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Abstract

Reviews the history of Galadriel and Celeborn as revealed in unpublished materials as well as *The Lord of the Rings*, *The Silmarillion*, Tolkien's *Letters*, and *Unfinished Tales*, and examines variations and inconsistencies.

Additional Keywords

Tolkien, J.R.R.—Characters—Celeborn; Tolkien, J.R.R.—Characters—Galadriel; Patrick Wynne



The Celeblain of Celeborn and Galadriel

Janice Johnson

The tale of Galadriel and Celeborn runs like a Celeblain¹ -- a silver thread -- through the ages of Middle-earth. It is a part of that history that is most wrought with problems. Their role emerged slowly and was constantly refashioned with Tolkien's revisions that he called "writing backward." Much of their tale, both published and unpublished was written after The Lord of the Rings was published. Following the trail of Galadriel and Celeborn leads through many volumes and many hours at the Archives of Marquette University's Memorial Library. Studying the holographs, typed revisions, printer's typescript copies, and corrected galley proofs, shows Tolkien's meticulous care as he created his Ages of Middle-earth.

The tale of Galadriel and Celeborn goes through severe inconsistencies that are embedded in antiquity and tradition. The publication of the Unfinished Tales, edited by Christopher Tolkien and The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien, edited by Humphrey Carpenter, makes it seem obvious that if the father of the tales, J.R.R. Tolkien, had been given the time, The Silmarillion would have given us much more in the way of Tolkien's perfecting history to precede The Hobbit and The Lord of the Rings. The Unfinished Tales shows Tolkien's separate paths with the roles of Galadriel and Celeborn, such as in one version, Amroth, King of Lórien, being their son, and in another, Amroth is the son of Amdir, who was slain in the Battle of Dagorlad in the year 3434 SA². He had not yet, at the time of his death, fit the final pieces of his great sub-creation together, as he wanted them to be. In The Silmarillion, we can only see the completed narratives that were available to Christopher Tolkien, at the time of his father's death.

Galadriel and Celeborn provide a constant thread

throughout the entire works, from The Silmarillion in the First Age to the Fourth Age, when Celeborn himself perhaps goes over Sea following Galadriel. They are an integral part of the tale, more so than critics and commentators of the tale seem to have noticed. Noel, in The Mythology of Middle-earth gives Galadriel some importance, yet calls her a "typical mythic Elf-queen." After following her through four ages of Middle-earth, it seems difficult to call her typical in any respect. Other critics, such as Randel Helms, Lin Carter, and William Ready, do not give her or Celeborn much importance, nor are they listed in the index of their works. Tolkien himself denotes his desire for her importance in a letter to Mrs. Meriel Thurston, dated 30 November, 1972: "Galadriel ('Glittering garland') is the chief elvish woman mentioned in The Lord of the Rings; her daughter was Celebrián ('Silver Queen')." (The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien, p. 423) Their lives and actions are entwined with the very center of the past, present and future of all of Middle-earth. His revisions throughout the holographs indicate his perfectionism in his sub-creation. Yet even without the insight of these revisions, a study of Galadriel and Celeborn, finds them continually woven through the tale in strategic ways. As late as a month before his death, since The Silmarillion was not yet published, Tolkien was writing backward on additions and revisions to the tale of Galadriel and Celeborn. At this time, he was writing of things hinted, but never told; of Galadriel's conduct at the time of the rebellion of the Noldor, emphasizing the commanding stature of Galadriel in Valinor. In a letter to Lord Halsbury, dated 4 August, 1973 Tolkien states:

Galadriel was 'unstained': she had committed no evil deeds. She was an enemy of Fëanor. She

did not reach Middle-earth with the other Noldor, but independently. Her reasons for desiring to go to Middle-earth were legitimate, and she would have been permitted to depart, but for the misfortune that before she set out the revolt of Fëanor broke out, and she became involved in the desperate measures of Manwe, and the ban on all emigration. (The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien, p. 431)

Galadriel was born in the Blessed Realm of Valinor in the First Age of Middle-earth not long before the revenge of Melkor when the light of Valinor failed. It will now never be known whether Celeborn was to be a Telerin prince or a prince of Thingol's realm in Doriath, in Middle-earth.³ It is sure that the two met, either in Aqualondë or in Doriath, and as Galadriel said: "together we have fought the long defeat." (3/3/28:5)⁴ Galadriel was one of the Children of Finarfin. She was the greatest of the Noldor, except Fëanor, and she proved wiser than he and over the long ages, her wisdom increased. Her tutelage by the Valar had reached its peak at the time of Melkor's revenge and the light of the trees destroyed. Melkor had taken the Silmarils and Fëanor had sworn an oath to leave Valinor and avenge Melkor.

It is interesting to note here, that in Valinor, Fëanor admired the beauty of his kinswoman, Galadriel, and had three times begged for a tress of her hair. He was refused (UT, p. 230), yet Gimli asked but once, and received his wish (FotR, pp. 392 - 393).

In this version, it is also said that it was the beauty of Galadriel's hair that gave Fëanor the thought of imprisoning and blending the light of the trees that later took shape in his hands as the Silmarils.⁵ The first reference to Galadriel in The Silmarillion mentions the beauty of her hair:

"...Galadriel, most beautiful of all the house of Finwe; her hair was lit with gold as though it had caught in a mesh the radiance of Laurelin." (The Silmarillion p. 61) Galadriel was proud, beautiful and strong willed. In the testing time of Fëanor's revolt, whether she was with the Teleri, or still in Valinor, she was drawn two ways. Both toward the Valar and toward Middle-earth. Before Melkor's revenge, she had dreams of far lands that might be her own to command beyond the tutelage of the Valar. Once she set foot on the road from Valinor, she could not relent.

At this point, there are actually three ways she could have left Valinor for Middle-earth. She could have left following Fëanor's revolt, fighting against his rape of the ships of the Teleri, being left behind by Fëanor and enduring the terror of the Helcaraxë, and at last coming to Middle-earth later to meet Celeborn, a prince of Doriath, as a guest of Thingol and Melian (The Silmarillion, pp. 83 -90).

Second, she could have gone to Teleri before the revenge of Melkor, there met Celeborn (Teleporno) and planned to leave Middle-earth with him. When Fëanor came to the Teleri, she defended the ships with Teleporno. They succeeded and sailed together for Middle-earth, marrying later in Beleriand (UT, pp. 231 - 232).

Christopher Tolkien writes, quoting his father:

Though called Nerwen by her mother and Artanis, (noble woman), by her father the name she chose

to be her Sindarin name was Galadriel, 'for it was the most beautiful of her names and had been given to her by her lover, Teleporno, of the Teleri, whom she wedded later in Beleriand' (UT, p.231).

Third, it is possible that one thought was to have Galadriel leave Valinor long before Fëanor's revolt and go to Middle-earth with Melian. This would have required a change in the time Melian left Valinor.

In the holographs (3/3/28:5, the words, "when I passed hither over the seas with Melian of Valinor", * are crossed out. This same passage appears in the margin in (3/3/13) of the holograph and is again crossed out. It would appear in this case, Galadriel would have been removed entirely from Fëanor's revolt and left Middle-earth with Melian the Maia, of the race of the Valar. There are some close connections between Yavanna, which will be discussed later, that would blend well with this possibility.

In all events, she becomes a friend of Melian, whether in Valinor or Doriath and is Melian's pupil. She later, in the Third Age, builds Lothlórien in the pattern of Doriath using the knowledge from Melian, her own powers and the Ring Nyenya to protect it with a girdle, like the girdle of Doriath. There are some possible comparisons to be made between Melian and Thingol, and Galadriel and Celeborn. Thingol, then known as Elwë, lord of the Teleri, and Celeborn, prince of Doriath, or prince of the Teleri, were both High Elves. Melian was of the Maia and Galadriel one of the greatest in skill and beauty of the Noldor. Both founded their own realms on Middle-earth and play an important part in the long fight against Melkor and his lieutenant Sauron. Thingol and Melian provide help and friendship for the Noldor in Middle-earth. Celeborn and Galadriel provide the same for the races of elves and later give help to the Company of nine representing all on Middle-earth against Sauron in the Third Age before and during the War of the Ring.

Before leaving the First Age of Middle-earth, other earlier conceptions should be mentioned. One from the Unfinished Tales states Galadriel went east over the mountains from Beleriand alone, before the end of the First Age, and met Celeborn in his own realm of Lórien (UT, p. 228). This idea underlies Galadriel's words to Frodo in The Fellowship of the Ring, p. 372, when she says of Celeborn:

He has dwelt in the west since the days of dawn, and I have dwelt with him years uncounted; for ere the fall of Nargothrond or Gondolin I passed over the mountains and together through ages of the world we have fought the long defeat.

In this conception, Celeborn is a Nandorin Elf, one of the Teleri who refused to cross the Misty Mountains on the Great Journey from Cuiviënen.

The First Age ended with the Great Battle, when the host of Valinor overthrew Morgoth. Then most of the Noldor returned into the Far West and stayed in Eressëa within sight of Valinor. Many of the Sindar

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also went over Sea.

When the First Age ends, we find inconsistencies concerning the ban of the Valar. The unpublished chapter from Tolkien and The Silmarillion, by Clyde Kilby, states:

Now that the curse upon Fëanor and the Noldor had been fulfilled, the Valar invited the Elves to Valinor, saying that those who did not return would slowly fade. We know that among those who remained were Elrond and Galadriel.

In The Road Goes Ever On, p. 60, it states explicitly:

After the overthrow of Morgoth at the end of the First Age, a ban was set on her return, and she had replied proudly that she had no wish to do so.

The Lord of the Rings makes no such explicit statement. However, in a letter written by Tolkien in 1967, he states:

The exiles were allowed to return, save for a few chief actors in the rebellion, of whom, at the time of The Lord of the Rings, only Galadriel remained. At the time of her lament in Lórien, she believed this to be perennial, as long as the earth endured. Hence, she concluded her lament with a wish or prayer that Frodo may, as a special grace, be granted a purgatorial, (but not penal), sojourn in Eressëa, the solitary isle in sight of Aman, though for her the way is closed. Her prayer was granted, but also, her personal ban was lifted, in reward for her rejection of the temptation to take the Ring when offered to her. So at the end, we see her taking ship (UT, p. 229).

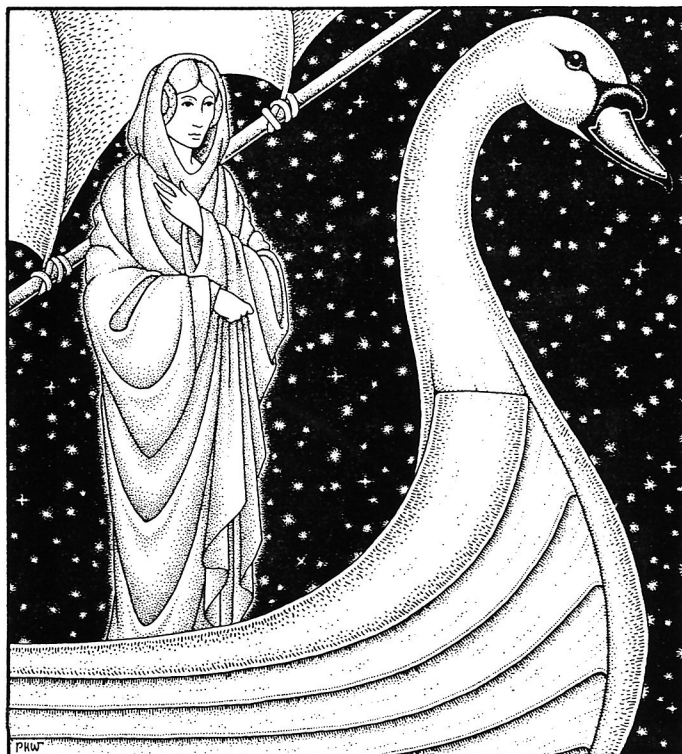
In a letter to Mrs. Ruth Austin, 25 January, 1971 Tolkien states: "...Actually Galadriel was a penitent: in her youth a leader in the rebellion against the Valar (the angelic guardians). At the end of the First Age she proudly refused forgiveness or permission to return. She was pardoned because of her resistance to the final and overwhelming temptation to take the Ring for herself" (The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien, p. 236).

This, however, does not demonstrate definitely that the conception of a ban on Galadriel's return to the West was present when the chapter, "Farewell to Lórien" was composed many years before. It is Christopher Tolkien's opinion that it was not. (ibid.)

There are six versions of Galadriel's Lament in the holographs, with the published version having bits of all six included. Regardless of the version, they all indicate Galadriel's desire to go over Sea and to intercede on Frodo's behalf.

In The Silmarillion there is no explicit statement that Galadriel refused the pardon of the Valar at the end of the First Age. In the Unfinished Tales, from an essay written in August, 1973, Tolkien emphasized the commanding stature of Galadriel. In this essay, she sails with Celeborn (Teleporno) from Alqualondë. Here the essay says in part:

But together with Celeborn who reached Middle-earth somewhat sooner than Fëanor and sailed into the haven where Círdan was Lord. There



they were welcomed with joy, as being of the kin of Elwë, (Thingol). In the years after they did not join in the war against Angband, which they judged to be hopeless under the ban of the Valar and without their aid; and their counsel was to withdraw from Beleriand and to build up a power to the eastward (whence they feared Morgoth would draw reinforcements, befriending and teaching the Dark Elves and Men at those regions). But such a policy having no hope of acceptance among the elves of Beleriand, Galadriel and Celeborn departed over Ered Lindon before the end of the First Age; and when they received the permission of the Valar to return into the West, they rejected it (UT, p. 232).

In the Unfinished Tales, p. 234 there also appears a text bearing the title "Concerning Galadriel and Celeborn" as a short and hasty outline, roughly composed. It states:

It is very notable that not only is there no mention in this text of a ban on Galadriel's return into the West, but it even seems from a passage at the beginning of the account that no such idea was present; while later in the narrative, Galadriel's remaining in Middle-earth after the defeat of Sauron in Eriador is ascribed to her sense that it was her duty not to depart while he was still finally unconquered. This is a chief support of the (hesitant) view expressed (UT, p. 229), that the story of the ban was later than the writing of The Lord of the Rings; cf. also, a passage in the story of Elessar (given on page 249).

These various essays and revisions indicate that a great deal of the tale of Galadriel and Celeborn was written after The Lord of the Rings had been published. At the same time, some of the seeds for these revisions were already planted, as shown by the

two blue ink entries, later crossed out in black ink, in the holograph of The Lord of the Rings (3/3/28:5) and (3/3/13), presenting Galadriel leaving Valinor with Melian, totally separated and much earlier than Fëanor's revolt. It cannot be certain, but throughout the chapters in the holograph that deal primarily with Galadriel, the black ink entries and cross-outs seem to be the latest or last entries, based on the fact that they fit most closely the published versions.

On the back of one holograph sheet, just before the first crossed out entry of Galadriel coming to Middle-earth with Melian, Tolkien wrote a note to himself: "Elf Rings, (illegible -- appears to be (Comal), the power of the Elf Rings must fade if One ring is destroyed" (3/3/12:24). With this in mind, there must be concern for Galadriel's return to the West.

Of the Second Age, it is difficult to find a clear or certain path for Galadriel and Celeborn. In the Tale of Years, Appendix B, The Lord of the Rings, p. 363, it says only that:

In Lindon south of the Lune dwelt for a time Celeborn, Kinsman of Thingol; his wife was Galadriel, greatest of Elven women.

Later some of the Noldor went to Eregion, upon the west of the Misty Mountains, and near the West-gate of Moria. This they did because they learned that Mithril had been discovered in Moria. The Noldor were great craftsmen and less unfriendly to the dwarves than the Sindar; but the friendship that grew up between the people of Durin and the Elven-smiths of Eregion was the closest that there has ever been between the two races. Celebrimbor was lord of Eregion and the greatest of their craftsmen; he was descended from Fëanor.

In the notes to The Road Goes Ever On, p. 60, it is said that Galadriel: "passed over the mountains of Eredluin with her husband, Celeborn, (one of the Sindar), and went to Eregion."

The Silmarillion, p. 254 states:

Yet not all the Eldalie were willing to forsake the Hither Lands where they had long suffered and long dwelt; and some lingered many an age in Middle-earth. Among those were Cirdan the Shipwright, and Celeborn of Doriath, with Galadriel his wife, who alone remained of those who led the Noldor to exile in Beleriand.

The Unfinished Tales, p. 234, states Galadriel did not go West with the downfall of Melkor, but crossed Ered Lindon with Celeborn and came to Eriador. They dwelt for a while in country about Lake Nenuial which is Evendim, north of the Shire. They came to be Lord and Lady of Eldar in Eriador. During their time about Lake Nenuial, it is said, "between the years 350 and 400, their son, Amroth was born" (UT, p. 234).

The time of Celeborn's birth, whether at Lake Nenuial or later in Lórien, is never definite.

In this same essay, Celeborn and Galadriel went eastward about the year 700 SA, and established the Noldorin realm at Eregion. Celeborn held no love for Dwarves because of the sack of Doriath, but Galadriel's

farsightedness perceived them as an aid against the shadow of Sauron, now appearing. Also, Dwarves were the Children of Aulë, and Galadriel like other Noldor, had been a pupil of Aulë and Yavanna in Valinor.

Here the essay varies from The Tale of Years, in The Lord of the Rings, regarding Celebrimbor. Rather than being the Lord of Eregion, it states: "Galadriel and Celeborn had in their company a Noldorin craftsman, Celebrimbor." (UT, p. 235)

Yet, in all sources, he remains a great craftsman, ultimately related to Fëanor. His work is remembered in The Lord of the Rings on the inscription of the West-gate of Moria where it was written: "The Doors of Durin, Lord of Moria. Speak, friend, and enter." Underneath was written "Celebrimbor of Hollin drew these signs." (FotR, p. 318)

In the year 750 SA, the building of the chief city of Eregion, Ost-in-Edhil was begun. About the year 1000, the Unfinished Tales and The Tale of Years, in The Lord of the Rings, states Sauron leaves Eriador and goes to Mordor. In about the year 1200 SA, he returns to Eregion wearing the fairest form possible. At this time, Galadriel and Celeborn and their following come in contact with the Nandorin realm of Lórinand on the other side of the Misty Mountains. These are the elves we later meet who capture Bilbo and the dwarves and the relations of Legolas, one of the nine of the fellowship.

In "Of the Rings of Power", in The Silmarillion, it is told of the cozening of the smiths of Eregion by Sauron and giving himself the name Annatar, Lord of Gifts, but there is no mention of Galadriel. This appears only in the essay in the Unfinished Tales. Sauron succeeds in this essay to win over the smiths and persuades them to revolt sometime between the years 1350 to 1400 SA. Here Galadriel leaves Eregion and passed through Khazad-dûm to Lórinand taking Amroth and Celebrian. Here it is said that Celeborn does not go with her because he would not pass through the Dwarf realm. In Lórinand, Galadriel takes up rule and defense against Eregion. Celebrimbor discovers Sauron's evil, revolts and goes to Lórinand to take counsel with Galadriel about the Rings that have been made and his discovery of the One Ring made by Sauron. Here Tolkien notes: "They should have destroyed all the Rings of Power at this time, but they failed to find the strength." (UT, p. 237)

This is a repeat of the opportunity that Isildur had when counseled by Gil-galad and Elrond much later. Galadriel counsels the Rings be hidden and not used. Here it also stated that she receives Narya, the White Ring, from Celebrimbor, strengthening the power of Lórinand, but increasing her latent desire for the sea and the return to the West. Her joy in Middle-earth was diminished. The Rings of Air and Fire are sent out at Eregion to Gil-galad in Lindon. Gil-galad gave Narya, the Red Ring, to Cirdan, Lord of the Havens. Yet, later in the same essay, in a marginal note, he kept it himself until he set out for the War of the Last Alliance.

In the holograph, Narya, the White, was originally Kemen, meaning Earth in Quenya, 3/3/10:30). This would give it a connection to Yavanna, Galadriel's close tutelage by her and possibly her concern for the Mallorn trees and her gift to Sam. Yet it is crossed out in favor of Narya, the Ring of Adamant (water).

In the essay in the Unfinished Tales, Sauron moved to invade Eriador in the year 1695 SA, after learning of Celebrimbor's repentance. Gil-galad sends out a force under Elrond, Sauron turns north toward Eregion and Celeborn led the force that turns him back. Celeborn joins with Elrond, but Sauron's force succeeds in taking Eregion, taking Celebrimbor captive. He takes the nine Rings and lesser works, this implies he learns where the seven are, but does not find the three, made by Celebrimbor alone with a different power and purpose. Celebrimbor is put to death, and Sauron rightly guesses the three have been committed to Elvish guardians, logically Galadriel and Gil-galad.

In The Lord of the Rings, Appendix A III, p. 357 it is said that there was a belief among the Dwarves of Durin's folk that the Ring of Durin III, King of Khazad-dûm was given to him by the Elven-smiths themselves and not by Sauron. In the essay from the Unfinished Tales, there is nothing of how the seven Rings came to the Dwarves.

The essay continues, that Sauron returns to battle with Celebrimbor's body as a banner and attacks Elrond. He could not have withstood the force, except for Sauron being attacked in the rear by Durin's folk with the Elves of Lórinand led by Amroth. Elrond freed himself and his host and was forced northward and in that year, 1697 SA, "Tale of Years", Appendix B, LotR, p. 364 established a refuge and stronghold at Imladris, (Rivendell).

Sauron turns on Durin and the Elves and drives them back and the gates of Moria were shut and he could not enter. He attempted to gain control of Eriador and ravaged the land causing many Elves to go to Imladris. It was now Sauron's goal to take Lindon where he thought he could find the three Rings. In the year 1695 SA, he invaded Eriador. Gil-galad called to Númenor for aid. The aid was late, arriving in 1700 SA, thus Sauron mastered Eriador with only Imladris safe and reached the river Lhûn. Gil-galad and the Númenoreans held Lhûn in defense of the Grey Havens, when the armament of Tar-Minaster arrives and Sauron is driven back. He was driven southeast and attacked by another host of Númenoreans at his rear commanded by Ciryatúr at the mouth of Gwathló, (greyflood). With only a bodyguard, he fled to Dagorlad, (Battle Plain), and Mordor.

At this time, the First Council was held that determined that an Elvish stronghold should be maintained at Imladris in the east of Eriador rather than Eregion. Here, it is said that Gil-galad gave Vilya, the Blue Ring, to Elrond and appointed him to vice-regent in Eriador, but the Red Ring he kept until he gave it to Círdan when he set out from Lindon in the days of the Last Alliance. In the year 1800 SA, the Númenoreans made settlements on the western coasts. The essay then returns to Galadriel. It is noteworthy that there it states:

The sea longing grew so strong that (though she deemed it her duty to remain in Middle-earth while Sauron was unconquered) she left Lórinand to dwell near the sea. She committed Lórinand to Amroth and passed through Moria with Celebrían and came to Imladris seeking Celeborn. There (it seems) she found him and there they dwelt together for a long time and there Elrond first saw Celebrían and loved her, though he said nothing about it. (UT, p. 240).

The Council referred to above was held here in Imladris, just as Elrond's Council in the Third Age. (FotR, p. 252). Sometime later, (no date indicated), Galadriel and Celeborn leave Imladris and went to the little inhabited lands between the mouth of Gwathló, (Greyflood), and Ethir, (Anduin). There they lived in Belfalas, (Dol Amroth), where Amroth visited them. They were joined by Nandorin Elves from Lórinand.

In the year 1981 TA, the essay tells that Amroth is lost and Lórinand is in peril. Galadriel returns to Lórinand. Here the essay from the Unfinished Tales, concerning Galadriel and Celeborn ends.

It may be noted here that there is no indication found in The Lord of the Rings to indicate that Galadriel and Celeborn did not spend the last half of the Second Age and perhaps all of the Third Age in Lothlórien. It seems obvious that from the information in the Unfinished Tales, Tolkien did not intend that to be so. They were deeply involved in the fate of Middle-earth in the midst of the forging of the Rings and in defense against Sauron, even though the tale was greatly modified from the unpublished essay.

In another essay from the Unfinished Tales, pp. 242 and 243, Amroth is no longer their son, but the son of Amdir and the tale of Amroth and Nimrodel is told.

Celeborn is mentioned here, again, in battle against Sauron. He went first to Lórien to strengthen it against Sauron, and the chance he may cross the Anduin. When Sauron withdrew to Mordor, Celeborn joins Galadriel in Lindon.

Lórien had long years of peace under the rule of its own King, Amdir, until Númenor falls and Sauron returns. Amdir sends forces to Gil-galad to the Last Alliance and is killed in the Battle of Dagorlad and his son, Amroth, becomes King of Lórien, (Lórinand). In the earlier essay in the Unfinished Tales, Celeborn does not go to Lórien in the Second Age. There are also other differences; Celeborn's association with Lórien is changed in time to an earlier date, Noldorin Elves pass through Moria after Sauron's destruction at Eregion, and there are moves by Beleriandic Elves into Lórien. The essay is modified a great deal and had the narratives been finished, it cannot be told what would have finally been retained.

To summarize, some other variations, one essay suggests that Celeborn led Elves to Lórien after Eregion fell while Galadriel joined Gil-galad in Lindon. It is also said elsewhere that they both: "Passed through Moria with other Noldorin and dwelt for years in Lórien " (UT, p. 244).

It does not agree or disagree in later writings that they had any connection with Lórien before 1697 SA. No other reference, except the essay in the Unfinished Tales speaks of Celebrimbor's revolt or Galadriel's leaving to go to Lórien or ruling there with Celeborn remaining in Eregion.

In no parts is it made clear where they pass the years after Sauron is defeated in Eriador, nor is there any mention of the time in Belfalas.

Appendices A, B, and F, galley sheets with corrections and Appendix F, duplicate copy, (3/9/21), in the Archives, are all dated, as to corrections, as 2 May, 1955. Since Appendix A includes Durin's folk,



there while the Third Age lasted, but took no title of King or Queen, (UT, p. 245).

In a separate essay in the Unfinished Tales, there is one other reference to the movements of Galadriel and Celeborn in the Third Age:

To Lórien Celeborn and Galadriel returned twice before the Last Alliance and the end of the Second Age; and in the Third Age when the shadow of Sauron's recovery arose. They dwelt there again for a long time, (UT, p. 245).

Galadriel, in her wisdom sees Lórien as a stronghold against Sauron. Lórien was in peril, its King lost, the people likely to be deserted and taken by Orcs. Thus, Galadriel and Celeborn stayed in Lórien. They were only guardians taking no title of King or Queen and bring it safely through the War of the Ring.

There is reference to the existence or non-existence of a ban on Galadriel's return to the West in a rough manuscript of four pages titled, "The Elessar" in the Unfinished Tales. It is in the first stage of composition and bears a few penciled emendations and there is only one version, (UT, pp. 248 - 251).

The Elessar was a jewel crafted by the jeweler-smith, Enderhil. It imprisoned the light of the sun and yet was green as leaves. Through it could be seen the withered or burned healed or as in grace of youth. The hands of one who held it brought healing from hurt. It was given by Enderhil to Idril, the King's daughter, and by her to her son, Eärendil and leaves Middle-earth with him.

In later ages there was again an Elessar of which two things were said. In one tale, Olórin, (Mithrandir), brings the original Elessar, by the grace of the Valar, back to Middle-earth in the Third Age. He came to Galadriel under the Trees of Greenwood the Great, (UT, p. 251). Her years of exile were heavy and she longed for the Blessed land and was: "yet unwilling to forsake Middle-earth." (In the essay, this sentence was changed to read, "but was not permitted yet to forsake Middle-earth.") (UT, p. 249)

Galadriel grieved for leaves fell and flowers faded, remembering years in the Blessed Realm where trees and grass did not die. Olórin offers her the Elessar made by Enderhil: "for a little while until the Days of Men shall come." (UT, p. 250)

Olórin brings news that the Valar still care for the Eldar and Middle-earth.

This I bring you from Yavanna. Make the land of your dwelling fairest in Middle-earth. It is not to possess. You shall hand it on when the time comes (UT, p. 250).

This is echoed in the holograph, 3/3/29:7), where this is found and crossed out in blue ink only to be resurrected again in the published text,

She put her hand to her throat and unclasped from a fine chain a gem that hung before her breast. It was a stone of clear green, set in a band of silver. 'All growing things that you behold through this,' she said, 'you will see as they were in their youth and in their spring.

Appendix B, "The Tale of Years", and Appendix F, the language and people of Middle-earth, this supports the position that corrections could have led to thoughts that grew into the essays in the Unfinished Tales.

The Second Age ends with the first overthrow of Sauron and the taking of the One Ring.

The Third Age saw the fading of the Eldar. It began with long peace, as Sauron seemingly slept. Dwarves hid themselves and ultimately became a wandering people. The wisdom and lifespan of the Numenoreans faded and mingled with lesser men. It was about after a thousand years had passed that the Istari appeared, as it was rumored, to be messengers and contest the power of Sauron. They were, however, "forbidden to match power with power, or seek to dominate Elves or Men by force or fear" (RotK, Appendix B, p. 365). They came in the shape of Men, never young, but aged slowly, having great powers of mind and hand. Throughout the Third Age, the guardianship of the Three Rings was known only to the guardians. At the end it was known that they were held by the three greatest of the Eldar; Gil-galad, Galadriel, and Círdan. Gil-galad surrenders his Ring to Elrond and at the coming of the Istari, Círdan delivers his Ring to Mithrandir, (Gandalf).

In the essay in the Unfinished Tales, p. 244, Galadriel and Celeborn fear the return of the Shadow, (Sauron), and journey to Lórien and stay long with Amroth. Later they pass over the mountains to Imladris and dwell for many years with Elrond, now their kinsman, since he married their daughter, Celebrian, early in the Third Age, (100 TA, "Tale of Years", Appendix B, LoTR, p. 366).

In the year 1980 TA, after the disaster of Moria, and sorrows of Lórien, caused by Amroth's death, Galadriel and Celeborn returned to Lórien. They dwelt

It is a gift that blends joy and sorrow yet many things that now appear loathly, will appear otherwise to you hereafter.'

This also fits the passage in FotR, p. 391, where Galadriel giving the green stone to Aragorn said: "In this hour take the name that was foretold for you, Elessar, the Elfstone of the house of Elendil!"

This can also be compared to the description of the Elfstone:

Then (Galadriel) lifted from her lap a great stone of a clear green, set in a silver brooch that was wrought in the likeness of an eagle with outspread wings; and as she held it up the gem flashed like the sun through the leaves of spring. (ibid.)

In the holographs, 3/3/80:24), also appears a reference to Galadriel's use of the Elessar. It is crossed out in pencil.

Rich are the hours and slow the wearing of the world in Caras Galadon. Wherefore, all things there are both unsustained and young and yet aged beyond our count of time.

The second tale of the Elessar, (UT, p. 250 - 251), Galadriel comes to Celebrimbor, the smith, and tells him of her grief that flowers and trees fade. He asks:

Will you then pass over Sea? 'Nay, I am the last, my heart is still proud. What wrong did the golden house of Finarfin do that I should ask pardon of the Valar, or be content with an isle in the sea whose native land was Aman the Blessed? Here I am mightier.'

Celebrimbor forges the jewel for her in the likeness of the first Elessar. Here the description is the same as the holograph, (UT, p. 251): "Set in a great brooch of silver in likeness of an eagle rising upon outspread wings."

The gem is said to have had the same qualities as the first Elessar, yet is lesser in power than the Eleven Ring, (UT, p. 251)

All grew fair about Galadriel until the coming of the Shadow to the Forest. Afterwards when Nenyä, Chief of the Three was sent to her by Celebrimbor, she needed it, (as she thought no more), and she gave it to Celebrian, her daughter, and so it came to Arwen and to Aragorn called Elessar.

The name Aragorn used here in Unfinished Tales could indicate the much later writing of this essay or at least after the publication of The Lord of the Rings. The holograph goes through careful changes of Aragorn's name, that include, Ingold, Trotter, Elfstone, and Strider, with the final being Aragorn.

At the end of the essay, it is written that the first Elessar was made by Celebrimbor in Gondolin, passed from Idril and so to Eärendil, before passing away from Middle-earth. The second Elessar was also made by Celebrimbor in Eregion at Galadriel's request and was not under the one being made before Sauron rose again, (UT, p. 251). Here Galadriel is

spoken of as being unwilling to forsake Middle-earth. However, the same text is later emended and the ban introduced and Galadriel speaks of the pardon of the Valar.

The healing power, here given to the Elessar at the Havens of Sirion, is in The Silmarillion attributed to the Silmaril, (Sil, p. 247).

The first White Council is given the year of 2463 TA and may deliberately echo that of the Council held long before, because several of the chief members of the one had been members of the other. In the holograph, 3/3/13:34), Galadriel says:

It was at the White Council and of all those there gathered none did I love so dearly as Gandalf the Grey. Often have we met since and spoken of many things and purposes.

The White Council formed in 2463 TA, met again in 2852 TA and Gandalf urges an attack on Dol Guldur. The last meeting of the White Council is held in 2953 TA where they debate the Rings. Galadriel takes part in these Councils.

In the chapter, "Lothlórien", few changes occurred from the holograph to publication. Names were changed; Trotter to Ingold to Elfstone to Aragorn; Caradras to Caradhras; Blackroot to Silverlode; Black Mountains to White Mountains; Rhomrin and Orofin to Rúmil and Orophin; Lothlórien to Lórien; Nifredel to Niphredil; Kerin Amroth to Cerin Amroth and Dugal to Dughul to Dol Guldur. Two short paragraphs were added on page 445 concerning Aragorn and one sentence omitted on the same page. Tolkien changed only the very fine points and not the direction of the chapter.

The "Mirror of Galadriel" has some important deletions. Galadriel says much less in the published work about the White Council, and is much more formal in the end result. (FotR, p. 372, cf. p. 5 of this paper). He crossed out his note in the margins about Galadriel coming to Middle-earth with Melian the Maia, and she simply says: "I passed over the Mountains." (FotR, p. 372).

There are many illegible notes and additions in descriptions added. He changes Galadriel's words, (FotR, p. 474), from "I have passed. I will not take the Ring." to "I pass the test," she said, "I will diminish, and go into the West, and remain Galadriel."

The Ring of Earth is changed to the Ring of Adamant, (FotR, p. 380, holograph 3/3/28). The paragraph in FotR, p. 379 that begins, "Then there was a pause..." is added to the holograph margin in very small blue ink print.

Frodo's song of lament for Gandalf goes through many revisions, (FotR, pp. 374 -375), and directly following it there is ink written over pencil for five paragraphs with the original pencil illegible.

These are the primary changes in the two chapters that deal largely with Galadriel and Celeborn.

Galadriel and Celeborn held many truths of the long ages of Middle-earth. This is demonstrated in the holograph, (3/5/4), when Aragorn says in a much edited typescript written earlier than 3/5/28, about Fanghorn: "The truth, doubtless, is known to Celeborn

and to Galadriel, but they have told me no more."

Seldom are dates found, written into the holograph or typewritten concerning Galadriel and Celeborn. Two such dates appear. One in 3/3/28:30, "The Mirror of Galadriel," typescripts dated 4/8/1942 by Christopher Tolkien, and two in 3/4/18, *LotR*, Book II, Chapters 1 - 5 Galley Sheets with corrections dated 10 July 1953. This gives some faint hints as to date revisions. Along the same lines, 3/3/27 sheets 1,2, and 3 seem to indicate the blue ink changes as being the latest with the name change to Aragorn and changes that appear in the published version, being in blue ink.

Galadriel had the power to see into the minds and hearts of others. This is shown in the holographs, (3/3/28), "The Mirror of Galadriel":

I will not give you counsel, (changed to advice), and as she said this, she turned her gaze upon them. She said no more, but looked at each of them. And with that word, she held them with her eyes and in silence looked searchingly at each of them.

The same trait is spoken of in the *Unfinished Tales*, p. 230:

From her earliest years she had a marvelous gift of insight into the minds of others, but judged them with mercy and understanding and withheld goodwill from none save only Fëanor.

It is also interesting to note, (holograph, 3/3/28), that when Galadriel shows Sam the Mirror:

Something that he greatly desired clear before his mind it lay and to get it he had only to turn aside from the road and leave the quest and the war against Sauron to others.

Then of Frodo it is said, (holograph 3/3/28):

She held you long in her gaze Ring bearer," he said, 'yes,' said Frodo, 'but I will say no more than this; to me, no choice was given.' He drooped and laid his head upon his knees. 'Whatever comes into my mind, I will keep there.'

It is interesting to note that Galadriel gave all of the Company a choice, as she had in Valinor and to Frodo no choice, which she herself no longer had due to her position and responsibility just as for Frodo.

Here let there be mention of Celeborn. His name in Sindarin means 'silver-tree'. With Galadriel's name meaning 'lady of light' in Sindarin, they fit together perfectly. The lady of light and the silver-tree, of course, brings to mind the Two Trees of Light of Valinor. Celeborn was also a White Tree, a seedling of Galathilion. Whether intended or not, there is a similarity: Celeborn and Galadriel, Celeborn and Galathilion. The lady of light and the silver tree; the light in the *Silmarils* that came from the light of the trees. Even his name in Quenya, *Teleporno*, still means 'silver'. She certainly was the inner light to his silver tree. He was there, staunch as the meaning of his name, 'silver-tree', for her to depend on as the lady shed her light upon Middle-earth. He stood behind the scenes, not overshadowing her light and leading forces against Sauron when needed. The tree in whose graces her light



could shine and find anchor.

The Great Years, as they were called, began in 3018 TA. On the 12th of April of that year, Gandalf arrived in Hobbiton. In February of 3019 TA, the Company is in Lothlórien and Frodo looks into the Mirror of Galadriel. The Company sets out from Lórien on 16 February. Lórien is assaulted from Dol Guldur for the third time on 22 March, 3019 TA. There was great valour on the part of the Elven people, and Galadriel's power there was too great for any to overcome, save Sauron himself. Great harm was done to the woods on the borders. Assaults were driven back and when the shadow passed, Celeborn led the host of Lórien over Anduin in boats. They took Dol Guldur, and Galadriel destroyed its walls.

Thranduïl was invaded in the north in April, 3019 TA, yet came to victory. On the day of the New Year of the Elves, Celeborn and Thranduïl met and renamed Mirkwood Eryn Lasgalen, The Wood of Greenleaves. Thranduïl took the northern region as far as the mountains that rise in the forest, and Celeborn took the southern wood below the narrows, and named it East Lórien. The War of the Rings ends with the passing of Saruman on 1 November, 3019.

On 22 September 3021 TA, Frodo and Sam meet the last Riding of the Keepers of the Rings in Woody End. On 29 September 3021 TA, they come to the Grey Havens. On that day, Frodo and Bilbo depart over Sea with the Three Keepers, Gandalf, Elrond, and Galadriel.

In a few years after the passing of Galadriel, Celeborn grew weary of his realm and went to Imladris to dwell with the sons of Elrond. It is not stated, but perhaps after that he went over Sea to join Galadriel.

Galadriel and Celeborn, regardless of the problems of inconsistencies in their history, certainly fulfill

the destiny of their names, Silver-tree and Lady of Light. Together they began in the First Age and are a help and guide to the good of Middle-earth from that time forward.

Like Frodo, Galadriel is a modern hero. In the First Age, she has desires of her own to rule her own realm away from the tutelage of the Valar. Coming to Middle-earth and being wed to Celeborn, they do not follow in Fëanor's path of revenge, even though it seems quite probable that she and perhaps even Celeborn fall under the ban set by the Valar. If she and Celeborn did in fact refuse the invitation to return to the West after Melkor was conquered, perhaps there were missions left yet on Middle-earth for them both. Perhaps without them, Lórien would not have been preserved. The bond was strong between both Lórien and Imladris, each supporting the other, and both a necessary aid to the Fellowship of the Nine and Frodo with his burden of The Ring. As Gildor Inglorion said: "Courage is found in unlikely places, (FoTR, p. 94). Courage was certainly found for the Company in both Imladris and Lórien, as well as much needed rest and guidance to walk into Mordor.

In the Third Age, Galadriel comes into her maturity and refuses the One Ring, offered freely to her by Frodo. During the remaining time in the Third Age, both Galadriel and Celeborn spend their efforts in the cause against Sauron and siding with all those in league for good.

As Galadriel said: "I pass the test", FoTR, p. 381 and most surely both Galadriel and Celeborn passed the test of great importance in Middle-earth.

NOTES

- 1 Celeblain -- silver thread. Celeb, Sindarin, 'silver', p. 125, The Tolkien Dictionary, and lain, Sindarin, 'thread', p. 90, English-to-Elvish Glossary, Noel, Ruth S. The Languages of Tolkien's Middle-earth.
- 2 SA refers to Second Age. Hereafter the Ages will be referred to as SA and TA, (Third Age).
- 3 Tolkien, J.R.R., Unfinished Tales, edited with an Introduction, Commentary, Index, and Maps by Christopher Tolkien, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1980, p. 118.
- 4 This notation refers to the Marquette University's Memorial Library organization of the Tolkien Manuscript Collection. 3/3/28:5 refers to Series 3, Box 3, Folder 28, page 5 and will be listed hereafter in order as above.
- 5 Tolkien, J.R.R., Unfinished Tales, p. 230. This work is hereafter referred to as UT.

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ISSUE 33 will observe the 150th anniversary of the birth of Lewis Carroll and the 15th anniversary of The Mythopoeic Society, and will include: "The Ring and the Road: Solid Geometry in Tolkien's Middle-earth" by Mark M. Hennelly, Jr., "C.S. Lewis: The Public Poet" by Roland Kawano, "White Knight and Leech Gatherer: the Poet as Boor" (on Carroll) by Ruth Berman, an article on Carroll by Joe Christopher, Some Readers' Thoughts on the Society, all the regular features, and if space permits, other articles.