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Manifestations of social interaction in the Constantine community during the 18th century: between ethnic diversity and cultural challenges

مظاهر التفاعل الإجتماعي في مجتمع قسنطينة خلال القرن الثامن عشر: بين التنوع العرقي والتحديات الثقافية

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- **Abstract:**

The city of Constantine was distinguished by its strategically important location, which made it a hub for trade and commerce and a magnet for newcomers; throughout its long history, the city has been known by many different names.

Constantine was also home to distinct ethnic groups such as Arabs, Berbers, Turks and Jews ; there were some differences between the city's inhabitants and the Jewish community in terms of housing and dress; It is also evident that Constantine society was influenced by certain Ottoman customs and traditions, including religious celebrations. The city was home to numerous cultural institutions, such as schools, mosques and libraries, owing to the interest of the Beys of Constantine in cultural life and the contribution of the waqf to the development of these institutions.

By the end of the 18th century, Constantine was plagued by numerous diseases, epidemics and famines, leading to a deterioration in economic conditions and the health of the population tion.

Keywords: Constantine, Ottoman period, Constantine society, cultural institutions, health conditions.

الملخص:

تميزت مدينة قسنطينة بموقع استراتيجي هام جعلها مركز معاملات ومبادلات ونقطة استقطاب للوافدين، حيث شهدت مدينة قسنطينة العديد من التسميات عبر تاريخها الطويل.

كما عرفت قسنطينة مجموعات عرفية متمايزة كالعرب والقبائل والأتراك واليهود؛ حيث وجدت بعض الاختلافات بين سكان المدينة واليهود من حيث السكن واللباس؛ ويمكن كذلك ملاحظة تأثر المجتمع القسنطيني ببعض العادات والتقاليد العثمانية وحتى الاحتفالات الدينية وشهدت مدينة قسنطينة العديد من المؤسسات الثقافية كالمدارس والمساجد والمكتبات نتيجة اهتمام بايات قسنطينة بالحياة الثقافية، ومساهمة الوقف فتطوير هذه المؤسسات. ومع نهاية القرن 18م ظهرت بقسنطينة العديد من الأمراض والأوبئة والمجاعات مما أدى إلى تدهور الأوضاع الاقتصادية وتردي الحالة الصحية للسكان.

الكلمات المفتاحية: قسنطينة_ العهد العثماني _المجتمع القسنطيني _ المؤسسات الثقافية _ الأوضاع الصحية.

- **Introduction**

The city of Constantine has held a leading historical, scientific and cultural position, making it a focus of attention for rulers and historians alike. During the Ottoman era, it acquired particular significance as the capital of the Eastern Beylicate and the second most important city in Algeria at the time, which contributed to shaping the culture of its society and improving its social conditions.

The study of any region's history is not complete with a political and military understanding alone; it requires delving into its social aspects. Hence the importance of highlighting Constantine as the capital of the Eastern Beylicate and examining its society's interaction with the Ottomans, which social studies place at the forefront of their academic concerns.

The significance lies in highlighting the importance of the city of Constantine as the capital of the Eastern Beylicate and the extent of the Constantine society's interaction with the Ottomans.

Social studies are at the forefront of scholarly interests. On this basis, we pose the following questions:

1. Location of Constantine:

The city of Constantine lies at longitude 35°07' east and latitude 13°36' north. It occupies a strategically important position, situated in the centre of eastern Algeria, and lies at an altitude of between 470 m and 621 m above sea level.[1]

Geographically, Constantine is situated in eastern Algeria, approximately 437 km from Algiers and 156 km from Annaba. It is bordered to the north by Skikda, 89 km away, to the south by the province of Oum El Bouaghi, 100 km away; to the east by the province of Guelma, 106 km away; and to the west by the province of Mila, 50 km away.[2]

It is a city that is neither very large nor very small, surrounded by a large wall, with three main gates—Bab El Oued, Bab El Jabia and Bab El Kantara—as well as several smaller gates.[3]

2. Demographic Composition:

Studies examining the demographic composition of society have differed in their categorisation of social groups, depending on the nature and objectives of those studies. Some have focused on the relationships between rulers and the ruled, or on class conflict between social groups during the Ottoman period; it is this approach that we shall adopt in this study.[4] The population of the city of

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[1] Mohamed El-Hadi Al-Arouk – The City of Constantine – A Study in Urban Geography – University Press – Algiers – 1984 – p. 14.

[2] Abdelkader Dahdouh – The City of Constantine during the Ottoman Period – PhD thesis, Archaeology and Humanities – Supervisor: Abdelaziz Laaraj – University of Algiers – 2009–2010 – p. 22.

[3] Sheikh Hassan bin Muhammad al-Wartilani – A Glimpse into the Virtues of the Science of History and News – Commentary by: Bin Muhanna al-Qasanti – International Knowledge – Special Edition – 2011 – Vol. 3 – p. 352.

[4] Bourkna Ali – The Social and Economic Life of Algeria in the Late Ottoman Period (1207–1246 AH / 1792–1830 AD) – Modern and Contemporary History – Supervisor: Ibrahim Saoud – Ghardaïa – 2012–2013 – p. 33.

Constantine can be classified into four distinct customary groups, namely: Arabs, Kabyle, Turks and Jews[5]

2.1 Arabs:

The Bedouin Arabs live in tents, and their entire wealth consists of herds of livestock; they cultivate the land only to the extent that they are compelled by an urgent need for sustenance. Furthermore, they have no attachment to the land as long as they do not own it, This has meant that they have not altered their customs in any way and do not accept any other social or cultural concepts[6]. They are divided into two groups: the Arabs and the Chaouia. The Arabs are referred to as the Arab tribes, whilst the Chaouia share the same customs as the Arabs, differing from them only in the distinct language they speak, which bears no resemblance to the languages of the Arabs, Turks or tribes.[7]

2.2 The Tribes:

The Berber tribes differ from the rest of the Arab population in the Beylik not only in terms of their language, but also in terms of their customs and way of life. They are considered the indigenous people of the region and have maintained their independence, never submitting to Arab or Ottoman conquerors[8]; they have traditionally inhabited the mountains or rugged, steep terrain.[9]

Their government is a mixture of democracy and aristocracy, lacking the necessary authority to impose its laws on a population that leans towards the Arabs and the people.

Nevertheless, the tribes are an active and intelligent people, and they obtain everything they need for their livelihood from cultivating their land and rearing their livestock.[10]

2-3 The Turks:

They were the ruling class of the country prior to the French occupation; their numbers were small in Constantine. They formed military units and provided useful services, supporting the garrison units at the forward posts.[11]

The Turks are a distinct people, different from other peoples. Their presence in Ifriqiya was initially that of invading occupiers, but over time they intermingled with the local population. They strictly observe Islamic law, and as for language, they speak Turkish, which is the language used in government administration.[12]

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[5] Fondlin Schlösser – Constantine in the Days of Ahmed Bey 1832–1837 – Translated and introduced by Abu al-Eid Dodo – Ministry of Culture – No edition – Algiers – 2007 – p. 79.
[6] Nasser al-Din Saïdouni – Algerian Papers: Studies and Research on the History of Algeria during the Ottoman Period – Dar al-Gharb al-Islami – 1st ed. – Beirut – 2000 – p. 158.
[7] Nasir al-Din Saïdouni – Notes on the Constantine Region – Al-Asala, Ministry of Religious Affairs – Nos. 70–71 – Algiers – June–July 1979 – p. 14.
[8] Nasser al-Din Saïdouni – Algerian Papers... – op. cit. – p. 157.
[9] Hamdan Khoja – Al-Mar'a – Introduction, editing and translation by Muhammad al-Arabi al-Zubairi – Dar al-Hikma – 2nd ed. – Algiers – 2007 – p. 53.
[10] William Schaller – American Consul in Algeria (1816–1824) – Translated, annotated and introduced by Ismail al-Arabi – National Publishing and Distribution Company – No edition number – Algiers – 1982 – pp. 114–115.
[11] Nasser al-Din Saïdouni – Algerian Papers... – op. cit. – p. 159.
[12] William Schaller – The American Consul... – op. cit. – p. 107.

The Turks distinguished themselves from the rest of the population by following Turkish traditions, taking pride in their military exploits, cherishing their native language, and refraining from working the land.

Most Turks preferred to earn their living from the salaries they received from the state treasury or from renting out the shops or orchards they owned in the areas where they resided.[13]

The Turks do not look down on any profession; they work in weaving, trade, the manufacture of weapons, etc., and they sell their own agricultural produce if they own land.[14]

2.4 The Jews:

The Jews were the only recognised non-Muslim community, and they had made Algeria their permanent home; and their choice of this country was no coincidence; rather, they preferred it to other countries because of the justice, security and freedom they found there, and the care and attention they received[15]. Furthermore, as a religious community, their faith focused on rituals and sacrificial worship and developed through councils of the wise.[16]

The Jews contributed generally to the revitalisation of the country[17], given their expertise in trade, which they had developed through their previous contact with the Phoenicians. This group was engaged in various delicate and valuable crafts, such as tailoring, goldsmithing and the testing of the quality of gold and silver, in addition to trading in currency, tobacco, spices and the like[18], and they became skilled merchants trading in all manner of goods, even slaves[19].

3. Customs and traditions: (festivals and celebrations)

Customs, traditions and social norms were widespread amongst the inhabitants of the city of Constantine, through which individuals' identities and their sense of belonging to Ottoman civilisation were expressed; Constantine society was influenced by these customs and traditions. The city of Constantine is also considered one of the most prominent centres of learning, as evidenced by the abundance of cultural and academic institutions, which fostered interaction between its scholars and the community.

3.1 Celebrations during the month of Ramadan:

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[13] Ammar Bouhoush – The Political History of Algeria from the Beginning to 1962 – Dar al-Gharb al-Islami – 1st ed. – Beirut – 1997 – p. 74.
[14] Salih Abbad – Algeria under Turkish Rule – Dar Houma – 2nd ed. – Algiers – 2007 – p. 357.
[15] Arzqi Shuitam – Algerian Society and its Activities during the Ottoman Era – Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi – 1st ed. – Algiers – 2009 – p. 187.
[16] Bashir Abdelrahman – Jews in the Arab Maghreb – Centre for Human and Social Studies and Research – 1st ed. – Algiers – 2001 – p. 54.
[17] Kamal Ben Sahraoui – The Diplomatic Role of Algerian Jews in the Late Ottoman Era and the Beginning of the Colonial Period – Dar Qurtuba – 2nd ed. – Algiers – 2016 – p. 51.
[18] Abu al-Qasim Sa'd Allah – Cultural History of Algeria – Dar al-Gharb al-Islami – 1st ed. – Beirut – 1998 – Vol. 1 – p. 152.
[19] Filali, Abdelaziz – The Jewish Attack on the People of Constantine – Dar al-Huda – 1st ed. – Algiers – 2014 – p. 21.

It is customary for the locals to light fires on mountain peaks upon sighting the Ramadan crescent to inform the people of the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan. The tribe that was first to sight the crescent would light the fire, signalling the start of fasting, and thus the beginning of Ramadan was announced.[20]

As for the celebrations of Ramadan, they are grand, and people welcome its arrival with joy and delight. The women would make numerous preparations, such as grinding wheat and barley, rolling out couscous, making ghee from sheep's milk, and slaughtering sheep and poultry according to their means. During Ramadan, men flock to the mosques in greater numbers; for immediately after iftar they head to the mosque to read the Qur'an in congregation, listen to religious sermons, and perform the Tarawih prayers. Some mosques would dedicate sessions to explaining Sahih al-Bukhari from Duha until Maghrib, concluding on the twenty-sixth of Ramadan. As for the time of suhoor, the muezzin goes round with a leather drum, beating it with a stick, and shouts in the streets announcing that it is time for suhoor.[21]

However, for the people of Constantine, Ramadan is not merely a month of fasting, but a month of joy for Muslims; the nights of Ramadan are filled with joy, delight and merriment.[22]

3.2 Celebrating Eid al-Fitr:

During that period, the Ottomans referred to this festival as 'Bamseker Bayram', which means 'the festival of sweets and desserts', and it was celebrated to mark the end of the month of Ramadan.[23]

Eid al-Fitr was set as the first day of the month of Shawwal, and was known among the Arabs as Eid al-Fitr or the 'Small Festival'. It appears to be celebrated for three days in most Islamic countries once the sighting of the crescent moon is confirmed by witnesses or the community judge in Constantine.[24] People wake up in the morning to the sounds of morning music played by the Blacks, dressed in their finest clothes, holding tambourines and iron sheets, their music having a barbaric rhythm.[25]

After the Eid prayer, people visit their families and exchange forgiveness, with one person saying to another, "Eid Mubarak," to which the other replies: 'O God, forgive us all.' Sweets are served, including cakes, makrouz, qarioush and ghraybia, accompanied by tea and coffee. These sweets are prepared before the festival, and the celebrations last for three days, during which people also visit graves to remember their deceased relatives.[26]

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[20] Mokhtar Hassani – Encyclopaedia of the History and Culture of Algerian Cities – Dar al-Hikma – no edition – Algiers – 2007 – Vol. 3 – p. 120.
[21] Ahmed Merioush et al. – Cultural Life in Algeria during the Ottoman Period – National Centre for Studies and Research on the Movement and the 1 November Revolution – Special edition – Algiers – 2007 – p. 225.
[22] Ahmed Slimani – History of Algerian Cities – Dar al-Qasbah – No edition – Algiers – 2007 – p. 140.
[23] William Spencer – Algeria in the Era of the Riyas al-Bahr – Commentary and Introduction by Abdelkader Zabadia – Dar al-Qasbah – No edition – Algiers – 2006 – p. 120.
[24] Abdelaziz Filali – Tlemcen in the Zayyanid Era – Dar Hofm – No edition – Algiers – 2002 – Vol. 1 – p. 270.
[25] Abu al-Eid Dodo – Algeria in the Writings of German Travellers (1830–1855) – National Publishing and Distribution Company – No edition – Algiers – 1975 – p. 69.
[26] Al-Hajj Muhammad ibn Ramadan Shawsh – *A Bouquet of Irises: An Introduction to Tlemcen, Capital of the Bani Zayan State* – University Publications Office – No edition – No country of publication – 2011 – pp. 375–377.

3. 3 Celebration of Eid al-Adha:

It was known as Kurban Bayramı or Kük Bayramı, meaning the Great Muslim Festival of Sacrifice. This festival is one of the occasions on which Muslims commemorate the sacred sacrifice made by our forefather Ibrahim, peace be upon him, of a ram in place of his son Ismail, peace be upon him. It is known as the Great Festival, or Eid al-Adha. This festival falls on the tenth day of Dhu al-Hijjah, which is the month of the pilgrimage to the Sacred House of God, and the day before it, the ninth day, is the Day of Arafat, on which people often fast.

As Kathcart, a prisoner of the Dey, mentioned in his memoirs: "On the first day, the Turkish flag was raised over the palace and the Algerian flag over the city's fortifications. After the wrestling matches, senior officials and dignitaries came to the reception hall where the Dey was seated on the throne to kiss his hand, whilst the treasurer and the head of the treasury stood to his left and the rest of the palace officials of lower rank stood behind them. After them came others, including the executioner and the head of the refuse collectors, then the consuls, who were also honoured to kiss his hand, and finally the chief scribe, the head of the Jewish community, the palace brokers and others. Following the reception, the Grand Vizier summons five of the great men to dine at his table in his private quarters, joined by the chief cook. As for the second day of the festival, which is a public holiday, and the third day of the festival, these are celebrated in the same way as the first day, with the exception of the firing of rockets and cannons and the greeting of the consuls;[27] this celebration is conducted in the same manner as Eid al-Fitr.[28]

3.4 Celebrating the Prophet's Birthday:

As for the Prophet's Birthday, the celebrations were distinctive, featuring a variety of sweet and savoury dishes, as well as the use of candles[29]. The festivities lasted for fifteen days, beginning after the afternoon prayer and continuing until the evening prayer, during which the Holy Quran is recited and the noble qualities and morals of the Prophet, peace be upon him, are commemorated. In addition, women distribute food and sing religious songs and hymns praising the Prophet, peace be upon him, and extolling his virtues.[30] The Prophet's Birthday is considered a major festival for children, as all the schools are decorated with flags and flowers. Pupils stand in front of them, holding toy guns, which they point at every passer-by, who gives them money as a gift. If the passer-by is Jewish, they must take off their shoes and sing. The children block the path of passers-by and sprinkle their faces with scented water, and they also expect them to give a gift. There are many schools in Constantine, so it is impossible for anyone to walk down a street on this day without being stopped.[31]

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[27] James Lander Cathcart – Memoirs of a Prisoner of the Dey Cathcart – US Consul in Morocco – Translated, annotated and introduced by Ismail al-Arabi – University Press – No edition – Algiers – 1982 – p. 32.
[28] Fondlin Schlösser – Constantine in the Days of… – Previous source – p. 86.
[29] Abu al-Qasim Sa'd Allah – Cultural History of Algeria… – Previous reference – Vol. 1 – p. 156.
[30] Al-Maqri Ahmad al-Tlemcani – Nafh al-Tayyib fi Ghusn al-Andalus al-Ratiib wa Dhikr Wazirihi Lisan al-Din al-Khatib – Edited by Ihsan Abbas – Dar al-Basair – 1st ed. – Beirut – 1988 – p. 83.
[31] Fendelin Schlösser – Constantine in the Days of… – op. cit. – p. 86.

3.5 The Celebration of Circumcision:

Circumcision is a practice in the Islamic faith and a custom of Algerian society in general, and Constantine society in particular. A Muslim child is circumcised before reaching the age of 10, a procedure known in local circles as 'tahoor', which involves the removal of part of the child's genitalia[32]. The man who performs this procedure is called a 'bashar', and he circumcises the children of the poor free of charge. As for the children of the wealthy, they receive a gift of no more than eight boujors in the Wagner era. The child's family may provide food on the occasion of the circumcision and hold a party resembling a wedding celebration, where the women adorn themselves, dance to the music and ululate.[33]

As for circumcision among the Jews living in Constantine, it is a deeply sacred custom; when a boy reaches the age of seven or nine, the circumcision is performed, usually in the synagogue, and may be accompanied by certain rituals and ceremonies. There is a specialist in the synagogue for circumcision known as the 'khitan' or, in Hebrew, the 'mohel'[34]. Muslims and Jews share similar celebratory customs, such as the types of food, songs and ululations.

4. Clothing:

Clothing is considered a fundamental element of human civilisation and a true reflection of social conditions; it can reveal a way of life as well as provide insight into the different strata of society and their social status[35]. It is also an expression of people's taste and elegance, and a reflection of the wearer's personality. Indeed, every social group in Constantine had its own distinctive style of dress.

4.1 Men's clothing:

Ottoman clothing consisted of several pieces, some with sleeves and others sleeveless, open at the chest and adorned with buttons and embellishments. This was followed by loose trousers reaching down to the calf. Headwear consisted of a turban, and the feet were covered with 'baligha' (foot coverings); as for socks, these were worn only by the elderly and only in cold weather[36].

As for Turkish men, they wear the burnus, a loose, wide-cut garment with sleeves at the sides and sometimes a hood, to which neat undergarments are added. Men of standing wear two or three open-necked tunics, adorned with buttons and fringed edges; they also wear wide, loose trousers reaching to the ankles, to which is added either a red shawl or a red scarf. The trousers are finished with broad silk embroidery, This attire was distinctive and well-known, so much so that it was recognised by travellers in the Mediterranean as the 'Algerian style'.[37]

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[32] Ammar Boutaba – Constantine Society as Reflected in the Newspaper Al-Najah, 1919–1956 – Babel Press, private edition – Algiers – 2015 – p. 386.
[33] Abu al-Eid Dodo – Algeria in the Writings of... – Previous reference – pp. 74–75.
[34] Abd al-Rahman Bashir – The Jews in the Far Maghreb – Centre for Human and Social Studies and Research – 1st ed. – Egypt – 2001 – p. 124.
[35] Sarhoudah Yousfi – Economic Transactions and Exchanges in the Late Ottoman Period – PhD thesis – Modern History – Supervisor: Qashi Fatima al-Zahra – Constantine – 2004–2005 – p. 134.
[36] William Schaller – American Consul... – op. cit. – p. 83.
[37] William Spencer – Algeria in the Era of... – op. cit. – p. 103.

4.2 Women's Attire:

The Constantine region was distinguished by its unique and distinctive character across all spheres, including fashion and clothing. This was particularly true of women's attire, which included abayas, shawls, robes and other garments. As for the adornments women wore, such as jewellery and gold anklets which women made for their feet[38], women also adorned themselves with kohl, in addition to wearing a large earring, a necklace around their neck and a bracelet on their wrist.[39]

As for the attire of Ottoman Turkish women, it consists of the 'farmala', a belted garment open at the chest, worn with a short-sleeved coat and undergarments over which short trousers are worn when at home; When they go out in public, they wear a three-layered, embroidered dress reaching to the knee, followed by wide trousers, and over all of this comes the white headscarf; they cover themselves up to their eyes with a piece of white, transparent fabric.[40]

5. Traditional cuisine:

Food and drink are integral to the customs and traditions that reflect the way of life of any society; The types of food in the city of Constantine varied from dishes prepared for daily life to those for seasonal occasions and festivals during the Ottoman era. Foods and sweets of Constantine origin, as well as others imported from Turkey, became popular amongst this community, as explained below:

5.1 Couscous:

This is a famous dish throughout Algeria in general and in Constantine in particular; it is their staple food. It is made from wheat flour, usually rolled into small grains in a wooden bowl, then placed in a couscous pot and steamed. It is served in a mound with ghee, butter, soup, onions and peppers, and doused with broth. It is never served without meat, and the amount of these condiments and others may vary, depending on the host's means.[41]

5.2 Dolma:

Literally meaning 'stuffed dishes' of various kinds, such as 'soupan dolmasi', stuffed with lamb, rice and onions, and 'ibrak dolmasi', which consists of meat wrapped in vine leaves. And so on. 'Kaulis' kebabs made from veal, lamb and mutton were common in Constantine cuisine, as was kofta.[42]

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[38] Abdulkarim al-Fakoun – Al-Hidayah: Exposing the Claims of Those Who Claim Knowledge and Authority – Edited by Abu al-Qasim Sa'dullah – Dar al-Gharb al-Islami – 1st ed. – Beirut – 1987 – p. 63.
[39] James Wilson Stephen – American Prisoners in Algeria 1785–1797 – Translated by Ali Tablit – Tala Publications – 3rd ed. – Algiers – 2007 – p. 160.
[40] William Spencer – Algeria in the Era of... – Previous source – p. 107.
[41] Ben Atou Belbraout – Orientalist Perspectives on the Customs and Traditions of Ottoman Algerian Society – The Mediterranean Dialogue – Issue 2 – University of Sidi Bel Abbès – 2010 – p. 82.
[42] William Spencer – Algeria in the Era of... – op. cit. – p. 113.

As for desserts, the people of Constantine cannot make sweets without honey and oil; one such dish was called ‘Mashloush’, in addition to another type called ‘Zalabia’. Among the desserts brought by the Ottomans were baklava, qatayef and brak.

6. Marriage:

The family is considered the fundamental unit of any society; if this unit is sound, society will inevitably be cohesive and harmonious.

Marriage at that time had its own characteristics and conditions; among its characteristics was early marriage at the age of twelve, Marriage in the city of Constantine takes place through engagement, which is the planning stage of the marriage and is usually arranged by a beautiful woman who is a friend of both the groom’s family and the future bride’s family. The contract is then drawn up by the mothers and through the female connections that mediate between the two parties. The women meet either during mutual visits to each other’s homes or at the public baths, which they frequent often.

Once the husband and wife have agreed to the proposal and the bride’s family has accepted the engagement, the matchmaker’s role ends. In their traditions, the engagement represents the first steps taken by the suitor or his relatives to contact the betrothed and her guardians in order to get to know the bride and her family, and also to exchange consent and acceptance between the suitor’s family and the betrothed’s family. At the marriage stage, marriage contracts are recorded in registers following the Maliki school of jurisprudence, which is based on mutual consent, the guardian, witnesses, the dowry and the contractual wording.

As for Jewish weddings in the city of Constantine, they were generally a carbon copy of Muslim weddings, and these too featured henna, candles and luxurious garments reserved for celebrations, particularly during the reception where food is served to the guests in the Constantine style, such as couscous and sweets like makrout, baklava and others. However, Jewish weddings differed slightly from Arab weddings.[43]

7. Cultural Institutions:

Constantine was regarded as one of Algeria’s major cities, rivalling the capitals of other regions in terms of learning and knowledge; it was also a source of refined culture thanks to the scholars and poets it produced, who made it a destination for many scholars.[44]

This interest in learning and the dissemination of knowledge led to the establishment of schools, mosques and madrasas; these institutions played an active role in religious, cultural, social and even political spheres, and many families took on the task of building schools, mosques and other such establishments, and of teaching within them.[45]

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[43] Saadallah Fawzi – The Jews of Algeria: These Unknown People – Dar al-Umma – 2nd ed. – Algiers – 2007 – pp. 141–142.
[44] Boudersaya Bouazza – El-Haj Ahmed Bey in Eastern Algeria: Statesman and Resistance Fighter, 1830–1848 – Dar al-Hikma – No edition – Algiers – 2010 – p. 106.
[45] Abu al-Qasim Sa‘d Allah – A Cultural History of Algeria… – op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 227.

7.1 Mosques:

The primary function of mosques is to hold prayers, and their types are determined by their founders[46]. It is worth noting that the city of Constantine has been home to many mosques; among the most famous of this period are:

A. Souk El Ghazal Mosque: Known as the Hassan Bey Mosque, it is situated to the east of the Ahmed Bey Palace. Its construction was overseen by Bey Hassan, nicknamed 'Abi Kumiya', in the year (1134 AH / 1721 AD), and entrusted its design and architecture to the Secretary of State, Hajj Abbas bin Ali[47]. It is considered one of the most beautiful mosques in Constantine, distinguished by its mihrab, domes, minbar, doors and wall decorations.[48]

B. The Green Mosque: Founded by Bey Hussein bin Hussein Bey, known as 'Abu Hank', in 1156 AH / 1743 AD, it was named the Green Mosque due to its colour. Its founder was buried in the cemetery adjacent to the mosque, alongside his family and some scholars, may God have mercy on them.[49]

C. Sidi al-Kattani Mosque: Located in the northern part of the city, this mosque takes its name from a pious saint buried in that area. It was built by Salih Bey in 1190 AH/1776 AD.[50]

7.2 Zawiyas:

One of the most notable features of the Ottoman period in Constantine was the abundance of zawiyas and similar institutions, which served as centres for worship and study, including the teaching of religious studies, jurisprudence, and the basics of reading and writing. Among these zawiyas, we may mention:

A. The Bash Tarzi Zaouia: The founder of this zaouia was the learned scholar and educator Abd al-Rahman Ahmad ibn Huda ibn Mamash, known as 'Bash Tarzi'. His zaouia still stands to this day[51]; Muslims have restored the street-side zaouia, and it has become one of the city's most important mosques, now known as al-Rahmaniya.[52]

B. The Ibn Na'moun Zawiya: Known as the Tijaniyya Zawiya, it is situated on the Suwayqa Street, in the Malah Suleiman district. The five daily prayers, Friday prayers and religious lessons

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[46] Ahmed Meriouch et al. – Cultural Life... – op. cit., p. 12.
[47] Mohamed al-Mahdi bin Ali Shaghib – *Umm al-Hawadir: Past and Present* – *History of the City of Constantine* – Al-Baath Press – No edition – Constantine, Algeria – 1980 – p. 242.
[48] Kamal Gharbi – Mosques and Zawiyas in the Ancient City of Constantine– Unpublished– Tlemcen – Algeria – 2011 – p. 123.
[49] Mohamed Baskar – The Intellectual Heritage of the City of Constantine – Post-Almohad Period: Its Landmarks and Figures – Dar Kerdada – Private Edition – Bou Saada – Algeria – 2015, p. 103.
[50] Kamal Gharbi – Mosques and Zawiyas... – op. cit. – p. 103.
[51] Mohamed El-Mahdi Ben Ali Chaghib – Umm al-Hawadir... – op. cit. – p. 256.
[52] Kamal Gharbi – Mosques and Zawiyas... – op. cit. – p. 179.

are held there, and it contains the tombs of the Na'moun family, who are descendants of the city's bayats: Sharif bin Naghmoun and Muni.[53]

C. The Ibn Radwan Zawiya: Located in the Baradein district[54], it became the seat of the Ibadi court[55]. Faist and others mention that Radwan Khoja Qaid al-Dar died in Constantine in 1220 AH/1805 AD. During the reign of Abdullah Bey[56], there were so many zawiyas during the Ottoman era that wherever one entered a town or village, one would find oneself in front of a zawiya. Every town had its own saints and spiritual leaders, and during the late Ottoman period, the zawiyas formed a political and social force, compelling the ruling authority to seek their favour and win their goodwill.

7.3 Schools:

Schools in the city of Constantine operated according to a specific system, covering the use and management of their facilities as well as their educational programmes.[57]

A. Sidi al-Kattani School: This school is situated next to the Sidi al-Kattani Mosque, in the Souk al-Ghazal district. Its construction is attributed to Salih Bey, who built the Kattani School in 1779 AD and recorded this date in his book Athariyat al-Tasis [58].

B. Sidi Khadir School: Established by Salih Bey next to the Sidi Khadir Mosque in 1779[59], it is considered one of Salih Bey's most significant architectural achievements in the city of Constantine.[60]

8. Libraries:

Libraries housed a wide variety of manuscripts and were frequented by students and professors from all over to consult them; at that time[61], libraries were divided into public and private libraries.

8.1 Public libraries:

These were libraries attached to mosques, zawiyas and schools, and were endowed to these institutions. They were distributed across the provinces according to the importance of the location in terms of culture and the emphasis placed on the teaching of the sciences, particularly in urban centres such as the city of Constantine.[62]

8.2 Private libraries:

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[53] Mohamed El-Mahdi Ben Ali Chaghib – Umm al-Hawadir… – op. cit., p. 255.
[54] Kamal Gharbi – Mosques and Zawiyas… – op. cit., p. 181.
[55] Abu al-Qasim Saadallah – Cultural History of Algeria… – op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 149
[56] Mohamed El-Mahdi Ben Ali Shaghib – Umm al-Hawadir… – op. cit. – p. 257.
[57] Yahya Bouaziz – Algeria's History in National and International Forums – Dar al-Basair – Special Edition – Algiers – 2009 – pp. 155–156.
[58] Abdelkader Dahdouh – The City of Constantine... – op. cit. – p. 580.
[59] Ibid. – p. 322.
[60] Mohamed al-Mahdi bin Ali Shaghib – Umm al-Hawadir… – op. cit. – p. 240.
[61] Mohamed bin Maimun al-Jaza'iri – Al-Tuhfa al-Mardiyya fi al-Dawla al-Bakdashiyya fi Bilad al-Jaza'ir al-Mahmiya – edited and introduced by Mohamed bin Abdulkarim – Dar al-Wai' – 1st ed. – Algiers – 2018 – p. 52.
[62] Abu al-Qasim Sa'd Allah_ The Cultural History of Algeria...- op. cit., Vol. 1- p. 298.

These libraries were widespread in Constantine, a phenomenon attributed to the fact that the city's scholars were passionate about collecting manuscripts. It is said that the number of private libraries reached 17, containing 14,000 volumes[63]; the largest and most famous of these was the Al-Fakoun Library, Saadallah noted that Deslan mentioned that there were two other private libraries in the city of Constantine, though they were not named, and that they contained mostly religious books.[64]

9. Health crises (diseases and epidemics):

9-1 Diseases:

Among the diseases prevalent in the late Ottoman period were various types of fever, which affected people of all ages.

A. Fever: This is a rise in body temperature above normal physiological levels, and one of its symptoms is a dry tongue.[65]

Among the recurring types of fever are: spring fever, known as yellow fever; and summer fever, which is one of the most dangerous types of fever as it causes a huge number of deaths[66]. It was caused by a weakened immune system resulting from dehydration, which claimed the lives of a large number of those affected. The population found it extremely difficult to treat[67]. Autumn fever, known as typhoid, predominantly affected the lower social classes who suffered from malnutrition during periods of drought and famine.[68]

B. Typhus: Also known as 'yellow fever', this was a very serious disease associated with years of famine. It was described by the authors of manuscripts and chronicles as 'epidemic fever'[69] and comprises two types: typhus exanthematicus[70] and typhus murinus.

C. Smallpox: This is a highly contagious epidemic caused by a virus characterised by the outbreak of red spots or a rash[71]; it is one of the diseases that afflicted the inhabitants of Constantine from time to time.[72]

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[63] Muhammad ibn Maymun al-Jazairi: Al-Tuhfa al-Mardiyya...- op. cit.- p. 61.
[64] Abu al-Qasim Sa'd Allah- The Cultural History of Algeria...- op. cit.- Vol. 1- pp. 308–309
[65] A. Domart and J. Bournuf: Larousse. Nouveau Larousse Médical. Paris. 1981. pp. 422–423.
[66] Arzqi Shuitam – Algerian Society... – op. cit. – p. 402.
[67] Aisha Ghattas – The Health Situation in Algeria during the Ottoman Period – Al-Thaqafa Magazine – Ministry of Culture – Issue 76 – Algiers – July–August 1983 – p. 126.
[68] Fella Moussaoui Al-Qashai – Health and Population in Algeria during the Ottoman Period and the Early French Occupation 1518–1871 – PhD thesis in Modern and Contemporary History – Supervisor: Nasser al-Din Saïdouni – University of Algiers – 2007–2008 – p. 174.
[69] Othman Bouhajra – Medicine and Society in Algeria during the Ottoman Period (1519–1830) – A Sociological Approach – Master's Thesis – Modern History, supervised by Dada Mohamed – University of Oran, 2014–2015 – p. 49.
[70] Mohamed Al-Zain – Social and Health Conditions in Ottoman Algeria 1518–1830 – PhD thesis – Modern and Contemporary History – Supervised by Mohamed Majoud – University of Sidi Bel Abbès – 2010–2011 – p. 209.
[71] Petit Larousse en couleurs: Encyclopaedic Dictionary for Everyone. Larousse Publishers. Paris. 1980. p. 964.
[72] Lucette Fancy – The Arab Maghreb before the Fall of Algiers, 1790–1830 – Translated from the French by Elias Marqus – Dar al-Haqiqa – No edition number – Beirut – 1980 – p. 31.

D. Whooping cough: This is a disease that affected children in the spring.

E. The disease of the Franks: This disease comes in two forms: the first consists of tumours that affect the human body and then burst, leading to skin shrinkage; the second consists of pimples that spread across the body, and this type leaves no marks on the body once the person has recovered.[73]

F. Eye diseases: These included conjunctivitis and trachoma, which were attributed to climatic changes and their effect on the structure of the eye; they affected adults as a result of a failure to observe basic hygiene rules[74]. Cataracts were another such condition; this type of disease affects the eye and remains widespread even today.[75]

G. Syphilis: Known as the 'Paris disease', it was treated with an extremely strict diet, but the disease could be completely cured within two months.[76]

These deadly diseases caused a massive spike in mortality rates from time to time.

9.2 Methods of treatment:

Like other cities, Constantine had its own methods of treating these illnesses, and the population was divided into groups, each with its own treatment methods. Some sought remedies in herbs, magic, sorcery, amulets, talismans, or by seeking the intercession of righteous saints[77]. The rulers would bring in foreign doctors to treat them.

A. Herbal Medicine: Folk medicine was regarded as synonymous with natural medicine, as it relied on the use of medicinal herbs; indeed, a large proportion of the medicines used were derived from herbs. These medicines were prepared by naturopathic doctors and administered in the form of extracts, infusions or powders, and were sold by the doctors themselves.[78]

Among the herbs commonly used by them was an ointment made from the sap of the pine tree, tar, onion, olive oil, ash, juniper, thyme, honey, cumin, myrrh, the bitter-tasting Taslaga, the plant known as 'Umm Qarman', and the plant known as 'Ratma'.[79]

As for cupping on the skin, it was used in cases of fractures; for treatment, they followed a method of massage using oils and plaster, and the use of kohl for health maintenance.[80]

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[73] El-Darragi Belkhos – Aspects of Social and Economic Life in the Beylik of Constantine through the Chronicles of Ibn al-Fakoun during the 16th and 17th Centuries – Master's Thesis – Modern History – Supervised by Mokhtari Hassani – University of Algiers – 2011–2012 – p. 64.
[74] Bouhajra Othman – Medicine and Society – op. cit. – p. 49.
[75] Al-Daraji Belkhos – Aspects of Life... – op. cit. – p. 64.
[76] Arzqi Chouitam – Algerian Society... – op. cit. – p. 401.
[77] Mohamed Ben Jebour – The Health Situation in Algeria during the Late Ottoman Period – The Maghreb Journal of Historical and Social Studies – University of Bel Abbès – Issue 5 – 2014 – p. 13.
[78] Mostafa Khayati – Medicine and Doctors in Ottoman Algeria – ANEP Publications – No edition – Algiers – 2013 – p. 75.
[79] Bouhajra Othman – Medicine and Society... – Op. cit. – p. 68.
[80] Chakhoum Saadi – An Analysis of the State of Medicine and its Implications in Ottoman Algeria, The Algerian Journal of Mediterranean Historical Research and Studies – Laboratory of Algeria and the Western Mediterranean Basin – University of Sidi Bel Abbès – Issue 1 – 2015 – pp. 272–273.

B. Treatment using amulets and talismans: Some residents of Constantine would visit the Marabits and the righteous saints of God in order to receive blessings, as they were convinced that visiting the shrine would bring them blessings, protect them from illness and cure them of epidemics. The wali or Marabit would be chosen according to his influence and his ability to provide the appropriate treatment; The marabout was known as a 'doctor', having learnt and preserved the methods of treatment from his ancestors. Consequently, if a visitor to the marabout was ill, simply by eating a quantity of soil from the shrine moistened with water and incense mixed with herbs given to the patient by the saint, the latter would be convinced of the effectiveness of this remedy and thus be cured.[81]

C. Mineral water therapy: Treatment using natural thermal springs has proven effective[82]; people used to visit these resorts, which served as genuine treatment centres for skin conditions such as eczema and other ailments. Constantine was renowned for its mineral baths, which locals would visit to soak in the steam.[83]

9.3 Epidemics:

The plague is considered the most dangerous disease to have afflicted all social classes; it was the cause of a decline in public health, which in turn had a negative impact on the country[84]. The outbreak and spread of the plague can be attributed to several factors, including:

the Eastern Beylicate's links with the Mediterranean world, its openness and relations with European countries, and its connections with the Arab Levant.[85]

One of the main routes for the transmission of these epidemics from their places of origin in the Levant to the Beylicate of Constantine was the influx of merchants, pilgrims and students from the countries of the Middle East.[86]

Among the reasons for its spread were the lack of monitoring at ports where the plague germ was permanently present[87], and the prevalence of marshes in the coastal plains and major cities such as Constantine.[88]

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[81] Fella Moussaoui Al-Qashai – Health and Demographic Conditions in Algeria during the Ottoman Period and the Early French Occupation 1518–1871 – Ministry of Culture – Unpublished – Algiers – 2010 – pp. 300–301.
[82] Bouhaja Othman – Medicine and Society... – op. cit. – p. 67.
[83] Fella Moussaoui Al-Qashai – The State of Public Health... – op. cit. – p. 299.
[84] Makhali, Mohamed – The Social and Economic Conditions of Algeria during the Ottoman Period – 1707–1827 AD – University of Sidi Bel Abbès – Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences – p. 8.
[85] Nasir al-Din Saïdouni – Algerian Papers... – op. cit. – p. 559.
[86] Kamal Chaou: The Bey of Constantine through Selected Documents from Collection 1641 Held at the National Library of Algeria – 1171 AH/1757 AD – 1298 AH/1792 AD – Master's Thesis – Modern History – Supervisor: Mokhtar Hassani – University of Algiers – 2004–2005 – p. 42.
[87] Fella Moussaoui Al-Qashai – The Health Situation... – op. cit. – p. 92.
[88] Nasser al-Din Saïdouni: Studies and Research on the History of Algeria – The Ottoman Period – National Book Foundation – no edition – Algiers – 1984 – p. 124.

A. The Plague: The epidemic spread throughout Constantine in the years 1740–1741, claiming an estimated 35 to 40 lives per day; its severity increased as temperatures rose, and this terrible epidemic caused 70,000 deaths over the course of those two years.

In 1753, the death toll reached 1,700, causing the highest number of deaths in Constantine, and the severity of the plague continued throughout the years 1756, 1757 and 1758.[89]

In 1778, it took a heavy toll on the population[90]. In 1784, this epidemic left a large number of victims in Constantine.[91]

The situation worsened in 1785 in Constantine and continued to take its toll until early 1786; this was caused by the transmission of the infection from Tunisia aboard a ship carrying pilgrims arriving from Alexandria and the Tunisian province, which was itself under the grip of a plague epidemic[92]. nor were areas free from the epidemic spared; the movement of the Mahalla military units led to the spread of the plague, the most significant of which was the devastating plague spread by the Mahalla units in southern Constantine in 1786.[93]

As for the epidemic of 1799, reference to this plague was made in the newspaper Al-Monitor, where the author of the article states: "The epidemic struck the province of Constantine, spreading as far as the south, where death claimed between one hundred and one hundred and twenty lives daily.[94]

The epidemic continued to spread at the beginning of the 19th century, with the city of Constantine experiencing numerous plague outbreaks in 1804, which once again caused enormous human losses.[95]

When it first appeared, the epidemic did not merely kill humans; it also decimated livestock. One Algerian doctor wrote of the 1818 epidemic: Fourteen horses were killed in the Dey's stables, and it was observed that the animals were perishing at various intervals when the plague struck, confirming that the cause could not be anything other than the plague itself, particularly as it was noted during that time that the animals exhibited the same symptoms as humans, such as boils and the like.[96]

10. Natural disasters and their consequences:

The city of Constantine has experienced numerous natural disasters, the most significant of which during the periods under study include:

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[89] Fella Moussaoui Al-Qashai – Health and Population... – op. cit. – pp. 74–75.
[90] Mohamed Makhali – Social Conditions... – op. cit. – p. 9.
[91] Fella Moussaoui Al-Qashai – Health and Population... – op. cit. – p. 411.
[92] Ibid., p. 81.
[93] Djahida Bouaziz – Internal Conflicts and Their Impact on Rural Society in the Eastern Baylik of Algeria during the Late Ottoman Period (1253–1185 AH / 1771–1837 AD) - Master's thesis – Modern History – Supervisor: Jamila Maachi – University of Constantine – Algeria – 2011–2012 – p. 110.
[94] Mohamed Al-Arabi Al-Zubairi: Foreign Trade in Eastern Algeria between 1792 and 1830 AD – Dar Al-Hikma – 3rd ed. – Algiers – 2015 – p. 52.
[95] Fella Moussaoui Al-Qashai – Health and Population... – op. cit. – p. 88.
[96] Kamal Shaou – The Beylicate of Constantine... – op. cit. – p. 65.

10.1 Drought:

Drought is defined as a natural disaster that affects agricultural and livestock crops, resulting in food shortages and rising food prices, which consequently has a negative impact on the economy and leads to the inevitable outcome of famine.[97]

One of the causes of drought is a disruption in rainfall patterns during certain periods, which may last for the entire agricultural season. For example, if rainfall ceases in March and April and this is repeated for a year or two, drought and a poor harvest are inevitable.[98]

Through the grain exports of the French Royal Company, we can clearly observe the effects of drought and poor harvests, which were evident in the quantities of grain exported from the eastern ports. In the years 1760 and 1764, the Bey of Constantine imposed a definitive ban on the Company shipping wheat during this period.[99]

As a result of this decline in agricultural yields and the onset of famines, the population of the city of Constantine on the eve of the French occupation was estimated at around 20,000. This is because as agriculture developed and flourished, mortality rates fell and the population grew, a trend linked to the population's health standards.[100]

10.2 Locusts:

The emergence of locusts was facilitated by the prevailing climatic conditions in Algeria, which are linked to the desert climate in the south and its impact on the high pastoral plateaus in the centre and the fertile agricultural hillsides bordering the sea in the north. Their invasion was expected every four or five years, and their impact was often limited to damage to agricultural crops[101]. However, when a prolonged drought is followed by heavy, late rainfall, this leads to sudden flooding and, consequently, a large-scale locust infestation. As Ahmed Sharif Al-Zahar said, the locusts first arrived as swarms, then settled and remained on the ground for days, devouring crops, trees and fruit.[102]

Locusts usually arrive in April and May, which is the season when crops are at their peak; sometimes they arrive late in the summer, in July for example, because the heat helps the swarms to

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[97] Larabi Asmahan – Economic Life in the Eastern Baylik during the Ottoman Period 1713–1792 – PhD thesis in Modern and Contemporary History – Supervisor: Hanifi Halili – University of Sidi Bel Abbès – 2012 – p. 302.
[98] Mohamed Al-Zain – A Look at Health Conditions in Ottoman Algeria – Al-Wahat Magazine – Issue 17 – Ghardaïa – December 2012 – p. 131.
[99] Larabi Asmahan – Economic Life in the Eastern Beylicate during the Ottoman Period 1713–1792 – PhD thesis – Modern and Contemporary History – Supervisor: Hanifi Halili – University of Sidi Bel Abbès – 2012 – p. 303.
[100] Nasir al-Din Saïdouni and Sheikh al-Mahdi Bouabdelli – Algeria in History during the Ottoman Era – National Book Foundation – Unpublished – Algiers – 1981 – pp. 91–92.
[101] Mohamed Al-Zain – A Look at the Situation... – op. cit. – p. 131.
[102] Hamad Sharif Al-Zahar – The Memoirs of Ahmed Sharif Al-Zahar – edited by Ahmed Tawfiq Al-Madani – Dar Al-Basair – no edition number – Algiers – 2009 – p. 144.

advance, which may cause famines[103], the disappearance of food supplies and the death of many people.[104]

A locust invasion may also destroy all agricultural crops. Farmers lost all their food, seeds and livestock, leaving people wandering aimlessly in the countryside, eating plant roots and searching underground for food to survive; many perished, and parents sold their children because they could not provide them with even the most basic sustenance.

The situation in agriculture deteriorated further in the years from 1805 to 1816, leading to a rise in bread prices. The locust invasion exacerbated the economic decline suffered by the disadvantaged social classes, who became even poorer and more miserable[105], with dire consequences for the population.

10.3 Famines:

Constantine experienced numerous famines which led to the deaths of many of its inhabitants, with drought and soaring grain prices prevailing in the years 1804 and 1805[106]. These were precipitated by the revolt of Sharif Ibn al-Ahrash, which broke out in Wadi al-Zuhur, one of the districts under Constantine's jurisdiction.[107]

The book Al-Antri: Famines of Constantine states the following: "In the years 1804–1805, during the Turkish period, a severe famine and drought struck, causing great harm to the people of Constantine and its region; this situation persisted for three consecutive years, whilst the governor at that time was Othman Bey.[108]

This famine led to the deaths of many people, including scholars such as the jurist Abd al-Qadir al-Sanusi ibn Zarfa and his brother, the jurist al-Hashimi, and their cousin, the writer and author of 'Fath al-Oran', Mustafa ibn Abdullah. Among the causes was also the revolt of Ibn al-Ahrash, which left Constantine in a state of great ruin."[109]

Conclusion:

This study has yielded a number of findings, as follows:

- The city of Constantine gained its fame through its strategic geographical location, which enabled it to attract many peoples and secure a prominent position amongst cities.

- Social life in the city of Constantine was characterised by a diverse population, including Turks, tribes, Arabs and Jews.

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[103] Larbi Asmahan – Economic Life in... – op. cit. – p. 299.
[104] Nasser al-Din Saïdouni – Algeria in History... – op. cit. – pp. 90.
[105] Fella Moussaoui al-Qasha'i – The Health Situation... – op. cit. – pp. 441–443.
[106]Salih al-Antri – The Famines of Constantine – Edited and introduced by Rabah Bouna – National Publishing and Distribution Company – Algiers – 1974 – p. 27.
[107] Muhammad al-Zain – A Look at Conditions… – op. cit. – p. 129
[108] Salih al-Antri – The Famines of Constantine... – op. cit. – pp. 27–28
[109] Moulay Belhamissi: Algeria through the Journeys of Moroccans in the Ottoman Era – National Publishing and Distribution Company – 2nd ed. – Algiers – 1981 – p. 40.

- Constantine society was influenced by certain Ottoman customs and traditions, particularly in terms of dress and certain foods.

- Religious celebrations in Constantine society have remained unchanged from what they were before; the people of Constantine celebrated the Prophet's Birthday, just as they held celebrations for the month of Ramadan and the festivals of Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha, These celebrations did not originate in the Ottoman period but were customs passed down by the people of Constantine; there were also celebrations they continued to practise during the Ottoman period, such as circumcision and weddings, and these occasions were attended by huge crowds.

- Constantine was regarded as a centre of learning, much like other cities, owing to its diverse cultural institutions.

- Towards the end of the Ottoman era, numerous zawiyas, mosques and libraries emerged in Constantine, which were widely frequented by various sections of society, combining religion and learning.

- The deterioration of economic conditions led to famines and the spread of various diseases and epidemics, particularly towards the end of the 18th century, which had a negative impact on the health of the population.

- Natural disasters led to a deterioration in the living conditions of the inhabitants, exacerbating the situation considerably, such as the drought followed by a locust plague which destroyed crops and fruit.

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