

**MASTERTHESIS THEOLOGY**

# **JESUS CHRIST AS WARLORD OR PEACEMAKER**

THE THEORETICAL INTERTWINING OF FRAMING AND CULTURAL MEMORY  
IN EXPLAINING THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN  
POPE URBAN II AND POPE FRANCIS I  
IN THEIR THEOLOGICAL (DE-) LEGITIMIZATION OF VIOLENCE



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## I. INTRODUCTION

### A. PREFACE

*“No act of violence can be perpetrated in the name of God, for it would profane his Name.”<sup>1</sup>*

Pope Francis spoke these words in April 2017 during his address at the International Peace Conference in Cairo. He reacted upon the issue of violent fundamentalism; the specific cause being the bomb attacks on two Coptic churches in Egypt carried out by ISIS. This pacifistic positioning is characteristic of pope Francis: we hear him frequently uttering and twittering the words *Numquam plus bellum* or *War never again* and in multiple ecclesial documents pope Francis denounces domestic and public violence. In his bull of indiction, given in Rome in April 2015, the pope writes that letting go of violence is one of the necessary conditions to living joyfully.<sup>2</sup> In his encyclical letter *Laudato Si'*, the pope writes that freedom fades when it is handed over to the blind force of violence.<sup>3</sup> And in his letter written to Angela Merkel on the occasion of the G20 Summit in Hamburg, the pope writes that war is never a solution.<sup>4</sup> These are just a few examples of many recent pacifistic papal statements that have led to discussion among theologians to what extent the Roman Catholic Church is directed towards becoming a so-called ‘Peace Church’.<sup>5</sup> This discussion however, is not merely based upon the recent statements made by pope Francis. When examining the topic of violence within papal statements and documents of the past fifty years, we can clearly see a trend within the Vatican of promoting peace and condemning armed conflict. This condemnation is for instance apparent in the address of pope Paul VI before the United Nations General Assembly in 1965, where he voiced the words: ‘No more war, war never again!’<sup>6</sup> This phrase is subsequently repeated within papal encyclicals and statements of John Paul II, Benedict XVI and Francis.<sup>7</sup> Looking at this development from a theological perspective, it seems that the Church applies a more restrictive interpretation of its just war tradition than before while promoting practices

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<sup>1</sup> Pope Francis, “Address of his Holiness Pope Francis to the participants in the International Peace Conference”, 28<sup>th</sup> of April 2017. Available at: [http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2017/april/documents/papa-francesco\\_20170428\\_egitto-conferenza-pace.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2017/april/documents/papa-francesco_20170428_egitto-conferenza-pace.html) (accessed January 28, 2018).

<sup>2</sup> Pope Francis, “Bull of Indiction of the Extraordinary Jubilee of Mercy”, 11<sup>th</sup> of April 2015. Available at: [https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost\\_letters/documents/papa-francesco\\_bolla\\_20150411\\_misericordiae-vultus.html](https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_letters/documents/papa-francesco_bolla_20150411_misericordiae-vultus.html) (accessed December 6, 2017).

<sup>3</sup> Pope Francis, “Encyclical Letter *Laudato Si'*”, 24<sup>th</sup> of May 2015. Available at: [http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco\\_20150524\\_enciclica-laudato-si.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco_20150524_enciclica-laudato-si.html) (accessed December 13, 2017).

<sup>4</sup> Pope Francis, “Letter of His Holiness Pope Francis to Mrs Angela Merkel, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, on the occasion of the G20 Summit”, 29<sup>th</sup> of June 2017. Available at: [https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/letters/2017/documents/papa-francesco\\_20170629\\_lettera-g20.html](https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/letters/2017/documents/papa-francesco_20170629_lettera-g20.html) (accessed December 6, 2017).

<sup>5</sup> The phrase ‘Peace Church’ historically refers to three specific Christian churches: the Church of the Brethren, the Quakers and the Mennonites. All these churches agree that Jesus advocated nonviolence and therefore present themselves as advocates of Christian Pacifism.

<sup>6</sup> Pope Paul VI, “Address to the United Nations Organization”, 4<sup>th</sup> of October 1965. Available at: [https://w2.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/speeches/1965/documents/hf\\_p-vi\\_spe\\_19651004\\_united-nations.html](https://w2.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/speeches/1965/documents/hf_p-vi_spe_19651004_united-nations.html) (accessed December 13, 2017).

<sup>7</sup> Examples are the encyclical letter of pope John Paul II *Centesimus Annus*, the address of pope Benedict on the World day of Peace in 2006 and the address of pope Francis during the vigil of prayer for peace in 2013.



of nonviolence and forgiveness.<sup>8</sup> This ‘modern’ theological interpretation of just war theory seems to differ from traditional Catholic just war theory as explicated by Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, which has been applied for centuries as a legitimization for waging war and practising acts of violence. This difference, when funded, is important, for it would mean that the theological interpretation of the morality of violence has changed. If so, it means that the official teaching of the Church has changed; which is in fact impossible, when one considers the teaching of the ‘*depositum fidei*’: the belief that Christ has entrusted the treasure of faith to his apostles to be preserved throughout the ages.

This thesis investigates this interesting theological area of tension. It is built upon two pillars: The first is my preliminary research aimed at determining whether the hypothesis that the theological interpretation of the morality of violence has changed, is proven to be correct. Based upon comparative research of seemingly incompatible statements of two popes living in a different historical era, I have answered this question positively. More specifically, we can speak of a substantial change within moral theology considering the legitimization of *public violence*.<sup>9</sup> This has brought me to the central question of this thesis: how can we explain this theological change in light of the teaching of the *depositum fidei*? According to this teaching, the apostles and their successors are responsible for a true tradition of the treasure of Faith. This means that there should not be any inconsistencies within the teaching of the Catholic Church and certainly not in the proclamation of the pope, bishop of Rome and supreme pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church worldwide. If we then consider the conclusion of my comparative research and assume that neither pope can be considered a madman, the question that is thrust upon us as theologians is: how can two popes, who are both carriers of the one *depositum fidei*, proclaim apparent contradictory moral statements? Explaining this difference within the scope of this thesis is the second pillar of my research.

This thesis explores a new theory, based upon the hypothesis that the difference between both popes can be explained from the notion of ‘background beliefs’. Do the existing beliefs, values and narratives within the minds of their audience affect the content of their moral argumentation? Can we find an explanation for and establish a relationship between the altered morality of violence and the so-called ‘background beliefs’ of the popes and their audience? My hypothesis is based upon the intertwining of two highly relevant and still evolving theoretical concepts: the social movement framing perspective of sociologists Snow and Benford (1986, 1988, 1992) and the cultural memory theory of German Egyptologist Jan Assmann (1992, 2000). As I am a theologian, and as many of my fellow theologians will not be familiar with the interdisciplinary methods I am employing, I will explain the structure of my research in greater detail in the upcoming paragraphs.

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<sup>8</sup> In his article, theologian Kristopher Norris analyses the most recent ecclesial documents on the subject of just war and peace. He distinguishes between six indications within these documents of a shift towards pacifism: a stronger rhetoric regarding war, inserting more restrictive just war criteria, offering greater attention to the underlying issues of conflict, suggesting the improbability of just war and the insufficiency of the category of justice itself. See Kristopher Norris, “Never Again War”. Recent Shifts in the Roman Catholic Just War Tradition and the Question of “Functional Pacifism,” *Journal of Religious Ethics* 42.1 (2014): 110.

<sup>9</sup> I will explain the analysis of my research leading up to the central question of this thesis into further detail in chapter I.

## B. RESEARCH PROBLEM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

### *Research problem:*

How can we explain the apparent contradiction in moral interpretation between pope Urban II and pope Francis with regard to the morality of public violence?

### *Hypothesis:*

The apparent contradiction can be explained by the intertwining of two different concepts: the concept of cultural memory of Egyptologist Jan Assmann and the concept of framing as defined by sociologists David Snow and Robert Benford.

### *Research Questions:*

1. What is this ‘contradiction’ in moral interpretation between pope Urban II and pope Francis with regard to the morality of public violence? (*recapitulation former research*)
2. How can we explain this difference? Exploration of a new theory. (*hypothesis*)
3. What is cultural memory as defined by Jan Assmann?
4. What is the social movement framing theory of sociologists Snow & Benford?
5. Can I prove a connection between cultural memory and framing in the case of pope Urban II?
6. Can I prove a connection between cultural memory and framing in the case of pope Francis I?
7. Is my hypothesis validated by the two cases of pope Urban II and pope Francis?

## C. RESEARCH AIM

This research is aimed at the development of a new theory that explains differences in moral interpretation of religious leaders within the same religious tradition over a certain period of time. It examines the relationship between moral statements made by religious leaders in public and the background beliefs of their listeners. When religious leaders want to persuade their followers of the morality or immorality of a certain act, they often appeal to the dormant or active background beliefs of their public in order to invigorate their moral statements. However, the question is raised whether these so-called background beliefs also affect the moral interpretation of religious leaders. Is there a relationship between the changing content of religious moral statements and the changing content of cultural and contextual background beliefs? This question appears to be relevant, as our society seems to be increasingly affected by the public moral statements of religious leaders. Examples are the many debated moral statements of pope Francis about topics such as abortion and marriage, but also the public statements of imams encouraging or discouraging violence to be used against Jews, Christians and non-Muslims.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> For example the statements of pope Francis on the receiving of Communion for remarried couples and the discussion it has raised within society. Pope Francis, “Amoris Laetitia”, 19 March 2016. Available at: [http://w2.vatican.va/content/dam/francesco/pdf/apost\\_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco\\_esortazione-ap\\_20160319\\_amoris-laetitia\\_en.pdf](http://w2.vatican.va/content/dam/francesco/pdf/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20160319_amoris-laetitia_en.pdf) (accessed January 28, 2018). Stijn Fens, “Kardinaal Eijk: ‘De paus moet

This brings me to my second consideration for researching this topic: the importance in the current public and academic debate to distinguish between what is ‘authentically’ religious and what is ‘made from it’. I must think of the many debates in the Netherlands and elsewhere, whether Islam is essentially peaceful or violent. How can we make this judgement, if we cannot clearly distinguish between the written content of religion and the way it is used or ‘framed’ by religious leaders, adherents and outsiders such as the media and politics? To do so, we must understand the mechanisms of how the written content of religion is used and specifically *how* it is used to legitimize or delegitimize acts of violence.

A third reason why I think it is important to research this topic is because of the current criticism of religion as being hypocrite. This has to do with its claim of possessing and proclaiming eternal moral truths, while history seems to show that it is not consistent in its claim. This apparent contradiction is for example perceived in the current claim of the Roman Catholic Church as being a peaceful Church, although it is perceived by many to have generated and participated in many violent conflicts in history. But also in Islam this contradiction is called upon within debate: the claim of many imams that Islam is not a violent but rather a peaceful religion seems to strike many as an empty claim with regard to the many terrorist acts committed in the name of Islam especially the last decennia. Therefore, I think it is of utmost importance to research the distinction between *what* is written in Holy Scripture and *how* and especially *why* it is interpreted in a certain way.

Lastly, this thesis elaborates on my previous research of the history of the Qur’an in which I already made use of the concept of cultural memory as explicated by Jan Assmann. The use of this concept proved to be very productive within religion studies. By using this concept once again, I hope to further explore the benefits of using this theory within the study of Christian theology. In employing interdisciplinary methods, I hope to gain fruitful insights for the study of Christian theology and its relevance for our society today.

#### D. SOURCES USED

This research is based upon a study of literature. This is mainly due to two reasons: the focus of my research and its historical component. I am interested in the argumentations used by religious leaders to give their moral statements a convincing base towards their public. More specifically, I want to examine the change that occurs over time in the moral interpretation of religious leaders who claim to represent the same religious tradition and refer to the same canonical scripture. To explore my hypothesis of the possible factor that accounts for this change, i.e. a combination of cultural memory and framing theory, I have chosen two case-studies within the Roman Catholic tradition: the sermon of pope Urban II held at the council of Clermont (1095) and the document *Evangelii Gaudium* (2013) as formulated by pope Francis. The criterion for selecting these sources was not as much that the moral statements

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duidelijkheid scheppen over hertrouwde katholieken,” *Trouw*, January 26, 2018, <https://www.trouw.nl/religie-en-filosofie/kardinaal-eijk-de-paus-moet-duidelijkheid-scheppen-over-hertrouwde-katholieken~a5c4754e/> (accessed January 28, 2018). Another example is the recent condemnation of the act of suicide bombing as forbidden by 1800 Pakistani Islamic clerics. See Kingsley Obiejesi, “Suicide bombing is ‘haraam’, 1800 Pakistani Islamic clerics declare,” *ICIR*, January 17, 2018, <https://www.icirnigeria.org/suicide-bombing-is-haraam-1800-pakistani-islamic-clerics-declare/> (accessed January 28, 2018).

were uttered or written down, but that I could compare the argumentations of two religious leaders, each living in a different historical era, who judge the morality of the act of violence in a seemingly incompatible way. The historicity of my case studies led me to the study of literature as my primary way of getting information. Therefore, to examine the moral argumentation of pope Francis with regard to the act of violence, I have used the document *Evangelii Gaudium* (2013) as my primary source.

From the perspective of reliability, it was much harder to examine the moral argumentation of pope Urban II. Not only because of its historical distance, but also because there is not an official report handed down that contains the original text of the speech of Urban II. What we do have, are at least six reports of the sermon of pope Urban II written by others: probably three of them were actually present at the Council and it is likely that at least several of them made notes that they used for writing their report. I have selected three reports as my sources for the sermon of pope Urban II: the account of Fulcher of Chartres (written between 1100-1106), the account of Robert of Rheims (written before 1107) and the account of Baldric of Bourgueil (written around 1108). I have chosen these three from the viewpoint of reliability, as all of them were actually present at the Council of Clermont. However, I should note that the question remains whether the words put into the pope's mouth are a reliable account of the pope's speech, or if they mainly reflect the opinion of the author. Secondly, all reports are written only after the success of the First Crusade, which raises the question to what extent the reporting of the sermon of pope Urban II is influenced by the knowledge of subsequent events. I did not read the sources in their original language, but used the English translation of two experts in this specific field, i.e. Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith.<sup>11</sup>

## E. METHODS USED

My hypothesis is based upon the assumption that the mechanisms of framing and cultural memory are working together in explaining the apparent contradiction in moral interpretation between pope Urban II and pope Francis with regard to the morality of public violence. Therefore, the essence of this research is to explore whether there is a relationship between the two and to what extent this intertwining can explain the seeming contradiction. Firstly, I will analyse in the case of pope Urban II and pope Francis to what extent the mechanisms of cultural memory and framing are present. As method, I will use the two theoretical models of 'cultural memory theory' and 'social movement framing theory' as my searchlight to shed light upon the possible working of these mechanisms in the case studies of pope Urban II and Pope Francis.<sup>12</sup> By using two different searchlights, I aim at establishing two observations that enable me to prove that there are two mechanisms at work that are interdependent. I have selected concepts from both theories that function as my main sensitizing concepts (the numbers in Figure 1). To create an accurate measuring tool, I have subdivided these into more specific sensitizing concepts (the numbers at the second level in Figure 1). These are:

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<sup>11</sup> Louise Riley-Smith and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. Idea and Reality, 1095-1274* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981).

<sup>12</sup> According to the method as described in Ben Baarda, Martijn de Goede en Joop Teunissen, *Basisboek Kwalitatief Onderzoek. Handleiding voor het opzetten en uitvoeren van kwalitatief onderzoek* (Houten: Noordhoff Uitgevers, 2009), 43.

<b>Cultural memory theory</b>	<b>Social Movement Framing theory</b>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Memory culture <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Connective structure</li> <li>2. Memory community</li> </ol> </li> <li>2) Collective memory</li> <li>3) Communicative Memory</li> <li>4) Cultural Memory <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Memory figures</li> <li>2. Mnemotechnics</li> <li>3. Retrospective and prospective memory</li> <li>4. Mnemotopes</li> <li>5. Re-presentation and interpretation</li> <li>6. ‘Cold’ and ‘hot’ societies</li> <li>7. Tranquillizers and stimulants of historical memory</li> <li>8. Foundational and contrapresent memory</li> <li>9. Mythomotor</li> </ol> </li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Collective action frames (CAF’s)</li> <li>2) Core framing tasks <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Diagnostic framing</li> <li>2. Prognostic framing</li> <li>3. Motivational framing</li> </ol> </li> <li>3) Consensus and action mobilization</li> <li>4) Frame resonance</li> <li>5) Frame credibility <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Frame consistency</li> <li>2. Empirical credibility</li> <li>3. Credibility of the frame articulators/claimsmakers</li> </ol> </li> <li>6) Frame salience <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Centrality</li> <li>2. Experiential commensurability</li> <li>3. Narrative fidelity</li> </ol> </li> <li>7) Frame alignment processes <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Frame bridging</li> <li>2. Frame amplification</li> <li>3. Frame extension</li> <li>4. Frame transformation</li> </ol> </li> </ol>

Figure 1: Sensitizing Concepts

In my analysis I will falsify and verify whether these concepts are present within the case studies. A definition and explanation of the sensitizing concepts above will be unfolded in later chapters. Secondly, I will investigate whether a connection between cultural memory and framing can be established.

## F. OVERVIEW OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE TEXT

The structure of this thesis is as follows. The main part consists of six chapters (introduction and conclusion excluded), each chapter being divided into sections. In Chapter II, I will recapitulate my former research by showing the structure of reasoning within the speech of pope Urban II and pope Francis. By doing so, I hope to provide the reader with a clear understanding of the apparent contradiction that I am explaining within this thesis. In Chapter III, I will expound upon the new theory that I am exploring to explain the aforementioned difference. In Chapter IV and V I will explicate my measuring instruments, that is the theory of Assmann (Chapter IV) and framing theory as defined by Snow and Benford (Chapter V). In Chapter VI, I will apply both theories upon the case of pope Urban II. This chapter is divided into three sections: the first section contains the cultural memory analysis, the second contains the framing analysis and the third section contains the analysis of the connection between cultural memory and framing within the case of pope Urban II. Chapter VII is structured similarly as Chapter VI, but deals with the case of pope Francis. I will conclude my thesis (Chapter VIII) by answering the question whether my hypothesis can be validated by the two cases of pope Urban II and pope Francis.

## II. POPE URBAN II AND POPE FRANCIS: AN APPARENT CONTRADICTION

### A. DEPOSITUM FIDEI

‘Guard the good deposit that was entrusted to you – guard it with the help of the Holy Spirit who lives in us.’<sup>13</sup> Saint Paul supposedly wrote these words to his fellow worker Timothy who replaced Paul in Ephesus. It would become the scriptural foundation for the Catholic teaching of the so-called *depositum fidei*, Latin for ‘the treasure’ or ‘deposit’ of faith. It signifies that the Church has received the complete faith by Jesus Christ through the apostles, who on their turn handed over the faith to the bishops as their successors. As such, the so-called ‘sacred deposit of the faith’ consists of sacred scripture and sacred tradition. As written down in the Catechism of the Catholic Church, ‘both make up a single sacred deposit of the Word of God’.<sup>14</sup> The Word of God has become flesh through Christ, who has entrusted divine revelation to the apostles. The apostles have handed on divine revelation through their preaching and writing, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. And the apostles entrusted the *depositum fidei* to the whole of the Church. It is therefore the responsibility of the whole community to faithfully keep, preserve and hand on the ‘treasure of faith’ that was entrusted to them.

A consequence of this belief of faithfully preserving the ‘treasure of faith’ is that there must be a consensus or unity within the community concerning the *depositum fidei*, expressed within the Catechism as ‘a remarkable harmony between the bishops and the faithful’.<sup>15</sup> This universal consent is called *sensus fidei* and concerns matters of faith and morals. It means that the Church as one body cannot err in matters of belief.<sup>16</sup> This is also strengthened by the belief that the Holy Spirit guides the whole of the Church. As every member of the body of the Church has received the anointing of the Holy Spirit, it can instruct and guide the Church into all truth.<sup>17</sup>

A third component essential in remaining truthful to the *depositum fidei*, next to the sense of faith and the assistance of the Holy Spirit, is the guidance of the People of God by the sacred teaching authority or *Magisterium*. That is, the bishops as the successors of the apostles who have received the authority to teach in their place. It is their specific task to give an authentic interpretation of the Word of God, whether in the form of Sacred Scripture or Sacred Tradition.<sup>18</sup> This task is entrusted exclusively to the living teaching office of the Church, that is the bishops in communion with the successor of Saint Peter, the bishop of Rome. They have the authority of Jesus Christ to teach the faith that has been handed on. The biblical basis for this belief is Luke 10:16: ‘Whoever listens to you listens to me’.<sup>19</sup> It is important to note that in the Dogmatic Constitution *Dei Verbum* of the Second Vatican Council (1965) it is written that this teaching authority does not mean that it stands above the Word of God, but is rather the servant of it; the teaching office should teach only what has

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<sup>13</sup> 2 Timothy 1:14 (biblical quotations are taken from the New International Version).

<sup>14</sup> Catechism of the Catholic Church 97. Available at: [http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/\\_\\_\\_PN.HTM](http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/___PN.HTM) (accessed January 12, 2018).

<sup>15</sup> Catechism 84.

<sup>16</sup> Catechism 92.

<sup>17</sup> Catechism 91.

<sup>18</sup> Catechism 85.

<sup>19</sup> New International Version (NIV) Luke 10:16.

been handed on, it should listen to it devoutly, guard it scrupulously and explain it faithfully.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the Magisterium is so connected and associated with Sacred Scripture and Sacred Tradition that one of them cannot stand without the others. This is also the case for the relationship between Sacred Scripture and Sacred Tradition: as both flow from the same divine wellspring, they merge into a unity and tend toward the same end.<sup>21</sup>

The belief that the Church has received divine revelation as a sacred deposit to preserve and hand on, does not mean that the Church cannot grow throughout time in the understanding of it. This is explicitly stated within the Catechism, which states that: ‘thanks to the assistance of the Holy Spirit, the understanding of both the realities and the words of the heritage of faith is able to grow in the life of the Church.’<sup>22</sup> It means that the Church has received the truth by receiving the *depositum fidei*, but matures towards its complete understanding. In the Apostolic Constitution *Fidei Depositum* (1992), Pope John Paul II expressed this with regard to the new catechism as follows: ‘The catechism will thus contain the new and the old, because the faith is always the same yet the source of ever new light.’ Understanding of the faith grows in three different ways: first, through contemplation and study and especially theological research. Second, it grows from the spiritual realities that believers experience. And third, through the preaching of those who have received the gift of truth through episcopal succession.<sup>23</sup>

What does this teaching of *depositum fidei* imply for the moral statements of the pope? First of all, it implies that every pope has the task of truthfully preserving the *depositum fidei*. The faith that is divinely revealed is seen as truth that is unchanging. As it is seen as truth, it cannot be changed, nor can anything be added to the *depositum fidei*. Therefore, every pope calls upon the same faith, understood as scripture and tradition. This implies that there should be a consistency in papal statements concerning matters of faith and morals. Secondly, the bishops, and the pope in particular, have the exclusive task of authentically interpreting the Word of God. This means that the pope has not only the task to preserve the faith, but also give an authentic interpretation of it. Authentic means that it should be truthful to the *depositum fidei*. This is possible, as the bishops have received the authority of Jesus Christ to teach the faith to be handed on. Moreover, they have received the gift of truth through episcopal succession. Thus, any interpretation of faith should be in line with scripture and tradition and cannot be subject to the arbitrariness of any pope. This is explicitly stated within the Catechism as: ‘Yet this Magisterium is not superior to the Word of God, but is its servant’.<sup>24</sup>

In conclusion, when we consider the basic assumptions of the *depositum fidei* as one single deposit of faith (i.e. Scripture and Tradition flow from the same divine wellspring), the *sensus fidei*, the assistance of the Holy Spirit to guide the Church into truth and the teaching authority of the Magisterium, there should be a unity in faith and interpretation among the faithful and the bishops. Strictly speaking, this means there should not be any inconsistencies

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<sup>20</sup> Pope Paul VI, “Dogmatic Constitution *Verbum Dei*”, 18<sup>th</sup> of November 1965. Available at: [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_const\\_19651118\\_dei-verbum\\_en.html#](http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651118_dei-verbum_en.html#) (accessed January 14, 2018).

<sup>21</sup> *Verbum Dei* 9.

<sup>22</sup> Catechism 94.

<sup>23</sup> *Verbum Dei* 8, Catechism 94.

<sup>24</sup> Catechism 86.

in the preaching of matters of faith and morals by the bishops, and certainly not in the proclamation of the popes.

## B. POPE URBAN II AND POPE FRANCIS: TWO CASE STUDIES COMPARED

In the research I conducted preliminary to writing this thesis, I investigated the moral statements of two popes, each living in a different historical era. My aim was to draw conclusions about the development of Catholic moral theology in its legitimizing of the act of violence. Therefore, I used two case studies from Church history, i.e. the sermon of pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont (1095) in which he gave his permission for exerting violence during the First Crusade, and the statements on violence by pope Francis in his apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium* (2013), in which he declares himself against the exercise of violence. As these moral statements seemed to contradict each other, I wanted to investigate whether this was *de facto* the case. Hereto I posed the question: to what extent do both popes correspond and to what extent do they differ in their legitimization of violence? Before setting forth my views on explaining the difference between both popes in their theological (de-) legitimization of violence (Chapter 2), I first want to make clear what the difference is that is being investigated within this thesis. Therefore, I will shortly summarize the findings of my preliminary research.

### a) Pope Urban II

On Tuesday 27 November 1095, Pope Urban II addressed a great mass of people outside the cathedral of the city of Clermont. It was the last day of an ecclesiastical council that had lasted for ten days, at which more than thirteen archbishops, eighty-two bishops, and numerous abbots and clerics were present. On this last day, Pope Urban II promulgated his great ‘eastern project’: a penitential journey in arms to Jerusalem to recover the Holy Sepulchre and ‘liberate’ the eastern Christians from the infidel, being the Muslims. Those who would join the journey would earn penance and the remission of all sins. As a sign of commitment, they had to take a vow and come forward to have the sign of the cross stitched onto their clothes. It was the first public declaration of Urban II of his new concept of holy war, later known as *crusade*. The concept of a crusade was actually not ‘new’. It was a strange hybrid made of the already existing notions of holy war, just war and pilgrimage. In his sermon pope Urban is ascribed to have said: ‘*And now we speak with the authority of the prophet. Gird thy sword, each man of you, upon thy thigh, Oh thou most mighty*’.<sup>25</sup> And: ‘*Let those who were formerly brigands now become soldiers of Christ; those who once waged war against their brothers and blood-relatives fight lawfully against barbarians*’.<sup>26</sup> To legitimize the violence that accompanied the crusade, pope Urban used all sorts of argumentations within his sermon. Based upon the reports of three participants of the Council, i.e. the priest Fulcher of Chartres, chaplain of Baldwin of Boulogne, first king of Jerusalem, the monk Robert of Rheims and Baldric, abbot of Saint-Pierre-de-Bourgueil, I have analysed the arguments that are ascribed to pope Urban II. The arguments can be divided in two different

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<sup>25</sup> From the account of Baldric of Bourgueil.

<sup>26</sup> From the account of Fulcher of Chartres.



categories: religious and secular. Violence is justified because:

Religious	Secular
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. God/Christ/the prophet commands it.</li> <li>2. To defend the Church.</li> <li>3. To help your fellow Christians.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To restore peace.</li> <li>2. To revenge misdeeds.</li> <li>3. When an inferior race is threatening to conquer you.</li> <li>4. Because your ancestors did the same.</li> <li>5. To reclaim the land that is rightfully yours.</li> </ol>

Figure 2: Arguments Pope Urban II

Although the secular arguments are ‘Christianised’ in the sermon by using them in a Christian context, they are essentially not religious of nature. The pope draws on them, but only to invigorate his sermon. The religious arguments predominate all the reports of the sermon of Urban II. Furthermore, the pope not only allows violence, but also positively values it; he promises the rewards of penance and eternal glory to those who use violence as a means to achieve the legitimate causes and ends listed in the scheme above. However, the rewards are conditioned by right intent; only those who truly act in accordance with the legitimate causes and ends listed above, will obtain the spiritual rewards. Moreover, not everyone may participate: the elderly, the infirm and those who are not suited to bear arms. Clerics and women could only participate if they had official permission. Thus, pope Urban II valued the use of violence as a morally positive act when used for one of the causes or ends listed above, and when used with right intent. Nevertheless, pope Urban II also explicitly rejected a certain type of violence. He distinguished between two categories of knights: those knights who only fought each other and the knights who fought for Christ. Within his sermon, the pope repeatedly urges knights to abandon their skirmishes and fight for the Church. Thus, it seems that pope Urban II legitimized and even encouraged violence used for the greater good (i.e. public violence), but rejected violence used for one’s own benefits (private violence).

#### b) Pope Francis

On Sunday 24 November 2013, the apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium* (*The Joy of the Gospel*) was published under the papacy of pope Francis. In this document, pope Francis shares his views on faith and evangelization in the contemporary world. In the second and fourth chapter, titled ‘*Amid the Crisis of Communal Commitment*’ and ‘*The Social Dimension of Evangelization*’, pope Francis writes about the issue of violence. His emphasis on peace making and his aversion to the use of violence within this text are consistent with his former positioning with regard to the issue of violence. In multiple sermons and speeches pope Francis has frequently criticized the violence that infringes rights that are connected to issues that are of great concern to the pope, such as his concern for the well-being of the poor, his concern for the environment and his commitment to interfaith dialogue. Peace, as the only solution and way of preventing this violence from happening, would be stressed numerous times in his sermons, such as his first Urbi et Orbi message (March 2013), his address to the

United Nations General Assembly (September 2015) and his speech held at the International Peace Conference in Cairo (April 2017).<sup>27</sup>

When considering the issue of violence within *Evangelii Gaudium*, we can notice pope Francis writing about violence only in the negative sense. There is no instance of him mentioning or legitimizing violence positively. This is already apparent from the title of the paragraph where violence is mentioned for the first time: *‘Some challenges of today’s world’*. The issue of violence is considered to be one of the great challenges Christianity is faced with in our contemporary world.<sup>28</sup> The cause of this violence is exclusion and inequality in society; without dealing with this problem, pope Francis considers it to be impossible to eliminate violence.<sup>29</sup> The pope writes: *‘Inequality eventually engenders a violence which recourse to arms cannot and never will be able to resolve. It serves only to offer false hopes to those clamoring for heightened security, even though nowadays we know that weapons and violence, rather than providing solutions, create new and more serious conflicts.’*<sup>30</sup> The arguments that are used by pope Francis to make his claim against violence, can be listed as follows:

Religious	Secular
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Human life is sacred and inviolable.</li> <li>2. Violence within the Christian community should be healed by the Gospel.</li> <li>3. To attain just peace within society, solidarity and fraternal communion on a religious basis is needed.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Recourse to arms will not solve the problem of violence.</li> <li>2. Weapons and violence only create new and more serious conflicts.</li> <li>3. We should look at the underlying causes within society that lead to outbursts of violence.</li> </ol>

Figure 3: Arguments Pope Francis

Thus, when we consider the statements on violence within *Evangelii Gaudium*, pope Francis refuses the use of violence on all grounds. In every instance that the pope writes about violence it is negatively valued. There is no case mentioned in which violence can be permitted or even justified. There is no differentiation between private or public violence and situations of war or conflict. The main arguments of the pope are twofold: first, violence should not be used as a solution to violence, as it will only lead to more conflict. Second, as human life is sacred and inviolable, it may not be infringed by physical force. Therefore, instead of using violence as a potential solution, we should look at the underlying problems within society such as inequality and exclusion that instigate the violence. The pope offers here a long-term solution at macro-level. With regard to offering a direct alternative or

<sup>27</sup> Pope Francis, “Urbi et Orbi Message”, 31th of March 2013. Available at: [https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/messages/urbi/documents/papa-francesco\\_20130331\\_urbi-et-orbi-pasqua.html](https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/messages/urbi/documents/papa-francesco_20130331_urbi-et-orbi-pasqua.html) (accessed January 28, 2018). Pope Francis, “Meeting with the Members of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization. Address of the Holy Father”, 25<sup>th</sup> of September 2015. Available at: [http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/september/documents/papa-francesco\\_20150925\\_onu-visita.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/september/documents/papa-francesco_20150925_onu-visita.html) (accessed January 28, 2018). Pope Francis, “Address of his holiness Pope Francis to the participants in the International Peace Conference”, 28<sup>th</sup> of April 2017. Available at: [http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2017/april/documents/papa-francesco\\_20170428\\_egitto-conferenza-pace.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2017/april/documents/papa-francesco_20170428_egitto-conferenza-pace.html) (accessed January 28, 2018).

<sup>28</sup> Pope Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, (The Vatican: 2013), §52-75.

<sup>29</sup> Pope Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, §59.

<sup>30</sup> Pope Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, §60.

solution for a Christian who is confronted with violence, the pope remains quite shady. Although the pope rejects the discrimination, threatening and human trafficking of Christians and rejects the use of violence as a solution, he does not offer an alternative or solution. Nevertheless, the pope does mention a solution for the use of (domestic) violence within Christian circles. The pope argues that this violence should be cured by the Gospel, specifically by fraternal communion and the internalization of the law of love. The Gospel can bring unity and solidarity amidst conflict and opposition that on its turn can lead to peace, which is understood as the ordered universe willed by God.

A last, but very interesting statement of pope Francis concerns the Islam. In the section about interreligious dialogue, the pope seems to defend Islam against accusations of being a violent religion, by stating that the Islam and the Qur'an are opposed to every form of violence.<sup>31</sup> Thus, based upon the apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*, I can conclude that pope Francis is against the use of violence in every form whatsoever.

### c) Both popes compared: their difference in moral interpretation

To know the difference between both popes in their moral interpretation of the use of violence, one should first know their points in common. First of all, Pope Urban II and pope Francis both reject the use of 'private' violence. With the word 'private' I refer to unorganized violence that is used by individual Christians. Pope Francis explicitly mentions domestic violence as a problem, and condemns the 'wars' (in the sense of quarrels and enmities) within the Christian communities. Pope Urban II repeatedly condemns the infighting of the Christian knights in Europe. Secondly, both consider the unity within the Christian community of paramount importance. For this, pope Urban II uses the theological phrase 'body of Christ' whereas pope Francis uses the phrase 'people of God'. Breaching of this unity from within through violent acts is for both off limits. Breaching of this unity from the outside however, is the aspect where both popes go separate ways. For Urban II it is a legitimization to use violence in order to protect and defend the body of Christ. Pope Francis however, seems to repudiate any use of violence as a reaction to violence as it will only lead to greater conflict. Although the pope states that a Christian should not look the other way when their brethren are victims of violent acts, we are left with the question what the pope offers as an alternative.

Thus, I can conclude that both popes differ in their theological position with regard to public violence: pope Urban II allows and even positively values the use of public violence when used for a legitimate end. This violence however, is bound to certain conditions: one should have a right intent and not everyone can participate. Pope Francis however, rejects all public violence. In his view, the use of violence, whether armed or unarmed, can never be a solution. As such, we have two different moral interpretations in the proclamation of two popes that are irreconcilable; something that according to the theological teaching of *depositum fidei* is impossible. How then, do we explain this? In the next chapter I will expound the new theory I am exploring within this thesis that might explain for the difference found.

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<sup>31</sup> Pope Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, §253.

### III. EXPLORING A NEW THEORY: THE FRAMING OF CULTURAL MEMORY

#### A. THE AIM OF PERSUASION

How do we explain the differences between pope Urban II and pope Francis? If the Catholic doctrine did not change, as stated within the teachings of the *depositum fidei*, we should not look for an explanation within the substance of Catholic theology. Rather, we must look for an explanation in contextual factors. Therefore, we must take a look at the aim of the papal statements. Why did the popes speak out on violence? It is in four aim-related aspects that the statements of pope Urban and pope Francis correspond. First of all, their statements concern morality. Both popes want to *teach the (moral) truths of the faith*. Moral teaching has traditionally belonged to the office of the pope as bishop of Rome. As stated within the conciliar teaching *Lumen Gentium* (1964), the bishops hold the threefold episcopal office of teaching, sanctifying and governing.<sup>32</sup> In all three, the bishops exercise authority. The authority of teaching, in particular, addresses the question of truth, and more specifically the truths of the faith.<sup>33</sup> As such, the primary object of the authoritative teaching of the bishops and thus also the bishop of Rome is the deposit of faith, contained in scripture and apostolic tradition. Thus, moral teaching is linked to revelation and therefore all authoritative statements must be traceable to the life of Jesus. According to moral theologian Joseph Selling, this is not a question of copying, as if we should find identical events or gestures in the Scriptures before we can make a moral judgement, but rather the question of appropriateness: a moral judgment should reflect that spirit or attitude of the teaching (witness) of Jesus.<sup>34</sup> The difficulty however, is that the moral issue that the popes are addressing, whether the act of violence can be permitted or not and in what circumstances, is principally ambivalent within the New Testament.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear that both popes exercise their teaching office by morally stating on violence, so that the community will not drift away from the truth of revelation (the deposit of faith).

Secondly, both popes want to *reach a large public*. They are not addressing individuals, but the whole Christian community. We are not dealing here with the priest who hears someone's confession and gives moral advice aimed at the specific person. Instead, we are dealing here with *public* moral statements aimed at a group and specifically, a group that holds Christian beliefs. It is recorded that the crowd listening to pope Urban II consisted of numerous archbishops, bishops, abbots, clerics and laypeople. In the opening of *Evangelii Gaudium*, Pope Francis addresses 'the bishops, clergy, consecrated persons and the lay faithful'. Thus, the target group was clearly a Christian audience. Nevertheless, non-Christians were not excluded from receiving the moral message due to the public setting through which the message of both popes was conveyed: pope Urban II held his sermon in the open air and the document *Evangelii Gaudium* is widely available through the Internet.

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<sup>32</sup> Joseph A. Selling, "The Authority of Church Teaching on Morality," in *Aiming at Happiness. The Moral Teaching in the Catechism of the Catholic Church*, eds. Frans Vosman and Karl-Wilhelm Merks (Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishers, 1996), 209.

<sup>33</sup> Joseph A. Selling, "Authority and moral teaching in a Catholic Christian context," in *Christian Ethics. An Introduction*, Ed. Bernard Hoose (London: Cassell, 1998), 58.

<sup>34</sup> Selling, "Authority and moral teaching," 65.

<sup>35</sup> Jan Willem van Henten, "Religion, Bible and Violence," in *Coping with Violence in the New Testament*, eds. Pieter G.R. de Villiers and Jan Willem van Henten (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2012), 20.

A third aim that is shared by both popes is that they want to *convince their public* of their moral view on violence. They want their public to adopt their moral interpretation of how to act right: if and when one should or should not use violence according to Christian moral teachings. Thus, they want their public to adopt the right beliefs. But their aim stretches out beyond the objective of convincing; they not only want to convince their public, they also want their public to *act* accordingly. That's the essence of a moral appeal: you want your listeners or readers to act in accordance with your idea or interpretation of moral behaviour. As such, the popes not only want to convince their public, but also *mobilize* them. This is especially apparent in the objective of the sermon of pope Urban II, which was directed at mobilizing a great mass of people to participate in a crusade, literally setting them into motion to walk thousands of miles and fight many enemies. But also the apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium* was to a certain degree aimed at mobilizing Christians, as many current Christian peace movements and peace initiatives on social media became strengthened by the pacifistic ideas of pope Francis.

Thus, both popes share four common objectives: they want to teach the moral truths of the faith, they want to reach a large public, they want to convince their public and last but certainly not least: they want to mobilize them. In Figure 4 these objectives can be visualized as follows:

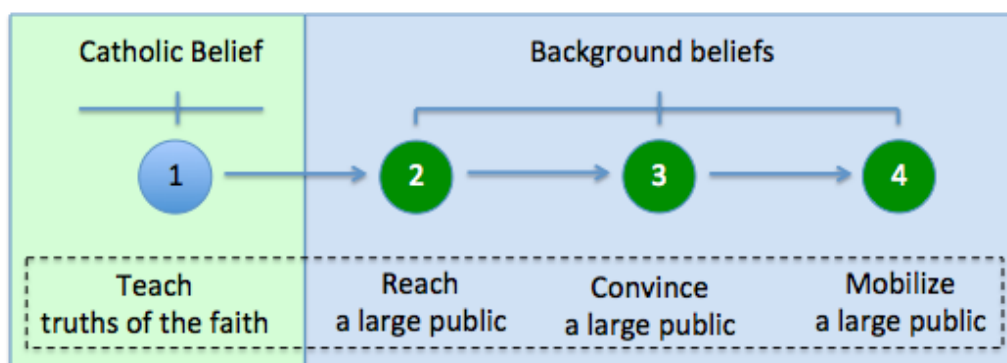


Figure 4: The papal objectives

These objectives all have to do with morally appealing to a public: how to connect to the existing ideas, values and beliefs of your public in such a way that your moral statements become attractive and convincing? When one is publicly stating a moral argument, one always presupposes certain ideas, values and beliefs to be present within the public or audience; it is my assumption that these so-called 'background beliefs' are called upon to give the moral argument power of persuasion. As such, I am looking at the papal statements from the perspective of persuasiveness: how one tries to convince and mobilize one's public by calling upon the background beliefs of his/her audience. It is my hypothesis that a different selection of historically changed background beliefs has led to the substantial moral differences between pope Urban II and pope Francis. In the next paragraph I will explain my hypothesis into further detail.

## B. BACKGROUND BELIEFS

What then, are these so-called background beliefs? With the notion ‘background beliefs’ I define the convictions held by an individual that are passively present in one’s state of mind. These convictions concern all areas of life; they can be religious, philosophical, political, cultural, environmental etc. The shared aspect is that they are considered beliefs in the sense of *fixed ideas* that are of importance to the individual. These beliefs are passive or so to speak ‘in the background’ when they are not brought to the fore consciously, but do influence the way one interprets information received at a certain moment of time. For instance, when one is addressed by a moral speaker and listens to the moral arguments put forward. I am looking at these *beliefs* rather than the Catholic *Belief* in explaining for the difference between pope Urban II and pope Francis. It is my assumption that these beliefs are partly determined by the collective memory and more specifically the *cultural* memory of the public. Through the active framing of these background beliefs, the pope can achieve his goal of mobilization. Thus, there are two mechanisms at work: cultural memory and framing. In Figure 5 I have visualized these two mechanisms in relation to the four objectives already mentioned:

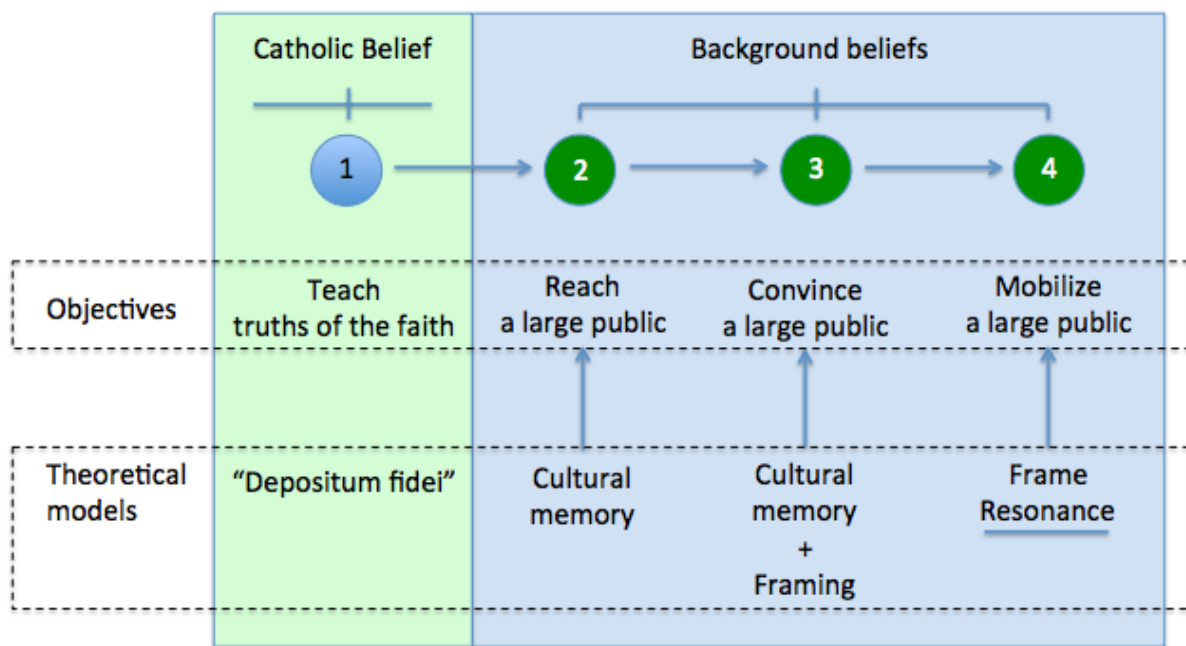


Figure 5: Cultural memory and framing in relation to the papal objectives

How can the difference between pope Urban and pope Francis be explained according to this model? First of all, it is important to note that I am not looking at the Catholic Belief (1) to explain the difference, as I assume that the Catholic teachings are unchanging and eternal.<sup>36</sup> Rather, I shed light upon the contextual factors, and specifically the background beliefs of the public of the pope (2,3,4). I distinguish between the objectives: reach (2), convince (3) and mobilize (4) a large public. How do the mechanisms of cultural memory and framing function in relation to these objectives? Seen from the perspective of persuasion, the pope first has to reach his public. This immediately raises the two questions: what is the target group and how

<sup>36</sup> Based upon the theological teaching of *depositum fidei* (Catechism of the Catholic Church, 84).

is the pope going to reach them? Concerning the first question, it is clear that in both cases the popes want to reach out to a broad public, not just theologians. If this would have been the case, the pope could have held a theological tour de force and he could have just ordered certain moral principles to be disseminated. However, the pope is reaching out to a large and very diverse audience of not only the scholarly (clergy), but also many illiterate persons. So, in order to convince and mobilize a nation in a certain moral direction, the pope has to find something that his audience has in common; it is my assumption that this is *cultural memory*. This does not necessarily imply that this is a deliberate process; as if the pope was conscious of an anachronistic concept of cultural memory. Rather, as the pope himself is determined by his cultural and historical context, he is aware of the stories, legends, beliefs, norms, values, and history of the nation he appeals to. I share all these aspects under the theoretical concept of cultural memory and I argue that the pope uses this knowledge (whether consciously or unconsciously) to (de-) legitimize the act of violence from a moral point of view. Cultural memory can thus be defined as the cultural basis of our memory; it is a projection on the part of the collective that wishes to remember and of the individual who remembers in order to belong. In the words of Egyptologist Jan Assmann, it is 'the archive of cultural traditions, the arsenal of symbolic forms, the "imaginary" of myths and images, of the "great stories," sagas and legends, scenes and constellations that live or can be reactivated in the treasure stores of a people.'<sup>37</sup> This leads us to the answer of the second question: how does the pope reach his public? Simply: by appealing to their cultural memory. This means that he will discuss topics that are subject among people and that will appeal to the public sentiment. By doing so, he receives the attention of his listeners or readership.

When the pope has received the attention of his listeners or readership, he then has to convince (3) them of his moral position. Convincing in this context relates to the adoption of the right (moral) beliefs by the papal public. This occurs when one recognizes his or her point of view or feeling in what the pope is communicating to the public. One will feel that the pope puts into words what he or she has always thought and these words will thus appear to be very logical to accept as true; in my view, this is because the pope draws his argument from shared beliefs stored within cultural memory. However, to achieve this the pope needs to *trigger* cultural memory. It is my assumption that this happens through *framing*. I define framing according to the definition of Robert Entman: to frame is '*to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation*' for the item described.<sup>38</sup> Thus, framing revolves around 'selection' and 'salience'. Neither pope draws upon the whole of cultural memory to convince their public. Instead, they make a selection of material that is useful in strengthening their moral argument to (de-) legitimize the act of violence. Moreover, the aspects that are selected get an emphasis in salience. By emphasizing certain aspects, while at the same time leaving other aspects out (whether consciously or unconsciously), a certain perception of reality is created that their public can agree upon. By doing so, the pope steers the public mind in the

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<sup>37</sup> Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Stanford: University Press, 2006), 7. In the next chapter I will expound more fully upon the cultural memory theory of Assmann.

<sup>38</sup> Robert Entman, "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," *Journal of Communication* 43 no. 4 (Fall 1993): 52.

direction of his idea of the right moral beliefs. Thus, in order to convince his public, the pope makes use of cultural memory and framing; cultural memory is *what* he appeals to, framing is *how* he appeals to his public.

But the pope not only wants to convince his public, he also wants to mobilize them. That is after all the ultimate aim of moral theology: to establish that the Christian way of life reflects the spirit or attitude of the teaching (witness) of Jesus, by reflecting upon moral principles in light of participation in Christ's own goodness.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, the pope has to bring about an effect in the conduct of his public. To establish this, the pope not only has to appeal strongly to cultural memory in order to reach his public, but also the trigger mechanism of framing has to be such, that it encourages the public to adopt certain behaviour or a plan of action. This is called *frame resonance*. It refers to the effectiveness or mobilizing potency of framing, thereby attending to the question why some framings seem to be effective or "resonate" while others do not.<sup>40</sup> 'Resonate' in this sense must be understood as the degree to which the framing efforts strike a responsive chord within the targets of mobilization.<sup>41</sup> In Chapter 4 I will expound upon the factors that constrain or contribute to the degree of frame resonance.

### C. CONCLUSION

Thus, in order to explain the difference between pope Urban II and pope Francis, I am looking at the contextual factors of their moral statements, and specifically the background beliefs of their public. Looking from the perspective of persuasion, I have distinguished between four objectives that the pope is aiming at: teach the truths of the faith, reach, convince and mobilize a large public. These last three are important with regard to background beliefs; in order to reach these goals, the pope makes use of cultural memory and framing. More specifically, the pope uses framing to trigger the cultural memory of his public and by doing so, aims at achieving his goal of mobilizing his public in accordance with certain moral beliefs. It is my hypothesis that the popes differ in their moral statements with regard to violence, because they are framing different background beliefs in order to appeal to their public. These beliefs are different, due to a different cultural memory, which is dependent upon the spirit of the age. Based upon my preliminary research, I assume that the background beliefs of the medieval public of Urban II, were characterized by a more positive attitude towards violence, whereas the public of Pope Francis I held a more negative attitude towards violence.

Therefore, within my model I am using two theories: cultural memory and framing. I have chosen these theories as I found indications in my preliminary research that both play a role in explaining the different papal statements. In the next chapters, I will explain these theories more fully. To account for cultural memory, I have chosen the theory of Jan Assmann about cultural memory, as his theory analyses cultural memory from a cultural-historical point of

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<sup>39</sup> James Keating, "Introduction," in *Moral Theology: New Directions and Fundamental Issues: Festschrift for James P. Hanigan*, ed. James Keating (New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2004), xii.

<sup>40</sup> David Snow and Robert Benford, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 no. 1 (August 2000): 619.

<sup>41</sup> David Snow and Robert Benford, "Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization," *International Social Movement Research* Vol. 1 (January 1988): 198.



view, which I thought to be applicable for the historical case studies that I use.<sup>42</sup> To analyse the process of framing, I have chosen the social movement framing perspective of sociologists Snow and Benford, as they look at framing from the perspective of convincing and mobilizing groups of people.<sup>43</sup> According to their definitions, I will analyse to what extent cultural memory and framing are existent with the speech of pope Urban II and within the document *Evangelii Gaudium* of pope Francis and most importantly, whether we can establish a connection between the two.

#### IV. CULTURAL MEMORY

##### A. MEMORY CULTURE

What is cultural memory? The concept of cultural memory belongs to the field of cultural studies. It has become such an important notion over the past two decades that it has now become the name of a new field of study: cultural memory studies.<sup>44</sup> It is not the object of just one single discipline, but it is part of a multidisciplinary field of different disciplines such as history, literary and media studies, anthropology, sociology, philosophy, theology, art and the neurosciences. In general, cultural memory concerns the relationship between culture and memory, and can be broadly defined as ‘the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts’.<sup>45</sup> One of the strongest and most influential studies that have defined cultural memory from the perspective of media studies and cultural history has been the research of Jan Assmann. As a German Egyptologist by origin, Jan Assmann has studied cultural memory by investigating the early written cultures of the Middle East and the Mediterranean. In his book *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität*<sup>46</sup>, Assmann deals with the three themes of memory (or reference to the past), identity (or political imagination) and cultural continuity (or the formation of tradition).<sup>47</sup> According to Assmann, there is a so-called *connective structure* that underlies every culture. It has a binding effect that works on two levels. First, it works on a social level: it binds people together by providing a symbolic universe. Second, it works on a temporal level: it links yesterday with today by giving form and presence to influential experiences and memories, incorporating images and tales from another time into the background of the onward moving present.<sup>48</sup> Although Assmann does not clearly define the term, he explains that this connective structure is the aspect of culture that underlies myths and histories. The normative and narrative

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<sup>42</sup> See Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization. Writing, remembrance and political imagination*, trans. by D. Wilson (Cambridge: University Press 2011). Also: Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Stanford: University Press, 2006),

<sup>43</sup> I am using several articles of Snow and Benford, which are listed in the bibliography at the end.

<sup>44</sup> Astrid Erll, “Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction,” in *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 1-3.

<sup>45</sup> Erll, “Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction,” 2.

<sup>46</sup> Assmann, Jan. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. München: C.H. Beck, 1992. The book has been translated into English in 2011: Assmann, Jan. *Cultural Memory and early civilization. Writing, remembrance, and political imagination*. Translated by D. Wilson. Cambridge: University Press, 2011.

<sup>47</sup> Assmann, *Cultural Memory and early civilization*, 2.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

elements (mixing instruction with storytelling) create a basis of belonging or identity.<sup>49</sup> Closely connected to this theme of identity, is Assmann's concept of 'memory culture'. Memory culture is linked to the memory that forms a community and centres around the question 'what must we not forget?'.<sup>50</sup> When this question is central and integral to the group's identity and image of itself, a group is called a *memory community*. An example *par excellence* of such a memory community is Israel: based upon important events such as the Exodus, Israel has developed a rich memory culture that has become fixed in a variety of cultural forms (books, rituals, festivals, monuments etc.). These have contributed greatly to the identity of Israel as a nation. But memory culture not only establishes the formation of an identity; it also includes a social construction of meaning and time. It depends on various links to the past and therefore, reference to the past is an essential component of memory culture. But, in the words of Assmann, 'the past only comes into being insofar as we refer to it'.<sup>51</sup> This means, that the past must be brought into our consciousness. This presupposes two things: first, the past cannot have disappeared completely, so there must be some kind of documentation and second, this documentation must denote some kind of characteristic difference from today.<sup>52</sup> According to Assmann, it is in 'death' that the rupture between yesterday and today is experienced in its most basic and primal form.<sup>53</sup> This means that the death of one or more group members urges a group to remember them; the desire of the group not to allow the dead to disappear leads them to remember them and, with the aid of memory, take them into their progressive present.<sup>54</sup> This is done in oral societies through rituals, in written cultures through documentation. In whatever form, both societies try to maintain their identity through the generations by creating a culture out of memory. This leads to cultural continuity or the formation of tradition, the third theme of Assmann's book. But how does this work? How does remembering lead to the formation of tradition? This is where cultural memory plays a crucial role. But before I can explain the concept of cultural memory, I have to explain more clearly how group memory functions according to Assmann.

## B. COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Assmann has based his theory of cultural memory upon the work of French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945). Halbwachs was the first to write explicitly and systematically about collective memory. He interpreted memory as primarily a social phenomenon, arguing that the individual memory can only be fashioned during the process of socialization.<sup>55</sup> Individual memory is not merely based upon experiences stored in a physical, neurological basis of memory, but forms itself through participation of the individual in communicative processes. Experiences depend on interaction, and it is through communication and social interaction that memories are created and stored. Thus, although Assmann stresses that it is always the individual that 'has' memory and not the group, the

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 22.

group does determine the memory of its members. Moreover, as communication takes place within the context of an already existing social frame of reference and value, so-called 'social frameworks' always condition memory. In the words of Halbwachs: 'There is no memory without perception that is already conditioned by social frames of attention and interpretation.'<sup>56</sup> This means that individual memory not only depends on the sharing of experiences through communicative interaction, but also depends upon the frame in which these experiences are communicated.<sup>57</sup> This frame analysis of memory explains why some experiences are remembered and some are forgotten. If memory survives through communication, it implicates that when this communication is broken off or if the referential frames of the communicated reality disappear or change, the communicated content will be forgotten. Persons - and societies - can only remember what can be reconstructed as a past within the referential framework of their own present.<sup>58</sup> If things have no longer such a referential framework, they will be forgotten. In the words of Halbwachs: 'we only remember what we communicate and what we can locate in the frame of collective memory.'<sup>59</sup>

How then are past experiences remembered and stored within memory? To explain this, Assmann uses the term 'memory figure'. Memory figures are memories that have a tangible nature: ideas must take on a form that is imaginable before they can be stored into memory. But also the other way around, if an event is to live on in the memory of a group, it must be enriched with the meaningfulness of a significant truth.<sup>60</sup> Thus, there exists a certain dialectic between idea/truth and event/experience. According to Halbwachs it is even the case that when a person or a historical artefact has permeated memory, it is immediately transposed into a teaching, notion or a system of ideas.<sup>61</sup> Memory figures are characterized by three features: a concrete relationship to time and place, a concrete relationship to a group and an independent capacity for reconstruction.<sup>62</sup> The first two features denote that a memory figure must always refer to a specific time, place and group identity. The last feature, however, needs some explanation. Memory works through reconstruction. There are no 'pure facts of memory' as the past cannot preserve itself.<sup>63</sup> This implicates that the past is continually subject to processes of reorganization according to the changes taking place in the frame of reference of each successive present.<sup>64</sup> In the words of Assmann: 'the past is a social construction whose nature arises out of the needs and frames of reference of each particular present.'<sup>65</sup> Thus, the past is not a natural growth, but a cultural creation. This means that in order to be stored in the memory of the group, a memory figure needs to have the ability to be reconstructed within the frame of the contemporary present. Otherwise, the event or experience will be forgotten.

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<sup>56</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 169.

<sup>57</sup> Assmann, *Cultural Memory and early civilization*, 22.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>59</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 52-53.

<sup>60</sup> Assmann, *Cultural Memory and early civilization*, 24.

<sup>61</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 188.

<sup>62</sup> Assmann, *Cultural Memory and early civilization*, 24.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

The degree to which the individual memory is socially determined, is what Assmann calls *collective memory*. Assmann divides collective memory into two different forms: so-called *communicative* and *cultural* memory. These are two memory-frames that differ from each other in certain fundamental areas.<sup>66</sup> The most important difference is that both refer to a different time structure of the group. Communicative memory comprises memories related to the recent past. Generally speaking, this is a period of 80-100 years that can be captured by a contemporary memory through experience and hearsay.<sup>67</sup> Assmann calls this ‘living memory’. It refers to the memories of contemporaries that are shared through communication. Emotions play a great part in this process; they are the key in storing these memories in the individual memory. The limited time period of these memories makes clear that communicative memory is time-bound. When group members die, their memories die with them. An example is *generational* memory, which is the memory of one specific generation. This memory grows until its carriers die: after death there is space for a new memory to grow. Half of the generational limit of eighty years (3-4 generations) seems to represent a critical threshold: it is after 40 years that those who witnessed an important experience or event as adults leave behind their professional career. They enter a new age group in which memory grows as well as the desire to fix it and pass it on.<sup>68</sup> The characteristics of communicative memory are schematically represented in figure three (see below).

Cultural memory however, is the degree to which the individual memory is not only socially, but also culturally determined.<sup>69</sup> It refers to one of the exterior dimensions of the human memory that is aimed at the handing down of meaning. The contents of this memory, the ways in which they are organized and the length of time they last, are not merely based on internal storage but are for the most part determined by external conditions imposed by society and cultural contexts.<sup>70</sup> Therefore, what communication is to communicative memory, tradition is to cultural memory. In the words of Assmann: ‘both the collective and the individual turn to the archive of cultural traditions, the arsenal of symbolic forms, the “imaginary” of myths and images, of the “great stories”, sagas and legends, scenes and constellations that live or can be reactivated in the treasure stores of a people.’ This means that memories of past events or experiences, that are deemed important by the group to pass them on to next generations, are captured in fixed objects such as books, monuments, rituals, feasts, customs etc. The memory that is preserved within these fixed objectifications is what Assmann calls ‘cultural memory’. It is *cultural* because it can only be realized institutionally and artificially, and it is *memory* because in relation to social communication it functions in exactly the same way as individual memory does in relation to consciousness.<sup>71</sup>

Contrary to communicative memory that refers to the recent past, cultural memory is focused on fixed points in a past that is further away from the everyday. This past often concerns a foundational past: a past that relates to the origins of a people. To preserve this past, symbolic figures are used to which memory attaches itself. Symbolic figures in the history of the Israeli people for example, are the Exodus, the tales of the patriarchs, the

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 34-35.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>69</sup> Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 8.

<sup>70</sup> Assmann, *Cultural memory and early civilization*, 5.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 9.

conquest of the Promised Land etc. These are used in rituals and festivals to celebrate the past and to explain current situations.<sup>72</sup> As such, cultural memory is remembered history. It does not claim to represent factual history, but it rather transforms factual into remembered history, which on its turn becomes myth. Myth is then ‘foundational history that is narrated in order to illuminate the present from the standpoint of its origins.’<sup>73</sup> Through memory, history becomes myth. Whether this memory holds factual history is not relevant; what is important is the lasting, normative and formative power it becomes for the group. This is what makes it real. Moreover, this connection to the past is what creates the basis for the identity of the remembering group. By recalling its history, the group reaffirms its own image. To do so, the group makes use of fixed objectifications such as rituals, dance, myths, patterns, dress, jewellery, tattoos, paintings, landscapes etc. These cultural forms can be both linguistic and non-linguistic. They function as sign systems that not only support memory to hold memories from the foundational past (*foundational memory*), but also reaffirm the identity of the group. As such, Assmann calls them ‘mnemotechnics’. Thus, cultural memory not only serves to keep the foundational past alive in the present, but also provides a basis for the identity of the remembering group.<sup>74</sup> To put it shortly: cultural memory transmits a collective identity. Or in the words of Assmann: ‘it is a projection on the part of the collective that wishes to remember and of the individual who remembers in order to belong’.<sup>75</sup> The characteristics of cultural memory are schematically represented in Figure 6.

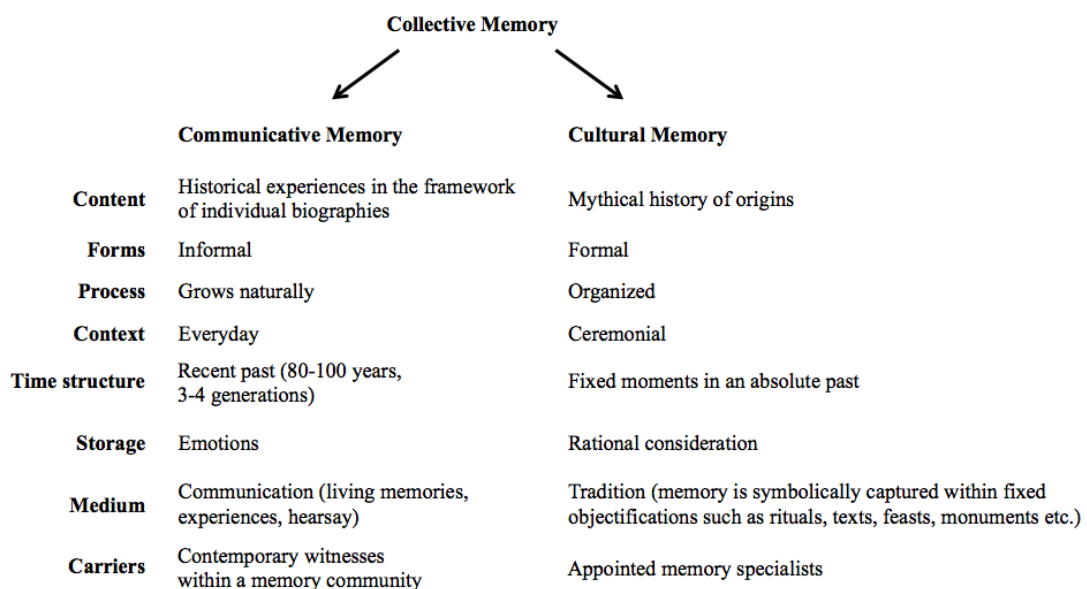


Figure 6: Collective Memory

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>75</sup> Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 7.

### C. CULTURAL MEMORY

#### a) The preservation of memory

Cultural memory begins with the distinction between yesterday and today. As I already explained, death forms the primal experience of this distinction. The memories of the dead, however, are the primal form of cultural memory.<sup>76</sup> These memories can be divided into 'retrospective' and prospective'. *Retrospective* memory refers to the natural form of memory through which a group goes on living with its dead, keeping them present, and thereby building up an image of its own unity and wholeness, of which the dead naturally form a part.<sup>77</sup> It is a link to the past, to the ancestors of the group to whom the present group members show their respect. *Prospective* memory in contrast, consists in 'achievement and 'fame' or 'the manner in which the dead have rendered themselves unforgettable'. Therefore, prospective memory is more future-oriented. Both forms however, can be found in various degrees in all societies. They form the basis of a community, because the link with the dead consolidates the identity of the group.<sup>78</sup>

But how then are these memories preserved through the generations? Three functions have to be fulfilled: storage, retrieval and communication. Assmann mentions three forms of (cultural) memory that are able to do this: oral transmission, mnemotopes and textual transmission. The first refers to the human memory as the primary way of preserving knowledge that consolidates the identity of a group.<sup>79</sup> It stores knowledge in the poetic form, it retrieves it through ritual performance and it communicates it through collective participation. The basic form is repetition: rituals are performed again and again in the same 'order'. Every time they are performed, they follow the exact same pattern, for this is crucial in maintaining and preserving the knowledge that these rituals aim at retrieving. Simultaneously, rituals aim at re-presenting an event from the remote past. Assmann calls this *re-presentation* or *presentification*. According to Assmann, all rituals combine the two elements of repetition and presentification.<sup>80</sup>

The second form, 'mnemotopes' or places of memory, are so to say 'topographical texts of cultural memory'.<sup>81</sup> They are particular places or landscapes that are associated with the memory of past experiences or events that are deemed important for a specific group. Examples are the sacred sites of the Aboriginal population in Australia. Hills, rocks, trees, plants can have a special significance in the Aboriginal tradition. But examples also include the Christian holy sites in Palestine; according to Assmann, the Holy Land itself can be considered a mnemotope as it is so rich in memories and meanings.<sup>82</sup> These examples show that groups create their own locations for their particular memories, which then turn into cultural memory.

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<sup>76</sup> Assmann, *Cultural memory and early civilization*, 45.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 45.

The third form concerns textual transmission. The invention of writing radically changed the memory culture of many societies. In an oral society, it is only possible to circulate memories within the group itself; cultural memory coincides almost completely with the meaning(s) that circulate within the group.<sup>83</sup> To extend this communicative situation, it is necessary to have an external area where information can be stored. The invention of writing opened up this possibility: texts made it possible to extend meaning beyond the limitations of its original time and its original mode of communication.<sup>84</sup> This led to a sort of dual time, which Assmann describes as follows:

‘Cultural memory feeds tradition and communication, but that is not its only function. Without it there can be no infringements, conflicts, innovations, restorations, or revolutions. These are all eruptions from a world beyond the current meaning, through the recalling of the forgotten, the revival of tradition, or the resurfacing of what has been suppressed.’<sup>85</sup>

Writing also led to the dominance of re-presentation over repetition. Whereas repetition is a central element within oral traditions, re-presentation came to occupy the centre stage in written traditions. The connective structure of written cultures changed: instead of imitation and preservation, it now consisted of interpretation and memory. Ritual gave way to textual coherence, and liturgy was replaced by hermeneutics.<sup>86</sup> The invention of writing also had a great advantage for memory culture: it expanded the human capacity to store and retrieve information. However, it also had a drawback. The externalization of memory simultaneously meant a shrinkage of the human natural memory, a problem that was already noted by Socrates (469-399 BCE). Thus, although the possibility of writing meant that we had a greater capacity to preserve memory, memory also got lost through forgetting and suppression by way of manipulation, censorship, destruction, circumscription and substitution.<sup>87</sup>

#### b) The power of cultural memory

Why then, do we put effort in preserving the past? Why is it important? According to Assmann, this is an important question, as the natural disposition of the human being seems to favour forgetting rather than remembering.<sup>88</sup> Instead of arguing for a ‘sense of history’ as a basic human instinct<sup>89</sup>, Assmann draws upon the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss about so-called ‘cold’ and ‘hot’ societies. According to Lévi-Strauss, cold societies are those that strive by the institutions they give themselves, to annul the possible effects of historical factors on their equilibrium and continuity.<sup>90</sup> Hot societies on the contrary, have an avid need for change and have internalized their history in order to make it the driving force behind their development.

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>89</sup> The idea of a ‘sense of history’ was first introduced in the 1930’s by cultural anthropologist Erich Rothacker and received wide acceptance in the second half of the twentieth century.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 52.

Assmann argues that historical memory or consciousness has to be started or stopped by something, as it does not belong to the basic, natural disposition of the human being. Assmann calls these external factors *tranquillizers* or *stimulants* of historical memory. A tranquilizer serves a cold society: any change is frozen. The stimulant serves a hot society: meaning, importance and memorableness are in service of change, growth and development, but also in the negative way: they can also lead to deterioration, corruption and decline.<sup>91</sup> However, Assmann does not perceive a society to be completely 'cold' or 'hot' as Lévi-Strauss' theory seems to suggest. Rather, a society can contain elements of both 'cold' and 'hot'.

One strong stimulant for historical memory is power. Power requires origin, which automatically leads to the remembrance but also the need for preservation of the past. This is the reason why rulers, whether religious or political, turn to the past and establish genealogies, lists of kings etc. Assmann calls this the 'retrospective' side of the alliance between power and memory. But there is also a 'prospective' side: rulers also turn to the future, as they want their subjects or followers to remember them. This is done through monuments, songs, texts etc. Assmann describes this ambivalent relationship between power and memory as follows: 'Power legitimizes itself retrospectively and immortalizes itself prospectively'.<sup>92</sup> However, power not only leads to remembrance, but sometimes also leads to the intentional forgetting of past events or experiences. Communication and/or technology are then used to resist the memory of past events. This can result in oppression, during which memory becomes a form of resistance.<sup>93</sup>

What is interesting of the myths that are narrated in order to keep the memory of the past alive, is that the question whether they are founded on fact or fiction is not relevant. What matters is the power they hold to influence the present. Past glories can function to maintain power, but can also be used to question the present situation or circumstances. Assmann calls these the 'foundational' and the 'contrapresent' function of memory. Foundational memory makes the present into something meaningful, divinely inspired, necessary, and unchangeable.<sup>94</sup> Contrapresent memory however, refers to tales that shed a different light on the present by emphasizing what has gone wrong, what has disappeared, or become lost or marginalized. They contradict the social and political reality of the present and refer to a deliberate break between the present and the past. Groups that often use contrapresent memory are nationalistic and religious movements. Their point of departure is a non-simultaneity between the present and the past. Memory is mobilized in order to create an image of the past that stands in stark contrast with the present; which gives them the powerful argument to call for change. Assmann emphasizes that both the foundational and contrapresent function of myth are not integral to the myth; they rather arise according to the context of image and action required for a particular present for a particular group in a particular situation.<sup>95</sup> Thus, its functionality depends on the context in which it is used. Both forms however, provide a directional impetus that Assmann calls a 'mythomotor'.

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 63.



Myth leads to a dual dimension of time: narratives of past glories produce nonsimultaneity between the present and the past. This creates the possibility of living in two times, which is according to Assmann one of the universal functions of cultural memory.<sup>96</sup> Modern (western) society, however, seems to follow a trend towards ‘one-dimensionality’. This means that according to Assmann, workaday life obliges us to structure the world into a foreground and a background. In the foreground are the things that concern routine matters; the more fundamental decisions and reflections are pushed into the background. This does not mean that these are forgotten; rather, they ‘form a background that is kept at the ready by cultural memory.’<sup>97</sup> Often, contemporary society does not favour these perspectives to be remembered. In the words of Assmann:

‘Remembrance of the past may give rise to dangerous insights, and the established society seems to be apprehensive of the subversive contents of memory.’<sup>98</sup>

Cultural memory can thus become a force of liberation or transformation for the present situation or society. However, cultural memory itself can also be transformed, as it is subject to historically conditioned changes, such as those brought about by the evolution of media technology.<sup>99</sup> The invention of writing for example, had a tremendous impact on the preservation of the past and as a consequence transformed the forms of cultural memory for the next generations. Cultural memory becomes a force of liberation or transformation for the present when it is activated. But how is it activated? Assmann speaks of stimulants of historical memory. I would like to take it a step further. It is my assumption that cultural memory is rather *triggered* through the mechanism of framing. In the next chapter, I will explicate framing theory as expounded by David Snow and Robert Benford. Their theory provides the key in understanding how cultural memory can be mobilized.

## V. SOCIAL MOVEMENT FRAMING THEORY

### A. FRAME ANALYSIS

What is needed to convince individuals of your worldview, opinion, moral evaluation or ideology and how do you make them support and participate in your social movement? To answer this question, it is necessary to understand the mechanism of framing as it plays a crucial role in this process. Sociologists David Snow and Robert Benford have elaborated extensively upon the framing mechanism in their research on different social movement organizations (SMO's) such as the Hare Krishna movement, the Nichiren Shoshu Buddhist movement and the U.S. Peace movement. They have based their framing perspective on the work of sociologist Erving Goffman who wrote about the social organization of experience (or ‘framing’) in his book *Frame Analysis* in 1974.<sup>100</sup> Goffman writes about so-called

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 68.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 68.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 69.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>100</sup> Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis. An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974).

‘primary frameworks’ or ‘schemata of interpretation’ that are employed by the human being to make sense of the world. These frameworks are primary because their application by those who apply them is not seen as depending on some prior or ‘original’ interpretation; rather, a framework renders a meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful.<sup>101</sup> Frames enable individuals ‘to locate, perceive, identify and label’ a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences within their life space and the world at large. As such, frames function to organize and guide action, whether individual or collective.<sup>102</sup>

Framing is especially important in communication, as communication gets its meaning not only through its context, but also by the way the message is being constructed or ‘framed’.<sup>103</sup> The interrelatedness of the primary frameworks as defined by Goffman and communication is apparent in the widely cited definition of framing by political scientist Robert Entman. He defines framing as:

‘[selecting] some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular definition of a problem, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described’.<sup>104</sup>

This definition makes clear that framing has to do with interpretation and more specifically an emphasis in salience. The effect of framing is thus not only psychological; through communication, it also has a great societal impact. How does framing have an effect on mass media communication? How does the public opinion at a macro level change due to framing processes? What is considered appropriate or not in society and does this moral evaluation change over-time? These are just some of the questions scholars have increasingly investigated in recent years. One of the studies that has had a profound influence on the study of the framing concept is the research of sociologists Snow and Benford. They have investigated the relationship between framing and (social) movement participation. As their theoretical framework they used the frame analytic perspective of Erving Goffman and extended it into their own social movement framing theory. In their view, social movements are signifying agents. This means that they not merely function as carriers or transmitters of mobilizing beliefs and ideas, but that they are also actively engaged in the production of meaning for participants, antagonists and observers.<sup>105</sup> Or in terms of frame analysis: ‘they frame, or assign meaning to and interpret, relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists.’<sup>106</sup> This view of Snow and Benford differs from previous research that viewed mobilizing ideas as relatively unimportant determinants of movement emergence, mobilization and success. Meanings or ideas of social movements were generally treated

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<sup>101</sup> Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 21.

<sup>102</sup> Snow & Benford, “Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization,” 214.

<sup>103</sup> Rens Vliegthart, “Framing in Mass Communication Research – An Overview and Assessment,” *Sociology Compass* 6/12 (2012): 938.

<sup>104</sup> Entman, “Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm,” 52.

<sup>105</sup> David A. Snow and Robert D. Benford. “Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization,” *International Social Movement Research* Vol. 1 (January 1988): 198.

<sup>106</sup> Snow and Benford. “Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization,” 198.

descriptively, whereas Snow and Benford place them at the centre of their framing theory. They look at the relationship between the ideology of a social movement and the mechanism of framing. They define ideology as a fairly pervasive and integrated set of beliefs and values that have considerable staying power or in the more widely applied definition: ‘a fairly broad, coherent and relatively durable set of beliefs that affects one’s orientation not only to politics but to everyday life more generally’.<sup>107</sup> In their view, ideology can function as both a constraint and a resource in relation to framing processes. To understand this relationship, it is necessary to explain the concept of collective action frames and their characteristic and variable features.

## B. COLLECTIVE ACTION FRAMES

### a) Characteristic features of collective action frames

Collective action frames entail one of the specific types of framing. Collective action frames (or CAF’s) do not only perform the interpretive function characteristic of primary frames as defined by Goffman (that is turning something meaningless into something meaningful), but are also intended to mobilize people. This implies the mobilization of potential adherents and constituents, the garnering of bystander support and the demobilization of antagonists.<sup>108</sup> Collective action frames can be defined as action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization (SMO).<sup>109</sup> It is important to note that these specific beliefs and meanings are not just a compilation of individual perceptions within the movement, but they are also the outcome of negotiating *shared* meaning. This puts the emphasis on the group-aspect, which is of utmost importance in Snow and Benford’s theory. A characteristic feature of CAF’s is their action-oriented function or what Snow and Benford call the “core framing tasks” of CAF’s. There are three core framing tasks: diagnostic framing, prognostic framing and motivational framing. *Diagnostic framing* concerns the identification of the problem and the attribution of blame or causality.<sup>110</sup> There is often consensus within a social movement about the problematic situation that has to be altered or solved. With regard to the question who is to blame or the causality of the problem, this is certainly not the case. Intramovement conflict often arises due to disagreement about the attributional component of CAF’s. Snow and Benford mention for example the discussion among members of the U.S. Peace Movement, whether the cause for the nuclear threat was mainly technological, political, economic or moral. One of these factors was often pointed to as the most salient by different sections of the movement, leading to internal conflict. Moreover, with regard to identifying the culpable agents, often injustice frames are used. These frames define the actions of an authority as unjust, and put emphasis on the ‘victims’ of a given injustice.<sup>111</sup> There is even discussion

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<sup>107</sup> David A. Snow and Robert D. Benford, “Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 no. 1 (August 2000): 613.

<sup>108</sup> Snow and Benford, “Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization,” 198.

<sup>109</sup> Snow and Benford, “Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment,” 614.

<sup>110</sup> Snow and Benford, “Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization,” 200.

<sup>111</sup> Snow and Benford, “Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment,” 615.

among sociologists whether CAF's always contain an injustice element or if collective action frames correspond to injustice frames.

*Prognostic framing* concerns the articulation of a proposed solution to the problem, or at least a plan of attack, and the strategies for carrying out the plan.<sup>112</sup> It addresses the question: what is to be done? It is interesting to note that there is often a direct correspondence between the diagnostic and prognostic framings of a social movement. This means that when a movement identifies the cause of a problem as primarily technological, it will also propose solutions of a technological nature. Although this is not always the case, it proves to be such in most cases. Moreover, prognostic framing often includes a refutation of the proposed solutions by opponents, while at the same time providing a rationale for its own remedies.<sup>113</sup> This is called 'counterframing'.

*Motivational framing* is the third and last core framing task and provides the 'call to arms' or rationale for action. This type of framing is used to move potential adherents and constituents from concurring with the diagnostic and prognostic efforts to actually becoming active for the social movement. To accomplish this, a movement makes use of motivational frames that function as prods to action.<sup>114</sup> These frames consist of vocabularies of motives, indicating for example severity, urgency, efficacy or propriety. But also selective incentives are used, such as material, status, solidary and moral inducements.<sup>115</sup> The U.S. Peace movement for example, generally used moral incentives. This meant that it often emphasized the moral imperative of the individual to participate in stopping the nuclear threat.

In order to successfully mobilize people, a social movement has to reach two goals: first, it has to find support for its views and aims among potential adherents and constituents. Secondly, it has to activate these individuals. Within sociology, the first goal is referred to as *consensus mobilization*. The second is called *action mobilization*.<sup>116</sup> In the model of Snow and Benford, the first two core framing tasks (diagnostic and prognostic framing) are aimed at consensus mobilization. The third core framing task (motivational framing) is aimed at action mobilization. The more highly integrated the diagnostic, prognostic and action frames, the higher the probability an individual becomes active in any particular cause.<sup>117</sup> In this regard, it is important that both consensus and action mobilization take place. When on the one hand consensus mobilization has been attained, but on the other hand there is a lack of action mobilization, then the participant mobilization campaign will fail. In Figure 7 I have schematically visualized the core framing tasks in relation to consensus and action mobilization.

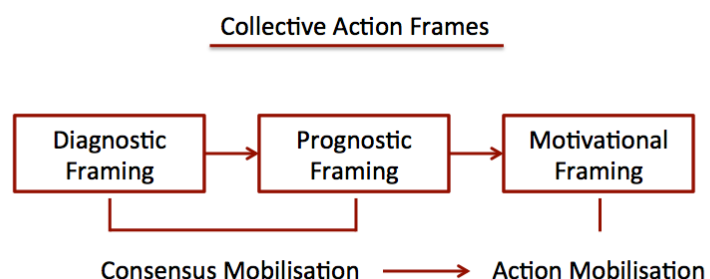


Figure 7: Consensus and Action Mobilisation

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 616.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 617.

<sup>114</sup> Snow and Benford, "Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization," 202.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 202.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 199.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 203

## b) Variable features of collective action frames

Although collective action frames are characterized by their action-oriented function, or the so-called ‘core framing tasks’ described above, they can also vary in several aspects. These are called the variable features of CAF’s and can be categorized as follows: problem identification and direction/locus of attribution; flexibility and rigidity, inclusivity and exclusivity; interpretive scope and influence; and degree of resonance. The last is a very important aspect of CAF’s, which makes it worthwhile to explain more thoroughly. The first variable, *problem identification and direction or locus of attribution*, signifies the variety of problems that can be addressed and their corresponding direction of attribution. Research has found indications that ‘the larger the range of problems covered by a frame, the larger the range of social groups that can be addressed with the frame and the greater the mobilization capacity of the frame’.<sup>118</sup> CAF’s thus differ in the problems and the range of problems they address and to which they attribute the blame.

The second variable concerns two interrelated factors: *flexibility and rigidity, inclusivity and exclusivity*. They are interrelated as research has found that the more flexible and inclusive CAF’s are, the more likely they are to function as or evolve into so-called ‘master frames’. Master frames can be defined as collective action frames that are quite broad in terms of scope, functioning as a kind of master algorithm that colours and constrains the orientations and activities of other movements.<sup>119</sup> A master frame is generic in contrast with movement-specific frames: this means that a master frame can be adopted by two or more distinctive movements.<sup>120</sup> Examples are ‘rights’ frames, ‘injustice’ frames or ‘choice’ frames.

The third variable, *interpretive scope and influence*, signifies whether the scope or influence of a CAF is limited to a particular group of people or to a set of related problems. When a CAF is broad in terms of scope, it might be defined a ‘master frame.’

The fourth variable is called *degree of resonance*. I already explained the importance of the framing effort for the success of a mobilization campaign (i.e. the more highly integrated the diagnostic, prognostic and action frames, the higher the probability an individual becomes active in a social movement), but its success does not rest entirely on this factor. What is also of utmost importance are the potential constituents themselves. Snow and Benford explain that the relationship between the framing efforts of movements and the mobilization of potential constituents is highly dialectical. This means that they presuppose that there is no such thing as a *tabula rasa* or empty glass into which new and/or alien ideas can be poured.<sup>121</sup> Rather, potential adherents and constituents have a framework of reference before they enter into contact with a social movement. In order to convince and motivate people to participate in their cause, a movement has to make sure that its framings ‘resonate’ with the current life situation and experience of the potential adherents and constituents. This is called *frame resonance*. Frame resonance is an important factor in answering the question why some

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<sup>118</sup> Snow and Benford, “Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment,” 618.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 619.

<sup>120</sup> David A. Snow and Robert D. Benford, “Master Frames and Cycles of Protest,” in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, eds. Aldon Morris and Carol Mueller (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 138.

<sup>121</sup> Snow and Benford, “Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization,” 204.

framings seem to be effective or successful while others do not.<sup>122</sup> Collective action frames can thus vary in their degree of resonance. Two sets of interacting factors account for this variation: the credibility of the proffered frame and its relative salience.<sup>123</sup>

The credibility of a frame is a function of three factors: frame consistency, empirical credibility, and the credibility of the frame or claimsmakers. In Figure 5 I have schematically represented these variables. *Frame consistency* refers to the congruency between the articulated beliefs, claims and actions of a social movement organisation.<sup>124</sup> When there is an inconsistency, it generally leads to a decrease of frame resonance and as a consequence mobilization becomes more problematic. This inconsistency can manifest itself in terms of apparent contradictions among beliefs or claims or in terms of perceived contradictions among framings and tactical actions (i.e. when people think the SMO does not live up to what it says it will do).

The *empirical credibility* of a collective action frame refers to the apparent fit between the framing of an SMO and events in the world. When the public can empirically verify the claims a movement makes, it contributes to the credibility of the framing. The more culturally believable the claimed evidence, and the greater the number of slices of such evidence, the more credible the framing and the broader its appeal.<sup>125</sup> This holds for the group of prospective adherents a movement tries to reach; the frame does not have to be generally believable. The third factor that is relevant for the credibility of a proffered frame is the *credibility of the frame articulators or claimsmakers*. This concerns the credibility of the person who articulates a frame. Speakers who are regarded as more credible are generally more persuasive; their persuasiveness is increased or decreased by their status and degree of knowledge. The greater the status and/or perceived expertise of the frame articulator and/or the organization they represent from the vantage point of potential adherents and constituents, the more plausible and resonant the framings or claims.<sup>126</sup>

A collective action frame however, is not only defined by its degree of credibility. It is also affected by its *salience* to the public its frame articulators aim to address. The *relative salience* of a frame is a function of three different factors: centrality, experiential commensurability and narrative fidelity. In Figure 8 I have schematically represented these factors together with the factors that fall under the category of frame credibility.

*Centrality* concerns the question how essential the beliefs, values and ideas associated with movement frames are to the lives of the targets of mobilization.<sup>127</sup> Individuals hold a variety of values and beliefs that are arrayed in a hierarchy; this means that some are deemed more important than others. Moreover, they vary in terms of the intensity with which they are held. To mobilize potential adherents and constituents, it is important that there is a correspondence between the beliefs, ideas and values that a movement seeks to promote or defend, and the beliefs, ideas and values held by individuals. Research has found that when the beliefs, ideas

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<sup>122</sup> David A. Snow, E. Burke Rochford, Jr., Steven K. Worden and Robert D. Benford, "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 51 No. 4 (August 1986): 477.

<sup>123</sup> Snow and Benford, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," 619.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 620.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 620.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 621.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 621.

and values of a movement are more central or salient to its targets of mobilization, the mobilization potential of the campaign is strengthened considerably.

*Experiential commensurability* concerns the personal experience of the targets of mobilization. The more the framings of a movement resonate with the personal experience of potential adherents and constituents, the more probable the mobilization campaign will be a success. When the framings are too abstract and distant from the lives and experiences of potential adherents and constituents, it will weaken the mobilizing potency of the campaign. An example is how national experience with nuclear weaponry influenced the success of peace activists in those countries. Because of the experience of the Japanese with the atomic bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima in 1945, peace activists could apply their ‘doomsday’ frames more successfully in Japan than in the United States. This has to do with the fact that this frame resonates experientially to a greater degree with the Japanese than with U.S. citizens, as the Americans have never experienced atomic bombing in their own country.

The third factor that contributes to the salience of a collective action frame is called *narrative fidelity* or *cultural resonance*. It refers to the degree in which frames resonate with cultural narrations, that is, with the stories, myths, and folk tales that are part and parcel of one’s cultural heritage and that function to inform events and experiences in the immediate present.<sup>128</sup> When there is a correspondence between frames used by a movement and the cultural narrations of the potential adherents and constituents, a frame is called to have *narrative fidelity*. Research indicates that the greater the narrative fidelity of a frame, the greater its salience and the greater the prospect of mobilization.<sup>129</sup> Interestingly, Snow and Benford cite Michael Goldberg who notes the importance of narrative fidelity for the theologian:

“a theologian, regardless of the propositional statements he or she may have to make about a community’s convictions, must consciously strive to keep those statements in intimate contact with the narratives which give rise to those convictions, within which they gain their sense and meaning, and from which they have been abstracted.”<sup>130</sup>

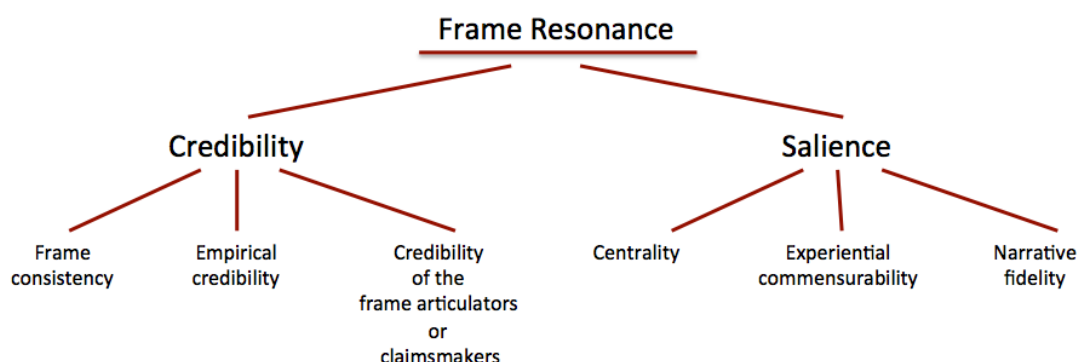


Figure 8: Frame Resonance variation: interacting factors

<sup>128</sup> Snow and Benford, “Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization,” 210.

<sup>129</sup> Snow and Benford, “Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment,” 622.

<sup>130</sup> Michael Goldberg’s *Theology and Narrative* (1985, p. 35) cited in Snow and Benford, “Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization,” 210.

### C. FRAMING PROCESSES

How are frames developed? And what kind of frames can be used? Three processes underlie the development of collective action frames: the so-called ‘discursive’, ‘strategic’ and ‘contested’ processes. The *discursive processes* refer to the basis for framing, which is discourse. This implies the speech acts and written communications of movement members that occur primarily in the context of, or in relation to, movement activities.<sup>131</sup> Framing is based on two different methods: it connects and aligns events and experiences so that they hang together in a relatively unified and compelling fashion, called *frame articulation*, or it highlights some issues, events, or beliefs as being more salient than others, called *frame amplification* or *punctuation*.<sup>132</sup> An example of a combination of frame articulation and amplification is the national motto of France: ‘*Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*’. It connects various notions so that they hang together and it stresses the importance of the ideas of freedom, equality and brotherhood above others (and as belonging to the core of the nation).

The *strategic processes* or *frame alignment processes* refer to the linkage of individual and SMO interpretative orientations, such that some set of individual interests, values and beliefs and SMO activities, goals and ideology are congruent and complementary.<sup>133</sup> By linking their interpretive frameworks and interests with those of potential adherents and constituents, social movements aim to attach people to their movement: this is often done in order to reach a specific goal, such as recruiting new members, mobilizing adherents or acquiring resources.<sup>134</sup> Frame alignment is a necessary condition for movement participation: it paves the way for consensus mobilization, which on its turn is necessary to achieve action mobilization.

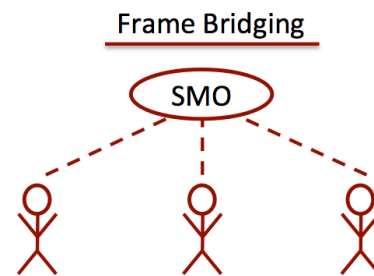


Figure 9: Frame Bridging

There are four types of frame alignment processes: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension and frame transformation. *Frame bridging* is the most prevalent of framing strategies and concerns the linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem.<sup>135</sup> This implies that social movements try to reach individuals who share the same beliefs, values or opinions as those the SMO seeks to promote or defend. This is done on the individual level by linking with so-called (*un-mobilized*) *sentiment pools*. These sentiment pools are aggregates of individuals who share common grievances and attributional orientations, but who lack the organizational base for expressing their discontents and for acting in pursuit of their interests.<sup>136</sup> SMO's connect with these individuals primarily by organizational outreach and information diffusion through interpersonal or intergroup networks, the mass media, the telephone and direct

<sup>131</sup> Snow and Benford, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," 623.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 623.

<sup>133</sup> Snow et al., "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation," 464.

<sup>134</sup> Snow and Benford, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," 624.

<sup>135</sup> Snow et al., "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation," 467.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 467.



mail.<sup>137</sup> An example is how the conservative Christian political factions in the United States (also called ‘The Christian Right’) have been using mailing lists and have even organized mass mailing campaigns in order to mobilize constituents. In Figure 9 I have visualized frame

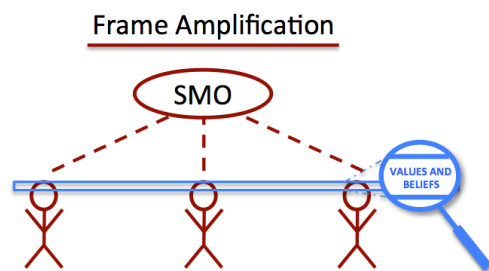


Figure 10: Frame Amplification

bridging conceptually as frame alignment process. *Frame amplification* refers to the idealization, embellishment, clarification, or invigoration of existing values or beliefs.<sup>138</sup> A distinction can be made between *value amplification* and *belief amplification*. Value amplification concerns the identification, idealization, and elevation of one or more values presumed basic to potential adherents and constituents but which have not inspired collective action for any number of reasons.<sup>139</sup> As an individual arrays values hierarchically, it is the task of the SMO to focus on and reinvigorate those values that are relevant for the cause the SMO seeks to promote or defend. Beliefs however, refer to the presumed relationships between two things or between some thing and a characteristic of it.<sup>140</sup> Whereas values refer to the goals that movements seek to attain or promote, beliefs are often construed as ideational elements that cognitively support or impede action in pursuit of desired values. Five types of belief can be identified:

1. Beliefs about the seriousness of the problem, issue, or grievance in question
2. Beliefs about the locus of causality or blame
3. Stereotypic beliefs about antagonists or targets of influence
4. Beliefs about the probability of change or the efficacy of collective action
5. Beliefs about the necessity and propriety of “standing up”<sup>141</sup>

According to Snow and Benford, participation in movement activities is often contingent upon the amplification of one or more of these different kinds of belief. An illustrating example of the third type of beliefs, i.e. stereotypic beliefs about antagonists, is the manner in which neighbourhood organizers negatively framed the Salvation Army in order to achieve their objective of relocating a Salvation Army shelter.<sup>142</sup> As the Salvation Army had a good reputation due to its identification with the values of Christian charity, neighbourhood activists chose to negatively frame the transient men who were served by the Salvation Army. They did this by amplifying beliefs and characterizations that had been historically associated with transient men, i.e. as slothful, alcoholic, criminal, and sex-crazed men. They subsequently emphasized how these men proved to be a threat for the women and children in the neighbourhood. As one observer noted: ‘everybody can agree to spit at sort of half-

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 468.

<sup>138</sup> Snow and Benford, “Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment,” 624.

<sup>139</sup> Snow et al., “Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation,” 469.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 469.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 470.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 470.

*alcoholic, twenty to twenty-eight-year-old, unshaven men.*<sup>143</sup> This example clearly illustrates the connection between frame amplification and the cultural/historical context: according to Snow and Benford, most movements seek to amplify extant beliefs and values as this has proven to generate the greatest chance of creating frame resonance. To put it even more strongly: the extent to which a frame utilizes existing cultural values, beliefs, narratives, and folk wisdom, is a key factor affecting whether or not a frame resonates with potential adherents and constituents.<sup>144</sup> In Figure 10 I have visualized frame amplification conceptually.

*Frame extension* is another frame alignment process that refers to the inclusion of issues and concerns that are presumed to be of importance to potential adherents and constituents, although these do not belong to the primary interests or frameworks of the SMO.<sup>145</sup> In this sense, an SMO ‘extends’ its initial boundaries to include objectives

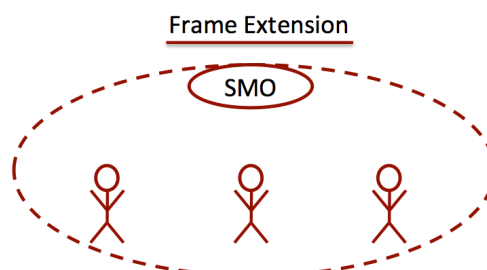


Figure 11: Frame Extension

that are of considerable salience to potential adherents and constituents (see Figure 11). A movement employs this tactic when the values and beliefs that an SMO tries to promote or defend are not rooted in sentiment pools or if they are of little interest to the life situation of potential adherents and constituents. Examples are music bands and/or artists that are deployed at rallies. They are often part of a ‘hooking’ process that functions as an initial step along the path to sustained participation through so-called *frame transformation*.<sup>146</sup> Frame transformation refers to changing old understandings and meanings and/or generating new ones.<sup>147</sup> This is the case when the programs, causes and values of an SMO do not resonate with or are even antithetical to conventional lifestyles or rituals and existent interpretative frames. A movement then has to plant and nurture new values, jettison old meanings or

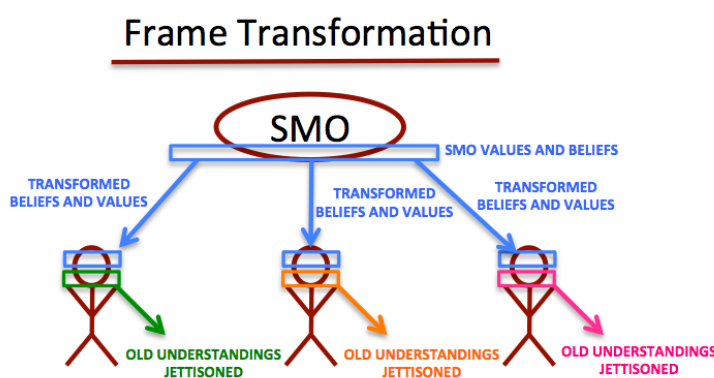


Figure 12: Frame Transformation

understandings and reframe erroneous beliefs or ‘misframings’ in order to garner support and secure participants.<sup>148</sup> Thus, a frame transformation redefines activities, events, and biographies that are already meaningful from the standpoint of some primary framework in terms of another framework, such that they are now ‘seen by participants to be something quite else.’<sup>149</sup> In Figure

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 470.

<sup>144</sup> Snow and Benford, “Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment,” 624.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 625.

<sup>146</sup> Snow et al., “Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation,” 473.

<sup>147</sup> Snow and Benford, “Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment,” 625.

<sup>148</sup> Snow et al., “Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation,” 473.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 474.

12 I have schematically visualized this process. An example is how an unfortunate but tolerable situation can change into an inexcusable, unjust or immoral situation, through the use of an injustice frame. This injustice frame however, is not enough to lead to action. To this end it is necessary that the injustice frame is accompanied by a corresponding shift in attributional orientation, i.e. who is to blame?<sup>150</sup>

Snow and Benford distinguish between two kinds of transformation processes: *domain specific frames* and *global interpretive frames*. *Domain specific frames* refer to a change in a particular domain of life, such that a domain previously taken for granted is reframed as problematic and in need of repair, or a domain seen as normative or acceptable is reframed as an injustice that warrants change.<sup>151</sup> The definition that Snow and Benford apply for ‘domain of life’ is broad; it can include a status, pattern of relationships or a social practice that is reframed as inexcusable, immoral or unjust.<sup>152</sup> This type of framing is often used by activists who seek dramatic changes in the status, treatment or activity of a category of people. *Global interpretive frames* however, concern a broader scope of change as a new primary framework gains ascendance over others and comes to function as a kind of master frame that interprets events and experiences in a new key.<sup>153</sup> It is the displacement of one universe of discourse by another through a sort of conversion. This conversion concerns a change in one’s ‘sense of ultimate grounding’, due to which one sees the world in a totally different light after ‘conversion’. Movements that have world-transforming goals or aspirations often utilize this type of framing. Examples include multiple religious movements such as the Hare Krishna movement and early communism.

The *contested processes* refer to the challenges activists face when engaging in the so-called ‘collective action arena’. This means that they are not able to construct and impose any version of reality they like as they are confronted with challenges such as counterframing and internal frame disputes.<sup>154</sup> *Counterframing* refers to the attempts to rebut, undermine, or neutralize a person’s or a group’s myths, versions of reality, or interpretive framework’.<sup>155</sup> This is often the case with social movements, as their very existence already indicates that there are differences between their views on reality and those held by society. Those who oppose the changes an SMO advocates, try to undermine the SMO through counterframing. This leads to so-called ‘framing contests’: framing of the social movement leads to the counter framing of opponents, which on its turn provokes reframing activity by the social movement. Another challenge concerns the *frame disputes* within the social movement itself. These disputes are intramovement disagreements regarding frame diagnoses and prognoses or about the way reality should be presented in order to maximize mobilization (so-called ‘frame resonance disputes’).<sup>156</sup> Although these disputes can be experienced as challenges for generating collective action, research indicates that they simultaneously shape the movement’s structure, interorganizational relations and collective identity.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 474.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 474.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 475.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 475.

<sup>154</sup> Snow and Benford, “Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment,” 625.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 626.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 626.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 626.

#### D. FRAMING AND THE CULTURAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

Framing and the extent of its resonance cannot be separated from its context. Frame resonance can be contingent on numerous contextual factors, but research has found that there are three socio-cultural contextual factors that significantly influence the frame resonance of the proffered framings of an SMO. These are: the political opportunity structure, the cultural opportunities and constraints, and the targeted audience(s). The *political opportunity structure* refers to changes in the institutional structure and/or informal relations of a political system and movement mobilization.<sup>158</sup> An example is how changes in material conditions (for example whether there is enough food or whether there is a food shortage) can lead to changes in the degree of frame resonance among potential adherents and constituents. A one-issue political party that aims in its party manifest to facilitate the people in sufficient food supply, will probably have more success in a context where there is a food shortage, then one where food is widely available. When the material conditions change (e.g. when there is enough food again), this often leads to reframing by the social movement. Thus, changes in the political system can lead to a higher or lesser degree of frame resonance, which in turn can lead to reframing.

A second significant factor is *the cultural context*. Movements are both consumers of existing cultural meanings and producers of new meanings.<sup>159</sup> They often blend old and new into the collective action frames they use to reach their goals. To do so, they often use cultural material already available, such as cultural beliefs, ideologies, practices, values, myths, narratives etc. The last factor concerns *the audience* that a social movement aims to reach. Activists and the targeted audience interact: activists often adapt the form and content of their message to the audience (or the target of the message) in order to make it the most appealing. Research indicates that the targeted audience is one of major contextual factors that help to explain why movements modify their collective action frames.<sup>160</sup>

To summarize: framing is a dynamic, on-going process that is affected by multiple factors. The central argument of Snow and Benford is that the success of a mobilization campaign of an SMO can be largely attributed to the degree of frame resonance that has been established. The higher the degree of frame resonance, the greater the probability that the framing effort will be relatively successful (all else being equal).<sup>161</sup> I have described the characteristics of framing and its action-oriented function, also called 'core framing tasks'. I have explained how these tasks (diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing) can be related to consensus and action mobilization and how these have to be integrated in order to effectively mobilize potential adherents and constituents. I have elucidated the variable features of CAF's and how frame resonance constitutes a key determinant in the degree of success of a mobilization campaign. I have explained how frame resonance is strengthened or weakened by its degree of credibility and salience, entailing factors such as frame consistency, empirical credibility, experiential commensurability and narrative fidelity. Moreover, I have shed light upon the four distinguished ways in which an SMO aims to align its values and beliefs with those of its

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 628.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 629.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 630.

<sup>161</sup> Snow et al., "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation," 477.

audience in order to create frame resonance: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension and frame transformation. Lastly, I have shown how the socio-cultural context affects CAF's and frame resonance, through processes such as counterframing by opponents, changes in the political system, the cultural material present in a society, and/or the audience(s) that an SMO aims to reach.

In the next chapter I will analyse the cases of pope Urban II and pope Francis in light of the cultural memory theory of Jan Assmann and the social movement framing theory of Snow and Benford. I aim to answer the question whether I can prove a connection between cultural memory and framing in both papal cases. This is relevant as pope Urban II and pope Francis differ in their moral interpretation of public violence; something that according to the teaching of the *depositum fidei* should not be possible. I want to verify whether this interpretative difference can be explained by the framing of different background beliefs (of which cultural memory is a part) of the audiences the popes are aiming to reach. Firstly, I will analyse to what extent cultural memory and framing are existent in the speech of pope Urban II, according to the definitions of Jan Assmann and Snow & Benford. Secondly, I will investigate if there is a connection between cultural memory and framing. In the second paragraph, I will reiterate these two steps for the case of pope Francis I.

## **VI. CULTURAL MEMORY AND FRAMING IN THE CASE OF POPE URBAN II**

In this paragraph I want to answer the question whether there is a connection between cultural memory and framing in the papal statements of pope Urban II, according to the definitions discussed in the previous two chapters. Firstly, I have to investigate whether the concepts of cultural memory and framing are present in the accounts of the sermon, i.e. the reports of Fulcher of Chartres, Robert of Rheims and Baldric of Bourgueil, and if so, in what form they are present. I use the sensitizing concepts as listed in Figure 1 as my searchlight and I will verify only those concepts that are present within the texts. Secondly, I draw conclusions about the connection between cultural memory and framing within the texts.

### **A. CULTURAL MEMORY ANALYSIS**

All three reports of pope Urban's address at the end of the Council, i.e. the report of Fulcher of Chartres, Robert of Rheims and Baldric of Bourgueil, are characterized by a *connective structure* (1.1). The author(s) incorporate images and tales from another time into the text in order to make the text relevant for the undesirable situation it aims to address; i.e. the occupation of the Holy Land by the Turks. This connective structure is the weakest in the text of Fulcher of Chartres (as Fulcher focuses mainly on the present situation), it is more existent in the text of Robert of Rheims and in the text of Baldric of Bourgueil it is prominently visible. The authors incorporate biblical quotations, stories about the life of Jesus Christ, stories about the apostles, saints, and martyrs and stories from the history of the Jews. These images and stories create a symbolic universe that binds the people of two *memory communities* (1.2) together: The Church and the French people. In this way, the author(s) aim to address a targeted audience, i.e. the Christian French. The images and stories that are recalled are drawn from *the collective memory* (2) of the Christian French. These memories

concern events from the life of Jesus Christ, such as his birth, his baptism by John the Baptist, his teachings and his passion, but also events from Jewish history, such as the Exodus and the wars of the Israelites against rival tribes. Christians have handed down these stories in their congregations throughout the ages. But also memories from French history are revived, such as the conquests of Charlemagne. Interestingly, these events are not described in a most detailed or specific way; rather, they are generally referred to with some key terms. This presupposes that they were commonly known by most or all members of the targeted memory community.

Collective memory can be categorized into communicative and cultural memory. *Communicative memory* (3) concerns the recent past. In the three reports of the sermon of pope Urban II, two events from the recent past are recalled: the invasion of the Holy Land by the Turks and the problems the French knights caused in their hometowns. In March 1095 ambassadors of the Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus asked the pope for military aid against the Seljuk Turks. The three accounts of the sermon of pope Urban II frequently report how the pope has heard that the Christians living in the east (i.e. Palestine) are ‘terrorized’ by the Turks: Fulcher reports that the Turks slaughter and capture many Christians, destroy churches and lay to waste ‘the kingdom of God’.<sup>162</sup> Robert describes extensively how Christians are gruesomely killed: ‘*And they cut open the navels of those whom they choose to torment with a loathsome death, tear out their most vital organs and tie them to a stake, drag them around and flog them, before killing them as they lie prone on the ground with all their entrails out.*’<sup>163</sup> And Baldric laments especially the Holy Places that are defiled and destroyed. These events (*if they tally with reality*) must then have taken place in the year and perhaps years before the sermon of pope Urban in November 1095. Moreover, the authors refer to the increased violence of knights in their hometowns. Fulcher writes: ‘*Let those who in the past have been accustomed to spread private war so vilely among the faithful advance against the infidel...*’<sup>164</sup> And Baldric calls the knights: ‘*You oppressors of orphans, you robbers of widows, you homicides, you blasphemers, you plunderers of other’ rights.*’<sup>165</sup> The increased violence of the knights was a problem of the last century; from 1020 onwards the Church started many initiatives to keep the peace, such as religious calls for cease-fires and the peace of God movements. Fulcher seems to refer to this when he writes: ‘*Since, oh sons of God, you have promised God more strongly than usual to uphold faithfully peace-keeping at home.....*’<sup>166</sup>

#### Memory figures

1. The extension of the Carolingian empire by king Charlemagne and his son Louis
2. Life of Jesus Christ: his birth, the passion, his death, his burial
3. God gives the land of Canaan to the Israelites
4. Saint Peter as bishop of Antioch
5. Martyrdom of Stephen
6. Baptism of Jesus Christ by John the Baptist
7. Burial of Blessed Mary in the valley of Josaphat
8. The Battle of Refidim (Moses and the Israelites against the Amelekites)
9. The crossing of the Red Sea
10. The ejection of the Jebusites out of Palestine

Figure 13: Memory Figures

<sup>162</sup> Smith & Smith, *The Crusades*, 41.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 41.

*Cultural memory* (4) refers to fixed points in a past that is further away from the everyday. The sermon of pope Urban II entails multiple references to images and stories from an absolute past. Concrete events or so-called *memory-figures* (4.1) are listed in Figure 13. These memory figures show that many memories relate to people from the past. The memory of these dead can be *retrospective* or *prospective* (4.3). The sermon of pope Urban includes both types of memory. Instances of retrospective memory (i.e. keeping the dead present) are the mentioning of the death of Jesus Christ, the reference to the apostles, martyrs and evangelists, and the remembrance of the Jews as the children of Israel, the ancient tribe of the Jacobites and Moses as praying to heaven. Examples of prospective memory (i.e. with a focus on the achievement or fame of the dead) are summarized in Figure 14.

Prospective memory
1. The strength of the ancestors of the French
2. Jesus Christ as the Redeemer of the human race
3. Blessed Peter as the first bishop to hold Antioch
4. The glorious presence of the holy Mother of God
5. The delectable blood spilt by the martyrs
6. Stephen, first of all the martyrs
7. John the Baptist, who baptized the Saviour

Figure 14: Prospective memory

Moreover, all three accounts, but especially the report of Baldric of Bourgueil, are filled with *mnemotopes* (4.4) or places of memory. Examples are listed in Figure 15.

With regard to *re-presentation and interpretation* (4.5), all reports are clear examples of the written form of cultural memory in which events from the past are represented and interpreted in such a way that meaning is given to the present situation. This is evident from the fact that there are three different accounts of the sermon of pope Urban II: each author has

Mnemotopes
The Holy Sepulchre
Land ‘floweth with milk and honey’
(Holy, earthly, heavenly) Jerusalem
Antioch
Kingdom of Heaven
The holy cities
The sanctuary of God
The Church of Blessed Mary
The valley of Josaphat
The Temple of Solomon
The Lord’s Sepulchre
The place of the Lord’s burial
The churches of God
The Holy Land
The River Jordan
Egypt
The Red Sea
‘That city where Christ died for you’

Figure 15: Mnemotopes

given his own interpretation or version of what he thought that Pope Urban deemed important and would have said in his sermon. Secondly, all reports were written only after the success of the crusade, which has influenced the authors in writing their accounts. This is apparent from the fact that the words put into the pope’s mouth reflect subsequent events of the crusade.<sup>167</sup> Moreover, it is interesting to see how certain groups or people are represented in the text. The Turks for example are negatively portrayed: they are called ‘a race so spurned and degenerate’, ‘the handmaid of devils’, ‘barbarians’, ‘Saracens’, ‘pagans’, ‘gentiles’, ‘Amelekites’ and ‘more unholy than the Jebusites.’<sup>168</sup> The knights, interestingly, are reinterpreted positively within the text: first they are negatively called ‘brigands’, ‘oppressors’, ‘robbers’, ‘homicides’, ‘blasphemers’ and ‘plunderers’. Later they are named ‘heralds of Christ’ and ‘soldiers of Christ’.<sup>169</sup> Christ himself is portrayed as ‘the Redeemer’, ‘the Saviour’ and ‘leader of the Christian force’. Robert of Rheims is full of

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 41-52.

<sup>169</sup> These phrases can be found scattered throughout all three reports. Therefore, I will not give specific references. (This also holds for the images of the Eastern Christians).

praise of the French: they are portrayed as a strong and pious people: ‘chosen and beloved by God’, ‘distinguished from all other nations’ and ‘with an outstanding glory in arms’.<sup>170</sup> And the Eastern Christians are imagined as ‘your (blood-) brothers’, your comrades-in-arms, ‘members of Christ body, ‘those born from the same womb as you’, and ‘sons of the same Christ and the same Church.’

*Foundational memory* (4.8) makes the present into something meaningful, divinely inspired, necessary, and unchangeable.<sup>171</sup> There are several extracts in the reports of the sermon of pope Urban where the present situation is legitimized by stories from French collective memory. The first

Biblical quotations	
†	That land, <i>that floweth with milk and honey</i> , was given by God as a possession to the children of Israel
†	<i>Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them</i>
†	<i>Whosoever doth not carry his cross and come after me is not worthy of me</i>
†	<i>A never fading crown</i>
†	<i>Gird thy sword, upon thy thigh, Oh thou most mighty.</i>

Figure 16: Foundational memory: biblical quotations

example can be found in the report of Robert of Rheims: Robert describes how the strength of the French ancestors, including the strength of French kings such as Charlemagne, can ‘move’ the French to fight in the Holy Land. Secondly, in all three reports biblical quotations are frequently used to legitimize a claim of land or authorize present action as it was already commanded by God or Jesus Christ in the past. I have listed some examples in Figure 16. Thirdly, biblical stories are used to emphasize that present action is necessary as it happened similarly in the past. Examples are the parallels drawn between the crusaders fighting the Turks and the Israelites fighting rival tribes. Baldric of Bourgueil for example, writes: ‘you the Christian force, a force most invincible, better than the ancient tribe of the Jacobites’, implying that victory is inevitable.<sup>172</sup> Moreover, Baldric legitimizes the non-fighting of the clergy by referring to the battle of Refidim: ‘We (*the clergy*) will hold out tireless hands like Moses, praying to heaven; you (*the crusaders*) must draw and brandish your swords, you fearless warriors against Amelek’.<sup>173</sup>

However, the texts also contain instances of *contrapresent memory* (4.8). This memory comprises narratives that shed a different light on the present by emphasizing what has gone wrong, what has disappeared, or become lost or marginalized.<sup>174</sup> This is apparent in the texts of Robert and Baldric. Both authors describe how the holy city of Jerusalem has become defiled; the holiness of Jerusalem is described through the memory of the life of Jesus Christ and the saints, connected to the city of Jerusalem and/or specific places within the city. A clear example can be found in the text of Robert:

‘Jerusalem is the navel of the world, a land fruitful above all others, like a second paradise of delights. The Redeemer of the human race made it famous by his birth, embellished it by his life, sanctified it by his passion, redeemed it by his death, left his seal upon it by his burial. This

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 42-43.

<sup>171</sup> Assmann, *Cultural Memory and early civilization*, 62.

<sup>172</sup> Smith & Smith, *The Crusades*, 51.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>174</sup> Assmann, *Cultural Memory and early civilization*, 62.



royal city, placed at the centre of the world, is now held captive by her enemies and is enslaved to pagan rites by a people which does not acknowledge God.<sup>175</sup>

The desecration is described through a detailed account of the desecration and devastation of the holy places and churches in the Holy land, as well as by describing how the Eastern Christians are violently killed. Baldric writes for example: 'The churches where once the divine mysteries were celebrated are, alas, being converted into stables for their cattle' and 'Blessed Peter was the first bishop to hold Antioch. See now how the gentiles have established their false practices in that church and instead of cultivating, as above all they should, the Christian religion in the temple dedicated to God they have wickedly suppressed it.' And Robert elaborates on the violent injuries and death of the Eastern Christians: 'They have circumcised the Christians, either spreading the blood from the circumcisions on the altars or pouring it into the baptismal fonts.'<sup>176</sup>

In the sermon of pope Urban there are several instances of a so-called *mythomotor* (4.9): a myth or narrative that provides a directional impetus. A foundational mythomotor is for example the narrative of how King Charlemagne and his sons destroyed 'the kingdoms of the pagans'. This is a mythomotor as it directs the crusaders to do the same in the present. But also the references to the wars between the Jews and rival tribes such as the Jebusites and Amalekites, function as foundational mythomotors, as they urge the French crusaders to fight against the enemies of God in the same way as the Israelites did. Another foundational mythomotor is the narrative that God gave the Holy Land to the children of Israel; implying that the Holy Land belongs to the French and that they should take back what is rightfully theirs. The contrapresent mythomotors in the sermon of pope Urban relate to the idea that pagans may not hold the holy cities and places in the Holy Land captive. Therefore, the texts are full with narratives about the ancient churches and temples of God and the past veneration of Christians there. These narratives, together with references to the special events of saints and Jesus Christ connected to these places and the miracles that are performed there, function as an impetus to restore this situation in the present.

## B. FRAMING ANALYSIS

### a) Core framing tasks

*Collective action frames* (1) are characterized by their *core framing tasks* (2). Each report is structured according to the three core framing tasks and interestingly, also in the same order. *Diagnostic framing* (2.1) concerns the identification of the problem and the attribution of the blame or causality. According to Fulcher of Chartres, the problem is that the Eastern Christians are conquered and that their lands are being occupied. More specifically, he notes that Christians are slaughtered and churches are being destroyed. He puts the blame on the Turks, a Persian race. In identifying the Turks as the culpable agent, Fulcher uses an injustice frame: '*Oh how shameful if a race so spurned and degenerate, the handmaid of devils, should conquer a race endowed with the faith of almighty God and resplendent with the name of*

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<sup>175</sup> Smith & Smith, *The Crusades*, 44.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 49.

*Christ!*<sup>177</sup> His proposed solution, or the so-called *prognostic framing* (2.2) he uses, is that the French should aid the Eastern Christians by expelling the Turks from the conquered territories: ‘...to strive to bring aid to the Christian inhabitants in time by driving this infamous race from our territories.’<sup>178</sup> Fulcher provides the rationale for action or *motivational framing* (2.3) by calling upon moral, solidary, urgency and status motives. In Figure 17 I have listed these motives.

The account of Robert of Rheims follows the same structure as described above. Robert defines the problem as the invasion of the Christian lands around Jerusalem and the city of Constantinople. More specifically, he describes that people are captured and killed and that the churches are destroyed or used for non-Christian rites. The culpable agent is vaguely described as ‘a people from the kingdom of the Persians, a foreign race, a race absolutely alien to God.’<sup>179</sup> Robert uses an injustice frame by painting in glowing terms how Christians are violently killed and subsequently adding that the French should avenge this injustice: ‘On whom, therefore, does the task lie of avenging this, of redeeming the situation, if not on you, upon whom above all nations God has bestowed outstanding glory in arms, magnitude of heart, liveness of body and the strength to humble anyone who resists you to their hairy crown?’<sup>180</sup> The solution that Robert offers is that the French should travel to Jerusalem, rescue and rule the Holy Land: ‘Take the road to the Holy Sepulchre, rescue that land from a dreadful race and rule over it yourselves...’<sup>181</sup> Robert provides the ‘call to arms’ by using propriety, status and solidary motives. I have listed these motives in Figure 18.

Rationale for action – Fulcher of Chartres	Motive
...turn the vigour of your goodness to a certain other matter...now that you have been invigorated by the correction of the Lord	Moral
For it is necessary for you to run as quickly as you can to the aid of your brothers living on the eastern shore; you have often been told that they are in need of your help.	Solidary
...if you leave them alone much longer they will further grind under their heels the faithful of God.	Solidary Urgency
-not I, but the Lord-	Status Authority
Oh what a great disgrace will be imputed to you by the Lord himself if you do not help those who by the profession of their faith are rated, like you, as Christians!	Solidary Moral

Figure 17: Rationale for action – Fulcher of Chartres

Rationale for action – Robert of Rheims	Motive
On whom, therefore, does the task lie of avenging this, of redeeming the situation, if not on you, upon whom above all nations God has bestowed outstanding glory in arms, magnitude of heart, liveness of body and the strength to humble anyone who resists you to their hairy crown?	Propriety
Oh most strong soldiers and the offspring of unvanquished parents, do not show yourselves to be weaker than your forbears but remember their strength!	Status
So she asks and prays to be liberated and calls upon you that she demands help...	Solidary

Figure 18: Rationale for action – Robert of Rheims

The main problem that Baldric of

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 41-42.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 44.

Bourgueil wants to address is that Eastern Christians are being scourged, oppressed and injured. Moreover, they are subject to foreign lords in their own heritages, or are driven out or are sold into slavery. Christians are also tortured and churches are being defiled. Interestingly, Baldric does not claim that Christians are being *killed*, as opposed to Fulcher and Robert. The culpable agents are described as ‘foreign lords’, ‘vile men’, ‘false, unclean Turks’ and ‘the Turks, more unholy than the Jebusites’.<sup>182</sup> The solution that is offered is that the French should defend the Eastern Church as knights of Christ. More concretely, this entails that the French should wage war and attack and throw out the Turks: ‘....wage war for your own rights over Jerusalem and attack and throw out the Turks, more unholy than the Jebusites, who are there.’<sup>183</sup> The rationale for action is based upon moral, solidary, and material motives, with an emphasis on the solidary and moral arguments: I have listed these in Figure 19.

With regard to *consensus* and *action mobilization* (3), the ratio between consensus and action mobilization differs in the three reports. Consensus mobilization comprises diagnostic and prognostic framing; in the report of Fulcher, which is a short text in comparison with the other texts, consensus takes up but a small part of the text, whereas the greater part contains action mobilization. In the text of Robert, consensus mobilization

Rationale for action – Baldric of Bourgueil	Motive
And if you want to take counsel for your souls you must either cast off as quickly as possible the belt of this sort of knighthood or go forward boldly as knights of Christ, hurrying swiftly to defend the eastern church.	Moral Solidary
It ought to be horrifying, brothers, horrifying for you to lay grasping hands on Christians: it is a lesser evil to brandish the sword against Saracens; in particular cases it is good, because it is love to lay down one’s life for one’s brothers	Moral Solidary
You will get the enemies’ possessions, because you will despoil their treasuries and either return victorious to your own homes or gain eternal fame, purpled with your own blood.	Material

Figure 19: Rationale for action – Baldric of Bourgueil

also takes up but a small part of the text, but as the text is longer than that of Fulcher, it is more elaborate. Nevertheless, for the greater part it contains action mobilization. The text of Baldric, however, takes up a lot of space for consensus mobilization; it is only further on in the text that Baldric changes to action mobilization.

## b) Frame resonance

According to the theory of Snow and Benford, in order to reach potential crusaders, the Church has to make sure that its framings ‘resonate’ with the current life situation and experience of those present at the council of Clermont. This is called *frame resonance* (4). All three reports contain CAF’s that reckon with this factor. They can be categorized into instances of *frame credibility* (5) and *frame salience* (6). Frame credibility is a function of three factors: frame consistency, empirical credibility, and the credibility of the frame or claimsmakers. All three factors are present within the texts. *Frame consistency* (5.1), or the congruency between the articulated beliefs, claims and actions of an SMO, is apparent in all three texts with regard to the Christian religious framework that is used. Actions, such as joining the crusade and fighting to liberate Jerusalem, are legitimized by biblical references in

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 51-52.

order to make the actions consistent with Christian beliefs. An example is the biblical quote: ‘If anyone doth not carry his cross and come after me, he cannot be my disciple.’<sup>184</sup> This seems to be a case of re-presentation in order to create frame consistency: the word ‘take up’ from the original biblical translations is replaced by the word ‘carry’; which corresponds more to the promoted action of wearing a cross on one’s chest or back. In doing so, the author implicitly links a saying of Jesus to an action of the Church: as if Jesus Christ already commanded the action of wearing a cross on one’s chest or back. In doing so, the author cleverly creates a legitimization for the actions of the Church. *Empirical credibility* (5.2) refers to the extent that the public can empirically verify the claims a movement makes. This is quite difficult for the case the pope wants to bring forward; the events in Palestine are far away so they cannot be empirically verified, except for what the French have heard from hearsay, such as returning pilgrims or messengers etc. Many French are also not familiar with the Turks, which is apparent from vague descriptions of the Turks such as: ‘*a people from the kingdom of the Persians, a foreign race, a race absolutely alien to God*’<sup>185</sup> Moreover, the pope falls back on references to common knowledge – ‘we have heard it very often already’, or ‘as many of you have already been told.’<sup>186</sup> These phrases indicate that the French cannot empirically verify what the pope claims but can only trust on the many stories they have been told. The last factor, *the credibility of the frame articulators/claimsmakers* (5.3), concerns the credibility of the pope as frame claimsmaker. According to Snow and Benford, the persuasiveness of the frame claimsmaker is increased and decreased by his/her status and degree of knowledge. In the case of pope Urban II, his credibility can be esteemed to be very high as he fulfilled the position of the highest authority within the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note it appears from the texts that he was not satisfied with

Authority	Report
On this matter I exhort you, heralds of Christ, with an earnest prayer – not I, but the Lord -...	Fulcher
I appeal directly to those present; I order those absent; but Christ commands.	
I am entitled to grant this ( <i>remittance of sins</i> ) to those about to go by the gift of God.	
You would not have spoken with a single voice if the Lord had not been present in your minds...	Robert

Figure 20: Authority arguments

his own person as authority; he often uses God or Jesus Christ as an even higher authority to substantiate his arguments. Examples are listed in Figure 20.

However, the question whether a CAF resonates with the targeted audience is not only

determined by its credibility; it is also determined by its relative salience. *Frame salience* (6) is a function of three factors: centrality, experiential commensurability and narrative fidelity.

*Centrality* (6.1) concerns the question how essential the beliefs, values and ideas associated with movement frames are to the lives of the targets of mobilization. In all three reports, the authors tend to use beliefs and values that are very important to the French Christians. These beliefs and values are mostly related to the Christian religion and the history of the French nation. Fulcher of Chartres for example, uses the belief in the devil when describing the Turks and the belief in God and Jesus Christ when describing the French. These beliefs relate to arguably the three most central persons in Christianity. Robert of

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 43 and 41.

Rheims uses many values and beliefs in his text: the value of strength (with regard to the French as a nation), the belief in Jesus Christ as ‘the Redeemer of the human race’, the idea that Jerusalem is placed at the centre of the world and the belief that crusaders can be assured of ‘the unfading glory of the Kingdom of Heaven’. The value of strength is a value that is held in high regard by the French; Robert repeatedly returns to this value of strength in his text. The other beliefs refer to central concepts from Christianity: Jesus Christ as Saviour, Jerusalem as the most important city and belief in heaven. Baldric however, beats the other authors by far with regard to inserting central concepts from Christian belief: first of all, he often refers to the most important event in Christianity: the crucifixion and burial of Jesus Christ (interestingly, he does not refer to the resurrection). He writes of Holy Jerusalem that ‘it is the city where Christ suffered for us, since our sins demanded it’.<sup>187</sup> Moreover, he writes about the Holy Sepulchre as ‘the place where God was laid to rest; there he died for us; there he was buried.’ And the Eastern Christians are referred to as ‘members of Christ’s body’.<sup>188</sup> Christians hold the belief in the death and the resurrection of Jesus Christ with great intensity; it therefore adds tremendously to the degree of frame resonance that Baldric refers to this belief frequently. Secondly, Baldric mentions people who are important as they are directly related to or in contact with Jesus Christ: Mary, holy mother of God, the apostles (specifically mentioning Peter), and John the Baptist. Thirdly, he mentions people who are not important because they are directly related to or in contact with Jesus Christ, but who have played a very important part in the history of Christianity: i.e. the evangelists and the martyrs. Lastly, Baldric mentions very important Christian places: he writes about ‘Holy Jerusalem’ and mentions three very important holy sites: The Lord’s Sepulchre, the Temple of Solomon and the Church of Blessed Mary.

#### *Experiential*

*commensurability* (6.2) concerns the personal experience of the targets of mobilization. The experiential commensurability of the sermon of pope Urban is in all three reports considerably weak. This has to do with the fact that the events in the Holy Land are at a far distance from the

#### **Baldric of Bourgueil: cultural narrations**

- Christians as members of Christ’s body
- Saint Peter as first bishop of Antioch
- Jerusalem as the city where Christ suffered for ‘our’ sins
- The burial of the body of Mary in the valley of Josaphat
- The Lord’s Sepulchre where God died and was buried
- The miracle of the relighting of the lamps in the Sepulchre
- The martyrdom of Stephen
- The baptism of Jesus Christ by John the Baptist
- The Exodus
- The wars between the Israelites and rival tribes (Jebusites, Amalekites)

Figure 21: Baldric of Bourgueil: cultural narrations

French territories. Many did not personally experience the conquest of Jerusalem; therefore, they have to rely on what they have heard about it. Only those who have been there as pilgrims can attest to some things the pope claims; the pope uses their experience to substantiate his argument: ‘And the Turks have violently seized the offerings which you have so often taken there as alms...’<sup>189</sup>

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., 50.

*Narrative fidelity* or *cultural resonance* (6.3) refers to the degree in which frames resonate with cultural narrations. All three authors use stories and myths from contemporary culture. Fulcher of Chartres, for example, makes use of the idea of the devil, Christ and God. Robert of Rheims refers to the narrative of French kings such as Charles the Great and his son Louis who conquered and christianised pagan territories. But Robert also implicitly refers to the conquest of the land Canaan by the Israelites. Moreover, he refers to the story of the life and death of Jesus Christ: his birth, his passion, his death and his burial.<sup>190</sup> Also the possibility of remission of sins by doing penance in the form of deeds, such as a pilgrimage, resonated in medieval culture that was permeated by the idea of ‘sin’ (*‘So take this road for the remission of your sins...’*).<sup>191</sup> Baldric of Bourgueil is, once again, the one who writes vividly about the stories and myths associated with ‘the Holy land’. I have summarized these in Figure 21.

### c) Frame alignment processes

It is interesting to see which *frame alignment processes* (7) pope Urban II has used to garner support for his crusade. There are four ways of aligning the individual to the interests of the Church: *frame bridging* (7.1), *frame amplification* (7.2), *frame extension* (7.3), and *frame transformation* (7.4). Based upon the three reports of the sermon of pope Urban, I can conclude that the alignment is mainly based on frame bridging and frame amplification. Frame extension and frame transformation are only marginally present. The frame bridging strategy, however, is not aimed at aligning individuals with the Church as an organization, but rather at mobilizing members to join a voluntary organized expedition. Thus, the frame bridging strategy is oriented internally rather than externally. Nevertheless, the mechanism is the same. The pope tries to reach individuals who share the same beliefs, values and opinions. Moreover, he tries to link within this group (i.e. Catholic Christians) to unorganized sentiment pools: i.e. Christians who want to alter the situation in the lands around Jerusalem or knights who are searching for a way to redeem their sins or find an alternative way of fighting etc. What the pope offers is an organizational base for them to act in pursuit of their interests. To communicate his message, the pope uses the contemporary form of mass communication: speaking in front of a mass gathering in the big cities throughout the country. The clergy then would spread this message in their churches.

When analysing the sermon of pope Urban II, based on the reports of Fulcher of Chartres, Robert of Rheims and Baldric of Bourgueil, one could observe that the texts contains many examples of frame amplification and more specifically, *value amplification* as well as *belief amplification*. Values that are elevated are (in order of importance): solidarity, strength, honour, piety and altruism (Figure 22). The amplification of beliefs concerns all types of belief, as summarized on page 37. Baldric for example, magnifies the seriousness of the capture of Jerusalem (1) by writing that ‘it is a blasphemy that they have established their false practices in that church’, and ‘This is the worst of reproaches against us’.<sup>192</sup> Baldric also puts the blame (2) on the French Christians: ‘This

<p><b>VALUES</b></p> <p>SOLIDARITY</p> <p>STRENGTH</p> <p>HONOUR</p> <p>PIETY</p> <p>ALTRUISM</p>
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Figure 22: Values

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 49-50.

is the worst of reproaches against us, *even though we have deserved all this.*’ Moreover, all three authors make use of stereotypic beliefs about the Turks (3): Fulcher writes that they are ‘pagans’, ‘a race so spurned and degenerate’ and ‘the handmaid of devils’, whereas Robert describes them as ‘a race absolutely alien to God’.<sup>193</sup> Baldric uses many stereotypical descriptions for the Turks: they are ‘false’ and ‘unclean’; they are ‘heathens’, ‘gentiles’ and ‘more unholy than the Jebusites’.<sup>194</sup> All three authors also invigorate beliefs about the probability of change or the efficacy of collective action (4): Fulcher claims for example that if those who have joined the crusade die an untimely death, they will immediately have their sins remitted.<sup>195</sup> Moreover, Fulcher writes that as a soldier of Christ, one will be happy and rich and the friend of the Lord, but as a brigand, one will be sad and poor and the enemy of the Lord.<sup>196</sup> Robert writes that crusaders can be ‘assured of the unfading glory of the Kingdom of Heaven’ and Baldric writes that the Christian force is a force most invincible.<sup>197</sup> Lastly, Fulcher of Chartres and Robert of Rheims stress the necessity and propriety of “standing up” (5): Fulcher writes for example that ‘if you leave them alone much longer they will further grind under their heels the faithful of God’.<sup>198</sup> Robert argues that the capture of the lands around Jerusalem and Constantinople is an injustice that should be avenged, and that it are the French who are morally obliged to redeem the situation (On whom, therefore, does the task lie of avenging this, of redeeming the situation, if not on you...).<sup>199</sup>

### C. THE CONNECTION BETWEEN CULTURAL MEMORY AND FRAMING

In the previous two paragraphs I have applied a cultural memory analysis as well as a framing analysis on the accounts of the sermon of pope Urban II. I have found many recurring instances of the sensitizing concepts I have defined in my method (Chapter I, D, p.7). The interesting question however, is if there are any connections between cultural memory and framing. The answer is yes. I have found connections between cultural memory and:

- Core framing tasks (diagnostic and motivational)
- Frame consistency
- Centrality
- Narrative fidelity/cultural resonance
- Belief amplification

With regard to the core framing tasks of CAF’s, cultural memory is used in diagnostic as well as motivational framing. In *diagnostic framing*, stereotypes and narratives from cultural memory are used to describe the culpable agent, such as the description of the Turks as ‘the handmaid of devils’ (Fulcher of Chartres) or ‘more unholy than the Jebusites’ (Baldric of Bourgueil).<sup>200</sup> In *motivational framing*, prospective memory is used to motivate the French to join the crusade. As the dead forefathers of the French have rendered themselves

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 41-43.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., 49-52.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 44 and 51.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 42 and 52.

unforgettable due to their reputation of being a strong people, the pope urges the French not to show themselves weaker than their forbears, but to ‘remember their strength’.<sup>201</sup> Secondly, foundational memory is used in order to create *frame consistency*. In the accounts of Robert of Rheims and Baldric of Bourgueil, biblical quotations are inserted that substantiate present events or legitimize actions suggested by the pope. An example is how Jesus Christ already would have commanded in the Gospel that one should carry the sign of the cross: ‘*If anyone doth not carry his cross and come after me, he cannot be my disciple*’.<sup>202</sup> This creates a congruency between the Christian beliefs and the suggested actions of the pope, which adds to the credibility of the framing used and consequently increases the frame resonance needed to mobilize the audience. More specifically, foundational mythomotors are used to create frame consistency. An example is the narrative of the battle of Refidim: ‘We (*the clergy*) will hold out tireless hands like Moses, praying to heaven; you (*the crusaders*) must draw and brandish your swords, you fearless warriors against Amelek’).<sup>203</sup> But also the reference to king Charlemagne and his son Louis and their conquest of pagan territory functions as a foundational mythomotor; both examples illustrate how the contemporary audience is directed to act in the same way as those did in the past. Thirdly, beliefs and values are used that are *essential* to the lives of the French Christians. Many of these beliefs and values are stored in the cultural memory of the targeted audience. Examples are listed in Figure 23.

Beliefs and values stored in cultural memory
▪ Belief in God
▪ Belief in heaven
▪ Belief in the devil
▪ Value of strength of the French as a nation
▪ Belief that Jerusalem is the centre of the world
▪ Belief in Jesus Christ as the Redeemer of the human race
▪ Belief in the Lord’s Sepulchre as the place where the Lord died and was buried
▪ Belief that Jesus Christ suffered for the sins of humankind
▪ Belief in Mary as the holy mother of God

Figure 23: Beliefs and values stored in cultural memory

Fourthly, *narrative fidelity* or *cultural resonance* is established by using cultural narrations that often stem (as the name already implies) from the cultural memory of a people or group. The accounts of the sermon of pope Urban contain mainly religious narrations, except for the story about the conquest of Charlemagne and his son Louis. The religious narrations concern stories from the Old Testament, such as the Exodus and the wars between the Israelites and rival tribes, and from the New Testament, i.e. the story of the life and death of Jesus Christ. Moreover, stories from the age(s) after the death of Jesus Christ are used, such as stories about the apostles and martyrs. Lastly, the connection between framing and cultural memory can be seen in the *belief amplification* that is used. Belief amplification is one of the frame alignment strategies that can be used in order to align the individual with the movement. For the greater part, the beliefs that are invigorated or embellished in the texts are stored in or are built from elements of the cultural memory of the French Christians. An example of the first

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., 52.



type of beliefs (the seriousness of the problem) can be found in the account of Baldric: ‘This is the worst of reproaches against us, *even though we have deserved all this*.’<sup>204</sup> The underlying idea concerns the cultural belief in sin. Moreover, with regard to the third type, all three accounts use stereotypic beliefs about the Turks as ‘pagans’ or ‘the handmaid of devils’: these stereotypes are based upon cultural representations that are reinterpreted and adapted to the contemporary antagonists: the Turks. An example of the fourth type, i.e. belief about the efficacy of collective action, is the writing of Robert that crusaders can be ‘*assured of the unfading glory of the Kingdom of Heaven*.’<sup>205</sup> The underlying idea is the cultural belief in heaven. Lastly, the fifth type of beliefs concerning the necessity of “standing up”, is substantiated by the usage of contrapresent memory, as is clearly illustrated in the account of Baldric: contrapresent mythomotors, in the form of myths connected to mnemotopes, are used to substantiate the argument that the present situation should be avenged.

## VII. CULTURAL MEMORY AND FRAMING IN THE CASE OF POPE FRANCIS I

In this paragraph I want to answer the question whether there is a connection between cultural memory and framing in the papal statements of pope Francis I, according to the definitions discussed in the previous two chapters. Firstly, I will investigate whether the concepts of cultural memory and framing are present in the apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium* (*The Joy of the Gospel*) of pope Francis I, published in Rome on November 24<sup>th</sup>, 2013. I have made a selection within the document of those fragments that are connected to the issue of violence. I have made my selection on the basis of the following key words: ‘violence/violation’, ‘kill’, ‘war’, ‘conflict’ and ‘peace’. Subsequently, I analysed these text fragments by using the sensitizing concepts of Figure 1 as my searchlight. In the first paragraph I will present my cultural memory analysis; in the second paragraph I will present my framing analysis. Lastly, I will draw conclusions about the connection between cultural memory and framing in the document.

### A. CULTURAL MEMORY ANALYSIS

The apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium* is a papal document in which pope Francis shares his views on faith and evangelization in our contemporary world. The document is therefore strongly aimed at describing the current situation; i.e. the challenges that the Catholic Church is facing nowadays. This aim corresponds with the aim of the sermon of pope Urban II; both popes want to address the contemporary challenges of the Catholic Church. However, the challenges are different: pope Urban II is confronted with the Turks who have conquered Jerusalem and the lands around it; pope Francis I is confronted with the worldwide problem of inequality and exclusion, leading to violent reactions from the outcast, the so-called ‘leftovers’.<sup>206</sup> Whereas the accounts of the sermon of pope Urban II are characterized by a strong connective structure in order to invigorate action mobilization, the *connective structure* (1.1) in the document of pope Francis is considerably weaker. The

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>206</sup> Pope Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, §53.

document contains not many narratives; instead, it takes up a lot of space to describe the current problems and the causality of these problems. References to the past are mainly used to create and substantiate a normative framework. These references are all related to the biblical history as described in the Old and the New Testament. Moreover, the pope inserts biblical quotations to invigorate his arguments. In doing so, the pope addresses the *memory community* (1.2) of Christians. It becomes clear from the text that the pope applies an inclusive understanding of this community: he addresses the ‘Christians in communities throughout the world’ and ‘the whole church in all its rich variety’ and ‘the greater Church community’.<sup>207</sup> It is only in relationship to the Orthodox Church that the pope refers to the Church as ‘we Catholics’, but then also describes members of the Orthodox Church as ‘our brothers and sisters’.<sup>208</sup>

In substantiating his arguments, the pope draws from the *collective memory* (2) and more specifically the *cultural memory* (4) of the Christian community. The pope makes references to events from the Old and the New Testament: with regard to the Old Testament, he refers to the story of Cain and Abel (§211) and Moses receiving the Ten Commandments (§53). Regarding the New Testament, pope Francis refers to the prayer of Jesus Christ before his arrest (§99) and his crucifixion (§229). These events are so-called *memory figures* (4.1) as they have lived on in the memory of the Christian community for ages. Some of these memories are *prospective* (3) in nature: the prayer of Jesus Christ for example in which he urges his disciples to love one another. This message still has meaning for the Christian community today in the aspiration of its members to follow the example of Jesus Christ in their own lives (and is thus future-oriented). Moreover, emphasis is laid on the achievement of Jesus Christ that he ‘has overcome the world and its constant conflict by making peace through the blood of his cross’.<sup>209</sup>

With regard to *re-presentation and interpretation* (4.5), the text contains multiple instances of events from the past that are represented in the text or biblical quotes reinterpreted in such a way that they give meaning to the present situation: i.e. the challenges that the pope sees himself confronted with. Concerning the issue of violence, the pope quotes the commandment ‘Thou shalt not kill’ and writes that it ‘sets a clear limit in order to safeguard the value of human life’.<sup>210</sup> The word ‘clear’ seems to imply that there are no possibilities or exceptions to this moral rule. The pope argues that this rule can be applied in the same way to the present situation of facing an economy of exclusion and inequality: ‘...today we also have to say “thou shalt not” to an economy of exclusion and inequality’.<sup>211</sup> As such, the biblical interdiction is reinterpreted to give expression to the right moral attitude in dealing with the current problem of exclusion and inequality. Moreover, the pope uses the biblical story of Cain and Abel to morally appeal to the Christians to prevent their fellow human beings from being killed due to human trafficking. By using the phrase ‘Where is your brother’ and reiterating this in the context of human trafficking, the pope makes use of God’s condemnation of Cain murdering his brother Abel to condemn contemporary violence against

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<sup>207</sup> Ibid., §98 and §99.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., §246.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., §229.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., 53.

Christians.<sup>212</sup> Lastly, the pope redefines the concept of war: war does not only refer to violent conflict between two groups of people, but the pope also understands war as the strife between Christians at home and at their work due to envy and jealousy.<sup>213</sup>

Concerning the solution of the problems mentioned by the pope in the text (inequality, exclusion, violence etc.), the pope also redefines and reinterprets events from the past. In dealing with conflict, the pope mentions the people who do not look for a sustainable solution, but rather ‘wash their hands of it’.<sup>214</sup> This has the connotation of doing something that is blameworthy, as it implicitly refers to the Christian narrative of Pontius Pilate washing his hands to show that he is not responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Moreover, pope Francis uses (and interprets) the biblical quote: ‘By this everyone will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another’ to promote fraternal communion and reject jealousy.<sup>215</sup> Furthermore, he uses the quotes of Saint Paul: ‘Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good’ and ‘Let us not grow weary in doing what is right’ to interpret the idea of ‘loving one another’ as ‘not becoming angry with a person’.<sup>216</sup> Instead, to love another person means that if one is angry with someone, one should pray for that person with whom he or she is irritated.<sup>217</sup> Thirdly, pope Francis reinterprets the concept of peace and uses a biblical quote to substantiate his argument: ‘The message of peace is not about a negotiated settlement but rather the conviction that the unity brought by the Spirit can harmonize every diversity.’<sup>218</sup> According to the pope, the sign of this unity is Jesus Christ:

‘The sign of this unity and reconciliation of all things in him is peace. Christ “is our peace” *Eph* 2:14). The Gospel message always begins with a greeting of peace, and peace at all times crowns and confirms the relations between the disciples. Peace is possible because the Lord has overcome the world and its constant conflict “by making peace through the blood of his cross” (*Col* 1:20).’<sup>219</sup>

Thus, pope Francis associates Jesus Christ in strong terms with the idea of peace. However, this is a reinterpretation of Jesus Christ in relation to the papal condemnation of violence. In contrast, in Matthew 10:34 it is written: ‘Do not suppose that I have come to bring peace to the earth. I did not come to bring peace, but a sword.’<sup>220</sup> Interestingly, it is exactly this passage (Matt. 10:37 and 10:38) from which Robert of Rheims uses two quotes in his account of the sermon of pope Urban II: ‘Anyone who loves their father or mother more than me is not worthy of me’ and ‘Whoever does not take up their cross and follow me is not worthy of me’.<sup>221</sup> Both popes clearly select different biblical passages that they can interpret in line of their desired interpretation of Jesus Christ: as warlord or as peacemaker. Lastly, the pope

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<sup>212</sup> Or human beings in general: it does not become clear from the text.

<sup>213</sup> Pope Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, §98.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 227.

<sup>215</sup> John 13:35.

<sup>216</sup> Romans 12:21 and Galatians 6:9.

<sup>217</sup> Pope Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, §101.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, §230.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, §229.

<sup>220</sup> New International Version (NIV)

<sup>221</sup> Smith & Smith, *The Crusades*, 43 and 45.

reinterprets the Qur'an; which is quite remarkable as he is the head of a different religious movement. He writes:

‘Faced with disconcerting episodes of violent fundamentalism, our respect for true followers of Islam should lead us to avoid hateful generalisations, for authentic Islam and the proper reading of the Koran are opposed to every form of violence.’<sup>222</sup>

First of all, the pope writes about the ‘true followers of Islam.’ The question can be raised who are to be defined as belonging to this category: this would require an inevitable interpretation of the answer to the question: what is true Islam? Moreover, the Qur'an does not legitimize violence according to the pope. This is however an interpretation of the Qur'an that can be discussed: many Qur'an experts would disagree or at least would raise question marks concerning the content of some specific Qur'an passages.

Lastly, the text of *Evangelii Gaudium* contains multiple instances of *contrapresent memory* (8). This memory comprises events that question the social and political reality of the present that pope Francis describes: an example is the reference to Moses receiving the Ten Commandments. One of the commandments is ‘Thou shalt not kill’ and the pope argues that Christians should take the same moral position regarding an economy of exclusion and inequality. The narrative of the Ten Commandments functions as a *contrapresent mythomotor* (9) and gives the pope the normative argument to call for change. Furthermore, the pope uses biblical quotations to contrast the current immoral position of many people and/or Christians with the ‘right moral attitude’ that is denoted in the biblical texts. Examples are his usage of the prayer of Jesus Christ (Jn 13:35 and Jn 17:21), emphasizing the importance of fraternal communion and unity that is currently lacking in some Christian communities.<sup>223</sup> But also his reference to Saint Paul’s exhortation to love one another (Rom 12:21 and Gal 6:9) and the example of Jesus Christ in being the unity and reconciliation of all things are references to a moral attitude that pope Francis finds often absent in contemporary society. In Figure 26 I have listed the instances of contrapresent memory.

Contrapresent memory
Moses & Ten Commandments
Prayer of Jesus Christ after his arrest
Crucifixion of Jesus Christ
Saint Paul’s exhortation in his Roman letter

Figure 24: Contrapresent memory

## B. FRAMING ANALYSIS

### a) Core framing tasks

*Collective action frames* (1) are characterized by their *core framing tasks* (2). The document *Evangelii Gaudium* contains all three core framing tasks: diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing. Most part of the text fragments I have selected for analysis, are dedicated to *diagnostic framing* (2.1). The pope begins by listing the current problems in the world, which is already evident from the title of the first paragraph of chapter 2: ‘Some

<sup>222</sup> Pope Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, §253.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., §98 and §99.

challenges of today's world'. In this paragraph, pope Francis mentions the main problem that he will reiterate throughout the document, i.e. an economy of exclusion and inequality. He introduces this problem by describing the concrete problems human beings face all over the world: poverty, spread of disease, fear and desperation, the fade of the joy of living, lack of respect and violence.<sup>224</sup> According to pope Francis, these problems are a consequence of 'the enormous qualitative, quantitative, rapid and cumulative advances occurring in the sciences and in technology'.<sup>225</sup> These advances have led us to an age of knowledge and information in which the 'laws of competition' and 'survival of the fittest' are predominant. This made the powerful feed upon the powerless, and as such it has created a society of exclusion and inequality.' Thus, the attribution of blame is not aimed at a person or group in society, but at the underlying mechanism: unbridled consumerism combined with inequality leads to exclusion which on its turn leads to violence. In his description of the attribution of blame, pope Francis uses an injustice frame: '...but because the socioeconomic system is unjust at its root', '...unjust social structures', 'the toleration of evil, which is injustice'.<sup>226</sup> But the pope also writes extensively on the victims of this unjust socio-economic system: 'the poor', 'the exploited', 'the outcast', 'the leftovers'.<sup>227</sup> In addition to his elaboration on the core problem of contemporary society, the pope mentions other current problems such as: corruption (§60), attacks on religious freedom and persecutions directed against Christians (§61), hatred and violence (§61), widespread indifference and relativism (§61), machismo, alcoholism, domestic violence, low Mass attendance, superstitious notions (§69), envy and jealousy among Christians (§98), wars and violence (§99), individualism (§99), human trafficking (§211), abortion (§213), division between Christians (§246), violent fundamentalism (§253) and hateful generalisations (§253).

After identifying the problems of 'today's world', pope Francis continues with *prognostic framing* (2.2) or his proposed solution to the aforementioned problems. His solution concerns the elevation of three principles: fraternity, unity and solidarity. His aim is to achieve equal opportunities for everyone and the prevalence of unity above diversity. This requires first a rejection of the current socio-economic situation of exclusion and inequality: 'today we also have to say "thou shalt not" to an economy of exclusion and inequality'.<sup>228</sup> Subsequently, one should acknowledge the 'pseudo' solutions that are offered, such as an increase of security, a political programme or more resources spent on law enforcement or surveillance systems. Pope Francis also declines any recourse to arms and violence to solve the current problems as 'nowadays we know that weapons and violence, rather than providing solutions, create new and more serious conflicts' and 'Inequality eventually engenders a violence which recourse to arms cannot and never will be able to resolve'.<sup>229</sup> What then *is* to be done? Pope Francis urges Christians to 'offer a radiant and attractive witness of fraternal communion', and to understand the law of love: implying that one should not become angry, but should pray for the one whom you're irritated with (this holds especially for the problem of the strife and the division among Christians). Moreover, solidarity makes it possible to build communion amid

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<sup>224</sup> Ibid., §52.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid., §52.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., §59.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid., §53.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., §53.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., §60.

disagreement, but this can only be achieved ‘by those great persons who are willing to go beyond the surface of the conflict and to see others in their deepest dignity’.<sup>230</sup> Unity can be achieved by the Spirit: ‘...the conviction that the unity brought by the Spirit can harmonize every diversity. It overcomes every conflict by creating a new and promising synthesis.’<sup>231</sup> With regard to the problems of machismo, alcoholism and domestic violence associated with popular culture, pope Francis argues that popular piety ‘can be the starting point for healing and liberation from these deficiencies.’<sup>232</sup> And with regard to violent fundamentalism, pope Francis emphasizes that it is important to avoid hateful generalisations.<sup>233</sup>

*Motivational framing* (2.3) is present throughout the text in the form of one or a couple of sentences prodding especially Christians to live up to the Catholic teachings in order to face the challenges of contemporary society. An example is the incitement of pope Francis to pray instead of becoming angry: ‘Let us do it today! Let us not allow ourselves to be robbed of the ideal of fraternal love!’<sup>234</sup> With regard to the strife among Christians, the pope uses a solidary inducement: ‘Beware of the temptation of jealousy! We are all in the same boat and headed to the same port!’<sup>235</sup> The pope uses the motive of urgency in prodding his audience to elevate the principle of unity: ‘...the search for paths to unity becomes all the more urgent.’<sup>236</sup> And by referring to the sayings of Jesus Christ and Saint Paul, the pope morally appeals to the Christians to act in accordance with these normative sayings, for example: ‘Saint Paul’s exhortation is directed to each of us.’<sup>237</sup> As is evident from the clarifications of the three core framing tasks, *consensus mobilization* (3) takes up the greater part of the text, whereas *action mobilization* (3) is rather limited.

#### b) Frame resonance

How does the pope make sure that the aforementioned framings resonate with his audience? First of all, the framings must have certain credibility. This credibility is enhanced through the usage of *frame consistency* (5.1), *empirical credibility* (5.2) and *the credibility of the frame articulator* (5.3) i.e. the pope himself. Frame consistency is achieved through the usage of biblical quotations that condemn current practices and promote the suggested solutions proffered by the pope. An example is how human trafficking is condemned and especially the disregard of the problem. By using the biblical quote: ‘Where is your brother?’ and applying this to the practice of human trafficking, an association is made between the guilt of Cain and the guilt that is upon everyone who tolerates that people are being killed in human trafficking. Moreover, concerning the suggested actions as part of a solution to the current problems, the pope uses various biblical quotes to show that these actions are congruent with Christian belief: to promote peace, understood as the efforts day after day towards the establishment of the ordered universe willed by God, the pope quotes Matthew 5:9: ‘Blessed are the

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<sup>230</sup> Ibid., §228.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., §230.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., §69.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., §253.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., §101.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid., §99.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., §246.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., §101.

peacemakers!’ and Christ ‘is our peace’.<sup>238</sup> To offer witness of fraternal communion, the pope uses a quote of Jesus Christ that his disciples should love one another (Jn 13:35) and an exhortation of Saint Paul: ‘Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good’.<sup>239</sup> And by referring to the phrase ‘Thou shalt not’ and urging his audience that we should repeat this phrase in the present with regard to an economy of exclusion and inequality, the pope clearly creates frame consistency between the past and the present and between Christian beliefs and present actions promoted by the Church. Moreover, *empirical credibility* (5.2) is achieved by referring to concrete practices that are recognizable for different groups all over the world.

The pope makes explicit what he is talking about: he mentions for example human trafficking, abortion, machismo, alcoholism, domestic violence, and low Mass attendance. These are all problems that can be empirically verified by different groups of people who are confronted with these problems everyday, for example in geographic areas such as Latin America. People can also verify that there are calls for greater security, political programmes and more resources on law enforcement or surveillance systems, for example by way of television, radio or social media. Christians can attest to the problems within their communities: the pope speaks of division, envy and jealousy among Christians.<sup>240</sup> With regard to *the credibility of the frame articulator* (5.3), pope Francis is held in very high regard. This is not only due to his position as leader of the worldwide Catholic Church, but also because he has proven himself to be very outspoken on problematic issues and to stand in close relationship with the people. Being born in Latin America, he is regarded to have a clear view on the problematic issues that are prevalent among the people, and especially the poor (such as alcoholism, domestic violence etc.).

Secondly, the framings must have *frame salience* (6), which is a function of three factors: centrality, experiential commensurability and narrative fidelity. All three factors are present in the text. With regard to *centrality* (6.1), the pope clearly refers to central concepts from Christian belief: the Ten Commandments, the law of love, the crucifixion, the letters of Saint Paul, the Gospel, the disciples, Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit and the Lord. These concepts are central to the audience of the pope: the Christian community. However, his values and ideas are clearly from a non-European perspective, and dependent on the geographic area of the Christian communities, these values and ideas will be more or less central to them. For example, the values of fraternity, solidarity and unity are held in high regard in certain

American and African societies; but for the European communities these values are more difficult to relate to as they find themselves in an individualistic society. Moreover, the ideas of the pope about ‘evil embedded in the structures of a society’ or ‘an unjust socio-economic system’ will find more resonance among Christians who live in countries where liberation

Religious narrations – Pope Francis
➤ Moses and the Ten Commandments
➤ The idea of ‘evil’
➤ Prayer of Jesus Christ before his arrest
➤ Law of love (The Gospel)
➤ The letters of Saint Paul
➤ The story of Cain and Abel
➤ God as the creator of the individual
➤ Pontius Pilate washing his hands
➤ Sermon on the Mount
➤ Crucifixion of Jesus Christ
➤ The Holy Spirit

Figure 25: Religious narrations – Pope Francis

<sup>238</sup> Ibid., §227 and §229.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., §101.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid., §98 and §246.

theology flourished (for example in Latin America); however, in the capitalist Western countries many Christians will not necessarily see the capitalist system and its consumerism as an unjust system. Regarding *experiential commensurability* (6.2), the pope includes the personal experience of many people as he addresses the whole world and refers to multiple issues. Examples include human trafficking, the mistreatment of women, abortion, conflict, consumerism, violent fundamentalism, alcoholism, poverty, attacks on religious freedom etc. I would even argue that it would have been difficult for the pope *not* to include the personal experience of one of his targets of mobilization. Lastly, *narrative fidelity* (6.3) refers to the degree in which the framings resonate with cultural narrations. Most cultural narrations that are referred to are religious in nature: the only exception is the reference of pope Francis to the theory of Darwin or the so-called idea of ‘survival of the fittest’. I have listed the religious narrations in Figure 27.

### c) Frame alignment processes

The alignment of individuals to the moral cause of pope Francis I concerns Christians as well as non-Christians. Although the text is aimed at the Christian community, the pope also reaches out to individuals outside the Christian community in an attempt to evangelize; that is, to offer the Gospel as a solution to the worldwide problems that he touches upon. In connecting with these so-called Christian as well as non-Christian *sentiment pools*, the pope makes use of *frame bridging* (7.1) in order to align individuals with the framings of the Catholic Church. Moreover, the pope makes use of *frame amplification* (7.2) and more specifically *value amplification* and *belief amplification*. In Figure 28 I have listed the values that are elevated in the text. With regard to belief amplification, the text contains many beliefs about the seriousness of the problems the pope writes about. He writes for example that ‘an economy of exclusion and inequality kills’ and that ‘our world is being torn apart by wars and violence’.<sup>241</sup> Beliefs about the attribution of blame for the current problems are for example: ‘we have created a “throw away” culture which is now spreading’ and “it is evil crystallized in unjust social structures.”<sup>242</sup> Beliefs about the probability of change are few, but an example is how the pope writes that ‘...it becomes possible to build communion amid disagreement, but this can only be achieved by those great persons who are willing to go beyond the surface of the conflict and to

Value amplification
➤ Equality
➤ Unity
➤ Fraternal communion/love
➤ Human dignity
➤ The common good
➤ Justice
➤ Solidarity
➤ Peace

Figure 266: Value amplification

see others in their deepest dignity.’<sup>243</sup> Beliefs about the necessity and propriety of “standing up” concern for instance: ‘Let us do it today! Let us not allow ourselves to be robbed of the ideal of fraternal love!’ and ‘Beware of the temptation of jealousy! We are all in the same boat and headed to the same port!’<sup>244</sup> Interestingly, there is no mentioning of stereotypic beliefs about antagonists or targets of influence. This is probably due to the idea that the

<sup>241</sup> Ibid., §53 and §99.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid., §53 and §59.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid., §228.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid., §99 and §101.



socio-economic system is to blame for the current problems and that the blame is our own (as human beings) if we tolerate that this system continues to exist. Lastly, the pope makes use of *frame transformation* (7.4). He reframes ‘erroneous’ beliefs and replaces them for the ‘right’ beliefs. An example is how he repeatedly stresses that violence and weapons are no solution to the violence created by inequality: ‘Today in many places we hear a call for greater security. But until exclusion and inequality in society and between peoples are reversed, it will be impossible to eliminate violence.’<sup>245</sup>

### C. THE CONNECTION BETWEEN CULTURAL MEMORY AND FRAMING

In the previous two paragraphs I have applied a cultural memory analysis as well as a framing analysis on the passages concerning the issue of violence in the document *Evangelii Gaudium* of pope Francis. I have found many recurring instances of the sensitizing concepts I have defined in my method (Chapter I, D, p.7). The interesting question however, is if there are any connections between cultural memory and framing. The answer is yes. I have found connections between cultural memory and:

- Prognostic framing
- Frame consistency
- Centrality
- Narrative fidelity
- Value amplification

With regard to the core framing tasks of CAF’s, cultural memory is especially used in prognostic framing: in offering solutions to the problems described in *Evangelii Gaudium*, the pope makes many references to values that are mentioned in the Bible. He uses cultural memory, in the form of biblical quotes, to substantiate his argument that the implementation of these past values (love, solidarity, unity) will lead to solutions for contemporary problems. Secondly, cultural memory is used to create *frame consistency*. Cultural memory, in the form of biblical quotations, is used to condemn contemporary practices and to show that the suggested actions of the pope are congruent with Christian belief. Examples are the biblical references: ‘Where is your brother’, ‘Thou shalt not’ and the references to the idea of peace in the New Testament. Thirdly, the pope makes use of religious beliefs that are central to the Christian identity: mentioning for example the Ten Commandments, the crucifixion, Jesus Christ, Saint Paul and the Holy Spirit. These are all beliefs that are stored in the cultural memory of the Christian community as these memories refer to events in an absolute past that are of great importance for the identity of the Christian community. Fourthly, *narrative fidelity* is established by using especially religious narrations that are generally known as they have permeated Christian culture; they can therefore be recognized by many non-Christians, which serves the purpose of frame bridging: ‘evangelizing’ or ‘aligning’ unmobilized individuals or sentiment pools. Examples include the stories about the Ten Commandments, the life and crucifixion of Jesus Christ, the letters of Saint Paul, and the idea of the existence of ‘evil’. Lastly, the pope amplifies biblical values in order to urge Christians and non-

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<sup>245</sup> Ibid., §59.

Christians to live by these values. The biblical narratives connected to these values function as contrapresent mythomotors.

## VIII. CONCLUSION

### A. FINDINGS

In this thesis I have investigated the question how we can explain the apparent contradiction in moral interpretation between pope Urban II and pope Francis with regard to the morality of public violence. This contradiction concerns the papal consent and even positive evaluation of public violence when used for a legitimate end (Pope Urban II) against the total rejection of all violence (pope Francis). This implies an interpretive change in Catholic moral theology considering the legitimization of public violence. However, according to the theological teaching of *depositum fidei*, there should not be any inconsistencies in the preaching of faith and morals by the bishops. This holds especially for the proclamation of the popes as they are entrusted with the task of faithfully preserving the deposit of faith and the exclusive task of authentically interpreting the Word of God.

In order to explain this difference in moral interpretation, I made the assumption that the Catholic teachings have not changed. Instead, I argued that the interpretive difference can be explained by the framing of different background beliefs (of which cultural memory is a part) of the audiences the popes are aiming to reach. As such, I hypothesized that the apparent contradiction can be explained by the intertwining of the concept of cultural memory (Assmann) and framing (Snow and Benford). Based on my research, I can conclude that the concepts of cultural memory and framing are indeed present and connected: cultural memory is used as the content of specific types of framing within both papal statements. In the case of pope Urban II, we have seen that this connection concerns diagnostic and motivational framing, frame consistency, centrality, narrative fidelity and belief amplification. In the case of pope Francis, the connection concerns prognostic framing, frame consistency, centrality, narrative fidelity and value amplification. This can be schematically represented as follows:

The intertwining of cultural memory and framing		
	Pope Urban	Pope Francis
Core framing tasks	Diagnostic framing	Prognostic framing
	Motivational framing	
	Frame consistency	Frame consistency
Frame resonance	Centrality	Centrality
	Narrative fidelity	Narrative fidelity
Frame alignment processes	Frame amplification (beliefs)	Frame amplification (values)

Figure 27: The intertwining of cultural memory and framing

This scheme shows that the connection between cultural memory and framing concerns the same type of framing in both papal cases with regard to *frame resonance* and *frame*

*alignment*. This similarity is interesting to note, as it implies that cultural memory is structurally used in framing when linking potential adherents and constituents to the Catholic Church. This means that the audience is of great importance in the connection between cultural memory and framing, thereby validating my hypothesis that an explanation for the moral differences between pope Urban II and pope Francis must be sought in relation to the papal audience.

With regard to the question of *what* is being framed, I assumed that this were the so-called ‘background beliefs’ of the papal audience, of which cultural memory is a part. I can also validate this part of my hypothesis. Not only because cultural memory is present in the texts, but also because my findings imply that it are indeed *beliefs* that are being framed. However, I have to adjust my hypothesis to that extent, that my definition of beliefs should be broadened to also include ‘values, ideas and narratives’. This I can conclude from the corresponding connections between framing and cultural memory in both papal texts: *frame consistency* concerns ‘beliefs’, *centrality* concerns ‘beliefs, values and ideas’, *narrative fidelity* concerns ‘cultural narrations, such as stories, myths, and folk tales’ and *frame amplification* includes ‘beliefs’ as well as ‘values’. Thus, both popes not only frame the background *beliefs* of their audience, but also the *values, ideas and narratives* that are kept in the background of their minds. Interestingly, I also found support for this concept of having *background* beliefs, values, ideas, and narratives that influence the way one interprets the present: I found evidence in the theory of Assmann (‘...structure the world into a foreground and background’) as well as in the theory of Snow and Benford (‘...that function to inform events and experiences in the immediate present). The question that is then immediately thrust upon us is: how does this interpretive process exactly take place? And to what extent are individual beliefs, values, ideas and narratives determined by cultural memory? I will reserve these questions for further research. For now, it is sufficient to conclude that my hypothesis can be confirmed with the adjustment that my definition of beliefs has to be broadened to include ‘values, ideas and narratives’.

How then do my findings explain the apparent contradiction between pope Urban II and pope Francis in their moral interpretation of public violence? Based on my research, I would argue that there is no contradiction. It is a matter of selecting differently in order to morally appeal to the contemporary Catholic community. Due to the teaching of *sensus fidei* there must be universal consent within the Catholic community with regard to the deposit of faith. This means that the pope cannot escape from turning to *framing* in order to align his religious interpretations with those of the community. To put it differently, if the pope *fails* to align his interpretations with those of the Catholic community, it would negatively impact the pope’s legitimacy when making religious and moral claims. Therefore, the teaching of *sensus fidei* coincides with my conclusion that the papal audience is of great importance in explaining the moral differences between the two popes.

Moreover, due to the teaching of the *depositum fidei* as the preservation and handing on of the so-called ‘sacred deposit of faith (which consists of both Scripture and Tradition)’, the pope also needs *cultural memory* to legitimize his claims regarding matters of faith and morals. He must keep his statements in intimate contact with Scripture and Tradition, both sources of many beliefs, values, ideas and narratives that are stored in the cultural memory of the Catholic community. Thus, the pope needs *framing* as well as *cultural memory* to

legitimize his claims. However, if we turn to the specific issue of the morality of violence, Scripture is ambivalent; this means that there is the possibility to select a preferential moral interpretation from the *depositum fidei*. This can be contingent upon a variety of factors that I did not discuss in this thesis (to some extent in the last paragraph of Chapter V), but one could think of factors such as the larger societal norms and values, personal experience etc. Thus, there is no inconsistency in the Catholic Belief, but rather the framing of a different selection within the Catholic cultural memory. Consequently, Jesus Christ is both a warlord and a peacemaker.

## B. DISCUSSION

I have to make some critical remarks about unexplored area and potential bias in my research. First and foremost, I have to mention the bias that is inherent in my usage of the three reports of the sermon of Pope Urban II. Unfortunately, there is no official report of the sermon handed down, which forced me to use secondary sources. Although I selected multiple authors to trace the main argument and only used reports of eyewitnesses of the council of Clermont, the texts are biased as they were written only *after* the first crusade. Moreover, we are left with the question if the cultural memory and framing methods used within the texts are those of the author or the pope. Nevertheless, it is a fact that pope Urban II sanctioned the first crusade and the violence that was necessarily involved. Secondly, there is potential bias in my analysis of the document *Evangelii Gaudium*, as I only analysed those paragraphs that dealt with the issue of violence. Unable to analyse a systematic Catholic document on violence (as this is not yet written), I used this method to analyse the moral position of Pope Francis on violence. However, the disadvantage of this method is that the text fragments lack a broader context and an elaborate argumentation of the moral assumptions. This might explain the considerable smaller number of text fragments containing cultural memory (in comparison with the sermon of Pope Urban II). Lastly, I want to mention that I did not report *all* the instances of framing and cultural memory in the texts. Especially the reports of the sermon of Urban II contain many examples of different forms of cultural memory and framing types. If there was any repetition of a type of framing or cultural memory in the text that I already mentioned in my analysis, I did not report these again. An example is the manifold way in which the Turks are framed as antagonists: as ‘pagans’, ‘gentiles’, ‘heathens’ etc. In my analysis I left out the examples in which the word ‘heathen’ or ‘pagan’ is repeated in order to efficiently answer my research question.

Despite these limitations, I think that my research findings are evidence of the potential of applying interdisciplinary methods on theological fields of research. Combining these methods, such as the cultural memory and framing analysis in this thesis, breaks fresh ground for Christian theology to bring its religious tradition and discourse into contact with current discussions and questions about faith and morals, whether on the individual or societal level. The recent debate regarding ‘the Nashville declaration’ in the Netherlands is just one example of the importance of theological ethics for the current public debate in Dutch society. Therefore, I think it is of utmost importance that theology and especially theological ethics are still being interpreted for our society today. I hope I can contribute to this cause in my further research.

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## APPENDIX

### A. RESEARCH ABSTRACT

In this thesis I investigated the question how we can explain the apparent contradiction in moral interpretation between pope Urban II and pope Francis I with regard to the morality of public violence. Pope Urban II (who proclaimed the first Crusade) allowed and even positively valued the use of public violence when used for a legitimate end, whereas the current pope, Francis I, seems to reject all violence. These two moral interpretations seem to be irreconcilable, which is impossible according to the Catholic teaching of the *depositum fidei*. In order to answer my research question how this can be explained, I explored a new theory that is an intertwining of cultural memory theory (as defined by Jan Assmann) and social movement framing theory (as defined by David Snow and Robert Benford). I hypothesized that the interpretive difference can be explained by the framing of different background beliefs (of which cultural memory is a part) of the audiences the popes are aiming to reach. As my method, I defined sensitizing concepts for a cultural memory analysis as well as a framing analysis. Subsequently, I used this method to analyse the papal statements on violence of Pope Urban II in three different reports of his sermon at the council of Clermont in 1095: the report of Fulcher of Chartres, Robert of Rheims and Baldric of Bourgueil. I analysed the papal statements of pope Francis on violence in the apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*, which was published in 2013. Based on my analysis, I found that both concepts of cultural memory and framing are present and connected: cultural memory is used as the content of specific types of framing within both papal statements. Moreover, I found that the connection between cultural memory and framing especially concerns *frame resonance* and *frame alignment* in both papal cases, which indicates that the papal audience is of importance in explaining the moral differences between the two popes. I also found evidence for my idea of background beliefs. This has led me to the conclusion that my hypothesis can be confirmed with the adjustment that my definition of ‘beliefs’ has to be broadened to include ‘values, ideas and narratives’. Thus, I argue that there is no inconsistency in the Catholic teachings, but rather the framing of a different selection within the Catholic cultural memory.

### B. PERSONAL DECLARATION

#### **Statement of independent work**

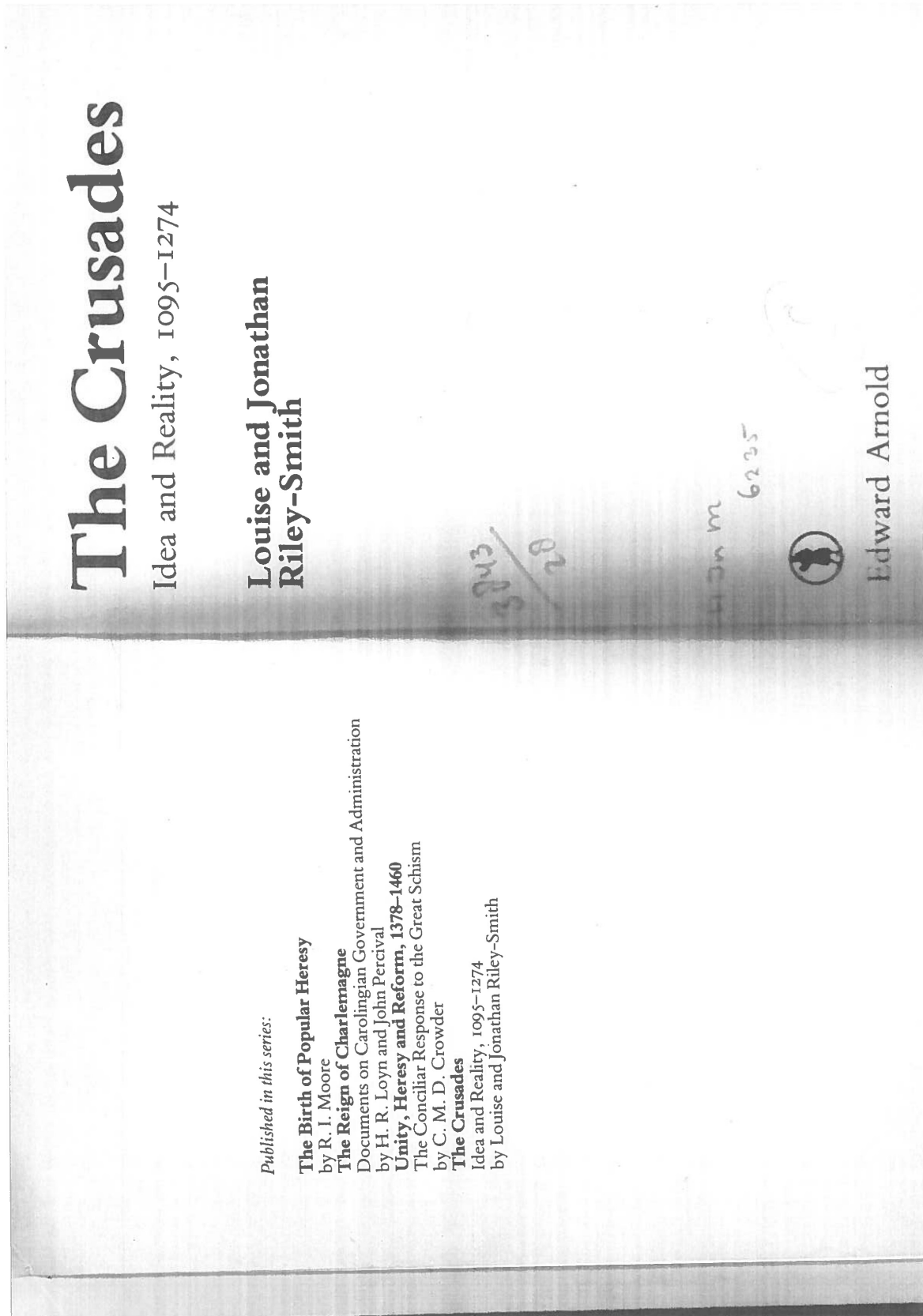
Hereby I, Kirsten Smeets, declare and assure that I have composed the present thesis with the title ‘Jesus Christ as warlord or peacemaker. The theoretical intertwining of framing and cultural memory in explaining the difference between pope Urban II and pope Francis in their theological (de-) legitimization of violence’, independently, that I did not use any other sources or tools other than indicated and that I marked those parts of the text derived from the literal content or meaning of other Works – digital media included – by making them known as such by indicating their source(s).

Goch, Germany, 27<sup>th</sup> January 2019



C. TEXTS

a) Pope Urban II – Sermon at the council of Clermont (1095)



any longer without the permission of your common abbot, whom you call your major abbot. And if he does not obey, he or anyone else who perhaps dares to leave your congregation should be cut off with the sword of apostolic excommunication.

Given at Cremona on the seventh day of October. We want you to read this letter to the assembled monks and lay brothers and to let the other monasteries know its contents.

**iv Urban to the counts of Besalú, Empurias, Roussillon and Cerdania and their knights, c. January 1096–29 July 1099**

Source: P. Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Spanien. I Katalonien* (Berlin, 1926), pp. 287–8. For the date, see C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton, 1977), p. 317 note 37.

We beseech most carefully your lordships on behalf of the city or rather the church of Tarragona and we order you 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 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 fulfil 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.

**3 Four reports of Pope Urban II's sermon at Clermont, 27 November 1095**

All the reports of Urban's address at the end of the Council of Clermont were written after the success of the crusade, and the words put into the pope's mouth reflected these subsequent events. But at least three of the authors had been at the council and it has been argued recently that several had at their disposal notes made at the time. Four reports are translated here; two other important ones are those of William of Malmesbury (*De gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, ed. W.

Stubbs, II (London, 1889), pp. 393–8), a very theological account, and of the anonymous author of the 'Historia de via Hierosolymis' (*RHC Oc.*, III, pp. 169–70), who seems to have followed a conciliar text.

**i The account of Fulcher of Chartres (written 1100–6)**

Fulcher of Chartres was at the council and took part in the crusade, in which he served first Stephen of Blois and then, as chaplain, Baldwin of Boulogne. He went with Baldwin to Edessa, which may be the reason why he alone did not make Urban give in his sermon the Muslim occupation of Jerusalem as a cause for the crusade. In his *Historia* he revealed himself to be a reformer and a down-to-earth observer: he was one of only two writers who were openly sceptical about the authenticity of the relic of the Holy Lance. It has been suggested that he possessed a copy of the decrees of Clermont.

Source: Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 132–8

Since, oh sons of God, you have promised God more strongly than usual to uphold faithfully peace-keeping at home and the preservation of the rights of the Church, it appears worth while for you in addition to turn the vigour of your goodness to a certain other matter, the concern of God and yourselves, now that you have been invigorated by the correction of the Lord. For it is necessary for you to run as quickly as you can to the aid of your brothers living on the eastern shore; you have often been told that they are in need of your help. For, as many of you have already been told, the Turks, a Persian race, have overrun them right up to the Mediterranean Sea, to that strait called the Arm of St George. Occupying more and more of the land of the Christians on the borders of Romania, they have conquered those who have already been overcome seven times by warlike invasion, slaughtering and capturing many, destroying churches and laying waste the kingdom of God. So, if you leave them alone much longer they will further grind under their heels the faithful of God.

On this matter I exhort you, heralds of Christ, with an earnest prayer – not I, but the Lord – so that by preaching frequently you may persuade everyone of no matter what class, be he knight or foot-soldier, rich or poor, to strive to bring aid to the Christian inhabitants in time by driving this infamous race from our territories. I appeal directly to those present; I order those absent; but Christ commands. All men going there who die untimely deaths, whether on the journey by land or by sea or while fighting the pagans, will immediately have their sins remitted. I am entitled to grant this to those about to go by the gift of God. Oh how shameful if a race so spurned and degenerate,

the handmaid of devils, should conquer a race endowed with the faith of almighty God and resplendent with the name of Christ! Oh what a great disgrace will be imputed to you by the Lord himself if you do not help those who by the profession of their faith are rated, like you, as Christians! Let those who in the past have been accustomed to spread private war so vilely among the faithful (he said) advance against the infidels in a battle which ought to have been begun already and which ought to end in triumph. Let those who were formerly brigands now become soldiers of Christ; those who once waged war against their brothers and blood-relatives fight lawfully against barbarians; those who until now have been mercenaries for a few coins achieve eternal rewards. Let those who have been wearing themselves out to the detriment of both body and soul labour for a double honour. If they really continue to live in their former state they will be sad and poor, but if in the latter state happy and rich; in the former they will be the enemies of the Lord, in the latter they will be his friends. And those who are about to depart must not delay, but when winter is over and spring has come they must get eagerly under way with the Lord as their leader, after setting their affairs in order and collecting money for their expenses on the journey.

## ii The account of Robert of Rheims (written before 1107)

A monk of Marmoutier-lez-Tours, Robert (also known as Robert the Monk) became Abbot of Saint-Rémi, but, after a dispute over his leadership, he retired to the Priory of Senuc, where he wrote one of the most popular contemporary histories of the First Crusade. He had been present at the Council of Clermont and the speech he put into Urban's mouth reflected the theme of his narrative: that an omnipotent God was working through his elect, the French, so that the crusade was, after the Creation and the Incarnation, the greatest demonstration of divine intervention in the affairs of this world and the fulfilment of the prophecies of scripture.

Source: Robert of Rheims, 'Historia Iherosolimitana', *RHC Oc.*, III, pp. 727–30

Race of the French, race living beyond the Alps, race chosen and beloved by God, as is radiantly shown by your many deeds, distinguished from all other nations as much by the situation of your lands and your Catholic faith as by the honour you show to Holy Church; to you we direct our address and to you we send our exhortation. We want you to know what grievous cause leads us to your territory, what need of yours and all the faithful brings us here. A grave report has come from the lands around Jerusalem and from the

city of Constantinople – we have heard it very often already – that a people from the kingdom of the Persians, a foreign race, a race absolutely alien to God, a generation, that is, that set not their heart aright: and whose spirit was not faithful to God, has invaded the land of those Christians, has reduced the people with sword, rapine and flame and has carried off some as captives to its own land, has cut down others by pitiable murder and has either completely razed the churches of God to the ground or enslaved them to the practice of its own rites. These men have destroyed the altars polluted by their foul practices. They have circumcised the Christians, either spreading the blood from the circumcisions on the altars or pouring it into the baptismal fonts. And they cut open the navels of those whom they choose to torment with a loathsome death, tear out their most vital organs and tie them to a stake, drag them around and flog them, before killing them as they lie prone on the ground with all their entrails out. They tie some to posts and shoot at them with arrows, they order others to bare their necks and they attack them with drawn swords, trying to see whether they can cut off their heads with a single stroke. What shall I say of the appalling violation of women, of which it is more evil to speak than to keep silent? The kingdom of the Greeks has been so mutilated by them and made so subject to their practices that it cannot be crossed in two months. On whom, therefore, does the task lie of avenging this, of redeeming the situation, if not on you, upon whom above all nations God has bestowed outstanding glory in arms, magnitude of heart, lighthness of body and the strength to humble anyone who resists you to their hairy crown?

May the stories of your ancestors move you and excite your souls to strength; the worth and greatness of King Charlemagne and of Louis his son and of others of your kings, who destroyed the kingdoms of the pagans and extended into them the boundaries of Holy Church. May you be especially moved by the Holy Sepulchre of Our Lord and Places, which is in the hands of unclean races, and by the Holy Saviour, which are now treated dishonourably and are polluted irreverently by their unclean practices. Oh most strong soldiers and the offspring of unvanquished parents, do not show yourselves to be weaker than your forbears but remember their strength! If the dear Lord says in the Gospel: *He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me. Everyone that hath left house or father or mother or wife or children or lands for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold and shall possess life everlasting.* Let no possession keep you back, no care for domestic affairs, for this land you inhabit is everywhere shut in by the sea, is surrounded by ranges of mountains and is overcrowded by your

numbers; it does not overflow with copious wealth and scarcely furnishes food for its own farmers alone. This is why you devour and fight one another, make war and even kill one another as you exchange blows. Stop these hatreds among yourselves, silence the quarrels, still the wars and let all dissensions be settled. Take the road to the Holy Sepulchre, rescue that land from a dreadful race and rule over it yourselves, for that land *that*, as scripture says, *floweth with milk and honey* was given by God as a possession to the children of Israel.

Jerusalem is the navel of the world, a land fruitful above all others, like a second paradise of delights. The Redeemer of the human race made it famous by his birth, embellished it by his life, sanctified it by his passion, redeemed it by his death, left his seal upon it by his burial. This royal city, placed at the centre of the world, is now held captive by her enemies and is enslaved to pagan rites by a people which does not acknowledge God. So she asks and prays to be liberated and calls upon you unceasingly to come to her aid. It is, in fact, principally from you that she demands help, because, as we have already said, upon you before all other nations God has bestowed outstanding glory in arms. So take this road for the remission of your sins, assured of the unfading glory of the Kingdom of Heaven.

(When Pope Urban had with urbane delivery said these things and many more like them, everyone, moved by the same feeling, shouted in unison, 'God wills it! God wills it!' When the venerable Roman pontiff heard this he raised his eyes to heaven, gave thanks to God and, motioning with his hand for silence, said:) Dearest brethren, today there has been demonstrated to us what the Lord said in the gospel: *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them*. You would not have spoken with a single voice if the Lord had not been present in your minds, because, although the exclamation came from many of you, the source of the voice was one; on account of this I say to you that God, who sowed this feeling in your hearts, has now called it forth. May that call be to you in military affairs a battle-cry summoning you to war, because it is brought from God. When the army draws up to attack the enemy this single shout will go up on God's behalf from all sides: 'God wills it! God wills it!' But we do not order or urge old men or the infirm or those least suited to arms to undertake this journey; nor should women go at all without their husbands or brothers or official permission: such people are more of a hindrance than a help, more of a burden than a benefit. The richer must help the less well-off and lead fighting men equipped at their own expense. Priests and clerics of any order whatever are forbidden to go without the permission of their bishops, because this journey would be of no profit to them without their licence. Lay people,

moreover, ought not to go on pilgrimage except with the blessing of their priests. And everyone who has decided to make this holy pilgrimage and has made a promise to God and has vowed that he will pour himself out to him as a living, holy and pleasing sacrifice must bear the sign of the Lord's cross on his front or breast. Anyone who after fulfilling his vow wishes to return must put the sign on his back between his shoulder-blades. Such people, by these two actions, will carry out that command of the Lord, which he ordered in the gospel: *Whosoever doth not carry his cross and come after me is not worthy of me*.

### iii The account of Guibert of Nogent (written before 1108)

Guibert was probably not present at the Council of Clermont, but he was in many ways the most distinguished of those who wrote about it. Born in 1053, he took the habit in the monastery of Flay. His reputation for learning led to his election as abbot of Nogent in 1104. Like Robert of Rheims, a theme of his history was the rôle of the French as the elect of God, but as a theologian only Baldric of Bourgueil stands comparison with him. An unusual feature of his report of Urban's sermon is its emphasis on eschatology and, linked to this, the central part that Jerusalem, as the focus of God's interventions in this world, played in the cause for crusading. Indeed he substituted a passage on the ill-treatment of pilgrims to the Holy City for the suffering of the eastern Christians that was presented as a cause by other writers.

Source: Guibert of Nogent, 'Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos', *RHC Oc.*, iv, pp. 137-40

If some of the churches scattered throughout the world deserve more reverence than others on account of the people and places associated with them – I say on account of people, because the greater privileges are inherited by those places where apostles had their sees; on account of places, because the same dignity is awarded to royal towns such as the city of Constantinople as to kings – then we should give the greatest honour to the church of that city from which we have received the grace of redemption and the source of all Christianity. If what the Lord said remains true, that *salvation is of the Jews*, and if it is still true that the Lord of Hosts *left us seed* lest we should be as *Sodom* and become like *unto Gomorrah* – and our seed is Christ, in whom is salvation and the blessing of all nations – the land itself and the city in which Christ lived and suffered are known to be holy on the evidence of scripture. If, indeed, one reads in the sacred and prophetic writings that this land was the inheritance and the holy temple of God before the Lord walked and appeared there, how much more holy and

worthy of reverence must we consider it became when the God of majesty was incarnate there, was nurtured, grew up and in his physical nature walked and travelled from place to place? And so as to be suitably brief about all the things that could be told at great length, what veneration do we consider to be fitting for the place where the blood of the Son of God, holier than heaven or earth, poured out and where his body, dead to the fearful elements, rested in the grave? If when Our Lord himself had recently been killed and the city was still in the hands of the Jews it was called holy by the evangelist when he said, *Many bodies of the saints that had slept arose and came into the Holy City and appeared to many*, and it was said by the prophet Isaiah, *his sepulchre shall be glorious*, no subsequent evil can remove that same holiness, since it has been imparted to the city by God himself, the sanctifier, by his own action. In the same way nothing can be taken from the glory of his Sepulchre.

You, dearest brothers, must take the greatest pains to try to ensure that the holiness of that city and the glory of his Sepulchre will be cleansed, for the gentiles by their presence continually sully them in so far as they can. And you will achieve this if you desire to approach the author of that sanctity and glory, if you love those things which are left on earth as traces of his footsteps and if you seek them with God going before you and with God fighting for you. If the Maccabees in days of old were renowned for their piety because they fought for the sacred rituals and the Temple, then you too, Christian soldiers, may justly defend the freedom of the fatherland by the exercise of arms. If you consider that you ought to take great pains to make a pilgrimage to the graves of the apostles [in Rome] or to the shrines of any other saints, what expense of spirit can you refuse in order to rescue, and make a pilgrimage to, the cross, the blood, the Sepulchre? Until now you have fought unjust wars: you have often savagely brandished your spears at each other in mutual carnage only out of greed and pride, for which you deserve eternal destruction and the certain ruin of damnation! Now we are proposing that you should fight wars which contain the glorious reward of martyrdom, in which you can gain the title of present and eternal glory. Just suppose that Christ had never died, nor was buried, nor had lived at any time in Jerusalem. If none of these things had in fact occurred you ought still to be moved to help the land and the city by this thought alone: that *the law* will come out of *Zion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem*. If it is true that we derive the whole of our Christian teaching from the fountain of Jerusalem, the hearts of all Catholics should be moved by the streams which spread through the whole world to remember sagaciously the debt they owe to a spring so bounteous. If *unto the place from whence the rivers come they*

*return, to flow again*, according to the word of Solomon, you ought to think it a glorious thing to cleanse again that place from which it was ordained that you should receive the cleansing power of baptism and the testament of faith.

And you must consider with the most full deliberation this: if, with God acting through you, the mother church of all churches herself with your co-operation flourishes anew in the furtherance of the Christian faith, does God wish some regions of the East to be restored to the faith against the approaching times of Antichrist? For it is clear that Antichrist will wage war not against Jews nor against gentiles, but, according to the etymology of his name, he will attack Christians. And if Antichrist finds no Christian there, just as today when it is thought that there is scarcely a single one in that place, there will be no one to resist him nor any whom he may rightly attack. According to Daniel, and to Jerome his interpreter, he will pitch his tents on the Mount of Olives and it is certain that, according to St Paul, he will sit in Jerusalem in the *Temple of God, as if he were God*, and, according to the same prophet Daniel, there is no doubt at all that he will kill three kings, those of Egypt, Africa and Ethiopia, before all others for their Christian faith. This cannot possibly come to pass unless Christianity will take the place of paganism. If, therefore, you stir yourselves to the exercise of holy battles, so that you may repay Jerusalem the debt you owe her for the grace which she has lent you – it is from her that you have received the first implantations of the knowledge of God – and so that through you the Catholic name, which will resist the perfidy of Antichrist and the Antichristians, may be spread, who cannot but infer that God, who surpasses the hope of all in the superabundance of his power, will burn up through your spark such thickets of paganism and Ethiopia, which are withdrawn from the communion of our belief? And will the man of sin, the son of perdition find any other rebels? See, the evangelist cries, *Jerusalem must be trodden down by the gentiles till the times of the nations be fulfilled. The times of the nations can be understood in two ways. Either they have dominated the Christians at their pleasure and have pursued the wallowings of all their filthy ways according to their lusts, and in all these things nothing has stopped them; for those who get their own way in all things are said to have their time, as in this: my time has not yet come: but your time is always ready; from which it is usual to say to the lustful, 'You have your time now'. Or, on the other hand, the times of the nations means the fulfilment of the gentiles who will enter by stealth before Israel is saved. Dearest brethren, these times will perhaps only be fulfilled when through you, with God working with you, the powers of the*



pagans will be thrust back. And the end of the world is already near, although the gentiles have not been converted to the Lord: according to the apostle Paul there must be a revolt from the faith. But first before the coming of Antichrist a renewal of the Christian empire in those regions is necessary according to the prophecies, either by means of you or by means of those whom God chooses, so that the head of all the evil ones, who will sit on the throne of the kingdom in that place, should discover some support of the faith against which he may fight. Consider that perhaps the almighty has provided you for this task, so that through you he may restore Jerusalem from so great an abuse. Think, I beseech you, of the hearts giving birth to such rejoicing when we see the Holy City revived by your assistance and the prophetic, nay rather divine, predictions fulfilled in our own times. May what the same Lord said to the Church stir your memory. *I will bring*, he said, *thy seed from the East and gather thee from the West*. God has led our seed from the East, because in two ways that eastern province gave us the early growth of the Church. But, because we think it can be done through you with God's help, he gathers the Church together from the West when he restores the ruins of Jerusalem by means of those who came last to the tenets of the faith: that is to say westerners.

If the sayings of scripture do not stir you, nor our warnings penetrate your minds, at least the great misery of those who wish to visit the Holy Places should excite you. Consider those who go on pilgrimage and travel across the Mediterranean. How many payments, how much violence are the richer subjected to, being forced to pay rolls for almost every mile they go and taxes; at which city gates, entrances of churches and temples they have to pay fees; how they have to journey from one place to the next, accused of having done something; how it is the habit of the governors of the gentiles to force them savagely with blows to pay for their release when they have refused to pay a bribe! What shall we say of those who, quite penniless, putting their faith in naked poverty, seem to have nothing to lose but their bodies and undertake this pilgrimage? Non-existent money is exacted from them by intolerable tortures, the hard skin on their heels being cut open and peeled back to investigate whether perhaps they have inserted something under it. The cruelty of these impious men goes even to the length that, thinking the wretches have eaten gold or silver, they either put scammony in their drink and force them to vomit or void their vitals, or – and this is unspeakable – they stretch asunder the coverings of all the intestines after ripping open their stomachs with a blade and reveal with horrible mutilation whatever nature keeps secret. Remember, I beseech you, the thousands who have perished horribly and take action for the Holy Places, from which the first principles of

your religion have come to you. Believe assuredly that Christ, as standard-bearer and your inseparable guide, will go before you who are to be sent to his war.

#### iv The account of Baldric of Bourgueil (written c. 1108)

Baldric is the most underrated of the historians of the First Crusade. He was prior and abbot of Saint-Pierre-de-Bourgueil from 1089 to 1107 and he attended the Council of Clermont. In 1107 he was elected archbishop of Dol in Brittany. He was a prolific and elegant writer, but his history of the crusade is regarded nowadays as being of little worth. This is unjust: he made interesting use of his material, writing a very theological account. In his version of Urban's sermon he stressed the brotherhood of all Christians, eastern as well as western.

Source: Baldric of Bourgueil, 'Historia Jerosolimitana', *RHC Oc.*, iv, pp. 12–16

Most beloved brethren, we have heard and you are now hearing – we cannot recall it at all without profound sorrow – with how many disasters, how many harassments, what dreadful tribulations the Christians, our brothers, members of Christ's body, are scourged, oppressed and injured in Jerusalem and Antioch and other cities along the eastern coastline. Your blood-brothers, your comrades-in-arms, those born from the same womb as you, for you are sons of the same Christ and the same Church, are subject to foreign lords in their own heritages or are driven out of them or come begging here among us; that, which is more serious, they are in their own estates being sold into slavery, exiled and flogged. Christian blood, which has been redeemed by the blood of Christ, is spilled and Christian flesh, flesh of Christ's flesh, is delivered up to execrable abuses and appalling servitude. Throughout those towns there is everywhere mourning, everywhere grief, everywhere groaning – I sigh as I speak. The churches where once the divine mysteries were celebrated are, alas, being converted into stables for their cattle. Vile men occupy the holy sites; false, unclean Turks lord it over our brothers. Blessed Peter was the first bishop to hold Antioch. See now how the gentiles have established their false practices in that church and instead of cultivating, as above all they should, the Christian religion in the temple dedicated to God they have wickedly suppressed it. The estates set aside for the stipends of the saints and the patrimonies of the nobles made over for the upkeep of the poor are subjected to pagan tyranny and cruel overlords exploit them for their own purposes. The priesthood of God has been ground under their heels. In every place the sanctuary of God – what blasphemy! – has been profaned. If there are

still any Christians left in hiding, unheard-of tortures are employed to discover where they are.

Until now we have as it were disguised the fact that we have been speaking of holy Jerusalem, brethren, because we have been ashamed and embarrassed to talk about her; for that very city in which, as you know, Christ himself suffered for us, since our sins demanded it, has been overwhelmed by the filth of the pagans and, I say it to our shame, led away from the service of God. This is the worst of reproaches against us, even though we have deserved all this. To what use now is put the church of Blessed Mary, where her own body was buried in the valley of Josaphat? What of the Temple of Solomon, not to mention the fact that it is the Lord's, in which the barbaric races worship their idols, which they have placed there against the law and against religion? We will not recall the Lord's Sepulchre, because some of you have seen with your own eyes to what abomination it has been handed over. And the Turks have violently seized the offerings which you have so often taken there as alms; there they overstep all bounds in their many and countless taunting insults to our faith. Yet in that place – I am only saying what everyone knows – God was laid to rest; there he died for us; there he was buried. How precious is that place of the Lord's burial, how desirable, a place beyond compare! Indeed God does not let a year go by without performing a miracle there: when the lamps in the Sepulchre and in the church around it have been put out at Passiontide, they are relighted by divine command. Whose stony heart could remain unmoved, brethren, by so great a miracle? Believe me, he is a bestial man with a senseless head whose heart is not shaken into faith by such direct divine power. And yet the gentiles see these things together with the Christians and they do not change their ways; certainly they are terrified, but they are not converted to the faith, which is not surprising because their minds remain unenlightened. You who are present, you who have returned, you, who have sacrificed your fortunes and your blood there for God's sake, know better with how many injuries they have afflicted you. We will have spoken, dearest brothers, about these things in order to have you yourselves as witnesses to what we have said. We could recall many other individual instances of the sufferings of our brothers and the depopulation of the churches of God, but we are overcome by tears and groans, sighs and sobs. We beseech you brothers, oh we beseech you, and we groan, weeping from the heart with the psalmist. We are unhappy. We are unfortunate. It is with regard to us that the following prophecy has been fulfilled. *Oh God the heathens are come into thy inheritance: They have defiled thy holy temple: They have made Jerusalem as a place to keep fruit. They have given the dead bodies of thy servants to be meat for the fowls of*

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*the air: the flesh of thy saints for the beasts of the earth. They have poured out their blood as water, round about Jerusalem: and there was none to bury them.* Alas for us, brothers, we who now are become a reproach to our neighbours: a scorn and derision to them that are round about us ought to sympathize and suffer with our brethren, at least with tears! We who have become the reproach of men and the least among men ought to mourn the most appalling devastation of that most Holy Land. We have deservedly called that land holy in which there is not one footstep which was not embellished or hallowed by the body or shadow of the Saviour or by the glorious presence of the holy Mother of God or the most beloved company of apostles or the delectable blood spilt by the martyrs. Oh Stephen, first of all the martyrs, how blessed are the stones which won you a martyr's crown! Oh John the Baptist, how blissful are the streams of the River Jordan which you used to baptize the Saviour! The children of Israel, who were led out of Egypt and prefigured you after crossing the Red Sea, appropriated by force, with Jesus as their leader, this land for themselves; they ejected the Jebusites and other communities and they lived in the earthly Jerusalem, the type of the heavenly Jerusalem.

What are we saying, brothers? Listen and understand. You have trapped on the belt of knighthood and strut around with pride in your eye. You butcher your brothers and create factions among yourselves. This, which scatters the sheepfold of the Redeemer, is not the knighthood of Christ. The Holy Church keeps for herself an army to come to the aid of her people, but you pervert it to knavery. To speak the truth, the preachers of which it is our duty to be, you are not following the path that leads you to life. You oppressors of orphans, you robbers of widows, you homicides, you blasphemers, you plunderers of others' Christian blood and just as vultures nose corpses you watch and follow wars from afar. Certainly this is the worst course to follow because it is utterly removed from God. And if you want to take counsel for your souls you must either cast off as quickly as possible the belt of this sort of knighthood or go forward boldly as knights of Christ, hurrying swiftly to defend the eastern Church. It is from her that all the delights of your salvation have come. She has distilled the words of divine milk on your tongues, for she has given you to drink the sacrosanct dogmas of the evangelists. We say these things, brethren, so that you may restrain your murdering hands from slaying your brothers, go to fight nations abroad for the household servants of the faith and, following Jesus Christ your leader, you the Christian force, a force most invincible, better than the ancient tribe of Jacobites themselves, wage war for your own rights

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over Jerusalem and attack and throw out the Turks, more unholly than the Jebusites, who are there. It ought to be a beautiful ideal for you to die for Christ in that city where Christ died for you, but if it should happen that you should die here, you may be sure that it will be as if you had died on the way, provided, that is, Christ finds you in his company of knights: God distributes his own penny, at the first and the eleventh hour. It ought to be horrifying, brothers, horrifying for you to lay grasping hands on Christians: it is a lesser evil to brandish the sword against Saracens; in particular cases it is good, because it is love to lay down one's life for one's brothers. Do not worry about the coming journey: remember that nothing is impossible for those who fear God, nor for those who truly love him. You will get the enemies' possessions, because you will despoil their treasures and either return victorious to your own homes or gain eternal fame, purpled with your own blood. You ought to fight for such an emperor, who is all-powerful and who lacks none of the rewards with which to repay you. It is a short journey and the task is slight that will, however, reward you with a *never fading crown*. And now we speak with the authority of the prophet. *Gird thy sword, each man of you, upon thy thigh, Oh thou most mighty*. Gird yourselves, I say, and act like mighty sons, because it is better for you to die in battle than to tolerate the abuse of your race and your Holy Places. Do not let the seductive lures of your women and possessions persuade you not to go; do not let the toil you will have to undergo deter you with the result that you remain behind. (And turning to the bishops), You (he said) brothers and fellow bishops, you fellow priests and fellow heirs of Christ, proclaim the message in the churches committed to your care and give your whole voice to preaching manfully the journey to Jerusalem. Confident in Christ, grant those who have confessed the ignominy of their sins a speedy recompense. And you who are preparing to go have us to pray for you, while we have you to fight for the people of God. Our duty is to pray. Yours must be to fight against the Amalekites. We will hold out tireless hands like Moses, praying to heaven; you must draw and brandish your swords, you fearless warriors against Amalek.

(When those present had heard those excellent words and others of the same kind from the lord pope, the eyes of some filled with tears, some were frightened and others argued about this matter. But among all at the council – and we all saw him – the bishop of Le Puy, a man of great repute and the highest nobility, went up to the lord pope with a smiling face and on bended knee begged and beseeched his permission and blessing to make the journey. He also gained from the pope the mandate that everyone should obey him and that he himself, in respect of his office, should have the leadership of the army in all things,

especially since he was universally recognized as a leader of great physical energy and particular industry. After he had been pronounced to be a worthy chief of the army of God the great host of nobles gave its assent; and at once all pledged themselves to the sign of the holy cross by attaching it to their clothes, for the pope had ordered them to do this. And those who were going had decided to make this gesture, for the pope had said in his sermon that the Lord had said to his followers: *If anyone doth not carry his cross and come after me, he cannot be my disciple.*) Therefore (he said) you ought to attach a cross to your clothes, so that you may go forward the more protected by this and also serve as an example and encouragement to those who see you.



## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **AMID THE CRISIS OF COMMUNAL COMMITMENT**

#### **I. Some challenges of today's world**

52. In our time humanity is experiencing a turning point in its history, as we can see from the advances being made in so many fields. We can only praise the steps being taken to improve people's welfare in areas such as health care, education and communications. At the same time we have to remember that the majority of our contemporaries are barely living from day to day, with dire consequences. A number of diseases are spreading. The hearts of many people are gripped by fear and desperation, even in the so-called rich countries. The joy of living frequently fades, lack of respect for others and **violence** are on the rise, and inequality is increasingly evident. It is a struggle to live and, often, to live with precious little dignity. This epochal change has been set in motion by the enormous qualitative, quantitative, rapid and cumulative advances occurring in the sciences and in technology, and by their instant application in different areas of nature and of life. We are in an age of knowledge and information, which has led to new and often anonymous kinds of power.

#### **No to an economy of exclusion**

53. Just as the commandment “Thou shalt not **kill**” sets a clear limit in order to safeguard the value of human life, today we also have to say “thou shalt not” to an economy of exclusion and inequality. Such an economy kills. How can it be that it is not a news item when an elderly homeless person dies of exposure, but it is news when the stock market loses two points? This is a case of exclusion. Can we continue to stand by when food is thrown away while people are starving? This is a case of inequality. Today everything comes under the laws of competition and the survival of the fittest, where the powerful feed upon the powerless. As a consequence, masses of people find themselves excluded and marginalized: without work, without possibilities, without any means of escape. Human beings are themselves considered consumer goods to be used and then discarded. We have created a “throw away” culture which is now spreading. It is no longer simply about exploitation and

oppression, but something new. Exclusion ultimately has to do with what it means to be a part of the society in which we live; those excluded are no longer society's underside or its fringes or its disenfranchised – they are no longer even a part of it. The excluded are not the “exploited” but the outcast, the “leftovers”.

*No to the inequality which spawns **violence***

59. Today in many places we hear a call for greater security. But until exclusion and inequality in society and between peoples are reversed, it will be impossible to eliminate **violence**. The poor and the poorer peoples are accused of **violence**, yet without equal opportunities the different forms of aggression and conflict will find a fertile terrain for growth and eventually explode. When a society – whether local, national or global – is willing to leave a part of itself on the fringes, no political programmes or resources spent on law enforcement or surveillance systems can indefinitely guarantee tranquility. This is not the case simply because inequality provokes a **violent reaction** from those excluded from the system, but because the socioeconomic system is unjust at its root. Just as goodness tends to spread, the toleration of evil, which is injustice, tends to expand its baneful influence and quietly to undermine any political and social system, no matter how solid it may appear. If every action has its consequences, an evil embedded in the structures of a society has a constant potential for disintegration and death. It is evil crystallized in unjust social structures, which cannot be the basis of hope for a better future. We are far from the so-called “end of history”, since the conditions for a sustainable and peaceful development have not yet been adequately articulated and realized.

60. Today's economic mechanisms promote inordinate consumption, yet it is evident that unbridled consumerism combined with inequality proves doubly damaging to the social fabric. Inequality eventually engenders a **violence** which recourse to arms cannot and never will be able to resolve. It serves only to offer false hopes to those clamouring for heightened security, even though nowadays we know that **weapons and violence**, rather than providing solutions, create new and more serious conflicts. Some simply content themselves with blaming the poor and the poorer countries themselves for their troubles; indulging in unwarranted generalizations, they claim that the solution is an “education” that would tranquilize them, making them tame and harmless. All this becomes even more exasperating for the marginalized in the light of the widespread and deeply rooted corruption found in

many countries – in their governments, businesses and institutions – whatever the political ideology of their leaders.

### Some cultural challenges

61. We also evangelize when we attempt to confront the various challenges which can arise.[56] On occasion these may take the form of veritable attacks on religious freedom or new persecutions directed against Christians; in some countries these have reached alarming levels of hatred and **violence**. In many places, the problem is more that of widespread indifference and relativism, linked to disillusionment and the crisis of ideologies which has come about as a reaction to any-thing which might appear totalitarian. This not only harms the Church but the fabric of society as a whole. We should recognize how in a culture where each person wants to be bearer of his or her own subjective truth, it becomes difficult for citizens to devise a common plan which transcends individual gain and personal ambitions.

### Challenges to inculturating the faith

69. It is imperative to evangelize cultures in order to inculturate the Gospel. In countries of Catholic tradition, this means encouraging, fostering and reinforcing a richness which already exists. In countries of other religious traditions, or profoundly secularized countries, it will mean sparking new processes for evangelizing culture, even though these will demand long-term planning. We must keep in mind, however, that we are constantly being called to grow. Each culture and social group needs purification and growth. In the case of the popular cultures of Catholic peoples, we can see deficiencies which need to be healed by the Gospel: machismo, alcoholism, domestic **violence**, low Mass attendance, fatalistic or superstitious notions which lead to sorcery, and the like. Popular piety itself can be the starting point for healing and liberation from these deficiencies.

## **II. Temptations faced by pastoral workers**

### No to warring among ourselves

98. How many **wars** take place within the people of God and in our different communities! In our neighbourhoods and in the workplace, how many wars are caused by envy and jealousy,

even among Christians! Spiritual worldliness leads some Christians to **war** with other Christians who stand in the way of their quest for power, prestige, pleasure and economic security. Some are even no longer content to live as part of the greater Church community but stoke a spirit of exclusivity, creating an “inner circle”. Instead of belonging to the whole Church in all its rich variety, they belong to this or that group which thinks itself different or special.

99. Our world is being torn apart by **Wars and violence**, and wounded by a widespread individualism which divides human beings, setting them against one another as they pursue their own well-being. In various countries, conflicts and old divisions from the past are re-emerging. I especially ask Christians in communities throughout the world to offer a radiant and attractive witness of fraternal communion. Let everyone admire how you care for one another, and how you encourage and accompany one another: “By this everyone will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another” (Jn 13:35). This was Jesus’ heartfelt prayer to the Father: “That they may all be one... in us... so that the world may believe” (Jn 17:21). Beware of the temptation of jealousy! We are all in the same boat and headed to the same port! Let us ask for the grace to rejoice in the gifts of each, which belong to all.

101. Let us ask the Lord to help us understand the law of love. How good it is to have this law! How much good it does us to love one another, in spite of everything. Yes, in spite of everything! Saint Paul’s exhortation is directed to each of us: “Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good” (Rom 12:21). And again: “Let us not grow weary in doing what is right” (Gal 6:9). We all have our likes and dislikes, and perhaps at this very moment we are angry with someone. At least let us say to the Lord: “Lord, I am angry with this person, with that person. I pray to you for him and for her”. To pray for a person with whom I am irritated is a beautiful step forward in love, and an act of evangelization. Let us do it today! Let us not allow ourselves to be robbed of the ideal of fraternal love!

**CHAPTER FOUR**  
**THE SOCIAL DIMENSION  
OF EVANGELIZATION**

**II. The inclusion of the poor in society**

*Concern for the vulnerable*

211. I have always been distressed at the lot of those who are victims of various kinds of human trafficking. How I wish that all of us would hear God's cry: "Where is your brother?" (Gen 4:9). Where is your brother or sister who is enslaved? Where is the brother and sister whom you are **killing** each day in clandestine warehouses, in rings of prostitution, in children used for begging, in exploiting undocumented labour? Let us not look the other way. There is greater complicity than we think. The issue involves everyone! This infamous network of crime is now well established in our cities, and many people have blood on their hands as a result of their comfortable and silent complicity.

212. Doubly poor are those women who endure situations of exclusion, mistreatment and **violence**, since they are frequently less able to defend their rights. Even so, we constantly witness among them impressive examples of daily heroism in defending and protecting their vulnerable families.

213. Among the vulnerable for whom the Church wishes to care with particular love and concern are unborn children, the most defenceless and innocent among us. Nowadays efforts are made to deny them their human dignity and to do with them whatever one pleases, taking their lives and passing laws preventing anyone from standing in the way of this. Frequently, as a way of ridiculing the Church's effort to defend their lives, attempts are made to present her position as ideological, obscurantist and conservative. Yet this defence of unborn life is closely linked to the defence of each and every other human right. It involves the conviction that a human being is always sacred and inviolable, in any situation and at every stage of development. Human beings are ends in themselves and never a means of resolving other problems. Once this conviction disappears, so do solid and lasting foundations for the defence of human rights, which would always be subject to the passing whims of the powers that be. Reason alone is sufficient to recognize the inviolable value of each single human life, but if

we also look at the issue from the standpoint of faith, “every **violation** of the personal dignity of the human being cries out in vengeance to God and is an offence against the creator of the individual”.<sup>[176]</sup>

### III. The common good and peace in society

218. **Peace** in society cannot be understood as pacification or the mere absence of violence resulting from the domination of one part of society over others. Nor does true peace act as a pretext for justifying a social structure which silences or appeases the poor, so that the more affluent can placidly support their lifestyle while others have to make do as they can. Demands involving the distribution of wealth, concern for the poor and human rights cannot be suppressed under the guise of creating a consensus on paper or a transient peace for a contented minority. The dignity of the human person and the common good rank higher than the comfort of those who refuse to renounce their privileges. When these values are threatened, a prophetic voice must be raised.

219. Nor is **peace** “simply the absence of **warfare**, based on a precarious balance of power; it is fashioned by efforts directed day after day towards the establishment of the ordered universe willed by God, with a more perfect justice among men”.<sup>[179]</sup> In the end, a peace which is not the result of integral development will be doomed; it will always spawn new **conflicts** and various forms of **violence**.

221. Progress in building a people in **peace**, justice and fraternity depends on four principles related to constant tensions present in every social reality. These derive from the pillars of the Church’s social doctrine, which serve as “primary and fundamental parameters of reference for interpreting and evaluating social phenomena”.<sup>[181]</sup> In their light I would now like to set forth these four specific principles which can guide the development of life in society and the building of a people where differences are harmonized within a shared pursuit. I do so out of the conviction that their application can be a genuine path to peace within each nation and in the entire world.

#### Unity prevails over **conflict**

226. **Conflict** cannot be ignored or concealed. It has to be faced. But if we remain trapped in conflict, we lose our perspective, our horizons shrink and reality itself begins to fall apart. In

the midst of conflict, we lose our sense of the profound unity of reality.

227. When **conflict** arises, some people simply look at it and go their way as if nothing happened; they wash their hands of it and get on with their lives. Others embrace it in such a way that they become its prisoners; they lose their bearings, project onto institutions their own confusion and dissatisfaction and thus make unity impossible. But there is also a third way, and it is the best way to deal with **conflict**. It is the willingness to face **conflict** head on, to resolve it and to make it a link in the chain of a new process. “Blessed are the peacemakers!” (Mt 5:9).

228. In this way it becomes possible to build communion amid disagreement, but this can only be achieved by those great persons who are willing to go beyond the surface of the **conflict** and to see others in their deepest dignity. This requires acknowledging a principle indispensable to the building of friendship in society: namely, that unity is greater than conflict. Solidarity, in its deepest and most challenging sense, thus becomes a way of making history in a life setting where **conflicts**, tensions and oppositions can achieve a diversified and life-giving unity. This is not to opt for a kind of syncretism, or for the absorption of one into the other, but rather for a resolution which takes place on a higher plane and preserves what is valid and useful on both sides.

229. This principle, drawn from the Gospel, reminds us that Christ has made all things one in himself: heaven and earth, God and man, time and eternity, flesh and spirit, person and society. The sign of this unity and reconciliation of all things in him is peace. Christ “is our peace” (*Eph* 2:14). The Gospel message always begins with a greeting of **peace**, and peace at all times crowns and confirms the relations between the disciples. Peace is possible because the Lord has overcome the world and its constant **conflict** “by making peace through the blood of his cross” (*Col* 1:20). But if we look more closely at these biblical texts, we find that the locus of this reconciliation of differences is within ourselves, in our own lives, ever threatened as they are by fragmentation and breakdown.<sup>[183]</sup> If hearts are shattered in thousands of pieces, it is not easy to create authentic peace in society.

230. The message of **peace** is not about a negotiated settlement but rather the conviction that the unity brought by the Spirit can harmonize every diversity. It overcomes every **conflict** by

creating a new and promising synthesis. Diversity is a beautiful thing when it can constantly enter into a process of reconciliation and seal a sort of cultural covenant resulting in a “reconciled diversity”. As the bishops of the Congo have put it: “Our ethnic diversity is our wealth... It is only in unity, through conversion of hearts and reconciliation, that we will be able to help our country to develop on all levels”.[184]

#### IV. Social dialogue as a contribution to peace

##### Interreligious dialogue

246. Given the seriousness of the counter-witness of division among Christians, particularly in Asia and Africa, the search for paths to unity becomes all the more urgent. Missionaries on those continents often mention the criticisms, complaints and ridicule to which the scandal of divided Christians gives rise. If we concentrate on the convictions we share, and if we keep in mind the principle of the hierarchy of truths, we will be able to progress decidedly towards common expressions of proclamation, service and witness. The immense numbers of people who have not received the Gospel of Jesus Christ cannot leave us indifferent. Consequently, commitment to a unity which helps them to accept Jesus Christ can no longer be a matter of mere diplomacy or forced compliance, but rather an indispensable path to evangelization. Signs of division between Christians in countries ravaged by **violence** add further causes of conflict on the part of those who should instead be a leaven of **peace**. How many important things unite us! If we really believe in the abundantly free working of the Holy Spirit, we can learn so much from one another! It is not just about being better informed about others, but rather about reaping what the Spirit has sown in them, which is also meant to be a gift for us. To give but one example, in the dialogue with our Orthodox brothers and sisters, we Catholics have the opportunity to learn more about the meaning of episcopal collegiality and their experience of synodality. Through an exchange of gifts, the Spirit can lead us ever more fully into truth and goodness.

253. In order to sustain dialogue with Islam, suitable training is essential for all involved, not only so that they can be solidly and joyfully grounded in their own identity, but so that they can also acknowledge the values of others, appreciate the concerns underlying their demands and shed light on shared beliefs. We Christians should embrace with affection and respect Muslim immigrants to our countries in the same way that we hope and ask to be received and



respected in countries of Islamic tradition. I ask and I humbly entreat those countries to grant Christians freedom to worship and to practice their faith, in light of the freedom which followers of Islam enjoy in Western countries! Faced with disconcerting episodes of violent fundamentalism, our respect for true followers of Islam should lead us to avoid hateful generalisations, for authentic Islam and the proper reading of the Koran are opposed to every form of **violence**.