

OTHER MINDS

The Unofficial Role - Playing Magazine for JRR Tolkien's Middle-earth and beyond

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Other Minds Magazine is an unofficial fan-based publication (both online and sometimes in print) created for those who love to role play in J.R.R. Tolkien's world of Middle-earth (and beyond) using any game system they wish. This magazine provides original scholarly articles of interest to Tolkien enthusiasts whether they are role playing gamers or not. There is no affiliation between the creators of this publication and any current or previous owners of the Tolkien copyrights, including but not limited to Sophisticated Games, Cubicle 7, Decipher, Mithril Miniatures, The Saul Zaentz Company d/b/a Tolkien Enterprises, the Tolkien Estate, New Line Cinema, or any other Tolkien license holders. This publication is 100% free and Other Minds Magazine does not accept any kind of financial reimbursement in any way. Online issues are available in PDF format at

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CONTENTS

Editorial 4
by Thomas Morwinsky

The Road Goes Ever On 6
by Thomas Morwinsky

Inside Information 11
by Thomas Morwinsky

 **Middle-earth in miniature II: Dwarves** 12
by José Enrique Vacas de la Rosa

 **Review: Tales from Wilderland** 26
by Thomas Morwinsky

 **Review: Heart of the Wild** 30
by José Enrique Vacas de la Rosa

 **Umbar, Khand & Near Harad - Cultural Gazetteer** 32
by Tom Davie

 **The Population of Gondor and Rohan** 40
by Thomas Morwinsky

EDITORIAL: HERE WE GO AGAIN

It is time again for a new Issue of *Other Minds* and I see with astonishment that it has been already more than one year (a bit more than 14 months actually...) since I wrote an editorial for OM. Real life has returned to – relative – normalcy and thus OM is getting more attention again.

As promised in Issue 15, we will have a stronger focus on TOR products this time and I am confident that this trend continues in the next Issue (and hopefully beyond) as well. This Issue have a solid number of contributions that deal with this great line and that shall be the start for a regular line of contributions. Beside this, there are more submissions waiting in line, among them the second part for the demographics of Gondor, namely the distribution of settlements in that realm and in Rohan. This will be realised similarly to the article on urbanisation in Rhovanion from Issue 15.

Now speaking of content, this time you will again see a good range of various contributions that span over a wide range of topics of Middle-earth gaming.

The first one is *Middle-earth in miniature Chapter II: Dwarves* by long-term contributor José Enrique Vacas de la Rosa. Here he shows us what companies have produced as Dwarves and how they relate to Middle-earth as described by Tolkien. As in the introductory article in the last Issue, it is not only the miniatures of licensed manufacturers (i.e. those allowed to officially label their boxes with “Middle-earth”), but a wide range of companies.

As promised, we will give more attention to TOR beginning with *Review: Tales from Wilderland* (done by myself) which gives you a good insight about its content and an evaluation of it in four criteria (see *Inside Information*). I don't reveal too much by saying that it is – as all TOR products so far – highly recommendable.

Close on its heels comes another one with the *Review: Heart of the Wild*. Similarly, this source-book focussed on the Anduin Vales features excellent information, closely examined by José Enrique Vacas de la Rosa yet again.

The next in line is the *Umbar and Near Harad Cultural Gazetteer* by Tom Davie – another well-known name for long-term readers of OM. He delves into the peculiarities of the culture and history of this region which is so important for most of Gondor's history.

Last but not least we have the promised piece on *The Population of Gondor and Rohan*. As it grew in the making, I decided to exclude the urbanisation part here and bring it in the next Issue. So you will find this specific topic of Gondorian demographics in OM17!

Now, stepping down from my soapbox, enjoy this new Issue of *Other Minds* and see you all in OM17 – hopefully in the not too far future!

For the *Other Minds* team

Thomas Morwinsky

September 2016



"Then Ilúvatar said to them: 'Of the theme that I have declared to you, I will now that ye make in harmony together a Great Music. And since I have kindled you with the flame Imperishable, ye shall show forth your powers in adorning this theme, each with his own thoughts and devices, if he will. But I will sit and hearken, and be glad that through you great beauty has been awakened into song.'"

- *Amundalë (The Music of the Ainur)*

The *Silmarillion*
by J.R.R. Tolkien

Listen to music by the many musicians around the world
inspired by the works of J.R.R. Tolkien.

Middle-earth Radio make available four different Internet radio streams dedicated to
the audio and music inspired by the works of J.R.R. Tolkien.

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And when you hear a piece of music you like, be sure to support the musicians by
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See the lengthy list of inspired music at the Tolkien Music website: www.tolkien-music.com

Tune in today and listen at:
www.middle-earthradio.com

THE ROAD GOES EVER ON

Certainly it reminds me [Frodo] very much of Bilbo in the last years, before he went away. He used often to say there was only one Road; that it was like a great river: its springs were at every doorstep, and every path was its tributary. "It's a dangerous business, Frodo, going out of your door," he used to say. "You step into the Road, and if you don't keep your feet, there is no knowing where you might be swept off to..."

—*The Lord of the Rings. Book I (A Shortcut to Mushrooms)*

There are many paths on the internet waiting to take you somewhere for Tolkien gaming. The vast reaches of the worldwide community harbour numerous roads and paths—some dangerous and some not—but it also has many havens of lore and respite where the weary traveller or loremaster seeking knowledge may find what he is looking for. In order to aid people on their journeys, this column of *Other Minds* (not exactly new, but with a new name) which will be a regular feature from now on offers a quick overview and pointer to potentially interesting Tolkien roleplaying-related websites.

For each site we give you a short description of its primary purpose and content to give you an overview for better judging how it might meet your needs.

The following list does not claim to be exhaustive or representative. In fact, I believe it is only a beginning. All the content of these pages is the responsibility of their owners. They are organised according to their primary gaming focus (e.g. TOR, MERP or whatever else) and, within each category, in alphabetical order.

This listing is intended to be "living", i.e. constantly evolving and updating. So, **if you know any other sites that present information of value for Tolkien gamers, do contact us at feedback@othermindsmagazine.com so we can include it here for others to enjoy as well.**

The following abbreviations are used:

TOR—*The One Ring* by Cubicle 7 and Sophisticated Gams. The current licensed game from 2011 onwards.

LotRRPG—*The Lord of the Rings Roleplaying Game* by Decipher. The licensee from 2002 to 2007.

MERP—*Middle-earth Roleplaying* by Iron Crown Enterprises. The licensee from 1982 to 1999.

TOR

Common skills and cultural baseline: some light analysis on the distribution of skills within cultures from the first TOR core book: <http://thechamberofmazarbuldnd.blogspot.com/2012/02/common-skills-cultural-baseline.html>

El Anillo Unico: A spanish fan-site dedicated to *The One Ring* by Cubicle 7 (see below for their presence). <http://elanillounico.tumblr.com/>

UPDATED Facebook TOR group: This has grown considerably and has now (June 2016) 500 members. <http://www.facebook.com/groups/222560297824158/>

Glorelendil's online resources: Designed for maximum usability with the PDF's of the TOR supplements as well as an excellent online calculating tools.
<http://nameless-castle-5228.herokuapp.com/>
<http://thawing-shore-2005.herokuapp.com/>
<http://lit-oasis-7482.herokuapp.com/>

The One Ring – Adventures over the Edge of the Wild (TOR): Cubicle 7 published this latest instalment of games (after *MERP* and *LotRRPG*) with *The Hobbit-* and *The Lord of the Rings* license from Middle-earth Enterprises in August 2011 (PDF version). They have a great and very active forum as well, where you can find a lot of support and tips around the game. A new forum is active since May 2013, which addresses some technical issues with the old forum (see Issue 13 for the link). the latter has become a read-only archive.

Publisher site for TOR:

<http://www.cubicle7.co.uk/our-games/the-one-ring/>

Forum:

<http://forums.cubicle7.co.uk/viewforum.php?f=7>

Resources:

<http://forums.cubicle7.co.uk/viewtopic.php?f=7&t=9&sid=966c8d10995ba3df2b3876cea1ade15d>

Rich H's resources:

<http://forums.cubicle7.co.uk/viewtopic.php?f=7&t=62>

RPGnet: Another review of TOR can be found here.

<http://www.rpg.net/reviews/archive/15/15457.phtml>

LotRRPG

Darkshire: Some useful resources. <http://www.darkshire.net/jhkim/rpg/lordoftherings/>

Facebook LotRRPG sites: First an interest page. Not much to see, but you can “like” it. The second one is a closed group about actual gaming.

<http://www.facebook.com/pages/The-Lord-of-the-Rings-Roleplaying-Game/135039343195996>

<http://www.facebook.com/groups/jmezlotrrpg/>

UPDATED

Hall of Fire: This was an excellent resource if you were looking for game-oriented material for Decipher's *Lord of the Rings Roleplaying Game* (LotRRPG). In the meantime the site has vanished and the domain is closed. Likewise, the fanzine itself has also ceased publishing. The last Issue was Nr. 86 from April 2013. If someone of you know whether there is something new, let us know and we'll spread the word further.

<http://www.halloffire.org> (whole domain offline)

MERP

I.C.E. product listing: Contains a listing of MERP products for reference.

<http://www.icwebring.com/ice-products>

Facebook MERP groups: There are several groups/sites dedicated to MERP here. Middle-earth Roleplaying (MERP) is a simple page without much information.

<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Middle-Earth-Role-Playing-MERP/30841799801>

The second one, Middle-earth Roleplaying, has at least a bit of more info (though still quite little).

<http://www.facebook.com/pages/Middle-earth-Role-Playing/108714242486460>

NEW

MERP UK is a new (at least to my knowledge) closed group dealing with “untold stories” in Tolkien's world. You can find it here:

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/231370666959142/>

NEW

It seems I overlooked this one. Nothing new here for years though.

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/5519656692/>

Lindëfirion: A campaign log and resources for a mid-Third Age campaign set in the Northwest. Made with great love for detail. The artwork, especially the maps, is awesome.

<http://www.lindëfirion.net>

Sub-page “Project Pelargir”: <http://wiki.lindëfirion.net/ProjectPelargir>

Loren Rosson's Blog “The Busybody”: A relatively new blog with reviews (“retrospectives”) of a selection of old and long out-of-print MERP modules. The relevant section is named “Middle earth Retrospectives” and can be found on the left side of the links section (you have to scroll down a bit). <http://lorenrosson.blogspot.com>

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UPDATED

MERP printing edition reference: A great reference for all the editorial changes and different printings of MERP 1st edition. If you are interested in the various editions of MERP up to 1992 (i.e. 1st ed.), this one is for you! Online again at a new site.

http://www.icwebring.com/MERP_Print_Ref/PrintingEditionReference.html

MERP Wikia: A Wiki-based collection of articles detailing the MERP canon and expanding it. There is some info on other sources like the LotRRPG (depending on subject), but the focus is the published MERP canon and its expansion by fans. Highly valuable for everyone focussing on the MERP canon.

http://merp.wikia.com/wiki/Middle-earth_Role_Playing_Wiki

SYSTEM-NEUTRAL OR MIXED

Fan-sourcebooks: This Yahoo group (formerly fan-modules) was founded in 2001 after the demise of *Other Hands*. Here you can find a great variety of fan-made material for a lot of topics. Game system and canon focus is MERP, though not exclusively. <http://games.groups.yahoo.com/group/fan-modules>

UPDATED

Facebook *Other Minds* group: We are happy to greet new fans, so don't hesitate to swing by and become a member (337 by September 2016)!

<http://www.facebook.com/groups/othermindsmagazine>

Gondica: Blog of former MERP author Anders Blixt with some of his Middle-earth stuff on it.

<https://gondica.wordpress.com/>

UPDATED

Iron Crown Enterprises: Publishers of HARP. Visit their website. The logo is downloaded through Wikipedia under Fair Use:

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:High_Adventure_Role_Playing_\(logo\).png#/media/File:High_Adventure_Role_Playing_\(logo\).png](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:High_Adventure_Role_Playing_(logo).png#/media/File:High_Adventure_Role_Playing_(logo).png)

<http://ironcrown.com/>

UPDATED

MERP.com: The site devoted to roleplaying in Middle-earth (though **not** exclusively or even primarily ICE's MERP as the title may suggest). It contains a vast vault of useful information and gaming material.

<http://www.merp.com>

Tower Hills, The: A webpage centered upon (Hârn and) Middle-earth.

http://www.towerhills.me/middle_earth/

NEW

Facebook group on Middle-earth tabletop games (in german): A Facebook interest group for tabletop roleplaying games set in Middle-earth, independent of a specific system. .

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/209367129217255/>

NEW

Mittelerde-Rollenspiel: A site devoted to tabletop roleplaying games set in Tolkien's Middle-earth for all german speakers exclusively.

<http://www.mittelerde-rollenspiel.de/>

TOLKIEN STUFF IN GENERAL

Ardalambion: One of the best sites dealing with Tolkien's languages. You may need to get used to the colour scheme, though. <http://folk.uib.no/hnohf/>

Compañía, La: A spanish site with a forum and dedicated to Tolkien in general (including books, movies and RPG's). Looks quite good, though due to my lack in spanish skills I can't say much about it.

<http://www.lacompania.net>

Deutsche Tolkienengesellschaft (German Tolkien Society): Similar to the Tolkien Society (see below), this site is about the furtherance of Tolkien scholarship and analysis in general.

<http://www.tolkiengesellschaft.de/>

The Elvish Linguistic Fellowship: A Special Interest Group of the Mythopoetic Society, this (and its journals) is the place for you if you're looking for information and lore about Tolkien's invented languages. <http://www.elvish.org/>

The Encyclopedia of Arda: A good encyclopedic website about Tolkien's world.

<http://www.glyphweb.com/arda>



Gernot Katzer's History of Middle-earth site (German): A good site describing the essentials of the

History of Middle-earth series. Link updated! <http://gernot-katzers-spice-pages.com/tolkien/home.html>

UPDATED

Grey Havens, The: One of the oldest reference sites on the web that is still in business.

<http://tolkien.cro.net/>



Tolkienforum (German): A good forum covering all aspects of Tolkien lore and fandom.

<http://www.tolkienforum.de>

Tolkien Forum, The (English): A good English forum on many aspects of Tolkien

<http://www.thetolkienforum.com/>

Tolkien Gateway: A good wiki site with an encyclopedia on many topics Tolkien and Middle-earth

http://tolkiengateway.net/wiki/Main_Page

Tolkien Society: The site for everyone interested in the more scholarly and academic treatment of all things Tolkien. <http://www.tolkiensociety.org/>

Wikipedia Portal "Middle-earth": Even Wikipedia has a whole section dedicated to Tolkien and his myth. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portal:Middle-earth>

ARTWORK

IN THIS ISSUE **Antti Autio:** See his fascinating artwork at <http://aautio.deviantart.com>.

Onur Bakarov: Find more of his art on <http://bakarov.deviantart.com/>

IN THIS ISSUE **Matej Cadil (neral85):** Found on deviantart at <http://neral85.deviantart.com>

Dead01: If you're into exploring the darker side of Middle-earth, this one is for you! See it at <http://dead01.deviantart.com/>

Jenny Dolfen (Goldseven): A great german artist who focuses on the Eldar of the First Age. Her watercolour images are fantastic. You can also buy prints in several versions and sizes as well as originals. <http://www.goldseven.de>

Nacho Fernandez Castro (NachoCastro): See his page at <http://nachocastro.deviantart.com/>

Katherine Carina Chmiel-Gugulska (Kasiopeia): Found on <http://kasiopea.art.pl/>

IN THIS ISSUE **Anke Eißmann:** She is one the greatest Tolkien illustrators. Check her art out at <http://www.anke.edoras-art.de>

Olanda Fang-Surdenas (Wynahiros): See her art on <http://wynahiros.deviantart.com>

Wouter Florusse (woutart): Check out his page on <http://woutart.deviantart.com/>

IN THIS ISSUE **Caspar David Friedrich:** Famous romantic painter. see the Wikipedia page for examples of his work: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caspar_David_Friedrich

Daniel Govar: A great artist whose website can be found at <http://danielgovar.com>.

IN THIS ISSUE **John Hodgson:** The primary artist and artistic director for *The One Ring*. It's no wonder that the game is so well received (beside the good rules) if you look at his art: <http://jonhodgson.deviantart.com/gallery/>

IN THIS ISSUE **John Howe:** The second of the great Tolkien artists that allowed the use of his artwork within our pages. Check out his great index. <http://www.john-howe.com/>

IN THIS ISSUE **Thomas Jedrusek:** One of the illustrators of *The One Ring*. see his page at <http://www.morano.pl/>

IN THIS ISSUE **Milek Jakubiec (EthicallyChallenged):** Thanks for giving permission to use your work! See more at <http://ethicallychallenged.deviantart.com/>

Liga Klavina (liga-marta): Check out her awesome art at <http://liga-marta.deviantart.com/>

Elena Kukanova: Check it out on <http://ekukanova.deviantart.com/>

Olga Kukhtenkova: You can find her work on the Tolkien Gateway:

<http://fan.theonering.net/~rolozo/cgi-bin/rolozo.cgi/collection/kukhtenkova>

Alan Lee: The third of the famous Tolkien artists. <https://www.facebook.com/alan.lee.5496>

IN THIS ISSUE Turner Mohan: Find out more of his excellent work at <http://www.mohan-art.com>.

IN THIS ISSUE Ted Nasmith: The official site of renowned Tolkien artist Ted Nasmith, who was so kind in allowing us to use so much of his artwork within *Other Minds*. For more information, see <http://www.tednasmith.com/>

IN THIS ISSUE Gabriel Oliveira: See also "Inside Information". Found at <http://think0.deviantart.com/>

IN THIS ISSUE Abe Papakhian: Check out his artwork at <http://abepapakhian.deviantart.com>.

Pegasusandco: Very well worth a look. <http://pegasusandco.deviantart.com/>

Daniel Pilla: Great stuff. See it at <http://danpilla.deviantart.com/>

IN THIS ISSUE Jan Pospisil (merlkir): One of our "old" artists, whose images we have used already in past issues. Check him out at <http://merlkir.deviantart.com>

IN THIS ISSUE Peter Xavier Price (peet): A new artist in OM. See him at www.facebook.com/peterxavierprice

Rolozo: Among the oldest artwork-related sites around <http://fan.theonering.net/~rolozo/cgi-bin/rolozo.cgi/news>

Shyangell: A visit to her very enjoyable page is always worth it. See more at <http://shyangell.deviantart.com/>

Tara Rueping: Find her great work on <http://www.trueping.com>.

IN THIS ISSUE Sampsa Rydman: He has published fantastic maps and a great campaign, especially maps. See him at <http://www.lindefirion.net/>

Danik Tomyn: Another great artist that can be found at deviantart. His section is at <http://danikyaroslavtomyn.deviantart.com>.

Tuuliky: As a regular OM reader, you will know her great work already. It may be found at <http://tuuliky.deviantart.com>.

OTHER STUFF THAT MIGHT BE INTERESTING FOR ROLEPLAYING IN MIDDLE-EARTH

Facebook "Fans of Mithril Miniatures" group: Lots of photos of painted minis plus some awesome dioramas. <http://www.facebook.com/groups/107518272188/>

Frathers Unite miniature forum: It is related to miniatures for sure! See also the article of *Middle-earth in miniature* in this Issue. [http://deartonyblair.blogspot.com.es/\(it is about miniatures, I swear\)](http://deartonyblair.blogspot.com.es/(it+is+about+miniatures,+I+swear)).

Games Workshop: If you are interested in miniatures made according to the movie design, then the Games Workshop miniature line (for skirmish-level tabletop wargaming) is for you. <http://www.games-workshop.com>

Many Mithril Pages: A site run by fans of Mithril Miniatures (see next entry). Here you can find extensive information and fan support for both current and out-of-stock minis. <http://mmp.faerylands.eu/index.php>

Mithril Miniatures: This company has been producing Middle-earth figurines since 1988; thus being one of the oldest still in continuous business. They now have a general line (though diminished in volume compared to earlier times) and an exclusive fellowship one which anyone can buy too, but the Fellowship members may vote on the next figures to be made. They also have a board which is mostly miniatures-centered but some general Middle-earth related information can be found as well. <http://www.mithril.ie>

Forum: <http://mithrilfigures.proboards19.com/index.cgi>

INSIDE INFORMATION

MIDDLE-EARTH RPG REVIEWS IN OTHER MINDS

In Issue 13, we already had a review for the Core Rulebook of *The One Ring Roleplaying Game*. As is fitting for a magazine devoted to gaming (beside scholarly) aspects of Tolkien's Middle-earth, it is self-evident that any future (and already published) products in that line should receive an extensive review. This Issue sees the beginning of these, with *Tales from Wilderland* and *Heart of the Wild* as subjects to be reviewed. Many more are already in the pipeline, so stay tuned for more reviews in the following Issues.

In order to give a comprehensive overview of its content, a rating system is used beside the text itself. This rating uses a scale from 0 to 5 stars, iterated in steps of 0.5, where 5 represents the best possible (i.e. perfect) rating.

In order to capture the whole width of possible aspects (and still stay manageable), we use three categories to judge the reviewed product:

1. **Gaming usability:** This is a measure how useful the product is deemed for actual playing, i.e. directly useable material (beside purely GM info or world fluff).
2. **Presentation & atmosphere:** This covers the general design and artwork used for illustration. Furthermore, it also incorporates aspects like the mood and atmosphere of the product (which is of course to a good degree influenced by design and artwork).
3. **Middle-earth lore:** Finally, the Middle-earth lore presented and used in the product is reviewed. Naturally, only licensed sources can be cited (i.e. from *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*), though often background info and lore topics has been written in such a way that they are compatible with information found in *The Silmarillion* or (often even more importantly) *The History of Middle-earth* series without naming it as such.

The example below shows the stars that are used in this scheme (here the 3.5/5 version).



INTERNATIONAL MARKING

By default, *Other Minds* uses English as standard language for all content. Some of this is intended for a specific non-english speaking audience though, and for the ease of recognition, these ones are marked by national flags (e.g. Spanish, French or whatever else). Gabriel Oliveira

(<http://think0.deviantart.com/>) has created these flags and we are very thankful for his permission to use them in *Other Minds*. See the Spanish flag image below for an idea how his style is like.

P.S.: We only use the "base" flag for this, so for example stuff coming from a Spanish speaking country outside of Spain would use the Spanish flag to denote the language. This is no belittlement of the original country, but a way to keep this simple and recognisable.



ARTWORK

You know our standard marker for artwork used in a specific Issue of OM, that is placed wherever an artist's work is used in OM:

IN THIS ISSUE

As a variant, we now use a red-coloured one if this artist is represented the first time in OM:

IN THIS ISSUE

MIDDLE-EARTH IN MINIATURE

CHAPTER 2 - DWARVES

By José Enrique Vacas de la Rosa
(arthadan@gmail.com)

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José Enrique has been a long-term contributor to Other Minds, and he did it again! Beside being well-versed in Middle-earth lore, he also is a gifted miniature painter and collector. The theme of miniatures has already seen some coverage in previous Issues, but this time it will be something quite different.

Rather than describing a range from a single company, we will be shown how Middle-earth and its inhabitants have been envisaged by various companies throughout the decades. The beginning of this is the following essay which covers an introductory chapter to miniatures for Middle-earth in general and then will go on with one of its most recognisable people – the Hobbits.

supplementary stuff



INTRODUCTION

Welcome to the second article of *Middle-earth in miniature!*

As promised in the first instalment of this series, I ran a poll in the Facebook page of *Other Minds* (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/othermindsmagazine/>) and the winning option was “Dwarves”. So this time we will speak about them, what they look like, what their favourite war gear is, what they have in common with hipsters (not the music, I can tell you that much in advance!) and of course, what are the best miniatures out there to represent them in your games. In order to do this, it is necessary to find all the relevant quotes for the appearance of Dwarves and thus to discern how “original” Tolkienian Dwarves should look like in height and built. With this in mind, the existing miniatures are judged to which extent they meet these criteria.

But let's start from the beginning:

There was Eru, the One, who is called Ilúvatar in Arda, and he created Aulë along with some other folks and they sang a merry song together and... well, I guess you know all that. Then, at some point Aulë decided to play with miniatures (sounds familiar?). Being a Vala however, he decided to give life to his vertically-challenged little fellows...

height

For they [the Hobbits] are a little people, smaller than Dwarves: less stout and stocky, that is, even when they are not actually much shorter. Their height is variable, ranging between two and four feet of our measure. They seldom now reach three feet; but they have dwindled, they say, and in ancient days they were taller.

—*The Lord of the Rings. Prologue*

So Hobbits (who belong to the race of Men and thus possess scaled-down human proportions, save for their big feet) are *less stout and stocky* than our Dwarves. And Dwarves are not much taller than Hobbits.

Let me dig out a more accurate quote about the Hobbit's height from my previous article:

[...] the Hobbits of the Shire were in height between three and four feet, never less and seldom more. They did not of course call themselves Halflings; this was the Númenórean name for them. It evidently referred to their height in comparison with Númenórean men, and was approximately accurate when given.

—*Unfinished Tales. Appendix Númenórean Linear Measures*

As the quote above implies that Dwarves were taller than almost any Hobbit, a minimum height of about 4 feet for the Naugrim seems fair. We have to remember that the Hobbits were “not much shorter” than the Dwarves and thus we should be careful with the estimate for dwarven height. An intra-dwarven band similar to that of the Hobbits (i.e. a variation of about 1 foot) has the charm of allowing for some difference among the Dwarves of the Seven Houses.

Applying the math from the first instalment of this series, the Hobbits' height band is:

- Lower boundary:
3 feet (0.91 metres) equal to 15 mm
- Upper boundary:
4 feet (1.22 metres) equal to 20 mm

So a reasonable height band for our Dwarves miniatures would be:

- Lower boundary:
4 feet (1.22 metres) equal to 20 mm
- Upper boundary:
5 feet (1.53 metres) equal to 25 mm

Now, what about the Petty Dwarves? They are only mentioned in *Tales from the First Age*, and thus it might be surmised that they are extinct in the default timeframe of this article (the Third Age). On the other hand, Tolkien describes them as outcasts from the “regular” dwarven communities (for whatever crime; see quote below), and such a punishment is at least imaginable also in later times. So there is a reasonable possibility for their existence in later years as well (i.e. based on a new expulsion from a dwarven community in later times rather than descendants from the reported First Age-Petty Dwarves). The GM/LM must be aware however, that such an expulsion is a very severe punishment for Dwarves and requires a strong cause before even being considered (should one be needed in the game).

In the time that followed Túrin spoke much with Mím, and sitting with him alone he listened to his lore and the tale of his life. For Mím came of Dwarves that were banished in ancient days from the great Dwarf-cities of the east, and long before the return of Morgoth they wandered westward into Beleriand; but they became diminished in stature and in smith-craft, and they took to lives of stealth, walking with bowed shoulders and furtive steps. Before the Dwarves of Nogrod and Belegost came west over the mountains the Elves of Beleriand knew not what these others were, and they hunted them, and slew them; but afterwards they let them alone, and they were called Noegyth Nibin, the Petty-Dwarves, in the Sindarin tongue.

—*The Silmarillion. Of Túrin Turambar*

The fact that the Elves of Beleriand hunted them reinforces my assumption that they must have been ugly, because it seems very unlikely that Elves would hunt down tiny bearded gentlemen on sight. I would depict them as normal Dwarves regarding complexion but with a height more resembling that of Hobbits - though more in the upper hobbit range.

BODY PROPORTIONS

Now, let's move on to body proportions. And I want to begin with a handful of quotes regarding the physical appearance of Dwarves to play a little game with you later:

*Then Aulë took the Seven Fathers of the Dwarves, and laid them to rest in far-sundered places; and he returned to Valinor, and waited while the long years lengthened. Since they were to come in the days of the power of Melkor, **Aulë made the Dwarves strong to endure.***

*Therefore, **they are stone-hard, stubborn, fast in friendship and in enmity, and they suffer toil and hunger and hurt of body more hardily than all other speaking peoples;** and they live long, far beyond the span of Men, yet not for ever.*

—*The Silmarillion. Of Aulë and Yavanna*

It came to pass during the second age of the captivity of Melkor that Dwarves came over the Blue Mountains of Ered Luin into Beleriand. Themselves they named Khazâd, but the Sindar called them Naugrim, the Stunted People, and Gonnhirrim, Masters of Stone.

—*The Silmarillion. Of the Sindar*

*But though either people loved skill and were eager to learn, no great love was there between them [the Noldor and the Dwarves]; for the Dwarves were secret and quick to resentment, and **Caranthir was haughty and scarce concealed his scorn for the unloveliness of the Naugrim,** and his people followed their lord.*

—*The Silmarillion. Of the Return of the Noldor*

*The dwarves are exceedingly **strong for their height,** but most of these were strong even for dwarves. In battle they wielded heavy two-handed mattocks; but each of them had also a short broad sword at his side and a round shield slung at his back. Their beards were forked and plaited and thrust into their belts. Their caps were of iron and they were shod with iron, and their faces were grim.*

—*The Hobbit. The clouds burst*

*They had brought with them a great store of supplies; for **the dwarves can carry very heavy burdens,** and nearly all of Dain's folks, in spite of their rapid march, bore huge packs on their backs in addition to their weapons. They would stand a siege for weeks, and by that time yet more dwarves might come, and yet more, for Thorin had many relatives.*

—*The Hobbit. The clouds burst*

Okay, now let's play as I promised! Imagine you yourself are Aulë and you have decided to create the race of Dwarves (everybody needs a hobby, right?). You have a general idea – but no details – about how the Children of Eru (Elves and Men) are going to be and want to make your Dwarves tough and sturdy to withstand the hardships of Middle-earth, which is – at this time – under Melkor's dominion:

- They must be very strong.
- They must be able to carry very heavy burdens over long distances.
- They must be difficult to hurt and resilient.
- They 'must' be relatively uncomely to behold. I derive this from the nickname "Stunted people" and their "unloveliness" in the eyes of Elves or Men. Or we could say this is a consequence of the first three design principles – let's give Aulë some credit. After all he is a maker of many beautiful things.

There are two possible approaches to solve this. The first one is to assume that it is all magic, and dwarven bodies are perfect replicas of (unlovely) scaled down Men's bodies and their different physical capabilities lack any further explanation. On the other hand, we could apply the most famous and thoroughly abused Fantasy-argument to explain impossible things: "a wizard... ah, I mean a Vala did

it” (or “it’s magic”). However, since Aulë had no precise idea about the exact appearance and nature of Eru’s children, such a “modified carbon copy” seems rather unlikely.

The second approach is to alter the basic human body to fulfil the requirements above. And this is the one I am going to follow, since my approach in these articles is a “realistic fantasy” vision of Middle-earth.

- To make them stronger, our Dwarves need more muscular mass.
- To increase their stamina they need a certain kind of muscular development which could be genetically predetermined. Then their normal activity, like working tirelessly in the mines or the smithy, will enhance it (i.e. some kind of “workout”). However this would have a visual impact only later.
- Thicker bones, and probably a broader and wider rib cage similar to Neanderthals, would make them more difficult to hurt and resilient. We want them solid as stone!

Image 4: Comparison between Neanderthal and Cro-Magnon skeletons



- These stocky people will need a lot of food to keep their bulky muscles going, so let’s make them short to reduce their need for sustenance, further increasing their survivability.
- Due to their heavy build they are no sprinters, so let’s give them shorter legs so they would benefit from a lower centre of gravity (very convenient for swinging an axe, by the way).

As a result of our changes, we have a bulky and solid people, certainly more stout and stocky than Hobbits, which would move less gracefully than Elves and look crude and alien to them, deserving the nickname of “Stunted People”.

Now, let’s see... how would they look like?



© New Line Cinema

Nope! These are just scaled down humans. And they even have no proper beards! Let’s try again...



By UFA

This is Alberich, a Dwarf King (beside the mounted hero Sigurd¹), as portrayed in *Die Nibelungen* (The Nibelungs), in a two-part silent movie (nowadays it would be labelled as “fantasy”) created by Austrian director Fritz Lang in 1924. The movie is based upon the medieval epic poem *Nibelungenlied* written down in the 13th century AD, which itself is based upon a much older oral tradition. Tolkien knew that poem for sure and he *may* have seen this movie.

Now this is a proper Dwarf! One that can carry a lot of weight and looks strong, resilient and ungraceful.

¹ Called *Siegfried* in the „*Nibelungenlied*“; Sigurd is the Norse appellation.

IT'S ALL ABOUT THE BEARD

The following quotes prove that Dwarves take pride in the length of their beards (yep – you've guessed right, this is what hipsters and Dwarves have in common):

*"If you mean you think it is my job to go into the secret passage first, O Thorin Thrain's son Oakenshield, **may your beard grow ever longer**," he said crossly, "say so at once and have done! I might refuse.*

—*The Hobbit. Inside Information*

*At last the time came for him to say good-bye to his friends. "Farewell, Balin!" he said; "and farewell, Dwalin; and farewell Dori, Nori, Ori, Oin, Gloin, Bifur, Bofur, and Bombur! **May your beards never grow thin!**"*

—*The Hobbit. The Return Journey*

In addition, tearing them apart is a sign of the greatest grief:

*Then great was the wrath and lamentation of the Dwarves of Nogrod for the death of their kin and their great craftsmen, **and they tore their beards**, and wailed; and long they sat taking thought for vengeance.*

—*The Silmarillion. Of the Ruin of Doriath*

Personally I think this strong cultural trait comes from the fact that Aulë himself may have a beard or at the very least the Seven Fathers of the Dwarven race were made with huge respectable ones. There is no quote for Aulë's beard, but we do know that at least one of the Valar had one, so I think it is not too far-fetched to say Aulë had one as well:

*Greatest in strength and deeds of prowess is Tulkas, who is surnamed Astaldo, the Valiant. He came last to Arda, to aid the Valar in the first battles with Melkor. He delights in wrestling and in contests of strength; and he rides no steed, for he can outrun all things that go on feet, and he is tireless. **His hair and beard are golden**, and his flesh ruddy; his weapons are his hands.*

—*The Silmarillion. Valaquenta*

Now, let's see what Tolkien says about Dwarven women:

*Dis was the daughter of Thrain II. She is the only dwarf-woman named in these histories. It was said by Gimli that there are few dwarf-women, probably no more than a third of the whole people. They seldom walk abroad except at great need, **they are in voice and appearance**, and in garb if they must go on a journey, **so like to the dwarf-men that the eyes and ears of other peoples cannot tell them apart**. This has given rise to the foolish opinion among Men that there are no dwarf-women, and that the Dwarves "grow out of stone".*

—*The Lord of the Rings. Appendix A (Durin's Folk)*

This clearly implies they look pretty much like male Dwarves, for more in-depth analysis of Tolkien quotes regarding Dwarven women's appearance (and more) please refer to the great article *The Problem of Dwarven Women* by Neville Percy in *Other Minds* #4 (for your comfort, here is the direct link: <http://www.omzine.org/downloads/om-english/om-004-other-minds-eng-20080729.pdf/view>).

CLOTHES AND EQUIPMENT

Dwarves are great warriors and they have fought in many battles. Let's take a look to their weapons and armour:

*Last of all the eastern force to stand firm were the Dwarves of Belegost, [...] it was their custom moreover to **wear great masks in battle hideous to look upon**; and those stood them in good stead against the dragons. [...] But the Naugrim made a circle about him when he assailed them, and even his mighty armour was not full proof against the blows of **their great axes**; and when in his rage Glaurung turned and struck down Azaghâl, Lord of Belegost, and crawled over him, with his last stroke Azaghâl drove **a knife** into his belly, [...]*

—*The Silmarillion. Of the Fifth battle: Nirnaeth Arnoediad*

Other finds and hands Other finds and hands Other finds and hands Other finds and hands

These masks are not mentioned again, but they may come into play as really old family heirlooms or be found in ancient treasures. Regarding weapons, this is good evidence for great two-handed axes and knives as secondary weapons.

Their smithcraft indeed the Sindar soon learned of them; yet in the tempering of steel alone of all crafts the Dwarves were never outmatched even by the Noldor, and in the making of mail of linked rings, which was first contrived by the smiths of Belegost, their work had no rival.

—The Silmarillion. Of the Sindar

If the Dwarven chain mail is the best (at least the one made in Belegost), it only makes sense that it is also extensively used.

This is seen indeed, as in Dáin's warriors in the Battle of the Five Armies:

Dáin had come. He had hurried on through the night, and so had come upon them sooner than they had expected. Each one of his folk was clad in a hauberk of steel mail that hung to his knees, and his legs were covered with hose of a fine and flexible metal mesh, the secret of whose making was possessed by Dain's people.

The dwarves are exceedingly strong for their height, but most of these were strong even for dwarves. In battle they wielded heavy two-handed mattocks; but each of them had also a short broad sword at his side and a round shield slung at his back. Their beards were forked and plaited and thrust into their belts. Their caps were of iron and they were shod with iron, and their faces were grim.

—The Hobbit. The clouds burst

So, even late in the Third Age and after the loss of much knowledge, hauberks of steel mail, flexible metal mesh for their legs, iron caps, round shields, short broad swords and two-handed mattocks are an impressive arsenal.

But how do they look like when they go on an adventure journey? Here we have Gimli:

Gimli the dwarf alone wore openly a short shirt of steel-rings, for dwarves make light of burdens; and in his belt was a broad-bladed axe. Legolas had a bow and a quiver, and at his belt a long white knife. The younger hobbits wore the swords that they had taken from the barrow; but Frodo took only Sting; and his mail-coat, as Bilbo wished, remained hidden.

—Lord of the Rings. The Ring Goes South

So far it is clear that from the First Age onwards the primary dwarven armour is chain mail.

Dwarves are great smiths; surely they should have shiny plate metal armour as well, right?

Suddenly there was a great shout, and from the Gate came a trumpet call. They had forgotten Thorin! Part of the wall, moved by levers, fell outward with a crash into the pool. Out leapt the King under the Mountain, and his companions followed him. Hood and cloak were gone; they were in shining armour, and red light leapt from their eyes. In the gloom the great dwarf gleamed like gold in a dying fire.

—The Hobbit. The clouds burst

It may seem so, but... wait a minute!

Now the dwarves took down mail and weapons from the walls, and armed themselves. Royal indeed did Thorin look, clad in a coat of gold-plated rings, with a silver hafted axe in a belt crusted with scarlet stones.

—The Hobbit. Not at home

Obviously, no metal plate armour was available even in the finest armoury of Erebor, unless you can come up with a very good reason why Thorin's company took some "inferior" equipment instead of the best available (especially when taking into account that armour weight is no problem for Dwarves and they were expecting a fierce and hard battle).

But a small dark figure that none had observed sprang out of the shadows and gave a hoarse shout: Baruk Khazâd! Khazâd ai-mênu! An axe swung and swept back. Two Orcs fell headless. The rest fled.

—*Lord of the Rings. Helm's Deep*

The translation of Gimli's battle cry as you probably know is "Axes of the Dwarves! The Dwarves are upon you!" strongly suggesting axes are the primary weapon of choice for Dwarves.

But what about missile weapons? We have no references of Dwarven archers in any great battle (let alone crossbows!). The only quote we have of Dwarves using bows makes clear they are not the best archers:

Suddenly on the path ahead appeared some white deer, a hind and fawns as snowy white as the hart had been dark. They glimmered in the shadows. Before Thorin could cry out three of the dwarves had leaped to their feet and loosed off arrows from their bows. None seemed to find their mark.

—*The Hobbit. Flies and Spiders*

In short, your typical Dwarf adventurer will carry chain mail and axe. However they can carry other weapons, favouring those for close combat. Thanks to their great endurance, they can carry more weight than any other race such as a two handed weapon, another single handed one and a shield seem a believable arsenal.

It is important to note the complete absence of plate armour, not to mention the articulated variety. Also, there is no mention of crossbows and I will not speculate about their existence, because going down that way leads one to results, such as "Off course orcs use Uzis! Why? Because Tolkien never said otherwise – a good example of the logical fallacy known as the *argumentum ad ignorantiam*. So no crossbows for my dwarves, thank you. Missile weapons in general would have seen very limited use in underground battles anyway, which are precisely the kind of battles Dwarves have fought mainly throughout their history and it is worth noting that Dwarves are not reported using such weapons in the Battle of the Five Armies.

"Fools!" laughed Bard, "to come thus beneath the Mountain's arm! They do not understand war above ground, whatever they may know of battle in the mines."

—*The Hobbit. The Clouds Burst*

Crossbows in particular have greater penetration power than bows (usually), so they make more sense against heavily armoured enemies (either chain or plate metal) but they have a slower firing rate than a bow and less range. In this articles I hope to show beyond any reasonable doubt that there is no evidence for typical plate armour in Middle-earth (i.e. the typical European late 14th to late 15th century knightly armour), but a lot for chain armour as the best heavy armour in Tolkien's Middle-earth (forget the movies they are an entirely different story). See also *Clad in Mail* in Issue 4 of *Other Minds* for a discussion about weapons and armour in Middle-earth.

Beside gear of war, other aspects that are peculiar to Dwarves need some attention. Among these, their special relationship to animals is definitely worth noting: Actually there is some kind of animosity between animals and dwarves (or rather a complete lack of empathy or understanding) but they can ride docile ponies. Of course that means no cavalry in battle (don't get me started on that silly movie goats and boars!).

"Bravo!" said Balin who was standing at the inn door looking out for him. Just then all the others came round the corner of the road from the village. They were on ponies, and each pony was slung about with all kinds of baggages, packages, parcels, and paraphernalia. There was a very small pony, apparently for Bilbo.

—*The Hobbit. Roast Mutton*

The Miniatures

Now, after these preliminaries, we get to put meat on the bones – the miniatures themselves! I have considered some manufacturers, roughly ordered from the oldest to the newest. All miniatures in this section are good matches regarding equipment unless noted otherwise in the description. And I have included some notes about height, **measured from the bottom of their feet to eye level**, in the description – at least for those I own (the ones with grey stone walls in the background). Please bear in mind that some of them may be crouching or with separated feet, in those cases they would be a bit taller if standing straight.

Some of the pictures are intentionally dark, so you can see more details of the shiny metal miniatures. For reference, I use Beran (representing a human of about 1.8m in height) again. You should know him already from the first instalment of this series in issue 15 of *Other Minds*.

Let's begin!

Asgard / Viking Forge

These come from the Old Days and are so very dated, but still there are some real gems among them. Please excuse the lack of any scale to the picture - I do not own any of these miniatures (yet!).



Grenadier / Mithril

These are my personal favourite. Their Dwarves are bulky, with short legs, big hands and feet, slightly oversized heads, hands and feet and clad in mail. Their sculpting is a bit dated and some of the mail armour is reinforced with metal plates, but I think that is acceptable. Almost all of them were sculpted by Nick Lund, but the one in the centre is Mark Capplestone's. Since I was a kid, I have always imagined Thorin at the Battle of the Five Armies as the dwarf on the left with his axe over his head. Can't you hear him cry "To me! To me! Elves and Men! To me! O my kinsfolk!?" And yes I know, his chainmail should be golden...



Regarding their height these guys are (from left to right, from the bottom of their feet to eye level):

- "Thorin": 22 mm (1.34 metres / 4 feet 5 inches).
- Cool Captain: 22 mm (1.34 metres / 4 feet 5 inches).
- Archer: 20 mm (1.22 metres / 4 feet).

Mithril

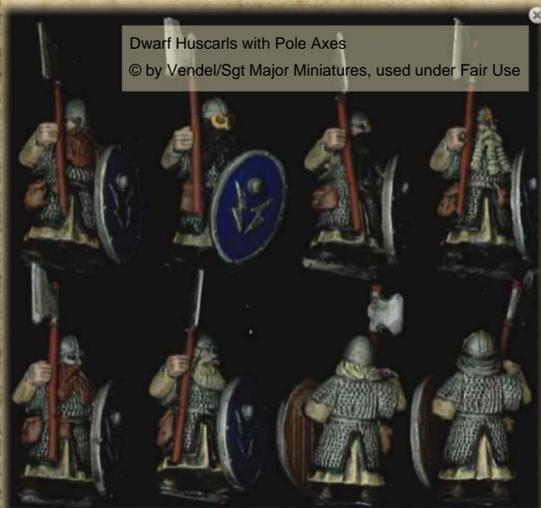
These are good example of what I mean with the "bearded gentlemen" type, Dwarves with human proportions and only scaled down in height. For me they look too thin and fragile to be "real" Dwarves, but may be used as young ones. Also, they tend to be a bit static. Sculpted by Chris Tubb.

Height: 22 mm (1.34 metres / 4 feet 5 inches).



Vendel / Sgt Major Miniatures (Blood Day range)

These are more intended for war-gaming, with few poses per reference. Still, there even is proper Dwarven infantry with mattocks. Again, I do not own any of these, so no scale to this picture.



Bob Olley Armies / ARMORCAST

Do you need some dwarven townfolk? Then these are for you. This range sculpted by Bob Olley depicts some common dwarven village folk (however they are all “surface dwellers”). A fisherman, a woodman, some tavern patrons... A bit slim but so original and nicely detailed that they are hard to resist. Again, as I do not own any of these, there isn't a scale available.



Reaper Miniatures

This manufacturer offers a wide range of Dwarves by different sculptors and a lot of differences between their various Dwarves. I have picked these three despite the fact that they have some “flaws” and thus may not be a perfect fit for Middle-earth Dwarves. The left one is from the Pathfinder range and has a crossbow (which I will have to remove), the middle one has scale armour (I can live with one Dwarf wearing a different kind of armour) and a silly beer mug emblem on his shield (not visible from this angle) and the third one is beardless (being a rogue type, he can be some kind of outcast).

I have to say the one in the middle has, what I consider, perfect proportions for a Dwarf and a nice sculpting style, although the axe-head needs to be trimmed down because it is too massive for a one-handed weapon. A real shame that I cannot find more like him!

Height (from left to right):

Runner: 22 mm (1.34 m / 4' 5”), Stocky: 20 mm (1.22 m / 4'0”), Axe-thrower: 22 mm (1.34 m / 4' 5”).



Games Workshop's Lord of the Rings range

These are representations of the movie Dwarves, which means they have not enough chainmail, but hollow axe heads, human proportions, and they are too small... do I need to say more? The one below is the only one I have because he is an exception regarding equipment and build (that is why I have the mini!).

Height: 18 mm (1.09 m / 3' 7").



It is worth noting that earlier references were taller. These moulds were sold to Hasslefree Miniatures and are available from them.



Mounted Dwarves

These are hard to find. There is a discontinued Mithril miniature, but since we are focusing on miniatures on sale the only one I know that I like is this exotic Dwarf from Bronze Age miniatures. Obviously he is an outcast from an eastern tribe (that is my personal interpretation based on the shaved beard).



Red Box Games

These are in my opinion the best detailed Dwarves for Middle-earth. I love Tre Manor's sculpting style, just look at the finely detailed chainmail! The gear is fine, but these miniatures are a bit short and again with human proportions. They could be perfect for young Dwarves though (even if the lass to the left is beardless).

Height:

- Lass: 15 mm (0.91 m / 2' 8").
- Lad: 18 mm (1.09 m / 3' 7").
- Grown up (2nd picture): 22 mm (1.34 m / 4' 5").



CHARACTERS OF NOTE

Concerning prominent Dwarves, I will restrict myself to the most well-known Dwarves of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*.

Thorin's Company.

"Bravo!" said Balin who was standing at the inn door looking out for him. Just then all the others came round the corner of the road from the village. **They were on ponies**, and each pony was slung about with all kinds of baggages, packages, parcels, and paraphernalia. There was a very small pony, apparently for Bilbo. Dwalin and Balin said: "Excuse me, I left mine in the porch!" "Just bring mine in with you," said Thorin. **They came back with viols as big as themselves**, and with Thorin's harp wrapped in a green cloth.

—*The Hobbit. An Unexpected Party*

First, I don't think they took their musical instruments with them on the Quest for Erebor, because they are expensive, fragile, never used after the meeting at Bilbo's house and some of them like Bombur's drum, are quite big, not to mention Dwalin's and Balin's viols "as big as themselves". In addition, it is likely that they would have complained about their loss during the journey (e.g. in the Misty Mountains) but they didn't. I have always assumed that they sent them back to the Blue Mountains somehow before starting the journey.

Let's take a first look to them in order of appearance:

Dwalin

"I am so sorry to keep you waiting!" he was going to say, when he saw that it was not Gandalf at all. It was a dwarf with a blue beard tucked into **a golden belt**, and very bright eyes under his dark-green **hood**. As soon as the door was opened, he pushed inside, just as if he had been expected.

—*The Hobbit. An Unexpected Party*

Balin

Instead there was a very old-looking dwarf on the step with a white beard and a scarlet **hood**; and he too hopped inside as soon as the door was open, just as if he had been invited.

—*The Hobbit. An Unexpected Party*

Kili & Fili

It was two more dwarves, both with blue **hoods**, **silver belts**, and yellow beards; and each of them carried **a bag of tools and a spade**.

—*The Hobbit. An Unexpected Party*

Dori, Nori, Ori, Oin, and Gloin

Dori, Nori, Ori, Oin, and Gloin were their names; and very soon two purple **hoods**, a grey hood, a brown hood, and a white hood were hanging on the pegs, and off they marched with their broad hands stuck in their **gold and silver belts** to join the others.

—*The Hobbit. An Unexpected Party*

Bifur, Bofur, Bombur and Thorin

So far we know all dwarves wear hoods (Thorin's has a tassel) and silver or golden belts and Kili and Fili have sacks of tools and spades. At least Dwalin has a cloak the same colour of his hood:

"Don't be precise," said Dwalin, "and don't worry! You will have to manage without pocket-handkerchiefs, and a good many other things, before you get to the journey's end. As for a hat, I have got **a spare hood and cloak** in my luggage."

That's how they all came to start, jogging off from the inn one fine morning just before May, on laden ponies; and Bilbo was wearing a dark-green hood (a little weather-stained) and a dark-green cloak borrowed from Dwalin. They were too large for him, and he looked rather comic.

—*The Hobbit. Roast Mutton*

But that is not all...

“Who shall we sit on first?” said the voice.

“Better sit on the last fellow first,” said Bert, whose eye had been damaged by Thorin. He thought Tom was talking.

“Don’t talk to yerself!” said Tom. “But if you wants to sit on the last one, sit on him. Which is he?”

“The one with the yellow stockings,” said Bert.

“Nonsense, the one with the grey stockings,” said a voice like William’s.

—*The Hobbit. Roast Mutton*

We have Dwarves in hoods, metal belts and stockings (as well as some sort of tunics and boots). And surely they must have had some weapons... or not?

“O! are they?” said Thorin, and he jumped forward to the fire, before they could leap on him. He caught up a big branch all on fire at one end; and Bert got that end in his eye before he could step aside. That put him out of the battle for a bit.

—*The Hobbit. Roast Mutton*

That quote always got me wondering, as they seem to have gone on their journey to Erebor completely unarmoured and without any weapons! It is clear that Tolkien began the book as a tale for his children and so the Dwarves are presented in a more jolly way and nice rather than grim and tough warriors ready to chop off goblin heads. But still let’s assume that some of them wore chainmail under their clothes invisibly and that most of them were armed with smaller concealed hand weapons. Kili and Fili might use some of their tools as weapons instead (maybe a pick) and some knives and daggers wouldn’t be out of place either. We are speaking about Dwarves on their quest to slay a dragon after all!

Most weapons were probably lost in Goblin town save for Ocris which was presented to the Great Goblin as proof of the ill intentions of the Dwarves and which was recovered by Gandalf before escaping.

Ocris, too, had been saved; for Gandalf had brought it along as well, snatching it from one of the terrified guards. Gandalf thought of most things; and though he could not do everything, he could do a great deal for friends in a tight corner.

—*The Hobbit. Over Hill and Under Hill*

Then Beorn armed them with bows:

I [Beorn] will provide you with skins for carrying water, and I will give you some bows and arrows. But I doubt very much whether anything you find in Mirkwood will be wholesome to eat or to drink.

—*The Hobbit. Queer Lodgings*

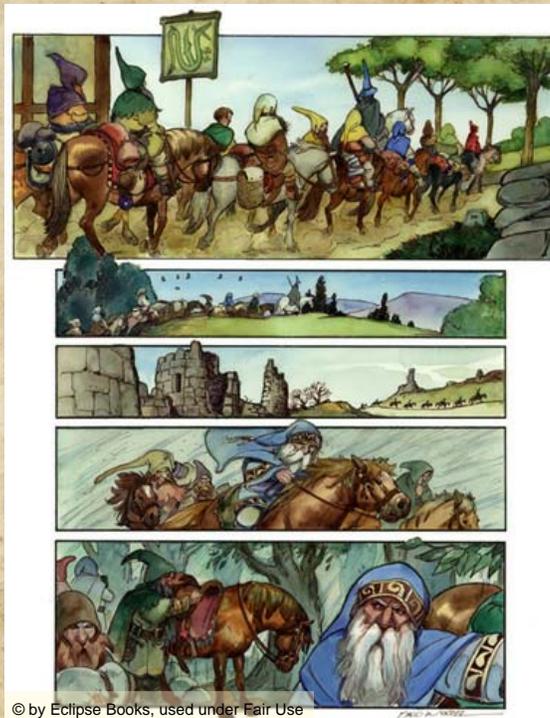
But when they depart from Lake-town no extra

So one day, although autumn was now getting far on, and winds were cold, and leaves were falling fast, three large boats left Lake-town, laden with rowers, dwarves, Mr. Baggins, and many provisions.

—*The Hobbit. A Warm welcome*

weapons are mentioned:

I think David Wenzel made a fine portrait of our Dwarves in the comic version of *The Hobbit* (save for the belts which should be made of metal instead of leather):



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To conclude all this, some have cloaks, some just hoods and no chainmail nor big weapons should be in sight. With this idea on mind I favour these Dwarves from Mirliton (former Grenadier's Fantasy Warriors). They have little chainmail on sight, and are armed with bows, the only weapons ever mentioned besides Thorin's sword (you can cut off the spears upper part and turn them into walking sticks easily enough). I have to say the "official" paintjob does them no favour.



© by José Enrique Vacas de la Rosa

Gimli, son of Glóin

For him, we have a good range of quotes that describe his equipment and outlook:



© by Mirliton, used under Fair Use

But if you prefer your Dwarves with more human-like proportions and clearly visible stockings, I have something for you as well. These are from Sgt Major Miniatures (Blood Day range).

Gimli the dwarf alone wore openly a short shirt of steel-rings, for dwarves make light of burdens; and in his belt was a broad-bladed axe.

—The Lord of the Rings.
The Ring goes south



© by Sgt. Major Miniatures, used under Fair Use

Finally, at long last, the Dwarves decide to grab some proper war gear and go to war in the Battle of the Five Armies:

Now the dwarves took down mail and weapons from the walls, and armed themselves. Royal indeed did Thorin look, clad in a coat of gold-plated rings, with a silver hafted axe in a belt crusted with scarlet stones.

—The Hobbit. Not at Home

My favourites are the Grenadier/Mirliton miniatures, since almost every single Dwarf in the range fits Tolkien's descriptions mentioned in the introduction. So you have plenty to choose from. I will show a previous picture from my own collection because I think it looks a bit better than the official pics.

The Company behind him spoke seldom, and then only in hurried whispers. There was no sound but the sound of their own feet; the dull stump of Gimli's dwarf-boots; the heavy tread of Boromir; the light step of Legolas; the soft, scarce-heard patter of hobbit-feet; and in the rear the slow firm footfalls of Aragorn with his long stride.

—The Lord of the Rings.
A journey in the dark

The Elves next unwrapped and gave to each of the Company the clothes they had brought. For each they had provided a hood and cloak, made according to his size, of the light but warm silken stuff that the Galadhrim wove.

—The Lord of the Rings.
Farewell to Lórien

[...] Gimli needed no coat of rings, even if one had been found to match his stature, for there was no hauberk in the hoards of Edoras of better make than his short corslet forged beneath the Mountain in the North. But he chose a cap of iron and leather that fitted well upon his round head; and a small shield he also took. It bore the running horse, white upon green, that was the emblem of the House of Eorl.

—The Lord of the Rings.
The King of the Golden Hall.

"Twenty-one!" cried Gimli. **He hewed a two-handed stroke** and laid the last Orc before his feet. "Now my count passes Master Legolas again."

—The Lord of the Rings.
Helm's Deep.

From all this we can conclude that he wears a short corslet of superior dwarven chainmail, a broad-bladed axe and heavy boots. In Lórien he receives an elven-cloak and in Rohan he gets a cap of iron and leather and a small shield (hinting at the fact that he can use his axe with one or two hands).

For him I suggest the following miniature ("Degenhard the Axe"; unfortunately without scale, as I don't own it) by Scotia Grendel (originally a Gimli miniature from Black Tree when they had the copyright). To tell you the Truth, I would have preferred something more modern to show you, as the sculpting on this one seems a bit dated to me, but it is tricky to find a perfect match.



© by Scotia Grendel, used under Fair Use

CONCLUSION

Leaving out the more comical types of miniatures and those with plate metal armour, cross-bows or firearms, there is a wide range of suitable miniatures offered, with the right height and gear available on the market.

The main difference is their build. If, my dear reader, I have been able to convince you, you will favour Dwarves stockier than any Elf or Man. In this case I recommend Mirliton or Sgt Major miniatures. But if you prefer - despite my best efforts - to have them look like bearded Hobbits with axes, then Games Workshop, Mithril and Red Box Games are your best choices. And Reaper has a wide range of miniatures for both tastes.

So much for dwarven miniatures. Looking forward, the next instalment of *Middle-earth in miniature* awaits you in OM 17. For that one I will set up a new poll on OM's Facebook page to find out which theme interests you most!



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REVIEW: TALES FROM WILDERLAND

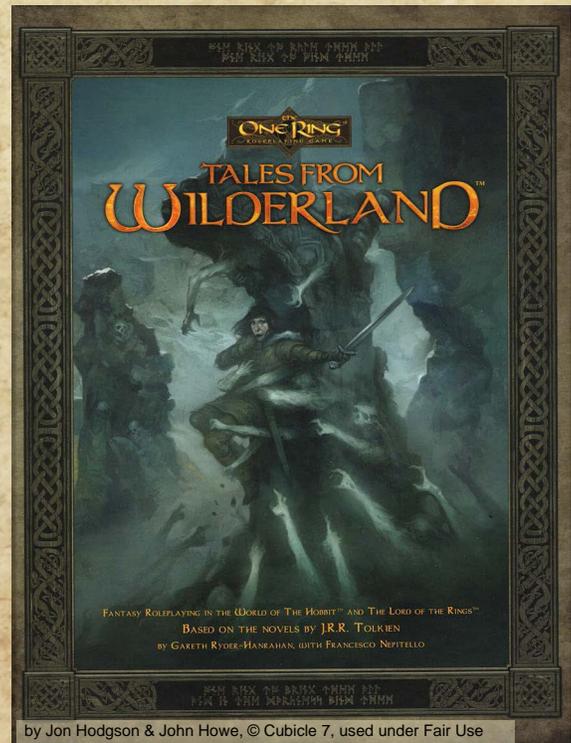
By Thomas Morwinsky
(tolwen@gmx.de)

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Now we continue what has long been overdue in Other Minds - reviews of existing and new supplements for role-playing games set in Middle-earth. Naturally, TOR as the licensed game receives preferential treatment here.

review



by Jon Hodgson & John Howe, © Cubicle 7, used under Fair Use

GENERAL

Tales from Wilderland is a collection of seven adventures for *The One Ring* roleplaying game (TOR). It is set in TOR's standard timeframe of the mid-30th century of the Third Age and comes either as a softcover (original) or hardcover (reprint). The design and content of both is identical, but the reprint in hardcover blends much more smoothly into the classy look of the other TOR products. So if you have the choice, I recommend to go for the hardcover (unless of course you're a collector and want all versions), especially as the softcover binding may prove less sturdy than the hardcover one. All page numbers mentioned here refer to the hardcover edition. Although the individual scenarios are loosely connected, you can play them individually as you see fit depending on your campaign. Adventures 4 to 7 have a common background plot and the same main adversary though and actually constitute an interconnected mini-campaign.

A nice touch of this adventure module (as for all TOR products) is that if you order it through Cubicle 7's webstore (or any shop participating in the *Brick-and-Mortar* scheme), you get a PDF copy in addition to the physical piece for free. See the introductory short description for the links:

Product in Short	
Title	Tales from Wilderland
Author	Gareth Ryder-Hanrahan with Francesco Nepitello
Artwork	John Howe, John Hodgson, Tomasz Jedruszek
Publisher	Cubicle 7
Year published	2012
Pages	160
Price	£ 26.99
Gaming usability	★★★★★
Presentation & atmosphere	★★★★★
Middle-earth lore	★★★★★
Available from	
http://cubicle7.co.uk/buy-now/	
http://cubicle7.co.uk/find-a-shop/	

One of its best features is the fantastic artwork. Even though three artists (John Howe, Jon Hodgson and Tomasz Jegdruszek) have contributed, everything fits smoothly together. The images support the content excellently, superbly conveying the mood that the text evokes. The images in this review were taken from Tales from Wilderland to give you an idea of its quality.

INDIVIDUAL SCENARIOS

The first adventure “Don’t Leave the Path” is a good introductory adventure with a rather straightforward plot about escorting a merchant and his son through Mirkwood. It contains some interesting encounters along the way, and is fairly linear. Overall it is a solid start for a longer campaign.

“Of Leaves & Stewed Hobbit” is a more classic story of a rescue mission into a Goblin lair whose occupants have kidnapped a relative of the adventurers’ client. The latter is the owner of a Hobbit-run inn between Mirkwood and Anduin, an idea likely originally based on Bilbo’s exploits and reports of Wilderland a few years earlier. It offers some good chances for good roleplaying, moral choices and combat.

The next scenario, “Kinstrife & Dark Tidings” has a much darker tone, as it involves a murder mystery among the Beornings and a good amount of moral choices and judgment on the side of the characters, as it depends primarily on their actions and decisions whether things turn out for good or bad. The characters also have (another) chance to meet Beorn himself.

The fourth scenario “Those Who Tarry no Longer” marks the beginning of a series of adventures sharing a spirit called “Gibbet King” as their primary adversary. At first it looks like a pretty straightforward mission to protect a Noldorin lady on her journey westward until meeting up with her escort that was sent out from Rivendell. It quickly becomes more complicated though, with a strong dream sequence being the cornerstone of the scenario. The adventure’s atmosphere is very tense and excellently conveys the spiritual threat posed by the Gibbet King. This atmosphere of dread and defeat clearly is this whole supplement’s jewel. This high standard drops slightly however, due to some discrepancies to Tolkien lore. For details on this, see

the spoiler section below. Beside any lore issues, there is also a “no-win” scene involved in this adventure, and depending on your group and player personalities, this event might not be suitable for everybody. Still, this adventure is my personal favourite in the whole book.

The fifth adventure, “A Darkness in the Marshes” leads the characters to the Gibbet King’s stronghold. They will have to infiltrate it in order to learn about his plans and ways to foil them. It requires considerable stealth skills to do this, but the setting is great and if played accordingly, this scenario promises some great experience in fighting offensively against the Shadow. In my list of favourites, it is second only to “Those Who tarry No Longer”.



Valter the Bloody by Jon Hodgson, © Cubicle 7, used under Fair Use

“The Crossings of Celduin” should be considered carefully for LM who also plan to run *The Darkening of Mirkwood* campaign, as different events are given for the same timeframe and location in these two books. With some work the different events can be brought into one line, or alternatively the LM must decide which ones to keep or discard. It is a bit of a disappointment that the two books’ contents were not coordinated better. The adventure itself is all about defending a bridge heroically against the vastly superior

forces of the Gibbet King. Naturally, martial, tactical and leadership skills are useful here. One point worth considering more closely is the greater context in general and the territory between Mirkwood and the Celduin Crossing in particular. The Gibbet King and his orc forces seemingly traverse it without any problems. This could either mean that it is devoid of population or that the people living there allow them to pass through (for whatever reason). Either choice is possible, so the individual LM has to decide what fits best for his campaign.

Last comes “The Watch on the Heath”, the final adventure in this book. It brings the characters far north, to a tower located in the southern fork of the Ered Mithrin overlooking the Withered Heath. It contains lots of enemies and it can be very hard to succeed for a group that chooses the wrong path and doesn’t manage a lot of good dice rolling. In addition to the Gibbet King and his orcs, a dragon awaits the characters! The LM is well advised to keep an eye on the amount of obstacles. Two such special encounters do build a lot of atmosphere off course,



EÄ

THE WORLD THAT IS

Eä:

Ilúvatar called to them, and said:

'I know the desire of your minds that what ye have seen should verily be not only in your thought, but even as ye yourselves are, and yet other.

Therefore I say:

Eä! Let these things Be!

And I will send forth into the Void, the Flame Imperishable, and it shall be at the heart of the World, and the World shall Be; and those of you that will may go down into it.'

And suddenly the Ainur saw afar off a light, as it were a cloud with a living heart of flame; and they knew that this was no vision only, but that Ilúvatar had made a new thing:

Eä, the World that Is."

—J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Silmarillion*, *Ainulindalë* (The Music of the Ainur).

Arda in the First Age from the building of Thangorodrim until the War of Wrath

The Eä RPG system is dedicated to role playing gaming in J.R.R. Tolkien's universe.

Eä d20 is currently well along in it's development with the "Races & Cultures" tome nearing completion. Eä d20 is the adaptation of the Open D20 (D&D 3.5) role-playing gaming system modified to more accurately fit the "feel" of Tolkien's Middle-earth.

Tomes of lore include:

- Races & Cultures (near completion)
- Magic in Middle-earth (core mechanics complete, conversion charts in progress)
- Destinies & Lore (Classes, Skills, Feats, etc. - in early stages)
- Creatures & Monsters (Ancalagon through Zigurim) (planned)
- Valar & Maiar (Includes Vala, Maia, Istari, Lords and Characters of Renown) (planned)

REVIEW: HEART OF THE WILD

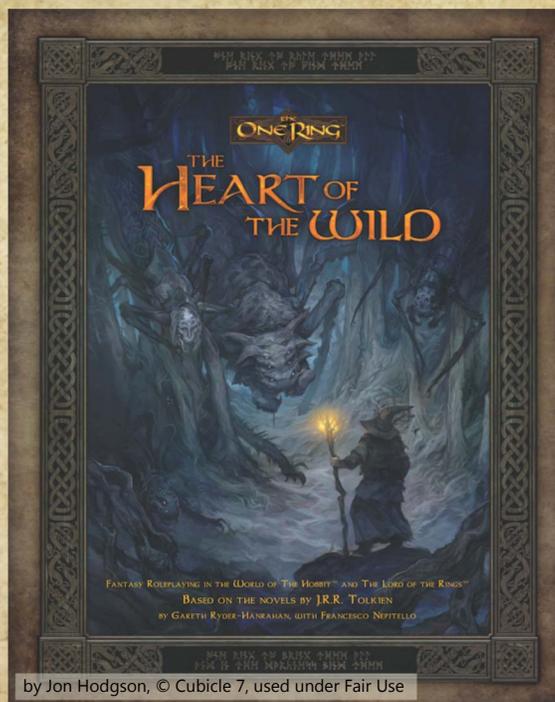
By José Enrique Vacas de la Rosa
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This is the second installment in the TOR reviews that shall be a standard feature of the upcoming Issues of Other Minds.

review



GENERAL

The Heart of the Wild (HotW) is the first regional sourcebook for TOR focused on Wilderland, from the Anduin Vales in the west to the end of Mirkwood to the east and from the Grey Mountains Narrows in the north to the southern end of Mirkwood. It contains a brief chronology, an extensive section describing the area and some new monsters. This book can be used as a stand-alone reference, but it is needed to play the Wilderland campaign *The Darkening of Mirkwood*, which implements characters and locations contained in *HotW*.

THE REGIONS

The area description is divided in the “Lands of the River”, corresponding with the lands surrounding the northern section of the Anduin and fragmented in eleven regions, and the “Greatest of the Forest” corresponding to Mirkwood and fragmented in eight regions. The land, wildlife, inhabitants, characters of note and notable places each are described separately in this chapter.

The land description and wildlife sections are fine, but the one on inhabitants really is great. Ryder-Hanrahan and Nepitello have made a great effort describing the different peoples living in the area, including the ones we could expect (i.e. the Woodmen), but also adding new ones such as the

Product in Short	
Title	Heart of the Wild
Author	Gareth Ryder-Hanrahan with Francesco Nepitello
Artwork	John Hodgson, Jan Pospíšil, Ben Wootten
Publisher	Cubicle 7
Year published	2012
Pages	128
Price	£ 23.99
Gaming usability	★★★★★
Presentation & atmosphere	★★★★★
Middle-earth lore	★★★★★
Available from	http://cubicle7.co.uk/buy-now/ http://cubicle7.co.uk/find-a-shop/

Errigmen, a nomadic folk with traces of Easterling and Northmen blood living in wagons and the Éafolc or River-folk. Their main settlements are described in detail and convey the feeling that this land is full of life and ready to blossom after Smaug's death and the defeat of the Orcs.

The locations section has some new Fellowship Phase hook-ups and adventure suggestions and some places are described in great detail such the Halls of the Elvenking or Dol Guldur to name just a few. However it is worth noting that, just as in *Tales from the Wilderland*, some information is missing. This i.e. is true for a full description including maps of Mountain Hall.

In addition to regional descriptions, rules are provided to modify the Shire Hobbits to allow creating Hobbit heroes from the Anduin Vales and Woodmen from Mountain Hall, who are slightly different from their cousins living under the trees of Mirkwood.

I found only two relatively minor details, which are in my opinion not really fitting for Middle-earth: First, there is Farmann, a mannish ghost of an old warrior lingering on in Middle-earth due to the unfinished task of returning home. Since Thomas Morwinsky has already commented on a similar issue in his review of *Tales from the Wilderland* (the ghost of the old mayor of Lake-town), I will not go into further detail on this. Suffice to say that it takes more than an unfinished business to break the laws of Arda and force a mannish ghost/fëa to stay. However, this problem could be solved by exchanging Farmann by an elven ghost, with a new name, look and destination. But he is not vital for any adventure, so just take this as a colourful side note. The other small "lore" issue I have is the somewhat inaccurate placement of the "City of the Éothéod" on the map in the north-western part of their land. The chronicle text (p. 9) got it right however (placement at the confluence of the two Anduin tributaries), so the placement on the map could be an editorial glitch.

The MONSTERS

There are some interesting additions here, from common creatures like Forest Goblins or Hunter Spiders to challenging enemies such The New Great Goblin or The Children of Shelob (the three biggest and more powerful spiders of Mirkwood). I especially liked the Hill-men of Gundabad, the remnants of an evil folk who served the Witch-king and survived the destruction of Angmar hiding in the Vales of Gundabad. The Basiliks are my least favourites, mainly because the Grecoroman name does not sound right for the Middle-earth setting (no, they cannot turn people to stone), but a Sindarin name is also provided making this less of an issue.

OVERALL

I highly recommend *The Heart of Wilderland*, as this is a wonderful piece of literature for any Tolkien fan who wants to know all the secrets of Wilderland. The book perfectly captures the spirit of Tolkien's work and combines it with very useful gaming material. The attention to detail and love put into this work makes every single region come to life (for an example of the artwork, see the image of Radagast to the left). There is something worth seeing or doing, or an interesting character in every one of them. It is tailored so well that you will find it very rewarding to explore every corner of this land, as even the lowest brigand has an interesting background. For Loremasters planning a campaign in this area it is both a trove of useful information and provides very much inspiration and many adventure hooks.



Radagast by Jon Hodgson, © Cubicle 7, used under Fair Use

UMBAR, KHAND & NEAR HARAD - CULTURAL GAZETTEER

By Tom Davie

(tomdav2001@yahoo.com.au)

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Tom is one of our veteran contributors, having covered many topics. This piece gives you some advice and material to use if you plan a campaign in the area of Umbar and/or Near Harad. With this gazetteer, you won't be short of terms and appellations when adventuring in this region.

supplementary
stuff



INTRODUCTION

This short article gives you an overview of names used in my campaign based in the area south and southeast of Gondor. It is meant to be used in conjunction with my previous work on Umbar & the Near Harad Gazetteer and with already published works such as ICE's Umbar etc.

The abbreviations used for each entry can be found in the footnotes at the bottom of the page.¹

Agan Har. 'Believer'. Haruze name for worshippers of Ladnoqa, more correctly only those who led resistance to Gondor's rule in the Third Age.

Ahar A race of horse nomads, living on the steppes east of Khand

Arbitrars A Dúnadan political faction in Southern Gondor that arose in the 11th century of the Third Age, they believed in extending Gondor's power and influence.

Ard Vedarba Har. 'Ard the Shining Lady', title given to Adúnaphel of Númenor, rumoured to become one of the Nazgûl.

Arizul Har. 'Immortal Spirits'. The Haruze term for the Ainur, the 'Gods', aka Azhan (the more commonly used term, although this correctly only applies to those Arizul who came down to reside on Middle-Earth.

Arom Har. 'Hunter' - Oromë (Araw). One of the greater (more popular) religious sects.

Audrat Vatra Har. 'Sun-worshippers'. Name of The Cult of Vatra which originated in Far Harad.

Ayn Har. 'Blessed earth', term used for the river valleys.

Azuhmeda Har. - camel. Of crucial importance for the inland caravan trade throughout the region.

¹ **Har.** - Haradaic (language of the northern Haradrim in the area of Umbar and the Harnen)

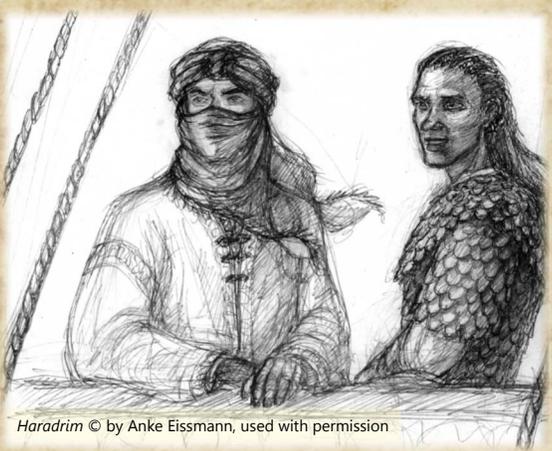
Sin. - Sindarin

Var. - Varadja (language of the Variags)

Bad Duathin Sin. 'Pathway of Darkness'. A Third Age dark cult that arose in Umbar, based on the old Mülkerhil.

Baian of Syntar The cousin of Prince Aldarion of Númenor, also a Venturer, slayer of Meklak and founder of Umbar.

Black Númenóreans & Corsairs of Umbar
 These two groups are by the late Third Age identical in appearance, culture and beliefs. Originally the *Ârûwanâi* as they call themselves, the Adûnaic term for the Kingsmen and the original Númenórean settlers. They use the term to distinguish themselves from the *Nimruziri* (Unfaithful!), the Dúnadan settlers of Gondor. To the Haruze the difference between these two peoples is only the difference between those folk who believe themselves superior to all other races, and those folk who used this 'superiority' as justification for conquest, penal laws etc. Purebred members of this race are prejudiced against elves & 'elf-lovers' (the Dúnedain), although physically they are very similar to the Dúnedain except having a darker complexion, they are noted for their mariner skills. The Corsairs were originally descendants of the Dúnadan rebels who fled Gondor after the Kin-strife but intermarriage etc. have made them indistinguishable from the Arunawai. They speak Adûnaic as



Haradrim © by Anke Eissmann, used with permission

a language of learning, otherwise Haradaic and Westron, and in religion are preoccupied with death and the afterlife—for example, the Necropolis of Umbar rivals that of Minas Tirith.

Chaks Har. 'Master, Chief'. Clan elders, traditionally the original rulers for the Haruze, and still do so for the nomadic Urdwan clans.

Colruh Har. 'Wind pilgrims', aka Gwaeridir (S.) Haruze name for the spirits of the Wind, Azhan. According to legend they are believed to be responsible for the beginnings of settlement and

civilisation in the area, with elven and dwarven servants. Colruh places are often held to be sacred by the Haruze.

Communes of the Brethren, Sacred Brethren Military orders founded by the Arbitrars in the second millennium of the Second Age, these were elite bands of knights. They accepted members not of Dúnedan descent and were modelled on the holy warriors of the earlier Kibic and Nuzhaj. Some orders were little better than mercenaries but some were highly disciplined. The best known were the Red Justins or 'Riders of the Marches', an order organised to protect merchants and trade in the 19th century of the Second Age, and the White Justins or 'Keepers of Justice'.

Corsair A sailor who is also a warrior, the most esteemed profession in Umbar and responsible for Umbar's notoriety in other lands. For Umbareans a corsair is a member of either a raiding crew or a venturing crew and is either 'aligned' (loyal to a particular Tower Lord) or 'unaligned' (independent, which is the majority). According to legend it was Isildur himself who branded the inhabitants of Umbar 'corsairs'.

Council of Captains Aka Tower Lords. The governing council of Umbar, usually there are six, they are the most powerful lords in Umbar, each have their own navy and military, they control approximately one sixth of the realm's lands. They are usually evenly balanced in power, although the Chairman — as first among equals — bears the title of *Admiral of the Fleet* or later *Captain of the Haven*.

Cult of the Fire King Believers/followers of Ren the Nazgûl, usually only found in Chey Sart although there are some in the Sunlands.

Davamra Har. 'Sunfire'. Elite Vatra Cult that originated from Nuzhaj elements, aka *The Sunfire Coalition*, founded in the later Third Age, believed in the harmony between Light and Shadow, but in practice became an anti-Poganin cult and was used by Sauron to get rid of all those who opposed him.

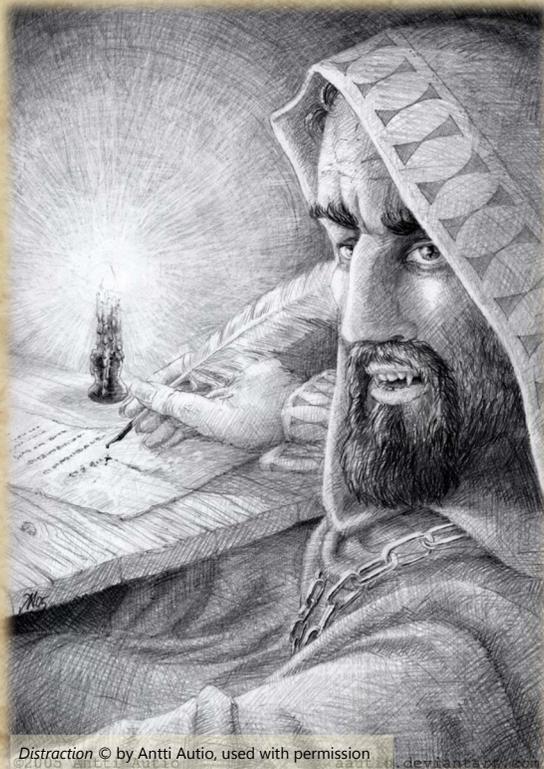
Devam Har. 'Fire spirits'. Haruze name for fire-spirits that the Haruze believed dwell in Mordor, enemies of the Colruh. The Talmornng, the first Autarb or overlord of the area was a Devam.

Drughu A small wild race of men, the first men to reach the area, now only found in thick

jungles and forests, they are often confused with the Great Apes by other races.

Ehazt Har. 'Wandering Dwarf' – common label for any dwarves encountered in the Sunlands .

Etemer, Etermeran Har. 'Warcrafter'. Name for



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Warlord, Warlords (Generals). Etemer Karm of Nurn was originally such a general, responsible for the end of Kibic rule.

Feswan 'Craftsman'. Haruze name for both merchants and artisans, basically all those who did not till the soil or look after the herds.

Fezир Har. 'Noble' – originally meant Headman, Chief Person.

Forath Har. 'Monsters', also animals possessed by evil spirits, term also used for Undead.

Garigen Mirak Har. 'Grey Wizard', Haruze name for Gandalf.

Griz Name for mercenary cavalry companies, usually hired for border patrols from the Urdwan, first formed in the later years of Kibic rule in the Second Age.

Guild of Venturers A league of explorers founded by Prince Aldarion of Númenor in the 9th century of the Second Age . The original government of Umbar was a council of captains elected by this guild.

Gul Har. 'Death-eater'. Undead, associated with graveyards, tombs etc.

Haradaic Language of the Haruze, the main people of Near Harad (The Sunlands), aka Near Southron.

Hasharin Har. 'Assassin' – general term used for a feared profession that most Lords pretend ignorance of.

Haruzan The Haruze's (see below) term for their land. Divided into several independent states.

Haruze Har. 'Godly Folk', aka Apysani (Sin.), Haradrim, Haradwaith. The main inhabitants of Near Harad and Umbar, known as Near Southrons by Gondor. They are dark-skinned with dark hair & eyes & prominent noses – they distinguish between the people of the towns (Utarf) and the nomads of the countryside (Urdwan). They are noted horsemen and traders as many are well-travelled and have had some contact with foreign peoples and places. They speak Haradaic, many also speak Westron & Umbarean (see below), some may know Variag and Apysaic (Far Southron). They are suspicious of all strangers but are especially prejudiced against Variags.

Hawnin 'Elves'. Haruze name for all elves (from 'Believers of Haw'), but more correctly only applies to those Nandor elves who settled the area originally before the First Age of the Sun, they are also known as the Moonstone Nandor.

Helak-il-Auatzin 'Master of Spirits' – Haruze name for Thorongil (Aragorn).

Imocra Fezir rulers of the city of Engiz in Chelkar, founded a ruling dynasty of Autarbs.

Incánus Ad. Name for Gandalf among the Árûwanâi.

Ishtra Haruze Manifestation of Nessa, the Goddess of Love.

Karmilan The descendants of Karm, a Nurniag Nuzhaj warlord who became Autarb for a generation in the Second Age.

Keepers of Justice (White Justins or 'Whites') A military order, founded in the Second Age to protect Númenórean colonists.

Kesht Haruze Manifestation of Nienna, the Goddess of Justice.

Kharai Ad. A Southron or Haradben, often used as a denigratory term.

Khurdriag Var. 'King' or 'Chief'

Khüz-gramaze The Haruze Serpent God of the Night, a Manifestation of Sauron.

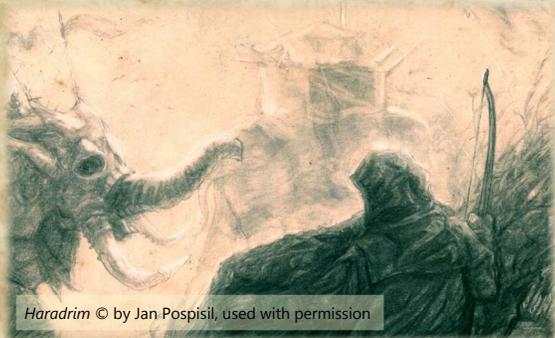
Kibic Har. 'Righteous Followers' – a league of sorcerers/warriors that arose near the end of the first millennium of the Second Age, became the first Haruze rulers of the region and were responsible for establishing Haruze cultural traditions. The period of Kibic rule (lasted some 500 years until ended by Karm of Nurn) is still referred to by many as *The Golden or Heroic Age*.

Kirun Arom 'Araw's Wizard', Haruze name for Alatar (aka Helaman).

Ladnoca Haruze name for The Moon Goddess, a manifestation of Varda, aka Avrudi (Ad.), the most popular cult in the region. Most Haruze believe that good things occur or have occurred due to her. Main centre of worship is Tresti, in the region it is Korb Ugata.

Laws & Punishments The laws of the region depend a lot on what social class the person comes from. Trade & merchants generally are protected and foreign merchants are taxed heavily, although in most periods of history it is illegal to trade with countries seen as enemies such as Gondor, which in practice means a thriving smuggling trade. Other main laws of interest for adventurers:

- Fighting is illegal (although not carrying of weapons) except at certain licensed inns or at designated areas
- Poganin are not allowed into the upper city (the wealthy areas) unless given prior approval (this applies to all the main cities)
- Elves and Gondorians are forbidden to enter the city (does not apply to Ramlond)
- Unauthorized beasts of burden are not allowed into the city. In general a crime carries a certain period of imprisonment and/or payment of fines, although most crimes are punished immediately – imprisonment is generally used only for debtors.



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Lilis Har. 'Mother of Harvests', manifestation of Yavanna, Goddess of Fertility and one of the Great Religions in Haruzan.

Mahel Haruze name for Aulë, aka Magda (Ad.).

Mahurk Fanatical subset of the Mulkerhil, often used as assassins.

Makusset Har. 'Speaker of Dooms'. Manifestation of Mandos, aka Tulimi, God of Death.

Malikiam The Haruze God of the Sea and waters (Ulmo), often prayed to (especially in the desert).

Malkôra Haruze God of Darkness (Morgoth) aka Mulkhêr in Adûnaic.

Meklak An Orag and the son of Talmornge he was according to legend the first Autarb of Near Harad.

Mercantile Unity Name of a trader's guild of Southern Gondor in the Third Age, run by the Arbitrars.

Merchant's league A Guild of traders of Near Harad that was originally formed to oppose Variag expansionist aims.

Muargiz Name of a ruling dynasty of the Jelut nomads.

Mulkêrhil Cult of Melkor (Morgoth), originally founded by the Númenóreans late in the Second Age and became a hated name throughout Middle-earth during the later years of Ar-Pharazon's reign. It arose again under a new name, the Zâuran-Ani ('Creed of Man') in the 9th century TA.

Nadi-Manje Haruze Wind God (Manwë, aka Amân in Adûnaic, aka Haw in Umb.)

Nuzhaj 'Brethren of Clarity', a military/religious order founded in 13th century Second Age dedicated to the harsher gods, especially Vatra and Makusset. The order was founded to counteract Númenor's growing influence and a general denunciation of all Poganin.

Odharen the Fierce The Chey Fire-King, a manifestation of Ren the Nazgûl as the ruling 'Fire-king' of Ulk Chey Sart.

Omodath Var. A Variag clan

Orag Har. 'Spiritborn', name given to those rare offspring of Azhan & Human. Meklak the first Autarb was according to legend one of these.

Orodrig Var. 'Clan or tribe', traditionally there are seven Variag clans.

Ororath Var. A Variag clan

Osvodar Var. - Lord or noble

Osvodeg Var. Warlord.

Peri 'Fairy'. Haruze name for the minor Azhan, the spirits of rocks, forest etc.

Piram Har. 'Fairy-men', name in Haruze for Hobbits as they have heard of them in tales from far lands.

Poganim Har. 'Foreigner, Barbarian'. Treatment of foreigners was always worse when the harsher religious factions were dominant.

Politics Known as 'The Great Game', played by all inhabitants as a way of 'getting ahead'. Officially, Umbar is ruled by a Council of Captains in conjunction with the Grand Council & Citizen's Assembly, whilst Near Harad is governed by an Autarb from Amrûn, with Tarbs in the main cities and fezir in the lesser towns. In practice political power is held in both areas by a few powerful families – in Umbar they are called the Tower Families. The game of politics involves a system of honours, clients and patrons – almost everyone is a client of somebody, with the main families at the top.

Purists Name of a racial pride faction that arose in Gondor in the 11th Century of the Third Age.

Rejimin Mirak 'Cunning Wizard', Haruze name for Saruman.

Religion and Beliefs The main religious sects such as those of Ladnoqa and Vatra have shrines and temples in every main settlement, with an



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accompanying priesthood who also play a political role. Other shrines to 'lesser' gods are often located in public places – every city, mountain and river has its own god. To Gondorians the proliferation of gods, temples and sects is one of the more distasteful aspects of the Haruze, not understanding that this is because the Haruze are much less assured of their place in the world. The Haruze view the creator as distant and disinterested – the Azhan are the true 'gods' and therefore need to be worshipped and placated. Also, man in the Haruze's view only shares Middle-earth with others, including the Azhan of the Unseen World. Similarly, the Haruze do not see some Azhan as 'good' and others as 'evil', they blame the Shadow on man's failings.

As a result, Haruze learn from a young age to separate their public and private lives and to practice the arts of dissimulation, which makes Gondorians see them as untrustworthy. Another point of note is that nearly every day is a holy day of some sort, although the main festivals occur around the change of seasons, especially important is the Quihba festival to welcome the end of the dry season and the time of rains and the rising of the rivers.

Names of some of the lesser 'gods': Za'uira (Irmo): Peace & Gates of Tranquillity; Dashim (Tulkas/Eonwë) –Warriors & War; Hira dwa (Estë) –Healing; Sidjaddha (Vairë) – fate/fortune (popular in Umbar and patron of fortune tellers; Khala (Vana) –brides and young women.

Riders of the marches (Red Justins or 'Reds')

The oldest military order, founded in the Second Age to protect Dúnadan & Haruze merchants when the Nuzhaj regime collapsed.

Rosethorn & Whitetail Names of two Chey clans.

Ruizhaj Har. 'Brethren of Charity'. A military religious order dedicated to the 'harsher gods', especially Vatra and Makusset. Later sub-orders included the 'witchnamers' and 'purifiers'.

Sacred Band, Sacred War An attempted crusade by some Gondorians and Haruze to cleanse the eastern lands of evil in Third Age 1223-1225. The crusade was defeated by the Chey nomads, who regarded them as invaders.

Sakalai Har. 'Commoners', name for the indigenous coastal folk, aka Donan (Haw.) Dusslins is the name of the language they use. The term 'Krita' (Har. 'Dun-men') is also used, but this

Utarf Har. ‘Farmers’ – Name for the settled tillers of the soil of the Haruze, from which arose the cities and towns of the region.

Uvag-aak Har. Apes.

Varazin Name of the sun worshipping ruling Haruze dynasty in Third Age, named after their town of origin in Harmaka (Harnendor).

Variag Name of the nomadic race who inhabit Khand, traditionally the oldest and bitterest enemy of the Haruze as they have often invaded Near Harad.

Varjev Name of the ruling dynasty of Lurmsakûn in the Second Age.

Vatra Har. ‘Sun/Fire God’, a manifestation of Morgoth and/or Sauron. In Haruze lore he is the jealous husband of Ladnoqa. Most bad things that happen are attributed to Vatra. Second most popular cult in the region.

Verdant Throne Name of the throne of the Autarb of Haruzan (Near Harad), in Amrûn.

Vracarthis Var. A Variag clan, responsible for devising most of the laws etc. observed by the Variags.

Zinasesar Har. ‘Laying of the Knife’. A crusade by the Haruze against the (by now disgraced) Nuzhaj in Pezarsan & Lurmsakûn in the Second Age 1701-1770.

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THE POPULATION OF GONDOR AND ROHAN

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Here is the long-awaited demography article on Gondor and Rohan. Below you can find a table of content for the various parts of the article.

MIDDLE-EARTH
SCHOLARSHIP



Introduction	40
General Thoughts	41
Temporal Development	44
Excursus 1: Army size as a proxy.....	45
Excursus 2: The Watch on Mordor.....	48
Real-world comparisons	49
Timeframes covered	50
The borders of Gondor	51
Enedwaith and the north-western border.....	51
Calenardhon and the northern border.....	53
Rhovanion and the northeastern border.....	54
South and Western Gondor and the southern and southwestern borders, Dor Wathui/Dunland.....	55
The Provinces in detail	56
Angrenost/Isengard, Calenardhon/Rohan and west-march.....	56
Dor Rhúnen.....	64
Tolfalas and Belfalas (Dor-en-Ernil).....	66
Edhellond.....	67
The White Mountains (Ered Nimrais).....	69
Lamedon, Morthond.....	71
Nan Ringló, Anfalas, Pinnath Gelin, South Gondor (Harondor).....	72
Umbar.....	73
The Map	76
The People	77
The Dúnedain, the indigenous population.....	77
Gondor at various times	79
SA 3400.....	79
TA 250.....	82
TA 850.....	85
TA 1400.....	88
TA 1640.....	91
TA 2000.....	95
TA 2500.....	98
TA 2600.....	100
TA 2740.....	102
TA 2900.....	104
TA 3000.....	106
References	108

Isildur and Anárion were borne away southwards, and at the last they brought their ships up the Great River Anduin, that flows out of Rhovanion into the western sea in the Bay of Belfalas; and they established a realm in those lands that were after called Gondor, whereas the Northern Kingdom was named Arnor.

—*The Lord of the Rings, Appendix A*

INTRODUCTION

This article is intended to be used in conjunction with *Population and Urbanization in Eriador* (OM13) and *Demographics of Rhovanion in the Third Age* (OM14). As in the case of the former, the old MERP series is sometimes helpful, as it details various aspects of Gondor. Appropriate items are *Southern Gondor: The Land* and *Southern Gondor: The People*. The sourcebooks for the *Lord of the Rings Role-playing Game* lack even the slightest bit of information on this topic and are therefore not taken into account here. It would have been very good to add any sourcebooks from *The One Ring* roleplaying game here, but unfortunately it has not progressed far enough yet. It is hoped for though, that we will soon see something covering this area as well. The same caveats and remarks that apply to Eriador and Rhovanion are also true for Gondor: In contrast to the *Arnor* books though, these ICE volumes additionally detail Gondor's demographics. Unfortunately, those numbers are not too helpful in my view. In addition, they lack any concrete explanations how they came to be. This article strives to rectify the situation as good as possible and provide a sound base for future discussion on the subject.

Lalaith's article in *Other Hands Magazine, Issue 15/16* gives an excellent view about the texts Tolkien has written about the population of Eriador and Gondor but lacks precise numbers as well.¹ It is still a useful resource though. Correspondingly to the situation for Eriador, ICE's *Northwestern Middle-earth Gazetteer* unfortunately is of little help either. The presumed population of Gondor in TA 1640 (ca. 600,000 people altogether) does not invoke the image of a great realm – especially when you count

¹ Without those texts not available at the time he was writing down his thoughts.

in the most prominent cities (Minas Anor, Minas Ithil, Lond Ernil [Dol Amroth] and Pelargir) which are supposed to house already about 135,000 inhabitants. When adding the necessary population of the remaining smaller cities and towns plus the rural population, it becomes evident that the MERP numbers are again completely flawed and insufficient to answer questions about Gondo's demography. It seems they were created with little thought on the basic rules of demography.

To avoid the problems with the MERP maps mentioned in *Population and Urbanization in Eriador*, I use the map provided with *The Lord of the Rings* as basis for my calculations. As in the article on Eriador, I used *From land to subsistence* authored by Juha Juuso Vesanto (Juha.Vesanto@hut.fi) to build my calculations. This article (plus other interesting material) can be found in the May 2000 issue on the homepage of the e-zine *The Guildcompanion* (<http://www.guildcompanion.com>).

Important Note: All data presented in this article is my extrapolation. Many quotes are taken from Tolkien's posthumous works. Even though the data presented is consistent with these quotes and cross-referenced with real-world models of applicable examples, each reader has to decide for himself if he follows these lines. In my opinion the numbers presented here are good and reasonable estimates. Of course it is not "correct", as the very topic of the article is not covered in original writings by Tolkien and therefore remains speculative. It is designed as a reasonable approach to the subject and does **not** claim any superiority over other interpretations, as long as they base their competing interpretations on Tolkien's original writings and the incorporation of sound and re-enactable methods in extrapolating numbers.

The numbers in this article depend upon a number of variables (see the specific tables) and therefore are not fixed. In addition, in some cases it is not possible to define the boundaries of the Gondorian provinces accurately. Accordingly, the population figures and areas should not be seen as absolute (e.g. the equivalent of high-quality satellite-based geographical data) but as approximations. I deem a tolerance of up to $\pm 10\%$ for all numbers a fair estimate to account for such unavoidable errors.

GENERAL THOUGHTS

In general, the original sources written by Tolkien are more abundant for Gondor than for Arnor, making extrapolations for the southern kingdom easier. On the other hand however, we sometimes have to cope with different versions of a Gondorian story or topic. Despite that, the job of the demographic investigator is much easier for Gondor than Arnor – not to speak of Rhovanion, which is almost blank in many respects.

When considering an estimate for the population for Gondor we have to keep two basic principles in mind; firstly to remain true to Tolkien and secondly to provide believable (in the sense of a "real" fantasy world) demographic data. Unfortunately Tolkien seldom provides this kind of data. Apparently only those rural and urban communities relevant to the immediate story of the *Hobbit* and *Lord of the Rings* were mentioned by Tolkien while others who were irrelevant for the plot deserved no mention in the drama – although they (supposedly) existed. Accordingly, one has to add additional towns and cities to achieve a realistic level of urbanization for Gondor while the Dúnadan realm lasted. Tolkien himself admitted that Gondor had significantly more towns and infrastructure than those mentioned in *The Lord of the Rings*:

Gondor has sufficient 'townlands' and fiefs with a good water and road approach to provide for its population; and clearly has many industries though these are hardly alluded to [in the Lord of the Rings].

—*Letters*, 154

This quote is of central importance for this article because Tolkien shows hereby that he was well aware of the demographic and economic necessities of a political entity like Gondor (e.g. a country). Here the existence of many rivers ("water approach") in Gondor is significant and recognised by Tolkien: In a pre-industrial era transportation by ship is the only practical way of moving cheap mass goods (such as foodstuffs) over long distances (e.g. more than 2 or 3 days travel). By these waterways the great cities can easily be supplied beyond the capacities of their own hinterlands.

Even though the overall demographic numbers of Gondor and Arnor are initially roughly similar, they develop differently. Gondor is threatened throughout its existence by various hostile or (at best) neutral neighbours (both of mundane and "evil" nature) and its Númenóreans here primarily recognise the necessities of proactive survival in this context. This is in stark contrast to the more sheltered

position of Arnor whose Dúnedain supposedly developed a more retrospective and “philosophical” (i.e. similar to the original Númenóreans on their protected island) ideology. Consequently Gondor rises to great heights and by conquering neighbouring lands builds an empire under the leadership of a number of capable and determined rulers while Arnor stagnates and fragments: When the latter has already broken up into its lesser successor realms, Gondor is still ascending in power until it reaches its zenith in the 11th and 12th century TA. And it would take another 300 years until its long decline began. Overall we can state that throughout its history Gondor had a strong and efficient central government, while Arnor was much more fragmented severely limiting its ability to use its full potential (in the way of politics and empire-building). This lack of ability (and ambition) was also recognised by Sauron who deemed the more disunited northern Dúnedain the easier target for his long campaign against them (both *incognito* and much later openly).

Gandalf passed now into the wide land beyond the Rammas Echor. So the men of Gondor called the out wall that they had built with great labour, after Ithilien fell under the shadow of their Enemy. For ten leagues [30 miles] or more it ran from the mountains' feet and so back again, enclosing in its fence the fields of the Pelennor: fair and fertile townlands on the long slopes and terraces falling to the deep levels of the Anduin. [...] beneath it lay the quays and landings of the Harlond for craft that came upstream from the southern fiefs.

The townlands were rich, with wide tilth and many orchards, and homesteads there were with oast and garner, fold and byre, and many rills rippling through the green from the highlands down to Anduin. Yet the herdsmen and husbandmen that dwelt there were not many, and the most part of the people of Gondor lived in the seven circles of the City, or in the high vales of the mountain-borders, in Lossarnach, or further south in fair Lebennin with its five swift streams. There dwelt a hardy folk between the mountains and the sea. They were reckoned men of Gondor, yet their blood was mingled, and there were short and swarthy folk among them whose sires came more from the forgotten men who housed in the shadow of the hills in the Dark Years ere the coming of the kings.

—*The Lord of the Rings, Minas Tirith*

The *Lord of the Rings* also offers us valuable information concerning the demographic situation at the end of the Third Age:

This passage reveals some important pieces of information:

- The approximate size of the protected area within the Pelennor
- The general outlook of the Pelennor with a lot of agriculturally used land and farms
- Harlond as Minas Tirith's port which manages the necessary traffic from the river
- The population's distribution and a relative number for the population of the Pelennor area (“not many”)
- The population in Gondor south of the Ered Nimrais consists largely of mingled stock, hinting at a much lesser percentage of ethnic Dúnedain

One point seems a bit tricky however. Tolkien claims that the majority of the people of Gondor (at the time of the War of the Ring) lived in the Lossarnach area (a part of Anórien) and Lebennin. As the latter two were always among the most populous provinces, this is not surprising. That Minas Tirith (“in the seven circles of the City”) is included in the count as well is a bit weird for two reasons: First a relatively small place (a city) is listed among much larger territories. Even a big city is hardly comparable in population to a whole province like Lebennin. In addition we have to keep in mind that a city – especially in pre-industrial societies like Gondor's – is a place that lives off the surplus of other regions that produce the necessary foodstuffs. And this surplus (the grain yield) is usually much smaller in these societies compared to modern times with a heavily industrialised agriculture – worthy of Sauron's best efforts. As a result the rural area (and population) required to feed the urban population must be of considerable size. On top of this, the list excludes other supposedly populous regions (as described by Tolkien) like Belfalas or the Vale of Ringló – if the number of the troops they send to Minas Tirith's defence can be applied as an indicator of their relative demographic strength.

Concerning numbers, Tolkien gave us some very valuable information in a note to the essay published in *Vinyar Tengwar, Issue #41* and already mentioned in the chapter on the demographics of Eriador in *Other Minds, Issue 13*. We should keep this passage always in mind when thinking about possible population figures for the Númenórean realms.

Though none of the regions of the two kingdoms [Arnor and Gondor] were before (or after!) the Númenórean settlements densely populated as we should reckon it.

—Vinyar Tengwar, 42 (*The Rivers and Beacon-hills of Gondor*, written ca. 1967-69)

That seems to settle the matter, barring such supposedly high numbers as presented later on in this essay (ca. 2 to 7.5 million – depending on the era). Very often the argument is brought forward that Tolkien did not describe such large numbers of people in *The Lord of the Rings*, and therefore they did not exist. For one, this falls short of the necessary broad scope of considering the whole *corpus* of Tolkien’s Middle-earth (and not only *The Lord of the Rings*), while it is also a classic example of the logical fallacy known as *argumentum ad ignorantiam*. Returning to the quote above about “densely populated as we should reckon it”, a comparison with Tolkien’s contemporary United Kingdom (UK) of the mid-1960s (the time of the revision of *The Lord of the Rings*) offers some insights. It is a nearby conclusion that Tolkien envisioned the “densely populated as we should reckon it” by personal experience. In 1965, the UK had a population density of about 222 people per square kilometre.¹ The “feeling” of an “overcrowded” Middle-earth (as with the numbers developed here) is quickly put into perspective when we consider the area in question. At its height

Gondor supposedly had – according to this article – ca. 7.5 million inhabitants. In relation to its size, we end up with a modest population density of ca. 9 people per square kilometre (about 4% of the 1960s UK density). Therefore, in terms of density, these numbers reflect the magnitude of modern nations in very inhospitable regions (e.g. Namibia) that have overall densities below that (ca. 2-4 persons per square kilometre). In my opinion, the numbers above qualify as “not densely populated as we should reckon it”.

Historical demographics might be helpful as well to get a perspective of reasonable numbers for such pre-industrial societies. Unfortunately, it is not easy to obtain reliable information on medieval European demographics for comparison, and the figures seen in various books and publications are always estimates. Even though these vary (sometimes considerably), they are able to shed some light on the scale of possible population densities in times that are often (and reasonably) taken as models and/or inspiration for Fantasy Worlds – including Middle-earth. In spite of their lack of proof, they offer a good estimate of the range we’re operating in. Table 1 below shows historical demographic data plus modern UK data for comparison (i.e. figures for Tolkien’s “densely populated” homeland of his lifetime).

Even though these figures are naturally inaccurate (except the modern UK census), they give a good impression of the magnitude that might be applicable to Gondor. A range of about 7 to 10 people overall per square kilometre for Gondor throughout the Third Age seems quite right in my

¹ 54,349,500 people on 244,820 km²

Territory	Era	Population	Area (km ²)	Est. overall density (per km ²)	Source
British Isles	1000 CE	2000000	315130	6.3	[1], [2]
England	1086 CE	1500000	130279	11.51	[3]
France & Low Countries	1000 CE	6000000	668,763 + 74,700	8.10	[1], [2]
Italy	1000 CE	5000000	301338	16.6	[1], [2]
Byzantine Empire	565 CE	26000000	3400000	7.65	[4]
	780 CE	7000000	880000	7.95	
	1025 CE	12000000	1675000	7.16	
	1180 CE	11500000	1118000	10.30	
United Kingdom	1965 CE	54350000	244820	222	[5]

Table 1: Real-world population figures

opinion.¹ In comparison to this, the less developed regions should have much lower densities, but the core provinces are likely to have higher ones. After all, Gondor is supposed to be the most advanced and developed civilization of men in the Northwest of Middle-earth.

The individual provinces or territories of Gondor and (later) Rohan are calculated individually and by differentiating areas with “low” population densities and those with “high” densities for each province. Here it is very important to remember that there are no universal thresholds for “low” and “high” densities, as these vary between regions and especially eras. What is a “low” density in one province (e.g. Anórien or Lebennin) may be already “high” in a less developed one like – supposedly – Anfalas or Dor Rhúnen. Thus this differentiation is always a relative one rather than an absolute and must be seen in the specific context.

Real-world models and data are fine, but as we are talking about Middle-earth, it is crucial that we also have to look at Tolkien’s thoughts on demography in order to make a fitting extrapolation. We are told that:

The regions of Gondor had a complex history in the remote past, so far as their population was concerned, and the Númenóreans evidently found many layers of peoples, and numerous islands of isolated folk either clinging to old dwellings, or in mountain-refuges from invaders.

—Vinyar Tengwar, 42 (*The Rivers and Beacon-hills of Gondor*)

This illustrates the problems we have when considering population dynamics: Gondor surely was settled and inhabited by a good number of people, but not many as we reckon today (see the quote before this one). This quote also highlights the historical development as it speaks of the time when the Númenóreans first came to that area (for settlement). Pelargir was founded in SA 2350, about 1,000 years before the founding of Gondor and the settlement patterns are quite likely to have changed since these early times. Therefore, a careful and systematic approach is in order – and this is the purpose of this article.

¹ Generally, it decreases over time. But as soon as only the most densely populated regions remain, it begins to increase again. This is a possible artefact based on the uneven population distribution throughout Gondor’s territories.

In terms of structure, I present the relevant evidence (as far as I am aware of it) for the topic, and (in the section on Gondor at various times) the conclusions are then put into specific statements and decisions. If you’re looking for the reasoning behind these, please have a look at the prior sections.

TEMPORAL DEVELOPMENT

Gondor is the most prominent power in North-western Middle-earth almost during the entire Third Age and receives much greater attention in Tolkien’s writings than the northern realm of Arnor. At the founding of the Realms-in-Exile, Arnor was the senior one: It commanded almost all of Eriador, was ruled by the last Lord of Andúnie and head of the Faithful – Elendil the Tall – while the much smaller Gondor was “only” jointly ruled by Elendil’s sons Isildur and Anárion. In addition, Arnor lay on the borders of the realm of the Noldorin High-king Gilgalad and therefore in immediate proximity to the Faithful’s closest allies and ancient friends.

However, all of these original leaders were dead within two years after the end of the War of the Last Alliance. From this time onward the two realms took quite differing paths in their history: Arnor stagnated in Eriador, fragmenting in the 9th century TA and its successor realms vanished one by one over the course of the next millennium.

Gondor on the other hand began an unprecedented rise to power roughly in the 6th century TA becoming the predominant power in North-western Middle-earth, reminiscent in its splendour and power to ancient Númenor. From this apogee a gradual decline took place that led to its near-defeat in the War of the Ring.

It seems that during the Third Age the Realms-in-Exile showed two sides of the Faithful: On the one hand Arnor represented the ideals of early Númenor with its lack of expansionistic drive, content with a “simple” and saturated life and a more “elvish” attitude towards “real politics”. In this way, the MERP-ish picture of the Arnorian Dúnedain as a more introverted and “philosophical” people seems justified.

Gondor however is another matter. In its beginning this realm was smaller in size (and probably population) than Arnor and certainly second in prestige. Then after the war both realms needed some time to recuperate. Even later – under the Ship kings – an unprecedented era of expansion began which established Gondor as the superpower in the Northwest. Interestingly, this began around the time

when Arnor fragmented and started its decline to a regional second-class power. To achieve this expansion, the Gondorians must have had a healthy attitude towards power and real politics. It seems they reflected the early period of Númenor's imperialism, while at the same time remaining true to the Faithful's ideals and benevolent mind-set (at least most of the time). Some questions remain though concerning the ideological view of the Dúnedain. The ability to carve out an empire, conquer new territories and incorporate them into your own rule on a permanent basis necessitates a certain will to suppress the resistance of other people. This holds all the more true in the face of Sauron's absence, where conflicts of men versus men remained free of a powerful Dark Lord directing his minions. Although it must be said that certain realms likely clung to his teachings and ideology despite him being vanquished. This imperial attitude doesn't go well with the original Númenóreans' ideals, such as little ambition for power, rule and expansion and a generally more peaceful life. Thus the Gondorians seem to have embraced the necessities of life and survival in Middle-earth more eagerly than their northern brethren who tried to preserve old ideals in a world less suited to such a way of life.¹ Consequently, Gondor may have had the more pragmatic view on ideology, philosophy and politics than Arnor or Arthedain.

It is interesting to note that during much of its history (especially in the earlier years) Gondor had a smaller population than Arnor (or its successor realms combined). This aspect of greater military and economic power is reflected in the decisions of both Elendil and Isildur to make the northern realm the home of the High-king. Besides the different approach to life as hinted at above, their major difference is that the kings of Gondor were always in undisputed command of the realm's resources and thus could use its theoretically smaller potential to a much higher degree as compared to Arnor. In addition, it can be supposed that these resources were handled skilfully and thus generally resulted in clearly above-average returns and outcomes.

Excursus 1: Army size as a proxy

Army sizes can be a help in assessing the quality of your population estimate. Though a lot of factors make this a difficult undertaking, it can be useful if you declare the parameters of the comparison accurately enough. For Gondor in the final years of the Third Age, the information provided by *The Lord of the Rings* can be helpful. In the chapter *Minas Tirith*, the troops that come to Denethor's aid are listed with reasonably accurate numbers when Pippin and Bergil watched the troops arriving in the city:

*But when the men of Lossarnach had passed they muttered: 'So few! **Two hundreds**, what are they? We hoped for **ten times the number**. That will be the new tidings of the black fleet. They are sparing only a tithe of their strength. Still every little is a gain.'*

*[...] The men of Ringló Vale behind the son of their lord, Dervorin striding on foot: **three hundreds**. From the uplands of Morthond, the great Blackroot Vale, tall Duinhir with his sons, Duilin and Derufin, and **five hundred bowmen**. From the Anfalas, the Langstrand far away, a **long line of men** of many sorts, hunters and herdsman and men of little villages, scantily equipped save for the household of Golasgil their lord. From Lamedon, a **few grim hillmen** without a captain. Fisher-folk of the Ethir, **some hundred or more** spared from the ships. Hirluin the Fair of the Green Hills from Pinnath Gelin with **three hundreds** of gallant green-clad men. And last and proudest, Imrahil, Prince of Dol Amroth, [...] and a **company of knights** in full harness riding grey horses; and behind them **seven hundreds** of men at arms, tall as lords, grey-eyed, dark-haired, singing as they came.*

*And that was all, **less than three thousands** full told.*

—*The Lord of the Rings, Minas Tirith*

As we see, Tolkien gives some precise numbers for some regions, while being more vague for others. Karen Fonstad estimates the number to a rough total of 2800 men ("less than three thousands") [6]. Here she uses 500 men as the rough number for a "company" given by Tolkien. This information is likely based on the passage cited on the following page.

¹ The original Númenóreans could afford this luxury because they were located on a blessed island far away from the more "basic" and "malevolent" influences of the mortal world.

[...] and another **company of five hundred** horse there should be, among which should ride the sons of Elrond with the Dúnedain and the knights of Dol Amroth.

—*The Lord of the Rings, The Last Debate*

The garrison of Minas Tirith (Guard of the Tower) numbers three companies plus the men from the Rammas. Based on the previous estimate for a company, Fonstad ends up with about 2,000 men for the Guard of Minas Tirith.

Of crucial importance here is the remark about the expected troops from Lossarnach, which held back the greatest part of their strength due to the danger posed by the Corsair fleet.

In the list of troops, we see both bodies of professional warriors/soldiers as well as more levy-type contingents. The (probably) more professional ones are from Lossarnach (200), Nan Ringló (300), Morthond (500), Pinnath Gelin (300) and Belfalas (1,200). The description of those from Anfalas (ca. 150), Lamedon (ca. 50), Ethir Anduin (ca. 100) suggest a more militia-like type of troops. The ratio is clearly in favour of the professional troops (2,500 vs. 300), which is fitting, as traditionally militias are almost exclusively used to defend their home territory. This is because on the one hand their military training (and equipment) is generally of lower quality and thus they are less effective in campaigning far away, while on the other hand they are most often more motivated when defending their homes (thus compensating their lesser skill and equipment to some extent).

Based on this we can expect a much higher number of militias that remain home to serve as some kind of “backup guard”. The above mentioned fraction (10%) of troops coming from Lossarnach is also a good estimate for the upper limit of sent

troops from other southern territories to Minas Tirith (Lossarnach was directly threatened by a strong fleet): It is conceivable that the Black Fleet threatening the Anduin area was not the only fleet from Umbar (but doubtless the largest and strongest by far). It can further be assumed that the other hypothetical fleets harassed the coastlines requiring troops to be left behind to guard their homeland. From a rational strategic perspective it would be a clever move: with relative limited resources you are able to neutralise a good part of the enemy’s troops for the most important battle without jeopardizing your own forces.

This assumption of other (smaller) forces threatening the coasts beside the main fleet at Pelargir is supported by a passage reported by Gimli:

[...] and on the third day we came to Linhir above the mouth of Gilrain. And there men of Lamedon contested the fords with fell folk of Umbar and Harad who had sailed up the river.

—*The Lord of the Rings, The Last Debate*

So other substantial forces indeed had penetrated the coastal defences (if there were any) and used the river as a highway to bring their forces deeper inland. It is exactly for this kind of contingency that the provinces needed to withhold a substantial (or even the greater) part of their forces.

Several simultaneous fleet attacks had a long tradition in Corsair strategy. In TA 2758, several fleets issued from Umbar to ravage Gondor’s coasts. Umbar’s long experience in threatening enemy coastlines is very likely to be a key aspect of the Gondorian defensive strategy in the War of the Ring.

So, it seems not unreasonable that this expectation prevented most of the southern fiefs from sending stronger support to Minas Tirith. This applies especially to Anfalas and Belfalas – apart from Lebennin, which was fully occupied with the main fleet from Umbar. Even if we apply a smaller ratio of withheld troops from the other southern fiefs (reflecting the lesser threat from the “other” fleets) they still may have sent about one third of their forces to Minas Tirith. So these territories could theoretically have sent about 7800 men to Minas Tirith, without the threat to their own lands (or even more if the ratio was nearer to that of Lossarnach).



Prince Imrahil of Dol Amroth © by Abe Papakhian, used with permission

Although Lossarnach is only a sub-unit of Anórien's territory it can be counted among its force. Combined with the estimated number of the Guard of the Tower (the other body of professional soldiers of this area), the province of Anórien would be able to field a force of at least 4,000 (semi-)professional soldiers in TA 3019.

The potential force of Lebennin is not included at all in this count. The quote on the following page shows that the province commanded considerable resources:

*'New strength is on the way from the southern fiefs, now that the coasts have been rid. **Four thousands** I sent marching from Pelargir through Lossarnach two days ago; and Angbor the fearless rides before them. [...] Moreover many were bidden to follow me up the River in any craft they could gather; and with this wind they will soon be at hand, indeed several ships have already come to the Harlond.'*

—The Lord of the Rings, The Last Debate, my emphasis

If we add these 4,000 men to those gathered by Aragorn in Pelargir and the others coming upriver, a total **minimum** force of about 6,000 for Lebennin is a very conservative estimate. Aragorn led about 2,000 troops from the Lebennin to the Black Gate, despite the losses of the battle two days before:

Aragorn should find some two thousands of those that he had gathered to him in the South; [...]

—The Lord of the Rings, The Last Debate

Beyond that, we can be sure that even these were not the full force, since the Captains made sure that the cities of Gondor were not left undefended even after the victory of the Pelennor Fields:

[Imrahil speaking] For we must prepare against all chances, good as well as evil. Now, it may be that we shall triumph, and while there is any hope of this, Gondor must be protected. I would not have us return with victory to a City in ruins and a land ravaged behind us.

—The Lord of the Rings, The Last Debate

This quote relates to Minas Tirith and the danger posed by Sauron's army in Anórien. Due to the defeat of the primary Corsair fleet, their forces are likely to be severely diminished, but not totally (see above for the "diversionary" fleets above). Thus Pelargir and the other places in southern Gondor are not that severely threatened anymore but their defence must still be considered.

All this shows the scale of the forces available to Gondor, adding up to a potential (minimum) force of Gondor of about **18–20,000 men** with a reasonable level of military training and adequate equipment (professional soldiers). On top of this there are the harder to quantify and substantially larger militia-like (i.e. levy) troops that are of more limited military value in a campaign away from home, but useful for home defence duties like manning walls or fortifications. Following the Battle of Pelennor Fields, most of the defensive force left behind would probably be militia, stiffened and led by a small contingent of professionals.

That the forces at Minas Tirith were substantially lower than the figures above bases on the sophisticated and effective strategy of Sauron's servants to threaten Gondor on several fronts forcing it to split its army into smaller sub-contingents.

The estimated total population of Gondor around the War of the Ring of 2 million and an army of ca. 20,000+ seem high at first glance, but it compares favourably (Gondor having a higher percentage of troops) with the ratio of population to forces mustered by Harold II in the Stamford Bridge and Hastings campaign (England having a roughly comparable population).

Rohan's forces are also quite precisely known (ca. 12,000 for a full muster in Théoden's time). Given the population estimates in this essay, the ratio of professional warriors to the general population is much higher than in Gondor. This is explained by the more martial organisation of Rohan and a generally less "civilised" culture where more men are expected to be proficient in arms.



Excursus 2: The Watch on Mordor

The Númenóreans indeed set a guard upon the land of Mordor, but none dared dwell there because of the terror of the memory of Sauron, and because of the Mountain of Fire that stood nigh to Barad-dûr; and the valley of Gorgoroth was filled with ash.

—The Silmarillion, Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age

As seen, this Watch on Mordor was established by Gondor after Sauron's defeat in the War of the Last Alliance and effectively hindered the re-establishment of a noteworthy repopulation of the Black Land by evil creatures.



Durthang © by Matej Cadil, used with permission

In the context of Gondor's territory and reach this is interesting. As we know (and see from the maps in this article), even in its most powerful days with the realm reaching its greatest extent, Gondor controlled roughly the western third to half of the borders of Mordor (the Ered Lithui and Ephel Dúath). Thus it had direct control only of these areas where it could build fortresses to guard

Mordor. The remainder of the access to Mordor (the eastern part of the Ephel Dúath and Ered Lithui) was beyond its territory – not to speak of the huge open border in the East which lay far beyond Gondor's direct control. It would have been relatively easy for evil creatures to use routes beyond Gondor's control to infiltrate Mordor again – especially as “the East” is traditionally associated with servants of Mordor or at least people prone to allying with it.

Now we know that despite this incomplete control of the accesses to Mordor, the watch was quiet successful for roughly the first half of the Third Age. To reconcile these two conflicting points, several options are available which can be used to achieve the goal. First, Gondor could have established fortresses and guard posts beyond its territory in wild lands or even friendly territory. This might work in areas of Gondorian influence (e.g. in Rhovanion and Harad), but this would not work very far from the nearest safe territory. On the other hand (and this is IMO the more important point), these fortresses were only partially meant to directly block access to Mordor. Beyond that, their function would be to serve as bases from which Gondor regularly sent patrols into Mordor to seek out creatures that managed to bypass Gondor's watch and destroy them before they could establish themselves permanently. This duty would be a hard one especially in Gorgoroth, and moreover would require a relatively large body of troops, as they had to be rotated frequently to prevent a too strong exposure to the residual Shadow there.

This later point ties in well with the info provided by Tolkien that after the Great Plague, the watch was neglected due to shortages in manpower, general weariness and more pressing needs elsewhere:

Then [ca. TA 1640] for weariness and fewness of men the watch on the borders of Mordor ceased and the fortresses that guarded the passes were unmanned.

—The Lord of the Rings, Appendix A



REAL-WORLD COMPARISONS

So Gondor began with a modest size (both in area and population) to become **the** major power in the Northwest, conquering vast territories in almost every direction. From this height of power it declined to the relatively weak state we read about in *The Lord of the Rings*. For an analysis and further extrapolation of the Gondorian state and its demographics, a real-world comparison is very helpful. Tolkien himself compared the decline of Gondor (especially after the end of the kings) to Byzantium with its ever-shrinking power and reach.

In the south Gondor rises to a peak of power, almost reflecting Númenor, and then fades slowly to decayed Middle Age, a kind of proud, venerable, but increasingly impotent Byzantium.

—*Letters*. 131

For the whole history of Gondor, a comparison to Byzantium and its predecessor Rome is in fact helpful. You have to keep in mind though that you cannot simply equate Gondor with Rome/Byzantium since they are fundamentally different in vital areas. The similarities however are:

- Gondor's beginnings were quite modest and its growth was limited (similar to early and middle Republican Rome)
- In an era with vigorous and able leaders (concerning politics and military leadership) the state grew very fast. In Gondor these were the Ship-kings while in Rome a number of ambitious politicians/generals (i.e. Pompey the Great, Sulla, Caesar) increased the state vastly.
- After the expansion, an era of consolidation of the conquered territories without further expansion took place. Even though the empire retained its outer boundaries in general, serious inner conflicts lead to a weakening of the state. This then led to problems with outer enemies. For Gondor this peak period began in the 12th century TA and ended in the 17th to 19th century TA. In Rome this period lasted from Augustus (Octavian) until about the beginning of the 3rd century AD.
- Due to inner problems, the empire is seriously threatened by outer enemies thereafter. For Gondor, this is represented by the Kin-strife, the Great Plague, the Wainrider Wars and the long-lasting struggle for Harondor while late Imperial Rome had to deal with permanent

incursions from Germanic peoples (ca. 2nd to 5th century AD) and wars with the Sassanid empire.

- The empire survives the previous period, but it is changed. For Gondor, this is represented by the end of the Line of Anárion and the beginning of the rule of the Stewards. For Rome, this is the division of the empire and its long-lasting survival in the lesser realm of Byzantium.
- In this final phase both empires look back on a long and proud history, but their reach has become increasingly shorter. Though there is a certain consolidation, such as Cirion's rule in Gondor and the alliance with the Rohirrim or the mid-byzantine Renaissance in the 10th and 11th centuries, the ever-shrinking resources of the empire seriously limit its ability to project power.
- Byzantium had to fight at least one war on its borders (often even two simultaneously) continuously throughout its existence. Despite some successes, this attrition and pressure from various powerful neighbours took its toll and finally led to the de-mise of the Empire's remnants in AD 1453. Gondor had the great Easterling invasions that seem to have come in waves, but also a very long (and less documented) conflict for control over Harondor (South Gondor) that spanned one and half millennia.

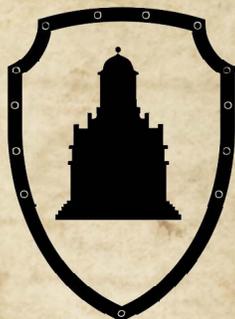
Interestingly there is another similar development in both Rome and Gondor: both integrated so-called "barbarians" into their armies (and later society) as the state underwent a crisis and sought to stabilize its power. For Rome this was the creation of several so-called *foederati* on its borders while the Gondorian kings integrated great numbers of rhovanic Northmen into its army and its general population.

Apart from historical dates and conflicts, there is also an interesting fact from Byzantium which could very well be the case for Gondor as well: It viewed itself as the defender of the correct worldview¹ but never developed an aggressive crusading ideology. Both of these aspects fit very well for the Faithful: They regard themselves as superior to other men, possessing a more enlightened knowledge of the philosophical truth in the world. But despite that, they mostly avoided the trap of forcing this upon others with the sword. At least Gondor's imperial ambitions were limited to its immediate neighbour-

¹ "orthodox" being the Greek term for "having the right opinion"

hood (apart from exerting influence beyond the borders). It rather seems they generally tried to persuade others of their superior worldview.¹

Despite all these parallels there are serious differences and everyone is well advised to avoid a simple equalization of Gondor with Rome or Byzantium. The latter was well aware of its limited resources in a hostile world and therefore this realm was highly organised to use these resources in the most economic way. In addition, the Byzantine emperors did not rely on its military alone, but preferred to neutralize a threat by diplomacy, bribery, playing one against the other etc. to preserve military strength and deterrence potential, since attempting to solve a problem militarily always implied the risk of defeat and risking losses that might be hard to replace. This lead to their bad PR within the western states (e.g. France or the Holy Roman Empire) who were more “direct” (or primitive in the Byzantine view) in politics (generally waging war quickly as the preferred way to settle disputes), while the Byzantines relied primarily on the above mentioned “dishonourable” methods. These diplomatic measures were always backed with the potential threat of using the effective Byzantine army. Tolkien depicts the Gondorian Dúnedain more “chivalrous”, so that the image of the typical “byzantine” (resource-saving) policy of clever diplomacy does not seem a dominating attribute for Gondor.



TIMEFRAMES COVERED

Tolkien tells us a lot about the history of Gondor and so there are many key eras for the realm throughout its existence (until the end of the Third Age). The ones chosen here are:

- SA 3400 – The time after the realm has been consolidated after the Akallabêth and shortly before the War of the Last Alliance.
- TA 250 – The early years of Gondor after the recovery following the War of the Last Alliance and prior to the beginning of the expansion in the Third Age
- TA 850 – years of the beginning of the expansion under Tarannon, the first of the Ship-kings
- TA 1400 – era of Gondor’s demographic and political apogee before the Kin-strife.
- TA 1640 – aftermath of the Great Plague and the default period of the MERP setting.
- TA 2000 – aftermath of the Wainrider Wars with the loss of the Gondorian territory in Rhovanion and shortly before the attack of the Nazgûl on Minas Ithil.
- TA 2500 –shortly before the Balchoth invasion and the founding of Rohan, loss of great parts of Ithilien to the Uruks
- TA 2600 – Rohan newly established
- TA 2740 – the time shortly before the Long Winter and massive Corsair attacks on Gondor’s coasts
- TA 2900 – the time shortly after renewed attacks on Harondor and gradual loss of Gondor’s reach here. Fitting for the default timeframe of TOR.
- TA 3000 – Gondor being confined to its territory west of the Anduin, situation at the time of the War of the Ring. Fitting for the standard LotRRPG timeframe as wellll for later TOR campaigns.

¹ Whether this is superior indeed, is a matter of debate, but for the limited character in Middle-earth, the philosophy of the Faithful seems indeed to be more benevolent and tolerant than those developed by the Men of Middle-earth who were under Sauron’s influence.

THE BORDERS OF GONDOR

At first glance, it seems easy to define Gondor's area at its height. Risking a closer look though – as so often – reveals some difficulties. In this chapter, I'll assess Tolkien's evidence concerning Gondor's boundaries, beginning in the Northwest and then proceeding clockwise.

Enedwaith and the NORTH-WESTERN BORDER

For this area we have several passages. It begins right in the early days of the kingdom. In Isildur's time, the fords of Isen were indeed regarded as the western boundary of Gondor:

For he [Isildur] said: 'Here [Amon Anwar on Halifirien] is the mid-point of the Kingdom of the South, ⁴¹ and here shall the memorial of Elendil the Faithful abide in the keeping of the Valar, while the Kingdom endures.

⁴¹ Amon Anwar was in fact the high place nearest to the centre of a line from the inflow of the Limlight down to the southern cape of Tol Falas; and the distance from it to the Fords of Isen was equal to its distance from Minas Tirith. [Author's note.]

—*Unfinished Tales, Cirion and Eorl and the friendship of Gondor and*

Since the realm expanded under later kings, the borders mentioned by Isildur seem to be the ones claimed at the time. On the other hand, they need not be actually controlled or its land completely settled by people of Gondor. In addition, later kings expanded the borders beyond these boundaries and thus they are not a reliable marker for the maximum extent of Gondor.

Later on, *The Lord of the Rings* provides an important passage:

In his [Hyarmendacil I] day Gondor reached the summit of its power. The realm then extended north to Celebrant and the southern eaves of Mirkwood; west to the Greyflood; east to the inland Sea of Rhûn; south to the River Harnen, and thence along the coast to the peninsula and haven of Umbar.

—*The Lord of the Rings, Appendix A*

That seems to settle the matter, granting Gondor direct rule (i.e. an integral part of the state with administrative structures, taxation, levying of troops etc.) over all the territory mentioned above. It is not that easy however, since Tolkien tells us also that it was just the other way round (Enedwaith belonging to neither Númenórean kingdom):

The land beyond, between the Gwathló and the Isen (Sir Angren) was called Enedwaith ("Middle-folk"); it belonged to neither kingdom and received no permanent settlements of men of Númenórean origin [...]

Before the decay of the North Kingdom and the disasters that befell Gondor, indeed until the coming of the Great Plague in Third Age 1636, both kingdoms shared an interest in this region, and together built and maintained the Bridge of Tharbad and the long causeways that carried the road to it on either side of the Gwathló and Mitheithel across the fens in the plains of Minhiriath and Enedwaith.

—*Unfinished Tales, The History of Galadriel and Celeborn*

This point is picked up again later in a long passage, shown on the following page.



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In ancient days the southern and eastern bounds of the North Kingdom had been the Greyflood; the western bounds of the South Kingdom was the Isen. To the land between (the Enedwaith or “middle region”) few Númenóreans had ever come, and none had settled there. In the days of the Kings it was part of the realm of Gondor,* but it was of little concern to them, except for the patrolling and upkeep of the great Royal Road. [...] In those days the region was little peopled. In the marshlands of the mouths of Greyflood and Isen lived a few tribes of “Wild Men,” fishers and fowlers, but akin in race and speech to the Drúedain of the woods of Anórien. † In the foothills of the western side of the Misty Mountains lived the remnants of the people that the Rohirrim later called the Dunlendings: a sullen folk, akin to the ancient inhabitants of the White Mountain valleys whom Isildur cursed. They had little love of Gondor, but though hardy and bold enough were too few and too much in awe of the might of the Kings to trouble them, [...]. The Dunlendings suffered, like all the peoples of Arnor and Gondor, in the Great Plague of the years 1636-7 of the Third Age, but less than most, since they dwelt apart and had few dealings with other men. When the days of the Kings ended (1975-2050) and the waning of Gondor began, they ceased in fact to be subjects of Gondor; the Royal Road was unkept in Enedwaith, and the Bridge of Tharbad becoming ruinous was replaced only by a dangerous ford. The bounds of Gondor were the Isen, and the Gap of Calenardhon (as it was then called). The Gap was watched by the fortresses of Aqlarond (the Hornburg) and Angrenost (Isengard), and the Fords of Isen, the only easy entrance to Gondor, were ever guarded against any incursion from the “Wild Lands.” [from the West]

* The statement that Enedwaith was in the days of the Kings part of the realm of Gondor seems to conflict with that immediately preceding, that “the western bounds of the South Kingdom was the Isen.” Elsewhere (see p.276) it is said that Enedwaith “belonged to neither kingdom.”

† Cf. p.275, where it is said that “a fairly numerous but barbarous fisherfolk dwelt between the mouths of the Gwathló and the Angren (Isen).” No mention is made there of any connection between these people and the Drúedain, though the latter are said to have dwelt (and to have survived there into the Third Age) in the promontory of Andrast, south of the mouths of Isen (p. 400 and note 13).

—Unfinished Tales, The Battles at the Fords of Isen (ii)

Here Tolkien provides both versions – almost in the same sentence (as Christopher points out in the comment). Thus it is not easy to determine what should be viewed as more “canonical”. Here it might be helpful to look at Gondor’s eastern lands in Rhovanion, which have a similarly convoluted textual evidence (see also the article on the demography of Rhovanion in *Other Minds, Issue 14*). In my opinion, a similar solution is the most practical and likely, given the overall assessment of the texts we have.

This solution makes a fine distinction between territories that were “laid claim to” (i.e. *de iure*) and those that were actually administered and ruled (i.e. *de facto*).

Even at the height of Gondorian power, Enedwaith seems to be only *de iure* within the boundaries of the realm. It seems that the key interest of Gondor lay in the security and maintenance of the road rather than occupation and integration of the territory beyond. Given the sparse population in the area, it seems more sensible to view Enedwaith as a military border march rather than an integral part of the south-kingdom. In addition, the quote above speaks of Arnor (and its successor states) having an interest in Enedwaith too, making it all the more

improbable that this region was a *de facto* territory of Gondor. Plus, the passage above implies a change over time, i.e. that Gondor grew to these maximum proportions, rather than possessing them right from the start.

Following this line of thought, Gondor officially laid claim to Enedwaith (e.g. for the records in Osgiliath and later Minas Anor/Tirith), but never made any attempt to actually rule it. Such a distinction between the theoretical and the practical side of the issue are vaguely hinted at by Tolkien in the context of lost territories:

It was true that other parts of the Kingdom had been lost since that day: Minas Ithil was in the hands of the Nazgûl, and Ithilien was desolate; but Gondor had not relinquished its claim to them. Calenardhon it had resigned for ever under oath.

—Unfinished Tales, Cirion and Eorl and the friendship of Gondor and Rohan

Here we see that Gondor’s rulers indeed drew a fine distinction between a factual situation and its theoretical (*de iure*) claim with respect to its territory.

Pulling it all together, Enedwaith is not considered a part of Gondor, instead existing within its sphere of interest and influence. Gondor's most important presence there is the Great Road. Along its course Gondor has built and maintains a few small garrisons and way stations (usually within a day's journey from each other, similar to caravansaries). The garrisons ensure the proper maintenance of the road as well as safe travel along its course up to Tharbad by patrolling the vicinity of the road. Beyond this, Gondor has no interest in the people and their affairs here.

Calenardhon and the northern border

The northern boundary of Gondor is an especially tough nut. As in the case of Enedwaith and Rhovanion, Tolkien provides several partially contradictory passages concerning the northern border, precipitating a close look to determine the most likely conclusion.

Stirred up, as was afterwards seen, by the emissaries of Sauron, they [the Wainriders] made a sudden assault upon Gondor, and King Narmacil II was slain in battle with them beyond Anduin in 1856. The people of eastern and southern Rhovanion were enslaved; and the frontiers of Gondor were for that time withdrawn to the Anduin and the Eryn Muil.

—*The Lord of the Rings, Appendix A*

When you are able to “withdraw” a frontier westward to the Eryn Muil, the former border must have been located further eastward. The passage above also suggests that the former eastern boundary was significantly more easterly to make this retraction of the border so noteworthy.

But *The Lord of the Rings* provides us with a passage that seems to clearly define the northern boundary of Gondor:

No road was made by the Men of Gondor in this region, for even in their great days their realm did not reach up Anduin beyond the Eryn Muil; [...]

—*The Lord of the Rings, The Great River*

This clearly contradicts the first quote in this section. How could the realm reach up to the Celebrant – well northward upriver from Eryn Muil – if the realm did not reach up Anduin beyond the Eryn

Muil? In addition, how could Gondor claim all of south-western Rhovanion as its territory if it is confined to the Eryn Muil as a northern border area? Calenardhon's grant – as a province of Gondor – to the Éothéod, and the definition of northern boundary of Rohan (former Calenardhon) at the Limlight far to the North of Eryn Muil stresses this further. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that the above mentioned passage is told by Aragorn. Of course we can safely assume for him to be well versed in the history of the Númenórean realms in Middle-earth, making incomplete knowledge of an in-world character an unlikely explanation.

Since the boundaries of later Rohan were almost identical with those of the former province of Calenardhon, a description of Rohan's boundaries gives us an idea of Calenardhon's as well:

The bounds of the realm of Eorl were to be: in the West the river Angren from its junction with the Adorn and thence northwards to the outer fences of Angrenost, and thence westwards and northwards along the eaves of Fangorn Forest to the river Limlight; and that river was its northern boundary, for the land beyond had never been claimed by Gondor.

—*Unfinished Tales, Cirion and Eorl*

Here the Limlight is explicitly claimed as the northern boundary of the new realm. That it was also the boundary of the old province seems obvious. How could you generously grant a land to another people if you have no possession or control of it?

In addition, the line of forts along the Anduin north of Eryn Muil raises several questions: Why should one care to build a line of forts (plus the necessary logistics to maintain them) to protect a strip of land that is not claimed by said realm?

At that time [the early to mid-20th century of the Third Age] the forts upon the line of the Anduin north of Sarn Gebir that had been built by Narmacil I were still in repair [...]

—*Unfinished Tales, Cirion and Eorl and the friendship of Gondor and Rohan*

One possible solution might be to split hairs in this case and take the quote above as such, that it means that Gondor's territory along the Anduin did not reach beyond it northwards **on the eastern shore** (where the Eryn Muil are located). Since the

Eryn Muil are mentioned as a marker for the extension of the realm, they define the northern extent on the eastern bank – and not generally (e.g. meaning the latitude of the Eryn Muil). That makes it possible to reconcile all these conflicting positions. It is, though, not really satisfactory concerning the validity of the conflicting quotes.

The whole issue is further complicated by Tolkien himself:

But during the Watchful Peace²¹ the forts along the Anduin, especially on the west shore of the Undeeps, had been unmanned and neglected.²²

—*Unfinished Tales; Cirion and Eorl and the friendship of Gondor and Rohan (my emphasis)*

If it needs to be stressed that especially the forts along the **western** shore were unmanned, it is implied that there were – now – unoccupied forts, along the eastern shore. This makes it even trickier to define a clear northern border for Gondor at its height.

It seems best to disregard Aragorn’s claim – or re-interpret it – so that Tolkien’s various remarks of the Limlight as Gondor’s northern border are taken as “true”. Another challenge is of course to define in which way Aragorn may have been right as well.

For me, the best solution is two-fold:

- First, Calenardhon’s northern border is indeed the Limlight, far to the north of the Argonath
- On the eastern bank of the Anduin, Gondor’s realm did not extend north of Eryn Muil (of which Aragorn’s quote speaks)
- North of Eryn Muil, there were forts on the eastern bank as well, but *de iure* they were outside of Gondor’s territory and built due to their strategic value in the Northmen’s lands, e.g. like an outpost in a foreign land.

Overall, throughout its history, Calenardhon (and to a lesser extent later Rohan) is characterised by a patchy settlement pattern, with a trend towards eastern settlement foci in its later history.

Rhovanion and the northeastern border

Similarly to the north-western frontier, the north-eastern border is a tricky issue as well. Following the initial quote of the article, the realm proper would extend over almost all of south-western Rhovanion. As Chris Seeman showed in *Other Hands, Issue 1 (Rhovanion as the Northern Frontier of Gondor; RP)* [7], it is more probable that most of this region had a similar status as Enedwaith; e.g. a border march without Dúndan colonization and administration. Of course this creates a weak hold and consequently it is swiftly “granted” to the Northmen princes living there, as shown in the following passage.

These [the Northmen] had increased greatly in the peace brought by the power of Gondor. The kings showed them favour, since they were the nearest in kin of lesser Men to the Dúnedain (being for the most part descendants of those peoples from whom the Edain of old had come); and they gave them wide lands beyond Anduin south of Greenwood the Great, to be a defence against men of the East.

—*The Lord of the Rings. Appendix A*

This quote suggests that these grants had taken place only at the time of Minalcar, but the context and the term (“kings”; plural) indicates a grant not long after the conquest. As shown in *Demographics of Rhovanion in the Third Age*, the first decisive victories took place in the 6th century, after which the Northmen were granted wide lands in Rhovanion. This seems logical, since Northmen are supposed to have lived here for centuries and the land was so vast that it would have been a real challenge for Gondor to control it in the manner of a regular fief or province.

For this reason it is reasonable to assume a Dúndan colonization and permanent establishment only in the region immediately north of Ithilien and the Dagorlad. Especially in the light of the Towers of the Teeth at the Morannon and their strategic importance, a permanent and firm hold of the surrounding territory is likely. This is also the interpretation used in the article on the demography of Rhovanion in *Other Minds, Issue 14*.

South Gondor and the southern border

The Harnen as the southern boundary of Gondor is relatively easy to define:

'When they [the rebels of the Kin-strife] had gathered there [at Pelargir] all the force that they could (for Eldacar had no ships to beset them by sea) they sailed away, and established themselves at Umbar.

[...] Umbar remained at war with Gondor for many lives of men, a threat to its coastlands and to all traffic on the sea. It was never again completely subdued until the days of Elessar; and the region of South Gondor became a debatable land between the Corsairs and the Kings.'

—The Lord of the Rings. Appendix A

The quote is set in the time of Eldacar (TA 1432-1490). That 'Southern Gondor' became debatable in this time implies that it once had been an integral part of the realm. On the map in *The Lord of the Rings* and *Unfinished Tales*, this 'South Gondor' label is set right in the middle of the land bounded by the rivers Poros to the North and Harnen to the South and the Bay of Belfalas to the West and the Ephel Dúath to the East. Thus I deem the Harnen as the southern boundary to be a good estimate.

The territory of Umbar along the coast and the Harnen is approximately well-defined too (probably situated along the coast), though we lack any information by Tolkien himself on the extent of its borders inland. We are therefore dependent on assumptions (especially since the inland areas were quite dry and thus only scarcely populated. As we have seen in the previous quote, since the middle Third Age Southern Gondor became a battleground between the Corsairs and Gondor. It is quite likely that Gondor initially held the advantage (given its overall size) only gradually losing this area to Umbar and its allies.

Western Gondor and the southwestern border

The western border (especially south of the Ered Nimrais) is interesting: The quote at the beginning of the article suggests that Gondor extended all the way west to the sea and with the Angren (Isen) as the western border of this territory. It is however not so:

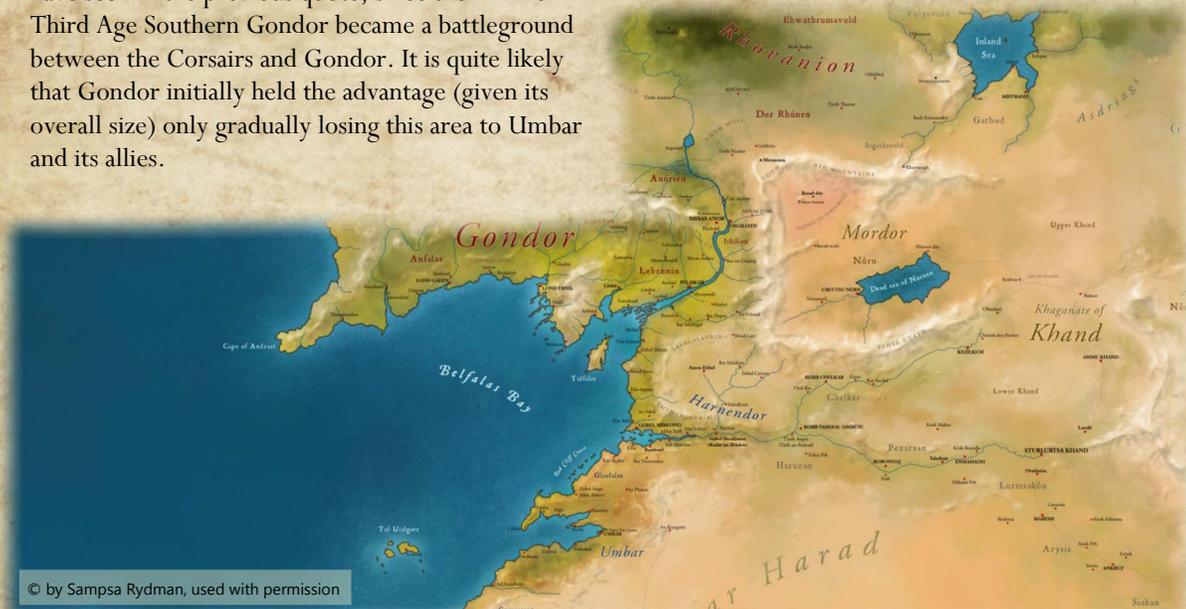
This [the Lefnui] was held to be the boundary of Gondor in this [the westward] direction; for beyond it lay the promontory of Angast [Andrast] and the wilderness of 'Old Púkel-land' (Drúwaith Iaur) which the Númenóreans had never attempted to occupy with permanent settlements, though they maintained a Coast-guard force and beacons at the end of Cape Angast [Andrast].

—Vinyar Tengwar #42, The Rivers and Beacon-hills of Gondor

This provides us with a very precise information on the extent of Gondor and concludes the survey of the realm's outer boundaries. In addition we have another region that is not formally considered part of the realm but used instead as an area of influence with forward posts beyond the realm's border.

Dor 'Wathui/Dunland

This land is closely interwoven with Gondor (and later Rohan's) and partly overlaps with its boundaries and history. Therefore it is included in some instances, but the inclusion is only peripheral and outside the focus of this article. It will be discussed in greater depth and detail in a separate article in a later Issue of *Other Minds*.



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THE PROVINCES IN DETAIL (INTERNAL DIVISION)

The lands of Gondor and their internal borders are discussed here. Again, the list begins with the Northwest (Isengard) and then continues clockwise.

Angrenost / Isengard

For Angrenost, we have a clear definition of the boundaries of that fortress/jurisdiction – at least for the time after the grant of Calenardhon to the Éothéod. It seems likely that older pre-existing boundaries were used for convenience when drawing up the boundaries of Eorl's new realm. Following this, the hills in which the Misty Mountains end are the boundaries of Angrenost:

The “outer fences” named in the description of the bounds of the realm of Eorl were a wall and dyke running some two miles south of the gates of Angrenost, between the hills in which the Misty Mountains ended; beyond them were the tilled lands of the people of the fortress.

—*Unfinished Tales, Of Cirion and Eorl and the friendship of Gondor and Rohan*

Note that the fields of the “Isengarders” lay beyond this line; so it is likely that they were part of the jurisdiction of Angrenost, even if they did not belong to the fortress itself. The location of Isengard in relation to the southern end of the valley is described in some detail as well:

There was an ancient highway that ran down from Isengard to the crossings. For some way it took its course beside the river, bending with it east and then north; but at the last it turned away and went straight towards the gates of Isengard; and these were under the mountain-side in the west of the valley, sixteen miles or more from its mouth.

—*The Lord of the Rings, The Road to Isengard*

Tolkien tells us very little about this region apart from the discussions on the boundaries of Isengard mentioned above. The only other information available is the establishment of a permanent garrison of Gondorians dwelling there after the end of the Kings. This garrison itself eventually failed also. The development after the takeover by the Rohirrim is also referred to in UT (quoted next column):

[...] The line of the Gondorian chieftains of Angrenost had failed, and the command of the fortress passed into the hands of a family of the people [...] As was later known, the Dunlendings, having been admitted as friends, had seized the Ring of Isengard, slaying the few survivors of its ancient guards who were not (as were most) willing, to merge with the Dunlendish fold.

—*Unfinished Tales, The Battles of the fords of Isen.*

The passage illustrates well the importance of Isengard for Gondor's western security, and accordingly Gondor's king would have ensured that a loyal, well-supplied and sizeable garrison was stationed here. In this context, developing a local hinterland for this fortress is justified.

Calenardhon/Rohan and west-march

Calenardhon poses a stark contrast to the presumably densely settled southern provinces. It was likely incorporated into the realm of Gondor only after the establishment of Anórien and Ithilien in the 34th century of the Second Age. This interpretation is based on the following quote:

For when Elendil took as his dwelling the North Kingdom, [...] and committed the South Kingdom to his sons, they divided it so, as is said in ancient annals: “Isildur took as his own land all the region of Arnen; but Anárion took the land from Erui to Mount Mindolluin and thence westward to the North Wood”, [...] “but Gondor south of Ered Nimrais they held in common.”

—*Vinyar Tengwar #42, The Rivers and Beacon-hills of Gondor*

What is interesting here is the absence of any mentioning of territories north of the Ered Nimrais apart from Anórien. Great care is exercised in defining the areas of rule for the other territories of the new realm, but Calenardhon is absent. This quote, taken alone isn't any strong evidence, but another passage seems to shed some additional light here (continued next page):

Isildur and Anárion were borne away southwards, and at the last they brought their ships up the Great River Anduin, that flows out of Rhovanion into the western sea in the Bay of Belfalas; and they established a realm in those lands that were after called Gondor, whereas the Northern Kingdom was named Arnor. [...] Other strong places they built also upon either hand: Minas Ithil, the Tower of the Rising Moon, eastward upon a shoulder of the Mountains of Shadow [...]; and to the westward Minas Anor, the Tower of the Setting Sun, at the feet of Mount Mindolluin, as a shield against the wild men of the dales. [...] These were the chief dwellings of the Númenóreans in Gondor, but other works marvellous and strong they built in the land in the days of their power, at the Argonath, and at Aglarond, and at Erech; and in the circle of Angrenost, which Men called Isengard, they made the Pinnacle of Orthanc of unbreakable stone.

—*The Silmarillion, Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age*

At first glance, the mentioning of the building of Angrenost and Orthanc in connection with the foundation of Minas Ithil, Minas Anor and Osgiliath seem to strengthen the theory that this area already belonged to Gondor during the days of Isildur and Anárion. It is not that easy however, as the period in which all this was built is labelled as the “days of power” of Gondor. And these reached much longer into the future. Especially the Argonath are the primary case here: They are mentioned in the same breath as Minas Anor or Minas Ithil, although they were built almost 1,500 years after the founding of these cities! It is also explicitly stressed that Minas Anor was built as a shield against the Men of the Mountains from the West, implying that Gondor did not reach that far westward (hence a fortress far inland to protect Gondor would be purely moot).

Another passage about the Great Road makes the matter even more complicated. The value of this road lay probably not primarily in the number of the people living in that land it runs through but in the strategic position, commanding the only and best land connection (by the later Great Road) that linked Arnor with Gondor:

[...] in those days [at the beginning of the Third Age] the only Númenórean roads were the great road linking Gondor and Arnor, through Calenardhon, [...]

—*Unfinished Tales, The Disaster of the Gladden Fields (Note 6)*

The strategic importance is also enhanced by the building of the strong fortresses of Aglarond and Angrenost (with its impregnable Orthanc) at the western end of the province. For this reason, the kings probably had a vital interest to keep this route of communication, trade and military assistance open and safe and therefore went to great lengths in establishing a loyal population along its course. The big question now is, when this road was actually constructed. Initially Gondor seems to have been confined to its eastern core lands as hinted at above. Swift communication with Arnor was always possible by ship (and the Númenóreans were the best seamen of their days) as is also stated by Tolkien:

In the early days of the kingdoms the most expeditious route from one to the other (except for great armaments) was found to be by sea to the ancient port at the head at the estuary of the Gwathló and so to the riverport of Tharbad, and thence by the Road.

—*Unfinished Tales, The History of Galadriel and Celeborn and Amroth King of Lórien (Appendix D: The port of Lond Daer)*

This provides some crucial information: First that the sea route was the quickest (and most economical due to the ability to transport large amounts of goods) and extensively used. Secondly we learn that only the movement of large bodies of troops was not well suited for the sea route (perhaps due to lack of adequate transport capacity). In the first century or so of their existence, there was no need for large-scale troop movements and so the sea route was probably deemed sufficient in those days. The construction of a road was perhaps considered (and planned) but not implemented due to a lower priority compared to other projects. In addition, it is likely that much of the territory through which the road would lead was still within the territory of the allied mountain kingdom (see the function of Minas Anor as a shield against the wild people).

All this changed when Sauron attacked Gondor. Now a secure land-based route for troop movements was needed. And the King of the Mountains broke the oath of alliance taken by his ancestor. So the Mountain Kingdom became neutral in this conflict and its people hid far away. In this situation it is likely that the Númenóreans annexed the territory north of the Ered Nimrais under the name of Calenardhon and began constructing the Great Road under great haste (and similarly southwards from Tharbad). Thus Calenardhon was a latecomer among Gondor’s early provinces, but available for the surveillance of Gondor’s borders by Isildur after the end of the war.

Looking at the map, we see that Calenardhon at its maximum extent was very big, among the biggest of Gondor's territories. Considering the situation of the Númenórean refugees, it is likely that this actually settled part of the province at first did not reach that far north. Therefore I deem a border along the Onódlo as fitting (i.e. in Isildur's time) followed by a later expansion. *De iure*, the border would have been the Limlight from the beginning, as already discussed above in the passage about the borders of Gondor in Isildur's time. Likewise, the Westmarch (the territory between Isen and Adorn) would be of little strategic value to Gondor at this time, being far away from important areas and not even providing additional security for the Great Road, which ran to the north of it.

Fortunately, Tolkien has written a lot about important events concerning Calenardhon and thus we can construct a good image of it. These notes concern four time periods: First the early Third Age, then the middle of the 13th century TA, followed by the middle of the 20th century TA and finally the years around 2500-2750 TA (around the Balchoth invasion and the first 250 years of the Rohirrim's rule).

Early Years

The first era deals with early Gondor, before the imperial period of expansion and hegemony across the Northwest begins:

It was Ostoher the seventh king who rebuilt Minas Anor, where afterwards the kings dwelt in summer rather than in Osgiliath. In his time Gondor was first attacked by wild men out of the East. But Tarostar, his son, defeated them and drove them out, and took the name of Rómendacil 'East-victor'.

—*The Lord of the Rings. Appendix A*

Though Calenardhon is not directly named, we know that at this time the first threat from the east materialised. In this context an expansion along the western shore of the Anduin seems fitting to secure the northern flank of the realm.

Ascendancy and peak

The second period is dealt with in the following quote, which tells us about the military organization established in the province which surely had an enormous impact upon the demographic distribution within this land. It relates to the fortifications of the western shore of the Anduin (continued next column):

On his return Rómendacil fortified the west shore of Anduin [in mid-13th century TA] as far as the inflow of the Limlight, and forbade any stranger to pass down the River beyond the Eryn Muil. He it was that built the pillars of the Argonath at the entrance to Nen Hithoel.

—*The Lord of the Rings. Appendix A*

It is very interesting that Rómendacil fortified the line of the Anduin, since at this time Gondor still held territory in Rhovanion (named *Dor Rhúnen* in MERP) which became sort of "locked out" on the wrong side of this fortifications. Even if they still had good access through Ithilien and transport across Anduin, the local population is likely to have felt more than just a bit "irritated", when a fortified line is built in their back and they are – seemingly – expendable since no such defensive line is built for them in the East (at least none reported by Tolkien).

Rómendacil's building of fortifications along the major waterway of the region is reminiscent of the Roman frontier along the Rhine and Danube. Here Rome had stationed several legions plus a number of auxiliaries in regular forts and watchtowers along the courses of both rivers. Perhaps this Roman frontier might be a model for the Anduin forts: Not a continuous wall like Hadrian's Wall or the *limes*, but a series of forts whose garrisons patrol the area in between. Since the river forms a major barrier in itself (only easily crossable at the Undeeps) this system is probably sufficient to secure the border. The Undeeps as the only easy way of crossing were probably especially well-guarded. Perhaps Gondor also constructed a bridge here in the days of its power. This could have been of wooden construction for easy dismantling in case of need. Additionally it would disappear swiftly within a few decades once it is no longer maintained. And though this is speculative, it should remain an option.

Begin of the decline

The demographic trend of migration towards the Anduin was already present in the mid-Third Age, long before the end of the kings:

Calenardhon, never densely populated had been devastated by the Dark Plague of 1636, and thereafter steadily denuded of inhabitants of Númenórean descent by migration to Ithilien and lands nearer Anduin.

—*Unfinished Tales. The Palantíri*

Besides documenting significant change in the demographic structure within the province, it is highlighting that Tolkien speaks in this context of

“inhabitants of Númenórean descent”. It could be read as a loophole, that people of indigenous descent remained in their traditional settlement areas and only those of the Númenóreans changed. To my opinion however, it is more likely to see it as a surrogate marker, whereby the other people more or less follow the trends set by the Númenórean lords. It seems that these forts along Anduin were manned over a long time (indirectly already expressed in the quote above), as is seen by a quote from *Unfinished Tales*, which speaks of a time ca. 700 years after the establishment of the forts:

At that time [the early to mid-20th century of the Third Age] the forts upon the line of the Anduin north of Sarn Gebir that had been built by Narmacil I were still in repair and manned by sufficient soldiers from Calenardhon to prevent any attempt of an enemy to cross the river at the Undeeps.

—*Unfinished Tales, Cirion and Eorl and the friendship of Gondor and Rohan*

At this time the fortified line was of great use since it barred the way of the Wainriders across the Anduin and therefore must have caught the kings’ special attention. The intact border defence here can be seen as the reason why the Wainriders chose the invasion through Ithilien rather than crossing the Undeeps. The quote also explicitly mentions that Calenardhon at this time had sufficient manpower to provide the necessary troops for its own defence.

Negligence

That these forts were abandoned subsequently after Ondoher’s defeat and Gondor’s crisis in the 20th century is suggested by the following quote, coming also from the *Unfinished Tales*. It is well supplemented by a quote from *The Lord of the Rings*:

The wide lands south of Mirkwood, [...] were a chief source of concern and unease to the rulers of Gondor. But during the Watchful Peace [TA 2063-2460] the forts along the Anduin, especially on the west shore of the Undeeps, had been unmanned and neglected [...], and [Cirion] had neither men nor opportunity for manning the line of Anduin north of the Eryn Muil [...] He [Cirion] put a few men into the old forts to keep watch on the Undeeps, and sent scouts and spies into the lands between Mirkwood and Dagorlad.

—*Unfinished Tales, Cirion and Eorl and the friendship of Gondor and Rohan*

That the forts were neglected in a time of peace and security (at least in the view of contemporary people) when overall military manpower was in short supply and the ongoing conflict in Harondor required attention, is understandable. If your resources are limited, it is wisest to neglect those areas first that are less likely of being attacked.

The further development until the reign of the Steward Cirion leads to a serious shift in population patterns in the province: The more western areas are stripped of the vigorous population in order to secure Anduin’s defences.

But during the Watchful Peace (from 2063 to 2460) the people of Calenardhon dwindled: the more vigorous, year by year, went eastward to hold the line of the Anduin; [...]

—*Unfinished Tales. The Battles of the fords of Isen.*

This development was of course risky, as any breach of this line would leave the hinterland completely unprotected and open to invasion. With the resources of that time, no defence in depth was possible anymore. Given the evidence that during the Watchful Peace the line was held – though just barely, the final abandonment of the forts must have taken place shortly (relative speaking) before the Balchoth crisis. Given Gondor’s troubles, it seems reasonable that this was not a sudden withdrawal of all troops, but a gradual process which thinned out its lines more and more.

Crisis

This development culminated at the end of the 25th century when Cirion became Ruling Steward, and not even the above mentioned transfer of manpower from the hinterland of Calenardhon was able to secure the Anduin line any longer:

There were no longer sufficient men in the realm to people the northward region, nor even to maintain in force the line of forts along the Anduin that had guarded its eastward boundary.

—*Unfinished Tales, Cirion and Eorl and the friendship of Gondor and Rohan*

Thus, at the time of the Balchoth troubles, the line was still manned, but probably grossly understaffed and spread far too thin. In the years preced-

ing the Balchoth invasion, Cirion became well aware of their armament and general plans, but his resources were extremely limited:

These Balchoth were constantly increased by others of like kind that came in from the east, whereas the people of Calenardhon had dwindled. Cirion was hard put to it to hold the line of the Anduin.

—*The Lord of the Rings, Appendix A*

These quotes also highlight Cirion's plight as he had only few people to man these vital installations which lay just along the anticipated main invasion corridor of the Balchoth. He was well aware of the most likely invasion route, but unlike 600 years ago when the line was relatively well-manned, Gondor could not do anything about it. Using the Anduin as a formidable natural defence, sufficiently manned forts could have been extremely valuable in dealing with the superior numbers of the Balchoth (as it was against the Wainriders centuries ago). The fact that it was not possible to use this best line of defence effectively underlines the deficiency in manpower troubling the Steward.

The above mentioned breach of the frontline defence (with a wide open hinterland) happened when the Balchoth invasion began, though by this time even the concentration of the remaining forces along the Anduin had failed.

When the thin screen of the Anduin defence collapsed, there were no reserves available to stop the Balchoth raiders from devastating Calenardhon right unto the White Mountains in TA 2510:

[...] those that remained [of the garrisons in Angrenost and Aglarond] became rustic and far removed from the concerns of Minas Tirith. The garrisons of the forts [Angrenost (Isengard) and Aglarond (Hornburg)] were not renewed, and were left to the care of local hereditary chieftains whose subjects were of more and more mixed blood. [...] Thus it was, when the attacks on Gondor from the East were renewed, and Orcs and Easterlings overran Calenardhon and besieged the forts [Isengard and Helm's Deep], which would not have long held out. Then the Rohirrim came, and after the victory of Eorl on the Field of Celebrant in the year 2510 his numerous and warlike people with great wealth of horses swept into Calenardhon, driving out or destroying the eastern invaders.

—*Unfinished Tales, The Battles of the fords of Isen (my emphasis)*

Here we see that the invading Balchoth divided at least in two: First the (main?) army that dealt with the relief force under Cirion and a second force that penetrated deep into Calenardhon, destroying what they could and slaying its people. This is reminiscent of the medieval *chevauchée* tactic that was used to great effect by the English in France during the Hundred Years' War.

Summarizing the discussed topics, Calenardhon is likely to have concentrations of its **original** population in the following areas:

- along the Great Road and the Ered Nimrais,
- along the course of the Onodló,
- around Isengard and Aglarond and
- along the Anduin forts.

Later, this changed as told above, with migration from all places towards the Anduin area. As we know from real-world history¹, such permanent garrisons need many services that only urbanised communities can provide. In addition, the Anduin offers an excellent way of communication and transportation for the region unto Nin Hithoel. Therefore a stretch of civilized and modestly urbanized territory along the fortification line is quite likely. The wide grasslands of the later Wold were probably only inhabited by few nomadic and semi-nomadic indigenous men as well by herders for the Númenóreans.

Concerning the demographic situation after the invasion we have the following situation, which explains the easy take-over of the land by the Éothéod:

The people of that region [Calenardhon] had become few since the Plague, and most of those that remained had been slaughtered by the savage Easterlings. Cirion, therefore, in reward for his aid, gave Calenardhon between Anduin and Isen to Eorl and his people; and they sent north for their wives and children and their goods and settled in that land.

—*The Lord of the Rings. Appendix A*

This is an invaluable hint how Tolkien envisioned the state of Calenardhon after the invasion: The land was devastated and more or less depopulated through the invaders hands and Cirion perceived the chance to fill it up again with a warlike and formidable people in close alliance with Gondor. Also of interest is the territory of the grant: "Between Isen

¹ From the already mentioned roman frontier along the Rhine and Danube. Many of today's great communities like Cologne or Vienna began their history as roman garrisons who soon developed into cities adjacent to the legionaries' quarters.

and Anduin". This was the birth of Rohan and its strong alliance with the South-kingdom. Those few people that survived the Balchoth invasion either emigrated to other provinces of Gondor or stayed and joined the Rohirrim.

Rohan

We are told something about the early days of the new realm of Rohan, which provides us with some insights concerning borders at the time:

The Rohirrim at once began the settlement of this region [Calenardhon], though during the reign of Eorl their eastern bounds along the Eryn Muil and Anduin were still under attack. But under Brego and Aldor the Dunlendings were rooted out again and driven away beyond the Isen, and the Fords of Isen were guarded. [...] To the northern bounds of the Westfold they went seldom and only at need, regarding the eaves of Fangorn (the Entwood) and the frowning walls of Isengard with dread. [...] And to Isengard the emissaries from Minas Tirith came ever more seldom, until they ceased; it seemed that amidst their cares the Stewards had forgotten the Tower, though they held the keys.

—*Unfinished Tales, The Battles of the Fords of Isen.*

So the northern areas of Rohan were only lightly visited (lest settled) by the Rohirrim in these early years, which should be reflected in the population calculations for the time. We are also told that the Easterlings (Balchoth; Bozorgana) had not given up their invasion plans yet and continued to trouble the Rohirrim. It is quite likely that Gondor supported Rohan as good as possible in its defence of the new realm against the renewed invasions from the East. In addition it speaks quite frankly of the unforgiving nature of the Rohirrim's treatment of the settled Dunlendings who "were rooted out again", evoking images of many killings (including civilians) and "ethnic cleansing". This has a huge impact on the contemporary demographics of Rohan as well as the future history of these two people.

This is further supported by the following quote which also tells of the time when the Rohirrim began to prosper and significantly increase in numbers:

2544-2645 3. Aldor the Old. He was Brego's second son. He became known as the Old, since he lived to a great age, and was king for 75 years. In his time the Rohirrim increased, and drove out or subdued the last of the Dunlendish people that lingered east of Isen.

—*The Lord of the Rings. Appendix A*

The rather indiscriminate treatment of the local Dunmen by the Rohirrim is even further detailed in the following passage:

After the death of King Aldor, who had driven out the last of the Dunlendings and even raided their lands in Enedwaith by way of reprisal, the Dunlendings unmarked by Rohan but with the connivance of Isengard began to filter into northern Westfold again, making settlements in the mountain glens west and east of Isengard and even in the southern eaves of Fangorn.

—*Unfinished Tales. The Battles of the Fords of Isen.*

So, beyond "cleansing" their own territory of Dunlendings, Aldor (probably due to being able to) also brought destruction beyond Isen in order to cower the Dunlendings by demonstrating his ability to raid their lands with impunity. For a time this probably worked, but it also laid the foundations for the deep hate of the Dunlendings. And as soon as they saw a chance, they began to prepare their counterstrike. It is highly interesting to see that they not simply re-invaded western Rohan, but stealthily re-settled parts of it, thus emphasizing their claim to this land.

This development culminated in the early 28th century with the capture of Isengard:

In 2710 they [the Dunlendings] occupied the deserted ring of Isengard, and could not be dislodged.

—*The Lord of the Rings. Appendix A*

This must be seen in close connection with the following passage (continued on next page):



Other þings and hǫndsoðher þings and hǫndsoðher other þings and hǫndsoðher other þings and hǫndsoðher

These [local people at Angrenost], as has been said, were already long before of mixed blood, and they were now more friendly disposed to the Dunlendings than to the “wild Northmen” who had usurped the land; with Minas Tirith far away they no longer had any concern. [...] In the reign of Déor [r. TA 2699-2718] they became openly hostile, raiding the herds and studs of the Rohirrim in Westfold. [...] These [a Dunledning host] he overcame; but he was dismayed to find that Isengard was also hostile. [...] But Déor had no power to storm or besiege Isengard, [...].

—**Unfinished Tales. The Battles of the Fords of Isen.**

It clearly shows that after the initial setbacks by Brego and Aldor, the Dunlendings recovered and by the end of the 27th century had a firm grip on the area of Isengard and many northern territories up to Fangorn. This led to their high-water mark in the mid-28th century and subsequent defeat by Fréaláf:

Before the year (2759) was ended the Dunlendings were driven out [of Rohan], even from Isengard; and then Fréaláf became king.

—**The Lord of the Rings. Appendix A**

It is also suggested that even the defeat of Wulf did not break the Dunlending’s power in West-march, as we see in the following quote which suggests that they were able to hold this area for about 100 years longer:

2830-2903 14. Folwine. When he became king [TA 2864] the Rohirrim had recovered their strength. He reconquered the west-march (between Adorn and Isen) that Dunlendings had occupied. Rohan had received great help from Gondor in the evil days.

—**The Lord of the Rings. Appendix A**

Concerning urban centres in Calenardhon, we know only of Aglarond in the West and Aldburg in the East (see next column):

... [in 3019] the Third Marshal, the King’s nephew Éomer, had as his ward the East-mark with his base at his home, Aldburg in the Folde. †

† There Eorl had his house; it passed after Brego son of Eorl removed to Edoras into the hands of Eofor, third son of Brego, from whom Éomund, father of Éomer, claimed descent. The Folde was part of the King’s Lands, but Aldburg remained the most convenient base for the Muster of the Eastmark. [Author’s note.]

—**Unfinished Tales, The Battles of the Fords of Isen**

Since Eorl had made his house there, it is not unreasonable to assume that this settlement was of Gondorian origin (perhaps even the provincial capital, as it lay almost exactly halfway between the Fords of Isen and the border of Anórien. The MERP canon followed this reasoning as well, which seems justified, judging the sources. Here this city was called Calmirië.

Fortunately for the topic of demographics, the settlement patterns of the Rohirrim are mentioned as well:

Far away to the left the river Entwash wound, a silver thread in a green floor. [...] The dwellings of the Rohirrim were for the most part many leagues away to the South, under the wooded eaves of the White Mountains, now hidden in mist and cloud; yet the Horse-lords had formerly kept many herds and studs in the Eastemnet, this easterly region of their realm, and there the herdsmen had wandered much, living in camp and tent, even in winter-time.

—**The Lord of the Rings, The Riders of Rohan**

Beside the key point (the settlement centres along the Ered Nimrais), there were some more nomadic or semi-nomadic parts of the population. Their current absence in the region is more attributed to the immediate dangers of orcs or other safety concerns during the War of the Ring rather than a real change in lifestyle. This must be considered when thinking about the demographics of the Rohirrim.



The chief information about the primary settlement areas of the Rohirrim is backed by the following passage:

For the most part their [the Rohirrim's] settled dwellings were about the feet of the White Mountains and in the glens and valleys of the south. To the northern bounds of the Westfold they went seldom and only at need, regarding the eaves of Fangorn (the Entwood) and the frowning walls of Isengard with dread.

—*Unfinished Tales, The Battles at the Fords of Isen*

We also can make some helpful extrapolations about population numbers from the military muster of Rohan (or its full potential) too:

“Ten thousand spears I [Théoden speaking] might have sent riding over the plain to the dismay of your foes.”

—*The Lord of the Rings, The Muster of Rohan*

But after the recovery of the Rohirrim and the reorganization of their forces in the days of King Folcwine, a hundred years before the War of the Ring, a ‘full Éored’ in battle order was reckoned to contain not less than 120 men (including the Captain), and to be one hundredth part of the Full Muster of the Riders of the Mark, not including those of the King’s Household. [...] No such host, of course, had ever ridden all together to war beyond the Mark; but Théoden’s claim that he might, in this great peril, have led out an expedition of ten thousand Riders (The Return of the King V 3) was no doubt justified. The Rohirrim had increased since the days of Folcwine, and before the attacks of Saruman a Full Muster would probably have produced many more than twelve thousand Riders, [...]

—*Unfinished Tales, Cirion and Eorl (Note 36)*

We have to note that this is the muster of all Riders (i.e. the cavalry force of Rohan). Even if we consider that cavalry was the defining arm of the rohirric army, men of lesser wealth would provide military service as infantry. Thus, this unspecified number of infantry has to be added to the cavalry potential mentioned above. This supporting role of infantry drawn from the – probably poorer – men of the levies can be glimpsed in the following passage from *Unfinished Tales* (see next column):

He [Théodred] therefore manned the approaches, east and west, to the Fords with the sturdy men on foot from the levies of Westfold.

—*Unfinished Tales, The Battles of the Fords of Isen (my emphasis)*

These levies would probably be much greater in number than the fully armed riders (see the discussion for Gondor on the same subject above), but also less trained and equipped, but still useful for home defence purposes (as quoted above).

West-march

This territory is both interesting and difficult to grasp. It seems likely that it was part of Calenardhon (and thus Gondor), as it was given to the Éothéod:

The bounds of the realm of Eorl were to be: in the West the river Angren from its junction with the Adorn [...]

—*Unfinished Tales, Cirion and Eorl*

This is also confirmed later:

Beyond the Gap [of Rohan] the land between Isen and Adorn was nominally part of the realm of Rohan [...]

—*Unfinished Tales, The Battles of the Fords of Isen*

One snippet of the local politics can be gleaned from Tolkien’s remarks about the kings of Rohan, allowing more insights to the region:

He [Helm Hammerhand] was a grim man of great strength. There was at that time a man named Freca, who claimed descent from King Fréawine, though he had, men said, much Dunlendish blood, and was dark-haired. He grew rich and powerful, having wide lands on either side of the Adorn. Near its source he made himself a stronghold and paid little heed to the king. Helm mistrusted him, but called him to his councils; and he came when it pleased him.

—*The Lord of the Rings, Appendix A (my emphasis)*

Two points are of special interest: First that Freca owned lands on **both** sides of the Adorn. This makes him only partially a vassal of the king of Rohan and it also shows that at least in his time the area south of Adorn was settled by dunnish people. Otherwise, specifically noting having land there

would make no sense as it generates neither income nor power. The other point is his apparent independence from the king: Even though he is a – powerful – landowner in Rohan, he pays little heed to the king’s wishes and seems to rule as an almost independent lord in his lands. That he was seen as the ruling lord in west-march is said later:

Beyond the Gap [of Rohan] the land between Isen and Adorn was nominally part of the realm of Rohan but though Folcwine had reclaimed it, driving out the Dunlendings that had occupied it, the people that remained were largely of mixed blood, and their loyalty to Edoras was weak: the slaying of their lord, Freca, by King Helm was still remembered. Indeed at this time they were more disposed to side with Saruman, and many of their warriors had joined Saruman’s forces.

—*Unfinished Tales, The Battles of the Fords of Isen*

This passage also shows that even though the west-march was nominally part of Rohan, the reality was that it was always either semi-independent altogether or – if under rohirric rule – of questionable loyalty owing to the ancient dunnish-rohirric conflict and the mixed population there.

Extrapolating from these facts, it seems reasonable to assume that this region always had a strong dunnish population even in Gondorian times. And the Rohirrim inherited this unsolved problem of a population that was disadvantaged due to racial prejudices both by the Dúnedain and Rohirrim – at least in the beginning. Later on the injustices on both sides became mutual.

DOR RHÚNEN

The region depicted on the map as belonging to the Gondorian province of Dor Rhúnen is a compromise for the conflict described earlier: On one occasion we are told that Gondor occupied all of southern Rhovanion, and on the other hand this region should be ruled by Northmen. As a solution only the southwesternmost part of the region is a Gondorian province while the rest is merely a sphere of influence for Gondor and occupied by its Northmen client-kingdoms.

We know very little of this region, though one major feature of it lies in its territory: The Towers of the Teeth at the Morannon. The following note gives us valuable information (see next column):

An isolated note associated with the text remarks that at this period [the Wainrider invasion of TA 1944] the Morannon was still in the control of Gondor, and the two Watchtowers east and west of it (the Towers of the Teeth) were still manned. The road through Ithilien was still in full repair as far as the Morannon; and there it met a road going north towards the Dagorlad, and another going east along the line of Ered Lithui. [...] The eastward road extended to a point north of the site of Barad-dûr; it had never been completed further, and what had been made was now long neglected. Nonetheless its first fifty miles, which had once been fully constructed, greatly speeded the Wainriders’ approach.

—*Unfinished Tales, Of Cirion and Eorl and the friendship of Gondor and Rohan, note 15 to the text*

The Towers of the Teeth are of great military importance to Gondor for several reasons: first they guard the entry into Mordor; secondly they form a formidable base for operations in the region and function as a very strong fortress and anchor point should any enemy come through Rhovanion to Gondor. This explains the third important function: They guard the entrance into Ithilien and therefore protect its northern approaches. Any enemy wishing to invade Gondor has first to reduce (or blockade) the Towers of the Teeth or risk being cut off from his supply lines in Rhovanion.

Interestingly this seems to be the case in the Wainrider invasion of TA 1944, as there is no mention of a siege of the Morannon’s fortifications. Perhaps the Wainriders were confident in defeating Gondor quickly, so that they could afford the risk of bypassing the towers of Carchost and Narchost held by Gondor.

Because of the scarcity of information concerning this territory, the data is based mostly on assumptions and extrapolation. It has already been covered in *Other Minds, Issue 14*.

The above mentioned note contains a vital part of information: The eastward road north of Ered Lithui was fully constructed for about fifty miles from the Morannon. Though we do not know for sure (e.g. by Tolkien himself) the reason why it was not built further, we can deduce that it was because this was the end of Gondor’s territory. Perhaps the Dúnedain did not care to build roads outside their realm (at least not in territory where they had no further interest in) which is understandable. Therefore, this is taken as the easternmost extent of this province.

The fact that the Dead Marshes have grown over the years must be taken into account. It seems most likely that they (as a creepy place) began their enlargement with Sauron’s growing influence in the area, especially since the Great Plague and Wainrider Wars, when Gondor began to lose its control of the region. Having the “defilement” of these graves to coincide with Gondor’s inability to “protect” them is a nice image for the growing evil, a bit reminiscent of the defilement of the barrows of the northern Dúnedain by the Barrow-wights.

It was a great battle. Tall Men with long swords, and terrible Elves, and Orcses shrieking. They fought on the plain for days and months at the Black Gates. But the Marshes have grown since then, swallowed up the graves; always creeping, creeping.

—*The Lord of the Rings, The Passage of the Marshes* (Gollum speaking)

ANÓRIEN, ITHILIEN and Lebennin

It is not easy to reconstruct the most probable development of the demographic trends in these core provinces after the foundation of the realm. It is interesting to note that Isildur and Anárion did not make their residence somewhere in Lebennin or its centre Pelargir – the age-old haven of the Faithful with its established infrastructure and population – but more northwards in the entirely new city of Osgiliath and their provincial capitals at Minas Ithil and Minas Anor. That this was a deliberate decision is illustrated in the following quote:

Other strong places they built also upon either hand: Minas Ithil, the Tower of the Rising Moon, eastward upon a shoulder of the Mountains of Shadow as a threat to Mordor; and to the westward Minas Anor, the Tower of the Setting Sun, at the feet of Mount Mindolluin, as a shield against the wild men of the dales.

—*The Silmarillion, Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age*

This contains another highlighting piece of information: That Minas Anor was built to serve as a fortress and guard against the ‘wild men of the dales’. The nature of these people is not further elaborated on, but it seems not unlikely that it refers to the haladic people of the “Mountain-kingdom” whose king swore allegiance to Isildur. If it is indeed so, it sheds some interesting light on the perceived power and reach of that people, if Minas Anor at the very eastern end of the Ered Nimrais was specifically built as protection against them (and probably rea-

sonably near the border with these people). Due to this location, the primary function would be to check these “wild men” from the mountains and the northern foothills (as did Belfalas for the area to the south; see below).

The borders of Anórien and Ithilien are also defined quite well by Tolkien:

This [Ithilien] was given to the narrow land between the Anduin and the Ephel Dúath, primarily to the part between Cair Andros and the southern end of the bend of Anduin, but vaguely extended north to the Nindalf and south towards the Poros. [...] “Isildur took as his own land all the region of Arnen; but Anárion took the land from Erui to Mount Mindolluin and thence westward to the North Wood”, [...] “but Gondor south of Ered Nimrais they held in common.”

—*Vinyar Tengwar #42, The Rivers and Beacon-hills of Gondor*

Was this establishment of new territories and cities a deliberate decision to circumvent the established power structure in Lebennin? In my view this seems likely as there must have evolved some kind of leadership in Lebennin in the 1,000 years before the arrival of Isildur and Anárion and the local lords were probably not very pleased by the prospect of simply handing over all their power and authority to Isildur and Anárion, whatever their claim and lineage might be.

Exactly this topic is addressed in MERP’s *Southern Gondor: The People* (p. 13/14). There Isildur and Anárion arranged themselves with the Pelargirean League (the supposed colonial administrative body in this region), accepting its internal autonomy for the recognition of their kingship.

The disadvantage of Anórien and Ithilien as the new kingdom’s royal domains lay in their less well established demographic and political structures, and their corresponding vulnerability. Exactly this relative weakness is recognized by Sauron and consequently he tried to exploit it later on:

Therefore, after a time he made war upon the Exiles, before they should take root.

—*The Lord of the Rings. Appendix A*

This quote implies an interesting thought. Sauron attacked Gondor in SA 3429, 110 years after the fall of Númenor and the arrival of the Exiles in Middle-earth. Especially when we consider the long

life-span of the Númenóreans¹, the natural growth of the Númenórean population must have been limited. In this respect, a considerable relocation of Dúnedain (plus men of mixed and indigenous origin) must have taken place to form a reasonable population of the new royal provinces of Anórien and Ithilien. In more than 100 years, a population of “normal” men can grow substantially though, and this can mitigate the population problem to a good degree. Taking into account the royal prestige and possible incentives such as tax exemption or land grants, it seems not too unreasonable in assuming a noticeable demographic shift from Lebennin to Anórien and Ithilien. When we consider the quote above, the social, demographic and military institutions do not seem to have been that stable and in Sauron’s view liable to collapse under a sudden and powerful attack. That it was not so, was probably a merit of the Dúnadan spirit and the leadership of the kings who rallied their people to their realm’s defence.

Tolfalas

Unfortunately we know very little about Tolfalas. There is only a single vague reference to its possible demographic status:

But the Isle of Tolfalas was almost destroyed [in the tumults following the Akallabêth], and was left at last like a barren and lonely mountain in the water not far from the issue of the river.

— *The Peoples of Middle-earth, The Prologue and Appendices to The Lord of the Rings*

In *Southern Gondor: The Land* it is depicted as an outpost of Gondor, scarcely manned and inhabited by a few fisherfolk and a small military garrison. It is described as housing the hallows of the princes of Dor-en-Ernil. Above that, the adverse geography limits any noteworthy population throughout the Third Age. Consequently, the island’s interior remains uninhabited wilderness. In my opinion these interpretations are acceptable and can be retained.



¹ For details on the longevity of the Númenóreans, see *Other Minds*, Issues 6 and 12.

Belfalas (Dor-en-Ernil)

In MERP’s *Southern Gondor: The People* it is stated that Dor-en-Ernil emerged as a vassal fiefdom to Gondor in the 34th century of the Second Age. This is problematic in light of the following comment by Tolkien:

With Tarannon [r. TA 830-913], the twelfth king, began the line of the Ship-kings, who built navies and extended the sway of Gondor along the coasts west and south of the Mouths of Anduin.

— *The Lord of the Rings. Appendix A*

So Gondor’s sway apparently did not extend in that direction before Tarannon’s rule; barring the possibility that Dor-en-Ernil was a fief granted by Elendil. On the other hand we have Tolkien’s explicit quote that Elendil granted this area to a Númenórean lord living here :

The Lord of Dol Amroth had this title [Prince]. It was given to his ancestors by Elendil, with whom they had kinship. They were a family of the Faithful who had sailed from Númenor before the Downfall and had settled in the land of Belfalas, between the mouths of Ringló and Gilrain, with a stronghold upon the high promontory of Dol Amroth (named after the last King of Lórien).

— *Unfinished Tales. Cirion and Eorl and the friendship of Gondor and Rohan (Note 39)*

This grant by Elendil² may reflect the political realities in this region: on the one hand there was the established independent realm of the prince in Belfalas but also the emerging Dúnadan kingdom with its royal family. Therefore it is conceivable to view Elendil’s decision as an elegant compromise: He gained an important ally who retained most of his old prerogatives and kept his official independence but was closely allied to Gondor and thereby *de facto* part of the realm – but not *de iure* subordinate to its king. The upholding of this title even in later days hints that the line retained its special status and was somewhat elevated among the mere ‘governors’ of other regions. Certainly the prince was less in status only to the king and later the Ruling Steward.

² This tradition of the grant by Elendil was also incorporated into the history of the region in MERP’s *Southern Gondor* books.

And the second option goes as follows:

The shores of the Bay of Belfalas were still mainly desolate [in the earlier part of the Second Age], except for a haven and small settlement of Elves at the mouth of the confluence of Morthond and Ringló.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ *This according to the traditions of Dol Amroth had been established by seafaring Sindar from the west havens of Beleriand who fled in three small ships when the power of Morgoth overwhelmed the Eldar and the Atani; [the Havens of Sirion].*

—*The Peoples of Middle-earth, Of Dwarves and Men*

The first one is also a bit more problematic, because it makes Círdan a Noldo, which is quite unusual in all other contexts. Therefore I'll stick to the second version, where the founding Elves escaped the fall of the Havens of Sirion and sailed southwards. Connected to this is the ambiguity of the haven's location: It differs slightly between the two versions, and this is a problem already recognised by Christopher Tolkien as well:

I have thought it desirable to mark in the entire length of the Great Road linking Arnor and Gondor, although its course between Edoras and the Fords of Isen is conjectural (as also is the precise placing of Lond Daer and Edhellond).

—*Unfinished Tales, The Map of Middle-earth (my emphasis)*

The map of Pauline Baynes suggests a location at the mouth of the river (although this is not sure as she only uses a label without a place marker), while the *Unfinished Tales* map (to which the quote above probably refers) places it significantly further inland, near the confluence of Morthond and Ringló. As Amroth dies in the bay when his ship breaks off anchor in TA 1981 in a violent storm, which forced his ship far into the sea, a placement at the mouth of Morthond (and thus adjacent to the Sea) seems best to me. Otherwise, the violent storm would also have had to be severe further inland and a ship loosed from its moorings and without steering in a violent storm is much more likely to run aground on the river's shore (or a shoal) rather than be swept directly to the sea. The haven's location on the *Unfinished Tales* map is about 20-25km inland, which would result in a journey of several hours (the river's course plus a significant distance offshore) before the sailors are woken by the tumult. Though possible (largely through assuming "supernatural" causes), I stick with the more likely version which

needs less assumptions (the haven located near the mouth of the river).

Then in the autumn there came a great night of storm, one of fiercest in the annals of Gondor. It came from the cold Northern Waste, and roared down through Eriador into the lands of Gondor, doing great havoc; the White Mountains were no shield against it, and many of the ships of Men were swept out into the Bay of Belfalas and lost. The light Elven-ship was torn from its moorings and driven into the wild waters towards the coasts of Umbar. [...] The storm fell upon the coasts of Gondor just as dawn was peering through the flying clouds; but when Amroth woke the ship was already far from land. Crying aloud in despair Nimrodel! he leapt into the sea and swam towards the fading shore. [...] No eyes of Elves or Men ever saw him again in Middle-earth.

—*Unfinished Tales, The History of Galdriel and Celeborn and Amroth King of Lórien (Amroth and Nimrodel)*

Even though Elves and Men can be on quite friendly terms (especially the Númenóreans and the Eldar), they still live in their own territories and do not mix on a day-to-day basis. Due to this, I deem it right to provide the haven with a small "elvish" territory around it, which is respected by the Númenóreans and only visited during a – very occasional – "official" visit and with permission of the elven leaders.

However, due to its location at the mouth of the river and the needs of the people of Gondor, the latter are allowed to trade freely along the river, sailing or rowing along its course. They are not allowed to land on the elvish land though, lest they have permission of the Firstborn.

A new situation arises after the last elves leave Edhellond in TA 1981. This has been planned long before and is their wish that afterwards their former land should be administered by the Princes of Belfalas, their long-distant kin and closest friends. This is respected by king Eärnil II and the Stewards afterwards. The former small elven territory around the port is left unsettled and men seldom go there – and then only with the leave of the Prince. It is a quiet and peaceful area which bears the memories of its former people. In a way it is like a Lindon *en miniature* of which Tolkien says that it was "green and quiet, where no Men went" (LotR, Appendix A). The Prince ensures that this memory is respected and maintains a small garrison in the former port only in times of need (e.g. when the Corsairs threaten the coasts) and otherwise it is left empty.

The White Mountains (Ered Nimrais)

Concerning population, our textual knowledge of this region is extremely limited. We have evidence however for this through another source – the Oathbreakers. Their lord was called the “King of the Mountains” in the late Second Age:

For at Erech there stands yet a black stone that was brought, it was said, from Númenor by Isildur; and it was set upon a hill, and upon it the King of the Mountains swore allegiance to him in the beginning of the realm of Gondor. But when Sauron returned and grew in might again, Isildur summoned the Men of the Mountains to fulfil their oath, and they would not: for they had worshipped Sauron in the Dark Years.

‘Then Isildur said to their king: “Thou shalt be the last king. And if the West prove mightier than thy Black Master, this curse I lay upon thee and thy folk: to rest never until your oath is fulfilled. For this war will last through years uncounted, and you shall be summoned once again ere the end.” And they fled before the wrath of Isildur, and did not dare to go forth to war on Sauron’s part; and they hid themselves in secret places in the mountains and had no dealings with other men, but slowly dwindled in the barren hills.’

—*The Lord of the Rings,
The Passing of the Grey Company*

The fact that he was called “King of the Mountains” hints that these (or at least their foothills) were the primary territory of his people. It can be surmised that these Folk of the Mountains were part of the haladic folk that had populated almost all of Gondor before the Númenóreans came. Please see Chris Seeman’s article ‘Oathbreakers and Dunlendings’ in *Other Hands*, Issue 24 for more in-depth discussion on these people. In short, it is likely that they once peopled many lands closer to the Belegaer and later retreated towards the mountains when the Númenóreans began to visit and colonise the coasts of later Gondor. Compare this also to the role of Minas Anor as a “shield against the wild men” (see above in the section on Anórien).

In Isildur’s time, the ‘Mountain Kingdom’ was still a major power in the region, which probably contributed to Isildur’s decision of making them his allies (both to add them to his strength and prevent them to join his enemies). This passage that speaks of the evil religious practices of the later Oathbreakers (probably some kind of sauronic or morgothic cult) makes Isildur’s tactic also somewhat better to understand: He was aware that these people had strong ties and sympathies for Sauron (see quote below) and/or his ideology and wanted to bind them as strong as possible to his realm by lying the strongest oath possible upon them.

Note 6: The Men of Darkness built temples, some of great size, usually surrounded by dark trees, often in caverns (natural or delved) in secret valleys of mountain-regions; such as the dreadful halls and passages under the Haunted Mountain beyond the Dark Door (Gate of the Dead) in Dunharrow. The special horror of the closed door before which the skeleton of Baldor was found was probably due to the fact that the door was the entrance to an evil temple hall to which Baldor had come, probably without opposition up to that point. [...]

—*Vinyar Tengwar* # 42,
The Rivers and Beacon-hills of Gondor;
Author’s Note 6

Excursus:

It has often been speculated how Isildur managed to curse a whole people to such a gruesome fate (as experienced by the Oathbreakers) and what his power might have been to facilitate the creation of a whole “undead nation”. This is often used in Middle-earth games as a model case to create other ghosts by the “they were cursed” explanation. In my opinion this should be handled with great reluctance, as making a single human “undead” is hard enough, less so a whole people. Here another note from Tolkien can be of help: He mentions that only the Númenórean monarchs were allowed to speak Eru’s name and act as “priest” for their people and thus mediators with the One. This can be applied to this oath: Isildur let them swear their oath by Eru. And because he was “authorised” to do so, the One’s power was “channelled” through him making the Oathbreakers undead (after their natural death). Thus, combining the existing evidence creates a good theory for the “how” this happened. It should be clear that the power to do this (creating an undead nation) is beyond the power of any individual in Arda and needs the intervention of Eru. The Númenórean priest-king system offers a convenient way to make it happen.

Here the time of the oath is interesting. We don't have a precise date, but since the quote above says "in the beginning of the realm of Gondor" it is unlikely to have been very long after Isildur's and Anárion's arrival, probably sometime in the 3320's or 3330's of the Second Age. Accordingly, about 100 to 110 years of peace and more or less good neighbourhood between the new Númenórean realm(s) – including the semi-independent Belfalas – and the 'Mountain Kingdom' are likely. Only when the king (who ruled long after his predecessor who had sworn the oath) was called upon to fight along-side the Last Alliance refused to do so, were the consequences of the oath called upon him and his followers.

In this interpretation the Hill of Erech (where the great stone is set) was located approximately in the middle of the 'Mountain Kingdom' and it might be seen as both a gift from Isildur as well as a veiled threat of the consequences of failing the alliance.

Before the War of the Last Alliance, the kingdom is supposed to have encompassed the majority of the Ered Nimrais as well as many of its foothills both north and south of it.

It is of great importance that its people dwindled "slowly" after the Oathbreaking, leading to a gradual shrinking of its territory over the course of the Third Age until the last one of these people (perhaps a descendant of the last king) died about 2,500 years later:

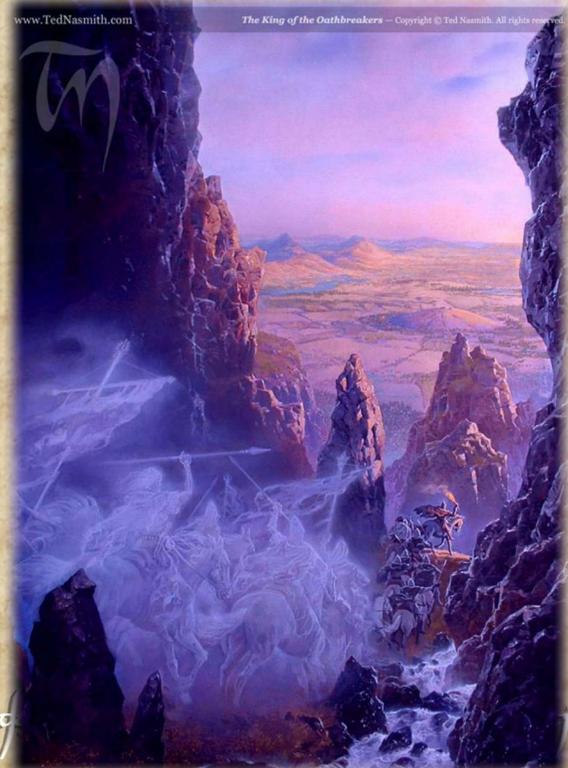
[...] Brego and his son Baldor climbed the Stair of the Hold and so came before the Door. On the threshold sat an old man, aged beyond guess of years; tall and kingly he had been, but now he was withered as an old stone. Indeed for stone they took him, for he moved not, and he said no word, until they sought to pass him by and enter. And then a voice came out of him, as it were out of the ground, and to their amaze it spoke in the western tongue: The way is shut.

'Then they halted and looked at him and saw that he lived still; but he did not look at them. The way is shut, his voice said again It was made by those who are Dead, and the Dead keep it, until the time comes. The way is shut.' 'And when will that time be?' said Baldor. But no answer did he ever get. For the old man died in that hour and fell upon his face; and no other tidings of the ancient dwellers in the mountains have our folk ever learned.

—The Lord of the Rings,
The Muster of Rohan

In this context it is important to note that after the Oathbreaking, the faithless 'King of the Mountains' was probably the last to hold that position. As Isildur prophesied that he would be the last king, the folk after him (in their slow dwindling) did not have (for whatever reason) another king again but became an assembly of smaller lordships, always dwindling and decreasing in importance, avoiding contacts with other men. Beside this it is interesting to note that Tolkien ascribes this last of the Oathbreakers a "tall and kingly" outlook (at least when he was younger) and thus invokes a more positive image of him – in contrast to the usual description of the Men of Darkness (and especially those of dunnish stock) as being more swarthy and squat.

Here it might be interesting to discuss **who** actually became a ghost due to the breaking of the oath. It cannot have been the people before (including the king who swore the oath), as they had already died (and their *fëar* having left Arda long since) before the curse came into effect. Whether the descendants of the Oathbreakers were affected as well, or only those living at the time of the Oathbreaking can not be answered with certainty. Subjecting the afterborn descendants to this fate as well would make for a really vicious (and somewhat unjust) curse. But even if only those living at the time of the Oathbreaking became ghosts, the society of their descendants and its treatment and view of ghosts and the supernatural in general would be highly interesting. In any case, a constantly decreasing birth rate led to a slow but inevitable decline of numbers of the folk until at last their last remaining descendant died when a new people finally took over the old land of the Oathbreakers – as told in the passage above.



Lamedon

Lamedon is a similar case as Morthond: it came under Gondor's rule only in the 9th century (probably). Due to its remote location from Gondor's heartland the question regarding its Dúnadan character is not as pressing but remains nonetheless. Of Lamedon we have little more than the name:

They passed Tarlang's Neck and came into Lamedon; and the Shadow Host pressed behind and fear went on before them, until they came to Calembel upon Ciril, and the sun went down like blood behind Pinnath Gelin away in the West behind them. The township and the fords of Ciril they found deserted, for many men had gone away to war, and all that were left fled to the hills at the rumour of the coming of the King of the Dead.

—The Lord of the Rings,
The Passing of the Grey Company

Thus we are left to our own decision about it (similar to Morthond). Concerning its boundaries, it is probably not that extensive and located between Tarlang's Neck, the mountain spur south to that. In the South, Calembel looks like a good boundary and then again the mountains to the east of that. To the north, the Ered Nimrais are its border.

Morthond

For Morthond, Tolkien provides us with a little bit of information. These sources are unfortunately not consistent. On the one hand we have a paragraph in *The Lord of the Rings* that says:

The Morthond Vale made a great bay that beat up against the sheer southern faces of the mountains. Its steep slopes were grass-grown; but all was grey in that hour, for the sun had gone, and far below lights twinkled in the homes of Men. The vale was rich and many folk dwelt there.

—The Lord of the Rings,
The Passing of the Grey Company

So at least in this time¹ the Morthond vale seems to have been a bountiful and prosperous region. It is not too far-fetched to suppose that it has been so for a long time. With respect to the horror of the Paths of the Dead, it seems to be in a similar position as Minas Tirith was with Minas Morgul: The horror

was nearby but it stayed in its place and was avoided by mortal men, which is exactly what the men of the vale did with the southern end of the Paths:

Similarly the Morthond 'Black-root', ... called Mornan, not only because of the shadow of the two high mountains between which it lay, but because through it passed the road from the Gate of the Dead Men, and living men did not go there.

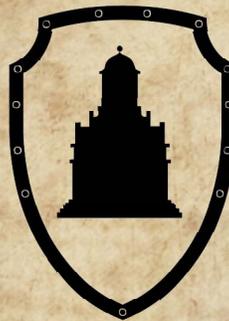
—Vinyar Tengwar #42,
The Rivers and Beacon-hills of Gondor

To reconcile the two quotes, it can be assumed that the avoidance pertains only to the immediate area near the exit of the Paths of the Dead. All the other parts of the vale were then settled and populated. So, the Dead and the Living remained in their respective areas in some kind of "peaceful co-existence":

And they [the Oathbreakers] fled before the wrath of Isildur, and did not dare to go forth to war on Sauron's part; and they hid themselves in secret places in the mountains and had no dealings with other men, but slowly dwindled in the barren hills. And the terror of the Sleepless Dead lies about the Hill of Erech and all places where that people lingered.

—The Lord of the Rings,
The Passing of the Grey Company

The borders of this territory are not easy to define, and it is probably best to restrict it to the small area in the mountains where the river Morthond has its source. Fortunately Tolkien tells us that it was a lordship in itself (at least during the time of the War of the Ring; see the section on Lamedon above). But we are left without the slightest hint when it became so, and thus are dependent on our own imagination to create a good context for this.



¹ The late Third Age.

Nan Ringló (Vale of Ringló)

This area has no proper name by Tolkien, but a Sindarisation in this form seems sensible. It is listed in the list of fiefs that send troops to Minas Tirith's support, but nothing more. The borders need to be judged by its neighbours and the relative position of its namesake – the river Ringló. A territory along the western shore of the Ringló, south of Lamedon and Morthond, west of Belfalas and east of Anfalas seems good. As we have no precise information however, a good deal of uncertainty remains.

Anfalas

Anfalas is one of the fiefs that sent troops in support of Minas Tirith, but beyond that we know nothing that is relevant in this context. The borders need to be figured out and in this context the lands east of the Lefnui, south of Pinnath Gelin and west of the river Morthond seem alright.

Pinnath Gelin

Similar to Anfalas, our information of Pinnath Gelin is very limited beyond the fact that the fief sends a handful of men in support of Minas Tirith. The only safe bet with regard to its territory are the hills itself (Pinnath Gelin). Beyond that, the borders depend primarily on the ones of its neighbours. Those are in the west the river Lefnui, in the north the Ered Nimrais and the fief and river Morthond to the east.

South Gondor (Harondor)

For South Gondor (sindarised to *Harondor* in MERP) the textual evidence is only marginally better than for the preceding territories. This is quite surprising, given its crucial importance to Gondor for almost two thirds of the Third Age. We have a few quotes where it is mentioned (see below), but none of these give us demographically usable information or a precise definition of its borders. These are reasonably easy to estimate though, as being south of the Poros, east of Anduin and Belegaer, north of the Harnen and west of the Ephel Dúath.



There [in Umbar] they [the remaining followers of Castamir in TA 1448] made a refuge for all the enemies of the king, and a lordship independent of his crown. Umbar remained at war with Gondor for many lives of men, a threat to its coastlands and to all traffic on the sea. It was never again completely subdued until the days of Elessar; and the region of South Gondor became a debatable land between the Corsairs and the Kings.

—*The Lord of the Rings, Appendix A*

So the only thing known for sure is that from the mid-Third Age onwards, South Gondor (Harondor) became a battleground. It is likely that at first Gondor with its – probably – greater resources had the upper hand and held most of the territory, but with the dwindling power of Gondor Umbar (and its allies) slowly gained the advantage in this struggle. The following quote lists the relevant dates in context with South Gondor:

1540 King Aldamir slain in war with the Harad and Corsairs of Umbar,

1551 Hyarmendacil II defeats the Men of Harad.

1634 The Corsairs ravage Pelargir and slay King Minardil.

1944 Ondoher falls in battle. Eärnil defeats the enemy in South Ithilien.

2758 Gondor attacked by fleets of the Corsairs.

—*The Lord of the Rings, Appendix B*

At first the Corsairs get an advantage by slaying the king, but then its successor gains such a great victory that he takes the name 'Hyarmendacil II' (The second South-victor). This latter implies that the victory might have had an impact for the security of Gondor's southern border, probably until the great raid of the Corsairs 83 years later.

The first major battle in the area being reported on in some detail takes place during the Third Wainrider War:

In 1944 King Ondoher and both his sons, Artamir and Faramir, fell in battle north of the Morannon, and the enemy poured into Ithilien. But Eärnil, Captain of the Southern Army, won a great victory in South Ithilien and destroyed the army of Harad that had crossed the River Poros.

—*The Lord of the Rings, Appendix A*

The 26th century is a good candidate for a crucial period. The urging need to meet the Balchoth invasion in TA 2510 with all available manpower is likely to have led to a considerable thinning of Gondorian troops in South Gondor. The Haradrim (and Corsairs) probably exploited this situation and pushed back Gondor’s frontier substantially.

We also have another quote on this land:

In the days of Turin II [r. TA 2882-2914] the enemies of Gondor began to move again; [...] All but the hardest of its people deserted Ithilien and removed west over Anduin, for the land was infested by Mordor-orcs. [...] But his chief peril lay in the south, where the Haradrim had occupied South Gondor, and there was much fighting along the Poros. When Ithilien was invaded in great strength, King Folcwine of Rohan fulfilled the Oath of Eorl and repaid his debt for the aid brought by Beregond, sending many men to Gondor. With their aid Túrin won a victory at the crossings of the Poros [TA 2885]; but the sons of Folcwine both fell in the battle.

—The Lord of the Rings, Appendix A

There is some crucial information here: First we are told that by the end of the 29th century, the Haradrim had finally **completely** occupied Harondor. When **exactly** this happened is not told by Tolkien, but it seems fitting to put this in a somewhat nearby timeframe (and thus warranting the special notice). In this time (28th and 29th century) Gondor already had experienced a continuing decline and loss of power and thus the Haradrim were able to force the remaining Gondorian troops (and the refugees accompanying them) from South Gondor. Second, the last quote also tells us that there were still some people of Gondor left in Ithilien in the late 29th century (“all but the hardest people deserted Ithilien”) and that fighting raged along the Poros. Combined, it seems justified that this last remaining hold of Gondor in Ithilien was in the south, near or along the Poros.



Umbar

Umbar is a difficult region to approach. On the one hand it has an important role in the history of the Númenóreans and appears regularly in Tolkien’s writings – even if only marginally. On the other hand, we are nearly without first-hand information about the exact nature of this place. The appendices of *The Lord of the Rings* refer on several occasions to Umbar, but none of these contain usable information in the context of this article. A very vague hint is found in the Appendix A. It tells us of the conquest of Umbar in the 10th century TA:

He [Eärnil I.] laid siege by sea and land to Umbar, and took it, and it became a great harbour and fortress of the power of Gondor.²⁸ [...] Ciryandil his son continued the building of ships; but the Men of the Harad, led by the lords that had been driven from Umbar, came up with great power against that stronghold, and Ciryandil fell in battle in Haradwaith.

For many years Umbar was invested, but could not be taken because of the seapower of Gondor [...] The realm [Gondor] then extended [...] south to the River Harnen, and thence along the coast to the peninsula and haven of Umbar. The Men of the Vales of Anduin acknowledged its authority; and the kings of the Harad did homage to Gondor, and their sons lived as hostages in the court of its King.

—The Lord of the Rings. Appendix A

Beside the territorial information, the aforementioned more “pragmatic” approach of the southern Dúnedain to the necessities of life and running an empire glimpse through this passage: The sons of the lords/kings lived as **hostages** at the court of the kings of Gondor. In the real world, this was an often-practiced custom to ensure the compliance of foreign rulers by – implicitly – threatening them with hurting, imprisoning or even killing their heirs if they did not comply with the wishes of the hostage-takers. This is unusual for the noble Men of the West that valiantly resist the Shadow and its temptations depicted in *The Lord of the Rings*. It is a good example how customs of real politics even among the Free Peoples show themselves. It really adds to the depth of the world.

The footnote to the previous quote can be found on the next page.

28 'The great cape and land-locked firth of Umbar had been Númenórean land since days of old; but it was a stronghold of the King's Men, who were afterwards called the Black Númenóreans, corrupted by Sauron, and who hated above all the followers of Elendil. After the fall of Sauron their race swiftly dwindled or became merged with the Men of Middle-earth, but they inherited without lessening their hatred of Gondor. Umbar, therefore, was only taken at great cost.'

—The Lord of the Rings, Appendix A

Thus we can imagine Umbar as a great and almost impregnable fortress-city which was only taken because the whole might of Gondor was thrown against it. When the Black Númenórean ex-lords of the city besieged it afterwards, the city held out for decades, hinting at the fortifications' strength. It seems that the resources of the Haradrim were insufficient to field a war machine comparable to that of Eärnil, leading to a lengthy blockade. This stalemate with a land power blockading a vital port while a sea power supports it by sea is reminiscent of the First Punic War, where the Carthaginians held the port of Lilybaeum while the Roman siege dragged on for years without real progress. The city only surrendered when the Romans were able to cut off the maritime supply (something the former Umbarean lords were not able to achieve).

After the victory of Hyarmendacil I over the lords of Harad, the city remained a territory of Gondor for about 400 years, until the Kin-strife in Gondor. At the end of this conflict Castamir's sons managed to escape to it with their followers and build an independent lordship there. Later on, these rebels are a constant threat for Gondor as in the Great Raid of TA 1634 and much later.

1448 Rebels escape and seize Umbar.

1634 The Corsairs ravage Pelargir and slay King Minardil.

2758 Gondor attacked by fleets of the Corsairs.

—The Lord of the Rings, Appendix

The last triumph of Gondor over Umbar occurred in the early 19th century (see next column):

But Telumehtar his [Tarondor's] son, remembering the death of Minardil, and being troubled by the insolence of the Corsairs, who raided his coasts even as far as the Anfalas, gathered his forces and in 1810 took Umbar by storm. In that war the last descendants of Castamir perished, and Umbar was again held for a while by the kings. Telumehtar added to his name the title Umbardacil. But in the new evils that soon befell Gondor Umbar was again lost, and fell into the hands of the Men of the Harad.

—The Lord of the Rings, Appendix

Thus for a time Gondor had security on its southern border, but it wasn't for long. We don't get a precise date for its final loss, but it is reasonable to assume that this coincided more or less with the Third Wainrider War (TA 1944) which resulted in the death of King Ondoher and his sons.

It is interesting that the Corsairs fleets "only" pilaged, plundered and destroyed things but never tried to conquer. The implication of this is that Umbar did not feel able to really defeat Gondor and therefore resorted to devastating its coastlands. Thus despite their ever-present threat the Corsairs lacked the resources to substantially threaten Gondor without further support from other powers.

Concerning demography, we have an interesting bit of information about the composition of its lords after the Númenórean followers of Castamir fled there:

The rebels of Umbar had never ceased to make war on Gondor since the death of Kastamir, attacking its ships and raiding its coast at every opportunity. They had however become much mixed in blood through admission of Men of Harad, and only their chieftains, descendants of Kastamir, were of Númenórean race.

—HoMe 12: The Peoples of Middle-earth, The Heirs of Elendil

It was only the family of Castamir that retained their Númenórean heritage for a significant time, while all other Númenórean rebels quickly mingled with "lesser" men. As we have seen above, these last descendants were slain in the war of TA 1810. Consequently, there were no longer ethnic Númenóreans in Umbar after that date. So other men took on the appellation of the "Corsairs of Umbar" – but they inherited the enmity towards Gondor and continued the struggle.

We also get some indirect information on the later days of Umbar:

'The loss of Umbar [to the followers of Castamir after the Kin-strife] was grievous to Gondor, not only because the realm was diminished in the south and its hold upon the Men of the Harad was loosened, but because it was there that Ar-Pharazôn the Golden, last King of Númenor, had landed and humbled the might of Sauron. Though great evil had come after, even the followers of Elendil remembered with pride the coming of the great host of Ar-Pharazôn out of the deeps of the Sea; and on the highest hill of the headland above the Haven they had set a great white pillar as a monument. It was crowned with a globe of crystal that took the rays of the Sun and of the Moon and shone like a bright star that could be seen in clear weather even on the coasts of Gondor or far out upon the western sea. So it stood, until after the second arising of Sauron, which now approached, Umbar fell under the domination of his servants, and the memorial of his humiliation was thrown down.'

—The Lord of the Rings, Appendix A

This gives us precious information on some points:

- Umbar was a key position of Gondor for its politics and relations with the Haradrim.
- It was only late in the Third Age (after TA 2951) that Umbar fell under the direct dominion of Sauron. Before it was certainly hostile to Gondor, but not part of Sauron's Empire.

Concerning borders, the city of Umbar itself is relatively easy to define, but the borders of its territory are much harder to pin down. Here we have to rely on our own interpretation and I roughly followed the MERP canon, where the coastal area is fertile land and settled while most of the interior land is more or less uninhabited (semi-) desert. In a way it might be comparable in climate to the coastlands of northern Africa or the Levant. Umbar's territory must be made great enough (and thus its resources) that it is strong and not easy to conquer, but on the other hand not powerful enough to be really able to defeat Gondor on its own.



Umbar © by Turner Mohan, used with permission

several forms like client-kingdoms (in Rhovanion and Harad) or foreign/wild territory that is more or less regularly patrolled but not administered in any way. Examples for the latter would be the lighthouse on Andrast, the (supposed) patrolling of the area beyond Lefnui and the Great Road towards Tharbad with small garrisons and waystations regularly spaced along the way.

The Numbers

The numbers presented in the following chapters have been calculated using the formula that was already used for the articles on the demography of Eriador and Rhovanion (See below).

From the raw numbers it might seem that Gondor is rather densely populated, but this is misleading. First, the total average of people per square kilometre in the tables show the order of magnitude, but they might suggest an even distribution. This is not so and an important factor in the whole calculation. All provinces have areas with lower and higher population densities, and in addition a significant part of the land is not settled at all for various reasons. This “empty” territory is shown for every province so that it can provide you with an idea how much area of the region should be envisaged as not settled.

About 45 to 60 percent of Gondor’s territory, depending on the era is not settled. In most periods, the overall percentage lies around 50%. The distribution is quite diverse between the various provinces, with core areas such as Anórien, Lebennin and Belfalas having less unsettled land. Other provinces like Calenardhon, Anfalas or Dor Rhúnen traditionally have much more unsettled land.

For the sake of readability, the numbers are presented condensed as overalls for the individual provinces and eras. If you are interested in the exact breakdown for the lightly and densely settled areas plus the various factors that affect the calculation, please have a look at the appendix. The tables are shown there in all detail.

$$POPULATION = (AREA + (COASTLINE \times 10)) \times \left(1 - \frac{WILD}{100}\right) \times \left(1 - \frac{WASTE}{100}\right) \times YIELD \times DENSITY \times \left(1 + \frac{URBAN}{100}\right)$$

The People

The Óunedain

The exiled Númenóreans are without doubt the most prominent and historically important inhabitants of Gondor. They were not the only ones however! In fact it is very likely that they were only a small minority (though the ruling one). Over time however, they mingled with the men of Middle earth and the number of Dúnedain with ancestors exclusively of Númenórean descent decreased until by the time of the War of the Ring, their number was extremely small (demographically speaking).

I follow the numbers presented in *Population and Urbanization in Eriador* from *Other Minds Issue 13* and assign a number of about 210,000 ethnic Númenóreans to start with in Gondor.

The indigenous population

The bulk of the Gondorian population is comprised of the men of Middle-earth who settled in this land long before the Númenóreans appeared on the shores of the land, lest settled here. The various references in *The Lord of the Rings* indicate at a high pro-

portion of these people, though they seem to have been always loyal to Gondor and welcoming Númenórean teachings and culture.

Other sources tell us that the majority of these indigenous people were in fact kin to the Númenóreans: descendants of other edainic people who had not migrated to Númenor in the early Second Age:

... the description [in ‘The Lord of the Rings’] of the various men of the southern “fiefs” of Gondor, who were mainly of non-Númenórean descent, shows that other kinds of Middle Men [beside the Rohirrim], descended from others of the three Houses of the Edain, lingered in the West, in Eriador (as the Men of Bree), or further south – notably the people of Dor-en-Enil (Dol Amroth).

—Vinyar Tengwar# 42,
The Rivers and Beacon-hills of Gondor;
Author’s Note 4

The same text also provides some information on the religious views and affiliations of these people – and some details on the fate of Baldor who went into the Paths of Dead never to return. It also implies that the Oathbreakers and their forefathers were allied to Sauron (as already discussed earlier).

The Men of Darkness built temples, some of great size, usually surrounded by dark trees, often in caverns (natural or delved) in secret valleys of mountain-regions; such as the dreadful halls and passages under the Haunted Mountain beyond the Dark Door (Gate of the Dead) in Dunharrow. The special horror of the closed door before which the skeleton of Baldor was found was probably due to the fact that the door was the entrance to an evil temple hall to which Baldor had come, probably without opposition up to that point. But the door was shut in his face, and enemies that had followed him silently came up and broke his legs and left him to die in the darkness, unable to find any way out.

—Vinyar Tengwar# 42,
The Rivers and Beacon-hills of Gondor;
Author’s Note 6

Later on, these people mingle with the Númenóreans to varying degrees. And a substantial number of Northmen also settle in Gondor on invitation by several kings, adding their qualities and characteristics to the Gondorian population:

But since he [Rómendacil II] needed men, and desired to strengthen the bond between Gondor and the Northmen, he took many of them into his service and gave to some high ranks in his armies.

—The Lord of the Rings, Appendix A

In addition, especially after the Kin-strife Eldacar sought to replace the losses of Gondor with new settlers from Rhovanion:

After the return of Eldacar the blood of the kingly house and other houses of the Dúnedain became more mingled with that of lesser Men. For many of the great had been slain in the Kin-strife; while Eldacar showed favour to the Northmen, by whose help he had regained the crown, and the people of Gondor were replenished by great numbers that came from Rhovanion.

—The Lord of the Rings. Appendix A

As the largest part of all the territory of later Gondor was likely to be settled by “haladic” people – belonging to the “Oathbreaker” realm or not – it seems justified to view the majority of the indigenous population to be of this stock. Concerning the descendants of the Oathbreakers (i.e. the slowly dwindling population in the Ered Nimrais), after the Oathbreaking they shut themselves in the mountains and did not interact with the people of Gondor any longer.

For game purposes, these facts offer the opportunity to introduce settlements or demographic patterns with varying degrees of Dúnedain, haladic and Northmen ancestry and thus special backgrounds/abilities.



Other friends and hands
Other friends and hands
Other friends and hands
Other friends and hands

About 500 years before the founding of Gondor, the Númenóreans from Belfalas are the most important power of the Dúnedain beside Pelargir in the area of later Gondor. At this time, the Men of the Mountains try to advance towards the shore and threaten the elven port of Edhellond. Belfalas lends great help to the Eldar in this time and with the Númenórean's help the defences of the port of Edhellond are greatly strengthened. The combined power of Pelargir and Belfalas is sufficient to check the advance of the Mountain-kingdom and a long period of relative peace follows.

This first era is characterised by the foundation and then consolidation of the new realm. When Isildur and Anárion arrive, this area had been settled by Númenóreans for about 1,000 years (Pelargir was founded by Faithful settlers in SA 2350). Even though they were hailed as members of the leading family of the Faithful (and therefore the lords of the Faithful in Middle-earth also), the brothers were aware of the established fiefs and governing bodies that had so long organised their own fortunes with great success. An agreement with the local lords was achieved, gaining the recognition of their kingship while in turn recognising the internal self-government of the established Númenórean settlers. A sign of this arrangement is the creation of Anórien and Ithilien as royal provinces, beyond the borders of the old Númenórean settlements in Lebennin and Belfalas. The prince of Belfalas is instrumental in organising this solution that eventually leads to the foundation of Gondor. For his efforts and wise guidance, he is granted a special charter by Elendil, elevating his status beyond those of the other Númenórean lords and second in status only to the Line of Elros.

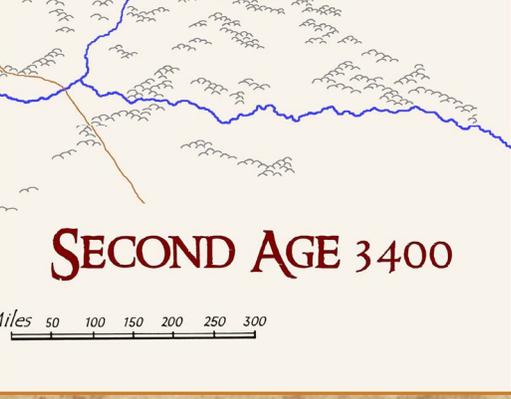
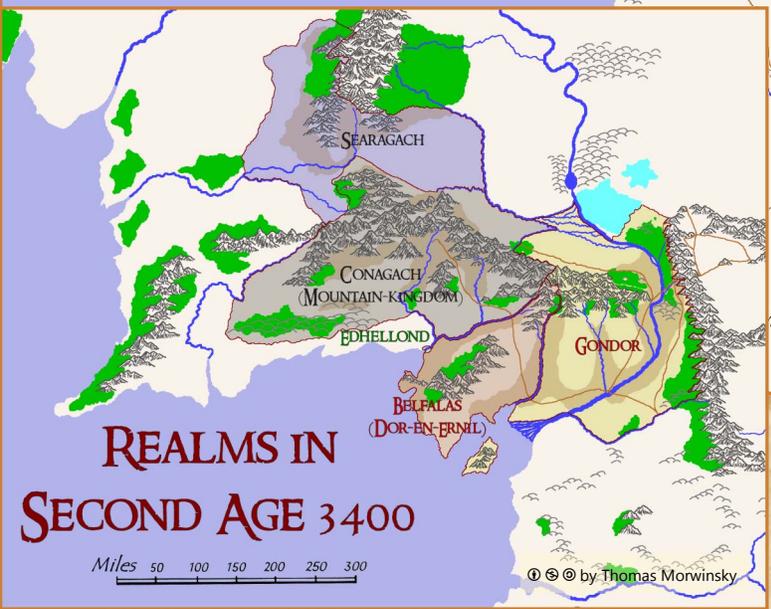
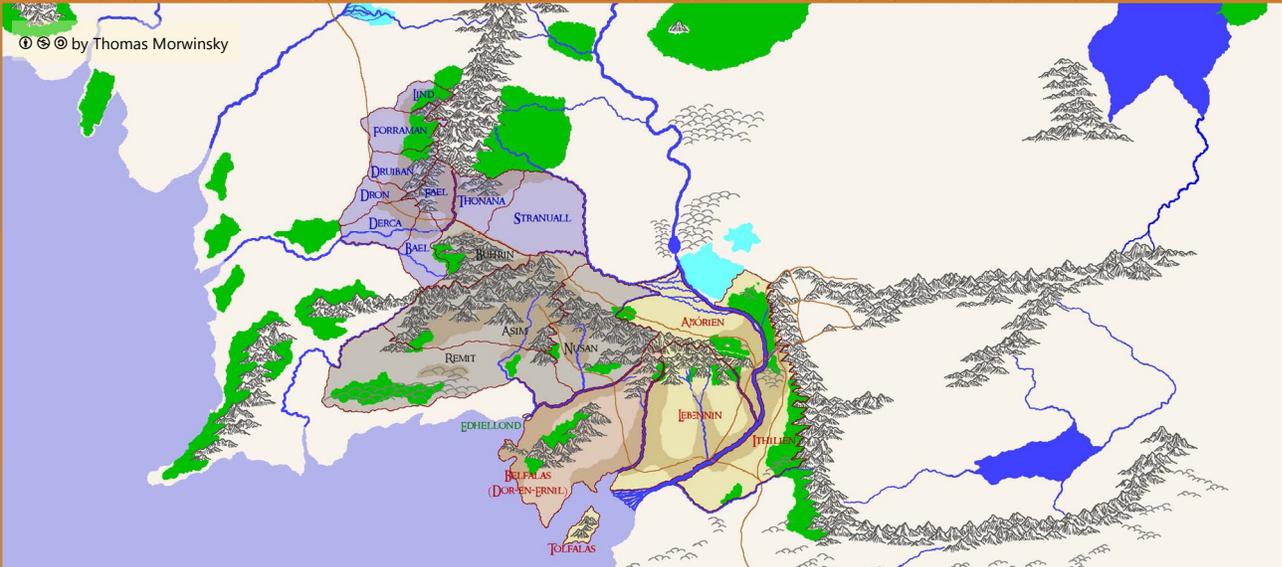
Two "haladic" realms exist in this time: For one there is Conagach, the Mountain Kingdom. It is ruled by a strong king and dominates much of the Ered Nimrais and the territory south of it. These will eventually become the Oathbreakers. The other one is Searagach, a loose confederation of several tribes living south of Fangorn and around the southern portion of the Misty Mountains. These are the ancestors of the Dunlendings.

In the early days of the War of the Last Alliance, Gondor (and especially Ithilien) suffers much damage from Sauron's initial attack. Later the South-kingdom serves as the primary base to support the war effort in Gorgoroth, stressing its resources and abilities to the utmost limit. After the victory, the realm needs rest and reorganisation. In this time, southern Calenardhon which had only been militarily secured along the Great Road is systematically settled by Númenóreans and other people from Gondor. The Númenóreans continuously push their settlement frontier forward. The Gwathuirim living there have to either accept the Dúnedain's rule or leave for land beyond Gondor's borders. Many of those who were unhappy with the old lords happily do (either due to worldly issues or because of the Dúnedain's teachings about good and evil) and merge into their culture. Due to the vastness of its territory any noteworthy settlements are solely found up the course of the Onódlo. The territory northwards are seldomly visited by patrols from Gondor or anyone from its folk. In the early third century this changes slowly, but by now settlement beyond Onódlo remains limited and mostly confined to herders of cattle or horses.

Shortly after the War of the Last Alliance, Gondor begins to organise the Watch on Mordor so that no evil creature shall ever be able to return to it. A chain of fortresses is constructed to guard all access ways to the Black Land. The Towers of the Teeth at the Morannon guard the main access to Mordor. The province of Ithilien is slightly enlarged so that these towers could be supported and maintained.

Overall, the rule of Meneldil is characterised by the reconstruction and recovery of the realm after the long and hard War of the Last Alliance which wrought great havoc.

A few decades after the victory in the War of the Last Alliance, the Númenóreans feel the yearning to their old home and king Meneldil – the last man to be born in Númenor and survive the Akallabêth – orders several expeditions to search for Númenor's remains, but none are found. Instead the Númenóreans become aware of the round shape of the world as well as the existence of new and untouched – but mortal – lands in the West.



Realm	Province	Area (km ²)	Coastline (km)	Unsettled area total (%)	Rural pop.	Urban pop.	Overall Pop.	Overall pop. per km ²
Belfalas	Total	51500	620	53.8	357700	38000	395700	7.7
	Anórien	31300	0	45.4	183200	37500	220700	7.1
Gondor	Ithilien	39500	0	46.5	226300	40100	266400	6.7
	Lebennin	47900	40	47.1	360100	52900	413000	8.6
	Tolfalas	2600	100	94	4600	200	4800	1.8
	Total	121300	140	47.5	774200	130700	904900	7.5
Conagach	Nusan	35500	0	75.2	67200	5000	72200	2
	Asim	47000	0	73.2	154400	15300	169700	3.6
	Remit	51900	0	58.9	162400	8900	171300	3.3
	Buhrin	13800	0	82.2	17400	1300	18700	1.4
Total	148200	0	69.5	401400	30500	431900	2.9	
Searagach	Strannual	25000	0	71.7	37000	1900	38900	1.6
	Thonana	13100	0	69	27300	6800	34100	2.6
	Fael	10800	0	58.5	33600	1500	35100	3.3
	Derca	10500	0	81.9	20300	1600	21900	2.1
	Bael	9100	0	62.3	28900	2700	31600	3.5
Total	68500	0	69.4	147100	14500	161600	2.4	

Table 2: Population figures for Gondor, Belfalas, Conagach (the Mountain Kingdom) and Searagach SA 3400

bar retreats for a while to gather strength and rebuild his forces. Then he launches a systematic campaign to defeat the enemy and finally destroys their last army in a great battle in TA 553. Recognising his inability to really hold a territory as large as southern and central Rhovanion, he grants this land to his Ehwathrumi allies, retaining only the south-western portion north of the Morannon and east of the Eryn Muil for Gondor. The Ehwathrumi expel the last of the Easterlings living there and establish lordships that live in friendship with Gondor. By this arrangement Turambar creates a buffer zone of allies that effectively protects Gondor from further East-eling attacks.

The borders of Dor Rhúnen also include a small part that formerly belonged to northern Ithilien, but now the upkeep and supply of Towers of the Teeth at the Morannon falls into the responsibility of the governor of Dor Rhúnen. Induced by economic privileges and land grants, people from other regions of Gondor begin to settle there from TA 570 onward and a sizeable number of Númenóreans settle there as well. Over time, it becomes a firm and well-organised part of the realm of Gondor, being the bridge towards Rhovanion with the Ehwathrumi and Grama living on its borders. Despite this structural strengthening of Dor Rhúnen, the province never reaches the strength and population of the rich southern regions.

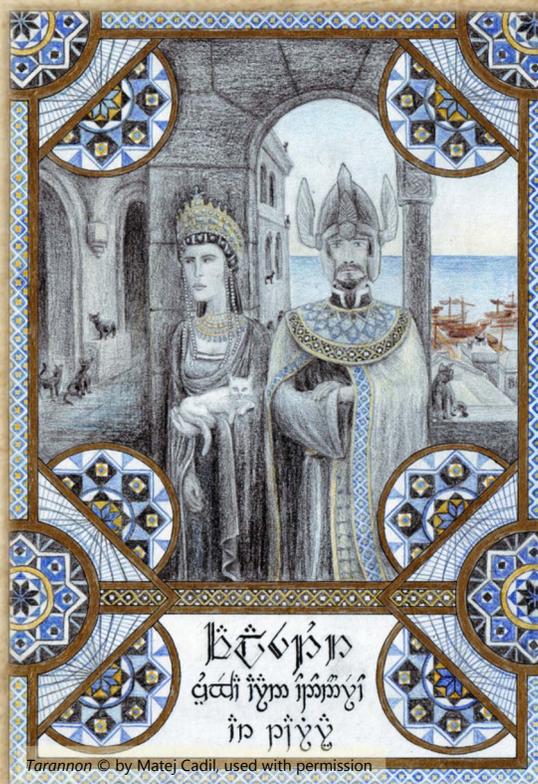
In later years, Crown Prince Tarannon is very ambitious and in the mid- and late-8th century leads many campaigns in the South to enlarge Gondor's sway. Until this time, Lebennin marked the western boundary of Gondor south of the White Mountains. Intense negotiations about an integration of Belfalas into Gondor begin and eventually a settlement is reached that makes Belfalas a part of Gondor but grants its rulers the exalted title of prince (*S. Ernil*) and perpetual prerogatives in internal matters that separates it from Gondor's normal provinces. Tarannon is the driving force behind this first step of the enlargement of the realm. Later Lamedon, Nan Ringló and Morthond become provinces of Gondor. Formerly these areas were settled by men loyal to the Mountain-kingdom, but its lords have either fled or died in the clashes with Gondor's forces in their bid to conquer this territory. The people that remained exhibit no special loyalty to their former lords and willingly submit to the Númenóreans' rule. Thus the remnants of the Mountain-kingdom experience a drastic decline in population when many people ally themselves with the newly-arrived Númenórean lords. Beside these formerly organised territories, Anfalas that is already settled by men but

has no strong central authority is now made a province of Gondor. In the South, Gondorian Harondor now only encompasses the strip of land south of the Poros, as the local lords unite against the Dúnedain, checking their advance.

All of the new provinces receive a governor appointed by the king (partly in order to maintain ultimate control and prevent a decentralisation of power) while Morthond is a special case, as it is ruled by a cadet branch of the princely family of Belfalas. Tarannon remains unwed for a long time, raising concerns about his eventual successor.

Tarannon's succession to the throne in TA 830 is a watershed in several ways: First he takes the throne-name of *Falastur* (Lord of the Coasts) in recognition of his great achievements as Captain of the Hosts, and second he recognises that Gondor lacks a strong navy when his enemies (especially based in Umbar) were able to thwart his advance in Harondor several times by sailing upriver unimpeded and disrupting his supplies. Consequently he begins to greatly increase the navy and gives much attention to shipping in general, just like the great mariner king of old – Tar-Aldarion. Thus he becomes the first of the 'Ship-kings' that will shape Gondor's fortunes and history for the next three centuries.

Politically, Tarannon underlines his ambitions by finally marrying Berúthiel, the daughter of the most powerful lord of Umbar. By this move he hopes to strengthen his ties with the South and gain influence



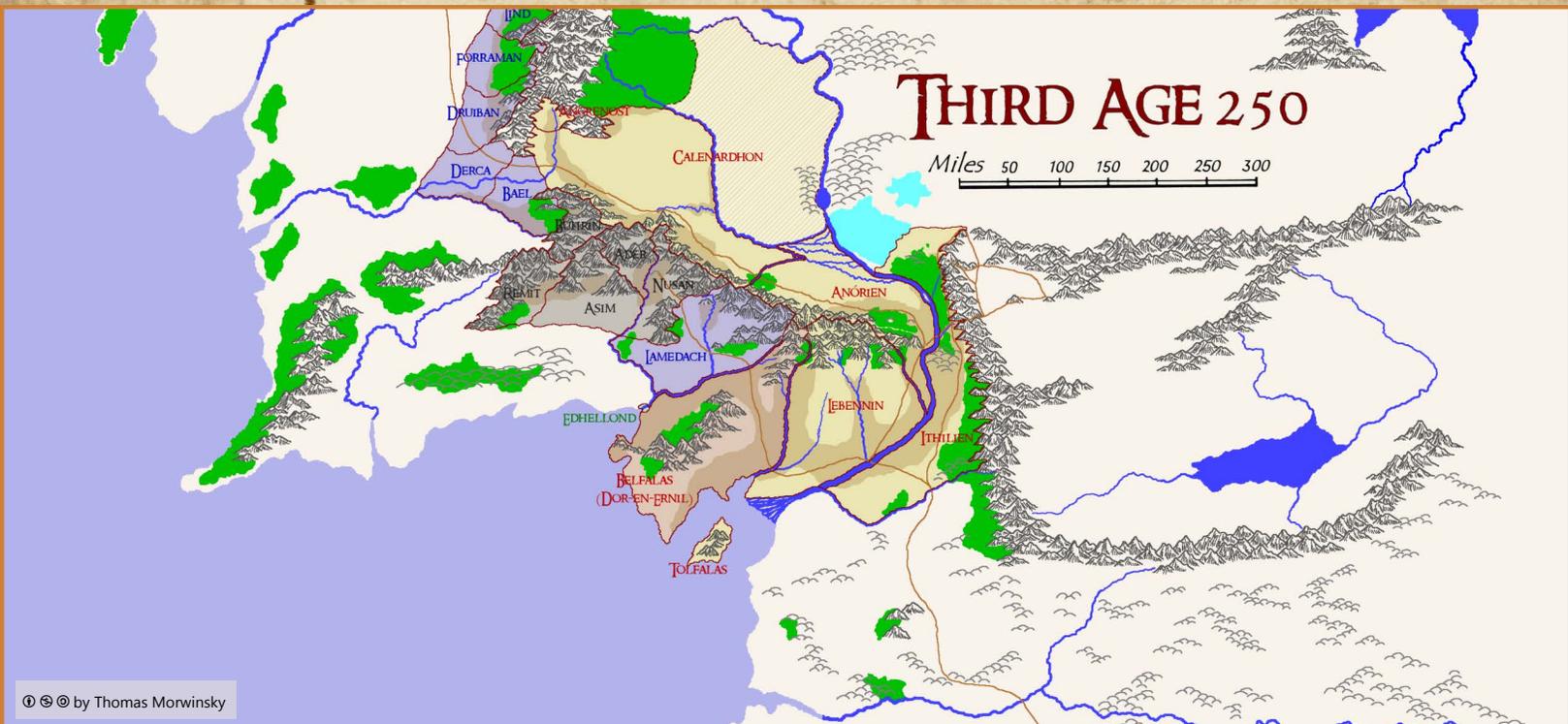
Tarannon © by Matej Cadil, used with permission

in Umbar, Númenor's ancient fortress-haven in Middle-earth and Tarannon's ultimate goal. Many people in Gondor loathe Berúthiel because of her disdain of all things happy and living and she is suspected of spying upon the people of Osgiliath through her cats. She is tolerated and treated with due respect because of her position but she remains isolated at court, having few friends. In the end, the marriage of Tarannon and Berúthiel turns out to be unhappy and eventually he sets his wife in a ship that is last seen off Umbar.

His nephew Eärnil is as vigorous as Tarannon and in the early years of his uncle's reign he leads a sizeable host south of Poros, intent on securing all of the coasts of that land for Gondor. The local lords put up stiff resistance and backed by Umbar are able to stop the advance but ultimately Eärnil is able to add a broad strip of land along the coast and the lower Harnen to the province of Harondor.

Realm	Province	Area (km ²)	Coastline (km)	Unsettled total (%)	Rural pop.	City pop.	Overall pop.	Overall pop. per km ²
Belfalas	Belfalas	51500	620	48.3	440900	49600	490500	9.5
	Anórien	31300	0	40.2	213900	49600	263500	8.4
Gondor	Íthilien	41400	0	42.3	270900	52400	323300	7.8
	Lebennin	47900	40	44.7	406400	62900	469300	9.8
	Tolfalas	2600	100	94	4600	200	4800	1.9
	Calenardhon	56600	0	68.9	161400	20000	181400	3.2
	Angrenost	2000	0	61.3	8800	1400	10200	5.1
	Total	181800	n/a	51.8	895800	165100	1060900	5.8
	Oathbreaker lordships	Nusan	35500	0	77.4	52700	3800	56500
Asim		47000	0	74.6	118700	11600	130300	2.8
Remit		51900	0	63.1	122700	6700	129400	2.5
Buhrin		13800	0	82.6	14500	1000	15500	1.1
Total		148200	n/a	72	308600	23100	331700	2.2

Table 3: Population figures for Gondor, Belfalas, the Oathbreaker lordships in TA 250



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Gondor in TA 850

This era sees the greatest vigour and expansion by Gondor. The thrust of all of the campaigns in this era is southward where there is the greatest resistance, centred around Umbar.

Year (TA)	Event
850	Falastur renews Gondor's interests in the new world. A colony is founded in the New Lands.
861	Following Arnor's breakup, contacts to Tharbad increase in importance. Gondor reinforces its garrisons on the Great Road in Enedwaith.
871	Eärnil, son of Falastur's brother Tarchil leads an army into Harondor, beginning the Southern Campaign.
871-882	Fighting throughout Harondor. Finally Eärnil is victorious and Harondor is made a Gondorian possession all the way to the Harnen.
890	Queen Berúthiel set in a ship together with her cats. The vessel is last seen sailing towards Umbar. Falastur names his nephew Eärnil as his heir.
913	Eärnil succeeds the childless Falastur. He even expands the naval programme.
915-930	The Ârûwânai of Umbar campaign against Eärnil and Harondor, causing much damage in that region.
925	An expedition ordered by Eärnil sets out to chart the New Lands in detail.
933	Eärnil prepares a great fleet and takes Umbar.
936	King Eärnil lost at sea.
ca. 940	The descendants of the Oathbreakers retreat into the higher reaches of the mountains, leaving the vales to the Númenóreans and other folk. People slowly begin to settle the vacated lands.
950	The continuous blockade of Umbar ends, but the land routes remain perilous. Occasional raids and temporary sieges of Umbar are common.
964	Fief of Morthond extended northward up to the Dark Stair.
985	Pinnath Gelin becomes the newest and last province of Gondor south of the Ered Nimrais.
ca. 1000	Sauron begins to stir again. The Istari are first seen in Middle-earth. The war of the Ârûwânai against Gondor intensifies again.
1010	Close blockade and siege of Umbar resumes.
1015	King Ciryandil is slain in the siege of Umbar, Ciryaher becomes king and holds the Harnen. Umbar is hard-pressed.
1018	The Ârûwâna lords are able to breach the Harnen line, occupying a broad strip of land in southern and eastern Harondor.

Year (TA)	Event
1020-1045	War is raging throughout Harondor.
1046	Gondor makes alliance with Númenóreans from beyond Umbar.
1050	King Ciryaher marches into Harondor and wins a great victory over the lords of Harad. He takes the name Hyarmendacil. Gondor reaches the height of its power.
1052	Hyarmendacil starts the reconstruction of Harondor.
1055	The Ehwathrumi renew their oaths of friendship and alliance and the Men of the Anduin Vales acknowledge Gondor's overlordship.
ca. 1140	Harondor becomes a prosperous territory, living in peace with the Haradrim.
1149-1226	Reign of Atanatar Alcarin. Apogee of Gondor's splendour. The king shows little interest in the oversea ventures and abandons support for the New Lands.
ca. 1180	The princes of Harad begin to become more independent from Gondor. Less of their sons are sent to Gondor as hostages.
ca. 1200	Gondor gives up his settlements in the New Lands.
ca. 1230	The Choreren Easterlings begin to trouble Gondor again.
1235-1245	The conflict in Rhovanion remains local and the Ehwathrumi bear the brunt of the fighting. Shifting alliances are common. Gondor commits no further troops.
1240	King Narmacil names his nephew Minalcar regent. He rules in all but name in Gondor.
1246	Allied with Beorillavuld and Padaruvuld the Choreren attack. Apart from Vidugavia the loyal Ehwathrumi are defeated.
1247	Minalcar assembles a great army and marches north, allying himself with Vidugavia and the other remaining loyal Ehwathrumi princes.
1248/49	The allies meet the enemy near Burh Bena and defeat him decisively. The Great Campaign: the victors march eastward, systematically destroying Choreren settlements.
1249	An unusually strong winter further decimates the Choreren.
1250	Crown prince Valacar sent as an ambassador to Vidugavia's court.
1251-1260	Backed by Gondor, Vidugavia enlarges his realm.
1253	Valacar marries Vidumavi, daughter of Vidugavia.
1255	Minalcar begins the building of the Anduin defences. Construction of the Argonath begins. Eldacar (Vinitharya in the language of the Northmen) born.
1265	Valacar returns to Gondor.
ca. 1270-1600	Dor Rhúnen experiences the peak of its prosperity, briefly interrupted by the Kin-strife.

After his accession to the throne Eärnil is able to deceive his enemies into a decisive defeat. He leads a great fleet that invests and shortly after takes Umbar while the main army of the *Ārûwānai* is lured away by a diversionary force operating in Harondor. Soon thereafter the Umbareans return but find the city firmly under Gondor's control. They retreat to other towns in the area and begin a blockade of the great fortress-city. As Gondor rules the sea, it is able to re-supply the city through regular convoys. Eärnil is later lost in a storm at sea while returning from an inspection to the besieged city of Umbar. His son Ciryandil succeeds him and holds Umbar firmly. After a number of years the siege slackens, but the land surrounding the city remains unfriendly and overland communications are unreliable. Occasionally new blockades are begun, but although these do not last as long and are less sternly conducted, they still consume much of Gondor's attention and resources. Around the time that Sauron stirs again far to the north, the *Ārûwāna* lords renew their intensive campaign against Gondor, bent on regaining Umbar and defeating the Elendili. They forge a powerful alliance with the princes of Harad and achieve a great success when they are able to lure King Ciryandil out of Umbar and destroy his force, killing the king himself. With this success, the Black Númenóreans are able to encircle Umbar even tighter, causing much damage and hardship in the city. Gondor is barely able to keep it supplied and defended. Gondor is forced to abandon all territory south of the Harnen, and even the river line is repeatedly breached in the following years. In the south and east of Harondor, where Gondor's still receives only minor support their enemies secure a foothold, launching further attacks on Gondor's southern frontier, precipitating years of war in this region. In this time emissaries from a Númenórean realm beyond Umbar reach Gondor. At first relations are cool but it turns out that even though these are no true Elendili, they also despise the *mûlkherite* ideology of Umbar's *Ārûwānai*. Eventually an alliance is formed with this realm (Bellakar) and plans for a campaign to defeat the Lords of Umbar once and for all are made. Ciryaher gathers his forces and marches from Harondor southward towards Gondor. His enemies gather as



well, meeting the king in Blacksand Vale, the site of the greatest battle of the Age for two millennia. The forces of Bellakar play an important role in delaying the enemy's reinforcements, securing a total and decisive victory for Ciryaher who takes the name of Hyarmendacil (South-victor). Most of the *Ārûwānai* elite die that day, their power broken beyond recovery. What is left of them flees the area. Their allies from Harad pay homage to Gondor, acknowledging its lordship. For many generations the sons of the Haradrim lords live as hostages in Gondor. The great victory of Hyarmendacil begins a long era of peace and prosperity for Gondor, with safe traveling and the trading within its borders and tribute and goods being brought in from beyond its borders. This "Gondorian Peace" (*S. Sidh Gondorioni*) lasts for roughly 280 years – from Blacksand Vale to the end of Valacar's reign. The only interruption is the second war with the Choreren, but that was fought on the fringes of Gondor's territory (and beyond), not affecting the internal safety and communications of the realm.

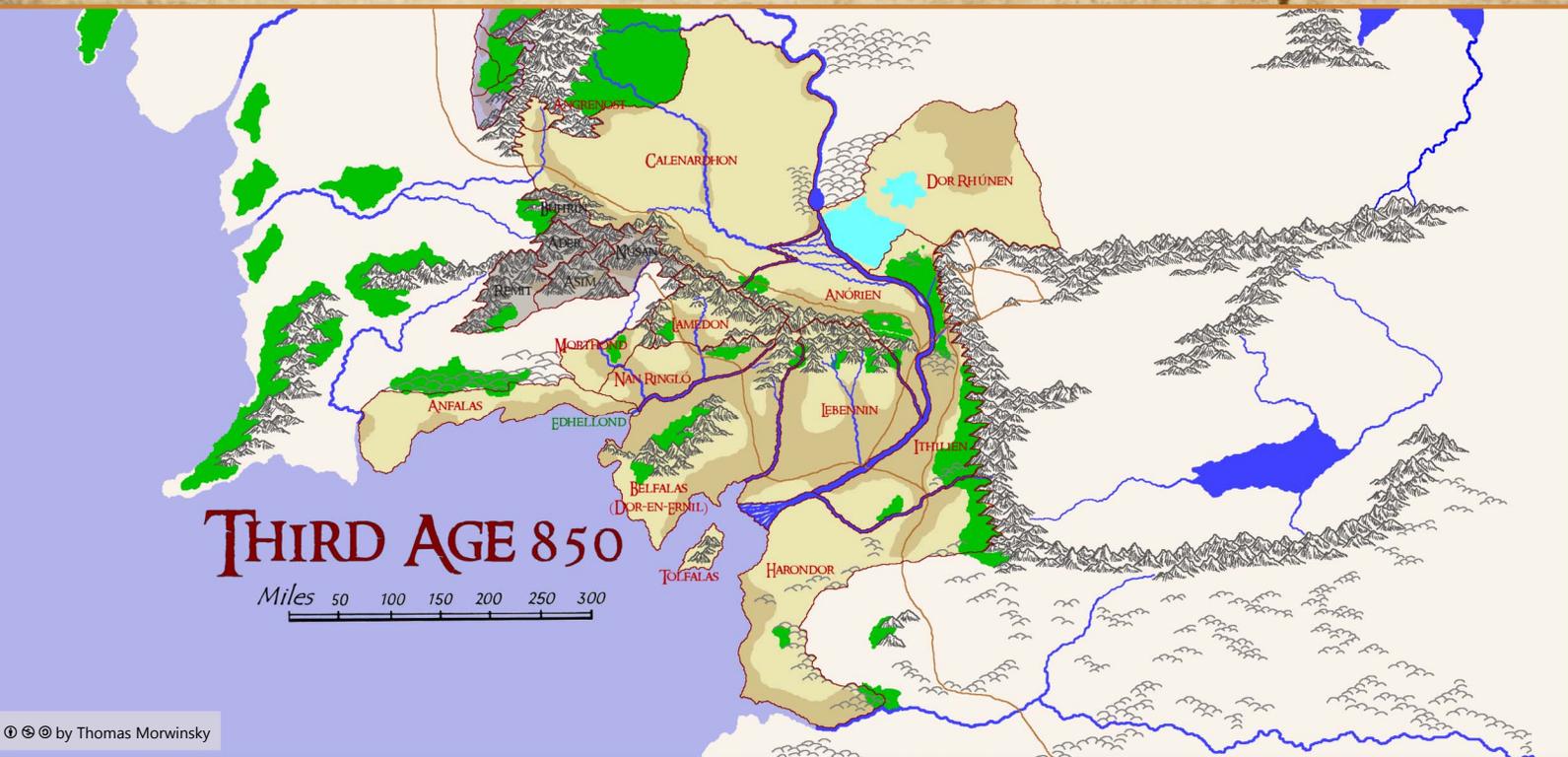
After Hyarmendacil's long reign the rule of his son Atanatar Alcarin marks the apogee of Gondor's splendour, even though its power slowly begins to wane and less attention is given to the peripheral regions and numerous client-kingdoms on Gondor's borders. Before the end of the 12th century the first small sign of the waning of Gondor's influence beyond its own borders in the south can be perceived. In the early years of the reign of his son Narmacil the Choreren who have long kept peace begin to trouble Gondor again. The king is no man of action and prefers a life of learning and ease and thus names his energetic nephew Minalcar regent of Gondor, granting him unlimited power and rule in all but name. Minalcar soon finds out that not all Ehwathrumi are reliable allies. Almost all of these clans are at some time engaged in shifting alliances amongst each other, but some even opt to ally themselves with the Choreren for their own benefit. Among the Ehwathrumi princes there was one named Vidugavia who was as ambitious as the others, but he always stayed loyal to Gondor (probably deeming Gondor his best bet in his for power) and becomes the most important ally of Minalcar. The regent assembles a large army that, augmented by his Ehwathrumi allies, defeats a great army of the Choreren near Burh Bena in the year 1248. Afterwards he marches east to teach the Easterlings a lesson on Gondor's power, destroying and razing all their settlements east of the Sea of Rhûn. Gelakles

fared relatively well with only moderate damage, but – beside countless smaller towns – their main city of Dilomang perishes in a terrible blaze after a desperate defence. For many years after this march is remembered in Eastern Rhovanion as the *Campaign of Terror*, wherein Gondor decisively broke the Chorerens’ fighting spirit to enjoy peace for many years thereafter. Vidugavia’s bet paid off and he is given the lion’s share of the booty and territory following victory. His realm of Vidugavuld becomes Gondor’s closest and most important ally in Rhovanion.

The aftermath of the *Great Campaign* sees the beginning of Gondor’s peak of power in Rhovanion. Up until the era of the Kin-strife the region enjoys peace and economic upswing and there is great friendship and mutual benefit with the various Northman communities, especially the Grama and Ehwathrumi.

Realm	Province	Area (km ²)	Coastline (km)	Unsettled total (%)	Rural Pop.	City pop.	Overall pop.	Overall pop. / Km ²
Gondor	Belfalas	51500	620	46.6	475000	59,800	534,800	10.4
	Anórien	31,300		35.6	276,000	59500	335,500	10.7
	Ithilien	39,500		41.4	351000	85,300	436,300	11.1
	Lebennin	47,900	40	40.4	476,900	87,300	564,200	11.8
	Tolfalas	2,600	100	94.0	4,600	200	4,800	1.9
	Calenardhon	56,600		64.3	211,100	28,200	239,300	4.2
	Angrenost	2,000		52.9	13,200	2,000	15,200	7.6
	Dor Rhúnen	60700		66.9	183,800	13,700	197,500	3.3
	Lamedon	17,300		67.2	55,500	5,400	60,900	3.5
	Nan Ringló	15,800		43.9	108,200	11,300	119,500	7.6
	Anfalas	25,100	640	68.3	104,400	8,500	112,900	4.5
	Morthond	7,800		48.4	45,100	4,900	50,000	6.4
	Harondor	25,100	390	58.9	142,900	16,700	159,600	6.4
Total	383,200		53.65	2,447,700	382,800	2830500	7.4	
Oathbreaker lordships	Nusan	6,700		87.3	8,251,3	602,3	8,854	1.3
	Asim	8,100		83.1	14,608,1	1,259,5	15,868	2.0
	Remit	10,400		88.9	9,533,4	983,1	10,517	1.0
	Buhrin	4,600		93.0	3,031,2	192,2	3,223	0.7
	Ader	4,300		93.0	2,696,4	161,8	2,858	0.7
Total	29500		88.27	35,089	3,007	38,096	1.3	

Table 3: Population figures for Gondor, Belfalas, the Oathbreaker lordships in TA 850



Gondor in TA 1400

Here we have the realm already slightly beyond its apogee in the 11th century, but still in the afterglow of its former height. Even though it has lost most of its influence in wider Harad, it still is the undisputed power in the Northwest, unchallenged for almost 150 years and unmatched in power. The chronicle of this period goes as follows:

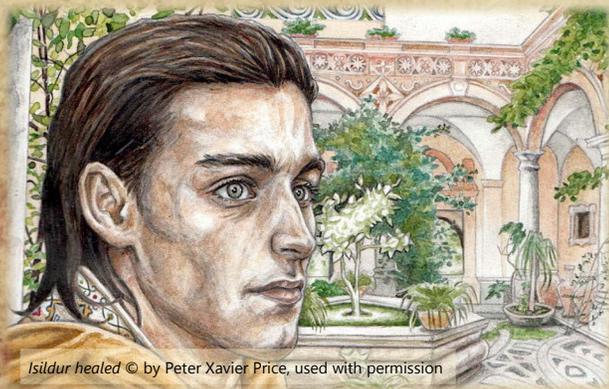
Year (TA)	Event
ca. 1400	Unrest begins to spread among Gondor's Númenóreans concerning the favour that king Valacar shows to the Northmen (and indirectly his son Eldacar).
1409	Occupied with its internal problems, Gondor is neither able nor willing to send any help to Arthedain and Cardolan when Angmar attacks them.
1425	Some local uprisings in Harondor and Umbar against Valacar's rule are put down.
1431	Open rebellion against Valacar in Lebennin and Umbar. The king loses control of these provinces, but for now the rebels remain in their territory.
1432	Valacar dies, succeeded by Eldacar. The rebellion erupts into full civil war as the confederate rebels openly demand Eldacar's abdication. Eldacar resists the insurrection with all forces available. Beginning of the Kin-strife.
1433	Belfalas declares itself neutral, allying with neither side.
1437	Eldacar has to flee Osgiliath; the city is heavily damaged by fire when it falls. The palantír of Osgiliath is lost. Ornendil, Eldacar's son is murdered on command of Castamir.
1447	Eldacar returns and drives out the usurper Castamir. Battle of the Crossings of Erui. Castamir is slain by Eldacar. Siege of Pelargir.
1448	Rebels under the leadership of Castamir's sons escape and seize Umbar, becoming the Corsairs.
1480-1635	Umbar's influence over the princes of Harad slowly wanes, eventually depriving the rebels and their descendants any real hope of conquering Gondor.
1528	The Haradrim and the Corsairs formally ally themselves against Gondor.
1530	War over Harondor erupts. Harnendor is the stronghold of the Corsairs' forces.
1540	King Aldamir re-takes Harnendor from the allied Umbareans and Haradrim, but is himself slain.
1528	The Haradrim and the Corsairs formally ally themselves against Gondor.
1530	War over Harondor erupts. Harnendor is the stronghold of the Corsairs' forces.

Year (TA)	Event
1540	King Aldamir re-takes Harnendor from the allied Umbareans and Haradrim, but is himself slain.
1545	King Vinyarion captures the key city of Tiras Amrûn. The Haradrim and Corsairs form a powerful alliance to defeat Gondor. The South-kingdom is hard-pressed by their attacks.
1551	Vinyarion defeats the Corsairs and Haradrim at Iant Harnen, breaking their power for a long time. In remembrance of Ciryaher's successes, he takes the name Hyarmendacil II.
1540-1600	Harnendor, ravaged from decades of intensive warfare, is devastated and declines.
1634	The Corsairs of Umbar ravage Pelargir and slay King Minardil. They are lead by Angamaitë and Sangahyando great-grandsons of Castamir.
1636	The Great Plague comes out of the East and devastates Gondor. Death of King Telemnar and all his children. The White Tree of Isildur withers and dies in Minas Anor. The power of Gondor dwindles. Tarondor comes to the throne young and wholly unprepared. The Watch on Mordor is weakened.
1636-1640	The Crisis of Gondor. After many failures and setbacks, Tarondor finally manages to stabilise the realm.

Around TA 1400 Gondor still stands strong as an intact and prospering empire, but it also shows the first hidden signs of decline. Many of the Númenóreans from Gondor are dissatisfied with the favour that Valacar shows to the Northmen. The king struggles to keep this domestic discontent at bay, which also prevents Gondor from sending any significant help when Angmar threatens to attack the Northern Kingdom(s) in TA 1409. In about the last 20 years of his reign, he is able to balance these various interests against each other, but with every year the situation becomes more complicated and finally erupt into open insurrection in TA 1431 shortly before Valacar's death. For the time, the rebellion remains localised, but the step into civil war has been made.

The territories of Gondor are divided over the issue of the legal king. Angrenost, Pinnath Gelin, Morthond, Calenardhon, Dor Rhúnen, Anórien and Ithilien generally support Valacar's son Eldacar, while Lebennin, Harondor, Umbar, Lamedon, Anfalas and Nan Ringló support the Confederates led by Castamir. In addition the rebels are able to gain the support of many princes from Harad who supply troops and other support to them. Belfalas

tries to stay neutral, openly supporting neither the Confederates nor Eldacar. Both sides try to win over the Prince, but he is able to hold his neutrality due to his strong military position and skilful diplomacy. The Prince also allows the passage of both Confederate and Loyalist forces through his territory, thereby stressing his neutrality. Eventually the confederates are able to breach the defences at the Erui and shortly after this the lords of Anórien declare their allegiance to the confederates forcing Eldacar back to Osgiliath. There he withstands a protracted siege until being forced to flee once again, this time into the North, homeland of his mother. In the meantime Castamir consolidates his rule as the new king, eventually planning to remove the royal seat to Pelargir.



Isildur healed © by Peter Xavier Price, used with permission

The Kin-strife abruptly interrupts the era of co-prosperity in Rhovanion, and Dor Rhúnen is set under close guard by Castamir. For the people of the province, the era is characterised by oppression and a feeling of being a territory under foreign occupation. Finally, after 10 years, Castamir's popularity and support outside of Lebennin, Harondor and Umbar has shrunken so much that open discontent erupts in Calenardhon, Anórien and Ithilien (with Morthond, Nan Ringló, Anfalas, Pinnath Gelin, Lamedon staying mainly neutral), and later also in Belfalas. Eldacar sees his opportunity, returns to Gondor and regains the throne by defeating and killing Castamir in battle. The sons of Castamir are able to flee from Pelargir, taking almost the whole Gondorian fleet with them.

The following two centuries are characterised by constant and intensive warfare between Gondor and the rebels at Umbar, now called "Corsairs". Harondor and its adjacent territories become the primary battleground for Gondor's armies within the next 1,500 years. In the following 200 years the exiled Dúnedain from Gondor increasingly intermarry with local folk, thus losing their distinct Númenórean heritage and lifespan. Fewer and fewer families are able to retain their purity, the last of these being Castamir's own.

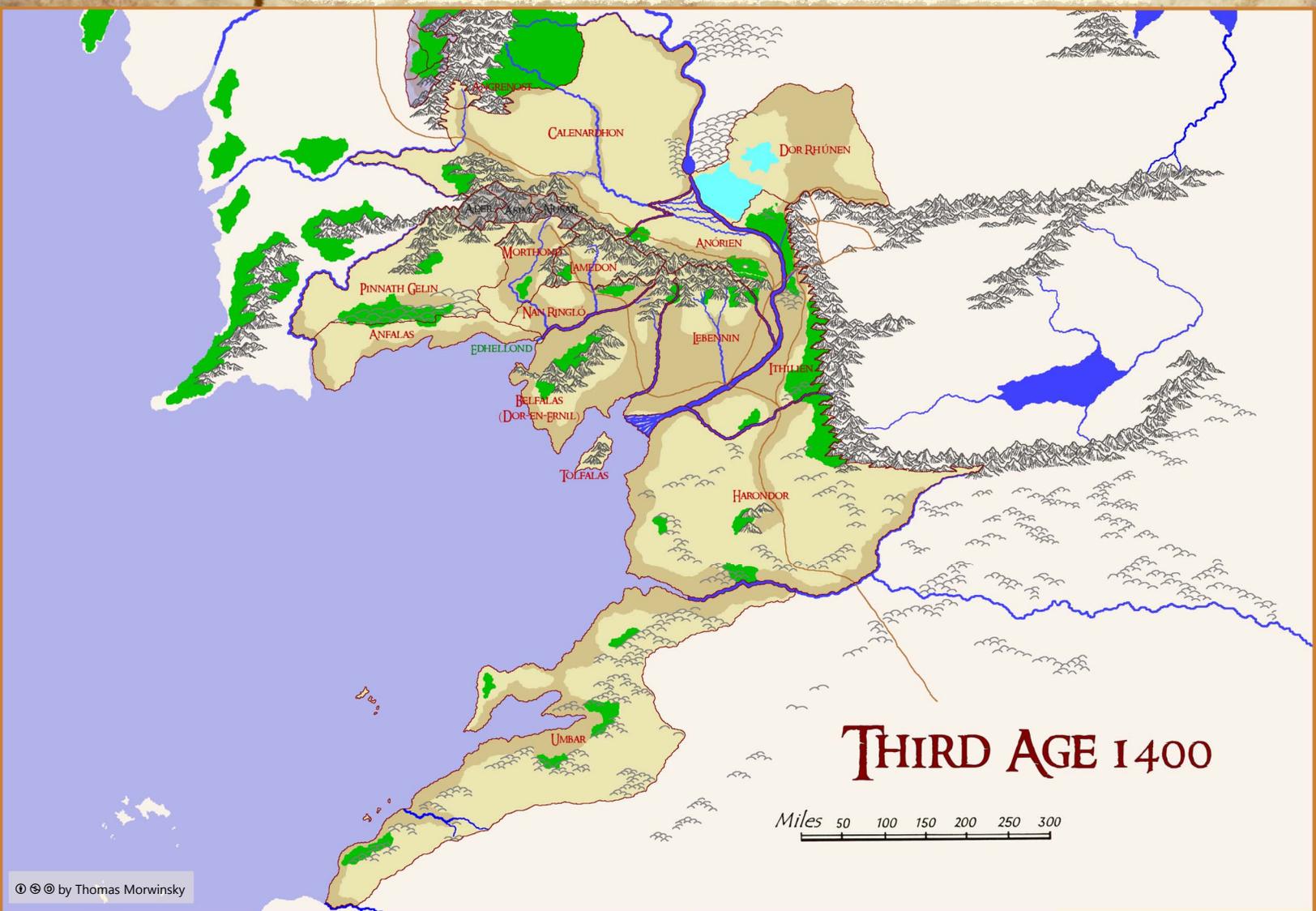
The Corsairs are able to win the princes of Harad as allies, thereby focussing the power of Gondor's enemies. In TA 1530 the next major war starts and for many years Gondor is hard-pressed and has to yield parts of Harondor. Ten years later Aldamir wins Harnendor but is slain during the capture of Tiras Amrún. His son Vinyarion inherits both the crown and the war, which rages especially through Harnendor and southern Harondor. Finally, in TA 1551 a great battle is fought at Iant Harnen, where Vinyarion decisively defeats the rebels. Harondor is finally secured, but the devastation caused by decades of warfare finally broke the economic backbone of the formerly prosperous Harnendor region. Despite the continued resistance of Umbar, the victory is decisive and signals a last renaissance of Gondorian hegemony in the south. Vinyarion takes the name of Hyarmendacil II. The borders of Harondor are secure once more and the Haruze keep the peace.

This era ends when the Corsairs, led by the great-grandsons of Castamir, once again begin to trouble Gondor in the early 1630s and achieve a great success when they are able to seize Pelargir in a surprise raid. King Minardil, who rushes to the relief of Pelargir with a hastily assembled force, is killed together with most of his men. The Corsairs however, retreat soon thereafter. Only two years later the new king Telemnar and his children die of the Plague – like so many other folk of Gondor. This epidemic weakens Gondor seriously in several ways. Tarondor comes to the throne young and inexperienced, which was no coincidence, since he was deliberately kept away from positions of power and responsibility (a common occurrence in the royal family after the Kin-strife) and received no proper training. Likewise, he was not interested in taking responsibility and enjoyed a life of ease and luxury focussed on amusement and art. Suddenly finding himself on the throne, he gathers a circle of false (as was recognised later) advisers which worsen Gondor's situation. And in many regions insurrection, brigandage and false prophets become common sights and plague the already suffering people. To prove himself as a capable leader, Tarondor wages fruitless wars that further squander Gondor's already depleted resources, leading to nothing. In the end he realises his mistakes, removes any crooked advisers and gathers trustworthy and capable men to solve the realm's myriad problems.

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Realm	Province	Area (km ²)	Coastline (km)	Unsettled Total (%)	Rural Pop.	City Pop.	Overall Pop.	Overall Pop. / km ²
Gondor	Belfalas	51500	62000	43.2	624900	86100	711,000	13.8
	Anórien	31,300		32.6	361,500	83,200	444,700	14.2
	Ithilien	39,500		39.2	418,000	105,100	523,100	13.2
	Lebennin	47,900	4000	34	659,700	132,700	792,400	16.5
	Tolfalas	2,600	10000	94	5,800	200	6,000	2.3
	Calenardhon	137,800		61.5	573,900	59,200	633,100	4.6
	Angrenost	2,000		54.3	14,500	2,500	17,000	8.5
	Dor Rhúnen	60,700		62.5	295,400	24,200	319,600	5.3
	Lamedon	17,300		64.1	73,500	8,100	81,600	4.7
	Nan Ringló	15,800		37	156,900	21,800	178,700	11.3
	Anfalas	25,100	64000	60	142,400	15,200	157,600	6.3
	Morthond	19,500		38.8	171,200	23,300	194,500	10.0
	Harondor	163,600	39000	47.3	1,178,300	134,900	1,313,200	8.0
	Pinnath Gelin	60,000		51.1	280,200	27,700	307,900	5.1
	Umbar	158,300	203500	60.6	1,511,400	267,900	1,779,300	11.2
Total		832900		52.1	6,467,600	992,100	7,459,700	9.0
Oathbreaker lordships	Nusan	3,300		85.1	4,100	500	4,600	1.4
	Asim	4,600		76.4	11,800	1,500	13,300	2.9
	Ader	4,700		78.3	8,800	900	9,700	2.0
	Total		12600		79.4	24,700	2,900	27,600

Table 4: Population figures for Gondor and the Oathbreaker lordships in TA 1400



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Gondor in TA 1640

This is the time when the decline of Gondor becomes obvious. The reach of the realm has become shorter and the Corsairs are increasingly contesting Gondor's control of Harondor. In Rhovanion, the situation is more stable and though the Ehwathrumi have been extremely hard hit by the Plague, the region remains relatively quiet.

The Plague has left Gondor's population reeling and it takes many years until normalcy returns to the realm. The numbers of men lost are so severe that it takes almost 200 years to even halfway return to pre-Plague population levels.

Year (TA)	Event
1640	Tarondor begins to re-organise Gondor and the healing of the realm starts. The royal seat is moved to Minas Anor and the Watch on Mordor largely ended, though some fortresses remain manned albeit understaffed. Umbar takes advantage of Gondor's weakness and occupies Harnendor and a strip of land north of the Harnen estuary.
ca. 1700	After Mordor has now been left unguarded for a couple of years, evil things again enter and take up secret abodes. Communication between the North and South kingdom ceases for a long while.
1710-1730	The Haruze attack Harondor, seizing territory along the upper Harnen from Gondor.
1780-90	Tarondor re-takes Harnendor; his son Telumehtar leads the forces capturing Mirlond.
1810	King Telumehtar Umbardacil retakes Umbar and drives out the Corsairs, slaying the last descendants of Castamir.
1815	Telumehtar drives the Haruze beyond Harnen. This marks the last time in the Third Age that Gondor controls all of its territories. The exiled Umbareans lords take their seat among the Haruze and in Dúsalan, plotting revenge.
1815-1850	Height of the Gondorian Renaissance.
ca. 1840	News about growing trouble with Easterlings reaches Gondor from the Ehwathrumi but it is only little heeded.
1850	Death of Telumehtar.
1851	The attacks of the Wainriders (Mardumhesta) out of the East upon Gondor begin. War lasts for many years.
1856	Gondor loses its eastern territories, and Narmacil II falls in battle. At this time it is thought that the Ringwraiths re-entered Mordor.
1860	Taking advantage of Gondor's defeat in the north, the Haradrim attack Umbar. After months of siege, the city falls but a large part of the garrison is able to evacuate by ship.
1863-75	The Haradrim continue their attacks, occupying a great part of Harondor.

Year (TA)	Event
1880-87	Calimehtar re-conquers Harondor but Umbar remains lost.
1896	After the southern border finally is secured, Calimehtar turns his attention northward, preparing to strike against the Wainriders.
1899	King Calimehtar of Gondor defeats the Wainriders on Dagorlad.
1900	Calimehtar builds the White Tower in Minas Anor.
since ca. 1900	The Gwathuirim slowly begin to settle beyond their old territory and gradually move towards the Isen and Adorn and into western Calenardhon.
ca. 1940	After long estrangement, the two Dúnadan realms again take counsel with each other. Finally they perceive that some single power and will is directing the assault from many directions against the survivors of Númenor. Arvedui, heir of Araphant of Arthedain weds Firiël, the daughter of King Ondoher of Gondor.
1941	An attempted crossing by a small Mardumhesta force is repelled by the intact and strong defensive line on the Anduin.
1944	Ondoher and both his sons fall in battle against a great alliance of the Wainriders and the Men of Khand and Harad. Eärnil, great-grandnephew of Narmacil II (and direct descendant of Telumehtar), defeats the enemy in South Ithilien. He then wins the Battle of the Camp, and drives the Wainriders into the Dead Marshes.
1944-45	The Gondorian Succession Crisis: Arvedui of the North claims the crown of Gondor, both on his wife's behalf and his own as representing 'the elder line of Isildur'. The claim is refused by Gondor and lapses with the death of Arvedui. Eärnil II receives the crown.
1945-1960	Eärnil II re-orders Gondor after the near-catastrophe of the Third Wainrider War.
1955	The last of the fortresses of the Watch on Mordor, the Towers of the Teeth at the Morannon, are deserted by Gondor.
1961-1973	Gondor regains most of Harondor, including the Harnen estuary, but wide lands remain lost. Prince Eärnur shows great skill in leading the armies.
1974	Eärnil sends a strong force under prince Eärnur to Arthedain's aid.
1975	Battle of Fornost, Angmar falls but Arthedain is shattered. Eärnur leaves troops in the North to secure the demolition of Angmar.
ca. 1975-1995	Survivors from the North-kingdom emigrate to Gondor, strengthening its people.
1980	The Witch-king comes to Mordor and gathers the other eight Nazgûl around him.
1981	The last elves leave Edhellond. Amroth of Lórien is lost. Lond Enil is renamed Dol Amroth in Amroth's honour.
ca. 1995	The last of Gondor's troops leave the North, many people unwilling to stay go with them.

After years of bad government and ill advice, Tarondor finally manages to stabilise the realm and its healing begins. Owing to his previous policies, Gondor is seriously weakened and he is not able to wage great campaigns beyond the realm's borders. The Corsairs take advantage of this by occupying the area around the Harnen estuary. Here they build a powerful base, which will be the cause of trouble throughout Tarondor's long reign. Finally, after Gondor has been healed from the aftereffects of the Great Plague as good as possible, Tarondor goes to the offensive, determined to re-claim all territory lost by Gondor to the Corsairs.



The Mormegil © by Peter Xavier Price, used with permission

His son Telumehtar leads most of these campaigns, desiring greatly the final defeat of the descendants of the confederate rebels. Soon after he becomes king, the plans for an attack on Umbar are begun. For centuries and despite some setbacks, Gondor had been able to keep Umbar's forces at bay in Harondor, but the city of the Corsairs remained impregnable. He studies ancient records about the city's fortifications and in addition sends many spies there in order to ascertain the current strengths and weaknesses of Umbar. Especially the ongoing internal feuds of the Haruze are seen as a great opportunity and when finally all is ready, a strong army marches through Harondor south as if going to attack Umbarean territory south of the Harnen. The Corsairs send the majority of their force to meet them, but meanwhile Telumehtar approached umbar by fleet manned by his best men. By the intelligence gathered before, he is able to take the city in a coup before the host of Umbar is able to return to the city. It is then destroyed by the combined forces of Telumehtar and the army from the North. In this war the last descendants of Castamir perish, ending the last line of Númenóreans in Umbar. The remaining lords from Umbar retreat to their Haruze allies and to Dûsalan, plotting revenge and harassing Gondor's southern border for the next decades.

The reign of Telumehtar is a last afterglow of Gondor's hegemonial power, almost re-establishing its maximum borders from the time of Ciryaher and Atanatar. In the last years of his reign, the Ehwathrumi are increasingly harassed by a new people from the East, rather than the established Choreren. As the former lords from Umbar and the Haruze still threaten his borders, Telumehtar deems the problems in the North of lower importance. He hopes that the Ehwathrumi are strong enough to deal with the eastern threat and thus does not heed their calls for help. In addition to this misjudgement, and despite its recent successes, Gondor is far weaker than it was in former centuries and it does not have the resources (many troops are needed to hold Umbar) to fight major campaigns on two fronts. Thus the Ehwathrumi are largely left on their own and in Telumehtar's last years decisively defeated by the new Easterlings who call themselves Mardumhesta, but are known in the West as *Wainriders*.

Soon after the death of Telumehtar, the situation escalates and the Ehwathrumi realms collapse completely. Finally Narmacil realises the danger and prepares his forces to fight the Easterlings. Gondor pulls troops out of Harondor, relying on local border defences and levies for security there. In 1856 Narmacil is decisively defeated by the Easterlings and Gondor has to retreat from Rhovanion losing Dor Rhúnen on the way. At least Gondor is able to hold Ithilien and the Anduin line – thanks to the defences established by Minalcar long ago. In this time of turmoil for Gondor, the Ringwraiths return almost unnoticed to Mordor. Following the serious losses from this war, Calimehtar is fully occupied stabilising the realm when the Haradrim together with the exiles from Umbar attack the haven with great might. Even though it holds out at first, Gondor is not able to send sufficient reinforcements and eventually the ancient haven falls after several months of siege. Following this, the Haruze get bolder and pour into Harondor, occupying almost half of it and raiding even beyond the Poros. Several years later Calimehtar has rebuilt the army and is able to counterattack. At first he turns his attention southwards and after several years of campaigning is able to regain most of South Gondor. After securing it, Calimehtar returns home and rests his troops for the second great campaign he is planning. The Wainriders still pose a threat and together with exiled Ehwathrumi from the Anduin vales (who now call themselves the Éothéod) he strikes the Easterlings a decisive blow in TA 1899. Almost unnoticed, at that time there begins the slow expansion of the Gwathurim from their territory into western Calenardhon and the Westmarch. They do not challenge Gon-

dor's rule and are tolerated as Gondor has other more pressing problems and the depopulation of western Calenardhon is already felt, and thus the newcomers are not wholly unwelcome for the regional lords.

Around TA 1940 both Gondor and Arthedain recognize a certain single will and coordination behind the simultaneous attacks on their realms and they pledge a closer mutual cooperation and support. The renewed bond is sealed by the marriage of Arthedain's crown prince Arvedui and Fíriel, daughter of Gondor's king Ondoher. Unfortunately both realms are attacked simultaneously soon thereafter, preventing any mutual help.

On the one hand the Wainriders prepare a new attack on Gondor, this time in alliance with the Variags of Khand, the Haruze and the exiles from Umbar while Angmar renews his attack on Arthedain. Ondoher and his sons fall in battle as the northern army is routed by the enemy. Fortunately Eärnil wins a victory against all odds in South Ithilien, marches north and gathers many remnants from Ondoher's force. He then surprises the victorious enemies eliminating them all. He is awarded the crown of Gondor after a long debate with Arthedain, but promises to keep the alliance and mutual support. Despite the success, the losses in Rhovanion become permanent and neither the Númenóreans nor the Ehwathrumi ever regain any significant influence on the politics of the region for the remainder of the Third Age. Fortunately, the Wainriders are sufficiently weakened by their disastrous defeat that they give up any plans of conquering Gondor and instead focus their energies on strengthening and cementing their position and power in Rhovanion.

This relative peace on the northern frontier frees up sufficient resources so that Gondor can turn his focus southward again. After re-ordering Gondor, Eärnil II turns to the offensive and regains most of Harondor that was lost to the Haruze in the First Wainrider War. He also sends a strong force to the aid of Arthedain, but unfortunately it arrives too late to save the kingdom. These forces are crucial in the final defeat of Angmar though, and for about twenty years after the fall of that realm, troops from Gondor remain in the North to ensure the destruction of its fortresses and useable infrastructure. During this time, a steady flow of emigrants from the former North-kingdom leave Eriador towards Gondor. Most of them settle in Calenardhon or Anórien. Especially the former province profits from this influx, slowing its decline. When the demolition work in the north is finished, the last troops return home and many people that have held out until now go with them. Around this time the Witch-king goes to Mordor and joins the other Nazgûl.

About twenty years before the end of the millennium, the last elves leave Edhellond. King Amroth drowns when he leaps from the last ship, seeking his beloved Nimrodel. In his honour, the main city of Belfalas – Lond Ernîl – is renamed Dol Amroth. King Eärnil II grants custody of the former elven haven to Belfalas, owing to their ancient friendship.

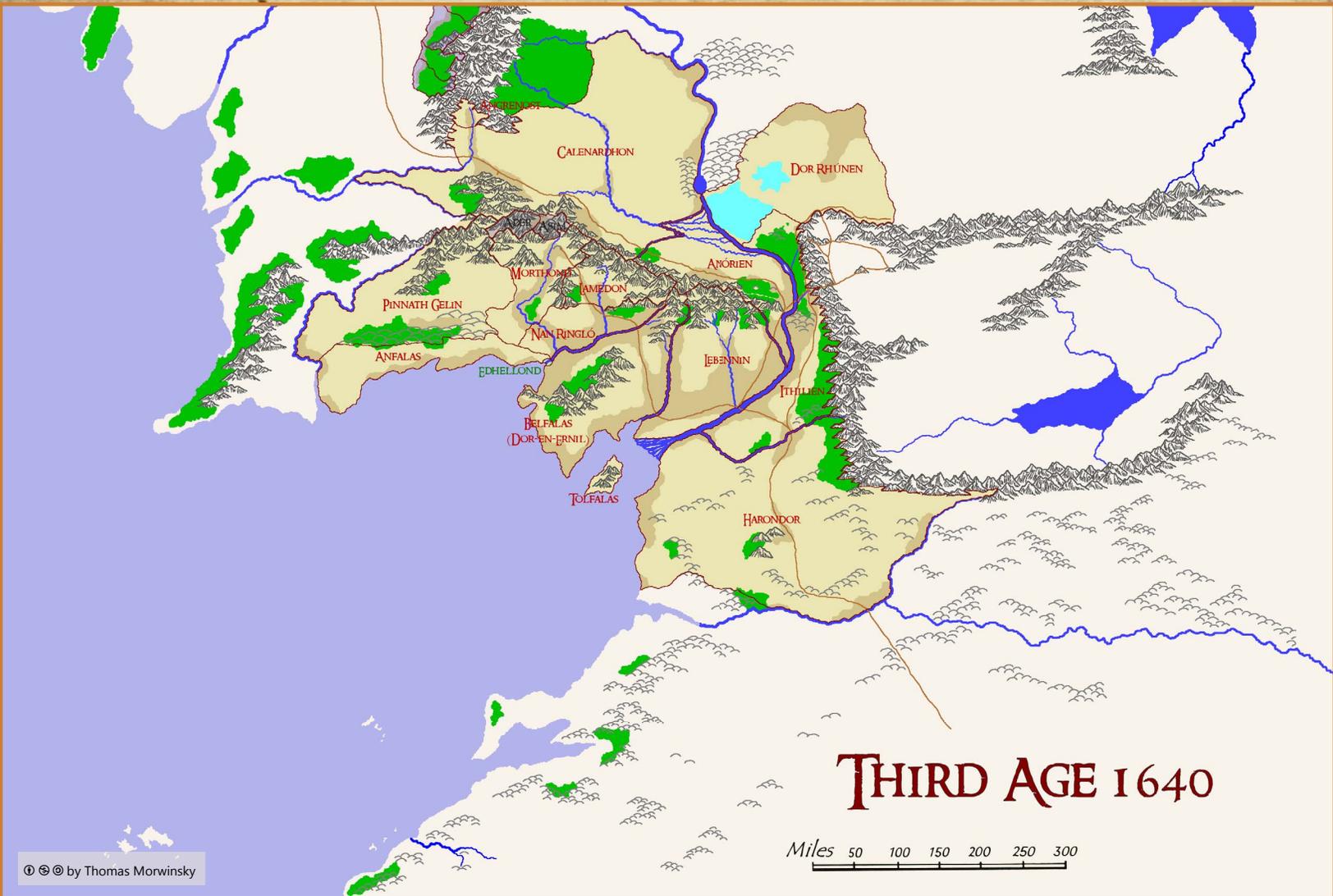
Men go to the former elven area only in times of need and with the leave of the Prince but none settle there.



Battle of Strasbourg © by EthicallyChallenged, used with permission

Realm	Province	Area (km ²)	Coastline (km)	Unsettled Total (%)	Rural Pop.	City Pop.	Overall Pop.	Overall Pop. / km ²
Gondor	Belfalas	51,500	620	54.7	428,600	43,400	472,000	9.2
	Anórien	31,300		44.8	236,600	47,000	283,600	9.1
	Ithilien	39,500		51.7	272,100	57,300	329,400	8.3
	Lebennin	47,400	40	41.5	366,500	61,600	428,100	9.0
	Tolfalas	2,600	100	94	5,200	400	5,600	2.2
	Calenardhon	137,800		68.4	275,100	27,300	302,400	2.2
	Angrenost	2,000		59.9	10,100	1,200	11,300	5.7
	Dor Rhúnen	61,300		73.6	110,500	7,400	117,900	1.9
	Lamedon	17,300		68.3	55,300	5,400	60,700	3.5
	Nan Ringló	15,800		44.4	114,000	14,500	128,500	8.1
	Anfalas	25,100	640	65.4	110,600	9,700	120,300	4.8
	Morthond	24,800		53	119,000	9,500	128,500	5.2
	Harondor	150,700	295	53.5	734,200	67,000	801,200	5.3
	Pinnath Gelin	60,600		55.5	225,700	19,600	245,300	4.0
	Total	667,700		58.1	3,063,500	371,300	3,434,800	5.1
Oathbreaker lordships	Asim	2,300		76.1	5,500	700	6,200	2.7
	Ader	3,000		78.2	5,200	600	5,800	1.9
	Total	5,300		77.3	10,700	1,300	12,000	2.3

Table 5: Population figures for Gondor and the Oathbreaker lordships in TA 1640



Gondor in TA 2000

This time marks the beginning of Gondor's long retreat. The near-defeat at the hands of the Wainriders has sapped much of the realm's strength. In Harondor Gondor is slowly reatreating. This era also sees the loss of Minas Ithil to the Nazgûl and the beginning of the loss of Ithilien.

Year (TA)	Event
2000	The Nazgûl issue from Mordor and many folk from Ithilien flee in terror. The Ringwraiths besiege Minas Ithil.
2002	Minas Ithil falls and is renamed Minas Morgul. Minas Anor becomes Minas Tirith.
2043	Death of Eärnil II. His son Eärnur becomes King of Gondor. He is challenged by the Witch-king to battle.
2050	The challenge is renewed. Against the counsel of Mardil his steward Eärnur rides to the gates of Minas Morgul and is lost. Eärnur leaves no children. No male descendant of Anárion with an undisputed claim can be found. Mardil becomes the first Ruling Steward. After the disappearance of Eärnur and the end of the Kings the White Tree seldom again bore fruit, and each year it grows less blossoms as it slowly ages.
2060	The fear of the Ringwraiths or Nazgûl spreads far and wide. The power of Dol Guldur grows and most of the Wise finally suspect that a Nazgûl may be the cause. Elrond and Gandalf however fear that Sauron himself is taking shape in Mirkwood again.
2063	Gandalf goes alone to Dol Guldur in secret. Sauron flees him, deserting Dol Guldur and hiding in the East for a while. This triggers a time called the Watchful Peace. During that time the Nazgûl never again appear in visible shape beyond the walls of Minas Morgul. Gondor holds most of Ithilien.
ca. 2050-2400	Continued small warfare in Harondor. Little by little Gondor loses territory – especially in the southwest. The Corsairs focus their raids on Gondorian ships and Harondor's coast.
ca. 2350	By this time, the Gwathuirim provide almost all people in the Westmarch and much of western Calenardhon.
2460	After nearly four hundred years the Watchful Peace ends and the powers of evil move again. Sauron returns with increased strength to Dol Guldur, and gathers all evil things under his rule.
2475	The attack on Gondor is begun again when Uruks, black Orcs of great strength, first come forth from Mordor. Denethor's son Boromir defeats the enemy before East Osgiliath, but the city is finally ruined in this war, and the ancient stone-bridge is broken. The Men of Gondor still maintain their hold upon most of Ithilien, but little by little its people desert it and pass west over Anduin to the valleys of the White Mountains.

Year (TA)	Event
2490	Aware of the exposed northern border, the new Ruling Steward Cirion repairs some of the forts along Anduin.
2494	Cirion becomes aware of the turmoil in central and eastern Rhovanion created by the arrival of the Bozorgana.

Demographically, this era begins a steady trend of decline: The extinction of Anárion's line also marks a loss of impetus and activity in the southern Dúnedain's spirit. Almost unnoticeable at first, but slowly growing stronger, the loss of the spiritual leader (as the king is the only "priest" or mediator with Eru Ilúvatar) leads to a defensive, conservative and rearward-orientated stance within the Gondorian élite. It tries to preserve the current state but does not attempt or start anything new. Of course this is mainly caused by Gondor's shrinking resources, but both of these aspects depend on each other.

The first years of this era see a hard blow to Gondor when the Nazgûl come forth from Mordor and lay siege to Minas Ithil. The terror they cause and the strength of their forces is so great that all attempts to relieve the city fail. Without hope of survival, the stout defenders of Isildur's city continue their resistance with valour and it is only after two years that the city finally falls. It becomes a place of terror and many inhabitants of Ithilien flee over the Anduin. Fortunately and somewhat surprisingly the Ringwraiths seem to be content with the conquest of the city and the surrounding valley. They make no attempt of attacking any territory beyond, and thus a stalemate ensues where Gondor keeps a watch on the Morgul Vale and holds the rest of Ithilien. Life in Ithilien continues as best as possible under these conditions and the Stewards take great care to keep the province well guarded, as it is crucial for the defence of Harondor. For more than 2,000 years it is the first time that Gondor faces evil creatures as a major threat rather than "only" other men.

About 60 years after the fall of Minas Ithil the looming evil of the fortress of Dol Guldur in southern Mirkwood vanishes (after the Wizard Gandalf went there) and the forest becomes wholesome again. It seems as the departure of that evil has also an influence on the Easterlings in the region who are more concerned with squabbling among themselves rather than harassing their neighbours (at least in the south). This gives Gondor the necessary respite to concentrate its – ever more limited – resources in the south against the Haruze and Corsairs. Even though there is no major war during this period, the

ever-present small-scale border warfare in Harondor coupled with Corsair raids forces Gondor to slowly give ever more ground in southern and southwestern Harondor. Harnendor and the area north of the Harnen estuary are lost permanently for Gondor in this war of attrition between TA 2050 and 2400. The intense fighting over Harondor with the advantage shifting back and forth for Gondor is not only resource-draining but also the longest-lasting conflict that Gondor is involved in. Due to the intense nature of the conflict, the Haruze mainly refrain from settling the newly-won territory themselves. Thus they are not in the same danger as Gondor of having their population exposed to counter-raids. It is only in a few key places that the Haruze establish military outposts to support their campaigns.

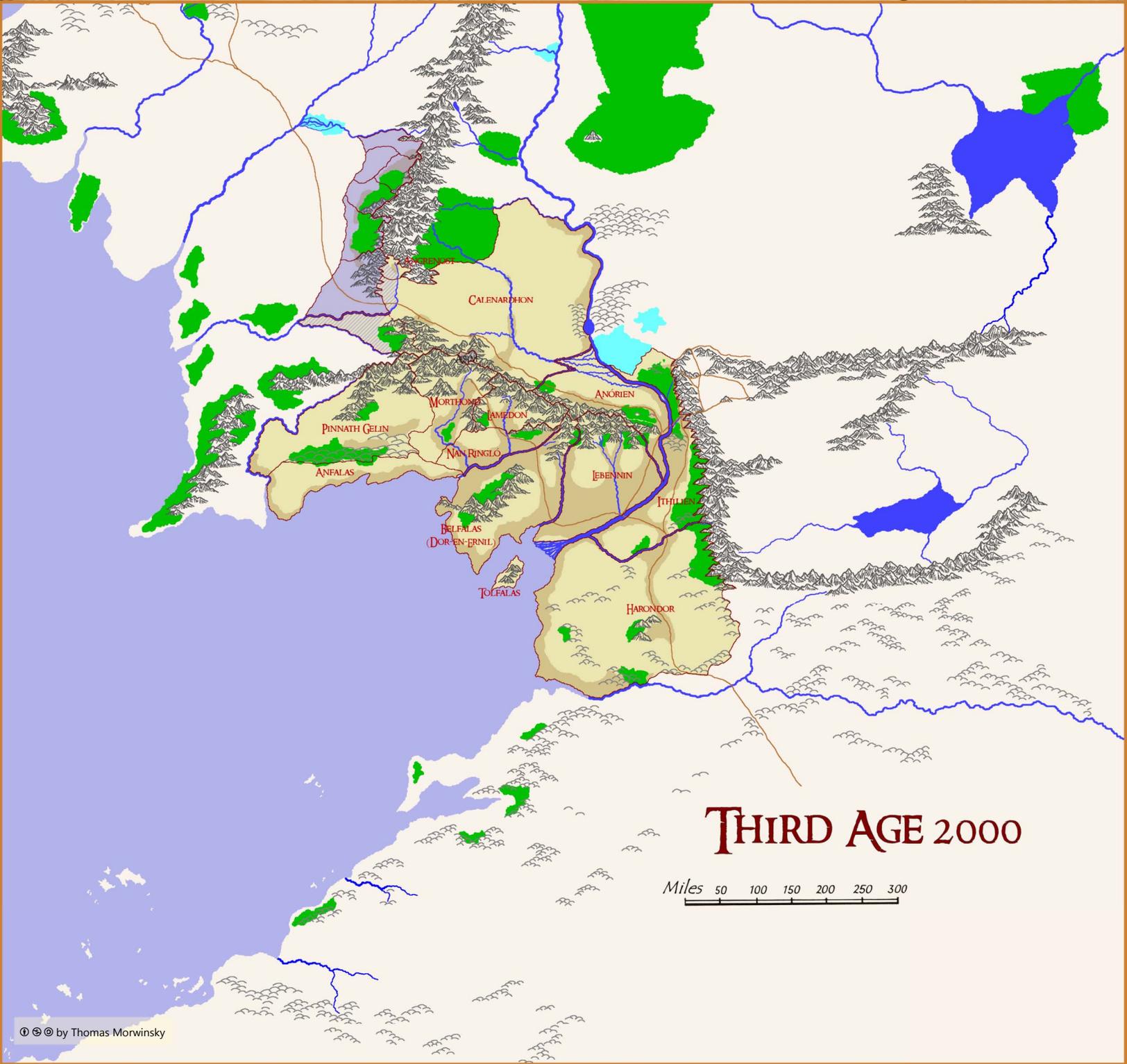
The slow settlement of Gwathuirim in western Calenardhon continues little by little, but as they make no trouble and obey Gondor's laws – if they have contacts with the authorities – no one sees a problem in it. Quite to the contrary, as more and more people of this region re-locate to the east in

order to strengthen the line on the Anduin, the local Gondorian governors welcome people that work the land and pay taxes.

The end of the Watchful Peace also spells trouble for Gondor. A few years after the evil has returned to Dol Guldur, the Nazgûl in Minas Morgul become more active as well and a sudden and massive onslaught of great and strong orcs of a formerly unknown variety overrun most of Ithilien. Gondor is able to finally defeat them and regain much of the lost territory, but at the cost of many lives – both soldiers and civilians – and the final destruction of Osgiliath, which becomes deserted by its last inhabitants. Southern Ithilien becomes Gondor's last and best defended foothold east of Anduin. Minas Morgul retains its foothold in southern Ithilien and the Arnen area. Northern Ithilien remains almost completely in the hands of Gondor. Even though Ithilien is partly lost, Gondor is able to save many people that are not killed and flee to the relative safety of the provinces west of Anduin.

Realm	Province	Area (km²)	Coastline (km)	Unsettled Total (%)	Rural Pop.	City Pop.	Overall Pop.	Overall Pop. / km²
Gondor	Belfalas	51500	620	48.6	509400	67,300	576,700	11.2
	Anórien	31,300		40	309,400	70,900	380,300	12.2
	Ithilien	39,500		43	354,400	81,000	435,400	11.0
	Lebennin	47,400	40	35.3	594,100	112,900	707,000	14.9
	Tolfalas	2,600	100	94	5,200	400	5,600	2.2
	Calenardhon	137800		68.6	346,300	36,100	382,400	2.8
	Angrenost	2,000		42	13,200	1,100	14,300	7.2
	Lamedon	17,300		67	67,900	6,600	74,500	4.3
	Nan Ringló	15,800		39.9	140,700	17,800	158,500	10.0
	Anfalas	25,100	640	56.6	147,100	13,200	160,300	6.4
	Morthond	29,100		41.6	214,300	26,400	240,700	8.3
	Harondor	134,800	390	48.2	929,400	98,200	1,027,600	7.6
	Pinnath Gelin	59,800		51.1	265,200	26,300	291,500	4.9
Total	594,000		52	3,896,600	558,200	4,454,800	7.5	
Oathbreaker lordships	Asim	700		75.6	2,000	400	2,400	3.4
	Total	700		75.6	2,000	400	2,400	3.4

Table 6: Population figures for Gondor and the Oathbreaker lordships in TA 2000



THIRD AGE 2000

Miles 50 100 150 200 250 300

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Gondor in TA 2500

This era sees another major challenge to Gondor's existence. A new Easterling people called "Balchoth" by the Dúnedain (and Bozorgana in their own language) almost defeat Gondor. In the aftermath, the Éothéod, descendants of the ancient Ehwathrumi settle in Calenardhon, are given that land for their own and found the realm of Rohan.

Year (TA)	Event
since ca. 2500	Northern Gondor repeatedly raided by Easterlings (Bozorgana) from Rhovanion. Cirion further strengthens the Anduin border as good as possible.
2510	A great host of Orcs, with Bozorgana Easterlings as allies, assail the northern borders of Gondor, and occupy a great part of Calenardhon. Gondor calls for help. Eorl the Young leads his people, the Éothéod, out of the North from their realm near the sources of Anduin, and rides to the help of Cirion, Steward of Gondor. With his aid the great victory of the Field of Celebrant is won. Eorl and his people are given the plains of Calenardhon to dwell in, and that land is from now on called Rochann (Rohan) in Gondor. There the Éothéod, now called the Rohirrim, live as free men under their own kings, but in perpetual alliance with Minas Tirith.
2510-14	The Éothéod move to Calenardhon, becoming the Rohirrim. At first they live in the area of later Eastfold and the Folde.
2520-45	Repeated raids of the Balchoth into the Wold and Eastemnet. The Rohirrim maintain a strong guard there.
2545	Eorl falls in battle in the Wold.
ca. 2550	The Rohirrim begin to settle western Westfold, where they encounter the Gwathuirim. They call them "Dunlendings", a derogatory term as they appear swarthy and dark-haired compared to the Eorlingas.
2552	Brego and Baldor go to Dunharrow and learn of the Paths of the Dead.
ca. 2560	Widespread settlement of the Rohirrim in Westfold begins, resulting in continuous conflicts with the local Dunlendings.
2569	Brego son of Eorl completes the Golden Hall of Meduseld.
2570	Baldor son of Brego takes a rash vow to enter the Forbidden Door in Dunharrow, and is lost.

Demographically, the last five centuries caused a serious decline. Calenardhon now has only a relatively small population, which is primarily concentrated along the Anduin line whereas the hinterland and the western regions are either almost uninhabited or at least seriously underpopulated.

Soon after following his father as Ruling Steward, Cirion enacts a program to strengthen Gondor.

From the days of his father and grandfather he was aware of the growing strength of Gondor's enemies. Even though the Haruze and Corsairs continue to harass Gondor regularly in the south, his greatest concern is Rhovanion. Being aware of the poor state of his defences along the Anduin, he sends men to repair at least the key forts there. By this time the population of Calenardhon has dwindled much and most of those remaining are concentrated along the line of the Anduin. In the west, the Gwathuirim continue to expand (as they have done in the past six centuries or so) and what remains of Gondor's authority does not check them as they make little trouble and the power of Gondor is limited. The spies and scouts Cirion has sent to Rhovanion soon gather enough information for him to double his efforts in strengthening Gondor. Repeated strong raids of the Bozorgana (called Balchoth in Gondor) are conducted into Calenardhon, primarily over the Undeeps, and the weak garrisons there are not able to stop them reliably. Cirion fears that a major invasion will soon follow and does everything he can to strengthen the forts in the area.

When the attack finally comes, Gondor is prepared for it, but its resources are limited. Cirion has to keep at least a minimum of military presence in Harondor to check attacks from the south. He sends for help to all people, including the Éothéod and departs with all available troops from Minas Tirith. He learns that the enemy has crossed the river in great strength. Subsequently he is outmanoeuvred and pinned down against the Celebrant when an orc force descends from the mountains to support the Easterlings. When all looks lost the unexpected arrival of Eorl turns the tide and defeats the invaders. Unfortunately the Bozorgana had split their force, and while the main host attacked Cirion, several smaller forces fanned out and ravaged much of Calenardhon as far as laying siege to the fortresses of Angrenost and Harnost (later called Helm's Deep). After the victory at Celebrant the Éothéod and what remains of Gondor's army pursue and ultimately destroy them, but not before they have wreaked great damage to the few remaining people.

Cirion grants Calenardhon to the Éothéod who are in need of new land and so the new realm of Rochann (Rohan) – or Riddermark in their own language – is founded. In the years following Parth Celebrant, about 100,000 people move to Calenardhon. The massive logistics necessary to move that much people safely is a task not properly valued in the histories. Of those people of Calenardhon that have survived the war, some remain and join the Rohirrim, while the rest removes to Gondor – mainly Anórien. At first only the Folde and Eastfold are settled, but some years after Eorl's

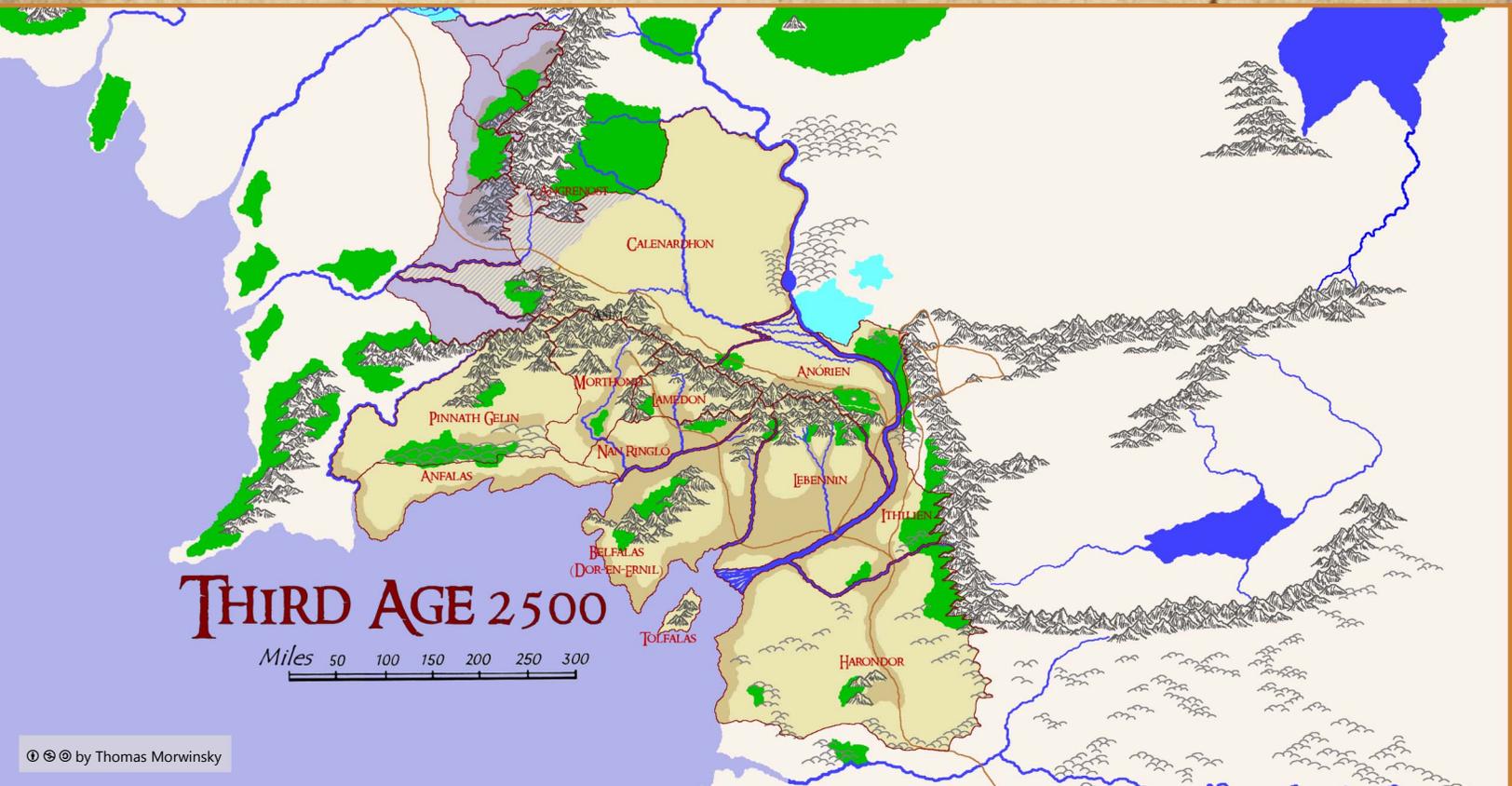
death in TA 2545 the Rohirrim begin to expand to western Westfold where they get into conflict with the local Gwathuirim.

Eorl's son Brego builds a new capital and residence at Edoras and Meduseld. He also initiates the wide-scale expulsion and persecution of the Dunlendings in Rohan; this is the beginning of long-lasting animosity between these two people. While

reviewing the new realm in detail (especially looking for safe places in times of need) Brego and Baldor encounter the aged last descendant of Morthec Gruan at Dunharrow who tells them that the Paths of the Dead are barred. The old man dies in the same hour, the last living remnant of the Orodbedhrim. Upon completion of the Meduseld, his son Baldor vows to pass through the Paths of the Dead and is lost.

Realm	Province	Area (km ²)	Coastline (km)	Unsettled Total (%)	Rural Pop.	City Pop.	Overall Pop.	Overall Pop. / km ²
Gondor	Belfalas	51500	620	48.7	475900	60,800	536,700	10.4
	Anórien	31,300		40.4	295,000	64,400	359,400	11.5
	Ithilien	31,600		47.5	244,800	41,900	286,700	9.0
	Lebennin	47,400	40	35.9	562,400	99,400	661,800	14.0
	Tolfalas	2,600	100	94.6	4,000	300	4,300	1.7
	Calenardhon	137,800		85.6	132,700	10,300	143,000	1.0
	Angrenost	2,000		52	7,600	800	8,400	4.2
	Lamedon	17,300		67.6	62,900	6,000	68,900	4.0
	Nan Ringló	15,800		41.6	132,300	16,600	148,900	9.4
	Anfalas	25100	640	57.5	136,900	12,300	149,200	5.9
	Morthond	30,800		42	219,000	22,000	241,000	7.8
	Harondor	71,900	265	53.7	464,900	49,000	513,900	7.2
	Pinnath Gelin	59,800		58	239,500	21,500	261,000	4.4
	Total	524900		59.1	2,977,900	405,300	3,383,200	6.5
Oathbreaker lordships	Asim	10			10	0	10	1.00
	Total	10		77.5	10	0	10	1.00

Table 7: Population figures for Gondor and the Oathbreaker lordships in TA 2500



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Gondor and Rohan in TA 2600

This era is one of quiet and – relative – respite for Gondor, while the Rohirrim expand in their new realm, settling more territory that is still partly inhabited by the people of Dunland. With the arrival of the Rohirrim the problem of Gondor’s open flank in Calenardhon has been solved. In Gondor the demographic situation is similar to the previous era.

Year (TA)	Event
ca. 2630	The last of the Dunlendings east of the Isen (excluding the West-march) are expelled.
ca. 2630-2640	The Rohirrim regularly raid the dunnish lands west of Isen, making many of its people flee further north.
2698	Ecthelion I, Steward of Gondor, repairs and rebuilds the White Tower in Minas Tirith, afterwards often called the ‘Tower of Ecthelion’.
ca. 2700	The Dunlendings begin to raid over the Isen.
2710	Angrenost occupied by Dunlendings.

This time is relatively quiet for Gondor, as there are no major invasions or wars that threaten it. Gondor’s most important concern is the southern border with the Haruze and Corsairs: The former continue to press forward in Harondor little by little while the Corsairs make the Bay of Belfalas an unsafe area to travel by ship. And despite the continued pressure of orc raids in northern Ithilien, the few people there continue to resist, aided by the Ranger Corps. In addition, there is an ancient and subtle power power in that forest that helps to stay Minas Morgul’s evil and keeps the land untainted.

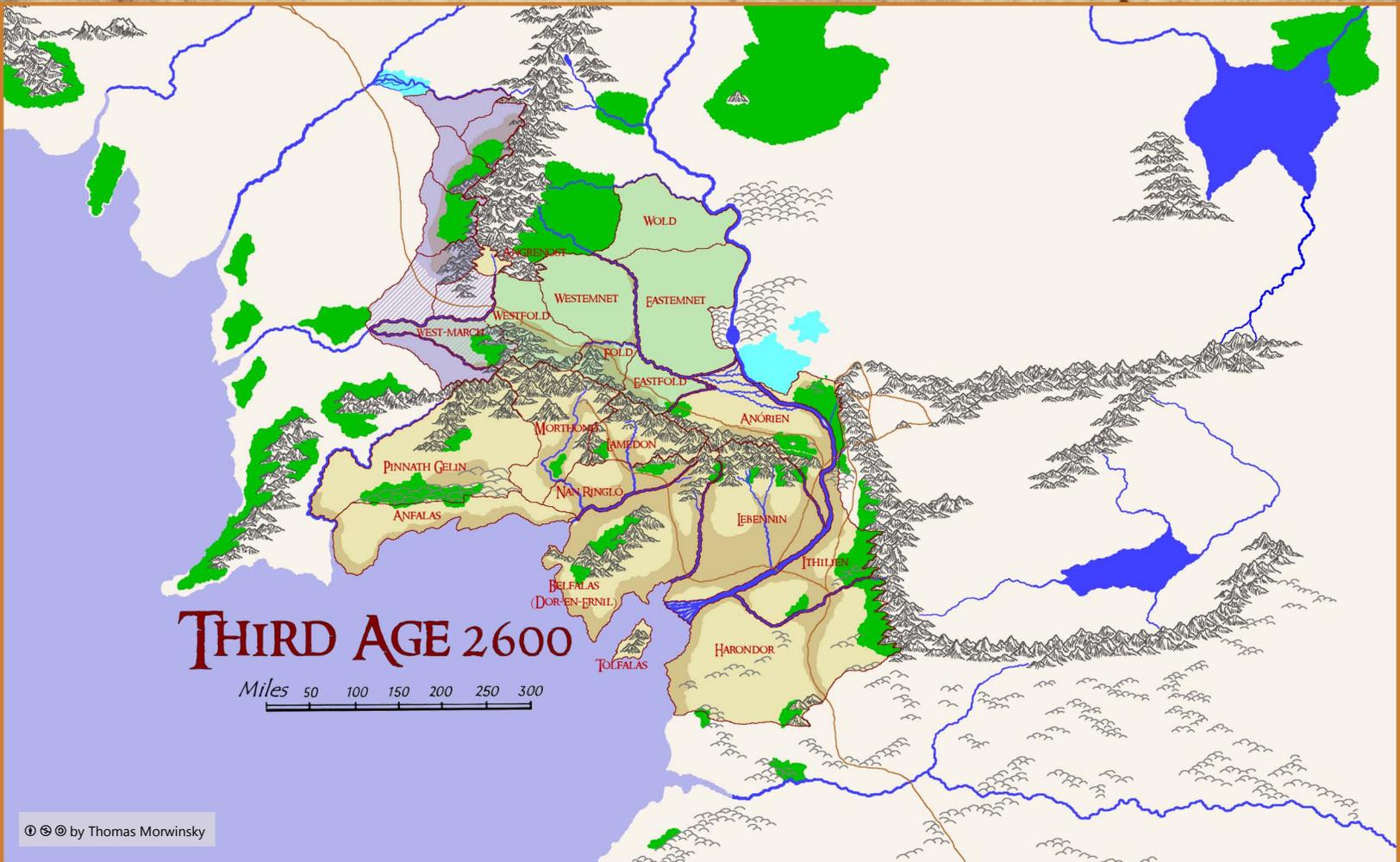
In Rohan, the Rohirrim have established themselves firmly in Eastfold, the Fold and eastern Westfold and start to clear Westfold of all the Dunlanders living there. After this has been achieved, they also cross the Isen to create a buffer zone and teach the Dunlanders a lesson. Due to these raids much territory north of Isen is only sparsely inhabited for many years.



The Riders of Rohan © by TurnerMohan, used with permission

Realm	Province	Area (km2)	Coastline (km)	Unsettled Total (%)	Rural Pop.	City Pop.	Overall Pop.	Overall Pop. / km2
Gondor	Belfalas	51500	620	48.8	467500	59,600	527,100	10.2
	Anórien	31,300		40.8	279,400	58,200	337,600	10.8
	Ithilien	31600		47.3	238700	32,700	271,400	8.6
	Lebennin	47,400	40	36	531,900	86,500	618,400	13.0
	Tolfalas	2,600	100	95.5	3,400	200	3,600	1.4
	Angrenost	1,900		60	3,800	300	4,100	2.2
	Lamedon	17,300		68	59,300	5,600	64,900	3.8
	Nan Ringló	15,800		41.6	126,900	15,800	142,700	9.0
	Anfalas	25100	640	57.2	124,600	10,800	135,400	5.4
	Morthond	30,800		42.1	207,500	20,000	227,500	7.4
	Harondor	71,900	265	54.5	394,100	39,500	433,600	6.0
	Pinnath Gelin	59,800		57.9	229,400	20,800	250,200	4.2
	Total		387,000		49.9	2666500	350,000	3,016,500
Rohan	Eastfold	8400		55.9	42500	3,700	46,200	4.7
	Folde	6,900		65.6	41,900	6,000	47,900	6.9
	Westfold	18900		76.4	27000	2000	28900	1.5
	West-march	11100		55.8	34500	2100	36600	3.3
	Westemnet	23600		83.9	16,800	1,600	18,400	0.8
	Eastemnet	38,700		92	6,200	0	6,200	0.2
	Wold	22,300		96	1,800	0	1,800	0.1
	Total		129900		82.1	170700	15300	186000

Table 8: Population figures for Gondor and Rohan in TA 2600



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Gondor and Rohan in TA 2740

This time sees some pivotal events both for Rohan and Gondor. The Corsairs launch devastating raids on Gondor's coasts and the Long Winter cripples Rohan. Later the Uruks from Minas Morgul and the Haruze renew their attacks, pushing Gondor further back.

Year (TA)	Event
2758	Rohan attacked from the west (Dunland) and the east (Bozorganush) and overrun. Helm of Rohan takes refuge in Helm's Deep in the White Mountains. Wulf seizes Edoras. Corsairs attack Gondor, establishing temporary bases in Anfalas and Harondor from which they strike repeatedly. Gondor is hard-pressed and unable to evict them. The Haruze renew their border war in Harondor.
2758/59	The Long Winter. Great suffering and loss of life in Eriador and Rohan.
2759	Death of Helm. Fréaláf drives out Wulf, and begins the second line of Kings of the Mark. Aided by Gondor, the Dunlendings are evicted from Angrenost and the Bozorgana defeated in the north. Angrenost given to Saruman.
since ca. 2760	Rebuilding of Westfold. Saruman sets out to mediate between the Dunlendings and the Rohirrim.
2800-64	Orcs fleeing from the War with the Dwarves (2793-99) trouble Rohan. King Walda slain by them (2861).
2850	Gandalf again enters Dol Guldur to discover the purposes of the Necromancer. Gandalf discovers beyond any doubt that it is indeed Sauron.
2851	Meeting of the White Council. Gandalf urges for an attack on Dol Guldur and Saruman advises against it. He begins to actively befriend the Dunlendings.
ca. 2865	The Rohirrim have recovered their strength from before the Long Winter.
2865-2870	Folwine re-conquers the west-march. In this, he receives much aid from Gondor.
2872	Belecthor II, twenty-first Steward of Gondor, dies. The White Tree dies in the court of Minas Tirith, and no seedling can be found. The Dead Tree is left standing in the court near the White Tower.
2880	The Haruze begin to increase their attacks in Harondor.
2882	Gondor retreats from Harondor.
2885	Stirred up by emissaries from Sauron, the Haruze cross the Poros and attack Gondor, ravaging South Ithilien. The Rohirrim send help. Folcred and Fastred sons of King Folwine of Rohan are slain in battle in the service of Gondor.
ca. 2890	Saruman has achieved a position of great respect among the Dunlendings.

In terms of demography, the Rohirrim have fared well and their numbers have considerably grown. This era marks a first population peak in Rohan, whereas in Gondor numbers continue to decline further.

In TA 2758 both Gondor and Rohan have to face serious threats: Rohan is attacked by Dunlendings under the leadership of Wulf, son of Freca. He is aided by forces from the Corsairs that sail westward and up the Isen to land troops. Due to their access to Isengard, they are able to circumvent the Fords of Isen and thoroughly defeat the Rohirrim's host. King Helm is forced to take refuge in the Hornburg and is besieged there. Wulf takes Edoras and resides as king there. Westfold, Westemnet and almost all of the Folde fall to Wulf while most of the Rohirrim take refuge in mountain fastnesses. The Bozorgana raid and occupy the Wold and Eastemnet and threaten Eastfold. Only eastern Folde and Eastfold remain largely free of enemies. Simultaneously Gondor's coasts are attacked by three great Corsair fleets that repeatedly ravage the countryside and establish bases in Anfalas and Harondor. Almost at the same time, the Haruze begin to harass Gondor in Harondor, binding further resources. Thus Gondor and Rohan are unable to help each other and in Rohan the Long Winter begins which claims many lives, seriously weakening the realm. The winter is much less severe in Gondor and as soon as Beregon, Captain of Gondor has mastered the threat of the Corsairs and contained the Haruze, he sends help to Rohan at once, which enables the new king Fréaláf to defeat and kill Wulf and evict the Dunlendings not only from Westfold but also Angrenost. Thereafter the combined hosts decisively defeat the Bozorgana in Eastemnet. Shortly thereafter, the keys to Angrenost are given to the Saruman the White to preserve further evil from coming to Isengard.

In the aftermath of these wars, Saruman goes among the Dunlendings, trying to win their trust and mediate between them and the Rohirrim. Especially the latter (but also some among the Dunlendings) are not interested at all as they see themselves on the better side of the conflict. At least he is able to achieve a lasting peace between the two parties. This is aided by the fact that both are too weak to engage in another major conflict. Rohan enjoys more than 100 years of peace when it has finally regained its former strength in the last years of Belecthor II's reign. It is in this time (the early reign of Folwine) that the Rohirrim – with much help from Gondor – re-conquer the west-march (the territory between Isen and Adorn). In the same campaign, the dunnish settlements south of Adorn are raided and the people flee north. Even though the dunnish lords and their troops are driven out of the

west-march, the local population that remains is largely of mixed stock and the have little sympathy for the Rohirrim. In subsequent years they bow to the rule of Edoras, but never show any love.

After the meeting of the White Council where Saruman votes against an attack on Dol Guldur, he begins to systematically befriend the Dunlendings by supporting them.

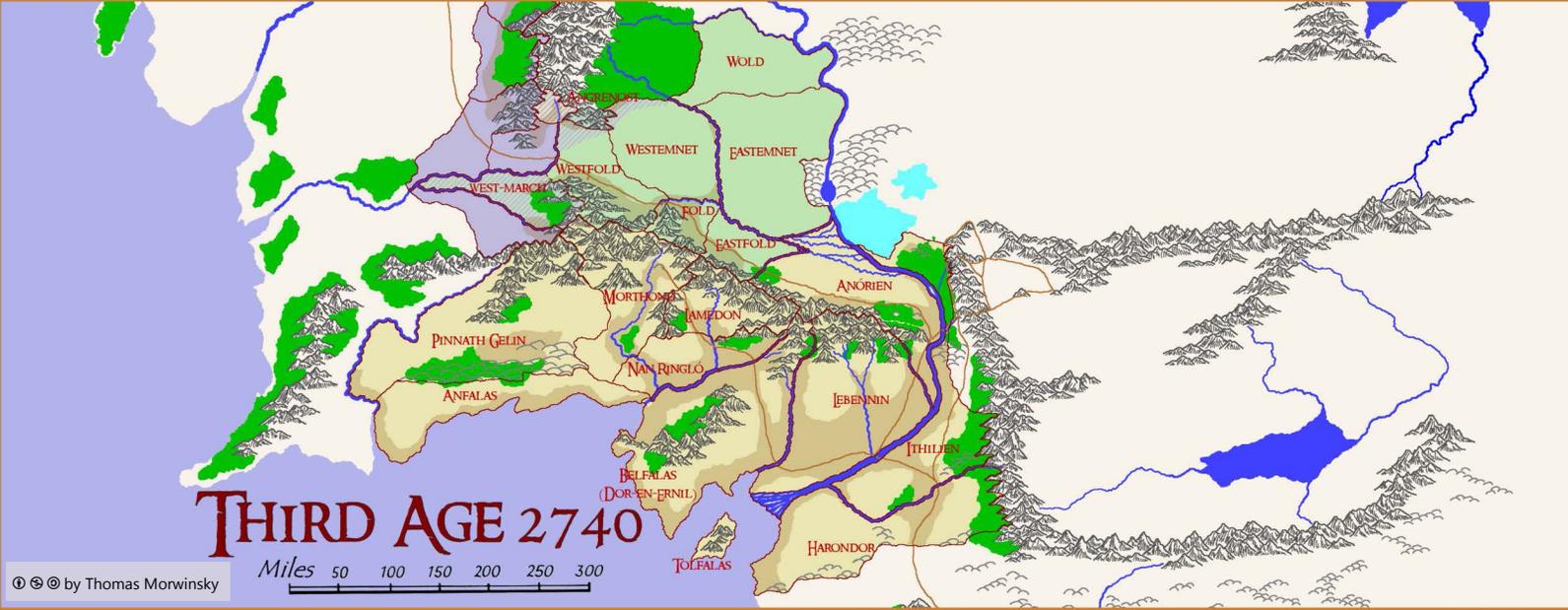
Later in the 2880s the Haruze renew their attacks on Gondor. By this time Gondor has already

lost most of Harondor and only about the northern third of the former province is still held by Gondor. These lands now face the renewed attacks from the Haruze. After finally conquering Harondor in TA 2882, they launch a major campaign three year later into South Ithilien, which is at that time still held by Gondor. They are defeated at the Crossing of Poros.

Around the year 2890 Saruman has achieved a position of great respect and renown among the Dunlendings. Generous gifts and aid coupled with the skill of his voice give him a powerful position.

Realm	Province	Area (km2)	Coastline (km)	Unsettled Total (%)	Rural Pop.	City Pop.	Overall Pop.	Overall Pop. / km2
Gondor	Belfalas	51500	620	49	448800	56,900	505,700	9.8
	Anórien	31300		41	265900	53,900	319,800	10.2
	Ithilien	31600		47.4	221700	28,000	249,700	7.9
	Lebennin	47400	40	36.1	522100	85,200	607,300	12.8
	Tolfalas	2600	100	97	2200	100	2,300	0.9
	Angrenost	1900		68	2400	200	2,600	1.4
	Lamedon	17300		68.3	58000	5,300	63,300	3.7
	Nan Ringló	15800		41.6	122300	16,200	138,500	8.8
	Anfalas	25100	640	57.1	123100	10,100	133,200	5.3
	Morthond	30800		42.1	206300	17,400	223,700	7.3
	Harondor	38200	155	53.2	222800	18,900	241,700	6.3
	Pinnath Gelin	59800		57.6	225600	21,500	247,100	4.1
	Total	353300		49.4	2421200	313,700	2,734,900	7.7
	Rohan	Eastfold	8400		44.14	60900	6600	67500
Folde		6900		63.27	53200	9500	62700	9.1
Westfold		18900		64.07	46200	3800	50000	2.7
West-march		11100		51.05	47400	3000	50400	4.5
Westemnet		23600		83.22	22800	2,600	25,400	1.1
Eastemnet		38700		92	9300	0	9,300	0.2
Wold		22300		96	2200	0	2,200	0.1
Total		129900		74.6	242000	25500	267500	2.1

Table 9: Population figures for Gondor and Rohan in TA 2740



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Gondor and Rohan in TA 2900

These years see the final ascendancy of the power of Mordor and its allies. Ithilien is finally lost and Saruman begins to trouble Rohan. Gondor's territorial losses are reflected by its population numbers. Even though many people manage to flee before the power of Sauron, many more were killed. The Rohirrim have recovered from their losses in the war against Wulf and the subsequent Long Winter. Still their people remain concentrated in the south, along the White Mountains and parts of the Entwash (near Edoras).

Year (TA)	Event
2900	Uruks from Minas Morgul intensify their raids and attacks on the parts of Ithilien still held by Gondor.
2901	Most of the remaining inhabitants of Ithilien desert it owing to the attacks of Uruks from Mordor. They remove westward over Anduin to Lossarnach and Lebennin. Gondor maintains Ithilien as a border march and keeps forces in the ruins of Osgiliath. The secret refuge of Henneth Annûn and others are built.
ca. 2905	Cair Andros fortified to protect Anórien.
2951	Sauron declares himself openly and gathers power in Mordor. He begins the rebuilding of Barad-dûr.
2954	Orodruin (Mount Doom), long dormant, bursts into smoke and flame again. The last inhabitants of Ithilien flee over Anduin.
ca. 2955	Saruman declares himself Lord of Isengard, starts to trouble Rohan and supports its enemies. Beginning of regular raids of the Dunlendings into Westfold. Saruman starts his armament programme. He teaches Dunlendings in smith craft and has them craft war gear for their compatriots.
2957-80	Aragorn undertakes his great journeys and errandries, exploring the purposes of Sauron and all his movements. As Thorongil he serves in disguise both Thengel and Ecthelion II.
2973	Aragorn enters the service of Thengel of Rohan
2976	Aragorn (in the guise of Thorongil) enters the service of Ecthelion II of Gondor.
2980	Thorongil leads a small fleet to Umbar and destroys a great part of their fleet and shipyards. Immediately after, he leaves Gondor.
2984	Death of Ecthelion II. Denethor II becomes the twenty-sixth Steward of Gondor.

The 30th century sees a number of important events. In 2900, Minas Morgul takes up its attacks again. Despite the best efforts of Gondor's armies, many people are killed and settlements are burned. As a consequence the few remaining inhabitants in central and northern Ithilien flee westward over Anduin only one year later. They settle mainly in Lebennin and Anórien, partly compensating the loss of people there. Southern Ithilien still fares better, as the presence of Gondor is stronger there. Even here, its forces are hard-pressed though and are barely able to hold their ground. As a consequence of the loss of northern Ithilien, Túrin II orders the establishment of secret refuges in Ithilien and the fortification of Cair Andros to protect Anórien's northern flank from raids across the Anduin. Towards the end of Turgon's rule, Sauron openly declares himself in Mordor. Three years later the Dark Lord's claim of overlordship is re-affirmed through another offensive from Minas Morgul and Mordor against Gondor's last hold in Ithilien. Finally its last inhabitants and surviving soldiers retreat over the Anduin in 2954. The following years under Ecthelion II are relatively quiet, and the Steward strengthens Gondor as best as possible for the foreseeable great war. Still Gondor sends regular scouts into Ithilien to gather intelligence on Sauron's movements and harass his minions as best as possible. Around this time, Saruman openly declares himself Lord of Isengard and begins to trouble Rohan as well as supporting its enemies; especially the Dunlendings who start a small-scale border war. For the purpose of building his planned great armament, Saruman starts to systematically train Dunlendings as smiths and craftsmen. From 2975-80 Aragorn (in the guise of *Thorongil*) serves Ecthelion as a captain. Mindful of the multiple threats that Gondor and Rohan face (Mordor/Minas Morgul, the Haruze and the Corsairs) he seeks an opportunity of weakening these enemies. In the end he conceives a bold plan for a commando raid against the Corsairs: With a small fleet he enters the harbour unnoticed at night and destroys a great part of the Corsair fleet and shipyards and kills the Captain of the Haven on the quays. In addition, he frees many men from Gondor that had to work as galley-slaves for the Corsairs, kills many experienced Corsair officers and is able to retreat with small losses. These losses prevent the Corsairs from seriously threatening Gondor for more than twenty years and thus buy valuable time for Gondor.

Realm	Province	Area (km2)	Coastline (km)	Unsettled Total (%)	Rural Pop.	City Pop.	Overall Pop.	Overall Pop. / km2
Gondor	Belfalas	51500	620	49.6	436000	54800	490800	9.5
	Anórien	31300		41.6	258900	46800	305700	9.8
	Ithilien	14700		54.6	66900	5300	72200	4.9
	Lebennin	47400	40	36.8	502000	79700	581700	12.3
	Tofalas	2600	100	98.5	1000	0	1000	0.4
	Lamedon	17300		70.4	50900	4400	55300	3.2
	Nan Ringló	15800		43	113400	14500	127900	8.1
	Anfalas	25100	640	58.3	110600	8900	119500	4.8
	Morthond	30800		42.1	197400	16700	214100	7
	Pinnath Gelin	59800		58	215600	19500	235100	3.93
	Total	296300		49.9	1952700	250600	2203300	7.4
Rohan	Eastfold	8400		39.38	73300	7700	81000	9.64
	Folde	6900		60.42	63400	11800	75200	10.9
	Westfold	18900		60.26	55100	4800	59900	3.17
	West-march	11100		50.75	39600	4800	44400	4
	Westemnet	23600		83.72	21400	2400	23800	1.01
	Eastemnet	38700		92	10800	0	10800	0.28
	Wold	22300		96	2200	0	2200	0.1
	Total	129900		73.7	265800	31500	297300	2.3

Table 10: Population figures for Gondor and Rohan in TA 2900



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Gondor and Rohan in TA 3000

These are the final years of the Third Age, which see Gondor at its nadir. Over the course of the previous 1500 years, the realm has seen a steady decline in territory and numbers and has reached its demographic low point. Minas Tirith has lost a great part of its population as is testified by Tolkien in *The Lord of the Rings*:

Yet it was in truth falling year by year into decay; and already it lacked half the men that could have dwelt at ease there. In every street they passed some great house or court over whose doors and arched gates were carved many fair letters of strange and ancient shapes: names Pippin guessed of great men and kindreds that had once dwelt there; and yet now they were silent, and no footsteps rang on their wide pavements, nor voice was heard in their halls, nor any face looked out from door or empty window.

—*The Lord of the Rings. Minas Tirith*

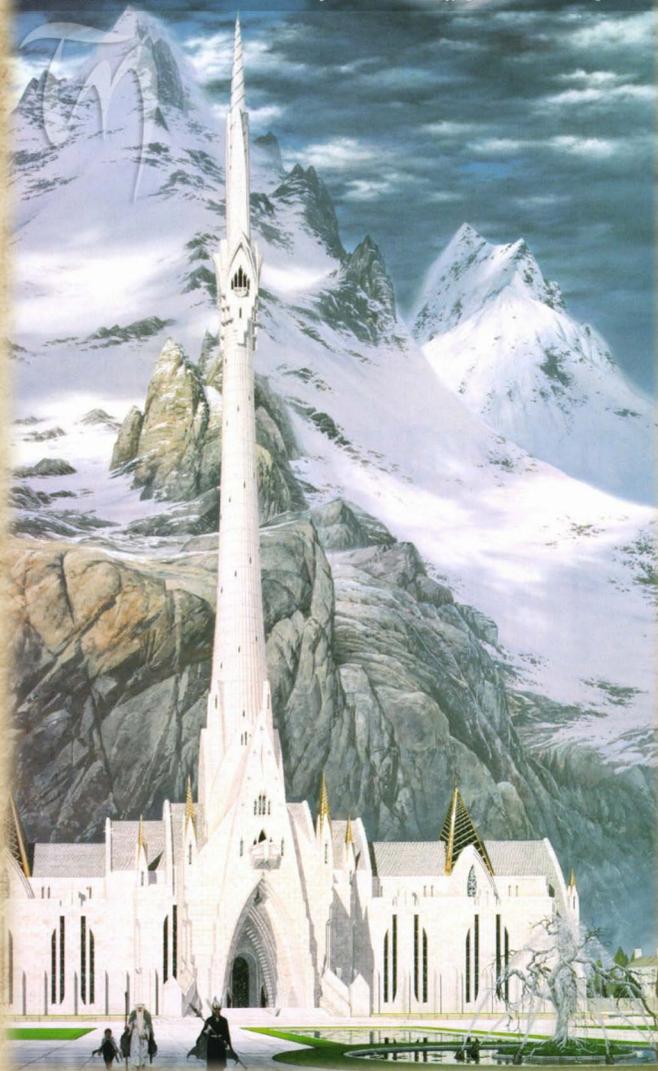
For Rohan, the population has even further increased since a hundred years before and its folk is relatively numerous, but plagued by trouble on its western (Saruman in league with the Dunlendings) and eastern border (raiding parties sent from Mordor).

Year (TA)	Event
ca. 3000	The shadow of Mordor lengthens and creeps over the lands, and the hearts of all the folk in the Westlands are darkened. About this time it is thought that Saruman dared to use the palantir of Orthanc, but became ensnared by Sauron, who has the Ithil Stone (captured long ago by the Nazgûl).
3018	The War of the Ring starts with Sauron's attack on Osgiliath.
3019	Battles at the Fords of Isen, the Hornburg, Pelennor Fields and Morannon. The Bozorganush, Haruze and Umbar are defeated and Sauron is thrown down. Coronation of Aragorn as King of the Reunited Kingdom.
3021	End of the Third Age

The demographic in Gondor has further declined in the past 100 years, while the people of Rohan have become more numerous. Unfortunately the influence of Saruman saps much of Rohan's power and the realm is again at war with the Dunlendings (now under Saruman's leadership). Again they are decisively defeated but instead of any usual brutal retribution as in the past (i.e. under Bregor and Aldor) Aragorn advises a reconciliatory policy by setting the captured Dunmen free. This is the beginning of a real peace between the Dúnedain and Rohirrim on one side and the Dunlendings on the other.

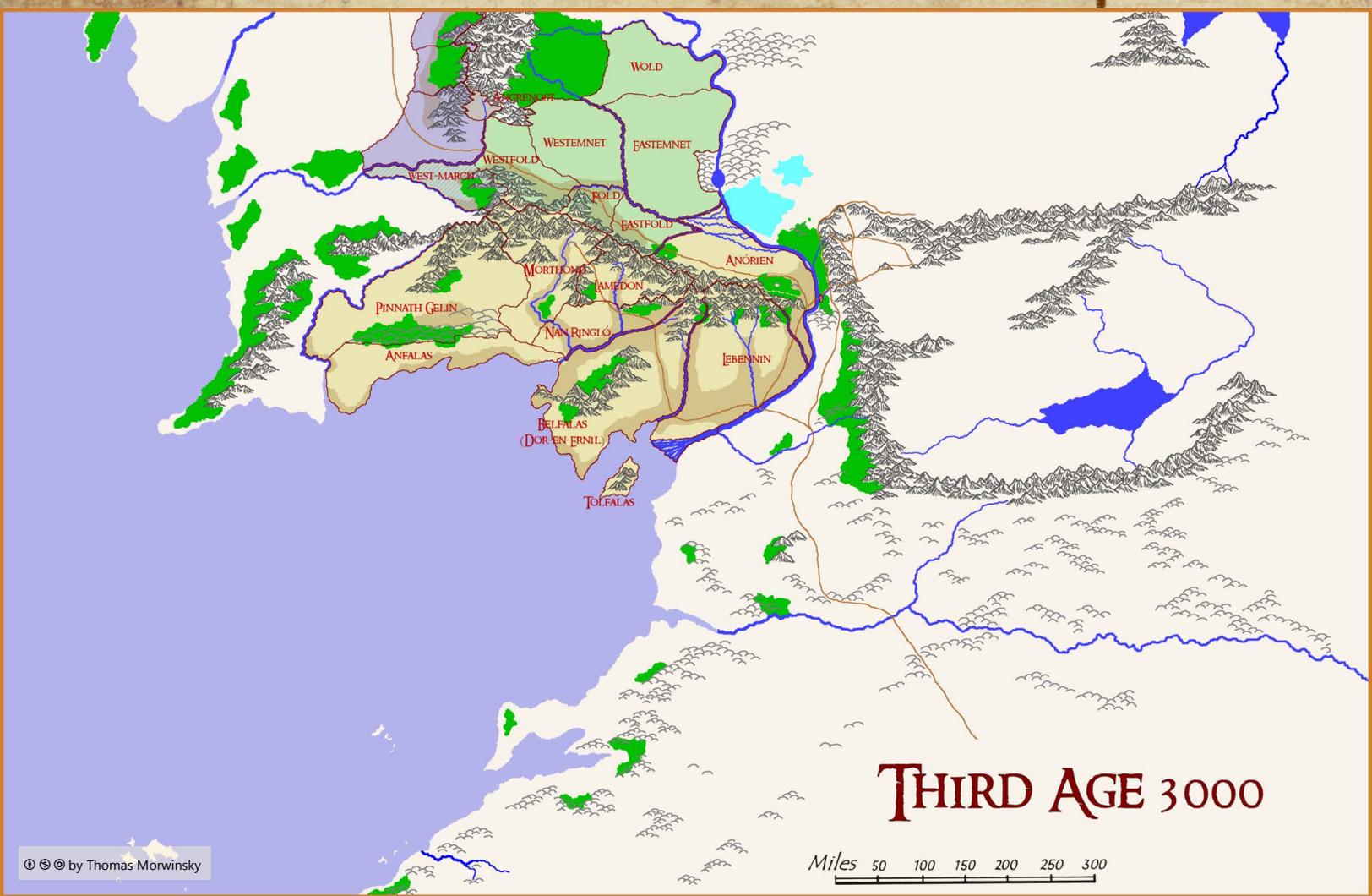
During the war, Gondor's southern provinces suffer somewhat from Corsair raids, but since the latter's main thrust is aimed at Pelargir, the damage remains limited even though it binds a large number of troops (i.e. the majority of the souther fief's) that cannot support Minas Tirith when Denethor calls for help.

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Realm	Province	Area (km ²)	Coastline (km)	Unsettled Total (%)	Rural Pop.	City Pop.	Overall Pop.	Overall Pop. / km ²
Gondor	Belfalas	51500	620	49.9	422500	52,700	475,200	9.2
	Anórien	31300		45.1	241100	43,500	284,600	9.1
	Lebennin	47400	40	37.6	470,800	72,600	543,400	11.5
	Tolfalas	2600	100	99.1	800	0	800	0.3
	Lamedon	17300		70.4	48,200	4,200	52400	3
	Nan Ringló	15800		43.9	105,300	13100	118,400	7.5
	Anfalas	25100	640	57.4	103,900	8,400	112,300	4.5
	Morthond	30800		42.8	188,400	14,700	203,100	6.6
	Pinnath Gelin	59800		58	203,000	18,400	221,400	3.7
	Total	281600		50.3	1,784,000	227,600	2,011,600	7.1
Rohan	Eastfold	8400		35.89	82900	9100	92000	10.95
	Folde	6900		55.55	77100	15100	92200	13.36
	Westfold	18900		56.21	72800	7100	79900	4.23
	West-march	11100		50.75	40300	2600	42900	3.86
	Westemnet	23600		80.09	29900	3200	33100	1.4
	Eastemnet	38700		84	27,900	0	27,900	0.72
	Wold	22300		96	1,300	0	1,300	0.06
	Total	129800		69.9	332200	37100	369300	2.84

Table 11: Population figures for Gondor and Rohan in TA 3000

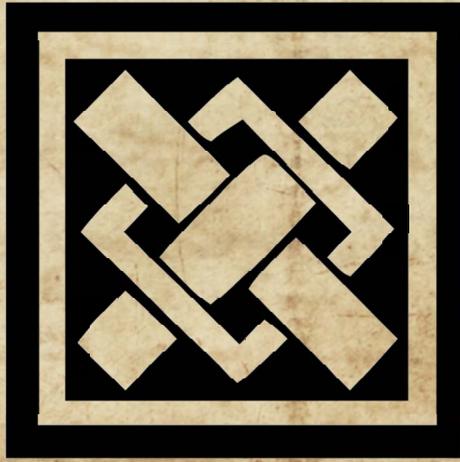


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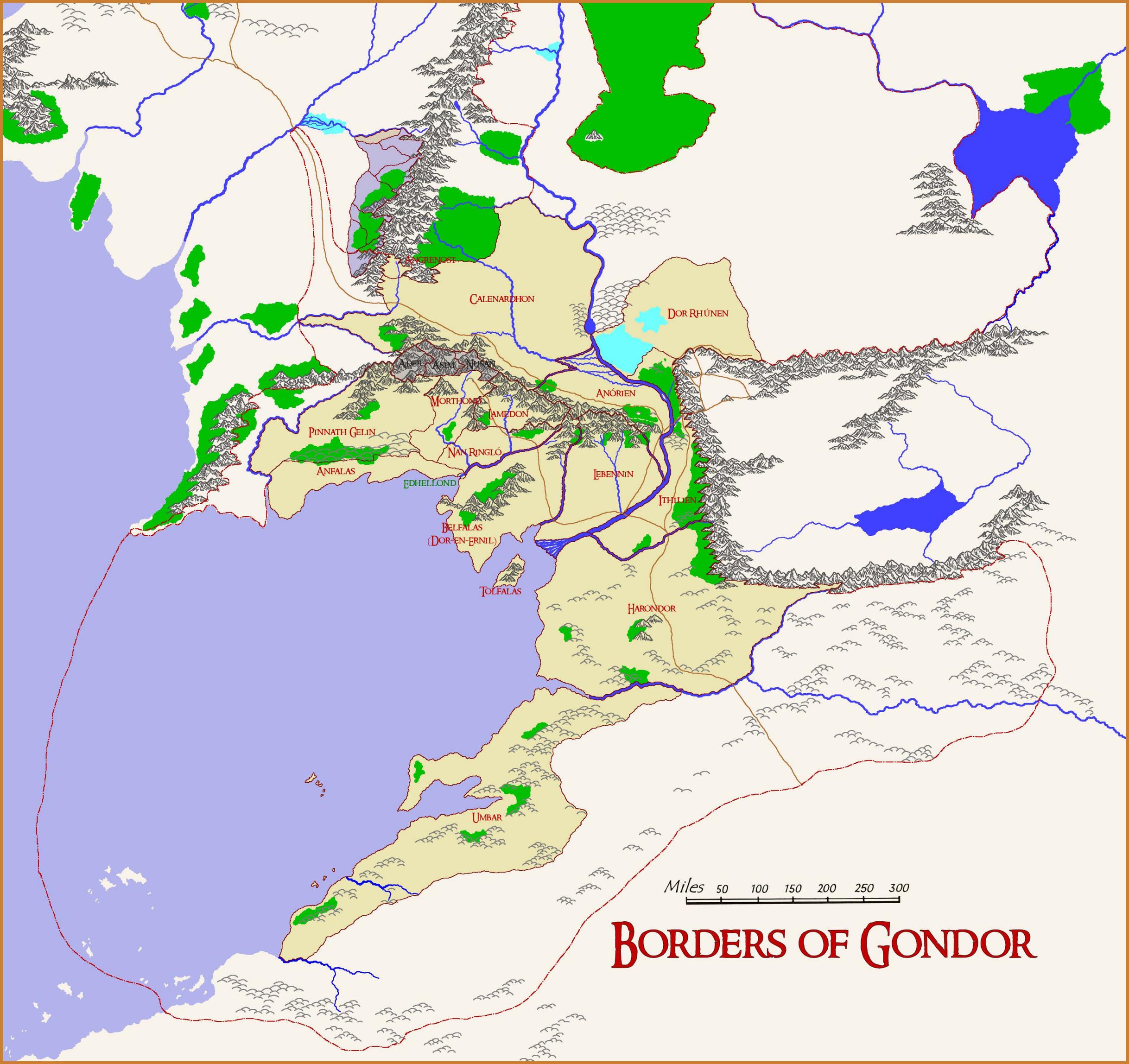
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oEhEr pErndS aJnd hAjrds oEhEr pErndS aJnd hAjrds oEhEr pErndS aJnd hAjrds oEhEr pErndS aJnd hAjrds

APPENDIX

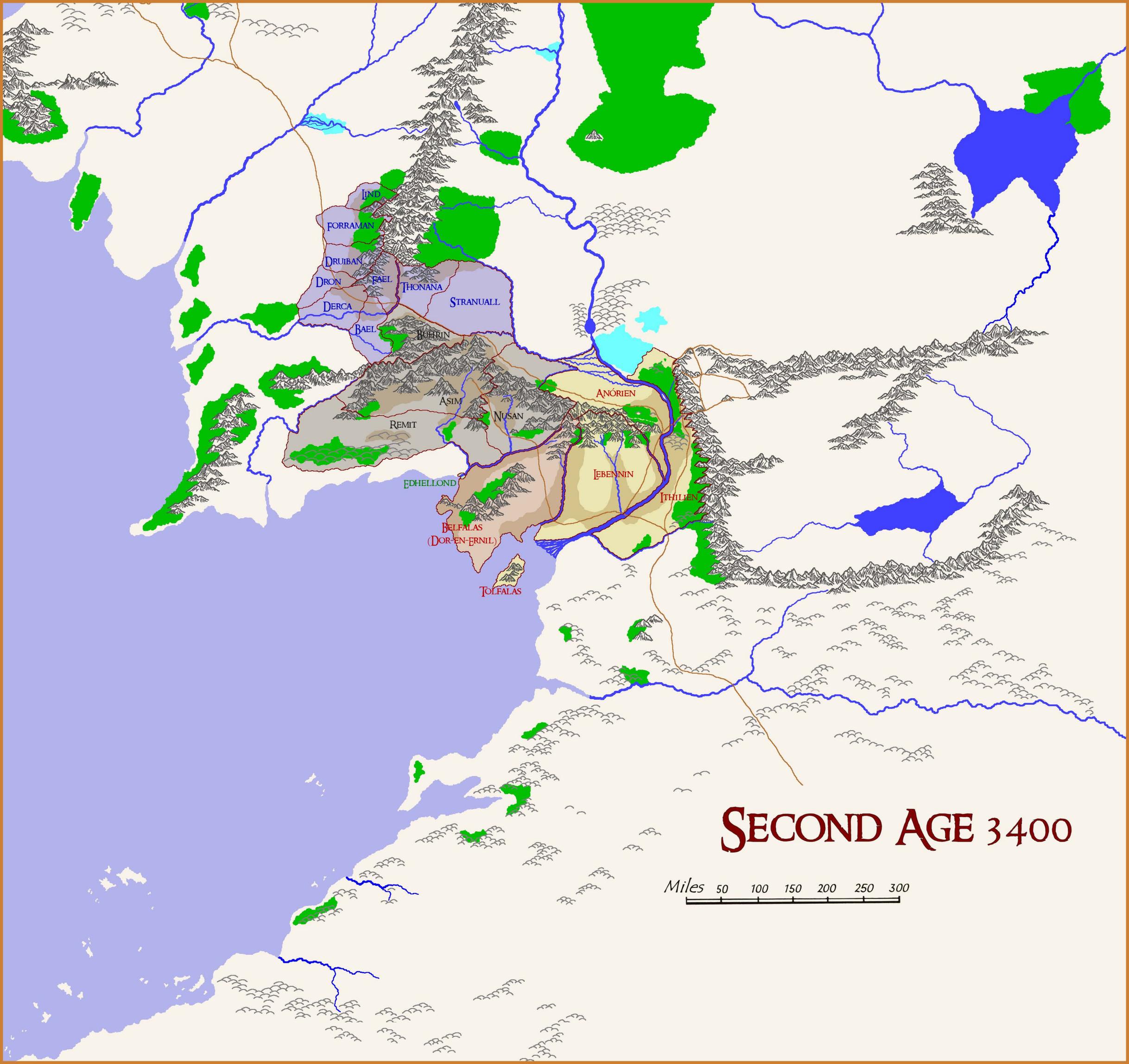
Full-scale maps for *The Population of Gondor and Rohan*

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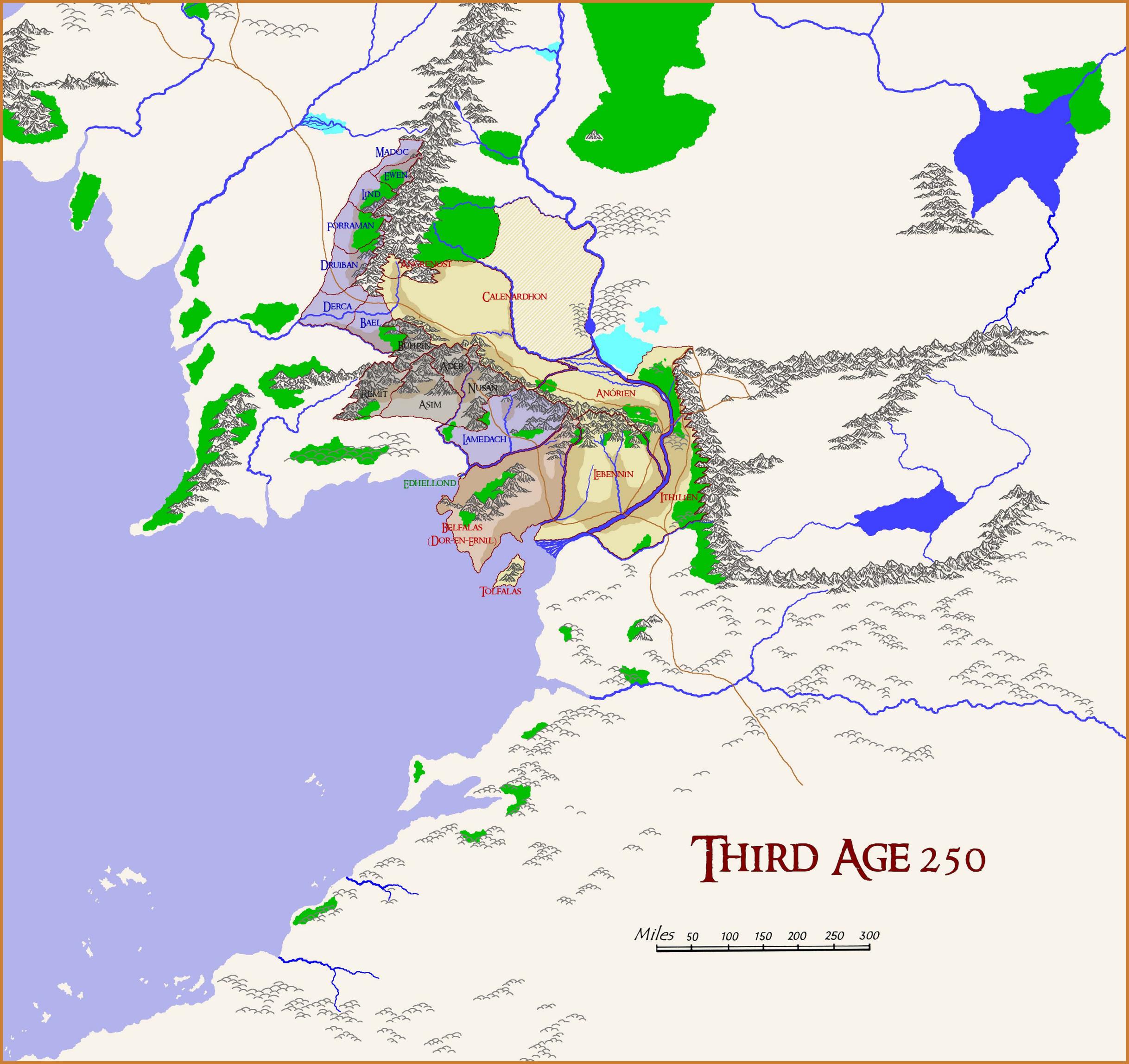
Miles 50 100 150 200 250 300

BORDERS OF GONDOR



SECOND AGE 3400

Miles 50 100 150 200 250 300



MADOC

EWEN

IIND

FORRAMAN

DRUBAN

DERCA

BAEL

CALENARDHON

ANORIEN

EDHELLOND

EHBENNIN

ITHILIEN

BELFALAS
(DOR-EN-ERNIL)

TOLFALAS

REMIT

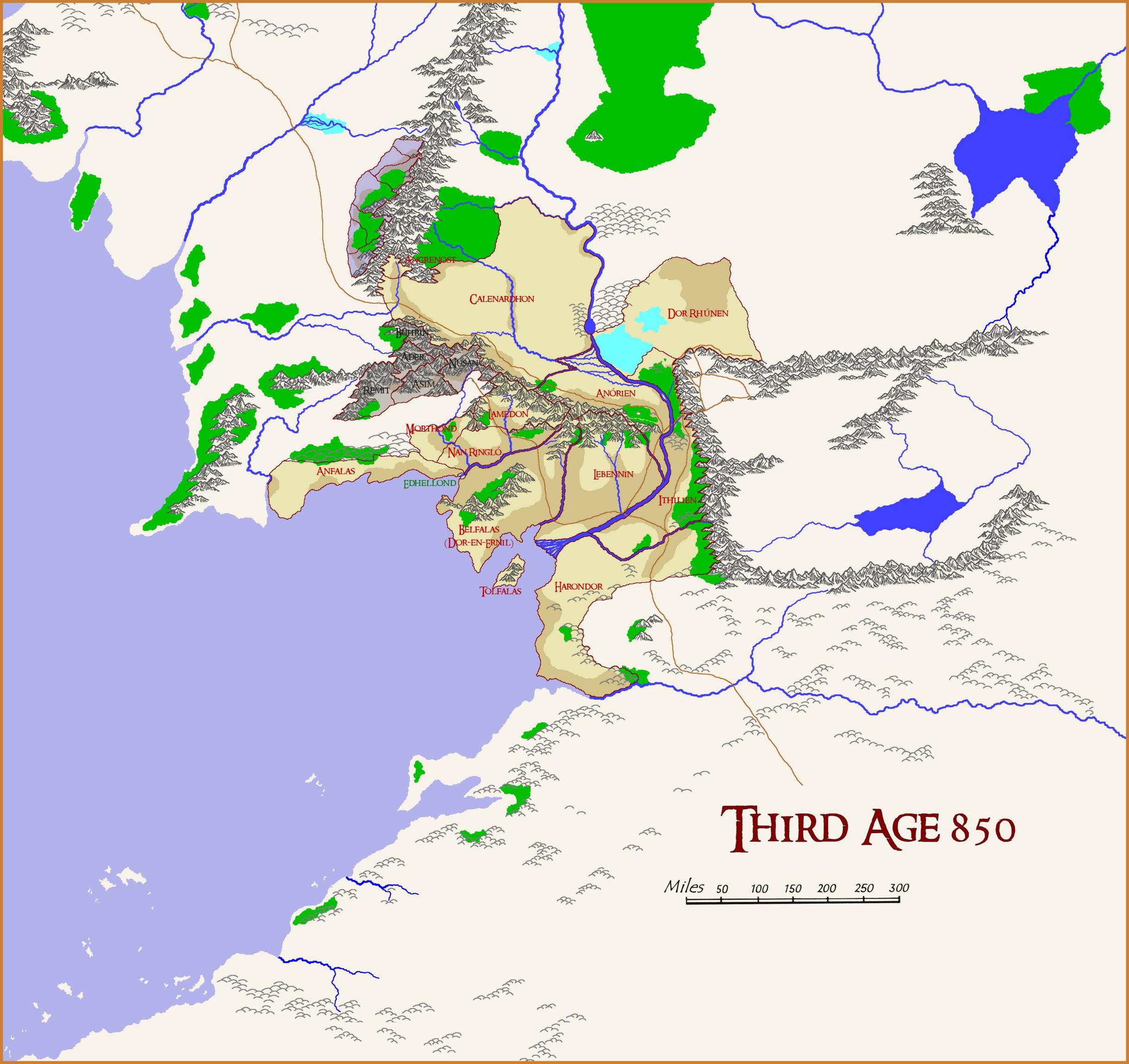
ASIM

NUSAN

JAMEDACH

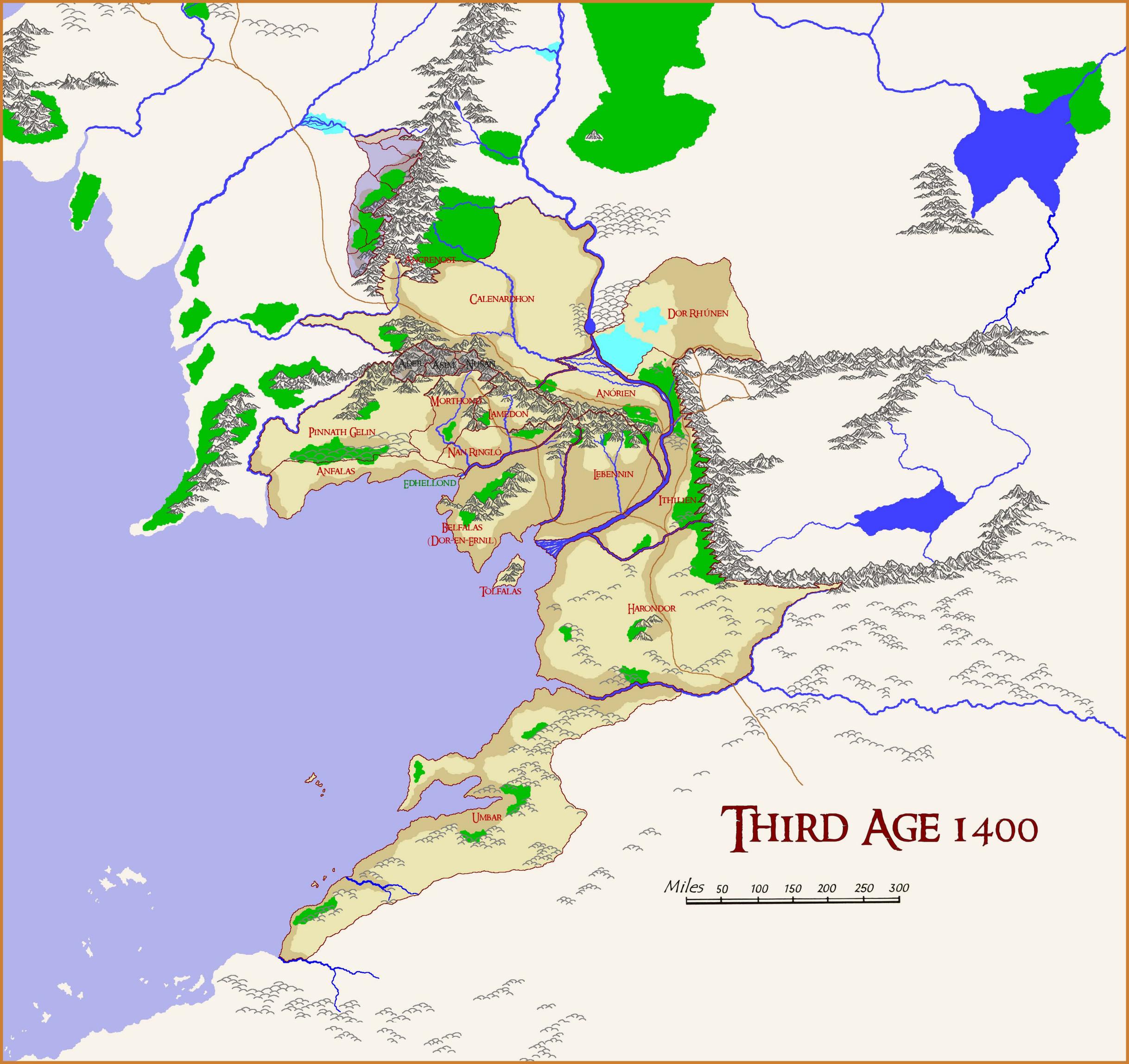
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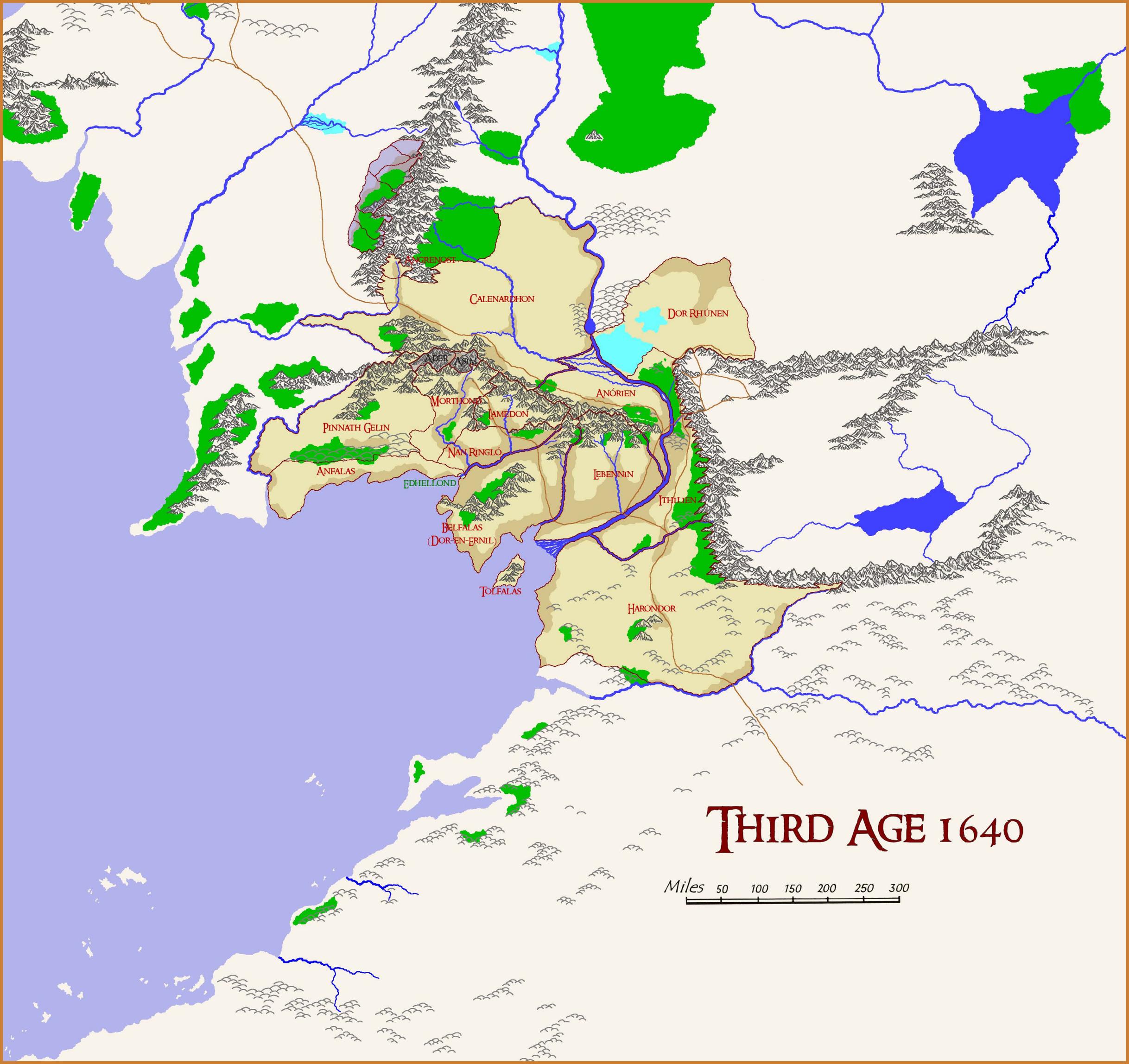
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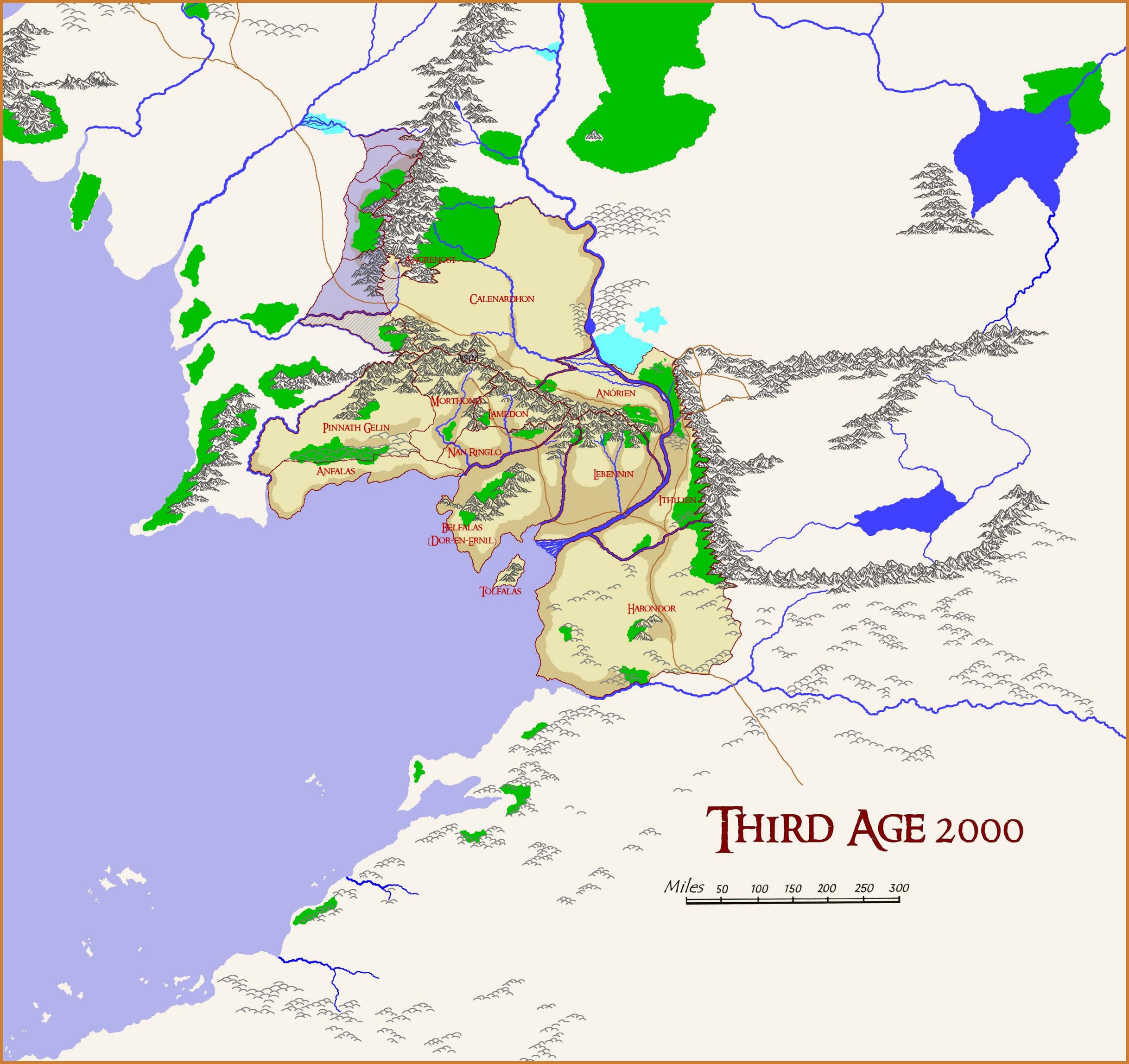
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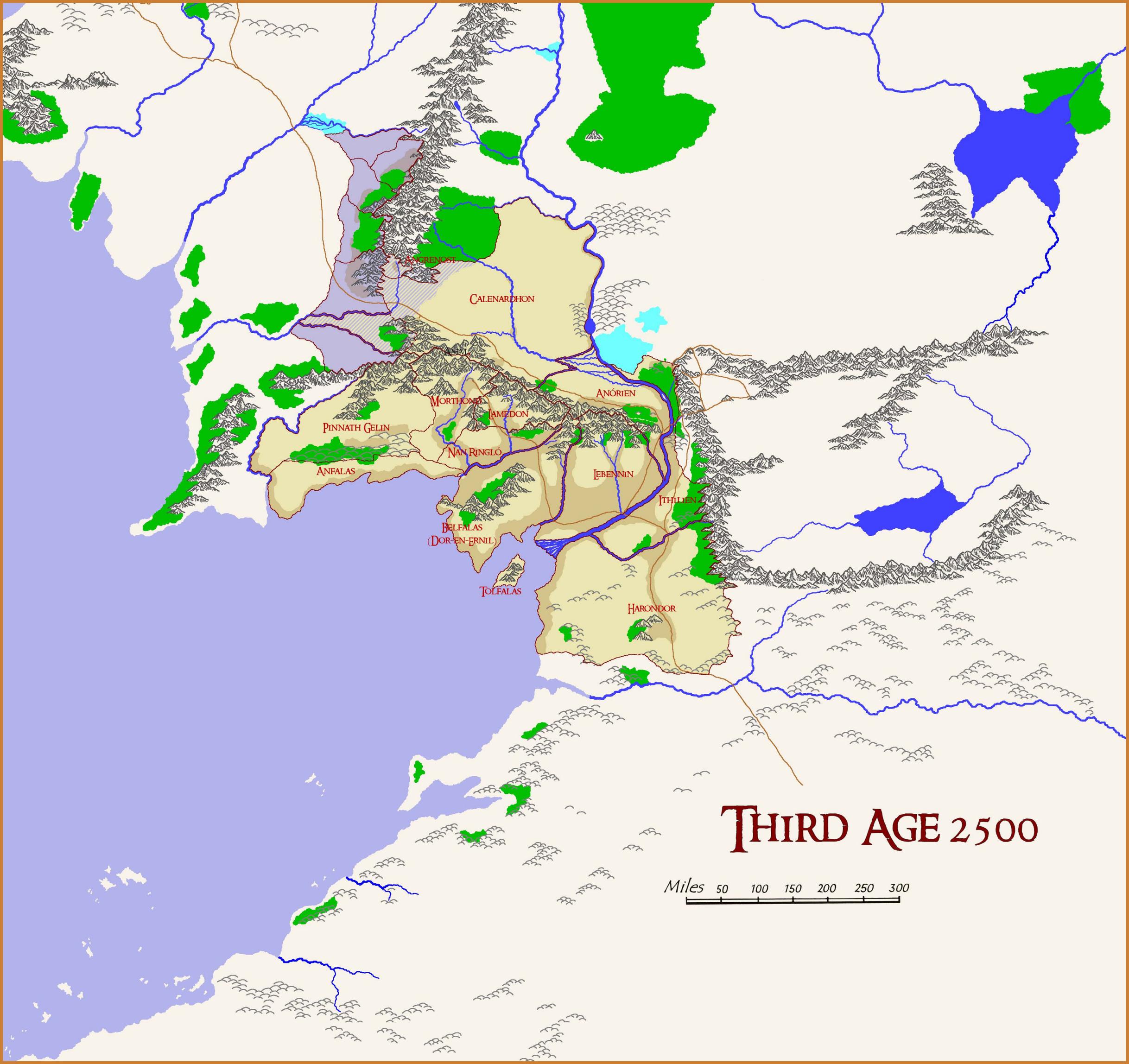
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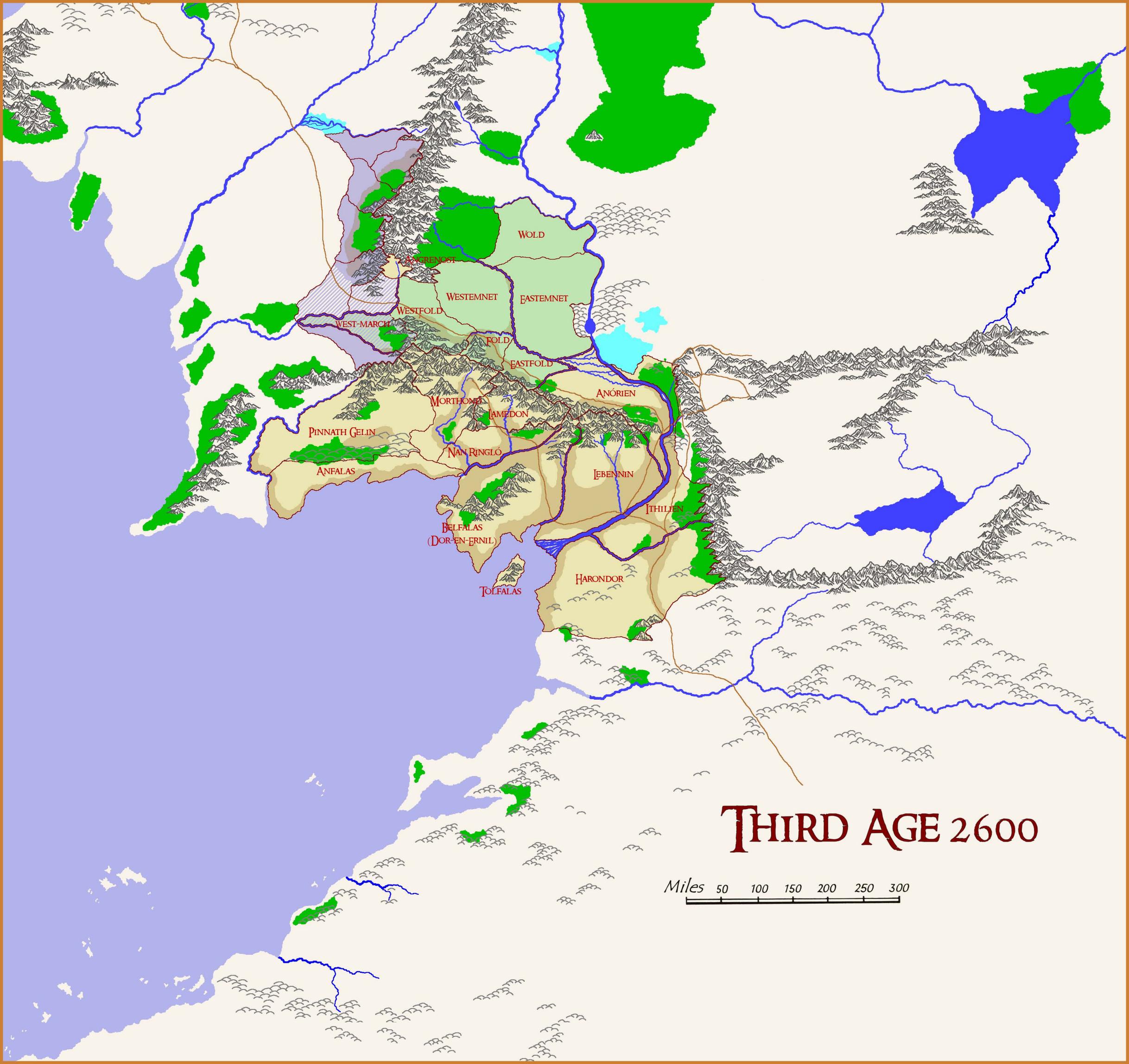
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THIRD AGE 2500

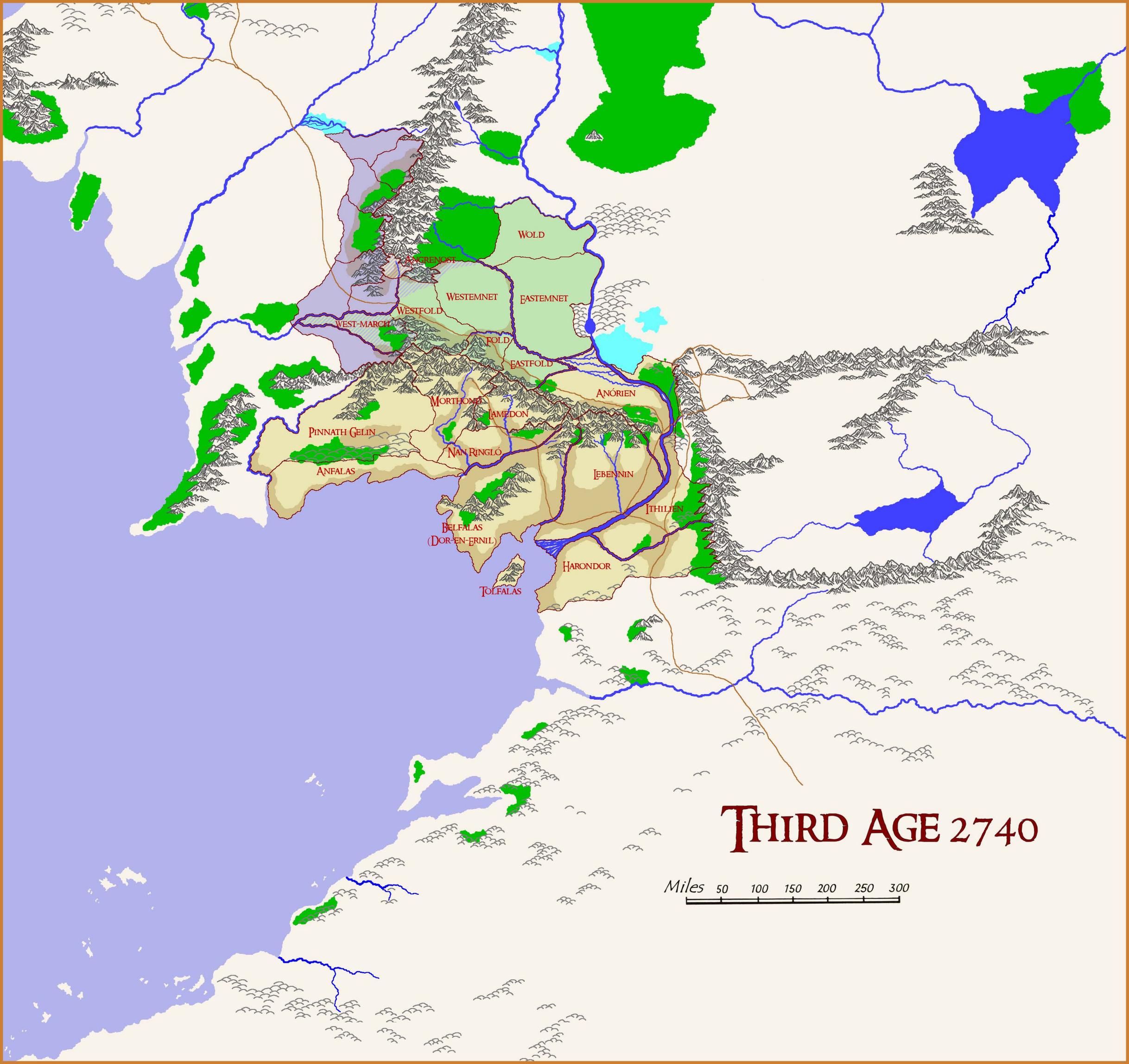
Miles 50 100 150 200 250 300



WOLD
WESTEMNET
EASTEMNET
WESTFOLD
FOLD
EASTFOLD
ANORIEN
MORTHORN
IMEDON
NAN RINGLO
PINNATH GELIN
ANFALAS
LEBENNIN
ITHILIEN
BELFALAS
(DOR-EN-ERNIL)
TOLFALAS
HARONDOR

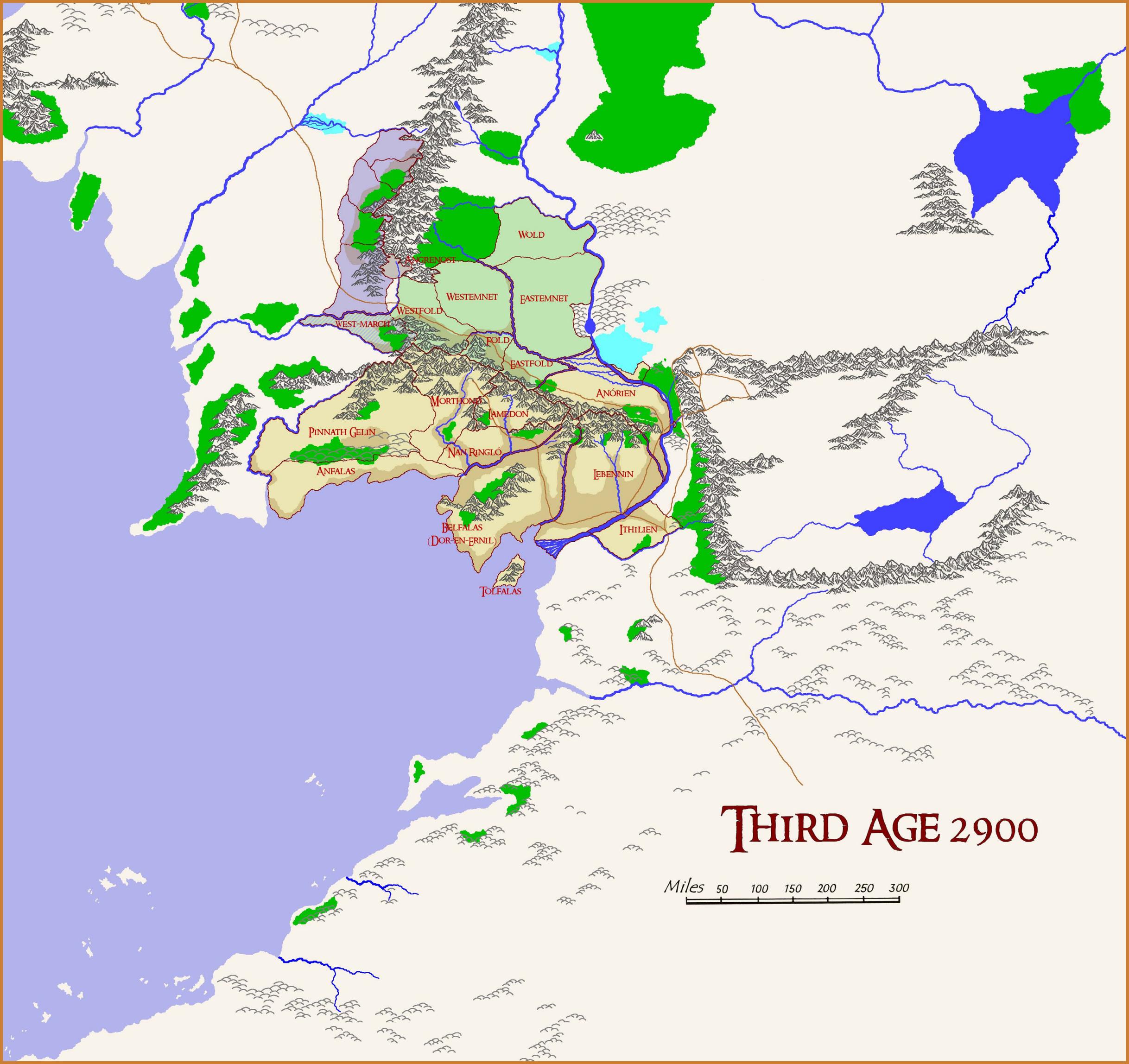
THIRD AGE 2600

Miles 50 100 150 200 250 300



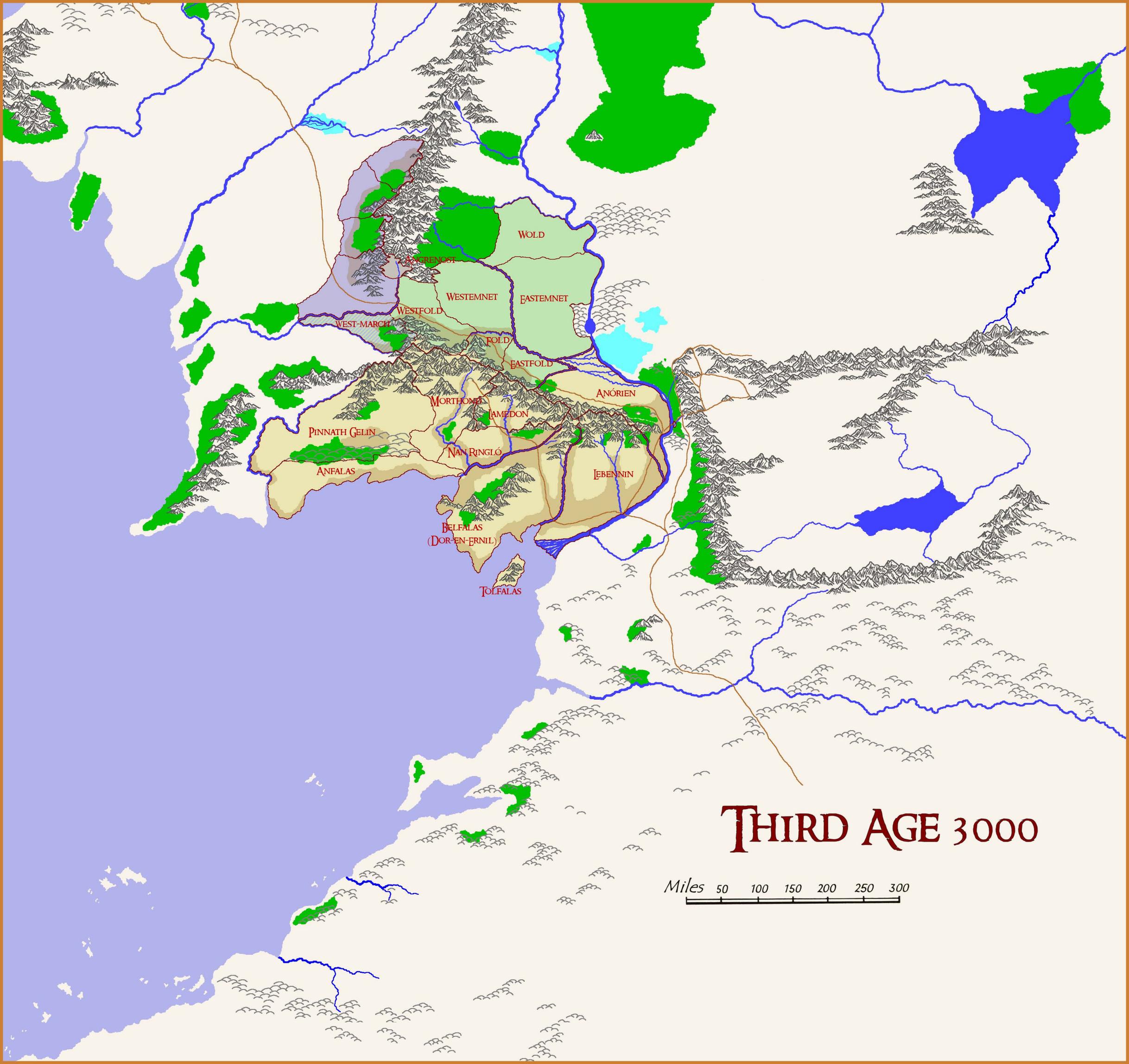
THIRD AGE 2740

Miles 50 100 150 200 250 300



THIRD AGE 2900

Miles 50 100 150 200 250 300



WEST-EMNET

WOLD

WESTEMNET

EASTEMNET

WEST-MARCH

WESTFOLD

FOLD

EASTFOLD

ANORIEN

MORTHORN

IMEDON

PINNATH GELIN

NAN RINGLO

LEBENNIN

ANFALAS

BEFALAS
(DOR-EN-ERNIL)

TOL FALAS

THIRD AGE 3000

Miles 50 100 150 200 250 300