

## **Lack of Food Security in the siege of Antioch 1097-1098 and its Effects on the Marginalized Social Groups (Tafurs and Eastern Christians as an Example)**

انعدام الامن الغذائي اثناء حصار انطاكية 1097-1098م وانعكاساته على الفئات الاجتماعية الهامشية

(الطاغوريون والمسيحيون الشرقيون نموذجاً)

Hala Abd al-Hameed al-Wriekat\*

(Jordanie) halwriekat@gmail.com

**Submission Date: 15/02/2020 Acceptance date: 26/07/2020 Published date: 15/01/2021**

### **Abstract**

In the development of their events, the Crusaders' wars are an important example of the extent of overlapping of the political, economic, social, environmental and military conditions in the historical events. This study pursues the economic effect, in general, and the food effect, in particular, especially on the crusaders' armies and the extent of their effect on the marginal elements in that army, in addition to its reflections on the food demands of the Crusaders' army and the condition related to the Eastern Christians in Antioch and its surroundings, especially as it occurred at the time when a subversive policy had been followed against the countryside of Antioch and its surroundings by the Islamic and the Crusaders' forces.

**Key Words:** Wars of the Crusaders, Siege of Antioch, Food Security, Tafurs, Eastern Christians

### **الملخص**

تشكل الحروب الصليبية بتطور احداثها نموذجاً قيماً على مدى تداخل الظروف السياسية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية والبيئية والعسكرية على تطور الاحداث التاريخية، واتخذت الدراسة من تتبع الوضع الاقتصادي عامة والغذائي خاصة للجيش الصليبي ومدى تأثيره على العناصر الهامشية في الجيش بالإضافة الى انعكاسات الاحتياجات الغذائية للجيش الصليبي على وضع الفلاحين المسيحيين الشرقيين في انطاكية ومحيطها، خاصة مع تزامن ذلك باتباع سياسة تخريبية تعمدت ريف انطاكية ومحيطها من قبل القوات الإسلامية والصليبية على حد سواء.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الحروب الصليبية، حصار انطاكية، الامن الغذائي، الطاغوريون، المسيحيون الشرقيون.

---

\* The sender author.

## **Foreword**

Historical studies generally emphasize the political and military events and their role in the development of historical events, sometimes, however, ignoring the effects of the social and economic factors on the social groups in the historical event as they lack the possibility of decision making.

This study has the purpose of showing some of the marginalized groups that are affected and, at the same time, have an effect on the development of the historical events. The period of the siege of Antioch 1097-1098 has been chosen first because of the length of the period of this siege and secondly because of the social and economic changes and difficulties that has especially affected two important elements in the Islamic and Crusaders' armies, namely the Christian peasants in Antioch and its countryside that represent the major inhabitants in the area and the total of the working forces responsible for the main productive sector of the city and its surroundings under the Islamic Saljuki sovereignty. The other group is represented by the poor crusaders in the army who were struggling for their existence at the time when their leaders were busy in their political conflicts regarding who had the right to take decisions and to enforce the acquiescence of the rest.

Going through the basic sources and references in the first Crusader's campaign, in general, and the siege of Antioch, in particular, the research worker noticed a major role played by two groups, namely the Eastern Christians and Tafur crusaders. Although the sources did not give them more importance than simply referring negatively to them, the research worker became interested in asking about the conditions and the factors that had forced these groups to play such negative roles and to break away from their major group and its political organizations.

It is necessary to divide our study into three major subjects, as follows: first a prelude, secondly, the appearance of a dissident terrorist group (the Tafurs) and thirdly, the double agents (the countryside locals), in addition to a foreword and an end. The study has also made use of a number of major sources and references in studying the first crusader campaign in particular and the siege of Antioch in general, which may not be possible to mention here, but the reader is left to get acquainted with it in the study.

## **1: Prelude:**

The first Crusaders' campaign until its arrival into Antioch<sup>1</sup> (1096-1097) with all its human and natural details and the internal and the external factors had exhausted the crusaders' forces.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, at their arrival into the countryside of Antioch in July of 1097, they hastened to rob its fertile countryside and invaded its towns and villages looking for food. For a short while, they enjoyed the availability of food. In September of 1097, however, getting into the winter season, they went back to point zero suffering of hunger.<sup>3</sup>

This food crisis had affected the status of the campaign leaders regarding the siege of Antioch, as Bohimond<sup>4</sup> and others had preferred to postpone the siege and take a rest in winter-time instead of dispersing the soldiers between watching the fortified walls and searching in the horizon for food to eat. This was found the right opinion at the beginning of besieging Antioch on 22 October 1097<sup>5</sup>. They, therefore, hastened to look for their daily food, which was not well used by the Saljuki garrison that had satisfied itself with defending and waiting.

The food crisis did not stem only from the great number of people looking for food. The natural and weather conditions had also intensified that crisis. In that year, Antioch and its surroundings had a great rainy season accompanied by overflowing of rivers and sever cold, in addition to a destructive earthquake that had hit the city on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1098, followed by consecutive quakes.<sup>6</sup>

The negative effects of the geographic and human environment are obvious. They force people to follow any possible means that may keep them alive and self-protected. It may also impel some to adopt negative actions by denying human values when they feel insecure, especially that those crusaders had always resorted to violence when they encountered people overwhelmed with panic for having heard of the punishment received by those who had challenged those savage invaders.<sup>7</sup>

## **2. Appearance of the Terrorist Dissident Groups (Tafurs)**

The Tafurs are a crusader group that appeared during the siege of Antioch. The origin of the name is not clear. Some researchers refer it to a Barbaric origin, meaning the horizons, while others refer it to a colloquial Arabic origin meaning vagabondage.<sup>8</sup>

This crusade group had arisen because of severe conditions that had accompanied the siege of Antioch and that had negatively affected the crusaders, in general, and the poor and the ordinary soldiers, in particular. The studies confirm that this group represents the wretched poor, with two reasons: first the kind of weapons that they had used, namely clubs and daggers, secondly they were all infantry soldiers. Even the founder of this group, known as King Tafur, was a knight who had been deprived of his military rank for unknown reasons and made an infantry soldier.<sup>9</sup>

This group had formed a dissenting force in the crusade army with its leadership and strategy in the invading operations. They used to invade countryside areas using the most violent means against the peasant inhabitants until it formed a frightening popular image linked with death.<sup>10</sup>

What had actually made the crusaders' leaders unable to control this group was the fact that the whole army was suffering of real hunger that forced them to get out of their camps as far as forty or fifty miles away in lands controlled by the Saljuks.<sup>11</sup> The crusaders' leaders, represented by Bohimond<sup>12</sup> became highly worried. King Tafur's leadership under the general command of the Crusades' army was recognized and special units were formed with the purpose of looking for food supplies. These units were composed of the Tafurs and formal crusade military teams that were said to be of about a thousand knights and 30 thousand infantry soldiers.<sup>13</sup>

Under such conditions, a new stage of destroying and robbing the agricultural lands started at al-Bara,<sup>14</sup> al-Rawj<sup>15</sup> and Maarrat Missreen<sup>16</sup>. Although the Crusaders had achieved a victory against the Saljuqi forces near Harem<sup>17</sup> and Irtah<sup>18</sup> in February 1098, the Crusaders started looking for food supplies overlooking the Saljukis that were routed<sup>19</sup>.

Here the reader can tell what effect such negative actions had over the forthcoming agricultural season leading to destruction of food security for Antioch and its countryside in a good agricultural season; for the farmers were unable to prepare the region for agricultural works especially that the reaction of the Saljuks to the Crusade invasions was following a policy of burnt land. Thus they used to physically burn the agricultural lands and the forests in stead of encountering the Crusaders and stopping them<sup>20</sup>. This had led to heightening the Crusade's violence

and to an increase in their occupied territories. This may have been a factor in Antich's steadfastness and delay in its fall in the crusaders' hands.

The fall of the city in the crusaders' hands on 5<sup>th</sup> November 1097 did not stop them from invading the territories surrounding it<sup>21</sup>. Even on their way to Jerusalem, the region had witnessed crusaders' invasions of villages around their path, like Tall Minse<sup>22</sup> and al-Barah. The historical sources had recorded at Maarat al-Numan<sup>23</sup> an inhuman, savage image for those who were looking for their daily bread to the extent of enjoying eating human dead bodies around the wall of al-Maarrah<sup>24</sup>.

This case of hunger and the fashions followed by the Crusaders, in general and the Tafurs, in particular, was a major factor in changing the condition of the crusaders after al-Maarrah until they arrived into Jerusalem from being hungry to being well fed and from marching slowly to marching fast and from being busy with their daily requirements to becoming eager to realize their objective of arriving into Jerusalem. People in the towns and villages were willing to offer food to the crusaders passing by them, even without being demanded, for the sake of avoiding themselves and their villages being attacked, like what had happened to such towns like Sheezar<sup>25</sup> and others<sup>26</sup>. It even happened that some people had left their villages, leaving behind them their produce, like what had happened in Yafa.<sup>27</sup>

### **3.The Double Agents (local countryside people)**

Eastern Christians (Armenians and Assyrians) had formed the major population of Antioch and its countryside<sup>28</sup>. Those people have suffered a lot from the crusade's conquering of Antioch and its surroundings. On the one hand, the Muslim Saljuks were afraid that the religious bond might link the Assyrian and Armenian Christians with the Crusaders. Therefore, before the arrival of the crusaders, Yaghi Sian<sup>29</sup> had widely seized the agricultural produce that he had stored in Antioch in anticipation of a long siege. He had also captured the peasants' women and children all day time when they would go out to inspect their farms<sup>30</sup>.

On the other hand, the Christian peasants were afraid of the crusaders for what they had heard of their savage behavior in Anadol with its Christian majority. The crusaders had considered none-Catholics as

heretics who should not be granted immunity<sup>31</sup>. In short, these Christian peasants had fallen in between a crusader invader who does not differentiate between them and the Muslims and a Muslim defender who would consider the Christian religion as a common bond with the invading crusaders.

Therefore, from the beginning of the siege of the city, the Christian peasants played the role of a double agent. At day time, when they went out to inspect their farms, they avoided the crusaders' attack by showing them the right paths and the water springs in addition to telling the Saljuki garrison, thus gaining the Saljuki appreciation and assuring the safety of their families through revealing to them the movements of the crusades<sup>32</sup>.

The events, together with the weather and the two warring parties, were against the Christian peasants who were considered as heretics by the Crusaders, which made them unwilling to give any help except what was in line with their personal interests and on individual basis<sup>33</sup>. Under the pressure of the Islamic policy of keeping their families as hostages, on the one hand, and the policy of the burnt land in front of the crusaders looking for food supply in the countryside of the city, the simple peasants found no way to compensate for their loss except by following one of the following means:

First, to behave as double agents by passing news to the two parties, as we have said before.

Secondly, to play the role of a trading middle agent between the crusaders and the peasants in regions that are far away from the conflict like the region of Aleppo, making use of their knowledge of the roads and the mountains, avoiding any new clash that might force them into many fronts. The crusaders, therefore, used to pay a lot for what those peasants would bring them<sup>34</sup>.

Thirdly, following the defeated groups of both sides to take what they leave behind and to sell the weapons and equipment that they do not need. All that is to compensate for the material loss they encounter, which will continue for years to come. Add to this the psychological injury they encounter from both parties, being accused of treachery. Looking at the details of the fall of Antioch, the reader will find that it had fallen because

one of its Armenian inhabitants by the name of Fayrouz al-Zarrad who, in an agreement with Bohimond, had facilitated opening one of the city gates<sup>35</sup>. Many reasons had been given for this treachery, but it is mostly due to personal differences with the Saljuki leadership. Following the series of events during the siege against the city, one would see that the general condition of the city Christians, both Assyrians and Armenians, was so bad that it would force them into thinking only of their special and present interests, cooperating with the stronger party that would pay better against services given in an attempt to avail the least means of keeping alive.

### **Consequences**

- Security of food and availability of basic daily needs was the real obsession in the mind of the poor majority that had prompted their action when they felt that the authority was not reliable in availing their basic life needs, which prompted them to form special groups with the purpose of availing food supplies. These groups may be used by those with authoritative ambitions as a means of pressure over the authority to play an active role in the political process, like what happened with the leader of the Tafurs who had eventually gained acknowledgement from the crusaders' leaders as a group leader.
- The Christian religion was not a factor in unifying the crusaders with the eastern Christians as had been expected by the Saljuki Islamic authority. In stead, the crusaders had looked at the eastern Christians as heretics who were not different from Muslims and the eastern Christians considered the crusaders as barbaric invaders who knew nothing but destruction. The psychological factor had also prompted the Saljuki Muslim authority to accuse in advance the eastern Christians of treachery which made them unable to have allegiance with the Muslim authority in Antioch, prompting them to play the role of double agents on account of personal or group interest, which had nothing to do with religion.
- Violence and savage means as had been popularly related about the crusaders' terror as they marched towards Jerusalem, especially at the time of their being in Antioch, had played a role in the speed of

their march to Jerusalem, for victory sometimes could be achieved by spreading panic,

- Destruction, hunger and poverty that had taken place in Antioch and its countryside was enough reason to prompt the peasants into taking the initiative of availing daily needs of food for the crusade soldiers in order to avoid destruction of their farms, repeating what had happened in Antioch, which had cost the peasants a lot in their souls and properties, which would take many forthcoming years to reform the countryside and bring it back to what it was.
- Wars always produce a new group of people who tries to make a wealth from the needs of the warring parties. This appeared when the Armenians and the Assyrians took the role of commercial mediators between the crusaders and the peasants of Aleppo and its surroundings. They had also sold the weapons and equipment left over at the battlefields between the Muslims and the Crusaders.
- The increase in the economic and psychological pressure is what prompts some marginal groups to organize themselves and play roles the basic purpose of which is availing daily needs. The result, however, is applying pressure over the political decision, as had happened with the Tafurs, where sometimes decisive military decisions are taken, like what happened with the Armenians when one of them - alone or within a group – decided to deliver the city to the crusaders.

---

<sup>1</sup> Antioch is located at horizontal level 10: 36 north. Its location was mentioned in the crusader's campaign sources this way: it is located at the bottom of the western slope of Likam Mountains, to its north is al-Umq Valley and at the border of the valley lies a swamp and al-Assi River flows through it to the west forming a natural barrier that protects the city that goes high to engulf the summits of three mountains that is difficult to move from one to another because of a high plateau that separates the mountain in the northern side over which lies the main city citadel. In addition to this the city is protected by walls and castles. It is, therefore, well-fortified and may not be overcome in case its people want to defend it.

<sup>2</sup> For more details about the conditions of the crusaders in their campaign until their arrival in Antioch, see the sources of the first campaign, like Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of The Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, Translated by Frances Rita Ryan, Edited by Harold S. Fink, W. W. Norton and Company. Inc, New York, 1973, John Hill, *Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse*, Green Wood Press, New York, 1980,

<sup>3</sup> Fulcher of Charter, *A History of the Expedition*. P. 55; Hill, *Raymond IV*, p. 85; William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds*, p., 282 Gesta Version, p. 108.

<sup>4</sup> Bohimond I (died in 1111) is the son of the famous Normandy adventurer Joiscard who had waged consecutive campaigns against the lands of the empire and was one of the major sources of trouble. He, however, died in one of these invasions leaving his son Bohimond having his father's dream of invading Constantinople itself. At the same time, Robert Joiscard's properties in South Italy had been inherited by Roger Bursa, his younger son, who found his chance in the crusader's campaign to realize his dreams and to found an independent principality that he had in Antioch between 1098 and 1111. R. B. Yewdale, *Bohimond I: Prince of Antioch*, University of Princeton Press, 1924, pp. 33-34.

<sup>5</sup> Gesta Version, p. 109. Hill, *Raymond IV*, p. 96.

<sup>6</sup> Fulcher of Charter, *A History of The Expedition*, p. 51. Hill, *Raymond IV*, p. 91.

<sup>7</sup> Fulcher of Charter, *A History of The Expedition*. Hill, *Raymond IV*, p. 108. William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds*, p. 289. Oldenbourg, *The Crusades*, p. 114-115.

<sup>8</sup> Karen Armstrong, *The Holy War*, p. 218. Oldenbourg, *The Crusades*, p. 111.

<sup>9</sup> Oldenbourg, *The Crusades*, p. 111. Karen Armstrong, *The Holy War*, p. 218.

<sup>10</sup> Zaborov, *The Crusaders*, pp. 114-115

<sup>11</sup> William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds*, p. 290. Hill, *Raymond IV*, p. 88.

<sup>12</sup> Karen Armstrong, *The Holy War*, p. 218. Oldenbourg, *The Crusades*, p. 111. Zaborove, *The Crusades*, pp. 114-115

<sup>13</sup> ابن القلانسي، *ذيل تاريخ*، ص 220؛ ابن العديم، *زبدة الحلب*، ج 113 Gesta Version، *تاريخ الرحلة*، ص 137. 1، ص 346.

<sup>14</sup> Al-Bara is described by the first Crusade campaign as the first Islamic town after Antioch that was densely inhabited and surrounded by fertile villages. Nowadays, it is located at a rugged land near Aleppo on the sides of al-Baloo Valley in the middle of Mount al-Zawiya southwest of Antioch. (ياقوت). Hill, *Raymond IV*, p. 163.

<sup>15</sup> Al-Rawj: is a famous village west of Aleppo and al-Maarrah to the south of Antioch. It has a citadel bearing its name that became a crusade center. Today, the region with this name is the plain to the east of River al-Aassi, were a number of villages are located, the most important of which is Harem and Maarat al-Numan. (ابن القلانسي، *ذيل تاريخ*، ص 220؛ ابن العديم، *زبدة الحلب*، ج 1، ص 346؛ توديبود، ( *تاريخ الرحلة*، ص 137؛ ياقوت الحموي، *معجم البلدان*، ج 3، ص 76. وانظر أيضا: عبدالله الحلو، *تحقيقات تاريخية*، ص 294.

<sup>16</sup> Maarat Missreen is located at the end of a plain overlooked from the north and the west by a number of short rocky hills like a plateau. Harem is located to its north and Aleppo to its east about 40Kms away from Maarrat al-Numan. (ابن العديم، *زبدة الحلب*، ج 1، ص 346-347؛ توديبود، *تاريخ الرحلة*، ص 304. See also: Mahmud Sana, I, "*Ma'art Masrin*", E.I.<sup>2</sup>, vol. v, p. 926.

<sup>17</sup> Harem is a fortified Fortress near Antioch, with plenty of trees and water. It was described by the campaign as well-fortified being located at the mountain cliff. Harem is a region in the basin of the lower al-Aassi River. It is naturally located between Mount Samaan in the northeast and al-Rawj Plain and Idlib in the south, and Wadi al-Assi and al-Umq Plain in the west and the north. Its citadel was

built in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. It was occupied by the Byzantines in the year 959. The Crusaders renewed its building after they occupied it in 1098. ابن العديم، زبدة الحلب، ج1، ص 347. ياقوت الحموي، معجم ( Fulcher of Charter, *A History of The Expedition*, p. 58; Hill, *Raymond IV*, p. 86 ص205

<sup>18</sup> Irtah is a fortress described by contemporary sources as a well fortified citadel near Aleppo to the northeast of Harem to the east of al-Umq Lake. ابن القلانسي، نيل تاريخ، ص 219 ؛ ياقوت الحموي، ( Hill, *Raymond IV*, , p. 86. معجم البلدان، ج1، ص 140

<sup>19</sup> Fulcher of Charter, *A History of The Expedition*, p. 55; *Gesta Version*, p.113; Hill, *Raymond IV*, p. 108; William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds*, p.289.

<sup>19</sup> ابن العديم، زبدة الحلب، ج1، ص 348.

<sup>20</sup> ابن العديم، زبدة الحلب، ج1، ص 348.

<sup>21</sup> Hill, *Raymond IV*, p. 89. ( توديبود، تاريخ الرحلة، ص 135 . )

<sup>22</sup> The contemporary sources do not give a description of Tall Minse. Today, it is a village in the southern plains of Idlib about 6Kms to the east of Maarat al-Numan. Agriculture is its main activity. It was highly populated until the 10<sup>th</sup> century. ابن العديم، زبدة الحلب، ج1، ص 348؛ توديبود، تاريخ ( المعجم الجغرافي للقطر العربي السوري، مج 2، ص 565؛ عبدالله الحلو، ( الرحلة، ص 256. See also ) تحقيقات تاريخية، ص161.

<sup>23</sup> Maarat al-Numan is located to the southeast of al-Barah and Antioch on the eastern slope of Mount al-Zawiya. It is described by the sources of the campaign as a rich town, densely populated at 8 miles from al-Barah. It is surrounded by walls at its northern and eastern sides, except that they are short towers overlooked by a tower attached to them. It depends on collected rain water. ابن القلانسي، نيل تاريخ، ( N Elisseff, "Ma'arrat-an-Numan", E. I.<sup>2</sup>, vol. v, pp.922- 927. ص222).

<sup>24</sup> ابن العديم، زبدة الحلب، ج 1، ص 355-356؛ ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج8، ص400؛ توديبود، تاريخ الرحلة، ص 261-262.

<sup>25</sup> Sheezar is located at the left bank of al-Assi Valley to the northwest of the city of Hamah, protected by al-Jisr Fortress. Most of its inhabitants were Christians and it was the center of the emirate of Kinani clan of Munqith. (J. M. Mouton, "*Shayzar*", E. I.<sup>2</sup>, vol. ix., p. 411-410) ابن القلانسي، نيل تاريخ، ( ص84، 115

<sup>26</sup> توديبود، تاريخ الرحلة، ص 289.

<sup>27</sup> William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds*, p. 423

<sup>28</sup> Fulcher of Charter, *A History of The Expedition*, p. 57; William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds*, p. 280

<sup>29</sup> Muayyad al-Deen Yaghi Sian ibn Muhammad ibn Alb, the Turkuman mamlouk (d. In 1090) of Sultan Malikshah, who had taken Antioch in the year 1085 and appointed Sian as a governor over the city in 1090.

<sup>30</sup> ابن القلانسي، نيل تاريخ، ص 218؛ ابن العديم، زبدة الحلب، ج1، ص 346.

<sup>31</sup> Hill, *Raymond IV*, p. 88; William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds*, pp. 290-291.

<sup>32</sup> *Gesta Version*, p. 109 . ابن العديم، زبدة الحلب، ج1، ص347) .

<sup>33</sup> Hill, *Raymond IV*, p. 90; *Gesta Version*, p. 114; William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds*, p. 292.

<sup>34</sup> Gesta Version, p.117; William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds*, p. 301

<sup>35</sup> Gesta Version, pp127-128; William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds*, p. 329. ( توديبود، تاريخ الرحلة، ص 184: )  
(ابن القلانسي، ذيل تاريخ، ص 219؛ ابن الأثير، الكامل، ج8، ص 399)

## **List of sources and refernces**

### **Sources in arabic:**

- حمزة بن أسد بن علي بن القلانسي (ت 555هـ / 1160م)، ذيل تاريخ دمشق، ط1، تحقيق سهيل زكار، دمشق، 1403هـ / 1983م  
- علي بن محمد بن محمد بن الأثير (ت 630هـ / 1232م)، الكامل في التاريخ، تحقيق خليل مأمون شيحا، ط1، ج9، دار الكتب العلمية، بيروت، 1422هـ / 2002م  
- عمر بن احمد ابن العديم (ت 660هـ / 1263م)، زبدة الحلب من تاريخ حلب، تحقيق سهيل زكار، ج2، ط1، دار الكتاب العربي- دمشق، 1417هـ / 1997م.  
- ياقوت بن عبدالله الحموي الرومي (626هـ / 1228م)، معجم البلدان، د.تحقيق، 5ج، دار صادر، بيروت، 1406هـ / 1986م

### **Translated sources into Arabic**

-بطرس توديبود( ت ق 6 هـ / 12م)، تاريخ الرحلة إلى بيت المقدس، نقله إلى الانجليزية جون هيوغ، ولورينا هيل، نقله إلى العربية حسين محمد عطية، دار المعرفة الجامعية -الاسكندرية 1419 هـ / 1999م.

### **Sources in English**

Fulcher of Charter, *A History of The Expedition to Jerrusalem, 1095-1127*, Translated By Frances Rita Rayan ,edited By Harold S. Fink, W. W. Nrton & Company. INC, New York, 1973,  
John Hugh Hill, ,,Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse, Greenwood Press, New York, 1980  
Peters, Edward M, *The first crusade: the chronicle of fulcher of chartres and*  
Gesta Version, other source materials, University of Pennsylvania, 1976  
william of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Trans, by Babcock & kery, New York, 1943

### **refernces in arabic**

عبدالله الحلو.  
تحقيقات تاريخية في الاسماء الجغرافية السورية، ط1، داربيسان – بيروت، 1999م

### **refernces in English**

Anthony Bridg, , *The Crusades*, HarperCollins, 1985  
Karen Armstrong: *Holy War: The Crusaders and their Impact on Today's Word* copyright, 2001.  
West Anthony, *The Crusades*, Random House, January 1954  
Ralph B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I: Prince of Antioch*, U. P- Princeton, 1924, pp. 34-39,  
Steven Runciman, *A History of The Crusades*, 3Vol, Cambridge University Press, 1951  
Oldenbourg, Zoe *The Crusades*, Trans, Anne Carter, Pantheon, Book-New York, 1965

### **Dictionaries and Encyclopedias in Arabic**

المعجم الجغرافي للقطر العربي السوري، ط1، 5مج، مركز الدراسات العسكرية – دمشق، 1990،

### **Dictionaries and Encyclopedias in English**

Encyclopedia of Islam, ed. 2, E. J. Brill, Leiden