

In his paper, “Tolkien's Monsters: Sauron,” Joe Abbott makes the following assertion as he examines Sauron’s evolution from Tevildo in “The Tale of Tinúviel” to the Dark Lord of Mordor in *The Lord of the Rings*: “Sauron [...] undergoes a metamorphosis that from a conceptual perspective can be described as nothing short of bizarre” (Abbott 1990, 51). On a fundamental level, I agree with him, but Abbott’s work is limited by the fact that it was written before several volumes of *The History of Middle-earth* had been published. In light of these new publications, there is more to say about Sauron’s metamorphosis.

Sauron is a shape-shifter, a deceiver, a slippery subject. This is true textually and, I argue, *metatextually*. Throughout the Legendarium, we can identify several distinct “modes” of Sauron that simultaneously inhabit the latest iterations of the texts, including those works published as self-contained narratives that are most likely to be engaged with by readers—*The Hobbit*, *The Lord of the Rings*, and *The Silmarillion* (as edited/compiled by Christopher Tolkien)¹—leaving us with a character who (perhaps fittingly) evades clear perception.

Through a very abbreviated diachronic analysis, beginning with three proto-Sauron characters, I will define three distinct modes of Sauron, highlight some points of tension and overlap between these modes, and consider how these three proto-Sauron characters—the Wizard, the Demon, and the Cat—may have come to inform these three modes of Sauron: the Reformer, the Satanist, and the Bureaucrat.

WIZARD, DEMON, CAT

The earliest version of Tolkien’s mythology, composed between 1916 and 1920, contains many of the tales, themes, and much of the structure that would endure as a part of the “Silmarillion.” There is, however, no Sauron—or at least not *quite*. While there is no *one* Sauron, there are three abandoned characters who have previously been identified as forerunners to the character Thû, who is himself Sauron by another name. I name these three characters the Wizard, the Demon, and the Cat.

The Cat is, naturally, Tevildo, a monstrous black cat “possessed of an evil sprite” (Tolkien *Lost Tales II*, 16), who is a minion of Melko.² In “The Tale of Tinúviel” he plays roughly the role Sauron will play in later versions of the same story: serving as Beren’s captor until Lúthien comes to Beren’s rescue. Tevildo wears a gold collar, which, when combined with certain magic words, binds his castle together and holds his feline subjects under his power (28). Tevildo has

¹Any discussion of the relative “authority” of any particular text inevitably leads to questions about “canonicity.” However, an examination of “canonicity” and its applicability to the vast number of texts that make up Tolkien’s Legendarium (and their idiosyncratic publishing history) is far outside the scope of this conference paper.

²“Melko” is an earlier version of the name “Melkor.”

received some coverage in scholarship³ and knowledge of this character and his connection to the later Sauron is fairly well known among scholars and fans. Unlike Tevildo, however, the other two abandoned characters are far less well known and appear only very briefly, primarily in an unfinished text called “Gilfanon’s Tale.”⁴

“Gilfanon’s Tale” tells the story of the awakening of Men. The Wizard is a character called “Tû the wizard” who was “more skilled in magics than any” that dwelt beyond Valinor (Tolkien *Lost Tales I*, 232).⁵ Tû is referred to as a fay—“fay” being an early term for one of the beings that will eventually be known as the Maiar. One early draft of his story suggests that Tû learned “much black magic” from Melko while Melko was imprisoned in Mandos (234). However, Tû is not evil and did not join Melko nor aid in his escape with the Silmarils. Tû sets up his own kingdom in Middle-earth where he rules the Hisildi (an early name for the Avari: a subset of the Dark Elves) and teaches them “many deep things.” He lives in caverns at the center of the world and is called “The Lord of Gloaming” (232). When the first Men awaken near his caverns, Tû protects both Men and Hisildi from the forces of Melko (236).

One of those “forces of Melko” is Fangli,⁶ whom I term the Demon. Fangli, who is at one point referred to as a “child of Melko,” escapes into the world when Utumna⁷ is broken and Melko is imprisoned (237). He seeks to convert Men to his and Melko’s worship and to turn them against Dark Elves (236); he broadly succeeds, and many of these Men ultimately end up in the east and south of the world (237).

Christopher Tolkien identified Tevildo as Sauron’s precursor (Tolkien *Lost Tales II*, 54), and it is Tevildo’s role as Beren’s enslaver/captor that Thû takes over in the “Lay of Leithian.” It would also be very difficult to miss how Tevildo’s gold collar—the one that binds his castle and controls his servants—suggests the One Ring, even though the One Ring will not appear for 20 years.⁸ However, it was John Rateliff in his commentary for *The History of the Hobbit* who first identified Tû and Fangli as additional precursors to the character Thû who, he

³Doughan (2008) has noted the connection between Tevildo and Shakespeare’s Tybalt, while Fimi (2019) and Svadkovskaia (2023) have examined his source in beast fables, particularly in the character of Tybert from *Roman de Reynard* (Tybert being also a source for Shakespeare).

⁴A search for “Tevildo” on the website tumblr (which has a large Tolkien fan community) revealed over 100 posts featuring the character. By contrast a search for “Fangli” / “Fankil” turns up less than a dozen posts on tumblr and a search for “Tû” / “Túvo” turns up only one.

⁵Túvo is another name used for Tû.

⁶Fankil and Fúkil are other names used for Fangli.

⁷An earlier name for Utumno.

⁸Since this paper was presented in Sept. of 2023, Svadkovskaia published work on Tevildo (2023) that made—and examined in much more depth—this same connection between the function of Tevildo’s collar and the One Ring.

notes, “combines elements from both” (Tolkien 2023a, 149), and it is Tû and Fangli that provide the most interesting points of comparison for some of the most prominent evolutions and tensions in Sauron.

THE SATANIST

While Thû is mentioned a handful of times in other Legendarium texts from the same “phase” of writing, his most enduring appearance is in the “Lay of Leithian,” written between 1925–1931. In the Lay, Thû reads as a far darker and more sinister character than Tevildo. While the influence of Tû is evident in Thû’s name, association with the word “wizard,” and knowledge of enchantments, none of Tû’s benevolent characteristics are evident in Thû. Character traits that link Thû both forward to the future Saruon and backward to Fangli (The Demon) appear early on in the drafting of the “Lay,” including in a reference to ghostly temples where enthralled Men will one day worship him (Tolkien *Lays*, 273; VII, 2064). Other traits link him to his later role in *The Lord of the Rings* such as his sleepless eyes of flame with which he watches from his tower (272; VII, 2055) or his control of ghosts and phantoms (273; VII, 2075). He is associated with wolves, bats, and shape-shifting (303–4; VII, 2805–20) and for the first time is called “necromancer” (273; VII, 2074), a title he will carry into *The Hobbit*, the writing of which overlapped with work on the “Lay.” His manner and presentation are theatrical, even operatic, as he interrogates his captives and duels Finrod in song (275; VII, 2173–205). He is cunning, and uses his magic for illusions and trickery, to capture and ensnare (402; I, 318–20). But in defeat he is cowardly and afraid of Morgoth’s scorn (303; VII, 2778–89).

This characterization remains incredibly stable through the next decade of writing as Tolkien produces an abbreviated prose version of this story in the text called “The Quenta,” written in 1930. In this text, Tolkien repeats a very curious statement from the “Lay,” a statement that suggests that Thû was in some way *made* by Morgoth: “but others say that this is the black shadow of Thû, whom Morgoth made, and who escaped from the Battle Terrible, and dwells in dark places and perverts Men to his dreadful allegiance and his foul worship” (Tolkien *Shaping*, 227). This statement is reminiscent of the characterization of Fangli as a “child of Melko” and is one of several statements around this time that seem to identify or even conflate Thû with Morgoth. Christopher notes in his commentary on this passage that this reference to Thû escaping the Battle Terrible marks the first appearance of the idea that Thû will continue to plague Men long after Morgoth is thrust into the Void (Tolkien *Lays*, 280). This passage also sets the stage for what would be the next work Thû would appear in: “The Fall of Númenor.”

In 1936, while work on *The Hobbit* was coming to a close, Tolkien wrote a very hasty outline of his “Atlantis myth,” “The Fall of Númenor,” a very early

version of the story that would eventually be published under the title “Akallabêth.” It is here that Christopher notes the Second Age as a distinct period after Morgoth’s downfall is first conceived (Tolkien *Lost Road*, 23), giving narrative reality to the suggestion that Thû would survive Morgoth’s downfall and continue to pervert Men.⁹

The initial outline is extremely brief but continues the aforementioned trend of identifying and even conflating Thû with Morgoth. A reference to Thû as heralding the approach of Morgoth who can only come as a spirit and the joining of their names in reference to the temple aligns with other passages written during this period that suggest Morgoth’s will continues to be active in the world *as and through* his servants and creations, Thû being the chief (11).

The next draft of the “Fall of Númenor” is significantly expanded from the outline but still quite brief. Here, Thû comes to the island “in the likeness of a great bird” (15). This is the only reference to Thû shape-shifting within a narrative to something non-humanoid outside of the Lúthien story, an aspect of characterization exclusive to the mode of Sauron I call the Satanist. The language continues to closely link Thû and Morgoth, but now the mode is a parody of evangelism with Thû “preaching a message of deliverance” and prophesying “the second coming of Morgoth” (15).¹⁰ It should be noted that none of the early drafts of this initial version of the Númenor story make any suggestion that Thû helps the Men of Númenor build or craft any new technology. Here, Thû, as in his First Age appearances, is not yet a craftsman or a Lord of Machines. His activities in Númenor are limited to beguiling Men with signs and wonders and preaching about Morgoth’s offer of deliverance from death.

References to Thû during the First Age would continue to be revised through 1958’s “Later *Quenta Silmarillion*”; but in nearly all cases, especially those in both the prose and verse versions of the Beren and Lúthien story, these revisions are minor and do nothing to unseat the characterization of Thû that crystallized in the “Lay of Leithian” back in 1925, even if this characterization is, as we shall see, somewhat at odds with Sauron’s Second and Third Age characterization, which begins to appear in earnest with the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*. There is nothing redeeming about Thû, and it is difficult to imagine that there ever was or ever would be, and that makes sense for one “whom Morgoth made.” While the literal understanding of Sauron’s origins begins to change in 1937 when Tolkien

⁹Verlyn Flieger provides an excellent analysis of the evolution of the “Atlantis myth” and its evolving frame narrative in “Do the Atlantis story and abandon Eriol-Saga” (2004).

¹⁰Thû’s likeness to a “great bird,” the evangelistic tone, and his references to both a “second coming” and “deliverance” bring to mind specifically St. John the Evangelist/Apostle, an interesting choice considering Tolkien’s apparent admiration of the saint, possibly because of John’s loyalty to Christ (see Birzer 2007, 585; Ordway 2023): it will be Sauron’s devotion to Morgoth that Tolkien highlights as his sole admirable quality while in his service (Tolkien *Silmarillion*, 24).

introduces the idea that Sauron was a Maia suborned in Valinor during Melkor's imprisonment, this change to his origin does not retroactively alter his most prominent First Age appearance. This mode of Sauron, the Satanist, is a representation of demonic evil. He continues to exist unchanged in the Beren and Lúthien story while Sauron elsewhere goes on to evolve into other modes outside of it. Sauron as the Satanist in Beren and Lúthien's narrative never incorporates any aspects of Sauron's two other modes, the Reformer or the Bureaucrat. While I agree with Rateliff that Thû seems to have been first formed by combining aspects of both Tû (the Wizard) and Fangli (the Demon), there is very little of Tû left in the Satanist. That does not mean, however, that Tû won't return again later.

THE BUREAUCRAT

"The Bureaucrat" is a mode of Sauron that emerges just before the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*, writing which followed on the heels of "The Lost Road" and "The Fall of Númenor." This period acts as a hinge point in Sauron's development. It is during this period that Sauron's origin is altered such that he is no longer one "whom Morgoth made" but is instead a corrupted Maia from Valinor (283), and where Sauron is first associated with technology and craft (48).

As Tolkien began writing "the new Hobbit" (what would become *The Lord of the Rings*) the scope and tone rapidly became weightier, darker, and more closely aligned with the larger Legendarium (Tolkien *FR*, 'Foreword to the Second Edition' xxii). In this process the Necromancer of *The Hobbit*—himself Thû (the Satanist) imported from the tale of Beren and Lúthien (Tolkien 2023a, 151)—grows into a new Dark Lord for a new Age of Middle-earth and becomes associated with totalitarianism, centralization of power, facelessness, and political acumen. I have chosen the term "the Bureaucrat" as a shorthand for this mode of Sauron even though his characterization here encompasses many new traits, some of which are unrelated to bureaucracy strictly speaking.¹¹ The reason for this choice of name will be addressed shortly.

After the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* was completed, Tolkien returned to the "Silmarillion" material several times over the next twenty years in an attempt to bring it into accord with *The Lord of the Rings* (Tolkien *Morgoth*, vii). Much of this work focused on the structural and metaphysical, but some of it seemed to be practical considerations of plot, such as figuring out how Morgoth could accomplish certain tasks within the constraints of the already established timeline. In response, it seems, many duties were offloaded onto Sauron—

¹¹Sauron in *The Lord of the Rings* is certainly an autocrat, but his empire includes bureaucracy.

something that links the Bureaucrat back to the Cat, whose role under Melko was a practical one: to manage the hunting of meat for his table (*Lost Tales II*, 16).¹²

It is during this period (early to mid 1950s) that Tolkien begins to refer to Sauron as not only Morgoth's servant but as Morgoth's "Lieutenant" (Tolkien *Letters*, Letter 144, 176). The historical point of Sauron's seduction to Morgoth's service begins to be moved backwards in fictional time, from Valinor during the Years of the Trees to (apparently) much earlier points (Tolkien *Morgoth*, 52). This happens in parallel with a significant expansion of Sauron's role under Morgoth prior to the First Age. Sauron becomes not only a leader in Morgoth's absence (156) but also the chief architect and administrator of many of his plans and stratagems, a trait Tolkien would refer to as being the result of Sauron's comparative cool-headedness (420).¹³ It is Sauron's role as Lieutenant that inspired the name of this mode, the Bureaucrat, and perhaps more than any of his traits, it is the Bureaucrat's facelessness that describes Sauron as Lieutenant; we quite simply never *see* him acting in this role, despite its importance, and in *The Silmarillion* only learn that he does act in this role through a handful of references by the narrator.

The Satanist mode does not disappear. Many of Sauron's appearances outside the tale of Beren and Lúthien maintain aspects of this mode, such as associations with necromancy, guile, illusions, deception, and cults with which he inspires worship of himself and/or Morgoth. Other aspects of the Satanist survive in evolved forms, such as in Sauron's imitation of Morgoth during the late Third Age. Consider his use of the name "Grond" for his battering ram, a reference to Morgoth's hammer (Tolkien *RK*, 'The Siege of Gondor', 828); the fact that (according to Éomer) his servants steal only black horses from the Rohirrim (Tolkien *TT*, 'The Riders of Rohan', 436), a possible call back to the earliest version of the story of Melko's escape from Valinor, where he and his servants steal black horses from Oromë's stables (*Lost Tales I*, 145); or the idea that he refers to himself during the end of the Third Age as "Morgoth Returned" (*Letters*, Letter 183, 454n55). Just as Thû was conflated with Morgoth by the narrator, here Sauron seems to conflate himself.¹⁴ His growth into a new Dark Lord and association with "the Machine" (Letter 131, 145) also aligns him with Morgoth, who, from the earliest version of the *Legendarium* was, as Enemy and Dark Lord, a Lord of machines (146). Other traits evolve as well. The Satanist's association with surveillance evolves from a reference to Thû keeping sleepless watch over

¹²Tevildo's minion-controlling and tower-binding gold collar, the Ring, and Sauron's catlike Eye in *The Lord of the Rings* further link Tevildo to Sauron working in the mode of the Bureaucrat.

¹³Tolkien will eventually claim that Sauron (and not Morgoth himself) was responsible for corrupting Men, as can be seen in a late note published in *The Nature of Middle-earth* (Tolkien *Nature*, 35), a choice which calls to mind Fangli in his role as corruptor of Men.

¹⁴This reflects Tolkien's statement about Sauron coming to eventually imitate his master (Tolkien *Morgoth*, 420).

the Pass of Sirion, to something far more pervasive and panoptic: outright identification with The Eye as both psychic manifestation and signifier. Additionally, Thû's seduction and manipulation of Gorlim through the use of phantoms evolves into Sauron's association with acts of seduction which he performs personally and bodily among the Elves of Eregion or while living as a "captive" in Numenor (*Silmarillion*, 'Akallabêth', loc.4867).¹⁵ Because of these points of overlap, the Satanist mode can more reasonably coexist along the Secondary World timeline with the Bureaucrat mode than it can with the third mode of Sauron, the Reformer.

THE REFORMER

The Reformer means exactly what it says on the tin: it refers to a mode of Sauron interested in reform, rehabilitation, order, coordination, and organization. The Reformer fully emerged by 1951 and exists *primarily* in private letters and Tolkien's metatextual and paratextual writings; he rarely appears or is acknowledged in the actual Legendarium narratives and is likely to be missed by the reader who does not engage with texts outside of these. In the mode of the Reformer, Sauron is understood as having turned, during the early Second Age, away from evil and toward good; as having "fair motives" (*Letters*, Letter 153, 190); and as having an end goal of improving the material circumstance of the Men living in Middle-earth—a period from which he "very slowly" relapses as the Age continues (Letter 131, 151).

It is with the Reformer that Tû the wizard reappears. Remember that Tû was (essentially) a Maia who went to Middle-earth to found a wizard kingdom where he taught Dark Elves and protected Elves and Men. He is not evil, but his association with "gloaming" seems to place him in a somewhat gray moral space. In the mode of the Reformer, Sauron refuses the summons to return to Valinor and then, "seeing the desolation of the world," seeks to "rehabilitate" it in the wake of what he concludes is the Valar's abandonment (Letter 131, 151). He goes among Men and begins the process of organizing them under his rule¹⁶ and they admire him for his knowledge and skills (Letter 183, 454n55). He goes to the Elves of Eregion and shares with them his great knowledge. He specifically entices the Noldor of Eregion to include all the Elven kindreds—including the Avari (Dark Elves)—in their plans to enrich Middle-earth (*Silmarillion*, 'Of the Rings of

¹⁵For an analysis of Sauron's methods of seduction both in person and through the mechanism of the Ring see Natis ("Sauron, Seduction" 2024). For an analysis of the many reasons why Sauron can be understood *to be* the Ring see forthcoming work by Bourquein and Natis.

¹⁶'The Drowning of Anadûnê' has the following: Sauron was "at first well-seeming and just and his rule was of benefit to all men in their needs of the body; for he made them rich, whoso would serve him. But those who would not were driven out into the waste places" (Tolkien *Sauron*, 345).

Power and The Third Age,' loc.5123). If any mode of Sauron sounds like Tû the wizard, it is Sauron the Reformer.

We should not discount the Reformer because he exists primarily in non-narrative texts. This is a conception that Tolkien returns to several times over a long period: from 1951 to 1969.¹⁷ Tolkien describes him in letters to multiple individuals; indeed this conception appears fully-formed in perhaps Tolkien's most often-cited letter: that written to Milton Waldman and included by Christopher in the second edition of *The Silmarillion*. In this letter, Tolkien is "justifying and explaining his contention" that the "Silmarillion" was inextricably linked with—and should be published alongside—*The Lord of the Rings* (*Silmarillion*, 'Preface to the Second Edition', loc.93). By appearing here, the Reformer becomes relevant to the whole matter of the Legendarium from, for the most part, outside of the "tales."

The Reformer and the Bureaucrat are close kin. The impulse toward reform evident in the Reformer is corrupted into the domination of the Bureaucrat most evident in *The Lord of the Rings*. As Tolkien explains in his letter to Waldman: "this frightful evil can and does arise from an apparently good root, the desire to benefit the world and others—speedily and according to the benefactor's own plans..." (*Letters*, Letter 131, 146). The interest in order associated with the Reformer is also evident in Sauron's role as Lieutenant of Morgoth (*Morgoth*, 420), but in this role it is harnessed in the service of evil plans and not "fair motives." When the Reformer of the early Second Age relapses and grows into "a new Dark Lord," the traits unique to the Reformer disappear as the Reformer's ends are overtaken by the means of amassing and maintaining power (397).

It is the order in which all of these traits appear along the timeline of the Secondary World that poses something of a conundrum for the reader who fully encounters all three modes of Sauron and attempts to synthesize these modes into a single cohesive being.¹⁸

THE WIZARD AND THE DEMON GO TO WAR

While both the Reformer and the Satanist can believably evolve into the Bureaucrat by virtue of the similar or overlapping characteristics they each share with it (see fig. 1), the Satanist is a far cry from the Reformer.

¹⁷ It is possible the first date could be moved back to 1948 if "Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age" can, in fact, be dated this early (Letter 115, 130).

¹⁸This could be part and parcel of the process of reading, or done as part of the process of psychologizing the character for the production of adaptations like Amazon's *The Rings of Power* or in the production of fan works.

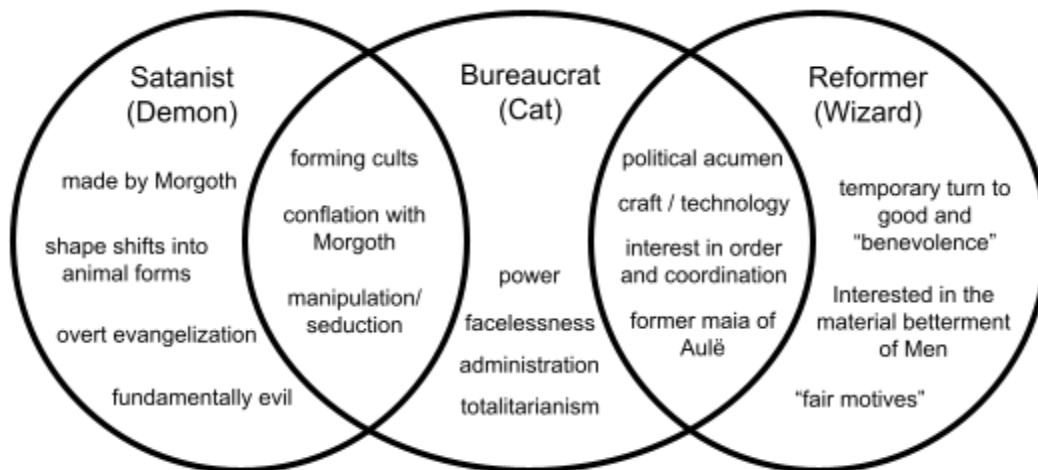


Fig. 1

If limiting ourselves to the those works published as complete narratives (see note 1), most of the differences between the Satanist and the Bureaucrat can be explained by the natural evolution of this fictional being within the Secondary World, from trusted Lieutenant and powerful necromancer of the First Age to Dark Lord of the Third. By excising most of the “Lay of Leithian” and its never-updated references to Thû/Sauron as “one whom Morgoth made” (as the published *Silmarillion* did) the greatest point of contention between the Satanist and the Bureaucrat—who, as per Elrond, can be said to have *not* been evil in the beginning (Tolkien, *FR*, ‘The Council of Elrond’, 267)—is eliminated. Likewise the Reformer may easily evolve into the Bureaucrat, a process Tolkien describes explicitly (*Letters*, Letter 131, 151). But by virtue of the inclusion of the Reformer in the foreword to the second edition of *The Silmarillion*, even this limited corpus offers a Sauron whose characterization requires a synthesis of the Satanist and the Reformer when envisioned in chronological order along the timeline of the Secondary World.

In the Satanist, none of the decent motives associated with the Reformer can be discerned or, frankly, believed. Can the being in the tale of Beren and Lúthien, who had a part in all of Morgoth’s evil plans, and would go on to encourage human sacrifice on the island of Númenor, before becoming the embodiment of totalitarian evil in the late Third Age, be believed to have, for a period in the middle, become a person who could be called “good” or could have “fair motives?” The Satanist (in origin the Demon) and the Reformer (in origin the Wizard) cannot, I contend, easily be reconciled, leaving the metatextual shape-shifter called Sauron potentially unsynthesizable. It seems a bit poetic then that in “Gilfanon’s Tale” these two characters, Tû and Fangli, the Wizard and the Demon, do, in fact, go to war, though different versions of the tale disagree on which side wins (Tolkien, 2023a, 149).

CONCLUSION

To recap: across the timeline of his Primary World evolution, Sauron shifts shape, adopting the sometimes contradictory traits of three very different precursor characters from an earlier iteration of the tales. Beginning as a Satanic monster “made by Morgoth” and seemingly driven by Morgoth’s will, Sauron evolves into an independent entity, seduced and suborned from goodness, deceived as much as he is a deceiver, but ultimately responsible for his own actions. While he begins as a secondary villain, confined mostly to a single tale, he ends as an integral part of the stories of Arda in every age. The point of his seduction is steadily moved backwards in time, perhaps to accommodate the growing scale of his role as an integral part of Morgoth’s evil operations in Arda. He grows from a necromancer and literal shapeshifter into an adept politician, craftsman and technologist, the high priest of a cult practicing human sacrifice, and a replacement Dark Lord seeking nothing less than utter totalitarian control of and worship from the entire world. While at the same time, we are told, for a brief period in the middle of his long career, he turned to good and was legitimately interested in helping to reorder Middle-earth for the economic well-being of its other inhabitants, whom he perceived as being neglected by the gods. On the whole this is, as Joe Abbott asserted, nothing short of bizarre.¹⁹

How might we account for this? It is well known that when Tolkien died his *Legendarium* remained unfinished. As Christopher notes in his role as editor, achieving “a completed and cohesive entity” (*Lost Tales I*, 6) out of the materials was never possible, and thus we may chalk up this seeming lack of synthesis around Sauron as simply an artifact of Tolkien’s unfinished process. But there may be alternative explanations. The first lies in understanding that most of the texts that make up the *Legendarium* exist *as texts* within the Secondary World where they have been written by Secondary World characters who exhibit their own bias, limited knowledge of events, and literary purpose.²⁰ This would go a long way toward explaining these points of tension. The second is simply this: different narratives require different villains to play different roles, to express different themes, and to set different moods. Instead of inventing new villains to trouble his Secondary World, perhaps Tolkien simply repurposed a literal shapeshifter into a metatextual one.

¹⁹Due to the time constraints of the conference paper format, this diachronic analysis has been necessarily abbreviated and simplified; a longer treatment is in progress and, I believe, has numerous applications, including in the study of fandom and reader reception of Sauron. I believe the presence of these modes of Sauron, accessible to and privileged by readers in varying degrees—depending on which works each reader has read or views as “canonical”—may partly account for contentious reactions to interpretations of the character in fanworks and adaptations.

²⁰On this see, for example, Lewis (1996) and Walls-Thumma (2016).

REFERENCES

- Abbott, Joe, 'Tolkien's Monsters: Concept and Function in *The Lord of the Rings* (Part III): Sauron,' *Mythlore: A Journal of J.R.R. Tolkien, C.S. Lewis, Charles Williams, and Mythopoeic Literature*, 16.3.8 (1990)
<<https://dc.swosu.edu/mythlore/vol16/iss3/8/>>
- Birzer, Bradley, 'Saint John,' in *J.R.R. Tolkien Encyclopedia*, ed. by Michael D.C. Drout, (New York: Routledge, 2007).
- Flieger, Verlyn, "'Do the Atlantis story and abandon Eriol-Saga,'" *Tolkien Studies*, 1 (2004), 43–68
- Lewis, Alex, "Historical Bias in the Making of The Silmarillion," *Mythlore: A Journal of J.R.R. Tolkien, C.S. Lewis, Charles Williams, and Mythopoeic Literature*, 21.2.25 (1996) <<https://dc.swosu.edu/mythlore/vol21/iss2/25/>>
- Ordway, Holly, 'Eucatastrophe and Evangelium: Tolkien's Devotion to St. John the Evangelist,' wordonfire.org, web article, 3 January 2023
<<https://www.wordonfire.org/articles/fellows/eucatastrophe-and-evangelium-tolkienes-devotion-to-st-john-the-evangelist/>> [accessed 4 September 2024]
- Petersen-Deepröse, Danna, 'Destabilizing Cishetero Amatonormativity in the Works of Tolkien,' video recording of conference paper, The Tolkien Society Seminar: "Tolkien and Diversity," virtual, YouTube, 27 July 2021
<<https://youtu.be/TU-woH9mW2U?si=zaN1rcB0QblEDJ7D>>
- Svadkovskaia, Polina, 'Tolkien's Tevildo - of Fables, Rings and Cats,' *Journal of Tolkien Research*, 17.2.7 (2023)
<<https://scholar.valpo.edu/journaloftolkienresearch/vol17/iss2/7/>>
- Doughan, David. "Well, I'm Back: Tibbles, Fauna of Mordor." *Mallorn: The Journal of the Tolkien Society*, 46 (2008), 50
- Fimi, Dimitra, "Tolkien, Folklore, and Foxes: A Thoroughly Vulpine Talk in Which There May Be Singing!" video recording of conference paper, The Tolkien Society: "Tolkien 2019," Birmingham, U.K., YouTube, August 2019
<<https://youtu.be/rAAYOnkVnwk>>
- Tolkien, J.R.R., *The Book of Lost Tales Part 1*, ed. by Christopher Tolkien, (New York: William Morrow, 2012a). Kindle edition
- *The Book of Lost Tales Part 2*, ed. by Christopher Tolkien, (New York: William Morrow, 2012b). Kindle edition
- *The History of the Hobbit: Mr Baggins and Return to Bag-End*, ed. by John D. Rateliff, (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2023a). Kindle Edition
- *The Lays of Beleriand*, ed. by Christopher Tolkien, (New York: William Morrow, 2021a). Kindle edition
- *The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien*, ed. by Humphrey Carpenter with the assistance of Christopher Tolkien (New York: William Morrow, 2014). Kindle edition

- *The Lord of the Rings: One Volume Edition with the Appendices*, (New York: William Morrow, 2012c). Kindle edition
 - *The Lost Road*, ed. by Christopher Tolkien, (New York: William Morrow, 2021b). Kindle edition
 - *Morgoth's Ring*, ed. by Christopher Tolkien, (New York: William Morrow, 2023b). Kindle edition
 - *The Nature of Middle-earth*, ed. by Christopher Tolkien, (New York: William Morrow, 2021c). Kindle edition
 - *Sauron Defeated*, ed. by Christopher Tolkien, (New York: William Morrow, 2021d). Kindle edition
 - *The Shaping of Middle-earth*, ed. by Christopher Tolkien, (New York: William Morrow, 2021e). Kindle edition
 - *The Silmarillion*, ed. by Christopher Tolkien, (New York: William Morrow, 2012d). Kindle edition
 - *The War of the Jewels*, ed. by Christopher Tolkien, (New York: William Morrow, 2023c). Kindle edition
- Walls-Thumma, Dawn M, 'Attainable Vistas: Historical Bias in Tolkien's
Legendarium as a Motive for Transformative Fanworks,' *Journal of Tolkien
Research*, 3.3.3 (2016), 1–61
<<https://scholar.valpo.edu/journaloftolkienresearch/vol3/iss3/3>>