"A Myth for Angle-Land": J.R.R. Tolkien and Creative Mythology

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Abstract

Examines Tolkien's desire to create "a mythology for England," particularly as distinct from Britain. Traces the evolution of the connections between Tolkien's mythology and Primary World counterparts.

Additional Keywords

Tolkien, J.R.R.—Anglo-Saxon influence; Tolkien, J.R.R.—Attitude toward England; Tolkien, J.R.R.—Mythology—Sources

"A Myth for Angle-Land"
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"A myth for England." This phrase has rattled about in my mind for some years, a phrase remembered as being Tolkien's description of what his creative motive had been. And yet, when I went hunting for the reference, I did not find it where I had thought it was: somehow I had thought it appeared in the introduction to *The Lord of the Rings*, but the references actually occur in *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*. However, the place of the reference is of secondary importance. What is important is that the phrase holds the key to the underlying reason as to *why* Tolkien wrote the great imaginative – mythopoeic, "myth-making" – works that he did write.

In 1951, he wrote to Milton Waldman:

> ...once upon a time (my crest has long since fallen) I had a mind to make a body of more or less connected legend ... which I could dedicate simply to: to England: to my country.[1]

A later letter in 1956 refers to Tolkien's intention to give the English "a mythology of their own." (*L*, p.231) I shall return to this particular letter at the end of the article, but here the important thing to note is the idea of making a myth for England.

To an American, to myself, the questions arise "Why a myth for England? What of the legends of Arthur?" Yet, since I believe that Tolkien understood what he was about, he must have a very clear answer to those questions. And, indeed, he does. The trail to those answers lies in his writings, but it does take careful tracking to follow after him.

The first thing we must understand is the importance that England and Englishness had for Tolkien. For him, there was to England a specialness which he wanted to incorporate into his own literary creation.

> It should possess the tone and quality that I desired, somewhat cool and clear, be redolent of our 'air' (the clime and soil of the North West, meaning Britain and the hither parts of Europe: not Italy or the Aegean, still less the East), and, while possessing (if I could achieve it) the fair elusive beauty that some call Celtic (though it is rarely found in genuine ancient Celtic things), it should be 'high', purged of the gross, and fit for the adult mind of a land long now steeped in poetry. (*L*, p.144-145)

The love of England which he so lyrically expresses in this letter begins, for Tolkien, in his sense of being *of* England. His self-identity is tied to an English place, the West Mid-

lands. His mother's ancestors (the Suffields) were from that area. As he explained to his son Michael in a letter dated 18 March 1941:

> Though a Tolkien by name, I am a Suffield by tastes, talents, and upbringing, and any corner of that country [Worchestershire] (however fair or squalid) is in an indefinable way 'home' to me, as no other part of the world is. (*L*, p.54)

When he wrote to W.H. Auden in 1955, Tolkien reiterated this sense of identity:

> I am a West-midlander by blood (and took to early west-midland Middle English as a known tongue as soon as I set eyes on it), but perhaps a fact of my personal history may partly explain why the 'North-western air' appeals to me both as 'home' and as something discovered. I was actually born in Bloemfontein...
> (*L*, p.213)[2]

If one could restate his comment, he was born *of* Englishness, yet away from its homeland. Because he was born (geographically) elsewhere, England, for Tolkien, had to be discovered. Perhaps the fact that he did have to discover England and Englishness, even if it was as a child, made him sensitive to an imaginative lack in the very thing he loved.

> ... I was from early days grieved by the poverty of my own beloved country: it had no stories of its own (bound up with its tongue and soil), not of the quality that I sought, and found (as an ingredient) in legends of other lands.... Of course there was and is all the Arthurian world, but powerful as it is, it is imperfectly naturalized, associated with the soil of Britain but not with English; and does not replace what I felt to be missing. (*L*, p.144)

Herein Tolkien makes a distinction which was of real importance to him, that of the difference between things British and things English. For I suspect that a fair part of his dissatisfaction with Arthurian legends had to do with their being *British* legends.

Although he does not harp greatly upon the distinction, Tolkien refers to it enough (and that somewhat emotionally) to make clear the force it had in his imagination. In 1943, while writing to his son Christopher concerning patriotism, he says, "For I love England (not Great Britain and certainly not the British Commonwealth (grrr!)." (*L*, p.65) Again, in 1955, when writing to the Houghton Mifflin Company in order to provide some biographical information, he says

...I am neither 'foolhardy' [the meaning of 'Tolkien'] nor German, whatever some remote ancestors may have been. They migrated to England more than 200 years ago, and became quickly intensely English (not British).... (*L*, p.218)

Note that he writes this comment to the people of an American company, who quite probably were not sensitive to the distinction he was making. That the matter was clear cut to Tolkien also appears in his reaction to things "Celtic." When Edward Crankshaw, after reading the early manuscript of *The Silmarillion* for Allen & Unwin, complained of the "eye-splitting Celtic names" and the "mad, bright-eyed beauty that perplexes all Angle-Saxons in the face of Celtic art," (*L*, p.25) Tolkien was indignant. He wrote Stanley Unwin:

> Needless to say they [the names] are not Celtic! Neither are the tales. I do know Celtic things (many in their original languages Irish and Welsh), and feel for them a certain distaste: largely for their fundamental unreason. (*L*, p.26)

Indeed, in a letter written in 1955, Tolkien evidently responds to a question concerning a Celtic (specifically Irish) influence on *The Lord of the Rings*.

> ...but be it noted I first set foot in 'Eire' in 1949 after *The Lord of the Rings* was finished, and find both Gaelic and the air of Ireland *wholly alien* [italics mine] – though the latter (not the language) is attractive. (*L*, p.219)3

It should not be surprising, then, that the hold the Arthurian legends had upon Tolkien's imagination would be overshadowed. In speaking of Tolkien's creative life around 1930, Humphrey Carpenter makes this observation:

> Another major poem from this period has alliteration but no rhyme. This is 'The Fall of Arthur,' Tolkien's only imaginative incursion into the Arthurian cycle, whose legends had pleased him since childhood, but which he found 'too lavish, and fantastical, incoherent and repetitive.4

In spite of the fact that in 1955, Tolkien was still hoping to complete this Arthurian poem,5 it seems to have remained obscured by the creation of Middle-earth and its legends. But I suspect that another reason he did not stick with Arthur (after the mid 1930s) was the growing force of Anglo-Saxon language and literature in his professional life, and the effect his studies had upon his own creative work.

J.R.R. Tolkien's imagination was hungry for invention, for new, fresh mythologies. He did not keep this hunger compartmentalized, boxed into either his professional life or his creative life. Instead, it flowed from one area to the other (quite possibly enriching both). Yet, at times, Tolkien expressed the eagerness of his imagination in somewhat subdued tones.

It was just as the 1914 War burst on me that I made the

discovery that 'legends' depend on the language to which they belong; but a living language depends equally on the 'legends' which it conveys by tradition.... So though being a philologist by nature and trade (yet one always primarily interested in the aesthetic rather than the functional aspects of language) I began with language, I found myself involved in inventing 'legends' of the same 'taste.' (*L*, p.231)

Perhaps this subdued voice he felt appropriate for expressing his creative impulse in the "real" world. It certainly has dignity. Yet it hardly conveys the abundant enthusiasm that kept him working and reworking *The Silmarillion* for over half a century, nor the private delight in his activities that prompted him to call an essay on inventing languages "A Secret Vice."

It is his fiction voice which communicates the emotional drive in his creativity. In *The Lost Road*, the character Alboin (with whom I think Tolkien identified), is speaking to his father of the young man's scholarly ambitions. He has expressed a desire to actually visit the past.

> Anyway you can't go back,' said his father; 'except within the limits prescribed to us mortals. You can go back in a sense by honest study, long and patient work. You had better go in for archaeology as well as philology: they ought to go well enough together, though they aren't joined very often.'
>
> 'Good idea,' said Alboin. 'But you remember, long ago, you said I was not *all-bone*. I want myths, not only bones and stones.'6

"I want myths, not only bones and stones." This statement, very nearly a heart's cry, must have been the expression of the author's feelings and not merely those of the character. Indeed, by the time this passage was written, Tolkien was well along in building his own myths, and the bones and stones they are founded upon are England, the English, and the Anglo-Saxon language.

Anyone who troubles to read both volumes of *The Book of Lost Tales* can see that there is an unmistakable difference in (for lack of a better term) tone between the early stories and Tolkien's later works. There is something deeper in the tone of *The Lord of the Rings* and the final text of *The Silmarillion*. The quality of that tone is present, I believe, because as Tolkien worked on the material, it became more and more his own. But its origins are quite specific: England. The revelation of this comes in *The Book of Lost Tales Part II*, where we are presented with the history of the character Eriol (to whom the tales are being told) and of the island Tol Eressëa, dealing with its location in world geography.

In the Outline of the C Notebook given in *The Book of Lost Tales Part II*, there is a recapitulation of part of the history of Tol Eressëa, dealing with its location in world geography.

> The time is not come for the Faring Forth, but the fairies judge it to be necessary. They obtain through Ulmo the

help of Uin,[7] and Tol Eressëa is uprooted and dragged near to the Great Lands, nigh to the promontory of Rôs. A magic bridge is cast across the intervening sound. Ossë is wroth at the breaking of the roots of the isle he set long ago – and many of his rare sea-treasures grow about it – that he tries to wrench it back; and the western half breaks off, and is now the Isle of Íverin. (BLT, p.283)

Christopher Tolkien, in commenting on this section, observes that

> ... we meet the conception of the dragging of Tol Eressëa back eastwards across the Ocean to the geographical position of England – it becomes England...; that part of which was torn off by Ossë, the isle of Íverin, is Ireland is explicitly stated in the Qenya dictionary. The promontory of Rôs is perhaps Brittany. (BLT, p.285)

With this stroke of geopoesis, Tolkien has made his true land of Faery, the land of the Elves, into the England he loves. He has done it on a mythic level, involving the god-like personages of Ulmo and Ossë. This geographical relocation (from the West of his imagination to the actual, "real-world," position of England) is merely the beginning of his creating a unity of identity between Tol Eressëa and England.

In Tolkien's Elvish England, in Tol Eressëa, the most important city is Kortirion. Since Tolkien makes a point of creating precise identifications of places in Tol Eressëa with places in England, Kortirion became identified in these early works with the city of Warwick. He even goes so far as to construct the linguistic changes that worked the Elvish name element of *Kor-* to the English *War-* of "Warwick." (BLT,p.211) However, the power of the identification of Tol Eressëa with England lies not simply in Tolkien's making his imaginary place become England, but also in his perception of England as the true Land of Faery.

> Very beautiful was Kortirion and the fairies loved it, and it became rich in song and poesy and the light of laughter; but .... the fairies are scattered through all the wide unfriendly pathways of the world; and now Men dwell even on this faded isle, and care nought or know nought of its ancient days. (BLT, p.289)

The matter of the "ancient days" of Tol Eressëa/England has its own share of importance in Tolkien's mythopoeic endeavors. He desired to add a note of historical veracity to his work, and the key to that historicity appears in the discussion of Kortirion being the Elvish name for Warwick. The statement comes abruptly: "Lastly, it is said that 'Hengest's capital was Warwick.'" (BLT, p.291)

Hengest. Tolkien had built up a mythic description of Tol Eressëa as England (or vice versa). He has set the place, the stage of his tales. Now he also set the time. For Hengest, whose capital was Warwick (that is, Kortirion) is historical. And, also, the name Hengest is associated with the great work of Tolkien's professional life, *Beowulf*.

In *Finn and Hengest* (a book devoted to consideration of

the Finnesburg episode in *Beowulf*), Tolkien makes this observation:

> Outside the Finn-story the name *Hengest* is unknown in literary or historical documents or traditions, except as the name of a Jutish adventurer and chief who with his brother Horsa came to England.[8]

Tolkien goes on to elaborate his reasons for regarding the Hengest of *Beowulf* as being the same Jutish adventurer who settled in England. Although he makes this argument concerning a figure in *Beowulf*, the effects of the argument cross over into his fiction. For in his imaginative work Tolkien links Tol Eressëa and Hengest. He does this through the character Eriol.

In the C Notebook, an outline is given of Eriol's life before he arrives in Tol Eressëa.

> Eriol's original name was Ottor, but he called himself Wǽfre (Old English 'restless, wandering') and lived a life on the waters. His father was named Eoh (Old English' 'horse')…. Ottor Wǽfre settled on the island of Heligoland in the North Sea, and wedded a woman named Cwén; they had two sons named Hengest and Horsa.... (BLT, p.290)

A little later, a statement appears that while in Tol Erressëa "Eriol adopted the name Angol" (BLT,p.290). Here then is the personage behind the term "Angles," which eventually gave the land the name of "England."

These are the crucial elements of Tolkien's creative mythology: Tol Erressëa, his land of the Elves, was uprooted during a mythical age and relocated geographically as the land eventually called England; and Eriol, who adopted the name *Angol*, is the father of Hengest and Horsa, who in a historical age would settle in this land.

> Thus it is through Eriol and his sons the *Engle* (i.e. the English) have the true tradition of the fairies, of whom the *Iras* and *Wéalas* (the Irish and the Welsh) tell garbled things.... Thus a specifically English fairy-lore is born, and one more true than anything to be found in Celtic lands. (BLT, p.290)

It is this connection to Hengest, I believe, which helped subvert Tolkien's attachment to the Matter of Arthur. For in Arthurian legend, the British are fighting the dreaded Saxon invaders, and the first name associated with those "barbarians" is that of Hengest.[9] The Saxons are viewed with distaste in the Arthurian legends. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth:

> Hengist landed with a huge army and protestations of peace. At a conference of British and Saxon nobles, convened to draw up a treaty, the Saxons whipped out daggers at a signal from Hengist and massacred the unarmed Britons. Vortigern was spared, but he was abjectly in Hengist's power, and had to allow the Saxons to occupy London, York, and other cities, where they afflicted the inhabitants and destroyed the churches.[10]

How could one in love with Englishness return to the

stories of the enemies of the English progenitors? As he grew more focused on things English and the mythology he was creating for them, the Matter of Arthur – which, let us remember, is also called the Matter of *Britain*' must have receded in his mind. Whatever the power of Arthurian legend (and Tolkien himself admits to that power)[11], it could not overrule his own powerful (English) imagination.

As time went on, as he worked on his sub-creation more and more, Tolkien found (for whatever reason) the identification of Tol Eressëa with England to be impractical, and that particular connection disappeared. For a time, the wanderer (now called Ælfwine) who visits Tol Eressëa was *from* England. Yet that too eventually dropped by the wayside. I believe that what happened was that on a practical level Tolkien's creation was expanding far beyond the boundaries of "Englishness." It could not be confined to the limits of England, so he let that conception go. It remained important to Tolkien himself, in his heart, but it had become too difficult to sustain in the material.

He could not, however, entirely break with the imaginative connection between the real world and his creation. If a specific place had slowly receded in importance in a correlation between the real world and the world of his imagination, he still always maintained that his creation, his Middle-earth was ours. He mentions this a couple of times in his letters.

> 'Middle-earth', by the way, is not a name of a never-never land without relation to the world we live in (like the Mercury of Eddison). It is just a use of Middle English *middel-erde* (or *erthe*, altered from Old English *Middan-geard*: the name for the inhabited land of Men 'between the seas'. And though I have not attempted to related the shape of the mountains and land masses to what geologists may say or surmise about the nearest past, imaginatively this 'history' is supposed to take place in a period of the actual Old World of this planet. (*L*, p.220)

That was stated in 1955. The following year, in his comments on Auden's review of *The Lord of the Rings*, he elaborates the concept.

> The theatre of my tale is this earth, the one in which we now live, but the historical period is imaginary. The essentials of that abiding place are all there (at any rate for inhabitants of N.W. Europe), so naturally it feels familiar, even if a little glorified by the enchantment of distance in time. (*L*, p.239)

Tolkien's vision of the place of his sub-creation had broadened from Englishness to Northernness, but it is still our world.

When, in a 1964 letter, Tolkien speaks of his time travel story, it is evident that the historical connection between our world and Middle-earth remained fresh for him.

> ... I began as abortive book of time-travel of which the

end was to be the presence of my hero in the drowning of Atlantis.... It started with a father-son affinity between Edwin and Elwin of the present, and was supposed to go back into legendary time.... In my tale we were to come at last to Amandil and Elendil, leaders of the loyal party of Númenor, when it fell under the domination of Sauron. (*L*, p.374)

It is worth noting that in Tolkien's imagination, to speak of Atlantis led inextricably to Númenor.

In *The Lost Road* itself, where Albion is the modern Englishman, Tolkien adds the hint of another strand of the historical connection between Middle-earth and the modern "real" world. In the story, Alboin falls asleep.[12]

> In a wide shadowy place he heard a voice.
> 'Elendil!' it said. 'Alboin, whither are you wandering?'
> 'Who are you?' he answered. 'And where are you?'
> A tall figure appeared, as if descending an unseen stair towards him. For a moment it flashed through his thought that the face, dimly seen, reminded him of his father.
> 'I am with you. I was of Númenor, the father of many fathers before you. I am Elendil, that is in Eressëan "Elf-friend," and many have been called so since. You may have your desire.' (*LR*, p.48)

The phrase "the father of many fathers before you," is interesting when considered in the larger context of Tolkien's work, and the connections between our world and his sub-creation. Certainly, the events in *The Lost Road* were to concern father-son relations in the various legends to be visited. But I wonder if somehow, in a vague sort of way, Tolkien was conceiving of a time-travel story where the moderns went back to visit persons who were genealogically connected and not merely repeating a name-meaning pattern.

However, whatever Tolkien's conceptions of the connections were, as he explains in the 1964 letter, eventually even the time-connection lost some of its imperative for his imagination.

> But I found my real interest was only in the upper end, the *Akallabêth* or *Atalantie* ('Downfall' in Númenórean and Quenya), so I brought all the stuff I had written on the originally unrelated legends of Númenor into relation with the main mythology (*L*, p.347)

Christopher Tolkien, in his notes on *The Lost Road*, comments at length about what his father must have meant by the phrase "unrelated legends."

> He cannot have meant the Númenórean matter contained in *The Lost Road* itself, since that was already fully related to 'the main mythology.' It must therefore have been something else, already existing when *The Lost Road* was begun. (*LR*, p.8)

However, if the "upper end" J.R.R. Tolkien spoke of is the *Akallabêth*, then the "lower end" of the narrative line would have to be the modern Englishman of the story. When

Tolkien decided to abandon the time-travel aspect, perhaps all he did was to take the events which Alboin would have learned and fully incorporate them into the already extant legends of Númenor. The Númenórean tales from *The Lost Road* would originally have been "unrelated" to the rest, for they would have been part of a separate story, and not, possibly, part of the "canon." Without the time-travel element, those stories would indeed have been "brought ... into relation with the main mythology" (Besides, I would not put it past Tolkien to be playing a double entendre here. For if Alboin's adventures had previously been "non-canonical," then they would have been unrelated in Middle-earth, as in "untold." This much, however, is speculation.)

By the time most people came to read *The Lord of the Rings*, the direct connections between England and Tolkien's sub-creation had already long faded from the material. Yet imaginatively, emotionally, those connections remained important to the author himself. England was magical for him. From early in his creative life his work expresses the poignancy he felt about England and its places.

> And it seems to the fairies and it seems to me who know that town and have often trodden its disfigured ways that autumn and the falling of the leaf is the season of the year when maybe here or there a heart among Men may be open, and an eye perceive how is the world's estate fallen from the laughter and the loveliness of old. Think on Kirtirion and be sad — yet is there no hope? (*BLT*, p.289)

It seems there was hope. In 1956 a reader evidently wrote to Tolkien expressing his appreciation of *The Lord of the Rings* (perhaps commenting on its Englishness). Tolkien responded (in the letter I referred to at the beginning of this article):

> Having set myself a task, the arrogance of which I fully recognized and trembled at: being precisely to restore to the English an epic tradition and present them with a mythology of their own: it is a wonderful thing to be told that I have succeeded, at least with those who have still the undarkened heart and mind. (*L*, p.230-231)

Tolkien succeeded in creating a mythology not merely for the English. Over the years he worked on the material, the scope of it broadened from its English roots to touch the hearts of readers throughout the world. And his works waken in those hearts the awareness of the Elvish magic of the world the readers live in: the crispness of autumn days, the sound of falling water, and the vitality and expressiveness of live tress. That is no small achievement.

This bring me to a closing note on a second reason that Tolkien found for turning away from Arthurian legends to satisfy his hunger for "myths, not only stone and bones." Although it does not apply to the main concern of this article, it has greater importance to the matter of Tolkien's ideas on the significance of sub-creation and the

proper response to imaginative literature. Humphrey Carpenter, commenting on Tolkien's poem "The Fall of Arthur" observes

> Arthurian stories were also unsatisfactory to him as myth in that they explicitly contained the Christian religion. In his own Arthurian poem he did not touch on the Grail but began an individual rendering of the Morte d'Arthur .... (*B*, p.168)

Tolkien himself speaks of this matter more clearly in the 1951 letter to Milton Waldman, following his comments about the non-English nature of the legends:

> For another and more important thing: it is involved in, and explicitly contains the Christian religion.
> For reasons which I will not elaborate, that seems to me fatal. Myth and fairy-story must, as all art, reflect and contain in solution elements of moral and religious truth (or error), but not explicit, not in the known form of the primary world. (*L*, p.144)

For Tolkien, then it was very important that a sub-creation, a Secondary creation, be — to the receiver, be it the author or the reader — separate from "reality", the Primary creation. He was fully conscious of the dangers of giving Primary belief to a Secondary creation; for such an action would be a truly cultic (in the religious sense) reaction to a fiction — which is a work of art only partially composed of Truth.

As he says, "myth and fairy-story must ... reflect and contain in solution *elements* of moral and religious truth," but they ought not to be all of Truth, not be the carrier of Tue Religion. The danger is that some reader might consider the fiction to be the carrier of the basic doctrines of True Religion and thus be led into error. Let us remember that Tolkien was troubled by the explicit Christianity of C.S Lewis' Narnia. I think his implied distaste of Narnia was less a jealousy of Lewis for intruding on "his" (that is, Tolkien's) territory of fairy stories that it was a concern about the explicit presentation of the Faith. Perhaps he felt that the strong appeal to the imagination would make it too easy for some young minds to start thinking of Christ as Aslan (rather than vice versa). In the preface to Kathryn Lindskoog's book on Narnia, *The Lion of Judah in Never-never Land*, Walter Hooper recounts the following story:

> A few Years ago I learned of family here in Oxford who, one Sunday afternoon, finished reading their little boy *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* — the adventure which begins with four children finding their way into Narnia through the back of a wardrobe. While the parents were having tea downstairs they thought the house was falling in. They rushed up to find their son with a hatchet. He had smashed through the back of his parents' wardrobe and was hacking away at the wall behind it. I'm told that the only way to save the house was to read him another story of Narnia.[13]

Tolkien, I think, would have been greatly disturbed by such a response. Loving fantasy literature and viewing the

world as if it might be touched by magic is separated by a very fine line from actually believing the fictive magic to be real. For this reason, Tolkien avoided the explicit presentation of Christianity in his fiction, since it was for him the real "magic" of the real world.   ✌

Notes

1. Tolkien, J.R.R., *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*, edited by Humphrey Carpenter, ,Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1981, p. 144. Hereafter abbreviated: *L*.

2. Bloemfontein is in the Orange Free State of South Africa.

3. Even in his fiction this anti-Celtic/Irish bent appears. In the text of "Ælfwine of England," Ireland is at once reviled and dismissed. There was a land called England, and it was an island of the West, and before it was broken in the warfare of the Gods it was westernmost of all the Northern Lands, and looked upon the Great Sea that Men of old called Garsecg; but that part that was broken was called Ireland and many names besides, and its dwellers *come not into these tales*. [italics mine] Tolkien. J.R.R., *The Book of Lost Tales Part II*, edited by Christopher Tolkien, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1984, p. 312. Hereafter: *BLT2*

4. Carpenter, Humphrey, *Tolkien: a Biography*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977, p. 168. Hereafter: *B*.

5. See the letter to Houghton Mifflin in *Letters*, p. 219. He says: "I still hope to finish a long poem on *The Fall of Arthur*...."

6. Tolkien, J.R.R., *The Lost Road and other writings*, edited by Christopher Tolkien, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987, p. 40. Hereafter: *LR*.

7. Uin is a great whale, *BLT2*, p. 286.

8. Tolkien, J.R.R., *Finn and Hengest: The Fragment and the Episode*, edited by Alan Bliss, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1983, p. 66

9. Also spelled "Hengist."

10. Ashe, Geoffrey, *The Discovery of King Arthur*, Garden City, New York: Anchor press/Doubleday, 1985, p. 7.

11. See *Letters*, p. 144.

12. One at least assumes he's asleep. The phrase used is "passed out of the waking world."

13. Lindskoog, Kathryn, *The Lion of Judah in Never-never Land*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1974, introduction by Walter Hooper, p. 14.