C From Fulcher of Chartres account of Pope Urban II's speech at Clermont, 1095, written from 1101 onwards. It is disputed whether or not Fulcher was present at Clermont.

Although, O sons of God, you have promised more firmly than ever to keep the peace among yourselves and to preserve the rights of the church, there remains still an important work for you to do. Freshly quickened by the divine correction, you must apply the strength of your righteousness to another matter which concerns you as well as God. For your brethren who live in the east are in urgent need of your help, and you must hasten to give them the aid which has often been promised them. For, as the most of you have heard, the Turks and Arabs have attacked them and have conquered the territory of Romania [the Greek empire].... They have occupied more and more of the lands of those Christians, and have overcome them in seven battles. They have killed and captured many, and have destroyed the churches and devastated the empire... On this account I, or rather the Lord, beseech you as Christ's heralds to publish this everywhere and to persuade all people of whatever rank, foot-soldiers and knights, poor and rich, to carry aid promptly to those Christians and to destroy that vile race from the lands of our friends... Moreover, Christ commands it.

Fulcher of Chartres, Historia Hierosolimitana

D Pope Urban II's letter calling for a Crusade, written after he had preached at Clermont and in France

Your brotherhood, we believe, has long since learned from many accounts that a barbaric fury has deplorably afflicted and laid waste the churches of God in the regions of the Orient. More than this, blasphemous to say, it has even grasped in intolerable servitude its churches and the Holy City of Christ, glorified by His passion and resurrection. Grieving with pious concern at this calamity, we visited the regions of Gaul and devoted ourselves largely to urging the princes of the land and their subjects to free the churches of the East. We solemnly enjoined upon them... such an undertaking, as a preparation for the remission of all their sins. And we have constituted our most beloved son, Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, leader of this expedition and undertaking in our stead, so that those who, perchance, may wish to undertake this journey should comply with his commands, as if they were our own, and submit fully to his loosings or bindings, as far as shall seem to belong to such an office.

Letter of Instruction to the Crusaders, December 1095

For your brethren who live in the east are in Your brotherhood, we believe, has long urgent need of your help, and you must since learned from many accounts that a hasten to give them the aid which has often barbaric fury has deplorably afflicted and been promised them. For, as the most of laid waste the churches of God in the you have heard, the Turks and Arabs have regions of the Orient. attacked them and have conquered the territory of Romania [the Greek empire].... to free the churches of the East. They have occupied more and more of the lands of those Christians, and have overcome them in seven battles. They have killed and captured many, and have destroyed the churches and devastated the empire... carry aid promptly to those Christians and to destroy that vile race from the lands of our friends... preserve the rights of the church. And we have constituted our most beloved son, Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, leader of this On this account I, or rather the Lord, expedition and undertaking in our stead, so that those who, perchance, may wish to undertake this journey should comply with his commands, as if they were our own, and submit fully to his loosings or bindings, as far as shall seem to belong to such an office. to publish this everywhere and to persuade we visited the regions of Gaul and devoted

you have promised more firmly than ever to keep the peace among yourselves	Your brotherhood,
	for the remission of all their sins.
Freshly quickened by the divine correction,	
O sons of God,	Your brotherhood,
Christ's heralds	
Christ commands it.	Adhemar, Bishop of Puy,
or rather the Lord,	
churches of the East.	
	Holy City of Christ,

ourselves largely to urging the princes of

the land and their subjects

all people of whatever rank, foot-soldiers

and knights, poor and rich,

They have much in common.	
Fulcher might have been at Clermont, he was certainly well informed about the first crusade and he would have heard tell of it	Urban's letter is in direct succession to his sermon, part of the same concerted campaign; inevitably it shares the same message
The differences might be explained by	
Fulcher's account might be second hand, or remembered in the light of 1098 and 1101	
Or Fulcher's account might be close to the real thing (like Fulcher's full version, much is made of sin, penance and the Gregorian agenda preserve the rights of the church,)	The letter makes more of church leadership (Adhemar)
	By the time had had toured, perhaps Urban hod fine tuned his message to the Frankish audience he knew so well (he was from Frankish knightly family) Your brotherhood,
	Jerusalem
Plays down clerical leadership because of actual role of Bohemond, Godfrey et al	