

Violence of the Anti-Islamic Discourse: Analysis of Pope Urban II and His Speech at the Council of Clermont

Ziya Polat*

Abstract

The impact of an impassioned speech on an audience is undeniable. Throughout history, influential speeches have played a significant role in major turning points and new beginnings. The Crusades, within the context of the ‘power of speech’, have been a crucial period in history. This article focuses on Pope Urban II, the driving force behind the Crusades, and his speech at the Council of Clermont. His life, path to the papacy, and activities thereafter have been primarily examined to understand the background of the Crusades. The article then explores topics including the oppression of Eastern Christians, the vandalism of religious sites, the seizure of Bayt al-Maqdis, and the mistreatment of pilgrims, all of which were cited in the Pope’s speech as justifications for the Crusades. These were discussed and analysed through the data recorded in the chronicles of the period as the text of the speech. The analysis has focused on the violent elements in the anti-Islamic discourse, which are seen as the main problem. Additionally, the article discusses the Pope’s use of incitement in his speech to rally support for the Crusades. It shows how he persuaded Catholic societies to join the expedition, ultimately leading to the Crusades. The article concludes that the armies of the First Crusade, which set out for the East due to the Pope’s intense efforts, did not hesitate to apply violence against Muslims based on the Pope’s discourse in the places they occupied.

Keywords: Urban II, Council of Clermont, discourse, violence, Crusades, Bayt al-Maqdis

Introduction

Clergy and religious institutions played a decisive role in directing masses due to the central role of religion in shaping society in the medieval era. This influence was particularly pronounced in the Eastern Catholic community compared to other nations. The Church’s monopoly on literacy education meant that the clergy and related institutions were easily influential in shaping and directing society.¹ In a society where even the nobles were rarely literate, a church member skilled in oratory and rhetoric could sway the masses as desired. In the context of the Crusades, Pierre l’Hermite, a clergyman whose appearance was subject to speculation, drew many people with his oratory and discourse. As the spiritual leader of the Catholic world, it was only natural that Pope Urban II’s oratory would ignite and mobilise societies with its intense power.

Discourse is expressing a feeling or a thought, which is logically consistent within itself in a written or oral way.² It has a wide application field, including language structure, usage pattern, usage level, and wording.³ In this article, the evaluation will be based on the discourse output in the context of the sermon. The sermon can be described as an enthusiastic declaration to instil specific thoughts and feelings into the masses, a tribute to the power of words.⁴ Since it was transcribed later, the declamation of Pope Urban II at Clermont can be considered a sermon. The central concept of this article’s analysis is the concept of ‘*Violence of Discourse*’, which is examined through the lens of these two aforementioned terms. This notion operates on dual planes: primarily, it manifests in the deployment of rhetorically provocative expressions designed to galvanise the masses.

* Ziya Polat (PhD), Associate Professor, Department of History, Mardin Artuklu University, Mardin, Türkiye. Email: ziyapolat@artuklu.edu.tr

¹ Marc Bloch (1993), *Feudal Society: The Growth of Ties of Dependence*, trans. L. A. Manyon, Vol. 1. London-New York: Routledge, p. 79; Carolina Belli (2015), “Ortaçağda Belgeler,” *Ortaçağ Barbarlar-Hristiyanlar-Müslümanlar*, ed. Umberto Eco, trans. Leyla Tonguç Basmacı, İstanbul: Alfa Tarih, p. 332.

² Ahmet Cevzici (2017), *Büyük Felsefe Sözlüğü*, İstanbul: Say Yayınları, p. 1746; Ömer Demir ve Mustafa Acar (2020), *Sosyal Bilimler Sözlüğü*, Konya: Literatür Yayınları, p. 274.

³ Gavin Kendall and Gary Wickham (2016), *Foucault’nun Yöntemlerini Kullanmak*, trans. Umut Yener Kara and Turgay Sivrikaya, İstanbul: İslık Yayınları, p. 86.

⁴ Komisyon (2011), *Türkçe Sözlük*, Ankara: TDK, p. 2153.

Such linguistic strategies are employed to elicit specific emotional responses, thereby steering the audience towards a predetermined ideological stance through the deliberate use of inflammatory discourse. The primary objective of this rhetorical strategy was to engender active participation among Catholic Christians in the Crusades. Furthermore, the second dimension of discursive violence is exemplified through the pervasive use of incendiary examples throughout the sermon, coupled with inflammatory rhetoric designed to galvanise the masses towards making Muslims and Islam pay the price. Consequently, this analysis will elucidate the Pope's sermon as a paradigmatic instance of violent discourse, demonstrating how language can be weaponised to incite ideological and physical aggression.

Five significant chronicles record Pope Urban II's sermon at the Council of Clermont in general terms.⁵ The paper aims to discuss which violent elements the discourse contains and which of the reasons it is based on. In this framework, the Pope's oratory will be analysed in the context of the elements it contains so that the elements of violence will be carried to a visible area. In short, the article discusses the violence in the Pope's discourse through textual criticism through the questions. Also, the outputs of the violence sourced from discourse at the Council of Clermont in the First Crusades will be considered. The effect of this violent discourse on the Crusades will be answered. Hence, how Pope Urban II's speech, which intensely contains violence, supported the massacres mentally and spiritually in the First Crusades will be understood. Because discourses are productive, whatever they are designed for, they repeat themselves and create a metastasis. Therefore, it will show how the massacres and perpetration of violence in the First Crusades were affected by the Pope's speech at the Council of Clermont.

Extensive literary works have been produced within the Eastern and Muslim regions in the sphere of Crusades studies. Especially in Eastern sources, there are many papers about Pope Urban II's speech at the Council of Clermont. Some of them are mentioned in this paper, so there is no need to touch upon them. However, within these studies, no direct research has been found on how the Pope, with this discourse, has inflicted violence against Islam and Muslims or how it has led to this violence.⁶

Existing scholarship on the Crusades has previously addressed Pope Urban II and his speech, although superficially. Nonetheless, Pope Urban II emerges as a figure of paramount importance in both the theoretical conceptualisation and practical implementation of the Crusades. As the progenitor of the Crusades, Urban II's pivotal role stems from his scholarly endeavours and conciliar leadership. His legacy is inextricably linked to his seminal sermon delivered at the Council of Clermont, which serves as the locus of his historical significance.

This study offers a comprehensive analysis of all available texts of his transcribed speech, aiming to make a novel contribution to Crusade studies and historiography. By scrutinising Urban's discourse, which profoundly shaped the Crusades, this article elucidates the underpinnings of violence against Islam and Muslims that was woven into the fabric of the Crusader mentality. Furthermore, it constructs a framework for understanding how this discursively constructed violence was subsequently materialised in historical events.

Pope Urban II and the Background of the Crusades

The real name of the reformist, theorist, and activist Pope Urban II was Eudes de Châtillon, and his Christian name was Odo.⁷ He hailed from France, specifically from Châtillon-sur-Marne, near Saisson, as many understood from his name. He is thought to have been born around the year 1035 as the son of

⁵ Baldric of Bourgueil (2020), *History of the Jerusalemites: A Translation of the Historia Ierosolimitana*, trans. Susan B. Edgington, Crusading in Context, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press; Fulcher of Chartres (1969), *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127*, trans. F.R. Ryan, The University of Tennessee Press; Robertus Monachus (2016), *Robert the Monk's History of The First Crusade: Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Carol Sweetenham, London and New York: Routledge; Guibert de Nogent (1997), *The Deeds of God Through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert de Nogent's Gesta Dei Per Francos*, trans. Robert Levine, Suffolk, Rochester: The Boydell Press; Bernold of St Blaisen (2008), "Chronicle," in *Eleventh-Century Germany: The Swabian Chronicles*, trans. I. S. Robinson, Manchester Medieval Sources, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, pp. 245-337. Maher Y. Abu-Munshar (2018), "The Fate of Jerusalemites at the Hands of the First Crusade," *Journal al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 13, No. 1, p. 27.

⁶ For more on the continuation of the crusading legacy and campaigns see, Khalid El-Awaisi (2021), "The Continuation of the Colonialist Project from the Crusades to Zionism." *SDE Akademi Dergisi*, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 178-228.

⁷ Nogent, *The Deeds of God Through the Franks*, p. 40; James A. Brundage (2006), "Urban II, Pope," *Key Figures in Medieval Europe An Encyclopedia*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson, New York London: Routledge, p. 641.

a noble family whose members were members of the Champagne aristocracy.⁸ During the early stages of his education, he became associated with Saint Bruno, the founder of the Carthusian sect.⁹ An influence that persisted throughout his life.¹⁰

Odo ascended swiftly within the order, and despite his reputation among the secular and noble clergy, he was initiated into the Cluny order in 1060. At first, served as a professor under St Hugh,¹¹ garnering attention and eventually becoming the new abbot of the Cluny order in 1070. Subsequently, Pope Gregory VII appointed Odo as a senior consultant and commissioned him to the papacy. After a while there, he was elevated to the position of cardinal bishop of Ostia.¹² Odo admired Gregory VII and served him with unwavering devotion. Between 1082 and 1085, he acted as the Pope's representative in Germany and France, risking his life in opposition to the German Emperor Henry IV (1084-1105) on behalf of the papacy.

For instance, in 1083, while attempting to return to Rome, he was imprisoned by the German Emperor but was released shortly thereafter.¹³ While waiting to be elected instead of the deceased Gregory VII on 25 March 1085, Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino was chosen as Pope Victor III, necessitating Odo to wait until 1088. Upon the death of Pope Victor III on 16 September 1087, and five months after that, Eudes de Châtillon was selected as Pope in Terracina south of Rome on 12 March 1088 assuming the name Pope Urban II.¹⁴ Throughout his papacy, Urban II maintained his connection with the Cluny movement, which profoundly influenced and shaped his life and ideas, and upheld the legacy of Pope Gregory VII.¹⁵

Upon the election of Urban II as Pope, the Papacy found itself in a state of great distress. Despite ongoing reform movements within the Church, the anticipated unity remained elusive. The clergy persisted in living as the laity did, bearing arms like warriors, engaging in marriage, and trading in sacred elements (such as the sale of missions and churches).¹⁶ The primary cause of this discord was the conflict between the papacy and the Holy Roman-German Empire over the appointment of clergymen and the selection of the Pope.¹⁷

A generalisation of that conflict is more meaningful due to the feudal mentality's desire to rule churches as they wish. These were leading problems that spread rapidly.¹⁸ Pope Gregory VII had struggled with these challenges but was ultimately unsuccessful, and the problems persisted under Urban II.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the Church remained a spiritual authority, economically robust, and held a monopoly on literacy.²⁰ This made the Church indispensable to those in power, not only in religious matters but also in all social contexts, necessitating religious authority for governance. Consequently, the struggle between these two powers intensified.

⁸ Uta Renate Blumenthal (2006), "Urban II (d. 1099)," *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Alan V. Murray, California-Colorado-England: ABC-CLIO, Vol. 4, p. 1214; R. Somerville (2003), "Urban II, Pope, BL.," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Detroit, Washington, D.C.: Thomson/Gale; Catholic University of America, Vol. 14. p. 335.

⁹ "The sect founded by Saint Bruno of Cologne in 1084 in Grande Chartreuse in the Grenbolé region of France. The Chartreux order combines asceticism with community life within the monastery. Monks spend time praying, reading, eating and sleeping in their individual cells. However, they perform morning, evening and night rituals together. In this sect, which included strict contemplation, the basic principles were that the monks who entered the sect should engage in mental prayer and thought for hours in their own cells and prefer silence." Şinasi Gündüz (1998), *Din ve İnanç Sözlüğü*, Ankara: Vadi Yayınları, p. 82.

¹⁰ Brundage, "Urban II, Pope," p. 641.

¹¹ R. Urban Butler (1913), "Urban II," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Vol. 15. p. 210; Murat Serdar (2018), "Papa II. Urban'ın Papalığı Esnasındaki Siyasî ve Dinî Meseleler Karşısındaki Tutumu," *Orta Çağ'da Din ve Devlet Doğu-Batı Ekseninde*, ed. Ayşe Atıcı Arayancan, İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, p. 203.

¹² Nogent, *Franks*, p. 40; Horace Kinder Mann (1910), *The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages: 1073-1099*, Vol. 7, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., p. 254; Butler, "Urban II," p. 210.

¹³ Butler, "Urban II," p. 210.

¹⁴ *The Lives of the Popes: 1046-1431* (1852), c. ½, London: The Religious Tract Society, p. 75; Bartolomeo Platina (1900), *The Lives of the Popes: From the Accession of Gregory VII to the Death of Paul II*, trans. Paul Rychcaut, Vol. 2, London: Griffith, Farran, Okenden & Welsh, p. 13; Mann, *The Lives of the Popes*, Vol. 7: p. 257; Butler, "Urban II," p. 210; Somerville, "Urban II," p. 335; Blumenthal, "Urban II (d. 1099)," p. 1214; Brundage, "Urban II, Pope," p. 641; John W. O'Malley (2010), *A History of the Popes: From Peter to the Present*, Lanham Boulder New York Toronto Plymouth, UK: Sheed & Ward, p. 110.

¹⁵ Paul E. Chevedden (2016), "Pope Urban II and the Ideology of the Crusades," in *The Crusader World*, ed. Adrian Boas, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 17, 19.

¹⁶ Server Tanilli (2005), *Yüzyılların Gerçeği ve Mirası Ortaçağ: Feodal Dünya*, Vol. 2, İstanbul: Adam Yayıncılık, p. 263.

¹⁷ Sayime Durmaz (2011), "Yüksek Ortaçağ'da Papa-İmparator Çatışması: Kılıç ile Asâ'nın Savaşı," *Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 96.

¹⁸ Bloch, *Feodal Toplum*, pp. 547-55.

¹⁹ Brundage, "Urban II, Pope," p. 641.

²⁰ Henri Pirenne (1937), *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*, trans. I. E. Clegg, New York: Harcourt, pp. 12-13.

Urban II was elected and declared Pope with the unanimous consent of all cardinals. Despite the hostile circumstances, with the support of German Emperor Henry IV, Guiberto di Ravenna, known as Clement III, established himself and prevailed in Rome as an anti-Pope.²¹ He succeeded in reversing the situation, even though it seemed hostile for Urban II.

The new Pope continued his reform activities, holding frequent meetings with clergymen and various societal groups, employing persuasive methods, although he ruled in Rome, the heart of the Catholic world. He used a method of persuasion in those meetings and resolved the mentioned problems around the church to a great extent and succeeded in entering Rome in 1093. Anti-Pope Clement III retreated to northern Italy, gradually losing his influence.²² Urban II's success highlighted the readiness to implement the century long-standing Cluny sect's vision of taking the Holy Land, a notion that had been negatively impacted by the Great Schism (the split of the Church) of 1054. Nevertheless, Urban II believed the time had come to mobilise the Papacy, the spiritual leader of the Catholic world, to pursue the dream of a "Holy Land," thereby asserting its leadership over all Christians.²³

Urban II's most notable achievement was undoubtedly initiating the First Crusades to "rescue" the Holy Land,²⁴ a feat that none of his predecessors, including Gregory VII, had managed to realise despite their intentions. The reforms and regulations enacted during his papacy were aimed at paving the way for expeditions towards the East. The Crusades in Andalusia yielded some successes, which in turn motivated Christians to embark on expeditions towards the East.²⁵ Additionally, the social work and the organisation of pilgrimage by the Cluny movement played a significant role.²⁶

At that time, the Catholic world was in considerable political, economic, and social turmoil. The papacy was able to redirect the anger from the West towards the East, incentivising participation by promising property and land.²⁷ The Pope's pretext was ready: Eastern Christians were being persecuted by Muslims, and the Eastern Roman Empire was buckling under the pressure of the Seljuks, seeking assistance from the West.²⁸ Furthermore, the death of the Great Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah in 1092 led to dynastic strife, weakening the Seljuk state's power and diverting attention from Bayt al-Maqdis.²⁹ Urban II believed that if he could mobilise society, he would achieve his goal, and no force would be able to stop their army.

Preparations before Clermont

Upon consolidating his authority and position in Rome, Pope Urban II embarked on the Church's most ambitious endeavour. Initially, he undertook several preparatory measures. Prior to proclaiming the Crusade, he sought to create favourable conditions and circumstances. He reached out to the Orthodox Church and the Eastern Roman Empire to mend the rift in the relations caused by the Great Schism of 1054. Subsequently, in September 1089, he convened a council in Melfi. Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) dispatched a representative, demonstrating goodwill. To fortify this relationship, the Pope lifted the excommunication of the Emperor.³⁰ His objective was to dissuade and prevent Alexios from

²¹ Umberto Longo (2012), "A Saint of Damned Memory. Clement III, (Anti)Pope," *Reti Medievali Rivista*, Vol. 13, No. 1, p. 137.

²² Blumenthal, "Urban II (d. 1099)," p. 1215; Brundage, "Urban II, Pope," p. 641.

²³ Işın Demirkent (2004), *Haçlı Seferleri*, İstanbul: Dünya Aktüel, pp. 1-2.

²⁴ Maher Y. Abu-Munshar (2018), "The Fate of Jerusalem at the Hands of the First Crusade," *Journal al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 13, no. 1, p. 27; Khalid El-Awaisi (2021), "The Continuation of the Colonialist Project from the Crusades to Zionism," *SDE Akademi Dergisi*, Vol. 1(3), p.181.

²⁵ Jacques Le Goff (1992), *Medieval Civilization*, trans. Julia Barrow, UK-USA: Blackwell, p. 65; Lütfi Şeyban (2016), *Reconquista: Endülüste Müslüman Hristiyan İlişkileri*, İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2016, p. 139.

²⁶ Steven Runciman (1995), *A History of the Crusades: The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 45-46; Steven Runciman (1969), "The Pilgrimages to Palestine Before 1095," *A History of the Crusades: The First Hundred Years*, Vol. 1, ed. Marshall W. Baldwin, Madison-Milwaukee-London: The University of Wisconsin Press, p.73-74.

²⁷ Demirkent, *Haçlı Seferleri*, p. 5-6; Jacques Le Goff (2005), *The Birth of Europe*, trans. Janet Lloyd, USA- UK-Australia: Blackwell Publishing, p. 94.

²⁸ Bar Hebraeus (1976), *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l-Faraj 1225-1286*, trans. Ernest A. Wallis Budge, Vol. 1, Amsterdam: Apa-Philo Press, p. 234; Nogent, *Franks*, p. 36; Michael the Great, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great Books XV-XXI From the Year 1050 to 1195 AD* (2019), ed. and trans. Amir Harrak, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, p. 60; Alexander A. Vasiliev (2016), *Bizans İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, trans. Tevabil Alkaç, İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları, 2016, pp. 411-12, 451-53.

²⁹ Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 1, p. 78; Osman Turan (2003), *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslam Medeniyeti*, İstanbul: Ötügen, pp. 221, 225.

³⁰ Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 1, p. 102; John Julius Norwich (2013), *Bizans Gerileme ve Çöküş Dönemi (MS 1082-1453)*, trans. Selen Hırçın Riegel, Vol. 3, İstanbul: Kabcacı Yayınevi, p. 54; Işın Demirkent (1994), "Haçlı Seferleri Düşüncesinin Doğuşu ve Hedefleri," *Turkish Journal of History*, No. 35, pp. 68-69; Sevtap Gölgesiz Karaca (2012), "I. Haçlı Seferi (1096) Öncesinde Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun Siyasî Durumuna Bakış," *Trakya Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* Vol. 2, No. 04, p. 148.

aligning with Henry IV (1150-1106?) and Antipope Clement III (1187-1191).³¹ Consequently, bilateral relations began to improve. Over time, the Pope's initiatives bore fruit. However, after securing the Eastern Rome on his side, he grappled with problems within the empire for a while.³² Meanwhile, additional councils were convened in Benevento in 1091 and Troia in 1093. His triumph over the German Emperor Henry IV was concluded in 1093 when Pope Urban II entered Rome and deposed Antipope Clement III, who was appointed by the emperor. Subsequently, he advanced his plans for the Crusades. In this context, he convened a council from 1-7 March 1095 in Piacenza, northern Italy. Although there was no explicit call for the Crusades, the topic emerged prominently due to the Eastern Roman Emperor Alexios' request for mercenaries by sending a delegation.³³

The Pope emphasised the paramount importance of protecting the Church from insurmountable threats, and he secured an oath from the attendees to assist Eastern Christians.³⁴ The assembly of bishops and secular authorities at the council, marked by substantial participation, was regarded as a testament to the Church's unity. Consequently, it was deemed that an expedition towards the east was eased.³⁵

After staying in Piacenza for three weeks, Urban II embarked on a journey to Cremona, Milano, and Asti in Italy, as well as Le-Puy and Saint-Gilles in France. His objective was to implement the decisions of the councils and garner support, driven by his concern for the plight of the Eastern Church.³⁶ It can be asserted that his aim during these travels was to lay the groundwork for the upcoming Crusades. His outlook must have been optimistic, as evidenced by his summoning of a council at Clermont on 18 November while he was at St. Mary Church in Le-Puy in mid-August.³⁷ The Council of Clermont is widely regarded as the breaking point for the Crusades; Urban II had been meticulously preparing for this call for over a year. He timed his final move to ensure his speech would mobilise the masses effectively. Choosing Clermont was a strategic decision, as France was the heart of Catholicism and the Cluny movement, thereby expecting a more compelling call for the Crusades.

Council of Clermont and the Violence of Discourse

Had the First Crusade not been successful, historical accounts would likely have regarded the Council of Clermont as a routine assembly or an ordinary meeting. However, as the chronicles indicate, Pope Urban II's speech was documented later, and it can be inferred that the texts, even if only partially, were influenced by its success.³⁸ Sources have already clarified that they do not recount his speech word for word but rather convey its essence and meaning.³⁹ Therefore, his speech should be taken with a grain of salt. Nonetheless, considering the historical context, Urban II's speech encapsulated the prevailing mindset of that period. It is more accurate to understand his motivation through the interplay of discourse and contemporary mentality, as the chronicles of the time reflected this same perspective in their accounts of his speech and the ensuing events.

Upon summoning the Council of Clermont from Le-Puy, the Pope dispatched letters to bishops from specific regions, urging their attendance.⁴⁰ As a Frank who had not travelled to France for long, the Pope felt a sense of gratification.⁴¹ He proceeded to Clermont without delay to convene the council as planned. The Council officially commenced on 18 November 1095, with the participation of those from

³¹ John France (2005), *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000-1714*, London and New York: Taylor & Francis, p. 38; Peter Frankopan (2012), *The First Crusade: The Call from the East*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p. 22; Serpil Çilgım (2019), "II. Urban'ın I. Haçlı Seferi Propagandası," Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Tekirdağ, Tekirdağ Namık Kemal Üniversitesi-Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, p. 59.

³² Somerville, "Urban II," p. 335.

³³ Michael Angold (1997), *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204: A Political History*, London and New York: Longman, p. 158; Frankopan, *The First Crusade*, p. 25; F. Donald Logan (2005), *A History of the Church in the Middle Ages*, London and New York: Routledge, p. 122; Matti Moosa (2008), *The Crusades: Conflict Between Christendom and Islam*, New Jersey, USA: Gorgias Press, p. 102.

³⁴ St Blaisen, "Chronicle," p. 324; Carl Erdmann (1977), *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. Marshall W Baldwin and Walter Goffart, Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 325; Frankopan, *The First Crusade*, p. 100; Emrullah Kaleli (2016), "Haçlı Seferleri ve İslam Dünyası," *Orta Çağ Tarihi*, ed. S. Hilmi Özkan, İstanbul: İdeal, p. 562.

³⁵ Jonathan Riley-Smith (2003), *First Crusade and Idea of Crusading*, London, New York: Continuum, p. 15; St Blaisen, "Chronicle," p. 325.

³⁶ St Blaisen, "Chronicle," pp. 326-27; Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, pp. 328; Frankopan, *The First Crusade*, p. 7; Çilgım, "II. Urban'ın I. Haçlı Seferi Propagandası," p. 62.

³⁷ St Blaisen, "Chronicle," pp. 327.

³⁸ Frederic Duncaif (1969), "The Councils of Piacenza and Clermont," *A History of the Crusades: The First Hundred Years*, ed. Marshall W. Baldwin, Vol. 1, Madison-Milwaukee and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, p. 221.

³⁹ Nogent, *Franks*, p. 42.

⁴⁰ St Blaisen, "Chronicle," p. 327.

⁴¹ Nogent, *Franks*, 41.

Rome. However, the assembly predominantly comprised bishops, cardinals, abbots, and scholars from France and Germany, totalling 400 attendees.⁴² Given the prior announcement and the anticipated call for a Crusade, the council attracted a larger audience than previous assemblies, reaffirming the resolutions of earlier councils.⁴³

Invention of Discourse through Eastern Christians

Upon the conclusion of the Council's routine proceedings, a suitable venue was arranged for Pope Urban II to address a large audience.⁴⁴ The Pontiff likely believed that addressing a more broad audience would amplify the impact of his speech. Consequently, in addition to the council members, the general public was also invited, significantly expanding the gathering. Historical accounts mention the presence of numerous powerful and noble individuals.⁴⁵

Following these preparations, Pope Urban II delivered a remarkable and impassioned speech, filled with agitation and sorrow, before the assembled crowd. The primary focus of his address was the tyranny inflicted upon his Christian brethren in the East, particularly in Jerusalem. He conveyed that distressing news was emanating from the Holy Land and Constantinople, which weighed heavily on their minds.⁴⁶ According to his account, Eastern Christians were enduring numerous calamities and tribulations, leading to profound despair. Christians, the original owners of the land, had their lands invaded, were expelled from their homes by foreign rulers, subjected to beatings, forced into begging, lived as strangers in their ancestral homes, enslaved, and exiled.⁴⁷ The Pope increased the level of agitation with his vivid descriptions; "*When they feel like inflicting an excruciating death on some, they pierce their navels, pull out the end of their intestines, tie them to a pole and whip them around it until all their bowels pulled out, they fall lifeless to the ground. They shoot arrows at others tied to stakes; others again attack having stretched out their necks, unsheathing their swords to see if they can manage to hack off their heads with one blow.*"⁴⁸ These words of Urban II served as a powerful motivation for seeking vengeance on behalf of their fellow Christians. The claimed atrocities described in his speech were indeed perpetrated during the Crusades against Muslims. Particularly, the practice of disembowelling the bodies of slain Muslims to search for gold and other valuables became common practice when occupying Jerusalem.⁴⁹ At this juncture in his speech, the Pope managed to incite the crowd to a boiling point by provocatively stating that he refrained from detailing the atrocities committed against Christian women.⁵⁰

Desecration of Christian Holy Sites in Jerusalem

The Pope continued to intensify his speech, turning his focus to the sacred shrines. He asserted that the holy city of Jerusalem and the shrines of the brethren in the East were in grave danger, being desecrated under the feet of pagans; "*Everywhere in those cities, there is grief, everywhere wretchedness, everywhere groaning. I speak to you with sighs; the churches in which formerly divine services were celebrated are now set up as stables for their animals.*"⁵¹ The Pope strategically used churches as emotional pressure points, accusing Muslims of persecuting Christians, vandalising churches, and converting them into stables.⁵²

In this context, he claimed that Muslims had repurposed functional or preserved place of worship for their superstitions (rituals), thereby desecrating the temples of God. Thus, the temples of God were trampled under the feet of the Muslims and defiled.⁵³ As his speech progressed, the level of anguish

⁴² Fulcher gives very clear information about the number of clergy participating in the council by saying, "This council was attended by a total of 310 church members, including bishops and abbots carrying their staffs." Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, p. 62.

⁴³ Nogent, *Franks*, pp. 41-42; Monachus, *Historia*, p. 79; St Blaisen, "Chronicle," p. 328.

⁴⁴ Monachus, *Historia*, p. 79; Norwich, *Bizans*, 3, p. 56.

⁴⁵ Bourgueil, *History*, p. 45; Nogent, *Franks*, pp. 41-42.

⁴⁶ Monachus, *Historia*, p. 79.

⁴⁷ Bourgueil, *History*, p. 45; Monachus, *Historia*, pp. 79.

⁴⁸ Monachus, *Historia*, p. 80.

⁴⁹ Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, p. 122.

⁵⁰ The details that the Pope does not mention here are included in a rather exaggerated way in the letter of the Eastern Roman Emperor Alexios: Nogent, *Franks*, p. 37.

⁵¹ Bourgueil, *History*, p. 45.

⁵² Nogent, *Franks*, p. 36.

⁵³ Bourgueil, *History*, pp. 45-46.

heightened: “They throw down the altars after soiling them with their filth, circumcise Christians, and pour the resulting blood either on the altars or into the baptismal vessels.”⁵⁴ Contrary to these claims, Muslims did not practice circumcision upon Christians in Bayt al-Maqdis; rather, Christians shed the blood of tens of thousands of Muslims by mutilating their bodies in al-Aqsa Mosque.⁵⁵ Reflecting the Pope’s words, some Muslim places of worship were indeed turned into stables and for other purposes following the Crusaders’ settlement in Bayt al-Maqdis and al-Aqsa.⁵⁶

After stirring the emotions of the crowd, the Pope continued his speech by focusing on Jerusalem. He emphasised that Jerusalem is the centre of the world and likened it to heaven due to its fertile soil, describing the Holy Land as abundant with rivers flowing with milk and honey.⁵⁷ Furthermore, he proclaimed that Jerusalem is where the God of glory appeared, nourished, raised and walked. Urban II elaborated, stating, “...this is the place where the blood of the son of God, holier than heaven and earth, was spilt, where the body, at whose death the elements trembled, rested in its tomb.”⁵⁸ He underscored the profound connection between Jerusalem and Jesus Christ, highlighting its significance for Christians. He lamented that this city, where the blood of God was shed for their sins and where he was crucified, is now “defiled under the filth of pagans.” The Pope accused Muslims of persecuting Christians and desecrating churches. He stated that at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of Saint Mary were desecrated by Muslims, and those “barbaric nations” placed “idols” into Solomon’s Temple and “worshipped” them, desecrating the temples of God. As his speech progressed, the level of anguish heightened, stating that the Turks violently took the alms brought there as offerings and mocked Christianity unrestrainedly.

The Pope declared that this was a profound disgrace for all. Urban II elaborated on his speech with accounts of miracles in Jerusalem, stating that candles on the tomb of the Lord on the night of Via Dolorosa continued to burn despite being extinguished. The Pope described this as a significant miracle, and disparaged those who did not believe in it, referring to them as mere animals and pig-headed.⁵⁹ The miracle narratives employed by the Pope were reiterated throughout the First Crusade in various instances, serving as a powerful motivational factor. However, as Southern notes, the Pope’s views on Islam reflect great ignorance.⁶⁰ Nonetheless, it remains debatable whether the Pope’s remarks on Islam stemmed from ignorance or were a deliberate conscious distortion

In examining his address in the Crusader sources, it becomes evident that the Pope frequently employed the term “pagan” to describe Muslims, framing them within a narrative of continuity of ignorance. This expression is often associated with the desecration of sacred sites. By labelling Muslims as ‘pagans’, the Pope’s rhetoric justified the violent acts of the Crusades as a response to the alleged profanation of holy places. According to his allegations, the ‘pagans’ shed the blood of oppressed Christians as if it were water, particularly in the earthly Jerusalem, which he likened to the celestial Jerusalem. The Pope’s narrative describes such extensive slaughter of Christians in the city that there were no survivors left to bury the dead, resulting in the bodies of saints and Christians being offered to birds and animals to eat their corpses.⁶¹ He provided these disgraceful examples to illustrate the contempt and ridicule he claims to have been faced by Christians, attributing their plight to a lack of introspection and became the worst of people. Pope Urban II exhorted Western Christians to awaken to their responsibilities; even if they could not offer direct assistance, they should empathise with their suffering brethren and were urged to

⁵⁴ Monachus, *Historia*, pp. 79-80.

⁵⁵ Maher Y. Abu-Munshar (2018), “The Fate of Jerusalem at the Hands of the First Crusade,” *Journal al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 31-33.

⁵⁶ Karen Armstrong (2021), *Kudüs’ün Tarihi Bir Şehir Üç Semavi Din*, trans. İrem Sağlamer, İstanbul: Pegasus Yayınları, p. 371; Eric H. Cline (2004), *Jerusalem Besieged from Ancient Canaan to Modern Israel*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, pp. 105, 182; Khalid El-Awaisi (2021), “The Surrender of Bayt al-Maqdis to Salah al-Din through Sulh (treaty) or ‘Unwah (by force) and its implications,” *Journal of Islamic Jerusalem Studies*, Vol. 21(1), pp. 102-103.

⁵⁷ Monachus, *Historia*, p. 81; Demirkent, *Haçlı Seferleri*, p. 8; Kaleli, “Haçlı Seferleri ve İslam Dünyası,” p. 564.

⁵⁸ Nogent, *Franks*, pp. 42-43.

⁵⁹ Bourgueil, *History*, p. 46; Nogent, *Franks*, p. 43.

⁶⁰ Richard W. Southern (1978), *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge-Massachusetts-London-England: Harvard University Press, pp. 1-33.

⁶¹ The Crusaders carried out a massacre in Jerusalem, just as the Pope stated here. All Muslims living in the city (except the governor and his entourage, who were released in exchange for the Tower of David) were put to the sword. After making the bodies of the last ones they left alive, they killed them and threw them on the piles. Then they set fire to all of them and burned them.; *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, (1924), ed. M. A. Beatrice A. Less, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 89-91; Peter Tudebode (1974), *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, ed. J.H.-L.L. Hill Philadelphia, pp. 177-120; Raymond d’Aguilers (1968), *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. J. Hugh&Laurita L. Hill, Philadelphia, pp. 123-28. Ziya Polat (2019), “Kudüs Katliamı Bağlamında Haçlı Seferlerinin Sebepleri,” *Milel ve Nihal* Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 175-98.

mourn for them during the council.⁶² However, as this passive response was deemed insufficient by the Pope, he provided explicit guidance to Western Christians on the necessary course of action. Accordingly, he urged them first organise an expedition in which they should be willing to sacrifice their lives and possessions to reclaim the Holy Land. The first target of the expedition has been set; “*to cleanse the holiness of the city and the glory of the tomb, which the thick crowd of pagans has polluted.*”⁶³

Given that Mount Zion and Jerusalem are the origins of Christian law and preaching, the Pope argued that, even if Christ had not died there, Christians should still endeavour to liberate these sacred sites from being desecrated by ‘pagans’. He emphasised that without decisive action from Christians, divine intervention could not be assured. The Pope asserted that Christians are uniquely positioned to combat the Antichrist. According to the Pope, there will be no one to continue this struggle since there are hardly any Christians living in the region at the moment. Therefore, he insisted that the kingdom of God must be established in the Holy Land to ensure that believers are present to confront the Antichrist upon his arrival. Consequently, he exhorted his audience to recognise their divine mandate to rescue Jerusalem from its plight and misery; accordingly, he urged his listeners to act and prepare without delay.⁶⁴

Pilgrims and Myths

One of the pivotal issues addressed by the Pope in his speech was the severe hardship and suffering endured by pilgrims journeying to Jerusalem. According to his claim, pilgrims from across the Mediterranean, particularly the wealthy, faced significant injustices were subjected to great injustice; taxes were levied on them every step of the way, and they had to pay ransoms at the entrances of cities, churches and place of worship. Simply travelling from one place to another was considered a criminal offence. Muslim governors demanded gifts from pilgrims, and those who delayed in offering these gifts were met with violence. While the wealthy faced these persecutions, the plight of the poor was even more dire. Their belongings were confiscated under excruciating torture. Furthermore, the ‘pagans’ went so far as to mutilate the bodies of the pilgrims. The Pope also stated, “*The brutality of these evil-doers was so great that suspecting that the wretches had swallowed gold and silver, they gave them purgatives to drink so that they would either vomit or burst their insides. Even more unspeakable, they cut their bellies open with swords, opening their inner organs, revealing with a hideous slashing whatever nature holds secret.*”⁶⁵

The Pope cited these incidents, asserting that pilgrims who had journeyed to Jerusalem had witnessed first-hand the “abominations” occurring there. He described how offerings were forcibly taken, churches were looted, and Christianity was ridiculed and mocked.⁶⁶ Using these examples, the Pope implored the council to take decisive action to protect the holy sites. His narrative likely instilled horror in his audience and incited animosity towards Muslims. Consequently, during the First Crusade, the Crusaders employed these methods against the inhabitants of the cities they captured occupied.

The Pope did not merely present an agitated narrative; he also identified those he deemed responsible for the adversities faced by pilgrims journeying to Jerusalem and the Christians residing there. According to him, the Persians (Turks), a foreign people forsaken by God, were the culprits behind these tribulations. He asserted that their hearts had deviated from the righteous path, and their souls were disloyal to God. They had invaded Christian territories, diminished the Christian populace through plunder and massacres, displaced them, expelled them to their own lands, and left some to miserable deaths.⁶⁷ Furthermore, they had seized control of much of the Eastern Roman territories, extending their reach to the shores of the Sea of Marmara and the walls of Constantinople, where they nearly obliterated the Church and cruelly subjugated the Christians.⁶⁸ The Pope claimed that the Turks were so ruthless

⁶² Bourgueil, *History*, p. 47.

⁶³ Nogent, *Franks*, p. 43.

⁶⁴ Nogent, *Franks*, pp. 43-44; Matthew of Edessa (1993), *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. Ara Edmond Dostourian, Lanham-New York-London: University Press of America, p. 164; Ayşe Çekiç (2024), “Haçlı İdeasında Tanrı Tasavvuru ve Haçlı Seferlerine Tesiri,” *History Studies*, Vol.16, No. 3, pp. 357-59.

⁶⁵ Nogent, *Franks*, p. 45.

⁶⁶ Bourgueil, *History*, p. 46.

⁶⁷ Monachus, *Historia*, 79; Bourgueil, *History*, 45.

⁶⁸ Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, pp. 62, 65-66; St Blaisen, “Chronicle,” p. 324.

that they hunted Christians, who, fearing for their lives due to persecution, hid as if they were prey, only to be subjected to unprecedented and unheard of ways of tortures.⁶⁹ Consequently, the Pope argued that it was the Turks who inflicted suffering upon Christians, and they must be duly punished.

To what extent were the extreme narrations in the Pope's speech about the Turks' persecution of Christians and the calls for aid to Eastern Christians, particularly those in Jerusalem, realistic? It should be noted that the sole textual document providing information on this subject and citing examples from the Pope was the letter sent by Eastern Roman Emperor Alexios I to Robert I, Count of Flanders.⁷⁰ This document, along with similar ones, was likely dispatched to the papacy. Similarly, Armenian annals that drew upon this letter and chronicles written post-First Crusades recount some of these mythical events. For instance, historian Vardan describes an incident where a count in Jerusalem, who refused to pay the Muslims, was beaten in a fit of rage, resulting in the dislocation of one of his eyes. The count reportedly took the dislocated eye to Rome to show everyone, which evoked both sadness and resentment.⁷¹ Other Armenian chronicles also mention that Western pilgrims were subjected to poor treatment but do not provide specific examples.⁷² While the analysis of the letter and related texts is reserved for another study, the information within the letter suggests that the emperor was highly agitated. Recent research has revealed that Western historians have concluded that no situation is as exaggerated as in the pope's narrative.⁷³ This indicates that the Pope considered all means legitimate to influence his audience and mobilise Catholic Christians.

From the Chaos in the West to the Expedition in the East

In the continuation of his speech, the Pope spoke of the internecine conflicts among Catholic Christians, attributing these to the insufficiency of their lands: "*That is why you fight and tear at each other, are constantly at war and wound and kill each other.*"⁷⁴ He further admonished, "*You oppressors of orphans, you plunderers of widows, you murderers, you sacrilegious men, you who seize on others' rights,*"⁷⁵ aiming to provoke a moral reckoning. The Pope asserted that society in the West had disrupted divine order by embracing evil and erroneous paths, thereby committing grave sins and deserving eternal death and damnation. As a way out, he urged cessation of all internal wars and conflicts, the reactivation of the Peace of God, and embarking on a crusade to the Holy Sepulchre to fight for Jerusalem as soldiers of Christ. He proclaimed that participation in this expedition would be meritorious, with the sins of all participants absolved by divine authority. He posited that sacrificing one's life for Christ in the city where Christ sacrificed himself would be a supremely valuable recompense.⁷⁶

However, the Pope stipulated that only those fit for combat could join the expedition. The oaths of those unable to fight, including women and the elderly, were not accepted; they were instead asked to support the expedition financially and through prayer. The clergy were prohibited from joining without the consent of their bishops. The Pope believed this was the sole method to dispatch regular armies to the East.⁷⁷

Urban II proclaimed that he spoke with the authority of a prophet and urged everyone to take up arms. He assured those embarking on the pilgrimage that all their needs would be provided for in advance, and that provisions obtained from the enemy en route would suffice. However, he did not fail to mention the potential hardships, including death, poverty, illness, and persecution. According to him, dying for Christ on pilgrimage or in Jerusalem would open the door to eternal reward. Those who were victorious

⁶⁹ Bourgueil, *History*, 46.

⁷⁰ Monachus, *Historia*, 36-37.

⁷¹ Müverrih Vardan (2017), *Türk Fetihleri Tarihi*, İstanbul: Post Yayınevi, p. 50.

⁷² Bar Habraeus, *The Chronography*, I, p. 339; Michael the Great, *Chronicle*, p. 60.

⁷³ Warren Ortman Ault (1932), *Europe in the Middle Ages*, Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, p. 297; Claude Cahen (2008), "An Introduction to the First Crusade," *The Crusades: Critical Concepts in Historical Studies*, ed. Andrew Jotischky, Vol. 1, Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 256-57; Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, p. 36; Emine Meydan (2002), "Hristiyanları Haçlı Seferlerine Motive Eden Dini Söylemler Üzerine Bir Araştırma," *AÇÜ Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Vol. 8, No. 2, p. 7.

⁷⁴ Monachus, *Historia*, p. 81.

⁷⁵ Bourgueil, *History*, pp. 47-48.

⁷⁶ Nogent, *Franks*, pp. 43, 45, 47; Monachus, *Historia*, p. 81; Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, pp. 62-67; Bourgueil, *History*, pp. 48-49.

⁷⁷ Monachus, *Historia*, 81-82; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 1:109; Demirkent, *Haçlı Seferleri*, 5; Kaleli, "Haçlı Seferleri ve İslam Dünyası," 560.

and succeed in reaching the Holy Land would be rewarded with vast lands and great treasures there.⁷⁸ To guarantee this, he encouraged Catholic Christians to join the Crusade, asserting that God had granted Christians victory over all other nations in war.⁷⁹ To attain these rewards, everyone capable of wielding a sword should prepare for war. Neither their wives, wealth, nor the hardships they might endure should deter them from this path.⁸⁰ Otherwise, those who remained idle and did not aid the persecuted Christians in the East would find themselves opposed by Jesus himself.⁸¹ Thus, the Pope effectively mandated participation in the Crusade, making it nearly impossible to refuse in a medieval Christian society where religious fervour was exceedingly high.

The Pope then addressed the bishops, urging them to disseminate his message within their churches. He recommended that the sins of bandits wishing to join the expedition, as well as those of sinners who had fought against the faithful, be immediately forgiven. These individuals were to be praised as soldiers of Christ who would combat the Barbarians.⁸² Before concluding, the Pope advised that those desiring to join the expedition but lacking the means should be supported, and that preparations for the journey should commence without delay, aiming for a spring departure.⁸³ Urban II's speech was frequently interrupted by cries of "Deus Vult/Deus le volt!" (God wills it). The slogan resonated deeply with the Pope, who subsequently declared it the motto of the war.⁸⁴ The fervour continued in the square following the pope's final words. During this time, Adhemar, the Bishop of Le Puy, approached the Pope, knelt, and sought his permission and blessing. After blessing him, the Pope announced that the Crusade would be organised under Adhemar's patronage and guidance at the forthcoming meeting.⁸⁵

The clergy's eagerness to partake in the expedition invigorated the counts, dukes, and common folk present, prompting some to immediately take oaths and confess their sins. All who vowed to join were absolved of their sins. Those who inflicted harm upon the families and properties of the participants were cursed. Individuals who reneged on their vows to join the Crusade were deemed outlaws. As per the decision taken, participants were to sew the sign of the cross to their garments.⁸⁶ Thus, the initial phase of the pope's long-term endeavour was accomplished with notable success.

Conclusion

Under the pressure exerted by the Seljuks, the Eastern Roman Empire had been soliciting assistance from Western Christians since the pontificate of Gregory VII. Due to the prevailing troubles within the Catholic world, the Pope conceived the notion of providing the requested aid through mercenaries, in alignment with the expectations; however, this assistance could not be realised. With the ascension of Urban II to the papacy, it is evident that the papal perspective on Eastern matters underwent a transformation. The call made at Clermont was clearly not intended to offer mercenary support to Eastern Rome or to address the empire's difficulties. Initially, the Pope sought to secure the empire's allegiance to maintain order in the West. Subsequently, when he deemed the timing appropriate, he pursued his own project rather than fulfilling the empire's expectations. This initiative was rooted in anti-Islamic and anti-Muslim sentiments. Primarily, he aimed to mobilise the regular armies and the unruly soldiers and knights, who had caused unrest in the West, towards the East under the pretext of protecting persecuted Christians. His objectives included expanding his sphere of influence by establishing states in the East, becoming the protector of the Holy Land by capturing Jerusalem, and thereby maintaining order within the Catholic domain while asserting his position as the supreme religious authority for all Christendom.

⁷⁸ *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, pp. 1-2; Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, pp. 15-16. Bourgueil, *History*, pp. 49; Nogent, *Franks*, p. 25; Ayşe Çekiç (2004), "İhtiyaca Binaen Çağırılan Peygamber: Haçlı Muhayyilesinde İsa Tasavvuru," *Şırnak Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, No. 34, pp. 202-6.

⁷⁹ Monachus, *Historia*, p. 81.

⁸⁰ Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, p. 16; Bourgueil, *History*, p. 49.

⁸¹ Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, p. 66.

⁸² Nogent, *Franks*, p. 43; Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, pp. 66-67; Bourgueil, *History*, p. 49.

⁸³ Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, p. 67.

⁸⁴ Robertus Monachus (2013), *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, ed. D. Kempf ve M. G. Bull, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, p. 7; Monachus, *Historia*, p. 81; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 1, p. 108; Ayşe Çekiç (2023), "Aziz Augustinus'un Tanrı Devleti'ni Kurmak: Papa II. Urbanus ve Haçlı Savunusu," *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi* Vol. 18, No. 2, p. 385.

⁸⁵ Bourgueil, *History*, p. 50; Monachus, *Historia*, p. 83; Nogent, *Franks*, p. 45.

⁸⁶ St Blaisen, "Chronicle," p. 329; Bourgueil, *History*, p. 50; Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, pp. 67-69; Monachus, *Historia*, p. 82; Nogent, *Franks*, p. 45.

To this end, he did not hesitate to use the Holy Land, the Christians living there and Eastern Rome by employing discourse-based violence in his speech, as analysed in the article, to galvanise Catholic Christians. Ultimately, he succeeded in initiating the Crusades through the narrative he created, full with depictions of pain and suffering. The Pope's approach also constructed a fundamental 'other' or enemy for the inception of the Crusades and subsequent campaigns. This scheme strengthened the resolve of the Crusader masses against the Muslims, whom they believed had desecrated and defiled their holy places. Whilst the violence inherent in the Pope's rhetoric precipitated horrific massacres, it simultaneously fostered a perception that these atrocities were justified as retribution for Christian suffering. In this respect, the language employed by Urban II at the Council of Clermont conferred a tripartite advantage to the Westerners regarding Crusader mobilisation. Firstly, it galvanised them and united them under a common cause. Secondly, it elucidated why they should direct this fervour against Muslims, thereby sharpening their antipathy towards the Muslim world. The third advantage lay in the extension of this discourse towards absolving all criminals who participated in the Crusades. Through these means, the Pope succeeded in engendering a mass movement with a cumulative animosity towards the Muslim societies they would encounter and fight against.

This article, presented as a specific field study or micro-research, focuses on the genesis of the Crusades. Urban II's oration and discourse, which influenced at least two centuries of history, even when considering solely the expeditions to the Holy Land, merits extensive analysis in numerous respects. The present study aimed to bring this address to the forefront with a preliminary analysis. Consequently, the subject has been addressed within carefully delineated parameters. Nevertheless, the discourse, which was subsequently transcribed, contains a wealth of data awaiting examination from various perspectives. For instance, the sin-repentance equation that galvanises religious sentiment, the significance of Jerusalem and its contemporary status, the situation of Christians in the East, and the alleged tribulations of pilgrims—each of these issues mentioned in the discourse warrants individual scrutiny to elucidate the full impact and ramifications of the address. Conversely, the origins of the Crusades are too significant to be attributed solely to Urban II's speech. It is imperative to scrutinise this period through diverse research. Examining the process in question by considering the stakeholders of the period and the political, social, and economic circumstances will facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of the triangulation point of the Crusades. Such research will make profound contributions to historical scholarship, enabling a better understanding of the past, facilitating fundamental analyses of the present, and allowing for the construction of the future on more robust foundations.

References

- Abu-Munshar, Maher Y. (2018), "The Fate of Jerusalemites at the Hands of the First Crusade." *Journal al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 13, no. 1, 27-35.
- Angold, Michael (1997), *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204: A Political History*, London and New York: Longman.
- Anonymi Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, (1924), ed. M. A. Beatrice A. Less, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Armstrong, Karen (2021), *Kudüs'ün Tarihi Bir Şehir Üç Semavi Din (Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths)*, trans. İrem Sağlamer, İstanbul: Pegasus Yayınları.
- Ault, Warren Ortman (1932), *Europe in the Middle Ages*, Boston: D.C. Heath and Company.
- Bar Hebraeus (1976), *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l-Faraj 1225-1286*, trans. Ernest A. Wallis Budge, Vol. 1, Amsterdam: Apa-Philo Press.
- Belli, Carolina (2015), "Ortaçağda Belgeler," *Ortaçağ Barbarlar-Hristiyanlar-Müslümanlar*, ed. Umberto Eco, trans. Leyla Tonguç Basmacı, pp. 332-35, İstanbul: Alfa Tarih.
- Bloch, Marc (1993), *Feudal Society: The Growth of Ties of Dependence*, trans. L. A. Manyon, Vol. 1. London-New York: Routledge.

- Blumenthal, Uta Renate (2006), "Urban II (d. 1099)." *The Crusades An Encyclopedia*, ed. Alan V. Murray, Vol. 4, pp. 1214-17, California-Colorado-England: ABC-CLIO.
- Bourgueil, Baldric of (2020), *History of the Jerusalemites: A Translation of the Historia Ierosolimitana*, trans. Susan B. Edgington. Crusading in Context, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- Brundage, James A. (2006), "Urban II, Pope" *Key Figures in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Richard K. Emmerson, pp. 641-42. New York, London: Routledge.
- Butler, R. Urban (1913), "Urban II." in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15, pp. 210-11, New York: The Encyclopedia Press.
- Cahen, Claude (2008), "An Introduction to the First Crusade" *The Crusades: Critical Concepts in Historical Studies*, ed. Andrew Jotischky, Vol. 1, pp. 250-71. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Cevizci, Ahmet (2017), *Büyük Felsefe Sözlüğü*, İstanbul: Say Yayınları.
- Chevedden, Paul E. (2016), "Pope Urban II and the Ideology of the Crusades" *The Crusader World*, ed. Adrian Boas, pp. 7-53, London and New York: Routledge.
- Cline, Eric H. (2004), *Jerusalem Besieged from Ancient Canaan to Modern Israel*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Çekiç, Ayşe (2023), "Aziz Augustinus'un Tanrı Devleti'ni Kurmak: Pope Urban II ve Haçlı Savunusu," *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 378-99.
- Çekiç, Ayşe (2024), "Haçlı İdeasında Tanrı Tasavvuru ve Haçlı Seferlerine Tesiri," *History Studies* Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 355-67.
- Çekiç, Ayşe (2024), "İhtiyaca Binaen Çağırılan Peygamber: Haçlı Muhayyilesinde İsa Tasavvuru," *Şirnak Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, No. 34, pp. 195-213.
- Çilgın, Serpil (2019), "II. Urban'ın I. Haçlı Seferi Propagandası," Master Dissertation, Tekirdağ Namık Kemal Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.
- Demir, Ömer and Acar, Mustafa (2020), *Sosyal Bilimler Sözlüğü*, Konya: Literatür Yayınları.
- Demirkent, Işın (2004), *Haçlı Seferleri*, İstanbul: Dünya Aktüel.
- Demirkent, Işın (1994), "Haçlı Seferleri Düşüncesinin Doğuşu ve Hedefleri," *Turkish Journal of History*, No. 35, 65-78.
- Duncalf, Frederic (1969), "The Councils of Piacenza and Clermont" *A History of the Crusades: The First Hundred Years*, ed. Marshall W. Baldwin, Vol. 1, pp. 220-52. Madison-Milwaukee and London: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Durmaz, Sayime (2011), "Yüksek Ortaçağ'da Papa-İmparator Çatışması: Kılıç ile Âsâ'nın Savaşı," *Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 93-120.
- El-Awaisi, Khalid (2021), "The Surrender of Bayt al-Maqdis to Salah al-Din through Sulh (treaty) or 'Unwah (by force) and its implications," *Journal of Islamic Jerusalem Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 91-110.
- El-Awaisi, Khalid (2021), "The Continuation of the Colonialist Project from the Crusades to Zionism." *SDE Akademi Dergisi*, Vol. 1, Vol. 3, 178-228.
- Erdmann, Carl (1977), *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. Marshall W Baldwin and Walter Goffart. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- France, John (2005), *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000-1714*, London and New York: Taylor & Francis.
- Frankopan, Peter (2012), *The First Crusade: The Call from the East*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Fulcher of Chartres (1969), *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127*, trans. F.R. Ryan. The University of Tennessee Press.
- Gündüz, Şinasi (1998), *Din ve İnanç Sözlüğü*, Ankara: Vadi Yayınları.
- Kaleli, Emrullah (2016), "Haçlı Seferleri ve İslam Dünyası." *Orta Çağ Tarihi*, ed. S. Hilmi Özkan, pp. 553-602. İstanbul: İdeal.
- Karaca, Sevtap Gölgesiz (2012), "I. Haçlı Seferi (1096) Öncesinde Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun Siyasî Durumuna Bakış," *Trakya Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol. 2, No. 04, 141-153.
- Kendall, Gavin & Wickham, Gary (2016), *Foucault'nun Yöntemlerini Kullanmak (Using Foucault's Methods)*, trans. Umut Yener Kara and Turgay Sivrikaya, İstanbul: Isık Yayınları.
- Komisyon (2011), *Türkçe Sözlük*, Ankara: TDK.
- Le Goff, Jacques (2005), *The Birth of Europe*, trans. Janet Lloyd, USA- UK-Australia: Blackwell Publishing.
- Le Goff, Jacques (1992), *Medieval Civilization*, trans. Julia Barrow, UK-USA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Logan, F. Donald (2005), *A History of the Church in the Middle Ages*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Longo, Umberto (2012), "A Saint of Damned Memory, Clement III, (Anti)Pope," *Reti Medievali Rivista*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 137-51.
- Mann, Horace Kinder (1910), *The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages: 1073-1099*, C. 7. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.
- Matthew of Edessa (1993), *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. Ara Edmond Dostourian, Lanham-New York-London: University Press of America.
- Meydan, Emine (2002), "Hristiyanları Haçlı Seferlerine Motive Eden Dini Söylemler Üzerine Bir Araştırma," *AÇÜ Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1-19.
- Monachus, Robertus (2016), *Robert the Monk's History of The First Crusade: Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Carol Sweetenham, London and New York: Routledge.
- Monachus, Robertus (2013), *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, Ed. D. Kempf ve M. G. Bull. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- Moosa, Matti (2008), *The Crusades: Conflict Between Christendom and Islam*, New Jersey, USA: Gorgias Press.
- Nogent, Guibert de (1997), *The Deeds of God Through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert de Nogent's Gesta Dei Per Francos*, trans. Robert Levine. Suffolk, Rochester: The Boydell Press.
- Norwich, John Julius (2013), *Bizans Gerileme ve Çöküş Dönemi (MS 1082-1453)*, trans. Selen Hırçın Riegel, Vol. 3, İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayınevi.

- O'Malley, John W. (2010), *A History of the Popes: From Peter to the Present*, Lanham Boulder New York Toronto Plymouth, UK: Sheed & Ward.
- Pirenne, Henri (1937), *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*, trans. I. E. Clegg, New York: Harcourt.
- Platina, Bartolomeo (1900), *The Lives of the Popes: From the Accession of Gregory VII to the Death of Paul II*, trans. Paul Rychart, Vol. 2, London: Griffith, Farran, Okenden & Welsh.
- Polat, Ziya (2019), "Kudüs Katliamı Bağlamında Haçlı Seferlerinin Sebepleri," *Milel ve Nihal*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 175-98.
- Raymond d'Aguilers (1968), *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. J. Hugh & Laurita L. Hill, Philadelphia.
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan (2003), *First Crusade and Idea of Crusading*, London, New York: Continuum.
- Runciman, Steven (1969), "The Pilgrimages to Palestine Before 1095," *A History of the Crusades: The First Hundred Years*, Vol. 1, ed. Marshall W. Baldwin, Madison-Milwaukee-London: The University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 68-78.
- Runciman, Steven (1995), *A History of the Crusades: The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Vol. 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Serdar, Murat (2018), "Papa II. Urban'ın Papalığı Esnasındaki Siyasî ve Dinî Meseleler Karşısındaki Tutumu" in *Orta Çağ'da Din ve Devlet Doğu-Batı Ekseninde*, ed. Ayşe Atıcı Arayancan, pp. 201-24, İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi.
- Somerville, R. (2003), "Urban II, Pope, BL." *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 14, pp. 335-36. Detroit, Washington, D.C.: Thomson/Gale; Catholic University of America.
- Southern, Richard W. (1978), *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge-Massachusetts-London-England: Harvard University Press.
- St. Blaisen, Bernold of (2008), "Chronicle." *Eleventh-Century Germany: The Swabian Chronicles*, trans. I. S. Robinson, pp. 245-337, Manchester Medieval Sources, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.
- Michael the Great (2019), *The Chronicle of Michael the Great Books XV-XXI from the Year 1050 to 1195 AD*, ed. and trans. Amir Harrak, New Jersey: Gorgias Press.
- Şeyban, Lütfi (2016), *Reconquista: Endülüste Müslüman Hristiyan İlişkileri*, İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık.
- Tanilli, Server (2005), *Yüzyılların Gerçeği ve Mirası Ortaçağ: Feodal Dünya*, Vol. 2. İstanbul: Adam Yayıncılık.
- The Lives of the Popes: 1046-1431*, (1852), c. ½, London: The Religious Tract Society.
- Tudebode, Peter (1974), *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, ed. J.H.-L.L. Hill. Philadelphia.
- Turan, Osman (2003), *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk-İslam Medeniyeti*, İstanbul: Ötüken.
- Vardan, Müverrih (2017), *Türk Fetihleri Tarihi*, trans. Hrant D. Andrasyan, İstanbul: Post Yayınevi.
- Vasiliev, Alexander A. (2016), *Bizans İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, trans. Tevabil Alkaç, İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları.