

**The Hidden Manna:
The Psychedelic Sacrament in Medieval Roman Catholicism
Dan Merkur**

The biblical book of Revelation 2:17 refers enigmatically to hidden manna: "Let anyone who has an ear listen to what the Spirit is saying to the churches. To everyone who conquers I will give some of the hidden manna, and I will give a white stone, and on the white stone is written a new name that no one knows except the one who receives it."

In the twelfth century, theologians grouped around Anselm of Laon developed a theology of the Eucharist that made reference to the hidden manna. John 6:31-35 referred to Jesus as "manna," "the bread from heaven," "the bread of God," and "the bread of life"; and the Latin Church has traditionally interpreted John's words as a reference to the Eucharist. The theologians of the School of Laon had an additional concern. Although they were not in agreement on all points, they regularly distinguished the manna that was the Eucharist from the hidden manna of Revelations 2:17. Consider, for example, Macy's summary of the doctrine in two medieval collections of scholastic sentences:

In the two collections, *Dubitatur a quibusdam* and the *Sententie Anselmi*, the *res* of the Eucharist was described as both the true body and blood of Christ, and as the *panis celestis*, the heavenly bread on which the angels feed. The first *res*, the true body and blood, is a sign of the second *res*, the *panis celestis*. Although all who receive the sacrament receive the true body and blood, and only the good receive the *panis celestis*, by which one is joined to Christ in faith and love.¹

In this teaching, the Eucharist of the altar was a sign of the hidden manna. The sacramental bread and wine signified the body and blood of Christ, but the latter signified the *panis celestis*, "heavenly bread" that was eaten both by angels and by good human beings. For the School of Laon, the real presence of God in the Eucharist consisted not only of the body and blood of the Incarnate Word, but also of a further *res*, a heavenly bread that the body and blood signified.

What was the hidden manna?

The Hidden Manna and Contemplation

Anselm of Laon maintained that the angels in heaven consume the hidden manna through contemplation.² Other phrasings were more transparently metaphoric. Having interpreted the motif of the kiss in the biblical Song of Songs as a reference to the spiritual marriage of God and the soul, St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) continued by writing:

Anyone who has received this mystical kiss from the mouth of Christ at least once, seeks again that intimate experience, and eagerly looks for its frequent renewal. I think that nobody can grasp what it is except the one who receives it. For it is "a hidden manna," and only he who eats it still hungers for more.³

For Bernard, the hidden manna was not contemplation in general, but specifically the spiritual marriage. This formulation was consistent with his view that an interior dialogue with the Word was the essence of contemplation. He wrote: "Pure conversation with those who bear the likeness of purity....in my opinion, is alone or principally called contemplation."⁴

The sense in which the hidden manna was equated with contemplation was open to variation. Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173) identified the hidden manna with the emotion of delight that contemplation elicited in the soul. He privileged ecstasy over ideas of union.

For it is manna, hidden and completely unknown except to those who taste it. For it is such sweetness of the heart, and not of the flesh, that no carnal person whomever is able to have known it. "You have put joy in my heart" (Ps. 4:7). Corporeal delights, like the body itself, can be seen by the bodily eye; eyes of the flesh cannot see the delights of the heart and also not even the heart itself. Therefore by what way could he know spiritual delights unless he makes a point of entering into his heart and dwelling within? Therefore it is said to him: "Enter into the joy of your Lord" (Matt. 25:21). This inner joy is for spiritual persons....For joy is one of the principal affections....We receive as it were a kind of pledge, like a kind of first fruits of this reward, as often as we enter into that inner joy of our Lord and taste it partially.⁵

The different ways in which Anselm of Laon, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Richard of St. Victor associated the hidden manna with contemplation were no more diverse, however, than we find in different passages by William of St. Thierry, who had trained in theology with Anselm of Laon before he became a monk and a friend of St. Bernard. William referred to the heavenly manna in the following passage of his *Meditations*

O Lord, this height, this depth, this wisdom and this might, are these the heaven of which you are the door? It is so, truly; that is why the ark of the covenant was seen in heaven when the door was opened, as the same John says. For what does the ark of the covenant that was seen in heaven mean, if not "the dispensation of the mystery, which from the beginning been hidden in God, Who created all things"? You are yourself that ark. In you from all eternity was hidden, and in you in these latter days has been fulfilled, all that from the beginning of the world has been revealed to all the saints and prophets by the Law and by the prophecies, by wonders and by signs. You are that ark in which every part is covered with pure gold; for the fullness of God's Wisdom rested on you and invested you completely with its glory. In you is the vessel of gold that contains the manna, the holy and spotless soul in which the fullness of the Godhead dwelt corporeally. In you is Aaron's rod that budded, the dignity of the eternal priesthood. In you are the tables of the covenant, by which the world is made heir of your grace, and the nations are made coinheritors and fellow-heirs and sharers of your promise. Above all these things are the bright cherubim, the plenitude of knowledge; but they are not above them because of their own excellence and worth, but rather as needing to be carried and upheld by them; their overshadowing of the mercy-seat testifies to the incomprehensibility of the mysteries of your atoning grace.

These blessings, that were hidden in your secret heaven through the ages, you at the ages' end unveiled to the world's longing eyes, when you opened in heaven the door that is yourself.⁶

The sequence of images in this passage conformed with a convention of medieval meditation. The better to facilitate thinking deeply on a topic, meditators both pondered ideas as abstract verbal concepts and entertained mental images that expressed the same ideas pictorially.⁷ The images that they selected were often chosen because they were striking, memorable, and emotionally evocative. A master stylist such as William might use "a number of distinct symbols, each expressing a different facet of meaning but each blending into the others and supporting the others."⁸ For the purposes of meditation, the mental images did not have to bear a logical relationship to each other. They had instead to be memorable and individually informative.

William began this passage by mentioning a door in heaven. By equating both the door and the ark with Jesus, William provided a conceptual link from the motif of the door to the motif of the ark. The motif of the ark was presumably suggested by the biblical

reference in Revelation 2:17 to the hidden manna. Because manna had been kept in an urn in the ark of the covenant in the tabernacle in Moses' time (Exodus 16:33-34), it was reasonable for William to image the hidden manna within an ark in heaven. The Book of Revelation makes no mention of an urn and ark in heaven, but William added the two images. By equating the ark with Jesus, William made Jesus, in his capacity as a door, open onto the hidden manna. Manna, in its turn, was "the holy and spotless soul in which the fullness of the Godhead dwelt corporeally."

Whose was "the holy and spotless soul"? William's intention cannot be determined from this passage in *Meditations*, but his meaning is unequivocal in a corresponding passage in his treatise *On Contemplating God*. William wrote:

But when in my eagerness I would approach him...I want to see and touch the whole of him and--what is more--to approach the most holy wound in his side, the portal of the ark that is there made, and that not only to put my finger or my whole hand into it, but wholly enter into Jesus' very heart, into the holy of holies, the ark of the covenant, the golden urn, the soul of our humanity that holds within itself the manna of the Godhead.⁹

In this passage, William again listed the door, the ark, and the golden urn. The soul that holds the Godhead explicitly belongs to "our humanity." Accordingly, it was the human experience of mystical union, and not the unique event of the God-man's hypostatic union, that William associated with the hidden manna.

William developed these ideas further in a third passage that again drew on the image of the hidden manna.

Lord, whither do you draw those whom you thus embrace and enfold, save to your heart? The manna of your Godhead, which you, O Jesus, keep within the golden vessel of your all-wise human soul, is your sweet heart! Blessed are they whom your embrace draws close to it. Blessed the souls whom you have hidden in your heart, that inmost hiding-place, so that your arms overshadow them from the disquieting of men and they only hope in your covering and fostering wings.¹⁰

In this passage, William combined several of the same images and ideas in different ways, as though he had been mulling them over in a further meditation experience to see how they might be recombined yet again. By the divine "embrace" that draws souls close to Jesus' heart, hiding them in "that inmost hiding-place," William referred to contemplative experiences of mystical union, when all souls experience union with God. However, in a reversal of the previous associations, here it was the urn that was divine and the manna that was human. The urn was Jesus' human soul, the soul that underwent hypostatic union; and the manna, which was Jesus' heart, was the hiding-place of human souls, implicitly in mystical union with it.

The images that medieval monks used in their meditations were frequently drawn from the Bible, but they felt free to assign them different meanings on different occasions, in order to meditate on whatever happened to be their current concerns. Images had favorite or frequent meanings, but not fixed symbolic associations to which everyone had to conform. Consider, for example, a passing reference to the hidden manna by Amadeus of Lausanne, who became a monk of Clairvaux in 1125 but left twenty years later to become bishop of Lausanne. In the following passage from his *Homilies in Praise of Blessed Mary*, Amadeus adapted the images of the ark, urn, and manna for the purposes of Marian devotion.

Let us therefore enter the Holy of Holies and gaze upon the mercy seat, which has above it two cherubim gazing upon it and overshadowing it as they face each other with wings outstretched. There among other things shines the golden urn enclosing hidden manna...

The golden urn is blessed Mary, golden by reason of the excellence of her life, golden through her integrity and purity, golden through the fulness of grace. This urn held the hidden manna, she who in her sacred womb bore the bread of angels which comes down from heaven and gives life to the world¹¹

Here the image of the golden urn designated Mary at three distinct levels: in her historical human life, in her “integrity and purity” as Virginity incarnate, and in her continuing activity as “the fulness of grace,” referring presumably to Mary as the compassionate auditor of her devotees’ prayers, who intercedes with Jesus on their behalf. The image conforms with the theology of the School of Laon. If Mary is the urn that provides the hidden manna when she arranges for Jesus to provide people with grace, the hidden manna is grace.

These several references to the hidden manna by twelfth century theologians and monks indicate that the identification of the hidden manna with contemplation was only approximate. The heavenly bread was sometimes identified as contemplation, sometimes as spiritual marriage, sometimes as spiritual delight, sometimes as the human soul in the moment of mystical union, and sometimes grace in general. The variation among the explanations makes sense if we assume that the hidden manna was consensually regarded as a designation of mystical experience. Because mystical experiences are varied and complex,¹² their diversity was reflected in the variety of its description by different people. Identifications of the hidden manna differed because the biblical motif was used to signify a class of experiences that each had a plurality of features.

Association of the hidden manna with mystical experiences does not explain, however, what was meant by the theology that the host of the Eucharist signifies the *res*, the “thing,” which is the body and blood of Jesus; and the first *res* signifies a second, which is heavenly bread and mystical experience. In what sense can the first *res* of the Eucharist, the body and blood of Jesus, be said to signify contemplation, spiritual marriage, spiritual delight, or the human soul in the moment of mystical union?

The Three Breads

The medieval concept of a sign, symbol, or figure differed significantly from current views. Medieval writers maintained a mystical perspective that was indebted to the Platonic tradition.¹³ All things are what they are, yet all things also serve as figures that point toward God. The Many have integrity as the Many; but the Many are also signs or symbols of the One. The signs are also arranged hierarchically, with some signs pointing toward other signs, until the final signs point directly toward God. In each case, signifiers signify the signified; and they also have integrity of their own.

An explicit discussion of the medieval point of view was provided by Hugh of St. Victor (c. 1078-1142), who prefaced an account of the Eucharist with an account of the sense in which the Eucharist was and was not symbolic.

There are those who think that they have drawn a defence of error from certain passages in the Scriptures, saying that in the sacrament of the altar the body and blood of Christ do not truly exist but only an image of this and an appearance and figure, especially because Scripture sometimes says that what is taken in the Eucharist of the altar is the image or the appearance of that which will be received by participation with Jesus....

What then! Is the sacrament of the altar then not truth because it is a figure? Then neither is the death of Christ truth because it is a figure, and the resurrection of Christ is not truth because it is a figure. For the Apostle declares manifestly that the death of Christ and the resurrection are a figure and an image and a likeness and a sacrament and an example, saying: “Christ died for our sins and rose again for our justification,” (Cf. Rom. 4,24 and 25). And the Apostle Peter says: “Christ suffered for us, leaving you an example that you should follow in his steps,” (Cf. 1,

Peter, 21). Therefore, the death of Christ was an example, that we die for sin, and His resurrection was an example, that we live for justice. On this account then was it not truth? Then Christ did not truly die and did not truly rise, if His death or resurrection was not true. Far be it from the truth! For of Him it was written: "Surely he hath borne our infirmities and carried our sorrows," (Is. 53,4). The death of Christ was true, and yet it was an example, and the resurrection of Christ was true and was an example. Why can the sacrament of the altar not be a likeness and truth? In one respect, indeed, a likeness; in another, truth.¹⁴

Having explained that material things both are themselves and are symbols of intelligible things, Hugh went on to discuss the triplicity of the Eucharist.

For although the sacrament is one, three distinct things are set forth there, namely, visible appearance, truth of body, and virtue of spiritual grace. For the visible species which is perceived visibly is one thing, the truth of body and blood which under visible appearance is believed invisibly another thing and the spiritual grace which with body and blood is received invisibly and spiritually another. For what we see is the appearance of bread and wine, but what we believe under that appearance is the true body which hung on the cross and the true blood of Jesus which flowed from His side. We do not believe that through bread and wine the body and blood alone are signified but that under the appearance of bread and wine the true body and the true blood are consecrated, and that the visible appearance indeed is the sacrament of the true body and of the true blood, but that the body and blood are the sacrament of spiritual grace. And just as the appearance is perceived there, whose thing or substance is not believed to be there, so the thing whose appearance is not perceived is believed truly and substantially to be there; for the appearance of bread and wine is seen, and the substance of the bread and wine is not believed, but the substance of the body and blood of Christ is believed and yet is not discerned....

So the most divine Eucharist, which is treated visibly and corporally on the Altar, according to the appearance of bread and wine and according to the truth of the body and blood of Christ, is a sacrament and a sign and an image of the invisible and spiritual participation with Jesus, which is being accomplished within the heart through faith and love.¹⁵

Macy treated this passage as a variant of the eucharistic theology of the School of Laon.¹⁶ Hugh's statement, "the body and blood are the sacrament of spiritual grace," was a way of saying that the first *res* signified a second *res* that was grace, "the invisible and spiritual participation with Jesus." The Latin term *sacramentum* had translated the Greek *mysterion*, "mystery," from the fifth century onward. It could refer to the "mystery" of Christ, the mysteries of the nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension, or the mysterious action of the rites of the Church in general, or the particular rites of Eucharist or baptism. More rarely it could refer to a sacred object or an object of devotion. It could also mean an oath of allegiance, or an oath affirming a truth.¹⁷ Hugh developed an original threefold categorization of sacraments according to their relation to salvation.¹⁸

Hugh alluded to the hidden manna still more clearly in a different context.

There are three trees. The first is that material tree which the Lord God brought out of the earth in the beginning, when He planted paradise in the midst thereof. Man was cast out of paradise, in order that he should not touch the fruit of this tree after he had sinned. The second tree is the Lord Jesus Christ who, according to the form of manhood that He has assumed, is planted in the midst of His Church, like the tree of life in the midst of paradise. The third tree is the tree of life which was

planted in that invisible paradise, namely the wisdom of God, the fruit whereof is the food of the blessed angels. The second and the third are the one Tree of Life. But man was created for the third, cast out from the first, recalled by the second.¹⁹

The fruit of the third tree was here “the food of the blessed angels,” and Hugh elsewhere explained that the tree of wisdom “feeds by contemplation. Through contemplation it gives food. [It] is food.”²⁰ These descriptions pertained to the hidden manna. The manhood of Jesus that was the second tree referred to the body and blood that were present in the Eucharist, as we learn from a parallel discussion of three trees of life in the *Sentences* of Bernard of Clairvaux.

There are three trees of life. The first is that material tree which God made from the earth in the beginning, when he planted it in the middle of paradise. Adam was expelled from paradise so that after his sin he could not touch its fruit. The second is the Lord Jesus Christ who, by taking on human form, was ‘planted’ in the middle of his Church, just as the tree of life was planted in the middle of paradise. Whoever has worthily eaten of his fruit will live forever. The third tree is the tree of life which was planted in the invisible paradise, and that is the wisdom of God. Its fruit is the food of the blessed angels....

Now let us proceed to draw a comparison. Most assuredly that tree of life which was in the earthly paradise could support the life of the body without any difficulty. But the tree of life in the spiritual paradise—that is, the Lord Jesus—promises eternal life to those who eat his flesh and drink his blood. The third tree of life not only restores one’s original well-being, but adds to it greater strength. It not only repairs what had perished, but adds what had been lacking.²¹

Bernard agreed with Hugh in identifying the fruit of the third tree of life as the bread of angels. He also rendered explicit what Hugh implied, that the second tree of life is the humanity of Jesus that is planted in the Church, with reference to the body and the blood that are consumed in the Eucharist.

The three trees of life were presumably images that Hugh and Bernard used in their meditations. Bernard referred similarly to three types of bread.²² The third corresponded to the hidden manna.

Christ....transformed our hay into grain when, through his death and resurrection, he provided us with the never-failing spiritual bread of life and salvation at a time when, like beasts and animals, we recognized and longed for only perishable things. How good is the bread made from this grain! Even the angels feed upon the sight of it and are filled on it in the heavenly fatherland.²³

Bernard was not referring here to the Eucharist, as we learn from a later passage where he associated the third bread with contemplation.

The third bread is that which consolidates. Only a few people possess it, and then rarely, as a sort of foretaste or prelude in the tabernacle of this life. It is to be obtained to one’s full satisfaction only in the palace of heaven. This bread also consists of three elements: the vision of God, love, and praise. The vision of God which in this life we call contemplation will there be easily achieved, and our love will enjoy full bliss, while our praise will be unchanging.²⁴

In another context, Bernard referred to “the three loaves of truth, charity, and fortitude” that were “perhaps... the very loaves ‘no one knows, except the one who receives.’”²⁵ A further passage identified the three loaves as “chastity, humility, and charity.”²⁶ The varying

meanings that Bernard gave to the three loaves suggest once again that we are not dealing with literary allegories, but with mental images whose use in meditations on different occasions had led to related but differing insights.

What are we to make of the mental images of three trees of life and three loaves? If we interpolate the medieval theory of symbolism, we would be led to conclude that the fruits and loaves were three types of consumables, even as they were also figures that could be used to symbolize things other than themselves.

This conclusion is encouraged by a parallel reference to three breads in *The Prickynge of Love*, a Middle English translation of *Stimulus amoris*, “*The Goad of Love*,” by James of Milan, a Franciscan of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. In translating the Latin work, the Middle English translator, who was very probably Walter Hilton (d. 1396), added a variety of interpolations. Among them was an expansion of a reference to the Eucharist to include a discussion of spiritual bread. The translator’s interpolations are indicated by angle brackets < < > > in the selection below.

And that it might so be Father, *panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie*. Our each day’s bread give us to-day, < < that is, give us our bodily bread and all that longeth to our needful sustenance. And give us ghostly bread and that is thine holy grace for to strengthen our soul against the fiend.> > And give us heavenly bread, that is the precious body of thy son Jesus Christ, in sacrament of the altar.²⁷

The Latin manuscript tradition of the *Stimulus amoris* included the references to daily bread and the heavenly bread “in sacrament of the altar.” The Middle English translator both amplified the discussion of daily bread and introduced the reference to the third type of bread. The translator wrote: “that is, give us our bodily bread and all that longeth to our needful sustenance. And give us ghostly bread and that is thine holy grace for to strengthen our soul against the fiend.” In Middle English, the word “ghostly” meant “spiritual.” The explanatory clause “that is thine holy grace” specified the sense in which the bread was spiritual. It was contemplative. It was the hidden manna.

The Triadic Ontology of Eucharistic Theology

The interior logic of the eucharistic theology of the School of Laon conformed with the triadic ontology of late Neoplatonism, which classified phenomena in three categories: perceptibles, arithmeticals (or geometricals), and intelligibles. The eucharistic host belonged to the realm of perceptible, material phenomena. The body and blood of Jesus were not sense perceptions but ideas. They belonged to the category of ideas that were divisible (like geometricals) because they were extended in space. Continuing the same line of thinking would lead us to expect the third term of the triad to have belonged to the category of indivisible ideas. However, the highest *res*, the hidden manna, was not an indivisible idea. The hidden manna was plainly regarded as a divisible idea that could be pictured as bread for the purposes of meditation. The indivisible idea that it signified was mystical experience.

What we have in the eucharistic theology of the School of Laon is, I suggest, four pieces of a puzzle. There is first, at the perceptible level, the host of the Eucharist. At the level of divisible ideas, we have two images: the *res* of the body and blood, and the *res* of the heavenly bread. In what sense does the first *res* signify the second? Lastly, at the level of indivisible ideas, we have mystical experience, which was variously described. To resolve the puzzle, we might allocate the four items to two triads.

	<i>Triad I</i>	<i>Triad II</i>
<i>Idea</i>	???	<i>Mystical Experience</i>
<i>Image</i>	<i>Body and Blood</i>	<i>Hidden Manna</i>
<i>Matter</i>	<i>Eucharist</i>	???

If we allocate the four terms of the eucharistic theology of Laon to two triads, our puzzle consists of the two terms that are needed to complete the two triads. We may easily complete the first triad. It would presumably consist of the Eucharist, the *res* of the body and the blood, and *ex hypothesi* an indivisible idea of the Second Person of the Trinity.

Consider, for example, St. Bonaventure's discussion of the sense in which Jesus could be called hidden. Commenting on the first verse of the Gospel According to John, Bonaventure wrote:

This text indicates....that He is distinct in person, for "the Word was with God." He is divine in nature, since "the Word was God." And He was hidden from our knowledge since "He was in the beginning with God." Here I urge you to go back and consider that the mental word is dark and hidden until such time as it is expressed externally in sound. If the divine Word has a hidden being, it was Moses who wanted this treasure to be opened to the human race when he said in *Numbers 20*,

Open to them the fount of living water
that they may be filled
and that their murmuring may cease.

And the glory of the Lord appeared upon them. *Nm 20:6-8*

....So it is that the causal Word became public when it put on the garment of the flesh. When the mental word moves out into the external world, it is clothed as it were with the sound of the voice. But it is the vocal word that resounds in public while the reality which the voice signifies remains hidden, since it is the voice that is perceived by the senses while that which the voice signifies is perceived by the intellect. At first the Word of the Father was naked because it was not yet united with any creature. But later it was clothed with flesh. Yet, the flesh was manifested externally, while the divinity was hidden within, as we read in *Isaiah 45*,

Truly you are a hidden God. *Is 45:15*²⁸

Bonaventure here took for granted that the Second Person of the Trinity manifested in the world as "the divine Wisdom, which orders all things."²⁹ God's creation of the world presupposed His Wisdom. "He has created all things in the uncreated Word....the Word was at work with power in the constitution of all things."³⁰ Where, however, the negative theology of pseudo-Dionysius precluded discussion of the internal condition of God, the Trinitarian theology of St. Augustine insisted that the three persons of the Trinity differed both in their functions within the creation and in their eternal ineffability. Accordingly, if Augustine's trinitarianism was correct, "if the divine Word has a hidden being," it was appropriate to postulate that the Second Person of the Trinity exists in a discrete fashion within pseudo-Dionysius' unknowable Godhead.³¹ The concept of Jesus as a Word that was hidden but discrete within the unknowable Godhead was not original with Bonaventure. John of Ford, a twelfth century Cistercian writer, referred, for example, to Jesus "when he was still in his most holy and hidden resting place, the bosom of the Father."³²

Because the Catholic faith holds that the hidden Logos that became Incarnate as the God-man and continues to do so as the body and blood that is the real presence of God in the Eucharist, the concept is striking by its absence from the eucharistic theology of the School of Laon. Like the doubling of divisible ideas, the omission of the hidden logos at the level of indivisible ideas and its replacement with mystical experience draws attention to, and creates a mystery of, the irregularity of the triadic pattern in the eucharistic theology.

We cannot immediately complete the second triad, but we can identify the sort of thing its missing term must be. The second triad would include the hidden manna and its significance, mystical experience. The missing term of the second triad would consequently have been a material reality, a bread or other consumable that was perceptible to the senses.

In *Summa Theologiae*, in the last of the questions that discussed the cause of grace, St. Thomas Aquinas indicated that a perceptible phenomenon was indeed associated with the hidden manna.

Something may be known inferentially by perceptible signs. In this sense someone can know that he has grace, for example by perceiving that he takes delight in God and despises worldly things, and by not being conscious of any mortal sin in himself. We may understand in this sense the text of *Revelation*, *To him who overcomes I shall give a hidden manna, which no one knows except him who receives it*, for in fact he who receives it knows by an experience of sweetness which is not experienced by him who does not receive it. Yet this knowledge is imperfect. Thus Paul says, *I am conscious of nothing against myself, but I am not thereby justified* [1 Cor 4:4]. For as the *Psalm* says, *Who can discern his sins? From my hidden faults cleanse me, O Lord* [Ps 19:12].³³

Aquinas here misquoted Rev 2:17 by omitting the words, “and I will give him a white stone, with a new name written on the stone.” The effect of the abbreviation shifted the final clause, “which no one knows except him who receives it,” from its scriptural reference to the new name, to Aquinas’ concern with the hidden manna. Aquinas evidently regarded the hidden manna as a “perceptible sign,” a physical phenomenon that could be sense perceived, whose identity was a secret, “which no one knows except him who receives it.” Aquinas added, however, that the sweetness of the hidden manna was perceptible sign that was an “imperfect” knowledge. It merited inclusion in his *Summa Theologiae* in connection with the topic of the cause of grace, but it was not itself the perfect knowledge that grace can provide.

A Secret Sacrament

It would be a mistake, I suggest, to treat the hidden manna as a figure of speech alone. Its relation to contemplation was more complex than that of a rhetorical device. Heavenly bread was a sign of contemplation in the medieval sense. It was both itself and a sign of something other than itself. Its symbolic significance was regularly and openly explained as contemplation. Its non-symbolic sense remains to be explained. In his *Sermons on Conversion*, St. Bernard of Clairvaux briefly mentioned the hidden manna at the very start of a general introduction to the topic of “heavenly contemplation.”³⁴

He shall then discover the place of the wonderful tabernacle, where man shall eat the bread of angels; he shall discover the paradise of pleasure planted by the Lord; he shall discover a flowering and thoroughly lovely garden.³⁵

A man first eats the bread of angels, and then discovers paradise. At the start of the next paragraph in the same sermon, Bernard explained, “You must not suppose this paradise of inner pleasure is some material place: you enter this garden not on foot, but by deeply-felt affections.”³⁶ This paradisaical emotionality could be attained in this life. “These are not yet the rewards of eternal life, but only the wages paid for military service; they have nothing to do

with the future promise made to the Church, but concern rather her present due.”³⁷ Bernard asserted that he would not discuss the “incomparable delights” that were “revealed through the Spirit alone.” They were instead to be experienced.

Do not hope to hear me sing the praises of all that. That is revealed through the Spirit alone: you will consult books to no avail; you must try to experience it instead. That is wisdom, and man does not know its price.³⁸

With these intimations that he knew more than he was saying, Bernard returned to the topic of the hidden manna.

It is drawn from things hidden, and this delight is not to be found in the land of those who live delightfully. Yes, it is the Lord’s own delight and unless you taste it, you shall not see it. Has it not been said: ‘Taste and see that the Lord is delightful’? This is hidden manna, it is the new name which no one knows except him who receives it. Not learning but anointing teaches it; not science but conscience grasps it.³⁹

It is conventional to gloss over Bernard’s precise wording and to identify the hidden manna with the paradisaical experience of heavenly contemplation; but it is an oversimplification to treat the hidden manna as an allegory of contemplation itself.

Bernard explicitly stated that the paradisaical state “*is drawn from things hidden*” (emphasis added), and he presently identified the things hidden as the hidden manna. For spiritual delights to have been drawn from the hidden manna, the heavenly bread would have had to have been something whose consumption was the occasion of contemplative experience. The *panis celestis* was, I suggest, a psychoactive host, a psychedelic sacrament.⁴⁰

Bernard referred explicitly to an actual baked good that differed from the host of the Eucharist. At the very start of his *Sermons on the Song of Songs*, which he treated as an allegory of the spiritual marriage, Bernard asserted: “Be ready then to feed on bread rather than milk. Solomon has bread to give that is splendid and delicious, the bread of that book called the Song of Songs. Let us bring it forth then if you please, and break it.”⁴¹ I suggest that Bernard regarded the hidden manna as a psychedelic sacrament that he identified with the bread of the presence in Solomon’s temple.⁴² The hidden manna was a different sacrament than the Eucharist, one that had been known to the Jews of Solomon’s era as the Eucharist had not been.

Bernard’s intimation that the hidden manna was a secret was openly asserted by two of his contemporaries. Following Bernard’s death in 1153, his unfinished sermons on the Song of Songs were continued by Gilbert of Hoyland, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Swineshead in Lincolnshire. Gilbert wrote only briefly of the hidden manna, but stated explicitly that the biblical image was a way of talking about a secret foodstuff.

I wish to bow before mysteries; for it is not right in a glib talk to lay bare the secrets of prayer and with the unhallowed hands of the tongue to unroll the delicately wrapped scrolls of the Holy of holies and to handle the hidden manna....And to what rather than to manna shall I compare our secret? Manna is a sweet food from heaven, but you see how secretly it is hidden in the urn, in the Ark, in the Holy of holies, that the inquisitive and less worthy eye may be kept from such a vision, the eye which knows not how to be dove-like, which is not directed by devout belief and pure intention.⁴³

Contemporary Catholic attitudes to secrets should not be attributed to the twelfth century. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 required Catholics to attend communion at least once annually because the reception of the Eucharist had developed into a ritual that the

laity watched, while priests alone consumed the wafers. We should not be surprised that the hidden manna was even more exclusively an ecclesiastic and monastic concern.

Geoffrey of Auxerre, who served as Bernard's secretary before he became abbot of three Cistercian monasteries and retired to Clairvaux in 1188, discussed the hidden manna in his sermons *On the Apocalypse*. Once again the hidden manna was definitely a secret foodstuff that existed at present as well as in the biblical past. It was presumably a plant of some kind, since Geoffrey stated that it was found in a field.

And what does the Spirit say? *To the one who conquers I will give the hidden manna*, and so on. Manna is a marvelous, miraculous refreshment that the Saviour promised to those who came to him, to those who labor and are burdened, those laboring for the king of Egypt, for the ruler of this world, those given to earthly labors, subject to lust and greed. They are not laboring simply in the present, but for the past too, because they are burdened by their many grave sins. Solomon says of them, 'Heavy is the stone' of each fault and 'weighty the sand' of many offenses, 'but a fool's anger is heavier than both' in the rage of despair.

The *hidden manna* is the secret pleasure of the inner self. The prophet speaks of this *hidden manna* in the psalm, 'How abundant is your goodness, Lord, which you have hidden for those who fear you! Manna is called 'the bread of angels' not because angels eat it but because it was served to the children of Israel through the ministry of angels.

He distinguishes this manna as *hidden* because it was found in a field. In a spiritual sense we can compare the *hidden manna* to the treasure hidden in a field. Concealed in the labor of our duties here below is the secret refreshment of divine consolation, having in it everything delicious to the taste.⁴⁴

Geoffrey's discussion of the white stone in Rev 2:17 adds further to our understanding of the hidden manna.

And I will give him a white stone. Because manna is sweet rather than firm, a promise of eternal life follows in the stone. Another translation has 'pearl' in place of 'stone', that fine pearl for the sake of which the wise merchant joyfully gave all he had when he found it. In a stone of this kind, costliness and firmness are commended, that it may be indestructible and remain always in its integrity. Its brightness signifies joy and purity....

What should we find more irksome among all the miseries of this life's journey that nothing is done without sin, because while we live here we all make many mistakes. Since our sins are a barrier between ourselves and God, what is more unfortunate than that we eagerly tear it down only to have it instantly grow up and sprout, so that it has to be torn down again if we want to cleave to him.

Would that, were it possible, the strength of the Almighty would grant to a wretch like me a purity altogether immune from sins and perils, or to acquire a fear of sinning even amid the troubles of the present life. Beloved, our supreme happiness ought to be the anticipation of that most genuine and shining purity, and of that freedom from danger that the prophet describes: "Return, my soul, to your rest, for the Lord has been bountiful to you; he has delivered my soul from death, my eyes from tears, my feet from stumbling". He is describing security from sin, from punishment, from the danger of offending and falling back into sin, or punishment, or both.

We are promised *a new name written on that stone*, written by God's finger and deeply carved, written in letters that will never henceforth be obliterated or forgotten. It will be a great name, not by earth's reckoning, but by heaven's. A *new name* is the sign of a new dignity, a new glory, a new elevation, a new adoption and inheritance.⁴⁵

If we assume that Geoffrey's discussion of the white stone built on his description of a sin or fault as a stone in the preceding passage, we arrive at the implication that the hidden manna was involved in the transformation of the stone of sin into a stone of purity, a freedom from sin, punishment, and the danger of lapsing back into sin. A foodstuff that facilitated a change from the misery of sin to the rest and security of purity may reasonably be described as psychoactive. It produced moral transformation.⁴⁶

St. Bonaventure

If Bernard was the most influential and authoritative churchman of the twelfth century, Bonaventure (1217-1274), the Third Minister General of the Franciscan Order, was the most important mystical theologian of the thirteenth. Due, I suspect, to a combination of politics and piety, he followed Bernard in composing rare passages that openly revealed the psychedelic nature of the hidden manna. Like Bernard, Bonaventure was so well positioned within the church that he risked saying in public what most writers only hinted. He spoke quietly, but he spoke clearly.

Let us look first at a section of Bonaventure's *The Mystical Vine*, where the eucharistic theology of the School of Laon can be found alive and well in the late thirteenth century.

Now, *daughters of Jerusalem, come forth and look* upon our Peacemaker fighting for our freedom, and falling in the battle. Behold the Author of our lives passing for our sake through the doors of death, in order to call us back to the path of life. Watch as the excruciating bonds, the iron spikes, cruelly penetrate the hands and feet that had always been intent on our salvation, and always had been the doers of *saving deeds on earth*. Behold the wood of the cross cutting into our Bread, the Bread most pure, the Bread having within it all delight, *the Bread of angels-which comes down from heaven* in order that Christ might give Himself to us as food; in order that He might become flesh in us, not for the sake of transforming Himself into our flesh but to transform us into His spirit. Beloved soul, behold how He was bound, how *He was reckoned among the wicked*, He, our Spouse, who is Freedom and Goodness itself! Our Life dies, not because He need die, but because of our needs. Pour out a torrent of tears for Him who is dying in such bonds, since He first wept for us. Stand close to Him as He hangs, *be still and see* to what a bitter, shameful death He is condemned. He is still bearing His pain, looking for one to grieve with Him, to comfort Him; to wipe away the streams of blood, close His eyes, pull out the nails that hold Him fast; to lower Him from the cross with a clean cloth--not of linen but of the heart--and, sharing the tears of the weeping holy women, to bring Him to the tomb.⁴⁷

Meditation on the passion of Jesus was a traditional devotion that we can trace from the late eleventh century to modern times.⁴⁸ Bonaventure here recommended the practice, but he referred to it in a highly original manner. He evoked the image of "the wood of the cross cutting into" Jesus when he was crucified; but instead of referring in the conventional manner to the flesh of Jesus' body, Bonaventure described Jesus as "our Bread, the Bread most pure, the Bread having within it all delight, the Bread of angels." Bonaventure's striking image of crucified bread was presumably devised as a mental image for meditation. The idea that it signified conformed with the eucharistic theology of the School of Laon. If the *res* of the real presence, the body and blood of Jesus, signifies a higher *res* which is the hidden manna, it was not only Jesus' flesh, but also the manna that underwent crucifixion.

The traditional association of the hidden manna with mystical experience was invoked when Bonaventure referred to the crucified bread as "the Bread having within it all delight." The host of the Eucharist does not answer to Bonaventure's description of "Bread having within it all delight." In Catholic belief, when a priest consecrates the host, it transub-

stantiates into the real presence of the *res*, but it would be a mistake to interpret the body and blood of Jesus as “all delight.” There are other delights in creation than Jesus alone. Bonaventure’s phrasing was a subtle allusion, I suggest, to the association of the second *res*, the hidden manna, with contemplation. “All delight” was a way of referring to a mystical ecstasy of the All.

Bonaventure indicated that he was concerned with contemplation through his unprecedented image of crucified bread. In Catholic symbolism, the cross is conventionally styled the Tree of Death and it is conventionally *contrasted* with Jesus as the Bread of Life. As Cousins recognized, by juxtaposing the opposing images of death and life, Bonaventure created a symbol of mystical union, the spiritual marriage.⁴⁹

Bonaventure’s subscription to the eucharistic theology of the School of Laon indicates that, at least in his view, its teachings concerning the hidden manna and mystical experience were consistent with the doctrine of transubstantiation that had been decreed under Innocent III at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. “The body and blood [of Jesus Christ] are truly contained in the Sacrament of the Altar Under the outward appearances of bread and wine, the bread having been transubstantiated into the body and the wine into the blood.”⁵⁰ The doctrine of the hidden manna was additional to the doctrine of transubstantiation, and not in violation of it.

The psychedelic nature of the hidden manna is demonstrable in a section of Bonaventure’s *The Mind’s Passage into God* that concluded with the remark: “This, however, is mystical and most secret.” Here is the section in full:

Whoever turns his face fully to the Mercy Seat and with faith, hope and love, devotion, admiration, exultation, appreciation, praise and joy beholds him hanging upon the cross, such a one makes the Pasch, that is, the passover, with Christ. By the staff of the cross he passes over the Red Sea, going from Egypt into the desert, where he will taste the *hidden manna* [Apoc 2:17]; and with Christ he rests in the tomb, as if dead to the outer world, but experiencing, as far as is possible in this wayfarer’s state, what was said on the cross to the thief who adhered to Christ; *Today you shall be with me in paradise* [Luke 23:43]....In this passing over, if it is to be perfect, all intellectual activities must be left behind and the height of our affection must be totally transferred and transformed into God. This, however, is mystical and most secret.⁵¹

The secret of the psychedelic sacrament is disclosed, I suggest, when Bonaventure’s words are understood literally rather than metaphorically. Bonaventure wrote: “He will taste the hidden manna and with Christ he rests in the tomb.” A mystical experience of death with Christ followed the consumption of a sacrament that was known as the hidden manna. Mystical experience was a sequel of consuming the hidden manna. The “mystical and most secret” sacrament was psychedelic.

The idea that manna is psychedelic is also to be found in another passage in *The Mystical Vine* where the secret of manna is again the literal meaning of phrases that uninitiated readers were expected to mistakenly treat metaphorically. Bonaventure wrote:

Deign to strength with *the bread of understanding* and the *water of learning* my soul, feeble and parched, so that, as You open, O Key of David, hidden truths may be revealed to me; and as You shine, O *True Light*, obscure things may become luminous; and as You manifest Yourself, and make Yourself known through me, both I who speak and all who listen may attain eternal life.⁵²

Bread that confers understanding and water that provides learning are both psychoactive substances. Their psychoactivity was not merely metaphoric; it was associated with the revelation of hidden truths that included God’s manifestation and making himself known.

Walter Hilton

Walter Hilton (d. 1396) was an Augustinian canon whose major work, *The Scale of Perfection*, concerns the practice of meditation on the passion. Near the end of the text, Hilton referred to the hidden manna.

But then through grace it [the soul] is drawn into the private chamber, into the sight of our Lord Jesus, and hears his secret counsels, and is wonderfully comforted in the hearing. The prophet speaks of this: *Secretum meum mihi; secretum meum mihi* [Isaiah 24:16]. My secret for myself; my secret for myself. That is, the lover of Jesus, taken up from the outward feeling of worldly love through the inspiration of His grace, and ravished into the mystery of holy love, yields thanks to him, saying thus, *My secret for myself*. That is, "My Lord Jesus, your mystery is shown to me and secretly hidden from all lovers of the world, for it is called hidden manna. It is easier to ask what that is than to tell it, and our Lord Jesus promises it to his lover thus: *Dabo sibi manna absconditum, quod nemo novit nisi qui accipit* [Revelation 2:17]. That is, I shall give hidden manna that no one knows but him who takes it. This manna is heavenly fare and angels' food, as holy scripture says, because angels are fully fed and filled with clear sight and burning love of our Lord Jesus, and that is manna. For we can ask what it is, but not know what it is. But here the lover of Jesus is not yet filled: only fed by a little tasting of it whilst he is bound in this bodily life.

This tasting of manna is a lively feeling of grace received through the opening of the spiritual eye; this grace is no other than that felt by a chosen soul at the beginning of his conversion, but it is the selfsame grace, though felt and shown to a soul in a another way. For grace grows with the soul, and the soul grows with grace.⁵³

Hilton asserted that holy love, which involved hearing "secret counsels," disclosed the mystery of hidden manna. In keeping with the longstanding tradition of identifying the hidden manna with mystical experience, Hilton identified the hidden manna with being "fully fed and filled with clear sight and burning love of our Lord Jesus." Another sentence was more explicit. The "tasting of manna is a lively feeling of grace received through the opening of the spiritual eye." Here it was not manna, but the tasting of manna, that was "a lively feeling of grace."

Concluding Reflections

Bernard implied and both Gilbert of Hoyland and Geoffrey of Auxerre openly asserted that the hidden manna was a secret foodstuff. Alluding to the Gospel of Matthew, Geoffrey stated that it was a treasure that could be found in fields. It was presumably some kind of plant.

Bernard, Bonaventure, and Hilton were plainly spoken and explicit that the hidden manna induced mystical experiences. Their phrasings were intricate and deliberately deceptive, but they were not unclear. It is necessary to discount what they literally said, and to insist on treating their words euphemistically, before it is possible to escape the conclusions that they knew the hidden manna to be psychoactive and they recommended its use as a preparation for divine grace.

The types of ecstasy that were associated with the hidden manna included interior dialogues with God, mystical unions, moral transformations, and mystical deaths. This variety of experiences is consistent with psychedelics.

Notes

1. Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians c. 1080-c.1220* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 76.
2. *Ibid*, p. 74.

3. Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs I*, trans. Kilian Walsh (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1976), Sermon 3:1, p. 17.
4. Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs III*, trans. Kilian Walsh & Irene M. Edmonds (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1979), Sermon 52:5; pp. 53-54.
5. Richard of St Victor, *The Twelve Patriarchs*, Chapt. xxxvi; in *The Twelve Patriarchs. The Mystical Ark. Book Three of the Trinity*, trans. Grover A. Zinn (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), p. 90.
6. William of St. Thierry, *Meditations* 6:10-11; in *On Contemplating God. Prayer. Meditations*, trans. Sister Penelope, CSMV (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1970), p. 130.
7. Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, rhetoric, and the making of images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
8. Ewert H. Cousins, *Bonaventure and the Coincidence of Opposites* (Chicago, IL: Franciscan Herald Press, 1978), pp. 78-79.
9. William of St. Thierry, *On Contemplating God* 3, pp. 38-39.
10. William of St. Thierry, *Meditations* 8:4, in *ibid.*, p. 141.
11. Amadeus of Lausanne, *Homilies in Praise of Blessed Mary*, trans. Grace Perigo (Kalamazoo, MI & Spencer, MA: Cistercian Publications, 1979), Homily 1; p. 6.
12. Steven T. Katz, ed., *Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis* (London: Sheldon Press, 1978); Dan Merkur, *Mystical Moments and Unitive Thinking* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999).
13. Raymond Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition During the Middle Ages: Outlines of a Corpus Platonium Medii Aevi* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1937).
14. Hugh of Saint Victor, *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith (De Sacramentis)*, trans. Roy J. Deferrari (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1951), p. 308.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 308-9.
16. Macy, pp. 81-84.
17. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine, Volume III: The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 207; Alasdair Heron, *Table and Tradition: Towards an Ecumenical Understanding of the Eucharist* (Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1983), p. 69.
18. Pelikan, p. 207.
19. Hugh of Saint Victor, *Selected Spiritual Writings*, trans. A Religious of C.S.M.V. (London: Faber & Faber, 1962), p. 89.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
21. Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Parables and the Sentences*, trans. Michael Casey & Francis R. Swietek, ed. Maureen M. O'Brien (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2000), *Sentences*, Third Series, 78-79, pp. 260-61.
22. *Ibid.*, *Sentences*, Third Series, 116; p. 391.
23. *Ibid.*, *Sentences*, Third Series, 119, p. 397.
24. *Ibid.*, *Sentences*, Third Series, 119; p. 402.
25. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermons for the Summer Season: Liturgical Sermons from Rogationtide and Pentecost*, trans. Beverly Mayne Kienzle & James Jarzembowski (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1991), p. 28.
26. Bernard, *Sentences*, Second Series, Par. 184, p. 178.
27. Walter Hilton, *The Goad of Love: an unpublished translation of the Stimulus Amoris formerly attributed to St. Bonaventura*, ed. Clare Kirchberger (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1952), Ch 35, p. 191.
28. St. Bonaventura, Sermon II on the Nativity of the Lord, in *What Manner of Man? Sermons on Christ by St. Bonaventura*, trans. Zachary Hayes (Chicago, IL: Franciscan Herald Press, 1989), pp. 59-60.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
31. *Ibid.*, 62-63.

32. John of Ford, *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, trans. Wendy Mary Beckett (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1982), Sermon 19:2, Vol. 2, p. 62.
33. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 1a2ae, 112, 5; in *Summa Theologiae: Latin text and English translation* (Blackfriars, with London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, & New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), pp. 159-61.
34. Bernard, *Sermons on Conversion*, p. 58.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
40. The theory that the Eucharist was originally a psychoactive sacrament has been variously argued, among others, by: John M. Allegro, *The Sacred Mushroom and the Cross: A study of the nature and origins of Christianity within the fertility cults of the ancient Near East* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970); Clark Heinrich, *Strange Fruit: Alchemy, Religion and Magical Foods, A Speculative History* (London: Bloomsbury, 1995); Dan Merkur, *The Mystery of Manna: The Psychedelic Sacrament of the Bible* (Rochester, VT: Park Street Press, 2000); Carl A. P. Ruck, Blaise Daniel Staples, & Clark Heinrich, *The Apples of Apollo: Pagan and Christian Mysteries of the Eucharist* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2001). Refutations of Allegro's version of the theory were offered, among others, by: John H. Jacques, *The Mushroom and the Bride: A Believer's Examination and Refutation of J. M. Allegro's book, 'The Sacred Mushroom and the Cross'* (Derby: Citadel Press, 1970); John C. King, *A Christian View of the Mushroom Myth* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970). The present article is, to my knowledge, the first to demonstrate a psychedelic sacrament in any mainstream form of Christianity in the Middle Ages.
41. Bernard, *On the Song of Songs*, Sermon 1:1; p. 1.
42. Merkur, *The Mystery of Manna*, argued that the bread of the presence, or showbread, in Solomon's temple had been a psychedelic sacrament, initially openly but later secretly, and that it had secretly been known as such by a series of Jewish and Christian biblical commentators down through the centuries.
43. Gilbert of Hoyland, *Sermons on the Song of Songs, II*, trans. Lawrence C. Braceland (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, Inc., 1979), Sermon 22:7; p. 280.
44. Geoffrey of Auxerre, *On the Apocalypse*, trans. Joseph Gibbons (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 2000), Sermon 13; pp. 135-36.
45. *Ibid.*, 136-37.
46. Geoffrey of Auxerre's use of the motif of the stone in Rev 2:17 compares with, and may have been the ultimate source of, Freemasonry's designation of moral transformation as the dressing of a rough ashlar to become a perfect one.
47. Bonaventure, "The Mystical Vine. Treatise on the Passion of the Lord. *Vitis Mystica seu Tractatus de Passione Domini*. A Devout Meditation," Chapt. 4, Par. 4; in: *The Works of Bonaventure: Cardinal, Seraphic Doctor and Saint, Vol. I: Mystical Opuscula*, trans. José de Vinck (Paterson, NJ: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1960), pp. 160-61.
48. Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996); Dan Merkur, *Crucified with Christ: Meditation on the Passion, Mystical Death, and the Medieval Invention of Psychotherapy* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007).
49. Cousins, *Bonaventure and the Coincidence of Opposites*
50. Pelikan, pp. 203-4.
51. Bonaventure, "The Soul's Journey into God," Chapt. 7, Par. 2, 4, 6; in *The Soul's Journey into God. The Tree of Life. The Life of St. Francis*, trans. Ewert Cousins (New York: Paulist Press, 1978), pp. 111-12, 113, 115-16.
52. Bonaventure, "The Mystical Vine," Prologue, p. 147.

53. Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection*, trans. John P. H. Clark & Rosemary Dorward. New York: Paulist Press, 1991), Book II, Chapt. 40; pp. 283-84.