

REVISED AND EXPANDED EDITION

THE
J.R.R. TOLKIEN
COMPANION
AND GUIDE

READER'S GUIDE
PART I

CHRISTINA SCULL &
WAYNE G. HAMMOND

Christina Scull

**The J. R. R. Tolkien Companion
and Guide: Volume 2:
Reader's Guide PART 1**

«HarperCollins»

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The J. R. R. Tolkien Companion and Guide: Volume 2: Reader's Guide
PART 1 / C. Scull — «HarperCollins»,

Volume 2 of the most comprehensive in-depth companion to Tolkien's life and works ever published. This volume includes a superlative day-by-day chronology of Tolkien's life, presenting the most detailed biographical record available. The J. R. R. Tolkien Companion and Guide is a comprehensive handbook to one of the most popular authors of the twentieth century. One of two volumes comprising this definitive work, the Reader's Guide is an indispensable introduction to J. R. R. Tolkien's life, writings, and art. It includes histories and discussions of his works; analyses of the components of his vast 'Silmarillion' mythology; brief biographies of persons important in his life; accounts of places he knew; essays on topics such as Tolkien's interests and attitudes towards contemporary issues, ideas found in his works, adaptations, and invented languages; and checklists of his published works, his poetry, his pictorial art, and translations of his writings.

Содержание

Copyright	8
Dedication	9
Contents	10
Preface	11
LIST OF ARTICLES	19
Конец ознакомительного фрагмента.	33



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J.R.R. Tolkien
Companion
& Guide

CHRISTINA SCULL
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★ ★



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Dedication

In Memory of
RAYNER UNWIN
Mentor and Friend

Contents

[COVER](#)

[TITLE PAGE](#)

[COPYRIGHT](#)

[DEDICATION](#)

I

PREFACE

CHRONOLOGY

NOTES

INDEX

II

[PREFACE](#)

[LIST OF ARTICLES](#)

[READER'S GUIDE A–M](#)

[A](#)

[B](#)

[C](#)

[D](#)

[E](#)

[F](#)

[G](#)

[H](#)

[I](#)

[J](#)

[K](#)

[L](#)

[M](#)

III

READER'S GUIDE N–Z

FAMILY TREES

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Published Writings & Art Poetry & Translations

WORKS CONSULTED

INDEX

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

OTHER BOOKS BY

ABOUT THE PUBLISHER

Preface

THIS BOOK has been designed, in both its original edition (2006) and the present revised and expanded edition, to serve as a reference of (at least) first resort for the study and appreciation of the works of J.R.R. Tolkien. It is meant to be a companion to his readers, and a basic guide to his writings and ideas, his life and times, his family, friends, and colleagues, and the places he knew and loved. It is not, despite a similarity of titles, a handbook of his invented lands and characters in the manner of Robert Foster's *Complete Guide to Middle-earth* or J.E.A. Tyler's *Complete Tolkien Companion*. Nor is it a substitute for standard works such as Humphrey Carpenter's *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography* and Christopher Tolkien's *History of Middle-earth*, or for the vast body of critical literature about Tolkien. Although it often will be found useful by itself, in particular where it presents new research and scholarship, its purpose is equally to point to other resources in which a subject is more fully considered or differing points of view are expressed.

The length of this work may surprise readers who, familiar with *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, have been less aware of Tolkien's other writings, or who, perhaps misled by the biographies of our subject that have followed Carpenter (and are largely derived from his book), have thought that Tolkien lived in a simple circumscribed world in which little happened beyond his writing, his teaching, his immediate family, and the Inklings. In fact his life was remarkably full, his circle of friends was wide and varied, and his tales of Bilbo and Frodo Baggins exist alongside other works of fiction and poetry, not least the 'Silmarillion' mythology, and next to significant contributions to Old and Middle English studies. In consequence, there is so much to say about Tolkien that we have had to divide our book into parts, two volumes in the original edition, and now three.

The first volume is an extensive *Chronology* of Tolkien's life and works. This has allowed us reasonably to assemble – as a biographical essay would not have done, demanding more selection and brevity – many of the miscellaneous details about Tolkien we have gathered in the course of research, details which individually may be of little moment, but in relation to one another can be illuminating. Altogether these form a picture of a extraordinarily busy man: Tolkien the scholar, Tolkien the teacher and administrator, Tolkien the husband and father, Tolkien the creator of Middle-earth. His critics have not always appreciated how busy he truly was – those who claim that he should have published more in his academic fields had he not wasted his time writing fantasy, or those who fault him for not completing *The Silmarillion* as if he had nothing else to do even in his retirement. One of our aims in this book is to show that Tolkien neither wasted his time nor shirked his responsibilities – to document how much, on a regular basis, duties in connection with his academic career (lectures, classes, supervision of postgraduate students, examinations, committee meetings) occupied his waking hours; how often he and his family were beset by illness and injury; how, to pay doctors' bills in the years before the National Health Service was established (in 1948) and to provide for his children's education, he added to an already heavy workload; how he was almost constantly under the threat of deadlines, and if he did not meet them all it was not because he did too little, but because he did so much.

The *Chronology* also allows us to see when, as sometimes happened, Tolkien's many responsibilities came into collision. In April 1937, for instance, within the space of a day or two he received for correction proofs of both *The Hobbit* and his British Academy lecture, *Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics*; while in the summer and autumn of 1953 he prepared simultaneously *The Lord of the Rings* for publication and his translation of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* for radio broadcast, and also wrote two talks to accompany the latter.

The *Chronology* is not – could not be – a complete day-to-day reconstruction of Tolkien's life; nevertheless we have been reasonably inclusive, according to the information available to us, for the sake of a fuller picture. This is particularly so during the period from 18 January 1944 to early 1945,

when Tolkien frequently described his daily chores, as well as the progress of *The Lord of the Rings*, in a series of letters to his youngest son, Christopher, then posted abroad in the Royal Air Force (see *Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*, pp. 67 ff.).

Although the most private of Tolkien's surviving papers remain private, a great deal else has been open to us, published and unpublished. These papers have been useful not only in adding to our knowledge of J.R.R. Tolkien, but in verifying details previously accepted as fact. We found, for instance, in assembling information for 1952 that there was no possible opportunity for Tolkien to travel to Kerry in Ireland that year, as authorities (even ourselves) previously reported. This led, as we investigated further, to a vivid recollection by Tolkien's daughter Priscilla that the visit was, rather, in 1951, and that she herself had been a participant.

Sometimes, however, evidence has been lacking, and even when present is not always complete or clear-cut. To give only a few examples: we can say that Tolkien attended particular meetings of the Inklings because the facts are mentioned, chiefly in letters by his friend C.S. Lewis, in diaries kept by Warren Lewis, and in letters that Tolkien wrote to his son Christopher. We can list which lectures he was scheduled to give as an Oxford professor, because they were announced prior to each term in the *Oxford University Gazette*. We know that he was present at certain meetings because minutes are preserved, chiefly in the Oxford University archives. But we know about only some of the holidays he took, from a handful of letters and dated paintings and drawings, and about only some of the society meetings and other events he attended (or could have attended) at King Edward's School, Birmingham and at Oxford, through secretaries' minutes, magazine reports, and printed timetables. On occasion, his Oxford lectures were cancelled or rescheduled, but a published announcement of that fact has not always come to our attention; and as for the lectures Tolkien gave at Leeds, such schedules of these that survive in the Leeds University archives name only their subjects, not the lecturers themselves, in consequence of which we have indicated only those lectures that Tolkien seems likely to have given (based partly on the statement he wrote when he applied for the Rawlinson and Bosworth Professorship of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford in 1925). We know as well that Tolkien marked School Certificate papers for many years, to augment his professor's salary, and sometimes acted as an external university examiner, but these activities seem to be little documented.

We have also included in the *Chronology* references to some, but no more than a fraction, of the personal and professional correspondence that consumed another large portion of Tolkien's time. He received many requests from colleagues for information, or comments on their ideas; requests from colleagues or former students for letters of reference when applying for academic positions; and requests from publishers for his opinion of books under consideration. He was often sent, in addition, offprints of scholarly papers and copies of books, most of which would have required at least an acknowledgement, if not reading and criticism: these amounted to hundreds of titles during his working life. And then, after the publication of *The Hobbit* and especially *The Lord of the Rings*, he received thousands of letters expressing appreciation, asking questions, or requesting his autograph. His publishers too were in frequent touch with him about various literary, financial, and legal matters. And all of this was in addition to letters he wrote to and received from his family and intimate friends.

Tolkien's correspondence with his publisher George Allen & Unwin in particular has been of immense value to us. In many of his letters he writes of personal activities, of academic pressures, and of his or his family's health, as well as about business at hand. These documents, however, became less frequent in his later years, reflecting increased face to face contact with publisher's staff and use of the telephone.

Perhaps our greatest difficulty in writing the *Chronology* has been to decide where to place events which cannot be firmly dated, such as the emergence of the Inklings. Many of Tolkien's works, moreover, can be placed only within a range of years, and only roughly in order of writing. In doing so, we have relied on internal as well as external evidence – on handwriting, paper, and typefaces, and on the state of development of the work in question. Where Christopher Tolkien as a result of

his own extensive research into the history of his father's writings has been able to group works in a sequential order, we have placed the grouping at the start of the relevant time span, rather than insert the writings in question arbitrarily into the *Chronology*. We have also made use of dates of composition inscribed by Tolkien on his writings and art, keeping in mind that some of these were added after the fact, sometimes many years later, and that memory can err; but statements by the creator of a work can hold significant weight. In a few instances there is conflicting evidence for dates, most notably for the origin and writing of *The Hobbit*, and in such cases we have made multiple entries in the *Chronology*, with cross-references, and have discussed the matter at greater length in the second part of the *Companion and Guide*.

That part, which we have called the *Reader's Guide*, comprises in the course of two volumes a 'What's What', a 'Where's Where', and a 'Who's Who' of Tolkien, arranged in alphabetical order and in a single sequence. It includes, as appropriate, articles or brief entries on:

¶ Tolkien's academic writings and his works of poetry and prose fiction, with summaries, concise backgrounds or histories, brief surveys of reviews and criticism (in so far as these exist), and miscellaneous commentary. Separate articles are provided for *published* works; unpublished works are noted as appropriate in topical articles, or in articles on other, related works. We have written separate articles for those of Tolkien's poems that are published in whole or in large part (i.e. more than a few lines), and are not integral with a larger literary work, e.g. the poems of *The Hobbit* or *The Lord of the Rings*, but have omitted separate entry for clerihews and for all but one of the songs (*The Root of the Boot*, under *The Stone Troll*) contributed by Tolkien to *Songs for the Philologists*. Also omitted are entries for letters sent by Tolkien to newspapers or journals.

¶ Key ideas in Tolkien's writings, such as *eucatastrophe* and *sub-creation*, and general topics such as his religion, his views towards women, his invented languages and writing systems, his reading, and disputes over the American copyright of *The Lord of the Rings*.

¶ Places that Tolkien lived, worked, or visited, the colleges and universities with which he was associated, pubs and bookshops he frequented, and so forth. It should be assumed by the reader that the places named in this book are in England unless otherwise stated, that English counties are referred to generally according to the names and boundaries that existed in Tolkien's lifetime (before the reorganization of local governments in the later twentieth century), and that while coverage is full, it is not exhaustive: we have not attempted to list every place in which Tolkien set foot. Nor have we attempted to account for every claim by towns and regions (in Britain and elsewhere) to Tolkien's presence, or as an inspiration for *The Lord of the Rings*, put forth with the rise in his popularity: some of these are exaggerated, others dubious at best. In all cases we have preferred to rely on documentary evidence such as letters, guest books, and diaries, rather than on assumptions and reported 'tradition'. It should be noted also that while some of the places described in this book are open to the public, others are not. Readers therefore who wish to follow in Tolkien's footsteps should take care not to trespass on private property, including college grounds when not open to visitors.

¶ Members of Tolkien's family; friends and colleagues, especially in Birmingham and at Leeds and Oxford; fellow members of the Inklings and other groups or societies to which he belonged; publishers and editors; notable teachers and students; and major correspondents. Here too, our coverage is selective. Tolkien had many friends and acquaintances, some of whom figured mainly, or wholly, in his private life, and do not appear in published letters or biographies. Our aim has been to give an individual entry to anyone whom we know to have been particularly significant in Tolkien's life or to the production of his works, or for whom a biographical note gives us the opportunity to describe, more fully than in the *Chronology*, an important or particularly interesting aspect of Tolkien or his writings. Other persons with whom Tolkien was concerned are mentioned in passing, in various contexts in the *Companion and Guide*: references to these may be found in the comprehensive index at the end of each volume.

In the *Reader's Guide* also, appended to the second volume, are genealogical charts (family trees) of the Tolkien and Suffield families; a bibliographical list of Tolkien's published writings; a list of his published paintings, drawings, doodles, and maps; a list of his poems, published and unpublished, by title and first line; and a list of his works with the languages into which they have been translated. In addition, we have provided (in the *Reader's Guide* only, also in the second volume) a bibliography of the various resources and archives we have used in the writing of the *Companion and Guide*. A comprehensive index to all three volumes appears both in the *Chronology* and the second volume of the *Reader's Guide*.

A few general notes are in order. J.R.R. Tolkien is sometimes referred to in this book as 'Ronald', to distinguish him from other Tolkiens or when reference by his surname seemed inappropriate in construction, and also generally for the young Tolkien, before he went up to Oxford in 1911.

In the *Reader's Guide* all entries for persons whose surname begins 'Mc' or 'Mac' are alphabetized as if the name begins with 'Mac'; thus the article for R.B. McCallum appears before that for Gervase Mathew. Although articles in the *Reader's Guide* are generally alphabetized in the usual fashion, we have made an exception for those concerned with the Tolkien family in general, its members in particular, and the Tolkien Estate which is a family enterprise: these are presented in this order, intellectual rather than mechanical.

Titles of works are given as found, except that we have regularized the capitalization of hyphenated titles where variation occurs in practice, e.g. *On Fairy-Stories*, *The Sea-Bell*. Titles of discrete works given them by Tolkien, including poems, essays, and the individual tales of *The Book of Lost Tales*, are italicized following Christopher Tolkien's example in *The History of Middle-earth*, while titles of chapters or other subsections of text, and titles assigned to Tolkien's works by others (such as 'The Ambidexters Sentence'), for the most part are expressed in quotation marks. Excepted are a few titles assigned by Christopher Tolkien which he himself chose to italicize, such as *Of Tuor and His Coming to Gondolin* in *Unfinished Tales*, rather than its author's choice, *Of Tuor and the Fall of Gondolin* (there is a distinct entry for this title, in quotation marks, as that of the twenty-third chapter of *The Silmarillion*), and *Gnomish Lexicon* rather than the unwieldy *I-Lam na-Ngoldathon*. But it is to be understood that 'The Silmarillion', so expressed, refers to Tolkien's mythology in general, and *The Silmarillion*, so italicized, generally to the book edited by Christopher Tolkien and first published in 1977, except in a few instances (understood in context) to the book that Tolkien wished to complete. All other titles are given in italics or in roman within quotation marks, as appropriate, following common conventions of style, except that we have preferred, on purely aesthetic grounds, not to distinguish titles of books *within* titles of books by reversion to roman or by quotation marks.

In the *Reader's Guide* works whose titles begin 'Of' or 'Of the' are entered under the next significant word, e.g. 'Of Beren and Luthien' is alphabetized as if 'Beren and Luthien', and 'Of the Beginning of Days' is alphabetized under 'Beginning', omitting both 'Of' and the definite article.

For the most part, each discrete work by Tolkien, or collection of works, is given a separate article in the *Reader's Guide*. But because of the close relationship between *Völsungarkviða* and *Gudrúnarkviða*, we have found it convenient to treat them together with, and under the title of, the volume in which they are published, *The Legend of Sigurd and Gudrún*; and because Tolkien's early work *The Story of Kullervo* is closely related to the *Kalevala*, we have chosen to deal with the former within the article for the latter (while providing a separate entry for the 2015 volume entitled *The Story of Kullervo*).

Direct quotations follow their source in spelling and punctuation, but we have silently corrected the occasional misspelled word or other minor error. For all quotations, page references are given whenever possible.

Because of the multiplicity of editions, *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* are cited only by chapter and by book and chapter, respectively. For these we have quoted from current corrected

texts; for most other books by Tolkien, we have used and cited first editions unless otherwise stated. The same is true for Humphrey Carpenter's biography of Tolkien (1977) and his book on the Inklings (1978). *On Fairy-Stories* and *Leaf by Niggle*, however, have been quoted most often from the edition of *Tree and Leaf* first published by Unwin Hyman, London, in 1988, or from the expanded edition of 2008. *Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics* and other works have been quoted most conveniently (as indicated) from *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays* (1983). Contributions by Tolkien to books and periodicals, or discrete works by Tolkien otherwise contained in a larger work (for instance, as the *Ainulindalë* is contained within *The Silmarillion*), are cited in their separate entries in the *Reader's Guide* with inclusive page numbers according to (as a convenient point of reference) the first printing of the first edition.

The evolution of the stories of Tolkien's 'Silmarillion' mythology is traced in entries for each chapter of the 'Quenta Silmarillion' in the published (1977) *Silmarillion*. Each entry begins with a synopsis or summary of the published chapter, then traces the evolution of this part of the larger 'Silmarillion' from its earliest appearance.

We have assumed that our reader has some knowledge of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, so that we may refer (say) to 'Bilbo' or 'Frodo' without further explanation. *The Silmarillion*, as the central work among Tolkien's writings on Middle-earth, should be as well known, but is not; nonetheless, it has not been feasible to gloss in the *Companion and Guide*, from entry to entry, every mention of every character or place in the mythology, these being legion. For assistance in this respect, we advise the reader to consult Robert Foster's invaluable *Complete Guide to Middle-earth*. It also should be noted that in writing his stories Tolkien sometimes altered the names of characters, places, etc. from text to text, or applied multiple names within a story, e.g. *Melko* > *Melkor* > *Morgoth*, and in our accounts of Tolkien's fiction we refer to names as he used them in the particular text under discussion.

The titles of several books about Tolkien frequently referred to in the *Companion and Guide* are abbreviated for convenience:

The Art of The Hobbit by J.R.R. Tolkien, by Wayne G. Hammond and Christina Scull (2011) as *Art of The Hobbit*.

The Art of The Lord of the Rings by J.R.R. Tolkien by Wayne G. Hammond and Christina Scull (2015) as *Art of The Lord of the Rings*.

J.R.R. Tolkien: Artist and Illustrator by Wayne G. Hammond and Christina Scull (1995; corrected edn. 1998) as *Artist and Illustrator*.

J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography by Humphrey Carpenter (1977) as *Biography*.

Brothers and Friends: The Diaries of Major Warren Hamilton Lewis, edited by Clyde S. Kilby and Marjorie Lamp Mead (1982) as *Brothers and Friends*.

J.R.R. Tolkien: A Descriptive Bibliography by Wayne G. Hammond with the assistance of Douglas A. Anderson (1993) as *Descriptive Bibliography*.

The Inklings: C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien, Charles Williams and Their Friends by Humphrey Carpenter (1978) as *The Inklings*.

J.R.R. Tolkien Encyclopedia: Scholarship and Critical Assessment, edited by Michael D.C. Drout (2006) as *J.R.R. Tolkien Encyclopedia*.

Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien, selected and edited by Humphrey Carpenter, with the assistance of Christopher Tolkien (1981), as *Letters*.

J.R.R. Tolkien: Life and Legend by Judith Priestman for the Bodleian Library (1992) as *Life and Legend*.

Pictures by J.R.R. Tolkien, with a foreword and notes by Christopher Tolkien (1979; 2nd edn. 1992), as *Pictures*.

The Lord of the Rings: A Reader's Companion by Wayne G. Hammond and Christina Scull (2005; 3rd edn. 2014) as *Reader's Companion*.

The Tolkien Family Album by John and Priscilla Tolkien (1992) as *The Tolkien Family Album*.

In the *Chronology* BBC radio broadcast times are given according to the schedule applying to London and the South-east. Also in the *Chronology*, where the direction *See note* is given, the reader should consult the section of explanatory or supplemental notes beginning on p. 817.

Although selected cross-references are provided in the main sequence of boldfaced headings in the *Reader's Guide*, for full direction to the many names, titles, and topics mentioned in this book the reader is advised to consult the index.

An asterisk (*) before names, titles, words, or phrases in the *Chronology* indicates that a corresponding entry may be found in the *Guide*; and in using the *Guide*, the reader may wish to consult the *Chronology* for a more detailed view of a particular segment of time. We have also used asterisks in the *Reader's Guide* for internal cross-referencing, but selectively – not, for example, applying an asterisk to every instance of the name 'Oxford' (the city or the university), only where it seemed potentially most useful.

In general, we have applied the recommendations of the *Oxford Style Manual*, except where guided by personal bibliographic or typographic taste. Citations within the text are shortened appropriately; full citations are given in the general bibliography ('Works Consulted') in the *Reader's Guide*. Omissions from quoted matter, except for brief extracts, are indicated by ellipses (...).

As in the original edition of this book, we apologize for typographical errors and inconsistencies of practice or form. We have tried to spot these during writing, revision, and indexing, but in a work of this length and complexity (now even longer and more complex than it was) they seem inevitable. No doubt we will hear about them from readers, and will acknowledge genuine errors and attempt to correct them in the appropriate pages of our website, www.hammondandscull.com.

Unless otherwise stated, the opinions expressed in this book are our own.

*

WE ARE PLEASED to be able to prepare this much revised and enlarged text more than ten years after the first edition of our *Companion and Guide*. By 2016 stocks of the book were exhausted, and we agreed with our editors at HarperCollins, David Brawn and Chris Smith, who thought that a new edition would be better than a reprint. Because the existing *Reader's Guide* was already more than 1,200 pages, and we estimated off the cuff that we would be able to add to it at least 100 pages (in the event, more than 300), it was clear that the new edition would need to expand from two volumes to three, with the *Chronology* remaining one volume. And because the *Chronology* itself was long, and would itself grow by more than fifty pages, we needed to move appended material (family trees and bibliographies) previously in the *Chronology* to the end of the expanded *Reader's Guide*.

There was no lack of new material to be considered. In the decade since 2006 at least a standard shelf of new works or new editions of works by Tolkien were published, and at least three shelves of works about him (with no sign of this ceasing anytime soon). And as we reviewed our existing text, we saw that some portions needed to be enlarged, and a few points reconsidered. We also saw that here and there we could improve readability by dividing long paragraphs.

As in 2006, we had to choose not only what to include in our coverage but what to omit. Was an event of sufficient moment? Was a person or place of sufficient importance in Tolkien's life? No doubt some of our necessarily subjective decisions will seem arbitrary, perhaps even to us once this new edition is in print. We might, for instance, have included a biographical article for Ursula Dronke (*née* Brown) as we did for Stella Mills, both students of Tolkien, but Mills was demonstrably close to Tolkien and his family, and in the end one has to set some limits, according to one's judgement at the moment. In any case, we have added a number of articles to the *Reader's Guide*, for persons associated with Tolkien, influences and analogues, and concepts such as 'authorial presence' and Tolkien's manner of composition in writing.

At the beginning of our preface to the *Companion and Guide* we state that although our book 'often will be found useful by itself ... its purpose is equally to point to other resources in which a

subject is more fully considered or differing points of view are expressed' (p. ix). That is, we cite works of reference or criticism upon which we drew for our text or which expand upon what we wrote, by authors whose points of view may differ one from the other. In doing so, we have tried not to impose a particular interpretation – in cases of interpretation rather than of fact – and were careful not to cite only those references which support our personal views, if we have any. We could not, of course, cite every work which touches upon a given subject, and we felt that in choosing works to cite we should apply our expertise in Tolkien studies and mention only those resources which were especially useful, cogent, or well written – and so to this extent, at least (and in our notation of important writings in our list of 'Works Consulted'), we express our own opinion.

We would also like to point out, in reply to a criticism we received after publication of the *Companion and Guide*, that it is in no way feasible to cite our precise source for every piece of data. We have done so to the extent possible, identifying sources of quoted matter and documenting (at some length) the printed and principal online resources upon which we relied; but to do more would have needed another volume for that purpose alone. A single sentence in the *Chronology*, for instance, might be drawn from two or three sources, while some *Reader's Guide* articles are based on dozens.

As always, we are grateful to members of the Tolkien family for their assistance and support. For the original edition, Christopher Tolkien acted as our mentor, a greater task than could be imagined when this book was first proposed (as a single volume), and with his sister Priscilla shared memories of their father. Priscilla Tolkien also read parts of the first edition text in draft, and suggested valuable additions and improvements. Joanna Tolkien, Michael George Tolkien, and Simon Tolkien were also of assistance.

We would like to thank David Brawn at HarperCollins for his suggestion that we write for J.R.R. Tolkien the equivalent of Walter Hooper's excellent *C.S. Lewis: A Companion & Guide*, and Chris Smith for help in matters of production. Thanks are due as well to Cathleen Blackburn of Maier Blackburn, legal representatives of the Tolkien Estate, who has guided us in matters related to copyright and permissions to quote from Tolkien's writings.

Also for the original edition, we owe special thanks to Arden R. Smith, who kindly read most of the book in typescript and advised us especially on matters concerning Tolkienian linguistics; to Douglas A. Anderson, for reading parts of the *Companion and Guide*, for sharing with us information about Tolkien's early poetry, and for supplying other useful details; and to John Garth, for allowing us to read an early draft of part of his *Tolkien and the Great War* (2003) and for saving us time during our own early research in the National Archives by supplying us with pertinent reference numbers.

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Christina Scull & Wayne G. Hammond
Williamstown, Massachusetts
April 2017

LIST OF ARTICLES

[Abercrombie, Lascelles](#)

[Ace Books controversy](#)

[Acocks Green \(Warwickshire\)](#)

[Acta Senatus](#)

[Adaptations](#)

[*The Adventures of Tom Bombadil* \(poem\)](#)

[*The Adventures of Tom Bombadil and Other Verses from the Red Book*](#)

[*Ae Adar Nîn*](#)

[*Ainulindalë*](#)

[*Akallabêth: The Downfall of Númenor*](#)

[*Alcar mi Tarmenel na Erun*](#)

[*Aldarion and Erendis: The Mariner's Wife*](#)

[Aldershot \(Hampshire\)](#)

[Allegory](#)

[*The 'Alphabet of Dairon'*](#)

[*Aman*](#)

[*Ambarkanta: The Shape of the World*](#)

['The Ambidexters Sentence'](#)

[*Ancrene Riwe*](#)

[*Ancrene Wisse and Hali Meiðhad*](#)

[*Annals of Beleriand*](#)

[*Annals of Valinor*](#)

[Appearance](#)

[*An Application for the Rawlinson and Bosworth Professorship of Anglo-Saxon ... Oxford*](#)

[Art](#)

[*The Art of The Hobbit* by J.R.R. Tolkien](#)

[*The Art of The Lord of the Rings* by J.R.R. Tolkien](#)

[Arthur and the Matter of Britain](#)

[*Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth*](#)

[*Atlakviða*](#)

[Atlantis](#)

[*Attacks of Taste*](#)

[Auden, Wystan Hugh](#)

['Of Aulë and Yavanna'](#)

[Authorial Presence](#)

[Barfield, Arthur Owen](#)

[Barnett, Allen](#)

[Barnsley, Thomas Kenneth](#)

[Barnt Green \(Worcestershire\)](#)

[Barrie, James Matthew](#)

[Barrowclough, Sidney](#)

[*The Battle of Maldon*](#)

[*The Battle of the Eastern Field*](#)

[*The Battles of the Fords of Isen*](#)

[Baynes, Pauline Diana](#)

[Bedford \(Bedfordshire\)](#)

‘Of the Beginning of Days’
‘Of Beleriand and Its Realms’
Belgium
Bennett, Henry Stanley
Bennett, Jack Arthur Walter
Beowulf
Beowulf: A Translation and Commentary Together with The Sellic Spell
Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics
‘Of Beren and Lúthien’
Beren and Lúthien (book)
Berkshire
Bibliographies
The Bidding of the Minstrel, from the Lay of Eärendel
Bilbo’s Last Song (at the Grey Havens)
Biographies
Birmingham and environs
Birmingham Oratory
Blackwell, Basil Henry
Bliss, Alan Joseph
‘The Bodleian Declensions’
Bombadil Goes Boating
The Book of Lost Tales
The Book of Lost Tales, Part One
The Book of Lost Tales, Part Two
Bournemouth (Hampshire)
Bowra, Cecil Maurice
Bradley, Henry
Braunholtz, Gustav Ernst Karl
Brett-Smith, Herbert Francis Brett
Brewerton, George
Brogan, Denis Hugh Vercingetorix
Brookes-Smith family
Brown, Walter Rolfe
Bryson, John Norman
Buchan, John
Buckhurst, Helen Thérèse McMillan
Burchfield, Robert William
Calligraphy
Cambridge (Cambridgeshire)
Campbell, Alistair
Campbell, Ignatius Roy Dunnachie
Carr, Charlie
Carroll, Lewis
Carter, Douglas
Cat
Cecil, Edward Christian David Gascoyne
Celtic influences
Chambers, Raymond Wilson
Chandler, Pamela

Chaucer, Geoffrey
Chaucer as a Philologist: The Reeve's Tale
Cheddar Gorge and Caves (Somerset)
Cheltenham (Gloucestershire)
Chesterton, Gilbert Keith
Childe, Wilfred Rowland Mary
Children
The Children of Húrin (book)
Círdan
Cirion and Eorl and the Friendship of Gondor and Rohan
The City of the Gods
Classical influences
The Clerke's Complainte
Clevedon (Somerset)
A Closed Letter to Andrea Charicoryides ... Sometimes Known as Charles Williams
Coghill, Nevill Henry Kendal Aylmer
Collecting and sales
Collingwood, Robin George
'Of the Coming of Men into the West'
'Of the Coming of the Elves and the Captivity of Melkor'
Common Eldarin Noun: Structure
'Common Quendian Declension'
Comparative Tables
The Complaint of Mîm the Dwarf
Composition, Manner of
The Converse of Manwë and Eru
Cornwall
Corrected Names of Chief Valar
The Corrigan
Cowling, George Herbert
Craigie, William Alexander
The Creatures of the Earth
Criticism
Cromer (Norfolk)
Cuivienyarna
Cullis, Colin
Dagnall, Margery Kathleen Mary, *known as Susan*
Dangweth Pengoloð
Darbishire, Helen
D'Arcy, Martin Cyril
D'Ardenne, Simonne Rosalie Thérèse Odile
'Of the Darkening of Valinor'
Davis, Norman
Dawkins, Richard MacGillivray
Day, Mabel Katherine
De Zulueta, Francis
Declension of Nouns
A Description of the Island of Númenor
The Devil's Coach-Horses

The Disaster of the Gladden Fields
Walt Disney Studios
Dobson, Eric John
Domestic duties
Doworst
The Dragon's Visit
Dragons
Drama
The Drowning of Anadûnê
Dundas-Grant, James Harold
Of Dwarves and Men
Dyson, Henry Victor Dyson
Éalá Éarendel Engla Beorhtast
Earendel at the Helm
'Early Chart of Names'
'Early Noldorin Grammar'
'Early Qenya Pronouns'
Earp, Thomas Wade
Eddison, Eric Rucker
'Of Eldamar and the Princes of the Eldalië'
Eldarin Hands, Fingers & Numerals
The Elvish Alphabets
Elvish Song in Rivendell
Emery, Augustin Robert
The End of the Third Age: The History of The Lord of the Rings, Part IV
England
English and Medieval Studies Presented to J.R.R. Tolkien ...
English and Welsh
English language
'English–Qenya Dictionary'
Enigmata Saxonica Nuper Inventa Duo
Of the Ents and the Eagles
'The *Entu*, *Ensi*, *Enta* Declension'
Environment
Eriol and Ælfwine
Errantry
Escape
'Essay on Phonetic Symbolism'
Essays Presented to Charles Williams
Etymologies
Eucatastrophe
An Evening in Tavrobel
Everett, Dorothy
Examinations
Fairbank, Christian Albert Hastings
Fairford (Gloucestershire)
Fairy-stories
The Fall
The Fall of Arthur (poem)

The Fall of Arthur (book)
The Fall of Númenor
Fandom and popularity
Farmer Giles of Ham
Farnell, Lewis Richard
Farrer, Katharine Dorothy
Fastitocalon
'Fate and Free Will' (notes)
Fate and free will (topic)
The 'Father Christmas' letters
'Of Fëanor and the Unchaining of Melkor'
The Feanorian Alphabet
Field, Geoffrey Simpson
'Of the Fifth Battle: Nirnaeth Arnoediad'
Filey (Yorkshire)
Finn and Hengest: The Fragment and the Episode
Firth, Charles Harding
'Five Late Quenya Volitive Inscriptions'
The Five Wizards
Fletcher, Ronald Frank William
'Flight of the Gnomes'
The Flight of the Noldoli from Valinor
'Of the Flight of the Noldor'
Folkestone (Kent)
Food and drink
For W.H.A.
A Fourteenth-Century Romance
Fox, Adam
France
Fraser, John
Freston, Hugh Reginald
From the Many-Willow'd Margin of the Immemorial Thames
Gardner, Helen Louise
Gawain's Leave-taking
Gedling (Nottinghamshire)
'Gerald of Wales on the Survival of Welsh'
Gilson, Robert Cary
Gilson, Robert Quilter
Glip
Glorfindel
'The Gnomes Come to the Great Lands'
Gnomish Grammar
Gnomish Lexicon
'The Gnomish Lexicon Slips'
Goblin Feet
'Goldogrin Pronomial Prefixes'
Gollins, Annie
Good and Evil
Gordon, Eric Valentine

Gordon, George Stuart
Gordon, Robert Hope
Grahame, Kenneth
Great Haywood (Staffordshire)
Green, Roger Gilbert Lancelyn
The Grey Bridge of Tavrobel
Griffiths, Mary Elaine
Grove, Mary Jane, *known as Jennie*
Habbanan beneath the Stars
Haggard, Henry Rider
Hall, William Ernest
Halsbury, John Anthony Hardinge Giffard, Earl of
The Happy Mariners
Hardie, Colin Graham
Harrogate (Yorkshire)
Havard, Robert Emlyn
Health
The Heirs of Elendil
Henry Bradley, 3 Dec., 1845–23 May, 1923
‘Heraldic Devices of Tol Erethrin’
Hill, Margaret Joy
Historical and cultural influences
The History of Galadriel and Celeborn and of Amroth King of Lórien
The History of Middle-earth
The History of The Hobbit
The History of The Lord of the Rings
The Hoard
The Hobbit
Holy Maidenhood
The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth Beorhthelm's Son
Hope and despair
The Horns of Ylmir
Hove (Sussex)
The Hunt for the Ring
Illustration
Imram
Incedon family
‘Index of Names for *The Lay of the Children of Húrin*’
The Inklings
‘Introduction to the “Elder Edda”’
Ireland, Republic of (Eire)
The Istari
Italy
‘Ipplen’ in Sawles Warde
J.R.R. Tolkien: Artist and Illustrator
J.R.R. Tolkien's Letters to Rhona Beare
Jennings, Elizabeth Joan
The Jerusalem Bible
Jones, Gwyn

Kainendan
Kalevala (including *The Story of Kullervo*)
Katherine Group
Ker, Neil Ripley
King Edward's School, Birmingham
'The Koivienéni Manuscript'
Lancashire Fusiliers
Lang, Andrew
Languages
Languages, Invented
Lascelles, Mary Madge
The Last Ark
The Last Ship
Laws and Customs among the Eldar
The Lay of Aotrou and Itroun (poem)
The Lay of Aotrou and Itroun (book)
The Lay of Beowulf
'Lay of Eärendel'
Lay of Leithian
The Lay of the Children of Húrin
The Lay of the Fall of Gondolin
The Lays of Beleriand
Lea, Kathleen Marguerite
Leaf by Niggle
Leeds (Yorkshire)
Leeds, University of
Leeds University Verse, 1914–24
The Legend of Sigurd and Gudrún (including *Völsungakviða en nýja* and *Guðrúnarkviða en nýja*)
Of Lembas
The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien
Lewis, Clive Staples
Lewis, Warren Hamilton
Lhammas
Libraries and archives
Light
Light as Leaf on Lindentree
Lincoln (Lincolnshire)
The Line of Elros: Kings of Númenor
The Little House of Lost Play: Mar Vanwa Tyaliéva
London
The Lonely Isle
The Lord of the Rings
Loss
The Lost Road (story)
The Lost Road and Other Writings
Lyme Regis (Dorset)
McCallum, Ronald Buchanan
MacDonald, George
McFarlane, Kenneth Bruce

McIntosh, Angus
Mackreth, John
Madlener, Josef
'Of Maeglin'
Of Maeglin: Sister-son of Turgon, King of Gondolin
Magic
Malvern (Worcestershire)
The Man in the Moon Came Down Too Soon
The Man in the Moon Stayed Up Too Late
MS. Bodley 34: A Re-Collation of a Collation
Maps
Mary Michael
Masfield, John Edward
Massiah-Palmer, Werner William Thomas
'Matar and Tulir'
Mathew, Anthony Gervase
Measures, Alfred Ernest
Melkor Morgoth
'Of Men'
The Mewlips
Middle English 'Losenger'
A Middle English Vocabulary
Milford-on-Sea (Hampshire)
Mills, Stella Marie
Mr. Bliss
Mitchison, Naomi Mary Margaret
Mitton family
The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays
Morgan, Francis Xavier
Morgoth's Ring: The Later Silmarillion, Part One: The Legends of Aman
Morris, William
Mortality and immortality
Mountain family
Murray, Robert Patrick Ruthven
Music
Mythopoeia
'Name-list to *The Fall of Gondolin*'
The Name 'Nodens'
The Nameless Land
Names
Names and Required Alterations
'Names of the Valar'
Napier, Arthur Sampson
Narn i Chîn Húrin
Nargelion
Nature
Neave, Emily Jane
Nesbit, Edith
Netherlands

A New Glossary of the Dialect of the Huddersfield District
The New Shadow
Newby, Percy Howard
Newcastle upon Tyne
Nichol Smith, David
Nieninque
Noel
‘Of the Noldor in Beleriand’
‘Noldorin Dictionary’
‘Noldorin Word-Lists’
Nomenclature of The Lord of the Rings
A Northern Venture
Northernness
Notes for Qenya Declensions
Notes on Motives in the Silmarillion
‘Notes on Óre’
The Notion Club Papers
Nouns
Númenor
Númenórean Linear Measures
Official Name List
The Old English Apollonius of Tyre
The Old English Exodus
‘Old English Verse’
Oliphaunt
On Ælfwine’s Spelling
On Fairy-Stories
On ‘The Kalevala’ or Land of Heroes
Once upon a Time
Onions, Charles Talbut
Orcs
Otley (Yorkshire)
Otsan
Over Old Hills and Far Away
Oxford and environs
Oxford, University of
Oxford English Dictionary
Oxford English Monographs
Oxford English School (topic)
The Oxford English School (essay)
Oxford Letter
Oxford Poetry 1915
The Palantíri
Payton, Ralph Stuart
Payton, Wilfrid Hugh
Pearl
The Peoples of Middle-earth
Perry-the-Winkle
Philology

Pictures by J.R.R. Tolkien
Pity and mercy
'The Plotz Declension'
Poems and Stories
The Poetic and Mythologic Words of Eldarissa
Poetry
Political thought
Poole (Dorset)
Possessiveness
Power
Prefatory Remarks on Prose Translation of 'Beowulf'
Prejudice and racism
Primitive Quendian Structure
Princess Mee
The Princess Ní
'The Problem of *Lhûn*'
The Problem of Ros
Progress in Bimble Town
The Prophecy of the Sibyl
Publishers
Qenya: Descriptive Grammar of the Qenya Language
'Qenya Conjugations'
'Qenya Declensions'
Qenya Grammar
The Qenya Verb Forms
'Qenya Word-Lists'
Qenyaqetsa
Quantock Hills (Somerset)
Quendi and Eldar
Quenta Noldorinwa
Quenta Silmarillion (1930s–1950s)
'Quenta Silmarillion'
Quenya: Outline of Phonology
Quenya Verb Structure
Quest
The Quest of Erebor
Raleigh, Walter Alexander
Ransome, Arthur Michell
Rattenbury, R.M.
Reade, Francis Vincent
Reading
Realities: An Anthology of Verse
Recordings
Recovery
Rednal (Worcestershire)
The Reeve's Tale
Reincarnation of Elves
Religion
Research v. Literature

‘Of the Return of the Noldor’
The Return of the Shadow: The History of The Lord of the Rings, Part One
Reynolds, Richard William
Rhodes, Philip Grafton Mole
Rice-Oxley, Leonard
Ridley, Maurice Roy
Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age
The Rivers and Beacon-Hills of Gondor
The Road
The Road Goes Ever On: A Song Cycle
Romanticism
Roverandom
‘Of the Ruin of Beleriand and the Fall of Fingolfin’
‘Of the Ruin of Doriath’
Salu, Mary Bertha
Sarehole (Warwickshire)
Sauron Defeated: The End of the Third Age (The History of The Lord of the Rings, Part Four);
The Notion Club Papers and The Drowning of Anadûnê
Sayer, George Sydney Benedict
Science
Scotland
The Sea
The Sea-Bell
The Seafarer
A Secret Vice (lecture)
A Secret Vice: Tolkien on Invented Languages (book)
Sellic Spell
Shadow-Bride
Shakespeare, Donald William Edward, known as Anthony
Shakespeare, William
The Shaping of Middle-Earth: The Quenta, The Ambarkanta and the Annals Together with the
Earliest ‘Silmarillion’ and the First Map
The Shibboleth of Fëanor
The Shores of Faery
‘Sí Qente Fëanor’
Sidmouth (Devon)
Sigelwara Land
‘The Silmarillion’ (legendarium)
The Silmarillion (published book)
‘Of the Silmarils and the Unrest of the Noldor’
Simpson, Percy
‘Of the Sindar’
Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (poem)
Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (W.P. Ker Lecture)
Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Pearl and Sir Orfeo
Sir Orfeo
Sisam, Kenneth
Sketch of the Mythology
Smith, Albert Hugh

Smith, Geoffrey Bache
Smith of Wootton Major
Smithers, Geoffrey Victor
Smoking
Societies and clubs
Some Contributions to Middle-English Lexicography
Some Notes on 'Rebirth'
A Song of Aryador
Songs for the Philologists
Source criticism
South Africa
Spiders
Sports
Staffordshire
Staples, Osric Osmund
Stevens, Courtenay Edward
Stewart, John Innes Mackintosh
The Stone Troll
Stonyhurst (Lancashire)
The Story of Kullervo (book)
Sub-creation
Suffield family
'Of the Sun and Moon and the Hiding of Valinor'
Sun The Trees Silmarils
Swann, Donald Ibrahim
Switzerland
'Synopsis of Pengoloð's *Eldarinwe Leperi are Notessi*'
Tal-Elmar
The Tale of Years
'Tales and Songs of Bimble Bay'
Tales from the Perilous Realm
T.C.B.S.
Tengwesta Qenderinwa
St Teresa Gale
'Of Thingol and Melian'
Thompson, Francis
Thompson, Louis Lionel Harry
Thompson, William Meredith
Tidworth (Wiltshire)
Tinfang Warble
Tolhurst, Bernard Joseph
Tolhurst, Denis Anthony
Tolkien family
Tolkien, Arthur Reuel
Tolkien, Christopher Reuel
Tolkien, Edith Mary
Tolkien, Hilary Arthur Reuel
Tolkien, John Francis Reuel
Tolkien, Mabel

Tolkien, Michael Hilary Reuel
Tolkien, Priscilla Mary Anne Reuel
Tolkien Estate
Tolkien on Tolkien
The Tolkien Reader
‘Tom Bombadil: A Prose Fragment’
The Town of Dreams and the City of Present Sorrow
Translations
Travel and transport
The Treason of Isengard: The History of The Lord of the Rings, Part Two
Tree and Leaf
The Trees of Kortirion
Trimingham, Harold Gilbert Lutyens
Trought, Vincent
Of Tuor and His Coming to Gondolin
‘Of Tuor and the Fall of Gondolin’
‘Of Túrin Turambar’
‘The “Turin Wrapper”’
Turlin and the Exiles of Gondolin
Turville-Petre, Edward Oswald Gabriel
Turville-Petre, Joan Elizabeth
Unfinished Tales of Númenor and Middle-earth
Unwin, Rayner Stephens
Unwin, Stanley
Valaquentia
Valedictory Address to the University of Oxford
‘Variation D/L in Common Eldarin’
‘Of the Voyage of Eärendil and the War of Wrath’
Wade-Gery, Henry Theodore
Wagner, Richard Wilhelm
Wain, John Barrington
Waldman, Milton
Wales
The Wanderer
The Wanderings of Húrin
War
The War of the Jewels: The Later Silmarillion, Part Two: The Legends of Beleriand
The War of the Ring: The History of The Lord of the Rings, Part Three
Wardale, Edith Elizabeth
Warwick (Warwickshire)
West Midlands
Weston-super-Mare (Somerset)
Whitby (Yorkshire)
Whitelock, Dorothy
Wilkinson, Cyril Hackett
Williams, Charles Walter Stansby
Wilson, Frank Percy
Windle, Michael William Maxwell
Winter's Tales for Children I

Wiseman, Christopher Luke

Women and marriage

'Words of Joy'

Words, Phrases and Passages in Various Tongues in The Lord of the Rings

Wrenn, Charles Leslie

Wright, Joseph

Writing systems

Wyke-Smith, Edward Augustine

Wyld, Henry Cecil Kennedy

The Year's Work in English Studies

Yorkshire

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