



Mythopoeic Society

mythLORE

A Journal of J.R.R. Tolkien, C.S. Lewis,
Charles Williams, and Mythopoeic Literature

Volume 19
Number 4

Article 8

Fall 10-15-1993

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Recommended Citation

Hostetter, Carl F. and Wynne, Patrick (1993) "Stone Towers," *Mythlore: A Journal of J.R.R. Tolkien, C.S. Lewis, Charles Williams, and Mythopoeic Literature*: Vol. 19 : No. 4 , Article 8.

Available at: <https://dc.swosu.edu/mythlore/vol19/iss4/8>

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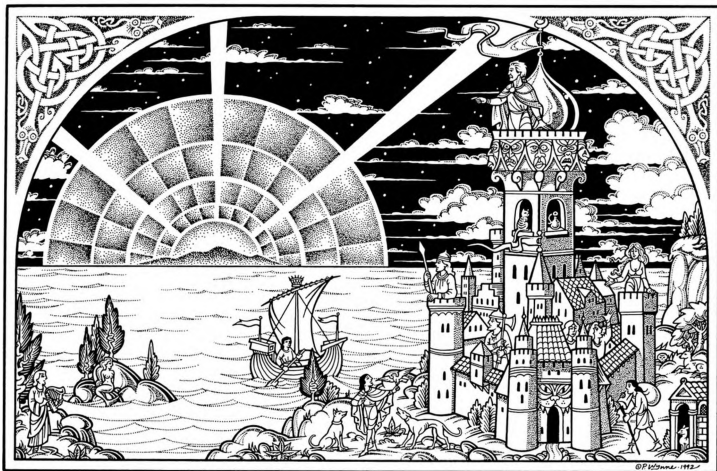
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Abstract

Proposes “Celtic and pre-Celtic origins for certain linguistic and legendary elements in a corpus whose sources” have been sought in Germanic myth and legend.

Additional Keywords

Wynne, Patrick; Tolkien, J.R.R.—Sources—Celtic



STONE TOWERS

CARL F. HOSTETTER AND PATRICK WYNNE

In March of 1883, while reluctantly drawing to a close the massive, idiosyncratic, and excursive introduction to the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, a massive, idiosyncratic, and excursive omnibus edition of the "Body of Norse Poetry," editor Gudbrand Vigfusson, "an Icelander born" (Cleasby, p. vi), allowed himself a forum in which to defend himself against, as he puts it (p. cxxii),

an amusing attack... brought against him by certain of his own countrymen, of *lack of patriotism*; the chief charges of the indictment being, that he spelt his Christian name in English fashion, and that he used 'we' and 'our' in speaking of English things and ways.

Vigfusson's very sensible defense is that

he writes in English because he writes for Englishmen, who publish, buy, and read his books, and that, as Sterne says, he may 'at least be permitted the licence accorded to a heathen Roman' and allowed to speak rather from the reader's point of view than his own. . . .

Aside from a supposed campaign of personal Anglicization, however, Vigfusson's patriotism was being questioned for his advancement of the theory, controversial then and still, that much of the Eddic material was originally composed, not in Iceland, as maintained by the "patriotic school," but in the Norse colonies in the British Isles. Vigfusson and his colleague, F. York Powell, had earlier in the introduction (pp. lviii-lxiv) offered persuasive evidence for this theory, including a host of cultural, architectural, climatic, zoological, and botanical references in the Eddic poems — such as forests, hawking, the burning of peat, harps, Christian influences, and heteroracial slavery — that are, in their words, "wholly un-Icelandic" (p. lxii), but that are quite consonant with the British Isles during the period of the composition of the Eddic material. They also employ philological arguments, noting (p. lx) the infusion throughout the Eddas of words of Celtic or English origin, such as the "Gaelic" borrowings *tír* 'earth' and *æti* 'oats'; and the English borrowing *vála*, an assimilated form of the Old English word *wealh* 'foreign' that is the basis of the Modern English words

Wales and Welsh, and which was applied to various goods of Celtic trade, such as *Vala-malmr* 'Welsh-metal' and *Valnesk-vif* 'Welsh-woman'.¹

In furthering his theory of non-Icelandic origin for the Eddas against that of the "patriotic school," Vigfusson appends a press-stopping footnote to the Introduction (p. cxxij), which continues the line of philological argument:

The fresh and charming little book of Professor Rhys, 'Celtic Britain,' published by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, has even, as we are passing through the press, furnished fresh and new arguments to our position.

For instance, Professor Rhys speaks of the *Dogmen*, sons and slaves of the Dog, an un-Aryan, un-Celtic, un-Teutonic nomenclature, peculiar to the præ-Celtic population of Great Britain.... This phenomenon of nomenclature recalls at once the Hundings, *Dogsons*, of the Helgi Lays — Macbeaths and Maelbeaths² due, we have little doubt, to Ivernian influences.

Again, 'ond' is præ-Celtic for *stone*. In the Helgi Lays one meets with an oath sworn at the 'Unnarstein,' though to swear by a stone is un-Teutonic. Is not the word a mere doubling of the Ivernian word...?

Further, there are in Ireland and Scotland place-names in Ith, Magh-Ith, the plain of Ith, though Ith is not a Celtic vocable, but probably the Ivernian name of a tribal and ancestral deity.

The present authors find themselves in a position with regard to Tolkien's mythology that is similar to that of Vigfusson with the Eddas, that of proposing Celtic and pre-Celtic origins for certain linguistic and legendary elements in a corpus whose sources have traditionally and overwhelmingly been sought in Germanic myth and legend. Of course, our situation is quite different from Vigfusson's, in that there is no "patriotic school" that will attack us for suggesting that some of Tolkien's sources are non-Germanic, and in that we are hardly seeking to *supplant* the theory that the preponderance of Tolkien's sources are Germanic, which is in fact quite evident — after all, Tolkien's chosen *cursum* was Germanic philology, despite Joseph Wright's admonition to him to "Go in for Celtic, lad; there's money in it" (Carpenter, p. 56). Moreover, the proposal of Celtic origins for various elements of Tolkien's languages and mythology is hardly radical or controversial: for instance, it is widely known that Sindarin, the Grey-elven tongue, is modelled phonologically on Welsh, and it has been shown that Tolkien's tale of Beren and Lúthien owes much to the story of Culhwch and Olwen in the *Mabinogion*.³ But so many expeditions have been made into Germanic territories in the quest for Tolkien's sources that we cannot help but feel comparative pioneers as we extend the search into Celtic and pre-Celtic lands. And like Vigfusson, we are guided further in our expedition by Sir John Rhys' 1882 book, *Celtic Britain*.⁴

Ond

Vigfusson's citation from Rhys' *Celtic Britain* of the

"præ-Celtic" word *ond* 'stone' immediately brings to mind a passage in *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien* (p. 410), in which Tolkien discusses the origin of the name *Gondor*:

Gondor is... a name fitted to the style and phonetics of *Sindarin*, and... has the sense 'Stone-land' sc. 'Stone (-using people's) land'.... In this case I can actually recollect the reason why the element **gon(o)*, **gond(o)* was selected for the stem of words meaning stone, when I began inventing the 'Elvish' languages. When about 8 years old I read in a small book (professedly for the young) that nothing of the language of primitive peoples (before the Celts or Germanic invaders) is now known, except perhaps *ond* = 'stone' (+ one other now forgotten). I have no idea how such a form could even be guessed, but the *ond* seemed to me fitting for the meaning. (The prefixing of *g-* was much later, after the invention of the history of the relation between *Sindarin* & *Quenya* in which primitive initial *g-* was lost in Q: the Q. form of the word remained *ondo*.)

Thus we see that Vigfusson's hastily-appended footnote citing Rhys' *Celtic Britain* provides the author and title of the "small book (professedly for the young)"⁵ from which an 8-year-old Tolkien learned the pre-Celtic word *ond* 'stone', a word which he would later adopt for his own Eldarin tongues. And indeed, on pp. 265-6 of *Celtic Britain*, in a discussion of Ivernian, the language of the pre-Celtic, aboriginal inhabitants of the British Isles, we find the following:

At what time the Ivernian language became extinct in Ireland it is impossible to discover, but in Munster it appears to have not been long dead when Cormac⁶ wrote a sort of glossary in the ninth century, and alluded to it as the *larn* or iron language; for, owing to an accident of Irish phonology, both *isern-*, the early form of the Celtic word for iron, and *ivern-* must become *iarn* in the later stages of the language, so that Cormac believed that in *larn* he had the ordinary Irish word for iron, or affected so to believe in order to proceed to explain, that [the language] was so called on account of the difficulty of seeing through it, owing to its darkness and the compactness of its texture. He has, however, recorded two of the Ivernian words known to him, namely, *fern*, anything good, and *ond*, a stone...⁷

Thus besides *ond* 'stone', the source of Quenya *ondo*, Cormac's *Glossary* provides the Ivernian word *fern* 'anything good.' Since Tolkien could not remember *fern* in his citation of this passage from *Celtic Britain*, he presumably did not find it so "fitting for the meaning" as he did *ond*.⁸ And indeed we have found no indication that *fern* had any influence on his languages.

The influence of *ond*, however, is extensive and easy to trace, both in the earliest lexicons of Gnomish and Quenya written in conjunction with *The Book of Lost Tales* and throughout the corpus. In the *Quenya Lexicon* of c. 1915 appears the root ONO 'hard' whence Q *ondo* 'stone', while the contemporary *Gnomish Lexicon* has an entry *gonm*, originally written *gond*, which is translated as 'great stone, rock.' This element appears in the name *Gondolin*, which in the *Gnomish Lexicon* is interpreted as 'singing stone', corresponding to Q *Ondolin*, *Ondolinda* (LT1:254 sv.

Gondolin). Given the early Gnomish form *gonn* with an initial *g-*, it is curious that Tolkien states that the prefixing of *g-* to the Eldarin stem meaning 'stone' was "much later." It must be that, at the time of *The Book of Lost Tales*, the initial *g-* of Gnomish *gonn* was not due to the Common Eldarin stem, but rather to a Gnomish innovation. Given the translation of *gonn* as 'great stone' it may be that the initial *g-* is an augmentative prefix corresponding to that seen in the Sindarin adj. *glos(s)* 'dazzling-white' derived from the stem *los* 'snow' (R:69-70). The prefixing of *g-* to the actual Common Eldarin stem had occurred, however, by 1937, since the *Etymologies* gives the base GOND- 'stone', later changed to GONOD-, GONDO-, whence Q *ondo* 'stone (as a material)' and N *gonn* 'a great stone, or rock' (LR:359). This of course is the basis of the Sindarin name *Gondor* 'Stone-land',⁹ for which, significantly, Tolkien posits a primitive origin very much like that of Cormac's *ond* (L:409 note):

[The meaning 'Stone-land' of S. *Gondor*] was understood by other peoples ignorant of Sindarin.... In fact it is probable within the historical fiction that the Númenóreans of the Southern kingdom adopted this name from the primitive inhabitants of *Gondor* and gave it a suitable version in Sindarin.

Certainly this accurately parallels Tolkien's own adoption of the primitive word *ond* into his languages.

But in noting of Cormac's *ond* that he has "no idea how such a form could even be guessed," Tolkien seems to question whether it is in fact an authentic pre-Celtic word; and as it turns out, there is some evidence that *ond* is Indo-European after all. Alois Walde lists (I:181) an Indo-European root *ond-*, *nd-* 'stone, rock', whose descendants include Sanskrit *adri-* 'stone, rock, hill' and Middle Irish *ond* or *onn* 'stone, rock'; but more remarkable still is Walde's citation of a theory that the Old English word *ent* 'giant' derives from this same root. In light of this theory, which Tolkien was very likely aware of given his interest in Ents, it seems probable that the Sindarin word for Ent, *onod* (III:408, U:438, L:178, 224), is cognate with Q *ondo* 'stone'.¹⁰ Though it may seem bizarre that Ents should be etymologically linked with stone, such an association is attested in Anglo-Saxon poetry. After their establishment in Britain, the Anglo-Saxons were awed by the great stone buildings and roads that the Romans had built and then abandoned as their empire collapsed. The Anglo-Saxons called these stone works, far beyond their technological abilities, the *eald enta geweorc* 'the old work of Ents', and *orðanc enta geweorc* 'the skillful work of Ents', the legacy of an ancient and vanished race of stone-working giants.¹¹ In light of this, it is significant that Tolkien's Ents have the ability to break stone with ease, as Treebeard boasts to Merry and Pippin (II:89):

We can split stone like the roots of trees, only quicker, far quicker, if our minds are roused! ...we could split Isengard into splinters and crack its walls into rubble.¹²

This is exactly what they do, though ironically the stone of Orthanc, the central tower of Isengard, proves impervious to the Ents (II:1734).

Ivernia

Since Rhys' citation of the Ivernon word *ond* proved to be so influential to Tolkien's languages and mythology, we should next consider the term *Ivernia* itself, which the 8-year-old Tolkien may very well have first encountered in Rhys' *Celtic Britain*. This term is derived from the name 'Ιουερνία' that Ptolemy¹³ gives to Ireland in his *Geography* of c. A.D. 130, a name that, allowing for inevitable assimilations to Greek phonology, apparently preserves something like the authentic native name for Ireland of the second century, which Rhys reconstructs (*Celtic Britain*, p.262) as *Iverjo* on the basis of its descendant cognates, such as Irish *Ériu* and Welsh *Iwerddon*. Juvenal, a close contemporary of Ptolemy, refers to Ireland with a similarly authentic name *Iuerna*. This name more commonly appears in Latin writings as *Hibernia*, an assimilation due to *hibernus* 'wintry', which Ireland certainly must have seemed to the Mediterraneans.

Like Juvenal and Ptolemy, Tolkien also "preserves" this native name in the Qenya name *Iverin* for Ireland that occurs in *The Book of Lost Tales* (LT2:369). The *Qenya Lexicon* has the isolated entry *Iverind-* 'Ireland', while the *Gnomish Lexicon* gives the Goldogrin forms as *Aivrin* or *Aivrin*, 'an island off the west coast of Tol Eressëa', which in the early form of the mythology was to become England (cf. LT2:344).¹⁴ It is likely that, as with Ptolemy's 'Ιουερνία' and Juvenal's *Iuerna*, these Qenya and Gnomish names for Ireland are assimilated borrowings from the actual Ivernian name, rather than native Eldarin cognate forms, since there is no indication that they are derived from any known Eldarin roots, nor do they seem to have had any more literal meaning than simply 'Ireland'.¹⁵

However, a deeper etymological examination of the cognate Celtic names for Ireland reveals an underlying form that has a clear relationship with a Qenya root that cannot be explained as a mere borrowing. Such cognate forms as Irish *Ériu*, Welsh *Iwerddon*, and others ultimately trace back to an Indo-European root that Calvert Watkins reconstructs as **peia-* or **pei-* 'to be fat, swell', which is also the source of the English word *fat*. This root had a suffixed form **pi-uer-*, meaning 'fat' or 'fertile', which with the regular loss of original initial *p* in Celtic¹⁶ became **uer-*, as in **uer-iū* 'fertile (land)', the Primitive Celtic name for Ireland and the source of Ptolemy's 'Ιουερνία' and Juvenal's *Iuerna* (cf. Rhys' essentially equivalent reconstruction *Ierjo* cited above). This same Indo-European form **pi-uer-* appears in the Greek name Περία, a district in the north of Thessaly where there was a fountain sacred to the Muses that supposedly gave inspiration or learning to those who drank from it, providing, as it were, a 'fertile' imagination. These Indo-European forms likewise clearly gave inspiration to Tolkien's fertile linguistic imagination. In the *Qenya Lexicon* is a root *PIWI* which yields a complex of words indicating fatness and fertility, including a noun *piwe* 'fatness, richness, goodness', a verb stem *piute-* 'flourish, fatten, grow fat' (past tense *piwente*), and an adjective *pingwa* 'fat, rich

(of soil).¹⁷ The similarity of sound and sense of the IE root *peia- 'to be fat, swell' and its derivative *pi-wer- 'fat, fertile' with the Qenya root PWI 'fatness, fertility' and its derivative *pfwe* 'fatness, richness, goodness' is unlikely to be due to mere coincidence, and the various roots are too ancient and too widely attested to be mere borrowings. Thus, since as Faramir says, "all speech of men in this world is Elvish in descent... if one go back to the beginnings" (WR:159-60), it seems that in PWI Tolkien's intent was to create a word that would exhibit a cognate relationship with the Indo-European form *pi-wer-.

Just as a phonologically-based etymological investigation of the term *Ivernia* reveals a clear cognate in Tolkien's languages, so too does a folk-etymological investigation of the same term reveal a mythological cognate. In *Celtic Britain* (p. 263), just three pages before his citation of Ivernian *ond*, Rhys discusses Emer, according to Irish legend the eponymous ancestor of the Ivernians. He notes that

the legend makes the whole Irish people descend from two brothers, of whom Emer was the one, and ... Airem (genitive Eremon) the other, whose name means a ploughman; for he represented the Aryan Celtic farmer who introduced agriculture, however rude, among a people of hunters or shepherds.... As the Celt was destined to have the upper hand over the Ivernian, the legend makes Airem slay Emer and seize on the southern half of the island, which was supposed to have been the latter's kingdom.

It seems probable that the appearance here of the name *Eremon*, the genitive form of *Airem*, the legendary eponymous founder of the Celtic Irish, is responsible for Tolkien's choice of the name *Ermon* for one of the first two Men who awoke before the first rising of the sun in *The Book of Lost Tales* (LT1:235-7), and that the Adamic *Ermon* is intended to be seen as the ultimate, "true" source of the legendary founder of the Irish race.¹⁸

Íth

But Tolkien's incorporation of eponymous figures from Irish mythology into *The Book of Lost Tales* did not end with *Eremon*. In the passage from *Celtic Britain* just cited, Rhys continues (p. 264) by noting that because the Ivernian and Celtic races were both warlike, the two mythical brothers, Ivernian Emer and Irish Eremon

are described as the sons of a soldier or warrior, whom the legend therefore calls Miled in Irish, and Miles in Latin, whence the so-called Milesian Irish.... It was found necessary to expand the story about Miled in another direction by giving him an uncle to bear the name of Íth and account for several places in Ireland called Mag-Íthe or the plain of Íth. This was probably non-Celtic, and it entered into the name of the Scotch island of Tiree, known formerly as Tirieth and *Terra Íth*.

This is the passage on Íth¹⁹ referred to by Vigfusson and Powell in their footnote to the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*. It seems that like Eremon, the Irish mythological figure Íth also found his way into *The Book of Lost Tales*, where he

appears as *Isil Inwë*, king of the Elves, whose forename *Isil* bears a close resemblance to the "non-Celtic" name *Ith*.

But before we explore the mythological and linguistic parallels between Ivernian *Ith* and Tolkien's *Isil*, we should briefly examine the mythological setting in which *Ith* appears. The story of *Ith* is told in the *Lebor Gabála Erenn* 'The Book of the Taking of Ireland', often referred to simply as 'The Book of Invasions', which survives in various ancient manuscripts, most notably the 12th-century Book of Leinster. The Book of Invasions presents the mythological history of Ireland, and tells how the island was visited by successive waves of invaders, beginning with Cesair, granddaughter of Noah, who had the misfortune of landing in Ireland a mere forty days before the Biblical Flood. Cesair's ill-fated expedition was followed by the invasions of the Partholons, the Nemedians, the Fírbolg, and the Tuatha Dé Danaan. This last group, 'the people of the goddess Dana', was the pantheon of the pre-Christian Irish and includes some of the most familiar figures of Irish mythology, such as Lúgh, god of light, and Brigit, goddess of healing, smithcraft, and poetry. The reign of the Tuatha Dé Danaan ended with the coming of the Milesians, the sons of Miled, the last of the mythic invaders of Ireland and the ancestors of the Irish race. The Milesians defeated the Danaans and drove them underground, where they became the *sidhe*-folk, dwellers beneath the mounds and hills.

The Milesians are portrayed as a human rather than divine race. However, Vigfusson and Powell call *Ith*, the uncle of Miled,²⁰ a "tribal and ancestral deity," and Miled occurs as the name of a god in a Celtic inscription from Hungary. In another text Miled is said to be the son of Bile, the god of death.²¹ In this regard it is significant that the Milesians were said to come from "Spain." According to T.W. Rolleston in *Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race*, "Spain" was "the usual term employed by the later rationalising historians for the Land of the Dead."²² Rolleston also notes that the Land of the Dead is identical with *Tír na mBeo* 'the Land of the Living' and *Tír na nÓg* 'the Land of Youth'. These are all manifestations of the Celtic Otherworld, the realm of the gods and the place where the souls of the dead were reborn to carry on life in much the same manner as they had in this world.²³

Certain details of the legend of *Ith* vary from source to source, but the basic story is this: *Ith* son of Bregon built a great tower in "Spain," that is in the Land of the Dead, to better observe the wide world. On a clear winter's evening he looked westward from his tower and saw the coast of Ireland across the sea. He resolved to explore this new land and set sail with ninety warriors. In Ireland *Ith* met the native inhabitants, the Tuatha Dé Danaan. Their king had recently been slain in battle, and the Danaans were sitting in council to divide up the king's property between his three sons. They asked *Ith* to settle the matter, for his wisdom was greater than that of ordinary mortals. *Ith* rendered judgment and concluded by praising the beauty and richness of Ireland. The Tuatha Dé Danaan interpreted this to mean that *Ith* wanted

their island for himself, so they seized him and killed him. In one version of the story, Íth was buried in a place named after him *Mag-Íthe* 'the plain of Íth.' In another version, Íth's companions carried his body back to 'Spain,' where his enraged relatives resolved to conquer Ireland to avenge his death. In this way the Milesian invasion of Ireland began.

Tolkien made use of many of the elements in this story in his portrayal of Isil Inwë in *The Book of Lost Tales*, where he is most often referred to simply as *Inwë*. Isil Inwë was the eldest and greatest of all the Elves and the ruler of the Teleri, which in the *Lost Tales* were the first of the three kindreds of the Elves, equivalent to the later Vanyar in *The Silmarillion*. With the coming of the Elves to Valinor, Inwë became King of all the Eldar dwelling in Kôr, the city of the Elves. The most prominent feature of Kôr was the great tower of Inwë (LT1:112):

... and all those shining houses clomb each shoulder higher than the others till the house of Inwë was reached that was the uppermost, and had a slender silver tower shooting skyward like a needle, and a white lamp of piercing ray was set therein that shone upon the shadows of the bay....

Several parallels between Íth and Isil Inwë are evident here. Íth was "a tribal and ancestral deity", a being of extraordinary wisdom. Isil Inwë, while not a god, was more than a mere mortal; he was the eldest and greatest of the immortal Elves. Íth dwelt in the Land of the Dead, the Celtic Otherworld, which was the realm of the gods and the abode of the spirits of the dead. Isil Inwë dwelt in Valinor, which was also the realm of the Gods and the abode of the spirits of the dead. The spirits of dead Elves came to the halls of Vë in Valinor, where "Mandos spake their doom, and there they waited in the darkness... until such time as he appointed when they might again be born into their children"²⁴ (LT1:76). The spirits of dead Men went to the halls of Fui to be judged, and most of them were sent to dwell on the plain of Arvalin, south of Taniqetil. "There do they wander in the dusk, camping as they may... and wait in patience until the Great End come."²⁵ (LT1:77)

Both Íth and Isil Inwë are associated with towers. Íth built a great tower from which he looked out over the sea and saw Ireland. Inwë lived in a "slender silver tower," from which a white lamp shone out over the sea. The tradition of tower building was continued by Isil Inwë's son Ingil, who was also named *Isilmo* after his father. In *The Cottage of Lost Play*, Eriol is told how Ingil came to Tol Eressëa and "built the great tower and called the town Koromas, or 'the Resting of the Exiles of Kôr', but by reason of that tower it is now mostly called Kortirion." (LT1:16) So there are in fact two reflexes of the tower of Íth in the *Lost Tales*: the tower of Isil in Kôr, and the tower of Isilmo in Kortirion.

The final events in the life of Isil Inwë were never put into a proper narrative, but the details can be pieced together from references made by Lindo and Meril-i-Turingi (LT1:16, 129), as well as from 'scheme B,' an outline for a

revision of the *Lost Tales* (LT2:253). The gist of the tale is this: When the Noldoli rebelled and fled back to Middle-earth, Isil Inwë and his people remained in Valinor. After the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, most of the Noldoli of Middle-earth were enslaved by Melko. When Gondolin fell, flocks of birds brought tidings of the disaster to Kôr, causing a great uproar among the Elves, and "hearing the lament of the world Inwë led them forth to the lands of Men" (LT1:16). In that march into the world, Inwë perished (cf. LT1:129, LT2:253), though the circumstances of his death are never given.

So, in Irish mythology we have the god Íth, who dwelt in a tower in the Land of the Dead; he led an expedition across the sea to Ireland, where he was slain. Similarly, in *The Book of Lost Tales* we have the king of the Elves, Isil, who lived in a tower in the land of the dead; he led an expedition to the Great Lands across the sea, and died in that march.

We can now turn our attention to the meaning of the names *Íth* and *Isil*. As is often the case with mythological names, the meaning of *Íth* is unclear. It is identical in form to Middle Irish *íth*, meaning 'fat' or 'lard' (and perhaps, by extension, 'richness'), and it also closely resembles *ith*, 'corn' or 'cereal crop.' Because these meanings do not seem particularly applicable to the mythological character Íth, many scholars, including Rhys, have championed the theory that the name is of pre-Celtic origin.²⁶ Such uncertainty about this name's origin left Tolkien with the perfect opportunity to solve the mystery; the *Lost Tales* imply that Inwë's Qenya forename *Isil*, or its Gnomish equivalent *Githil*, was the original source of *Íth*, just as Isil Inwë's tower and his death in the march to the Great Lands was the historical source of the later Irish legend of the tower of Íth and the story of his death in Ireland.

This leaves us with the question of what the Qenya name *Isil* means. *Isil* appears in the *Qenya Lexicon* contemporary with the *Lost Tales*, though no translation or derivation is given, and it is interesting to note that *Iverind*-'Ireland', which we have discussed above, appears nearby on the same page. Christopher Tolkien, in his Appendix on names in the *Lost Tales* (Part 1), proposes that *Isil* might be derived from the root *ISI*, which appears elsewhere in the *Qenya Lexicon*. *ISI* clearly has the basic meaning "white,"²⁷ since its derivatives include *iska* 'pale' or 'white'²⁸ and *is* 'light snow' (LT1:256). *Isil* may have been derived from *ISI* by the addition of the masculine suffix *-il*, which occurs in names such as *Rúmil*, door-ward of the Cottage of Lost Play (cf. Gn. *rûm* 'secret, mystery', LT1:265), and *Linqil*, a name of Ulmo derived from the noun *linqë* 'water' (LT1:262).²⁹ *Isil* as a masculine name might therefore mean "the white one." This could refer to white or pale blond hair — remember that Inwë was lord of the Teleri, who in the *Lost Tales* were the first tribe of the Elves, equivalent to the later Vanyar 'the Fair', whose name referred to the golden hair typical of that kindred³⁰ (S:354). The name might also refer to Isil's silver tower with its white lamp.

In Gnomish the root *ISI* takes two forms, *gith-* and (interestingly enough) *ith-*. The form *gith-* appears in *Githil*, the Gnomish equivalent of *Isil* (LT:1256).³¹ The form without the initial *g-*, *ith-*, appears in the Gnomish noun *ith* 'fine snow' (ibid.), cognate with *Qenya is* 'light snow.' In *The Fall of Gondolin* Tolkien describes the heraldic devices of "all the great houses and kindreds of the Gondothlim," and the emblem of the folk of Penlod is "the Tower of Snow" (LT2:172-3). This name is translated into Gnomish as *Ith Mindon* in an unpublished manuscript associated with the *Lost Tales* materials at the Bodleian.³² The word *mindon* means 'tower, properly an isolated turret or peak' (LT1:260), so *Ith Mindon* is 'the tower of *ith*', that is, 'the Tower of Snow.' In terms of the mythology of the *Lost Tales*, the emblem of the Tower of Snow might refer to either the white tower that stood near the palace of Turgon in Gondolin (cf. LT2:185), or to the "slender silver tower" of *Isil Inwë* in *Kôr*.³³ It seems possible, however, that Tolkien also intended the name *Ith Mindon* to evoke the tower of *Ith* in Irish mythology.

The tower of *Inwë* with its white lamp shining towards the sea survived with little change into *The Silmarillion* (p. 59):

Upon the crown of Túna the city of the Elves was built... and the highest of the towers of that city was the Tower of *Ingwë*, *Mindon Eldalíeva*, whose silver lamp shone far out into the mists of the sea.

However, several of the other mythic and linguistic parallels between *Isil Inwë* and Irish *Ith* did not survive the *Lost Tales*. As the passage just cited demonstrates, the name *Inwë* became *Ingwë* in later versions of the mythology. *Inwë*'s forename *Isil* does not appear as such after the *Lost Tales*, and if the later *Ingwë* had any additional name we are not told what it was. In the later mythology *Isil* became the name of the Moon, interpreted as 'the Sheen.' However, the use of *Isil* as a name of the Moon does not occur until the story *The Lost Road*, written in 1937, some twenty years after the *Lost Tales*. In the *Lost Tales* the name of the moon is simply *Sil* (LT1:265).³⁴

The story of the death of *Inwë* in the march into the Great Lands also did not endure. In *The Silmarillion*, the Vanyar, the people of *Ingwë*, still march to Middle-earth to aid the Noldor, but in this version of the story *Ingwë* does not die, for he does not march to war with his people; it is said elsewhere in *The Silmarillion* that in the first days of the Elves *Ingwë* "entered into Valinor and sits at the feet of the Powers, and all Elves revere his name; but he came never back, nor looked again upon Middle-earth." (S:53).

This does not mean, however, that Tolkien had lost his interest in Irish mythology. On the contrary, he intended to incorporate material from the *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, the Book of Invasions, into his story *The Lost Road* in 1937. After completing the first four chapters, Tolkien decided that the book should be restructured so that the Númenórean tale of Elendil and Herendil should be the last rather than the first in the series of adventures of Alboin and Audoin, the father-and-son time travellers, and in a list of ideas for the

various tales that would be told prior to that of Númenor is "a Tuatha-de-Danaan story, or Tir-nan-Og" (LR:77). In an outline of the chapters in the restructured work, as well as in other rough notes, we learn that Chapter III would tell of *Éilwíne* and *Eadwíne*, the Anglo-Saxon incarnations of the father and son, who sailed into the west and gained a vision of *Eressëa*. Afterwards they returned east to settle in Ireland, and this was to lead to the story of *Fintan*, which would be the subject of Chapter IV, described in the outline as "the Irish legend of Tuatha-de-Danaan — and oldest man in the world" (LR:78). In Irish myth, *Fintan* was the consort of *Cesair*, who, as we have previously mentioned, was the granddaughter of Noah and the leader of the first ill-fated invasion of Ireland. *Fintan* survived the Biblical Flood by falling into a deep sleep, and in the form of a salmon, an eagle, and finally a hawk, he witnessed all the subsequent invasions of Ireland, becoming in the process the oldest and wisest man in the world.³⁵

Having identified and explored some Celtic and pre-Celtic sources for Tolkien's languages and mythology with, we hope, some success, it may seem odd that we should now feel the need to justify undertaking the expedition in the first place. But in fact Tolkien did not approve of attempts to discover and examine an author's sources, which he felt tended to detract from, rather than enhance, an appreciation of a literary work on its own merits. In his 1938 essay "On Fairy-stories," Tolkien makes just this point via a metaphor which he borrowed from the writings of Sir George Dasent, but for which he was careful to provide a different and characteristic meaning (OFS:19-20):

In Dasent's words I would say: 'We must be satisfied with the soup that is set before us, and not desire to see the bones of the ox out of which it has been boiled.' Though, oddly enough, Dasent by 'the soup' meant a mishmash of bogus pre-history founded on the early surmises of Comparative Philology; and by 'desire to see the bones' he meant a demand to see the workings and the proofs that led to these theories. By 'the soup' I mean the story as it is served up by its author or teller, and by 'the bones' its sources or material — even when (by rare luck) those can with certainty be discovered.

And even when, we must suppose, the sources and materials are identified by the author.

Just two years earlier, in his landmark essay "Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics," Tolkien had written a parable that offers the same admonition against source-seeking even more forcefully (MC:7-8):

A man inherited a field in which was an accumulation of old stone, part of an older hall. Of the old stone some had already been used in building the house in which he actually lived, not far from the old house of his fathers. Of the rest he took some and built a tower. But his friends coming perceived at once (without troubling to climb the steps) that these stones had formerly belonged to a more ancient building. So they pushed the tower over, with no little labour, in order to look for hidden carvings and inscriptions, or to

discover whence the man's distant forefathers had obtained their building material. Some suspecting a deposit of coal under the soil began to dig for it, and forgot even the stones. They all said: 'This tower is most interesting.' But they also said (after pushing it over): 'What a muddle it is in!' And even the man's own descendants, who might have been expected to consider what he had been about, were heard to murmur: 'He is such an odd fellow! Imagine his using these old stones just to build a nonsensical tower! Why did he not restore the old house? He had no sense of proportion.' But from the top of that tower the man had been able to look out upon the sea.

Though Tolkien was speaking of the Beowulf-poet and the rough practices and criticisms to which his work had been subjected, the words unfortunately apply with depressing accuracy to the critical reception of Tolkien's own works, save that modern criticism delights solely in toppling the tower, and cares not a whit for the stones.

In circumventing Tolkien's own admonition against examining an author's sources, it might be supposed that he would have numbered the present authors among those who would push over a tower to examine its stones. But it is our belief that Tolkien would in fact have approved of our efforts: for rather than overthrow a tower to get at its stones, we have taken an ancient stone, *and*, and used it to reconstruct the shining Tower of Isil Inwë, from which the Lord of the Light-elves once looked out to see the starlight on the Western Seas.



We would like to thank Alexei Kondratiev, who provided us with much helpful information on the legend of Ith, as well as illuminating the possible etymological connections of that name.

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Notes

- Other Gaelic borrowings cited include *krás* 'dish', *niol* 'darkness', and *lind* 'well water'. The English borrowing *tuia* also appears in *Vala-ript* 'Welsh-stuff' and *Volksom sverdm* 'Welsh swords.'
- In his discussion of the common motif of dog nomenclature in Irish literature (*Celtic Britain*, p. 260), John Rhys notes that although the name *Macbeth* was sometimes interpreted as 'Son of Life' (cf. *Óir. beithu 'life'*, *Mod. Ir. beithu*), the actual meaning was probably 'Son of Beth', Beth being a pre-Celtic dog-totem or dog divinity. The name of the dog-totem Beth also appears in the name *Maibeth* 'Slave of Beth.'
- Cf. Wynne and Hostetter, "Still at Large There Were Giants" (*Vinyar Tengwar* 21, pp. 14-20) and "The Mabingogion and Middle-earth", Part 1, by Donald O'Brien (*Beyond Bree*, Oct. 1991, pp. 5-7).

4. Sir John Rhys was born in 1840 to a family of farm laborers of humble means in the uplands of Cardiganshire, Wales. His early interest in grammar is said to have been encouraged by a local weaver, and through the patronage of two parsons he was able to leave his job as an elementary school teacher and pursue his interest in comparative philology, winning scholarships to Oxford and eventually a Merton Fellowship. Distinguishing himself with pioneering achievements in Celtic philology, he was the first appointee to the Chair of Celtic at Oxford upon its creation in 1877 and he was elected Principal of Jesus College in 1895. Rhys became something of a folk hero in his native Wales through such popular works as his *Lectures on Welsh Philology* (1877), the aforementioned *Celtic Britain* (published in 1882, just ten years before Tolkien's birth), and *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx* (1901), a classic of comparative and preservational folklore. He died in 1916, the same year in which Tolkien married Edith Bratt and served in the Battle of the Somme, and no more than one year before Tolkien began writing *The Book of Lost Tales*.
5. Tolkien's characterization of Rhys' *Celtic Britain* as "a small book (professionally for the young)" and Vigfusson's description of it as a "fresh and charming little book" are echoed by Rhys himself (p.iii):
- These are the days of little books, and when the author was asked to add one to their number, he accepted the invitation with the jaunty simplicity of an inexperienced hand, thinking that it could not give him much trouble to expand or otherwise modify the account given of early Britain in larger works....
- When we consider the books that appeal to the youth of today, it is depressing to note that the "small book (professionally for the young)" which Tolkien read as an 8-year-old consists of over 300 densely-set pages and eschews neither etymological discussions, untranslated Latin passages, nor untranslated Greek words.
6. Cormac mac Cuilennáin (d. 908) was the "king bishop" of Cashel, capital of Munster province. Cormac's *Glossary* also notes that the Irish had two fortresses, apparently in modern-day Cornwall, which were called *dind map Lethain* and *dun maic Liathan*, apparently named for the *Uí Liatháin*, the Sons of *Liathan*, a south-east Irish tribe that, according to a tradition dating back to at least the eighth century, was driven out of Ireland to settle in south-west Wales. The Sons of Liethan were apparently not considered good neighbors, since Nennius' ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* mentions that they were subsequently driven out of Wales, indeed out of 'all British districts' (Laing, pp.166-70). In this connection it is interesting to note that the Irish word for Brittany is *Letha*, cognate with Gaulish *Letauia* and Welsh *Llydaw* (Pedersen, 1:60). Could the tribal name *Liethan* and/or Irish *Letha*, Welsh *Llydaw* 'Brittany' have anything to do with Tolkien's early names *Lethien* / *Liethian* and *Luthany* for Britain? (cf. LT2:300, 330)
7. Rhys continues, noting that "should it turn out that those who without hesitation call our Ivernians Iberians, and bring them into relationship with the Basque-speaking people of France and Spain, are right in doing so, one could not at all wonder that Cormac considered the Ivernian a dark speech." Basque, like Finnish, is one of the few non-Indo-European languages spoken in Europe. As Mario Pei notes (*The Story of Language*, p. 413).
- The Basque language enjoys a tradition for difficulty which the Basques themselves do nothing to dispel. They have even created a legend to the effect that at one time the devil spent seven years trying to learn their tongue so that he could tempt them, but finally had to give up in disgust; but there is another story to the effect that Basque is used by the devil to fight with his mother-in-law.
8. But see note 17 below.
9. Given the bases GONDOD, GONDO- 'stone' in the *Etymologies* of c. 1937, it is curious that the Sindarin name *Gondor* does not supplant the earlier form *Onдор* (itself a replacement of *Ond* "Stone"; cf. TI:493) until 1942 (Feb. 9, to be precise; cf. TI:423), quite late in the composition of *The Lord of the Rings*. *Onдор* may be the Quenya form of the name (cf. *Q Andor* 'The Land of Gift' [LR:417, S:315] and *Endor* 'Middle-earth' [L:384, S:357]) which Tolkien subsequently decided should rather have a Sindarin form.
10. The lack of initial *g*- in *S onod* is, however, problematic; the word may be a borrowing from Swenya. We offer an alternate explanation of the etymology of *S onod* 'Ent' in our article 'Still at Large There Were Giants', Part 2 (VT22:16-17).
11. Among the most notable occurrences are:
- Maxims II*, lines 1-3:
- Ceastra boðð feorran gesýne,
orðanc enta geweorc, þá þe on bysse eorðan syndon,
wættlic weallstāna geweorc.*
- Cities are visible from afar, the skillful work of ents, those that are on this earth, the wondrous work of wall-stones.
- The Wanderer*, lines 85-87:
- Ŷpde swā þīne eardgeard ælda Scyppend
oppæt burgwara braehtma læse
eald enta geweorc idlu stōdon.*
- Thus the Creator of men destroyed this dwelling place until bereft of the sounds of inhabitants the old work of ents stood idle.
- Beowulf*, lines 2717-19:
- seah on enta geweorc,
hū ðā stān-bogan stapulum fæste
ēce eorð-reced innan healde.*
- he saw into the ent's work, how the stone arches fixed by pillars ever supported the cavern from within.
- The Ruin*, lines 1-2:
- Wrættlic is þes wealstān, unyrðe gebræcon;
burgstede burston, brosnað enta geweorc.*
- Wondrous is this wall-stone, broken by fate; the ruined city, the crumbling work of ents.
- Andreas*, lines 1492-95:
- Hē be wealle geseah wundrum fæste
under sætwange swēras unlytle,
stapulas standan, storme bedrifene,
eald enta geweorc.*
- By the wall he saw wondrously fast under the hall columns that were not small, pillars standing, assailed by storms, the old work of ents.
- Beowulf*, lines 2773-4:
- Da ic on hlāwe gefrægn hord rēafian,
eald enta geweorc.*
- Then in the mound, as I have heard, he rifled the hoard, the old work of ents.
12. There is a hint of a much stronger connection between Ents and stone. Just before Treebeard makes his boast, he says (II:89):
- You do not know, perhaps, how strong we are. Maybe you have heard of Trolls? They are mighty strong. But Trolls are only counterfeits, made by the Enemy in the Great Darkness, in mockery of Ents, as Orcs were of Elves. We are stronger than Trolls. We are made of the bones of the earth.
- By "bones of the earth", could Tolkien mean stone? Note that Trolls, mockeries of Ents, turn to stone when exposed to sunlight.
13. Claudius Ptolemaeus (fl. A.D. 127-48), Greek astronomer, mathematician, and geographer. His greatest work, the *Almagest*, was a canonical text on

- astronomy. The ancient heliocentric model of the universe which the *Almagest* enshrines is often called the Ptolemaic system. His *Geography* in eight books, although hardly free from error, is considered the most accurate of ancient geographical works. It is a most unusual atlas, in that it most likely did not originally contain any maps; rather, Ptolemy lists the longitude and latitude of about 8,000 locations, and provides detailed instructions for creating a map based on these coordinates.
14. In the *Gnomish Lexicon* the corresponding Qenya forms are given as *Iuerin* or *Iuerindor* (LT:2:344).
 15. The same process of assimilation clearly accounts for such Elvish names as *Bablon* 'Babylon', *Ninwi* 'Nineveh', *Trui* 'Troy', and *Rûm* 'Rome' (LT:2:203) and *Angali*, *Euti*, *Saksani*, and *Firisandi* 'Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and Frisians' (LT:2:306).
 16. Cf. IE **pater* 'father' > *Olr. athar*.
 17. The root *rwi* and its derivatives have not been published, but appear in the original manuscript of the *Qenya Lexicon*. The QL also has a root *rwio* 'plum, (berry), cherry', which an accompanying note indicates may be related to *rwi*. Derivatives of *rwio* include *Q. piosenna* 'holly' and *piukka* 'blackberry', clearly cognate with Gnomish *piog* 'berry' (cf. LT:2:347 s.v. *Silpion*). Noting the associations of fatness, richness, vitality, and goodness found in the reflexes of *rwi*, which would thus seem to have the underlying sense 'fertility', it is interesting to return to Rhys' citation of Cormac's Ivernian word *ferm* 'any good thing' and wonder if there is not a similar connection between this word and *Ivernia* 'fertile land.' An anecdote in Rhys' *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx* (p.204) shows that a similar association between greenness and fertility is made in the Welsh folk-etymology of *Iwerdon* 'Ireland', the Welsh form of *Ivernia*, as *Y Werdon* 'the Green Land':
From Llannrwst I went up to see the bard and antiquary, Mr. Gethan Jones. His house was prettily situated on the hillside on the left of the road as you approach the village of Penmachno. I was sorry to find that his memory had been considerably impaired by a paralytic stroke from which he had suffered not long before. However, from his room he pointed out to me a spot on the other side of the Machno, called *Y Werdon*, which means 'The Green Land,' or more literally, 'The Greenery,' so to say. It was well known for its green, grassy fairy rings, formerly frequented by the *Tylwyth Teg* [i.e. the 'Fair Folk', Elves]; and he said he could distinguish some of the rings even then from where he stood. The *Werdon* is on the Bennar, and the Bennar is the high ground between Penmachno and Dolwyddelan. The spot in question is on the part nearest to the Conwy Falls. This name, *Y Werdon*, is liable to be confounded with *Iwerdon*, 'Ireland,' which is commonly treated as if it began with the definite article, so that it is made into *Y Werdon* and *Werdon*.
 18. For more on *Ermon* and his mythological and cross-etymological implications, cf. Hostetter and Smith, "A Mythology for England" (forthcoming).
 19. The name *Ith* more often appears as *Ith* with a long vowel, and this will be the form used in this article.
 20. Other sources say that *Ith* was Miled's grandfather, or his nephew.
 21. Cf. T. W. Rolleston's *Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race*, p. 130.
 22. *Ibid.*
 23. The location of the Otherworld was elusive. Besides "Spain," some said it lay in Ireland under the *siðhe*-mounds. Others said it was *Tír fo Thuinn* 'the Land under the Wave', or that it was an island in the West, *Hy-Brasil*, a name later applied to Brazil in South America. Both the Greek biographer Plutarch (c. 46-120 A.D.) and the Byzantine historian Procopius (6th century A.D.) refer to a legend that the Land of the Dead lay in the westernmost part of Great Britain, separated from the east by an impassable wall. Cf. *Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race*, p. 131.
 24. The concept that the spirits of dead Elves were eventually "born into their children" recalls the Celtic view of the afterlife, which included a similar doctrine. Peter Berresford Ellis briefly describes it in his *Dictionary of Irish Mythology* (p. 193):
The Celts were one of the first European peoples to evolve a doctrine of immortality of the soul. Their basic belief was that death was only a changing of place and that life went on with

all its forms and goods in another world, a world of the dead which gave up living souls to this world. A constant exchange of souls was always taking place between the two worlds; death in this world brought a soul to the Otherworld and death in the Otherworld brought a soul to this world.

25. This account of the fate of dead Men in the *Lost Tales* is utterly different from that in *The Silmarillion*. In the later work, the souls of dead Elves still go to the halls of Mandos: "dying they are gathered to the halls of Mandos in Valinor, whence they may in time return." (S:42) But it is said of Men that they "dwell only a short space in the world alive, and are not bound to it, and depart soon whither the Elves know not." (*ibid.*) At the end of the tale of Beren and Lúthien it is said that "the spirit of Beren at her bidding tarried in the halls of Mandos, unwilling to leave the world, until Lúthien came to say her last farewell upon the dim shores of the Outer Sea, whence Men that die set out never to return." (S:186)
26. It is possible on the basis of *ith* 'fat' and *ith* 'corn' to interpret *Ith* as a crop or fertility god. In this regard it is interesting to note that Isil Inwë's second name *Inwë* also appears to be connected with a fertility god. In QL *Inwë* is given as a derivative of the root *ni* 'small' (LT:1:256), and in *The Götting of Lost Play* as first written, this name was *Ing* (cf. LT:1:22). It has elsewhere been pointed out that Tolkien's *Ing* or *Ingwë* of the *Vanyar*, Lord of the *Calaquendi* 'Light-elves' who dwell in *Eldamar* 'Elvenhome', is obviously intended to be seen as the ultimate, "true" source of the Norse god *Yngvi Freyr* of the *Vanir*, Lord of the *Ljós-alfar* 'Light-elves' who dwell in *Alfheim* 'Elf-home'; and that Tolkien seems to have intended a connection between his *Ing* and the *Ing* of Anglo-Saxon legend, whom Tolkien identifies with King Sheaf, a Germanic fertility figure (cf. Hostetter and Smith, "A Mythology for England" [forthcoming], LT:2:304-5, and LR:95). *Yngvi Freyr*, with whom the Anglo-Saxons' *Ing* is clearly cognate, is likewise a god of fertility, as well as of sunshine, peace, and prosperity. It may be then, that Tolkien's *Isil Inwë* is a compounding of two fertility gods, Irish *Ith* and Germanic *Ing* or *Yngvi*.
27. *ISI* is probably a form of the root *sil*, whence *Sil* 'Moon' and a number of other derivatives "all with meanings of whiteness or white light" (LT:1:265).
28. The gloss 'white' is not included in the published citation of *iska* in LT:1:256, but it appears in the original manuscript of QL.
29. The masculine suffix *-il* appears to be a shortened form of the more common masculine ending *-ילו, -ildo*, seen in such names as *Tevildo* "the Hater" (< *teve-* 'to hate', LT:1:268), *Tamildo* "the Smelter, the Smith", a name of Aulë (< *TAMA* 'smelt, forge', LT:1:250).
30. Also cf. the name of Turgon's daughter *Iefin*, glossed as 'snow-locks' or 'exceeding-cunning' (LT:2:344).
31. The name *Ithel* occurs as the name of a king in an eighth century Welsh inscription cited by Rhys in *Celtic Britain*, p. 249: "In the name of God the highest begins the cross of the Saviour, which Samson, the abbot, prepared for his own soul and for that of Ithel, the king." In *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx* (p. 203), Rhys says that *Ithel* derives from *had-hael*, the first element of which is *iud* 'battle, fight'; he does not translate the second element, but perhaps the word is Welsh *hael* 'generous, liberal.' According to Rhys, *iud* is also the first element in *Idris* (< *iud-rys* 'war-champion'), the name of a mythological Welsh giant. There are some difficulties with this derivation of *Idris*, and the first element *Id-* in the name could possibly be a cognate of *Ith*. The myth of *Idris* bears some resemblance to that of *Ith*, for *Idris* was an Otherworldly figure with a penchant for studying the stars, and he is said to have built an observatory for this purpose atop the Welsh mountain bearing his name, *Cader Idris*.
32. Ms. Tolkien 51(XII), fol. 12v.
33. There was also an Arch of Inwë in Gondolin (cf. LT:1:182).

Continued on page 65



(xv) for their "assistance," and since Montesi and the other two are identified as members of the English Department at St. Louis University, this compiler assumes Weeks' book is a publication of his doctoral dissertation; if this is so, then the director of the dissertation and the university have not helped their reputations by allowing a student to make such errors in his work and by accepting such a flawed work as meriting a doctoral degree. [JRC]

Williams, Charles. *Arthurian Poets* [series title]: *Charles Williams*. Ed. and intro. David Lewellyn Dodds. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1991. [As a hardback, this volume is *Arthurian Studies XXIV*.] [Lewis 1, 3, 6, 149-150, 293nn, 295n.]

Contents by Williams: (1) *Taliessin through Logres* (19-93); (2) *The Region of the Summer Stars* (95-145); (3) twenty-four of the forty-nine poems in the early sequence "The Advent of Galahad," not previously collected as a series and in part previously unpublished (163-251); (4) "Intermediate poems," being four poems written between poems of "The Advent of Galahad" and those of *Taliessin through Logres* (253-261); (5) "Poems after *Taliessin through Logres*," being one published poem and six substantial fragments (275-291).

Contents by others: (1) Lynton Lamb, a map of the Empire (a nude woman sketched over an outline map of Europe), which was on the endpapers of *Taliessin through Logres* (ii-iii and 306-07); (2) David Lewellyn Dodds, "General Introduction" (1-3), "Select Bibliography" (14-15), "Introduction to Uncollected and Unpublished Poems" (149-150), "Introduction to *The Advent of Galahad* [sic, italics] and Intermediate Poems" (151-161), "Introduction to Poems after *Taliessin through Logres*" (265-277), and "Sources and Acknowledgements" (299-302). Dodds gives an excellent historical background to Williams' writing of his Arthurian poems and discusses their ideas. Considering this a popular volume, Dodds promises "Scholarly editions of Williams' unpublished Arthurian works will follow" (150)—possibly he means the full "Advent of Galahad" cycle. At any rate, until these later editions appear, this volume is the basic collection of Williams' Arthurian poetry. [JRC]

Wynne, Patrick, Christopher Gilson, and Carl F. Hostetter. "The Bodeleian Declensions." *Vinyar Tengwar* 28 (1993): 8-34. [Tolkien]

Vinyar Tengwar continues its detailed examination of Tolkien's manuscripts from a linguistic point of view. The present article is a close examination of the earliest extant chart of Quenya noun declensions, written on the back of a page from a late draft of "Beowulf and the Critics," the essay from which "Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics" was derived. The chart, previously unpublished, is here transcribed and accompanied by a lengthy analysis. [WGH]

Notes to "Stone Towers" continued from page 55

34. Isil 'Moon' appears to have a different etymology than Inwë's fore-name *Isil* in the *Lost Tales*. In the *Etymologies*, contemporary with *The Lost Road*, *Isil* 'Moon' is said to derive from the base *niel-*, a variant of *sil-* 'shine silver', to which is added the intensive prefix *l-*: cf. LR:361, 385, 392. It is curious, however, that the silver tower of Isil Inwë seems to have a lunar reflex in the early poem *Why the Man in the Moon came down too soon*, published at Leeds in 1923, as well as in the *Lost Tales* themselves. In the poem, the Man in the Moon is said to live in a "pallid minaret / Dizzy and white at its lunar height / In a world of silver set." (LT:204) In his commentary on this poem Christopher Tolkien notes: "It seems very possible that the 'pallid minaret' reappears in the 'little white turret' which Uolë Kúvion [elvish name of the Man in the Moon in the *Lost Tales*] built on the Moon, 'where often he climbs and watches the heavens, or the world beneath.'" (LT:193) Uolë Kúvion's white tower, "where often he climbs and watches the heavens, or the world beneath" (LT:192-3), is a remarkable echo of both the tower of Ith, from which he observed the wide world, and the mountain-top observatory of Idris, from which he watched the stars (cf. note 31).
35. In an isolated note associated with this material, Tolkien mentions the "Oldest man in the world *Finntan*," and gives a page reference to the Finntan story in Magnus Maclean's *The Literature of the Celts*, published in 1906 (LR:82). This note also provides Finntan with a Quenya name, *Narkil* 'White Fire.' This translates *Finntan*, which contains Ir. *find* 'white' and *tene* 'fire.' The initial element in *Narkil* must be related to Q *nár* or *nárë* 'flame' (LR:374). The element meaning 'white' may be *-il*, since the ancient Elvish root *nil-* 'shine white or pale' (LR:358) became *-il-* in Quenya with the same loss of primitive initial **g-*. We have seen in Q *ondo* 'stone', derived from a primitive base *GONDO-*. By this same process *gil-* produced Q *Ilma* 'starlight' and *Ilmen* 'region above air where stars are.'

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