LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY TUNIS AND ITS FIRST RAILWAY: (RE)CONSTRUCTING THE TGM (TUNIS – GOULETTE – MARSA) IN CONTEXT

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

OUMAÏMA JAÏDANE

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE

OCTOBER 2024

Approval of the thesis:

LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY TUNIS AND ITS FIRST RAILWAY: (RE)CONSTRUCTING THE TGM (TUNIS – GOULETTE – MARSA) IN CONTEXT

submitted by **OUMAÏMA JAÏDANE** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Arts in History of Architecture, the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Sadettin KİRAZCI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. A. Berrin ÇAKMAKLI
Head of Department
Department of History of Architecture _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Ekin PİNAR
Supervisor
Department of Architecture _____

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. T. Elvan ALTAN (Head of the Examining Committee)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Architecture _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Ekin PİNAR (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Architecture _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Gizem TONGO
Hacettepe University
Department of Art History _____

PD. Dr. Nora LAFI
Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nilay ÖZLÜ
Istanbul Technical University
Department of Landscape Architecture _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Oumaïma, JAÏDANE

Signature:

ABSTRACT

LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY TUNIS AND ITS FIRST RAILWAY: (RE)CONSTRUCTING THE TGM (TUNIS – GOULETTE – MARSA) IN CONTEXT

JAÏDANE, Oumaïma
M.A., Department of History of Architecture
Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Ekin PİNAR

October 2024, 266 pages

The TGM (Tunis-Goulette Marsa) was the first railway in the Ottoman province of Tunis, established in 1872 and modified in 1908 under the French occupation (1881-1956) into its current version. Articulating a historical and a historiographical concern, this study traces the evolution of this railway within a context of long nineteenth century shifts, modernity experimentations, nascent nation-states, and colonialism. Synthesizing a documentation of the line, its stations, their effect on urban dynamics between 1872-1922 and their similarities and differences from contemporary railways in French, British, or Ottoman territories, it unsettles the consideration of the TGM from an essentially colonialist perspective. Adopting a longue durée approach, the study outlines continuity corridors between economic, institutional and urban reforms in the early nineteenth century and infrastructural projects launched in its latter half. Crossing official Tunisian, French, and Turkish archival material and non-official written and graphic records, the thesis restitutes the agency of local and imperial Ottoman actors in the negotiations and implementations of the TGM and challenges

the focus on its freight importance, positing its value for the local reigning classes' urban visibility agendas before and beyond 1881. Engaging with the modifications the TGM underwent upon its electrification, the modification of its circuit and the multiplication of its stations in 1908, the study additionally analyzes the characteristic architectural style of the stations with regard to homogenizing French policies and to official architectural identity formulation endeavors. As such, it invites reflection on authority dynamics between French and Tunisian administrations and their perception from Istanbul.

Keywords: long nineteenth century Tunis, TGM railways, identity construction and representation, French colonialism in the Maghreb, Ottoman Empire

ÖZ

UZUN ON DOKUZUNCU YÜZYIL TUNUS VE İLK DEMİRYOLU TGM'Yİ (TUNIS – GOULETTE – MARSA) BAĞLAMINDA (YENİDEN) İNŞA ETMEK

JAÏDANE, Oumaïma
Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü
Danışman: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ekin PİNAR

Ekim 2024, 266 sayfa

TGM (Tunis-Goulette Marsa), 1872'de Osmanlı'nın Tunus eyaletinde kurulan ilk demiryolu olup, 1908'de Fransız işgali (1881-1956) altında mevcut versiyonuna dönüştürülmüştür. Bu çalışma, TGM'nin uzun 19. yüzyıldaki değişimler, modernlik denemeleri, yeni oluşan ulus-devletler ve sömürgecilik ile ilgili değişim ve gelişimini takip etmektedir. 1872-1922 yılları arasındaki hat ve istasyonlara dair belgeler ile hat ve istasyonların şehir dinamikleri üzerindeki etkilerini sentezleyerek, bu demiryolunun Fransız, İngiliz ve Osmanlı bölgelerindeki çağdaş demiryollarından benzerlik ve farklarını incelerken, TGM'nin sömürgeci bir bakış açısıyla değerlendirmesini sarsmaktadır. Longue durée yaklaşımını benimseyen bu araştırma, erken 19. yüzyıldaki ekonomik, kurumsal ve kentsel reformlar ile 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısındaki altyapı projeleri arasındaki devamlılıkları özetlemektedir. Resmi Tunuslu, Fransız ve Türk arşiv belgeleri ve resmi olmayan yazılı ve grafik kayıtlardan faydalanan bu çalışma, yerel ve imparatorluk Osmanlı aktörlerine TGM müzakerelerindeki ve projenin hayata geçirilmesindeki rollerini geri kazandırmakta ve TGM'nin yalnızca yük taşıma önemine odaklanmayı sorgulayarak, TGM'nin 1881 öncesi ve sonrasında

yerel egemen sınıfların kentsel görünürlük ajandaları doğrultusunda değerini vurgulamaktadır. Çalışma, TGM'nin elektriklendirilmesi, güzergâh değişikliği ve istasyonlarının çoğaltılması gibi modifikasyonlarını ele alırken, bu değişimleri aynı zamanda istasyonların karakteristik mimari stilini homojenleştirici Fransız politikaları ve resmi mimari kimlik formülasyon çabaları açısından da analiz etmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Fransız ve Tunus yönetimleri arasındaki otorite dinamikleri ve İstanbul'un perspektifi üzerinden bu dinamikler üzerine düşünmeye davet etmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: uzun 19. yüzyıl Tunus'u, TGM demiryolları, kimlik inşası ve temsili, Mağripte Fransız işgali, Osmanlı imparatorluğu

To the six o'clock train,
whose departure sound ushered in my days growing up,
whose final destination stimulated my interest in architecture and its history,
and whose journey brought back together my dearests: my parents.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As a teenager for whom train journeys were the exciting preamble to a growing interest in the Tunisian capital's nineteenth century built heritage, never would I have thought that nearly a decade later, I would be pursuing graduate studies in a foreign country, let alone on the subject of nineteenth century Tunisian railways. For that, I owe much gratitude to the brilliant people and institutions who made this possible. I thank my undergraduate advisor Erdem Erten for his open-mindedness and encouragement regarding my interest in graduate studies from an early stage. I sincerely thank my thesis supervisor Ekin Pinar for her patience, constant support, and understanding despite all my indecisiveness, and for her intellectual generosity about layered graphic representations. I also thank Elvan Altan for her valuable input on the definition of this study's scope from its very inception. I am forever grateful to Gizem Tongo for her continuous encouragement and for whetting my curiosity about a subject I had long resisted engagement with; Ottoman Tunis. I thank Nilay Özlü, whose studies have contributed to expanding this curiosity and reflecting about communication corridors between capital and province. Last but not least, I am truly grateful to Nora Lafi for all the effort she has put into the study of Ottoman Tunis, and most of all for her kindness, thorough reading, critical feedback, and guidance with this research.

Consultation of much of the French archival documents this study relies on would not have been possible without the academic and financial aid of the French Rails et histoire association. I thank its members (in the order of my interactions with them) Cécile Hochard, Sébastien Barbe, Corine Chan Peng, and Valérie Dorenge, for facilitating my access to the association's rich library. I extend my gratitude to the association altogether for being an environment of exchange across countries and disciplines. I thank them for putting me in touch with Karen Bowie and Francis Beaucire, and for being my first point of contact with Aldjia Djaileb, with whom long

conversations advanced my understanding of Algerian railways and helped me make more sense of Tunisian ones.

I would like to additionally thank the collector members of the Tunisian online communities JooSSooR and La Tunisie d'antan; Adib Achek, Chawki Dachraoui, Fawzi Ben Abid, Moufdi Tahri, Mohamed Ali Ktari, Rafik Ben Najah, and Ridha Ben Rzouga for generously allowing me to use some of the graphics.

My special thanks go to my friends and colleagues, Nada Majdoub, Kristoffer Stefan, Elif Kara, Ceren Altan, Yaz Ertürk, Berfin Güzel, Burcu Köken, Buse Akçora, Özen Akçora, Yağmur Dürüsel, and Berkay Dürüsel, for their comments, company, and moral support, and to my precious feline companions Fare and Faruk for their affection during various phases of this work and whenever its stress grew above and beyond containment.

My gratitude for my beloved family is beyond words. I am blessed for the love and unwavering support of my parents Amira Gahbiche-Jaïdane and Ridha Jaïdane and of my sweet sister Inès Jaïdane. I am sincerely indebted to them for teaching me the value of learning and resilience. I am also deeply thankful to the members of my extended family. I thank my cousin and childhood friend Emna Jaïdane for her warm welcoming in Paris and for her insightful input about photography in and of Tunisia. I thank my dear cousin and aunt Khalil T. Ben Abdallah and Jamila Jaïdane-Ben Abdallah for their support in maintaining this thesis a transnational work in content and in form. Lastly, I thank my aunt and uncle Habiba Jaïdane-Tayachi and Hassen Tayachi for their generosity as history and urban geography teachers, but most of all for sharing their memories as children of Tunis and riders on the TGM.

This thesis is as much my effort as it is that of my wonderful husband, Egemen Yıldız. I would like to thank him for making Turkey my home away from home. His love, commitment, constructive criticism, culinary superpowers and uplifting humor have made this research a great journey in more ways that he can imagine and in far more ways than I could ever thank him for.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM iii

ABSTRACT iv

ÖZ vi

DEDICATION viii

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ix

TABLE OF CONTENTS xi

LIST OF TABLES xiv

LIST OF FIGURES xv

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xxviii

CHAPTERS

1. INTRODUCTION 1
   1.1. Aim and scope 5
   1.2. Literature review 7
   1.3. Sources, methodology, and structure of the study 14
2. BECOMING MODERN: A RECONTEXTUALIZATION (1789-1898) 20
   2.1. Major events (1815-1898) 25
      2.1.1. The 1815 Vienna Congress 25
         2.1.1.1. Great Britain 25
         2.1.1.2. France 26
         2.1.1.3. The Ottoman Empire and Tunis 28
      2.1.2. The 1830 colonization of Algeria and the 1835 placement of Tripolitania under direct Ottoman rule 29
      2.1.3. The 1838 Baltalimanı Treaty 30

2.1.4. The 1839 Gülhane Edict and its reception in Tunis 31
2.1.5. The 1840 Bardo Military School and the Bey's 1846 trip to France 32
2.1.6. The 1851 London Exhibition and the 1855 Paris Exhibition 37
2.1.7. The 1856 and 1863 Izmir railways 39
2.1.8. The 1856 Islahat Edict and the 1857 Fundamental Pact 41
2.1.9. The 1855 Istanbul Şehremaneti and the 1858 al-Majlis al-Baladi 42
2.1.10. The 1861 Tunisian Constitution and the 1871 imperial Firman of appointment 47
2.1.11. The 1876 Ottoman Constitution and the 1878 Berlin Congress 50
2.1.12. The 1881 Bardo Treaty, the 1883 Marsa convention, and ramifications 52
2.1.13. Evaluation 55
2.2. Economic and demographic changes in the Tunisian capital 59
3. 1854-1905: THE FIRST TGM 61
3.1. Genesis and inauguration of the TGM project 61
3.1.1. First negotiations (1854-1870) 61
3.1.2. The Spanish concession (1870-1871) 64
3.1.3. The British concessions (1872-1880) 66
3.1.4. The Italian concession (1880-1898) 73
3.1.5. The French concession (1898-1905) 78
3.1.6. Evaluation 79
3.2. The railways in the city 82
3.2.1. Tunis (al-Hadhira) 82
3.2.1.1. Urban and infrastructural transformations 82
3.2.1.2. Implementation of the TGM: 1872-1905 90
3.2.1.3. Evaluation 113
3.2.2. Tunis-La Goulette 115
3.2.2.1. La Goulette in the first half of the nineteenth century 115
3.2.2.2. Implementation of the TGM: 1872-1905 120
3.2.2.3. Impressions of the surroundings 129
3.2.2.4. Evaluation 134
3.2.3. La Goulette-La Marsa 136

3.2.3.1. La Marsa in the first half of the nineteenth century 136
3.2.3.2. Implementation of the TGM: 1874-1905 142
3.2.3.3. Visitor accounts and depictions 152
3.2.3.4. Evaluation 155
3.2.4. La Marsa-L'Aouïna-Tunis and La Goulette-L'Aouïna 160
3.2.5. Bardo-Tunis 162
3.3. Conclusions 168
4. 1905-1922: THE MODERN TGM 173
4.1. Homogenizing the North-African colonies: 1898-1922 173
4.2. The modern TGM: 1905-1922 182
4.2.1. Genesis of the new project 182
4.2.1.1. Development of transports in Tunis 182
4.2.1.2. Concession conditions, railway routes, and negotiations 185
4.2.1.3. Evaluation 192
4.2.2. Spatial manifestations 193
4.2.2.1. Tunis 195
4.2.2.1.1. Tunis-Marine 195
4.2.2.1.2. Tunis-Nord 198
4.2.2.1.3. Tunis: CTT building 202
4.2.2.2. La Goulette – La Marsa 203
4.2.2.2.1. La Goulette – Kram 204
4.2.2.2.2. Carthage – La Marsa 207
4.2.2.3. La Marsa – Tunis 213
4.3. A province? Whose? A discussion 215
5. CONCLUSIONS 228
5.1. Ubi sumus 228
5.2. Quo vademus 234
BIBLIOGRAPHY 238
APPENDICES 261
A.TÜRKÇE ÖZET 261
B. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU 266

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Populations in 1891 60

Table 2. Populations in 1896 60

Table 3. Inauguration dates of the TGM trunks and their lengths 68

Table 4. Populations in 1901 174

Table 5. Populations in 1906 174

Table 6. Tunis-Aouïna-Marsa ville line and focal points. The train only stops at the request of the passengers for locations marked * 193

Table 7. Tunis-La Goulette-Marsa Residence line and focal points. The train only stops at the request of the passengers for locations marked * 194

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1.Superposed paths of the TGM before and after 1908. 4

Figure 1.2: Paths of the TGM before 1908. 4

Figure 1.3. Default cover illustration of the colonial journal L'étoile de l'Algérie et la Tunisie. 7

Figure 2.1. Map of Tunis, by P. Colin, 1860. Compare with fig. 3.8. (chapter 3), where the axis from the east gate to the lake is parcellated and where the open-air sewers are absent, suggesting that within a decade, they were earthed. 21

Figure 2.2. Map of Tunis in 1899, drawn by cartographer of the protectorate's Service Topographique E. Tardy. 21

Figure 2.3. Map of railways in Tunis and Algeria, drawn by Chaix, Paris. 22

Figure 2.4. Painting commissioned by Sadok Bey depicting (in posterity) the Tunisian court's visit to Algiers, where the Bey shared a draft of the 1861 constitution with Napoléon III. 49

Figure 2.5. Photograph of a Qsar-Saïd room, where the Bardo Treaty was signed, as present in Abdülhamid II's collections, labeled in conformity with the legend in French "Treaty room at Qsar-Saïd" [Kasr-ı Said'de muahede salonu]..... 52

Figure 3.1. Map of the north of Tunisia, with the Medjerda river marked. 61

Figure 3.2. Caricature drawing (1879-1880) from Lou Carbounaïre, journal illustré: private correspondence in the form of drawings sent by the

French consul in Tripoli, Charles Féraud, to the French general consul in Tunis, Théodore Roustan. 69

Figure 3.3. The TGM wagons, around 4m-wide, kept until the electrification of the line (1908), had corridors on each side, allowing passengers to circulate during the trip. 77

Figure 3.4. Plan of the Quartier Franc around 1850, with the European Intramuros settlements and the new central gate marked..... 84

Figure 3.5. Partial plan of the Quartier Franc by the Municipal Council after 1858, with the dark color designating European and protégés in the Quartier Franc, and the light one locals. 84

Figure 3.6. Plan of the city of Tunis in 1860. Attributed to engineer Colin. 85

Figure 3.7. Plan of a portion of La Promenade de la Marine displaying the overlap of the new grid-iron plan and the old field, circa 1860. 86

Figure 3.8. Plan of Tunis in 1870. Drawn by Freiherrn von Malkan. 87

Figure 3.9. Detail from map of Tunis around 1879-1881. 91

Figure 3.10. Railway map of London (1899)..... 92

Figure 3.11. Railway maps of Paris (c.1895) and Izmir (1873). 93

Figure 3.12. Map of Tunis around 1878. (Judging by the absence of the Tunis-Marine TGM trunk)..... 94

Figure 3.13. Two maps (top left and bottom) and a plan of the surroundings of the station in (clockwise, starting from top left) 1860, 1870, and 1878. 95

Figure 3.14. Details of an 1893 and an 1899 map of Tunis, with open-air sewers gradually earthed, the lagoon's canal filled, and the parcels slowly rearranged (but not necessarily occupied) to accommodate the railways. 96

Figure 3.15. Details of a 1902 map of Tunis. 97

Figure 3.16. Photograph of the Promenade de la Marine towards l'Avenue de France in 1880. 99

Figure 3.17. Photograph of the Promenade de la Marine before 1882. 100

Figure 3.18. Photograph of the Promenade de la Marine between 1882-1890. 101

Figure 3.19. Photograph of the Promenade de la Marine in 1882. 101

Figure 3.20. Photograph of the Promenade de la Marine between 1885-1898. 102

Figure 3.21. Photograph of the Rue de Rome, with to the right the retail complex Au Palais Arabe. c.1900. 104

Figure 3.22. Lion statues in Husaynid palaces; Dar al-Tej [Crown House] inhabited by Beys until 1902. 106

Figure 3.23. Lion statues in Husaynid palaces; (left) Dar al-Tej [Crown House] inhabited by Beys until 1902, (right) inner courtyard in Le Bardo. 107

Figure 3.24. The French station / Gare du Sud (for juxtaposition). [n.d] 107

Figure 3.25. 1904 Postcard of a Neurdein photograph, capturing the Bey's arrival to Tunis by train, before 1877. 108

Figure 3.26. [n.d] Postcard from a photograph, capturing the main façade of the Tunis terminus, between 1877 and 1898. 108

Figure 3.27. Photograph of the interior of the station, between 1880-1893. 109

Figure 3.28. Engraving by Albert Bellenger based on an illustration by Frédéric de Haenen, from a photograph by Soler, cover of the December 17th, 1892 issue of L'illustration, depicting the funeral procession of Cardinal Lavigerie. 109

Figure 3.29. Instant photograph of the Gare du Nord under construction, c. 1900, Jean Bourgier. 110

Figure 3.30. Postcard of La Gare du Nord. 111

Figure 3.31. Postcard of La Gare du Nord. 111

Figure 3.32. Postcard of the Gare du Nord captured from a northern angle. 112

Figure 3.33. (left) Cross section across St Pancras shed and hotel, Scott and Barlow. (right) Inner perspective of the iconic train shed, reproduced notably in Cologne central station, Germany, 1894. 114

Figure 3.34. Detail of map of La Goulette barely inhabited. Drawn by Christian Falbe in 1831. 116

Figure 3.35. Entrance to La Goulette from the canal, where the Karraka is visible. [n.d]..... 117

Figure 3.36. Entrance to La Goulette further along the canal, where the Karraka is visible in the background. [n.d], before 1884. 118

Figure 3.37. Ahmed Bey square approached from the bridge towards the north [n.d], before 1884. The building on the right would after 1884 be modified and transformed into the municipality of La Goulette. 118

Figure 3.38. Photograph of the Goulette canal, giving the locality its name. On the left is the beylical arsenal. 119

Figure 3.39. La Goulette in 1877. 120

Figure 3.40. La Goulette in 1882. 121

Figure 3.41. Parcellated plan from 1871. The arrow points north. 122

Figure 3.42. La Goulette in (left) 1878 (right) 1882. 123

Figure 3.43. (Clockwise from top left) La Goulette in 1893, 1898 and 1902. 124

Figure 3.44. Postcards c. 1888, documenting the considerable built fabric expansion, the earthing of the marsh (left), and the removal of the Christian cemetery and its replacement by a parcellated plot and

cleared circulation corridors. The railway tracks are vaguely visible on the left of the first postcard. 125

Figure 3.45. Illustration depicting the opening ceremony of the first TGM, based on a photograph by Mrs. Garrigues. 126

Figure 3.46. Illustration depicting the train station approached from the sea, part of a Florio-Rubattino poster. 126

Figure 3.47. Postcard of La Goulette station's new shed under construction, c. 1900. 128

Figure 3.48. Postcard of La Goulette's train station between 1900-1908. Notice the café facing it as well. 128

Figure 3.49. Timetable of the trains as of Friday April 2nd, 1880. Printed in Italian on order of the British agent Williamson. 135

Figure 3.50. Map of the area from La Goulette to La Marsa in 1831, Drawn by Falbe. Locations of existing constructions are marked in red. 136

Figure 3.51. Photograph of the Punic port in 1858 by Duc de Noailles. Albumen silver print, 36.5 × 27 cm, Société Française de Photographie. Notice the fallen column from the archaeological site in the foreground..... 138

Figure 3.52. Wide shot of the Punic port c. 1862 summertime, with a new palace and sea-bathing cabin in the background. 138

Figure 3.53. Map of the area from La Goulette to La Marsa before 1874, August Daux. Focal points added by the author. The map does not include Kheïreddine's palace, further down the coast, also on the seashore. 140

Figure 3.54. [n.d] Postcards of the Sidi Bou Saïd square and of its view from Carthage, with the palace of General Mohamed Baccouche and his brick factory visible on the second. 141

Figure 3.55. Photographs of the Marsa beylical palace; Dar et-Tej [House of the Crown], with its façade changed after 1861 to an Italiante style to match the ruling Bey's taste. 141

Figure 3.56. Photograph of a fragment from the plan for the concession of the line from Tunis to La Goulette, including La Marsa, August 23rd, 1871. 142

Figure 3.57. Photographs of fragments from the plan for the concession of the line from La Goulette to La Marsa, 1873. Poorly digitized and too large (approx. 2A0) to photograph, the plan nevertheless preciously documents the pre-1871 land use fabric of La Marsa and that of La Goulette. 143

Figure 3.58. Detail of a map drawn by Philippe Caillat and engraved by L. Sonnet (Paris: Impr. de Dufrenoy, 1877). 144

Figure 3.59. Detail of an 1878 map where the location of two cafés is marked yellow. 144

Figure 3.60. Juxtaposition of 1878, 1898, and 1905 maps of the same area. 145

Figure 3.61. (left) [nd], postcard of the Cathedral of Carthage, (right), wide photograph of La Marsa, as present in the Yıldız albums, with the legend reading "Tunis environs, Marsa village, which contains the summer resort where the prince resides". 148

Figure 3.62. Postcard of the arrival of the train at a Marsa station, before 1908. The building in the background to the left might be a palace. Photographer: Neurdein. 151

Figure 3.63. Postcard of the Carthage Malga station, before 1908. 151

Figure 3.64. Postcard of the same Carthage station, before 1908. 152

Figure 3.65. Posters of the railway path between 1890-1898. Lithography by A. Marzi, likely from postcards. 154

Figure 3.66. Example of standardized station design on the Great Western Railway. (top) Hungerford station, 1847. (bottom) Marlow station, 1873. 156

Figure 3.67. Prints, photograph, and drawing of a standardized country station as seen/designed in (clockwise) Tyford, Pangbourne, Minety, and Culham stations. The design is the work of engineer I.K. Brunel, the last drawing dates from 1843. It can additionally be seen in the Bradford at Avon and Melksham stations. 157

Figure 3.68. Examples of the "Chalet" style, standardized by the Great Western Railways' engineer I.K. Brunel, where the extension of the roof provides an economical solution for shading, but where the construction materials for the building-proper are different; with Kentish Clapboard in the 1853 Charlbury station (left) and stone in the 1841 Pantyffynnon station (right) 157

Figure 3.69. Examples of uses of daggerboards (also known as valances) in (left) Great Harwood Station (Midland Railways, 1877), in (right) Warwick (Milverton) Station (London and North Western Railways, 1875)..... 158

Figure 3.70. Example of standardized station design on the Great Western Railway. (left) Hungerford station, 1847. (right) Marlow station, 1873. 158

Figure 3.71. Photographs and postcard of Smyrniot railways. (left) Kemer, the first in Anatolia 1858, restored, (right) Cordelio (today Karşıyaka) 1865, restored. 158

Figure 3.72. Postcards and photographs of a standardized intermediary/country/wayside French station with occasional awnings in (clockwise starting from top left) Toucy (France), El-Affroun (Algeria), Souk el-Arba (Tunisia), Çiğli (Türkiye). 159

Figure 3.73. Detail of a map from 1878, where L'Aouïna started to expand. 161

Figure 3.74. Detail of a map from 1898, where agricultural fields gained terrain over constructions. 162

Figure 3.75. Bardo entrance, c. 1880-1908. 162

Figure 3.76. Detail of an 1878 map by France's Dépôt de guerre, (Paris: Lemercier, 1878). 165

Figure 3.77. Detail of an 1898 map (Paris: service géographique de l'armée, 1898) 165

Figure 3.78. Timetable of trains travels as of July 1st, 1881 and its translation, with Bardo conspicuously absent. 166

Figure 3.79. Detail of a 1902 map showing the connection between the TGM's Bardo end and the Medjerda railway lines. 167

Figure 4.1. (left) Palais de Justice of Algiers, architect: Jean Paul Gion, 1876-1883 (right) Hôtel des postes (Post office), architect: Henri Saladin, 1891. 175

Figure 4.2. Postcards of La Goulette municipality, with its elevations changed to a classist style after 1884. 176

Figure 4.3. Barracks of (left) el-Qasba (right) Forgemol, both used by the French army, and destroyed after the independence for that reason. 176

Figure 4.4. Detail of a series of 10 ceramic tiles made by Tunisian Jewish ceramist Moïse (Mouche) Chemla, whose father Jacob/Yacoub Chemla was at the service of the Bey, before being commissioned by Guy as well. On the right piece, dated in Hijri on top (1332/1913-4), the bottom text reads: "From the ceramists' company in Tunis to Mr. Raphaël Guy". 179

Figure 4.5. (left) Tunis, Directorate of Finance and Public Works, 1908; (right) Tunis, Directorate of Agriculture and Commerce, 1910, both by Raphaël Guy. 179

Figure 4.6. (left) Casablanca PTT, 1918 by Adrien Laforgue (right) Oran train station, 1908-1913 by Marius Toudoire 180

Figure 4.7. (left) Promotional poster of the Bône-Guelma railways, between 1898-1908. Notice the conspicuous absence of "modern buildings", as well as the arches framing the inner composition, the carpet on top with local motifs, and Carthage written on the top left, whereas the names and illustrations of other localities are both from Tunis and Algeria, linked by railways with their path illustrated in the bottom left. (right, for purposes of juxtaposition) Promotional poster of the Ottoman Hédjaz railway. 180

Figure 4.8. Road map of Tunis in 1900. 183

Figure 4.9. Railway map of Tunis and surroundings after 1908. 184

Figure 4.10. Scheme of the TGM's situation in 1908. 190

Figure 4.11. Scheme of the railways' situation on November 1st, 1910. 191

Figure 4.12. Diagram of the electrified TGM path c. 1910. The train only stops at request for stations marked * 193

Figure 4.13. Evolution of the railway path and surroundings in (c.) 1911 (left) and 1916, showing parcellation rather than occupation of the lots (right). 195

Figure 4.14. Postcard and photograph of the Jules Ferry station and of its surroundings, after 1913. On the bottom illustration, the designation of the square by its name in Arabic rather than the French of the original photograph's legend indicates a rudimentary level of familiarity with the urban setting. 197

Figure 4.15. Photographs of the Jules Ferry station and of its surroundings, after 1913. 198

Figure 4.16. Photographs of the Tunis Nord station and of its surroundings, c. 1916-1930 199

Figure 4.17. Photographs of the Tunis Nord station and of its surroundings, c. 1916-1930. 200

Figure 4.18. Photographs of the Tunis Nord station and of its surroundings, c. 1920-1930. Notice the growth in height of surrounding constructions. 201

Figure 4.19. Location of the CTT headquarters and surroundings in (c.) 1911. 202

Figure 4.20. Jules Ferry façade and detail photographs of the CTT headquarters, and photographs of ceramics employed in the interior. 202

Figure 4.21. Maps of the region between La Goulette-Marsa in c.1910 (left) and 1932 (right). 203

Figure 4.22. Diagrams of parcellations in La Goulette and Kram, c.1910. 204

Figure 4.23. La Goulette station as seen from a south-east angle. 205

Figure 4.24. La Goulette station as seen from a south-east angle. 206

Figure 4.25. Postcards and photographs of train stations contemporaneous with that of La Goulette. (top left): Sousse, Tunis, by J.Émile Resplandy (1897) (top right): Sétif, Algeria, by the Compagnie de l'Est algérien (1879) (bottom right): Basmahane/Izmir, Ottoman Empire, by the Régie Générale (1876) (bottom left) Pontivy, France, by the Compagnie des chemins de fer de Paris à Orléans (1864-1873) 207

Figure 4.26. Postcard of the station of Douar-chott (Carthage), with the old steam-train wagon serving temporarily as shelter, c.1910. 208

Figure 4.27. Postcards and photographs of the stations of Carthage Dermech (top left), Carthage (top right and bottom left), and Sidi Bou Saïd (bottom left). 209

Figure 4.28. Photograph of the Archevêché station, flanking vineyards, likely two-storeyed, painted white, and having arched windows. 210

Figure 4.29. Photograph of the shelter at La Marsa-Plage. 211

Figure 4.30. Photograph and postcard of the shelter at La Marsa-Plage. 212

Figure 4.31. Nasrid windows in Alhambra. 213

Figure 4.32. Photograph of the shelters at La Marsa-ville 213

Figure 4.33. Postcard of the Avenue de la Gare; parallel to La Marsa-Ville (not visible in the image, but it was located directly next to the street to the right). 214

Figure 4.34. Photographs of the shelters of L'Aouïna and Aviation (added with the creation of a military airbase there in 1924)..... 214

Figure 4.35. Postcards of various public and private constructions on Tunisian territory from the first quarter of the twentieth century (from left to right) La Goulette's casino, a hotel in Carthage, a post and telegraph office in Mateur, a train station in el-Djem, a post and telegraph office in Manouba, a house wrongly labeled as "mosque" in La Goulette, the municipality in La Marsa, and city hall in Sfax. 215

Figure 4.36. Architectural drawing of a French shelter typology as outlined in an 1866 railway construction textbook (left), and a photograph of the shelter at Carthage (today Carthage Hannibal) after restoration in 2020. 216

Figure 4.37. (top) Photograph of Abita building, by Italian architect Giuseppe Abita, c. 1920 (bottom) postcard of l'Hôtel Majestic, by French architect Paul-Auguste Baron, 1912, both in Tunis. 217

Figure 4.38. Photographs of two different railway stations with regional styles on La Côte Bleue (south) 218

Figure 4.39. Gare de Lamothe (south-western France) and Gare de Valençay (central France) 218

Figure 4.40. Façade drawing of the 1867 Tunisian pavilion. 219

Figure 4.41. 1893 map of the Ottoman Empire and detail of the North-African territories still considered within it, with their major railways and thoroughfares. The enunciation of some original names in Arabic and others as labeled by the French might indicate that it relied in part on French sources. 220

Figure 4.42. Map of "Ottoman Africa" from a 1909 atlas dedicated to Abdülhamid II, with French-occupied Tunis and Algeria (with different frontiers) included. 220

Figure 4.43. (right) Photograph of the Escalier des Lions of the Bardo Palace as present in the Hamidian Yıldız albums, with its legend reading: "the entrance of a house in the old Arab architectural style" (left) Photograph of a bath entrance in Tunis, as present in the same Yıldız albums, with the French legend reading "Entrance of Moorish bath", and the Ottoman Turkish one reading "A door in the Arab architectural style" 221

Figure 4.44. The same photograph with two different legends as present in Hamidian albums (left) labeled in French "Ruins of the Bardo, last vestiges of a stucco of a palace" and in Ottoman Turkish "A dome displaying Arab architecture at the Bardo ruins", (right) labeled in French "Ruins of the Bardo" and in Ottoman Turkish "Of the old Islamic buildings, a part of the Bardo palace ruins". 221

Figure 4.45. Photograph of the Sirkeci railway terminus in Istanbul, designed in 1889 by German architect Jasmund. 223

Figure 4.46. Photographs of Ali III Bey and of a salon in Bardo. 226

Figure 4.47.Photographs of the French General Residence in Tunis. 227

Figure 5.1. Map of the urban expansion of Tunis in 1957. 230

Figure 5.2. Aerial photographs of La Goulette from the 1950s, displaying the weaving of the urban fabric around the TGM's paths. 230

Figure 5.3.. Aerial photograph of La Marsa from the 1950s, displaying the weaving of the urban fabric around both the modern TGM's path. 231

Figure 5.4. TGM subscription card of a Tunisian Muslim pupil of the Sainte-Monique catholic school, then a four-year-old. 235

Figure 5.5. [n.d] photograph of TGM workers (likely of different geographic origins) posing in front of it. 235

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

TGM: Tunis-Goulette-Marsa railway

TNA: Tunisian National Archives

BOA: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri

ANOM: Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> Architects and engineers have combined to produce structures worthy of this age of commerce and locomotive travelling… Railway termini [..] are to the nineteenth [century] what [..] cathedrals were to the thirteenth century. They are truly the only real representative kind of building we possess… Our metropolitan termini have been leaders of the art spirit of our time…[1]

read an 1875 article of the London-based *The Building News and Engineering Journal.* The author of this passage articulates an interlocking two-fold analogy with two hierarchies. In the case of the analogy, on one level, they draw a parallel between cathedrals and railway termini, that they consider "leaders of the art spirit". The leadership position that they are ascribed might be literal; that is, by virtue of their locations in urban agglomerations, that of their monumental scales, and of their "efforts to force themselves upon public notice"[2]. It might also be symbolic, considering that they were both icons of technical prowess and innovative spatial solutions. On another level, the emergence of such icons would not have been possible without the alignment of conducive conditions of their distinct centuries. Much like the thirteenth century, the nineteenth was an era of relative prosperity. Rightly referred to by the writer as "the age of commerce and locomotive travelling", the nineteenth century was marked by profound political, intellectual, economic, and socio-cultural changes that gave rise to an enhanced circulation of populations, skills, ideas and models. This justifies why the author –like many of their contemporaries[3]–, chose to

[1] "Railway Architecture: a new Gothic station". *The Building News and Engineering Journal* 29, no. 2 (July-December 1875): 133.
[2] Ibid.
[3] In the nineteenth century, and after the Napoleonic Wars (1798-1815) Great Britain sought to differentiate itself from the French Empire through the style of its constructions. Seeing itself as "the great upholder of Protestantism, the politics of church building was [therefore] an issue of national consciousness" that often manifested in the Gothic style; affordable, but more importantly ideologically

subscribe to the thirteenth century cathedrals as reference model and elected nineteenth century railway termini as "truly the only representative kind of building [they] possess."

Behind the quotation's claim, also lay a pair of hierarchies. Suggested by the use of the term "kind of building", the first is that of the specific buildings; situating them in networks of similar components, they ascribe a pivotal position to metropolitan railway termini –as opposed to just any train station–, and to cathedrals –as opposed to just any religious edifice. This distinction records a demarcation of size and stylistic sophistication, but also one of urban/rural boundaries, blurred by the speed of transportation, only to be reaffirmed by the architectural expression of these particular typologies. Conversely, the choice of a Christian religious building as reference, and the use of terms like "our", "possess", and "metropolitan" suggest yet again another layer of hierarchy and boundaries; the national ones. As insinuated by the author, railway termini indeed were instrumentalized as manifestations of (national) identity. Consistently, it is important to bear in mind that the text was written in Britain at a time when the British Empire came into close contact with other nascent nations, but also with numerous colonies outside of its "metropolitan" realm. The use of these terms might therefore refer to the process of formulating an architectural identity for mainland termini by opposition to those of other nations or those established by Britain on colonial and/or dependent territories.

Overall, this excerpt concisely articulates the architectural, industrial, and economic value of nineteenth century railway stations with their profound ideological and historical symbolism and implications. Constituting a first-hand Western European testimony[4], the hint at discussions of hierarchy and surrounding national identity

resonating with burgeoning intellectualism, cultural growth, and evolving notions of individual freedom. Barry Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750-1890* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000): 156.

[4] In the same spirit, the French writer Théophile Gautier (1811-1872) described railway stations as "palaces of modern industry where the religion of the century, that of railways, unfolds. These cathedrals of the new humanity are the meeting points of nations, the center where everything converges, the core of gigantic stars with iron rays stretching to the ends of the earth" in "Des gares et des chemins de fer," *Le Moniteur Universel* 1868, cited in Akihiko Kanai, "Les gares françaises et japonaises, halle et bâtiment principal: Une recherche comparative I" (PhD thesis, Ecole nationale des ponts et chaussées,

within the context of the analogies implies a nuanced understanding of instrumentalization of architecture to demarcate a sense of belonging or differentiation; be it within the boundaries of the same nation, or in relation to other/colonial territories. In sum, nineteenth century railways should thus be comprehended as historically and ideologically charged; assigned the utilitarian function of transport and the representative function of image-making.

On the image of yet another British-executed railway of the nineteenth century, a modern traveler wrote:

> For the attentive traveler, a ride on the TGM – the Tunis, La Goulette, and La Marsa, a light railway linking Tunis with a string of suburbs along the Gulf of Tunis – can become an extraordinary trip through the country's history and culture. [..] after a run of some fifty minutes and fifteen miles, the train has passed by sites associated with three millennia of history. A leisurely walk of an hour or two after exiting the TGM terminus builds upon the ride's introduction to Tunisian history.

These lines were written by Kenneth Perkins in his introduction to *A History of Modern Tunisia* (2014)[5], stressing on the historic and symbolic significance of the sites harboring the current stops of the TGM (fig.1.1). These stops constitute nevertheless the route traced in replacement of the circuit the railway had between 1872 and 1908. In its initial state, these 42-kilometer-long tracks linked Tunis (al-Hadhira) to its port of La Goulette (of which it is naturally separated by a lagoon) and La Goulette to the princely northern suburbs of Carthage and La Marsa. Until 1900, the circuit also linked Tunis to the five kilometers away Bardo palace complex, epicenter of beylical power (fig.1.2). The first route was on the official agenda from as early as 1854. The result of a concession awarded to the British-owned Tunisian Railway Company, the railway's first trunks (Tunis-La Goulette and Tunis-Bardo), were inaugurated in 1872, while the remaining trunks (La Goulette-La Marsa and La Marsa-Tunis through

---

Laboratoire Techniques, Territoires et Sociétés, 2005): 319 https://pastel.hal.science/tel-00086638/file/these_vol1.pdf

All translations to English are mine unless otherwise stated. However, original versions of primary sources are occasionally provided to avoid any *taduttore traditore* confusions. Any interruptions to the flow of the text and the accompanying figures are due to the imposed text format this thesis had no choice but to abide by.

[5] Kenneth Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia*, 2nd ed. (USA: Cambridge University Press, 2014): 6-8.

L'Aouïna) were opened for service in 1874. Between 1854 and 1872, the project was delayed by commercial negotiations, financial difficulties, a local revolt in 1864, and the Franco-Prussian war (1870-1871). The first TGM was ultimately implemented at a time when, burdened by debts, the Ottoman regency of Tunis was attempting to steer a course between the Ottoman and the French Empires.

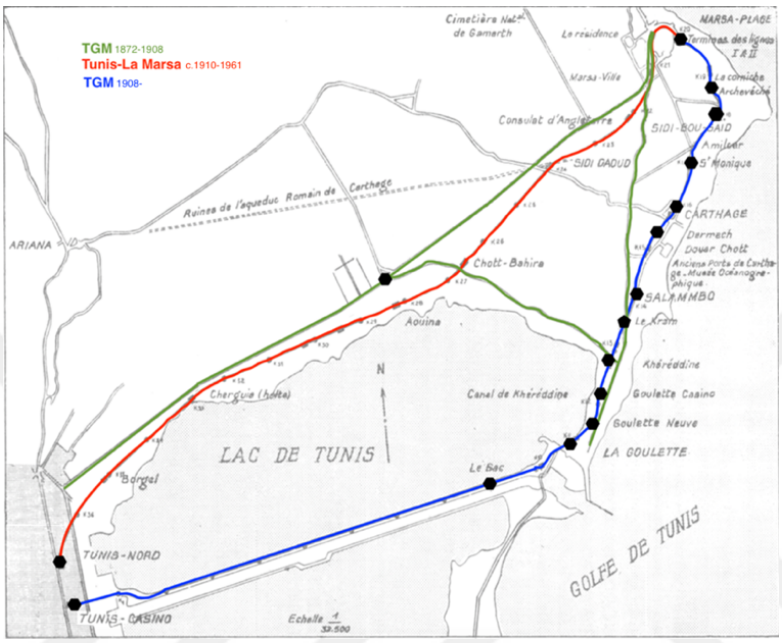


Figure 1.1.Superposed paths of the TGM before and after 1908.

Source: Based on Laurent Debernardi, "Le premier chemin de fer tunisien, le T. G. M. (1870-1898)," Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer 50, no. 179 (second trimester 1963): 224

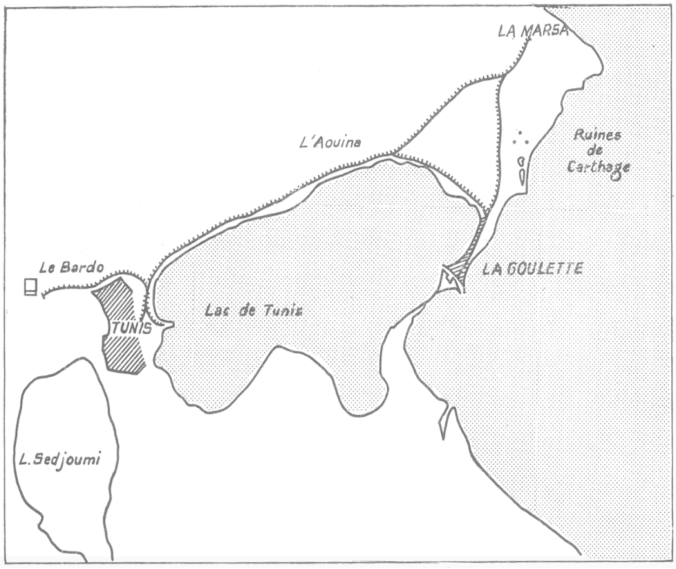


Figure 1.2: Paths of the TGM before 1908.

Source: Laurent Debernardi, "Le premier chemin de fer tunisien, le T. G. M. (1870-1898)," Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer 50, no. 179 (second trimester 1963): 210

By 1898, nearly two decades after the autonomous Ottoman province of Tunis[6] had eventually succumbed to French colonialism (1881-1956), the TGM had been repurchased twice. The first by the Italian Rubattino in 1880 and the second by the French Bône-Guelma company in 1898. Founded by the same person (Ernest Goüin) as the French Les Batignolles company and operating railways in Algeria, the Bône-Guelma sold the TGM again to the municipality of Tunis in 1905, while the railway's exploitation rights were conceded to the French Compagnie des Tramways de Tunis three years later. In 1908, the railway's route as well as its station buildings were electrified and modified into a close version of what they still are today. While the connection between L'Aouïna and La Goulette was removed around 1910, the direct line linking Tunis to La Marsa through L'Aouïna was maintained until 1961.

1.1. Aim and scope

This study revisits the TGM in the temporal context of the long nineteenth century[7] and in the spatial context of late Ottoman Tunis. Its aim is two-fold; both historical and historiographical. Historically, it aims to document the forgotten first path of this railway as well as with the railway in its totality, shedding light on the various architectural and urban shifts the TGMs and their consequent station buildings underwent, adapted to, and catalyzed between 1872 and 1922. In the process, it invites a dialogue between the spatiality of these lines and their contemporary railways on Tunisian territory, as well as in colonized Algeria, France, Britain, and the Ottoman Empire (Istanbul and Izmir). Historiography-wise, this research engages with Ottoman continuity corridors and troubles over-emphasis on the French colonization as rupture point regarding the creation and evolution of the TGM. Pondering upon the prevalent

[6] The appellation "Tunisia" is the modern name of the hitherto Ottoman province/regency of "Tunis", eponymous with the name of its Intramuros capital, Tunis. In view of establishing a conformity between the territory and the chronology of the study, the term "Tunis" will be used to refer to both the territory and the capital. Where it is a question of Tunis as territory, it will become obvious from the context of the discussion.
Likewise, the TGM was not officially named as such until 1908, before which it was referred to as the Tunis-La Goulette or Tunis-La Goulette-La Marsa railway. For purposes of brevity, the TGM acronym will be used to refer to the railway even before 1908.

[7] Reference intended to Eric Hobsbawm's trilogy *The Age of Revolution: Europe (1789-1848)*, (New York: World Publishing, 1962), *The Age of Capital: 1848-1975,* (New York: Scribner, 1975) and *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914,* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987), and to İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun en uzun yüzyılı*, (Istanbul, Hil, 1983).

conformity of the architectural style of the 1908-1922 stations to notions of "Tunisian architecture" today, this reading envisages to deter the roots of such an association. Consistently, it gives agency to the factors and actors at play in the construction of the TGM, both materially and symbolically. As rightly pointed out by Elvan Altan in 1999:

> … for a better understanding of the concept of 'national architecture', the attempt should focus on why and how 'national meaning' is produced in architecture rather than on what 'national architecture' is, and [..] this requires a contextually, rather than an exclusively formal analysis. [8]

In alignment with that perspective, this thesis expands the array of interpretations made possible by formal analyses alone. In view of synthesizing a contextual reading, the temporal scope of the study is stretched to 1789-1922, associated respectively with the French Revolution and the French invasion of Ottoman Egypt and Syria (1789), and with the official birth of the Tunisian national movement (1920) and the abolition of the Ottoman caliphate (1922[9]). Likewise, the spatial scope of the study engages with all the nodes of this railway. It keeps the Tunisian capital at its focus while simultaneously provincializing Western Europe, Istanbul, and colonized Algeria[10]. As such, it intersects the architecture of the station buildings with their contemporaries on other territories and with texts recording the discourse and research regarding what characterized "Tunisian architecture" in view of outlining their ideological underpinnings. Parallelly, it invites reflection on the role played by French colonialism in the invention of Tunisian historical imaginary and traditions, and interrogates (if any) the Ottoman perception of the same imaginary, often times omitted from Tunisian historiography altogether.

---

[8] T. Elvan (Altan) Ergut, "The Forming of the National in Architecture," *METU JFA* 19, (1999): 31-43.
[9] Here, I admit 1922 rather than 1918 as end date for the Ottoman Empire to reference the surviving Ottoman monarchy practices in Tunis until that date. In 1922, occupied Tunis witnessed a series of reforms according its inhabitants more representation, limiting the Beys' sphere of influence, and reorganizing different sectors, notably that of railways and communication. Arthur Pellegrin, *Histoire de la Tunisie*, (Tunis: Editions La Rapide, 1944):169-182. See also, Leïla Temime-Blili, *Sous le toit de l'Empire: Deys et Beys de Tunis: Du pouvoir militaire à la monarchie, 1666-1922*, vol.2 (Tunis: Editions Script, 2018) and M'hamed Oualdi, "La transmission de legs ottomans en Tunisie. La maisonnée Bū Ḥājib des années 1870 aux années 1930", *IREMAM* 148 (2020): 57-74. https://journals.openedition.org/remmm/15114
[10] Intended reference to Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Though and Historical Difference,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

1.2. Literature review



Figure 1.3. Default cover illustration of the colonial journal L'étoile de l'Algérie et la Tunisie.

Source: L'étoile de l'Algérie et la Tunisie (December 21st, 1884): 1.

The default cover of the short-lived "L'Étoile de l'Algérie et la Tunisie" [The star of Algeria and Tunisia (combined)] (fig. 1.3), a French journal published between 1884 and 1885 is an interesting case in point illustrative of much of the state of historiography regarding the TGM. Tellingly named "L'Étoile" [*the* Star], the journal presents France as the luminous trailblazer leading advancements and claiming authority over a geographic area united by/under its control, "Algeria *and* Tunisia". As stressed by the subtitle "organ of the defense of interests of Algeria and of Tunisia", colonial France is depicted protecting technologies alluded to by different instruments. The nation is personified as a solemn Greco-Roman Marianne[11] figure, with its head

[11] Name attributed to the female allegory of France, present since the French revolution and growingly popularized with the Third Republic (1870-1940). See amongst his numerous works on the subject:

crowned by a laurel wreath and centrally flanking various technological tools (notably a steam-engine) and a classicist building, themselves representative of "agriculture, commerce, industry, climatology, arts, sciences". The cover is charged with symbolism in many respects. If not resting on its laurels, the allegorical figure comfortably occupies the heart of the composition, victoriously sitting at the forefront of technologies and values that it surpasses in size and height. Strikingly, Algeria and Tunisia are only referred to by written enunciation, with the rest of the scene devoid of denotation of their boundaries, singular characteristics, people and populations, or of the fact that they were subject to different modes of colonial rule; department (North Algeria) and protectorate (Tunis). Despite these rules having begun fifty four (in Algeria) and only three (in Tunis) years earlier than the 1884 illustration, the simultaneity between the subscription to a visual vocabulary from Antiquity and the absence of depicted weapons and military gear insinuates that such unified control over the territories and over their means of production, their knowledge, and their infrastructures was not only rooted in history, but that it was also reached peacefully, quasi-naturally.

Despite the passage of over a century since this illustration, the image it communicated stood the test of time. Indeed, the French occupation has created an ideological trope tenuously difficult to defy. In line with expansionist aspirations, it has colored how Tunis's history, and in particular the nineteenth century are evaluated. Obscuring local agency and eclipsing any ties the autonomous province had with the Ottoman Empire and any consequent apport of the nineteenth century *Tanzimat* reforms, the colonialist project placed itself at the orbit of the century's significant events, striving to flatten Algerian and Tunisian territories into one homogeneous whole and to build upon and appropriate infrastructural projects that preceded it, including railways in general and the TGM in particular.

This historiographical malaise is palpable in the earliest scholarly mention of the TGM, dating back to 1959. In Jean Ganiage's *Les Origines du Protectorat Français*

Maurice Agulhon, "Un usage de la femme au XIX^{e} siècle: l'allégorie de la République", *Romantisme* 13-14 (1976): 143-152.

en Tunisie (1861-1881)[12] [The Origins of the French Protectorate in Tunisia (1861-1881], negotiations about concessions of this railway project, like other events analyzed in the monograph are teleologically examined as embryos of economic occupation. Written at a time when the Tunisian national archives were still being arranged, the book relies on French, British, and Italian documents to portray their railway and industrial concessions as efforts of the three European states to penetrate and seize "*la poire tunisienne*"[13] [the Tunisian pear], paving the way for the French military occupation as of 1881. Ganiage's perspective is perpetuated by Laurent Debernardi in his 1963 article *Le premier chemin de fer tunisien, le T. G. M. (1870-1898)*[14] [The first Tunisian railway, the T.G.M. (1870-1898)]. Albeit chronologically expanded, relying on correspondences between concessionaires and regency officials kept in the Tunisian archives, and focusing solely on these lines, this study summarily discusses their spatial and social dimensions, and remains faithful to Ganiage's view in discarding the importance of the reforms that characterized the nineteenth century period and in engaging mainly with the economic negotiations regarding the lines' exploitation rights, thus positing that: "the installation of the TGM was for [British consul Richard] Wood nothing more than the first step of the economic penetration plan that he had conceived in 1856."[15]

Spelling colonization's inevitability with regard to railways is again present in Tunisian economic historian Mohamed Lazhar Gharbi's 1994 *Impérialisme et réformisme au Maghreb: Histoire d'un chemin de fer algéro-tunisien* [Imperialism and reformism in the Maghreb: History of an Algerian-Tunisian railway], where he

[12] The first paragraph of the introduction reads: "La Tunisie faisait écran entre l'Algérie française et Tripoli redevenue ottomane. Mais la décadence de ses institutions, de son économie, la faillite d'une politique de réformes trop hâtives, la mise au pillage de ses finances entraînèrent une banqueroute financière d'où devait sortir une mise en tutelle exercée collectivement par la France, l'Angleterre et l'Italie." [Tunisia formed a screen between French Algeria and Tripoli, which had once again become Ottoman. But the decadence of its institutions, of its economy, the failure of a policy of too hasty reforms, the looting of its finances led to a financial bankruptcy from which was to emerge a supervision exercised collectively by France, England and Italy.] Jean Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-1881)*, 2nd ed. (Tunis: Berg Editions, 1959/2015): 11.

[13] The expression was employed by German chancellor Otto von Bismarck in the 1878 Berlin congress to encourage France to colonize the Regency of Tunis: "la poire tunisienne est mûre et il est temps pour vous de la cueillir" [the Tunisian pear is ripe and it's time for you to pick it].

[14] Laurent Debernardi, "Le premier chemin de fer tunisien, le T. G. M. (1870-1898)," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 50, no. 179 (second trimester 1963): 197-226.

[15] Ibid, 218.

nevertheless acknowledges the importance of Tunisian nineteenth century reforms that preceded 1881 and allocates agency to official local actors. Focusing on the Bône-Guelma network and overlapping in chronological scope with the TGM between 1898-1908, the author defines his study's geographic scope as the colonized or yet-to-be colonized Maghreb (Tunis, Algeria, Morocco), and declares that the research's ambition "precisely" is:

> to contribute to the study of a phenomenon that, to [his] eyes, illustrates well a continuity, that is the process of French capitalist penetration in Tunis through the example of railways, of which the establishment is launched in 1875 and prolonged with the protectorate.[16]

If they are mentioned briefly in Tunisian sociologist and historian Paul Sebag's 1998 encyclopedic monograph *Tunis: Histoire d'une ville*[17] [Tunis: History of a city], the TGM railways are absent from Turkish art historian Kadir Pektaş's 2002 *Tunus'ta Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri*[18] [Ottoman architectural monuments in Tunisia]. Likewise, the railways are absent from Tunisian archaeologist Ahmed Saadaoui's rich 2008 study *Tunis: Ville ottomane, trois siècles d'urbanisme et d'architecture* [Tunis: Ottoman city, three centuries of urbanism and architecture]. Despite its promising title, the research inexplicably limits its chronological scope to the years 1574-1814, eventually covering only "more than two centuries"[19] of the Tunisian Ottoman period traditionally admitted as spanning 1574-1881.

In her 2008 *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830-1914*[20], Turkish architectural and urban historian Zeynep Çelik engages with the complex Ottoman and colonial dimension beyond 1814 and 1881, examining various provincial infrastructures from the prism of French and Ottoman imperial spatial conflicting and overlapping displays of power. With emphasis attributed by the author rather to the Hejaz railway, the TGM railway is briefly mentioned in alignment with its importance for the French as an extension of the Bône-Guelma lines departing from

[16] Mohamed Lazhar Gharbi, *Impérialisme et réformisme au Maghreb: Histoire d'un chemin de fer algéro-tunisien*, (Tunis: Cérès Éditions, 1994): 12.
[17] Paul Sebag, *Tunis: Histoire d'une ville* (Tunis: Harmattan, 1998): 318-335.
[18] Kadir Pektaş, *Tunus'ta Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002).
[19] Ahmed Saadaoui, *Tunis: ville ottomane, trois siècles d'urbanisme et d'architecture*, (Tunis: Centre de publication universitaire, 2008): 11.
[20] Zeynep Çelik. *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830-1914*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).

colonized and hitherto Ottoman Algeria, as the author states that: "In Tunisia, the economic drive dominated: the first rail lines linked the mines to the nearest ports, relegating the connections between cities –a primary concern in Algeria– to later efforts"[21] and that:

> The land roads of Tunisia in 1881 were no better than the ones the French had found in Algeria in the 1830s. Consequently, the Service des Travaux Publics, established in 1883, assumed the task of not simply "improving but rather creating" the entire infrastructure [..]
> Prime Minister Khayr al-Din had first granted concessions to the British Tunisian Railroad Company for the Tunis—La Goulette line and to the Société Italienne Rubattino for the Tunis—Souk el-Arba line. [..] [C]onsidering the economic benefits that the connection to Algeria would bring, [..] the Compagnie Bône—Guelma ended up acquiring the rights to these lines under the beylical regime and went on to be in sole charge of the railroads of Tunisia under the protectorate. [..] The entrepreneurial rigor and ambition of the company, as well as its trust in the forthcoming annexation of Tunisia, enabled it to confront the belligerent political attitude toward France in the late 1870s.[22]

Mapping the nineteenth century spatial evolution of Tunis's historic core beyond its walls and providing a chronology table of urban evolution in Tunis, Algiers, Istanbul and Paris in the appendix to her 2010 *Tunis d'une ville à l'autre: cartographie et histoire urbaine: 1860-1935*[23] [Tunis from one city to another: cartography and urban history: 1860-1935], Tunisian urban and architectural historian Leïla Ammar addresses the roles of local and foreign actors and of institutions in this regulated/planned growth. Nevertheless, the author consolidates the position occupied by the colonial establishment of the French, refraining in the main text from engagement with the chronology of the appendix and with the effect of railway implementations on the capital's grand urban configuration beyond its walled core[24].

---

[21] Ibid, 25.

[22] Ibid, 53, 55-56. In fact, the TGM continued to be operated by the Italian until 1898. It was only operated by the Bône-Guelma between 1898-1908. Likewise, the Bône-Guelma was not the "sole in charge of the railroads of Tunisia under the protectorate", as another French company with no ties to Les Batignolles, La Compagnie des phosphates et des chemins de fer de Gafsa, was established in 1897 and exploited the mineral basin located in the south of the regency until 1967. See Official publication, Direction des Travaux Publics, *Les travaux publics du protectorat français en Tunisie : Mines, service topographique, navigation et pêche maritime* (Tunis: J. Picard, 1900): 198-210.

[23] Leïla Ammar, *Tunis d'une ville à l'autre: Cartographie et histoire urbaine, 1860-1935* (Tunis: Nirvana, 2010): 162-187.

[24] She sustains this approach in Leïla Ammar, *La Rue à Tunis, réalités, permanences, transformations de l'espace urbain: 1835-1935*, ed. Centre de Publication Universitaire. (Tunis: Laboratoire Archéologie et Architecture Maghrébines, 2017), where she brings more detail to the evolution of certain streets of Tunis's core, attributing it mainly to urban regulations.

The TGM was most recently the focus of urban historian Nora Lafi in her 2018 *Tunis als Laboratorium osmanischer Modernität: das Beispiel der Vorstadtbahn (1863-1881)* [Tunis as a laboratory of Ottoman Modernity: the example of the suburban railway (1863-1881)][25]. Lafi revisits the concession negotiations records of the TGM before its establishment and approaches the project as an essentially Ottoman one. She convincingly submits that Tunis was an experimental laboratory for social and local manifestations of urban modernity. Positing the importance of analyzing Tunis as an autonomous Ottoman province, the author concentrates on local, French, Italian, and British competition for economic monopoly of the line rather than on the spatiality of the TGM.

Finally, the TGM was identified as a factor of suburban growth in nineteenth century Tunis by Tunisian urban and architectural historian of Tunisian suburbs Beya Abidi in her 2019 *"Les palais et les résidences beylicaux de la banlieue de Tunis"* [Palaces and beylical residences of the suburb of Tunis]. She thus states that:

> The most dynamic period in terms of construction is undoubtedly the third quarter of the nineteenth century, from 1840 to 1875 [..] on the one hand, the great upheavals that inaugurated the middle of the nineteenth century and the action of the reforming beys on the structures of the country and the intrusion of techniques and values from Europe which greatly contributed to the spread of vacationing. On the other hand, the development of communication routes and in particular the establishment of railways which allowed a real boom in summer and winter travel.[26]

Perhaps prey to disciplinary confines and to the narrowness or broadness of their spatial scopes, the abovementioned studies have nearly all engaged with certain aspects valid for specific trunks of the TGM and projected them over the railway altogether. Approaching it from an economic and political standpoint, Ganiage, Debernardi, and Gharbi establish a parallel between the difficult financial and political situation Tunis was traversing and with the fact that the TGM linked Tunis to La Goulette; its major port and, understandably, a significant target to geopolitical interest

[25] Nora Lafi, "Tunis als Laboratorium osmanischer Modernität: das Beispiel der Vorstadtbahn (1863-1881)," in *Die osmanische Stadt*, eds. Nora Lafi & Florian Riedler (Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Urbanistik gGmbH, 2018): 16-25. Translation from German courtesy of Kristoffer M. Stefan.
[26] Beya Abidi, "Les palais et les résidences beylicaux de la banlieue de Tunis" in *La Tunisie Archéologique*, eds. Samir Guizani, Mohamed Ghodhbane, and Martin Galinier, (Tunis: Nirvana, 2019): 380.

and colonial appetite. Rich as they are in directing their gaze both northward (Great Britain, France, and Italy) and westward (Algeria), they have embraced Tunisian national narrative's view that the territory was autonomous with only nominal ties to the Ottoman Empire[27]. In alignment, they have cast colonization as a latent, imminent, and inevitable overarching concern for railways and reforms. They thus minimized the significance of the remaining of the TGM's trunks and produced narratives relieved from association with Ottoman culture[28] and burdened by "teleological weights the colonial period imposed on its pasts"[29]. Similar "self-evident" narratives were denounced as "historiographical injury" in 2022 by Tunisian historian Youssef Ben Ismail, who wondered about "what else can be said about pre-colonial North Africa, other than the fact that it was waiting for colonialism"[30].

Ben Ismail's reproaches could be nuanced in light of the urban and architectural historians' studies about the history of nineteenth century Tunis and the Ottoman Empire. Expanding their chronological scopes beyond 1881, Çelik, Lafi, and to an extent Ammar and Abidi conjugate the south-north-west approach of economic historians with a gaze oriented towards the capital and provincial cities of the Ottoman Empire. Their studies provide a much-needed reading of nineteenth century cities and infrastructures with simultaneous consideration of reforms, French and Ottoman imperialisms, and their manifestations in the urban sphere. Lafi's research is a compelling reflection on the question of this railway beyond the analyses of urban morphology, commanding attention not only to the built TGM, but also to the dismissed projects and the roles of the actors and reforms governing TGM negotiations from as early as 1854. While Çelik, Ammar, and Abidi acknowledge local and foreign

[27] Contrast Mohamed-Hédi Chérif, "La "déturquisation" du pouvoir en Tunisie : classes dirigeantes et société tunisienne de la fin du xvi^{e} siècle à 1881", *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 29, no. 117-118 (3rd and 4th trimester, 1981): 177-197 and Asma Moalla, *The Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Porte, 1777-1814: Army and government of a North-Africa Ottoman eyalet at the end of the eighteenth century,* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004). For a discussion of this issue in the post-Ottoman Arab world, Aline Schlaepfer, Philippe Bourmaud, and Iyas Hassan, "Fantômes d'Empire: persistances et revendications d'ottomanité(s) dans les espaces post-ottomans", *REMMM* 148 (2020): 9-32.

[28] Schlaepfer, Bourmaud, and Hassan, "Fantômes d'Empire: persistances et revendications d'ottomanité(s) dans les espaces post-ottomans", 14.

[29] Youssef Ben Ismail, "Colonial Theft & Historiographic Injury: Golden Fragments from an Ottoman-Algerian Library," (presentation at Ottoman Algiers Beyond 1830 workshop, New York, November 4th, 2022)

[30] Ibid.

actors' agencies, their studies focus on built form with either broad brush or narrowed spatial scopes. As such, Çelik places the railway focus on the Hejaz, and joins Gharbi in expanding the colonial interest of the Tunis-La Goulette trunk to the Tunisian railway altogether. In counterpart, Ammar limits her analyses to the immediate expansion of Tunis beyond its walls, leaving the role of grand communication corridors in the city's expansion towards its suburbs unaddressed. Finally, Abidi's research is primarily focused on Tunisian elite suburban residences of the period, but it nevertheless is a first in shaking the focus on the Tunis-La Goulette trunk and in establishing a correlation between these railways and suburban growth.

The studies of these ten historians exemplify, in their unique ways, inspiring and potential engagements with this nineteenth century infrastructure. Through what they have focused on or what they have refrained from, their research highlights the value of expanding spatiotemporal scopes, the significance of agents of reforms since the negotiation period, and the necessity to address the TGM railway in its totality. Yet, most –but not all– of them fell short of critically troubling the weight of "inevitable" political events on presumed homogeneity between occupied Algeria and Tunis, and to construct a narrative liberating actors and reforms from the orbit of Tunisian national narrative and French colonialism.

1.3. Sources, methodology, and structure of the study

The crux of the problem with the abovementioned literature could be due to the fact that the Tunisian national archives, a primary resource behind much of modern Tunisian studies, have scant or/and dispersed documentation of the projects. In essence colonial archives, it is crucial to approach them as a construct. In fact, when the French administration invaded the regency of Tunis, that they deemed independent, they re-organized the pre-colonial archives to fit this perspective. The resulting "Série Historique" [Historic series] (or "Série H"), contains documents (mostly) dated 1881 and earlier, thematically re-arranged along the colonialist narrative[31]. Documentations

[31] See Youssef Ben Ismail, "The Archive Box #5: Chasing Archives in Ottoman Tunis," Global Urban History, April 19, 2021. https://globalurbanhistory.com/2021/04/19/the-archive-box-5-chasing-archives-in-ottoman-tunis/ About architectural archives, see Olfa Bohli Nouri, "À quand des archives

of projects initiated and/or continued by the French are filed under the Série E 334 – Travaux Publics [public works]. Regarding the TGM, the Série H/Carton 236/Dossiers 501 to 517 contain almost exclusively correspondences exchanged between local government officials and concessionaires or diplomats regarding the concessions, written in French, English, Spanish, Arabic, or Ottoman Turkish –the latter inaccessible to most Tunisian/Maghrebi historians. It also contains few and overall schematic illustrations of the line. The Série E 334/6 on the other hand, contains no graphic documentation. It is constituted for the most part of expropriation decrees refencing plans and maps that do not or no longer exist. Whereas these two series directly gather documents related to the railway under scrutiny, it is likely that the vast collection of the Tunisian national archives contains different references to it filed under different headings.

Acknowledging the gap in the Tunisian archives, this research reconstructs the TGM by additionally relying on French and Ottoman archives. The goal of such choice is naturally not to perpetuate an either/or narrative that substitutes a French colonialist narrative by an Ottoman imperial one, but rather to broaden the registers of interpretation[32] and to offer a nuanced view of the TGM, where manifestations of overlapping authorities were at play.

Absence of graphic documentation, dispersion of textual documents, and verbal reference to illustrations that do not exist is a common trait between the Tunisian and the French archives regarding the TGM. Secondary sources about the railway are scantly present at the research section of the French National Library (François Mitterrand, Paris), and at the library of the Courneuve Diplomatic Archives (Île-de-France). If no primary sources have been kept in the collection of these archives, an expansive collection of minutes, statistics, and administrative documents of the

d'architecture en Tunisie? De la nécessité de créer une structure archivistique architecturale tunisienne," Archibat, November 9, 2023. https://archibat.info/a-quand-des-archives-darchitecture-en-tunisie-de-la-necessite-de-creer-une-structure-archivistique-architecturale-tunisienne/ See also Marie-Laure Archambault & M'hamed Oualdi, "Archives tunisiennes entre rives ottomanes et rives coloniales", Rétroviseur: Entre-temps. (Podcast) March 14, 2023. Accessed March 30, 2023. https://entre-temps.net/archives-tunisiennes-entre-rives-ottomaneset-rives-coloniales-avec-mhamed-oualdi/

[32] See Isabelle Grangaud and M'hamed Oualdi, "Tout est-il colonial dans le Maghreb? Ce que les travaux des historiens modernites peuvent apporter," *L'Année du Maghreb* 10 (2014): 233-254.

company that operated the TGM between 1898-1908 are stored at the ANOM (Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence), where in theory only archives of former overseas French colonial departments are conserved[33]. Kept indissociably from and jointly with the records of initially French-Algerian and later French-Tunisian Bône-Guelma railway company, the dossiers 156 AQ 1 to 105 contain various verbal and statistical information regarding the TGM as well the Bône-Guelma network altogether within the same files. Additionally, transcriptions of meetings of the Conférence Consultative, an administrative body established to include the voices of inhabitants of Tunis regarding civic matters, contain various information about the evolution of the line. These transcriptions have been scanned and made available online by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Overall containing considerably less documentation than the Tunisian and French archives and sharing the limitation of absence of representation for stations, the Turkish Prime Minister Archives of the Ottoman Empire (BOA) conserve a map of the entire Tunisian railway network on January 1st, 1910 (HRT.h.2035), as well as correspondences and telegrams from Ottoman ambassadors in Europe (Paris, London, and Rome) who communicated news about the railway negotiations and developments, about its sale to the Italians and the reception of the event in France and in Italian press in 1880. These documents are listed under the records of Ministry of Foreign Affairs (HR.SYS, HR.SFR3, HR.TO) and amongst those of Yıldız Post and Telegraph Ministry (Y.PRK.PT)[34].

---

[33] The distinction in archival categorization follows the demarcation between "department" and "protectorate" under the colonial regimes. In plain terms, in the case of a department (like North Algeria) the territories were considered an integral part of the French territory and developed and administered as such by appointed French officials that were the heads of the chains of command. In the case of a protectorate (like Tunisia or Morocco), locals had de jure local representatives, but their jurisdiction was de facto relegated to French agents and secretaries that (depending on the situation) might have or have not been the highest decision-making authority.
For examples of the ambiguity of the hierarchies of authority during the French protectorate in Tunisia see Mary Dewhurst Lewis, "Geographies of Power: The Tunisian Civic Order, Jurisdictional Politics, and Imperial Rivalry in the Mediterranean, 1881-1935," *The Journal of Modern History* 80, no.4 (2008): 791-830 and Antoine Perrier, Les désarrois du ministre Ḫayr al-Dīn. La faillite des dynasties ottomane et beylicale d'après les mémoires de Ṭāhar Bāšā (1921-1934), *Arabica: Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 68, no.4, (2021): 337-385.

[34] Regarding travel accounts, the sample was limited to publications scanned and made available online on the websites of gallica.bnf.fr, archive.org, and babel.hathitrust.org.
According to their online catalogue, the British National Archives also seem to contain (verbal) records regarding the TGM, listed under the archives of the Foreign Office; FO 102, FO 335, and FO 339. Accessible only in person, these archives were not consulted.

To further expand on interpretations provided by these three resources and shed light on their dark spots, the notion of primary source is itself enlarged: encompassing photographs, touristic maps, postcards, as well as travel accounts, tourist guides, and literary description[35]. The motivating aspiration behind this is to compensate for the archival gap, but also to give voice to non-official actors that might have experienced and perceived the TGM differently.

In essence, this study agrees with Lafi that this infrastructural project was a multilayered and complex one. It intends to establish a parallel between discussions of reform and geopolitical rivalry, and the spatial manifestations of the TGM. Conceiving of the railways not as a hermetically isolated entity, but as a referent to their longue durée[36] context of institutional and urban reform, and as a result of public utility and capitalist enterprise-conjugating negotiations, the study crosses primary sources (the archival records of correspondences exchanged between dignitaries and concessionaires, as well as between the prime ministers and the Sublime Porte, company and political representatives' minutes reports, nineteenth century statesmen writings and traveler accounts, maps, plans, postcards and illustrations of the line) with secondary sources that establish readings of nineteenth century Tunis with regard to institutional reforms, and urban and architectural transformations. It attempts to evaluate these sources in a context where the autonomous and later colonized regency was attempting to weather a financial storm and to navigate the Ottoman and the French Empires' rivalries while keeping their control designs at bay. It aims to engage with the questions of "Why Tunis - Le Bardo and why Tunis - La Goulette - La Marsa?" and "What do these circuits and their consequent stations reveal of the urban and institutional changes in late Ottoman Tunis in terms of nationality, reform, and urban growth and architectural style?"

Available online resources in Italian were only superficially explored.

[35] On possible sources in the study of railways see Karen Bowie, "La quête des sources : les différents types de documents et de fonds disponibles", *Revue d'histoire des chemins de fer* 40 (2009): 17-23.

[36] By "longue durée" (Fernand Braudel, "Histoire et sciences sociales: La longue durée", *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 13, no. 14 (1958): 725-753), I submit that there were indeed Mediterranean trends of exchange and circulation that played decisive roles in the genesis and establishment of the TGM. Nonetheless, I also submit that the events (outlined in the following chapter) went on par with these trends, all within the scope of a late Ottoman Tunis that preserved singular facets vis-à-vis the Mediterranean world.

Articulated along five chapters, this study is a process of (re)constructing the TGM within a long nineteenth century context (1789-1922). In that respect, the second, third, and fourth chapters engage with the physical construction of the line and address the theme of the symbolic/ideological construction of "Tunisian" architecture. Admitting the TGM railway as a product of major reforms that marked the long nineteenth century, the second chapter "Becoming modern: a recontextualization (1789-1898)" serves as a lengthy introduction. Acknowledging the plurality of modernity understandings between nascent nations, and without claims of exhaustion, this chapter chronologically outlines political, economic, demographic, and spatial changes occurring in France (Paris), Britain, and the Ottoman Empire (Istanbul, Izmir, and Tunis) and connects these changes to the railways. In so doing, it encourages reflection on the dialectic permeability of geographic boundaries, and the entailing circulation of goods, populations, and ideas/models. While the inclusion of France and Britain is guided by their pivotal position as revolution hotbeds and their implication in (formal and informal) decision-making outside of Western Europe, the inclusion of Constantinople and Izmir (Smyrna) intends to introduce an Ottoman perspective, and to conjure a trans-provincial discussion on the development of Ottoman cities in the long nineteenth century. It brings into sharp focus the dual nature of the city of Tunis; as both a capital, and as an integral part of an Ottoman province, albeit relatively autonomous.

The following two chapters engage with the genesis and spatiality of the TGMs as documentation, if not occasionally catalyzer, of the urban changes in Tunis during the second half of the 1800s. The third chapter "1854-1905: The first TGM" outlines the concessions that brought this project about and traces the developments of this railway and its stations in Tunis during the 1800s. Its chronological limits are informed by those of the TGM, which was purchased by a French-Algerian company in 1898. Given that no study has so far focused on documenting the TGM in its first version, this chapter is an attempt at retracing its path and the nodes it connected; both spatially, and in the perception of those that shared their experience of it. The aim is to provide an architectural survey of the first circuit and stations in their urban contexts, and to identify –if any– common characteristics between the discussed geographies. The fourth chapter "1905-1922: The modern TGM" focuses on the changes in the station

architectures and circuits of the TGM. It furthermore situates it in a context of urban growth and architectural expression of national identity, which the examples of Istanbul and France serve to illustrate. The fifth chapter, concluding with a summary of the current situation of the TGM and of the preceding chapters, re-introduces pendent questions that could not be addressed in the main text.

CHAPTER 2

BECOMING MODERN: A RECONTEXTUALIZATION (1789-1898)

A rapid comparative glance at maps of Tunis from 1870 (fig.2.1) and 1899 (fig.2.2) might prima facie –given the difference in urban density between one and the other– confirm that the French effectively modified the face of the regency and of its capital. In charge of internal affairs as of 1883, the colonial administration undertook large scale administrative and infrastructural reforms. These efforts involved the establishment of schools and hospitals, alongside the densification of maritime, railway, and road transportation systems. This encompassed upgrades to the Tunis harbor, the expansion of railway networks spanning both north to south and east to west (fig.2.3), and the construction and improvement of land-based networks. They further refined the water supply and sanitation systems and established electricity plants. All the above were equally used in the industrialization and reconfiguration of the agricultural hinterland that witnessed a considerable development and generated surplus for export.

Nevertheless, the fact that it was precisely this surplus production and the economic gain of the French metropole and of its citizens settled in Tunis that motivated the mentioned undertakings denounces the superficiality and limits of such observations regarding infrastructure modernization and institutional modernity at the urban level. Such remarks espouse the narrative of colonial history whereby "one should judge only results, never intentions"[37]; be it the intentions of the colonizers, or the colonized.

[37] Abdallah Laroui, *The History of the Maghrib: An Interpretative Essay*. Translated by Ralph Manheim. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970/1977): 293.

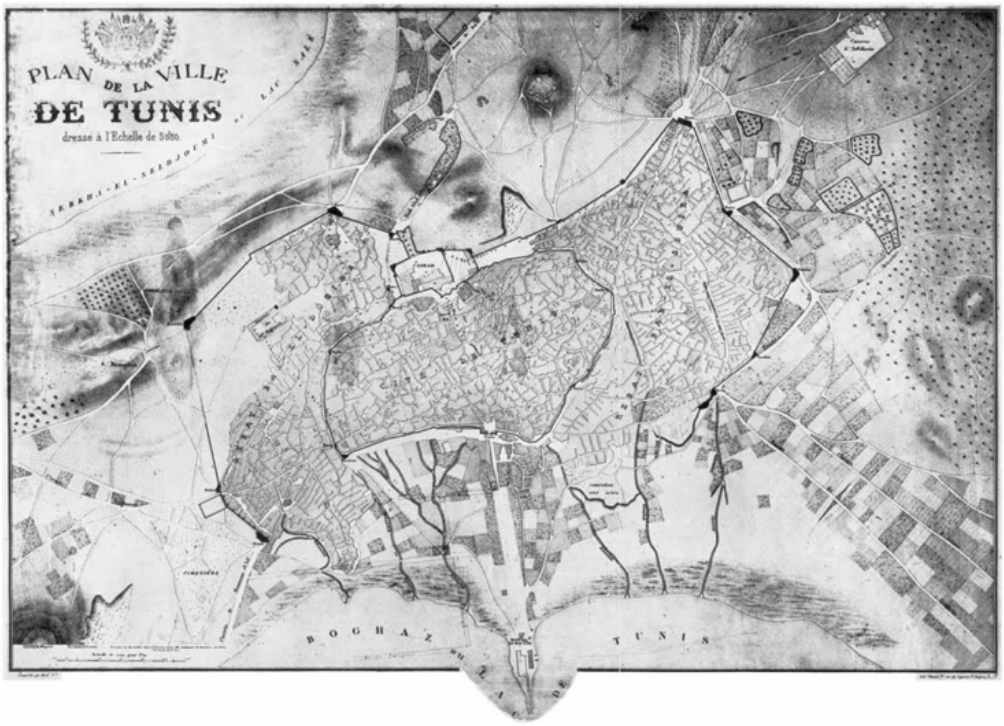


Figure 2.1. Map of Tunis, by P. Colin, 1860. Compare with fig. 3.8. (chapter 3), where the axis from the east gate to the lake is parcellated and where the open-air sewers are absent, suggesting that within a decade, they were earthed.

Source: After Jacques Revault, Palais et demeures de Tunis (XVIIIe et XIXe siècles), (Paris: Edisud, 1971) 14 -15

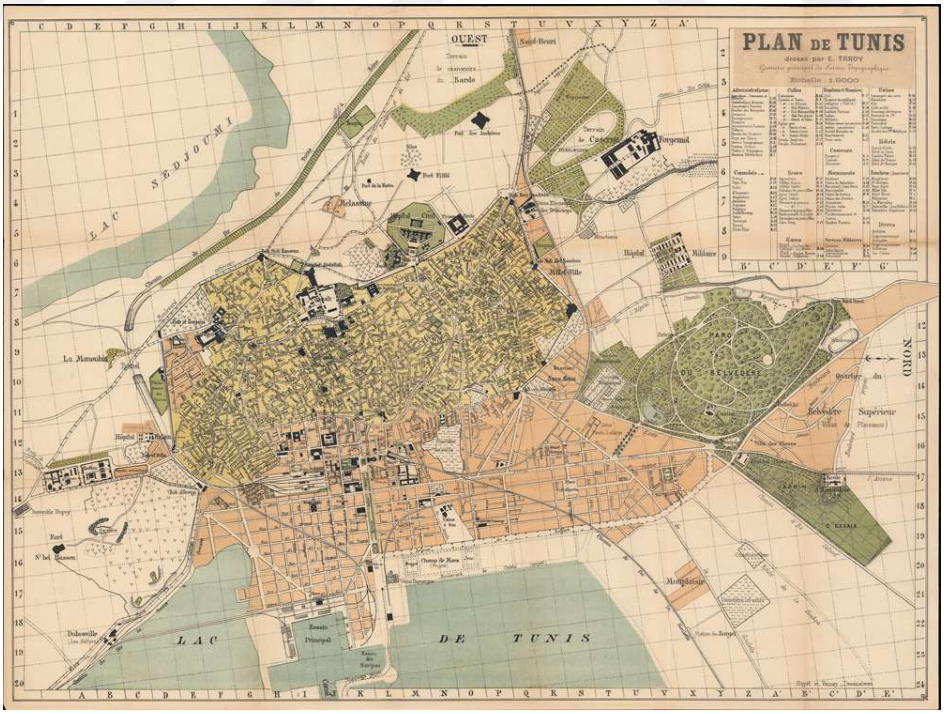


Figure 2.2. Map of Tunis in 1899, drawn by cartographer of the protectorate's Service Topographique E. Tardy.

Source: Published as Plan de Tunis et ses environs. (Tunis: J. Danguin, 1899).

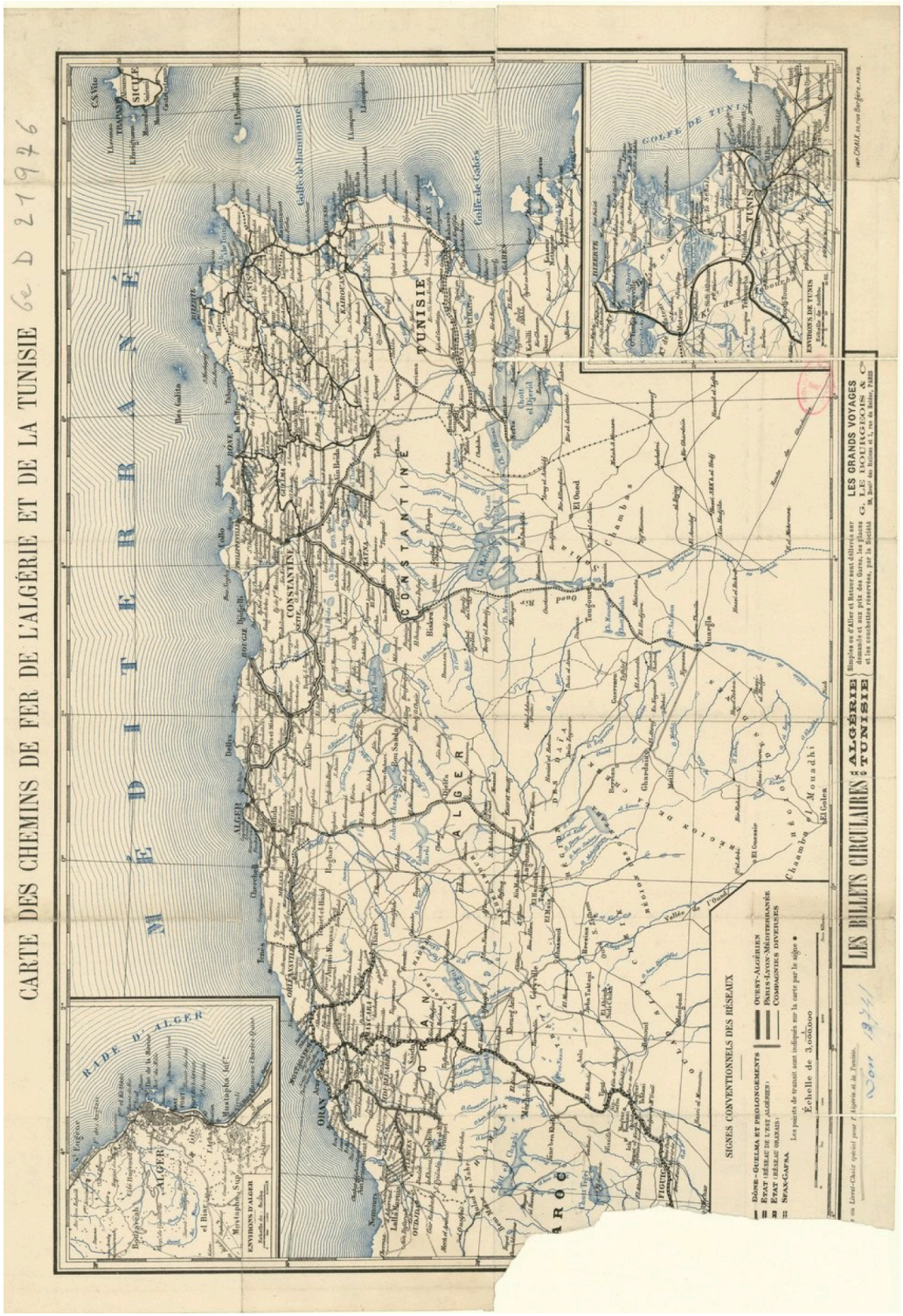


Figure 2.3. Map of railways in Tunis and Algeria, drawn by Chaix, Paris.

Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GE D-21976. ID: ark:/12148/btv1b53057592p

Indeed, evaluation of the intentions of both parties and scrutiny accorded to the period between 1815 and 1881 exposes the need to re-conceptualize either/or judgements. It

reveals underlying continuity corridors nuancing the view that the colonization-executed projects were the unprecedented fruit of ex-nihilo foreign initiative on a strictly independent territory devoid of willingness to progress.

In fact, the regency of Tunis had been an Ottoman *eyalet* [province] for more than three centuries at the time of the colonization, in 1881. It had come under Ottoman rule after the definite fall of the Hafsid dynasty in 1574. For a brief but significant period between 1574 and 1613, the province was ruled by appointed regional governors known as Deys. As of 1613, the rule became hereditary, with the establishment of the Muradit dynasty (1613-1702). Wielding considerable power, the ruling Beys reformed and stabilized the region, tackling internal conflicts and chasing external threats. Their era saw economic and demographic growth, cultural development, and the solidification of the province's ties to the Ottoman Empire. Continuing the hereditary rule in Tunis, the Husaynid dynasty (1705-1957) succeeded the Muradits. Maintaining and reinforcing bonds with Constantinople while enjoying a level of relative autonomy, the Husaynid Beys marked an era of economic prosperity, cultural advancements, and significant growth in trade and agriculture. However, this prosperity was challenged in the nineteenth century by wide-felt international geopolitical and institutional shifts; notably the ban on sea raid in the aftermath of the 1815 Vienna Congress, the colonization of Algeria in 1830, the placement of Tripolitania under direct Ottoman rule in 1835, and the French occupation in 1881.

Adopting a Mediterranean perspective and arguing for a longue durée narrative, this section aims to liberate the 1881 French colonization of Tunis event from the hard box that casts it as a unique BC/AD moment of an urban and institutional reform era. In the words of L. Carl Brown (1996):

> To imply that ideas and institutions developed over centuries [..] could so readily disappear comes dangerously close to accepting that the only really dynamic variable in the modern history of this part of the world has been the impact of the West on the non-Western world.[38]

[38] L. Carl Brown, *Imperial Legacy: the Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996): 7.

Along that line of reasoning, this section envisages to destabilize strict North-South/West-East relationships and mitigate the accreditation of shifts occurring in Tunis to foreign agency alone. To that end, it apprehends the "West" as a fluidly delimited and often both inter and intra conflictual ensemble of territories that in the nineteenth century begged clearer geographic and cultural definitions. By the same token, it provincializes Istanbul within the scope of the Ottoman Empire by equally engaging with developments on its European and African fronts. By retracing major events and subsequent reforms spanning 1789-1898, this chapter first gives agency to the local actors of the Ottoman Empire and Tunis that (despite debatable success) had already initiated reform efforts. Second, it suggests that foreign diplomatic intervention/influence before 1881 and the French colonial presence in Tunis after it was neither innovative nor exceptionally visionary, but that it rather was a reaffirmation and amplification of the projects that preceded it. As such, this amplification facilitated the upscaling of urban transformations and institutions' reach and their supply with the necessary technical means, but also the magnification of the limits ensuing from ad hoc management without a holistic view. Consistently, the following section dismisses the idea of a perfectly calculated or unique modernity and invites interrogations as to the modes of implementation of these modernities and those they engaged and addressed[39].

In short, this section serves as a lengthy introduction that seeks to chronologically outline the various events of the shifting and challenging nineteenth century landscape. Spanning the years 1789-1898, it concentrates on the overarching ideas fueling the reactions of France, Britain, the Ottoman Empire at large and Tunis in particular to these shifts. Discussing major reforms in these geographies and their relevance for the territory under scrutiny, it hopes to reconstruct the ethos of the context accompanying the shifting modernity understandings and accommodating the construction of TGM railways.

[39] See Nora Lafi, "Entre ottomanité, colonialisme et orientalisme: les racines ambiguës de la modernité urbaine dans les villes du Maghreb (1830-1960)" in *Frankreich und Frankophonie: Kultur Sprache Medien: La France et la Francophonie: culture langue médias*, eds. Sabine Bastian and Franck Trouilloud (Leipzig: Peter Lang Gmbh, Internationaler Verlag Der Wissenschaften, 2009): 143-162.

2.1. Major events (1815-1898)

2.1.1. The 1815 Vienna Congress

The 1815 Congress of Vienna was a course-setting diplomatic event that concluded the defeat of Napoléon Bonaparte (r. 1804-1815) at the Napoleonic Wars (1798-1815). These wars first opposed France to the Ottoman and the British empires during the Napoleonic Campaign on the Ottoman provinces of Mamluk Egypt, Syria and Palestine (1798-1801). Despite the French defeat, this campaign was an early example of the European disposition to violate Ottoman sovereignty, cushioned in rhetoric of the *mission civilisatrice*. This event was equally a catalyzer in the reforms witnessed by Egypt in the early nineteenth century, consisting in the professionalization of the military and the consolidation of the province's administration, economy, agriculture, and education. Such endeavors positioned Egypt as an increasingly autonomous power, willing to dissociate itself from the Ottoman center and to challenge its authority in the provinces.

The armed conflicts additionally opposed France to the Coalition Forces (Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Spain and Portugal) on a European front (1803-1815). Imposing territorial setbacks on France, the congress restored peace, and re-adjusted Europe's continental borders based on the principles of balance of powers; assuring each state a similar access to resources, thereafter transposing their economic rivalries overseas, and preventing them from entering armed conflicts. Nevertheless, it left nationalism discourses largely vexed.

2.1.1.1. Great Britain

In Britain, the agreements ensuing from the congress brought no considerable alteration to the territory's pre-war boundaries. They rather further cemented a sense of imperial pride through acknowledgement of the British Empire's status as an influential European maritime and industrial power. Seeking to enhance its profitable imperial reach, Britain established overseas raw material and trade posts; notably in the colonies. Parallelly, the empire geared the technological breakthroughs and

industrial innovations it had been experiencing towards mechanized production. Despite lacking overall clarity and obeying the directives of private enterprise as chief-determinant, railways were intrinsic to the development of this production in two respects. First, they provided the fast circulation of raw materials (mainly coal and cotton) and consumption commodities between navigable water points, production centers, and urban agglomerations. Second, they facilitated a regular movement of an indispensable and significant workforce from rural and suburban settlements to urban centers, where factory-based chain production gradually condensed. The settlement of these workers led to the proliferation of precarious and unsanitary life conditions in major British cities, which in turn witnessed rapid urbanization. Upon the demands of emerging movements that defended laborers' rights, the administering institutions and their promulgated legislations addressed pressing health and congestion concerns by regularizing and codifying the mechanisms of urban governance. These apparatuses justified measures of expropriation, land grants, and loans aimed at implementing grand scale infrastructural projects such as sewage systems and road improvements. At the heart of these institutional and legal developments laid a discourse of public interest, which conjugated imperatives of industrial progress and urban development with ambitions of social integration, national unity, and economic welfare. In extension, the private development of railways and the construction of communication and circulation corridors were portrayed as a connecting thread essential for the achievement of progress and modernization.

2.1.1.2. France

In France, considerable material losses and punitively imposed territorial setbacks in the aftermath of the congress fragilized the French economy but nevertheless reaffirmed national unity as imperative and overarching concern for the transformations that followed. Premised on revolutionary societal ideologies of liberty, egality, and fraternity, the state's policymakers oriented its economy towards profit-driven industrial production. Drawing inspiration from the British, the French engaged in the industrialization of the territory and the search for overseas zones of influence and colonies; from which raw materials were drained. Locally, unobstructed connectivity and circulation of materials, commodities, individuals, and ideas were

foregrounded as essential parameters of effective military defense, national social cohesion, and economic welfare. In the process, a notable ideology that resonated with the transformation of France into an industrialization hotbed was Saint-Simonianism[40]. Shared between wealthy industrialists and prominent engineers, it envisioned an egalitarian society striving for a common benefit and meritocratically led by scientists, industrial experts, and technocrats. In accordance, communication corridors constituted of railways and canals (until the 1850s for the latter) converging in Paris witnessed a calculated multiplication that was, in turn, crucial in the reconfiguration of the capital's urban and demographic landscape, and in that of the French metropole at large. Like their neighbor across the Channel, the French were soon to encounter reminiscent challenges of unsanitary urban congestion and to address them through similar mechanisms. This involved the emergence of legitimizing regulations and institutions, and the utilization of public interest discourses, which in turn cast industrial modernization as a sine qua non for progress and social cohesion.

Despite apparent parallels between facing sides across the Channel, the French and the British evolutions after 1815 were fundamentally different, informed by the differences between a capitalist imperial British and a growingly socialist French societies. Such differences were consistent with their respective understandings of public benefit. As succinctly observed by Carlos López Galviz (2019):

> Articulating what the public benefit meant and recognising which publics were represented in the process were [..] the result of two different traditions: A set of collective goals, identified with relative clarity, to which individual efforts were subordinated, in the case of France and the preservation of equal and fair grounds that were, in principle, open to all individuals in a manner which may or may not lead towards a recognisable collective goal in the case of Britain.[41]

Although the 1815 Vienna Congress primarily engaged Western European territories, it did constitute a ground-breaking event for non-Western geographies, given the

[40] Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825) was a French intellectual whose ideas of industrialization as engine of social progress (in posterity and across national borders) influenced numerous nineteenth century ideological currents such as socialism and positivism. See Nicholas Papayanis, *Planning Paris before Haussmann* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004), esp. 129-168.
[41] Carlos López Galviz, *Cities, Railways, Modernities: London, Paris, and the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2019) 32-33.

ubiquity and significance of its ensuing decisions' ramifications on a transnational scale; notably in the Ottoman Empire.

2.1.1.3. The Ottoman Empire and Tunis

The Ottoman Empire's representatives were absent from the meetings that brought the Vienna Congress to a conclusion. Notwithstanding, by virtue of its relevance as European actor, the situation of the empire was discussed. In line with maintaining a balance of power in Europe, discussant nations' delegates offered to secure the Ottoman Empire's territorial integrity, itself challenged by provincial independence movements. These uprisings invoked growing unrestricted involvement of the Great Powers, especially that of Russia. In exchange for Western European support, the Ottoman authorities were asked to allow liberalized free trade along maritime routes they controlled. Met with refusal, the proposal underscored the latent skepticism towards European policies and the latter's persistent velleities of undermining Ottoman economic and territorial sovereignty[42]. Moreover, it urged a reconfiguration of the empire's economic models, and a shift in its relationship to its inhabitants, to its lands, and to foreign geographies.

Consistently with the will to establish safe trade routes for the European territories, the congress decreed a common commitment to abandon piracy and sea-raid in the Mediterranean, a lucrative practice in which the North-African Ottoman provinces and notably Tunis actively partook. As a correlation, the Ottoman Empire at large gradually oriented its economy towards the exportation of agricultural raw materials. Faced with the realization that the traded enslaved people would not find interested takers, Tunis gradually turned towards other markets; mainly those of the exportation of local olive oil, soap, and cereals to industrializing European territories (mainly France). The significance of this shift resides in initiating the preponderance of exclusively maritime roads, which held potential for the regency's economic survival. Such passage was to

[42] Ozan Özavcı, "A Priceless Grace? The Congress of Vienna of 1815, the Ottoman Empire and Historicising the Eastern Question," *The English Historical Review* 136, No. 583 (December 2021) 1450–1476, https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/ceab356

be reinforced again by two other events: the colonization of Algeria, and the placement of Tripolitania under direct Ottoman rule.

2.1.2. The 1830 colonization of Algeria and the 1835 placement of Tripolitania under direct Ottoman rule

In 1830, the French army invaded hitherto Ottoman Algeria. This marked a different interpretation of the safe free trade objectives drawn by the Vienna Congress, previously half-suggested and shrouded in diplomatic discourse. Verifying the French disposition to (re)defy Ottoman territorial and economic sovereignty in its distant provinces, the colonial regime soon took the reins of power in Algeria, effectively establishing a trade post across the Mediterranean. In alignment with imperialist and capitalist designs, the new authorities exploited confiscated lands for agriculture. The ensuing products were channeled into European markets via the Algerian northern shores. To further assert their economic dominance and monopoly, they banned inland circulation of merchandise from the Maghreb and from sub-Saharan territories, thereafter burning land-based trade bridges with the south of the continent, and with Tunis[43].

Challenging the Ottoman territorial integrity aroused concern in Istanbul and informed the centralizing authorities' demotion of the ruling Karamanlı dynasty in Tripolitania and its replacement by governors directly appointed from the capital in 1835. In line with growing questioning of the central Ottoman rule in semi-autonomous frontier provinces, this decision spurred unrests in Tripolitania, and resulted in the severance of Tunisian trade ties with Tripoli and therefore with and across the Sahara.

The combination of these two events with the decisions reached at the Vienna Congress had three main ramifications in Tunis. First, they sealed the end of trade corridors between the sand and the sea, decisively orienting them towards south-north links between Tunisian agricultural hinterlands and Europe via the Mediterranean. Second,

[43] Donald C. Holsinger "Trade routes of the Algerian Sahara in the XlXth Century", *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 30 (1980): 57-70.

they triggered an official anxiety as to the autonomy of the province vis-à-vis the Sublime Porte, and vis-à-vis an expansionist French neighbor. Third, they engendered the arrival of migrants fleeing colonization and socio-political unrest to Tunis. This population influx was problematic considering that on August 8th, 1830, Hussein II Bey (r.1824-1835) was forced by French consul Matthieu de Lesseps to secretly sign a treaty stipulating, inter alia, that the province abandoned sea raid, and that the Bey authorized European powers to construct a religious monument to the memory of the King Louis XI, and to establish consulates and commercial agents "on all the points of the regency where they wished without having to apply to the local authorities"[44]. The granting of such rights in turn fragilized the balance between Dhimmis and Millet members, the former of whom were subject to narrowed rights; notably of land ownership. Moreover, this exposed the limitations of the legal system in order, as many of the incoming Algerians were benefiting from the status of French protégé, regardless of their confessions. These ramifications sowed the seeds of imperative legislative and administrative reform witnessed in Tunis in the following decades. On a shorter term, combination of the discussed events resonated with the terms of the Baltalimanı Treaty, established between the Ottoman and the British.

2.1.3. The 1838 Baltalimanı Treaty

On August 16th, 1838, the Ottoman Empire signed a convention with the British Empire that imposed open-market trade policies on the latter. Securing foreign commercial privileges, it attracted British (and by extension French and German, inter alia) traders/skills and granted foreign enterprises and negotiators favorable penetration to the Ottoman market and territories. In extension of the suzerainty of the Porte over Tunis, the terms of the convention were valid in the province as well. Local officials reluctantly complied with the agreement, eventually acquiescing in 1839 under British pressure. This pressure stemmed from British interests in maintaining a situation of vassalage between Tunis and the Ottoman Empire, and in the preservation of the latter's territorial domains; in turn aligning with their economic and geopolitical

[44] Fourth article. Find the text of the treatise in Alphonse Rousseau, *Les annales tunisiennes ou Aperçu historique sur la régence de Tunis*, 2nd ed. (Tunis: Bouslama, 1980) 55.

objectives. In Constantinople like in the Anatolian provinces or Tunis, the convention accorded foreigners and protégés preferential treatment for debt settlement and taxation. Such privileges were detrimental to the locals without consular protection in two respects. First, their production and trade activities were effectively hindered by the inflow of competitive industrially made foreign products. Second, the ensuing economic gap was exacerbated by the placement of foreigners under consular legislation. In its most immediate manifestation, the convention generated foreign zones of influence across Ottoman lands and provided incentive for British or French enterprises to create industrial and agricultural plants geared towards export. Moreover, it amplified the need for legislative reforms in the Ottoman Empire at large[45].

2.1.4. The 1839 Gülhane Edict and its reception in Tunis

Ramifications of the growingly complex legal statuses of inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire, itself premised on ethnic and religious diversity, and the prerogatives of the Baltalimanı treaty urged recodifying state-control over its inhabitants, domains, and economy, and rendered reconfiguration of the relationship the Sublime Porte entertained with them inevitable. Additionally motivated by the necessity to curb ample and indiscriminate use of economic privileges enjoyed by foreigners escaping Ottoman jurisdiction, Sultan Abdülmecid II (r.1839-1861) thus promulgated the first of the Tanzimat edicts; the Gülhane Edict in 1839. A legacy of Mahmud II (r.1808-1839), the legal document strived to mask differences between Ottoman subjects by promoting equality in property rights, taxation, military conscription, and appearance. Moreover, it traced the main axes of the Tanzimat period, sustained until 1876. The edict laid the grounds of a centralized Ottoman whole, administered by a bureaucratic class inculcated with the central authority's mindset, trained locally and when necessary, abroad. Well-versed in positive sciences, humanities, foreign languages as well as the intricacies of European trends, these agents played a role in the

[45] Sevgi Aktüre, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Taşra Kentlerindeki Değişimler" in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* vol. 3, ed. Nuri Akbayar (Istanbul: İletişim, 1985): 891-904. Cf. Reşat Kasaba, "Treaties and Friendships: British Imperialism, the Ottoman Empire, and China in the Nineteenth Century", *Journal of World History* 4, no. 2 (Fall 1993): 215-241.

improvement and implementation of communication corridors across the empire: roads, sea routes, railways, as well as postal services and telegraphs. In short, the document spearheaded an era of administrative and institutional reform, marked by the centralization of state authority and the extension of its spheres of activity to matters previously outside of its scope[46].

An official envoy sent to Tunis demanded the immediate application of the 1839 Tanzimat. Nevertheless, the demand was met by delaying attempts from Ahmed I Bey (r. 1837-1855), who pretexted the difference in population composition between the capital and the province but promised to investigate ways of implementing the terms locally. Still anxious about the possibility of direct Ottoman rule, the Bey and his successor perpetuated negotiations about this edict for nearly two decades. In the process, the Tunisian ruler sought to strike a balance between the Porte's suzerainty and local semi-autonomy. To legitimize his position, he thus asked in 1840 to be accorded the title of Müşir [Marshal] like his Tripolitanian counterpart. In the meantime, he undertook measures echoing the terms of the Gülhane edict without directly citing them[47]. Furthermore, he established reformed institutions reminiscent of those in the Ottoman capital and laid the foundation of the first industrial plants in Tunis. For these projects, the Bey drew inspiration from his court members' accounts of the Ottoman capital, of industrializing European territories, and from his own trip to France.

2.1.5. The 1840 Bardo Military School and Ahmed I Bey's 1846 trip to France

Confirming the pre-Tanzimat consciousness that the survival of the Husaynid dynasty depended on its control over exportable agricultural resources, the modernization of its modes of production through mechanized industrialization, and the protection of its territory through military reform, the tenure of Ahmed Bey spearheaded a period of

[46] See Edhem Eldem, "L'édit des *Tanzimat* (1839): une relecture", *Turcica* 52 (2021): 201-307 and Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 54-74.
[47] Mehmet Alauddin İslamoğlu, "Ahmed Bin Ebi Diyaf'ın İthafu Ehl İzzaman Bi Ahbari Muluki Tunis ve Ahdil Eman İsimli Eserine Göre Tanzimat Fermanı'nın Tunus'ta Tatbiki", (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü 2008), 17.

reform that articulated local parameters with circulating supra-national people, ideas, and models[48]. In accordance, the ruler undertook the centralization of religious education at the Zitouna Mosque, the creation of a steam-operated drapery in el-Battan (1838-1842), the creation of a conscription-based regular army, and the creation of a military school within the beylical palace complex of Bardo on March 5th, 1840; first named مكتب المهندسين *maktab al-muhandisīn* [school of engineers], and as of 1855 مكتب العلوم الحربية *maktab al-ʻulūm al-harbiyya* [school of military sciences]. Like its predecessor in Istanbul, this establishment[49] employed local and foreign teachers and produced a class of elite and Mamluk state bureaucrats well-versed in local Islamic doctrine as well as French and Italian savoir-faire[50], including languages, translation, history, geometry, and cartography[51]. During its activity years[52], it trained soldiers that participated in the Crimean War (1853-1856) as part of the Ottoman army, as well as pivotal bureaucratic figures such as Kheïreddine Pasha[53] (1822/3-1890) and General Husseïn (1828-1887) who marked the second half of the nineteenth century in Tunis.

---

[48] Anne-Marie Planel, "État réformateur et industrialisation au XIXe siècle: Les avatars d'une manufacture (1837-1884)," *Monde arabe Maghreb Machrek* 157 (July-September 1997) 101-114.

[49] Establishment of this school was also accompanied by the creation of a steam-powered factory for military costumes in El-Battân - Tébourba, and by the establishment of a light arms factory in the military barracks of Bab-Saadoun - Tunis in 1840.

[50] The school even employed a Sardinian instructor (Louis Calligaris) and a local poet and theoretical philosopher (Muhammad Qabadu) who both had a teaching experience in the Istanbul Mekteb-i Harbiyye. For a thorough reading of the school's curriculum in the context of the nineteenth century, see M'hamed Oualdi, "À l'école des palais: les maîtrises de l'écrit parmi les mamelouks des beys de Tunis, des années 1770 aux années 1860", *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, [Online] 6 (2007), last update 05.03.2015, Accessed 20.01.2023. http://journals.openedition.org/ejts/1403 ; DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/ejts.1403 .

[51] See Houda Baïr. "Hybridation du savoir cartographique et du savoir vernaculaire dans la Tunisie du XIXe siècle". *Cybergeo: Revue européenne de géographie / European journal of geography*, (2018): Epistémologie, Histoire de la Géographie, Didactique, document 868. Published online 05.11.2018. http://journals.openedition.org/cybergeo/29581

[52] Although the school of Bardo closed in 1866 due to financial reasons and to the fact that its graduates chose to educate their sons in France, its educational agenda was perpetuated by the Collège Sadiki, established by Kheïreddine Pasha on February 1st, 1875. Located in the repurposed military barrack of Sidi El-Morjani.

[53] Also known as Khéreddine, Kheïredhine Ettounsi, or Tunuslu Hayrettin Paşa, he was a mamluk of Abkhazian origin. Captured in his youth and sold to Istanbul, where he was brought up and educated at the house of an Ottoman dignitary (Tahsin Bey) along with the latter's son. Following the death of the dignitary's son, he was sold and sent to Tunis in 1840. There, he was placed in Ahmed I Bey's palace, where he attended the Bardo military school and held high positions such as commander of cavalry (1853-1854), head of the navy (1857-1862), and prime minister (1873-1878). He married a niece of the Bey and daughter of the prime minister that preceded him; Mustapha Khaznadar. In 1878, he left Tunis and resettled in Istanbul where he bacame grand vizier between 1878-1879. He died there in 1890. Atilla Çetin, *Tunuslu Hayreddin Paşa*, (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1999).

In line with the will to modernize the province, in 1845, Ahmed Bey expressed his intention to visit France and Great Britain. Being notified that the British would not receive him without an Ottoman ambassador, he limited his journey to the French Kingdom. After consulting with his advisors and specifying that he was travelling for the purpose of progress/*umran* عمران, the ruler set sail from La Goulette to Toulon on the French steamship "Danté" on November 5th, 1846. Accompanied by ministers, high dignitaries, and the French consul in Tunis, he thus became the first Muslim ruler to travel to *Dar'ül Harb* in peace in twelve centuries. Disembarking five days later, he visited newly established bastions of French industrial and military power (shipyards, arsenals, factories). After a two-day stay, he travelled again for eight days by carriage across rural France, in direction of Paris. There, the Ottoman consul refused to receive him, but he was nonetheless warmly welcomed by Louis Philippe I (r.1830-1848), who accompanied him in his visits to l'École Polytechnique, l'École Militaire, the Hôtel de la monnaie, and the Versailles palace[54].

Embracing a model of imperial capitalism, the Tunisian regency under Ahmed Bey began to incorporate a growing number of industrial plants, initially military and by the 1850s civil. These projects were the imbrication of two significant factors. First, they were guided as much by the influence of British and French consuls as they were by the advice of court members; particularly that of Kheïreddine Pasha. Believing that "in principle it is impossible to plant one country's institutions in another country"[55], the Tunisian politician advocated for a state-controlled liberal economic model whereby a community of individuals financially participated in ensuring a common benefit. He shared his observations about Western European countries that he had visited in an 1866 monograph titled أقوم المسالك في معرفة أحوال الممالك [The Surest Path to Knowledge Concerning the Conditions of Countries]. Further recording his association of freedom of circulation via railways and economic freedom with prosperity, progress, and freedom altogether, he wrote:

---

[54] Ahmed Ibn abi adh-Dhiaf, *Ithafahl az-Zaman fi akhbari moulouki Tounis wa ahd el-Aman*, Volume 4, (Tunis : Arabic Library, 1963) 93-100. See also L. Carl Brown, *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey: 1837-1855* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974): 325-334; Khalifa Chater, "Itinéraires méditerranéens aux XIXe-XXe siècles" *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, 56. no 1. (1998). Regards sur la Méditerranée, 1-27.

[55] Kheïreddine's memoirs, translated from French to Arabic by Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-Sunūsī, محمدالعربي السنوسي, مذكرات خير الدين باشا تونس: بيت الحكمة , 148 2008

ومن أهمّ ماٱجتناه الأوروبّاويّون من دوحة الحرّيّة تسهيل المواصلة بالطّرق الحديديّة وتعاضد الجمعيّات المتجريّة والإقبال على تعلّم الحرف والصّنائع. فبالطّرق تُستجلب نتائج البلدان القاصية قبل فوات إبّان الإنتفاع بها، بعد أن كان جلبها متعذّرا لطروء الفساد عليها في الطّريق أو لزيادة كرائها على أضعاف قيمتها.

وبالجمعيّات تتّسع دوائر رؤوس الأموال فتأتي الأرباح على قدرها. وتتداول على المال الأيدي المحسنة لتنميتهِ

[..]

وقد رأينا بالمشاهدة أنّ البلدان الّتي ٱرتقت إلى أعلى درجات العمران، هي الّتي تأسّست بها عروق الحرّيّة...

[..]

فمن الذي كان يقدر وحده على اصطناع طريق حديد، او يخاطر بجميع ماله .على فرض قدرته- في احداث ما لم يتيسر لهم الا باشتراك مائتي ام ثلاثمائة الف نفس، بخلاف مخاطرة الواحد منهم بنزر يسير من ماله، فانها غير مجحفة ولا مستبعدة.

ثم ان الجمعية اذا كانت كبيرة فيها فائدة عمومية فان الدولة قد تضمن لها ربحا معلوما في المائة، وادارة الجمعية تكون بيد اناس ينتخبون من ارباب الحصص لهم مزيد شهرة ومعرفة باجراء قانون الشركة وحفظ فوائدها، وعند تمام السنة يقدمون حساب ذلك مع سائر متعلقات الادارة، ويعينون الفوائد لارباب الحصص المشار اليهم.

Among the most important things that Europeans have achieved in terms of freedom is the ease of travel on railways, the cooperation of commercial associations, and the interest in learning crafts and industries. Through the roads, the products of distant countries are brought before it is too late to consume them, after it was impossible to bring them due to rotting occurring on the way, or for their prices, set at many folds their value.

Through associations, the circles of capital expand, and profits come in proportion to their value. Development funds circulate among skilled hands.

[..]

We have seen through observation that the countries that have risen to the highest levels of *Umran* [civilization] are the ones in which the roots of freedom were established...

[..]

Who alone was able to make a railway, or risk all his wealth - assuming he was capable - in creating what was not possible for them? Except with the participation of two or three hundred thousand souls, as opposed to the risk of each one of them with a small portion of his wealth, then this is neither unfair nor unlikely.

Then, if the company is large and constitutes a public interest, the state may guarantee it a known percent profit, and the management of the association is in the hands of people who are elected from among the owners of the shares who have more fame and knowledge of implementing the company law and preserving its interests, and upon completion of the year they submit an account of that with the rest of the management matters, and they determine benefits for the owners of the aforementioned shares.[56]

[56] خير الدين باشا، اقوم المسالك في معرفة احوال الممالك، تقديم محمود الحداد)القاهرة :دار الكتاب المصري، 2012 (121.

It is noteworthy that Kheïreddine's ideas resonated with those of the Ottoman consul in Vienna Sadık Rıfat Pasha (1807-1857) who for instance favorably reported in his 1837 *Avrupa'nın Ahvaline Dair Risale* [Treatise on the Circumstances of Europe] about the modalities of the concession systems and the use of railways and transportation technology as agents of economic growth. In the treatise, the consul had written that:

Second, implementation of reform projects involved the public articulation of industrialization imperatives with notions of public interest and public utility) المصلحة العامّة / المنفعة العامّة). Employment of this notion passed through the citation of a *umran* عمران discourse; a concept coined by Abd ar-Rahman Ibn-Khaldun (1332-1406) in the fourteenth century. Constituting a means and an end in and of itself, this multifaceted notion cemented together civilization, social organization, and development of societies. Via its attribution of a cyclical nature to societies, it resonated with the narrative of rise and decline, and with challenges Tunis had been experiencing in the nineteenth century. The rise and decline narrative not only provided a historic explanation for past events, but also promised that a calculated change could gradually bring back a rise period. The theory suggested a model of optimal urban governance and the necessity for it to rhyme with justice, equality-based social cohesion, economic prosperity, and public utility and welfare. This relevant framework served as a pertinent point of reference for Tunisian policymakers, often used to validate their chosen course for their territories, even if it occasionally involved adopting funds, ideas, and technologies from foreign or infidel sources[57].

"Ve teshî-i umûr-i ticâret ve sanâyi' zımnında eşyâ kârhânelerinde buhar ile idâre ve i'mâl olunur makineler icâd olunmuş olduğundan başka takrîb-i muhâbere ve teshîl-i turûk-ıseferiyye içün denizde vapur gemileri ve karada vapur arabaları ihdâs ile mesela, on - on iki saatlik mesâfeyi bir saatte kat' iderler. Ve bir cesîm fabrika veyahud demüryolları vesâ'ir umûr-i mülkiyyece enfâ olub da masarifât-ı külliyyeye muhtâc olacak şe'yleri dahî asıl devletin hazînesine tahmîl itmeyüb aksiyon dedikleri usûl üzere meselâ bir iki mu'teber sarraf taahhüdüyle eshâm-ı müştereke olarak ahaliden akça alub hissedâr iderek icâd idüb hissedârlarına sene be sene menâfi-i hissesine göre fâ'iz edâ olunur ve devlet tarafından menâfie müdahale olunmaz."

[In addition to machines invented to provide steam-powered management and operation in factories in commercial and industrial affairs, for the purpose of accelerating communication and facilitating travel, examples such as steamships at sea and steam cars on land cover distances of ten to twelve hours in approximately one hour. Furthermore, in order to meet general expenses without burdening the state treasury, due to the advancement of other public works such as large factories or railways, for instance, money committed by one or two reliable currency traders is collected from the public and distributed to shareholders according to their shares, with annual interest payments made, and the government does not intervene in profits.]

Sadık Rıfat Paşa, *Müntehabât-ı âsâr* vol.2 (Istanbul: Tatyos Dividciyan Matbaası, 1837/h.1290):11. Transliteration by Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu "Sadık Rıfat Paşa ve Avrupa'nın Ahvaline Dair Risalesi", *Liberal Düşünce* 3, (Summer 1996)

[57] See Béchir Tlili, "La notion de 'Umrân dans la pensée tunisienne précoloniale", *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 12, (1972) 131-151.

2.1.6. The 1851 London Exhibition and the 1855 Paris Exhibition

In the meantime, the establishment of peace in the decades following 1815 re-instigated a culture of tourism and exchange between (primarily) Western European nations that substituted armed conflicts for competitive displays of cultural progress and technological prowess. In that respect, the 1851 London Great Exhibition and the 1855 Paris Exposition Universelle served as trailblazers of a self-advertisement tradition which elected Paris as the textbook reference in modern urban planning and consolidated an image of Great Britain as a hub of trade, innovative construction, and scientific advancement.

The years between 1815 and 1851/1855 had indeed witnessed the gradual implementation and sophistication of railways in Britain and France, starting respectively in 1830 and 1837. Subsequently, railways earned their spurs as reliable, safe, and quick means to the circulation of people, ideas, and commodities. By placing connectivity at the heart of their agendas, they promised maintenance of public order and reinforcement of military presence all while serving a nascent national unity anchored in economic welfare and social cohesion across classes and distances. As such, these technologies were essential to the popularity and reach of the Great Exhibition and the Exposition Universelle in two respects. First, their presence made participation to the fairs possible by transporting tourists and visitors from all economic backgrounds to and from London and Paris at affordable rates[58]. Second, railways themselves were on display during the events; marketed as travel and commerce catalyzers, and showcased as icons of civilization and progress[59]. An indissociable part of the urban system, railways (and by extension fairs) permitted exploration and promotion of the cities where they took place. In Paris and in London, they allowed visitors first-hand experience of how the capitals' urban landscapes transformed in accordance with not only legislative and administrative reforms, but also with industries, developing infrastructure, and communication technologies.

[58] See Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (California: University of California Press, 1977) and Michael Leapman, *The world for a shilling: how the Great Exhibition of 1851 shaped a nation* (London: Headline, 2001)
[59] For a contemporary account see M.D. Leprince, *Revue Générale de l'Exposition Universelle de 1855: publication du journal Le Censeur des chemins de fer* (Paris: 1855)

Through combination of urban governance institutions, legitimizing codes, and connecting infrastructures, both capitals focused their efforts on the decongestion of urban and national thoroughfares, and the glorification of nodal points they linked by isolation (that is through expropriation and demolition). In short, fairs formalized a ritual of encounters, cultivating competitiveness, self-display, as well as mutual interests within and between Western Europe and "non-Western" (nascent) nations.

In Tunis like in Istanbul or elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, notable figures and policymakers belonged to transient networks of polyglot intellectuals and industrialists that exchanged about modernity, progress, and ways of implementing them. Their exchanges and experiences went beyond the administrative protocols of official correspondences with consular posts. Such dialogues were made possible by mediums like printed materials and press, direct encounters (in e.g. Paris[60], Tuscany[61], Egypt[62]) and travels abroad, or missions in and visits of industrializing cities and participation to major fairs, notably those of 1851, 1855, and 1864.

It was through such corridors that Ottoman intelligentsia was introduced to Saint-Simonian thought, and nationalist narratives rooted in history and archaeology. It was additionally via these corridors that central and provincial Ottoman bureaucracy became acquainted with the shifting urban landscapes of European cities and new industries. This allowed them to deepen their understandings of expropriation for public benefit, infrastructural projects, and new economic models (shareholding and concessions), especially regarding railway projects.

[60] In the capital like in the provinces or Europe, printed press was a directing vector in shaping Ottoman culture. See Franck Mermier & Diana Cooper-Richet, eds. “La Presse (En) Arabe Publiée Hors de l’aire Arabophone: Effets de Contexte.” *Revue Des Mondes Musulmans Et De La Méditerranée*, no. 152 (July 26, 2022). https://doi.org/10.4000/remmm.17514. especially the first three chapters.

[61] See the works of M'hamed Oualdi, who has written extensively on Général Husseïn, the first president of the Municipal Council in Tunis. For example: "Un temps d’ingéniosité. Les missions politiques d’un dignitaire tunisien en Toscane dans les années 1870," *Diasporas* 29, (2017) Mobilités créatrices, 91-103.

[62] For instance, through the intermediary of Princess Nazlı Zeynep and her literary salons.

2.1.7. The 1856 and 1863 Izmir railways

Concomitantly, in 1855, the Ottoman Empire issued an announcement of its will to establish railways on its territory. In line with its strengthened alliances with the British Empire during the Crimean Wars (1853-1856), the message was addressed to European capitalists and communicated via British press. Forming the reference of this notification, a letter dated July 17th, 1855 was sent to the Ottoman ambassador in London Kostaki Mususurs Pasha (1807-1892). Written in French by Fuad Pasha (1814-1868), the document specified that:

> Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan désirait ardemment depuis longtemps l'établissement dans son Empire de grandes voies de communications, de chemins de fer, comme une des améliorations les plus importantes et qui doit le plus contribuer au développement des ressources de la Turquie. C'était donc un des premiers points dont devait s'occuper le haut Conseil du Tanzimat appelé à élaborer les projets de réformes destinées à faire marcher l'Empire Ottoman dans la voie du progrès moral et matériel. Pour se conformer aux ordres de Sa Majesté Impériale qui prescrivaient de mettre sans retard en exécution cette importante amélioration le Conseil a d'abord dû s'occuper du choix de la ligne qui, offrant au commerce intérieur et étranger les avantages les plus immédiats et les plus considérables, pourra aussi, à l'avenir, servir de point de départ et de modèle pour l'établissement des autres lignes. [..] Les gouvernements qui se préoccupent le plus du bien-être de leur pays ont reconnu que l'un des meilleurs moyens de l'assurer était d'encourager le commerce et l'esprit d'entreprise…[63]
>
> His Imperial Majesty the Sultan has long ardently desired the establishment in his Empire of major lines of communication, railways, as one of the most important improvements and which must contribute most to the development of Turkey's resources. It was therefore one of the first points to be taken care of by the High Council of Tanzimat called to develop reform projects intended to advance the Ottoman Empire along the path of moral and material progress. To comply with the orders of His Imperial Majesty which required the immediate implementation of this important improvement, the Council had first to take care of the choice of the line which, offering to internal and foreign trade the most immediate advantages and the more considerable, could also, in the future, serve as a starting point and model for the establishment of other lines. [..] Governments most concerned about the well-being of their countries have recognized that one of the best ways to ensure it is to encourage trade and entrepreneurship…

The document further included a draft of the envisaged railway concessions. The draft outlined that norms obeyed elsewhere in Europe would be observed for the subsequent

[63] BOA, HR.SFR3, 24/1. July 17th, 1855.

"Imperial Ottoman Company" (articles 8 and 15); of which the shareholders could indifferently be Ottoman subjects or foreigners (article 9). It additionally highlighted that established railways would fall under the ambit of Ottoman legislation (article 11) and that the Imperial Government volunteered to provide all necessary information (article 5) and lands required for construction free of charge, but of which the ownership remained that of the Ottoman Government (article 13). In exchange, the concessionaries would be responsible for building stations and supplying timber necessary for construction from the forests of the Crown (article 12)[64].

Although the announcement had first foreseen the establishment of a railway between Constantinople and Belgrade[65], it contributed to the reception of proposals regarding railways elsewhere in the Empire, notably in the southwestern Anatolian province of Izmir. This choice was informed by the advantageous geographic location of the city on the intersection of caravan roads which channeled agricultural produce and commodities to Istanbul and to the port via Izmir's Caravan Bridge. For centuries inhabited by a significant European and non-Muslim population, the richness of its urban mosaic increased with the implementation of Ottoman migrants active in raw material agriculture in its hinterland, and with the concluded trade agreements with Western Europe. Ensuing augmented contact and exchange between foreign and local/settled merchants bolstered the imbrication of institutional, economic, demographic, socio-cultural change into the urban fabric and reinforced the position of Izmir as "Gateway City" to the free market[66]. Accordingly, two railways saw the day. Both conceded to British industrialists, the first; *Ottoman Railway from Smyrna to Aidin* was agreed upon in 1856, while the second; *Smyrna-Cassaba Railway* was decided in 1863. The first espoused the path of the caravan road linking Izmir to

[64] Ibid.
[65] On Ottoman railways in the Balkans, see Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu, "Actors of Change: railway projects and urban architecture of Balkan cities in the late Ottoman period", unpublished PhD. dissertation (Middle East Technical University, 2013). On the Hijaz railway, Peter H. Christensen, *Germany and the Ottoman Railways: Art, Empire, and Infrastructure*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017).
[66] Onur İnal, "The Making of an Eastern Mediterranean Gateway City: İzmir in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Urban History* 45 no. 5 (2019): 891-907.

Aegean and Anatolian hinterland[67], while the second traced a path that eventually (in 1912) connected Izmir to Istanbul via Bandırma and the Marmara Sea.

Built earlier than railways in Constantinople, the Smyrniot lines reinforced corridors of commercial exchange between the sea and the Anatolian hinterland, where the British, in tandem with the provisions of the 1838 Baltalimanı treaty, had been gradually securing a commercial foothold and reinforcing their demographic presence and zones of economic influence in the Ottoman Empire. In conjuncture with considerable demand for evacuated land, the expropriation process heightened land speculation along the projected paths. Involving the intervention of Europeans, landowners attempted to drive up the value of their lands before being called to order by Ottoman administrators[68]. At any rate, the arrival of railways to Anatolia contributed to a transformation in understandings of land as commodity.

2.1.8. The 1856 Islahat Edict and the 1857 Fundamental Pact

In light of the growing disparities between Ottoman subjects' economic statuses with regard to their ethnicities and confessions, and a rising need for an infrastructure commensurate with the trades and industries in which the empire was engaged, the Sublime Porte took definite steps in the direction of reforming its institutions and reinforcing its taxation models and those they implicated. Such measures followed the promulgation on February 28th, 1856 by Sultan Abdülmecid of a second Tanzimat edict; the Islahat Edict. Expanding the scope of the guidelines put forth in 1839, this decree further guaranteed the rights of non-Muslims while increasing the frames of their accountability before law and taxation. It additionally stressed on the importance of trade and European capital investments for the state's material wealth, tying it to the question of imperativeness of thoroughfares' improvement and of regulating governance means and institutions.

[67] Olcay P. Yapucu and Cihan Özgün, "Batı Anadolu'nun yol ağı: Araştırmalar- II Kuşadası limanı ve kervan yolları," *The History School* 10, (May August 2011): 6.
[68] Francisco Javier Valenzuela, "The Construction of the Smyrna-Aidin Railway in southwestern Anatolia, 1856-1866: a discussion" Unpublished Master's thesis (University of Texas, 1975)

In the meantime, the Tunisian province, which had been delaying the proclamation of the Tanzimat Edict, had been experiencing longer effects of the Vienna Congress and the Baltalimanı treaty. With a growing number of traders and industrialists settled in the regency all while eschewing local regulations, and the persistent disturbance of Millet and Dhimmi statuses, a reform was in order. Consistently, Mohammed Bey (r.1855-1859), acting on the advice of his court members and subject to considerable pressure from the British and French consuls, proclaimed the Fundamental Pact (عهد الأمان/*Ahd al-Aman*) on September 9th, 1857. Strongly echoing the terms of the Tanzimat, the new regulation assured freedom of religious confession, and the safety and equality of Muslims and Non-Muslims before the law and before taxation. It also established a lottery-based military service, and the unrestricted freedom for all inhabitants to undertake industrial activity in Tunis, irrespective of religion and ethnicity. Finally, article 11 of the pact granted foreigners wishing to settle in the regency the right to real estate ownership (house, agricultural terrains, lands) already enjoyed by locals, provided the foreigners accepted to be placed under the ambit of local jurisdiction. Encouraging newcomers to establish economic enterprises with local artisan nobility and ruling elite members (Mamluks and locals), the regulation contributed to the growth of urban centers and to the diversification of industries and of settled populations. In accordance, and not without echoing the imperial capital, a set of urban challenges like those witnessed in and closer to Istanbul arose. They were addressed via reminiscent mechanisms of urban governance experienced with there and in Paris.

2.1.9. The 1855 Istanbul Şehremaneti and the 1858 al-Majlis al-Baladi

Alignment of the so far discussed events set two often overlapping trends. First, it promoted a policy of laissez-faire that reinforced the presence of foreign (Western European) people/protégés, goods, industrial technologies, and capital increasingly involved in the public sphere. Second, it affirmed systematic recourse to the toolkit of Tanzimat laws and regulations, endorsed by a reconfigured discourse of "public benefit" (*Menfaat-ı umumiye*). The two trends notably overlapped in the infrastructural concessions, where the Sublime Porte engaged in European shareholder-financed projects such as ports, canals, and railways. The projects were conceded to foreigners

for a fixed period and upon the request of central authorities. Subject to local and consular regulations, they promised a recovery of the Ottoman Empire's financial situation and an amelioration of its public services through generation of revenues.

The Tanzimat edicts formed the backbone of administrative urban reform in Istanbul. Pressed by a sizeable demographic and areal growth in the capital, central authorities extended key ideas of the charter to establish a set of institutions and regulations assigned the challenging task of "remaking Istanbul"[69]. The establishment of the *Şehremaneti* (municipality) in 1855 served as the opening wedge for improvement measures. Composed of a chief bureaucrat and an assigned board of prominent councils from the urban society[70], the municipality was put in charge of cleaning and reorganization of thoroughfares, as well as collection of taxes. Due to its limited impact, it was soon replaced by the *İntizam-ı şehir komisyonu* (Commission for Ordering the city). With the employment of the street as a unit of scale and an end in and of itself, the new institution planned, oversaw, and surveyed the urban fabric. It did so through regularization, cleaning, pavement and enlargement of roads, as well as by conceding street lighting, water distribution and sewage networks projects, and by improving building methods. This systematic course of action was overarched by adherence to geometric principles (*kevaid-i hendese*), with the aim of embellishing the city and boosting circulation within it. Following two years of fieldwork, the commission devised a municipal model paralleling the functions of the institution's scope in tasks. Intended to be gradually executed in the capital's created fourteen districts, it was initiated in the sixth; Galata[71]. In tune with new institutions, the organization and expansion of the city evolved with regard to an array of street networks and along the lines of six building regulations and expropriation decrees[72].

---

[69] Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986)

[70] The board representative of urban society (şehir meclisi) was composed of twelve imperially appointed members. Bridging socio-economic and religious/ethnic influence, it joined delegates of Ottoman ethnic classes and selected members of guilds inhabiting the capital. Ibid, 44.

[71] This stems mainly from the fact that this district was predominantly inhabited by Europeans demanding such measures (because of their assumed previous familiarity with them), and economically able to finance them. Measures taken in Galata and the municipal administration were expanded to the entire city in 1868. Ibid, 45-48.

[72] See N. Işık Demirakın, "Expropriation as a Modernizing Tool in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire: The Case of Cemeteries in Beyoğlu," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 18 no. 1/2, (January 2012): 1-15

Two of the six building regulations were directly involved with thoroughfares, namely; the 1858 Regulation on Streets (*Sokaklara dair nizamname*) and the 1863 Streets and Buildings Regulation (*Turuk ve ebniye nizamnamesi*). In theory, the latter applied to all cities on the Ottoman territory.

Despite a piecemeal top-down evolution and a mixed success, the reforms in Istanbul, as convincingly advanced by Nora Lafi[73], did play a role in grounding a new paradigm for urban governance elsewhere in the empire. Their modalities and legacies evoke resemblances with the shifts witnessed in both neighboring and distant provinces, particularly during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In Tunis, the enactment of the Fundamental Pact was accompanied by the re-formation of existing urban governance apparatuses into new institutions, mirroring the official ambitions of exerting direct and codified control over territory, in turn driven by a new rationality of the urban public and private spheres. Like in the imperial capital, the opening wedge for institutional urban reform was the creation of the Tunis Municipality in 1858. The new institutions notably included the Municipal Council (al-majlis al-baladi) (1858), the Police Council (1860), the Public Health and Hygiene Council[74] (1835/1873), and the Department of Public Works (1873). The first one of these institutions was presided by General Husseïn, while the last was founded by Kheïreddine Pasha, both graduates of the Bardo military school. Composed of foreign

[73] See for example Nora Lafi, "Municipalités méditerranéennes: pratique du comparatisme, lecture des changements institutionnels et analyse historique de l'évolution des pouvoirs urbains du XVIIIe au XXe siècle" in *Municipalités Méditerranéennes Les réformes urbaines ottomanes au miroir d'une histoire comparée (Moyen-Orient, Maghreb, Europe méridionale),* eds. Nora Lafi (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2005): 11-34. See also by the same author "Mediterranean Connections: The Circulation of Municipal Knowledge and Practices at the Time of the Ottoman Reforms, c. 1830-1910," in *Another Global City: Historical Explorations into the Transnational Municipal Moment, 1850-2000,* eds. Pierre-Yves Saunier & Shane Ewen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008): 35-50.

[74] The initial Health Council was established in 1835, but mainly articulated the regency's response and control to (risks of) pandemics. In its early version, the council mainly identified health problems and proposed ways of preventing them. Although established on the initiative of the Bey, they established direct contact with *Qa'ids* (traditional governors) without having to go through central authority. This started to change by 1856, with the implementation of a regularized code on how to deal with pandemics in lazarettos and slaughterhouses. Its scope of activity was further affirmed in 1873, with the placing of the entire regency under its ambit, and the imposition to answer to central authority, emphasized through the inclusion of the head of the Municipal Council in the Health Council composition.
Joël Montague, "Notes on Medical Organization in Nineteenth-Century Tunisia: a preliminary analysis of the materials on public health and medicine in the Dar El Bey in Tunis", *Medical History* 17 no. 1 (1973): 77.

consuls (in the case of the Health Council alone), appointed state dignitaries, and members of the urban nobility that acted with European/French engineers commissioned by the Bey, these administrative bodies assumed official public order keeping functions in the city, notably the Medina and its two faubourgs (Intramuros city), but also their extra-muros extension. These functions were hitherto monopolized by traditional actors, such as: *Cheikhs el-Medina* (city chiefs), *Qadis* (judges), *Faqihs* (jurists), *Muhtasibs* (market judges), and *Muharriks* (neighborhood chiefs). The new administrative bodies supplanted the existing ones and inherited both their prerogatives and operational methods[75], which they combined with a renewed sense of public utility. Their primary responsibilities involved maintaining and establishing public order and hygiene in the public sphere, and enforcing penalties against those who violated the preceding two. The institutions covered their expenses by launching a new system of taxes on refuse and traffic, that they would later spend on street consolidation and waste removal. The taxes were determined according to an array of nineteen building types that the Municipal Council had mapped[76]. Authority of these councils was reinforced via two connected organs; legislation and printed press.

Legislatively, the Municipal Council decreed on August 30th, 1858 a regulation defining its structure, and its area and lines of action in the Tunisian capital (*al-Hadhira*). The text, comprised of 24 articles, outlined the definition of public utility, and specified the structure of the board and its duties. It defined public utility as encompassing "clear passageways, well-known roads, markets, and public places for people to gather, public buildings such as the fountains, fences, waterways, underground outlets, and other things that favor the interest of all the population."[77] The council was composed of a president (*Ra'is*), an assistant (*Kahya*), a secretary

[75] On the persistence of this "Ancien Régime", see Nora Lafi, "Les pouvoirs urbains à Tunis à la fin de l'époque ottomane: La persistance de l'Ancien régime" In *Municipalités Méditerranéennes: Les réformes urbaines ottomanes au miroir d'une histoire comparée (Moyen-Orient, Maghreb, Europe méridionale)*, ed. Nora Lafi (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2005): 254.

[76] Tunisian National Archives (hereby TNA), Série Historique (hereby SH), Carton 56, Dossier 621, Ramadan 17th, 1276. (1860). See also William L., Cleveland, "The Municipal Council of Tunis, 1858-1870: A Study in Urban Institutional Change", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 9, no. 1 (January 1978) 33-61.

[77] See Regency of Tunis and Municipal Council, Announcement, General Husseïn, 27th issue, (Tunis: Official Gazette, 1861-1862) for the articles specifying the functions of the Municipal Council. http://www.bnt.nat.tn:81/numerisation/khaldounia/periodiques/ar/A-Per-268/1861-1862/N27(22-01-1862).pdf

(*Katib*), and twelve appointed members of urban nobility (*Ayan*); a third of whom changed every year on basis of lottery. Sieged close to the beylical palace to limit the notables' old authority scope[78], the members were entrusted with overseeing, paving and maintaining the road network, purchasing/expropriating privately-owned land for public construction, purchasing/expropriating private property for road expansion, planting trees, ensuring public sanitation and hygiene, and issuing building permits. Additionally, the council held jurisdiction over roads, water supply, sewers, markets, public buildings, ramparts, and management and transformation of public spaces in general[79]. Regulations' scope was first enhanced by two other regulations issued between 1860 and 1872, stipulating the codes of usage of public thoroughfares and spaces according to an official time schedule[80], as to assure hygiene and effective circulation. Second, by the decision to administratively divide the Intramuros capital into sectors (*Qisms*) rather than fluidly delimited neighborhoods (*Humas*).

Despite encountering hindrances such as excessive engagement of foreign entities, both directly involved as members in urban governance and indirectly through economic and/or kinship affiliations with policymakers, along with a lack of cooperation and financial resources from local and foreign residents, these institutions persisted in advancing earlier initiatives and implementing a fresh approach to comprehend and manage the Tunisian capital's urban landscape. They all shared a common understanding of hierarchized categories of thoroughfares as channels of effective and unobstructed circulation, if not of official control over population and land. To that end, the introduced top-down measures permitted navigations of the globalizing local context by canonizing a legitimizing framework. Unlike the early nineteenth century conceptions of roads, the regulations transformed the definition of public good from one that is commonly owned, to one that is in principle the property of no one. As of the 1870s, this had two repercussions. First, it promoted the emergence of thoroughfares as a standardized demarcating unit of measure, with built space

[78] The observation belongs to Nora Lafi, "Les pouvoirs urbains à Tunis à la fin de l'époque ottomane" 254.
[79] Ammar, *La Rue à Tunis, réalités, permanences, transformations de l'espace urbain: 1835-1935*.
[80] Inhabitants were for instance tasked with putting their trash where the waste collecting municipal agents could pass to gather them daily, before 10 a.m. See Leïla Ammar, "Propreté, hygiène et espace public à Tunis à travers les usages et la réglementation, 1858-1914," *Al-Sabil: Revue d'Histoire, d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Maghrébines* [online] 10, (2020).

becoming the space in between communicating circulation corridors. In so doing, it insisted on rectilinearity and obstruction-free pathways. Second, it allowed for a certain degree of planned growth for the city, and the pronounced commodification and creation of strictly delimited lots and sectors; be it for public utility, for private investment, or for both.

Re-invented notions of *umran* and public utility, as well as the central institutions' promoted legislations and regulations were vehiculated to the Arabic-speaking public through printed press; namely via the official gazette الرائد التونسي (ar-Raid et-Tunsi) [the Tunisian Scout/Pathfinder]. Established by General Husseïn in 1860 and initially sieged at the municipality, this journal mostly published public announcements and newly enacted laws. Conveying the official narrative of events, the 27th issue of the journal, published on January 22nd, 1862, reproduced the articles of the regulation of the Municipal Council. Highlighting that its intentions were still of actuality, the announcement explained that "since the gazette did not exist at the time of its establishment, it was deemed fit that the council shared the articles so that no one could use their ignorance of them as a pretext." Again in line with the official attachment to serve public utility, the gazette's slogan between 1870 and 1957 read: "حبّ الوطن من الإيمان، فمن يسع بعمران بلاده إنّما يسعى بإعزاز دينه" [Love of the homeland is part of faith, so whoever seeks the *umran* of his country actually seeks to strengthen his religion].

2.1.10. The 1861 Tunisian Constitution and the 1871 imperial Firman of appointment

Mention of the "homeland" in the Tunisian official gazette's slogan records yet another recurrent theme in the Ottoman Empire, and more particularly in its distant provinces. Indeed, the long nineteenth century was additionally marked by an explicit questioning of the ties the regency of Tunis entertained with the Sublime Porte. If a portion of court officials (like Kheïreddine Pasha and General Husseïn) and British representatives (in alignment with their economic interests) supported the preservation of the suzerainty of Istanbul over Tunis, such stance was more ambiguous in the rows of Tunisian nobility and negotiators (whose interests often espoused and/or went against those of foreign representatives) and even more so for Tunisian rulers (who oscillated between

French and Ottoman understandings of the status-quo situation of Tunis vis-à-vis the Porte).

The matter of autonomy weaves a connecting thread between the visit of Ahmed Bey to Paris in 1846, and that of his cousin Mohamed Es-Sadok Bey (r.1859-1882) to Algiers in 1860. Both visits were in part motivated by the rulers' fears of being forced to yield the province to direct Ottoman rule like it had been the case for neighboring Tripolitania in 1835. Fully aware of France's military weight and its perception of the regency as a fully autonomous entity, Ahmed Bey had hoped for military support from France against the Sublime Porte. This revealed to be wishful thinking as Louis Philippe I only made vague promises of support and favored maintenance of the status-quo. As a result, the Bey sought to mend the province's vexed relations to Istanbul upon his return, sending official envoys to reaffirm his allegiance. In a like manner, Sadok Bey was lured by the idea of establishing military alliance with the French neighbors, and like his cousin, he was discouraged by France's favorability to maintaining the status-quo. In 1860, acting on the advice of French consul Léon Roches about highlighting his attachment to affirming Husaynid sovereignty over the Tunisian territory, the Bey decreed regulations that established a High State Council and ministries and outlined their functions. Like it had been the case for the municipal council's structure, such functions were attributed to the existing court members, who acquired new titles while keeping their pre-1860 influence. In the months that followed, the same consul persuaded the Bey to promulgate a constitution for the Regency of Tunis and encouraged him to present Napoléon III with a copy of it, before officializing it on of April 26th, 1861.

One of the earliest written formal constitutions of the modern Muslim world, this document represented a departure from traditional governance structures and a reaffirmation of the Fundamental Pact's terms, and involved the intervention of Léon Roches in its redaction phase. It was a crucial step towards the promulgation of a constitutional secular regime. It did so through the separation of the government power apparatus into legislative, judiciary, and executive; attributing the latter to the Bey, and by the same token considerably limiting his scope of jurisdiction. In addition, it guaranteed complete equality between the subjects, with the abolishment of the

exclusivity of land ownership to Muslims. Moreover, it reiterated foreigners' right to establish trades and own real estate in Tunis, provided they submitted to the jurisdiction of local courts.



Figure 2.4. Painting commissioned by Sadok Bey depicting (in posterity) the Tunisian court's visit to Algiers, where the Bey shared a draft of the 1861 constitution with Napoléon III.

Source: Alexandre Debelle, Entrevue de Sadok Bey et de Napoléon III à Alger, 1861, Tunis, Institut national du patrimoine, collection Qsar es-Saïd.

While the reform provided attractive investment opportunities to foreigners, in practice it systematically placed them under Tunisian jurisdiction and abolished all capitulation privileges they were making ample and indiscriminate use of. In response, representatives of British (1863), Italians (1868), and French (1871), established new accords reaffirming the Baltalimanı treaty locally[81]. By casting it into an agreement obeying the legal standards in Western Europe, foreign representatives assumed that the regency's traders would systematically abide by it. On the local front, the promulgation of the constitution and the institutions and grand infrastructures it aimed

[81] A. Raymond, "Les tentatives anglaises de pénétration économique en Tunisie (1856-1877)", *Revue Historique* 214, no. 1 (1955): 48-67.

to create was nevertheless beyond the means of the regency. This resulted in the local government's recurrent resort to foreign debt, and to the doubling of local taxes (*Mejba*) to amortize the loans. Rejected by a local population unable to pay its taxes, and already all but fond of the privileges accorded by the rulers to foreigners, these measures instigated a local revolt against the Bey and his reforms in 1864. Although the uprisings were brutally suppressed, they led to the suspension of the (unpopular) constitution's application the next year. This event deepened the ambiguity about Tunis' relationship to the Sublime Porte, and the chasm between the local ruler and the Tunisian population[82]. Further weakened by some dignitaries' corruption and by a year of bad harvest in 1867, the regency was incapable of settling its snowballing foreign debts. Two years later, subject to the pressure of foreign representatives, Sadok Bey established a Foreign Debts Commission (Commission Financière) on July 5th, 1869. Composed of Kheïreddine Pasha as president and of 6 foreign members (2 French, 2 British, and 2 Italians), the commission perceived all the province's revenues, utilizing them to compensate creditors and in infrastructural projects.

On an international level, realizing the impossibility of securing military support from the Great Powers, Sadok Bey resorted to reaffirming his allegiance to the Ottoman Empire by sending Kheïreddine Pasha as representative to Istanbul. As desired, this visit guaranteed obtention of a Firman of Investiture in 1871. The order ratified Tunis' situation as Ottoman province, of which the rulers were under Sultanic suzerainty, and put by the same token independence questions on hold.

2.1.11. The 1876 Ottoman Constitution and the 1878 Berlin Congress

The 1864 revolt in Tunis was not the only one witnessed in Ottoman provinces in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, severely repressed similar uprisings against heavy taxation and disparities of rights enjoyed by the inhabitants of different

[82] According to M'hamed Oualdi, "1864, l'ampleur d'une révolte et d'une répression," in *L'Éveil d'une Nation*, ed. Ridha Moumni (Milan: Oficina Libraria & Fondation Rambourg, 2016): 81, the insurgents invoked protection from the Sultan, "their highest protector" against the Bey and his repressive measures. This further mirrors the divergence between the ruler who was tempted by declaring full independence, and a portion of the population (those of modest means and the revolt-staging tribe leaders), who identified as part of the empire.

religions occurred in the Balkans as well. By virtue of their proximity to Russia and the interests they represented for the Great Powers (which were joined by a unified German state acting as mediator), these rebellions were able to secure foreign support against the Sublime Porte. The central government officials attempted to avert the consequences by forcing Sultan Abdülaziz (r.1861-1876) to abdicate and replacing him twice; first by Murat V in 1876 and three months later by Abdülhamid II (r.1876-1909). Even though they additionally promulgated a constitution limiting the monarchy's executive scope and guaranteeing equal rights regardless of religion in December 1876, their efforts were to little avail as the Sultan invoked an article of the same constitution to suspend its application in 1878, leaving by the same token the provincials' claims unaddressed.

In the meantime, armed conflicts between Russia and the Ottoman Empire evolving in the former's favor intensified debates between Western European powers. Fearful that Russian dominance and pan-Slavic influence would threaten those of the Great Powers over maritime routes and its related posts, Western nations' representatives convened in Berlin at the German chancellery in the summer of 1878. Moderated by a self-serving Otto von Bismarck, the observed scheme was to devise zones of influence preserving Great Powers' interests by will or by force, while curbing those of the Russian. This involved acknowledging the independence of many of the Balkan provinces, while encouraging the British and French colonization of North African ones (in particular Tunis and Egypt), and of the island of Cyprus.

The terms of the ensuing 1878 Berlin Treaty had course-setting ramifications for the Ottoman Empire. Confirming the erosion of its extended boundaries, it transformed the composition of its population, with the religious diversity it had in the beginning of the century by and large diminished in favor of a Muslim majority[83]. In light of its financial incapacity to militarily retaliate, the Ottoman Empire consequently had to compose with the new circumstances. Following heated competition between the French and the Italian over Tunis which eventually yielded the province to French

[83] Stanford J. Shaw, "The Ottoman census system and population: 1831-1914" *Journal of Middle East Studies* 9 (1978): 325-338.

occupation on April 24th, 1881, it sought to assert its sovereignty over the territories it still controlled. Attempting to formulate a national unity/identity and to establish a physical connectivity, the Ottoman Empire conceded infrastructural and railway projects to foreign enterprises. Due to the bankruptcy of an Ottoman treasury stifled by war, the Ottoman Public Debt Administration was established in 1881. Run by foreign creditors and managing collected taxes for the amortization of foreign debts, the administration mediated discussions with European investors and allowed the establishment of industrial projects and railways. Against the openly biased policies of France and Britain during the Berlin Congress, the seemingly unbiased stance adopted by Germany (home to a second industrial revolution in 1878) during the 1875-1878 crisis, introduced it as potential investor for these large-scale projects.

2.1.12. The 1881 Bardo Treaty, the 1883 Marsa convention, and ramifications



Figure 2.5. Photograph of a Qsar-Saïd room, where the Bardo Treaty was signed, as present in Abdülhamid II's collections, labeled in conformity with the legend in French "Treaty room at Qsar-Saïd" [Kasr-ı Said'de muahede salonu]

Source: Yıldız albums, Istanbul University, Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, NEKYA90598/17.

Pretexting the role played by Tunisian Amazigh tribes (Khmir) in unrest on the borders with French Algeria, the French army began military advancements on Tunis on April 24th, 1881. On May 12th, 1881, to officialize their control of the territorial borders, the French forces entered the Qsar Saïd (Bardo) palace and placed the Bey in front of a fait accompli, presenting him with a treaty that he was asked to sign within three hours[84]. The 9-article Bardo Treaty of 1881 granted France control of the regency's foreign affairs (articles 5 and 6), military control of its borders (articles 2, 3, 8, and 9), and the right to manage its public debts (article 7), while pledging to maintain and assure the execution of existing conventions and agreements between the regency and foreign parties (articles 1 and 4).

In practice, the agreement did not result in the annexation of Tunis to metropolitan domains as had been the case for Algeria. Instead, it granted the French control of foreign affairs and ambiguously[85] endowed them with an authority to reorganize and intervene in local institutions. Notably, this authority resulted in the division of the State Ministry into a Directorate of Finances [Direction des Finances] (on November 4th, 1882) and a Directorate of Public Works [Direction des Travaux Publics] (on September 3rd, 1882, presided by Léon Grand; an engineer from the French Corps des Mines who had working experience in Tunis), and both geared towards generating debt-settling state revenues. The first one of these divisions was put in charge of railways and thoroughfares, entailing that the French agents wielded de facto considerable power in utilizing local tax money to directly concede railway projects that would follow[86]. These projects were primarily conceded to the French Bône-Guelma company, already active in Algeria. Nevertheless, such measures were outside the purview of the Bardo Treaty and did not guarantee systematic control over local

[84] Abdurrahman Çaycı, *La Question Tunisienne et la Politique Ottomane* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992): 17-102. For discussion regarding the limits of this treaty and of French jurisdiction during the protectorate, see Mary Dewhirst Lewis, "Geographies of Power: The Tunisian Civic Order, Jurisdictional Politics, and Imperial Rivalry in the Mediterranean, 1881–1935", *The Journal of Modern History* 80, no. 4 (December 2008): 791-830.

[85] See Mary Dewhirst Lewis, *Divided Rule* (California: University of California Press, 2013)

[86] Based on comparison and cross-reading of Auguste Sebaut, *Dictionnaire de la législation tunisienne renfermant en outre des Lois, Décrets et Arrêtés publiés par le Journal Officiel Tunisien, la traduction de plusieurs décrets antérieurs et la législation algérienne applicable en Tunisie* .. (Dijon: F. Carré, 1888), Official publication, Direction des Travaux Publics, *Les travaux publics du protectorat français en Tunisie : Mines, service topographique, navigation et pêche maritime* (Tunis: J. Picard, 1900): 1-7, and Comité du Monument Paul Cambon, *La Tunisie et Paul Cambon* (Tunis: J. Aloccio, 1929): 7-21.

institutions and domains. To remedy this ambiguity, the June 8th, 1883 Marsa Convention's first article ratified the ruler's "engagement to proceed to administrative, judiciary, and financial reforms that the French Government would deem fit in order to facilitate the accomplishment of the protectorate".

In accordance, all while preserving the Bey's nominal sovereignty, French administration became directly involved in domestic affairs. Seeking to gradually undermine the scope of local jurisdiction, they either modified the structure of existing institutions, or established a legal and administrative apparatus controlling/supplanting the local one and appropriating its prerogatives. Consistently with this line of action, a decree from July 25th, 1883 further divided the Public Works Directorate into Bridges and Roads [Ponts et Chaussées] and Mines [Mines], mirroring the metropolitan French structure and modus operandi. The Ponts et Chaussées was in turn divided into 7 services, the last of which was responsible of the control of railways. By another decree of October 21st, 1883, the Municipal Council was maintained, but its structure was modified to include 8 Tunisian Muslim, a local Jewish, and 8 French representatives. To Further structure public domains, four additional municipalities (apart from Tunis) were formed; notably that of La Goulette on June 6th, 1884 (geographically encompassing the nearby Kram, Douar Chott, Sidi Bou Saïd, Marsa, and Gammarth). On April 1st, 1885, they additionally transformed the *Cheikh el-Medina* function into an honorific one, relegating his authority to two French secretaries[87].

In line with the ambiguous duality of protectorate and local systems, the new administration promulgated on July 1st, 1885 a new land law (Loi Foncière 1885). Involving French subject settlers (and locals and other foreigners wishing to fall under its ambit[88]), it allowed newcomers to eschew pre-protectorate land regulations all

[87] Ibid and Ammar, "Propreté, hygiène et espace public à Tunis à travers les usages et la réglementation, 1858-1914", 10.

[88] Not mandatory per the local Muslim jurisdiction, the registration of properties into the French records allowed landowners to avoid disputes or encroachments when their terrains coincided with those foreseen for infrastructural or municipal projects. Christophe Giudice, "Législation foncière et colonisation de la Tunisie", in *Les administrations coloniales, XIXe-XXe siècles: Esquisse d'une histoire comparée*, ed. Samia El Mechat (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009): 229-239. See also Mohamed Elloumi, "Les terres domaniales en Tunisie: Histoire d'une appropriation par les pouvoirs publics", *Études rurales: terrains, cultures & environnement* 192 (2013): 43-60 and Byron D. Cannon, "Le marché de location des habous en Tunisie: dialectique de développement agricole, 1875-1902", in

while benefitting from the possibility of transforming their lease (*enzel*) agreements into permanent real estate ownership contracts. This in turn opened the door for further private real estate speculation directly involving companies and particulars, consequently accelerating agricultural exploitation and urban expansion around points of interest[89].

Mirroring the duality of jurisdiction and affirming a growing and intransigent control of the urban sphere, in February 1889, the colonial administration promulgated an additional thoroughfare law (Réglement de Voierie) which reinforced segregation by administratively dividing Tunis into the Medina, the two faubourgs, (referred to as the "Arab or indigenous city"; la ville arabe/indigène, and nominally managed by *Cheikhs*), and the "New/European city" (la ville neuve/européenne) managed by French institutions.

Around the close of the century, the French administration began to take firmer steps in the direction of establishing a colonization system narrowing the gap between Tunis and Algeria. In 1889, this manifested in the submission of all French-operated railways in Tunis to the regulations and standards for their counterparts in Algeria, with which a railway link was established after the instauration of the protectorate. Accordingly, measures followed in the control, maintenance, and construction of railways and consequent stations of the Algerian Bône-Guelma railway were also observed in Tunis[90].

2.1.13. Evaluation

The imbrication of the abovementioned events and measures spanning 1815-1898 scaffolded wide-felt transformations and laid the foundation for new orders; be it in Western Europe, or in the Ottoman Empire at large. These transformations operated on three overlapping axes. First, they catalyzed shifts in commerce and economics.

Byron D. Cannon, ed. *Terroirs et sociétés au Maghreb et au Moyen Orient* (Lyon: MOM, 1987):79-108.

[89] Giudice, "Législation foncière et colonisation de la Tunisie", 229-239.

[90] Official publication, Direction des Travaux Publics, *Les travaux publics du protectorat français en Tunisie : Mines, service topographique, navigation et pêche maritime* (Tunis: J. Picard, 1900): 251-263.

From a European perspective, decisions reached at the Vienna congress amplified British and French imperial expansions and search for markets and raw materials overseas, spearheaded by industrial breakthroughs and by the possibility to navigate the Mediterranean safely. In turn, this expanded surplus-oriented industrial productions to foreign geographies. From an Ottoman and Tunisian perspective, combination of the Vienna congress, the colonization of Algeria, and the change of rule in Tripolitania imposed the imperativeness of finding another trade model. Consistently with the decisions to shut land roads between North-African provinces and to ban sea-raid in the Mediterranean, the Ottoman Empire turned to the exploitation of its agricultural hinterlands, exporting via maritime routes raw materials required for industrial production in Europe. In conjunction with the Baltalimanı treaty, this turn encouraged the establishment of foreign (mostly European) enterprises and populations across the Ottoman territory and within a close range from harbors.

Second, the transformations interrogated notions of nationality and independence. In a Western European context, the restoration of recognizable geographic borders ratified relative uniformity between members of the population, either through a battle that rallied them against a common enemy (Britain against France during Napoleonic wars), or during a revolution that unified them against a commonly disliked system (France during the 1789 revolution). As such, the observed subsequent pattern was to instrumentalize industry, communication infrastructure, and land configuration to further highlight this unity. In the Ottoman Empire, the initial population and border parameters varied greatly from those in Western Europe. For a population mosaic articulating ethnic, religious, and linguistic differences, the Baltalimanı treaty and the settlement of refugees and foreign negotiators only complicated the demographic landscape. In parallel, desires or outright struggles for complete autonomy in the provinces commanded firm measures from the Sublime Porte. Despite mixed success and debatable reach, the reforms spanning 1839-1876 observed a push-and-pull pattern between center and periphery. As such, when Istanbul officials attempted to impose the capital's administrative and legal centrality, the provincial response was either outright refusal and insurrection like in the Balkans, or diplomatic insubordination as was the case for Tunis. Oscillating between hopes for a French support and centuries-long allegiance to the Ottoman Empire, Tunisian rulers' approach consisted in adhering

to the Istanbul-borne reforms' scope while avoiding citing them as reference. Such attitude in turn exposed the ambiguity of society members' allegiances. This manifested in the clash between the beylical determination to attain full autonomy, a portion of the bureaucrat classes' attachment to Ottoman ties, some of the local negotiator's ties with European investors and policymakers, and the run of the mill locals for whom exasperation with tax reforms and privileges accorded to foreigners obstructed consideration of the shifts as a necessary step in an overall reform scheme.

Third, the transformations recorded shifting understandings of public benefit and the role played by connectivity and industrial progress in serving it. In a Western European context, a degree of homogeneity of the populations in terms of ethnicity, confession, and language made the identification of those addressed by reform projects generally clear. In accordance, industrial progress and by extension railways were paired with a public interest discourse that portrayed them as an essential instrument of welfare and social cohesion. For societies which were industrialization hotbeds and of which the compositions were akin to that of a nation-state, the process encountered less challenges than it did on Ottoman territories[91]. Indeed, throughout the nineteenth century, the definition of "public" itself was a popular stumbling block in the Ottoman Empire. Partly driven by the need to elucidate this ambiguity, Ottoman central and provincial policymakers promulgated laws and regulations aiming to clarify and delineate what made an Ottoman/Tunisian subject. The subsequent Tanzimat edicts and ensuing Fundamental Pact, and the Tunisian and Ottoman constitutions thus attempted to enumerate the inhabitants' rights and duties while outlining the ruling corps' responsibilities. As such, reform measures sought to create an esprit de corps through military subscription and uniform education. They further sought to ratify the inhabitants' frames of accountability by reconfiguring the taxation and legal systems. Consistently with these top-down transformations, authorities and intelligentsia formulated a discourse of public benefit that found its roots in recognizable sources and attributed a linear characteristic to societies, justifying by the same token borrowing from infidel sources, provided progress is attained. Influenced by the

[91] See nevertheless Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*, (California: Standford University Press, 1976).

Western Europeans' repertoire of reforms and more and more aware of the need for their capital and expertise, the Ottoman policymakers associated progress with industry and commercial prosperity. In accordance, starting with the reins of Sultan Abdülaziz and Mohammed Bey, considerable importance and expenses were allocated to connectivity of commodities, materials, people, and ideas.

In the case of Tunis after 1883, while respecting the prevailing guiding principles, the colonial administration adopted a more intransigent stance towards the application of regulations. Set on creating a maximum of exploitable land in a minimum timeframe, the new administration gradually supplanted and took over the local authority's prerogatives and projects and geared them towards the interest of French citizens using local state revenues. This was mirrored in the re-instatement of the ethnicity-based order (whose divides were extended to spatial delineations), and the establishment of a parallel apparatus to which more intricate functions were assigned, complicating thereafter the scope of action and reach of pre-protectorate institutions. Nevertheless, as demonstrated by the time spans separating decisions and decrees, French procedures did not happen overnight and were inclined to steer a course with regard to local regulations and institutions. Furthermore, the new administrations did not benefit from unconditional freedom to undertake the measures they liked per the legal restrictions of the Bardo Treaty; they were indeed bound to honor pre-1881 agreements between Tunis and foreign states, perpetuating thereafter Franco-Italian rivalry well after the occupation.

In alignment with international events and urban configuration legislations before and after 1881, considerable economic and demographic transformations were observed across the Mediterranean. In Western Europe like in the Ottoman Empire at large, these shifts were addressed via the concessions of numerous infrastructural projects. The subsequent section aims to summarize economic and demographic changes in the Tunisian capital between 1856 and 1898.

2.2. Economic and demographic changes in the Tunisian capital

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Tunisian capital was occupied by around 80.000 sedentary inhabitants; 60.000 Muslims, 15.000 Jewish, and approximately 5.000 Europeans in 1860[92]. In addition to the qualitative and the quantitative transformations of commercial exchange across the Mediterranean, Tunis witnessed a population growth due to immigration from European territories. A minority of these immigrants belonged to a wealthy class of Genoese, British, or French industrialists and investors that established commercial links with local negotiators; in turn of different confessions and geographic origins albeit living in Tunis. This class was in pursuit of further economic revenue; notably via state-led infrastructural projects for which they were commissioned, or in which they were investors. Encouraged by the low travel costs and duration, and by the geographic or linguistic proximity (in the case of Malta), most of the immigrants came fleeing poverty, overpopulation, and (more) precarious life-standards in their home territories. They were predominantly Maltese (under the protection of the British) or from the Italian peninsula (Sicilians for the most part). Reaching a total of at least 14.000 individuals (7.000 Italians and at least 7.000 Maltese) by 1871, this proletariat class was mainly active in manual labor. While the Maltese were mostly coachmen and valets (men), or servants in wealthy houses (women), the Italians were mostly active in fishing (sponge and tuna along the coasts), in the small pasta making industry, in watchmaking, or in the construction sector as masons, carpenters, or ironsmiths (men), or again servants and wet nurses in wealthy residences (women)[93].

After the establishment of the protectorate, the capital's European population grew, but the French were far from constituting the majority of it despite their role in administrating the territory. If like the Italians and the Maltese, they were concentrated in the city center, the population counts show that the French (settled mostly in the

[92] Jean Ganiage, "La population de la Tunisie vers 1860. Essai d'évaluation d'après les registres fiscaux," *Population* 12, no. 5 (1966): 868.
[93] Ganiage, *Les Origines*, 37.

southern suburbs) were at a numerical disadvantage in comparison to Italians. (tab.1, tab.2)[94]

Table 1. Populations in 1891

	Muslims	Jewish	French	Italian	Maltese
center			4.832	10.508	5.781
suburbs			601	861	369
total	c. 75.000	c. 20.000	5.433	11.369	6.150

Table 2. Populations in 1896

	Muslims	Jewish	French	Italian	Maltese
center			7.585	27.786	5.433
suburbs			659	2.278	347
total	c. 75.000	c. 20.000	8.244	30.064	5.780

The subsequent sections attempt to address how the cultural, economic, and demographic transformations around the 1850s gradually altered the spatial configurations in the Tunisian capital, and how the TGM integrated into these shifts and created new ones.

[94] Sebag, *Tunis: Histoire d'une ville*: 318-335.

CHAPTER 3

1854-1905: THE FIRST TGM

3.1. Genesis and inauguration of the TGM project



Figure 3.1. Map of the north of Tunisia, with the Medjerda river marked.

Source: Author.

3.1.1. First negotiations (1854-1870)

The TGM project had been germinating for nearly two decades when it was finally inaugurated in 1872. Its inception can be traced back to the first concession offer, made in 1854 by British businessman Runnie and mobilizing connections with the prime minister Mustapha Khaznadar[95] (1837-1873). Despite catching the attention of the

[95] Born Giorgios Kalkias Stravelakis on the island of Chios in 1817. After the Chios massacre of 1822, he was captured with his brother from the island and brought to Smyrna, where he was sold in turn to Constantinople and to Tunis. Forgetting Greek but remembering his family and place of provenance, he entertained ties with once he rose to prominence. In Tunis, he became a Mamluk and was brought up alongside Ahmed I Bey, who married him to his sister Kalthoum and made him Khaznadar (خزنه دار/haznedar), treasurer. The prerogatives of the function being still ambiguous at the time, he wielded considerable power and acted as intermediary in the majority of infrastructural concessions offered by foreigners. He was decorated with the French Légion d'honneur in 1846. Charged with major embezzlement of government funds, he was demoted in 1873. He died in 1878 in Tunis and was buried in the beylical mausoleum. M'hamed Oualdi, "Le retrait après la disgrâce: Les Khaznadār à Tunis dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle", *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 82 (2011): 325-340.

Bey, the project never materialized due to Tunis's financial incapacity to provide the necessary funds (300.000£). Notwithstanding, it affirmed the ruler's interest in establishing railways in the province. In accordance, British consul Richard Wood[96] had the Tunisian government finance a trip to London for his translator Santillana (local subject, Jewish of Livornese origin, first name unknown) in 1856. Considering that he had been there for the 1851 Great Exhibition as Tunisian delegate, the decision was swiftly made. Tasked with the mission of searching for interested investors, the translator expressed his intent in Londoner press, as well as to the Foreign Office and to the Board of Trade. Met with disinterest from the former and with reticence to invest in light of the financial crises from the latter, the translator nevertheless managed to command the interest of a banker in the name of Arthur Anderson, who was willing to take part in a bank project that would later finance the railway. Anderson and his British associates would provide 40.000£, the Bey 50.000£, while 100.000£ would be made available to Tunisian capitalists by actions worth 1.000£ each. In accordance, an agreement ratifying the establishment of the Anglo-Tunisian bank was signed on March 21st, 1858, and by October 1858, all actions had been sold. Alongside securing the funds, Santillana additionally managed to interest a financier in the name of Sir Morton Peto, who had been working on a railway line in Algiers, and who made a field trip to Tunis short afterwards to study the potential railway path. Along with the Tunis-La Goulette project, Peto demanded a monopoly of all railways on Tunisian territory, with in mind the industrial and agricultural investments launched by British subjects in the Sahel region and in the hinterlands of the regency. These investments were implanted along the fertile plains of the Medjerda which led to the East of Algeria. Getting wind of this agreement, the French consul protested vehemently, and mobilized his acquaintances in the British government, leading the Secretary of State Lord Malmesbury to forbid all intervention from Wood in the banks of Tunis. Consequently, Anderson abandoned the project, which in turn discouraged Peto and resulted in the abandonment of the railway project as well[97].

[96] Born in 1806 in Constantinople, he left for boarding school in Exeter end returned in 1823. Fluent in Turkish, Greek, Italian, and French, he began his career as dragoman and was sent to Damascus, where he learned Arabic and was appointed consul. He became British consul to Tunis between 1855-1879. He died in 1900. Ozan Özavcı, "A Forgotten Hero? Sir Richard Wood's Most Adventurous Decade in the Levant" ERC Securing Europe, Fighting its enemies, 1815-1914, June 29th, 2018. https://securing-europe.wp.hum.uu.nl/a-forgotten-hero-sir-richard-woods-most-adventurous-decade-in-the-levant/

[97] Ganiage, *Les Origines*, 45-48.

In March 1862, Wood approached the Tunisian government with a new offer from the maire of the Parisian 16th arrondissement Henri Pierre Edouard (baron de Bonnemains), backed by two investors. With British funds at their disposal, the group represented Londoner Cavan and Lubbock, and Parisian Donon, Aubrey, and Gautier enterprises. The two investors were Alphonse Staub, brother-in-law of Edouard and administrator of the Algerian railways, and William Gladstone, banker of the British Thomas, Bonar & co. and cousin of the British Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone. The latter was a representative of Sir Morton Peto, who was behind the abandoned railway offer four years prior. The investors offered the Bey a loan amortizable in 30 years in exchange for a railway from Tunis to La Goulette and from Tunis to Bardo, for a road from Tunis to Béja (west of the province, where cereals are produced), for the canalization of the Medjerda, and for water distribution in Zaghouan, a city 400 km south of Tunis. Alongside strong opposition from French and Italian consuls Léon Roches and Eugenio Fasciotti[98], this project equally instigated confrontations between members of the court, leading to its abandonment by May 5th, 1862. Despite securing the support of prime minister Mustapha Khaznadar, the British project was rejected by treasurer of the regency and Jewish Caïd Nessim Scemama[99] who proposed a competitive loan. Backed by generals Kheïreddine and Husseïn who were against European interference in the matters of the regency, he managed to have the proposition overturned, only to revoke his loan offer once the policymaker's decision was final[100].

The two decades following Runnie's project witnessed the negotiations of numerous other proposals. In a terrain of intricate interplay between local official ambitions of

[98] He was a consul general of Italy in Tunis between 1861-1862. He was married to the wealthy Genoese landowner Carlotta Fasciotti, who had been living in Tunis. Ganiage, *Les Origines*, 33.
[99] Born in Tunis in 1805. He was originally of a local Jewish family of modest means inhabiting the Hara, he started his career in the fabric sector, before meeting prominent dignitaries and holding high positions such as treasurer and director of finance. Abusing his position, he was able to amass a large fortune consisting in real estate and an estimate of 17 million francs of embezzled money (roughly the equivalent of 18 months of Tunis's revenues, and yet less than the fortune of Mustapha Khaznadar). He fled Tunis after the 1864 uprisings, dying in Livorno in 1873. In an attempt to recover the money he embezzled, the Tunisian government sent General Husseïn to Italy to follow the case, which in turn posed serious questions of what it meant to legally be a Tunisian national. See Fatma Ben Slimane, "Définir ce qu'est être Tunisien. Litiges autour de la nationalité de Nessim Scemama (1873-1881)", *IREMAM* 137 (2015): 31-48 and Jessica Marglin, *The Shamama Case: Contesting Citizenship across the Modern Mediterranean*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022).
[100] Ganiage, *Les Origines*, 133-135.

public reform through infrastructural developments, and foreign ambitions of securing trade posts across a modernizing Mediterranean (gradually subtracted from Ottoman domination), the proposals all converged in suggesting a link between Tunis and La Goulette. Addressed to the ministers Mustapha Khaznadar and later Kheïreddine Pasha, the subsequent offers were backed by the support of policymakers and local negotiators active in international trade networks, such as Mustapha Khaznadar, Nessim Scemama, and the Tunis-born French Eugène Foa. They came from Dutch (March 2nd, 1859), French (May 3rd 1861, August 5th 1862, April 14th 1864, January 12th and June 30th 1865, and May 1st 1869), American (July 1st and August 7th 1863), British (March 1862, October 10th 1863, and April 1865), Italian (December 18th 1863 and February 25th 1864), and Spanish (February 7th, 1870) companies. Further concurring in their demands of impossible sums or of unrealizable monopolies over transport of merchandise reaching La Goulette port, or simply offering projects that went against the combined interests of local dignitaries, prominent consuls, and foreign investors, nearly none had crossed the threshold of mere proposition. The only exception was the 1870 Spanish project[101].

3.1.2. The Spanish concession (1870-1871)

With abandonment of previous concessions, another offer was made to Kheïreddine Pasha, proposing a link between Tunis and La Goulette and Bardo, with embranchments to La Marsa, Sidi Bou Saïd, and Carthage. The 11-article Spanish 99-year concession was rewarded to the engineer Teodoro de Montez on February 7th, 1870. It accorded construction and exploitation rights to the company and charged the Tunisian state with providing local workers and the necessary plots of land. This concession presented the advantages of sparing the local government from covering construction expenses from the treasury (by relegating most of them to the investing company), of making the railways essentially Tunisian (that is; under the jurisdiction of local courts), and of absolving the Tunisian state of any commercial or civil liability

[101] Tunisian Natioanl Archives, Série Historique, Carton 236, Dossier 502 and Debernardi, "Le premier", 198-199.

should the project fail to generate the expected revenues[102]. Highlighting the official attachment to the realization of the project, and the instrumentalization of public benefit discourse and legitimizing regulations, a draft for an expropriation decree written on February 7th, 1870 (6 Zilkade 1286) by the Bey Mohamed Sadok read:

> [..] Vu les articles (tel) et (tel) du règlement municipal (de ladite date),
> Notre conseil d'état entendu, [Nous] avons décrété et décrétons ce qui suit:
> Article 1er: est décrétée d'utilité publique la construction du chemin de fer de Tunis à La Goulette et au Bardo.
> Article 2: Il sera pourvu ultérieurement aux voies et moyens d'exécution auxquels seront appliquées les formes et conditions déterminées par ledit règlement municipal.[103]
>
> Given the articles (x) and (y) dated (z) of the regulation of the Municipal Council,
> Our Council of State heard,
> [We] have decreed and decree the following:
> Article 1: The construction of the railway from Tunis to La Goulette and Bardo is decreed of public utility.
> Article 2: The ways and means of execution to which the forms and conditions determined by the said municipal by-law will be applied and provided later.

Despite securing the stipulated continuous 50-meter strips of lands for the single line tracks and the train stations between Bardo, Tunis, and La Goulette through (majorly) land grants from the Bey and expropriation of agricultural lands and a Greek cemetery[104], the Tunisian authorities declared the agreement terms null and void on May 14th, 1871. Behind this decision was the fact that a clause of the project (article 5), according the company monopoly over transportation of products disembarked at La Goulette and prohibiting the circulation of steamboats for transport in the lagoon conflicted with the interests of local notables and of those of Italian, French, and British consuls, who controlled the Algerian railways and maritime navigation to France and Malta (a British Mediterranean post) and protested adamantly. It was additionally caused by the company's failure to begin any construction work within a year of the signing of the agreement, as had been agreed upon. The frustration of the

[102] Mentioned in the booklet of concession specifications, written on July 8th, 1870, and printed in Tunis. Copies are present in TNA, SH, Carton 236, Dossier 503 and in the Tunisian National Library, Code A-BR-12243.
[103] TNA, SH, Carton 236, Dossier 503. Decree draft concerning expropriation for the railroad's construction, 7 February 1870.
[104] This was the case for the terrain that hosted the first Tunis terminus, according to a letter by consul Richard Wood to the prime minister Mutapha Khaznadar on July 2nd, 1872. TNA, SH, Carton 236, Dossier 505.

contract terms was a case of force majeure since the Franco-Prussian war (1870-1871) had prevented the shipping of indispensable construction materials from Europe[105].

3.1.3. The British concessions (1872-1880)

With the Spanish project dismissed, and in light of the good understanding between the Porte and the Crown following the 1871 Firman of appointment, the British consul Wood seized the opportunity to present the local authorities with another railway project, this time by the British industrialist Edward Pickering who had joined forces with the Italian industrialist Mancardi (first name unknown). The two offered a railway link between Tunis-La Goulette and Tunis-Bardo (to be built immediately) and another between Tunis and the Sahel city of Sousse. Despite keeping French pressure at bay by not demanding monopoly of transport in the lagoon like its predecessor, the offer had flagrant blind spots. It did not include a specifications document detailing the expenses of construction, and stipulated that the enterprise would no longer be essentially Tunisian as its predecessor and that disagreements between it and the Tunisian authorities would have to be settled by a third party, designated via common agreement between the Bey and the British consul. Despite the councilors' denouncement of the project as predominantly to the investing company's advantages, Mustapha Khaznadar turned a deaf ear to their remarks, facilitating the concession award on August 7th, 1871. The industrialists thus resumed the construction of the TGM within a year, along the lines of the Montez project and on the lands previously allocated to the first project, conceded free of charge by beylical authorities. They were able finish the Tunis-La Goulette trunk in seven months through observation of a policy of making cheap and selling dear; considerably cutting execution expenses by using low-quality weak materials and by laying the projected single line of tracks on already cleared roads, leaving the responsibility of clearing parallel new ones to the Tunisian authorities. Notwithstanding, they managed to obtain from the prime minister another concession for the La Goulette-La Marsa and La Marsa-L'Aouïna on February 22nd, 1872[106].

[105] Debernardi, "Le premier", 200-201.
[106] Debernardi, "Le premier chemin", 204-205.

Days before the inauguration of the line, Pickering was declared bankrupt and was excluded from the company before September 1871, whereas Mancardi was only able to direct it until October 1871, witnessing therefore the inauguration of the Tunis-La Goulette trunk on August 31st, 1872, but not that of the Bardo-Tunis trunk on November 30th, 1872. On July 26th, 1872 Pickering ceded the railways to another British promoter; John Philip Wilkinson, who in June 1872 had founded the "Tunisian Railways Company Limited", presided by British politician George Balfour. Once the cession ratified by a beylical decree of September 9th, 1872, this company undertook the extension of the line to La Marsa, already launched by their predecessors.

Accordingly, Kheïreddine Pasha appointed a committee of local dignitaries to review the project and oversee the expropriation procedures for the required lands. The committee was presided by General Mohamed Baccouche, included French engineer Léon Grand serving as secretary, and two other members; Jewish Caïd Eliaou Scemama[107] and General Mohamed Larbi Zarrouk[108]. General Mohamed Larbi Zarrouk was a graduate of the Bardo military school and head of the municipality of Tunis between 1869-1881. He was also a relative of the beylical family and a major real estate owner (notably in Tunis and Sidi Bou Saïd), known for his hostility towards the French[109]. General Mohamed Baccouche, another Bardo graduate, was an engineer who had trained in France and worked on a railway project there, where he notably became acquainted with the rich creditor of the Bey of Tunis; Baron Frédéric Emile d'Erlanger. Upon his return, he married the daughter of Hamida Ben Ayed, a Tunisian dignitary who was accorded a monopoly over construction materials after 1852. He additionally became Minister of Interior and then of War until 1881. Owning a seaside palace close to that of his father-in-law in Sidi Bou Saïd, Baccouche also joined forces with Livornese Jewish Tunisian-born Giaccobe Cezana and built there a mechanical brick factory (in which they solicited the services of a French engineer)[110]. Finally,

[107] Many prominent Jewish Caïds living in the same period carried this exact same name and additionally held functions such as treasurer and member of the 1869 Financial commission, alongside being major real estate owners. It is therefore impossible to determine which one it was here.
[108] Outlined in a report dating from February 2nd, 1879 in the TNA, SH, Carton 236, Dossier 500.
[109] He opposed the Bardo Treaty and fled Tunis to Istanbul with the help of British consuls after 1881. Mohamed El Aziz Ben Achour, *Catégories de la société tunisoise dans la deuxième moitié du xixe siècle: les élites musulmanes*, (Tunis: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1989): 201-204.
[110] Exploitation of this factory was accorded to French entrepreneur Césaire Alexandre Joséph Dumergue, who between 1906-1911 held the position of vice president of the municipality of Tunis,

French engineer Léon Grand had been serving as consultant for previous infrastructural projects[111].

Despite coming at a hefty price for the government (responsible for not only buying lands whose value climbed with the news of the railway establishment, but also of compensating farmers for the sacrificed harvests), granting from the Bey and expropriation of the lands between La Goulette-La Marsa and La Marsa-L'Aouïna was concluded on July 15th, 1873. This allowed for the construction works to begin in August 1873. Even though the quality of the delivered works did not differ much from that of Pickering-Mancardi, the subsequent trunks were inaugurated short afterwards. Lines between La Goulette-La Marsa and La Marsa-L'Aouïna were thus operative as of 1874[112]. Two years afterwards, by a convention of October 30th, 1876, Wilkinson was able to establish another trunk linking La Goulette to the sea[113]. (tab.3)

Table 3. Inauguration dates of the TGM trunks and their lengths

Railway trunk	Inauguration date	Length (km)	Establishing company
Tunis-Goulette	August 31st, 1872	16	Pickering & Mancardi
Tunis-Bardo	November 30th, 1872	5	
Goulette-Marsa	November 30th, 1874	5	Tunisian Railway Company Limited
Marsa-Aouïna	November 30th, 1874	7	
Tunis-Marine	June 24th, 1878	1.5	Tunisian Railway Company Limited (Williamson & Win)
Goulette-Marine	June 24th, 1878	0.9	

despite being there since 1866, holding the position of Deputy of The French Nation in 1875 and 1878. After 1881, Dumergue founded an enterprise that produced wooden frames and metal rails and employed French engineers from the metropole. Prior to his relocation to Tunis, he had been living in Constantine, French Algeria.
Based on crossed information from Jamila Binous and Salah Jabeur, *Les maisons de la Medina* (Tunis: Dar Ashraf, 2001): 88-89, Paul Lambert, *Protectorat français. Régence de Tunis. Nos corps élus* (Tunis: Bureau du Républicain, 1913): 167, registers of the État civil (Européens Unique) of Constantine for the year 1866, Volume 1, p.22, (kept at the ANOM, France accessed on June 1st, 2024 via https://www.geneanet.org/registres/view/330555/22), Ganiage, *Les Origines*, and Sebag, *Tunis: Histoire d'une ville*.

[111] He was assigned as head of the Directorate of Public Works in 1882.

[112] TNA, SH, Carton 236, Dossier 500.

[113] Official publication, Direction des Travaux Publics, *Les travaux publics du protectorat français en Tunisie: Mines, service topographique, navigation et pêche maritime* (Tunis: J. Picard, 1900): 292.



Figure 3.2. Caricature drawing (1879-1880) from Lou Carbounaïre, journal illustré: private correspondence in the form of drawings sent by the French consul in Tripoli, Charles Féraud, to the French general consul in Tunis, Théodore Roustan.

Source: French Diplomatic Archives 712PO/1/176.

Despite British Wilkinson (and later Williamson and Wim, also British) being in control of the TGM, the vehement competition between the French and the British over monopoly of Tunisian trade routes had all but faded. In fact, it was reinforced by the participation of a newly unified Italy (1871) who soon engaged in commercial rivalry with the French (fig.3.2). The Tunisian authority thus received numerous other railway proposals from France, Britain, and Italy that offered to connect Tunis through the fertile plains of Medjerda to the cities of Béja and Bizerte. Initially conceded to the British (in November 1872) but far from taming the Great Powers' expansionist commercial appetite, this refreshed the central Imperial authorities' protectionism over Tunis.

Such stance was the motive behind encrypted telegrams between the Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs and the ambassador in London dated August 25th, and September 3rd, 1874[114]. In the first, the minister asked about the ambassador's views on the three states' rivalry and instructed him to call the attention of the British to the undesired French interest in Tunisian railways, and to rally the British against the French, should the involvement of the latter become too excessive. In response, the ambassador wrote

[114] BOA, HR.SFR3.00215.00050.

that he had discussed the matter with the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Lord Derby (Edward Stanley (1826-1893)), informing him that:

> … l'administration intérieure de la Tunisie était confiée au Pacha de cette province et que le territoire tunisien appartenait à Sa Majesté Impériale qui en est le souverain légitime et que, par conséquent, des concessions de telles entreprises, spécialement à des compagnies étrangères ne pouvaient se faire qu'avec la connaissance et l'approbation de la Sublime Porte et en vertu d'un Firman Impérial, de même que ce principe a été conservé et maintenu avec l'appui de l'Angleterre à l'égard de l'Égypte tant pour la construction du canal de Suez que pour celle de chemins de fer et d'autres entreprises semblables.[115]

> … the internal administration of Tunis was entrusted to the Pasha of this province and that the Tunisian territory belonged to His Imperial Majesty who is its legitimate sovereign and that, consequently, concessions of such undertakings, especially to foreign companies could not be made without the knowledge and approval of the Sublime Porte and by virtue of an Imperial Firman, just as this principle was preserved and maintained with the support of England with regard to Egypt as much for the construction of the Suez Canal as for that of railways and other similar enterprises.

Learning that the British, despite not contesting the Imperial government's suzerainty rights over the province of Tunis, preferred not to intervene unless a specific situation or concession arose, the ambassador suggested that the Tunisian administration be contacted about planned enterprises and be reminded that:

> … de telles entreprises ne sauraient être réalisées surtout par des concessions à des compagnies étrangères à l'insu et sans l'approbation et l'autorisation de la Sublime Porte [et que] le gouvernement Impérial est disposé à concourir et à prêter son appui efficace à toute amélioration tendant au développement de l'industrie, du commerce et de la prospérité de la Tunisie.[116]

> ... such enterprises cannot be carried out especially by concessions to foreign companies without the knowledge and approval and authorization of the Sublime Porte [and that] the Imperial government is prepared to cooperate and lend its effective support to any improvement tending to the development of industry, commerce and prosperity of Tunisia.

This suggestion consequently prompted letters from the Sadrazam (Grand Vizier) Hüseyin Avni Pasha dated 11 Shaban 1291 (23 September 1874), 18 Ramadan 1291 (28 October 1874), and 18 Zilkade 1291 (24 December 1874) addressed to the Bey and responded to by Kheïreddine Pasha. In the 11 Shaban letter, Avni Pasha explicitly

[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.

warned against possible repercussions of ambiguous clauses of railway concessions offered by foreigners, and reminded that:

> bu vesildeden b'il-istifade kevaid ve mütalaat mabsutanın taraf-ı âli vilayet penahileriyle işar ve ihtarı vücubuyla vilayet-i celilelerine mukaddem ve muahher ita ve ihale buyrulmuş olan ferman-ı âliler ahkam-ı salah encamı bu ecnebilere böyle başlı taahhüdat ve mukavelata girişmeden yani mülk-ü mevrus hazreti padişahının ve hukuk-u sairesini kuyud-u ecnebiye ile makud ve mukayyed etmeden evvel keyfiyetin badi-i emrde babıali'nin mevki-i tasdik ve kabulüne arz ve vaz-ı iktiza edüb[117]
>
> By this means, in order to adhere to the provisions of the high decrees [Firmans] previously and subsequently issued to your province; by indicating and notifying such guarantees and agreements to the high government, before entering into such prominent commitments and contracts with these foreigners, namely before the destruction and restriction of the Sultan's property and other rights by foreign parties, it is necessary that the situation be submitted first to the approval and acceptance of the Sublime Porte for the necessary action to be taken.

When reassured of the cautiousness of the Tunisian government towards railway concessions involving foreign parties, the Sadrazam reiterated his warnings and wrote on 18 Zilkade (December 24th, 1874) that:

> mamuriyet-i mülkiye ve ticaret ve servet-i umumiyenin azam ve esra tarik-ı istihsali her memleketin ihtiyacat-ı mevcude ve istidat ve icabat-ı mevkiyesine tatbiken turuk ve maabirin imali madde-i mühimmesi ve Tunus eyaleti ise memalik-i mahruse-i şehinşahinin bir kıta-yi mütemmimesi idüğünden bu şeylerin saye-i terakkiyat-vaye-i hazret-i şahanede semere-yi ikdam ve himmet-i müşiraneleriyle ol havalide dahi vücuda getirilmesi fevkalgaye mültezem[118]
>
> The development of the country and trade, the highest and fastest generation of general wealth, the construction of roads and passageways in accordance with the current needs, skills and situation of each country is an important issue. Since the province of Tunisia is a complimentary part of the Ottoman Empire, it is extremely necessary that these things be realized there under the auspices of the sultan.[119]

These correspondences further animated a protectionist official stance that limited the reach of the subsequent railway, ceded to a French company in 1876. Initially in the

[117] TNA, SH, Carton 236, Dossier 501. Letter from the Sadrazam Hüseyin Avni Pasha to prime minister Kheïreddine Pasha, 11 Shaban 1291 (22 September 1874).
[118] TNA, SH, Carton 236, Dossier 501. Letter from the Sadrazam Hüseyin Avni Pasha to prime minister Kheïreddine Pasha, 18 Zilkade 1291 (24 December 1874).
[119] Help with the intermediary interpretation to modern Turkish kind courtesy of N. Işık Demirakın.

hands of British Harvey Ranking (1873), the railway concession linking Tunis to Béja had expired by May 1876, likely because the investors were discouraged by the financial failure of the Tunisian Railway Company Limited. Through an agreement with Kheïreddine Pasha, the project was taken over by Les Batignolles[120], which in turn proposed a connection between Tunis, Béja, and Dakhla-Jendouba, and ceded the project to its branch la Compagnie des chemins de fer de Bône à Guelma. The Bône-Guelma (Paris, 1875) had been operating an Algerian railway between Guelma (close to the frontier) and the port city of Bône (Annaba today). Benefiting from the French government's 6% interest guarantee as of 1877, a first 100 km-long trunk was inaugurated in April 1879. Complying with the Porte's instructions, and in view of preventing direct French intervention, Kheïreddine Pasha firmly refused to allow the line to reach Algeria, or to establish direct trunks leading to the coastal cities of Bizerte and Sousse[121].

Notwithstanding, the Porte's protectionism left unshaken the British claims of economic sovereignty on/via the TGM. Obstinately hoisting a British flag at the Tunis station, the British railway operators Williamson & Winn justified this stance under the pretense that:

> Exception is taken by your Excellency to our using the British Flag at our stations. We would have you observe that the Flags in question are only hoisted under our roof as an ornament on Sundays & other fêtes & that this practise has been in vogue ever since the commencement of the line. We disclaim any political intention in so doing, tho' we do arrest the stations are British property, in the same sense that any Englishman in Tunis calls his house his own, tho' he may hold it as we do on Railways for a long term of years.[122]

The riposte consequently came from the local prime minister Mohammed Khaznadar[123] (1877-1878) who wrote to Williamson & Winn on August 15th, 1877, reiterating the numerous articles of the concession agreement signed between the two

[120] Created in 1846 in Les Batignolles by Ernest Goüin first under the name Ernest Goüin et Cie, it specialized in the construction of railway materials and infrastructures across the world. In 1871 it became an anonymous company and took the name "Les Batignolles".
[121] Ganiage, *Les Origines du protectorat*, 295-297.
[122] TNA, SH, Carton 236, Dossier 508. Letter dated 28 July 1877, addressed to Mohamed Khaznadar (provincial prime minister) by British agents Williamson and Winn of the Tunisian Railway Company. Capitalizations and underlined texts are those of the original document.
[123] Mamluk originally from Chios, captured during a raid. Lived between 1810-1889.

parties, and stressing that the sine qua non for the implementation of British projects in the province was their compliance with local legislation saying:

> Les sujets Britanniques ne peuvent établir en Tunisie des sociétés communes, sociales, industrielles, et de banque, des associations coopératives, mutuelles, et par action, ou toute autre Société qu'à la condition qu'elles soient soumises à la loi du pays. Le gouvernement fera tout ce qui est en son pouvoir pour rendre votre exploitation [du TGM] aussi facile et aussi fructueuse que possible, dans la mesure qui sera conciliable avec les intérêts généraux dont nous avons la garde et que nous devons maintenir et sauvegarder.[124]

> British subjects cannot establish in Tunisia common, social, industrial, and banking companies, cooperative, mutual, and share associations, or any other company, unless they are subject to the law of the country. The government will do everything in its power to make your exploitation [of the TGM] as easy and as fruitful as possible, insofar as is compatible with the general interests which we have custody of and which we must maintain and safeguard.

The Tunisian official's warnings regarding the flag seem to have paid off, as another letter written by Williamson, dated March 21st, 1879, and addressed to the prime minister Mustapha Ben Ismaïl[125] (1878-1881) asked for a special "favour" to hoist foreign flags "subordinately to the flags of the Regency", especially for the occasion of the British consul Wood's final departure from Tunis[126].

3.1.4. The Italian concession (1880-1898)

Due to nearly a decade of poor management of the line by Williamson & Winn and their systematic resistance to acting in accordance with official administrations' demands and regulations[127], the Tunisian Railway Company Limited's revenues failed to reach the expected numbers and dissuaded the British from further investing in the regency. With the persistent French interest in railways, livened by the new competing Italian expansionist interests in North Africa, the Tunisian Railway Company was able

[124] TNA, SH, Carton 236, Dossier 508. Letter from the prime minister to Williamson & Winn, October 17th, 1877.
[125] Born in 1850 in Bizerte, he died in 1887 in Constantinople, where he fled after the death of Sadok Bey (1882).
[126] TNA, Série E 334/06.
[127] Failure to control the movement and tickets of passengers, negligence of the merchandise transport, and refusal to admit customs officers into their offices (shacks) in the Tunis station instigated contestations from the Financial Commission and the Customs Administration. Despite the intervention of the prime minister Mohammed Khaznadar, no agreement between both parties was reached. Debernardi, "Le premier chemin" 214.

to rid itself of this investment by engaging both Italy and France in a competition for buying the TGM. In light of the British disinterest in investing in Tunis and the ambiguity of Italy's financial situation, the new French consul Théodore Roustan (1874-1881) underestimated the Italian. He had not anticipated that an industrialist named Raffaele Rubattino (1810-1881), backed by the Italian consul Licurgo Macciò (1878-1881) in Tunis and the new influent prime minister Mustapha Ben Ismaïl (hostile to the French after 1880), would secure the Italian's government's support to purchase the TGM. Rubattino was an industrialist and owner of a navigation company present in the regency since 1851 (regularly circulating between Tunis, Sousse, Sfax, Tripoli, Malta, Palermo, Cagliari, and Genoa) as well as an actor of the Risorgimento. By sending in February 1879 David Santillana (son of Wood's translator, then settled in Rome) to negotiate with the British consul Heath, influential member of the International Financial Society Limited, Rubattino succeeded in keeping competing projects at bay and in signing a preliminary purchase deal for 90.000£ on March 22nd, 1880, awaiting the definitive ratifying convention the next month. Nevertheless, the French consul had got wind of the negotiations on March 1st, 1880. In response, he pressed Charles Géry, representative of the Bône-Guelma, to put forward a competing offer. Consistently, Géry mobilized an agent from the Tunisian Railway Company to stall negotiations, while he signed a 105.000£ purchase deal directly with the managers of the railway in April 1880. In retaliation, Rubattino appealed to the British High Court of Justice and had the French agreement declared null and void. But since the Italian agreement had not yet been finalized either, the court ruled for the line to be sold by auction[128].

Despite the French consul's menacing insinuations to the Bey on July 2nd, 1880, pointing out that "In the event of the acquisition of the La Goulette railway by the Italians, the French government should therefore immediately provide its railway with access to the sea across the lake by whatever means seems most suitable to it"[129], the auction took place in London on July 7th, 1880, and ended with Rubattino taking over the line for 165.000£, a sum that the Bône-Guelma preferred not to invest.

[128] Narcisse Faucon, *La Tunisie avant et depuis la colonisation française: histoire et colonization* (Paris: Challamel, 1893): 152-168 and Ganiage, *Les Origines*, 353-362.
[129] TNA, SH, Carton 236, Dossier 513, July 2nd, 1880.

Enthusiastically announced in the Tunisian official gazette on July 13th of the same year[130], news of the purchase in the Italian press were furthermore communicated to the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs via the consul in Rome[131]. Understandably, the purchase was ridiculed in the French press[132], whereas French officials concentrated their efforts towards obtaining the concession of another port in Tunis, expected to dethrone that of La Goulette, and consequently the Italian TGM. Evoking gunboat policy, the French obtained for the Bône-Guelma in August 1880 a concession for the construction of a harbor in Tunis and a fore-harbor in La Goulette, as well as for a railway from Tunis to Sousse, along the southern shore of the lagoon[133]. Again due to the combined efforts of the local prime minister and the Italian consul, these agreements were stalled until after 1882[134].

Upon purchase of the TGM and presentation of a concession specifications document on August 1st, 1880 (a document that the British enterprise had always refused to present), modifications were stalled by the French consulting engineer (Léon Grand) until January 1st, 1881[135]. Once the document was ratified (February 6th, 1881), Rubattino kept its stations as they were and invested in the improvement of the larger structures (replacement of iron tracks by steel ones on all the line except for Douar Chott-La Goulette and Tunis-Bardo, installation of barriers protecting the lines). He also reconfigured the fares; with construction materials and agricultural produce

[130] Tunisian official gazette, July 13th, 1880, Issue 15, 1.
[131] BOA, HR.SYS.01610.00040, April 27th and May 4th, 1880.
[132] "Informations" section of *L'Avenir Diplomatique: revue internationale* 3, (July 15th, 1880): 3.
[133] They sent three warships to the Goulette harbor before presenting the Bey with the concession offer. Once the concession signed, Bône-Guelma ceded it to Les Batignolles. The realization of this project waited for five years, after which Ali III Bey (r.1882-1902) negotiated with the company again, allowing it only construction rights while keeping the property of the harbor to himself. The construction would not start until 1888. A portion of the harbor was opened in 1893, with its operation rights conceded for 47 years to the French Société des Ports de Tunis, Sousse et Sfax as of April 12th, 1894. Upon expiry of that contract, exploitation rights were conceded to a Tunisian company. Ganiage, *Les Origines,* 366-370 and Sebag, *Tunis: Histoire*, 377-378.
[134] Rubattino, backed by Macciò and Mustapha Ben Ismaïl claimed that he had purchased a concession previously accorded to the Italian Mancardi by Mustapha Khaznadar in 1872 and linking Tunis to Hammam-Lif (south of the lagoon, communicating with the sea and on the way to Sousse). The concession had expired, therefore no line was constructed by the Italian, whereas the Bey, anticipating that they would demand another port, did not permit the French line, passing through Hammam-Lif, to establish a stop there. This in turn forced the French to stop the construction of the railway altogether until after 1882. Ganiage, *Les Origines*, 373-375.
[135] In a report dated January 1st, 1881, despite criticisms of the Italian document, he drew a parallel between the Rubattino and the Bône-Guelma concessions. TNA, SH, Carton 236, Dossier 512.

traveling at advantageous prices[136]. To attract a larger audience and offer a wider variety of services, the shipowner fused his company with that of Ignazio & Vincenzo Florio from Palermo, forming on September 4th, 1881 the Navigazione Generale Italiana (NGI). This allowed for a growth in the number of the railways' users and a brief amelioration of revenues.

If the fact that the investment was owned by an Italian enterprise even after 1881 was a source of French discontent, as relayed by an 1882 testimony:

> [..] it must be admitted that Mr. Maccio's compatriots showed themselves to be more skillful, more intriguing, more intelligent than us in the Tunisian conquest. Because for me, the conquest of Tunisia is done. It is made by the Jews and by the Italians: by money and by trade. [..] We make ourselves hated by our weapons, while the Italians make themselves blessed by their trade. The Arabs will never understand this role of peacemakers that we have come to play with guns in hand. The Italians, on the contrary, adapted perfectly, because they slowly insinuated themselves among them by bringing them the products of civilization.
> [..] Enter Tunis [..], wander the surrounding streets for a while and tell me if you don't think you are in an Italian town? Italian inscriptions everywhere, an Italian train station, an Italian boat company, an Italian theater; and whether you go to the pharmacist, the jeweler or the dentist, Italian everywhere and nothing but Italian.[137]

the refurbished railways seem to have satisfied the same person, who later reported:

> We embark on the Rubattino Company railway which leads to La Goulette and via a branch to La Marsa. Allow me here to address my compliments to the Italian Company (once is not custom) on its happy innovation.
> Instead of the horrible boxes in which travelers are crammed to the point of complete suffocation in France, they have installed here comfortable and well-ventilated wagons, equipped with a gallery where, while letting ourselves be rolled around, we can come and smoke at ease and take a breath of fresh air while contemplating the waters of the lagoon.[138]

Despite the apparent success of the service even with French users, Rubattino further provoked the consternation of French officials, as he accompanied the upgrades to the line with a telegraph system that initially only linked major points of the line, before expanding to retrace the main extra-muros boulevard of the capital (Promenade de la Marine). The French, holders of a telegraph monopole since April 19th, 1861, feared

[136] Debernardi, "Le premier", 221.
[137] François de Gélis, *Trois mois en Tunisie: journal d'un volontaire* (Paris: A. Ghio, 1882): 141-142.
[138] Ibid, 149-152.

that the new line would threaten the interests of their company, and lure the Italians into preferring it to the French telegraphs. Despite regularly protesting through conversations with the Tunisian prime minister and through correspondences addressed directly to the Bey over the span of nine months, their efforts were to no avail as both the Tunisian officials made vague promises of interrupting the operation of the Italian telegraphs[139].



Figure 3.3. The TGM wagons, around 4m-wide, kept until the electrification of the line (1908), had corridors on each side, allowing passengers to circulate during the trip.

Source: Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-78848.

[139] Diplomatic documents, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Affaires de Tunisie avec une carte de la régence: 1870-1881* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1881): 222-276.
Regarding telegraphs, I have not come across any record linking the British railways to the French telegraphs established in the Tunisian regency before 1872. Because of my limited reading abilities in Italian, I could not explore surviving Italian documentations (if any) on the subject. It was therefore difficult to know if the TGM railways used the French telegraph until the establishment of the short-lived Italian telegraph (itself closed in 1897) or not, or if the colonization affected the railway's telegraphic communications. Between 1897 and 1900 they used a Morse-code telephone before switching to a telephone line in 1900. Source: minutes reports of the Bône-Guelma company (procès-verbaux), ANOM, 156 AQ 44, April 19th, 1900.

3.1.5. The French concession (1898-1905)

Nevertheless, Florio-Rubattino had not anticipated that the military occupation of Tunis in April 1881 would alter the equation and gradually undermine privileges promised by Mediterranean navigation, railways, and telegraphs. The inclusion of French agents in the Directorate of Public Works (September 3rd, 1882) literally stopped the Italian railway dead in its tracks, annihilating all expansion possibilities. To further diminish its revenues, in 1890, the French created a small boat company circulating in the lagoon to divert some passengers away from the railway[140]. By 1898, the Italian investor had lost most of the freight traffic due to the construction by the French Compagnie des Batignolles of a new port in Tunis (1893), which effectively transformed the TGM into a passenger suburban line.

Despite succeeding in establishing a regular link to the capital's northern suburbs, on March 22nd, 1898, a convention between the Bône-Guelma company and the French director of Public Works (Pavillier) on behalf of the Tunisian government authorized the former to purchase the line. Stipulated to end on May 7th, 1976 like the other Bône-Guelma lines in Tunis, the 13-article convention outlined the government's right to establish affluent lines with the railways' path without any objection from the Bône-Guelma (articles 9 and 10). Furthermore, article 3 specified that the Tunisian government had the right to remove the Tunis-Bardo trunk from the convention and reclaim its lands, buildings, and dependencies free of charge within six years of the beginning of the exploitation. Article 12 specified that any time after October 12th, 1917, the government had the right to purchase back the TGM railway altogether. In counterpart, article 5 exempted the company from the obligation of establishing extra installations (such as stations), therefore relieving it from incurring any extra costs or hiring independent architects for modifications. As such, on October 16th, 1898, a beylical decree ratified the 10-article transfer agreement of July 29th, 1898 between the NGI and the Bône-Guelma. In exchange for 7.500.000 francs, the new company inherited of all the materials, installations, and tools of the NGI (article 1 and 4), while

[140] Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, "Lettre de Tunisie: Tunis, le 28 octobre", *Revue-magasine*, November 23rd, 1890: 742.

pledging to not discharge more than 10% of the previously NGI employees (article 5). Submitting the convention for the general assembly of the acquiring company's approval on October 6th, 1898, the president of the administrative council (Paul Devès) declared that:

> En concluant cette convention avec le Gouvernement tunisien, la Compagnie reste fidèle à la règle de conduite qu'elle n'a cessé de mettre en pratique: [..] se mettre à la disposition du Gouvernement pour l'extension de l'influence française et le développement des intérêts nationaux en Tunisie, –sans jamais perdre de vue la défense [des] intérêts [des actionnaires] et le maintien du crédit de la Compagnie.[141]

> By concluding this agreement with the Tunisian Government, the Company remains faithful to the rule of conduct that it has never ceased to put into practice: [..] placing itself at the disposal of the Government for the extension of French influence and the development of national interests in Tunisia, – without ever losing sight of the defense of [shareholders'] interests and the maintenance of the Company's credit.

Applying the railway regulations in vigor in both of Tunis and Algeria since 1889 once approved by the assembly, the Bône-Guelma thus elevated its tracks distance from 220 km to roughly 255 km. This distance was further diminished by the removal of the Bardo line in 1900 and the transfer of its property rights to the Tunisian government. After an exploitation of nearly seven years, the French TGM's profits did not surpass much those of the Italian management and emanated mostly from third class passengers rather than freight transportation[142]. In accordance, it was sold back to the Tunisian government on August 19th, 1905, which in turn allowed the Bône-Guelma to operate the line for three subsequent years, awaiting the modification and electrification of the circuit[143].

3.1.6. Evaluation

The preceding account aims to build upon and enrich the observations of Ganiage, Debernardi, and Lafi. Retracing the progression of concessions offers, it confirms that, as demonstrated at length by Ganiage, infrastructural nineteenth century projects had

[141] Bône-Guelma General Assembly 33rd meeting report (October 6th, 1898), ANOM, 156 AQ 6.
[142] Bône-Guelma General Assembly 36th meeting report (June 29th, 1901), ANOM, 156 AQ 7.
[143] Bône-Guelma General Assembly 35th meeting report (June 30th, 1900), ANOM, 156 AQ 6 and Bône-Guelma General Assembly 43rd meeting report (June 27th, 1908), ANOM, 156 AQ 7.

facets irreducible to their technical aspects. A bone of contention between British, French, and Italian consuls, the TGM carried geopolitical significance and mobilized considerable efforts from the diplomats in view of acquiring it. For the French, it translated a fixation on protecting Algeria's boundaries and the desire to establish agricultural production posts of which the harvests would be channeled to the French metropole by rail and by sea, be it from the port of La Goulette, or from that of Bône. For the British, the project and the proposed paths had the potential of carrying raw materials (cotton primarily) to the British-operated global market and of including Tunis within the Crown's zone of economic influence, hence their favorability to maintaining and reinforcing ties between the province and the Sublime Porte. For the newly unified Italian, the proposed paths did not offer a link to the fertile plains of the Medjerda (along which they had no investment), but rather put forward the will to obtain a monopole over access to the harbors of the territory. Such offer was animated by the considerable number of the peninsula's nationals and protégés, who were implemented on Tunis's shores and active in small sea-related industries (tuna and sponge fishing). The landscape of this race for concessions added flame to the fire regarding the situation of Tunis vis-à-vis the Sublime Porte. French proposals in particular evoked the possibility of the railways being used as Trojan horse and spurred the Porte's protectionism over its distant province and territorial integrity. This motivated dispatches from Istanbul instructing Tunis to approach such offers with caution. On the other hand, Tunis was still vacillating between full autonomy and allegiances to the Ottoman Empire at large. Accordingly, it managed to divide railway concessions between different nations in order to avoid monopolies and to limit their reach. While the British/Italian railway provided a link to the capital's harbor, the French railway was not allowed to reach Algeria, but was nevertheless expected to transport products of the agricultural hinterland into the heart of the capital, from where the other railway would take over.

About another Ottoman infrastructural project in nineteenth century Izmir, Sibel Zandi-Sayek wrote (2012):

> Beyond their centrality to the functioning of modern cities, public works [..] are necessarily bound up with the public good. As goods that must be shared, if they are to exist at all, public works are the locus of divergent and often conflicting viewpoints and interests. At the same time, they offer opportunities

> for articulating and validating what the public good is and whom the public comprises. In that way, public works are profoundly political arenas, contested sites through which the boundaries and scope of the modern urban public are constituted and challenged. [..] From the outset, government officials and investors advanced the endeavor as a project of public utility, intended to benefit the general welfare of the city. But the protracted and sinuous process of implementation, with its shifting issues and coalitions, attested to the difficulty of reconciling a profit-driven venture with the discrete interests of local and government actors.[144]

Consistently with that line of thought, the mechanisms of implementation of the TGM project invite interrogations about unilaterality of the West-East or North-South relationships. From one side, the recourse of Léon Roches to the intervention of the British State Secretary to prevent a British offer in Tunis in 1862, the British agent's claim to sovereignty in 1876, the French subscription to military intimidation methods in exchange for a second railway and port concession in 1880, and the Bône-Guelma administrators' association between these railways and French colonial influence in 1898 indeed do translate a violent such relationship. From another side, closer scrutiny to the local mechanisms of decision and study challenges the unilaterality paradigm in many respects. First, the presence of a local engineer with railway expertise among the consultative committee shakes peripheralization preconceptions and demonstrates that the TGM did not rely on foreign expertise alone. Second, the waxing negotiations, refused concessions, and the constant interference of capitalist local dignitaries in and against proposed railways are indeed reminiscent of situations experienced in London and Paris regarding the influential and capitalist classes' interference in railways[145]. Be that as it may, the case of these conflicts in British/Italian or French-built railways in Tunis points to the role played by local policymakers as actors. It brings to the fore the absorption of foreign consuls into local dynamics and networks, which they had to navigate to have their proposals considered. Third, the previous subsections denote the

[144] Sibel Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir: The rise of cosmopolitan port, 1840-1880* (Minnesota: the Univesity of Minnesota Press, 2012): 119.

[145] For Britain see John R. Kellet, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (London: Routledge, 1969): 100-122 and Christian Wolmar, *Fire and Steam: A New History of the Railways in Britain*, (London: Atlantic Books, 2007): "The First Railway". For Paris see Karen Bowie, "L'implantation de la gare du Nord dans le clos Saint-Lazare", in *Du clos Saint-Lazare à la gare du Nord: Histoire d'un quartier de Paris*, eds. Florence Bourillon, Frédéric Jiméno, and Karen Bowie (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes and Comité d'histoire de la ville de Paris, 2018): 183:199. For Italy see Filippo De Pieri, "Réseaux de chemin de fer et espace urbain au XIX^{e} siècle: la question de l'emplacement de la gare de Porta Susa à Turin", *Revue d'histoire des chemins de fer* 23 (autumn 2000): 22-45.

intertwinement of private profit and clientele agendas with common interest projects. This was as true for the involved European investors (who additionally held political positions or had kinship ties with people who did), as it was for Tunisian dignitaries, of which the occasional "Europeanness" and Western decorations did not preclude the prioritization of their own interests regarding railways. In other words, the fact that the TGM was expected to channel materials through La Goulette harbor only adds to the fact that it was a capitalist enterprise that offered the local wealthy class an opportunity to expand its spheres of lucrative activity. Moreover, the fact the certain officials like Khaznadar or Kheïreddine had European origins or had esteemed Westernized distinctions (such as the Légion d'honneur) did not guarantee automatic adoption of French, British, or Italian projects. Along that line of thought, attention to the timespan separating the beginning of the colonization (1881) from the date the Bône-Guelma was actually able to acquire the line (1898) suggests that despite two decades of French presence, colonial control of public benefit infrastructures still abided by pre-protectorate dynamics and diplomacies.

The preceding section provided justification for the use of the railways for freight transport. Situating it within a context of considerable urban and infrastructural transformations, the following section attempts to engage deeper with the spatiality and experience of the TGM railway, and with how it was equally an important agent and correlation of the local spatio-economic changes in nineteenth century Tunis.

3.2. The railways in the city

3.2.1. Tunis (al-Hadhira)

3.2.1.1. Urban and infrastructural transformations

In the early 1800s, the bulk of the population of al-Hadhira had managed to remain contained within its Medina, surrounded by two ramparts, and flanked by a citadel to its west. The citadel (*el-Qasba*) was the administrative center. At the very heart and topographically top of the Medina, were located the Zitouna Mosque, as well as one of the beylical residences (Dar el-Bey). Responding to a more local and restricted set

of needs, the Medina was the economic, industrial, and residential center par excellence for the ordinary inhabitant of Tunis. Albeit ethnologically, religiously, and economically diverse, inhabitants perpetuated their social divides into the limited space that they shared. Concentrations of its residential quarters obeyed two major factors. On a grand scale, occupation of space paralleled the religious affiliations of different members of the population. Muslims being the most numerous, they lived in the core of the Medina and in the faubourgs of Bab Souika, Bab al-Jazira and al-Halfaouine. The second most populous group was composed of the Jewish population. Albeit of different geographic origins and of different social statuses informed by their trades, modest *Touensa* [Tunisians] and fortunate *Granas* [Livornese] shared the same Hara, within the inner ramparts, a gated quarter to which they were admitted under the Hafsid dynasty in the tenth century. Free Christians were fewer than the preceding two groups. With the bulk of them being seraglio Mamluks or servants living in upper class houses, the remaining were living in the Quartier Franc. This quarter was located at the topographically bottom of the Medina, near the Eastern ramparts. It was accessible via *Bab B'har* [Sea Gate] (later renamed Porte de France or Porte de la Marine), which opened on a square called Place de la Bourse. The settlement acted as a magnet for foreign consulates and populations/protégés. These were either a sedentary group living in rental property, or semi-sedentary traders installed in *Fundoqs*, which served the function of hotels, depots, retail points, and houses for the representative consular corps (fig.3.4, 3.5). On the scale of Muslim population alone, distinction between quarters obeyed norms of the merchant aristocracy. Within the inner ramparts lived the *Baldis* [citadins/urbanite], a class that had been living in Tunis for centuries and who was professionally active in essentially urban artisan industries (such as perfume making). Orally, the nomenclature of the walled city's neighborhoods and streets accommodating the specialized markets obeyed this categorization. Between the two ramparts lived the Mamluk families (because of the proximity to the Qasba and Bardo complex) and the *Barranis* [outsiders]. Of more modest means, these were Muslims coming from other cities of the regency or other Ottoman provinces (Algeria, Tripolitania). They were professionally active in less "noble" trades necessitating a proximity to the agricultural hinterland (such as potters or weavers). As was the case for the very heart of the Medina, oral street nomenclature obeyed the same categorization. Non-Muslim inhabitants (*Dhimmis*) were at the mercy of landlords

who fixed the rent fees based on the tenants' religious confession. The demographic growth was in turn met with the fragmentation of the same house across religions and ethnicities[146].

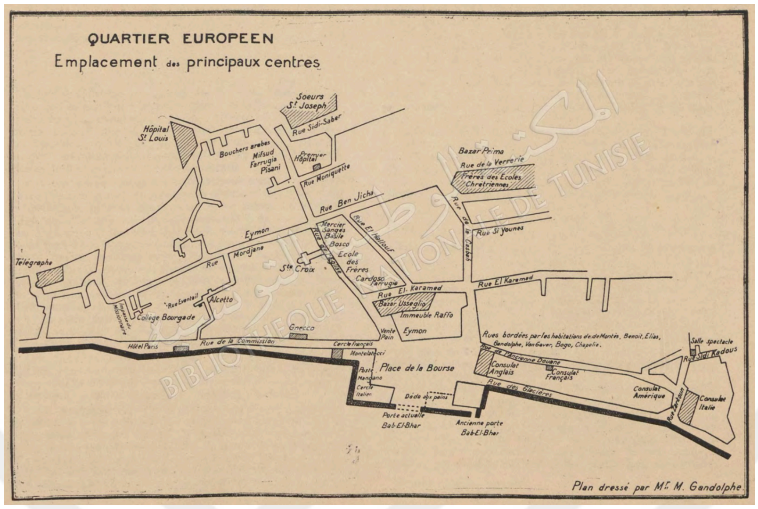


Figure 3.4. Plan of the Quartier Franc around 1850, with the European Intramuros settlements and the new central gate marked.

Source: MM. C. Benattar, Marcel Gandolphe et al. Histoire de la ville de Tunis, (Algiers : Emile Pfister, 1926) 184.

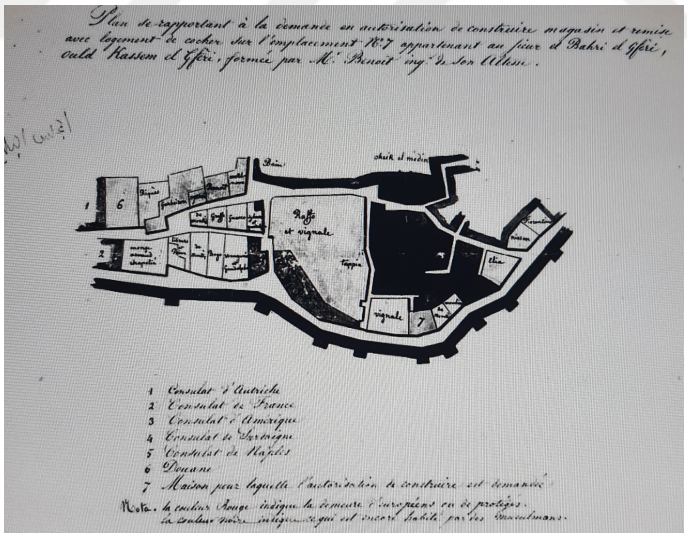


Figure 3.5. Partial plan of the Quartier Franc by the Municipal Council after 1858, with the dark color designating European and protégés in the Quartier Franc, and the light one locals.

Source: Tunisian National Archives, Série Historique, Carton 56, Dossier 619.

[146] Mohamed el-Aziz ben Achour, "Cadre urbain, habitat et structures sociales à Tunis dans la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle", *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 34, no. 137 and 138. (3rd and 4th trimestre, 1986), 267-308.



Figure 3.6. Plan of the city of Tunis in 1860. Attributed to engineer Colin.

Source: Reproduced from Jacques Revault, Palais et demeures de Tunis. XVIIIe et XIXe siècles. (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique,

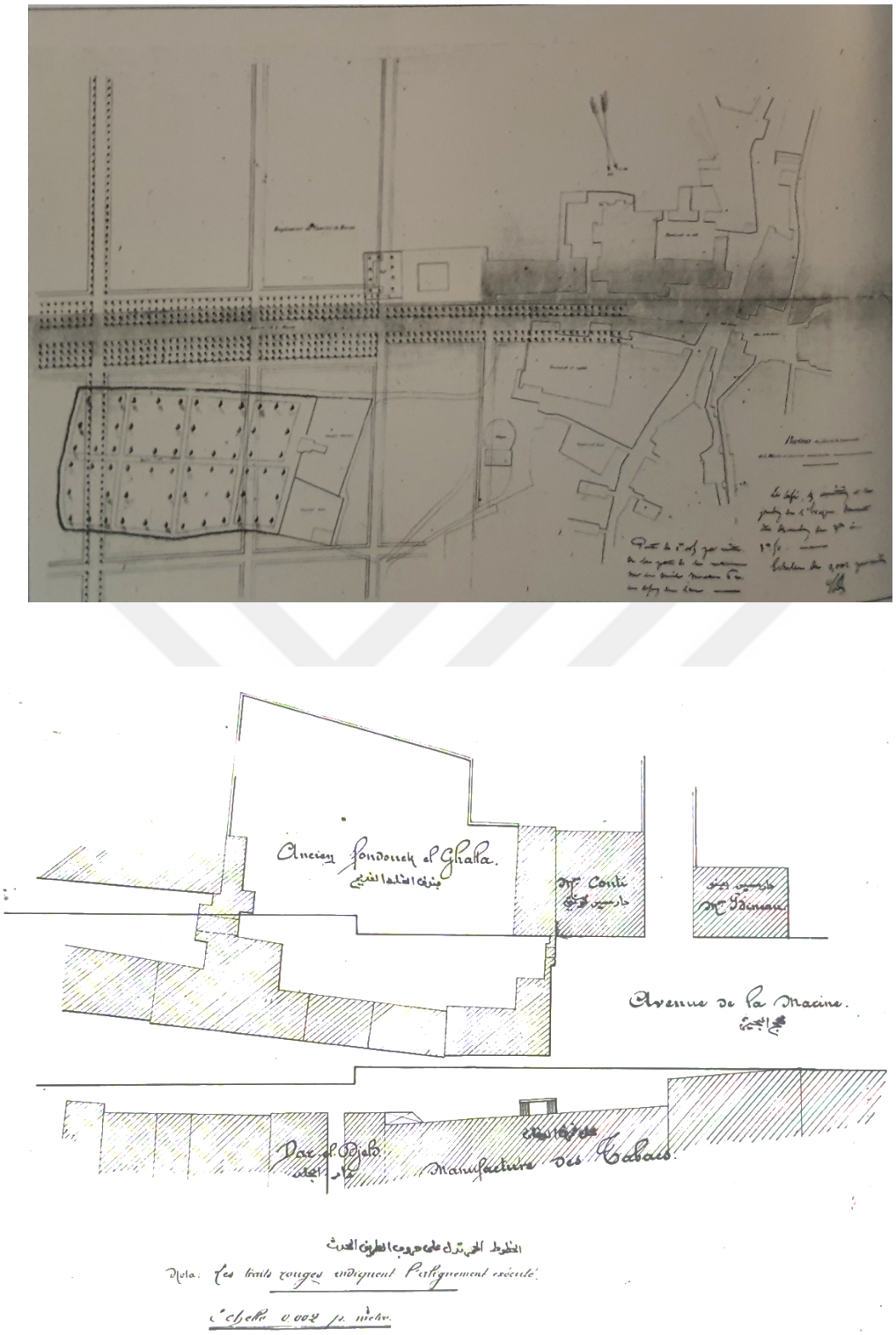


Figure 3.7. Plan of a portion of La Promenade de la Marine displaying the overlap of the new grid-iron plan and the old field, circa 1860.

Sources: Tunisian National Archives. (top) Reproduced from Leïla, Ammar, La Rue à Tunis, réalités, permanences, transformations de l'espace urbain: 1835-1935, ed. Centre de Publication Universitaire. (Tunis: Laboratoire Archéologie et Architecture Maghrébines, 2017) 72. (bottom) Carton 56, Dossier 619.



Figure 3.8. Plan of Tunis in 1870. Drawn by Freiherrn von Malkan.

Source: Reproduced from: Arnaud Jean-Luc. "Tunis, le plan de Colin de 1860, un document sans auteur ni date," Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée 118, no. 2 (2006) Fidelita.

By the mid 1800s, the population surge during a context of pandemics (cholera, typhus, typhoid fever) exacerbated Tunis' urban conditions. This situation urged the implementation of top-down urban initiatives that blended concerns of official control and *umran* aspirations with capitalist investments. Powered by a commitment to public utility and supported by a legitimizing legal framework, the need for a new model was met by the official and private investment in lucrative public services and infrastructure. With an official budget stifled by debts, embezzlement, and corruption of certain members of the court, the projects relied on agreements between foreign investors with enough capital and the beylical authorities. European negotiators, industrialists, and engineers were commissioned for the planning phases of approved projects whereas the local government covered aspects of their implementation in the regency. This involved providing (if existent) competent laborers, as well as the

expropriation of existing properties and the liberation of inalienable assets such as cemeteries to investments.

Along with the 1857 Fundamental Pact, these shifts transformed the dynamics and the composition of the society, and scaffolded the understanding of real estate and infrastructure as a commodity. Following the removal of traditional restrictions, lands became accessible for sale/rent/lease and investment by anyone possessing the necessary means, regardless of confession and ethnicity. Consequently, the configuration of the Medina started to rely on financial income, which emerged as chief determinant in land occupation distributions within and beyond the city walls. In addition, the arrival of a new population, most of whom were Christian (Italian and Maltese) and of modest means, promoted a new culture and introduced another mode of city utilization patterns. Accompanied by new apports to the daily consumption culture, minor industries such as wine and pasta making, tailor shops, millineries, haberdasheries, pastry making, confectioneries, ice cream making, or pharmacies emerged and settled in and around the Medina. As a result, this led to the emergence of the Quartier Franc as a coveted residential area for both Muslim and non-Muslim populations[147]. Likewise, the temporal dimension of the city changed; with popularization of night life, city doors were kept open at night upon a beylical order in 1860, rendering the presence of ramparts obsolete and the Medina effectively porous.

To serve the growing population all while ensuring profits for (local and foreign) investors, the government commissioned survey studies and infrastructural projects in the heart of the city. The first survey was executed by an engineer named Dubois (first name unknown) between 1856-1860. This was followed by the creation of a telegraph line (connecting Tunis, Béja, el-Kef, la Goulette, Bardo, Hammam-Lif, la Marsa) by engineer Paul Bardonnant. The same year, engineer Pierre Colin took part in the production of Tunis' city plan (1859-1861) and –alongside Vincent Athanase Taillet– the enhancement of urban water distribution system and the restauration of the Zaghouan Roman aqueducts supplying Bardo, Tunis, and La Goulette with water

[147] Paul Sebag reports the existence of a total of 65 wholesale shops in 1865; 58 of which were the property of foreigners, and four those of Jewish Tunisians. Sebag, *Tunis: Histoire d'une ville,* 297.

(1859-1862). Management of this water distribution system was given to Tunisian investors (Generals Baccouche, Husseïn, Rostom, and Mohammad) in 1872. In 1861 Pierre Colin additionally designed a new French consulate, an avenue leading to it (Avenue de France), and the Promenade de la Marine (in turn Avenue de la Marine, Avenue Jules Ferry, and Avenue Habib Bourguiba today), foreseeing the transformation of the Porte de la Marine into a pronounced axis (fig.3.6, 3.7). Again in 1861, the 4-km long road linking Intramuros Tunis to the Bardo complex was paved. In 1863, another map/plan was commissioned to engineers M. Milhau and J. Zagrzewski, who recorded existing thoroughfares, but also projected orthogonal ones. Although the plan was never achieved, it served as reference for another 1871 plan, published by German Freiherrn von Malkan (fig.3.8). In 1864, the dismantlement of the city ramparts (decided upon in 1846) and the repurposing of its stones began. In 1865, Sadok Bey gave the Genoese settled in Tunis Carlotta Gnecco-Fasciotti a large terrain along La Promenade de La Marine in exchange for her services in filling the swamps and managing the flow of wastewater. Turning the situation to her advantage, Gnecco-Fasciotti filled the land with rubbles, creating an area of 13 hectares (La Petite Sicile) that she parcellated and leased to newly arrived Sicilians of modest means, allowing them to build their own houses, provided they demolished them by 1897, upon expiry of their contracts. In 1866, the Bey decided on the draining of the Sijoumi lagoon; a project that he had executed by French architect/engineer Philippe Caillat. In 1870, a beltway linking city gates was developed by the enterprise Bessy & Jalla. Exploiting the space evacuated by the dismantlement of the ramparts, this beltway was further expanded and paved between 1872-1876, accommodating the el-Jazira street (1875-1876); with the terrains surrounding it opened for speculation. In 1872, with the gradual demolition of the ramparts, Bab Qartajinna, Bab Souiqa, Bab Bnet, and Bab el-Jazira; four of the seven city gates were demolished, leaving only Bab el-Mnara, Bab el-Jedid, and Bab B'har/Porte de la Marine [Sea Gate]; which had been restored in 1846/7[148]. Again in 1872, a network of gas-operated street lighting (conceded to British engineer William Lefeuvre) and paved thoroughfares were implemented and expanded by 1874.

[148] Sebag, *Tunis: Histoire d'une ville,* 284.

After the establishment of the protectorate, infrastructural projects continued, as the implemented administration worked within the existing scheme and oriented invested state revenues towards the expansion of the "European city", while keeping the "indigenous/Arab" city by and large untouched. Such investments notably included the renovation and grounding of open-air sewers (1891), and the concession of tramway projects. The first was in 1885 to the Belgian Joseph Colson and his Société Anonyme des Tramways de Tunis of a horse-driven tramway line retracing the demolished ramparts and La Promenade to La Marine. The second was conceded in 1896 to the French Compagnie générale française de Tramways, which also offered horse-driven journeys along the outer ramparts and the growing city[149]. Accompanying the enactment of new regulations, French projects included penetration of the existing landscape and its punctuation with French/"Western" cultural elements (churches and a cathedral, missionary French schools, courthouses). But they were not the only ones to do so as a growing number of Italians also was able to create theatres and schools (reaching the numbers of 13 in Tunis alone by 1896).

3.2.1.2. Implementation of the TGM: 1872-1905

It is within these deep infrastructural and societal transformations that the first trunks of the TGM railway were made operational, in 1872. In a verbal description of its path in the booklet of concession specifications written on July 8th, 1870 and printed in Tunis[150], the TGM railway is reported to depart from Tunis between the Greek cemetery (east), the gardens of two non-Muslims (Jewish or foreigners, judging by their designation by the title "Signor"[151]), the residence of the Jewish Caïd Nessim Bishi Scemama (west), retracing the "new tanners" coffeehouse (Café des Tanneurs, in the modest Maltese quarter of Malta Sghira), the *Fundoq* of "Signor Santillana" and a fruit garden (Trondja) until bifurcating between the roads leading to La Goulette to

[149] Ammar, *Tunis d'une ville à l'autre:* 163-181.
[150] Copies (in Arabic) are present in TNA, SH, Carton 236, Dossier 503 and in the Tunisian National Library, Code A-BR-12243.
[151] One of them was a certain "Bineau" (likely French), owner of a constructed land on the new Promenade de La Marine. I was unable to find a latinized version of the second's name or mentions of both of them elsewhere. The document states a Signor طابية for the second owner.

the east and L'Ariana to the west. Conforming to its verbal description in the booklet, a map from before 1881 depicts in part the TGM railway path. (fig.3.9).

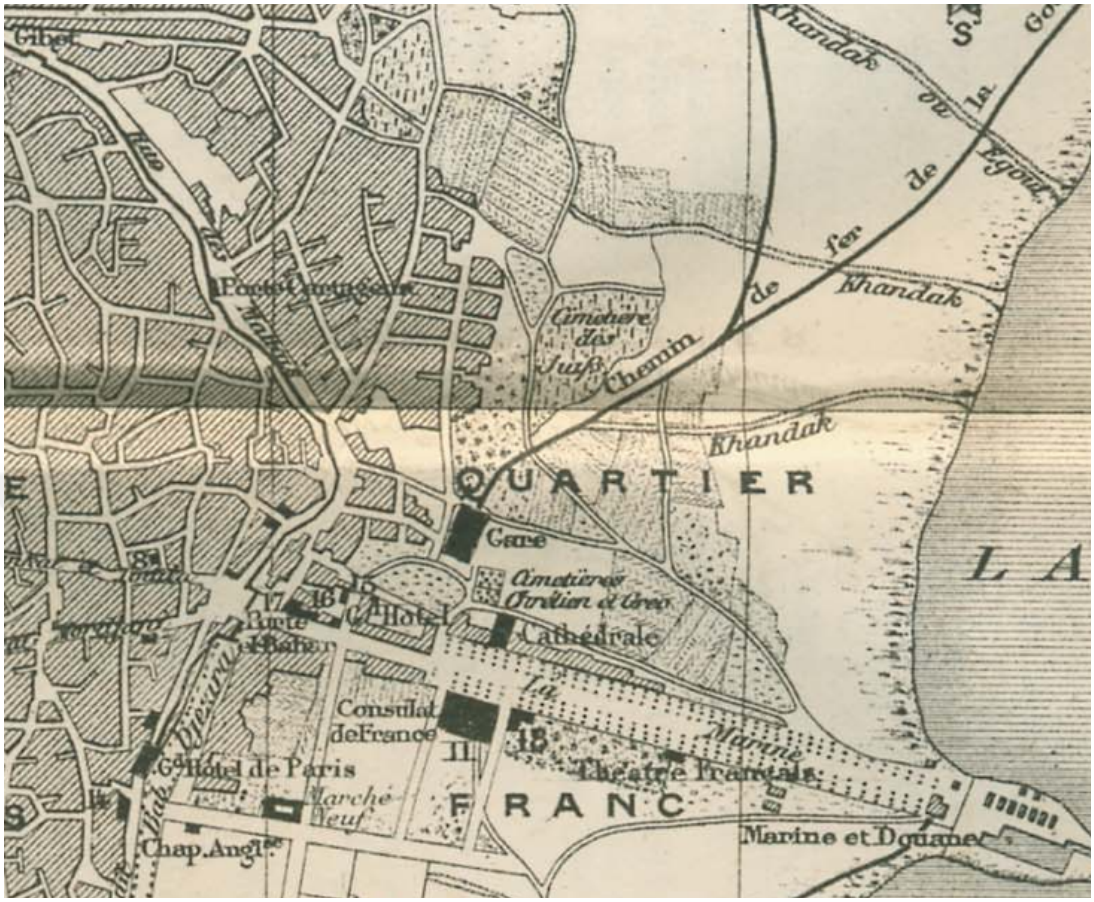


Figure 3.9. Detail from map of Tunis around 1879-1881.

Source: Excerpt from Guide Joanne, Algérie et Tunisie (Paris: Hachette et cie, 1889).

Outside the traditional condensed center and the cleared outline of the ramparts, gaining terrain over cemeteries, open-air sewers, fruit gardens, a modest coffeehouse, and the properties of only four non-Muslim landlords, the route of the TGM echoes the railway implementation schemes experienced with in (e.g.) Britain France, and other cities of the Ottoman Empire (fig.3.10, 3.11). Like it had been the case there, the line of action consisted in thwarting extortionate expropriation costs by favoring to get the tracks across terrains devoid of monumental or significant constructions and owned by a reduced number of individuals. In the words of John Kellet (1969):

> The typical stations of this period were all [..] on the outskirts of the then built-up areas. The main consideration in their siting was to achieve the cheapest and simplest approach and terminus, with the minimum disturbance of property [..] Usually the last part of the approach line ran through open land leased out in

> small market-gardens or through slum terrace and cellar dwellings leased in batches of eight or ten to middlemen, but, in each case, conveniently owned by a few larger landowners whose goodwill had been secured.[152]

When juxtaposed with two previous ones, the map also preciously documents the implementation of the French station, inaugurated around six years after the TGM. Mirroring the rivalries between the French and the British, the Promenade de la Marine was a quasi-natural boundary[153], acting as a west-east axis that divided the area into a north and a south section, punctuated each by a station. The subsequent maps also crystallize the gradual accommodation of the railways into the development scheme envisaged by the 1863 plan, which foresaw a grid-iron parcellation of the extra-muros area. To the south, the more recent Bône-Guelma station and its surroundings appear as having espoused a strict grid-iron layout. Albeit different from the 1870 plan, it remained faithful to its rectilinearity. The TGM entrance to the city denotes a different approach. It marks the moment of accommodation of railways into the urban fabric and the rearrangement of spatial priorities expressed by the 1863 plan. While the parcels surrounding it have conserved the imprint of the demolished ramparts to the west, by 1881, their layout is characterized by a clearer delineation of boundaries and circulation areas. If not as obvious as the southern part, they still retraced the perimeter of the station and of its connection to the Medina and the Promenade.

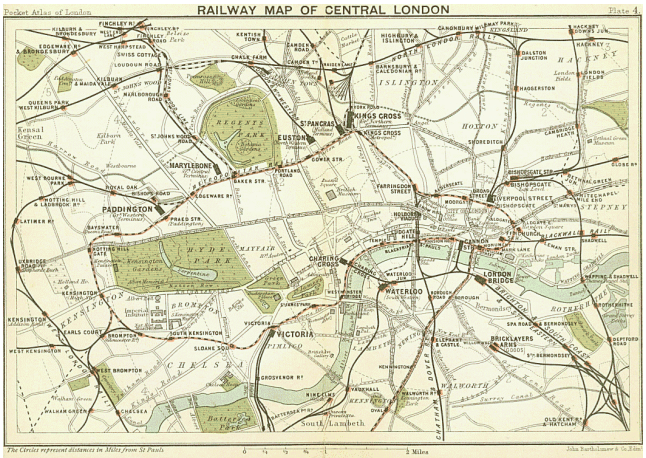


Figure 3.10. Railway map of London (1899)

Sources: wikicommons

[152] Kellet, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities*, 4-5.
[153] Metaphor consciously used to evoke the (e.g.) the rivers Thames and Seine that guided the implementation of railways in London and Paris.



Figure 3.11. Railway maps of Paris (c.1895) and Izmir (1873).

Sources: wikicommons (top), and (bottom) Murray's Handbook for Travellers 1873.

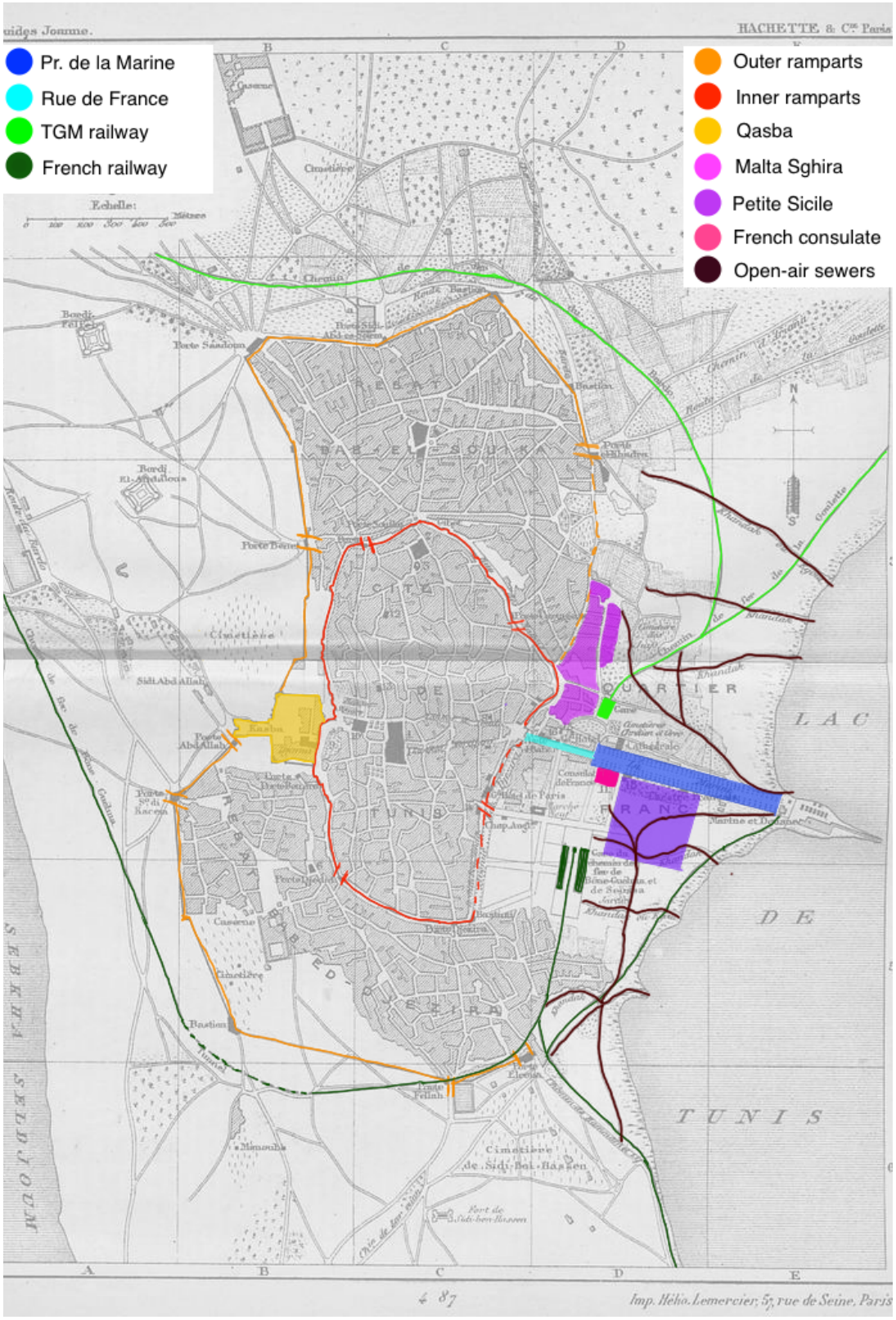


Figure 3.12. Map of Tunis around 1878. (Judging by the absence of the Tunis-Marine TGM trunk)

Source: Excerpt from Guide Joanne, Algérie et Tunisie (Paris: Hachette et cie, 1889). Likely based on the 1860 plan attributed to engineer Colin.

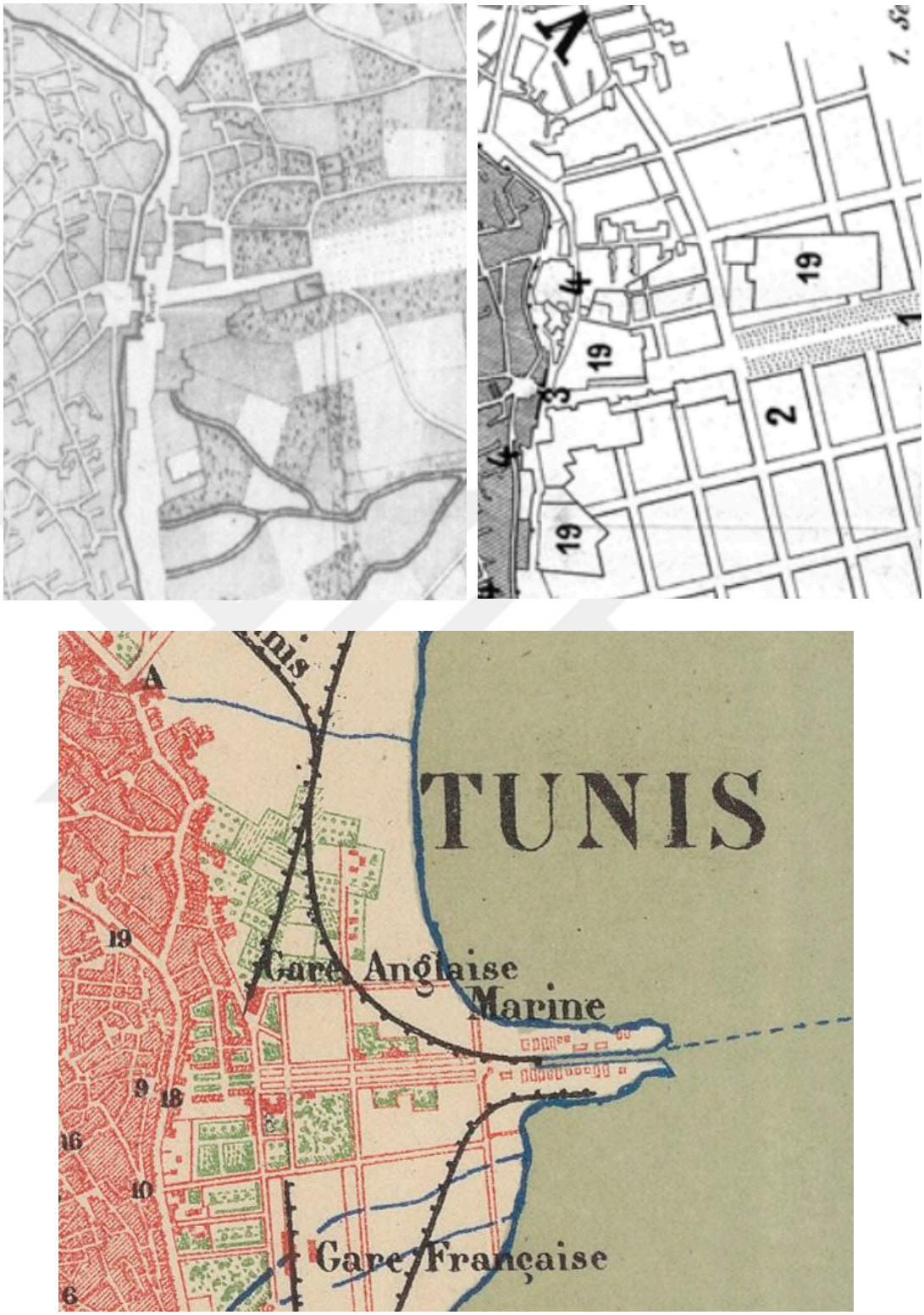


Figure 3.13. Two maps (top left and bottom) and a plan of the surroundings of the station in (clockwise, starting from top left) 1860, 1870, and 1878.

Sources: Plan Colin 1860, plan Freiherrn von Malkan 1870, Guide Joanne (1889/1878), and Bibliothèque nationale de France, GEC-4.



Figure 3.14. Details of an 1893 and an 1899 map of Tunis, with open-air sewers gradually earthed, the lagoon's canal filled, and the parcels slowly rearranged (but not necessarily occupied) to accommodate the railways.

Sources: plans by Henri Le François and E. Tardy.

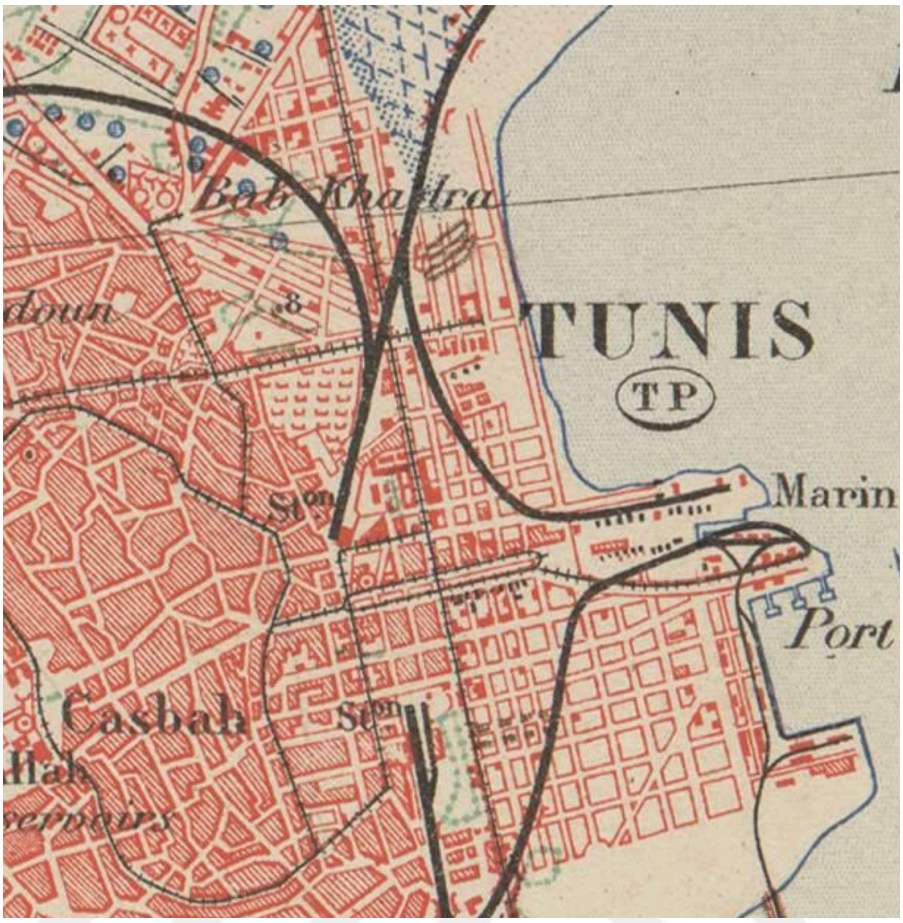


Figure 3.15. Details of a 1902 map of Tunis.

Source: Collections patrimoniales numérisées de Bordeaux Montaigne, Tunisie Flle. N° XX-B2-C36.

As it had been the case in European and Ottoman[154] cities, the presence of railways accelerated a speculation trend along major circulation corridors. In the case of Tunis, the trend was most noticeable along the tracks of the railway and parallelling the axis of La Promenade de la Marine. In conjunction with the 1857 Fundamental Pact prerogatives, Europeans were able to establish lease agreements (*enzel*) with local property owners and with pious foundations (*habous/evkaf*), allowing them to either inhabit or invest them. As such, the years between 1861-1881, 50 lots belonging to the municipality and to the Sadikiya pious foundation were leased to Europeans[155]. This trend was witnessed by a French visitor in 1881 that communicated:

[154] Tozoğlu, "Actors of Change: railway projects and urban architecture of Balkan cities in the late Ottoman period", 266-268, and Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman Izmir: The rise of cosmopolitan port, 1840-1880*, 119-131 regarding ports.
[155] Ammar, *La Rue à Tunis, réalités, permanences, transformations de l'espace urbain: 1835-1935*, 99.

> I have just spoken with land speculators. People are speculating wildly in Tunis! [..] Who would believe it? Land is worth today, in Tunis, fifty, sixty, seventy and eighty francs per square meter! More expensive than in Saint-Germain! Amazing things have happened. A wind of speculation has blown through Tunis. People came, who the day after the treaty of the 12th May, *gathered* land on the Marine, in the European quarter, around the railway. They paid ten and fifteen francs per meter, which is already a good price for Tunisia. And today, these buyers, who have become resellers, find other buyers who pay them forty-five francs and fifty francs, what they had paid ten three months ago. A Maltese won 80,000 francs in June, on land he got from a relative, and which had never been worth a hundred piastres in the eyes of the Tunisians. The Europeans will build on it houses. The wife of a prefect of Naples, Mrs. F[asciotti], is going to make a fortune with 50,000 meters (sic.) of land that she received as a gift from the Bey ten (sic.) years ago. Everything on the edge of the lake is unaffordable, because they hope that the port will soon be dug, and that then the said land on the edge will be snatched up.
> What am I saying? A Parisian arrived the other day in Tunis. He paid 70,000 francs for land located opposite the French Consulate, on the Marine; and he is going to build a theater there in the style of Folies-Bergères. [..] Within two weeks, the contractors will arrive from Paris with their materials, and in six months the opening will take place [..] Isn't this all a tale? No. Tell others. Ask Bank X, Bank Z, Crédit Something, Comptoir Thingy. They all rented shops, *forever!*
> Mr. Roustan says a wise word to all the gold prospectors who discount Tunisia, sometimes without thinking: - Bring money here and make it produce; it will bear many fruits. But don't expect to collect it by the shovel without having sown. It does not grow any more in Tunis than elsewhere.[156]

Nine years later, another French visitor taking the train from La Goulette relayed (1890):

> We approach Tunis, we enter; on each side, along the railway, we see small squares or small rectangles flooded, which look like salt marshes: these are the plots of land for the future European city. The first large building that we encounter, isolated, in the middle of gardens, and of quite beautiful appearance, is the Saint-Charles college, which Cardinal de Lavigerie[157] founded and which he has just given to the State, today Sadiki [and later Carnot] high school. Around this spacious and decent construction extends a sort of abandoned plain where a few groups of goats pursue an invisible pasture with commendable obstinacy. The houses finally appear, two or three floors, similar to those of all our towns in the Midi, and after two minutes you get off the wagon, a few steps from the residence, the post office, cafés and hotels. [..] On the beautiful

[156] Italics and English in the original for "forever". Pierre Giffard, *Les Français à Tunis* (Paris: V. Harvard, 1881): 183-185

[157] Cardinal de Lavigerie (d. 1892) was appointed archbishop in Tunis. He monopolized vast domains purchased at trivial prices across the regency and that he parcellated and resold. [author unknown] "M. de Lavigerie: le rôle du cardinal à Rome et à Tunis", *La Lanterne: Journal politique quotidien*, July 25th, 1889, 1.

> Avenue de la Marine, the main artery of the Frankish city, important constructions are rare; but the shops, temporary buildings of merchants or craftsmen, are crowded there, more and more numerous. Many Europeans nevertheless continue to live in the Arab city [..] French shops are becoming much more numerous: [..] signs in our language today far exceed those in Italian.[158]



Figure 3.16. Photograph of the Promenade de la Marine towards l'Avenue de France in 1880.

Source: Centre de documentation nationale tunisienne.

The visitors' accounts reveal that the new extension of the city was associated with the Europeans inhabiting it in large numbers. More importantly, establishing a link between the railways and land values, these accounts additionally reveal that the participants to the purchase operations underway were not only French but also included locals, Italians (Gnecoo-Fasciotti being only one example) and Maltese[159], who were both a proletariat and a merchant class present in the capital in greater numbers than the French and before the protectorate. During the first years of the occupation, the French population consisted in the bureaucrats and engineers working

[158] Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, "Lettre de Tunisie: Tunis, le 28 octobre", 739-743.
[159] See R. Vadala, "L'émigration maltaise en pays musulmans", *Revue du monde musulman* 14 (April 1911): 36-61, esp. 46 for statistics.

for the colonial administration. Corroborating the visitor's citation of Roustan, these were indeed employees that purchased real estate as a side investment or in the intention of inhabiting it themselves[160]. As further mentioned in the first account, the lots acquired by the French were mostly in the hands of companies and developers[161], who had greater purchasing power than particulars settled in Tunis. In any case, photographs from the period and a map dated 1893 indicate that the transformation from plot to building on l'Avenue de la Marine and around the stations was gradual (fig. 3.16, 3.17, 3.18. 3.19, 3.20). On the photographs, the Promenade is still by and large unoccupied, save for the single to three storey constructions, warehouses, and the greenery surrounding them.



Figure 3.17. Photograph of the Promenade de la Marine before 1882.

Source: La Tunisie d'antan

[160] Leroy-Beaulieu, "Lettre de Tunisie: Tunis, le 28 octobre", 742, and Sebag, *Tunis: Histoire*, 327.
[161] To illustrate this with an example, in 1892, 92% of the French-owned land belonged to 16 proprietors. Paul Sebag, *Tunisie: Essai d'une monographie* (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1951): 38.

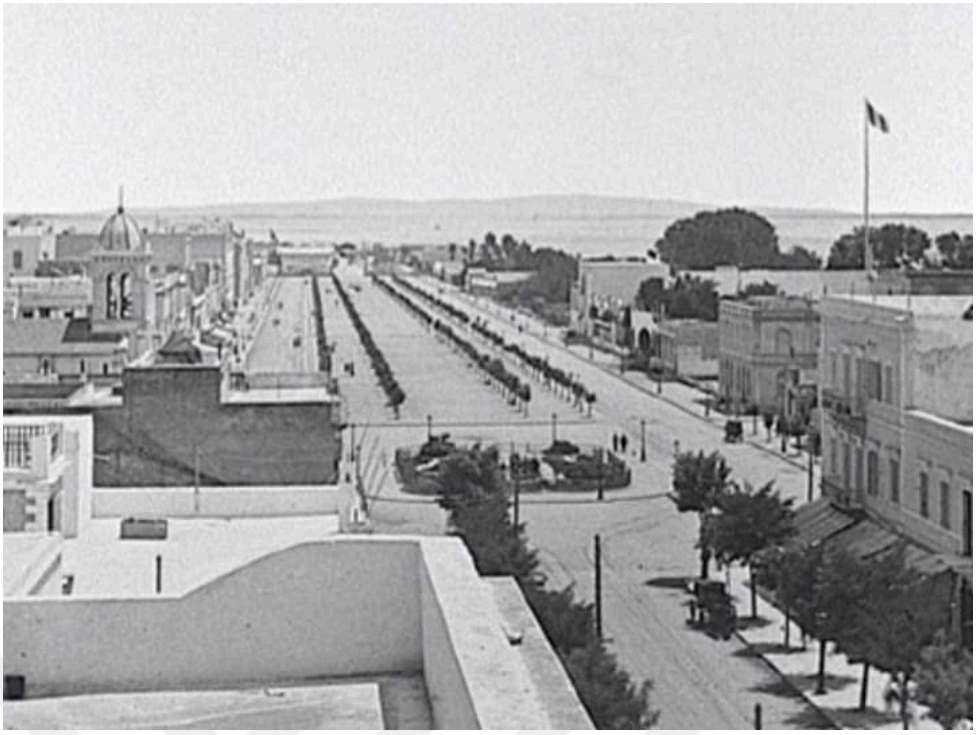


Figure 3.18. Photograph of the Promenade de la Marine between 1882-1890.

Source: La Tunisie d'antan.

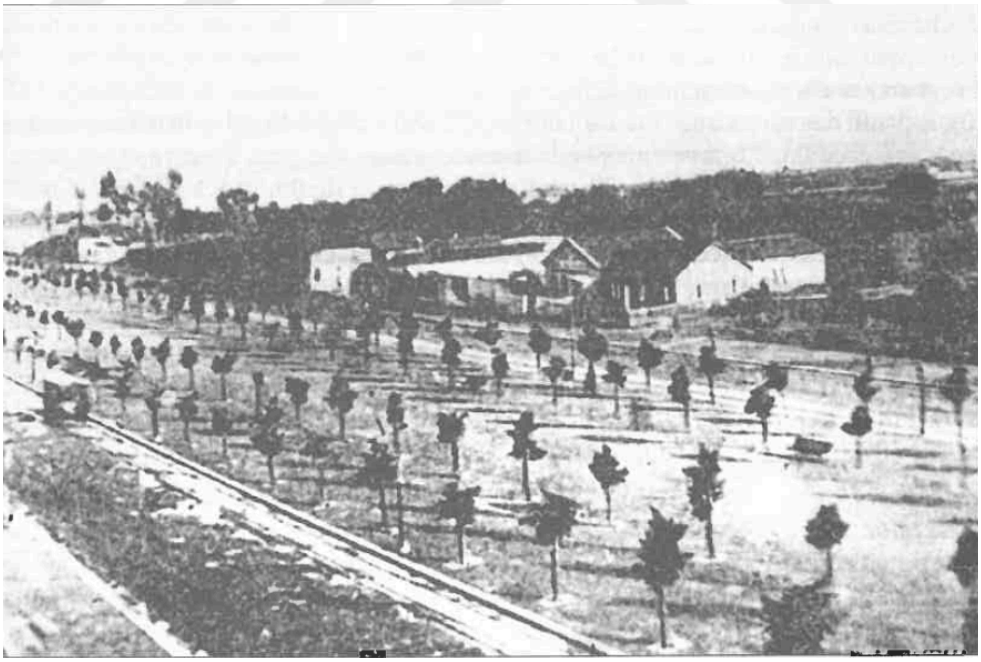


Figure 3.19. Photograph of the Promenade de la Marine in 1882.

Source: La ville de Tunis à l'Exposition coloniale internationale de 1931. Reproduced from Leïla Ammar, La rue à Tunis: réalités, permanences, transformations de l'espace urbain: 1835-1935, ed. Centre de Publication Universitaire. (Tunis: Laboratoire Archéologie et Architecture Maghrébines, 2017): 233.



Figure 3.20. Photograph of the Promenade de la Marine between 1885-1898.

Source: La Tunisie d'antan.

On the exact location of the station, a 1931 article of *La dépêche tunisienne* reports that:

> The Tunis station was completed by a body of buildings, for the various services facing the Place de Rome and parallel to the streets of Naples and the Tanners. [..] When the management of this operation became Italian, the offices were installed in the rue de la Commission (Palazzo Gnecco).[162]

The plan records the station initiating an axis intersecting with the Avenue de la Marine and the Avenue de France, further commanding a junction between the axes of Rue des Tanneurs, Rue de Rome, and Rue de Naples and defining a square. With the spatial fabric north of it limited by the Jewish cemetery but nonetheless parcellated and partly occupied, the station was flanked by a green space to the south and a street paralleling its inclination across the parcel (Rue d'Alger). Sharing its own parcel with the vice-consulate of France, it additionally communicated with the Maltese quarter (Malta Srira/Sghira), which appears to have densified in comparison to the 1878 map. This growth can be linked to the fact that the Maltese were the chief population active in

[162] Marcel Gandolphe, "Les premières gares de Tunisie," *La dépêche tunisienne* (March 24th, 1931): 2.

contraband, and in horse-drawn transport (by *Arabas*)[163]. Navigating this space in 1881, Léon de Bisson reported:

> This road, the most beautiful in Tunis, is not completely finished; in places, it is lined with small trees. The part which borders the lake is almost deserted; There we find a certain number of cafés quite similar to those in the suburbs of Paris. But around the Porte de la Marine, there are quite important constructions. Thus, coming from the Goulette railway, we notice successively on this boulevard: 1st on the left, the [Tunisian] Ben-Aiët house, the bottom of which is occupied by a café; a large fondouk; the tobacco control; Dar-Jeld, where they receive the tax on honey and skins; the Ali-Bey house, finally, the house of [Tunisian] General Bakouch; 2nd on the right, the large hotel, the telegraph, the agency of the Transatlantic Company, the Société des Comptoirs maritimes and the Crédit Industriel et Commercial. In front of the city gate is a small square decorated with native plants. Cars are parked all around. To the right and left of this gate and always externally extend two long streets: the one on the right is known under the name of Rue des Maltais, the one on the left, in its closest portion, is called Fondouk-el- Rellah or Vegetable Market; further on, it takes different names.[164]

Built on a full property terrain belonging to the company[165], captured from only one perspective across all the surviving documents, and quasi-absent from the verbal description in the concession booklet and in consulted travelers' accounts, the TGM station's placement visibly influenced the layout of the urban fabric in its immediate vicinity, guiding the path of the 1896 tramway, and encouraging the implantation of hotels, and retail shops; notably of the multi-storey "Au Palais Arabe." Featuring a pseudo-minaret and espousing/reinforcing the road's axis via its large dimensions, the establishment was built in the beginning of the twentieth century by Sicilian architect Giuseppe Abita (1856–?). It belonged to Livornese Jewish brothers Eugenio and Alfredo Coen who had immigrated to Tunis in the 1880s[166] (fig.3.21).

---

[163] They were also notoriously active in goat breeding, which explains why Leroy-Beaulieu saw the animals around the Lycée Sadiki in 1890. Michèle Muscat, *L'héritage impensé des Maltais de Tunisie* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2011) and Kamel Jerfel, "Sicilien et Maltais en Tunisie aux XIXe et XXe siècles: Le cas de la ville de Sousse". *Mawarid* 18 (2013) 159-191.

[164] Léon de Bisson, *La Tripolitaine et la Tunisie: avec les renseignements indispensables aux voyageurs* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1881): 45.

[165] Bône-Guelma General Assembly 33rd meeting report (October 6th, 1898), ANOM, 156 AQ 6.

[166] Ettore Sessa, "Italian architects, decorators and contractors in French Tunisia: continuity and discontinuity in the building production of an integrated community," in *The Presence of Italian Architects in Mediterranean Countries: Proceedings of the First International Conference of Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Chatby, Alexandria, November 15th – 16th, 2007* (Firenze: Maschietto Editore, 2008): 109.

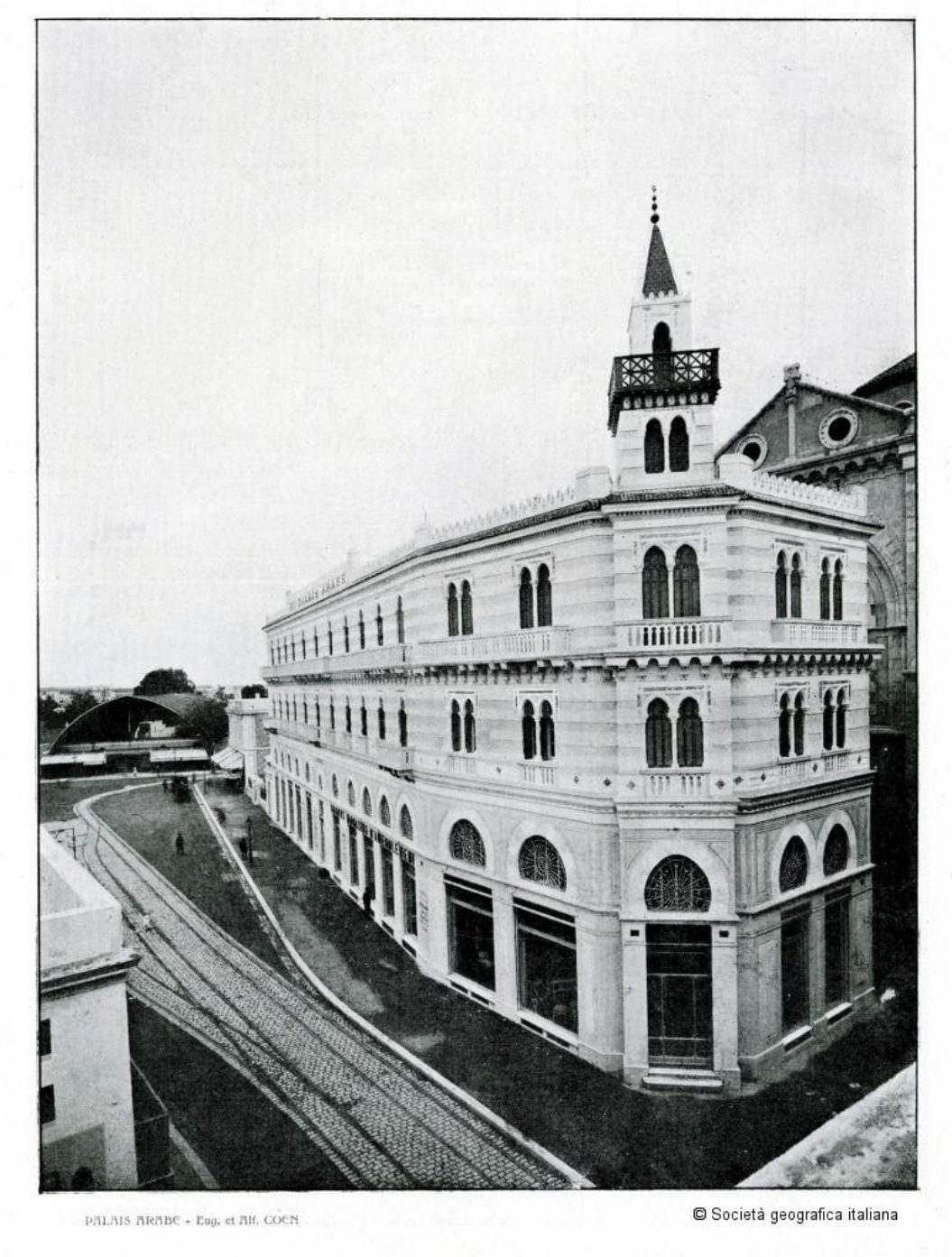


Figure 3.21. Photograph of the Rue de Rome, with to the right the retail complex Au Palais Arabe. c.1900.

Source: Collection of the Tunisian association Winou el Patrimoine? Società Geographica Italiana.

Compared to "the hull of a monstrous overturned ship, missing its front and rear"[167] by a British traveler in 1876, the terminus building was characterized by the shape of

[167] Baron Henry Hanly, *Notes sur l'Egypte et la Tunisie* (Constantinople: Levant Times, 1876): 30.

its single span wooden shed: a pointed arch. The entrance wall's horizontality was emphasized by a continuous thin and light-colored tab. Not extending vertically to meet the shed, the wall defined an unglazed space between it and the back structure. During the British operation of the line, it was surmounted by an eagle blazon, it later featured a lion statue to the left. While the eagle was an ambivalent symbol in Britain, France, and Italy, the lion symbol was present on several beylical constructions of the period; notably in the palaces of Bardo and La Marsa (fig.3.22, fig. 3.23). Both symbols seem to have disappeared or ceded their place to a clock (fig.3.24, 3.25, 3.26, 3.27, 3.28) after 1877. The main 25-meter-long façade, harboring a clock, perfectly symmetric and slightly recessed with regard to the hip roofed sections right and left of it, communicated with the interior via a large 1.5-meter-wide square central opening[168], and through four rectangular openings (to on each side), surmounted by semi-circular transom windows giving the whole opening a rounded or horseshoe-arched slender silhouette.

Devoid of shades until 1877[169], the recessed entrance was projected to the foreground via a decorated thin metalwork, defining a vestibule space. The symmetry of this frame was reproduced via two gas lamps, placed at equidistance from the center, and framing the central entrance. The entrance was further described by the 1931 article of *La dépêche tunisienne*:

> In the middle, the entrance was blocked by a recessed gate; on one of its uprights, a copper mark was used to check the height of children, for whom the benefit of half price was claimed; this measure thus avoided any dispute regarding the always uncertain age of Muslims.[170]

Despite recorded official complaints about poor management of the circulation inside the station[171], the concentration of foreign women on the left, locally dressed men in the center, and men dressed the Western way on the right suggests that the station was initially designed to let in passengers of different genders and economic statuses towards different ticketing offices or waiting spaces. In any case, with the Italians

[168] TNA, SH, Carton 236, Dossier 508, mentioned in a letter from Williamson to Kheïreddine Pasha, July 28th, 1877.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Gandolphe, "Les premières gares de Tunisie," 2.
[171] TNA, SH, Carton 236, Dossier 508, letter from prime minister Mohamed Khaznadar to Williamson, August 15th, 1877.

taking over, the circulation within the station seems to have improved, as the 1882 traveler François de Gélis testified:

> I noticed that Arabs, Jews, and Mohammedans of all conditions generally rode in third class, Europeans in second and no one in first. Not teasing at all, the employees of the Rubattino Company; the greatest freedom is given to travelers to come, go, move around the station, in and out of the train. We go up when we want, and we sit down if we want, and we smoke as much as we want. The train leaves at the appointed time, too bad for the one who didn't get on in time.[172]

As indicated by figure 3.23, the station was not only used by local and foreign population, but also by the Bey both before and after the occupation. As described by French Lionel D'Auxion in 1886:

> Still, when His Highness the Bey comes from Marsa once a week to go to the Mosque with great fanfare and great pomp, it must be said, the Tunisians and Arabs who line up in his path, and leaving the Italian station, do not hesitate to laugh and unleash a lot of mocking at his address.[173]

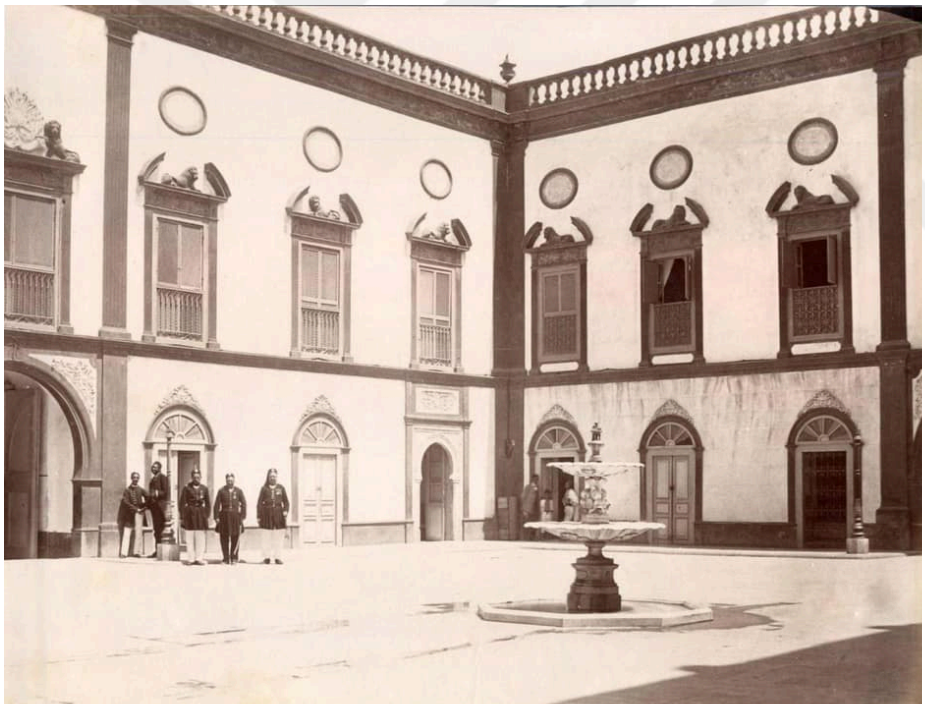


Figure 3.22. Lion statues in Husaynid palaces; Dar al-Tej [Crown House] inhabited by Beys until 1902.

Source: (bottom) JooSSooR community

[172] De Gélis, *Trois mois en Tunisie: journal d'un volontaire*, 150.
[173] Lionel D'Auxion, "De Bône à Tunis: en mai et juin 1886, journal d'un touriste", *La Revue diplomatique et le Moniteur des consulats : littérature, finances, commerce international* (October 24th, 1886) 8-9.

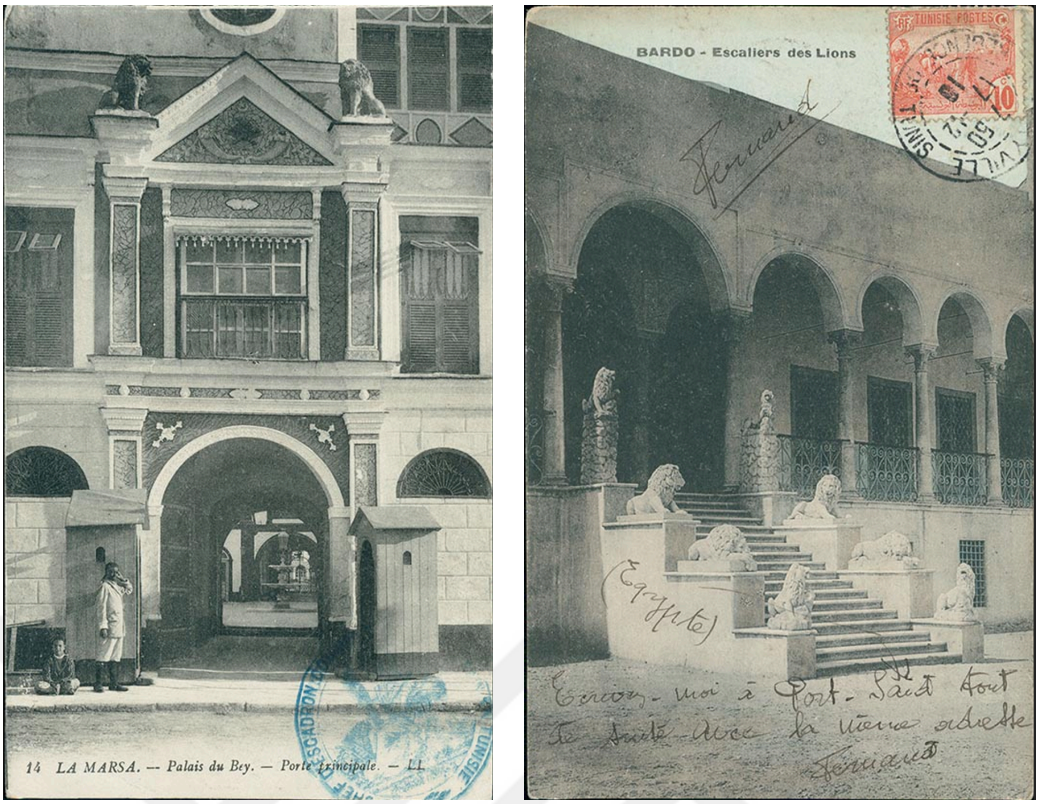


Figure 3.23. Lion statues in Husaynid palaces; (left) Dar al-Tej [Crown House] inhabited by Beys until 1902, (right) inner courtyard in Le Bardo.

Source: (left) İBB Atatürk Library postcard collection, (right) Krt_046659 (right) Krt_043099.



Figure 3.24. The French station / Gare du Sud (for juxtaposition). [n.d]

Source: delcampe.net.



Figure 3.25. 1904 Postcard of a Neurdein photograph, capturing the Bey's arrival to Tunis by train, before 1877.

Source: İBB Atatürk Library postcard collection, Krt_084314.

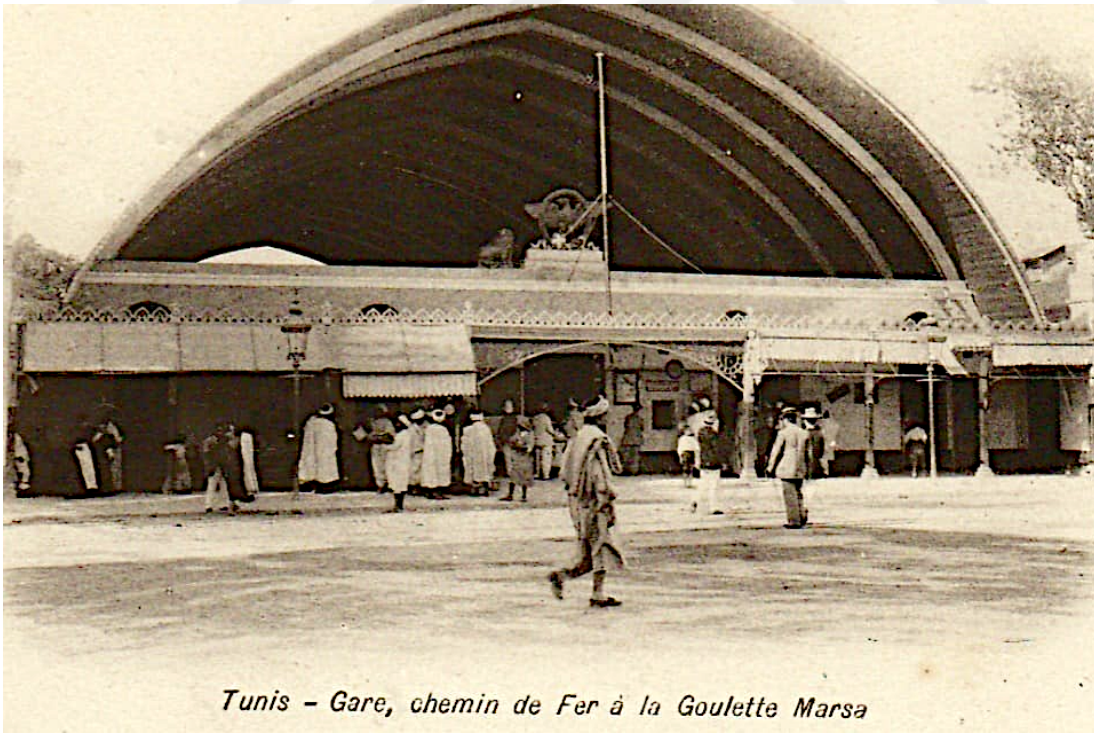


Figure 3.26. [n.d] Postcard from a photograph, capturing the main façade of the Tunis terminus, between 1877 and 1898.

Source: İBB Atatürk Library postcard collection, Krt_073286.



Figure 3.27. Photograph of the interior of the station, between 1880-1893.

Source: Léon Girardot, Voyage en Algérie Tunisie, 1893, album, p.20. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, PETFOL-VZ-972.



Figure 3.28. Engraving by Albert Bellenger based on an illustration by Frédéric de Haenen, from a photograph by Soler, cover of the December 17th, 1892 issue of L'illustration, depicting the funeral procession of Cardinal Lavigerie.

Source: Harvard University, Collection Development Department. Widener Library. HCL, W390254_1.

In 1900, after the Bône-Guelma purchase of the line (1898), the wooden shed of the station, suffering from structural decay, was replaced by the company with a metal roofing system that made the entire structure resemble a hangar[174]. At the same time, the pictures and postcards reveal that the rest of the roofing systems also underwent modifications, with the shading canopies replaced by continuous awnings placed higher than their predecessors and making it impossible to tell if the initial thin horizontal embossing on the façade had been preserved or not. Additionally, the imposing hip roofs of the side wings appear dissimulated behind a higher façade of which the parapets were retraced by stone-looking balustrades that accentuated the thick newels surmounted by vases and punctuating corners. The rest of the façade seems to have been painted in a brighter color. Moreover, wider shots of this station reveal the presence of a buffet placed at the left (northern) wing, flanked by an advertising column, as well as a written enunciation of the station's name, which became "Gare du Nord" [North Station] as opposed to the "Gare du Sud", both of which were French.



Figure 3.29. Instant photograph of the Gare du Nord under construction, c. 1900, Jean Bourgier.

Source: JooSSooR community.

[174] Minute reports of the Bône-Guelma, Procès-verbaux des séances du comité de direction, session du 4 janvier 1900, ANOM 156 AQ 44.
Interestingly, the Tunisian dialect refers to train stations as "Langar". It is likely the word originates from the pronunciation of the French word "L'hangar" [the hangar], with a silent H, a pronunciation less common today. https://parler-francais.eklablog.com/gare-au-hangar-a117464708
The designation of the train station by the word "Langar" is present in the lyrics of Tunisian singer Ridha Diki's "Ana enghanni al hob".

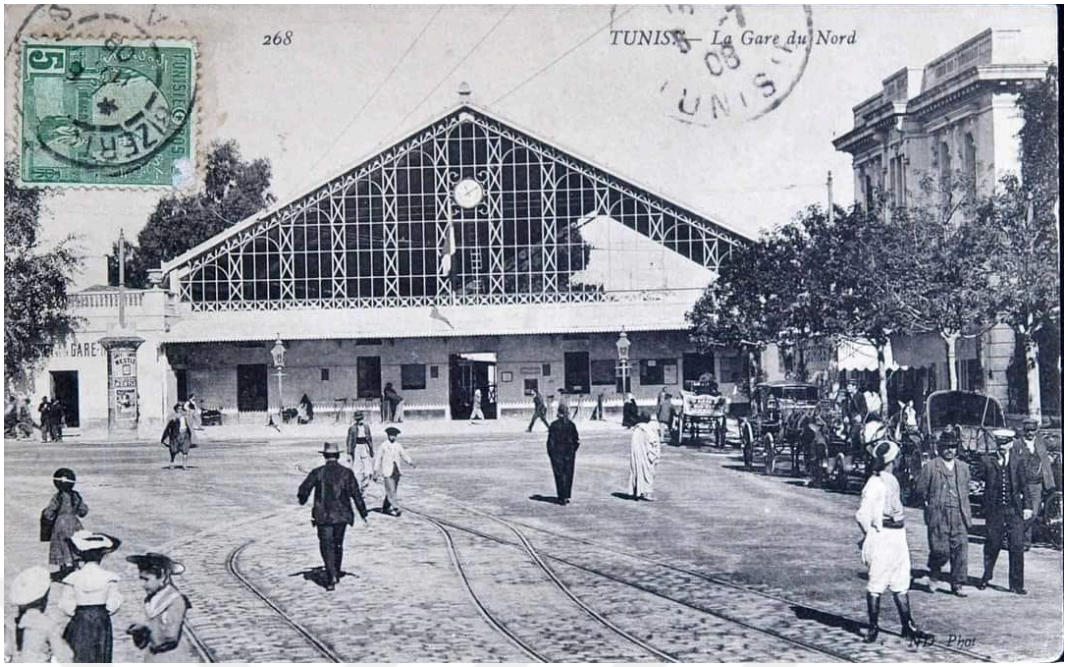


Figure 3.30. Postcard of La Gare du Nord.

Source: JooSSooR community.

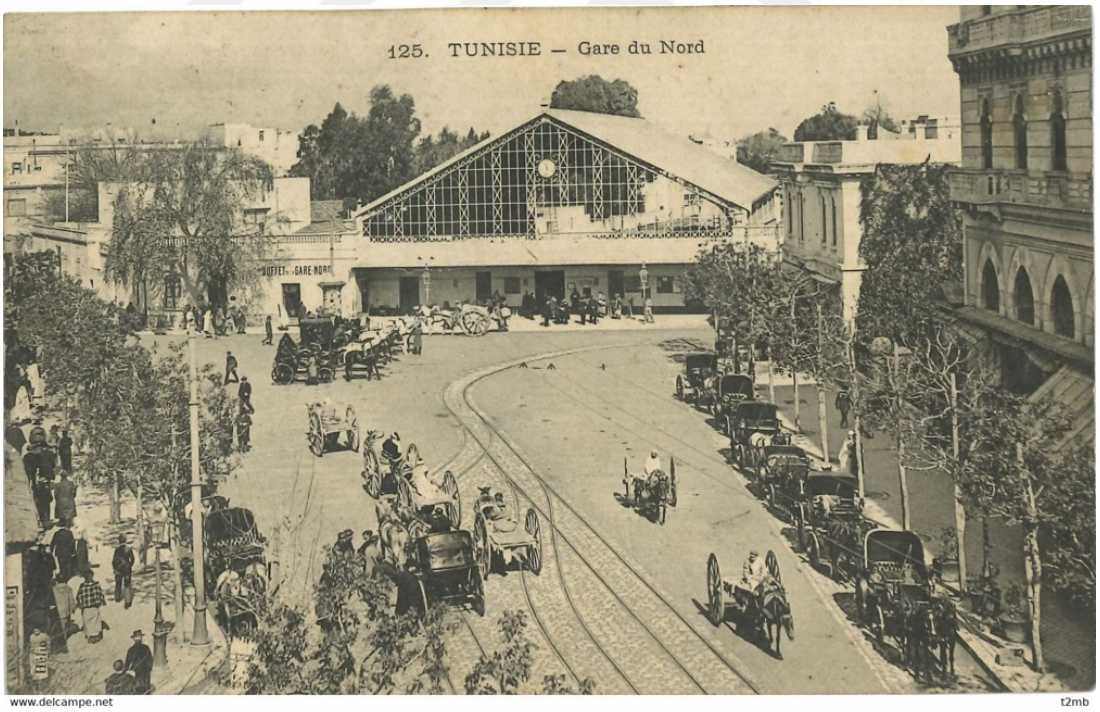


Figure 3.31. Postcard of La Gare du Nord.

Source: delcampe.net.

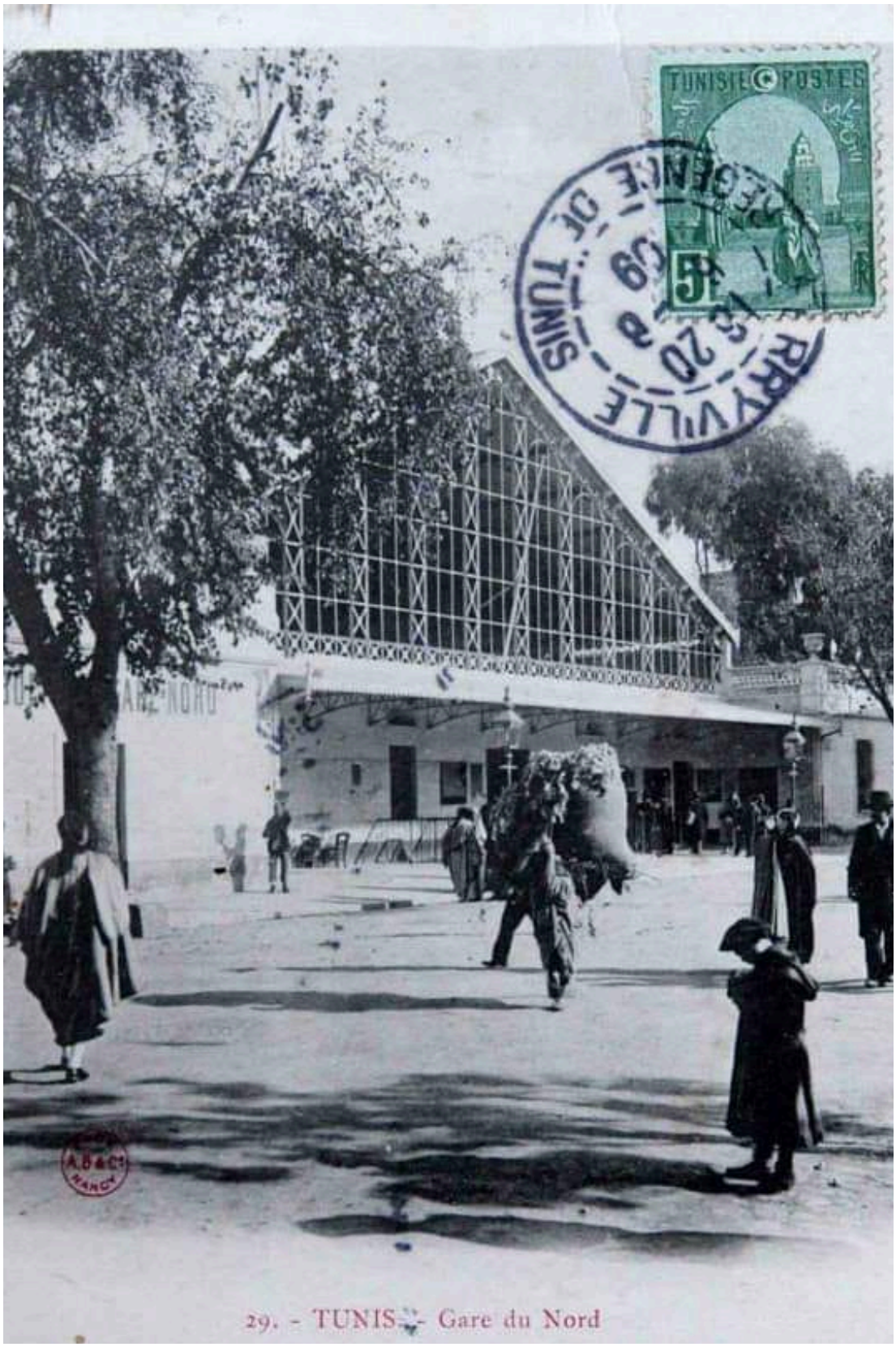


Figure 3.32. Postcard of the Gare du Nord captured from a northern angle.

Source: JooSSooR community.

3.2.1.3. Evaluation

Like in Western Europe and in the Ottoman Empire, the arrival of the railway to Tunis urged the re-structurization of urban dynamics already undergoing considerable shifts. Introducing a new land use and land value system around it, the presence of this means of transport created new employment and investment opportunities that accelerated urbanization and population concentrations in the hitherto compact city. Likewise, the insertion of the tracks and the station into the urban fabric commanded the creation of a new axis that guided the organization of subsequent circulation corridors and imposed the reorganization of existing ones into accommodating it.

In functional program (separation of freight and passenger stations, grand shed for steam trains, distinction between circulation, ticketing, waiting, and control spaces, visual announcement of time, reproduction of strictly symmetrical openings) and in the undissimulated honesty of the shed on the façade, the Tunis stations echoed a level of sophistication reached through trial and error by contemporary termini in Western Europe[175]. Nevertheless, the first terminus's main façade, albeit vaguely and only formally reminiscent of the colossal single-span arch of St. Pancras (fig.3.33), did not evoke for those that recoded using it any association with travel freedom[176], technological advancements[177], or national symbolism characterizing railway stations' appreciation in Western Europe. Built at a time when the TGM was the only railway on the territory and when the Bône-Guelma railway had not yet been a matter of concrete discussions, many of the rivalries projected onto the stations' design in London[178] at the time were by and large absent in Tunis. In light of the fact that the British, who were in support of maintaining Tunis' status quo as Ottoman province, were on relatively good terms with the Sublime Porte in the early 1870s, it is difficult to substantiate a direct link between the stations' spatiality and British or Tunisian

[175] Carroll L. V. Meeks, *The Railroad Station: An Architectural History* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1956/1964).
[176] Stéphanie Sauget, "Les gares: matrices de l'imaginaire parisien du XIXe siècle", *Métropolitiques*, May 14th, 2014. URL : http://www.metropolitiques.eu/Les-gares-matrices-de-l-imaginaire.html.
[177] Stéphanie Sauget, "Les approches techniques et architecturales du voyage," *Sociétés & Représentations* 21, (2006/1) 147-156.
[178] Christian Wolmar, *Cathedrals of Steam*: *How London's Great Stations Were Built – and How They Transformed the City*, (London: Atlantic Books, 2020)

architectural expressions of identity. Moreover, the Crown never intended to colonize Tunis since its raw materials were of little interest to Britain, and since they had secured sufficient Mediterranean outposts (Malta in 1813, shares in the 1869 Suez Canal, and later Cyprus in 1878). Bearing in mind the example of the 1870s Victoria railway terminus at Bombay (India), whereby the association with Victorian Britain is salient and incontestable, the possibility of the Tunis station itself invoking British identity is further underplayed.

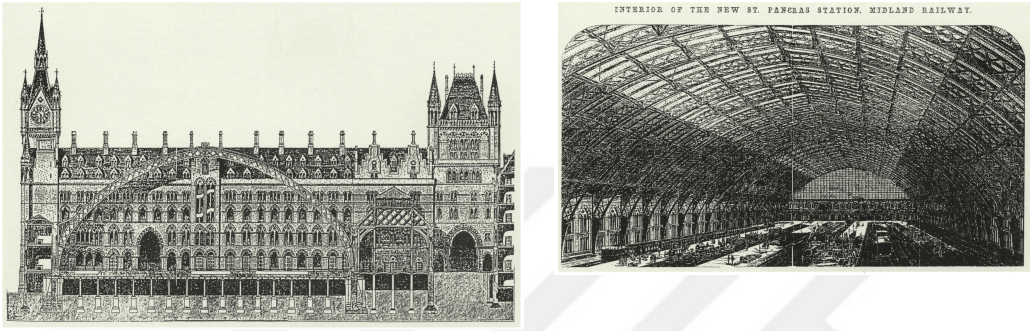


Figure 3.33. (left) Cross section across St Pancras shed and hotel, Scott and Barlow. (right) Inner perspective of the iconic train shed, reproduced notably in Cologne central station, Germany, 1894.

Source: The Building News and Engineering Journal 16 (1869/1) 136.

In the impossibility of reflecting a reference to Britain once the French concession was ratified (1876), it could be advanced that manifestations of nationality or sovereignty were merely expressed through hoisting of the Union Jack in 1876 and the placement of the lion statue. Despite the survival of these rivalries with the Italians taking over, it is unlikely that Florio-Rubattino had the intention of projecting the Italian nationality of the enterprise onto the station, since Italian symbolism itself had yet to be clearly defined on the newly unified peninsula (1871)[179].

When the station was transferred to a French company, the line of action adopted by the Bône-Guelma (who effectively monopolized railways in the north of the territory as of 1898) was to minimize costs and maximize profits. In accordance, the company's

[179] Albert Schram, *Railways and the Formation of the Italian State in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 12-65.

engineers brought slight transformations to the station —that again did not convey any national meaning.

3.2.2. Tunis-La Goulette

3.2.2.1. La Goulette in the first half of the nineteenth century

The French colonization of Algeria in 1830 and instability on the Tripolitanian frontier redirected fading Tunisian land trade routes towards the sea, decisively divorcing them from sub-Saharan Africa and from the immediately neighboring territories. Enhanced encounters between either side of the Mediterranean and the circulation of industrial commodities thus promoted a consumption culture that opted for imported European-made products; luxurious for the wealthy few, and predominantly cheap for the less fortunate, and for retailers and wholesalers. These included British-produced cottonades, French-manufactured jewelry, silks, and perfumes as well as wines, alcohols, sugar, coffee, tobacco, and raw materials, notably for construction (wood and metals). The bulk of these products was channeled into the Tunisian markets via the port of La Goulette, which accounted for nearly 90% of the total imports and 40% of the total exports, and was visited on average by 600 ships yearly between 1861-1865[180]. The arriving merchandise in turn was discharged at La Goulette and fed into the capital and other cities via the lagoon (also known as *el-buhayra* or *el-bughaz*); in which travel was slow, limited by the capacity of small boats (*Sandals*) crossing it, and significantly dependent on the elements.

Additionally, La Goulette, mid-way between the Mediterranean and the lagoon was an essentially agricultural land belonging to the beylical family. It linked the sea to the shallow waterbody by a canal (fig.3.34), to which it owes its name. La Goulette was one of many addresses of the Bey during the hot season, where he and his court would leave Bardo and settle on the Mediterranean shores[181]. Additionally, it was the main point of contact between the sea and Tunis; highly active in sea raid until 1830.

[180] Ganiage, *Les Origines*, 41-43.
[181] Beya Abidi, “La Goulette et sa région aux XiXe et XXe siècles: mutation urbaine d’un faubourg maritime de la ville de tunis" in *Les Arrière-Pays des Villes de Mer: Habitants, Territoires, Mobilité (Xviie-Xxie Siècle)*, eds. Eleonora Calepari et. Al (Paris: l’Harmattan, 2018): 51-64.

Travelers between La Goulette and Tunis had the option of hiring a boat across the lagoon or a horse-driven car along its northern coast and via the sparsely occupied village of L'Aouïna. In each case, both options were significantly dependent on the elements.

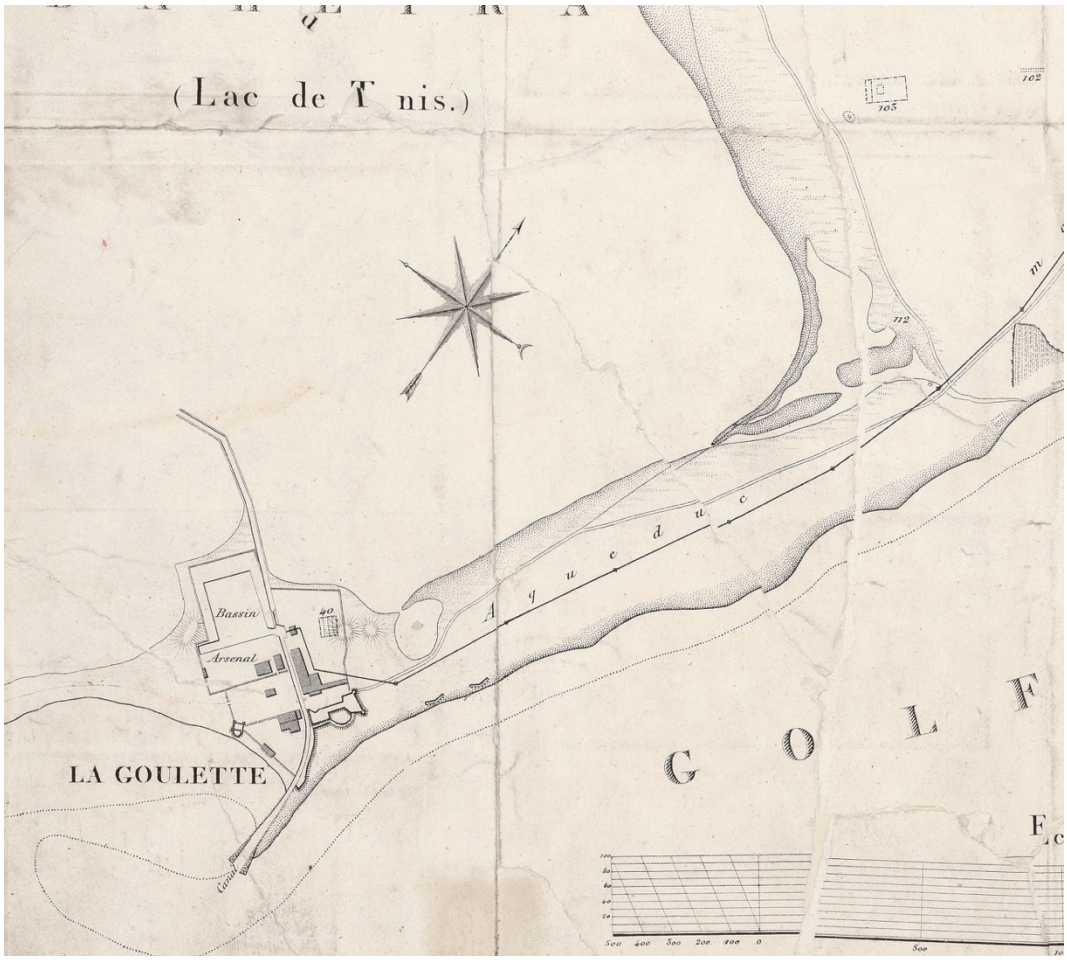


Figure 3.34. Detail of map of La Goulette barely inhabited. Drawn by Christian Falbe in 1831.

Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GE C-908.

La Goulette-proper was composed of two walled settlements, separated by the canal and linked by a bridge crossing it and opening onto a square (Ahmed Bey square) to its north (fig.3.35, 3.36, 3.37, 3.38). The southern part was a beylical domain. It contained an old palace and a more recent one built by Ahmed I Bey, as well as a courtroom, shops, and docks. The ensemble was protected by military barracks, a prison, and an artillery battery. It communicated with the southern suburban settlements along the lagoon via a gate named "Porte de Radès". The northern part constituted the settlement proper. Quasi vacant until 1832, it contained a fort (*Karraka*)

with a distinctive semi-circular layout, a harbor restored between 1795 and 1829, customs' offices, consular offices, shops, as well as the Caïd's house/office, and the houses of the small Italianate, Maltese, and Greek communities settled there since the sixteenth century and active in port activities and in coral, sponge, and tuna fishing. Other notable constructions of their spaces evolved in accordance with their confession, such as schools, a church, a cemetery, and a convent. The whole was protected by fortifications and communicated with the rest of the city and with the capital-proper via a gate named "Porte de Tunis". Further to the north, sparse agricultural fields inhabited by those who cultivated them were grouped in three hamlets: Douar ech-Chott, Malga, and Sidi Daoud[182].



Figure 3.35. Entrance to La Goulette from the canal, where the Karraka is visible. [n.d]

Source: webdo.tn.

[182] Marcel Gandolphe, "La Goulette avant l'occupation française", *Revue Tunisienne*, no. 98 (March 1913) 211-200 and Paul Sebag, "La Goulette et sa forteresse de la fin du XVIe siècle à nos jours", *Revue Ibla – Tunis*, 2 no.200 (2007) 237-261.



Figure 3.36. Entrance to La Goulette further along the canal, where the Karraka is visible in the background. [n.d], before 1884.

Source: webdo.tn.



Figure 3.37. Ahmed Bey square approached from the bridge towards the north [n.d], before 1884. The building on the right would after 1884 be modified and transformed into the municipality of La Goulette.

Source: webdo.tn



Figure 3.38. Photograph of the Goulette canal, giving the locality its name. On the left is the beylical arsenal.

Source: Yıldız albums, Istanbul University, Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, NEKYA90598/12.

Around the 1850s, La Goulette experienced considerable population growth and consequent spatial expansion. It had already been occupied by foreign populations, which encouraged further implantation of immigrants from Malta and Italianate states in this suburb. The northern part of the settlement subsequently grew to accommodate the newcomers and the growing maritime traffic. This resulted in the partial demolition of the ramparts in 1840 in order to evacuate space for the construction of new residential areas, such as the neighborhood of La Petite Sicile[183], north of northern ramparts and west of the Ahmed Bey square axis. It additionally informed the settlement of (Livornese Jewish) doctors (considering the circulating pandemics), and the creation of hotels and warehouses. The presence of accommodating structures in turn attracted the al-Hadhira inhabitants of all confessions during the hot season, where those who had the means to rented houses to be able to enjoy the beach.

[183] Not to be confused with the eponymous neighborhood in Tunis, also inhabited by Sicilians. Another part of the ramparts was demolished again in 1900. Hela Ammar, "Un siècle à la Goulette: proposition de patrimonialisation d'une ville portuaire de la banlieue de Tunis," unpublished master's thesis (Montpellier: Ecole nationale supérieure d'architecture, 2022): 44.

3.2.2.2. Implementation of the TGM: 1872-1905

After the establishment of the TGM, the Goulette's constructed surfaces expanded considerably along the thin strip of land between the sea and the lagoon, whereas the lagoon's north-western shore remained vacant. As seen in the map from 1882 (fig.3.39) and described by the concession booklet, the Tunis-La Goulette railway duplicated an established road along the northern shores of the lagoon, before bifurcating again. The eastern end, closer to the sea front, served passengers, while the western trunk, turned towards the lagoon, transported merchandise.

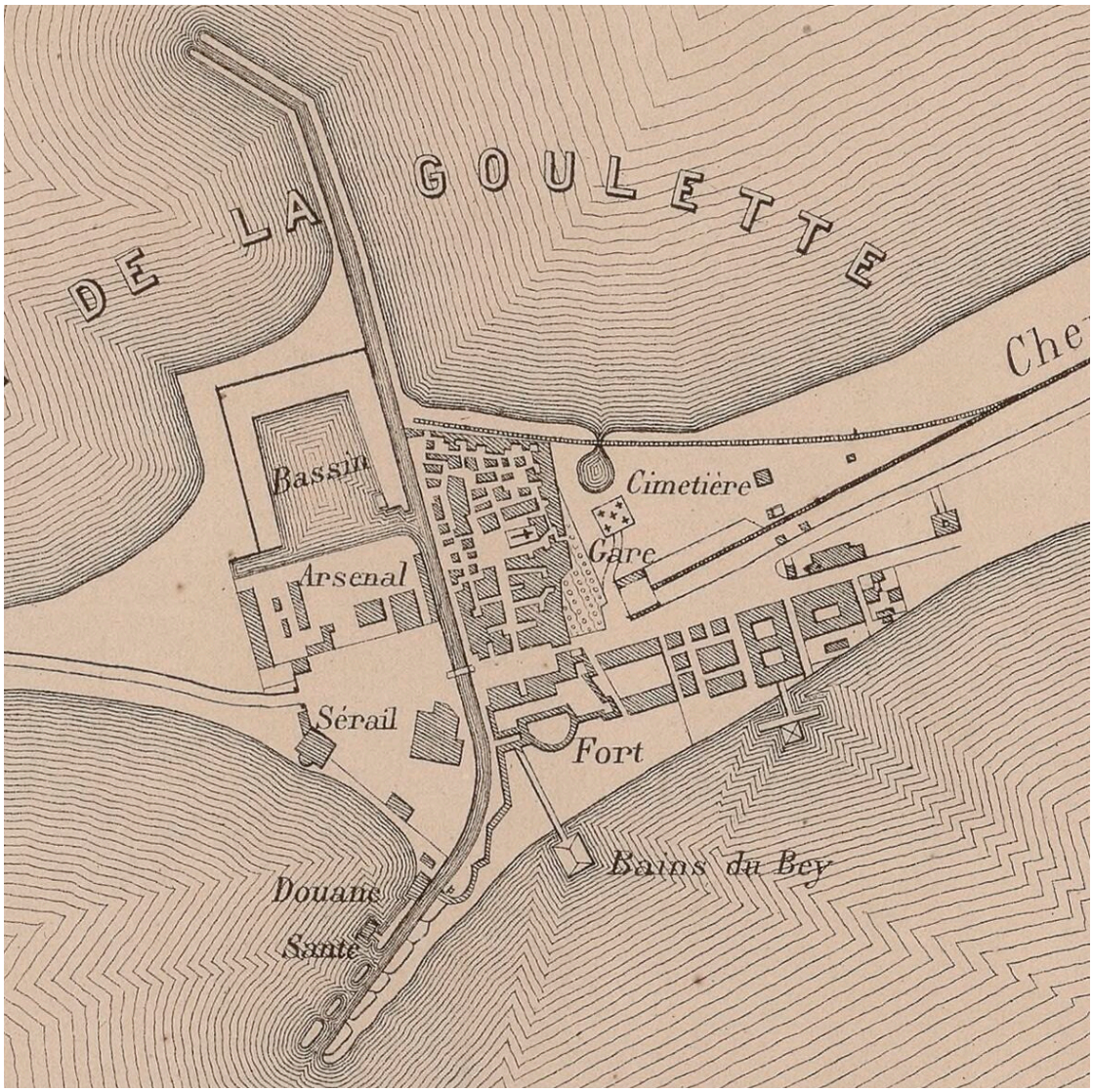


Figure 3.39. La Goulette in 1877.

Sources: Bibliothèque nationale de France, GE C-9275.

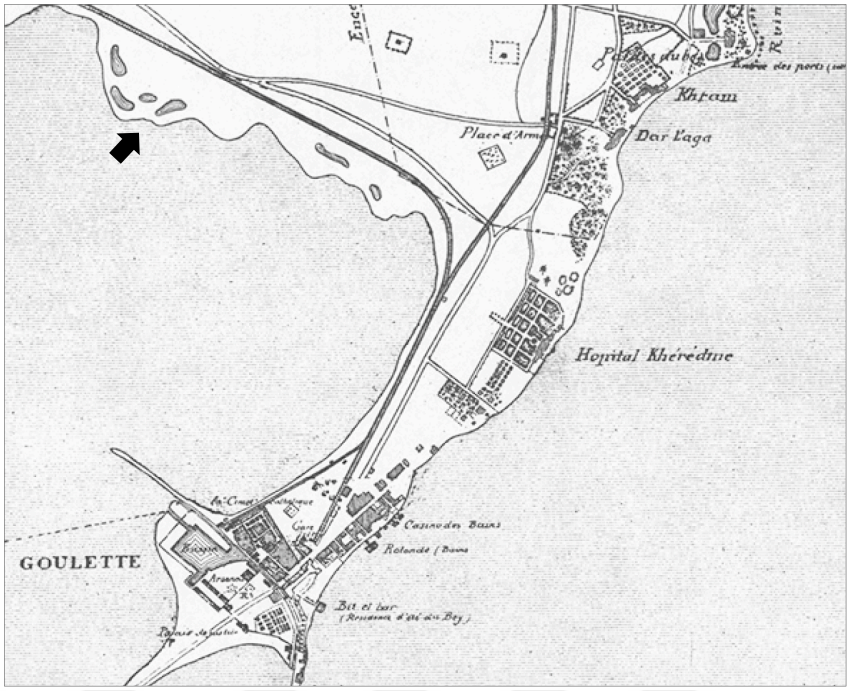


Figure 3.40. La Goulette in 1882.

Sources: Fonds cartographique numérisé, v.1, IRMC, 2004

Depicted on an earlier plan from 1871 (fig.3.40), the railway is recorded terminating its path near the fortifications, of which the Mediterranean end has been removed to allow direct contact with the shore. The path cut across a parcellated land that obeyed a grid-iron circulation scheme with occasional squares at intersections. The perfectly rectangular lots, of roughly equal surfaces (in pink) accommodated the prints of the preserved fabric (in purple). This in turn consisted in a church, a windmill, and an army officer's warehouse (west), the properties of Mamluk court dignitaries, those of the Jewish Caïd Samama, of other owners referred to as Scemama (therefore also local Jewish), as well as a *Funduq* and a market (east), and a garden belonging to General Husseïn directly adjacent to the fortifications (south). The legends on the plan additionally state that the parcellation resulted from the expropriation and demolition of previous constructions, of which some portions (like green space flanking it to the west, and the recessed garden of General Husseïn to the south) were spared. Perhaps more conspicuously than it was simultaneously the case in Tunis, this plan records a moment of collision between the insertion of the railways and the infrastructural projects of parcellation and land expansion east of the lagoon visibly already underway.



Figure 3.41. Parcellated plan from 1871. The arrow points north.

Source: Tunisian National Archives, Série Historique, Carton 236, Dossier 512.

Scrutiny accorded to the development of the surrounding built fabrics reveals that unlike the negotiation of land delimitations occurring in Tunis, the placement of the Goulette station gradually commanded a stricter reconfiguration of the suburban layout and reach, and the implementation of a new land value dynamic. In juxtaposition with the 1871 plan, the subsequent maps denote how railway tracks overruled the existing land delimitations and imposed the adoption of their own axiality. This axial configuration initially (1878-1893) intersected with occupied/built lots whose edges and sizes conform to the 1871 plan and its large circulation arteries. By 1898, despite the transfer of most of the port's activity to Tunis (1893), the (mostly Italianate) growing population of La Goulette became active in the fore-port (communicating with the Tunis harbor via a canal) and continued to work for railway companies and engage in coastal fishing[184]. In accordance, the fabric appears to have undergone rapid fragmentation and growth. As shown by the map, the fragmentation occurred on the level of large lots with respect to the envisaged layout. The growth denoted by the presence of other small lots marked a departure from the 1871 plan and espoused the outline of the tracks, which it paralleled. The addition of another stop less

[184] Sebag, *Tunis: Histoire*, 360.

than a kilometer away from the terminus, the maximalization of land use on these plots, their strictly geometric imprints, the growth in surface of the land strip over the lagoon west of the railway, and the displacement of the cemetery (1888)[185] (fig.3.44) suggest that a private speculation[186] trend launched by the railway's arrival was starting to take shape.

Corroborating the spatial growth and occupation by locals and foreigners, on February 13th, 1902, the administrative committee refused the demand posited by a wealthy local Jewish negotiator (Bessis) for the addition of an intermediary stop (halte) at what he referred to as "the True Goulette" (la Vraie Goulette). Overturned on the grounds that the distance separating "Goulette Neuve" (New Goulette) and "Kheïreddine" was short, the demand nevertheless underscores a concentration of new constructions between the two stops[187].

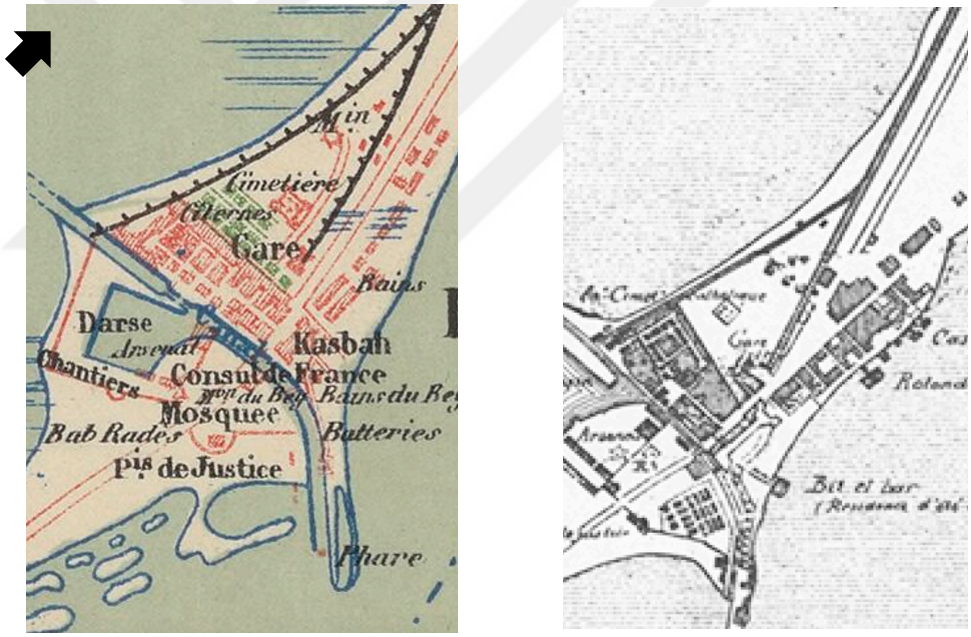


Figure 3.42. La Goulette in (left) 1878 (right) 1882.

Sources: (left) Bibliothèque Nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GEC-4, ark:/12148/btv1b53021091b, (right) Fonds cartographique numérisé, v.1, IRMC, 2004.

[185] Ibid.
[186] Beya Abidi attributes this speculation to the Italian. Abidi, "La Goulette et sa région aux XiXe et XXe siècles: mutation urbaine d'un faubourg maritime de la ville de Tunis", 58. This trend engaged French particulars, (notably Cardinal de Lavigerie "M. de Lavigerie: le rôle du cardinal à Rome et à Tunis", 1) and locals (i.e. inheritors of Nessim Scemama).
[187] Minute reports of the Bône-Guelma company. Procès-verbaux des séances du comité de direction, sessions du 13 février 13th, 1902, ANOM 156 AQ 45.



Figure 3.43. (Clockwise from top left) La Goulette in 1893, 1898 and 1902.

Sources: (Clockwise) Charles Lallemand, *Vingt jours en Tunisie, par Charles Lallemand, retour en France par Biskra et Constantine* (Paris: librairies-imprimeries réunies, 1893):8, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, (top right) GE C-2455, ID: ark:/12148/btv1b530294979 (bottom) Harvard University map collection, 990126223010203941



Figure 3.44. Postcards c. 1888, documenting the considerable built fabric expansion, the earthing of the marsh (left), and the removal of the Christian cemetery and its replacement by a parcellated plot and cleared circulation corridors. The railway tracks are vaguely visible on the left of the first postcard.

Sources: Tunisie d'antan.

On a smaller scale, the terminus station conserved its distance from the fortifications (south), while accommodating itself on a leased terrain[188] into the built fabric. It did so through intersecting its east-south angle with the extension of an existing square (Ahmed I Bey square, fig.3.37) and through its own square; flanking it to the east and facing the sea, as seen in the 1893 plan. A replica[189] of the Tunis station, it is seen depicted on two illustrations.

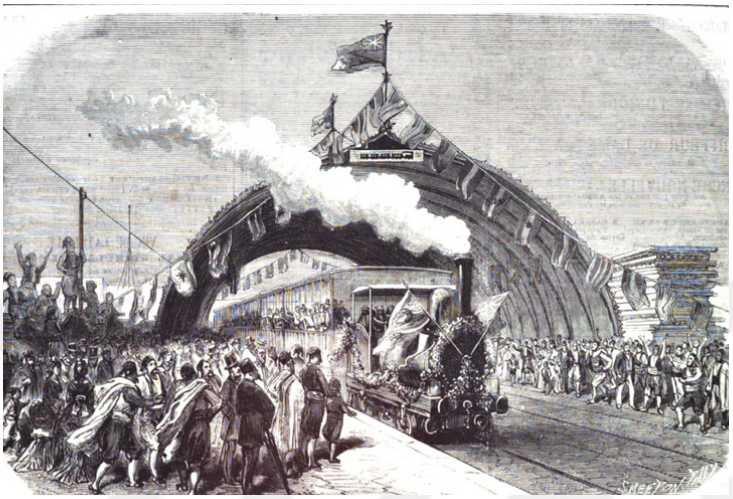


Figure 3.45. Illustration depicting the opening ceremony of the first TGM, based on a photograph by Mrs. Garrigues.

Source: L'illustration, Journal Universel, no. 1548, Volume LX, October 26th, 1872, 272.



Figure 3.46. Illustration depicting the train station approached from the sea, part of a Florio-Rubattino poster.

Source: Italian General Catalogue of Cultural Assets, 0500667845.

[188] Bône-Guelma General Assembly 33rd meeting report (October 6th, 1898), ANOM, 156 AQ 6.
[189] Mentioned in 1874 by Henly, *Notes*, 30, and confirmed in 1931 by Gandolphe, "Les premières gares de Tunisie", 2: "The two most important works were the Goulette and Tunis stations; they were of the same type; they included a vast wooden vault, sheltering the platforms, three in number and raised by 0.90 centimeters, due to the height of the wagons"

While the illustrations do not provide further information about the terminus and its insertion into the urban fabric, this gap is compensated by Debernardi (1963) who, based on his exchanges with Jean Ganiage and on TGM documents the latter provided him with, shared a description that matches vague descriptions from 1931:

> La Goulette had two very distinct stations, one for travelers, the other for goods. The passenger station was located on the edge of the Ali Bey Square[190], but its main facade overlooked Rue Lavigerie. This dead-end station was covered with a large wooden shed. Its central part included the offices: station manager, ticket distribution, waiting room, baggage check-in. The right wing was occupied by a café-restaurant, the store, and staff accommodation. The left side, more important, was used by the sheds and rolling stock workshops and the fuel yard. There was only one passenger platform in the middle, with sidings on either side. The goods station led to the canal which communicated the sea with the lagoon.[191]

Juxtaposed with the maps and the illustrations, this suggests that the terminus station was likely U-shaped, with the left side (western on the plan) facing the modest neighborhood of La Petite Sicile, and the right wing (eastern on the plan) facing the constructions along the seashore, and with which it communicated via a square equipped with a café-restaurant. This entails that despite the similarity of the railway buildings in Tunis and La Goulette, each were inserted with regard to their respective spatial and social context. Like in the Tunis station, the "mechanical" wing faced a modest neighborhood (La Petite Sicile) occupied by a proletariat population likely active in the railways themselves. In counterpart, the main wing (central in Tunis, and right in La Goulette) espoused and reinforced the configuration and the geography of the locality, positioning itself in contact with the Mediterranean and its service spaces (cafés, beach, baths, casino, summer residences).

The difference in distribution and use of the space between La Goulette and Tunis stations is corroborated by postcards from after 1900. The graphics indicate that the café-restaurant of this station was (unlike Tunis) located on the eastern wing, from which it was physically accessible, while communicating visually with the main façade through arched windows (rather than a door). If like Tunis, the terminus's lot was

[190] Ali III Bey (r.1882-1902) was the successor of Sadok Bey. The square discussed here actually replaced the station after 1908. It will be discussed in the next chapter.
[191] Debernardi, "Le premier", 211-212. The only noticeable disparity is the number of platforms, reported as three by Gandolphe (1931), and as one by Debernardi.

punctuated by trees, and the shed of this station as well was modified into a metal one harboring a clock, the rest of the details seem to have undergone less transformations. As such, the hip roofs remained as they were before 1898, whereas the surroundings did not benefit from the infrastructural services offered in Tunis, such as a lighting system[192].



Figure 3.47. Postcard of La Goulette station's new shed under construction, c. 1900.

Source: JooSSooR community.



Figure 3.48. Postcard of La Goulette's train station between 1900-1908. Notice the café facing it as well.

Source: delcampe.net.

[192] The construction of the Tunis metal shed might have preceded that of La Goulette, as a report from March 21st, 1901 stated that the construction works for the latter had been delayed because of the rise in metal prices. The electric clock was added after 1902. Discussed in minute reports of the Bône-Guelma company. Procès-verbaux des séances du comité de direction, sessions du 21 mars 1901, et du 15 mai, 1902, ANOM 156 AQ 44.

3.2.2.3. Impressions of the surroundings

Short after its establishment, the railway at La Goulette became a main point of contact of Tunis with the Mediterranean, but also with the northern suburbs and with the rest of the regency, particularly for visitors that traveled from France via the railways of occupied Algeria and within the regency by coach or by the French-built railways. While the available plans and illustrations do not provide further information about the nature and functions of the constructions bracketing the station, the tourist accounts allow to compensate that gap. In that respect, they help elucidate how the space surrounding La Goulette terminus was navigated departing from the train, the harbor, or the lagoon, and give an idea of the landmarks and amenities these travelers identified around it.

In that respect, two 1874 accounts from the British living in Constantinople Baron Henry Hanly and the French metropolitan Marcel Juillet Saint-Lager reveal that the occupation of La Goulette presented a winter-summer seasonal scheme that left most of the locality and its amenities (square and fountain , hotels, streets, services, etc.) deserted in the cold season, whereas the hot one was accompanied by the temporary relocation of the court in the La Goulette palaces and characterized by the animation of trade, communication, and consumption activities. Arriving by sea during wintertime, Hanly reported:

> La Goulette is ten miles from Tunis. The train was ready and we had to wait three hours, since there were no cars. So, having left our luggage in a tavern qualified as a 'hotel', we could ask for orientations. But it was raining. [...] We were in a city which, for us, was new, and we had to walk around; Besides, the hotel offered us no temptation to stay inside. We were asking where the best part of town was. "[..] this is the square" replies the guide […]. It was true; we should have guessed it, because in front of the hotel there is a fountain which, in summer, must be pleasant in every way; but with this time, the flow of these waters increased the sadness of the scene to a high degree. [..] we went out to examine the city. Everywhere we found muddy streets, houses of one or two floors, poorly built, dilapidated and poor. We barely met one person on each street, and even then, it was a miserable Tunisian [..].[193]

In counterpart, Saint-Lager, also arriving by sea and during summer, wrote:

[193] Baron Henry Hanly, *Notes sur l'Egypte et la Tunisie*, 28-29.

> La Goulette is, so to say, a European city. In the summer season, when His Highness the Bey and his court come to reside there to take sea baths, the entertainment there is extreme. [..] Maltese or Italian boatmen are responsible for transporting the packages and travelers to customs first; then, from this point to the platform on which the French vice-consulate is located, then finally to the station.
>
> It is through the Goulette that all trade is carried out, not only in Tunis, but in a large part of the Regency. The newly created railway gives it more importance and more animation than ever.
>
> You can visit the arsenal, the barracks, the palaces and gardens, the customs, the execution house; –ladies can sometimes visit a harem [...]
>
> In La Goulette there is a post office, a telegraph service, then cafés, grocery stores, bakeries, pharmacies, etc., etc. There are large numbers of local carriages parked there. [..] The large number of trains allows the traveler disembarking at La Goulette to leave immediately; but he will find at La Goulette station a comfortable and moderately priced buffet, perfectly run by Mr. Ph. Michel (Hotel d'Orient in Tunis).[194]

Seven years later, another Frenchman, Léon de Bisson, arriving by boat during the hot season of 1881 (therefore after the signature of the 1881 Bardo Treaty) reported the presence of the same service amenities and the same beylical landmarks on both banks of the canal as he documented his short journey from the harbor to the TGM station:

> The ship anchors not far from the small town of La Goulette and boats come to pick up the travelers. [..] In the part which is on the left hand when entering the canal; we notice the palace where the Bey administers justice in summer, the customs, and the arsenal. [..] The boats dock at customs and once the luggage has been controlled, we cross the wooden bridge which leads to the opposite part.
>
> Immediately after crossing this bridge, we find ourselves on a short avenue planted with trees and lined with houses and cafés. Walking along the edge of the canal to the right, we see a battery made up of thirty-five rifled cannons of different calibers. Following the avenue, we pass the gate of the Bey's palace which rises on the right and we soon reach the railway station.[195]

Two other 1882 accounts by French François de Gélis and Anglo-Saxon Chevalier de Hesse-Warteg disclose that the steam train borrowed different paths in reaching La Goulette, notably with a first stop at La Marsa. Furthermore, these testimonies indicate that the locality, a destination of predilection for sea bathers, was associated with a

[194] Marcel Juillet Saint-Lager, *La régence de Tunis: géographie physique et politique, description générale, gouvernement, administration, finances, etc.* (Algiers: Juillet Saint-Lager, 1874): 22-23, 64.
[195] de Bisson, *La Tripolitaine et la Tunisie: avec les renseignements indispensables aux voyageurs*, 40-41.

kaleidoscopic image of Europeanness and ethnicities that frustrated the visitors' anticipations of a purely Muslim city. As such, de Gélis reported:

> Here we are, we are traveling with the bathers of La Goulette. All the big merchants of Tunis, Jews or Moors, are there, but it is not yet the *high-life*[196] because the big people live by the sea in the summer.
> [..] we head towards La Goulette by the seaside, and while waiting for the 6 o'clock train to Tunis we sit on the terrace of the Casino.
> The bathhouse which has taken this somewhat pretentious title is a simple wooden construction, built on stilts. Every evening, the top of the Tunisian population and the entire French and Italian colony gather here to take baths and enjoy the freshness of the sea.
> From the vast rotunda which overlooks the gulf we have a view of the harbor and its bathers while sipping our vermouth. The white wool jackets of the settlers, the laced tunics of the officers and the dazzling Gandouras[197] of the Moorish merchants mix fraternally.[198]

Whereas de Hesse-Warteg noted:

> There are few Eastern towns which offer a truer or a more genuine picture of Mohammedan life than Tunis. [..]
> But this does not become apparent to the visitor at the first blush when he arrives by railway from Goletta, the harbour. He will see at once, in the peculiar railway carriages, constructed with those Egyptian -like verandahs, Tunisian functionaries in European dress, very few turbans, and scarcely a bornous. The railway station where he arrives is European, an Italian carriage awaits him, and the streets through which he passes to his hotel look European too — just because the "Town of the Franks" is entirely separated from the Moorish part.[199]

Four years later, an account by Lionel d'Auxion of a promenade upon his arrival at La Goulette from Tunis betrays the French narrator's malaise when faced with reminders of the significant presence of Italian population and culture in the locality despite the establishment of the protectorate. Additionally documenting the evolution of the axis and the fabric around its terminus fourteen years after the railway was inaugurated, d'Auxion wrote (1886):

> It takes about forty minutes to go to La Goulette via the Rubattino railway. The station is situated in the new European quarter. [..] We think that the moment when this miniscule line will become the property of the Bône-Guelma Company is not so far away, especially since once the port will be dug,

[196] Italics and English in the original.
[197] Tunisian traditional male garment wore in hot seasons.
[198] De Gélis, *Trois mois en Tunisie: journal d'un volontaire*, 150-155.
[199] Chevalier de Hesse-Warteg, Tunis: the land and the people (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1882): 8.

> it will only have an insignificant traffic [..] This is La Goulette. The station is very airy and very spacious. I get off the train, cross a square, and arrive at a large boulevard full of sunshine. To my left a beautiful row of houses, civil and military buildings, the Kheïreddine palace – which awaits a buyer – first catches my eye. I head to the right [..] A regiment of Zouaves, with bugles at their heads, parades. The beautiful soldiers! This view makes me feel good. It's France! From Tunis to La Goulette, I only heard Italian spoken, I only traveled with Italians. I felt humiliation and sadness for my country. This state of mind had plunged me into a dark mood. – Finally, here are soldiers of France! Here is a homeland! A Tunisian kid who sells newspapers offers me his merchandise in Italian. [..] I soon enter a large square, around which are shops, cafés, and hotels. I venture onto the quay which borders the [..] gullet [..]. To my left, on solid fortifications, an endless line of large cannons looks out to sea; to my right, on the other side of the canal, stands an old Turkish fortress. [..] The city is full of activity: it's a Saturday, and the Jewish women in multicolored costumes are taking their walks. It's hot: the tables that cover the café terraces are heavily surrounded and inlaid with glasses [..] of absinthe.[200]

If this cultural malaise was not shared by the writer of a British guidebook in 1890, who instead revealed that trade activities began to stagnate and that the association with local dignitaries somewhat faded in the locality:

> The Place of the Goletta extends along the interior face of the fort, and conducts to the railway station; it is bounded by shops and cafés, where the traveller will be glad to seek refreshment while waiting for the departure of the train. The town is extending rapidly in the direction of Carthage, the new quarter being much in favour with the Tunisians in summer, on account of seabathing. There is, however, very little trade carried on.
> The ordinary means of reaching Tunis is by the Italian railway. In summer eight trains run daily each way, four direct, and four call at the Marsa Station; in winter the trains are reduced to five, of which two only call at the Marsa.[201]

It maintained a common denominator between French accounts, which continued to symbolically navigate the space with reference to beylical constructions (even when disused) and revealed the waning of the position of La Goulette as the regency's main port. The accounts further confirm an ongoing association between the TGM and the

[200] Lionel D'Auxion, "De Bône à Tunis: en mai et juin 1886, carnet d'un touriste, Tunis," *La Revue diplomatique et le Moniteur des consulats : littérature, finances, commerce international*, October 31st, 1886.

[201] The direct Bône-Guelma railway link between Tunis and Algeria (therefore Algerian ports) was established in 1886. Robert Lambert Playfair, *Handbook for travellers in Algeria and Tunis: Algiers, Oran, Tlemçen, Bougie, Constantine, Tebessa, Biskra, Tunis, Carthage, etc.* (London: John Murray, 1890): 286.

Italian company operating it, and small-scale efforts to curb its influence. As such, French Marius Bernard proudly relayed (1894):

> - Third !
> A Frenchman never takes another place on the railway which passes through Marsa. It's a little nastiness whose aim is to give as little profit as possible to the *Società Italiana* which owns this *ferrovia.*[202]

And his compatriot Édouard Céalis seconded him writing (1897):

> We first visited La Goulette, which sleeps, very Levantine, on the banks of its canal with glaucous waters, with crumbling ramparts, garnished with large bronze canals, antique and venerable trinkets, with its heavy and massive windowless palaces, silent fortresses where the Bey hides between his women, his minions, and his musicians dressed in English style with red jackets and Indian helmets. A little excitement at the Italian station, because the railways are Italian in this French possession [..][203]

Seven years after the French took over the railway (1898), a tourist guide reported the urban growth of the locality despite the relocation of most port activities to Tunis (1893). Furthermore, the account suggests that the stone-paving of land roads and the offering of a free lagoon journey directly to Tunis had begun to divert some of the railway users. The guide thus read (1905):

> The city includes 2 districts, each of them served by a station: — Goulette-Ancienne to the south, where there are, on the right bank of the old canal, two disused beylical palaces and arsenal, and on the left bank a Kasba, an old Hispano-Turkish fortress transformed into barracks; — Goulette-Neuve, to the north. [..] La Goulette was an active and flourishing port before the digging of the maritime channel; travelers and goods coming from or going to Tunis had to embark or disembark there. It is now a center without any commercial importance [...] The fishing fleet there has around a hundred boats, some of which operate on the lake, others in the gulf. In the warm season only, La Goulette comes alive as a summer resort and sea bathing resort. Up to 2.5 km to the north of the Kasba, bathing establishments and villas follow one another along the beach, forming, beyond the Goulette-Neuve, the two groups of Khéreddine and Khram (railway halls; casino open during the summer season, baths in Khram).
> [A steam ferry (free crossing) allows you to go from La Goulette to the other bank of the shipping channel, where there is a good stony road

[202] Italics and Italian are those of the original text. Marius Bernard, *Autour de la Méditerranée… de Tunis à Alger* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1894): 28.
[203] Edouard Céalis, *De Sousse à Gafsa, lettres sur la campagne de Tunisie, 1881-1884* (Paris: E. Flammarion, 1897): 138-139.

[..] from where we can return to Tunis, after having traveled the entire circuit of the lake.][204]

3.2.2.4. Evaluation

These first-hand accounts offer a lively aperture into the impressions of foreign visitors to La Goulette, of the atmosphere surrounding it, and of the spatial fabric that accommodated the railways. First, they interestingly indicate that the experience of the locality and the railways were framed through the local beylical court's spatial omnipresence, and through its seasonal movements. As juxtaposition of the British and the French accounts from the wintertime and summertime of 1874 reveal, the settlement and the railways disserving it were quasi-deserted in the absence of the Bey. Second, the accounts highlight how the railways acted as magnet for populations of different backgrounds that "mixed fraternally", and for a growing spatial expansion. This expansion involved both the multiplication of residences, and the diversification of land use, with cafés, hotels, a casino, and boulevards guiding the path towards and from the railway terminus. This in turn suggests that along promoting a culture of circulating commodities and activities at La Goulette (various alcoholic consumptions, military French parades, locals' promenades, sea bathing, gambling) with its freight function, the TGM soon (1882) took the shape of a suburban tourist railway; be it foreign tourists, or locals encouraged to travel to the beach on shorter trips. Third, the accounts underline the association of a new built fabric and infrastructure with a European lifestyle that vexed the travelers' expectations of an "Oriental" town. Fourth, in the case of French visitors after 1881, the accounts expose the visitors' growing frustration with the presence of Italianates and Italian culture that outnumbered them, resisting French dominance. Such concentration is due to, as indicated by the presence of timetables[205] in Italian (fig. 3.49) and posited by Pierre Ficaya in 1931:

---

[204] Gilbert Jacqueton, Stéphane Gsell, and Augustin Bernard, *Algérie et Tunisie* (Paris: Hachette et cie, 1905): 366-367.

[205] I have not been able to dive deeper into the question of telegraphs, time culture, and how they related to the railways in Tunis. For temporal culture, I came across two accounts mentioning it. The first, in French by a British living in Constantinople, reported:
If it is true that time was invented for slaves, it would appear that there are no slaves in Tunis, because time is unknown in this fortunate city, although there are railways. There is no shortage of clocks; but since there is no observatory, the watches are set roughly according to the rising and setting of the sun. The railway clock is set once a week, which has given rise to unfortunate incidents, such as, for example, that of a gentleman coming down from Tunis to La Goulette, who adopts the time of the station and who goes about his business; he then returns ten minutes before the train departure time; but he finds

Italian immigration increased in appreciable proportions, especially between 1871 and 1880, that is to say during the period when work was being carried out on the Medjerda line and on the small railway from Tunis to La Goulette and La Marsa. It was mainly the Sicilians who formed the large battalions of workers at these points.[206]



ORARIO

Da Venerdi 2 Aprile 1880

Tunis Goletta

A.M. 6,—; 7,—; 9,—; 11,30;

P.M. 3,—; 4—; 5,30;

Goletta Tunis

A.M. 6,—; 7,30; 9,30; 11,30;

P.M. 2,30; 4,30; 6,—;

Goletta Marsa

A.M. 6,40;

P.M. 12,10; 4,45;

Marsa Goletta

A.M. 7,05;

P.M. 12,30; 5,10;

Goletta 30 MARZO 1880

BY ORDER
W. WILLIAMSON
AGENT.

Figure 3.49. Timetable of the trains as of Friday April 2nd, 1880. Printed in Italian on order of the British agent Williamson.

Source: Tunisian National Archives, Série E/334, 6/1.

Although La Goulette railway's use conformed to the existing norms of dependency upon the ruling class's seasonal movements, the railway's arrival collided with spatial

that the employees are already leaving the station, because the train had left and there were no more. He gets angry and checks the station clock to which he had set his watch. To his great astonishment, he finds that the time has moved forward by 20 minutes since his departure. This phenomenon is easily explained to him by the employee, who tells him that the watchmaker came for his weekly visit, and that he had adjusted the clock. As there is no car from La Goulette to Tunis, this gentleman had to spend the night there. I do not suppose that this inconvenience happens often, because in Tunis, as everyone knows that the time is hardly stable, they are used to going to the station half an hour before departure time.

Hanly, *Notes sur l'Egypte et la Tunisie*, 42.

The second is an Italian one again from 1876 (Guglielmo Colotti, *Tunisi e il suo popolo: studi, impressioni e ricordi di Guglielmo Collotti* (Catania: E. Coco & Co, 1876): 55) that relayed:

"[..] everything returns to quiet as soon as it gets dark, the governor's trumpet announces the various hours of the day and evening up to two hours, while the clocks are now being introduced and the Arabs do not yet have a clear idea of it. Around 10 p.m. when the Tunisians are, during the summer season, lying in the most populated squares and streets, singing and chatting or drinking in the taverns, upon hearing the sound of the trumpet they return to their homes and the city remains deserted."

[206] Pierre Ficaya, "Le Peuplement italien en Tunisie." PhD. thesis (Paris: Les Presses Modernes, 1931) 23.

restructuration efforts underway and commanded the adoption of its own axiality while generating a similar land use and value system premised on speculation and functional diversification of the built fabric around it. Against the reproduction of the same building in both Tunis and La Goulette, written accounts coupled with depictions of their placements within their immediate spatial contexts suggest that their interior circulation system and functional arrangements were different. In the case of La Goulette, the predominant façade was its long wing facing the sea, flanked by a square and a café. The central wing, intersecting with the extension of Ahmed Bey square could have nevertheless played a role in orienting the flow of pedestrians and railway passengers towards the east wing.

3.2.3. La Goulette-La Marsa

3.2.3.1. La Marsa in the first half of the nineteenth century

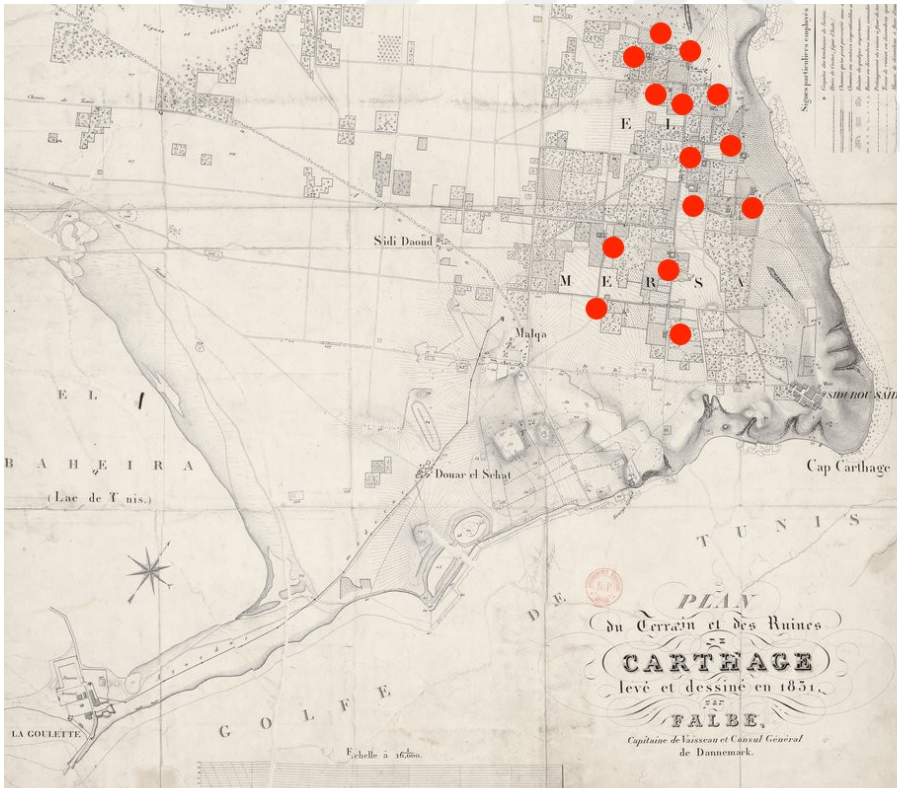


Figure 3.50. Map of the area from La Goulette to La Marsa in 1831, Drawn by Falbe. Locations of existing constructions are marked in red.

Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, GE C-9088.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the area between La Goulette, Carthage, and La Marsa was not more populated than the harbor of La Goulette. Essentially comprising agricultural fields and hamlets occasionally superposed with the ruins of Ancient Carthage, the area led to La Marsa, itself populated by the summer resorts and gardens of the local high nobility (fig.3.50).

It all began to change around the 1850s, with the severance of public life from private life for the ruling class, and the beylical court's taste for Italian architects, architecture, and architectural materials. This coincided with a considerable growth in the number of foreign building professionals (not only architects but also masons, carpenters, painters, and decorators) who accounted for 42% of La Goulette's Italianate population[207], and with the growing influx of imported construction materials (wood, metals, marble) to Tunis[208]. In accordance, the Beys employed these professionals for building palaces along coastal suburbs of the capital and encouraged their court members to do the same. This gave way to the emergence of several dignitary residences along the northern shores of La Goulette, gaining terrain over the agricultural hamlets. They consisted in the summer palaces of Mustapha Khaznadar built in 1842 and 1862 around the ruins of the Ancient Punic port of Carthage and known as *Bordj Carthagèna* [Carthagèna tower], the fig yard palace of war minister Mustapha Agha, known as *Kram el-Agha* [the Agha's fig garden] and built between 1855-1859, that of General Ahmed Zarrouk (c. 1855), and that of Kheïreddine Pasha (1865). Tracing a "noble axis"[209] from the northern ramparts to the ruins of the ancient port, they obeyed a grid-iron configuration only at the scale of the small units,

[207] Alessandro Triulzi, "Italian-speaking communities in early nineteenth century Tunis." *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, no. 9 (1971) 153-184.
[208] Beya Abidi, "La main d'œuvre étrangère sur les chantiers beylicaux (XVIIIe – XIXe siècles): Le renouveau de l'architecture locale." in *Étrangers au Maghreb. Maghrébins à l'étranger. (XVIIe – XXIe siècles) Encadrement, identités et représentations*, ed. Riadh ben Khalifa. (Tunis: IRMC-Karthala, 2017): 153-176. Further studies corroborating this view are: Ahmed Saadaoui, "Le marbre d'Italie dans l'architecture de la ville de Tunis à l'époque ottomane" in *Architecture Italienne de Tunisie*, ed. Silvia Finzi. (Tunis: Ambasciata d'Italia, 2002): 63-91 and Beya Abidi, "La céramique de revêtement dans les archives des chantiers des palais beylicaux au XIXe siècle" in *Les couleurs de la ville: Faïences et architecture à Tunis*, ed. Ahmed Saadaoui (Tunis: Centre de publication universitaire & Laboratoire d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Maghrébines, 2021): 193-201.
[209] Abidi, "La Goulette et sa région aux XiXe et XXe siècles: mutation urbaine d'un faubourg maritime de la ville de Tunis", 53.

underscoring a planned and controlled expansion. They were linked by unpaved roads and supplied with water by the Roman aqueducts restored in 1862[210].



Figure 3.51. Photograph of the Punic port in 1858 by Duc de Noailles. Albumen silver print, 36.5 × 27 cm, Société Française de Photographie. Notice the fallen column from the archaeological site in the foreground.

Source: reproduced from Ridha Moumni, "Archaeology and Cultural Policy in Ottoman Tunisia, Part I: Muhammad Khaznadar (1865–70)," *Muqarnas* 38 (2021): 271.

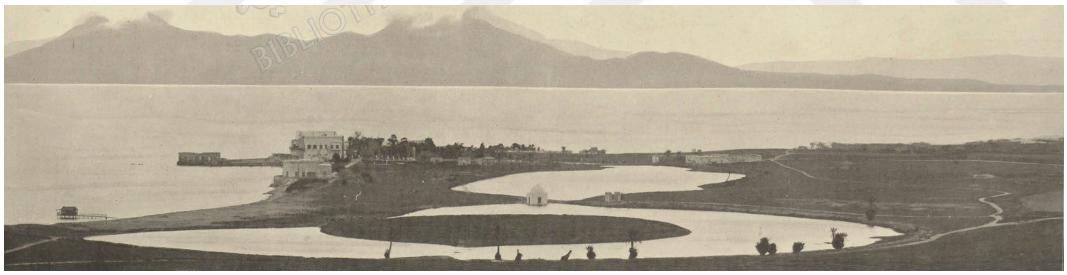


Figure 3.52. Wide shot of the Punic port c. 1862 summertime, with a new palace and sea-bathing cabin in the background.

Source: Reproduced from Compagnie des chemins de fer de Bône-Guelma et prolongements, *Voyage en Tunisie de M. Armand Fallières, Président de la République française (Avril 1911)*.

Parallelly, Carthage was much in favor with archaeology enthusiasts. Its ruins are situated between the south of La Marsa (Sidi Bou Saïd) and the north of La Goulette, intertwined with the hamlets of Malga and Sidi Daoud. The popularization of travel literature instigated institutional and amateur interest in the site of Punic and Roman Carthage. Informed of its approximate location and animated by patrimonial sentiment

[210] Ibid, 53-56.

towards the value of ruins, European (notably British) antiquarians had thus assigned themselves carte blanche to pillage it. The ancient site had not only caught the attention of looters, but also that of tourists and of the archaeology aficionado and missionary François Bourgade (1806-1866). Disserving between 1842-1858 the Saint-Louis de Carthage chapel (built in 1841 in Malga upon the 1830 permission of Husseïn II Bey,) the missionary utilized one of the edifice's rooms to display the findings of excavations he undertook on site[211].

Upon his revocation and return to France in 1858, Bourgade's findings were sold to collectors, who until 1866 were able to freely transport archaeological remains outside of the Tunisian territory. This right was revoked per a beylical decree of Safar 1283 (June 1866). It was replaced by a "monopoly over antiquities" accorded to the son of prime minister Mustapha Khaznadar, brother-in-law of Kheïreddine Pasha, and nephew of Ahmed Bey; Muhammed Khaznadar (1840-1929). Like his brother-in-law[212] and a few other court members, the prince had developed a taste for antiquities through travels (notably to the Ottoman capital and to European capitals) and education abroad (France and Italy). Between 1863 and 1873, he exhibited his findings to a tight circle of a privileged few at the palace of his father in La Manouba, near Bardo, and in World Fairs under the Tunisian pavilion, notably the 1867 Paris fair. In 1866, he expressed his intention of establishing a "Carthaginian Museum" for Tunisian antiquities. This project was halted by the confiscation of his collection by the state in 1873, in turn caused by his father's disgrace for heavy embezzlement of government funds[213]. Subsequently, the project was perpetuated by Kheïreddine Pasha who, conscient of the significance of antiquities for the regency's historical record and their legitimacy underpinnings, regularly inventoried the collection that he enriched and had stored in Bardo, pending the creation of a museum open to the public[214].

---

[211] Myriam Bacha, *Patrimoine et monuments en Tunisie: 1881-1920* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013): 32-51

[212] See Houcine Jaïdi, "Kheireddine Pacha et son projet de musée archéologique à Tunis," *PALLAS* 56 (2001): 93-117.

[213] Ridha Moumni, "Archaeology and Cultural Policy in Ottoman Tunisia, Part I: Muhammad Khaznadar (1865–70)," *Muqarnas* 38 (2021): 265-289.

[214] Ridha Moumni, "Archaeology and Cultural Policy in Ottoman Tunisia, Part II: Muhammad Khaznadar (1871–99)," *Muqarnas* 39 (2022): 223-252.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the village of La Marsa comprised two Sufi Zaouia/Zaviye. The first was Sidi Dhrif, and the second Sidi Bou Saïd (fig.3.52), a steep sanctuary village exclusively inhabited by Muslims until the Fundamental Pact. It had evolved with the establishment of the shrine of a marabout that gave the settlement its name. Harboring the summer resorts of local nobility since the thirteenth century, its built fabric additionally included a Sufi coffeehouse, and a lighthouse reconstructed in 1840, hence the village's other appellation; *Djebel el-Mnara* [the lighthouse mountain][215]. La Marsa additionally included summer consulates (British and French) established in beylical palaces, elites' gardens, suburban palaces of the ruling class (fig.3.53), and the summer residences of artisan nobility. Again around the 1850s, this locality as well began to undergo spatial expansion. Overlooking the sea, with a larger surface area than La Goulette, and predominantly inhabited by the ruling class, the settlement became an ideal setting for the nobility to transform their summer resorts into permanent residences or to construct new ones. With the abolition of traditional restrictions on real estate ownership in 1857, the village equally welcomed rich negotiators who further populated it with new residences.

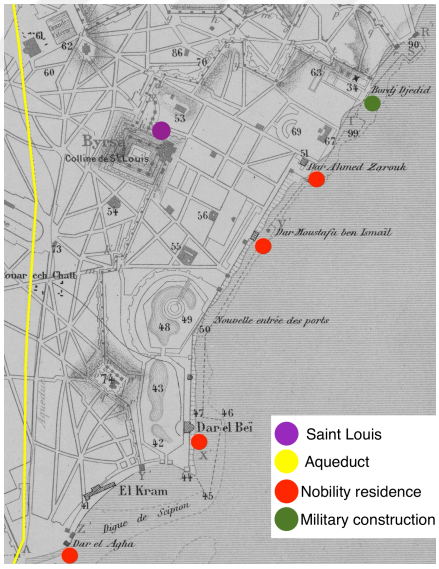


Figure 3.53. Map of the area from La Goulette to La Marsa before 1874, August Daux. Focal points added by the author. The map does not include Kheïreddine's palace, further down the coast, also on the seashore.

Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, GED 250.

[215] Jean-Christophe Fichou, "La signalisation maritime en Tunisie (1881-1920) ou les phares de la présence coloniale," *REMMM* 128 (2010): 246-262 (252).

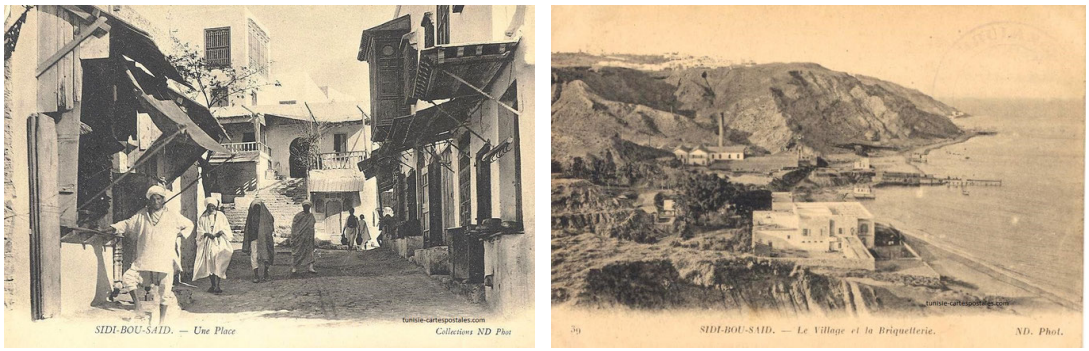


Figure 3.54. [n.d] Postcards of the Sidi Bou Saïd square and of its view from Carthage, with the palace of General Mohamed Baccouche and his brick factory visible on the second.

Source: Tunisie-cartespostales.com.



Figure 3.55. Photographs of the Marsa beylical palace; Dar et-Tej [House of the Crown], with its façade changed after 1861 to an Italiante style to match the ruling Bey's taste.

Source: (top) wikicommons (bottom) Yıldız albums, Istanbul University Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, NEKYA90598/5.

3.2.3.2. Implementation of the TGM: 1874-1905

Consistently with the preceding, a 1/25.000 plan dating from Jumada al-Thani 7th, 1288 (August 23rd, 1871) and signed in approval by Kheïreddine Pasha documents the Tunis-La Goulette trunk, as well as the La Goulette-La Marsa extension, not yet built. Identifying major landmarks as the high nobility residences, consulates and St. Louis chapel, the plan interestingly records partial paths extending from the palaces and leading to nowhere, but nevertheless tracing an axis and proving they were cleared in preparation for the railway's passage (fig.3.56).



Figure 3.56. Photograph of a fragment from the plan for the concession of the line from Tunis to La Goulette, including La Marsa, August 23rd, 1871.

Source: Tunisian National Archives, Série Historique, Carton 236, Dossier 512.

Another 1/5000 plan for the entire railway line, dated 1873, records the tracks crossing La Goulette, Douar Chott, the Ancient Carthage (Malga), dignitary gardens and agricultural fields towards La Marsa, passing in front of the British consulate, and arriving at the beylical residence, which was in turn surrounded by court bureaucrat and negotiator residences of all confessions and ethnicities, and of whom the names were included (fig.3.57). Nevertheless, it does not include information about stations.

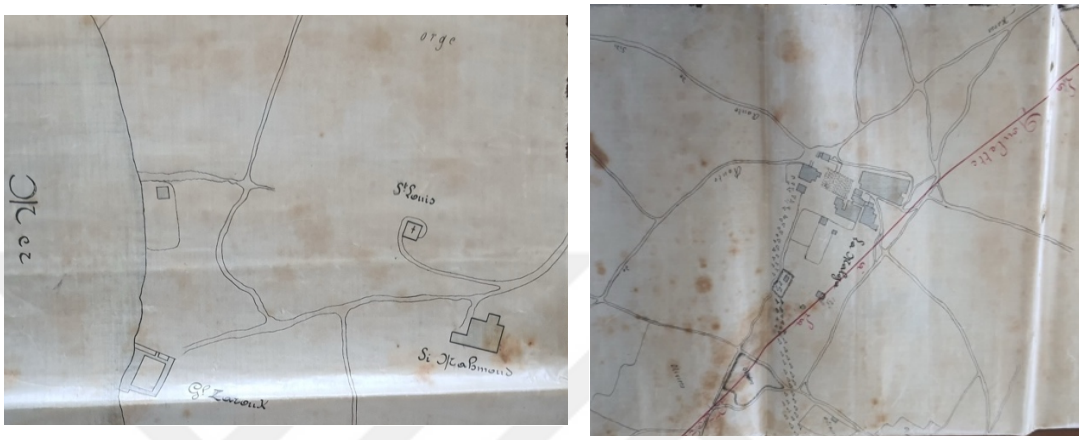


Figure 3.57. Photographs of fragments from the plan for the concession of the line from La Goulette to La Marsa, 1873. Poorly digitized and too large (approx. 2A0) to photograph, the plan nevertheless preciously documents the pre-1871 land use fabric of La Marsa and that of La Goulette.

Source: Tunisian National Archives, Série Historique, Carton 236, Dossier 512.

As foreseen in 1871, a map from 1877 covers the gap on the absence of stations and stops on the 1873 document. It contains seven different stopping points; those of La Goulette and La Marsa included (fig.3.58). The terminus station (La Marsa), housing a café, faced the beylical palace complex and was also depicted in an 1878 map (fig.3.59). The first stop immediately after La Marsa faced the British consulate. From it, the trunk bifurcated in the direction of La Goulette and Tunis. The second (Malga/Saint-Louis) led to three dignitary residences, to the chapel of Saint-Louis, and to the ancient site in Malga (explored by locals and foreigners alike). On how to reach Carthage and the Catholic complex, Léon de Bisson recommended (1881):

> One can go from Tunis to Carthage by road, either on horseback or by car; the distance is approximately 15 kilometers. But the easiest way is to take the railway to La Goulette, then from La Goulette to the Saint-Louis station, where, to begin the excursion, the college and the chapel should be visited. The

Fathers of Saint-Louis make available to the public a short guide to the ruins of Carthage...[216]



Figure 3.58. Detail of a map drawn by Philippe Caillat and engraved by L. Sonnet (Paris: Impr. de Dufrenoy, 1877).

Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GE C-9275.

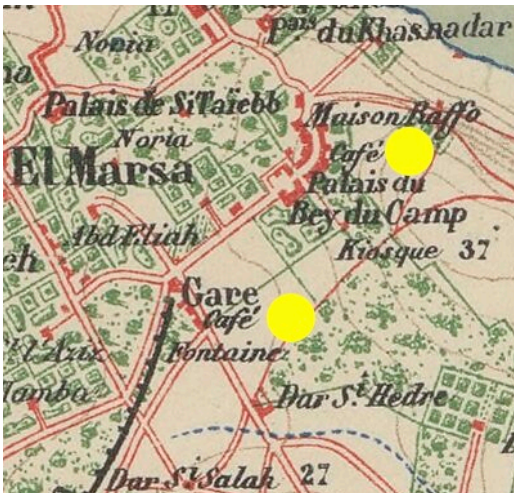


Figure 3.59. Detail of an 1878 map where the location of two cafés is marked yellow.

Source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GEC-4.

[216] de Bisson, *La Tripolitaine et la Tunisie: avec les renseignements indispensables aux voyageurs*, 57.



Figure 3.60. Juxtaposition of 1878, 1898, and 1905 maps of the same area.

Source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GEC-4 (left) and GE C-2455 (right), Collections patrimoniales numérisées de Bordeaux Montaigne, Tunisie Flle. N° XIV-B 1-C 37, La Marsa

Juxtaposition of maps from 1905, 1898 and 1878 reveals that the La Goulette-La Marsa trunk, covering a larger area, did not undergo the salient spatial expansion

experienced in Tunis and the harbor of La Goulette with the arrival of the railways. Instead of embracing and perpetuating the tracks' axes, the landmarks of the region either underwent a change of function and/or owners, or continued to expand with regard to the pre-1874 scheme. In each case, these expansions were the result of concentrated private initiative, and lacked both an overall clarity and the presence of administration-led infrastructural developments (such as a sewage system)[217].

The first four nodes (Kheïreddine, Kram el-Agha, Beylical palace and Mustapha Khaznadar's palace, Mustapha Ben Ismaïl and Ahmed Zarrouk palaces) consisted in private properties and inalienable domains that presented an opportunity for their local dignitary owners to capitalize on their proximity to the seashore and their location within a high-end settlement. As such, the Kheïreddine palace and gardens were sold to La Société Marseillaise in 1877, upon the former's definite relocation to Constantinople. An apple of discord between the French company and the Bey himself and a matter of land legislation ambiguity, the sale was not definitely ratified until the land law of 1885, following which it was occupied by Les Pères Blancs, a hotel, and finally the local Hanafi Cheikh Hamida Bayram[218]. In a similar vein, Kram el-Agha's gardens underwent an expansion launched by the Italians and oriented towards the proletariat class of La Goulette[219]. Likewise, the properties of Mustapha Khaznadar, were seized by the Bey upon the latter's demise (1873). The northern palace (built 1862) was offered by Sadok Bey to Mustapha Ben Ismaïl (the new prime minister) in 1873, who sold it to French François Auguste in 1885. Auguste kept it intact until March 10th, 1897, date on which a decree ratified the transfer of the property to Ali III Bey's son and future ruler, el-Hedi Bey (r. 1902-1906). Similarly, General Ahmed Zarrouk's properties were sold to the local Jewish negotiator Haï Yechoua Bessis in 1885, after which the latter used it as a palace. In a like manner, Ali Bey sold the rest of Mustapha Khaznadar's domains to the French Société Foncière de Tunisie on December 14th, 1888. Following the purchase, the palace (built 1842) was ceded to the

[217] Abidi, "La Goulette et sa région aux XiXe et XXe siècles: mutation urbaine d'un faubourg maritime de la ville de tunis", 59.
[218] Jacques Revault, *Palais et Résidences d'été de la région de Tunis (XVIe – XIXe siècles)* (Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1974): 296.
[219] Abidi, "La Goulette et sa région aux XiXe et XXe siècles: mutation urbaine d'un faubourg maritime de la ville de Tunis", 58. This proletariat class was likely Italianate or Maltese of Christian confession since this is where the cemetery of La Goulette was displaced in 1888.

administration, that transformed it into a lazaret while pledging per the purchase agreement to not construct anything else within a 50-meter range from the lazaret. As for the rest of the minister's domains, they were registered under the name "Salâmmbo" and were parcellated in 1894, before being re-sold to the speculators Brandenburg Godefroy (Maltese) and François Hippolyte Comte de Beauregard (French) during the same year. The developers gradually undertook further parcellation and some villa construction efforts, but it was not until 1903 that the speculative project bore its fruits and that the houses began to find interested buyers[220].

In parallel, significant expansion was also witnessed around the St. Louis chapel towards the coasts of Sidi Bou Saïd and Sidi Dhrif. Upon Bourgade's departure, the missionary site remained quasi vacant for nearly two decades before being occupied again in 1874 and 1885 by Cardinal Lavigerie, and Les Pères Blancs and Les Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie missionary corps, which purchased new lots and expanded the site from chapel to a Catholic complex. In possession of a vast archaeological collection (that between 1875 and 1881 reached 6347 items[221]), excavated and displayed on site, the missionary corps additionally established a viticulture in Sidi Dhrif and a girls school (Sainte-Monique) in Sidi Bou Saïd, as well as a scholasticate, a pensionnat, a convent, a seminary (1880), an orphanage (1885), and the Cathedral of Carthage (1890) (fig.3.61) within the immediate surroundings of the chapel. On the users of the complex, de Gélis reported (1882):

> Next to the chapel is the convent of the Fathers of Carthage where children are educated. The Fathers admit Jews and even Muslims among their students, and many Moors in Tunis do not hesitate to send their sons to them. This praises the liberal spirit of all and could serve as an example to many civilized countries.[222]

Finally, the immediate surroundings of La Marsa station experienced no considerable expansion with regard to the railways, aside from the continuation of sale and purchase agreements between members of the ruling class (that were already common in the

---

[220] Beya Abidi, "Les deux palais de Mustapha Khaznadar à Carthage: genèse de nouveaux espaces urbanisés", *LAAM publications* [online], 2011, p. 53 and [by the same author] بية العبيدي، قصور البايات بالأحواز الشمالية لمدينة تونس خلال الفترة الحسينية 1705-1957 (تونس: مركز النشر الجامعي، 2013): 398-405.

[221] Aimé Dupuy, "En marge de l'année Saint-Louis: d'une chapelle et d'une statue", *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 29, no. 4, (December 1970): 489-504

[222] De Gélis, *Trois mois en Tunisie: journal d'un volontaire*, 154.

beginning of the century, elucidating the change in the legends between the 1878 and 1898 plans), the appearance of a café next to the terminus (of which the land itself was a leased beylical property[223]), and the construction of a few residences that the Cardinal de Lavigerie offered for rent during summertime[224].



Figure 3.61. (left) [nd], postcard of the Cathedral of Carthage, (right), wide photograph of La Marsa, as present in the Yıldız albums, with the legend reading "Tunis environs, Marsa village, which contains the summer resort where the prince resides".

Sources: (left) creativecommons (right) Istanbul Uniersity, Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, Yıldız Albums, NEKYA91333/22.

Alongside these developments, the plans reveal that the coastal area between the Lazaret and Sidi Bou Saïd (interestingly the locations that were not directly disserved

[223] Bône-Guelma General Assembly 33rd meeting report (October 6th, 1898), ANOM, 156 AQ 6.
[224] On the subject, a newspaper article from 1889 reported: "In the eight days that I have been in Tunis, I have heard interesting things about Mr. de Lavigerie. He monopolized Tunisia as he knew how to become master of Algeria. He has huge estates everywhere. His winter and summer palaces number in the dozens. Speculation on land and buildings is countless in Tunisia. Everywhere we turn we hear only the same answer: property of the cardinal.
In Tunis, he owns vast building plots, taken up for trivial prices and put on sale at 45 and 50 francs per square meter. In La Marsa, he built an entire small spa town on his properties, made up of charming villas that wealthy Tunisians come to live in during the hot season. In La Goulette, he owns numerous rental houses. In Saint-Louis de Carthage, next to the cathedral, stands a superb palace made of white stone. It is the cardinal's Vatican, a princely residence with vast outbuildings, including a women's convent within the grounds of the property. Apart from that, the cardinal has vast estates converted into vineyards almost everywhere. These estates are cultivated by fathers and brothers, created ad hoc by the foresight of the cardinal, and this does not cause any other costs than the meager pittance of these poor scraps on whom the cardinal rigorously imposes the vow of evangelical poverty. [..] The cardinal harvests a lot of wine and trades in it. He is particularly attached to white wines which are highly esteemed and sell relatively expensively." *La Lanterne: Journal politique quotidien*, July 25th, 1889, 1.

by the railways), resisted expansion. Forming the grounds of a private speculation monopolized by local dignitaries with surviving relative authority and significant properties but decreasing financial capabilities[225], these real estates were either used by the ruling family (notably by Naceur Bey (r. 1906-1922)), kept in the hands of their owners (in anticipation that their descendants will take over), or sold to other dignitaries that continued to use them as palaces.

Overall, the arrival of the railways between La Goulette and La Marsa introduced social ambiguity and reinforced speculation in the hitherto strictly noble axis, but it did not entirely undermine existing land value and distributions in the area. While some of the nodes were purchased by foreign (French, Italian, Maltese) investors, the rest of them changed hand between (Muslim and Jewish) locals, therefore conserving the palatial value of the settlement.

While a 1931 article reported that: "The last witnesses of the 'Railway Company Limited' are, at present, the quays of Kram, the station of Kheïreddine still in service, and that of Malga, disused [..]"[226], only vague contemporary photographic and written mentions have survived regarding this trunk's stations. The first concerns a quay at La Marsa, reproduced as postcard from a photograph by Neurdein. The document captures travelers from different genders and ethnicities descending the train (fig.3.60). Absence of an enclosed building on the single platform, the presence of a lantern, and the bifurcation of the tracks could indicate that it was the stop facing the British consulate. The remaining details nevertheless do not permit dating beyond the interval of 1874-1908.

The second image, present in two variants, captures another station labeled "Carthage La Gare de Malga" and "Carthage La Gare" (fig.3.62, 3.63). Mentioned in the 1871 concession booklet without clear elucidation of its exact location[227], the Saint-Louis

[225] بية العبيدي، قصور البايات بالأحواز الشمالية لمدينة تونس خلال الفترة الحسينية, 6-7
[226] Gandolphe, "Les premières gares", 2.
[227] It read (in Arabic, p.9-10): "As for the trunk heading to La Goulette, it passes through L'Aouïna where it established a temporary stationing station, then continues to Douar-Chott where it establishes a station in the place where the road from Tunis to Carthagèna meets the Marsa road."

station is reported in 1894 by French architects René Cagnat and Henri Saladin visiting Carthage as:

> We jump ashore, happy to walk a little and look in detail at the remains of ancient Carthage. A few steps in front of us there is first a house which has nothing antique in it, it is the railway station, inhabited by a Maltese family; these people certainly do not suspect the number of centuries "that contemplate them from the top of the hill"[228]

The station is perfectly geometric (square or rectangle), sober and devoid of ornamentation. It is at least two-storied, flat roofed with a parapet, and painted in two different colors. The openings are emphasized by a pronounced embossing of their offset edges and are painted in a lighter color. If not identical, their dimensions are considerably close, further underscoring the symmetry of the façades. The façade facing the platform has three doors, but it is unclear whether they communicated with the outside via an enclosed space in the building, or if they guided the traveler into circumventing the building's mass to circulate and access the platform via another gate. On the visible façades, no time/timetable-announcing element is discernable, suggesting that either the interior, or a non-visible façade served that function. The façade perpendicular to the platform has similar opening details. It is difficult to determine if the small object on the façade above the canopy and below the first floor's openings is a bell or a lamp. In the case of the latter, it would be the only element illuminating the platform. The presence of a chimney on the roof doubled by that of a half-height wall with a garden gate separating it from the platform suggests that the Maltese family in question was that of a stationmaster. The two visible façades' ground floors are shaded with large canopies (seemingly wooden). The ridges of these structures are lined with dagger boards (likely to control the evacuation of rainwater). The shading system's load is transferred to the main structure via a slightly decorated metal console. The platform itself, around 90cm-high extends on both ends of the buildings and is punctuated by trees placed at an equidistance from one another, and younger than the other ones (evergreens?) stiffly retracing the path of the tracks.

[228] Emphasis that of the original text. René Cagnat and Henri Saladin, *Voyage en Tunisie* (Paris: Hachette, 1894): 366.



Figure 3.62. Postcard of the arrival of the train at a Marsa station, before 1908. The building in the background to the left might be a palace. Photographer: Neurdein.

Source: wikicommons



Figure 3.63. Postcard of the Carthage Malga station, before 1908.

Source: wikicommons.



Figure 3.64. Postcard of the same Carthage station, before 1908.

Source: wikicommons, Bertrand Bouret collection.

3.2.3.3. Visitor accounts and depictions

Alongside maps documenting the spatial expansion of the trunk, visitor accounts enrich understandings of how the railways between Kheïreddine's palace and La Marsa were used and experienced. For instance, the account of Marcel Juillet Saint-Laget (1874) indicates that the arrival of the railways further attracted visitors, that were allowed to visit the surroundings and (at least) one of the beylical palaces:

> La Marsa is in a way the Passy or Ville-d'Avray of Tunis. The main European traders have here properties in which they spend the long months of the hot season. We will visit in La Marsa the splendid palace and the sumptuous gardens of Mr. Ali Bey, presumptive heir of His Highness. This walk can be done very easily in one day. The railway takes travelers from Tunis to Marsa in 30 minutes and from La Goulette to La Marsa in 10 minutes.[229]

As for ways to navigate the palatial region between Khaznadar and Kheïreddine's palaces, the same traveler recommended (1874):

> On the site of the [Carthage] port dug by the hands of men, and today filled in, [..] in sight of the Saint-Louis chapel, [..] rises in the middle of a superb garden, a splendid Italian palace, very recently built. This palace is the residence of the former prime minister, Si Mustapha. It will be advisable to

[229] Juillet Saint-Lager, *La régence de Tunis: géographie physique et politique,* 38-39.

> request the favor of being admitted to visit this garden; curious in many particulars. [..] His Excellency the Khaznadar, Mr. General Kheïreddine, owns residences of incredible luxury and truly royal wealth in La Goulette. [..] If you wish to stop at La Goulette to visit the city, the ruins of Carthage, which are only three kilometers away, and the magnificent residences of Khaznadar and General Kheïreddine, you will have to get off at the hotel. [...][230]

Likewise, another French traveler in 1881 alarmed the traveler wishing to borrow this trunk that that:

> From La Goulette to La Marsa. [..] It is on this trunk that the two stations of Kram and Saint-Louis are located. The train only stops at intermediate stations if there are passengers to pick up or leave; one must therefore, before departure, indicate to the driver the station where they want to get off.[231]

Whereas the testimony of Saladin and Cagnat, observing the surroundings from the heights of the Ancient site, reveals that that Goulette-Marsa trunk was sparsely inhabited (1894):

> … on the right, the lake of Tunis separated from the gulf by a strip of land and the white block of houses of La Goulette, then the ancient ports of Carthage, which today are nothing more than two small lakes, two bodies of water that it looks like it was made for some English garden; here and there by the sea, Arab houses, pleasure palaces of the Bey and rich Tunisians, that of Khéreddin, transformed into a hospital for our soldiers, those of Mustapha-ben-Ismaïl and Ahmed-Zarouck which, being the nearest ones appear, from where we are, to be the most important; and, towards the west, on the left, at the foot of a hill which blocks the view, the villa of Si-Mohammed-Baccouch; above the charming village of Sidi-bou-Saïd, the first white point that you see from the open sea, the last that seems to say goodbye to you as you move away from La Goulette.[232]

Later still, another French passenger confirmed that the instauration of the colonial regime did not put a halt to the dignitaries' occupation of this coveted region, nor of their use of the railways, as a considerable portion of them, like the beylical family continued to ceremonially circulate in the city, and to inhabit its existing palaces. As relayed by Marcel Mouton (1897):

> Monday: 10 a.m. [..] Behind, a last group of horsemen galloping in a swirl of dust. It is His Highness Ali-Bey, brother and successor to the throne of the late Mohamed-es-Sadok, and Sidi-Taïeb, heir presumptive, among the beylical

---

[230] Ibid, 40, 41, 22.
[231] de Bisson, *La Tripolitaine et la Tunisie: avec les renseignements indispensables aux voyageurs*, 71. The discussed gardens continued to be accessible to visitors after 1898 as well, according to Jacqueton, Gsell, and Bernard, *Algérie et Tunisie*, 367.
[232] Cagnat and Saladin, *Voyage en Tunisie,* 375-376.

escort of honor. He thus crosses El-Sadikia Street, slows down his pace near the Circle of Officers who, at this hour, all on the terrace, stand up and salute. [...]

At the Italian station, halt. His Highness gets off and gets into his carriage on the train ready to leave for La Marsa, La Malka and La Goulette.

His Highness will stop at the Marsa Palace. There, He will deign to take a look at his troops, and his handkerchief to one of the subjects of the beylical harem.

The palace, officers, musicians, and His Highness's first coachman are in full-service dress and decorated, standing in front of the peristyle.

[..] His Highness frolics and decorates. It is Nishan Iftikhar day.[233]



Figure 3.65. Posters of the railway path between 1890-1898. Lithography by A. Marzi, likely from postcards.

Source: (left) JooSSooR community (right) General Italian catalogue of cultural assets [Catalogo generale dei beni culturali], 0500667845.

Alongside these visitors' accounts, the prescription of a guidebook to the Tunisian pavilion during the 1889 Exposition Universelle, juxtaposed with an Italian NGI poster from the last decade of the 1800s suggest that the Franco-Italian rivalry over this railway had not vanished even after 1881. The guidebook relayed (1889):

The second [part of the Central Palace of Tunisia includes] the Special Salon of the Bey, the exhibition of Public Works, and various industries. [..] When the

[233] Marcel Mouton, *Eros Rosse* (Paris: Société libre d'édition des gens de lettres, 1897): 277-278.

> visitor enters the large vestibule of the facade, he encounters on his right a magnificent relief plan of the city of Tunis, Lake Baïra and its surroundings. We can clearly see La Goulette, with [..] [its] small Rubattino railway, which leads from La Goulette to Tunis, with its junction for La Marsa. In Lake Baïra, the artist has depicted in full the channel that is currently being dug to allow ships to enter this immense basin which will soon become the port of Tunis.[234]

Against the exposition guide that included the TGM alongside French-led projects, two posters from after 1890, commissioned by the NGI, depict the railway passing through the northern suburbs of Tunis, offering tourists a reduced fare, and not failing to include the French Cathedral within the recommended landmarks to visit (fig.3.65).

3.2.3.4. Evaluation

Around the middle of the nineteenth century, the steep coastal region from La Goulette to La Marsa started to expand. In line with the growing interest of the rulers in the northern suburbs (sustained by an augmented building professional presence and a regular flow of building materials), dignitary residences started to appear and multiply around the same region, forming a strictly noble axis towards La Marsa. Parallelly, the area, site of Ancient Carthage and place of death of Crusader Saint-Louis, caught the interest of local and foreign archaeology enthusiasts alike. This resulted in the exploitation of the Malga hamlet and its surroundings for amateur archaeological excavations, and the erection of a catholic chapel on the death site of Saint-Louis.

With the introduction of the railways, the trunk conformed to the challenging topography of the site, while embracing the axiality of these noble residences rather than imposing its own. Notwithstanding, this section of the TGM agreed with its predecessors (1872) in catalyzing real estate speculations and raising the value of the lands surrounding it, which had already been subject to capitalization on their proximity to princely resorts. In accordance, the axis began to experience ambiguity, superposing a layer of catholic constructions and vineyards, as well as one of scattered

[234] Société des études coloniales et maritimes, *Colonies françaises et pays de protectorat à l'Exposition universelle de 1889: guide* (Paris: L. Cerf, 1889): 176, 178. The guide also proceeds to include industries exploited in the northern suburbs by Italians (sponge and tuna) without mentioning the nationality of the investors.

speculative profit-oriented small settlements with considerably expansive palatial dwellings monopolized by local nobility and resisting foreign speculation. As a result, patches of parcellated regular and small lots and hotels in the immediate vicinity of railway stations began to inhabit the same space as palaces with vast gardens that remained generally faithful to their pre-1874 conditions, and that connected to the railways via the paths designed in 1871. With the establishment of the protectorate, the French population of the regency indeed grew, but in the case of the northern suburbs, it was a speculation-based growth around the Saint-Louis chapel (expanded into viticulture and catholic complex).



Figure 3.66. Example of standardized station design on the Great Western Railway. (top) Hungerford station, 1847. (bottom) Marlow station, 1873.

Source: rmweb.co.uk

Against the challenging of speculative trends and small settlement expansion, the visitor accounts reveal that the railways reinforced the local dignitary classes' visibility, by allowing foreigners and tourists access to the gardens of the palatial region. In that respect, this trend, like its predecessors, contributed to the emancipation

of the Tunis-La Goulette-La Marsa path as a touristic and suburban line connecting with the Mediterranean shore. This is further confirmed by the presence of reduced tourist rates during the hot season (fig.3.65), and by the appearance of a few non-sedentary settlements (Lavigerie rental houses in La Marsa and La Goulette, hotel at Kheïreddine stop) and a café (La Marsa), aimed at serving/accommodating passengers and vacationers.

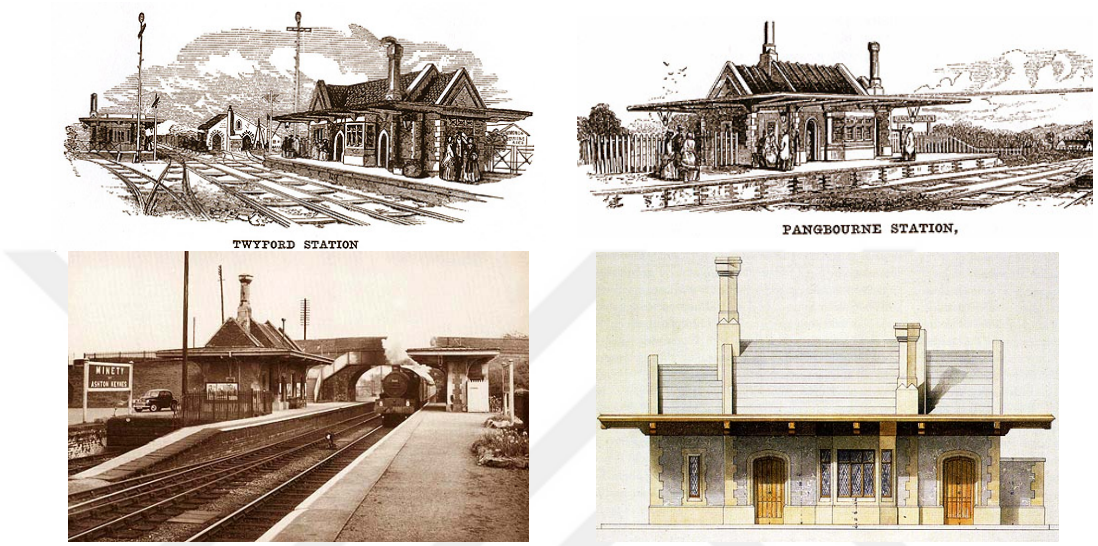


Figure 3.67. Prints, photograph, and drawing of a standardized country station as seen/designed in (clockwise) Tyford, Pangbourne, Minety, and Culham stations. The design is the work of engineer I.K. Brunel, the last drawing dates from 1843. It can additionally be seen in the Bradford at Avon and Melksham stations.

Source: https://www.freshford.com/bradford_trains1.htm



Figure 3.68. Examples of the "Chalet" style, standardized by the Great Western Railways' engineer I.K. Brunel, where the extension of the roof provides an economical solution for shading, but where the construction materials for the building-proper are different; with Kentish Clapboard in the 1853 Charlbury station (left) and stone in the 1841 Pantyffynnon station (right)

Source: Wikimedia commons, photographs taken by Geof Sheppard, 2019 (left) and Alan Hughes, 2018 (right)



Figure 3.69. Examples of uses of daggerboards (also known as valances) in (left) Great Harwood Station (Midland Railways, 1877), in (right) Warwick (Milverton) Station (London and North Western Railways, 1875)

Source: disused-stations.org.uk and warwickshirerailways.com/lms



Figure 3.70. Example of standardized station design on the Great Western Railway. (left) Hungerford station, 1847. (right) Marlow station, 1873.

Source: rmweb.co.uk

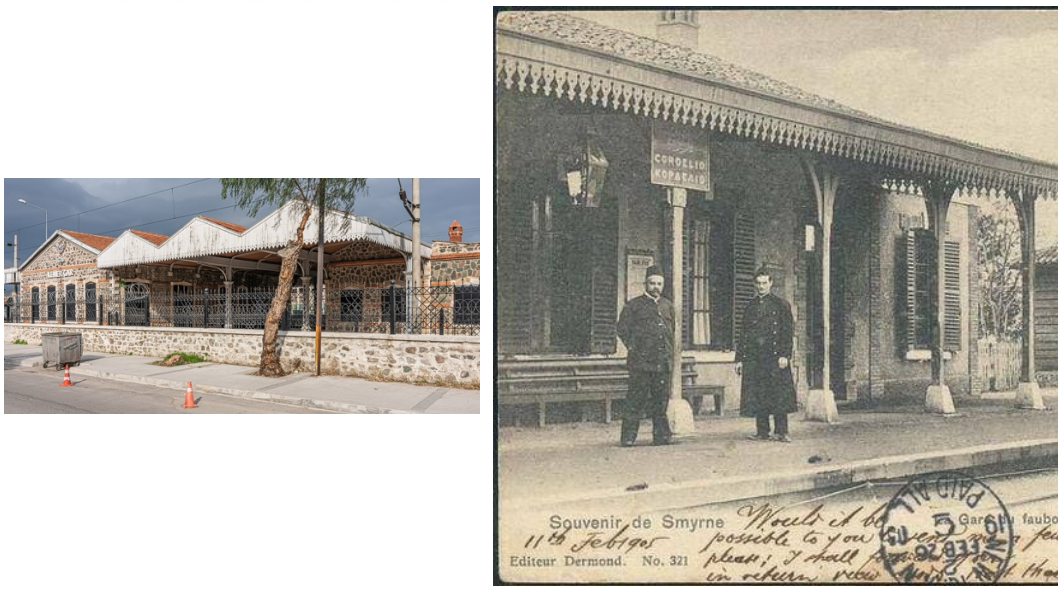


Figure 3.71. Photographs and postcard of Smyrniot railways. (left) Kemer, the first in Anatolia 1858, restored, (right) Cordelio (today Karşıyaka) 1865, restored.

Sources: wikicommons.



Figure 3.72. Postcards and photographs of a standardized intermediary/country/wayside French station with occasional awnings in (clockwise starting from top left) Toucy (France), El-Affroun (Algeria), Souk el-Arba (Tunisia), Çiğli (Türkiye).

Source: wikicommons.

In line with the resistance to spatial expansion, the stations seem to have been few and summary. La Marsa never had a station[235], with the designation by "gare" on the maps likely referring to its depot, whereas some intermediary stops were simple halts. Likewise, Gandolphe's report (1931) suggests that the Kram had only a quay, whereas Kheïreddine's stop was assigned a station (of which no other documentation preceding the twentieth century survives). In considerably smaller dimensions than the Tunis and La Goulette termini, the Saint-Louis/Carthage station is a special (if not unique) example of the intermediary stops built by the British company. The modesty of its dimensions, the symmetry of the openings, the perfectly geometric layout, and the use of large awnings, metal canopies and daggerboards/valances for shading and rainwater evacuation invite comparison with British wayside stations established by subjects of the Crown in Britain and in Izmir[236] (fig.3.66, 3.67, 3.68, 3.69, 3.70, 3.71). In the

[235] Debernard, "Le premier", 213.
[236] On Smyrniot railways see A. Nedim Atilla, *İzmir Demiryolları*, (Izmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayını, 2002), Sabri Sürgevil, *Basmane garı ve çevresi* (Izmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2011), and Elvan Cobb, "Railway Crossings: Encounters in Ottoman Lands", unpublished PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 2018. On the history of the Istanbul Sirkeci station before 1888, see

mentioned geographies, these were typologies in their own right that obeyed certain stylistic parameters (i.e. Tudor, Chalet, Jacobean, Italian Palazzo[237]) based on the locations traversed by railways, and that answered to the fierce inter-company competitions, maximizing time-efficiency while minimizing the costs of design and construction by reliance on standardized industrially produced elements and stones quarried on site[238]. In that respect, it is possible to establish a formal parallelism between these intermediary stations and the Tunisian one. Notwithstanding, the presence of similar shading elements in French stations as well (fig.3.72), coupled by the absence of other examples or assignment of a nationality or another to the constructions themselves in the consulted documents about the TGM dismisses the possibility that the Carthage station might have had direct ideological or identity underpinnings.

3.2.4. La Marsa-L'Aouïna-Tunis and La Goulette-L'Aouïna

From the inception of the line, L'Aouïna, sparsely inhabited, was only meant to be a supplying juncture (fig.3.73)[239]. Despite not experiencing the expansion and the elite interest that the La Marsa-La Goulette trunk did, the facilitated transportation of building professionals and construction materials after 1872/1874 did contribute to a timid growth in this agricultural village as well. It consisted in the appearance of

---

Ahmet Erdem Tozoğlu, "When the railway reached Istanbul: the making of Sirkeci terminus, 1870–1888", *Planning Perspectives* 33 (2018, 2): 205-228. For an inventory of Anatolian intermediary railway stations that did obey an array of typologies, see Şule Sezginalp, "Station buildings in the history of Turkish railways : catalogue of buildings constructed between 1850s-1950s", Unpublished Master's thesis (Middle East Technical University, 2020)

[237] Inspired by Italianate architecture and repeatedly used in the south of Britain, Palazzo style became associated with British railways altogether, to the point of being additionally named "English railroad style". *Illustrated London News* 55 (May 4, 1844), 284.

[238] Tim Bryan, *Railway Stations (Britain's Heritage Series)* (London: Amberly Publishing, 2017): "Country and Suburban Stations" and Alan Young, "Country and Suburban stations," in M. Binney and D. Pearce, eds. *Railway Architecture* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1979/1980): 88-117. The same was valid for French stations as well. Initially drawing reference from fluvial navigation typologies (maison de l'éclusier [canal lock-keeper's house]), the typologies were adopted by the PLM (Paris-Lyon Méditérranée) before becoming standard practice in most French-built intermediary stations in France and in geographies where railway constructions were conceded to the French. See (e.g) Pierre Chabat, *Bâtiments de chemins de fer: embarcadères, plans de gares, stations, abris, etc* (Paris: A. Morel, 1866), François Poupardin, "Les bâtiments voyageurs édifiés le long de la ligne impériale", *Revue d'histoire des chemins de fer* 38 (2008): 59-71, and Laurent Poupard, "L'inventaire de la voie ferrée Andelot - La Cluse ou une ligne en quête d'auteur", *Revue d'histoire des chemins de fer* 40 (2009): 53-74.

[239] Concession booklet, 9.

summer resorts (belonging to locals and foreigners alike) and three factories (one beer and two silkworm plants) in the region by 1878[240] (fig.3.73). The map suggests that these were nevertheless not directly linked via a cleared path to the station. The document additionally marked the bifurcation towards La Marsa as "Summer Line", implying a seasonal use. By 1898, the urban expansion of Tunis along the TGM railway line led to the relocation of the Israelite cemetery further north, along the L'Aouïna line, and resulting in the addition of a "Borgel" halt, directly communicating with the burial place. The map recording the addition of this cemetery (fig.3.74) interestingly documents the displacement of L'Aouïna station further towards Tunis, and the disappearance of the residences and factories in the surroundings of the station, probably due to their clearance for the accommodation of the École d'agriculture coloniale de Tunis, established in 1898, supplied with water and appended with vast agricultural fields.

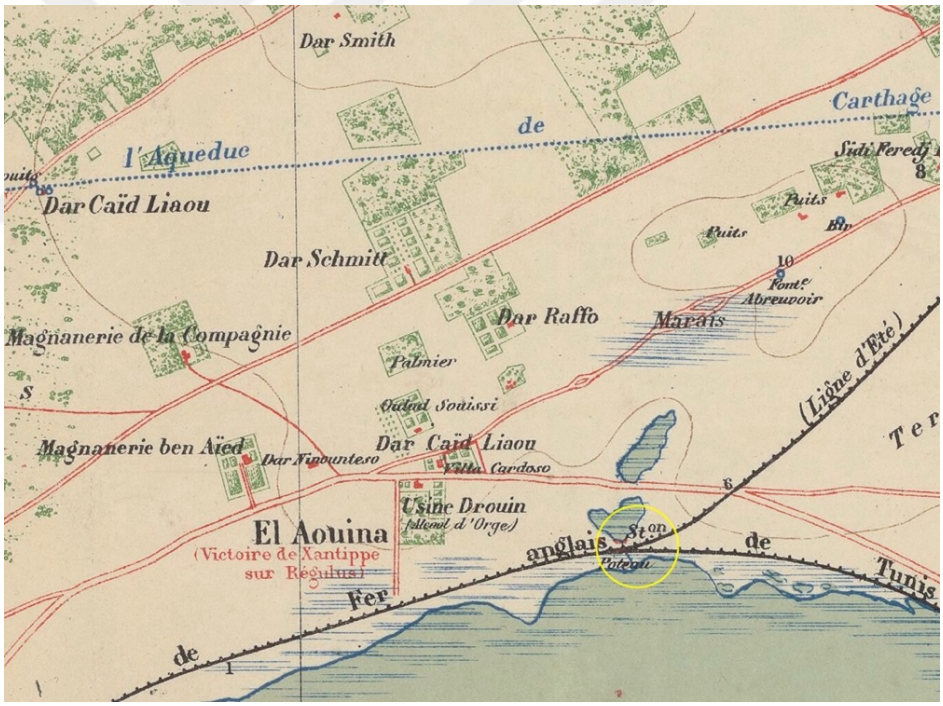


Figure 3.73. Detail of a map from 1878, where L'Aouïna started to expand.

Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GE C-2455.

[240] Beya Abidi, "Pour un inventaire des villégiatures beylicales aux environs de la ville de Tunis. Apport des cartes du XIXe siècle", in *Patrimoines du Maghreb et Inventaires*, ed. Bernadette Nadia Saou Dufrêne (Tunis: Hermann, 2016) 217-232.

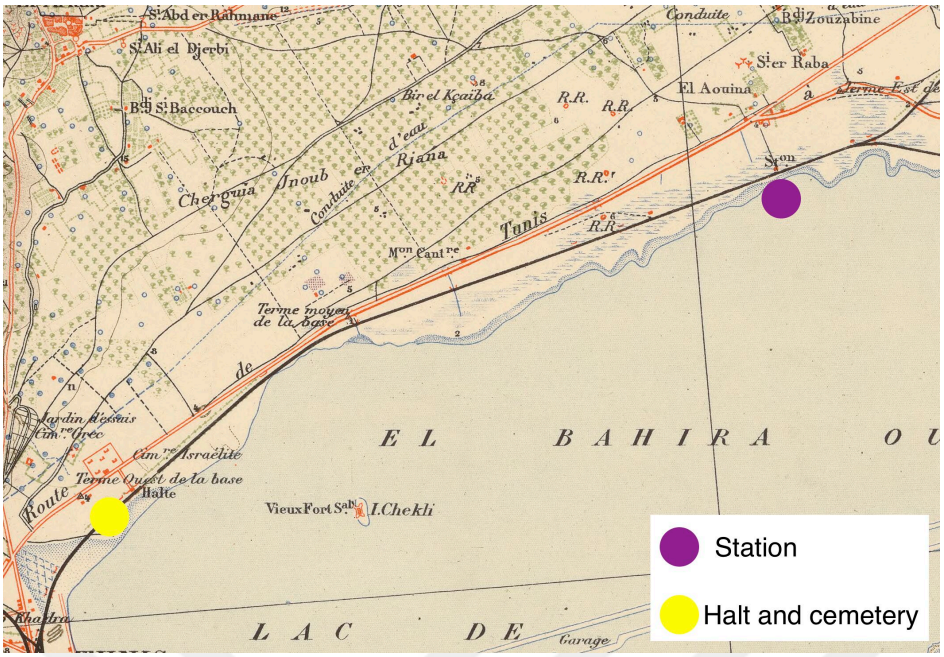


Figure 3.74. Detail of a map from 1898, where agricultural fields gained terrain over constructions.

Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GEC-4.

3.2.5. Bardo-Tunis



Figure 3.75. Bardo entrance, c. 1880-1908.

Source: (left) İBB Atatürk Library, postcard collection Krt_042595 (right) Yıldız Albums, Istanbul University Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, NEKYA90598/14.

Unlike Tunis, the evolution of Bardo was not marked by clear break in the nineteenth century but rather by an institutionalization and solidification of its function as official seat of power. A walled citadel flanked by a clock-tower (fig.3.75) until the first years of the occupation, the palace complex encompassed in the beginning of the century

pavilion-type palaces, a mosque, a prison, a hanging place, a throne room, an audience room, a selamlik, a harem, stables, and a souk. To these were added artillery barracks in 1831, the Bardo school of engineers in 1840, a high pavilion from which the Bey could watch the training of military officials, and the mint [*Dar es-Sikka*] where the regency's coins were made between 1847 and 1891[241].

As new ones were appended, some pre-nineteenth century structures were abandoned. The function of the palace as residence thus gradually gave way to an administrative function. From the very beginning of the Ottoman rule, it was not customary among the Beys of Tunis to live in the palaces of their predecessors. Accordingly, with the transfer of power, rulers built new palaces, whereas the Bardo was permanently occupied by the modest branches of the beylical family and semi-permanently by the Bey and high dignitaries (e.g. minister Mustapha Khaznadar) who built new pavilions within its walls. Growing considerably costlier to maintain, the old pavilions were gradually deserted. In parallel, ceremonial spaces were maintained, further underscoring the political function of the palace, where, according to André Flaux in 1865; the Bey "live[d] during the day, where he receive[d] foreigners, work[ed] with his ministers, and "where the principal officials of his civil and military household reside[d]"[242]. Outside of tending to their official roles at the Bardo palace, the Beys additionally lived in their suburban residences during the hot seasons. In consonance, Leïla Temimi Blili (2016) reports that:

> From this "detachment" from the public space emerges a more elaborate conception of private life, which also affects the distribution of time: Muhammad Bey affirms to those close to him that there is a private time and a public time, as much for him than for the men of his court. They are indeed "released" to use Ibn Abi Dhiaf's expression, that is to say authorized to spend the night at home. The Bey extends this division of time to all statesmen and judges, regulating working hours and days.[243]

In practical terms, the palace complex was therefore where the dignitary elite was trained, and where executive power was exercised. Much like the "day office of the

[241] Sebag, *Tunis: Histoire d'une ville*, 241-293. Revault, *Palais et Résidences d'été de la région de Tunis (XVIe – XIXe siècles),* 308-312.
[242] André Flaux, *La régence de Tunis au dix-neuvième siècle*. (Paris: de Challamel aîné, 1865), 187.
[243] Leïla Temime Blili, "Des beys et des réformes: entre cadre global et contingences locales" in Ridha Moumni, ed. *L'éveil d'une nation.* (Milan : Oficina Libraria & Fondation Rambourg, 2016), 33.

Bey," it was where he received petitions of local solicitors (1861-1864 excluded), and visits of foreign consuls.

In the absence of the ruling elite during the hot season, despite circulating at "hours that only suit the employees of the government"[244], the railways transported interested foreign tourists to the palace complex, which was open to them upon special requests communicated via their consuls. On how to make one such visit, Marcel Juillet Saint-Lager prescribed (1874):

> One should start by visiting Bardo which is connected to the city by a railway lined with trees on each of its sides. It is the Residence of the sovereign of the Regency.
> To be admitted to the interior of the palace, it is necessary to take advantage of the absence of the Bey who resides for almost eight months in La Goulette. By contacting the colonel who is governor of Bardo and who never leaves this palace, one easily obtains permission to visit the main apartments. The consuls can easily provide this pleasure to their nationals.
> We particularly recommend to travelers *the Hall of Mirrors* and *the Throne Room*, in which there are very remarkable paintings offering full-length images of the main sovereigns of Europe.
> We will ask for permission to see the magnificent properties of the Prime Minister, Mr. General Kheïreddine [We will notice in the palace and in the park of the Prime Minister a host of curious objects coming from the ruins of Carthage, collected and classified by this high dignitary][245], about half a league from this palace, in the Manouba district which contains other very beautiful properties belonging to high-ranking figures of the regency.
> This triple excursion requires a whole day.[246]

In the years following the occupation, tourists continued to visit the prescribed landmarks of the palace complex with the same enthusiasm, to which the fact that the signature of the Bardo treaty took place there occasionally constituted an extra attraction[247]. In the meantime, on November 7th, 1882, the beylical authorities and the French administration joined forces to create the "Tunisian Directorate of Antiquities and Arts" [Direction des Antiquités et des Arts de Tunisie], following which both

[244] Hanly, *Notes*, 38.
[245] Added as a footnote in the original.
[246] Juillet Saint-Lager, *La régence de Tunis*, 37-38.
The use of the Bardo as exhibition space is strikingly reminiscent of the museumification of the Topkapı Palace. On the case of the latter see Nilay Özlü, "From imperial palace to museum: The Topkapı Palace during the long Nineteenth Century", unpublished PhD. dissertation (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 2018)
[247] Cf. [author unknown] "Régence de Tunis (suite)", *L'étoile de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie*, December 21st, 1884, 20 and G. Landais, *Impressions de deux voyages en Tunisie 1889-1893* (Paris: G. Carré & C. Naud, 1897): 8.

parties collaborated to transform the harem of Mohamed Bey into a museum. Inaugurated in great pomp by Ali III Bey on May 7th, 1888, the museum bore the ruler's name (Musée Alaoui), and accommodated the archaeological artifacts collected by high dignitaries over the preceding decades[248].

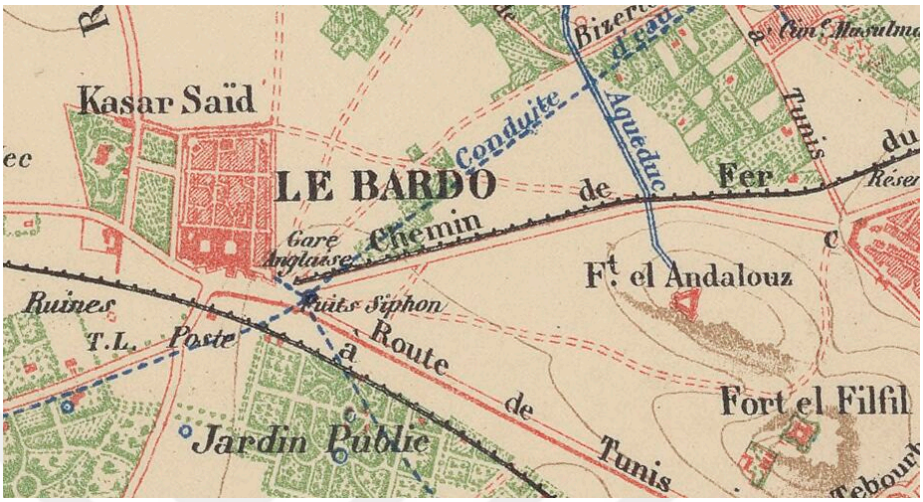


Figure 3.76. Detail of an 1878 map by France's Dépôt de guerre, (Paris: Lemercier, 1878).

Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GEC-4.

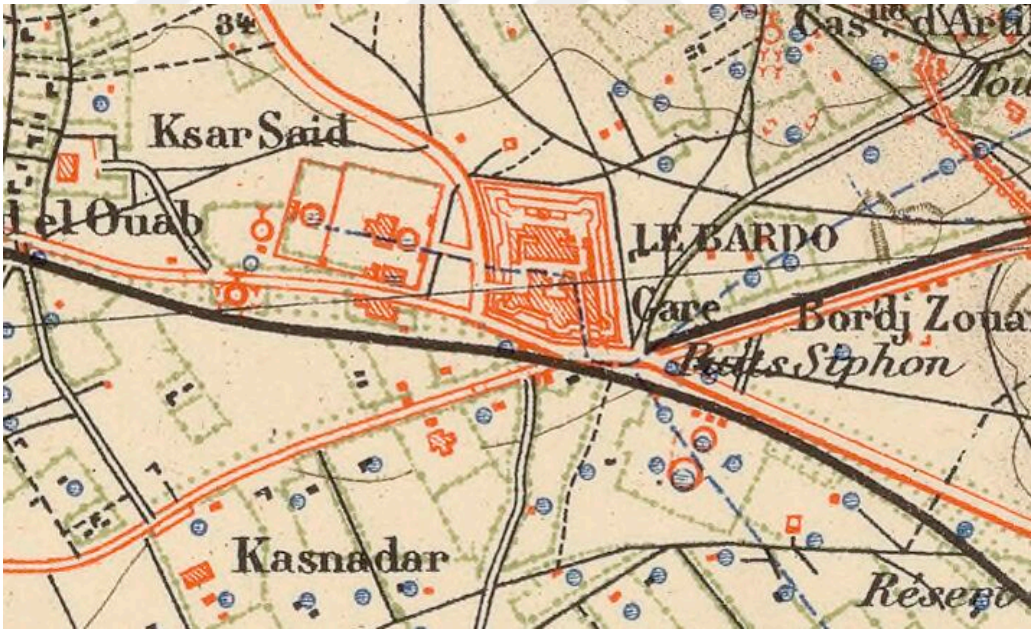
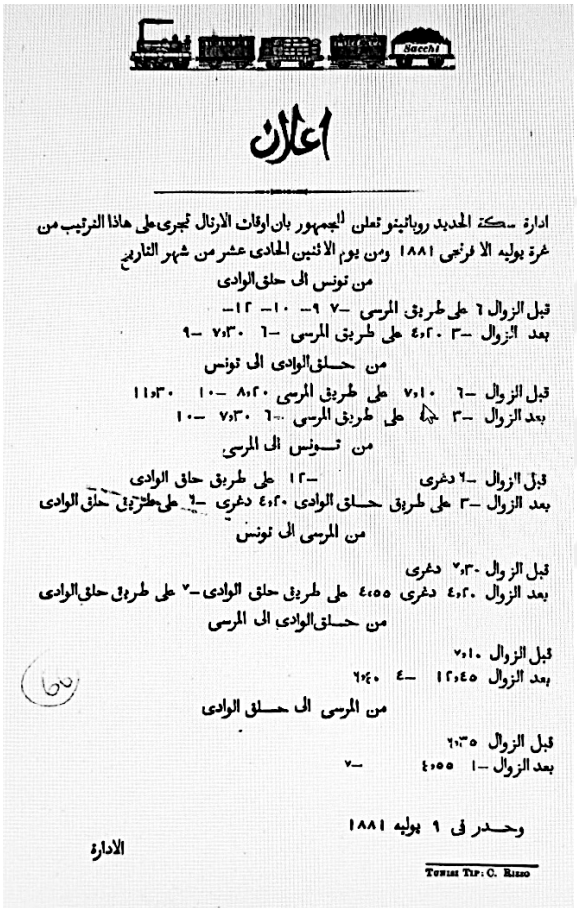


Figure 3.77. Detail of an 1898 map (Paris: service géographique de l'armée, 1898)

Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GE C-2455.

[248] Official website of the museum, http://www.bardomuseum.tn/.

The railway tracks between Tunis and Bardo, after bifurcating towards the west (L'Ariana), followed the plot of a cemetery and the ramparts before reaching Bardo and stopping directly at its fortification wall[249]. Signaling the eminent arrival of urban expansion towards the east of Tunis, the "public garden" facing the terminus ceded its place to parcellated agricultural lots supplied with individual water sources, and suggesting speculation in Bardo as well.



اعلان

ادارة سكة الحديد روبانينو تعلن للجمهور بان اوقات الارتال تجرى على هاذا الترتيب من غرة يوليه الافرنجى ١٨٨١ ومن يوم الاثنين الحادى عشر من شهر التاريخ

من تونس الى حلق الوادى

قبل الزوال ٦ على طريق المرسى ٧– ٩– ١٠– ١٢–
بعد الزوال ٣– ٤،٢٠ على طريق المرسى ٦– ٧،٣٠ ٩–

من حلق الوادى الى تونس

قبل الزوال ٦– ٧،١٠ على طريق المرسى ٨،٢٠ ١٠– ١١،٣٠
بعد الزوال ٣– على طريق المرسى ٦– ٧،٣٠ ١٠–

من تونس الى المرسى

قبل الزوال ٦– دغرى ١٢– على طريق حلق الوادى
بعد الزوال ٣– على طريق حلق الوادى ٤،٢٠ دغرى ٦– على طريق حلق الوادى

من المرسى الى تونس

قبل الزوال ٧،٣٠ دغرى
بعد الزوال ٤،٢٠ دغرى ٤،٥٥ على طريق حلق الوادى ٧– على طريق حلق الوادى

من حلق الوادى الى المرسى

قبل الزوال ٧،١٠
بعد الزوال ١٢،٤٥ ٤– ٦،٤٠

من المرسى الى حلق الوادى

قبل الزوال ٦،٣٥
بعد الزوال ١– ٤،٥٥ ٧–

وحرر فى ١ يوليه ١٨٨١

الادارة

Tunis Tip: C. Rizzo

[Logo]

Announcement

The railway administration of Rubattino announces to the public that the trains trips will follow the following timetable from Georgian July 1st and from Monday 11th of this month.

From Tunis to La Goulette

AM. 6 via La Marsa, 7, 9, 10, 12
PM. 3, 4:30, via La Marsa 6, 7:30, 9

From La Goulette to Tunis

AM. 6, 7:10, via La Marsa 7:20, 10, 11:30
PM. 3, 4, via La Marsa 6, 7:30, 10

From Tunis to La Marsa

AM. 7 direct, 12 via La Goulette
PM. 3 via La Goulette, 4:30 direct, 7 via La Goulette

From La Marsa to Tunis

AM. 7:30 direct
PM. 4:20 direct, 4:55 via La Goulette, 7 via La Goulette

From La Goulette to La Marsa

AM. 7:10
PM. 12:45, 4, 7:40

From La Marsa to La Goulette

AM. 7:35
PM. 1, 4:55, 4

Written July 1st, 1881

The administration

Figure 3.78. Timetable of trains travels as of July 1st, 1881 and its translation, with Bardo conspicuously absent.

Source: Tunisian National Archives, Série Historique, Carton 236, Dossier 503.

Although the Bardo terminus is marked as "Gare Anglaise" [British Station] on an 1878 map and again as "Gare" on an 1898 map (fig.3.76, 3.77), there is no evidence that a station was ever built. Mentions of a Bardo station are indeed absent from the

[249] Concession booklet, pages 9 and 11, TNA SH, Carton 236, Dossier 503.

train timetables (fig.3.78), from consulted tourist accounts, from Tunisian archival resources, and from mentions in secondary literature. This is due to the fact that the line never transported merchandise, and that "the railway journey [was] only done when the Bey [was] at the Bardo"[250]. As such, the official spatial configuration efforts of this trunk likely aimed to underscore the line by retracing it with trees, whereas the term "gare" employed on the maps might simply signify "depot" rather than passenger building[251].

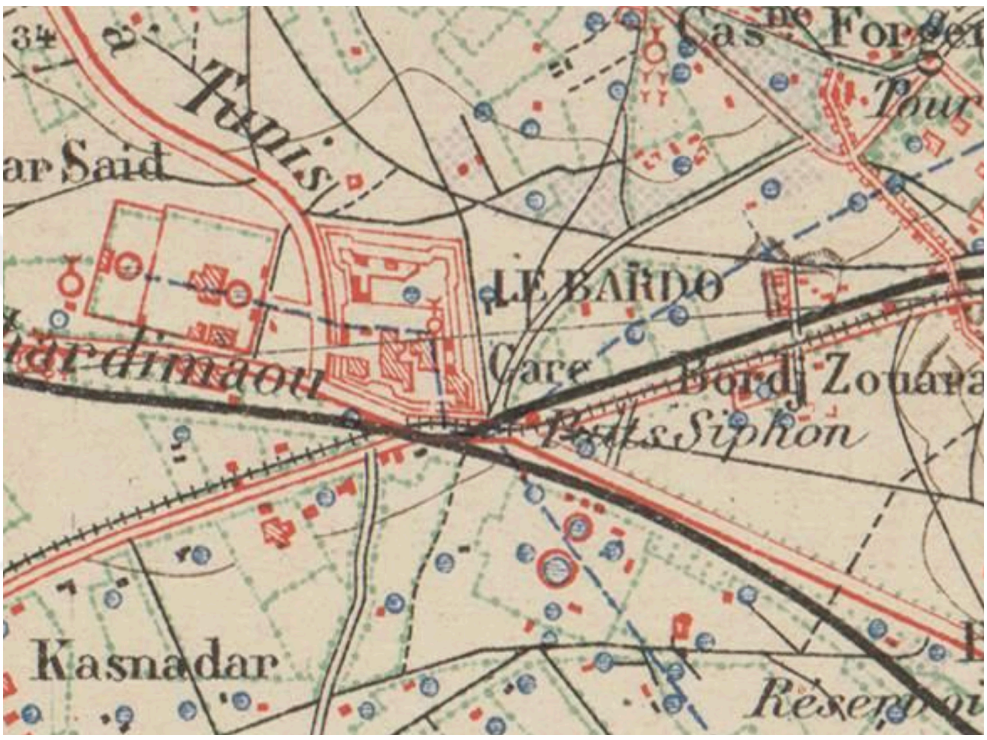


Figure 3.79. Detail of a 1902 map showing the connection between the TGM's Bardo end and the Medjerda railway lines.

Source: Collections patrimoniales numérisées Bordeaux Montaigne, Tunisie Flle. N° XX-B2-C36, Tunis.

A year after the French took over the line, they enhanced its fleet with new Baldwin locomotives destined for the TGM. In view of the absence of a direct link between the railways of the Bône-Guelma,, the Tunis-Bardo line was connected to the Medjerda line (terminating in Tunis and extending to Algeria) to allow the transportation of the

[250] de Bisson, *La Tripolitaine et la Tunisie: avec les renseignements indispensables aux voyageurs*, 71.
[251] On the ambiguity of the term "gare" in French, Karen Bowie, "De la gare du XIXe siècle au lieu-mouvement, évolution ou rupture?", *Annales de la recherche urbaine* 71 (1996): 14-23, esp. 18-19, David Bán, "Les sciences sociales françaises face à la gare. Bilan et lecture critique", *Revue d'histoire des chemins de fer* 38 (spring 2008): 11-18, esp. 12-13

new material to the circuit[252] (fig.3.79). The trunk was nevertheless short-lived, since the agreement the Bône-Guelma signed with government had stipulated that the latter could reclaim property of the Tunis-Bardo trunk free of charge (article 3) [253]. In accordance, in 1900, the authorities invoked this article and withdrew the trunk from the Bône-Guelma's properties. Closed to the use of the public (who used the electrical tramway line departing from Tunis), the older TGM line continued to privately serve the beylical court who traveled in a special steam train to the palace complex[254].

3.3. Conclusions

From the preceding, it is possible to emit a set of remarks regarding the economic, political and administrative, social, and spatial dimensions of the TGM. First, the emergence of a new world order led to the reconfiguration of commerce models and trade routes in the Mediterranean. The twin revolution (French in 1789 and British Industrial in 1848), the abandonment of sea raid in the Mediterranean, as well as the colonization of Algeria, and the unrests at the Tripolitanian border pushed the Ottoman province of Tunis to rethink its economic model. This involved the passage from east-west and trans-Saharan land routes to south-north maritime routes, which served the exportation of raw materials to industrializing European states. It additionally gave way to an institutionalized policy of clearing, cleaning, decongesting, and establishing of circulation corridors expected to serve these emerging routes. As a correlation, the ensuing exchange along them promoted a new consumption culture that coveted European-made commodities. In that respect, and as discussed at length by Ganiage (1959), the argument that the TGM illustrated the imperativeness of a new economic model in which European parties wielded significant influence is indeed valid for the link between Tunis and La Goulette.

Nevertheless, the consideration of the TGM circuit in its ensemble, on the scale of the city and against the background of major events marking the period permits various

[252] September 14th, 1899 Procès-verbaux des séances du comité de direction, session du 14 septembre 1899, ANOM 156 AQ 44.
[253] Bône-Guelma General Assembly 33rd meeting report (October 6th, 1898), ANOM, 156 AQ 6.
[254] February 13th, 1902. Procès-verbaux des séances du comité de direction, session du 13 février 1902, ANOM 156 AQ 45

other observations. From the first decades of the nineteenth century, and animated by the colonization of Algeria and the placement of Tripolitania under direct Ottoman rule, the question of Tunis' autonomy became more pressing. Be it in view of establishing complete autonomy with the hoped support of the French, or in view of maintaining the status-quo of autonomous province vis-à-vis the Sublime Porte, Tunisian reform efforts gained momentum. Indeed, the policymakers strove to centralize, reconfigure, and legitimize their authority repertoire by engaging in economic, administrative, and legislative amendments. These included the modernization of urban governance institutions, the definition of an array of regulations ordering the mutual relationship between the state and the inhabitants and amongst the inhabitants, and the will to establish an esprit de corps, (initially) through the regularization of an army answering solely to the central authority[255].

By the same token, rulers aimed for more visibility, both on international and local scales. Internationally, this manifested in travels to industrializing territories, the participation in world fairs in which archaeological artifacts were displayed, and the commissioning and exchange of coveted European artifacts and commodities[256]. In that respect, the decision to link the regency via novel technologies such as telegraphs and railways can be interpreted as a manifestation of this taste and of the will to take definite steps towards reform.

Locally, the will to command the attention of local and foreign audiences materialized in the increasing involvement of the Beys and the court in changes underway. They can be exemplified through the importance attached by Ahmed Bey to the military, which he monitored during training and attempted to re-invent via industry (textile

[255] The Tunisian Janissary corps attempted two regicides in 1811 and 1816. This resulted in the exile and execution of the perpetrators, and a considerable weakening of their influence in the regency, especially for those that were recruited from the Ottoman Empire at large. The coup de grâce for this military corps was given by Hussein II Bey who, not without echoing the 1826 Vaka-i Hayriye, decided to dissolve the institution altogether in 1829. See Odile Moreau, "Une approche comparative de la réforme de l'armée entre le centre et la périphérie de l'Empire ottoman au XIX^{e} siècle," *Outre-mers* 396-397, no. 2 (2017): 11-29.

[256] Moumni, *L'Éveil d'une Nation*.

On the taste of the Beys for photography, see Michel Mégnin "Enquête sur Joseph Chazal, premier photographe de S.A le bey de Tunis (1860-1865)", *Photographes et éditeurs en orient: Recherches iconographiques et enquêtes biographiques en Méditerranée pendant la période coloniale (1839-1931)* (September 2022) https://doi.org/10.58079/pt1g.

plant), and through the establishment by his successors of an official communication organ (*ar-Raid et-Tunsi*). In posterity, the bureaucrat class established by Ahmed Bey, wielding significant power and wealth, had considerable agency in the negotiations of the TGM, and in its implementation along bastions of beylical authority. In so doing, the ruling class to various degrees framed the visual and spatial experience of the nodes' visitors. Granting access to all of their settlements landmarking Bardo, La Goulette, and La Marsa, the Tunisian central bureaucrats engaged in a practice of self-display that highlighted their ubiquity.

Spatially, the arrival of the TGM, coupled by the population growth by the last quarter of the 1800 resulted in the reinforcement of real estate speculation around it. In Tunis and La Goulette-proper, (as had been the case for London, Paris, or Izmir,) the path of the railway terminated at inhabited areas or modest housing concentrations, characterized by the affordability of land prices. Colliding with parcellation and urban reconfiguration designs underway in these two localities, the TGM imposed the adoption of its own path on subsequent circulation schemes and urban fabric distributions. In the rest of the localities, the railway rather adapted to the spatial configuration of the sites, without saliently disturbing their status-quo. In accordance, La Goulette and Tunis experienced considerable expansion and diversification of land use and consumption models, and accommodated the settlement of different classes, confessions, and ethnicities around the stations and l'Avenue de La Marine/the waterfronts. In counterpart, the region between La Goulette and La Marsa, comprising the significant archaeological site of Carthage, and of which the high dignitary owners capitalized on its proximity to beylical palaces and to the Mediterranean shore, resisted expansion. Real estate speculation in this area accordingly introduced an ambiguity to the hitherto strictly noble axis, with the addition of compact patches of small parcels and constructions evolving in isolation from one another.

Surviving documentation about the three stations of Tunis, La Goulette and Carthage reveals that these were subject to a formal and functional standardization reached through trial and error in Western Europe, and likely imposed by time constraints stipulated in the TGM's British concession terms. While the Carthage station echoed design elements used in French and British wayside stations, the termini of Tunis and

La Goulette were replicas of one another. Notwithstanding, their functional programs, albeit again common with Western-European railway stations, obeyed their immediate spatial contexts in their distribution. As such, the main façade in Tunis was the central one, establishing an axis towards La Promenade de La Marine. In counterpart, the right (eastern) wing of La Goulette's terminus constituted the main façade, inviting a connection with the seashore, whereas the intersection of its central and eastern wings converged in the extension of Ahmed Bey square.

Consideration of the railways with regard to the stations' styles reveals that the ruling class's visibility concerns were more related to the presence of railway themselves within a self-legitimizing urban context than with the designs of stations and their individual details. Indeed, at a time when (internationally[257]) railway typologies and their association with nationality were still in the making, and when the TGM was the only railway of the territory, Tunisian authorities chose not to interfere in the architectural expression of the stations, which they relegated to the concessionary companies, both for the projects that materialized and those that did not. In fact, their protest against the hoisting of the Union Jack at stations and the addition of a lion statue associated with the Husaynid dynasty demonstrates that they attached more importance to the use of established and locally recognizable symbols rather than to the elevations of the buildings in se. In accordance, the focus on the establishment of railways rather than the extent to which the stations portrayed an identity of their locations or constructors was a common denominator between Tunis and the Ottoman Empire at large under the reign of Abdülaziz.

On the far side of spatial manifestations, it could be argued that the railways and the stations (by design or by accident), quickly transformed into a suburban passenger line, and acquired a social meaning irreducible to the elite's experiences. It recorded the ongoing Franco-Italian soft rivalry, as well as the participation of the voiceless social classes it disserved and the movements of populations that catalyzed its creation and construction. These mobilities instigated the need to gradually change it from a juxtaposition of trunks into a circuit after 1881. As indicated by the first-hand accounts

[257] Meeks, *The Railroad Station: An Architectural History*, 77-108.

and the surviving timetables, the railways initially acted as short corridors between Bardo-Tunis, La Goulette-Tunis, La Goulette-La Marsa, and La Marsa-Tunis. With the establishment of the protectorate and its administrators communicating between La Marsa's General Residency and Tunis/Bardo, and especially with the construction of a new harbor in Tunis in 1893, the non-elite's usage of the line began to gain prominence. In accordance, the railways offered a variety of itineraries corresponding to a wider array of destinations and planned journeys, but also contributed to the spatial growth of Tunis and the transformation of the 1872 railways into a limiting boundary rather than a linking corridor. As will be suggested in the next section, this trend could have guided the establishment of a new circuit altogether in 1908.

CHAPTER 4

1905-1922: THE MODERN TGM

4.1. Homogenizing the North-African colonies: 1898-1922

By the end of 1800s, the French administration multiplied efforts to reinforce its grip on domestic as well as on foreign affairs of Tunis. Despite the abolition of consular courts in 1884, the commercial agreements established between Tunis and other Western European states were still of actuality per the terms of the 1881 Bardo Treaty. In practice, this entailed that despite having nationals benefiting from preferential treatment and representatives yielding considerable power in Tunis for nearly two decades, French products were still subject to the same import/export taxes as British and Italian products. To remedy this situation, French diplomats negotiated with other European representatives to put an end to the pre-protectorate capitulations. In accordance, such privileges were revoked from Britain in 1897 and from Italy in 1896, while exonerating French products from taxes as of May 2nd, 1898. Notwithstanding, a new treaty granted Italian nationals the right to undertake liberal professions in the regency without necessitating a French diploma. By the same token, this agreement left Italian cultural influence unaddressed. By virtue of urban and agricultural expansion, of natural growth and of continuous immigrant population influx, this population continued to outnumber the French and was more visible amongst all the echelons of society (as blue collars active in construction and railways, as liberal professionals such as architects and engineers, and as investors and traders)[258].

[258] Lewis, *Divided Rule*, 56-59, and Henri de Montety, "Les Italiens en Tunisie", *Politique étrangère* 5 (1937): 409-425.

Table 4. Populations in 1901

	Muslims	Jewish	French	Italian	Maltese
center			9.617	35.800	6.391
suburbs			1.020	2.935	408
total	c. 75.000	c. 20.000	10.637	38.735	6.799

Table 5. Populations in 1906

	Muslims	Jewish	French	Italian	Maltese[259]
center			14.222	40.606	5.447
suburbs			1.202	3.419	395
total	c. 75.000	c. 20.000	15.424	44.025	5.842

Domestically, the processes of enhancing colonial authority notably manifested in two regards; homogenizing the colonial Muslim society and assimilating Europeans. Homogenization of/with the Muslim society was both symbolic and spatial. As indicated by the population counts of the twentieth century, and unlike the Europeans whose demarcations obeyed their (immediate or remote) geographic origins rather than confessions, the rest of the neither-European nor-Jewish population was flattened down to the category of "Muslim/Arab", regardless of their places of provenance (tab.4, 5)[260].

Parallelly, with lessons learned from managing Algeria, the colonial administration allocated value to local architecture qualified as "Arab/Muslim". After an initial period of massive destructions and building in "the style of the victor" (fig.4.1) with materials occasionally looted from monuments, the French-Algerian authorities faced severe criticisms that pushed them to put an end to such methods. Accompanying a shift towards politics that referenced regional characteristics with the Third Republic in the French metropole[261], officers of the Algerian colony developed an interest in the

[259] The decrease in their numbers is due to their French naturalization. Sebag, *Tunis: Histoire d'une ville*, 333.
[260] Tables and point made in Ibid, 318-335, 409.
[261] Yves Schoonjans, "Regional Architecture as an Element of Cosmopolitanism in César Daly's Vision of Eclecticism", in *Sources of Regionalism in the Nineteenth Century: Architecture, Art, and Literature*, eds. Linda Van Santvoort, Jan de Maeyer, and Tom Verschaffel (Leuven: Leuven University Press,

territory's pre-colonial history and founded in 1880 the "Service des monuments historiques". Not limiting itself to the Antiquity period, the service engaged in the documentation and survey of historic monuments. These two measures constituted an example for the observed modus operandi in Tunis as well, where the new authorities spatially implemented new constructions in continuation of the existing urban schemes, and did not build (much, fig.4.1) in the "style of the victor" but rather adopted a "style of the protector" using existing structures, that they repurposed to different ends (fig.4.2, 4.3). This was motivated by the tightness of their budget, the better adaptability of existing buildings to the challenging weather, and the proximity of the occupied structures to the local seat of power (el-Qasba and Bardo). More importantly, it was animated by the will to integrate into the image of official authority and integrate it into a dual jurisdiction image with blurry and overlapping inner contours.



Figure 4.1. (left) Palais de Justice of Algiers, architect: Jean Paul Gion, 1876-1883 (right) Hôtel des postes (Post office), architect: Henri Saladin, 1891.

Source: (left) huma-num.fr (right) Yıldız albums, Istanbul University Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, NEKYA90598/16.

2008): 32-47; Pierre Bidart, "La production des néo-styles régionaux", *Ethnologie française* 37 (2007): 35-38; Bernard Toulier, "L'assimilation du régionalisme dans l'architecture balnéaire (1830-1940)" [online] http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/culture/inventai/extranetIGPC/articles/bt02.pdf

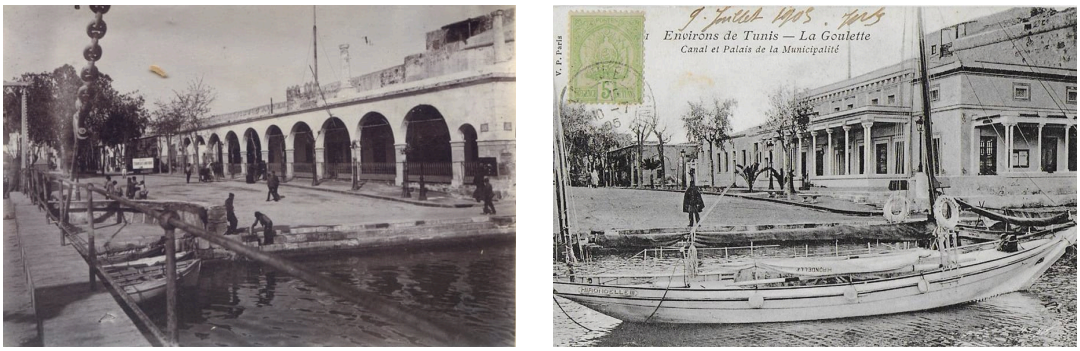


Figure 4.2. Postcards of La Goulette municipality, with its elevations changed to a classist style after 1884.

Source: delcampe.net.

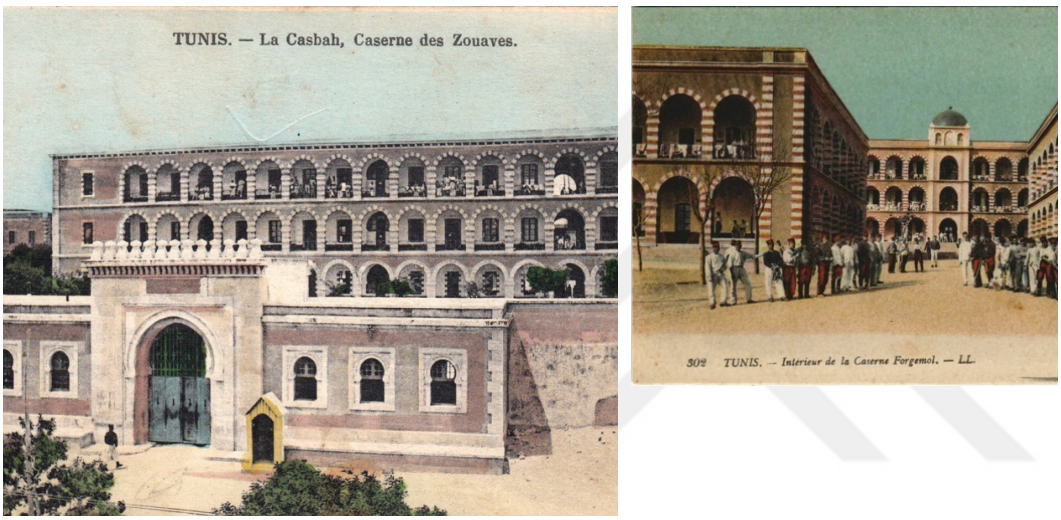


Figure 4.3. Barracks of (left) el-Qasba (right) Forgemol, both used by the French army, and destroyed after the independence for that reason.

Source: delcampe.net, hippostcard.com.

Moreover, the Algerian experience motivated the creation of a Directorate of Antiquities and Arts from the very first years of the protectorate in Tunis. Active as of 1886, the directorate was tasked with documenting and surveying mainly Antique monuments under French control until 1892, after which the institution became a beylical one. This entailed that it had more freedom to expand and orient the field of research towards monuments of the Muslim rule (an interest of Ali III Bey), but it also meant that its financial means were considerably reduced. Between 1895 and 1900, despite initiating a survey project for a larger documentation of monuments of the Muslim rule (that would include and build upon previous studies, and of which the aim was to serve as reference for future official buildings,) budgetary constraints brought

such intentions to a halt. As a result, the only retained research was that of French architects; notably of Henri Saladin[262]. Dismissing Husaynid dynasty palaces and the taste for Italianate architecture from surveys, he described one of its examples (at the 1888 Bardo museum) as (1894):

> The first floor consists of three large, equally interesting main rooms. The middle one, which is a large covered patio with a marble fountain in the center, is remarkable for its ceiling where the bad taste of the Italian-Tunisian decorators has assigned itself free rein. It is impossible to imagine anything more bizarre and more unpleasant to the eye than these trophies of arms and these flags with discordant tones, with a heavy and pasty appearance; it is the triumph of this Italian flashy which has been the delight of Tunisia for half a century.[263]

Instead, Saladin's interest was riveted on military, funerary, and mosque complexes of the early Muslim rule (eighth century) and irrigated by an appreciation for an "Arab Belle Époque" (twelfth to fifteenth centuries), itself associated with Andalusian architecture and decorative crafts[264]. Aligned with the ideology of the colonial regime and France's interpretation of Tunis's political situation before 1881, this appreciation was cushioned in the attribution of such arts to a European geographic origin and the dismissal of three centuries of Ottoman rule. Despite being responsible for the design of Tunisian pavilions at the Paris Expositions Universelles of 1889 and 1903, where he combined architectural pastiches of early modern "Islamic" monuments[265], the rest of Saladin's commissions did not mirror his regard for Muslim-ruled territories' arts and architectures.

Notwithstanding, his interest was shared by contemporary and succeeding French architects in Tunis, who were major agents in coining the style of official architecture in the Maghrebi colonies, where certain "traditional" architectonic and decorative

---

[262] Henri Saladin (1851-1923) was a Beaux-Arts (1881) French architect. Sent in 1882 by the French Ministry of Education to survey Antique monuments in Tunis, he also visited and documented "Muslim" architecture in the cities of Tunis and Kairouan, which he was already interested in. The first of these researches was published in 1894 under the title *Voyage en Tunisie.* On Saladin, Myriam Bacha, "Henri Saladin (1851-1923). Un architecte « Beaux-Arts » promoteur de l'art islamique tunisien", in *L'Orientalisme architectural entre imaginaires et savoirs*, eds. Nabila Oulebsir and Mercedes Volait (Paris: Publications de l'Institut national de l'histoire de l'art, 2009): 215-230.

[263] Cagnat and Saladin, *Voyage en Tunisie*, 351.

[264] Ibid, 354 and Faïza Matri, *Tunis sous le protectorat: Histoire de la conservation du patrimoine architectural et urbain de la Médina* (Tunis: Centre de publication universitaire, 2008): 97-268.

[265] For a reading of these pavilions, Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*, (California: University of California Press, 1992): 95-137.

elements were synthesized with modern constructions techniques and materials to envelop novel typologies[266]. Such synthesis constituted a common denominator between the works of the Principal Architect of Public Works Jean-Émile Resplandy (1894-1900) and those of Raphaël Guy (1869-1918), whom the former suggested. Also a Beaux-Arts graduate, Guy was active in the regency between 1900 and 1918, where (without prior experience in the French metropole,) he was attached to the Directorate of Public Works (1900-1911), before continuing independently with private commissions from the local dignitary class and with occasional commissions from the government. Notably representing Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco (combined) during the Gent Exposition Universelle of 1913, he started as chief architect of municipal works and French residences at the Directorate of Public Works, before being promoted to Principal Architect of the Civil Buildings division [architecte principal des Bâtiments Civils] in 1906. As such, he was able to impose his style of predilection on public constructions of the period, which relied on the division's approval for execution[267]. Exposing his taste for this style through photographs and architectural drawings in a book titled "L'architecture moderne de style arabe" [Modern Arab-style Architecture] published posthumously in 1920, Guy further articulated his career around two concerns. First, he promoted "indigenous" building-related crafts (mostly plaster chiseling and ceramic tiles, fig.4.4) that he used in his designs, both on the façades and in interior spaces. Second, he vehiculated advertisements for a homogenized and profit-generating touristic space; populated by a picturesque assortment of pseudo-traditional architectures (fig.4.5, 4.6) and linked by railways[268] (fig.4.7). In the words of the book's editors, who, declaring that: "Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, have such close affinities that their art presents a great unity"[269], foresaw that "the types contained in the [..] album could [..] inspire constructors, [..] and notably in Morocco"[270]:

---

[266] François Béguin et. alii, *Arabisances: décor architectural et tracé urbain en Afrique du Nord, 1830-1930* (Paris: Dunod, 1983).
[267] Fabienne Crouzet, "L'orientalisme architectural en Tunisie: œuvre et carrière de Raphaël Guy (1869-1918)," *ABE journal* [online] 13 (2018) URL: http://journals.openedition.org/abe/4593; DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/abe.4593
[268] Charlotte Mus-Jelidi, "Les écritures architecturales touristiques au Maghreb, un moteur à quatre temps?", in *Fabrique du tourisme et expériences patrimoniales au Maghreb, XIX^e^-XXI^e^ siècles,* eds. Cyril Isnart, Charlotte Mus-Jelidi, and Colette Zytnicki (Rabat: Centre Jacques Berque, 2018) [online] https://books.openedition.org/cjb/1407
[269] Raphaël Guy, *L'architecture moderne de style arabe*, (Paris: Librairie de la construction moderne, 1920): 2. (Published posthumously)
[270] Ibid.

It is fitting that the traveler who discovers a city can rejoice at it as at the sight of a masterpiece, a finished painting where the characters and backgrounds fit together harmoniously.

Well! this too rare impression of satisfied taste, Tunis gives it and almost the entire Regency produces it. The monuments, mosques, administrative palaces, schools, villas, shops, post offices, train stations, theaters and even commercial warehouses happily combine with the vast, bare, vibrant landscape, with pale ocher lands, barely covered with thin eruginous grasses.[271]



Figure 4.4. Detail of a series of 10 ceramic tiles made by Tunisian Jewish ceramist Moïse (Mouche) Chemla, whose father Jacob/Yacoub Chemla was at the service of the Bey, before being commissioned by Guy as well. On the right piece, dated in Hijri on top (1332/1913-4), the bottom text reads: "From the ceramists' company in Tunis to Mr. Raphaël Guy".

Source: Musée d'art et d'histoire du Judaïsme, "Les Chemla, une dynastie de céramistes à Tunis"



Figure 4.5. (left) Tunis, Directorate of Finance and Public Works, 1908; (right) Tunis, Directorate of Agriculture and Commerce, 1910, both by Raphaël Guy.

Source: (left) Yıldız albums, Istanbul University Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, NEKYA90598/21(right) Raphaël Guy, *L'architecture moderne de style arabe,* (Paris: Librairie de la construction moderne, 1920)

[271] Ibid, 1.

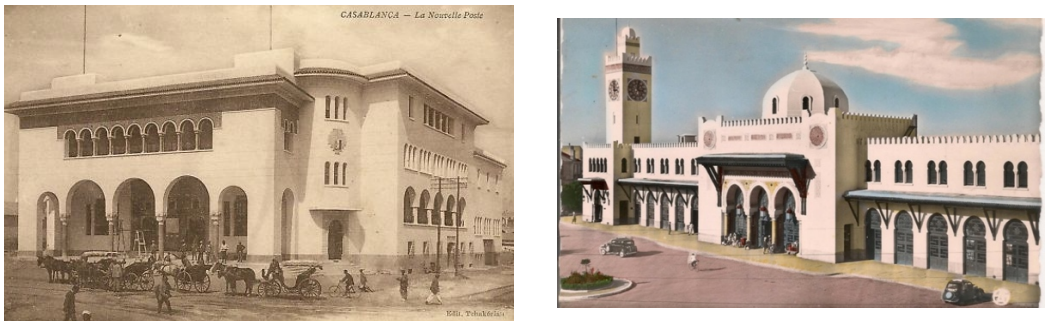


Figure 4.6. (left) Casablanca PTT, 1918 by Adrien Laforgue (right) Oran train station, 1908-1913 by Marius Toudoire

Source: delcampe.net

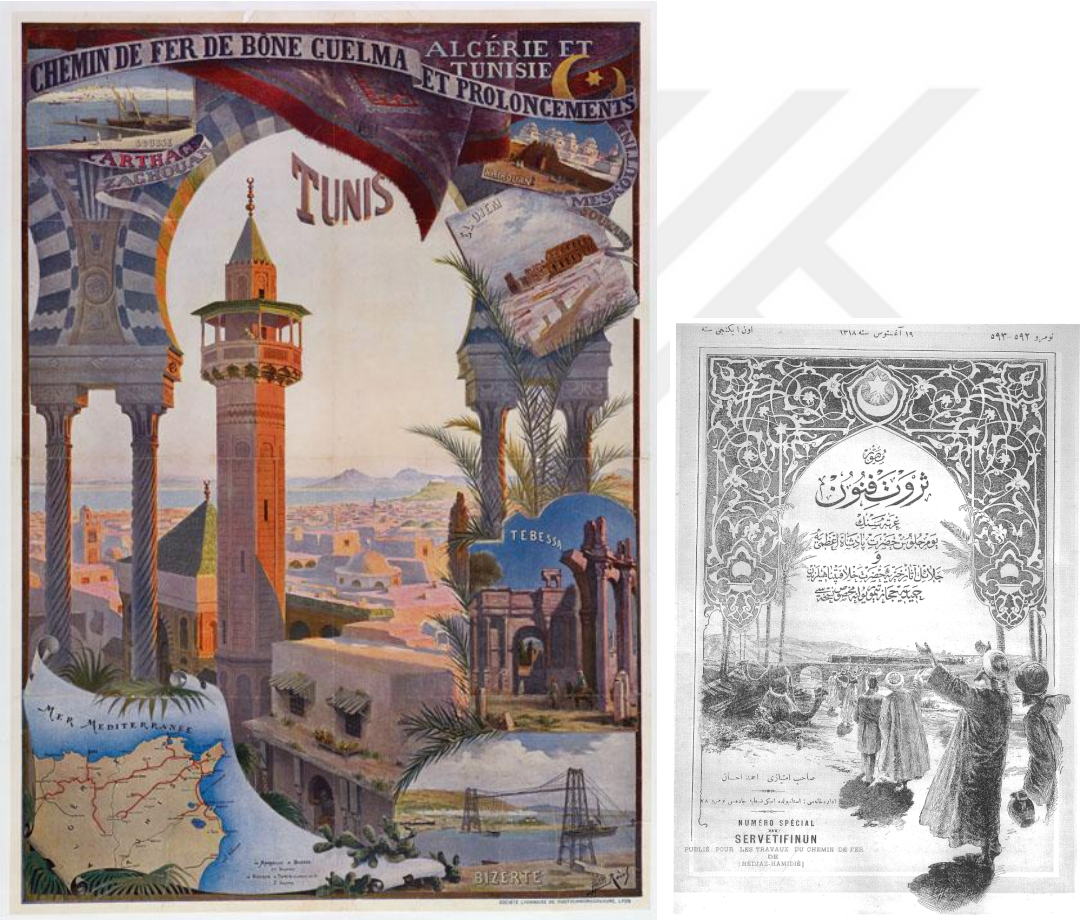


Figure 4.7. (left) Promotional poster of the Bône-Guelma railways, between 1898-1908. Notice the conspicuous absence of "modern buildings", as well as the arches framing the inner composition, the carpet on top with local motifs, and Carthage written on the top left, whereas the names and illustrations of other localities are both from Tunis and Algeria, linked by railways with their path illustrated in the bottom left. (right, for purposes of juxtaposition) Promotional poster of the Ottoman Hédjaz railway.

Source: (left) wikicommons (right) cover of a special issue of *Servet-i Fünun*, no. 592-593 (1318/1902).

Regarding Europeans, the presence of large foreign populations unsettled colonial administrators. In accordance, they first attempted to create a favorable terrain for French citizens of the metropole to relocate to Tunis, where they would help thwart the "Italian peril" [le peril italien[272]] and expand the French exploitation of agricultural and mineral resources. To that end, they undertook a legal tour de force, including inalienable lands in the state's domains (1896), before rendering their lease and consequent sale possible (1898). Despite offering more convenient conditions to French citizens to acquire these terrains, only a reduced number of the latter (benefitting from better life-standards in the metropole) actually came as farmers, whereas a growing Italian population (a more affordable workforce) kept the French at a numerical disadvantage in urban centers like in the hinterland. As a result, the administration resorted to *jus soli* assimilation measures for the Italians (and other European foreigners), all while reserving political and municipal representation rights to French settlers. A notable example of such exclusion was the Consultative Conference [Conférence Consultative], created in 1891, and including as of 1896 appointed French delegates who were neither industrialists nor farmers or traders. Gathering to debate on (but not necessarily dictate) matters related to trade and the urban sphere, the structure of the institution was first changed in 1905 to include French elected members. It was again changed on February 2nd, 1907 to include 16 locals (15 Muslims and one Jewish) delegates appointed by order of Naceur Bey (r. 1906-1922), elevating the total population of the Consultative Conference to 45 members, none of whom were Italian nationals[273].

---

[272] The expression mirrors the consideration of large numbers of Italianates in the North-African French colonies a threat to French colonial supremacy. If this threat was attenuated in Algeria starting from the 1860s through assimilation and the establishment of *jus soli* nationality politics, the rise of Italian nationalism, coupled by the need for cheap working-hand force in the French exploitations reinforced immigration forces already in order in Tunis before 1881. Faced with a numerically superior population often with no intention of return and fairly visible in the urban and rural sphere through their private and cultural constructions, French settlers communicated their anxiety through publications denouncing the "Italian peril" (i.e. Ch. Duffart, *Bulletin de la société de géographie commerciale de Bordeaux, April 1st, 1901*, (Bordeaux: [n.n], 1901): 147-150; Guillaume Enriquez, *La main d'œuvre rurale et le péril italien en Tunisie* (Paris: Robert, 1905)) whereas the colonial administration, starting from the twentieth century, engaged in politics of assimilation of the Italian-Tunisian population. See for example Romain H. Rainero, "Les Italiens dans l'Afrique du Nord française", *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 52 (1996): 145-162; Gabriele Montalbano, *Les Italiens de Tunisie: La construction d'une communauté entre migrations, colonisations et colonialismes (1896-1918)*, (Rome: Publications de l'école française de Rome, 2023).

[273] Charles Monchicourt, *La Tunisie après la guerre: probèemes politiques* (Paris: Comité de l'Afrique française, 1921): 350, 117. Julien Charles-André, "Colons français et Jeunes-Tunisiens (1882-1912)", *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 54, no. 194-197 (1967): 87-150 (97-99)

With the colonization of Tripolitania in 1911, political tensions started to give dynamics of the social landscape a different turn, and the Italian immigrants (albeit coveted in the local private construction sector) became growingly target to stigmatization by locals as well as by the French administration. A notable example epitomizing tensions between locals and Italians was the February 9th, 1912 tram boycott campaign. Following an accident where the Italian tram driver killed a Tunisian 8-year-old boy despite having the possibility of slowing down, the local population, associating the railway transport sector with Italians, decided to boycott the entire tram network and Italian trades for a whole month. Marking a national consciousness, the event resulted in the exile of many members of the Jeunes Tunisiens movement[274].

4.2. The modern TGM: 1905-1922

4.2.1. Genesis of the new project

4.2.1.1. Development of transports in Tunis

Much like it strived to homogenize Muslims and "Frenchify" the European population, the administration also sought to do the same for infrastructure and enterprises. In that respect, the 8-km Belgian tramway (1885), outside of local and French jurisdictions' purview was purchased back by the city of Tunis in 1901. Its exploitation was assigned to the Compagnie générale française de tramways, which linked it to its network, that it electrified in 1903; year when the whole became the Compagnie des tramways de Tunis (CTT); equally in possession of an electricity plant in La Goulette producing and supplying most of the regency's electric energy[275]. By the same token, the TGM, an Italian-operated enterprise, had abandoned hopes of further expansion, and was sold to the French Bône-Guelma in 1898.

[274] Montalbano, *Les Italiens de Tunisie: La construction d'une communauté entre migrations, colonisations et colonialismes (1896-1918),* 339-366.
[275] Official publication, Direction des Travaux Publics, *Les travaux publics du protectorat français en Tunisie: Mines, service topographique, navigation et pêche maritime* (Tunis: J. Picard, 1900): 349-359 and [n.m] "Les tramways de Tunis", *Les Annales coloniales*, April 23rd, 1914.

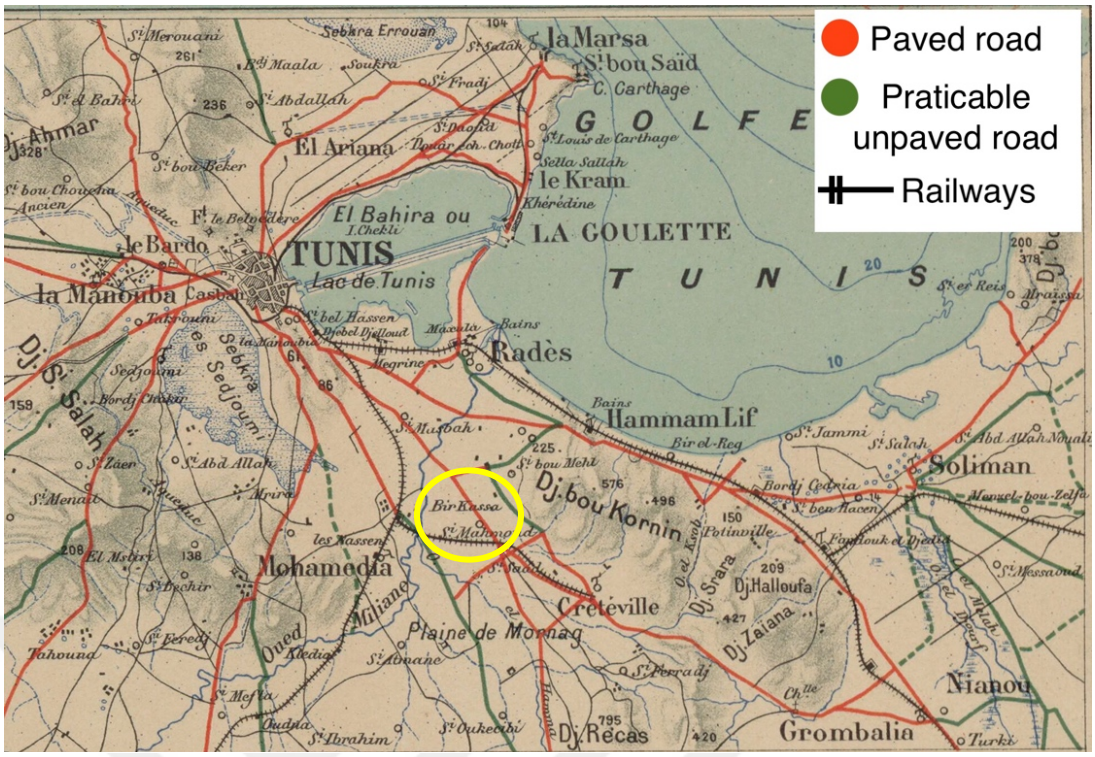


Figure 4.8. Road map of Tunis in 1900.

Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, GED-3354.

After the purchase, the Bône-Guelma elevated its total tracks distance from 220 km (the distance already agreed upon before 1881) to roughly 255 km. The reason for such modest expansion was the Tunisian inclusion of French officials in the Directorate of Public Works on September 3rd, 1882. In so doing, decisions regarding new railways wishing to benefit from the French government's 6% interest guarantee depended not only on the Bey, but also on the approval of the French parliament, which greatly prolonged the span between propositions and realizations of projects[276]. To address these limitations, the authorities used the means of the regency and resorted to the paving with stone the major circulation arteries leading to the main ports (fig.4.8). Powered by a gradual introduction of motor cars, transportation needs in the regency were met by two competing modes; railways and automobiles[277]. With such popularization, the number of places accessible to tourists and travelers and the motor

[276] Official publication. Protectorat français, Gouvernement tunisien, Direction Générale des Travaux Publics, *Les chemins de fer tunisiens: rapport du directeur général des Travaux Publics* (Tunis: J. Picard & Cie, 1911): 10-14 and Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia*, 63.
[277] On automobiles in Tunis: Lassad Dendani, *Le tourisme automobile en Tunisie (1897-1956)* (Tunis: Nirvana, 2022)

paths leading to them multiplied, resulting in the waning of the strong and framed association between railways and the dominant authority/authorities[278].

Be that as it may, the transport capability of motor cars did not match that of railways, which remained the primary means of freight transportation. With the turn of the century, exploitations of new mineral resources across the Tunisian territory started to multiply, but their growth was inconsistent with the pace at which French Parliament's approvals (and by extension guarantees) were granted. To remedy the inconsistency, the French resident general postulated to the parliament to allow Tunis to benefit from loans for railway constructions without awaiting the French policymakers' accord in France. Once the demand was granted (1903), Tunis was able to make decisions, finance constructions, and manage revenues of railways without having to go through the French metropolitan government. By the same token, the colonial administration was able to dissolve the Financial Commission (established in 1869), so far including Italian and British officials, and prohibiting any loans. Between 1903 and 1910, Tunis therefore obtained 200 million francs worth of loans (amortizable through *Mejba*; local taxpayer money), half of which was used for the extension of the Bône-Guelma network, which went from roughly 255 km of tracks (TGM included) in 1898 to 1650 km in 1911 (TGM excluded).

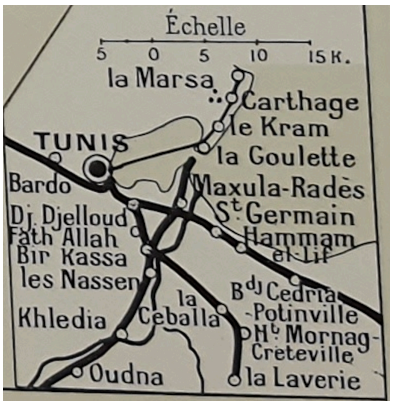


Figure 4.9. Railway map of Tunis and surroundings after 1908.

Source: Jacques Lacour-Gayet, Chemins de fer de Tunisie (Paris: Typographie Philippe Renouard, 1911): Annex.

[278] For example: Decramer, "Les excusrsions de la société géographique de Lille en 1908: Excursion en Algérie et en Tunisie", *Bulletin de la société géographique de Lille* (December 20th, 1908): 169-175, and Amédée Bonnet, "À travers la Tunisie en automobile", *L'Évolution algérienne et tunisienne : revue hebdomadaire littéraire, politique, scientifique, artistique & sportive* (April 11th, 1914): 11-12.

One of these lines extended to Bir el-Kassa, an iron deposit around 10 km south of Tunis (fig.4.9). Discovered around 1901, the line was opened for service on January 1st, 1908, after long discussions and negotiations with denizens. Due to the density of the material (iron), the soil resistance of the Tunis port was deemed weak to accommodate it, and the line was linked to the more resistant fore-port of La Goulette via the southern shores of the lagoon, and with an intersection with the Tunis – Hammam-Lif railway, already operated by the Bône-Guelma company[279]. With a line connecting to both ends of the 1893 port complex, the TGM lost the remaining of its already waning importance as a freight railway.

4.2.1.2. Concession conditions, railway routes, and negotiations

To revive profits generated by the TGM, the city of Tunis decided to modify its path between Tunis-La Goulette (and have it cross the lagoon rather than retrace it), and electrify it. Reluctantly agreeing to sell it back, the Bône-Guelma transferred property of the line to the Tunisian government on August 19th, 1905[280]. The 5-article retrocession contract allowed the Bône-Guelma to exploit it for a maximum of three subsequent years –until the electrified circuit was ready (article 2), while stipulating the government's right to revoke the exploitation from the Bône-Guelma whenever it wished during 1905-1908 (article 1). Upon expiry of this exploitation period, the steam train's path between Tunis-L'Aouïna-La Goulette and La Marsa-L'Aouïna would be abandoned, and "all terrains of the line, buildings and their dependencies, railway tracks and their accessories, fix materials, workshop tools, and stations' furniture" would become the property of the Tunisian government to employ as it deemed fit (article 3)[281].

On the following day (August 20th, 1905), the Tunisian government established another convention with the Compagnie des tramways de Tunis, according it

[279] (Minutes of the Consultative Conference meetings) Official publication, *Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1906, 30ème session / Régence de Tunis* (Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1906): 161-201.
[280] Bône-Guelma General Assembly 43rd meeting report (June 27th, 1908), ANOM, 156 AQ 7.
[281] Ibid. The exploitation by Bône-Guelma ended on December 31st, 1907. On January 1st, 1908, they began to exploit the Bir Kassa-La Goulette line.

exploitation rights of the electrified TGM under construction. Mirroring the observed model in mid-nineteenth century France[282], the government was put in charge of:

> providing the terrains for the railway and for the stations, factories, depots, workshops, and other dependencies of the railways; the infrastructure for the draining and filling of the north coastline of the [1893] canal of Tunis (+1.10m); the establishment of a telephone line and the necessary arrangement of the State's electricity network, the establishment of railway tracks and the third rail or trolley; and finally the construction and development of the stations[283]

whereas the CTT was assigned responsibility of "the generator plant, development of substations, depots, stores, workshops, etc.; the electrical and mechanical tools of the plants, substations and stores, accumulator batteries, station-furnishing, and rolling stock"[284].

Before the signature of the agreements, the project was exposed to the Consultative Conference by the Director or Public Works on December 21st, 1904. Enumerating the defaults of the Bône-Guelma operation, he advanced that the new electrified path would address the impracticality and unnecessary length of the triangular scheme, the insufficiency in number of trains and their speeds, the boundary the railway constituted for circulation and urban growth by having its voluminous station in the very-heart of Tunis, and the incumbent financial burden it was for the Tunisian treasury, responsible for amortizing the company's deficiency at 80.000 francs a-year. After defending that the electrified single linear circuit would clear a considerable urban space and allow new road investments, as well as liberate the passengers from time lost with train station formalities by accessing the tramway directly from the Avenue de La Marine, the director asked the delegates to study the proposition and communicate their comments during the following sessions.

---

[282] Béatrice de Andia, "Entre les feux de l'État, de la ville et des compagnies" in *Les grandes gares parisiennes au XIX^e siècle,* ed. Karen Bowie (Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la ville de Paris, 1987): 7-22 (13)

[283] Official publication. Protectorat français, Gouvernement tunisien, Direction Générale des Travaux Publics, *Les chemins de fer tunisiens: rapport du directeur général des Travaux Publics* (Tunis: J. Picard & Cie, 1911): 17. The surviving documentations refer to "the Tunisian government" as a whole and do not permit further exploration of who the actors/agents of this concession were and if they were Tunisians or French.

[284] Ibid.

On December 24th, 1904, the present delegates voted the proposition, which received 14 approvals and 3 disapprovals. Of those that rejected it, a delegate (Candas, publicist), dubious of the CTT's ability to manage the expected number of passengers and reluctant towards the revocation of baggage allowances on the tramway, declared that the purchase of the line by the Bône-Guelma was an investment that the Tunisian government should not have ventured into on the expenses of taxpayers, and argued that the abandonment of the Marsa-L'Aouïna-Tunis trunk and the cemetery it disserved (Borgel) would engender the loss of cultivable terrains and cause inconvenience to the French colons settled there. In response, the director reminded him that the purchase of the line was an important decision dear to the French government "for political reasons" and assured him that the new state-of-the-art tramway would have baggage compartments like the steam train and that freight traffic would continue, adding that the CTT pledged to establish a tramway line to Borgel, but that the number of French settlers implemented in L'Aouïna was negligeable. With Candas insistingly unconvinced, another delegate (Pellet, negotiator) asked if the Goulette-Marsa trunk could circulate closer to the seashore as to disserve a larger range of localities, to which the director replied that:

> it's a question of money: the railway will take the current route to avoid expropriations of land. Some owners have come together to offer free land to pass through the new center of Carthage and their offer may be accepted; but the Company will not be able to change anything in its route if it has to acquire land for this purpose at a cost of money.[285]

This last proposition subsequently materialized, as the circuit Tunis-Goulette-Marsa was substituted with Tunis-Goulette-Sidi Bou Saïd, the latter locality being the address of the reigning Bey-s' residences (Hedi Bey (r.1902-1906) and Naceur Bey (r.1906-1922)). Allowing the tramway to reach Tunis in 45 minutes, the circuit maintained the suppression of the railway link between La Marsa (also the summer address of the French Resident General) and Sidi Bou Saïd, and La Marsa and Tunis through L'Aouïna. Nevertheless, the Resident General intervened to conserve the Marsa-

[285] Official publication. *Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1903-1904, 24ème à 27ème session et table 1891-1904* (sessions I-XXVII) / Régence de Tunis (Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1904): 66-138. Session of December 24th, 1904.

Aouïna-Tunis link, announcing it via the Director of Public Works on May 23rd, 1905[286].

During the session of May 11th, 1906, the question of conservation of the Marsa-Aouïna-Tunis direct trunk was re-instigated by another delegate (Ferdinand Thomas, industrialist). Joined by other supporters, they advanced that it would be an unnecessary expense on localities that would eventually be disserved by affluent tramways, and defended the abandonment of the Marsa-Aouïna-Tunis link in favor of the creation of a tramway line disserving the southern coastline of the lagoon. Endorsing their claim with a petition of 1.600 signatures and stressing on the higher touristic value of the southern suburb, Lecore-Carpentier (director of La Dépêche tunisienne) intervened complaining:

> If a large part of the French population settled on the southern shore of the lagoon, it is because, when the French came to this country, the northern side was served by an Italian railway. When a French line was created south of the lagoon, the French supported this side with such unanimity that the Company's revenues rose from 4,000 to 22,000 francs per kilometer. It must be said, however, that the south bank has never been favored by the Administration. When it was taken care of, it was painfully and at the cost of the greatest efforts that we managed to extract, one by one, the subsidies which made it possible to put the country into action and carry out the necessary work. If we count the population on both shores, we find that on the north side there are 80% foreigners and indigenous, while on the opposite side we find 90% of our compatriots. One would have thought, therefore, that the Administration would have first concerned itself with the French side when it began to provide the country with rapid communications, but this was not the case. [..] Even more, Marsa would have two tramways, and there is no question of the south bank yet. [...] This situation is intolerable. While on the north side the communication routes, always faster, are multiplying, ever increasing slowness seems to be the rule adopted and faithfully followed for the south side. [..] If we make the Tunis-Goulette-Marsa, we would see the southern centers get deserted more and more. There is a presently a large number of villas [in the south] unable to find tenants.[287]

Indeed, the remarks about the northern bank being more inhabited by non-French Europeans and locals advanced by the delegate are corroborated by a (refused) petition

[286] Official publication. *Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1905, 28ème à 29ème session et table 1891-1904* (sessions I-XXVII) / Régence de Tunis (Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1905): 49. Session of May 23rd, 1905.
[287] Official publication. *Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1906, 30ème session / Régence de Tunis* (Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1906): 115-125. Session of May 11th, 1906.

for the addition of another stop at La Goulette. Gathering the approval of 100 petitioners, the document was predominantly signed by a majority of non-Muslim Jewish and/or Italian or Maltese landlords and a minority of Muslim tenants[288].

In any case, the Director of Public Works attempted to create a pleasing middle ground for everyone. Without questioning the legitimacy of the Kram-Sidi Bou Saïd trunk, he declared that a potential southern tramway lacked the initial revenues that the TGM would acquire for the sale of its old terrains, and continued to suggest an option susceptible of dismissing the need for a direct link to La Marsa through L'Aouïna. He thus proposed the tracks leading to Sidi Bou Saïd through Kram bifurcated there and borrowed the existing route until La Marsa through Malga/Carthage, and that a link a link be made between Sidi Bou Saïd and La Marsa, transforming the linear circuit into a loop. As such, the proposition of the director pleased the delegates, who voted in disapproval of the Marsa-Aouïna-Tunis line[289].

In accordance with the expressed wishes and the Carthage inhabitants' offer, the existing railway connecting Kram, Malga, La Marsa and the new one between Kram and Sidi Bou Saïd were electrified in 1908 (fig.4.10, 4.11), with the former being provisionary and the latter crossing 61 properties; 23 of which belonged to foreigners (17 belonged to 4 French owners, and 6 to 5 non-French) and 38 to locals (13 belonged to 5 pious foundations, 9 to 2 Jewish, and 16 to Ali Bey's inheritors and to dignitaries)[290]. These lines offered the possibility of navigating each branch through a loop, whereas another tramway linking Tunis to L'Aouïna was established[291]. Notwithstanding, the CTT and the administration turned a deaf ear to the Consultative Conference's resolutions in favor of a tramway in the southern bank, and decided to electrify both railway routes (through La Goulette and through L'Aouïna) terminating at Sidi Bou Saïd and La Marsa, announcing in 1907 that "powerful immediate interventions had immediately occurred in favor" of the direct line, and proposing that

[288] TNA, Série E 334 6/5 May 6th, 1906.
[289] Official publication. Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1909, 33ème session / Régence de Tunis (Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1909): 411-412. Session of December 4th, 1909.
[290] TNA, Série E 334 6, March 26th and March 30th, 1907.
[291] Official publication. *Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1909, 33ème session / Régence de Tunis* (Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1909): 128-131. Session of May 11th, 1909.

its route be brought closer to the lagoon bank as to disserve more localities[292]. Despite the Director of Public Works' attribution of this decision to the Resident General, the line was actually conserved to disserve the Husaynid reigning class as well, as the director wrote to the government secretary on November 23rd, 1908:

> I have the honor to bring to your attention that [...] the construction of the electric tramway from Tunis to L'Aouïna by Borgel will begin shortly.
> On the day this line is put into service, the steam service will be canceled on the direct Tunis-Aouïna-Marsa line.
> But, in accordance with the wishes expressed by H.H. the Bey, this line will be maintained at his disposal and the Compagnie des tramways de Tunis agrees to operate the special steam trains that H.H. desires between La Marsa and Tunis.
> It will retain the locomotives necessary for traction.
> I would be obliged to you to make this situation known to H.H. the Bey and to inform him, on this occasion, that the construction of his new wagon is actively being pushed forward.[293]

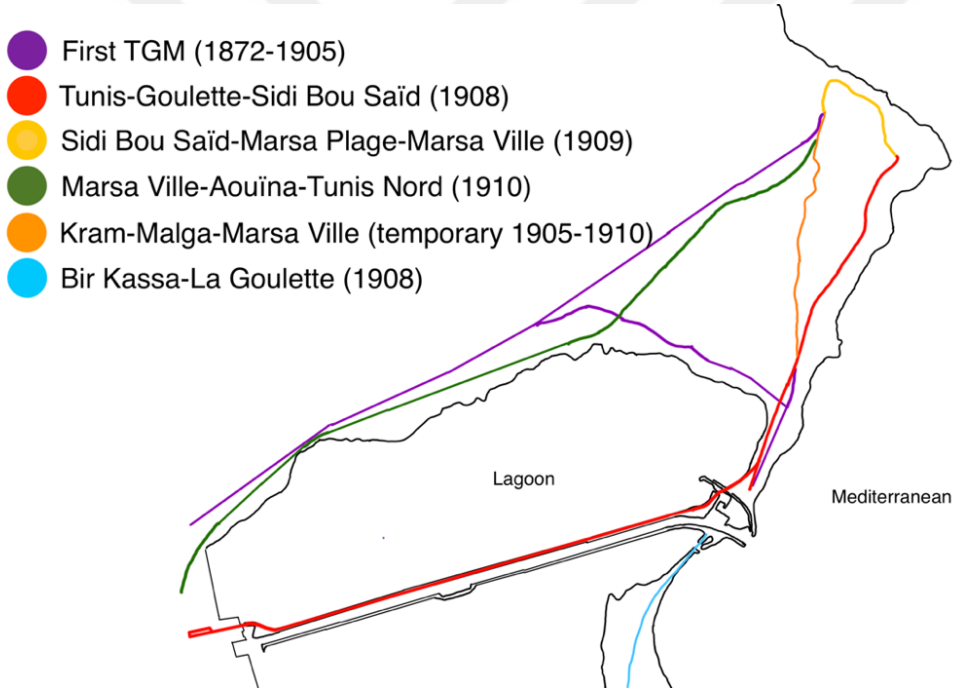


Figure 4.10. Scheme of the TGM's situation in 1908.

Source: Author.

[292] Official publication. Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1907, 31ème session / Régence de Tunis (Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1907): 60-61. Session of November 19th, 1907 and Official publication. Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1908, 32ème session / Régence de Tunis (Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1908): 562. Session of November 21st, 1908.

[293] TNA, Série E 334 6, letter from the General Director of Public Works to Mr Roy, General Secretary of the Tunisian government, dated November 23rd, 1908.



Figure 4.11. Scheme of the railways' situation on November 1st, 1910.

Source: BOA, HRT.2035.

In the meantime, the line initially terminating at Sidi Bou Saïd was extended to La Marsa's beach (Marsa Plage) in 1909, after the expropriation of 4 properties (those of 3 local Muslims and one that of a foreigner) on January 20th, 1909[294]. In parallel, negotiations on the route that the Marsa-Aouïna-Tunis tramway would trace were still a matter of heated debate among the members of the Consultative Conference. During the session of December 4th, 1909, the Director of Public Works communicated to the delegates that "it was the fifth time" the same project was submitted to their approval, firmly reminded them that it aligned with the Resident General's wishes, and asked them to "purely and simply" vote in approval[295]. It was subsequently decided that the direct line would terminate at the end of Rue de Rome (the corridor traced by the first TGM) in Tunis and depart from the old terminus of the first TGM in La Marsa (Marsa Ville). Furthermore, a decision was made to link the two lines (Tunis-Goulette-Marsa Plage and Marsa Ville-Aouïna-Tunis) through another trunk transforming both circuits into one loop for tramways without baggage allowance. In accordance, a beylical decree of March 12th, 1910 ratified the expropriation of the necessary terrain,

[294] TNA, Série E 334 6, expropriation decree from January 20th, 1909.
[295] Official publication. Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1909, 33ème session / Régence de Tunis (Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1909): 413. Session of December 4th, 1909.

belonging to a local dignitary[296]. Consistently, the following years (1910-1911)[297] witnessed the completion of the link between the two stations of La Marsa and of that between Marsa-Ville and Tunis, whereas the Kram-Malga-Marsa Ville line, rudimentarily electrified and initially intended to be provisional was abandoned.

4.2.1.3. Evaluation

The preceding section has attempted to retrace the negotiations and identify the actors at play in the transformation of the steam-operated TGM into an electric tramway after its 1905 purchase from the Bône Guelma by the city of Tunis and the Tunisian state, and its assignment of exploitation to the Compagnie des tramways de Tunis as of 1908. Engaging members of the French denizen society (appointed until 1905 and elected thereof but nevertheless including members present both before and after 1905) and politicians from the French administration (in representation of their nationals and of the beylical administration), the negotiations waxed for nearly half a decade. Not without echoing the ebb and flow surrounding the genesis of the first TGM, discussions about the route to be borrowed by the new electrified train reverberated the undergirding political significance the TGM continued to display, with resilient Franco-Italian rivalries transposed to the urban sphere, and the supremacy of the ruling and reigning classes' wishes and demands over those of non-official actors and users, even in the context of colonial "democratic" representation. As such, the question of the modification of the route to pass through the privileged but sparsely inhabited palatial region between Kram and Sidi Bou Saïd and the ongoing circulation of private steam trains on the line were neither questioned nor contested. Along the same vein, the consequent negotiations focused on uselessness of a direct link between La Marsa and Tunis through L'Aouïna (because of the quasi-absence of French settlers there,) and defended the investment of the same budget for the creation of a tramway disserving the southern bank with larger French settler population instead. Against the repetitive recorded disapprovals of this direct line, the delegates' votes were bent to the will of the Resident General (and to that of the Bey), and the construction of the

[296]TNA, Série E 334 6, expropriation decree from March 12th, 1910.
[297] The consulted documents unfortunately do not state the exact date of the inauguration of these lines. The Consultative Conference did not have a session in 1911, in 1910 the question of the Marsa-Aouïna-Tunis line was still mentioned, whereas it disappeared in the records of the 1912 sessions.

direct line was approved, resulting in the presence of three (and then two) distinct lines disserving La Marsa, against none linking the southern French-inhabited suburb to Tunis.

4.2.2. Spatial manifestations

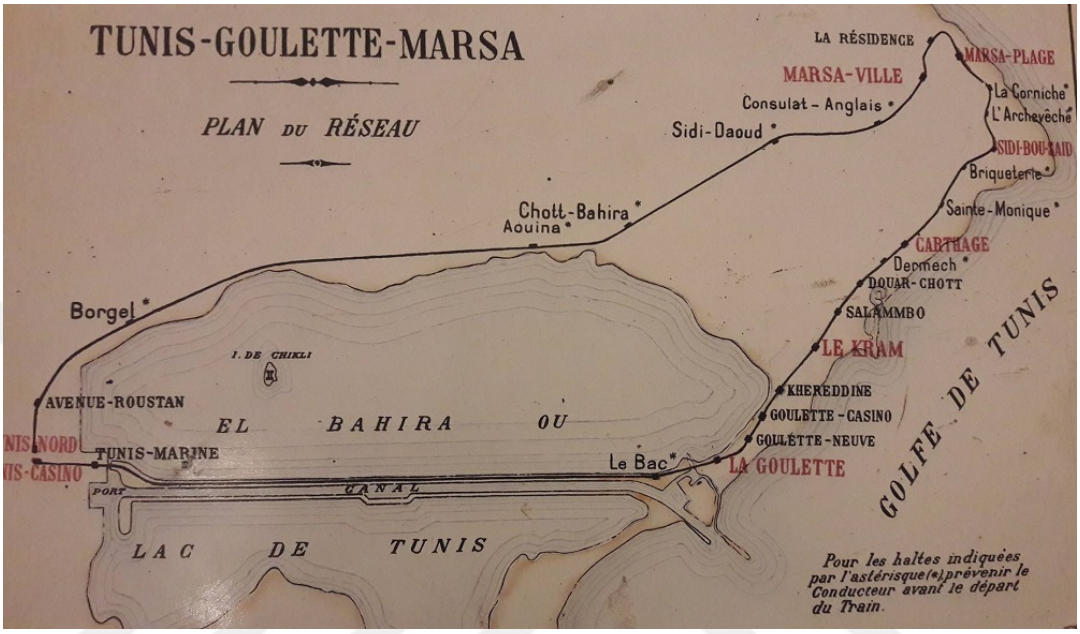


Figure 4.12. Diagram of the electrified TGM path c. 1910. The train only stops at request for stations marked *.

Source: Courtesy of Adib Achek.

Table 6. Tunis-Aouïna-Marsa ville line and focal points. The train only stops at the request of the passengers for locations marked *.

Line	Area	Stations	Focal points
Tunis-L'Aouïna-Marsa	Tunis	Tunis-Nord	• European quarter (north)
		Avenue Roustan	
		Borgel*	• Jewish cemetery
	Aouïna	Aouïna*	• Hunting and/or bird watching
		Chott-Bahira*	
	Marsa	Sidi Daoud*	• Agricultural hamlet
		Consulat anglais*	• British consulate • Palatial region
		Marsa-ville	• Summer resorts

Table 7. Tunis-La Goulette-Marsa Residence line and focal points. The train only stops at the request of the passengers for locations marked *.

Line	Area	Stations	Focal points
Tunis Casino-Goulette-Marsa Résidence	Tunis	Tunis-Casino (Jules Ferry)	• French colonial General Residence • European quarters (north+south)
		Tunis-Marine	• Port complex
		Le bac*	
	Goulette	La Goulette	• Fore-port • Italian / Jewish / Maltese settlement (modest) • Resort station, casino
		Goulette neuve	
		Goulette casino	
	Kram	Khéreddine	• Dignitary residence • Private development (small units) • Casino • Lazaret
		Kram	
		Salâmmbo	
	Carthage	Douar-Chott	• Archaeological site • Agricultural hamlet • Palace and wealthy residence (Bessis) • Parcellated terrains (large units) • Convent
		Dermech*	
		Carthage	
		Sainte-Monique*	
	Sidi Bou Saïd	Briqueterie*	• Brick plant + residences of General Baccouche and Emile Erlanger • Beylical palace • Missionary viticulture
		Sidi Bou Saïd	
		Archevêché*	
	Marsa	Corniche*	• Beach, hotels, and promenade • French General Residence (summer)
		Marsa-plage	
		La résidence	

The preceding section focused on the negotiations regarding the transformation of the TGM's circuit and its electrification, and established the resilience of the political

significance it crystallized in the latter half of the nineteenth century with its first version. This section aims to address the spatiality of the TGM at a smaller scale and to discuss the new stations' relationships to their surrounding built fabric and the underlying "nationality" symbols they harbored.

4.2.2.1. Tunis

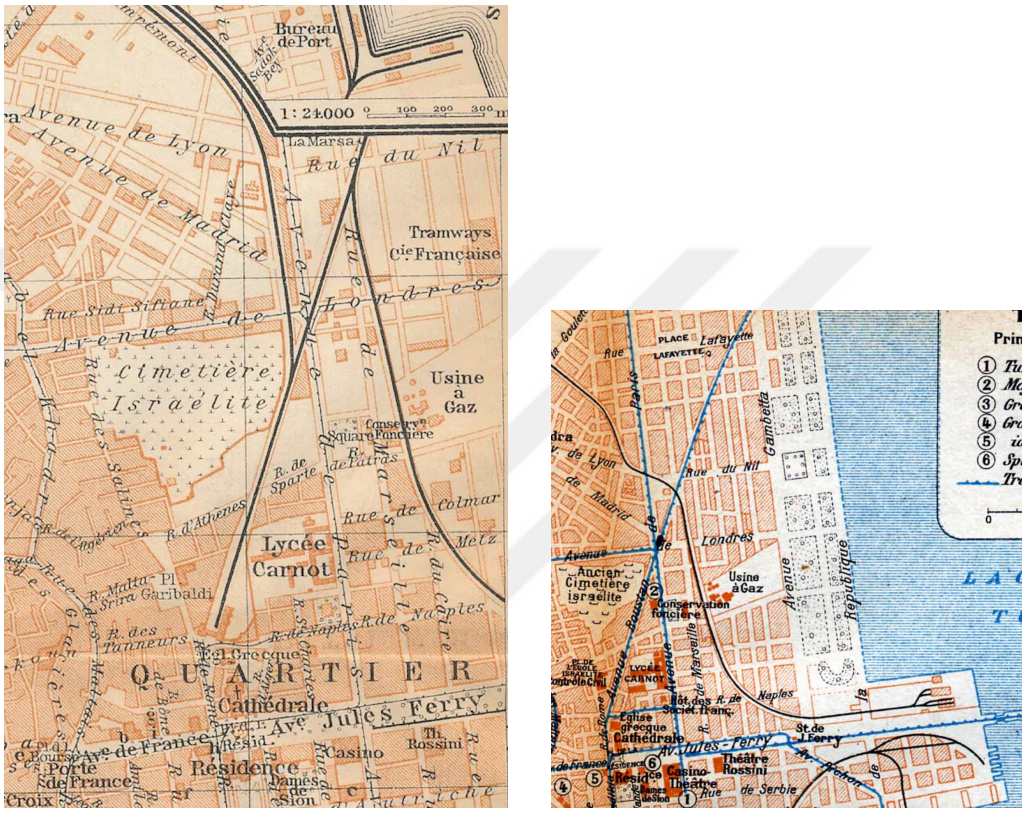


Figure 4.13. Evolution of the railway path and surroundings in (c.) 1911 (left) and 1916, showing parcellation rather than occupation of the lots (right).

Sources: wikicommons.

4.2.2.1.1. Tunis-Marine

The electrification of the TGM in 1908 was in part motivated by the transformation of its terminus in Tunis into a boundary effectively impeding further growth and – together with the rest of the Bône-Guelma network– terminating two steam-operated lines in the heart of the city. The TGM having been operating as a passenger railway of local interest [intérêt local] with negligeable freight load, it was decided to transform it into a tramway in order to evacuate valuable urban space and to facilitate urban

circulation. As such, the purchased Bône-Guelma stations were removed, and the terrains they permitted evacuation of were transferred to the state's assets to be consequently parcellated and sold to amortize the expenses of the electrification. Consequently, the line transformed into a perfect loop departing and terminating from a pier installed at the intersection of L'Avenue de La Marine (renamed Avenue Jules Ferry in 1900) and L'Avenue de Paris, facing the French Casino (fig.4.14). By its implantation on the public street, already a municipal property, this placement constituted a cost-effective solution that dismissed the need for passenger stations and allowed them direct access to the tramway. Nevertheless, this choice did not receive the favors of Naceur Bey who communicated his "utter dissatisfaction" with the removal of the direct link Marsa-Rue de Rome and protested in September, 1908 that:

> It is not admissible that the Sovereign, when he comes to Tunis with his court and his escort, could disembark on the open ground of L'Avenue Jules Ferry, where there is neither shelter nor waiting room, and where it is not possible to organize the security service protocol[298].

In response, the French General Residence acknowledged that it indeed had not dwelled upon the question of the frequent travels of the Bey and promised to construct a private station for the beylical court not far from the Jules Ferry square[299].

Five years after (1913), due to the decision to finally construct a tramway disserving the southern bank of the lagoon, this quay was ceded to the TRH (Tunis-Radès-Hammam-Lif) line and the terminus of the TGM was pushed further east along L'Avenue de La Marine, facing the northern axis of the street at its extremity[300]. As visible from the photographs and postcards (fig.4.15), the train crossed a slowly growing avenue, still punctuated by warehouses and naked terrains cohabiting with sparse two to six storey constructions with their main façades overlooking the street. In alignment with the expressed wishes of a delegate from the Consultative Conference

[298]TNA, Série E 334 6, Cutout from *La Dépêche tunisienne* of September 1st, 1908. Page not mentioned.
[299] Ibid. The file also contains a schematic plan approved by the Bey on August 29th, 1910 with a probable scheme for this station, but it contains so little indications of the surroundings that it is impossible to locate it with precision on a general plan.
[300] Official publication. Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1913, 37ème session / Régence de Tunis (Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1913): 259. Session of the morning of November 23th, 1913.

that asked for the addition of shelter against the elements in 1912[301], the new terminus was appended with a small station.

Facing mixed-use buildings of different heights and cafés/breweries at their ground level, visible from only one angle, the station is modest in dimensions, communicating with the passenger quay via a rectangular window (likely for ticketing), and its angles are accentuated by rows of ceramics starting directly below the window and ending over it. Shaded by a large canopy that is supported by decorated metal pillars, the space between the station and the train is additionally surmounted by a clock. The rest of the quay is shaded by the evergreen trees of L'Avenue Jules Ferry.



Figure 4.14. Postcard and photograph of the Jules Ferry station and of its surroundings, after 1913. On the bottom illustration, the designation of the square by its name in Arabic rather than the French of the original photograph's legend indicates a rudimentary level of familiarity with the urban setting.

Source: (top) JooSSooR community (bottom) Yıldız albums, Istanbul University Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, NEKYA90598/36.

[301] Official publication. Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1912, 36ème session / Régence de Tunis (Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1912): 308. Session of the evening of November 25th, 1912.

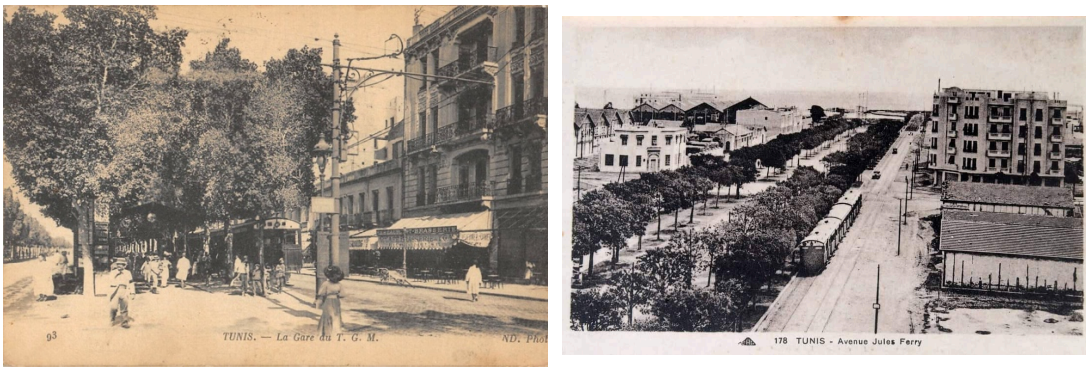


Figure 4.15. Photographs of the Jules Ferry station and of its surroundings, after 1913.
Source: JooSSooR community.

4.2.2.1.2. Tunis-Nord

The electrification of the circuit additionally allowed for the repurposing of the former railway localities for state-led real estate speculation on the parcel of the first terminus (Gare du Nord) and those further north along Rue de Rome, on the foreseen Boulevard Roustan. This winterer French tourist-targeting speculation launched in the first months of 1913[302] cohabited with the occupation of the areas retracing and intersecting with the first railway's route (Lafayette, Avenues Londres, Madrid and Rues des Salines and Sidi Sifian) by a concentration of settled Italian, Maltese, and Jewish populations[303]. In the first years of the twentieth century, these quarters were by and large inhabited by their own owners for their own private use.

Accompanying the electrification of the tramway between Tunis-Aouïna-Marsa in the 1910s, these owners participated in the speculation trend like the administration, and the occupancy of parcels shifted from single storey to a multi-storey inhabitation scheme, itself powered by the landlords' growing recourse to the services of (mostly Italian) architects and entrepreneurs[304]. Reminiscent of the situation observed in La Rue des Maltais with the first station, the building distribution surrounding the railway

[302] Official publication. Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1912, 36ème session / Régence de Tunis (Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1912): 53. Session of November 19th, 1912.
[303] Ammar, *La Rue à Tunis, réalités, permanences, transformations de l'espace urbain: 1835-1935*, 131-135 and 182-185.
[304] Ibid and Christophe Giudice, "Diaspora italienne et identités urbaines à Tunis, xixe-xxie siècle", *Diasporas* [online] 28 (2016), URL: http://journals.openedition.org/diasporas/613; DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/diasporas.613

path obeyed the rigorous municipal building code that imposed rectilinearity with relation to main circulation arteries and to the tramway's path. Nevertheless, the imprints of the constructed surfaces within the same parcel maintained the early nineteenth century scheme for its inner circulation; relying on non-official entente between the owners[305].

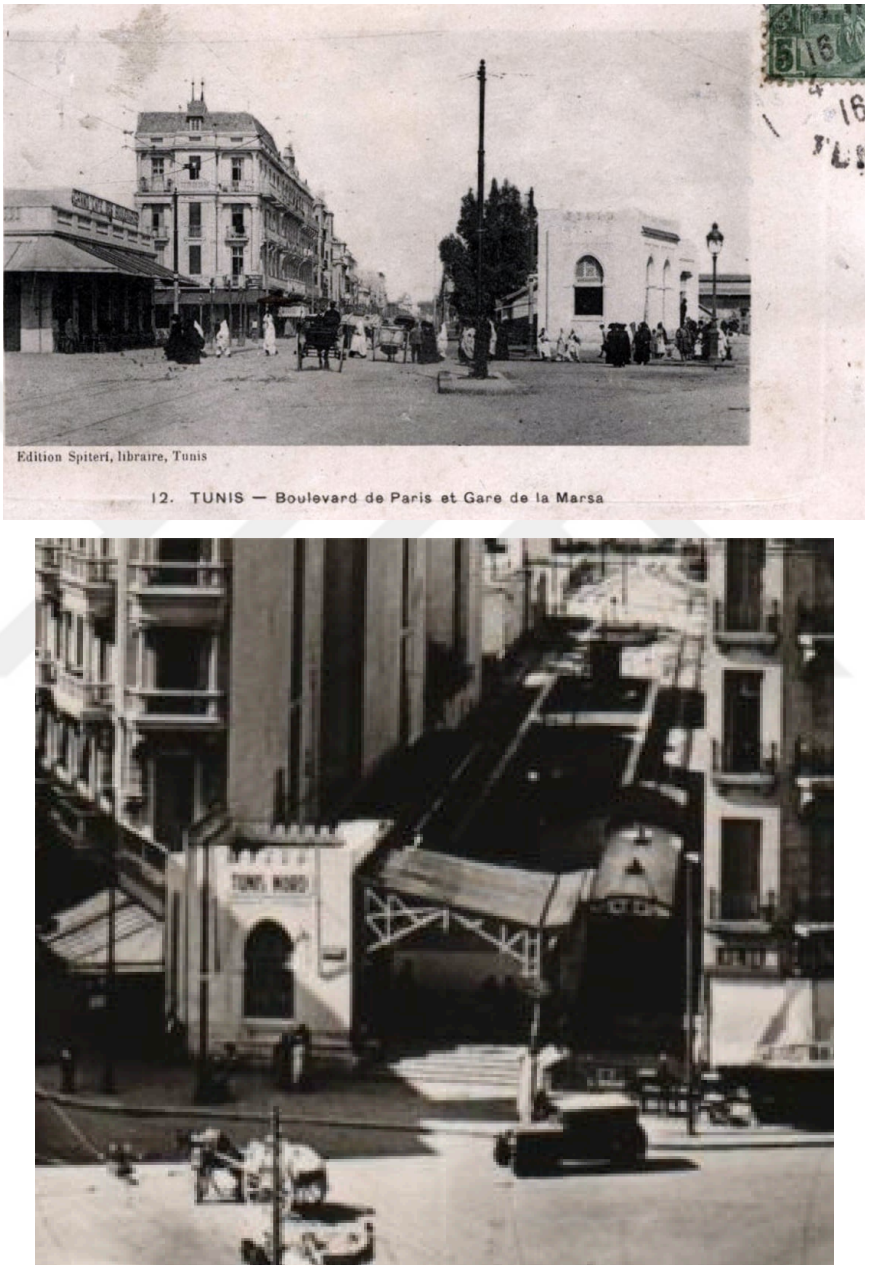


Figure 4.16. Photographs of the Tunis Nord station and of its surroundings, c. 1916-1930.

Source: JooSSooR community.

[305] Ammar, *La Rue à Tunis, réalités, permanences, transformations de l'espace urbain: 1835-1935*, 182-185.



Figure 4.17. Photographs of the Tunis Nord station and of its surroundings, c. 1916-1930.

Source: JooSSooR community.

With the decision to maintain the Tunis-Aouïna-Marsa link, the loop originally terminating at the Jules Ferry station was split in two, resulting in the emergence of another terminus initially placed north of L'Avenue Jules Ferry and later pushed further along la Rue de Rome, at its juncture with Boulevard Roustan. Like for the other Tunis terminus, this stop was also endowed with a small station. Equally modest in dimensions, the flat-roofed structure is only recorded from one angle. Its perimeter is retraced with short parapets with medieval fortress-invoking crenellations. The station visually communicated with the square flanking it via a horseshow window and intricate wooden double-leaves. This opening is accentuated with a rectangular surface embossing of the same color as the rest of the façades. Initially devoid of raised embarking quay and of shading elements, it underwent modifications after its construction. The added raised embarking quay flanking it to the right was in part shaded by a large awning like that of the Jules Ferry station, in this case supported by thicker (likely wooden) elements (fig.4.16, 4.17, 4.18).





Figure 4.18. Photographs of the Tunis Nord station and of its surroundings, c. 1920-1930. Notice the growth in height of surrounding constructions.

Source: JooSSooR community

4.2.2.1.3. Tunis: CTT building

Alongside the termini, the European quarter of Tunis was also the address of the headquarters of the Compagnie des Tramways de Tunis. Built in the second decade of the twentieth century at the port extremity of the Avenue Jules Ferry (fig.4.16), it presented details reminiscent of those used in both of Tunis's stations; notably arched window openings and use of ceramics in its interior spaces[306] (fig.4.19, 4.20).

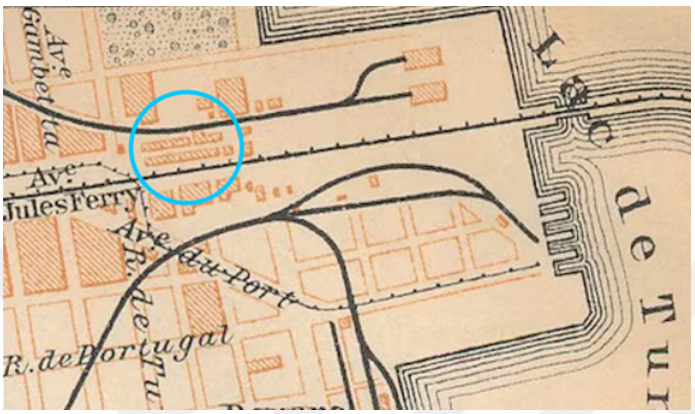


Figure 4.19. Location of the CTT headquarters and surroundings in (c.) 1911.

Sources: wikicommons

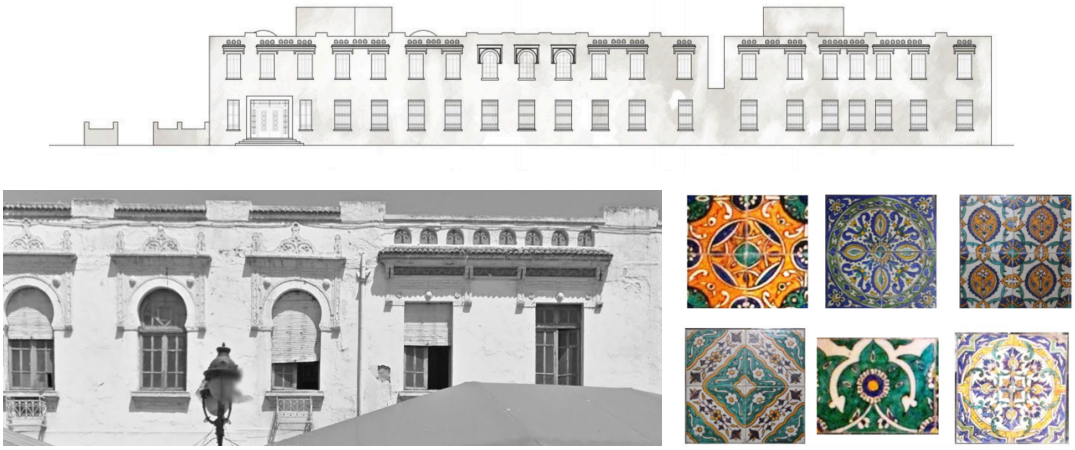


Figure 4.20. Jules Ferry façade and detail photographs of the CTT headquarters, and photographs of ceramics employed in the interior.

Sources: Courtesy of Radhouene Ayedi.

[306] In Radhouane Ayadi, "Lieux créatifs d'échange et de partage: Reconversion de l'ancien siège de la Société nationale du transport en un coworking" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Ecole nationale d'architecture et d'urbanisme de Tunis, 2017): 57, the author cites 1903 as construction date and attributes it to Raphaël Guy.

4.2.2.2. La Goulette – La Marsa



Figure 4.21. Maps of the region between La Goulette-Marsa in c.1910 (left) and 1932 (right).

Source: (right) Harvard map collection, G8254_T8_1910_V3_VERSO (left) Collections patrimoniales numérisées de Bordeaux Montaigne (top) Tunisie Flle. N° XIV-B 1-C 37, La Marsa, (bottom) Tunisie Flle. N° XXI-B2-C37, La Goulette.

With the electrification, the path retracing the lagoon and arriving at La Goulette was abandoned in favor of another one circulating on a track departing from L'Avenue Jules Ferry, crossing the lagoon on the northern side of the 1893 navigation channel, and connecting with La Goulette via the previous merchandise station. Dismissing the need for bifurcation, this line continued on the path of the first TGM until the Kram

station, after which it traced a new path until Sidi Bou Saïd and La Marsa, crossing 19 stations in total between Tunis-Casino and Marsa-Résidence, termini included (tab.6).

4.2.2.2.1. La Goulette – Kram

As visible from figure 4.18, the electrification was accompanied by a discontinuous private parcellation between La Goulette and Kram el-Agha, on the narrow strip of land between the lagoon and the sea. It retraced the path of the first TGM and extended to the old palace complex of Mustapha Agha through that of Kheïreddine Pasha, from which the stations drew their names. Between the stations of La Goulette and Khéreddine, the land segmentation obeyed two different grid-iron schemes, strict within their unique systems, but indicating a boundary between more than one private development plan (fig.4.22).

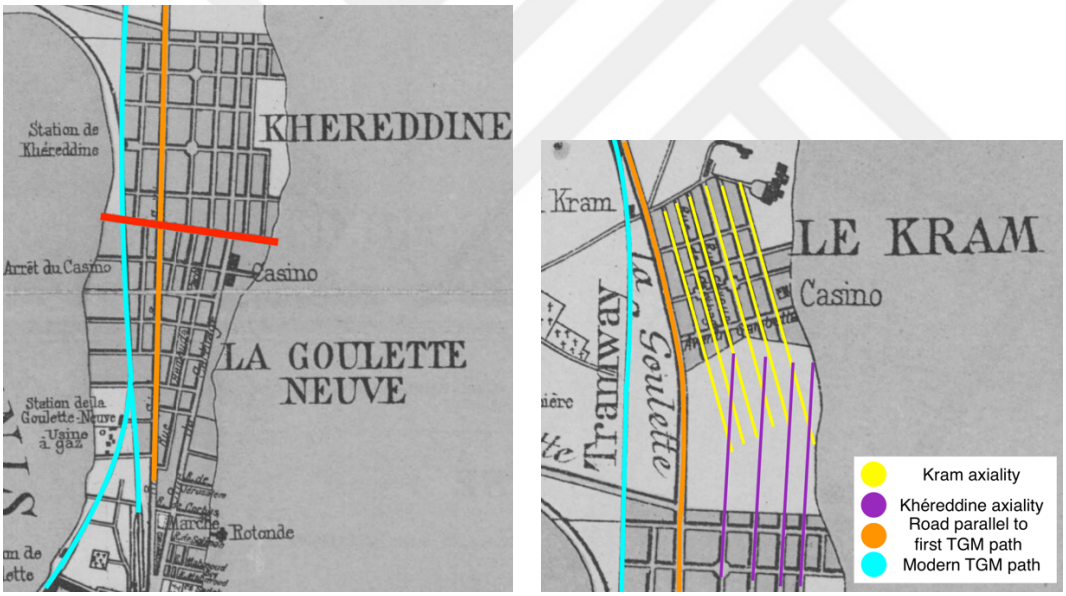


Figure 4.22. Diagrams of parcellations in La Goulette and Kram, c.1910.

Source: Author.

The presence of private parcellation initiatives and the adoption of the railway path as reference is reinforced by the gap between Khéreddine and Kram (fig.4.22), where the station marks again another strict iron-grid segmentation of units smaller than the ones further south, obeying a different layout and implemented perpendicularly to a path retracing railway tracks.



Figure 4.23. La Goulette station as seen from a south-east angle.

Source: JooSSooR community.

Of all the stops between La Goulette and Le Kram, only a contemporaneous documentation of the station of La Goulette survives (fig.4.23, 4.24). Situated in the western extremity of the narrow settlement, facing the lagoon and replacing the previous merchandise terminus, it was flanked by two small green spaces to the north and the south, and by an additional one to the east, across the street. The station was partly built with the repurposed shed installed by the Bône-Guelma for the initial

terminus. To conjugate the dimensions of the metal structure with the new function of intermediary station, the construction was modified. Resting on a raised platform, the shed allowed the passage of trains in two directions. Its load was transferred to the ground via a metal frame infilled by masonry elements, plastered and painted in a light color. Alongside two lanterns providing artificial illumination, the space was naturally lit via fixed windows; arched for those visible from the street, and rectangular for the rest. This embarking space was appended by a strictly symmetric masonry building to the right, shorter than the shed. This structure was physically accessible five openings, the central one being the largest. The shaded central entrance space was recessed with regard to the closed spaces to its right and left (north and south). The entrance was surmounted by a central clock piece, defining the symmetry axis of the building. The symmetrical and from the exterior identical closed spaces had each three rectangular windows on the façade parallel to the lagoon, and two on the one orthogonal to it. These openings were accentuated with thin rows of dark-colored roof tiles above them, and with parapet balustrades elevating their rhythm to the flat roof level. Spaces between these thick balustrades were punctuated with thinner ones that (like in the case of Tunis) evoked medieval fortress crenellations. Despite the arched windows and crenellation details, as a whole, the strict symmetric configuration of the station conjures building-mass resemblance with French-built contemporaneous stations on the Tunisian, Algerian, Ottoman, and French territories (fig.4.25) and suggests that in layout, the station obeyed a set of standards observed for French railway passenger buildings.

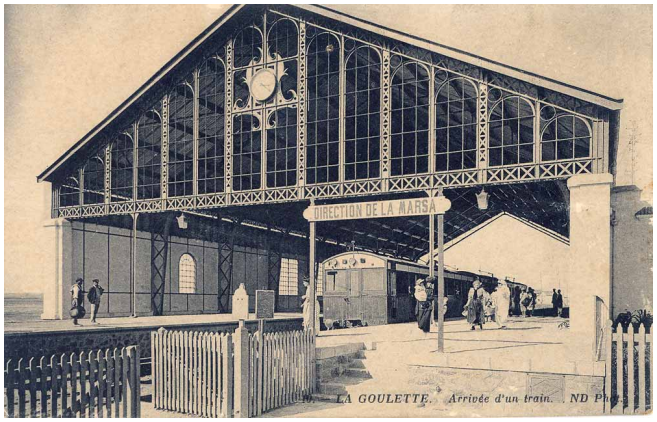


Figure 4.24. La Goulette station as seen from a south-east angle.

Source: JooSSooR community



Figure 4.25. Postcards and photographs of train stations contemporaneous with that of La Goulette. (top left): Sousse, Tunis, by J.Émile Resplandy (1897) (top right): Sétif, Algeria, by the Compagnie de l'Est algérien (1879) (bottom right): Basmahane/Izmir, Ottoman Empire, by the Régie Générale (1876) (bottom left) Pontivy, France, by the Compagnie des chemins de fer de Paris à Orléans (1864-1873)

Sources (left to right): wikicommons, Judaic algeria, Kültür envanteri, Ouest-France.

4.2.2.2.2. Carthage – La Marsa

Juxtaposition of the maps from 1910 and 1932 (fig.4.21) reveals that despite the electrification, the spatial fabric between Salâmmbo and La Marsa experienced slow and sparse densification. If the Salâmmbo private-led parcellation started to accommodate more and more constructions into the speculative property of Maltese and French entrepreneurs Godefroy and Hippolyte (1894), the rest of the surrounding area was either spontaneously inhabited; without administrative top-down development and connecting to the TGM stations, or rudimentarily parcellated. Property of Hedi Bey, the first parcellation surrounding the Carthage Dermech station was segmented into 12 units by the sovereign for his children in 1904. Upon his death in 1906, management of the terrains was transferred to his eldest son Mohamed Taher Bey. To prevent that the latter sold the terrains and opened the area to speculation, Naceur Bey issued a decree prohibiting their sale on June 3rd, 1907. Effectively frozen until the Bey's death (1922), it was not until 1929 that speculative enterprise effectively resumed in the area and that Hedi Bey's heirs could capitalize on their real

estate properties and divide them into 38 parcels[307]. Alongside Naceur Bey's interventions, the tardiness of urbanization in the region was due to two factors: the outbreak of WWI and the status of Carthage as antique site. Although a municipality was established in Carthage on June 15th, 1919 and although it launched measures to organize built fabric, prohibit anarchic constructions, and endow the region with thoroughfares and other infrastructures, its course of action was limited by the interference of the Direction des Antiquités et des Arts. The latter of the institutions thus succeeded in forming another obstacle to speculative expansion, as a decree of January 8th, 1920 by Naceur Bey declared Carthage an archaeological zone and prohibited new private constructions[308].

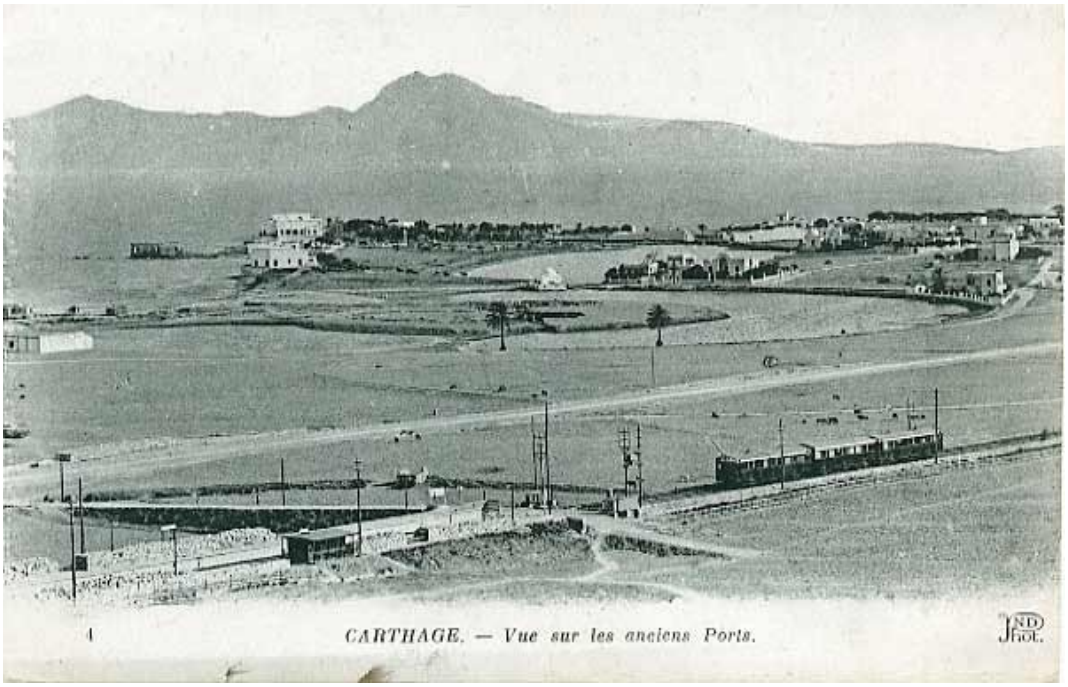


Figure 4.26. Postcard of the station of Douar-chott (Carthage), with the old steam-train wagon serving temporarily as shelter, c.1910.

Source: delcampe.net.

Despite limitations imposed on the built fabric of the region, the area from Carthage to Sidi Bou Saïd was also punctuated by sheds that replaced the first TGM wagons temporarily used as stations (fig.4.26). Available contemporaneous documentation

[307] Abidi, "Les deux palais de Mustapha Khaznadar à Carthage: genèse de nouveaux espaces urbanisés", 18-19.
[308] Ibid, 22.

about the stations of Carthage Dermech, Carthage, and Sidi Bou Saïd indicates that they subscribed to the characteristics of the Tunis and La Goulette stations. Compact in size, painted in a light bright color, and shaded by dark-painted large canopies with daggerboards and resting on two thin supporting pillars, the stations incorporated crenellated parapets and arched openings that were accentuated by short rows of dark-colored rooftiles at the level of the flat roof (fig.4.27).



Figure 4.27. Postcards and photographs of the stations of Carthage Dermech (top left), Carthage (top right and bottom left), and Sidi Bou Saïd (bottom left).

Source: JooSSooR community.

The new electrified railway initially terminated at Sidi Bou Saïd, before crossing the missionary viticulture (Archevêché, fig.4.28), the seaside (Corniche) and being extended to La Marsa (Marsa-Plage). Despite the quasi-absence of constructions

accompanying this extension, the line was punctuated by (at least) a station: Marsa-Plage (fig.4.29, 4.30).



Figure 4.28. Photograph of the Archevêché station, flanking vineyards, likely two-storeyed, painted white, and having arched windows.

Source: delcampe.net.

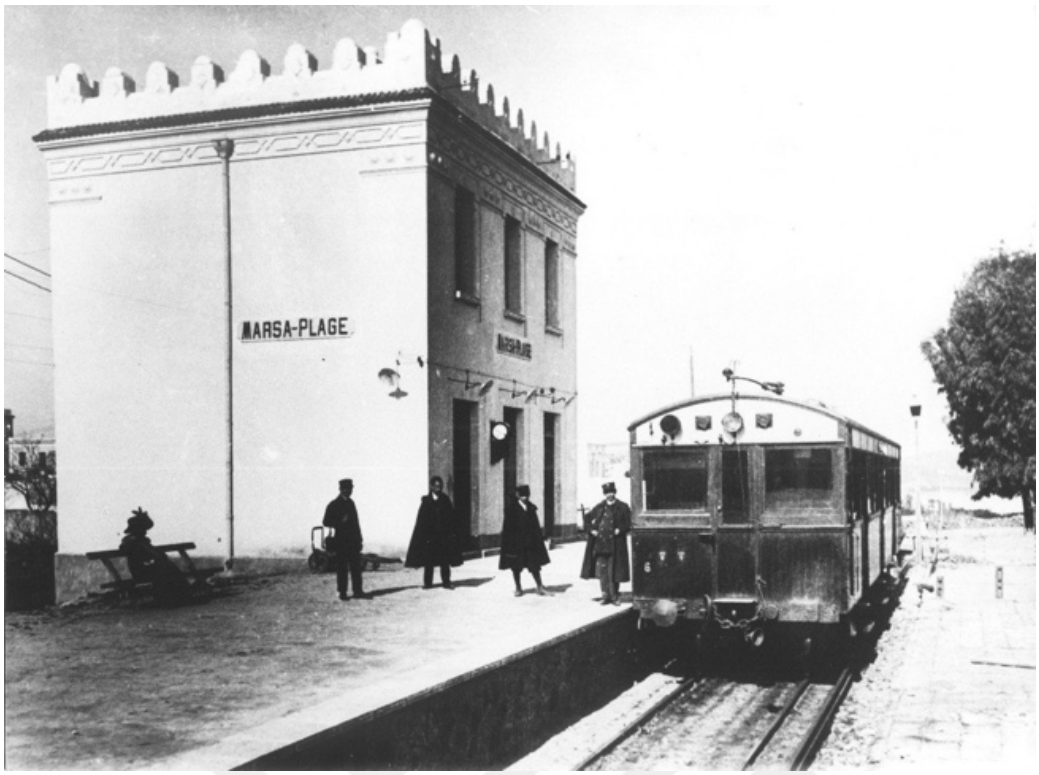
Larger than the intermediary stations and the Tunis termini, the Marsa-Plage station complex perpetuated the stylistic coherence of the railway network. Composed of two distinct buildings separated by the quays and tracks, it was formed by a shelter (likely the exact same as in Carthage Dermech and Sidi Bou Saïd) and a multi-storey structure. Perfectly geometric, flat-roofed, and painted in a light color, the multi-storey station was surmounted by a crenellated parapet, a row of roof tiles retracing the contour of the mass, and an additional row of geometric decoration on the façade. The part facing the tracks had a total of eight perfectly rectangular openings: six parallel to the quays (three doors on the ground level and three windows on the first floor), and two windows orthogonal to them. The spaces between the windows were additionally emphasized with a third row of surface embossments. The presence of chimney and a fenced green space behind this structure indicates that it was inhabited by a stationmaster. On other photographs, the station appeared incremented with a small, closed space on its second floor, and only visible from one angle. Adopting the details

of the rest of the station, it was placed perpendicular to it, on its eastern corner. It differed from the rest with its style of windows: a horseshoe double-arched lancet window evoking a window detail of Alhambra (fig.4.31). The dimensions of this second space and the presence of this window on the third storey only indicates that it was a staircase making the flat roof accessible.



Figure 4.29. Photograph of the shelter at La Marsa-Plage.

Source: JooSSooR community.



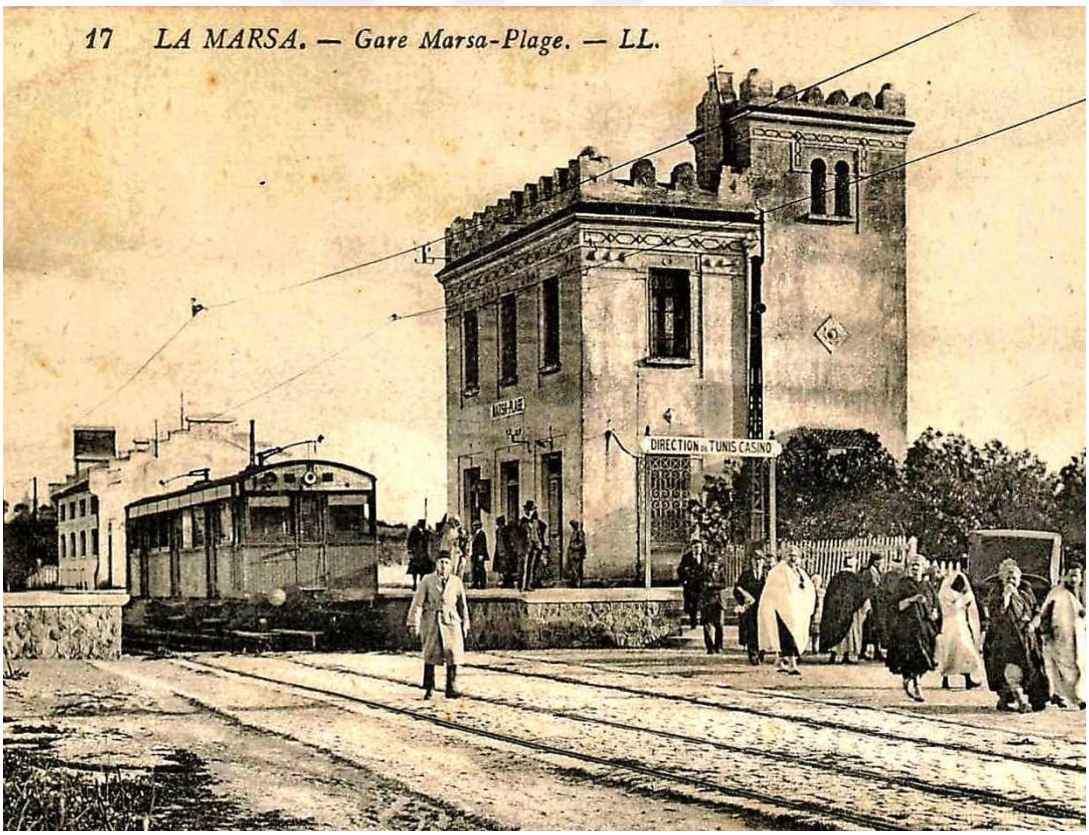


Figure 4.30. Photograph and postcard of the shelter at La Marsa-Plage.

Source: JooSSooR community

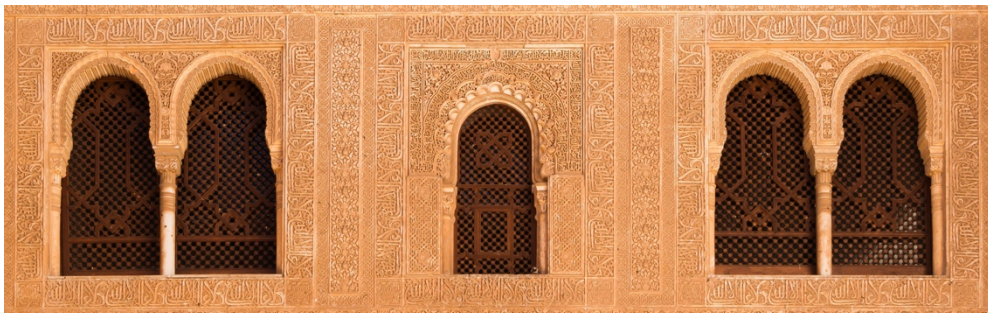


Figure 4.31. Nasrid windows in Alhambra.

Source: wikicommons.

4.2.2.3. La Marsa – Tunis

Unlike La Marsa-Plage, the surroundings of La Marsa-ville station experienced a slow growth in their urban fabric. This growth was controlled by the municipality (established in 1912) and curbed by the dearness of land prices, which preserved the princely status of the area. Occurring around beylical palaces, the French summer Résidence Générale, and the Mediterranean shore, the electrified railways reinforced the position of the region as magnet for local nobility, colonial administrators, and the well-to-do of all nationalities.



Figure 4.32. Photograph of the shelters at La Marsa-ville

Source: JooSSooR community.



Figure 4.33. Postcard of the Avenue de la Gare; parallel to La Marsa-Ville (not visible in the image, but it was located directly next to the street to the right).

Source: (top) JooSSooR community.

Despite being sparsely inhabited and despite its stopping points being on-demand, the Marsa-Aouïna-Tunis direct line was also endowed with stations which were quasi-perfect replicas of the stations of Carthage or Sidi Bou Saïd (fig.4.32, 4.33, 4.34).

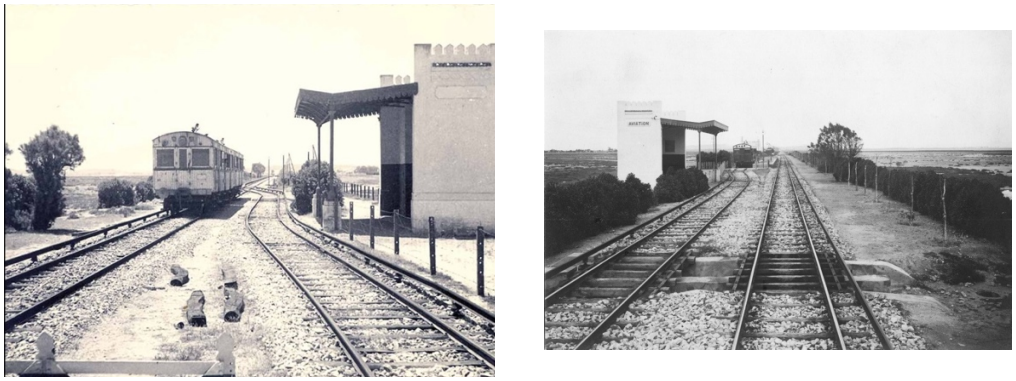


Figure 4.34. Photographs of the shelters of L'Aouïna and Aviation (added with the creation of a military airbase there in 1924)

Source: wikicommons.

4.3. A province? Whose? A discussion



Figure 4.35. Postcards of various public and private constructions on Tunisian territory from the first quarter of the twentieth century (from left to right) La Goulette's casino, a hotel in Carthage, a post and telegraph office in Mateur, a train station in el-Djem, a post and telegraph office in Manouba, a house wrongly labeled as "mosque" in La Goulette, the municipality in La Marsa, and city hall in Sfax.

Source: JooSSooR community.

The evolution of the TGM from steam railway to electric tramway between 1905-1922 commands a revision of the separation between French and Tunisian authorities and vexes the presumed placid subjugation of the latter to the former. Indeed, the case of this train indicates that negotiations regarding the urban sphere were the arena of actors with occasionally overlapping roles. Despite having yielded significant dominance to the colonial administration after 1883, the Tunisian authorities persistently wielded considerable power in the implementation of the modern TGM. This is visible in the prioritization of the paths this class chose (Goulette-Sidi Bou Saïd, Sidi Bou Saïd-Marsa Ville, and Marsa Ville-Tunis Nord) over the one that the French denizens of the Consultative Conference repeatedly demanded (Tunis-Hammam Lif). Against the colonial administration and the CTT's inability to impose a path fitting primarily French colons, the stations' design echoed a French will to flatten the North-African dependencies into a fabricated coherent landscape feeding (on) the colonial imaginary of the region (fig.4.35). As such, the path was punctuated by constructions that conjugated established and widespread French railway typologies with a stylistic envelope projecting a certain conception of a unique "local/Maghrebi/Arab" architecture onto the stations (fig.4.36).



Figure 4.36. Architectural drawing of a French shelter typology as outlined in an 1866 railway construction textbook (left), and a photograph of the shelter at Carthage (today Carthage Hannibal) after restoration in 2020.

Source: (left) Pierre Chabat, *Bâtiments de chemins de fer: embarcadères, plans de gares, stations, abris, etc* (Paris: A. Morel, 1866): 39, (right) africamanager.com.

If the common language of these stations put forward the French determination on dissimulating a present local taste for Classicist, European, or Italianate architecture and architects (fig.4.37) and an ambiguity of distinction between French and Tunisian scopes of authority, it should be observed that such approaches were not reserved to stations in the French colonies alone. In fact, the shift towards a more "provincial/regional" style was also present in railway buildings of the French metropole as well (fig.4.38, 4.39), where one of the overarching concerns was to animate tourism and to ensure the survival of railways despite the democratization of individual motor cars and buses[309].

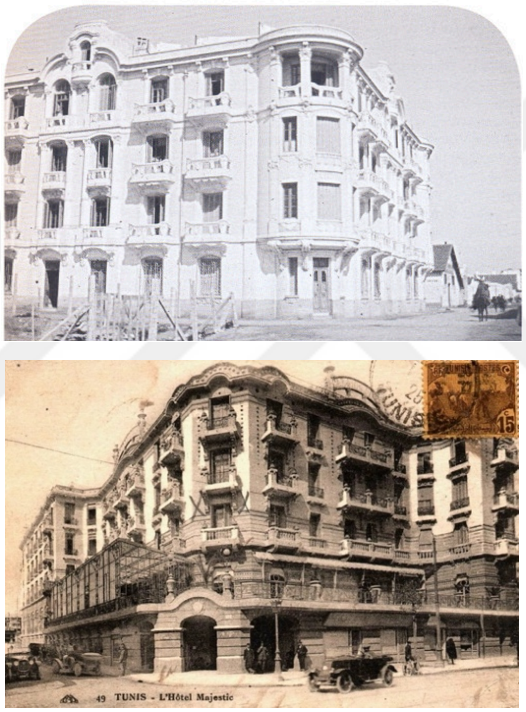


Figure 4.37. (top) Photograph of Abita building, by Italian architect Giuseppe Abita, c. 1920 (bottom) postcard of l'Hôtel Majestic, by French architect Paul-Auguste Baron, 1912, both in Tunis.

Source: (top) Claudine Piaton and Juliette Hueber, *Tunis : architectures 1860-1960*, (Tunis: Elyzad, 2010): 53, (bottom) JooSSooR community.

[309] On competition between these two means of transport in metropolitan France: Maurice Wolkowitsch, "Introduction : L'évolution des réseaux de chemins de fer d'intérêt local et des tramways voyageurs-marchandises de leur naissance à leur déclin, 1865-1951", *Revue d'histoire des chemins de fer* 24-25 (2002): 9-21. On provincial railway station style, Michel Chlastacz, "Les belles gares des provinces françaises", *La vie du rail* 2505 (July 19th, 1995), republished online on September 6th, 2019 https://www.lettreducheminot.fr/gares/etait-vie-rail-81-belles-gares-provinces-francaises-1-2/ and https://www.lettreducheminot.fr/gares/etait-vie-rail-82-belles-gares-provinces-francaises-2-2/, last accessed July 19th, 2024.



Figure 4.38. Photographs of two different railway stations with regional styles on La Côte Bleue (south)

Source: Trains d'Europe.

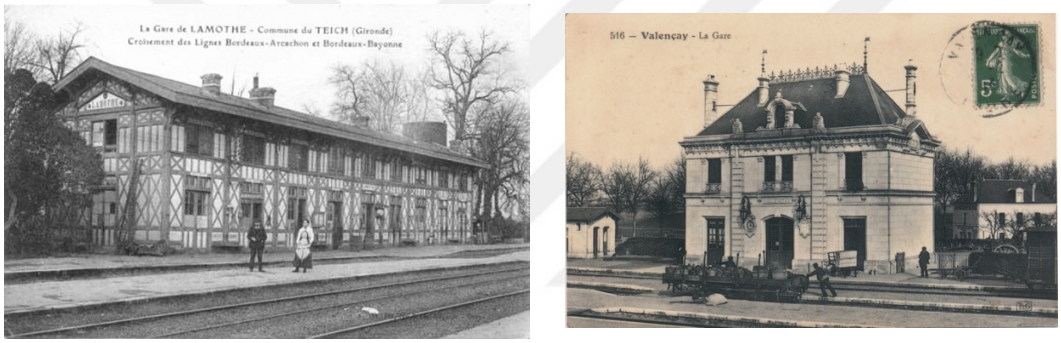


Figure 4.39. Gare de Lamothe (south-western France) and Gare de Valençay (central France)

Source: wikicommons and geneanet.

By the same token, it is equally possible to put forward that such stylistic choices were not the apanage of the French administration and colonial imaginary alone. From one angle, the Italians' presence in large numbers among all the echelons of society and particularly as railway staff produced a tenace association between this type of infrastructure and members of this nation, which not only were better paid than the "indigenous" but were also nationals of a state responsible for the colonization of neighboring Tripolitania. In accordance, the choice to display a style devoid of Italian associations might have been a calculated decision to attenuate the significant Italian presence in railways as well. From another angle, the railway technology/infrastructure, like the style of the stations invoke a pre-protectorate Tunisian will to construct a national identity distinct from that of the Ottoman Empire

at large. In that respect, the subscription to an "Arab" style through foreign/French architects was also a choice of several Tunisian dignitaries of the beylical court for their private residences. More importantly, the style also conjures the design of the Tunisian pavilion at the 1867 Paris Exposition Universelle (fig.4.40). Openly citing the beylical palace of Bardo (perhaps to highlight the independence of Tunis as regency), the pavilion had extensively tapped into "Oriental/traditional" architectural repertoire borrowed from Alhambra as well as from the east of the Ottoman Empire, and had relied on the services of a French architect (Alfred Chapon, who had never been to Tunis) and on those of local building artisans (plaster chiseling, ceramics) sent to Paris especially for the occasion[310].

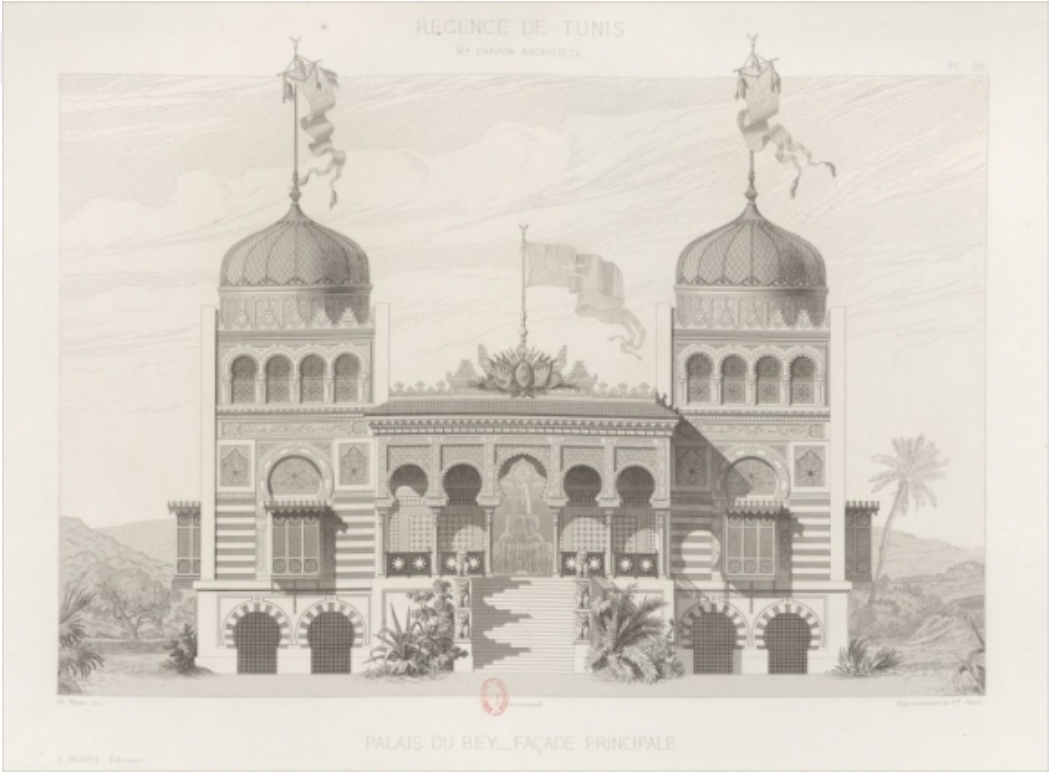


Figure 4.40. Façade drawing of the 1867 Tunisian pavilion.

Source: Alfred Normand, *L'architecture des nations étrangères: étude sur les principales constructions du parc à l'Exposition Universelle de Paris (1867)* (Paris: A. Morel, 1870): 28.

Interestingly, the implementation of the modern TGM raises persistent questions as to the Ottoman dimension as well. Despite the establishment of colonial systems of

[310] Nader Meddeb, "Les visées politiques et identitaires de l'orientalisme architectural au miroir d'une anthologie des pavillons de la Tunisie dans les expositions universelles (1851-2010)", *Diacronie* [online] 28 no. 2 (2014), URL: http://journals.openedition.org/diacronie/1422

governance in the (former) North-African provinces of Algeria (1830) and Tunis (1881), both territories and their main railways continued to be depicted as part and parcel of the Ottoman Empire, notably in maps from 1893 and 1909 (fig.4.41, 4.42).

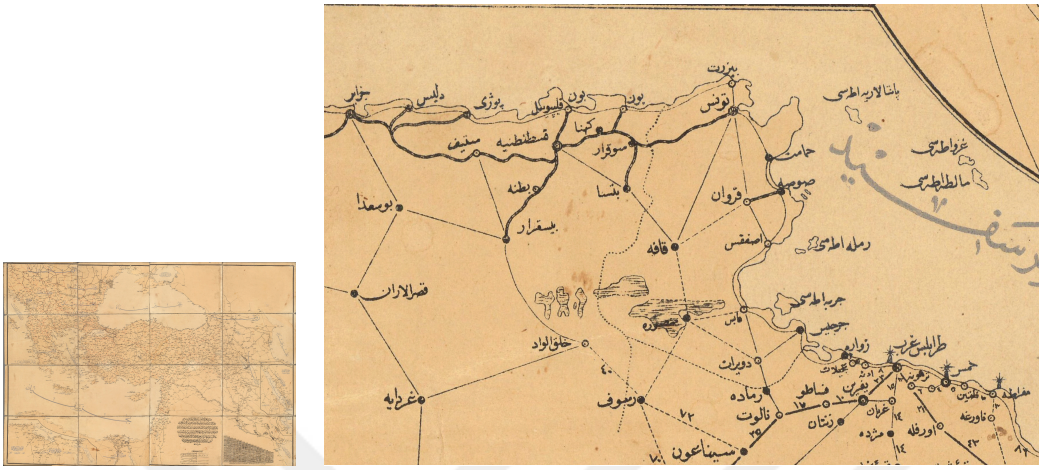


Figure 4.41. 1893 map of the Ottoman Empire and detail of the North-African territories still considered within it, with their major railways and thoroughfares. The enunciation of some original names in Arabic and others as labeled by the French might indicate that it relied in part on French sources.

Source: 4th division of the Ottoman army, *Memalik-i Mahruse Şahane'nin Havi Olduğu Bilad* (Istanbul: h.1309/1893) [Retrieved from David Ramsey Map collection, no:13019.040]



Figure 4.42. Map of "Ottoman Africa" from a 1909 atlas dedicated to Abdülhamid II, with French-occupied Tunis and Algeria (with different frontiers) included.

Source: Mehmet Rüştü and Eşref Rüştü, *Afrika-yi Osmani (Ottoman Africa),* (to accompany) *Memalik-i Mahruse-yi Şahane'ye mahsus : Mükemmel ve mufassal atlas* (Istanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiyye Matbaası, h.1325/1909): map 35. [Retrieved from David Ramsey Map collection, no: 10481.000]



Figure 4.43. (right) Photograph of the Escalier des Lions of the Bardo Palace as present in the Hamidian Yıldız albums, with its legend reading: “the entrance of a house in the old Arab architectural style” (left) Photograph of a bath entrance in Tunis, as present in the same Yıldız albums, with the French legend reading “Entrance of Moorish bath”, and the Ottoman Turkish one reading “A door in the Arab architectural style”

Source: Istanbul University, Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi (right) NEKYA90598/13 (left) NEKYA90598/34.

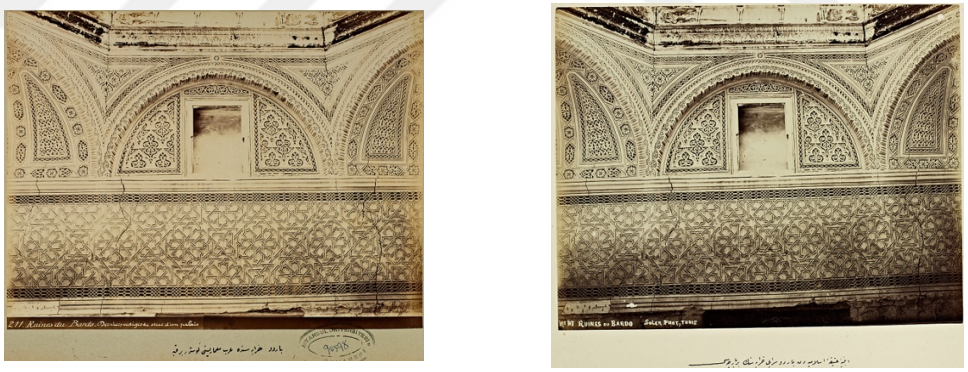


Figure 4.44. The same photograph with two different legends as present in Hamidian albums (left) labeled in French “Ruins of the Bardo, last vestiges of a stucco of a palace” and in Ottoman Turkish “A dome displaying Arab architecture at the Bardo ruins”, (right) labeled in French “Ruins of the Bardo” and in Ottoman Turkish “Of the old Islamic buildings, a part of the Bardo palace ruins”.

Source: Istanbul University, Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi (left) NEKYA90598/39, (right) NEKYA91333/9.

Along a similar line of reasoning, the Tunisian regard for early-Modern “Western Muslim” architecture was contemporaneous with an Imperial interest in “Arab/Moresque” architecture (fig.4.43, 4.44) and a “growing infatuation with the

Andalusian monument"[311] of Alhambra by Arabo-Ottomans and Turco-Ottomans as well. A notable example of this interest is a publication by Tunisian Ali el-Wardani (1861-1913/14), who studied in Tunis (where he learned Turkish) and accompanied Kheïreddine Pasha to Istanbul in 1875, after which he was commissioned by Abdülhamid II to search for and survey in situ Arabic manuscripts of the Muslim period in Spain. Travelling there by boat and by train starting from 19 Zilhicce 1304 (September 8th, 1887), he documented his journey in an 1887 book called الرّحلة الأندلسيّة]The Andalusian Journey]. Retracing his search for manuscripts, the author also recorded his impressions and knowledge about the architecture of Andalusian monuments, as well as his assignment of an Arab/Muslim origin (in common with Tunis) to these monuments[312]. Aside from being presented to Abdülhamid II, al-Wardani's travelogue was also published over the course of three years (1888, 1889, 1890) in the non-official Arabic nationalist journal of al-Hadhira in Tunis[313].

Consistently, if the degree to which Western Muslim monuments (visited by many Ottoman bureaucrats from across the empire) constituted a primary and wholly historic reference[314] –as opposed to superficial appreciation of style and decorum– during most of the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz remains debatable, it can nevertheless still be advanced that accompanying the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II, such "Islamic" details began to be synthetically and consciously inserted in an official formulation/construction of an architectural "Ottoman style". Such formulation was, in the words of Ahmet Ersoy, "driven by a new and romantic zeal to recover [and reappropriate] marked moments of power and glory in the distant Ottoman and Islamic past"[315]. In accordance, Ottoman eclectic and openly Orientalist styles went on par with the Hamidian "twin visions of pan-Islamism and [infrastructural]

[311] Edhem Eldem, "Ottomans at the Alhambra 1844-1914: An Investigation into the Perception of Al-Andalus by Ottoman Subjects in Times of Modernity", *Turcica* 48 (2018): 256.
[312] علي بن سليم الورداني التونسي)تحقيق عبد الجبار الشريف (الرّحلة الأندلسيّة)تونس :الدار التونسية للنشر، 1984/1887(
[313] 28 issues: 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 26, 27, 28, 30, 33, 34, 37, 40, 41, 42, 43, 53, 61, 62, 76, 90, 91, 94, 98, 100, 103. Ibid, 18.
[314] Cf. the Ottoman architectural catalogue prepared for the 1873 Vienna Exhibition: Victor-Marie de Launay, Pierre Montani, et al., *Usûl-i Mi'mâr'î Osmânî / L'Architecture ottomane* (Constantinople: Imprimerie et Lithographie Centrales, 1873)
[315] Ahmet Ersoy, "Ottoman Gothic", in *Manufacturing Middle Ages: Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Patrick J. Geary and Gbor Klaniczay (Leiden: Brill, 2013): 217-238 (219)

modernization"[316], and found their manifestations in private and public constructions, a notable example of which is the Sirkeci (Istanbul) railway terminus (fig.4.45).



Figure 4.45. Photograph of the Sirkeci railway terminus in Istanbul, designed in 1889 by German architect Jasmund.

Source: Yıldız Albums, Istanbul University Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, NEKYA91545/2.

Aside from the spatial similarities between the Tunisian TGM stations and their counterparts, the juxtaposition of the contents and contexts of Tunisian infrastructures and constructions' visual documentations in French and imperial Ottoman records commands a circumvention of closed-circuit relationships and the interrogation of the notion of empire through its depictions of provinces and/or colonies. In content, the images saliently shared common characteristics. Evidently, they concurred in subscribing to photography to domesticate initially unfamiliar views, which penetrated

[316] Miyuki Aoki Girardelli, "Modernity and representation: the architecture of Ottoman railway stations", in *Afife Batur'a Armağan: Mimarlık ve Sanat Tarihi Yazıları* (Istanbul: Literatür Yayıncılık, 2005): 143-150 (146)

the heart of the Tunisian seats of authority (palace interiors) or locals' everyday lives[317] (souks and houses) and favored a distant and/or high vantage point, which allowed panoptic capturing of urban and rural fabrics and infrastructures in their totality; as if they were closed sculptural objects punctuating an anachronistic fabricated landscape, itself populated by typologies of the local/"indigenous". The anachronism of the infrastructures is further highlighted by the conspicuous absence of documentation regarding their interiors and edification phases, portraying them as immuable components of a setting that was divorced from modern(izing) developments. Such resistance to portray interiors of new constructions conjures an inherently contradictory fixation shared by foreigners/denizens who wanted to maintain a supposed exotic charm of Tunis by symbolically consolidating its outer walls, all while demanding Western-type infrastructures, which their interiors likely offered. As posited by Frances Terpak (2009):

> Hardly passive, the photographic industry [..] contributed to the material culture of the city and its perception [elsewhere]. On the simplest level, photography functioned as a conveyor of current events and culture. But as a commodity in the imperial endeavor, photography acted as a double agent: one that promoted change and one that preserved the eroding mantle of Orientalism[318].

In engagement therefore with contexts of these images' production, it is worth noting that the used graphics throughout this text came not only from Tunisian and French official and non-official archives (which indicate the democratized wide circulation of these images), but also from official Ottoman ones, notably from the extensive photographic collections of Sultan Abdülhamid II; the Yıldız albums[319]. Out of the 33.000-item collection of the Ottoman sovereign, 101 are of Tunis, against 8 for Algeria and 130 for Trablusgarp (Libya). The collection consists of photographs taken by French Francisco Soler (1861-?), who moved his studio from Oran (Algeria) to the

[317] See Zeynep Çelik, "A lingering obsession: The houses of Algiers in French colonial discourse" In *Walls of Algiers: Narratives of the City through Text and Image*, eds. Zeynep Çelik, Julia Clancy-Smith, and Frances Terpak (Washington: Washington University Press and Getty Research Institute, 2009): 134-160.
[318] Frances Terpak, "The Promise and Power of New Technologies: Nineteenth Century Algiers" In *Walls of Algiers: Narratives of the City through Text and Image*, eds. Zeynep Çelik, Julia Clancy-Smith, and Frances Terpak (Washington: Washington University Press and Getty Research Institute, 2009): 87-133 (121)
[319] See Zeynep Çelik, Edhem Eldem, et al. *Camera Ottomana: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Fotoğraf ve Modernite 1840-1914*, eds. Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem (Istanbul: Koç Üniversitesi, 2015)

Tunisian capital in 1890, where he was active as the Bey's official photographer, contributing to the "colonial" popularization of photographs from Tunis[320]. The two Hamidian albums about Tunis cover a variety of themes; from portraits of the Beys and the beylical family, those of local subjects at work (either in rural fields or against an urban setting), to records of wide vistas of different cities and villages across the territory, new public constructions (i.e. archaeology museum, courthouse), or interior shots of the beylical palaces (interestingly those accessible by TGM), to even certain details of particular buildings. An intriguing feature of these album pages was the dissonance between the legends in French (likely those added by the images' original producers) and those in Ottoman Turkish which redirected the center of focus to a narrative destined for Abdülhamid II. For instance, under the portrait of the first Tunisian Bey to reign entirely during the protectorate regime (Ali III Bey), the original legend read "H.H. the Bey" whereas the Ottoman one described him as "The prince [emir] of Tunis His servant Ali Bey". Consistently with this view, a picture originally labeled "Salon of the *Sultan* in Bardo" stripped the local sovereign from that title, describing the setting as "Salon of the *Pasha* at the palace" (fig.4.46). Clashing perceptions extended to some constructions as well, as (i.e.) two photographs of the French colonial General Residence building (expanded and modified in 1890 by Raphaël Guy on the location of the 1860 French consulate) grasped the building in its totality from a high vantage point, and persistently described it as "French consulate" (fig.4.47).

With this, it might be tempting to consider Ottoman presence in and depiction of Tunis as colonial as that of the French. The high Ottoman dignitaries indeed did employ a discourse akin to that of the *mission civilisatrice*, adopting reminiscent top-down assimilation measures, and even using a specific term for "colony" (*müstemleke*)[321]. Nevertheless, as convincingly submitted by Zeynep Çelik in the Epilogue to *Architecture, Empire, and the City* (2008), Ottoman methods had limited use and contested reach, and were adaptations rather than systematic adoptions of French

[320] Of the 101 photographs, 99 were taken by the Soler studio. Michel Mégnin and École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS). "SOLER Francisco | Dictionnaire Des Orientalistes," n.d. http://dictionnairedesorientalistes.ehess.fr/document.php?id=310.
[321] Selim Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery": The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, no. 2 (April 2003): 311-342.

models. Lacking the financial means and the ideological conquest baggage to buttress similar exploiting enterprises geared towards metropolitan profit, the central Ottoman authorities twisted the colonizing rationale to align with their diplomatic and reformative modes of action and agendas[322]. Rather than a variant of colonization, apprehended in the context of the long nineteenth century where the center of global power was irrevocably shifting towards Western Europe, the Ottoman approach to its provinces could be admitted as an attempt to appear "Western despite the West"[323].



Figure 4.46. Photographs of Ali III Bey and of a salon in Bardo.

Source: Yıldız Albums, Istanbul University Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, (left) NEKYA91333/1 (right) NEKYA91333/11.

[322] Çelik. *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830-1914*: 246-274.
[323] The sentence was reportedly used in the article "Are we dreaming?" *The Orient* 4, no. 50 (10 December 1913), 3–4; Cited in Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* (Istanbul: Metis, 1994), 257.



Figure 4.47.Photographs of the French General Residence in Tunis.

Source: Yıldız Albums, Istanbul University Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, (left) NEKYA90598/37 (right) NEKYA91333/15.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

5.1. Ubi sumus

As this study is being finalized (July 2024), a train between Tunis and Algiers, circulating mostly on colonial railways and borrowing the path initially desired by French consuls in the nineteenth century for the Tunis-Goulette railway, is being rehabilitated after 29 years of interruption[324]. Going against the colonial grain, the decision to reinstate this line (despite the difficult accessibility to Algeria for foreigners that are not its direct neighbors) marks another step towards the heritagization and valorization of the nineteenth century railways, and a departure from their burdensome association with colonial rule in the Maghreb.

A first step towards the reappropriation of these infrastructures had indeed been taken in the first half of the twentieth century. Regardless of whether it was subscription to Ottoman or French conceptions of architectural identities, or an autonomous nascent national Tunisian will to formulate an individual one in the case of the modern electric TGM stations, the years following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire (1922) paved the way for a different situation in Tunis. With the question of the ambiguous ties with Istanbul conclusively dismissed, the dynamics of officially defining the territory's identity (r)evolved around quasi-exclusive interaction/clash between the French administration and the Tunisian authorities and population. Parallelling multiplying revendications for more rights to the "indigenous" and the termination of the

[324] L'Economiste Maghrébin. "Le Train Tunis-Alger Reprend Du Service Après 20 Ans D'interruption." Leconomiste Maghrebin, June 7, 2024. https://www.leconomistemaghrebin.com/2024/06/07/le-train-tunis-alger-reprend-du-service-apres-20-ans-dinterruption/. Accessed July 25th, 2024.

protectorate regime, as well as an economic crisis caused by the absence of essential skilled workers after WWI and the popularization of the motor car, the rest of the Bône-Guelma railways on the territory succeeded the TGM in becoming the property of Tunis in 1922. As of that year, the hitherto French railways were only exploited by the Bône-Guelma, which changed its name to "Compagnie fermière des chemins de fer tunisiens" and started to direct its investments towards automobile and maritime transport; an activity that it interruptedly pursued until the nationalization of all railways in Tunisia (1957) and the departure of the company from the country, independent as of 1956[325]. As for the CTT, it continued to exploit the tramways for the Tunisian state until 1958, after which it was completely nationalized, with management of the enterprise given to the Tunisian Société nationale des transports in 1963[326]. The Tunisian managements decided to keep the coastal link and remove the one between Marsa Plage and Tunis-Nord in 1961, earthing the tracks and transforming the path into a highway. Between 1922 and 1957 (year of the abolition of monarchy in independent Tunisia), the bulk of Tunis's suburban expansion continued to espouse the paths of the TGM (fig.5.1, 5.2, 5.3), while maintaining the prestigious nature of the region of Carthage, in which a presidential palace was erected between 1960-1969, on the site of what used to be Mustapha Khaznadar's 1862 palace a century earlier[327].

If the management of the railways was gradually transferred to Tunisian authorities starting from the 1920s, the characteristic style adopted by the TGM stations was not reappropriated nationally until the 1970s, where the works of Raphaël Guy (as well as other French architects that succeeded him; such as Victor Valensi and Jacques

[325] Éliane Carouge, "Notice descriptive, ANOM 156 AQ. Archives privées. Compagnie des chemins de fer Bône-Guelma et prolongements" Archives nationales françaises d'outre-mer online, [n.d]. Last accessed July 25th, 2024. https://recherche-anom.culture.gouv.fr/ark:/61561/uu184tou. Last accessed July 25th, 2024. The Algerian part of the railways was officially nationalized in 1924.
[326] Grégory Berthier, "De l'électricité coloniale à l'électricité nationale : le cas tunisien 1952-1962" *Revue d'histoire d'outre-mers* 89, no. 334-335 (2002): 513-525.
[327] The palace was purchased by an Italian (Cigogni) in 1937. In 1943, during the Allied occupation (1942-1943), it was briefly inhabited by nazi officials, after which it was inhabited by the French colonial General Secretary. The initial palace was finally razed to the ground to make room for the presidential one. Revault, *Palais et Résidences d'été de la région de Tunis (XVIe – XIXe siècles)*: 287.

Marmey) were elected as textbook reference for a syncretic national imagination conjugating modernity and "tradition"[328].

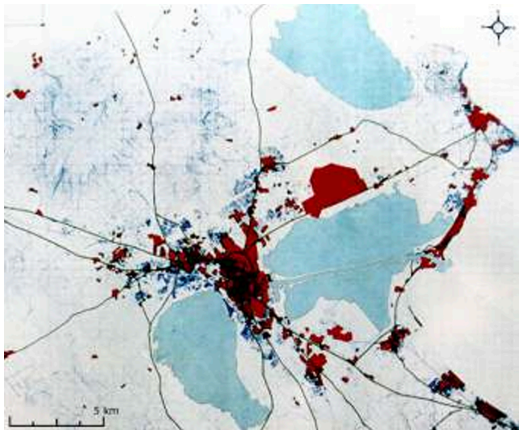


Figure 5.1. Map of the urban expansion of Tunis in 1957.

Source: Olfa Bohli-Nouri, "La fabrication de l'architecture en Tunisie indépendante: une rhétorique par la référence" (PhD. thesis, Architecture, aménagement de l'espace. Université Grenoble Alpes, 2015): 41.



Figure 5.2. Aerial photographs of La Goulette from the 1950s, displaying the weaving of the urban fabric around the TGM's paths.

Source: JooSSooR community (top left) and leboncoin.

[328] For an in-depth analysis, Olfa Bohli-Nouri, "La fabrication de l'architecture en Tunisie indépendante: une rhétorique par la référence" (PhD. thesis, Architecture, aménagement de l'espace. Université Grenoble Alpes, 2015)



Figure 5.3.. Aerial photograph of La Marsa from the 1950s, displaying the weaving of the urban fabric around both the modern TGM's path.

Source: JooSSooR community

Along a similar vein of reappropriation, this study has sought to unpack, dissect, and complicate the question of Tunis-La Goulette-La Marsa railway with regard to its (pre)colonial, late Ottoman, and early nationalist context in order to establish a reconstructing narrative that situates the project in a long nineteenth century frame of reference. Adopting a retrospective longue durée approach spanning 1815-1898, the first chapter attempted to destabilize the association of late 1800s infrastructures in Tunis with the arrival of French troupes (1881). Re-integrating it into an ethos of wide-felt shifting allegiances and alliances and reinvented power-balances, this lengthy introduction retraced imbricating factors that scaffolded urban and institutional reforms in France, Great Britain, the Ottoman Empire at large, and Tunis in particular. Advancing that the nineteenth century witnessed the territory's interrogation of its centuries-long ambiguous relationship with the distant Sublime Porte and of its links to France as direct neighbor, the text outlined how the Tunisian policymakers addressed these new concerns via reforms which involved direct and indirect French, British, and central Ottoman interventions. In so doing, it invited reflection on the complexity of these reforms and the presumed geometric unilateral North-South translation of a unique modernization model in Tunis before 1881.

Revisiting the abovementioned concerns and addressing them in more detail, the third and the fourth chapters challenged the colonial chronology by favoring that of the spatial modifications the railway under scrutiny experienced. In the case of the first TGM steam railway (1854-1905), the third chapter retraced the waxing negotiations surrounding the implementation of this project and denounced the methods of the foreign and local actors involved in the modernization process. Giving an often-discarded agency to local actors, it demonstrated the intricate entanglement of public benefit, private clientèle agenda, real estate speculation, and infrastructures, and put forward the absorption of foreign agents into local dynamics. The argument of such absorption was reinforced with a spatial and literary analysis of the TGM after its establishment (1872-1905). Suggesting the superposition of the railway paths with Tunisian authorities' agenda of ubiquitous visibility, it was put forward that whereas the trunk between Tunis and La Goulette served the function of freight transport (disputed between the French and the Italian), the TGM in its totality (La Marsa and Bardo included), obeyed Tunisian high nobility's schedules of movement and continued to connect bastions of their authority well after the colonization (1881). Juxtaposing the available documentation about the first stations with their contemporaries in Western Europe, it was suggested that for the first path, the passenger buildings (at the time unique examples on the territory) did not subscribe to any display of nationality or technological prowess. Notwithstanding, it was advanced that the arrival of such technology to the city perturbed the existing built/planned fabric configuration around the termini/stops and gave way to a new speculative and organizational model for real estate and circulation corridors in a way that echoed railway implementation in British, French, and other Ottoman centers. Alongside corroborating the conformity of the paths with the movements of a certain privileged class, the visitors' testimonies transpose an additional layer of this railway's experience. As the consulted accounts of French and British tourists revealed, the infrastructure itself was associated with the Italians that controlled it. A source of unease for the French citizens outnumbered by this population and dependent on this railway's connection to La Goulette harbor, this sentiment mobilized individual and collective/official efforts to undermine the TGM's reach and curb its revenues. As such, while a French soldier reported in a self-congratulatory tone traveling in the third class to limit his contribution to the Italian *ferrovia*, larger scale efforts consisted in

the establishment of another port in Tunis (1893), as well as that of a small boat company crossing the lagoon (1890), and the paving of roads between La Goulette and Tunis. Culminating in the repurchasing of the line by the expansive Bône-Guelma (1898), such efforts produced a 7-year transitory period that gradually divorced the steam TGM from its link with the Italian state, despite leaving by and large the issue of its nationals' significant presence on the territory unaddressed and the ubiquity of Tunisian policymakers intact.

In alignment with the approach of the third chapter, the fourth chapter, concentrating on the line between 1905 and 1922, outlined the persistence of the Italian issue and the prevalence of the Tunisian authorities on the urban dimension of the electrified railway paths and their surroundings. Despite presenting the common characteristic of linking the local wealthy classes' points of interest while curbing private speculation per interventions from the local reigning class, the establishment of this line was coupled with a multiplication of stations that displayed a particular style. This style crystallized the ambiguity between local and colonial administrations and displayed particularities common with railway constructions in Metropolitan France and its Maghrebi colonies, as well as with the Ottoman imperial capital. Articulating a formal similarity with French stations (standardized station type, mass-produced elements and mass configuration) and a "traditional" Maghrebi envelope (horseshoe arches, intricate woodworking, medieval crenellations), these small constructions fed (on) an imaginary flattening architectural identity in Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco into a unique and homogeneous whole. Interestingly, at the time these new typologies were being domesticated via a constructed eclectic "local/Arab/Muslim" vocabulary with historically distant supranational associations, the Ottoman capital was tapping into the same openly Orientalist repertoire to convey the idea of perennity and pan-Islamism through its public constructions. Along a similar corridor, domestication of views from Tunis also relied on photographic technology, where the same French-produced and popularized images were present in the Hamidian Yıldız albums. These albums engaged in a layered domestication of the expansive/infiltrating views, appropriating them physically and aligning them with the Ottoman imperial perspective through their descriptions.

5.2. Quo vademus

Overall, this text attempted to raise persistent questions about the construction of the TGMs and their links to the overlapping authorities, imaginaries, and appropriations of long nineteenth century reforms and infrastructures in Tunis. Exploring a variety of literary and visual sources and adopting the chronology of the railway's spatiality, it has strived to unsettle the edifying colonial narrative by giving agency to local actors and trying to retrieve their often overlooked apports in the construction and utilization of this project before and beyond 1881. In accordance, one criticism that could be directed at this study would be the substitution of one official narrative for another generalizing one that, despite equally relying on non-official sources, focused primarily on the roles and designs of the local policymakers rather than those of the regular railway passengers and staff, who were the true financers and users of the project and the reason for its maintaining until today. Consistently, it is worth noting that the research started with the aim of retracing primarily the spatial dimension of the line, particularly that between 1872-1905, and the transitory one that preceded the TGM as most Tunisians know it today. If surviving knowledge about the railway's earliest paths have by and large fallen into oblivion, the social experience of the TGM during the last years of the protectorate regime is fairly discussed by Tunisians from different confessions as well as by foreigners from the capital's northern suburbs, for whom this electrical train was an everyday experience (fig.5.4, 5.5). The train is indeed a recurrent background element in certain Tunisian films[329], songs[330], or articles[331] celebrating the association of the TGM mostly with an image of a proletarian and cosmopolitan La Goulette, as well as a popular discussion subject on social media between mid-twentieth century (former) inhabitants of the region, vacationers, and amateur postcard collectors. In depth articulation of such rich testimonies and documentation repertoire with the "official" documentations present in the Tunisian

[329] i.e. "Un été à La Goulette", Férid Boughedir (1996), "Du TGM au TGV", Ruggero Gabbai (2022), "Je reviendrai là-bas", Yassine Rouissi (2023)
[330] i.e. Henri Tibi (1930-2013) "La Goulette", Lotfi Bouchnak (b.1954), "Halk el-oued"
[331] Lucette Valensi, "Le TGM", *Diasporas: Histoire et sociétés* 2 (2003): 11-18.

and French archives[332] would contribute to an advanced understanding of the TGM's cultural and social dimensions.

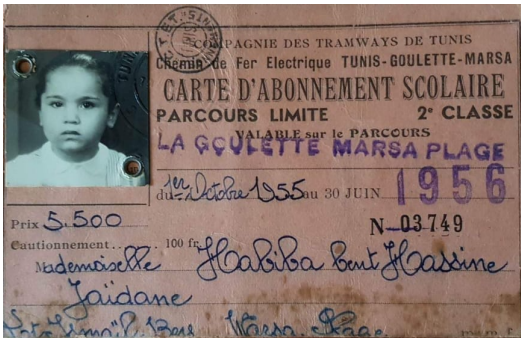


Figure 5.4. TGM subscription card of a Tunisian Muslim pupil of the Sainte-Monique catholic school, then a four-year-old.

Source: Kind courtesy of the author's aunt, Habiba Jaïdane-Tayachi.



Figure 5.5. [n.d] photograph of TGM workers (likely of different geographic origins) posing in front of it.

Source: Official website of Transtu.

[332] The rich Bône-Guelma records at the ANOM (156 AQ 1-105), only accessible in person, contain for instance information about the multi-national staff of the company and their situation in the railway sector. Likewise, these records could be coupled with information about a unionizing workforce under the protectorate, not mentioned directly, but nevertheless repeatedly discussed by French and Tunisian representatives of the Consultative Conference in the first decades of the twentieth century (i.e. the meeting of November 23rd, 1913). The archives of these discussions (Procès-verbaux de la Conférence Consultative), physically present at the Nantes archives, have been digitized and are accessible online on https://bibliotheque-numerique.diplomatie.gouv.fr. A typification of the railway' users and workers is also present in Jacques Lacour-Gayet, *Chemins de fer de Tunisie* (Paris: Typographie Philippe Renouard, 1911), cum grano salis.

On a broader scale, the available documentations (and hopefully the present study) offer grounds for exploration of several different questions. First, the question of similarities and differences between railways in Tunisia and Algeria[333] under colonial departmental and protectorate rules. All while acknowledging the violence, racism, and significant power the foreign administrators exerted in both territories, comprehension of the differences between management and infrastructures as an extension of the arching distinct strategies of control is essential. Whereas Algeria was approached as part and parcel of the French empire and consequently directly colonized, the regime in Tunis was premised on the conservation of local institutions and rulers, and the French pursuit of an indirect rule in the territory. As such, addressing the question of colonialism in the Maghreb requires not only identification of the areas of prominence of the French, but also engagement with matters where their reach was limited and dependent on that of the locals.

Second, from an Ottoman perspective, the question of archaeology politics and railways, recently explored by the 2023 workshop "Archeology along the Baghdad Railway. An Antique Glass Collection at the LEIZA and the Transfer of Antiquities in the Ottoman Empire" at the Leibniz Center for Archaeology (LEIZA) in Mainz[334]. In that respect, it is noteworthy to remind that both TGMs passed through the rich Antique site of Carthage whereas the 1876 Bône-Guelma railway passed through other ones surrounding Antique sites along the Medjerda river. If the 24th article of the Medjerda railway concession agreement between the company and the Tunisian government (represented by Kheïreddine Pasha) specifically stated that:

> the monuments discovered or which may be discovered following the railway works must not, in any way, be damaged by the Company; the latter will notify the Government of their discovery, which will take care to have them removed or dispose of them as soon as possible so as not to hinder the execution of the works.

[333] The passenger buildings of the Bône-Guelma Algerian railways are currently researched by PhD. candidate Aldjia Djaileb (Saad Dahlab Blida University, Algeria), the thesis being titled "Patrimoine ferroviaire des XIXe et XXe siècles en Algérie: cas des gares de la compagnie Bône-Guelma et Prolongements" and scheduled for completion in 2025.

[334] Leibniz-Zentrum Für Archäologie (LEIZA). "Internationaler Workshop – Archaeology Along the Baghdad Railway. An Antique Glass Collection at the LEIZA and the Transfer of Antiquities in the Ottoman Empire," February 20, 2024. https://www.leiza.de/aktuelles/nachricht/internationaler-workshop-archaeology-along-the-baghdad-railway-an-antique-glass-collection-at-the-leiza-and-the-transfer-of-antiquities-in-the-ottoman-empire. Last accessed July 29th, 2024.

> The statues, medals, objects of art, archaeological fragments, etc., which would be found during the execution of the works or during the exploitation on the lands granted to the Company, will belong half to the State, half to the Company, except, however, to the Government the right of pre-emption[335],

access to the British and Italian archives regarding the first TGM would elucidate the followed procedure for artifacts encountered during the construction phases. Such procedure for the modern TGM is briefly mentioned in the 1910 *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*, which reported that La Goulette station, dismantled and reassembled in another location had been partly built using spolia, and that other artifacts were encountered during the construction of the Sidi Bou Saïd line[336].

In short:

> For the attentive traveler, a ride on the TGM – the Tunis, La Goulette, and La Marsa, a light railway linking Tunis with a string of suburbs along the Gulf of Tunis – can become an extraordinary trip through the country's history and culture. [..] after a run of some fifty minutes and fifteen miles, the train has passed by sites associated with three millennia of history. A leisurely walk of an hour or two after exiting the TGM terminus builds upon the ride's introduction to Tunisian history[337]

… much of which is yet to be explored.

[335] Concession agreement of the Medjerda railway, February 2nd, 1877. ANOM 156 AQ 1.
[336] Official publication. Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1910): CCVIII, CCXL.
[337] Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia*, 6-8.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Tunisian National Archives

Série Historique, Carton 56, Dossier 621

Série Historique, Carton 236, Dossier 500

Série Historique, Carton 236, Dossier 501

Série Historique, Carton 236, Dossier 502

Série Historique, Carton 236, Dossier 503

Série Historique, Carton 236, Dossier 505

Série Historique, Carton 236, Dossier 508

Série Historique, Carton 236, Dossier 512

Série Historique, Carton 236, Dossier 513

Série E 334/6

Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer (ANOM, France)

156 AQ 1

156 AQ 6

156 AQ 7

156 AQ 44

156 AQ 45

Turkish Prime Ministry Archives (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri)

Hariciye Nezareti Londra Sefareti, HR.SFR3, 24/1

Hariciye Nezareti Londra Sefareti, HR.SFR3.00215.00050

Hariciye Nezareti Siyasi Kısım Evrakı, HR.SYS.01610.00040

Official publications

Regency of Tunis and Municipal Council, Announcement, General Husseïn, 27th issue, Tunis: Official Gazette, 1861-1862.

Tunisian official gazette, July 13th, 1880, Issue 15, 1

Diplomatic documents, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Affaires de Tunisie avec une carte de la régence: 1870-1881,* Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1881.

Société des études coloniales et maritimes, *Colonies françaises et pays de protectorat à l'Exposition universelle de 1889: guide,* Paris: L. Cerf, 1889.

Direction des Travaux Publics, *Les travaux publics du protectorat français en Tunisie: Mines, service topographique, navigation et pêche maritime,* Tunis: J. Picard, 1900.

Régence de Tunis, Protectorat français, *Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1903-1904, 24ème à 27ème session et table 1891-1904 (sessions I-XXVII) / Régence de Tunis,* Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1904.

Régence de Tunis, Protectorat français, *Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1905, 28ème à 29ème session et table 1891-1904 (sessions I-XXVII) / Régence de Tunis,* Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1905.

Régence de Tunis, Protectorat français, *Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1906, 30ème session / Régence de Tunis,* Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1906.

Régence de Tunis, Protectorat français, *Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1907, 31ème session / Régence de Tunis,* Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1907.

Régence de Tunis, Protectorat français, *Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1908, 32ème session / Régence de Tunis,* Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1908.

Régence de Tunis, Protectorat français, *Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1909, 33ème session / Régence de Tunis,* Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1909.

Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques,* Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1910.

Protectorat français, Gouvernement tunisien, Direction Générale des Travaux Publics, *Les chemins de fer tunisiens: rapport du directeur général des Travaux Publics,* Tunis: J. Picard & Cie, 1911.

Régence de Tunis, Protectorat français, *Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1912, 36ème session / Régence de Tunis,* Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1912.

Régence de Tunis, Protectorat français, *Procès-verbaux de la conférence consultative 1913, 37ème session / Régence de Tunis,* Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1913.

Contemporary publications

Ahmed Ibn abi adh-Dhiaf, *Ithafahl az-Zaman fi akhbari moulouki Tounis wa ahd el-Aman*, Volume 4, Tunis : Arabic Library, 1963.

Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-Sunūsī, محمدالعربي السنوسي ,مذكرات خير الدين باشا تونس :بيت الحكمة , 2008

،خير الدين باشا، اقوم المسالك في معرفة احوال الممالك، تقديم محمود الحداد القاهرة :دار الكتاب المصري 2012, 121.

،علي بن سليم الورداني التونسي تحقيق عبد الجبار الشريف الرّحلة الأندلسيّة تونس :الدار التونسية للنشر 1887/1984.

Sadık Rıfat Paşa, *Müntehabât-ı âsâr* vol.2 Istanbul: Tatyos Dividciyan Matbaası, 1837/h.1290. Transliteration by Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu "Sadık Rıfat Paşa ve Avrupa'nın Ahvaline Dair Risalesi", *Liberal Düşünce* 3, Summer 1996.

Bernard, Marius, *Autour de la Méditerranée… de Tunis à Alger,* Paris: H. Laurens, 1894.

Bonnet, Amédée, "À travers la Tunisie en automobile", *L'Évolution algérienne et tunisienne : revue hebdomadaire littéraire, politique, scientifique, artistique & sportive,* April 11th, 1914.

Cagnat, René and Saladin, Henri, *Voyage en Tunisie,* Paris: Hachette, 1894.

Céalis, Edouard, *De Sousse à Gafsa, lettres sur la campagne de Tunisie, 1881-1884* Paris: E. Flammarion, 1897.

Colotti, Guglielmo, *Tunisi e il suo popolo: studi, impressioni e ricordi di Guglielmo Collotti,* Catania: E. Coco & Co, 1876.

d'Auxion, Lionel, "De Bône à Tunis: en mai et juin 1886, journal d'un touriste", *La Revue diplomatique et le Moniteur des consulats : littérature, finances, commerce international,* October 24th, 1886.

d'Auxion, Lionel, "De Bône à Tunis: en mai et juin 1886, carnet d'un touriste, Tunis," *La Revue diplomatique et le Moniteur des consulats: littérature, finances, commerce international*, October 31st, 1886.

de Bisson, Léon, *La Tripolitaine et la Tunisie: avec les renseignements indispensables aux voyageurs,* Paris: E. Leroux, 1881.

Decramer, “Les excusrsions de la société géographique de Lille en 1908: Excursion en Algérie et en Tunisie”, *Bulletin de la société géographique de Lille*, December 20th, 1908.

de Gélis, François, *Trois mois en Tunisie: journal d’un volontaire,* Paris: A. Ghio, 1882.

de Hesse-Warteg, Chevalier, Tunis: the land and the people, New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1882.

de Launay, Victor-Marie, Montani, Pierre, et al., *Usûl-i Mi’mâr’î Osmânî / L’Architecture ottomane,* Constantinople: Imprimerie et Lithographie Centrales, 1873.

Faucon, Narcisse, *La Tunisie avant et depuis la colonisation française: histoire et colonization,* Paris: Challamel, 1893.

Flaux, André, *La régence de Tunis au dix-neuvième siècle*, Paris: de Challamel aîné, 1865.

Gandolphe, Marcel, “Les premières gares de Tunisie,” *La dépêche tunisienne,* March 24th, 1931.

Gautier, Théophile, “Des gares et des chemins de fer,” *Le Moniteur Universel* 1868, [cited in Akihiko Kanai, “Les gares françaises et japonaises, halle et bâtiment principal: Une recherche comparative I”, PhD thesis, Ecole nationale des ponts et chaussées, Laboratoire Techniques, Territoires et Sociétés, 2005): 319 https://pastel.hal.science/tel-00086638/file/these_vol1.pdf]

Giffard, Pierre, *Les Français à Tunis* (Paris: V. Harvard, 1881)

Guy, Raphaël, *L’architecture moderne de style arabe*, Paris: Librairie de la construction moderne, 1920. (Published posthumously)

Hanly, Baron Henry, *Notes sur l’Egypte et la Tunisie,* Constantinople: Levant Times, 1876.

Jacqueton, Gilbert, Gsell, Stéphane, and Bernard, Augustin, *Algérie et Tunisie*, Paris: Hachette et cie, 1905.

Juillet Saint-Lager, Marcel, *La régence de Tunis: géographie physique et politique, description générale, gouvernement, administration, finances, etc.,* Algiers: Juillet Saint-Lager, 1874.

Landais, G., *Impressions de deux voyages en Tunisie 1889-1893,* Paris: G. Carré & C. Naud, 1897.

Leprince, M.D, *Revue Générale de l'Exposition Universelle de 1855: publication du journal Le Censeur des chemins de fer,* May 25th, 1855.

Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul, "Lettre de Tunisie: Tunis, le 28 octobre", *Revue-magasine*, November 23rd, 1890.

Mouton, Marcel, *Eros Rosse,* Paris: Société libre d'édition des gens de lettres, 1897.

Sebaut, Auguste, *Dictionnaire de la législation tunisienne renfermant en outre des Lois, Décrets et Arrêtés publiés par le Journal Officiel Tunisien, la traduction de plusieurs décrets antérieurs et la législation algérienne applicable en Tunisie,* Dijon: F. Carré, 1888.

Playfair, Robert Lambert, *Handbook for travellers in Algeria and Tunis: Algiers, Oran, Tlemçen, Bougie, Constantine, Tebessa, Biskra, Tunis, Carthage, etc.*, London: John Murray, 1890.

Vadala, R., "L'émigration maltaise en pays musulmans", *Revue du monde musulman* 14 (April 1911): 36-61

[n.m] *Illustrated London News* 55, May 4th, 1844.

[n.m] "Informations" section of *L'Avenir Diplomatique: revue internationale* 3, July 15th, 1880.

[n.m] "Railway Architecture: a new Gothic station". *The Building News and Engineering Journal* 29, no. 2 (July-December 1875): 133.

[n.m.] “M. de Lavigerie: le rôle du cardinal à Rome et à Tunis”, *La Lanterne: Journal politique quotidien*, July 25th, 1889.

[n.m.] “Régence de Tunis (suite)”, *L’étoile de l’Algérie et de la Tunisie*, December 21st, 1884.

[n.m] “Les tramways de Tunis”, *Les Annales coloniales*, April 23rd, 1914.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Abidi, Beya, “Les deux palais de Mustapha Khaznadar à Carthage: genèse de nouveaux espaces urbanisés”, LAAM publications [online], 2011.

Abidi, Beya, 1957-1705 بية العبيدي، قصور البايات بالأحواز الشمالية لمدينة تونس خلال الفترة الحسينية تونس :مركز النشر الجامعي، 2013

Abidi, Beya, “Pour un inventaire des villégiatures beylicales aux environs de la ville de Tunis. Apport des cartes du XIXe siècle”, in *Patrimoines du Maghreb et Inventaires*, ed. Bernadette Nadia Saou Dufrêne, Tunis: Hermann, 2016.

Abidi, Beya, “La main d’œuvre étrangère sur les chantiers beylicaux (XVIIIe – XIXe siècles): Le renouveau de l’architecture locale.” in *Étrangers au Maghreb. Maghrébins à l’étranger. (XVIIe – XXIe siècles) Encadrement, identités et représentations*, ed. Riadh ben Khalifa, Tunis: IRMC-Karthala, 2017.

Abidi, Beya, “La Goulette et sa région aux XiXe et XXe siècles: mutation urbaine d’un faubourg maritime de la ville de tunis" in *Les Arrière-Pays des Villes de Mer: Habitants, Territoires, Mobilité (Xviie-Xxie Siècle),* eds. Eleonora Calepari et. Al, Paris: l’Harmattan, 2018.

Abidi, Beya, “Les palais et les résidences beylicaux de la banlieue de Tunis” in *La Tunisie Archéologique*, eds. Samir Guizani, Mohamed Ghodhbane, and Martin Galinier, (Tunis: Nirvana, 2019): 369-381.

Abidi, Beya, “La céramique de revêtement dans les archives des chantiers des palais beylicaux au XIXe siècle” in *Les couleurs de la ville: Faïences et architecture à Tunis*, ed. Ahmed Saadaoui, Tunis: Centre de publication universitaire & Laboratoire d’Archéologie et d’Architecture Maghrébines, 2021.

Agulhon, Maurice, “Un usage de la femme au XIX[e] siècle: l’allégorie de la République”, *Romantisme* 13-14 (1976): 143-152.

Aktüre, Sevgi, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Taşra Kentlerindeki Değişimler” in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* vol. 3*,* ed. Nuri Akbayar, Istanbul: İletişim, 1985.

Altan Ergut, T. Elvan, "The Forming of the National in Architecture,” *METU JFA* 19, (1999): 31-43

Ammar, Hela, “Un siècle à la Goulette: proposition de patrimonialisation d’une ville portuaire de la banlieue de Tunis,” unpublished master’s thesis, Montpellier: Ecole nationale supérieure d’architecture, 2022.

Ammar, Leïla, *Tunis d’une ville à l’autre: Cartographie et histoire urbaine, 1860-1935,* Tunis: Nirvana, 2010.

Ammar, Leïla, *La Rue à Tunis, réalités, permanences, transformations de l’espace urbain: 1835-1935*, ed. Centre de Publication Universitaire, Tunis: Laboratoire Archéologie et Architecture Maghrébines, 2017.

Ammar, Leïla, "Propreté, hygiène et espace public à Tunis à travers les usages et la réglementation, 1858-1914," *Al-Sabil: Revue d’Histoire, d’Archéologie et d’Architecture Maghrébines* [online] 10, (2020)

Aoki Girardelli, Miyuki, “Modernity and representation: the architecture of Ottoman railway stations”, in *Afife Batur’a Armağan: Mimarlık ve Sanat Tarihi Yazıları,* Istanbul: Literatür Yayıncılık, 2005.

Archambault, Marie-Laure and Oualdi, M’hamed, “Archives tunisiennes entre rives ottomanes et rives coloniales", Rétroviseur: Entre-temps. (Podcast) March 14, 2023. Accessed March 30, 2023. https://entre-temps.net/archives-tunisiennes-entre-rives-ottomaneset-rives-coloniales-avec-mhamed-oualdi/

Atilla, A. Nedim, *İzmir Demiryolları*, Izmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayını, 2002.

Ayadi, Radhouane, “Lieux créatifs d’échange et de partage: Reconversion de l’ancien siège de la Société nationale du transport en un coworking”, Unpublished Master’s thesis, Ecole nationale d’architecture et d’urbanisme de Tunis, 2017.

Bacha, Myriam, “Henri Saladin (1851-1923). Un architecte « Beaux-Arts » promoteur de l’art islamique tunisien”, in *L’Orientalisme architectural entre imaginaires et savoirs*, eds. Nabila Oulebsir and Mercedes Volait, Paris: Publications de l’Institut national de l’histoire de l’art, 2009.

Bacha, Myriam, *Patrimoine et monuments en Tunisie: 1881-1920,* Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013.

Baïr, Houda, “Hybridation du savoir cartographique et du savoir vernaculaire dans la Tunisie du XIXe siècle”. *Cybergeo: Revue européenne de géographie / European journal of geography*, (2018): Epistémologie, Histoire de la Géographie, Didactique, document 868. Published online 05.11.2018. http://journals.openedition.org/cybergeo/29581

Bán, David, “Les sciences sociales françaises face à la gare. Bilan et lecture critique”, *Revue d’histoire des chemins de fer* 38 (spring 2008): 11-18.

Ben Achour, Mohamed El Aziz, “Cadre urbain, habitat et structures sociales à Tunis dans la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle”, *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 34, no. 137 and 138. (3rd and 4th trimestre, 1986): 267-308.

Ben Achour, Mohamed El Aziz, *Catégories de la société tunisoise dans la deuxième moitié du xixe siècle: les élites musulmanes*, Tunis: Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1989.

Ben Ismail, Youssef, “The Archive Box #5: Chasing Archives in Ottoman Tunis,” Global Urban History, April 19, 2021. https://globalurbanhistory.com/2021/04/19/the-archive-box-5-chasing-archives-in-ottoman-tunis/

Ben Ismail, Youssef, “Colonial Theft & Historiographic Injury: Golden Fragments from an Ottoman-Algerian Library,” (presentation at Ottoman Algiers Beyond 1830 workshop, New York, November 4th, 2022)

Ben Slimane, Fatma, “Définir ce qu’est être Tunisien. Litiges autour de la nationalité de Nessim Scemama (1873-1881)”, *IREMAM* 137 (2015): 31-48.

Béguin, François, et. alii, *Arabisances: décor architectural et tracé urbain en Afrique du Nord, 1830-1930,* Paris: Dunod, 1983.

Bergdoll, Barry, *European Architecture 1750-1890,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Berthier, Grégory, "De l'électricité coloniale à l'électricité nationale : le cas tunisien 1952-1962" *Revue d'histoire d'outre-mers* 89, no. 334-335 (2002): 513-525.

Bidart, Pierre, "La production des néo-styles régionaux", *Ethnologie française* 37 (2007): 35-38; Bernard Toulier, "L'assimilation du régionalisme dans l'architecture balnéaire (1830-1940)" [online] http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/culture/inventai/extranetIGPC/articles/bt02.pdf

Binous, Jamila and Jabeur, Salah, *Les maisons de la Medina,* Tunis: Dar Ashraf, 2001.

Bohli-Nouri, Olfa, "La fabrication de l'architecture en Tunisie indépendante: une rhétorique par la référence", PhD. thesis, Architecture, aménagement de l'espace, Université Grenoble Alpes, 2015.

Bohli Nouri, Olfa, "À quand des archives d'architecture en Tunisie? De la nécessité de créer une structure archivistique architecturale tunisienne," Archibat, November 9, 2023. https://archibat.info/a-quand-des-archives-darchitecture-en-tunisie-de-la-necessite-de-creer-une-structure-archivistique-architecturale-tunisienne/

Bowie, Karen, "De la gare du XIXe siècle au lieu-mouvement, évolution ou rupture?", *Annales de la recherche urbaine* 71 (1996): 14-23

Bowie, Karen, "La quête des sources: les différents types de documents et de fonds disponibles", *Revue d'histoire des chemins de fer* 40 (2009): 17-23

Bowie, Karen, "L'implantation de la gare du Nord dans le clos Saint-Lazare", in *Du clos Saint-Lazare à la gare du Nord: Histoire d'un quartier de Paris*, eds. Florence Bourillon, Frédéric Jiméno, and Karen Bowie (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes and Comité d'histoire de la ville de Paris, 2018): 183-199.

Braudel, Fernand, “Histoire et sciences sociales: La longue durée”, *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 13, no. 14 (1958): 725-753.

Brown, L. Carl, *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey: 1837-1855,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974.

Brown, L. Carl, *Imperial Legacy: the Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

Bryan, Tim, *Railway Stations (Britain's Heritage Series)*, London: Amberly Publishing, 2017.

Cannon, Byron D., “Le marché de location des habous en Tunisie: dialectique de développement agricole, 1875-1902”, in Byron D. Cannon, ed. *Terroirs et sociétés au Maghreb et au Moyen Orient,* Lyon: MOM, 1987.

Chabat, Pierre, *Bâtiments de chemins de fer: embarcadères, plans de gares, stations, abris, etc.,* Paris: A. Morel, 1866.

Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Though and Historical Difference,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Charles-André, Julien, “Colons français et Jeunes-Tunisiens (1882-1912)”, *Revue française d’histoire d’outre-mer* 54, no. 194-197 (1967): 87-150

Chater, Khalifa, "Itinéraires méditerranéens aux XIXe-XXe siècles" *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, 56. no 1. (1998). Regards sur la Méditerranée, 1-27

Chlastacz, Michel, “Les belles gares des provinces françaises”, *La vie du rail* 2505 (July 19th, 1995), republished online on September 6th, 2019 https://www.lettreducheminot.fr/gares/etait-vie-rail-81-belles-gares-provinces-francaises-1-2/ and https://www.lettreducheminot.fr/gares/etait-vie-rail-82-belles-gares-provinces-francaises-2-2/, last accessed July 19th, 2024.

Carouge, Éliane, “Notice descriptive, ANOM 156 AQ. Archives privées. Compagnie des chemins de fer Bône-Guelma et prolongements” Archives nationales françaises d’outre-mer (ANOM) online. Last accessed July 25th, 2024. https://recherche-anom.culture.gouv.fr/ark:/61561/uu184tou.

Chérif, Mohamed-Hédi, "La "déturquisation" du pouvoir en Tunisie : classes dirigeantes et société tunisienne de la fin du xvi^{e} siècle à 1881", *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 29, no. 117-118 (3rd and 4th trimester, 1981): 177-197.

Christensen, Peter H., *Germany and the Ottoman Railways: Art, Empire, and Infrastructure*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017.

Cleveland, William L., "The Municipal Council of Tunis, 1858-1870: A Study in Urban Institutional Change", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 9, no. 1 (January 1978): 33-61.

Cobb, Elvan "Railway Crossings: Encounters in Ottoman Lands", unpublished PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 2018.

Comité du Monument Paul Cambon, *La Tunisie et Paul Cambon,* Tunis: J. Aloccio, 1929.

Crouzet, Fabienne, "L'orientalisme architectural en Tunisie: œuvre et carrière de Raphaël Guy (1869-1918)," *ABE journal* [online] 13 (2018) URL: http://journals.openedition.org/abe/4593; DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/abe.4593

Çaycı, Abdurrahman, *La Question Tunisienne et la Politique Ottomane,* Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992.

Çelik, Zeynep, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986.

Çelik, Zeynep, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*, California: University of California Press, 1992.

Çelik, Zeynep, *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830-1914*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.

Çelik, Zeynep, "A lingering obsession: The houses of Algiers in French colonial discourse" In *Walls of Algiers: Narratives of the City through Text and Image*, eds. Zeynep Çelik, Julia Clancy-Smith, and Frances Terpak, Washington: Washington University Press and Getty Research Institute, 2009).

Çelik, Zeynep, Eldem, Edhem, et al. *Camera Ottomana: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Fotoğraf ve Modernite 1840-1914*, eds. Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem, Istanbul: Koç Üniversitesi, 2015.

Çetin, Atilla, *Tunuslu Hayreddin Paşa*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1999.

De Andia, Béatrice, "Entre les feux de l'État, de la ville et des compagnies" in *Les grandes gares parisiennes au XIX^e siècle,* ed. Karen Bowie, Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la ville de Paris, 1987.

Debernardi, Laurent, "Le premier chemin de fer tunisien, le T. G. M. (1870-1898)," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 50, no. 179 (second trimestre 1963): 197-226.

Demirakın, N. Işık, "Expropriation as a Modernizing Tool in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire: The Case of Cemeteries in Beyoğlu," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 18 no. 1/2, (January 2012): 1-15.

De Montety, Henri, "Les Italiens en Tunisie", *Politique étrangère* 5 (1937): 409-425.

Dendani, Lassad, *Le tourisme automobile en Tunisie (1897-1956),* Tunis: Nirvana, 2022.

De Pieri, Filippo, "Réseaux de chemin de fer et espace urbain au XIX^e siècle: la question de l'emplacement de la gare de Porta Susa à Turin", *Revue d'histoire des chemins de fer* 23 (autumn 2000): 22-45.

Deringil, Selim, "They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery": The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, no. 2 (April 2003): 311-342.

Dewhirst Lewis, Mary, "Geographies of Power: The Tunisian Civic Order, Jurisdictional Politics, and Imperial Rivalry in the Mediterranean, 1881–1935", *The Journal of Modern History* 80, no. 4 (December 2008): 791-830.

Dewhirst Lewis, Mary, *Divided Rule,* California: University of California Press, 2013.

Duffart, Ch., *Bulletin de la société de géographie commerciale de Bordeaux, April 1st, 1901*.

Dupuy, Aimé, “En marge de l'année Saint-Louis: d'une chapelle et d'une statue”, *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 29, no. 4, (December 1970).

Eldem, Edhem, “Ottomans at the Alhambra 1844-1914: An Investigation into the Perception of Al-Andalus by Ottoman Subjects in Times of Modernity”, *Turcica* 48 (2018): 239-359.

Eldem, Edhem, “L’édit des *Tanzimat* (1839): une relecture”, *Turcica* 52 (2021): 201-307.

Elloumi, Mohamed, “Les terres domaniales en Tunisie: Histoire d’une appropriation par les pouvoirs publics”, *Études rurales: terrains, cultures & environnement* 192 (2013): 43-60.

Enriquez, Guillaume, *La main d’œuvre rurale et le péril italien en Tunisie,* Paris: Robert, 1905.

Ersoy, Ahmet, “Ottoman Gothic”, in *Manufacturing Middle Ages: Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Patrick J. Geary and Gbor Klaniczay, Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Ficaya, Pierre, “Le Peuplement italien en Tunisie.” PhD. thesis, Paris: Les Presses Modernes, 1931.

Fichou, Jean-Christophe, “La signalisation maritime en Tunisie (1881-1920) ou les phares de la présence coloniale,” *REMMM* 128 (2010): 246-262.

Gandolphe, Marcel, "La Goulette avant l’occupation française", *Revue Tunisienne*, no. 98 (March 1913): 211-200.

Ganiage, Jean, *Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-1881)*, 2nd ed., Tunis: Berg Editions, 1959/2015.

Ganiage, Jean, "La population de la Tunisie vers 1860. Essai d'évaluation d'après les registres fiscaux," *Population* 12, no. 5 (1966): 857-886.

Geneanet. “Constantine (Constantine, Algérie) - État Civil (Mariages) | 1866 - 1866,” n.d. https://www.geneanet.org/registres/view/330555/22.

Gharbi, Mohamed Lazhar, *Impérialisme et réformisme au Maghreb: Histoire d’un chemin de fer algéro-tunisien*, Tunis: Cérès Éditions, 1994.

Giudice, Christophe, “Législation foncière et colonisation de la Tunisie”, in *Les administrations coloniales, XIX^e^-XX^e^ siècles: Esquisse d'une histoire comparée*, ed. Samia El Mechat, Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009.

Giudice, Christophe, “Diaspora italienne et identités urbaines à Tunis, xix^e^-xxi^e^ siècle”, *Diasporas* [online] 28 (2016), URL: http://journals.openedition.org/diasporas/613; DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/diasporas.613

Grangaud, Isabelle and Oualdi, M’hamed, “Tout est-il colonial dans le Maghreb? Ce que les travaux des historiens modernites peuvent apporter,” *L’Année du Maghreb* 10 (2014): 233-254.

Hobsbawm Eric, *The Age of Revolution: Europe (1789-1848)*, New York: World Publishing, 1962.

Hobsbawm, Eric, *The Age of Capital: 1848-1975,* New York: Scribner, 1975.

Hobsbawm, Eric, *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914,* New York: Pantheon Books, 1987.

Holsinger, Donald C., “Trade routes of the Algerian Sahara in the XlX^th^ Century”, *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 30 (1980): 57-70.

İnal, Onur, "The Making of an Eastern Mediterranean Gateway City: İzmir in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Urban History* 45 no. 5 (2019): 891-907.

İslamoğlu, Mehmet Alauddin, “Ahmed Bin Ebi Diyaf’ın İthafu Ehl İzzaman Bi Ahbari Muluki Tunis ve Ahdil Eman İsimli Eserine Göre Tanzimat Fermanı’nın Tunus’ta Tatbiki”, Unpublished Master’s Thesis, Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2008.

Jaïdi, Houcine, “Kheireddine Pacha et son projet de musée archéologique à Tunis,” *PALLAS* 56 (2001): 93-117.

Javier Valenzuela, Francisco, “The Construction of the Smyrna-Aidin Railway in southwestern Anatolia, 1856-1866: a discussion” Unpublished Master’s thesis, University of Texas, 1975.

Jerfel, Kamel, “Sicilien et Maltais en Tunisie aux XIXe et XXe siècles: Le cas de la ville de Sousse”. *Mawarid* 18 (2013): 159-191.

Kasaba, Reşat, “Treaties and Friendships: British Imperialism, the Ottoman Empire, and China in the Nineteenth Century”, *Journal of World History* 4, no. 2 (Fall 1993): 215-241.

Kellet, John R., *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities,* London: Routledge, 1969.

Lacour-Gayet, Jacques, *Chemins de fer de Tunisie,* Paris: Typographie Philippe Renouard, 1911.

Lafi, Nora, “Municipalités méditerranéennes: pratique du comparatisme, lecture des changements institutionnels et analyse historique de l’évolution des pouvoirs urbains du XVIIIe au XXe siècle" in *Municipalités Méditerranéennes Les réformes urbaines ottomanes au miroir d'une histoire comparée (Moyen-Orient, Maghreb, Europe méridionale),* eds. Nora Lafi, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2005.

Lafi, Nora, "Les pouvoirs urbains à Tunis à la fin de l’époque ottomane: La persistance de l’Ancien régime", in *Municipalités Méditerranéennes: Les réformes urbaines ottomanes au miroir d'une histoire comparée (Moyen-Orient, Maghreb, Europe méridionale)*, ed. Nora Lafi, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2005.

Lafi, Nora, “Entre ottomanité, colonialisme et orientalisme: les racines ambiguës de la modernité urbaine dans les villes du Maghreb (1830-1960)” in *Frankreich und Frankophonie: Kultur Sprache Medien: La France et la Francophonie: culture langue médias*, eds. Sabine Bastian and Franck Trouilloud, Leipzig: Peter Lang Gmbh, Internationaler Verlag Der Wissenschaften, 2009.

Lafi, Nora, “Mediterranean Connections: The Circulation of Municipal Knowledge and Practices at the Time of the Ottoman Reforms, c. 1830-1910,” in *Another Global City: Historical Explorations into the Transnational Municipal Moment, 1850-2000,* eds. Pierre-Yves Saunier & Shane Ewen, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Lafi, Nora, “Tunis als Laboratorium osmanischer Modernität: das Beispiel der Vorstadtbahn (1863-1881),” in *Die osmanische Stadt*, eds. Nora Lafi & Florian Riedler, Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Urbanistik gGmbH, 2018.

Lambert, Paul, *Protectorat français. Régence de Tunis. Nos corps élus,* Tunis: Bureau du Républicain, 1913.

Laroui, Abdallah, *The History of the Maghrib: An Interpretative Essay*. Translated by Ralph Manheim, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970/1977.

Leapman, Michael, *The world for a shilling: how the Great Exhibition of 1851 shaped a nation,* London: Headline, 2001.

L’Economiste Maghrébin. “Le Train Tunis-Alger Reprend Du Service Après 20 Ans D’interruption.” L’économiste Maghrebin, June 7, 2024. https://www.leconomistemaghrebin.com/2024/06/07/le-train-tunis-alger-reprend-du-service-apres-20-ans-dinterruption/.Accessed July 25th, 2024.

Leibniz-Zentrum Für Archäologie (LEIZA). “Internationaler Workshop – Archaeology Along the Baghdad Railway. An Antique Glass Collection at the LEIZA and the Transfer of Antiquities in the Ottoman Empire,” February 20, 2024. https://www.leiza.de/aktuelles/nachricht/internationaler-workshop-archaeology-along-the-baghdad-railway-an-antique-glass-collection-at-the-leiza-and-the-transfer-of-antiquities-in-the-ottoman-empire.

López Galviz, Carlos, *Cities, Railways, Modernities: London, Paris, and the Nineteenth Century,* New York: Routledge, 2019.

Matri, Faïza, *Tunis sous le protectorat: Histoire de la conservation du patrimoine architectural et urbain de la Médina,* Tunis: Centre de publication universitaire, 2008.

Marglin, Jessica, *The Shamama Case: Contesting Citizenship across the Modern Mediterranean*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022.

Meddeb, Nader, “Les visées politiques et identitaires de l’orientalisme architectural au miroir d’une anthologie des pavillons de la Tunisie dans les expositions universelles (1851-2010)”, *Diacronie* [online] 28 no. 2 (2014), URL: http://journals.openedition.org/diacronie/1422

Meeks, Carroll L. V., *The Railroad Station: An Architectural History,* New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1956/1964.

Mégnin, Michel, "Enquête sur Joseph Chazal, premier photographe de S.A le bey de Tunis (1860-1865)", *Photographes et éditeurs en orient: Recherches iconographiques et enquêtes biographiques en Méditerranée pendant la période coloniale (1839-1931)* (September 2022) https://doi.org/10.58079/pt1g

Mégnin, Michel and École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS). "SOLER Francisco | Dictionnaire Des Orientalistes," n.d. http://dictionnairedesorientalistes.ehess.fr/document.php?id=310.

Mermier, Franck and Cooper-Richet, Diana, eds. "La Presse (En) Arabe Publiée Hors de l'aire Arabophone: Effets de Contexte." *Revue Des Mondes Musulmans Et De La Méditerranée*, no. 152 (July 26, 2022). https://doi.org/10.4000/remmm.17514

Moalla, Asma, *The Regency of Tunis and the Ottoman Porte, 1777-1814: Army and government of a North-Africa Ottoman eyalet at the end of the eighteenth century,* London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004.

Monchicourt, Charles, *La Tunisie après la guerre: probèemes politiques,* Paris: Comité de l'Afrique française, 1921.

Montague, Joël, "Notes on Medical Organization in Nineteenth-Century Tunisia: a preliminary analysis of the materials on public health and medicine in the Dar El Bey in Tunis", *Medical History* 17 no. 1 (1973): 75-82.

Montalbano, Gabriele, *Les Italiens de Tunisie: La construction d'une communauté entre migrations, colonisations et colonialismes (1896-1918)*, Rome: Publications de l'école française de Rome, 2023.

Moreau, Odile, "Une approche comparative de la réforme de l'armée entre le centre et la périphérie de l'Empire ottoman au XIX^{e} siècle," *Outre-mers* 396-397, no. 2 (2017): 11-29.

Moumni, Ridha, "Archaeology and Cultural Policy in Ottoman Tunisia, Part I: Muhammad Khaznadar (1865–70)," *Muqarnas* 38 (2021): 265-289.

Moumni, Ridha, “Archaeology and Cultural Policy in Ottoman Tunisia, Part II: Muhammad Khaznadar (1871–99),” *Muqarnas* 39 (2022): 223-252.

Mus-Jelidi, Charlotte, “Les écritures architecturales touristiques au Maghreb, un moteur à quatre temps?”, in *Fabrique du tourisme et expériences patrimoniales au Maghreb, XIX^e^-XXI^e^ siècles,* eds. Cyril Isnart, Charlotte Mus-Jelidi, and Colette Zytnicki (Rabat: Centre Jacques Berque, 2018) [online] https://books.openedition.org/cjb/1407

Muscat, Michèle, *L’héritage impensé des Maltais de Tunisie,* Paris: L’Harmattan, 2011.

Ortaylı, İlber, *İmparatorluğun en uzun yüzyılı*, Istanbul: Hil, 1983.

Oualdi, M’hamed, “À l’école des palais: les maîtrises de l’écrit parmi les mamelouks des beys de Tunis, des années 1770 aux années 1860”, *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, [Online] 6 (2007), last update 05.03.2015, Accessed 20.01.2023. http://journals.openedition.org/ejts/1403 ; DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/ejts.1403

Oualdi, M’hamed, “Le retrait après la disgrâce: Les Khaznadār à Tunis dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle”, *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 82 (2011): 325-340.

Oualdi, M’hamed, “1864, l’ampleur d’une révolte et d’une répression,” in *L’Éveil d’une Nation,* ed. Ridha Moumni, Milan: Oficina Libraria & Fondation Rambourg, 2016.

Oualdi, M'hamed, "Un temps d’ingéniosité. Les missions politiques d’un dignitaire tunisien en Toscane dans les années 1870," *Diasporas* 29, (2017) Mobilités créatrices, 91-103.

Oualdi, M’hamed, “La transmission de legs ottomans en Tunisie. La maisonnée Bū Ḥājib des années 1870 aux années 1930”, *IREMAM* 148 (2020): 57-74. https://journals.openedition.org/remmm/15114

Özavcı, Ozan, “A Forgotten Hero? Sir Richard Wood’s Most Adventurous Decade in the Levant” ERC Securing Europe, Fighting its enemies, 1815-1914, June 29th, 2018. https://securing-europe.wp.hum.uu.nl/a-forgotten-hero-sir-richard-woods-most-adventurous-decade-in-the-levant/

Özavcı, Ozan, “A Priceless Grace? The Congress of Vienna of 1815, the Ottoman Empire and Historicising the Eastern Question,” *The English Historical Review* 136, No. 583 (December 2021) 1450–1476, https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/ceab356

Özlü, Nilay, “From imperial palace to museum: The Topkapı Palace during the long Nineteenth Century”, unpublished PhD. dissertation, Boğaziçi University, 2018.

Papayanis, Nicholas, *Planning Paris before Haussmann,* Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004.

Pektaş, Kadir, *Tunus’ta Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002.

Pellegrin, Arthur, *Histoire de la Tunisie*, Tunis: Editions La Rapide, 1944.

Perkins, Kenneth, *A History of Modern Tunisia*, 2nd ed., USA: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Perrier, Antoine, Les désarrois du ministre Ḫayr al-Dīn. La faillite des dynasties ottomane et beylicale d’après les mémoires de Ṭāhar Bāšā (1921-1934), *Arabica: Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 68, no.4, (2021): 337-385.

Planel, Anne-Marie, “État réformateur et industrialisation au XIXe siècle: Les avatars d'une manufacture (1837-1884),” *Monde arabe Maghreb Machrek* 157 (July-September 1997) 101-114.

Poupardin, François, "Les bâtiments voyageurs édifiés le long de la ligne impériale", *Revue d’histoire des chemins de fer* 38 (2008): 59-71.

Poupard, Laurent, "L’inventaire de la voie ferrée Andelot - La Cluse ou une ligne en quête d’auteur", *Revue d’histoire des chemins de fer* 40 (2009): 53-74.

Quataert, Donald, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922,* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Rainero, Romain H., “Les Italiens dans l’Afrique du Nord française”, *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 52 (1996): 145-162.

Raymond, A., “Les tentatives anglaises de pénétration économique en Tunisie (1856-1877)”, *Revue Historique* 214, no. 1 (1955): 48-67.

Revault, Jacques, *Palais et Résidences d’été de la région de Tunis (XVIe – XIXe siècles),* Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1974.

Rousseau, Alphonse, *Les annales tunisiennes ou Aperçu historique sur la régence de Tunis*, 2nd ed, Tunis: Bouslama, 1980.

Saadaoui, Ahmed, “Le marbre d’Italie dans l’architecture de la ville de Tunis à l’époque ottomane” in *Architecture Italienne de Tunisie*, ed. Silvia Finzi., Tunis: Ambasciata d’Italia, 2002.

Saadaoui, Ahmed, *Tunis: ville ottomane, trois siècles d’urbanisme et d’architecture*, Tunis: Centre de publication universitaire, 2008.

Sauget, Stéphanie, "Les approches techniques et architecturales du voyage," *Sociétés & Représentations* 21, (2006/1): 147-156.

Sauget, Stéphanie, “Les gares: matrices de l’imaginaire parisien du XIXe siècle”, *Métropolitiques*, May 14th, 2014. URL: http://www.metropolitiques.eu/Les-gares-matrices-de-l-imaginaire.html.

Schivelbusch, Wolfgang, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century,* California: University of California Press, 1977.

Schlaepfer, Aline, Bourmaud, Philippe, and Hassan, Iyas, “Fantômes d’Empire: persistances et revendications d’ottomanité(s) dans les espaces post-ottomans”, *REMMM* 148 (2020): 9-32.

Schoonjans, Yves, “Regional Architecture as an Element of Cosmopolitanism in César Daly’s Vision of Eclecticism”, in *Sources of Regionalism in the Nineteenth Century: Architecture, Art, and Literature*, eds. Linda Van Santvoort, Jan de Maeyer, and Tom Verschaffel, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008.

Schram, Albert, *Railways and the Formation of the Italian State in the Nineteenth Century,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Sebag, Paul, *Tunisie: Essai d'une monographie,* Paris: Editions Sociales, 1951.

Sebag, Paul, Tunis: Histoire d'une ville, Tunis: Harmanttan, 1998.

Sebag, Paul, "La Goulette et sa forteresse de la fin du XVIe siècle à nos jours", *Revue Ibla – Tunis*, 2 no. 200 (2007): 237-261.

Sessa, Ettore, "Italian architects, decorators and contractors in French Tunisia: continuity and discontinuity in the building production of an integrated community," in *The Presence of Italian Architects in Mediterranean Countries: Proceedings of the First International Conference of Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Chatby, Alexandria, November 15th – 16th, 2007* (Firenze: Maschietto Editore, 2008): 103-115.

Sezginalp, Şule, "Station buildings in the history of Turkish railways: catalogue of buildings constructed between 1850s-1950s", Unpublished Master's thesis Middle East Technical University, 2020.

Shaw, Stanford J., "The Ottoman census system and population: 1831-1914" *Journal of Middle East Studies* 9 (1978): 325-338.

Sürgevil, Sabri, *Basmane garı ve çevresi,* Izmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2011.

Temime Blili, Leïla, "Des beys et des réformes: entre cadre global et contingences locales" in *L'éveil d'une nation*, ed. Ridha Moumni, Milan : Oficina Libraria & Fondation Rambourg, 2016.

Temime Blili, Leïla, *Sous le toit de l'Empire: Deys et Beys de Tunis: Du pouvoir militaire à la monarchie, 1666-1922*, vol.2, Tunis: Editions Script, 2018.

Terpak, Frances, "The Promise and Power of New Technologies: Nineteenth Century Algiers" In *Walls of Algiers: Narratives of the City through Text and Image*, eds. Zeynep Çelik, Julia Clancy-Smith, and Frances Terpak, Washington: Washington University Press and Getty Research Institute, 2009.

Tlili, Béchir, "La notion de 'Umrân dans la pensée tunisienne précoloniale", *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 12, (1972): 131-151.

Tozoğlu, Ahmet Erdem, “Actors of Change: railway projects and urban architecture of Balkan cities in the late Ottoman period”, unpublished PhD. dissertation, Middle East Technical University, 2013.

Tozoğlu, Ahmet Erdem, “When the railway reached Istanbul: the making of Sirkeci terminus, 1870–1888”, *Planning Perspectives* 33 (2018, 2): 205-228.

Triulzi, Alessandro, “Italian-speaking communities in early nineteenth century Tunis.” *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, no. 9 (1971): 153-184.

Valensi, Lucette, “Le TGM”, *Diasporas: Histoire et sociétés* 2 (2003): 11-18.

Weber, Eugen, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*, California: Standford University Press, 1976.

Wolkowitsch, Maurice, “Introduction: L’évolution des réseaux de chemins de fer d’intérêt local et des tramways voyageurs-marchandises de leur naissance à leur déclin, 1865-1951”, *Revue d’histoire des chemins de fer* 24-25 (2002): 9-21.

Wolmar, Christian, *Fire and Steam: A New History of the Railways in Britain*, London: Atlantic Books, 2007.

Wolmar, Christian, *Cathedrals of Steam*: *How London's Great Stations Were Built – and How They Transformed the City*, London: Atlantic Books, 2020.

Yapucu, Olcay P. and Özgün, Cihan, “Batı Anadolu’nun yol ağı: Araştırmalar- II Kuşadası limanı ve kervan yolları,” *The History School* 10, (May August 2011): 59-71.

Young, Alan, "Country and Suburban stations," in M. Binney and D. Pearce, eds. *Railway Architecture,* New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1979/1980.

Zandi-Sayek, Sibel, *Ottoman Izmir: The rise of cosmopolitan port, 1840-1880*, Minnesota: the Univesity of Minnesota Press, 2012.

[n.m] “Are we dreaming?” *The Orient* 4, no. 50 (10 December 1913), 3–4; Cited in Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* (Istanbul: Metis, 1994), 257.

APPENDICES

A. TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Kenneth Perkins, "A History of Modern Tunisia" adlı kitabının girişinde şunları yazmıştır: "Dikkatli bir gezgin için, Tunus'u Tunus Körfezi boyunca bir dizi banliyöye bağlayan hafif bir demiryolu olan TGM'de (Tunus, La Goulette ve La Marsa) bir yolculuk, ülkenin tarihi ve kültürü boyunca olağanüstü bir seyahate dönüşebilir. [..] yaklaşık elli dakikalık ve on beş millik bir yolculuğun ardından, tren üç bin yıllık tarihle ilişkilendirilen yerlerden geçmiştir. TGM terminalinden çıktıktan sonra bir veya iki saatlik sakin bir yürüyüş, yolculuğun Tunus tarihine yaptığı girişi daha da derinleştirir."

Tunus topraklarındaki ilk demiryolu olan TGM, yirmi yıllık müzakerelerin ardından 1872'de faaliyete geçmiş, 1872 ile 1908 yılları arasında, sırasıyla bir İngiliz, bir İtalyan ve bir Fransız şirketi tarafından işletilmiş bir buharlı demiryoludur. 1905 yılında ise Tunus Belediyesi tarafından tekrar satın alımıs, güzergahı değiştirilerek elektrikli bir trene dönüştürülmüş ve mülkiyet hakları saklı tutularak idaresi başka bir Fransız şirketine verilmiştir.

TGM, Tunus başkentinin kültürel tarihi imgeleminin bir parçası olmasına ve birçok film ve şarkının arka planını oluşturmasına rağmen, Tunuslular tarafından bu demiryolunun kökenleri ve ilk versiyonu hakkında çok az şey bilinmektedir. Nora Lafi'nin 2018'deki "*Tunis als Laboratorium osmanischer Modernität: das Beispiel der Vorstadtbahn (1863-1881)*" adlı yazısı dışında, ikinci literatür için de aynı durum söz konusu. Şimdiye kadar TGM'nin yük taşımacılığı işlevine odaklanılmış ve Fransız

sömürgeci birliklerinin 1881'de Tunus'a gelmesinden sadece dokuz yıl önce faaliyete geçmiş olması göz önüne alınarak, TGM yaklaşan bir Fransız sömürgeciliği perspektifinden analiz edilmiştir.

Bu nedenle, başlığının da önerdiği gibi bu çalışma, TGM meselesini sömürge öncesi, geç Osmanlı, sömürge ve erken milliyetçi bağlamında karmaşıklaştırmayı ve projeyi uzun on dokuzuncu yüzyıl referans çerçevesi içine yerleştiren yeniden inşa edici bir anlatı formüle etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bunu yaparken, hattın 1872'den 1908'e kadar La Goulette ve Tunus arasındaki yük taşıma işlevine yönelik mevcut yaygın odaklanmaya meydan okuyarak hat ile hem mekânsal hem de bütünsel olarak ilgilenmektedir. Bu nedenle bu çalışma, TGM'nin her iki güzergahının da ekonomik değerlerinin ötesinde, Batı Avrupa ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki demiryolu uygulamalarıyla ortak özellikler sunduğunu savunmaktadır. Bununla beraber, yerel yetkililerin modernliğini, mekânsal ve görsel her yerde bulunabilirliğini vurgulamak amacıyla 1854 yılından yirminci yüzyıla kadar uzanan bir şekilde devam ettiği öne sürülmektedir.

Bu iddia, birincil ve ikincil kaynakların çapraz analizine dayanmaktadır. Birincil kaynaklar, Tunus, Fransa ve Türkiye'nin arşivlerinde yer alan, yüksek düzey yetkililer ve imtiyaz sahipleri arasında, ayrıca başbakanlar ile Babıali arasında yapılan yazışmaları, şirket ve siyasi temsilcilerin tutanaklarını ve raporlarını, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl devlet adamlarının yazılarını, gezginlerin gözlemlerini, haritaları, planları, kartpostalları ve hattın illüstrasyonlarını içermektedir. İkincil kaynaklar ise, kurumsal reformlar ve kentsel ve mimari dönüşümler açısından on dokuzuncu yüzyıl Tunus'unun okumalarını oluşturan yakın zamanda yapılmış araştırmalardan oluşmaktadır. Genel olarak, çalışma bu kaynakları, Tunus'un, sömürgeleştirilmiş olsun ya da olmasın, bir ekonomik krizi atlatmaya, Osmanlı ve Fransız İmparatorluklarının rekabetlerini yönlendirmeye ve aynı zamanda dışarıdan yönelen kontrol tasarılarını uzak tutmaya çalıştığı bir bağlamda değerlendirmektedir.

1815-1898 yıllarını kapsayan ikinci bölüm TGM projesinin ortaya çıktığı bağlamı yeniden tanıtmaya çalışmaktadır. Bu tarihler sırasıyla Viyana Antlaşması ve TGM'nin Fransız Bône-Guelma şirketi tarafından satın alınmasıyla ilişkilendirilir. 1881 Bardo

(Qsar-Saïd) Antlaşması'nın imzalanmasına atfedilen önemi eleştirel bir gözle inceleyen bu bölüm, longue durée yaklaşımını benimsemektedir. Bu uzun giriş, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl altyapılarını geniş çapta hissedilen, değişen bağlılıklar ve ittifaklar ile yeniden icat edilen güç dengeleri etrafında bütünleştirmektedir. Ayrıca Fransa, Büyük Britanya ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu genelinde ve özellikle Tunus'ta kentsel ve kurumsal reformları destekleyen ve iç içe geçen faktörlerin üzerinden geçmektedir. Bölüm, Tunus eyaletinin, uzaktaki Babıâli ile olan ve yüzyıllardır süregelen belirsiz ilişkisini ve Fransa ile olan doğrudan on dokuzuncu yüzyıl komşuluk bağlarını sorguladığını ileri sürer. Tunuslu politikacıların, doğrudan ve dolaylı Fransız, İngiliz ve merkezi Osmanlı müdahalelerini içeren kurumsal, ekonomik ve kentsel reformlar yoluyla bu yeni endişelere nasıl değindiklerini ana hatlarıyla açıklamaktadır. Bu çalışma, 1881 öncesi Tunus'taki on dokuzuncu yüzyıl reformlarının karmaşıklığı üzerine düşünmeye davet ederken aynı zamanda, Kuzey-Güney modernleşme modellerinin tek yönlülüğünü sorgulamaktadır.

Bahsedilen hususları yeniden ele alarak daha ayrıntılı bir şekilde irdeleyen, üçüncü ve dördüncü bölümler, incelenen demiryolunun yaşadığı mekânsal değişikliklerin kronolojisine dayanır. Üçüncü bölüm, 1854 ile yaklaşık 1905-1908 yılları arasında faal olan ilk buharlı TGM demiryoluna odaklanmaktadır. Bu projenin uygulanmasına dair bitmek bilmeyen müzakerelerin izini sürmekte ve modernizasyon sürecine dahil olan yabancı ve yerel aktörlerin yöntemlerini eleştirmektedir. Yerel aktörlerin, özellikle yerel Başbakanlar Mustapha Khaznadar ve Kheïreddine Paşa'nın sıklıkla göz ardı edilen rollerinin üzerinde duran bu bölüm, kamu yararı, clientèle ajandaları, gayrimenkul spekülasyonu ve altyapıların iç içe geçmişliğini göstererek yabancı temsilcilerin bu yerel dinamiklere dahil oluşunu öne çıkarmaktadır.

Dahil edilmeye dair bu argüman, TGM'nin kuruluşundan sonraki (1872-1905) mekânsal ve yabancı seyahatname analizleriyle güçlendirilmektedir. Demiryolu güzergâhları ile Tunus otoritelerinin her yere ulaşma politikasının örtüşmesinden yola çıkarak, Tunus ile La Goulette arasındaki ana hat yük taşımacılığı işlevini görürken, TGM'nin tamamının (yani; La Marsa ve Bardo dahil) Tunus yüksek soylularının hareket programlarına hizmet ettiği ve 1881'den çok sonra bile onların nüfuzlarının ulaştığı alanları birbirine bağlamaya devam ettiği öne sürülmektedir.

İlk istasyonlar hakkında mevcut belgeler Batı Avrupa'daki çağdaşlarıyla karşılaştırıldığında, ilk güzergâh için gar binalarının (o tarihte Tunus için benzersiz örneklerdir) herhangi bir ulusa özgü niteliği veya teknolojik beceriyi sergilemediği ortaya konulmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, bu tür bir teknolojinin şehre gelişinin, terminaller/duraklar etrafındaki inşa edilmiş/planlanmış yapılanmayı bozduğu ve İngiliz, Fransız ve diğer Osmanlı merkezlerindeki demir yolu uygulamasını yansıtan bir şekilde gayrimenkul ve dolaşım koridorları için yeni bir spekülatif ve organize modele yol açtığı ileri sürülmektedir.

Yolların belli bir ayrıcalıklı sınıfın hareketleriyle uyumluluğunu doğrulamanın yanı sıra, ziyaretçilerin ifadeleri bu demiryolu deneyiminin ek bir katmanını aktarmaktadır. Fransız ve İngiliz turistlerin deneyimlerinden oluşan kaynakların ortaya koyduğu gibi, altyapı, kendisini kontrol eden İtalyanlarla ilişkilendirilmiştir. Fransız vatandaşları endişelendiren bu durum sebebiyle; İtalyan nüfustan sayıca az olan ve bu demir yolunun La Goulette limanına olan bağlantısına fazlasıyla ihtiyaç duyan Fransızlar, TGM'nin etki alanını zayıflatmak ve gelirlerini sınırlamak için bireysel ve kolektif/resmi sömürgeci çabaları harekete geçirmiştir. Hal böyle olunca, bir Fransız askeri, İtalyan "ferrovia"sına katkısını sınırlamak amacıyla üçüncü sınıfta seyahat ettiğini kendini tebrik eden bir tonda üstlerine raporlarken, daha büyük ölçekli çabalara bazı örnekler ise Tunus'ta başka bir limanın inşa edilmesi (1893), Tunus Boğazı'nı geçebilen tekneler işleten bir şirketinin kurulması (1890) ve La Goulette ile Tunus arasında yolların taşlarla döşenerek faal hale getirilmesi şeklindedir. Bu çabalar, hattın sürekli büyüyen Bône-Guelma şirketi tarafından yeniden satın alınmasıyla (1898) doruk noktasına ulaşmış ve bu süreç, TGM'nin İtalyan devletine olan bağlantısını kademeli olarak koparan 7 yıllık bir geçiş dönemi yaratmıştır. Ancak, Fransız yönetimi tarafından desteklenen bu şirket, bu geçiş döneminde, İtalyan vatandaşlarının Tunus demiryollarındaki önemli varlığını ele almamış ve Tunuslu politikacıların bu hat boyunca mekânsal varlığı ve yaygınlığı ile ilgilenmemiştir.

Üçüncü bölümün yaklaşımıyla uyumlu olarak dördüncü bölüm, 1905 ile 1922 yılları arasında, hattın Tunus belediyesi tarafından geri satın alınmasından ve Compagnie des Tramways de Tunis'e yalnızca işletilmesi amacıyla verilmesinden sonra, İtalyan

sorununun devam ettiğini ve Tunuslu yetkililerin elektrikli demiryollarının ve çevrelerinin kentsel boyutu üzerindeki egemenliğini ana hatlarıyla açıklamaktadır.

Conférence Consultative kayıtlarının incelenmesi ile ortaya koyulduğu gibi, hattın Carthage ve La Marsa arasındaki bölümüne dair özellikle yabancı şirketlerce yapılan spekülasyonlara, Naceur Bey'in (1906-1922) müdahaleleri sayesinde direnilmiştir. Bununla birlikte, bu hattın kurulması ile öncelikle yerel Tunuslu zengin sınıfların ilgi noktaları birbirine bağlanmaya devam edilmiş ve ilk buharlı yolun duraklarının yerleri kısmen benimsenerek belirli bir stil sergileyen istasyonların sayısı çoğaltılmıştır. Bu stil, yerel idareler ile sömürge idareleri arasındaki belirsizliği somut bir şekilde ortaya koyarken aynı zamanda, Metropoliten Fransa'daki ve onun Mağrip kolonilerindeki gar yapıları ile Osmanlı imparatorluk başkentinin yapılarının ortak özelliklerini ortaya koymuştur. Fransız istasyonlarıyla (standartlaştırılmış istasyon tipi, seri üretimli elemanlar ve kütle yapılandırması) ve "geleneksel" bir Mağrip kabuğuyla (at nalı kemerler, karmaşık ahşap işçiliği, ortaçağ siperleri) biçimsel bir benzerliği dile getiren bu küçük yapılar, Tunus, Cezayir ve Fas'taki hayali bir düzleştirici mimari kimliği beslerken, aynı zamanda bu tek tip ve homojen kimliğin bir parçası olmuşlardır.

İlginçtir ki, bu yeni tipolojiler tarihsel olarak uluslarüstü çağrışımlara sahip, "yerel / Arap / Müslüman" yapı dilinden seçilmiş ögeler aracılığıyla yerelleştirilirken, Osmanlı başkenti aynı Oryantalist repertuardan yararlanarak kamusal yapılarında süreklilik ve Pan-İslamizm fikrini iletmeye çalışıyordu. Aynı doğrultuda, Osmanlı imparatorluk başkentinin Tunus'tan gelen manzaralara erişimi de fotoğraf teknolojisine dayanmakta ve II. Abdülhamid Yıldız albümlerinde aynı Fransız yapımı ve popülerleştirilmiş imgeler bulunmaktaydı. Bu albümler, genişleyen/sızan manzaraların katmanlı bir şekilde yerelleştirilmesine girişmiş, onları fiziksel olarak sahiplenmiş ve açıklamaları aracılığıyla Osmanlı imparatorluk perspektifiyle hizalamıştır.

B. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

(Please fill out this form on computer. Double click on the boxes to fill them)

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences ☒

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences ☐

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : JAIDANE
Adı / Name : Oumaïma
Bölümü / Department : Mimarlık Tarihi / History of Architecture

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English):
LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY TUNIS AND ITS FIRST RAILWAY: (RE)CONSTRUCTING THE TGM (TUNIS – GOULETTE – MARSA) IN CONTEXT

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE**:** **Yüksek Lisans** / Master ☒ **Doktora** / PhD ☐

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır. /** Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide. ☒
2. **Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of **two years. *** ☐
3. **Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for period of **six months**. ***** ☐

***** *Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir. / A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.*

Yazarın imzası / Signature ..... **Tarih** / Date .....
(Kütüphaneye teslim ettiğiniz tarih. Elle doldurulacaktır.)
(Library submission date. Please fill out by hand.)

Tezin son sayfasıdır. / This is the last page of the thesis/dissertation.