

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF A TRADITIONAL FIRM DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

### The Adriatic exchange system

The history of the Durutti family is one of the most representative examples of the Greek mercantile 'diaspora' during the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Its course from the mountains of Epirus to the Greek community of Ancona, Adriatic port of the papal state, and thence its settlement in the newly-founded Greek kingdom, underlines significant aspects of Modern Greek history. The case of the Durutti family conforms to a classic economic schema of Greek society before the War of Independence. From a highland village with cottage-industrial activities conducive to commercial migration, the Durutti entered the wider Adriatic system, to which they were no strangers, since a large part of Epirus as well as the Ionian Islands had been participating in it for a long time.

The Durutti family hailed from Kalarrytes in Epirus, a Vlach village within the geographical, administrative and economic ambit of Ioannina.

A large part of the Kalarrytians' trading transactions during the eighteenth century took place in Ioannina, the principal product being the coarse woollen cloth known as '*skouti*',<sup>2</sup> which was used for making the capes or capotes worn by shepherds and farmers in Greece and Albania, as well as mariners in the Adriatic Sea. '*Skouti*' was a second-class textile compared to those produced by the western woollen mills (*Iondrinia* etc.). Kalarrytes belongs to the complex of mountain communities extending from Zagora in Pelion and Samarina in Pindos to Skodra in Albania, involved with the domestic production of woollen cloth. It should be noted that '*skouti*'<sup>3</sup> the cloth is frequently confused with the capes made from it in the larger urban centres, as by the guild of cape-makers at Ioannina,<sup>4</sup> for example, and consequently it is not always possible to distinguish information on the textile from that on the garment. However, when the sources mention Kalarrytian cape-makers they probably imply only the *kapotades*' village of origin. The late eighteenth century brought on the one hand a decline in *skouti* production in the mountain villages and on the other left 'expertise' in trading and a sound commercial capital to the merchants dealing in this commodity. The overall experience proved to be invaluable for their entrepreneurial development.

The traveller W.M. Leake's description of Kalarrytes is particularly pertinent since he visited it at a critical time, the early years of the nineteenth century, during which significant socio-economic changes were taking place

1. A preliminary study of the parallel economic behaviour of the Durutti family and the Gerousis and Skouze merchant families, has been presented in two papers: Maria Christina Chatzioannou, 'The Greek state as a new area for entrepreneurial activities, *Vth International Conference of Southeast European Studies. Greek papers* (Sophia: 30 Aug.-5 Sept. 1989), Athens 1990, 243-247; Modes of adaptation of Greek firms in the Greek Kingdom: innovation or continuity, *L'entreprise en Grèce et en Europe XIXe - XXe siècles*, Athens 1991, 103-108.

2. Ν. Παπαδόπουλος, *Εμείς ο Κερδόςος, ήτοι Εμπορική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια* [N. Papadopoulos, *Hermes Kerdoos*, that is Commercial Encyclopaedia], vol. I, Venice 1815 (reprint of the Cultural Foundation ETBA Athens 1989), 266.

3. The word *skouti* is also used in Vlach and Albanian, and derives from the Latin *scutum* (= shield).

4. Γ. Παπαγεωργίου, *Οι συντηγνίτες στα Γιάννενα τον 19ο και τις αρχές του 20ού αι.* [G. Papageorgiou, *The guilds in Ioannina in the 19th and the early 20th century*], Ioannina 1982, 37.

there. It was a typical mountain settlement with small-scale cultivation of wheat, vegetables and fruit trees on terraces around it. The Kalarrytians traded for cereals, wine and oil in Arta, wheat flour in Trikala and European goods in Ioannina.<sup>5</sup> The increase in commercial transactions led to the abandonment of agriculture, since it was a more viable proposition to import cereals than to tend such poor soil; so a part of the old arable land had been turned over to pasturage.<sup>6</sup> The 'import' of foodstuffs to Kalarrytes is an indication of an upgrading of the economy, a result of the intensive trading transactions which led to the growth of stock-raising in this highland community, the consequent conversion of fields to grazing land and the concurrent development of a primary 'domestic' or 'cottage industry',<sup>7</sup> perhaps within the context of proto-industrialization in Greece.

The principal product traded by the Kalarrytians during the eighteenth century was woollen cloth. Though the percentage participation of stock-raising, manufacturing and agriculture in the total output of the village is not known, it is, however, certain that the production and distribution of woollen cloth constituted the vehicle for the highland settlements' inclusion in the wider economic system of the Adriatic. So, through the production of woollen cloth that was made into capotes and distributed via Ioannina, the Kalarrytians entered the exchange system of the Adriatic. Leake observes that the 'overcoats' travelled to Italy, Spain, Austria and Russia. The wealthiest merchants did not return to Kalarrytes but emigrated to trading centres, the middle-income merchants frequently returned as shopkeepers and craftsmen, and the poorer strata were porters and shepherds.<sup>8</sup> A similar social stratification was observed in the neighbouring, likewise Vlach, village of Matsouki, the inhabitants of which traded 'overcoats' in the Ionian islands and the coastal towns of the Adriatic. The richer emigrated to Corfu, while the poorer remained at home as 'overcoat'-makers, porters and shepherds.<sup>9</sup> The same coarse woollen cloth as that from Kalarrytes, black or white in colour, was produced at Vlacholivado (Livadi) in Thessaly. Through their commercial connections in the Adriatic, Kalarrytians also traded the Livadian textile through the port of Thessaloniki:<sup>10</sup> Leake notes the production further north, at Skodra, of white woollen cloth, a better version of the black that was woven throughout the mountainous regions of northern Greece.<sup>11</sup> It does indeed seem that the weavers and tailors of the highlands did not create an economic strike force but remained betwixt countryside and town, whereas the merchants trading their product, outside the restrictions of the producers, became the vital economic and social cell of the early communities of Greeks abroad.<sup>12</sup>

Prior to the nineteenth century the Adriatic was a closed circuit controlled by Venice and Ragusa (Dubrovnik). The people of the Adriatic cooperated on several levels: in seafaring, trade and techniques. Italians, Slavs, Albanians, Greeks and Jews, residing on its eastern and western shores, participated in a

5. Leake visited Kalarrytes twice, in 1805 and 1809. W.M Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, London 1835, (reprint), Amsterdam 1967, vol. I, 274-285 and vol. IV, 207-209.

6. *Ibidem* vol. IV, 207-208.

7. Cottage industry or domestic industry is used as the equivalent of the term 'οικιακή βιοτεχνία', used by Vasiliki Rokou in her exemplary study of Greek highland communities: *Βασιλική Ρόκου, Υφαντική Οικιακή Βιοτεχνία. Μέτασο 18ος-20ός αι.* [Vasiliki Rokou, Cottage weaving industry. Metsovo 18th - 20th century], Athens 1994.

8. W.M. Leake, *Travels in Northern...*, op. cit., vol. I, 274-277.

9. *Ibidem*, vol. I, 284-285.

10. *Ibidem*, vol. III, 335-336.

11. *Ibidem*, vol. I, 45.

12. Vasiliki Rokou, *Υφαντική Οικιακή Βιοτεχνία...*, op. cit., 55-61.

community that worked and exploited materials, since men and information moved relatively quickly and easily along the sea routes.<sup>13</sup> The ambivalence of certain products created a network of economic activities. We could add that in some cases this Adriatic system extended from Venice to Sicily (Messina) and Corfu; its centre of gravity shifted during its centuries-long history and historical watersheds sometimes promoted the northern and sometimes the southern Adriatic, from Venice, to Ragusa, Ancona, Dyrrachion and lastly to Trieste and Fiume. In Greece the western ports participating in the Adriatic exchange system were the Ionian islands, mainly Corfu, Sayada, Salaora and Patras. The exchange system of the southernmost section of the Adriatic, which concerns us, seems to have been established during Roman times, via the Via Egnatia that ran from Bari and Brindisi on the Italian coast and continued opposite to Dyrrachion.

Characteristic of the entire Adriatic area was the frequent movement and migration of people on both sides. For the Epirotes in particular it is assumed that their emigration to the coast of Italy opposite began in the sixteenth century, to the south, first to Sicily, then to Naples and Calabria,<sup>14</sup> continuing towards the west side of Italy at Leghorn (Livorno).<sup>15</sup> By the eighteenth century Epirotes were living in the major Italian Adriatic ports of Venice, Ancona and Trieste. The group of cape-makers was formed in Venice in 1764, and the presence of Kalarrytian cape-makers at Trieste from at least 1781<sup>16</sup> bears witness to the dynamism of this economic activity.

Special mention should be made here of the manufacture of woollen 'overcoats' in the Ancona region (Matelica), in the hinterland of which woollen cloth is known to have been produced from the sixteenth century. This textile was inferior in quality to and more expensive than the smuggled Greek counterpart, or even that woven at Ancona by the Greek community. Known as *zagara*<sup>17</sup> or *caravano*, it was also produced by locals after 1810 and was in great demand.<sup>18</sup> There were evidently intense conflicts; so when G. Fiaccarini received an award in 1808 as the number one producer in Matelica of the famed nautical *cappotti alla greca* (Greek-style overcoats), 'that were first made in Arta', he met with strong opposition from the old producers. Indeed the accusation was levelled that the 'overcoats' were of Greek provenance or at least made by the Greek community in Ancona.<sup>19</sup> So the production and distribution of coarse woollen cloth became one of the most important points of contact between Epirus and Italy in the Adriatic area (see fig. 1).

Competition from the European textile industry, with its advanced technology and equipment, brought a crisis in woollen-cloth manufacturing in the papal state and a large part of the local workforce turned to silk as a raw material or semi-processed product. Trade in silk remained in the hands of the woollen-cloth merchants. It is a common phenomenon in pre-industrial societies for wool and silk to be mobilized alternatively or concurrently by



**1. Overcoat 'alla greca'. S. Anselmi (ed.), La Provincia di Ancona. Storia di un territorio, Bari 1987, 297.**

13. According to F. Braudel the Adriatic is the most cohesive region of the Mediterranean. F. Braudel, *Η Μεσόγειος και ο Μεσογειακός κόσμος την εποχή του Φιλίππου Β' της Ισπανίας* [The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II], vol. I *Ο ρόλος του περίγυρου* [The role of the milieu], MIET, Athens 1991, 149. Some ideas on the technical heritage of the Adriatic are examined by J.-C. Hocquet, *Patrimonio tecnico e integrazione culturale in Adriatico: alcuni aspetti*, *Quaderni Storici*, 40/1 (1979), 31-53.

14. We refer indicatively to the emigration of Kortisios Vranas and Dimitrios Reres, see Ξ.Α. Σιδερίδης, Κορτίσιος Βρανάς ο Ηπειρώτης [X.A. Siderides, Kortisios Vranas the Epirote], *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά*, 3/3 (1928) 249-271 and *ibidem*, Η πρεϊρωτικός οικογένεια Ρερέ, [The Epirote family Reres] *H.X.* 3/1-2 (1928), 160-168.

15. The first permanent settlement of Greeks in Leghorn is attested in 1567, by 1600 80 Greek families were living there. Μαρία Καζανάκη-Λάρρα, Ο ξυλόγλυπτος σταυρός της Ευαγγελιστρίας του Λιβόρνου (1643) και οι σταυροί επιστηλίου στα χωρικά τέμπλα [Maria Kazanaki-Larra, The wood-carved cross in the Evangelistria at Leghorn (1643) and the architrave crosses on Cretan iconostases], *Επιφρόνησιον. Αρχιέρεια στον Μ. Χατζηρόση*, vol. 1, Athens 1991, 219-220. The presence of Epirotes in Leghorn can be recognized after 1760, see N. Τριανταφύλλου, *Οι κώδικες γάμων και βαπτίσεων της ελληνικής κοινότητας Λιβόρνου (1760 κ.εξ.)* [N. Triantaphyllou, The codes of marriage and baptism of the Greek community in Leghorn (1760 et seq.)], Patras 1986.



producers and entrepreneurs. This fact brings us closer to the entrepreneurial model of the Durutti family from Kalarrytes, which passed from wool to silk in the early nineteenth century.

### Settlement in Ancona

An old port on the Adriatic, Ancona has ancient Greek roots. It later came under Byzantine influence, and so remained until the seventh century. From the thirteenth century its gradual emergence as a naval power brought it into strong competition with Venice, as a result of which it was blockaded commercially from the northern Adriatic and established close relations with the Slav merchants of Ragusa, Zara, Spalato and Senia.<sup>20</sup> According to Slavonic sources, Slav merchants settled in Ancona from the late fourteenth century, while by the middle of the sixteenth century some 200 Greek trading companies are said to have been set up there.<sup>21</sup> It is only natural that the commercial activity of Ancona was interlinked with that of neighbouring Senigallia and consequently with its fair. In 1732 Ancona became a free port (*porto franco*); works were carried out to improve the harbour and there was a notable increase in the volume of shipping. Consequences of this were direct connection with the Western economic powers, a revitalizing of certain aspects of agriculture and manufacturing, and lastly an increase in population.<sup>22</sup> So Ancona with Senigallia became the focus of trade in the papal state. A multinational community of merchants – Jews, Greeks and Slavs – set the economic tone of the city. The port of Ancona remained a major centre of transit trade in cereals throughout the eighteenth century. During the following century its maritime power waned, following the fortunes of other Mediterranean ports that had developed on the basis of trade in farm products. The high taxes levied on the mercantile marine in the early nineteenth century also resulted in the reduction of transactions, and it seems that the in any case doomed Senigallia fair ceased then too. In contrast, Trieste emerged as leading power in the Adriatic.<sup>23</sup> A. Caracciolo's study of Ancona has shown the inability of capital to stimulate rural transformation and the creation of modern investments there, so that even in the most prosperous phases of the eighteenth century it did not manage to achieve an autonomous development. The burgeoning of transactions at this time, observed also in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, is not an indication of true development but, on the contrary, belies submission to stronger economies.<sup>24</sup>

The history of silk in the hinterland of Ancona goes back a long way and is directly linked to that of wool. However, only in the eighteenth century did silk become an important export product, initially as cocoons and then as semi-processed silk. Undoubtedly the productive potential of a semi-processed raw material known as Fossombrone silk and its distribution in the European market left a wider profit margin for investors in this sector and

16. Γ. Πλουμίδης, Έλληνες κατοπάδες στη Βενετία (18ος αι.) [G. Ploumidis, Greek cape-makers in Venice (18th century)], Δ.Ι.Ε.Ε., 27 (1984), 20-24. Ολγα Κατσιαρδί-Ηερινγκ, Η Ελληνική παρουσία της Τεργέστης (1751-1830) [Olga Katsiardi-Hering, The Greek community in Trieste (1751-1830)], vol. II, Athens 1986, 396-397.

17. The name probably derives from the place of origin, Ζαγόρα or Ζαγόρι (?) in Epirus.  
18. S. Anselmi, Introduzione e manifattura di cappotti alla greca nelle Marche pontifiche, 1751-1830, *Economia e vita sociale in una regione italiana tra Sette e Ottocento*, Urbino 1971, 181-193.  
19. Idem, 187.

20. Apart from the classic study in the Braudelian mode, of A. Caracciolo, *Le port franc d'Ancone. Croissance et impasse d'un milieu marchand au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1965, there is a rich bibliography on Ancona and its environs (Marche), to which Sergio Anselmi is the main contributor.

21. The number presumably covers all the Balkan merchants settled in Ancona, T. Stoianovich, Ο κατακτητής ορθόδοξος Βαλκάνιος έμπορος [The conquering Balkan merchant], in Στ. Αοδραχάς (ed.), *Η οικονομική δομή των βαλκανικών χωρών (15ος-19ος αι.)* [S. Asdrachas, The economic structure of the Balkans (15th-19th century)], Athens 1979, 290-291.

22. A. Caracciolo, L'economia regionale negli anni della costituzione del porto franco di Ancona, in S. Anselmi (ed.), *Economia e società: le Marche tra XV e XX s.*, Bologna 1978, 155.

23. A. Caracciolo, *Le port franc d'Ancone...*, op. cit.; see also Elena Termitte, Il porto di Ancona e gli approdi di Senigallia, Numana e Sirolo, in S. Anselmi (ed.), *La provincia di Ancona. Storia di un territorio*, Bari 1987, 243-260. On the Greek community in Trieste see Olga Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παρουσία...* op. cit., vols 1-2. On the Greek presence in Senigallia, see Ολγα Κατσιαρδί-Ηερινγκ, Αημονησμένοι ορεζοντες ελληνων εμπόρων. Το πανηγύρι στη Senigallia (18ος-αρχές 19ου αιώνα) [Olga Katsiardi-Hering, Forgotten horizons of Greek merchants. The Senigallia Fair (18th-early 19th century)], Athens 1989, 24. A. Caracciolo, op. cit., 241, 261.



created a local labour market. This seems to have prompted the development of reeling, that was focused on Fossombrone where at least half the production of the Marche region was concentrated. In 1766 Fossombrone had 164 cauldrons shared between 44 reeling mills (filatures). The quality of handmade Fossombrone silk ensured international demand for the product, primarily in the London market. In parallel a small, local silk-textile industry developed. The craftswomen became well-known, creating a labour market in the papal state and a good specialization in processing silk noils.<sup>25</sup> Professional migration had been a *modus vivendi* for female silkworkers since the early eighteenth century. In 1873 an Italian newspaper, extolling their skills, noted that women from Fossombrone had even gone as far as Greece to find work,<sup>26</sup> presumably to the Durutti silkmills in the southern Peloponnese.<sup>27</sup>

Transformations in the silk industry began in the nineteenth century. Although Fossombrone silk maintained its reputation until the early decades of the century, the production processes changed. In the papal census of 1824 silkworking in Fossombrone is recorded as developing, and in 1839 the first foreign steam-powered reeling and spinning mill was opened. Moreover, in 1873 the old experience in processing silk noils was exploited industrially at Jesi.<sup>28</sup> However, towards the end of the century, competition from steam-powered reeling in the heartland of united Italy marginalized Fossombrone silk; at that time there were 37 filatures with 34 steam-powered cauldrons, while in the Bergamo region –and not at Como, the largest Italian silk-producing centre– in Lombardy there were 85 reeling factories with 83 steam-powered cauldrons.<sup>29</sup> The history of the most profitable product in Ancona's foreign trade had ended.

To return to the Greek community at Ancona, which was created by expatriate merchants during the Turkish Occupation of their homeland, two concentric unities can be distinguished in its history: the general commercial networking of the city and its economy, which directly affected the community's activities, and the micro-history of the community itself in relation to the status quo in Greece.

The Durutti, along with other Epirote traders, pioneered the route bringing woollen cloth to the Italian coast of the Adriatic. A host of products were in fact traded, but wool –like silk– is a very versatile commodity. Both are raw materials capable of mobilizing manufacturing tasks, from elementary to highly complex, attaching great weight to human labour and technical skills. A usual trade itinerary was: Kalarrytes, Ioannina, Corfu, Ancona, Senigallia. The Greek presence at Ancona evidently increased after it was declared a *porto franco* in 1732, which date can be taken as the *terminus ante quem* for the creation of the Greek community there. However, the Greek mercantile 'diaspora' in the ports of Venice, Leghorn and Ancona goes back much earlier, being associated with the type of itinerant Balkan

25. Giuliana Careras, L'industria serica a Fossombrone, *Quaderni Storici dell' Marche*, 1/1 (1966), 126-131.

26. R. Savelli, *Filande e filandaie a Fossombrone. Segmenti di storia dell'industria serica*, Rome 1981, 66-72.

27. Μαρία Χριστίνα Χατζημοκίνοου, Η τύχη των πρώτων ιταλών μεταξουργών στο ελληνικό κράτος [Maria Christina Chatzioannou, The fate of the first Italian silkworkers in the Greek state], *Μνημιών*, 13 (1991), 121-138.

28. F. Armatori, Alle origini dello sviluppo industriale marchigiano: gli anni dall'Unità alla prima guerra mondiale, in L. Avagliano (ed.), *L'Italia industriale nelle sue regioni: bilancio storiografico*, 108-109.

29. The data are taken from: L'Industria della seta in Italia, *Annali di Statistica*, fasc. XXXVII, Rome 1891, 45-48.

merchant so succinctly described by Stoianovich. We are able to surmise from a historical testimony that the brothers Georgios and Christophoros Durutti were not the only members of the family represented in the Greek mercantile diaspora in the eighteenth century. The evidence concerns one Giovanna Dorutti, presumably Ioanna Durutti, from Ancona, who was living in Venice before 1785 with her husband Dom. Bandiera.<sup>30</sup> These are the forebears of the famous heroes of the Italian *risorgimento*, Attilio and Emilio Bandiera, who, after a two-year exile in Corfu (1842-1844), were executed by firing squad following an unsuccessful insurrection in southern Italy.<sup>31</sup> Their family tree and history evidently constitute a representative example of the history of the inhabitants of the Adriatic coast.

During their residence in Ancona the Durutti developed socio-political and economic spheres of action, which were harmonized and enhanced by the second generation. The first sphere includes Georgios Durutti's activities during the Greek War of Independence (1821), his relations with Capodistria, the subsequent relations of his family with King Otto and his appointment as consul in the papal port. The second sphere includes the economic activities that began from general trading and ended in the secondary sector of silk-reeling. Here the dynamism of the second generation of the Durutti family should be acknowledged.

The Greek community at Ancona, like that at Trieste, participated in the War of Independence, mainly by providing financial aid and supporting the refugees.<sup>32</sup> Ancona has the geographical distinction of being the transit station from Greece to many Italian cities –Rome, Bologna, Pisa, Padua, Pavia– which meant that Greek students, merchants, politicians and intellectuals passed through the port, and naturally many of them met members of the immigrant community. One of those who stopped at Ancona during the early years of the War of Independence was Georgios Mavromichalis, *en route* to the Verona Conference, and it was then that he met G. Durutti; it is likewise historically documented that G. Durutti had made the acquaintance of Ignatios of Hungarowallachia, since it was he who introduced him to Capodistria in 1827.<sup>33</sup> We cite indicatively that another famous Greek raised in Italy, Markos Renieris, enjoyed a long friendship with the Durutti family.<sup>34</sup> Ancona was also the port of entry for many Greek students destined for Italian universities; the relevant description by Irinaios Asopios in his memoirs of Italy remains unique.<sup>35</sup> Asopios had met G. Durutti, from whom he learnt of the difficult relations between the Greek Orthodox Christians and those of other dogmas in the papal city.<sup>36</sup> The Durutti took advantage of Ancona's privileged location, creating a network of social relations in which Constantine Durutti was protagonist. Characteristic of this strategy is his advice to his father, in 1830, to offer warm hospitality to Ioannis Argyropoulos, brother of the Great Dragoman of the Porte, who was *en route* to Pisa with his nephew, particularly since the Argyropouloi were

30. Their son, Francesco Bandiera, was born in 1785 and married Anna Marisch, a Bosnian noblewoman settled in Corfu, P. Donazzolo, *I Viaggiatori Veneti Minori*, in the series: *Memorie della Reale Societa Geografica Italiana*, Rome 1867, vol. XVI, 338-339.

31. On the Bandiera family see the relevant entry in the *Dictionario Biografico degli Italiani*, published by Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, vol. 5.

32. Γ.Π. Παπαγεωργίου, Συμβολή στην ιστορία της ελληνικής παροικίας της Αγρίνωσης κατά τον 19ο αιώνα. [G.P. Papageorgiou, Contribution to the history of the Greek community in Ancona during the 19th century], *Διοδώνη*, 4 (1975), 295-340 and on the contribution of the Greek community in Trieste see Olga Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παροικία της Τριεστίνης...* [Olga Katsiardi-Hering, The Greek community in Trieste...], op. cit., vol. I, 335-342.

33. On relations between the Mavromichalis and Durutti families see Μ.Π. Βογτός, *Εθνικών Ημερολόγιον 1866* [M.P. Vretos, National Diary 1866], 348. Athanasios Durutti described Capodistrias's sojourn in Ancona and published a letter from Ignatios to his father, see Αθ. Δουρουτίης, Ο Κυβερνήτης της Ελλάδος εν Αγκωνί το 1827 [A. Durutti, The President of Greece in Ancona, in 1827], *Αττικών Ημερολόγιον*, vol. ΚΑ, 1887, 411-422.

34. In 1841 the justice of the Supreme Court, M. Renieris, was relieved of the post of arbitrator between the State and C. Durutti on account of his long-standing friendship with the latter. Ar. Piliokos was appointed in his stead. See GSA, Otto Archive, Ministry of Interior, file 252, 5/17 Dec. 1841.

35. Ειρ. Ασόπιου, *Αναμνήσεις Ιταλίας* (1845-1852) [E. Asopios, Memories of Italy (1845-1852)], *Αττικών Ημερολόγιον*, vol. ΙΣΤ (1882), 117-140. Included here is the story of six Greeks going to study in Pisa and of one on his way to Leghorn (Oct. 1845).

36. Ειρ. Ασόπιου, *Παλαιά και Νέα* [E. Asopios, Old and New], vol. Ιστ, Athens 1903, 67-68.

37. E.L.I.A., Durutti Archive (1823-1873), file 3, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 1 April 1830 (two letters with the same date. This nephew can be identified as Pericles Argyropoulos (Constantinople 1809 - Athens 1860), who in 1843 became a professor in the Faculty of Laws at the University of Athens, see Δ.Α. Δημητριάδης, *Απάνθισμα βιογραφικών των απο της συστάσεως του Ελληνικού Πανεπιστημίου εκλεπόντων του βίου καθηγητών αυτού (1837-1916)* [D.A. Dimitriadis, Biographical anthology of the late professors of the Greek University since its founding (1837-1916)], Athens 1916, 93-98.



recommended by his friend St. Stravopodis, a merchant from Zante.<sup>37</sup> When King Otto visited Italy in 1836 he staid at Ancona as guest of the Durutti, while C. Durutti awaited his favour for setting up the silkmills at Sparta.<sup>38</sup> The leading role of G. Durutti in the Greek community was obvious, which is why he was appointed first consul of the Kingdom of Greece in Ancona, on 17 August 1833. Constantine Durutti had applied for this post on his father's behalf,<sup>39</sup> which move bespeaks the dynamism of this young man who was to become a driving force in the family. It should be noted that in this same period another expatriate Epirote, Panayotis Pallis, was appointed consul in Leghorn.<sup>40</sup> The following year G. Durutti proposed to the Greek Foreign Minister, Alexandros Mavrokordatos, the widening of the Greek kingdom's diplomatic relations with the other ports and cities of the papal state.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, in 1835 G. Durutti acquired the right to appoint consular agents elsewhere in this state. Concurrently the first diplomatic consultations began between the newly-founded Greek state and the Pontificate.<sup>42</sup> In 1837 diplomatic discussions commenced in Rome concerning the draughting of a treaty on trade and shipping between Greece and the papal state.<sup>43</sup> During this period when the foundations of Greek diplomatic relations were being laid, no great importance was attached to Greek-Pontifical relations. However, in contrast to the low level of inter-state cooperation, G. Durutti's experience from four years of serving as consul can, I think, be assessed as commercial experience and an opportunity to penetrate the economy of the papal territory. The direct benefits of this early diplomatic post were meagre for the Durutti. After G. Durutti's death an acrimonious letter from C. Durutti informed the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs that his brother Ioannis, who had in the meanwhile been appointed as replacement, was obliged to resign, since their father had received no remuneration as consul, not even recompense for his expenses.<sup>44</sup>

As we shall see below, C. Durutti had essentially left Ancona after 1825. G. Durutti died in Ancona on 4 November 1836<sup>45</sup> (see fig. 2), and not long after Athanasios also settled in Greece. So the only member of the family who remained in the port was the eldest son, Ioannis. A final expression of the family's ties with the community there is C. Durutti's letter of June 1849. The fall of the revolutionary Republic of Rome in 1849 brought down with it the democratic guard of Ancona, which after a harsh siege capitulated to the Austrians on 22 June 1849.<sup>46</sup> C. Durutti, at that time in Trieste, tried to save his brother Ioannis and the 40 remaining Greek merchants in the port. This was an opportunity for him to stress the role of the Greek state as protector and rallying point for Greek subjects: 'The Royal steamship scheduled to cross the Adriatic gulf, will need to deviate from its regular route for just a few hours. But these few hours will save Greeks in danger, and will set a most striking example for all that no-one enjoys Greek nationality in vain, and that should the need arise, and even in foreign parts, the paternal Government of

38. Maria Christina Chatzioannou, Η τύχη..., op. cit., 124.

39. Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (A.F.M.), Consulates and Vice-consulates of Greece, file 37:7, 1833.

40. On the appointment of P. Pallis to the port of the Duchy of Tuscany see A.F.M. file 37:6, 1833.

41. A.F.M. file 36:3, 1834.

42. The first diplomatic settlement concerned the franking privilege on correspondence via Ancona to the Ionian Islands and the Greek State (Corfu - Patras), A.F.M. file 11:21, 1834.

43. A.F.M. file 11:21, 1837.

44. His consular income was negligible (200 drs) and he requested 750 drs remuneration, as well as the corresponding salary of the secretary of the Consulate, Kyriakos Marinis. A.F.M. file 37:7, 1838. C. Durutti (Athens) to [Constantine Zografos] the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Athens), 22 March 1838.

45. G.S.A., Small collections, K 19α, Durutti collection (1793-1863), see Commercial circular of the Durutti company, Ancona 13 March 1838.

46. G. Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia moderna (1846-1849)*, vol. 3, Feltrinelli Economica, Milan 1979, 441.

2

Signor

000211

Ancona 15 Marzo 1857.

L'irreparabile perdita che abbiamo fatto il 4. Novembre prossimo passato del nostro ottimo Genitore, siccome sino ad ora non ha prodotto cambiamento nessuno nel corso dei nostri affari commerciali, così né per l'avvenire pure ne produrrà, poichè noi sottoscritti figli ed eredi, ora qui riuniti, in venerazione delle paterne volontà e per onorare la sua cara memoria, abbiamo determinato che la nostra casa commerciale continui con l'istesso suo nome

*Giorgio Durutti.*

Ma dovendo *Sostituto* ritornare in *Grecia* dov' egli farà dimora, il solo *Giovanni* avrà la direzione degli affari, e da oggi in poi sarà per firmare come qui sotto si vede.

Mentre vi diamo coerenza di questa nostra risoluzione, ci confidiamo che vorrete piacervi di proseguire ad onorarci della Vostra amicizia e fiducia, onde ci studieremo di renderci mai sempre meritevoli.

Con sentimenti di vera stima abbiamo il piacere di riverirvi

*Giorgio Durutti che firmava  
per *Costantino Durutti*  
*Costantino Durutti**

*Giorgio Durutti*

**2. Circular of the Durutti trading house announcing the restructuring of the business after the death of George Durutti, 13 March 1837 (GSA, Small collections, K 19a, Durutti collection).**

the Royal Highness the King of Greece is guardian of the interests of its subjects.<sup>47</sup> These lines emphasize eloquently C. Durutti's confidence in the fledgeling Greek kingdom, to which he had meanwhile transferred his business activities, since a large section of immigrant Hellenism in Italy was in decline.

The gradual population increase and economic development from the late eighteenth till the early nineteenth century led to the creation in the Greek communities of the Adriatic of a body of merchants and craftsmen that was 'self-sufficient and isolated' in relation to the local population. Acceptance by this body constituted the necessary social and economic passport for entry of young Greek travellers. The socio-political network that the Durutti had begun to form in Ancona, in combination with their experience of domicile and commerce in Italy, was the launching pad for their business activities, of which the culminating venture was the 'rationalization' of silkworking in Greece.

### The commercial activities of the Durutti

Archival material attests the commercial activity of the Kalarrytian brothers Georgios and Christophoros Durutti in the Adriatic from the late eighteenth century.<sup>48</sup> Apart from these two, there was an uncle(?), Dimitris Durutti, whose residence in Kalarrytes is verified from 1804-1825.<sup>49</sup> The commercial diaspora of the family led Georgios to Ancona in 1793 and

47. A.F.M., Consulates and Vice-consulates of Greece, file 37:1, Trieste. C. Durutti (Trieste) to the Greek Consulate (Trieste), 24 May/5 June 1849.

48. Γ. Παπαγεωργίου, Μαρτυρίες για τις δραστηριότητες Καλαρρυτινών εμπόρων (τέλη 18ου αι.-1821) με βάση το αρχείο Γ. Δουρουτίη [G. Papageorgiou, Evidence on the activities of Kalarrytian merchants (late 18th century - 1821) on the basis of the G. Durutti Archive], *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη μνήμη Νίκου Σβορώνου (30 και 31 Μαγτίου 1990)*, Athens 1993, 75-106.

49. G.S.A., Small collections, K 19a, Durutti collection (1793-1863), Apost. and Athan. Kaloyorgis (Trieste) to G. Durutti and Co. (Ancona), 26 August 1804, 16, and E.L.I.A., Durutti Archive, file 1, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 28 Dec. 1825.



Christophoros to Trieste; the latter's sojourn there is confirmed from 1797 until his death in 1807.<sup>50</sup> During this period a trade circuit<sup>51</sup> was formed in which relatives and fellow villagers participated, and in which woollen cloth had a predominant place. It is clear that locals familiar with the commodity distributed it from northern Greece to the Greek communities of Italy. The network of the Durutti's collaborators began from Venice with the Kalarrytian merchant Georgios Tourtouris,<sup>52</sup> member of the Greek community there since 1788.<sup>53</sup> In Trieste the partnership Durutti, Bogdanos and Company was involved with general import-export activities as well as commercial orders.<sup>54</sup> The members of the partnership, apart from Christophoros Durutti, were Georgios Bogdanos and Georgios Papaioannou from Elasona, and Ioannis-Damianos from Arta.<sup>55</sup> In Ancona Georgios Durutti collaborated with Dimitris Papas, a fellow Kalarrytian merchant,<sup>56</sup> and, lastly, at Leghorn with 'Bachomis and Paraschis'. The Bachomis family had been trading in Leghorn since 1760,<sup>57</sup> and like the Paraschis family was from Kalarrytes too.<sup>58</sup> Theodoros Paraschis was based in Ioannina from at least 1799, while his eldest son Konstantinos Th. Paraschis was active in Venice (1799-1800) and Leghorn (1800-1810).<sup>59</sup> In 1798 G. Durutti married Th. Paraschis's daughter, Helen. So the ties of the Kalarrytian trading circuit were also sealed by a marriage alliance.<sup>60</sup>

G. Durutti's commercial correspondence gives an insight into the geography of domestic manufacture of woollen cloth exported to the Adriatic. In 1796 woollen cloth from Zagora was exported to Venice, and in 1804 Kalarrytian woollen cloth to Trieste.<sup>61</sup> From the Ioannina market Theodoros Paraschis kept contacts with the mountainous stock-raising area where woollen cloth was produced. He himself wrote that in 1804 D. Papas, G. Durutti's partner, went to Livadi and bought 20 cargoes of 'skouti' and 12 of 'Vlach skouti',<sup>62</sup> an indication that since both are of Vlach provenance the latter was woven in the Vlach manner. Leake, who passed through Livadi during this period, confirms that the trade in white and black woollen cloth was in the hands of Kalarrytians, who sent it to their agents in the Adriatic via Thessaloniki.<sup>63</sup> The same traveller informs us that their output was 15-20 cargoes; G. Durutti distributed 20 cargoes of cloth from Livadi in the Adriatic in 1804, a quantity repeated in 1808,<sup>64</sup> while his compatriot G. Tourtouris seems to have purchased 60 cargoes of Livadian cloth in 1805.<sup>65</sup> The sea lane from Thessaloniki to the Adriatic ports is the natural route for merchandise coming from Livadi. The villages of Asopropotamos were the other traditional area of woollen cloth production. In those cases where the mission to purchase woollen cloth combined Livadi and Aspropotamos the route was Ioannina - Livadi - Aspropotamos and the exporting port was Sayada.<sup>66</sup> On a mission to purchase 120 cargoes of woollen cloth, G. Tourtouris passed through Ioannina to Livadi and thence to the Vlach village of Vretnikos at Aspropotamos, where he was set upon by thieves.<sup>67</sup> Clearly the mountain

50. See letter from the Kalarrytian merchant G. Michos (Trieste) to G. Durutti and Co. (Ancona), 26 Aug. 1807, G.S.A., Small collections, K 19a, Durutti collection (1793-1863), 55.

51. Op. cit., documents 3-55.

52. G. Tourtouris is identified as the wealthy uncle of I. Kolettis, who financed his studies in Pisa, see Χρ. Στασινοπούλος, *Λεξικό της Ελληνικής Επανάστασης* [Chr. Stasinopoulos, Dictionary of the Greek Revolution], vol. 2, Athens 1971, 421.

53. Αρτεμη Ξανθοπούλου-Κυριακού, *Η ελληνική κοινότητα της Βενετίας (1797-1866)* [Artemis Xanthopoulou-Kyriakou, The Greek community in Venice (1797-1866)], Επιστ. Επετηρίς Φιλολογικής Σχολής Θεσσαλονίκης, suppl. no. 19, Thessaloniki 1978, 240.

54. Olga Katsiardi-Hering, *Η ελληνική παρούσα...*

op. cit., vol. II, pl. Δ, 583.

55. *Ibidem* pl. E, 589.

56. Though this is a common surname, a Georgios Papas from Kalarrytes was registered in the community in Venice (1713-1818), see Artemis Xanthopoulou-Kyriakou, *Η ελληνική κοινότητα...*, op. cit., 238.

57. See K.N. Triantaphyllou, *Οι κώδικες γάμιου και βαπτίσματος...*, op. cit., *passim*. Furthermore, Christophoros Bachomis from Kalarrytes received monetary assistance as a refugee in Ancona, in 1824, G.P. Papageorgiou, *Συμβολή στην ιστορία...*, op. cit., 328.

58. Konstantinos Paraschis from Kalarrytes was registered in the Greek community in Venice from 1799, Artemis Xanthopoulou-Kyriakou, *Η ελληνική κοινότητα...*, op. cit., 244.

59. G. Papageorgiou, *Μαρτυρίες...*, op. cit., 92.

60. A typewritten draft of George Durutti's biography has been deposited at the E.L.I.A. along with the Durutti Archive, see Χρ. Ζιούλα, *Βιογραφικό σημείωμα Γεωργίου Ι. Δουρουτή* [Chr. Zioulas, Biographical note on Georgios I. Durutti] (typescript), Athens 1976, E.L.I.A., Durutti Archive.

61. G.S.A., Small collections, K 19a, Durutti collection (1793-1863), G. Tourtouris (Venice) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 14 March 1796, 3 and Apost. & Athan. Kalorygis (Trieste) to G. Durutti & Co. (Ancona), 26 Aug. 1804, 16.

62. From the same collection, Th. Paraschis (Ioannina) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 23 Novem. 1804, 18.

63. W.M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece...*, op. cit., vol. I, 335-336.

64. In 1808 G. Durutti tried to settle comradely accounts with his brother, which included 10 bales of 'Livadi skouti' and 13 of 'Vlach', G.S.A., Durutti collection, G. Durutti (Corfu) to I. Stamatakis (Leghorn), 22 July 1808, 65.

65. In the same collection, Th. Paraschis (Ioannina) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 3 May 1805, 23.

66. On the commercial importance of Sayada, see Γ. Σιορόκας, *Το γαλλικό προξενείο της Άρτας (1702-1789)* [G. Siorokas, The French consulate in Arta (1702-1789)], Ioannina 1981, 382.

67. Tourtouris was finally freed by the Stourmara brothers, G.S.A., Durutti collection, Th. Paraschis (Ioannina) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 3 May 1805, 23.

passes were hazardous for the merchant covering land routes.

Through the business letters of the latter years of the eighteenth century the trade circuit of the first expatriate Kalarrytians is described, showing that the common place of origin drew together economic interests, guaranteeing commercial reliability and knowledge of the specific commodity. In the context of general import-export trade, knowledge of woollen cloth at first provided them with a comparative advantage over other merchants in the Italian markets, giving them sufficient time to accumulate commercial capital. This was achieved by the first generation of expatriate merchants. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, this type of business activity, transit trade in woollen cloth in the Adriatic, had reached its limits. So it was knowledge of woollen cloth that launched the Durutti family. Many years later, in 1836, when C. Durutti was already oriented towards silk-reeling, he wrote *inter alia* from Ancona –almost out of the blue one could say– that the ‘*skouti*’ woven by the Aspropotamians of Thebes was better than that from Euboea, an opinion that should be regarded as expressing deeply rooted trading and technical experience.<sup>68</sup>

The year 1825 was a turning point in the activities of the Durutti trading house. The Greek War of Independence was still in full swing and C. Durutti settled on Corfu for business reasons,<sup>69</sup> initially residing and working with his commercial collaborator Ioannis Damaskinos and from 1829 operating on his own. Obviously these were the years of twenty-year-old C. Durutti’s apprenticeship. For almost a decade he managed his family’s business affairs from Corfu, where his activity seems to have aroused the jealousy of local merchants.<sup>70</sup> The Durutti trading house evolved and progressed as the old type of itinerant merchant who travelled, financed, bought and sold commodities gave way to the new type of sedentary merchant who directs commercial enterprises and mobilizes business collaborations.<sup>71</sup>

After Corfu C. Durutti discovered promising economic prospects in the newly-founded Greek kingdom, where he settled permanently, taking his younger brother Athanasios with him. The eldest brother Ioannis stayed in Ancona, and in 1829 married Sosani Prinari from Kalarrytes,<sup>72</sup> the last symbolic act of the ties of the Durutti family with both its place of origin and the closed society of expatriate merchants. This is the same closed social and economic system as that reproduced in different dimensions and by other ethnic groups, such as the Jews of the diaspora.

In the early years of the British Protectorate, Corfu emerged as a large entrepôt port for the Greek mainland, then in the throes of the War of Independence. There was, furthermore, a growing demand for staple commodities in the island’s interior. The large urban concentration of Corfiotes and foreigners (87% of the total population), in conjunction with the island’s small agricultural production,<sup>73</sup> made supplying the city of Corfu a highly profitable enterprise. C. Durutti handled grain and flour entering the

68. These were probably refugees from Aspropotamos who had settled in Thebes and were networked around their old technique of woollen cloth production. Benaki Museum, Durutti Archive, file 2, C. Durutti (Athens) to [G. Durutti, Ancona], 28 April/10 May 1836.

69. This period is covered by the Durutti collection in the E.L.I.A., files 1-7 (1823-1835).

70. The same collection, file 2, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 27 Novem. 1829.

71. Of the rich historiography concerning different types of merchants, I cite here Ch.P. Kindleberger, Commercial Expansion and Industrial Revolution, *The Journal of European Economic History*, 4/3 (1975), 615.

72. E.L.I.A., Durutti Archive, file 2, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 27 Novem. 1829.

73. Γ. Προγουλάκης, Στην Κέρκυρα τον 19ο αιώνα: πλεονασματικά χωριά και ελλειμματικές εκμεταλλεύσεις [G. Progulakis, In 19th-century Corfu: surplus-producing villages and loss-making exploitations], *Τα Ιστορικά*, 7 (1987) 64-66.



port from Dalmatia, which had long-standing and close commercial ties with Ancona, Sebenico, Spalato, Senia, the Murlacia, as well as regions of Italy: Abruzzo, Apulia and Naples. Grain also reached Corfu from Alexandria, as well as from more distant parts such as Odessa and Taganrog, destined not only for the Ionian Islands, but also for the western harbours of Epirus, Central Greece and the Peloponnese.

During this period C. Durutti faced an extremely complicated political situation; the unrest in the regions under Ottoman administration on the one hand and the irregular circumstances prevailing during the Greek War of Independence on the other created a climate of instability. He noted that the 'mainland is hungry', 'the mainland is closed'<sup>74</sup> and the harbours through which products were supplied and distributed were often blockaded because of local conflicts.<sup>75</sup> So the surest commercial activity was the import to Corfu from Italy of staples, 'eatables' from Italy. These included various Italian cheeses, salt cod, rice, pasta, beans, broad beans, garlic and onions, which became the main import products.<sup>76</sup>

The main export product that C. Durutti pursued was now wool rather than woollen cloth, indicating that although the cottage-industry of the mountainous areas had declined, manufacturing activities in the papal state continued to absorb raw material from Greece. The wool that C. Durutti exported to Ancona was sold in Rome as '*lana di lavoro*', that is for processing. The correspondence of the Durutti trading house shows that the geographical breadth of wool production was considerably greater than that of woollen cloth production. The 'Aspropotamians', from the old network of the woollen cloth trade, while continuing to produce cloth, now loaded wool as well, at Sayada or Corfu.<sup>77</sup> Concurrently, C. Durutti accumulated in Corfu, for export to Ancona, wool from Santa Mavra (Lefkada) and Cephalonia,<sup>78</sup> from Preveza,<sup>79</sup> and Albania. One Molivadas seems to have played an important role as a middleman in the Corfu market.<sup>80</sup> The wool from Roumeli was mainly loaded at Mesolongi and Dragamesto (Astakos), for Ancona.<sup>81</sup> But Mesolongi is a place with which Durutti had no commercial connections. He himself notes: 'Mesolongi is near but it needs astute buyers for the wool and I know nobody..'. It is clear that for the purchase of export goods C. Durutti relied on middlemen who were in contact with the producers, in contrast to the previous generation of Kalarrytian merchants who were personally in touch with the woollen cloth weavers. Only the Aspropotamians still kept a closed organization in the production and distribution of their product.<sup>83</sup> On the other hand, C. Durutti had already created a powerful ambit, since he was able to confront the intense commercial competition in Corfu—a small and difficult market in any case—with cheaper cargoes of wool bought from Ismailia and Galatsi.<sup>84</sup>

The wool trade, associated as it is with the seasonal migration of flocks, has a geographical mobility that is sometimes affected by non-economic

74. It is characteristic that in times of famine maize, cheaper and more readily available, was preferred, see E.L.I.A., Durutti Archive, file 2, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 2 March 1829 and 17 Dec. 1829.

75. Disputes between the Albanians, who in 1830 closed the ports of Aghia Saranta and Nivitsa, were particularly damaging to the smooth conduct of trade, *ibidem*, file 3, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 19 March 1830 and 7 March 1830.

76. The profit on three crates of dried cuttlefish, for instance, was 11%. *Ibidem*, file 3, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 10 Sept. 1830.

77. *Ibidem*, file 3, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 7 June 1830 and file 4, 3 Sept. 1830.

78. *Ibidem*, file 4, C. Durutti (Corfu) to D. Durutti (Ancona), 10 July 1930.

79. *Ibidem*, file 4, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 20 July 1830.

80. *Ibidem*, file 3, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 7 June 1830 and file 4, 10 July 1830.

81. *Ibidem*, file 7, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 3 July 1835 and Mich. Iatros (Nauplion) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 3 July 1835.

82. *Ibidem*, file 6, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 7 April 1832.

83. *Ibidem*, file 5, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 16 Jan. 1831. There is just one mention of the arrival in Corfu of a Metsovian with a cargo of 2000 okas of wool, *ibidem*, file 5, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 29 June 1831.

84. He had a recommended agent there and credit in Constantinople or Odessa, *ibidem*, file 6, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 7 April 1832.

factors; in 1830, for instance, Durutti notes that civil strife among the Albanians forced the transhumant stock-raisers to descend to Thessaly, as a consequence of which the wool was collected at Volos.<sup>85</sup> It is characteristic that Durutti planned, from Volos again, the export of a cargo of Bulgarian wool,<sup>86</sup> perhaps to avoid the circuit of the Jewish merchants who controlled the wool trade in Thessaloniki.<sup>87</sup> Of course, for Thessalian wool export by sea from Volos to Ancona was more profitable than the mixed route Trikala - Sayada - Ancona.<sup>88</sup> In this case too the sea route constituted the most profitable part. Alongside wool C. Durutti also exported bargain commodities to Ancona, such as linseed from Ithaca and bronze scrap from the remnants of the armoury of the Greek Struggle for Independence.<sup>89</sup>

A different export commodity brought C. Durutti to the southern Peloponnese, namely the acorn. Acorns were exported from Gytheion (Marathonisi)<sup>90</sup> and Areopolis (Tzimova) to Ancona, their final destinations being Rome and Leghorn. Demand for acorns intensified after 1835 and the place from which they were exported was definitive for Durutti, since it led him to another rural product of the southern Peloponnese, silk. The buying price of wool had begun to rise beyond the control of the Durutti firm and purchases were made with down payment of half the value of the cargo.<sup>91</sup> So buying acorns in the southern Peloponnese and Arcadia became C. Durutti's main target, since the Kea acorns were bought by merchants from Syros. The acorn market had the relative advantage over the 'organized' wool market in that it was very open ended: 'those having acorns are poor people and have no other produce.. and they cannot keep their products unsold for very long'.<sup>92</sup> So great were delays in payment for goods imported to the Greek kingdom that all the importer's profit was lost and only the export of cheap but profitable products, such as acorns, could offset the extended circulation of merchant capital.

A second turning point in C. Durutti's economic orientations came in 1834. Here the distinctive difference was not the shift in the locus of trading enterprises from Corfu to the Peloponnese, but in the focus, the actual product. The product that was gradually to stand out on account of its vigour was silk. The main bulk of export cargoes of wool to Ancona was replaced by acorns: from the cottage-industrial product (woollen cloth) and the raw material for manufacturing (wool), the Durutti trading firm moved to a secondary raw material, acorns, and from there to silk – of decisive importance for its future direction. On the other hand the imports of food had been replaced by construction materials,<sup>93</sup> which were destined for the rebuilding of urban centres in Greece, such as Nauplion. Between 1834 and 1836 C. Durutti was moving between the Peloponnese, Ancona and Athens, and around 1837 he made his home temporarily in Sparta.

During his sojourns in Corfu and the Peloponnese, western Greece and the Italian side of the Adriatic had been the cardinal axis of transactions. After

85. *Ibidem*, file 3, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 7 June 1830.

86. *Ibidem*, file 5, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 17 March 1831.

87. N. Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1956, 187-193. K. Kostis, *Structures sociales et retard économique. Salonique et l'économie de la laine XVI-XVIII s.*, *Etudes Balkaniques*, 26/1 (1990), 100-114.

88. E.L.L.A., Durutti Archive, file 5, C. Durutti (Corfu) to G. Durutti (Ancona), [...] 1831.

89. During the same period the Gerousis trading house was involved in the profitable export of old copper to Trieste, Μαρία Χριστίνα Χατζηγιάννου, *Ο εμπορικός οίκος Γερούση: από την Οθωμανική αυτοκρατορία στο ελληνικό κράτος (1823-1870)* [Maria Christina Chatzigiannou, *The Gerousis trading house: from the Ottoman empire to the Greek state (1823-1870)*] (unpublished doctoral thesis), Athens 1989, 74-76.

90. Durutti's main agents in Gytheion were I. Tzatzopoulos and I. Nikopoulos, E.L.L.A., Durutti Archive, file 8, 1837. Moreover, the Durutti family were also old acquaintances of the Mavromichalis family in Mani, *op. cit.* note 33.

91. In 1838 the buying price of wool rose from 73-75 lepta to 154 lepta, to fall again later. *Ibidem*, file 9, C. Durutti (Nauplion) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 28 Feb. 1838 and C. Durutti (Nauplion) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 29 Sept. 1838.

92. *Ibidem*, file 9, C. Durutti (Nauplion) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 1 Jan. 1838.

93. A typical order for building materials, see G.S.A., Durutti collection, C. Durutti (Marathonisi) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 7 Jan. 1834, 234.



settling in Athens he continued to export acorns, cocoons and oil from the southern Peloponnese<sup>94</sup> to Ancona and Trieste, augmenting his commercial contacts.<sup>95</sup> Early in 1840 C. Durutti, based in Athens, opened the Smyrna - Ancona or Trieste axis for the Durutti firm.<sup>96</sup> Characteristic of each phase of his trading activities is his steady involvement with a basic product, first wool and later one cheap and one expensive commodity, acorns and silk respectively. The volume of exports was of course liable to fluctuations, largely due to fluctuations in production. So I consider that the Durutti had a fairly stable absorption network for 'Greek' products in Italy, in contrast to other expatriate merchants whose export cargoes showed an *ad hoc* variety. Between 1830 and 1850, the Durutti trading house supplied the manufacturing activities of the papal state with raw materials, primarily wool, acorns and silk. Wool was the hallmark of the Durutti firm in the first half of the nineteenth century, and even in 1844 C. Durutti, unable to buy it in Acarnania on account of political unrest, advised his brother to obtain it from Trieste,<sup>97</sup> obviously to supply their customers' demands. It seems that during this period English merchants entered the wool markets in Greece, intensifying competition.<sup>98</sup> On the other hand silk, production of which was small-scale and scattered, became the object of a new pursuit. From Athens, C. Durutti investigated the production of 'silk' –I believe he meant cocoons– in the province of Phthiotis.<sup>99</sup> Moreover, on entering the Kea acorn market, he learnt that the island produced 150-200 okas of silk of the same quality as that from Andros, suitable for commercial exploitation.<sup>100</sup> It was through the commercial dimension of silk, and with this as his guide, that C. Durutti embarked on the business of silkmills in the southern Peloponnese.

### The silkmills in the southern Peloponnese

The C. Durutti silkmill at Sparta has been rightly designated as a 'protected workshop' characteristic of the early years of the Greek kingdom.<sup>101</sup> It was in effect a business endeavour that tried to amalgamate the technical experience of silk production from Italy (Fossombrone - Ancona) with the productive potential of the southern Peloponnese,<sup>102</sup> an enterprise supplementary to trading transactions and thus belonging in the wider Adriatic exchange system. The Durutti were and remained merchants for almost a century and a half, until the founding of the silkmill at Athens. The new factor that appeared here was that though the local reelers (*manganaraioi*) could produce virtually as much silk as the Durutti mills at Sparta and Messene, they were still dependent on the merchant since the fixed commercial channel to European consumers was Durutti. So the chain, local producers - silk-reelers - merchant - European market remained unbroken.

Durutti decided to invest in a factory in the part of Greece which was the paramount producer of 'non-industrialized' silk, the southern Peloponnese.

94. Durutti's commercial agents were: Il. Alexandrakis (Kalamata), Al. Poulakis, P. Albanakis, S. Makris (Gytheion), D.K. Kousoulakos (Areopolis), An. Iliadis (Krokees), E.L.L.A., Durutti Archive, files 10-11, 1840-1842.

95. His archival material includes a printed commercial circular of Vakkas and Monastiriotes, Nauplion 1.8.1845 and a handwritten commercial circular of the Papadakis firm, Athens 1.8.1845, *ibidem*, file 17.

96. *Ibidem*, file 11, C. Durutti (Athens) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 9/21 Dec. 1843, file 12 N. Moraitinis (Smyrna) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 7/25 July 1842.

97. *Ibidem*, file 13, C. Durutti (Athens) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 9/21 June 1844.

98. The buying price increased from 72 lepta in 1843 to 85 lepta in 1844, on account of the high British duty, *ibidem*, file 13, C. Durutti (Athens) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 14/26 May 1844.

99. *Ibidem*, file 18, I. Monastiriotes (Lamia) to C. Durutti (Athens), 12 July 1846.

100. *Ibidem*, file 18, V. Iosiph (Kea) to C. Durutti (Athens), 24 April 1846.

101. Χριστίνα Αργιαντώνη, *Οι απαρχές της εφθομιμ-χάνισης στην Ελλάδα τον 19ο αι.* [Christina Agriantoni, The beginnings of industrialization in 19th-century Greece], Athens 1986, 33ff.

102. Maria Christina Chatzioannou, *Η τήξη...*, op. cit., 121-123.

Peloponnesian silk belonged to that class of hand-reeled silk of Mediterranean provenance which, even when traded to French and English silkmills, was very little utilized. The hand-reeled silk of Fossombrone was the last defender, until the early decades of the nineteenth century, of an old tradition in which the silk-reeler was held in high esteem. But there is a law governing the world of silk: the simplicity of the process from rearing the cocoon to reeling the silk filament, is matched by the difficulty of transition to a superior technique because it demands a sophisticated technological milieu. It is a very refined and delicate process with serious technical and social complications.<sup>103</sup>

All the time C. Durutti was preparing the silkmills at Sparta and Messene, and even when they were operating, his involvement in the import-export trade with Ancona never ceased. His inroad into the Peloponnese was facilitated by the collaboration of an old-established and experienced local merchant, Michael Iatros, representative of the Nauplion 'gentry'.<sup>104</sup> His collaboration with M. Iatros, and to a lesser degree with the Tsakonian E. Tsouchlos<sup>105</sup>, aimed at penetrating the Greek kingdom and widening the family's interests there. By the same token, the two Peloponnesian merchants acquired an able and experienced business colleague in the proximate sphere of expatriate Hellenism. In 1835 C. Durutti and E. Tsouchlos signed an eight-year contract with the government, according to which they leased the right to collect the tithe on cocoon production in the Peloponnese and on the national mulberry groves in Laconia, they were ceded free land for building the silkmills and, lastly, they were granted the exclusive privilege of producing silk of Italian type.<sup>106</sup> It seems that problems soon clouded the collaboration with E. Tsouchlos, on account of his high personal debts to the state, according to M. Iatros.<sup>107</sup> C. Durutti and M. Iatros also became lessees of the tithe on the olive oil in Mystras and Kalamata.<sup>108</sup>

The trials and tribulations of building the silkmills at Sparta and Messene (Nisi), as well as the import and the installation of the equipment, have been described elsewhere, as has Durutti's friction with the Italian silkworkers brought from Ancona to throw and reel the Peloponnesian silk. Italian silkworkers manned the mills from their inauguration until at least 1845.<sup>109</sup> Conflicts with these Italians on the one hand and local rivalries on the other forced Durutti to look for specialist silkworkers with dependent labour relationship, in Livadia. It seems that in 1844 the chief Italian silkworker, Teresa Loviselli, was replaced by a Greek woman from that town, which had a long tradition in weaving woollen and cotton cloth. She migrated seasonally from her base (Livadia, Athens, Piraeus - by sea [Kalamata], Messene, Sparta) for 40-43 days, for a daily wage of 4 drachmas.<sup>110</sup> It becomes clear that, at the local level, social resistance to the rationally organized production of the silkmills constituted a structural impediment to transplanting the urban silk-reeling of Fossombrone to the rural area of the southern Peloponnese.

Principal positive factor in this enterprise was the Durutti family's social

103. L. Cafagna, *Dualismo e sviluppo nella storia d'Italia*, Venice 1989, xxv.

104. Κ. Σπηλιωτάκης, Το αρχείο του Μιχαήλ Ιατρού (1802-1893) [K. Spiliotakis, The Michael Iatros Archive (1802-1893)], *Τετράδια Εργασίας Κ.Ν.Ε./Ε.Ι.Ε.*, 6 (1983).

105. Christina Agriantoni, *Οι απαρχές...*, op. cit., 20, 106. Idem, 35.

107. E.L.L.A., Durutti collection, file 8, M. Iatros (Nauplion) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 26 May 1837.

108. Ibidem, file 7, M. Iatros (Nauplion) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 17 Novem. 1836.

109. Maria Christina Chatziioannou, *Η τύχη...*, op. cit., 121-131.

110. E.L.L.A., Durutti Archive, file 13, P. Dimitriou (Nisi) to C. Durutti (Athens), 23 Aug. 1844 and a letter from Eleni Sousanitzia (Sparta) to C. Durutti (Athens), 14 Oct. 1844, in which she asks for an advance on her payment.



network, that stemmed from the Greeks who passed through Ancona and reached to the leading citizens of the Peloponnese, and even to King Otto himself. A social frame of reference and support, it had been created in the time of the commercial diaspora of the Kalarrytian merchants in the Greek communities of the Italian peninsula. From the moment C. Durutti settled in Greece, his fortune was his social and commercial capital; there may have been some patrimonial land in the Turkish-occupied region of Ioannina. With his commercial capital C. Durutti financed the silkmills, while continuing his mercantile activities with M. Iatros between the Peloponnese and the Italian peninsula, following the old eighteenth-century system of transactions. However, it is clear from their mutual correspondence that the capital for financing the silkmills also came from Ancona. Perhaps the value of the external trade with Greece was balanced in this way.

All the equipment and building materials, as well as the silkworkers, were imported from Ancona. The cost of the silkmills can be estimated at least partially: 36 of the 44 cauldrons at Sparta and 24 of the 42 at Messene, together with the reeling machines (filatories), cost 1,516.75,<sup>111</sup> the nails and timber 590.38 scuda, and freightage from Ancona 300 scuda. The total, excluding the architect's fee and the masons' wages, adds up to 2,407.13 scuda [2,672 drs]. As a measure of comparison it is noted that in 1835 5,000 okas of wool fetched 745 scuda [827 drs] at Ancona.<sup>112</sup> The overall value, even if it reached as much as 4,000-4,500 drs, was not excessive for the fixed outlay of such a 'protected' processing activity. The problem was, however, that this outlay was burdened with operating costs in the first years, without satisfactory output in a country where money was particularly expensive.

The Durutti-Iatros-Tsouchlos silkmills began operating in 1837. The name Tsouchlos does not appear after the first contracts, whereas close economic interests linked C. Durutti with M. Iatros, who also kept Ioannis Durutti in Ancona informed in detail.<sup>113</sup> Iatros and Durutti continued to procure cargoes of acorns, as well as of local silk, for the markets of Ancona, Rome and Leghorn. In the silkmills at Sparta and Messene, from 10 pounds of cocoons they obtained 1 oka of good silk and from 12 pounds 1 oka of Italian-type silk, which cost twice as much to produce as the first.<sup>114</sup> At Fossombrone 14 pounds of cocoons were required to produce 1 pound of good silk, in order to be competitive in the market.<sup>115</sup> In the summer of 1837 the first sample of Italian-type silk produced by the Durutti silkmills was distributed as follows: 4 crates for the 'Rallis Brothers' in London, via the merchant L. Lazaros in Patras who was loading currants at Aigion, 2 crates for 'Clark and Company' on Zakynthos, who were presumably also loading currants for England, 2 crates for Ancona and another 4 crates for the same port, via Nauplion.<sup>116</sup> Silk followed the route of currants for England, indicating that it was still a supplementary commodity. The selling price of Italian-type silk in London was 26 shillings to 26 shillings and 6 pence,<sup>117</sup> but because the Durutti silk

111. *Ibidem*, file 8, M. Iatros (Nauplion) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 24 March 1837 and 26 June 1837. For the final number of cauldrons see K. Spiliotakis, *To αγγεῖον...*, *op. cit.*, 28.

112. *Ibidem*, file 7, M. Iatros (Nauplion) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 29 Oct. 1835.

113. There are random letters from M. Iatros (Nauplion and Athens) to I. Durutti (Ancona) in the files of the Durutti Archive in the E.L.I.A., as well as copies of these in his own archive, see Index, entry Durutti, K. Spiliotakis, *To αγγεῖον Ἰατροῦ...*, *op. cit.*

114. E.L.I.A., Durutti Archive, file 8, M. Iatros (Nauplion) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 26 June 1837.

115. Giuliana Careras, *L'industria serica a Fossombrone...*, *op. cit.*, 131.

116. During the same period not only seasonal Italian skilled workers travelled from Gytheion to Ancona, but also cargoes of acorns, E.L.I.A., Durutti Archive, file 8, M. Iatros (Athens) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 30 Novem. 1837.

117. *Ibidem*, file 8, I. Durutti (Ancona) to C. Durutti, 20 Sept./2 Oct. 1837.

required further processing it was sold at the lower price of 19 shillings.<sup>118</sup>

The early years of the silkmills were fraught with internal and external difficulties, not least the intrinsic problems of the business and the drop in European demand for silk of Fossombrone type. In 1838 there was a 20% decrease in the harvest of cocoons, as a result of a 'hot wind', and prospects were inauspicious for the next three years. In Sparta that summer the mill was buying cocoons daily from wherever it could, in order to cover the needs of the 40 cauldrons, which produced at least 342 okas of pure silk, while in the silkmill at Messene another 125 okas were produced.<sup>119</sup> During the 1840s the quality of the thrown and reeled silk produced in these mills was not standardized and by the time their small output became competitive the demand for Fossombrone-type silk in the London market had plummeted.

In 1840 the selling price in Patras for silk reeled 'in the Italian manner' was so disadvantageous that, according to M. Iatros, it would have been more profitable to sell cocoons than to unravel the filament; even worse, another 7 crates of silk remained unsold. The selling price for their silk in Marseilles was 17% lower than the current selling price, on account of its quality.<sup>120</sup> According to the specialist controller from Fossombrone, L. Buffoni, the quality of the silk from Sparta mill had still not been standardized in the following year.<sup>121</sup> Although this mill was the larger and better appointed of the two, its product was evidently defective. So in 1841 Ioannis Durutti opted to sell the silk from both Sparta and Messene at a good price in Ancona, since it was not sufficiently competitive for the London market.<sup>122</sup> Eventually, after the mills had been operating for six years, 15 crates of silk from the Messene mill were sold in London at the desired price, while 8 crates from Sparta remained unsold.<sup>123</sup> By 1844-1845 operation and production seem to have been normalized in both silkmills. Labour relations were also on an even keel, after the episodes with the Loviselli couple and the 'master reelers'. So the Messene mill, chief silkworker in which was a woman from Livadia, reached a production level of 5 litres a day with 180 drams per cauldron.<sup>124</sup> In September 1844 C. Durutti shipped 20 crates of silk from Piraeus to Tambakos and Geralopoulos in London, while in the same month Athanasios Durutti departed for Marseilles.<sup>125</sup>

By the time some kind of equilibrium was achieved in production and sales it was 1846, when the conceded privileges ceased to have effect; not that local producers had not abused the two mills' exclusive privilege of producing thrown and reeled Italian-type silk. Though Durutti and Iatros soon lost the monopoly on production, it seems that they managed to control commercially the 'independent' local production. The Italian-type silk produced in the Sparta and Messene mills was destined for the London, Marseilles or at least Ancona market because there was no possibility of absorption in the Greek kingdom. Consequently the silk produced by local independent 'reelers' from Mystras also aimed at the European market, to

118. *Ibidem*, file 8, I. Durutti (Ancona) to C. Durutti, 20 Sept./2 Oct. 1837, C. Durutti (Gytheion) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 31 Dec. 1837 and file 9, M. Iatros (Nauplion) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 31 May 1838.

119. *Ibidem*, file 9, M. Iatros (Nauplion) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 31 May 1838, C. Durutti (Sparta) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 13 July 1838, M. Iatros (Nauplion) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 13 Aug. 1838, 30 Aug. 1838, 29 Sept. 1838.

120. *Ibidem*, file 10, M. Iatros (Nauplion) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 15 March 1840 and 31 July 1840.

121. *Ibidem*, file 10, I. Durutti (Ancona) to C. Durutti (Athens), 2 Aug. 1841 accompanied by a letter from L. Buffoni (Fossombrone) to G. Spadoni (Ancona), 18 July 1841.

122. *Ibidem*, file 11, I. Durutti (Ancona) to C. Durutti (Athens), 5/17 October 1841.

123. *Ibidem*, file 11, C. Durutti (Athens) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 9/21 Dec. 1843.

124. *Ibidem*, file 13, Petros Dimitriou (Nisi) to C. Durutti (Athens), 23 Aug. 1844. In 1845 C. Durutti went to Sparta, where he drew up a contract with the Italian P. Barbuti. Advantageous to the firm, it encompassed everything from growing mulberry trees to superintending the two silkmills, *ibidem*, file 15, contract 28 April 1845.

125. *Ibidem*, file 13, C. Durutti (Athens) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 9/21 Sept. 1844 and 9/21 Oct. 1844.



which Durutti-Iatros had the only entrée. In 1846 the messages for Italian-type silk were indeed disappointing, both from London –from ‘Tambakos, Mikroulakis and Mavrogdato’– and Marseilles, where the selling price of silk produced by a local reeler had fallen by 15%.<sup>126</sup> So the conservative merchant M. Iatros observed that, since there was no demand for silk of Italian type and Peloponnesian cocoons were expensive to buy, because production was small, it was perhaps not sound to stock cocoons for the silkmills. On the contrary, the local independent ‘*manganaraioi*’, who had been throwing and reeling Italian-type silk with considerable profit for two years in succession, pre-purchased cocoons indiscriminately, without knowing the selling prices for silk in London and Marseilles.<sup>127</sup> The comparative advantage of the diaspora merchant who had access to commercial information is thrown sharply into relief in this instance. Indeed while the Mystras silkwormers were buying cocoons at high prices, ignorant of the selling prices in Europe, some others entered the cocoon market fully aware of its behaviour in this critical period: Chiote merchants.<sup>128</sup> M. Iatros likewise foresaw the slump in demand for hand-reeled Italian-style silk in the markets of London and Marseilles in 1847. The general economic situation worsened in 1848, when the European market was disturbed by the political uprisings.<sup>129</sup>

Here, more or less, ends the story of the first silkmills in the southern Peloponnese. In the eyes of F. Strong, harsh critic of the Greek kingdom in its early stages, the granting of the protective privilege to an ‘Italian’ whose business did badly, was a dismal failure, since his silk was useless in the markets of London and Manchester, and was only consumed in Lyons as weft for making ribbon.<sup>130</sup> Forty years later, the Frenchman H. Belle was more lenient in his criticism of the same enterprise. He was the first to acknowledge as the main reason for its failure the competition of the itinerant ‘*manganaraioi*’, who by his day had been completely ousted by industrial competition.<sup>131</sup> Both opinions are broadly speaking correct, the only thing they ignore are Durutti’s commercial outlets. In 1855 N. Damaskinos, possibly a relative of Durutti’s old business partner in Corfu,<sup>132</sup> extolled C. Durutti’s business enterprise that gave Greek silk a new dimension as an export commodity, announcing the beginning of the Société Séricicole and requesting from the government new protective measures for silk;<sup>133</sup> a large sector of Greek entrepreneurs still sought a powerful state.

However, the most important result of the silkmills at Sparta and Messene was not their output *per se*, but the fact that they signalled the passage to a new era in the economy of the Hellenic world, during the 1830s and 1840s. At the level of the history of the Durutti firm, the passage from trading woollen cloth to agricultural raw materials, to wool and eventually to silk, enhanced the infrangible dynamic of commercial activity, as well as the direct relationship with European industrial production. Silk ensured the economic continuity of the business, since silk –even with problems– was the first

126. *Ibidem*, file 18, M. Iatros (Nauplion) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 19 May 1846, 26 Oct. 1846 and 8 Dec. 1846.

127. *Ibidem*, file 19, M. Iatros (Nauplion) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 28 April 1846.

128. *Ibidem*, file 19, M. Iatros (Nauplion) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 3 Aug. 1846.

129. *Ibidem*, file 19, M. Iatros (Athens) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 13 April 1847 and 25 July 1848.

130. F. Strong, *Greece as a Kingdom*, London 1842, 182–183. The centre of silk ribbon production was Saint Etienne, near Lyons.

131. H. Belle, *Trois années en Grèce*, Paris 1881, 348. The destructive competition between local filatory operators as a contributive factor to the failure of the same silkmills is also pointed out by Christina Agriantoni, *Οι απαρχές...*, op. cit., 38.

132. Op. cit., 26.  
133. N. Damaskinos, *De la sériculture en Grèce*, n.d., 363–366. The author should be identified as N. Damaskinos (Corfu 1834 - Athens 1910), who was a lawyer in Paris from 1856 to 1865, in which year he became Professor of French Law at the University of Athens, subsequently moving to the chair of Commercial Law in 1884, see D.A. Dimitriadis, *Απένανθα βιογραφιών...*, op. cit., 167–170.

processed product that put Greek enterprise in the European market. The entrepreneurial model of the Durutti was initially defined by the mountain economy of Kalarrytes and the limits of the Greek community in Ancona. After the Adriatic, the passage to the Greek state marked the smooth end of a long journey.

### Fragmentation in the family

Historiography has been much concerned with the problem of the family as an economic and social cell of the firm. However, only after studying each particular firm can the historiographic type of the family business be enriched. I believe that the biographical analysis of the firm, by overcoming traditional historiography's fixation on the individual and the unit, as well as modern historiography's tendency to create models based exclusively on general and quantitative data, offers one of the most fruitful methodological processes that surpasses unsubstantiated statistical levellings.

The Durutti family started out from a specific traditional economic network in Turkish-occupied Greece and an expatriate Greek community, in which the difficulty of access to European credit institutions, the insecurity of the foreign land and other parameters imposed the domination of the family, limited or enlarged with marital alliances, as well as coalitions with compatriots. Moreover, the small-scale trade in capotes-overcoats and woollen cloth in the eighteenth century set the boundaries of family inheritance and social mobility around the sphere of social reproduction. The structures of the family business came into conflict with the new strategies. So in the nineteenth century an extreme contradiction was reached: on the one hand the domination of a specific merchant group that bequeathed its financial wealth from one generation to the next and had a controlled policy of marital alliances with compatriots, and on the other hand trade itself, a free zone with open social horizons. Economic continuity now belonged not to families that were rooted locally and socially, but to families that 'moved with the times'.<sup>134</sup>

The archival material used for the history of the Durutti family is dispersed in the General State Archives (GSA), the Benaki Museum and the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive (E.L.I.A.). There are also documents in the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, concerning the diplomatic activities of the Durutti in Ancona, as well as in the personal archive of M. Iatros, concerning Constantine and Athanasios Durutti.<sup>135</sup> The material covers mainly Georgios Ioannis Durutti (Kalarrytes 1770 - Ancona 1836), paterfamilias of the Epirote family, his two sons, Constantine (Kalarrytes 1809 - Athens 1878) (see fig. 3) and Athanasios (Kalarrytes 1816 - Athens 1901) (see fig. 4), and to a lesser extent his eldest son Ioannis (Kalarrytes 1798 - Ancona 1852), the only one who remained with his father in Ancona,

134. From the relatively large bibliography, I cite a not so recent publication, the special edition "*L'atelier et la boutique*", *Le mouvement social*, 108 (1979) and particularly the article by A. Faure, *L'épicerie parisienne au XIXe s. ou la corporation éclatée*, 113-130.

135. See G.S.A., Small collections, K. 19ß.

Correspondence of the Durutti trading house (1793-1863). Benaki Museum, Durutti Archive, files 1-2 (1804-1840). E.L.I.A., Durutti Archive, files 1-22 (1823-1873). A.F.M. consulates and viceconsulates of Greece/Trieste. K. Spiliotakis, *Το αρχαίον Μιχαήλ Ιατρού (1802-1893)*, *Τετράδια Εργασίας Κ.Ν.Ε./Ε.Ι.Ε.*, 6 (1983), there is a series of microfilms of the archive in the C.N.R./N.H.R.F. There are also letters of G. Durutti in a section of the D. Postolakas Archive, in the Benaki Museum, see Φ. Μπουμπουλίδης, *Ειδήσεις και κρίσεις περί του αγώνος 1821-1824 εκ του αρχείου Δ. Ποστολάκα* [Ph. Bouboulidis, *News and judgements on the struggle 1821-1824 from the D. Postolakas archive*], *Δ.Ι.Ε.Σ.* 12 (1957-58), 15.



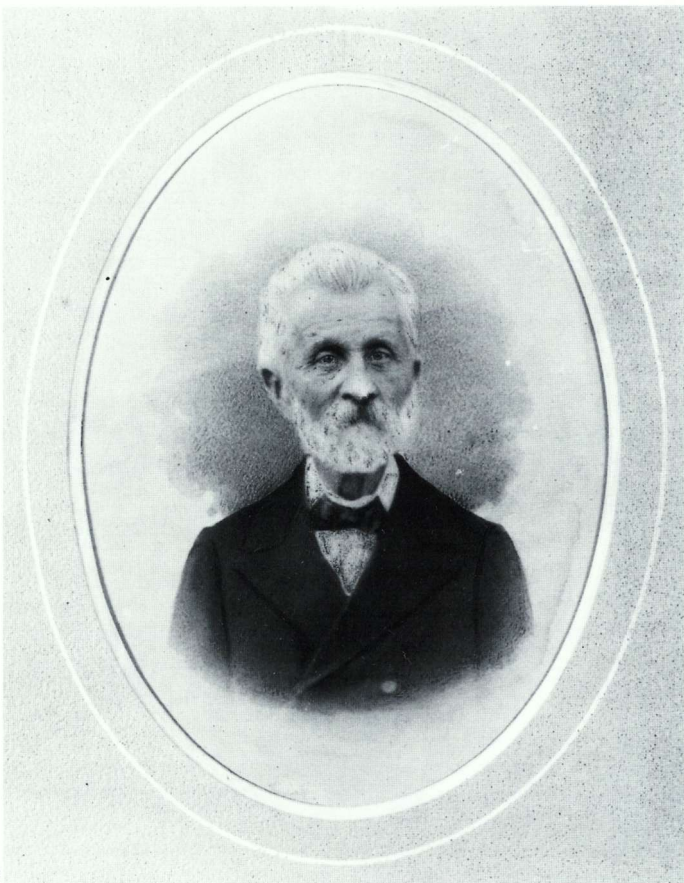


**3. Photograph of Constantine Durutti (1809-1878), taken by Thiebault, 10 x 16 cm. (Chr. Zioulas Collection).**

while the other two settled in Athens after the founding of the Greek State.

This material does not permit us to follow equally the course and relations of Georgios Durutti's family. Throughout C. Durutti's sojourn in Corfu his correspondence with his family in Ancona was prolific. His father addressed him in Greek as Κωσταντή Γ. Δουρούτη (Kostanti G. Dourouti), while he himself signed in Italian as Costantino di Giorgio Durutti, the first

4. Photograph of Athanasios Durutti (1816-1901), 23 x 16 cm. (Chr. Zioulas Collection).



4

differentiation between the old vocabulary of the trader and a turn towards western habits. It was Constantine Durutti who opened up a new dimension in Georgios Durutti's family merchant firm, and Athanasios Durutti followed in his footsteps. In contrast, the first-born Ioannis Durutti not only stayed in Ancona, where he died, but also adhered to the old commercial system. It is not fortuitous either that he married a Kalarrytian girl, Sosana Prinari.<sup>136</sup> The Prinari family must have belonged to the first wave of Kalarrytian emigrants and was installed at San Severo, a fertile agricultural region of Apulia where it had land property.<sup>137</sup> The second half of the 1830s was particularly important for the rearticulation of the structure of the Durutti trading house. We learn from the business circular of 13 March 1837, that after the death of the head of the family, in Ancona, the G. Durutti trading house –presumably it was an

136. *Op. cit.*, 26-27.

137. Sosana's father, Christodoulos Prinari, died in 1834 and in the 1840s problems arose with his heirs, E.L.L.A., Durutti Collection, file 10, (copialettere) of I. Durutti.

unlimited company— kept the same name and Ioannis Durutti had right of signature.<sup>138</sup> At the end of 1837 the twenty-year-old Athanasios Durutti went first to Sparta and then to Nauplion, where he suffered from a fever, in order to study in the newly-founded university at Athens.<sup>139</sup> Athanasios Durutti had been taught Greek at Ancona by D. Vranas and in Greece by G. Gennadios and N. Vamvas. In the end he studied Law in Paris, in 1842, and became the intellectual businessman of the family, joint founder of the silkmill in Athens as well as author of pamphlets in support of the silk industry.<sup>140</sup> His relations with A. Koumoundouros and the Zappas brothers, as well as with the French politician Emile Olivier,<sup>141</sup> in conjunction with his economic activity, are sufficient, I believe, to class him among the modernizers of the Greek State.<sup>142</sup>

The Kalaryrtian circuit of the generation of the mercantile diaspora was breached in the newly established state. The betrothal of Marigo, daughter of Michael Iatros, to C. Durutti was the natural consequence of a close economic and personal relationship that illustrates the values and lifestyle of the age. During the first year the silkmills were operating, C. Durutti anxiously ordered from his brother in Ancona the entire household furnishings for his forthcoming marriage: 'I assure you that I cannot endure and would rather be dead than not fully prepared. Think on it that I am in a foreign land, that this prospective alliance arouses the curiosity of many, and I have no desire to be affronted at this crucial event for the dignity of our house and it to be suggested that I achieved this unmerited.'<sup>143</sup> It is also obvious that the two Durutti brothers, who were guests in M. Iatros's home, were impressed by their host's real estate property, an economic parameter unknown to them from the Ancona community. So Athanasios noted that Constantine was to receive a large dowry with an income of 600 distela per annum [= 3,600 drachmas], and that each day M. Iatros was taking him on the rounds of his estates at Kiveri, Avdibei, Melissa (small communities around Nauplion),<sup>144</sup> Mystras, Kalamata, Corinth; in 1838 he collected 40,000 [litres] of raisins from his estates and he had 10 houses in Nauplion that gave him an income of 4,000 distela a year.<sup>145</sup> This splendid match had been announced for Easter 1838 with K. Schinas as best-man,<sup>146</sup> founder-member of the newly established university (1837) and of the same political persuasion as I. Kolettis,<sup>147</sup> whom it seems the Durutti knew. However, it was postponed because of sickness and absences of relatives, and cancelled with Marigo's death. Throughout 1838 the Iatros and Durutti families were worried by the successive complications of the bride-to-be's illness, as well as by Athanasios's recurrent fevers, outcome of his stay in the marshes of Mystras.<sup>148</sup> Though this wedding never took place, the marital alliance with the Iatros family was successfully completed slightly later, in 1847, with the marriage of Florence M. Iatros (1832-1930) to Athanasios Durutti.<sup>149</sup>

The relationship between Michael Iatros and Constantine Durutti proved to be long and close: two different types of businessmen joined forces in the

138. See above n. 45 and fig. 2.

139. E.L.I.A., Durutti Collection, file 9. C. Durutti (Nauplion) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 1 Jan. 1838.

140. See Αθ. Δουφούτης, *Καθ'ην στιγμήν πρόκειται να συζητηθεί το τελωνιακό δασμολόγιο [Έκθεσις περί αναπτύξεως μεταξουργείας]* [A. Durutti, Any moment the tariff of customs duties will be discussed [Report on the development of silk-reeling]], Athens, 14.2.1855, 15.11.1855, 27.9.1856, in which he asks the government to increase the export duty on cocoons, to permit the free import of cocoons and the tax-free export of silk.

141. E. Olivier (Marselles 1825 - Saint Gervais les Bains 1913) was a politician and author of the book *L'Empire libéral, études, recits et souvenirs, 1895-1901*, see the relevant entry in *Larousse XX s.*, vol. 5.

142. The information on his studies and relations is taken from his obituary, see *Παλαιή Στοά* (1912), 596-597.

143. E.L.I.A., Durutti collection, file 9. C. Durutti (Nauplion) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 15/27 Jan. 1838.

144. Κ.ΕΑΚΕ, *Στοιχεία ανστάσεως και εξελίξεως δήμων και κοινοτήτων* [Data on the establishment and development of municipalities and communities], vol. 2, Prefecture of the Argolid, Athens 1961, 120 and 114 respectively.

145. E.L.I.A., Durutti Collection, file 9. C. Durutti (Nauplion) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 15/27 Jan. 1838.

146. The Durutti brothers had themselves announced the wedding to the mother of the politician and neighbouring villager I. Kolettis. *Ibidem*, file 9, Ath. Durutti (Nauplion) to I. Durutti (Ancona) 15/27 Jan 1838 and C. Durutti (Nauplion) to I. Durutti (Ancona).

147. Κ.Θ. Δηλιασός, *Εν Αθήναις τη 3η Μαΐου 1837* [K.Th. Dimaras. In Athens on 3 May 1837], E.K.Π.Α. series History of the University no. 1, 29-40.

148. E.L.I.A., Durutti Collection, file 9. C. Durutti (Nauplion) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 16 April 1838 and Ath. Durutti (Nauplion) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 30 April/12 May 1838.

149. Κ. Spiiotaktis, *Το αρχαίον Μιχαήλ Ιατρού...*, op. cit., 34, 47.



propitious economic prospect of the Modern Greek kingdom. In Michael Iatros's will, drawn up in 1868,<sup>150</sup> it seems that the two partners had bills outstanding from the silkmills and from the current account between them. It is also clear that their relations had cooled in recent years, since they communicated via a third party. As the last gesture of good will, Iatros wrote off the last accounting difference between them, of the order of 15,000 drachmas, and as much money again for the expenses Constantine had incurred in his engagement to his daughter.

The trust C. Durutti showed in the young Greek state merited some favourable conditions for business and personal life that were not always met. King Otto's transfer of the capital to Athens offered C. Durutti the most important parameter a businessman desires, new opportunities. Commercial opportunities, with proposals for new import-export ventures in collaboration with L. Korck & Sons, from Trondheim in Norway.<sup>151</sup> Processing opportunities through the possibility of setting up workshops. The liquorice workshops that had mushroomed in the Patras area from the 1830s<sup>152</sup> evidently flourished in Athens too, so that Constantine Durutti wrote to Ancona: 'I see that there are many liquorice factories in Greece and more appear every day, if you find a good technician send him to me so that we can set up a joint factory of this kind, I have a good place with enough material'.<sup>153</sup> Again the problem lay in the import of technical know-how; on the contrary the factor favourable for any kind of business was the easy acquisition of land. All the new residents of the kingdom, foreign and Greek, were seizing the opportunity of becoming land owners, and C. Durutti was no exception. A very attractive offer in all respects, was made to him in 1841: the village of Xerochori (Istiaia) in Euboea, with 40 *zevgoria* of arable land, 350 hectares of vineyards, fruit trees, woodlands and 70 families, was up for sale, so that the community could pay off its debts, for the sum of 115,000 drachmas.<sup>154</sup>

The Durutti moved to Athens in 1839 and rented a small house in Ermou Street.<sup>155</sup> In 1844 C. Durutti mentions the repairs he made to his residence, which comprised three dark rooms and two 'crooked' ones; he bought another 300 square cubits adjacent to it for 2,260 drs, in order to build a sunny house, 200-240 square cubits in area, worth 8,000 drachmas.<sup>156</sup> The leap in the price of land in Athens in the 1840s and the difficulties in finding urban housing in the early years of the Greek kingdom have been noted elsewhere.<sup>157</sup> Also striking is the high cost of building. Consequently the letting of properties became a profitable enterprise, in which C. Durutti engaged in Piraeus. On a plot of land he owned by the sea, close to the Customs House – at that time under construction –, he put up jerry-built warehouses which he calculated would bring in a net profit of 12% per annum.<sup>158</sup> These are indications that C. Durutti was active in the Athens property market, until the major company purchase of the G. Cantacuzenos building complex on the site of 'Chesmeno Lithari', now the neighbourhood of Metaxourgeion.

150. The will was found by Christina Agriantoni in the Parliament Library, Renieri Archive, file 7877, no. 427.

151. See copies of C. Durutti's letters (1846), E.L.L.A., Durutti Collection, file 18.

152. Christina Agriantoni, *Οι απαρχές της εμβιομηχάνωσης...*, op. cit., 79.

153. E.L.L.A., Durutti Collection, file 13, C. Durutti (Athens) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 9/21 Oct. 1844.

154. *Ibidem*, file 10, A. Stamatakis (Chalkida) to C. Durutti (Athens), 21 Novem. 1841. On the earlier history of the settlement of Iksirohor in the Istiaia region, see Evangelia Balta, *Rural and Urban Population in the Sancak of Euripos in the early 16th c.*, reprint from the *Αρχαίον Εμφυλίων Μελετών*, 29/1 (1990), Athens 1992, index.

155. The house was three-roomed and cost 50 drachmas a month; they paid 30 drachmas a month for a servant and ate in the hotel. Benaki Museum, Durutti Archive 144/125, [Ath. Durutti] (Athens) to G. Durutti (Ancona), 1 Dec. 1839.

156. E.L.L.A., Durutti Collection, file 13, C. Durutti (Athens) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 9/21 July 1844.

157. Cf. Ευτυχία Λιάτα, *Τιμές και αγαθά στην Αθήνα (1839-1846)* [Eftychia Liata, Prices and goods in Athens (1839-1846)], Athens 1984, 49-50.

158. The building was let to a foreigner for four years, at 120 drachmas a month, and used as a workshop for processing liquorice. E.L.L.A., Durutti Collection, file 13, C. Durutti (Athens) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 9/21 Oct. 1844.

However, C. Durutti's installation in Athens during the early years of the Greek state created financial and social difficulties that are reflected in his relations with his family. It should be noted that like Athanasios, Constantine suffered from fevers, possibly contracted while living in the marshy southern Peloponnese. Poor health in a new country confronting many difficulties,<sup>159</sup> political unrest, a host of opportunists and self-styled entrepreneurs, led the twenty-seven year old C. Durutti to break down in 1836: 'I didn't want to stay in Greece enduring all the miseries.. endangering my life.. the brothers have neither cause nor right to despise me, I have suffered for 15 years already and I am fed up..'.<sup>160</sup> After G. Durutti's death the rift between Ioannis and Constantine widened. The youngest brother, Athanasios, was loquacious and charting a different course: he was the 'pure' industrialist, since he had never been involved in trade. The two elder brothers, who were essentially running the family merchant house, clashed, as Constantine wrote to his elder brother in 1844: '.. because you want to be superior to the others and you think that because you are the first-born brother the others are your slaves, and you assume that the respect they show you is shown out of need rather than affection..'.<sup>161</sup> The demise of the patriarchal type of commercial firm was drawing nigh, and the path towards individual activities was wide open from here onwards; henceforth collaborations were imposed by the enterprise itself and not by the family.

Athanasios's and Constantine's departure from Ancona was catalytic for the reorientation of the family business within the new economic prospects of the Greek state. Both belonged to the stratum of Greeks from abroad, as an informal group, in which the local circuits are also obvious. So the Durutti had close relations with Sotiris Gerousis from Smyrna, who also settled in Patras at this time,<sup>162</sup> as well as with their fellow Epirotes I. Kolettis<sup>163</sup> and G. Stavros.<sup>164</sup> With the last in particular, relations were so close that Sotiris Gerousis asked C. Durutti to intermeditate on his behalf for the post of manager of the Patras branch of the National Bank of Greece.<sup>165</sup> However, when the Director of the National Bank of Greece had proposed C. Durutti as an assessor in bank affairs, in 1842, he himself had declined: '.. from my brief stay in this place I know neither the persons nor the relationships of the borrowers...'.<sup>166</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century, after the founding of the silkmill at Athens, Constantine Durutti's incorporation in the Modern Greek state was complete. A fact in no way fortuitous for a merchant who had from very early on paid attention to his social relations, in order to find a new place of domicile with a good social network.

The Durutti firm, with all its familial and local ties discussed above, characteristic of a pre-capitalist society, represents the structural multivalency of a business that over the span of a century covered the whole spectrum of economic activities: from trading transactions to the purchase of real estate, to industry, with the exception of bank credit. The purchase of

159. Even the Greek washerwomen were no good; Athanasios complained to his sister-in-law Sossana that 'they ruined the clothes' and that his underpants were patched. Benaki Museum, Durutti Archive, 155/125, [Ath. Durutti] (Athens) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 31 Dec. 1839.

160. Benaki Museum, Durutti Archive, 144/63-64, C. Durutti (Athens) to (G. Durutti (Ancona)), 10 May 1836.

161. E.L.I.A., Durutti Collection, file 13, C. Durutti (Athens) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 24 June/6 July 1844.

162. See above n. 1.

163. Maria Christina Chatziyiannou, *The Greek state....*, op. cit., 20. In 1844 Kolettis ordered 10-12 bottles of *soumada* (almond cordial) from the Durutti's trading network, E.L.I.A., Durutti Collection, file 13, C. Durutti (Athens) to I. Durutti (Ancona), 9/21 July 1844.

164. Constantine and Athanasios Durutti supported the efforts of the National Bank of Greece from the outset, see indicatively I. Βαλαορίτης, *Ιστορία της Εθνικής Τραπεζής της Ελλάδος* [I. Valaoritis, *History of the National Bank of Greece*], vol. I, Athens 1902 (reprint M.I.E.T. 1980), C. Durutti (1843) p. 13, Ath. Durutti (1853) p. 28 n. γ', (1868) p. 49 n. α'. Μ. Ευλαμπίας-Δ. Καλογερόπουλος, *Η εν τη Εθνική Τραπεζή της Ελλάδος και τω κοινοβουλίου δράσις Ευθυμίου Κεχαγιά* [M. Evlambias-D. Kalogeropoulos, *The activity of Euthymios Kehayas in the National Bank of Greece and in the Parliament*], vol. I, Athens 1930, C.D. (1864) 155, A.D. (1853) 138 and vol. II, Athens 1931, A.D. (1867) 125.

165. E.L.I.A., Durutti Collection, file 17, S. Gerousis (Patras) to C. Durutti (Athens), 3 May 1845.

166. Historical Archive of the National Bank of Greece (I.A.E.T.E.), II, Archives of Governors and Managers, Stavrou Archive, file 7(1552) subfile 20/1, C. Durutti (Athens) to G. Stavrou (Athens), 21 June 1842.

land as reserve and social capital, has been shown to be an economic move that fits all types of Greek entrepreneur. The singularity of the study of each firm lies in the recognition of its entrepreneurial model, as well as in the examination of the timely mobilization of social and economic capital to face the demands of both the home and the foreign market.





5. Kalarrytes, photograph by Sp. Meletzis 1938. (A. Voyaros Collection)