

NOTES

1. On the following points, see B. Forte, *The Portal of Beauty: Towards a Theological Aesthetic* (Grand Rapid, MN/Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2008).
2. See the well-documented research of J. Tscholl, *Dio e il bello in sant'Agostino* (Milan: Ares, 1996) [the German original was published in Louvain in 1967–1967]).
3. *Conf.*, X, 27, 38: 'Sero te amavi, pulchritudo tam antiqua et tam nova, sero te amavi!'
4. *Ibid.*: 'Et ecce intus eras et ego foris et ibi te quaerebam et in ista formosa, quae fecisti, deformis inruebam. Mecum eras, et tecum non eram. Ea me tenebant longe a te, quae si in te non essent, non essent. Vocasti et clamasti et rupisti surditatem meam, coruscasti, splenduisti et fugasti caecitatem meam, fragrasti, et duxi spiritum et anhelio tibi, gustavi et esurio et sitio, tetigisti me, et exarsi in pacem tuam.'
5. *Ibid.*, IV, 13, 20: 'Tunc ... amabam pulchra inferiora et ibam in profundum et dicebam amicis meis: "num amamus aliquid nisi pulchrum?"'
6. *De Musica*, VI, 13, 38.
7. See R. Bodei, *Ordo anoris. Conflitti terreni e felicità celeste* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1991).
8. *Conf.*, IV, 13, 20: 'Quis est ergo pulchrum? et quid est pulchritudo? quid est quod nos allicit et conciliat rebus, quas amamus? nisi enim esset in eis decus et species, nullo modo ad se moverent.'
9. *De vera religione* 32, 59: 'Et prius quaeram utrum ideo pulchra sint, quia delectant; an ideo delectent, quia pulchra sunt.'
10. *Ibid.*: 'Hic mihi sine dubitatione respondebitur, ideo delectare quia pulchra sunt.'
11. *Ibid.*, 39, 72: 'Quaere in corporis voluptate quid teneat, nihil aliud invenies quam convenientiam: nam si resistentia pariant dolorem, convenientia pariunt voluptatem.'
12. Cf. *Conf.*, IV, 13, 20.
13. *De vera religione* 18, 35: 'Neque enim frustra tam speciosissimum, quam etiam formosissimum in laude ponitur.'
14. *Summa Theologiae*, 39.8c. On the aesthetics of St Thomas, see U. Eco, *Il problema estetico in Tommaso d'Aquino* (Milan: Bompiani, 1982; second edition).
15. L. Pareyson, *Estetica* (Turin: Edizioni di Filosofia, 1954), 284.
16. See P. Evdokimov, *La conoscenza di Dio secondo la tradizione orientale* (Rome: Paoline, 1969).
17. Evdokimov, *The Art of the Icon: A Theology of Beauty*, Fr Steven Bigham (tr.), (Torrance, CA: Oakwood Publications, 1990).
18. Saint Augustine, *In Io. Ep.*, IX, 9: PL 35, 2051.
19. Pareyson, *Estetica; Le porte regali. Saggio sull'icona* (Milan: Adelphi, 1999; seventh edition), 50.
20. P. Florenskij, *Sulla collina Makovec*, 20. 5. 1913, in his *Il cuore cherubico. Scritti teologici e mistici* (Casale Monferrato: Piemme, 1999), 260ff.

15. 'Reaping a rich harvest of humanity': Images of Redemption in Irish Bardic Religious Poetry

SALVADOR RYAN

Over the course of almost two millennia, multiple metaphors and models have been employed to illustrate the meaning of Christ's death on the cross and its effects on humanity. A number of these models can be traced to the Pauline writings of the New Testament; others, when used by patristic writers such as Athanasius of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa and Augustine, build upon and expand Pauline templates.¹ Some of these patristic models, and in particular the notion of the 'devil's rights' – the idea that as a result of the Fall, Satan had a legitimate claim over the human race, thus necessitating Christ's payment of ransom to the devil for its release – came to be questioned in the high scholastic period by figures such as Anselm and Abelard. Other older ideas, such as substitution – whereby Christ takes on himself the guilt of human sin and is punished in our place, thus placating the anger of God – would attract renewed favourable attention during the Reformation period, as evidenced in the soteriologies of Martin Luther and John Calvin.² What is clear, however, is that the problem of how to speak of what Christ achieved on the cross has given rise to many different interpretations throughout Christian history, as it continues to do today, as traditional expressions of the doctrine of atonement continue to be questioned.³ Indeed, some Womanist theologians wonder whether the very symbol of the cross itself should not be rejected because of its historical associations with repression and violence.⁴

It is generally accepted that in both the art and literature of the later Middle Ages, depictions of the passion and death of Christ became ever more graphic in their detail, as the earlier image of the victorious Christ,

alive and reigning from the Cross, gave way to the emaciated and tortured dead Christ, an object of pity and scorn. Of course, these apparently neat categorisations risk oversimplifying what was, in fact, a complex range of medieval passion images which continued to draw upon scriptural and patristic models while at the same time incorporating the later soteriologies of Anselm, Abelard and Aquinas. This essay examines one particular genre of late medieval religious literature, Irish bardic religious poetry, in order to demonstrate how a range of models of redemption could continue to co-exist in a complex pattern of passion metaphors. The verses with which we are concerned were composed by a hereditary professional class of native Irish poets from the thirteenth through seventeenth centuries; these poets were, in the main, lay men, although many of their poems may have been composed upon a poet's retirement to a local monastery where a poet might be given bed and board in return for the production of religious verse.⁵ What follows is a cursory examination of the treatment given by a number of native Irish poets to some of the most prominent classical metaphors for redemption.

REDEMPTION AND THE 'DEVIL'S RIGHTS'

The idea of redemption ('buying back') can be understood in both its wider and narrower senses, the former expressing the liberation of humanity which has sold itself into the slavery of the devil. Here the idea draws deeply on its Jewish roots with its allusion to the manumission of slaves, or indeed the release of captives or prisoners of war. However, it can also be understood in the narrower sense of the making of a payment by Christ for humanity (the recipient of the 'payment' will be either the devil, who exercises legitimate authority over those who have acquiesced in his deceit or, less frequently in the early period, God the Father whose appeasement is required). In the former case, Christ is forced to acknowledge the 'devil's rights' and thus to pay the ransom for humanity's release from bondage with his blood. Augustine would regard the death of Christ as a cancellation of debt to the devil in his work *De Trinitate*.⁶ However, the rights of the devil over humanity were to be scuppered when he was tricked into over-extending his authority, and claiming both the human and divine natures of Christ on the cross: thus, in Gregory of Nyssa's famous image, Christ's human flesh was the bait and his divinity the fish-hook upon which the greedy devil became impaled.⁷

In a sixteenth-century bardic poem entitled *Do bhriseadh cunnradh ar cách* ('A pact made with mankind was broken'), an unidentified poet declares, 'When we fell into the devil's power, the rule governing us was unrighteous; a woman coveted an apple which destroyed righteousness.'⁸ The poet goes on to speak of 'the pact made with our foe which binds us.'⁹ In this example, however, credit for the breaking of the pact is also given to the Virgin Mary: 'If the pact be examined, 'twill be seen I was tricked in it; Mary was left out in the treaty; let he quash it if that be possible.'¹⁰ There may be some allusion later in the poem to Christ's sleight of hand on Calvary which caused the devil to over-reach on his claim: '... the child's glory was hidden till he mounted the cross; clear now is the gap he broke.'¹¹ For Diarmuid Ó Cobhthaigh, a sixteenth-century bardic poet from Westmeath, Christ's outwitting of the devil is likened to the achievement of checkmate in a chess-like board game; in the poem *Deacair aighneas éarca ríogh* ('Terrible to hear the King's éiric claimed'), he remarks that, 'To save his folk was a move in the game, a move attended by all blessings; a move that would save us, the Lord perceived, on the chess board, when he had seen his chessmen ruined.'¹² Having won his chess-pieces (humanity), according to another sixteenth-century poet, Muirchertach Ó Cobhthaigh, 'he arranged his folk over the board of his heart; a full board had never yet been won.'¹³ Nevertheless, an earlier bardic poet, the renowned thirteenth-century Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh, remained a little less optimistic about humanity's prospects, when he observed in the poem *Lóchrann soilse ag siol Adhaimh* ('Adam's race hath a torch of flame') that 'for thy race thou didst shed thy heart's blood and [stretched out] thy hands; yet what avails thy buying of man's soul since it is sold back [to the devil]?'¹⁴

VICTORY IN BATTLE AND DELIVERANCE FROM THE POWERS OF EVIL

The motif of Christ going into battle on the cross against demonic powers and attaining a stunning victory was particularly prominent in the early Middle Ages, and is perhaps best exemplified in the West in Latin hymns such as the *Vexilla Regis* and *Pange Lingua*, composed by the sixth-century Merovingian court poet, Venantius Fortunatus, and in later compositions such as the eleventh-century sequence *Victimae Paschali Laudes*.¹⁵ Bardic treatments of this model of redemption often begin by depicting Christ as a Gaelic chieftain declaring war on alien territory (the world) that was once his own in an effort to reclaim it for himself. This territory had been overtaken by the devil leaving humanity as 'survivors of a slaughter'.¹⁶

For the fifteenth-century poet, Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn, 'we were captives in bonds, fast in Lucifer's chains, when Adam's race was set free'.¹⁷ What Ó hUiginn calls the 'war of the apple-tree'¹⁸ was conducted against the devil's stronghold, but also against mankind's sins: 'against our sins God pressed on the war; he was ready to wage it; 'twas we began it.'¹⁹ Christ pursues the battle against his enemy with particular vigour once he assumes kingship on the cross: in the words of Diarmuid Ó Cobhthaigh, 'The world's Lord (O God) had his side pierced and thus entered on his power; vast was the harvest of humanity saved when it beheld thy only son's wounded breast.'²⁰ Elsewhere he notes, '[Christ] murmurs not at the wounding of his side and breast; he must save his folk; for our sake he was lifted up on three nails; a king must be over his people!'²¹ Upon attaining the kingship over his people, Christ would do what every new Gaelic chieftain was expected to do: conduct a *creach* or celebratory raid on enemy territory. This *creach* mirrors the wider tradition of the 'Harrowing of Hell' and hymns such as those of Venantius Fortunatus, which depict Christ ruling from the tree (of crucifixion) and scooping souls from hell as a triumphant soldier might carry away his trophies.²²

As early as the eighth century, the Irish poet, Blathmac, conceived of Christ's victory in the following way: 'He was victorious from fighting that, his battle with the Devil. Miserable Devil, his strength was crushed; a great prey was taken from him [...].'²³ Here, then, we find the image of the warrior Christ, the heroic figure who can also be found in compositions such as the Anglo-Saxon *Dream of the Rood*. Diarmuid Ó Cobhthaigh tells how 'to save his race, the youth advances, braving wounds', and continues in this vein by commenting, 'thou wert furious with thy wounds and didst not hesitate to charge thy foes; no wonder those wounds were inflamed as thou wert advancing on thy foe's fort.'²⁴ In a poem entitled *Cranntoruidh croch an Choimhdhe* ('A fruitful tree is the Lord's Cross'), an unidentified poet notes that 'God was no sooner on the cross than his foe had lost that contest', going on to portray the raid on hell in dramatic fashion, complete with cross as battering-ram: 'This was the cross with which he broke down the doors on the demons; with this cross he broke down our foe's door and took us from him and marched off with us as his booty on Sunday.'²⁵ In some bardic poems, Christ is depicted as riding into battle on a horse (the cross), in a manner reminiscent of the 'Lover-Knight', a popular allegory in Middle English literature.²⁶ The sixteenth-century poet, Maolmhuire, son of Cairbre Ó hUiginn, describes

how 'furious at thy wounds, thou dost on the Sunday morning raid drive recklessly thy steed up to Hell's gates and empty its dungeon'.²⁷ Diarmuid Ó Cobhthaigh continues the narrative in another poem: 'Hell's house lost many men owing to the horse with which thou didst rout thy foes; thou wert wise to bind on thy horse's back thy booty while thou wert yet in thy foe's castle.'²⁸ Christ's victory was complete: addressing the Virgin Mary, the sixteenth-century poet, Tadhg Óg Ó Dálaigh, relates how 'standing in the danger-gap, thy Son seized possession of land in his ancestors' country', which meant 'peace with us, and then [that we might have] a country of our own.'²⁹

RECONCILIATION OF HOSTILE PARTIES

While patristic writers often pitted Christ against the devil in the conflict which would result in Christ's victory on the cross, his conquest of hell and the liberation of the hosts of human hostages held captive there, nevertheless human beings were also considered to be complicit in their own defection; thus mankind was in a state of conflict with God from the time of the Fall; Christ's war, then, was understood to be directed against humanity and its sinfulness. In this particular portrayal, the events on Calvary bring the war to an end and effect reconciliation between both parties. Here the passage in Ephesians 2:13-18 which speaks of Christ being 'the peace between us', of his 'restoring peace through the cross' and 'in his own person [killing] the hostility' was surely influential.³⁰ The sixteenth-century poet Muirchertach Ó Cionga recalls how 'a sad affair was the Lord's war; long shall its marks be on the world; it was brought to an end by the Lord's breast, which made a peace that was not easy to bind.'³¹ Other contemporary poets use similar language: Fearghal Ó Cionga speaks of the breast-wound, concluding 'a peace-bond with sinful men', while Tadhg Óg Ó Dálaigh remarks that 'many the peacemaker who was wounded when saving another man; thou didst save the world – but at the price which a peacemaker pays!'³²

Perhaps the most striking expression of the peace wrought on the cross was the Middle English 'Charter of Christ' allegory which began to appear in Irish bardic poetry from the fifteenth century. Here Christ is depicted as drawing up peace terms on a document: the treaty is written on the parchment of Christ's skin using as pens the nails or the lance which pierced Christ's side; the heart wound provides the inkwell, Christ's blood the ink, his wounds the letters and (once again) the heart-wound is

sometimes conceived of as the seal of the document. A poem entitled *Braon re ndubhadh diomdha Dé* ('God's anger is the drop before the dark storm'), which was composed no later than the second half of the fifteenth century, may allude to the Anselmian satisfaction theory when it states that 'Though justice demands that a King be satisfied, we cannot satisfy him; [but] on his breast as on a document, he has written peace-terms for men with which they may well be content.'³³ Here then, the models of satisfaction and reconciliation sit side by side. Diarmuid Ó Cobhthaigh emphasises the binding nature of the peace wrought on the body of Christ himself when he comments 'the steel in the peace made by the priceless nails – none but a born smith could have stretched it.'³⁴ This last reference alludes to the description, common in late medieval accounts of the passion, of how Christ's body was stretched on the cross with ropes in order that his feet might reach the locations where the soldiers had decided to place the nails.³⁵ It also renders the metaphor of Christ's skin as parchment more effective, for it was customary to place parchment on a stretching frame as part of its preparation, and in order for it to be written upon it needed to be scraped ('wounded') and pricked by a sharp instrument; this *compunctio* of the written page is mirrored in the wounding of Christ's own skin in preparation for the inscription of the letters which will seal the peace.³⁶

SUBSTITUTION AND SATISFACTION

The claim in Ephesians 2:16 that 'in his own person he [Christ] killed the hostility', as seen above, was influential in identifying the locus of reconciliation between God and humanity. But it could also be used to support theories of substitution and satisfaction: Christ takes humanity's place in order to appease God's wrath and pay back to God the price which humanity cannot pay. Tadhg Óg Ó Dálaigh remarks that 'nothing else but the wounding of God could have made good the heavy losses in our ranks; our flock could not enter heaven until violence was used'.³⁷ Many bardic poets were keen to emphasise the fact that Christ willingly placed himself in the hands of his enemies with the sole purpose of destroying their kingdom from within. Thus does Christ offer himself as a hostage in our stead: the fifteenth-century poet Tuathal Ó hUiginn stresses that 'the Lord for his children's sake freely consented – great favour – to be a captive.'³⁸ The friar-poet, Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn (d. 1487), relates how 'the battle-hawk of our race was never captive till he came to thee [the cross] and deigned for my sake to be prisoner.'³⁹ As with much medieval

literature, it is difficult to make a clear distinction between portrayals of Christ as humanity's substitute (acting in humanity's place) and those of Christ as humanity's representative (acting on behalf of humanity). These ideas are not mutually exclusive, nor should they be considered to be, as argued by N. T. Wright.⁴⁰ In the poem *Tearc oidhre dileas ag Dia* ('Rare is the faithful heir of God'), 'his body was offered up for us'⁴¹ while Muirchertach Ó Cionga speaks elsewhere of 'God's unquenchable vengeance [drawing] the wine-blood of the Lord' which comes quite close to the theory of penal substitution.⁴² A century earlier, Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn remarked: 'O God ... thy wrath was killed on the cross that saved the world', while requesting the 'hundred-streamed cross' to 'crucify my sin.'⁴³ The idea of God's wrath being broken on Calvary is also vividly expressed by Diarmuid Ó Cobhthaigh when he states how '... that wave [of blood] from the shore of Christ's breast fell on the net of God's wrath and broke it.'⁴⁴ It should be noted that the image of the 'net' here might also represent Christ's body, the locus for the end of hostilities, as found in Ephesians; the fourteenth-century English mystic, Richard Rolle, also referred in one passage to Christ's body as a net 'for as a net is full of holes, so is your body full of wounds. Here, sweet Jesus, I beseech you, catch me up in this net of your scourging so that all my heart and my love be turned to you.'⁴⁵ Christ's act of substitution was regarded by Ó Cobhthaigh as 'a foolishly loving way to remove the wrath against us.'⁴⁶ When the same poet addresses the question of whether atonement from humanity might yet be sought by God for the shedding of his Son's blood, he remarks that if the Son's 'swift-speeding anger' is let loose (on Judgement Day), 'thou [Christ] art shooting at thy own generosity.'⁴⁷

REDEMPTION AND THE COMPULSION OF CHRIST'S LOVE

One of the most prominent themes in the religious poetry of Diarmuid Ó Cobhthaigh is that of the powerful love which compelled Christ to undergo his passion on the cross. Here perhaps we best see exemplified in an Irish bardic context Peter Abelard's emphasis on love as the key to understanding the redemption.⁴⁸ In the poetry of Ó Cobhthaigh and of others, Christ's love is pitted against his justice (in one poem, Ó Cobhthaigh refers to 'God's love [which] became a foe to his anger')⁴⁹ and appears to trump it each time. Speaking of Christ's incarnation, Ó Cobhthaigh draws attention to the 'visit made so indulgently to show us his love [which] checked the rising of the Creator's great wrath; his

wrath has little strength when the peace-making visit prevails over it'.⁵⁰ Christ's pursuit of humanity is depicted in terms of a hunt: 'When hunting us, he found us at his mercy, but the (burning) coal of the love that urged him to redeem his children was bursting the furnace of his wounded feet, and bent the steel of his anger.'⁵¹ Although Christ hesitated about saving humanity (perhaps a reference to his request for the cup to pass him by in Gethsemane), 'his love urged him to die, until his love, being too strong for him' led to his wounding on three nails.⁵² When Christ's side is pierced by a lance, 'the furnace of his breast was heated – surely this proved his love!'⁵³ Ó Cobhthaigh elsewhere combines both the images of love and healing when he refers to the bloody heart-wound as an herb 'grown in the warm weather of love' which is applied to humanity's wounds.⁵⁴ The image of Christ the physician, a favourite in the early Church, and especially in the writings of Augustine, could be employed to great effect when treating of Christ's passion and death: Ó Cobhthaigh states that 'the leech who cured his race deserves that his cure of it go not unpaid; the Son hanging on the cross cured our wounds; a leech's hand is naturally blood-stained.'⁵⁵ Christ's death itself is frequently portrayed in bardic poems as the result of an 'excess of love.' An unidentified poet states that 'the heat of His love [was] so inflamed that it killed Him, the third of the three branches.'⁵⁶ Meanwhile, Diarmuid Ó Cobhthaigh speaks of Christ's death in a way that can only be described as a heart-attack of divine love: '[He] died as he could not keep (within his heart) his love for his race.'⁵⁷

In a poem by Maolmhuire, son of Cairbre Ó hUiginn, Christ's love accompanies him on his harrowing of hell, and constitutes his battle-troops against the devil's stronghold.⁵⁸ In Abelard's theory of exemplarism (or, perhaps preferably, his theory of response, as suggested by Caroline Walker Bynum),⁵⁹ Christ's death compels the response of repentance and love. It does not only transform God's justice into mercy ('melting the ice of God's anger off us', as expressed by Ó Cobhthaigh),⁶⁰ but also (at least in theory) was supposed to transform humanity's sinfulness to compassion, repentance and love; thus Ó Cobhthaigh asks 'how better could he kindle the love of his cold-hearted race than by not demanding *éiric* [compensation] for his wounds? The Lord's kin-love caused his wrath to be buried in the recess of his side.'⁶¹

REDEMPTION AS RECREATION: THE FECUNDITY OF CHRIST'S PASSION

The final image examined here is that of the cross as a fruitful tree, and Christ's passion and death as effecting a new creation or a re-constitution of the created order. The theme of the fecundity of the passion event is multi-layered and complex and deserves fuller treatment than can be afforded here. However, it is a favourite with bardic poets, and especially Diarmuid Ó Cobhthaigh. The price which Christ pays for humanity's redemption is high: Ó Cobhthaigh describes how 'dearly did he buy the seed for the field, the field of which we are the corn-grass; broken up was that lea, his sore feet from which came the fruit of love.'⁶² Both the cross and the lance of Longinus are likened to ploughs which prepare the ground of Christ's flesh for the seed's sowing.⁶³ Before this, according to an unidentified author of the poem *Olc an connradh, a chlann Adhaimh* ('O children of Adam, harsh is God's contract made with us'), 'the whole world was a heap of withered wood' and 'when the (sacred) blood sank into it; that sufficed to change us.'⁶⁴ The blood of Christ vivifies and fructifies as noted by Maolmhuire, son of Cairbre Ó hUiginn: 'The dripping of his heart blood – heavy the harvest (coming from it) on Adam's race; corn rises 'neath that rain, torrents of grace pouring down from him.'⁶⁵ He describes its fruit harvest in terms of the adhesion of humanity to the tree of the cross: 'weighty the fruit of the cross, great the fruit-gathering from the tree of the wounds; it gathered Adam's race on itself and caused them to cluster thick on it.'⁶⁶ Diarmuid Ó Cobhthaigh speaks of how the shedding of Christ's blood dispels the dark clouds of God's anger and, while fertilising the seeds of redeemed humanity, ushers in brighter weather: 'The blood-rain of Thy Son's wounds is the shower that made our seed grow; it was a blessing for the children for whom His side was pierced; the heavier the rain, the brighter the sunshine after it!'⁶⁷ The harvest of humanity generated by Christ's blood renders the cross 'a fruitful wood [bearing] all men as blossoms on its top.'⁶⁸ The significance of the medieval preoccupation with the living, throbbing, warm blood of the crucified Christ has been comprehensively discussed by Caroline Walker Bynum.⁶⁹ Irish bardic poets were equally concerned to emphasise the living nature of Christ's blood on the cross; for Ó Cobhthaigh, Christ proves his dutiful love by '[pouring] forth torrents of living blood from his breast.'⁷⁰ The friar-poet, Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn explains how the living and warm blood of Christ acted upon divine justice on the cross: 'Justice must be told that she has a right to be upheld; [therefore] the Lord warmed her [with love] for

men, so that she will never be as she was before; Till thou didst change her, God's race could not approach Him confidently.⁷¹ This warm blood of Christ was also expected, however, to inflame the fervour of those for whom it was poured out. An English preaching manual from the thirteenth century put it thus: 'As the nails of the cross were warmed by the blood of Christ, so ought sinners to be inflamed in charity to the service of Christ by the blood of Christ.'⁷² In typical Abelardian fashion, such a gesture of love called for a generous response.

CONCLUSION

The momentous Christian theme of the shattering of humanity's original harmony with God, whether described in terms of demonic plunder or wilful defection, and its subsequent restoration in Christ by means of his passion and death, dominated medieval religious thought just as it had in the period of the early Church Fathers. Late medieval Irish treatments of redemption theory drew on a number of different established traditions, while also reflecting many of the constantly evolving English and continental devotional trends. While some patristic models of redemption came to be increasingly questioned during the Middle Ages and alternative theories gained prominence, nevertheless the art and literature of medieval Europe tended not to easily dispense with older metaphors. Rather, a process of accretion ensued; a cursory examination of individual bardic poems, then, can reveal many layers of supposedly competing redemption theories in a relatively peaceful state of co-existence. For medieval Christians, less was rarely more. In the closing decades of the sixteenth century, the Kilkenny poet Tuileagna, son of Torna Ó Maolchonaire, prepared for a visit to St Patrick's Purgatory, Lough Derg, in penitential mood. His own Abelardian response to the work of Christ's redemption, recorded in verse, fittingly recalls many of the themes we have examined above:

Many a writer tells of the testament of love thou didst leave to thy race;
that generous testament of thy pierced side and feet is as a parchment
dictated by Thee; ... the pens that wrote it – sublime the tale! – were
the hook-bearing thongs; not long didst thou delay in paying, according
to the charter, thy heart's blood, poured forth.⁷³

NOTES

1. See especially Gordon D. Fee, 'Paul and the metaphors for salvation: some reflections on Pauline soteriology', in Stephen T. Davis et al., *The Redemption: An Interdisciplinary Symposium on Christ as Redeemer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Richard Viladesau, *The Beauty of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts, from the Catacombs to the Eve of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Gerald O'Collins, *Jesus our Redeemer: A Christian Approach to Salvation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
2. See Richard Viladesau, *The Triumph of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts from the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
3. See, for example, Stephen Finlan, *Problems with Atonement: The Origins Of, and Controversy About, the Atonement Doctrine* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2005); S. Mark Heim, *Saved from Sacrifice: A Theology of the Cross* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006).
4. For a discussion of some of these issues, see Delores Williams, *Sisters in the Wilderness: The Challenge of Womanist God-Talk* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1993).
5. See Salvador Ryan 'A Slighted Source: rehabilitating Irish bardic religious poetry in historical discourse', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 48 (Winter, 2004), 75-99.
6. Brian E. Daley, "He himself is our peace" (Eph 2:14): early Christian views of Redemption in Christ', in Davis et al., *The Redemption*, 160.
7. *Ibid.*, 162.
8. Lambert McKenna (ed.), 'Devil's pact with men is quashed', *Irish Monthly*, 58 (1930), 590, stanza 2.
9. *Ibid.*, stanza 13.
10. *Ibid.*, stanza 22.
11. *Ibid.*, stanza 29.
12. Lambert McKenna (ed.), *Aithdioghluim Dána*, 2 Vols. (Dublin: The Educational Company, 1939-40), I, poem 63, stanza 9.
13. Lambert McKenna (ed.), 'Christ our Saviour', *Studies*, 38 (1949), stanza 12.
14. Lambert McKenna (ed.), *Dán Dú* (Dublin: The Educational Company, 1922), poem 28, stanza 29.
15. Viladesau, *The Beauty of the Cross*, 37; O'Collins, *Jesus our Redeemer*, 123.
16. McKenna (ed.), *Aithdioghluim Dána*, poem 71, stanza 12.
17. McKenna (ed.), *Dán Dú*, poem 15, stanza 17.
18. *Ibid.*, poem 3, stanza 13.
19. *Ibid.*, stanza 3.
20. McKenna (ed.), *Aithdioghluim Dána*, poem 63, stanza 7.
21. *Ibid.*, poem 64, stanza 5.
22. Rosemary Woolf, 'Doctrinal influences on *The Dream of the Rood*', *Medium Aevum*, 27 (1958), 145; Lisa Lawrence, 'The Harrowing of Hell in the poems of Blathmac and the Gospel of Nicodemus: dependence or convergence?', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 15 (1998), 118.
23. Lawrence, 'The Harrowing of Hell', 119.
24. McKenna (ed.), *Aithdioghluim Dána*, poem 64, stanzas 17 and 21.
25. *Ibid.*, poem 88, stanzas 5 and 6.
26. Rosemary Woolf, 'The theme of Christ the lover-knight in medieval English literature', in *Review of English Studies*, 13:49 (1962), 1-16.
27. McKenna (ed.), *Aithdioghluim Dána*, poem 77, stanza 27.
28. *Ibid.*, poem 66, stanza 14.

29. *Ibid.*, poem 71, stanzas 32 and 13.
30. See Daley, 'He himself is our peace'.
31. McKenna (ed.), *Aithdioghluim Dána*, poem 60, stanza 1.
32. *Ibid.*, poem 59, stanza 5; poem 71, stanza 20.
33. *Ibid.*, poem 84, stanza 5.
34. *Ibid.*, poem 65, stanza 19.
35. See, for example, Dennis N. Baker, 'The Privity of the Passion', in Anne Clark Bartlett and Thomas H. Bestul (eds), *Cultures of Piety: Medieval English Devotional Literature in Translation* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), 93.
36. See especially Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 165-6.
37. McKenna (ed.), *Aithdioghluim Dána*, poem 71, stanza 17.
38. McKenna (ed.), *Dán Dé*, poem 20, stanza 11.
39. McKenna (ed.), *Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn* (Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1931), poem 5, stanza 27.
40. N. T. Wright, 'Redemption from the New Perspective?: Towards a Multi-Layered Pauline Theology of the Cross', in Davis et al., *The Redemption*, 93.
41. McKenna (ed.), *Aithdioghluim Dána*, poem 100, stanza 4.
42. *Ibid.*, poem 60, stanza 33.
43. McKenna (ed.), *Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn*, poem 5, stanzas 11 and 50.
44. McKenna (ed.), *Aithdioghluim Dána*, poem 66, stanza 33.
45. Caroline Walker Bynum, 'The Power in the Blood: Sacrifice, Satisfaction and Substitution in late medieval Soteriology', in Davis et al., *The Redemption*, 184.
46. McKenna (ed.), *Aithdioghluim Dána*, poem 63, stanza 11.
47. *Ibid.*, poem 67, stanza 27.
48. For a wider discussion of this theme, see O'Collins, *Jesus our Redeemer*, 181-99.
49. McKenna (ed.), *Aithdioghluim Dána*, poem 64, stanza 10.
50. *Ibid.*, poem 65, stanza 8.
51. *Ibid.*, poem 63, stanza 32.
52. *Ibid.*, poem 64, stanza 7.
53. *Ibid.*, poem 63, stanza 30.
54. *Ibid.*, poem 67, stanza 7.
55. *Ibid.*, poem 63, stanza 31.
56. McKenna (ed.), 'To the Blessed Virgin', *Irish Monthly*, 58 (1930), 467, stanza 12.
57. McKenna (ed.), *Aithdioghluim Dána*, poem 64, stanza 1.
58. *Ibid.*, poem 77, stanza 38.
59. Bynum, 'The Power in the Blood', 180.
60. McKenna (ed.), *Aithdioghluim Dána*, poem 63, stanza 37.
61. *Ibid.*, poem 67, stanza 32.
62. *Ibid.*, poem 66, stanza 29.
63. *Ibid.*, poem 63, stanza 2; *ibid.*, poem 65, stanza 30.
64. *Ibid.*, poem 98, stanza 20.
65. *Ibid.*, poem 77, stanza 4.
66. *Ibid.*, stanza 11.
67. *Ibid.*, poem 63, stanza 29.
68. *Ibid.*, poem 66, stanza 34.

69. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); see especially chapter 7, 152-72.
70. McKenna (ed.), *Aithdioghluim Dána*, poem 65, stanza 38.
71. McKenna (ed.), *Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn*, poem 5, stanza 19.
72. Bynum, 'The Power in the Blood', 188.
73. Shane Leslie, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory: A Record from History and Literature* (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1932), 167-72, stanzas 18-19.