

Urban II

Pope Urban II (Odo of Châtillon-sur-Marne)

DATE OF BIRTH About 1035
PLACE OF BIRTH Châtillon-sur-Marne, France
DATE OF DEATH 29 or 30 July 1099
PLACE OF DEATH Rome

BIOGRAPHY

Urban, whose name was Odo (Eudes), was born into a noble family in Châtillon-sur-Marne around 1035. He studied with St Bruno, the founder of the Carthusians, at Reims, where he was made canon and archdeacon. Around 1070, he entered Cluny, where he was first a monk and later became prior. Pope Gregory VII summoned him to Rome, made him cardinal bishop of Ostia in 1080, and sent him to Germany as his legate in 1084-85. He was elected pope in 1088. Henry IV's Italian campaigns in 1090-92 brought the antipope Clement III to Rome, while Urban retreated to southern Italy, where he lived under Norman protection. In 1093, Urban was able to return to Rome and in 1094, through bribery, won possession of the Lateran. (It is believed that four years later he obtained Castel San'Angelo by the same means.) By 1095 he succeeded in securing his position.

As pope, Urban II was a consistent continuator and promoter of the 'Gregorian' reform. He differed from Gregory VII, however, in adopting a less confrontational approach in promoting the reform, which was rewarded with success in his dealings with lay rulers and within the church. Urban's first council at Melfi (1089) renewed Gregory VII's legislation against simony, Nicolaitism, and lay investiture – issues that concerned him throughout his pontificate. In very successful councils at Piacenza (March 1095) and Clermont (November 1095), Urban made further advances in enacting reform legislation. At Piacenza, he responded to the Byzantine Emperor Alexius I's appeal by calling on Christian soldiers to defend the Eastern Church, while at Clermont he decreed the Truth of God and summoned the First Crusade to liberate Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulcher from the Muslims.

The launching of the First Crusade was the fruit of Urban II's two long-standing policies, one of which was to improve relations with the Eastern Church. With the union of the churches in view, he held a synod with Greek bishops from southern Italy in Bari (1098). With the help of Anselm of Canterbury, he persuaded the Greeks to accept the doctrine of the *filioque* (the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as well as the Father). In the end, however, these efforts failed, not least – ironically – because the First Crusade re-ignited mistrust and hostility between the Greeks and Latins. The other policy was Urban's support for the reconquest, which bore success mainly in Spain, where, in the steps of a Christian military offensive, Urban established the suzerainty of the Holy See over Christian kingdoms and Roman primacy within the reorganized Spanish church.

Under Urban II's leadership, the centralization of the church made further progress, the papal finances were reorganized, the papal court (*curia Romana*) took shape, the influence of the college of cardinals increased, and the overall position of the papacy within both the church and Christian society was strengthened, influenced in no small way by the launching of the First Crusade. Many of the rulings of Urban II as a canonist were incorporated into ecclesiastical law. The influence of the crusades, the initiation of which was Urban II's most popular and memorable achievement, was long-lasting on ideas, images, and institutions within Christendom, Europe, and the West, and on relations between the Western Christian world and the Muslim world. He died two weeks after the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders, on July 29 or 30, 1099, and was beatified by Pope Leo XIII in 1881.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

A. Letters, Privileges, and Conciliar Documents

T. Ruinart, *Beati Urbani Papae II. Vita*, in *Ouvrages posthumes de D. Jean Mabillon, et de D. Thierry Ruinart*, 3 vols, Paris, 1724, iii, pp. 1-410 (repr. Farnborough UK, 1967)

PL 151, cols 9-584

J.M. Watterich, *Pontificum romanorum qui fuerunt inde ab exeunte saeculo IX usque ad finem saeculi XIII vitae*. vol. 1: *Iohannes XIII – Urbanus II* (872-1099), Leipzig, 1862 (repr. Aalen, 1966)

P.E.D. Riant, *Inventaire critique des lettres historiques des croisades, I-II: 768-1100*, Paris, 1880 (also published in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, Paris, 1981, vol. 1)

- P. Jaffé (ed.), *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, rev. S. Loewenfeld et al., 2 vols, Leipzig, 1885-88 (cited below as *JL*)
- G. Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V.*, 7 vols, Berlin, 1890-1909, iv, pp. 198-525
- H. Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie de la première croisade (1094-1100)*, Paris, 1902 (repr. Hildesheim, 1973)
- R. Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II*. vol. 1. *Decreta Claromontensia*, Amsterdam, 1972
- B. Chronicles, Vitae, Histories*
- Annales S. Benigni Divionensis*, ed. G. Waitz (MGH SS 5), Hannover, 1844
- Baldric of Dol, *Vita b. Roberti de Arbrisello*, *PL* 162, cols 1043-58
- Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon*, in I.S. Robinson (ed.), *Bertholdi und Bernoldi Chronica/Bertholds und Bernolds Chroniken*, trans. H. Robinson-Hammerstein and I.S. Robinson (*Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* 14), Darmstadt, 2002; Bernold of St Blasien, *Chronicle*, in I.S. Robinson (ed. and trans.), *Eleventh-century Germany. The Swabian chronicles*, Manchester, 2008
- Cafari de Caschifelone, Genuensis consulis, *De liberatione civitatum Orientis liber*, in *RHC Occ.* 5
- Chronicon Casauriense*, MGH, *Rerum italicarum scriptores* 2.2, p. 872
- Chronicon Sancti Maxentii. Chronique de Saint-Maixent, 751-1140*, ed. and trans. J. Verdon, Paris, 1979
- Eadmer, *The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. R.W. Southern, Oxford, 1972
- Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, 1913
- Gesta Andegavensium peregrinorum, ab auctore anonymo coaevo sub nomine Fulconis IV Richini, Andegavensis comitis, narrata, quae supersunt*, in *RHC Occ.* 5
- Histoire générale de Languedoc*, ed. C. Devic and J. Vaissete, Paris, 1730-45; revised by E. Roschach, A. Molinier and others, Toulouse, 1872-1904 (repr. Osnabrück, 1973)
- Jacobus de Voragine, *Chronica civitatis ianuensis ab origine usque ad annum MCCXCVII*, in G. Monleone, *Iacopo da Varagine e la sua Cronaca di Genova dalle origini al MCCXCVII*, vol. 2, Rome, 1941
- Landulphi Junioris sive de Sancto Paolo, *Historia Mediolanensis ab anno MXCV usque ad annum MCXXXVII*, ed. C. Castiglioni, Bologna, 1934
- Goffredo Malaterra, *Ruggero I e Roberto il Guiscardo*, ed. and trans. V. lo Curto, Cassino, 2002; *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily and of his brother Duke Robert Guiscard by Geoffrey Malaterra*, trans. K.B. Wolf, Ann Arbor MI, 2005

- Notitiae duae Lemovicenses de praedicatione crucis in Aquitania*, in *RHC Occ.* 5
- The ecclesiastical history of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, Oxford, 1969-80
- Peter of Pisa, *Urbani Papae II Vita*, in Watterich, *Pontificum romanorum... vitae*, i, pp. 571-74 (*Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 3 vols, Paris, 1955-57, ii, pp. 293-95)
- William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum anglorum/The history of the English kings*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors; completed by R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, Oxford, 1998-99

Secondary

- G. Gresser, 'Die Kreuzzugs-idee Papst Urbans II. im Spiegel der Synoden von Piacenza und Clermont', in P. Bruns and G. Gresser (eds), *Vom Schisma zu den Kreuzzügen: 1054-1204*, Paderborn, 2005, 133-54
- A. Becker, 'Le voyage d'Urbain II en France', in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la Croisade. Actes du Colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995)*, Rome, 1997, 127-40
- G.T. Beech, 'Urban II, the Abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, and the First Crusade', in M. Balard (ed.), *Autour de la première croisade. Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, Paris, 1996, 57-70
- R. Somerville, in collaboration with S. Kuttner, *Pope Urban II, the Collectio Britannica, and the Council of Melfi (1089)*, Oxford, 1996
- H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Urban II and the idea of crusade', *Studi Medievali* 3 series 36 (1995) 721-42
- I. Gobry, *Deux papes champenois: Urbain II, Urbain IV*, Troyes, 1994
- O. Capitani, 'Sondaggio sulla terminologia militare in Urbano II', *Studi Medievali* 3 series 31 (1990) 1-25
- U.-R. Blumenthal, 'Papal and local councils. The evidence of the *Pax and Treuga Dei*', in *La riforma gregoriana e l'Europa, Congresso Internazionale, Salerno, 20-25 maggio 1985: II. Comunicazioni*, Rome, 1991, 137-44
- A. Becker, *Papst Urban II. (1088-1099)*. vol. 2: *Der Papst, die griechische Christenheit und der Kreuzzug*, Stuttgart, 1988
- J.N.D. Kelly, *The Oxford dictionary of popes*, Oxford, 1986
- R. Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont and the First Crusade', *Studia Gratiana* 20 (1976) 323-37 (repr. in R. Somerville, *Papacy, councils and canon law in the 11th-12th centuries*, Aldershot UK, 1990)
- R. Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont (1095), and Latin Christian society', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 12 (1974) 55-90 (repr. in R. Somerville, *Papacy, councils and canon law in the 11th-12th Centuries*, Aldershot UK, 1990)

- A. Becker, 'Urban II. und die deutsche Kirche', in J. Fleckenstein (ed.), *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung*, Sigmaringen, 1973, 241-75
- R. Somerville, *The councils of Urban II. vol. 1. Decreta Claromontensia*, Amsterdam, 1972
- H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Urban II's preaching of the First Crusade', *History* 55 (1970) 177-88
- R. Somerville, 'The French councils of Pope Urban II. Some basic considerations', *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 2, Augsburg, 1970, 56-65 (repr. in R. Somerville, *Papacy, councils and canon law in the 11th-12th Centuries*, Aldershot UK, 1990)
- R. Somerville, in collaboration with S. Kuttner, 'The so-called Canons of Nîmes (1096)', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 38 (1970) 175-89 (repr. in R. Somerville, *Papacy, councils and canon law in the 11th-12th Centuries*, Aldershot UK, 1990)
- R. Somerville, *Concilium claromontense, 1095. A methodological study in Church history*, New Haven CT, 1969 (Diss. Yale University)
- J. Gauss, 'Papst Urban und Kaiser Alexios', in J. Gauss, *Ost und West in der Kirchen- und Papstgeschichte des 11. Jahrhunderts*, Zürich, 1967, 71-126
- A. Becker, *Papst Urban II. (1088-1099). vol 1, Herkunft und kirchliche Laufbahn. Der Papst und die lateinische Christenheit*, Stuttgart, 1964
- F.J. Gossman, *Pope Urban II and canon law*, Washington DC, 1960
- F.X. Seppelt, *Geschichte der Päpste von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts. vol. 3: Die Vormachtstellung des Papstums im Hochmittelalter, von der Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts bis zum Coelestin V.*, Munich, 1956, 118-34
- R. Crozet, 'Le voyage d'Urbain II', *Revue Historique* 179 (1937) 271-310
- B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XI siècle. Rapports religieux des Latins et des Gréco-Russes sous le pontificat d'Urbain II (1088-1099)*, Paris, 1924
- W. Holtzmann, 'Die Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Alexios I. und Urban II. in Jahre 1098', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 28 (1919) 38-67 (repr. in W. Holtzmann, *Beiträge zur Reichs- und Papstgeschichte des hohen Mittelalters. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Bonn, 1957)
- H.K. Mann, *The lives of the popes in the Middle Ages, 1073-1099*, 7 vols, London, 1910, vii, 245-346
- L. Paulot, *Urbain II. Un pape français*, Paris, 1903

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Epistolae et privilegia, 'Letters and privileges'

DATE 15 October 1088-4 May 1099

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Relevant to Christian-Muslim relations are portions of Urban II's papal letters and privileges, as well as decrees and canons of church councils convoked by the pope, contemporary reports of Urban's actions and speeches (some by eye-witnesses), and fragments and testimonia in later sources. Letters and privileges are our most extensive source. Jaffé's *Regesta* cites 463 items; additional documents have been discovered since, mostly by Kehr and his collaborators. Thematically, extant sources directly bearing on Christian-Muslim relations fall into two interrelated categories: the reconquest and the First Crusade.

Urban II's letters and privileges addressing the reconquest in the Iberian peninsula and on the western Mediterranean islands far outnumber those referring to the crusade. However, the body of documents pertaining to Urban's crusading activity is augmented by conciliar documents, accounts of his organizational efforts, and reports of his sermon at Clermont. Critical analysis and editions of the latter originate with Riant and Hagenmeyer; critical research into Urban II's councils and editions of conciliar documents we owe primarily to Somerville.

Reconquest

The reconquest of formerly Christian territories from the Muslims was one of Urban II's main concerns throughout his pontificate. He supported and encouraged the reconquest and took a keen interest in developments. His letters and privileges relating to the reconquest, broadly speaking, deal with the ecclesiastical administration of reconquered territories and with making sense of the reconquest.

With regard to the administration of reconquered territories, Urban was consequently following the guidelines laid down by Gregory VII, the aim of which was to establish, maintain, and extend the authority of the papally-led Roman Church, claiming universal primacy. In some cases, e.g., Corsica and Sardinia, Urban II simply reconfirmed Gregory's decisions (Jaffé-Loewenfeld, *Regesta pontificum* [=JL] 5449, 5464, 6886, 7266, 7890). Elsewhere, he was the shaper of the new order. He conferred the primacy over the churches of Spain on the church of Toledo, sending the pallium to Archbishop Bernard and informing other bishops of Spain, the abbot of Cluny (Bernard's mother house), and the king (JL 5366; 5367; 5370; 5371; 5643; 5801) of this papal decision. He called on the nobility and the episcopate of Catalonia to

conquer Tarragona and restore the metropolitan see there (*JL* 5401; 5450; Kehr, *Katalanien*, no. 22). He made Huesca episcopal see the head of the diocese of Jacca (*JL* 5703; 5736; †5777), and he also dealt with minor disputes regarding rights and possessions of religious houses and churches (e.g., *JL* 5398; 5699; 5702; Kehr, *Katalanien*, nos. 16-21, 24-26). The suppression of the Mozarabic rite in Spain and its replacement with Roman usages was completed under him.

In his dealings with secular rulers involved in the reconquest, Urban II was a pragmatic politician with a clear idea of the right order. Christian princes were to be defenders of the faith and champions of the church. As such, they were key agents in the reconquest: their role was to wrest formerly Christian territories from the Saracens, chase the enemies out, liberate churches, and expand the Roman rule. In a letter to King Alfonso IV of Castille (*JL* 5367), Urban referred to Pope Gelasius I's sentence *Duo sunt*, which asserted the superiority of spiritual authority over secular power. Higher in dignity, the pope was responsible for the safety of the Christian king, who in turn was expected to follow ecclesiastical guidance and fight for the church. The Count of Barcelona became a Roman vassal.

Urban saw the reconquest as a sign of God's grace. Having punished his people for their sins by allowing Saracen conquests and tyranny, God now showed mercy and helped restore the ancient churches. Urban's explanatory scheme is well expressed in his letter to the archbishop of Toledo: All who know the holy decretals can see 'the dignity that the Toledan Church had possessed from the ancient times, the authority it had in the regions of Spain and Gaul, and how through her the ecclesiastical matters prospered; but because of the multitude of sins of the people that city was conquered by the Saracens and the liberty of the Christian religion was there reduced to nothing, so much so that for almost 370 years no Christian bishop was able there to keep alive his office. In our times however God has looked upon his people in mercy, and after the Saracens were chased out by the zeal of the most glorious King Alfonso and the efforts of the Christian people, the city of Toledo has been restored to the Christian law... And responding to this mercy and grace from above we can thus... agree to restore the former authority of the Church of Toledo' (*JL* 5366.) Urban applied this scheme to different theaters of reconquest, repeating it a number of times (cf. *JL* 5413; 5448; 5449; 5450; 5460; 5464; 5497; 5549; 5703; 5710; †5777).

Crusade

Urban II is generally seen as the originator of the crusades. He proclaimed what we call the First Crusade in the Council of Clermont, on 27 November 1095. We only have reports of that speech, not Urban's own wording of the appeal. More reliable but less informative of Urban's views is a small number of canons and documents on papal activity relating to the crusade. Also preserved are about half a dozen letters in which Urban speaks of the crusade in his own voice. Among the most comprehensive is the following letter to all the faithful of Flanders: 'We believe that you, brethren, learned long ago from many reports the deplorable news that the barbarians in their frenzy have invaded and ravaged the churches of God in the eastern regions. Worse still, they have seized the Holy City of Christ, embellished by his passion and resurrection, and – it is blasphemy to say it – they have sold her and her churches into abominable slavery. Thinking devoutly about this disaster and grieved by it, we visited Gaul and urged most fervently the lords and subjects of that land to liberate the eastern churches. At a council in Auvergne, as is widely known, we imposed on them the obligation to undertake such a military enterprise for the remission of all their sins and we appointed in our place as leader of this journey and labour our dearest son Adhémar, bishop of Le Puy. It follows that anyone who decides to go on this journey should obey his orders as though they were our own and should be entirely subject to his power to "loose and bind" in any decision that appears to concern this business. If God calls any men among you to take this vow, they should know that he will set out, with God's help, on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary and that they can join his company at that day' (*JL* 5608; Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, no. 2; L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The crusades*, p. 38).

In a letter to his supporters among the laity and clergy in Bologna, Urban stated: 'It pleases us exceedingly' to hear that 'many of you have felt the longing to go to Jerusalem'. To laymen among them he let it be known 'that if any men among you go there not because they desire earthly profit but only for the salvation of their souls and the liberation of the Church, we, acting as much on our own authority as on that of all the archbishops and bishops in Gaul, through the mercy of almighty God and the prayers of the Catholic Church, relieve them of all penance imposed for their sins, of which they have made genuine and full confession, because they have risked their belongings and lives for the love of God and their neighbour.' His message to

clerics and monks was that they were not allowed to go on the crusade 'unless they have permission from their bishops and abbots.' The pope also told bishops to be 'careful not to allow their parishioners to go without the advice and foreknowledge of the clergy', and to make sure that 'young married men' had the agreement of their wives. 'May almighty God strengthen you in fear and love of him and may he lead you, freed from all sins and errors, to understand how to love him above all things and show him true devotion' (*JL* 5670; Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, no. 3; L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The crusades*, pp. 38-39).

Urban II reiterated his prohibition to the religious to go on the crusade in even stronger words in a letter to the congregation of Val-lombrosa: 'We have heard that some of you want to set out with the knights who are making for Jerusalem with the good intention of liberating Christianity. This is the right kind of sacrifice, but it is planned by the wrong kind of person. For we were stimulating the minds of knights to go on this expedition, since they might be able to restrain the savagery of the Saracens by their arms and restore the Christians to their former freedom: we do not want those who have abandoned the world and have vowed themselves to spiritual warfare either to bear arms or to go on this journey; we go so far as to forbid them to do so. And we forbid religious – clerics or monks – to set out in this company without the permission of their bishops or abbots in accordance with the rule of the holy canons' (Hiestand, *Papsturkunden*, no. 2; L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The crusades*, pp. 39-40.)

In letters addressed to Spain, Urban II represented the reconquest and the crusade as a unity. 'In our days,' he wrote to Bishop Peter of Huesca, 'God has through Christian men overcome the Turks in Asia, the Moors in Europe, and through special grace restored once famous cities to his worship' (*JL* 5703). In conformity with such an understanding, Urban urged the nobility from the region to devote their 'pious labor' to Spain instead of undertaking 'the journey' to Jerusalem. Already prior to the launching of the crusade, Urban counseled Spanish counts and bishops, who, in order to do penance or for the remission of sins, wished to undertake pilgrimage to Jerusalem or other places, rather to devote their pious labor to restoring the Church of Tarragona, so that there could be an episcopal see there and the town would be the bulwark of Christian people against the Saracens (*JL* 5401). In 1096, the pope again 'beseeched' and 'ordered' Spanish counts and their soldiers 'on behalf of the city or rather the church of Tarragona' to 'make a vigorous effort to restore it in every

possible way for the remission of sins. For you know what a great defence it would be for Christ's people and what a terrible blow it would be to the Saracens if, by the goodness of God, the position of that famous city were restored. If the knights of other provinces have decided with one mind to go to the aid of the Asian Church and to liberate their brothers from the tyranny of the Saracens, so ought you with one mind and with our encouragement to work with greater endurance to help a church so near you to resist the invasions of the Saracens. No one must doubt that if he dies on this expedition, for the love of God and his brothers, his sins will surely be forgiven and he will gain a share of eternal life through the most compassionate mercy of our God. So if any of you has made up his mind to go to Asia, it is here instead that he should try to fulfill his vow, because it is no virtue to rescue Christians from the Saracens in one place, only to expose them to the tyranny and oppression of the Saracens in another. May almighty God arouse in your hearts a love of your brothers and reward your bravery with victory over the enemy' (Kehr, *Katalien*, 2, no. 23; L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The crusades*, p. 40.) In this spirit, Urban sent the archbishop of Toledo, who wanted to join the crusade, back to Spain, absolving him from his crusading vow (*JL* *5674).

One of the preserved canons of the Council of Clermont tells of the decision to send a military expedition to rescue the church of Jerusalem and other Asian churches from the power of the Saracens, while another promises that all who went to Jerusalem to liberate the church of God not in order to obtain honor or riches but solely out of devotion, would be freed from all penance (Somerville, *Decreta clarmontensia*, pp. 74, 124). Not unrelated to Urban's crusading appeal at Clermont (although the nature of the relation is open to debate) was his response in the Council of Piacenza in March 1095 to the Byzantine embassy asking for 'some help with the defense of the holy Church against the pagans', who had reached the walls of Constantinople. Urban urged 'many' to offer that help, 'so that they promised by swearing that they would with God's help go there and help that emperor against the pagans faithfully and according to their ability' (Bernoldi, *Chronicon*, a. 1095). *Annales S. Benigni Divionensis* (a. 1095) claim that 'the first vows for the journey to Jerusalem were sworn' in the Council of Autun, which may have taken place during Urban's stay there in October 1095. On his way from Clermont back to Rome, Urban is said to have, 'everywhere he went, instructed men

to make crosses and go to Jerusalem and liberate it from the Turks and other peoples' (*Chronicon Sancti Maxentii*, a. 1096). More specifically, Urban is reported to have preached the crusade in the councils of Limoges in the last week of 1095, Angers in the second week of February 1096, Tours in March 1096, and Nîmes in July 1096 (*Notitiae duae Lemovicenses; Gesta Andegavensium*; Bernoldi, *Chronicon*, a. 1096; *Chronicon Sancti Maxentii*, a. 1096). In Angers, he appointed Robert Arbrissel a preacher of the crusade and confirmed Raymond of Toulouse's donation of rights and goods to the abbey of Saint-Gilles in preparation for Raymond's joining the expedition to Jerusalem (Baldric of Dol, *Vita b. Roberti de Arbrisello 2*, in *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 5 vols, Paris, 1730-45, v, cols 743-46, no. 393). In September 1096, Urban sent Bishop Hugh of Grenoble and William of Orange to Genoa to preach the crusade (Cafari, *De liberatione*, iii, p. 49). He asked the Genoese for help with the Holy Land (Jacobus de Voragine, *Chronica*, p. 300). From Pisa, he addressed a letter to his supporters in Bologna (*JL 5670*; Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, no. 3, cited above) and, late in October near Lucca, he met Robert of Normandy, Stephen of Blois, and Robert of Flanders, on their way to the East, and gave them his blessing (Fulcher, *Historia I*, vii,1; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum anglorum IV.350*). He discussed the crusade in Chieti (probably in March 1098: *Chronicon Casauriense 5*), and in the council he held in Bari, in October 1098, where he reportedly expressed his intention to leave for the Holy Land (Riant, *Inventaire*, app. no. IV, p. 225). Late in 1098, he named Cardinal Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, his plenipotentiary with the crusaders, in place of the deceased Adhémar (whom he had appointed in the Council of Clermont). In the year of his death, he exhorted Archbishop Anselm of Milan to help the crusading efforts, which Anselm did by going on a crusade in 1100 (Landulfus, *Historia mediolanensis 4*; Kehr, *Italia pontificia 6.1.54*, no. *129).

SIGNIFICANCE

Urban II's letters and privileges, as well as other surviving documents that shed light on his thought and action, are of primary importance for understanding Christian-Muslim relations in the period concerned and far beyond that time, because of Urban's role as the initiator of the First Crusade. The leaders of the crusade, in a letter to Urban, called it the war that was 'properly your own' (Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae*, no. 16, p. 164). Contemporary chroniclers and the first historians

of the crusade had no doubts as to Urban's centrality to the whole enterprise. The emphasis that modern historians, in their efforts to explain the causes and success of the First Crusade, have placed on Urban and/or on the favorable circumstances (social transformation, economic and demographic factors, political developments, church reform and the rise of papal monarchy, lay piety) has shifted here and there, but Urban's key role has never been denied.

The significance of Urban II's words for bringing about the crusading action remains open to debate. Urban deployed some conventional figures of speech from discourses on the Muslims and holy war. The Muslims were pagans (*JL* 5710), wild and savage people (*JL* 5497; Hiestand, *Papsturkunden*, no. 2), molesters (*JL* 5710), barbarians, invaders, and ravishers of the churches (*JL* 5608). They were enemies, including the 'enemies of the cross' (Kehr, *Katalien* 2, no. 27). Against that enemy, God granted victories to his people and helped them; Christian military triumphs were the expression of divine mercy, victories in the name of God, or God's work (cf. *JL* 5366; 5398; 5448; 5464; 5497; 5703; 5706; Kehr, *Katalien* 2, no. 23). Within and beyond such conventional rhetoric, one can detect shifts of emphasis in Urban's writings. One shift was mainly 'technical': building on the idea of meritorious violence at the bidding of the pope and emphasizing the devotional and penitential character of holy war as (armed) pilgrimage, Urban II and his councils began to codify the spiritual benefits of crusaders – commutation, redemption, absolution, or remission of penance or sins (there is a difference between what was promised by papal documents and popular crusading propaganda, and no consensus among historians) – and their legal protection. Perhaps more consequential was Urban II's giving greater prominence than his predecessors to the image and idea of Saracen oppression, servitude, and tyranny (cf. *JL* 5497; 5608; 5703; Kehr, *Katalanien*, 2: no. 23), and to their conceptual opposite – the idea of liberation. In Urban II's usage, the idea of liberation itself underwent a transformation. He departed from the Gregorian understanding, in which *liberatio* was primarily the liberation of the church through reform, and called for 'liberation of the eastern churches' (*JL* 5608) and for the 'liberation of Christendom' (Hiestand, *Papsturkunden*, no. 2). The imperative to liberate Christendom was a logical extension of the reform papacy's claim to universal primacy (cf. Gilchrist, 'The papacy and war against the "Saracens"', p. 186). Christendom, however, was not a pre-existing community but a community in the making. Consequently, crusade was by definition

an expansionist war, producing the object of liberation through the slaughter of the enemy and conquest of territory.

Urban's most important innovation was to develop a theologico-historical scheme in which he placed the reconquest and the crusade (and thus Christian-Muslim relations) and, intimately linked with that, a political-theological interpretation of the crusaders' action. Urban viewed and represented the armed struggle against Muslims in the west and east, the reconquest and the crusade, as a unitary struggle on different but equally important fronts. He ordered Spanish pilgrims and knights to stay home, created Pisa an archbishopric for its success in North Africa, gave perpetual legation to the victorious Roger of Sicily, and organized the expedition to the east (see especially *JL* 5703, and Kehr, *Katalien* 2, no. 23; cf. *JL* 5401, *5674; Malaterra, *Ruggero I e Roberto il Guiscardo*, iv, p. 29; Boase, 'Recent developments'; Becker, *Papst Urban II.*). The 'global' and successful struggle against Muslims was a sign of God's grace and a turn in salvation history: The Christian people had expiated for their sins by suffering Saracen tyranny and oppression (Urban was very precise in counting the years that had elapsed since the Arab conquests in different parts of the western Mediterranean); God looked upon His flock in mercy, and with His help they were liberated and they restored the faith and churches to their ancient glory. Whereas the conventional association of God and God's will with Christian military triumphs against the Muslims was a feature of Urban's letters from the beginning of his pontificate (Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, p. 16), he went a step further. In his comprehensive view of the struggle against Muslims, he made a shift from the concept of God's help to his people to one of God's acting through them: Christian holy warriors did not only enjoy God's help and benefit from his merciful intervention, but came to embody God's action. God now acted through them. Urban expressed both these aspects in his privilege for Huesca. He thanked the Lord for the abundance of His mercy, since He deigned that 'in our own times' the oppression of the Christian people be eased and faith exalted, 'since in our days, God has through Christian men overcome the Turks in Asia, the Moors in Europe, and through special grace restored once famous cities to his worship' (*JL* 5703; cf. 5460).

In Urban II's *imaginaire*, the conflict between Christians and Muslims was of central importance and became irreconcilable, driving Christians into a God-willed war of extermination. If the language of crusading chronicles and histories, including their reports of Urban

II's Clermont speech, was sometimes stronger than the language in Urban's own surviving writings, it was consonant with it. As both idea and reality, the crusades have left a profound negative imprint on Christian-Muslim relations, and this has not yet been overcome. As the initiator of the crusades, Pope Urban II bears a major share of responsibility.

MANUSCRIPTS

See editions, below

EDITIONS & TRANSLATIONS

- T. Ruinart, *Beati Urbani Papae II. Vita*, in *Ouvrages posthumes de D. Jean Mabillon, et de D. Thierrri Ruinart*, 3 vols, Paris, 1724, iii, pp. i-410 (repr. Farnborough, 1967)
- G. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 53 vols, Venice, 1759-98, xx, cols 641-976 (repr. Paris, 1901-27; Graz, 1960-61)
- B. *Urbani II pontificis romani epistolae, diplomata, sermones*, in *PL* 151, cols 9-584
- J. von Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta pontificum Romanorum inedita*, 3 vols, Stuttgart, 1881-86, i, pp. 55-69; ii, pp. 141-68; iii, pp. 17-19 (repr. Graz, 1958)
- H. Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes quae supersunt aevo aequales ac genuinae/Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100. Eine Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges*, Innsbruck, 1901 (repr. Hildesheim, 1973)
- W. Wiederhold, *Papsturkunden in Florenz, Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Göttingen, 1901
- P.F. Kehr, *Italia pontificia; sive, Repertorium privilegiorum et literarum a romanis pontificibus ante annum MCLXXXVIII Italiae ecclesiis, monasteriis, civitatibus singulisque personis concessorum*, Berlin, 1906-75
- C.-J. Hefele [K.J. von Hefele], rev. H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, vol. 5.1, Paris 1912 (repr. Hildesheim, 1973, pp. 337-465)
- P. Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Spanien, Vorarbeiten zur Hispania pontifica: I. Katalanien, ii. Urkunden und Regesten nach den eigenen und den von J. Rius, P. Rassow und W. Kienast angefertigten Abschriften und Kolationen*, Berlin, 1926

- D. Mansilla, *La documentacion pontificia hasta Inocencio III (965-1216)* (*Monumenta Hispaniae Vaticana, Registros 1*), Rome, 1955
- 'The canons from Urban II found in the canonical collection from 1090 until the time of the *Decretum Gratiani*', in F.J. Gossman, *Pope Urban II and canon law*, Washington DC, 1960, part 1
- R. Somerville, *The councils of Urban II*. vol. 1: *Decreta Claromontensia*, Amsterdam, 1972
- R. Somerville, in collaboration with S. Kuttner, *Pope Urban II, the Collectio Britannica, and the Council of Melfi (1089)*, Oxford, 1996
- R. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande (Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificius III, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, 3rd series 136)*, Göttingen, 1985
- L. Riley-Smith and J. Riley-Smith (eds), *The crusades. Idea and reality, 1095-1274* (*Documents of Medieval History 4*), London, 1981

STUDIES

- D. Nirenberg, 'Christendom and Islam', in M. Rubin and W. Simons (eds), *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100-c.1500* (*The Cambridge History of Christianity 4*), Cambridge, 2010, 149-69
- J. Phillips, *Holy warriors. A modern history of the crusades*, London, 2009
- N. Housley, *Fighting for the cross. Crusading to the Holy Land*, New Haven CT, 2008
- B.S. Bachrach, 'Papal war aims in 1096. The option not chosen', in I. Shagrir, R. Ellenblum and J. Riley-Smith (eds), *In laudem hierosolymitani. Studies in crusades and medieval culture in honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, Aldershot UK, 2007, 320-43
- N. Housley, 'The crusades and Islam', *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007) 189-208
- A. Demurger, 'La papauté entre croisade et guerre sainte (fin XI^e-début XIII^e siècle)', in D. Baloup and P. Josserand (eds), *Regards croisés sur la guerre sainte. Guerre, religion et idéologie dans l'espace méditerranéen latin (XI^e-XIII^e siècle)*, Toulouse, 2006, 115-32

- T. Deswarte, 'Entre historiographie et histoire. Aux origines de la guerre sainte en Occident', in D. Baloup and P. Josserand (eds), *Regards croisés sur la guerre sainte. Guerre, religion et idéologie dans l'espace méditerranéen latin (XI^e-XIII^e siècle)*, Toulouse, 2006, 67-90
- J. Flori, 'La formation des concepts de guerre sainte et de croisade aux XI^e et XII^e siècles: prédication papale et motivations chevaleresques', in D. Baloup and P. Josserand (eds), *Regards croisés sur la guerre sainte. Guerre, religion et idéologie dans l'espace méditerranéen latin (XI^e-XIII^e siècle)*, Toulouse, 2006, 133-57
- N. Housley, *Contesting the crusades*, Oxford, 2006
- C. Tyerman, *God's war. A new history of the crusades*, Cambridge MA, 2006
- J. France, *The crusades and the expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000-1714*, London, 2005
- G. Gresser, 'Die Kreuzzugsdee Papst Urbans II. im Spiegel der Synoden von Piacenza und Clermont', in P. Bruns and G. Gresser (eds), *Vom Schisma zu den Kreuzzügen: 1054-1204*, Paderborn, 2005, 133-54
- S. Kangas, 'Deus vult. Violence and suffering as a means of salvation during the First Crusade', in T.M.S. Lehtonen et al. (eds), *Medieval history writing and crusading ideology*, Helsinki, 2005, 163-74
- J. Riley-Smith, *The crusades, a history*, New Haven CT, 2005²
- M. Bull, 'Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in miracle stories, c. 1000-c.1200. Reflections on the study of first crusaders' motivations', in M. Bull and N. Housley (eds), *The experience of crusading*. vol. 1: *Western approaches*, Cambridge, 2003, 13-38
- J.M. Jensen, 'Peregrinatio sive expeditio. Why the First Crusade was not a pilgrimage', *Al-Masaq* 15 (2003) 119-37
- G. Andenna, 'Meditazioni di un politico genovese sui fatti di Terrasanta', in M. Montanari (ed.), *Caffaro. La liberazione delle città d'Oriente*, Genoa, 2001, 7-34
- J. Flori, *La guerre sainte. La formation de l'idée de croisade dans l'Occident chrétien*, Paris, 2001
- Becker, 'Le voyage d'Urbain II en France'
- J.A. Brundage, 'Crusaders and jurists. The legal consequences of crusader status', in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la Croisade. Actes du Colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995)*, Rome, 1997, 141-54

- J.-H. Foulon, 'L'ecclésiologie du concile de Clermont "Ecclesia sit catholica, casta et libera"', in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la Croisade. Actes du Colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995)*, Rome, 1997, 85-125
- M. Parisse, 'Les effets de l'appel d'Urbain II à la croisade aux marges impériales de la France', in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la Croisade. Actes du Colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995)*, Rome, 1997, 213-20
- A. Vauchez, 'Les composantes eschatologiques de l'idée de croisade', in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la Croisade. Actes du Colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995)*, Rome, 1997, 233-43
- J.A. Brundage, 'Immortalizing the crusades. Law and institutions', in B.Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith, and R. Hiestand (eds), *Montjoie. Studies in crusade history in honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, Aldershot UK, 1997, 251-60
- A. Dupront, *Le mythe de croisade*, Paris, 1997
- P. Partner, *God of battles. Holy wars of Christianity and Islam*, Princeton NJ, 1997
- R. Somerville, 'Clermont 1095. Crusade and canons', in L. García-Guijarro Ramos (ed.), *La Primera Cruzada novecientos años después. El Concilio de Clermont y los orígenes del movimiento cruzado*, [Madrid], [1997], 63-77
- G.T. Beech, 'Urban II, the Abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, and the First Crusade', in M. Balard (ed.), *Autour de la Première Croisade. Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, Paris, 1996, 57-70
- R. Hiestand, 'Les canons de Clermont et d'Antioche sur l'organisation ecclésiastique des états croisés, authentiques ou faux?', in M. Balard (ed.), *Autour de la Première Croisade. Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, Paris, 1996, 29-37
- R. Hiestand, 'Kreuzzugsgedanke und Verlauf des ersten Kreuzzuges', in D. Bach and H.-J. Barkenings (eds), *1096 – Der erste Kreuzzug und die Verfolgung der Juden in deutschen Städten, Tagung in Zusammenarbeit mit der Evangelischen Kirche im Rheinland, 01.-03. März 1996*, Mülheim an der Ruhr, 1996
- H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Urban II and the idea of crusade', *Studi Medievali*, 3 series 36 (1995) 721-42

- J. Ward, 'The First Crusade as disaster. Apocalypticism and the genesis of the crusading movement', in *Medieval studies in honour of Avrom Saltman*, Ramat-Gan, 1995, 253-92
- M. Bull, *Knightly piety and the lay response to the First Crusade. The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970-c. 1130*, Oxford, 1993
- J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the idea of crusading*, London, 1993, ch. 1
- I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198. Continuity and innovation*, Cambridge, 1990
- A. Becker, *Papst Urban II. (1088-1099)*. vol. 2: *Der Papst, die griechische Christenheit und der Kreuzzug*, Stuttgart, 1988
- J. Gilchrist, 'The papacy and war against the "Saracens", 795-1216', *International History Review* 10 (1988) 174-97
- C. Cahen, *Orient et Occident au temps des croisades*, Paris, 1983
- R. Manselli, *Italia e Italiani alla prima crociata*, Rome, 1983
- R. Garcia-Villoslada (ed.), *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, 5 vols in 7, Madrid, 1979-, ii/1, chs 6 and 7
- J. Riley-Smith, *What were the crusades?* London, 1977, 2002²
- R. Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont and the First Crusade', *Studia Gratiana* 20 (1976) 323-37 (repr. in R. Somerville, *Papacy, councils and canon law in the 11th-12th Centuries*, Aldershot UK, 1990)
- G. Vismara, *Impium foedus. Le origini della "respublica christiana"*, Milan, 1974
- R. Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II*. vol. 1: *Decreta Claromontensia*, Amsterdam, 1972
- E.O. Blake, 'The formation of the crusade idea', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21 (1970) 11-31
- H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Urban II's preaching of the First Crusade', *History* 55 (1970) 177-88
- R. Somerville, 'The French councils of Pope Urban II. Some basic considerations', *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 2 (1970), 56-65 (repr. in R. Somerville, *Papacy, Councils and canon law in the 11th-12th Centuries*, Aldershot UK, 1990)
- R. Somerville, in collaboration with S. Kuttner, 'The so-called Canons of Nîmes (1096)', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 38 (1970) 175-89 (repr. in R. Somerville, *Papacy, Councils and Canon Law in the 11th-12th Centuries*, Aldershot UK, 1990)
- J.A. Brundage, *Medieval canon law and the crusader*, Madison WI, 1969

- F. Dunclaf, 'The Councils of Piacenza and Clermont', in M.W. Baldwin (ed.), *The first hundred years (A History of the Crusades 1)*, Madison WI, 1969, 220-52
- J. Gauss, 'Papst Urban und Kaiser Alexios', in J. Gauss, *Ost und West in der Kirchen- und Papstgeschichte des 11. Jahrhunderts*, Zürich, 1967, 71-126
- R. Manselli, 'La res publica cristiana e l'Islam', in *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'alto medioevo (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 12)* Spoleto, 1965, 115-47 (repr. in R. Manselli, *Italia e Italiani alla prima crociata*, Rome, 1983)
- H.E. Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Stuttgart, 1965 (trans. J. Gillingham, *The crusades*, Oxford, 1993)
- J. Richard, 'La papauté et la direction de la Première Croisade', *Journal des Savants* 2 (1960) 49-58
- M.A. Zaborov, *Papstvo i krestovye pohody*, Moscow, 1960
- J. van Laarhoven, "'Christianitas" et réforme Grégorienne', *Studi Gregoriani* 6 (1959-61) 1-98
- A. Gieysztor, 'The genesis of the crusades. The encyclical of Sergius IV (1009-1012)', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 5 (1948-50) 3-23
- P. Rousset, *Les origines et les caractères de la première croisade*, Neuchâtel, 1945
- R. Grousset, *Les croisades*, Paris, 1944
- G. Monleone, *Iacopo da Varagine e la sua Cronaca di Genova dalle origini al MCCXCVII*, 3 vols, Rome, 1941, i
- R. Manselli, 'Boemondo d'Altavilla alla prima crociata', *Japigia* 9 (1940) 45-79, 154-84 (repr. in R. Manselli, *Italia e Italiani alla prima crociata*, Rome, 1983)
- J. Rupp, *L'idée de chrétienté dans la pensée pontificale des origines à Innocent III*, Paris, 1939
- C. Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, Stuttgart, 1935
- F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la première croisade jusqu'à l'élection de Godefroi de Bouillon*, Paris, 1925
- W. Holtzmann, 'Studien zur Orientpolitik des Papsttums und zur Entstehung des ersten Kreuzzuges', *Historische Vierteljahrsschrift* 23 (1924) 167-99 (repr. in W. Holtzmann, *Beiträge zur Reichs- und Papstgeschichte des hohen Mittelalters. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Bonn, 1957)
- L. Bréhier, *L'Église et l'Orient au moyen âge. Les croisades*, Paris, 1907

- D.C. Munro, 'The speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095', *American Historical Review* 9 (1905) 231-42
- L. Paulot, *Urbain II. Un pape français*, Paris, 1903
- G.-R. Crégut, *Le Concile de Clermont en 1095 et la Première Croisade*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1895
- A.G. Tononi, 'Ottavo centenario del Concilio tenuto da Urbano II in Piacenza l'anno 1095', *La Rassegna Nazionale* 17 (1895)
- P.E.D. Riant, *Inventaire critique des lettres historiques des croisades, I-II: 768-1100*, Paris, 1880
- G. Tononi, 'Actes constatant la participation des Plaisançais à la I^e Croisade', *Archives de l'Orient Latin, publiées sous le patronage de la Société de l'Orient Latin*, vol. 1, Paris, 1881

Tomaz Mastnak