

# Efrosini Crossing Syngrou Avenue: Automobile Accidents and the Introduction of the Automobile in Greece (1900–1911)

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## INTRODUCTION

At the turn of the twentieth century, Athens was a city experiencing a rapid transport paradigm shift. ‘In just ten years’, we read in a newspaper from 1904, ‘the trolley car acquired a double line, we saw the appearance of “vis-a-vis” coaches, coaches were doubled in number, bicycles have multiplied and automobiles have appeared’. The article moved on to complain that while the ‘various kinds of centaurs of the new civilization are increasing, but the breadth of Stadiou Street remains constant’.<sup>1</sup> Stadiou Street, the large boulevard connecting Omonia Square with the Royal Palace, was one of the oldest, largest, most emblematic avenues of Athens.<sup>2</sup> But even there, traffic was becoming more complicated and hazardous. The journalist went on with exceptional vividness:

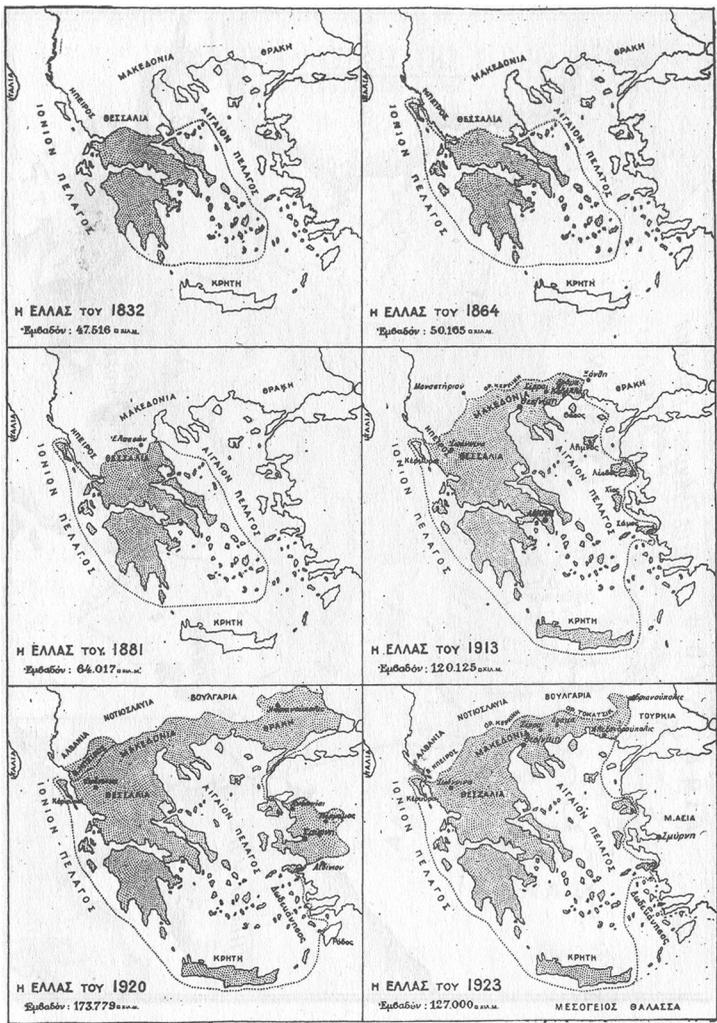
In Stadiou Street I see desperate women jumping around to save themselves, elderly men crossing the street with the impetus of a 15 year old gamin [street urchin], screaming mothers trying to save their child that has already been enmeshed in a quarrel between five different coaches, bulky fat men jumping like clowns before the charging coach.<sup>3</sup>

One can find many similarities between this journalistic description and the ‘violent revolution’ around the dominant meaning of city streets that has been described by

historians of technology in the case of the United States or other European countries.<sup>4</sup> But there were significant differences too. Firstly, automobiles remained scarce in Greece for more than a decade after their introduction. According to available sources, the total number of automobiles in Greece from 1900 to 1912 did not exceed 150, all of them in the possession of the extremely rich, especially the royal family, and employed almost exclusively in Athens and the surrounding areas of Attica.<sup>5</sup> Secondly, Athens was a much smaller city than the ones usually studied by historians of automobility. In 1907 its population amounted to 142,754 people.<sup>6</sup> Thirdly, the lower classes, arriving to Athens from the rural countryside in order to work or emigrate overseas, tended to live around the houses of the middle class, a structure that historian Lila Leontidou has called ‘bestudded social demarcation’.<sup>7</sup> Finally, we should take note of the fact that Greece was a young nation state, placed in the trouble-ridden southern portion of the Balkan peninsula, also known as ‘the powder keg of Europe’. As a result, the Greek territory was significantly expanded in various distinct phases during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The short period under consideration here, 1900–1911, is also a period between two wars waged against the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria. The first war took place in 1897. Greece was bitterly defeated. The second war (known as the first and second Balkan wars) transpired in two phases between 1912 and 1913; Greece was victorious and its territory was almost doubled in size (see Map 1).<sup>8</sup> Until at least 1923 and the Treaty of Lausanne, the territory of the Greek state was a patchwork of different nationalities and languages, customs and religions, remnants of the Ottoman rule that had to be homogenized, resulting in a constant urge ‘to remove, shift or weaken the spatial barriers posed by geographical conditions, economic relations and social bonds’.<sup>9</sup> The automobile, I show, played a small, though ideologically significant, part in this homogenizing drive.

As far as the more general concerns of automobile historians are concerned, a version of what Gjis Mom has called ‘the adventure machine’ appeared in Greece at the turn of the century.<sup>10</sup> Various scholars concerned with countries such as France, Italy, Germany or the United States, have argued that on top of the touring, speeding and tinkering aspects of automobilism documented by Mom, the owners of the new machines were seeking to invade space and impose themselves on its regular users, resulting in – often violent – conflicts with class and cultural overtones.<sup>11</sup> I argue that the introduction of the automobile in Greece is defined by similar conflicts, during the course of which notions such as ‘street’, ‘public’, ‘private’, ‘accident’, and ‘speed’ were renegotiated and eventually transformed. I examine the resulting historical process by following automobile accidents that happened between 1904 and 1911.<sup>12</sup> By following automobile accidents and not what is considered ‘regular use’, I confirm one of Enda Duffy’s broader historiographical claims, namely that we can better understand technology by studying accidents and break downs than by letting ourselves be dazzled by ‘the spectacle of its smooth functioning’.<sup>13</sup> At the same time, I document the conflict around the meaning and the use of space that took place in Greece between 1900 and 1911. I show that the supposedly dominant ‘narrative of progress’ faced fervent opposition and that its opponents, who are usually considered ‘the losers’ and who tend to be invisible in our historical narratives, must be taken into account when discussing this period.<sup>14</sup>



MAP 1: Expansion of the Greek national territory (1832–1923).

Greece’s national territory was expanded in various distinct phases during the first century of its existence. In the period treated here the northernmost Greek territory was Thessaly, annexed in 1881, as shown in the third of the six maps. Greece’s national territory after the Balkan wars of 1912–1913 is shown in the fourth map.

Source: Γ. Μηλιός, *Ο Ελληνικός Κοινωνικός Σχηματισμός: Από τον Επεκτατισμό στην Καπιταλιστική Ανάπτυξη*, [The Greek Social Formation: From Expansionism to Capitalist Development], (Athens, 2000), 389.

## IN SEARCH OF THE 'SINGLE NEW PLEASURE INVENTED BY MODERNITY': USES AND USERS OF THE ROYAL AUTOMOBILES

In September 1902, Constantinos I, then thirty-two years old, Heir to the Greek throne and general commander of the Greek army, became one of the first members of the royal family to own an automobile. The automobile cost him '5,000 golden francs', was delivered by steamship at the port of Piraeus, and within a few hours had crashed into a 'fifteen meters deep ravine' near the royal county retreat of Tatoi, 20 kilometres from Athens (see Map 3).<sup>15</sup> Actual descriptions of the accident vary spectacularly, but we can be certain that the royal automobile was being tested for its speed in a manner that made it susceptible to accidents.

In the months that followed, the royal family began building a veritable automobile fleet.<sup>16</sup> The most heavily used of the royal automobiles was undoubtedly the one belonging to Prince Andrew. When he acquired his first car, at the end of 1903, Andrew was twenty-one years old and fourth in the line to the throne. The automobile was initially used on short excursions between the various royal palaces and the Faleron coast, but soon it started venturing further, as far as the city of Thebes, about 100 kilometres to the northwest of Athens. It seems that by regularly using the car for such endeavours, Prince Andrew and his chauffeur, a Mr Everhart, acquired and refined a taste for the 'only genuinely new pleasure of modernity': speed.<sup>17</sup> In October 1904 Prince Andrew's automobile broke down near Thebes. In order to avoid spending the night in Thebes, the prince was forced to return to Athens by a 'specially arranged' train, a hint that the countryside was not considered to be a safe place for royalty, especially after the assassination attempt against Prince Andrew's father, King George, a few years beforehand.<sup>18</sup> The prince's chauffeur on the other hand remained behind in order to perform the necessary repairs. Indeed, having repaired the car, Everhart managed to return from Thebes to Athens in 'two hours and eight minutes, an unprecedented speed for Greece'.<sup>19</sup>

Apart from the unsafe nature of the Greek countryside, there is another important point to be made here, namely the accuracy of the time measurement. The prince's chauffeur not only managed to return to Athens with 'unprecedented speed', but took it upon himself to measure his speed to the accuracy of one minute. This measurement was considered important enough to be published in the press. Within the space of a few months, speed as provided by automobiles and the control of speed as exercised by the vigorous young men of the royal family had gradually become an important fact of the royal court's daily life.

As one would expect given its heavy use, only two weeks passed before Prince Andrew's automobile broke down again in November 1904.<sup>20</sup> The eventual repair took about four months as 'the engine had to be sent to England', and the prince used the opportunity to perform certain conversions of his own:

[Prince Andrew's] automobile will be put to use in a few days, after testing the power and endurance of the engine, and after removing the seats and various surplus weights, so that it can reach a speed equal to Prince Nicholas' automobile, which at present remains the fastest automobile in Greece.

The article went on, pointing out that ‘only a week before, Prince Nicholas’ automobile covered the distance between [the coast of] Paleon Faliron and the royal stables [in the centre of Athens] in exactly seven minutes’.<sup>21</sup>

There can be little doubt that ‘holding the steering wheel had a peculiar effect on people’.<sup>22</sup> Speed as an end in itself, its precise measurement and competition around it, had become the new exciting pastimes of the young males of the royal family. However, Prince Nicholas’ speed feat was only possible because of the recent construction of Syngrou Avenue.

## THE MECHANICAL ANNIHILATION OF SPACE AND ITS ENEMIES: USES AND USERS OF SYNGROU AVENUE

Syngrou Avenue was perfect for speeding. ‘The widest street Athens ever had’ was finished on 21 November 1904. It was surprisingly long and straight in a city that lacked straight roads.<sup>23</sup> The avenue connected Athens with the ‘picturesque’ coast of Paleon Faliron, 10 kilometres to the south (see Map 2). Three weeks before Nicholas used Syngrou Avenue as a track for his seven-minute run, the ‘Greek Bicycle Society’ had used it in order to organize an excursion to the coast:

Over 120 cyclists, of which four were driving automobiles, set off from the Society’s headquarters in Philellinon Street. Coming from Amalia Avenue they entered Syngrou through which they arrived in Paleon Faliron where they formed groups and found accommodation in the hotels of the area. Then again by Syngrou Avenue they returned to Athens and their original point of departure.<sup>24</sup>

The emphasis given to the description of the (very well-known) road route is noticeable, particularly when compared to the downplayed description of the destination. It is yet more peculiar if one considers that the various touring clubs that emerged in Athens during the turn of the century monotonously declared that their actual purpose was the ‘discovery of the country’s unknown beauties’.<sup>25</sup> Nor was this description the only one of its kind. A year and a half later, the Heir to the throne, accompanied by Princess Sofia, as well as the Prince of Saxe Meiningen and his wife, ‘exited for a promenade at 3 pm in their sleek automobile; they were all wearing masks, due to the high speed of the automobile’.

The esteemed excursionists traversed the Paleon Faliron Avenue and arrived to Neon Faliron with lightning speed. After facing certain difficulties upon reaching the inclined Javela street, they turned towards the circumferential Koumoundourou Avenue, eventually arriving to Mr. Skouloudi’s manor in Freattida, whereupon, by the same lightning speed and following the same itinerary, they returned to Athens by 4 pm.<sup>26</sup>

What is described here is a kind of movement with no destination whatsoever; it is the kind of movement where any possibility of a stop is considered a ‘difficulty’. Toponyms rapidly succeeding each other, the twice repeated ‘lightning speed’ metaphor, finally the time of departure and its spectacular proximity to the time of return; this is all that is needed in order to sufficiently describe the experience of the

esteemed excursionists. The point here is the description of genuinely new experiences and possibilities. The main experience brought forward by this new innovating kind of ‘promenade’ was the ‘annihilation of space by time’, no longer as the general tendency of capitalist transport systems, but as a concrete individualized feeling.<sup>27</sup> We can now better comprehend the political significance of Prince Nicholas’ speed record, namely that from the point of view of the upper class, machinery-based speed signalled the possibility of the abstraction of space, and thus of a new



MAP 2: Syngrou Avenue in 1908.

In this 1908 map, Syngrou Avenue is the straight diagonal avenue connecting Athens to the seaside resort of Paleon Faleron to the southwest. Notice the abundance of unbuilt space. (1): Analatos hill; this is the place of the assassination attempt against King George in 1898, of the first automobile fatality in Greece (see section: ‘The battle for space as tragedy’), as well as one end of the 1906 automobile race (see section: ‘The battle for space as farce’). (2): The bridge over the Ilissos river near which Froso Kalogera was killed; Karolos Fix’s brewery, the other end of the 1906 automobile race, lies to the northeast of the bridge. (3): Paleon Faleron, destination of various upper-class promenades discussed in various sections of the article. (4): Brahami, one ‘arvanitohori’ like the ones discussed in ‘The battle for space as an enduring process’.

Source: E. Χατζηκωνσταντίνου, *Αστικός Εκσυγχρονισμός, Οδικό Δίκτυο και Πόλη*, [Urban Modernization, Road Network and City: The Example of Syngrou Avenue During the Turn of the Century], Unpublished Doc. Diss., (Athens, 2014).

relation to space. It signalled new possibilities, ranging from the individual level of the automobile owner all the way up to the level of the state.

This kind of association between the individual 'wills and whims' of the members of turn-of-the-century touring clubs and broader state tendencies and objectives has been noted by Kurt Moser. Moser stated that the elite's fascination with 'the new mobility machines' should also be seen as part of a wider social preparation for war.<sup>28</sup> In the Greek case we can find the same association between individual fascination and state objectives taking especially concrete forms. As I noted in the introduction, the objectives of the Greek state during the turn of the century stemmed from its particular geographic place and turbulent history. It is thus much less surprising that one can find Greek 'nature loving' touring clubs such as the 'Excursions Club', founded in 1899, stereotypically proposing 'to intimate ourselves with our fatherland, to appreciate its unexploited natural beauty', only to conclude with the rather foresighted sentence 'in order to defend it better in the future than we defended it in the past'.<sup>29</sup> On the one hand, the 'unfortunate war' of 1897 had left loose ends and a future war seemed rather probable if not certain. On the other hand, the honorary president of the 'Excursions Club', Spyridon Lambros, had also served as the vice president of 'Ethniki Etairia' [National Society], the clandestine military lobbying group that had played a significant and much criticized part in the declaration of the 1897 war.<sup>30</sup> The ruling class' fascination with 'touring', hence with the new mobility machines and the creation of abstract space, was not itself abstract. It was based on the readily perceived compatibility between individual whims and state objectives and pointed to past and future military and political endeavours, inside and outside the territory of the Greek state.

Yet, justified as it was, this technological euphoria would first have to face grave obstacles. As I have already mentioned, the city's working-class inhabitants used the same streets as the owners of the new machines. For example, the northeastern part of Syngrou Avenue entered Athens by traversing residential areas that were registered in 1908 during the first official demarcation of the city's municipal areas. By examining this first official catalogue of Athens' districts, we find out that the neighbourhoods that were artificially separated by the construction of Syngrou Avenue were inhabited by at least 5,000 people. It is likely that some of these inhabitants were workers at the Fix brewery, the dominant factory of the area.<sup>31</sup>

All existing accounts agree that the streets of Athens were heavily used by the working class for work, recreation and daily life purposes. Workers walked a lot, either from and to their work, or in the course of their work: the transport facilities were expensive. The streets were full of vendors of various commodities, milk for example was sold 'straight from the animals' breasts'. Most working-class families lived in single room houses with no running water: women often cooked, washed clothes and/or kitchen utensils, sewed and stitched clothes, and met with other women in the street. Syngrou Avenue traversed the Ilissos river which was used for clothes washing throughout the nineteenth century. While working-class children, when not working, played games in the streets, including 'stone wars'.<sup>32</sup>

In the early twentieth century tensions rose among the various users of Syngrou Avenue, and this was reflected throughout Athens' streets. On the one side were young upper-class men increasingly aware of the fact that automobility signalled the

possibility for a new relation with space, pleasurable and at the same time compatible with broader state objectives; on the other, the residents of the areas surrounding the streets – the total opposite of the proponents of the Greek version of ‘the adventure machine’ and their correlative notions of machinery, space and speed. From 1905 onwards, these tensions were heightened.

### THE BATTLE FOR SPACE AS FARCE: AUTOMOBILE RACES AND DEMONSTRATIONS OF POWER IN SYNGROU AVENUE

In 1905 bicycles were being replaced by automobiles and Athens was home to a devoted cadre of automobilists who made up for their miniscule numbers with the power of their high social status.<sup>33</sup> In that year, the automobilists of Athens tried to include automobile races in the ‘Intercalated Olympic Games’ that were due to take place in Athens in 1906.<sup>34</sup> When their request was rejected, they decided to organize a race of their own. Organization of the race was assumed by the Greek Bicycle Society, along with an otherwise unidentified ‘sportsmen group’ and Constantinos I, the Heir to the throne, thus ‘demonstrating his interest in progress as represented by the automobile’. Syngrou Avenue was selected as ‘the most suitable Avenue’ for the race, an obvious choice given its breadth and amplitude. Less obvious is why the race took place not in the southern uninhabited part of the avenue but instead ‘between Analatos hill and the Fix brewery’, an area that encompassed a large part of the avenue’s inhabitants (see Map 2). Newspapers announced the event a month in advance of the race. Four days before the race the aforementioned part of the avenue was in the process of ‘properly enclosed’ with ‘wire fences’ in order to ‘place seats for the spectators’.

We have no way of knowing how strict this enclosure was, if it restricted the movement or affected the sentiments of the people living around Syngrou Avenue. On the other hand, they certainly watched the race. On 26 February 1906, ‘a vast crowd, mainly belonging to the lower classes flocked towards Syngrou Avenue’, but very few of the crowd proved themselves willing to comply to the discipline imposed by the enclosed space: ‘There were so many people that by 2 pm horsemen and policemen had already given up attending order and were being carried away by the crowd; all the wire fences had been stomped upon’. Given the collapse of the fences it was only natural that ‘one could find much more people wandering the street where automobiles and motorcycles were to compete than on the sidewalk’.

Things did not look much better on the sidewalk. The seats ‘arrayed in long rows by the organizational committee, who was apparently aspiring to a lot of ticket sales’, ‘remained empty for the most part’, while other accounts suggest certain individuals ‘settled themselves on the prepaid seats without even being in the possession of a ticket’. Further down the road, the Royal Navy brass-band was meticulously striking up military marches near the grandstand of the organizational committee, undoubtedly inspired by the presence thereto of the Heir, the Minister of Economics Mr Simopoulos, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Skuze, their families and other esteemed automobilists. However, ‘the sound of their instruments was repeatedly covered by the cries of the gamins who were mocking the passing cyclists’, and obviously by the angry shouts of the curators who ‘fisted a lot of gamins

in a commendable demonstration of zeal'. It was in this environment that the first official automobile race in Greece commenced:

A bugle sounded and another answered from afar and the bellow of an automobile approached in the midst of a thick dust cloud. People were unable to comprehend the purpose of this demonstration.

-It must be the races, one said.

-Nah, impossible, intervened another. That is not how races are supposed to be.

In the meantime automobiles were passing, two or three in all, as well as some bicyclists and the crowd was still waiting for the race to begin. (. . .)

Finally the automobile of His Highness the Heir arrived before the committee, His Highness went on board along with Princess Sofia and the young Princes and they headed for Paleon Faleron. (. . .) Then people finally apprehended that the race was over and set off towards Athens commenting on the transpired events.<sup>35</sup>

However, we must not let the comic awkwardness of the transpired events disorient us from other procedures that were taking place around Syngrou Avenue. This first automobile race can be apprehended as an attempt to impose a new notion of 'street' upon the 'popular classes' of the surrounding areas. The enclosure of the street for four days and the organized and expensive march of the new impressive machinery were a demonstration of power akin to a military parade.<sup>36</sup> The goal here was the demonstration of the power of the new machines and their masters and at the same time the consolidation of a new dominant meaning of the city's streets. Space no longer belonged to everybody: it belonged solely to the upper class and the tool used for its occupation was the new automotive machinery. For these reasons the street was enclosed, tickets were sold for entry, horsemen patrolled, gamins were fisted and a noisy navy brass-band played to the gathered audience.

However, the attempt by the Greek upper classes to demonstrate their power proved to be a spectacular failure. The fences collapsed, the horsemen abandoned their attempts to control space and pedestrians roamed the avenue. The automobiles had to amble slowly along the wide avenue, and were unable to demonstrate their full power. The conflict I hinted at in the previous section on the subject of public space and its use was already raging in Athens. And if its bitterness is still barely visible, it is due to the elusiveness of one of the conflicting sides. E. P. Thompson has remarked that many of our historical narratives tend to 'read history in the light of subsequent preoccupations, and not as it in fact occurred'. We tend to remember 'only the successful, in the sense of those whose aspirations anticipated subsequent evolution', while 'the blind alleys, the lost causes, and the losers themselves are forgotten'.<sup>37</sup> The people living around Syngrou Avenue in 1906 are a perfect example of 'the losers' of our historical narratives. But as we shall see, their passing through history has not been completely without a trace.

## **THE BATTLE FOR SPACE AS TRAGEDY: THE FIRST AUTOMOBILE FATALITIES IN GREECE**

Ironically, the first two automobile fatalities in Greece happened on Syngrou Avenue, along the length of the race described in the previous section. The first of these

happened one month after the race and has gone virtually unnoticed. In the small hours of 3 April 1906, 'Mr. Empirikos' automobile, which was moving on Syngrou Avenue with great speed, ran down a middle-aged man by "Analatos" hill. The victim, whose name remains unknown, was severely injured.' The victim of the first automobile fatality in Greece never regained his senses and remained anonymous until his death, two days later, 'due to internal hemorrhage of the brain'.<sup>38</sup> As far as we know nobody claimed his body and there were no consequences for the perpetrators, a well-known ship-owners family.

The second automobile fatality took place near the Fix brewery at noon on 4 March 1907 and immediately gained wide publicity. That day, 'a competition apparently took place between two automobiles seeking to demonstrate their speed' on Syngrou Avenue. The drivers of the two automobiles were Nikos Simopoulos, an MP and son of the Minister of Economics, and Prince Andrew, the avid automobilist with whom we have already been acquainted. Riding alongside Prince Andrew were Princess Alice and the prince's aide, Metaxas.

The victim was Efrosini Vamvaka. According to newspapers published on 6 March 1907, Vamvaka was twenty-five years old; her husband Theodore was 'a poor shoemaker' while she herself was of 'unknown occupation'. The day of the accident was the Sunday of the carnival and Vamvaka was trying to cross Syngrou in order to invite a friendly family for 'an evening distraction' in her house, accompanied by her six-year-old son. She probably died on the spot, the condition of the body being such that 'the moment ha[d] been wildly emotional for poor Princess Alice'.<sup>39</sup>

Constable Polichronakos, head of the nearby Gargaretta police department, and Damilatis, the chief constable of the police, swiftly arrived at the scene of the accident. Their duty was complicated. On the one hand, they had to negotiate the exact circumstances of the accident, exonerating Prince Andrew while at the same time respecting Simopoulos Senior's political power. On the other, they had to invent a reason for the automobile accident on the spot, such that it soothed the public sentiment and preserved public order. The first of these they excelled in. In the police department, where some of the people involved were transferred immediately after the accident, Polichronakos 'took [six-year-old Vamvaka's son] aside and threatened (sic) him' so that he revealed that it was Simopoulos' automobile that had killed Vamvaka and that the young boy had been bribed by 'the fat man' (Simopoulos' secretary), in order to testify against Prince Andrew.<sup>40</sup> At the same time, chief of police Damilatis took it upon himself to convince the public that the blame in fact belonged to the victim: 'Not all blame should be attached to Mr. Simopoulos, for one can argue that the diseased actually committed suicide. Because if she had remained on the sidewalk, as her young son did, the automobiles would have passed her by and nothing would have happened. But by the look of things, the boy had more brains in his head than his mother'.<sup>41</sup>

His contempt aside, Damilatis had obviously discovered the basic principle (as well as the political payoff) of the dominant 'behavioural' paradigm that came to condition automobile accidents in the twentieth century: 'auto mishaps occur because humans are careless'.<sup>42</sup> However, there were other, even more difficult matters to be dealt with. Damilatis went on to formulate a general synopsis of the notions governing correct street usage:

The police decree is applied strictly, hence it is forbidden to travel at a speed exceeding 10 kilometers inside city limits.<sup>43</sup> In my opinion though, the decree cannot and must not be implemented outside city limits, as is the case for Syngrou Avenue. For it is already allowed for every man to entertain himself by achieving a high speed using his coach or his bicycle, always outside city limits. Likewise, it should be allowed, in my opinion, to automobiles to achieve as high a speed as they desire outside city limits. And the only suitable place for such a purpose is Syngrou Avenue.<sup>44</sup>

Chief Damilatis had found himself facing similar problems and performing similar 'linguistic feats' to those of his contemporary US judges who (thousands of miles away and in rather more formal ways) sought to define the automobile not as a complex technical system but as a common everyday object.<sup>45</sup> The twice repeated 'in my opinion' serves to show us that he was fully aware of his venturing in uncharted territories. The thrice repeated 'outside city limits', as well as his reference to speed as pleasure, serve to show us that he had moved beyond the matter of civil liability and that he was aware of the broader political implications of the accident he was trying to manage. The automobile, that strange novel object, fluctuated between public and private, between labour and leisure, between entertainment and murder. It was pregnant with an urgent need to radically redefine notions that until then were taken for granted. Public space, private property, entertainment, speed, civil rights, life, death and civil liability, all these notions are featured in chief Damilatis' short decree. They are all vague, they seek their definition which is to be a project for future accidents, future courtrooms and decades to come. Damilatis' main concern was for 'our social issue'. He was attentive in his choice of language; by using the phrase 'automobiles' in the second to last sentence he carefully avoided pointing the finger at the people who owned and used automobiles. That was because public attention had already been focused on them much more than was appropriate.

Indeed, immediately following the accident, a number of local people, largely from the 'pocket' around the Fix brewery, gathered at the scene, and attacked the two cars involved, not that this was reported in the newspapers: 'Immediately after the accident, a crowd began gathering from everywhere in the vicinity, thickening as time went by and as people were informed of the dismemberment and commented upon it. It wasn't long before the position of the two automobiles became problematic and they departed'.<sup>46</sup>

The crowd that gathered at the scene of the accident originated from the 'pocket' around the Fix brewery. True, it 'does not speak of itself, does not write about its past', exactly like Saliba's women workers.<sup>47</sup> In this particular case however, thanks to the extreme nature of the circumstances, we are able to know some extra details about a random inhabitant of the area, namely about the victim, Efrosini Vamvaka.

As we learn from the newspapers of the following days, Vamvaka's name was not Efrosini; her friends called her Froso or Frosini. Her surname was not 'Vamvaka', because Froso was not married to Theodoros Vamvakas, the 'poor shoemaker'. Rather, she appears to have been his mistress/housemaid: she had been living with Vamvakas for the two months prior to the accident, taking care of the two children

he had from a previous marriage, implying a multi-faceted material transaction since she had recently arrived in Athens 'from Kefallonia island and she belonged to the Kalogeras family'.<sup>48</sup> Damilatis' thorough investigation revealed that Froso Kalogera had just moved from a 'hut' in Kallithea district to a rented 'room' near the bridge of Ilissos river together with Vamvakas and his two children.<sup>49</sup> The Sunday of the carnival was a holiday and Kalogera, dressed in red, was heading towards the (also rented) house of Vamvakas' best man walking 'through the fields'. She was not holding Vamvaka's young son by hand; she was chasing him in order to beat him up, which explains how the child escaped unscathed.<sup>50</sup>

Froso Kalogera was not married, she had to take care of two children that were not her own and undoubtedly were roaming the streets from a very young age. She had to walk a lot and attend to domestic chores, all the while remaining 'the most beautiful daughter of the Gargaretta area'. Froso Kalogera was one of the thousands of internal migrants who were arriving in Athens in order to work in factories, to become housemaids or to emigrate overseas. Women who found themselves in a similar place had to solve the accommodation problem as soon as possible, or be arrested by the police and categorized as prostitutes.<sup>51</sup> Males eager to comply abounded. As far as 'the poor shoemaker' is concerned, Vamvakas did not make a fuss over Kalogera's death. Apparently, his main interest in the following days was to acquire as much money as possible from the powerful people that fate had brought into his path, a compensation for the death of a woman he barely knew.<sup>52</sup> The result of the police investigation was that the automobilists did not face any consequences for the murder of Kalogera. Prince Andrew was interrogated for two hours and was found to be uninvolved in the accident. Nikos Simopoulos' trial was constantly adjourned; by 1922 he owned one of the first automobile agencies in Athens and was one of the founding members of the Greek Automobile and Touring Club (ΕΑΠΙΑ), established in 1924.<sup>53</sup>

Mr Vamvakas and the esteemed automobilists were not the only concerned parties following the accident. The accident had taken place in the midst of a working-class 'pocket', and in such places 'news circulated with inconceivable speed'.<sup>54</sup> The crowd that attacked the automobiles on Sunday 4 March, continued making its presence felt in the following days. From 4 to 12 March 1907, the newspapers reported at least four different incidents of 'terrible attacks', 'barracking', and 'stoning' of automobiles, not only near the scene of the accident, but all over Athens.<sup>55</sup> Apparently, these incidents caused grave concern in various circles (see Figure 1). 'I am certain that even [the stone throwers themselves] would confess that they overreacted and that they do not want adherents or imitators', concluded an article published in *Empros* newspaper on 13 March.<sup>56</sup> Chief Damilatis and Constable Polichronakos were particularly concerned. On the same day that *Empros* published its pacificatory article, they had returned 'by coincidence' to the quintessential 'out of city limits' locus: Syngrou Avenue. This time, by 'putting their own lives at risk', they managed to arrest Mr Empirikos' automobile – Empirikos had of course been responsible for the first of the two accidents, on 3 April 1906 – which was 'running at a dizzying speed' and to lodge a complaint 'against the driver and the owner'. Before they did this, Damilatis and Polichronakos had to once more save the passengers of the automobile from 'the thick crowd of pedestrians that tried to attack them with stones'.<sup>57</sup>



FIGURE 1: A future scene. Satirical representation of the Streets of Athens, published on the front page of *Athinaí* newspaper, one week after Froso Kalogera’s death. The caption reads: ‘A future scene during the appearance of the two automobiles’. The effort given to fully depict Athens’ class stratification is obvious. Yet, the most ill-disposed towards the new automotive machines is the barefooted man angrily climbing the lamp post, and the gamin to the right who, as usual, is mocking the automobilists. Source: *Athínaí*, 11 March 1907.

Yet, not everybody possessed Damilatis’ politically informed conciliatory spirit. On the next day, a sincerer article was published in the same newspaper, stating that people who walk in such a wide and straight road and still manage to find themselves before an automobile and be dismembered by it, are obviously either destined to die such a death, or they are such animals that their death is not such a great loss. [...] Of course progress will not stop for their sake, even if it is progress of the luxurious kind.<sup>58</sup>

According to C. Hadziiosif, during the first decade of the twentieth century ‘intellectuals and the propertied classes were led to a new awareness of the social question [...] but as usual in Greece, the perception of social antagonisms led to their negation’.<sup>59</sup> Indeed, under ‘normal circumstances’, this pervasive suppressive tendency would have ensured that the conflict we are trying to describe here would remain forever elusive. Of course the propertied classes might still have ‘despised’ the working class, and they might still have used their newfound machinery in order to attest their ‘class superiority’ and violently claim public space.<sup>60</sup> The lower classes might still have resisted to a point that they would have to be taken seriously into account. But their antagonism would have remained obscure, undocumented, hidden from the historian under the trivial multitude of everyday events not worth mentioning. Not so in the case of Froso Kalogera. As we have seen, she was a typical

woman of her time, place and class. If she had remained on the sidewalk, the automobilists would have passed her by, in the same manner they passed by countless others like her. The power they claimed over her, their cordial association with the police and the press, the opposition they faced and the political way they tried to cope with it, would all have remained absent from our sources. Froso Kalogera's violent 'accidental' death serves to show us an extreme moment of what is normally perceived as the normal use of an innovative technology. At the same time, it attests to the fact that what we sometimes perceive as the 'smooth functioning' of technology (and society at large), may indeed be nothing more than 'a spectacle'.<sup>61</sup>

### THE BATTLE FOR SPACE AS AN ENDURING PROCESS: AUTOMOBILE ACCIDENTS IN THE VICINITY OF ATHENS AND BEYOND

Princes and members of Parliament were chased away by the crowd on 4 March 1907. A decade earlier such an incident would have been inconceivable. But in the years following the accident on 4 March 1907, this kind of momentary proximity between people that until then had been divided by a vast cultural and material chasm occurred again and again, thanks to the strange nature of the new machines. By November 1908, the Greek Bicycle Society had abandoned bicycles almost completely; now their automobiles were traversing (once more 'with dizzying speed') the streets of Pikermi village, about 40 km from the centre of Athens.

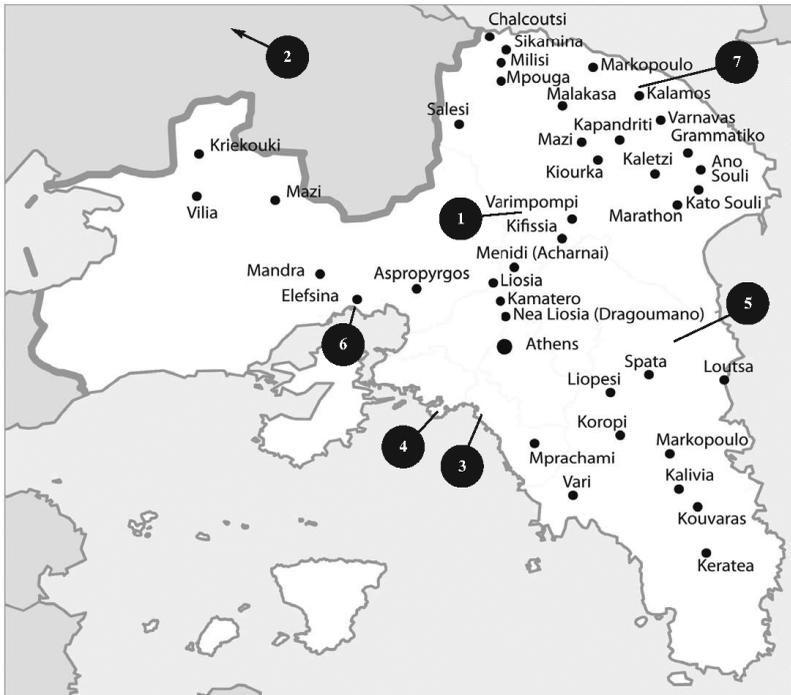
Like many Attica villages at the turn of the century, Pikermi was an 'arvanitohori', which means a village inhabited by 'Arvanetes'.<sup>62</sup> As we have already mentioned, the Greek national territory was a patchwork of different peoples, languages and customs, remnants of the Ottoman multiethnic social structure. The Arvanetes in particular were Albanian-speaking Christians inhabiting villages all over southern Greece. In Attica district, surrounding the Greek 'ancient' capital of about 200,000 people, one could find about fifty such villages, comprising several tens of thousands of Arvanetes (see Map 3). The case of the Arvanetes and their slow assimilation into the Greek national identity has been a chronic source of awkwardness for Greek historiography. Kostas Mpiris for example, in the last pages of a book dating from 1960, advocates at length the 'Greek nationality' of Arvanites who supposedly descended from ancient 'Dorians', and concludes optimistically that 'during the last decades the Arvanitohoria [villages of Arvanites], at least the ones favored by transport infrastructure, have enjoyed a noticeable advance of civilization', by which he means 'the remission of Arvanitika [the Albanian dialects] and the prevalence of Greek'.<sup>63</sup>

As one can imagine, despite the lack of 'transport infrastructure' in 1907, automobile excursions crossing 'arvanitohoria' with 'dizzying speed', such as the one organized by the Greek Bicycle Society, were aiming at a similar 'civilizing' effect. The children of Pikermi village, obviously unaccustomed to such mechanical invasions, began throwing stones, thus provoking the automobilists' response:

The chauffer stopped the car, arrested the culprit and carried him by automobile fifteen minutes away from the village, as [the child] was screaming in incomprehensible Albanian. Then he let him go.

-This promenade will prove to be a sour one for him [observed] the chauffer. Do you know how much time he will need to return to his village? About two hours!<sup>64</sup>

The novel machine could invade contested space against the will of its inhabitants, confirming that its owners were the rightful masters of the national territory. It could also transform space into time and time into punishment. Such unprecedented qualities made its owners' arrogance partly justifiable. But not completely so. Automobility as a process of invasion into space, brought the upper class in contact



MAP 3: Excursions in Arvanitohoria.

Some of the 'arvanitohoria' of Attica presented superimposed on the excursions mentioned in the main text. The map has been constructed especially for this article.

(1): The royal county retreat of Tatoi, 20 km to the north. (2): To Thebes, 100 km to the northwest. (3): Paleon Phaleron, 10 km to the southwest. (4): Freattida, a point in the 'lightning speed' excursion mentioned in the earlier section on 'The mechanical annihilation of space and its enemies'. (5): Pikermi, where children spoke 'incomprehensible Albanian', 40 km to the east. (6): Elefsina, where the Heir was 'bruised by the chin', 30 km to the west. (7): Kalamos, home of villager Spiros Fafoutis, 40 km to the northeast.

Source: Γ. Νακρατζιάς, *Η Στενή Εθνολογική Συγγένεια των Σημερινών Ελλήνων, Βουλγάρων και Τούρκων: Ήπειρος – Νότια Ελλάδα*, [The Close National Kinship of Contemporary Greeks, Bulgarians and Turks: Epirus – Southern Greece], (Thessaloniki, 1996), 85.

with the various versions of underclass, not in environments of militarily controlled order, like in a parade or during the various games that until then were organized in stadiums, but individually, in the course of the daily routine. And events did not play out as the upper classes expected them to. For instance, a few months after the Pikermi incident, the children of the arvanitohori of Elefsina, about 30 km to the west of Athens, confronted Heir Constantinos' automobile which 'was on an excursion' carrying, among others, the Queen Mother, Beatrice of Spain. Stones were once more thrown and Constantinos was 'bruised by the chin'. When the angered Heir to the Greek throne 'berated and slapped' the culprits he was faced by their mothers who 'began swearing at him in Albanian'.<sup>65</sup> The Heir was forced to confront stone-throwing Albanian children using his own physical strength and suffer their incomprehensible mothers before eventually making his exit with a bruised chin.

This kind of momentary crack of the social boundaries can be observed at various instances during the first decade of the twentieth century, and is always associated with automobility. Take the following examples, the time the King and his Heir were forced to take the tram – perhaps for the first time in their lives – and to eventually return to the palace on foot. Or the time they had to stand in the sun for hours under the gaze of passing peasants, all because of a car breakdown.<sup>66</sup> The various times when automobile owners were arrested, possibly for their own safety, after an accident and the crowd's intervention.<sup>67</sup> The instance when Ms Empirikos and her driver were guided to the police station after an accident, under police custody, surrounded by an angry mob demanding justice.<sup>68</sup> Or the incident when the Heir to the throne hopped on to the tram and disappeared after running over a policeman's daughter, letting his chauffeur take the blame.<sup>69</sup>

A strange trial took place in December 1910, involving on the one side Spiros Fafoutis, a peasant from Attica's village of Kalamos and the accused party, and on the prosecuting side King George and Prince Andrew. The royal automobile had crashed into Fafoutis' cart and the peasant was being accused of addressing the royals with phrases such as 'you're lucky I am not carrying my gun'. Fafoutis wisely chose to abstain from the trial probably presuming that the authority of the Greek courts was difficult to assert in the arvanitohori of Kalamos Attica, some 40 kilometres from the centre of Athens.<sup>70</sup> The state attorney particularly insisted on proving that Fafoutis had used the phrase 'I don't care if you are the King himself', a quite understandable concern, especially if we take into account the challenge to royal power posed by the 'Goudi movement' a year and a half earlier.

The 'Goudi movement' took place in August 1909, under the political leadership of military officers. In the course of the following years the party-political system was restructured and the constitution was reformed resulting in a relative abatement of royal power: it signalled 'the amplification of the power of state apparatus', and 'the beginning of the transformation of the liberal state to an interventionist one'. One of the main driving forces behind these profound changes was the 'abatement of social divisions in the face of the impending military involvement in the Balkans'.<sup>71</sup> Indeed, George Mavrogordatos has claimed that the legislation eventually worked out by the 'Venizelos Regime' between 1910 and 1920 comprises 'a unity, a single plan of rational organization and representation of all class interests'.<sup>72</sup> One of the

first such laws, introduced in December 1911, concerned the use of automobiles and the pertinent 'civil and penal liability'. The law stated that deaths or bodily injuries connected with automobiles would be 'dealt with according to the relevant articles of the penal law'. Despite a number of objections from MPs who argued that automobilists remaining on the scene of the accident 'provoke immediate revenge', 'disorder', and hence 'further accidents', the law made a reference to the common practice of abandoning the victims, for which a penalty of 'six days to three months imprisonment' was introduced.<sup>73</sup> It went on to state that 'the driver is dispensed of all liability if the accident has occurred due to automobile deficiencies impossible to be known under any degree of procuration on his part'.<sup>74</sup> At last, thanks to this truly 'rational organization of class interests', automobile owners could be tried according to law like every other citizen and still avoid conviction due to 'unknowable circumstances' brought upon by the machine's obscure nature. This special providence of the legislator should come as no surprise given that one of the major exponents of the new automobile law was Pericles Karapanos, a young MP whose automobile, just one year before, on 6 August 1910, had killed '30-year-old I. Evangelou'.<sup>75</sup>

Such individual interest-driven approaches to automobile use and legislation were not bound to last. Greece entered the Balkan wars in 1912. Some dozens of Athens' prominent automobilists readily offered their cars, their chauffeurs and even their personal services to the military effort. An 'automobile park' of the Greek army was formed under the leadership of Miltiades Negrepontis, cofounder of the Athens' Tennis Club in 1895, president of the Greek Bicycle Club and organizer of the 1906 Syngrou Avenue automobile race mentioned previously. Its upper-class members were constantly praised in the press for carrying injured soldiers and provisions with their 'bullet ridden' automobiles. In the ten turbulent years that followed, Greece's territory and population almost doubled through constant military and diplomatic action (see Map 1). At the end of this decade of warfare, about 13,000 automobiles could be found in Greece, in the possession of various military outfits. The automobile had been transformed into an indispensable component of the state's technical apparatus, thus proving that the first automobilists' premonitions about the compatibility of their fascination with broader 'national' objectives were in fact correct.<sup>76</sup>

Yet, despite this spectacular wartime multiplication of automobiles, the battle for space described thus far in this article took more decades to settle. In 1931, Aristotelis Koutsoumaris, vice chief of police in the city of Patras and pioneering police statistician, compiled the first known statistical survey of automobile accidents in the history of the Greek state. He ascertained that '66.66% of the injured [in Patras] are minors up to the age of 15' and promptly suggested to his superiors that a police decree should be implemented 'so that parents who, despite the great traffic of vehicles, abandon their children to play completely unattended in the streets, are punished accordingly'.<sup>77</sup> This ambiguity in street use persisted as late as 1940; even then, a traffic police list of 'instructions to pedestrians' had to begin by clarifying that 'streets are used for vehicle traffic and sidewalks are used for pedestrian traffic, so one should avoid walking on the street, as well as standing on the sidewalk, engaging in conversations, or reading newspapers'.<sup>78</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The automobile made its appearance in Greece as a version of what Gijs Mom has called 'the adventure machine', instantly fascinating the elite with its speeding, tinkering and touring aspects. But there was more to it than that. Greek automobilists of the turn of the twentieth century realized that their individual fascination with automobiles was compatible with broader state objectives, namely the preparation for an oncoming war as well as the homogenization of the cultural and linguistic patchwork of the Greek national territory. The automobile was understood not only as an adventure machine, but also as a tool used to individually break the 'barriers' that until then cut across the national space, a powerful symbolic and technical means recruited in the broader task of space homogenization.<sup>79</sup>

Automobile owners invaded space enthusiastically, drawing their confidence from their immense technological supremacy. They soon found themselves facing equally powerful social forces. Far from being 'empty spaces', the city streets, as well as the 'countryside', were already socially demarcated in the strict manner pointed out by labour and women's historian Zizi Salimba: 'the country belonged to the popular classes; parlors and private spaces belonged to the bourgeoisie'.<sup>80</sup> For the popular classes, 'the country' was the particular loci where hard work, entertainment and daily life took place. They empirically (hence immediately) understood the automobile as a machine seeking to violently invert this old arrangement in favour of its owners.

The ensuing conflict was fought by technical, symbolic, police, juridical and political means, as we saw in the case of the techno-politically prepared Syngrou Avenue Races and the complex negotiations following the death of Froso Kalogera. Eventually it was fought violently as demonstrated by the various accidents and small riots that made up this account. The conflict could not be ignored, as the upper classes soon realized the repossession of space could not be carried out exclusively through the owning and use of a machine. A new 'common sense' had to be invented concerning what was public and what was private, what was space, property, mobility and civil liability. The whole process was impossible without taking into account the interests, opinions and everyday practices of the lower classes.

In the decades that followed, this dialectical process of constructing new notions went on; it is this historical process that we must come to understand as the introduction of the automobile in Greece. Undoubtedly it was a bloody process with a heavy price, paid mainly by the working class. But by all means it was not one-sided. If nowadays we tend to neglect this dialectic process, as well as many others of its kind, it is because our societies apprehend technology and its use as a set of smooth uninterrupted processes.

Contrary to this pervasive opinion, the preceding narrative of the introduction of the automobile in Greece adopts the thesis according to which 'the accident tells us much more about the cultural effects of technology than the spectacle of its smooth functioning ever could'.<sup>81</sup> The sources used revolve around violent accidents, that is, around extreme peaks pointing out of an otherwise even surface. These extreme moments are bound to elude us if we insist on dealing exclusively with the smooth everyday function of capitalist societies and their technologies. Yet it is during these

extreme moments that the elite came to momentary, violent contact with the working class. Hence, I was able to discern the discourse, practices and meanings surrounding the relations between them with a clarity that could not have been attained otherwise. Automobile accidents in Greece during the turn of the century were, among other things, momentary instances during which Leontidou's 'invisibles' become visible in our historical sources, rescued 'from the enormous condescension of posterity'.<sup>82</sup> We should rejoice in their newfound visibility. Not because of having fulfilled some moral imperative, but because without these 'invisibles' the history of technology, as well as Greek history, remain partial and incomplete.

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33. For the discovery and relinquishment of the bicycle by the upper classes between 1890 and 1910, see Κουλούρη, *Αθλητισμός και Όψεις της Αστικής Κοινωνικότητας*, 374.
34. -Οι Ολυμπιακοί Αγώνες' [The Olympic Games], *Εμπρός*, 14 October 1905.
35. The description of the automobile race is based on 'Αγώνες Αυτοκινήτων εις τας Αθήνας' [Automobile Race in Athens], *Εμπρός*, 23 January 1906; 'Οι αγώνες της Κυριακής – Αυτοκίνητα και Ποδήλατα' [Sunday's Race – Automobiles and Bicycles], *Εμπρός*, 22 February 1906; 'Οι σημερινοί Αγώνες – Ο Καταρτισμός των Επιτροπών' [Today's Race – Formation of the Committees], *Εμπρός*, 26 February 1906; 'Οι Χθεσινοί Αγώνες Αυτοκινήτων (!)' [Yesterday's Automobile Race (!)], *Εμπρός*, 27 February 1906; 'Οι χθεσινοί Αγώνες της Λεωφόρου Συγγρού' [Yesterday's Race on Syngrou Avenue], *Ακρόπολις*, 26 February 1906; 'Οι Χθεσινοί Αγώνες' [Yesterday's Race], *Αθήναι*, 27 February 1906; and 'Οι Χθεσινοί Αγώνες Αυτοκινήτων: Πλήρης . . . Αποτυχία' [Yesterday's Automobile Race: A Complete . . . Failure], *Καιροί*, 27 February 1906.
36. For nineteenth century exhibitions of (industrial) machinery as demonstrations of power aiming to the intimidation of the working class, see G. Caffentzis, 'Why Machines Cannot Create Value, or Marx's Theory of Machines', in Jim Davis, Thomas Hirschl and Michael Stark (eds), *Cutting Edge: Technology, Information, Capitalism and Social Revolution*, (New York, 1997), 40–47. For the oldest example regarding machinery as the material embodiment of the 'power of the master', see K. Marx, *Capital*, 3 vols., vol. I, (London, 1990), 492–564.
37. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 12.
38. 'Νυχτερινόν Δυστύχημα' [A Nocturnal Accident], *Εμπρός*, 4 April 1906. 'Το Προχθεσινόν Δυστύχημα' [The Day Before Yesterday's Accident], *Εμπρός*, 6 April 1906.
39. 'Τα Κατορθώματα δύο Αυτοκινήτων: Κατασύντριψις Νεαρής Γυναίκος' [Deeds of two Automobiles: The Crushing of a Young Woman], *Αθήναι*, 6 March 1907.
40. 'Τα Κατορθώματα δύο Αυτοκινήτων: Κατασύντριψις Νεαρής Γυναίκος'. The incident is described by Prince Andrew's aide, Metaxas.
41. 'Το Προχθεσινόν Ατύχημα της Λεωφόρου Φαλήρου: Τα δύο Αυτοκίνητα' [The Day Before Yesterday's Accident on Phaleron Avenue: The two Automobiles], *Εμπρός*, 6 March 1907.
42. Vardi, 'Auto Thrill Shows and Destruction Derbies, 1922 – 1965', 32–33.
43. The 'police decree' was published in the press: 'Automobile velocity in narrow streets and on street turns, should be akin to human walking speed; only where the street is visible in its whole length there is no reason to reduce speed'. 'Αστυνομική Διάταξη περί των Αυτοκινήτων' [Police Automobile Ordinance], *Εμπρός*, 30 August 1906.
44. 'Το Προχθεσινόν Ατύχημα', 6 March 1907.
45. For the 'linguistic feats' performed by US judges, see S. L. Jain, 'Dangerous Instrumentality: The Bystander as Subject in Automobility', *Cultural Anthropology*, 2004, 19/1: 66.
46. 'Τα Κατορθώματα δύο Αυτοκινήτων: Κατασύντριψις Νεαρής Γυναίκος'.
47. Σαλίμπα, *Γυναίκες Εργάτριες στην Ελληνική Βιομηχανία και στη Βιοτεχνία 1870–1922*, 10.

48. ‘Ανακρίσεις: Το Δυστύχημα της Λεωφόρου Συγγρού’ [Interrogations: The Syngrou Avenue Accident], *Αθήναι*, 8 March 1907. ‘Το Δυστύχημα των Αυτοκινήτων: Ανακρίσεις επί Τόπου’ [The Automobile Accident: Interrogations on the Spot], *Αλήθεια*, 11 March 1907.
49. ‘Φρικτός Θάνατος υπό τους Τροχούς των Αυτοκινήτων’ [Terrible Death Under Automobile Wheels], *Καιροί*, 6 March 1907.
50. ‘Το Δυστύχημα των Αυτοκινήτων’, 11 March 1907.
51. Μ. Κορασίδου, *Οι Άθλιοι των Αθηνών και οι Θεραπευτές τους: Φτώχεια και Φιλανθρωπία στην Ελληνική Πρωτεύουσα τον 19<sup>ο</sup> Αιώνα*, [Les Miserables of Athens and their Therapists: Poverty and Philanthropy in the Greek Capital During the Nineteenth Century], (Athens, 1995), 200–207.
52. ‘So we have come at a point where even murder (. . .) proves to be a matter of negotiation between murderers and the victims’ indirect beneficiaries (. . .) Since the husband was comforted then let us all be comforted’. These cryptic lines can be found in an untitled article of *Αθήναι* newspaper, 7 March 1907.
53. For Simopoulos’ automobile agency, see *Εφημερίς των Αυτοκινήτων* [The Automobile Journal], 1 January 1923. For Simopoulos as a founding member of ΕΑΠΑ, see Α. Φωτάκης, *Η Δημιουργία της Αστυνομίας Πόλεων και η Βρετανική Αποστολή, 1918–1932*, [The Creation of the City Police and the British Mission], Unpublished Doc. Diss., (Athens) 2016, 115.
54. Σαλίμπα, *Γυναίκες Εργάτριες στην Ελληνική Βιομηχανία και στη Βιοτεχνία 1870–1922*, 277.
55. ‘Πάθημα Αυτοκινήτου’ [An Automobile’s Pratfall], *Αθήναι*, 12 March 1907. ‘Τα Αυτοκίνητα’ [The Automobiles], *Αθήναι*, 14 March 1907.
56. ‘Μια Αποδοκιμασία’ [A Decrial], *Εμπρός*, 13 March 1907.
57. ‘Αυτοκίνητον Τρέχον με Ιλιγγιώδη Ταχύτητα’ [Automobile Running at a Dizzying Speed], *Εμπρός*, 14 March 1907.
58. ‘Διατί τρέχει’ [Why Does it Run], *Εμπρός*, 15 March 1907.
59. Hadziiosif, ‘Class Structure and Class Antagonism’, 15.
60. For French ‘authors of automobile magazines’ despising ‘common people’ but hiding their feelings after 1905, Lavenir, ‘How the Motor Car Conquered the Road’, 131. For automobilism as a means of expressing ‘class superiority’, Moser, ‘The Dark Side of Automobilism’, 247.
61. Duffy, *The Speed Handbook*, 199–261.
62. According to Α. Τσίγκος, *Κείμενα για τους Αρβανίτες*, [Articles on Arvanites], (Athens, 1991), 55, all Attica villages are Arvanitohoria.
63. Μpiris goes on to state ‘maybe one can still discern a certain callousness of character, a certain grimness in the faces (. . .)’. Κ. Μπίρης, *Αρβανίτες, οι Δωριείς του Νεώτερου Ελληνισμού: Ιστορία των Ελλήνων Αρβανιτών*, [Arvanites, the Dorians of Modern Hellenism: History of Greek Arvanites], (Athens, 1960), 329.
64. ‘Πώς τον επιμώρησε’ [How he Punished him], *Εμπρός*, 4 November 1908.
65. ‘Σοβαρόν Επεισόδιον εις τον διάδοχον εν Ελευσίνι’ [Grave Incident Against the Heir in Elefsina], *Εμπρός*, 7 March 1909.

66. 'Το Τέλος της Κρίσεως' [End of the Crisis], *Σκριπ*, 13 May 1905.
67. 'Η Κοινή Αντιπάθεια' [A Common Antipathy], *Εμπρός*, 22 October 1909.
68. 'Νέο Δυστύχημα από Αυτοκίνητο στα Πατήσια: Η Αγανάκτησις του Κόσμου' [Another Automobile Accident in Patissia: Popular Indignation], *Σκριπ*, 23 May 1908. After causing the first automobile fatality in Greece, Ms Empirikos' automobile, referred in the press as 'the green automobile', became notorious for its reckless speeding.
69. I arrived at this conclusion by combining 'Παρ' Ολίγον Δυστύχημα εις τον Διάδοχον' [Almost an Accident for the Heir], *Εμπρός*, 3 September 1908, with 'Το Αυτοκίνητον του Διαδόχου: Δυστύχημα εις Νεανίδα' [The Heir's Automobile: Accident for a Young Girl], *Σκριπ*, 3 September 1908.
70. 'Η Χθεςινή Δίκη του Πλημμελειοδικείου' [The Misdemeanor Tried Yesterday], *Εμπρός*, 21 December 1910.
71. See Θ. Μποχώτης, 'Η Εσωτερική Πολιτική' [Domestic Politics], in Χ. Χατζηιωσήφ (ed.), *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20<sup>ου</sup> Αιώνα*, τ. Α1, [History of Greece in the 20th Century, vol. A1] (Athens, 2003), 75–83.
72. Γ. Μαυρογορδάτος, 'Βενιζελισμός και Αστικός Εκσυγχρονισμός' [Venizelism and Bourgeois Modernization], in Γ. Μαυρογορδάτος & Χρήστος Χατζηιωσήφ (eds), *Βενιζελισμός και Αστικός Εκσυγχρονισμός*, [Venizelism and Bourgeois Modernization], (Heraklion, 1988), 12.
73. *Εφημερίς των Συζητήσεων της Βουλής*, [Journal of Parliamentary Discussions], 18 November 1911.
74. *Πρακτικά Βουλής*, [Minutes of Parliament], 23 November 1911.
75. For Karapanos' interventions in the parliamentary debate concerning the automobile law, see 'Η Βουλή: Ψήφισις Νομοσχεδίων' [The Parliament: Discussion of Legislation], *Σκριπ*, 23 November 1911. See also *Εφημερίς των Συζητήσεων της Βουλής*, [Journal of Parliamentary Discussions], 18 November 1911. For 'an automobile belonging to Mr Karapanos' killing Evangelou, 'Θανάσιμος Τραυματισμός υπό Αυτοκινήτου' [Deathly Injury Brought Upon by an Automobile], *Εμπρός*, 7 August 1910.
76. For German automobilists joining the army along with their automobiles during the First World War, see Moser, 'The Dark Side of Automobilmism', 251. For the Greek 'automobile park', see Η. Καφάογλου, *Ελληνική Αυτοκίνηση (1900–1940): Άνθρωποι, Δρόμοι, Οχήματα, Αγώνες*, [Greek Automobility (1900–1940): Men, Roads, Vehicles, Races], (Athens, 2013), 125–127. Also Ρούπα and Ε. Χεκίμογλου, *Η Ιστορία του Αυτοκινήτου στην Ελλάδα: Εμπόριο και Παραγωγή στη Μέγερνη του Κράτους*, 66–69. For Negrepontis' athletic interests, see Κολούρη, *Αθλητισμός και Όψεις της Αστικής Κοινωνικότητας*, 368.
77. Ε.Λ.Ι.Α., Αρχείο Αριστοτέλη Κουτσομαρή, Φάκελος 28/5, Επιθεωρήσεις Αστυνομικού Τμήματος Πατρών, (1931) [National Popular History Archive, Aristotelis Koutsoumaris Archive, File 28/5, Reviews of the Police Department of the City of Patras, (1931)]. For the creation of the traffic police, see Φωτάκης, *Η Δημιουργία της Αστυνομίας Πόλεων και η Βρετανική Αποστολή, 1918–1932*, 111–124.
78. 'Ανακοινώσεις του Τμήματος Τροχαίας Κινήσεως του Υπουργείου Πρωτεύουσας', [Announcements of the Department of Road Traffic of the Ministry of the Capital],

*Τεχνικά Χρονικά*, February, 1940. According to automobile historian Alexia Papazafeiropoulou, the conflict was settled only after the Second World War and especially after 1960. Α. Παπαζαφειροπούλου, *Το Εθνικό Οδικό Δίκτυο κατά την Περίοδο 1930–1980. Η Κουλτούρα του Αυτοκινήτου στην Ελλάδα*, [The National Road Network between 1930 and 1980. Automobile Culture in Greece], Unpublished Doc. Diss., (Athens, 2015), 563–637.

79. Χατζηιωσήφ, ‘Εισαγωγή’, 11.
80. Σαλίμπα, *Γυναίκες Εργάτριες στην Ελληνική Βιομηχανία και στη Βιοτεχνία 1870–1922*, 296.
81. Duffy, *The Speed Handbook*, 211.
82. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 12.