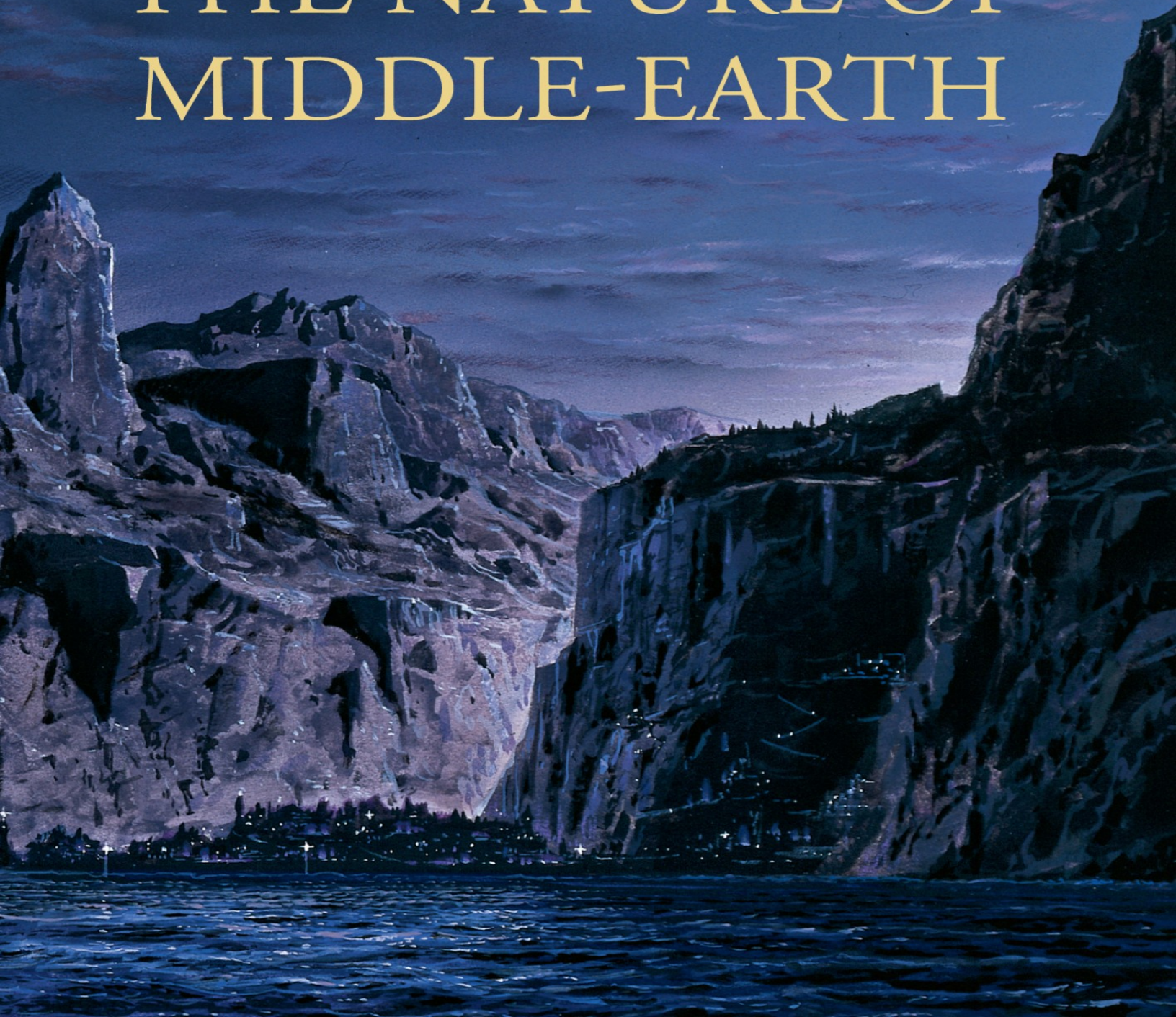


J.R.R. TOLKIEN

Edited by CARL F. HOSTETTER

THE NATURE OF MIDDLE-EARTH





J.R.R. TOLKIEN

The Nature of Middle-earth

*Late Writings on the Lands, Inhabitants,
and Metaphysics of Middle-earth*

Edited by
Carl F. Hostetter



WILLIAM MORROW

An Imprint of HarperCollinsPublishers

Dedication

Enyalien

CHRISTOPHER REUEL TOLKIEN

21 Nov. 1924 – 16 Jan. 2020

and for

Alex, Aidan, Collin, and Caylee

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Foreword

In his own foreword to *Morgoth's Ring* (vol. X of *The History of Middle-earth*), Christopher Tolkien writes of his father that, at the end of the 1950s, and following the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*:

Meditating long on the world that he had brought into being and was now in part unveiled, he had become absorbed in analytic speculation concerning its underlying postulates. Before he could prepare a new and final *Silmarillion* he must satisfy the requirements of a coherent theological and metaphysical system, rendered now more complex in its presentation by the supposition of obscure and conflicting elements in its roots and its tradition.

Among the chief “structural” conceptions of the mythology that he pondered in those years were the myth of Light; the nature of Aman; the immortality (and death) of the Elves; the mode of their reincarnation; the Fall of Men and the length of their early history; the origin of the Orcs; and above all, the power and significance of Melkor-Morgoth, which was enlarged to become the ground and source of the corruption of Arda.

Christopher published a sizeable selection of and from Tolkien's long meditation on his sub-created world in *Morgoth's Ring* and the subsequent two volumes of *The History of Middle-earth*, but by no means all. The texts in this volume constitute a significant part and a fuller record of his “analytic speculation concerning its underlying postulates”. They comprise the “writings about Middle-earth and Aman that are of a primarily philosophic or speculative nature” that were not included in the latter volumes of *The History of Middle-earth*; as well as those of a descriptive and/or historical nature, chiefly concerning the lands and peoples of Númenor and Middle-earth, that were not included in *Unfinished Tales*. These texts and this book are very much of a piece with significant portions of the aforementioned volumes, and will be of greatest interest to those who take particular interest in them.

Like *The Lord of the Rings*, this book has been long in the making. I have in a sense been working on this book – though for long I had no awareness or

notion that I was doing so – for nearly 25 years. In 1997, in my capacity as one of the authorized editors of his father’s linguistic papers, I received from Christopher Tolkien a bundle of photocopies of various manuscript and typescript materials, which he referred to collectively as “late philological essays”. As this designation rightly implies, all of the materials in this bundle are concerned to some degree with linguistic matters; but as is often the case in Tolkien’s post-*Lord of the Rings* non-narrative writings, the linguistic matters that occasioned each essay led Tolkien into long (seeming) digressions, either because they explain the historical, cultural, mythological and/or metaphysical situations that various words and phrases reflect; or simply because Tolkien wished to pursue some idea or point that occurred to him at that time. I edited and published three essays from this bundle in the journal *Vinyar Tengwar* first, “*Ósanwe-kenta*”, a far-ranging essay on thought-communication, in *VT* 39 in July 1998; “Notes on *Órë*”, a consideration of the inner warning and advising faculty of Incarnates, in *VT* 41 in July 2000; and “The Rivers and Beacon-hills of Gondor”, a lengthy discussion of the names and characteristics of those geographic features, in *VT* 42 in July 2001. (Christopher had in fact prepared an edition of the latter text for inclusion in *The Peoples of Middle-earth*, but it was cut for lack of space.) A fourth long essay from this bundle, supplemented with related materials found in Tolkien’s linguistic papers, was edited by Patrick Wynne and published in three parts as “Eldarin Hands, Fingers, and Numerals” in *VT* 46–49 from February 2005 to June 2007. (The first three texts are published here as [chapters IX and X of part two](#), and [chapter XXII of part three](#), respectively. The fourth, in considerably reduced form, is published as [chapter III of part two](#).)

Following the publication of my editions of “*Ósanwe-kenta*” and “The Rivers and Beacon-hills of Gondor”, and knowing of my great interest in these and similar philosophical, historical, and descriptive writings by Tolkien, even apart from their linguistic elements, Christopher asked me to assist French scholar Michaël Devaux in preparing an edition of the (mostly) unpublished materials concerning Elvish reincarnation that Christopher alludes to in several places in both *Morgoth’s Ring* and *The Peoples of Middle-earth*, and which he had sent to Devaux. This edition, together with Devaux’s French translation and commentary, was eventually published in the journal *La Feuille de la Compagnie* vol. 3 in 2014. (These writings, in my own edition, are published here as [chapter XV of part two](#) and [chapter XV of part three](#).)

This interest also explains why, beginning in the late summer of 2008, Christopher began sending me successive batches of photocopies of a large bundle of late (chiefly) manuscript writings, which had been collected together under the title “Time and Ageing”, for my consideration and thoughts on their possible disposition. As will be seen, many of these writings are quite unlike

the vast bulk of Tolkien's writings, featuring *inter alia* long tables and calculations regarding the maturation rate and population growth of the Eldar from the time of their awaking, to the time of the Great March, and through their arrival in Beleriand and beyond. Despite this technical and undeniably dry accounting, they nonetheless contain many interesting details of historical and cultural significance – e.g. the fact that Tolkien considered having not only the Vala Oromë instruct and guard the Elves at Cuiviénen, but also the Maia Melian, and those of her fellow Maiar that would later, in incarnate form, come (again?) to Middle-earth in the Third Age as the Istari, the Five Wizards that were sent by the Valar to encourage resistance to Sauron. These materials as a whole also exemplify not only Tolkien's unsuspected (at least by me) mathematical skills and precision (in a time well before electronic calculators became affordable), but also his great concern for coherence and verisimilitude, as seen throughout his later writings.

After long study and pondering of the “Time and Ageing” materials, and thinking of the writings in the “late philological essays” (both published and unpublished), and further of certain likewise philosophical and cultural passages (again both published and unpublished) in Tolkien's linguistic papers, similarly arising from etymological considerations – e.g. the essay I had edited and published as “Fate and Free Will” in *Tolkien Studies* 6 in 2009 ([chapter XI of part two](#)), and a long discussion of the nature of spirits according to Elvish thought that was edited and published by Christopher Gilson in issue 17 of his journal *Parma Eldalamberon* in 2007 (see [chapter XIII of part two](#)) – I began to discern how all this material might be organized together into a coherent book. This would allow me not only to publish such a substantial amount of material, which could not be accommodated in a journal, but also to bring it all to the wider audience I feel it deserves. Having come to this conclusion, I quickly chose to call this projected book *The Nature of Middle-earth*, as succinctly unifying these materials under the two main senses of the word “nature”: both the visible and sensible phenomena of the physical world, including its lands, flora, and fauna; and the metaphysical, innate, and essential qualities and character of the world and its inhabitants.

This book is divided into three broad categorical parts. [Part one, “Time and Ageing”](#), is almost entirely composed of materials from the collection of the same name described above, though it is here and there supplemented with material from Tolkien's linguistic papers. [Part two, “Body, Mind, and Spirit”](#), and [part three, “The World, Its Lands, and Its Inhabitants”](#), are composed of materials from three chief sources: a) the bundle of “late philological essays” sent to me in 1997; b) material drawn from Tolkien's linguistic papers; and c) particularly in [part three](#), material collected by me over the years from the two

principal archives of Tolkien manuscripts at the Bodleian in Oxford and at Marquette University in Milwaukee. I have re-edited those materials that have been previously published in specialist journals to make them more accessible to a general audience, chiefly by removing or minimizing passages and commentary that are principally concerned with linguistic details. There is of course inevitably some overlap within particular texts among these three broad categories, but the distribution of texts among them, and the ordering of texts within each part, are what seem most sensible to me.

It is a pleasure to gratefully acknowledge the assistance of many people in the compilation and completion of this book. Catherine McIlwaine, the Tolkien Archivist at the Bodleian Libraries in Oxford, and William Fliss, Archivist of the Special Collections and University Archives at the Raynor Memorial Libraries of Marquette University in Milwaukee, have been extremely helpful and enthusiastic supporters of this book. I am also extremely grateful to Cathleen Blackburn and all the Tolkien Estate, and to Chris Smith, Tolkien editor for HarperCollins, for making publication of this book possible. I am, like all Tolkien scholars and researchers, indebted to Wayne Hammond and Christina Scull for their exacting and exhaustive research and reference works, in particular the indispensable three-volume *J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide*. I was fortunate to be able to avail myself of John Garth's extensive knowledge of Tolkien's military experience, and his thoughtful assistance in locating certain texts in the Bodleian archives, in particular the Númenórean material in this book. Arden Smith and Charles Noad have both applied their formidable proofreading and fact-checking skills to the text (though of course any errors that remain are due solely to me). I am also grateful for the support, friendship, and encouragement of numerous Tolkien scholars and friends from around the world who have heard me read from some of the materials in this book over the years, including: David Bratman, Marjorie Burns, Michelle Markey Butler, Janice Coulter, Chip Crane, Jason Fisher, Matt Fisher, Verlyn Flieger, Christopher Gilson, Melody Green, Peter Grybauskas, Wayne Hammond, Yoko Hemmi, Gary Hunnewell, John Rateliff, Christina Scull, Eleanor Simpson, Arden Smith, Valah Steffen-Wittwer, Paul Thomas, Patrick Wynne, and the late, much-missed Vaughn Howland and Richard West.

Finally, my greatest gratitude is of course to Christopher Tolkien, who directly supplied me with most of the materials that have gone into this book and supported my idea to publish them in this manner. He was able to see and approve my book proposal, with a representative selection of my treatment and presentation of the texts, and my plan for the book as a whole, in the year before his passing. I am above all thankful for the kindness, encouragement,

and sympathy he expressed to me in the course of our decades-long correspondence. I had the great good fortune to count him as a friend, and I dedicate this book to his memory.

Editorial Practices

In order to make these texts as readable as possible, with minimal editorial intrusion, I have often silently: expanded abbreviations where their meaning is in no doubt; supplied punctuation, conjunctions, and other minor connecting words where Tolkien writing in greater haste has omitted them; and regularized capitalization and other spelling conventions, where such alterations are insignificant to the text or its meaning. I have however tended not to regularize spelling or, save where necessary for clarity, supplied punctuation or other additions to texts cited in the editorial notes. I have also made no attempt to either note or record where Tolkien has both made and subsequently corrected a mathematical error.

With the exception of more or less brief introductions, describing the manuscript or typescript of each text and providing a date (as nearly as possible) and other relevant context, all editorial commentary – chiefly detailing authorial and/or editorial alterations of any significance, citing significant differences among variant versions of a text, and cross-references to Tolkien's other writings – has been placed in numbered end-notes to each text (or group of related texts), and need not be consulted by those not interested in such textual matters. Where editorial comments must be made within Tolkien's own texts, they are distinguished as such by being set in a smaller type and indented from the textual margins.

Tolkien is inconsistent throughout in his use of single-quotes (inverted commas) and double-quotes. I have adopted the practice of using double-quotes for all quotations and phrases (except for quotes and phrases within quotes, for which single-quotes are used), and single-quotes for all glosses (actual or apparent): e.g. *fëa* 'spirit', *hröa* 'body'.

Wherever practicable I have given Tolkien's own footnotes and interpolated notes (frequent in his later writings) as footnotes on the page of the note's referent. Where it is necessary to provide editorial end-notes to these footnotes (which my text editor does not permit) I place the end-note mark in square brackets next to the footnote mark: e.g., *^[1], and indicate in the end-note upon which word or passage or matter in the footnote I am commenting.

I have supplied a brief discussion of various metaphysical and theological concepts and themes encountered in these texts, as [Appendix I](#), linked to key

points of relevance in the texts. A glossary and index of forms from Tolkien's invented languages that are important to clarifying the meaning of various not-specifically-linguistic passages encountered in the texts in this book, and that can be used for further topical cross-referencing, are included in the editorial Glossary and Index of Quenya Terms as [Appendix II](#).

Familiarity with at least *The Silmarillion* as published in 1977 is assumed. Ready access to *Unfinished Tales* and volumes X–XII of *The History of Middle-earth* will further aid in understanding the texts included here.

Abbreviations & Conventions

AUTHORIAL

AY	Awakening Year(s) (i.e., <i>löar</i> since the Awakening of the Elves)
Bel.	Year(s) of Beleriand (i.e., since the arrival of the Exiles in Middle-earth)
DB	Days of Bliss
FA	First Age
4A	Fourth Age
Gen(s).	Generation(s)
GY	Growth Year(s) (i.e., multiples of 12 <i>löar</i> between the birth and maturity of the Elves)
LY	Life Year(s)
MY	Middle-earth/Mortal Year(s) (= 1 <i>löa</i>)
NB	<i>Nota Bene</i> ('note well')
SA	Second Age
SY	Sun Year (i.e. <i>löa</i>)
TA	Third Age
TY	<i>The Tale of Years</i> (cf. X:49)
VY	Valian Year(s) (variously = 100 or 144 <i>löar</i>)
YS	Year(s) of the Sun
YT	Year(s) of the Trees (approximately 10 <i>löar</i>)
I	<i>The Fellowship of the Ring</i>
II	<i>The Two Towers</i>
III	<i>The Return of the King</i>

BIBLIOGRAPHIC

- AAM *The Annals of Aman* (in *Morgoth's Ring* pp. 47–138) of c. 1951–2, with revisions in 1958
- DN *A Description of the Island of Númenor* (in *Unfinished Tales* pp. 165–72) of c. 1965.
- GA *The Grey Annals* (in *War of the Jewels* pp. 3–170) of c. 1951–2, with revisions in 1958
- HoMe *The History of Middle-earth* (in 12 vols.)
- I–XII Individual volumes of *HoMe*, esp. V: *The Lost Road and Other Writings*, IX: *Sauron Defeated*; X: *Morgoth's Ring*; XI: *The War of the Jewels*; XII: *The Peoples of Middle-earth*
- L *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*
- LR *The Lord of the Rings*
- LRRC *The Lord of the Rings: A Reader's Companion*, by Hammond and Scull, 2014.
- OED *The Oxford English Dictionary*
- PE *Parma Eldalamberon* (journal)
- RotK *The Return of the King*
- S *The Silmarillion*
- TCG *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide*, vols. I, II, III. Ed. Scull and Hammond, 2017.
- UT *Unfinished Tales*
- VT *Vinyar Tengwar* (journal)

EDITORIAL

- [. . .] Editorial insertion/addition (except where otherwise noted)
- [?. . .] Uncertain reading
- {. . .} Deleted by Tolkien
- >> Changed by Tolkien to
- App. Appendix
- chap(s).Chapter(s)
- esp. Especially
- fn. Footnote

MS(S) Manuscript(s)

n. Note

TS Typescript

LANGUAGES

C.E. Common Eldarin

P.E. Primitive Eldarin

Q. Quenya

S. Sindarin

T. Telerin

LINGUISTICS

√ Root/stem form

* Primitive or reconstructed form

< Arose by phonological development from

> Became by phonological development

† Poetic

fem. Feminine

intr. Intransitive

lit. Literally

n. Noun

pa.t. Past tense

pl. Plural

tr. Transitive

Part One

Time and Ageing

Introduction

Among the large collection of (mostly) manuscript pages that Christopher Tolkien dubbed the “Time and Ageing” file are two half-sheets of Merton College stationery, on which two related but distinct texts – presented here as [chap. I, “The Valian Year”](#) – were written some six years apart. These two texts conveniently demonstrate that, sometime between 1951 and 1957, Tolkien made two decisions that would have far-reaching effects on his *legendarium*. While the first of these decisions – namely, to make the Sun and Moon coëval with Arda, the inhabited world – and its ramifications in and for Tolkien’s subsequent writings and revisions have already been documented and considered by Christopher Tolkien in the final three volumes of his monumental *History of Middle-earth* (and particularly in the section titled “Myths Transformed” in volume X, *Morgoth’s Ring*), the second transformative decision and its ramifications have not before been presented.

As the second of these two texts shows, Tolkien had by 1957 decided that the number of sun-years (SY) in a Year of the Trees, or Valian Year (VY), should be greatly increased, from the previous rate of 10 SY = 1 VY to a new rate of 144 SY = 1 VY, and thus vastly expanded the length of time in sun-years of the events recorded in the Annals of Valinor and subsequent chronologies dated in Valian Years. Much of the “Time and Ageing” file, whose texts are presented here, is concerned with working out the (perhaps surprisingly) complex ramifications of this decision, not only for the chronology of the First Age – in particular for the Awakening of the Elves (including even just who were the First Elves to awaken), the Great March, and the return of both Morgoth and the Exiles to Middle-earth – but also for the periods of time occupied by the begetting, growth, maturity, and ageing of Elves.

Tolkien’s preoccupation with some of these matters in the late 1950s, particularly Elvish begetting, maturation, and ageing relative to Men, has already been glimpsed, in the opening of the c. 1958 text known as *Laws and Customs amongst the Eldar* (X:209–10):

The Eldar grew in bodily form slower than Men, but in mind more swiftly. They learned to speak before they were one year old; and in the same time

they learned to walk and to dance, for their wills came soon to the mastery of their bodies. Nonetheless there was less difference between the two Kindreds, Elves and Men, in early youth; and a man who watched elf-children at play might well have believed that they were the children of Men, of some fair and happy people. . . .

This same watcher might indeed have wondered at the small limbs and stature of these children, judging their age by their skill in words and grace in motion. For at the end of the third year mortal children began to outstrip the Elves, hastening on to a full stature while the Elves lingered in the first spring of childhood. Children of Men might reach their full height while Eldar of the same age were still in body like to mortals of no more than seven years. Not until the fiftieth year did the Eldar attain the stature and shape in which their lives would afterwards endure, and for some a hundred years would pass before they were full-grown.

The Eldar wedded for the most part in their youth and soon after their fiftieth year. They had few children, but these were very dear to them. Their families, or houses, were held together by love and a deep feeling for kinship in mind and body; and the children needed little governing or teaching. There were seldom more than four children in any house, and the number grew less as ages passed; but even in days of old, while the Eldar were still few and eager to increase their kind, Fëanor was renowned as the father of seven sons, and the histories record none that surpassed him.

And further (X:212–13):

As for the begetting and bearing of children: a year passes between the begetting and the birth of an elf-child, so that the days of both are the same or nearly so, and it is the day of begetting that is remembered year by year. For the most part these days come in the Spring. It might be thought that, since the Eldar do not (as Men deem) grow old in body, they may bring forth children at any time in the ages of their lives. But this is not so. For the Eldar do indeed grow older, even if slowly: the limit of their lives is the life of Arda, which though long beyond the reckoning of Men is not endless, and ages also. Moreover their body and spirit are not separated but coherent. As the weight of the years, with all their changes of desire and thought, gathers upon the spirit of the Eldar, so do the impulses and moods of their bodies change. This the Eldar mean when they speak of their spirits

consuming them; and they say that ere Arda ends the Eldalië on earth will have become as spirits invisible to mortal eyes, unless they will to be seen by some among Men into whose minds they may enter directly.

Also the Eldar say that in the begetting, and still more in the bearing of children, greater share and strength of their being, in mind and in body, goes forth than in the making of mortal children. For these reasons it came to pass that the Eldar brought forth few children; and also that their time of generation was in their youth or earlier life, unless strange and hard fates befell them. But at whatever age they married, their children were born within a short space of years after their wedding. (Short as the Eldar reckoned time. In mortal count there was often a long interval between the wedding and the first child-birth, and even longer between child and child.) For with regard to generation the power and the will are not among the Eldar distinguishable. Doubtless they would retain for many ages the power of generation, if the will and desire were not satisfied; but with the exercise of the power the desire soon ceases, and the mind turns to other things. The union of love is indeed to them great delight and joy, and the ‘days of the children’, as they call them, remain in their memory as the most merry in life; but they have many other powers of body and mind which their nature urges them to fulfil.

It is evident that the bulk of the texts in the “Time and Ageing” file are later than *Laws and Customs*, as shown by the use of the Quenya word *hröa* for ‘body’ (nearly) everywhere in these texts, *ab initio* – while in *Laws and Customs* as first written/typed, the form was *hrondo*, before subsequent correction to *hröa*. It will thus be seen that the extensive “Time and Ageing” file is a series of elaborations and reconsiderations of the matters of Elvish gestation, maturation, and ageing raised in *Laws and Customs*, and related matters, in light of the great increase in time spanned by the tally of Valian Years.

On the subject of dating the individual “Time and Ageing” texts, most of which are clearly of a piece, in order to reduce repetition in justifying a probable date for most of them, if I simply state that a text is “c. 1959” without further evidence, then the date is based on one or more of the following considerations:

1. The text uses the Quenya word *hröa* (plural *hröar*), meaning ‘body’ *ab initio*. There is no independent evidence that that word was in use until after

- the typescript text B of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* was made in c. 1958 (see X:141–3, 209, 304).
2. The text employs the name *Ingar* for the people of Ingwë, which otherwise occurs only in Text A of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* (cf. X:230 n.22) and in Text 2 of *Of Finwë and Miriel* (cf. X:265 n.10), both of which belong to what Christopher Tolkien identifies as the “second phase” in the development of *The Later Quenta Silmarillion*, which he in turn dates to “the late 1950s” (cf. X:199, 300).
 3. The manuscript in appearance and the text in character and content is consistent with most of the other writings in the “Time and Ageing” file, including those that can be dated more certainly to c. 1959 by other internal or external evidence.

The texts presented here for the most part fall into one of three stages, based on an apparent conceptional progression in the period of Elvish gestation in the womb: the first, in which Elves gestate for 8 or (more usually) 9 *lōar* (as the solar year is called in Quenya); the second, in which they gestate for 1 *lōa*; and the third and last, in which they gestate for 3 *lōar*. The first two of these stages are exhibited in texts that either firmly or most likely date from c. 1959 or 1960; the third is found in a single document that dates from 1965.

Finally, while I provide a glossary of terms in [App. II](#), there are certain Quenya words that occur in “Time and Ageing” so frequently that I gloss them here as well for ease of reference for the reader:

hrōa, pl. *hrōar* ‘body’.

fëa, pl. *fëar* ‘spirit’

lōa, pl. *lōar* ‘year (of the Sun)’, lit. ‘growth’.

yên, pl. *yéni* ‘long-year’ = 144 *lōar*.

I

The Valian Year

These two brief texts are written in black nib-pen on two torn half-sheets of two (different) Merton College weekly battels bills. Tolkien was the Merton Professor of English Language and Literature from 1945 until his retirement in 1959. The portion of the bill bearing the first text does not have the date field, but that bearing the second text does, and is dated 27 June 1957.

The first (very hastily written) text shows that when he wrote it, Tolkien had decided that the world must be round and coëval with the Sun and Moon, and so it must post-date the “Round World” version (C*) of the *Ainulindalë* that Tolkien made in 1948 (X:3). It most likely precedes, however, the revisions to the c. 1951 version of the *Annals of Aman* by which the length of a Valian Year was reduced from exactly 10 sun-years (as in the first text) to 9.582 sun-years (X:50, and see X:57–8 n.17 and 59–60 §§5–10).

TEXT 1

The *yên*, which is merely a mode of reckoning, has nothing to do with the life of the Elves. In Aman this depended on the years of the Trees, or really on the *days* of the Trees; in Middle-earth on the cycles of growth, Spring to Spring, or *löar*. In Middle-earth, one *löa* aged an Elf as much as a year of the Trees, but these were in fact 10 times as long.

A Year of the Trees had 1,000 days of 12 hours = 12,000 [Tree] hours. A year of 365.250 days of 24 hours has 8,766 hours. Tree-years have 87,660. If 12,000 [Tree] hours = 10 Middle-earth years each Tree-hour = about 7.3 Sun-hours = 7 hours 18 mins.¹

How are we to arrange for the *Sun* and *Moon*?

Elves do not know how Arda was established or the companions of *Anar* made or their [?companies]. For it is to the life of *Arda* (*not* Eä) which they

are bound, and all their *love* is for Arda. Though [?of Lore] they may consider [?the matter] and having amazing sight they can see in the heavens things we cannot [?for need of] instruments.

TEXT 2

Time

There are twelve Tree-hours in each Valian Day, 144 Days in each Valian Year. But each Valian Year = 144 Mortal Years; therefore 1 Valian Day = 1 mortal year, and 1 Tree-hour = approximately 1 mortal month. Time is recorded (for Mortal purposes) during the days of the Trees thus: VY 100 V.Day 136 V.Hour 9 = the 9th month of the 136th [sun-]year of the 100th Valian Year.²

In Middle-earth originally the Quendi appreciated and aged in 144 MY (or *yên*) as [mortals] in 1 MY. Therefore when they went to Aman they felt no change – but those who remained soon felt the necessary rate of “mortality” in ageing. After the death of the Trees and the ruin of Beleriand the rate was about 12 years = 1 MY.

The Elves awoke in VY 1050 and reached Aman in 1133 after 83 VY, which felt as 83 years to them but was 11,952 MY. Men awoke in VY 1150 or 100 VY later = 14,400 MY.³

It can be seen then that by c. 1957 Tolkien had introduced a new correspondence of 1 Valian Year = 144 sun-years (the length of the Elvish *yên* or ‘long year’), and so vastly expanded the length of time in sun-years of the events recorded in the *Annals of Valinor* and subsequent chronologies dated in Valian Years.