

The Lower Class in the urban revolts in the Late Middle Ages

Yong-Jin, PARK

1. Introduction

Last Conference, 2007, I presented a paper concerning the internal and external solidarity in the urban revolts. I focused on the Revolt of Etienne Marcel, the Jacquerie in 1358, the urban revoltes occurred in the Northern France in early 1380s, and the Cabochiens Revolt in 1413.

Concerning these revolts, a lot of impressive studies have been achieved. They are mainly analyzing the political and financial aspects. This time I present a paper about the same events with the same geographical boundaries, but from the different aspect, that is social status. This paper will bring into question the composition of the participants, especially the lower class, or "menu people". But to identify the composition, this paper proposes a psychological approach, based on the fear and the instable mentality, which cause and trigger the revolts. This approach shows the fear and the crisis of the late medieval France, and the ideal society pursued in the process of the overcoming the fear.

2. Records of the Revolts

These revolts recruited the member from the various social status. Etienne Marcel, trying to control the monarchy through the Estate General, was the *prévôt des marchands*, leader of the Parisian upper bourgeoisie. But the Jacquerie, rising up near Paris in the same year as the revolt of Etienne Marcel, was the peasant revolt. The urban revolts in early 1380s were mainly led by bourgeoisie, except the upper bourgeoisie who had joined in the revolt of Etienne Marcel. The leader of the Cabochiens Revolt in 1413 was Simon Caboche, whose profession was butcher, cutting head of cow. So the leader's name implies that the leading group must be the lower class. As leading groups were varied according to the revolts, so the leading group in the revolt varied according to the stages of a revolt. The more did the revolt progress, the less the upper bourgeois participated and the more the violence spread. At last, the upper bourgeoisie suppressed the lower class for the king.

We elaborate the progress as follows; the revolts of this time were deeply involved with the fiscal problem, especially the tax collection. So the bourgeoisie, who have some properties and burdened with the tax, must complain at start of the tumult. But with the violence accompanied, it changed into the revolt. In this stage, it is certain that they have lower social status than who play

a role in the first steps. Then the remnants of society, who have nothing to lose by the violence, step forward, and lead the violence, the assault, the pillage, and the incendiaries. It is assumed that with the violence progress, the composition of the participants is changed.

In case of the revolt of Etienne Marcel, the leader Marcel fully controlled the situation from the strike of 1357 to the assassination of two generals, in February, 1358. In 1357, Marcel ordered "all the Parisian masters and the laborers (*menestreaux d'ouvrier*) to go on strike and to be armed themselves", against the monetary revaluation of the Regent. In February 1358, also, when he ordered to murder the general in front of the Regent, he led three thousands masters (*gens de métiers*) with arms. These two events implies that the Parisian bourgeoisie, attached to the "Merchant guild (*Hanse des Marchands de l'eau*)" played an important role in the revolt of Etienne Marcel, by giving the force of arms. After the assassination, Marcel gained the support from the Parisian bourgeoisie (*bourgoiz et habitans*) and the lower class of the inhabitants (*menu peuple*). But in June and July 1358, Marcel's influence was reduced gradually. The Jacquerie was beyond Marcel's influence, and, even in Paris, the citizen killed the English soldiers despite of Marcel's dissuasion. As the Marcel's leadership was base on the leader of the Parisian guild (*Prévôt des Marchands*), the more were the participants, the weaker his control over them.

According to the records of Harelle Revolt in Rouen in 1380s, "the lower people (*menu commun*) rose against the upper class (*bourgoiz et gens d'estat*), and the bad consulted (*mal conseilliez*) flocked to the house of the bourgeois and pillaged and destroyed the house". It is noticeable that the bourgeois (*bourgoiz*), who had been the supporters of the revolt of Etienne Marcel, was the target of the attack this time.

To depict the participants, another record used the term as *dignans, gens de poure estofle, merdaille, caimants, gens sans aveu*, etc. About Maillotins in Paris, the similar words were referred like « *virii ex abjectiori plebe* », « *gens de bas estat* », « *viles statu et viliores moribus* », « *virii ex abjectiori plebe* », « *ignobliles* », « *houliers et mauvaiz garnement* », « *pillars et coquins* ». For example, Gervaise de Grenges, carpenter from Saint-Quentin, was accused of the participation in "the uprising of lower class (*assemblee et commocion du menu commun*)" and was sentenced to 3 month in prison and 2 years in exile.

The revolts in 1410s were also recorded in similar terms. The contemporary regarded the Cabochiens Revolt as the evil conduct by « *quidam turbati capitis virii, ex ignobilibus proavis* », « *plebe humili* », « *abjectissimorum virorum* », « *gens de petit estat et de petite condition* », and « *diabolique assemblée de innombrables menue gent* ».

The contemporary documents always used the term "*menu peuple*" or the similar, to describe the leader and the participants, though the participants were varied in times. All the participants were always "humble and ignorant, and poor", irrespective of their profession. For example, Jean Fossart and Henri de Roye, who accused of the participation on the revolt of Amiens in early 1380s, were described as "men of little properties who don't know how to write (*home de petite*

chevance, et qui ne sçavoit lire n'escripre)." But it is not likely that Henri de Roye could be illiterate, because he was a representative of the guild (bannière) and charged a treasurer of municipality, to which a man of literate could be appointed in general. So the term "*illiterate*" was simply used as a stereotypical phrase to depict the rebels.

Similarly, it was king or prince who save the society from the violence and recover the peace. The revolts gave rise to the excessive violence that could create the feeling of unease, and might damage the economic activities. At this point, the moderate voices won more and more support, and, at last, the king and the prince repaired the situation. In a word, the king, or the prince, represented the peace and order, tolerance

In sum, according to the chronicles, we cannot portrait the lower class, or menu people. The term "menu people" was used to describe simply the man who participated in the revolt. The king, on the counterpart of the menu people, usually represented the peace and the tolerance. As a result, the medieval sources and documents tell us the story of the revolt, but, in some aspect, they only reflect the moral value of the writer, and used the stereotypical terms. Thus, another way is needed to identify the participants.

3. Profession

It is possible to assume that the participants work together in similar professions. It is well-known that the Cabochien Revolts were led by the butchers. Not only have the statements in the chronicles, but also the letters of remission told us the profession of the participants.

<Table 1> is the list of the participants in the revolt of Etienne Marcel, mainly based on the letters of remission. It shows that the main supporters were elites and upper bourgeoisie. But as mentioned above, Etienne Marcel drew the supports from the lower class, expressed in "menu people" or "bourgeois et habitants", though the expression is obscure.

<Table 2> is also the list of the participants in the revolts of early 1380s. It shows that the main participants were the small merchants and the small craftsmen. But their professions show extreme diversity. They were neither rich, nor poor. As B. Geremek said, they did not compose of the a-social or anti-social elements. A member joining a preparatory meeting for the uprising in 1380s, gave a testimony as follows: "An unmarried person and the man who have not properties in Paris cannot be our member." It shows that they were not the marginals.

<Table 3> classifies the participants according to the social status. "Messire", calling knight or seigneur, and "Maistre", title referring high clergy and official, were about 40. Only the profession was recorded in 40 cases. And Others without any notice were 60. But considering medieval

writing practice that the title was always added, if possible, the last group without any notice might be the same status as the second group. So the participants in the Cabochien Revolt were composed of various professions.

From three tables above, it is concluded that the participants in the revolts in the late medieval period were recruited from extremely diverse professions.

4. Psychology of Revolts

Now, we examine the participants from the psychological point of view.

In general, the fear and the complaints burst out due to heavy tax and the abuse, but the financial and the economic elements was not the only cause. For the tax payer, it is important that the tax is imposed properly and collected correctly. They were less concerned about whether it is heavy or not. Moreover, tax payers, who were not accustomed to the calculation in medieval period, did not complain after calculating the tax increase. So the injustice and the abuse was the trigger for the revolts. For example, in 1356 after the defeat of Poitiers, the complaints of the French third estate, which did his duty, that is paying the tax, concentrated on the fact that the noble did not his duty, fighting.

The revolts start in the form of mere complaints, accidents, or dispute. The manifestation of the complaints did not escalate directly to the revolts. People in the market or the place whispered the heavy tax and the abuse, exchanged their problems, and identified their grievances. When the occasion offers, the revolt starts: the shout and quarrel lead the mere complaints to the disorder or tumult, and when the violence added to this situation, disorder rise up to the revolt, and follows the extension of their social and geographical range.

In sum, the revolt starts as an occasional accident, that the fear or complaints in everyday life are expressed in the violent way. The complaint, fear and unrest might be spread among all the people. People shared the collective memory of the heavy tax and the abuse. So the revolt is the battle of memory. Some people shared the memory of complaint and fear, and exclude the other people who don't share the common memory.

As for the late medieval period, the fear of the absence of king from 1356 and the social unrest due to the war or the pillage were widely spread throughout the northern France. These psychological factors invoke the revolts frequently. It is after the defeat of Poitiers that the revolt of Parisian bourgeoisie in 1358 and the Jacquerie broke out. The captivity of the King, John the Good, causes political instability.

In 1357, Marcel ordered the strike to the entire master, when the regent, future Charles V, decided the monetary devaluation. Considering that the monetary devaluation and revaluation were frequently decided by turns in the first half of the fourteenth century, the devaluation in 1357

could be expected. So the armament of Parisian bourgeoisie ordered by Etienne Marcel, was triggered by the monetary change, but deeply based on the discontents after the defeat of the battle of Poitiers.

The Jacquerie starts mere accident that the inhabitants in St-Leu d'Esserent killed nine knights. But the violence spread rapidly in entire Picardy. The heavy tax was the main cause of the Jacquerie, behind which lie the fear and the social unrest.

The Harelle Revolt and the Maillotins Revolt in the early 1380s also broke out at the time when the authority was not established after the Charles V died. And the Cabochiens rebelled when "the conflict of the Uncles" between the Armagnac and the Bourgogne was aggravated by the mental trouble of Charles VII. Briefly, the absence of the royal authority inspired the social unrest that constituted the background of the revolts

The pillage of the mercenaries and soldiers make social unrest. The war terrified the people. After a battle, the mercenaries, out of work, pillaged the rural village. The city was no exception. The fact that the city municipality rebuilt and repaired the city-wall proves the widespread terror of the war and the pillage in the late Middle Ages. So the war was an element of the fear.

The collective memory did not merely provide a main background of the revolts, but played an important role in recovery from the confusion. When the violence of the revolts culminated, people wanted someone who got rid of the social unrest and re-established the peace. The king dispatched the officials with army to a city and suppressed the revolts with cruelty. The king never presented himself in suppressing the revolts. The rumor, reporting the cruelty, circulated in the region. And then the upper bourgeoisie of other cities restored order by themselves. The king needed only to wait for a while.

The revolt of Rouen in 1382 shows vividly this process. The citizen of Rouen rose up after the Parisian revolt in 1382. But the ruthless suppression of the Parisians terrified the citizen of Rouen. The king did not go to Rouen immediately. The leaders of the Rouen revolt were decapitated and other leading participants were imprisoned. It is not the absence of the royal authority, but the royal authority itself, that terrified the people. At that moment when the citizen of Rouen, longing for the peace, was under the extreme strain, the king entered into Rouen with trampling the gate of Rouen fortress. It symbolized the cancel of the Rouen Commune. The citizen welcomed the king and cried out "*Noel, Vive le Roi*". The king's entrance cleared up the fear of the people.

To sum up, the main background of the revolts was the fear and the social unrest, coming from the absence of the royal authority, which would be cleared up by the re-establishment of the royal authority. So the participants, named "*menu people*", were who felt the fear from the political and social unrest. It is only the king who could re-establish the royal authority and recover the peace. So only the king could be the winner in the game of the revolts.

5. Conclusion

The revolts in the late medieval period start as a violent expression of the complaints based on the fear and the social unrest. On the first stage, the upper and mid-bourgeoisie led it. As the geographical and social range expands, the violence increases and the lower class, or 'menu people', largely participates in the revolt. The term "lower class" was no social meaning, but usually used to depict the people who act violently and make the community unstable. It is paradoxical that people rise up to escape from the fear and the social unrest, but their uprising causes the violence and the instability in turn.

The fear and the social unrest shared among the people cannot be resolved by the revolts and the violence. It is the sacred obligation of the king to keep the society in peace. The king represents the peace, the order, the mercy, the tolerance, and so on. The king is the only one who can solve the problem of the social unrest. So the revolts always conclude in the reinforcement of the royal authority. In a word, the revolts which start with the memory of the fear and the social unrest, eventually end up sharing the memory of the peace and the order.

**Table 1 The Participants in the Revolt of Etienne Marcel in 1358
(based on the letters of remission)**

| Name | Status | Etc | Sources |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|--------------|--|
| Alain de St-Benoist | Bourgeois | In prison | Chr. Jean(221) |
| Arnault Roussel | Bourgeois | In prison | Chr. Jean(221) |
| Bernard Coquatrix | Echevin(1355-56) | | |
| Charles Toussac | Mercier, Echevin(1355-58) | Decapitation | JJ 86, nos. 192(63), 195(64) ; JJ 90, no. 4(2) ;Delachenal, PJ. 29 ; Chr. Jean(112, 210) |
| Colart de Courliègis | Bourgeois (Laon) | Murdered | A. Thierry, Essai(44) |
| Colart le Cauceteur | Avocat (Abbeville) | Decapitation | JJ 84, no. 771(383) ; JJ 89, no. 50(68) ; |
| Denis de La Fontaine | Fils de Etienne | | |
| Elies Jourdain | Bourgeois | In prison | Chr. Jean(221) |
| Et. de La Fontaine | Bourgeois | In prison | JJ 86, no. 278(92) ; JJ 90, no. 31(15) ; |
| Geoffroy le Flament | Drapier | | JJ 86, no. 271 ; X 17, f. 77 ; Chr. Jean(246) |
| Gilles Caillart | Maître (Orléans) | Decapitation | Delachenal, PJ. 29 ; Chr. Jean(211) ; |
| Gilles Marcel | Clerc | Murdered | JJ 86, nos. 186(61), 195(64), 295, 296 |
| Girart Moret | Changeur | In prison | JJ 90, no. 21(13) ; Chr. Jean(220) |
| Guillaume Aimé | Bourgeois | | JJ 90, nos. 369(188), 382(193) ; X 17, f. 77 |
| Guillaume Gargouille | Orfèvre | | JJ 86, no. 203(66) |
| Guillaume le Fèvre | Poissonnier | In prison | JJ 90, no. 20(12) ; Chr. Jean(221) |
| Guillaume Marcel | Changeur | | Doc. nouv., nos. 6-7 |
| Hennequin le Flament | Drapier | In prison | JJ 86, no. 196 ; Chr. Jean(221) |
| J. Giffart le Boiteux | Bourgeois | In prison | Chr. Jean(220) |
| Jacques de Mante | Bourgeois | In prison | Chr. Jean(221) |
| Jacques du Castel | Terrassier | In prison | JJ 90, no. 30(15) ; Chr. Jean(221) |
| Jacques le Flament | Drapier | In prison | JJ 86, no. 243(116) ; Chron. Jean(221) |
| Jacquet le Flament | Trésorier | In prison | Chr. Jean(221) |
| Jean Bonvoisin | Bourgeois | | Delachenal, PJ. 29 |
| Jean de la Tour | Changeur | In prison | JJ 90, nos. 369(188), 382(193) ; X 17, f. 77 |
| Jean de l'Isle | Orfèvre, Echevin(1357-58) | Murdered | JJ 86, no. 195(64) ; Chr. Jean(112, 209) |
| Jean de St-Aude | Avocat | In exile | Chr. Jean(245) |
| Jean de St-Benoît | Drapier | | JJ 90, no. 1(1) |
| Jean dit le Boucher | Orfèvre | | JJ 86, no. 536(194) |
| Jean Godart | Avocat (Châtelet) | Decapitation | Delachenal, PJ. 29 ; Chr. Jean(180, 211) |
| Jean Gosselin | Bourgeois | In prison | Chr. Jean(221) |
| Jean le Chanevacier | Bourgeois | | JJ 90, no. 382(193) |
| Jean Maillart | Drapier | | JJ 86, no. 151 ; JJ 96, no. 55 |

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|--|
| Jean Marcel | Bourgeois | In prison | JJ 86, no. 195(64) |
| Jean Moret | Changeur | In prison | JJ 90, no. 21(13) ; Chr. Jean(220) |
| Jean Pizdoue | Bourgeois | | JJ 86, no. 292 |
| Jean Porret | Frère de N. Porret | Murdered | Chr. Jean(209-10) ; Froissart, t. 5(338) |
| Jean Prévost | Bourgeois | Decapitation | Delachenal, PJ. 29 ; Chr. Jean(211) |
| Jean Restable | Bourgeois | In prison | JJ 90, no. 24(13) ; Chr. Jean(221) |
| Jean Vaillant | Monnayeur | | Chr. Jean(182) ; Chr. normande(130) |
| Josseran de Mascon | Orfèvre, Echevin(1357-58) | Decapitation | JJ 86, no. 195(64) ; Delachenal, PJ. 29 ; |
| Martin Pizdoue | Bourgeois | Decapitation | JJ 86, no. 549 ; |
| Nicolas Damiens | Changeur | In prison | JJ 86, no. 595 |
| Nicolas le Flament | Drapier | In prison | JJ 86, no. 209 ; Doc. nouv., no. 6; |
| Nicolas Porret | Mercier | In prison | JJ 90, no. 23(13) ; Chr. Jean(220) |
| P. de la Courteueuve | Drapier | | Chr. Jean(206-208) |
| Pasquet le Flament | Drapier | In prison | Chr. Jean(221) |
| Perrinet Marcel | Banniere | | S. Luce, <La famille>(54) |
| Philippe des Essarts | Avocat | | |
| Philippe Giffart | Changeur, Echevin(1356-58) | Murdered | JJ 86, no. 195(64) ; Chr. Jean(209) |
| Pierre Basselin | Bourgeois | In prison | Chr. Jean(221) |
| Pierre Bourdon | Echevin(1355-57) | | Chr. Jean(198, n. 4) |
| Pierre Chappelu | Orfèvre | | |
| Pierre de Puisieux | Avocat (Parlement) | Decapitation | Delachenal, PJ. 29 ; Chr. Jean(211) |
| Pierre des Barres | Orfèvre | | Chr. Jean(246) |
| Pierre Gilles | Epicier | Decapitation | JJ 86, no. 286 ; X 1a 14, f. 309, 476 ; Delachenal, PJ. 29 ; Chr. Jean(181) |
| Pierre le Blond | Orfèvre | Decapitation | Chr. Jean(211) ; Delachenal, PJ. 29 |
| R. de la Chambre | Bourgeois | In prison | Chr. Jean(221) |
| Robert Marcel | Bourgeois | | |
| Simon le Paonnier | Bourgeois | Murdered | Chr. Jean(209) |
| Thomas de Ladit | Chancelier | Murdered | Delachenal, PJ. 29 ; Chr. Jean(215-16) |
| Vincent de Valricher | Bourgeois (Rouen) | In exile | Chr. Jean(246) |

Table 2 The Participants in the Revolts in 1380s

| Name | Profession | Place | Sources |
|---|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| Pierre Peignart | | 1380 11, Senlis | JJ 118, no. 131, f. 69 v |
| Jehan de Losier | cousturier | 1380 11, Paris | JJ 118, no. 260, f. 139 v |
| Guillaume le Maire | varlet changeur | 1380 11, Paris | JJ 118, no. 274, f. 147 |
| Gervaise de Grenges | charpentier | 1380 10, St-Quentin | JJ 119, no. 35, f. 27 |
| Jehan Loutrel | varlet | 1380 11, Compiègne | JJ 119, no. 92, f. 63 v |
| Jehan Dailly | | 1380 11, Compiègne | JJ 119, no. 334, f. 202 |
| Gile Largent | maistre d'oeuvre | 1380 10, St-Quentin | JJ 119, no. 347, f. 208 v |
| Mahiet de Mansseaux | varlet et serviteur | 1380 11, Compiègne | JJ 119, no. 357, f. 213 |
| Jehan Labbé dit Galois | veneur et serviteur | 1381 12, Noyon | JJ 120, no. 46, f. 29 |
| Jehan du Pont | clerc | 1382 2, Rouen | JJ 120, no. 225, f. 112 |
| Henri Auquetin | petit marchand | 1382 3 4, Falaise | JJ 120, no. 244, f. 121 v |
| Pierre Guillos | courroier | 1382 2, Rouen | JJ 120, no. 278, f. 137 v |
| Gilles Boussart | laboureur de bras | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 120, no. 353, f. 171 |
| Pierre le Feure | | 1383 2, Rouen | JJ 120, no. 361, f. 175 v |
| Ymbert de Roussillon | mareschal | 1382 Carême, Lyon | JJ 121, no. 257, f. 153 v |
| Jehan Jourdain | boulangier | 1382-83, Amiens | JJ 122, no. 12, f. 11 |
| Nicolas des Portes, Adam Roquete, Marie et Jaquot Thévenon | clercs | 1383 1, St Florent | JJ 122, no. 78, f. 44 |
| Jacques Chabre, Simon de Normende, Thibaut Jolys, Thomas de Calonne | attornez | 1382 10, Senlis | JJ 122, no. 100, f. 51 |
| Freminet Godard | pionnier | 1382, Paris | JJ 122, no. 110, f. 55 |
| Bourgeois et habitants (Rouen) | | 1382 2, Rouen | JJ 122, no. 114, f. 56 v |
| Jehan de la Carrière | drapier | 1382, Paris | JJ 122, no. 147, f. 74 v |
| Jehan de Junelet dit Blarel | cordonnier | 1382 3, Amiens | JJ 122, no. 182, f. 92 |
| Habitants (Mantes) | | 1380 11 15, Mantes | JJ 122, no. 192, f. 96 v |
| Jehan Bernard | marchand | 1382, Paris | JJ 122, no. 201, f. 100 |
| Guillaume le Vies-Wadier | | 1382, Tournais | JJ 122, no. 202, f. 100 |
| Colin Brun | drapier et bourgeois | 1382, Paris | JJ 122, no. 217, f. 108 |
| Jean Polet | pourpointier, doubletiet | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 122, no. 223, f. 110 |
| Jehan du Moutiers | baudrieur | 1382, Paris | JJ 122, no. 233, f. 117 v |
| Jehan de Vaurichier | | 1382, Paris | JJ 122, no. 268, f. 133 v |
| Guillaume Mauvoisin | | 1380 11 15, Mantes | JJ 122, no. 271, f. 135 |
| Bernart Lespecier | | 1382, Tournais | JJ 122, no. 274, f. 136 |
| Jehan de Romilly | maistre | 1382 10, Paris | JJ 122, no. 278, f. 138 |

| Name | Profession | Place | Sources |
|--|-------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Colin Boutier | | 1382 11, Rouen | JJ 122, no. 279, f. 138 |
| Oudard le Perrier | | 1380, Paris | JJ 122, no. 280, f. 138 v |
| Robin Arragon | couturier | 1382, Paris | JJ 122, no. 318, f. 156 v |
| Le Gotte | drapier | 1382, Tournais | JJ 122, no. 330, f. 161 v |
| Raoulin le Fevre | tavernier | 1382, Paris | JJ 122, no. 334, f. 162 v |
| Petro le Gablier | | 1382, Caen | JJ 122, no. 350, f. 169 v |
| Richard du Val | potier d'étain | 1382, Paris | JJ 122, no. 359, f. 173 |
| Guillaume Herice | vendeur de vins | 1382, Paris | JJ 122, no. 361, f. 174 |
| Guillaume Langlois | chaudronnier | 1382, Paris | JJ 122, no. 368, f. 176 v |
| Gilles Labat | | 1382 3-5, Paris | JJ 123, no. 14, f. 10 v |
| Gilet Chasteau | | 1382 3, Orléans | JJ 123, no. 26, f. 15 |
| Bourgeois et habitants (Caen) | | 1380-82, Caen | JJ 123, no. 51, f. 29 |
| Bourgeois et habitants (Rouen) | | 1382 8 1, Rouen | JJ 123, no. 56, f. 31 v |
| Jehan le Mariot dit de Frae | | 1382 3, Reims | JJ 123, no. 64, f. 35 |
| Guillaume Chevalier | mestier | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 123, no. 71, f. 38 v |
| Maire et Echevin de Tournais | | 1382, Tournais | JJ 123, no. 81, f. 46 |
| Jehan Filleul | notaire | 1382 10, Paris | JJ 123, no. 83, f. 46 v |
| Bourgeois et habitants (Laon) | | 1382 Laon | JJ 123, no. 85, f. 47 |
| Habitants (Caen) | | 1382, Caen | JJ 123, no. 97, f. 52 v |
| Henri de Roye | compteur | 1382, Amiens | JJ 123, no. 117, f. 63 v |
| Jehan le Grant dit Saunier | saunier | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 123, no. 120, f. 64 v |
| Jehan de Poitiers | valet | 1382, Paris | JJ 123, no. 146, f. 77 v |
| Jean Garin | faiseur de cordes | 1382, Caen | JJ 123, no. 150, f. 79 v |
| Martin Ploucy | tisserand | 1382, Falaise | JJ 123, no. 157, f. 82 |
| Jean de Sepmons | maréchal | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 123, no. 159, f. 83 |
| Gilet de Gant dit Bridouillet | clerc non marié | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 123, no. 190, f. 97 |
| Habitants (Mantes) | | 1380 11 15, Mantes | JJ 123, no. 192, f. 93 |
| Adam Pellerin | ouvrier d'imagerie d'or et d'argent | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 123, no. 210, f. 105 v |
| Perrin Louviers | vallet mereschal | 1382 3, Caen | JJ 123, no. 224, f. 112 |
| Liévin de Glistrelle et Habitants (Tournais) | | 1382 11, Tournais | JJ 123, no. 226, f. 113 |
| Jehan de Louvres | varlet orfèvre | 1382 3-10, Paris | JJ 123, no. 235, f. 119 |
| Jean Roillard | tisserand | 1380, Sens | JJ 123, no. 256, f. 127 v |
| Jehan le Sucillié | varlet ou enseigneur | 1383 10, Paris | JJ 123, no. 285, f. 145 |
| Nicaise Preudhomme | cervoisier | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 124, no. 3, f. 7 |

| Name | Profession | Place | Sources |
|---|-----------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Pierre Blondel | | 1382 10, Paris | JJ 124, no. 8, f. 9 |
| Etienne Thorel | boucher | 1382, Orléans | JJ 124, no. 19, f. 15 |
| Jehan du Chellier | varlet | 1383 4, Caen | JJ 124, no. 59, f. 38 v |
| Willemot Blanchart dit Labretes | | 1382, Caen | JJ 124, no. 70, f. 43 |
| Richard Langlois | chaudronnier | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 124, no. 82, f. 49 v |
| Jehan Yvroin | | 1382, Paris | JJ 124, no. 107, f. 62 |
| Regnier de Meaulx | clerc non mariez | 1382 3, Senlis | JJ 124, no. 122, f. 69 |
| Perrin de Montivilliers dit Maillard | | 1382, Paris | JJ 124, no. 130, f. 77 v |
| Jehannin de Houdant | | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 124, no. 134, f. 79 v |
| Thomas le Barillier dit Dangiers | tondeur de draps, sergent du guet | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 124, no. 137, f. 80 v |
| Jehan Roche | boucher | 1382, Sens | JJ 124, no. 180, f. 101 v |
| Pierret Coch | drapier | 1382, Sens | JJ 124, no. 205, f. 116 |
| Jehan Britaut | | 1382, Beauvais | JJ 124, no. 246, f. 154 |
| Habitants (Laon) | | 1380 12, Laon | JJ 124, no. 295, f. 168 v |
| Jehannin le Feure | | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 124, no. 332, f. 188 v |
| Pierre Caquo | | 1382, Orléans | JJ 124, no. 361, f. 204 v |
| Jehan Fernicle | | 1382 10, Paris | JJ 125, no. 19, f. 12 v |
| Abraham de Treno | | 1380 11, Compiègne | JJ 125, no. 59, f. 33 v |
| Pierre de la Mote | pâtissier | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 125, no. 86, f. 51 v |
| Guillaume Lemède | | 1382, Orléans | JJ 125, no. 200, f. 114 |
| Guiot Chrestian de Macy | | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 125, no. 207, f. 119 |
| Jacquet Talelot | | 1382, Caen | JJ 125, no. 244, f. 137 v |
| Philippot et Jaquet de la Porte, Vincenot Pepin, Jaquet Lambert, Pierre Germain | escuiers et gens notables | 1380 11, Chartres | JJ 126, no. 49, f. 32 |
| Colin Adam | coutelier | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 126, no. 132, f. 87 |
| Jehan Goude | sergent | 1382, Paris | JJ 127, no. 65, f. 42 |
| Jehan d'Estuelles, Jehan Bretrix | | 1380 11, Montereau | JJ 127, no. 105, f. 66 |
| Raoul Claire dit Clincham | coutelier | 1382, Caen | JJ 128, no. 45, f. 25 |
| Michel Rassigot | valet de triperie | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 128, no. 152, f. 86 v |
| Guiot Manglout | pelletier | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 128, no. 235, f. 135 |
| Guillaume Cabot | cordonnier | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 128, no. 256, f. 146 |
| Jehan Faussart | Mayeur de bannieres | 1382 3-4, Amiens | JJ 128, no. 287, f. 162 v |
| Pierre de Mennecourt | | 1382, Paris | JJ 129, no. 251, f. 150 |
| Jean de Mons | cellier | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 131, no. 2, f. 2 |

| Name | Profession | Place | Sources |
|---|---------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| Jean le Conte dit de Prael | vendeur de vinaigre | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 131, no. 48, f. 27 v |
| Colin Piques | | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 131, no. 122, f. 75 |
| Jean Fromage | changeur | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 131, no. 133, f. 81 |
| Colas Pavillon | couturier | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 132, no. 67, f. 38 v |
| Maciot Testart | aumussier | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 132, no. 82, f. 45 v |
| Jehan Neque | homme de mestier | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 133, no. 189, f. 108 v |
| Laurens de la Grève | | 1382 10, Paris | JJ 135, no. 8, f. 5 |
| Guiot de Troies | | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 135, no. 152, f. 86 v |
| Philippot du Val | chandelier en suif | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 135, no. 226, f. 123 |
| Jaquot de Bauville | aumussier | 1380-82, Paris | JJ 135, no. 291, f. 156 |
| Perrin Hure | graveur de sceaux | 1382 3-10, Paris | JJ 136, no. 3, f. 1 v |
| Jacquet de Montpele | | 1382 10, Paris | JJ 136, no. 35, f. 18 |
| Gassot Mauparlier | tondeur de draps | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 136, no. 192, f. 103 v |
| Jacot Maucorps | ménéstrel | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 136, no. 220, f. 122 |
| Philippe Mélite | valet pelletier | 1380-83, Paris | JJ 142, no. 64, f. 38 |
| Dimanche Cruchet | formier | 1382 10, Paris | JJ 146, no. 71, f. 31 v |
| Philippotte Mahaudine | | 1380 11, Paris | JJ 147, no. 236, f. 108 |
| Remondin le Fessu | varlet brodeur | 1382 3, Paris | JJ 148, no. 70, f. 42 |
| Habitants (Sens) | | 1381 1, Sens | X 1a 1471, f. 443 |
| Jehan Soulas | | 1382, Paris | X 1a 1472, f. 44 v |
| Etienne Bièvre dit le Hong | tondeur de draps | 1382 3, Paris | X 2a 10, f. 154 v |
| Jehan d'Epinay, Jehan le Boucher, Colin le Boucher, Jehan Bouquet, Robert du Moulin, Robert Loret, Jehan du Fay | | 1382, Rouen | Ms. fr. 26018, no. 159 |
| Robert Maire | | 1382 8, Rouen | Ms. fr. 26019, no. 409 |
| Tisserands et demourans (Vernay) | | 1382, Vernay | Ms. fr. 26019, no. 410 |

**Table 3 Table 1 The Participants in the Revolt of Cabochien in 1413
(base on the letters of remission and the chronicles)**

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|--|
| 1) "Messire..." (9) |
| Léon(Elyon) de Jacquerville (Knight). Robert(Robinet) de Mailly (Knight). Charles de Raucourt, dit de Lens (Knight). Philippe de Poitiers (Knight). Guischard Daulphin (Seigneur of Rambures). De la Vieffville. Charles de Savoisy (Knight). Jean de Courcelles (Seigneur). Anthoine de Craon (Seigneur) |
| 2) "Maistre..." (28) |
| Jean de Troyes (mire juré, échevin). Henri de Troyes (Son of J. de Troyes). Eustache de Laistre (Chambre des Comptes). Guillaume Barraut (Docteur). Pierre Cauchon (Bishop). Jean Rapiout (Advocat). Jean Tillart (Procureur). Félix du Bois, dit Elie. Laurens Callot. Thomas le Sueur (Prévôt). Jacques le Sueur. Margeurite la Boitelle. Denys de Bausmes. Toussaint Bayart. Pierre Berbe. Jean Bon. Jehan Bout. Jacques Cadot. Baudet des Bordes. Marguerite (Wife of Me. Guillaume des Bordes). Nicolas du Quesnoy. Dominique François. Pierre Lombart. Pierre Miote. Jehan Nepveu. Nicolas de St-Ilier(Hilaire). Hugues de Verdun. Guillaume Vignier. |
| 3) Merchant, Craftsman, etc. (40) |
| Thomas Legois (boucher). Jehan Legois (boucher). Guillaume Legois (boucher). Garnot(Garnier) de St-Yon (boucher). Jehan de St-Yon (boucher). Denisot de St-Yon (boucher). Simon le Coustellier dit Caboche (escorcheur). Denisot de Chaumont (escorcheur). Jehan de Rouen (frippier). Jehan Malaert(Maillart) (frippier). André Roussel (bourgeois). Jean Maille (Orfèvre). Jehan Guérin (Changeur). Philippot Orlart (Changeur). Colin Genre (Tavernier). Jehan le Fevre (rotisseur). Jean Boiève (Poissonnier). Thomas Garnier (Poissonnier). Robin Gouppil (pasticier). Simonnet Baivart (pasticier). François l'Orfevre (chaussetier). Jehan Bourdon du Rousselet (battelier). Jehan le Gras (costurier). Jaquet du Bois (cirier). un Regnault (estuveur). un Errault (escolier). Péruchon, Honnotin de Monceaux, Guillebin (varlès). Robin, Jaquet, Denisot (valez). Les Cailles. Jehan Front de Buef (sergent à verge). Jehanin (clerc). Eustache. Perrin (varlet). Laurencin (serviteur). Thibault (serviteur) |
| 4) Unidentified (60) |
| Guillaume Baillet, Jehan de Balery, Simon Bausart, Michiel Berangier, Jehan Bertran, Mahiet Boileau, Guillaume Bourdin, Jehan Boyvin, Jehan de Bretueil, Jehan Chausse, Jacques de Choisy, Martin de Coulommiers, Jaquet de Croquelet, Jehan du Bois au Ren, Jehan du Boisauron, David du Conseil, Jehan Errault, Antoine de Forest dit des Joyaulx, Guillaume Gente, Fréminot de Gourguichon, Guillaume Goute, Cointinet du Harloy, Guillaume Hurtevant, Philippe Jossequin, Jacques Lamban, Colin de la Vallée, Vincent le Barruyer, |

Jehan le Clerc dit Petit Prevost, Jehan le Coq, Jehan le Fort, Jaquet le Maçon, Denisot le Maire, Colin le Mauvais, Guillemin le Provendier, Jehan Lignage, Jehan de Lombert dit Hanoz, Raoulin de Macy, Jehan Mainfroy, Thierry Mainfroy, Jehan de Malatrait, Jehan de Mante, Guillaume Martin, Estienne Moreau, Jehan Moustre dit Chéron, Martin de Neuville, Jehan Parent, Jehan Paste, Jehan Paumier, Jehan Petit, Jehan de Poligny dit Chappelain(ou dit Chastelain), Ligier Polin, Huguet Potier, Raoulin Puchin, Jehan Pymorin, Thomas Quillet, Simmonet Robillart, Jacques de Rouen, Jacques de St-Laurent, Jacques de Sarcy, Jehan de Tours.