pushing commerce a step beyond the limits of the law? These English are a nation of monopolists; and they make no scruple of tying us of the colonies hand and foot, heart and soul, with their acts of Parliament, saying 'With us shalt thou trade, or not at all.' . . . By the character of the best burgomaster of Amsterdam . . . that we should lie down and obey!" [9]

Cooper no doubt partly spoils two good narratives by inability to turn his imagination loose in his subject. Yet this must be said, it is he and not Irving or Poe who saw the meaning in American Colonial life of Captain Kidd and all like him. He caught the early spirit of independence that disregarded English law, that in the Revolution was patriotic and good, but that before that time had been criminal. And it is in Cooper that we see this spirit associated with the legendary Captain Kidd.

The Skimmer led a charmed life. He was not intended to represent Kidd, but though Cooper generalized the theme of the whole book, he never allowed it to drift far from the name and fame of Kidd. Near the end, when the Skimmer has daringly come in to Lord Cornbury in New York to bargain for the release of his Ariel-like "boy," made captive, Cooper goes out of his way to accomplish this. "What is the meaning of that gun . . . ? It gave the alarm to the smuggler as if it had been a summons from Execution Dock, or a groan from the ghost of Kidd." [10]

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## IRISH NAMES IN *THE FAERIE QUEENE*

Any "view of the present state" of Spenser scholarship must recognize Spenser's debt to the surroundings in which he wrote after 1580.[1] Whatever the poet may have contributed toward *The*

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 341.

[1] We know from Spenser's letter to Harvey that he had begun writing *The Faerie Queene* by April, 1580, months before he went to Ireland as Grey's secretary. Harvey's unflattering reply, in which he intimated that the classical Muses were being sacrificed on the altar of Irish mythology ("If so be the Faerye Queene be fairer in your eye than the Nine Muses,

*Faerie Queene* before he went to Ireland as Grey's secretary was, we may be sure, almost completely submerged or rejected under the impulse of the new vistas that opened before his restless imagination as his "continued Allegory" took shape.[2] It is a reasonable assumption that Spenser's ten years of composition in Ireland before the first three books appeared were as full of revision and re-revision as were the years which his master Chaucer devoted to the unfinished *Canterbury Tales.*

Many names in *The Faerie Queene,* long recognized as Irish, were as familiar in Spenser's Ireland as they are today. Such are Una[3] and Ferraugh (now Farry).[4] Other names, like Duessa and Alma, had already gone out of circulation before 1580.[5] It will be the purpose of this brief article to show for the first time that other names are Irish.

As secretary to Grey and later, in his Munster clerkship, Spenser was in a position to appreciate the classical coloring of the records which passed under his scrutiny. With his Merchant Taylors and Cambridge training, he must have been impressed by numerous entries similar to the following from the Fiants of Elizabeth: "Ferdorogh [Ir. 'Dark Man'] or Obscurus" (F. 124, etc.), "Maurus or Morogh O'Brien" (F. 1323, 3077),[6] "Morianus or Molronowe O'Carbie" (F. 783), "Tohill or Tullius O'Conoghor" (F. 1289), "Conatius earl of Thomond" (F. 828, 1424), "Calvatius

and Hobgoblin [i. e., Puck] runne away with the garland from Apollo . . ."), suggests that Spenser found his first inspiration for his epic in his visit to Ireland in 1577.

[2] On the shifting construction of the poem see especially Mrs. J. W. Bennett, *The Evolution of "The Faerie Queene,"* Chicago, 1942.

[3] The form *Una* appears many times in the Fiants of Elizabeth (cf. Fiants 4077, 5075, 5603, 5611, 5686, etc.). Other spellings include *Owny, Uny, Unna, Unny, Onie, Wonae, Oney,* and frequently *Owne.*

[4] Spellings like *Ferragh, Ferreghe, Feryegh, Farrigh, Far(r)iegh* occur often in the Fiants.

[5] See my article, "The Influence of Spenser's Kildare Residence on *The Faerie Queene,*" to be published in *PMLA.* In connection with the *Alva* pronunciation of *Alma* (see footnote 28), it is possible that the form *Alvagh* (Fiant 5606) offers an Elizabethan survival of the name. But it is far more likely that *Alvagh* represents the name *Ailbhe,* once very common, and still surviving as "Alvy."

[6] The Fiants contain a number of references to the Murrough O'Brien whom Irenaeus (or Spenser) saw executed at Limerick in 1577. Cf. note 21a below.

or Calloughe M'Donel" (F. 4748), "Dionysius or Donogho O' Sheneghane" (F. 4397), "Salomon or Solon [Ir. Solamh] M'Nemy" (F. 5459), names like Boethius Glanchy, Justinian Brit, Philomeus M'Gormley, Goodlacus Drawater, and Hercules Rainsford, or such spellings as "Creon" for "Crevan" (Ir. *Crimhthann*), F. 1038, 1117, etc.; "Pyrrhus" for "Piaras" (Pierce), and "Ferdinandus" for "Fergananym" (Ir. *Fearganainm*). Many similar instances could be cited.

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1. Erivan (*F. Q.* IV. v. 24). This "seemingly classical name"[7] is purely Irish and was extremely common in Spenser's time, particularly in the vicinity of Kilcolman. It represents the pronunciation of Irish *Erimhon* (later *Eireamhon*), a form which occurs infrequently in the manuscripts of the *Leabhar Gabhála* but regularly in Keating's *History*.[8] In Irish tradition Erimhon was the famous son of Míl or Milidh, whose name was often Latinized into Milesius, and appears in *The Faerie Queene* as "Milesio."[9] In the Fiants of Elizabeth numerous instances can be found: Fiant 2251 names an "Eryvan m' Donogh" of Kanturk, a few miles west of Kilcolman, on Spenser's river Allo; Fiant 6539 names Erivan M'Cunigan and Donell m'Irivan of "Nodirett" in the same neighborhood. The most frequent spelling is *Erevan* (cf. Erevan M'Swyne, of Nadered, F. 5508; Erevan M'Swynie, F. 6514, p. 205; Mulmory m'Erevan M'Connigan of Woony,[10] F. 4535, etc.). Other spellings include *Earevan* (3095), *Erovan* (5434), *Erewane* (3257, 4723), and *Earywan* (4467, 4468).

[7] Draper, *PMLA.*, XLVII (1932), 99, footnote 17.

[8] See my "Spenser's Tale of the Two Sons of Milesio," *MLQ.*, III (1942), 547-57. Both names, Erimhom and Ebher, appear frequently in the Fiants in the forms *Erevan* and *Ever*; even after Spenser's death we find record of two sons named "Erevan and Ever M'Swyne" (Fiant 6540, p. 251) in Spenser's county of Cork.

[9] *F. Q.*, v. iv. 4-20.

[10] The extreme difficulty encountered by English writers in spelling Irish names is to be seen in the comment on this *Woony* in O'Donovan, *Ordnance Survey Letters, Limerick*, II, 440: "Wetheny (Wetherham) Wethencia alias Wethan alias Wethanoya alias Voghney, Owney, Wotheney, Whethran, Wethenoya, are all anglicised forms of Uaithne. . . .."

A "Wothney I Breine, of Aharla [Spenser's Arlo]" is named in Fiant 5085 (A. D. 1587).

2. Malfont (*F. Q.* v. ix. 25 ff.). The elaborate play on this name belongs to Spenser's Kilcolman period. The poet goes out of his way to emphasize the change in the name Bonfont, now altered to Malfont

> "Eyther for th' euill, which he did therein,
> Or that he likened was to a welhed
> Of euill words, and wicked sclaunders by him shed."

The crime of Malfont was that he had taken on himself "the bold title of a Poet bad" and "rayling rymes had sprad."

Gough's ingenious but unconvincing explanation, that in Malfont Spenser was veiling the name of Ulpian Fulwell ("Foul Well") is rightly rejected by Neill and by the editor of the *Variorum Spenser*.[11] The vehemence of Spenser's attack on Malfont may be more readily explained, I suspect, in connection with his long and bitter litigation with Lord Roche.

Nine of the Fiants of Elizabeth refer to persons named Malfont pardoned between 1573 and 1601. In each instance the name appears to belong to the neighborhood of Kilcolman:

F. 2249: pardon to "Robert Malphant, of Ballynyclassy, gent." (Ballynyclassy is apparently *Baile na claise* in "Barrymore's country," co. Cork.)

F. 2255: pardon to "Robert Malfont, of Rathmore, yeoman." Rathmore is doubtless the *Rath Mór* east of Kilcolman and near Ballylegan, later in Spenser's possession, in the heart of the "Roche Country." See *Ériu* X, 173, 178. Power (*Crichad an Chaoilli*, [Cork 1932], p. 67) identifies it with the present Laharan (Irish *Leath Ráthán*). Thus it seems probable that this Malfont was one of "Roche's men."

F. 2941: pardon to "Robert Malefonte, of Knockcullyn," co. Cork.

F. 4814: pardon in 1586 to "Philip Malefount of [Liscarrull, co. Cork], horseman." Liscarroll, northeast of Kanturk, is a few miles due west of Kilcolman.

F. 5508: pardon in 1590 to "Philip Malefant, of [Tuehe], yeoman." "Tuehe" is vague enough as a place-name, being the extremely common Irish *tuath, tuatha* ("territory"); cf. Tuogh in co. Limerick (*Ordn. Surv. Letters, Limerick,* II, 447-51), north of Kilcolman. The places named in the rest of F. 5508, including

[11] See v, 321 and 239.

Nadered (see above), suggest that this "Tuehe" was to the west of Kilcolman in co. Cork.

F. 6302: pardons in 1599 to Maurice Roche, viscount Fermoy (Spenser's enemy), Theobald Roche his son, twenty-two other Roches, and a "Philip Mallfonte."

F. 6514: pardon to Ellen daughter of "Robert Mallefont," and wife of "Teige Y Mahowny," yeoman.

F. 6516: pardon to Ellis "Mallifont," wife of Deirmod O'Riegan.

F. 6539: pardon to "James Malefant, of Dunbwoeg."

The three Philip Malfonts referred to in the Fiants between 1586 and 1599 may have been the same person; in any event, a Philip Malfont was active as one "Lord Roche's men" in the vicinity of Kilcolman during Spenser's residence there. Was he the "bad" poet who incurred Spenser's vigorous attack in *The Faerie Queene*?

All three of the principals in the episode with which Book II opens—Amavia, Mordant, and Ruddymane—appear to have Irish associations.

3. Amavia is apparently a characteristic classicizing by the poet of the Irish name *Medb* (Mercutio's—and Milton's—"Mab"). Again we have the sort of etymological toying we have learned to expect from Spenser. As Draper observes in connecting the name with the Latin *amavi*, "Dodge's gloss, 'she that loves to live,' though taken from *F. Q.* II. i. 55, could hardly have been intended by Spenser as explaining her name."[12] The name was variously spelled in Spenser's time: *Meave* (the modern pronunciation)[13] occurs in Fiants 4358, 4360, etc.; *Meawe* in 4035, 5808; *Meaw* in 5026, 5486; *Mewe* in 4076, 4152; *Mew* in 3972, etc.

4. Mordant, we have every reason to believe, became part of *The Faerie Queene* long before Spenser moved to Kilcolman.[14]

[12] *Art. cit.*, note 7 above.

[13] John O'Donovan, *The Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrin*, Dublin 1862, Introduction, p. 60: "*Meadhbh*, pronounced Meave. This is still preserved and anglicised Maud, Mab, and Mabby; the editor is acquainted with several old women of the Milesian race who still retain it. Meadhbh was the name of a celebrated queen of Connacht, who flourished in the first century, and who is now known in the legends of the mountainous districts of Ireland as the queen of the fairies."

[14] See *Evolution*, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

For the personal history of Captain Nicholas Mordant, a knight [15] who, like Malory's Lancelot or Gawain, had his full share of human frailty, belongs largely to northern Ireland.[16] Among the episodes in Spenser's "continued Allegory, or darke conceit" this tantalizing story is "darke" almost to the point of total eclipse. But a few significant details have come down to us. At almost the moment when Spenser was arriving in Dublin to take up his duties as secretary to Grey, Captain Mordant, then stationed in Athlone, was being sent by Malbie, Commissioner for Connaught, against Clanricard and the rebellious Burkes in Galway.[17] A letter a few weeks later from Ulick Burke to Malbie bears Malbie's notation "showing the device between Ulick and John [Burke] to intrap Mordant by treason." [18] This "device to intrap by treason" suggests the plottings of Braggadochio and Trompart ("Trompart fit man for Braggadochio"), *F. Q.* II. iii. 10-13,

> "Which two through treason and deceiptfull gin,
> Had slaine Sir Mordant, and his Lady bright."

But Captain Mordant, as we know, lived to fight another day, for at the end of the same year (1580) we find him defending Athlone with all too few soldiers.[19] Except for one circumstance, his subsequent history, of which we catch only fleeting glimpses,[20] need not concern us here.

[15] Mordant was actually knighted five years after Spenser's death, in 1604 (*Carew MSS* VI, 384). See note 20 below.

[16] But his unpopular "lewd" dealings in 1583, whatever they may have involved, and the investigation which followed, belong to the vicinity of Limerick and may have come to Spenser's attention while he was at Kilcolman. Cf. note 21 below.

[17] *CSPI.*, Ser. 2, II, 263.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 268-69.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 272.

[20] Mordant is first mentioned in 1580, when he was dispatched by Malbie against the Burkes. We find him still in Connaught early in 1582 (*CSPI.*, pp. 344, 350). Then comes the Thomond affair, with the "complaint" and the "examination" in 1583. Mordant's doings appear to have been condoned by the authorities, as they were by Spenser, for in 1585 he is back in the North harassing the Burkes at Lough Mask (*Carew MSS* II, 430); here he remains through 1586 (*Carew*, p. 431) and into 1588, when he is appointed "to be commissioner in the province of Connaught" (Fiant 5233), and 1589, his activities being recounted in a letter to the Lord Deputy (*CSPI.*, Ser. 2, IV, 185-86). In 1592 he writes concerning the "accustomed treacheries" of the Burkes (*ibid.*, IV, 540-41). By 1600 he is once more in the South as constable of the Castle of the Glan (*CSPI.*,

Spenser is careful to inform us that Amavia's "lifest Lord" had little of the temperance which Book II is intended to "sette forth," for Amavia admits (I. i. 52) that Mordant "was flesh: (all flesh doth frailtie breed)" and had been beguiled by Acrasia, who had "thralled" him to her will, "In chaines of lust and lewd desires ybound" (st. 54). Amavia's term *lewd* is precisely the word employed (in its adverbial form) by the Lords Justices Loftus and Wallop in 1583 in writing to Walsingham: "Mordaunt has dealt very disorderly and lewdly." [21] Just what form Mordant's "lewdness" took is unfortunately not revealed,[21a] but the fact that the historical Mordant did not succumb to Acrasia's cup but resumed "his former skill" [22] in harassing the enemy [23] suggests

IX, 318; *Carew MSS* III, 412). He is knighted in 1604. Our last mention of him is in 1611, when he is listed as "Knight of the shire" for Clare (*CSPI.*, Ser. 3, IV, 165; *Carew MSS* VI, 137).

[21] The fragmentary Fiant 4053, which bears no date, consists of a commission to "Captain Nicholas Morden (*sic*) to execute martial law in the county Clare." The Deputy Keeper's Report, printed in 1881, enters this fiant under the year 1582, perhaps correctly, for in April 1583 the Lords Justices write Burghley of a "complaint of the inhabitants of Thomond against Captain Mordant" (*CSPI.*, p. 442). An investigation followed, as Richard Whyte's letter from Limerick in June discloses (p. 456) that "the gentlemen examined before Sir Robert Dillon and the Solicitor" were "plagued by Mordant." Although the Lords Justices in their letter to Walsingham are forthright in their denunciation of Mordant's "disorderly and lewd" behavior, it would seem that no vigorous action was taken against him, for he is still in Thomond in February, 1584, skirmishing with the Earl's followers (p. 496).

[21a] The entry under A. D. 1582 in the *Annals of the Four Masters* (ed. O'Donovan, V, 1774-75) concerning "Captain Mortant" (cf. Spenser's *Mortdant*, *F. Q.* II. 1. 49. 9, ed. Dodge) is not helpful: "Donough son of Murrough . . . O'Brien was put to death in an ignoble manner, that is, he was hanged in Thomond by Captain Mortant, who was Marshal in the country, and by the Sheriff, Sir George, the son of Thomas Cusack. The year before he had formed a league with the sons of the Earl of Clanrickard, but, having repented, he returned back under protection. The others detected a flaw and a defect in [the form of] the protection, so that they seized on Donough and hanged him . . . in the gateway of Limerick, on the 29th of September, which fell on Friday."

This "Donough son of Murrough" was not the son of the Murrough O'Brien whom Irenaeus saw beheaded at Limerick in 1577. The latter was the "Murrough O'Brien of Cloughkeating" referred to in Fiants 2467 and 3317. See *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*, ed. O'Grady, II (1929), 188-90.

[22] *F. Q.*, II. i. 54.

[23] *CSPI.*, Ser. 2, II, 496.

that Spenser, maker of mosaics that he was, may have used only part of Mordant's history for the Amavia episode, combining with it, perhaps, details from some contemporary Irish domestic tragedy. He doubtless borrowed more than Mordant's name, which had its etymological attractions for him.[24] Of intemperance as a vice in Ireland, and the degeneracy of the English who "are now much more lawless and licentious then the very wild Irish,"[25] Spenser has much to say, years later, in the *View*. With the theater of Captain Mordant's operations in Connaught Spenser shows, as I have already pointed out,[26] sufficient familiarity.

5. Ruddymane (*F. Q.* II. i. 35). Upton long ago associated the name of the "bloudy-handed babe" with *Lámhdhearg* ("Red-Hand") and the battle-cry of the O'Neills, *Lámhdhearg abú,* to which Spenser refers in the *View*.[27] While it is altogether likely that Spenser, here as with Mordant, had the Northern associations in mind, it must be borne in mind that the epithet was used by the MacMurroughs or Kavanaghs of Leinster. As the power of the MacMurroughs extended into Kildare, it is not unlikely that Spenser composed the Ruddymane-Amavia episode while he was living at New Abbey.

6. Dony (*F. Q.* III. v. 3-12 and later). In listing Dony as a "seemingly classical name," Draper suggests comparison with "Doni, the moral philosopher."[28] But the name of Florimell's

[24] See Spenser's pun in stanza 55.

[25] *View*, Globe ed., p. 636a. Mordant was, of course, an Englishman in Ireland—not an Irishman. His "lewdness" recalls Spenser's account in the *View* (p. 641a-b) of the "notorious theif and wicked outlawe" praised by an Irish bard for "such lewdnesse." There is sufficient evidence in the *View* that Spenser, like many of his English contemporaries, was ready to condemn in the Irish what he condoned in the English.

[26] *JEGP.*, XLII (1943), 510, and note 33.

[27] Globe ed., p. 632b. See Upton's comment in *Variorum Spenser*, II, 400, and Howard's, p. 401. On the dispute over the badge of the Red Hand, see O'Grady-Flower, *Catalogue of Irish MSS in the British Museum*, II, 15: "Eoghan Ó Donnghaile [Owen O'Donnelly] . . . claims the honour for the O'Neills as the representatives of the Eremonian [cf. "Erivan" above] line." See my note in *JEGP.*, XLII, 504, *s. v. Hubbub.*

One of Spenser's fellow undertakers in Munster was Marmaduke Redmayne (cf. Ruddymane), who in 1587 was granted a seigniory of 8000 acres. See Fiant 5033.

[28] See note 7 above. Upton was confident that "*Dony* is contracted from Adonio, or Adonis, a knight's name in *Orl. Fur.* 43."

dwarf is, to use Spenser's own simile, "as Irish as O'Hanlans breeche."[29] The frequency with which the name Dony appears in Elizabethan records is due to its use as a nickname or familiar form for three different names: Donogh (Ir. *Donnchadh*) and Donall (Ir. *Domhnall*), both of which are Latinized as *Donatus* in the Fiants, and even the rarer Ir. *Dúnadhach* (cf. the surnames M'Dony = Ir. *Mac Dunadhaigh*, and O'Dony = Ir. *Ó Dúnadhaigh*). The name is especially common in the records for Cork and Limerick near Kilcolman; in Kerry it has often been wrongly Englished into "Downing." For other spellings, cf. *Donigh* (twice in Fiant 2248), the double "Doune m'Wm. m'Dermod Dounye" in F. 4623; "Donne OHassie" of Fenit, near Tralee, F. 4935; "Done Y Casidigh, of Muskrie," near Kilcolman, F. 5889; "Don M'Gilleryewe," F. 5815; "Gilledony M'Keane, cottier," F. 5228. This last-named compound *Gilledony* (Ir. *Gilla Domhnaigh*, "servant of the Lord") still survives in the surnames MacGilldowney, Gildowney, and MacEldowney (cf. the Elizabethan spellings "M'Eldony" and "M'Eldonie" in Fiant 6662).

7. Devon (IV. iv. 21). This name still survives in Ireland. It is an anglicized form of two distinct Irish names: *Duibhín*, which means "Little black fellow," a diminutive of *Dubh*, and *Daimhín*, "Little poet," a diminutive of *Damh*. The surnames *Ó Duibhín* and *Ó Daimhín* are still often anglicized "Devon." With *Mac*, the *D* is aspirated and lost, hence MacKevin or MacEvin (Ir. *Mac Dhuibhín*); cf. "Donell Dewyn," as in F. 3851, but "Ferrall M'Kevan" as in F. 3347.

8. Douglas (IV. iv. 21), like Devon and Brianor (whose name is clearly Irish),[30] is one of the "noble Knights of Maidenhead." His name was common both as a given name and as a surname in Spenser's day, as it is in ours. One suspects that Spenser gave the name to his hero of Maidenhead because he already knew it as the name of his heroine, not in romance but in real life: Douglas Howard, the "white Lioness" whose untimely death he mourned in *Daphnaida*.[31] If memories of Douglas Howard were

[29] Globe ed., p. 637b.

[30] *PMLA.*, L (1935), 917, note 2.

[31] It is no doubt merely a coincidence that in *F. Q.*, IV. iv Sir Douglas is discomfited and Sir Satyrane aims his spear—the "wicked steele for mischiefe first ordained"—and makes a "very griesly wound" in Tria-

haunting Spenser, he must have brought the Douglas of IV. iv into *The Faerie Queene* after his return from London to Kilcolman in 1591. At Kilcolman he must have known Douglas as a surname (cf. "John Dowglasse," Fiant 1671) and as a place-name in his own county of Cork (printed "Donglas" in F. 2234, but "Dowglas," F. 6516).

9. Malbecco and Hellenore (III. ix. 6). These two, "Vnfitly yokt together in one teeme," were the prinicipals in a story exceedingly well known in Ireland during Spenser's early years there. Malbecco stands in the poet's "darke conceit" for the "archtraitor" Gerald Fitzgerald, sixteenth Earl of Desmond. Hellenore was his countess Elinor,[32] about whom opinion differed: Sentleger in 1583 called her "his [Desmond's] wicked wife"[33] and Malbie thought her "an infamous woman,"[34] but Queen Elizabeth and Sydney both considered her "a good counsellor."[35] Their "Castle" (stanza 3) thus appears to have been "Desmond's first and most ancient house of Castle Shenet."[36] Their story and Spenser's treatment of it is a long one, which I reserve for discussion elsewhere.

10. Druon (IV. ix. 20 ff.). The name of "sterne Druon," like Erivan's, was listed by Draper among Spenser's "seemingly classical names"—[37]

> Druons delight was all in single life,
> And vnto Ladies loue would lend no leasure—

and, Osgood adds, "with possibly a hint of fanciful etymology, after Spenser's habit, in the epithet."[38] The name Druon is Irish.

mond's side, whereas in *Daphnaida* (written about the same time) it was

> "A cruell *Satyre* with his murdrous dart,
> Greedie of mischiefe, ranging all about,
> Gaue [Douglas] the fatall wound of deadly smart."

[32] The name of the countess is regularly spelled *Elinor* in Fiants 4670, 4942, 6195. Elsewhere in the Fiants numerous spellings of the name appear, such as *Ellenor(e)*, *Elenor(a)*, *Elianor*, *Ellienor*, etc.

[33] *CSPI.*, Ser. 2, II, 427.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 262.

[35] *Carew MSS* II, 357, 106. Spenser appears to have agreed with the Queen.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 236. In *JEGP.*, XLII, 504, I remarked that "Spenser may have heard on more than one occasion the Desmond war-cry, *Shanet-abú*."

[37] See note 7 above.

[38] *Variorum Spenser*, IV, 214. Marie Walther's suggestion (*Malory's*

It appears, for example, as a given name (Ir. *Druachán*) in Fiant 4562 (Drewan M'Swyny) and in the surname *Ó Druacháin* in Fiants 746 (Maurice O'Droughane) and 4713 (Maurice m'Tho. O Drwoghane).

11. Dolon (v. vi. 32), the goodman of the house who "seekes to entrap" Britomart, is introduced by Spenser in accounting for

> Those two false brethren, on that perillous Bridge,
> On which Pollente with Artegall did fight (st. 36)—

an episode which has already been related to Spenser's Irish experiences.[39] Gough, identifying Dolan's son Guizor with the third Duke of Guise, remarks: "Though it is difficult to identify Dolon, 'the crafty,' the particularity of the description of him in stanzas 19 and 32 appears to point to some real person."[40] And Osgood adds, "Surely Spenser hated nothing more than the treachery all about him, and his feeling in the matter asserts itself again and again throughout the poet's life, and with especial force in this portrait of Dolon."[41]

In selecting the name Dolon, Spenser was once more attracted, no doubt, by the affinity between classical and Irish names. Dolon was—and still is—an exceedingly common Irish name, which must have recalled to the poet the Dolon of the *Iliad*.[42] During his residence at New Abbey he may well have heard of the "treachery" of one Robert Dolan or Dowlan (whose very name *Ó Dubhláin* means "black defiance"!), whose lands "lying in the Naas, co. Kildare," a few miles north of New Abbey, had been "long concealed from the Queen."[43] In any event, the name is of frequent occurrence both as a given name and as a surname.[44]

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*Einfluss*, p. 53) that Druon the woman-hater is modeled after Malory's Dinadan has not been accorded space in the *Variorum Spenser* (IV, 214).

[39] By M. M. Gray in *RES.*, VI (1930), 416 ff.

[40] *The Faerie Queene, Book V*, ed. Alfred B. Gough (Oxford 1918), p. 235.

[41] *Variorum Spenser*, V, 212.

[42] See Upton's note printed in the *Variorum Spenser*, V, 212, and cf. Draper, *art. cit.*, p. 101: "Dolon, the deceiver, comes from δολόω, beguile."

[43] Fiant 5106 (A. D. 1587).

[44] Usually anglicized *Dolon, Dolan,* or *Dowlin* (cf. *Dony* = *Downy*). Cf. "Dowlin Cavanagh" and "Dowlin duff M'Gerald" (Fiant 4132), "Dowlin M'Dermod" (Fiant 6160), etc. The surname is written variously in the Fiants *O'Dolan(e), O'Doelan(e), O'Dolin, O'Dollan(e), O'Dowlan, O'Dowlin,*

These few pages can pretend to do no more than scratch the surface of a large subject. To suggest, as one reviewer did in 1930,[45] that the influence of Spenser's Irish environment upon *The Faerie Queene* has usually been overestimated seems, to me at least, to be flying in the face of good sense and the obvious facts.

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## THE LIMITED VISION OF ST. BERNARD

Chaucer's observation (*LGW* 16) that even

> Bernard the monk ne saugh nat all, pardee!

has been much discussed.[1] Although "Bernard the monk" has generally been thought to refer to Bernard of Clairvaux, Chaucer's opening reflections on heaven and hell have led to identification with Bernard of Morlaix.[2] More recently in this journal,[3] Tatlock

etc. Cf. the surname *M'Dowlin*, Fiants 3039, 4015—which also contains the epithet *Lavierg, Lavyreg* (cf. *Lámhdhearg*, note 27 above, and my "Deirdre in England," forthcoming in *MLN.*)—4712, etc.

[45] *YWES.*, XI, 198.

[1] For a convenient summary, see Robinson's note, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, pp. 954-55.

[2] *Notes & Queries*, 8 Series, III (June 3, 1893), 433. E. S. A. was right in saying that *LGW* 16 is "not particularly applicable to any of the works of St. Bernard." But it is not necessary, as I hope to show, to look for another "Bernard the monk."

[3] *MLN*, XLVI, 21-23. Tatlock remarks (p. 23), "Chaucer may have thought of no individual, or even of him of Clairvaux." There seems to be no good reason for assuming that Chaucer had any less known Bernard in mind, or for questioning Chaucer's reference to Bernard of Clairvaux as "Bernard the monk." See Mabillon, *Life and Works of St. Bernard* (transl. Eales), I, vii-viii: "First and chiefly, he was a monk . . . Even so gifted a man as Bernard, we may venture to believe, would not have been nearly so influential had he been anything but a monk . . . S. Bernard, then, was a monk and an ascetic. . . ." In response to Tatlock's comment that "it is only to a modern that he is the inevitable Monk Bernard," it may be pointed out that two hundred years before Chaucer, in Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*, St. Bernard was called "the most unlucky of monks" ("*Monachorum infelicissimus hic fuit*"); cf., conveniently, Tupper and Ogle, *Courtiers' Trifles* (1924), p. 49, line 18, or *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. M. R. James (Oxford 1914), Dist. I, cap. xxiv, p. 39. The versified *Bernard* of the Vernon MS, dated by Wells 1350-75 (*Manual*, p. 304), tells how