The Name of the Troubadour
Dalfin d'Alvernhe

The curious name of Dalfin d'Alvernhe has given rise over the years to considerable discussion. Three questions involved may be summarized thus: Whence did the name Dalfin derive? Was Dalfin the only name borne by the troubadour, or was he also called Robert? When and how did the change from Dalfin, used as a personal name, to Dalfin, used as a title, take place? M. Fournier has devoted much of his article “Le Nom du troubadour Dauphin d'Auvergne” to this third problem and has shown convincingly, as Prudhomme had earlier suggested less thoroughly, that there was a progression from the personal name of the troubadour-baron to the use of the name as a patronymic by his son Guillaume (1235–ca. 1240) and grandson Robert I (1240–62) and thence to its use as a title. M. Fournier has primarily followed the sure evidence of Latin acta, while discussing in general terms the apparently conflicting evidence of numerous vernacular troubadour texts in which the name Dalfin is usually preceded by the definite article. These texts were adduced by Stronski to support his conclusion that Dalfin was a surname and already had, in twelfth-century troubadour texts, the value of a title; and, although his general conclusion has been countered
effectively by M. Fournier, some element of doubt still re­
mains, in as much as the latter did not submit the vernacular
texts to detailed examination.

For convenience the vernacular texts are discussed below
under three headings: (I) the *vidas*, (II) vernacular docu­
ments, and (III) vernacular texts. It is obvious that the extant
manuscripts are generally of a much later date than the texts
themselves, and some of their statements, for example, the
gratuitous attributions inserted by some scribes at the head of
their texts (e.g., “lo dalfins e en Peirol,” etc.), can be
disregarded as evidence. Our aim here has therefore been, first,
to examine the manuscript tradition in order to see how far the
readings may represent different lines of evidence; secondly, to
deduce, when possible, the earliest probable date of the
material of the texts in question; and, thirdly, to compare the
resulting evidence with the conclusions of M. Fournier in
order to evaluate the importance to be attached to the
vernacular texts in a consideration of the third problem
indicated above.

*The "Vidas"*

The *vidas* and the *razos* pay eloquent tribute to the esteem
in which Dalfin was held, both as poet and patron, by
contemporary troubadours, and the references to him are
relatively numerous. The actual date of composition of the
extant *vidas* and *razos* is not of prime importance here; the
versions which have come down to us could conceivably have
been derived from material copied from earlier sources; and
the important thing, therefore, is, first, to deduce from the
information contained in the extant text the earliest dates at which the material transmitted in the manuscripts could have been composed and, secondly, to examine the interrelationship of the manuscripts themselves.

I. Dalfin d’Alvernhe

(A) *Vida* (MSS: ABIK [Boutière and Schutz, p. 84]).

“Lo Dalfins d’Alverne si fo coms d’Alverne. . . .”

Dalfin died in 1235. The *vida* itself makes no mention of his death and is probably subsequent to this date. The only possible indication of a date is contained in the passage, “E per la larguesa soa perdet la meitat e plus de tot lo sieu comtat; e par avareza e per sen o saup tot recobrar, e gazaignar plus que non perdut.” In my forthcoming edition of Dalfin, I have accepted the possibility that this may be an oblique reference to the assumption of the title of count of Clermont by his cousin Guy II of Auvergne (various acts, ca. 1202) and to the resumption of the title by Dalfin (documents 1223 A.D., et seq.). If this assumption is correct, the material of the *vida* would be subsequent to 1223.

(B) *Razo* of 95.3 and 119.4 (MS: H [Boutière and Schutz, p. 85]).

“Lo Dalfins d’Alverne si era drutz. . . . Et un dia ella mandet al baile del Dalfin. . . . E-l Dalfins si-l respondent a la cobla. . . .”

The date of the poems in question is ca. 1213, and the *razo* must obviously be later than the poem.
(C) Razo of 92.1 and 119.5 (MS: H [Boutière and Schutz, p. 86]).

"Lo Dalfins fetz aquesta cobla d'En Bertram de la Tor. . . ."

A number of objections can be raised to Stronski's identification of this Bertran with Bertran I de la Tour d'Auvergne (1110–ca. 1191), and the reference is more probably to Bertran II, who had succeeded to the title by 1206 and who probably died in 1222. The exchange of coblas should probably be placed between these dates.

(D) Razo of 119.1a and 353.1 (MS: H [Boutière and Schutz, p. 87]).

"... E·l Dalfins d'Alverne ... si era drutz de Na Contor. . . ."

And the text of the first line of Peire Pelissier's cobla.

"Al Dalfin man q'estei dins son hostel. . . ."

To which, according to the razo, "Lo Dalfins respondet a Peire Pelissier."

Nothing is known of Peire Pelissier beyond the details given by the razo (Boutière and Schutz, p. 370), but he may have exchanged coblas with Blacatz (97.3), whose compositions date from 1200 to 1227. The Lady Contor was one of the three daughters of Raimon II of Turenne (1143–91); she married the Viscount Elias de Camborn, who died young between 1184 and 1187. There is no reason to suppose that Dalfin's "affair" with the lady, if it ever took place, is necessarily to be set near these dates. Taking into account the possible dates of Peire Pelissier, the coblas may well not be earlier than 1200.
(E) Razó of 119.8 and 420.1 (MSS: I, K [Boutière and Schutz, pp. 88 ff.]).

“... Dont lo Dalfins e sos cosis lo coms Gis. . . .”

The date of the exchange of poems between Dalfin and Richard I is probably 1194-95, but the texts themselves offer no internal evidence as to the name Dalfin, since the only reference to him is the simple vocative “Dalfin” at the beginning of 420.1.

2. Guillem de Saint Leidier (MSS: ABEIKPRSGa’a’ [Boutière and Schutz, p. 178]).

“Et entendet se en la marqueza de Polonhac, qu’era sor del Dalfin d’Alverne e de Na Sail de Claustria, e moiller del vescomte de Polonhac. . . .”

Of the manuscripts, only P (“de dalfin delauerne”) omits the definite article. Sail de Claustria, sung by Periol, may have died about 1202,11 Heraclius III of Polignac, in 1198 or 1201. There are no references to Dalfin in the poems of Guillem de Saint Leidier, who probably died between 1195 and 1200.12

3. Peire d’Alvergne (MSS: ABEIKRS [Boutière and Schutz, p. 220]).

“... segon qu’en dis lo Dalfins d’Alverne. . . .”

There is no mention of Dalfin in the poems of Peire d’Alvergne. The vida is probably the work of Uc de Saint Circ,13 and therefore dates from the thirteenth century.

4. Peire de Maensac (MSS: IK [Boutière and Schutz, p. 228]).
"Peire de Maensac si fo d'Alverne, de la terra del Dalfín (de la terra daluerne 1) . . . e mena la en un castel del Dalfín d'Alverne . . . e·l Dalfins lo mantenc. . . ."

Peire may have been the jongleur of Dalfín. If Chabaneau's identification of his brother Austorc de Maensac (attested in 1238) is admissible, it would probably place the date of Peire de Maensac in the thirteenth century. The lady sung by Peire, the wife of En Bernart de Tierce, may have been the "Na Biatritz, la bella de Tierne" chosen for arbiter by Gui d'Ussel in P.C. 136.6. Peire is also addressed in the sirventes of Robert, bishop of Clermont, (P.C. 95.2), the date of which is probably ca. 1212–13.

5. Peirol (MSS: ABEIKRA¹ [Boutière and Schutz, p. 250]).

"Peirols si fo . . . d'un castel que a nom Peirols, qu'es en la contrada del Dalfín. . . . E·l Dalfins d'Alverne. . . ."

Whatever the date of the composition of the vida, it must be after the departure of Peirol from Clermont, which may be placed in the first decade of the thirteenth century.¹⁵

6. Perdigon (MSS: AEIKRA¹a² [Boutière and Schutz, pp. 252–55]).

" . . . que·l Dalfins d'Alverne lo tenc per son cavalier. . . ."

and from manuscripts E and R

" . . . e·l Dalfins d'Alverne li ac toda la terra. . . ."
It is obvious from the texts that the *vida* must have been composed after the death of Perdigon, which his editor puts at ca. 1220.

7. Uc Brunet (MSS: AEIKRa'a² [Boutière and Schutz, p. 327]).

"... E briget com lo rei d'Arragon ... e com lo Dalfin d'Alverne. ..."

The text again indicates that the *vida* was composed after the death of Uc. This troubadour was the friend of Daude de Pradas, the first mention of whom is found in 1214.

8. Uc de Saint Cire (MSS: ABIKNP [Boutière and Schutz, p. 332]).

"... com las tensos e com las coblas que feiren com lui, e·l bons dalphins d'Alverne."

The phrase "e·l bons Dalfins d'Alverne" is missing in ABP.

The text of the *vida* shows that it was composed "pois qu'el ac moiller"; his marriage may well have taken place after Uc's arrival in Italy, which his editors place about 1220.

What evidence, then, do the *vidas* and *razos* offer as to the name of our troubadour? With only one exception (manuscript P in the *vida* of Guillem de Saint Leidier), they uniformly designate him as "lo Dalfins" or as "lo Dalfins d'Alverne." Two points, however, are to be noted. First, the great majority of the references are to be found in a small group of manuscripts (ABEIK) which are nearly always closely allied in troubadour texts, while the other manuscripts, with the possible exception of the individualistic R, often
show affinities with this major group; one is therefore tempted to ask whether there is more than one line of tradition here. Secondly, and leaving aside the actual dates of the surviving texts, the information given in the texts indicates that, with one or two doubtful exceptions, any original material which might have formed the basis of the extant texts could not in all probability be earlier than 1200.

Vernacular Documents

Official documents such as charters or legal acta are generally surer evidence than troubadour texts. Two such vernacular documents, which conform to designations found in contemporary Latin acta (Dalfinus comes, Delfinus comes Arverniae), offer valuable testimony. The first, an agreement between Anselm d’Olbi and Dalfin, bears no date but is from about 1200; it begins: “N’Anselmes d’Olbi avia grahusas de terras am lo comte dalfi e acorderunt s’en. . . .” Subsequent references in the text are to “el coms,” “lo coms,” “al comte.” The second is dated 1201, and refers to Dalfin first as “el Dalfis coms d’Alvergne,” and later in the text as “el Dalfis,” “al Dalfi,” and sometimes as “el coms,” “lo coms,” etc. These texts would indicate that, about 1200, Dalfin was used as a personal name, but that already in vernacular acta the article was prefixed to the name. One may agree with M. Fournier that to attribute to the simple name accompanied by the article the value of a title, which it could not have in the complete phrase “el Dalfis coms d’Alvergne,” would be arbitrary; nevertheless, the juxtaposition of article and name in vernacular acta is formal evidence that the practice had come into use at this period in the vernacular speech.
Vernacular Texts

References to Dalfin in troubadour texts are numerous; the list given below does not claim to be exhaustive, but is thought to be fairly complete.²⁰

1. Dalfin d'Alvernhe

(A) Coblas exchanged with Peire Pelissier (P.C. 119.1a and 353.1), MS: H.

"Al Dalfin man qu'estei dinz son hostel." (P.C. 353.1, line 1)

For observations on the date of the coblas, see supra.

(B) Tenso with Uc (Bausan) (P.C. 119.1 and 448.1), MSS: DGMNQRa¹.

Here the name Dalfin occurs only in the vocative at the beginning of the two poems of Uc.

(C) Tenso with Peirol (P.C. 366.10), MSS: EGIKNQa'd.

Again the name Dalfin occurs only in a vocative at the beginning of alternate stanzas.

(D) Coblas exchanged with the bishop of Clermont (P.C. 95.3 and 119.4), MS: H.

"Ben saup del Dalfin lo talan." (P.C. 95.3, line 5)

The date of this exchange is ca. 1213 (see supra). In the sirventes of the bishop addressed to Peire de Maensac (95.2),
the bishop does not address Dalfin by name but calls him “el coms.”

(E) Coblas exchanged with Bertran de la Tor (P.C. 92.1 and 119.5), MS: H.

“Mauret, al Dalfin agrada.” (P.C. 92.1, line 1)

This Bertran is probably Bertran II de la Tour (see supra).

(F) Sirventes exchanged with Richard Coeur-de-Lion (P.C. 119.8 and 420.1), MSS: ABDIKR.

The name of Dalfin again occurs only as a vocative, except in the razo (see supra).

2. Elias de Barjols 21 (P.C. 132.5 [Stronski (ed.), p. 2]), MSS: CE.

N’Aymars me don sa coindia
En Trencaleos
sa gensoze’, En Randos
donar, qu’es la senhoria
e·l Dalfis sos belhs respos.

(Stanza III, lines 17–21)

Stronski, relying on his identification of Bertran de la Tor “qui ne vivait plus en 1191,” places this poem before 1191. If, as is more probable, the reference is to Bertran (see supra), the date is more likely to be after 1200. All the other poems of Elias are later than 1191, and the references to other persons in the poem do not preclude this date.
3. Gaucelm Faidit

(A) P.C. 167.61 (A. Kolsen [ed.], *Trobadorgedichte*, p. 34), MSS: AVa.

Tant m’es al cor s’amors que a presenssaa
Dopte disses son bel nom en dormen,
Que de mi·m gart e de tot’autra gen,
Seign’en Dalafin, e s’agues entendenssa
Que ja nuill temps li plaques m’amistatz,
Tot lo maltraich volgra sofrir en patz.

(Stanza VI, lines 49-54)

Variants: “seigner dalafin,” A; “senjen dalafin,” V; “segnier dalafin,” a. The variants show that A and a often stand together against V.

(B) *Tenso* with Uc de la Bacalaria (P.C. 167.44 [Mahn (ed.), *Werke*, pp. 2, 99]), MSS: ADIKMORTa’d.

Gaucelm, lieis tenc per valen,
E vuelh que·l fassa, ab que·il sia,
E que·i apel eyssamen
Lo Dalafin que sap la via
E l’obra de drudaria.

(Stanza VIII, lines 72-76, second tornada)

Line 75 is found in ADIKOTa¹. It is missing in M; R has “lo merga”; T confuses the two tornadas. The reference to Maria de Ventadour (died 1221) and the dates of Uc de la Bacalaria suggest that the poem dates from the first or second decade of the thirteenth century.
4. Guiraudo lo Ros

(A) *Tenso* with a count (P.C. 240.6a [Suchier (ed.), *Denkmäler*, I. 333]), MS: N 287-461 (290b).

Seingner, en lei son trastut bon usatge,  
e sai de ver, ses nuilla falizo;  
qu'il e·l dalfis mantenran ma razo;  
que chascus sap d'amor lo dretz viatge.

(Stanza VIII, lines 55–56, *tornada*)

Guiraudo lo Ros is mentioned in the celebrated *sirventes* of the Monk of Montaudon (ca. 1194), and the date of his poetic activity probably centers around the last decade of the twelfth century.\(^{22}\)

(B) P.C. 240.5 (Mahn [ed.], *Werke*, p. 174), MSS: CD\(^{E} ERa\)\(^{e} \).

Senher Dalfi, tant sai vostres fags bos  
Que tot quan faitz platz et agrad'als pros.

(Stanza VII, lines 43–44, *tornada*)

The *tornada* occurs only in CERe. The text offers no indication of the date of composition.

5. Guiraut de Borneill\(^{23}\)

(A) *Sirventes* (P.C. 242.27 [Kolsen (ed.), I, 474]), MSS: ACDHIK.

E si anatz lai vas Rodes  
Ni passatz entre·ls montanhers,
This poem, addressed to the *jongleur* Cardalhac, is followed up in Dalfin's *sirventes* (119.7) addressed to the same person. The text of Guiraut offers no indications of the date of composition, but the reference to Elias Rudel (II) de Bergarac (whose existence has been attested to have been between 1201 and 1251) in Dalfin's poem indicates that the latter should probably be dated after 1200.

(B) *Sirventes* (P.C. 242.45 [Kolsen (ed.), I, 300]), MSS: ABCDIVKMNQRSgTUVa.

Although the manuscripts fall into fairly well defined groups, they are all more or less uniform in their versions of these four lines.

It is difficult to see any good reason for identifying the Eblon named in line 6 of the poem with Eble de Saignas (P.C. 128) and hence for following Stronski in his assertion that the poem "paraît remonter assez loin dans la deuxième moitié du XIIe siècle." If the Sobre-Totz of the *tornada* is to be identified with Raimon Bernart de Rouvenac who is probably attested in a charter of 1197, the date of the poem may well be nearer to the end of the century.
(C) **Sirventes** (P.C. 242.55 [Kolsen (ed.), I, 412]), MSS: ABCDIKNPQRSgUVCe.

So di·l Dalfis que conois los hos chans.

_(Stanza X, tornada)_

This tornada of one line is found only in ABDIKNPSge. There is no internal evidence in the poem to indicate its date of composition.  

6. **Peirol**

(A) **Canso** (P.C. 366.1 [Aston (ed.), XIII]), MSS: ACD'D'IKNRTa.

En Vianes anera plus soven
mas per midonz remain sai Alvergnatz,
prop del Dalfin, car sos afars mi platz.

_(Stanza VIII, tornada)_

This _tornada_ is found only in ACD'IKN, which are almost identical in their readings. The poem probably dates from the last decade of the twelfth century and the references to Vienne in the poems of Peirol may be significant (see _infra_).

(B) Various _cansos_ (P.C. 366.9, 12, and 27 [Aston (ed.), XXIV, XII, XI]) in which Dalfin is apostropized in a _tornada_.

Dalfi, s'auzes mon voler
dir' a ren que sia,
tant am vostra scignoria
que vos en saubratz lo ver.

_(XXIV, Stanza VII, lines 53–56)_
This \textit{tornada} is found in only seven versions (ABCEMRa) of the twenty-one manuscripts.

\begin{quote}
Dalfi, solatz et amors  
e cortes sens vos essenha  
cossi joys e pretz vos venha.
\end{quote}

\textit{(XII, Stanz\(\alpha\) VIII, lines 46–48)}

The \textit{tornada} is found in only two (Ca) of the sixteen manuscripts.

\begin{quote}
Dalfi, ses duptansa  
joy'e pretz vos cnansa  
mielhas c'amors no fai me.
\end{quote}

\textit{(XI, Stanz\(\alpha\) VII, lines 61–63)}

Of the eleven manuscripts (ACD'IKLMNRSa), all except D\(\ast\) contain the \textit{tornada}.

\begin{quote}
(C) \textit{Tenso} (P.C. 366.10 [Aston (ed.), XXVIII]), MSS: EGIKNQa'd.
\end{quote}

\textit{See supra, section 1(C).}

\begin{quote}
(D) \textit{Tenso} (P.C. 366.29 [Aston (ed.), XXXI]), MSS: ACDGIKLMNORSTa.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Amors, si li rey no·i van,  
del Dalfi vos dic aitan;  
ja per guerra ni per vos  
no remanra, tant es pros.
\end{quote}

\textit{(Stanza VI, lines 46–49, tornada)}

The \textit{tornada} is missing in IKR.

The \textit{tenso} was written during the preparation for the Third Crusade, and may be dated almost certainly in 1188.\textsuperscript{20}
This is apparently the earliest certain date at which the use of "Dalfin" with the definite article is found in troubadour poetry.


Totz temps duraria · l tensos,
Perdigons, per qu’ieu vuelh e · m platz
qu’el Dalfin sia · l plaitz pauzatz
qu’el jutge e l’acort en patz.

(Stanza VII, line 61–64, tornada)

There is almost complete unanimity in the readings of the manuscripts. The dates of Perdigon’s poetic career are to be set between 1195 and 1220; those of Gaucelm Faidit between 1185 and 1220. It seems probable that the date of composition of the tenso should be placed early in the thirteenth century.


Q’ieu vic qe · l dalfiz fon plus pros
Entendeir’, enanz qe drutz fos.

(Stanza IV, lines 39–40)

Albertet’s career and hence the date of the tenso is to be placed between the extremes of 1200 and ca. 1225. His datable poems lie between 1210 and 1221.

9. Raimon Vidal

In the Abrils issia of Raimon Vidal (Bartsch [ed.], Denkmäler p. 144), probably composed ca. 1210, there are
eight references to Dalfin, seven of which use his name with the definite article. The one exception indicates, however, that the author knew another current usage:

En Blacas noy fai a laissar
Ni del Baus en Guillaume lo blon
Ni d'Alvernhal senor Dunon
Ni·l comte Dalfi que tan valc.

(Bartsch, op. cit., p. 165, line 37, and p. 166, lines 1-3)

10. Uc de Saint Circ

(A) Tenso (P.C. 457.1 [A. Jeanroy and Salverda de Grave (eds.), p. 28]), MSS: ACDGIKLN²R.

Dalfin, de clara razo
Ai er faicha ma chansso,
Per so que puosca escrire
E devire
Cum eu ai
Vas lieis mon fin cor verai

(Stanza VI, lines 56-61, tornada)

The tornada is found only in ADIKN². The poem is ascribed by the editors to Uc's Toulouse period (1211 to 1220).

(B) Tenso (P.C. 457.24 [A. Jeanroy and Salverda de Grave (eds.), p. 136]), MSS: ADTa¹.

N'Ugo, eu voill que lo Dalfis
D'Alvergne, que sap ben d'amor
Cum ella vai e ven e cor,
The Name of the Troubadour Dalfin d'Alvernhe

Jutge si·m veda l'entendenssaa
Per mo mal o per ben volenssaa.

(Stanza VII, lines 79–83, tornada)

The tornada in this form is found only in A and D. The other two manuscripts have in the first two lines: T, “N'Ugo lo rei valente e fis / D'Aragon en cui pres saizia . . . ”; and a, “N'Ugo, lo reis valenz e fiz / D'Aragon a cui es aclis. . . . ” The editors assign this tenso, also, to Uc's Toulouse period.

The evidence offered by the vernacular texts is both more varied and more weighty than that provided by the vidas. In the first place, the manuscripts are far more numerous (twenty-five, or possibly twenty-six); and, although the greatest number of examples are to be found in ACDIKN, the manuscripts offer different lines of tradition and hence some degree of corroborative evidence. Secondly, although a considerable number of texts may date from after 1200, and hence be evidence of current thirteenth-century vernacular usage, there is one (the tenso of Peirol, P.C. 366.29) which shows the use of the article with Dalfin's name at the early and certain date of 1188, and a few (texts of Elias de Barjols, Gaucelm Faidit, Guiraudo lo Ros Guiraut de Borneill, Peirol) which may possibly date from the last decade of the twelfth century.

These texts, too, offer a variety of designations. Thus, alongside the common “lo dalfis,” etc., we find: “senher dalfis,” offered by manuscripts Aa(V) in Gaucelm Faidit, P.C. 161.61, and by C(E)R e in Guiraudo lo Ros, P.C. 240.5; “-1 comte dalfis,” along with the more common “lo dalfis,” etc. (in Raimon Vidal); and “lo dalfis d'Alvergne” (in Uc de Saint Cire, P.C. 185.2).
Conclusion

The evidence of the vernacular texts for the use of the definite article with the name "Dalfin" is quantitatively imposing but is subject to qualifications. Most of the texts are not earlier than the thirteenth century, by which time, as M. Fournier has shown, various forms had begun to develop in the Latin texts. Yet one may distinguish between the authoritative usage of official chancellery *acta*, on the one hand, and the freer fashions and conventions of literary usage, on the other. In the vernacular, four forms occur, two of which are rare. In "senher [en] dalﬁs," "dalﬁs" is clearly a personal name, while the isolated "·1 comte dalﬁ" of Raimon Vidal corresponds to the "Delphinus comes" of contemporary Latin *acta*. Two usages, however, "lo Dalﬁns" and "lo Dalﬁns d’Alverne," are clearly evident. The former is earlier and more common and is found alike in *vidas*, vernacular documents, and literary texts. It is evident from the text of Peirol (P.C. 366.29) that the combination of article and name was definitely used as early as 1188, while a few of the other texts cited, including the vernacular document of 1201, may add some corroborative evidence for such a usage before or about 1200. Nevertheless, the use of the term "lo Dalﬁns" does not justify Stronski’s categoric assertion that the word "Dalﬁn" at this time could only be a surname which had already assumed the value of a title; this question has been thoroughly examined by M. Fournier. To see an analogy between usage in the Viennois, where the name "Dalﬁn" had been borne by the counts for more than half a century, and usage in the Auvergne, where the son of Guillaume le Jeune is the first to bear the name, is not necessarily justified, even though the close family connec-
tion between the families and the close contacts of the two
counts, for which some literary evidence may be found in the
references to Vienne in the poems of Peirol (P.C. 366.1 and
26), may have given a natural impulse to the adoption of the
terminology “lo Dalfis.” M. Fournier has found, I think, the
true explanation when he points out that the use of pseu-
donymys has always existed in the literary circles associated
with a courtly society. Dalfin’s unusual name offered an
obvious and easy sobriquet which Dalfin himself early recog-
nized, and in recognizing it publicly in his crest, no doubt
gave it wider currency. The use of the term “lo Dalfis” in
troubadour texts represents, in all probability, a literary usage
which, to judge by the vernacular document of 1201, may well
have become more widely used by the turn of the century.

More puzzling on the surface, perhaps, is the terminology
“lo Dalfins d’Alvernhe,” found both in the vidas and razos and
in the poem of Uc de Saint Circ (P.C. 457.24). The latter
poem dates certainly from the thirteenth century and the
evidence of the tornada found in A and D against the contrary
“reis d’Aragon” of T and a may possibly be suspect. The
evidence of the vidas and razos is more extensive and seemingly
more definite; yet here again it is possible to suggest a simple
explanation, without maintaining, as does Stronski, that the
name had already become a title.

The vidas and razos, in the forms as we have them, certainly
belong to the thirteenth century; but even if one admits that
the extant texts could be based on earlier material, such
material, if it existed, could scarcely be earlier than 1200 and
would, for the most part, belong to the first or second decades
of the thirteenth century. The phrase “lo Dalfis d’Alvernhe”
could well be a confusion. Latin acta attest the use of
“Delfinus comes Arvernie” as early as 1196, and of “Dalphinus de Arvernia” by 1225; “and a vernacular document, the use of “el Dalfis coms d’Alvernge” in 1201. Is it not possible that the vernacular equivalent “Dalfis [coms] d’Alvernhe” of the Latin acta and the current vernacular usage of “lo Dalfins” may have been combined to give rise to another usage, “lo Dalfins [coms] d’Alvernhe”? And that it is this new usage which is reflected in the vidas and razos and in the document of 1201?

M. Fournier has relied on the sure evidence of Latin acta, from which the gradual development of Dalfin in Auvergne from a personal name, via a patronymic, into a title is clear. One may conclude that a detailed examination of the vernacular texts is far from disproving his thesis and, indeed, does much to support it.


The Name of the Troubadour Dalfin d'Alvernhe

[Leipzig], 1941, p. 34, presumably following De Monteyer) is immaterial for our purpose here.

3. Articles by Thomas, Stronski, and M. Fournier ("Le Nom du troubadour," p. 75 ff., and his supplementary note in Bulletin Historique et Scientifique de l'Auvergne) have shown that the name "Robert" derives from the late and uncertain copies of an act of 1215 and is not authenticated. For an ingenious suggestion regarding a possible source of error in a faulty reading of the manuscripts, see Becker, op. cit., p. 36.

4. The first documentary evidence for the title "Arvenie delphinus" is found in the will of Robert III (1262-1282), dated 1281.

5. Quotations in this section are taken from the texts contained in J. Boutière and A. H. Schutz, Biographies des Troubadours (Toulouse and Paris, 1950).


19. R. Grand, in Les Plus anciens textes romans de la Haute-Auvergne (Paris, 1901), p. 27, mentioned P. F. Fournier, op. cit., p. 74, and, for a full discussion, see especially p. 86. The text of this document has not been immediately accessible to me; and I have, therefore, had to rely on the details supplied by M. Fournier, p. 86.

20. Examples of the use of dalfin which refer definitely to the counts of Vienne (for example, the sirventes of the Trobair de Villa-Arnaut, Pillet-Carstens, Bibliographie des Troubadours, 446.2, the date of which is 1257) have not been included here.


22. It is not altogether certain that the poem is to be attributed to Guiraudo lo Ros (P.C. 240) as distinct from Guiraudo (P.C. 239). Jeanroy,
Poésie lyrique, I, 383, places the activity of the latter ("qui se confond probablement avec Guiraudo lo Ros") in the first third of the thirteenth century. Stronski, Annales du Midi, XVIII, 481, assumes Guiraudo lo Ros, whom he assigns to the twelfth century, and states that Dalfin’s relations with him "sont nécessairement d’une date ancienne." It is not clear what meaning is to be attached to this statement, nor indeed what authority justifies it.

25. Ibid., p. 480.
27. The picturesque story contained in the razo of the poem (Boutière and Schutz, op. cit., p. 199), which is based on a faulty interpretation of St. VIII, is to be disregarded (see Boutière and Schutz, p. 394).
33. Ibid., p. 12. It is possible that the dalfiz referred to here may be Gui-André of Vienne.
35. Stronski, Annales du Midi, XVIII, 483, n. 1, sees here the juxtaposition of two titles, and cites as parallels lo rei emperador, lo comte dalfin Gigo (found in the sirventes of 1257 of the Trobaire de Villa-Arnaut [P.C. 446.2]; the phrase there designates, however, the count of Albon and Vienne, and, as Fournier indicates [op. cit., p. 84], this usage is attested in the Viennois from 1223 onward). One could adduce against Stronski numerous examples of the use of title and proper name (for example, lo coms Gis in the razon to P.C. 119.8 and 420.1; see Boutière and Schutz, p. 89).
37. The tornada concerned occurs only in AD (cf. variants of Ta¹); corresponding terminology (Arvenie delphinus) is not attested in a Latin text until 1281.
39. One may point out here that, although it is customary to date Dalfin’s succession to the countly title as early as 1169, there is some documentary evidence (Baluze, op. cit., II, 69) to indicate that his father, Guillaume le Jeune, was still alive in 1181. Dalfin can scarcely have been born before 1155–1160. The earliest extant act attributed to him dates from 1193. See also P. A. Becker, op. cit., p. 30.
40. The oldest example of Dalfin's seal, which dates from 1199, shows that by this date Dalfin has replaced the old arms of the house of Auvergne with the emblem of the dolphin. See A. Prudhomme, *op. cit.*, p. 453; and P. F. Fournier, *op. cit.*, p. 87. The houses of Albon and Forez adopted the same device shortly afterwards.