

# **“Ilk Man and Woman”: Gender-balanced Language in Medieval General Intercessions and Preaching. *Documentation***

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## **Introduction**

In medieval general intercessions, the intentions (“pray for so and so”) were spoken by the priest but were addressed to the people – the members of the congregation. At the end of each of several series of intentions, the people were invited to respond by individually saying the Pater noster and Ave Maria. This invitation, in English intercessions especially, might use gender-balanced expressions such as “Each [ilk] man and woman” or “every man and woman” or the like.

Similar constructions were sometimes also used to name groups of persons to be prayed for, for example, men and women benefactors, or men and women members of religious orders.

Here I document the use of such gender-balanced constructions in English only to address the congregation (Table 1) and to name living persons to be prayed for (Table 2). Gender balanced terms were also in general intercessions to refer to the dead; this is considered in a separate document, *Deceased Women in Medieval General Intercessions*.

Additionally, through similar gender-balanced constructions, women as well as men sometimes were addressed and referred to in medieval English sermons. A selection of such usages from English sermons are therefore noted in Table 3.

Finally, gender-balanced constructions might also be used in English-language additions to the liturgy of Visitation of the Sick (in fact, the dying). A few examples are given in Table 4.

**Sources.** These excerpts are taken from a body of medieval general intercessions collected by the present writer. These are listed, together with their sources, in a separate document also posted on this website: *Medieval General Intercessions: Bibliography of Texts and Sources*.

An introduction to the medieval general intercessions is provided in another document: *Women and the Medieval General Intercessions: Introduction*.

Each text is given a unique designator, e.g., “FR-1. Lotharingia 10<sup>th</sup> c.” Designators name a country of origin or equivalent (using modern political-geographic terminology). Thus: RO =

Religious Orders; EN = England; FR = France; SP = Spain; GR = Austria, Germany and Switzerland; PO = Poland. They are then numbered, in rough chronological order. The name of a place or person with whom each text is associated is given next, followed by the approximate date of composition.

**Table 1**  
**Gender-balanced Language Addressing the Congregation (in English)**

- EN-13. London, 15<sup>th</sup> c  
for tham and for us and for all we beth to pray in speciall or generall, and for all Cristen folk, ich man and woman for charite sayth devoutle...
- EN-13. London 15<sup>th</sup> c  
For hem and for all Cristene soules ich man and woman for charite seith a Pater Noster and a Ave Maria
- EN-27. York 1440  
And that this prayer may be harde and sped the tittler thurgg your praier, ilk a man & woman that there is helps hartly with a pater noster and a Ave.
- EN-27. York 1440  
Ffor thame & for us and for all other that neid has of prayer, in wirchyp of our lady saynt mary ilk man and woman hayle oure lady with v Aues
- EN-27. York 1440  
And that oure prayers myght sumwhat stand thame in stede ilk man and woman helps herly with a pater noster and a ave.
- EN-38. Becon 1484  
For these and all true Christian people, every man and woman say a Pater noster, and an Ave, Deus miseratur nostri, &c. Cum Gloria Patri, &c.
- EN-38. Becon 1484  
for every man and woman saie a Pater noster and an Ave
- EN-40. York 1490  
For ... all oyer whilk gode walde haue prayed for & sow ilk man and woman say iii pater noster & ii ave ...
- EN-42. York 1509  
And that these prayers may be herd and sped the sooner throughe your prayers, euery man and woman that here is, helpe them hertely with a Pater noster and an Ave Maria, et

cetera.

EN-42. York 1509

In worshyp of our lady saynt Mary and of her v joyes, euery man and woman say in the honoure of hir v tymes Ave Maria.

EN-42. York 1509

And that our prayers may sumwhat stande them in stede, euery man and woman of your charity helpe them with a Pater noster and an Ave Maria

EN-46. Lestrange temp Henry VIII

For these and all Christian people, every man and woman say a Pater noster and an Ave, etc.

## Table 2

### Gender-balanced Language Referring to Persons Being Prayed For (in English)

#### All Christian men and women

EN-5. Worchester, 1349

Ye shall bydde for ... and hem to help of body and of soul,  
for ham and for us and for alle Cristmen and wymen pour charite.

EN-36. Wynchen de Worde 1483

For all these and for all chysten men and women ye shall saye a Pater noster and an Aue maria.

EN-37. Caxton 1483

For al these and for al cristen men & wymmen ye shal say a Pater Noster & an Ave.

#### Civic Benefactors

EN-13. London 15<sup>th</sup> c

Also yee shale praye... for men and women which briggeis or way makygth or mendigth

#### Parish Benefactors

EN-39. Shrewsbury 1484

ye shall pray also specyally for all those good men and women that gyffes or beqwytys any manner of guddys unto thys kyrke, as bokes, bollys, cloys, lawnpes, lyght, awtor clothe, or towell, or any maner of a nowr menttys [ornametns], wherthrought ye service of

Allmyghty God hase ben better maynteyneyd a for tyme....

### **Members of Religious Orders**

EN-10. Wygdale Cranbone 1389

for alle men and wommen of religion

EN-13. London 15<sup>th</sup> c

Also ye shall prairie for abbottes and priours abbatis and prioris; for monkes, chanons, frers and nunnys and for all other men and women of religion...

EN-15. Salisbury 1400

Ye schullen stonte vp and bidde... for al men and wymmen fo religion...

. EN-22. Butley 1401

And in especyall for ... with all other men & women of religion....

EN-23. York 1405

For the pape of Rome and ... for al men and women of religion...

EN-27. York 1440

Also we sall pray specially ... for all maner of men and women of relygion

EN-36. Wyndhen de Worde 1483

Also ye shall praye for all abbottes, pryours, monkes, chanons, fryers, and for all men & women of relygyon, in what ordre, estate, or degree that they stande in, from the hyghest estate vnto the lowest degree.

EN-37. Caxton 1483

Ye shal also pray for alle abbottis, pryoris, monks chanons, ffrerys and for all men and women of relygyon

EN-39. Shrewsbury 1484\

Ye shall pray also specyally for .. all men and women of relygyon

EN-40. York 1490

And in generall for all men & women of relygyon....

EN-42. York 1509

We shall pray specyally ... for all maner of men and women of relygion that God gyue them good perseuerance in honest and clene relygious lyuynge.

### **Pilgrims**

EN-13. London 15<sup>th</sup> c

Yee shall praie also for all paljmers and pilgrims, for all manere men and wymen which any gude gate hath gone, goth or shall go

### **Those Who Pay Tithes**

EN-39. Shrewsbury 1484

Ye schall pray also specyally for all those gud men and wemen that dewly and trwly pays the tythes, the offernans, thayr dewtys to god and to holy kyrke, lyke as yay ar bound by ye law

### **Those Who Supply Bread**

EN-5. Worchester 1349

Also ye shulle bydde for the gwode man and the good wife, that the charite hid brought to pay

EN-13. London 15<sup>th</sup> c

Also ye shall pray for the gudman and gudwyff that this day brogth or sent brede unto the chyrch, of ye which holy brede is to be made...

EN-15. Salisbury 1400

Zee schulleth bidde for the gode mon and the gode wif that this day brought the loof and the candul

EN-32. Hearne 1457

Also ye shall praye for the good man or woman that thys daye geveth bread to make the holy lofe...

EN-38. Becon 1484

Also for the god man & god wyfe, that fig the holy lofe this day

EN-39. Shrewsbury 1484

Ye schall pray also specyally for ye gud man and ye gud women ut uis day sent breyd unto this awter, whereof holy breyde shall be made....

EN-46. Lestrange temp VIII

Also ye shall pray for the good man and woman, that this day giveth bread to make the holy loaf

### **Table 3 Gender-balanced Language in Preaching (in English)**

## First Source

*Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies*, by Johannes Mirkus (John Mirk). Ed. Theodor Erbe. London: Early English Text Society, extra series 96. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1905

- Sermon 1: Good men and woymen, p 1; all men and woymen and childyrne, p 3  
Sermon 2: Good men and weymen, p 6  
Sermon 3: Goode men and woymen, p 11  
Sermon 4: Alsoo, good men and woymen, p 15; hor fadyr ... hor modyr, p 15  
Sermon 5: Good men and woymen, p 18  
Sermon 6: Godde men and woymen and crysten creatures, p 21; all good men and woymen, p 22; men and wymen, p 23; ych crysten mon and woman, p 25; yche man and women, p 25  
Sermon 7:  
Sermon 8:  
Sermon 9: men and woymen, p 35  
Sermon 10: Good men and woymen, p 38  
Sermon 11: man other woman, p 47  
Sermon 12: a man or of a woman, p 50; crysten man or woman, p 51  
Sermon 13: Good men and woymen, p 52; all men and women, p 55; a man other woman, p 55; men and woymen, p 55  
Sermon 14: Good cristen men and woymen, p 56; all cristen men and wymmen, p 59; yche man and woman and chyld, p 59  
Sermon 15: Good men and woymen, p 62; men and woymen, p 63; no man ne no woman, p 65  
Sermon 16: Goode men and woymen, p 69; ych man and woman, p 70  
Sermon 17: Good men and woymen, p 74; all men and woymen, p 74  
Sermon 18: Good men and woymen, p 79  
Sermon 19: Good men and woymen, p 82  
Sermon 20: Good men and woymen, p 86  
Sermon 21: Good men and woymen, p 92  
Sermon 22: Good men and woymen, p 96  
Sermon 23: Good men and woymen, p 101  
Sermon 24: Good men and woymen, p 106  
Sermon 25: Good men and woymen, p 110; syrs and dames, p 114  
Sermon 26: Cristen men and woymen, p 114; cristen man and woman, p 116; good men and woymen, p 116  
Sermon 27: Good men and woymen, p 117; ych cristen man and woman, p 117; ych cristen man and woman, p 118  
Sermon 28: Cristen men and women, p 120; cristen man and women, p 123; a man or a woman, p 123; ych cristen man and woman, p 123; all cristen men and woymen, p 123  
Sermon 29:  
Sermon 30: Cristes pepull, bothe men and woymen, p 129; all men and woymen, p 129; good men and woymen, p 131; men and woymen, p 132  
Sermon 31: Good men and woymen, p 132;

Sermon 32: Good men and woymen, p 135; good men and woymen, p 137; cristen men and woymen, p 138; good man and woymen, p 138

Sermon 33: Good men and woymen, p 138

Sermon 34: Good men and woymen, p 142

Sermon 35: Cristen men and woymen, p 146

Sermon 36: Good men and woymen, p 149; husband, wyff and seruant, p 149; yce men and woman, p 149

Sermon 37: Good men and woymen, p 151; good men and woymen, p 154; a man or a woman, p 154;

Sermon 38: Cristen men and woymen, p 155

Sermon 39: Goode men and woymen, p 159; good man and woymen, p 162

Sermon 40: Goode cristen men and woymen, p 163; yche cristen man and woman, p 167; Goode men and woymen, p 168

Sermon 41: Cristen men and women, p 168; eche cristen man and woman, p 168; good man and woman, p 173; good men and women, p 175

Sermon 42: Good men and women, p 175; good men and woymen, p 180

Sermon 43: Cristen men and women, p 177

Sermon 44: Crystyn men and woymen, p 182; men and woymen, p 182

Sermon 45: Goode men [and] woymen, p 186; yche man and woymen, p 187

Sermon 46: [no address]

Sermon 47: Crystyn men and woymen, p 196; al the men and woymen, p 197

Sermon 48: God men and woymen, p 199

Sermon 49: Crystyn men and woymen, p 203

Sermon 50: Good men and woymen, p 208

Sermon 51: Good men and woymen, p 213

Sermon 52: God men and woymen, p 216; por men and woymen, p 216

Sermon 53: Goode men and woymen, p 221; ych man and woman, p 221

Sermon 54: Good men and woymen, p 227; good men and w a man or a woman, p 154; ymen, p 232

Sermon 55: Goode men and woymen, p 235; man other woman, p 235; men or women, p 235; man other woman, p 235; bothe man and woman, p 236

Sermon 56: Goode men and woymen, p 240

Sermon 57: Good men and woymen, p 245

Sermon 58: Goode men and woymen, p 249

Sermon 59: Goode men and woymen, p 253

Sermon 60: Good men and woymen, p 254

Sermon 61: Good men and woymen, p 257

Sermon 62: Good men and woymen, p 260

Sermon 63: Good men and woymen, p 263; yche man and woman, p 263

Sermon 64: Good men and woymen, p 266

Sermon 65: Good men and woymen, p 269; ych crysten man and woman, p 269; good men and woymen, p 270

Sermon 66: Good men and woymen, p 272

Sermon 67: Good men and woymen, p 275

Sermon 68: Goode men and woymen, p 277

Sermon 69: Goode men and woyme[n], p 282; yche man and woman, p 282; brether and sustyr, p 282; a man other a woman, p 286; a man other woman, p 286; no man ny a woman, p 288; the man and the womon, p 288

## Second Source

Woodburn O Ross, *Middle English Sermons*, Edited from British Museum MS. Royal 18 B xxiii. Early English Text Society, original series 209. London: Humhry Milford / Oxford University Press 1940

Sermon 1: Good men and wymmen, p 1; good men and wymmen, p 3

Sermon 2: Good men and wymmen, p 9; oon fader and oo moder, p 10

Sermon 3: Good men and wymmen, p 12; euery man Cristen and wymmen, p 14; euery man and womman, p 14

Sermon 4: Worshippfull men and wymmen, p 16; lecherous men othur wymmen, p 16; Good men and wymmen, p 17; euery man and wymman, p 18

Sermon 5: Good men and wymmen, p 21; man or a wymmon, p 22

Sermon 6: Frenedes in God, bothe men and wymmen, p 26; euery man and wymman, p 26; man and wymman, p 30

Sermon 7: euery Cristen man and wymmen, p 30; Good men and wymmen, p 33

Sermon 8

Sermon 9: Worshippull bretheren and susteren, p 46; all to be bretheren and susters in Crist, p 46; bretheren and susters, p 49; suche men and suche wommen, p 57

Sermon 10

Sermon 11: euery man and womman, p 62

Sermon 12

Sermon 13

Sermon 14: euery Cristen man and womman, p 77; fadere and modere, p 79;

Sermon 15: is fadere and is modere, p 87; is brethur and is sustren, p 87

Sermons 16ab

Sermon 17

Sermon 18: Good men and wymmen, p 103; man or vymman, p 106; faders and moders, p 109

Sermon 19

Sermon 20: fadere or modere, p 120

Sermon 21

Sermon 22

Sermon 23: Good men and wymmen, p 133; iche man and wymman, p 133

Sermon 24

Sermon 25: iche Cristen man and womman, p 138; good men and wymmen, p 138

Sermon 26

Sermon 27

Sermon 28: iche synnefull man and womman, p 143



Sermon 29: holy men and wymmen, p 146  
 Sermon 30  
 Sermon 31  
 Sermon 32: a man and a womman, p 167; thi godfader and thi godmodur, p 167  
 Sermon 33: euery Cristen man and womman, p 171; neuer man ne womman, p 171; othur men and wymen, p 171  
 Sermon 34: nother man ne womman ne childe, p 178  
 Sermon 35: euery man and womman , p 189  
 Sermon 36: is fadur and is modere, p 304  
 Sermon 37  
 Sermon 38: no man ne womman, p 217  
 Sermon 39:  
 Sermon 40  
 Sermon 41: man othur womman, p 248; men and wommen, p 249  
 Sermon 42  
 Sermon 43  
 Sermon 44: Euery man and womman, p 291  
 Sermon 45  
 Sermon 46  
 Sermon 47: euer[y] man and womman, p 312  
 Sermon 48  
 Sermon 49: man or wymman, p 322  
 Sermon 50: euery man and womman, p 326; euery man and womman, p 327  
 Sermon 51:

### **Third Source**

“Second Sermon,” [of the Body Bishop of London], pp 14-29 in “Two sermons preached by the boy-bishop, one at St Paul’s Temp Henry VIII, the other at Gloucester, temp Mary,” edited by John Gough Nicols. In *The Camden Miscellany*, vol 7 (1875); reprint Johnson Reprint Company

Sermon 2: neither men, women, nor children, p 16; now for yow children, both boys and wenches, p 22; fathers and mothers, pp 26, 27, 28, 29

### **Table 4 Gender-balanced Language in English parts of the Rite of Visitation of the Sick**

Source

“Visitation of the Sick/Dying in the Fifteenth Century” in *English Fragments from Latin Medieval Service-Books*, ed. Henry Littlehales. London: Early English Text Society, extra series 90, 1903

### **First Text**

My dear son or daughter of God

It seems that thou goest quickly on the way from this life toward God. There ye will see all your predecessors, apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins, and all men and women that are saved. And for gladness of such fellowship be thou in good comfort in god.

### **Second Text**

Brother or sister, are thou glad that thou shalt die in Christian faith? *Yea.*

[The Creed in question form]

Trustest thou that thou, and every man and woman, shall rise up at the day of doom in body and in soul, the bad to be dammed in endless pain, and the good to be taken, body and soul, into everlasting bliss? *Credo.*

Do you intend fully to forgive all manner of men and women that have trespassed against thess, so that you do not desire to keep any ill will nor malice to them in thy heart, but to be in love and charity with ech man and woman? *Yea.*