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How to create a saint: Adso's Vita Mansueti

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How to create a saint

Adso's Vita Mansueti

Master Thesis Classics and Ancient Civilizations: Classics
Faculty of Humanities, Leiden University

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Introduction

To this day many Christians believe in a multitude of saints, worship them and turn to them in times of need. An important part of the cult of saints are their *vitae*, their written life stories. Interestingly, many *vitae* were composed centuries after the saint's death with little to no biographical information. Nevertheless, these legends of saints were, and still are, accepted as truths and integrated in the Christian faith. This thesis is concerned with one such *vitae*, namely the *vita* of saint Mansuetus, first bishop of Toul. This text is especially interesting because the author himself reveals in the letter of dedication preceding the work that he lacked information about the saint. This means that a considerable part of the life of Mansuetus was probably invented. Therefore I am mainly interested in what, if not the actual life of the saint, might have influenced the author to create the story the way he did.

The *Vita Sancti Mansueti episcopi Tullensis* was written shortly after 974 by Adso (~920-992), the abbot of the monastery Montier-en-Der, who was one of the most renowned scholars and authors of his time.¹ His best known work is *De Ortu et Tempore Antichristi*, a treatise about the Antichrist,² but he also wrote several *vitae* of saints commissioned by different bishops or monasteries.³ The *Vita Mansueti* was commissioned by Bishop Gerard of Toul (963-994) in the context of the revival of the cult of Saint Mansuetus in Toul. This included the restoration of the church and monastery of Mansuetus as well as the elevation of the saint's relics.⁴ Before that the name and cult of St. Mansuetus as the first bishop of Toul is sparsely documented.⁵

Adso's *Vita Mansueti* begins with a *praefatio* in form of a letter of dedication to Bishop Gerhard, followed by a poem in elegiac distichs in honor of St. Mansuetus. The main part of the work is divided in two sections: Part one contains the life story of the saint in 16 chapters while the second part recounts miracles that happened at Mansuetus' grave in the 10th century.⁶ In this thesis I will focus on the first part that tells the story of Mansuetus, since the second part is considered historically accurate. Adso tells the life of Mansuetus as follows: Mansuetus was born in Ireland and showed signs of holiness from a very young age on. Inspired by God he travelled to Rome and became a student of St. Peter. St. Peter then sent his best students including Mansuetus to Gaul to evangelize. Mansuetus arrived in Toul and although the pagan

¹ Manitius 1923, 433-434.

² Verhelst 1976.

³ Manitius 1923, 433-442: *Vita Frodoberti*; *Vita Mansueti*; *Vita Basoli*; *Miracula sancti Waldeberti*; *Miracula sancti Apri*; *Vita Bercharii*. All works are commissioned by or at least written for the monastery or city whose patron and founder the saint was.

⁴ Bauer 1997, 271; Brunhölzl 1988, 162-163; Sackur 1894, 363.

⁵ Goulette 2003, 103.

⁶ I follow the edition of Goulette 2003.

king rejected and threatened him the saint kept preaching. One day the little prince fell into the river and died, whereupon the royal couple promised that they and their people would convert to Christianity if only Mansuetus brought them the body of the child. So Mansuetus resurrected the child that had been in the water for three days. As promised, the whole city was baptized and Mansuetus was declared bishop of Toul. He built several churches and converted many people until he died on September 3rd and was buried in the church of St. Peter in Toul. In the last three chapters (14-16) Adso mentions Mansuetus' successor Amon and two miracles that happened at the saint's grave early on.

There is only little scholarship on Adso's *Vita Mansueti*. The text is mostly mentioned in works that investigate the history of the Moselle-region or Upper Lorraine where the city of Toul is situated.⁷ The reason for this is that, outside of hagiographical works, nothing certain is known of the historical person of Mansuetus other than that he was the founder of the bishopric of Toul, and most likely lived in the late 4th or early 5th century.⁸ Adso's *vita* is the earliest literary source for the saint's life that came down to us, which makes this work especially interesting to research.⁹ So far scholars have mostly been interested in the *vita* as a source for the origin of Toul as well as for Adso and Toul in the 10th century.¹⁰ The little research approaching the text as a literary work focuses on the question whether Adso had any sources for the *Vita Mansueti*.¹¹ On the one hand, Adso indicates clearly in his letter of dedication that he did not have (enough) sources for the life of Mansuetus (*decursis spatiis temporum obscura est notitia preteritorum*).¹² On the other hand, he mentions a source twice: In Chapter 11 he calls it *gestis eius quae multo ante nos conscripta sunt*¹³ and in Chapter 14 *gestis precedentium Leucorum urbis antistitum*.¹⁴ F. Brunhölzl analysed the *Vita Mansueti* in his article of 1988 and came to the conclusion that Adso did not have any sources for the *Vita Mansueti*.¹⁵ He points out several more passages that suggest the author's lack of sources. For example, Adso warns Gerhard that he as Adso's superior will be judged by his commands when he stands before the Lord while Adso will be rewarded for following orders. This may indicate Adso's doubt whether the task of inventing

⁷ E.g., Gauthier 1980; Bauer 1997.

⁸ Gauthier 1980, 104-107 and 461.

⁹ Goulette 1998, 58-74; Bauer 1997, 405-406.

¹⁰ Gauthier 1980; Bauer 1997; Sackur 1894; Werner 1999.

¹¹ E.g., Manitius 1923; Brunhölzl 1988; Goulette 1998; Goulette 2003.

¹² *Vita Mansueti* Praef. (Line 11-12). The knowledge of the past is obscured by the long span of time gone by; Unless indicated otherwise, all translations are my own.

¹³ *Vita Mansueti* 11 (l. 417-418). His [Mansuetus'] deeds that have been written down long before our time.

¹⁴ *Vita Mansueti* 14 (l. 526-527). Deeds of the preceding bishops of the city of the *Leucri* (Toul).

¹⁵ Brunhölzl 1988, 159-160.

the story of a saint is just.¹⁶ Moreover, Adso entitles his work *Columbinus* after the holy spirit descending in form of a dove, which suggests that he is uncomfortable calling his work a *vita*.¹⁷ Brunhölzl also points out the fairytale-like character of the text as well as the impossible chronology which he interprets as Adso's attempt to make his audience aware of the fictionality of the text.¹⁸ Consequently, Brunhölzl argues that Adso had no information at all about his saint other than a name since there was a church dedicated to Mansuetus in Toul.¹⁹

M. Manitius, however, does not believe that Adso could have written such an extensive *vita* without any sources even though the prologue suggests this.²⁰ Instead he proposes that Adso used an earlier version of the *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium*²¹ that no longer exists.²² M. Goulette takes up this idea in her 1998 article. She points out that in the two passages where Adso mentions *gestae* as sources, namely the description of the conversion of the people of Toul in Chapter 11 and the succession of Amon as second bishop of Toul in Chapter 14, literal resemblances to the *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium* can be found. This proves that these two partly stem from a similar tradition.²³ Since the *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium* in the form that we know were written in the 12th century, an earlier version of this text, probably in the style of a catalogue of the earliest bishops,²⁴ was according to this idea most likely used by both Adso and the author of the *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium*.²⁵ As a result, the identity of Mansuetus' successor as well as the eagerness of the converted *Leucri* were part of a tradition surrounding Mansuetus that Adso cited. Whether any other details of the life of Mansuetus were available to Adso cannot be proven.

In my opinion it is highly unlikely that Adso had more information regarding the life and work of Mansuetus since he himself complains about a lack of sources. If he had had all the important details about the saint (e.g., his youth, main miracle, death) why would he be uneasy writing his *vita*? Therefore, I will approach the question of possible guidelines Adso had to follow from a different point of view. It is well known that the *Vita Mansueti* was commissioned by Bishop Gerhard of Toul who must have had reasons for this assignment and therefore certain things he expected from the text. Adso, like any other employee, was bound to fulfil these expectations.

¹⁶ Brunhölzl 1988, 154;159.

¹⁷ Brunhölzl 1988, 163.

¹⁸ Brunhölzl 1988, 159.

¹⁹ Brunhölzl 1988, 162.

²⁰ Manitius 1923, 434.

²¹ MGH SS.8, 631-648.

²² Manitius 1923, 434-435.

²³ Goulette 1998, 61-62.

²⁴ Goulette 1998, 69.

²⁵ Goulette 1998, 66-67.

Consequently, I will approach the *Vita Mansueti* by looking at the political, historical and cultural context in which it was written and ask: How did Adso construct a convincing story that would satisfy his commissioner bishop Gerhard of Toul? What strategies did he use to fulfill his assignment and what purpose do these strategies serve? To do so, I will first determine in Chapter 1 why the bishop might have desired a *vita* of Mansuetus and what he expected from the work. Given that bishops were politically influential people, I expect that Gerhard of Toul wanted the *vita* to strengthen the position of his bishopric by presenting its founding father as a prestigious, powerful saint. But at the same time the life of Mansuetus had to be a believable story in order to be influential. With regard to the importance of believability and strategies to achieve it, I will draw from the concept of ‘anchoring innovation.’ This concept stresses the human factor involved when converting new ideas or inventions into ‘innovations’ (meaning that they are accepted and adopted by the relevant social group). For this to happen, people need to be able to connect what they perceive as new to what they consider familiar. This process is called ‘anchoring’.²⁶ The *Vita Mansueti* too is a new ‘idea’ that needs to be anchored in order to be accepted by Christians. In the following chapters I will apply the method of close reading to relevant text passages, focusing on three aspects of the *vita* that show the strategies the author uses (including ‘anchoring innovation’) in order to create a prestigious but believable saint. In the second chapter I have chosen to look at the temporal setting of the story as well as the apostolic origin of Mansuetus. First, because the relationship between Mansuetus and St. Peter is an important, frequently mentioned part of the story. Second, both old age and an apostolic origin were considered prestigious, wherefore focusing on these aspects will contribute to answering my research question. Similarly, martyrs were distinguished saints which is why the third chapter is dedicated to Adso’s strategies to present Mansuetus as a martyr-like saint. In the last chapter I will analyze the main part of the *Vita Mansueti*, namely his miracle, since the main miracle of a saint is a significant proof of his holiness. This approach to the *Vita Mansueti* attempts to further our understanding of *vitae* as literary text as well as their role in medieval society.

²⁶ See Sluiter 2016.

1 Historical Background

Before examining how Adso constructed a convincing story that would satisfy his commissioner Bishop Gerhard of Toul it must be ascertained for what purpose the bishop might have desired a *vita* of Mansuetus and what he therefore expected from the work. An examination of the political situation in Lotharingia (where Toul is located) in the 10th century and Bishop Gerhard's part in it will shed light on this question. Given the close association of Gerhard with the emperors Otto I and Otto II of East Francia, I will first outline the politics of the Ottonian Dynasty concerning Lotharingia and its bishops. Then I will show how Gerhard's actions concerning St. Mansuetus, including the commission of the *Vita Mansueti* fit into this policy and what would make the *Vita Mansueti* most effective in this regard.

1.1 Lotharingia and the politics of the Ottonian Dynasty

The history of the Lotharingia²⁷ is a turbulent one, characterized by unrest and alternate alliances with East and West Francia. Especially in the 10th century the territory of Lotharingia, situated between East and West Francia, was alternately assigned to one of the neighboring states. The Lotharingian aristocracy played an important part in this unrest. For example, when King Zwentibold of Lotharingia (895-900) came into conflict with the Lothringian aristocracy, they approached Luis the Child, emperor of East Francia, defeated and killed Zwentibold in battle and consented to Lotharingia becoming part of East Francia.²⁸ However, after the death of Luis in 911, the Lothringian aristocrats changed their mind, allied with West Francia and invited emperor Charles III into their land. They supported his rule until Charles was defeated and dethroned as King of West Francia as a result of internal conflicts. Afterwards, the most influential Lotharingian dukes supported Henry I of East Francia in reconquering Lotharingia.²⁹ Though when Henry I died the leading dukes rebelled against Henry's son Otto I, changing their allegiance again to the West Frankish king. They were defeated by Otto I in 939. From that time on Lotharingia remained part of the East Frankish empire. However, the aristocracy of Lotharingia, who was intent on its own power and independency, remained a source of unrest.³⁰

Henry I and his successors were faced with the task of integrating Lotharingia into their empire, bind it to the central power and keep it peaceful and stable. One of their strategies was to involve the imperial church more in the government and strengthen the bishops as powerful allies of

²⁷ At different times also called *Lotharii regnum*, *Francia Media* and later (*Upper/Lower*) *Lorraine*. For the sake of understanding I will only use the term *Lotharingia*.

²⁸ Parisse 1991a, 2129.

²⁹ Boshof 1997, 7.

³⁰ Parisse 1991a, 2130.

the crown.³¹ They did so by granting “staatliche Hoheitsrechte” such as immunity, market rights, coinage prerogative, freedom of trade or custom legislation as well as land, churches and monasteries to important bishoprics.³² As a result the church was simultaneously bound closer to the crown and strengthened. An added bonus was that since bishops came mostly from noble families, these families too were tied to the emperor.³³ In return bishoprics and abbeys were obliged to fulfill the *servitium regis*, which consisted of hosting the king and his court, conducting diplomatic missions, praying for the king and granting monetary gifts and political support to the emperor.³⁴ This policy built on an existing, proved system. Already under the Merovingian and Carolingian reign bishops had acquired “staatliche Hoheitsrechte”,³⁵ formed a religious elite that managed Imperial Churches and were in this role officials of the crown.³⁶

An important reason for the Ottonian Dynasty to elect the church as their allies was that most secular imperial offices had become hereditary as a result of the feudal system and therefore lay outside of the central imperial power.³⁷ The celibacy of priests, however, prevented ecclesiastical offices from being inherited. Also, over the course of the last centuries the practice had evolved that, even though technically the people and clergy voted for the successor of a bishopric, the king ultimately chose to whom he assigned the office.³⁸ As a result, the king was free to constantly fill ecclesiastic offices with people loyal to him. In this context the royal “Hofkapelle”³⁹ played an important part as a selected religious group that was only bound and loyal to the king and trained suitable clerics for the highest ecclesiastical offices.⁴⁰ The king appointed as bishops mostly those, who had proven themselves loyal and competent as members of the “Hofkapelle”.⁴¹ In the 10th century another breeding ground for future loyal bishops was the cathedral school of Cologne which the brother of Otto I, Bruno I, lead personally. There he gathered and educated promising students with whom vacancies in relevant bishoprics were filled.⁴²

³¹ Boshof 1997, 17; Eldevik 2011, 777.

³² This process culminated in the Imperial Church System (Reichskirchensystem) where bishops rose to the ranks of so called ‘ecclesiastical princes’ that owned duchies like secular noblemen. see Scheiffer 1995, 627-628; Eldevik 2011, 777.

³³ Sackur 1894, 115.

³⁴ Scheiffer 1995, 627.

³⁵ Santifaller 1964, 25.

³⁶ Santifaller 1964, 39.

³⁷ Santifaller 1964, 38.

³⁸ Santifaller 1964, 32. Pope John X approved of this practice on a letter in 921.

³⁹ Santifaller 1964, 24. All clergymen employed at the royal palaces form the ‘königliche Hofkapelle’.

⁴⁰ Boshof 1997, 96.

⁴¹ Santifaller 1964, 24; Scheiffer 1995, 627.

⁴² Fleckenstein 1983, 754.

1.2 Toul

The bishopric of Toul was especially vulnerable due to its location bordering two countries, West Francia and Burgundy.⁴³ Therefore, Henry I and Otto I were highly interested in stabilizing and strengthening Toul.⁴⁴ This is attested by two important documents issued by Henry I in the 10th century. First, an official document from 927 testifies to the devolution of *omnem exactionem comitatus eiusdem civitatis, annualis videlicet seu septimanalis thelonei quaestus pariterque vectigal quod vulgo vocatur rotaticum*.⁴⁵ Thomas Bauer understands this as unrestricted “Wahrnehmung der herrschaftlichen Rechte, die (bisher) an die Grafschaft (bzw. an ihren Inhaber, den Grafen) verliehen gewesen waren”⁴⁶ which are then defined more closely as the profit of annual and weekly custom and the revenue of “Wagenzoll” to the bishopric of Toul.⁴⁷ A second document concerns the gift of land, namely the royal manor of Gondreville to the bishopric Toul.⁴⁸ Bauer points out the special significance of these two preserved documents. Firstly, the devolution of sovereign rights to Toul is Henry I’s first document for Lotharingia. Secondly, Toul is the only bishopric for which two documents of this emperor are attested.⁴⁹ It is apparent that Henry I was particularly interested in strengthening Toul and strived to achieve this through economical privileges. The appointment of the bishop of Toul too aligns with the policy of the dynasty. When Gauzlin of Toul, who had become bishop in 922 when Lotharingia was still part of West Francia,⁵⁰ died in 962, Otto I and his brother Bruno I, archbishop and duke of Cologne, designated Gerhard of Toul as the next bishop.⁵¹

Gerhard’s close association with the imperial family is evident. He met the emperors Otto I and Otto II personally and supported Otto III in his claim to the throne. All three emperors issued documents for him in which they affirmed the ownership of different abbeys.⁵² Close ties to Bruno I before his appointment as bishop are also probable,⁵³ since Gerhard came from a noble family in Cologne, was educated at Bruno’s cathedral school of Cologne and there held the office of Cellerarius.⁵⁴

⁴³ Werner 1999, 184.

⁴⁴ Bauer 1997, 285.

⁴⁵ Bauer 1997, 282; DH I 16, p.52 lines 17-21.

⁴⁶ Bauer 1997, 284. The use of sovereign rights that had been vested until then to the duchy (or its owner the duke).

⁴⁷ Bauer 1997, 284.

⁴⁸ Bauer 1997, 282, 285.

⁴⁹ Bauer 1997, 285.

⁵⁰ Parisse 1989, 1146.

⁵¹ Vita Mansueti 27 (l. 846-849).

⁵² Parisse 1989, 1314; Bauer 1997, 286; Brunhölzl 1988, 161.

⁵³ See Sackur 1898, 114 who calls Gerhard „einen Geistlichen seiner (sc. Brunos) Zucht“.

⁵⁴ Parisse 1989, 1313.

In conclusion, the emperors in the 10th century aimed to stabilize their empire, especially the historically volatile Lotharingia, by strengthening the ecclesiastical elite and tying it to the crown. The grant of economical rights and land as well as the appointment of loyal supporters to significant ecclesiastic offices were powerful means achieving this goal. That this policy was executed in case of the bishopric of Toul in the 10th century is well attested.

1.3 Gerhard and the *Vita Mansueti*

Given the good relation of Gerhard of Toul to the emperors of his time, it is probable that Gerhard's own goals as bishop of Toul aligned with the policy of the crown. This aim, to strengthen his bishopric, was most likely on his mind when he revived the cult of Mansuetus by restoring the church and monastery of Saint Mansuetus, elevating his relics and commissioning the *Vita Mansueti* from Adso.⁵⁵ More so because for centuries the cults of saints and relics had not only religious significance but were also used as means to amass authority and money – and hagiography played a significant part in this.⁵⁶

Old age as well as an apostolic origin enhanced the status of prestige of a bishopric and therefore provided strong arguments in Gallic church politics for the primacy of one bishopric over others. The earliest example is the bishopric Arles which professed in the 5th century that its founder, Trophimus, had been sent by Saint Peter himself and consequently claimed to be the basis of evangelization of Gaul and therefore entitled to primatial rank.⁵⁷ Similarly, in the 10th century Trier asserted its rights towards Metz and Cologne by referring to its old age and apostolic origin.⁵⁸ Therefore, Saint Mansuetus, being the first bishop of Toul and the one who evangelized the area, could potentially be used to establish a similar claim for Toul, especially since there was no entrenched, detailed story of his life that had to be circumvented. Gerhard must have realized this potential when he commissioned the *Vita Mansueti*: The depiction of Mansuetus as disciple of St. Peter and as a most powerful and prestigious saint would grant Toul much authority and prestige and allow the city to compete with other important bishoprics in the area, such as Trier and Metz.⁵⁹ This also aligns with a common purpose of hagiographical works: To assert authority in a specific region.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Bauer 1997, 271; Brunhölzl 1988, 162-163; Sackur 1894, 363.

⁵⁶ Goetz 2003, 243.

⁵⁷ Bauer 1997, 348.

⁵⁸ Boshof 1993, 365. According to the *Vitae Eucharitii, Valerii et Materni* the first three bishops of Trier were disciples of Saint Peter who sent them to Gaul.

⁵⁹ Boshof 1993, 377; Graus 1965, 445.

⁶⁰ Palmer 2018, 36.

Furthermore, the success of saints and their relics at answering prayers and healing believers strengthened the respective church economically. The more renowned and powerful a saint was, the more people would visit his relics in hope of help.⁶¹ The subsequent mass of pilgrims benefited not only the economy of the city in which the relics were located,⁶² but also the church itself. Especially if a prayer was answered or a believer healed at the grave of the saint, the saint (which means in fact the church) received gifts and donations as a sign of gratitude.⁶³ However, pilgrims first had to be informed of the power of a saint to encourage them to seek his help. This is where *vitae* as approved means of promotion and propaganda for ‘their’ saint came into play.⁶⁴ In this regard too, a portrait of Mansuetus as a powerful and highly prestigious saint who successfully accomplishes miracles would be most beneficial for Toul as it would encourage believers to visit the recently elevated relics of Mansuetus and subsequently boosts the economy of Toul. Also, believers were generally encouraged to donate and bequeath part of their wealth to the church and renowned cults were more likely to receive such donations.⁶⁵

However, an essential criterion and the precondition for any new idea, including a *vita* of a saint, to be influential is that it is accepted and adopted by the relevant social group as part of their conceptual categories, values and beliefs.⁶⁶ Otherwise people will most likely dismiss the idea or story. According to the concept of ‘anchoring innovation’ a new idea or an innovation can successfully be integrated by this relevant social group

“when [it] can connect what is perceived as new to what they consider familiar, known, already accepted, when, that is, innovations are ‘anchored’. Anchoring can take place ‘horizontally’, between different contemporary domains, or ‘vertically’, when creative constructions of the past are used as an anchoring device.”⁶⁷

In the case of hagiographical works, new stories of saints had to be accepted by the Christian community. This can be accomplished in several ways: One strategy was to include guest appearances of already established saints who lent authority to the narration and positioned the new work within already existing, familiar hagiography.⁶⁸ Another method was the *imitatio Christi*, to portrait the saint as emulating Christ by ascribing actions found in scripture to the saint, which ensures the authenticity of his holiness.⁶⁹ The repetition of actions of saints found

⁶¹ Schreiner 2017, 342.

⁶² Schreiner 2017, 343; Fichtenau 1952, 75.

⁶³ Goetz 2003, 243; Graus 1965, 439.

⁶⁴ Palmer 2018, 36; Graus 1965, 60; Heffernan 1988, 22.

⁶⁵ Graus 1965, 439-440.

⁶⁶ Sluiter 2016, 23.

⁶⁷ Sluiter 2016, 23.

⁶⁸ Palmer 2018, 43;

⁶⁹ Heffernan 1988, 6.

in earlier *vitae* had a similar effect.⁷⁰ All this would provide the audience with something familiar, making them more inclined to believe the story.

To summarize the above, it is likely that Gerhard of Toul in his aim to strengthen his bishopric expected Adso to write the *Vita Mansueti* in a way that would bring maximum prestige to Mansuetus and consequently Toul, while still keeping it believable and anchored. Important factors could be *inter alia* proof of the old age of Toul, for example by means of an apostolic origin and proof of Mansuetus' power as miracle worker and intercessor before God as well as the use of strategies aimed at the believability of the work.

⁷⁰ Heffernan 1988, 6.

2 Temporal setting of the story

The first aspect of the *Vita Mansueti* that will be examined in order to get a better understanding of the methods Adso applies to fulfill his assignment is the temporal setting of the story. First, I will analyze how in the first chapter of the *Vita Mansueti* Adso sets the scene for his story in the very beginning of the Christian church. I will then focus on one important reason for this setting, namely that it allows Adso to frame Mansuetus as a student of St. Peter and therefore as a saint of apostolic origin. In a third part I will discuss the mention of Mansuetus' companions, Gallic missionaries of the 4th century, in Chapter 3, which creates an historically impossible chronology since St. Peter lived in the 1st century. I will argue that this for modern readers highly contradictory time setting, was probably not perceived as such by Adso's audience, and that this guest appearance actually enhanced the believability of the text.

For each part I will first provide the text and translation of the relevant passages, then analyze and interpret the text. I will also add a reflection of the function of each strategy with regards to the prestige of the saint as well as the believability of the text in order to see whether it aligns with the requirements for the text as set out in Chapter 1 of this paper.

2.1 The temporal setting

2.1.1 Text and translation

1. *Post gloriosum coelestis uictoriae triumphum, cum quo
saeculorum conditor, hoste deuicto, coelorum penetrauerat
70 regnum, apostolicae dignitati ipsius saluatoris presentia Petrus
apostolus electus et auctor presignatus clauis coeli suscipere
atque uniuersalis aecclesiae gubernacula meruit obtinere.
Cumque primum, ut in ecclesiasticis historiis legimus, Iero-
solimorum, post Antiochiae, partibus diuinae illustrationis ra-
75 dios infudisset et diabolicae superstitionis tenebras manifesta
ueritate depulisset, romani imperii dignitatem christianitatis
titulo ac sanctae crucis uexillo dilatare et sublimare decernens,
mundi dominam et caput orbis Romam aggreditur ac, deo
disponente, coelestis magisterio disciplinae sanctae aecclesiae
80 catholicae principalis pastor et magister efficitur, ut uidelicet,
ubi diuersarum nationum confluxerat multitudo, inde quo-
que liberius atque ualentius cresceret in deum christianitatis*

*sana religio. Cumque sanctae predicationis uelut clarissimos
solis radios per diuersas terrarum partes sollicitus euibrasset,
85 credentium populorum multitudines aggregans, in spem salutis
aeternae corroborabat. Cuius sancti fama nominis non solum ad
finitimas, sed etiam ad exteris perlata fuerat nationes.*

1. After the glorious triumph of the heavenly victory, with which the creator of the world had entered into the kingdom of heaven once the enemy was defeated, apostle Peter was elected by the presence of the savior for the apostolic rank and pre-designated as a founder and he was deemed worthy to receive the keys to heaven and to hold the rudder of [to govern] the whole church. And when first he had poured upon, as we read in church history, parts of the people of Jerusalem, afterwards of Antioch rays of divine enlightenment and had driven away the darkness of diabolical superstition with the apparent truth, he decided to extend and raise the worth of the Roman Empire under the name of Christianity and the banner of the cross. He went to Rome, the ruling lady and head of the whole world and, since God arranged it, he was made the principal shepherd and teacher of the holy catholic Church by the superintendence of heavenly knowledge. Therefore of course, when a multitude of different nations had come together, the salutary religion of Christianity too grew freely and strongly in God. When he solicitous, so to speak, had sent out the brightest rays of the sun of holy preaching throughout the different parts of the world, he brought together the multitudes of people who believed, he made them strong in the hope of eternal salvation. The fame of his holy name had been carried not only to the neighboring nations, but also to the ones outside.

2.1.2 Analysis

Contrary to what the reader might expect, the narrative of Mansuetus' life does not begin with the protagonist himself. Instead, Adso starts with the Easter events and from there guides the reader through the beginning of the Christian church by following the well-known story of St. Peter's mission, clearly setting the story of Mansuetus in the first century CE when the Christian church was established.⁷¹

⁷¹ The death of Jesus is dated between 29 and 34 CE. See Bond 2013 for a discussion about the possibility of a more precise dating.

Already in his first sentence, Adso connects the story of Mansuetus to the beginning of Christianity. He commences his narration with a reference to the “glorious triumph of the heavenly victory” (l. 68) namely the death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ, which are fundamental events for the establishment of the Christian faith and church. *Hoste devicto* (l. 69) hereby resumes the idea that God in the form of His son Jesus Christ defeated the enemy, namely death, sin and even the devil himself, through his death on the cross, as is attested in the Bible.⁷² Also, Jesus ascended into heaven after his resurrection,⁷³ which corresponds to *coelorum penetrauerat regnum* (l. 69-70). So Adso first sets his story in a very familiar time and place – directly after the Easter events in Jerusalem of the early first century.

From here, Adso directs the focus to the foundation of the church with an emphasis on the role of St. Peter, cleverly connecting him to the preceding Easter events. Firstly, Adso introduces him as apostle elected by the presence of Jesus Christ himself (l. 71-72). This refers to the fact that Peter was the first disciple Jesus appeared to after his resurrection⁷⁴ whereby Christ himself legitimized Peter’s apostleship.⁷⁵ Secondly, Adso reminds the reader that Jesus also assigned Peter a special role in the foundation of the church because he is the rock on which Jesus will build His Church and the one who will receive the keys to heaven (l. 72 cf. Mt 16:18-19). Moreover, St. Peter is tasked with governing the Church (l.73) . In John 21:15-17 Jesus instructs Peter three times to pasture (*pasce*) His sheep, which is a typical metaphor for guiding the flock of believers. Adso adopts the same metaphor in lines 79-80, but first makes use of the equally popular metaphor of the church as a ship and Peter as its navigator. The importance of these characteristics of St. Peter is heightened by the fact that Adso takes them up again in Chapter 12, where Adso recounts the end of St. Peter’s life, when he describes him as *beatus Petrus apostolus, qui in numero apostolorum eligitur primus, confessor filii dei factus, humani generis pastor electus, aecclisiae fundamentum, clauicularius regni coelorum (...)*.⁷⁶

The rest of the paragraph is dedicated to St. Peter’s missionary journey which highlights that the saint successfully completed the mission he had received from Jesus. St. Peter travels from

⁷² Heb. 2:14 *ut per mortem destrueret eum qui habebat mortis imperium, id est, diabolum* (that through death he might bring to nought him that had the power of death, that is, the devil. Transl. American Standard Version).

⁷³ Mk 16:19; Lk 24:51; Acts 1:9; Apostolic Creed.

⁷⁴ 1 Cor 15:5.

⁷⁵ Böcher 1996, 264.

⁷⁶ Vita Mansueti 12 (l.450-453). Blessed apostle Paulus, who was chosen as the first in the number of apostles, was made a confessor of the Son of God, elected as pastor of the human race, foundation of the Church, guardian of the keys of the kingdom of heaven (...).

Jerusalem to Antioch and finally to Rome,⁷⁷ bringing the light of the Christian truth to the people wherever he goes. In Rome he is made the first bishop (l. 80) by the will of God, successfully evangelizing a multitude of nations (l. 85).

To sum up, Adso sets the Life of Mansuetus at the very beginning of the Christian Church, namely the time of the first apostle Peter, directly after the passion and resurrection of Jesus. This is a setting that every Christian reader was familiar with from the Bible. Also, St. Peter's ministry and martyrdom in Rome, which are not mentioned in the Bible, were generally accepted parts of the saint's story since the middle of the 2nd century.⁷⁸

This temporal setting is advantageous for the acceptance and believability of the new saint Mansuetus because Adso anchors the story from the start in essential Christian narratives found in the most authoritative text. First, the reference to the death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ anchors the following account in the most fundamental event of Christianity. Second, with the focus on St. Peter, Adso anchors Mansuetus in another popular narrative essential for the foundation of the church and the spreading of Christianity. Both the Easter events and the figure of St. Peter are found in the Bible, the most familiar and authoritative Christian text, which contains the core values and beliefs of Christians. Adso therefore anchors his innovative text directly in the values and beliefs of the relevant social group, the Christians, in which the new story needs to be integrated in order to be accepted and influential.⁷⁹ This makes his anchoring strategy very successful. Moreover, by setting his story from the beginning in a familiar context, the audience already feels comfortable with the new narrative, even before Mansuetus has been introduced. Hence, they will probably be more inclined to accept the rest of the *Vita Mansueti* as well.

Adso's setting also fulfills the requirement of maximizing Mansuetus' prestige by associating him closely with the earliest church and St. Peter, whose primacy among the apostles (determined by Jesus himself!) he stresses. First, it was believed at the time that evangelization through the earliest church followed a plan of God and that the oldest bishoprics, founded early by an apostle or an apostle's student, were the most important ones.⁸⁰ Setting the story of the founding father of the bishopric of Toul as early as possible therefore shows that Toul was and still is significant. Second, the prestige and rank of a bishopric was (partly) determined by the

⁷⁷ Adso probably took this itinerary from the chronic of Eusebius, translated into Latin, revised and continued by Jerome, see Goulette 2003, 172. That Peter went to Rome is not mentioned in the Bible.

⁷⁸ Böcher 1996, 275.

⁷⁹ Sluiter 2016, 23.

⁸⁰ Fichhtenau 1952, 81.

place its founder or patron saint occupied in the hierarchy of saints. St. Peter was the first apostle and therefore at the top of this hierarchy followed by the other apostles and their disciples.⁸¹ Consequently, a connection to St Peter – namely as his disciple as becomes clear later – places Mansuetus higher up in this hierarchy, therefore boosting his and Toul’s authority. This effect is strengthened by Adso’s mention of St. Peter’s special role in the earliest church and his successful missionary activities since they showcase the power and importance of the saint, reminding the audience why he is the highest-ranking apostle.

Another reason why Adso dedicated the first chapter to St. Peter and emphasized his importance is that Adso not only set his story at the time of St. Peter but beyond that he presented Mansuetus as his disciple and protégé, which will be discussed in the following section.

2.2 Apostolic origin – Mansuetus the student of St. Peter.

2.2.1 Text and translation

In Chapter 2 Mansuetus is finally introduced: He is the son of a noble family in Ireland, full of virtue and piety as well as an outstanding student who showed signs of holiness from a young age. When he was a little older, God inspired him to travel to Rome:

2. *Cumque felibus auspiciis diuini feruoris instantia animos inspiraret adolescentis, a romanis arcibus christianae fidei beati Petri apostoli solertia titulo radiante Romam profectus, eius quem totis uisceribus ambiebat presentiam expetiit, atque apostolicae institutionis magisterio se abiectis omnibus subdens, in eum*
- 110 *iniecit oculos, cuius ardebat desiderio sanctitatis. Insigni itaque diuinorum operum preconio preeunte, catholicae informationis preelegit principem, de cuius fonte sumeret quod uerissimis testimoniis, ut patuit postmodum, approbaret.*
- 115
- 120 3. *Videns autem beatus Petrus futuri prouentus ac bonarum uirtutum in eo signa radiare, et claritatem supernae illustrationis manifestis indiciis emicare, tanto artius beatum uirum ad celeste magisterium edocendum sibi uirtute confessionis asciuerat, quanto in salutem credentium, presen-*

⁸¹ Fichtenau 1952, 81.

125 *tium scilicet ac futurorum, multiplicibus ueritatis cooperato-*
ribus indigebat. Qui uidelicet beatissimus pastor uniuersalis
aecclisiae totum mundum quem a domino Iesu Christo sibi
creditum acceperat, demonum erroribus inuolui, ac subditum
esse illacrimans, perfectissimos quosque diuini uerbi preco-
130 *nes ordinauit, qui a se in Galliam dirigendi uirtute constantiae*
et fidei testimonio comprobati, Galliarum populous, qui iugo
tenebantur diaboli, eruerent, et ad diuini cultus sacramenta
prouocarent.

2. And because under favorable auspices the presence of divine ardor inspired the mind of the young man, he left for Rome due to the shining fame from the Roman stronghold of Christian faith and the skill of the blessed apostle Peter. And he sought his presence whom he strived for with all his heart and putting himself under the tutorship of the apostolic instruction, after he cast aside everything else, he laid eyes on him, burning with desire for his holiness. Therefore, since the remarkable laudation of divine deeds preceded him, he chose the leader of the catholic teaching, of whose source he would take what he would confirm with the truest testimonies, as is well known later.

3. Blessed Peter then saw that in him signs of future growth and good virtues were shining and that brightness of heavenly splendor rushed forth with visible evidence. And the closer he had admitted the blessed man to the heavenly teaching to be instructed by him in the power of the creed, the more urgently he needed many helpers of the truth in the salvation of the faithful, the present ones and the future ones. This most blessed shepherd of the whole church of the whole world, which he had received from the Lord Jesus Christ as a loan, bewailing that the world was surrounded with and set under the errors of daemons, assigned the most accomplished as heralds of the divine word, who were approved by him to be sent to Gallia because of their virtue of perseverance and the testimony of their faith and would rescue the nations of the Gallic who were held by the yoke of the devil and call them to the sacraments of the divine worship.

2.2.2 Analysis

In this passage Adso gives two reasons for Mansuetus' journey to Rome and his consequent tutelage under St. Peter, resuming strategies from his first chapter. The first reason is that this journey is the will of God, visible in the good omens and the divine ardor that inspired him (l.

109-110). St. Peter too became bishop of Rome because God arranged it (l. 78-79). Also, since Peter was elected by Jesus himself as apostle and leader of the church, this assignment can be considered part of God's plan. The second reason is the fame (l.116), skill (l. 112) and holiness (l. 115) of St. Peter which make him the most desirable teacher. Adso hereby continues the eulogistic portrayal of St. Peter, boosting the saint's prestige. As a result, the stamp of approval of this prestigious apostle is even more meaningful when he first deems Mansuetus worthy of his tutelage because of his potential, virtues and radiant holiness (l. 120-122) and then includes him in the number of the "most accomplished as heralds of the divine word" (l. 129) worthy to spread the word of God in the still pagan Gallia because of their "virtue of perseverance and the testimony of their faith" (l. 130-131).

The validation of St. Peter is a paramount guarantee for Mansuetus' legitimacy and power as a saint. This is visible in the repeated remarks that St. Peter was the teacher of Mansuetus who, as a consequence, can rely on the support of his prominent teacher. The relationship between the two saints is mentioned 13 times⁸² in only 16 chapters with expressions such as *beati Petri preuia auctoritate*,⁸³ *magistri sui apostolorum principis subsidiis innixus*,⁸⁴ or simply *beati Petri apostoli sui preceptoris*.⁸⁵ However, in Chapter 12, at which point Mansuetus had successfully evangelized the people of Toul and had become their bishop, Adso goes a step further and calls Mansuetus a true apostle on the basis of his study under St. Peter: *Qui, secundum apostoli dictum, et si aliis non erat apostolus, huic tamen plebi uere apostolus exstitit (...)*.⁸⁶ That Mansuetus was an apostle is a rather bold claim that pushes the boundaries of the believable since he was not one of the 12 apostles chosen by Jesus.⁸⁷ Therefore, Adso concedes that he might not have been an apostle for everyone, allowing sceptics to dismiss this claim while still believing in the saint. But at the same, time he insists that Mansuetus was a true apostle for the people of Toul who as a consequence can claim an apostle as the founder of their congregation. Adso supports this declaration by citing the first letter of Paul to the Corinthians where Paul says that even if for others he is no apostle he is still an apostle for them: *et si aliis non sum Apostolus, sed tamen uobis sum*.⁸⁸ This intertextual reference serves to indirectly compare Mansuetus to the apostle Paul, thereby strengthening Mansuetus' claim to apostolicity

⁸² Lines 113-114; 123; 138-139; 144; 155; 180; 230; 321; 369; 394-395; 415-416; 478; 484.

⁸³ *Vita Mansueti* 4 (l.155). With the authority of blessed Peter leading the way.

⁸⁴ *Vita Mansueti* 6 (l. 230-231). Leaning on the help of his teacher the leader of the apostles.

⁸⁵ *Vita Mansueti* 13 (l. 484). Blessed apostle Peter, his teacher.

⁸⁶ *Vita Mansueti* 12 (l. 441-4439). According to the story of the apostle, if he was not an apostle for others, still he appeared truly an apostle to this nation.

⁸⁷ Lk 6:13-16.

⁸⁸ 1 Cor 9:2.

not only by connecting him to St. Peter in the reality of the story but also by linking Mansuetus to the apostle Paul on an intertextual level. Just like the authority of Mansuetus as apostle is questioned by some people in the city he had converted to Christianity, namely Toul, the authority of the apostle Paul was questioned in Corinth, which owed its conversion to St. Paul.⁸⁹ However, since in the 10th century the apostolate of Paul was incontestable, people did not identify themselves with the *alii* doubting Paul. With this reference in mind, Adso's audience is consequently discouraged to become part of the *alii* doubting Mansuetus. The proof of this rather daring claim also echoes the one given by Paul in 1 Corinthians 9:2 *nam signaculum apostolatus mei vos estis in Domino*.⁹⁰ For Adso too, the people are the sign of Mansuetus' apostleship in the Lord *signa tamen apostolatus eius nos omnes in domino sumus*.⁹¹ He further explains that Mansuetus is an apostle "because what he took from the very first beginning of the holy and universal Church, that he made known later to our race with unrestricted authority, armed with faith rather than with a sword" (1-447-450). So the fact that Mansuetus studied under St. Peter and thereby "took from the very first beginning of the holy church" is Adso's justification for Mansuetus' claim to an apostolate.

These strategies align with Adso's aim to increase the prestige of Mansuetus. First, the reasons for Mansuetus' journey show that both the highest authority in Christian religion, God himself, and the highest authority of the church on Earth, namely St. Peter, approved of the saint and led him on the path of becoming a bishop and missionary. Thereby, the audience is reminded that the early establishment of the church of Toul was planned by God himself. Second, by emphasizing the student-teacher relationship between Mansuetus and St. Peter and, based on this, declaring Mansuetus himself an apostle, Adso claims a place for Mansuetus among the highest-ranking saints. As mentioned above (2.1.2) the prestige of a bishopric was partly dependent on the rank of the founding bishop. In this regard, the *vita* creates maximum prestige for Toul. Moreover, by claiming an apostolic origin for Toul, the city was elevated to the same level of prestige as other bishopric in the neighboring districts that assert apostolic origin such as Trier, the metropolitan bishop's see, and Metz. This would allow Toul to potentially compete with them in terms of seniority, an argument that was used in disputes concerning primacy.⁹² Another benefit of claiming apostolicity for Mansuetus is that apostles were considered to be especially close to the Lord, which means that the distance of the way of intercession is shorter

⁸⁹ Apg 18:1-18 for Paul in Corinth, where he converted many. See especially Apg 18:8.

⁹⁰ 1 Cor 9:2. For you are the seal of my apostleship in the Lord.

⁹¹ *Vita Mansueti* 12 (l. 446-447). We are all signs of his apostleship in the Lord.

⁹² E.g., between Arles and Vienne in the 5th century or Trier and Metz in the 10th century. Bauer 1997, 348 and 365. See also Depreux 2012, 413-414.

in comparison to that of “normal” saints.⁹³ As a result, apostles and their relics were deemed particularly effective, wherefore more pilgrims visited them, which resulted in economic gain of the bishopric owning the relics.⁹⁴

Adso also anchors his claim that Mansuetus is of apostolic origin by mentioning Mansuetus’ colleagues Maternus of Trier, Sinicius of Reims, Felix and Clemens of Mainz, and Memmius of Catalaunum⁹⁵ which will be discussed in the following section.

2.3 The Gallic Missionaries

2.3.1 Text and translation

3. *Ex huius itaque numero collegii beatum Maternum, treuericae ciuitatis pontificem, Remorumque sanctum Sinicium, Mediomatricorum uero Felicem et Clementem, Memmium autem Catalaunensium fuisse non dubitamus, cum quibus etiam hunc beatum uirum consortis ministerii collegam deputauerat, utpote longo apostolicae sublimitatis exercitio edoctum, ac coelestis magisterii experientia in cunctis*
135
adsumme comprobatum.
140

3. (...) Therefore we do not doubt that from the number of this collegium it was the blessed Maternus, bishop of the Treveric city, holy Sinicius of Reims, Felix and Clemens of Metz, and Memmius of Catalaunum. And to those he also had allotted this blessed man, a colleague of the same tutorship, seeing that he had been instructed by a long training of apostolic sublimity and approved by the highest experience of heavenly teaching.

2.3.2. Analysis

Interestingly, in the list of St. Peter’s best students elected to Christianize Gaul, Mansuetus is added last, nearly as if he were an afterthought. Maternus, Sinicius, Felix, Clemens and Memmius are mentioned first, and their inclusion is without a doubt. To their number St. Peter added this blessed man (*hunc beatum uirum*) not even calling Mansuetus by his name.

⁹³ Bauer 1997, 374.

⁹⁴ Bauer 1997, 374.

⁹⁵ The modern city Châlons-en-Champagne.

Franz Brunhölzl argues that the claim that Maternus and the other Gallic missionaries are contemporaries of Mansuetus is part of a mixed-up chronology that Adso created intentionally in order to highlight the historical impossibility of the story: "Hält man sich vor Augen, dass sich Adso ganz bewusst die eingangs erwähnten chronologischen Vermengungen und Verquickungen erlaubt und damit von vornherein auf die historische Unmöglichkeit des von ihm Erzählten deutlich hinweist (...)."⁹⁶ It is of course undeniable that Adso's chronology, especially the setting in the first century during the time of St. Peter, is historically impossible. The Christianization and establishment of the bishopric of Toul by Mansuetus most likely occurred relatively late at the end of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century, not in the 1st century.⁹⁷ Moreover, Mansuetus was not a contemporary of any of the other saints mentioned. The Christian communities of Trier, Reims, Metz and Châlons-en-Champagne were all established around the 3rd or early 4th century.⁹⁸ Consequently, their earliest bishops Maternus,⁹⁹ Sinicius,¹⁰⁰ Clemens, Felix¹⁰¹ and Memmius¹⁰² lived before Mansuetus.

However, all of these early Gallic bishops were considered students of St. Peter who sent them to Gaul on a missionary journey.¹⁰³ So by mentioning these bishops, Adso anchors Mansuetus in an already existing and accepted local Gallic tradition that is not doubted (*non dubitamus l.136*). The fact that Mansuetus is not mentioned by name only draws attention to the saints who function as anchors, making the anchoring strategy more effective. Just as St. Peter added Mansuetus to the number of students he sent to Gaul, Adso adds the *Vita Mansueti* to the number of hagiographical works that establish apostolic origins for numerous bishoprics. And since the audience has already accepted that Maternus, Sinicius, Clemens, Felix and Memmius lived in the time of St. Peter, as long as Mansuetus' story is set at the same time, the historical dates of their lives are irrelevant. It is therefore unlikely that Adso chose this historically impossible setting for Mansuetus with the purpose of emphasizing the fictionality of the text as Brunhölzl proposes or that it was conceived as such by his audience. On the contrary, the fact

⁹⁶ Brunhölzl 1988, 159. Page 154 for the other chronological mixings namely that he met the apostle Peter and is portrayed as a young Irishman making a pilgrimage to Rome the way Irishmen used to do from the 6th century on.

⁹⁷ Gauthier 1980, 103.

⁹⁸ Trier and Metz in the third quarter of the 3rd century see Gauthier 1980, 11 and 16; Reims in the middle of the 3rd century see Bauer 1997, 360; Châlons-en-Champagne in the beginning of the 4th century see Bauer 1997, 355.

⁹⁹ Third bishop of Trier after Eucherius and Valerius. According to the *Vitae Eucharitii, Valerii et Maternii* all three were consecrated and sent to Gaul by St. Peter, see Boshof 1993, 365.

¹⁰⁰ Second bishop of Reims see MGH SS 13, 414 (*Flodoardi Historia Remensis ecclesiae* 1.3)

¹⁰¹ First and third bishop of Metz, see Gauthier 1980, 459.

¹⁰² First bishop of Châlons-en-Champagne, see Bauer 1997, 355.

¹⁰³ Bauer 1997, 354-360.

that from the 5th century on nearly a fourth of all early medieval bishoprics claim (in itself historically impossible) apostolic or at least Roman origins and that such claims were apparently accepted as valid arguments in church political disputes¹⁰⁴ suggests that they were at least to a certain extent accepted as truth.

It seems that for Adso a conflicting chronology was generally less important than connecting the text to existing traditions. For example, the more detailed chronology of St. Peter's missionary work that Adso provides in Chapter 12 is equally impossible. He claims that St. Peter founded the Antiochian Church under emperor Claudius (41-54 CE) and governed her seven years long, then went to Rome and lived there for 25 years under emperor Nero (54-68 CE) and Agrippa and finally in the 36th year after the death of Jesus St. Peter was outlawed and crucified on the command of Nero.¹⁰⁵ This chronology does not add up since less than 32 years (seven in Antioch and 25 in Rome) lie between the first year of emperor Claudius' reign and the end of the rule of emperor Nero. However, Adso adopted these dates from different authoritative sources. The foundation of the church of Antioch under the reign of Claudius, St. Peter's stay in Rome for 25 years and his martyrdom by command of emperor Nero are recorded in the works of two very influential church fathers Jerome¹⁰⁶ and Isidor of Sevilla.¹⁰⁷ However, they do not mention that St. Peter spent seven years as bishop of Antioch; this detail stems from in the official biography of the popes, the *Liber pontificalis*, where no mention of Claudius is found.¹⁰⁸ Since in other cases (e.g., 2.2 Apostle Mansuetus) Adso is careful to find a way to keep his story within the boundaries of the believable, it seems that this impossible chronology was either not detected by the audience, not considered unbelievable or less important than anchoring the story in authoritative texts.

Instead, as the discussion of the temporal setting of the story has shown, the *Vita Mansueti* is written in a way which ensures that Mansuetus would be considered a prestigious, powerful saint of the highest rank while still carefully keeping the story believable by anchoring it in already existing traditions. In this respect the *Vita Mansueti* meets the expectations of its commissioner Gerhard of Toul.

¹⁰⁴ Depreux 2012, 413.

¹⁰⁵ *Vita Mansueti* 12 (l. 456-476).

¹⁰⁶ *De viribus illustris* 1.1.

¹⁰⁷ *De ortu et obitu patrum* 67,4-5.

¹⁰⁸ *Liber Pontificalis* 1.1.

3 Martyr

After Adso established Mansuetus as a student of St. Peter in Chapter 3, he associates Mansuetus in the following three chapters with the prototype of saints, the martyrs. Even though Mansuetus does not suffer martyrdom, Adso makes him look as similar as possible to a martyr. I will first analyze the strategies Adso adopts to portray Mansuetus as martyrlike as well as their function. In this section I will combine the Latin text and the translation with the analysis for a better flow of reading. In a second part I will focus on the description of Mansuetus' rather unspectacular death in Chapter 13.

3.1 Martyr Mansuetus

The portrayal of Mansuetus as a martyrlike saint follows a climactic structure culminating in a situation where Mansuetus' martyrdom is only averted by the will of God who had bigger plans for His servant. The saint's readiness to suffer is first expressed in Chapter 4. At this point Mansuetus, sent to Toul by St. Peter, freely commences his long journey to Toul and is prepared to endure all kinds of suffering: *longinquaere peregrinationi pro Christi regno se ultro subiciens, leuchorum urbis se ciuibus intulit, in omnia suppliciorum perferenda genera preparatus* ("subjecting himself freely to the long travel for the reign of Christ Mansuetus entered the cities of the *Leuceri* and was prepared in all kinds of sufferings to be endured" l. 148-151). Although he expects hardship and suffering, Mansuetus does not shy away from his mission but accepts it willingly. This shows the steadfastness of his faith and his devotion to Christ and his mission.

This perseverance is first tested when Mansuetus arrives at Toul in Chapter 5: Early on the pagan king despises the saint due to his preaching and ejects him from the city. But the saint passes the test and stays in a small shelter outside the city: *Vir autem Domini instanti constantia reluctatus, propter moenia ciuitatis exiguae habitationis sibi receptorium preparauit* ("The man of the Lord resisted with fierce perseverance and he prepared for himself near the city walls a shelter as a small habitation" l. 175-177). The hut is described in more detail in Chapter 6 as "in sight of the city, a place covered by the shadowy leaves of the forest and remote, in which being alone he only paid attention to the Lord" (l.226-228).¹⁰⁹ This self-made, remote and probably austere shelter shows that the saint does not shy away from the hardship of an ascetic life. In the same sentence Adso expresses Mansuetus' readiness to suffer:

5. *eligens potius diuersis cruciatibus ac suppliciis*
180 *corpus esse tradendum, quam id quod beati apostoli magistri sui*

¹⁰⁹ Vita Mansueti 6 (l.226-228) *in prospectu urbis, (...) umbrosis siluarum frondibus contactum locum delegerat, et remotum, in quo soli Domino uacans attentius.*

*edicto suscepit aeternae salutis ministerium declinaret.
Instabat igitur negotio perseueranter quod coeperat.*

5. And he chose to rather be a body to be handed over to different torments and suffering than to deviate from what he had taken on him by the order of his teacher the blessed apostle, the work of eternal salvation.

The language Adso uses evokes the bodily torture of martyrs, thereby likening his saint to them more clearly. First, Adso indicates the free will of Mansuetus to stay and suffer because the saint chose to do so (*eligens*). Second, special emphasis is placed on bodily torment. Mansuetus sees himself as a body (*corpus*) to be handed over to different torments (*cruciatibus*). So it seems that it is not Mansuetus as a whole, body and soul, that will suffer but only his body. This might refer to the curious detachment of the mind or soul from the body, caused by divine deliverance, that led martyrs not to experience pain while their bodies were tortured.¹¹⁰

Finally in the sixth chapter Adso explicitly likens Mansuetus to a martyr. At this point of the story the king decides to kill Mansuetus because the hunting dogs no longer pursue their prey once they are in the presence of the saint which spoils the king's hunt. Therefore, the preconditions for the martyrdom of Mansuetus are given. However, the author plainly states that God prevented the martyrdom because his mission to convert the people is more important and beneficial to the church than the short advocacy of a martyrdom:

6. *Qua re*
245 *sepe regia indignata potestas sanctum domini pontificem de-*
creuerat trucidandum, quem tamen diuina uirtus inter arma
barbarica et mores ferocissimos ad erudiendam plebem fide-
lium et expiandam urbem fecibus idolorum conseruabat in-
250 *lesum, nolens uitam eius breui consummare articulo marty-*
rii, sed prolixis temporum sudoribus immorantem, fructum
afferre copiosiore et pacem aecclesiae, quam recturus erat,
multimoda commertia referentem ad regnum transire coelorum.

6. Therefore the often-displeased king decided that the holy bishop of the Lord was to be killed. But the divine virtue kept him unhurt between foreign weapons and wildest habits in

¹¹⁰ Cobb 2016, 12.

order to teach the common folk of faithful persons and to expiate the city from the scum of idols. For the divine virtue did not want that Mansuetus finish his life with the short advocacy of a martyr, but that he, remaining in the extended efforts of the times, bring more plentiful profit and it wanted that the peace of the Church, which Mansuetus was guiding, carrying diverse commerce crosses over in the kingdom of heaven.

It is reasonable that Adso wants to present Mansuetus as a martyr, because martyrs were the most prestigious saints next to apostles.¹¹¹ Martyrs are the prototypical saints who confirmed their holiness not only through their exemplary life but also by their perseverance and willingness to suffer a violent death like Jesus Christ.¹¹² They were seen as the perfect witnesses of Christ to such extent that even those apostles whose deaths was uncertain were retrospectively deemed martyrs.¹¹³ Other types of saints such as ascetics or bishops only developed once martyrdom became nearly impossible due to the end of the persecution of Christians after the Edict of Milan in 313 that granted everyone the freedom to follow the religion of their choice. Therefore, martyrdom would have made Mansuetus immediately immensely popular (provided that people accepted it). Even more so because in the region of Lotharingia no ‘classical’ martyrdoms¹¹⁴ had taken place which was experienced as a grave deficiency in the early Middle Ages.¹¹⁵ As a result, the few later martyrs who died on Lotharingian or immediately adjacent ground were worshipped with remarkable intensity and the demand for more local martyrs, such as Mansuetus would have been, was high.¹¹⁶

Therefore, Adso likens Mansuetus to a martyr as much as possible within the boundaries of the story. He emphasizes that Mansuetus was equipped with the qualities a martyr needed, namely the readiness to suffer and die for his faith as well as perseverance and steadfastness during hardship. However, that Mansuetus suffers martyrdom is not compatible with one detail of the saint’s life that Adso could not change: That the saint converted the people of Toul and became their first bishop. It is impossible for Mansuetus to die at this point of the story because he still has to become the first bishop of Toul. It is equally illogical for Mansuetus to convert the people, found a bishopric and then suffer a martyrdom, since at that point of the story the pagan ruler who wanted to kill him due to his missionary work is already a Christian himself. As a result, Mansuetus does not actually die as a martyr but is kept unhurt by God himself. Still, Adso has

¹¹¹ Lanczkowski 1985, 648.

¹¹² Lanczkowski 1985, 648.

¹¹³ Lanczkowski 1985, 649.

¹¹⁴ Bauer 1997, 476. Meant are martyrdoms from the time of the persecutions before 313.

¹¹⁵ Bauer 1997, 476.

¹¹⁶ Bauer 1997, 477.

to make sure that the averted martyrdom is not held against the saint. He does so firstly by stressing that Mansuetus was as good as a martyr, which makes sure that no one would think that the saint was spared a martyrdom because he was not willing or ready for this trial. Secondly, Adso gives an explicit reason for the averted martyrdom in order to underline Mansuetus' faultlessness in this matter: It is God who decided to keep Mansuetus safe for the reason that He has more significant plans for the saint. This explanation also serves to elevate the saint above the martyrs since Mansuetus' work as missionary and leader of his church is by God's decree more beneficial to Christianity than martyrdom. So Adso turns the disadvantage of not being able to present his saint as a martyr into an advantage: He takes this opportunity to argue that Mansuetus was actually superior to martyrs, which is of course even better with regards to the prestige of the saint.

This claim might also have an apologetic function. Given the lack of local Lotharingian martyrs while Burgundy, a bordering state of Toul, boasted a much higher number of them,¹¹⁷ the statement that God considered missionaries and bishops more useful than blood witnesses might aim at a general enhancement of the authority of non-martyr saints. This would eliminate the supposed deficiency of Toul and Lotharingia caused by the lack of local martyrs.

To conclude, the claim that Mansuetus was similar to a martyr, but better, contributes to the successful fulfillment of Adso's assignment in several ways. Firstly, as mentioned above, martyrs were a very prestigious category of saints. By presenting Mansuetus as worthy of joining their ranks as well as that of the apostles, Adso placed him among the two most authoritative groups of saints. Secondly, an association to martyrdom also strengthens the believability of an early dating as well as Mansuetus' apostleship. The earliest saints were martyrs and most martyrs lived and died during the persecutions of Christians in the first three centuries.¹¹⁸ Therefore, martyrs are associated with the early church. Also many apostles were considered martyrs.¹¹⁹ So adding the label 'martyr' to Mansuetus fits in with the picture the audience probably had of early saints and apostles which makes both claims more believable. Thirdly, Adso anchors his story in the genre of passions and acts of martyrs.¹²⁰ Martyr texts were not only well known but also contributed to some central aspects of Christian doctrine.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Bauer 1997, 479.

¹¹⁸ Lanczkowski 1985, 649-650.

¹¹⁹ Lanczkowski 1985, 649.

¹²⁰ Cobb 2016, 9.

¹²¹ Cobb 2016, 3 and 9.

Therefore these texts, similar to the Bible,¹²² were constituent for Christian core beliefs which makes this anchoring strategy especially effective.

3.2 The death of the saint

3.2.1 Text and translation

13. *Cumque iam, dei athleta electus, plenus esset dierum et prouectae aetatis, multis et diurnis bonorum operum sudoribus et laborum exercitiis, ut praediximus, fatigatus, uirtutibus quoque et miraculorum signis admodum declaratus, tanquam fidelis seruus et prudens, qui dominicae familiae mensuram tritici in tempore suo erogauerat, ad accipiendam aeternae recompensationis mercedem,*
490 *domino iubente uocatus, carnis onere deposito, III. nonas septembris spiritum coelo reddidit, et stolam beatae immortalitatis cum domino suo perhenniter regnaturus accepit, ubi modo gaudet angelorum coetibus admixtus, atque ouium suarum adhuc in terris agentium multo magis prestantius et potentius intercessor effectus.*
500

13. And when the chosen champion of God [Mansuetus] had fulfilled his days and was of advanced age, tired because of the much daily sweat of good deeds and the exercise of labors, as mentioned before, and also totally revealed through his virtues and signs of miracles as a faithful and wise servant, who had distributed in his time a portion of wheat to the family of the Lord and was called by order of the Lord to receive the reward of eternal recompense, he gave back his spirit to heaven after having put down the weight of his flesh on the 3rd of September and received the dress of blessed immortality reigning forever with his Lord, where he was happy mixed with the crowd of angles and of his sheep who were until then living on earth a much more excellently and powerfully accomplished mediator.

¹²² But of course on a considerably smaller scale.

3.2.2 Analysis

Interestingly, in the scene describing the death of Mansuetus, Adso focuses on the outstanding qualities and achievements that had distinguished the saint during his lifetime. His actual death, however, is only described in very general terms as *spiritum coelo reddidit*, without any details concerning the circumstances. Such an unspectacular death seems unusual since a saint's death was the highlight and completion of his life.¹²³ The death of a saint was considered the beginning of his real life with Christ which is why the day of a saint's death is also called *natale* (birthday) and is the date of his solemnity.¹²⁴ Therefore, death scenes were often used to highlight the holiness of a saint: A brave martyrdom was in itself the ultimate proof of one's devotion to God, but when martyrs were replaced by other types of saints their holiness was often underlined by means of miracles accompanying the saint's death.¹²⁵ In this regard, it seems that Adso squandered the opportunity to increase the prestige of his saint.

However, the death of Mansuetus as Adso composed it serves another important role. It reflects and underlines the author's claim that Mansuetus' work as missionary and bishop was more important than a spectacular (martyr's) death. The focus lies on the exertion of the saint (*l.490*), the virtues visible in his miracles (*l.491-492*) and his success as a missionary (*l.493*). God Himself is satisfied with the saint's work – the reason why He averted Mansuetus' martyrdom – and rewards him with eternal life in heaven. In the case of Mansuetus, his death is not the highlight of his life but his work is. Therefore, Mansuetus' holiness does not need a flashy death in order to become apparent, because his work speaks for him. After all it was God who decreed that a long life dedicated to the spreading of Christianity and tending to the flock of Christians was more beneficial than an outstanding death.¹²⁶ So this description of Mansuetus' death fits perfectly into the narration and even though no further miracle is added it is beneficial for the authority of the saint since it stresses the superiority of the bishop-saint Mansuetus over martyrs.

¹²³ Graus 1965, 63.

¹²⁴ Graus 1965, 63.

¹²⁵ Graus 1965, 65.

¹²⁶ *Vita Mansueti* 6 (l.250-253).

4 Miracle

Directly after Mansuetus escaped martyrdom at the hands of the king, Adso recounts the main miracle of the saint. Miracles generally show the saint's power and closeness to God, who works through them, and were a central part of *vitae*.¹²⁷ I will first examine how Adso sets up the story of Mansuetus' miracle in a way that involves the audience and its emotions. Then I will analyse the miracle narrative itself with a focus on elements from the Bible that strengthen Mansuetus' claim to holiness and discuss why the inclusion of a resurrection miracle is beneficial with regards to the prestige of the saint.

4.1 A dramatic setup

4.1.1 Text and translation

7. *Interea causa exstitit, qua rex et populosa gentilium*
255 *multitudo ludis suis solemnem frequentiam agerent, et*
consuetis ocii sui exercitiis uacarent. Cumque talibus intenti
tenerentur, accidit predicti regis unicum paruulum filium,
ex muro cui tunc forte superstare uidebatur, ea uidelicet
parte qua, reducto paululum sinu quem sors aedificantibus
260 *dederat, muri ambitus quemdam reflexerat angulum, e subli-*
mi loco prolapsum, casu in fluium Mosellae decidisse. Qui
scilicet fluuius aluei sui cursu loca uiciniora possidens, tunc
temporis propter moenia ciuitatis influebat, tantaque erat illic
aquarum profunditas, ut absortum hac uoragine puerum
265 *arte et spe descisceret querentium solers industria uirorum.*
Ciuitas tota ruit in funera, clamor attollitur rusticorum, pa-
ter et mater pene exanimes referuntur, tragediae personant
mulierum, falsorum frustra prouocantur subpetiae deorum,
dies uertitur in luctum, ludi in miseriam, solemnitas in me-
270 *rorem. Ita sorde duplici, merore et labore consumptis omni*
bus, nocte irruente dies clauditur.

7. Meanwhile there was some occasion, because of which the king and the populous multitude of his subjects led the festive crowd in their games and were free from the normal exercise of their leisure time. And while they eagerly were occupied with such things, it

¹²⁷ Farmer 1985, 364.

happened that the only little son of the aforementioned king fell down from the wall on which he was then seen to accidentally stand. He stood on the part where because the curve, which fate had given the builders, had been reduced a little, the circle of the wall had diverted a certain angle, from this high place falling forwards in a fall he fell down into the river Moselle. This river, of course, had through the course of its riverbed places that were quite nearby and at that time flowed close to the city wall. There the depth of the water was so great that the diligence of the men searching the boy who was absorbed into this depth lost all hope and skill. The whole city rushes down to the place where the death occurred, the cry of the farmers is raised up, father and mother nearly death with fear are told, the lamentations of the women resound, in vain they call for help of their false gods. The day is turned into grief, the games into misery, the celebration into mourning. So when all were consumed by twofold grief, by mourning and work, the day is end by the nightfall.

4.1.2 Analysis

Adso applies two main strategies in order to create a dramatic, memorable story. First, he creates and stresses the contrast between the joyous festivities and the tragic death of the little prince. Second, Adso uses vivid language in order to make the audience feel present and involve them emotionally.

The narration starts with the festivities and games taking place on the day, which contrasts the following death of the prince. It is not mentioned and not relevant why and how exactly the city is celebrating; the audience can fill in these details on its own. The only important detail is that it is a joyous day, for in the next sentence this celebration turns into a tragedy when the only son of the king, still a little child, falls into the river and drowns. The fact that this disaster occurred on a day of celebration heightens the dramatic effect since the two events stand in stark contrast to each other and the death comes unexpectedly. This is expressed more vividly in a series of short sentences in lines 269-270 that highlight the contrast between the joyful beginning and the lamentable end of the day. The heightened tragedy of the disaster has the effect that the subsequent reversal of the catastrophe, namely the resurrection of the child by Mansuetus, is seen as an even greater accomplishment.

Adso's second strategy is *enargeia*, adding little details and vivid descriptions that encourage the audience to feel present and be emotionally involved.¹²⁸ One such detail is that the boy who dies is still young and the only child of the king (l. 259). These details create sympathy for the

¹²⁸ Webb 2009, 91.

child as well as for the parents. Firstly, a young child is associated with innocence and therefore generally does not deserve to die, which makes such a death highly sorrowful. Secondly, since he is an only child, the parents do not have the consolation of other children which is particularly tragic for rulers who need an heir to the throne. Adso also provides the audience with a detailed description of the scene of the accident, the river Moselle, though it is not necessary for the progress of the narration. This description creates a mental image that causes the audience to feel present at the event as if they were transported back in time to witness the fall of the boy themselves.¹²⁹ Adso then continues painting the picture by mentioning the hopelessness of the search party, the city rushing down to the scene of the accident, the cries of farmers, parents and women and the futile prayers to their gods. He creates a quick succession of short sentences that conveys the urgency and panic of the people who were suddenly torn from their celebration in order to try to save their prince. By doing so, the audience too is captured by this panic and grief; they start to become emotionally invested in the story and its outcome. Will the little prince live?

The use of *enargeia* is highly effective for the acceptance of the story. Firstly, as Ruth Webb formulates it, *enargeia* helps an orator (or author since written *vitae* were often read out loud)¹³⁰ to “involve his audience emotionally and imaginatively in the subject of the speech and thus to promote their acceptance of the ideas he is putting forward”.¹³¹ Moreover, *enargeia* makes the audience feel present at the event wherefore the story is no longer experienced as new and unfamiliar but as a personal experience that is automatically accepted and integrated into one’s personal beliefs, at least if no conscious effort is made to remind oneself that these events are not reality.¹³² Secondly, the detailed description of the river surrounding Toul might serve to make the story more familiar and believable, because the citizens would probably have recognized the scenery.¹³³

4.2 Miracle à-la Jesus Christ

In the second half of Chapter 7 Mansuetus appears to the queen in a vision. He tells her that she deserves to suffer the death of her child and that this would probably not have happened if she and the king had converted to the true faith when he preached to her (in Chapter 5 Mansuetus talked to the queen who started to believe but did not convert because of her pagan husband). He asks her what she would do if she were considered worthy of receiving the body of the dead

¹²⁹ Webb 2009, 100. One effect of *enargeia*.

¹³⁰ Brunhölzl 1988, 162.

¹³¹ Webb 2009, 193.

¹³² Webb 2009, 100.

¹³³ Goulette 2003, 174. For a topographical map of Toul see Gauthier 1986, 57.

boy. Thereupon she vows to do what he ordered and convert. After she awakes she relates her vision to the king who also promises to do what the holy man ordered if he were to receive the dead body of his son in order to bury him properly.¹³⁴ Therefore, the next day they search for Mansuetus hoping that he would indeed find them worthy and restore the body of the dead child to them.

4.2.1 Text and translation – before the miracle

290 8. *Inter haec, nocte decedente, dies adducitur crastinus,*
queritur uir sanctus a regiis officialibus, sed eo die minime
reperiri potuit. Labor frustra querentium usque in diem
tertium protelatur, iamque spes inueniendi pene subtrahitur.
Illucescente autem die tertio tandem pro libitu uir domini
295 *inuentus, regiis obtutibus presentatur. Cui ille, pristinae ferita-*
tis rigore deposito: “O sancte, inquit, dei, quem saluti nos-
trae ab exteris partibus gaudemus aduenisse, miserere orbat-
parentis, miserere extincti nati, adhuc sub aquis laetiferae de-
cumbentis. Iam protinus assto et credulus, aras destruo,
300 *templa et simulacra subuerto, demonum figmenta cuncta*
contemno, immolaticios cruores deuito, fidem quam predi-
cas suscipio, deum coeli quem orbis romanus iam Petro do-
cente persensit, adorandum spondeo, et me et populum
meum diuinis legibus subiugabo, dum per te merear tantum
305 *uel extinctum suscipere, quem constat tam creduliter perdi-*
disse.”

8. Meanwhile, when the night withdrew, the following day was brought along. The holy man was sought by the royal officers. But on that day he could not be found at all. The effort of the ones searching in vain was prolonged until the third day, and already the hope to find him was nearly lost. But when the third day dawned finally the man of the Lord was found according to his will and presented to the royal gaze. He said to him, after he had laid down the hardness of the earlier fierceness: “Oh holy man of God, we are joyful that you have come for our salvation from foreign places, take pity on the childless parents, take pity on

¹³⁴ Vita Mansueti 7 (ll. 271-290)

the dead child that lies until now under the water of the joy-bringing Moselle. Already immediately I stand here believing, I tear down the altars, overturn the temples and statues, despise the remaining images of the demons, I avoid bloody offerings, take up the faith that you preach, I swear to worship the God of heaven, who the Roman world felt deeply because Petrus taught them, and I will subject me and my people to the divine laws, as long as I am deemed worthy by you to receive the one who just now died, whom I had lost – it is well known – so credulously.”

4.2.2 Analysis

It is interesting to note that although Mansuetus was aware of the child’s death, he only let himself be found on the third day after the boy’s fall into the river. One explanation might be the biblical allusions this detail evokes.

First, Adso mentions that Mansuetus is found on the third day. At this point it is impossible not to think of the resurrection of Christ on the third day and, in addition, of the whole discourse about Old Testament typologies and symbolism of the resurrection on this day. For example, Jesus spent three days in the realm of the dead just like Jonah, who spent the same amount of time inside the wale.¹³⁵ Hosea likens the end of Israel’s exile to a resurrection on the third day,¹³⁶ and on the third day of creation God separated water from land and created the first life, namely all kinds of plants,¹³⁷ wherefore the third day is associated with life. Moreover, since sprouting seeds are used as an image of resurrection this can be seen as the earliest foreshadowing of a resurrection on the third day.¹³⁸ Therefore, by adding this detail Adso relates the saint to several of the most significant events of Christianity (Easter, the Exile and the creation of the world) that prove the power of God and His care for His people. This detail also foreshadows what God will achieve through Mansuetus: He will bring the boy back to life like He did before several times. Since a resurrection on the third day happened before and is accepted as meaningful by the community, this designation of time functions as a powerful anchor for the authenticity of the following miracle.

Second, the fact that Mansuetus consciously waits a few days to resurrect the child brings to mind a very famous resurrection in the New Testament: The resurrection of Lazarus in John 11:1-44. Jesus knew about the sickness and death of Lazarus but waited two days before

¹³⁵ Mathew 12:40. See also Derouchie 2021, 22.

¹³⁶ Hos. 6:2; Derouchie 2021, 23.

¹³⁷ Gen. 1:11-13.

¹³⁸ Derouchie 2021, 24.

traveling back to Judaea. By the time he arrived, Lazarus had been buried for four days. Nevertheless, Lazarus was resurrected. By waiting for a few days Mansuetus is following the example of Christ. This *imitatio Christi* is another popular anchoring strategy.

Once Mansuetus is found, the king reveals to the saint, the very man he recently had ordered to be killed, that he had changed his mind: He is joyful that the man came, asks for pity, professes that he already believes in God and despises his old gods and promises that he as well as his people will follow the laws of God if the body of the boy is recovered. This speech proves that the king's change of mind caused by the warning Mansuetus issued to the queen in her vision is genuine. The fact that the king already believes in God before Mansuetus works the miracle is important because the faith of the beneficiary of a miracle, in this case the king and queen, is a precondition for the successful working of a wonder.¹³⁹

4.2.3 Text and translation – the actual miracle

306 8. *Uir itaque sanctus, qui iam profecto nouerat quid factur-*
urus esset, his uocibus motus, his lacrimis compunctus, si-
mul sentiens tanta fruge populorum diuinam sibi adesse uir-
tutem, ad muri locum se perduci precepit, de cuius culmine
310 *preceps deuolutus puer in gurgitem decidisset. In quo uideli-*
cet loco orationem fundens, ac precipue fidens in domino,
deuotis precibus incubuit, inuocatoque Christi nomine,
cunctis qui littora cinxerant aspicientibus, corpus iacentis
pueri apparuit, et a profundis eductum ferri super equora coe-
315 *pit. Quod celeriter ab undis ereptum ante pedes beati uiri*
protinus est inlatum. "Ecce habes, inquit ad patrem, corpus
exanime quod petisti. Si tamen implere decreueris quod spo-
pondisti, aderit quoque diuina clementia, quae tibi adhuc ua-
leat multo prestare maiora. Nam ego ad hoc ueni, ad hoc
320 *peregrinationem tantam assumpsi, ut per me uobis pateat coe-*
lestis ianua regni. A principe apostolorum missus salutis uest-
trae negotia prosequor, uestrarum gaudens lucra animarum
quaero." Tunc pater et cuncti qui aderant unanimiter profi-
tentur abdicatis idolis ueri dei futuros se esse cultores, si is

¹³⁹ Breitenstein 2017, 345.

325 *qui iacebat exanimis, spiritu redeunte, monstraretur post
mortem ad superos posse respirare. Hinc sanctus pontifex, ple-
nus semper uisceribus pietatis, id quod petebatur per spiri-
tum intellegit operandum. Iterum genu flexo in orationem,
diuinae maiestati supplicaturus humi prosternitur, et christia-
330 nos qui tum forte pauci admodum numero aderant, idem
facere uotis coelestibus premonuit, cum, oratione expleta,
mortuus repente uitali flatu membrum concutitur, atque ad
sancti uiri imperium in pedes erigitur, et cunctis admiranti-
bus patri incolumis redditur.*

8. So the holy man, who indeed already knew what had happened, was moved by these words and felt remorse by the tears and at the same time felt that divine power was there for him for the so great success of the nation and he instructed that he should be brought to the place of the wall from whose height the boy had first rolled over and fallen into the water. In that place pouring forth a prayer and especially trusting in the Lord, he fell down with devoted prayers and having invoked the name on Christ, the body of the fallen boy appeared to all the spectators who surrounded the riverbank and lead up from the depth he began to float on the water. Quickly taken out of the water the body was immediately carried before the feet of the blessed man. He said to the father: “See, you have the dead body that you wanted. But if you should decide to fulfill what you promised, then divine mercy will be with you, which can of course still warrant even better things for you. For I came here, I took up the so great journey to this place, so that through me the doors of the kingdom of heaven stand open to you. Sent by the head of the apostles I pursue the matter of your salvation; I aspire joyful the gain of your souls.” Then the father and all who were there professed unanimously that after the idols had been rejected, they were going to be worshippers of the true God, if he, who lay there dead, with the breath returning would be shown to the living, able to breath after death. Hence the holy bishop, always full of piety in his heart, understood that what had been asked for was to be done through the Holy Spirit. Again with his knee bent in prayer he threw himself to the ground to implore the divine majesty and he advised the Christians, who were by chance at the time present in a very small number, to do the same with vows to heaven. Then, with the prayer fulfilled, suddenly the dead was shaken by a breath of life in his limbs and at the command of the holy man he stood up and was given back unhurt to the father while all admired it.

4.2.4 Analysis

Adso continues to model Mansuetus after Jesus in the actual working of the miracle as is visible in several details. First, Mansuetus already knew what had happened even though he had been missing for the last three days. This reminds us of Jesus who often inexplicably knows something including that Lazarus had died.¹⁴⁰ Second, Adso stresses that it is divine power, God, Christ or the Holy Spirit who cause the miracles while the saint's only contribution is to pray for it (ll. 308; 312; 327-8). Jesus too thanks God for answering His prayer for the specific purpose that the people know the resurrection of Lazarus is God's work and believe that God sent Him.¹⁴¹ So by evoking this scene, the audience is further encouraged to believe Mansuetus too was sent by God. Thirdly, Mansuetus commands the child to stand up after his prayer was fulfilled and the child does as he says, which functions as proof that he is really alive. This corresponds to Jesus calling Lazarus to come out of the grave¹⁴² as well as to other resurrections in the New Testament achieved by Jesus or St. Peter where the dead person rises at the spoken command "Rise!" by the holy man.¹⁴³ All these details are beneficial to the believability of the story as well as the prestige of the saint since the emulation of Christ is the ultimate goal and proof of holiness for a saint.

It is also interesting to point out that Mansuetus works in fact two miracles. First he retrieves only the body of the child, for which they had been searching in vain, by making it rise from the depths of the water. This is what the royal couple had asked of him in exchange for their conversion (l.303-305). So the story could logically have been continued without the resurrection of the child. This raises the question why Adso nevertheless included the resurrection miracle. There are several possible answers to this question.

First, Mansuetus himself gives a reason for the second miracle: It is a sign of God's mercy towards His community (l.318), an example of their life once they adopted the true faith. Also, Mansuetus states that he came pursuing the matter of salvation of the people (l.321). The salvation of Christians from evil includes the resurrection of all on the Last Judgement. So the resurrection of the little boy can be interpreted as an example or foreshadowing of the deliverance from death that will await the people of Toul if they convert.

¹⁴⁰ John 11:14.

¹⁴¹ John 11:41-42.

¹⁴² John 11:43

¹⁴³ Luke 7:14-15 the son of a widow in Nain; Mark 5:41 Jarius' daughter; Acts 9:40 Tabitha.

Second, bringing someone back from the dead is arguably the most impressive sign of God's power, since death was often considered the limit of divine power. In older conceptions even the Christian God has no power over the dead.¹⁴⁴ In later tradition the power over life and death is what distinguishes magicians from saints who work through the power of God. In the apocryphal *Acta Petri apostoli* for example, the mage Simon claims to be the power of God¹⁴⁵ but St. Peter exposes him as a fraud by asking him to resurrect a young man, which is impossible for Simon. He only makes the body's head move. St. Peter on the other hand truly brings the man back to life through the power of God.¹⁴⁶ According to some authors the Antichrist too will have no power over the dead which allows the faithful to distinguish him from Christ.¹⁴⁷ As a result, a resurrection is a powerful proof of God's omnipotence and often the explicit reason for people to start believing. Jesus for example states that He is glad He was not present when Lazarus fell ill and died for He wants his disciples to believe, implying that a simple healing would not have been as effective.¹⁴⁸ Adso himself expresses this sentiment in his treatise about the Antichrist. According to him the Antichrist will not only manipulate the elements (like Mansuetus does to regain the body of the boy) but also "raise the dead in the sight of men so that they are lead astray" (*mortuos etiam in conspectus hominum suscitari, ita ut in errorem inducantur*), meaning that they believe he is Christ.¹⁴⁹ So Adso ascribes the most powerful, effective and therefore prestigious miracle to Mansuetus and thereby shows that the saint is capable of working the most difficult miracle only true saints can achieve. This must convince the faithful that no matter what they might ask from the saint, he will be able to fulfill the request. Consequently, they are encouraged to make a pilgrimage to his grave – and thereby strengthening the economy of Toul.

At the same time, Adso follows a local trend by including a resurrection miracle: Two of the Gallic missionaries mentioned in Chapter 3, Memmius of Châlons-en-Champagne and Clemens of Metz, perform the same miracle as Mansuetus and resurrect the child of the respective rulers,¹⁵⁰ and Maternus of Trier himself is resurrected after six weeks by means of the staff of St. Peter. So the inclusion of the resurrection of the little boy serves a similar function to Mansuetus' apostolic origin. Adso anchors his story in narratives of Gallic saints and allows

¹⁴⁴ Ps. 88:6.

¹⁴⁵ *Acta Petri* 8. Edition Dohler 2017.

¹⁴⁶ *Acta Petri* 28.

¹⁴⁷ Bousset 1898, 177.

¹⁴⁸ John 11:45.

¹⁴⁹ *De ortu et tempore antichristi*, lines 72-72, edition Verhelst 1976.

¹⁵⁰ Goulette 2003, 175.

his saint to compete with the founders of the surrounding bishoprics with regards to the prestige of the saint.

To conclude, when composing Mansuetus' miracle, Adso continues his strategy to choose the most prestigious option available to him and anchored it in different ways, most notably in the Bible. He makes sure that the *Vita Mansueti* meets the expectations of its commissioner Gerhard of Toul.

Conclusion

The analysis of the relevant text passages of the *Vita Mansueti* has shown that Adso applies several different strategies in order to fulfil the expectation of the commissioner of his work Bishop Gerhard of Toul, with regard to the *vita*. This expectation was, as ascertained in Chapter 1, to create a saint of maximum prestige whose life story is nonetheless believable and readily accepted by the Christian community.

The three case studies have shown that Adso always chose the option that would grant the highest prestige to the saint. The writer opted for the earliest possible setting (directly after the foundation of the church) as well as the most impressive type of miracle (a resurrection). In addition, he presented Mansuetus as part of the highest ranking types of saints namely apostles and martyrs. At the same time, the author was conscious to stay within the boundaries of the believable. When these two criteria, prestige and believability, were not completely compatible, Adso found different strategies to solve the problem. He, for example, allowed the audience to dismiss the unbelievable claim that Mansuetus was an apostle by saying he might not have been an apostle “for others” while at the same time using intertextual references to the Bible that subconsciously persuade the audience to believe him. Elsewhere, when he could not let Mansuetus suffer martyrdom before the saint became the first bishop of Toul, Adso simply suggested that God considers missionaries and bishops superior to martyrs. He thereby turns the disadvantage of being unable to add his saint to the prestigious rank of martyrs into an advantage by claiming that Mansuetus was better than a martyr.

Adso also uses several strategies to make sure the story is anchored and accepted by his audience. First, he frequently references the Bible which is an especially successful way of ensuring believability since the Bible is the most authoritative and best-known Christian text. Second, well known saints appear as companions of Mansuetus most notably St. Peter, the teacher of Mansuetus, but also local Gallic missionaries. These saints lend their authority to the text and allow the audience to position Mansuetus within the network of already established saints. Third, Adso models his saint after Jesus Christ, especially in the scene of his main miracle, and includes details found in other hagiographical works. These familiar elements make it easier for the audience to accept the *Vita Mansueti* as true. A fourth strategy is the use of *enargeia* which encourages the audience to get emotionally involved and feel present at the described events. Fifth, the author claims several times that the events happened according to God’s wishes. This does not only explain believably the course of events but also proves the

authenticity of Mansuetus' holiness and augments his prestige, since God himself deemed him worthy of attention.

This thesis has shown how an author can construct a highly fictional *vita* about the founder of a bishopric that potentially influences the contemporary political and economic standing of the bishopric. It would be interesting to compare Adso's strategies to the ones used by other authors of *vitae* of founding fathers in order to see to what extent they correspond. Moreover, the *Vita Mansueti* is still only little studied; an extensive commentary and a translation would be a very desirable tool for further research.

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