and not facts that are easily demonstrable. In view of human interpretation of reality and history, her statement seems very convincing:

> What emerges in Tolkien's depiction of Eä, the "World that Is," is a picture of the confusing state of affairs in the world that really 'is,' a state of affairs as it appears to us humans, an uncertain, unreliable, untidy, constantly swinging balance between fate and human effort, between the Music and the Task. (Flieger, *Music* 176)

It is exactly this confusing state of affairs in our world that poses the challenges for philosophy and theology when they are addressing the question of freedom and determinism, fate or providence. Therefore, even if—as Flieger further states—Tolkien did not attempt to solve this problem but to show the world as he saw it (what is probable), this does not mean that a coherent philosophical or theological interpretation of it cannot be applied successfully to Tolkien's sub-creation—or emerge from it. Rather, Tolkien's non-simplifying depiction of this problem may help to clarify some of the possible philosophical positions since it prevents us from neglecting some important challenges—and stresses the character of concepts like fate or providence as being interpretations and not facts. Keeping in mind the fictional and sub-creational character of Tolkien's work, in the following article I want to argue that both Men and Elves are able to decide between alternative options of action and to act according to the decision (thus producing a different world than were the case if the decision would have been another). Theologically, this is important for the concept of providence which does not work without freedom but challenges it. Philosophically, it denies a complete determinism.[1] Surely Flieger is right to emphasize "that Tolkien's characters and situations are his inventions. They are not real people in a real world, but fictive characters in an arbitrary and invented one. In that sense they are all fated, their actions determined by their author's plan" (*Music* 165). On the other hand, most readers fail to find secondary worlds in which free will and alternative options do not exist very interesting.

Furthermore, it is very important to distinguish between a determinism (based on interpretations of scientific experiments) and the theological notion of providence since the three monotheistic religions Judaism, Christianity and Islam claim the existence of both human freedom and divine providence—but raise the question of the "mechanism" with which providence works in human history thereby addressing the issue of determinism.[2] This is important for Middle-earth because the existence of a creator god and the music of the Ainur strongly evoke the notion of providence and, consequently, raise the question how it works.[3] Although human free will in Tolkien's work is denied by no scholar I know, the question of elvish free will is a little bit more complicated[4]—and though Tolkien's work is a fictional one and therefore is not obligated to be in complete accordance with notions of the primary world, in my view an interpretation which claims human and elvish freedom without contradiction to the texts is preferable to an interpretation which has to insert a determinism for explaining the impossibility of Elves affecting the course of events, thereby producing a tension with the claim of freedom. But since in my view, the difference between human and elvish freedom is closely linked with their difference concerning their fate after death, which on its part is dependent on the relationship between *fëa* and *hröa*, I want to discuss these matters before dealing with determinism (or fate) and free will.

Anima-forma-corporis or corpus-forma-animae? The relationship of fëa and hröa

There exists an intrinsic relation between the issue of the relationship between body and mind and the question of determinism and free will because the claim of free will supposes the ability of mind to have effect on body—e.g. acting as I decided to act (cf. Heil, Lowe). While such a mind-to-body causation does not necessarily presuppose a dualistic notion of body and mind, Tolkien's conception of both Men and Elves being *fëa* and *hrondo/hröa* (comparable, but not identical with soul and body) is obviously a dualistic one with both "parts" having the possibility to influence each other—as we will see in the following analysis.

This raises questions to a position that understands elvish free will as an "internal process not affecting events but deeply influencing the inner nature of individuals involved in those events" (Flieger, *Music* 175, cf. Flieger, *Light* 52f) since it supposes an impossibility of the free decision having an effect on the outer world—thus denying the Elves to act according to their free decision. While Fëanor with his response to Yavanna's request to give her the Silmarils may be an example where his free will to give or not to give may have no effect on events since the Silmarils were already stolen by Melkor (cf. Flieger, *Music* 166ff), such an interpretation is more difficult concerning the subsequent events—especially his oath which is seemingly influenced by his temper that certainly would have been otherwise if he had "said yea at the first, and so cleansed his heart" (*Morgoth* 295). For example, although it seems possible to interpret the kinslaying as (psychologically)[5] unavoidable if one keeps in mind Fëanor's oath, this does not seem to be the case if one regards the possibility of Fëanor's decision to say "yea" to Yavanna unless one reduces Fëanor to a being that may wish something but has no effect on what he does. In fact, in my interpretation the crucial sentence "The Silmarils had passed away, and all one it may seem whether Fëanor had said yea or nay to Yavanna; yet had he said yea at the first, before the tidings came from Formenos, it may be that his after deeds would have been other than they were" (*S* 79) expresses both the freedom of Fëanor and his effects on events.[6] Such an effectiveness of (human and divine) soul (distinguished from mind) on natural world is supposed by theology and especially the notion of providence (otherwise all moral demands as well as the whole concept of providence as a cooperation of God and Man would be insubstantial). Furthermore, in Christian theology this effectiveness is mostly explained by stating a substance dualism of soul and body. This has important consequences for the conception of life after death as is shown by the prominent notion of death as severance of soul and body which Tolkien discusses in his remarks on the relationship of *fëa* and *hröa*.

Regarding Tolkien's conception of *fëa* and *hröa* which he develops mainly in "Laws and Customs among the Eldar" (*Morgoth* 207-253)—conceived as the text of a Man although the association with Ælfwine is "extremely puzzling" (*Morgoth* 208)—and "Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth" (*Morgoth* 301-366), it is obvious that he implies a substance dualism since he stresses the fact that the *hröa* consists out of the substance of Arda and because of the marring of matter through Melkor is subject to suffering whereas "the *fëa* cannot be broken or disintegrated by any violence from without" (*Morgoth* 218, cf. 330). Most clearly, Tolkien explains the meaning of both terms in his glossary to the *Athrabeth* in the entry *fëa*:

> 'spirit': the particular 'spirit' belonging to and 'housed' in any one *hröa* of the Incarnates. It corresponds, more or less, to 'soul'; and to 'mind', when any attempt is made to distinguish between mentality, and the mental processes of Incarnates, conditioned and limited by the co-operation of the physical organs of the *hröa*. It was thus in its being (apart from its experiences) the impulse and power to think: enquire and reflect, as distinct from the means of acquiring data. It was conscious and self-aware: 'self' however in Incarnates included the *hröa*. The *fëa* was said by the Eldar to retain

> the impress or memory of the *hröa* and of all the combined experiences of itself and its body. (*Morgoth* 349)

This leads him to assume the possibility of an *anima separata*, that is a soul which has (temporarily) not a body and is a notion which is sometimes opted for in Christian eschatology to describe the state of the immortal soul after the death of the body. Tolkien speaks of a "houseless" *fëa* and is also in accordance with this classical anthropological concept when he states "that according to unmarred nature no living person incarnate may be without a *fëa*, nor without a *hrondo* [> *hröa*]" (*Morgoth* 218). The unity of *fëa* and *hröa* first is an important difference between Valar and Children of Ilúvatar since the visible form of the Valar is compared to the raiment of Elves and not to their bodies (cf. *S* 21, *Morgoth* 218). Second, although Tolkien (or Ælfwine) speaks of an in-dwelling and a house and "the identity of person resides wholly in the *fëa*" (*Morgoth* 227), it is not an arbitrary union but they are fitted to each other. That's why Tolkien abandoned the original idea of a re-birth which rises metaphysical problems since other parents produce other *hröar* which are not suited to the *fëar* and opts in late texts for a re-housing as a special permission given to the Valar by Eru (cf. *Morgoth* 361ff, *Peoples* 378ff). Considering the power of the incarnate *fëa* over the *hröa,* Tolkien (or Ælfwine) emphasizes the difference between Elves and Men which—resembling the Aristotelian notion of *anima-forma-corporis*—

> lay in the fate and nature of their spirits. The *fëar* of the Elves were destined to dwell in Arda for all the life of Arda, and the death of the flesh did not abrogate that destiny. Their *fëar* were tenacious therefore of life 'in the raiment of Arda', and far exceeded the spirits of Men in power over that 'raiment', even from the first days protecting their bodies from many ills and assaults (such as disease), and healing them swiftly of injuries, so that they recovered from wounds that would have proved fatal to Men. (*Morgoth* 218f)

The dominance of *fëar* over *hröar* increases by time, thus "consuming" the bodies and leading to the "fading" of Elves because the body becomes at last only a memory held by the spirit—especially in Middle-earth. The text moves then to the "fate" of a houseless *fëa* which remains still in Arda and Time but "in this state they were open to the direct instruction and command of the Valar" (*Morgoth* 219). But this does not imply a restriction of the freedom of the *fëar* since not only the possibility of disobedience to the summoning is stressed but also the obdurance of a naked *fëa* (cf. *Morgoth* 222f). Furthermore, nobody is re-birthed or re-incarnated against his will.[7] But because Elves were destined to be "immortal," that is bound to Arda, and their disembodiment was grievous, it was the duty "of the Valar to restore them, if they were slain, to incarnate life, *if they desired it*—unless for some grave (and rare) reason" (*Peoples* 378, emphasis added). The desire to be restored, thus, affects further events since events cannot be the same if in one case an incarnate person is present and in another not—especially if one regards the story of Finwë and Míriel and their relevance for Fëanor.[8] The freedom of the *fëa* is further emphasized in the passages on the severance of marriage which I do not want to discuss extensively, but it is important to note that it is allowed for an elf to marry a new partner if his former has decided not to return from death. Moreover, the marriage is regarded as being chiefly of the body but "it begins and endures in the will of the *fëa*" (*Morgoth* 225, cf. 227). Another aspect of the dominance of the *fëa* over the *hröa* is the ability of Elves to die by their will, e.g. because of grief, bereavement, or frustration of desires and purposes. "This wilful death was not regarded as wicked, but it was a fault implying some defect or taint in the fëa, and those who came to Mandos by this means might be refused further incarnate life" (*Morgoth* 341).

In "Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth," the relationship between *fëa* and *hröa* is the starting point for the debate which covers not only the meaning of death and immortality but also the nature of Man and eschatological questions (cf. Wolf). While the relationship between *fëa* and *hröa* follows the main lines of "Laws and Customs," Andreth also raises the important question whether the relationship is not to be conceived rather as *corpus-forma-animae*: "It is a house made for one dweller only, indeed not only house but raiment also; and it is not clear to me that we should in this case speak only of the raiment being fitted to the wearer rather than of the wearer being fitted to the raiment" (*Morgoth* 317). This is based on the conviction of the necessary harmony of both. In view of their unnatural separation in death and the difference between Elves and Men concerning their fate after death she opts for the original immortality of the body otherwise there would exist a disharmony in Men. Finrod takes this argument even further and assumes that at the beginning the human *fëa* must take the *hröa* with it.

> And what can this mean unless it be that the *fëa* shall have the power to uplift the *hröa*, as its eternal spouse and companion, into an endurance everlasting beyond Eä, and beyond Time? Thus would Arda, or part thereof, be healed not only of the taint of Melkor, but released even from the limits that were set for it in the "Vision of Eru" of which the Valar speak. (*Morgoth* 318)

While the debate as such has a clear narrative setting, the commentary has no such setting but is a discussion by the author as author (and not as translator or something else). In this remarkable commentary, Tolkien first states some things that have to be accepted as "facts" in this world, inter alia the existence of Elves, of Valar, of a creator god etc. The distinction (and natural union) of two "parts" in Elves is claimed as "a *known fact* concerning Elvish nature, and could therefore be deduced for human nature from the close kinship" (*Morgoth* 330), with the difference that the *fëar* of Elves have much more control over their *hröar* than is the case with Men. Furthermore, he addresses the dilemma arising out of the revolting thought of a houseless *fëa* and the intolerable alternative of a *fëa* ceasing to exist at the End of Arda and claims that "the Elves were obliged to rest on 'naked *estel'* (as they said): the trust in Eru, that whatever He designed beyond the End would be recognized by each *fëa* as wholly satisfying (at the least)" (*Morgoth* 332). Even more remarkable is his comment on Finrod's guess of a new mode of existence for *fëa* and *hröa* of "unfallen" Man, because he compares this opinion to the Catholic dogma of the Assumption of Mary: "that 'assumption' was the natural end of each human life, though as far as we know it has been the end of the only 'unfallen' member of Mankind" (*Morgoth* 333, cf. *Letters* 286).

Finally, Tolkien adresses the difference between Elvish and human *fëar* in a text in "Myths Transformed" in which he deals with the difference between Aman and Middle-earth and the possible consequences for human life in Aman. Whereas Elvish *hröar* age not as fast as in Middle-earth but in concordance with the *fëar*, this unity would be dissolved in Men since their *hröar* would not age apace. Concerning the different doom of Man's *fëar*, the text states: "Yet it is (as the Eldar hold) its nature and doom under the will of Eru that it should *not* endure Arda for long, but should depart and go elsewither, returning maybe direct to Eru for another fate or purpose that is beyond the knowledge or guess of the Eldar" (*Morgoth* 429).

Summarizing the above, although using the conception of a houseless *fëa*, or philosophically speaking of an *anima separata*, Tolkien leaves no doubt on the natural union of body and soul for incarnate creatures and the unnaturalness of their separation. In this, he shows great similarities to C.S. Lewis's explanations in which Men's spirit was once dominant over the body but becomes after the Fall a mere indweller (cf. Lewis 72-77). The freedom of the Elvish *fëar* concerning their re-birth or reincarnation after a death of illness, violence or grief supports the claim of Elvish and human freedom. A key element which Tolkien stresses several times is the difference of Elvish and human *fëar* concerning their fate—Elves being bound to Arda as long as it lasts, Men destined to leave Arda. This is linked to the question of the natural unity of *fëa* and *hröa* and their unnatural separation by death, wherefore we turn now to the question of death and immortality.

Death and immortality

As mentioned above, the metaphysical problems arising out of the relationship of *fëa* and *hröa* led Tolkien to change his original concept of Elvish re-birth to a form of reincarnation. What he did not change, was the often expressed difference between Elves and Men that Elves are "immortal" or at least that their *fëar* cannot leave Arda while it lasts whereas Men are destined to leave it after a short while (ca. 70-80 years). Most interestingly, this is a notion Tolkien mentions also in his Essay "On Fairy-stories" because he denies fairies a supernatural character: "For it is man who is, in contrast to fairies, supernatural (and often of diminutive stature); whereas they are natural, far more natural than he. Such is their doom. The road to fairyland is not the road to Heaven; nor even to Hell, I believe, though some have held that it may lead thither indirectly by the Devil's tithe." (*OFS* 28) Men have an eschatological "future"—fairies/elves not.

Based on my own analysis of Tolkien's theology of death (cf. Fornet-Ponse, "Theologie"), I want to argue that Tolkien did regard death (as the end of biological life, not as painful experience) not only as a part of human life but even as necessary for eschatological perfection of Men. Death possesses, therefore, an important theological dimension. This can be seen on the one hand in some of his letters where he explains that a divine punishment can also be regarded as a gift, mentions the assumption of Mary (cf. *Letters* 286), stresses that Death is a natural part of Man (cf. *Letters* 205, 237, 267), or claims that only by the taste or foretaste of Death "can what you seek in your earthly relationships (love, faithfulness, joy) be maintained, or take on that complexion of reality, of eternal endurance, which every man's heart desires" (*Letters* 54). On the other hand, a prime example of this notion in his narrative works is *Leaf by Niggle* if one reads it in accordance with Tolkien's own interpretation as a "purgatorial story" because the "long journey" Niggle has to make and his stay in the Workhouse Infirmary are necessary for his catharsis, thus enabling his sub-creation to be elevated to the state of creation: "All the leaves he had laboured at were there, as he had imagined them rather than as he had made them" (*Leaf* 110).

This positive conception of death is represented in his *legendarium* in the Elvish position regarding human mortality. In a paragraph originally stemming from the "Ainulindalë D" but moved by Christopher Tolkien into the chapter "*Of the Beginning of Days,*" the Gift of Ilúvatar to Men is explained:

> Therefore he willed that the hearts of Men should seek beyond the world and should find no rest therein; but they should have a virtue to shape their life, amid the powers and chances of the world, beyond the Music of the Ainur, which is as fate to all things else; and of their operation everything should be, in form and deed, completed, and the world fulfilled unto the last and smallest. (*S* 41f, cf. *Morgoth* 36)

While Flieger interprets this passage as expressing human freedom in opposition to Elvish determination by fate (cf. *Music* 163f), a question I will deal with later in this paper, here I want to emphasize the link with human fate after death: "It is one with this gift of freedom that the children of Men dwell only a short space in the world alive, and are not bound to it, and depart soon whither the Elves know not" (*S* 42). The counterpart is the Elvish "immortality" which is also experienced as a burden and has its effects even on the Valar. This perspective explains the appreciation of death as a gift (cf. also *Letters* 147, 246)—thus expressing Tolkien's belief that although fairy-stories often deal with the escape from death, "[f]ew lessons are taught more clearly in them than the burden of that kind of immortality, or rather endless serial living, to which the 'fugitive' would fly" (*OFS* 75).

Human fear of death is explained out of this Elvish perspective as an effect of Melkor because he "has cast his shadow upon it, and confounded it with darkness, and brought forth evil out of good, and fear out of hope" (*S* 42, cf. 265). This leads Men to understand death not as a gift but as a punishment and, further, to long for immortality, while Tolkien underscores several times that without the influence of Melkor (or of Sauron in the case of the Númenoreans) Men would have accepted death and died without reluctance (cf. *Letters* 145, 154ff, 205, 286).[9]

Whereas Elves do know what they have to expect after a death by illness or violence—the halls of Mandos and after a certain amount of time a reincarnation—this is not known from Men. In view of the end of Arda, it is the exact opposite: Although the Valar declared to the Elves "that Men shall join in the Second Music of the Ainur" (*S* 42) nothing is known of the fate of Elves. This opinion is expressed also in the words of Húrin to Morgoth in the "Narn i Hîn Húrin" which is ascribed to the human author Dírhavel (but who used much Elvish lore, cf. *UT* 187) and given higher validity by the emphasized phrase:

> "This last then I will say to you, thrall Morgoth, . . . and *it comes not from the lore of the Eldar*, but is put into my heart in this hour. You are not the Lord of Men, and shall not be, though all Arda and Menel fall in your dominion. Beyond

> the Circles of the World you shall not pursue those who refuse you." (*UT* 88, emphasis added)

But it is not impossible that Men come after their death first to Mandos and are waiting at another place than the Elves—which seems rather certain in regard of the story of Beren and Lúthien because if Men would leave Arda directly with their death, Lúthien would not have had the possibility to sing before Mandos and the spirit of Beren could not have "at her bidding tarried in the halls of Mandos, unwilling to leave the world" (cf. *S* 186). But it seems to be restricted since a "time of recollection" (*S* 104) or "a time of waiting" (*S* 187) is mentioned after which Mandos has no power to hinder the spirits of Men to leave the world. Nor has he or another of the Valar the power to change the fates of the Children of Ilúvatar wherefore the choice is marked as "will of Ilúvatar" (*S* 187). But in his commentary on "Athrabeth," Tolkien underscores the uncertainty of the Elvish belief of human *fëar* coming to Mandos and distinguished it from the passing "oversea" in *The Lord of the Rings* because he regards it as a special grace.

> An opportunity for dying according to the original plan of the unfallen: they went to a state in which they could acquire greater knowledge and peace of mind, and being healed of all hurts both of mind and body, could at least surrender themselves: die of free will, and even of desire, in *estel*. A thing which Aragorn achieved without any such aid. (*Morgoth* 341)

As already mentioned, the "Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth" discusses in great length the meaning and different interpretations of Elvish and human fate at the end of Arda. Many of the points mentioned above, e.g. the opinion of death being natural to Man or that Melkor has tainted the positive function, are asserted but the real interest for our question lies in the debate on the original disposition of Man which leads Finrod to his speculation on an "assumption" but furthermore to an understanding of the task of Man to be "heirs and fulfillers of all: to heal the Marring of Arda, already foreshadowed before their devising; and to do more, as agents of the magnificence of Eru: to enlarge the Music and surpass the Vision of the World!" (*Morgoth* 318, cf. 251) Combined with this, he expresses his hope[10] for a new world, an *Arda Envinyanta* which is further corroborated by a passage from Tolkien's linguistic commentary published in *Parma Eldalamberon* XVII and quoted by Flieger:

> Another purpose they [Elves and Men] had, which remained a mystery to the Valar, was to complete the Design

> by 'healing' the hurts which it suffered, and so ultimately not to recover 'Arda Unmarred' (that is the world as it would have been if Evil had never appeared) but the far greater thing 'Arda Healed'. (in *Music* 175)

In his commentary, Tolkien characterizes this hope because of their ignorance concerning the end of Arda as to be obliged to rest on the trust in Eru and explains why this leads them to be "less sympathetic than Men expected to the lack of hope (or *estel*) in Men faced by Death" (*Morgoth* 332).

Finally, the *Tale of Adanel* should at least be mentioned since—although Tolkien states that the "truth" of it is not ascertained (cf. *Morgoth* 344)—it contains a narrative of a human Fall (with the consequence that former immortal Man became mortal) which made Tolkien exclude it from the Athrabeth but only hinting at it (cf. Agøy).[11]

As quoted above, Tolkien himself saw Aragorn as an example of a man who dies of his free will in *estel*, when his time has arrived—thereby distancing this from the Elvish possibility to die of free will. Aragorn can claim to give back the gift:

> I am the last of the Númenoreans and the latest King of the Elder Days; and to me has been given not only a span thrice that of Men of Middle-earth, but also the grace to go at my will, and give back the gift. Now, therefore, I will sleep. (*RK*, Appendix A, I, v, 1037)

To Arwen's objection that she did not understand until then the tale of his people and their fall and regards this gift as a bitter one to receive, he answers with his hope that they "are not bound for ever to the circles of the world, and beyond them is more than memory" (*RK*, Appendix A, I, v, 1038). This is to be distuinguished from Denethor's suicide who is criticized by Gandalf that he is not authorized to determine the hour of his death (cf. *RK*, V, vii, 835) since they show different attitudes in view of death: Denethor despairs and wants to die before his time while Aragorn has fulfilled his task and does not want to cling to life. Théoden serves as another contrast to Denethor because he parts reconciled, for he knows that he shall not be ashamed among the company of his fathers (cf. *RK*, V, vi, 824). The cases of Aragorn and Théoden thus represent the theological position that with death a man's life achieves its perfection and definitiveness by and through death.

Summarizing the above, there is not only an intrinsic connection between Tolkien's dualistic notion of *fëar* and *hröar* and the different fates after death from Elves and Men, since these can be distinguished because of their different kinds of *fëar*, but also the discussion of the original disposition of Man leads him to introduce the eschatological notion of a renewed earth—and not only a healed one—combined with an Elvish hope (*estel*) that they, too, do not simply cease to exist at the end of Arda. Furthermore, their different fate is regarded as the distinctive feature of Elves and Men, since the gift of Ilúvatar (death) is identified with human freedom from the circles of the world. In which way this implies a freedom from the Music, I will discuss now.

Freedom and Situation—or the Music as providential pattern

Turning to the interpretation of the crucial statement of Ilúvatar quoted above which Flieger interprets as excluding Elvish free will since only Men have the virtue to shape their lives (cf. *Music* 163) which she retraces to the first drafts in the *Book of Lost Tales* (cf. *Lost Tales I* 61), I want to address first the nature of the Music of the Ainur. In my opinion, there are several indicators that it does not determine particular events—at least not by determining the actions of individual people—but only the main course of action in Arda. Therefore, it is important to remember that the Music of the Ainur does not take place in time but in the Timeless Halls and the Valar "had entered at the beginning of Time" (*S* 20), wherefore they have to achieve what they have sung in the Music. This distinction between time and timelessness (or eternity) is very important for an understanding of providence and divine foreknowledge, since a divine knowledge of all events in time does not necessarily imply a divine determination of this events, because God is beyond time and therefore, for him does not exist an "earlier" or a "later." But still, it is claimed in the "Ainulindalë" that the Valar not only have foreknowledge but also have played their part in the Music and remembering their part and Ilúvatar's words they "know much of what was, and is, and is to come, and few things are unseen by them" (*S* 17f). Although this indicates a nearly complete determination, this is restricted in the following sentence by introducing Ilúvatar's freedom:

> Yet some things there are that they cannot see ...; for to none but himself has Ilúvatar revealed all that he has in store, and in every age there come forth things that are new and have no foretelling, for they do not proceed from the past. And so it was that as this vision of the World was played before them, the Ainur saw that it contained things which they had not thought. (*S* 18, cf. 28)

Furthermore, only with the coming of Elves and Men do the Ainur perceive that they prepared their dwelling with their music because they came with the third theme (at least according to the *Ainulindalë*, but cf. *Morgoth* 336) and no Ainur participated in their making. "Therefore when they beheld them, the more did they love them, being things other than themselves, strange and free, wherein they saw the mind of Ilúvatar reflected anew, and learned yet a little more of his wisdom" (*S* 18). There, Elves and Men alike are depicted as "strange and free" which would seem a strange statement if Elves did not have a free will. For the free will of the Ainur is paramount to Melkor's fall even if he proves to be Ilúvatar's "instrument in the devising of things more wonderful, which he himself hath not imagined" (*S* 17)—a clear reference to the theological position (e.g. of Thomas Aquinas) that God is able to create good out of evil. This is supported by the paragraph before Ilúvatar's statement concerning the gift and virtue of Men because there it is claimed that the Ainur did not understand fully the theme by which Elves and Men entered into the Music, they restrained from adding anything to their fashion. "For which reason the Valar are to these kindreds rather their elders and their chieftains than their masters; and if ever in their dealings with Elves and Men the Ainur have endeavoured to force them when they would not be guided, seldom has this turned to good, howsoever good the intent." (*S* 41) This implies both free will and affecting events of Elves and Men because if Elves were determined to act, it would be senseless to differentiate between guidance and force. Fëanor's answer to Yavanna's request implies his belief in free will and in the possibility of the Valar to constrain him to give the silmarils (cf. *S* 79). Moreover, in the fourth version of Finwë and Míriel the narrative expresses the importance of Finwë's decision concerning his marriage with Indis if Míriel will not return clearly in the following advice of Mandos: "But this is permission, not counsel. For the severance cometh from the marring of Arda; and those who accept this permission accept the marring, whereas the bereaved who remain steadfast belong in spirit and will to Arda Unmarred. This is a grave matter upon which the fate of many may depend." (*Morgoth* 260) Even if we keep in mind the elvish authorship of this story, the final sentences of this version concerning the second wedding of Finwë and the tension between Fëanor and Indis and her children express the belief that Elves can affect events—and not only their nature—even more strongly:

> In those unhappy things which later came to pass, and in which Fëanor was the leader, many saw the effect of this breach in the house of Finwë, judging that if Finwë had endured his loss and had been content with fathering of his mighty son, the courses of Fëanor would have been otherwise, and great sorrow and evil might have been prevented. Yet the children of Indis were great and glorious, and their children also; and if they had not lived, the history of the Eldar would have been the poorer. (*Morgoth* 262f)

Moreover, a view at a bordercase such as the children of Elrond who can choose if they want to pass with Elrond into the West or to become mortal can further corroborate the assumption that the difference between Elves and Men lies primarily in what comes after death and their task in Middle-earth and not in the former being determined and the latter not. It seems counterintuitive to assume that Elladan, Elrohir and Arwen are ruled by fate as long as they do not choose to die but if they choose to be mortal, then abruptly they are endowed with free will. Such an assumption contradicts Arwen's situation as Aragorn wants to die because obviously, her world view did not change automatically by becoming mortal: "She was not yet weary of her days, and thus she tasted the bitterness of the mortality that she had taken upon her." (*RK*, Appendix A, v, 1037) And even if it were so—the choice they make (and Elrond and Elros have made) is a free one with extremely important consequences for the course of the history of the Second and Third Age and therefore contradicts the assumption that as long as they do not choose they are ruled by fate. Consequently, one had to assume that as half-elves they are really special and cannot be compared neither with Elves nor with Men. While this may be so, it seems to me more elegant to avoid such problems by assuming an Elvish freedom—because a determination of the physical history of Arda by the Music (as Tolkien suggested in his recently published notes on fate and free will) surely has its consequences for all beings who stay in Arda.

Concerning the issue of free will and foreknowledge of the Ainur, this is addressed by Tolkien in his draft letter to Robert Murray where he claims that "none of my 'angelic' persons are represented as knowing the future completely, or indeed at all where other *wills* are concerned" (*Letters* 203, cf. 285)—but in view of his letters it is methodologically important to keep in mind that the author is not necessarily the best interpreter of his work. But still, it is an interpretation which can be combined with the incompleteness of the vision and the explicit statement that "the history was incomplete and the circles of time not full-wrought when the vision was taken away" (*S* 20). Concerning the date when the vision was taken away, it is only suggested that it was before the dominion of Men and the fading of Elves were fulfilled—and in *Athrabeth*, Finrod presumes that perhaps beyond a certain point there is neither Music nor vision. "Beyond that point we cannot see or know, until by our own roads we come there, Valar or Eldar or Men" (*Morgoth* 319). Given the large time scales from the beginning of time with the entering of the Valar to the coming of the Elves and the coming of Men—according to the *Annals of Aman* (*Morgoth* 45-138) after 3500 Valian years (33,530 Sun Years) the two trees begin a new age which lasts 1495 years with the awakening of the Elves at 1050—there is very much history to unfold before even the Elves awaken and Arda is only a small part of Eä. But still, prophecy in Middle-earth is possible as Tolkien states in *Ósanwe-kenta*: "But no part of the 'future' is there, for the mind cannot see it or have seen it: that is, a mind placed in time. Such a mind can learn of the future only from another mind which has seen it. But that means only from Eru ultimately, or mediately from some mind that has seen in Eru some part of His purpose" (*Osanwe-kenta* 31). This addresses both Eru's prevision and his providence.[12] Moreover, Tolkien explains that it is possible for everybody to conclude future events by reason which is easier with a great knowledge of past, present and nature of Eä, "saving always the freedom of Eru" (31). The restrictions of the Valar concerning the Children of Ilúvatar are not only discussed by Tolkien in a draft letter, but also in a passage in a linguistic commentary.

> Elves and Men were called the 'children of God,' because they were, so to speak, a private addition to the Design, by the Creator, and one in which the Valar had no part. . . . The Valar knew that they would appear, and the great ones knew when and how (though not precisely), but they knew little of their nature, and their foresight, derived from their pre-knowledge of the Design, was imperfect or failed in the matter of the deeds of the Children. (*Letters* 285)

> There was, however, one element in the design of Eru that remained a mystery: the Children of Eru, Elves and Men, the Incarnate. These were said to have been an *addition* made by Eru himself after the Revelation to the primal spirits of the Great Design. (*Parma* 17 177, quoted by Flieger, *Music* 174)

Differening from Flieger's interpretation, I see in both cases indications that the Valar did not have any determining effect on the deeds of both Elves and Men—which includes the Music since it is performed primarily by the Valar—but that although they are able to force them to do something, they should respect their freedom and only act as counselors. While I agree with Flieger concerning the importance of Men for the eschatological fulfilling of the world, I think that especially this supports an interpretation of the relevant passage in the "Ainulindalë D" / *The Silmarillion* regarded by Flieger as "unequivocally" expressing the human free will as a contrast to Elvish determination by the Music.

> "But to the Atani I will give a new gift." Therefore he willed that the hearts of Men should seek beyond the world and should find no rest therein; but they should have a virtue to shape their life, amid the powers and chances of the world,

> beyond the Music of the Ainur, which is as fate to all things else; and of their operation everything should be, in form and deed, completed, and the world fulfilled unto the last and smallest.[13] (*S* 41f, cf. *Morgoth* 36)

In my opinion, the alteration of "free will" of the first draft (cf. *Lost Tales I* 61) to "free virtue" in the second, fuller text (cf. *Lost Tales II* 59) is important especially if one regards the sense of "particular power, efficacy" of the *OED* # 11 proposed by Flieger (*Music* 162). Then this indicates not so much a free will other creatures do not possess but the power or ability to live their life in a world to which they do not really belong ("should find no rest therein"). As long as they are in this world, they have to cope with its situations, its powers and chances (partially determined by the Music of the Ainur)—these are "as fate to all things else"—whereby it is not explicitly stated that Men can *change* the Music. The special task of Men as introduced by Ilúvatar with the third theme against the disharmony of Melkor is the fulfilling of the world—but they fulfill it as strangers. Therefore, they stay only a short span of time in this world and leave it after their death. Without going into futher details, this, too, is a very traditional notion of Christian theology and spirituality, that Man is only a "guest" on this world but has a special task (more or less) only appointed to him by God which he can accept or deny (without causally influencing thereby his justification) but which ultimately leads to the perfection of God's plan with Men and his world. Furthermore, we can compare it with Tolkien's statement of the pessismism in *Beowulf*—with the exception that in his mythology, the overthrow of Men is not inevitable:

> It is in *Beowulf* that a poet has devoted a whole poem to the theme, and has drawn the struggle in different proportions, so that we may see man at war with the hostile world, and his inevitable overthrow in Time. (*MC* 18)

The struggle of Men within a world they do not belong to has a reverse: their greatness. As answer to Andreth's lament that the Valar did not help Men, Finrod suggests that either they have put themselves out of the Valar's care, "[o]r even that ye, the Children of Men, were not a matter that they could govern? For ye were too great. . . . Sole masters of yourselves within Arda, under the hand of the One." (*Morgoth* 314) This greatness implies human freedom beyond the Music insofar as they are "sole masters"—it cannot imply a complete freedom in the sense that Men are determined by nothing since the situations in which Men have to act are determined by multiple conditions: the physical conditions of the world, the choices the Valar and Elves made, Melkor's effect on matter, etc. As mentioned above, human freedom beyond the Music does not necessarily imply a power to change it—as long as it is not understood as a complete determinism—but can refer to their task of fulfilling the Music (thus integrating the incompleteness of the vision and foreknowledge of the Valar). Thus, it is possible to combine Flieger's interesting suggestion "that the purpose of the Children—that is, both Elves and Men—to complete the design must be twofold in its action, for otherwise there would be no necessity for two separate races" (*Music* 175) with the freedom of both children since the task of Elves may be to work for completion by producing beauty within Arda (so to speak: performing the Music) and not leaving it while the task of Men is the completion of the Music. Or even more: "All the evidence points to his [= Tolkien's] clear intention for Men to join in the Second Music, in which the themes will be played aright because the task of Men has been to enable that playing" (Flieger, *Music* 173).

In this reading, the Music of the Ainur does not determine concrete actions of people but is restricted to the physical conditions of Arda and can be understood as the large plan of Ilúvatar for his world, e.g. that one time there should be a union of Elves and Men and the dominion of Men without determining by which actors these events will come to pass: "The entering into Men of the Elven-strain is indeed represented as part of a Divine Plan for the ennoblement of the Human Race, from the beginning destined to replace the Elves" (*Letters* 194). This reading is supported not only by this draft letter, but also by Tolkien's recently published notes on "Fate and Free Will" where he explains the meaning of the Eldarin base MBAR and also refers to the Sindarin *amarth* which is an application of the basic sense of this base and has the meaning:

> 'Fate' especially (when applied to the future): sc. the order and conditions of the *physical* world (or of Eä in general) as far as established and preordained at Creation, and that part of this ordained order which affected an individual with a *will*, as being immutable by his personal will. (*Fate* 183)

The note on these points begins with a very similar definition of the base MBAR and deals with the relation between Quenya *ambara* "establishment," *ambar* "world" and "fate" which is explained with the Eldarin conception of fate "as a much more physical obstacle to will" (185). In other words: *amarth*/fate refers to the external conditions, the situation in which individuals with a will have to decide and act—thus limiting their options but not determining their decisions and actions. The physical character of fate is explained by Tolkien in his speculations on what Eldar would have said because he refers to a distinction between "change" and redirection since any rational character can move, re-direct, or destroy objects but he cannot change them into something else. The following speculation on events of *The Lord of the Rings* is highly interesting and supports not only the view of Eru's Plan (or the Music of the Ainur) as not determining concrete events but using the freedom or other means to fulfill it but also of "fate" as referring to the external conditions which a person has to cope with:

> They would probably also have said that Bilbo was 'fated' to find the Ring, but not necessarily to surrender it; and then if Bilbo surrendered it Frodo was fated to go on his mission, but not necessarily to destroy the Ring—which in fact he did not do. They would have added that *if* the downfall of Sauron and the destruction of the Ring was part of Fate (or Eru's Plan) then if Bilbo had retained the Ring and refused to surrender it, some other means would have arisen by which Sauron was frustrated. Just as when Frodo's will proved in the end inadequate,[14] a means for the Ring's destruction immediately appeared—being kept in reserve by Eru as it were. (*Fate* 185)

Although Tolkien does not mention Elves explicitly, the emphasis (which is original) is a strong indicator for the large scale in which "fate" operates—even such important events as the downfall of Sauron and the destruction of the Ring are not just like that a part of Eru's plan. The similarities between this view and a religious view that Man is not able to frustrate completely God's plan are obvious. This "situational" character of "Fate" is supported by Tolkien's further explanations concerning a meeting of persons or a journey: "His setting out may have been a free decision, to achieve some object, but his actual course was largely under *physical* direction—and it *might have* led to/or missed a meeting of importance. It was this aspect of "chance" that was included in *umbar*" (*Fate* 185). This physical character of "chances" and "fate" may seem to us a little bit surprising, but if we regard the power of an Elvish *fëa* over its *hröa*, we can understand why the experience of physical restrictions on their will may seem for Elves much more hindering, as a "continual clash of *umbar* . . . and purposeful *will*" (*Fate* 186), than it is for beings who are more governed by their physical bodies. But it is this clash that makes the drama interesting since "until the appearance of *Will* all is mere preparation, interesting only on a quite different & lower plane: like mathematics or observing the physical [?events] of the world" (*Fate* 186). The Ainur and Valar are the first beings with will but they did not effect much change in *Ambar* or *Umbar* because apart from Melkor (and those dominated by him) their wills are in accord with Eru. This observation may lead us to another difference between Elves and Men which is linked with their relationship to the Music: Since Elves are naturally more like to the Ainur than Men are (cf. *S* 41), it can be assumed that also their will is naturally more in accordance with Eru's one—which may be an effect of the stronger influence of marred matter in Men—and, consequently, they effect less change in *Ambar* or *Umbar* than Men. In this regard and with a different concept of fate than she opts for, I can agree with Flieger's interpretation of Men's free virtue: "I propose that the free virtue/will of Men is Ilúvatar's wild card, and can affect fate" (*Music* 163).

Conclusion

Thus, it seems possible to combine the different strands in the following way: On the one hand, it is important to notice the essential difference of Men and Elves regarding their fate after death and the emphasis on Man's freedom from the Music. On the other hand, to deny Elvish free will and their affecting events collides with several other passages, e.g. the story of Finwë and Míriel. But in view of the character of the Music as determining not particular actions, but the main course of action in Arda, and regarding Tolkien's emphasis on the physical character of "fate," it is possible to opt for a conception of freedom in Arda for Elves and Men alike. That means that under given circumstances, they have real alternatives and may produce really different worlds without thereby frustrating Eru's plan since he has—like an author who integrated actions of his characters he did not foresee—integrated their action in his plan for the fulfilling of Arda. Tolkien, then, used the concept "fate" (especially with the emphasis on its physical character) not in the sense of an unpersonal governing force that predetermines events but more as the expression his characters use for situations they have to cope with and which can be understood as a providential pattern. In regard to his mythology being a monotheistic one, this seems appropriate. Human freedom, then, has first and foremost to be conceived as the "freedom of the circles of the world" which means the gift of mortality and their leaving Arda after death because men do not really belong to it, although their final purpose is to cooperate with Eru in its final eschatological fulfillment. The Elves, on the contrary, are bound to Arda, they belong there and thus, they have a different view of Arda. While the "hearts of Men should seek beyond the world and should find no rest therein" (*S* 41), Elves should not seek beyond the world and find rest within it—thereby working for completion within Arda and within the Music.

NOTES

1 It is important to keep in mind that such a "libertarian" approach denies the claim of a determinism in the sense of a complete fixation of the course of world—a metaphysical claim because it cannot be validated empirically (since physical laws are interpretations of natural phenomena, have to be adjusted and have no causative function) (cf. Feynman). It does not deny the non-causative determination of decision by biological, social or other factors. Cf. Kane for the most important different positions in the philosophical debate.

2 Cf. Fisher (149-155) for diverse theological and philosophical views on the balance between Man's free will and God's providence which he afterwards applies to Tolkien's work, opting for a quite Boethian position.

3 This is even more relevant since the philosophical debate concerning free will cannot argue with a God who created beings in his image and endowed them with free will—and the Jewish-Christian-Islamic belief in providence and God's moral commandments requires free will—normally with the assumption that it cannot complete frustrate God's will.

4 Although among the scholars who contributed recently to the discussion of fate and free will (cf. Dubs, Fisher, Flieger, Fornet-Ponse, Timmons, Weinreich) Verlyn Flieger is the only one who argues detailed (and Scull and Hammond assuming it) against the possibility of elvish effects on the course of events without denying them free will as an "internal process not affecting events but deeply influencing the inner nature of individuals involved in those events" (*Music* 175). Tolkien's emphasis on the difference between Men and Elves suggests a difference in their freedom. As I will argue in this paper (and have argued elsewhere), I understand human freedom primarily in view of their eschatological disposition to leave the world.

5 But Tolkien states in "Fate and Free Will": "That aspect of things which *we* might include in Fate—the 'determination' that we each carry about with us in our given created character (which later acts and experience may modify but not fundamentally change) was *not* included in *Umbar* by the Eldar; who said that if it was in any way similar it was on a different 'plane'" (186).

6 How this can be combined with Ilúvatar's statement stressing the freedom as distinguishing Men and Elves, I will turn to later. Here, I only quote a passage from Manuscript A of "Laws and Customs

among the Eldar" (dated to the late 1950s) concerning the Statute made for Finwë and Míriel: "Yet it was clear that many evils would have been avoided, [if either Míriel had been less faint, or Finwë more patient >] if it had not been made, or at least had not been used" (*Morgoth* 239). While this passage was replaced, this does not necessarily mean that the claim was no longer valid because although in the replaced passage there is not such an explicit statement, there are some indications which point in this direction (e.g. Míriel's statement concerning her responsibility for Fëanor in *Morgoth* 248)—in addition, it appears substantially at the end of the fourth version of "Finwë and Míriel" (cf. *Morgoth* 267). Furthermore, the whole debate of the Valar is evidence for the possibility of an Elvish affecting of events—especially the prophecy of Mandos which is neither reason upon evidence nor knowledge of the Music: "But I say unto you that the children of Indis shall also be great, and the Tale of Arda more glorious because of their coming" (*Morgoth* 247).

7 The question of Elvish rebirth or reincarnation is a very complex one and is a good example of the importance of philosophical considerations for the development of Tolkien's work. While Tolkien first adopted the idea of re-birth, the metaphysical problems combined with it (especially concerning the union of body and spirit) led him to assume a re-incarnation ("re-housing") in which either the *fëa* returns to his hröa or a *hröa* is made in accordance to the memory of the *fëa.* (Cf. *Morgoth* 361-366, *Peoples* 376-384 and Schneidewind).

8 This is supported also by the following statement concerning *fëar* that remain unbodied: "and they could only observe the unfolding of the Tale of Arda from afar, having no effect therein" (*Morgoth* 223).

9 Michaël Devaux summarizes the effect of the "shadow" very well: "The shadow is what casts a cloud over the meaning of life and death to the point that 1) as has been seen, the gift is taken for a punishment, that is to say that 2) death is thought to be an evil thing whereas it is a good one, and as it is an evil thing, it is feared 3) and fear replaces hope." (Devaux 35)

10 Cf. Devaux 39f and Garbowski 171f for the two different types of hope: *amdir* which means an uncertain, but reasonable expectation of good and *estel* more resembling trust and not arising out of experience.

11 It is interesting to compare that with some speculations in sketches on "The Drowning of Anadûnê": "Men (the Followers or Second Kindred) came second, but it is guessed that in the first design of God

they were destined (after tutelage) to take on the governance of all the Earth, and ultimately to become Valar, to 'enrich Heaven,' *Ilúve*. But Evil (incarnate in Melekō) seduced them, and they fell. . . . Some repented, rebelled against Melekō, and made friends of the Eldar, and tried to be loyal to God" (*Sauron* 401f).

12 While the foreknowledge of the Valar is limited, Eru's is complete which leads Tolkien to point out: "But the ultimate problem of Free Will in its relation to the *Foreknowledge* of a Designer (both of the plane of *Umbar* and of the *Mind* and the blending of both in Incarnate Mind), Eru, 'the Author of the Great Tale,' was of course not resolved by the Eldar" (*Fate* 186). But they did offer a comparison with the author of a tale since even he has limits of his "foreknowledge" because Tolkien refers to the feeling of many authors that actors "come alive" and their actions are "taken up to become integral parts of the tale when finally concluded" (187).

13 Since an argument based on negative evidence is rather problematic, I do not want to emphasize but only to mention that this passage was followed by a passage that was substantially the same since the first drafts (cf. *Lost Tales I* 59) but struck out in "Ainulindalë D": "Lo! even we of the Eldalië have found to our sorrow that Men have a strange power for good or for ill, and for turning things aside from the purpose of Valar or of Elves; so that it is said among us that Fate is not the master of the children of Men; yet they are blind, and their joy is small, which should be great" (*Morgoth* 36). But it can be argued that the "purpose of Valar or of Elves" indicates free will of both.

14 This seems to me an interpretation of the scene at the Cracks of Doom which is in accord with Shippey's interpretation that "Frodo does not choose; the choice is made for him" (*Shippey* 140) because his will is subdued—as it is stated that in the heart of the realm of Sauron "all other powers were here subdued" (*RK,* VI, iii, 924). Flieger, in contrast, speaks of a perverted will and a preempted choice (cf. *Light* 153f, *Music* 172).

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Refining the Gold: Tolkien, *The Battle of Maldon*, and the Northern Theory of Courage

Mary R. Bowman

In a work filled with acts of courage and even self-sacrifice, few such acts in *The Lord of the Rings* are more memorable than Gandalf's confrontation with the Balrog on the Bridge of Khazad-Dûm. Blocking the Balrog with his body, his power, and his full authority as one of the Istari, he buys time for the rest of the Fellowship to escape, at the cost (however temporarily) of his own life.

Like many other aspects of Tolkien's work, this scene, as Alexander Bruce has demonstrated in a 2007 article, was shaped in part by Tolkien's reading of a text important in his professional life, in this case *The Battle of Maldon*. Bruce argues convincingly that Gandalf's refusal to allow his enemy to cross the bridge is a pointed response to a crucial moment in *Maldon* when the English earl Byrhtnoth allows such a crossing. While Bruce's article is an important contribution to our growing understanding of the role of *Maldon*, it gives only a partial picture of that role. In addition to revising Byrhnoth's behavior in this scene, Tolkien elsewhere rewrites the actions of most of the other characters in the poem. While some of these connections have been noted in earlier criticism, some have not, and those that have need to be examined in detail in order to more fully appreciate how Tolkien's wrestling with the poem, which is evident in his other work, played out in his fiction.

Tolkien's relationship with the Old English poem was long and intimate. It was surely a part of his teaching repertoire; his friend and erstwhile collaborator on the edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* produced its standard scholarly edition; and, of course, he wrote a sequel-cum-commentary, "The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth Beorthelm's Son," a work whose drafts span a period of perhaps twenty years. (It was published in 1953 but begun in some form as early as 1930: see Honegger). *The Battle of Maldon* also appears, explicitly, in Tolkien's professional writing, especially in the context of discussing the nature of Germanic heroism. In particular, he refers to it in the important lecture "*Beowulf*: The Monsters and the Critics" (read as the Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture to the British Academy on November 25, 1936, and published in the following year), and discusses it at greater length in "Ofermod," an essay which forms the third part of "Homecoming." It is intriguing that the composition of these academic works and of "Homecoming" roughly frame the period of the composition of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, a fact which suggests the possibility that the evolution of his thinking about heroism took place on parallel tracks: in the critical writing and in the major fiction.[1] Indeed, the work of Tom Shippey on "Homecoming" suggests that *Maldon* was the poem that most intensely encapsulated the dilemma with which Germanic heroic literature presented the Christian Tolkien: "Tolkien's problem as regards the heroic literature of antiquity was, I would say, on the one hand great professional liking, and on the other extreme ideological aversion" ("Heroes" 282). It would hardly be surprising to find it working on his imagination as he created numerous heroic characters and opportunities for heroism in his own fiction; it might be more surprising not to.

In this article, therefore, I intend not only to add to the growing evidence that *Maldon* deserves to be included in the list of important pre-texts that Tolkien is carefully re-writing, but also to consider that re-writing as part of a larger concern with redefining the heroic. I will also argue for a view of how Tolkien resolved his conflicting feelings toward the heroism of *Maldon* that differs somewhat from the one Tom Shippey has offered. I share Shippey's sense that Tolkien struggled mightily with this and had to work hard to reconcile his admiration for this form of heroism with his Christian beliefs. But for Shippey, his solution in "Homecoming" was a radical rejection, indeed "an act of parricide": "He had in fact to take 'the northern heroic spirit' and sacrifice it" ("Tolkien and 'The Homecoming,'" 337). While Shippey's reading of the drama itself, the main part of "Homecoming," is compelling, the essay that follows the poem hints at the possibility of rehabilitating that spirit. Paying detailed attention to how Tolkien's comments on *Maldon* change over time and to how he rewrites the behaviors and motivations of various characters in *Maldon* will show that he is working to extricate the essential quality of "the northern heroic spirit" from all of the particulars of the situations in which it is expressed in *Maldon*.[2]

Defeat could be glorious

Tolkien's earliest published comments on *Maldon*, in "The Monsters and the Critics," appear to express unequivocal admiration for the "Northern courage" it exemplifies. This brand of courage, in Tolkien's view, takes its particular character from the certainty of eventual defeat, a given of Norse religion, and its essential quality is "indomitability," the ability to persevere with the knowledge that sooner or later defeat will come (18). Having used this theme to defend the *Beowulf* poet's choice to make monsters the central adversaries confronted by the hero, Tolkien suggests that the same courage can also be found in hopeless situations of a more ordinary sort, and names *The Battle of Maldon* as another extant poem in which it is found. Indeed, he states that we find the "doctrinal expression" of this "exaltation of undefeated will . . . in the words of

Byrhtwold at the battle of Maldon" (18), citing in particular the most famous part of Byrhtwold's speech, lines 312-313: "hige sceal þe heardra, heorte þe cenre, mod sceall þe mara þe ure mægen lytlað" ("Will shall be the sterner, heart the bolder, spirit the greater as our strength lessens").[3] Tolkien's view of *Maldon* as expressed here is generally consistent with the view of his friend and colleague E. V. Gordon, who famously declared that *Maldon* is "the clearest and fullest expression known in literature of the ancient Germanic heroic code" (26).

Even at this early date, however, Tolkien was also able to express a more critical view of the brand of heroism articulated in *Maldon*. A note of disillusion is sounded by Bilbo near the end of *The Hobbit* (composed during the 1930s and published in 1937, and thus roughly contemporaneous with "Monsters"). During the climactic Battle of Five Armies, Bilbo's first-hand experience of war gives him a new perspective. He "looked with misery" on the battle from the high point of Ravenhill where "he had taken his stand . . . among the Elves . . . partly . . . because if he was going to be in *a last desperate stand*, he preferred on the whole to defend the Elvenking" (344, my emphasis). After lamenting all the death and destruction that appears imminent, he thinks to himself, "I have heard songs of many battles, and I have always understood that defeat may be glorious. It seems very uncomfortable, not to say distressing. I wish I was well out of it" (344-5).

Beyond voicing a negative view of war in a general sense, this passage may be an oblique reference to *Maldon* itself. While Shippey has proposed a contemporary identification for the song that Tolkien had in mind in writing this passage (conveyed through Douglas Anderson's annotation),[4] I suggest that another of the "songs" he is thinking of (Bilbo uses the plural, after all) is *The Battle of Maldon*. Conclusive evidence of this connection does not exist, as far as I know, but there is a variety of circumstantial evidence that makes it plausible. In addition to fitting the description of theme,[5] it features the situation Bilbo is anticipating at this moment—"a last desperate stand"—and in fact Tolkien uses precisely those words to describe the situation in *Maldon* in the first section of "Homecoming."[6] The evident borrowings from *Beowulf* elsewhere in *The Hobbit* (such as the dragon's rage at the theft of a cup) show that Old English poems were not far from Tolkien's mind as he was writing, even though the world of *The Hobbit* has little in common with the Anglo-Saxon world, and he began writing "Homecoming" at least by the time that *The Hobbit* was being prepared for publication. Moreover, in the years that followed its composition, he continued to develop its history in a way that would actually make it plausible for Bilbo himself to be thinking of *Maldon* (or a poem very like it). Within the history that Tolkien comes to write for the hobbits, their culture has an ancient connection to the culture that survives in Rohan, which looks a great deal like the Anglo-Saxon heroic age.[7] Riding with the Rohirrim, Merry notices that their language seems to have "many words that he knew" (*RK*, V, iii, 775) , and some of the distinctive traits of hobbit society, such as mathoms and smials, have recognizably Old English names. Tolkien even coins the term "holbytla" from Old English word elements to create a plausible ancestor of the word "Hobbit." (Appendix F states, "The origin of the word *hobbit* was by most forgotten. It seems, however, . . . to be a worn-down form of a word preserved more fully in Rohan: *holbytla* 'hole-builder'" [1104].) And the Rohirrim, apparently uniquely among the peoples of Middle-earth, have a cultural memory of hobbits. At the first sight of Merry and Pippin, Theoden recognizes them as "the folk of legend . . . the Halflings, that some among us call the Holbytlan"; they in turn are astonished, never before in their travels having encountered people "that knew any story concerning hobbits" (*TT*, III, viii, 163). When we get to Rohan, we hear a song resembling a passage from "The Wanderer" (*TT*, III, vi, 112)[8]; it is easy to imagine that Middle-earth also has a poem as similar to *Maldon*, which has survived in the Shire. All of this linguistic and cultural backstory was created well after the composition of *The Hobbit*, of course, but its development renders entirely realistic a reference to *Maldon* (if that is what it is) in *The Hobbit* that was anachronistic when he first wrote it—a movement toward greater coherence that is typical of Tolkien's work.

If we consider the possibility that *Maldon* is among the songs *The Hobbit* refers to, Bilbo's critical attitude to his literary heritage in response to his lived experience is notable. There is something quintessentially Bilboish about his understated alternative view ("uncomfortable," "distressing"), but the reaction is comparable to the widespread disillusion following World War I.[9] As Roberta Frank puts it, "The First World War brought about a change in attitude towards war and soldiering . . . . We no longer assume that fighting is glorious or fun . . . " ("*Battle*," 196). In this sense, Bilbo's new understanding is comparable to that expressed in the work of other World War I writers such as Wilfred Owen, who called what he had "heard" about war an "old Lie."[10]

Purpose and duty

This note of dissatisfaction with "glorious defeat" becomes a fully developed critique of the heroic code—or, more precisely, with certain kinds of choices that an inappropriate emphasis on heroism might inspire—in "Homecoming." Bilbo's debunking of the idea of glorious war is echoed in "The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth Beorhthelm's Son" proper, the verse drama that forms the central part of the work. When Torhthelm exclaims, "What a murder it is, / this bloody fighting!", Tídwald voices the familiar post-WWI point that war is horrifying, and has always been so, however glorious it may seem in old poetry: "Aye, that's battle for you, / and no worse today than wars you sing of, / when Fróda fell, and Finn was slain. / The world wept then, as it weeps today: / you can hear the tears through the harp's twanging" (131). Tídwald also claims that Beorhtnoth's choice to let the Vikings cross the causeway was motivated by a desire to appear heroic, influenced by that very poetry. He reports a rumor that "our lord was at fault" because he was "too proud, too princely," and goes on to identify a motivation for Beorhtnoth's foolishly proud choice: "He let them cross the causeway, so keen was he / to give minstrels matter for mighty songs" (137). Beorhtnoth's choice, according to Tídwald, is informed not by a sense of what a responsible leader ought to *do* but by his desire to *look* heroic in a poem.

In "Ofermod," the essay that follows the verse drama, Tolkien reiterates this criticism of Beorhtnoth in a scholarly mode. The central claim, one that has attracted a great deal of attention from scholars working on *Maldon*, is that lines 89-90 are central to the poem's message and that they articulate the poet's criticism of Byrhtnoth's choice. These lines state that Byrhtnoth gave the Vikings "too much land" ("landes to fela")—that is, the land across the narrow ford separating them from the English—because of his "pride" ("for his ofermode"), which Tolkien insists is the correct translation of the key term. Whether Tolkien's argument is valid is an interesting and much-debated point; Michael Drout reports that the argument met with widespread acceptance for some time, with recent opinions being more mixed ("J.R.R. Tolkien's Medieval Scholarship," 139-141).[11] Even if his reading of the poem were universally rejected it would still be legitimate to view it as informing his use of the poem in his fiction.

As he develops this argument, however, some of his statements suggest that he is reluctant to equate Byrhtnoth's application of the heroic code with that code itself—that he is drawing, or attempting to draw, some important distinctions. The "'northern heroic spirit,'" he states, " is never quite pure; it is of gold and an alloy" (144). In Byrhnoth's case, the alloy is pride, "the desire for honour and glory," which leads him to "excess." This metaphor raises the possibility of an acceptable heroism, one with a less objectionable "alloy"; as Tolkien proceeds to describe more fully the objections to Byrhtnoth's pride, we can see him carving out a space in which to reconcile his attraction to the heroic with his strong disapproval of Byrhtnoth. He identifies two key problems with Byrhnoth's *ofermod*-driven choice: first, it "not only goes beyond need and duty, but interferes with it" (144): Byrhtnoth's job is to protect Essex, and England, and he fails to do so.[12] Second, it is made without regard to Byrhtnoth's position of authority in the army and the responsibility he has to the men under him. Whereas a warrior acting alone (such as Beowulf in the fight against Grendel) is at liberty to give his opponent any advantage he chooses, a king or earl is not. "In his situation," Tolkien says, Byrhtnoth "was not a subordinate, but the authority to be obeyed on the spot; and he was responsible for all the men under him, not to throw away their lives except with one object, the defence of the realm from an implacable foe" (146). As he summarizes this argument, he again draws a contrast between Byrhtnoth's choice and properly heroic behavior: "It was heroic of him and his men to fight, to annihilation if necessary, in the attempt to destroy or hold off the invaders. It was wholly unfitting that he should treat a desperate battle with this sole real object as a sporting match, to the ruin of his purpose and duty" (146). These two themes—sense of duty to mission and of responsibility to consider the effects on others—will be central in *The Lord of the Rings*. They are evident, for example, in Bruce's reading of the scene at the Bridge of Khazad-Dûm. Not only are Gandalf's actions starkly different—where Byrhtnoth allows his enemy to cross a bridge, Gandalf repeatedly tells the Balrog, "You cannot pass" (*FR*, II, v, 344-45)—but his motivation is also, pointedly contrasting with Byrhtnoth's inattention to "purpose and duty." Bruce notes that for Gandalf, unlike Byrhtnoth, "there is no hint that he sought battle so that he might 'give minstrels matter for mighty songs'" (155); Gandalf is motivated by the long-term goal of the quest and not a desire for glory.[13]

In the same passage, Tolkien applies this line of argument to *Beowulf* as well as to *Maldon*, and the critical view here expressed of Beowulf's behavior suggests an evolution, a refinement at least, if not a reversal of his earlier assessment of Beowulf's behavior.[14] Beowulf facing the dragon is acting like Byrhtnoth, as he should not, now that he is king and responsible for the safety of his whole people: "He does not rid himself of his chivalry, the excess persists, even when he is an old king upon whom all the hopes of a people rest"; only Wiglaf's loyalty makes possible "the essential object, destruction of the dragon" (145). (Tolkien's critique of Beowulf has also been influential but has met with disagreement; see Drout, "Tolkien's Medieval Scholarship," 142.) There is no such note of criticism in "Monsters." He concludes the essay by once again bringing *Beowulf* and *Maldon* together: "There could be no more pungent criticism in a few words of 'chivalry' in one of responsibility than Wiglaf's exclamation: *oft sceall eorl monig anes willan wraec adreogan*, 'by one man's will many must woe endure'. These words the poet of *Maldon* might have inscribed at the head of his work" (150).

In addition to describing specific (and avoidable) problems with Byrhtnoth's version of heroism, Tolkien also draws a distinction between his behavior and that of his retainers. While the purpose of "Ofermod" was in part to dethrone lines 312-313 as the defining passage in the poem in favor of 89-90, Tolkien still valorizes Byrhtwold's speech and behavior.

The heroism of the last remaining warriors is not tainted by the choices their leader had made, because the nature of their choice and its implications for others are very different. Byrhtnoth might have chosen not to let the Vikings cross the causeway, but once he chose as he did, the retainers' choice was between pursuing the battle to its end (even if that meant their deaths) and fleeing to save their skins. The choice to meet his death bravely in this context harms no one other than the man who makes it. Not only is the heroism of "uttermost endurance in the service of indomitable will" (143) still possible in this situation, but in fact "the doctrine appears in this clarity, and (approximate) purity, precisely because it is put into the mouth of a subordinate, a man for whom the object of his will was decided by another, who had no personal responsibility downwards, only loyalty upwards" (144). And as the subordinates' place in the power structure is crucial to how their choices are to be evaluated, so too is their motivation: "It is the heroism of obedience and love, not of pride or wilfulness, that is the most heroic and the most moving" (148).

This passage on the heroism of the retainers has not received as much attention in either *Maldon* or Tolkien criticism as the critique of Byrhnoth's *ofermod*. Indeed, critics sometimes tar, or gild, both leader and retainer with the same brush.[15] But I believe that Tolkien is here making an important distinction between two versions of heroism, attempting once again to open a space for, and to define an acceptable version: to find a way to reshape, not reject, Germanic heroism. (Bruce seems to think so too, but does not develop the idea: "Though Tolkien critiques one aspect of 'Maldon' through Gandalf's actions, elsewhere in *The Lord of the Rings* he celebrates the Germanic heroic code as so powerfully stated in the Anglo-Saxon poem" [150][16]). It seems likely from the manuscript evidence that the essay in which Tolkien makes these distinctions was a fairly late addition to "Homecoming" (Honegger 191). If so, that may indicate that the apparent rejection of northern heroism in the verse drama was only one position in an internal debate on the subject, and not necessarily his final one. Meanwhile, he was experimenting with the possibility of reshaping "northern courage" as he wrote *The Lord of the Rings* (which may even have been completed before "Ofermod"), and in this experiment *Maldon* continues to provide a proof-text: several scenes suggest parallels with the choices of Byrhtnoth's retainers.

Flight

Byrhtnoth's followers fall into two groups. In addition to those, like the eloquent Byrhtwold, who stay and fight heroically, there is a group that flees the battlefield. This flight is, after Byrhtnoth's decision to allow the Vikings across the causeway, the choice that most determines the outcome of the battle of Maldon (according to the poem). The retreat is led by the three "sons of Odda" ("Oddan bearn," 186), one of whom, Godric, jumps on Byrhtnoth's horse. The poet is clearly critical of this choice—editorializing about the taking of the horse in particular, "that it was not right" ("þe hit riht ne wæs," 190)—and just as clear that this has a significant effect on the situation the remaining warriors face. One of the remaining men, Offa, observes that a large number of the warriors were led to think that Byrhtnoth himself was fleeing the battle and followed accordingly, destroying the battle formation; he calls this a betrayal and curses Godric for it (lines 237-43).[17] It is perhaps unfortunate that Tolkien does not discuss the flight of the "cowards" in his essay. (In the verse drama, Torhthelm has harsh words for them—"May the blast of Heaven / light on the dastards that to death left them / to England's shame! (9)—but as Shippey's analysis of his character makes clear, Torhthelm's attitudes are not a reliable guide to Tolkien's.) However, a few scenes in *The Lord of the Rings* rewrite the flight of the sons of Odda in a way that indicate that responsibility to companions—"responsibility sideways," we might say—is also important in Tolkien's reworking of heroism.

One of these scenes occurs early. After being captured by a wight in the Barrow-downs, Frodo is tempted to flee, to save himself and leave his companions to their fate, but significantly chooses not to: "He thought of himself running free over the grass, grieving for Merry, and Sam, and Pippin, but free and alive himself. Gandalf would admit that there had been nothing else he could do. But the courage that had been awakened in him was now too strong: he could not leave his friends so easily" (*FR*, I, viii, 152). In a later scene, Frodo has another opportunity to leave his friends behind, one that provides a more striking comparison with the flight of the sons of Odda. (The title of this chapter, "Flight to the Ford," may reflect the importance of the issue of fleeing in Tolkien's mind.) Approaching the Ford of Bruinen, Glorfindel puts Frodo on his horse so that he can outrun the Black Riders. Frodo objects, saying, "No, he will not! . . . I shall not ride him, if I am to be carried off to Rivendell or anywhere else, leaving my friends behind in danger."[18] Frodo once again refuses to imitate the behavior of the sons of Odda at Maldon. Here, however, Tolkien has altered the context in such a way that fleeing on the borrowed horse is the right choice precisely because this flight will not increase, but in fact will decrease, the danger faced by his companions, as Glorfindel points out: "I doubt very much . . . if your friends would be in danger if you were not with them! The pursuit would follow you and leave us in peace, I think. It is you, Frodo, and that which you bear that brings us all in peril." (*FR*, I, xii, 223).

Thus while Frodo's behavior in this scene (fleeing the enemy on someone else's horse) *looks* very like that of the sons of Odda, it is precisely contrasted with theirs in its effects on others. It differs in its motivation as well. The flight of the sons of Odda is evidently motivated only by a desire for self-preservation; there is no indication that their behavior is controlled by a belief that England will be better equipped to fight off future Viking attacks if they live to fight another day. But Frodo's flight serves his mission; he will be taking the Ring out of reach of the enemy in addition to saving himself. In this he contrasts Byrhtnoth as well as the sons of Odda: His choices are shaped by his sense of social responsibility—his "purpose and duty"—to the world at large as well as to his own companions.

Taking these two scenes together, we can see Tolkien offering a more nuanced view of fleeing danger than any one character in *The Battle of Maldon* holds: while the sons of Odda flee without regard to the consequences of their choice, and the remaining retainers scorn the idea of flight, flight in *The Lord of the Rings* may be the right or wrong choice depending on the circumstances. What matters is the effect on one's companions and on the larger society. Similarly, when Gandalf falls in Khazad-dûm, the purpose of the Company requires the others to do what might, viewed through a different lens, seem cowardly: he orders them to "fly," and in spite of their impulse to stand with him, they obey (*FR*, II, v, 344-45). As Bruce points out, Gandalf's order to fly keeps Aragorn and Boromir from looking like the sons of Odda; they want to stay and fight with him (157). Frodo, also, reports later that "had there not been us lesser folk to care for, I do not think that either [Aragorn] or Boromir would have fled" (*TT*, IV, v, 286).

Seeing it through

The behavior of the men who stay and fight on is addressed in the most extensive and important scene in *The Lord of the Rings* in which Tolkien rewrites *The Battle of Maldon*: chapter 10 of Book Four, "The Choices of Master Samwise."

Both scenes, in the poem and the novel, need to be considered in detail to appreciate fully how carefully Tolkien is anatomizing heroism. Other critics have noted a parallel between Sam and the *Maldon* retainers, but these comparisons have been brief and as a result the insight they provide into that parallel is limited.[19] Sam makes not one but a series of choices—as the chapter title suggests—and each is in some way a revision of a choice made by someone in *Maldon*.

The choice of *Maldon*'s remaining retainers to stay and fight, even if it means their death, is driven by a number of concerns, each of which will appear in *The Lord of the Rings* as an available option for Sam. Much of the critical debate has focused on the "suicidal" refusal of the retainers to survive a battle that took their leader, but other motivations are expressed. Leofsunu, for example, expresses a value well-attested in the

Germanic heroic tradition, the desire to avenge a leader's death. He says, "I hereby promise that from hence I will not / flee the space of a single foot, but will go further, / avenge in the battle my beloved lord."[20] Even Dunnere, "a simple churl" ("unorne ceorl," 256), wishes to seek revenge, showing that this kind of courage is not restricted to the noble class, a point of obvious relevance for Sam.

In addition, there is also concern for their reputation, in particular a desire not to be seen as cowardly. While Byrhtnoth may have sought to be the star of a heroic poem, the retainers are motivated rather to avoid leaving a negative image in song.[21] Ælfwine, a young warrior, speaks first after Byrhtnoth's death, saying, "Thanes will not mock me among my people, / that I would go away from this army, / seek my homeland, now that my lord lies / cut down in battle."[22] His point is not so much that he wants to be dead with his lord, but that he is willing to fight on even without his lord; the implied contrast is to the sons of Odda. Others (Edward the Tall and Leofsunu) make similar statements.

Finally, there is the much-debated expressed intent to share the fate of their lord. After uttering the famous lines 312-313, Byrhtwold goes on to say, "I will not leave, / but by the side of my lord—by such / a beloved man—I intend to lie."[23] Indeed, one of the men, Offa, has evidently taken an oath, promising Byrhtnoth that they would either survive the battle together, or both die; the poet observes that he lived up to his promise and "lay like a thane near his lord" ("læg þegenlice þeodne gehende," 294). It is this aspect of the retainers' motivation that has drawn the most critical attention. It is well established that there was no traditional obligation in Germanic cultures to die with one's lord.[24] John Hill has even suggested that it is the project of *The Battle of Maldon* to redefine loyalty as including the obligation to share one's lord's fate. Regardless of the provenance of this motif, it is clearly present in the poem and, like all the other values expressed by the retainers, will reappear in *The Lord of the Rings*.[25]

Significantly, none of the warriors says anything to suggest that he is motivated by the belief that fighting on will better serve the long-term interests of England or Essex in the face of Viking aggression. Michael Matto points out that in the last part of the poem, thoughts of protecting the "folc and foldan" have disappeared, replaced by personal loyalty and vengeance. This shift in ethics is visible even in the pronouns of the warriors' speeches: "the 'we' of the shieldwall becomes the 'I' of martyrdom" (71). The scenes in *The Lord of the Rings* that I have already discussed demonstrate Tolkien's interest in correcting this loss of attention to what matters. The importance of keeping the "we" in view is further stressed, and the values that do motivate the retainers who fight on are addressed, as Sam makes his series of choices.

After the attack by Shelob, when Sam believes that Frodo is dead, he spends considerable time settling on an answer to his question "What shall I do?" (*TT*, IV, x, 340). With Orcs not far away, his situation is comparable to Byrhnoth's retainers after his death, facing continued attack from the Vikings; on the borders of Sauron's realm, his situation is in fact more dangerous. What he is tempted to chose, what he does choose and why, become particularly pointed when compared to the choices of the *Maldon* retainers. In effect, he tries on the choices and motivations of the various retainers (and Byrhnoth as well), one by one, and evaluates them in the light of his "purpose and duty." The first impulse that allows him to do any thing but grieve, "to tear himself away" from Frodo's body, is the traditional Germanic one, voiced by Leofsunu and Dunnere in *Maldon*: "vengeance." Appealing as this is to Sam—he has long hated Gollum and is now enraged at his treachery—he rejects it. Simple vengeance is not sufficient motivation to "leave Mr. Frodo dead, unburied on the top of the mountain," nor will it lessen grief: "It would not be worth while to leave his master for that. It would not bring him back. Nothing would." Most importantly, revenge is not part of his mission and does not serve it: "But that was not what he had set out to do" (*TT*, IV, x, 340-41).

His next thought, echoing Byrhtwold, is to join his master in death by suicide: "They had better both be dead together," he thinks, "And that too would be a lonely journey." This option he also rejects as accomplishing nothing—"That was to do nothing, not even to grieve"—and, in the same words with which he rejected revenge, as abandoning the quest: "That was not what he has set out to do" (*TT*, IV, x, 341).

Significantly, these options which Sam rejects are the ones that are personally appealing, ones that come out of his anger and grief over what Gollum has done and what has happened to Frodo. (Even suicide, I would argue, has this appeal, if only temporarily, in that it offers itself as a way to end Sam's grief; it is not, certainly, motivated by a sense of social responsibility.) In that sense, these options are comparable to the flight of the sons of Odda: doing what serves the individual interests, at others' expense. Instead, Sam is focused on his "purpose and duty"—repetitively so.

Staying by Frodo's body, as Offa lies by Byrhtnoth's, would also be personally satisfying, and would reflect loyalty to his master. He asks Frodo to "Forgive your Sam" for leaving (*TT*, IV, x, 342), and he leaves reluctantly; the narrator points out that "what he was doing was altogether against the grain of his nature" (*TT*, IV, x, 342). Later, when Orcs discover Frodo's body and carry it away, he thinks for a moment that he has in fact made the wrong choice in leaving him behind: "He knew now where his place was and had been: at his master's side" (*TT*, IV, x, 344). In Sam's case, however, this personal loyalty does not supersede focus on his purpose; rather, it is the measure of how great that focus is: he determines to leave Frodo's body behind against his natural impulse, for the sake of the quest.

What Sam settles on after considering these options is to "*see it through*," to take the Ring from Frodo and attempt, alone, to complete the quest to destroy it (*TT*, IV, x, 341). In a sense, this is analogous to the English retainers' choice to pursue the fight against the Vikings—finishing the job the lord started—but it differs in its motivation and the form it takes. Sam's motivation is precisely the social responsibility that Byrhnoth's retainers seem to have lost sight of; and "seeing it through" means leaving rather than fighting—and is specifically contrasted to the rejected choice of dying with Frodo, which would be the likely result of imitating the *behavior* of the Maldon retainers. It is a morally and strategically superior choice. And it is the most difficult one for Sam to make. This will be "another lonely journey, and the worst" (*TT*, IV, x, 341). His loyalty to Frodo is enacted not by dying with him, nor protecting his body, but by completing the task that Frodo gave his life in attempting. And as the phrase "the worst" suggests, it is the one most personally disagreeable—but the one that social responsibility requires.[26]

His choice also transcends the appeal of personal glory remembered in song, making a pointed contrast with Byrhtnoth himself. He feels that for a moment as he turns back to follow the Orcs, imagining his starring role in a poem very similar to *The Battle of Maldon*: "How many can I kill before they get me? They'll see the flame of the sword, as soon as I draw it, and they'll get me sooner or later. I wonder if any song will ever mention it: How Samwise fell in the High Pass and made a wall of bodies round his master" (*TT*, IV, x, 344-45). But once again his awareness of the stakes for the world, not just for himself and Frodo, dominates: "No, no song. Of course not, for the Ring'll be found, and there'll be no more songs" (*TT*, IV, x, 345). For Sam, in contrast to Byrhtnoth, preserving a world in which poems exist matters more than cutting an impressive figure *in* one. He does turn back at this point, but instead of the (suicidal) frontal assault of his imagination, he simply follows and eavesdrops; his ultimate success comes through stealth and the good fortune of finding that the orcs have turned on each other and done the fighting for him.

This series of decisions that contrast those of *Maldon*'s characters makes George Clark's reading of the scene, though useful, ultimately inadequate. Clark, who noted some time ago the parallel between Offa's intention to die by his lord and Sam's temptation to "die valiantly and be remembered in a song," conflates the several choices that Sam has made, claiming that "to avenge Frodo, Sam leaves the larger war out of consideration, and in that he follows the faithful heroes of *Maldon*" (46). But Sam's final choice, late in the chapter, to follow the orcs who have captured Frodo comes after many choices (including an explicit rejection of vengeance) that are informed by his sense of responsibility to "the larger war." The net effect of those previous choices is to keep his turning back to rescue Frodo from being a tactical disaster in that war: He has kept the Ring safe. (Had he stayed with Frodo, or had he returned attacking, he would certainly have been captured or killed himself. Had he left the Ring behind, it would have been recovered.) Indeed, at the point he turns back to rescue Frodo, his act of personal loyalty is also what the larger purpose of the quest requires, for as he soon learns, Frodo is still alive and his is a mission to rescue Frodo, not to avenge him. Had he not returned, Frodo would have been tortured and likely would have revealed the mission before Sam could accomplish it alone.[27] The sequence of events validates Sam's loyalty to Frodo and rewards his willingness to set even that aside when necessary.

Considered in full, then, the series of choices Sam makes turns out to be for the best, and to exhibit what is most admirable in the behavior of the *Maldon* warriors. His loyalty to his master is at least as great as any of Byrhtnoth's retainers' for their lord. His willingness to die with or for him is as great. (Once he knows that Frodo is in fact still alive, "He no longer had any doubt about his duty: he must rescue his master or perish in the attempt" [*RK*, VI, i, 173]). And surely his courage is as great: He has chosen, after all, to walk into the stronghold of the greatest and most evil power on earth, alone. But, as with Frodo at the Ford of Bruinen, Tolkien has structured the situation in such a way that the behavior which Sam's loyalty and courage lead him to is starkly contrasted with everything in *The Battle of Maldon*: he does not flee, he does not seek revenge, he does not take up a military battle he cannot win, he does not do what will make the best song. He does whatever will best serve his "purpose and duty," and in the end succeeds.

The problem of hope

And at the same time, he gets to exhibit the indomitability that Tolkien saw as the defining quality of northern courage. He feels no hope, and in fact has no clear sense of what he is going to do, as he re-enters Shelob's tunnel to pursue the Orcs, but he fits the description in Byrhtwold's famous lines: "His weariness was growing but his will hardened all the more" (*TT*, IV, x, 345). Indeed, echoes of *Maldon* 312-313 are abundant in *The Lord of the Rings*. Frodo feels the same strengthening of will while trapped in the Barrow—"Frodo . . . thought he had come to the end of his adventure, and a terrible end, but the thought hardened him" (*FR*, I, viii, 151)—and again after nearly being revealed to Sauron on Amon Hen: "A great weariness was on him, but his will was firm and his heart lighter" (*FR*, II, x, 417). Later, when Sam despairs of having enough food and water to make it to the end of the quest, he experiences it again: "But even as hope died in Sam, or seemed to die, it was turned to a new strength. Sam's plain hobbit-face grew stern, almost grim, as the will hardened in him . . . " (*RK*, VI, iii, 211). As Bruce has pointed out, both wording and sentiment are very close to those of Byrhtwold (157). In Bruce's reading, these passages form part of Tolkien's "unified perspective on heroism," which replaces Byrthnoth's *ofermod* with Gandalf's correct choice at the bridge of Khazad-dûm and keeps the "true heroic spirit" of Byrhtwold, Offa, Leofsunu, and Dunnere. But as I hope I have demonstrated, Tolkien preserves that heroic spirit by methodically separating its essential quality from all of the specific behaviors and motivations with which it was connected in *The Battle of Maldon*.

It would be easy to see, for readers familiar with "Homecoming," that any attempt by Tolkien to revise the behavior of *Maldon*'s characters to fit his conception of appropriate heroism would be likely to include rewriting Byrhtnoth's choice at the causeway in the way that Bruce has shown he did. But as Shippey's work on "Homecoming," and heroism in Tolkien more generally, has shown, Tolkien also struggled with how to regard the behavior of the retainers, especially Byrhtwold. Shippey sees the courage of the retainers as a nearly impossible problem for Tolkien. It requires a lack of hope, but this is unacceptable in a Christian warrior as these retainers are: "The true heroic spirit, Tolkien knew, was founded on 'the creed of unyielding will' and on a fundamental lack of hope, and was unavailable, at least in theory, to the Christian, who is not allowed to lose hope" ("Heroes," 280). Consequently, lines 312-313 of *Maldon* express a spirit that, at the time they were written, at the time the battle was fought, and in Tolkien's own time, "was heathen and now illegitimate" ("Tolkien and 'The Homecoming,'" 335).

We might say that Tolkien resolves that problem within *The Lord of the Rings* by the simple expedient of its ancient setting: there are no Christian characters, and so no one whose lack of hope is illegitimate in the same way. A great many characters express lack of hope, or the uncertainty of hope, from Elrond ("There lies our hope, if hope it be" [*FR*, II, ii, 280]), to Faramir ("It is long since we had any hope" [*TT*, IV, v, 286]), to Frodo ("I never hoped to get across. I can't see any hope of it now" [*RK*, VI, ii, 201]). Even Gandalf states that he does not "see the end beyond all doubt" (*FR*, II, ii, 282). Examples could be multiplied. Amid such uncertainty, the indomitable will so many characters exhibit is free, if you will, to be legitimately heathen. (As Shippey himself points out in *Author of the Century*, Tolkien was "careful . . . to remove easy hope from them," 150.) But the problem of hope is more complex than that, and Tolkien is grappling with it in complex ways. For the doubts expressed in the passages I have just quoted are doubts about short-term outcomes: will the Ring be destroyed, will Gondor fall, etc. Amid this uncertainty there is still a great deal of hope felt and expressed regarding the long term. Beregond of Gondor, who fears that the time of Gondor's defeat has come, takes comfort in the idea that its defeat will not be total: "Hope and memory shall live still in some hidden valley where the grass is green" (*RK*, V, i, 39). Frodo is inspired by the sight of the fallen and vandalized head of the statue of a king of Gondor, now "crowned" anew by a "trailing plant with flowers like small white stars," and exclaims, "They cannot conquer forever!" (*TT*, IV, vii, 311). Sam is similarly inspired, with perhaps more cosmological precision, at the sight of a star shining through the murk of Mordor: "The beauty of it smote his heart, as he looked up out of the forsaken land, and hope returned to him. For like a shaft, clear and cold, the thought pierced him that in the end the Shadow was only a small and passing thing: there was light and high beauty for ever beyond its reach" (*RK*, VI, ii, 199). Clearly, this is not hope for the success of the quest; rather, it is hope that *even if* the quest fails, the triumph of Evil will be less than total and less than permanent.

This distinction is clearest in the most striking expression of hope amid despair, Sam's song in the Tower of Cirith Ungol: "Though here at journey's end I lie / in darkness buried deep, / . . . / 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). Sam feels certain—even without the benefit of Christian revelation—that the Sun and Stars (roughly representing the Valar and Eru) will never be defeated by the Shadow (Morgoth and his progeny); at the same time, it seems to him likely, if not certain, that he and Frodo have failed in their present quest.

We have, then, hope and lack of hope at the same time. What effect does that have on the significance of the "indomitable will"? In theological terms: is lack of hope always and necessarily illegitimate for a Christian? At the level of eschatology, certainly. A Christian must know that at the Last Day Christ will triumph, in direct contrast to the final defeat of the Norse gods at Ragnarök. This is the sort of hope that Sam and Frodo express, though without a theological vocabulary. But there are other levels at which to feel hopeless. One is the disposition of one's own soul, a concern which Fred C. Robinson has suggested is present in *Maldon*, allowing Byrhtnoth to have both his piety and his old-school heroism. Another is the outcome of earthly events, the experiences oneself and others have in this life—the short term for which hopelessness is so often expressed in *The Lord of the Rings*. The question, then, comes down to whether the lack of hope in the short term is sufficiently grave to create scope for true heroism. I submit that it is. Why else do characters such as Elrond, Galadriel, and Gandalf—who know more than does Sam about the position of evil in the cosmic perspective—think it worth the effort to destroy the Ring, and to resist its temptations? As Gandalf puts it, "It would be a grievous blow to the world, if the Dark Power overcame the Shire; if all your kind, jolly, stupid Bolgers, Hornblowers, Boffins, Bracegirdles, and the rest, not to mention the ridiculous Bagginses, became enslaved" (*FR*, I, ii, 58). A "grievous blow" not because it would influence the ultimate victory or defeat of evil, but simply because what happens in this life and in this world does matter. We might say of *The Lord of the Rings* itself what Tolkien once said of *Beowulf*: "Its author is still primarily concerned with *man on earth*, rehandling in a new perspective an ancient theme: that man, each man and all men, and all their works shall die. A theme no Christian need despise" (*MC* 23).

In this way, Tolkien managed to rewrite the heroism of *The Battle of Maldon* so that we can have the qualities he so admired and could not entirely give up on—that indomitable will—without the alloy of pride or the contamination of despair. And this is how, I believe, he dealt with the other problem with northern heroism that Shippey has identified:

> I am sure that Tolkien was also thinking in a way of the resurgence of self-consciously Nordic or Germanic attitudes in Nazi Germany. He felt that the heathen spirit of the Vikings and the berserks had come back in his own time, and had to be fought once more. To fight it, two things had to be done: one, an acceptable image of heroism had to be created; and two, Tolkien had to commit an act of parricide. He had in fact to take 'the northern heroic spirit' and sacrifice it. ("Tolkien and 'The Homecoming,'" 337)

I suggest that rather than do two things, one of them to reject the "northern heroic spirit," he in effect did just one: reshaped the northern into an acceptable image of heroism, thus reclaiming it from the Nazis and redeeming it of its heathenism. Shippey also asks, "Was it possible to create an alternative and Christianised image of a heroic style? That was the question. And Tolkien set himself to answer it to give a sequence of new images of heroism in characters like Aragorn and Théoden, not forgetting Sam Gamgee" (338-9). I concur—but I submit that he created these "new images of heroism," most especially Sam Gamgee, out of the very stuff of the heathen north.

Christine Chism has read Bilbo's choice not to kill Gollum as a similar kind of pointed revision, in this case of the scene in which Wagner's Siegfried kills Mime. When Bilbo leaps over Gollum, she argues, he also leaps "over the whole vicious Siegfriedian, Rosenbergian Nazi mindset that finds it more self-justifying to kill an enemy it views as threatening and contemptible than to try to understand him" (77-78). As Chism reminds us, this choice of Bilbo's, and Frodo's later repetition of it, become central to the success of the quest. Gandalf prophetically summarizes the role of Bilbo's pity in his comments to Frodo: "My heart tells me that [Gollum] has some part to play yet, for good or ill, before the end; and when that comes, *the pity of Bilbo may rule the fate of many*—yours not least" (*FR*, I, ii, 69, my emphasis).

I close by suggesting that this line too may be a pointed reversal of the words of Wiglaf that Tolkien quotes at the end of "Ofermod," linking his criticism of Byrhtnoth and Beowulf: "oft sceall eorl monig anes willan wraec adreogan," 'by one man's will many must woe endure.' "These words," he concludes, "the poet of Maldon might have inscribed at the head of his work" (150). His words on Bilbo offer the counterpoint: With Bilbo, it is the properly exercised will of one, through pity, that prevents immeasurable woe for countless others. These words he might have inscribed at the head of his own work.

NOTES

1 Thomas Honegger traces the development of "Homecoming" through its various drafts, with particular emphasis on the use or non-use of the crucial terms "pride" and "proud." In general, the intensity of the work's criticism of Byrhtnoth's pride appears to have grown through successive drafts; the essay "Ofermod" may be a fairly late addition to the text. One small example that suggests some cross-fertilization between "Homecoming" and The Lord of the Rings is Tídwald's reference to "barrow-wights" (7).

2 Most readers will know the main outlines of *Maldon* if only from Tolkien's description in "Homecoming," but I include a brief summary here. The poem recounts a battle based on an actual battle fought in 991. A Viking army has landed on an island in the river Blackwater, which at low tide is connected to the mainland by a narrow ford or bridge. The Vikings offer to leave in exchange for tribute, which the English refuse. They then suggest that the English let them cross the causeway so that they can fight, and the English leader, Byrhtnoth, agrees. In the battle that follows, Byrhtnoth is killed, many of the soldiers flee the battlefield, and several others make lofty speeches about why they won't leave (most of them are then killed).

3 The lines are quoted from Tolkien, "Beowulf," page 45 n. 12, and the translation from his "Homecoming of Beorhtnoth," 124. All other quotations from *Maldon* are taken from the edition by D. G. Scragg. I translate shorter passages myself but borrow from the excellent translation of R. M. Liuzza for longer ones; these borrowings are indicated in the notes.

4 In his note to this passage, Anderson reports that "Tom Shippey has suggested to me that Bilbo's statement that 'defeat may be glorious' may be a covert reference to stanza three of the chorus of the King Edward's School's song, which reads: 'Oftentimes defeat is splendid, victory may still be a shame; Luck is good, the prize is pleasant, but the glory's in the game'" (344).

5 Compare D. G. Scragg's description of the poem as one that "turn[s] the humiliating loss . . . into . . . a moral victory" ("*The Battle of Maldon*: Fact or Fiction," 23), or Rosemary Woolf's: "The poet has apparently taken a local defeat . . . and transposed it from the historical world into one of heroic story in which paradoxically it is better to lose than to win" (81). These comments post-date *The Hobbit* but show that others have understood the poem to mean "that defeat could be glorious."

6 "Near the end of the surviving fragment an old retainer, Beorhtwold, as he prepares to die in the *last desperate stand*, utters the famous words [lines 312-313], a summing up of the heroic code, that are here spoken in a dream by Torhthelm" (124, my emphasis).

7 For a fuller discussion of the Anglo-Saxonism of Rohan, see Tinkler, and Shippey (*Author*, 91-97).

8 "Where now is the horse and the rider? Where is the horn that was blowing? / Where is the helm and the hauberk, and the bright hair flowing? / Where is the hand on the harpstring, and the red fire glowing? / Where is the spring and the harvest and the tall corn growing? / They have passed like rain on the mountain, like a wind in the meadow; / The days have gone down in the West behind the hills into shadow. / Who shall gather the smoke of the dead wood burning, / Or behold the flowing years from the Sea returning?" Cf. "The Wanderer" 92-93: "Where has the horse gone? where is the rider? where is the giver of gold? / Where are the seats of the feast? Where are the joys of the hall?" (trans. Liuzza). This parallel has been noted before; see e.g. Chance (170).

9 Janet Brennan Croft regards even Bilbo's language as typical of British soldiers in its "stoical reticence" and "formulaic understatement" (41, quoting Paul Fussell). In this scene, as Croft analyzes it, Bilbo represents a modern, post-World War I attitude toward war (114).

10 Not identical to be sure: Owen refers not to Old English poetry but to hawkish propaganda. But the propaganda often drew on medieval models of heroism, as Allen Frantzen has documented extensively in

Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice, and the Great War.

11 The bibliography on this issue is extensive and the debate over the poet's attitude toward Byrhtnoth is by no means settled, but "pride" does appear to have gained a consensus as the best gloss on *ofermod*. Helmut Gneuss surveys the discussion to 1974 and makes a sound case for translating "ofermod" as "pride," leaving open the question of whether pride is viewed as positive or negative. He does observe that "the context . . . makes it likely that the word is a term of criticism, if not of reproach" (157). In the introduction to the now-standard edition, Scragg concludes that "Tolkien was undoubtedly right in regarding the term as pejorative" (38) but disagrees with Tolkien's moral evaluation: "Byrhtnoth's heroism is not diminished by his *ofermod* or by his hubris . . . . ultimately the audience is called upon to admire the hero . . . " (39-40). Articles by Michael Matto and John Niles include other useful discussions of the issue. See also Shippey's assessment of the impact of "Ofermod" in "Tolkien's Academic Reputation," 21, and in "Boar and Badger," 233-4, which also offers a cogent counter-argument on both linguistic and literary grounds (228-34). Drout himself disagrees with the argument but concludes that its influence has been salutary (142, 149). The most recent survey of the issue is provided by Paul Cavill.

12 The validity of this point as a statement of military strategy has also been much debated. The outcome looks like a failure in the poem, and is identified as a Viking victory in version A of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, but other historical sources report that the Vikings also suffered heavy losses, and some historians suggest that refusing to allow the Vikings to cross would only have caused them to leave and attack elsewhere. Most editors of the poem still identify Byrhnoth's action as an error, but Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe concludes that "Byrhtnoth's supposed tactical advantage is, upon examination, limited if not illusory, for its only advantage lay in protecting the lives of his men. In practical terms, using this 'advantage' would keep him from protecting the *folc* and *foldan* (54, 'the people and land') of Æthelred. In heroic terms, it is no advantage at all" (120). See also Gneuss (159).

13 Cf. Croft's observation: "Compare his actions in defending a contested bridge to those of Beorhtnoth—Gandalf's only goal was the defense of the other members of his Company and the larger world in general, and he had no desire for glory or renown" (94). Michael R. Kightley has made a similar argument about Gandalf via comparison with Beowulf.

14 Randel Helms has also seen a shift in values between "The Monsters and the Critics" and "Ofermod," which he attributes to world history, including the development of "the Bomb" (61-66).

15 Heather Stuart, like Tolkien, reads the poem as a thorough-going critique of Byrhtnoth's heroism, but in her reading this critique extends to the retainers as well: they are "completely trapped . . . in their heroic fantasy" (135). Byrhtwold, in particular, "has become completely mesmerised by the tenets of the heroic code as it was formulated by his commander . . . . Byrhtwold's speech appears tragically mistaken" (136-7). Roberta Frank, who has read "The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth Beorhthelm's Son" and even cites Tolkien's essay as the "most memorable" among "several" arguments for a critical view of Byrhnoth ("*Battle*," 204), still conflates Byrhtnoth and Byrhtwold in her evaluation: "Yet Byrhtnoth's conduct is excessive and blameworthy only if our standard is life and common sense. A sacrificed Patroclus, a martyred Oliver, a Byrhtwold longing to lie in death beside his lord, are honoured by the makers of heroic literature as chief reflectors, gazing on and deriving their light and power from their captains" (204).

16 Other critics note the distinction but do not pursue its implications for the use of *Maldon* in *The Lord of the Rings*; see e.g. Helms 65 and Chance, who goes as far as recognizing that Tolkien here "reconcile[s] Germanic heroic values with Christian ones," 118.

17 Modern critics are divided on whether the criticism of the departing men is justified, but the consequences for those who fight on has not been questioned (to my knowledge). If, as John Hill argues, the sons of Odda believe that their loyalty to Byrhtnoth ends with his death (117), it is clear that they recognize no (continuing) responsibility to their fellow warriors either.

18 Frodo's use of the word "friends" here says something about his ambiguous status (or perhaps his ambivalence toward it): is he the leader of the expedition (and so in something like Byrhtnoth's position), or one among equals (and so more properly parallel to the sons of Odda)? In either case, he is considering the effects of his actions on the others, as neither Byrhtnoth nor the sons of Odda do. For more on Frodo as an "unwilling leader," see Croft (83-84).

19 Helms, for example, states that "Ofermod" "is the critical fruit of Middle-earthly discovery and the preparation of an audience for the new mode of heroism he has formulated through Frodo and Sam," and points out that this new model of heroism includes "a concern

for the good of all" (66), but does not apply this to any specific scenes in *The Lord of the Rings*. Chance (169) and Potts (10) suggest that Sam is like Byrhtwold but do not develop the comparison. Clark (46) develops the comparison further but still falls short, as I argue below.

20 Ic þæt gehate, þæt ic heonon nelle / fleon fotes trym, ac wille furðor gan, / wrecan on gewinne minne windrihten, 246-8. Translation by Liuzza.

21 Brian Murdoch has argued that this is, in fact, more typical of Germanic heroes: "The Germanic hero is concerned with the *preservation* of his reputation; naturally he is pleased if he knows that after his death songs will be sung about him. But his concern is usually expressed negatively: that the wrong songs are *not* sung about him" (5).

22 Ne sceolon me on þære þeode þegnas ætwitan / þæt ic of ðissa fyrde feran wille, / eard gesecan, nu min ealdor ligeð / forheawen æt hilde, 220-23; Liuzza's translation.

23 fram ic ne wille, / ac ic me be healfe minum hlaforde, / be swa leofan men, licgan þence, 314-9; Liuzza's translation.

24 Woolf and Frank, "Ideal," disagree on where the poet derived the motif, but agree that Tacitus, often cited as the precedent, had no evidence for attributing it to the people of Germania. See also Drout ("Tolkien's Medieval Scholarship, 161 n. 91). This issue, and the related question of how central the "suicidal" impulse is within the poem, continues to be a subject of critical discussion. Niles (especially 461-2), Earl Anderson, and Hill make useful contributions.

25 Stuart D. Lee and Elizabeth Solopova have identified the loyalty that Merry and Éowyn have to Théoden and their defiance of the Nazgûl after his fatal fall as another appearance of this motif (219-220).

26 Steven Deyo has anticipated some of this reading, pointing out that "Sam's loyalty to mission above master actually saves the Ring from capture by Sauron's orcs" (60) and enumerating the options Sam rejects to do this ("Not to remain by his master in grief, not to avenge Fordo on Gollum, not to despair and commit suicide"), though he does not connect these choices to those of Byrhtnoth's retainers.

27 Similarly, Colleen Donnelly has argued that "Sam's position, his role as companion, servant, and second to Frodo . . . takes precedence over the destruction of the Ring. . . . his first duty *is* to Frodo and not to the quest" (20). This reading, too, glosses over the several previous choices that are informed by a sense of duty to the quest, choices that

have kept the Ring out of enemy hands. If Sam were to act only out of devotion to Frodo, he would certainly have been captured by the orcs who take Frodo prisoner.

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Fantasy, Escape, Recovery, and Consolation in *Sir Orfeo:* The Medieval Foundations of Tolkienian Fantasy

THOMAS HONEGGER

A king in exile, having spent years in the wilderness, asks for the hand of his beloved lady from the king of Fairy, is finally re-united with her and, after testing the loyalty of his steward, re-claims his throne and lives ever happily with his queen to the end of his days.

What reads like a somewhat modified account of Aragorn's career as found in *The Lord of the Rings*, is actually an accurate though simplified summary of the plot of the Middle English poem *Sir Orfeo*.[1] Professor Tolkien knew the poem intimately and made it repeatedly the subject of his studies,[2] although his scholarly influence was (as so often) exerted through the work of his students (notably Alan J. Bliss) rather than through his own publications—of which there were none on *Sir Orfeo* during his lifetime. Tolkien's contribution to the scholarship on the poem is thus difficult to assess. The poem's importance for students of Tolkien's fiction and its influence on his works have been easier to trace. Even so, it has as yet been overlooked that *Sir Orfeo* is likely to have shaped the development of Tolkien's central theoretical concepts of Fantasy, Recovery, Escape, Enchantment, Eucatastrophe, and Consolation, as discussed in "On Fairy-stories"[3]—and thus exerted (indirectly) a profound influence on Tolkien's own literary writings, and on those of his successors.

Sir Orfeo and Tolkien Studies

So far, *Sir Orfeo* has received some attention in Tolkien studies mostly because it provides an important source for the professor's depiction of the elves and the land of Faërie.[4] Thus, Orfeo's vision of the king of Faërie's hunting-party has been (rightly) identified as a likely source for Tolkien's wood-elves as they occur for the first time in *The Hobbit*. The relevant passage in *Sir Orfeo* reads as follows: "He miȝte se him bisides / oft in hote vndertides / the king of Faierie with his route / cömen hunten him al aboute, / with dim cri and blowinge, / and houndes also berkinge; / ac no best thai neuer nome, no neuer he niste whider thai bicome."[5] (ll. 281-88, *TS* 2004, 96). Other encounters with the inhabitants of Faërie show clear parallels to passages in *Smith of Wootton Major*, such as Smith's vision of the elven mariners "tall and terrible; their swords shone and their spears glinted and a piercing light was in their eyes" (*SWM* 26), which corresponds to lines 289-96 in *Sir Orfeo* (*TS*, 97): "And other while he miȝte him se / as a gret ost bi him te / wel atourned ten hundred kniȝtes, / ich y-armed to his riȝtes, / of cuntenaunce stout and fers, / with manie desplayed baners, / and ich his swerd ydrawen holde; / ac neuer he niste whider thai wolde."[6] Furthermore, Smith's encounter with the dancing elves (". . . he heard elven voices singing, and on a lawn beside a river bright with lilies he came upon many maidens dancing. The speed and the grace and the ever-changing modes of their movements enchanted him, ..." *SWM* 31) has a counterpart in lines 297-302 of *Sir Orfeo* (*TS* 2004, 97): "And other while he seiȝ other thing: / kniȝtes and leuedis come dauncing / in queinte atire, gisely, / queinte pas and softely: / tabours and trumpes ȝede hem bi / and al manere menstraci."[7] Also, the description of Orfeo's journey to the land of Faërie through a long subterranean passageway as well as the description of the land itself (*TS* 2004, 98, ll. 349-76) is strongly reminiscent of the access to the elven realm of Gondolin and Gondolin itself (see "Of Tuor and his coming to Gondolin" in *UT* 58-67). And lastly, I may point to the parallels between King Thingol's reaction to Beren's request for the hand of Lúthien (*S* 166-67) and that of the king of Faërie on hearing Orfeo's wish to take with him the beautiful (and presumably unchanged) Heurodis: "'Nay', quath the king, 'that nouȝt nere! / A sori couple of ȝou it were, / for thou art lene, row, and blac, / and sche is louesum withouten lac; / a lothlich thing it were forthi / so send hir in thi cömpaini'" (*TS* 2004, 100, ll. 457-62).[8] Unfortunately, these undoubtedly striking and important parallels have obscured the somewhat less obvious though, in my opinion, equally if not more important status of the Middle English poem as an almost perfect embodiment of Tolkien's ideas on fairy-stories and fantastic literature, as expressed in his lecture "On Fairy-stories."[9]

Tolkienian Fantasy and Faërie

The overwhelming influence of Tolkien as an author of works of (fantastic) fiction needs no further discussion. His reputation as a literary critic, however, is not as well established. Yet his lecture "On Fairy-stories," in its expanded and revised forms, has become highly influential since, as Flieger and Anderson argue in their introduction, "Tolkien established positive criteria by which fairy-stories—and by extension his own developing kind of fantasy literature [and those works written in his wake]—could be evaluated" (*OFS* 19). Originally written as the Andrew Lang Lecture for 1939, "On Fairy-stories" is not just about Andrew Lang's fairy-tales, as Flieger and Anderson point out, but the essay "is part of a critical tradition on imaginative writing that reaches from Classical Greece to the late twentieth century. It belongs in the same line as Aristotle's *Poetics*, Sidney's *Defence of Poesey*, Wordsworth's Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*, Coleridge on Imagination in *Biographia Literaria*, and T.S.

Eliot's essay on 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' in *The Sacred Wood*" (*OFS* 20).

The importance of "On Fairy-stories" for the theoretical discussion of the tradition of fantastic literature had already been highlighted by Northrup who, in a paper published in 2004, argued for identifiying two basic approaches towards fantastic literature: the one proposed by Todorov, the other based on the "secondary world" concept.[10] For works of the latter category, Northrup proposes the term "Tolkienian fairy-story, after the most important fantasy author and critic of the twentieth century" and claims that it has "for its roots the medieval romance" (815). Medieval romance, which begins with Chrétien's courtly romances and finds an end in Malory's epic *summa Arthuriana*, is a wide and diversified field and it is certainly possible to find poems that fit the bill to a greater or lesser degree. However, most romances are, due to their length and their various hetereogeneous elements, not really suitable to illustrate Tolkien's theoretical points and it would take an undue amount of omission, abstraction and simplification to make them fit.[11] It is, in my opinion, not the vague and fuzzy genre of "medieval romance"[12] that provides the theoretical foundations of Tolkienian fantasy as found in "On Fairy-stories" and thus, via its literary embodiment in *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, the inspiration and model for most contemporary fantasy literature, but the relatively short (604 lines) and tightly structured lay[13] *Sir Orfeo*. Although the plot is based on the classical myth of Orpheus and Eurydice, there are some rather curious and important deviations from the generally known versions as found in Virgil, Ovid or Boethius,[14] which is why I will briefly summarize its content.

Orfeo, whose ancestry comprises such illustrious figures as Jupiter and Juno,[15] is a king famous for his harping. He reigns in a place called Traciens, which the poet poker-facedly equates with Winchester. This king Orfeo is married to Heurodis, who is the most beautiful lady alive. In the month of May, the queen visits an orchard to enjoy the sight of the blossoms. She and her companions seek the shade of the trees at noon and she falls asleep beneath an "ympe tree" (a grafted tree). Her two companions do not dare to disturb her slumber and let her sleep. When Heurodis wakes up, she seems to have lost her mind—she tears her clothes, scratches her face, cries out piteously and generally behaves like a madwoman. The courtiers take her back to her chamber and Orfeo hastens to console his wife. Upon his enquiry as to what has caused her distress, she tells him about the visitation by the king of Faërie, who took her to his realm and returned her only to await her final abduction the next day at noon. Orfeo, in order to prevent this, assembles a thousand knights to watch over his queen, but in spite of their vigilance she is spirited away from their midst at the assigned time. The king is distraught at the loss of his beloved wife, hands over the rule of his kingdom to his steward and goes to live in the wilderness with nothing but a beggar's cloak and his harp. There he stays for more than ten years and during that time he would often see the company of the king of Faërie hunting, elven knights in armour, or elven knights and ladies dancing. One day he encounters a company of elven ladies hawking. Among them is his wife Heurodis and the two exchange looks of recognition though no words. Orfeo follows the train of the elven ladies and through a tunnel in the rock he reaches the realm of Faërie, which is illuminated by the light of precious stones. At the gate, he offers his service as minstrel and is allowed to enter the castle of the king, whom he enchants with his harp-play. The king asks Orfeo to name anything he wants as reward for his musical entertainment and Orfeo selects his lady Heurodis. Although the king of Faërie at first objects to his choice, pointing out that the two would make a very unequal pair, he finally assents and Orfeo and Heurodis return to Winchester. There they first stay, unrecognised, with a beggar and Orfeo sets out to test the loyalty of his steward. Finding him true to his lord, Orfeo reveals his identity and is re-instated to his throne and kingdom. He and his queen live a long and happy life and after their death the faithful steward inherits the throne.

Even this short summary of the plot allows us to recognise the most important points relevant for Tolkien's concept of "fairy-story." First and foremost, it is indeed a "fairy-story" in the Tolkienian sense of the word, i.e. a tale about the adventures of man in Faërie and his encouters with the inhabitants of Faërie.[16] *Sir Orfeo* differs with regard to length and centrality of the fairy-element from most other lays, which usually feature only very short and limited contacts between Faërie and the world of men.[17] The Middle English poem is, by contrast, mainly about the confrontation with Faërie: either in the realm of Faërie itself or in what Tolkien called "its shadowy marches" (*MC* 113), both in their temporal and spatial aspects. The first intrusion of Faërie takes place in a well-defined framework: in the month of May at noon under an 'ympe-tree'. The idea that particular trees constitute points of contact between our world and Faërie is a well-known topos; less known, but of equal importance, is the concept of noon as "temporal Faërie."[18] Here, both the grafted tree and noontime are ambiguous and liminal. The former is, due to having been grafted, a hybrid, whereas the latter is neither morning nor afternoon. And it is once more at noon that Heurodis is abducted from beneath the very same tree the following day. The subsequent encounters between Orfeo and inhabitants of Faërie also take place "in hote vndertides" (*TS* 2004, 96 l. 282), though no longer in one spot only, but in the wilderness—which may be seen as a territory belonging neither to the realm of Faërie proper nor to the world of men. This space "in-between" allows the two worlds to come into contact with each other, though not always in full.[19] The important point is that either party has to move away from the centre of its world onto the "marches"—interaction between the two is initially only possible from a "marginal" position.[20]

Fantasy, Recovery and Escape

Faërie is also the element that provides the element of Fantasy, one of the four central characteristics of a fairy-story according to Tolkien—the others being Recovery, Escape, and Consolation (*MC* 138). Tolkien uses the term Fantasy "in a sense, that is, which combines with its older and higher use as an equivalent of Imagination the derived notions of 'unreality' (that is, of unlikeness to the Primary World), of freedom from the domination of observed 'fact,' in short of the fantastic" *(MC* 139). Concerning *Sir Orfeo*, Friedman correctly observes that the king of Faërie, who replaces the snake responsible for Eurydice's death and subsequent "abduction" into the underworld in most classical versions of the tale, is "by most canons of realism . . . less credible" (1966:22). Yet this is exactly the point, Tolkien would argue. The unexplained and rather unsettling (though, as we have seen above, not completely random) intrusion of Faërie into the world of men illustrates the poet's freedom from the domination of observed 'fact' and introduces an element of "arresting strangeness" (*MC* 139).

And yet, the introduction of an element of "strangeness" does not "estrange" the story from its audience. Instead of having a myth remote in time and space, the poet brings even the "strangeness" closer to home. He transforms Orfeo by means of a poetic "translatio" into an English king with his capital at Winchester,[21] and the classical underworld is replaced by the (presumably more familiar) realm of Faërie from the Celtic tradition.[22] The poet thus establishes a very strong link to the primary world—a link that is furthermore strengthened by the "realistic" description of Orfeo's self-imposed exile in the wilderness: "Nothing he fint that him is aise, / but euer he liueth in gret malaise. / He hadde ywered fow and gris, / and on bedde purpre bis; / now on harde hethe he lith, / with leues and with gresse him writh. / He hadde yhad castels and tours, / riuere, forest, frith with flours; / now thei ȝ it cömsi snewe and frese, / this king mot make his bed in mese. / He hadde yhad kniȝtes of pris / bifore him knelande, and leuedis; / now seth he nothing that him liketh, / but wilde wormes bi him striketh. / He that hadde yhad plentee / of mete and drink, of ich deintee, / now may he al day digge and wrote / er he finde his fille of rote. / In sömer he liueth bi wilde frute / and berien but gode lite; / in winter may he nothing finde / but rote, grasses, and the rinde. / Al his bodi was oway ydwine / for misaise, and al to-chine. / Lord! who may tellen al the sore / this king suffred ten ȝer and more?

/ His her and berd, al blake and rowe, / to his girdelstede were growe"[23] (*TS* 2004, 95-96, ll. 239-66). I have quoted this passage at length not only because it illustrates the "artistic realism" in the depiction of life away from the comforts of civilisation,[24] but also because it provides—by means of contrastive enumeration—an inventory of all the things Orfeo once possessed and which he left behind voluntarily. The one item not mentioned is, of course, his wife Heurodis. She does not fall into the category of "things that can be owned" but is an essential and complementary part of Orfeo himself, the linchpin of his world whose removal renders all other things meaningless. The function of Faërie is thus to initially "disenchant" Orfeo, to cause an existential crisis—as a necessary first step towards the final recovery and consolation. The contrastive list of "temporalia" is reminiscent of the "vanitas mundi" and the "ubi sunt" traditions[25] and Orfeo comes to see his worldly possessions and luxuries the way he was meant to see them: as things apart from himself,[26] as pleasant and comfortable possessions that are "nice to have," yet which are ultimately of no real existential importance. The "Recovery" in the Tolkienian sense, i.e. "freed from the drab blur of triteness or familiarity—from possessiveness" (*MC* 146), begins with this very realisation.

The next stage is reached when Orfeo watches the elven ladies hunting with their falcons and, laughing, exclaims: "'Parfay!' quath he, 'ther is fair game, / thider ichil, bi Godes name / Ich was ywöne swiche werk to se'" (*TS* 2004, 97, ll. 315-17).[27] His decision to re-establish contact with courtly society—here represented by the company of ladies hawking—marks the end of his passive suffering. Furthermore, it immediately leads to the unexpected encounter with his lost wife and triggers his journey into the realm of Faërie.

So far we have treated "Fantasy" and, to some extent, "Recovery." Where in *Sir Orfeo*, we may ask, do we find "Escape"? Tolkien avoids giving a clear-cut, one-sentence definition of the term, yet his discussion (*MC* 148-53) makes clear that one important function of "Escape" is to leave behind the limitations of "normal" life. Although the Middle English re-interpretation of the classical legend makes it no longer a tale about the escape from death, it still takes the reader beyond the limitations of "normal" life. Orfeo "escapes" from his familiar world—a world that no longer makes sense to him after the abduction of Heurodis—when he leaves his court, his castle, and his throne.[28] The poet thus presents him as following the basic "romance" pattern which has the protagonist leave his home and free himself from his social obligations in order to expose himself to "aventure." Orfeo does not wander into the wilderness to find his wife (the narrator never says so), but rather to share, as in the classical version(s) of the myth, his wife's experience of loss—which, incidentally, brings about his (and, in the end, Heurodis') "recovery." Furthermore, on a meta-level, the poem transfers the audience into a world of relative moral and social clarity. It enables the reader to "escape" from the entanglement of everyday drabness and has him or her participate in the high emotional drama of Orfeo's trial. It is, however, an "escape" in order to return: Orfeo does not remain either in the wilderness or in Faërie, and the reader, too, is safely escorted back into the social reality of our primary world.

Enchantment, Eucatastrophe, and Consolation

The pivotal quality that enables Orfeo to gain back his wife is not a heroic one—military might seems to be useless against the power of Faërie. It is the enchanting power of his music that conquers all.[29] His harp-playing is perfected in the solitude of the wilderness and Orfeo, while playing the harp, finds himself in harmony with creation. He thus not only re-establishes a pre-lapsarian harmony between man and the other parts of nature, here beasts and birds of the wild, but he is also able to "enchant" the king of Faërie and his court. It is this power to weld words and music into song that earns him access to the presence of the "fairy enchanters" and, in the end, enables him to recover his wife. Seth Lerer, in an important article analysing the function of music in *Sir Orfeo*, makes the distinction between (musical and poetical) artistry, for which Orfeo himself stands, and the artifice of the world of Faërie. His argument supports my point made earlier: the (positive) enchantment in the poem is located in Orfeo's poetic and musical performance (and, on a meta-level, in the poet's creation of the poem itself) whereas the "enchantment" exercised by the inhabitants of Faërie is based on coercion.[30] Orfeo's strategy to "enchant the enchanter" is successful because the "civilising power" (Lerer 105) of his music paves the way for the king of Faërie's acknowledgment of "the conventions of civilised life" (Lerer 105), which, in this concrete instance, means the keeping of his promise. This is, in my view, the main *eucatastrophe* or "sudden joyous turn,"[31] which Tolkien identified as a vital quality of true fairy-stories.[32] It is from this moment onwards that the story unravels itself towards the final happy ending, in the process of which Orfeo not only "recovers" his wife, but also his social position, his throne and the affection of his court.[33]

Yet the "consolation of the happy ending" goes deeper than meets the eye at first reading. *Sir Orfeo* is not simply the "classical myth" of Orpheus and Eurydice with a "new" ending, but a different story altogether.[34] Tolkien's comment (MS B, *OFS* 219) on the different versions of Red Riding Hood is equally true for *Sir Orfeo*: "The really important thing is that this version is a story with a happy ending, and that Perrault's was not. There is a world of difference . . . . They are different stories."[35] The

"Consolation of the Happy Ending", which Tolkien considered essential for all true fairy-stories,[36] transforms the classical tragic myth of loss and despair into a fairy-story of recovery and hope and it could be indeed described as "a psychological tonic" (Lucas 1972, 8). The Middle English poem is, as a consequence, no longer about the (failed) individual escape from death and the (in the end destructive) power of individual love, but rather presents a testing of all human relationships. Lucas (1972, 2)[37] puts it thus: "In *Sir Orfeo* the bonds of human society are tested, principally by a mysterious, external, supernatural agent. Broadly, the bonds involved are the basic ones. That between a man and a woman is illustrated within a marriage by the mutual love of Orfeo and Heurodis. That between man and man is illustrated in the society of the poem by the loyalty owed to Orfeo by his people, especially the Steward." They all pass the test and even the king of Faërie proves, in the end, truthful and does not renege on his given word.

Epilogue

Tolkien's addition of an "Epilogue" to the main text of the lecture is an afterthought—and a very "medieval" one. He places the poetical creative work of sub-creation within a Christian framework and interprets the "joy" connected with the "eucatastrophe" as a reflection of the true eucatastrophe of the incarnation. Tolkienian fairy-stories are thus typological foreshadowings (or reflections) of the evangelium. Materialist literary critics usually ignore this religious "afterthought" and I have not, as yet, come across any "religious" interpretation[38] of (traditional) fairy-stories. Thus, the inclusion of such an "interpretatio Christiana" in the written version is proof (if any further is needed) that Tolkien's concept is radically different from Andrew Lang's. Not surprisingly, these ideas are not yet extant in the original lecture,[39] given to a sympathetic yet neither primarily medievalist nor Catholic audience. The point of departure for his discussion of fairy-stories is, for obvious and compelling reasons,[40] Lang's collections of fairy tales. They serve as a point of reference, but often rather "ex negativo" since Tolkien repeatedly contrasts his concept of fairy-stories with those tales found in Lang's books—and finds them, most of the time, wanting.

How does Tolkien arrive at the idea that the Gospels embrace "all the essence of fairy-stories" (*MC* 155) and that fairy-stories are, as a consequence, reflections of this ultimate "story"? Once more, I think, we have to turn to medieval literature and philosophy/theology. Much of medieval literature lays claim either to moral or to religious relevance, which can be extracted from almost any text by means of the allegorical and/or typological methods of interpretation. The allegorical interpretation of literature, in Christian Europe, has its roots in biblical exegesis.

It is based on the assumption that words, things, or entire narratives are not restricted to their "literal" meaning but that they convey additionally religious, moral or eschatological truths. Thus biblical statements about "Jerusalem" can be interpreted on the literal level ("sensus historicus") as being about the city of Jerusalem in Judaea, or, alternatively, on a spiritual level, where Jerusalem stands for a) the Church ("sensus allegoricus"), b) the human soul ("sensus moralis vel tropologicus"), and c) the "Heavenly Jerusalem" or "City of God" of the Apocalypse ("sensus anagogicus").

The typological method of interpretation as the second important exegetical tool was developed in order to harmonize the differing corpora of the Old and the New Testaments. It makes use of the fact that the Old Testament often displays structural or even verbal parallels with the New Testament. The passage about Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac (*Genesis* 22,1-14), for example, shows not only structural parallels with the passion of Christ, but also implicit verbal parallels, at least in the Latin commentaries. Thus, on the one hand, Isaac has to carry the wood for his own sacrifice (*Genesis* 22, 6), which is the "typus" for the New Testament "anti-typus" of Christ's carrying the cross (e.g. *John* 19,17; structural parallel). On the other hand, Isaac is laid between the "cornua" (the "horns") of the altar, whilst Christ's limbs are transfixed onto the "cornua crucis" ("the horns of the cross"; this originally structural parallel was later extended into a verbal one by the commentaries, which made explicit these merely implicit parallels). These forms of interpretation have, strictly speaking, validity only for biblical texts; yet classical and medieval scholars applied them also to non-canonical and literary texts. Thus, the story of Orpheus and Eurydice was variously interpreted as either Christ's harrowing of hell (which works, of course, only with the "happy ending" version),[41] or as a moral tale warning man not to cling to the body or other earthly things (Eurydice), which he is going to lose one day, but to better focus his energies on God and life eternal.[42] The glosses and commentaries extant in medieval manuscripts show that the allegorical potential of the Orpheus-story was widely acknowledged and an educated medieval audience would almost automatically interpret the classical tale within a Christian context. Tolkien, as a medievalist, was of course conversant with this tradition—and applies it in a very idiosyncratic way. Fairy-stories are, in Tolkien's "typological" reading, types that foreshadow (or reflect) the true fairy-story of the Gospels and find their fulfilment in the "anti-type" of the Christian story. The foundation for such a reading can hardly be traced to Andrew Lang's "fairy-tales." Yet if we take *Sir Orfeo* as the "prototypical fairy-story", Tolkien's allegorical-typological afterthought makes sense.

Why, then, does Tolkien never even mention *Sir Orfeo*? First of all, when Tolkien started working on his Andrew Lang Lecture in 1938, he was taking the corpus of Andrew Lang's fairy-tale books as (one of) his point(s) of departure. This is understandable in the light of what was expected from the Andrew Lang lecturer, i.e. to "speak on some aspect of Lang's life and work" (*OFS* 15). However, although he does mention some of them, he does not use one specific tale to exemplify his major points, nor does he present a "model fairy-tale." In fact, he remains rather vague when it comes to illustrating his argument by means of Lang's tales and readers/listeners will find it difficult to apply his theory to most of the traditional fairy-tales. Tolkien must have been aware of this, yet preferred to retain a certain indeterminacy and vagueness rather than to express his criticism openly. Secondly, Flieger and Anderson's publication of the drafts and early versions show that Tolkien had, at the time of the writing of the lecture, not yet developed a clear concept of Faërie, nor had he reached a definite conclusion concerning the status of its inhabitants, the elves—nor would he ever come to a fully consistent view in any of the (later) published versions.[43] Also, many of the key-terms, such as sub-creation, Fantasy, Enchantment etc. were either not yet in existence or had not yet attained their definite terminological status—"On Fairy-stories" remained, throughout Tolkien's life, very much a "work in progress." Thirdly, and as a consequence of the preceding points, the essay puts more and more distance between the traditional fairy-tales such as "Puss-in-boots" or "Red Riding Hood" and what Tolkien would come to consider to be "true" fairy-stories.[44] This "distancing" happens in a rather haphazard and erratic way. On the one hand, Tolkien (*MC* 113) very clearly states that "good 'fairy-stories' are about the *aventures* of men in the Perilous Realm or upon its shadowy marches." This would exclude many if not most of the traditional fairy-tales. On the other hand, he still harks back to the traditional tales in his discussion of what constitutes "true" or "good" fairy-stories. It seems as if Tolkien had great difficulties casting off the original Andrew Lang Lecture framework and never managed to re-write his paper "backwards," i.e., starting from his findings and acknowledging that the most suitable prototype for his concept of a "good" fairy-story is not to be found among Andrew Lang's twelve books of fairy-tales. What he actually does is to re-define the traditional generic label "fairy-story" and to re-establish (as far as this is possible) the original status of Faërie. It is therefore not that surprising, though it does not lack irony, that the tale best exemplifying the "new" (or rather, "original") concept,[45] the prototypical fairy-story in Tolkien's sense of the word, is a poem that has hitherto been variously classified as "Breton lay," "metrical romance," or "(adapted) classical myth," but never as "fairy-story." Having identified the medieval (and maybe "unconsciously" working) prototype helps towards a better understanding of the genesis of Tolkien's theoretical concepts developed in "On Fairy-stories" and also provides an explanation for the persistence of many unresolved issues.

Tolkien writes: "The lyre of Orpheus is a prime concept in the world of Faerie" (*OFS* 222). True, yet up to date critics have not realised that this refers not only to the classical versions of the myth, but also (or, even more so) to the medieval recension known as *Sir Orfeo*.

NOTES

1 The text of the poem is extant in three manuscripts, the earliest of which is the Auchinleck manuscript dated to ca. 1330. The standard scholarly edition of the poem, giving the text of all three manuscripts, is the one by Alan J. Bliss (1954, second edition 1966).

2 Although Tolkien is likely to have first encountered the poem during his student days at Oxford, his first recorded involvement with *Sir Orfeo* begins with his compilation of *A Middle English Vocabulary*, a glossary intended for use with Kenneth Sisam's anthology of Middle English texts (*Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose*, first published 1921). Sisam takes the Auchinleck manuscript text as the basis for his edition and uses BL MS Harley 3810 to fill in the missing parts. Tolkien's *A Middle English Vocabulary* was first published in 1922 and thus not incorporated in the first printing of the anthology. Later, Tolkien prepared an edition of the poem for the naval cadets' course in English which he organized in January 1943 (see Hostetter in *TS* 2004, 85, Scull & Hammond 257). The text of his "edition" was reproduced by mimeograph in 1944 and has been edited by Hostetter. Around this time (1944), Tolkien also produced a Modern English translation (see Scull & Hammond 263), which was published posthumously by his son Christopher Tolkien in 1975 (see Tolkien 1995). In 1947, Tolkien officially took on the supervision of Alan J. Bliss's thesis with the title *Sir Orfeo: Introduction, Text, Commentary and Glossary* (Scull & Hammond 313). Bliss's edition was published seven years later, in 1954, and in his preface he expressed his gratitude for Tolkien's help and inspiration. All this shows Tolkien's sustained professional involvement with the poem.

3 Flieger and Anderson (*OFS* 134), based on internal evidence, argue that a major revision of "On Fairy-stories" was undertaken in 1943—providing another circumstantial link between *Sir Orfeo* and Tolkien's essay.

4 See Hostetter's succinct summary of the scholarship.

5 I quote from Tolkien's edition of the poem. Translation: "There often by him would he see, / when noon was hot on leaf and tree, / the king of Faërie with his rout / came hunting in the woods about / with blowing far and crying dim, / and barking hounds that were with him; / yet never a beast they took nor slew, / and where they went he never knew." (Tolkien 1995, 135).

6 Translation: "At other times he would descry / a mighty host, it seemed, go by, / ten hundred knights all fair arrayed / with many a banner proud displayed. / Each face and mien was fierce and bold, / each knight a drawn sword there did hold, / and all were armed in harness fair / and marching on he knew not where" (Tolkien 1995, 135-36).

7 Translation: "Or a sight more strange would meet his eye: / knights and ladies came dancing by / in rich array and raiment meet, / softly stepping with skilful feet; / tabour and trumpet went along, / and marvellous minstrelsy and song" (Tolkien 1995, 136).

8 Translation: "'Nay', said the king, 'that would not do! / A sorry pair ye'd make, ye two; / for thou art black, and rough, and lean, / and she is faultless, fair and clean. / A monstrous thing then would it be / to see her in thy company'" (Tolkien 1995, 140).

9 My first explicit written formulation of this idea goes back to September 2005 and is, as I found out during my research for this paper, pre-dated by half a year by http://medievalwanderers.blogspot.com/2005/03/sir-orfeo.html (entries dating from 22 March 2005). The bloggers, however, did not develop their initial ideas any further. As far as direct references to *Sir Orfeo* are concerned, there are none in the published text of "On Fairy-stories" nor are there any in the notes and drafts as edited by Flieger and Anderson (Tolkien 2008). The only indirect reference that is likely to refer to the Middle English poem in general (but arguably also to the classical myth) is to be found in Manuscript B where Tolkien discusses the "necessity of keeping promises that (together with Prohibitions) runs through all Fairyland since the days of Orpheus" (OFS 241).

10 Colin Manlove uses the term "secondary world fantasy" in connection with Tolkien's works and dedicates an entire chapter (Manlove 37-63) to the discussion of its major proponents. See Chen for a more detailed discussion of the phenomenon of fantastic literature.

11 Their structure, too, is often more complex than the basic structure of the fairy-story. See the classic structural analysis of *Erec* by Haug.

12 The standard monographs on medieval (English) romance are (still) Barron (1987) and Stevens (1973). The decades after the publication of Barron's book have seen a plethora of studies and papers that analyse particular aspects of medieval romances, yet recent discussions of medieval romance as a genre are rare. Gaunt's contribution to *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance* (2000) and Cooper's chapter (22-40) in her book *The English Romance in Time* (2004) are some of the few recent general studies of the genre.

13 Lays are short (typically 600–1000 lines), rhymed tales that deal with matters of love or chivalry, often involving elements of the supernatural. The plot is usually limited to a single strand of action, in contrast to romances, which typically comprise multiple (parallel) sub-narratives.

14 See Severs, Dronke, and Friedman (1970) for an informed overview of the myth in antiquity and the Middle Ages.

15 The poet euhemerises these divine persons and introduces them as heroic but human figures of old who had been made into gods by later men.

16 Tolkien (*MC* 113) defines fairy-stories as "stories about Fairy, that is *Faërie*, the realm or state in which fairies have their being. . . . Most good 'fairy-stories' are about the *aventures* of men in the Perilous Realm or upon its shadowy marches." It is, of course, vital (as Tolkien pointed out; *MC* 116 and 139) to avoid a "psychologizing" reading of Orfeo's sojourn in Faërie, e.g., as a "dream," as Pérez (227) does.

17 See the Old French lays of *Lanval*, *Eliduc* (both by Marie de France), *Lai de Graelent*, *Lai de Tydorel*, or the Middle English romance of *Sir Degaré*.

18 See Friedman (1966) for an overview of the biblical and folk-traditions relevant for "vndertide" (usually translated in this context as "noon tide") and the "ympe-tree" (usually glossed as "grafted tree," "orchard tree," or "apple tree"). The concept of noon as a time of (spiritual) danger is still alive in the 17th century when Milton, in his *Paradise Lost*, has the temptation and fall of Eve take place at "the hour of Noon" (book IX, line 739, Milton 255).

19 Thus, Orfeo perceives the "wild hunt" of the king of Faërie as if through a filter—the cries and blowing are "dim" and they do not take any beasts. This stands in contrast to the clear perception of the company of (elven) ladies whose falcons do kill their prey.

20 See Tolkien's comment (MS B, *OFS* 213): "Our fates are sundered, and our paths touch rarely. Even on the borders of Elfland we meet them but at the chance crossing of the ways." (See also his comments, in connection with his later tale *Smith of Wootton Major* (*SWM* 86-87), on the forest as a place where entries into Faërie are to be found.) The way in which the inhabitants of Faërie interfere with the world of the humans bears this out. Also, the king of Faërie is astonished to find that Orfeo has made his way into the heart of his realm uninvited: "I no fond neuer so hardi man / that hider to ous durste wende, / but that ichim walde ofsende" (*TS* 2004, 100, ll. 426-28). Translation: "I have never found so rash a man / that he to us would dare to wend, / unless I first for him should send" (Tolkien 1995, 139).

21 The idea of the "translatio" (though admittedly that of the "translatio imperii") finds its most complete expression in the British foundation myth as encountered in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (ca. 1135). Geoffrey presents Aeneas' great-grandson Brutus Felix as the Trojan founding-father of the British civilisation. See also the introductory stanza of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and the fourteenth-century custom of calling London "New Troy."

22 The "problematic" passage describing the "undead" in the courtyard of the fairy castle (lines 387-400) may thus be seen as yet another instance of creating such an "arresting strangeness" and need not be seen as a later interpolation (as Mitchell does; see Allen on the motif of the "taken"). Tolkien, in his edition and translation, wisely refrains from "reconstructing" an allegedly "original" version.

23 Translation: "[He] nothing finds to make him glad, / but ever liveth lone and sad. / He once had ermine worn and vair, / on bed had purple linen fair, / now on the heather hard doth lie, / in leaves is wrapped and grasses dry. / He once had castles owned and towers, / water and wild, and woods, and flowers, / now though it turn to frost and snow, / this king with moss his bed must strow. / He once had many a noble knight / before him kneeling, ladies bright, / now ought to please him doth he keep; / only wild serpents by him creep. / He that once had in plenty sweet / all dainties for his drink and meat, / now he must grub and dig all day, / with roots his hunger to allay. / In summer on wildwood fruit he feeds, / or berries poor to serve his needs; / in winter nothing can he find / save roots and herbs and bitter rind. / All his body was wasted thin / by hardship, and all cracked his skin. / A Lord! who can recount the woe / for ten long years that king did know? / His hair and beard all black and rank / down to his waist hung long and lank" (Tolkien 1995, 134-35).

24 See the similar impulse in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, lines 726-32 (Tolkien and Gordon 21).

25 See Riddy (12). Although *Sir Orfeo*, in its extant form, was most likely written in the south of England, scholars postulate a "Celtic connection" via the lost French (Breton) lay, of which the Middle English poem is believed to be a translation/adaptation.

26 See Tolkien (*MC* 146): "[Recovery means] 'seeing things as we are (or were) meant to see them'—as things apart from ourselves."

27 Translation: "'Behold, in faith, this sport is fair! / Fore heaven, I will betake me there! / I was once wont to see such play.'" (Tolkien 1995, 136). Riddy discusses the central importance of these lines.

28 Thus "Escape" is a prerequisite for "Recovery." See Tolkien's definition of the term in MS A: "Escape may mean . . . standing outside and looking at things in a bright/new light situation . . ." (*OFS* 194).

29 The original meaning of "enchant," going ultimately back to Latin *cantare* ("to sing"), thus combines and recovers both words and music.

30 See Tolkien (*MC* 122): "And he [fallen man] has stained the elves . . . with his own stain."

31 Additional "joyous turns" can be identified in Orfeo's encounter with the elven ladies and his wife (see Owen), in his safe return together with his wife to the world of men (especially when contrasted with the alternative classical versions in which Orpheus loses Eurydice at the last moment), and in the recognition and joyous welcome by the steward and his court (see Riddy 14-15).

32 See Tolkien (*MC* 153): "The *eucatastrophic* tale is the true form of fairy-tale, and its highest function."

33 It has been argued that the fact that there is no direct heir to inherit Orfeo's throne may be interpreted as a covert critique of the "sterile" nature of his reign. I would argue that the "poetic justice" shown to the loyal steward, who inherits the throne after Orfeo's demise, is actually in line with the overall theme of the poem (see below).

34 Allen (111) writes: "The happy ending of the mediaeval poem (if it is indeed an innovation) is only one manifestation of an all-pervasive difference in quality. In spirit the story of Orpheus and the story of Orfeo have very little in common, and between them lies a belief in which death itself loses its bitterness and finality, and is swallowed up

in enchantment."

35 See also MS A (*OFS* 191). Furthermore, Tolkien (*OFS* 179) points out (in Manuscript A) that one must not simply equate stories with each other because they have the same "plot outline" (as Lang did), but that "it is precisely the colouring, atmosphere and details that really count." Olsen provides a structural analysis of the poem and argues for a categorisation as a folk tale. He also points out that the happy ending is a much more fitting ending for a folk tale.

36 Tolkien (*MC* 153) writes: "Almost I would venture to assert that all complete fairy-stories must have it [i.e. the Consolation of the Happy Ending]."

37 Scholarly criticism of *Sir Orfeo* was, up to the 1980s, more in line with Tolkien's views on fairy-stories. Later scholars tend to use feminist (e.g. Carlson), deconstructivist, or post-modern (e.g. Cartlidge) approaches that no longer seem to contribute much to our understanding of *Sir Orfeo* as a fairy-story. The value of Lucas's influential essay has been confirmed by its incorporation—in a slightly adapted form—in the 2005 volume on Old and Middle English literature edited by Johnson and Treharne (see Lucas 2005).

38 Moral interpretations, whether implicit or explicit, are numerous.

39 See the newspaper reports (in *OFS* 161-69) on the original lecture. The longest appeared in *St Andrews Citize*n (March 1939, see *OFS* 164-69) and gives the main points of the lecture in a concise yet, as far as we can judge, comprehensive way. It does not mention Tolkien's "interpretatio Christiana."

40 Tolkien's "On Fairy-stories" was given on Wednesday evening, 8 March 1939 as the Andrew Lang Lecture at the University of St. Andrews. See Flieger and Anderson's discussion (in *OFS* 126) of the history of the text.

41 See Friedman (1966, 24) on Pierre Bersuire's commentary (14 cent.) on Ovid's Metamorphoses: "Let us speak allegorically and say that Orpheus, the child of the [sun], is Christ, the son of God the Father, because he leads Eurydice, that is to say, the human soul, to the Father through charity and love." See also Louis (644-45) for additional examples.

42 Friedman (1966, 23) writes: "In turning his eyes back to Eurydice, Orpheus turns them away from heaven, which, in Boethius' neo-Platonic view, is the only proper object for mind. From this allegorical

interpretation Eurydice emerges as inferior to Orpheus and becomes identified with hell and *temporalia*." See also Louis (643) for additional examples.

43 See Krüger's discussion of the concept of Faërie.

44 This development was, of course, also influenced by Tolkien's writing of *The Lord of the Rings*—a process that lasted from 1938 to 1949.

45 Not taking into account Tolkien's model fairy-story *Smith of Wootton Major* (begun in 1964, published in 1967).

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Elladan and Elrohir: The Dioscuri in *The Lord of the Rings*

Sherrylyn Branchaw

In J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*, Elladan and Elrohir are the twin sons of half-elven lord Elrond. The index records a small number of passages1 in the text and appendix where they are found. Most of these passages are mundane, describing who brings up the rear of a company, or who bears the torches. In the contentful passages, the only way in which the sons of Elrond advance the plot is to bring a message from their father to Aragorn. They accompany him on the Paths of the Dead and in the final battle, but they do not stand out more than, say, Halbarad the Dúnadan. These passages, though, few as they are and unremarkable as they may seem, provide a mythological background to the sons of Elrond that is as rich and resonant as any in Middle-earth, a background that is elaborated on and supported by Tolkien's posthumously published works, such as the *Silmarillion* and *The History of Middle-earth*.

I provide here the six passages to be analyzed in detail.

(1) So it was that Frodo saw her whom few mortals had yet seen; Arwen, daughter of Elrond, in whom it was said that the likeness of Lúthien had come on earth again; and she was called Undómiel, for she was the Evenstar of her people. Long had she been in the land of her mother's kin, in Lórien beyond the mountains, and was but lately returned to Rivendell to her father's house. But her brothers, Elladan and Elrohir, were out upon errantry: for they rode often far afield with the Rangers of the North, forgetting never their mother's torment in the dens of the orcs (*FR*, II, i, 221).

(2) The sons of Elrond, Elladan and Elrohir, were the last to return; they had made a great journey, passing down the Silverlode into a strange country, but of their errand they would not speak to any save to Elrond (*FR*, II, iii, 267).

(3) There came Legolas, and Gimli wielding his axe, and Halbarad with the standard, and Elladan and Elrohir with stars on their brow (*RK*, V, vi, 123).

(4) In 2509 Celebrían wife of Elrond was journeying to Lórien when she was waylaid in the Redhorn Pass, and her escort being scattered by the sudden assault of the Orcs, she was seized and carried off. She was pursued and rescued by Elladan and Elrohir, but

> not before she had suffered torment and had received a poisoned wound. She was brought back to Imladris, and though healed in body by Elrond, lost all delight in Middle-earth, and the next year went to the Havens and passed over Sea. And later in the days of Arassuil, Orcs, multiplying again in the Misty Mountains, began to ravage the lands, and the Dúnedain and the sons of Elrond fought with them (*RK*, Appendix, I, iii, 323).
>
> (5) [T]he Riders hunted them over the plains of Calenardhon. In the forefront of the charge they saw two great horsemen, clad in grey, unlike all the others, and the Orcs fled before them; but when the battle was won they could not be found, and none knew whence they came or whither they went. But in Rivendell it was recorded that these were the sons of Elrond, Elladan and Elrohir (*Peoples,* 73).
>
> (6) *rond* meant a vaulted or arched roof, or a large hall or chamber so roofed. . . . It could be applied to the heavens, hence the name *Elrond* 'star-dome' (S, 363).

I compare the above quotes to the features of the divine twin myths presented in Donald Ward's *The Divine Twins: An Indo-European Myth in Germanic Tradition* (1968). Ward first lays out the elements of myths concerning twins that are found in traditions throughout the world, beginning with the fact that the birth of twins is considered an event requiring supernatural explanation. In many cases, this explanation takes the form of supposing that a divinity fathered one or both twins, who are believed to be divine or partially divine. Hence arises the term "divine twins," which the present paper employs, though there is nothing especially supernatural or divine about Elladan and Elrohir. Ward then lays out the elements that are reconstructed for the divine twins myth of the Indo-Europeans some 6,000 years ago, based on the shared features of the divine twins in the Indian, Greek, and Baltic traditions that descend from the Indo-Europeans. Ward finally uses this comparative evidence to argue for manifestations of the Indo-European divine twins myth in Germanic tales.

At this point, the reader would be forgiven for thinking that I mean to talk about Tolkien's use of Germanic divine twin myths. However, the evidence for this Indo-European myth in Germanic is scanty and ambiguous, and none of the tales Ward analyzes bears a close enough resemblance to the sons of Elrond to be taken as their source. Indeed, in few of these Germanic tales are the two men in question twins. Though Germanic provided much of the source material for Tolkien's legendarium, it was to Classical Greek and Roman mythology he looked in creating the sons of Elrond.

I am not aware of any interest on Tolkien's part in ancient Indian hymns or epics, or in the Baltic lays, though I would welcome any evidence of such interests. In order to claim the Indian or Baltic divine twins as a source for Elladan and Elrohir, the methodology requires that Elladan and Elrohir should have a feature shared with the Indian or Baltic but not with the Classical divine twins. A systematic study of the appearance of the divine twins the Aśvins in the Rig Veda and of the Aśvins and their twin sons Nakula and Sahadeva in the *Mahābhārata* revealed to me no such apparent characteristics. For example, the Aśvins, despite being divine, associate most often with mortals. Likewise, Elladan and Elrohir "rode often far afield with the Rangers of the North," as seen in quote (1) above, and are present for the events of *The Return of the King*. Frequent association with mortals is a trait also of the Greek divine twins (Ward 25). The methodology does not therefore permit us to see the influence of the Rig Veda or *Mahābhārata* past the influence of the Classical myths, though neither does it permit proving a negative and ruling them out as a source.

There is no question that Tolkien had an extensive education in and love for Greek. As he wrote, "I was brought up in the Classics, and first discovered the sensation of literary pleasure in Homer" (*Letters* 172). Important previous work on his interest in Classics can be found in Librán-Moreno (2005), which convincingly argues for a parallel between two pairs of brothers, comparing Boromir and Faramir with Ajax and Teucer. In the process, it provides invaluable accounts of the relevant secondary material, such as the neglect of Classics in source studies of Tolkien's work, evidence of Tolkien's background and interest in the Classics, and records of Tolkien's attitudes toward source studies of his work. The thoroughness of Libran-Moreno's work allows the present paper to be concerned only with primary material: the writings of Tolkien and of the Greek and Roman authors he read.

From his study of the Classics, Tolkien would have been familiar with the twins Castor and Polydeuces, called Castor and Pollux by the Romans, and with the twins Amphion and Zethos. Castor and Polydeuces are the sons of Zeus and Leda (*Od.* 11.298-300; *Hymn. Hom.* 17 & 33). As the sons of Zeus, they are known as the Dioscuri, literally "sons/boys of Zeus." In keeping with a common belief that one man cannot father two children simultaneously, they also had a mortal father. Tyndareus, the husband of Leda, is the twins' mortal father, and Zeus their divine father. Sometimes it was explained that Zeus fathered one and Tyndareus the other, with confused accounts of parallel twins and cross-twins, eggs, etc. In any case, both patronymics are used of both twins. The Dioscuri are the brothers of the famous Helen of Troy. They also make appearances in accounts of various historical events, the most important of which are expanded upon below. The Romans borrowed much mythology from the Greeks, including the Dioscuri, and likewise assigned the twins a role in Roman history (Burkert 213). Another instantiation of the divine twins in Greek mythology is found in the tale of Amphion and Zethos, called the Theban twins. Amphion and Zethos were considered paragons of filial piety for rescuing their mother from captivity (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.5).

The rescue of a female relative from captivity is the most striking similarity between the sons of Elrond and the divine twins. The deed for which Elladan and Elrohir are best known is seen in quotes (1) and (4), the retrieval of their mother from the orc lairs and the vengeance carried out on the orcs. Similarly, when Helen is abducted as a young girl by Theseus, Castor and Polydeuces rescue her, and in the *Iliad* (3.236-44), she wonders why they have not come to rescue her from the Trojans as they did from Theseus. Homer explains that unbeknownst to her, they are dead, implying that if they were alive, they would have been at Troy as well, carrying out their usual function. The rescue by Elladan and Elrohir forms an even closer parallel with the story of the Theban twins, Amphion and Zethos, who rescue their mother from captivity, and punish her tormentors. Antiope, the mother of Amphion and Zethos, is abducted by Lykos and his wife Dirce and mistreated by Dirce. Amphion and Zethos not only rescue Antiope, but they cause Dirce to be dragged to death by the horns of a bull (Ward 61).

Quotes (1), (2), and (4) show Elladan and Elrohir engaged in deeds of errantry after carrying out the rescue of their mother. Likewise, the divine twins in the Indo-European traditions, including Castor and Polydeuces, were worshipped as far-ranging saviors who could appear at a moment's notice to turn the tide of a battle or protect sailors, as well as participants in expeditions such as the quest for the Golden Fleece (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.146-7) and the Calydonian boar hunt (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.2). Homeric Hymn 33 describes their typical rescue of hapless mortals and says that their mother bore them as *sōtēres* "saviors" of men. Epiphanies in historical and semi-historical battles are also attributed to Castor and Polydeuces. Consider this account of the battle of Lake Regillus, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Loeb trans.):

> It is said that in this battle two men on horseback, far excelling in both beauty and stature those our human stock produces, and just growing their first beard, appeared to Postumius, the dictator, and to those arrayed about him, and charged at the head of the Roman horse, striking with their spears all the Latins they encountered and driving them headlong before them. . . . And it is said that after they left the Forum they were not seen again by anyone, though great search was

> made for them by the man who had been left in command of the city. The next day, when those at the head of affairs received the letters from the dictator, and besides the other particulars of the battle, learned also of the appearance of the divinities, they concluded . . . that the apparitions had been those of Castor and Pollux (*Ant. Rom.* 6.13).

Compare his account to quote (5), from *The Peoples of Middle-Earth,* describing how Elladan and Elrohir appear on horseback in the eleventh hour to turn the tide of battle and disappear without a trace after they have led the victory. The very existence of this tale of the sons of Elrond supports the claim that Tolkien had the Greek and Roman Dioscuri in mind when creating Elladan and Elrohir, irrespective of the fact that he later discarded this particular tale from his legendarium.

The sons of Elrond share their rescue of a female relative with both sets of Greek twins, the fact that it was their mother with the Theban twins, and a close association with a beautiful sister with the Dioscuri. Castor and Polydeuces are the brothers of Helen of Troy, who is still famed today for her beauty. Arwen, for her part, is held to bear the likeness of her ancestor Lúthien, legendary for her unsurpassed beauty, as seen in quote (1). They share the punishment of their mother's captors with the Theban twins, and their errantry with the Dioscuri. Tolkien neatly tied the two elements together by making Elladan and Elrohir's desire to punish the orcs their motivation for riding often abroad.

The high probability that the mythological source of Elladan and Elrohir has been securely identified places etymologizing attempts on a more secure footing. Directly from Tolkien comes the etymology that "el" is a naming element common among the elves, meaning "star", and that the second elements of the names *Elladan* and *Elrohir* mean, respectively, "man of Numenor" and "horse-man/knight" (*Letters* 211). A shared morpheme, according to Ward (21), is a pattern commonly found across the world in the names of twins. However, a shared morpheme is not a property of the names of Castor and Polydeuces, nor of Amphion and Zethos, yet it is a property of other brothers in Tolkien, such as Boromir and Faramir. Moreover, there are other naming patterns, such as rhyming, also common to twins around the world, which are likewise assigned by Tolkien not only to twins, but to any set of brothers. His naming patterns are best seen in his assignment of the Eddic dwarf names to the dwarves in the *Hobbit*. Rhyming names occur in the following sets of brothers: Fili and Kili; Óin and Glóin; Dori, Nori, and Ori; and Balin and Dwalin. In fact, it is likely that Balin was created in order to rhyme with Dwalin, as Balin's name is not among those in the catalogue of dwarves in *Völuspá* (Hammond & Scull 208). The names of the brothers Bofur and Bombur are similar both in their alliteration and in their shared ending. In none of these cases are the brothers twins.[2] For these reasons, the shared element of the names *Elladan* and *Elrohir* is not in itself a sound diagnostic for determining whether the Greek divine twins or any Indo-European divine twins were their source.

However, if the other evidence presented is deemed sufficient to draw the conclusion that Tolkien had the Dioscuri in mind when creating Elladan and Elrohir, it is not unreasonable to read more into the other morphemes. It is worth noting that *Elladan* and *Elrohir* were not the first names given to the sons of Elrond, who were originally named Elboron and Elbereth (*War* 297). Tolkien later settled on *Elladan* and *Elrohir* as more suitable to the characters' functions. There are at least two respects in which the meanings of *Elladan* and *Elrohir* parallel features of the Dioscuri. First, Tolkien explains that the construction of the names as *el* + "man" show that each of the brothers is half elven and half human. Second, the element *rohir* "horse" is suggestive of the way divine twins in all three Indo-European traditions, Vedic, Greek, and Baltic, are specially associated with horses.

Though Elladan and Elrohir do not have dual parentage, like many mythical twins including the Dioscuri, they do have dual ancestry. Being half elven and half human, they are given a choice between the fates of men and of elves. Their choice resembles the choice Pindar (*Nem*. 80-90) says that Zeus gave to Polydeuces, his immortal son. Zeus tells Polydeuces that by default, the fate of gods, to dwell eternally on Olympus, is his; while the fate of men, to pass as shades to Hades, is Castor's. If Polydeuces chooses, however, he and Castor may alternate time in Hades and on earth. Polydeuces elects to share his immortality with his twin.

The inclusion of the morpheme meaning "horse-man, knight" may also have been significant, both for the twins as a pair and also for Elrohir specifically. In the Vedic hymns, the divine twins proper have no separate names but are called the *Aśvins*, meaning "possessors of horses". Likewise, the Dioscuri appear on horses, as at Lake Regillus. Homeric Hymn 33.18 addresses them with the epithet *takheōn epibētores hippōn,* "mounters of swift horses." Although I hope to have demonstrated that quote (5) represents a transfer of the battle of Lake Regillus into Middle-earth, Tolkien may also have been reminded of the legendary Germanic brothers Hengest and Horsa, both of whose names mean "horse," when he placed Elladan and Elrohir on horses. He certainly thought of Hengest and Horsa, the Germanic pair of brothers with names meaning "horse," when he wrote of the hobbit brothers Marco and Blanco (Hammond & Scull 19). The names of Marco and Blanco are also derived from Old English words for 'horse,' and just as Hengest and Horsa led the Germanic tribes to settle in England, Marco and Blanco received permission for their large following of hobbits to settle the Shire, Tolkien's parallel for England in Middle-earth. Hengest and Horsa are often interpreted as the Germanic reflex of the divine twins, both for their association with horses as well as their role in founding a state.[3] Because Tolkien followed Dionysius of Halicarnassus' description of the battle of Lake Regillus so closely, in this case it is possible merely to state that Tolkien was aware of the Germanic divine twins and may have had them in mind when composing this passage about the sons of Elrond, but it is not possible to assert that Hengest and Horsa constituted a definite influence on this passage. It is likely, however, that the association of horses with the Dioscuri, and possibly with Hengest and Horsa as well, contributed to the name *Elrohir*.

At the same time, and not necessarily in contradiction, one Indo-European divine twin in particular may be associated with horses, in contrast to the other twin. In the case of the Dioscuri, it is Castor. Compare line 3 of Homeric Hymn 33:

> *Kastora th' hippodamon kai amōmēton Poludeukea*
> Both Castor the horse-tamer and blameless Polydeuces

Polydeuces' special area of influence is boxing rather than horsemanship. This distinction between the twins may have inspired Tolkien to place a morpheme meaning "horse" in *Elrohir* but not in *Elladan*. He does not otherwise, though, distinguish between the twins. The possession of distinguishing—usually complementary or opposing—personality traits is a feature of twins found worldwide (Ward 4-5, 20-22). Jacob and Esau is a famous example, and the post-Vedic Aśvins are more differentiated than the Vedic Aśvins. It is not the case with Hengest and Horsa, indicating that despite belonging to the Germanic tradition, they were not a major source of influence on Elladan and Elrohir.

Another common pattern in the naming of twins across the world is the use of a single name or epithet that refers to both twins. The Vedic Aśvins never have separate names, and Castor and Pollux are referred to as a unit by their patronymics *Tundaridai* "sons of Tyndareus" and *Dioskouroi* "sons of Zeus." Elladan and Elrohir are likewise referred to as a unit by their patronymic,[4] "sons of Elrond." So, the reader may recall, are the "sons of Denethor" and the "sons of Fëanor," among others who are not twins. However, the etymology of "sons of Elrond" parallels the etymology of "sons of Zeus" very closely. "Dioscuri" is translated the "sons of Zeus," *Dios* being the genitive singular of *Zeus*. The Greek Zeus is descended from the Indo-European sky god, called **Dyēus*, and the phrase "sons of the sky god" appears in the other two traditions as well: the Vedic Aśvins are called *diva ājātā* and *divo napātā*, and the Baltic divine twins are called *Dieva dēli* in Latvian and *Dievo suneliai* in Lithuanian

(Ward 10). Both *div*- and *diev*- derive from the same Indo-European word for sky god as *Zeus*. As for *Elrond*, Tolkien always translated the name as "star-dome," *el*- being "star" and *rond* being "dome." Initially, he wrote (*Letters* 211) that the dome alluded to a cavern in which Elrond was found as a babe.[5] Quote (6), representing his more formal development of the etymologies into a glossary in the *Silmarillion*, presents *el-rond* as a kenning for the heavens. The "sons of Elrond," then, are "the sons of the sky," just like the Dioscuri. Carpenter, who edited the letters with the help of Christopher Tolkien, confirms that the "sky" interpretation of *el-rond* is later than the "cavern" interpretation (fn. 4, p. 448). Thus, just as Tolkien changed the names of the twins with the result that the duality of their nature, similar to the duality of the nature of the Dioscuri, was highlighted, he also changed the interpretation of *Elrond* with the result that a kenning equaling *Dioscuri* was formed. Curiously, in letter 209, written five months before letter 211, Tolkien discusses the Indo-European etymologies of words pertaining to the holy, including *deiwos*, which derives from the same root as *Dios*. One might speculate that the writing of these two letters contributed to his change of mind and led to the reinterpretation of "star cavern" as "sky." In any case, he was certainly aware of the etymology of *Dioskouroi*. The evidence is sufficiently solid, in my opinion, that the Dioscuri underlie Elladan and Elrohir, to allow the conclusion that "the sons of Elrond" is a calque of the Greek. *Elrond*, of course, means "sky" rather than "sky god," which would not be appropriate in Tolkien's world.

Continuing the theme of the heavens, quote (3) places stars on the brows of Elladan and Elrohir. It is difficult to say whether this element was influenced by the mythology of the Dioscuri. On the one hand, in Greek and Roman iconography, Castor and Polydeuces were often depicted with stars appearing above their brows (*LIMC* 'Dioskouroi'). They make up, of course, the constellation Gemini even today. The fact that they were associated by sailors with the bright lights of what is now called St. Elmo's fire has also been interpreted as evidence of their original astral nature (Ward 15; Burkert 213; West 231-4). The following two quotes, from Hyginus and Valerius Flaccus, exemplify the association of the twins with stars in literature.

> *his eodem quoque tempore stellae in capitibus ut uiderentur accidisse scribitur*
> It is written that at the same time stars appeared on their heads, seeming to have fallen there. (Hyg. *Fab*. XIV)
>
> *astroque comantes / Tyndaridas*
> And the sons of Tyndareus with stars in their hair
> (Val. Flac. *Argon*. V.366-7)

On the other hand, Tolkien's elves are universally associated with stars as a race, and Elrond's family is especially noted for its connection with stars. Elrond's father Earendil whose ship became a star, in a tale inspired by Anglo-Saxon mythology (*Letters* 297), and his daughter Arwen is called Evenstar. In short, here the Greek mythology overlaps what is original to Tolkien, making it difficult to distinguish between influence and coincidence.

Although Elladan and Elrohir play only a very small part in *The Lord of the Rings*, their presence highlights the ability of Tolkien to bestow a rich and detailed heritage upon even the most minor of characters. They also bring attention to an often underemphasized facet of his work: his willingness to draw upon the Classics—if not the languages, then at least the mythologies—for inspiration and source material. It is an area in which I look forward to seeing further contributions.

NOTES

1 FR Prol. 25; II, i, 239, 245; II, iii, 286-7. RK V, ii, 48-9, 51, 54, 56, 60-3; V, vi, 123; V, viii, 137, 147; V, ix, 154, 157-8; V, x, 159, 164, 168; VI, iv, 232; VI, v, 248, 250; VI, vi, 254, 256; Appendix A, I, i, 315; I, iii, 323-4; I, v, 338-9; Appendix B, 366, 375-6.

2 The sons of Fëanor come in alliterating sets: Maedhros and Maglor, Celegorm, Caranthir, Curufin, and Amrod and Amras. The last set, Amrod and Amras, are twins, but the others are not. It is worth noting that of the sets of brothers, it is the twins who share the most similar names.

3 See Ward (27) for further discussion of city- and state-founding, not a feature given to Elladan and Elrohir.

4 They have but one patronymic because Tolkien chose not to parallel the part of the tradition that required dual parentage to explain the birth of twins.

5 Elrond and Elros are also reminiscent of Amphion and Zethos (Hyg. *Fab*. VII), in that both sets of twins were abandoned in the wild.

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Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* and His Concept of *Native Language*: Sindarin and British-Welsh[1]

Yoko Hemmi

1. *The Lord of the Rings* and its "paratexts"

In a letter written in June 1955, four months before the publication of the final part of *The Lord of the Rings*, Tolkien made an extremely elusive remark that the book was to him "largely an essay in 'linguistic aesthetic'" (*Letters* 220). This is one among many, consistent and somewhat baffling assertions maintained by Tolkien that the histories of Middle-earth grew out of his predilection for inventing languages. These assertions also indicate that by 1955 Tolkien came to consider *The Lord of the Rings* as a story finished so long ago that he could take a "largely impersonal view of it" (211). He points out that the "interpretations" he might make himself are "mostly *post scriptum*": he had "very little particular, conscious, intellectual, intention in mind at any point" (211). However for us readers, those *post scriptum* interpretations could be regarded, if we apply Gérard Genette's term, as crucial "paratexts" or "epitexts" to *The Lord of the Rings*; they present an authorial interpretive key to his own work that it is "philological" or "*fundamentally linguistic* in inspiration" (218–9; emphasis in original). "Paratexts" are "those liminal devices and conventions, both within the book (*peritext*) and outside it (*epitext*), that mediate the book to the reader" (Genette xviii).[2] The "paratext," of which Tolkien provides us ample amounts, functions to "ensure for the text a destiny consistent with the author's purpose" (407), or we should rather say, the purpose the author discovered *post scriptum* by "looking back analytically."[3]

Tolkien's repeated assertion that Elvish antedated the histories of Middle-earth may constitute a notable example of such paratextual remarks, particularly in light of the fact that there are conflicting views concerning the reliability of this chronology: Dimitra Fimi has recently brought Tolkien's assertion into question, arguing that the decision to create a "mythology for England" preceded chronologically the invention of Qenya. Fimi concludes that Tolkien's claim is part of a "biographical legend" which he constructed,[4] whereas other scholars prefer to take his claim at face value, regarding it as reflecting the author's general view on the relationship between language invention and the creation of mythology.[5] Earlier, in "A Secret Vice," Tolkien, when discussing the pleasure of language invention, had displayed his conviction that language construction would *breed* a mythology, stating that "the making of language and mythology are related functions; to give your language an individual flavour, it must have woven into it the threads of an individual mythology"

(*MC* 210). We may acknowledge Tolkien's assertion as a paratextual remark indicating that he wanted to emphasize the importance of Elvish in his stories, so much so that he made the claim that he should have preferred to write in Elvish (*Letters* 219). As Genette (408) puts it, "valid or not, the author's viewpoint is part of the paratextual performance, sustains it, inspires it, anchors it." In that sense, it seems most intriguing that Tolkien further confided, however much in a cryptic manner, that "there is a great deal of linguistic matter (other than actually 'elvish' names and words) included or mythologically expressed in the book [*The Lord of the Rings*]" and that it was to him "largely an essay in 'linguistic aesthetic'" (*Letters* 220).

Evasive as they are, these messages about *The Lord of the Rings* direct us to "English and Welsh," in which Tolkien delineated his "strong aesthetic pleasure in contact with Welsh" (*MC* 190): that particular pleasure is expressed in *The Lord of the Rings* through Sindarin, a common language among the Elves, "constructed deliberately to resemble Welsh phonologically" (*Letters* 219 n.). "English and Welsh" would therefore make an "epitext" of a foremost importance to *The Lord of the Rings* when considering its "linguistic matter" in connection with Welsh. As we will see below, although "English and Welsh" discusses the languages of the Primary World, English and Welsh, not the languages of the Secondary World of *The Lord of the Rings*, Tolkien gives sufficient clues for us to discern that the two texts interact and that we may draw an analogy between his views on Welsh and those on Sindarin. The present paper aims to demonstrate that, with "English and Welsh" as a main "epitext," we can determine how his original theory of *native language* expounded in the essay is reflected in his imagined linguistic landscape of *The Lord of the Rings*. By arguing that his theory is reflected or expressed in his work, however, I am not proposing that he composed *The Lord of the Rings* in order to prove his theory; but rather, that his long-held "linguistic aesthetics" and his imagined world affected each other, and that when Tolkien looked back on his own work analytically, he realized his story could be interpreted as an expression of his concept of *native language* and linguistic aesthetics.[6] And that, I would like to propose, is above all what Tolkien implied by "a great deal of linguistic matter . . . included or mythologically expressed in the book" or by his description of the book as being "largely an essay in 'linguistic aesthetic.'" Other "epitexts" related to the subject such as *Letters*, "A Secret Vice," and the various texts from *The History of Middle-earth*, in conjunction with the "peritexts" that *The Lord of the Rings* likewise abounds in (notes and Appendices), will also be examined.

2. "English and Welsh" as an "epitext"

Tolkien delivered a lecture titled "English and Welsh" as the first of the O'Donnell Lecture Series in Oxford on 21 October 1955, the day after *The Return of the King* was published. Prior to the lecture, on 12 October, he wrote to his publisher Allen & Unwin urging them to publish the book before 20 October, the "last possible day," since he had to give the "O'Donnell Lecture" on the 21st. He explained the demand as follows: "I want to tactfully allude to the book, since a part of what I wish to say is about 'Celticness' and in what that consists as a linguistic pattern" (*Letters* 227). He apparently considered *The Lord of the Rings* as related to the topic of "Celticness," which in this context denotes the characteristics of the Welsh language, and what constitutes the characteristics as a linguistic pattern. True to his words, Tolkien referred to *The Lord of the Rings* at the opening of the lecture, and illustrated a little further the point he had made in the letter, asserting that the book contains "in the way of presentation that I find most natural, much of what I personally have received from the study of *things Celtic*" (*MC* 162; my emphasis). This will be elucidated as a statement that *The Lord of the Rings* contains his invented language, which is inspired by "things Celtic," which in this particular context of the lecture signifies "Welsh" and the ancestral language of Welsh, "British."[7]

He confirms this reading in a footnote provided in a later published version of the lecture in which he discloses that "the names of persons and places in this story were mainly composed on patterns deliberately modelled on those of Welsh (closely similar but not identical)" (197 n. 33). We are also informed that nearly all the names that appear in his legends [*The Lord of the Rings* and *The Silmarillion*] are made out of the two Elvish languages devised by him (*Letters* 143),[8] and that one of them, Sindarin, was given "a linguistic character very much like (though not identical with) British-Welsh" (176).

(i) British-Welsh: its historical dimension

To begin with, we may need to clarify Tolkien's usage of the term "British," which is strictly linguistic and therefore at variance with general usage. We may assume it agrees with the definition given by his contemporary, Celtic linguist Kenneth H. Jackson, who defines "British" as a "general term for the Brittonic language from the time of the oldest Greek information about it (derived from Pytheas of Marseilles, *c.* 325 B.C.) down to the sub-Roman period in the fifth century and on into the sixth" (Jackson 1953, 4).[9] According to Jackson's linguistic classification, British is an *ancient* language, while Welsh, Cornish and Breton, its offshoots, are the "*Neo-Brittonic*" tongues and therefore "*mediaeval*" (5).

Tolkien values British greatly because it is the "ancient language" of Britain. He draws our attention to the fact that "there is no evidence at all for the survival in the areas which we now call England and Wales of any pre-Celtic speech" (*MC* 171). It was also a predominant language: by the first century A.D., the whole of Britain south of the Forth-Clyde line shared a British civilization, forming "a single linguistic province" (174). If we draw a parallel between Sindarin and British-Welsh, we may take note that Tolkien emphasizes the fact that British is an "old" tongue in Britain, and that it has become "acclimatized to and naturalized in Britain" (177). British, he says, thus "had become already virtually 'indigenous' when English first came to disturb its possession" (177). This view of the concept of British is applied to Welsh, its descendant, as well. It is crucial to observe that Tolkien's notion of Welsh as "indigenous and old" is intertwined with his "strong aesthetic pleasure when in contact with Welsh." The connection he senses between the two is epitomized in the declaration that "Welsh is of this soil, this island, the senior language of men of Britain; and Welsh is beautiful" (189).

(ii) British-Welsh: its "linguistic aesthetic" dimension

Closely linked to the historical dimension of British-Welsh examined above is a "linguistic aesthetic" dimension, namely, the pleasure he feels in "the phonetic elements of a language" and in "the style of their patterns," and then in a higher dimension, in "the association of these word-forms with meanings" (*MC* 190). This is essentially identical to the pleasure Tolkien mentioned in relation to private language construction, in another linguistic essay called "A Secret Vice," dated 1931 (218).

Tolkien's interest in "linguistic aesthetics" was a long-held one and had formed the nucleus of his invented languages. British-Welsh was by no means the only one in which Tolkien perceived a "powerfully individual phonetic aesthetic" (*Letters* 345). In fact, whenever Tolkien talks about an individual's linguistic taste, he treats it as consisting of plural elements. For Tolkien, of all save British-Welsh, it was Finnish that provided "the most overwhelming pleasure" (*MC* 192). Consequently, its phonetic pattern and structure dominated his Qenya and its evolved forms (*Letters* 214). At the time he wrote "A Secret Vice," Qenya, which was heavily Finnicized, represented "the one language which has been expressly designed to give play to my own most normal phonetic taste" (*MC* 212). His linguistic taste changed as time went on, however, and in "English and Welsh" he referred to British-Welsh as the language "bound to win in the end" (192).

In "A Secret Vice," Tolkien informs us that he is "personally most interested in word-form in itself, and in word-form in relation to meaning (so-called phonetic fitness) than in any other department" (211). Tolkien's notion of "phonetic fitness" is examined extensively by Ross Smith (2006, 2007) and Fimi (2009) in relation to the theory of sound symbolism, which recognizes the link between sound and meaning.[10] They also delineate how Tolkien's notion ran counter to the major trend of linguistic theories of his time, although he might have found allies in such prominent linguists as Otto Jespersen and Edward Sapir. In "A Secret Vice," Tolkien further discloses: "Of great interest to me is the attempt to disentangle—if possible—among the elements in this predilection and in this association (1) the personal from (2) the traditional" (*MC* 211). He admits, at the same time, that the two are interwoven, and that the *personal* is again divisible into (a) what is *peculiar* to one individual, and (b) what is *common* to human beings, or to larger or smaller groups of them (211).

In "A Secret Vice," his argument centres on the *peculiar* (1-a), which "comes seldom into expression, unless the individual is given a measure of release by the practice of this odd art [i.e., private language invention]" (211).[11] In contrast, as we will see later, in "English and Welsh" Tolkien's argument encompasses both the *peculiar* (1-a) and the *common* (1-b). Another thing to be noted is that Tolkien, at the time he wrote "A Secret Vice," had not yet developed a concrete concept of a *native language*. Apparently, he did not yet consider that one's preferences for "phonetic fitness" is "native/inherent/innate" in nature, nor had he focused on Britain, the land he called in "English and Welsh" "our home."

(iii) Tolkien's sense of *home*

(a) The West-Midlands

It is evident that Tolkien's sense of *home* is primarily connected with the West-Midlands. He introduced himself as "one of the English of Mercia" in "English and Welsh" (*MC* 162). In a letter addressed to his son, he explained his self-identity more precisely as a Suffield (after his mother's family who lived in Evesham, Worcestershire for many generations),[12] and claimed that "any corner of that county [Worcestershire] . . . is in an indefinable way 'home' to me, as no other part of the world is" (*Letters* 54). As David Bratman has pointed out, Worcestershire used to include Sarehole, where Tolkien spent his idyllic childhood (cited in Shippey 2007, 42). What makes Tolkien's sense of *home* remarkable, however, is his assumption that one naturally feels attracted, and discerns a sense of belonging, to an ancestral form of the language related to one's ancestral land. Based on this belief, he asserts that "I am a West-midlander by blood (and took to early west-midland Middle English as a known tongue as soon as I set eyes on it)" (*Letters* 213). In the same way, he implies that his predilection for Welsh could also be connected to his West-midlander background, with or without a possible actual blood relationship. It is postulated that in the Late British period a *West British* dialect was spoken in Wales and the Midlands, and "some of the special features of the separate modern languages reach right back into the British period" (Jackson 1953, 5). Moreover, the fact that there existed "the constant reflection, in the Welsh borrowing of older date, of the forms of West-Midland English" (*MC* 189) was viewed by Tolkien as historical evidence of the linguistic environment of the West Midlands where Welsh and English were in close contact.

The Old English poem *The Seafarer* is another piece of historical evidence of similar nature he might have had in mind, since the poem indicates its connection with the mixed popular traditions of Welsh and English that existed in the border area (Gordon 31).[13] A similar linguistic environment to that which produced the text of *The Seafarer* is projected in Tolkien's "The Lost Road" (*Lost Road* 84) and "The Notion Club Papers" (*Sauron* 243–44), in which he used the lines from the poem. In "The Lost Road" Tolkien describes the multiple linguistic elements that coexisted in Anglo-Saxon times: West Saxon of western Wessex, Old Mercian spoken by "men of the Welsh Marches," and some "strange words [Old Norse] after the manner of those among whom the Danes dwelt in the eastern lands" (83). Welsh is also mentioned, though not as being "strange" to the hero Ælfwine, since "his wife was of Cornwall" [i.e., as Old Welsh and Old Cornish were very similar]. Meanwhile in "The Notion Club Papers," Tolkien changed the dialect of the poem from Old West Saxon to Old Mercian (Shippey 2005, 341), and made Lowdham claim that his version was probably "the older and better text—it is in a much older form and spelling anyway" (*Sauron* 244). In both stories, we can detect Tolkien's attempt to highlight the mixed linguistic traditions that have been supposedly passed on in "the counties upon the Welsh Marches," where Tolkien claimed to feel *at home* (*Letters* 218). In the West-Midlands, the existing linguistic substrates might be regarded as affecting "not only the development, but the emotional responses, of English in the areas" (Bibire 118). Tolkien thus seems to have believed that his West-midlander background provided the key when accounting for his linguistic predilections for British-Welsh, Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse.

(b) The North-west of the Old World

Tolkien's sense of "home" or "roots," however, can extend beyond the West-Midlands to the "North-west of the Old World" (*Letters* 212), referring to "Britain and the hither parts of Europe" (144). When he attempts to explain his personal history concerning linguistic taste, using the metaphor of the historical linguistic substrata of Britain, his vision extends beyond Britain to the "North-west of the Old World," including the non-Indo-European Baltic region. He compares his sketch of personal linguistic predilections to "Roman-British," with "a strong but more recent infusion from Scandinavia and Baltic" (214). It is evident that Tolkien's idea of "ancestry," although its core is no doubt in the Suffields of Worcestershire, embraces a scope broader than that of mere familial inheritance. It also incorporates the idea of his linguistic heritage, the core of which is, again, found in the West-Midlands, but extends beyond Britain and then still farther to the "North-west of the Old World."

(iv) Tolkien's *native language*

Tolkien's sense of *home*, which is unique in its close association with linguistic heritage as examined above, forms the foundation of his concept of a *native language*, proposed in "English and Welsh." The concept itself, however, first appeared in "The Notion Club Papers" (*Sauron* 226), which was written after he finished writing what would become *The Two Towers* (145), and which therefore predated "English and Welsh" by almost ten years. We can perceive that his fundamental concept of *native language* had already been formed by that time, though he had not yet refined his theory of it.

His use of the term *native language* in "English and Welsh" is "original," to say the least, as he himself concedes (*Letters* 319). One's "native language," in general usage, denotes one's "cradle-tongue, the first-learned," but Tolkien defines it as *different* from the "first-learned language, the language of custom" (*MC* 190). He explains that "we each have our own personal linguistic potential: we each have a *native language*" (190). Tolkien rewords this phrase variously as an individual's "inherent linguistic predilections" (190) and as "native linguistic potential," explaining it as "preferences in the individual for certain phonetic elements or combinations . . . reflecting an individual's innate linguistic taste" (*Letters* 375). The nature of the predilections is defined as "native/inherent/innate" because it reflects the linguistic heritage of one's *home*. We must also take a special note of the fact that Tolkien rephrases an individual's *native language* as one's "inherent linguistic predilection*s*" (note the plural form), implying that "a" *native language* consists of more than one component.

Tolkien begins by illustrating the concept on a personal, *peculiar* level, utilizing as an example his autobiographical episode of languages that comprised "his" *native language* in the past (Latin, Greek, Spanish, Gothic and Finnish) and how he discovered his definitive *native language*, that is, British, via contact with Welsh, its offspring: his first encounter with Welsh goes back to his childhood and though it was with a "Late Modern Welsh" phrase "*adeiladwyd 1887*" written on coal-trucks, it pierced his linguistic heart.[14] Although it had to remain in a dormant state owing to sheer lack of opportunity to explore it further (*Letters* 213), he must have approached much closer to British when he discovered the pleasure of Middle Welsh while he was a student at Oxford (*MC* 192). After Middle Welsh (the "*Neo-Brittonic*" or "*mediaeval*" tongue), we can presume that he eventually traced the language back to its root, to British, the *ancient* language of the isle of Britain.

(v) British as "the" *native language*

In "English and Welsh," as mentioned earlier, Tolkien's idea of personal linguistic predilections came to encompass both the *peculiar* and the *common*, (1-a) and (1-b) respectively, according to the classification he made earlier in "A Secret Vice."[15] In the specific context of "English and Welsh," the latter, "what is common to human beings, or to larger or smaller groups of them," could be narrowed down to what is common to the people of Britain, that is, the linguistic heritage of the isle of Britain. Tolkien argues that an individual will share many of his inherent linguistic predilections with others of his community. According to Tolkien, "he will share them, no doubt, in proportion as he shares other elements in his make-up" (*MC* 190) though the proportion is difficult to discover "without knowing his *ancestral history* through indefinite generations." He points out that "children of the same two parents may differ markedly in this respect" (197 n. 30; emphasis added). It is important here to recall that "ancestry" for Tolkien mainly concerns linguistic inheritance, which could be shared with many others of one's community. Considering the numerous linguistic layers in Britain, children of the same two parents will have an indefinite number of ancestors, thus creating a varied linguistic heritage running through indefinite generations. Accordingly, the proportion of linguistic predilections within individual children may differ greatly, resulting in the fact that their linguistic potentials will vary widely.

Nonetheless, Tolkien asserts that "the north-west of Europe," which in this specified instance should be equated to "Britain," is a region "interconnected in race, culture, history, and linguistic fusions" (188). Though the mixing of the philological ingredients in Britain has by no means been uniform, and therefore the proportion of the *common* is hard to determine, Tolkien perceives Britain, as it was in history, as "a single philological province" (188). If we journey through the linguistic stratification of the isle of Britain to its oldest stratum, we find British, which could be regarded as "the" *native language* that the people of Britain share in common.

Tolkien argues that it is through the surviving linguistic traces of the Celtic adventures (by which he means the 2,000 years of linguistic process that British underwent in Britain) that "we may catch a glimpse or echo of the past which archaeology alone cannot supply, the past of the land which we call *our home*" (174–5; emphasis added). Tolkien claims further that his pleasure in the Welsh linguistic style is not peculiar to himself among the English, rather it may be present in many who live in England speaking English, and that it is probably closer to their native linguistic potential as well:

> For many of us it [Welsh] rings a bell, or rather it stirs deep harp-strings in our linguistic nature. In other words: for satisfaction and therefore for delight—and not for imperial policy—*we are still 'British' at heart. It is the native language to which in unexplored desire we would still go home.* (194; my emphasis)

This, in my opinion, is not supposed to be read as solely an autobiographical remark. Although, as Fimi (2009, 81) argues, it is a remark based on his personal, autobiographical belief, it seems crucial for us to note that Tolkien apparently considered his concept applicable to many of the inhabitants of Britain, based on his philological view of Britain as examined above: *native language* is *peculiar* and *common* at the same time. His concept of one's *native language* is not confined to the *peculiar* level and neither is his sense of *home* as he used the term in the paragraph just quoted. Here, Tolkien uses of the term "British" in its original sense twice: the first denoting "the ancient Britons," and the second, though replaced by a pronoun "it," "the Celtic (Brythonic) languages of the ancient Britons" (*OED* 1a and 1b respectively). Therefore the phrase "go home" might be rephrased as "return to our 'British' roots." Tolkien's use of the term does not signify his acceptance of what he denounces as "the misuse of British" brought about by "the maleficent interference of the Government with the usual object of governments: uniformity" (*MC* 182). Tolkien is well aware that in Britain, as Fimi (2007, 66) says, different traditions merge, but in this particular context where he is talking about the *native language*, he is arguing that many of the inhabitants of Britain, including himself, "who today live in Lloegr and speak Saesneg" (*MC* 194) are, metaphorically speaking, *still* British or ancient Britons deep down. In other words, he asserts that people with "merging traditions" can be regarded as *still* British because they share "the" *native language*, British, in common.[16]

According to Tolkien, British as the *native language* of the people of Britain usually lies dormant, buried; it remains unnoticed only to be revealed in "uneasy jokes about Welsh spelling and place-names." Or, it may be stirred by "contacts no nearer than the names in Arthurian romance that echo faintly the Celtic patterns of their origin" (i.e., echo the patterns of British)[17] (190, 194). However, very importantly, he is convinced that "it may with more opportunity become vividly aware" (194). That is to say, Tolkien believes that one's *native language* would be recognized clearly if one is given more opportunity to come in contact with invented languages. As he explains in a letter, private invented languages aim to give effect to "the preferences in the individual for certain phonetic elements or combinations . . . reflecting an individual's innate linguistic taste" [=*native language*] (*Letters* 375). Naturally, he cites as evidence his own attempt, *The Lord of the Rings*, in which the names of persons and places were "mainly composed on patterns deliberately modelled on those of Welsh." He then proceeds to pronounce his conviction that "this element in the tale has given perhaps more pleasure to more readers than anything else in it (*MC* 197, n. 33).[18]

This can be read as an authorial statement that *The Lord of the Rings* serves as evidence to support his theory of *native language*. As quoted above, Tolkien propounds that British is "the native language to which *in unexplored desire* we would still go home" (194; emphasis added). We might assume that what he sought to do in *The Lord of the Rings* was to explore that very desire, hitherto unexplored, to go home to the *native language*.

3. *Native language* in *The Lord of the Rings*

(i) When *native language* is experienced

When Tolkien confided his belief that the Sindarin names gave "more pleasure to more readers than anything else" in *The Lord of the Rings*, the readers Tolkien had in mind were people living in Britain, including English people such as himself, who could regard British-Welsh as their common linguistic heritage. The aesthetic pleasure presumably experienced by such people is best described in the scene when the Hobbits met a company of High Elves in the Woody End in the Shire. They heard the singing in the "fair elven-tongue." Although the Hobbits knew nothing of the tongue except for Frodo who knew "only a little," "the sound blending with the melody seemed to shape itself in their thought into words which they only partly understood" (*FR*, I, iii, 88). Tolkien informs us, though in an "epitext" published later, that the "fair elven-tongue" the Hobbits heard was Sindarin (*The Road Goes On* 71). It appears as if the meaning of the Sindarin words could be transmitted via channels other than actual knowledge of the words, or as if the Hobbits understood them "subliminally" (Turner 330).[19] Frodo even manages to translate what he heard into Westron or the "Common Speech." The Hobbits' experience of contact with Sindarin seems to demonstrate what Tolkien tried to explain in "English and Welsh" concerning his "perception of strong aesthetic pleasure in contact with Welsh," that is, the basic pleasure in "the phonetic elements of a language and in the style of their patterns" united with elevated pleasure in "the association of these word-forms with meanings" (*MC* 190). This pleasure, according to Tolkien, is "distinct from the practical knowledge of a language" and "simpler, deeper-rooted, and yet more immediate" (190). Tolkien drew an analogy between the peculiar nature of this pleasure and music (192–3), and it is confirmed in the scene that depicts the enchantment perceived by Frodo when he heard the Sindarin song (or a similar one) again in the hall of Elrond (*FR*, II, i, 250).

On another occasion, the pleasure derived from coming in contact with the "elven-tongues" (the plural form suggests both Sindarin and Quenya), "even though he [Frodo] understood them little," is presented as a visionary experience: "it seemed that the words took shape, and visions of far lands and bright things that he had never yet imagined opened out before him" (*FR*, II, i, 245). Frodo felt as if he glimpsed, through the web of those Elvish words, or we might say through the "inherited memory" of language (Flieger 1997, 4), the "far lands" where the High-elves who were singing once dwelt under the Light of the Two Trees. The "elven-tongues" Frodo heard which evoked the vision of Valinor were presumably mostly Quenya which the Exiled Noldors brought back from Valinor, and the Quenya-influenced Sindarin used by them after their return to Middle-earth. As Tolkien points out, the Sindarin used by most of the Elves in Rivendell was "of a variety used by the High Elves . . . marked in high style and verse by the influence of Quenya, which had been originally their normal tongue" (*The Road Goes On* 72).

Just as "through the surviving linguistic traces of British we may catch a glimpse or echo of the past . . . , the past of the land which we call our home" (*MC* 175), through the languages of the High Elves, which, as will be examined below, is related, if only distantly, to the Westron-speaking Hobbits, Frodo may have caught "a glimpse or echo, of the past of the land" which the High Elves call their *home*.

(ii) When *native language* is expressed: the mystery of the Elvish-speaking Hobbits

While the scenes just examined depict the experience of *native language*, in the following two scenes Tolkien possibly attempted to describe the moments when one's *native language* comes to expression.

In *The Two Towers*, in the all-engulfing darkness of Shelob's lair, Sam the Hobbit faces the giant spider, who attempts to crush and sting him to death. He is alone, thinking his master Frodo, lying cocoon-like beside him bound entirely in Shelob's cords, is dead. Sam is however inspired to seek the Phial of Galadriel and when he mutters the name of the Elf-Queen, he recalls the Elvish song praising the Vala Elbereth which he had come across twice in the past. Once he invokes the name of Elbereth, "his tongue loosed and his voice cried in *a language which he did not know*" (my emphasis):

> *A Elbereth Gilthoniel*
> *o menel palan-diriel,*
> *le nallon sí di’nguruthos!*
> *A tiro nin, Fanuilos!* (*TT*, IV, x, 338–39; my emphasis)

The language was Sindarin.

How could it be possible for a Hobbit, Sam, to speak a whole stanza of a hymn in a language of which he was totally ignorant? Tolkien seemingly tries to offer a “rational” explanation by mentioning Sam’s previous two experiences of being exposed to the song:

> ‘Galadriel!’ he said faintly, and then he heard voices far off but clear: the crying of the Elves as they walked under the stars in the beloved shadows of the Shire, and the music of the Elves as it came through his sleep in the Hall of Fire in the house of Elrond (*TT*, IV, x, 338).

However, this hardly suffices as an explanation because Tolkien stated clearly that Sam had no practical knowledge of the Elven-tongue when he heard the song in the woods (*FR*, I, iii, 88), and that he was fast asleep when the song was sung in the hall of Elrond (*FR*, II, i, 250).

Even more intriguing is the fact that Sam made considerable changes to the wording of the hymn in his own version. The Elves’ original version, which Frodo and Sam (in his sleep) experienced in Rivendell runs as follows:

> *A Elbereth Gilthoniel,*
> *silivren penna míriel,*
> *o menel aglar elenath!*
> *Na-chaered palan-díriel*
> *o galadhremmin ennorath,*
> *Fanuilos, le linnathon*
> *nef aear, sí nef aearon!* (*FR*, II, i, 250; my emphasis)

Tolkien left both Sam’s and the Elves’ versions untranslated[20] in *The Lord of the Rings*, but he provided English translations for both fourteen years later in an “epitext,” “Notes and Translations” included in *The Road Goes Ever On* (72).[21] Here, Sam’s version is translated as: “O! Queen who kindled star on star, white-robed from heaven gazing far, *here overwhelmed in dread of Death I cry*: O guard me, Elbereth!” The Elves’ version on the other hand is translated as: “O! Elbereth who lit the stars, from glittering crystal slanting falls with light like jewels from heaven on high the glory of the starry host. To lands remote I have looked afar, and now to thee, Fanuilos, bright spirit clothed in ever-white, *I here will sing beyond the Sea, beyond the wide and sundering Sea*” (emphasis added).

It is clear that Sam's version reflects his predicament as indicated in the italicized phrase, whereas the Elves' version mirrors the longing peculiar to them for the Undying Lands beyond the Sea. Why did Tolkien endow Sam, who had no knowledge of Sindarin, with an ability to arrange the words to meet his impending needs? Significantly, in an earlier version written before the major revision of 1951, which we will discuss in the next section, the words of Sam's invocation took "the same form as they did in the original verse chanted in Rivendell (VI. 394)" (*War* 218).

We must take Frodo's invocation in Quenya into consideration as well. It was again the star-glass given by Galadriel that induced the Quenya speech, a kind of "Elven-latin," with which Frodo was even less familiar than with Sindarin: "*Aiya Eärendil Elenion Ancalima!* he cried, and *knew not what he had spoken*; for it seemed that another voice spoke through his" (*TT*, IV, ix, 329; my emphasis).

Tolkien left the Elvish invocation untranslated, but he later rendered the Quenya phrase as "hail Earendil brightest of Stars" (*Letters* 385). It is noted that Tolkien states in both instances that neither Sam nor Frodo knew the meaning of their words. However, both invocations bear such religious overtones that the reader is left with a vague impression that invocations in the totally unknown languages might have been made possible by some mysterious religious inspiration "in moments of extreme peril."[22] This may be what Tolkien seems to suggest, if only partly, by describing that, to Frodo: "it seemed that another voice spoke through his."

Here we may refer to "The Notion Club Papers" as another "epitext" that could shed light on the Hobbits' invocations in unknown languages. As mentioned earlier, Tolkien used the term *native language* for the first time in this unfinished, in places distinctly autobiographical time-travel story, written soon after he completed the drafting of *The Two Towers* which contained the very scenes in question. The story of "The Notion Club Papers" unfolds, centering on the legend of Númenor, where, at this stage of composition, Avallonian (Quenya) and Adunaic were spoken.[23] It is told that one of the Club members, Lowdham, was repeatedly experiencing "visitations of linguistic ghosts": Anglo-Saxon, Avallonian, and Adunaic, among which, as Lowdham declared, Avallonian was closest to his linguistic predilections (*Sauron* 241).[24] The unknown languages came to him "both in dream and waking abstraction" (237) and it is possible to read the visitations as portraying a process of discovering his *native language*, which turns out to be shared with the other members of the Club, and which leads him and the others to delve into the concomitant mythology. As Verlyn Flieger (1997, 4–5) points out, a *native language*, as Tolkien conceived it, can be regarded as having as its key element "an experience of inherited memory" of language, "not derived from personal experience but from some distant ancestral time and some distant ancestral level of the mind beyond the individual consciousness." The two episodes of the Hobbits' invocations in Elvish seem to depict the moments of manifestation of just such an "inherited memory" of languages, in other words, the moments in which Tolkien's concept of the *native language* is "mythologically expressed." How the Westron-speaking Hobbits could own such potentiality to express the "inherited memory" of Elvish as their *native language*, however, must be elucidated by determining the relationships among the languages involved, that is, Sindarin, Quenya, and Westron and its ancestral tongues, as well as by analyzing a series of revisions Tolkien made to the respective tongues in the course of their evolution.

4. The evolution of an indigenous and predominant Elvish tongue in Middle-earth

(i) A "major upheaval of historical-linguistic structure"

As Carl F. Hostetter (2007, 334) points out, when we talk of any of Tolkien's invented languages, we need to specify, for example, *which* Sindarin we mean. The complexity surrounding Tolkien's Elvish languages in general was caused mainly by its ever-changing nature, which makes it erroneous to assume any form as definitive or complete (*Lost Road* 341; Hostetter 2006, 235–6). In the case of Sindarin, however, there is an added factor that further complicates the matter: a major revision Tolkien made to Noldorin (and consequently, Sindarin) in 1951. At this time, Tolkien decided that the Exiled Noldor abandoned their own tongue, Noldorin/Gnomish, which had evolved from Quenya which they had brought back from Valinor; they instead adopted Beleriandic (i.e., the tongue of Telerian Ilkorindi current in Beleriand, which was renamed Sindarin as a result of revision) as their language of daily use. As Christopher Tolkien described it, this linguistic development was a "major upheaval in the historical-linguistic structure" (*Peoples* vii), so "far-reaching" that "the pre-existent linguistic structures themselves were moved into new historical relations and given new names" (*Lost Road* 346).

Tolkien wrote the last chapter of *The Lord of the Rings* in 1948 (*Peoples* vii). The early 1950s, when he effected this major revision, was the time when Tolkien returned to the "Matter of the Elder Days," such as *Quenta Silmarillion* and the *Annals of Beleriand*. He had stopped working on them when he began *The Lord of the Rings* at the end of 1937, but embarked anew on their revision because, at that time (i.e., the early 1950s) Tolkien was still longing for the publication of *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Silmarillion* together as "one long Saga of the Jewels and the Rings" (*Letters* 139). The "major upheaval" was made apparently as part of the process of, as he later called it, "adjusting 'the Silmarillion and all that' to The L.R." (403). As will be illustrated below, we can identify inferences that this major recasting was related to his attempt to create for Middle-earth of *The Lord of the Rings* a linguistic landscape analogous to that of Britain, which might reflect his concept of *native language*.

(ii) Gnomish in *The Book of Lost Tales*

Until 1951 Tolkien consistently sought ways to give an indigenous and predominant character to Noldorin. The first Elvish language to be considered, therefore, is Goldogrin or Gnomish,[25] which is the first recorded form of what eventually became the speech of the Noldor, devised around 1914 to 1917. The "Gnomish Lexicon," titled *i·Lam na·Ngoldathon* (1917) contains "a significant portion of the core vocabulary of Sindarin," which remained "essentially unchanged" since then (Gilson 2000, 96). The *Lost Tales*, composed around the same time as the "Gnomish Lexicon," provides a historical context for Goldogrin/Gnomish and Qenya/Elfin. In the "Link between The Cottage of Lost Play and The Music of Ainur", it is told how the speech of Valinor (Qenya), brought back to Middle-earth and initially retained by the Noldoli (Gnomes), transformed greatly in the long wandering and hardships suffered by the Noldoli, until eventually the original Qenya speech evolved into Gnomish in Middle-earth. In short, Gnomish is the first Elven-tongue of Middle-earth conceived as indigenous (*Lost Tales I* 48, 51).

(iii) Noldorin in the *Lhammas*

The next stage in the evolution of Noldorin is seen in the "Lhammas" ("Lhammas A," "Lhammas B," and "Lammasethen"), which, with the accompanying three "Tree of Tongues," presents a linguistic situation in Beleriand similar to that of "The Etymologies" which dates to the end of 1937 and the beginning of 1938.[26] In the "Lhammas" it is recounted that Noldorin, already much altered while still in Valinor (*Lost Road* 174), underwent further profound changes in Beleriand. A significant influence by Beleriandic, especially by that of Doriath, is also mentioned (175), anticipating the later assimilation of the two tongues (190). Qenya, in its turn, contributed to drawing the Noldor and the Ilkorindi closer linguistically by its use as Elf-latin by all the Ilkorindi as well (172).

(iv) Sindarin in the "Grey Annals"

After the "Lhammas," the first general linguistic statement about Noldorin is found in the "Grey Annals," written in the early 1950s. It is here that the major revision was accomplished: the Noldor abandoned their own speech and adopted Sindarin[27] for daily use. Consequently, the idea of Noldorin (Gnomish) as a language naturalized in Middle-earth, was completely taken over by the Beleriandic tongue of the Sindar, who were formerly called the Telerian Ilkorindi. In other words, Tolkien's conception of Sindarin was of an indigenous tongue which he snapped off from the Noldorin branch and grafted onto the Telerin branch.

Tolkien introduced for the first time an idea that King Thingol of Doriath imposed a ban on his subjects using the Noldorin tongue (*Jewels* 25). Doriath thus became a singularly Sindarin country, while outside Doriath, the Noldorin princes who ruled the Sindar abandoned their own tongue and adopted for daily use the indigenous language of the people they ruled. Sindarin thus not only attained predominance in Middle-earth, but also high esteem because it became the language of the High Elves associated with the Light of Valinor.

Tolkien had been trying to endow Noldorin in Middle-earth with a somewhat indigenous nature, by way of making Noldorin and Beleriandic draw closer together (21), thus creating an indigenous tongue of Middle-earth that could simultaneously mirror the Light of Valinor. However, through the decision in 1951 to make Sindarin the daily language of the High Elves themselves, the language of the Sindar came to reflect the Light more directly in *The Lord of the Rings*.

(v) Sindarin in Appendix F

Needless to say, the new linguistic development is absent from the unused texts of Appendix F that date to before 1951. "Foreword" F* is of special note because, when compared with the post-revision text, it demonstrates the fact that Sindarin, in its *internal history*, was derived from Noldorin/Gnomish, even though in its *external history* Sindarin after the major revision was presented as deriving from the tongue of the Telerian Ilkorindi. In "Foreword" F* it is stated that "the Noldorin, which may be called Gnomish . . . *to which tongue belong most of the names in this history that have been preserved without translation*" (*Peoples* 20; emphasis added). In the published text, in comparison, it is stated that "all the Elvish words cited in I. ii. chs 6, 7, 8 are in fact Sindarin, and so are most of the names of places and persons [which are left in their original form]"[28] (*RK*, Appendix F, 405, n. 1). We can discern that "Gnomish *is* Sindarin" as Christopher Tolkien once stated (*Lost Tales I* 51; Gilson 2000), in the language's *internal history*. Incidentally, Tolkien's claim in the published Appendix F text is not entirely true, because chapter 8, "Farewell to Lórien" includes Galadriel's poem "Namárië," the longest example of Quenya. It could be disregarded as a simple error, but Tolkien may have unwittingly betrayed his eagerness to emphasize the predominance of Sindarin in the story.

In the published Appendix F, the whole conception of how the predominance of Sindarin was achieved became much simpler: the Noldor, after returning in exile to Middle-earth from Valinor at the end of the First Age, adopted Sindarin for daily use, while reserving their own tongue (Quenya or High-elven) for ceremonial purposes, high matters of lore, and song. Sindarin, a Common Speech among all the Elves in *The Lord of the Rings*, represents an indigenous tongue that underwent an evolutionary process in Middle-earth.

(vi) Sindarin in "Quendi and Eldar"

In a post-*The Lord of the Rings* essay, entitled "Quendi and Eldar," we can perceive further decisions taken in order to enhance the predominance of Sindarin. Whereas the text is dated 1959–60, after the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*, it belongs to the same process of "adjusting 'the Silmarillion and all that' to The L.R." that he embarked on in the early 1950s. A remarkable development to be noted is a new self-designation given to the Teleri, that is, *Lindar* "Singers."[29]

It seems as though Tolkien decided to enlarge the physical presence of the Teleri in the text of "Quendi and Eldar." Here, among the names of the three great Clans, *Vanyar*, *Ñoldor*, and *Lindar/Teleri*, *Lindar* represents *the largest* of the ancient clans (*Jewels* 380), while in the "Lhammas," the Noldor are described as being the most numerous (*Lost Road* 169). It is also emphasized in "Quendi and Eldar" that the Lindar/Teleri were musical (*Jewels* 382). Tolkien argues that the name **Lindā* derived from the primitive stem *LIN, which primarily referred to "melodious or pleasing sounds," and in Lindarin especially to that of water, which the Lindar associated with vocal (Elvish) sound (382). Phonetically pleasing aspects of the Telerian tongue were already alluded to in "Quenta Silmarillion" (*Lost Road* 214, 215). In "Quendi and Eldar," however, the euphonic nature of Telerin is further emphasized by making *Lindar* their original name and thus associating them with "melodious or pleasing sounds," reinforced by either medial *lind-* or initial *glin-*, *glind-* (*Jewels* 382). As the text is post-"English and Welsh," in which he declared the aesthetic pleasure he perceived in Welsh sounds, we may here detect Tolkien's intention to emphasize the "phonetic aesthetic" aspect of Sindarin so as to adjust *The Silmarillion* materials to *The Lord of the Rings*.

As the survey so far suggests, the 1951 major linguistic revision was a turning point in Tolkien's long-time endeavour to create an indigenous Elvish tongue in Middle-earth in that it introduced a new element, that is, a predominant nature, to be added to the indigenous tongue; as a result Sindarin attained traits more analogous to British, the *native language* of Britain.

(vii) Sindarin and Quenya

It must be pointed out that the aforementioned major linguistic revision affected even the very concept of the origin of Elvish languages. The idea of a common origin for all the Elvish languages was seen in the "Lhammas," which explained this origin in the speech of the Valar, the gods, in Valinor. However, in the revision process undergone in the early 1950s, Tolkien made a crucial change to present Elvish as an *indigenous* speech which originated in Middle-earth. In "LQ 1," it is stated that Oromë *aided* the Elves in the creation of their language in Middle-earth (*Morgoth* 160; my emphasis). It carries great significance for Quenya in particular, because with all its association with Valinor, it is now presented as having roots in Middle-earth.

Sindarin and Quenya in *The Lord of the Rings*, as indicated by such texts as "Quendi and Eldar" and *The Silmarillion*, are, like all the other Elvish tongues, originated in Primitive Quendian, from which is derived Common Eldarin. From the Common Eldarin arose Vanyarin, Noldorin, and Telerin. Sindarin is an offshoot of Telerin (Common Telerin), the language of the Teleri, who started the Great Journey to Valinor together with the Vanyar and the Ñoldor. While the Vanyar and the Ñoldor reached the destination and developed Quenya in Valinor, part of the Teleri remained in Middle-earth. Those among the Teleri who went to Valinor developed Telerin (proper), whereas those who remained in Beleriand were the Sindar, whose language was Sindarin, and the Nandor (the Green-elves), from whose language evolved Silvan Elvish.

Despite the linguistic divergence that occurred before part of the Teleri settled in Valinor, Tolkien claims that "historically, and in the more accurate use of the linguistic Loremasters, *Quenya* included the dialect of the Teleri [i.e, Telerin proper]" (*Jewels* 373–4). The implication is that Tolkien contemplated a closer connection between Quenya and Telerin proper, and hence its relative tongue, Sindarin. Inspection of three examples of sentences in Telerin proper with their Quenya and Sindarin parallels (Hostetter 2007, 339) offers us a glimpse of the link Tolkien might have had in mind between Quenya and Sindarin, which he may have intended to be closer than their common origin in the Common Eldarin. We may also adduce the fact that Sindarin in its *internal history* was Gnomish/Noldorin, which Tolkien until 1951 had conceived as a Quenya variation "acclimatized to and naturalized in" Middle-earth.

The relationship between Quenya and Sindarin in *The Lord of the Rings* as used among the Elves is best described as High Speech versus Common Speech. In Gondor, as it had been in Númenor, Quenya was the language learned by the men of wisdom, while Sindarin was known and spoken more popularly. The relationship between the two tongues may be reflected in those scenes in which Frodo makes an invocation in Quenya, whereas Sam made his in Sindarin. Quenya and Sindarin, with their shared origin in Middle-earth, had been intricately linked with each other by the time of *The Lord of the Rings* at the end of the Third Age; they together were the linguistic heritage that the Hobbits, as we will see next, potentially shared with the other people of the northern regions of the West-lands whose ancestral language was related to Adûnaic. The difference of speech between Frodo and Sam may be explained by a difference in their "native linguistic potential" (*Letters* 375), which they shared "in proportion" as they shared other elements in their "make-up" (*MC* 190).

5. The evolution of Westron and its relationship to Elvish

(i) Adûnaic

In Appendix F as published, Westron (Undūna), or the Common Speech (Sōval Phāre),[30] is defined as a Mannish speech, and it is explained to have originated in Adûnaic,[31] the language of the "*Edain*, 'Fathers of Men', being especially the people of the Three Houses of the Elf-friends who came west into Beleriand in the First Age" (*RK*, Appendix F, 406–07). This conception of the origin of the Common Speech in the Mannish tongue appeared for the first time in 1944, in the draft D 1 of the chapter of "Faramir" (*War* 159),[32] although the ancestral tongue of the Númenóreans was not yet specified as Adûnaic/Adunaic; Adunaic arose in 1946, in the version F1 of Part II of "The Notion Club Papers" (*Sauron* 147, 304). A perplexing fact in the history of Adûnaic, however, is that in all the texts of Appendix F preceding the aforementioned 1951 revision, Adûnaic was non-existent in Númenor; that is, the *Dúnedain* spoke only Elvish Noldorin because they had already forsaken Adûnaic when they went to Númenor. It was only after the re-introduction of Adûnaic into the linguistic history,[33] therefore, that Westron or the "Common Speech" came to be envisaged as having developed under the dominant influence of Númenorean Adûnaic, "mingled with many words of the languages of lesser men" of Middle-earth (*RK*, Appendix F, 407). Appendix F explains that in the years of Númenorean power, Adûnaic became predominant both in Númenor, where the kings and lords deliberately abandoned Elven-speech out of arrogance, and in Middle-earth, where Adûnaic evolved into the Common Speech (407). Subsequent to the Downfall, a minority of Elvish-speaking *Dúnedain* survivors who fled back to Middle-earth decided, just as the Exiled Noldor had done before them, to adopt the Common Speech, the indigenous and predominant tongue in Middle-earth, for daily use, while enlarging and enriching it with "many words drawn from the Elven-tongues." Westron, which spread far and wide in Middle-earth, was thus an "ennobled" variation, developed under the influence of Sindarin and Quenya in the days of the Númenorean kings (407).[34]

As regards the origin of Mannish speech, the "F 2" alone among the Appendix F texts indicates its derivation from Elvish (*Peoples* 30), although this Elvish origin had already been referred to in "The Lost Road" in the later 1930s (*Lost Road* 68). For more precise information, however, we need to consult the "Lhammas," in which the Elvish origin is specified as Danian, from which Taliska, the immediate Mannish ancestral tongue of Adûnaic, was derived.

(ii) Danian, the language of the Green-elves

In the "Lhammas," the Green-elves or the Danians (in *B*, Danas) were descended from the Noldor, the second kindred of the Elves. They are counted among the Ilkorindi together with the Teleri who stayed behind (and were later labelled the Sindar): the Green-elves of "Lhammas B" and "Lammasethen" began the March to Valinor but eventually stayed behind in eastern Beleriand (Ossiriand). Their tongue, Danian, is described as having been influenced by the tongue of Doriath (*Lost Road* 175–76), that is, becoming similar to the tongue of the Telerian Ilkorindi (later Sindarin), which in turn, it is said, "in some ways . . . grew like the Danian branch of Ossiriand" (193).

This process of assimilation of Danian into Beleriandic, which was confined to the linguistic sphere in the "Lhammas," seems to have been completed in the post-*The Lord of the Rings* text of "Quendi and Eldar," in which Tolkien now conceived of the Green-elves as having descended from the Teleri or the *Lindar*, the third kindred. The close kinship between the Sindar and the Green-elves can be observed in the latter's self-designation, **Lindai* (> the *Lindi*), and Tolkien notes that the Sindar recognized the *Lindi* as "kinsfolk of Lindarin origin" because of their language, which "in spite of great differences was still perceived to be akin to their own" (*Jewels* 385).

(iii) Taliska

The relationship between Danian and its descendant, Taliska,[35] is described differently among the "Lhammas." For instance, the multiple "influences" from the speeches other than that of the Green-elves—those of Dwarves, Orcs, Lembi—is indicated in the second form of "The Tree of Tongues" (*Lost Road* 191). The "Lammasethen" is the first text to declare Taliska to be a derivative of Elvish Danian. In the list of tongues accompanying the text, Taliskan is classified as an Ilkorin branch, together with Ossiriandic, another derivative of Danian, and the Telerian tongue of Doriathrin (later Sindarin). That is to say, Taliska and the dialects of Telerian Ilkorindi in Beleriand are grouped together linguistically, although the Green-elves, from whose language Taliskan was derived, were descended from the Noldorin Ilkorindi in the "Lammasethen;" on the other hand, as mentioned above, the revision made in "Quendi and Eldar" connected the Green-elves and the Sindar not only in linguistic classification but also in their shared kinship as the **Lindai*, the euphonic nature of which Tolkien emphasized. It seems significant that Taliska, the ancestral tongue of Westron, is associated, via Danian, with the "phonetic aesthetic" pleasure reflected in the name *Lindar*, "which certainly goes back to days before the Separation [of the Eldar]" (*Jewels* 38).

Westron is thus not only connected with Sindarin through development but also through its origin. For the people of the North West of Middle-earth, Sindarin, which was indigenous and once predominant in Middle-earth, could be regarded as a language equivalent to British in Britain, i.e., the *native language*.

(iv) Westron and the Hobbits' ancestral tongue

According to the published text of Appendix F, there exists no record of any language peculiar to the Hobbits: "they seem always to have used the language of Men near whom, or among whom, they lived" (*RK*, Appendix F, 408). The Hobbits of the Shire and of Bree had adopted Westron for probably a thousand years by the time of *The Lord of the Rings*. Westron, which the Hobbits adopted as their own tongue, was an "ennobled" variation influenced by Sindarin and Quenya. The Hobbits' own tongue before they adopted the Westron, on the other hand, was a Mannish language of "the upper Anduin, akin to that of the Rohirrim" (408).[36] As Shippey (2005, 140 n) points out, all the names of the Rohirrim are in Old Mercian forms, which, as we saw earlier, deeply resonated with Tolkien's sense of *home*. It seems, therefore, of great significance that Tolkien associated the Hobbit's original tongue with that of the Rohirrim, thus reflecting his personal sense of *home*.

According to the account of "The House of Eorl" in Appendix A, the Rohirrim were descended from the Men of Éothéod, who were "in origin close akin to the Beornings and the men of the west-eaves of the forest" (*RK*, Appendix A, 344). That is to say, they were originally related to Men of the North who were "descended from the *Edain* of the First Age, or from their close kin" (407), whose language, as Tolkien explained in Appendix F, was related to Adûnaic (407). It is noteworthy that Tolkien presented the original tongue of the Hobbits as being connected with a variety of Adûnaic spoken by Men who remained in Middle-earth, and not with that of the *Edain* who, in contrast, went over the Sea to dwell in Númenor; we may draw an analogy between the Hobbits and the *Edain* on the one hand and the Sindar and the Noldor on the other. The indigenous nature of the Hobbits' tongue is reinforced if we recall the history of the Common Speech beyond Adûnaic to Taliska, which was derived from the tongue of the Green-elves who remained in Middle-earth together with the Sindar, their Telerian kin, whose language, Sindarin, was hence closely akin to theirs. Sindarin could thus represent for the Westron-speaking Hobbits, the oldest linguistic stratum of the land they call their *home*.

(v) The Hobbits and their *native language*

The relationship between Sindarin and the Hobbits could be considered as analogous to British and the people "who today live in Lloegr and speak Saesneg." Tolkien's personal sense of *home* is interwoven with his theory of one's inherent linguistic potential, being divided into the *common* and the *peculiar*. Tolkien chose to reflect this *common* element in his creation of Sindarin, which is analogous to British, whereas the *peculiar* he chose to represent through the language of the Rohirrim, which is rendered into Old Mercian and with which the Hobbits' original tongue is connected. Considering that the Hobbits represent both the *common* and the *peculiar* aspect of Tolkien's inherent linguistic predilections, it is of natural consequence that the concept of *native language* is expressed through the Hobbits.

As the examination of the various "paratexts" to *The Lord of the Rings* has demonstrated, Tolkien made deliberate attempts, especially through the revision process in the early 1950s, to create a linguistic landscape in which Sindarin in Middle-earth paralleled British-Welsh in Britain. By reading *The Lord of the Rings*, with "English and Welsh" applied as a main "epitext," we can discern that Tolkien endowed Sindarin with both the aesthetic and historical dimensions analogous to British-Welsh; moreover, examination of the various "paratexts" to *The Lord of the Rings* seems to buttress our argument that Tolkien came to regard Sindarin, if only *post scriptum*, as reflecting his concept of British as the *native language* of the land he calls his *home*. Sindarin is depicted as the *native language* that "stirs deep harp-strings" in the Hobbits' linguistic nature. It is the *native language* to which, in Tolkien's endeavour to express his concept mythologically, the Hobbits could *go home*.

NOTES

1 The present paper is based on one read at the 18th Biennial Congress of IRSCL, in August 2007. I owe special thanks to Professor Nicholas Henck of Keio University for proofreading.

2 Genette (5) offers a formula: *paratext = peritext + epitext.*

3 Tolkien informs us, for example, that although he did not consciously invent the Ents at all, "looking back analytically . . . the Ents are

composed of philology, literature, and life" (*Letters* 211–2, n).

4 See Fimi 2009 (6–7, 63–67, 99–100). Fimi argues, drawing on John Garth, who delineates the development of Tolkien's creative awareness utilising chronological details, that Tolkien's decision to create a "mythology for England" was made at the TCBS meeting in December 1914 (cf. Garth, 59), thus preceding the genesis of Qenya, which is traced by Garth (60) to early 1915 (65–66).

5 See, for example, Carpenter (75, 93); Chance (12–13); Dawson (118). See Fimi 2009, for a list of those scholars who accept Tolkien's assertion (208, n. 2).

6 The same is, I believe, true with his claim that *The Lord of the Rings* was "a practical demonstration" of the views he expressed in an "Andrew Lang" lecture at St Andrews on Fairy-stories (*Letters* 310). Looking back, he perceived *The Lord of the Rings* as a "fairy-story" according his own views expressed in "On Fairy-stories." The message is not that he wrote *The Lord of the Rings* to provide evidence for his theory, but rather that we can discern that the theory is reflected in the story.

7 On other occasions, he uses the phrase "Celtic things" in a more general way to refer to the literature composed in medieval Celtic languages, that is, in medieval Welsh and Irish, for which he says he feels a certain distaste because of their "fundamental unreason" (*Letters* 26, 144). On Tolkien's use of "Celtic things" in his works, see Flieger 2005 (121–36); Burns; Fimi 2006; idem, 2007; idem, 2009. However, it must be stressed that although his use of the phrase is varied and therefore needs to be determined in each context, in "English and Welsh" Tolkien strictly differentiates the Welsh language *per se*, the beauty of which he greatly admires, from its literary characteristics, often coloured by a misguided conception of Celticism to which Tolkien expresses explicit objection.

8 This letter was written in an attempt to demonstrate that *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Silmarillion* were "interdependent and indivisible" (*Letters* 143).

9 Tolkien mentioned Jackson's article (1980 [originally 1955]) in his notes added in 1963 (*MC* 195, n. 5). It gives a brief definition of the term "British" but considering the fact that the book containing the article was published in 1955, the same year as the lecture, Tolkien most probably based his definition rather on Jackson's more precise definition given in *Language and History of Early Britain* published in

1953, two years prior to Tolkien's lecture.

10 Shippey points out that Tolkien's private theory of "aesthetics of sounds" had been on his mind since 1926 (2005, 129). See also Turner.

11 He does refer to (1-b), though: he says he knows others who share his feeling that "the Welsh names on coal-trucks have stirred a sense of beauty" (*MC* 207).

12 See Carpenter (19).

13 See Bolintineanu (599–600).

14 Cf. Fimi 2009 (87).

15 From a general viewpoint, we might explain the process as reflecting his recognition of the heartening reception of Elvish. In 1931, when he wrote "A Secret Vice," years before the publication and the success of *The Lord of the Rings*, he seemed to have regarded his personal linguistic "aesthetic" as *peculiar*, whereas by 1955 when he delivered the lecture "English and Welsh," he was aware that many readers would have liked more Elvish in *The Lord of the Rings* than he had thought they would stomach (*Letters* 219–20).

16 Therefore, his use of the term "British" here is not necessarily to be regarded as reflecting the "transition" of his views as Fimi claims (2007, 66).

17 See Ford (268–73).

18 Although Tolkien seems convinced that his "linguistic heresy" (Shippey's term denoting Tolkien's "aesthetics of sounds") worked, Shippey finds it most doubtful that it did (Shippey 2005, 129–32). Turner explains Tolkien's "linguistic heresy" in more detail (330–1).

19 This may be, to an extent, explained by sound symbolism. Cf. Ross 2006 (12–14) and 2007 (69–73). Ross points out that Tolkien liked the idea that "some kind of Platonic, meta-linguistic level could exist," where words can be understood without knowledge. He also compares Tolkien's idea with Owen Barfield's and David Adam's.

20 We have Frodo's translation (*FR*, I, iii, 88–89), but readers are given no clue that Frodo's rendering and the Elvish version are related. Tolkien discloses they are in *The Road Goes Ever On* (71).

21 Tolkien offers a slightly different version in a letter written in 1958 (*Letters* 278).

22 Tolkien refers to Varda/Elbereth as a "divine" or "angelic" person, whom Frodo and Sam invoke in moments of extreme peril, and to whom the Elves sing hymns (*The Road Goes Ever On* 73).

23 Cf. *Sauron* (304). Adunaic did not appear in the original manuscript E, which instead had what would later become Sindarin (or Beleriandic in *The Lost Road*).

24 It is interesting to observe that at the time of the writing, in the mid 1940s, Tolkien's concept of *native language* was not yet connected with the concept of a predominant tongue of Middle-earth [i.e., Sindarin] as it would be in *The Lord of the Rings*, naturally because the concept itself had not come into existence yet, as will be discussed below in section 4.

25 See Christopher Tolkien's comment in *Lost Tales I* (51); see also Gilson 2000.

26 This was the period in which Tolkien abandoned "Quenta Silmarillion" and began *The Lord of the Rings*" (*Lost Road* 345).

27 The name "Sindar" itself appeared for the first time in "LQ 1," or more precisely, in its second stage of typescript (Text A) made after the first stage of the 1951 revision (*Morgoth* 170).

28 See "On Translation" (*RK*, Appendix F, 411).

29 The terms *Teleri* and *Lindar* have a complicated history: in *The Book of Lost Tales*, (1910s–1920), *Teleri* was a name for the first clan among the three kindreds to join the March to Valinor, which, in the "Lhammas" (later 1930s), was replaced by *Lindar*, while *Teleri* became the name of the third clan. Subsequently, in "Quendi and Eldar" (1959–60), the first clan was renamed *Vanyar*, while the term *Lindar* was equated with that of the third clan, *Teleri*.

30 See Hostetter 2007 (342–3).

31 Tolkien describes the Adunaic in his "Lowdham's Report on the Adunaic Language" (*Sauron* 413–40). See also Hostetter 2007 (342); Gilson 1994 (10–11).

32 Cf. *Peoples* (72–73).

33 See *Peoples* (55, 62–64, and 74–75).

34 Although, as Hostetter 2007 (341–2) points out, Adûnaic displays the distinct influence of *Khuzdul* ("Dwarvish")/Semitic structure, the published version of Appendix F as well as all the other versions ex-

cept "F 2," are silent on the Dwarvish influence.

35 Hostetter 2007 (341–2). On the historical background of Taliska, see Gilson 1994 (11–12).

36 However, the language of the Southern Stoors is an exception: it came from Dunlendish, which they adopted while they lived in Dunland before their emigration to the Shire. Remnants of the Dunlendish are therefore found in the names of Buckland and the Marish, where the Southern Stoors settled down. Tolkien argues that "since the survival of the older language of the Stoors and the Bree-men resembled the survival of Celtic [i.e. British-Welsh] elements in England," he has sometimes imitated the latter in his translation (*RK*, Appendix F 413–4).

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“Monsterized Saracens,” Tolkien’s Haradrim, and Other Medieval “Fantasy Products”

Margaret Sinex

In 1995, Virginia Luling suggested that Sauron’s Easterlings and Southrons “draw on inherited images of ‘paynims’ and other enemies” (56-7). Others, such as Patrick Curry, have noted the geographical parallel between the Haradrim living to Gondor’s south in the “Sunlands” and medieval Christendom’s perceived enemies to the south and east. Curry writes: “Tolkien’s evil creatures are frequently ‘swart, slant-eyed’ and tend to come from the south (‘the cruel Haradrim’) and east (‘the wild Easterlings’) both threatening directions in [his] ‘moral cartography’” (30-31).[1] Most recently, Dimitri Fimi contextualizes Tolkien’s notions about race by examining theories advanced in the late Victorian period and early twentieth century in several fields (physical anthropology and philology among them) as well as the influences of Social Darwinism and the Eugenics movement.[2]

Writing from a multi-cultural perspective, Brian McFadden and Jane Chance have examined relations among the Races of Middle-earth and have illuminated the Haradrim’s indebtedness to the *sigelwara* or Ethiopians of Old English and Anglo-Latin literature. In this essay, I wish to explore the contributions of later English texts, Middle English romances in particular. Tolkien did not simply select traits from the “monsterized Saracens” (Cohen *Giants* 78) of English romance and the French epics and bestow them unaltered on his Men of Harad. Within the terms of his fiction, Tolkien mirrors the Western Europeans’ methods of constructing their imaginary Saracen.[3]

I say “imaginary” because, as many have noted, in Jeffrey Jerome Cohen’s words: “‘Saracens’ are fantasy products of the Christian imaginary, that, like all monsters, could take on an uncanny life of their own” (Cohen “Hybrids” 88). He makes this remark in the context of analyzing the process of “othering” in the letters of John of Salisbury (1115-1180). In these letters, John represents the Welsh people in ways that Cohen demonstrates: “are manifestations of an othering impulse also visible behind the racialized representations of Islam disseminated throughout the Latin West” (88). “Impulse” conveys an urgency, a drive perhaps, to demarcate “the Welsh” or “Muslims” as the Other distinct from European Christians.

When pondering this othering impulse, Paul Freedman cautions that the viewpoint of the European Christian elite was neither perfectly unified nor unchanging over the centuries. Such a claim oversimplifies the matter as "cracks" in this viewpoint are readily apparent (11). Freedman offers the further caveat that the term "Other" itself is not perfectly stable:

> A second problem is the tendency to treat *alien* or *Other* as if they were stable terms denoting complete and consistent rejection when in fact there were degrees of marginality, so much so, that seemingly contradictory positions could be held simultaneously. (10)

We should, he warns, remain conscious of the range of types and gradations of marginality (11). One such degree or gradation might rest on the geographical distance between the targeted group and the European intellectual. There was a distinction to be made, the learned believed, between lepers who lived in Christian Europe (and yet were set apart) and pagan Saracens who lived outside of Europe in remote, ill-defined lands to the east.

Keeping Freedman's cautions in mind, when I assert that Tolkien mirrors the Western Europeans' methods of constructing their imaginary Saracen I am suggesting that he is necessarily mirroring the othering process of the Christian West. Three characteristics of the othering processes of medieval Europe are especially relevant to the Haradrim it seems to me. The first is the reliance on binaries (inner/outer, light/dark, Scythian/Ethiopian, saved/damned). Both medieval Church authorities and ethnologists reconceptualized pairs of opposed elements that they had inherited from the classical period. The second feature is the determining power of climate on various races and thus the crucial significance of geography in racial theorizing. And the third is the use of color as a tool with which to guide audience response to characters in literature and the visual arts of the late Middle Ages.

The issue of gradations of marginality has a bearing on the Haradrim as well. They appear as one term or component of a number of binaries (Men of the North/ Men of the South, light skinned/ dark skinned) but only, I will argue, up to a point. I will show that they inhabit an intermediate space, a space between the Men of Gondor and their human allies on the one hand, and the "troll-men" of Far Harad on the other (*RK*, V, vi, 123). The Men of Harad do not possess the "same degree of Otherness" (Freedman 11) as do these hybrids, the troll-men. Like the "monsterized Saracens," they never lose their humanity; as Cohn observes: "for all their [the Saracens'] disturbing distortions [they] were recognized as essentially human" ("Hybrids" 78). Indeed, the Southrons' preferences, such as their choice of weaponry and their love of personal ornamentation, are akin to those of the Men of Gondor and Rohan.Tolkien's decision to parallel or mirror these aspects of medieval othering processes has exposed him to the charge of being personally racist, an accusation to which I will return at the conclusion.

As a race, the Men of Harad have three identifying characteristics: particular physical features, specific moral failings and a blazing hot homeland. The following is a representative description:

> 'Dark faces. . . . They are fierce. They have black eyes, and long black hair, and gold rings in their ears; yes, lots of beautiful gold. And some have red paint on their cheeks, and red cloaks; and their flags are red, and the tips of their spears; and they have round shields, yellow and black with big spikes. Not nice; very cruel wicked Men they look. Almost as bad as Orcs, and much bigger. Sméagol thinks they have come out of the South beyond the Great River's end.' (*TT*, IV, iii, 254)

Gollum's observations and speculations about the Haradrim summarize the defining traits that *The Silmarillion* and *The Lord of the Rings* repeatedly confirm. The Haradrim are Sauron's obedient allies; their complexions (eyes, hair and skin) are consistently dark and their chosen colors are red, yellow and black. They are malevolent ("very cruel wicked"). They dwell in the far South.

Let us first recall what the *Silmarillion* tells us about the particularly long-lived nature of the Haradrim's inner weaknesses. Their vulnerability to Sauron's call stretches back centuries into the Second Age well before his defeat in the year 3262 when he is returned to Nûmenor as a war prisoner. Not only does he compel their political obedience but he also elicits religious veneration:

> In the east and south well nigh all Men were under his dominion, and they grew strong in those days and built many towns and walls of stone, and they were numerous and fierce in war and armed with iron. To them Sauron was both king and god; and they feared him exceedingly, for he surrounded his abode with fire. (*S* 289-290)

Further, the Haradrim welcome and embrace two of the many Nûmenoreans whom Sauron corrupts during his captivity between 3262 and 3310:

> Therefore many of those who sailed east in that time and made fortresses and dwellings upon the coasts were already bent to his will, and they served him gladly in Middle-earth. But because of the power of Gil-galad these renegades, lords both mighty and evil, for the most part took up their abodes

> in the southlands far away; yet two there were, Herumor and Fuinur, who rose to power among the Haradrim, a great and cruel people that dwelt in the wide lands south of Mordor beyond the mouths of Anduin. (*S* 293)

Subsequently over the course of the Third Age, the Kings and Stewards of Gondor fight numerous wars with the Haradrim. And centuries of history justify the words of Faramir's men to Frodo and Sam: "'Now of late we have learned that the Enemy has been among them, and they are gone over to Him—or back to Him—they were ever ready to His will—as have so many also in the East'" (*TT*, IV, iv, 267-268).

The above passage from *The Silmarillion* explicitly highlights their cruelty for special attention, and hundreds of years later while watching the Haradrim march to the Black Gate, Gollum again confirms it: "'very cruel wicked Men they look'" (*TT*, IV, iii, 254). Boromir too speaks of "'the Easterlings and the cruel Haradrim'" at Elrond's Council (*FR*, II, ii, 258). Later his brother echoes his language—literally—when explaining to Frodo and Sam Gondor's affinity with northern peoples who are "'unlike the wild Easterlings or the cruel Haradrim'" (*TT*, IV, v, 286).

As the verbal repetition underscores, the Haradrim's failings have remained consistent for centuries. Equally consistent and long-lived were the moral failings imputed to the medieval Saracen; European Christians charged him with idolatry, devil worship and polygamy.[4] And medieval ethnological theory drew a crucial correspondence between a race's inner spiritual state and its outer appearance. Bodily features deviating from the aesthetic canons of the western European analyst—such as a very dark complexion—were often held to be deformities signaling serious, hidden, spiritual defects.

Medieval ethnologists' speculations about blackness of skin and its significance were rooted in Greco-Roman theorizing. The ancient Greeks established opposing categories of "Greek" and "non-Greek" as they accounted for variations in physical appearance and unfamiliar cultural practices among the peoples they encountered (Snowden 169). The Romans perpetuated this binary opposition—there were Greeks and Romans on the one hand and "barbarians" on the other (171). Early Christian authorities adopted the term and altered its meaning "to refer to all non-believers" (171).

As they pursued their ethnological and geographical enquiries, the ancient Greeks established what would become a long-lived and influential binary—a radical polarity between Scythians and Ethiopians—a polarity so entrenched that it became a *topos*. These terms often denoted peoples living in quite large geographical areas—the far north and the far south respectively—when used by authorities such as Ephorus (4th c. BC) and Strabo (64 BC–ca. 24 AD) (Snowden173). Greek writers used the Scythian/Ethiopian antithesis to illustrate the effects of environment and climate on humanity and the adaptations people make to those conditions. Aristotle (383–322 BC) teaches that the extremes of northern and southern climates can explain characteristic physical features: "a fluid, moist atmosphere" produces the Scythians' "straight hair"; the "dry" climate of the extreme south produces the Ethiopians' "woolly hair" (173). Similarly Pliny the Elder (23/4–79 AD) writes: "Ethiopians are . . . burnt by the heat of the sun near them and are born with scorched complexions and frizzly hair, whereas the races in the opposite regions of the world have straight, yellow hair and white, frosty skins" (174).

Ptolemy of Alexandria (ca. 100–170 AD) adds a further, crucial dimension, one that exerted an enduring influence. He demonstrates that climate also shapes the characteristic behavior of races: "the Ethiopians are for the most part savage because their homes are oppressed by the heat and the Scythians are savage because their dwellings are continually cold" (175). Another binary describing opposing temperaments is added by Bartholomaeus Anglicus (fl. 1230–1250): "The visible signs of cowardice and boldness are dark skin and white skin, for the heat of the sun makes men "blacke of face," while coldness is the "modir of whitness" (Akbari 24).

Referring to Pliny's account of Ethiopians in his *Natural History* and to what he calls the "moral overtones" in Ptolemy's discussion in his *Tetrabiblos*, John Block Friedman observes: "it was but a short step from the quasi-science of such portraits of the Ethiopian to treatments in which he is morally inferior to Western man" (55). Citing medieval characterizations of Ethiopians and Saracens, Friedman continues: "color polarities were easily exchanged with moral polarities, and the blackness of immorality contrasted with the whiteness of salvation" (64-65). Blackness of skin became a spiritual sign for early writers of homilies such as Paulinus of Nola (354–431AD) who taught: "they were burned black not by the sun but by vices and sin" (65).[5]

We can see then that medieval Europeans came by their use of binaries (Scythian/Ethiopian, white/black, saved/damned) to analyze racial differences honestly, which is to say, they inherited them from Antiquity. Unfamiliar physical traits such as black skin (unfamiliar, that is, to the European ethnologist) signaled grave spiritual flaws—"vices and sins." We can also see the great power classical and Church authorities ascribed to climate as a crucial force that determined distinctive racial temperaments and behaviors.[6] With these aspects of medieval thought in mind, we can appreciate how particularly apposite is Patrick Curry's phrase "Tolkien's moral cartography" when applied to *The Lord of the Rings*. John F. G. Magoun also notes the "complex interaction of place, direction and meaning" in the novel:

> The North is no longer the location of any evil power, but is the story's geographic and moral home . . . The story expands to the South, with a gentler climate and a long history of conflict. That is where Gondor . . . wars with Mordor and its allies to the east and south.
>
> Beyond Gondor, on the edge of the map and the story, are the little-known nations of The Harad from *Sindarin* (south). These are hot lands whose fierce dark-skinned peoples, the Haradrim or "Southrons" . . . . (622)

I would now like to consider the etymology of another name for this "fierce dark-skinned" Race from the South—the Swertings.

The root of Swertings derives from OE *sweart* an adjective meaning "swart, swarthy, black, dark" (Bosworth and Toller). In a figurative sense *sweart* could also suggest the "absence of good, black (crime)" (Bosworth and Toller). In the first of his two articles on "Sigelwara Land", Tolkien notes the reference to "black color" (*sweartes hiwes*) in the Old English *Wonders of the East* in the *Beowulf* manuscript: "Ðær moncy is <seondon> sweartes hiwes on onsyne, þa mon hateð sigelwara" (189); "There is another race of people there of black color to look at, who are called Ethiopians (*sigelwara*)."[7] Tolkien adds a further example of the element *sweart* meaning "black" in the Old English glosses on Aldhelm's *De Laudibus Virginitatis* —"*ethiopica nigredine*, *sylhearwenre sweartnyse*" (189). Here, the noun *sweartness*, means "blackness" corresponding to the Latin *nigredo* (Bosworth and Toller). Further Tolkien explains that for the authors of these texts, Ethiopians were a black-skinned race, a color that also had moral implications for later medieval Christian writers. Of the compound *Sigelhearwan* Tolkien concludes:

> As it has come down to us the word is used in translations (the accuracy of which cannot be determined) of Ethiopia, as a vaguely conceived geographical term, or else in passages descriptive of devils, the details of which may owe something to vulgar tradition, but are not necessarily in any case old. They are of a medieval kind, and paralleled elsewhere . . . . Ethiopia was hot and its people black. That Hell was similar in both respects would occur to many. (192)

Let us consider the *perceived* similarities between the inhabitants of Ethiopia and of Hell. In his second article, he notes that Anglo-Saxon homiletic literature depicts the *Sigelhearwan* "as devils" (108) and that they have all the requisite body parts except horns: "tusks, claws, beards to their toes, wings like besoms and dreadful nebs" (109). Homiletic texts also added other "fantastic" elements to the conflation of the Ethiopian and the devil: "The fantastic notions associated with *Sigelhearwan* in homiletic literature may be wholly foreign and relatively late; for the learned placed dragons and marvellous gems in Ethiopia, and credited the people with strange habits, and strange foods, not to mention contiguity with the Anthropophagi" (192).

Further, Tolkien also suggests that the *Sigelhearwan* are related to the followers of the Old Norse fire giant Surtr as Tom Shippey and Brian McFadden both note. Tolkien favors this identification writing: "If this guess is worth considering" the ancestors of the Silhearwan are "the sons of Múspell" . . . with red-hot eyes that emitted sparks, with faces black as soot. In any event, Tolkien concludes that the origins and development of the element *heawra* are lost to us: "*heawra* [belongs to] that large part of ancient English language and lore which has now vanished beyond recall, *swa hit no wære*." [8]

The notion that the black skin assigned by Anglo-Saxon homilists to this Ethiopian/devil figure signaled grave moral defects persisted for many centuries. Following the Anglo-Saxon period, later English authors habitually conflated the figure of the Ethiopian and that of the Saracen. French writers often fuse the two in crusader chronicles, epics and *chansons de geste*. The Middle English romances frequently present the Saracen too as a black man (Friedman 226 n 14) and Tolkien certainly was familiar with him.

Before looking at some of these black-skinned Saracens, I think it is worth quoting in full Geraldine Heng's discussion of blackness as an important prompt for the audiences of these romances in her essay "The Romance of England":

> the late medieval European discourse on color is, of course, unstable and riven with contradictions; however, the point to be made is that blackness is *not neutral*, but negatively valenced, in the epistemic formation I describe. That a racializing discourse exists in which color is positioned instrumentally, from the thirteenth century onward, is inescapable: The attention to blackness and variations on blackness, in cultural texts ranging from romances like the *King of Tars, Moriaen,* and *Parzival*, to the statuary of St. Maurice, and the visual representations of Lady Fortune . . . suggests a discursive system in place to guide responses to characters and fictions from cues supplied by color." (163 n. 7)

Heng identifies blackness as one tool in a pervasive discursive system and one with a pejorative charge. Her suggestion that this system could apply to visual depictions finds support from art historian Debra Higgs Strickland. Commenting on the symbolism of a dusky complexion in the visual arts of the High Middle Ages, she writes: "dark skin was attributable to the effects of the sun, but . . . it carries primarily negative symbolic value in images of virtually all of the Church's enemies, from Ethiopians to Jews to Muslims"(179). Strickland also cautions: "no color may be said to carry absolute meaning during the Middle Ages, but the weight of contemporary literary evidence suggests that black was interpreted negatively in numerous contexts, especially Christian ones" (84).

The Saracen figure who emerges from the following English romances has inky black skin and gigantic proportions. (These texts hardly constitute an exhaustive list.) These physical features identify him as the offspring of the devil and also ascribe to him the sin of idolatry. In *Sir Ferumbras* Roland calls all his Islamic enemies "þe Sarsynȝ blake" (line 2785). And the romance again specifies the coal black skin of their gigantic Saracen guardian Agolafre: it is "as blak so pych" (4329). Likewise the Saracen champion Vernagu of *Rouland and Vernagu* is also "swart as piche" (line 483).[9] Viewed through Christian eyes, as the French peer Richard asserts, the black giant Agolafre is seen to be the devil's spawn: "Ne saw y neuere non hym lyke, He semeþ ful wel þe deuels chyke, y-sprong of þ^{e} pyt of helle" (*Sir Ferumbras* 4332). In the romances, bodily disfigurement signifies inner depravity, and in this text, the sins of idolatry and devil worship. *Sir Ferumbras* offers us a particularly literal dramatization of the Saracens' devil worship. Here, the devil appears to speak to the Emir Balan using the Emir's idol of "Mahoun" as a mouthpiece (5140–5144).[10]

The Middle English romances bequeathed both to us and to Tolkien many other demonic "monsterized Saracens" as did the French tradition. And indeed in 1967, Matthew Hodgart pointed out the French contribution. He remarks upon the battle between "God and the Devil" he perceives in Tolkien's novel and draws a parallel between opposing forces in *The Lord of the Rings* and those in *The Song of Roland*: "for a parallel in medieval literature we must look to works written under the inspiration of Christian doctrine: to the *Chanson de Roland*, with its straight conflict between good Christians and bad Saracens" (11).[11] Here, Hodgart makes explicit the way in which *The Lord of the Rings* mirrors the use of binaries we have traced in Western European racial theorizing—Christian/Saracen, good/bad. And both the "color polarities" and the "moral polarities" (Friedman 64–65) as they are reflected in Tolkien's novel have provoked criticism over decades. In his essay on the Haradrim, Brian McFadden lists a number of opposed pairs: "light/dark, good/evil, beauty/ugliness, [and] Elf/human" (211).

Tolkien's use of binaries and the white/black opposition (long burdened with its spiritual meanings) in particular has drawn comment from many. In his 1956 review, Anthony Bailey critiques Tolkien's use of "simple morals" asserting:

> First of all, the whole treatment is black and white: my chief complaint is that there is no grey in it. This is one reason why *The Lord of the Rings* never approaches *Alice in Wonderland* or Malory; after a while one longs for a relationship with some complexity, but there are here no Lancelots nor Guineveres. (154)

In the same year, Edmund Wilson "set the gold standard" for faulting Tolkien's use of moral absolutes: "What we get is a simple confrontation—more or less the traditional terms of British melodrama—of the Forces of Evil with the Forces of Good, the remote and alien villain with the plucky little home-grown hero" (313). A decade later, Matthew Hodgart asks: "but isn't [*The Lord of the Rings*] really a parable, consciously aimed at putting across the general Christian view that the universe is a battlefield between the forces of good and evil" (11)?[12]

Throughout subsequent decades, discussion of this binary (so disturbing to many readers) has continued. In his 1977 essay "Color Symbolism in *The Lord of the Rings*", Robert A. Bunda finds black equated with "pure evil" and white [with] "pure good" (14). Likewise Walter Scheps remarks: "if evil is associated with blackness, we would expect good to be described in terms of whiteness; and so it is" (43). So too Patrick Curry in *Defending Middle-earth:* "it is also true that black—as in Breath, Riders, Hand, Years, Land, Speech—is often a terrible colour, especially when contrasted with Gandalf the White, the White Rider, and so on" (31). Curry, however, believes "the primary association of black here is with night and darkness, not race" (31).[13]

I would like now to turn to the two other colors consistently associated with the men of Harad—red and yellow—those chosen for their personal adornment. Bunda has noted that these three colors mark the Southrons as Sauron's servants. Indeed, they are his colors. In support he recalls the Eye as revealed in Galadriel's Mirror: "'the Eye was rimmed with fire, but was itself glazed, yellow as a cat's, watchful and intent, and the black slit of its pupil opened on a pit, a window into nothingness'" (Bunda 15, Tolkien *FR*, II, vii, 379). A description of another of his servants, the Orcs, explicitly adds red: "'[they] are filthy black creatures, possessing red eyes and tongues, and yellow fangs'" (14). I do not find compelling Bunda's assertion that the red and yellow necessarily "heighten the hideousness of their form" (14). But these three colors, when found together, did serve to demarcate the moral landscape in the visual arts of the Middle Ages.

In her impressive study *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art,* Strickland convincingly demonstrates what she calls a "common pejorative visual vocabulary" across a range of art forms and media that helped European viewers recognize their perceived foes, its target races (Saracens, Jews, Tartars and others.) This vocabulary included conventional markers such as particular clothing items (Saracens have turbans) and exaggerated physical features (prominent thick lips, and large, often bulbous noses) (173). It also included color-coding:

> Both yellow and red are colors that feature consistently in pejorative images of Jews, and both colors had contemporary associations with criminals and other social undesirables including Jews themselves once they were forced to wear the yellow badge of infamy in certain regions. (110)

I have selected three of her many examples to illustrate this particular use of color in two media, stained glass and manuscript illustrations. The first depicts Jews, the second Saracens and the third both groups together. The first example is a series of stained glass windows (c. 1479) from the St. Lawrence Church in Nuremberg that depict Jews worshipping the Golden Calf, an incident recounted in Exodus 32: 1-6 and Kings 3: 28-30. Yellow predominates in these panels. Not only is the Calf yellow but the fashionable fifteenth-century attire of most of the dancing Old Testament Jews is yellow as well. And so are their identifying "funnel caps" topped with knobs (110).[14] Here, the artist's choice of visual clues, including color and contemporary clothing, encouraged the Christian faithful inside the St. Lawrence Church to merge the Old Testament Jews of long ago with contemporary Jews in their imaginations, and further, to suggest a historical continuity in their practice of idolatry. Strickland reminds us that the mendicant orders of the thirteenth century in particular accused the Jewish people of idolatry (108). Artwork in various media promoted the belief that medieval Jews were "the inheritors of the demonic depravity of their forebears"(109).[15]

In my second example, the illuminator of a series of thirteenth-century illustrations from the Vienna Bible employs the same colors to identify the church's foes. Yet here, her adversaries are Saracens as the accompanying moralizations make explicit. These images illustrate events in Kings 1: 4-5 in which the Philistines seize the Ark of the Covenant from the Jews. In a curious but potent anachronism, the texts substitutes Saracens for Philistines who "take the ark that they had conquered and put it in their *mosque (mahommeri)* beside one of their gods Dagon" (quoted in Strickland 171). The moralizing text instructs the reader to equate these Saracens with devils and the ark with the church: "that the Saracens placed the holy ark beside one of their idols named Dagon signifies the devils who put the Holy Church, which they have stolen, beside one of their masters named Beelzebub" (quoted in Strickland 171). Drawing attention to the Saracens' skin color, Strickland observes: "the Saracen-devils bear the skin colors of infamy: red, yellow and black" (172). They are Saracen-devils indeed because while still clothed in their robes, they possess some body parts of wild animals: long pointed ears, legs ending in three-toed paws, toothy grins and protruding noses. With tremendous economy, both text and image conflate the Saracen with the monster and accuse him of idolatry and of devil-worship. I will return to the use of animal body parts presently in regard to the "monsterized Saracen" and Tolkien's Men of Harad.[16]

In my last example, Jews and Saracens figure together as Christ's committed foes in an illustration from the Wellcome Apocalypse, one of a body of Apocalypse manuscripts. Strickland considers this German work (c. 1420) an especially literal depiction of the Jewish race imagined as Christ's enemy despite the expectation of their conversion to Christianity at the dawn of the Second Coming. A number of pejorative visual signs (including color) mark both Jews and Saracens as they stand in line waiting to receive the Mark of the Beast. The three Jewish figures begin the line-up directly in front of the Beast, their position perhaps suggesting their zeal to serve Antichrist (214). All three have very full beards and wear the stylized Jewish hat. One carries his moneybag, which is yellow; on his breast he wears the yellow "badge of infamy" (215).[17] A bit farther back in the line waits the Saracen who wears his identifying turban and stands next to a dog.

Tolkien's own choices demonstrate that he was well aware of this color-coding as part of the negative visual vocabulary used for the target races in the medieval period. He is no less consistent in the colors he gives his Southrons than were the artists whose work Strickland examines. He employs the colors of infamy in every description of the Haradrim found in *The Lord of the Rings*. Consider the description with which we began:

> 'Dark faces. . . . They are fierce. They have *black* eyes, and long *black* hair, and *gold* rings in their ears; yes, lots of beautiful *gold*. And some have *red* paint on their cheeks, and *red* cloaks; and their flags are *red,* and the tips of their spears; and they have round shields, *yellow* and *black* with big spikes. Not nice; very cruel wicked Men they look. Almost as bad as Orcs, and much bigger. Sméagol thinks they have come out of the South beyond the Great River's end.' (*TT*, IV, iii, 254; my emphasis)

In his reading of this passage, Bunda assigns specific moral values to the colors of infamy: "the dark eyes, hair, and skin of these men are symbolic of the evil they serve. The red of their cheeks, cloaks, flags, and spears represents the fire and blood which follows [sic] in the wake of evil. Finally, these men wear their gold booty, whereas the men of virtue have gold inherent in their very being through their hair, implying that inside, their hearts are also of gold" (15).

We find the same colors in the passage describing a fallen Southron warrior at close range:

> He came to rest in the fern a few feet away, face downward, green arrow feathers sticking from his neck below a *golden* collar. His *scarlet* robes were tattered, his corslet of overlapping brazen plates was rent and hewn, his *black* plaits of hair braided with *gold* were drenched with blood. His brown hand still clutched the hilt of a broken sword. (*TT*, IV, iv, 269; my emphasis)[18]

Even their great beast of war—the Mûmak—wears their identifying colors: "his upturned hornlike tusks were bound with bands of *gold* and dripped with blood. His trappings of *scarlet* and *gold* flapped about him in wild tatters" (*TT*, IV, v, 270; my emphasis).[19]

By choosing these colors for these servants of the Dark Lord, Tolkien adopts the color-coding employed by visual artists to designate the enemies of medieval western Christianity. And yet, he does not use the full range of the "common pejorative visual vocabulary" Strickland documents so thoroughly. The faces of his Haradrim do not reveal the exaggerated features often found in those of Jews and Saracens depicted in medieval artwork. Rather, with their gorgeous saturated colors they are a handsome people whose demeanor is marred only by their evident cruelty and pride. And significantly, they share with the men of Gondor and Rohan a taste for the decorative arts and similar weaponry, crucial elements I will address presently.

In England, the romances marked the Saracen enemy (especially their army's champion) by giving him not only black skin, but also giant proportions, and a body composed of human and bestial elements, a monstrous hybrid. These physically scrambled creatures recall the Saracens of the Vienna Bible with their sharp, fox-like ears and three toed paws. Like so many of his ilk, Alagolofur of *The Sowdone of Babylone* has skin "so blake and harde" (l. 2193). He has a head of a leopard (l. 2193, 2198) and also sports "tuskes, like a bore" (2197). Their protective skin is often that of a beast. In *Sir Ferumbras*, snakeskin covers the head and body of Agolafre: "For he was þanne to-be-toȝ/ body & heued y-same/ With an hard crested serpentis fel" (l. 4540–41). The champion Vernagu has sharp bristles on his brow: "his browe as brestles wore" (*Rouland and Vernagu* l. 479). The English romances often offer audiences some very precise measurements of both specific body parts and general stature. Vernagu's relevant stats include a face four feet wide, a nose one foot across, a shoulder span of fifteen feet and an overall height of forty feet

(l. 473-478). Agolafre stands fifteen feet high (*Sir Ferumbras* 4329). And fully armed, *Octavian's* Aregeous towers over his foes at twenty feet (l. 836–38).

The demonic spiritual darkness of the Saracen conjured by these English romances is marked in his flesh by bestial appendages, supernatural dimensions and other grotesque distortions. While well aware of these conventions, Tolkien chose not to inflate particular body parts of his Haradrim. No man of Harad has a nose one foot wide, nor shoulders fifteen feet across. None can rival Aregeous standing at twenty feet. Instead, the text emphasizes their affinities with the other races of Men. They hold some aesthetic values in common with their foes such as their love of decoration. The Southrons' long, black hair is orderly and they have "braided it with gold" (*TT*, IV, iii, 254) unlike the "brestles" of Vernagu, the Saracen champion. They have also painted their cheeks red. And they share with the Men of the West a love of ornamentation, wearing "'gold rings in their ears'"(*TT*, IV, iii, 254). The fallen warrior Sam contemplates wears a gold torque.

Their weaponry also decisively marks them as Men as opposed to giants when considered within the conventions Middle English romances. Like the Men of Gondor and their allies, some Haradrim wear corslets; they fight with swords, spears and shields and carry flags and banners into battle. The audience of the medieval romance recognized these armaments as part of the world of western European chivalry. Giants did not carry them. The giant champion Enfachoun of *Sir Ferumbras* wields an iron maul (4653). Agolfre, the bridge guardian, bears a massive axe measuring three feet across and made of tempered steel (4432-4433). And, while Alagolofur of *The Sowdone* also brandishes an axe (2176) Arageous menaces his opponents with a steel club in *Octavian* (996-7). Their choice of weapons was thought to belie their ignorance chivalric conventions.[20] Mauls, axes and clubs conveyed the Saracens' status as exiles from the civilized center of the Latin West, certainly from the European ethnologist's point of view.[21]

These cultural affinities the Haradrim share with the Men of the West, however, do not extend to those who dwell in Far Harad. They are not purely or cleanly men. The text compares them to hybrids, in this case, a mix of trolls and men. As a second wave of enemies floods the Pelennor Fields, the defenders of the city see: "Easterlings with axes, and Variags of Khand, Southrons in scarlet, and out of Far Harad black men *like half-trolls* with white eyes and red tongues" (*RK*, V, vi, 121; my emphasis). Subsequently, the text drops this simile and they *become* "troll-men" in the following passage: "[the forces] of Dol Amroth driv[e] the enemy before them: *troll-men* and Variags and orcs that hated the sunlight" (*RK*, V, vi, 123; my emphasis).

Here are the intense contrasting colors—black, white and red—commonly found in the *chansons de geste*, crusader chronicles and later romances, whose narrative gaze looks at the face. To take but one example from *The Song of Roland*, the hero's "accursed" enemies are described as: "blacker than ink/ And have nothing white save their teeth" (Burgess 1932–33). In his seminal article on the Saracen figure, William Wistar Comfort offers this description from *Les Narbonnais*: "their bodies are huge and black as ink, long behind and short in front. Their eyes were as red as burning coals" (650–51). Geraldine Heng, in her study of the Middle English *Richard Coer De Lyon* offers the following description of a Saracen's head on a plate: "narrative attention zeroes in on the black face and black beard of the detached head, set off against white teeth that are bared by widely grinning lips" (136).[22]

Servants of Sauron though they may be, the Southrons are not hybrids. As I stated in my introduction, they do not possess the same degree of Otherness as do the troll-men. From the perspective of those in Minas Tirith, the Haradrim inhabit a space between the Men of Gondor and the hybrids of Far Harad in terms of both race and geography. The geographical placement of these "troll-men" far away, farther away than even the Swertings parallels the Christian West's imagining of their "fantasy products" in lands remote from Western Europe; "extreme people will be found in extreme places" (Friedman 43). In his essay Brian McFadden explores in some detail the way in which geography can be used as a distancing technique and considers language as another.[23]

It is significant, I think, that *The Lord of the Rings* offers us only an impression of the *sound* of the Haradrim's speech, never a specimen of the language itself. It sounds "harsh" and "hoarse" and feels both discordant and disagreeable to their foes. As the Haradrim march to the Black Gate, Frodo, Sam and Gollum hear their "hoarse shouting" (*TT*, IV, iii, 253). And again, at the retreat from Osgiliath: "wild Southron men with red banners, *shout[ed] with harsh tongues*, surging up, overtaking the retreat" (*RK*, V, iv, 93; my emphasis). Evoking the (unpleasant) aural experience in this way is another means by which the text "others" the Haradrim.

In contrast, Frodo and Sam can understand the speech of Faramir's men as they converse: "in *soft* voices, at first using the Common Speech, but after the manner of older days, and then changing to another language of their own" (*TT*, IV, iv, 267; my emphasis). And significantly, when Frodo recognizes this other language as the Elven-tongue or a dialect of it, he can then integrate the speakers—Mablung and Damrod—into his own worldview, gaining a sense of connection. He realizes that they are "of the line of the lords of Westernesse." As in their speech, the contrast between their physical appearance and that of the Swertings is marked; "they were goodly men, pale-skinned, dark of hair, with grey eyes and faces sad and proud" (*TT*, IV, iv, 267). Here we see both physical traits and language demarcating these two races of Men: the "'High, or Men of the West' as opposed to 'the Wild, the Men of Darkness'" as Faramir classifies the Men of Middle-earth (*TT,* IV, v, 287).[24]

Tolkien's attentiveness to the aural impression of speech heard but not understood evokes something analogous to the ancient Greeks' experience of encountering the Other. The Greeks considered language a key means of distinguishing between men and beasts, and between Greek and non-Greek. Friedman reminds us: "the use of articulate speech distinguishing men from animals and non-men, was not enough to confer full humanity. The speech had to be Greek, for the sounds of the non-Greek speaking "other" were not the true communications of rational men" (29).

And yet, as many have noted, this unpleasant cacophony is not the sole impression of the Haradrim Sam (at least) receives.[25] His crucial ability to imagine the world from the perspective of another triumphs as he meditates on the fallen Swerting warrior:

> It was Sam's first view of a battle of Men against Men, and he did not like it much. He was glad that he could not see the dead face. He wondered what the man's name was and where he came from; and if he was really evil of heart, or what lies or threats had led him on the long march from home; and if he would not really rather have stayed there in peace. (*TT*, IV, iv, 269)

Sam's curiosity is neither cold nor morbid but appealing in its sympathy. He imagines what he shares with his enemy, not what divides them. In speculating about his foe's proper name, he makes him an individual. And most impressively, he wonders whether the dead man was torn inwardly by conflicting motivations as he himself is at times. After taking his "peep" in Galadriel's Mirror, his duty to his master wars with his longing to be home again in the Shire. Sam chooses "to go home by the long road with Mr. Frodo" (*FR*, II, vii, 378) but here in distant Ithilien, he has the imaginative reach to ask what induced this man to begin his own "long march from home." Sam can conceive of more than one possibility—his enemy is inherently evil, or, he is yet another victim of Sauron—coerced by terror or manipulated by deceit. Perhaps terror overcame his own love of home. It is an astonishing achievement of a human heart.[26]

As both Chance and McFadden have thoroughly demonstrated, the judgments the newly crowned Aragorn delivers upon his defeated enemies are equally impressive. Those Easterlings who surrender to him are pardoned and made free. "The slaves of Mordor" are also freed and given their own territory. Peace is made with the Men of Harad (*RK*, VI, v, 247). These judgments are just and also express his forgiveness and love, two qualities of crucial importance most especially when they are felt for "those others who are different" as Chance writes (42).[27] Only through such spiritual victories can other races be embraced and integrated and the lands truly healed.

In conclusion, I would like to return to the charge of personal racism made against Tolkien in light of our exploration of those binaries (Scythian/Ethiopian, white/black, saved/damned) so instrumental in the Christian West's racial theorizing in the medieval period. To some readers of *The Lord of the Rings*, many conceptual binaries can appear "suspiciously like racism" as McFadden notes (211). In our reading of Tolkien, we cannot, of course, "see" without (in Fimi's words) the lens of our "modern perspectives on racism and racial discrimination" (158).[28] It is equally true, however, that we may study medieval theorizing about race dispassionately.

It is my hope that this essay may help suspicious and doubtful readers recognize that the many pairs of polarizing binaries considered here have ancient roots. As assimilated and adapted by the medieval church they persisted, informing the theorizing of western European Christians for centuries, not merely for a few decades. Indeed, it can be argued that Tolkien's choice to mirror the medieval ethnologist's theorizing is perfectly suited to his literary project especially if one believes (with Jared Lobdell, for instance) that "the action of *The Lord of the Rings* indeed mostly takes place in the north-west corner of Europe, and has a British or English feel to it . . ." (87).[29] His choice then would be intellectually coherent rather than simply a kind of seasoning to infuse Middle-earth with a "medieval" flavor.

That a literary work should mirror such conceptualizing is not a call for readers to embrace it themselves. Nor, by the same token, does it offer "proof" of the author's embrace of such conceptualizing. Understanding should not, in my view, be confounded with advocacy.

Further, recent scholarship urges us not to equate the fictive mirroring we have traced in the Secondary World of *The Lord of the Rings* with the personal belief system of Tolkien the historical man. This is especially true since we have clear extra-textual evidence (such as personal letters, lectures and essays from the Primary World) expressing his views about race and marginalization (as Chance in particular has demonstrated) and about how the word "race" should be used and about whether or not race has any link with language, culture and/or nation (as Fimi has shown). The novel's resolution celebrates the forgiveness and love practiced by Aragorn in Gondor and Frodo in the Shire as well as the empathetic imagination of Sam. These are the values that triumph, not those implicit in Tolkien's chosen methods of construction.

NOTES

1 See also E. L. Epstein: "Tolkien's Middle-earth . . . seems to be a picture in little of medieval Christendom menaced by the southern and eastern enemy, Sauron, who occupies the position of the Saracen enemy of medieval Europe" (525).

2 Of particular interest to Fimi is the tendency of the anthropologists and Social Darwinists to organize races into hierarchical schema, hierarchies that are inherently judgmental, assigning greater value to one race and a lesser value to another. This discussion informs her study of hierarchical orderings of various anthropomorphic beings found in *The Lord of the Rings*—distinct, tripartite classifications for Elves, Men and Hobbits for example.

3 The term "Saracen" was used for the adherents of Islam in a broad range of theological, legal and literary works (Strickland 165).

4 They also imputed idolatrous practices and devil-worship to the Jews (Strickland 108–9) as well as ritual murder (104) and desecration of the Host (116–17).

5 But see McFadden who writes: "the association of demons with Ethiopians came when metaphoric discussions of color by Augustine and Isidore were misunderstood and literally applied by later Christian authors" (216). When the *sigelwara*, or Ethiopians appear in Anglo-Latin and Old English literature, McFadden feels they are "vulnerable, human and less fearsome with closer contact" (199).

6 See also Suzanne Conklin Akbari's account of geography, climatic determinism and race in "From Due East to True North: Orientalism and Orientation" (24-29).

7 Orchard (202). See McFadden's discussion of this and other Anglo-Saxon references (202-203).

8 "Sigelwara Land II" (111).

9 Cited by Friedman (226 n 14).

10 The medieval Church claimed that other target races practiced idolatry and devil-worship. As Strickland notes, this charge allowed Christian Europeans to lump their enemies—Jews, Muslims and all other non-Christians—together in the same category; she writes: "if the object of worship was not the Christian God, it was by necessity idolatrous"(168). The *chansons de geste* and crusader chronicles were instrumental in constructing the figure of the idolatrous Muslim and the romance genre in popularizing it (166).

11 Lobdell takes issue with his analysis (3).

12 See too Mark Robert's 1956 review: "Nor are we troubled by one of the drabbest aspects of real life, the way that people's characters are not simply black or white but various shades of grey: here the good are very, very good and the bad are simply horrid" (455). This is the kind of assessment C. S. Lewis sought to combat in his essay "The Dethronement of Power" although it appeared a year earlier (1955) in *Time and Tide*: "I think some readers, seeing (and disliking) this rigid demarcation of black and white, imagine they have seen a rigid demarcation between black and white people. Looking at the squares, they assume (in defiance of the facts) that all the pieces must be making bishops' moves which confine them to one color" (12).

13 Curry also offers several "counter-examples" noting "Saruman's sign is a white hand . . ." (31).

14 Strickland draws our attention to one figure in the foreground of this scene who embodies a number of these visual markers of the Jew: "a long beard, a bright yellow funnel hat, bright red stockings, a face turned in profile to highlight a stereotypically long Jewish nose, and a somewhat stunted body in partial dorsal view" (110).

15 Strickland also cautions that not every medieval representation of Jews was negative: "from the twelfth century onward in Northern Europe, neutral, positive, and negative images were produced simultaneously, albeit in varying proportions at different times and places" (97).

16 See Salih's discussion of hybridity as a persistent sign of paganism and wrong belief (113).

17 See Strickland's discussion of the range of associations the medieval audience had with the Jew's moneybag (140-41).

18 As Virginia Luling notes, this is the "one moment where one of them becomes an individual" (56).

19 The description of the retreat from Osgiliath provides a further example: "horsemen of the Enemy swept up. The lines of fire became flowing torrents, file upon file of Orcs bearing flames, and wild Southron men with *red* banners, shouting with harsh tongues, surging up, overtaking the retreat" (*RK*, V, iv, 93; my emphasis).

20 See Friedman's discussion of the significance of the club as a weapon (32-33).

21 See also Kline's study of medieval cartography. She suggests that the "wooden poles and mallets of varying shapes and sizes" bourn by some of the Monstrous Races on the Hereford map carried the same meaning for the medieval viewer (151).

22 Heng is using Karl Brunner's edition of 1913.

23 See his reading of Genesis 11: 6-9 (201).

24 Cited by Fimi (148). Between the High and the Dark in this three-tiered hierarchy are "the Middle Peoples, Men of the Twilight." See her analysis of the classification of Men in the Third Age (148-149). In his Secondary World Fimi notes that Tolkien links "the 'racial' characteristics of the Three houses of Men with their languages" in the First Age, and this "despite Tolkien's explicit statements against the idea of a community of language and 'race' in *English and Welsh*"[*sic*] (145).

25 Several critics have suggested that this scene was inspired by autobiographical accounts of allied soldiers speculating about a fallen German in the First World War; see Croft (48).

26 McFadden also discusses Sam's efforts "to see the man's humanity and to imagine what he would be like if there had been no war" (205). See his reading of the entire passage, pages 205-206.

27 See her discussion of their role in the reconciliation of the many different races at the dawn of the Age of Men (42-43).

28 See her discussion "Tolkien and the charge of racism" (157–59).

29 Lobdell cites Tolkien's 1967 letter to Charlotte and Dennis Plimmer: "the action of the story takes place in the North-west of "Middle-earth," equivalent in latitude to the coastlands of Europe and the north shores of the Mediterranean …" (87).

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Myth, Milky Way, and the Mysteries of Tolkien's *Morwinyon, Telumendil,* and *Anarríma*

Kristine Larsen

As has been noted in numerous papers,[1] Tolkien drew upon astronomical lore and fact in his crafting of the *legendarium* of Middle-earth. Examples include the use of meteoric iron in Túrin's sword Anglachel, descriptions of auroras and the motions of the Evening Star, the timing of the phases of the moon, and the numerous stars and constellations which were kindled by Varda to herald the coming of the Eldar. Many of these have been unambiguously identified with our primary world stars and constellations. For example, in the "Myths Transformed" essays, Tolkien discusses "the Valacirca or 'Sickle of the Gods', which was one of the Eldarin names for the Plough" (*Morgoth* 387-8). The Plough is also known as Charles's Wain or simply the Wain in Europe, and the Big Dipper in America (Allen 428-31). The identity of other astronomical objects can be argued through an examination of literary and scientific evidence, for example, Borgil as Aldebaran (Larsen 2005). However, some objects have resisted an unambiguous identification to this day, among them the constellations Telumendil and Anarríma, which are included in the list of six constellations specifically mentioned as being part Varda's star-creation in *The Silmarillion* (48). Other astronomical mysteries remain in the *legendarium*, including seemingly strange references to the bright star Morwinyon, identified as Arcturus, (e.g. *Lost Tales I* 133), as being stationary in the western sky. This paper posits that a solution to both the identification of Telumendil and Anarríma and an astronomically plausible explanation for the lingering of Arcturus in the western sky can be found through a careful study of both astronomical observation, and classical and medieval texts, all of which would have been familiar to Tolkien.

Quiñonez and Raggett argue that in the *legendarium,* "the constellations are again the same as in our world, and serve the same functions: besides regulating the heavens, they represent events and persons in the beliefs of the native cultures" (12). Therefore it is not unrealistic to expect that all the stars and constellations which Tolkien took the time to specifically name may have counterparts in our skies. The brightest stars in the primary world night sky (in order of decreasing brightness) are Sirius in Canis Major, Canopus in Carina, Alpha Centauri in Centaurus, Arcturus in Boötes, and Vega in Lyra. The second and third of these are not visible from the latitude of the Greenwich Royal Observatory in England. Only Sirius and Arcturus have well-documented counterparts in Middle-earth. Christopher Tolkien explains in his commentary to "The

Tale of the Sun and Moon" in *The Book of Lost Tales, Part I* that Sirius is Nielluin, later called Helluin in *The Silmarillion*, and represents Ingil, the son of the Elvish king Inwë, who follows Telimektar, son of Tulkas, "in the likeness of a great bee carrying honey of flame" (200). Tolkien himself identifies Telumehtar as "an older name for *Menemakil*, Orion" in the notes to "Quendi and Eldar" (*Jewels* 411), and Christopher Tolkien also identifies the star grouping as Orion (under its later spellings of Menelmakar/Menelmacar) in his notes to "The Later Quenta Silmarillion" (*Morgoth* 166) and "Annals of Aman" (*Morgoth* 76).

In the "Appendix on Names" (*Lost Tales I* 261), Arcturus is named Morwinyon, with the translations "glint at dusk" and "glint in the dark." Neither of these is a particularly unusual name for the second brightest star visible from northern latitudes. However, we read in "The Coming of the Elves and the Making of Kôr" that Morwinyon "who blazes above the world's edge in the west" was dropped by Varda as she hastened back to Valinor after completing her task of placing the bright stars in the sky (*Lost Tales I* 114). Again, describing brilliant Arcturus as being seen low in the western sky at dusk is not astronomically unusual, and this passage might be of little further interest if it were not for Christopher Tolkien's interpretation of it in his commentary: "It is nowhere explained why Morwinyon—Arcturus is mythically conceived to be always in the west" (*Lost Tales I* 133). If this is indeed what his father meant, then it is astronomically curious, to say the least, especially in light of Tolkien's careful and largely precise usage of astronomical phenomena in the *legendarium*.

Evidence to support this interpretation can be found in "The Tale of the Sun and Moon", where most of the stars are described as being "a heart of silver flame set in vessels of crystals and pale glass" crafted by Varda and moved by the Mánir and Súruli (*Lost Tales I* 181). Other stars were made of vessels "like translucent lamps set quivering above the world" and "they flickered and waned for the stirring of the upper winds, yet abode where they hung and moved not…." Two of these "fixed stars" are specifically named: "Morwinyon of the west, whose name meaneth the glint at dusk, and of his setting in the heavens much has been told; and Nielluin too, who is the Bee of Azure, Nielluin whom still may all men see in autumn or winter burning nigh the foot of Telimektar" (*Lost Tales I* 181-2). In his commentary, Christopher Tolkien questions whether this unusual non-motion could be explained by a period of time when the earth did not rotate (or better put, when the apparent East-West rising and setting motion of the stars had not yet begun). An argument could be made by drawing a comparison to *The Silmarillion,* where the initial intended motion of the sun and moon is not the normal rising and setting seen today, but rather an East-West-East oscillation where the sun and moon meet at the midpoint of the sky. However, this argument is complicated by the description of Varda's second star-kindling in *The Silmarillion* where "It is told that even as Varda ended her labours, and they were long, when first Menelmacar strode up the sky and the blue fire of Helluin flickered in the mists above the borders of the world, in that hour the Children of the Earth awoke…" (*S* 48). In addition, we have the description in "The Tale of the Sun and Moon" that there are some stars which do move (guided by the Mánir and Súruli). Therefore, this explanation does not seem to be consistent with the *legendarium* as it was written (both initially and in later drafts).

Finally, in his commentary, Christopher Tolkien yet again reiterates about Arcturus (and Sirius) that "This movement is nowhere explained mythically in my father's cosmology" (*Lost Tales I* 200). It is important to note that Tolkien clearly means for these stationary states to be in the past, as Orion (and Sirius) move in later times (circa the Third Age of Middle-earth), and Tolkien noted that of the change of Morwinyon from stationary to non-stationary "much has been told" (*Lost Tales I* 182). Although Arcturus is not unambiguously named in the later *legendarium*, it would be difficult to argue that Tolkien meant for us to assume that the second brightest star forever left the skies of northern Middle-earth. Unfortunately, none of this intriguing explanation appears to have survived to this day, but we are certainly left with the impression that Tolkien recognized that there was something very special about this star and its motions in our real-world sky.

The term "fixed stars" is sometimes used in astronomical discussions to differentiate the true stars, which remain fixed in position relative to each other within a constellation over a human lifespan, from the planets, or "wandering stars", which move relative to the background stars, and from transient phenomenon such as comets, meteors, or novae/supernovae. However, no star remains fixed in the night sky, not even Polaris, the North Star, because its location is not precisely aligned with true North (the North Celestial Pole, or the projection of the earth's North Pole into space). Tolkien was surely aware of this fact, especially given several technically correct and highly descriptive examples of stellar motion in his writings. For example, in one of his father's notebooks, Christopher Tolkien found the following description of the stars of the Big Dipper (the Valacirca): "They fly now ever in the shape of a sickle round and round the pole" (*Lost Tales I* 133). More famously, we have the vivid and accurate description of the orderly rising of the Pleiades (Remmirath), Aldebaran (Borgil), and Orion (Menelvagor, the Sindarin form of Menelmacar) found in *The Fellowship of the Ring*:

> Away high in the East swung Remmirath, the Netted Stars, and slowly above the mists red Borgil rose, glowing like a

> jewel of fire. Then by some shifts of airs all the mist was drawn away like a veil, and there leaned up, as he climbed over the rim of the world, the Swordsman of the Sky, Menelvagor with his shining belt. (*FR*, I, iii, 91)

Compare this with the beginning of Robert Frost's 1923 poem "The Star-Splitter":

> You know Orion always comes up sideways.
> Throwing a leg up over our fence of mountains,
> And rising on his hands, he looks in on me. (Frost 218)

Both Tolkien and Frost correctly describe Orion's sideways rising, familiar to experienced stargazers. Therefore, if we are to find a logical explanation for the strange motion of Arcturus (and Sirius), we should look to astronomical, mythological, and literary sources, especially those with which a classically trained scholar such as Tolkien would have been familiar, and motions which a careful observer of the natural world, such as Tolkien, would have witnessed for himself (as in the sideways rising of Orion).

In his famous collection of star and constellation mythology and etymology, Richard Hinkley Allen noted that Sirius, the brightest star of the nighttime sky, was "thought worthy by Pliny of a place by itself among the constellations," although technically it is the brightest star in the constellation Canis Major, the Large Dog. So bright is this "Dog Star" that it has been glimpsed in broad daylight by the trained unaided eye (Allen 127). Sirius was especially important to the ancient Egyptians, where it was called Sothis, and was identified with the goddess Isis. Its heliacal rising (first visibility at dawn on the eastern horizon) coincided with the annual flooding of the Nile, an event of vital importance to the Egyptian culture, and hence Sirius was used to regulate the Egyptian calendar (Parker 52; Schaefer 149). Even today we include folklore about Sirius in our everyday vernacular, when we speak of the "Dog Days of Summer." This refers to an ancient belief that the combined light of the sun and Sirius rising together in the late summer increased the temperature of that period of time (Allen 126). Given the star's rank as the brightest star of the night, and its cultural importance, it is not surprising that Tolkien specifically identifies this star and its motion (trailing Orion as he rises in the east), and it is certainly proper that the first rising of Sirius coincides with the awakening of the Eldar by the shores of Cuiviénen in *The Silmarillion*, as previously noted (*S* 48). Given the cultural importance of Sirius's heliacal rising in the east, it is also not inconsistent that Tolkien would single it out (with Arcturus) for special treatment, as a star whose motions have changed over the long eras of Middle-earth.

Turning our attention to Arcturus, we similarly find it to hold a place of prominence in mythology and literature. The fourth overall brightest star in the nighttime sky (second brightest seen from northern latitudes), it was first seen by the unaided eye during the day in 1669, and was first seen during the day with a telescope three decades earlier (Allen 102). It is considered a spring star, and can be first seen in the east at evening twilight in late February, as noted by Hesiod in his *Works and Days* (lines 564-8):

> When Zeus completes sixty wintry days after the turnings of the sun, at just that time the star Arcturus leaves behind the holy stream of ocean and ascends for the first time, beaming brilliantly at earliest twilight. (Tandy and Neale 113)

Arcturus is the most prominent star in Boötes the Herdsman or Wagoner, both names referring to the constellation's location behind the Big Dipper (itself pictured as the Bear or Wagon). In literature the names of the star and constellation are sometimes used interchangeably, leading to significant confusion. For example, Boethius refers to "the stars of Arcturus" in Book IV of *The Consolation of Philosophy* (Green 90). Because of Boötes's high northern declination[2] (i.e. its small distance from Polaris and the North Celestial Pole), the appearance of its rising and setting differs from many constellations, and in fact like the Big Dipper the constellation is always visible (circumpolar) from far northern latitudes (although not from southern England). This peculiar motion was noted by a number of classical authors, including Aratus, who wrote in his *Phaenomena* (lines 579-85):

> No longer great on both sides of the horizon is Arctophylax but only the lesser portion is visible, while the greater part is wrapt in night. For with four signs of the Zodiac Boötes sets and is received in the bosom of the ocean; and when he is sated with the light he takes till past midnight in the loosing of his oxen, in the season when he sets with the sinking sun. Those nights are named after his late setting. (Mair 253)

As a planisphere or planetarium will demonstrate,[3] Boötes (which is generally shaped like a kite or ice cream cone with Arcturus as the bottom tip) sets in an upright position, with Arcturus leading the way. It therefore takes a full eight hours to set from top to bottom, while it rises nearly parallel to the horizon, or essentially all at the same time. Therefore Boötes is slow to set and quick to rise (Allen 96). Boethius comments on this peculiar behavior in Book IV Poem 5 of *The Consolation of Philosophy* (Green 90) when he states

> The man who does not know why the stars of Arcturus turn near the highest pole, nor why slow Boötes drives his chariot to dip his flames into the sea, yet rises again so quickly, must be amazed by the laws of celestial bodies.

Given the demonstrated depth of his knowledge of the night sky, it is certainly not unreasonable to posit that Tolkien was familiar with this unique motion of Boötes, as well as the work of Boethius. For these reasons it is asserted here that it is exactly this motion which was the impetus for Tolkien to have Arcturus (the brightest star in Boötes) appear "stationary" and it is indeed true that of its setting, "much has been told," at least by Classical writers.

However, as Laird and Olson (147) detailed, Chaucer "rather embarrassingly, is among those who do not understand this astronomical allusion." They point out several errors in Chaucer's translation of Boethius's work. For example, he does not translate the word "tardus" (slow) and instead merely says that "the sterre Boetes passeth or gadreth his waynes" (i.e. the Wain or Big Dipper). As for the rising of Boötes, Chaucer correctly refers to it as "hise overswifte arysynges," but without the contrast with the slow setting, the passage loses much of its original intended power (Benson 450). One wonders if Tolkien himself was aware of the translation error.

Other interesting facets of the *legendarium*'s descriptions of Arcturus and Sirius can also be explained using both scientific and literary references. As previously noted, the stationary stars of *The Book of Lost Tales Part I* were said to flicker and wane, while in *The Silmarillion* (48) we read how the "blue fire of Helluin flickered" at the awakening of the Elves. Sirius is a white or blue-white star, with a surface temperature nearly twice that of our sun, while cooler Arcturus is described as "golden yellow or topaz" by many observers (Burnham 302) even though its peak wavelength is technically in the orange range of the spectrum. Sirius and Arcturus, as well as other brilliant stars such as Vega and Capella, can flicker wildly in both brightness and perceived color when seen low on the horizon, a manifestation of the atmosphere's effect on star images called "seeing." Air masses of differing temperatures in various layers of the atmosphere are quickly mixed when the air is turbulent (such as directly after the passage of a weather front), causing variations of the refractive properties of the air over small scales. While all stars "twinkle" (as in the famous children's song), the effect is most noticeable when the star is low to the horizon and the observer is looking through more atmosphere (Birney 85). Thus we read in Tennyson's *The Princess*, "the fiery Sirius alters hue, And bickers into red and emerald" (Tennyson 145-6). Due it its lower declination, Sirius tends to remain closer to the horizon than many stars, and hence is more likely to have noticeable scintillation in both apparent brightness and color. Likewise, Arcturus would twinkle most dramatically when low in the western sky.

We are now in a position to make reasonable hypotheses concerning the identification of two of the constellations created by Varda in her pre-Eldar star-kindling. As has been noted, several of these have long been identified: Wilwarin is "perhaps Cassiopeia" (*S* 354), an identification which makes sense given the shape of the constellation, Menemacar (Menelvagor in Sindarin) is unequivocally Orion, and Valacirca is the Plough/Wain/Big Dipper. Soronúmë, "The Eagle," is frequently identified by authors with Aquila, our modern eagle constellation. However, it should be noted that the nearby constellation of Lyra has also been associated with an eagle in some classical sources (c.f. Allen, Burnham). Two constellations still remain unidentified, Anarríma and Telumendil. Quiñonez and Raggett (12) write of these

> No one constellation seems to match with their translations; the former has the intriguing name 'edge of the sun', while the latter is 'sky-lover'. We have chosen to refrain from any attempt at identification because of this dearth of choices.

Since Tolkien has matched his constellations to prominent constellations in the primary world night sky, and since Arcturus/Boötes appear prominently in the early *legendarium* only to be apparently overlooked in the later versions of the tales, it is not illogical that we should investigate whether Telumendil can be reasonably identified with Boötes.

Getty gives the translation of Telumendil as "'Friend of the Dome', i.e. of Heaven; or 'Point of the Dome' " (2). The latter definition is also found in Noel (196). Getty argues that this second definition refers to the North Celestial Pole (NCP), because stars and constellations near it (such as the Big Dipper and Cassiopeia) are circumpolar and never set. Therefore such circumpolar stars would also fit the first definition and appear to be quite friendly with the night sky (from which they are never removed). Getty continues to explain quite correctly that while Polaris is currently the star closest to the NCP (i.e. functions as the "North Star"), this has not always been the case, due to the 26,000 cycle of precession. Due to the slow wobbling of the earth's axis, the NCP traces out a circle relative to the northern stars. For example, in ancient Egyptian times, the NCP was closest to the star Thuban in Draco the Dragon. Getty argues that at the time of the Elves Vega was the North Star, and using this logic argues that Lyra (the constellation in which Vega is found) combined with the nearby Cygnus the Swan (the Northern Cross) would be Telumendil. While it is certainly true that Vega did serve as the North Star in the distant past (circa 11,000 BCE), there is no evidence that

Tolkien incorporated precession into his *legendarium*, and fairly convincing evidence that he did not. For if Tolkien had used precession, the Big Dipper would not have circled "round and round the pole" (as previously cited), and the description of Orion's rising near midnight in late September found in *The Fellowship of the Ring* (I, iii, 91) would have also been incorrect.

Wilson and Proxon admit that Telumendil "is a problem" and argue that "the ending *–ndil* refers presumably to a personage" (7). Based on this, they posit Telumendil to be one of two prominent constellations near the Big Dipper which are seen as human figures—Virgo and Boötes. Based on the previously presented evidence, it is suggested that Boötes is indeed the correct identification for Telumendil, again stressing the common interchangeability of the names Arcturus and Boötes in classical sources. Boötes is slow to leave the sky and swift to return, making it a "Friend of the Dome." The identification of Telumendil with Boötes would parallel yet another real-world name for Arcturus, its brightest star, as the Arabic *Al Hāris al Samā*, "Keeper of Heaven" (Allen 101). Allen explains this name as deriving "from the star's early visibility in the twilight owing to its greatest northern declination, as though on the lookout for the safety and proper department of his lesser stellar companions." Such a description would certainly be consistent with the role of Morwinyon in Middle-earth.

We are now left with one final stellar mystery to investigate, namely the primary world identification of Anarríma. As previously noted, Quiñonez and Raggett translate the name of this constellation as "edge of the sun" (12), consistent with Quiñonez's earlier literal Quenya translation as "sun-edge" (Quiñonez 9). While these authors offer no identification, other sources both suggest alternative translations of the name and give tentative identifications. For example, Getty translates the constellation's name as "multitude of suns" and identifies it with the constellation Perseus "with its star clusters" (2). While it is certainly true that as a constellation lying within the visible band of the Milky Way, Perseus hosts a number of prominent star clusters (including M 34, the Perseus Association, and h/Chi Persei), the same can be said of most constellations located along the galactic equator,[4] such as Cygnus, Cassiopeia, and Sagittarius. Wilson and Proxon give the name as "net of fire" (7), and offer Corona Borealis as the primary world equivalent. While Corona Borealis is certainly a constellation with a rich mythology (for example, as the crown of Ariadne in Greek myth), it is not an especially prominent group of stars, and other possible identifications should be explored. In the discussion which follows, the translation of Quiñonez and Raggett—"edge of the sun"—will be taken as the working definition of the constellation's name.

Among the celestial pathways noted by pre-telescopic astronomers, two in particular have an almost universal notoriety: the visible band of the Milky Way, and the apparent yearly trajectory of the sun relative to the stars, known as the ecliptic. While the first is apparent to any observer with clear, dark skies, the second requires some detailed observations to discern. A multitude of ancient cultures noted that the stars seen low in the sky near the sun, either at dusk or dawn, change over the course of the year. By tracing a line across their star maps they could connect the dots to construct an apparent pathway for the sun, which became known as the band of constellations called the zodiac. Allen describes the zodiacal systems of various cultures, and notes that this nearly universal astronomical construct often contained constellations made of animals (6). A modern star map, based on our concept of grid lines of celestial "longitude" and "latitude" (more correctly called right ascension and declination) demonstrates that the ecliptic appears as a sinusoidal line snaking above and below the celestial equator, crossing it in exactly two locations.

While the ecliptic actually marks the plane of the earth's orbit in space (because the earth orbits the sun), its appearance as the sun's yearly path relative to the stars was of high significance to pre-modern cultures, due to its relationship with the seasons (and the resulting changes in the length of daylight hours and average temperatures which greatly affect agriculture). This is related to the observation of the location along the horizon of the rising or setting sun, as was measured at Stonehenge and other pre-telescopic observatories. For example, at the summer solstice (approximately June 21), the sun is located in the constellation Gemini the Twins, and is at its greatest northern point above the celestial equator.[5] Because of this location, the sun rises and sets at its furthest northeast and northwest points along the horizon respectively, and we experience the greatest number of hours of sunlight.[6] At the winter solstice (approximately December 21), the opposite occurs, and the sun can be found in the constellation of Sagittarius the Centaur. The dates at which the sun lies directly on the celestial equator are the Vernal Equinox and Autumnal Equinox (roughly March 22 and September 22 respectively). On these dates the sun rises directly east, sets directly west, and we experience twelve hours of sunlight and twelve hours of darkness.

Tolkien was undoubtedly aware of the culture significance of these four dates, and used them in his *legendarium*. For example, Bilbo and Frodo's birthday corresponds with the Autumnal Equinox (*FR*, I, i, 29) and the One Ring was destroyed at the Vernal Equinox (*RK*, App. B, 375). The Fellowship left the safely of Rivendell and set out on their possibly futile mission around the Winter Solstice (*RK*, App. B, 373), at a time when the world was both literally and figuratively in a time of darkness, and Bilbo triumphantly returned from his adventures in the wild at the Summer Solstice (*H*, XIX, 274).[7] The timing is clearly no accident.

The translation of Anarríma as "edge of the sun" therefore leaves us with two possible constellations if we use the edge of the path of the sun—namely the farthest northern and southern extensions of the ecliptic—as our candidates: Gemini and Sagittarius. It is argued by this author that Sagittarius is the more logical choice, for several reasons. Sagittarius is an ancient constellation, with Sumerian cuneiform inscriptions associating it with Nergal the Archer, their god of war (Allen 354). Both the ancient and modern versions of Sagittarius point their arrow toward the nearby constellation of Scorpius, the sky-menacing scorpion. While both Gemini and Sagittarius denote extreme points in the sun's path, from a psychological perspective the southern extremum is more notable, denoting the position of the sun at the Winter Solstice. This point marks the sun at its weakest, the day with the fewest hours of sunlight, and symbolically the nadir of both light and hope. It is truly the edge of the sun's path, for as the ancients knew well, if the sun continued to travel south (rose further south along the horizon) and did not return to its more northern position, it would be disastrous. Therefore while the Winter Solstice itself marked darkness in its extreme, with each succeeding day afterwards hope waxed stronger, as the sun began its slow northerly trek, and with it a renewed promise of the Spring to come. The Summer Solstice, while of obvious importance, lacks the deep symbolism of its complement.

Another reason for selecting Sagittarius over Gemini is the former's hosting of the center of the Milky Way. While the position of the galactic center as being in Sagittarius was not definitively determined until 1917 (Shapley 1918), simple celestial observations will lead one to suspect that there is something special about the Milky Way in that region of the sky. As a barred spiral, our galaxy is (to a first approximation) a flattened disk of stars, gas, and dust, in which resides the spiral arms. The solar system is currently located near the edge of one spiral arm, about halfway out from the center of the galaxy. Therefore, when one looks into the night sky along the plane of the galaxy, one sees a dense whitish band which is the accumulated light of stars and hot gas, as well as light scattered off dust. Due to our location, this band looks thinner (more transparent as well as lesser in width) in the direction of the outer edge of the Milky Way (near Gemini and Orion), and more dense and wider when looking toward the center in Sagittarius. In the so-called "Summer Milky Way", which is prominent to northern hemisphere observers in the late summer months, sufficient dust clouds exist in the constellations of Cygnus and Sagittarius to actually block out the light from stars and gas, causing large dark "rifts" to appear against the brighter background. Therefore, the portion of the Milky Way seen in Sagittarius appears to an observer (with or without a telescope) to be the most prominent section of our galaxy.

One of the most curious aspects of Tolkien's cosmology is that he neglects to utilize the Milky Way in any obvious way, although he mentions in it in at least two places outside of his *legendarium*. In a 1972 letter to Rayner Unwin he describes the early spring flowers in Fellows' Garden as "blazing green starred like the Milky Way" (*Letters* 417). The second reference is in a 1923 article on the etymology of several street names, where he notes that several ancient names are derived from the Milky Way (Tolkien 477). While Homer also did not apparently mention the Milky Way in his most famous writings (Clerke 607), it is peculiar that Tolkien, obviously a careful observer of the night sky, neglected to reference it in his *legendarium*, even in a veiled way. Or, perhaps, he did? If the constellation identification posited in this paper are correct, the famous Elvish list of constellations in *The Silmarillion* become a literary painting of the Milky Way for the astronomically astute reader. For as we read, the constellations are listed (in order) as Wilwarin, Telumendil, Soronúmë, Anarríma, and Menelmacar, which corresponds to Cassiopeia, Boötes, Aquila, Sagittarius, and Orion. This is a reasonable listing of constellations which trace out the Milky Way starting from most northern (closest to the North Star) to most southern (farthest) in the case of Sagittarius—where it is also most prominent—and then down beneath the horizon of the visible sky to reemerge in the vicinity of Orion, where the Milky Way is at its weakest. While it can be argued that Cygnus more clearly traces out the Milky Way than Boötes, the former's distinctive cross-like shape and well-known colloquial name the Northern Cross might not have fit in with Tolkien's pre-Christian model for Middle-earth (e.g. *Letters* 220).

As with other astronomical mysteries of Middle-earth which this author has previously explored, there can be no absolute certainty of a proper identification or explanation, short of the uncovering of a previously unknown manuscript. Despite the limitations, this paper has sought to utilize the scientific method, coupled with a knowledge of Tolkien's deep respect and love for the natural world, including his self-reported childhood interest in astronomy (Flieger and Anderson 56), in order to possibly shed valuable light on Tolkien's usage of astronomy in his *legendarium*.

NOTES

1 E.g. Manning 2003; Quiñonez and Raggett 1990; Larsen 2008, 2006, 2005.

2 The Equatorial Coordinate System divides the visible sky into coordinates similar to longitude and latitude, called right ascension and declination, respectively. Declination is measured in degrees north and south of the celestial equator, which itself is defined as the projection of the earth's equator into space. If one were to sit on the earth's equator and note which stars passed directly overhead one could visually construct the celestial equator. An example of a famous group of stars which straddles the celestial equator is the Belt of Orion. The celestial equator has a declination of 0 degrees, while the North and South Celestial Poles have declinations of +90 and -90 degrees respectively.

3 Readers without access to either of these resources will find the free downloadable planisphere found at http://www.lawrencehallofscience.org/starclock/skywheel.html to be a valuable visual aid.

4 Among the various celestial coordinate systems invented by modern astronomers is Galactic Coordinates, which takes the approximate mid-line of the disk of our galaxy as its equator. This designation is somewhat artificial, and assumes that the disk is flat and uniform (which current research suggests it is not).

5 Currently the ecliptic passes through thirteen not twelve constellations (including Ophiuchus) and the widely published "sun-sign" birthdates used by astrologers do not match up with the actual dates the sun can be found in these constellations. This is due to several factors, including the differing sizes of the actual constellations, and a failure by astrologers to take into account precession, which causes the ecliptic to slide across the celestial sphere with a roughly 26,000 year period.

6 This discussion is from the perspective of an observer in the northern hemisphere, which Tolkien was.

7 Note that due to the various calendars utilized in Middle-earth, the correspondence is approximate in some cases, but is still close enough to be significant (within a few days).

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Notes and Documents

"The Story of Kullervo" and Essays on *Kalevala*

J.R.R. Tolkien

Transcribed and edited by Verlyn Flieger

For help in preparing the story and essays for publication thanks go to Catherine Parker, Carl Hostetter, Petri Tikka, and Rob Wakeman.

It has long been known from Tolkien's own comments in his letters that that the Finnish mythology *Kalevala* had a powerful effect on his imagination and his legendarium. Just how powerful is strikingly apparent in "The Story of Kullervo" and the two drafts of "On the Kalevala," all three here published for the first time. Both the story and the essay provide substantial evidence of Tolkien's early enthusiasm for and desire to communicate the unfettered exuberance, the unspoiled pagan quality, and what he called the "delicious exaggerations" of what were to him "wild . . . uncivilized and primitive tales." At the time Tolkien was writing, Elias Lönnrot's compilation of Finnish folk-ballads was a relatively recent addition to the world's mythological literature. Tolkien first discovered the *Kalevala* through Kirby's English translation in 1911, when he was at King Edward's School in Birmingham. When he went up to Oxford in the fall of that year, he checked out a Finnish grammar from the Exeter College Library hoping to read the *Kalevala* in the original, which hope was largely frustrated (see essay "On the Kalevala," section I, paragraph 4).

While working on his degree at Oxford in October of 1914 he wrote to his future wife (then fiancée) Edith Bratt that he was "trying to turn one of the stories [of the *Kalevala*]—which is really a very great story and most tragic—into a short story somewhat on the lines of Morris' romances with chunks of poetry in between" (*Letters* 7). Although he never finished it, Tolkien later gave this story credit as being "the original germ of the Silmarillion" (*Letters* 87), since it became transformed into the tale of Túrin Turambar, the epic, tragic hero of Tolkien's own mythology. "The Story of Kullervo" presents Tolkien's treatment of a figure who has had many incarnations ranging from the medieval Icelandic Amlodhi to the Danish Amlethus of Saxo Grammaticus's *Gesta Danorum* to Shakespeare's moody, erratic, vengeful Renaissance Prince Hamlet, and culminating in the Finnish Kullervo to whom Tolkien is most indebted.

The narrative trajectory of Tolkien's story follows *Runos* 31-36 in the *Kalevala.* These tell of a quarrel between brothers which leaves one dead, the other the murderous guardian of the dead brother's newborn son

Kullervo. The boy grows up to exact revenge for his family's destruction but is himself destroyed by his discovery of his unwitting incest with a sister he did not recognize. Tolkien's story follows its source closely; its main departure is in the matter of names. He began by following the *Kalevala* nomenclature, but subsequently changed to his own invented names or nicknames for all but the major characters, Kalervo, Kullervo, and Untamo; and even for these he supplied a variety of nicknames. His text is not always consistent, however, and he occasionally reverts to, or forgets to change, an earlier discarded name. His use of diacritical marks over the vowel—chiefly macrons but also occasionally breves—is also somewhat random. In regularizing his usage, I have made the present transcript more consistent in this regard than is the actual text. Tolkien's most notable change is from "Ilmarinen," the name of the smith in *Kalevala*, to "Āsemo" (see the entry for Āsemo the smith in the Notes and Commentary for a longer discussion on the etymology of the name).

"The Story of Kullervo" exists in a single manuscript, Bodleian Library MS Tolkien B 64/6. This is a legible but rough draft, with many crossings-out, marginal and above-line additions, corrections, and emendations. The text is written in pencil on both sides of 13 numbered bifold foolscap folios. The main narrative breaks off abruptly halfway down the recto of folio 13, at a point about three quarters through the story. It is followed on the same page by notes and outlines for the remainder, which fill the rest of the space and continue onto the top portion of the verso. There are in addition several loose sheets of variable size containing what are clearly preliminary plot outlines, jotted notes, lists of names, lists of rhyming words, and several drafts of one verse section of the story, "Now in sooth a man I deem me." If, as appears likely, Tolkien B 64/6 contains the earliest and (aside from the note pages) the only draft of the story, Tolkien's revisions on this manuscript must stand as his final ones.

I have left Tolkien's sometimes quirky usage and often convoluted syntax intact, in a few instances adding punctuation to clarify meaning. Square brackets enclose words missing from the text but supplied for clarity. False starts, cancelled words and lines have been omitted, with three exceptions. In these instances, wavy brackets enclose phrases or sentences cancelled in the MS but here retained as of interest to the story. These are: 1) "when magic was yet new"; 2) "and to Kullervo he gave three hairs . . ."; and 3) "I was small and lost my mother . . . ". I have preferred not to interrupt the text (and distract the reader) with note numbers, but a Notes and Commentary section follows the narrative proper, explaining terms and usage, citing references, and clarifying the relationship of Tolkien's story to its *Kalevala* source. This section also includes Tolkien's preliminary outline notes for the story, enabling the reader to track changes and follow the path of Tolkien's developing imagination.

Unlike the story, Tolkien's essay on the *Kalevala* exists in two states, one a manuscript and the other a typescript, both catalogued together as Bodleian Library MS Tolkien B61. The manuscript, in ink over pencil and heavily emended, consists of fourteen closely-written but not always consecutive pages plus an additional, smaller page (not included here) containing fragmentary jotted notes. The typescript, which has only occasional emendations in ink, comprises nineteen single-spaced pages, and breaks off in mid-sentence at the bottom of page 19.

The hand-written title page to the manuscript which reads "On 'The Kalevala' or Land of Heroes," also bears the notations "(C.C. Coll. [Corpus Christi College] Oxford 'Sundial' Nov. 1914)" and "Exeter Coll. Essay Club. Feb. 1915," the two dates on which Tolkien is known to have delivered the talk. The November 1914 presentation, a bare month after his letter to Edith, and the February one a scant three months later, clearly belong to the same period as the story. No firm date can be assigned for the somewhat revised typescript draft, which has no separate title page, but only the heading "The Kalevala." A reference in the text to the "late war" would place it after the Armistice of November 11, 1918, and an allusion to the "League" (presumably the League of Nations formed in 1919-1920) would make 1919 a terminus a quo. On the basis of comparison with material in Tolkien's early poetry manuscripts and typescripts Douglas A. Anderson suggests 1919-21 (personal communication), while Christina Scull and Wayne Hammond propose a somewhat later, admittedly conjectural dating of "?1921-24?" (*Chronology*, 115). Anderson's date would place the revision at a time when Tolkien was still in Oxford (he was on the staff of the New English Dictionary from November 1918 to the spring of 1920), while the Scull-Hammond time frame would push it to the period when Tolkien was Reader in English Language at Leeds University. In either case, there is no evidence that this revised talk was ever given.

As with "The Story of Kullervo," I have edited the essays' transcriptions for smooth reading. Square brackets enclose words missing from the text but supplied where necessary for clarity. False starts, cancelled words and lines have been omitted. Also as with the story, I have chosen not to interrupt the text (and distract the reader) with note numbers, but a Notes and Commentary section follows each essay proper, explaining terms and usage, and citing references.

A Note On Names

It has been pointed out to me by Carl Hostetter that some of the invented names in "The Story of Kullervo" echo or prefigure Tolkien's earliest known efforts at his invented language Qenya. Qenya-like names in the story include the god-names *Ilu*, *Ilukko* and *Ilwinti*, strongly reminiscent of the Silmarillion's godhead figure *Ilúvatar*. Kullervo's nickname *Kampa* appears in early Qenya as a name for Earendel with the meaning "Leaper." The place-name *Kēme*, *Kĕmĕnūma*, in Tolkien's story glossed as "The Great Land, Russia," is in Qenya "earth, soil". The place-name *Telea* (Karelja) evokes the Teleri of the Silmarillion, one of the three groups of elves to go to Valinor from Middle-earth. *Manalome*, *Manatomi*, *Manoini*, "sky, heaven," recall Qenya *Mana/Manwë*, chief of the Valar, the demigods of the Silmarillion. One can only speculate as to the chronological relationship between the names in "The Story of Kullervo" and Tolkien's burgeoning Qenya, the earliest evidences for which are contained in the Qenya Lexicon, a notebook bearing no date, but apparently written in 1915-16. For a more extended look at the development of Qenya see Tolkien's "Qenyaqetsa: The Qenya Phonology and Lexicon," published in *Parma Eldalamberon* XII, 1998.

The Story of Honto Taltewenlen

The Story of Kullervo

(Kalervonpoika)

In the days long ago {when magic was yet new}, a swan nurtured her brood of cygnets by the banks of a smooth river in the reedy marshland of Sutse. One day as she was sailing among the sedge-fenced pools with her trail of younglings following, an eagle swooped from heaven and flying high bore off one of her children to Telea: on the second day a mighty hawk robbed her of yet another and bore it to Kemenūme. Now that nursling that was brought to Kemenūme waxed and became a trader and cometh not into this sad tale: but that one whom the hawk brought to Telea he it is whom men name Kalervo: while a third of the nurslings that remained behind is he men speak oft of and name him Untamo the evil, and a fell sorcerer and man of power did he become.

And Kalervo dwelt beside the rivers of fish and had thence much sport and good meat, and with him had his wife borne in years past both a son and a daughter and was even now again nigh to childbirth. And in those days did Kalervo's lands border on the confines of the dismal realm of his mighty brother Untamo; who coveted his pleasant river lands and its plentiful fish. So coming he set nets in Kalervo's fish water and robbed Kalervo of his angling and brought him great grief. And bitterness arose between the brothers, first that and at last open war. After a fight upon the river banks in which neither might overcome the other, Untamo returned to his grim homestead and sat in evil brooding, weaving in his fingers a design of wrath and vengeance.

He caused his mighty cattle to break into Kalervo's pastures and drive his sheep away and devour their fodder. Then Kalervo let forth his black hound Musti to devour them. Untamo then in ire mustered his men and gave them weapons; armed his henchmen and slave lads with axe and sword and marched to battle, even to ill strife against his very brother.

And the wife of Kalervoinen sitting nigh to the window of the homestead descried a scurry arising of the smoke army in the distance, and she spake to Kalervo saying, "Husband lo an ill reek ariseth yonder: come hither to me. Is it smoke I see or but some gloomy cloud that passeth swift but now hovers on the borders of the cornfields just yonder by the new-made pathway." Then said Kalervo in heavy mood, "Yonder, wife, is no reek of autumn smoke nor any passing gloom, but I fear me a cloud that goeth nowise swiftly nor before it has harmed my house and folk in evil storm." Then there came into the view of both Untamo's assemblage and ahead could they see the numbers and their strength and their gay scarlet raiment. Steel shimmered there and at their belts were their swords hanging and in their hands their stout axes gleaming and neath their caps their ill faces lowering: for ever did Untamoinen gather to him cruel and worthless carles.

And Kalervo's men were out and about the farm lands so seizing axe and shield he rushed on his foes and was soon slain even in his own yard nigh to the cowbyre in the autumn-sun of his own fair harvest-tide by the weight of the numbers of foemen. Evilly Untamoinen wrought with his brother's body before his wife's eyes and foully entreated his folk and lands. His wild men slew all whom they found both man and beast, sparing only Kalervo's wife and her two children and sparing them thus only to bondage in his gloomy halls of Untola.

Bitterness then entered the heart of that mother, for Kalervo had she dearly loved and dear been to him and she dwelt in the halls of Untamo caring naught for anything in the sunlit world: and in due time bore amidst her sorrow Kalervo's babes: a man-child and a maid-child at one birth. Of great strength was the one and of great fairness the other even at birth and dear to one another from their first hours: but their mother's heart was dead within, nor did she reck aught of their goodliness nor did it gladden her grief or do better than recall the old days in their homestead of the smooth river and the fish waters among the reeds and the thought of the dead Kalervo their father, and she named the boy Kullervo, or "wrath," and his daughter Wānōna, or "weeping." And Untamo spared the children for he thought they would wax to lusty servants and he could have them do his bidding and tend his body nor pay them the wages he paid the other uncouth carles. But for lack of their mother's care the children were reared in crooked fashion for ill cradle rocking meted to infants by fosterers in thralldom: and bitterness do they suck from breasts of those that bore them not.

The strength of Kullervo unsoftened turned to untameable will that would forego naught of his desire and was resentful of all injury. And a wild lone-faring maiden did Wānōna grow, straying in the grim woods of Untola so soon as she could stand—and early was that, for wondrous were these children and but one generation from the men of magic. And Kullervo was like to her: an ill child he ever was to handle till came the day that in wrath he rent in pieces his swaddling clothes and kicked with his strength his linden cradle to splinters—but men said that it seemed he would prosper and make a man of might and Untamo was glad, for him thought he would have in Kullervo one day a warrior of strength and a henchman of great stoutness.

Nor did this seem unlike, for at the third month did Kullervo, not yet more than knee-high, stand up and spake in this wise on a sudden to his mother who was grieving still in her yet green anguish. "O my mother, O my dearest why grievest thou thus?" and his mother spake unto him telling him the dastard tale of the Death of Kalervo in his own homestead and how all he had earned was ravished and slain by his brother Untamo and his underlings, and nought spared or saved but his great hound Musti who had returned from the fields to find his master slain and his mistress and her children in bondage, and had followed their exile steps to the blue woods round Untamo's halls where now he dwelt a wild life for fear of Untamo's men and ever and anon slaughtered a sheep and often at the night could his baying be heard: and Untamo's underlings said it was the hound of Tuoni Lord of Death though it was not so.

All this she told him and gave him a great knife curious wrought that Kalervo had worn ever at his belt if he fared afield, a blade of marvelous keenness made in his dim days, and she had caught it from the wall in the hope to aid her dear one. Thereat she returned to her grief and Kullervo cried aloud "By my father's knife when I am bigger and my body waxeth stronger then will I avenge his slaughter and atone for the tears of my mother who bore me." And these words he never said again but that once, but that once did Untamo overhear. And for wrath and fear he trembled and said, he will bring my race in ruin, for Kalervo is reborn in him.

And therewith he devised all manner of evil for the boy (for so already did the babe appear, so sudden and so marvelous was his growth in form and strength) and only his twin sister the fair maid Wānōna (for so already did she appear, so great and wondrous was her growth in form and beauty) had compassion on him and was his companion in their wandering the blue woods: for their elder brother and sister (of which tale told before), though they had been born in freedom and looked on their father's face, were more like unto thralls than those orphans born in bondage, and knuckled under to Untamo and did all his evil bidding nor in anything recked to comfort their mother who had nurtured them in the rich days by the river.

And wandering in the woods a year and a month after their father Kalervo was slain these two wild children fell in with Musti the Hound. Of Musti did Kullervo learn many things concerning his father and Untamo and of things darker and dimmer and farther back even perhaps before their magic days and even before men as yet had netted fish in Tuoni the marshland. Now Musti was the wisest of hounds: nor do men say ever aught of where or when he was whelped but ever speak of him as a dog of fell might and strength and of great knowledge, and Musti had kinship and fellowship with the things of the wild, and knew the secret of the changing of skin and could appear as wolf or bear or as cattle great or small, and could much other magic besides.

And on the night of which it is told, the hound warned them of the evil of Untamo's mind and that he desired nothing so much as Kullervo's death {and to Kullervo he gave three hairs from his coat, and said, "Kullervo Kalervanpoika, if ever you are in danger from Unto take one of these and cry 'Musti O! Musti may thy magic aid me now', then wilt thou find a marvellous aid in thy distress."}

And next day Untamo had Kullervo seized and crushed into a barrel and flung into the waters of a rushing torrent—that seemed like to be the waters of Tuoni the River of Death to the boy: but when they looked out upon the river three days after, he had freed himself from the barrel and was sitting upon the waves fishing with a rod of copper with a silken line for fish, and he ever remained from that day a mighty catcher of fish. Now this was done by the magic of Musti.

And again did Untamo seek Kullervo's destruction and sent his servants to the woodland where they gathered mighty birch trees and pine trees from which the pitch was oozing, pine trees with their thousand needles, sledgefuls of bark did he draw together, great ash trees, and all this they heaped for the burning of Kullervo. They kindled the flame beneath the wood and the great bale-fire crackled and the smell of logs and acrid smoke choked them wondrously and then the whole blazed up in red heat and thereat they thrust Kullervo in the midst and the fire burned for two days and a third day and then sat there the boy knee-deep in ashes and up to his elbows in embers and a silver coal-rake he held in his hand and gathered the hottest fragments around him and himself was unsinged.

Untamo then in blind rage seeing that all his sorcery availed nought had him hanged shamefully on a tree. And there the child of his brother Kalervo dangled high from a great oak for two nights and a third night and then Untamo sent at dawn to see whether Kullervo was dead upon the gallows or no. And his servant returned in fear: and such were his words: "Lord, Kullervo has in no wise perished as yet: nor is dead upon the gallows, but in his hand he holdeth a great knife and has scored wondrous things therewith upon the tree and all its bark is covered with carvings wherein chiefly is to be seen a great fish (now this was Kalervo's sign of old) and wolves and bears and a huge hound such as might even be one of the great pack of Tuoni." Now this magic that had saved Kullervo's life was the last hair of Musti: and the knife was the great knife Sikki: his father's, which his mother had given to him: and thereafter Kullervo treasured the knife Sikki beyond all silver and gold.

Untamoinen felt afraid and yielded perforce to the great magic that guarded the boy, and sent him to become a slave and to labour for him without pay and but scant fostering: indeed often would he have starved but for Wānōna who, though Unti treated her scarcely better, spared her brother much from her little. No compassion for these twins did their elder brother and sister show, but sought rather by subservience to Unti to get easier life for themselves: and a great resentment did Kullervo store up for himself and daily he grew more morose and violent and to no one did he speak gently but to Wānōna and not seldom was he short with her.

So when Kullervo had waxed taller and stronger Untamo sent for him and spake thus: "In my house I have retained you and meted wages to you as methought thy bearing merited—food for thy belly or a buffet for thy ear: now must thou labour and thrall's or servant's work will I appoint for you. Go now, make me a clearing in the near thicket of the Blue Forest. Go now." And Kuli went. But he was not ill pleased, for though of but two years he deemed himself grown to manhood in that now he had an axe set in hand, and he sang as he fared him to the woodlands.

Song of Sākehonto in the woodlands.

Now in sooth a man I deem me
Though mine ages have seen few summers
And this springtime in the woodlands
Still is new to me and lovely.
Nobler am I now than erstwhile
And the strength of five within me
And the valour of my father
In the springtime in the woodlands
Swells within me Sākehonto.
O mine axe my dearest brother
Such an axe as fits a chieftain
Lo we go to fell the birch-trees

And to hew their white shafts slender:
For I ground thee in the morning
And at even wrought a handle;
And thy blade shall smite the tree-boles
And the wooded mountains waken
And the timber crash to earthward
In the springtime in the woodland
Neath thy stroke mine iron brother.

And thus fared Sākehonto to the forest slashing at all that he saw to the right or to the left, him recking little of the wrack, and a great tree-swathe lay behind him for great was his strength. Then came he to a dense part of the forest high up on one of the slopes of the mountains of gloom, nor was he afraid for he had affinity with wild things and Musti's magic was about him, and there he chose out the mightiest trees and hewed them, felling the stout at one blow and the weaker at a half. And when seven mighty trees lay before him on a sudden he cast his axe from him that it half cleft through a great oak that groaned thereat: but the axe there quivering.

But Sake shouted, "May Tanto Lord of Hell do such labour and send Lempo for the timbers fashioning." And he sang:

Let no sapling sprout here ever
Nor the blades of grass stand greening
While the mighty earth endureth
Or the golden moon is shining
And its rays come filtering dimly
Through the boughs of Saki's forest.
Now the seed to earth hath fallen
And the young corn shooteth upward
And its tender leaf unfoldeth
Till the stalks do form upon it.
May it never come to earing
Nor its yellow head droop ripely
In this clearing in the forest
In the woods of Sakehonto.

And within a while came forth Ūlto to gaze about him to learn how the son of Kampo his slave had made a clearing in the forest but he found no clearing but rather a ruthless hacking here and there and a spoilage of the best of trees: and thereon he reflected saying, "For such labour is the knave unsuited, for he has spoiled the best timber and now I know not whither to send him or to what I may set him. "

But he bethought him and sent the boy to make a fencing betwixt some of his fields and the wild; and to this work Honto set out but he gathered the mightiest of the trees he had felled and hewed thereto others: firs and lofty pines from blue Puhōsa and used them as fence stakes; and these he bound securely with rowan and wattled: and made the tree-wall continuous without break or gap: nor did he set a gate within it nor leave an opening or chink but said to himself grimly, "He who may not soar swift aloft like a bird nor burrow like the wild things may never pass across it or pierce through Honto's fence work."

But this over-stout fence displeased Ūlto and he chid his slave of war for the fence stood without gate or gap beneath, without chink or crevice resting on the wide earth and towering amongst Ukko's clouds above. For this do men call a lofty Pine ridge "Sāri's hedge."

"For such labour," said Ūlto, "art thou unsuited: nor know I to what I may set thee, but get thee hence, there is rye for threshing ready." So Sāri got him to the threshing in wrath and threshed the rye to powder and chaff that the winds of Wenwe took it and blew as a dust in Ūlto's eyes, whereat he was wroth and Sāri fled. And his mother was feared for that and Wānōna wept, but her brother and elder sister chid them for they said that Sāri did nought but make Ūlto angered and of that anger's ill did they all have a share while Sāri skulked the woodlands. Thereat was Sāri's heart bitter, and Ūlto spake of selling as a bond slave into a distant country and being rid of the lad.

His mother spoke then pleading, "O Sārihonto if you fare abroad, if you go as a bond slave into a distant country, if you perish among unknown men, who will have thought for thy mother or daily tend the hapless dame?" And Sāri in evil mood answered singing out in light heart and whistling thereto:

Let her starve upon a haycock
Let her stifle in the cowbyre

And thereto his brother and sister joined their voices saying

Who shall daily aid thy brother?
Who shall tend him in the future?

To which he quoting his answer

Let him perish in the forest
or lie fainting in the meadow.

And his sister upbraided him saying he was hard of heart, and he made answer. "For thee treacherous sister though thou be a daughter of Keime I care not: but I shall grieve to part from Wānōna."

Then he left them and Ūlto thinking of the lad's size and strength relented and resolved to set him yet other tasks, and is it told how he went to lay his largest drag-net and as he grasped his oar asked aloud, "Now shall I pull amain with all my vigour or with but common effort?" And the steersman said "Row now amain, for thou canst not pull this boat atwain."

Then Sāri Kampa's son rowed with all his might and sundered the wood rowlocks and shattered the ribs of juniper and the aspen planking of the boat he splintered. Quoth Ūlto when he saw, "Nay, thou understandst not rowing, go thresh the fish into the dragnet: maybe to more purpose wilt thou thresh the water with threshing-pole than with foam." But Sāri as he was raising his pole asked aloud, "Shall I thresh amain with many vigour or but leisurely with common effort threshing with the pole?" And the net-man said, "Nay, thresh amain. Wouldst thou call it labour if thou threshed not with thy might but at thine ease only?" So Sāri threshed with all his might and churned the water to soup and threshed the net to tow and battered the fish to slime. And Ūlto's wrath knew no bounds and he said, "Utterly useless is the knave: whatsoever work I give him he spoils from malice: I will sell him as a bond-slave in the Great Land. There the Smith Āsemo will have him that his strength may wield the hammer."

And Sāri wept in wrath and in bitterness of heart for his sundering from Wānōna and the black dog Musti. Then his brother said, "Not for thee shall I be weeping if I hear thou has perished afar off. I will find himself [myself?] a brother better than thou and more comely too to see." For Sāri was not fair in the face but swart and illfavoured and his stature assorted not with his breadth. And Sāri said,

Not for you shall I go weeping
If I hear that thou hast perished:
I will make me such a brother —

with great ease: with a head of stone and a mouth of sallow, and his eyes shall be cranberries and his hair of withered stubble: and legs of willow twigs I'll make him and his flesh of rotten trees I'll fashion—and even so he will be more a brother and better than thou art.

And his elder sister asked whether he was weeping for his folly and he said nay, for he was fain to leave her and she said that for her part she would not grieve at his sending nor even did she hear he had perished in the marshes and vanished from the people, for so she should find herself a brother and one more skilful and more fair to boot. And Sāri said, "Nor for you shall I go weeping if I hear that thou hast perished. I can make me such a sister out of clay and reeds with a head of stone and eyes of cranberries and ears of water lily and a body of maple, and a better sister than thou art."

Then his mother spake to him soothingly

Oh my sweet one O my dearest
I the fair one who has borne thee
I the golden one who nursed thee
I shall weep for thy destruction
If I hear that thou hast perished
And hast vanished from the people.
Scarce thou knowest a mother's feelings
Or a mother's heart it seemeth
And if tears be still left in me
For my grieving for thy father
I shall weep for this our parting
I shall weep for thy destruction
And my tears shall fall in summer
And still hotly fall in winter
Till they melt the snows around me
And the ground is bared and thawing
And the earth again grows verdant
And my tears run through the greenness.
O my fair one O my nursling
Kullervoinen Kullervoinen
Sarihonto son of Kampa.

But Sāri's heart was black with bitterness and he said, "Thou wilt weep not and if thou dost, then weep: weep till the house is flooded, weep until the paths are swimming and the byre a swell, for I reck not and shall be far hence." And Sārihonto son of Kampa did Ūlto take abroad with him and brought to the land of Telea where dwelt Āsemo the smith, nor did Sāri see aught of Wānōna at his parting and that hurt him: but Musti followed him afar off and his baying in the nighttime brought some cheer to Sāri and he had still his knife Sikki.

And the smith, for he deemed Sāri a worthless knave and uncouth, gave Ūlto but two outworn kettles and five old rakes and six scythes in payment and with that Ūlto had to return home contented.

And now did Sāri drink not only the bitter draught of thralldom and eat the poisoned bread of solitude and loneliness thereto: and he grew more ill favoured and crooked, broad and knotty and unrestrained and unsoftened, and fared often into the wild wastes with Musti: and grew to know the fierce wolves and to converse even with Uru the bear: nor did such comrades improve his mind and the temper of his heart, but never did he forget in the deep of his mind his vow of long ago and wrath with Ūlto, but no tender feelings would he let his heart cherish for his folk afar save at whiles for Wānōna.

Now Āsemo had to wife the daughter [of] Koi Queen of the marshlands of the north, whence he carried magic and many other dark things to Puhōsa and even to Sutsi by the broad rivers and the reed-fenced pools. She was fair but to Āsemo alone sweet. Treacherous and hard and little love did she bestow on the uncouth thrall and little did Sāri bid for her love or kindness.

Now as yet Āsemo set not his new thrall to any labour for he had men enough, and for many months did Sāri wander in wildness till at the egging of his wife the smith bade Sāri became his wife's servant and do all her bidding. And then was Koi's daughter glad for she trusted to make use of his strength to lighten her labour about the house and to punish him for his slights and roughness towards her aforetime.

But as may be expected, he proved an ill bondservant and great dislike for Sāri grew up in his [Āsemo's] wife's heart and no spite she could wreak against him did she ever forego. And it came to a day many and many a summer since Sāri was sold out of Puhōsa and left the blue woods and Wānōna, that seeking to rid the house of his hulking presence the wife of Āsemo pondered deep and bethought her to set him as her herdsman and send him afar to tend her wide flocks in the open lands about.

Then set she herself to baking: and in malice did she prepare the food for the neatherd to take with him. Grimly working to herself she made a loaf and a great cake. Now the cake she made of oats below with a little wheat above it, but between she inserted a mighty flint—saying the while, "Break thou the teeth of Sāri O flint: rend thou the tongue of Kampa's son that speaketh always harshness and knows of no respect to those above him." For she thought how Sāri would stuff the whole into his mouth at a bite, for greedy he was in manner of eating, not unlike the wolves his comrades.

Then she spread the cake with butter and upon the crust laid bacon and calling Sāri bid him go and tend the flocks that day nor return until evening, and the cake she gave him as his allowance, bidding him eat not until the herd was driven into the wood. Then sent she Sāri forth, saying after him:

Let him herd among the bushes
And the milch kine in the meadow:
These with wide horns to the aspens
These with curved horns to the birches
That they thus may fatten on them
And their flesh be sweet and goodly
Out upon the open meadows
Out among the forest borders
Wandering in the birchen woodland

And the lofty growing aspens
Lowing now in silver copses
Roaming in the golden firwoods.

And as her great herds and the herdsman got them afar, some thought belike of foreboding seized her and she prayed to Ilu the God of Heaven who is good and dwells in Manatomi. And her prayer was in the fashion of a song and very long, whereof some was thus:

Guard my kine O gracious Ilu
From the perils in the pathway
That they come not into danger
Nor may fall on evil fortune.
If my herdsman is an ill one
Make the willow then a neatherd
Let the alder watch the cattle
And the mountain ash protect them
Let the cherry lead them homeward
In the milktime in the even.
If the willow will not herd them
Nor the mountain ash protect them
And the alder will not watch them
Nor the cherry drive them homeward
Send thou then thy better servants,
Send the daughters of Ilwinti
To guard my kine from danger
And protect my horned cattle
For a many are thy maidens
At thy bidding in Manoine
And skilled to herd the white kine
On the blue meads of Ilwinti
Until Ukko comes to milk them
And gives drink to thirsty Kēme.
Come thou maidens great and ancient
Mighty daughters of the Heaven
Come thou children of Malōlō
At Ilukko's mighty bidding
O [illegible] most wise one
Do thou guard my flock from evil
Where the willows will not ward them
Out across the quaking marshland
Where the surface ever shifteth
And the greedy depths are gulping.
O thou Sampia most lovely

Blow the honey horn most gaily.
Where the alder will not tend them
Do thou pasture all my cattle
Making flowers upon the hummocks
With the melody of the mead-horn
Make thou fair this heathland border
And enchant the skirting forest
That my kine have food and fodder,
And have golden hay in plenty
And the heads of silver grasses.
O Palikki's little damsel
And Telenda her companion
Where the rowan will not tend them
Dig my cattle wells all silver
Down on both sides of the pasture.
With your straying feet of magic
Cause the grey springs to spout coolly
And the streams that flow by swiftly
And the speedy running rivers
Twixt the shining banks of grassland
To give drink of honey sweetness
That the herd may suck the water
And the juice may trickle richly
To their swelling teeming udders
And the milk may flow in runlets
And may foam in streams of whiteness.
But Kaltūse thrifty mistress
And arrester of all evil,
Where the wild things will not guard them
Fend the sprite of ill far from them
That no idle hands do milk them
And their milk on earth be wasted
That no drops flow down to Pūlu
And that Tanto drink not of it,
But that when at Kame at milk tide
Then their milkstreams may be swollen
And the pails be overflowing
And the good wife's heart be gladdened.
O Terenye maid of Samyan
Little daughter of the forest
Clad in soft and beauteous garments
With thy yellow hair so lovely
And thy shoon of scarlet leather,

When the cherry will not lead them
Be their neatherd and their shepherd
When the sun to rest has sunken
And the bird of eve is singing.
As the twilight draweth closer
Speak thou to my horned creatures
Saying come ye hoofed cattle
Come ye homeward trending homeward.
In the house 'tis glad and pleasant
Where the floor is sweet for resting
On the waste 'tis ill to wander
Lowing down the empty shorelands
Of the many lakes of Sutsi.
Therefore come ye horned creature
And the women fire will kindle
In the field of honeyed grasses
On the ground o'ergrown with berries.

[*The following lines are offset to indicate a change of tone. Kirby's edition does not so distinguish them, but notes in the Argument at the head of the Runo that it contains "the usual prayers and charms" (Kirby Vol. 2, p. 78). Magoun gives the lines the heading "Charms for Getting Cattle Home, Lines 273-314" (Magoun, p. 232). Ed.*]

Then Pelikki's little damsel
And Telenda her companion
Take a whip of birch to scourge them
And of juniper to drive them
From the hold of Sanya's cattle
And the gloomy slopes of alder
In the milktide of the evening.

[*As above, these lines are offset to indicate a shift in tone and separate them from those preceding. Kirby's Argument notes a charm for "protection from bears in the pastures" (78), while Magoun supplies the heading "Admonitory Charms Against Bears, Lines 315-542 (p. 232). Ed.*]

O thou Uru O my darling
My Honeypaw that rules the forest
Let us call a truce together
In the fine days of the summer
In the good Creator's summer
In the days of Ilu's laughter
That thou sleepst upon the meadow
With thine ears thrust into stubble

Or conceal thee in the thickets
That thou mayst not hear cowbells
Nor the talking of the herdsman.
Let the tinkling and the lowing
And the ringing in the heathland
Put no frenzy yet upon thee
Nor thy teeth be seized with longing.
Rather wander in the marshes
And the tangle of the forest.
Let thy growl be lost in wastelands
And thy hunger wait the season
When in Samyan is the honey
All fermenting on the hillslopes
Of the golden land of Kēme
Neath the faring bees a-humming.
Let us make this league eternal
And an endless peace between us
That we live in peace in summer,
In the good Creator's summer.

[*As with the other separations, this indentation is offset to indicate change in tone, in this case the conclusion or peroration of the lady's prayers. Neither Kirby nor Magoun so distinguishes these lines. Ed.*]

All this prayer and all this chanting
O then Ukko silver monarch
Hearken to my sweet entreaty.
Bind in leash the dogs of Kūru
And enchain the forest wild things
And in Ilwe set the Sun-star
And let all the days be golden.

Now Āsemo's wife was a great chanter of prayers—and also a most grasping woman and over heedful of her goods; and this is to be understood the length of her prayer to Ilukko and his maidens for her kine which were very fair and sleek.

But now Sāri had gone some way, and set his food in his wallet as he drove the kine over the water meadows and swamps and out across the heathland to the rich edge of the woodland, and ever as he went he was grieving and murmuring to himself and saying "Woe to me wretched youth, ill and hard going black fortune: wheresoever I turn my path nothing awaits me but idleness and endless gazing at the tails of oxen ever tramping through the marshes and the dreary level country." Then coming to a slope in the sun he sat him there and rested and took out his lunch and marveled at its weight and said, "Wife of Ăsemo thou art not wont to dole me out such a weight of food."

Then he fell athinking of his life and the luxury of this spiteful mistress, and to long for wheaten bread in slices thick with butter and cakes of finest baking and for a draught other than water for the quenching of his thirst. Dry crusts, thought he, only does she give me for my chewing and oaten cake at best and with this chaff and straw or the bark of fir not seldom mingled: and cabbage whence her curs has eaten all the fat, and then he bethought him of his wild free early days and of Wanone [*sic*] and his folk, and so slept till a bird prattling of evening awoke him and [he] drove the cattle to rest and sat him on a hillock and took from his back his wallet.

And he opened it and turned it about, saying many a cake without is handsome but within is ill favoured: and is as this wheat above and oaten behind, and being in heavy mood and not over eager for his food he took his great knife wherewith to cut the cake and it shore through the scanty crust and ground with such force on the flint within that its edge was turned and its point snapped: and to this end came Sikki the heirloom of Kampa. And Sāri fell first into white wrath and then into tears for he treasured that heirloom before silver and gold, and said

O my Sikki O my comrade
O thou iron of Kalervo
Which that hero wore and wielded
Nought I had to lose in sorrow
But my knife the picture graver
And against a stone 'tis broken
By the spite of that ill woman.
O my Sikki O my Sikki
O thou iron of Kalervo.

And evil thoughts whispered to him and the fierceness of the wild came into his heart and with his fingers he wove a design of wrath and vengeance against the fair wife of Ăsemo: and taking a switch of birch and of juniper from a thicket he drove all the kine and cattle into the water marshes and trackless morasses. And he called in the wolves and bears each to take a half as their prey and to save him only a bone from the leg of Urula the most aged cow of the herd. And from this he made a great pipe and blew shrilly upon it: and this was a magic of Sāri's own nor do men say whence he learnt, and he sang thus the wolves and the cattle and the bears to oxen, and as the sun was westering redly and bending toward the pine-trees nigh the time of milking, he drove the bears and wolves homeward before him, weary and dusty with his weeping on the ground and enchanting of the wild things. Now when he drew nigh the farmyard he laid his commands upon the beasts that when the smith's wife came to look about her and stooped down to milk them, they should seize her and crunch her in their teeth.

And so he went along the pathway piping broken and strange music from the cow-bone pipe: thrice he blew on the hill slope and six times at the garden wall. And Āsemo's wife marveled whence the neatherd had gotten his cow bone for his pipe but heeded not overmuch the matter, for long had she awaited the cows for milking. And she gave thanks to Ilu for the return of her herd: and went out and bade Sāri stay his earsplitting din and then said she to Āsemo's mother,

Mother 'tis the kine need milking.
Do thou go and tend the cattle
For meseems I cannot finish
Kneading dough as I would have it.

But Sāri mocked her saying that no thrifty housewife would send another and [an] old woman to milk the kine. So Āsemo's wife went swiftly to the sheds and set herself to milk her kine, and gazed upon the herd saying, "Beauteous is the herd to look on and sleek the horned oxen and well filled are the udders of the kine."

Then she stooped to the milking and a wolf sprang at her and a bear seized her in his grim embrace and they tore her fiercely and crunched her bones, and thus was her jesting and mockery and spite repaid, and the cruel wife brought herself to weeping.

And Sāri stood by neither exulting nor relenting and she cried to him, "Ill dost thou most wicked of neatherds to drive bears and mighty wolves to these peaceful yards." Then Sāri chid her for her ill and spite toward himself and for the breaking of his cherished heirloom.

Then Āsemo's wife wheedling said, "Come, thou herdboy, dearest herdboy, come thou apple of this homestead, alter thou thy grim resolve and I beg thee lift this magic from me and release the wolf's jaws and the bear's limbs from me. Better raiment will I give you then an you do so, and handsome ornaments, and wheaten bread and butter and the sweetest draughts of milk for your draining: nor shalt thou labour aught for a year and but lightly in the second."

Then said Sāri, "If thou diest so mayest thou perish; there is room enough in Amuntu for thee."

Then Āsemo's wife in death cursed him using his name and his father's and cried on Ukko the highest of Gods to hear her words.

Woe thou Sāri Kampa's offspring
Woe thou cradled fated child Nyelid
Ill thy fortune dark thy faring

On the roadway of thy lifetime.
Thou hast trod the ways of thralldom
And the trackless waste of exile
But thy end shall be more awful
And a tale to men forever
Of a fate of woe and horror
Worse than anguish in Amuntu.
Men shall hither come from Loke
In the mirklands far to northward
And shall hither come from Same
In the southways of the summer
And shall fare to us from Kēme
And from the ocean bath to westward
But shall shudder when they hear them
To thy fate and end of terror.
Woe thou who as [illegible]

[*The verse breaks off here without closing punctuation or any indication that more is intended. Ed.*]

But Sāri went away and there she died—the daughter of Koi even the fair one whom Āsemo the smith primeval wooed in far Lohiu for seven years. And her cries reached her husband at his forge and he turned from the smithy and went to listen in the lane and then with fear at his heart hastened and looked about the yard and the distant sound of piping shrill and strange faring away out over the marshland under the stars came to his ears and nought else, but to his eyes came soon that evil sight upon the ground and his soul was darkened deeper than the night and starless. But Sāri was far abroad in the wild with pipe of bone and no man might follow for Musti's magic was about him. And his own magic ever waxing went with him too.

And he wandered onwards aimlessly forward for that night and a day through thickest woodland till the next night he found himself in the densest timber grounds of Puhu and it grew stifling dark and he flung himself on the ground and reflected bitterly.

Wherefore have I been created?
Who has made me and has doomed me
Thus 'neath sun and moon to wander
'Neath the open sky forever?
Others to their homes may journey
That stand twinkling in the even
But my home is in the forest.
In the wind halls must I slumber

And in bitter rain must bathe me
And my hearth is midst the heather
in the wide halls of the wind blast
In the rain and in the weather.
Never Jumala most holy
In these ages of the ages
Form a child thus crooked fated
With a friendless doom forever
To go fatherless 'neath heaven
And uncared by any mother
As thou, Jumala, hast made me
Like a wailing wandering seagull,
Like a seamew in the weather
Haunting misty rocks and shoreland
While the sun shines on the swallow
And the sparrow has its brightness
And the birds of air are joyous
But that is never never happy.
I Sāri am not happy.
O Ilu, life is joyless.
{I was small and lost my ~~mother~~ father
I was young (weak) and lost my mother.
All my mighty race has perished
All my mighty race}

Then into his heart Ilu sent a thought, and he lifted his head and said "I will slay Ūlto." And the thought of his father's wrong and the tears of his whole lifetime came to him and he said "Gladly will I slay Ūlto." And as yet was his heart bitter against his own folk too, save Wānōna only, and he thought him fiercely of the red light leaping from Untamo's dwellings and Untamo lying dead on the stained floor of his own grim halls. But Kullervo knew not his way thence for on every side the forest encompassed him; still he fared onward saying "Wait thou Untamoinen destroyer of my race; if I find thee then quickly wilt thy dwelling leap up in flames and the farmlands lie empty and withered."

As he fared musing an old dame, even the Blue-robed Lady of the Forest met him asking him "Whither O Kullervo son of Kalervo goest thou so hastily?"

Then Kullervo told her of his desire to quit the forest and wander to the homestead of Untamo and with fire avenge his father's death and his mother's tears.

Then said she, "Easy it is for thee to journey though the track be not known to thee through the forest. Thou must follow the river's path and march for two days and a third day when turning to the northwest thou wilt find a wooded mountain. Fare not towards it lest ill find thee. March on under the shadow often bending to the left when thou comest to another river and when thou hast followed its banks soon thou wilt strike a fair spot and a great glade and over a great leap a triple waterfall foaming. Then you will know that thou art halfway. Even so thou must continue pushing up the river towards its source: and the ground will slope against thee and the wood darken and lie in again till for a day you stumble cross a bleak waste and then soon wilt thou see the blue of woods of Untamo rising afar off: and mayhap these thou hast not yet quite forgotten."

Then slipped the Woman of the Forest away among the tree boles and Kullervo following the river—for one not very great was nigh—marched for two days and a third day, then turned to Northwest and espied the wooded mountain and the sun shone upon it and the trees bloomed and the bees seemed a-humming there and the birds singing, and Kullervo tired of the blue shadows of the woods and thought—my quest will wait, for never can Untamo in the end escape me: I will go drink the sunlight. And he turned from the forest path into the sun; and was going up the slopes till he came to a wide clearing and on a fallen log in a patch of light amidst the brambles he saw a maiden with her yellow hair all flowing. And the curse of Louhi's daughter was on him and his eyes saw and saw not: and he forgot the slaying of Untamo and strode to the maiden who heeded him not. A garland of flowers was she plaiting and was singing yet wearily and half sorrowfully to herself.

"O fair one, pride of Earth," said Kullervo, "come with me; wander in the forest with me unless indeed thou be a daughter of Tapio and no human maiden: but even so I do desire thee to be my comrade."

And the maid was affright and shrank from him. "Death walketh with thee, wanderer, and woe is at thy side."

And Kullervo was wroth; but very fair was the maiden and he said "'Tis not good for thee to be alone in the forest; nor does it please me; food will I bring thee and fare abroad to lay and lie in wait for thee, and gold and raiment and many things of cost wilt give thee."

"Though I be lost in the evil woods, and Tapio has me fast in his hold," said she, "yet would I never wish to roam with such as thee, villain. Little does thy look consort with maidens. But thou wouldst, an thou were honest aid me to find the homeward road to my folk which Tapio hides from me."

But Kullervo was wroth in that she had reviled his ungainliness, and put kind thought from him and cried, "Lempo seize thy folk and swift would I put them to the sword didst I come upon them, but thou I wilt have nor shalt thou dwell in thy father's house again."

Whereat she was adread and sped like a wild thing of the woods through the tangle from him and he angrily after her till he laid hands upon her and bore her in his arms away in the depths of the woods.

Yet was she fair and he loving with her, and the curse of the wife of Ilmarinen upon them both, so that not long did she resist him and they abode together in the wild till on a day even as Jumala brought the morning, the damsel resting in his arms spake unto him questioning him and said,

Tell me now of all thy kinfolk
Of the brave race that thou springst from:–
Yea, a mighty race it seems me
Thine is, and a mighty father.

And Kullervo's answer was thus:

[*These lines are offset apparently to indicate a change in speaker—Ed.*]

Nay, my race is not a great one,
Not a great one nor a small one:
I am just of middle station;
Kalervo's unhappy offspring
Uncouth boy and ever foolish
Worthless child and good for nothing.
Nay but tell me of thy people
Of the brave race whence thou comest.
Maybe a mighty race has born thee
Fairest child of mighty father.

And the girl answered quickly (nor let Kullervo see her face),

Nay my race is not a great one
Not a great one nor a small one
I am just of middle station
Wandering maiden ever foolish
Worthless child and good for nothing.

Then stood she up and gazing in woe at Kullervo with outstretched hand and her hair falling about her cried,

To the wood I went for berries
And forsook my tender mother.
Over plains and heaths and mountains
Wandered two days and a third one
Till the pathway home I found not.
For the paths led ever deeper
Deeper deeper into darkness
Deeper deeper into sorrow

Into woe and into horror.
O thou sunlight O thou moonbeam
O thou dear unfettered breezes
Never never will I see thee
Never feel thee on my forehead.
For I go in dark and terror
Down to Tuoni to the River.

And before he could leap up and grasp her she sped across the glade (for they abode in a wild dwelling nigh to the glade spoken to him by the Blue Forest Woman) like a shivering ray in the dawn light scarce seeming to touch the green dewy grass till she came to the triple fall and cast her over it down its silver column to the ugly depths even as Kullervo came up with her and her last wail he heard and stood heavy bent on the brink as a lump of rock till the sun rose and thereat the grass grew green and the birds sang and the flowers opened and midday passed and all things seemed happy: and Kullervo cursed them, for he loved her.

And the light waned and foreboding gnawed at his heart for something in the maiden's last speech and manner and her bitter ending wakened old knowledge in his heart spell-blind and he felt he would burst for grief and sorrow and heavy fear. Then red anger came to him and he cursed and seized his sword and [went] blindly in the dark heeding neither falls nor bruises up the river as the Dame had directed, panting as the slopes leant against him till at dawn so terrible his haste

[*The narrative breaks off at this point, and what follows on the rest of the page is a note-outline of the end of the story, written rapidly and with aberrations in syntax attributable to haste. It is here given in full. Ed.*]

> He goes to Untola and blindly lays waste to everything, gathering an army of bears and wolves together who vanish in the evening and slay the following Musti outside the vill[age]. When everything is destroyed, he flings himself drenched in blood on the bed of Untamo, his self the only house not burnt.
> His mother's ghost appears to him and tells him his own brother and sister are amongst those he has slain.
> He is horror struck but not grieved.
> She then tells him that she was too and he starts up in a sweat and horror believing he is dreaming and is prostrated when he finds it not so.
> Then she goes on.
> (~~I had a daughter fairest~~ maiden who wandered to look for berries)
> Telling how she met a fair distraught maiden wandering with

downcast eyes by the bank of Tuoni's river and describes their meeting ending by revealing that it is she who slew herself.

Kullervo bites sword hilt in anguish and starts up wildly as his mother vanishes. Then he laments her and goes out setting fire to the hall, passing through the village full of slain into the woods wailing "Kivutar" for he has never seen her (or his sister) since he was sold to Ilmarinen. He finds the glade now bleak and desolate [*in the margin is the note*: falls over body of dead Musti] and is about to throw himself over same falls when he decides he is not fit to drown in same pools as Kivutar and takes out his sword asking it whether it will slay him.

The sword says if it had joy in the death of Untamo how much in death of even wickeder Kullervoinen. And it had slaid [sic] many an innocent person, even his mother, so it would not boggle over Kullervo.

He kills himself and finds the death he sought for.

MS Folio 6—List of Names

[*The spacing here is as it appears in the manuscript, Ed.*]

[Recto]

~~Tuva Niel~~
~~Tuva (w Nyēli) Ulto~~
Kampa (Nēyli) Ūlto ~~Kem~~
or Kēma (Puhōsa his land)
Sāari Wanōna
or honto

Black dog Mauri
Smith Āsemo
cf Āse

Lumya the Marshland
Teleä land of Kēme's birth
Kĕmĕnūme or the Great Land
Ilu Iluko God of the Sky
(the good God)
often confused with Ukko :. ran

Amuntu hell
Tanto Goddess of hell Pūh
Lempi plague & death
also called Qēle or as a [illegible] name Kuruwanyo
The great black river of death
Kūru
Ilwe Ilwinti Sky heaven (Manatomi)
Wanwe armed goddess
Sutse the marshland
Samyan god of the forest
Koi Queen of ~~[illegible]~~ Lōke

[Verso]

~~the seven daughters of Ilwinti~~
~~Eltelen~~ ~~Mĕlune~~
~~and Salkuire~~
~~Tekkitai~~

Malōlō a god the maker
of the earth

Kaltūse or

Draft Plot Synopses, Folio 21.

A loose folio numbered 21contains on both sides jotted notes and rough plot outlines alternative to the continuous narrative. The use of the names Ilmarinen and Louhi is evidence that this precedes the main manuscript.

[MS folio 21 recto]
Kalervo and his wife and son daughter
~~Kullervo a boy child with his father Kalervo~~
The quarrel and raid of Untamo
The homestead laid waste—Kalervo slain ~~and as Kullervo in anguish~~ & all his folk and his wife is carried off by Untamo
She bears Kullervo and a younger sister in sorrow & anguish and tells them of the Tale of Kalervo.
~~Untam~~ Kull. waxed to marvellous strength: his vow as an infant: the knife (his passionate resentful nature) his ill treatment by Untamo
His only friend his sister: his misbehaviour and selling in slavery to Ilmarinen
His solitary misery: how he speaks with wolves in the mountain. carving strange figures with his father’s knife
The cake of Louhi’s daughter: Rage and revenge of Kullervo: refuses to loose spell & is cursed by Ilmarinen’s dying wife.
He flees from Ilmarinen and vows the destroying of Untamo: returning from his triumph he meets a maiden and forces her to dwell with him: he reveals his name and she turns wailing into the dark and flings herself over the savage falls.
Kullervo standing in sorrow beside the falls

[Verso]

Dog Musti
Quarrelsome mean Kalervo   Kind mother wretched elder sister & brother

falls in with the Pohie-Lady of the Forest Who tells him where his mother is dwelling (give description) with his brother and daughters. And he leaves his sorrow and rides to the homestead. [*begin cancel*] The meeting with his mother: he

recounts and she recounts their var[ious] lives since her slavery [*end cancel*]. He finds his mother wailing, she has sought her younger and dearly loved daughter for three years in the woods and describes her. Kullervo sees what has happ to his sister and rides recklessly over the ways to the falls where he slays himself.

Or he can meet the maiden in the woodland while fleeing from Ilmarinen and to quench his sorrow [*in margin* alay his suspicion aroused by his sister's death] go and devastate Untamo and rescue his mother from bondage discover it is his sister and ride back red with the blood of Untamo and slay himself at the Falls.

put the speech of ~~Unt~~ Kull R. 36/40 [illegible] met Kull encounter when his mother beseeches him to be more obedient to Untamo as a boy. (Mother and Brother are glad he's to go. Sister alone sorry)

Or make it thus after flight from Ilma he finds his people— then destroys untamo gathering an [sic] magic army of his old friends the wolves and bears: Untamo ~~curses~~ enchants him and he wanders blinded through the forest. Comes to a village and sacks it slaying the ancient headman and his wife and taking as wife by force his daughter.

Who asking him his lineage he reveals
she reveals his origin and how he has slain
both father and mother and despoiled his sister

Lament of Honto 34/240

NOTES AND COMMENTARY

The Story of Honto Taltewenlen. An alternate title or sub-title written in the upper left corner of the folio, apparently a late addition. *Honto* is one of Tolkien's several by-names for Kullervo (see below); *Talte* is his by-name for Kalervo (see below); *wenlen*, a patronymic suffix equivalent to *poika*, is apparently a Tolkien invention based on the Finnish model. *Taltewenlen* would thus be "Son of Talte (Kalervo)."

(**Kalervonpoika**). *Poika* is a Finnish patronymic suffix, thus the full name means "Kalervo's Son," or "Son of Kalervo."

Sutse. A name of Tolkien's invention intended to replace earlier "Suomi" (the Finnish name for Finland) in the text. Other replacement names, all written in the left margin of this opening paragraph, include "Telea" for earlier Karelja, "the Great Land/ Kemenūme" for earlier Russia, and "Talte" (see above) for earlier Kalervo. Asterisks beside both textual and marginal names coordinate the emendations. With the exception of "Talte," the replacement names become standard, and are more or less consistently used throughout the remainder of the text. These changes offer the clearest evidence of Tolkien's developing tendency to go from merely following the *Kalevala* nomenclature to using names of his own invention.*

> *A circumstance worth noting is that *Kemenūme* appears in very early notes on Quenya as a name for Russia. See also *Ilu* below.

when magic was yet new. This phrase, cancelled in the manuscript, is here retained in brackets, since magic (also called sorcery) is practiced throughout the story by Untamo, who is described as "a fell sorcerer and man of power," by the dog Musti (himself a possessor of magic abilities), and by Kullervo, who can shape-change animals. *Kalevala* has numerous references to magic, probably remnants of primitive shamanism and shamanic practices usually performed through singing. One of the "big three" heroes of *Kalevala*, Väinämöinen, has been interpreted as a shaman. He has the epithet "eternal singer," and defeats a rival magician in a singing contest by singing him into a bog. In Tolkien's story both Untamo and Kullervo "weave" magic with their fingers. Kullervo also uses music—singing and playing a magic cow-bone-pipe.

Telea. Replaces earlier Karelja. Karelja is a large area on both sides of the Russo-Finnish border, and is the region where most of the narrative *runos* (songs) used in compiling *Kalevala* were collected.

The Great Land (**Kemenūme**). Replaces Russia in the text. May be based on *Kemi*, a river in northern Finland on which stands the town of the same name. But see note in entry for *Sutse* above.

Kalervo Father of Kullervo, his name is probably a variant of Kaleva, a Finnish culture-hero and patronymic ancestor whose name survives in Kalevala (with locative suffix -*la*, "place or habitation" thus Land of Heroes), and in that of his descendent Kalervo. Kalervo is also called by Tolkien *Talte*, *Taltelouhi*, *Kampa*, and *Kalervoinen*, the last formed with the Finnish diminutive suffix *inen*. In Finnish, a name can occur in several different forms, depending on the use of diminutives. Cp Untamoinen below.

Untamo. Also called *Untamoinen*, *Unti*, *Ūlto*, *Ulko*, *Ulkho*.

black hound Musti. Tolkien first called the dog Musti, a conventional Finnish dog name based on *musta*, "black," translating as something like "Blackie." Halfway through the draft, he changed the name to Mauri—possibly formed on Finnish Muuri/Muurikki, "Black one" or "Blackie," (used of a cow)—then reverted to Musti. I have retained Musti throughout.

cruel and worthless carles. *Carl*: a churl, a rustic, a peasant. Compare Anglo-Saxon *ceorl.* Tolkien's text mixes Anglo-Saxon archaism with Finnish and pseudo-Finnish names.

borne in years past both a son and a daughter and was even now again nigh to childbirth. The elder brother and sister of Kullervo appear in *Kalevala* but only enter the story after Kullervo escapes the smith. This ignores the fact that Untamo has already destroyed everyone but Kalervo's wife, who is pregnant and delivers Kullervo in captivity. The compiler of *Kalevala*, Elias Lönnrot, apparently combined two separate stories in order to include Kullervo's incest and death. Tolkien repairs the disjuncture by introducing the older brother and sister at the beginning of the story.

foully entreated his folk and lands. The word "entreat," which conventionally has the meaning of "supplicate" or "plead with," seems startlingly inapposite in this context. It is not a mistake, however, but Tolkien's deliberate usage of the word in its archaic meaning as cited in the Oxford English Dictionary, of "treated" or "dealt with." The O.E.D. gives an example from 1430; "So betyn (beaten), so woundyd, Entretyd so fuly [foully]."

gloomy halls of Untola. The locative or habitative suffix *la* identifies this as the home of Unto (Untamo).

Kalervo's babes. In *Kalevala* Kullervo discovers late in the story, after escaping the smith, that he has a sister, but the twinning of the siblings in the present narrative is the invention of Tolkien and not in the original.

Kullervo. Tolkien translates the name as "wrath," a meaning unattested in *Kalevala*, said to be of disputed origin. It appears to be formed off the patronymic Kalervo. Tolkien described his hero as "hapless Kullervo," and identified him as "the germ of my attempt to write legends of my own" (*Letters* 345). Kullervo is the earliest of Tolkien's displaced, heroes, orphans and exiles, a succession that will include Túrin (modeled directly on Kullervo), Beren, and Frodo. Tolkien gives his Kullervo a variety of by-names or epithets: *Kuli* (an obvious short form of Kullervo), *Sake*, *Sakehonto, Honto*, *Sāri*, *Sarihonto*. Such multiple naming is typical of *Kalevala*, where for example the hero Lemmenkainen, has the nicknames *Ahti* (King of the Waves"), *Ahti-Saarelainen* ("Island-Ahti" or "Man of the Island"), *Kaukomieli* ("[Handsome] man with a far-roving mind"), *Kaukolainen* ("Man of Faraway Farm").

Wanōna, or "weeping." Compare Túrin Turambar's surviving sister, Nienor/ Niniel, whose names mean respectively "mourning" and "tear-maiden." Wanōna is a name of Tolkien's own devising, as in *Kalevala* the sister is not named. One early occurrence in the manuscript calls her Welinor*e*, but this is immediately crossed out and replaced with Wanōna. One instance late in the manuscript changes Wanōna to "Wanora," but it only appears once, and I have retained "Wanōna" throughout. In *Kalevala*, Kullervo and his sister meet as strangers.

for ill cradle rocking. The "for" in this phrase should be taken to mean "because of." The tradition that physical mistreatment of an infant could have psychological repercussions is an old one. Compare the saying, "as the twig is bent so grows the tree."

one generation from the men of magic. Compare with Tolkien's use of the word *magic* in the opening line, "when magic was yet new." Kullervo is in touch with ancient shamanic practices.

not yet more than knee-high. Mythic heroes traditionally grow at an accelerated rate. Compare the Greek Hercules and the Irish Cú Chulainn. Wanōna, described as "wondrous," also grows at an accelerated rate. In this respect, the twins may owe something to the classical Apollo and Artemis, twin children of Leto by Zeus. In some versions of their story both grew to full adulthood within the day of their birth.

hound of Tuoni. Hounds in mythology are frequently associated with the underworld, either as guardians or as guides. Tuoni is Death (personified) also called Lord of Death. His domain is Tuonela, the underworld, so-called from his name plus the locative/habitative suffix *la*.

Tuoni the marshland. Perhaps an error for Suomi, See entry for "Sutse" above.

[and to Kullervo he gave three hairs . . .] This entire sentence, cancelled in the manuscript, is retained in the present text since a magic hair of Musti later saves Kullervo's life.

the great knife Sikki. In *Kalevala* the knife is not named.

Now in sooth a man I deem me. This is the first of the "chunks of poetry" interspersing the prose sections which Tolkien described (*Letters* 7) as his narrative style for "The Story of Kullervo." It is in the so-called "*Kalevala* meter" that Tolkien would have known from the Kirby translation in which he first read *Kalevala*. This is a rendering into English of the Finnish four-beat eight-syllable line, and is most familiar to English-speakers as the meter of Longfellow's *Hiawatha*. It is less monotonous in Finnish.

Lempo. Described in Folio 6 as "plague and desolation." The name is confusingly close to the *Kalevala* name for *Lempi*, father of the playboy hero Lemminkäinen. Finnish *lempi* is "erotic love." Tolkien has borrowed the name but not the meaning.

daughter of Keime. Obscure. Possibly a reference to Russia, called Kemenūme in the text; alternatively a possible reference to Teleä/Karelja, glossed in Folio 6 as "land of Kēme's birth."

Āsemo the smith. The name *Āsemo* is apparently Tolkien's invention to replace the *Kalevala*'s name for this character, *Ilmarinen*, formed on *ilma*, "sky, air". *Āsemo* may be formed from Finnish *ase*, "weapon, tool" (he is, after all, a smith) with the suffix *mo*, used to change a noun into a proper name. In *Kalevala* the smith has a far greater role, hammering out the lid of the sky and forging the magical Sampo, actions which qualify him as a kind of creator-god, but might have made him too potent a figure for his minor role in Tolkien's story. Mythic heroes such as Kullervo are often fostered out to smiths; for example the Irish Setanta was fostered to the smith Culann from whom he took the name by which he was thenceforth known, Cū Chulainn, "Hound of Culann." The Norse hero Sigurd was mentored by the smith Regin. Puhōsa, the smith's homestead is hard to locate geographically. It is said at various times to be in the Great Lands identified in the opening paragraphs as Russia, but also in Telea, identified with Karelja.

swart and illfavoured. It is Tolkien's invention to have his hero's angry and resentful internal emotional state externalized in his dark and ugly outward appearance. In *Kalevala*, Kullervo is described as handsome and yellow-haired.

thralldom. Slavery, serfdom, state of bondage. From Anglo-Saxon *thræl*, from Old Norse *thræll*, "servant."

daughter of Koi Queen of the Marshlands. The smith's wife, in *Kalevala* called *Pohjan neiti,* "North maid, North miss," is unnamed in Tolkien's story, identified only as the daughter of Koi. In Finnish *koi* is not a proper name but a word meaning "dawn, daybreak," so this usage is Tolkien's invention. Although Koi does not appear in the story, Tolkien describes her in a name-list as "Queen of Lōke" (see below). Tolkien clearly means the character to be equivalent to Louhi, a major character in *Kalevala*, where she is a sorceress, the Mistress of Pohjola the Land of the North, and the scheming mother of the North Maid. The name *Louhi* is a shortened form of *Loviatar*, minus the feminine suffix *tar*. In *Kalevala*, Loviatar is called Death's daughter, the half-blind daughter of Death's Domain. One of Tolkien's name-lists identifies "Louhiatar" as "name of smith's wife" (see entry for *Kivutar* below).

Puhōsa. Untamo's homestead. Also called Puhu, perhaps as a diminutive.

blue woods/Blue Forest. Finnish *sininen salo* translates literally as "blue wilderness," but is often translated "hazy blue wilderness" or "blue woodland haze," the result of rising mist in forested areas and especially in low-lying ground. Tolkien associates the color and the phenomenon with mystery and magic—blue Puhōsa, the blue woods round Untamo's dwelling, the Blue Forest of Kullervo's wanderings.

Ukko. The ancient Finnish thunder-god. The name means "old man", and the diminutive, *ukkonen*, is a term for thunder. See "Ilu" below.

Ilu the God of Heaven. Also called Iluko and sometimes confused with Ukko. In Tolkien's list of names in Folio 6 (see below) Ilu is identified as the God of the Sky. Contrast with Malōlō below. It is worth noting that *Ilu* is also the initial element in *Ilūvatar*, the Elvish name for the godhead of Tolkien's mythology, the Silmarillion.

Manatomi. Sky, heaven, also called Ilwe, Ilwinti.

Guard my kine. The longest of Tolkien's "chunks of poetry," this charm to protect cattle follows closely the incantation of equivalent length by the smith's wife in Runo 32 of the "Kullervo" portion of *Kalevala*, which Tolkien calls the "splendid kine-song" (see essay and Notes). He clearly felt it to be an important element in both *Kalevala* and his own story. Both passages are testament to the importance of animal husbandry in a subsistence economy, and both, by their naming of the many woodland and nature spirits (though here Tolkien allows himself some poetic invention) give a good picture of the pagan Finnish worldview.

daughters of Malōlō. Folio 6 identifies Malōlō as "a god, the maker of the earth." In the preceding lines the daughters are called "maidens great and ancient," and "mighty daughters of the Heaven." They appear to be ancient feminine divinities or spirits.

daughters of Ilwinti. Apparently air spirits, perhaps breezes. *Ilwinti* is formed from *ilma,* "sky, air." The mother goddess in *Kalevala* is called *Ilmatar*, "Maid of the Air" (Magoun), or "Daughter of the Air" (Kirby); literally "air maiden" from ilma ("air") plus *tar*, the feminine suffix.

Manoine. From its context with "daughters of Ilwinti," "blue meads of Ilwinti," and "white kine" (clouds), Manoine is likely to be equivalent to Manatomi as sky or heaven (see Manatomi above).

Palikki's little damsel, Telenda, Kaltuse, Pulu, Kūru (see entry for **Kūru** below**), Sampia**. Names of Tolkien's invention.

Kame. Perhaps a variant of Kēme.

Terenye maid of Samyan. Folio 6 lists Samyan as "god of the forest," making him the equivalent of (or replacement for) Tapio, whose daughter is Tellervo, also called "wind spirit". Terenye could then be either a forest spirit, a dryad, or akin to the daughters of Ilwinti.

And the women fire will kindle. On Finnish farms smudge fires were lit in the evenings, creating smoke to keep away mosquitoes which bothered the cattle.

Honeypaw. Certain wild animals in Northern Europe, such as the bear and the wolf, were considered so powerful that to speak their names was to invite their appearance, with predictable danger to human life. Thus by-names or descriptions were often used such as "honeypaw," or "bruin" or "winter sleeper," or "woodland apple" for the bear. All of these appellations are applied to bears in *Kalevala*, where the actual word for "bear" is *karhu*. In Tolkien's poem the smith's wife calls the bear "Uru" (bear) but she also flatters him with an affectionate-sounding nickname.

neatherd. An old word for cattleherder. The word *neat* is archaic and obsolete, but is specific in distinguishing cattle (cows) and oxen from other domestic hoofed animals such as sheep or goats.

Kūru. In Folio 6 called "The great black river of death" with possible variant Kuruwanyo. Finnish *kuolema* is "death," and Tolkien may have formed the name from that base.

Amuntu. In Folio 6 identified as Hell.

Nyelid. The list of names on Folio 6 gives Nyēli as a by-name for Kampa, which is itself a by-name for Kalervo. *Nyelid* could mean something like "of the clan of."

far Lohiu. Etymologically similar to "Louhi" and "Louhiatar" but here clearly referring to a place, not a personage. See entry for Lōke below.

Jumala most holy. In *Kalevala* Jumala is a sacred being, often translated as "God," "God on high," or "Creator." Perhaps originally a pagan figure but assimilated to Christianity.

Men shall hither come from Lōke. A place-name apparently equivalent to Lohiu. The similarity to Loki, the name of the Old Norse trickster god, may be intentional. An etymological relationship between Loki and Louhi has been suggested, but cannot be demonstrated.

I was small and lost my ~~mother~~ father
I was young (weak) and lost my mother. Cancelled in the manuscript, the lines are a near direct quote from Kirby's translation of *Kal-*

evala: “I was small and lost my father, I was weak and lost my mother.” They are retained here as a possible indication of Tolkien’s interest in what he called “a very great story and most tragic.” The parallel with Tolkien’s own life—his father died when he four years old, his mother when he was twelve—is self-evident.

Blue-robed Lady of the Forest/ Blue Forest Woman/Woman of the Forest. The first title follows that of Kirby’s translation, and Tolkien has added variations on the epithet. Magoun’s translation has “green-robed maid of the thicket,” Friburg’s has “blue-robed matron of the forest.” The mistress of the forest, traditionally named as *Mielikki*, is the consort or wife of Tapio, a major woodland deity. The world of *Kalevala* is full of nature spirits, woodland demi-gods who appear when needed. This one has a particularly portentous role, since it is when Kullervo disobeys her instructions to avoid the mountain that he has the fated meeting with his sister.

Louhi’s daughter. Almost certainly an error for “Koi’s daughter,” the smith’s wife.

daughter of Tapio. A dryad, a woodland spirit.

the wife of Ilmarinen. A mistake for Āsemo. Ilmarinen is the smith in *Kalevala* and Tolkien originally kept the name, then changed it to Āsemo (see above).

wailing “Kivutar” Although she is unnamed in *Kalevala* and Tolkien’s text, Kullervo’s sister apparently was at one stage of composition to have had the name *Kivutar*. At the bottom of a page of notes which also has a fair-copy draft of “Now in sooth” is written a brief list of names:

Kalervo >	Paiväta	
Kiputyttö	maiden of pain his wife;	
Kivultar	daughter of pain his daughter.	
Louhiatar	name of Smith’s wife	
Saari	Kalervoinen	the hero

Both Kiputyttö and Kivultar are formed from Finnish *kipu*, “pain.” In their translations of *Kalevala* Friburg calls Kiputtyttö “ [sic] “Pain Maiden”; Magoun calls her “Pain Girl” and translates *Kivutar* as “Pain Spirit” and identical with “Pain Girl” (i.e. “maiden of pain.”). Kirby leaves the names untranslated.

On"The Kalevala" or Land of Heroes

[*Manuscript draft*]

I

I am afraid this paper was not originally written for this society, which I hope it will pardon since I produce it mainly to form a stop-gap tonight, to entertain you as far as possible in spite of the sudden collapse of the intended reader.

I hope the society will also forgive besides its second-hand character its quality: which is hardly that of a paper—rather a disconnected soliloquy accompanied by a leisurely patting on the back of a pet volume. If I continually drop into talking of these poems as if no one in the room had read these poems before, it is because no one had, when I first read it; and you must also attribute it to the pet attitude. I am very fond of these poems—they are litterature so very unlike any of the things that are familiar to general readers, or even to those versed in the more curious by paths: they are so un-European and yet could only come from Europe.

Any one who has read this collection of ballads (more especially in the original which is vastly different to any translation) will I think agree to that. Most people are familiar from the age of their earliest books onward with the general mould and type of mythological stories, legends, Romances, that come to us from many sources: from Hellas by many channels, from the Celtic peoples, Irish and British, and from the Teutonic (I put these in order of increasing appeal to myself); and which achieve forums[?], with their crowning glory in Stead's Books for the Bairns—that mine of ancient lore. They have a certain style, or savour; a something akin to one another in spite of their vast cleavages that make you feel that whatever the difference of ultimate race of those speakers there is something kindred in the imagination of the speakers of Indo-European languages.

Trickles come in from a vague and alien East of course (it is even reflected in the above beloved pink covers) but alien influence, if felt, is more on the final litterary shapes than on the fundamental stories. Then perhaps you discover the Kalevala, (or to translate it roughly: it is so much easier to say) the Land of Heroes; and you are at once in a new world; and can revel in an amazing new excitement. You feel like Columbus on a new Continent or Thorfinn in Vinland the good. When you first step onto the new land you can if you like immediately begin comparing it with the one you have come from. Mountains, rivers, grass, and so on are probably common features to both. Some plants and animals may seem familiar especially the wild and ferocious human species; but it is more likely to be the often almost indefinable sense of newness and strangeness that will either perturb you or delight you. Trees will group differently on the horizon, the birds will make unfamiliar music; the inhabitants will talk a wild and at first unintelligible lingo. At the worst I hope however that after this the country and its manners have become more familiar and you have got on speaking terms with the natives you will find it rather jolly to live with this strange people and these new gods awhile, with this race of unhypocritical scandalous heroes and sadly unsentimental lovers: and at the last you may feel you do not want to go back home for a long while if at all.

This is how it was for me when I first read the Kalevala—that is, crossed the gulf between the Indo-European-speaking peoples of Europe into this smaller realm of those who cling in queer corners to the forgotten tongues and manners of an elder day. The newness worried me, sticking in awkward lumps through the clumsiness of a translation which had not at all overcome its peculiar difficulties; it irritated and yet attracted: and each time you read it the more you felt at home and enjoyed yourself. When Honour Mods should have been occupying all my forces I once made a wild assault on the stronghold of the original language and was repulsed at first with heavy losses: but it is easy almost to see the reason why the translations are not at all good; it is that we are dealing with a language separated by a quite immeasurable gulf in method and expression from English. There is however a possible third case which I have not considered: you may be merely antagonistic and desire to catch the next boat back to your familiar country. In that case before you go, which had best be soon, I think it only fair to say that if you feel that heroes of the Kalevala do behave with a singular lack of conventional dignity and with a readiness for tears and dirty dealing, they are no more undignified and not nearly so difficult to get on with as a medieval lover who takes to his bed to weep for the cruelty of his lady in that she will not have pity on him and condemns him to a melting death; but who is struck with the novelty of the idea when his kindly adviser points out that the poor lady is as yet uninformed in any way of his attachment. The lovers of the Kalevala are forward and take a deal of rebuffing. There is no Troilus to need a Pandarus to do his shy wooing for him: rather here it is the mothers-in-law who do some sound bargaining behind the scenes and give cynical advice to their daughters calculated to shatter the most stout illusions.

One repeatedly hears the "Land of Heroes" described as the "national Finnish Epic": as if a nation besides if possible a national bank, theatre, and government ought also automatically to possess a national epic. Finland does not. The Kalevala is certainly not one. It is a mass of conceivably epic material: but, and I think this is the main point, it would lose nearly all that which is its greatest delight if it were ever to be epically handled. The mere stories, the bare events, alone could remain;

all that underworld, all that rich profusion and luxuriance which clothe them would be stripped away. The "Land of Heroes" is in fact a collection of that delightful absorbing material which, on the appearance of an epic artist, because of its comparative lowness of emotional pitch, has elsewhere inevitably been cast aside, and afterwards overshadowed (far too often) has vanished into disuse and utter oblivion.

It is any case to all that body of myths of queer troglodyte story, of wild jugglings with the sun and moon and the origins of the earth and the shapes of Man that in Homer (for instance) has properly been pruned away; it is to this that the Kalevala may be compared, not to the larger grandeur of the epic theme. Or again it is to the quaint tales, the outrageous ghosts, the sorceries and by-tracks of human imagination and belief that crop out here and there in the usually intensely clear air of the sagas that the "Land of Heroes" can be likened, not to the haughty dignity and courage, the nobility of which the grislier sagas tell. But the queer and strange, the unrestrained, the grotesque is not only interesting, it is valuable. It is not always necessary to purge it out altogether in order to attain to the Sublime. You can have your gargoyles on your noble cathedral, but Europe has lost much through too often trying to build Greek Temples.

We have here then a collection of mythological ballads full of that very primitive undergrowth that the litterature of Europe has on the whole been cutting away and reducing for centuries with different and earlier completeness in different peoples. Such a collection would no doubt be the despoil of anthropologists who might luxuriate here awhile. Commentators I know make many notes to their translations, saying "Compare this story with the one told in the Andaman Isles" or "Compare that belief with the one shown in the Hausa Folktales" and so forth—but let us avoid this. It after all only proves that Finns and Andaman Islanders are nearly related animals (which we knew before). Let us rather rejoice that we have come suddenly upon a storehouse of those popular imaginings which we had feared lost, stocked with stories as yet not sophisticated into a sense of proportion; with no thought of the decent limits even of exaggeration, with no sense, or rather not our sense, of the incongruous (except where we suspect incongruity is delighted in). We are taking a holiday from the whole course of progress of the last three Milleniums; and going to be wildly unhellenic and barbarous for a time, like the boy who hoped the future life would provide for half holidays in Hell, away from Eton collars and hymns.

The glorious exaggerations of these ballads, by way of illustration, recall the method of story telling in the Mabinogion, but really their cases are rather different. In the Kalevala there is no attempt at plausibility, no cunning concealment of the impossible; merely the child's delight in saying how he has cut down a million trees and slaughtered twenty policemen: which has no thought to take you in but is a primitive hero-story. Of course in the Mabinogion there is the same delight in a good story, in a strange swap of imagination but the picture has more technique. Its colours are marvellously schemed, its figures grouped. It is not so with Land of Heroes. If a man kills a gigantic elk in one line it may be a she-bear in the next. To elaborate this is unnecessary: but it might be made the occasion of an attempt to say just what I find the atmosphere of the Kalevala to be: which you can correct from your own knowledge, or from the extracts which I would wish to read until your patience was exhausted and you felt the appropriateness of the last remarks of the Kalevala.

> "Een the waterfall when flowing
> yields no endless stream of water.
> Nor does an accomplished singer
> sing till all his knowledge fails him."

What I feel is—that there is no background of litterary tradition. The Mabinogion has such a background: a feeling of a great amount of development which has resulted in a field of the most excellently harmonised and subtly varied colours against which the figures of the actors of the stories stand out; but they also harmonize with the marvellous surrounding colour-scheme and lose in startlingness if not in clearness. Most similar national legend litterature has something of it. The Kalevala to me feels to have none. The colours, the deeds, the marvels, and the figures of the heroes are all splashed onto a clean bare canvas by a sudden hand: even the legends concerning the origins of the most ancient things seem to come fresh from the singer's hot imagination of the moment. There are no ultra modernities like trams or guns or aeroplanes in it: the heroes' weapons it is true are the so-called "antique" bow and spear and sword but at the same time there is a "nowness", a quite unhazy unromantic momentariness and presentness that quite startles you, especially when you discover that you are reading all the time of the Earth being made out of a teal's egg or the sun and moon being shut up in a mountain.

II

As to what is known of the origin of the Kalevala: ever since the coming of Väinämoinen and his making of the great harp, the Kantele fashioned of pike-bone, from what we know of the Finns they have always been fond of ballads; and those ballads have been handed on and sung day after day with unending zest from father to son and son to grandson down to the present day when, as the ballads now bewail, "The songs are songs of bygone ages/ hidden words of ancient wisdom/, songs which all the children sing not/ all beyond men's comprehension/ in these ages of unfortune/ when the race is near the ending." The Shadow of Sweden and then of Russia has been over the country for many centuries. Petrograd is in Finland. But the remarkable and delightful thing is that these "songs of bygone ages" have not been tinkered with.

Sweden finally in [the] twelfth century conquered Finland (after continual warfare combined with some intercourse that stretches back beyond the beginning of our era in which too our own ancestors in Holstein had a good part). Christianity then began slowly to be introduced—in other words the Finns were one of the last acknowledged pagan people in Medieval Europe. The Kalevala today is practically untouched: and except at the end and in a few references to Ukko God of Heaven even hints at the existence of Christianity are almost entirely absent. This largely accounts for its interest and "undergrowth" character, though also for its minor emotional key: its narrow and parochial view (things in themselves not without delight).

For another seven centuries the ballads were handed on in spite of Sweden, in spite of Russia and were not written down until Elias Lönnrot in 1835 made a selection of them. These were all collected in Eastern Finland and are consequently in a dialect different to that of modern litterary Finnish. This dialect has become a kind of poetic convention. Lönnrot was not the only collector, but it was to him that it occurred to string a selection into loosely connected form—as it would seem from the result with no small skill. He called it the Land of Heroes, Kalevala from Kaleva the mythological ancestor of all the heroes. It consisted of twenty-five Runos (or Cantos): this was enlarged with new collected material to double, and published again in 1849, and almost immediately appeared in translation in other languages.

It is interesting to realize however that this ballad-singing, nevertheless, still goes on: that those ballads here by chance crystallized for us are capable of and still undergo a thousand variations. The Kalevala, too, is by no means all the ballad litterature of Finland and is not even the whole of the collected ballads even of Lönnrot, who published as well a whole volume of them under the name of "Kanteletar" or the "Daughter of the Harp." The Kalevala is only different in this that it is connected and so more readable, and covers most of the field of Finnish mythology from the Genesis of Earth and Sky to the departure of Väinämoinen. The lateness of its collection is apt to make those with a probably unwholesome modern thirst for the "authentically primitive" feel doubtful. It is however very likely the real reason why the treasure house remained unrifled: it was not redecorated or upholstered, whitewashed or otherwise spoilt: it was left to the care of chance; to the genius of the fire-side and escaped the pedant and the instructive person.

Even when collected and at last suffering the fate of reproduction in print these poems by luck escaped being handled roughly or moralistically. It is a startling litterature to be so popular among that now most law-abiding and most Lutheran of European peoples. [Jumala, whose name translates God in the Bible, is still in the Kalevala the God of clouds and rain, the old man of the sky, the guardian of the many Daughters of Creation]—It is very parallel to the interest of Icelandic Bishops in the adventures [of] Thōrr and Ōðinn; it is hardly an instance as I have heard claimed, of the still struggling presence of paganism in Modern Europe under Christianity or later of Hebraic biblicality.

III

The language of these poems, Finnish, makes a strong bid for the place of most difficult in Europe: though it is anything but ugly, in fact it suffers like many languages of its type from an excess of euphony: so much so that the music of language is apt to be expended automatically and leave no excess with which to heighten the emotion of a lyric passage. Where vowel harmony and the softening of consonants is an integral part of ordinary speech, there is less chance for sudden unexpected sweetnesses. It is a language practically isolated in Europe except for the related and neighbouring Estonia whose stories and whose tongue are very closely akin. (I am told it bears relation to tribal speeches in Russia, to Magyar, to Turkish in the far distance). It bears no relation to either of its neighbours except in process of borrowing: it is too a language of a type altogether more primitive than most in Europe. It still partakes of a flexible fluid unfixed state inconceivable in English. In the poetry meaningless syllables and even meaningless words that just sound jolly are freely inserted. In such lines as

“Enkä lähe Inkerelle
Penkerelle Pänkerelle”
or
“Ihveniä ahvenia
Tuimenia Taimenia”

are possible where pänkerelle merely echoes Penkerelle and Ihveniä: Tuimenia are merely invented to set off ahvenia and taimenia.

Its metre is roughly the same as that of the translation though much freer: octosyllabic lines with about four stresses (two main ones usually two subordinate). It is of course the unrhymed trochaic metre of “Hiawatha”. This was pirated as was the idea of the poem and much of the incident (though none of its spirit at all) by Longfellow—a fact which I merely mention because it is usually kept dark in biographical notices of that poet. “Hiawatha” is not a genuine storehouse of Indian folklore, but a mild and gentle bowdlerising of the Kalevala coloured, I imagine, with disconnected bits of Indian lore and perhaps a few genuine names. Longfellow's names are often too good to be inventions. It was either Longfellow's second or third journey to Europe (the one whose object was the acquiring of Danish and Swedish) that connected with the Kalevala's first rush into translations in Scandinavian and German. The pathos I think only of the Kalevala finds anything like an equal reflection in its imitator (a gentle mild and rather dull American don the author of "Evangeline") "who the London Daily News (I am now quoting an American appreciation) admitted had produced one of the most marvellous lines in all English: "Chanting the Hundredth Psalm that Grand old Puritan Anthem".

This metre, monotonous and thin as can be, is indeed if well handled capable of the most poignant pathos (if not of more majestic things). I do not mean the "Death of Minnehaha" but in the Kalevala the "Fate of Aino" and the "Death of Kullervo", where it is enhanced, not hindered, by the to us humorous naïveté of the unsophisticated mythological surroundings. Pathos is common in the Kalevala—often very true and keen. One of the favourite subjects—not a majestic one but very well handled—is the other side to a wedding which the "happy ever after" style of litterature usually avoids:—the lament and heartsinking even of a willing bride on leaving her father's house and the familiar things in home. This in the state of society reflected in the "Land of Heroes" was evidently near to tragedy, where mothers-in-law were worse than anywhere in litterature, and where families dwelt in ancestral homes for generations—sons and their wives all under the iron hand of the Matriarch.

If you are bored of the sing-song character of this metre, as you may well be, it is only well to remember that these are only accidentally as it were written things; they are in essence sing-songs chanted to the harp as the singers swayed backwards and forwards in time. There are many allusions to this custom: as for instance at the beginning:

"Let us clasp our hands together
Let us interlock our fingers
Let us sing a cheerful measure
Let us use our best endeavours
* * * * *
And recall our songs and legends
of the belt of Väinämoinen
of the forge of Ilmarinen
and of Kaukomieli's sword point."

IV

The Religion of these poems is a luxuriant animism—it can hardly be separated from the purely mythological, therefore this means that in the Kalevala every stock and stone, every tree, the birds, waves, hills, air, the tables, swords and the beer even have well defined personalities which it is one of the quaint merits of the poems to bring out with singular skill and aptness in numerous "speeches in part." The most remarkable of these is the speech of the sword to Kullervo before he throws himself upon its point. If a sword had a character you feel it would be just such as is pictured there: a cruel and cynical ruffian (see Runo 36/320), There is also the mention of a few other cases, the lament of the Birch Tree; or the passage (reminiscent of "Hiawatha" but better) where Väinämoinen seeks a tree to give him timber for his boat (Runo XVI). This is one of the most essential features of the whole poem; even ale talks on occasion—as in a passage I hope to have time to read, the story of the Origin of Beer (Runo XX 522/546).

The Kalevaläic idea of Beer is often enthusiastically expressed but the oft-repeated "The Ale is of the finest, best of Drinks for prudent people" implies (as also the rest of the poems do) a certain moderation. The joys of Teutonic drunkenness do not seem to have appealed so much as other vices; though drink's value in setting free the imagination (and the tongue) was often praised (Runo 21. 260):

"O thou Ale thou drink delicious
Let the drinkers be not moody
Urge the people on to singing;
Let them shout with mouths all golden
Till our lords shall wonder at it,
And our ladies ponder o'er it.
For the songs already falter,
And the joyous tongues are silenced
When the Ale is ill-concocted,
And bad drink is set before us;
Then the minstrels fail in singing
And the best of songs they sing not,
And our cherished guests are silent,
And the cuckoos call no longer."

But beyond this there is a wealth of mythology; every tree, wave and hill again has its nymph and spirit (distinct from the character apparently of each individual object). There is the nymph of blood and the veins, the spirit of the rudder; there is Moon and his children, the Sun and his (they are both masculine). There is a dim and awesome figure (the nearest approach to regal dignity) Tapio God of the Forest and his spouse Mielikki, with their fairylike son and daughter "Tellervo little maiden of the Forest clad in soft and beauteous garments" and her brother Nyyrikki with his red cap and blue coat; there is Jumala or Ukko in the heavens and Tuoni in the earth or rather in some vague dismal region beside a river of strange things. Ahti and his wife Vellamo dwell in the waters and there are a thousand new and quaint characters for acquaintance—Pakkanen the frost, Lempo the god of evil, Kankahatar the goddess of weaving—but a catalogue does not I am afraid inspire the unintroduced and bores the others. The division between the offspring of the nymphs and sprites—you cannot really call them gods it is much too Olympic—and the human characters is hardly clearly drawn at all. Väinämoinen, most human of liars, most versatile and hardy of patriarchs, who is the central figure, is the son of the Wind and of Ilmatar (daughter of the Air). Kullervo most tragic of peasant boys is but two generations from a swan.

I give you just this jumble of gods great and small to give some impression of the delightful atmosphere into which you plunge in the Kalevala—in case some have never plunged. If you are not of the temperament—or think you are not designed for getting on well with these divine personages, I assure you they behave most charmingly, and all obey the great Rule of the Game in the Kalevala which is to tell at least three lies before imparting any accurate information however trivial. It had become I think a kind of formula of polite behaviour, for no one seems to believe you until your fourth statement (which you modestly preface with "all the truth I now will tell you, though at first I lied a little").

V

So much for religion, if you can call it such, and the imaginary background. The real scenery of the poems, the place of most of its action is Suomi the Marshland; Finnland [sic] as we call it or as the Finns often call is the Land of Ten Thousand Lakes. Short of going there I imagine one could scarcely get a better picture of the land than the Kalevala gives (of the land a century ago at any rate, if not of modern progress); it is instinct with love of it: of its bogs and wide marshes in which stand kind of islands formed by rising ground or by hills topped with trees perhaps. The bogs are always before you or beside you and a worsted or outwitted hero is always thrown into one. One sees the lakes and reed-fenced flats with slow rivers; the perpetual fishing; the pile-built houses—and then in winter the land covered with sleighs and men faring over quick and firm alike on snow-shoes. Juniper, Pine fir, aspen, birch, scarce the oak, seldom any other tree, are continually mentioned; and whatever they be nowadays in Finland the bear and wolf are persons of great importance in the "Kalevala" and many sub-arctic animals besides which we do not know in Britain.

The customs are all strange and the colours; the pleasures and the dangers different. Cold on the whole is regarded with the greatest horror, and perpetual steaming hot baths are one of the greatest daily features. The Sauna or bath-house (a quite separate and elaborate building affixed to all respectable homesteads) has I believe from time immemorial been a characteristic of Finnish dwellings. They take these hot and often. Society is composed of prosperous homesteads and scattered villages; the poems deal with the highest life but that is only with the life of the richer farms separated a little from the village. Nothing causes more violent anger to any of the heroes than for his wife to demean herself by going to talk "down in the village". It reflects a quiet and moderately contented people but shorn of all the higher and more majestic aspects of national life or tradition; they are governed from above by an alien power. Rarely does such a word as king come in; there is no courtly grandeur, no castles (where they are mentioned it is often mere bad translation).

Patriarchs, stout yeomen with white beards are the most majestic figures to be seen (when their wife is not there). The power of mothers is the most arresting characteristic. Even old Väinämoinen consults his mother on most occasions of difficultly: this tying to the apron-strings goes on even after death; and instructions are issued occasionally from the grave. The housewife's opinion is universally put first. The feelings towards mothers and sisters are far the most genuine and deep and powerful throughout. A confirmed villain of loose morals and wife-beating propensities as the lively Lemminkainen (as he is always called) shows only his best and most and affectionate feelings to his mother. The great tragedy of Kullervo (the reckless peasant boy) is one of brother and sister.

Beyond Finland we are often carried in sleighs or boats, or by more swift and magic means, to Pohja, a mirky misty marshland country, sometimes evidently thought of as Lappland, more often it is no one seems clear where: whence magic comes and all manner of marvels; where Luohi [sic] dwells who hid the Sun and Moon. Sweden, the Lapps, Estonia are often mentioned: Saxony (which is our present enemy) rarely and distantly. Russia our ally not often and usually unpleasantly; of a heartless virago of a wife it is said "all estranged is now thy brother and his wife is like a Russian"; and of the most desperate and miserable life it is said to be "as a prisoner lives in Russia only that the jail is wanting."

VI

I have now tried to suggest without any describing of plot or retailing of tit-bits to hint at the style and quality of the Kalevala, the Land of

Heroes. Its style of course largely depends on all these beliefs and social characteristics I have talked of: there are however some very curious traits of a more accidental and individual character which so colour the whole that they seem worth mentioning before I cease from my meandering discourse. There is the curious thing I should like to call "superadding" by which often a comparison as even after a statement to the next line contains a great enlargement of it, often with reckless alteration of detail or fact: colors, metals, names are piled up not for their distinct representation of ideas so much as just for the emotional effect. There is a strange and often effectively lavish use of the words gold and silver and honey which are strewn up and down the lines. Colours are rarer; rather do we get gold and silver, moonlight and sunlight, an intense delight in both of which is frequently breaking forth.

There are many such details as these; the incantations, or prayers of deprecation are more essential: they perpetually recur in the presence of any evil of evil feared, and vary from five lines to five hundred, which is the length of the splendid "Kine-song" of Ilmarinen's wife; while most delightful too are "songs of origin"—you have only got to know the accurate detailed history of the origin birth and ancestry of anyone (I don't say any thing because there is practically no such distinction for the Kalevala) to have the power to stop the evil and cure the damage he has done or otherwise deal with him. The songs of the "Origin of Iron" and the "Origin of Beer" are the most delightful.

To conclude—although it is clear that to our artificial rather overselfconscious modern taste, a lot of cheap smiles can be got out of these poems (above all out of a bad or mediocre translation)—yet that is not the attitude in which I wish to put them before you. There is a certain humour (in conversation between characters and so forth) which it is justifiable to smile at, but it is really to incur laughter for [our] own weakness, our own dulled vision, as of old age, if we laugh too lightly at the simplicity of the balder passages of the Land of Heroes: unless indeed we laugh for pleasure at the finding of something so fresh and delightful. But there are passages which are not only entertaining stories of magic and adventure, quaint myths, or legend; but which are truly lyrical and delightful even in translation, and this high poetical feeling is continually occurring in lines, or couplets, or numbers of lines up and down the Runos but so unlevel as to make purple passage quotation useless. The episodes too and situations are by no means inferior (often vastly superior) to the ballads of much more famous countries than Finland. We are dealing with a popular poetry: overburdened with no technique; unconscious and uneven.

But the delight of Earth, the wonder of it; the essential feeling as of the necessity for magic; that juggling with the golden moon and silver sun (such are they) that is man's universal pastime: these are the things to seek in the Kalevala. All the world to wheel about in, the Great Bear to play with and Orion and the Seven Stars all dangling magically in the branches of a silver birch enchanted by Väinämoinen; the splendid sorcerous scandalous villains of old to tell of when you have walked into "Sauna" after binding the kine at close of day with pastures of little Suomi in the Marshes.

[*The formal text apparently ends here, but the following page is clearly sequential and contains an introduction and notes for passages to be read aloud. Ed.*]

VII

Quotation

The translation I am going to use is that of the "Everyman" series (2 vols) W.H. Kirby: who sometimes seems to plump unnecessarily for the prosy and verbally preposterous, though the great difficulty of course, of the original style is hard to exaggerate. As far as I can see, he seems to have tried as nearly as possible the task of making each line correspond to each line of the original which hasn't improved things; but occasionally he is very good indeed. If anyone does not know the story (and there is time) I can scarcely do better than read the bald summary in the preface of this edition.

Passages:

The favourites among the Finns are the episodes of "Aino" and "Kullervo"

1) Aino R. III 530 (circ) to end; R. IV (140-190) 190-470
2) Kullervo R. 31 1-200; 34 1-80; 35 (170) 190-290; 36 (60-180; 280-end
3) The Kine-Song (cp. above page)
   32 60-160; 210-310
   (This includes the classic example of "wheedling"; the bear of course is the most hated of all animals to the farmer's wife; this is how she addresses him.)
   32:310-370; 390-430; 450-470
4) Origin of Iron IX 20-260
5) Origin of Beer XX 140-250; 340-390
(6) Forging of Sampo X 260-430
(7) Great Ox XX 1-80
(8) Joukahainen III 270-490
9) Tormenting of the Bride XXII 20-120; (130-190) (290-400—)

NOTES AND COMMENTARY

not originally written for this society. See editor's Introduction. Tolkien first delivered this talk to the Sundial Society of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on 22 November 1914. He gave it again to the Essay Club of Exeter College in February of 1915 and the present text is the one given then.

the sudden collapse of the intended reader. I have been unable to find any further information on the identity of the reader or the nature of the collapse.

litterature. Tolkien uses this spelling throughout, chiefly in abbreviations, as "litt." His usage may be a deliberate allusion to Latin *litteratura*, which many years later (in his 1959 "Valedictory Address") he equated with Greek *grammatike* and *philologia* as "the study of grammar and idiom, and the critical study of authors (largely concerned with their language)" (*MC* 232). A few lines later in the same paragraph he distinguished "the word 'literature' more narrowly" to mean writings with "artistic purpose or form" (*MC* 233). The emphasis placed on language by the first usage is of a piece with his contention that "Mythology is language and language is mythology" (*TOFS* 181)."

the original which is vastly different to any translation. While at Exeter College, Tolkien checked out a Finnish grammar from the library in order to try to read *Kalevala* in its original language. He was already, it would seem, working on the theory expressed in Manuscript A of "On Fairy-stories" that "Mythology is language and language is mythology" (*OFS* 181).

Stead's Books for the Bairns. A series of books for young people published by W.T. Stead, an English journalist, philanthropist and politician, Books for the Bairns repackaged classics, fairy tales, fables, nursery rhymes, Great Events in British History, and the Gospels, giving them all a moral and Christian perspective aimed at reforming the world. Books for the Bairns, First Series 1806-1920, were well-known to young people of Tolkien's generation.

the above beloved pink covers. While there are no pink covers mentioned "above," Tolkien's later typewritten essay notes that Stead's Books for the Bairns had pink covers.

Indo-european languages. The Indo-European language theory, derived from nineteenth-century comparative philology and mythology, reconstructed by phonological correspondences and principles of sound-change a hypothetical pre-historic language called Proto-Indo-European from which the modern Indo-European language families have derived. Finnish, related to Hungarian and (distantly) to Turkish) is not Indo-European but Finno-Ugric.

Thorfinn in Vinland the good. Thorfinn Karlsefni was an eleventh-century Icelander who tried to establish a colony in "Vinland," previously so named by Leif Eríksson and thought to be somewhere on the north-east coast of North America. His expedition is mentioned in two fourteenth-century Icelandic manuscripts, the *Hauksbók*, and the *Flateyjarbók* (Flat-island Book)

the clumsiness of a translation. Not only did Tolkien dislike Kirby's translation, his stated principle that "Mythology is language and language is mythology" (*see entry for "original translation" above*) would invalidate any translation of a work as faithfully representing the original.

when I first read the Kalevala. According to both Humphrey Carpenter and John Garth, Tolkien first read Kirby's translation some time in 1911, his last year at King Edward's School. He went up to Oxford in the autumn of that year, and checked out Charles Eliot's Finnish Grammar from the Exeter College Library.

Andaman Isles. The Andaman Isles, a territory of India, are situated in the Indian Ocean halfway between the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia. In *Custom and Myth*, Andrew Lang twice refers to Andaman Islanders, first querying: "If a tertiary troglodyte was like a modern Andaman Islander . . . would he stand and meditate in awe on the fact that a tree was taller than he . . .?" (233); and next suggesting that, "If the history of religion and of mythology is to be unravelled, we must examine what the unprogressive classes in Europe have in common with Australians and Bushmen and Andaman Islanders" (241). Worth noting is Tolkien's much later suggestion in both the A and B drafts of "*Beowulf*: The Monsters and the Critics" (conjecturally dated by Drout to c. 1933-35) that contemporary critics might substitute "Andaman-islanders . . . for Anglo-Saxons" (*B&C* 33, 81).

Hausa Folktales.
The Hausa are a Sahelian people occupying a territory ranging over Northeastern Nigeria and Southeastern Niger. In *The British Folklorists: A History*, Richard Dorson notes that "Within a five-year period, 1908-1913, four folklore and language collections were published on the Hausa" (368). Dorson cites Major Arthur John Newman Tremearne's *Hausa Folktales*, published in 1914. An article entitled "Hausa Folktales" by "F.W.H.M." appeared in the journal *African Affairs*, Oxford University

Press, 1914; XIII 457. Appearing at the time when Tolkien was writing, these would have been available to him. The skeptical view of comparative mythology here expressed foreshadows Tolkien's later and equally dismissive opinion of the comparative approach in his essay "On Fairy-stories."

Hon. Mods. Classical Honour Moderations, a first round of examinations at Oxford University, in which the student can get a First (highly desirable), a Second (good but not great), and a Third (a weak pass). Tolkien got a Second.

Troilus to need a Pandarus. Tolkien could be thinking of the story as told in Chaucer's poem *Troilus and Criseyde* or in Shakespeare's play *Troilus and Cressida*. In both works, Cressida's uncle, Pandarus, acts as go-between for the lovers.

queer troglodyte story. The primary meaning of troglodyte is "cave-dweller" (from Greek *trogle*, "hole," with the extended sense "hermit," Tolkien presumably meant a story which has been isolated from the rest of society. Also see the usage by Andrew Lang in the entry above for Andaman Isles.

the Mabinogion. The great literary repository of Welsh mythology. It exists for the most part in two manuscripts, the White Book of Rhydderch (*Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*, A.D. 1300-1325) and the Red Book of Hergest (*Llyfr Coch Hergest*, 1375-1425). It was translated into English by Lady Charlotte Guest in 1838-49. Tolkien had copies of all three volumes.

Väinämoinen. The primeval singer and oldest culture-hero, first of the "big three" heroes of *Kalevala*, the other two being Ilmarinen the smith and Lemminkainen the rascally playboy. Väainämoinen is the first-born and most folkloric of the three, having aspects of shamanism in his character.

Elias Lönnrot in 1835 made a selection. In 1835 Elias Lönnrot, a Finnish physician and folklore collector, published the *Old Kalevala*, a selection from his extensive collection of *runos* or songs.

Lönnrot was not the only collector. Earlier collectors included Zachris Topelius, Matthias Castrén, Julius Krohn, and Krohn's son Kaarle Krohn. For a complete discussion see Domenico Comparetti, *Traditional Poetry of the Finns*, London: Longmans Green, 1898, and Juha Pentikäinen, *Kalevala Mythology*, trans. Ritva Poom, Indiana University Press, 1989.

published again in 1849. The augmented, standard edition of *Kalevala* from which all current translations are made.

the Kalevala's first rush into translations in Scandinavian and German. There was indeed a "rush into translations" starting with a translation into Swedish of the Old (1835) Kalevala by Matthias Castrén (a Finn) in 1841. In 1845 Jakob Grimm included thirty-eight lines from Runo 19 in a presentation to the German Academy of Sciences, and a complete translation into German of the New (1849) Kalevala was produced by Anton Schiefner in 1852.

"Chanting the Hundredth Psalm that Grand old Puritan Anthem." Tolkien's syntax makes it hard to figure out exactly who said what about what, but apparently an "American appreciation" quoted the *London Daily News* as praising Longfellow's "The Courtship of Miles Standish" for containing "one of the most marvelous lines in all English." The line in question (misquoted in Tolkien's text) describes Priscilla, the object of the Courtship, "singing the hundredth Psalm, the grand old Puritan anthem." Equally unclear is the object of Tolkien's obvious sarcasm, whether it is the American appreciator of the quote, the *London Daily News* for its taste in poetry, or Longfellow for calling a Hebrew Psalm a "Puritan anthem." Or all of the above.

Ilmarinen. One of the "big three" heroes of *Kalevala.* His name is formed from *ilma*, "sky," with the occupational suffix *ri*. He has the epithets *seppo*, "craftsman," and *takoja*, "hammerer, forger." He was originally the maker of the sky, Finnish *kiirjokansi* the "decorated/many-colored lid" and is the forger of the Sampo, the mysterious creation which is the object of desire in *Kalevala*.

Kaukomieli. A by-name or epithet for Lemminkainen, the reckless playboy, third of the "Big Three." Magoun translates Kaukomieli as "man with a far-roving mind"; Friburg as "far-minded," Kuusi, Bosley and Branch as "far-sighted" or "proud."

"speeches in part." A convention of folk tale and folk poetry in which inanimate but personified objects have voices and speak for themselves, or to (or about) human characters. The harp in "Jack and the Beanstalk" telling its owner that Jack is stealing it is an example. Tolkien used the convention in *The Hobbit* when he had the Trolls' purse speak to Bilbo (who is trying to steal it).

Ahti . . . in the waters. Tolkien has got the wrong spelling here, and consequently the wrong figure. He means Ahto, who is listed in Kirby as "the God of the Sea and of the Waters." Ahti is a by-name for Lemminkainen.

The Kalevala

[*Typescript draft*]

I am afraid this paper was not originally written for this society, which I hope it will pardon since I produce it mainly to form a stop-gap to night, and to entertain you as far as possible in spite of the sudden collapse of the proper speaker. I hope you will also forgive, besides its second-hand character its quality—which is hardly that of a paper, rather a disconnected soliloquy accompanied by a leisurely patting on the back of a pet volume. If I continually drop into talking of these poems as if no one in the room had ever heard of them but myself, you must attribute it to the strange chance that no one had when I read the paper before; and you must also attribute it to the "pet"-attitude. I am very fond of these poems—they are literature so very unlike any of the things that are familiar to general readers, or even those who stray in the more curious by-paths—they are so very un-European, and yet could only come from Europe.

Anyone who has read the collection of ballads which go by this name (more especially if he has read them, or even part of them, in the original—a vastly different thing to any translation) will I think agree to that. Most people are familiar from the days of their earliest books onwards with the general mould and type of mythological stories, legends, tales, romances, and so on, that come to us by many and crooked channels from ancient Hellas and the southern lands, from the North and the grim Germanic peoples, from the islands of the West and their old Keltic lords (whatever Keltic may mean). For some of us, for more than are often willing or honest enough to confess it, these achieved their crowning glory and delight in Stead's pink-covered Books for the Bairns—that mine of ancient and undying lore. They have a certain style, or savour; a something akin to one another in them, in spite of their vast cleavages; a something that is more than the universal community of human imagination, and that makes you feel that, whatever the ultimate differences of race of those speakers, there is something kindred in the imagination of the speakers of Indo-european languages. Some far off things there were, of course, even in those little pink books; echoes from the black heart of Africa; trickles from a distant and alien East. Nothing in this world can be finally defined, or marked out with rigid lines. So it is with Europe. It has south-eastern frontiers over which have perpetually poured the influences, half-asiatic, half close kindred to ourselves, of the Semitic languages and cultures to be assimilated swiftly and often beyond easy recognition in Europe. But that is an old tale; and even perhaps while we are still arguing whether the Far East has given us more than a plot here, the shadow of an old tale there to be turned to our own uses, you come one very fine day upon the Kalevala, the Land of Heroes. Then you are indeed in a quite new world and can revel in an amazing new excitement.

We will avoid the Peak in Darien, of only for the reason that I at any rate am not remaining silent about/upon it—still you do feel a Columbus landing on a new continent, a Thorfinn Karlsefni in a Vinland the Good—and better off, for your new heroic acquaintances are better fun than Skraeling or Red Indian. Of course when you first step onto the new ground you can, if you like, at once begin comparing it with the places you have come from. There are mountains, rivers, grass, and other things here much as there were there; many plants and some animals (especially the ferocious human species) may seem familiar—but it is more than likely that an indefinable sense of newness will either delight or disturb you too much for comparisons, there will be a glamour of strangeness even upon the familiar things; the trees will group themselves unusually on the horizon; the birds will make unfamiliar music; the inhabitants will talk a wild and at first unintelligible lingo. After the country and its manners have become better known to you, and you have got on speaking terms with the natives, you will, I hope, find it jolly to live awhile with this strange people and these new gods, with this race of unhypocritical low-brow scandalous heroes, and sadly unsentimental lovers—some there may be who will think with regret that they have ever to go back from that land at all. There are possibly some, however, that I have not yet considered, people of irreproachable education and faultless urbanity who would desire only to catch the first liner back to their familiar cities. These people had better be off soon. I have no defence to offer them for the "Land" or its "Heroes"; for to them it is useless to say that, if the heroes of the Kalevala do behave with a singular lack of dignity and even decency, and with a readiness for tears and dirty dealing, that is part of their especial attraction! After all they are not really more undignified—and are much more easy to get on with—than is a medieval lover who takes to his bed to lament the cruelty of his lady in that she will not have pity on him, condemning him to a melting death; but who is struck with the novelty of the idea when his kindly adviser points out that the poor lady is as yet uninformed in any way of his attachment. The lovers of Kalevala are forward and take a deal of rebuffing. There is no Troilus to need a Pandarus to do his shy wooing for him; rather here it is the mothers-in-law who do some sound bargaining behind the scenes, and give cynical advice to their daughters calculated to shatter the stoutest illusions.

Wonder and a little bewilderment were at any rate my experience when I first came upon the Kalevala—crossed, that is, the gulf between the Indo-european-speaking peoples of Europe into the smaller realm of those who still cling in queer corners to half-forgotten tongues and memories of an elder day. The newness worried me, sticking in awkward lumps through the clumsiness of a translation that had not overcome all the peculiar difficulties of its task; it irritated while it attracted—but the more I read of it, the more I felt at home and enjoyed myself. Then I made a wild assault on the original language, and was at first repulsed with heavy losses, and can never be said to have taken the position. Still it is easy to see why translations are not very good, or very near to their original—they are dealing with a language separated by an immeasurable gulf in nature and in method of expression from English. Finnish is an odd tongue, very fitting to the "Land of Heroes" (as is natural), and as different from anything that you are familiar with as the tales of these poems are from the tales you knew before.

One repeatedly hears the "Land of Heroes" described as the Finnish National Epic—as if it was of the nature of the universe that every nation (dreary word), besides a national bank, and government, should before qualifying for membership of the League, show lawful possession also of a National Epic, hall-remark of respectability, evidence indeed of national existence. But Finland does not possess one. The Kalevala certainly is not one. It is a mass of conceivably epic material (I can conceive of the epic that should grow with difficulty from it, I must confess); but—and I think this is the main point—it would lose all that is its greatest delight, if ever it were one unhappy day to be epically handled. The mere stories, bare events, alone could remain; all that undergrowth, that rich profusion and luxuriance, which clothe them would have to be stripped away. Indeed, the "Land of Heroes" is a collection of exactly that absorbingly delightful material which on the appearance of an epic artist, and of an age lofty-minded enough to produce him, has elsewhere inevitably been cast aside, and fallen at last out of even "oral literature" into disuse and final oblivion. Barely in the Kalevala do passages or episodes appear than one can conceive of as capable of being tuned to the higher emotional pitches required by the greater poetry. It is to all that body of strange myth, of queer troglodyte underworld of story, of wild jugglings with the sun and moon and the origins of the earth and the shapes of Man, that in Homer (for instance) has lightly been pruned away till only a few incongruous traces of its former presence are left—it is to this that most of the Kalevala may be compared and not to the large grandeur of the epic theme, nor to its conscious humanity. Or again it is to the weird tales, the outrageous ghosts, and the sorceries and by-tracks of Northern imagination that crop out at times into the usually intensely clear upper air of the Sagas that the Land of Heroes can most often be likened, not to the haughty dignity and courage, the nobility of mind and of body of which the great Sagas tell. Yet the queer and strange, the unrestrained the grotesque is not only interesting it is valuable: it is one of the eternal and permanent interests and attractions of men. Nor is it always necessary to purge it all out in order to attain to the sublime. You can have your gargoyles on our noble cathedral; but northern Europe has lost much through too often trying to build Greek temples. To night I am not in the least concerned however even to be sublime—I am content to turn over the pages of these mythological ballads—full of that very primitive undergrowth that the literature of Europe has on the whole been steadily cutting away and reducing for many centuries with different and earlier completeness among different people[.] I would that we had more of it left—something of the same sort that belonged to the English—but my desire is not due to one very dreadful and fatal motive; it is not adulterated with science; it is clear of all suspicion of Anthropology. Any such collection as this would be, and indeed I am only too well aware is, the playground of anthropologists and comparative mythologists, where they luxuriate mightily awhile—but however good and interesting in its own way their sport and hunting may be (I fear I am often sceptical) it is as foreign to my present purpose as would be the processes of the manufacture of cheese. Commentators, I know, make many notes to these poems such as: "compare this story with the one told in the Andaman Isles", or "compare that belief with the one mentioned in the Hausa folk-tales", and so forth—but don't let us. These notes seldom prove anything more than that Finns and Andaman Islanders are though rather different to look at nearly related animals, and that we knew before. Let us rather be glad that we have come suddenly upon a storehouse of this popular imaginings that we had feared lost, stocked with stories not yet sophisticates into a sense of proportion, with no thought of the decent limits even of exaggeration, with no sense (or certainly not our sense) of the incongruous, unless, as we may at times suspect, incongruity is delighted in. We are taking a holiday from the whole course of European progress of the last three milleniums, and going to be wildly un-hellenic and barbarous for a time—like the boy who hoped that the future life would provide for half-holidays in Hell far away from Eton collars and hymns. For the moment we are not to apply our superior modern intellect to the analyzing of these things. We should rather try to enter into their especial spirit on terms of equality. The vivisectionist is able to make a case out for himself, but no one believes that he knows more about dogs that the man that keeps them as pets—but even the superiority that enters into the word pet should be got rid of—I should have said who makes a companion of a dog. The only analysis I have allowed myself is a gentle probing into my own feelings of pleasure into the savour perceived in these poems; some little effort to describe the life the landscape and the people of this land as they presented themselves to me.

The delicious exaggerations of these wild tales could no doubt be learnedly compared to a hundred primitive or modern uncivilized literatures, and collections of legend—but, even if I could, I wouldn't for the present move outside Europe; for however wild, uncivilized and primitive these things may be their atmosphere and landscape belong essentially to Northern Europe, and to emphasize that I would willingly forgo a hundred parallelisms. It is all the same true that the unrestraint and exaggeration in the Kalevala does at once recall such things as say the Welsh stories of the Mabinogion, and other similar things in Welsh and Irish; but in reality their cases are very different. In the Kalevala there is often no attempt at even the limited plausibility of the fairy-tale no cunning concealment of the impossible—only the child's delight in saying that he has cut down a million trees, or that he will knock down some such august personage as his father, if indeed he has not already slain twenty policemen. All this is not intended to take you in, nor even to cast the brief spell of the story-teller's illusion over you. Its delight depends on the dawning perception of the limits of ordinary human possibility and at the same time of the limitless power of movement and of creation of the human fancy and imagination. Latent in it no doubt is the heroism of the human battles with overmastering fate, and courage undaunted by unconquerable odds—but you do not listen to it on that account, you either like it or despise it as an effort of fresh unsophisticated fancy. Of course in the Welsh tales there is often, indeed continually, in evidence the same delight in a picturesque lie, in a strong breathless flight of fancy; but paradoxically the Welsh tales are both far more absurd and far less so than the Finnish. They are more absurd for they are (when we get them) less fresh than they once were; there is in many places a thick dust of a no longer understood tradition lying on them; strings of names and allusions that no longer have any meaning, that were already nonsense for the bards who related them. Any one who wants to see what I mean has only to look at the catalogue of the heroes of Arthur's court in the story of Kilhwch and Olwen, or the account of the feats that Kilhwch had to perform for the giant Yspaddaden Penkawr in order to win his daughter Olwen. There is little or nothing of this strange lumber in the Kalevala. On the other hand, the Welsh stories are far less absurd for the pictures painted have far more technique; their colours are cleverly, even marvellously schemed; their figures are cunningly grouped. The fairy-tale's own plausibility is respected; if a man slays an impossible monster, the story holds firm to its lie. In the Land of Heroes a man may kill a gigantic elk in one line and find it more poetic to call it a she-bear in the next. To elaborate this is perhaps unnecessary; but it might be made the occasion of an attempt to say just what I find the atmosphere of the Kalevala to be—my finding you can correct for yourselves from your own knowledge, or from the extracts that I could wish to read to you until your patience was exhausted, and you felt the appropriateness of the last lines of the Kalevala:

> "Een the waterfall when flowing
> Yields no endless stream of water;
> Nor does an accomplished singer
> Sing till all his knowledge fail him."

It seems to me that what one feels immediately is that there is no background of literary or artistic tradition. The Mabinogion, for instance, has such a background; it is full of the sense of long years of development and even of decay which has resulted, on the one hand, in the cumbering of the tale with forgotten traditional names and matter, and on the other has produced a field of the most excellently harmonised and subtly varied colours against which the figures of the actors stand out—but they also harmonise with the marvellous surrounding colour-scheme and lose in startlingness if not in clearness. If few have the same intensely vivid feeling for colour that Keltic tales show, yet most similar national legendary literatures have something of this—the Kalevala to me feels to have none. The colours, the deeds, the marvels, the figures of the heroes are all splashed onto a clean bare canvas by a sudden hand; even the legends concerning the origin of the most ancient things in the world seem to come fresh from the singer's hot imagination of the moment. Certainly there are no modernities in it like trams or guns or aeroplanes; the heroes weapons it is true are the so-called antique bow and spear and sword, but at the same time there is a "nowness", a quite unhazy unromantic momentariness and presentness that startles you mightily when you suddenly realize that you are all the time reading about the earth being made out of a teal's egg, or of the sun and moon being imprisoned in a mountain. All things must be bought at a price and we have purchased the comparat[ive] consistency and reasonableness of our tales, the clearer crystallization of our traditions with the loss of this magic and untarnished freshness.

Now as to what is known of the origin of these poems I know little and will not try to tell much more than I know. Ever since the coming of Väinämoinen and the making of his great harp, the "kantele" fashioned of pike-bone, from what we know of the Finns they have always loved ballads of this sort; and ballads of this sort have been handed on and sung day after day with unending zest from father to son, and from son to grandson down to the present day, when, as the ballads now lament, "the songs are songs of bygone ages, hidden words of ancient wisdom, songs which all the children sing not, all beyond men's comprehension".

The shadow of Sweden and then of Russia has been over the country for many centuries. Petrograd is in Finland. Things are not, it is to be feared, much better now. The remarkable and delightful thing for us, however, is that these "songs of bygone ages" have somehow been preserved without being tinkered with. Sweden finally in the 12th century conquered Finland (or rather the Finns—their land has never had the hard and fast boundaries of the modern European states). Before that there was continual warfare and continual intercourse with the Northerly Germanic peoples that stretches back beyond the beginnings of our era, and in which doubtless the first bearers of the English name in Holstein and the Islands had a good part—but the intercourse goes back even earlier than that far time. By the Swedish conquest, and by the swords of the Teutonic Knights Christianity began slowly to be introduced—in other words the Finns were one of the last acknowledged pagan peoples of Medieval Europe. Today the Kalevala and its themes are still practically untouched by this influence, much less affected by it than the mythology of ancient Scandinavia as it appears in the Edda. Except in the story of the virgin Marjatta at the end, in a few references to Jumala or Ukko god of the Heavens, and so forth, even hints at the existence of Christianity are almost entirely absent; of its spirit there is nothing, as any one can see who compares the crude story of Marjatta with Christian faith. To this if of course largely ascribable the interesting primitiveness of the poems, the "undergrowth" character of them, though it is also partly responsible for their minor emotional key, their narrow and parochial view—things that in our present holiday mood are not without attraction. For another seven centuries the ballads have been sung in spite of Sweden, in spite of Russia, and do not ever appear to have been written down at all till Elias Lönnröt in 1835 made a collection of many of them, and published a selection of these. These were all collected in Eastern Finland and are consequently in a dialect different from that that has since come to be the modern literary dialect of Finnish. This Kalevala dialect has come now to be a kind of poetic convention. Lönnröt was not the only collector, but it was to him that it occurred to string a selection into a loosely connected form—as it would seem from the result with no small skill. He it was who called this string the Land of Heroes, or Kalevala from Kaleva the mythological ancestor of all the heroes. It consisted of 25 runos or cantos. This was enlarged with freshly collected material to double the size and published again in 1849, and almost immediately appeared in translation.

With regard to what I have said above it is however well to remember that apart from selection and arrangement these things were taken down straight from the lips of Finnish minstrels, and that the collection did not kill the minstrelsy; the ballad-singing still goes on (or it did until the late war); those ballads here by chance crystallized for us are capable of, and still undergo, a thousand variations. The Kalevala too is by no means all the ballad-literature of Finland; it is not even the whole of the collection of Lönnröt alone, who published as well another whole volume of them under the name of "Kanteletar" the Daughter of the Harp. The Kalevala is only different in that it is more connected and so more readable, and it covers most of the field of Finnish mythology from the Genesis of Earth and Sky to the departure of Väinämoinen. The lateness of the date of the collection and publication is apt to make those with the (probably not entirely wholesome) modern thirst for the "authentically primitive" doubt whether the wares are quite genuine. Read and doubt no more. Bogus archaism and the pseudo-primitive is as different from this as Ossian is from Middle Irish romance; and anyway the external evidence for the genuineness of these goods is more than sufficient. Indeed the lateness of the collection is very likely the actual reason why the treasure-house has remained unrifled; why its empty shell has not then been whitewashed, redecorated, upholstered in the eighteenth century manner, or otherwise destroyed. It has been left unnoticed to the care of chance, and to the genius of hard-worked uneducated men at the fireside, and has escaped the pedant and the instructive person. More remarkable still, even when collected and suffering at last the fate of reproduction in print, these poems have by luck escaped being roughly or moralistically handled. they have not been twisted into any shape of edification, and remain a very startling sort of reading to be so popular with those now most law-abiding and Lutheran of European peoples, the modern educated Finns. Something of a parallel can be fund in the interest of mediaeval Icelandic priests and bishops in the fierce deeds of pre-christian [*sic*] Scandinavians, and in the often scandalous adventures of Thórr and Ódinn. As a matter of fact one does sometimes hear the Kalevala, and things like it, cited as evidence of the enduring paganism of Europe that (we are told) is still fighting a gallant and holy battle against the oppression of Christianity, and of Hebraic Biblicality. To argue about this would really be to stray far from my present point and purpose; but the temptation to say something about our attitude towards the ancient gods is too strong. Without disputing about the attitude of the Finnish people up to, say, about a century ago when these things were taken down (for I do not know enough about them), I am still quite ready to admit that without something approaching an objective belief in the old gods we definitely lose something of the magic of all old tales, something in them is "all beyond our comprehension"; it is no good saying that the sea is still poetically boundless, for to the very people who can appreciate the poetry of the sea the roundness of the earth and the unfortunate existence of America on the other side of a strictly limited Atlantic ocean is most constantly and vividly present in the imagination; the heavenly bodies are by them above all most clearly realized not to be the heavenly beings. The organization and greater security of modern life; gentler social manners; a wealth of bodily conveniences, and comforts, and even destructive luxuries; tobacco, doctors, and police; and more (the one thing that is certainly worth it) freedom from the shadow of the darker crueller and fouler superstitions, we have purchased at a price—there are no magic islands in our Western sea and (as Francis Thompson says) "none will again behold Apollo in the forefront of the morning, or see Aphrodite in the upper air loose the long lustre of her golden locks". We are grown older and must face the fact. The poetry of these old things remains being immortal, but no longer for us is the intoxication of both poetry and belief. The holiday I suggested is a holiday from poetic and literary development, from the long accumulated weight of civilised tradition and knowledge, not a decadent and retrograde movement, not a "nostalgie de la boue"—only a holiday; and if while on this holiday we half hear the voice of Ahti in the noises of the sea, half shudder at the thought of Pohja, gloomy land of witchcraft, or Tuonela yet darker region of the dead, it is nonetheless with quite another part of our minds that we do this than that which we reserve for our real beliefs and for our religion, just as it undoubtedly was for the Icelandic ecclesiastics of old. Yet there may be some whom these old songs will stir to new poetry, just as the old songs of other pagan days have stirred other Christians; for it is true that only the Christians have made Aphrodite utterly beautiful, a wonder for the soul; the Christian poets or those who while renouncing their Christianity owe to it all their feeling and their art have fashioned nymphs and dryads of which not even Greek ever dreamt; the real glory of Latmos was made by Keats. As the world grows older there is loss and gain—let us not with modern insolence and blindness imagine it all gain (lest this happen such songs as the "Land of Heroes" are left for our disillusionment); but neither must we with neo-pagan obscurity of thought imagine it all loss.

Returning from my unwarranted digression, I feel that I can not proceed and further without saying something about the language of the poems. Finnish is, for Englishmen at any rate, near the top of the list of the very difficult languages of Europe; though it is anything but ugly. Indeed it suffers like many languages of its type from an excess of euphony; so much so that the music of the language is liable to be expended automatically, and leave over no excess with which to heighten the emotion of a lyric passage. Where vowel-harmony, and the assimilation and softening of consonants is an integral part of ordinary grammar and of everyday speech there is much less chance for sudden unexpected sweetnesses. It is a language practically isolated in modern Europe, except for the language of the Esthonians which is closely akin, as are their tales and their blood. Finno-Ugrian philology, which is no concern of ours now, discovers a relationship with tribal non-Russian speeches in modern Russia, and in the far distant (though here it is rather a relationship of type than an ultimate kinship of descent) with the Magyar in Hungary, and further still with Turkish. It has no kinship at all with either its immediate Germanic or Slavonic neighbours, except in a process of agelong borrowing that has filled it to the brim with old Slavonic, Lithuanian, and Germanic words, many of which preserve in their new soil the form that they have lost centuries ago in their own tongues—such, for instance, is the case with the Finnish word "kuningas" king which is exactly the form that philologists had assumed that our word "king" possessed two thousand years ago or thereabouts. In spite of all this borrowing, and the constant cultural influence of the Indo-european neighbouring languages which has left definite traces, Finnish still remains a language far more primitive (and therefore contrary to the usual superstition far more complicated) than most of the other languages in Europe. It still preserves a flexible fluid unfixed state inconceivable even in the most primitive patois of English. There is no need to search for a more startling example of this than the way in which in the poetry meaningless syllables and even meaningless words that merely sound jolly are freely inserted. For instance in such lines as the following:–

"Enkä lähe Inkerelle
Penkerelle Pänkerelle" —or

"Ihveniä ahvenia
Tuimenia taimenia"

"Pänkerelle" merely echoes ""Penkerelle"; "Ihveniä" and "tuimenia" are merely invented to set off "ahvenia" and "taimenia". I don't mean to say that this sort of thing is done often enough to reduce the songs to nonsense rhymes with flickers of sense; but the mere fact that such things are possible at all even if it may be for special effect or emphasis is sufficiently astonishing.

The metre employed is roughly the same as that of the translations though much freer and less monotonous than the English would lead one to think. It is the octosyllabic line with roughly four beats or stresses, the rhythm is uniformly trochaic, no upbeat being used, and there is no rhyme. Two of the stresses or beats (usually the first and third) tend to stand out as the most important. It is of course, as far as English can be made to yield the same effect as Finnish, the metre of "Hiawatha". What however is not so generally known is that not only the metre, but the idea of the poem, and much too of the matter and incident, was pirated for "Hiawatha"—"Hiawatha" is in fact the first literary offspring of the Kalevala, and nothing could better emphasize or illustrate my earlier remarks on the spirit and nature of Finnish songs than a comparison with their civilized descendant. "Hiawatha" is not a genuine storehouse of Indian folklore, but a mild and gentle bowdlerizing of the Kalevala coloured with disconnected bits of Indian lore, and I imagine a few genuine legendary names—some of Longfellow's names sound altogether too good to be invented. It was either Longfellow's second or third journey to Europe (the one that had for its object the learning of Danish and Swedish—Longfellow was a professor of Modern languages) that coincided with the Kalevala's first rush into Scandinavian and German translations.

The pathos alone, I think, of the Kalevala finds anything like an equal reflection in the work of its imitator—a mild and rather dull American don, the author of "Evangeline", who, "the 'London Daily News' (I am quoting now an old American appreciation) admitted had produced one of the most marvellous lines in all English: 'chanting the Hundredth Psalm, that grand old Puritan anthem'". This metre, monotonous and thin as it can be (especially in English), is indeed if well handled capable of the most poignant pathos, if not of more majestic things. I don't mean only the "Death of Minnehaha," but the "Fate of Aino" in the Kalevala and the "Death of Kullervo," where this pathos is enhanced not hindered by the (to us) almost humorous naiveté of the mythological and fabulous surroundings. Pathos is common in the Kalevala and often very true and keen. One of the favourite subjects—not a majestic one, but very well handled—is that other side to a wedding that the "happy-ever-after" type of literature usually avoids:– the lament and heart-sinking of even a willing bride on leaving her father's house and the familiar things of the home. This farewell in the state of society reflected in the Kalevala was evidently often near to tragedy, where mothers-in-law were worse that anywhere else in literature, and where families dwelt in ancestral homes for generations, sons and their wives all under the iron hand of the Matriarch.

If, however, pathos or not, you are bored by the interminable sing-song character of this metre, it is well to remember again that these are only, as it were, accidentally written things—they are in essence song-songs, sing-songs chanted to the monotonous repetition of a phrase thrummed on the harp while the singers swayed backwards and forwards in time.

"Let us clasp our hands together,
Let us interlock our fingers,
Let us sing a cheerful measure,

Let us use our best endeavours
. . . .
And recall our songs and legends
Of the belt of Väinämoinen,
Of the forge of Ilmarinen,
And of Kaukomieli's sword-point."

So opens the Kalevala, and there are many other references to the rhythmic swaying of the monotonous chanters: I wish I had ever heard them with my own ears, but I have not.

The religion of the poems—after headings such as "language" and "metre" one feels bound to have another on "religion"—if indeed such a name can be applied to it, is a luxuriant animism; it cannot really be separated from the purely mythological elements. This means that in the Kalevala every stock and every stone, every tree, the birds, waves, hills, air, the tables, the swords, and even the beer have well-defined personalities, which it is often the quaint merit of these poems to bring out with singular skill and aptness in numerous speeches in part. One of the most remarkable of these us the speech of his sword to Kullervo just before he throws himself upon its point. If a sword had a character, you feel it would be just such as is pictured there—a cruel and cynical ruffian. There is also, to mention only a few other cases, the lament of the Birch Tree, or the passage (of which the similar passage in Hiawatha is an imitation that does not improve upon its model) where Väinämoinen seeks a tree to give him timber for his boat (Runo XVI); or where Lemminkianen's mother seeking for her lost son asks all things that she meets for news, the moon, the trees, even the pathway—and they all answer in characterised parts. (Runo XV). This indeed is one of the essential features of the songs: even ale talks on occasions—as in a passage that I hope to have time to read, the story of the origin of Beer. Here is a bit of it (Runo XX 522-556).

". . . now the bread they baked was ready, and were stirred the pots of porridge,
and a little time passed over, when the ale worked in the barrels,
and the beer foamed in the cellars;—'now must some one come to drink me,
now must some one come to taste me, that my fame may be reported,
and that they may sing my praises.' Then they went to seek a minstrel,
went to seek a famous singer, one whose voice was of the strongest,
one who knew the finest legends. First to sing they tried a salmon,
if the voice of trout was strongest. Singing is not work for salmon,

and the pike recites no legends. Crooked are the jaws of salmon,
and the teeth of pike spread widely. Yet again they sought a singer,
went to seek a famous singer, one whose voice was of the strongest,
one who knew the finest legends—and they took a child for singer,
thought a boy might sing the strongest. Singing is not work for children,
nor are splutterers fit for shouting. Crooked are the tongues of children,
and the roots thereof are crooked. Then the red ale grew indignant,
and the fresh drink fell to cursing, pent within the oaken barrels,
and behind the taps of copper. 'If you do not find a minstrel,
do not find a famous singer, one whose voice is of the strongest,
one who knows the finest legends, then the hoops I'll burst asunder,
and among the dust will trickle . . . . .'"

Here we hear not only beer speaking and get a hint at its own estimate of itself as an inspiration of poesy and song, but we hear the Finnish minstrel cracking up his own profession, if with greater quaintness, with greater cunning and subtlety than was normally used by the minstrel of mediaeval England and France in similar passages of advertisement. In the Kalevala Beer is the cause of much enthusiasm, but the oft-repeated "ale is of the finest, best of drinks for prudent people" implies (as do the rest of the poems) a certain moderation in the use of good things. The joys of drunkenness at any rate do not seem to have the same appeal as other vices, though good drink's value in setting free the imagination (and the tongue) was often praised (R. XXI 260).

" . . . O thou ale thou drink delicious, Let the drinkers be not moody.
Urge the people on to singing; let them shout with mouths all golden,
till our lords shall wonder at it, and or ladies ponder o'er it.
For the songs already falter, and the joyous tongues are silenced,
when the ale is ill-concocted, and bad drink is set before us;
then the minstrels fail in singing and the best of songs they sing not,
and our cherished guests are silent, and the cuckoo calls no longer . . ."

Beyond all this personification however there is a wealth of mythology. Every tree, wave, and hill has its nymph and spirit, distinct from the character, apparently, of each individual object. There is the nymph of the Blood and the Veins; the spirit of the rudder; there is the moon and his children, and the Sun and his (they are both masculine); there is a dim and awesome figure, the nearest approach to regal dignity in the poems, Tapio, God of the Forest, and his spouse Mielikki, and their fairy-like son and daughter Tellervo, "little maiden of the forest clad in soft and beauteous garments", and her brother Myrikki with his red cap and blue coat; there is Jumala in the heavens (Jumala whose name is used for God in the Bible, but who in the poems is usually a god of the air and clouds); and there is Tuoni in the earth, or rather in some vague dismal region beside a river of strange things. Ahti and his wife Vellamo dwell in the waters, and there are a thousand other new and strange characters for acquaintance—Pakkanen the Frost; Lempo the spirit of Evil; Kankahatar, the goddess of weaving—but a catalogue does not inspire those that have not yet been introduces, and bores those that have. The division between the offspring of the nymphs, sprites, and other beings (you can seldom call them Gods—it is much too Olympian) and the human characters is hardly drawn at all. Väinämoinen, most venerable of evergreen patriarchs, mightiest of culture-heroes (he is the God of Music in Esthonia), most human of liars, is the son of the Wind and of Ilmatar, daughter of the Air; Kullervo, most tragic of peasant-boys, is but two generations from a swan.

I give you just this jumble of gods great and small to give you some impression of the delightful variety of the Land of Heroes. If you are not of the temper, or think you are not, for getting on with these divine and heroic personages, I assure you, as I did before, that they behave most charmingly: they all obey the great rule of the game in the Kalevala, which is to tell at least three lies before imparting accurate information, however trivial. It seems to have become a formula or polite behaviour, for no one in the Kalevala is believed until his fourth statement (which he modestly prefaces with "all the truth I now will tell you, though at first I lied a little".) So much for the religion (if you can call it such) and the imaginary background.

The real scenery of the poems, the place of most of the action is Suomi, the Marshland—Finland as we now call it—which the Finns themselves often name the Land of Ten Thousand Lakes. Short of going there, I imagine one could scarcely be made to see the land more vividly that by reading the Kalevala—the land of a century ago or more, at any rate, if not a land ravaged by modern progress. The poems are instinct with the love of it, of its bogs and wide marshes in which stand islands as it were formed by rising ground and sometimes topped with trees. The bogs are always with you—and a worsted or outwitted hero is invariably thrown into one. One sees the lakes and reed-fenced flats with slow rivers; the perpetual fishing; the pile-built houses—and then in winter the land covered with sleighs, and men faring over quick and firm alike on snow-shoes. Juniper, Pine, fir, aspen, birch are continually mentioned, rarely the oak, very seldom any other tree; and whatever they be nowadays in Finland the bear and wolf are in the Kalevala persons of great importance, and many sub-arctic animals figure in it too, that we do not know in England. The customs are all strange and so are the colours of everyday life; the pleasures and the dangers are

{*The typescript stops here, in mid-phrase at the bottom of the page. A hand-written comment in ink just below it notes:* "[Text breaks off here]"}

NOTES AND COMMENTARY

sudden collapse of the proper speaker. That Tolkien was filling in for two collapsed speakers some five to ten years apart, while not impossible, seems stretching credibility. But since there is no evidence that this version of the talk was ever given, the opening sentence may simply have been retained from the earlier version.

literature so very unlke. Note that the word is now spelled with one *t*.

Keltic . . . Keltic. Another spelling idiosyncrasy. The word is conventionally spelled with a *c* as *Celtic*, but Tolkien may have been making sure of the pronunciation, for the *c* is hard, as in "cap."

a no longer understood tradition. The 19th and early 20th century view of Welsh myth as seen in the *Mabinogion* was of a once coherent concept behind the stories what had been garbled and misunderstood over time, partly through the supervention of Christianity and partly through the limited acquaintance of Christian redactors with the original stories.

the catalogue of the heroes of Arthur's court in the story of Kilhwch and Olwen. The Arthurian Court List is a "run" of some 260 names, some historical, some legendary, some alleged to be Arthur's relatives, some obviously fanciful, such as *Clust mab Clustfeinad*, "Ear son of Hearer" and *Drem mab Dremhidydd*, "Sight son of Seer." The recitation would have been a *tour de force* for the bard, as well as an evocation of a host of other untold stories.

Yspaddaden Penkawr. Yspaddaden "Chief/Head Giant," is the father of Olwen, Kilhwch's intended bride, and the tasks he assigns are not meant to test but to kill the prospective lover.

weird tales. This was the title of an American magazine of pulp fantasy fiction, first published in 1923, but not widely circulated in England. Tolkien's allusion (if such it is) is likelier to have been to E.T.A. Hoffmann's collection of stories, *Weird Tales*, translated from the German by J.T. Bealby and published in England in 1884.

(as Francis Thompson says) "none will again behold". Francis Thompson (1859-1907) was an English Catholic poet, best known for "The Hound of Heaven," which Tolkien admired. The lines quoted here are from the concluding paragraphs of "Paganism Old and New: The Attempted Revival of the Pagan spirit, with its Tremendous Power of a Past, Though a Dead Past" published in Thompson's collection *A Renegade Poet*. Christopher Tolkien comments in a note in *The Book of Lost Tales* Part I, that Tolkien "acquired the Works of Francis Thompson in 1913 and 1914" (*Lost Tales I*, 29).

'nostalgie de la boue'. Literally, "yearning for the mud." Metaphorically, the phrase describes the desire, exemplified by the Romantic attraction to the primitive, to ascribe higher spiritual values to people and cultures considered lower than one's own. The attitude was widespread in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, initiated by antiquarians, energized by the discoveries of archaeologists, and fueled by anthropological research into comparative mythology and philology, all of which encouraged the finding of value in the archaic and primitive for its own sake. The word *folklore*, with its condescending assumption that the "folk" are other (and less educated) than users of the term, illustrates the mind-set.

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J.R.R. Tolkien and the Boy Who Didn't Believe in Fairies

JOHN GARTH

Tolkien On Fairy-stories, edited by Verlyn Flieger and Douglas A. Anderson, includes among its extensive materials from the manuscripts of "On Fairy-stories" a striking anecdote in which that great proponent of Faërie, the author, recalls being put in his place by a small, thoroughly scientifically-minded boy. It is an entertaining little nugget, but I would suggest that it is more than that: it identifies a moment in the author's life which encapsulated for him, even some thirty years later, the defining idea behind his legendarium: that fairy-stories are not solely or primarily for children. Here I not only reveal the identity of the boy, but also provide photographs of both child and garden, while offering some thoughts on the date of the incident.

The anecdote appears among the pages written by J.R.R. Tolkien when he was revising and enlarging his original 1939 Andrew Lang lecture for publication in *Essays Presented to Charles Williams*, published in 1947. However, the passage itself was excised by the author and leaves no direct trace in "On Fairy-stories." He introduces the incident to illustrate why the fairy-story should not be specially tailored for children in either tone or content. "Do not let us write only for them, certainly not 'down' to them," he warns: children old enough to enjoy a fairy-story are already old enough to know when they are being patronised. "Children prefer adult conversation—when it is not infantile in all but idiom. But being talked down to (even in verbal idiom) is a flavour that they perceive quicker than any 'grown-up'. . ." (*OFS* 248)

Tolkien describes the encounter as a "salutary lesson":

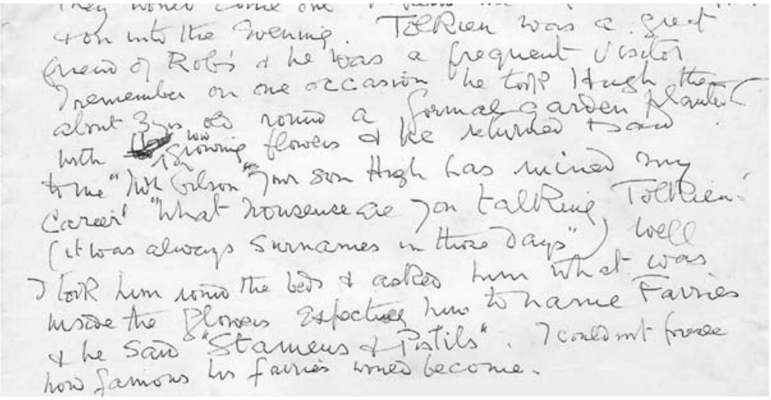
> I was walking in a garden with a small child. I was only nineteen or twenty myself. By some aberration of shyness, groping for a topic like a man in heavy boots in a strange drawing room, as we passed a tall poppy half-opened, I said like a fool: 'Who lives in that flower?' Sheer insincerity on my part. 'No one,' replied the child. 'There are Stamens and a Pistil in there.' He would have liked to tell me more about it, but my obvious and quite unnecessary surprise had shown too plainly that I was stupid so he did not bother and walked away. (*OFS* 248)

Tolkien gives no hints regarding the location of the garden, and few about the identity of the young sceptic. Indeed there is little here, beyond faith

Hugh Cary Gilson at eight years old

in Tolkien's veracity, to indicate that the incident is more than a concoction to enliven his essay. However, he does recollect the boy's age—"five was young for such good sense"—and adds: "The child certainly later became a botanist" (248).

In fact the anecdote was perfectly true, and the child was Hugh Cary Gilson, half-brother of Tolkien's schoolfriend Robert Quilter Gilson. Rob and Hugh's father was Robert Cary Gilson, headmaster of King Edward's School, Birmingham, who had remarried two years after his first wife's death in 1907. The garden belonged to the Gilsons' home, Canterbury House, which stood in the village of Marston Green a few miles outside the city.[1]



[illegible]
& on into the evening. Tolkien was a great
friend of Rob's & he was a frequent visitor
I remember on one occasion he took Hugh then
about 3 yrs old round a formal garden planted
with ~~[illegible]~~ low growing flowers & he returned & said
to me "Mrs Gilson your son Hugh has ruined my
career" "What nonsense are you talking Tolkien"
(it was always surnames in those days") Well
I took him round the beds & asked him what was
inside the flowers expecting him to name Fairies
& he said "Stamens & Pistils". I couldn't foresee
how famous his fairies would become.

The encounter as told by Marianne Gilson in her memoir, written in 1969 or later

I know all this because Hugh's mother Marianne Caroline Gilson—the headmaster's second wife and Rob's stepmother—tells the same story in an unpublished memoir she wrote in her nineties:

> Tolkien was a great friend of Rob's and he was a frequent visitor. I remember on one occasion he took Hugh, then about 3 years old, round a formal garden planted with low growing flowers and he returned and said to me, "Mrs Gilson, your son Hugh has ruined my career"—"What nonsense are you talking, Tolkien?" (It was always surnames in those days.) "Well, I took him round the beds and I asked him what was inside the flowers expecting him to name Fairies and he said, 'Stamens and Pistils.'" I couldn't foresee how famous his fairies would become.[2]

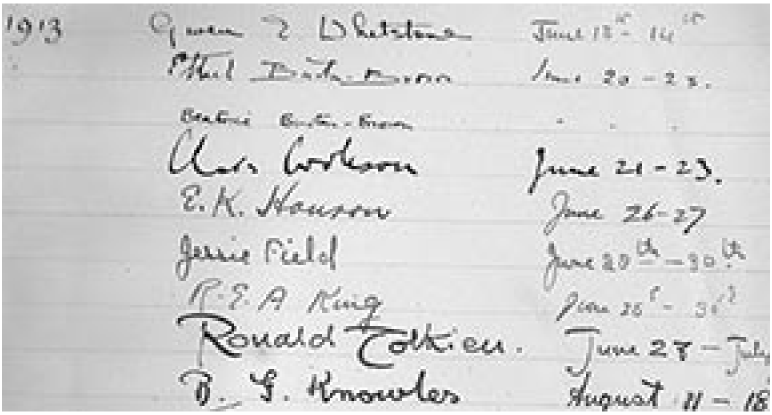
When I first saw Mrs Gilson's memoir, before I read *Tolkien On Fairy-stories*, I was inclined to suspect the story had arisen *after* Tolkien became famous for his fairies. Now, with two independent witnesses, it can be taken as confirmed.

It turns out that J.R.R. Tolkien also told this story to at least one other person—his son Christopher, who has told me:

> I have a perfectly clear 'snapshot' memory of my father telling me this story—and not a memory suddenly stirred from long hiding, but a permanent recollection of him. He gave me of course no indication of who the supercilious child was, but I have never forgotten his saying 'Stamens and Pistils' with a scornful puckering of his features to express the contempt in the boy's voice. I don't know when this was, but I was certainly still fairly young, and I'm fairly sure that it would have been in the period 1938-40, when owing to illness I was not at school and we often went about together on botanical expeditions.[3]

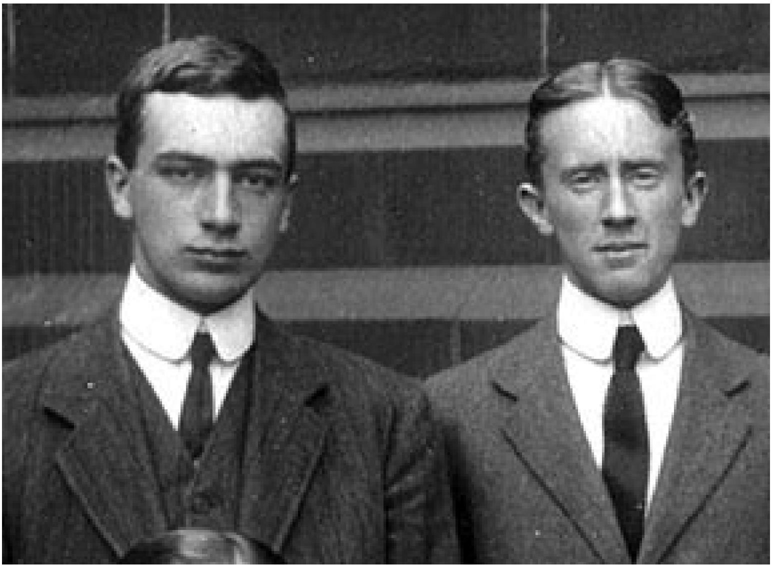
The date as recollected by Christopher Tolkien is, of course, close to the period when his father would have written the anecdote down for use in his expanded version of "On Fairy-stories."

When the exchange took place is far less clear, and here Tolkien's recollection may seem less reliable than Marianne Gilson's. Hugh was born

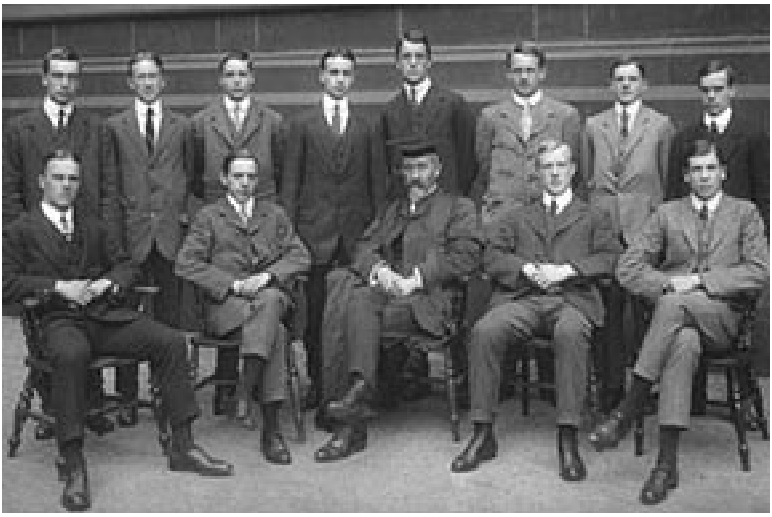


1913 [illegible] June 12th – 14th
[illegible] June 20 – 22.
[illegible]
[illegible] June 21 – 23.
E. K. Hanson June 26 – 27
Jessie Field June 29th – 30th
R. E. A. King June 28th – 30th
Ronald Tolkien. June 28 – July
[illegible] Knowles August 11 – 18

Tolkien's record of his stay from June 28 to July 1, 1913, in the Canterbury House visitors book



Robert Quilter Gilson (left) and Tolkien in 1910 or 1911 with King Edward's School prefects and headmaster Robert Cary Gilson (to the right of whom sits T.C.B.S. member Christopher Wiseman).



on June 3, 1910: if Tolkien had indeed been 19 or 20, the year would have been 1911 or 1912, and even the most precocious child would surely not be talking about stamens and pistils at one or barely two years old.

On the other hand, if Hugh were five the First World War comes into the equation. In 1915 Rob was away on military training and from early the next year he was on the Western Front, where he was killed in battle on July 1, 1916. He was on leave at Marston Green on Saturday July 17, 1915; Tolkien was in the Birmingham area and may have taken the opportunity to see him before his own military training started on the Monday.[4] The two seem to have seen each other only once more, at the T.C.B.S. "Council of Lichfield" in September 1915; Rob invited the gang to Marston Green but even if they went, would poppies have been in flower so late?[5]

On the face of it, therefore, the visit seems more likely to have taken place in 1913 or 1914, when Tolkien and Rob had more leisure to see each other and Hugh was three—as his mother recalled—or had just turned four. We know that Tolkien proposed to visit Marston Green on June 14, 1913, and his signature in the visitors book for Canterbury House confirms that he also made a longer stay from June 28 to July 1.[6] But there may have been other visits for which we have no record: Tolkien was "a frequent visitor" and seems only to have signed when he stayed overnight. As an indication of Hugh's intellectual development at this stage, a March 1913 letter from his father to his mother is eye-opening:

> Hugh and I recite more than 300 lines of "Horatius" every morning. He never seems to tire of it. It is a reflection on my barbarous pronunciation of the proper names that he is inclined to call Aunus ("of green Tifernum, lord of the hill of vines") "Ornament." Somehow proper Italian pronunciation does not seem to suit the *Lays of Ancient Rome*. . .[7]

Knowledge of stamens and pistils at the age of three should not greatly surprise us from a boy who, some months earlier, could already grasp Lord Macaulay's 1842 narrative poem—even if he mispronounced some of the names. He inherited from his father an amazing capacity for retaining knowledge, and later in his own children's eyes "seemed to know everything" except music and popular culture.

A final consideration is Mrs Gilson's remarkable statement that Tolkien said Hugh's comment had ruined his career. She was writing her account in 1969 or the early 1970s when Tolkien was enormously famous as the author of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, so it would be understandable if her memory had played tricks on her. Surely Tolkien had no more idea than Marianne Gilson in 1913 that Faërie would make his name. However, it does not seem to me impossible that Tolkien said these words to her, if we accept the later date of summer 1915. Just after the outbreak of war he underwent an astonishing creative awakening and began creating what became Middle-earth, a project which he certainly saw as central to his identity. The great epiphany came with a gathering of the T.C.B.S. in Wandsworth in December 1914, the "Council of London" in which, as he recalled two-and-a-half years later, he first became conscious of "the hope and ambitions" that were to endure with him:

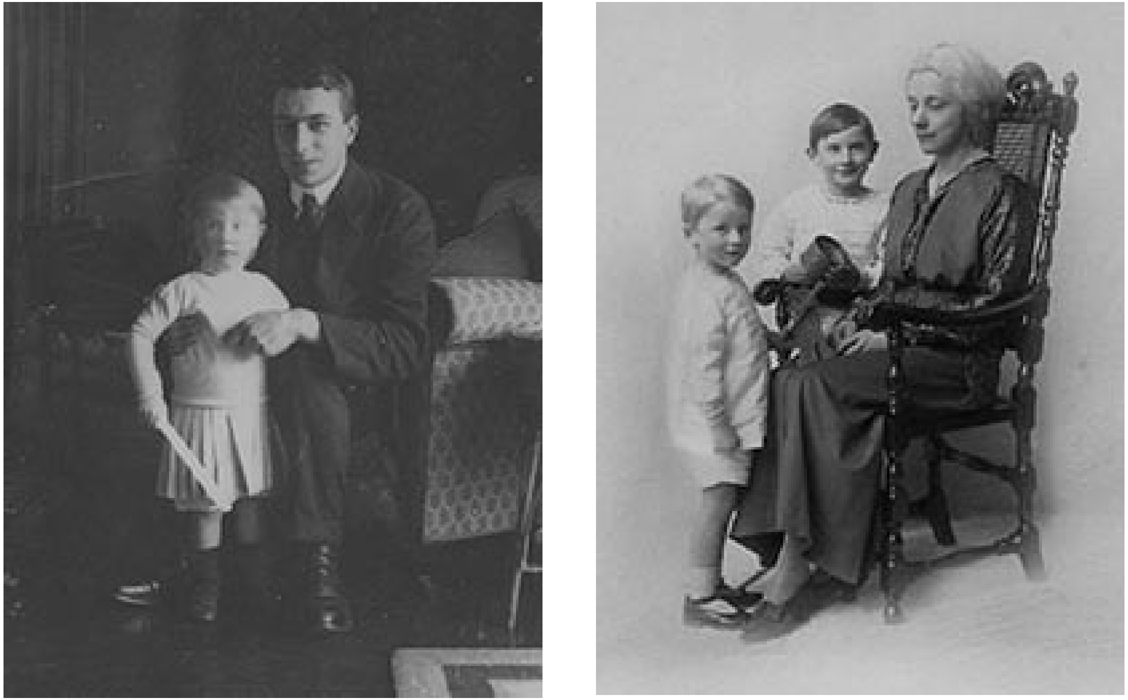
> That Council was as you know followed in my own case with my finding a voice for all kinds of pent up things and a tremendous opening up of everything for me. (*Letters* 10)

Clearly, we cannot press these evidences for dates for absolute certainty. But if we accept that Tolkien spoke of his career being ruined, it lends much weight to the idea that the meeting with Hugh Gilson in the garden of Canterbury House took place in the summer of 1915. Notably, this was the year Tolkien began his first lexicon of Qenya, detailing his "Faërie" world in the tongue he invented for its denizens. So fairies were very much on his mind. What is more, the Qenya lexicon reveals that Tolkien himself had an answer to the question of who might live inside a poppy.

In "Manuscript B" of "On Fairy-stories" Tolkien declares that as a child he, like Hugh, "was interested also in the structure and particularly in the classification of plants." Furthermore, he adds, he "never at any age that I can recall had any interest in 'fairies' that a frivolous adult fancifulness may put to dwell in them" (248). We are indeed accustomed to think of his Elves as creatures of noble or even superhuman stature, a conscious reaction against the diminutiveness that had dominated the English view of fairies for centuries. Tolkien protests that he personally had never fallen for this fakery, "that long line of flower-fairies and fluttering sprites with antennae that I so disliked as a child" (29-30). In the published essay, Tolkien derides "this flower-and-butterfly minuteness" promoted by William Shakespeare and Michael Drayton, seeing it as "a product of 'rationalization,' which transformed the glamour of Elfland into mere finesse, and invisibility into a fragility that could hide in a cowslip or shrink behind a blade of grass" (29).

The evidence of his own youthful writings, unfortunately, is against him here. The faërian creatures of the 1910 poem "Wood-sunshine," of 1915's "Goblin Feet" and "The Princess Ní," and even of the Qenya poem "Narqelion" written in 1915-1916, are all small, flittering, floral or sylvan (though at least they have no antennae). In the opening chapter of *The Book of Lost Tales*, written in 1917, the mortal wanderer Eriol has to become small to enter the Cottage of Lost Play—though it is clear

Canterbury House, Marston Green, in 1905 with Rob and his sister Molly sitting on the terrace. Below: Their mother Emily (who died in 1907) sits near one of the flower beds



Hugh Cary Gilson aged three (and dressed as a Roman soldier) with his half-brother Rob in 1913. Right: Hugh aged eight, behind his mother Marianne and younger brother John Cary Gilson that Tolkien conceived of the Elvish inhabitants as formerly of greater stature (*Lost Tales I* 14). The Qenya lexicon strays unabashedly into Draytonian territory, naming not only Ailinónë, "a fairy who dwelt in a lily on a pool" and Nardi, "a flower-fairy," but also Tetillë, who is described precisely as "a fairy who lived in a poppy."[8]

So Tolkien may, retrospectively, have felt his question to Hugh Gilson to be a mere foolish "aberration of shyness," but at the time (if we accept a 1915 date for the encounter) it was no aberration: it was quite consistent with what he was writing privately. In the next few years his creations did steadily shed the Draytonian baggage of flowery diminutiveness, but even in *The Hobbit* the Elves of Rivendell fail to rise above mere decorative silliness, and in these early chapters Tolkien continued "talking down" to children. It is only in "On Fairy-stories" that he explicitly rejected such things as faults, and only in *The Lord of the Rings* (for which the essay may be seen as a manifesto) that he put his views consistently into practice. Judging from the manuscripts now published in *Tolkien On Fairy-stories*, the memory of a precocious, outspoken boy played its part in the process.

Hugh Gilson, as his obituary in *The Independent* newspaper noted, was "brought up in a disciplined intellectual environment" at home. He had an extremely organised and practical mind, like his father, who instilled in him an intense interest in how things worked. He later attended Winchester School and then (following in the footsteps of his half-brother Rob) Trinity College, Cambridge, to study Classics. There he switched to Natural Sciences, specialising in Zoology and Comparative Anatomy, and achieved a double first from what seemed to be a standing start. In 1937 he led an expedition to Lake Titicaca, high in the Andes, where he collected valuable biological samples and data and formed an enduring interest in freshwater lakes. Returning to Cambridge he taught Zoology, where the clarity of his lectures was remarkable ("he made even the torsion of gastropods seem simple," one student recalled) and during the Second World War he ran a unit producing freeze-dried plasma for the Royal Navy. From 1946 to 1973 he was the director of the Freshwater Biological Association near Bowness on Lake Windermere, greatly expanding its reach and effectiveness. But he was no desk-bound manager: he spent much of his time in the FBA workshops helping to design many of the instruments and other items of equipment used for collecting specimens and conducting experiments. At home, too, he had a large workshop with a lathe and a veritable treasure trove of other tools and equipment. He loved a challenge and would make or mend things for friends and family—particularly clocks. In 1970 he was awarded the CBE, as Tolkien was in 1972. He gives his name to the Hugh Cary Gilson Award, an annual prize of £4,000 given to a member of the FBA to assist with original freshwater research.[9]

Colleagues and students admired him but knew that he did not suffer fools gladly. In his "On Fairy-stories" draft, Tolkien writes as if the boy in the garden typified a child's attitude to being spoken "down to" about fairies. But in his scientific precocity, and the shyness and impatience that went with it, the young Hugh Gilson was far from typical. In the words of his obituarist, "He was often forthright, and at times tactless. . ." His daughter Julia Margretts says that, although he mellowed with age, he hated being wrong (and rarely was). She recalls of her own childhood: "Sometimes we wanted the ground to swallow us up when he was making a point—he could in fact be more than tactless and was, on the odd occasion, even rude." When Hugh stumped off through the garden in Marston Green, it seems that Tolkien may have escaped lightly.

NOTES

I would like to thank Hugh Cary Gilson's daughter Julia Margretts for allowing me to examine her grandmother's memoir, for scanning family photographs for publication here, and for providing a fascinating portrait of her father, from which I have quoted freely. I am grateful to her extended family for once again allowing me to publish details from their family history. I am also grateful to Christopher Tolkien for kindly volunteering his own recollection of his father's anecdote and allowing me to include it here. R.Q. Gilson's letter to J.R.R. Tolkien on June 13, 1913, is cited with the permission of the Tolkien Estate. And I thank David Doughan for drawing my attention to Tolkien's version of the flower-garden incident.

This small glimpse into Tolkien's life is particularly satisfying for me, because it was Hugh Cary Gilson who led me to the Gilson family, albeit posthumously. In May 2000, I had for months been trying to make headway with biographical research for my book, *Tolkien and the Great War*, and felt I was banging my head against a brick wall—especially in regard to tracing living relatives of members of the T.C.B.S. But then I chanced to look up "Cary Gilson" in a digital newspaper archive, hoping for some reference to the headmaster of King Edward's School, and discovered instead his botanist son—and the Freshwater Biological Association. Sadly he had died just a few months earlier. The FBA put me in touch with Hugh Gilson's family, who had not only preserved Rob's letters but were willing to let me examine them thoroughly, greatly enhancing my account of the T.C.B.S.

1 Now, in a sign of progress that would doubtless have greatly saddened Tolkien, Marston Green is the site of Birmingham Interna-

tional Airport and the surrounding countryside has given way to business parks, housing estates and shopping centres.

2 "Reminiscences of Marianne Caroline Cary Gilson (née Dunstall)," begun February 1969 (Gilson family papers, private collection; some punctuation added for clarity). Mrs Gilson died in 1977 aged 98.

3 Christopher Tolkien to the author.

4 Letter from R.Q. Gilson to Marianne Gilson, July 19, 1915; no reference is made to Tolkien (Gilson family papers).

5 For the Council of Lichfield, see John Garth, Tolkien and the Great War: The Threshold of Middle-earth (London: Harper-Collins, 2003), 101-2.

6 Letter from R.Q. Gilson to J.R.R. Tolkien, June 13, 1913 (Tolkien family papers, Bodleian Library). The Canterbury House visitors book shows Tolkien also stayed on December 16-19, 1911, and June 28 to July 1, 1912 (Gilson family papers).

7 Letter from R.C. Gilson to Marianne Gilson, March 21, 1913 (Gilson family papers)

8 "Qenyaqetsa: The Qenya Phonology and Lexicon," edited by Christopher Gilson, Carl F. Hostetter, Patrick Wynne, and Arden R. Smith, *Parma Eldalamberon* 12 (1998), 29, 68, 92. In *The Book of Lost Tales* the word "fairy" is used interchangeably of Elves and of nature spirits akin to the Valar. It is impossible to judge whether such a distinction existed when Tolkien made these earlier lexicon entries.

9 Julia Margretts to the author; David Le Cren, Obituary: Hugh Gilson, *The Independent*, February 10, 2000; *The Times*, October 8, 1935, 16.

Book Reviews

The Legend of Sigurd and Gudrún, by J.R.R. Tolkien, ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: HarperCollins, 2009. [color frontispiece], [vi], 377 pp. £18.99 (trade hardcover) ISBN 9780007317233; £60.00 (deluxe slip-cased hardcover) ISBN 9780007317257. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009. [color frontispiece], [vi], 377 pp. $26.00 ISBN 9780547273426; $75.00 (deluxe, slip-cased hardcover) ISBN 9780547296289.

Before beginning this discussion (which considerably exceeds the boundaries of a review), I should report that J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Legend of Sigurd and Gudrún*, edited by Christopher Tolkien, contains ten elements, five (mostly or entirely) by Tolkien senior, and five (mostly or entirely) by his son. They are as follows:

1: a short "Foreword" by Christopher (1-10);
2: a longer "Introduction" by Christopher (13-55), which however contains:
3: the text of a lecture by his father on the "Elder Edda" (16-32), and some brief notes also by his father (51-4);
4: an original poem by J.R.R. Tolkien of 339 mostly eight-line stanzas, in English but following the rules of Old Norse alliterative meter, and called "The Lay of the Völsungs" on the page-headers, but see further below (57–180);
5: an extensive "Commentary" on the poem by Christopher (181-249);
6: a second poem by J.R.R.T. in the same meter called "The Lay of Gudrún," this one 166 stanzas (251–308);
7: a further "Commentary" by Christopher (309–334);
8: "Appendix A," a short essay by Christopher on "Origins of the Legend," which incorporates comments and lecture notes made by his father (337–363);
9: a poem by J.R.R.T. in six-line rhymed stanzas based on the Eddic poem *Völuspá*, or "The Prophecy of the Sibyl" (364–367);
10: a translation by J.R.R.T. of two sections of the Old Norse poem *Atlakviða* into Old English alliterative meter, with further translation into modern English by Christopher (368–377).

The two long poems, items 4 and 6 above, form the core of the volume, the rest functioning, very valuably, as explanation, background or comparison. The whole demonstrates one of Tolkien's most enduring interests, of which till now we have had only hints: the great epic of the

North, that is to say, the legend of the Völsungs and the Nibelungs.[1]

The Saga of the Völsungs and the Codex Regius

Tolkien's interest in the Völsungs, like most of his interests, began early. On February 17th 1911 he read a paper to his school Literary Society on the Norse sagas. The three-paragraph summary of it printed in the *King Edward's School Chronicle* for March 1911, 20-21,[2] reports him as having said that:

> One of the best [of the sagas] (and it is distinct from all the rest) is the Völsunga Saga, a strange and glorious tale. It tells of the oldest of treasure hunts: the quest of the red gold of Andvari, the dwarf. It tells of the brave Sigurd Fafnirsbane, who was cursed by the possession of this gold, who, in spite of his greatness, had no happiness from his love for Brynhild. The Saga tells of this and many another strange and thrilling thing. It shows us the highest epic genius struggling out of savagery into complete and conscious humanity. Though inferior to Homer in most respects, though as a whole the Northern epic has not the charm and delight of the Southern, yet in a certain bare veracity it excels it, and also in the story of the Volsungs in the handling of the love interest. There is no scene in Homer like the final tragedy of Sigurd and Brynhild.

Tolkien had in fact known a version of the saga even earlier, in childhood, in the form of "The Story of Sigurd," the condensed and censored version created by Andrew Lang from William Morris's 1870 translation, and printed by him in his collection *The Red Fairy Book* (1890). Tolkien comments in one version of his essay "On Fairy Stories" that this was "my favourite without rival" (*OFS* 188), though in the later published text his reference to Lang's abridgement, quoted at the very beginning of Christopher Tolkien's "Foreword" to *Sigurd and Gudrún*, is no longer explicit (3, from *TL*, 39). It may well be that his 1911 enthusiasm was caused by having only recently read Morris's full 1870 version.

Nevertheless, when (in Christopher's judgment some time in the early 1930s) Tolkien senior came to write *The Legend of Sigurd and Gudrún*, largely based on the saga but now in what may have been the legend's original poetic meter, he seems to have changed his mind. Christopher notes that his father "did not hold the [*Völsunga saga*] author's artistic capacity in high regard" (39), adding his own comment immediately afterwards that the saga narrative "is certainly mysterious but (in its central point) unsatisfying: as it were a puzzle that is presented as completed but in which the looked for design is incomprehensible and at odds with itself." (See below for what this unstated "central point" may have been.)

The early enthusiastic response and the later critical one are, however, not incompatible. *Völsunga saga* is unquestionably full of interest, as a story, and in a way—a very Tolkienian way—it is the more interesting because of its evident faults, for what these do is prove that the saga as we have it is at the end of a chain of transmission, in which different authors have grafted in originally separate stories, put forward their own explanations, and created inconsistencies while trying to eliminate yet others. The saga is therefore at the same time the work of a single author, and the product of an unknown succession of them: just the situation which Tolkien himself tried to imitate when creating *The Silmarillion*, with behind it (though in this case all the variant versions were written by himself) the many poetic or annalistic texts on which *The Silmarillion* as printed is feigned to be based. Tolkien commented twice on what kind of effect such long-chain productions have on an eventual reader only dimly aware of how they have been produced, and it is clear that he valued the mysterious and barely-imitable effect highly. In *The Notion Club Papers* Ramer says —and here surely he is a mouthpiece for Tolkien:

> I don't think you realize, I don't think any of us realize, the force, the daimonic force that the great myths and legends have. From the profundity of the emotions and perceptions that begot them, and from the multiplication of them in many minds—and each mind, mark you, an engine of obscure but unmeasured energy. (*Sauron* 228)

In one of his academic essays Tolkien commented more directly:

> It is an interesting question: what is this flavour, this atmosphere, this virtue that such *rooted* works have, and which compensates for the inevitable flaws and imperfect adjustments that must appear, when plots, motives, symbols, are rehandled and pressed into the service of the changed minds of a later time, used for the expression of ideas quite different from those which produced them. (*MC* 72)

His subject was on this occasion the Middle English poem *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, but the remark about "inevitable flaws and imperfect adjustments" seems much more relevant to *Völsunga saga*. In any case there can be no doubt that Tolkien was extremely sensitive to what he called the "flavour" of a deep-rooted work, in which its very flaws may only be the sign of fascinating antiquity. And this flavour *Völsunga saga* certainly had, regardless of its author's limited "artistic capacity." Could the flavour be retained, the flaws once more adjusted, and the whole story be (once again) "pressed into the service of the changed minds of a later time," this time his own? That was the issue Tolkien set himself to test, as he wrote *The Legend of Sigurd and Gudrún* in the early 1930s.

By then, of course, he knew a great deal more than he had done in 1911, not only about the saga but about what underlay it, but his increased knowledge can only have reinforced (if it did not in fact create) the opinions expressed above. One of the most surprising things about "the legend of the Völsungs and the Nibelungs"—which one should distinguish from *Völsunga saga* in exactly the same way as one would distinguish "the Silmarillion legendarium" from *The Silmarillion* itself—is that we have five ancient versions of it, four of them in Old Norse, and one in Middle High German. It must have been a serious shock to scholarship when some unknown scholar—I have never been able to determine who was the first person to notice this—realised that *Völsunga saga* (for instance) and the MHG *Nibelungelied* were telling in essence the same story. The one was written in Iceland in the mid-thirteenth century, the other probably in Austria and probably a little earlier. There is little chance and no sign at all that either author could have been aware of the other's work, and if one accepts the reconstruction of A.T. Hatto (394), the two narrative traditions, Norse and German, could have separated as much as five hundred years before. However, a third of our five ancient versions, the extensive legendary compendium of *Þiðreks saga af Bern* ["The Saga of Theodoric of Verona"], while surviving in Old Norse and dated probably later than *Völsunga saga*, is now thought to have been a translation not from High German but from Low German, its original perhaps picked up from Hanseatic traders in Norway. This may then have been affected by both Norse and German traditions, though that is only a supposition. On the other hand, the Icelander Snorri Sturluson's brief epitome of the story in the *Skáldskaparmál* section of his *Prose Edda* tells much the same story as *Völsunga saga*, though with important differences. Both Snorri and the anonymous author of *Völsunga saga* were furthermore drawing on a body of legendary tales in Old Norse verse, which both authors sometimes quote: and this leads us to the main problem, and the main provocation, of the whole Völsung / Nibelung legend, otherwise known as "the Legend of Sigurd and Gudrún," or if one takes a different view, and see Tolkien's 1911 remarks above, "the Legend of (Sigurd and) Brynhild."[3]

The problem is that the oldest version of the legend, the body of heroic poems in Old Norse preserved in the single main manuscript of Eddic poetry surviving, is incomplete, indeed has a quite literal hole in the middle of it: the famous "gap in the Codex Regius." This manuscript, as it stands, contains twenty-nine poems, including almost all the best, most famous and probably oldest Old Norse poems surviving. About a third are mythological, such as the *Völuspá* or "Seeress's Prophecy," much of which Tolkien translated into the same meter as *Sigurd and Gudrún*, and the *Völundarkviða* or "Lay of Weland." The rest are heroic poems drawing on legends often demonstrably based on history, and fifteen of these remaining eighteen are connected with the Völsung / Nibelung story. This sequence starts with the appearance on the scene of Sigurd—the story of his father Sigmund and half-brother/cousin Sinfjötli, which takes up the first quarter of *Völsunga saga*, is represented in the Codex Regius only by a short prose narrative "On the Death of Sinfjötli"—gives a further short prose account of the seizure by the god Loki of the gold of Andvari the dwarf, and then in the poem *Reginsmál* tells of the curse put on the ring Andvaranaut, the payment of gold and ring by the gods to the giant Hreidmar, its further seizure from his father and his brother Regin by Fáfnir, who turns himself into a dragon. The poem which follows, *Fáfnismál*, starts with Sigurd, armed and egged on by Regin, killing Fáfnir, gives a short conversation between the dying dragon and the hero who killed him (which clearly gave some hints for the conversation between Bilbo ands Smaug), and goes on to tell of Sigurd roasting the dragon's heart, coming to understand the speech of birds (another prompting for *The Hobbit*), hearing their warning about Regin's intended treachery, and acting on it by killing Regin. Sigurd then rides off with the treasure (and presumably the ring Andvaranaut, though this is not mentioned in *Fáfnismál*), and in the following poem *Sigrdrífomál* finds a valkyrie, asleep and dressed in mail, lying inside a shield-wall. He wakes her, she says that she has been punished by Ódin for giving victory to the wrong man, says that Ódin swore she would never fight again and would have to accept marriage (i.e. cease being a valkyrie), and that she had responded by vowing she would never marry any man except one who did not know fear. The poem then fizzles out rather disappointingly in a string of good advice given by Sigrdrífa to Sigurd, and the ending is missing—for this is the start of the great "gap" in the manuscript.

At some time in the past some medieval vandal—Tolkien preferred to think it was a medieval fan, see note on page 28—tore out a gathering, i.e., a sheet of vellum folded to make four leaves or eight pages, and containing some 200–300 stanzas of poetry; and when the poems in the manuscript resume, Sigrdrífa has mutated into Brynhild, while the main events of the Sigurd story have already taken place, including the appearance of the Nibelungs, Sigurd's marriage to the Nibelung princess Gudrún, and his breach of faith (whatever the details) with Brynhild the ex-valkyrie. The poem which immediately follows the "gap" has its start missing like *Sigrdrífomál*'s ending, and is accordingly called *Brot af Sigurðarkviðo* ("Fragment of a Sigurd Lay"). It opens with an argument about why Sigurd should be killed, followed immediately by the killing. The next poem but one in the manuscript, though rather a long one, is known as *Sigurðarkviða in Scamma* ("The Short Lay of Sigurd"), and deals almost entirely with events after the betrayal of Brynhild, including the murder of Sigurd and the suicide of Brynhild. All the remaining poems in the Codex Regius deal with events after the death of Sigurd, and especially with the later fate of Gudrún. The core of the story, then, is missing. Why did Sigurd marry the princess Gudrún rather than the valkyrie Sigrdrífa / Brynhild, for whom he was obviously destined as a man without fear? How did Brynhild come to marry Gudrún's brother Gunnar? And why did Gunnar feel obliged to murder, or to organize the murder of his brother-in-law and blood-brother Sigurd? All these questions must have been answered, scholars believe, in the great poem they think took up most of the space in the missing eight pages, a hypothetical and now non-existant poem they nevertheless call **Sigurðarkviða in Meiri* ("The Great Lay of Sigurd"). What a splendid poem it must have been! Only it isn't there.

That is the provocation Tolkien must have felt, and the gap he set himself to fill by writing, in the first place, the poem he called *Völsungakviða en Nýja eða Sigurðarkviða en Mesta* ("The New Lay of the Völsungs or The Greatest Lay of Sigurd"). Tolkien's full title tells us two things. First, he meant to include the story of Sigurd's father Sigmund the Völsung, only sketchily told in the Codex Regius, as well as the full story of the seizure of the dwarf Andvari's treasure. Second, he meant to outdo both "Short Lay" and "Great Lay," as well as "Lay Fragment," by composing "The Greatest Lay," though Christopher Tolkien offers the more modest translation "The Longest Lay" (234). The materials he had for this were primarily the *Völsunga saga*, with a cross-check given by Snorri Sturluson's *Skáldskaparmál* epitome. Both authors almost certainly knew the "Great Lay" now missing from the Codex Regius gap, and one might think their stories could then be relied on. However, they differ in detail, sometimes on important points, and it seems from elsewhere that both authors had difficulty in always understanding what was going on in the poetry they paraphrased, which was old and unfamiliar already by their time, and also habitually terse almost to (or beyond) the point of incomprehensibility.

It was a provoking situation, but also in a way a promising one. Other scholars had responded to similar gaps by writing their own poem. A classic case is Axel Olrik's rewriting of the Old Norse poem *Bjarkamál* ("The Lay of Bjarki") on the basis of a couple of stanzas quoted in a saga, plus a long Latin paraphrase by the Danish chronicler Saxo Grammaticus: written in Danish, it came out in 1903, some thirty years before Tolkien wrote *Sigurd and Gudrún* in English. Furthermore, the idea of "writing into a gap" in a well-known traditional account has on occasion been one of the most fruitful sources of inspiration for modern writers. A classic case of this procedure must be T. H. White's *The Sword in the Stone*, published in 1938, almost the same time as *The Hobbit* (1937), which led on to the continuation of *The Once and Future King* (1958), rather like the continuation of *The Hobbit* by *The Lord of the Rings* (1954-5). White seems to have noticed that in the traditional tale of Arthur, as told for instance by Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, Arthur is taken by Merlin and delivered to a foster-father, Sir Ector, who is also the father of Sir Kay —and the next thing we know Arthur, now squire to Sir Kay, is drawing the Sword from the Stone. What happened in between? From these medieval hints White generated his thoroughly modern story of the ecological education of King Arthur. So, provoking incompleteness could be very useful. It was part of the creation of "daimonic force."

"Daimonic" was furthermore an especially appropriate word for this particular exercise in re-creation. Tolkien's aim (Christopher reports in his opening "Foreword," here citing comments from his father's *Letters*) was certainly "to unify the lays about the Völsungs from the Elder Edda," or putting it another way, "to organise the Edda material dealing with Sigurd and Gunnar" (6). But this was not just a matter of getting the story straight. In a lecture given by Tolkien as part of an Oxford course on Eddic poetry, and printed here by Christopher as part of his introduction to the new poems, Tolkien spoke with passion about what reading the Eddic poems is like:

> Few who have been through this process [of reading an Eddic poem in the original language] can have missed the sudden recognition that they had unawares met something of tremendous force, something that in parts (for it has various parts) is still endowed with an almost demonic energy, in spite of the ruin of its form. (17)

Tolkien went on to say that, while he was a great admirer of Old English verse (none greater), it was different:

> Old English verse does not attempt to hit you in the eye. To hit you in the eye was the deliberate intention of the Norse poet.
>
> And so it is that the best (especially the most forcible of the *heroic* Eddaic poems) seem to leap across the barrier of the difficult language, and grip one in the very act of deciphering line by line. (17-18)

Tolkien, therefore, to do his subject justice, had not only to "organise" and "unify" his various materials. He had to do so in a way which would catch at least some of the "demonic energy" which he felt in the whole tradition of Eddic poetry.

Quite what generates that energy is a subject that would require a book of its own, but as a preliminary suggestion, with which I think Tolkien would at least partly agree, I would propose that a lot of it comes from the habit of compressing narrative to its absolute minimum, often expressed in speeches which are deliberately, even scornfully enigmatic. One might say that the poets took a paradoxical view of words. On the one hand they regarded them as immensely valuable, immensely dangerous—they should not be wasted, and never spoken lightly, for once said they could not be recalled, especially if they contained any element of threat or challenge, or even warning. On the other hand they were of no value at all if not backed up by deeds. There is accordingly a great weight of allusion, suggestion and destiny behind words that may affect to be uttered casually. Even more may lie behind words that have not been uttered at all, but where feelings have been betrayed (in spite of the Norse more-than-Stoic veneration for self-control) by some involuntary physical reaction—change of color, grinding teeth, lowering eyebrows, tightening fingers. In Snorri's *Prose Edda* the god Thór finds that one of his human companions has broken a leg-bone of his chariot-goat to get at the marrow, so that when it is magically brought back to life next day, it is lame. He says nothing, but his hands clench on the shaft of his hammer, *hvítnuðu knúarnir*, "knuckles whitened." Tolkien remembered the detail when, in his poem, Sigurd is insulted by Gotthorm:

> Sword touched Sigurd
> swart-red flushing;
> white blanched the knuckles
> on hilt clenching. (171)

God or hero, time to back off.

Just to give one example of genuine heroic poetry from Tolkien's models, in the *Atlakviða*, or "Lay of Atli," the king of the Huns (certainly based on the historical Attila), sends a messenger to invite the royal Nibelung brothers Gunnar and Högni to visit him. It is a trap, and he baits the trap with offers of land and treasures. Gunnar asks his brother what he thinks, and Högni replies that the Huns have nothing which the fabulously wealthy Nibelungs do not have already in abundance. But then one of the brothers—it is not clear which, but I would suggest it is Högni—says further and fatal words. I give them here in the original (cited here and later from Neckel and Kuhn's edition of 1962, here I, 241), with W.H. Auden's excellent and literal translation:

Hvat hyggr þú brúði bendo,	Why did our sister
þá er hon ocr baug sendi,	send us a ring
varinn váðom heiðingia?	woven with wolf's wool?
hygg ec, at hon varnuð byði;	A warning, I think.
hár fann ec heiðingia	A wolf's hair
riðit í hring rauðom:	was wound in the ring:
ylfscr er vegr occarr,	wolfish our road
at ríða ørindi.	if we ride this errand. (120)

Tolkien was struck by this passage, for although he made many changes to the story of Attila and the Nibelungs in his second long poem, which he called *Guðrúnarkviða en Nýja eða Dráp Niflunga*, "The New Lay of Gudrún or the Slaying of the Nibelungs," he nevertheless kept this stanza almost unaltered, while he also, and remarkably, translated the first eight stanzas of *Atlakviða*, right up to the end of the passage just quoted, not into English but into Old English verse, as if testing his own theory about the difference between the two poetic traditions. (The lines are included as Appendix C to *The Legend of Sigurd and Gudrún*, with a further line-by-line translation by Christopher.)

Returning to the issue of "demonic energy," however, the point about the stanza from *Atlakviða* is surely that the words need never have been said! Högni, if he was the speaker, had already given all the answer that was needed: Atli's offer is valueless, we need not go. Saying that their sister, Sigurd's widow, now married to Atli, has sent them a covert warning, changes the situation. And Gunnar, without calling for any further advice, spoke *sem konungr scyldi . . .af móði stórom*, "as a king should . . . from his great heart." He orders cups to be filled, and then says (and it is all he says, Neckel and Kuhn 1962: I, 242), this time with Ursula Dronke's translation:

Úlfr mun ráða	The wolf shall rule
arfi Niflunga,	the inheritance of the Niflungar,
gamlir granverðir,	the old packs of grey ones,
ef Gunnars missir,	if Gunnarr is lost.
birnir blacfiallir	The swart-skinned bears
bíta þreftönnom,	shall bite with wrangling teeth,
gamna greystóði,	bring sport to the stud of curs,
ef Gunnarr né kømrað.	If Gunnarr does not come back.(5)

One may well ask, what does all that mean? Gunnar has in effect said that they will go. He foresees disaster, the realm of the Nibelungs abandoned to the wolves. He sees himself and his brother as bears who will be baited by packs of dogs, i.e. the Huns, and seems to relish the idea. But what changed his mind? Old Norse heroic poets do not spell things out, but it must have been the well-intentioned warning. The trouble is, that if a hero accepts a warning and turns aside, the implication may be that he was afraid. Gunnar, of course, is not turning aside—if Högni had not brought up the warning, Atli's invitation would have been refused as of no interest. But now he must go out of his way to reject the warning, as the poet approvingly says, *sem konungr scyldi . . . af móði stórom*. It is not sensible, of course, but heroes are not supposed to be sensible. What they are supposed to be is close-mouthed. As another Eddic hero says to his brother, just after they have cut the arms and legs off the king of the Goths, but paused to taunt him, so failing to lop off his head and prevent him from telling the Goths how the magically-invulnerable brothers may be killed (Neckel and Kuhn this time with Carolyne Larrington's more recent translation):

Böl vanntu, bróðir,	Evil you brought about, brother,
er þú þann belg leystir,	when you opened up that bag—
opt ór þeim belg	for often from a bag
böll ráð koma. (I, 273)	bad advice comes. (241)

Such, then, were the intriguing tasks Tolkien set himself to tackle in the 1930s: to unify and organise the surviving materials, in such a way as to cover what had been lost in the Codex Regius gap (a narrative problem); to consider the whole question of chains of transmission (a scholarly problem); and to re-create the "almost demonic energy" he felt to be the distinguishing feature of Eddic poetry (a poetic and, for Tolkien, a metrical problem). In what follows I consider these in that order. The next section deals primarily with Tolkien's *Völsungakviða*, the one following with his *Guðrúnarkviða*.

Organising the material

It should be recalled that, besides the five ancient testimonies to the Völsung / Nibelung legend, there had been two prominent attempts before Tolkien to retell the whole story, in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1870 William Morris—a learned man in his own right, and here with the invaluable assistance of Eiríkur Magnússon—had published his translation of *Völsunga saga*, as mentioned above. Six years later he followed this up with his long and in parts original retelling of the legend-sequence in verse, *The Story of Sigurd the Volsung*. Meanwhile, between 1848 and 1874 Richard Wagner had been working on his opera tetralogy, *Der Ring des Nïbelungen*, doing most of the work on the librettos in the earlier part of that period. Wagner too was a learned man, well acquainted with and passionately interested in *Völsunga saga* and the Eddic poems, though he read them in translation, and also more affected than is generally conceded by the *Nibelungenlied* (see Haymes). Tolkien certainly knew both works, though in view of the often-expressed and thoughtless view that "he got *The Lord of the Rings* out of Wagner," it is not surprising that he disclaimed any influence from that source. Christopher repeats his father's gruff dismissal ("Both Rings were round, and there the resemblance ceases"; *Letters* 306) in more measured form, saying perfectly correctly that:

> Wagner's treatment of the Old Norse forms of the legend was less an "interpretation" of the ancient literature than a new and transformative impulse. . . . Thus the libretti of *Der Ring des Nibelungen* . . . must be seen less as a continuation or development of the long-enduring heroic legend than as a new and independent work of art, to which in spirit and purpose *Völsungakviða en nýja* and *Guðrúnarkviða en nýja* bear little relation. (10)

More is said of the relationship between Wagner and Tolkien below, but it gives a better idea of the problems Tolkien faced, and the way he dealt with them, to begin with a glance at Morris (whose poem Tolkien probably read and some features of which he may have remembered, as Christopher Tokien notes on page 196).

Morris stuck fairly closely to the order of events in *Völsunga saga*. He divided his long poem into three sections, "Sigmund," "Regin" and "Brynhild," corresponding respectively to chapters 1–12, 13–22, and 23–33 of the saga, the events recounted in chapters 34–44 being omitted. However Morris was obliged, one imagines by the mores of his time, to make further major omissions. The story of Sigmund, Sigurd's father, is found in detail only in *Völsunga saga*. The Eddic poems of Codex Regius do not cover it, apart from the brief prose account of "The Death of Sinfjötli," nor do Snorri or the *Nibelungenlied*, and *Þiðreks saga* has little that is relevant. It is a cruel and disturbing story. In brief, Sigmund, son of Völsung, is the only man who can draw a sword from the tree-trunk into which it has been thrust by Ódin . His twin sister Signý's husband covets it, traps and kills Völsung, and captures Sigmund and his nine brothers. Signý asks her husband to kill her brothers slowly, which he does, chaining them in stocks and leaving them for a great wolf to eat. Nine are eaten in turn, but Signý has honey smeared on her twin's face. When the wolf comes to kill him, it starts to lick the honey, and Sigmund grips its tongue with his teeth so hard that the wolf's tongue is torn out and the stocks are broken by its struggle. He escapes to live in the woods. Signý, knowing Sigmund will need a helper if he is to gain revenge on Siggeir, sends her two sons by Siggeir to Sigmund in turn to be tested. He does this by setting them to make bread, having previously concealed a poisonous snake in the meal-bin. Neither boy dares touch the meal, and Signý tells Sigmund to kill them as useless, which he does. Resolving on desperate measures, Signý then changes shape with a sorceress and goes to sleep with her brother, conceiving an incestuous child, Sinfjötli. Sinfjötli, with the fierce blood of the Völsungs from both sides, passes the snake test easily, kneading up flour and snake together, and he and his father turn werewolf, in the end returning to confront Siggeir, kill two more of his children by Signý, and burn him in his hall. Having achieved her vengeance, Signý confesses her incest and walks back into the hall to burn with her husband. Sinfjötli then incurs the enmity of his stepmother, who gives him poison to drink. He refuses it twice, but the third time his father Sigmund, who is invulnerable to poison himself, gives him a classic piece of bad advice, *Lattu grön sía, sónr,* translated by Jesse Byock (51) as "Filter it through your moustache, son." Sinfjötli tries to do so, but dies, to be taken away by Ódin .

One can see why Morris—and to a lesser extent Tolkien—was not prepared to repeat all this. The honey-trick is faintly ludicrous, as is the snake-trick. Signý is ready to murder her children, and also commits incest knowingly. She further commits suicide, her motive obscure: guilt? honor? self-loathing? The moustache advice is rather more than faintly ludicrous. The Norse saga clearly puts forward an ethos of revenge at all costs, admiring above all inveterate hatred and iron determination, but in Christian England child-murder and incest could find no excuse, while in Victorian England the latter was not even mentionable. Morris accordingly omitted all the objectionable passages mentioned, except for Signý's suicide, at the expense of some awkward gaps—we have no explanation, for instance, of why Sinfjötli should be so much hardier than his (in Morris) single predecessor, who is rather bathetically sent home when he fails his test. Tolkien was bolder, but nevertheless had to confront the same issues of cruelty and sin.

Morris's central section, "Regin," told the story of Sigurd's fostering, the reforging of his father's broken sword by Regin, Sigurd's use of it to kill the dragon Fáfnir and his waking of the sleeping valkyrie Brynhild. There are no moral issues to confront, and the only narrative problem was how to fit in the "backstory" of where Fáfnir's hoard came from. *Völsunga saga* follows the lead of the Eddic poem *Reginsmál* and has Regin tell Sigurd about it when persuading him to go and kill the dragon. Snorri, more interested in the gold and the ring Andvaranaut, starts by explaining why gold, in poetry, may be called "otter-payment." It is because Loki, travelling with Ódin and Hœnir, killed an otter, only to find that it was the giant Hreidmar's shape-shifted son, for whom he would have to pay ransom by filling the flayed otter-skin with gold. He caught the dwarf Andvari and seized his treasure, ignoring Andvari's plea to keep one last little ring which would multiply his wealth for him again, and having a curse put on the ring as a result. Loki was then forced in his turn to hand over the ring to cover one otter-hair still showing, and the curse began to work when Fáfnir killed his father Hreidmar and seized all the gold for himself, refusing his brother Regin a share—at which point Snorri brings Sigurd into the story, with no more than a mention of his father. Morris decided to follow the saga's backtracking mode of narration, but Tolkien opted like Snorri to open with the account of Andvari's gold, though unlike Snorri he then fitted in sections on "Signý" and "The Death of Sinfjötli" before bringing in Regin as Sigurd's mentor.

The main confusions and embarrassments in the legend occur, however, after the killing of Fáfnir, and centre on Brynhild—where, as said above, we lose contact with the oldest known form of the legend in the missing "Great Lay of Sigurd." *Völsunga saga* is here at its worst. In the extensive "Commentary" which Christopher Tolkien adds to his father's *Völsungakviða*, Christopher repeatedly notes his father's deviations from the saga, condemning features of the latter as "incompatible," "extraordinary," "grotesque," "unquestionably an invention" (220, 223, 225, 232), and further quoting his father's opinion that this or that element in the saga was "a late piece of machinery," or a cause of "grievous damage" to the story (213, 232), all of which had to be taken out. What happens in the saga is that Sigurd finds and wakens a valkyrie, as in *Sigrdrífomál* above, except that the valkyrie is now called Brynhild. They exchange vows of betrothal, and Sigurd rides away. He comes to a place ruled by one Heimir, who is married to Brynhild's sister Bekkhild, so-called "because she had stayed at home and learned needlework and other feminine skills" (Byock 73). Brynhild then joins them there, Sigurd falls in love with her again, and again they exchange oaths and Sigurd rides away. He then goes to join the Nibelungs, in particular Gunnar, his brother Högni, and his sister Gudrún (and it is at this point that the *Nibelungenlied* becomes a comparable witness). Still following the saga, the Nibelungs' mother Grímhild decides it would be a good idea for Sigurd to marry Gudrún, and gives him a potion of oblivion, so that he forgets Brynhild. She decides further that Gunnar should woo and win Brynhild, and the Nibelungs set off with Sigurd to do so. Brynhild by this time, however, is surrounded by a ring of fire—in the earlier awakening scene it was a less impressive *skjaldborg* or "shield-wall"—only Sigurd's horse Grani can cross it, and Grani will only do so with Sigurd on his back. Sigurd and Gunnar accordingly change shapes, and Brynhild is compelled by her own oath to marry the man she thinks is Gunnar. Sigurd and she go through a form of marriage, but on the wedding night and subsequently he puts his sword Gram between them. He leaves her and changes shapes again with Gunnar. Brynhild leaves her daughter by Sigurd, Aslaug, with her father, and becomes the wife of Gunnar, at which point Sigurd remembers his former oaths to her.

The account as given is already sufficiently confused—why does Sigurd keep on riding away? What is the point of Bekkhild? When was Aslaug conceived? Where did the *vafrlogi* (ring of fire) come from? What is the exact nature of Brynhild's oath or oaths as to whom she will marry?—but the real crux comes when Brynhild is undeceived, in "the quarrel of the queens." This is a scene which we have in all four ancient accounts (*Völsunga saga*, *Þiðreks saga*, *Nibelungenlied* and Snorri's *Skáldskaparmál*), but all four disagree with each other, and none is entirely satisfactory as a narrative. Briefly, all agree that Gudrún, provoked by Brynhild's assertion of higher status, tells Brynhild that the man who won her was not Gunnar but Sigurd. All agree also that this is proved by display of a ring, but they cannot agree on which ring (*Völsunga saga* and Snorri say it was Andvaranaut), or who is wearing it (*Völsunga saga* says it was Gudrún, Snorri says it was Brynhild), both *Þiðreks saga* and Snorri say there were two rings, and the *Nibelungenlied* adds a girdle to the ring. Nor is it clear exactly what has been proved. Brynhild knows she has been deceived, which may be cause enough for her to demand Sigurd's death, but why should Gunnar grant her wish? The accusation eventually made by Brynhild in *Völsunga saga* is that Sigurd had intercourse with her while pretending to be Gunnar, so betraying Gunnar. But in the other three versions it is Gudrún who makes the accusation, taunting Brynhild with lying with, being the paramour of, or losing her virginity to a man who is not her husband, and it is this which poisons the situation beyond repair. *Völsunga saga*, of course, can do nothing with this motif, for it has already conceded that Brynhild bore Sigurd a child. Elsewhere, though, the accusation remains dangerously plausible. Snorri, for instance, says that when Sigurd left Brynhild after winning her in Gunnar's shape, he gave her Andvaranaut as *línfé*, "linen-fee" or "morning-gift," the gift traditionally given to a bride the morning after the wedding-night in exchange for her virginity, the latter proved by the bloodied linen sheet. The courtly author of the *Nibelungenlied* seems horribly embarrassed, but the telling detail here is that Brynhild loses her magical strength after Sifrit (i.e. Siegfried / Sigurd) has overpowered her for Gunther (Gunnar). In folktale this motif often accompanies loss of virginity, and this is exactly what the notably uncourtly author of *Þiðreks saga* reports: it was arranged between Sifrit and Gunther that Sifrit should take Brynhild's virginity, which he did, exchanging rings afterwards exactly as in Tolkien's account, though there is no mention of Andvaranaut. But if this *is* what has happened, then one has to concede that Sigurd (however his name is rendered) has behaved very badly, certainly to Brynhild and possibly to Gunnar.

It need hardly be said that William Morris would have nothing to do with anything so indecorous. In his version Brynhild gives Andvaranaut to Sigurd as "gift of the morning" (145), but Morris does not say what such a thing should be, and such gifts are supposed to be from man to woman, not the other way round. Nor is there any lying together in Morris, Gram or no Gram. Wagner, too, seems uncertain how to deal with the problem. In Act 2 Scene 2 of *Götterdämmerung* Siegfried assures Gutrune that he was faithful to her, but in Act 2 Scene 4 he seems quite unable to explain how he came by the ring—which this time is definitely The Ring, Andvaranaut—which we saw him take by force at the end of Act 1. Perhaps if we had the lost Eddic "Great Lay" or **Sigurðarkviða in Meiri*, all this confusion would be cleared up. But as it stands one has to say that there are serious questions about what Sigurd did in Gunnar's shape, and even if one accepts the general authorial assurance that he behaved honorably, it only raises further questions about the motivation of Brynhild—is she jealous, or angry, or honor-bound to seek revenge?—and about Gunnar: does he really suspect Sigurd of enjoying his bride, or is he just henpecked? (This, perhaps, is the "central point" in the narrative which Christopher Tolkien found so "unsatisfying," see above, though it is only the center of a larger confusion). For Tolkien, finding a clear and satisfying line through all these contradictions and narrative inadequacies cannot have been easy. Yet his training as a comparative philologist assured him that, in narrative as in linguistics or mythology, there must have been a sensible explanation in the beginning, and this must furthermore be recoverable.

There is one further issue to note before recording Tolkien's solutions to the whole maze, and that is the large issue of what holds the entire sequence of events together. As matters stand, the short answer is, Sigurd. He is the hinge between the history of the Völsungs and the history of the Nibelungs. But there is no reason why these should have been connected in the first place, and something Tolkien knew very well was that while Old English legend mentioned Sigemund and his "nephew" Fitela in *Beowulf*, and Gunnar (in Old English Guthere) in both *Widsith* and *Waldere*, it knew nothing of Sigurd, however spelled, and ascribed dragon-killing to his father Sigemund. Was Sigurd invented just to link the stories together? With a further connection made by linking the dragon-hoard to the (originally separate) treasure of the Nibelungs?[4] Sigurd needs more explanation if the legend is not just to turn into a biography, and here there is a similarity between Wagner and Tolkien, though that does not prove a debt. Wagner decided that the motivator of his whole story was the god Ódin . He needed Siegfried to regain the Ring, lost to the giants, and meant to mate him with his daughter Brynhild, so they would (together?) achieve the *erlösende Weltentat*, "the deed that will free the world" (*Siegfried* III, i, Porter 225), In Wagner's version the entire story had a shape, was not just a series of episodes and adventures, and that was certainly something to be desired in any attempt to create a "Longest Lay."

After this long preamble, Tolkien's solutions can be stated relatively easily. He dropped much of the pointless toing-and-froing of *Völsunga saga*: there is no sister Bekkhild, no daughter Aslaug. While there is a certain amount of censorship—the honey-trick has been dropped, as has the murder of Siggeir's sons—Signý 's incest remains, though told laconically in three stanzas (82-83). Signý's suicide is also retained, as is Brynhild's, but though the latter demands hawk, hound and horse to burn with her, her request for human sacrifice found in *Sigurðarkviða in Scamma* (stanza 67) is deleted. Sinfjötli is poisoned as in the saga, but the advice about filtering it through his moustache has gone. More significantly, the linked issues of Brynhild's oaths, Sigurd's departures, what happened between Brynhild and Sigurd in the disguised wooing, and who has the ring Andvaranaut, are solved straightforwardly. Putting it as briefly as possible, the *vafrlogi* or ring of fire was round Brynhild in the first place: Sigurd crossed it to waken her, and she remains inside it until Sigurd returns to win her for Gunnar. Her vow was to wed only the World's Chosen, the serpent-slayer (121). She sends Sigurd away to win fame and lordship, but when he comes back in Gunnar's shape she is bound to marry him for having succeeded in crossing the fire. Sigurd nevertheless lays his sword Gram between them and remains faithful to Gudrún and Gunnar. However, on leaving her in the morning, still asleep, he gives her Andvaranaut and takes another ring from her. Gudrún shows this ring, Brynhild's, to its former owner when the queens quarrel as proof that it was Sigurd who took it, and also tells her that she is wearing Andvaranaut, "did Gunnar get it / on Gnitaheiði?" (156).[5] Brynhild has mixed motives for revenge—anger at the deception, thwarted love for Sigurd, guilt at breaking her own oath to marry only the bravest (158-9). She creates the tragedy by telling Gunnar (truthfully but misleadingly) that Sigurd betrayed him, "My bed he entered, / by my body laid him" (167). After Sigurd has been murdered she admits, "A sword lay naked / set between us" (175).

More significantly still, the whole sequence of events has been master-minded by Ódin , for a particular purpose. One of the features which suggest that *Völsunga saga* combines two or more radically different legends is that while Ódin is prominent in the first section relating to the Völsungs, he plays no further part after chapter 21, apart from a brief appearance in the last chapter, 44, which is part of an originally different legendary cycle. Wagner, by contrast, has Ódin, or Wotan, present and active all the way through his tetralogy, and Tolkien made the same decision to present the whole story as part of a divine plan. According to Tolkien—though it is a very traditional feature, going back to genuinely recorded Old Norse belief—Ódin is always thinking ahead to Ragnarök, the day of the Last Battle between, on the one side, gods and men, on the other, giants and monsters. One antagonist on that day will be the Midgardsorm, the great serpent who lies coiled round the world, and Ódin needs a proven dragon-slayer to fight him. Tolkien's first section of *Völsungakviða en Nýja* is accordingly titled *Upphaf*, "Beginning," and is based on the first poem found in the Codex Regius, the *Völuspá* or "Seeress's Prophecy," which gives a comprehensive account of Norse mythology from Creation to Ragnarök and beyond. Tolkien made one significant change to this, however. In the Eddic poem Thór and the Midgardsorm will fight and kill each other. In Tolkien's "Upphaf," what the seeress says is that "the deep Dragon / shall be doom of Thór," and asks "shall all be ended, / shall Earth perish?" Her answer is:

> If in day of Doom
> one deathless stands,
> who death has tasted
> and dies no more,
> the serpent-slayer,
> seed of Ódin,
> then all shall not end,
> nor Earth perish. (63)

The qualifications for this hero, then, are that he shall be (1) descended from Ódin (2) but mortal, and (3) a serpent-slayer. The start of Tolkien's section *Signý* makes it clear that Sigurd is Ódin's three-greats-grandson, fulfilling condition (1). His killing of Fáfnir, advised and supported by Ódin, fulfils condition (3). And the whole involvement with Brynhild leading up to his murder, ensures that he meets condition (2), tasting death. It could be argued that Sigurd, being mortal, would have died anyway, in the course of time, but a point strongly made by the Old Norse poem *Eiriksmál* is that Ódin *does not know when Ragnarök will come*, and therefore wants to have his picked heroes ready in Valhöll as soon as possible.[6] In Tolkien it is accordingly Ódin who prevents Sigurd from enjoying peace and happiness, once he has avenged his father, reconquered his inheritance, and fulfilled Brynhild's demand that he win lands and lordship. Just when his life seems set fair, a one-eyed man appears and sends him away from his fatherland with the words, "Now king thou art / of kings begotten, / a bride calls thee / over billowing seas" (136). Sigurd at this point might well assume that Ódin is sending him back to Brynhild. But Ódin is a notorious deceiver, and the bride Sigurd finds is Gudrún. Though Tolkien does not say so (following the Old Norse love of oblique statement and taciturnity), one may assume that Ódin predicts and has engineered the later course of events, setting up Sigurd's death as he set up his father Sigmund's.

Connections with Tolkien's own mythology are clear, though one has to say that there was probably a two-way interaction: Túrin's killing of the dragon Glaurung, of which we have an early version in *Lost Tales II*, was no doubt based on Sigurd's killing of Fáfnir in Old Norse, but the character of Túrin then seems to have added a feature to Tolkien's own re-creation of Sigurd. In particular, Tolkien decided that Túrin should gain revenge for all his woes by becoming the bane of Melko, or Morgoth, on his own mythology's Last Day, and this perhaps gave him the daring idea of promoting Sigurd to take Thór's traditional role at Ragnarök.[7] The uncertain roots of human motivation are also a feature of Tolkien rather than his Old Norse sources. What put it into Grímhild's mind to attach Sigurd to her sons through marriage to Gudrún, and which made her prepare the potion of oblivion to blot Brynhild from his mind? Tolkien does not say, but her first whisper follows directly on Ódin's command quoted above (138). The implication is that Ódin works on Grímhild in the same way that Morgoth, for instance, works on Saeros.[8] He sends the impulse, for the human to respond to. That is how the super-human powers work, though humans may perceive this as Fate, not removing but guiding mortals' free will. Christopher Tolkien remarks (186) that "[his father's] Ódin seems more like Manwë of his own mythology" than the enigmatic deity of Old Norse accounts, though Tolkien's conception is by no means without enigma.

One last point in this section is that Tolkien's Sigurd, divinely-descended but himself mortal, and required to endure death in order to save the world, does in those ways parallel the Christian Savior. Ronald Hutton has recently reminded us how strongly Tolkien tried, in his earlier years, to reconcile pagan and Christian mythology, attempts which he was later to moderate or even disavow. *Völsungakviða en Nýja* shows that in the early 1930s (if Christopher Tolkien's dating of the poem's composition is correct), a kind of reconciliation, or imitation, was still in Tolkien's thoughts.

Reconstructing the Chain

It was remarked above that the Codex Regius contains "almost all the best, most famous and probably oldest Old Norse poems surviving," but to this there is one exception, and one of great significance to the Tolkiens, both father and son: the poem known variously as *Hlöðskviða*, the *Hunnenschlachtlied*, or "The Battle of the Goths and Huns." Unlike the Codex Regius poems—which in other ways it strongly resembles—it is not preserved as a poem, but as inserts in a saga narrative, *Heiðreks saga ins vitra*, or "The Saga of Heidrek the Wise." This is a *fornaldarsaga*, or "saga of old times," just like *Völsunga saga*, but fortunately the author of *Heiðreks saga* chose to quote his source-poem in much greater detail, possibly virtually complete. Christopher Tolkien wrote an "Introduction" to an edition of the saga in 1956, followed it up with a long article on the poem (1953-7), and then published his own edition of the saga, with facing-page translation, in 1960. A point he makes each time is that the phrase used in the poem, that Heithrek was killed *undir Harvaða fjöllum*, "beneath the mountains of Harvathi," while probably meaningless to the saga-author, nevertheless preserves, by regular phonetic change—a vital point for philologists, now commonly ignored, see below—the old place-name **karpat*: so the reference must be to the Carpathian Mountains beyond the Black Sea. The name has then crossed thousands of miles to Iceland, and been preserved in fossilised form in heroic poetry for, again, close on a thousand years, going back furthermore to heroic poetry originally composed in Gothic. "The likeliest view," he comments, "is that the oldest 'layer' of the material of the poem goes back to ancient wars of the Gothic kingdoms on the northern shores of the Black Sea in the later fourth and early fifth centuries, soon after the first appearance of the Huns" (1956: xiii). Two important corollaries for Tolkien senior's *Guðrúnarkviða* are these. First, heroic poetry was quite capable of preserving genuine historical information for long periods. But second, it was likely not to be understood, though, "pressed into the service of the changed minds of a later time," it might well contribute to the "daimonic force" created by repeated re-handlings. These corollaries gave Tolkien senior both some hints, and some room for the exercise of imagination.

It was realised long ago that the story of the Nibelungs, at least, was based on historical events, and in *The Legend of Sigurd and Gudrún* Christopher gives a full account of the facts in his "Appendix A." In brief, the names of Gunnar and his father Gjúki are derived "by regular phonetic change" (340) from the names of Burgundian kings recorded in the early sixth century, Gundahari and Gibica. Gundahari appears in Roman sources as the king who, in 435, was defeated by the Roman general Aetius, and in 437 was crushingly defeated and killed by an onslaught of the Huns, who destroyed the kingdom which the Germanic Burgundians had established round Worms on the Rhine. As Christopher notes (228) these events are "very remarkably" remembered in heroic poetry by the phrases *vin Borgunda*, "lord of the Burgundians," applied to Gunnar in the Eddic poem *Atlakviða*, and *wine Burgenda*, applied to the same man in the Old English poem *Waldere*; while the belief that the dynasty was wiped out by Attila (expressed in *Atlakviða*, in the longer *Atlamál*, and also in *Völsunga saga*) is a natural if incorrect deduction from the fact that it really was wiped out by the Huns, though not by the most famous of them, who was however active at the time (Attila died in 453). These facts form the basis for the story which became Tolkien's second poem, *Guðrúnarkviða en*

Nýja eða Dráp Niflunga, "The New Lay of Gudrún or the Slaying of the Nibelungs."

His main materials here were the two Eddic poems just mentioned, *Atlakviða* and *Atlamál in grœnlenzco*, "The Greenlandic Poem of Atli,"[9] but the Codex Regius manuscript contains also four poems dealing with the woes of Gudrún, of which the first is sometimes called *Guðrúnarkviða in forna*, "The Old Lay of Gudrún," with in addition two poems carrying her story on to attach it to the death of the Gothic king Iormunrek, or Ermanaric. Tolkien rejected the last two, for reasons to be given, but paid attention to the others. Christopher notes that his father commented that contrary to popular scholarly opinion he was more interested in Gudrún, "who is usually slighted, and considered as of secondary interest," than he was in Brynhild (55). Yet her story also contains evident problems, of history and of psychology.

To take the latter first, by all accounts Gudrún has seen her brothers murder her husband Sigurd. They then marry her off to Attila the Hun, who nevertheless decides to trap and kill her brothers, whether in revenge for an uncle, as some say, or out of greed for the dragon-gold the brothers have stolen from Sigurd, as Tolkien preferred to tell the story. Whose side should she be on here? She has no reason at all to love her brothers. In the Old Norse poems, however, she tries to warn them, and after they have been killed takes a dreadful revenge on Atli (rather as Signý did on Siggeir) by killing her own children by him, serving their flesh up for him to eat, stabbing him, and burning his hall down. By contrast, in the German *Nibelungenlied*, it is she who is behind the whole plot to kill her brothers, and she has been transformed into a raging virago, who beheads her last surviving brother with her own hands, and *ze stücken was gehouwen*, "was hewed in pieces" by the hero Hildebrand, provoked into striking a woman by her behaviour (Bartsch and de Boor 1956: 571). Tolkien accepted the Norse version, but it does raise the questions of how she was persuaded to marry again—he rejected *Völsunga saga*'s use of the "potion of oblivion" trick with some scorn[10]—and how she got away with the murder of Atli, which seems once more to have some slight if mistaken historical basis.[11]

The historical elements of both the Codex Regius and the *Nibelungenlied* were in any case quite unacceptable to Tolkien, for both drew in the Goths, a people in whose history and language Tolkien always took a great interest, in ways he knew were impossible. The Codex Regius follows up its account of the Fall of the Nibelungs (which must be dated 437, see above), by having Gudrún survive, escape, marry again, and send her sons to avenge the death of her daughter by Sigurd at the hands of the Gothic king Ermanaric. But the latter is known, from accounts by Roman historians, to have died some sixty years earlier. By contrast, in the *Nibelungenlied* the desperate resistance of Gunther and Hagen (i.e. Gunnar and Högni) is broken not by the warriors of Etzel (Atli), but by the intervention of a hostage at Etzel's court, one Dietrich. But Dietrich is to be equated with another historical Gothic king, this time Theodoric the Great—who, however, was not born till after Attila's death, and died in 526. The one Gothic king drawn into the legend is two generations too early, and the other at least a generation too late. Tolkien could not tolerate discrepancies of that order. But he did not want to lose the Goths, especially in view of the remarkable poem mentioned above, "The Battle of the Goths and Huns."

Tolkien's solutions went like this. His poem begins with a short statement of the political situation after the death of Sigurd: Atli is known to be gathering his armies, Gunnar and Högni think they cannot defeat him without Sigurd, their mother proposes that they marry Gudrún to him, to make him an ally instead of an enemy. Gudrún, however, is working on a tapestry of the history of the Völsungs and the deeds of her dead husband, still burns with hatred of her brothers, and has no wish to be married off again. She is brought into line not by a potion, but by the threats of her witch-wife mother: "Dark hung her eyes / daunting Gudrún, / deep and dreadful, / dire with purpose" (262). The marriage does not work, for Atli remains obsessed by the Nibelungs' gold; he mutters of treachery in his sleep, and Gudrún hears him. When Atli sends his messenger (Knéfröthr in the *Atlakviða*, Vingi in the *Atlamál*) to invite the brothers to his hall, Gudrún sends them warning. The two Eddic poems differ in how this is communicated: a ring with a wolf-hair twisted round it in the former, in the latter a message in runic letters, which however is detected and altered by Vingi. The problem with the wolf-hair is that it leads to a strikingly enigmatic scene (discussed above), while the altered-message motif—a familiar one, found even in Homer's *Iliad*—seems to be the work of someone who has heard about writing messages, but is not quite sure how it is done. Tolkien used both. Högni's "reading" of the wolf-hair in stanza 44 is answered by Gunnar's reading of the runes in stanza 45. Grímhild says that the runes seem to have been altered in stanza 48, and Gunnar decides to reject the invitation. But he is then taunted by Vingi with being led by a woman, and after further exchanges Gunnar—"deep had he drunken"—changes his mind, with Tolkien keeping some of Gunnar's enigmatic cry from *Atlakviða*, quoted above; "Let wolves then wield / wealth of Niflungs! / Bears shall harbour / in barren courtyards" (stanza 55). Högni comments that they have taken Grímhild's advice before, and regretted it, now he fears they will regret not taking it. The Nibelungs then ride to Atli's court and are immediately attacked, though they manage to kill Vingi before the battle is joined.

Tolkien then introduces a completely original feature. In a letter written to Christopher on 21st February 1958 he had remarked, *á propos* of a paper Christopher had read on "the heroes of northern legend as seen in different fashion by Germanic poets and Roman writers," that what really thrilled him about this was a point Christopher had made casually, that the name "Attila" itself seems not to be Hunnish at all, but Gothic, "a dimunitive of *atta*, the Gothic for 'father'" (*Letters* 447). What this implies is that some Goths, at least, liked and respected Attila, calling him "little father" or even "daddy." While Goths and Huns had clashed violently in the fourth century, then—and see the comments on "The Battle of Goths and Huns" above—by the fifth century many Goths had joined the Hunnish armies: the Battle of the Catalaunian Plains, which may well be seen as the model for the Battle of the Pelennor Fields, was fought between Huns and Ostrogoths on the one side, and Romans and Visigoths on the other, the Visigothic king Theodoric being killed in victory like Théoden, overridden by his own cavalry-charge (as noted by Christopher, 344-5). But, Tolkien must have reflected, had the Gothic allies of the Huns quite forgotten their own traditions? There is a hint that they had not in Tolkien's "Lay of the Völsungs," when Gunnar entertains Sigurd with songs of the Gothic past, clearly similar to (or the same as) "The Battle of the Goths and Huns," which Tolkien assimilates to the Nibelung legend by bringing in the Burgundians, and making them responsible for the death of Atli's shadowy brother Budli (131-2).

In the "Lay of Gudrún," what happens is that Gudrún, torn between hatred of her brothers and hatred of Atli, calls on Atli's Gothic allies to remember old griefs, "wars in Mirkwood / and wars of old", and Gunnar, responding, begins again to sing "of Iormunrek / earth-shadowing king; / of Angantýr / and old battles, / of Dylgja, Dúnheið, / and Danpar's walls" (pp.280-81). The name "Iormunrek" places that king correctly in Attila's past, and the other four names are taken from "The Battle of the Goths and Huns," which also mentions "Mirkwood." The Goths in Atli's court change sides, and Tolkien turns what in both Eddic poems had been a brief clash into a full-scale battle, as in the *Nibelungenlied*. As the Nibelungs and their new allies gain control, Gunnar and Högni have Atli in their power, but again someone (seemingly both of the brothers together) says fatal words, reminding Gudrún, "Fell-shapen fates / will force us ever / as wife to give thee, / and a widow make thee!" (283). This reminder of their dealings with Sigurd impels Gudrún to tell them not to repeat their crime, and let Atli go, which they do. He goes off to find Hunnish reinforcements, and the scene is then set (again, as in the *Nibelungenlied*) for the traditional motif of a gallant hall-defence, terminated by the burning of the hall over the defenders.

In the stanzas that follow, Tolkien indeed seems to be working through a repertoire of traditional motifs taken from the few Old English and

Old Norse heroic poems that survive. The Old English *Finnsburg Fragment* opens apparently just after a watchman has seen something in the dark, and asked, is that dawn, or dragon-fire, or are the hall-gables burning? His leader Hnæf replies that it is none of those things, but instead "woeful deeds arise, which will bring about this people's destruction." He knows (but being a hero, does not explicitly say) that what the watchman has seen is moonlight glinting on weapons. Tolkien includes a similar exchange between Högni and Gunnar in stanzas 96-98, and Christopher reports (325) that his father was aware of a parallel scene in the *Nibelungenlied*. There is a further echo of the *Finnsburg Fragment* in stanza 102 (the hall-defenders fighting for five days), and echoes of *Beowulf* in stanzas 130 and 142 (respectively, the idea of gold lying "as useless to man / as of yore it proved," cp. *Beowulf* line 3168, and the rising smoke of the funeral pyre, cp. *Beowulf* line 3144). There is perhaps a memory of the few lines of the Old Norse *Bjarkamál* still surviving in the "Wake now!" call of stanza 99, though the *Finnsburg Fragment* also opens with an awakening scene.[12]

Once Gunnar and Högni have been taken alive by Atli, Tolkien was faced with the challenge of one of the major demonstrations of "daimonic force" in the legend, and of "almost demonic energy" in Old Norse poetry. It has to be said (though nowadays the thought is often shunned) that Old Norse literature has a very marked mean streak, with a wholly distinctive element of cruel humor based on "turning the tables" or "having the last laugh." In *Atlakviða*, Gunnar is fettered and helpless. He is asked if he wants to buy his life with his gold, and replies that he must have his brother's heart in his hand (sc., before he will speak). The Huns instead (presumably wondering why, though this is not stated) cut the heart from one Hialli instead, but Gunnar rejects it with contempt. He can see it is not Högni's heart, for it is still quaking on the plate, and it quivered *hálfo meirr, er í briósti lá*, "more by half when it lay in his breast" (Neckel and Kuhn 1962: I, 244, my translation). The Huns cut out Högni's heart instead, and this is accepted approvingly, quaking little on the plate, and even less, says Gunnar, when it lay in his breast. Will Gunnar now talk? No: "I always had a doubt, while we two lived, now I have none, when I alone am alive" (loc. cit., my translation again). The passage shows the complete self-confidence of the true hero: he knows they can do nothing to make him talk. It also shows the true hero's wary distrust of others: Gunnar admires his brother's courage, and recognises his literal and praiseworthy "hard-heartedness," but he sends him to death just the same, to make 100% sure of his own successful defiance of Atli. One may indeed say that the whole point of the story is to show that the true hero is not Högni , though he is the one who puts up a fierce fight before being taken. It is Gunnar: because he thinks ahead and outwits his enemy, denying his enemy victory even when completely helpless, and even more because his victory-in-death rests on exactly that "reliance upon self and indomitable will" which Tolkien thought to be at the heart of the Northern heroic ethos (24).

The whole thoroughly enigmatic scene is replayed at greater length in *Atlamál*, with further rough humor at the expense of Hialli, now demoted to scullion, while the two versions were "rather crudely combined" (327) in *Völsunga saga*. But Tolkien too felt a need to expand and explain. In his account, Gunnar says why he wants his brother's heart, in stanza 118: because half of the treasure belongs to Högni. The Huns seize Hialli instead because (st. 121) they fear Gudrún's anger if her brother is killed. Tolkien also introduced the wails of Hialli from *Atlamál* (sts. 122-3), and Högni's contemptuous offer to die instead to silence the shrieking (st. 124). Only then do we have the heart-trick scene, Gunnar's death in the snake-pit, Gudrún's awful cannibalistic revenge, and—for Tolkien rejected the two poems which carried her story on unhistorically to the death of Iormunrek—her final lament and death. The expansions perhaps diminish the "demonic energy" of *Atlakviða*, but one has to concede that even modern scholars well-versed in the language find this, and other Eddic poems, all but impossible to understand.

Reproducing Style and Meter

In a recent article on "Tolkien's development as a writer of alliterative poetry in modern English," written for *Lembas-extra 2009*, I quote approvingly Chris Jones's recent comment that:

> There is a good case to be made for suggesting that Tolkien is the most popular poet of the twentieth century, certainly the verse embedded throughout *The Lord of the Rings* and his other fictions of Middle Earth must count as the most widely read poetry of the century. (243)

Much of this verse is written in alliterative meter, and Tolkien's corpus of alliterative poetry, in Old English, and in modern English following the rules of Old English, Middle English and now Old Norse, is an extraordinarily extensive one. I commented in the article just mentioned, however, that while Tolkien "stuck determinedly to the project of writing modern English in an Old English way . . . my conclusion is that he got markedly better at it." I would add that while it is rather easy to write alliterative poetry in modern English, it is very hard to write it well, especially if one tries to follow the strict ancient rules of meter. It can be done: poems like the Lament for Théoden (*RK,* V, iii), Éomer's three-line epitaph for Théoden (*RK,* V, vi), the Song of the Mounds of Mundburg (*RK,* V, vi), and Gléowine's dirge (*RK,* VI, vi), catch brilliantly the unexpected subtleties and sub-surface variations of the old verse-form. But it took Tolkien a long time to learn how to do it. There is, I believe, constant development and improvement in Tolkien's handling of alliterative verse from "The Lay of the Children of Húrin" in *Lays* (early 1920s), through "King Sheave" in *Lost Road* (a decade later), and on to "The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth" and *Lord of the Rings* (both published in the early 1950s, but both after a long period of gestation). *The Legend of Sigurd and Gudrún* fits by date into the middle of this sequence, but is different in that the model is Old Norse rather than Old English, though the particular meter Tolkien chose, *fornyrðislag* or "old lore meter"—he preferred to call it *kviðuháttr*, the meter for poems like *Atlakviða*, *Hlöðskviða*, *Völundarkviða* etc., see page 45—is very close to that of Old English and no doubt shares a common origin.

The issue for Tolkien, however, was how to "hit you in the eye," in a markedly un-Old English way, and he went about it through (1) compression (2) parallelism (3) variation. All three sets of devices, it should be noted, demand an ability in the reader not well-developed in these days of legal "boilerplate" and PowerPoint presentations, which is, the ability *to listen very hard*. I would add that vital to the aesthetic of Old English and Old Norse poetry is the belief that the poet's art consists very largely in the skill of conveying ever-greater amounts of meaning through ever-smaller verbal or grammatical or phonetic changes. It is a skill which goes very well with the "dead-pan" ethos discussed above: but not with the gagging, the doubletakes, the antic gestures of modern TV.

Compression can be seen at all levels of Tolkien's poems, as in their Norse originals—Christopher comments, in his note on "The Verse-Form of the Poems" (45-50), on the "weighty packing of the language in sense and form" in the latter (48), which his father also clearly aimed at. One sees it in individual lines and half-lines. The latter fall into the familiar "Five Types" of stress-pattern seen in both Old English and Old Norse poetry, Tolkien's 1940 explanation of which (reprinted in *MC*) is repeated in Christopher's note, with further exemplification. Old Norse is more monosyllabic than Old English, however, and Tolkien's half-lines are notably curt, nearly always four or five syllables. The problem for him was the continuous grammatical need, in modern English, for little unstressed words, which are liable to come pattering in. The enemies of the gods, beaten back from Asgard, "ringed Earth around / with roaring sea / and mountains of ice / (on the) margin (of the) world" (62). Could the bracketed words have been eliminated? "On the world's margin" would be briefer. But that would contradict the most important rule of this verse-form, which is that the first stress of the second half-line is the "head-stave" and *must* carry alliteration. Again and again (if one tries to write alliterative verse) prepositions, definite and indefinite articles, auxiliary verbs, all keep trying to force their way in, destroying the stress-patterns, tending to create the x / x / x pattern so normal in modern English, but tolerated only in exceptional circumstances by the ancient poets. Tolkien exerted himself to keep these trivial insertions out, nearly all the time, such that one notices when he failed. But the resultant effect is clipped, sometimes arguably too much so. Fáfnir the dragon as he dies warns Sigurd that his gold "gleams with evil." Sigurd replies, in effect, that he accepts the warning but will take the gold anyway: "Life each must leave / on his latest day, / yet gold gladly / will grasp living" (110). In normal modern English this would be something like, "Everyone has to leave life / on his last day / but as long as he's alive / everyone will grasp gold gladly." One sees how the normal version runs on and loses force, but a modern reader is liable to hesitate before understanding that "living" is a noun, the grammatical subject, and means "each living person."

Compression is easier to follow at the level of line and stanza. At the line level, Tolkien frequently uses the device of "causal parataxis," short main clauses with connecting conjunctions left to be inferred. In the beginning, writes Tolkien, "To the world came war: / the walls of Gods / giants beleaguered; / joy was ended" (61). There is an unspoken "when" between lines 1 and 2, an unspoken "so" between 3 and 4. A similar device is "adversative asyndeton." Of Sigurd's mother Sigrlinn it is said, "Seven sons of kings / sued the maiden: / Sigmund took her; / sails were hoisted" (93). Again, there is an unspoken but powerful "But, just the same, for all that" between lines 2 and 3, and an unspoken "and" between 3 and 4. The reader / listener has to co-operate to perceive these effects, and the greatest effect is perhaps a sense of certainty, inescapability: there is no need to point out connections, that is the way things went, the way they go. I know no name for the next particular rhetorical device, but of the same type is the account of the death of Sinfjötli. Twice his stepmother offers him poison, twice he rejects it, twice his invulnerable father takes the horn instead. The third time his stepmother dares him: "heroes ask not / help in drinking – / if drink thou darest, drink Sinfjötli!" (90). The next lines are "Dead Sinfjötli / drinking stumbled." This time his father must not have intervened—as he does, disastrously, in *Völsunga saga*, see above—this time the son must have drunk the poison. But that has to be inferred. On occasion inference is not easy, for anyone who does not know the story already. How did Sigmund break his shackles and tear the tongue from the wolf who ate his brothers? On page 82, I think it is impossible to tell. Nor is it clear what is happening in the next three critical stanzas, of Signý's incest, still less why she takes this ultimate measure. Abrupt shifts are vital to the whole poetic technique. It is part of what Tolkien meant by "hitting you in the eye."

Devices of parallelism and variation meanwhile work in the opposite way, to guide the (alert) reader, and these—again a vital part of Old-Northern poetic technique—work like the silent clues to emotion beneath the heroes' dead-pan responses. At the simplest level there is direct repetition. Christopher notes that his father praised "the supreme vigour and economical force" of four lines from the *Brot af Sigurðarkviðu* (233), and they are echoed in Tolkien's re-creation when Gunnar complains: "Evil wrought Sigurd: / oaths he swore me, / oaths he swore me, / all belied them" (168). The original is however slightly different, repetition varied by chiasmus (Neckel and Kuhn 1962: I, 198, given here with my very literal translation):

Mér hefir Sigurðr	To me has Sigurd
selda eiða,	given oaths,
eiða selda,	oaths given,
alla logna	all belied.

But the repetition here is not quite the same, for main stress in line 2 falls on *selda*, in line 3 on *eiða*—they are the words that carry alliteration. The same device is extended by Tolkien to convey the betrayed Brynhild's confusion, as she says to herself, "Mine own must I have / or anguish suffer, / or suffer anguish / Sigurd losing" (157). Are lines 3-4 here saying the same thing as lines 1-2 ("I must have Sigurd"), or opposite things ("I will suffer [a] if I abandon my own husband and pursue Sigurd, but also [b] if I stay with him and lose Sigurd")? The reader has to decide what is probable. Still more complex patterns are possible. When Sigurd is murdered in his bed, the attention switches abruptly to Gudrún's situation: "In sweet embrace / to sleep she went, / to grief unending / Gudrún wakened" (173). Clearly sleep and wake are violently opposed, as are sweetness and grief; but "to sleep" and "to grief" are also paralleled by the shared preposition and their position at the start of successive lines. On the surface lines 2 and 3 are parallel, but the real parallels are in 1 / 3 and 2 / 4. Yet again, the reader has to be alert to catch the sense, and the force of the violent oppositions presented.

More could be said about the way that the alliterative verse-form favors both violent opposition and violent reinforcement by its concentration on the four stressed words in each full line. Tolkien liked very much the device—and see the remark above about what is "vital to the aesthetic" of Old English and Old Norse poetry—which some call "pararhyme," opposing two syllables which begin and end the same way but have different vowels, and often, opposite senses. Bryhild exploits it in her false accusation to Gunnar against Sigurd: "My *bed* he entered, / by my *bod*y laid him" (167). The two very similar syllables sound as if they are backing each other up, but they do not: later she confesses that he entered her bed but *not* her body, for all night between them, "*Gram* lay *grim*ly / *gleam*ing sheathless." Again and again stanzas present ever-changing patterns of connection / opposition. The largely monosyllabic vocabulary and the relatively simple grammatical structures appear straightforward, but as with the heroes' unmoving faces and laconic speeches, turmoil can be glimpsed beneath.

One example, out of many, can be used to show how repetition-with-variation works over longer stretches, even as a device to hold the whole plot together. On page 148 Sigurd takes Gunnar's place to ride over the *vafrlogi*: "Oaths swore Sigurd, / all fulfilled them." Twenty pages later (as quoted above) Gunnar says in contradiction, "oaths he swore me, / all belied them." Struck his death-blow, Sigurd's last words are, "oaths I swore him, / all fulfilled them"—while just before he had said, switching the accusation to Brynhild, "worst she dealt me, / worst belied me" (174). Note that in the first three cases the alliteration falls on "oaths" and "all," both half-lines in each case being a very straightforward A-type, / x / x. But the pivotal moment of the whole of Tolkien's *Völsungakviða* could be said to be the moment when Brynhild enters Gunnar's hall as Gunnar's wife—and the potion of oblivion ceases to work on Sigurd, so that he remembers his former betrothal to Brynhild and realises what he has so disastrously done. It need hardly be said that he remains outwardly impassive: "As stone carven, / stern, unbending, / he sat unsmiling, / no sign making" (154). The sign of inner turmoil here is no more than a slight variation of words, "oaths were remembered, / all unfulfilled". Acute listeners, however, should realise that the second half-line, similar though it is to two of those just cited, is different from all of them in being *impossible to scan correctly*. As said above, the first rule of *fornyrðislag* is that the first stress of the second half-line is the "head-stave" and *must* carry alliteration, while the second rule is that the second stress of the second half-line must *never* carry alliteration. With "all unfulfilled," an aware reader (even more, a reader-out-loud) will certainly put the first stress on "all," to alliterate as usual with "oaths," and then try to put the second one on "ful-" or "-filled." Neither can possibly work. "ALL unfulFILLED" is almost possible, as a dubious E-type half-line, but very obviously the main stress has to go on "un"—that is the most important fact being stated! So one has "ALL UNfulfilled," and the result breaks at least three metrical rules at once: two alliterating stresses in the second half-line where there must only be one, stress and alliteration falling the second time on the one place where it must not go, stress and alliteration falling on a mere negative prefix. Sigurd's terrible moment of recognition is thus signalled by a dreadful discord, a metrical jangle the worse for being so close to an expected and predictable metrical harmony. Small change, big effect: that is what skilful poets aim at within this subtle and allusive tradition, committed above all to understatement. The device of near-repetition is, as Christopher notes on page 205, "characteristic," often used, never in quite the same way.

Those familiar with *The Lord of the Rings* will note also that in this much earlier work Tolkien was trying a few things out which he then did not forget. As Sigurd rides back to his ancestral home, "Steeds went striding, / stonefire glinted" (137, and again 273), and with slight variation "Steeds were striding, / stonefire glinting" (147): compare the third line of the Song of the Mounds of Mundburg, "Steeds went striding to the Stoningland" (i.e. Gondor; *RK,* V, vi). The line repeated twice in the paragraph above reappears again, with further slight variation, applied to Théoden in the Lament for Théoden, "oaths he had taken, all fulfilled them" (*RK,* V, iii). The device of exchanging proverbs in a confrontation—a device with clear Old English and Old Norse models—is used between Elrond and Gimli as the Fellowship leaves Rivendell, and between King Dáin and Sauron's messenger, related by Glóin, at the Council of Elrond, but it is there also in the scene between Sigurd and Regin, as they argue whether it is the sword Gram or Sigurd's own stout heart which deserves the reward for killing Fáfnir (112). Tolkien, as we now know, was thrifty and threw little away, but he was prodigal with his time, always ready to experiment and to learn from the results.[13]

Some Conclusions

Christopher Tolkien writes that he did not want his father's poems to appear after eighty years "with a great weight of scholarly discussion hung about their necks," especially with regard to "the doubts and debates of 'Eddaic' and 'Nibelung' scholarship" (6). The decision is thoroughly justified, for one thing because the poems will certainly bring the legends of the Völsungs and the Nibelungs to general attention in a way which has never happened before, not even from the works of Morris and Wagner. Nevertheless it should be recorded that the whole question of the relationship between the different forms of the legend, and the mystery of what went missing in the great gap of the Codex Regius, was long recognised as the *Königsproblem* or "master-problem" of Germanic philology, as a guide to which I can best recommend Theodore Andersson's *The Legend of Brynhild*, mentioned in note 3 below, and A.T. Hatto's "Introduction to a Second Reading" of the poem, suffixed to his 1969 translation of *The Nibelungenlied*. Hatto's piece also makes it clear what a good idea it is to read the story first, before engaging with the debates it has provoked, and fortunately this will be the case with the majority of Tolkien's readers.[14] If nothing else, it cannot but be of great interest to have the opinion of one of the great philologists on a *Königsproblem*: about this much more could certainly be said.

A further and very welcome aspect of the publication of these poems is that they expose at length and in detail the possibilities of writing in alliterative verse. There is an argument to say that alliterative verse, with its strong stresses, suits the genius even of the modern English language better than the rhymed tradition which has been imposed on it from languages much richer in rhymes (French and Italian), and not marked by the strong front-stressing of English; and the feeling has led to a surprising number of experiments by modern English poets, as studied by Chris Jones in his book mentioned above: Jones studies Pound, Auden, Edwin Morgan and Heaney, but not Tolkien, and notes that his list could be extended. Nevertheless, poets in this area have had precious little guidance from scholars. Tolkien observed many years ago, in his 1936 lecture on *Beowulf*, that study of that poem, while "rich in many departments," was poor in criticism of it as poetry (*MC* 5). His lecture certainly directed critics to considering *Beowulf* as a work of art rather than a historical document, but when it comes to the *mechanics* of alliterative poetry, its distinctive devices and underlying aesthetic, the situation has hardly changed at all over a long lifetime. One result, I suspect, is that people still have to be taught how to listen to alliterative poetry, as Tolkien taught himself, over many years and with a marked learning-curve, to write it.

Finally, Tolkien certainly succeeded in his stated goal of "organising" and "unifying" the Eddic material about the Völsungs, and making a coherent story out of it. Did he succeed in solving what Christopher calls "the most intractable problem of the Norse Völsung legend, the treatment in the sources of Brynhild in two altogether distinct and incompatible ways" (220)? His father wrote, commenting once more on the failings of the author of *Völsungs saga*, that "a better artist could have retained all that was necessary of the two divergent Brynhild-heroines and not made them so obscure and indeed contradictory and unintelligible" (245). Was he, then, that "better artist"? And did he succeed in unifying the even more contradictory images of the widowed Gudrún found in the ancient sources, fratricidal virago or woman supremely wounded? Here each reader must be his or her own judge.

One thing however surely remains as obscure in Tolkien as in any of the ancient sources. Why in the world did Sigurd, leaving Brynhild asleep after lying with her in Gunnar's shape—never having touched her, razor-edged Gram drawn between them—why did he take her ring and slip the dwarf-cursed ring Andvaranaut on to her finger, for all the world as if it was the traditional "morning-gift"? It was a disastrous error. Was it a gesture of love, as if some unconscious memory of his former pledge was stirring beneath the potion of oblivion? Was taking her ring a gesture of triumph, springing from desire to have a memento, even a trophy?

The author of the *Nibelungenlied*, writing the same scene, confesses that he does not know why he did it, "I do not know whether he did that through his high spirit [*hohen muot*]" (Bartsch and de Boor 116, my translation; and note Gunnar's equally disastrous, equally enigmatic decision *af móði stórom*, discussed above). But even if we were assured that the cause was the hero's "high spirit," which we are not, that phrase covers a number of emotions. Perhaps that is how Fate works. Or Ódin.

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Notes

1 In this piece I have followed Tolkien's decisions about how to represent Norse names, explained by Christopher Tolkien on 43-4. I use Völsung, not Volsung (except where the latter form is used in passages or titles cited), and normally use the more familiar German term "Nibelung" rather than the Norse "Niflung."

2 I am grateful to Maggie Burns, an alumna of King Edward's High School (the girls' school across the drive from Tolkien's) for sending me a scan of this item.

3 Theodore Andersson's *The Legend of Brynhild* (1980) makes the case for Brynhild as the central character of at least the later parts of the legend, and contains the best academic discussion of the problems of the ancient sources, including a valuable summary of a work Tolkien is certain to have read attentively (see page 241), Andreas Heusler's reconstructive piece, "Die Lieder der Lücke des Codex Regius."

4 Tolkien's views on the early genesis of the story and the combination of different motifs in it are given by Christopher on 353-63, based on his father's lecture notes.

5 The two-ring motif is logically required, for if Gudrún had a ring given by Brynhild to her wooer, she might have got it from her brother Gunnar. The decisive fact is that Gunnar could never have had possession of Andvaranaut, to give to Brynhild. Snorri also includes this taunt.

6 The point is made, if as usual allusively, in the poem *Eiríksmál*, composed as a memorial for King Eirik Bloodaxe, killed at Stainmoor in England in 954. Tolkien's colleague E.V. Gordon included the poem in his 1927 *Introduction to Old Norse*, see 2d ed. 1957: 149.

7 Christopher notes this on 184-5, and gives several references to the developing conception, which however is present as early as *Book of Lost Tales 2* (115-6), i.e. before 1919.

8 See Mablung's ominous remark in the "Narn i Hîn Húrin," (*UT* 81).

9 Both poems are actually labelled as "Greenlandic" in the Codex Regius, but it seems much more likely to be true of the second one, notably smaller in scale than the first, as if the product of an isolated and impoverished community.

10 Christopher quotes him as writing that the first "draft of oblivion" was invented just to get over the difficulties of the double betrothal of Brynhild, but bringing it on again to explain Gudrún was deplorable. "These drinks of Grimhild are too powerful or too powerless: why not give one to Atli too, and make him forget the Hoard?" (315-6).

11 As Christopher notes, the Roman historian Jordanes records that Attila married a woman with the Germanic-sounding name Ildico, got very drunk, and died on his wedding-night from a nosebleed which choked him. Eighty years later another Byzantine historian says that a woman stabbed him. As Ursula Dronke comments, it is as if the true account was rejected as impossible by some who said, "I do not believe he died like that: the woman killed him—was she not a German?" (1969: 32).

12 Tolkien's wide familiarity with Northern heroic tradition appears in several places elsewhere. Stanza VIII, 18 of *Völsungakviða* echoes a lost poem quoted briefly by Snorri, the *Alsvinnsmál* (a list of heroes' horses). Two pages later stanzas 25-6 draw on two stanzas of another lost poem (perhaps **Sigurðarkviða in Meiri* itself) quoted in *Völsunga saga*. Tolkien however rejected another stanza quoted in the saga as exaggerated: in it Sigurd's grief swells his heart so much that the links of his mailshirt snap (yet another case of emotion conveyed by involuntary physical reaction), see page 237.

13 As for instance in the decision to translate Old Norse verse into Old English verse, reproduced in Appendix C, 368-77. What could he learn from that? Who knows? That is proper research, though unconventional.

14 A brief resumé of the story as told by Tolkien, prepared by Christopher, is available at http://www.tolkienestate.com/sigurd-and-gudrun, with suggested links for further information. One addition should be made to the data on the link to "the Sigurd Stones." Very

surprisingly, and in consequence little known, there are clear carvings of several scenes from the Sigurd legend on the façade of the church of Sta. María la Real, in Sangüesa, Northern Spain, see Breeze 1991. It is thought that they were put there by Norman masons in the 12th century, but how the masons explained their work to their ecclesiastical employers cannot be guessed. The carvings show that the legend remained alive, even outside Scandinavia, well into the central Middle Ages.

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Tengwesta Qenderinwa and Pre-Fëanorian Alphabets Part 2, by J.R.R. Tolkien, including "Tengwesta Qenderinwa," edited by Christopher Gilson and Patrick H. Wynne; and "Pre-Fëanorian Alphabets, Part 2," edited by Arden R. Smith. Mountain View, CA: Parma Eldalamberon, 2009. 149 pp. $35 (oversize paperback) [no ISBN]. *Parma Eldalamberon XVIII.*

The on-going publication of Tolkien's writings on his invented languages has revealed diverse delights, ranging from lexicons to treatises on Eldarin numerals, from toponymy to poetry. All this furnishes a wealth of evidence about fundamental aspects of the languages, in particular semantics (word meanings) and phonology (speech sounds and their development). The first substantial publication in the field, the mammoth "Etymologies" of the 1930s, provides thousands of words in several languages, glossed and grouped under the common "Elvish" roots from which they notionally derive; and much can be deduced about the divergent sound-developments that produced Qenya, Noldorin, and several other tongues of Eldamar and Beleriand, in Tolkien's conception. But a third, equally important aspect of the Elvish vocabularies has remained relatively opaque: the morphology of the originating language—that is, the rules underpinning the structure of its words. Introducing "The Etymologies" in 1987, Christopher Tolkien mentioned that his father "wrote a good deal on the theory of *sundokarmë* or 'base structure' . . . but like everything else it was frequently elaborated and altered, and I do not attempt its presentation here" (*Lost Road* 343). In his original outline of Elvish, the c. 1915 "Qenyaqetsa," Tolkien never reached the section he planned on "Root forms" (*Parma Eldalamberon XIV*, v). During his Leeds years, 1920-25, he dealt with the topic directly in his "Early Qenya Phonology" (*Parma Eldalamberon XIV*, 63-6) but those pages constitute no more than a sketch.

Now, in "Tengwesta Qenderinwa" (translated as "Quendian Grammar"), we have a fully-fledged essay focusing largely on base structure and standing as a companion piece—indeed as the skeleton key—to "The Etymologies." Evidence from nomenclature suggests it was begun in 1937. This issue of *Parma Eldalamberon* thus resumes the more-or-less chronological sequence of publication which makes the series a linguistic counterpart to *The History of Middle-earth*. Issue XVII leapt ahead of chronology by reproducing J.R.R. Tolkien's linguistic notes on words and phrases in *The Lord of the Rings*, but the current issue felicitously dovetails with that material, too: it contains a revised "Tengwesta Qenderinwa" from about 1951, when Tolkien was returning to the fundamentals of his legendarium with a view to publishing his writings on the First Age at last (it appears this revision is only part of a larger work on phonology and grammar, yet to be published). Thus the two versions of the essay (designated editorially TQ 1 and TQ 2) bracket the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*, and represent his conception of Quendian morphology at the end of the first continuous phase of his work on the legendarium (*The History of Middle-earth* volumes I to V) and at the beginning of the final phase (volumes IX to XII). To ratchet up this textual history to the customary Tolkienian complexity, there is an intermediate text called "Elements of the Structure of Quendian Languages." This was a condensation of TQ 1 but also in parts an elaboration, much as Tolkien's 1925 "Sketch of the Mythology" compressed and refined the original "Book of Lost

Tales." TQ 2 was then an enlargement of this intermediate text, as "The Silmarillion" enlarged upon the "Sketch."

But that is to simplify matters considerably. All in all, Christopher Tolkien's decision not to venture into the realms of *sundokarmë* becomes quite understandable, and one can only commend Christopher Gilson and Patrick Wynne for their fortitude and patience in presenting all this. These are difficult texts both in subject and in form—each has layers of corrections. But as we have come to expect, the editors have been assiduous in analysing and explaining them, and judicious in organising them. TQ 1 appears in its first full surviving manuscript, with footnotes conveying any later alterations; whereas TQ 2 is given in its final form, with the footnotes giving earlier readings. Thus the two editions represent the endpoints of this text's progression from start to finish (apart from a fragmentary first draft). A very thorough editorial foreword provides bibliographical data and intertextual relationships, draws out Tolkien's ideas about Valarin, and suggests motives for his major revisions.

My sole quibble is with the dating of TQ 1, where I think the nomenclatural evidence supports a slightly different conclusion. The editors suggest it was "perhaps begun . . . not long before" Tolkien submitted "The Silmarillion," as it then stood, to George Allen & Unwin on the strength of the success of *The Hobbit.* If that were so, I would expect the names of the Elven tribes to match those in "Quenta Silmarillion" either in its original form or after the earliest changes were made to it (*Lost Road* 218-19). But, as the editors rightly point out, the tribe names actually match those in Tolkien's 20 November 1937 note of changes to make to "Quenta Silmarillion" "when material returns" (*Lost Road* 200). I would imagine then, that "Tengwesta Qenderinwa" was initially a product of the same time period, when "The Silmarillion" was away (from mid-November 1937) until, presumably, *The Lord of the Rings* was begun (mid-December). It would be perfectly in character for Tolkien, while his core manuscripts were out of reach, to take the opportunity to turn to a long-overdue crystallization and overhaul of a neglected aspect of his languages. It is feasible, too, that he wrote TQ 1 once he was already immersed in his new story about hobbits.

These texts, revisions, and replacements serve once again to remind us of the fluidity of Tolkien's concepts about his created languages. The rules of Elvish phonology and morphology changed during the 14-year span covered. But he not only tinkered with the bodywork; he ripped out the chassis and rebuilt it, for example deciding that the Elves did not learn speech from the Valar, but devised their own primal language independently.

Section A of "Tengwesta Qenderinwa," the "Descent of Tongues," recounts how the various languages diverged from their common stock.

The TQ 1 version is reminiscent of the "Lhammas" published in *The Lost Road*, but shows a slightly later conception of the various divisions of Elvenkind. Its accompanying language family trees formally resemble those in the "Lhammas" (*Lost Road* 169-70, 196-7) but differ in detail. The considerably enlarged TQ 2 text constitutes the only account (so far published) of the sundering of the Elven languages that accords with *The Lord of the Rings*, and also comes with a genealogical table. The remaining sections of "Tengwesta Qenderinwa" deal with the technicalities of Quendian phonology and morphology, mostly (but not exclusively) prior to this sundering.

Section B, an account of the language's "simple component sounds," includes charts mapping out the various basic consonants phonetically, dividing them into T-, P-, or K-series much like the tengwar one in Appendix E of *The Lord of the Rings*. There are indications of how rare or common the different sounds were, observations on their interconnections and on the asymmetries in the system, and examples of sound changes supposed to have taken place within the Common Elvish period.

Section C introduces *sundokarmë* itself, outlining the concepts and terms which dominate the rest of "Tengwesta Qenderinwa," and *sundóma* (determinant vowel). The base or root (*sundo*) is "the simple uncompounded word-shape" and is classified by number of consonants, most having two but some just one (these are particularly ancient) and others three (these are newer elaborations). How the vowels fall within or around these consonants is one of the chief engines of word-production, and there are elaborate rules for this.

Section D deals with the various ways in which a base's sounds may be altered to produce new combinations, the simplest being the lengthening that turns *k* into *kk* or *a* into *á*. It concludes with a discussion of diphthongs and the conditions that produce them. Section E focuses on that other engine of word-production, the suffix. Section F deals with the location of the accent, and section G covers the very earliest innovations made by the Elves before their languages were sundered. These, then, are the rules by which a base such as TÁLAT- "to slope, lean, tip" can yield derivatives as various as *talta* "sloping" and *Atalantë* "the Downfallen."

In the "Descent of Tongues," as almost everywhere else in his Middle-earth writings, Tolkien maintains the fiction that the text has been composed by someone inside the legendarium—in this instance specifically on Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle of the Elves. The register is mildly archaic and there are attributions such as "Quoth Rúmil" here and there. In the technical sections the language is drier but the same fiction pertains. Despite what we might imagine as the advantages of an Elvish linguist, especially vast longevity, the notional author is not omniscient, can only guess at the motivation behind the most ancient rules of Eldarin word-building, and does not know Valarin. This was handy for Tolkien, you may think: it spared him the effort of inventing a language spoken by superbeings from outside Time. Yet the fact that he invented what he did, in all its exacting detail, is abundant proof that laziness was not a Tolkienian vice. He had higher motives. Firstly, the limit on Elven memory underlines their place in the natural order, the vagaries of their existence, and the sheer depth of their past. Secondly, the unknown is essential to the legendarium, part of the illusion of depth so vital to its aura of authenticity. Whether writing about feigned history or feigned language, Tolkien provides astonishing detail for the foreground, but leaves the background faint and blurry until form is lost in shadow.

Perhaps most importantly, the imaginary writer of "Tengwesta Qenderinwa" is in the same position in relation to Valarin and early Quendian as Tolkien himself was as a professional philologist *vis-à-vis* the unrecorded precursors of English. And as the Rúmilian phonetic charts demonstrate, by and large Tolkien conceived of Elven linguists as possessing the same analytical notions as his own generation. This was not a failure of the imagination so much as a vital aspect of it: his love of comparative philology propelled his creation of these languages in all their complexity, and (as is well known) it was the languages that conjured up Middle-earth. Furthermore, aspects of Quendian morphology may reflect Tolkien's interest in notable problems of real-world linguistics. For example, *s*-prefixion recalls the mystifying Proto-Indo-European phenomenon called *s*-mobile, where a word sometimes occurs with a preceding s and sometimes without. In Quendian too "the origin of *s*-prefixion is not clear"; but Tolkien makes various observations as if teasing at the Proto-Indo-European problem in his own private way.

There is one respect in which Tolkien, frustratingly, does not proceed as he would in his professional work. A historical grammar of a genuine language will be packed with evidence for its statements, the recorded corpus from which the parent tongue has been reconstructed and all sound changes and structural rules inferred. But in "Tengwesta Qenderinwa" Tolkien scatters his examples thinly, a symptom of the fact that he was writing for himself. For the rest of us this makes it all the more challenging. In fact in 1937 his corpus was primarily "The Etymologies," and the full value of the trove will be unpacked for those willing to seek their own examples there and elsewhere. I suspect that some ideas, like the many unpainted branches of Niggle's Tree, were never put down on paper; I have never seen a single instance of initial *ps*, *ks* or *ts* in Quenya, but we are told they exist. However, the overall system of sounds, sound-structures, and sound-changes is as coherent and complete as anything Tolkien created. By the time he composed TQ 1, he had spent twenty-two years on his Elvish languages, working at the wordforge with the passion of an artist and the precision of a scientist.

For those fascinated primarily by the meanings of Elvish words, and the light they throw on names in Middle-earth, these analyses will not provide instant gratification; but they will be invaluable for anyone wishing to understand the deeper functioning of Tolkien's Eldarin languages. Some of us have been waiting for authoritative descriptions of the underlying rules of these languages at least since *An Introduction to Elvish* speculated on such matters in 1978 (with Christopher Gilson himself contributing to a chapter on "Proto-Eldarin Consonants"). We now have what some might rashly call the "canonical" version. It must be added, however, that *canonical* scarcely fits a protean set of concepts published decades after the creator's death. They do not reach a definitive state even in the latest version published here: for example, some of these morphological laws were modified, elaborated or perhaps even superseded by the Fëanorian concepts (*antoryamë*, *ostimë*, and others) outlined in a section of "Quendi and Eldar" published in issue 39 (July 1998) of *Vinyar Tengwar*, *Parma Eldalamberon*'s sister journal.

As with several earlier issues, this *Parma* covers not only language but also writing systems. The final pages here deal with precursors of the famous tengwar, rather than of Tolkien's runic alphabets. There are eight documents, all presented in full and followed by Arden R. Smith's notes and transliterations into phonetic and standard English. They come from the 1920s, and so are considerably earlier than the linguistic material in the first section. In fact, the material here constitutes the second half of the survey of "pre-Fëanorian Alphabets" begun by Smith in *Parma Eldalamberon XVI*, and shows a broadly similar set of characteristics. These scripts are designed to indicate phonetic characteristics of the sounds they represent through various combinations of "bow" and "stem," and draw increasingly close to the tengwar in the detail of how they achieve this. For example, Qenyatic, the first alphabet documented here, matches the classic tengwar of Fëanor closely in the upper portion of the chart—the shapes for *p*, *b*, *f* and *t*, *d*, *th*—but diverge lower down. However, even *l* and *r*, which in the later system fall among the "additional letters" (where bow- and stem-use is not a feature), have already achieved their final forms here.

As with several of the scripts in issue XVI, those are tailored for use with English rather than Qenya; Tolkien even provides samples of contractions such as *don't* and *Mrs*. Notably, the Qenyatic samples also include (122) a version of the poem "Tinfang Warble" printed in *The Book of Lost Tales*: I suppose its inclusion may pinpoint the document to about 1927, when (*Lost Tales I* 108) the poem was published in the *Inter-University Magazine*, a journal for Catholic Students. Then again, there is also a snippet from "The Voyage of Éarendel the Evening Star," written in

1914, so perhaps Tolkien was simply feeling nostalgic.

A document outlining a script called "Andyoqenya," probably from 1930, bolsters my view that Tolkien's primary, practical use for most of these alphabets was not to flesh out his legendarium but to write his diaries. It contains a pledge to himself, to keep his diary "at least once a week . . . only in this alphabet." The aim was pure calligraphic practice, or so Tolkien states: it "shall be dedicated to the object of developing a really good style of hand both with a relief and with an ordinary fountain pen" (129). Yet in the Qenyatic document mentioned above, he states, "This full explanation of Qenyatic is not to be left in the diary book" (122)—so the other motive was privacy.

Further samples of writing in these documents range from Tennyson's "Break, Break, Break" and the Lord's Prayer to snatches of whimsy in which references to names used by Tolkien in his fiction (Artanor from "The Book of Lost Tales" and Artaxerxes from *Roverandom*) are entirely frivolous. My favourite is the bald declaration, "I've spent over a hundred pound on books this year but I do not regret it at all," followed even more bluntly by, "Go away you nasty man. I do not want to see you again before tomorrow" (143).

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The Hobbitonian Anthology of Articles on J.R.R. Tolkien and His Legendarium [on the cover, the word "on" is replaced with "about"], by Mark T. Hooker. Foreword by Jason Fisher. [no place]: Llyfrawr, 2009. xviii, 268 pp. $14.95 (trade paperback) ISBN 9781448617012.

Those familiar with Mark Hooker's articles in *Beyond Bree*, and those who enjoyed his earlier book *A Tolkienian Mathomium* (2006),[1] will find this collection of thirty-three essays picks up right where its predecessor left off; indeed, frequent reference is made here to pieces appearing in the earlier volume. Hooker's book is divided into three roughly equal parts: a dozen essays discussing names in *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Hobbit*, a dozen more discussing specific translations of Tolkien's work (e.g., the Belorussian *Hobbit*), and between them a number of miscellaneous pieces looking at various problems translators face, given Tolkien's extensive and idiosyncratic vocabulary.

Not to put too fine a point on it, what we have here is nearly three hundred pages of Tolkien trivia, the majority of it in the form of analysis of translation errors and the rest source studies focused almost entirely on the names of people and places in *The Lord of the Rings* (a branch of Tolkien studies which Hooker calls *Tolkiennymy*, practiced by "Tolkienologists"). I should think it impossible to read this book without finding out things you didn't know before, in the process becoming familiar with terms such as *toponym* (place-names), *hydronym* (river-names), *bilingual tautology* (e.g., Bree-hill), *hypercorrection* (Baranduin > Brandywine), *BT* (back-translation, or a literal re-translation of a passage back into the original language), and *adjective condensate* (which Hooker leaves undefined). But it's doubtful you'll know anything more about Tolkien or his works than you did when you started out.

Hooker's greatest virtue is that he is an indefatigable researcher; the lengths to which he pursues possible variant forms of names is truly impressive—for example, discovering that a river in Ireland and a village in Scotland both bore the name Bilbo (7–8),[2] or that *Bilbo* is the Basque pronunciation for the Spanish town better know as Bilboa (4), or that a 1901 short story featured a heroic French drummer-boy named *Bilboquet* (17–18), while a painter of the same name appeared in an 1882 cartoon in *Punch*. The relevance of his discoveries, however, remains elusive. To find out that the hobbit-name *Boffin* may be an Anglicized analogue to the Welsh *Vaughn* (29), which he glosses as "smalley" (*shorty* would seem nearer the mark), tells us nothing about Tolkien's tale. Hooker is one of those scholars who does not believe in coincidence: if he can find a name with a similarity to the name he's researching, then he concludes the similarity must be significant and intended by Tolkien. Nor does he limit this just to names, as when in his essay on the phrase "a nine days' wonder" he asserts that the fact Glorfindel took nine days to find Frodo is meant to remind us that Demeter spent nine days searching for Persephone, or that this was the length of "Hermod's ride from Olympus to the Underworld" (144). I find this claim fantastical, not just because the number universally associated with the Persephone myth depends not on Demeter's journey but on the number of pomegranate seeds her daughter ate and hence the number of months she must remain with Hades each year, and thus the length of winter her grieving mother inflicts upon the world (the exact number varies according to who's retelling the myth, but I could find no example in which it was *nine*), but because Hooker gives no reason why the Demeter-Persephone or Hermod-Balder story should be relevant in any way to Glorfindel's action or Frodo's experience: the number nine has become for him a free-floating fact that can be given any application.[3]

Hooker asserts time and again that he shares a common mindset with Tolkien that gives him insight into Tolkien's nomenclature; all I can say that after reading his book I remain unconvinced that a fondness for linguistic puns, an ability to find analogies anywhere, and a refusal to believe in coincidence translate into insight. In fact, I think that in his theory of how Tolkien wrote Hooker has it exactly backwards: when he suggests that all the various previous words resembling 'bilbo' he unearths, from a cow-stall to a cup-and-ball game, were in Tolkien's mind when he invented the name *Bilbo* (19), he completely overlooks Tolkien's own description of his creative process, of first coming up with a word or name (like *hobbit*) and then exploring outwards from there to see what kind of a character it might suggest. I would suggest that it's far more likely Bilbo gains Sting because Tolkien became aware of the '*bilbow blade* = sword' entry in the OED than that the character was given the name with the idea of his becoming a sword-wielder already in mind.

Still, such industrious raking through "the leaf mould of Tolkien's mind" (19)—Hooker's mantra being "no careful researcher should fail to turn over any linguistic stone" (57)—from time to time does bring to light interesting odds and ends. For example, his discovery that for decades Oxford had a locally famous bakery and cake shop called *Boffin's* seems a likely source for that hobbit family-name. Yet his detailed argument of why "Boffin" is so appropriate as a hobbit-name fails to explain why Tolkien first used it not for a hobbit but for a human character who plays a major role near the end of his picture book *Mr. Bliss*, Sergeant Boffin—who is tall, stout, red-haired, mustached, and entirely unlike a hobbit. Similarly, his ingenious suggestion that Tom Bombadil is named after Great Tom, the famous Oxford bell at Christ Church College—mainly because this bell was once inscribed with a motto including the words "Thomae" (Thomas) and "Bim Bom" (Latin for ding-dong) (66)—unfortunately completely ignores the inconvenient fact that the name "Tom Bombadil" was originally made up as the name for a Dutch doll belonging to one of Tolkien's children and only later transferred to the literary character; any explanation of the name's origin should take that original application into account. An example of a more solid discovery comes in the form of the Four Shire Stone near Moreton-in-Marsh about twenty-four miles northwest of Oxford, once the meeting-point of Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire; here Hooker seems to have found a likely inspiration for the Three Farthing Stone. And it is amusing to learn that the area around Evesham was once home to tobacco-plantations (proof positive, one would think, that pipeweed would indeed grow within the environs of the Shire), and that they were eventually stamped out (1689) by government troops, exactly like today's illicit poppy fields in Asia and South America (92).

Other times, Hooker casts his net so wide that the results are far-fetched, as when he devotes more than a dozen pages to Farmer Maggot's surname. Hooker immediately rejects any identification with the common noun *maggot* (fly-larvae), instead preferring to associate the farmer with Goëmagot (Gog-Magog), the primeval British giant described in Geoffrey of Monmouth (37),[4] before wandering even further afield to assert that Maggot can also be spelled 'Bagot', and hence contains the same root-element as *Bagg*ins (39–40) or that *Magodd* is "semantically identical" with *Nodens* the Catcher (43). Even more egregious is his eight-page essay "*I Tawd I taw a Puddi-fat. I did, I did. I taw a Puddifoot*". On its first page, Hooker cites Tolkien's explanation of the hobbit name (puddle + foot) only to reject Tolkien's authority (45) and to spend the next seven pages developing his own theories around dialectical words for frogs (paddock) and Welsh *piddle* (well, stream, marsh); he even rejects *-foot*'s literal meaning, preferring *-fant* (spring, fountain). And yet we know, from Tolkien himself, that none of these apparent analogues are what he intended, rendering the exercise entirely moot. Similarly, in a discussion of the inn-name *The Golden Perch* he acknowledges that Tolkien intended this to represent the fish of the same name (86) yet he prefers a Russian mistranslation based on 'perch = [bird] roost', which Tolkien had explicitly rejected. Hooker argues "The choice of the translation . . . cannot . . . be judged solely by the criterion in Tolkien's instruction . . . A translator can hardly be faulted for selecting a rendition with some literary depth behind it . . . [in] the target-language" (87). I would argue that drastically changing Tolkien's intent, whether deliberate or not, *is* in fact something a translation can and should be faulted on.[5]

Hooker has made the evaluation of foreign translations of Tolkien's works his special province in Tolkien studies, and the bulk of his book is devoted to this topic, by way of minute comparison of how multiple translators handle a specific point—for example, whether they include the negative in Gandalf's "never minded explaining his cleverness more than once" (156) or accurately conveyed the meaning of *hundredweight* (numbering 112) in "hundredweight feast" (163). Unfortunately, the latter parts of his book (Part Three) contain a number of repetitions of points he has made before, and many of his points are of limited application. It will not matter to most fans of Tolkien's work that the Armenian translation of *The Hobbit* derives from an earlier Russian one, rather than being translated directly from the original English (152), or just what phrase Bilbo used to name his sword in the Polish comic book version of David Wenzel's *Hobbit* graphic novel (125). Of rather more interest is a lengthy examination (118–132) of how translators handle the you/thou distinction between formal (respectful) and familiar pronouns in those languages which recognize such a distinction—a task that requires them to correctly impose a distinction which Tolkien himself admitted no longer exists in modern English onto their translated texts; quite a task, and evidently difficult to get right. Another lengthy essay, this time devoted to "Leaf by Niggle" (223–250), marks one of only two times Hooker's book looks beyond *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* to Tolkien's other work:[6] apparently the greatest difficulty faced by Russian translators of this deceptively simple little work is trying to find a suitable analogy for *Niggle's Parish* (246–249). Although reading this book might be hard slogging for those who do not share Hooker's interest in linguistics, the cumulative effect of his detailed discussion of the challenges translators of Tolkien face is to rise above this minutia by re-affirming yet again the care Tolkien put into his work even on the level of individual word-choice. Perhaps it could even be made a test of literature that a passage from such a work cannot be re-phrased without changing its meaning, connotations, or effect.

In the end, if you like Hooker's occasional essays that appear in *Beyond Bree*, or if you are curious about how well Eastern European translations represent Tolkien's texts, then you will want to read this book. If Hooker is right that he shares a special insight into the way Tolkien's mind works (the clumsiness of his coinage "Tolkiennymy" frankly raises doubts), then he more than any other Tolkien scholar today holds the key to unlocking much of the subtext encoded into Tolkien's nomenclature. The non-linguistically minded will find him to be suffering from what used to be called Giddings & Holland disease: a malady that sometimes befalls source-hunters and manifests as a failure to discriminate, a lack of any filter or sense of probability. Even so, his amazing industry as a researcher mean his pieces might serve as a resource for other scholars interested in pursuing some of the leads he has turned up.[7]

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NOTES

1. Reviewed in *Tolkien Studies* 4 (2007): 311–314.
2. Near Limerick and Aberdeen, respectively.
3. It is perhaps more than a quibble that "Olympus" here should of course be *Asgard*, an error Hooker twice repeats (135, 144), just as "Underworld" should more properly be *Hél*. Once one adopts the approach of the folklorists Tolkien condemned in "On Fairy-stories," it becomes all too easy to group story-elements by "motif" and ignore the significance of that detail within an individual story.
4. Hooker passes over the obvious Biblical name with all its associations, although elsewhere he asserts breezily that "there are a number of well-established parallels between Welsh and Hebrew" (41), a startling pronouncement (they belong to entirely separate language families, Welsh to Indo-European and Hebrew to Afro-Asiatic) he

nowhere supports—elsewhere he similarly states that Egyptian and Welsh mythology have "certain resonances" (73). Given Hooker's exhaustive researches, it's a surprising omission that he neglects to mention that two figures of Gog and Magog, similar to the Cerne Giant and Long Man of Wilmington, that used to flank Plymouth Harbor but were effaced in the 17th century (cf. *Lost Gods of Albion: The Chalk Hill-Figures of Britain* by Paul Newman, 1997, pages 98ff.).

5. And, perhaps more to the point, nowhere in his piece on *The Golden Perch* does he so much as mention the locally famous real-world inn *The Trout*, located only about three miles from Tolkien's home in Northmoor Road, a place popular with the Inklings and the site where a now-famous photograph of several Inklings (Lewis, Havard, Hardie, Dundas-Grant) was taken on a 1947 outing (reproduced in Humphrey Carpenter's *The Inklings*, opposite page 145).
6. The other being a brief discussion of the word *lief/liever* in *The Book of Lost Tales* (198–199).
7. As a final note, Hooker deserves credit for the fact that there are very few typos in this book, the only significant one I found being that the date given as "1860s" on page 173 is obviously a mistake for *1680s*.

Languages, Myths and History: An Introduction to the Linguistic and Literary Background of J.R.R. Tolkien's Fiction, by Elizabeth Solopova. [New York:] North Landing Books, 2009. 107 pp. $16.24 (trade paperback) ISBN 9780981660714.

Readers who recognize Elizabeth Solopova's name from her 2005 collaboration with Stuart D. Lee, *The Keys of Middle-earth*, may well wonder how her new book, *Languages, Myths and History*, compares to the earlier work. The early English and Scandinavian literatures that so greatly influenced and inspired Tolkien lie at the heart of both books, of course, but apart from that, the two works could hardly be more different.

The earlier work is essentially an anthology, in which "key medieval texts, or selections from them, are presented in the context of Middle-earth, drawing out parallels wherever possible" (Lee and Solopova 2–3). Solopova's new book, on the other hand, "focuses on Tolkien's interest in languages, and aims to introduce languages and literatures which were particularly important for him as a writer and scholar" (1). The Lee and Solopova book, with texts in the original languages and extensive notes, seems to be aimed at a more academic audience; *Languages, Myths and History*, which includes parenthetical glosses for words like *etymology* (12) and *manuscripts* (18), appears to be intended for high school students, or possibly undergraduates. In any event, it is most assuredly an *introduction*, as the title states. A well-read Tolkien aficionado should not come to this book expecting a wealth of new information.

In the introductory chapter, Solopova spells out the purpose of the book, noting that it "attempts to illustrate how literature in these languages inspired Tolkien's literary-critical, moral and philosophical ideas, particularly his understanding of courage and heroism" (1). She expands on Tolkien's views about heroism, since this is a theme that will reappear in later chapters. She also provides an introduction to the concept of myth, focusing primarily on Carl Jung's notions of archetypes and archetypical images. Solopova finishes the chapter with a brief historical introduction to the four main languages investigated in the book.

"Tolkien's Academic Career" is the title of the next chapter, but it really only reflects part of the chapter's content. The rest of the chapter is devoted to Tolkien's interest in languages: which ones he learned, which ones inspired him, which ones appealed to him aesthetically. Tolkien's deep love of words and languages was not limited to his academic career, and this chapter, despite its title, reflects that.

The next four chapters are devoted to four languages and literatures that particularly inspired Tolkien: Old Norse, Old English, Finnish, and Gothic. The chapters on Old Norse and Old English give some general linguistic and historical information about those languages, followed by discussions of various literary works and conventions that influenced Tolkien's legendarium. The recurring theme of courage and heroism looms large in both chapters.

Unlike the chapters on Old Norse and Old English, the chapter on Finnish says very little about the language or its history. It does tell how the *Kalevala* inspired Tolkien to create a similar "body of more or less connected legend" to dedicate to his native England, and how the story of Kullervo in the *Kalevala* became the basis for the story of Túrin Turambar. More than half of the chapter, however, addresses neither Finnish language nor Finnish literature, but instead discusses "the problem of evil, predestination and free will" that is central to the Túrin story. This explains the otherwise baffling chapter title, "Finnish: Predestination and Free Will."

The chapter on Gothic is the longest in the book. Given the relative importance of the four languages and their literatures, this is rather surprising. Solopova describes the linguistic features of the Gothic in much greater detail than the other languages, even going so far as to provide a sample text in the language. The reasoning behind this, I would guess, it that she assumes that the reader would be less familiar with Gothic than with Old English, Old Norse, or even Finnish. Certainly the information is useful, but it is out of proportion with the rest of the book. The other chapters, especially the one on Finnish, could have benefited from similar expansion.

The remainder of the chapter is even more out of proportion with the rest of the book. In order to explain how Tolkien’s description of the Battle of the Pelennor Fields is “partly modelled” on Jordanes’ sixth-century account of the Battle of the Catalaunian Fields, she provides a lengthy citation (five and a half pages) from Mierow’s translation of Jordanes. In addition, she gives us four pages of annotation, three pages of analysis, and six pages describing the historical events leading up to the battle (52–57, 61–73). Worthwhile information, to be sure, but it feels like it belongs in another, far more detailed book. Solopova’s description of the Kullervo story, by comparison, is limited to two sentences (46).

The final chapter introduces the reader to Tolkien’s invented languages and scripts. Solopova begins by discussing Tolkien’s interest in creating “art-languages” rather than utilitarian artificial languages such as Esperanto. She draws heavily on articles by Carl F. Hostetter in describing Tolkien’s manner of linguistic creation and revision, stressing that the fragmentary nature of his inventions limits their practical usability in the forms in which they survive, a valuable lesson for enthusiastic fans who want to “speak Elvish.” Solopova indeed cites a fair amount of recent scholarship in the field of Tolkienian Linguistics, but she does not refer directly to any primary linguistic material published later than *i·Lam na·Ngoldathon* (1995) and *Qenyaqetsa* (1998). Similarly, the two parts of *The Book of Lost Tales* are the only volumes of *The History of Middle-earth* listed in the bibliography, so such linguistic treasure troves as *The Etymologies* (*Lost Road* 339–400) and *Quendi and Eldar* (*Jewels* 357–424) are completely ignored.

The book contains a sprinkling of typographical and spelling errors, e.g., “fiends” for “friends” (13), “Nâzgul” for “Nazgûl” (85), “*forward*” for “*foreword*” (92), and “Berkley, Los Angles” for “Berkeley, Los Angeles” (102). Factual errors are few and relatively minor. For example, Solopova glosses the name Aragorn as “Royal Tree” (21). Similar glosses were indeed posited by early scholars of Elvish (“King-tree ???” in Allan 72, “Lord of the Tree” in Noel 114), but Tolkien writes in a 1972 letter that the name “cannot contain a ‘tree’ word” (*Letters* 426), though he himself was uncertain about its meaning, vacillating between such interpretations as “Kingly Valour” (*Peoples* xii) and “revered king” (*Words, Phrases and Passages* 31). Solopova states on page 86, “In Modern English consonants ‘p’, ‘t’ and ‘k’ are usually aspirated (accompanied by a burst of air), but lack aspiration when preceded by ‘s’.” This is not entirely true; in English *p, t, k* are normally aspirated only at the beginning of a word and not aspirated elsewhere.

With a few exceptions (e.g., "Tolkien, 1997" on page 5), works by Tolkien are referenced by title in the text but listed chronologically in the bibliography. The chronological ordering is generally by first publication, but *The Lord of the Rings* appears after *The Tolkien Reader* (1966), indicating that its position is based on the date of the second edition. In fact, the welter of original publications, revised editions, and reprints listed in some of the bibliographical entries sometimes makes it difficult to determine which edition Solopova is citing.

Nowhere is the bibliographical confusion more evident than in references to essays appearing in *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays*. The essays "*Beowulf*: The Monsters and the Critics" and "Prefatory Remarks on Prose Translation of 'Beowulf'" (in *MC* as "On Translating Beowulf") are listed at points appropriate to their original publication in 1937 and 1950, respectively. Both entries refer to a 1997 HarperCollins edition of *The Monsters and the Critics*, but the page range given for the former essay is 72–108, which is incorrect, that being the location of "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight" in the volume. The same entry also notes, "see also Tolkien (2002)"; the savvy reader might assume that this refers to Michael D. C. Drout's edition, *Beowulf and the Critics*, but that appears nowhere in the bibliography. However, if one looks where that entry would be expected, one will find entries for two more essays from *The Monsters and the Critics*, "A Secret Vice" and "English and Welsh," but here the publication date is given as 2002 rather than 1997. The 1963 publication of the latter in *Angles and Britons* is not mentioned anywhere, nor is the fact that *The Monsters and the Critics* was first published in 1983.

References to the secondary literature are similarly riddled with errors and inconsistencies. Solopova generally cites secondary works using the author-date method, but the articles by Jung are cited by title on page 6. The format of the bibliography is in fact ill-suited to the author-date method, and uncertainty regarding publication dates arises as a result. For example, the entry for R. Hamer's *A Choice of Anglo-Saxon Verse* references the 2006 edition, noting that the book was first published in 1970; Solopova refers to the book as "Hamer, 2006" on page 41, but as "Hamer, 1970" on the very next page. The first two citations of *An Introduction to Elvish* on page 84 refer to "Allan, 1978" but the next three citations give an incorrect date of 1970 (84-85). Articles by Bruce Mitchell and Gloriana St. Clair published in Reynolds and GoodKnight (1995) have the correct date of publication in their text references, but in the bibliography both are erroneously listed as being in Flieger and Hostetter (2000). Finally, articles by Carl F. Hostetter and myself are listed in the bibliography as appearing "in *J.R.R. Tolkien Encyclopaedia* [*sic*] (2007)" but Solopova provides no further information about this reference work edited by Michael D. C. Drout. The seasoned Tolkien scholar will perhaps be able to find a path through this bibliographical Mirkwood, but the novice, at whom this volume is aimed, will be hopelessly lost.

These problems dampen my enthusiasm for what would otherwise be a fine introduction to the subject. A corrected, revised edition would be far more likely to garner my recommendation.

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Tolkien's View: Windows into His World, by J. S. Ryan. Preface by Peter Buchs. Zurich and Jena: Walking Tree Publishers, 2009. [iv], xvi, 289 pp. Price $23.00 (trade paperback) ISBN 9783905703139.

Few now remain of those who brought out the first wave of books on Tolkien in the late 60s and early 70s. William Ready, Clyde S. Kilby, Paul H. Kocher, and Lin Carter are all gone. Of that generation, only two remain active in Tolkien scholarship: Richard C. West (*A Tolkien Checklist*, 1970) and *J.S. Ryan* (*Tolkien: Cult or Culture?*, 1969). And while West's *Tolkien Checklist* became the guide for many a budding Tolkienist to track down works in the back stacks of university libraries, to discover the joys of Interlibrary Loan, and to join in trades of photocopied or even hand-copied material, often across borders and even continents, Ryan's work remained little known, largely because it was published only in Australia and few copies ever reached England or America. And this is a pity, because Ryan's book was ahead of its time: an attempt to comprehensively cover all of Tolkien's published oeuvre, with particular attention to the influence his medieval scholarship had on his literary work—thus anticipating a core concern of Tom Shippey's *The Road to Middle-earth* (1982) by more than a decade. He should have been a founding father of Tolkien studies, but he worked in such isolation, and so few people were exposed to his work, that instead he was somehow relegated to the role of a distant uncle who never shows up for family reunions.

Now Walking Tree Press is redressing this problem, an effort we should applaud. Having already published a most welcome collection of Tom Shippey's Tolkienian essays (*Roots and Branches*, 2007), they now offer this collection of Ryan's work. Indeed, so prolific has Ryan been over the years that the Preface here makes clear these twenty-one pieces make up only the first of two volumes, with the second to follow next year. The value of such a collection is that it brings together Ryan's piecemeal publications, which have been scattered among so many places: *Mallorn*, *Mythlore*, *Seven*, *Folklore*, *Angerthas*, *Minas Tirith Evening-star*, *Inklings: Jahrbuch für Literatur und Ästhetik*, and more ephemeral publications. Two chapters are reprinted from Ryan's 1969 book (essays XV & XVIII), and one of those had previously appeared in periodical form as far back as 1966. Few Tolkienists will have access to all these publications, so such an assemblage is a real service.

As for the essays themselves, they range widely in topic but largely focus on Ryan's main concern as a Tolkien scholar: to seek for the primary influences on Tolkien in his academic milieu. His greatest strength is his desire to improve our knowledge of the context in which Tolkien wrote, particularly by researching and writing up such topics as what subjects Tolkien had to master for his undergraduate degree (essay II), ideas he expressed through his annual overviews in *The Year's Work in English Studies* series (VIII), the topics he focused on as Oxford's primary teacher of Old Norse (IX), and the like. Ryan also includes pieces focusing in on specific figures who he feels were important to Tolkien in some way, like J. H. Shorthouse (essay I), Mary Wright (III), William Craigie (IV), George Gordon (VII), and Christopher Dawson (XIV). But the most characteristic of these essays focus on some topic that captured his attention and whose connection with Tolkien he thought worth exploring, like the Púkel men and Pouka legends (XX), or the Wild Hunt (XVI), or English saints named Edith (VI). In one notable case, he devotes most of a twelve-page essay to a discussion of Tolkien's use of the hyphen (XII).

If this list sounds somewhat random, it's because it is: Ryan has no overall guiding theme that might unite this disparate collection of what he calls "exploratory essays." He confesses in his Introduction that many of these pieces were "originally drafted to help me to clarify a particular issue or linguistic matter"—that is, he would become curious about a specific point and research it, with the resultant essay representing his research notes from reading up on that topic. But too often the result is no more than a listing of interesting odds and ends he turned up. Sometimes these are striking—for example, his claim that Tolkien derived his troll-lore from W.A. Craigie's *Scandinavian Folk-Lore* (1896), which he considers the direct source for Tolkien's trolls turning to stone (41–42).[1] But, frustratingly, he neither presents all the material of interest that he turns up—for example, in essay IX he lists the Old Norse topics and texts Tolkien lectured on from 1927 through 1931 but then breaks off and only includes snippets from 1932 through 1945—nor does he fully work up those notes into a coherent piece: too often he simply presents a sampling of what he's uncovered, without analysis and with only minimal comment. This would make him a good resource for those interested in the topics he researches but un-inclined or unable to undertake the work themselves, except for two caveats.

First, the information Ryan presents is occasionally incorrect. For example, in his essay on Shorthouse's *John Inglesant*, he mentions how the title character, a pious courtier in the court of Charles I, begins his career at age fifteen by becoming a page to Henry VIII in 1537 (11)—which would of course make him about 120 at the time of the English Civil War in the 1640s (actually, recourse to the original novel shows that it is the main character's great-grandfather, Richard Inglesant, who served Henry VIII). Anyone can make mistakes, of course, but this one makes me wonder whether Ryan has actually read the book he's describing.[2] Other examples include his misdating W.A. Craigie's birth by a quarter-century (35; the *OED* editor was born in 1867, not 1844 as Ryan would have it), his summarizing the plot of *Smith of Wootton Major* and getting it wrong (158: "young Smith becomes an assistant to the Cook, and so, perforce, a Christ figure"—actually, he becomes a blacksmith, like his father before him), or his describing Owen Barfield as "an anthropologist" (158; he means *anthroposophist*, which is something quite different). He is also given to stating things as facts on rather shaky evidence, as when he asserts that Tolkien and George Gordon were close friends on the basis that the two are standing next to each other in a group shot of Leeds faculty (70), or that Tolkien was as close to Craigie as he was to C. S. Lewis or any of his fellow Inklings (35), since Craigie had tutored Tolkien in Old Norse and preceded him in the Rawlinson and Bosworth chair.

Second, some of his material is dated or oddly incomplete. In part, this is understandable and unavoidable in any collection of pieces written ten, twenty, thirty, or forty-plus years ago, but other times the gaps seems puzzling. For example, it's good to see the best chapter from his 1969 book reprinted here (essay XVIII: "Germanic Mythology Applied—the Extension of the Literary Folk Memory"),[3] but why not correct the misspelling of Gimli's name ("Gimle" 205) or remove the reference to Galadriel having come from Númenor (203)? Or, to once again choose the essay on Shorthouse as an example, Ryan draws attention to a 1973 letter by Tolkien quoted in a 1975 article which confirms Tolkien's awareness of Shorthouse's work. But he makes no mention of Tolkien's 1964 letter to Christopher Bretherton (*Letters* 348) in which Tolkien discusses at length how he viewed Shorthouse as an object lesson and warns about how an amateur author can go off the rails and become puffed up with his own self-importance. Why the omission? Sometimes one gets the impression that Ryan has either misjudged his audience or is deliberately teasing them by withholding information, as when he wonders, apropos of the severing of the barrow-wight's hand, whether Tolkien knew of "the episode of the finger" from the Manton round barrow (137)—and then passes on to another topic without ever explaining what "the episode of the finger" is to those unfamiliar with Wiltshire barrow-lore (i.e., most of those who would read his essay, both in its original appearance in *Angerthas* and in this book). Eventually this sort of thing becomes rather irksome.

Finally, there is Ryan's strange isolation. He does draw a few times on Carpenter's biography and occasionally mentions Shippey's *The Road to Middle-earth* or Robert Giddings and Elizabeth Holland's *J.R.R. Tolkien: The Shores of Middle-earth* (1981), but beyond that references to fellow Tolkien scholars and their work are strikingly rare. Except when a piece of his is in direct response to another essay published in the same or an associated journal, as occurs twice here, he seems completely disengaged from, and largely unaware of, the work of other scholars in his field. It's as if Verlyn Flieger, Douglas A. Anderson, Wayne G. Hammond and

Christina Scull, et al. never existed; even *Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien* is only rarely drawn upon.[4] Tolkien's own posthumous publications are similarly skimped: with the exception of brief discussions of "The Cottage of Lost Play," of Tolkien's translation of *Sir Orfeo*, and of the lecture "A Secret Vice," it's as if the two dozen of so volumes edited by Christopher Tolkien and others didn't exist. In short, as a Tolkien scholar, Ryan is emphatically Old School.

The best of these essays (e.g., VIII, IX, XVII, XX) suggest routes for further study that might well prove illuminating. The weakest of them meander, with a fatal lack of focus, skimming over topics rather than delving down into the heart of the matter. Occasionally he makes a real discovery[5] as with his insistence that the *Year's Work in English Studies* essays are potential gold mines waiting to be thoroughly and comprehensively explored, and the collection is worth reading for these moments when the reader gets a feeling that Ryan is onto something. Since multiple topics tend to be addressed in each essay, and since the essays appear here in no particular order, the reader should skip around and read whatever seem the most interesting parts, skimming over less congenial topics.

But the best reason for picking up this collection are those passing comments scattered throughout the volume where Ryan, who was a student of Tolkien's at Oxford from 1954 to 1957, draws on his own memories of the man. We learn, for example, that Tolkien urged Ryan to attend the lectures of Georges Dumézil (xiii), or that he believed a linkage between money and death in *The Pardoner's Tale* derived ultimately from India (80, 108, 175), or that he would sometimes cite T. F. O'Rahilly's *Early Irish History and Mythology* in his lectures (191–192). Ryan heard Tolkien deliver his O'Donnell lecture "English and Welsh" (189) and apparently was in the audience for his Valedictory lecture a few years later (117—at any rate, he comments on the large turnout). The greatest contribution he could make to Tolkien studies at this point would be to pull together all his memories of the man and write a memoir about what it was like to be Tolkien's student at that place and time. Too few are left now of those who had that privilege, and it is work none of those who came after can do. The wraparound cover photo for his book shows the view looking south out of Tolkien's study at Merton,[6] offering a new perspective we've not had before: it would be good if Ryan would similarly bend his talents to depicting his old professor as he remembers him.

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NOTES

[1] Assuming Tolkien needed any direct source for this detail other than the sagas themselves, with which he was of course intimately familiar by the time he wrote *The Hobbit*, a somewhat stronger case can be made for Helen Buckhurst's 1927 essay "Icelandic Folklore"; cf. *The Annotated Hobbit* (80–82).

[2] It would also help if, in a piece titled "Those Birmingham Quietists: J.R.R. Tolkien and J. H. Shorthouse (1834–1903)," Ryan would mention why he thinks Tolkien has Quietist leanings; he seems to feel it's self-evident and so does not explore the topic in an essay ostensibly devoted to the subject.

[3] It's only fair to note that Tolkien, always an unsparing critic of source-studies of his works, dismissed this essay as "nonsensical" in a 1967 letter (*Letters* 380).

[4] To take only one example, in essay XII (127) he bemoans the lack of a concordance to *The Lord of the Rings*, apparently unaware of the existence of Richard Blackwelder's *A Tolkien Thesaurus*, which had been published the year before. Even if Ryan's essay had been written a good deal ahead of time, we might expect that eighteen years later during the updates mentioned in his Introduction he would have added a note to the effect that Blackwelder's book would make possible the very course of research he had advocated. A notable exception to this isolation is essay XX, which benefits from Ryan's citation of Robert Foster, J.E.A. Tyler, Ruth S. Noel, John Tinkler, and Christopher Tolkien.

[5] Ryan's most famous discovery, and his chief contribution to Tolkien studies, was his discovery that the illustration of Beorn's Hall in *The Hobbit* strongly resembled the drawing of Hrolf Kraki's hall that had appeared a decade earlier in E. V. Gordon's *Introduction to Old Norse* (1927). That essay, which originally appeared in the *Minas Tirith Evening-star*, is unfortunately not included in this collection but presumably will appear in volume two.

[6] Ryan's comments on this photo give a good example of his tendency to meander, or sometimes veer suddenly off in unexpected directions: he says this view is "of enormous symbolism. In front, in the trees, to the south runs the Thames River, moving from the west down to the sea. On the near right lies Christ Church where Alice in Wonderland was penned by Lewis Carroll, and to the far right lies Lydney, the famed Romano-Celtic shrine on which Tolkien advised as to

the inscriptions. To the far left, and so to the further south-east lies Rome, the Rome of ancient history as well as that of the Popes and the Christian faith and the eternal symbol of Christian eschatology" (xiv).

Book Notes

Two trade paperbacks published by Brewin Books of Studley, Warwickshire, deserves some attention here. The first, described briefly in "Book Notes" for *Tolkien Studies* 6 (2009), is *Tolkien's Gedling, 1914: The Birth of a Legend* (2008), by Andrew H. Morton and John Hayes. Despite the dual byline, this book is entirely written by Morton, with Hayes sharing the authorship as credit for the research he contributed. The slim book, generously illustrated with historical photographs, supplements Humphrey Carpenter's biography of Tolkien by giving an interesting account of Tolkien's aunt Jane Neave (née Suffield, 1872-1963), and her Phoenix Farm, which she operated, with her farming partner Ellen Brookes-Smith (1863-1927), at Gedling near Nottingham from around 1912 to 1922. Tolkien visited Phoenix Farm in Gedling in September 1914, at which time he wrote the earliest version of his poem "The Voyage of Éarendel the Evening Star," from which parts of his mythology descended. Morton's prose style is journalistic and frequently repetitive. As literary criticism this work is decidedly pedestrian, though even Morton expresses some doubt of the idea he puts forward of Jane Neave as an inspiration for Gandalf. Despite such elements of folksiness, there is an interesting amount of new biographical material herein about Tolkien and his family, and the numerous, charming photographs depicting the people involved at the farm and the farm itself make for a nice work of local history. Some reminiscences of the farm by Colin Brookes-Smith (1899-1982), the son of Jane Neave's farming partner, and quotations from his account, written very shortly before his death, of his family's 1911 Swiss holiday with Tolkien and Jane Neave add considerably to the book. Price £9.99 ISBN 9781858584232.

Tolkien's Bag End (2009), by Andrew H. Morton alone, is a follow-up and companion volume to the former book. The subject this time is Jane Neave's farm called Bag End, located at Dormston, near Inkberrow in Worcestershire. Jane Neave owned this farm from around 1923 to 1931, and from it Bilbo Baggins's home got its name. Other than this elementary association, the direct connection of this small book with Tolkien is very tenuous. The writing style is similarly repetitive as in the earlier book, from which some material is duplicated. But again the numerous photographs and the Tolkien family history are the primary elements of appeal. A descriptive pamphlet for the farm, prepared for its sale in May 1931, is reproduced in facsimile. Price £9.99 ISBN 9781858584553.

Because of the over-large size of this volume of *Tolkien Studies*, we have regretfully been forced at the last minute to postpone until our next volume an extensive review of *The Ring Goes Ever On: Proceedings of the Tolkien 2005 Conference: 50 Years of The Lord of the Rings*, edited by Sarah Wells and published by The Tolkien Society. In the meantime, we recommend the two volumes of these proceedings, and note that ordering details can be found at www.tolkiensociety.org. We apologize to The Tolkien Society, to our reviewer, and to the many contributors to these proceedings for this delay.

Douglas A. Anderson

The Year's Work in Tolkien Studies 2007

DAVID BRATMAN

Tolkien studies in 2007 included several anthologies. Most of these, such as an anthology of essays comparing Tolkien with Shakespeare, and another specifically commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the publication of *The Silmarillion*, may be considered as dealing essentially with single topics. All their essays, even those which might by themselves be put in other sections, are considered together below. One important anthology which has been split up in coverage here is *Myth and Magic: Art According to the Inklings*, edited by Eduardo Segura and Thomas Honegger ([Zollikofen, Switzerland]: Walking Tree Publishers, 2007), which consists mostly of articles on Tolkien, with a couple on C.S. Lewis, and a couple comparing Lewis, Tolkien, and Charles Williams. *How We Became Middle-earth: A Collection of Essays on The Lord of the Rings*, edited by Adam Lam and Nataliya Oryshchuk ([Zollikofen, Switzerland]: Walking Tree Publishers, 2007), is actually on the topic of Peter Jackson's movie adaptations, though Tolkien keeps creeping in, and a couple of the essays, treated separately here, are actually about Tolkien and not Jackson at all. This is a case of turnabout being fair play, for Jackson similarly creeps into many of this year's books and essays on Tolkien. Totally apart from an alarming tendency to describe Tolkien's characters in *The Lord of the Rings* doing what only Jackson's characters do, many authors feel obliged, having discussed Tolkien's treatment of a matter, to compare it with Jackson's treatment, as if the movies were a tied-at-the-hip supplement to the book. This rarely sheds much light on Tolkien, the ostensible topic, and is an assumption which defenders of the movies' changes from Tolkien, who keep insisting that it's a separate work of art which must be judged entirely on its own merits and not on its representation of Tolkien, ought to decry. One wonders why earlier critics never dragged in Ralph Bakshi's version this way, although he's getting a few citations now too.

However, digressions, even not involving Peter Jackson, are a major feature in much of this year's work. Many essays, particularly those in Segura and Honegger, spend up to half their length laying background before getting to their ostensible topics, and the duplication and unmediated contradiction among the essays in *Tolkien and Shakespeare: Essays on Shared Themes and Language*, edited by Janet Brennan Croft (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2007), is immense.

Even one of the finest works of the year involved some duplication between essays. This was *Roots and Branches: Selected Papers on Tolkien* by Tom Shippey ([Zollikofen, Switzerland]: Walking Tree Publishers, 2007), a long-needed collection of major (and minor) shorter works by the author of *The Road to Middle-earth* and *J.R.R. Tolkien: Author of the Century*. Like several of the other collections and even one monograph, it was, as a reader of the citations will have noticed, published by the increasingly active Walking Tree Publishers of Switzerland.

Also long-awaited were the keystone works of 2007's scholarship. *The History of The Hobbit*, compiled by John D. Rateliff, is a study based on Tolkien's papers at Marquette University, originally undertaken by Taum Santoski, who died in 1991 with the work barely begun, and is now completed by Rateliff, his friend and colleague, a mere sixteen years later, about the time it took Tolkien to write and publish *The Lord of the Rings*. And as with *The Lord of the Rings*, *The History of The Hobbit* was highly welcome after the long wait. It received the Mythopoeic Scholarship Award in Inklings Studies in 2009. *The Company They Keep: C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien as Writers in Community* by Diana Pavlac Glyer, based on her 1993 doctoral thesis (as Diana Lynne Pavlac) of the same main title, had a similar gestation period; the relationship between the thesis and the book may best be described as a translation from dissertationese into English. *The Company They Keep* received the Mythopoeic Scholarship Award in Inklings Studies in 2008.

Glyer's book employs Tolkien's biography to provide critical elucidation into his writing habits and work. This traditionally fraught scholarly process actually produced some of this year's most solid shorter work, as well. John Garth's article on the inspiration behind "The Passage of the Marshes" in Book IV of *The Lord of the Rings*, and Eric Seddon's investigation into what really bothered Tolkien about Lewis's Narnia, are models of properly applied biographical criticism. Other outstanding essays are personal to their authors: Carl F. Hostetter on the scholarly history of Tolkienian linguistics, in which he has played a major role himself, and Michael D.C. Drout on what it has meant to him to have read *The Silmarillion* as a child, are lucid, well-centered, and strongly relevant discussions of what could have been merely marginal topics.

Recurring topics of the year included Tolkien's literary theory, comparisons between Tolkien and Shakespeare (subjects of entire anthologies), the role of female characters—particularly Éowyn—in *The Lord of the Rings*, classical allusions in that work, and comparisons of Tolkien's treatment of magic with medieval and early modern beliefs on the subject.

Journal publications of the year devoted to Tolkien include Volume 4 of this journal, *Tolkien Studies: An Annual Scholarly Review*; two double issues of *Mythlore* from The Mythopoeic Society, issue 97/98 (Vol. 25, no. 3/4, dated Spring/Summer) and issue 99/100 (Vol. 26, no. 1/2, dated Fall/Winter); Band 4 of *Hither Shore: Jahrbuch der Deutschen Tolkien Gesell-*

schaft, on the subject of "Tolkiens kleinere Werke," mostly in German but also including English-language essays covered here; the first issue of a magazine, *Silver Leaves*, one of many Tolkien fan publications, particularly notable here for some contributions by major Tolkien scholars; the linguistic journals *Parma Eldalamberon* (number 17) and *Vinyar Tengwar* (number 49, dated June), both of which attend to new primary material and commentary on it; and the first issue of a new linguistic publication, *Arda Philology*, from the Arda Society of Sweden, containing secondary linguistic studies. The Tolkien Society did not publish an issue of *Mallorn* in 2007.

Works By Tolkien

The Children of Húrin, the cover title, by which it is generally known, or *Narn i Chîn Húrin: The Tale of the Children of Húrin*, its formal title page title (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007), is not really a new work, though it is being perceived as one, not least by reviewers who have carefully avoided plot spoilers, though it first appeared in summary in *The Silmarillion* in 1977. Technically, this is Christopher Tolkien's editing and straightening out of the *Narn* from *Unfinished Tales* of 1980, similar to the treatment of the source materials going into *The Silmarillion*. As editor, he has used some slightly different texts than in *Unfinished Tales* where the sources are fragmented, corrected some inconsistencies and problems, and papered over gaps with material from the *Quenta* and *Annals*, but he has omitted the closing of the tale from *The Wanderings of Húrin*. The intent was to produce a readers' edition of this fullest prose text of any of the "Great Tales." Editorial appendices on "The Evolution of the Great Tales" (269-82) and "The Composition of the Text" (283-92) explain this, and an introduction, "Middle-earth in the Elder Days" (13-27), is intended to provide plot context. In terms of narrative focus, the *Narn* lies midway between the formal summarized style of the *Quenta* and *Annals* and the novelistic narrative of *The Lord of the Rings*. The tale of Húrin and Morwen, and their children Túrin and Niënor Níniel, is the most *Kalevala*-influenced of all Tolkien's major works. The literary and moral tone is almost the inverse of *The Lord of the Rings*. There, providence and luck work in the characters' favor; here, the curse of Morgoth upon Húrin and his family casts a miasma over everything they attempt. Many reviewers, especially those unfamiliar with *The Silmarillion*, have been surprised at the darkness of the story. Christopher Tolkien's editorial process on the book, and the story's internal point of view, are discussed briefly by Thomas Fornet-Ponse in "*The Children of Húrin*: Its Use for Tolkien Scholarship" (*Hither Shore* 4: 203-6). An article by David Gates and Jac Chebatoris, "Back from the Dead" (*Newsweek*, May 21, 2007: 70-71), on the unusual topic, for a news magazine, of the problems of dealing with unfinished posthumous work, unusually mentions *The Children of Húrin*, stating that the extent of Christopher Tolkien's editing is unclear, but at least—unlike in some authors' cases—the publisher is not claiming that the work is only slightly touched up from how the author left it.

The History of The Hobbit, in two continuously paginated volumes — Part One, *Mr. Baggins*, and Part Two, *Return to Bag-End* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007)—is cataloged by libraries as a work by John D. Rateliff, whose name alone appears on the title pages. But it is every bit as much a work by J.R.R. Tolkien as is *The History of Middle-earth.* It was was compiled and edited by Rateliff in the same manner as the volumes of *The History of Middle-earth* were compiled and edited by Christopher Tolkien. It is, in fact, the long-awaited last missing large non-linguistic piece in the *History*, dealing with the composition of *The Hobbit* in the same way that the *History* deals with *The Lord of the Rings*: that is, it is a documentary history of the author's composition of the story, based on draft manuscript sources quoted largely in full. Rateliff organizes his work by the three phases, as he deduces them, of the original composition: a first phase consisting of a fragmentary manuscript and typescript of part of the finished book's Chapter One; a second phase running from the middle of Chapter One into Chapter Fifteen; and a third phase (after a typescript revision of the existing material) of new composition starting back in Chapter Fourteen and going to the end of the book. (The volume break occurs before Chapter Eleven in the second phase.) Rateliff designates as a fourth phase the original draft texts of the 1947 revision of Chapter Five and other revisions that were incorporated into the 1951 second edition of *The Hobbit*, and, as a fifth phase, a previously unpublished 1960 thorough rewriting of the entire text, in the light of and more in the mode of *The Lord of the Rings*, that got as far as the start of Chapter Three. The 1966 third edition revision and other post-publication textual changes are left to the concern of Douglas A. Anderson's *Annotated Hobbit*. Rateliff's commentary and deductions about the ordering and dating of material are as thorough as the work Christopher Tolkien did on the *History*, and more so in some respects: Rateliff makes contemporary allusions and indulges in more speculation than Christopher Tolkien does, and he ends most chapters with a series of separable essays on various plot themes, background material, or side aspects of the story appropriate for the point he's reached, of which a strikingly representative example is the nearly twelve pages (vol. 1, p. 268-80) on Radagast, whose conception as a minor character and possible name origins are explored in full, and which makes an interesting pair with Nicholas Birns' *Mythlore* article (see below). Each of some fifty essays by Rateliff would make a major research paper on its own.

Tolkien's article "The Name 'Nodens'" originally appeared in 1932 as an appendix in R.E.M. and T.V. Wheeler's report on the excavation of Lydney Park. Its appearance in *Tolkien Studies* 4: 177-83 is its first reprinting. It is an appropriate illustration of Tolkien's scholarly method, as described in Michael D.C. Drout's article in the same issue of *Tolkien Studies* (see below), for Tolkien begins with a single name in some inscriptions and traces it through philological analysis into the imaginative worlds of Celtic and Germanic mythologies.

The major new linguistic publication of the year is *Words, Phrases and Passages in Various Tongues in The Lord of the Rings*, edited by Christopher Gilson (Mountain View, 2007), forming *Parma Eldalamberon* 17. This work, most of which dates to the early 1960s, is out of the chronological sequence which the publication of *Parma* has otherwise been following, but it is of particular interest to casual readers of *The Lord of the Rings* seeking information on the words in Elvish and other invented languages found therein. Indeed, it was probably partly in response to inquiries from readers that Tolkien began compiling this material. The main text consists of glosses, etymologies, and definitional notes on every word and name in the invented languages in the first edition of *The Lord of the Rings*, arranged in order of their appearance in the book. Gilson has collated a full text, a partial revised and enlarged text, and various later notes on these words. The corpus remains essentially unchanged, though the meanings sometimes differ. Many of the entries include digressive notes; thus, an entry for *yrch* (52-54) discusses the languages and peoples of the Eastern Elves. A separate section on "Eldarin Roots and Stems" (143-91) notably includes, under √PHAN, a lengthy essay on the *fanar*, the assumed bodily shapes of the Ainur.

"*Eldarin Hands, Fingers & Numerals*, and Related Writings," further linguistic writings by Tolkien, edited by Patrick H. Wynne, completed publication with Part Three in *Vinyar Tengwar* 49: 3-37. Parts One and Two had appeared in issues 47-48 in 2005. This part discusses what Wynne titles "The Ambidexters Sentence," several versions of a sentence in Quenya declaring that the Elves placed no symbolical weight on left- or right-handedness. The sentences are on pages 6-8; the rest is the editor's extensive glosses and linguistic commentary, except for an appendix on "Late Writings on √*nā* 'to be'" (27-31), a basic verb on whose conjugation Tolkien left little material in his later writings.

Also appearing in *Vinyar Tengwar* 49 are facsimiles, transcriptions, and linguistic analysis of "Five Late Quenya Volitive Inscriptions," edited by Carl F. Hostetter (38-58), mostly brief greetings written in the 1960s, attached to sheets of pronominal inflections which are also analyzed.

General Works, Biography, and Reference

The Company They Keep: C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien as Writers in

Community by Diana Pavlac Glyer (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2007) is a study by a professor of English composition, examining the dynamics of the Inklings as a writers' workshop. Glyer vigorously counters the received view of the Inklings (especially Tolkien) as entirely autonomous figures. Her thesis that they deeply influenced one another is based, not on new material, but on a convincing re-reading and re-organization of known primary sources. Glyer arranges her material thematically, rather than chronologically, according to categories proposed by the literary theorist Karen Burke LeFevre. LeFevre's definition of influence as far more extensive than the usual "tending towards observable similarity" turns out to be highly productive. Tolkien, as a major Inkling, is prominent throughout the book. In the chapter on "Resonators," he is shown as relying on the encouragement of other Inklings in producing his work —Glyer suggests that this interactivity is what makes *The Lord of the Rings* more "reader-friendly" than *The Silmarillion*—and praising the work of both Lewis brothers. The chapter on "Opponents" shows the opposite side of this: Tolkien's criticisms of C.S. Lewis's work, and other Inklings expressing difficulties with *The Lord of the Rings*, particularly the proposed epilogue which Tolkien dropped. The chapter on "Editors" itemizes the various changes both specific and general that Tolkien made as he wrote *The Lord of the Rings* in response to readers' suggestions, cumulatively demonstrating his responsiveness to influence. This chapter also lays out in organized form the changes that Tolkien made in *The Lay of Leithian* in response to C.S. Lewis's suggestions. (Glyer does not perform much literary analysis, but this section is a valuable piece of original research on a specific work.) The chapter on "Collaborators" discusses Christopher Tolkien as a collaborator with his father, and Tolkien's role in the Inklings as an academic ginger group. The chapter on "Referents" discusses Tolkien's Inklings clerihews, "Mythopoeia" as part of a conversation with C.S. Lewis, *The Notion Club Papers* as a portrait of the Inklings, and the self-portrait aspects of hobbits and Niggle. A concluding chapter on "Creativity" discusses Tolkien's clubability and his professional collaborations outside the Inklings, and reads his "leaf-mould of the mind" metaphor as acknowledging artists as collaborators with their predecessors. Glyer's definition of "influence" needs to be applied with caution, as it's in opposition to common use of the term, but on her premises, the interaction among Tolkien as his fellow Inklings is clearly declared.

In a small pendant to her book, Glyer considers "The Centre of the Inklings: Lewis? Williams? Barfield? Tolkien?" (*Mythlore* 26.1-2: 29-39). Each man has his claims to the title; though, unlike the others, Tolkien has never been called the center by a scholar, he is notable as the Inkling most active as the founder of and participant in formal literary groups (33). Glyer typically squares the problem by observing that leadership and authority roles are divisible, and were shared among the Inklings.

"'Gifted Amateurs': C.S. Lewis and the Inklings" by David Bratman (*C.S. Lewis: Life, Works, and Legacy*, edited by Bruce L. Edwards [Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007], 3: 279-320) may also be seen as a pendant to Glyer's work. Specifically citing Glyer, the article applies her view of the Inklings' nature to a detailed chronological account of Inklings history, describing the group as a whole and not (despite the title) focusing specifically on Lewis. This concentrates on the members' social dynamics and on emphasizing how fragmentary, and often presumptive, our knowledge of Inklings history is. A separate section on the significance of the Inklings to study of its members' works sees their diversity as a closeness within a broader context of separation from a wider literary culture. Tolkien is described as a key figure in founding the group, and one whose membership was vital to encouraging and inspiring his own writing.

"'As Under a Green Sea': Visions of War in the Dead Marshes" by John Garth (Segura and Honegger 285-313) also attaches itself to Glyer, by happenstance. Glyer refers to Lewis providing encouragement to get Tolkien going when he was stuck near the beginning of Book IV of *The Lord of the Rings* in early 1944 (56). Garth says there's more to it than that. Buttressing his claim with extensive comparisons of the imagery of the Dead Marshes with the reality of the Somme in 1916, Garth suggests that Tolkien's memories of that battle were awakened by a visit he paid to his old school in Birmingham in April 1944 and his encounter there with what he called "the ghosts that rose from the pavements" (qtd. at 287)—the memory of his fellow pupils who had not survived World War I. After this he wrote the entirety of Book IV with speed and fluency.

"C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien: Friends and Mutual Mentors" by Scott Calhoun (*C.S. Lewis: Life, Works, and Legacy*, edited by Bruce L. Edwards [Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007], 1: 249-73) is a standard account of the men's friendship, beginning with their discovery of their mutual love of myth, continuing through their encouragement of each other's work, noting the influence of *The Lost Road* on *Perelandra* and *That Hideous Strength*, and trailing off with the cooling of their friendship after 1940 due primarily to, as Calhoun sees it, religious issues, before reaching the matters discussed by Eric Seddon (see below).

The Roots of Tolkien's Middle Earth by Robert S. Blackham (Stroud: Tempus, 2006) is the first of two short, but full, volumes by Blackham depicting the geographic relics of Tolkien's life. The sequel is *Tolkien's Oxford* (Stroud: History Press, 2008). *Roots* concerns itself with Tolkien's early life in Birmingham, with a brief excursion to his Aunt Jane's farm in Worcestershire. Intended for readers already familiar with Tolkien's biography, the book is well illustrated with period and present-day photographs, many of the latter in color. Though Blackham goes into great detail on local history, and describes how the area has changed in the succeeding century, this is not exactly a guidebook. Specific addresses are sometimes omitted, even for houses shown in photos, and the guide maps are all period; actual visitors will need to get a present-day map of Birmingham, though Blackham does not mention this. The book title reflects Blackham's determination to squeeze all possible *Hobbit* and *Lord of the Rings* source references out of the innocent countryside. There can be an inflationary desperation reminiscent of Åke Ohlmarks (see Tolkien's *Letters*, 304-7) about this: any pond longer than it is wide "may be the model for the Long Lake" (47) and every tree is an Ent; but whatever Birmingham's contributions to the wilder parts of Middle-earth, Tolkien is on record as having derived the Shire from that countryside, and Blackham usefully points out that Tolkien pilgrims' beloved Sarehole Mill resembles the rebuilt, industrialized Hobbiton mill from "The Scouring of the Shire," not the (undescribed) original (37).

The Oxford of J.R.R. Tolkien and C.S. Lewis by Jeanette Sears (Oxford: Heritage Tours Publications, 2006) is an illustrated pocket guide walking tour to relevant colleges, pubs, and churches in central Oxford. Tolkien's homes, whether in central Oxford or further out, are omitted, though his grave at Wolvercote is noted. Contents are generally accurate, and show some awareness of the Inklings as a group.

"Sites that Shaped Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*" by Christopher Middleton (*Daily Telegraph*, Dec. 15, 2007) is a newspaper article on the Tolkien Trail in Birmingham, describing Sarehole Mill and Moseley Bog. Like other Birmingham boosters, Middleton is convinced that various brick towers in the industrial part of the city inspired the title *The Two Towers*.

Janet Brennan Croft presents a biographical note on what little is known of "Walter E. Haigh, Author of *A New Glossary of the Huddersfield Dialect*" (*Tolkien Studies* 4: 184-8), a 1928 book to which Tolkien contributed the foreword. Tolkien's personal connection with Haigh, and Huddersfield elements in hobbit speech, are noted.

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

Roots and Branches: Selected Papers on Tolkien by Tom Shippey ([Zollikofen, Switzerland]: Walking Tree Publishers, 2007) forms a major new book by this protean scholar. It compiles all his major articles on Tolkien to date, except for those incorporated into his two full-length monographs on Tolkien and some informal speeches. The contents are divided into four sections, though somewhat arbitrarily, as Tolkien in Shippey's eyes is a unified subject: philologist, historian, critic, and creative artist are one. The sections concern Tolkien's relations with his predecessors, his scholarship, his major creative works, and his minor works. Unfortunately, there is no bibliography nor comprehensive source note, so even with the aid of Douglas A. Anderson's Shippey checklist (*Tolkien Studies* 1 [2004]: 17-20), it is not always easy to determine which articles, though delivered as talks, had not previously been published. On top of which, many of the previously published ones have been revised, some of them silently. Articles that appear to be new to print include "Tolkien and the *Beowulf*-Poet" (1-18), concerning Tolkien's strong empathy with the poet, understanding why the poet wrote, and philological deductions that Tolkien made from the text of *Beowulf*; "The Problem of the Rings: Tolkien and Wagner" (97-114), exploring Tolkien's feelings that Wagner had not gotten quite right the changes he made in adapting the source material he shared with Tolkien; "Fighting the Long Defeat: Philology in Tolkien's Life and Fiction" (139-56), describing Tolkien's conception of his profession of comparative philology, observing that while he failed to promote it in academia, he succeeded in infusing philological awareness into the genre of fantasy fiction; "Tolkien and Iceland: The Philology of Envy" (187-202), on how he adapted the Norse "mythology for Iceland" into his own "mythology for England" and how he made his work relevant for his time; and "'A Fund of Wise Sayings': Proverbiality in Tolkien" (303-19), a survey of proverbs—like fairy-tales, an old but neglected form of literature—in *The Lord of the Rings*, considering who uses them and their purpose in the story. "Fighting the Long Defeat" was also published separately this year, in a significantly different text, as "Tolkien, Medievalism, and the Philological Tradition" (*Bells Chiming from the Past: Cultural and Linguistic Studies on Early English*, edited by Isabel Moskowich-Spiegel and Begoña Crespo-García [Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007], 265-79).

Verlyn Flieger continues her exploration of dreaming and time-transference in Tolkien in "The Curious Incident of the Dream at the Barrow: Memory and Reincarnation in Middle-earth" (*Tolkien Studies* 4: 99-112). What makes Merry's dream in *The Lord of the Rings* so curious is that, unlike in otherwise similar instances in *The Lost Road* and *The Notion Club Papers*, Merry is not the genetic descendant of the dead person who briefly possesses him mentally, nor does the episode have significance to the plot or character development. Without the genetic "cover" used in the other stories, the episode merely testifies to Tolkien's continued interest in reincarnation.

"The Fading of the World: Tolkien's Ecology and Loss in *The Lord of the Rings*" by Chris Brawley (*Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts* 18: 292-307) equates Tolkien's declared aim of recovery of a clear view of the world (from "On Fairy-Stories") with the concept of the numinous—a term rarely employed in serious Tolkien criticism. Brawley applies these to several characters and places representing nature: Tom Bombadil, Treebeard (contrasted with his antagonist, Saruman), Lothlórien, and, lastly, for a more cultivated, homely form of nature, the Shire. In all of these, Brawley sees an impending or underlying sense of loss, which is equated with despair.

In "Millennialism in Middle-earth: An Examination of the Relevance of *The Lord of the Rings*" (Lam and Oryshchuk 197-211), Michael J. Brisbois maps the book onto Kenelm Burridge's structure of millenarian activities. Aragorn's return as king (Brisbois identifies his activities in the Houses of Healing as the climax of this thread) and the concomitant destruction of the Ring are the resolution of an imbalance existing since Isildur's time. The deep satisfaction of this plot and the chance to escape vicariously from Sauron's modernistic power explain the hold of the story on so many readers.

"J.R.R. Tolkien and the Child Reader: Images of Inheritance and Resistance in *The Lord of the Rings* and J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter*" by Lori M. Campbell (Lam and Oryshchuk 291-310) is partly a general defense of children's literature, citing Tolkien to support a claim that children can handle more complex and mature material than they're often given credit for. The rest is a rambling discussion of certain issues of maturation in *The Lord of the Rings* and the Harry Potter books, with occasional off-kilter appearances by the movies of both works: Campbell oddly claims that Jackson's omission of the Scouring of the Shire *more* "powerfully highlights how much the Hobbits have changed" (301) by showing them sitting around a table than Tolkien's having them lead a successful battle did.

"Feudal Values, Vassalage, and Fealty in *The Lord of the Rings*" by Colleen Donnelly (*Mythlore* 25.3-4: 17-27) shows Sam, Faramir, and Beregond as exemplifying good service in their capacities as vassals or servants, while Gollum is a more complex case, and Denethor forgets that he is only a steward. But masters have obligations to their servants as well, and in the end, even Aragorn as king is a servant.

Mythlore 25.3-4 contains a pair of contrasting articles on the role of women. "Battling the Woman Warrior: Females and Combat in Tolkien and Lewis" by Candice Fredrick and Sam McBride (29-42) accuses Tolkien by not-quite-stated implication of sexism for having an insuffiency of women warriors. "Finding Woman's Role in *The Lord of the Rings*" by Melissa McCrory Hatcher (43-54) defends Éowyn (against, among others, Fredrick and McBride, in their earlier work) as a fully-developed character with complex needs and drives, who loves Faramir because he treats her with respect as an equal, and who exemplifies Tolkien's theme of the heroism of the weak and marginalized.

Another article in the same issue tying into this is "The Fall and Repentance of Galadriel" by Romuald Ian Lakowski (91-104). Lakowski concludes his survey of Galadriel's repentance as described in various late writings by noting that Tolkien certainly devoted a lot of attention to the subject, and did not neglect her. His main point, however, is that the post-*Lord of the Rings* explanations of Galadriel's situation and actions do not mesh very well with the character in the story, stylistically or morally. This is one example of the intractable problems that Tolkien left in his incomplete *legendarium*.

The last word in this year's offerings on this issue comes from "Tolkien's Females and the Defining of Power" by Nancy Enright (*Renascence* 59.2: 93-108). Enright considers four principal females in *The Lord of the Rings* and the way they achieve greater power, in the broader sense of the word, through renunciation of worldly dominance. Galadriel's Marian character is considered extensively. Enright's reading of Éowyn is most interesting: she considers claims that Éowyn diminishes herself on renouncing warriorhood to be a false reading by the stereotypical masculine standards that Tolkien critiques throughout the book.

Daniel Peretti in "The Ogre Blinded and *The Lord of the Rings*" (*Mythlore* 25.3-4: 133-43) uses folklore motivic analysis to read the destruction of the Ring as Tolkien's transformation of the folktale structure "The Ogre Blinded," with Sauron as the ogre. Peretti admits the parallels are not close, but fitting round pegs into square holes is the essence of this kind of analysis, so he proceeds, concluding with a treatment of Frodo's failure that declares that Frodo did not fail: the Quest did succeed, after all.

Paul W. Lewis provides a character comparison of "Beorn and Tom Bombadil: A Tale of Two Heroes" (*Mythlore* 25.3-4: 145-60), primarily from a sub-creational perspective. Though he subscribes to the highly dubious theory that Bombadil is the Vala Aulë "gone native," Lewis makes some useful comparisons between Bombadil's and Beorn's roles in the story, concluding that their chief purpose for Tolkien is to demonstrate the existence of independent good in the richness of the world: "they are *not* essential to the plot of the story, but they *are* essential to Middle-earth" (157).

"'Deep Lies the Sea-Longing': Inklings of Home" by Charles A. Huttar (*Mythlore* 26.1-2: 5-27) discusses sea-travel imagery in Tolkien, Lewis, and Williams. The primary discussion of Tolkien (11-18) compares westward longing in *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Notion Club Papers*, taking special note of Frankley's St. Brendan poem in the latter (published separately as "Imram"). Huttar also brings in the fall of Númenor and the voyage of Eärendil, and makes subtle comparisons with Lewis and Williams, particularly regarding each author's use of symbolic geography.

"Sacral Kingship: Aragorn as the Rightful and Sacrificial King in *The Lord of the Rings*" by Karen Simpson Nikakis (*Mythlore* 26.1-2: 83-90) reads Aragorn's ministrations in the Houses of Healing (not achieved without considerable effort on his part) and his willingness to postpone his own ambitions in order to serve the needs of the hobbits as elements of Frazerian royal self-sacrifice.

"The Enigma of Radagast: Revision, Melodrama, and Depth" by Nicholas Birns (*Mythlore* 26.1-2: 113-26) is about the same length as John D. Rateliff's essay on the same topic in *The History of The Hobbit*, while being less purely descriptive. Like Rateliff, Birns recounts Radagast's role in the stories in which he appears. He then goes on to aver that Radagast is too inconsequential, too tied to *The Hobbit*, to fit comfortably in the more Silmarillion-like *Lord of the Rings* world. The added intermediate history and the re-directed geography of Middle-earth leave no place for him. Unlike Rateliff, Birns has little to say about the origin of the name.

"Venerable or Vulnerable: Ageing and Old Age in J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*" by David B. Hogan and A. Mark Clarfield (*Medical Humanities* 33: 5-10) reviews the differing lifespans and aging processes of various peoples in Middle-earth, and briefly contrasts scientific promotion of the artificial prolongation of life with Tolkien's opposition to it, a topic sitting oddly in the absence of much consideration of Tolkien's characters' desire for deathlessness, or the religious perspective.

"The Critics, the Monsters, and the Fantasists" by Ursula K. Le Guin (*Wordsworth Circle* 38.1-2: 83-87; reprinted in her book *Cheek by Jowl* [Seattle: Aqueduct Press, 2009], 26-41) is a brief screed against critics who dismiss fantasy literature as insignificant. Le Guin cites Tolkien's defense of the fantastic imagination in "On Fairy-Stories," and declares that *The Lord of the Rings* "is in itself a sufficient demonstration of the value of fantasy literature" (84).

General Criticism: Other Works

The Silmarillion: Thirty Years On, edited by Allan Turner ([Zollikofen, Switzerland]: Walking Tree Publishers, 2007), contains six fairly long essays. Despite the title, only a couple of the essays seriously consider the subsequently-published *History of Middle-earth* drafts, and only one, Michael Drout's, considers the difference between reading the book on publication in 1977 and reading it today. "A Mythology for England" by Rhona Beare (1-31) is in fact a revision of a chapter from her short monograph *J.R.R. Tolkien's The Silmarillion* (New Lambton, NSW: Nimrod Publications, 1999). Beare outlines what is English about Tolkien's mythological idea, specifically the climate and maritime setting of Beleriand, contrasting this with the settings of Greek, Norse, and Celtic mythology. She also discusses the John the Baptist and morning star symbolism of the word *earendel*, which Tolkien adapted from Cynewulf into his mythology. "Reflections on Thirty Years of Reading *The Silmarillion*" by Michael D.C. Drout (33-57) is a remarkably poignant reception study, closely examining the response of a single reader, Drout himself at the age of nine. *The Silmarillion* was a catharsis for the sadness in his own life, and appealed to him for forthrightly addressing the sense of loss and awareness of death that even children feel, without feigning a false consolation. "Moving Mandos: The Dynamics of Subcreation in 'Of Beren and Lúthien'" by Anna Slack (59-79) asserts that Tolkien keeps a balanced conflict between eucatastrophe and dyscatastrophe in his work. This is illustrated in the Beren and Lúthien chapter of *The Silmarillion* by the presence of songs, which are eucatastrophic, and oaths, which are essentially dyscatastrophic. "The Origins of the 'Ainulindalë': The Present State of Research" by Michaël Devaux (81-110) is a textual study of the evolution of this work from its origin in *The Book of Lost Tales* on, tracing the entrance and significance of various elements at different stages, paying particular attention to the Great Music as the enactment of a Catholic Mass. This was Tolkien's attempt to make his creative work theologically justifiable in terms of his own faith. "From Mythopoeia to Mythography: Tolkien, Lönnrot, and Jerome" by Jason Fisher (111-38) surveys the thematic and linguistic inspirations from the *Kalevala* in *The Silmarillion*, noting also stylistic echoes of the Bible. (Fisher is discussing Jerome's Vulgate, but one suspects readers who call *The Silmarillion* Biblical are thinking of an English translation, probably the King James). Fisher hits on his true subject briefly when he notes that unlike the *Kalevala*, *The Silmarillion* is not in verse (122)—though it could have been, had Christopher Tolkien selected different source texts. (Fisher's error in stating that nothing from *The Lays of Beleriand* appeared in *The Silmarillion* is unimportant.) This eventually leads to a comparison between Christopher Tolkien and Elias Lönnrot, compiler of the *Kalevala*. Each smoothed out complex, irregular source material into a coherent text. "Viewpoints, Audiences and Lost Texts in *The Silmarillion*" by Nils Ivar Agøy (139-63) inverts Fisher's topic by trying to deduce the narrator and intended audience within the fictional universe. Agøy concludes that the audience is Mannish but the source material is mostly Elvish, the viewpoint is inconsistently limited and omniscient, and that attributing the compilation to Bilbo in Rivendell doesn't work. (This conclusion depends, however, on an only half-acknowledged acceptance of the Round World version as the definitive cosmology.)

"When is a Fairy Story a Faërie Story?: *Smith of Wootton Major*" by Verlyn Flieger (Segura and Honegger 57-70) simply describes the story as the practical exemplar of Tolkien's description of Faërie in "On Fairy-Stories." It's a story about what Faërie, the place or state of being, is like for human travelers there, with Smith's star, his talisman, as the necessary piece of authorial creativity to make the story possible. The journey is viewed mystically rather than matter-of-factly, and "the Mirror of scorn and pity towards Man" (65) is held up to Smith as well as to Nokes.

"Time and the Neighbor: J.R.R. Tolkien's 'Leaf by Niggle'" by

Anthony Esolen (a chapter from his book *Ironies of Faith* [Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2007]: 153-71) is a spiritual reading of the story. Niggle does not properly understand how to use or allocate his time, or to express the significance of the subjects of his painting, or to love his neighbor, but he learns all these things in the end.

After extensively outlining Tolkien's ideas about allegory and applicability, Eduardo Segura in "'Leaf by Niggle' and the Aesthetics of Gift: Towards a Definition of J.R.R. Tolkien's Notion of Art" (Segura and Honegger 315-37) undertakes to demonstrate that "Leaf" is a stronger story viewed with applicability than as allegory, but the article mostly concerns Niggle's personal perspective as a character.

Thomas Honegger in "*The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth*: Philology and the Literary Muse" (*Tolkien Studies* 4: 189-99) examines the unpublished draft texts and notes of Tolkien's essay-poem for the purpose of understanding the development of Tolkien's thought on the Anglo-Saxon text *The Battle of Maldon*.

"The Rout of the King: Tolkien's Readings on Arthurian Kingship" by Vincent Ferré (*Hither Shore* 4: 11-22) proposes that the king in *Farmer Giles of Ham*, like Beorhtnoth, shows hubris and rashness. For good measure, Ferré criticizes Thingol, Fingolfin, and (in some stories, notably *Sir Gawain*) Arthur for the same flaw. At the end of the story, Giles becomes the good king, like Aragorn; but, also like Aragorn, we see little of him being one.

Allan Turner's misleadingly-titled "Tom Bombadil: The Sins of His Youth" (*Hither Shore* 4: 119-27) considers the preface of *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil and Other Verses from the Red Book* in its capacity as a way of inserting older poems, many of which were originally written as donnish jokes, into Tolkien's mythology with which they were originally unconnected. Turner also describes a similar insertion process with the revisions of another poem, *The Horns of Ylmir*. As a reader, Turner finds that the inserted poems tend to clash with his conception of Middle-earth from reading *The Lord of the Rings*, but in the preface, Tolkien cleverly fobs off responsibility for any problems or infelicities on the hobbits who wrote them.

Guglielmo Spirito extols "Speaking with Animals: A Desire that Lies near the Heart of Faërie" (*Hither Shore* 4: 23-36). This is expressed in Tolkien primarily by Garm the dog in *Farmer Giles of Ham* and by the animal conversations in the Bombadil poems.

Two articles in *Hither Shore* 4 discuss the perils of the journey to Faërie in Tolkien, focusing on characters in "minor" works. Anna Slack in "A Star Above the Mast: Tolkien, Faërie, and the Great Escape" (177-87) discusses attitudes towards Faërie held by characters in several of these, from Nokes in *Smith of Wootton Major* who scorns it, and the narrator of the poem *The Sea-Bell*, who foolishly attempts to master it, through Niggle who is torn between Faërie and the mundane world, to Smith who lives comfortably in both worlds. Margaret Hiley in "Journeys in the Dark" (167-75) takes a different perspective. She examines two characters in detail, expanding on the lack of wisdom and of luck of the narrator of *The Sea-Bell*, but also finds even Smith's quest problematic. For Hiley, Smith is never at home in Faërie and cannot fully grasp the meaning of what he sees, and is also somewhat alienated from home. The Perilous Realm is perilous even to the favored.

Tolkien's Literary Theory and Practice

Tree of Tales: Tolkien, Literature, and Theology, edited by Trevor Hart and Ivan Khovacs (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007), collects several short and mostly light-weight essays on Tolkien's story-telling theory, with a sub-theme of lamenting for the good old days of deeper literary understanding. Notes for all the contributions are grouped at the end of the book, thus the peculiar paginations that follow. "Tolkien, St. Andrews, and Dragons" by Rachel Hart (1-11, 103-7) recounts the circumstances under which Tolkien came to deliver the Andrew Lang Lecture "On Fairy-Stories" at St. Andrews University in 1939, and traces visual inspiration for Smaug in *The Hobbit* to Lang's *Red Fairy Book*; "The Fairy Story: J.R.R. Tolkien and C.S. Lewis" by Colin Duriez (13-23, 107) is a brief sketch of their early creative work and shared interest in fantasy and "traditional" values; "Tolkien's Mythopoesis" by Kirstin Johnson (25-38, 107-11) discusses the significance of mythology to Tolkien (and Lewis), and surveys *The Lord of the Rings* for characters' storytelling and love of lore; "Tolkien, Creation, and Creativity" by Trevor Hart (39-53, 111-5) treats the "Ainulindalë" as an exercise in artistic creativity by both its author and the characters in it, and the relationship between the myth and Tolkien's primary-world Christian belief; "Tolkien and the Future of Literary Studies" by David Lyle Jeffrey (55-70, 115-7) is a discursive lament on the loss suffered to literary studies by decreasing familiarity with the Bible and the classics; "Tolkien and the Surrendering of Power" by Loren Wilkinson (71-83, 117), after an unnecessary opening asserting Tolkien's acquiescence to the idea of having a film made of *The Lord of the Rings*, criticizes the Jackson movies for lacking the homely or gardening touch of the book, admitting that such a story may be difficult to tell in film terms (perhaps in action-packed blockbusters, but not other types of movies); "Tolkien's Augustinian Understanding of Good and Evil: Why *The Lord of the Rings* is not Manichean" by Ralph Wood (85-102, 117-9) begins by fantastically misreading Tom Shippey's cautionary description of Manicheanism (*J.R.R. Tolkien, Author of the Century* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001], 134) as a claim of Tolkien's endorsement of its flaw (87), and then spends the rest of its 18 pages vigorously bashing this illusory straw man. *Contra* Wood, Shippey never claims that Tolkien really has a Manichean view of evil, but that he attempts, and succeeds at, assimilating undeniable Manichean insights into a fundamentally Augustinian worldview, which is exactly what Wood is arguing, except that Wood frames it as Tolkien heroically smiting Manichean error.

In *The Return of Christian Humanism: Chesterton, Eliot, Tolkien, and the Romance of History* by Lee Oser (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007), Tolkien is principally the subject of chapter 4, which bears his name (52-67). But he also appears elsewhere in the book, especially in chapter 10, "The Romance of History" (150-65). Oser's brief is a defense of Christian humanist literary philosophy against Modernist aesthetes. What is unusual is the honored placement of Tolkien in a rarified critical environment. For Oser, Tolkien is a robust defender of philosophical truths, equal to Chesterton and Eliot "as creative writers of genius" (3); critical hostility against him is just another salvo in the war of the modernists "against the tradition that I am defending" (151). Not only is Tolkien's concept of sub-creation carefully distinguished from Coleridge's (55-58), but Tolkien's plot-based concept of the novel is contrasted with the proto-modernist style-based concept of Flaubert (52-53), not an author Tolkien is often compared with. Unlike most critics, Oser grasps the importance of Tom Shippey's observation that the Ring expresses positive evil (118); unlike almost anybody, he is prepared to compliment the technical qualities of Tolkien's poetry (63, 144), finding in the Ring-verse resemblance to Eliot's "The Hollow Men."

"A Mythology for England?: Looking a Gift Horse in the Mouth" by Thomas Honegger (Segura and Honegger 109-30) describes the great mythological Matters of Brittany, France, and Rome, to establish a context in which Tolkien intended to create a mythology for England, and goes on to provide a useful summary (revised from his article in *Hither Shore* 3 [2006]: 13-26) of Tolkien's changing strategies for making his mythology English and explaining its fictional transmission to modern readers.

Hayden Head offers "Imitative Desire in Tolkien's Mythology: A Girardian Perspective" (*Mythlore* 26.1-2: 137-48). The theories of René Girard offer a viewpoint from which to observe the envy and rivalry motivating actors in Tolkien's mythology. Melkor, Sauron, and Saruman are obvious examples, each enacting his rivalry by imitating the object of his envy. In this perspective, the Ring is a "black abyss," a token of envy that can never be satisfied. Bombadil is immune to the Ring's glamour because he is the only character completely content to be himself and with no rivalry towards anybody.

"Storming the Gates of Barad-dûr: J.R.R. Tolkien, Christian

Resistance, and the Imagination" by H.L. Reeder IV (*Past Watchful Dragons: Fantasy and Faith in the World of C.S. Lewis*, edited by Amy H. Sturgis [Altadena, CA: Mythopoeic Press, 2007], 171-82) is a highly theoretical article using *Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics* to show Tolkien's critical method of resisting standard critical interpretations. Reeder cautions against using Tolkien's criticism only as an interpretive tool for his fiction, but says that Tolkien's view of *Beowulf* as a unified mythic combination of a variety of discourses is a useful way to view the Silmarillion as well.

"A Monster That Matters: Tolkien's Grendel Revisited" by Eugenio M. Olivares-Merino (Segura and Honegger 187-240) considers Tolkien's relationship with *Beowulf*. The poem's meaningfulness to him as a war veteran, his observations on previous *Beowulf* scholars in connection with his *Beowulf* essay, his refusal to take the poem as an allegory (as with his own work), and his reading of Grendel as part of Beowulf's *wyrd* and as a creature who, while descending into evil, still has an essential humanity about him—in short, something like Gollum—are all considered.

"Recovering the 'Utterly Alien Land': Tolkien and Transcendentalism" by Martin Simonson (Segura and Honegger 1-20) is an unusual source study of Tolkien's theory. His concept of Recovery, Simonson says, owes much to the polemic essays of Emerson and Thoreau that urge a fresh, unjaded, childlike view of nature. Where Tolkien differs from the transcendentalists is in his employment of fresh linguistic and geographic sub-creativity to generate his recovered view.

Two articles in Segura and Honegger concern the theoretical basis of magic in Tolkien's work. "New Learning and New Ignorance: Magia, Goeteia, and the Inklings" by Tom Shippey (21-46) is largely concerned with C.S. Lewis's discussion of the role of magic, science, and religion in early modern thinking, bringing in Galadriel's mirror and her reluctance to use the word "magic" as reflecting conversations Tolkien and Lewis must have had on the subject (31-32). Shippey concludes that the distinctions between *magia* and *goeteia*, and the moral roles of each, were ambivalent and shifting. Dieter Bachmann in "Words for Magic: *goetia, gûl* and *lúth*" (47-55) goes further, using Elvish etymologies to argue that Galadriel's distinction between Elvish arts and Sauron's deceits is not tenable. Instead, Bachmann proposes a two-way distinction, between thought-magic and magical artifacts on one hand, and between artist motives and the will to power on the other.

Patrick Curry in "Iron Crown, Iron Cage: Tolkien and Weber on Modernity and Enchantment" (Segura and Honegger 99-108) briefly considers the two images of his title—one from Morgoth in *The Silmarillion*, the other from social philosopher Max Weber's critique of modernity—to propose that Tolkien's use of the symbolism of iron is also a criticism of modernity and a defense of enchantment.

"Myth, Fact and Incarnation" by Colin Duriez (Segura and Honegger 71-98) recounts C.S. Lewis's development of his understanding of the meaning of myth. Tolkien makes his usual cameo appearance in their 1931 discussion of myth and fact (89-91).

SOURCES AND COMPARATIVE STUDIES

Tolkien and Shakespeare: Essays on Shared Themes and Language, edited by Janet Brennan Croft (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2007) is an original anthology of essays within a tightly-enough defined scholarly space that, while the reader appreciates the differing perspectives, the whole is less than the sum of the parts. Most of the contributors feel obliged to recapitulate Tolkien's few, ambiguous, and mostly unenlightening comments on Shakespeare, and the book as a whole waffles over the question of how many of the parallels were intended by Tolkien and how many are just shared ideas without direct inspiration. Many of the articles are provocative, but some are strained, and most wrestle awkwardly with the difference in style and approach of Shakespearean and Tolkienian criticism. At least eight Shakespeare plays are discussed in detail, but for Tolkien, most of the authors stick to *The Lord of the Rings*.

The book is divided into four thematic sections. The first, on Faërie, includes "Clashing Mythologies: The Elves of Shakespeare and Tolkien" by Allegra Johnston (9-24), contrasting Tolkien's more serious and powerful Elves adapted from Norse myth with Shakespeare's mixture of English folklore and Celtic sources; "'How Now, Spirit! Whither Wander You?': Diminution: The Shakespearean Misconception and the Tolkienian Ideal of Faërie" by Jessica Burke (25-41), blaming the diminution of fairies into Victorian whimsy—from which Tolkien began to rescue them—less on Shakespeare than on other Elizabethan and Jacobean authors, who used fairies for political satire and moral tales of social control; "Just a Little Bit Fey: What's at the Bottom of *The Lord of the Rings* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*?" by Rebecca-Anne C. Do Rozario (42-59), comparing Shakespeare's Mechanicals to the hobbits, as comic relief in the form of misplaced Warwickshire countrymen encountering magical things they don't always understand; and "'Perilously Fair': Titania, Galadriel, and the Fairy Queen of Medieval Romance" by Romuald I. Lakowski (60-78), an ingenious comparison of the two queens, describing Galadriel as a Titania purged of the gross, and finding similarities in their origins in medieval romance and in both being put to a test (Galadriel in the mirror scene, and Titania with Bottom).

The second section, on Power, includes "'We Few, We Happy Few': War and Glory in *Henry V* and *The Lord of the Rings*" by the late Daniel Timmons (81-90), a brief polemic objecting to critics of Tolkien for "glorifying" war by claiming that Henry always gets a pass from critics despite his dubious cause and open jingoism; "The Person of a Prince: Echoes of *Hamlet* in J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*" by Kayla McKinney Wiggins (91-109), vigorously sweeping the "problem of Hamlet" under the carpet by declaring him the very model of a prince, who restores order to his kingdom (though he does not live to see it), which Aragorn and Faramir do likewise, and similarly comparing Claudius with Denethor and Polonius with Saruman; "How 'All That Glisters Is Not Gold' Became 'All That Is Gold Does Not Glitter': Aragorn's Debt to Shakespeare" by Judith J. Kollmann (110-27), a catalogue of his similarities to and differences from Henry V, notably among the similarities that they both first appear disguising their true character; "'The Shadow of Succession': Shakespeare, Tolkien, and the Conception of History' by Annalisa Castaldo (128-36), arguing that the presence of "common man" protagonists and the human option for moral choice makes *The Lord of the Rings* more akin to Shakespeare's history plays than to medieval epic; "'The Rack of This Tough World': The Influence of *King Lear* on *Lord of the Rings*" by Leigh Smith (137-57), a thorough comparison, focusing on Théoden and Denethor as Lear figures, comparing Éowyn to Kent (both serve their lords in disguise), and demonstrating the value of Tom Shippey's insight into Tolkien's presentation of evil by showing how both Tolkien and Shakespeare try to mediate competing concepts of evil; and "Shakespearean Catharsis in the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien" by Anne C. Petty (158-74), which defines catharsis as the aesthetic literary satisfaction in a tragic fall and death, shown in three characters from different Tolkien books, Thorin, Denethor, and Fëanor, who each fall into folly but recover in different ways and to differing extents.

The third section, on Magic, includes "Prospero's Books, Gandalf's Staff: The Ethics of Magic in Shakespeare and Tolkien" by Nicholas Ozment (177-95), who has his own demotic go at explaining the ethical distinction between *magia* and *goeteia* (describing their meaning in reverse of Bachmann's definitions), contrasting the human wizard Prospero with Gandalf, who is neither human nor, in any sense but that of nomenclature, a wizard; "Merlin, Prospero, Saruman and Gandalf: Corrosive Uses of Power in Shakespeare and Tolkien" by Frank P. Riga (196-214), emphasizing the double-sided nature of Prospero, which Tolkien splits into the beneficent Gandalf and his *Doppelgänger*, Saruman; and "'Bid the Tree Unfix His Earthbound Root': Motifs from *Macbeth* in J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*" by Janet Brennan Croft (215-26), primarily concerned with Boromir as a nascent Macbeth, tempted by Galadriel but entirely responsible for his own actions, and also considering Tolkien's "corrections" of Shakespeare's themes (the trees marching to war, Macduff as "not of woman born" vs. Éowyn as "no living man") and verbal parallels and the use of divination.

The final section, on The Other, includes "Hidden in Plain View: Strategizing Unconventionality in Shakespeare's and Tolkien's Portraits of Women" by Maureen Thum (229-50), describing Galadriel and Éowyn as Tolkien's experiments in hiding women of power in the literature of a sexist society, as Shakespeare hides Viola in *Twelfth Night*; "Something Is Stirring in the East: Racial Identity, Confronting the 'Other,' and Miscegenation in *Othello* and *The Lord of the Rings*" by Robert Gehl (251-66), an attempt to read fear of Gollum as equivalent to racist loathing of Othello; "Self-Cursed, Night-fearers, and Usurpers: Tolkien's Atani and Shakespeare's Men" by Anna Fåhraeus (267-80), like Castaldo's article (in the book's second part, above) focused on Shakespeare's history plays, primarily on the fear of death and desire for deathlessness; "Gollum and Caliban: Evolution and Design" by Lisa Hopkins (281-93), less concerned with character parallels than with why Tolkien would be interested in Caliban as an inspiration and model; and "Of Two Minds: Gollum and Othello" by Charles Keim (294-312), describing both as characters of divided mind who die by their own hands.

Chesterton and Tolkien as Theologians: The Fantasy of the Real by Alison Milbank (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2007) is more on moral philosophy than on theology specifically. Although Milbank discusses Chesterton's own creative work, the book is primarily a Chestertonian study of *The Lord of the Rings*. This is particularly clear in Milbank's Part 1, "Poiesis," where Milbank effectively shows Tolkien employing Chesterton's principles of the fantastic. Primary among these is defamiliarization, making the ordinary into something unusual (e.g. by having the plain, everyday hobbits looked upon as unknown or mythical by everyone they meet), spiritually charged (as in surrounding magic with enchantment, very unlike the matter-of-fact magic of currently popular fantasists), or grotesque (illustrated not just with the obviously grotesque creatures like Gollum and Shelob, but also by Treebeard as an uncanny mixture of tree and man, and by the Dwarves as aesthetically contrasted with the Elves). The other Chestertonian principles are of riddling and paradox, shown not just with riddles—which occur, less formally, in *The Lord of the Rings* as well as in *The Hobbit*—but in many paradoxes, notably that of Frodo's role as Ringbearer. Frodo's increasing enslavement to a talisman of evil puts a striking limitation on his commonly conceived role as a Christ figure. Milbank's Part 2, "Praxis," is less concerned with Chestertonian principles. The main topic here is gift exchange and its perils, illustrated with the malignancy surrounding Gollum's acquisition of the Ring, and depicting Bilbo's birthday party as a deliberately self-impoverishing potlatch. Milbank dips into *The Father Christmas Letters* to discuss Father Christmas as a teacher to children of the rituals of gift-exchange. Overall, the book is occasionally digressive, particularly in its long introduction, but Milbank has a notably solid grasp of some of the points about Tolkien that most puzzle less attuned readers.

"From Mind to Mind": Robert Browning and J.R.R. Tolkien by Chris Walsh (Chester, UK: Chester Academic Press, 2007) is a 33-page pamphlet that, refreshingly, does not claim to be a source study at all, but merely a "compare and contrast" consideration of the two authors. Both addressed big philosophical questions in their work, both developed aesthetic theories of the literary art, both dealt with the theme of death and believed death should be faced with courage, and both have imaginative power and can ignite the imaginative capacity in their readers.

The "Arthurian Reminiscences in Tolkien's Trilogy: *The Lord of the Rings*" found by María José Álvarez-Faedo (*Avalon Revisited*, edited by Álvarez-Faedo [Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2007]: 185-209) are largely basic themes from Malory. The Fellowship is like a knightly quest, particularly the Grail Quest; Gandalf is a Merlin figure, Aragorn an Arthur figure, and Galadriel like the image of the Virgin that Arthur carries on his shield. Named swords are important, and there is a healing voyage. Álvarez-Faedo provides the most extreme example this year of dragging Peter Jackson unnecessarily into a Tolkien article, by declaring, against all evidence, that reworkings such as Jackson's are necessary to keep Tolkien alive, even as Tolkien's "Arthurian reminiscences," themselves rather diffuse, are declared to have kept Arthurian myth alive (205). She could have—and in this context it becomes sorely missed—with equal justification have cited *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (1975), which as of this date is at least as culturally totemic a film as anything by Peter Jackson.

In "Tolkien's '"Celtic" Type of Legends': Merging Traditions" (*Tolkien Studies* 4: 51-71), Dimitra Fimi makes some useful observations on Tolkien's employment of Celtic mythic motifs in *The Lost Road*, *The Notion Club Papers*, *The Lay of Leithian*, and of course the unpublished *Fall of Arthur*, and demonstrates that appropriate sources were available to him by noting the size and contents of his Celtic studies library. This is framed as a rebuttal to a supposed belief that Tolkien had no interest in the Celtic.

The "Greek and Latin Amatory Motifs in Éowyn's Portrayal" found by Miryam Librán-Moreno (*Tolkien Studies* 4: 73-97) were added to *The Lord of the Rings* after Éowyn's character and role had been firmly established, perhaps to reinforce it. The article does not address whether other poetic traditions may have used imagery of cold hearts softening in spring, and so forth, but does note that all its listed metaphors may be found in a single poem traditionally (though incorrectly) ascribed to Vergil, an author Tolkien is known to have mentioned.

Librán-Moreno takes a similar approach in "'A Kind of Orpheus-Legend in Reverse': Two Classical Myths in the Story of Beren and Lúthien" (Segura and Honegger 143-85). Using specific quotations from a variety of Greek and Latin authors, the article shows features of Orpheus appearing in the deeds of Lúthien and Daeron, while the final reunion of Beren and Lúthien copies the romance of Protesilaus and Laodameia in the Trojan War. As with the Éowyn motifs, these appear to have been added in during the course of revision, possibly explaining some of the extensive recasting of detail in a legend that remained stable in its basic outline.

Marjorie Burns, in "Tracking the Elusive Hobbit (In Its Pre-Shire Den)" (*Tolkien Studies* 4: 200-11) is less concerned with the word *hobbit* than in parallels between Bilbo and the hero of John Buchan's 1921 novel *Huntingtower*, who is another reluctant middle-aged adventurer of similar mien.

"Galadriel and Morgan le Fey: Tolkien's Redemption of the Lady of the Lacuna" by Susan Carter (*Mythlore* 24.3-4: 71-89) describes Galadriel as Tolkien's "craftily exploited, remade" version of "much earlier artistry" (73), particularly Morgan le Fey in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Both ladies exercise an unfeminine (by stereotypical standards) power that causes them to be neglected or underestimated as female characters, and do so under a cloud of mystery and uncertainty to the protagonists and the reader. Though fair, Galadriel is also perilous, as she notes herself, and potentially evil.

"Archaeology and the Sense of History in J.R.R. Tolkien's Middle-earth" by Deborah Sabo (*Mythlore* 26.1-2: 91-112) is an unusual source study, because the source material is not literature, but archaeology. Lake-town in *The Hobbit* is a direct copy of an archaeological model of presumed prehistoric lake pile-dwellings, a model which, at the time of writing, was already coming to be seen as inaccurate, but which Tolkien copied faithfully. The Barrow-downs and the tomb mounds of Rohan, and other ancient relics in *The Lord of the Rings*, are imaginative re-creations of existing barrows, earthworks, and other prehistoric sites in England. All these sites, including Weathertop and Dunharrow, serve as opportunities for the protagonists to muse on the weight and significance of history.

"Tolkien and Old Norse Antiquity: Real and Romantic Links in Material Culture" by Dimitra Fimi (*Old Norse Made New*, edited by David Clark and Carl Phelpstead [London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2007]: 80-95) addresses the same archaeological question, with detail but less comprehensively. Fimi is specifically interested in the Gondorians (including their cousins in Arnor, but the inclusion is treated hazily) and their resemblance to the Norse. Besides noting burial mounds (this time in Fornost), Fimi compares the elaborate tombs of the kings of Gondor to ship-burials, and goes into some detail on the crown of Gondor, which she considers to obviously resemble a romanticized winged

Viking helmet more than Tolkien's stated inspiration of the crowns of ancient Egypt. Fimi attributes this geographic displacement to a desire of Tolkien's to separate himself from Norse influence after the Nazis got hold of the mythology, but cites no evidence that Tolkien actually felt that way. Lastly, Fimi drags in Ralph Bakshi and Peter Jackson to see what they did with Tolkien's Norse imagery.

The title of Ruth Berman's "Tolkien as a Child of *The Green Fairy Book*" (*Mythlore* 26.1-2: 127-35) alludes to Tolkien's own observation that he was born the same year as the publication of this, the third of Andrew Lang's color fairy-tale anthologies. Without limiting herself specifically to that volume, Berman describes Tolkien's reaction to Lang's selections, and outlines several elements common in the stories, including dragons and magic rings, that were to turn up in Tolkien's own work.

In "Maldon and Moria: On Byrhtnoth, Gandalf, and Heroism in *The Lord of the Rings*" (*Mythlore* 26.1-2: 149-59), Alexander M. Bruce proposes to read Gandalf's stand at the bridge of Khazad-dûm as a heroic reworking of the Battle of Maldon, replacing the Anglo-Saxon leader's folly in allowing the Vikings across his bridge with Gandalf's steadfast refusal to allow the Balrog across his. Beorhtnoth (as Tolkien spells him) exhibits pride; Gandalf shows responsibility and exhibits the stoic heroism that Beorhtnoth's followers also show.

In "At Home and Abroad: Éowyn's Two-fold Figuring as War Bride in *The Lord of the Rings*" by Melissa Smith (*Mythlore* 26.1-2: 161-72), Éowyn's two capacities are as the woman left behind when Aragorn goes to war (defining "bride" very loosely) and as the foreign bride whom Faramir brings home. Smith compares these to the experiences of war brides from the two world wars, and finds in this bathos sufficient evidence of the influence of these wars on Tolkien's work.

"What is 'Middle-earth'?: Origin, Evolution, and Mythic Function" by Paul Battles (*Constructing Nations, Reconstructing Myth*, edited by Andrew Wawn, et al [Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007]: 319-42) professes to be a philological analysis, but is really a source-comparative one. Tolkien takes the name "Middle-earth" from Snorri's *Edda*, applying a moral dimension—somewhere between good and evil—to its original purely positional middleness. At this point, Battles veers off from Norse philology to compare Sauron and Morgoth to Milton's Satan.

Clive Tolley, in "Old English Influence on *The Lord of the Rings*" (*Beowulf & Other Stories*, edited by Richard North and Joe Allard [Harlow: Pearson, 2007]: 38-62) rather daringly uses a comparison to the court scene in *Beowulf* to demonstrate what Peter Jackson deleted from Tolkien in his adaptation of Edoras, though he is more concerned with what Tolkien put in from Anglo-Saxon culture than with what Jackson left out. Tolley's introduction for non-specialists also summarizes *Beowulf: The*

Monsters and the Critics, traces Anglo-Saxon origins for the names Saruman and Eärendil, and mentions some non-Anglo-Saxon sources as well.

"Tolkien and Chaucer: Eagles with Attitude" by Emma B. Hawkins (*Seven* 23: 59-68) is a dogged comparison of Bilbo's eagle ride in *The Hobbit* with that of Chaucer's narrator in *The House of Fame*. The eagles are noble, the riders are fearful and naïve, and the situations are treated humorously.

"A Tale as Old as Time, Freshly Told Anew: Love and Sacrifice in Tolkien, Lewis and Rowling" by Margarita Carretero-González (Segura and Honegger 241-65) is primarily an article about Rowling and her thematic resemblance to the Inklings. But direct Tolkien and Lewis comparisons do come in. Gandalf's self-sacrifice in Moria is compared to Dumbledore's in *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince*; the author needs to tread carefully here, as at the time of writing the final book in the Potter series had not been published. The article also contains, not directly related to Rowling, a section on Frodo and Sam's relationship, describing Frodo as capable of charity while Sam has yet to learn that virtue.

In "SAURON, Mount Doom, and Elvish Moths: The Influence of Tolkien on Modern Science" by Kristine Larsen (*Tolkien Studies* 4: 223-34), Tolkien is the onomastic source. Larsen catalogs Tolkien-inspired names in biological taxonomy, geological features, and astronomical phenomena and experimental acronyms. Some of these are clever or obscurely allusive, but the temptation to refer to ringed stars or planets as "Lord of the Rings" has not always been resisted.

One of the most unusual Tolkien comparisons may be found in *Edward Elgar, Modernist* by J.P.E. Harper-Scott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), which uses Tolkienian eucatastrophe and dyscatastrophe to discuss the teleology of Elgar's First Symphony—in which Harper-Scott sees a quest narrative comparable to Tolkien's—and other large-scale compositions by Beethoven and Mahler as well (104-6, 174-83, 195).

Religious and Devotional

Hogwarts, Narnia, and Middle Earth: Places Upon a Time by Rob Smith (Huron, Ohio: Drinian Press, 2007) is a collection of short essays by a Presbyterian minister comparing how *The Lord of the Rings*, the Chronicles of Narnia, the Harry Potter books, and (usually) the Bible handle various moral issues. Most of the comments on Tolkien are brief and basic, but well-informed. Smith interestingly observes that the Ring's danger, and presumably thus its evil, arise because it is inherently a weapon of war. He cites Biblical imagery of swords and plowshares to back up this interpretation (41). Unlike most religious writers on these authors, Smith is not exercised about their being fantasists. While the Bible opposes magic as an insult to God, Smith sees the magic used by good characters in all three authors as a form of practical technology, non-supernatural and thus innocent unless misused. It differs from evil characters' magic in not being self-aggrandizing. Smith thus achieves his lack of concern about spiritual dangers in magic at the cost of not seeing any enchantment in it at all.

"*Letters to Malcolm* and the Trouble with Narnia: C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien, and Their 1949 Crisis" by Eric Seddon (*Mythlore* 26.1-2: 61-81) brings an entirely fresh perspective to the often-asked question of what repelled Tolkien about Lewis's *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*. Discarding standard explanations (that he was jealous of Lewis's facility, or disliked the literary hodgepodge) as too facile, insufficient for such a strong rejection, and inconsistent with Tolkien's reactions to other Lewis works, Seddon finds a key in Lewis's later theological semi-fiction, *Letters to Malcolm*. Tolkien found this book "distressing and in parts horrifying" (qtd. at 84). In the absence of Tolkien's unavailable essay on it, "The Ulsterior Motive," Seddon seeks the cause of this strong reaction. Contrary to Lewis's earlier practice of mere Christianity, *Letters to Malcolm* displays strong Anglican hostility to Roman Catholic theology, a sensitive point with the Catholic Tolkien. With this as key, Seddon finds similar points antagonistic to Catholic theology in Lewis's portrayal of Aslan as an incarnation of Christ, and surmises that this is what disturbed Tolkien so profoundly, possibly even without his being entirely consciously aware of the cause.

Philology, Translations, and Reception Studies

Inside Language: Linguistic and Aesthetic Theory in Tolkien by Ross Smith ([Zollikofen, Switzerland]: Walking Tree Publishers, 2007) is more the outline for a proposal for a book on Tolkien's linguistic aesthetics than that book itself. Smith touches on a number of important points: the sheer beauty of sound of Elvish; Tolkien's desire to make languages that fit their environment; the depth and complexity of the sub-creation as aesthetic goods in themselves. But the book is very skimpy on detailed consideration or examples, as a comparison of chapter 2, a discussion of the aesthetic qualities of Tolkien's English, with Brian Rosebury's treatment of the same issue in *Tolkien: A Cultural Assessment* would show. Smith essentially throws up his hands over the question of whether the meaning of English words influences our aesthetic judgment of their sound, and reaches Lin Carter levels of superficiality in discussing their appropriateness (66, 57). Few examples of the rich topic of invented languages fitting the environment are provided. A chapter on languages (the Elvish, and English accents) in Jackson's movies is pure puffery and does not touch on the serious controversies on this subject (touched on by Hostetter, below, and discussed more fully in earlier work by him), and inadequate research appears elsewhere: for instance, Smith relies on Humphrey Carpenter's description of the Alphabet of Rúmil (107-8), in apparent unawareness that the alphabet was published in 2001. Smith is best at comparative linguistic aesthetics: he compares Tolkien's sense of creativity with the highly ingenious, if less world-spanning, work of Umberto Eco and Jorge Luis Borges, and his summary of David Abram's philosophy of linguistic perception (71-74) is highly enticing.

"J.R.R. Tolkien's Medieval Scholarship and its Significance" by Michael D.C. Drout (*Tolkien Studies* 4: 113-76) is a major study, following on earlier work by Tom Shippey ("Tolkien's Academic Reputation Now," reprinted in his *Roots and Branches*, 203-12), but much more thorough and at greater length. Drout systematically considers all of Tolkien's professional publications, major and minor, by category—word studies, dialect studies, editions and translations, literary criticism, and reviews and meta-scholarship—describing and summarizing his arguments and findings, looking for the patterns of his scholarly interests, and finding the connections with his literary concerns, particularly the creative (but rigorous) imagination and the moral seriousness that he brought to scholarship. Some questions of Tolkien's lasting impact on scholarship are considered, but Drout is more concerned with the reflection of Tolkien's scholarship in the work of his pupils, some of whose more Tolkien-inspired work is also considered. Appendices list Tolkien's scholarly works chronologically, by source material considered, and by type as discussed in the article.

"Wörter, Sachen, und Wahrheit: Philology and the Tree of Language in Tolkien" by Jonathan Evans (*Constructing Nations, Reconstructing Myth*, edited by Andrew Wawn, et al. [Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007]: 243-74) philologically analyzes the Ents. The Ents are tree-giants, and Evans follows the tree aspect of their nature into a series of puns. In Anglo-Saxon, *treow* can mean either "tree" or "trust," though the relevance of this is not made clear. In the end, Evans suggests that Tolkien is not saying that Ents are trustworthy but that language is a trusty guide to historical reality. Evans further stretches his tree puns by noting that philologists graph historical development of language in tree diagrams, and describe languages as being "rooted," get it?

Secondary scholarly research into Tolkien's invented languages makes a major return to the forefront of Tolkien studies with the publication of issue 1 of *Arda Philology* by the Arda Society of Sweden. This issue, edited by Anders Stenstöm (Beregond), forms the proceedings of "Omentielva Minya," the First International Conference on J.R.R. Tolkien's Invented Languages, held in Stockholm in 2005. (Two succeeding conferences have followed to date, and a second proceedings has been published.) Most of these papers consider posthumously published material as well as that which appeared in Tolkien's lifetime. Petri Tikka in "The Finnicization of Quenya" (1-13) cites forms and patterns in earlier and later forms of the language to argue that Tolkien used it to express his continuing interest in Finnish, bringing Quenya closer to it in later years in some respects and distinguishing it in others. In later years the similarities are more in grammatical patterning than in vocabulary or phonology, though case markers are remarkably similar. Nils-Lennart Johannesson in "Quenya, the Black Speech and the Sonority Scale" (14-21) analyzes the phonology of selected poems in *The Lord of the Rings* to provide statistical proof of the obvious: that Quenya and Sindarin are more sonorous than the Black Speech. "Tolklangs in the 'Real' World: The Morphosyntactic Development of Two Swedish LARP-Languages" by Susanne Vejdemo (22-41) is an unusual work in language reception studies. Live-action role-players portraying elves and orcs wish to speak in their languages. Players have produced written vocabularies and grammars adapting Quenya and the Black Speech to their use, but what most interests Vejdemo is the further adaptations in actual usage. She analyzes the practical and aesthetic imperatives pulling both the written and oral versions in an intriguing mix of directions, simultaneously amplifying and simplifying the originals. Vejdemo supports study of these practicums, crude pidgins though they are, as the closest existing thing to living versions of Tolkien's languages. "An Analysis of Dwarvish" by Magnus Åberg (42-65) is a frankly speculative grammar based on the tiny corpus of this language. Åberg notes its similarities to Hebrew, especially the construction of word roots in the form of consonantal radicals. A five-page glossary is appended. "Vowel Affection in Sindarin and Noldorin" by Bertrand Bellet (66-103) is a detailed study of vowel alteration (in, for example, plurals or different tenses) in the vocabulary of Sindarin and its predecessor in Tolkien's invention, Noldorin. He wrote grammatical notes concerning this practice in the earliest forms of this set of languages, but left none for the later forms, so Bellet attempts to derive this information from the corpus. "The Scripts of Aman: Sources, Developments and Relationships" by Måns Björkman (104-23) is a straightforward description of characteristics of the Tengwar and two of its predecessor scripts, notably their graphical representation of phonology, use of lines and stems, and the presence of diacritics. Björkman passingly considers primary world scripts which share these characteristics. "'Namárië' and the Lexicon of Quenya" by Christopher Gilson (124-41) considers the Quenya poem analyzed by Johannesson in broader aesthetic and historical terms. Gilson demonstrates that the bulk of the vocabulary and grammatical devices used in "Namárië" already appeared in Quenya lexicons and grammars going back many years before the poem was written, so Tolkien was able to achieve the poem's aesthetics (its effect in sound) out of existing material, rather than inventing ideas *ad hoc* for the benefit of the poem. This demonstrates Tolkien's artistic integrity as well as his skill.

As a history of the scholarly study of Tolkien's invented languages, "Tolkienian Linguistics: The First Fifty Years" by Carl F. Hostetter (*Tolkien Studies* 4: 1-46) sounds doubly recondite. Instead, it is a fluent account of the development of concepts in the field, geared to demonstrate relevance to similar problems and concerns in other areas of Tolkien studies. The principal difficulties, which reappear in varying guises, concern whether to seek an elusive internal consistency in treating materials of different dates, and how to extrapolate over missing or non-existent material. Scholars have taken hotly-argued positions on these questions. Hostetter explains the reasoning behind conflicting perspectives, but strongly argues in favor of his own view, that the languages mutated every time the author picked up his pen to write about them, and that the purpose of the Elven tongues is to be artistic objects created for our aesthetic delight rather than practical tools of communication.

In "'Elves (and Hobbits) always refer to the Sun as She': Some Notes on a Note in Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*" (*Tolkien Studies* 4: 212-22), Yvette L. Kisor identifies this custom as Tolkien's reflection of grammatical practice in Old English and Old Norse, sometimes obscured by scholars. *The Silmarillion* gives a mythological explanation for the female Sun and male Moon, thus providing a link between language and mythology.

Roberto Di Scala recounts, in "Across, and Astray: Leading the Sense in Translating Tolkien's *The Lay of the Children of Húrin*" (*Rassegna Italiana di Linguistica Applicata* 39.1-2: 129-46), the challenges of translating this poem into Italian. Identifying its principal features as alliteration and a sense of antiquity provided by old words used without concern as to whether the reader fully understands all of them, Di Scala gives examples of his attempts to reproduce these effects. He interprets the rules of alliteration loosely so as to give himself freedom to maximize it, which he gives priority to over maintaining the rhythm, and uses old words where appropriate Italian ones would fit, rather than attempting to copy Tolkien's specific examples.

"The Inklings Abroad: Reading C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien Outside the United Kingdom and North America" by Marta García de la Puerta (*C.S. Lewis: Life, Works, and Legacy*, edited by Bruce L. Edwards [Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007], 4: 99-115) is a reception study focused almost exclusively on Spain. Tolkien is more popular there than Lewis, which the author sees as ironic due to their close personal connection, but both have been growing in popularity due to recent movies relating to them and their work. This has helped to overcome resistance to their work based on its very British qualities, problems with translations, and the lack of an appropriate publishing genre in contemporary Spanish literature.

A Canadian magazine titled *Silver Leaves … from the White Tree of Hope* (Toronto: White Tree Fund, [2007]), issue 1 dated Fall 2007 (in the running footers but not on the cover or in the colophon), includes a number of personal musings on Tolkien. Some of these are by noted scholars. Tom Shippey ("Tolkien Connections," 1-2) recounts how he came to realize that Tolkien scholarship was what he was meant to do, and briefly describes his meetings with the man himself (during which he did not bother him with questions about his work); Janet Brennan Croft ("How I Learned More About Hobbits," 35) testifies that Tolkien has been meaningful to her as a scholar as well as for his fiction; and Michael D.C. Drout ("Some Thoughts on Reading *The Lord of the Rings* Aloud," 36-37) describes his four-year-old daughter's reaction—a positive one to a vividly descriptive and well-paced novel. Like many other amateur and semi-professional magazines on Tolkien, most of them not covered in this survey, *Silver Leaves* also contains some short scholarly or semi-scholarly articles. "Post Traumatic Stress Disorder in a Hobbit?: J.R.R. Tolkien's Depiction of the Effects of Trauma" by Robert Hierholzer (3-5) is a formal psychiatric diagnosis of Frodo. Dimitra Fimi continues Miryam Librán-Moreno's quest for classical allusions in Tolkien with "A Note on Turin and Oedipus" (9-10), noting that Tolkien cited Oedipus as one element in the story, and speculating that the name "Túrin"—like the allusions in Librán-Moreno's articles, a later addition to the story—is derived from τύραννος, Oedipus's title. "Defending Middle-earth from Charges of Racism" by L. Lara Sookoo (32-34) is more a wish that someone would do it than much of a defense in itself. "Weavers, Witches, and Warriors: The Women of *The Lord of the Rings*" by Amy L. Timco (39-40, 42-45) takes the thesis that Arwen, Galadriel, and Éowyn in that order represent a progression from a medieval to a modern ideal. "Ancient Greek Gods and the Valar" by Martha Kosyfi (47-51) is a straight compare-and-contrast. Both are in mortal form, assist suppliants, and live on an inaccessible mountain. But the Valar are more sober and detached, and less emotional or controlling, than the Greek gods.

Film Studies

Kristin Thompson's *The Frodo Franchise: The Lord of the Rings and Modern Hollywood* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007) is basically a study in the marketing of the Jackson *Lord of the Rings* movies, a case study in how a franchise of successive related films is created and maintained, except that Thompson is interested in these movies for their own sake and not just as an example. The first section of the book, on the creation of the movies themselves (the rest is more on tie-in marketing) has some interest for the student of Tolkien's popularity. Conventional wisdom in the film industry is that financing these movies was a highly risky project—for instance, Peter Bart, editor-in-chief of *Variety*, writes in his book *Boffo!* (New York: Hyperion, 2006) that it was "the bravest gamble in the history of filmmaking" (51). Thompson disputes this. Her argument is that, because a three-movie *Lord of the Rings* series came as a ready-made franchise on a popular existing property, it was as close to a sure-fire hit as the inherently risky movie business provides. This argument would carry more conviction if it were less based on statements by New Line executives, assuring interviewers that they'd known what they were doing, made *after* the first movie had been released to positive reviews and promising box office. Victory has a thousand fathers; only defeat is an orphan. But given her position, it is curious that Thompson then argues that Jackson's massive changes in the characters' motives and behavior were necessary to make a financially successful movie. If this argument has any force, it amounts to saying that if the changes had not been made, the movies would not have been successful. But this undercuts the principal claim that the source material ensured that there was little risk of failure. Thompson shows exasperation at critics whom she claims do not understand the necessity for the changes. But in fact what the critics dispute is that the specific changes made were well-advised for the purpose. Thompson is taking the position of Boromir claiming that the Wise do not understand the necessity to defend Gondor. They understand it very well; what they dispute is Boromir's methods. Thompson defends the crass marketing tie-in campaign on the grounds that, pre-movie, the book had also been the subject of marketing tie-ins. However, most of these actually came from licensees of the marketing campaign originally launched for the Bakshi movie in 1978. Thus, this defense is like claiming that the Hobbits had no cause to complain when the Shire was overrun by Saruman, as it had been attacked by Orcs in S.R. 1147.

In *How We Became Middle-earth: A Collection of Essays on The Lord of the Rings* ([Zollikofen, Switzerland]: Walking Tree Publishers, 2007), the subtitle refers to Jackson's movies, and the "we" in the title refers to New Zealand and its residents. The editors, Adam Lam and Nataliya Oryshchuk, are both immigrants to that nation. They and most of their authors are concerned with the question of to what degree their country, having "played" Middle-earth in the movies, really "is" Middle-earth in some sense and, if so, in what. This is a hoary old problem when faced by actors identified with the characters they play, but that parallel is not addressed. Nor does the book face whether this conundrum bears any resemblance to the dilemma of whether Jackson's script, having "played" the role of Tolkien's story in the movies, may fairly be considered to represent the novel. In practice the answers appears to be mixed. Several articles in the form of critical study of the movies address topics equally relevant to the book (e.g. power and surveillance, or Buddhist parallels), but the references are to Jackson. Elise McKenna ("To Sex Up *The Lord of the Rings*: Jackson's Feminine Approach in His 'Sub-creation'" [229-37]) does mention Tolkien; she is briefly dismissive of his "completely male-dominated world" (230). Only a few of these articles seriously consider Tolkien's role in contributing to Jackson's sub-creation, including "Whose Middle-earth Is it?: Reading *The Lord of the Rings* and New Zealand's New Identity from a Globalized, Post-Colonial Perspective" by Daniel Smith-Rowsey (129-45) and "One Wall and No Roof Make a House: The Illusion of Space and Place in Peter Jackson's *The Lord of the Rings*" by David Butler (149-68). Christopher Garbowski in "Surprised by Joy: Eucatastrophe in Tolkien's and Jackson's *The Lord of the Rings*" (271-89) goes further by directly comparing the two. He argues that Tolkien's book displays an "aesthetics of delight" and a celebration of heroism that are more typical of film storytelling than of modern literature. Two other articles discussing Tolkien's work, by Michael J. Brisbois and Lori M. Campbell, are treated elsewhere in this survey.

Two articles this year attempt actual defenses of Jackson's movies as contemporary versions of Tolkien. The title of "I Don't Think We're in Kansas Anymore: Peter Jackson's Film Interpretations of Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*" by Gwendolyn A. Morgan (*Fantasy Fiction into Film*, edited by Leslie Stratyner and James R. Keller [Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2007], 21-34) refers to parallels in the movie to *The Wizard of Oz*. The Tolkien adaptive element of the article is a smartly phrased rehash of standard claims that glaring anachronisms and scrubbing out the majesty of the noble heroes are necessary to make the story accessible to a modern audience (ignoring the fact that if the book were so inaccessible, it would never have achieved or retained its popularity, or the possibility that it's the mediated view of ancient values and modes that makes Tolkien's work stand out against a bookstore's worth of cloned imitations), that critics of the movie really only want an endless running time with Bombadil in it (an assumption unnecessary to refute), and that the popularity of crass scenes like Legolas's elephant-trunk surfing proves their value (if an army of Orcs cheers the invasion of Gondor, would that make it good?).

Greg Wright in "Sometimes a Film May Say Best What's to be Said" (*Past Watchful Dragons: Fantasy and Faith in the World of C.S. Lewis*, edited by Amy H. Sturgis [Altadena, CA: Mythopoeic Press, 2007], 79-92) is less crafty than Morgan. Wright acknowledges that Jackson's movies (and Andrew Adamson's *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*) rather staggeringly fail against Tolkien's and Lewis's strictures against fantasy drama in general and Tolkien's criticisms of the Zimmerman scenario for *The Lord of the Rings* in particular. But since film is obviously such a powerful form of communication, Wright falls victim to chronological snobbery and condescendingly concludes that Tolkien and Lewis were just too old and out of touch to get with the program. Wright could have found Lewis's response to this argument in *The Abolition of Man* and *That Hideous Strength*.

Two other articles succeed at comparing Tolkien's and Jackson's creative strategies more effectively, by treating the movies as related but independent works of art reflecting their creator's image, leaving out the abuse of Tolkien and the dubious claims that Jackson's style was "necessary." Robin Anne Reid, in "'Tree and Flower, Leaf and Grass': The Grammar of Middle-earth in *The Lord of the Rings*" (Stratyner and Keller 35-54), expands on Morgan's observation that cinematography can convey much information very efficiently (a picture is worth a thousand words, as the old saying has it). She catalogs passages describing nature in Tolkien's book, reading them as full of anthropomorphic implications about the agency of natural forces, and usefully compares them with the visual perspective and point of view in Jackson's corresponding scenes.

Sharon D. McCoy, in "'My Brothers, I See in Your Eyes the Same Fear': The Transformation of Class Relations in Peter Jackson's *Lord of the Rings* Trilogy" (Stratyner and Keller 55-72), takes up a subject more fraught with peril, but analyzes it coolly. Tolkien's Sam is submissive to Frodo, at least at the beginning, while Jackson's is treated more as an equal from the start; Tolkien's Frodo sympathizes with Gollum but does not identify with him, while Jackson's does; Jackson's Aragorn doubts his moral strength in a way Tolkien's does not. These changes do bring the characters closer to the viewer's level, but McCoy does not argue that this makes Jackson superior: she merely observes the characteristic story-telling style of each author.

On the other hand, Allison Harl in "The Monstrosity of the Gaze: Critical Problems with a Film Adaptation of *The Lord of the Rings*" (*Mythlore* 25.3-4: 61-69) uses such comparisons to an entirely different end, arguing that, despite Jackson's best efforts, his camera views the events like an evil voyeur, creating an effect like reading the book through the eyes of Shelob or Sauron. Harl does not explore whether this is inherent in a movie adaptation or just a feature of this one.

Janet Brennan Croft examines alternative adaptations in "Three Rings for Hollywood: Scripts for *The Lord of the Rings* by Zimmerman, Boorman, and Beagle" (Stratyner and Keller 7-20). Each adaptation has its individual qualities, while shared features and evolving changes (such as differences in the role of women) say much about the conventions of script-writing. For Tolkien studies, this article is most valuable for its independent description of the unpublished and rarely read 1958 Zimmerman treatment, which may be usefully read to shed further light on Tolkien's well-known comments on it in Letters no. 207 and 210.

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