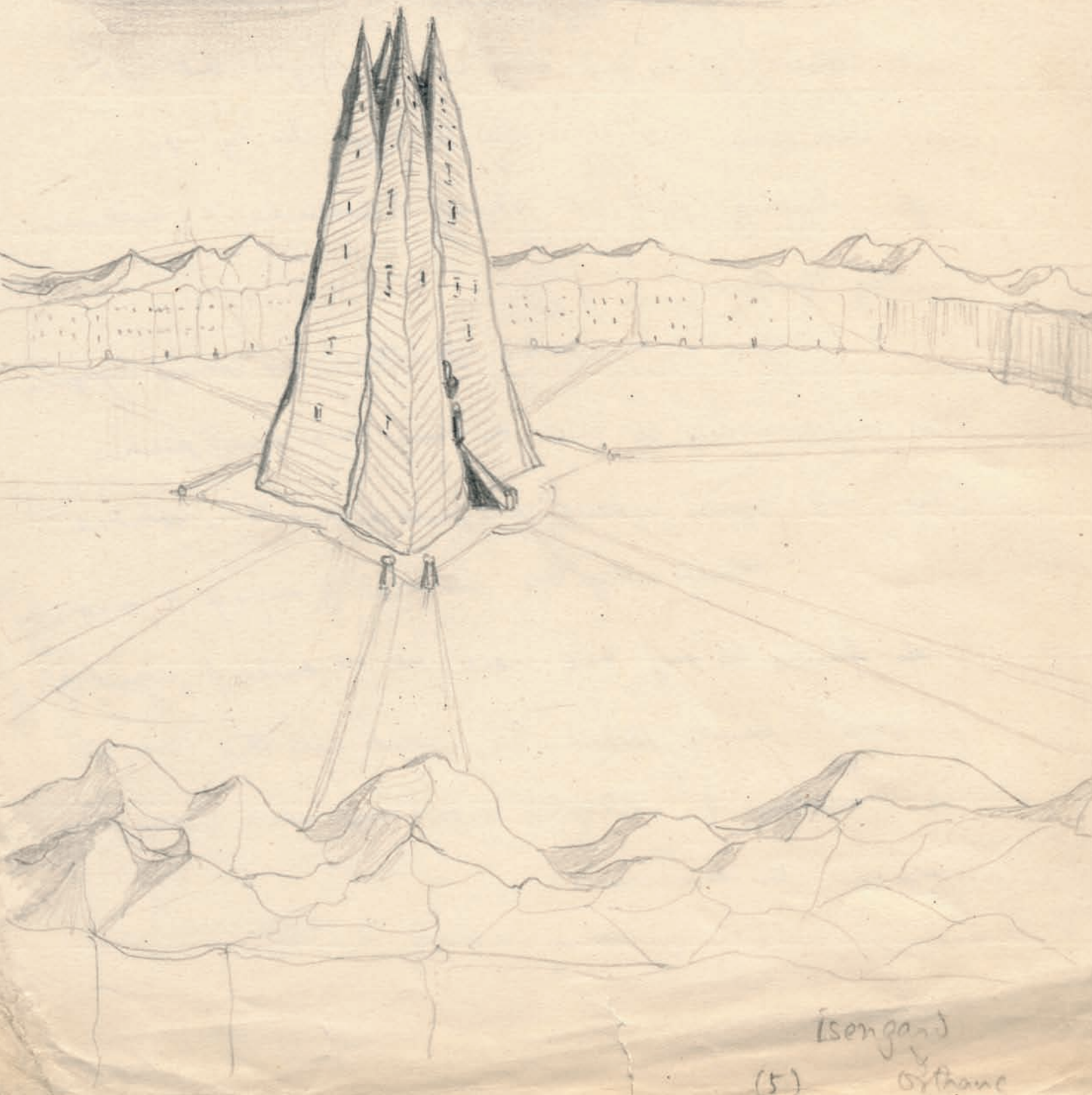


The Invented Worlds of J.R.R. Tolkien

Drawings and Original Manuscripts from the Marquette University Collection



Isengard

(5)

Orthanc



Portrait of J.R.R. Tolkien, Associated Press photo

The Invented Worlds of J.R.R. Tolkien

Drawings and Original Manuscripts from the Marquette University Collection

October 21, 2004 - January 30, 2005

Patrick and Beatrice Haggerty Museum of Art

Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Organized by the Patrick and Beatrice Haggerty Museum of Art, Marquette University

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Portrait of J.R.R. Tolkien: Associated Press photo

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J.R.R. Tolkien, *Isengard and Orthanc*

Pencil on paper

9 1/2 x 7 1/2 in. (241 x 191 mm)

Marquette University MS. Tolkien, 3/5/8

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The Invented Worlds of
J.R.R. Tolkien

Drawings and Original Manuscripts
from the Marquette University Collection

Acknowledgments

The exhibition *The Invented Worlds of J.R.R. Tolkien: Drawings and Original Manuscripts from the Marquette University Collection* at the Haggerty Museum of Art, Marquette University, (October 21, 2004-January 30, 2005), represents a collaboration between the Haggerty Museum of Art and the Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Marquette University Libraries. The exhibition was held in conjunction with the international conference *The Lord of the Rings, 1954-2004: Scholarship in Honor of Dr. Richard E. Blackwelder* at Marquette University (October 22-23, 2004).

A major international author whose artistic talent is now recognized, John Ronald Reuel Tolkien (1892-1973) is perhaps best known for *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Hobbit*. Born in 1892 in Bloemfontein, South Africa, Tolkien was Professor of English Language and Literature at Oxford University. His original manuscripts and illustrations have been featured in international exhibitions at the Bodleian Library in Oxford and the Haggerty Museum of Art, Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI. This is the second Haggerty exhibition featuring the work of the English novelist and philologist.

The aim of the exhibition is to examine in a scholarly context and for the public the work of J.R.R. Tolkien in the Marquette University collection. It is being presented with the cooperation of Christopher Tolkien, The J.R.R. Tolkien Estate Limited and The J.R.R. Tolkien Copyright Trust.

This exhibition is the most recent in a series of exhibitions at the Haggerty Museum of Art featuring art and literature. Previous exhibitions at the Haggerty include *Paula Rego: Jane Eyre Lithographs*, a suite of prints, inspired by Charlotte Brontë's novel (March 4 - May 23, 2004) and *Virginia Lee Burton: Children's Book Illustrator, Author and Designer* (October 11 - December 8, 2002).

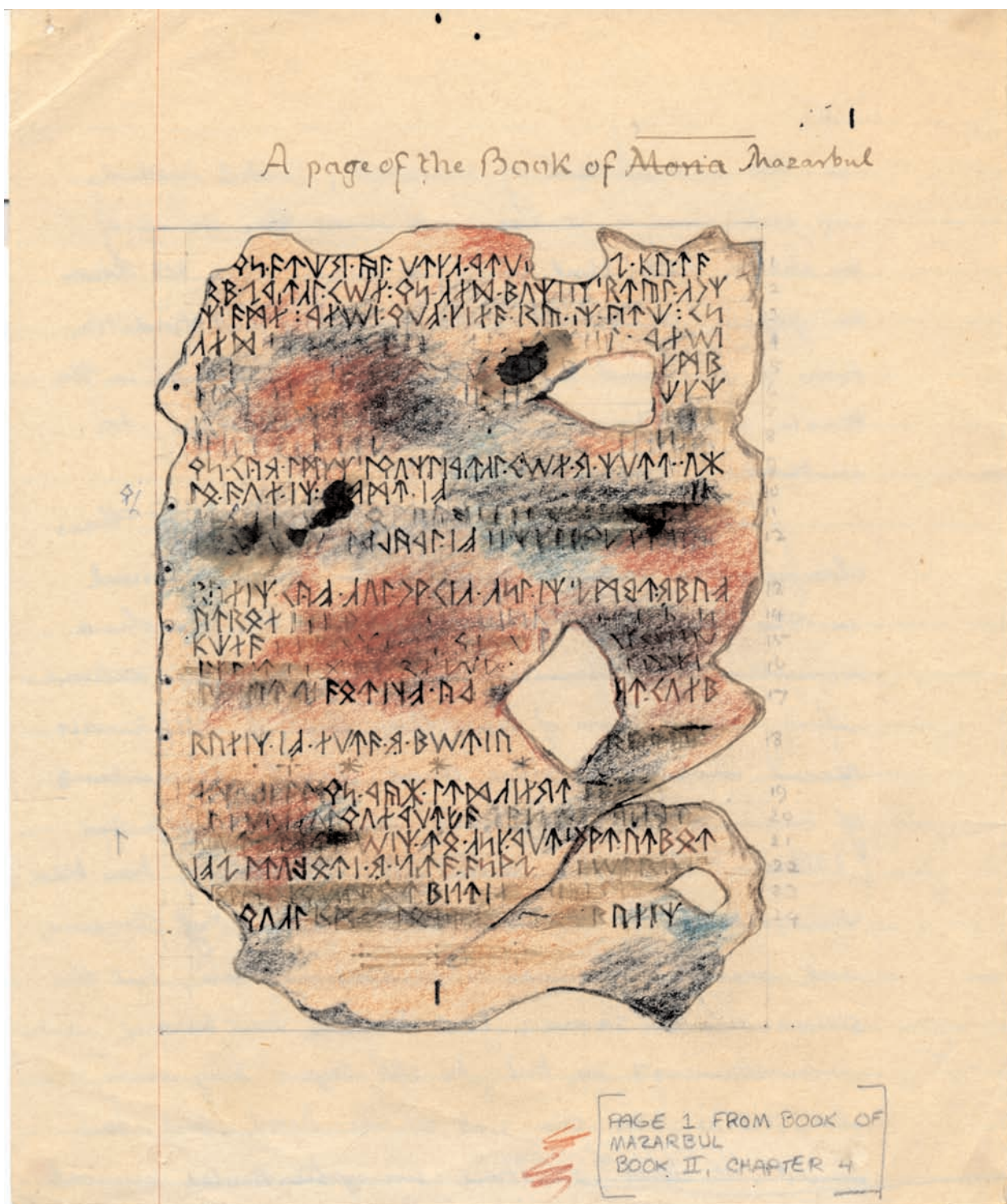
I would like to extend my sincere thanks and appreciation to Nicholas Burkel, Dean of Libraries and Matt Blessing, Head of Special Collections and University Archives, John P. Raynor, S.J. Library, for their assistance to the Haggerty on this exhibition and for Matt Blessing's essay on the history of the Tolkien collection. Special thanks to Dr. Arne Zettersten, Professor of English Language and Literature at the University of Copenhagen, for sharing his expertise of J.R.R. Tolkien, Douglas A. Anderson, Wayne G. Hammond, and Richard C. West who read portions of this catalogue prior to publication, and Annemarie Sawkins who assisted with coordination of the exhibition and publication.

Finally, I would like to thank our exhibition sponsors. Funding for this exhibition was provided by the Joan Pick Endowment Fund, the Edward D. Simmons Religious Commitment Fund, Marquette University and the Wisconsin Arts Board without whose support this exhibition would not have been possible.

Curtis L. Carter
Director

Table of Contents

7	Ways of WorldMaking: J.R.R. Tolkien	Curtis L. Carter
17	"A Masterpiece of the Future" A Brief History of Marquette's J.R.R. Tolkien Collection	Matt Blessing
25	The AB Language Lives	Arne Zettersten
34	J.R.R. Tolkien Biography	
37	Select Tolkien Bibliography	
42	Works in the Exhibition	Annemarie Sawkins



Page 1 of *The Book of Mazarbul* (first version), 1940-41

Ink and colored pencil on paper

9 1/4 x 7 1/4 in. (235 x 184 mm)

Marquette University MS. Tolkien, 3/4/12

Courtesy of the J.R.R. Tolkien Estate Limited, ©The J.R.R. Tolkien Copyright Trust

Ways of Worldmaking: J.R.R. Tolkien

Curtis L. Carter

The subject of J.R.R. Tolkien's (1892-1973) literary masterpieces, represented in the set of books known as *The Lord of the Rings* first published in three volumes in 1954-55 and *The Hobbit* which appeared in 1937, suggests immediately the theme of worldmaking. It is not the worldmaking of statesmen that occupies Tolkien. Rather it is worldmaking made possible through the author's imaginative constructions using words. This theme has caught the attention of other great minds of the twentieth century. Among them would be the American philosopher Nelson Goodman (1906-1998) whose fascinating book *Ways of Worldmaking* examines the formative functions of symbols. Goodman asks probing questions concerning our uses of language/literature, pictures, and other types of symbols to create worlds of understanding. For example, he asks, "In just what sense are there many worlds? What distinguishes genuine from spurious worlds? How are they made? ...And how is worldmaking related to knowing?"¹ Goodman holds that "the arts must be taken no less seriously than the sciences as modes of discovery, creation, and enlargement of knowledge" in their role of advancement of understanding.²

Tolkien's literary texts cannot be fully appreciated apart from a larger, philosophical issue concerning language. His childhood fascination with inventing languages eventually led him to the study of languages. For Tolkien, a language is a wholly invented enterprise constructed by a mind, or set of minds, and has no natural existence apart from its invention and use by a human mind, or a community of such minds. At the core of his invented worlds is the assumption that "language creates the reality it describes."³ In this respect, Tolkien holds similar views to those of Goodman who views languages as entirely constructed symbol systems. As a part of *The Lord of the Rings*, Tolkien simulated pages representing *The Book of Mazarbul* which is constructed from runes invented by Tolkien. Pages from the original manuscript are included in the current exhibition. *Page 1 of The Book of Mazarbul, first version, 1940-41*, is intended as a diary kept by the Dwarves of Balin's expedition to Moria in the Third Age.

As a philologist and professor of Anglo Saxon languages at Oxford University, Tolkien might well have contemplated similar questions to those raised by Goodman concerning worldmaking. It seems certain that his detailed literary constructions address the very essence of worldmaking in a concrete frame of reference that Goodman considers from a broader philosophical perspective. Just as it is possible for human minds to construct scientific and every day practical worlds, it is equally feasible for them to invent fantasy or secondary worlds with their own systems of logic and alternative structures. The world of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* represents such a construction with its delineation of names corresponding to players and places that reside solely within Tolkien's invented secondary world. Within his imaginary landscape, Tolkien supplies the definition of a hobbit, as "one of an imaginary people, [in the tales of J. R. R. Tolkien]. 'Hobbit' thus refers to a small variety of people-like characters, who give themselves this name meaning "hole-dweller," who were called by others "halflings," since they were half the height of normal men."⁴ Similarly, the names 'Bilbo' and 'Gandalf' refer to characters that reside in the fictive world created by Tolkien. The creation of such worlds is the essence of mythopoeia, or the making of myths.

Hence works of fiction such as *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* command a significant role in worldmaking. They function not as literal description, but as a metaphorical alternative world view that may actually live in the experiences of those who read or otherwise participate. As works of lit-

erature, Tolkien's constructed worlds are not the world of the physicist, or the man on the street. But they may nevertheless inform and enrich the worlds of both.

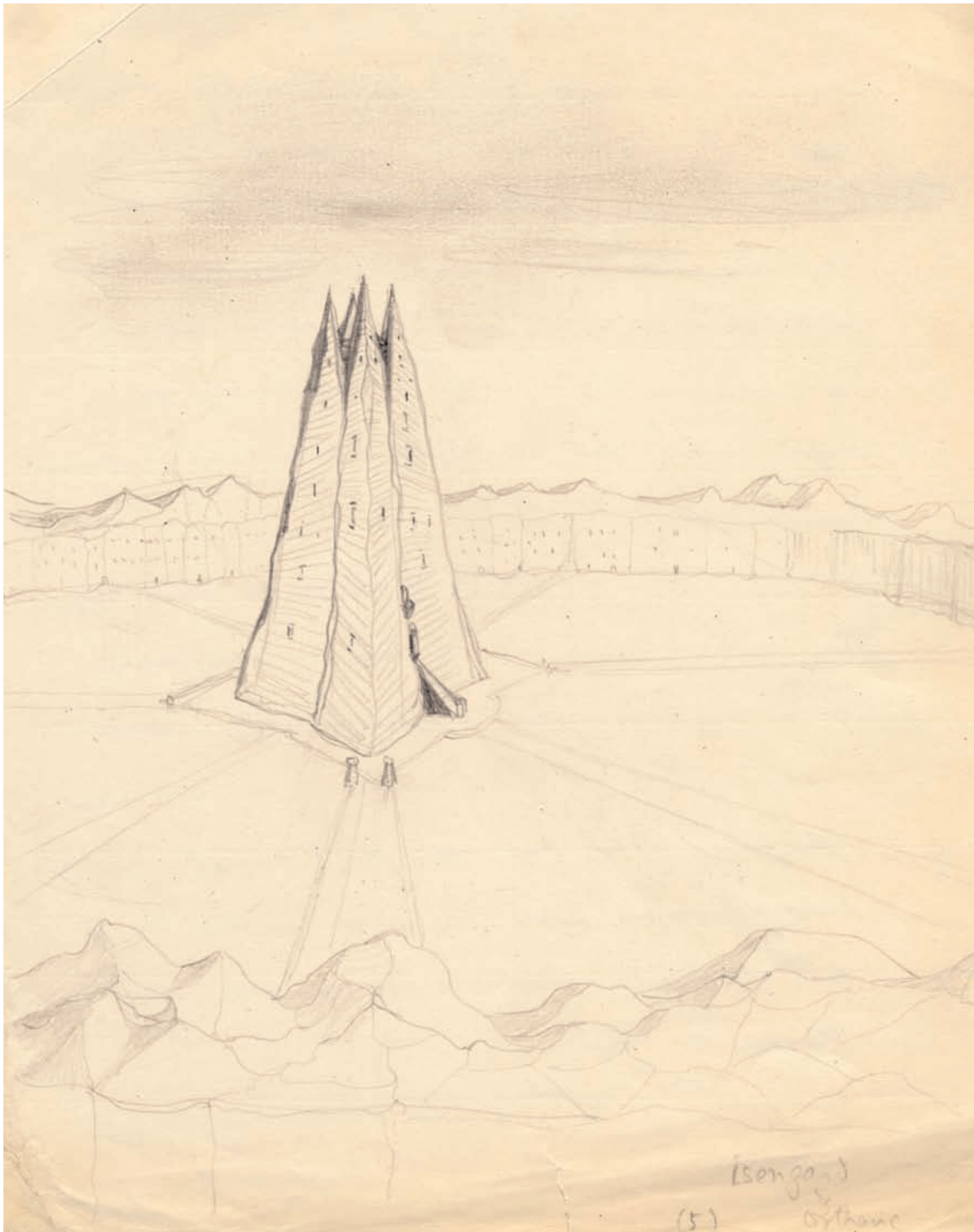
Tolkien's Drawings and Water Color Paintings

Pictures are also invented "languages" according to Tolkien. In this instance, the pictures invented to amplify his literary texts form a coherent set of visual images approaching a visual language. As illustrations, they provide viewers with visual symbols to augment the written texts in forming his invented world.

Fewer people are aware that Tolkien was a talented visual artist, not having had the opportunity to view his original drawings and watercolor paintings. These works are known primarily as the illustrations for *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Hobbit*.⁵ The principal body of thirty-some known drawings and watercolors relating to *The Hobbit*, executed between 1930 and 1937, are currently in the collection of Oxford University's Bodleian Library. Additional preliminary sketches from *The Hobbit* comprise a part of the Tolkien Manuscript Collection at Marquette University, and at least one additional is in private hands. (There may, of course, be others not presently recorded, such as a drawing of Mirkwood that Tolkien reportedly gave to a Chinese student.) Nine of the black and white drawings (Bodleian Library MS. Tolkien drawings 7, 9, 13, 14, 17, 19, 23, 24, 25) appeared in the first editions in England and America, and four of five watercolors (Bodleian Library MS. Tolkien drawings 27, 28, 29, 30) were initially published in the first American edition. An exhibition at Marquette University's Haggerty Museum of Art in 1987 offered their first American showing.⁶ An exhibition, *Drawings for The Hobbit by J. R. R. Tolkien* at the Bodleian Library, was organized in 1987 in conjunction with the exhibition held at the Haggerty Museum,⁷ and in 2004 the Bodleian presented the exhibition *J.R.R. Tolkien: The Lord of the Rings*, July 26 – September 18, 2004.

Tolkien's landscapes cover the world of Middle-earth "from domestic interiors to mountain ranges" and provide "intimate overviews, interior views, closed off perspectives, panoramic vistas, and dramatic approaches" to help the reader enter into his fantasy world.⁸ For example, *The Hill: Hobbiton Across the Water*, at the Bodleian shows the architecture, bridges, roadways, land elevations and contours helps to give Tolkien's followers understanding of the world where the inhabitants of *The Hobbit* enact their alternative world drama. Similarly the spectacular sunglazed mountain panorama that awakens the character Bilbo in "Bilbo woke up with early sun in his eyes," (Bodleian Library, MS. Tolkien drawings 28) can only heighten the imagination of a curious reader.

The present exhibition of Tolkien materials includes watercolor and drawings and manuscripts mainly focusing on *The Lord of the Rings* with selections from *The Hobbit* and *Mr. Bliss* all from Marquette University's Raynor Library Special Collections and Archives. Among the pictures included is *Thrór's Map* (Marquette University MS Tolkien, Mss 1/1/1) from *The Hobbit*. Thrór was a Dwarf King from under the Mountain during the Third Age whose adventures included an escape from the dreaded Dragon Smaug. His murder by the Orcs was responsible for a war between the Orcs and the Dwarves who eventually avenged his death. Other notable drawings in the exhibition are *Minas Tirith* (Marquette University MS. Tolkien, 3/5/8) and *Isengard and Orthanc* (Marquette University MS. Tolkien, 3/5/8) each representing an important fortress in *The Lord of the Rings*. Minas Tirith or "Tower of the Guard" is the name given by the Elf-king Felagund to a fortress on the island of Tol Sirion during the First Age. Isengard was a powerful fortification in Middle-earth during the Third Age. The fortress called the Ring of Isengard consisted of a massive rock-wall in a circular shape.



Isengard and Orthanc

Pencil on paper

9 1/2 x 7 1/2 in. (241 x 191 mm)

Marquette University MS. Tolkien, 3/5/8

Courtesy of the J.R.R. Tolkien Estate Limited, ©The J.R.R. Tolkien Copyright Trust

How are the visual images of Tolkien connected to his verbal texts? Both verbal and the visual produce symbols which participate in the worldmaking process engaged in by Tolkien. The connections can be seen in the exhibition as representative textual passages from the original handwritten or typed manuscripts of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* are exhibited side by side. The opportunity to experience these two elements, the verbal and the visual texts in proximity helps us to see how they function, sometimes independently, sometimes together to build the worlds of Tolkien.

The pictures do not necessarily reveal the complex “moral” or the action of the tale told concerning “the achievements of specially graced and gifted individuals” as described in *The Hobbit*. However, his pictures construct visual landscapes of the place and time with sky, roads, mountains, caves, streams, and the architecture of the fantasy land that is so essential to the meaning of the story. Similarly, the visual hobbit figures enhance Tolkien’s verbal descriptions of the characters and enable the reader more easily to enter into the magical world of *The Hobbit*. Without the pictures, it would be impossible to imagine the particular nuances of height, angle, and depth of the mountains, and the roundness of the Hill, or to grasp the vastness of the land and the mysterious qualities of the forest. Word and image are complementary devices in constructing the worlds of Tolkien. If they are so inclined, his viewer-readers can also search out edifying connections, some intended by the author and others invented by themselves, linking Tolkien’s fantasy world with their own worlds.

Tolkien’s drawings and watercolors, especially those located in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, warrant consideration as original works of art extending beyond their role as illustrations of his texts.⁹

...Tolkien was also himself an artist, who painted and drew despite many demands upon his time, and who would struggle through several versions of a picture, if needed, to capture his inner vision...In his eighty-one years he made many paintings and drawings, some of them from life or nature, but most out of his imagination, related to his epic *Silmarillion* mythology or legendarium and to his other tales of Middle-earth, *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*... [The work] was an integral part of his life which has not been fully appreciated, in fact is usually overlooked, especially in connection with his books. As Christopher Tolkien, his youngest son and literary executor, has remarked, no study of J.R.R. Tolkien's written work can be complete without also looking at his art. He was by no means a professional artist. But he loved to draw, and found in his pictures as in his writing an outlet for the visions that burgeoned within his thoughts - another means of expression, another language.¹⁰

Humphrey Carpenter, Tolkien’s biographer, lends valuable insight into the scope and seriousness of Tolkien’s visual art when he reminds us that Tolkien practiced art from his childhood on throughout his life. According to Carpenter, Tolkien illustrated several of his own poems during undergraduate days and began drawing regularly from about 1925 on. He subsequently produced illustrations for *The Father Christmas Letters*, *Mr. Bliss*, *The Hobbit*, *The Lord of the Rings*, *Silmarillion*, and his other works. Carpenter cites the lavish illustrations done for *Mr. Bliss* between 1932 and 1937 and the fact that *Mr. Bliss* was actually constructed around the pictures, as “indicators of how seriously Tolkien was taking the business of drawing and painting.” “He was by now a very talented artist,” Carpenter writes, “although he had not the same skill at drawing figures as he had with landscapes.”¹¹ Baillie Tolkien, also affirms the artistic skill of J.R.R. Tolkien: “He appears to have been unaware that

he possessed considerable artistic skill and a wholly original talent. . . .”¹² Yet, Letters No. 13-15, and 27 in Carpenter, written in 1937 to Allen & Unwin, show that he had certain reservations about the adequacy of his pictures for the purpose of illustrating *The Hobbit*, particularly about drawing figures.¹³

Stylistically, *The Hobbit* drawings and paintings are difficult to classify into any distinct school or style. In some instances the artist appears to rely primarily on his own experiences. For instance, *The Mountain-path* depicting the journey from Rivendell to the other side of the Misty Mountains, may have been inspired by Tolkien’s youthful adventures at age 19 in the mountains of Switzerland. A letter to his son Michael, No. 306 in Carpenter, describes in detail incidents from this hiking trip where he narrowly escaped the rush of boulders dislodged by melting snow.¹⁴ Reminiscences of a delicate oriental sensibility appear in other of his works. (*The Misty Mountains looking West from the Eyrie towards Goblin Gate*, Bodleian Library, Ms. Tolkien drawings 14). Still others respectively suggest the influence of art nouveau (*Bilbo comes to the Huts of the Raft-elves*, Bodleian Library, MS. Tolkien Drawings 29), expressionist (*The Mountain-path*, Bodleian Library, MS. Tolkien drawing 13), and medieval styles (*The Hill: Hobbiton across the Water* Bodleian Library, MS. Tolkien drawing 7). Perhaps the wide variety of stylistic devices is a result of an original creative impulse that freely appropriates any available style for its own unique purposes. This stylistic pluralism in the visual images parallels similar variety in his literary texts. Tolkien’s extensive knowledge of the diverse northern fairy tales and myths is woven into his own highly original tales.

Whatever the sources of Tolkien’s pictorial conventions, the images themselves reveal a pristine individuality that carries the artist’s own stamp throughout. Each image, whether a bare sketch or a finished image, possesses a richness of structure and detail that warrants continuous exploration for subtle visual connections in reference to the surrounding texts. These special qualities of form and fantasy are available to any knowledgeable viewer who seizes the opportunity to explore Tolkien’s drawings and watercolors.

Despite his accomplishments as a visual artist, there is no evidence that Tolkien deliberately set out to produce art for exhibition purposes, as Baillie Tolkien and others have noted. His pictures, as well as his literary tales, appear to be the product of an essentially private activity. Tolkien’s own words affirm the private nature of his creations.

It must be emphasized that this process of invention was/is a private enterprise undertaken to give pleasure to myself by giving expression to my personal linguistic “aesthetic” or taste and its fluctuations.¹⁵

Still their origin in the realm of private activity does not preclude the images being perceived and valued as art by a larger public.

The Haggerty Museum exhibition accompanying this catalogue represents the second dedicated to showing and examining the original Tolkien manuscripts contained in the Marquette University Special Collections and Archives. The first, held in 1987, included drawings and water colors for *The Hobbit* housed in the Bodleian Library of Oxford University.

Three rings for the Elven-kings under the sky,
Seven for the Dwarf-lords in their halls of stone,
Nine for Mortal Men doomed to die,
One for the Dark Lord on his dark throne
In the Land of Mordor where the Shadows lie .
One Ring to rule them all, one Ring to find them,
One Ring to bring them all, and in the darkness bind them
In the Land of Mordor where the Shadows lie .

Yummariporob Zomaz Yummaripob Zomaz Yummaripob
Zomaz Yummaripob Zomaz Yummaripob Zomaz Yummaripob
Zomaz Yummaripob Zomaz Yummaripob Zomaz Yummaripob

"Three Rings Poem" (calligraphy)

Black and red ink on paper

8 7/8 x 6 7/8 in. (225 x 175 mm)

Marquette University MS. Tolkien, 3/1/3

Courtesy of the J.R.R. Tolkien Estate Limited, ©The J.R.R. Tolkien Copyright Trust

Since its first publication by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. in 1937, followed by Houghton Mifflin's 1938 edition, J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Hobbit* has been enjoyed by literally millions of readers and has been the subject of endless scrutiny by critics, scholars, and enthusiasts.¹⁶ His *The Hobbit*, *The Lord of The Rings* (1954, 1955), *The Silmarillion* (1977), edited by Christopher Tolkien, and various other writings have assured him a lasting place in the world's fantasy literature. With the film release of *The Hobbit* in 1977 and *The Lord of the Rings* in three parts in 2001-2003, Tolkien's writings have received ever increasing prominence. These developments only confirm his place among the giants of twentieth-century creators of myth. Tolkien's *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Ring* characters now rival Walt Disney's cartoon characters in the popular mind, a rival whose works is said to have evoked in Tolkien a heartfelt loathing.¹⁷ The author himself has become one of the most widely celebrated of all twentieth-century writers and a perhaps reluctant cult figure.

1. Nelson Goodman, *Ways of Worldmaking* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1978), p. 1.
2. Goodman, p. 102.
3. Verlyn Flierger, *Splintered Light: Logos and Language in Tolkien's World* (Kent and London: Kent State University Press, 2002), p. xxi.
4. Humphrey Carpenter, editor with the assistance of Christopher Tolkien, *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981), No. 316, p. 405.
5. Tolkien created the illustrations for *The Hobbit*, *The Silmarillion*, *The Lord of the Rings*, *Farmer Giles of Ham*, *The Father Christmas Letters*, *Mr. Bliss* and other texts.
6. A selection of the Hobbit drawings was previously shown in 1977 at the Ashmolean, and at the National Book League in London. See the catalogue *Drawings by Tolkien*, catalogue of an exhibition at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, December 14-February 27, 1976-1977 and the National Book League, London, March 2-April 7, 1977. The catalogue, with an introduction by Baillie Tolkien and a note by Humphrey Carpenter, included 35 drawings and watercolors from *The Hobbit* and 32 from *The Lord of the Rings*.
7. "Drawings for *The Hobbit* by J.R.R. Tolkien" (an exhibition to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its publication), Bodleian Library, Oxford Library, February 24 - May 23, 1987. Organized by Dr. Judith Priestman, this exhibition includes MS. Tolkien drawings 1, 2, 5, (7-10), (12-15), (17-21), (23-33) and a selection of editions of *The Hobbit* and earlier published works of Tolkien.
8. Richard Schindler, "The Expectant Landscape: J.R.R. Tolkien's Illustrations for the Hobbit," *J. R. R. Tolkien: The Hobbit: Drawings, Watercolors, and Manuscripts*, Exhibition Catalogue (Milwaukee: Haggerty Museum of Art, Marquette University, June 11-September 30, 1987), p. 17, 19.
9. For a more in-depth discussion of Tolkien's role as an artist see Hammond, Wayne G., and Christina Scull, *J.R.R. Tolkien: Artist & Illustrator*. London: Harper Collins, 1995; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1995. Corrected paperback ed., 2000. p. 9.
10. Ibid. p. 9
11. Humphrey Carpenter, *Tolkien: A Biography*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977, pp. 162-164.
12. *Drawings By Tolkien*, introduction.
13. Carpenter, *The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien*, pp. 17-20, 35.
14. Carpenter, *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*, No. 306, pp. 391-3. A pencil drawing showing a rugged mountain landscape with a sign post in the foreground pointing "To the Wilds," currently in the Wade collection at Wheaton College (Illinois), may derive from this adventure.
15. Carpenter, *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*, No. 297, p. 380.
16. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. published revised editions 1951, 1966, and 1978. Houghton Mifflin Co. published the first American edition in 1938 with subsequent editions. A paperback edition was issued by Ballantine in 1965. Unwin Hyman and Houghton Mifflin issued fiftieth anniversary editions in 1987.
17. Carpenter, *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*.



William Ready, director of the Marquette University's library from 1956 to 1963. Ready started transforming the library from a college-level facility to a university research library. Marquette University Archives, William Ready biographical folder.

A Masterpiece of the Future

A Brief History of Marquette's J.R.R. Tolkien Collection

Matt Blessing

"Dear Will: SUCCESS! Tolkien accepts your offer." Bertram Rota, one of London's most respected antiquarian book dealers had difficulty suppressing the adrenaline rush that comes along with any great acquisition.¹ He was negotiating with J.R.R. Tolkien, Professor of Old and Middle English, for the Oxford don's literary manuscripts. Rota had been hired as an agent for Marquette University by the school's new library director, William B. Ready. Nearly a half-century later, archivists and academic librarians recognize that the Rota-Ready partnership had scored one of the great manuscript acquisitions of the twentieth century.

Will Ready arrived in Milwaukee in the summer of 1956. Raised in Wales, he had moved his large family to the United States following military service during the Second World War. In the early 1950s Ready worked as the head of special collections at Stanford University, where he quickly earned a reputation as a skillful "manuscript hunter."²

Marquette University hired Ready with the understanding that he would establish and build collections for the recently constructed Memorial Library. Ready instructed his staff to build a solid reference collection, then put his personal contacts in the antiquarian book trade to work identifying unique collections for potential acquisition. Within weeks of his arrival, Ready began conceptualizing what would eventually become the Department of Special Collections and Archives.

Planning to improve faculty research opportunities and expand its graduate program, Marquette's administration recognized that advanced research required information-rich, primary source collections. Ready began contemplating the fundamental question that all archivists must answer: What should I collect? He operated in an era when research repositories viewed the acquisition process as a competitive business. (Today, most archivists recognize that competing over collections can result in a serious drain of human and budget resources.) Ready initially floated the idea of collecting the papers of South African authors, but there is no surviving record documenting how the university administration reacted to the idea. He was also unsuccessful soliciting the papers of Wisconsin luminaries such as General Billy Mitchell and actors Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne. Partnering with Raphael N. Hamilton, S.J., chair of the Department of History, Ready oversaw the acquisition of U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy's political papers. He was also later successful in approaching Catholic social activist Dorothy Day for her personal and professional papers. Adding to this eclectic mix of potential donors, Ready hired Rota to negotiate with J.R.R. Tolkien in late 1956. One of the most respected medievalists of his generation and the author of *The Hobbit* (1937) and *The Lord of the Rings* (1954-1955), Tolkien was three years away from retirement at Oxford University.³

The preservation and maintenance of archival collections, especially literary manuscripts, has always been expensive. While soliciting the papers of a living author was much less common in the 1950s, today it is routine practice. Many of Ready's contemporaries at other research libraries would have considered approaching the 65-year old Tolkien a risky gamble. Would the author's reputation really stand the test of time and interest future generations of scholars? Compounding the risk was the nature of Tolkien's work: adult fantasy fiction. It was an almost non-existent literary genre in the 1950s.

In hindsight, Ready and Rota proved to have incredibly good instincts. Rota assured his client that he was making a sound purchase when he wrote, “[t]here was more than I hoped, masses of hand-written drafts, and variant passages for all the three ‘Ring’ books...It is a great mass of unique material which can occupy students for years.”⁴ He also informed Ready of two other manuscripts: the typescript of Tolkien’s novella, *Farmer Giles of Ham* (1949), and a handmade children’s book. The veteran book dealer described the latter as “one of the most enchanting things I have ever seen. It is an entirely unpublished, original story, written for his children and illustrated by Tolkien in water-colour. It is called *Mr. Bliss*.”⁵ Ready immediately issued instructions to purchase these additional manuscripts.

Although there is no firm documentary evidence, Marquette University’s Jesuit, Catholic heritage almost certainly influenced Tolkien’s decision to sell his manuscripts. Rota wrote to Ready that J.R.R. Tolkien was “a convert to Roman-Catholicism from the Anglican Church – very devoted...”⁶ Ready immediately recognized the opaque religious themes within *The Lord of the Rings* and knew that Tolkien’s work would be especially appropriate for a Catholic academic library.

Tolkien and Rota continued negotiations in early 1957, investigating options aimed at limiting government taxation on the sale. On a follow up visit to Oxford that spring, Rota learned that Tolkien had discovered a holograph version of *The Hobbit*, adding to the typescript version and printer’s proofs previously reviewed. The professor also made it clear that he did not want the purchase price disclosed. (In his 1977 authorized biography of Tolkien, Humphrey Carpenter revealed the 1,500 pound, or approximately \$4,900, price tag.⁷) A long-standing myth continues to circulate that Tolkien sold the manuscripts to Marquette because he was hard-pressed financially. To the contrary, the Oxford professor had received a royalty check for 10,000 pounds just a few days prior to Rota’s visit, roughly the equivalent of two year’s salary. Marquette’s offer paled in comparison to the unexpected royalties. Rota wrote that Tolkien was “now comparatively rich for the first time in a long academic career.”⁸ Marquette was the first university to express an interest in the professor’s manuscripts. Tolkien consulted with several advisors, considered it a fair offer, and agreed to the sale. Over 5,000 pages of original manuscripts for *The Hobbit*, *Farmer Giles of Ham*, *The Lord of the Rings*, and *Mr. Bliss* were shipped to Milwaukee in two installments in 1957 and 1958.

Bertram Rota deserves credit for learning about *Farmer Giles* and *Mr. Bliss*, but he could have probed even deeper. During the six-month exchange between Ready and Rota, the book dealer apparently never inquired about any other works by Tolkien, including his ongoing project, *The Silmarillion*. Tolkien’s personal and academic papers, paintings, and other literary manuscripts were eventually placed at the Bodleian Library of Oxford University.

Ready and Rota did, however, investigate the availability of papers by other members of the Inklings writers group, notably C.S. Lewis and Charles Williams. They also considered and came very close to acquiring the Wade Collection, a major research collection of books and papers by seven British authors, including Tolkien, Owen Barfield, G.K. Chesterton, C.S. Lewis, George MacDonald, Dorothy L. Sayers, and Charles Williams. The collection was eventually acquired by Wheaton College.⁹ Only one hundred miles apart, the research collections at Marquette and Wheaton make a visit to the upper Midwest mandatory for all serious Tolkien scholars.

Tolkien accepted offers to visit and speak at Marquette in both 1957 and 1959, but on each occasion he cancelled the anticipated visit due to family concerns.¹⁰ Ready and others at Marquette must have been disappointed, but it is important to remember that Tolkien was several years away from reaching a vast international audience. Although a commercial and critical success, between 1954 and 1960 *The Lord of the Rings* only sold approximately 15,000 copies.¹¹ In the mid-1960s, when sales began to skyrocket, Tolkien wrote to a library administrator that “I have deeply regretted not being able to visit Marquette University, and see no present possibility of it.”¹² The retired professor never visited the United States.

Sr. Josephine Burns, a nun from the Daughters of Charity, worked as a student assistant in Memorial Library in the late 1950s and conducted the initial arrangement and description of the Tolkien manuscripts. Over the two-week winter break of 1958-1959, she “read every scrap, time-line, [and] note,” attempting to create some order out of the half-dozen bundles of manuscripts. Holographs, type-scripts, and printer’s proofs were arranged in an order that followed the order of the published books.¹³ For nearly twenty years Sister Burns’ accessioning provided basic intellectual access to the manuscripts.

Ready promoted the Tolkien acquisition by loaning it to major academic libraries. Remarkably, in 1959 he loaned the *entire collection* to the University of Kansas and the University of Illinois for successful exhibitions. It would have been very difficult for any library or museum to exhibit more than a small fraction of the 5,000-page collection.¹⁴

In 1963 William Ready left Marquette to head the library at Sacred Heart University, and, eventually, McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario. Ready’s departure led to a 15-year period during which the Tolkien collection received limited attention. As Tolkien’s popularity continued to reach new audiences in the 1960s, the archives staff developed a traveling exhibit of selected items from the collection. The exhibition kit contained 45 of the most visually interesting documents, including the watercolor dust jacket for *The Hobbit*, a page from the Book of Mazarbul, a chart about the Tengwar language, and a Baggins family tree.¹⁵

Charles Elston joined Marquette University as the head of the Department of Special Collections and Archives in 1977. The library’s first professionally trained archivist, Elston immediately recognized the enormous intellectual and public relations value of the Tolkien manuscripts. A few years later he assisted with the publication of *Mr. Bliss*. He also supervised a four-year project to reprocess and microfilm the manuscript collection, essential for the preservation of the originals. Elston’s team of student processors did not alter Sister Burns’ arrangement, but they imposed much greater control over the physical arrangement of the documents. A 1983 academic conference at the university, “The Road Goes Ever On,” commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the acquisition.¹⁶

During his long tenure at the university Elston cultivated numerous partnerships that both expanded and brought more attention to the Tolkien Collection. While the manuscripts represent the heart of the Tolkien Collection, Elston built a significant collection of Tolkien’s published works and an excellent collection of critical secondary literature on Tolkien’s fantasy and academic writings. The book collection currently numbers over 800 volumes.

So he turned sharp to the right at the next turning, and ran straight into Mr. Day, coming from his garden with a barrow-load of cabbages. This shows what happened.



Page 10 from *Mr. Bliss*

Ink and colored pencil on paper

4 3/4 x 7 1/2 in. (121 x 191 mm)

Marquette University MS Tolkien, Series 4

Courtesy of the J.R.R. Tolkien Estate Limited, ©The J.R.R. Tolkien Copyright Trust

The Tolkien manuscript collection has also expanded in recent years. In the early 1980s Elston and his staff began assisting Christopher Tolkien, the author's son and literary heir, as he compiled and edited the massive *The History of Middle-earth*, published between 1983 and 1996. As he completed segments of the twelve-volume series, Christopher Tolkien contributed four packets of manuscripts to the university, containing an additional 3,071 pages of his father's papers. Among the highlights was a first draft of "Thror's Map," the only surviving leaf from the first handwritten version of *The Hobbit*. The vast majority of other new additions, however, consisted of material from *The Lord of the Rings*, including linguistic and philological notes relating to Tolkien's invented languages. The additions made by Christopher Tolkien between 1987 and 1997 often doubled the number of drafts available for some chapters of *The Lord of the Rings*. Some chapters now have as many as 18 versions, substantiating Bertram Rota's claim that the collection could "occupy students for years." Numerous chronologies, family trees, and two versions of the unpublished epilogue were also made available. (Christopher Tolkien included the epilogue in volume nine of *The History of Middle-earth: Sauron Defeated*, 1992).

Marquette University Libraries has benefited from the generosity of numerous Tolkien scholars and collectors. Taum J.R. Santoski served for ten years as a volunteer staff member and Tolkien "scholar in residence." In this capacity Santoski studied the original manuscripts, initiated conferences and exhibits, lectured to students and visiting classes, and assisted hundreds of researchers. Santoski, Elston, and Dr. Curtis Carter, director of the Haggerty Museum of Art, arranged the 1987 exhibition, *J.R.R. Tolkien: Drawings, Watercolors and Manuscripts from 'The Hobbit'*.¹⁷

A major collection of periodicals produced by Tolkien enthusiasts has grown to over 120 titles from 20 countries. This portion of the J.R.R. Tolkien Collection owes a great debt to S. Gary Hunnewell, a student of Tolkien "fandom." Hunnewell has collected the bulk of these periodicals, including many obscure publications from Eastern Europe. He has prepared detailed bibliographic descriptions and loaned the collection to Marquette for microfilming on a continuing basis.

Gary Hunnewell also identified and helped negotiate for the acquisition of a movie screen treatment, business correspondence, and other motion picture production materials dating from 1957-1958, for a never completed animated version of *The Lord of the Rings*. In 1995 screenwriter Morton Grady Zimmerman donated to Marquette the 53-page story line - with annotations by a disappointed J.R.R. Tolkien - along with production notes and eight letters documenting the project. The Zimmerman Collection attracted considerable interest from Tolkien scholars and enthusiasts following New Line Cinema's blockbuster release of *The Lord of the Rings* in 2001-2003.

In 2003 Grace Funk, a resident of Vancouver, British Columbia, sold her extensive collection of secondary material to Marquette. A former librarian, Funk amassed a collection of 2,376 items, including books, journals, films, documentary videos, sound recordings, articles, and newspaper clippings. Funk applied her training as a librarian to arranging the collection, offering researchers convenient access to thousands of hard-to-find items.

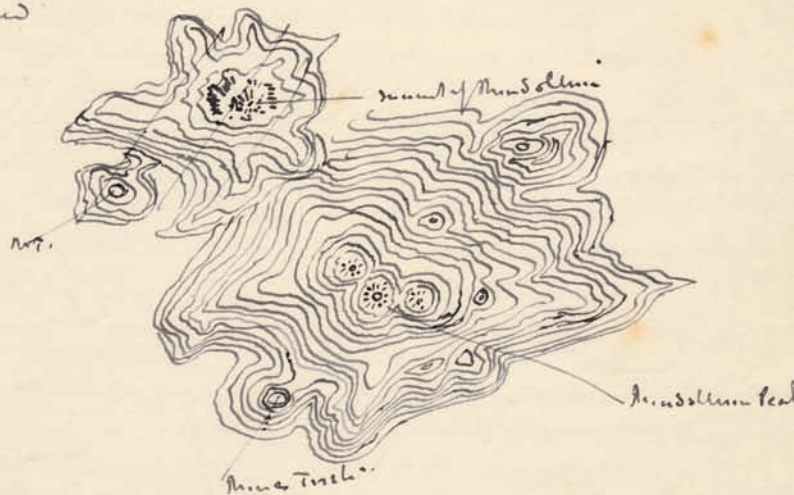
Dr. Richard E. Blackwelder also developed a major collection of Tolkieniana. Remarkably comprehensive in scope, the Blackwelder Collection may be the largest single body of secondary sources on Tolkien ever to be developed. Blackwelder purchased everything from calendars to Ph.D. dissertations about J.R.R. Tolkien, plus maps, music, exhibit posters, artwork, and limited editions of the author's works. Like the Funk Collection, the value is greatly enhanced by a well-defined arrangement and description.

Blackwelder, a retired professor of zoology, also established the Tolkien Archives Fund at Marquette in 1987 to provide support for the acquisition and preservation of Tolkien research material in the Department of Special Collections. In recent years the endowment has been used to purchase unpublished letters by J.R.R. Tolkien that offer revealing insights about his creative process. Thanks also to the endowment, curators were able to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of Tolkien's masterpiece, organizing "*The Lord of the Rings*, 1954-2004: Scholarship in Honor of Richard E. Blackwelder." Twenty internationally respected Tolkien scholars prepared original research for the October, 2004, academic conference, with publication of proceedings expected in 2005. In addition, the Haggerty Museum of Art graciously agreed to host *The Invented Worlds of J.R.R. Tolkien: Drawings and Original Manuscripts from the Marquette Collection*. A large number of the items featured in the exhibition were part of the 1987-1997 additions made by Christopher Tolkien and have never been exhibited.

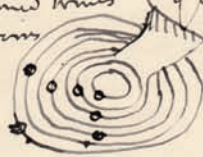
William Ready's legacy at Marquette remains strong, nearly a half-century after the university hired him to enhance the institution's research collections. His superb instincts in acquiring the Tolkien manuscripts were essential to the future development of the archives program. The Department of Special Collections and Archives is now located in the new John P. Raynor, S.J., Library. A state-of-the-art collection storage facility now preserves more than 140 manuscript collections, in addition to the university archives and a 7,000-volume rare book collection. In the most recent reporting period the department served researchers from all 50 states and twenty foreign countries. Moreover, Tolkien's literary manuscripts have attracted widespread media attention, the kind of public interest that would have pleased the administrators who recruited Ready decades earlier. Media coverage about the Tolkien collection peaked between 2001 and 2004, due to the enormous popularity of the films by New Line Cinema. University officials – spanning from the admissions office to university advancement – recognized that the manuscripts might aid them in their work, and they identified methods of promoting Marquette by emphasizing such rich documentary collections. In 1957 Rota congratulated Ready on his "courage in bidding for what may well be a masterpiece of the future." William Ready never had a doubt.

1. Unpublished letter, Bertram Rota to William Ready, May 5, 1957.
2. *Files on Parade*, William Ready (Scarecrow Press: New York, 1982).
3. Donor correspondence files maintained in the Department of Special Collections and University Archives document Ready's collecting efforts in the late 1950s and early 1960s.
4. BR to WR, May 5, 1957.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. BR to WR, May 13, 1957; *Tolkien: A Biography*, Humphrey Carpenter (Houghton Mifflin: Boston, 1977), p. 224.
8. BR to WR, May 5, 1957.
9. Unpublished paper, Taum Santoski, "The History of the Marquette Tolkien Manuscripts," 1983.
10. Ibid.
11. Conversation with Douglas A. Anderson, 2002.
12. J.R.R. Tolkien to "The Librarian," 1966.
13. Santoski.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Unpublished papers from the conference at available in Marquette's Department of Special Collections and Archives.
17. *J.R.R. Tolkien: Drawings, Watercolors and Manuscripts from 'The Hobbit'*, Milwaukee: Patrick and Beatrice Haggerty Museum of Art, 1987.

passage not lead up without break or stairs so turned first the
way and the way across the face of the hill, until the several gables were
reached that lead to the great court and citadel on the hill
mount above the feet of the evening tower. And the gate also
looked due east, being ~~the~~ there seven hundred feet above the
plain before the walls. as the tower ~~was~~ a the summit was three
hundred feet from base by the wall. A sky almost
clear and not like when by a host of men if there were any within
that could hold weapons, unless some enemy could come behind
and scale the wall and so come behind upon the shoulder
that joined



the Hill of Guard the mountain mass. But the shoulder that was
at the height of the first wall was called up the precipice that was high
and there stood the great round walls of the king and lords, both
since memory and future of the king and lords.



Pippin gazed in wonder at the great stone city, but was ~~amazed~~
deeper and more splendid than any he had dreamed of.
Gates as high as the king's, and far more beautiful. The towers

Topographical view of Minas Tirith

Ink on paper

9 1/3 x 7 3/8 in. (237 x 187 mm)

Marquette University MS. Tolkien, Mss 3/1/24

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The AB Language Lives

Arne Zettersten

Greatly honored by having been asked to write this essay for the catalogue of the Tolkien exhibition at the Haggerty Museum of Art and to deliver the opening presentation at the Helfaer Theatre, I should like to emphasize that we are actually commemorating several anniversaries connected with Tolkien (1892-1973) this year. Not only were the first two parts of the *Lord of the Rings* published in England and the first part in the United States 50 years ago, but there are also some other background events and publications to be specially considered just now. Before I explain what the AB language is and how research concerning AB texts has developed since Tolkien coined the term AB in 1929, I want to provide some important information about additional remembrances of things past.

The year 1904, a hundred years ago, was a very crucial turning-point for the then 12-year-old Ronald Tolkien. Ronald's father had died at Bloemfontein in South Africa in 1896, and after that year, from his fourth year onwards, Ronald's upbringing and schooling had been in the hands of his competent mother, Mabel Tolkien. She taught him reading and writing, drawing and painting, calligraphy and languages like Latin, German and French.

Ronald Tolkien spent the summer of 1904 at Rednal, Worcestershire, with his diabetes-ridden mother and his younger brother Hilary. He was involved in constructing alphabets with codes for every letter in the English alphabet as early as this. It was during this summer that he wrote the remarkable code letter (dated August 8, 1904) to the family friend, the Catholic Father Francis Morgan of the Birmingham Oratory, Edgbaston, Birmingham. See fig.1. The letter, which is kept at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, ends with the following limerick:

There was an old priest named Francis
Who was so fond of "cheefongy" dances
That he sat up too late
And worried his pate
Arranging these Frenchified Prances

As an example of his thinking in words and codes, we could look at the opening phrase of the letter: "M-eye deer owl-d France-hiss", which is composed of: the figure 1,000=M, an eye, a deer, an owl, a map of France, and a hissing snake='hiss'.

Rednal was the place where Ronald later on constructed a new artificial language, called "Nevbosh" or "New Nonsense" together with his cousin Mary, who lived in a neighboring village. It only survives in the form of a limerick written about a hundred years ago and was published in Tolkien's essay, "A Secret Vice" from 1931, and in Humphrey Carpenter's biography of Tolkien with a translation:

Dar fys ma vel gom co palt 'hoc
 Pys go iskili far maino woc?
 Pro si go fys do roc de
 Do cat ym maino bocte
 De volt fac soc ma taimful gyroc!

(There was an old man who said, How
 Can I possibly carry a cow?
 For if I were to ask it
 To get in my basket
 It would make such a terrible row!)

Tolkien points out in his essay that Nevbosh was mainly based on English, but that many words had been changed or distorted. One can, for example, observe a simple systematic change in words ending on *-ow*. The word *cow* turns into *woc* by reversed order of letters, *bow* is changed into *hoc* and *row* into *gyroc*, with an additional prefix *gy-*. Some influence from French words can be found in *si*=if and *vel*=old. Tolkien also mentions in his essay that the dominance of his mother tongue English could give the impression of being a 'code'.

About this time of the year, a hundred years ago, Mabel Tolkien's condition grew worse, and she died from her diabetes on November 14, 1904. Well in advance she had agreed with Father Francis Morgan that he should act as the guardian of the two brothers in case of her death. From then on, we can talk about the main turning-point in Tolkien's life. He was now parentless, had a Catholic father-figure as his guardian, had started to construct artificial languages and went to a good academic school, where his head-teacher started early to introduce *Beowulf* and Chaucer to a most remarkable pupil.

At my latest visit to the Bodleian Library, I held in my hand one of Tolkien's old dictionaries, Chambers' *Etymological Dictionary*. The copy looks rather thumbed and over-used. However there is a little note attached to the book, made by Tolkien in February, 1973, saying that this dictionary had awakened his interest in Germanic philology and philology in general (around 1904).

We cannot claim with any certainty that Tolkien had started at this stage on any early sub-creation of his secondary world or Middle-earth. It is not until 1910 that his first poem "Wood-sunshine" dealing with elves is recorded. It is not until 1911 that he found a postcard in Switzerland, which he later on explained was his first notion of 'Gandalf'. But—maybe—these signs could indicate that Ronald had already started to form ideas that we might call embryonic stages of a planned secondary world not long after 1904, nearly a hundred years ago.

Now over to a different anniversary. Seventy-five years ago, the intriguing AB language was identified by Tolkien in a famous essay, "*Ancrene Wisse and Hali Meidbad*", published in *Essays and Studies* 14 (1929), which makes this year, 2004, even more remarkable as a Tolkien jubilee year. The following comment by Tom Shippey on Tolkien's essay has been much quoted: "the most perfect though not the best-known of his academic pieces" (*The Road to Middle-earth*, 36). Tolkien was able to show in his essay that the scribes of MS Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, of the *Ancrene Riwe*, also called the *Ancrene Wisse* (=A) and MS Bodley 34 of the *Katherine Group* (=B) used a language and

spelling nearly “as indistinguishable as that of two modern printed books”. Tolkien had hereby proposed the existence of a “new” Middle English literary standard, which he called AB.

There are clear signs that literary standards had existed in Old English besides Late West Saxon. This is true of the Mercian type of dialect found in the *Vespasian Psalter Gloss* from the ninth century. There is an obvious continuity of writing traditions from this westerly part of England in Old English time to the West Midlands of England in the thirteenth century, where the AB language was located. Due to the fact that the Franciscans and the Dominicans are mentioned in the *Ancrene Wisse*, we may assume that the manuscript was written after the time when these two categories of friars arrived in England (1224 and 1221 respectively), most probably in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

The connections between the manuscripts of the *Ancrene Riwe* and those of the *Katherine Group* had been touched on by some previous scholars. It was, however, J.R.R. Tolkien who pointed out the close relationship in language and spelling, almost amounting to identity, between the *Ancrene Wisse* (A) and Bodley MS of the *Katherine Group* (B). Nowhere else in Middle English literature do we find two different manuscripts of two different literary works copied by different scribes that show such obvious similarities. It is clear that the two manuscripts must be connected in time and place.

These unique circumstances led Tolkien to suppose either (i) that A or B or both are originals, or (ii) that A or B are in whole or part accurate translations, or (iii) that the vanished originals of A and B were in this same language (AB), and so belonged to practically the same period and place as the copies we have. The first possibility can at once be dismissed. Neither A nor B can be originals. Tolkien does not think that an accurate translation is credible. He firmly believes that the originals of A and B were written in the same language and spelling (AB) as the copies. He admits that the spelling suggests obedience to some school or authority. This school was the center or learning where the AB language was taught, read and written.

Tolkien placed the AB language in the West Midlands, more specifically in Herefordshire. E.J. Dobson developed Tolkien’s research even further and concluded that Wigmore Abbey in north-west Herefordshire was the place of origin of the *Ancrene Wisse*. He further suggested that the author was “Brian(us) of Lingen”, a secular canon of Wigmore. Dobson proposed that the sentence ‘Inoh meðful Ich am, þe bidde se lutel’=‘I am moderate enough, who ask for so little’ (fol. 117v) conceals a pun on Brian’s name (Lat. *Bria*=‘moderate’) and an anagram of Linthehum (‘of Lingen’). See Dobson’s *Origins of Ancrene Wisse*, 349-53. This type of conclusion based on a pun and an anagram would certainly have been to Tolkien’s liking, had he still been alive when it was put forward (in 1976). Dobson’s proposition has been doubted later on, and the localization now regarded as the most credible is the one based on the data of the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English* (forthcoming). According to Jeremy Smith, the localization based on the *Atlas* is North Herefordshire or the southern tip of Shropshire. See B. Millet, *et al*, *Ancrene Wisse, The Katherine Group, and the Wooing Group*, 11, n.7.

The *Ancrene Riwe* (meaning ‘a rule or guide for female recluses’) is considered one of the finest pieces of prose from the early Middle English period. Its language is elegant and varied, rich in vocabulary and memorable phrases, full of wit and intricate allusions. It is the most cited text from medieval literature in the *Oxford English Dictionary* apart from Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*, although it cannot pride itself by the same universal renown as Chaucer’s masterpiece. It was orig-

inally written for three daughters of good family and solid learning who had withdrawn from the world to live a solitary life in contemplation and devotion. The anchorites or recluses often lived in small rooms or cells attached to a church. In some cases such a room had a little opening in the wall leading into a slit in the church wall (a so-called *squint*, also called *bagioscope*) to allow the anchorites to observe the side altar.

The title *Ancrene Riwe* is not recorded as a phrase in any of the existing manuscripts, so one could claim that it has no medieval authority, as *Ancrene Wisse* (of the same meaning) has, being recorded on fol. 1r of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 402. The former title was decided to be used by the Early English Text Society. The tendency now is that more and more scholars prefer the latter title, the *Ancrene Wisse*.

The *Cambridge Group* is a closely related group of five prose texts, most fully preserved in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 34, namely, *St. Katherine*, *St. Margarete*, *St. Juliana*, *Hali Meithad* and *Sawles Warde*.

In 1962 Tolkien continued his AB language research by completing his edition of the *Ancrene Wisse* for the Early English Text Society, Oxford University Press. The aim of this long-term Oxford project was to edit all the 17 manuscripts, which started with the Latin and French editions in 1944. I had the pleasure and privilege of being a member of this group of scholars, who edited the various manuscripts between 1944 and the year 2000. Tolkien edited the most important of the versions, from which I learned enormously for my doctoral thesis published in 1965, and I completed three further manuscripts in the series in 1963, 1974 and 2000, the latter in cooperation with Bernhard Diensberg, Bonn. It is a pleasure to realize that the *Ancrene Riwe* project was finally completed just in time for the first film in the *Lord of the Rings* series.

One of the reasons why I was asked to make the opening presentation at the Tolkien exhibiton was because I had the privilege of knowing Tolkien. We worked in the same field and editorial project for the Early English Text Society, Oxford, and I saw him more or less regularly through the whole of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, except for a few years when he lived at Bournemouth, until a few weeks before he died in September, 1973.

The manuscripts of the *Ancrene Riwe*, which have now all been edited by the Early English Text Society, are listed below, including indications of the approximate datings:

- A: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 402
Tolkien, J.R.R. (ed.), *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe, Ancrene Wisse, edited from MS. Corpus Christi College Cambridge 402*, EETS o.s. 249 (London, 1962). Date: second quarter of the 13th c.
- C: London, British Library, MS. Cotton Cleopatra C. vi
Dobson, E. J. (ed.), *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from B.M Cotton MS. Cleopatra C. vi*, EETS o.s. 267 (London, 1972). Date second quarter of the 13th c.
- F: London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vitellius F. vii
Herbert, J.A. (ed.), *The French Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from British Museum MS. Cotton Vitellius F vii*, EETS o.s. 219 (London, 1944). Date: early 14th c.

G: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS. 234/120
 Wilson, R.M. (ed.), *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from Gonville and Caius College MS. 234/120*, EETS o.s. 229 (London, 1954).
 Date: second half of the 13th c.

N: London, British Library, MS. Cotton Nero A. xiv
 Day, Mabel (ed.), *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from Cotton Nero A. XIV*, EETS o.s. 225 (London, 1952). Date: second quarter of the 13th c.

O: Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. th. c. 70 (The Lanhydrock Fragment)
 Mack, Frances M. and A. Zettersten (eds.), *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from Cotton MS. Titus D. XVIII, together with the Lanhydrock Fragment, Bodleian MS. Eng. th.c. 70*, EETS o.s. 252 (London, 1963). Date: first half of the 14th c.

P: Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS: Pepys 2498
 Zettersten, Arne (ed.), *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from Magdalene College, Cambridge MS. Pepys 2498*, EETS o.s. 274 (London, 1976). Date: second half of the 14th c.

R: London, British Library, MS. Royal 8. CI
 Baugh, A.C. (ed.), *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from British Museum MS. Royal 8 CI*, EETS o.s. 232 (London, 1956). Date: 15th c.

T: London, British Library, MS. Cotton Titus D. cviii
 Mack, Frances M. and A. Zettersten (eds.), *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from Cotton MS. Titus D. XVIII, together with the Lanhydrock Fragment, Bodleian MS. Eng. th. c. 70*, EETS o.s. 252 (London, 1963). Date: second quarter of the 13th c.

L: Merton College, Oxford, MS. C. I. 5
 d'Evelyn, Charlotte (ed.), *The Latin Text of the Ancrene Riwe*, EETS o.s. 216 (London, 1944). Date: first half of the 14th c. The edition contains variant readings from the following MSS:
 Magdalen College, Oxford, Latin MS. 67
 Date: late 14th or early 15th c.
 British Museum Cotton MS. Vitellius E. VII
 Date: first half of the 14th c.
 British Museum MS. Royal 7 C.X.
 Date: first half of the 16th c.

S: Trethewey, W.H. (ed.), *The French Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from the Trinity College Cambridge MS. R. 14. 7*, EETS o.s. 240 (London, 1958)

V: Bodleian, MS. Eng. poet. a 1 (MS. Vernon)
 Zettersten, Arne and B. Diensberg (eds.), *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe edited from Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Eng. Poet. a.1*, EETS o.s. 310 (London, 2000). Date: second half of the 14th c.

The first scholar to analyse the stemma of the *Ancrene Riwe* in great detail was Eric Dobson in “Affiliations of the Manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse*”, published in the Festschrift for Professor Tolkien on the occasion of his seventieth birthday in 1962. See fig. 2. Yoko Wada in her “Temptations from *Ancrene Wisse*” provides an “extended stemma,” in which she illustrates Dobson’s views of the influence of the revised text from a lost copy, being a parallel to A, on V, L and P.

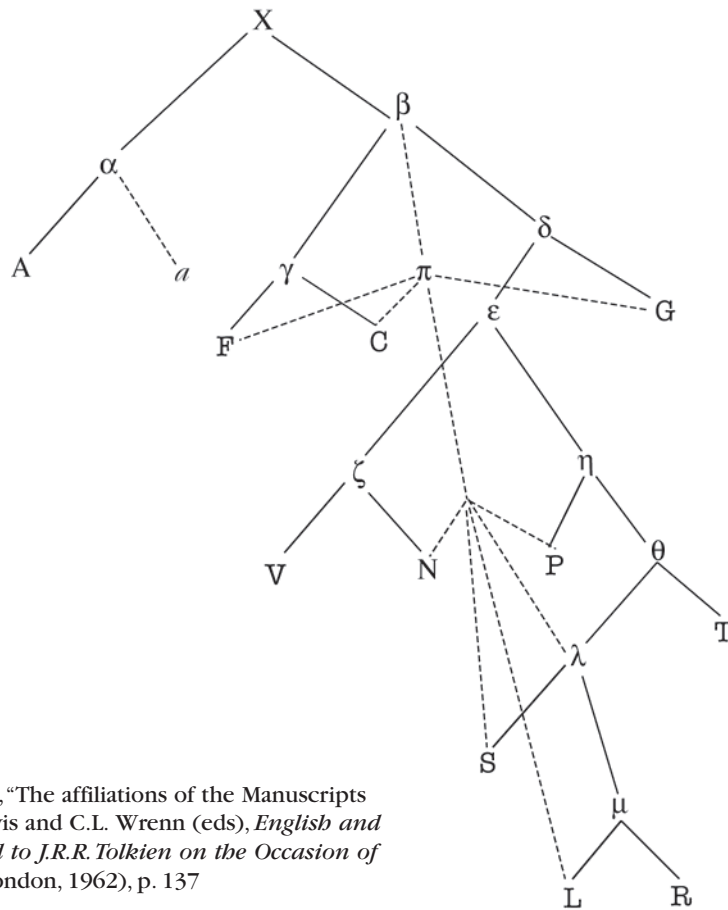


Figure. 2: From E.J. Dobson, “The affiliations of the Manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse*,” in N. Davis and C.L. Wrenn (eds), *English and Medieval Studies Presented to J.R.R. Tolkien on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (London, 1962), p. 137

As Wada rightly observes (p. 82), “No proper assessment of Dobson’s textual history or of his extraordinary comprehension and precise account of the early history of *Ancrene Wisse* can be undertaken, however, until these have been studied in the cold light of variorum texts of those parts of the work which can be so treated.”

In the course of the latter half of the twentieth century, *Ancrene Riwe* studies were characterized by a large scholarly output, due to a great number of highly interesting unsolved problems connected with authorship, provenance, sources, stemmatic relations, vocabulary, style, monastic tradition, audience, etc. Towards the end of the twentieth century many new research areas came into focus, such as feminist readings of several AB texts. This is made clear by Bella Millett’s comprehensive

annotated bibliography published in 1996 with the assistance of George B. Jack and Yoko Wada. Additional bibliographic material is also provided by Roger Dahood in his article "The Current State of *Ancrene Wisse* Group Studies" in *Medieval English Studies Newsletter*, No. 36 (1997), 6-14, and by Robert Hasenfratz in *Ancrene Wisse*, 38-54. An excellent example of how clearly AB research has moved forward at the beginning of the new millennium, can be found in Yoko Wada's *A Compendium to Ancrene Wisse* (2002). Particularly the article by Richard Dance, called "The AB Language: the Recluse, the Gossip and the Language Historian" (57-82), provides new information on a number of issues connected with the AB language.

Furthermore, there are many new possibilities regarding textual analysis that have been brought to light with regard to the use of modern electronic techniques. One such innovation has been introduced by a Japanese research group headed by Tadao Kubouchi. The Tokyo Medieval Manuscript Reading Group launched in 1996 a project for an "Electronic Corpus of Diplomatic Parallel Manuscript Texts as a Tool for Historical Studies of English." *Electronic Parallel Diplomatic Manuscript Texts of the Ancrene Wisse* (2001) is their first undertaking. The final version of their *Ancrene Wisse* texts will contain in computer-readable text-file form, all the relevant English manuscript texts.

With regard to future directions in *Ancrene Riwe* studies, it would seem that rewarding paths are likely to be found in the ever-enhanced possibilities of hypertext software. Bella Millett, who is currently working on a critical edition of the *Ancrene Wisse* together with Richard Dance, has noted with approval a suggestion made by Bernard Cerquiglini that certain medieval works might profitably be studied with the aid of the computer's inherent dialogic and multidimensional potentials, allowing the presentation of multiple versions of a text simultaneously on the screen. However she also admits that such an enterprise is likely to exceed the limited resources currently available to most academic institutions, but we may find hope in the increasing sophistication of many kinds of computers which are becoming more widely affordable and available.

Cerquiglini's idea of a possible hypertext edition of *Ancrene Riwe* harmonizes rather nicely with a notion of my own which I put forth about seven years ago in an article published in the Japanese periodical, *Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature*, 12 (1997), 1-28. My own idea was to employ new computer technologies to create a multi-media version of the textual affiliations of Middle English manuscripts. I believe that it may be possible in the future to make use of virtual reality techniques and construct different scenarios for different versions of the *Ancrene Riwe*, simulating different dialectical regions and later versions.

Naturally, the difficulties in aiming at virtual reality work are overwhelming. First of all, our basis for reconstruction is a series of literary texts in written form. These written manifestations would correspond to underlying phonemes but their reconstruction would imply a great deal of insecurity. Secondly, the financial backing needs to be quite enormous. To create programs for simulating Middle English dialects would, indeed, be time-consuming and costly. The gains from this theoretical project would on the other hand be most interesting from a pedagogical point of view. There would be versions in different dialects and intended for different audiences.

What would actually be needed from *Ancrene Riwe* research in order to prepare for such a future and (at least at present) unrealistic scenario? It took 58 years for the Early English Text Society to

complete the series of diplomatic editions of the seventeen versions. I am myself responsible for extending this period of editing so far by working rather long on the final two editions.

However, I should like to summarize what could be the *desiderata* of *Ancrene Riwe* research, if something nearing a virtual reality scenario is to be achieved. I base this concluding list of *desiderata* on my previous list published in the periodical referred to above (p.18). My view is that we need:

1. Further definite conclusions regarding the affiliations of the manuscripts of the *Ancrene Riwe*, based on all the edited manuscripts.
2. A full critical edition of the *Ancrene Riwe*. The first step towards this could be exclusive of the later versions.
3. A reconstruction of the evidence for
 - a) the exact localization of all the manuscripts
 - b) the origin of the tradition
 - c) the type of religious order
 - d) the original author
 - e) the definition and role of the AB language
4. A completion of the linguistic atlas of Early Medieval English
5. Further linguistic studies regarding
 - a) the relations between spelling and pronunciation in Middle English
 - b) the evidence of monastic material
 - c) word-geography
 - d) dialect boundaries

This rather daunting proposition should be contemplated in relation to all other electronic innovations like the use of hypertext software (Cerquiglioni) mentioned above, the Electronic Parallel Diplomatic Manuscript Texts (1997-2001) printed by the Tokyo Medieval Manuscript Reading Group headed by Tadao Kubouchi, *The Concordance to Ancrene Wisse*, edited by Potts, Stevenson and Wagan-Brown (1993), and the Middle English Compendium, developed at the University of Michigan.

The Middle English Compendium offers access to and interconnectivity among three major Middle English electronic resources: an electronic version of the *Middle English Dictionary (MED)*, a *HyperBibliography of Middle English Prose and Verse* based on the *MED* bibliographies, and a *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*.

It deserves to be noted here that Manfred Markus of the University of Innsbruck is engaged in the completion of a machine-readable corpus of the AB language. See his "Getting to grips with Chips and Early Middle English text variants: sampling *Ancrene Riwe* and *Hali Meidenhad*," in the *ICAME Journal*, No.23, April 1999, 35-51. The aim of this project is to find out about the norms of the AB language and to make available a machine-readable corpus that scholars can use for a variety of purposes, for example comparative studies of all kinds.

It is obvious that—with the wealth of new electronic tools like the above-mentioned new products—we can hope for speedy developments and continuations of exciting projects related to the AB language. We have a long way to go before we get a glimpse of my own—admittedly slightly unrealistic—proposition above, but it is a good idea to dream in the spirit of Tolkien and maybe one day get

more pedagogical substance from the enigmatic notion, called AB. If that could coincide with the future publishing of the new critical edition of the *Ancrene Riwe*, announced by Bella Millet and Richard Dance, we would indeed do justice to Tolkien's own supposition that the AB language would continue to attract attention and create a new 'literature' of its own.

It would also justify the comments by another of Tolkien's pupils, Dr. Robert Burchfield, the eminent editor of the four-volume *Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary* (1972-86), who noted about Tolkien in *The Independent Magazine*, 1 March, 1989: "Everything he touched turned to scholarly gold." My own view is that this is true of his scholarly as well as his fictional writing.

Since I come from the north of Europe and represent decidedly harsher climates than Tolkien's beloved West Midlands of England, I should like conclude this essay by quoting one of Tolkien's lesser known artificial languages, namely *Arctic*, the language spoken at the North pole according to Father Christmas in Tolkien's *The Father Christmas Letters* (ed. by Baille Tolkien, 1976). Karhu, the Polar Bear, who invented a special alphabet from Goblin marks on the walls of the Cave-Bear's caves (see fig. 3), says in an appendix to this delightful book:

Mara mesta an ni véla tye ento, ya rato nea, which is translated 'Goodbye till I see you next, and I hope it will be very soon.'

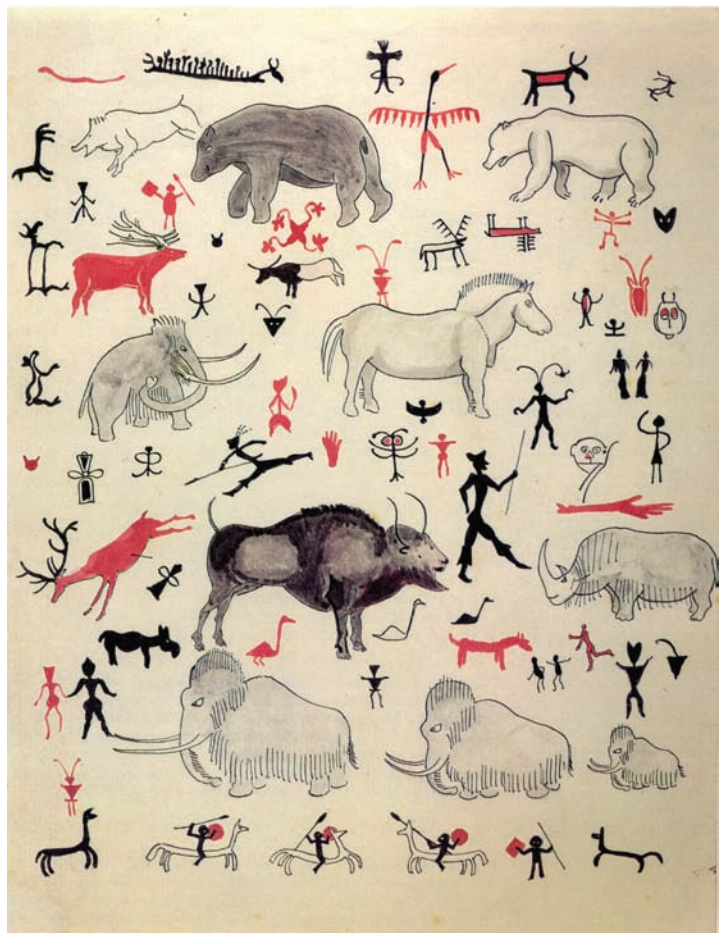


Figure 3:
Prehistoric drawings from the Goblins' cave walls, 1932
The 'Father Christmas' letters, 1920-43
Ink on paper
Collection of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Mss Tolkien
drawings, 58, fol. 54

J.R.R. Tolkien Biography

- 1892 John Ronald Reuel Tolkien born January 3, at Bloemfontein, South Africa, to Arthur and Mabel Suffield Tolkien.
- Father Arthur Tolkien dies. Family moves near Sarehole Mill, outside Birmingham.
- 1899 Enters King Edward VI School, Birmingham.
- Mother Mabel Tolkien dies.
- 1908 Meets Edith Bratt.
- Enters Exeter College, Oxford University.
- Obtains First Class in English Language and Literature, Exeter College.
Commissioned in the Lancashire Fusiliers.
- Marries Edith Bratt. Joins the British Army. On active duty overseas from June to November. Fights in the Battle of the Somme. Returns to England suffering from "trench fever".
- 1917 Begins writing *The Book of Lost Tales*. First son, John, is born.
- 1918 Joins the staff of the *Oxford English Dictionary*.
- 1920 Appointed Reader in English Language at Leeds University. Birth of second son, Michael.
- 1924 Appointed Professor of English Language at Leeds University. Birth of third son, Christopher.
- 1925 Publication of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* with E.V. Gordon. Elected Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford University.
- 1926 Becomes friends with C.S. Lewis.
- 1929 Daughter Priscilla born. Publication of the essay *Ancrene Wisse and Hali Meithbad* or "Holy Virginity".
- 1930? Begins to write *The Hobbit*.
- 1936 Manuscript of *The Hobbit* read by Susan Dagnall of Allen and Unwin, and at her suggestion Tolkien finishes the book. It is accepted for publication. Delivers lecture on *Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics* to the British Academy.

- 1937 Publication of *The Hobbit*. At the suggestion of Stanley Unwin, Tolkien begins a sequel which becomes *The Lord of the Rings*.
- 1939 Delivers lecture *On Fairy-Stories* at St. Andrews University.
- 1945 Elected Merton Professor of English Language and Literature at Oxford University.
- 1949 Completion of *The Lord of the Rings*. Publication of *Farmer Giles of Ham*.
- 1954 Publication of the first two volumes of *The Lord of the Rings* (*The Fellowship of the Ring* and *The Two Towers*).
- 1955 Publication of *The Return of the King*.
- 1959 Retires from Oxford University.
- 1962 Publication of *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil, and Other Verses from the Red Book*, and *Ancrene Wisse: The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe*.
- 1964 Publication of *Tree and Leaf*.
- 1965 Unauthorized American edition of *The Lord of the Rings* published by Ace Books. A “campus cult” begins.
- Publication of *Smith of Wootton Major*.
- Moves to Poole, near Bournemouth.
- 1971 Edith Tolkien dies.
- 1972 Returns to Oxford, moves to Merton Street. Awarded the C.B.E. (Commander, Order of the British Empire). Receives an honorary Doctorate of Letters from Oxford University.
- 1973 On August 28 he goes to Bournemouth to stay with friends. Becomes ill and dies in a nursing home on September 2 at the age of 81.
- 1976 Publication of *The Father Christmas Letters*. Exhibition, “Drawings by Tolkien,” Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, December 14, 1976–February 27, 1977.
- Publication of *The Silmarillion*, edited by Christopher Tolkien. Exhibition at the National Book League, London, March 2–April 7.
- Publication of *Unfinished Tales*, edited by Christopher Tolkien.
- Publication of *Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*, edited by Humphrey Carpenter with the assistance of Christopher Tolkien.

1983-96

Publication of *The History of Middle-earth* in twelve volumes, edited by Christopher Tolkien.

Fiftieth anniversary of the publication of *The Hobbit*; Exhibition of drawings and paintings for *The Hobbit*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, February – May; Exhibition, “J.R.R. Tolkien: Drawings, Watercolors, and Manuscripts from *The Hobbit*,” Patrick and Beatrice Haggerty Museum of Art, Marquette University, June 11–September 30.

2004

The Invented Worlds of J.R.R. Tolkien: Drawings and Original Manuscripts from the Marquette University Collection, Patrick and Beatrice Haggerty Museum of Art, Marquette University, October 21– January 30, 2005; *The Lord of the Rings, 1954–2004: Scholarship in Honor of Dr. Richard E. Blackwelder International Conference*, Marquette University (October 22-23), Milwaukee WI.

0	Enemies	Men and Allies	Aragorn	Frodo and Sam	Calendar
	Capture and delivery Carroway fort. Eriks Pelethius and begins siege of Gondor. Ors and Enderburg Camp near Anou Din to bar way of Rohirrim.	Two days beyond Eriks in Drindon Forest as interview with him. at night. Gandalf returns to Gondor. Faramir abandons Fort and retreats. Enemy pour into Pelennor. Faramir wounded and saved by Ishtar.	Reaches Pelargir, and defeats enemy. Captures large part of the fleet, and prepares to sail. Musters men of Gondor and Eriks and sends them marching north. But he does not put in board.	Escape from Shelob's Lair in morning. Frodo struck down and captured. Sam is in heaven outside Undergate of Tower.	March 13
	Lord of Nazgûl brings up siege engines. He fire in front of tower. He comes in person to the last assault.	Siege of Gondor proceeds. Faramir unconscious. Domenek looks in a patrol, as soon as he returns. Great assault on Gate begins at night. Lords meet at Rohirrim by Meadow Valley as they avoid the waylaying host. Rat in Greyhound as go on at night.	Aragorn sets sail in black fleet up Anduin, but soon withdrew makes at first slow progress, mainly by sailing. By night fleet is about 60 miles above Pelargir.	Sam finds way into Or- thor. Rescues Frodo.	March 14
	Wings spring up in SW and begin to disperse the Dark of Sauron. News comes the waylaying host at Anou Din of the rest of the northern host in Rohirrim, and of the escape of the Rohirrim. They begin to retreat in dismay.	Gate tower burns. Gandalf withstands the Lord of Nazgûl. Theoden charges into Pelennor with a plan. Domenek brings himself Pippin and Gandalf to Faramir.	Slowly spring up in early hours and fleet breaks sail and begins to go at speed. They come in sight of haven at Marston about noon.	Frodo and Sam escape from Tower of the Uruk-hai, and go down into the heart of Mordor. Sleep under branches.	March 15
	News of escape of prisoners of Tower reaches Denador. Almost a ruin of news of this capture.	Battle of the Pelennor Eriks and Aragorn the hosts of Mordor. Eriks brought to the House of Healing, and tended by Aragorn.	Field. withed, rent and destroy Faramir, Merry, and Pippin.	The elven Morgoth as first out Gondor. The Orc-Harlot and his Go on by night from the Mordor.	March 16
	Shagrat brings to Arthur Coat and other spoils to Boradur; he is slain by Sauron.	Gimli kills tale of the Paths of the Dead as the wife of Aragorn to Pelargir.	The Captains of the West confer.	Sam and Frodo reach the Uruk-hai camp.	March 17
	Rohirrim destroy the Fotlingers on the North Road. Sauron withdrew all his forces and makes new plans.	Sam returns to repair Seven Towers and get ready.	wreckage in City. The role of the West.	Sam and Frodo reach the Uruk-hai camp.	March 18

Synoptic Time-Scheme

Ink on paper, recto and verso

7 5/8 x 10 3/8 in. (194 x 264 mm)

Marquette University MS. Tolkien, Mss-4/2/18:6

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Works in the Exhibition

Mr. Bliss

Mr. Bliss (30 sheets/51 pages)

Ink and colored pencil on paper

4 3/4 x 7 1/2 in. (121 x 191 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, Series 4

The Hobbit

Thrór's Map (original version), ca. 1935-36

Ink and pencil on paper

10 5/8 x 8 1/2 in. (270 x 216 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, Mss-1/1/1

Thrór's Map with printer's instructions and Tolkien's notes, dated March 1937

Ink on paper, commercially printed

7 3/4 x 10 3/4 in. (197 x 273 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 1/2/5:1r & v

Map of Wilderland with printer's instructions and Tolkien's notes, dated March 1937

Ink on paper, commercially printed

7 3/4 x 10 3/4 in. (197 x 273 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien

1/2/5:2r & v

Original draft of dust jacket for *The Hobbit*

Watercolor, ink and pencil on paper mounted on rice paper

7 3/4 x 12 in. (197 x 305 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 1/2/4

The Hobbit dust jacket, 1937

Ink on paper, commercially printed

7 1/4 x 14 5/8 in. (184 x 371 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 1/2/3

Name changes and a description of *Thrór's Map*, Ch. I, "An Unexpected Party"

Typescript with extensive holograph emendations in ink

7 3/4 x 10 in. (197 x 254 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 1/2/27:12r

Elves' Song as Bilbo descends into the valley of Rivendell, Ch. III, "A Short Rest"

Holograph and ink on paper

9 1/2 x 7 1/8 in. (242 x 181 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 1/1/3:1v

1st page and Map of the upper River and Mirkwood, Ch. VII, "Queer Lodgings"

Holograph, ink, and pencil on paper

9 1/2 x 7 1/4 in. (242 x 184 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien

1/1/7:10r (unpublished)

Horace Engels

Trolls, Gollum, and Bilbo

Watercolor on paper

22 x 27 1/2 in. (559 x 699 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien

The Lord of the Rings

The Magic Ring, 1938

First draft of the Title Page

Holograph and ink on paper

8 7/8 x 6 7/8 in. (225 x 175 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/1/2:2

Title page of *The Lord of the Rings*

Ink on paper

10 x 8 in. (254 x 203 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/1/1

Three Rings Poem" (calligraphy)

Black and red ink on paper

8 7/8 x 6 7/8 in. (225 x 175 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/1/3

Original sketch of *The Book of Mazarbul*, 1940-41

Pencil on paper

10 1/2 x 8 1/8 in. (267 x 206 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, Mss-2/1/4

Transcriptions of *The Book of Mazarbul*

Pen and ink on paper

6 x 7 in. (152 x 178 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/4/14:1

Transcriptions of *The Book of Mazarbul*

Ink on paper

10 3/8 x 7 3/4 in. (264 x 197 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/4/14:2

Transcriptions of *The Book of Mazarbul*

Ink on paper

8 7/8 x 7 in. (225 x 178 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/4/14:3

Page 1 of *The Book of Mazarbul* (first version), 1940-41
Ink and colored pencil on paper
9 1/4 x 7 1/4 in. (235 x 184 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/4/12

Page 1 of *The Book of Mazarbul* (second version), 1940-41
Ink and colored pencil on paper
9 1/4 x 7 1/4 in. (235 x 184 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/4/12

Runes at Balin's Tomb
Ink on paper
9 1/2 x 7 5/6 in. (241 x 199 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/4/15

Untitled (*Doors of Durin*)
Ink on paper
8 7/8 x 6 7/8 in. (225 x 175 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/3/10

Untitled (*Doors of Durin*)
Ink on paper
9 1/2 x 7 5/6 in. (241 x 199 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/4/15

Synoptic Chronology
Ink on paper, recto and verso
12 7/8 x 8 in. (327 x 203 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, Mss-4/2/18:1

Synoptic Time-Scheme
Ink on paper, recto and verso
8 1/8 x 12 3/4 in. (206 x 324 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, Mss-4/2/18:2
Requires two-sided viewing

Synoptic Time-Scheme
Ink on paper, recto and verso
8 1/8 x 12 3/4 in. (206 x 324 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, Mss-4/2/18:3

Synoptic Time-Scheme
Ink on paper, recto and verso
8 1/8 x 12 3/4 in. (206 x 324 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, Mss-4/2/18:4

Synoptic Time-Scheme
Ink on paper, recto and verso
8 1/8 x 12 3/4 in. (206 x 324 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, Mss-4/2/18:5

Synoptic Time-Scheme
Ink on paper, recto and verso
7 5/8 x 10 3/8 in. (194 x 264 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, Mss-4/2/18:6

Isengard and Orthanc
Pencil on paper
9 1/2 x 7 1/2 in. (241 x 191 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/5/8

Untitled (*Kirith Ungol*)
Ink, pencil and red pencil on paper
9 1/2 x 7 1/2 in. (241 x 191 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/6/8

Tower of Kirith Ungol
Pencil on paper
10 3/8 x 7 5/8 in. (264 x 194 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/8/26

Map of Gondor-ride to Minas Tirith
Pencil on paper
10 1/2 x 7 3/4 in. (267 x 197 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/7/17

Topographical view of Minas Tirith
Ink on paper
9 1/3 x 7 3/8 in. (237 x 187 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, Mss 3/1/24

Fourth sketch of *Minas Tirith*
Pencil and ink on paper
10 1/4 x 8 7/8 in. (260 x 225 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, Mss 3/1/23

Bird's-eye view of Minas Tirith
Pencil on paper
10 1/4 x 8 in. (260 x 203 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/7/1

Sketch of *The Citadel*
Ink on paper
9 1/2 x 7 7/8 in. (241 x 200 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/8/16

Aragorn's letter to Master Samwise English and Sindarin written in Tengwar and Roman letters (calligraphy)
Ink on paper
9 1/2 x 15 in. (241 x 381 mm)
Marquette University MS.Tolkien, 3/9/35

Table from which the Shire Calendar in Appendix D was printed

Ink on paper

10 x 8 in. (254 x 203 mm)

Marquette University Mss Tolkien, 4/1/36:2

Equation of Dating (a chart)

Ink on paper

12 5/8 x 8 in. (321 x 203 mm)

Marquette University Mss Tolkien Mss 4/1/36:final page

Notes on *Middle-earth lunar calendar* and map of mountains on back of WWII air warden report, 3 sheets, 1944

Ink on paper, recto and verso

8 x 5 in. (203 x 127 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, Mss 4/2/19

Notes re: *Hobbit-long measures* on back of Oxford faculty menu, 2 cards

Ink on paper, recto and verso

6 1/4 x 4 in. (159 x 102 mm)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, Mss-4/2/19

Early Draft of *Appendix E*

Ink on paper

3 sheets, each 10 1/3 x 7 1/4 in.

(Sheets 1-2, recto and verso)

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, Mss 4/2/21: 1-3

Queries & Notes

Ink on paper

2 sheets, each 8 x 5 1/3 in.

Marquette University MS.Tolkien, Mss 4/2/2:4

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