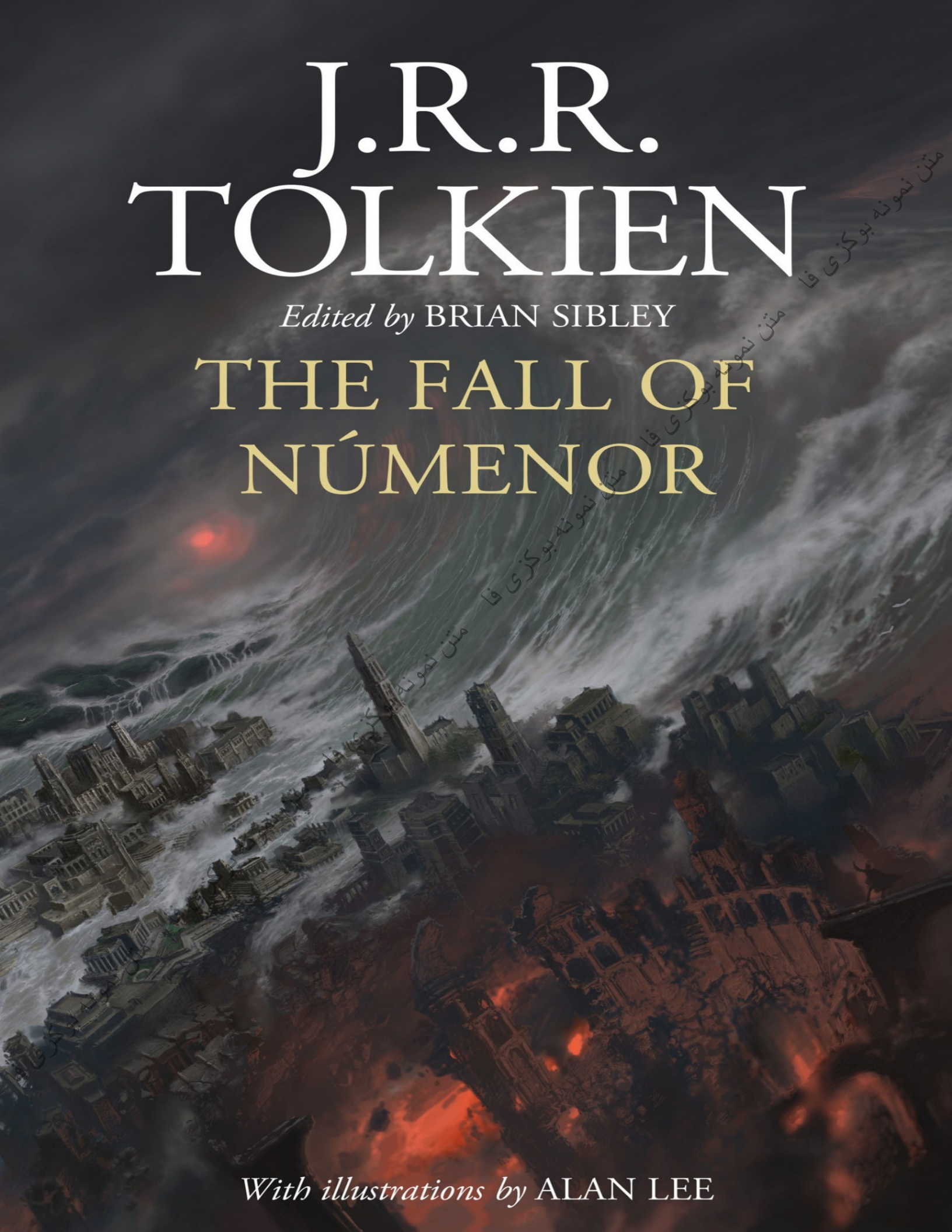


J.R.R. TOLKIEN

Edited by BRIAN SIBLEY

THE FALL OF NÚMENOR

With illustrations by ALAN LEE



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Then all listened while Elrond in his clear voice spoke of Sauron and the Rings of Power, and their forging in the Second Age of the world long ago. A part of his tale was known to some there, but the full tale to none, and many eyes were turned to Elrond in fear and wonder as he told of the Elven-smiths of Eregion and their friendship with Moria, and their eagerness for knowledge, by which Sauron ensnared them. For in that time he was not yet evil to behold, and they received his aid and grew mighty in craft, whereas he learned all their secrets, and betrayed them, and forged secretly in the Mountain of Fire the One Ring to be their master. But Celebrimbor was aware of him, and hid the Three which he had made; and there was war, and the land was laid waste, and the gate of Moria was shut.

Then through all the years that followed he traced the Ring; but since that history is elsewhere recounted, even as Elrond himself set it down in his books of lore, it is not here recalled. For it is a long tale, full of deeds great and terrible, and briefly though Elrond spoke, the sun rode up the sky, and the morning was passing ere he ceased.

Of Númenor he spoke, its glory and its fall, and the return of the Kings of Men to Middle-earth out of the deeps of the Sea, borne upon the wings of storm.

The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Ring
Book Two, II 'The Council of Elrond'



J.R.R. Tolkien .

The Fall of Númenor

and Other Tales from the
Second Age of Middle-earth

Edited by Brian Sibley
and compiled from *The Lord of the Rings*,
The Silmarillion, *Unfinished Tales*, volumes from
The History of Middle-earth by Christopher Tolkien,
and other sources

With illustrations by
ALAN LEE



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
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The Life of the Númenóreans

c. 40 Many Dwarves leaving their old cities in Ered Luin go to Moria and swell its numbers.

442 Death of Elros Tar-Minyatur.

c. 500 Sauron begins to stir again in Middle-earth.

521 Birth in Númenor of Silmariën.

600 The first ships of the Númenóreans appear off the coasts.

The Voyages of Aldarion

750 Ereinion founded by the Noldor.

Aldarion and Erendis

The Wedding of Aldarion and Erendis

The Accession of Tar-Aldarion

3. 1000 Sauron, alarmed by the growing power of the Númenóreans, chooses Mordor as a land to make into a stronghold. He begins the building of Barad-dûr.
- 1075 Tar-Ancalimë becomes the first Ruling Queen of Númenor.
- 1200 Sauron endeavours to seduce the Eldar. Gil-galad refuses to treat with him; but the smiths of Eregion are won over. The Númenóreans begin to make permanent havens.
3. 1500 The Elven-smiths instructed by Sauron reach the height of their skill. They begin the forging of the Rings of Power.
3. 1590 The Three Rings are completed in Eregion.
3. 1600 Sauron forges the One Ring in Orodruin. He completes the Barad-dûr. Celebrimbor perceives the designs of Sauron.
- 1693 War of the Elves and Sauron begins. The Three Rings are hidden.
- 1695 Sauron's forces invade Eriador. Gil-galad sends Elrond to Eregion.
- 1697 Eregion laid waste. Death of Celebrimbor. The gates of Moria are shut. Elrond retreats with remnant of the Noldor and founds the refuge of Imladris.
- 1699 Sauron overruns Eriador.
- 1700 Tar-Minastir sends a great navy from Númenor to Lindon. Sauron is defeated.
- 1701 Sauron is driven out of Eriador. The Westlands have peace for a long while.
3. 1800 From about this time onward the Númenóreans begin to establish dominions on the coasts. Sauron extends his power eastwards. The shadow falls on Númenor.
- 2251 Death of Tar-Atanamir. Tar-Ancalimon takes the sceptre. Rebellion and division of the Númenóreans begins. About this time the Nazgûl or Ringwraiths, slaves of the Nine Rings, first appear.
- 2280 Umbar is made into a great fortress of Númenor.
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- 2899 Ar-Adûnakhôr takes the sceptre.
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- 3261 Ar-Pharazôn sets sail and lands at Umbar.
- 3262 Sauron is taken as prisoner to Númenor; 3262–3310 Sauron seduces the King and corrupts the Númenóreans.
- 3310 Ar-Pharazôn begins the building of the Great Armament.
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- 3430 The Last Alliance of Elves and Men is formed.
- 3431 Gil-galad and Elendil march east to Imladris.
- 3434 The host of the Alliance crosses the Misty Mountains. Battle of Dagorlad and defeat of Sauron. Siege of Barad-dûr begins.
- 3440 Anárion slain.
- 3441 Sauron overthrown by Elendil and Gil-galad, who perish. Isildur takes the One Ring. Sauron passes away and the Ringwraiths go into the shadows. The Second Age ends.

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ABOUT THIS BOOK

The Fall of Númenor seeks to present, in a single volume, selections from J.R.R. Tolkien's posthumously published writings about the Second Age of Middle-earth. This book would not have been possible without the extraordinary literary achievements of Christopher Tolkien, who introduced readers of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* to the rich legacy of myth and history from both the Elder Days and Second Age. This he achieved through his long years of dedicated curatorial stewardship: editing, assembling, compiling and providing invaluable commentary to his father's many manuscripts and drafts. It was in the pages of *The Silmarillion*, *Unfinished Tales*, volumes of *The History of Middle-earth*, and other works, as edited and prepared for publication by Christopher Tolkien, that the story was first told of the Fall of Númenor, the rise of Sauron, the forging of the Rings of Power and the Last Alliance of Elves and Men against the Dark Lord of Mordor.

The intention is not to supplant these works, as each already stands as the definitive presentation of J.R.R. Tolkien's writings, with peerless, insightful commentary and analysis by Christopher Tolkien, but rather to provide extracts from the above – with as few editorial interventions as possible – that illustrate in the author's own words the rich and tumultuous events of the Second Age as summarised by J.R.R. Tolkien in his 'The Tale of Years (Chronology of the Westlands)' that appears as part of [Appendix B](#) in *The Lord of the Rings* and which is reproduced at the beginning of this volume. For those wishing to delve deeper into its history, the notes provided at the end of the book, many of which draw upon Christopher Tolkien's own invaluable editorial expertise by reproducing or quoting from his own notes to the original published sources, will aid their explorations as they seek to discover more about the Second Age of Middle-earth. Page references relate in all cases to the first edition of that work, with the exception of *The Lord of the Rings*, where reference is made to the reset edition published in 2004 for the book's fiftieth anniversary.

The selected passages and extracts are arranged following the chronological year order set down in ‘The Tale of Years (Chronology of the Westlands)’, and are presented in chapters titled to accord with the chronology. This presentation has been augmented by two other sources: the names and dates of the Númenórean Kings given in ‘Appendix A: Annals of the Kings and Rulers’ – again in *The Lord of the Rings* – and ‘The Line of Elros: Kings of Númenor’ as found in *Unfinished Tales*, Part Two: ‘The Second Age’.

The events of the Second Age as they unfold respectively on Númenor and in Middle-earth are chronicled using material from the following sources.

For Númenórean history: the text of ‘Akallabêth’ (in *The Silmarillion*); the story of ‘Aldarion and Erendis’ and the genealogical table ‘The earlier generations of the Line of Elros’ (in *Unfinished Tales*); and taking into consideration material found in ‘The History of the Akallabêth’ (*The Peoples of Middle-earth*), ‘The Early History of the Legend’ and ‘The Fall of Númenor’ (both in *The Lost Road and Other Writings*) and ‘The Drowning of Anadûnê’ (in *Sauron Defeated*).

As Christopher Tolkien would have wished, research into his father’s writings continues and the text additionally draws upon a further posthumous volume of Tolkien’s writings, *The Nature of Middle-earth* (2021) edited by Carl F. Hostetter. These sources are edited so as to tell the history of the establishing of Númenor, its geography and wildlife and the lives of the Númenóreans, additionally including or drawing upon ‘A Description of the Island of Númenor’ (in *Unfinished Tales*) and, from *The Nature of Middle-earth*, ‘The Land and Beasts of Númenor’, ‘The Lives of the Númenóreans’ and ‘The Ageing of Númenóreans’. Passages used do not necessarily appear as originally presented in that volume, but in an order best suited to the chronological narrative.

The events that unfold in Middle-earth concurrent with those on Númenor have been selected from the text of ‘Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age’ (in *The Silmarillion*), ‘The History of Galadriel and Celeborn’ (in *Unfinished Tales*), and ‘Galadriel and Celeborn’ (in *The Nature of Middle-earth*).

This volume adheres to the principle established by Christopher Tolkien that the published texts are treated as being the final versions, and in

instances where material is included from earlier drafts with variant names, dates and spellings, such variations are amended to conform with those finally adopted. Where he considered words or phrases in his father's handwriting to be uncertain, they are preceded by a question mark.

Editorial interventions are in a smaller font size and indented; explanatory emendations by the editor to introduce passages or within the body of an extract are shown in square brackets. The opening words to passages, where not capitalized in the original, have been silently emended to begin with a capital for ease of reading. Omissions of words within a passage are indicated with an ellipsis.

The book also includes extracts from *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien* (1981) edited by Humphrey Carpenter with the assistance of Christopher Tolkien, and incorporates significant passages from *The Lord of the Rings* related to the Second Age, which provide important, relevant material. In some of these, the text has been abridged (with edits indicated by ellipses) or silently rearranged; in all instances end-notes will direct the reader to the relevant passages in the three parts of the work, indicated as '*Fellowship*', '*Towers*' and '*Return*'.

INTRODUCTION

THE SAGA OF 'A DARK AGE'

It is a powerfully abiding moment in modern literature: the One Ring – the Dark Lord Sauron's Master Ring of Power, the destruction of which has been the object of an epic quest – falls into the fiery heart of Mount Doom; thus, returning to the inferno in which it was forged, the Ring is, at last, unmade.

Of course, there is much that the author still has to deal with: matters to do with rescue, healing and a coronation, followed by final reckonings and reconciliations, farewells, partings and departures. But the destruction of the Ruling Ring, and with it the fall of Sauron and his dark tower and an end to his millennia-long war of attrition against the Free Peoples of Middle-earth is effectively the climactic moment in J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*.

For the author, however, it was an elaborate appendix to a far older tale – or series of tales – with which he had been engaged for many years and towards which his imagination had been working for even longer. As he would write, a few years before *The Lord of the Rings* was published: 'I do not remember a time when I was not building it.'¹

Through the tireless efforts of the engines of popular culture, *The Lord of the Rings* is now a universally appropriated symbol of the art of myth-making, ranked among the world's centuries-long storehouse of legends, folk- and fairy-tales. But, for Tolkien, the exploits of Bilbo Baggins and the monumental quest of his nephew Frodo, were but part of a far greater story reaching back into a distant past.

J.R.R. Tolkien, writing to his son, Christopher, in November 1944, revealed the extent to which the 'great Romance' with which he was engaged was a continually growing, changing and emerging chronicle. In sending Christopher the latest completed chapters together with an outline for the

remainder of the narrative, he commented: 'It will probably work out very differently from this plan when it really gets written, as the thing seems to write itself once I get going, as if the truth comes out then, only imperfectly glimpsed in the preliminary sketch.'²

This approach to creative writing stemmed from Tolkien being both an acknowledged scholar and, at the same time, an admitted amateur practitioner of the novelist's craft. Although professionally and passionately rooted in research and trained in the comprehension and use of words, he was constantly – and to his genuine surprise and delight – buffeted and redirected by the freewheeling, liberating inspiration of the creative imagination. The result was *The Lord of the Rings*: a uniquely conceived and executed masterpiece of fantasy literature that was an ambitious 'sequel' to his earlier and more modest tale, *The Hobbit*.

Initially, Tolkien's readers were only aware of the book itself, not its forensically, even obsessively, constructed foundation that was the disciplined labour of an academic mind. Only later, and gradually, did the public become aware of the vast, labyrinthine structure of linguistics, chronologies, genealogies and histories underpinning the epic (yet intimate and particular) narrative of the War of the Ring. Part of that foundation was a work-in-progress known as 'The Silmarillion', an intricate mosaic of imaginative writings constituting the prehistory of *The Lord of the Rings* and the genesis of the Middle-earth legendarium.

In 1951, Tolkien was seeking a publisher who was willing to not only consider the new-minted *The Lord of the Rings* but who was also prepared to commit to simultaneously publishing 'The Silmarillion' a project on which he had, by then, been intermittently engaged for some thirty-seven years.

To promote his cause, Tolkien wrote out what he referred to as 'a brief sketch' (although it ran to more than 7,500 words) to serve as a résumé of both 'The Silmarillion' and *The Lord of the Rings* and which took pains to detail the co-dependency of the two projects.

He first outlined the making of Middle-earth – a creation myth of considerable literary power and beauty – followed by opulently crafted histories of its different races and the mighty deeds they wrought and great tragedies that befell them across the generations that comprised what he referred to as the First Age. Then, turning to the events of the Age that followed, Tolkien wrote, 'The next cycle deals (or would deal) with the

Second Age. But it is on Earth a dark age, and not very much of its history is (or need be) told.’³

This was a curious statement, since Tolkien had already written down much of that history – in many detailed drafts of considerable length – including the origin and rise of Sauron, titular character of *The Lord of the Rings*, the forging of the Rings of Power and of the One Ring to rule them all.

Similarly, from the same span of more than 3,400 years, he had recorded an account of the establishing of the island of Númenor with its geography and nature, its people and their political, social and cultural history and, finally, the events that led to their eventual corruption, decline and catastrophic downfall.

Tolkien’s ambitious plan to present readers with the full breadth of the mythology, legend and history of his created world as a prelude to the drama of *The Lord of the Rings* came to naught – publishers being understandably wary of such a costly and uncertain investment – and he was left with no alternative but to accept that the tale of Frodo Baggins and the Company of the Ring would need to stand alone.

Nevertheless, the creation and eventual ruin of Númenor and the making of the Rings of Power were central events in the chronology of Middle-earth and when, in July and November 1954, the first two volumes of *The Lord of the Rings* – *The Fellowship of the Ring* and *The Two Towers* – were eventually published by George Allen & Unwin, readers had their first tantalizing glimpses of that past history, providing a richly tapestried backdrop to the struggle by the Free Peoples of Middle-earth against Sauron and the forces of Mordor. These potent elements, though peripheral to the main narrative, proved to be – as, indeed, they have remained – an integral part of the book’s appeal.

When, in 1955, *The Return of the King* was published as the third and final volume of *The Lord of the Rings*, Tolkien added more than one hundred pages of Appendices that provided many details about Middle-earth: its languages, the lineage of its Kings and Rulers and a chronological timeline of the events of the Second and Third Ages. For many years, these appendices, as amended in 1966 for the second edition of *The Lord of the Rings*, were the only gleanings of information available to the average reader seeking background knowledge to the published adventures of Mr Bilbo Baggins and the later quest undertaken by his nephew, Frodo.

As Tolkien wrote in 1965 in his Foreword to the Second Edition of *The Lord of the Rings*: 'This tale grew in the telling, until it became a history of the Great War of the Ring and included many glimpses of the yet more ancient history that preceded it.' With the author's death on 2 September 1973, it might have seemed that there would be no further insights into that 'yet more ancient history' of Middle-earth; but, in May 1977, Humphrey Carpenter published *J. R. R. Tolkien, A Biography*, which not only revealed more fully than had otherwise been understood the vast scope of the work that Tolkien had created but also offered new and enticing details of specific verse and prose narratives, such as 'The Voyage of Earendel the Evening Star' and 'The Fall of Gondolin': alluring references that would herald the appearance, in September the same year, of *The Silmarillion* as presented for publication by Christopher, a project to which he had tirelessly devoted himself for the preceding four years, as he sought to offer readers the opportunity to revel in his father's grand vision of the First Age of Middle-earth.

Although *The Silmarillion* focused chiefly on the mythology and history of the 'Elder Days' of Middle-earth, it also contained two key works relating to the Second Age: the self-explanatory essay 'Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age' and 'Akallabêth'. This latter text provided an account of the island kingdom of Númenor – gifted to the Men of Middle-earth who had loyally fought alongside the Elves in the War of Wrath at the conclusion of the First Age – and described how, through the corruption of Sauron, its destruction was accomplished. Tolkien's original title for this narrative was 'The Fall of Númenor', later changed to 'The Downfall of Númenor'. In *The Silmarillion* Christopher Tolkien used the title 'Akallabêth', meaning in the language of the Númenóreans 'She that hath Fallen' or 'The Downfallen', noting that whilst no version of the work bore that title, it was the name by which it was referred to by his father.⁴

More Númenórean detail – historic, geographic and genealogical – was revealed when, in 1980, Christopher Tolkien published *Unfinished Tales of Númenor and Middle-earth*, a further selection of narratives, largely incomplete, drawn from his father's writings recounting various moments of high drama during the Three Ages of Middle-earth.

Like *The Silmarillion*, *Unfinished Tales* sprang from Christopher's dedicated study of his father's papers and the book's success, despite its fragmentary nature, initiated a unique endeavour in the sphere of literary

research that would result, over a thirteen-year period, in the magisterial 12-volume series, *The History of Middle-earth*.

Mention must be made of two further significant texts by J.R.R. Tolkien relating to Númenor. His fascination with his island creation and its eventual fate owed its origin, in part, to a recurring nightmare that began in early childhood and continued into adult life. In a letter, written in 1964, he described this experience: 'This legend or myth or dim memory of some ancient history has always troubled me. In sleep I had the dreadful dream of the ineluctable Wave, either coming up out of a quiet sea, or coming in towering over the green inlands. It still occurs occasionally, though now exorcized by writing about it.'⁵

An incentive for Tolkien to attempt such an exorcism arose in, as seems likely, 1936 as the result of an exchange with C.S. Lewis, his friend and fellow member of the literary group, the Inklings. Tolkien later recalled: 'L[ewis] said to me one day: "Tollers, there is too little of what we really like in stories. I am afraid we shall have to try and write some ourselves." We agreed that he should try "space travel", and I should try "time-travel".'⁶

Lewis would write *Out of the Silent Planet*,⁷ the first of a trilogy using science fiction to allegorically address moral and theological themes. Tolkien's attempt proved less successful. 'I began,' he wrote, 'an abortive book of time-travel of which the end was to be the presence of my hero in the drowning of Atlantis. This was to be called *Númenor*, the Land in the West.'⁸ The story was to span many generations of a family beginning with a father and son, Edwin and Elwin, and would trace their ancestry back through time to key characters at the time of Númenor's fall. 'My effort,' he subsequently reflected, 'after a few promising chapters, ran dry: it was too long a way round to what I really wanted to make, a new version of the Atlantis legend.'⁹

Although Tolkien wrote of what he referred to as his 'Atlantis complex' or 'Atlantis-haunting', obviously acknowledging a link to the fictional island described in Plato's dialogues, he was more directly attracted by the romance of a civilization overtaken by an Atlantean tragedy, something that has exerted its hold on the human imagination across many centuries of popular culture.¹⁰

In Tolkien's interpretation, the cataclysmic sinking of Númenor beneath the waves is followed by the world being reshaped – or 'bent' – from flat to round and with the lands of the West being 'removed for ever from the circles of the world'. A crucial element of this myth was the continuing existence of a Straight Road to the Ancient West which, though now hidden from view, might be travelled by any who could find it: a concept embodied in the proposed title for the book, *The Lost Road*.

The literal rise and fall of Tolkien's island (for it had been initially raised from the sea as a gift to Men) was informed not just by Plato's philosophical allegory on the politics of statehood but also by the Judeo-Christian narrative of the frailty and fallibility of mankind as related in the Biblical Book of Genesis. This is evident in his description of *The Downfall of Númenor* as 'the Second Fall of Man (or Man rehabilitated but still mortal)'.¹¹

It is clear from Christopher Tolkien's detailed study of his father's papers that the tale of the Númenóreans and their fate was conceived in complete harmony with 'The Silmarillion' and the continually developing history of Middle-earth and the natural and supernatural laws to which it was subject. The initial 'contest' with Lewis to write what Tolkien described as 'an excursionary "Thriller"... discovering Myth'¹² rapidly acquired far greater importance as a component in his legendarium – indeed Númenor became a keystone in Tolkien's emerging structure for the events of the Second Age.

Although incomplete, Tolkien had shown his publisher the first draft chapters of *The Lost Road* in 1937, but their discouraging response was that, even if completed, the book was unlikely to find commercial success.

In 1945 Tolkien returned to the idea of a separate exploration of a time-travelling Atlantean concept (still linked to Middle-earth) when he began writing *The Notion Club Papers*, a planned novel that was to take the fanciful form of a discovery, in the then-distant year 2012, of assorted papers relating to the meetings of an Oxford literary circle and the attempts of two of their number to experiment with time-travel. The Notion Club is a punning reference to the Inklings, a similarly Oxford university-based club of self-confessed 'amateur' writers of fiction of which Tolkien and Lewis were prime movers. The name Inklings had, of course, been cleverly chosen to suggest both 'ideas' and those who are apt to dabble in ink and Tolkien's choice of the word 'notion' was an obvious synonym for 'inkling';

furthermore, Tolkien toyed with the idea that some of the characters listed as members of ‘the Notion Club’ were, perhaps, fictional portraits of himself and fellow Inklings.

At the time of its composition, Tolkien had still to complete *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Notion Club Papers*, like *The Lost Road*, was eventually abandoned, although not before a considerable part of the book had been drafted and a further considerable investment of time had been spent in creating a Númenórean language, Adûnayân – or, in its anglicized form, Adûnaic (‘Language of the West’). Having returned to and finally completed *The Lord of the Rings*, Tolkien failed to resume work on *The Notion Club Papers* due, doubtlessly, to him increasingly focusing his attention on the Elder Days of Middle-earth.

Although the content of *The Lost Road* and *The Notion Club Papers* as planned and partially completed have an important thematic connection with the Númenórean writings as found in *The Silmarillion*’s ‘Akallabêth’ and other posthumously published narratives of the Second Age, they are radically individual in their style and tone – especially in their time-travelling concepts involving partial ‘real world’ (and ‘future world’) settings.

Readers wishing to further explore these discrete experiments in the chronicling of the Númenórean concept are encouraged to read two volumes of Christopher Tolkien’s *History of Middle-earth: The Lost Road and Other Writings* (1987) and *Sauron Defeated* (1992), though by way of illustration an extensive and particularly significant narrative, which is taken from *The Lost Road* and is referred to by Christopher in *The Lost Road* as ‘The Numenorean chapters’, is included in this volume in the form of an Appendix.

* * *

Christopher Tolkien died in 2020 aged 95, after a lifetime of intimate involvement with the annals of Middle-earth and a near fifty-year career meticulously curating his father’s work. The unparalleled scholarly legacy that remains has immeasurably enriched readers’ understanding and appreciation of the book that, in 1997, was voted the best-loved work of

BEFORE THE SECOND AGE

J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* had its foundation in the book we now know as *The Silmarillion*, eventually published in 1977 under the masterful editorship of his son, Christopher. It was a volume that drew together the whole matter of Middle-earth's creation and its passage from an age of myth to a time where stories merge into histories – inspired, as its author would say, by his 'basic passion... for myth (not allegory!) and for fairy-story, and above all for heroic legend on the brink of fairy-tale and history, of which there is far too little in the world (accessible to me) for my appetite.'

In 1951, long before the publication of *The Silmarillion* with its tales of the First Age of Middle-earth – and, indeed, before even *The Lord of the Rings* had reached the hands of a reading public, Tolkien wrote to his friend, Milton Waldman, about the scope of his ambition as a teller of tales:¹

Do not laugh! But once upon a time (my crest has long since fallen) I had a mind to make a body of more or less connected legend, ranging from the large and cosmogonic, to the level of romantic fairy-story – the larger founded on the lesser in contact with the earth, the lesser drawing splendour from the vast backcloths – which I could dedicate simply to: to England; to my country. It should possess the tone and quality that I desired, somewhat cool and clear, be redolent of our 'air' (the clime and soil of the North West, meaning Britain and the hither parts of Europe: not Italy or the Aegean, still less the East), and, while possessing (if I could achieve it) the fair elusive beauty that some call Celtic (though it is rarely found in genuine ancient Celtic things), it should be 'high', purged of the gross, and fit for the more adult mind of a land long now steeped in poetry. I would draw some of the great tales in fullness, and leave many only placed in the scheme, and sketched. The cycles should be linked to a majestic whole, and yet leave scope for other minds and hands, wielding paint and music and drama. Absurd.

Ambitious, certainly, but – fortunately for us – not as absurd as Tolkien imagined in his more frustrated and doubtful moments and it was a concept to which he constantly returned and determinedly pursued, even though his mode of pursuit was that of a wandering traveller: picking up languages, making maps and ever ready to leave the highway of his central narrative in order to explore picturesque or dangerous byways, before returning to the