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# BEDE'S CÆDMON: A BILINGUAL SCOP FROM THE COSMOPOLITAN COURT OF OSWIU?

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### **Abstract**

In a revisionist reading of Bede's account of the miraculous transformation of the lay brother Cædmon into a skilled poet in the Anglo-Saxon vernacular, this essay proposes that his bicultural origins (British, Anglo-Saxon) and poetic skill won him patronage in the retinue of King Oswiu of Northumbria, promoter of the Christian mission of conversion and Hiberno-Latin learning, and founder of the Abbey of Whitby, to which his elderly retainer would have been retired. The adjustments to the story found in Bede, most importantly the omission of Cædmon's early secular career, enhance his framing story of divine intervention in the birthing of a vernacular poet through a sequence of architectural contexts that are reflected on the greater scale in Cædmon's own creation poem. Bede's account of the poet and the chapters that bracket it in the *Historia* illustrate his overriding concern for Church reform.

#### Introduction

The authenticity of the Christian cosmogonic verse attributed by Bede to the illiterate lay brother Cædmon has been questioned by contemporary scholarship – does the Latin creation poem of the *Historia ecclesiastica* reflect an Anglo Saxon "original" or is it Bede's own work? – but the episode of divinely inspired poetic gift and resultant Old English poem celebrating the maker of heaven and earth and all things has been accepted as plausible within the context of the times and its history (Bede 1969: bk. IV, ch. 24). Bede believed in miracles and scholars have left him secure in a world where a herdsman could be transformed into an artist.

The present essay speculates on a rather different route for Cædmon's move from the mundane affairs of the laity to the elevated status of resident vernacular poet at the Abbey of Whitby.

## Oswiu and Whitby

King Oswiu (642–670) established the house at Whitby (formerly Streanashalch) in 657 and is best known for the sponsorship of the so-called synod there in 664 (Ireland 2022: 262–276). He had succeeded his half-brother Oswald, a convert to Christianity, to the throne of Bernicia after some 17 years in exile among the Irish. He was then a Christian, a fluent Gaelic speaker, and fully acculturated to Irish learning and Gaelic society and, we must assume, to their accompanying monastic and court life. Oswiu had three marriage alliances: to 1) a Briton, Rhiainfellt from Rheged, 2) a Gael of the Cenél nÉogain dynasty of the Inishowen peninsula, and 3) an Anglo-Saxon woman Eanflæd, daughter of Edwin, raised in the Christian environment of Kent. These unions produced both ruling sons and close ties to his varied constituencies, and continuing interaction with the Gaelic world as represented by its ecclesiastical establishment at Lindisfarne and, at a greater remove, its mother house at Iona. Relations between Christian Britons and invading pagan Anglo-Saxons had been openly hostile in the south of Britain and monastic establishment there surely suffered depredation during the invasion period. Less is known of the accommodation of Briton and Anglo-Saxon in the north, although the conversion of rulers and in this instance Oswiu's marriage to the daughter of the ruling house of Rheged clearly shows that Britons had more than subaltern roles in the development of Germanic settlement society in northern Britain. Just what expression this might have found in the life of the court and at local royal and aristocratic estate centres can only be a subject for speculation.

Oswiu's major political accomplishment was his defeat of King Penda of Mercia, who had killed Oswiu's half-brother Oswald in battle, and it was in thanks to God for this victory and the consequent unification of the kingdom of Northumbria that Whitby was established. Oswiu installed Hild as abbess there and his daughter Ælfflæd was given over to the care of the abbess, and would succeed her. While the house was "orthodox" or "Roman" with respect to monastic tonsure and Easter computistics, Whitby also enjoyed close relations with outposts of the Irish church in northern Britain. The learned Latin works that the senior monks of Whitby would assign to Cædmon for poetic treatment in the vernacular would likely have included Irish and Irish-inspired texts. Whitby was also the matrix for the very influential *Vita Gregorii* (*Life of Gregory the Great*) from the early eight century.

As well as defeating Penda and uniting Northumbria, Oswiu was an active proselytizer among the pagan settlers and this too would have mollified his British subjects (Ireland 2022: 268–272). As on the European continent, Gaelic monks would have been the agents of these conversion efforts, which took sophisticated forms. Colin Ireland notes: "That increased traffic of Anglo-Saxon students abroad in Ireland

must reflect Oswiu's deliberate educational policy." Oswiu's own son Aldfrith, after such an Irish education, was given the epithet *sapiens* (Ireland 2022: 271, 283–296). It was also earlier during the reign of Oswiu (ca. 653) that an Anglo-Saxon thegn named Baducing, who had received land from the king, "put aside the ways of the world" and entered monastic life, to become famous as Benedict Biscop, known for his trips to Rome. Other elevated figures from the ruling class would, at the end of their careers, also retire to monastic houses, generally in exchange for a land-grant that would support their late years as lay brothers. Toward the end of his rule, Oswiu himself had hoped to make a pilgrimage to Rome, perhaps also to be followed by retirement to a monastic house (Ireland 2022: 276).

## Cædmon's background

It is against the backdrop of King Oswiu's ties with Lindisfarne and Ireland; his missionary activity; the coalescence of British, Irish, and Anglo-Saxon culture at Oswiu's court; the triumph over King Penda; the establishment of Whitby; the prominence sought and won by the hosting of the synod; and the practice of withdrawal from secular life to lay status at a monastic house that we return our view to Cædmon.1 A number of details from Bede's account of his miraculous flowering as a poet on Christian themes in the Anglo-Saxon vernacular will first be singled out. Bede opens the relevant chapter with a resumé of Caedmon's fame as a religious poet, then returns to his earlier life. Caedmon was a lay-brother at the abbey, well advanced in years. Predictably illiterate, Cædmon, according to Bede, had never learned any songs – nor, it should be stressed, had ever composed any. The singing that enlivened evenings among the workers of the abbey would mostly have been of known songs in a Germanic or Celtic tongue. Some impromptu versifying may also have occurred but, it should be emphasized, these were not trained oral poets. None of these songs had fixed themselves in Cædmon's mind nor did he think himself capable of any extemporization. Thus, out of embarrassment, it would appear, Cædmon would leave the convivial atmosphere of the laymen's refectory or lodgings and retire. Bede calls Anglo-Saxon Cædmon's native tongue but his name is British (cf. Old Welsh \*Caduan < the prestigious \*Catumandos 'war horse').

In the following it will be argued that Bede learned of a popular story that was open to a homiletic spin or adapted a comparable tradition local to Whitby for his own authorial ends, and concocted what might be judged a pious fraud from an adaptable set of historical and story-telling elements that originated in a more complex secular/clerical situation. In this, Bede will have matched Cædmon's own transition from exposure to secular entertainment and its matter to divinely inspired hymnody. With this we enter a more speculative sphere. The centres of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cædmon's putative historicity is discussed in Stanley (1995). Earlier studies are noted in Frantzen and Hines (2007: 17–18, n. 8).

Anglo-Saxon power in Britain will have known some kind of court life, as would the British kingdoms. The Welsh poem *Y Gododdin*, a series of elegies over the men of the British kingdom of Gododdin and its allies, who are judged to have died fighting the Angles of Deira and Bernicia at a place called Catraeth in about 600, gives an idea of one expression of Celtic courtly entertainment. In light of his marriage to Rhiainfellt, Oswiu may have found it politic to flatter British tradition, as he surely would have promoted Germanic culture and its poetry. Nor should his familiarity with Irish courts and their prickly, self-promoting vernacular poets be disregarded. Let us imagine Cædmon as court poet to Oswiu, composing in Anglo-Saxon and possibly also in British. Descent, learning, martial accomplishments, political skills, governance, and cultural sophistication, philanthropy, all impressive in the case of King Oswiu, would have offered the poet ample subject matter.<sup>2</sup>

## Poetry under pressure

The life of a court poet must have been stressful. Telling evidence is available from the lore associated with Norse skálds and Irish fili. In Sneglu-Halla þáttr (The Tale of Sneglu-Halli), an Icelandic poet seeks to be taken on by the Norwegian king, Haraldr *harðráði* ('hard-rule'), himself a self-proclaimed connoisseur of skaldic verse (see Sayers 2021). Among other challenges to his new retainer, the king engages him in verse-capping. On one occasion Sneglu-Halli is charged with extemporizing a stanza about a diminutively sized king's man before the latter can cross the hall to serve him a cut of meat. His rival at court, the poet Pórólfr, also an Icelander, is called on to turn a quarrel between a tanner and a smith in the street of the future Trondheim into traditional verses in the style used of mythological heroes and their opponents. In England, Sneglu-Halli presents a praise poem to the local ruler and then announces that he is leaving. The king is incensed, since the poem has been heard only once, not enough time for anyone to have understood its complex versification (but standard message) and memorized the poem. Thus, the king's return on his gift is disproportionate. The tension between poet and patron is best exemplified in the initial exchange between Sneglu-Halli and Haraldr, when their ships meet on the River Níð between the North Sea and the town. The king poses a multipart question as to the travellers' identity, providence, overnighting location,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Cædmon story and related evidence is reviewed, with a very full bibliography of earlier scholarship, in Ireland's above noted recent study (Ireland 2022). Ireland does not entertain the hypothesis of Cædmon as Oswiu's former court poet yet includes copious testimony to how plausible this speculation is. Rather, he writes in the conclusion to the section "Cædmon's World at Whitby" (Ireland 2022: 353–369):

In his account of Cædmon, Bede was describing, whether consciously or not, poetic practices that reflected both a Brittonic substratum and a Gaelic superstratum among the personnel at the monastery of Whitby. The closest analogues, if not the direct sources, for Bede's description of Cædmon's methods are found in the Gaelic poetic tradition (Ireland 2022: 369). For a full assembly of comparative materials, consult O'Donnell (2005).

and the like, in rough stanzaic form. Before the ships are out of hearing range, Sneglu-Halli answers the king's query with an answer that replicates all the formal detail of the question. The king, sailing downstream, then shifts stylistic gear. "You must have been screwed by Agði if you spent the night with him on making land at Agðanes, Sneglu-Halli". In a fine example of repartee, "No, sire, he was waiting for better men". Haraldr, in a spat with his queen over poetic style, says that only he may arbitrate between socially acceptable and scurrilous verse. He challenges the poet to come up with a stanza illustrating *tvíræði* or ambivalence. Sneglu-Halli extemporizes verses that identify Queen Póra as the woman best equipped to roll back the royal foreskin, while the defensible innocent reading is that she will be merely be removing the leather cap the king wears under his helmet. In all of this, the poet must be clever, but not too clever. The contest is of one-upmanship but he dare not show his poetic superiority too clearly. Early Irish literature also has examples of stressful poetic contests, for example, the verse-capping that informs the Prull entry in Sanas Cormaic (Cormac's Glossary) (Sayers forthcoming). The court poet's task is to combine innovative matter with traditional form, as illustrated in the Beowulf poem when the hero, his followers and Danish hosts, and the scop of King Hrothgar celebrate from horseback Beowulf's triumph over Grendel with verses composed on the spot, albeit with traditional matter. The well-known scene is worth quoting rather fully:

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... Hwilum cyninges begn,
guma gilphlæden, gidda gemyndig,
se de eal fela ealdgesegena
worn gemunde, word ober fand
soðe gebunden; secg eft ongan,
sið Beowulfes snyttrum styrian
ond on sped wrecan spel gerade,
wordum wrixlan; ... (Klaeber's Beowulf 2008: vv. 867–874)
'... At times the scop,
a thane of the king, glorying in words,
the great old stories, who remembered them all,
one after another, song upon song,
found new words, bound them up truly,
began to recite Beowulf's praise,
a well-made lay of his glorious deed,
skillfully varied his matter and style.' (Beowulf 1977: vv. 867-874)
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Some of the competitive nature of court poetry is reflected not only in the divine visitor's injunction to create but also in the tests to which Cædmon is put after revealing his creation poem to his reeve. To find proof of God's work against the possibility of an existing poem having been learned by the herd, the learned monks of the abbey challenge the layman to create poems on specific topics, and these may well have had a Gaelic coloration, given the ties of Whitby to Lindisfarne and Iona. Cædmon meets the test with flying colours and, after taking orders, becomes

a valued tool in the ongoing mission. Yet none of his subsequent vernacular poetry has been preserved. For many, his initial poem will continue as the most important, since the conventional first doctrinal statement in winning a new Christian seems to have been on who made the world and all its glories, well-illustrated in Norse conversion accounts.

## Poet put out to pasture

Oswiu's victory over Penda would surely have been the cause for festivities on one or more of the royal estates. Was his court poet up to memorializing this triumph? If Cædmon were advanced in years, he may no longer have enjoyed the mental acuity required by poetic extemporization or the demands of a multi-stanza formal eulogy, that is, moving swiftly through the poetic vocabulary, constructing new kennings for martial deeds and the carnage of the battlefield, celebrating the king's bravery and generosity to his warriors, the triumph of a Christian ruler over a heathen. It could have been Cædmon's reluctance or incapacity to engage the demanding topic of royal triumph that lies behind Bede's depiction of his withdrawal to the cowshed. If the poetic challenge could not be met, Oswiu may have judged that it was time for his poet to retire. Surely no sinecure, the old retainer might live out his remaining days as a lay-brother at the abbey Oswiu would go on to found. Another possible scenario is that with the political unification of Northumbria the king now sought to further promote Christian belief and culture and shifted the human resources represented by his experienced poet from court to monastery, and from secular eulogy to praise of God and his creation. Cædmon's verse, under new patronage, also now enters the world of literacy and record, expanding the life and range of influence of the work from the less reliable sphere of the immediate community and cultural memory.

Studies of medieval settlement patterns in Northumbria show that estate centres were often made the sites of monastic foundations, and Oswiu could have held land near present-day Whitby, a portion of which was given over to the abbey. Although Cædmon is called a *frater* or lay brother by Bede, he reports to a *uilicus* (*villicus*), generally glossed as 'reeve' or 'steward'. This supervisor would be a layman, not a member of the monastic community, and may have had broader duties that included the king's holdings. Were this the case, Cædmon's transfer from the king's retinue to the abbey may have been a local, almost internal, matter. Archaeological research at Flixborough, near the Humber estuary, shows a heavy dependency on cattle as a source of food and imported "feasting kits", both revelatory of a high status life style and of the life of the hall that might be assumed for a vernacular poet.³ Bede's reference to the dissolute life at Coldingham also indicates material life on the level of luxury.

On conspicuous consumption at estates and even monasteries, see Loveluck (2007: 169, 177, 180–181).

A wider perspective would question whether Oswiu sought to rival the prominence of Anglo-Saxon rule and learning, and the Christian mission in Kent and southern Britain, as exemplified in the Latin work of the poet Aldhelm. His assumed compositions in the vernacular have not been preserved and their ascription has a folklore aura to it. Coldingham monastery burned in 683 as God's punishment and this account in Bede immediately follows that of Caedmon, whose death is said by Bede to have occurred at about same time. Aldhelm would still have been a relatively young man and perhaps not yet sufficiently prominent to have attracted Oswiu's attention. In 675 Aldhelm was appointed abbot of Malmesbury. Some time after 685, when Aldfrith *sapiens* assumed the Northumbrian throne, Aldhelm sent him a letter (*Epistola ad Acircium*) accompanied by a treatise on Latin prosody and 101 riddles in Latin hexameters, among which one entitled *De creatura*. Aldhelm also displays his familiarity with the Hiberbo-Latin poem *Altus prosator*. In a baroque or gongoristic Latin that has been ascribed to the Irishman Virgilius Maro. Its recondite vocabulary is far from Cædmon's, although the content bears comparison. It begins:

Altus prosator, vetustus dierum et ingenitus erat absque origine primordii et crepidine est et erit in sæcula sæculorum infinita.

'High creator (lit. sower), ancient of days, and unbegotten, who was without origin at the beginning and foundation, who was and shall be in infinite ages of ages.' 4

The poem was known among the other Anglo-Saxon learned clerics but its topicality in an age of conversion authorizes only a comparison with Cædmon, not any ascription of direct influence. Less well known is the similarity of Caedmon's verse to Irish creation poems in Latin and in the Gaelic vernacular (Ireland 2022: 365–367).

## Architectural figures

Caedmon's "hymn" has been the object of substantial study. Its points of comparison with heathen Norse verse on cosmogonic themes and on the creation story as relayed by the later Saxon *Heliand* are well known (see, for example, Veenbaas 2017). As noted above, it is striking how often conversion scenes in Old Norse-Icelandic literature open with the question of who was the maker of all things, the vault of heaven, the expanse of earth. To these comparisons may be added the frequent juxtaposition

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Carey (2000: 29–49). For a full discussion of the poem, see Stevenson (1999).

of Cædmon's vernacular poem with Bede's Latin translation. As concerns lexical choices, Bede has somewhat desecularized the vocabulary, *laudare* corresponding to *herjan*, which in the Anglo-Saxon context would be appropriate in the case of a ruler of men (see, too, Bammesberger 2019). Bede also lessens the scope of the architectural image, God's creation now limited to the vault of heaven with no comparable figuration of the floor of Middle Earth as in the Old English poem. Architecture is, however, a structuring feature of the Cædmon story in *Historia ecclesiastica*, to which we now return.<sup>5</sup>

With his British name, Cædmon can be imagined as a bilingual poet in the retinue of King Oswiu of Northumbria, accompanying him on the circuit among royal estates and their related settlements. The royal hall is the first enclosed structure in which Cædmon will have been active. As a consequence of the stress of such an open social position, subject to challenge, rivalry, and the demands of extemporaneous composition, especially on the occasion of a major event such as Oswiu's defeat of Penda of Mercia and the heathenism this king represented, an aged poet may not have delivered a eulogy proportionate to the occasion. He may even have been reluctant to take on the task, a situation transmogrified in Bede's account of the cowherd's withdrawal from the laymen's quarters in after-hours drinking and entertainment. Whether a victim of professional burnout, an old man with reduced mental capabilities, or simply an aged retainer put out to pasture as a lay brother at a monastery, Cædmon joins the workers at the abbey of Whitby. Cædmon's retreat to the cow byre and his sleep resemble the withdrawal and overnight cogitation of Gaelic poets addressing a poetic assignment. Here he experiences a challenge not entirely dissimilar to those he knew in the king's hall or will later at the abbey: to compose poetry in response to an authority figure, on this occasion the emissary of a new divine patron. Cædmon's creation is referred by the steward to the abbess. Later, recognition of the worth of the vernacular verses leads to the cowherd being assigned learned topics explained to him by the monks, yet another iteration of the motif of poetic composition under duress, very possibly on topics from Hiberno-Latin writings. The poet's success leads to his taking holy orders, learning to read, and drawing the matter of his Anglo-Saxon verses directly from theological and other texts. A variant on this imagined scenario would have been Oswiu's intention as part of his overall mission to the remaining pagan polities, their communities and assembly halls to exploit the Anglo-Saxon poetic medium as a tool in conversion activities.

Cædmon's poem is based on the image of God as a builder, first of the heavenly roof and then of the earthly foundation. This metaphor is retrojected in Bede's history into the account of Cædmon's poetic formation, with its varied architectural settings, first in the lay assembly room where the drinking and singing occur, then in the cow byre to which he retreats, later in the monastery proper, Hild's "office", lastly in the examination room, in which the learned monks assess his vernacular

Discussion of architectural motifs in poetry in Wallis (2007), Loveluck (2007: 188–189), De-Gregorio (2007), Hines (2007: 203), and Wright et al. (2022).

poetic treatment of the religious topics assigned to him (see Lees and Overing 2002). Thus, if we add the conjectured royal hall to this architectural array and sequence, that is, subscribe to the present hypothesis of Cædmon's origins as a court poet, we have a series of man-made enclosures associated with poetic composition and, homologically, with the greater construct of God's universe. The memorability of Bede's account is enhanced by the suite of interior spaces that also functions as a mnemonic device of a type common in the Middle Ages in order to recall a structured set of topics. The institution of the Church as a man-made structure ("On this rock I will build my church") is also inherent to this conception.

#### Narrative in the service of church reform

The chapter of *HE* that immediately follows the Cædmon story opens with a mention of the fire that destroyed the monastery at Coldingham (see DeGregorio 2007: 78). As with the preceding chapter, a summary of the outcome opens the account, which then goes on to elaborate. This rhetorical technique gives the text a teleological thrust – we know toward what end the narrative unfolds – which is also apparent in the work as a whole. The fuller telling has a number of parallels with that of Cædmon. Adomnan, an Irishman (another Celtic name), has committed a grave sin and confesses to a priest, who imposes a severe penance, centered on fasting and vigils. The penitent is to follow this regime until the priest lessens his burden. But the priest goes to Ireland and dies there, so that the sinner is never absolved and relieved of his penance but comes to build his life around it. Later Adomnan has a vision of the monastery burning to the ground as God's judgment on the dissolute life there among the monks and nuns. Adomnan takes his premonition to the abbess but his warning is not enough to forestall the ensuing fire. Bede claims to have had this story from a colleague, that is, like the Cædmon account, it lacks a written source and seems a popular tale. As with the court poet turned lay brother in the present revisionist hypothesis, the narrative moves from the secular world to that of the church but under a comparable strict authority (cowherd, angelic visitor, reeve, abbess; sinner, confessor, abbess). After the fulcrum-like events of angelic visitation and ascetic penance, a new behavioural pattern is imposed: compose vernacular poetry; fast, keep vigil. The resulting experience, a poem inspired, a vision of a monastery obliterated, is brought to the attention of church superiors. The creation poem and its aftermath thus stand in contrast to the subsequent destruction of church buildings. The architectural image of God's created cosmos is here countered on a lesser scale by fiery architectural destruction. The two evolutions also have points in common with the chapter that precedes the Cædmon story on the Abbess Hild, in whom we may also see an agent for King Oswiu's policies. She takes her vows and is sent to a monastery to set it to rights, then takes charge of Oswiu's foundation at Whitby and oversees the emergence of a vernacular poet who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For a full discussion of medieval theory and practice, see Hermann (2022).

will further the church's mission. The narrative triptych, not previously recognized, may be schematized: Hild moves the church project forward through rule, Cædmon through art, Adomnan, indirectly, through penance and fire.<sup>7</sup>

Bede's configuration of the Cædmon story and its placement between chapters of his history devoted to Hild's reform work at Northumbrian ecclesiastical establishments, and the account of the divine punishment that God visited on the dissolute – secularized – monks of Coldingham, encourages us to see the Cædmon story as less a pious fraud (*pia fraus*), like other miracle stories, than an intentional piece of propaganda. At the core of each of the three chapters we can identify Bede's primary literary objective: church reform and advancement (Hines 2007: 220).

As here proposed, Cædmon's prior secular life as a court poet is suppressed in *HE* in favour of a more narrowly focused Christian narrative, all contained within monastic enclosures. Possible dismissal or release from court poetic duties is overwritten as reluctance to perform, in a very different setting. Cædmon's British name is offset in Bede's mention of his native Anglo-Saxon speech, which makes him a readier vehicle for poetic composition in the Church's service. Put more bluntly, Bede's suppression of Cædmon's putative earlier life as poet in the retinue of Oswiu and during the king's active promotion of church matters makes more dramatic and focused the expression of God's will through his miraculous wakening to poetic life by the heavenly visitor. In Bede's narrative, neither Osiu nor Cædmon is a determining agent; God is the sole agent.<sup>8</sup>

#### Conclusion

Scholarship on Bede's *Historia eccelsiastica* has generally been content to stay within Bede's own parameters. The constant presence of the miraculous invites neither wholesale nor piecemeal disregard of this putative causality. We take the Cædmon story at face value – and disregard its implausibilities. Yet a prior life for the cowherd as a court poet then put out to pasture as a lay brother in a monastery, in the less stressful environs of which he turns to new poetic themes that further the project of his ecclesiastic and possibly also secular sponsors, present and past, accords well, *mutatis mutandi*, with Bede's account and even more tellingly with our understanding of political and ecclesiastical activity in the newly unified kingdom of Northumbria in the 650s. This same scholarly vision has been toward the future of Old English letters, with Cædmon at its fountainhead. Reversing this perspective,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cædmon's audience in Cronan (2012), liberation philology in Dumitrescu (2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> A rather different perspective in Levers (2005).

An early contrarian opinion was voiced by Wrenn (1967: 37): "[Cædmon] had achieved the revolutionary miracle of applying to the new Biblical material the traditional aristocratic heroic metrical technique and the traditional heroic diction of pre-Christian times, with its formulaic vocabulary, which had been developed for the description of heroism in war", cited in Frantzen and Hines (2007: 1). But Wrenn stopped short of associating Cædmon with Oswiu, the founder of Whitby.

we see him as the product a long oral tradition of Germanic vernacular verse, much of it likely eulogistic or occasional verse – in the literal sense – with preferential themes and motifs, balanced stanzaic structure, rigorous metrics, rich lexicon, and conventional figures.

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