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Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann

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The Evolution of Arthurian Romance

This study is intended as a contribution to both reception history, examining the medieval response to Chrétien's poetry, and genre history, surveying the evolution of Arthurian verse romance in French. It describes the evolutionary changes taking place between Chrétien's *Erec et Enide* and Froissart's *Meliador*, the first and last examples of the genre, and is unique in placing Chrétien's work, not as the unequalled masterpieces of the whole of Arthurian literature but as the starting-point for the history of the genre, which can subsequently be traced over a period of two centuries in the French-speaking world. Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann's study was first published in German in 1985, but her radical argument that we need urgently to redraw the lines on the literary and linguistic map of medieval Britain and France is only now being made available in English.

Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann has published widely on Arthurian subjects, Tristan, hagiographic legends, courtly literature, iconography and Middle English lyrics. She is based in Germany.

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BEATE SCHMOLKE-HASSELMANN

Translated by Margaret and Roger Middleton



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Preface to the translation

BY ROGER MIDDLETON

Margaret did not readily talk about herself or her work, and the preface that she had prepared for her book was short in the extreme. Had she lived to see the task completed I think I should have persuaded her to be a little more expansive about some of the technicalities, but not about her own contribution. Her translation of the German is at the heart of the work, but it was by no means the whole of her effort. She was never content to deal simply with the words, she was always determined to understand the author's ideas and the subject to which they referred. She did not translate literally, but she had an intuitive way of grasping whole thoughts and expressing them in natural English. Yet at the same time she would also take great care to confirm the accuracy of the result.

She took immense care also with quotations and references. Except for the rare cases where items proved to be unobtainable, all quotations, whether from Old French texts or from modern scholars were checked in minute detail against their originals, and the text printed here is that of those sources. Bibliographical details were similarly confirmed, and every reference traced to its source to confirm its accuracy. Margaret simply took all this for granted.

Even during the few months of her final illness she continued the work of revision. The translation itself was finished by this time and had already been approved, but she still devoted herself to checking points of detail and searching for minute inconsistencies in her work and mine, such as between two occurrences of the same Old French quotation or between footnote and bibliography.

My own involvement in the project was progressive. At the beginning I had casually agreed to give moral support, including help with word processing on the computer and with matters concerning Old French literature where a knowledge of the subject might resolve some difficulty in translating the German, and eventually to read the finished text (as Margaret had always done for whatever I had written) simply to have a second opinion on the English as

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part of the final proof-reading. Not very onerous tasks, scarcely enough to warrant a mention in a preface let alone a place on the title page. My role soon changed, however, when it was decided to include translations of all Old French quotations and to provide camera-ready copy. Both these tasks clearly fell much more within my experience than Margaret's, and I was duly called upon to participate.

Ever anxious to diminish her own role it was Margaret who insisted that the book should appear as a joint production. Not, of course, in the sense that we had contributed in equal measure, but in the sense that each had contributed what was necessary. Our skills were exactly complementary, and the book depended upon their being brought together.

Sadly, in the end, Margaret did not see the work to its conclusion. She was taken ill in the middle of 1995 and died just after Christmas. She knew at that stage that she had done what was needed for the book to be completed, and however much it was the joint effort she thought it to be, it was in many other ways and will remain 'Margaret's book'.

The final division of labour was that Margaret translated everything that was in German or modern French, checked the quotations and references, and converted the original Bibliography to its present form. I translated the quotations from Old French (and the few examples of other languages), converted the German Index, extracted the Supplementary Bibliography from the fully documented footnotes of the Foreword supplied by Keith Busby, and converted Margaret's word processing to the finished camera-ready copy. That said, however, we both read each other's work and contributed accordingly.

In translating the Old French I have attempted to take account of any interpretation expressed or implied in the German. Consequently, where the Old French may be understood in more than one way the version given does not necessarily reflect my own preferences, but is chosen to be consistent with the commentary to which it gives rise. The danger of this is that the translation might appear to lend weight to an interpretation of the French that is open to discussion, but that cannot be helped. After all, authors must be allowed their own view of the text that they are discussing, and this must remain as true for a translation as for the original. On the same basis the quotations themselves are normally taken from the edition of the text used by Schmolke-Hasselmann so that the text before the reader is the same as that studied by the author. There are cases where someone writing today might prefer other editions, but we have not intervened except in the cases of *Beaudous* and *Fergus*. We have used the published edition for *Beaudous* in place of the unpublished dissertation, and we

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have used the modern edition of *Fergus*, mainly for the convenience of its sequential line numbering. The edition by Ernst Martin provided a dual system of reference by numbering the lines on each page separately and providing a running total at the head of the page, creating ample scope for error and confusion. Our use of a different edition occasionally creates a discrepancy between a quotation and the discussion connected with it; this is always duly noted when translating the Old French.

We have refrained as much as possible from adding translator's notes, but not all textual difficulties can be passed over in silence (especially in the case of *Hunbaut* where poet and scribe persistently stretch grammar and sense to their limits). Apart from these few instances closely connected with the Old French text there are also just one or two cases where we have felt it useful to introduce a note that provides some necessary piece of information not readily available elsewhere. All such interventions are placed within square brackets and marked as 'Translator's notes'. Some small additions supplied for the sake of clarity are simply placed within square brackets. These are almost exclusively the names of German poets whose works are likely to be less familiar to readers of this translation than of the original. Since we have translated all quotations from scholars not writing in English some of the bibliographical references take the form 'Translated from ...' as a reminder that the wording is ours not the original author's. All other minor interventions and corrections are made without comment.

The translation normally follows the structural divisions of its original very closely, but there are some cases where the paragraphing has been altered slightly and a few where subheadings have been avoided. The chapter numbering of Part Two conforms to the present publisher's practice of maintaining a continuous sequence throughout the book rather than numbering each part separately. The one systematic intervention on our part is the way in which we have treated the original footnotes. The first and most important change is that substantial notes, and particularly those that include extensive quotations in Old French verse, have been integrated into the text itself. Lengthy footnotes have been left as such only when their contents really are subsidiary to the main line of argument. The second change is that simple references to the line numbers of quotations are given after the quotation itself. Where it is clear from the immediate context (as it usually is) which text the quotation is from the line numbers are given without further indication. Only in cases where the text is not named in advance, or where more than one text has been mentioned, does the reference include a shortened title. In contrast to this simplification, references in the footnotes that remain have been expanded. The titles of Old French romances are now given

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in full rather in the form of one- or two-letter abbreviations, and references to modern scholarship are no longer reduced to author and date, but given in full on the first occasion and then subsequently with only minor abbreviation. The German system of numbering the footnotes consecutively throughout the volume has been replaced by the more usual English practice of numbering in a new sequence for each chapter.

Finally, our grateful thanks are due first of all to the Vinaver Trustees, especially to the successive chairmen Glyn Burgess and Geoff Bromiley who supervised the project through its various stages, and to all those amongst the trustees who read the different chapters and offered their valuable advice. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge our special debt to Keith Busby who has contributed the Foreword with all its wealth of bibliographical information. At Cambridge University Press our thanks go to Katharina Brett under whose auspices the project was begun and under whose guidance it progressed, and to her successors, Victoria Sellar and Ann Rex, who saw the work through its difficult final stages.

But to Margaret the last word. Her preface was quite simply: ‘This translation has been produced at the instigation and with the support of the Vinaver Trust, to whom we are pleased to acknowledge our indebtedness. Since the aim is to make Dr Schmolke-Hasselmann’s study accessible to students of Old French who are less conversant with German, we have translated not only the main body of the text but also any quotations from scholars not writing in English; there is an indication in the footnotes wherever such quotations are not in the original language. A translation has also been supplied for all quotations from the original medieval texts, while the quotations themselves have been checked against the appropriate editions, and we have taken the opportunity to correct a number of inaccurate references. At the end of the Bibliography a supplement has been added to include more recent editions of texts, translations and further studies which may be found useful but which were not available to the original study.’

Foreword

BY KEITH BUSBY

This book is a landmark in Arthurian scholarship. Regrettably, it has until now remained largely inaccessible to those without a reading knowledge of German. This has been doubly unfortunate, firstly because of the general importance of Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann's ideas for the understanding of the evolution of French Arthurian verse romance, and secondly because one of the book's central theses holds that much of what we have considered to be medieval French literature is in fact English literature in French. Although Anglicists have always been obliged to deal with the continental literature that provides Middle English with much of its foundations, Schmolke-Hasselmann goes a good deal further and plausibly argues that we urgently need to redraw some lines on the literary and linguistic map of Britain and France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. To define English and French literature in merely linguistic terms corresponds to modern preconceptions of ethnic and national identity and creates a highly distorted view of the medieval reality. These suggestions have not proved universally palatable, entailing as they do a radical revision of received views. It is in many ways remarkable that such received views have obtained for as long as they have, particularly since there has long been general agreement that the Norman invasion had profound cultural consequences for the British Isles. One of the stumbling blocks has probably been the assumption that texts written in continental French were written on the continent for continental audiences and that only those written in Anglo-Norman circulated in Britain. This is demonstrably not the case and manuscripts in various dialects circulated freely on both sides of the Channel. To put it somewhat bluntly, Anglicists will have to learn Old French if they are to understand fully the English literary culture of the period, and scholars of Old French will have to cede part of the French *patrimoine* to the insular descendants of the Normans.

As a chronological outline of the development of French Arthurian romance began to emerge from scholarship of the late nineteenth century, it gradually

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became clear that the verse romances written after Chrétien de Troyes owed much to his own works. Authors of such romances, whose period of composition extends from the end of the twelfth century through the late thirteenth (and into the second half of the fourteenth if one includes Froissart's 'anachronistic' *Meliador*), were by and large regarded as slavish and generally untalented imitators of Chrétien. Chrétien was taken to be the first and the best author of Arthurian verse romance, the decline of the genre setting in immediately after his death. This tiresome critical practice of odious comparison of the later romances with Chrétien has proved particularly obstinate, but Schmolke-Hasselmann's work finally provides us with a means of assessing them on their own terms. Drawing on and refining the work of earlier German scholars such as Erich Köhler and Hans Robert Jaub, Schmolke-Hasselmann examines the reception of Chrétien in the 'epigonal romances'. The concept of 'Epigontum' is of particular importance, for it underlies the development of Schmolke-Hasselmann's arguments throughout the book. Epigones work within the tradition of the master, aware of his role in determining the nature of that tradition. They are equally aware that servile imitation is inadvisable as it will lead to their work being compared directly with accepted masterpieces of the genre. Indeed, there seems to have been a certain reluctance on the part of authors to follow in Chrétien's footsteps and invite the comparison, as witness the gap of a generation between his last romance and the regular production of other Arthurian romances in verse; this is what Schmolke-Hasselmann has called 'the Chrétien-complex'. If authors writing in Chrétien's wake managed to avoid disparaging comparison with their predecessor in the thirteenth century and have their work judged on its own merits, they have not been so fortunate in the twentieth. When the epigones do take up the challenge, it is as an act of creative reception, using and modifying the framework provided by Chrétien with a view to producing something to the taste of their particular audience or patrons. The Chrétien-epigones are generally neither slavish nor untalented imitators, as was assumed without any justification by earlier scholars. Although this does not, of course, preclude the existence of bad epigones. However, this book does not aim to pass aesthetic value-judgements on the epigonal romances, but rather to provide a platform for and means of reading and understanding them in their historical, social and literary contexts. Schmolke-Hasselmann believes that Arthurian romance had a special, often political, significance for the highest social classes in Anglo-Angevin society. Furthermore, its audience seems to have been formed by a limited number of *aficionados* who knew Chrétien's works in great detail, presumably through listening to frequent performances, and interpreted the epigonal works as creative responses to them, as their authors

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probably intended. The evolution of verse romance is thus marked by both continuity and disruption, depending on the precise nature of the epigonal response.

Although Schmolke-Hasselmann's work (and I include her articles in French and English,¹ as well as German) is innovative, it is not isolated, and forms part of a general movement since the 1970s to re-evaluate the canon of Old French romance. A similar tendency can be noted in work on Middle High German romance, where scholarship has proliferated on what are now generally referred to as 'post-classical romances' ('nachklassische Romane') written after Hartmann von Aue and Wolfram von Eschenbach.² The French and English articles have, to be sure, reached a somewhat wider audience than Schmolke-Hasselmann's work published in German, but they are either more specialized or summary, and do not present the kind of synthesis offered in the present book. In the rest of this Foreword, I will attempt to sketch the general state of scholarship on French Arthurian romance since 1980 (more or less) and to situate Schmolke-Hasselmann's work within it. It will sometimes be necessary to discuss earlier work, especially large projects whose publication extends over a number of years. The ground covered in this Foreword overlaps somewhat with that in an earlier article, where I discussed progress and trends in Arthurian scholarship during the period 1962–87, and where my view of work produced in the 1960s and 1970s can be found.³ What is both significant and encouraging is that Schmolke-Hasselmann's work is indicative of only one of a number of directions currently being investigated in Arthurian scholarship. While some types of scholarship I discuss below may not seem directly, or on occasions even indirectly, related to the subject of this book, I believe the very diversity can be seen as part of the liberation of medieval literary scholarship from an exclusively—and oppressively—text-oriented approach.

¹ For example, 'King Arthur as Villain in the Thirteenth-century Romance *Yder*', *Reading Medieval Studies* 6 (1980), 31–43; 'Henri II Plantagenêt, roi d'Angleterre, et la genèse d'*Erec et Enide*', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 24 (1981), 241–6; 'Le roman de *Fergus*: technique narrative et intention politique', in *An Arthurian Tapestry: essays in memory of Lewis Thorpe*, edited by Kenneth Varty (Glasgow, 1981), pp. 342–53; 'The Round Table: Ideal, Fiction, Reality', *Arthurian Literature* 2 (1983), 41–75.

² The first important study in this field predates the publication of the German version of this book by only three years: Christoph Cormeau, '*Wigalois*' und '*Diu Crône*': zwei Kapitel zur Gattungsgeschichte des nachklassischen Aventiurerromans (Munich, 1977).

³ 'Medieval French Arthurian Literature: Recent Progress and Critical Trends', in *The Vitality of the Arthurian Legend: A Symposium*, edited by Mette Pors (Odense, 1988), pp. 45–70. I am also grateful to Garland Publishing, Inc., for permission to include in this Foreword material from the chapter on medieval French literature in *Medieval Arthurian Literature: A Guide to Recent Research*, edited by Norris J. Lacy (New York and London, 1996), pp. 121–209.

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It is also worth pointing out here that a distinction has traditionally been made between verse romance on the one hand, and prose romance on the other, a distinction that makes sense and which is used by Schmolke-Hasselmann to keep her subject within manageable proportions. Verse romance exhibits certain 'generic' characteristics not shared by prose romance (and vice versa), and while it is true that verse romance, beginning in the 1160s, has the initial chronological priority over prose romance, which blossoms only in the first decades of the thirteenth century, the reception of Chrétien's verse romances as discussed by Schmolke-Hasselmann is taking place at precisely the same time that the prose romances are being written and disseminated in manuscripts. Many of the Chrétien manuscripts were produced at this time and some may even have been produced in workshops that also produced copies of Arthurian prose romances. I shall therefore include consideration of scholarship on Arthurian prose romance in the pages that follow where desirable. Indeed, it could be argued that we need another global study on the lines of Schmolke-Hasselmann's, this time dealing with the rise and reception of prose romance in the thirteenth century. Certainly, enough recent progress has been made in the study of prose romance to make this possible, if still something of a challenge.

Text-editions are, of course, an absolute prerequisite for scholars (unless they have permanent and easy access to large repositories of manuscripts), yet the practice of editing fell into disrepute in the 1960s and 1970s, coming to be regarded as the refuge of scholars with nothing to add to our understanding of the literature (it is probably true that Ph.D. students were often nudged in the direction of an edition *faute de mieux*). Editors would now respond that only by close examination of literature in its manuscript context can one fully comprehend the behaviour of the medieval text, and that all self-respecting medievalists should at least have dirtied their hands attempting an edition. One of the results of recent interest in literary theory has been a re-examination of medieval textuality and its consequences for the modern reader. Amongst other things, this has led to an apparently paradoxical surge in the production of text-editions of various persuasions and the renewal of the near-extinct art of editing. It is a curious, if understandable, fact that may speak volumes about scholarly methods and procedures that a new edition of a text often sparks a renewal of critical interest in it, this despite the accessibility in most major libraries of older, still serviceable, editions. At the time when Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann's book was published in Germany, there had been few recent editions of the texts she studies, and from that point of view alone, her work was unusual. In this sense, too, the production of editions constitutes a major stimulus to the progress of scholarship. If the publications of text-editions is a gauge of interest in a

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particular area of medieval scholarship, then Arthurian romance, prose and verse, may be said to be in a healthy enough state. There is here a symbiotic relationship at work between critics and text-editors: if new editions rekindle interest in texts, then innovative studies such as Schmolke-Hasselmann's may also suggest to editors that neglected romances are worth their attention. Thankfully, very few Old French Arthurian texts now remain inaccessible to the scholar; only substantial parts of the enormously long *Perceforest* and smaller sections of the Prose *Tristan* remain unpublished, and publication of even the last-mentioned is nearing completion. It needs to be restated here, however, that the extraordinary nature of the transmission and rewriting of the prose romances probably means that recourse will always have to be had to the manuscripts for certain purposes.

Recent editorial activity has been preceded and accompanied, as I have suggested, by much discussion of the principles of editing Old French texts in general and Chrétien's romances in particular. This discussion has in essence been the result of two stimuli, one the renewal of a long-standing polemic between 'interventionists' and 'non-interventionists', and the other, an apparent clash between traditional philologists and supporters of more radical 'modern' textual theories. Although viewpoints have varied in the first part of the debate, a consensus seems to have formed in that the 'best manuscript' method in its extreme formulation by Joseph Bédier, long tacitly accepted as the norm, is incapable of doing justice either to Chrétien de Troyes or to the rich manuscript transmission of his romances. Particularly noteworthy early contributions to the literature were by Tony Hunt and T. B. W. Reid,⁴ who both criticize the best manuscript editions of Chrétien from theoretical and practical points of view. Brian Woledge's two volumes of textual commentary on *Yvain*⁵ are also required reading for the editorial problem as the specific issues they raise are valid, *mutatis mutandis*, for Chrétien's entire *œuvre* and Old French literature in general. Mention ought to be made of a spirited exchange of views between David F. Hult, and Karl D. Uitti and Alfred Foulet,⁶ in especial connection with the text of *Lancelot*. The more radical aspect of the controversy was catalysed in the last decade by attacks in both France and the United States on traditional philological practices; Chrétien's texts were often the focal point of heated

⁴ Tony Hunt, 'Chrétien de Troyes: The Textual Problem', *French Studies* 33 (1979), 257–71; T. B. W. Reid, 'Chrétien de Troyes and the Scribe Guiot', *Medium Ævum* 45 (1976), 1–19.

⁵ *Commentaire sur 'Yvain' ('Le chevalier au lion') de Chrétien de Troyes*, 2 vols (Geneva, 1986–8).

⁶ David F. Hult, 'Lancelot's Two Steps: A Problem in Textual Criticism', *Speculum* 61 (1986), 836–58, and 'Steps Forward and Steps Backward: More on Chrétien's *Lancelot*', *Speculum* 64 (1989), 307–16; Karl D. Uitti and Alfred Foulet, 'On Editing Chrétien de Troyes: Lancelot's Two Steps and Their Context', *Speculum* 63 (1988), 271–92.

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debate.⁷ It is particularly noteworthy how national traditions persist in such matters: British (and Italian) scholarship has long favoured various forms of the critical edition whereas it is still usually anathema in France or with scholars trained in the French manner; North American scholars have tended to show more sympathy with interventionism. Curiously, in Germany, where the philological tradition was born and where the first editions were produced, scholars are by and large no longer editing texts. Nevertheless, Schmolke-Hasselmann's book, like much modern scholarship, is built on the foundations of German philology and shares an awareness of the importance of the textual transmission of Arthurian romance. Her brief examination of the manuscripts in which the romances are preserved is sufficient witness to this.

Wace's *Brut* provided Chrétien with the example of an Arthurian text in Old French octosyllabic couplets, and its pseudo-chronicle framework was revitalized by the authors of the great prose cycles; it can therefore be seen to occupy an important place in the evolution of French romance. Moreover, in MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 1450, it actually provides a structure into which Chrétien's romances are inserted, furnishing evidence of one scribe's view of the genre: Chrétien's works are intercalated into the text of the *Brut* at the point where Wace talks of the Arthurian 'fables' told by the *jongleurs*, which deal with events which supposedly took place during the peaceful period of Arthur's reign.⁸ One edition of the Arthurian section of the *Brut* has appeared recently, namely Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Ian Short's *La geste du roi Arthur*,⁹ which presents the Arthurian part of the text from the hitherto unedited MS Durham, Cathedral Library C. iv. 27, an early Anglo-Norman copy written in a French close to that of Wace; the text of 4,458 lines is accompanied by a modern French prose translation and followed by a French prose translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* as edited from MS Bern, Burgerbibliothek 568 by Neil Wright.¹⁰ This book is a major contribution to the study of Geoffrey and Wace and their role in the development of Arthurian literature. The relation between the versions of Geoffrey and Wace has been studied in a recent series of articles by Laurence Mathey-Maille and has put flesh

⁷ See Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris, 1989) and some responses in *Towards a Synthesis?: Essays on the New Philology*, edited by Keith Busby (Amsterdam, 1993). The January 1990 issue of *Speculum* (vol. 65, no. 1) was devoted to 'The New Philology' and provoked not a little hostility on the part of some traditional scholars.

⁸ See Lori Walters, 'Le rôle du scribe dans l'organisation des manuscrits des romans de Chrétien de Troyes', *Romania* 106 (1985), 303–25.

⁹ *La geste du roi Arthur* (Paris, 1993).

¹⁰ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The Historia Regum Britanniae*, edited by Neil Wright (Cambridge, 1985).

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on the bones of some old generalizations.¹¹ An assessment of Wace's achievement also provides an essential prerequisite for the study of Chrétien, since he seems to have been the latter's only immediate model for an Arthurian text in the vernacular. Study of Wace and the earlier evolution of Arthurian romance therefore also constitutes an essential preliminary to Schmolke-Hasselmann's book. That Chrétien and Wace are so different one from the other suggests that Chrétien chose very consciously to pursue another course, just as his epigones in turn made conscious decisions to strike out in other directions.

For many decades, there was a scandalous dearth of good editions of the romances of Chrétien de Troyes himself. This fact is all the more remarkable in the light of the general acceptance of Chrétien's crucial role in the evolution of the genre, so eloquently restated and newly argued in the present book by Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann. I have tried to articulate above some of the theoretical and practical problems involved in the text-editing debates, so suffice it here to say that scholars of Chrétien de Troyes have had recourse either to the 'critical' but often artificially reconstructed editions of Wendelin Foerster (and Alfons Hilka for *Perceval*) or to the 'best manuscript' editions of Mario Roques (Alexandre Micha for *Cligés* and Félix Lecoy for *Perceval*) based on Paris, BN fr. 794, the so-called 'copie de Guiot'; William Roach's edition of *Perceval* from BN fr. 12576 was also easily available and widely used. The availability and affordability of the Roques–Micha–Lecoy texts in the *Classiques Français du Moyen Age* led to their acceptance as the edition that most scholars had to hand, begging the question as to what extent economic factors and ease of use direct the course of scholarship. This easy and unquestioning acceptance of the CFMA editions was itself also rooted in a general unawareness of the nature of the medieval text and its manuscript transmission. As this situation changed and as scholars began to realize that slavish adherence to a base manuscript ran the risk of substituting one scribe, and only one, for the poet, in what may have amounted to a betrayal of the latter, efforts were undertaken to correct the lack. Editions of *Lancelot*, *Yvain*, *Erec et Enide*, and *Perceval* were all produced for the Garland Library of Medieval Literature.¹² These are somewhat more

¹¹ For example, 'Traduction et création: de l'*Historia Regum Britanniae* de Geoffroy de Monmouth au *Roman de Brut* de Wace', in *Écriture et modes de pensée au Moyen Age (VIIIe–XVe siècles)*, edited by Dominique Boutet and Laurence Harf-Lancner (Paris, 1993), pp. 187–93, and 'De l'*Historia Regum Britanniae* de Geoffroy de Monmouth au *Roman de Brut* de Wace: traduction du texte latin et étude comparative', *Perspectives médiévales* 19 (1993), 92–5.

¹² *Lancelot*, by William W. Kibler (New York and London, 1981); *Yvain*, by William W. Kibler (New York and London, 1985); *Erec and Enide*, by Carleton W. Carroll (New York and London, 1987); *Perceval*, edited by Rupert T. Pickens and translated by William W. Kibler (New York and London, 1990).

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interventionist, but still based on Guiot, and accompanied by facing English translations; they still exhibit a reluctance to confront the Guiot problem head on. It is perhaps symptomatic of the lesser attention paid to Chrétien's 'Byzantine' romance, *Cligés*, that it has not been the object of an edition in this series. Schmolke-Hasselmann shows in the present book that, of all Chrétien's romances, *Cligés* seems to have left the fewest intertextual traces in the thirteenth century. It is hardly mentioned in subsequent literature (although it was turned into Burgundian prose in the fifteenth century), and is not adapted into other languages. Its neglect by modern scholars is thus strangely in keeping with its medieval reception. The accessibility of editions of Chrétien, together with his position as one of the canonical authors of Old French literature, doubtless contributed to the plethora of studies of his works and the relative neglect of his epigones, a neglect redressed in this book.

A project initiated by members of the British Branch of the International Arthurian Society under the auspices of the Eugene Vinaver Memorial Trust has to date produced full critical editions of *Cligés* and of *Perceval*.¹³ The Gregory–Luttrell *Cligés* is based on Guiot and my *Perceval* on BN fr. 12576, but both editions provide a generous amount of critical apparatus in an attempt not only to restore Chrétien's own words, where possible, but also to offer the reading of all individual manuscripts (within the limitations imposed by the format of the printed book). The presupposition of an authorial text is not at odds with modern views of *variance* as the prime characteristic of medieval literature, for the existence of the poet's text is a *sine qua non* for the development of any kind of textual transmission, however much variation it may show. Indeed, the specific case of Chrétien de Troyes and his relationship with his epigones illustrates exactly how important the figure of the poet can be for an understanding of literary dynamics in the Middle Ages: *Erec et Enide*, *Cligés*, *Lancelot*, *Yvain* and *Perceval* were clearly regarded by epigones as the work and words of the author, Chrétien de Troyes, and such a perspective had a radical influence on the way in which the genre evolved, as Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann shows here.

Although Foerster's editions were presented as parts of Chrétien's 'Sämtliche Werke' and those of Roques–Micha–Lecoy as 'Les romans de Chrétien de Troyes', there existed until 1994 no single-volume 'Œuvres complètes' of France's first and most important author of Arthurian romance. It is precisely the realization of Chrétien's status as the first French author to have bequeathed a sizeable corpus of extended narratives that led to the publication in the same year of two such enterprises. Post-modern claims concerning the death of the author

¹³ Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligés*, edited by Stewart Gregory and Claude Luttrell (Cambridge, 1993); *Le Roman de Perceval ou Le Conte du Graal*, edited by Keith Busby (Tübingen, 1993).

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seem to be exaggerated, and may even constitute in Chrétien's case a real hindrance to our appreciation of his legacy, as I have tried to suggest above; Chrétien as author is certainly central to many of the arguments in Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann's book. The series 'Lettres Gothiques', directed by Michel Zink and published by the Livre de Poche, included individual editions and French translations of all of Chrétien's romances, which were subsequently published in a single collected volume in the series 'Classiques Modernes'.¹⁴ The romances were purposely based on manuscripts other than Guiot with a view to presenting a different text to the reading public. These editions, with their excellent introductions and modest apparatus, are valuable additions to our knowledge of the transmission of Chrétien's romances, and their very existence an indication of precisely how small a part of the textual evidence is actually available to scholars. The collective volume, which retains only a minimum of introductory material from the individual works, also includes an edition of Chrétien's lyrics by Marie-Claire Gérard-Zai and a translation by Olivier Collet which accompanies a reprint of C. de Boer's edition of *Philomena*; *Guillaume d'Angleterre* is not included. Since Schmolke-Hasselmann's focus is on the Arthurian romances, she does not consider the lyrics or *Philomena*; the attribution of *Guillaume d'Angleterre* to Chrétien is generally rejected nowadays.

The same year saw the appearance of a second 'Œuvres complètes', published under the general editorship of Daniel Poirion in the prestigious series 'Éditions de la Pléiade'.¹⁵ The publication of this volume was accompanied in France by more media attention than Chrétien de Troyes had probably ever hitherto received. The romances are edited by an international team of scholars, including Peter F. Dembowski, Sylvie Lefèvre, Daniel Poirion, Karl D. Uitti, Philippe Walter and Anne Berthelot. The translations into modern French seem to be the centrepiece of this volume, with the Old French text (again based on the Guiot manuscript, but with some measure of intervention) in smaller print at the foot of the page. Paradoxically, perhaps, in the light of this, there is a substantial amount of critical and variant apparatus in the back of the book. This volume

¹⁴ Chrétien de Troyes, *Romans, suivis des chansons*, avec, en appendice, *Philomena*, under the direction of Michel Zink, edited and translated by Olivier Collet, Jean-Marie Fritz, David F. Hult, Charles Méla and Marie-Claire Zai (Paris, 1994). The individual editions are: *Erec et Enide*, by Jean-Marie Fritz (1992), *Cligès*, by Charles Méla and Olivier Collet (1994), *Le Chevalier au Lion ou le roman d'Yvain*, by David Hult (1994), *Le Chevalier de la Charrette ou le roman de Lancelot*, by Charles Méla (1992) and *Le Conte du Graal ou le roman de Perceval*, by Charles Méla (1990).

¹⁵ Chrétien de Troyes, *Œuvres complètes*, under the direction of Daniel Poirion, edited and translated by Anne Berthelot, Peter F. Dembowski, Sylvie Lefèvre, Daniel Poirion, Karl D. Uitti and Philippe Walter (Paris, 1994).

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also includes Chrétien's lyrics, *Philomena* and the disputed *Guillaume d'Angleterre*. Critical reception of the Pléiade volume has not been uniformly positive. Chrétien's simultaneous appearance in the Livre de Poche and the Pléiade has provided him with entry into two quite different, but equally respectable, French literary institutions, and constitutes perhaps the latest episode in the extraordinary reception of his work, the first phase of which is the subject of this book.

Outside of these projects, other editions of Chrétien have appeared, the most notable of which is doubtless the *Lancelot* prepared by Karl D. Uitti and the late Alfred Foulet published in the Classiques Garnier series.¹⁶ This is once more based on the Guiot manuscript, but with numerous interventions justified by the 'editorial grid' elaborated by the two scholars in a series of earlier articles; the text is accompanied by a translation into modern French. Also accompanied by modern French translations are editions in the Garnier-Flammarion series, but these all reprint earlier editions; their real significance is not scholarly, but lies in their apparent commercial viability at a time when the French paperback market would seem to be saturated by low-priced editions of Chrétien de Troyes.¹⁷ The availability of texts of Chrétien's romances and a mass public at the end of the twentieth century stands in marked contrast to the medieval situation sketched by Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann, in which his works circulated in small numbers amongst a restricted audience of devotees. While numbers can be deceptive, it is clear that Chrétien's romances were not medieval best-sellers like the *Roman de la Rose*, which has survived in over two hundred manuscripts.

Chrétien de Troyes has not been the only author of verse romance to have benefited from renewed editorial activity and reflection, although his case is obviously the most prominent. In 1983 came the publication of Manessier's Continuation of *Perceval* and with it the completion of William Roach's monumental project to edit all of the sequels to Chrétien's last unfinished romance. The five volumes (1949–83) stand as a tribute to the memory and accomplishment of one of the great Old French scholars of our time.¹⁸ Colette-Anne van Coolput-Storms has reprinted Roach's edition of manuscript *L* of the

¹⁶ Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Chevalier de la Charrette (Lancelot)*, edited and translated by Alfred Foulet and Karl D. Uitti (Paris, 1989).

¹⁷ Chrétien de Troyes, *Lancelot ou le chevalier de la charrette*, with notes and translation by Jean-Claude Aubailly (Paris, 1991); *Yvain ou Le Chevalier au Lion*, with notes and translation by Michel Rousse (Paris, 1990); *Erec et Enide*, with notes and translation by Michel Rousse (Paris, 1994).

¹⁸ *The Continuations of the Old French 'Perceval' of Chrétien de Troyes*, vol. V, edited by William Roach (Philadelphia, 1983). On the project as a whole, see my 'William Roach's Continuations of *Perceval*', *Romance Philology* 41, 3 (February 1988), 298–309.

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First Continuation, accompanied by a modern French translation, in the *Lettres Gothiques*. Schmolke-Hasselmann chose not to deal with the reception of Chrétien in the corpus of verse Continuations of *Perceval*, and it still awaits a thorough investigation. Nevertheless, a certain amount of recent scholarship (see below) on these texts does confirm the suspicion that the availability of a good edition is a spur to scholarship.

Of the epigonal romances that form the main subject of Schmolke-Hasselmann's book, a number have been recently re-edited: Guillaume le Clerc's *Fergus*, *Yder*, *Hunbaut*, Renaut de Beaujeu's *Le Bel Inconnu*, *L'Atre périlleux* and very recently, Girard d'Amiens's lengthy *Escanor*.¹⁹ Because of their general overall quality and accessibility, these editions are likely to replace the pioneering work of scholars from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The nature of its textual transmission means that serious study of *Fergus* will probably require consultation of both Frescoln and the older edition of Ernst Martin. Some of the epigonal verse romances still stand in need of modern editions, however: *Les Merveilles de Rigomer*, *Claris et Laris* and *Li Chevaliers as deus espees (Mériadec)* foremost amongst them. Predictably, perhaps, these are amongst the latest and longest examples of the genre, which scholars long seem to have avoided. The publication of Schmolke-Hasselmann's book in English should stimulate a new reading of the re-edited romances and perhaps even lead to new editions of those in need of attention. Furthermore, realization that the composition of late romances such as *Les Merveilles de Rigomer* and *Claris et Laris*, which date from the third quarter of the thirteenth century, owe something to the rise of prose romance, opens up new perspectives, especially in the light of recent scholarship on the latter.

Some may be surprised not to find the Tristan romances or the Breton *lais* treated in Schmolke-Hasselmann's study, especially since these are traditionally regarded as Arthurian by many scholars. While there are undoubted similarities and shared generic characteristics, the Tristan romances originally evolved independently of the Arthurian tales, although the two worlds meet as early as Bérout's *Tristan*. It is certainly the authors of the Prose *Tristan* in the thirteenth century, however, who first fully exploit the similarities between the two legends and fully 'Arthurianize' the adventures of Tristan; this Arthurianization

¹⁹ Guillaume le Clerc, *The Romance of Fergus*, edited by Wilson Frescoln (Philadelphia, 1983); *The Romance of Yder*, edited and translated by Alison Adams (Cambridge, 1983); *The Romance of Hunbaut*, edited by Margaret Winters (Leiden, 1984); Renaut de Bâgé, *Le Bel Inconnu*, edited by Karen Fresco and translated by Colleen P. Donagher (New York and London, 1992); *The Perilous Cemetery (L'Atre Périlleux)*, edited and translated by Nancy B. Black (New York and London, 1994); Girard d'Amiens, *Escanor*, edited by Richard Trachsler, 2 vols (Geneva, 1994).

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is transferred into English when Malory uses the Prose *Tristan* as source for part of his *Arthuriad* and may be largely responsible for the perceived 'Arthuricity' of the *Tristan* material. As the Arthurian court 'claims' Erec, Yvain, Lancelot and Perceval as its own, so ultimately it assimilates the protagonists of an independent *matière*. Of the Breton *lais*, only Marie de France's *Lanval* (and possibly the Tristanian *Chèvrefeuille*) and the anonymous *Tyolet* and *Melion* can be considered truly Arthurian. For these reasons, amongst others, most of the *lais* are excluded from Schmolke-Hasselmann's corpus and treated only summarily here. Nonetheless, many of Schmolke-Hasselmann's conclusions with respect to the Arthurian verse corpus are susceptible of application to the *Tristan* texts. There is a reception history of early verse versions of the *Tristan* story, such as those by Bérout and Thomas, which passes through later verse texts (the *Folies*, Gerbert de Montreuil's *Tristan menestrel*) to the Prose *Tristan*, and which is in many respects comparable to the evolution of the Arthurian verse romances considered here.

Despite (or perhaps because of) their fragmentary nature and relative brevity, the *Tristan* romances in verse have been frequently re-edited in recent years.²⁰ Michael Benskin, Tony Hunt and Ian Short have just published a newly discovered fragment of Thomas's romance.²¹ Of the *Tristan* romances in verse, Thomas's seems to have had the widest dissemination: the surviving fragments are from a number of separate manuscripts and he is mentioned by name by Gottfried von Straßburg. He may therefore be said to have left a legacy akin to Chrétien's, but on a much smaller scale. It is doubtless the unsatisfactory nature of the textual transmission of the verse *Tristan* romances that is responsible for the proliferation of editions: Bérout's corrupt text is a challenge to scholars desirous of proposing a series of satisfactory emendations. Two recent French collections were clearly produced with classroom use in mind.²² There have been no major new critical editions of the *Lais* of Marie de France or of the anonymous *lais*.²³

²⁰ Thomas of Britain, *Tristan*, edited and translated by Stewart Gregory (New York and London, 1991); *Le Roman de Tristan*, edited by Félix Lecoy (Paris, 1992); Bérout, *The Romance of Tristan*, edited and translated by Norris J. Lacy (New York and London, 1989); edited and translated by Stewart Gregory (Amsterdam, 1992); *Tristan et Iseut*, edited and translated by Herman Braet and Guy Raynaud de Lage (Leuven, 1989).

²¹ 'Un nouveau fragment du *Tristan* de Thomas', *Romania* 113 (1992–1995), 289–319.

²² *Tristan et Yseut: les Tristan en vers*, edited and translated by Jean-Charles Payen (Paris, 1974, revised edition, 1980); *Tristan et Iseut: les poèmes français, la saga norroise*, edited and translated by Daniel Lacroix and Philippe Walter (Paris, 1989).

²³ Alexandre Micha has re-edited the poems from MS London, British Library Harley 978 (Paris, 1994), and Laurence Harf-Lancner has reprinted Karl Warnke's 1925 text in the *Lettres Gothiques* (Paris, 1990); both editions are accompanied by translations into modern French. Micha has also

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Arguably, the greatest progress in editing has been in the area of Old French prose romance, where an increasingly mature understanding of these works has both benefited from and stimulated editorial activity. One of the areas of Chrétien-reception not studied by Schmolke-Hasselmann in this book is, as I have mentioned, his legacy in prose romance. Chrétien was the first to tell the story of Lancelot and Guinevere, and part of the Prose *Lancelot* (often referred to as 'le conte de la charrette') is actually a retelling of his romance. But Chrétien's *Lancelot* has left more than a prose version of itself: the dissemination of the Lancelot story assumes extraordinary proportions with the composition of the Prose *Lancelot*, using as it does the Lancelot story as a frame for what is to become one of the most influential narratives in medieval literature. Until recently, scholars usually had recourse to the Sommer edition of the Prose *Lancelot* (part of *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, published between 1908 and 1916). In another *embarras de richesses*, there are now fine editions of both the non-cyclical and cyclical versions of the Prose *Lancelot*, by Elspeth Kennedy and by Alexandre Micha respectively.²⁴ Scholars will now be able to judge for themselves with confidence the question of priority of the versions of the *Lancelot*, which has figured so largely in the scholarship of recent decades. One particular topic for further research opened up by Schmolke-Hasselmann's book is the matter of the simultaneous and parallel development of verse and prose romance, for although the early verse epigones may pre-date the rise of prose romance, many, if not most, of them wrote at a time when prose was becoming the dominant form. The question of the intended public and social function of, say, the Vulgate Cycle, invites a thorough investigation along lines similar to those pursued by Schmolke-Hasselmann. Modern scholarship tends to draw a fairly straight division between verse and prose romances, but there are many points of contact, and even where these are lacking, the contrasts are instructive.

Chrétien's *Perceval* is ultimately the prime mover behind a complex genetic process which culminates in the writing of the *Queste del Saint Graal*, another part of the Vulgate Cycle (*Lancelot–Graal*). Although this text is radically different from Chrétien's Grail romance, it must be remembered, as in the case

reprinted Tobin's 1976 text of the anonymous *lais* (Paris, 1992). The various versions of the Horn/Mantel test, often designated as *lais*, do not correspond to the usual definition of *lai breton*, although they are certainly Arthurian; there have been no recent re-editions.

²⁴ *Lancelot do Lac: The Non-Cyclic Old French Prose Romance*, edited by Elspeth Kennedy, 2 vols (Oxford, 1980); *Lancelot: roman en prose du XIIIe siècle*, edited by Alexandre Micha, 9 vols (Geneva, 1978–83). Kennedy's text has been reprinted with a modern French translation by François Mosès (Vol. I) and Marie-Luce Chênerie (Vol. II) in the Lettres Gothiques series, 2 vols (Paris, 1991).

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of the *Lancelot*, that his is the first written rendition to have come down to us, and was in all probability the first 'literary' version of one of the fundamental myths of Western culture. The verse *Perceval* Continuations take one direction, noted above, and the sequence of prose Grail texts, another. The *Queste del Saint Graal* has been recently edited, with facsimile, from an Udine manuscript unknown to Pauphilet.²⁵ A lifetime of scholarship has gone into Fanni Bogdanow's edition of the partly reconstructed Post-Vulgate *Roman du Graal*, a work whose genesis is still more than a little obscure.²⁶ The *mise en prose* of the whole of Robert de Boron's trilogy from the Modena manuscript (*Joseph, Merlin* and *Perceval*) has been re-edited under the suggestive title of *Le Roman du Graal*,²⁷ and in what is likely to be the definitive edition, Richard O'Gorman has published both the verse and prose versions of Robert's *Joseph d'Armathie*; the prose version of Robert's *Merlin* (together with the verse fragment) has also been re-edited.²⁸ The anonymous *Propheties de Merlin*, finally, has been re-edited from the Bodmer manuscript.²⁹ As different from the works of Chrétien and his epigones as they are, these romances are crucial to the whole picture not just because of the impetus provided by Chrétien, but also because they are being composed and copied in the same decades of the thirteenth century when the verse tradition was flourishing. Their very difference with respect to the latter constitutes in itself a form of reception, a conscious decision to do something different.

While there had always been Sommer's earlier edition of the Vulgate Cycle, those wishing to read the Prose *Tristan* had been more or less obliged to consult Löseth's long summary published in 1891. Renée Curtis's project to edit the romance from MS Carpentras 404 was completed in 1985.³⁰ While Curtis was convinced of the 'quality' of the text in the Carpentras manuscript, it is unfortunately fragmentary, and so although the edition of Carpentras 404 is complete, that of the romance itself is not. The manuscript tradition of the Prose *Tristan* is so complex that it is impossible to produce a critical edition akin to those that are conceivable for Chrétien's romances, and the second major Prose

²⁵ *La grant Queste del Saint Graal: La grande Ricerca del Santo Graal: Versione inedita della fine del XIII secolo del ms. Udine, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, 177*, edited and translated by A. Rosellini et al. (Udine, 1990).

²⁶ *SATF*, 4 vols (Paris, 1994).

²⁷ Robert de Boron, *Le roman du Graal: Manuscrit de Modène*, edited by Bernard Cerquiglini (Paris, 1981).

²⁸ Robert de Boron, *Joseph d'Armathie*, edited by Richard F. O'Gorman (Toronto, 1995); Robert de Boron, *Merlin*, edited by Alexandre Micha (Geneva, 1979).

²⁹ *Les Propheties de Merlin*, edited by Anne Berthelot (Cologne-Geneva, 1992).

³⁰ *Le roman de Tristan en prose*, edited by Renée Curtis, 3 vols (Munich, 1963; Leiden, 1976; Cambridge, 1985).

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Tristan project is also in essence an edition of a single manuscript. Philippe Ménard has been directing a team of French scholars who have published to date eight volumes based on MS Vienna, ÖNB 2542. No doubt out of a desire to make as much of the romance as possible available to colleagues as quickly as possible, Ménard's vol. I begins where Curtis's vol. III ends. The imminent completion of this project will mark a major landmark in the accessibility of French Arthurian prose romance and help restore the reputation of a major work that has been largely misunderstood until the last two decades.³¹ It is true of the Prose *Tristan* as of the other prose romances discussed above that much early scholarship was devoted to questions of genesis and transmission, of different versions, redactions and their interrelationship. While not all of these problems have been solved by the publication of new editions, the number and nature of the critical editions currently available reflect much more accurately the complex set of intertextual relations created by the continuous rewriting of the tales. Scholars are consequently now in a much better position to turn their attention to matters of meaning and structure, informed by a better awareness of medieval textuality. While Arthurian romance does continue to evolve, the corpus of texts is at its richest and most complex in the middle of the thirteenth century: Chrétien and his epigones, the *Perceval* Continuations, the Vulgate and Post-Vulgate *Lancelot–Grael* cycles and the Prose *Tristan*. It is precisely the state of the genre at this moment which is treated in Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann's book.

It is remarkable to note that many of these editions constitute what are in essence *éditiones principes* (at the end of the twentieth century!). This is also true of the prose version of *Floriant et Florete* edited by Claude M. L. Lévy,³² and of the monumental and still incomplete publication of the enormously long fourteenth-century prose romance *Perceforest* undertaken by Jane Taylor and Gilles Roussineau, a text hitherto accessible only in manuscript or incunabula.³³ André Giacchetti has provided an edition of *Ysaye le Triste*, a prose romance written at the very end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.³⁴ Together with the editions of Robert de Boron, of the Post-Vulgate Cycle and the Prose *Tristan*, these publications signify a notable expansion of the canon beyond the traditional confines of Chrétien and the *Lancelot–Grael*.

³¹ *Le roman de Tristan en prose*, edited by Philippe Ménard *et al.*, 9 vols to date (Geneva, 1987–).

³² *Le roman de Floriant et Florete, ou Le chevalier qui la nef maine*, edited by Claude M. L. Lévy (Ottawa, 1983).

³³ *Le roman de Perceforest*, 1ère partie, edited by Jane H. M. Taylor (Geneva, 1979); 3ème partie, edited by Gilles Roussineau, 2 vols (Geneva, 1988–91); 4ème partie, edited by Gilles Roussineau, 2 vols (Geneva, 1987).

³⁴ *Ysaye le Triste: Roman arthurien du Moyen Age tardif*, edited by André Giacchetti (Rouen, 1989).

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A number of important research tools specifically relating to French romance have appeared in recent years. As regards bibliographies, Douglas Kelly's volume on Chrétien de Troyes is to be followed by a supplement; David Shirt published a bibliographical guide to the Tristan poems; and Glyn S. Burgess has performed a similar service for Marie de France.³⁵ An excellent bibliography on the Prose *Tristan*, updating that in her 1975 thesis, has been provided by Emmanuèle Baumgartner.³⁶ While Schmolke-Hasselmann's book contains ample references up to 1980, it does not aim at exhaustivity, and a focused bibliography of the verse romances would render scholars a service. The only concordance of Chrétien's entire *œuvre* to date is that by Marie-Louise Ollier, although this is more properly a concordance of the scribe Guiot, being based on the CFMA editions; Gabriel Andrieu and Jacques Piolle had already produced a concordance of the Lecoy edition of *Perceval*. Pierre Kunstmann and Martin Dube have generated a concordance of the Vulgate *La Mort le roi Artu*, and Gérard Gonfroy of vol. I of Philippe Ménard's edition of the Prose *Tristan*.³⁷ More such work can be expected as progress is made with computerized databases and various types of 'word-crunching'. Karl D. Uitti has begun a project, known informally as 'the Princeton *Lancelot*', already available in partial form for consultation on the World Wide Web; Guy Jacquesson has also 'published' an electronic *Lancelot*.³⁸ Such work will eventually make all transcriptions of all manuscripts available for linguistic and stylistic analysis, and digitized scanned images of the manuscripts will accompany the transcriptions. This is likely to be the area in which most textual progress will be made over the next few decades.³⁹

³⁵ Douglas Kelly, *Chrétien de Troyes: An Analytic Bibliography* (London, 1976); David J. Shirt, *The Old French Tristan Poems: A Bibliographical Guide* (London, 1980); Glyn S. Burgess, *Marie de France: An Analytical Bibliography* (London, 1977), Supplement no. 1 (London, 1986).

³⁶ Emmanuèle Baumgartner, *La harpe et l'épée: tradition et renouvellement dans le 'Tristan en prose'* (Paris, 1990), pp. 163–70.

³⁷ Marie-Louise Ollier, *Lexique et concordance de Chrétien de Troyes d'après la copie Guiot* (Montreal and Paris, 1986); Gabriel Andrieu and Jacques Piolle, *Perceval ou le Conte du Graal de Chrétien de Troyes: concordancier complet des formes graphiques occurrentes d'après l'édition de M. Félix Lecoy* (Aix-en-Provence, 1976); Pierre Kunstmann and Martin Dubé, *Concordance analytique de 'La mort le roi Artu'*, 2 vols, (Ottawa, 1982); Gérard Gonfroy, *Le roman de Tristan en prose: concordancier des formes graphiques occurrentes établi d'après l'édition de Ph. Ménard (t. I)* (Limoges, 1990).

³⁸ The Princeton *Lancelot* can be accessed on <http://www.princeton.edu/~lancelot>, and Jacquesson's on <http://palissy.humana.univ-nantes.fr/CHARRETTE/Annexes/debut>.

³⁹ The computer also promises much in the field of stemmatics, but the results to date have been somewhat disappointing. Cf. Anthonij Dees, 'Analyse par l'ordinateur de la tradition manuscrite du *Cligès* de Chrétien de Troyes', in *Actes du XVIIIe Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes, Université de Trèves (Trier) 1986*, edited by Dieter Kremer, vol. VI (Tübingen, 1988), pp. 62–75, and Margot van Mulken, *The Manuscript Tradition of the 'Perceval' of Chrétien de Troyes: A stemmatological and dialectological approach* (Amsterdam, 1993).

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Its importance for further study in the area covered by Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann's book may reside in the opportunities it provides for testing and developing her conclusions concerning the reception of romance by detailed comparison of variant passages and by study of the manuscripts as artefacts with a specific historical and cultural context.

In the more properly critical domain, a number of major studies of Chrétien de Troyes have appeared in the last fifteen years. Jean Frappier's standard introduction to Chrétien was published in an English translation by Raymond J. Cormier in 1982.⁴⁰ Norris J. Lacy's *The Craft of Chrétien de Troyes* provides a fine analysis of the architectonics of the romances.⁴¹ More traditional in their concern with such themes as chivalry, courtly love and religion are studies by Leslie Topsfield, Evelyn Mullally and Peter Noble, who concludes, not surprisingly, that Chrétien was a strong supporter of conjugal love, disapproving of adultery.⁴² Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann considers both the structural and ethical aspects of post-Chrétien romance in her study and is indebted to what might be regarded as a kind of scholarship deriving from the work of Jean Frappier. But her emphasis lies elsewhere and one of the major merits of this book is that it suggests that the treatment of both structure and content by the epigones is far more than feeble imitation, and far more than mere decline which set in after the death of Chrétien. Katalin Halász acknowledges her debt to Paul Zumthor's *Poétique médiévale* and Erich Köhler's study of customs in an important study published in the same year as Schmolke-Hasselmann's book, in which she concentrates largely on *Erec et Enide* and *Yvain*, while Donald Maddox proposes a detailed and subtle post-Köhlerian reading of custom in Chrétien's *œuvre* as a whole; we see here the enormous influence of Köhler's *Ideal und Wirklichkeit in der höfischen Epik* (1956, published in French translation in 1974) which is also a major factor in the development of Schmolke-Hasselmann's views.⁴³ Studies such as those by Halász, Maddox and Schmolke-Hasselmann are excellent illustrations of the continuity of scholarship and how generations of scholars build on each other's work.

⁴⁰ *Chrétien de Troyes: The Man and His Work* (Athens, Ohio, 1982).

⁴¹ *The Craft of Chrétien de Troyes: An Essay on Narrative Art* (Leiden, 1980).

⁴² Leslie Topsfield, *Chrétien de Troyes: A Study of the Arthurian Romances* (Cambridge, 1981); Evelyn Mullally, *The Artist at Work: Narrative Technique in Chrétien de Troyes*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 78, 4 (Philadelphia, 1988); Peter Noble, *Love and Marriage in Chrétien de Troyes* (Cardiff, 1982).

⁴³ Katalin Halász, *Structures narratives chez Chrétien de Troyes* (Debrecen, 1980); Donald Maddox, *The Arthurian Romances of Chrétien de Troyes: Once and future fictions* (Cambridge, 1991); Erich Köhler, *L'aventure chevaleresque: idéal et réalité dans le roman courtois: études sur la forme des plus anciens poèmes d'Arthur et du Graal*, translated by Eliane Kaufholz (Paris, 1974).

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Useful guides to the individual romances have been provided in the Grant and Cutler series 'Critical Guides to French Texts', although there is as yet no volume devoted to *Lancelot*.⁴⁴ Although introductory in nature, these studies nevertheless contain much that is of interest to the specialist reader of Chrétien; Burgess, Busby and Hunt in particular make use of Schmolke-Hasselmann's work, including *Der arthurische Versroman*, thereby providing a first, partial, introduction of her views to English-speaking students. Joan Grimbert's '*Yvain dans le miroir*' is a major study, which shows how the romance is predicated on what she calls an 'adversative structure', constantly challenging the audience to respond, creating ambiguity and questions as it proceeds.⁴⁵ Mention should further be made of Emmanuèle Baumgartner's perceptive monograph on *Lancelot* and *Yvain* which examines how these two romances echo each other and deal in different ways with some of the basic concerns of romance, such as love and adventure.⁴⁶ This particular study does for two of Chrétien's own romances what Schmolke-Hasselmann's book does for the genre as a whole, establishing a network of relationship and echoes, 'intratextually' within and between *Yvain* and *Lancelot* as parts of Chrétien's *œuvre*. In sum, while there is no real consensus concerning particular issues in Chrétien scholarship, it is fair to say that we have a much better grasp of the way his romances function with respect to their form and function than we did, say, only twenty years ago. While such a conclusion ought to be self-evident given the large amount of scholarship in existence, received views are particularly obdurate, and innovative scholarship takes time to become absorbed into the critical mainstream.

I have already said that Schmolke-Hasselmann's book was not isolated as an attempt to reassess the post-Chrétien verse romances, and critical concerns similar to her own inform my study of the figure of Gauvain, and the two-volume *The Legacy of Chrétien de Troyes*.⁴⁷ Numerous articles have also examined in detail the *Rezeptionsgeschichte* of Chrétien's *œuvre* in individual thirteenth-century works.⁴⁸ Claude Lachet has produced a thorough study of *Sone de Nansay*, a marginally Arthurian romance of 21,000 lines dated 1270–80, and even the 'last Arthurian romance', Froissart's *Meliador*, has been the centre

⁴⁴ Glyn S. Burgess, *Erec et Enide* (1984); Lucie Polak, *Cligés* (1982); Tony Hunt, *Yvain* (1986); Keith Busby, *Perceval* (1993).

⁴⁵ Joan Tasker Grimbert, '*Yvain*' dans le miroir (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1988).

⁴⁶ Emmanuèle Baumgartner, *Chrétien de Troyes: Yvain, Lancelot, la charrette et le lion* (Paris, 1992).

⁴⁷ Keith Busby, *Gauvain in Old French Literature* (Amsterdam, 1980); *The Legacy of Chrétien de Troyes*, edited by Norris J. Lacy, Douglas Kelly and Keith Busby, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1987–8).

⁴⁸ Particular items relating to specific topics not mentioned separately here can, of course, be located by consulting the annual *Bibliographical Bulletin of the International Arthurian Society* (*Bulletin Bibliographique de la Société Internationale Arthuriennne*).

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of some recent attention which seeks to situate it in its own time and as part of Froissart's *œuvre* as well as within the continuum of Arthurian romance.⁴⁹ *Meliador*, along with *Le Chevalier dou Papegau*, *Ysaye le triste* and *Perceforest*, is also studied in a major contribution to our understanding of Arthurian romance (verse and prose) in the fourteenth century by Jane Taylor; Taylor stresses the need for authors in this final phase of the evolution of the genre to integrate the *matière de Bretagne* into a pseudo-historical corpus and to devise the means of escaping from the straitjacket of tradition while at the same time using stock motifs, themes and topoi provided by the genre.⁵⁰ In many ways these studies extend chronologically the reach of Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann's book, demonstrating how later authors respond in yet more innovative ways, dictated by their own historical context and intended audiences, to the matter of Britain in French.

With the completion in 1983 of Roach's *Perceval* Continuations, the way was open for a minor surge in studies of these extraordinary texts. Corin Corley in particular has carried out detailed textual and philological work on the Second Continuation, defining its precise parameters and confirming its authorship by Wauchier de Denain, author of a prose version of the *Vies des Pères*. A thoroughly detailed exposition of these and other issues, followed by a glossary of the Second Continuation is contained in the published version of the author's dissertation.⁵¹ A major study of Chrétien's *Perceval* and the First Continuation by Guy Vial, unfortunately incomplete, was seen through the press by Jean Rychner after the author's death. After a salvation-based reading of Chrétien's romance, Vial considers the divergences between the various redactions of the First Continuation; unfortunately, no version of a third part of Vial's planned book, a comparative study of Chrétien and the first continuator, was found amongst his papers.⁵² Pierre Gallais's four-volume *thèse d'état* presents the results of a lifetime's study of the First Continuation.⁵³ From consideration of the

⁴⁹ Claude Lachet, *Sone de Nansay et le roman d'aventures en vers au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1992); on *Meliador* see in particular Peter F. Dembowski, *Jean Froissart and His 'Meliador': Context, Craft, and Sense* (Lexington, 1983).

⁵⁰ Jane H. M. Taylor, 'The Fourteenth Century: Context, Text, and Intertext', in *The Legacy of Chrétien de Troyes* (above, note 47), I, 267–332.

⁵¹ Corin F. V. Corley, 'Réflexions sur les deux premières continuations de *Perceval*', *Romania* 103 (1982), 235–58; 'Wauchier de Denain et la deuxième continuation de *Perceval*', *Romania* 105 (1984), 351–9; *The Second Continuation of the Old French Perceval: A Critical and Lexicographical Study* (London, 1987).

⁵² Guy Vial, *Le Conte du Graal: sens et unité. La première continuation: textes et contenu* (Geneva, 1987).

⁵³ *L'imaginaire d'un romancier français de la fin du XIIe siècle: Description raisonnée, comparée et commentée de la 'Continuation-Gauvain'*, 4 vols (Amsterdam, 1988–9).

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quality of each manuscript copy to stylistic analysis, there is little that is not discussed; all study of the First Continuation must henceforth begin here. The late John L. Grigsby also investigated Chrétien's legacy and the reception of his aesthetic in the Continuations in two perceptive articles,⁵⁴ and Matilda T. Bruckner has written on the poetics of continuation from the same corpus.⁵⁵ Filippo Salmeri has published the only book-length study to date of Manessier's Continuation, concentrating on the religious symbolism and moral problems.⁵⁶ Schmolke-Hasselmann's book could function as a model for a much-needed comprehensive study of the Continuations as creative reception of Chrétien. The authors of the Continuations are in their own way epigones, emulating and elaborating the great project he began in the *Perceval*. Like the epigones who form the subject of Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann's book, they respond to, interpret, rewrite and eventually complete the words of the master. The Continuations contain many direct and indirect intertextual allusions to Chrétien's *Perceval* which indicate how his work was viewed and interpreted by their authors: verbatim quotations, episodes rewritten, loose narrative threads expanded and finally resolved, all owe their initial impetus to Chrétien's Grail romance.

The best recent introduction to the complex matter of the Tristan romances is now Emmanuèle Baumgartner's densely written *Tristan et Iseut: de la légende aux récits en vers*.⁵⁷ In some ways, this book, clearly written for a French student audience, deals with issues similar to those treated by Beate Schmolke-Hasselmann, namely intertextuality, reception history and audience response. Two more volumes in the Grant and Cutler Critical Guides series fulfil a similar function for Anglophones, although their approaches are somewhat more traditional than that of Baumgartner. Peter Noble has studied Béroul and the Berne *Folie* and Geoffrey Bromiley, Thomas and the Oxford *Folie*;⁵⁸ the pairings Béroul/*Folie* Berne and Thomas/*Folie* Oxford have long been a critical commonplace and correspond to the 'version commune/version courtoise' distinction. Also important is Merritt Blakeslee's *Love's Masks: Identity, Intertextuality, and Meaning in the Old French Tristan Poems*, a thorough

⁵⁴ John L. Grigsby, 'Heroes and their Destinies in the Continuations of Chrétien's *Perceval*', in *The Legacy of Chrétien de Troyes*, II, 41–53; 'Remnants of Chrétien's Aesthetics in the Early *Perceval* Continuations and the Incipient Triumph of Writing', *Romance Philology* 41, 4 (May 1988), 379–93.

⁵⁵ Matilda T. Bruckner, 'The Poetics of Continuation in Medieval French Romance: From Chrétien's *Conte du Graal* to the *Perceval* Continuations', *French Forum* 18 (1993), 133–49.

⁵⁶ Filippo Salmeri, *Manessier: modelli, simboli, scrittura* (Catania, 1984).

⁵⁷ *Tristan et Iseut: de la légende aux récits en vers* (Paris, 1987).

⁵⁸ Peter Noble, *Beroul's 'Tristan' and the 'Folie de Berne'* (London, 1982); Geoffrey Bromiley, *Thomas's 'Tristan' and the 'Folie Tristan d'Oxford'* (London, 1986).