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THE HOBBIT.

The Lord of the Rings.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF
THE RING
THE TWO TOWERS.
THE RETURN OF
THE KING.

THE SONG OF TUOR.

"Then the magic drifted from me and that music
loosed its bands -
Far, far-off, conches calling - lo! I stood in the sweet
lands,
And the meadows were about me where the weep-
ing willows grew,
Where the long grass stirred beside me, and my
feet were drenched with dew.
Only the reeds were rustling, but a mist lay on the
streams.
Like a sea-roke drawn far inland, like a shred of
salt sea-dreams.
"Twas in the Land of Willows that I heard
th'unfathomed breath
Of the Horns of Ylmir calling - and shall hear them
till my death."

By J. R. R. Tolkien.
Published by Ballantine Books:

THE HOBBIT.

THE LORD OF THE RINGS.
The Fellowship of the Ring.
The Two Towers.
The Return of the King.

THE SILMARILLION.

UNFINISHED TALES.

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THE
SHAPING OF
MIDDLE-
EARTH.

The Quenta, The Ambarkanta,
and The Annals.

J. R. R. Tolkien.

A Del Rey(R) Book.
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This book brings the 'History of Middle-earth' to some time in the 1930s: the cosmographical work *Ambarkanta* and the earliest *Annals of Valinor* and *Annals of Beleriand*, while later than the *Quenta Noldorinwa* - the 'Silmarillion' version that was written, as I believe, in 1930 - cannot themselves be more precisely dated.

This is the stage at which my father had arrived when *The Hobbit* was written. Comparison of the *Quenta* with the published *Silmarillion* will show that the essential character of the work was now fully in being; in the shape and fall of sentences, even of whole passages, the one is constantly echoed in the other; and yet the published *Silmarillion* is between three and four times as long.

After the hasty 'Sketch of the Mythology' (chapter II in this book), the *Quenta Noldorinwa* was in fact the only complete version of 'The *Silmarillion*' that my father ever made. Towards the end of 1937 he interrupted work on a new version, *Quenta Silmarillion*, which extended to part way through the story of *Turin Turambar*, and began *The Lord of the Rings* (see *The Lays of Beleriand* pp. 364 - 7). When after many years he returned to the First Age, the vast extension of the world that had now come into being meant that the *Quenta Silmarillion*, which had been stopped in full flight, could not be taken up from where it fell; and though he undertook exceedingly complex revisions and enlargements of the earlier parts during the following years, he never achieved again a complete and coherent structure. Especially in its concluding chapters the *Quenta Noldorinwa* is thus one of the primary elements in the study of the work as a whole.

In the *Annals of Valinor* and the *Annals of Beleriand* are seen the beginnings of the chronological structure which was to become a central preoccupation. The *Annals* would develop into a separate 'tradition', parallel to and overlapping but distinct from 'The *Silmarillion*' proper, and (after intervening versions) emerging in the years following the completion of *The Lord of the Rings* in two chief works of the Matter of Middle-earth, the *Annals of Aman* and the *Grey Annals of Beleriand* (see pp. 310, 351). With the *Quenta* and with these earliest versions of the *Annals* I give the brief texts in Anglo-Saxon feigned to have been made by AElfwine (Eriol) from the works that he studied in Tol Eressea, the Lonely Isle.

The commentaries are largely concerned to relate geography, names, events, relationships and motives to what preceded and what followed; inevitably this entails a great deal of reference back to the previous books, and the text of the commentaries

is hardly enticing (though being in smaller print they can be readily distinguished from the original works). My object is to try to show, and not merely impressionistically, how Middle-earth and its history was built up gradually and delicately, and how a long series of small shifts or combinations would often lead to the emergence of new and unforeseen structures - as for example in the story of Gwindor of Nargothrond (p. 217).

The arrangement of the texts of the 'Sketch of the Mythology' and the Quenta, split into numbered sections comparable from one text to the other, is explained on p. 11. The earlier volumes in the series are referred to as I (The Book of Lost Tales Part I), II (The Book of Lost Tales Part II), and III (The Lays of Beleriand).*

The maps and diagrams in the book are reproduced with the permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and I thank the staff of the Department of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian for their assistance.

The fifth volume will contain my father's unfinished 'time-travel' story, The Lost Road, together with the earliest forms of the legend of Numenor, which were closely related to it; the Lhammas or Account of Tongues, Etymologies; and all the writings concerned with the First Age up to the time when The Lord of the Rings was begun.

(* Note that all page numbers refer to the hardcover Houghton Mifflin editions.)

I.

PROSE FRAGMENTS FOLLOWING THE LOST TALES.

Before giving the 'Sketch of the Mythology', the earliest form of the prose 'Silmarillion', there are some brief prose texts that can be conveniently collected here.

(i).

Among loose papers there is an early piece, soon abandoned, entitled Turlin and the Exiles of Gondolin. It will be seen that it relates closely to the beginning of the tale of The Fall of Gondolin (II. 149) but at the same time contains much that is new. That it was the beginning of a later version of the tale is clear at once from the name Mithrim, for this only replaced Asgon by emendation in the final text of The Fall of Gondolin (II. 202). This brief text reads as follows. At the first three occurrences of the name Turlin in the narrative (but not in the title) it was emended to Turgon; at the fourth and fifth Turgon was so written from the first. I give Turgon throughout.

'Then' said Ilfiniol son of Bronweg 'know that Ulmo Lord of Waters forgot never the sorrows of the Elfin kindreds beneath the power of Melko, but he might do little because of the anger of the other Gods who shut their hearts against the race of the Gnomes, and dwelt behind the veiled hills of Valinor heedless of the Outer World, so deep was their ruth and regret for the death of the Two Trees. Nor did any save Ulmo only dread the power of Melko that wrought ruin and sorrow over all the Earth; but Ulmo desired that Valinor should gather all its might to quench his evil ere it be too late, and him seemed that both purposes

might perchance be achieved if messengers from the Gnomes should win to Valinor and plead for pardon and for pity upon the Earth; for the love of Palurien and Orome her son for those wide realms did but slumber still. Yet hard and evil was the road from the Outer Earth to Valinor, and

the Gods themselves had meshed the ways with magic and veiled the encircling hills. Thus did Ulmo seek unceasingly to stir the Gnomes to send messengers unto Valinor, but Melko was cunning and very deep in wisdom, and unsleeping was his wariness in all things that touched the Elfin kindreds, and their messengers overcame not the perils and temptations of that longest and most evil of all roads, and many that dared to set forth were lost for ever.

Now tells the tale how Ulmo despaired that any of the Elfin race should surpass the dangers of the way, and of the deepest and the latest design that he then fashioned, and of those things which came of it.

In those days the greater part of the kindreds of Men dwelt after the Battle of Unnumbered Tears in that land of the North that has many names, but which the Elves of Kor have named Hisilome which is the Twilit Mist, and the Gnomes, who of the Elf-kin know it best, Dor-Lomin the Land of Shadows. A people mighty in numbers were there, dwelling about the wide pale waters of Mithrim the great lake that lies in those regions, and other folk named them Tunclin or folk of the Harp, for their joy was in the wild music and minstrelsy of the fells and woodlands, but they knew not and sang not of the sea. Now this folk came into those places after the dread battle, being too late summoned thither from afar, and they bore no stain of treachery against the Elfin kin; but indeed many among them clung to such friendship with the hidden Gnomes of the mountains and Dark Elves as might be still for the sorrow and mistrust born of those ruinous deeds in the Vale of Niniach. Turgon was a man of that folk, son of Peleg, son of Indor, son of [Ear >] Fengel who was their chief and hearing the summons had marched out of the deeps of the East with all his folk. But Turgon dwelt not much with his kindred, and

loved rather solitude and the friendship of the Elves whose tongues he knew, and he wandered alone about the long shores of Mithrim, now hunting in its woods, now making sudden music in the rocks upon his rugged harp of wood strung with the sinews of bears. But he sang not for the ears of Men, and many hearing the power of his rough songs came from afar to hearken to his harping; [?but] Turgon left his singing and departed to lonely places in the mountains.

Many strange things he learned there, broken tidings of far off things, and longing came upon him for deeper lore, but as yet his heart turned not from the long shores, and the pale waters of Mithrim in the mists. Yet was he not fated to dwell for ever in those places, for 'tis said that magic and destiny led him on a day to a cavernous opening in the rocks down which a hidden river flowed from Mithrim. And Turgon entered that cavern seeking to learn its secret, but having entered the waters of Mithrim drove him forward into the heart of the rock and he might not win back into the light. This men have said was not without the will of Ulmo, at whose prompting may be the Gnomes had fashioned that deep and hidden way. Then came the Gnomes to Turgon and guided him along the dark passages amid the mountains until he came out once more into the light.

The text ends here (though manuscript pages written at the same time continue on another subject, see (ii) below).

Turlin must have been a passing shift from Tuor (cf. the form Tur that appears in texts of *The Fall of Gondolin*, II. 148), and Turgon likewise; in the Tale Turgon is of course the name of the King of Gondolin. This curious passing transference of a primary name in the legends may be compared with the brief substitution of Celegorm for Thingol and Maglor for Beren in the Lay of Leithian (III. 159).

Particularly interesting is the account here of the origins of Tuor's people: they came out of the East to the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, but they came too late. This can hardly be

wholly unconnected with the coming of the Easterlings before the battle in the later story. The genealogy of Tuor (Turlin, Turgon) is here 'son of Peleg son of Indor son of Fengel'. In *The Fall of Gondolin* he is 'son of Peleg son of Indor' (II. 160); in the fragment of the *Lay of the Fall of Gondolin* he is the son of Fengel, and in associated notes Tuor is himself called Fengel (III. 145). His people are here the Tunglin, the folk of the Harp, whereas in *The Fall of Gondolin* (ibid.) he belongs to 'the house of the Swan of the sons of the Men of the North'.

Also noteworthy is the opening of the present text where Ulmo's desires and devisings are described: his unceasing attempts to persuade the Gnomes to send messengers to Valinor, his isolation from the other Valar, his wish that the power of Valinor should go against Melko in time. There does not appear to be any other mention of Ulmo's attempting to arouse the Gnomes to send messages to Valinor; and though his isolation in his pity for the Gnomes in the Great Lands appears strongly at the beginning of the tale of *The Hiding of Valinor* (g. 209), there Manwe and Varda beside Ulmo were opposed to the withdrawal of Valinor from the fate of 'the world'.

Lastly, 'the Vale of Niniach' must be the site of the Battle of Unnumbered Tears; cf. 'the Vale (Valley) of Weeping Waters' in the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* (I.230-40). Niniach never occurs again in this application, though the way by which Tuor went down to the sea came to be called *Cirith Ninniach*, the Rainbow Cleft.

(ii).

The manuscript *Turlin and the Exiles of Gondolin* continues (the paper and the handwriting are identical, and all were placed together) with a further text of great interest, since it represents the first step towards the later story of the coming of the Noldor to Middle-earth since the outlines for *Gilfanon's Tale* (g. 237 ff.). This was hastily pencilled and is in places difficult to make out.

Then Gelmir king of the Gnomes marshalled his unhappy folk and he said to them: 'We are come at last to the Great Lands and have set our feet upon the Earth, and not even Elf-wisdom may yet say what shall come of it; but the torment and the pain and the tears that we have borne in the way hither shall be sung in song and told in tale by all the folk of the Elfin race hereafter; yea and even among other children of Ior shall some remember it.'

Long time did the Gnome-folk dwell nigh those westward shores in the northern regions of the Earth; and their anguish was lessened. Some were there that fared far afield and gained knowledge of the lands about, and they sought ever to know whither Melko had fled, or where was hidden the gems and treasury of Valinor. [Struck out: Then did Gelmir marshal his hosts and three great armies had he, and Golfin his son was captain of the one, and Delin his son of a second, [Oleg >] Luthien his son of the third, but Gelmir was lord and king.] Thereafter did all the folk move onward to the East and somewhat South, and all the armies of Golfin and of Delin moved ahead unhampered. Now the ice melted, and the snow [?thinned], and the trees grew deep upon the hills, and their hearts knew comfort, till their harps and elfin pipes awoke once more. Then did the rocks ring with the sweet music of the Elves, and countless [?coming] of their many feet; new flowers sprang behind

those armies as they trod, for the earth was glad of the coming of the Gnomes, nor had the sun or the white moon yet seen fairer things in those places than their moving field of glinting spears and their goldwrought elfin armoury. But the women and the Gnome-maids and Gnome-children sang as they journeyed after, and no such clear song of hope have the lands heard since, yet was it sad and boding beside that singing that was heard upon [Kor >] the hill of Tun while the Two Trees blossomed still.

Of all those scouts and scattered hosts that went far ahead or upon either side of the marching Gnomes none were more eager or burnt with greater fire than Feanor the gem-smith and his seven sons; but nothing did they dis-

cover yet, and came the Gnomes at length unto that magic northern land of which tales often speak, and by reason of its dark woods and grey mountains and its deep mists the Gnomes named Dor Lomin land of shadows. There lies a lake, Mithrim whose mighty waters reflect a pale image of the encircling hills. Here did the Gnomes rest once more a great while, and Gelmir let build dwellings for the folk about the shores and shoreland woods, but there too be numbered and marshalled all his hosts both of spearmen, and bowmen, and of swordsmen, for no lack of arms did the Gnomes bring out of Valinor and the armouries of Makar to their war with Melko. And three great armies had Gelmir under his lordship, and Golfin his son was captain of one, and Delin his son of another, and Luthien (not that Luthien of the Roses who is of another and a later tale) of a third; and Golfin's might was in swordsmen, and Delin had more of those who bore the long... elfin spears, but Luthien's joy was in the number and... of his bowmen - and the bow has ever been the weapon wherein the Elf-kin has had the most wondrous skill. Now the colours of the Gnomes were gold and white in those ancient days in memory of the Two Trees, but Gelmir's standard bore upon a silver field a crown of gold, and each captain had a fair banner; and the sign of Golfin in those days was upon gold a silver sword, and of Delin a green beech leaf upon silver diapered with golden flowers, and of Luthien a golden swallow that winged through an azure field as it were the sky set with silver stars, and the sons of Feanor wrought that standard and those banners, and they shone by sunlight and by mist and by moonlight and by starless dark by the light of the Gnome-wrought gems that sewed them [sic].

Now it happened on a while that Feanor got him beyond to the hills that girt Dor Lomin in those parts [northward of >] beyond Artanor where these were open empty lands and treeless hills, and he had no small company and three of his sons were with him. Thus came they on a day nigh evening to a hilltop, and afar off descried a red light leaping in a vale open on that side that looked towards [?them].

Then Feanor wondered what this fire might be, and he and his folk marched in the still night swiftly thereto, so that ere dawn they looked down into that vale. There saw they an armed company no less than their own, and they sat around a mighty fire of wood. The most were asleep, but some few stirred, and Feanor stood then up and called in his clear voice so that the dark vale rang: 'Who be ye; men of the Gnomes or other what - say swiftly for 'tis best for [you to] know the children of Feanor compass you around.'

Then a great clamour broke forth in the vale and the folk of Feanor knew full soon that here were no elfin folk, by reason of their harsh voices and unlovely cries, and many arrows came winging in the dark towards that voice, but Feanor was no longer there. Swiftly had he gone and drawn

the most of his folk before the vale's mouth whence a stream issued forth tree-hung

Here the text ends abruptly and near the top of a new page; it is clear that no more was written.

The Noldorin house has still not emerged, but we have a king Gelmir of the Gnomes, with his sons Golfin, Delin, Luthien (the last emended from Oleg), captains of his three armies. There is no suggestion that Feanor and his sons were associated with these in any sort of close kinship. In the fragment of the Lay of the Fall of Gondolin (see III. 146-7) there appears - for the first time - Fingolfin, who steps into Finwe Noleme's place as the father of Turgon and Isfin, but is not the son of Finwe, rather of Gelmir. I have suggested there that this Gelmir, father of Golfin/Fingolfin, is to be identified with Finwe, father of Fingolfin in the alliterative poems and later; and it may be that the name Gelmir is formally connected with Fin-golma, which in the outlines-for Gilfanon's Tale is another name for Finwe Noleme g. 238-9, and see I. 263, entry Noleme). It is to be remembered that Finwe Noleme was not in the earliest legend the father of Feanor and was not slain by Melko in Valinor, but came to the Great Lands. - Of the other sons of Gelmir named in the present text, Delin and Luthien, there is no trace elsewhere.

It is certainly clear that Golfin here is the first appearance of

Fingolfin, and by the same token that this text preceded the abandoned beginning of the Lay of the Fall of Gondolin. On the other hand, the obscure story of the death of Feanor in the earliest outlines g. 238 - 9) has disappeared, and though the present text breaks off too soon for certainty it seems extremely probable that, had my father continued it a little further, we should have learned of Feanor's death in battle with the Orcs whom he and his companions had aroused in the valley where they were encamped. It may be, too, that we should have had an explanation of the puzzling lines of the Lay (III. 146):

'Twas the bent blades of the Glamhoth that drank
Fingolfin's life as he stood alone by Feanor.

We are in any case here still a long way from the story of the divided hosts and the treachery of Feanor.

The encampment of Mithrim (Asgon) is referred to already in the early outlines, but in the later of these there is mention g. 239) of the first devising of weapons by the Gnomes at this time, whereas in the present text they are said to have brought great store of arms 'out of Valinor and the armouries of Makar'. Here also appears the earliest form of the idea of the flowers springing beneath the marching feet of the Gnomish host.

A characteristic heraldry appears in the armies led by Gelmir's sons, all in gold and silver, in memory of the Two Trees - the banners made (curiously enough) by the sons of Feanor. In the 'Sketch of the Mythology' the banners of Fingolfin were in blue and silver, as they remained (p. 24).

The name Ior, which occurs at the beginning of the text in the expression 'among other children of Ior' (as opposed to 'the Elfin race') and seems therefore to refer to Iluvatar, occurs elsewhere only in a quite different reference: it is given in the early Gnomish dictionary as the equivalent of Qenya Ivare, 'the famous "piper of the sea" '.

(iii).

Thirdly and lastly, an isolated slip of paper contains a most curious trace of a stage in development between The Flight of the Noldoli in the Lost Tales and the 'Sketch of the Mythology'.

The Trees stand dark. The Plain is full of trouble. The Gnomes gather by torchlight in Tun or Cor; Feanor laments Buithwir (Felegron) [emended to (Feleor)] his father, bids Gnomes depart & seek Melko and their treasures - he longs for the Silmarils - Finweg & Fingolfin speak against him. The Gnomes shout and prepare to depart. The Solosimpi refuse: the wise words of Ethlon (Dimlint). Foamriders [?beaches]. The threats of Feanor to march to Cu nan Eilch. The arch, the lamplit quays; they seize the boats. One Gilfanon sees his mighty swanwinged swan-feather boat with md.oars [?going] & he k his sons run to the arch and threaten the Gnomes. The fight on the arch & Gilfanon's [?curse] ere they throw him into the waves. The Gnomes reach Fangros k repent - burn the boats.

Here Bruithwir (with the additional name Felegron > Feleor) is still the father of Feanor as in the Lost Tales; but Fingolfin and Finweg have emerged, and speak against Feanor (it is not clear whether Finwegh ere is Fingolfin's father (Finwe) or Fingolfin's son (later Fingon): see ILL 137 - 8, 146). Narrative features that were never taken up in the later development of 'The Silmarillion' here make their only appearance. What lay behind 'the wise words of Ethlon (Dimlint)' and 'the threats of Feanor to march to Cu nan Eilch' has now vanished without trace. The name Fangros appears once elsewhere, in the alliterative Children of Hurin, III. 31 line 631 (earlier Fangair), where there is a reference to a song, or songs, being sung

of the fight at Fangros, and Feanor's sons'
oath unbreakable

(the fight and the oath need not be in any way connected). But whatever happened at Fangros is lost beyond recall; and no-

where later is there any suggestion that the burning of the ships arose from repentance. In the Lost Tales g. 168) the Gnomes 'abandoned their stolen ships' when they made the passage of the Ice; Sorontur reported to Manwe (l. 177) that he had seen 'a fleet of white ships that drifted empty in the gales, and some were burning with bright fires', and Manwe 'knew thereby that the Noldoli were gone for ever and their ships burned or abandoned'.

Lastly, Gilfanon appears as an Elf of Alqualonde, one of those hurled by the Gnomes into the sea, though it is not said that he was drowned. Gilfanon of Tavrobel was a Gnome g. 174-5); and it seems virtually certain that the two Gilfanons were not the same. In that case it is most probable that the Elf of Tavrobel had ceased to be so named; though he had not, as I think, ceased to exist (see pp. 325-326).

II.

THE EARLIEST 'SILMARILLION'. (The 'Sketch of the Mythology').

I have earlier (III. 3) given an account of this text, but I repeat the essentials of it here. On the envelope containing the manuscript my father wrote at some later time:

Original 'Silmarillion'. Form orig [inally] composed
c. 1926-30 for R. W. Reynolds to explain background of
'alliterative version' of Turin & the Dragon: then in progress
(unfinished) (begun c. 1918).

The 'Sketch' represents a new starting-point in the history of 'The Silmarillion', for while it is a quite brief synopsis, the further written development of the prose form proceeded from

it in a direct line. It is clear from details that need not be repeated here that it was originally written in 1926 (after the Lay of the Children of Hurin had been abandoned, III. 3); but it was afterwards revised, in places very heavily, and this makes it a difficult text to present in a way that is both accurate and readily comprehensible. The method I have adopted is to give the text exactly as it was first written (apart from a very few slight alterations of expression in no way affecting the narrative, which are adopted silently into the text), but to break it up into short sections, following each with notes giving the later changes made in that section. I must emphasize that there is no manuscript warrant for the 19 divisions so made: it is purely a matter of convenience of presentation. This method has certain advantages: the later changes can be readily compared with the original text immediately preceding; and since the following version of 'The Silmarillion', the Quenta, has been treated in the same way and divided into corresponding numbered sections, passages of the one can be easily related to those in the other.

The later changes are referenced by numbers that begin with 1 in each section. The commentary follows at the end of the complete text, and is related to the numbered sections.

Sketch of the mythology with especial reference to the
'Children of Hurin'

1.

After the despatch of the Nine Valar for the governance of the world Morgoth (Demon of Dark) rebels against the overlordship of Manwe, overthrows the lamps set up to illumine the world, and floods the isle where the Valar (or Gods) dwell. He fortifies a palace of dungeons in the North. The Valar remove to the uttermost West, bordered by the Outer Seas and the final Wall, and eastward by the towering Mountains of Valinor which the Gods built. In Valinor they gather all light and beautiful things, and build their mansions, gardens, and city, but Manwe and his wife Bridhil have halls upon the highest mountain (Timbrenting or Tindbrenting in English, Tengwethil in Gnomish, Taniquetil in Elfin) whence they can see across the world to the dark East. Ifan Belaurin(1) plants the Two Trees in the middle of the plain of Valinor outside the gates of the city of Valmar. They grow under her songs, and one has dark green leaves with shining silver beneath, and white blossoms like the cherry from which a dew of silver light falls; the other has golden-edged leaves of young green like the beech and yellow blossom like the hanging blossoms of laburnum which give out heat and blazing light. Each tree waxes for seven hours to full glory and then wanes for seven; twice a day therefore comes a time of softer light when each tree is faint and their light is mingled.

*

1. Yavanna Palurien added in the margin.
2. At both occurrences of seven in this sentence my father first wrote six, but changed it in the act of writing the manuscript.

2.

The Outer Lands are in darkness. The growth of things was checked when Morgoth quenched the lamps. There are forests of darkness, of yew and fir and ivy. There Orome sometimes hunts, but in the North Morgoth and his demonic broods (Balrogs) and the Orcs (Goblins, also called Glamhoth or people of hate) hold sway. Bridhil looks on the darkness and is moved, and taking all the hoarded light of Silpion (the white tree) she makes and strews the stars. At the making of the stars the children of Earth awake -

the Eldar (or Elves). They are found by Orome dwelling by the star-lit pool (Cuivienen, water of awakening) in the East. He rides home to Valinor filled with their beauty and tells the Valar, who are reminded of their duty to the Earth, since they came thither knowing that their office was to govern it for the two races of Earth who should after come each in appointed time. There follows an expedition to the fortress of the North (Angband, Iron-hell), but this is now too strong for them to destroy. Morgoth is nonetheless taken captive, and consigned to the halls of Mandos who dwelt in the North of Valinor.

The Eldalie (people of the Elves) are invited to Valinor for fear of the evil things of Morgoth that still wandered in the dark. A great march is made by the Eldar from the East led by Orome on his white horse. The Eldar are divided into three hosts, one under Ingwe (Ing) after called the Quendi (or Elves proper, or Light-elves), one under Finwe (Finn) after called the Noldoli (Gnomes or Deep-elves), one under Elwe (Elu) after called the Teleri (Sea-elves, or Solosimpi, the Shoreland Pipers or Foamriders). Many of them are lost upon the march and wander in the woods of the world, becoming after the various hosts of Ilkorindi (Elves who never dwelt in Cor in Valinor). The chief of these was Thingol, who heard Melian and her nightingales

singing and was enchanted and fell asleep for an age. Melian was one of the divine maidens of the Vala Lorien who sometimes wandered into the outer world. Melian and Thingol became Queen and King of woodland Elves in Doriath, living in a hall called the Thousand Caves.

The other Elves came to the ultimate shores of the West. In the North these in those days sloped westward in the North until only a narrow sea divided them from the land of the Gods, and this narrow sea was filled with grinding ice. But at the point to which the Elf-hosts came a wide dark sea stretched west.

There were two Valar of the Sea. Ulmo (Ylmir), the mightiest of all Valar next to Manwe, was lord of all waters, but dwelt often in Valinor, or in the 'Outer Seas'. Osse and the lady Oin,⁽¹⁾ whose tresses lay through all the sea, loved rather the seas of the world that washed the shores beneath the Mountains of Valinor. Ylmir uprooted the half-sunk island where the Valar had first dwelt, and embarking on it the Noldoli and Qendi, who arrived first, bore them to Valinor. The Teleri dwelt some time by the shores of the sea awaiting him, and hence their love of it. While they were being also transported by Ylmir, Osse in jealousy and out of love for their singing chained the island to the sea-bottom far out in the Bay of Faerie whence the Mountains of Valinor could dimly be seen. No other land was near it, and it was called the Lonely Isle. There the Teleri dwelt a long age becoming different in tongue, and learning strange music of Osse, who made the sea-birds for their delight.

The Gods gave a home in Valinor to the other Eldar. Because they longed even among the Tree-lit gardens of Valinor for a glimpse of the stars, a gap was made in the encircling mountains, and there in a deep valley a green hill, Cor, was built. This was lit from the West by the Trees, to the East it looked out onto the Bay of Faerie and the Lonely Isle, and beyond to the Shadowy Seas. Thus

some of the blessed light of Valinor filtered into the Outer Lands, and falling on the Lonely Isle caused its western shores to grow green and fair.

On the top of Cor the city of the Elves was built and called Tun. The Qendi became most beloved by Manwe and Bridhil, the Noldoli by Aule (the Smith) and Mandos the wise. The Noldoli invented gems and made them in

countless numbers, filling all Tun with them, and all the halls of the Gods'

The greatest in skill and magic of the Noldoli was Finn's second son Feanor. (His elder son Fingolfin' whose son was Finnweg comes into the tale later.) He contrived three jewels (Silmarils) wherein a living fire combined in the light of the Two Trees was set, they shone of their own light, impure hands were burned by them.

The Teleri seeing afar the light of Valinor were torn between desire to rejoin their kindred and to dwell by the sea. Ylmir taught them craft of boat-building. Osse yielding gave them swans, and harnessing many swans to their boats they sailed to Valinor, and dwelt there on the shores where they could see the light of the Trees, and go to Valmar if they wished, but could sail and dance in the waters touched to light by the radiance that came out past Cor. The other Eldar gave them many gems, especially opals and diamonds and other pale crystals which were strewn upon the beaches of the Bay of Faerie. They themselves invented pearls. Their chief town was Swanhaven upon the shores northward of the pass of Cor.

*

1. Uinen pencilled against Oin.
2. The following passage was afterwards added here:

Since the Gnomes or Noldoli afterwards came back into the &eat Lands, and these tales deal mostly with them, it may here be said that Lord or King of the Noldoli was Finn. His sons were Feanor, Fingolfin, and Finrod. Of whom Feanor was the most skillful, the deepest in lore, Fingolfin the mightiest and most valiant, Finrod the

fairest, and the most wisehearted and gentle. The seven sons of Feanor were Maidros the tall; Maglor a musician and mighty singer whose voice carried far over hill and sea; Curufin the crafty who inherited most of his father's skill; Celegorm the fair; Crantbir the dark; and Damrod and Diriel who after were great hunters. The sons of Fingolfin were Finweg who was after the king of the Noldoli in the North of the world, and Turgon of Gondolin; and his daughter was Isfin the white. The sons of Finrod were Orodreth, Felagoth, Anrod, and Egnor.

In the last sentence Felagoth > Felagund, and Orodeth moved to stand after Felagund.

3. Finn's second son Feanor and His elder son Fingolfin > Finn's elder son Feanor and His second son Fingolfin (an early change, quite possibly made at the time of the writing of the manuscript).

4.

The Gods were now beguiled by Morgoth, who having passed seven ages in the prisons of Mandos in gradually lightened pain came before the conclave of the Gods in due course. He looks with greed and malice upon the Eldar, who also sit there about the knees of the Gods, and lusts especially after the jewels. He dissembles his hatred and desire for revenge. He is allowed a humble dwelling in Valinor, and after a while goes &eely about Valinor, only Ylmir foreboding ill, while Tulcas the strong who first captured him watches him. Morgoth helps the Eldar in many deeds, but slowly poisons their peace with lies.

He suggests that the Gods brought them to Valinor out of jealousy, for fear their marvellous skill, and magic, and beauty, should grow too strong for them outside in the world. The Qendi and Teleri are little moved, but the Noldoli, the wisest of the Elves, become affected. They begin at whiles to murmur against the Gods and their kindred; they are filled with vanity of their skill.'

Most of all does Morgoth fan the flames of the heart of Feanor, but all the while he lusts for the immortal Silmarils, although Feanor has cursed for ever anyone, God or Elf or mortal that shall come hereafter, who touches them. Morgoth lying tells Feanor that Fingolfin and his son

Finnweg are plotting to usurp the leadership of the Gnomes from Feanor and his sons, and to gain the Silmarils. A quarrel breaks out between the sons of Finn. Feanor is summoned before the Gods, and the lies of Morgoth laid bare. Feanor is banished from Tun, and with him goes Finn who loves Feanor best of his sons, and many of the Gnomes. They build a treasury Northward in Valinor in the hills near Mandos' halls. Fingolfin rules the Gnomes that are left in Tun. Thus Morgoth's words seem justified and the bitterness he sowed goes on after his words are disproved.

Tulcas is sent to put Morgoth in chains once more, but he escapes through the pass of Cor into the dark region beneath the feet of Timbrething called Arvalin, where the shadow is thickest in all the world. There he finds Ungoliant, Gloomweaver, who dwells in a cleft of the mountains, and sucks up light or shining things to spin them out again in webs of black and choking darkness, fog, and gloom. With her he plots revenge. Only a terrible reward will bring her to dare the dangers of Valinor or the sight of the Gods. She weaves a dense gloom about her to protect her and swings on cords from pinnacle to pinnacle till she has scaled the highest peak of the mountains in the south of Valinor (little guarded because of their height and their distance from the old fortress of Morgoth). She makes a ladder that Morgoth can scale. They creep into Valinor. Morgoth stabs the Trees and Ungoliant sucks up their juices, belching forth clouds of blackness. The Trees succumb slowly to the poisoned sword, and to the venomous lips of Ungoliant.

The Gods are dismayed by a twilight at midday, and vapours of black float in about the ways of the city. They are too late. The Trees die while they wail about them. But Tulcas and Orome and many others hunt on horseback in the gathering gloom for Morgoth. Wherever Morgoth goes there the confusing darkness is greatest owing to the webs of Ungoliant. Gnomes from the treasury of Finn come in and report that Morgoth is assisted by a spider of darkness. They had seen them making for the North. Morgoth had

stayed his flight at the Treasury, slain Finn and many of his men, and carried off the Silmarils and a vast hoard of the most splendid jewels of the Elves.

In the meanwhile Morgoth escapes by Ungoliant's aid northward and crosses the Grinding Ice. When he has regained the northern regions of the world Ungoliant summons him to pay the other half of her reward. The first half was the sap of the Trees of Light. Now she claims one half of the jewels. Morgoth yields them up and she devours them. She is now become monstrous, but he will not give her any share in the Silmarils. She enmeshes him in a black web, but he is rescued by the Balrogs with whips of flame, and the hosts of the Orcs; and Ungoliant goes away into the uttermost South.

Morgoth returns to Angband, and his power and the numbers of his demons and Orcs becomes countless. He forges an iron crown and sets therein the Silmarils, though his hands are burned black by them, and he is never again free from the pain of the burning. The crown he never leaves off for a moment, and he never leaves the deep dungeons of his fortress, governing his vast armies from his deep throne.

1. Added here:

which Morgoth flatters. The Gods knew also of the coming of mortals or Men that was to be. They had not yet told the Elves, for the time was not near, nor explained what was to be the realm of each race, and their relations. Morgoth tells of Men, and suggests that the Gods are keeping the Elves captive, so that weaker Men shall be controlled more easily by the Gods, and the Elves defrauded of their kingdoms.

This was an early addition, probably not materially later than the writing of the manuscript.

5.

When it became clear that Morgoth had escaped the Gods assemble about the dead Trees and sit in the darkness stricken and dumb for a long while, caring about nothing. The day which Morgoth chose for his attack was a day of festival throughout Valinor. Upon this day it was the custom of the chief Valar and many of the Elves, especially the people of Ing (the Quendi), to climb the long winding paths in endless procession to Manwe's halls upon Timbrenting. All the Quendi and some of the Noldoli (who under Fingolfin dwelt still in Tun) had gone to Timbrenting, and were singing upon its topmost height when the watchers from afar descried the fading of the Trees. Most of the Noldoli were in the plain, and the Teleri upon the shore. The fogs and darkness drift in now off the seas through the pass of Cor as the Trees die. Feanor summons the Gnomes to Tun (rebellious against his banishment).¹

There is a vast concourse on the square on the summit of Cor about the tower of Ing, lit by torches. Feanor makes a violent speech, and though his wrath is for Morgoth his words are in part the fruit of Morgoth's lies.¹ He bids the Gnomes fly in the darkness while the Gods are wrapped in mourning, to seek freedom in the world and to seek out Morgoth, now Valinor is no more blissful than the earth outside.¹ Fingolfin and Finweg speak against him.⁴ The assembled Gnomes vote for flight, and Fingolfin and Finweg yield; they will not desert their people, but they retain command over a half of the people of the Noldoli.¹

The flight begins.¹ The Teleri will not join. The Gnomes cannot escape without boats, and do not dare to cross the Grinding Ice. They attempt to seize the swan-ships in Swanhaven, and a fight ensues (the first between the races of the Earth) in which many Teleri are slain, and their ships carried off. A curse is pronounced upon the Gnomes, that they shall after suffer often from treachery and the fear of treachery among their own kindred in punishment for the

blood spilled at Swanhaven.⁽⁷⁾ They sail North along the coast of Valinor. Mandos sends an emissary, who speaking from a high cliff hails them as they sail by, and warns them to return, and when they will not speaks the 'Prophecy of Mandos' concerning the fate of after days.¹

The Gnomes come to the narrowing of the seas, and prepare to sail. While they are encamped upon the shore Feanor and his sons and people sail off taking with them all the boats, and leave Fingolfin on the far shore treacherously, thus beginning the Curse of Swanhaven. They burn the boats as soon as they land in the East of the world, and Fingolfin's people see the light in the sky. The same light also tells the Orcs of the landing.

Fingolfin's people wander miserably. Some under Fingolfin return to Valinor⁽⁹⁾ to seek the Gods' pardon. Finweg leads the main host North, and over the Grinding Ice. Many are lost.

*

1. As originally written, this sentence began Finn and Feanor summon &c. This was a mere slip, since Finn's death has already been mentioned in the text as first written (§4), and my father later struck out Finn and. He left the plural verb summon and their banishment; this I have changed to his banishment, since it is not said of the Gnomes who accompanied Feanor that they left Tun under banishment (though this is not said of Finn either). The Quenta has his banishment in this passage (p. 114).

2. Added here hastily in pencil:

He claims the lordship as eldest son now Finn is dead, in spite of the Gods' decree.

[Except for the later pencilled alteration given in note 5, all the changes noted below, mostly concerned to introduce the part of Finrod in the events, were made at the same time, in red ink. Finrod, the third son of Finn/Finwe, appears in the interpolated passage given in §3 note 2.]

3. Added here:

Feanor and his sons take the unbreakable oath by Timbrenting and the names of Manwe and Bridil to pursue anyone, Elf, Mortal, or Orc, who holds the Silmarils.

4. Added here:

Finrod tries to calm their conflicting anger, but his sons Orodreth, Anrod, and Egnor side with the sons of Feanor.

5. a half of the people of the Noldoli > a half of the Noldoli of Tun (later pencilled change).

6. Added here but then struck out (see note 7):

Finrod does not go, but bids Felagoth (and his other sons) go and cherish the Gnomes of his [?house].

7. Added here:

Finrod is slain at Swanhaven in trying to stay the violence.

This was also struck out (see note 6) and a third version of Finrod's part entered:

Finrod and his sons were not at Swanhaven. They leave Tun reluctantly, and more than the others carry away memories of it, and even many fair things made there by hands.

8. Added here:

and the curse of war against one another because of Swanhaven.

9. This passage, from Fingolfin's people wander, changed to read:

Finrod and his people arrive. The people of Finrod and Fingolfin wander miserably. Some under Finrod return to Valinor, &c.

6.

In the meanwhile Manwe summons Ifan Belaurin to the council. Her magic will not avail to cure the Trees. But Silpion under her spells bears one last great silver bloom, and Laurelin one great golden fruit. The Gods fashion the Moon and Sun from these and set them to sail appointed courses from West to East, but afterwards they find it safer to send them in Ylmir's care through the caverns and grottoes beneath the Earth, to rise in the East and come home

again high in the air over the mountains of the West, to sink after each journey into the waters of the Outer Seas.

The light of Valinor is henceforth not much greater than that now scattered over the Earth, save that hither the ships of Sun and Moon come nearer to Earth, and rest for a while close to Valinor. The Gods and Elves look forward to a future time when the 'magic sun and moon' of the Trees may be rekindled and the old beauty and bliss renewed. Ylmir foretells(1) that it will only be achieved with the aid of the second race of earth. But the Gods, even Manwe, pay little heed to him. They are wroth and bitter because of the slaying at Swanhaven(2) and they fortify all Valinor making the mountains impenetrable, save at Cor which the remaining Elves are commanded to guard, ceaselessly and for ever, and let no bird or beast or Elf or Man land on the shores of Faery. The magic isles, filled with enchantment, are strung across the confines of the Shadowy Seas, before the Lonely Isle is reached sailing West, to entrap any mariners and wind them in everlasting sleep and enchantment.' The Gods sit now behind the mountains and feast, and dismiss the rebel and fugitive Noldoli from their hearts. Ylmir alone remembers them, and gathers news of the outer world through all the lakes and rivers.

At the rising of the first Sun the younger children of earth awoke in the far East. No god came to guide them, but the messages of Ylmir little understood came at times to them. They meet Ilkorindi and learn speech and other things of them, and become great friends of the Eldar. They spread through the earth, wandering West and North.

*

1. Ylmir foretells changed at the time of writing from Bridhil foretells.

2. Added here (hastily in pencil):

and the flight and ingratitude of the Gnomes.

3. Added here:

Thus the many emissaries of the Gnomes in after days never reach Valinor.

7.

Now begins the time of the great wars of the powers of the North (Morgoth and his hosts against Men, Ilkorins, and the Gnomes from Valinor). Morgoth's cunning and lies, and the curse of Swanhaven (as well as the oaths of the sons of Feanor who swore the unbreakable oath by Timbrenting to treat all as foes who had the Silmarils in keeping) in these wars do the greatest injury to Men and Elves.

These stories only tell a part of the deeds of those days, especially such as relate to the Gnomes and the Silmarils, and the mortals who became entangled in their fates. In the early days Eldar and Men were of nearly equal stature and power of body, but the Eldar were blessed with greater wit, skill, and beauty; and those (the Gnomes) who had dwelt in Cor (Koreldar) as much surpassed the Ilkorins as they surpassed mortals. Only in the realm of Doriath, whose queen was of divine race, did the Ilkorins equal the Koreldar. The Elves were immortal, and free from all sickness.' But they might be slain with weapons in those days,' and then their spirits went back to the halls of Mandos and awaited a thousand years, or the pleasure of the Gods, before they were recalled to free life.' Men from the first though slightly bigger were more frail, more easily slain, subject to ills, and grew old and died, if not slain. What happened to their spirits was not known to the Eldar. They did not go to the halls of Mandos, and many thought their fate was not

in the hands of the Valar after death. Though many, associating with Eldar, believed that their spirits went to the western land, this was not true. Men were not born again.⁴

In after days when owing to the triumph of Morgoth Men and Elves became estranged the Eldar living in the world faded, and Men usurped the sunlight. The Eldar wan-

dered, such as remained in the Outer Lands, took to the moonlight and starlight, the woods and caves.

*

1. free from all sickness > free from death by sickness (early change, made at the same time as that given in note 4).
2. Added (rough pencilled insertion): or waste away of sorrow,
3. Added at the same time as the insertion given in note 2: and they were reborn in their children, so that the number grows not.
- 4 This passage, from They did not go to the halls of Mandos, was struck out and replaced by the following:

They went to the halls of Mandos, but not the same as the halls of awaiting where the Elves were sent. There they too waited, but it was said that only Mandos knew whither they went after the time in his halls - they were never reborn on Earth, and none ever came back from Mandos, save only Beren son of Barahir, who thereafter spoke not to mortal Men. Their fate after death was perchance not in the hands of the Valar.

8

But in these days they were kindred and allies. Before the rising of the Sun and Moon Feanor and his sons marched into the North and sought for Morgoth. A host of Orcs aroused by the burning ships resisted them and was defeated in the First Battle with such loss that Morgoth pretended to treat with them. Feanor refused, but he was wounded in the fight by a Balrog chief (Gothmog), and died. Maidros the tall, the elder son, induced the Gnomes to meet Morgoth (with as little intent of faith on his side as on Morgoth's). Morgoth took Maidros captive and tortured him, and hung him from a rock by his right hand. The six remaining sons of Feanor (Maglor, Celegorm, Curufin, Damrod, Diriel, and Cranthir) ate encamped about the lake Mithrim in Hisilome (Hithlum, or Dorlomin, the land of shadows in the North-west), when they hear of the march of Finweg and his men' who have crossed the Grinding Ice. The Sun rises as they march, their blue and silver banners are unfurled, flowers spring beneath the feet of their armies.

The Orcs dismayed at the light retreat to Angband. But there is little love between the two hosts of Gnomes encamped now on opposite shores of Mithrim. Vast smokes and vapours are made and sent forth from Angband, and the smoking top of Thangorodrim (the highest of the Iron Mountains around Morgoth's fortress) can be seen from far away. 'The North shakes with the thunder under the earth. Morgoth is forging armouries. Finweg resolves to heal the feud. Alone he goes in search of Maidros. Aided by the vapours, which are now floating down and filling Hithlum, and by the withdrawal of Orcs and Balrogs to Angband, he finds him, but cannot release him.

Manwe, to whom birds bring news upon Timbrenting of all things which his farsighted eyes do not see upon earth, fashions the race of eagles, and sends them under their king Thorndor to dwell in the crags of the North and watch Morgoth. The eagles dwell out of reach of Orc and Balrog, and are great foes of Morgoth and his people. Finweg meets Thorndor who bears him to Maidros. There is no releasing the enchanted bond upon his wrist. In his agony he

begs to be slain, but Finweg cuts off his hand, and they are both borne away by Thorndor, and come to Mithrim. The feud is healed by the deed of Finweg (except for the oath of the Silmarils).

*

1. the march of Finweg and his men > the march of Fingolfin and his sons and his men and Felagoth and the sons of Finrod (This change belongs with those made in red ink in \$5 and concerns the shift from Fingolfin to Finrod as the Gnomish lord who returned to Valinor, see \$5 note 9.)

9.

The Gnomes march forward and beleaguer Angband. They meet Ilkorins and Men. At that time Men already dwelt in the woods of the North, and Ilkorins also. They long warred with Morgoth.(1) Of Ilkorin race was Barahir

and his son Beren. Of mortal race was Hurin son of Gumlin, whose wife was Morwen," they lived in the woods upon the borders of Hithlum. These come after into the tales.

Morgoth sends out his armies and breaks the leaguer of Angband, and from that time the fortunes of his enemies decline.' Gnomes and Ilkorins and Men are scattered, and Morgoth's emissaries go among them with lying promises and false suggestions of the greed and treachery of each to each. Because of the curse of Swanhaven these often are believed by the Gnomes.

Celegorm and Curufin found the realm of Nargothrond on the banks of the Narog in the south of the Northern lands.⁴ Many Gnomes take service with Thingol and Melian of the Thousand Caves in Doriath. Because of the divine magic of Melian Doriath is the safest from the raids of the Orcs, and it is prophesied that only treachery from within will cause the realm to fall.

*

[This section was substantially interpolated and altered (all in red ink, see \$5, except for the change given in note 2).]

1. Added here:

This is the time of Morgoth's retreat, and the growth and prosperity of Men, a time of growth and birth and flowering known as the 'Siege of Angband'.

2. This passage, from Of Ilkorin race, was emended to read:

In later times of mortal race was Barahir and his son Beren. Of mortal race also were Hurin and Huor sons of Gumlin. Hurin's wife was Morwen, &c.

3. Here was added The men of Barahir rescue Celegorm, but this was struck out and the following insertion made:

In the Leaguer of Angband Fingolfin's host guards the North-west on borders of Hithlum; Felagoth [> Felagund] and the sons of Finrod the South and the [?plains] of Sirion (or Broseliand); the sons

of Feanor the East. Fingolfin is slain when Morgoth breaks the leaguer. Felagoth [>Felagund] is saved by Barahir the Bold a mortal and escapes south to found Nargothrond, swearing a vow of friendship to the race of Barahir. The sons of Feanor live a wild and nomad life in the East, warring with Dwarves and Orcs and Men. Fingolfin's sons Finweg and Turgon still hold out in the North.

4. This sentence was changed to read:

Felagoth [> Felagund] and his brothers found the realm of Nargothrond on the banks of Narog in the south of the Northern lands. They are aided by Celegorm and Gurufin who long while dwelt in Nargothrond.

10.

The power of Morgoth begins to spread once more. One by one he overthrows Men and Elves in the North. Of these a famous chieftain of Ilkorindi was Barahir, who had been a friend of Celegorm of Nargothrond. Barahir is driven into hiding, his hiding betrayed, and Barahir slain; his son Beren after a life outlawed flees south, crosses the Shadowy Mountains, and after grievous hardships comes to Doriath. Of this and his other adventures are told in the Lay of Leithian. He gains the love of Tinuviel 'the nightingale' - his own name for Luthien - the daughter of Thingol. To win her Thingol, in mockery, requires a Silmaril from the crown of Morgoth. Beren sets out to achieve this, is captured, and set in dungeon in Angband, but conceals his real identity and is given as a slave to Thu the hunter. Luthien is imprisoned by Thingol, but escapes and goes in search of Beren. With the aid of Huan lord of dogs she rescues Beren, and gains entrance to Angband where Morgoth is enchanted and finally wrapped in slumber by her dancing. They get a Silmaril and escape, but are barred at gates of Angband by Carcaras the Wolfward. He bites o Beren's hand which holds the Silmaril, and goes mad with the anguish of its burning within him, They escape and after many wanderings get back to Doriath. Carcaras ravening through the woods bursts into Doriath. There follows the Wolf-hunt of Doriath, in which

Carcaras is slain, and Huan is killed in defence of Beren. Beren is however mortally wounded and dies in Luthien's arms. Some songs say that Luthien went even over the Grinding Ice, aided by the power of her divine mother, Melian, to Mandos' halls and won him back; others that Mandos hearing his tale released him. Certain it is that he alone of mortals came back from Mandos and dwelt with Luthien and never spoke to Men again, living in the woods of Doriath and in the Hunters' Wold, west of Nargothrond.'

In the days of his outlawry Beren had been befriended by Hurin of Hithlum, son of Gumlin. In the woods of Hithlum Hurin still remains unbowed to the yoke of Morgoth.

*

1. a famous chieftain of Ilkorindi > a famous chieftain of Men (cf. \$9 note 2).
2. This sentence, following Beren sets out to achieve this, was struck through and replaced by the following (in red ink):

(Beren sets out to achieve this,) and seeks the aid of Felagoth in Nargothrond. Felagoth warns him of the oath of the sons of Feanor, and that even if he gets the Silmaril they will not, if they can prevent it, allow him to take it to Thingol. But faithful to his own oath he gives him aid. The kingdom is given to Orodreth, and Felagoth and Beren march North. They are overcome in battle. Felagoth and Beren and a small band escape, and creeping back despoil the dead. Disguising themselves as Orcs they get as far as the house of the Lord of Wolves. There they are discovered, and placed in prison - and devoured one by one.

Celegorm discovered what was the secret mission of Felagoth and

Beren. He gathers his dogs and hunters and goes a-hunting. He finds the traces of battle. Then he finds Luthien in the woods. She flies but is overtaken by Huan the chief of Celegorm's dogs, who is sleepless, and she cannot enchant him. He bears her off. Celegorm offers redress.

From the second sentence Felagoth warns him of the oath... this entire passage was then struck through and See tale of Luthien written across it; Felagoth in the surviving sentence at the beginning was changed to Felagund; and They fall in the power of the Lord of Wolves (Thu) was added.

3. Here was added, perhaps at the time of the writing of the manuscript:

(But Mandos in payment exacted that Luthien should become mortal as Beren.)

11.

Maidros forms now a league against Morgoth seeing that he will destroy them all, one by one, if they do not unite. The scattered Ilkorins and Men are gathered together. Curufin and Celegorm despatch a host (but not all they could gather, thus breaking their word) from Nargothrond. The Gnomes of Nargothrond refuse to be led by Finweg, and go in search of the hosts of Maidros and Maglor. Men march up from South and East and West and North. Thingol will not send from Doriath.' Some say out of selfish policy, others because of the wisdom of Melian and of fate which decreed that Doriath should become the only refuge of the Eldar from Morgoth afterwards. Part was certainly due to the Silmaril, which Thingol now possessed, and which Maidros had demanded with haughty words. The Gnomes of Doriath are allowed' nonetheless to join the league.

Finweg advances into the Plain of Thirst (Dor-na-Fauglith) before the Iron Mountains and defeats an Orc-army, which falls back. Pursuing he is overwhelmed by countless hordes suddenly loosed on him from the deeps of Angband, and there is fought the field of Unnumbered Tears, of which no elfin songs tell except in lamentation.

The mortal armies, whose leaders had mostly been corrupted or bribed by Morgoth, desert or flee away: all except Hurin's kin. From that day Men and Elves have been estranged, save the descendents of Hurin. Finweg falls, his blue and silver banner is destroyed. The Gnomes attempt to fall back towards the hills and Taur-na-Fuin (forest of night). Hurin holds the rearguard, and all his men are slain, so that not a single man escapes to bring news to Hithlum. By Morgoth's orders Hurin, whose axe had slain a thousand

Orcs, is taken alive. By Hurin alone was Turgon (Finweg's brother) son of Fingolfin enabled to cut his way back into the hills with a part of his people. The remainder of the Gnomes and Ilkorins would have been all slain or taken, but for the arrival of Maidros, Curufin and Celegorm - too late for the main battle.

They are beaten back and driven into the South-east, where they long time dwelt, and did not go back to Nargothrond. There Orodreth ruled over the remnant.' Morgoth is utterly triumphant. His armies range all the North, and press upon the borders of Doriath and Nargothrond. The slain of his enemies are piled into a great hill upon Dor-na-Fauglith, but there the grass comes and grows green where all else is desert, and no Orc dare tread upon that hill where the Gnomish swords rust.