OE *god*, *hlaford* and *drihten*

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When a word is used in a new meaning without a formal alteration, how people perceive the semantic change? In this paper, an investigation is made on OE *god*, which was used for both pagan and Christian God in some prose texts and interlinear glosses, with its synonyms *drihten* and *hlaford*. The result will show the flexibility in the choice of renderings and semantic overlap of these words in biblical contexts.

Keywords: Old English; God; synonyms; Latin; Gospels; interlinear glosses

1. Introduction

The English tongue is so flexible in nature that it has accepted historically a great number of foreign words into its vocabulary from various languages. As an international language in the medieval period, Latin has been borrowed incessantly into English throughout the time before the Anglo-Saxons came into Britain and after they made their settlements there. After the arrival of Christianity, Latin loan words became numerous.[1] Because of the thirty-odd year gap of the northern and southern routes of the arrival of Christian

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[1] Some Latin borrowings which concepts are foreign to the Anglo-Saxons found in Psalter glosses are studied in Ogura (2006). For the vocabulary of the liturgical year, see Joyce Hill, "Naming the Liturgical Year: Reflections on Vernacular Practice", in M. Hosaka et al. (eds.), *Phases of the History of English* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013), 25–45. For the christianisation of some ordinary Old English words, see Ogura (2013). The *HTOED* is a useful tool for finding Old English synonyms, but *DOE* and *BT(S)* are also necessary to specify the quotations that contain actual examples.

missionaries in the latter half of the sixth century,[2] native words found their way to be christianised in their senses, as *God* being a typical example. In this paper I investigate *god* as a Christianised Anglo-Saxon word, together with its synonyms.

Verse lines give us more alternative words and expressions than prose, owing to the stylistic features of alliteration, variation and formulaic phrases. In Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* the Latin-English correspondence is more clearly found than other prose texts and moreover verse is included, which is example (1), a series of the epithets or variations of "God" found in *Cædmon's Hymn*.[3]

(1)   Bede 4 24.344.6–14
[Nunc laudare debemus **auctorem regni caelestis**, potentiam **Creatoris** et consilium illius, facta **Patris** gloriae: quomodo ille, cum sit **aeternus Deus**, omnium miraculorum auctor extitit, qui primo filiis hominum caelum pro culmine tecti, dehinc terram **Custos** humani generis omnipotens creauit.]

Nu sculon herigean **heofonrices weard**,
meotodes meahte ꝛ his modgeþanc,
weorc **wuldorfæder**, swa he wundra gehwæs,
éce Drihten, ór onstealde.
he ærest sceop eorðan bearnum
heofon to hrofe **halig scyppend**;
þa middangeard **monncynnes weard**,
éce Drihten, æfter teode,
firum foldan, **frea ælmihtig**.

'Now should we praise the guardian of the heavenly kingdom, the power of the Creator and the counsel of his mind, the works of the Father of glory, how he, the eternal Lord, originated every marvel. He the holy Creator first created the heaven, as a roof for the children of the earth; then the eternal Lord, guardian of the human race, the Almighty ruler, afterwards fashioned the world as a soil for men.' (tr. by Miller)

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[2] See Baugh & Cable (1993), especially pp.82–83. MacGillivray (1902) is a pioneering work on this theme, and focuses on the church history and the vocabulary seen from that side.
[3] The Old English data are based on the *DOE Web Corpus* with abbreviated titles, though I often use quotations directly from the EETS editions, Skeat (1970), Kuhn (1965), Roeder (1904), Lindelöf (1909), and from *BT(S)*.

As seen by highlighted words and word groups, Christian God as the Creator is expressed by *heofonrices weard* 'the guardian of the heavenly kingdom', *meotod* 'God (esp. in poetry)', *wuldorfæder* 'the Father of glory', *éce Drihten* 'the eternal Lord', *halig scyppend* 'the holy Creator', *monncynnes weard* 'the guardian of mankind' and *frea ælmihtig* 'the Almighty Lord'. It is true that this kind of variation is highly poetic, describing the important subject from various viewpoints so as to show its feature with alliterating words or the first element of a compound, in a half-line of suitable rhythmic types. When the Latin original is consulted, however, it also contains many expressions: *auctorem regni caelestis*, *Creatoris*, *Patris*, *aeternus Deus*, *auctor* and *Custos*. What characterises the Old English version are the repetition of *éce Drihten* (six times) and the last half-line, *frea ælmihtig*, that summarises the short poem. There is no use of the word *god* in this hymn.

2. *God* and its grammatical gender

God is used in the masculine when used as Christian God, but in the neuter otherwise. Example (2) is cited in the *DOE* as an example of unambiguous neuter forms (and in the plural), although the following lines (example (3)) are not cited together. Example (4) is also in the *DOE* and example (5) in *BT*.

(2)   Bede 2 10.134.18
       [Nullus enim tuorum studiosius quam ego culturae **deorum** nostrorum se subdidit;]
       Forðon nænig þinra þegna neodlicor ne gelustfullicor hine sylfne underþeodde to ura **goda** [B. úre godu; O. ure godo; Ca. godas] bigange þonne ic;
       'For none of your followers devoted himself more closely or cheerfully to the worship of our gods than I did.'

(3)   Bede 2 13.134.21
       [Si autem **dii** aliquid ualerent, me potius iuuare uellent, qui illis inpensius seruire curaui.]
       Hwæt ic wat, gif ure **godo** ænige mihte hæfdon, þonne woldan hie me ma fultumian, forþon ic him geornlicor þeodde ⁊ hyrde.
       'Well, I am sure if our gods had any power, they would help me more, for I more zealously served and obeyed them.'

(4)   Bede 5 11.416.17
[si peruenirent ad satrapam et loquerentur cum illo, auerterent illum a **diis** suis, et ad nouam Christianae fidei religionem transferrent]
gif hio to ðem ealdormen bicumen ⁊ mid hine sprecende wæran, ðæt hio hine from hiora **godum** acerden, ⁊ to ðære niowan aæ þæs Cristes geleafan gehwerfde;
'if they came to the chief and conversed with him, they would turn him away from their gods, and convert him to the new religion of Christ's faith'

(5)   Or 1 5.24.10–12
For ðon sæde Pompeius ⁊ þa Egyptiscan bisceopas þæt þa Godes wundor þe on hiora landum geworden wæron to þon gedon þæt hi hiora agnum **godum** getealde wæron, þæt sint diofolgild, nales þam soþan Gode, for ðon þe hiora **godu** syndon drycræfta lareowas.
'Because, said Pompeius and the Egyptian bishops, that those miracles of God which were performed in their land were done so that they might be ascribed to their own gods, who are devils, not to the true God, because their own gods are teachers of magic.'

The device of the distinction between Christian God and heathen gods in grammatical gender becomes obscure through morphological changes, but the plural form tells the difference, and in later periods the use of the big letter *G* in God.

To say that the word *god* is in the masculine when used as Christian God and in the neuter when used as a heathen god is enough for the beginners of Old English, but soon we find examples (6), (7) and (8) where the false god is used in the masculine and in the plural, in contrast with the masculine singular form of the true God. The same is true with example (9), where we see the masculine plural forms in the *Lambeth Psalter* and *John* (West Saxon Corpus Christi).

(6)   LS25 (Michael Mor) 93 (= BlHom 17 201.30)
Þa on þa ilcan tid þa hæðnan bysmerlice & synlice heora þa leasan **godas** mid mislicum deofolgeldum hie him laþodan on fultum.
'Then at the same time the heathens shamefully and wickedly invited their false gods with various idols for their help.'

(7)   ÆHom 22 77 (De Falsis Diis)
        Ða þa hi toferdon to fyrlenum landum, and mancynn þa weox, þa wurdon
        hi bepæhte þurh þone ealdan deofol þa adam ær beswac, swa þæt hi worhton
        wolice him **godas**, and þone scyppend forsawon þe hy gesceop to mannum.
        'When they dispersed to the distant lands, and then mankind increased,
        then they were deceived by the old devil who had betrayed Adam, so that
        they wickedly made gods for themselves, and neglected the Creator who
        made them as men.'

(8)   WHom 12 12 (De Falsis Dies)
        & ða æt nyhstan wurdon hi bepæhte þurh ðone ealdan deofol þe Adam iu
        ær beswac swa þæt hi worhton wolice & gedwollice him hæþene **godas**, &
        ðone soðan **God** & heora agenne scyppend forsawon, þe hy to mannum
        gesceop & geworhte.
        'And then at last they were deceived by the old devil who had betrayed
        Adam so that they made wrongly and deceptively made heathen gods for
        them, and despised the true God and their own Creator, who made them as
        men.'

(9)   PsGlI 81.6 [Ego dixi **dii** estis et filli excelsi omnes.]
        Ic sæde **godas** ge syndon bearn þæs healican & ealle ge
        'I said you are gods, and you all children of the high.'

        Cf. Jn (WSCp) 10.34
        hu nys hit awriten on eowre æ þæt ic sæde ge synt **godas**?
        'Isn't it written in your law that I said you are gods?'

Here is another example, in which the Christian God and heathen gods appear
in a contrasting context and the latter is obviously in masculine plural:

(10)   Or 4 4.87.28
        Ond eac þa diofla þe hie an simbel weorþedon hi amirdon, <toeacan> þæm
        oþrum monigfealdum bismrum þe hi him lærende wæron, þæt hie ne cuþan
        angitan þæt hit **Godes** wracu wæs; ac heton þa biscepas þæt hie sædon ðæm
        folce þæt heora **godas** him wæron yrre, to þon þæt hie him þa git swiþor
        ofreden & bloten þonne hie ær dyden.
        'And also the devils, whom they always worshipped, led them astray, in
        addition to the other manifold scandals, which they were teaching them, so
        that they could not understand that it was the vengeance of God, but
        commanded the bishops that they should tell the people that their gods

were angry against them, to such an extent that they should offer and sacrifice to them much more frequently than they had done.'

3. *God*, *drihten*, *hlaford* in interlinear glosses

As I put tables in Appendix, interlinear glosses provide the readers with good examples that show relationship between the source language and the renderings. Here I examined *BenRGl*, *LibSc*, *PsGlA* (the *Vespasian Psalter*: Mercian), *PsGlD* (the *Regius Psalter*: early West Saxon), *PsGlI* (the *Lambeth Psalter*: late West Saxon), *Li* (the *Lindisfarne Gospel*: Northumbrian), *Ru* (the *Rushworth 1* and *Rushworth* 2: Mercian and Northumbrian), and add *WSCp* (the *West Saxon Gospels* in MS CCCC 140: West Saxon) for comparison in the choice of words.[4] As seen in the tables, *BenRGl* shows a regular correspondence of *dominus* – *drihten* and *deus* – *god*, the only exception being 118a *dominus* – *hlaford*. *LibSc* gives ten percent of the total occurrence of *hlaford* as a rendering of *drihten*, especially in the dative plural form; *godes* appears only once for *domini* (69.4 percent) and once for *Christi* (13.4 percent). In Psalter glosses we find a similar correspondence of *dominus* – *drihten* and *deus* – *god* with some exceptional instances. Example (11) is the only instance where *hlaford* is glossed for *dominum* in the three glosses, and examples (12), (13) and (14) are those in which the Gallican text (for *PsGlI*) shows different choice of Latin words from that of the Roman text (for *PsGlA* and *D*).

(11)   Ps 104.21 [Et constituit cum **dominum** domus suae. et principem omnis possessionis suę]
   A: ⁊ gesette hine **hlafard** huses his ⁊ aldermon alre aehte his
   D: ⁊ ʒesette hine **hlaford** huses his ⁊ aldor eallre æhte his
   I: he gesette hine **hlaford** huses his ⁊ ealdor ealre his æhte l. ealles anwealdnesse his
   AV: Hee made him lord of his house and ruler of all his substance.

(12)   Ps 46.3 [Quoniam **deus** summus terribilis. et rex magnus super omnes **deos**]
   A: for ðon **god** heh egesful cyning micel ofer alle **godas**

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[4] I have examined MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 140, Bodleian, Bodley 441, British Museum, Cotton Nero D. iv and Bodleian, Auct. D. 2.19. For the detailed description, see Ker (1957, 1977).

D: heah breӡendlic ⁊ cyninӡ micel ofer ealle ӡodas
I: forði þe **drihten** [**dominus**] se hehsta [excelsus] egeful cyningc mære ofer ealre eorðan [terram]
AV: For the Lord most high *is* terrible, he *is* a great King ouer all the earth.

(13)   Ps 56.3 [Clamabo ad **deum** altissimum. et ad **dominum** qui benefecit mihi]
A: ic cleopiu to **dryht**ⁿ ðæm hestan ⁊ to **dryhtne** se wel dyde me
D: ic clypiӡe to **ӡode** to þam hehstan ⁊ to **drihtne** þe wel dyde me
I: [Clamabo ad **deum** altissimum **deum** qui benefecit mihi]
        ic clypie to **gode** þam hyhstan to **gode** se þe dyde wel me
AV: I will cry vnto God most high: vnto God that perfourmeth *all things* for me.

(14)   Ps 99.2 [Iubilate **deo** omnis terra. seruite **domino** in letitia]
A: wynsumiað **gode** all eorðe ðiowiað **dryht**ⁿ in blisse **s**
D: drymað **ӡode** ealle eorðe þeowiað on blisse
I: freadremað **drihtne** [**domino**] eala eorð þeowiað **drihtne** on blisse
AV: Make a ioyfull noise vnto the Lord, all ye lands. Serue the Lord with gladnes:

Lindisfarne and *Rushworth* versions differ in forty-five instances in the choice between *god*, *drihten*, *hlaford*, and *hælend*. In example (15), *dominus* and *domini* are glossed *hlaferd* and *hlafordes* in *Li*, while *Ru1* chooses *dryhten* and *dryhtnes*.

(15)   Mt 25.23 [ait illi **dominus** eius euge bone serue et fidelis quia super pauca fuisti fidelis supra multa te constituam intra in gaudium **domi**ni tui]
Li: cuoeð him **hlaferd** his wilcymo la ð[e] goda ðegn ⁊ leaffull *for*ðon of*er* lytla ðu were leaf-full ofer monigo ðeh ic setto geong in glædnisse **hlaford**es ðines
Ru1:   cwæþ hi*m* to his **dryhten** wel þec godu esne ⁊ getreowa forþon þu ofer feawum węre getreowe ofer monegu ic þe gesete ga in gefea ðines **dryht**n*es*
WSCp: Ða cwæð hys **hlaford** to hym; Geblissa þu goda þeowa ⁊ getrywa. forþa*m* ðe þu wære getrywe. ofer feawa. Ofer fela ic ðe gesette. ga on þines **hlafordes** gefean;
AV: His lord said vnto him, Well done, good and faithfull seruant, thou hast beene faithfull ouer a few things: enter thou into the ioy of thy lord.

In (16) two examples of *dominus* are glossed *se drihten* and double-glossed *drihten ł se hlaford* in *Li*, but *Ru2* uses *drihten* twice. Another example of this kind is (17), where both *Li* and *Ru2* have *iesus* and *dominus* (twice), and the glosses for the latter differ in the two versions. These examples show that both *hlaford* and *drihten* can be used as glosses for *dominus*, although *Ru2* tends to choose *drihten* more often than *hlaford*.

(16)   Lk 12.42 [dixit autem **dominus** quis putas est fidelis dispensator et prudens quem constituet **dominus** super familiam sua*m* ut det illis in tempore tritici mensuram]

Li: cuoeð ðon*ne* **se drihten** huælc woenes ðu is geleaffull sgiiremonn ł feh*u*geroefa ⁊ hoga ðone gesettes **drih*ten* ł se hlaford** ofer higo his þte sellæ him In tíd huætes hrippe

Ru2:   cwæð ðonne **drihten** hwelc woenestu is gileof-ful scire-mon ł fehgroefa ⁊ hoga ðone gesetes **drihten** ofer higo his þte selle him on tide hwætes ripes

WSCp: Ða cwæþ **drihten** hwa wenst þu þ sy getrywe ⁊ gleaw dihtnere. þæne **se hlaford** geset ofer hys hired þ he him hwætes gemet on tíman sylle;

AV: And the Lord said, Who then is that faithfull and wise steward, whom his Lord shall make ruler ouer his household, to giue them their portion of meate in due season?

(17)   Jn 21.7 [Dicit ergo discipulus ille quem diligebat **iesu**s petro **dominu**s est simon petrus cum audisset quia **dominu**s est]

Li: cuæð forðon ðe ðegn ðon*e* lufade **se hælend** petre ðe hlaferd is sim*on* pet*rus* miððy geherde pet*rus* þte **ðe hlaferd** ueri

Ru2:   cwæð for*e* ðe ðegn he ðonne lufað ðon*e* **hælend** [ih*esus*] **drih*ten*** [d*ominus*] is simon petr*us* miððy giherde þte **hlafard** [d*ominu*s] is

WSCp: Witodlice se leorning-cniht þe **se hælend** lufode cwæð to petre. hit ys **drihten**; Ða petrus gehyrde þ hit **drihten** wæs.

AV: Therefore that Disciple whome Iesus loued, saith vnto Peter, It is the Lord.

In most instances the different choice of Old English glosses is based on the difference of Latin versions of *Li* and *Ru*. Examples are (18), where *Li* has *deo* but *Ru domino*, (19), where *Li* has *domini* but *Ru dei*, (20), where *Li* has *dominus* but *Ru ihesus*, (21), where *Li* has *iesus* but *Ru deus*, and (22), where *Li* has *iesus* but *Ru xps*.

(18)   Mt 22.31 [de resurrectione autem mortuorum non legistis quod dictum est
a **deo** dicente uobis]

Li: of erest soðlice deadra ne leornade gie þ gecueden wæs fro*m* **gode**
miððy sægde i*u*uh

Ru1:   bi æriste þon*ne* deadra ah ge ne hreordun þ acwæden wæs fro*m*
dryhtne [*dom*ino] cwæþendu*m* to eow

WSCp: Ne rædde ge be deadra manna æryste. þ eow fra*m* **gode** gesæd
wæs.

AV: But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read
that which was spoken vnto you by God, saying,

(19)   Mk 12.14 [nec enim uides in faciem hominis sed in ueritate uiam **do**mini
doces]

Li: ne *for*ðon ðu gesiis on onsione monnes ah in soðfæstnise woeg
drihtnes ðu læres

Ru2:   ne forðon ðu gisist on onsione monnes ah in soð-fæstnisse
woegas **godes** [d*e*i] læres

WSCp: ne besceawast þu manna ansyne. ac þu **godes** weg lærst on soð-
fæstnysse;

AV: for thou regardest not the person of men, but teachest the way
of God in truth.

(20)   Lk 22.31 [Ait autem **do**min*u*s simon simon ecce satanas expetiuit uos ut
cribraret sicut triticum]

Li: cuoeð ða **drihten** simon simon heono se wiðerworda gesohta ł
iuih þte awoxe ł suæ huæte

Ru2:   cwæð ða **ðe hæ***le*nd [i*hesu*s] symon ðas symon heono ðe
wiðerworda ⁊ gisohte iowih þte awoxe swa hwæte

WSCp: Ða cwæð **drihten**. Simon Simon. nu satanas gyrnde þ he eow
hridrude swa swa hwǽte;

AV: And the Lord said, Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired *to
haue* you, that he may fift[5] you as wheat:

(21)   Jn 6.64 [Sciebat enim ab initio **iesu**s qui essent credentes et quis traditurus
esset eum]

Li: uiste *for*ðon fro*m* fruma **se hæ***le*nd ðaðe uoeron gelefendo ł ⁊ hua
sellende uere hine

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[5] i.e. *sift.*

Ru2:   wiste for̂ðon from fruma **god** [d**eus**] ðaðe werun gilefende ⁊ hwelc sellende were hine

WSCp: Witodlice **se hælend** wiste æt fruman. hwæt þa gelyfedan wæron ⁊ hwa hine belæwon wolde.

AV: For Iesus knew from the beginning, who they were that beleeued not, and who should betray him.

(22)   Jn 9.11 [homo qui dicitur **iesu**s lutum fecit et unxit oculos meos]

Li: monn seðe is acuedon **hælend** lam worhte ⁊ smiride ego mino

Ru2:   ðe mon seðe cweden **crist** [**xps**] lam giworhte ⁊ smiride ego mine

WSCp: Se man þe is gene*m*ned **hælend** worhte fenn ⁊ smyrede mine eagan.

AV: A man that is called Iesus, made clay, and anointed mine eyes,

In contrast, (23) shows that *Li* has *dominus* which is glossed *god*, while *Ru2* has *deus* and also glossed *god*.

(23)   Lk 18.7 [**dominu**s autem non faciet uindictam electorum suorum clamantium ad se die ac nocte et patientiam habebit in illis]

Li: **god** ne doeð þ wræcco ðara gecorenra his clioppendra to him dæge ⁊ næht ⁊ geðuild hæfeð on ðæm

Ru2:   **god** [d**eus**] ða ne doeð ⁊ ða wraco ðara gicorenra hiora cliopendra to him dæg ⁊ nocte [*sic*] ⁊ giðyld hæfeð in ðæm

WSCp: Soþlice ne deð **god** his gecorenra wrace clypiendra to hi*m* dæges ⁊ nihtes. ⁊ he geþyld on hi*m* hæfþ;

AV: And shal not God auenge his owne elect, which crie day and night vnto him, thogh he beare long with them?

4. Summary

A few things can be said in summarizing the results of the investigation.

1. OE *god* can be used in the masculine and in the neuter. It is not decisively said, however, that *god* in the masculine is used as Christian God but as non-Christian God in the neuter.

2. *Deus* is rendered into *god* with a few exceptions. *God* is more often used in the genitive than *drihten* or *hlaford*, especially in the Gospels. *Dominus* can be

rendered by either *drihten* or *hlaford*, partly because these two words are polysemous and mean 'a lord', 'a chieftain', 'a master', 'a husband', etc., as well as 'the Lord'. *Dominus deus* 'the Lord God' is often left unglossed in the *Regius Psalter* and the *Lambeth Psalter*.

3. My investigation on Old English prose and interlinear glosses may reveal some unification of the renderings in the Gospel of John and the *Lambeth Psalter*, that is, at least in late Old English.[6]

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[6] The Gospel of John often shows its peculiarity in contrast with the Synoptic Gospels. For the so-called "Winchester words", see Hofstetter (1988).

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Appendix: *Dominus, Deus, Iesus,* etc. and their renderings

BenRGl

	dominus	domini	domino	dominum	domine
drihten	2			4	3
drihtne			5		
drihtnes		3			
hlaford	1				
Ø	6	2	4	4	3

BenRGl

	deus	dei	deo	deum
god	3		1	5
gode	3	2	16	8
godes		23		
goda			1	
g	1			
Ø	6	9	6	2

LibSc

	dominus	domini	domino	dominum	dominis	dominos
drihten	68			16		
drihtnes		13				
drihtne		1	20	3		
godes		1				
hlaford	1			2		
hlafordes		1				
hlafordum					7	
hlafordas						1
Ø	5					

LibSc

	deus	dei	deo	deum	dei ł deum	christi
god	75	1		52		
godes		121				1
gode			75	33	1	
of godes		1				

PsGlA

	dominus	domini	domino	dominum	domine	dominorum
dryht^n	213	100	66	68	268	
dryhten	13		1	8	11	
drihten					2	
dryht					2	
dryhtnes		8	1			
dryhtne			22	3		
dryt^n	4	1	1	1		
dryt^n	1					
dreyht^n	1					
ðryht^n	1					
drȳ	1					
dt^{n}t^n	1					
ðryhten					3	
ðryt^n					2	
ðine					1	
to dryht^n			7			
to dryhtne			1			
hlafard				1		
hlafarda						3
hlafdian					1	
gode			1			
Ø	2	1	1		8	

PsGlA

	deus	dei	deo	deum	dii	deorum	diis	deos
god	283			27				
godes		36						
goðes		1						
gode		1	47	7				
go	2							
godum					1		2	
godas					2			3
goda						2		
dō			1					

dryht^n				3		
dryhten				1		
Ø	3			1		

PsGlD

	dominus	domini	domino	dominum	domine	dominorum
drihten	32	1	1	18	11	
dryhten	3			7	4	
drihtnes		30				
dryhtnes		8				
drihtne		1	34	8		
dryhtne			12	1		
drihtna						1
hlaford				1		
hlaforda						1
hlæfdian					1	
god				2		
Ø	195	69	56	48	280	1

PsGlD

	deus	dei	deo	deum	dii	deorum	diis	deos
god	28		1	12				
godd	11			1				
godes		17						
godas					2			3
gode			26	6				
godum							2	
goda						2		
deus	1							
Ø	243	21	21	20				

PsGlI

	dominus	domini	domino	dominum	domine	dominorum
drihten	126		4	39	98	
drihtnes		73				
drihtnys		9				
drihtne			92	16		

to drihtne			2	1		
drihtenna						1
hlaford				1		
hlaforda						1
drihtenna l. hlaforda						1
hlæfdian					1	
Ø	92	24	17	15	162	

PsGlI

	deus	dei	deo	deum	dii	deorum	diis	deos
god	139	1	3	19				
godes		41						
gode	1		43	10				
to gode			1					
goda						2		
godas					2			2
godum					1		1	
Ø	136	4	5	4				

Mt(Li)

	dominus	domini	domino	dominum	domine
drihten	5			3	28
drihtnes		6			
drihtne			4		
drihtnen			1		
drihter					1
hlaferd	12		1	3	
hlafard	2				2
hlaferdes		3			
hlaferde				1	
drihten ł hlaferd					1

Mt(Li)

	deus	dei	deo	deum	iesus	iesum	iesu
god	10		1	8			
godes		27					
gode			2				
hælend					99	18	4
hælendes							4
hælende						2	2

Mt(Ru)

	dominus	domini	domino	dominum	domine
drihten	2				11
dryhten	14	1		4	20
drihtnes		4			
dryhtnes		5		1	
drihtne			4		
dryhtne			1		
to drihtne				1	
hlaford	3				
laford	1				
hlaferd			1		
laferd				1	
Ø					1

Mt(Ru)

	deus	dei	deo	deum	iesus	iesum	iesu
god	9		1	6			
godes		26		1			
gode			2	1			
dryhtne			1				
hælend					88	16	8
hælendes							2
hælende					1	1	
helend					4		
helende						1	
to þæm hælende							1

him					1	
hine					1	
iesus				1		
Ø		1			5	

Mt(WSCp)

	dominus	domini	domino	dominum	domine
drihten	3			2	24
drihtyn				1	1
dryhten				1	
dryhtyn					3
drihtnes		7			
drihtenes		1			
drihtne			5		
to drihtne				1	
hlaford	11			2	5
hlafurd	5				1
hlafordes		3			
hlaforde			1		
hælynd	1				

Mt(WSCp)

	deus	dei	deo	deum	iesus	iesum	iesu
god	10		1	6			
godes		27					
gode			3	2			
hælend					71	8	1
hælynd					16	4	
hælyn						1	
hælendes							2
hælyndes							2
hælende					2	5	2
hælynde							1
he					5		
him						1	
drihten					1		
Ø					1	1	1

Mk(Li)

	dominus	domini	domino	dominum	domine
drihten	5			2	1
drihtnes		2			
drihtne			3		1
hlaferd	2				

Mk(Li)

	deus	dei	deo	deum	iesus	iesum	iesu
god	14			4			
godes		21					
goddes		2					
hælend					51	5	5
hælendes							2
hælende						3	2
hæł					6		1
Ø		1					

Mk(Ru)

	dominus	domini	domino	dominum	domine
drihten	5			2	1
drihtnes	1	1			
drihtne			4		
drihtene			1		
godes		1			

Mk(Ru)

	deus	dei	deo	deum	iesus	iesum	iesu
god	14	1		4			
godes		24					
hælend					55	8	2
hælendes							1
hælende						3	1
to ðæm hælende							1
hæł					5		1

Mk(WSCþ)

	dominus	domini	domino	dominum	domine
drihten	4		1	2	1
drihtnes		1			
drihtne			3		
hlaford	2				
hlaforde			1		
godes		1			
drihten hælend	1				

Mk(WSCþ)

	deus	dei	deo	deum	iesus	iesum	iesu
god	13			2			
godes		22					
gode				2			
hælend					53	7	3
hælendes							1
hælyndes							1
hælende						3	3
him							1
Ø		1			1		

Lk(Li)

	dominus	domini	domino	dominum	domine	dominis
drihten	24	1		7	24	
drihtnes		20				
drihtne			6	4		
drihtno			1			
hlaford	4					
hlaferd	2					
hlafard	1					
hlaferdes		1				
hlaferdas		1				
hlaferde			1			
hlaferdum						1
drihten ł	1					

hlaford						
god	1					
hælende				1		

Lk(Li)

	deus	dei	deo	deum	iesus	iesum	iesu
god	10	1		20			
godes		62					
goddes		1					
gode			9	7			
godæ			1				
hælend					55	8	8
hælendes							4
hælende						4	1

Lk(Ru)

	dominus	domini	domino	dominum	domine
drihten	23		2	6	19
drihtnes		20	1		
drihtne			5	1	
drihten god	1				
god	1				
hlaford				1	
hlafard	2				
hlafardas		1			
hælend	2				
hælende				1	

Lk(Ru)

	deus	dei	deo	deum	iesus	iesum	iesu
god	3	1	1	16			
godes	1	48					
gode	1		8	5			
goda	1						
drihten	1			1	1		
hælend					42	4	4
hælendes							2

hælende						2	2
Ø		1		1	2	1	1

Lk(WSCp)

	dominus	domini	domino	dominum	domine	dominis
drihten	16	1	1	6	19	
drihtnes		13				
drihtenes		1				
drihtne			6	2		
drihten god	1					
god	1					
godes		2				
hlaford	7		1	1	8	
hlafordes		1		1		
hlafordas		1				
hlaforde			1			
hlafordum						1
hælend	4					
hælendes		2				
hælende				1		
Ø		2				

Lk(WSCp)

	deus	dei	deo	deum	iesus	iesum	iesu
god	10		1	15			
godes		63					
gode		1	7	10			
drihten				1			
drihtne			1				
hælend					55	7	5
hælendes							3
hælende						5	5
Ø					1		

Jn(Li)

	dominus	domini	domino	dominum	domine
drihten	2		1	3	28
drihtnes		4			
drihtne			2		
hlaferd	2			1	
hlafard	1				
hlafærd	1				
hlaferde			1		

Jn(Li)

	deus	dei	deo	deum	deos	dii	iesus	iesum	iesu
god	16			6					
godes		28		1					
godas					1				
gode			17	1					
to gode				2					
goddo						1			
hælend							190	28	1
hælendes									9
hælende								1	2
ðæm								1	

Jn(Ru)

	dominus	domini	domino	dominum	domine
drihten	4		1	3	29
drihtnes		4			
drihtne			1		
gode			1		
hlafard	2		1	2	

Jn(Ru)

	deus	dei	deo	deum	deos	dii	iesus	iesum	iesu
god	14			9	1		1		
godes	1	23							
gode		1	17	1					
godo						1			

drihten	2							
hælend						188	24	2
hælendes								9
hælende							5	1
crist						1		
Ø						6		

Jn(WSCp)

	dominus	domini	domino	dominum	domine
drihten	4		1	5	26
drihtnes		3			
drihtne			1		
hlaford	2		2		1
leof					1

Jn(WSCp)

	deus	dei	deo	deum	deos	dii	iesus	iesum	iesu
god	16		1	5					
godes		25							
godas					1	1			
gode			16	6					
hælend							189	20	1
hælendes									10
hælende								7	1
hælynd							1		
he							1		
Ø		1							

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