

Unpublished and Slightly Published Texts of JRRT

1. Lectures and Studies in the Bodlean Library, Oxford, Dept. of Western Manuscripts

Tolkien A29(a), ff. 90-93

Notes on *Cædmon's Hymn* with analysis of Old English religious terms and their pagan associations (dated 'Oct. 1927')

Extract:

[A29(a) f. 93v:]

'It is remarkable how many of the primary words of the Christian religion were in Germanic, but especially in Old English (the earliest after Gothic to be Christianized) of nature, and therefore ultimately 'heathen' origin. In OE the words for God, heaven, hell, sin, redeemer, saviour, cross, paradise, Easter, Lent, holy, saint, eucharist, baptism*, and so on, are all native.'

[Paul E. Kerry, ed. *The Ring and the Cross: Christianity and the Writings of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2011. P. 132. See pp. 130-132, 135 for Tolkien's treatment of *dryhten*, *metod* and *wegnest*].

Tolkien A30/1, ff. 1-40

Drafts for BBC radio talk on 'Anglo-Saxon Verse' (1937, completed by 14 Jan. 1938) and

Tolkien A30/1, ff. 41-82

Two adaptations of radio talk renamed 'The Beginnings of English Poetry' (1942—1948)

Contents:

The Battle of Brunanburgh and *Cædmon's Hymn*; meter, kennings, and alliteration; the fusion between Germanic beliefs and Christianity; a brief look at Old Norse; cursory discussions of *Beowulf*, the Old English riddles, *The Dream of the Rood*, *The Battle of Maldon*, and the two elegies *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*.

Extracts:

[A30/1, f. 10. On the Old English riddles:]

'The making of riddles in verse was one of the most favoured forms of shorter composition, both learned and popular, in Latin and in the vernacular. Some are now to us dark or insoluble. But the object of these riddles was often less to pose a conundrum than to give and take pleasure in allusive description.'

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 77.]

* *god*, *heofon*, *hell*, *synn*, *Aliesend* (*Hælend*), *Neregend*, *rōd* (*gealga*), *neorxanwang*, *Eastor*, *Lencten*, *hælig*, *halga*, *hūsl* (*wegnest*), *fulwiht*.

[A30/1, f. 33. On *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*:]

‘These are the words of men who knew the northern seas in small boats. Anglo-Saxon verse has many echoes of the cold waves, and the cry of the seabirds. It is, perhaps, not surprising that the reflective poetry of a people with the traditions of the cold north seas, frozen in winter, should show two elegiac poems, in which the sorrows of the lonely seafarer are a leading theme, and a symbol of desolation of spirit. These two remarkable poems of individual sentiment, are also preserved in the Exeter Book, and are now usually known as the *Wanderer* and *Seafarer*.

In the *Wanderer* the poet passes before the end of the poem to the vision of a ruin, and a lament for the days devoured by time, a poignant expression of a dominant Anglo-Saxon mood: with this epitaph on antiquity, I will end this brief echo of the now long-vanished Anglo-Saxon days.’

[Stuart D. Lee. *J.R.R. Tolkien and ‘The Wanderer’: From Edition to Application* // *Tolkien Studies*. Vol. 6. 2009. Pp. 194-5, 207.]

[A30/1, f. 33ff. Tolkien’s translation of the famous passage from *The Wanderer*:]

‘Where now the horse, where now the man, where now the giver of gold?
Where now the places of feasting? Where are the glad voices of the hall?
Alas, the bright goblet! Alas, the mail-clad knight! Alas, the glory of the King!
How that hour hath passed dark under night-shade, as had it never been!’

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 215.]

[A30/1, f. 45. On contemporary events (crossed through by Tolkien):]

‘Europe & Britain — perhaps Britain in particular — have an intricate complex history racially and culturally. Nearly all the worst errors come from attempts at false simplifications in the service of this or that theory. I am not a simplifier, dealing with plain polemic discussions in Nordic and Latin, civilized and savage. There is not time to go into all that. I only warn you in case you should suspect that I was a secret Nazi and had gone all Nordic, because I wish to emphasize certain things which the bewildered and tragic nonsense talked in modern Germany has made suspect. Believe me I hate it — though as nonsense it only beats by a narrow margin much that has been written by H. Belloc in the *History of England*.’

[Stuart D. Lee. *J.R.R. Tolkien and ‘The Wanderer’: From Edition to Application* // *Tolkien Studies*. Vol. 6. 2009. P. 195.]

[A30/1, f. 70. On ‘Anglo-Saxon period’ in history:]

‘You can, if you like, speak of an ‘Anglo-Saxon period’ in history, before 1066. But it is not a very useful label. You might as well label all the jars on the top-shelf in your store cupboard as PRESERVE, and all the rest JAM. In actual fact, there was no such thing as a single uniform ‘Anglo-Saxon’ period: just a time when all men wore funny trousers with cross-straps, and ate too much pork and drank too much beer; a time whose chief events were the burning of some cakes by Alfred and the wetting of Canute’s feet. That is

a legendary time that never happened or existed, and it is not nearly as interesting as the real thing.’

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 9.]

Tolkien A30/1, ff. 107-168

An essay titled ‘Some thoughts on the translation of poetry — especially Old English as aroused by reading ‘*Poems from the Old English, translated by Burton Raffel*’ and his Introduction. With some particular comments on the text and interpretation of *The Wanderer* and *Riddle 8/9*’ (1964—1965).

Extracts:

[A30/1, ff. 107-109. On translation:]

‘The making of translations should be primarily for private amusement, and profit. The profit, at any rate, will be found in the increased and sharpened understanding of the language of the original which the translator will acquire in the process... [f]irst of all by absolute allegiance to the thing translated: to its meaning, its style, technique, and form. The language used in translation is, for this purpose, merely an instrument, that must be handled so as to reproduce, to make audible again, as nearly as possible, the antique work. Fortunately modern (modern literary, not present-day colloquial) English is an instrument of very great capacity and resources, it has long experience not yet forgotten, and deep roots in the past not yet all pulled up. It can, if asked, still play in modes no longer favoured and remember airs not now popular; it is not limited to the fashionable cacophonies. I have little sympathy with contemporary theories of translation, and no liking for their results. In these the allegiance is changed. Too often it seems given primarily to ‘contemporary English’, the present-day colloquial idiom as if being ‘contemporary’, that most evanescent of qualities, by itself guaranteed its superiority. In many the primary allegiance of the ‘translator’ is to himself, to his own whims and notions, and the original author is evidently considered fortunate to have aroused the interest of a superior writer. This attitude is often a mask for incompetence, and for ignorance of the original idiom; in any case it does not encourage close study of the text and its language, the laborious but only sure way of acquiring a sensitive understanding and appreciation, even for those of poetic temperament, who might have acquired them, if they had started with a more humble and loyal allegiance.’

[Wayne Hammond, Christina Scull, eds. *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide. Volume 2: Reader’s Guide*. London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2006. P. 770.]

[A30/1, f. 113. On the meaning of the word *ānhaga*:]

‘The ‘anhaga’ does not mean just ‘lonely one’, but refers to a man living in special conditions and is not applicable (for instance) to a man in a boat.’

[Stuart D. Lee. *J.R.R. Tolkien and ‘The Wanderer’: From Edition to Application* // *Tolkien Studies*. Vol. 6. 2009. P. 199; for Tolkien’s discussion of *ānhaga* see Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 214.]

[A30/1, f. 121. On the Rohirrim and the Anglo-Saxons:]

‘I must protest that I have never attempted to ‘re-create’ anything. My aim has been the basically more modest, and certainly the more laborious one of trying to make* something new. No one would learn anything valid about the ‘Anglo-Saxons’ from any of my lore, not even that concerning the Rohirrim; I never intended that they should. Even the lines beginning “Where now the horse and the rider,” though they echo a line in ‘The Wanderer’, are indeed not much further removed from it verbally, metrically, or in sentiment than are parts of Raffel’s ‘translation’, are certainly *not* a translation, re-creative or otherwise. They are integrated (I hope) in something wholly different, the only excuse for the borrowing: they are particular in reference, to a great hero and his renowned horse, and they are supposed to be part of the song of a minstrel of a proud and undefeated people in a hall still populous with men. Even the sentiment is different: it laments the ineluctable ending and passing back into oblivion of the fortunate, the full-lived, the unblemished and the beautiful. To me that is more poignant than any particular disaster, from the cruelty of men or the hostility of the world. But if I were to venture to translate ‘The Wanderer’ — the lament of the lonely man withering away in regret, and the poet’s reflexions upon it — I would not dare to intrude any sentiment of my own, not to disarrange the order of word and thought in the old poem, in an impertinent attempt to make it more pleasing to myself, and perhaps to others. That is not ‘re-creation’ but destruction. At best a foolish misuse of a talent for personal poetic expression; at worst the unwarranted impudence of a parasite.’

‘*I might say ‘sub-create’, indicating that if successful the result may be new (in art), though all its material is given.’

[Stuart D. Lee. *J.R.R. Tolkien and ‘The Wanderer’: From Edition to Application* // Tolkien Studies. Vol. 6. 2009. Pp. 204-5; Wayne Hammond, Christina Scull, eds. *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide. Volume 2: Reader’s Guide*. London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2006. Pp. 653-4.]

[A30/1, f. 152. On the historical context of *The Wanderer*:]

‘[The] Wanderer, and Seafarer all seem to be concerned with nameless ‘types’. No names are at any rate mentioned. But ‘types’ are derived from individuals, known by expression or from report and story, and it is by no means certain that these pieces had not, or at least that the material they adapted had not, at one time recognizable references to actual named figures of story: \e.g./ *Seafarer* to a mariner-adventurer a northern Ulysses-like character in his old age: *Wanderer* to an exile-survivor of a national disaster, sole champion of a King’s *gesipas* to escape...’

‘...the *eardstapa* is not identical with the *anhaga* of line 1: he is a similar case introduced as an illustration... the general *oratio recta* of the piece is interrupted in lines 88-95b to introduce the similar case of the *anhaga* who finds his situation of (?) and persecutions in his own land insupportable... I personally believe that the *eardstapa* and his reported lament ends probably at *wynnum* 29a where *ic/me* gives way to *se/he*, and certainly goes no further than *wynn eal gedreas* [36b]. The *anhaga* of 40 is the *anhaga* of 1.’

[Stuart D. Lee. *J.R.R. Tolkien and ‘The Wanderer’: From Edition to Application* // Tolkien Studies. Vol. 6. 2009. Pp. 199-200]

Tolkien A38, ff. 1-39

Notes on *The Wanderer* supplementing Tolkien's lecture on 'The Verse of Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*' for Oxford's English Faculty (1926 — Hilary Term 1927)

Contents:

A38, ff. 1-8 — typed up version of A38, ff. 22-25

A38, ff. 9-12 — later general statements about *The Wanderer* (prob. 1940s?)

A38, ff. 13-15 — a translation of *The Wanderer*

A38, ff. 16-21 — lecture list for 1927 (notes not directly related to *The Wanderer*)

A38, ff. 22-25 — introductory remarks on *The Wanderer*

A38, ff. 26-39 — word by word notes on *The Wanderer*

Extracts:

[A38, f. 3:]

'The chief reason for studying Old English, must always remain Old English... There is a kinship, in spite of all the remoteness and the strangeness, in Old English verse with Modern English: it is definitely part of the history of the mind and mood of England and the English. The men who made it walked this soil and under this sky. All the immense changes of life here in more than a thousand years have not yet made the end entirely foreign to the beginning.'

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 19.]

[A38, f. 9. On *wyrd*:]

'What is *wyrd*? History... [This] can be viewed as an ineluctable series of events that has marched, and will march on and over Man, without regard to any man, Cæsar or churl; or as a flowing stream of things that can by some great men, or by many men united in some hope or passion, be turned this way or that: yet even so it runs down inevitably to the Great Sea at last.'

[Stuart D. Lee. *J.R.R. Tolkien and 'The Wanderer': From Edition to Application* // Tolkien Studies. Vol. 6. 2009. P. 201; Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 214.]

[A38, f. 9v. On paganism:]

'Past beliefs cast their shadow behind: the mood long outlives them. The dominant note of paganism is regret, or indeed despair. It may have fair gods or foul gods (or both); but at any rate it has little hope.'

[Stuart D. Lee. *J.R.R. Tolkien and 'The Wanderer': From Edition to Application* // Tolkien Studies. Vol. 6. 2009. P. 201.]

[A38, f. 12. A sideswipe at some unnamed critics of elegiac sentiment:]

'[In *The Wanderer*] [w]e have, it is nonetheless murmured, the hackneyed hour before dawn; the same old generous patron (the *goldwine*); the wintry sea, of course; the

crumbling ruin, alas!; the transitivity of earth, yes, yes. But why not? These things are fundamental at all times; and they must have touched very near the heart in England (especially the North of England) round about the year A.D. 800.'

[Stuart D. Lee. *J.R.R. Tolkien and 'The Wanderer': From Edition to Application* // Tolkien Studies. Vol. 6. 2009. Pp. 201-2.]

[A38, f. 12v. On contemporary events:]

'I at least find more sustenance and support in *The Wanderer*, amid the present catastrophe (which seems likely to leave Europe in ruins whichever way it turns) than in all the pretty prattle... There is no happy ending to cyningas or caseras \of this world/, whichever new names they may give themselves, and whichever side they may be on, left or right, black or white \[interlinear gloss:] red or white/... The Old English poets knew that at any rate.'

[Stuart D. Lee. *J.R.R. Tolkien and 'The Wanderer': From Edition to Application* // Tolkien Studies. Vol. 6. 2009. Pp. 205-6.]

[A38, f. 36v. On the famous lines of *The Wanderer* — 'Where is the horse gone', etc:]

'[these lines] were deservedly famous. One of the best expressions of this motive in literature... we do not gain much from the argument of scholars as to whether it is a native or a learned motive. We might say it is a human motive!.. And the question 'where are' of the departed has been asked (as one might expect) in many languages.'

[Stuart D. Lee. *J.R.R. Tolkien and 'The Wanderer': From Edition to Application* // Tolkien Studies. Vol. 6. 2009. P. 189.]

2. Lectures and Studies
in the Bodlean Library, Oxford, Dept. of Western Manuscripts. Addenda

Tolkien A14/2, ff. 1-9 — Drafts of lectures on the History of Old English.

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 150.]

Tolkien A15/2, f. 149 — Lecture ‘The Goths’. The vanished tradition, literature, history, and the tongue of the Goths; the Roman conquest of Gaul and the submergence of its native language, arts and traditions.

[Wayne Hammond, Christina Scull, eds. *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide. Volume 2: Reader’s Guide*. London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2006. P. 555.]

Tolkien A16/2, ff. 229v-234 — Notes on the Old English poem *Elene*.

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 37.]

Tolkien A17/1, ff. 2ff — Drafts of lectures on translating *Beowulf* (1940).

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 55.]

Tolkien A18/1, ff. 134-156 — Partial translation of the First Branch of the Mabinogi, *Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed*, along with extensive notes on the name ‘Annwn’.

[Verlyn Flieger. *Interrupted Music*. Kent State University Press, 2005. P. 60.]

Tolkien A21/5 — Notebooks containing notes and commentary on Old English texts.
inter alia:

Tolkien A21/5, f. 13 — analysis of individual words in *The Battle of Maldon*.

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 232.]

Tolkien A21/5, ff. 35v-36 — notes on *Beowulf*.

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 120.]

Tolkien A28 — Notes on *The Wanderer*, including remarks on the sack of Lindisfarne and Jarrow in AD 800 and some longer essays, and in ff. 26–39 an extensive analysis of individual words (about 1927).

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Pp. 214, 196.]

Tolkien A28/A, ff. 130-40 — Notes on the *Fight at Finnsburg* fragment.

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 162.]

Tolkien A28/B — Notes on *Beowulf*.

inter alia:

Tolkien A28/B, ff. 3r, 8v-12r — Detailed commentary on the *Exordium* from *Beowulf* and the ‘Departure of Scyld Scefing’.

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Pp. 178-9, 182; see *The Lost Road*, pp. 92-7 for extensive extracts from Tolkien’s lectures on the subject.]

Tolkien A28/B, ff. 41, 42, 43, 48 — Analysis of individual words in *Beowulf*.

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Pp. 200, 216.]

Tolkien A28/B, f. 123 — Notes entitled the ‘Development of *wyrd*’.

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 136.]

Tolkien A28/B, ff. 132, 169, 170, 175 — Further notes on *Beowulf* as compared with *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Pp. 30-31, 199.]

Tolkien A29/1 — Early drafts of a translation of *Beowulf* (some drafts in alliterative verse).

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 120.]

Tolkien A 29(a)/1, ff. 3-19v — Notes on the ‘*Cynewulf and Cyneheard*’ episode in the Parker Chronicle with analysis of individual words.

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Pp. 150, 162.]

Tolkien A 29(a)/1, ff. 151-196 — Notes on The Exeter Book and the Old English riddles.

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Pp. 77-8, 105.]

Tolkien A29/2 — Typescript of a prose translation of *Beowulf* (completed by the end of April 1926).

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 120; Wayne Hammond, Christina Scull, eds. *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide. Volume 2: Reader's Guide*. London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2006. P. 85; see the longest passage to date of Tolkien's prose translation of *Beowulf* in *The Lost Road*, pp. 92-3.]

Tolkien A30/2, ff. 102-109 — Analysis of individual words in *The Battle of Maldon*.

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Pp. 232-3.]

Tolkien A31 — Notes on *Beowulf*.

inter alia:

Tolkien A31, ff. 12, 42r — notes on the 'Departure of Scyld Scefing'.

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Pp. 178-9; see *The Lost Road*, pp. 92-7 for extracts from Tolkien's lectures on the subject.]

Tolkien A31, ff. 43ff — a lengthy study of *Beowulf*.

[Stuart D. Lee, Elizabeth Solopova. *The Keys of Middle-Earth: Discovering Medieval Literature Through the Fiction of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 120.]

3. Materials currently with restricted access in the Bodlean Library, Oxford, Dept. of Western Manuscripts

Tolkien A61 a., ff. 1-31 — Essay, written in response to seeing Pauline Baynes' depiction of various characters from *The Lord of the Rings* in the headpiece and tailpiece to her 1970 poster-map of Middle-earth.

On the map itself were a series of vignettes portraying various locations significant to the story, such as the Barrow-Downs and Minas Tirith; and above and below the map proper, Baynes depicted the members of the Fellowship of the Ring, the Black Riders, Gollum, Shelob, and other enemies of the West.

On seeing the finished art, Tolkien wrote a set of comments on these depictions of places and characters. Some of these comments are appreciative: e.g. Tolkien found four of the vignettes, sc. those depicting the Teeth of Mordor, the Argonath, Barad-dûr, and Minas Morgul, particularly well-executed, and described them as agreeing “remarkably with my own vision ... Minas Morgul is almost exact”; and he found the depiction of Aragorn good, those of Sam and Gimli “good enough”, and that of Boromir to be “the best figure, and most closely related to the text”. Other comments are less positive: e.g. of the vignettes he singled out those of Minas Tirith and Hobbiton for particular dislike; and of the depictions of characters he most disliked those of Gandalf, Legolas, Gollum, the Black Riders (though he found them “impressive as sinister cavaliers”, he decried the addition of “hats and plumes” and the “relief” of “their hell-black with elvish green”), and Shelob (faulting in particular the positioning of her legs as “all apparently growing out of her head”) – also that of Bill the Pony: “On the scale of the men and the hobbits Bill is no pony. Also he was represented as having become the special care and friend of Sam, who should be leading him”. In the course of these comments he offered details of how some of these characters appeared in his own vision, as well as on the personality and roles of some — an invaluable aid to any illustrator of his work.

Although Tolkien greatly admired Baynes' earlier work (illustrations for *Farmer Giles of Ham* (1949), *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil* (1962), *Smith of Wootton Major* (1967)), he disliked this piece so much that he had the top and bottom cropped off the original painting when he had it framed for presentation to his longtime secretary Joy Hill.

The descriptions of Gandalf and Gollum were published in John D. Rateliff. *The History of The Hobbit. Part One: Mr. Baggins*. London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2007. Pp. 48-49, 186-187.

Extracts from the descriptions of Gandalf, Legolas, Hobbits, Gollum, Black Riders and Shelob were published in *The Nature of Middle-earth*. Ed. by C.F. Hostetter. London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2021. Pp. 191-197.

Other extracts (not always identified as such) were published in UT:286-7 (beginning with “The remarks [on the stature of Hobbits]”); and in *The Lord of the Rings: A Reader's Companion*, by W.Hammond and C.Scully, 2014: Pp. 4, 107, 229, 447, 493.

4. Poetry, Stories, etc.

1. *The Mermaid's Flute*.

Poem, written c. 1914. Originally it was a part of the poem *The Minstrel Renounces the Song* (its latest version, *The Bidding of the Minstrel, from the Lay of Earendel*, was published in *The Book of Lost Tales, Part Two* (1984), pp. 269-271.) In its original form the poem 'was much longer than it became': in early 1915 Tolkien divided its first part, *The Bidding of the Minstrel*, from its second, which he entitled *The Mermaid's Flute* (unpublished).

[Wayne Hammond & Christina Scull. *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide. Reader's Guide* (2006), p. 107.]

2. *A Dream of Coming Home*.

Poem, composed in France from 4 to 8 July 1916. Later it was shortened and rewritten as a pair of poems, *Two Eves in Tavrobel*. The first poem was published as *An Evening in Tavrobel* in *Leeds University Verse 1914—24* (1924), p. 56; the second 'evening' remained unpublished.

[Wayne Hammond & Christina Scull. *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide. Reader's Guide* (2006), p. 268.]

3. *Reginhardus, the Fox and Monoceros, the Unicorn*.

Two poems, composed not long before 1927 (together with two other animal poems, *Fastitocalon* and *Iumbo, or ye Kinde of ye Oliphaunt*, which were published in the *Stapeldon Magazine* (Exeter College, Oxford) 7, no. 40 (June 1927), pp. 123-127 as *The Adventures in Unnatural History and Medieval Metres, Being the Freaks of Fisiologus*). All these poems were inspired by the medieval bestiary, in particular the *Physiologus* poems in the Exeter Book, which describe the characteristics of animals and draw from them Christian morals. Tolkien followed this model but added elements of contemporary culture.

[Wayne Hammond & Christina Scull. *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide. Reader's Guide* (2006), p. 296.]

4. *Tales and Songs of Bimble Bay*.

Series of poems, written c. 1928, incorporating fantasy and satire, and centred on an imaginary English coastal town and harbour. These include *The Bumpus* (revised as *Perry-the-Winkle*), *The Dragon's Visit*, *Glip*, **Old Grabbier*, *Progress in Bimble Town*, and **A Song of Bimble Bay*; asterisked titles are still unpublished.

[Wayne Hammond & Christina Scull. *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide. Reader's Guide* (2006), p. 997.]

5. *Doworst*.

Humorous verse 'report', written before 1933 and relating remarkable errors committed by nervous students in oral English examinations at the University of Oxford. The work is in the style and metre of the fourteenth-century alliterative poem *Piers Plowman*. The poet witnesses the Oxford *vivas* at the end of Trinity Term. Students are summoned 'to an

assize to be held / by four clerks very fell whom few could appease', where they will 'doworst', i.e. do their worst in answering the examiners' questions. Two of the 'four clerks' are intended to be Tolkien and C.S. Lewis. Tolkien wrote out this work as a decorated manuscript in a medieval manner, headed 'Visio Petri Aratoris de Doworst' (the vision of Piers Plowman of Doworst).

Tolkien initially gave the manuscript of *Doworst* to R.W. Chambers. Eventually it passed to Arthur Brown. In 1978, the first nineteen lines of the poem were printed in a fanzine by a group from Monash University, Victoria, Australia; but the location of this manuscript since Brown's death in 1979 is unknown.

[Wayne Hammond & Christina Scull. *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide. Reader's Guide* (2006), p. 214.]

6. *The Ulsterior Motive.*

Discursive essay, written in response to the posthumous publication of C.S. Lewis' *Letters to Malcolm*, expressing Tolkien's hurt at anti-Roman Catholicism from Lewis. [*Mythlore*. Vol 26, No 99/100 (Fall/Winter'07).]

7. *The Bovadium Fragments.*

Tolkien's unpublished satire associated with A.D. Godley's poem "Motor Bus". [*Tolkien Collector* 1:4.]

8. *Miscellanea*

'The Brothers in Arms' [Reader's Guide p. 842]

'Companions of the Rose' [Reader's Guide p. 843]

'Completorium'. Earlier called 'Evening'. [Reader's Guide p. 843]

'Copernicus and Ptolemy'. Earlier called 'Dark'. [Reader's Guide p. 843]

'Dark Are the Clouds about the North' [Reader's Guide p. 844]

'Darkness on the Road' [Reader's Guide p. 844]

'Elf Alone'. Earlier called 'The Lonely Harebell'. [Reader's Guide p. 845]

'Ferrum et Sanguis' [Reader's Guide p. 845]

'The Forest-walker' [Reader's Guide p. 845]

'A Fragment of an Epic: Before Jerusalem Richard Makes an End of Speech' [Reader's Guide p. 846]

'From the many-willow'd margin of the immemorial Thames' (2nd stanza) [Reader's Guide p. 846]

'G.B.S.' [Reader's Guide p. 846]

'Magna Dei Gloria' [Reader's Guide p. 850]

'May-day'. Earlier called 'May Day in a Backward Year' [Reader's Guide p. 851]

'A Memory of July in England' [Reader's Guide p. 851]

'Morning Song'. Earlier called 'Morning' [Reader's Guide p. 851]

'Morning Tea' [Reader's Guide p. 851]

'The New Lemminkäinen' [Reader's Guide p. 852]

'The Pool of the Dead Year' [Reader's Guide p. 853]

'Outside' [Reader's Guide p. 853]

'The Owl and the Nightingale' [Reader's Guide p. 853]

'The Ruined Enchanter: A Fairy Ballad' [Reader's Guide p. 854]

'Stella Vespertina'. Earlier called 'Consolatrix Afflictorum'. [Reader's Guide p. 855]
'Sunset in a Town' [Reader's Guide p. 855]
'The Sirens' [Reader's Guide p. 855]
'Sparrow Song (Bilink)' [Reader's Guide p. 855]
'The Swallow and the Traveller on the Plains'. Earlier called 'Thoughts on Parade'
[Reader's Guide p. 855]
'The Thatch of Poppies' [Reader's Guide p. 856]
'The Two Riders'. Earlier versions were called 'Courage Speaks with the Love of
Earth', 'Courage Speaks with a Child of Earth', and 'Now and Ever' [Reader's Guide
p. 857]
'Vestr um Haf'. Adapted as 'Bilbo's Last Song' [Reader's Guide p. 857]

See also:

http://tolkiengateway.net/wiki/Index:Unpublished_material

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