

DOMNA DONTAS

GREEK HISTORIANS ON JOHN CAPODISTRIAS: A SELECTIVE  
BIBLIOGRAPHY<sup>1</sup>

It is unfortunate that a full biography of Count John Capodistrias (1776-1831) still remains to be written. The principal reason for this omission is largely owing to the extraordinarily variegated nature of his public life. Born in Venetian-ruled Corfu into a family of distant Istrian origins, but by now wholly Greek, and possessed of a Savoyard title, his public career began in the service of the Septinsular Republic, under Turkish suzerainty and Russian protection. He subsequently entered Russian diplomatic service where he was to make a significant contribution to the pacification and unification of Switzerland before his appointment, in 1815, as a secretary of state to Czar Alexander: a post in which he shared the direction of Russian foreign policy with Nesselrode until his resignation in 1822. Finally, after five years of involuntary retirement, Capodistrias was elected first president of Greece in April 1827: an office terminated by his assassination in October 1831.

His career, set against the background of the upheavals of the wars of Revolution and Empire and the subsequent European settlements, inevitably exercised a profound influence on his political outlook. An outlook exemplified in his loyalty to the fascinating if unstable Czar Alexander, in whom Capodistrias saw as the saviour of Europe and whose liberalizing policies, he believed, would maintain a balance between the extremes of revolution and absolutism. Nevertheless, his loyalty to the person of the Czar was qualified by his Hellenic patriotism and by his attempts to make Russian policy serve Greek aims. And in the context of these divided loyalties he has been seen as possessed of a subtlety which bordered on duplicity. By his diplomatic op-

1. The present essay is a revised and expanded version of an article which originally appeared as 'John Capodistrias and the Greek Historians: A Selective Bibliographical Review', *Balkan Studies*, vii. (1966), 411-22. Since then, Greek historians have shown a much greater interest in Capodistrian studies; while the 200th anniversary of his birth in 1976 gave an impetus for further research on the subject. This has led me to a reconsideration of my original work. I must thank here Dr. Anthony Seymour for his most valuable suggestions.

ponents, most notably Metternich, he was regarded as a doctrinaire radical and a danger to the peace of Europe; by others as the Russian bogey personified. Enigmatic, elusive and ambiguous, superficial, vain and deceitful: all this and more was said of him. Certainly he attracted myths. By nature proud and aloof, his extreme piety, intensified by the atmosphere of Alexander's court, coupled to a naturally pessimistic nature, made him seem almost unapproachable. Thus on assuming the reins of the Greek government his apparent remoteness and failure to see the dimensions of Greek reality brought about his abrupt and premature downfall. While his apparent failures obscured his very real achievements, in death even more than in life the myths surrounding him continued to gather. It has resulted in monolithic criticism on the one hand, and extreme panygeric on the other.

If the complex nature of Capodistrias' career in its entirety has not yet attracted the interest of one particular Greek historian<sup>2</sup>, there are ample source materials with which to begin. Although this study is not primarily concerned with archival sources, it may be as well to briefly indicate what is available. By now almost all the widely scattered sources concerning Capodistrias, including Russian and Greek archives, are accessible to scholars. In regard to his early life, the most important collections are his surviving family papers and the archives of the Septinsular Republic in Corfu. Of particular importance for his diplomatic career are the archives of the U.S.S.R. which have only recently become accessible, chiefly to Russian historians. Since 1965 Grigory Arsh has made extensive use of Russian records referring to early nineteenth century Greece, and his publications<sup>3</sup> are an important contribution to our knowledge of Russian sources. The Greek State Archives provide a wealth of documents from the main departments of Capodistrias' administration. However, they are still insufficiently catalogued and, although seen by many specialists, have

2. Despite the Greek orientation of this essay, reference should be made here to two crucially important articles on Capodistrias' early career. The first by Charles Crawley, 'John Capodistrias and the Greeks before 1821', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, xiii. (1957), 162-82, is a penetrating and incisive analysis of his character and motives which has done much to stimulate further research in this field. The second is the authoritative survey, with copious reference to Russian materials, by the American scholar P. K. Grimsted, 'Capodistrias and a "New Order" for Restoration Europe: The "Liberal Ideas" of a Russian Foreign Minister, 1814-1822', *Journal of Modern History*, xl. (1968), 166-92; substantially reproduced in her *The Foreign Ministers of Alexander I* (Berkeley 1969), 226-68, with a valuable bibliographical survey, 353-60. A sympathetic general survey, based largely on secondary materials, is C. M. Woodhouse, *Capodistria: The Founder of Greek Independence* (London 1973).

3. e.g. his *Etairistskoe dvizhenie v Rossii* (Moscow 1970).

not been used to any great extent. It is undeniable that their reading by a non-Greek scholar is difficult, and even for a Greek the work is tedious and time-consuming. Nevertheless, without an extensive use of these materials, a comprehensive administrative, economic and social history of the period cannot be written. An extensive use of primary sources is essential for the history of Capodistrias' relations with the European Powers<sup>4</sup>, although it should be noted that these materials are largely located outside of Greece<sup>5</sup>. In Great Britain, the most important collections are to be found in the Public Record Office (London). Here the *Ionian Papers* in the *Colonial Office* series, as also the relevant files from the *Foreign Office* series, are invaluable. But as English reporting of the Greek scene was not always impartial, a study of the *Correspondance Potitique* (under Greece, England and Russia) in the Archives of the French Foreign Ministry in Paris, is considered mandatory. These documents constitute material of paramount importance for Capodistrias' relations with the Great Powers. As France's vital interests at this time lay outside Greece, the reports of her agents were the most objective<sup>6</sup>. The Russian Archives, which have yielded material of the greatest value, are still difficult of access to foreign researchers. This deficiency is only partly supplied by the publication of the Russian Foreign Ministry - *Vneshniaia potitika Rossii XIX i nachala XX veka*<sup>7</sup>. The collection, however, is necessarily selective and includes many documents already available in print, most notably from the voluminous publications of the Russian Imperial Historical Society<sup>8</sup>. In Austria the most important sources are located in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna. The materials concerning Greece are of the greatest value, but the various collections are surprisingly badly catalogued and consequently difficult to use.

Thus, with the use of the more important available sources — which presupposes also some use of the rich collections of private papers available in

4. There is an excellent study, based upon English, Austrian, and French sources, but by a non-Greek historian D.C. Fleming, *John Capodistrias and the Conference of London, 1828-1831* (Thessaloniki 1970).

5. The Archives of the Greek Foreign Ministry covering this period are incomplete. The few documents which have survived, originals or duplicates, are of little importance.

6. Cf. B. G. Spiridonakis, *Empire Ottoman inventaire des Mémoires et Documents aux Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères de France* (Thessaloniki 1973), and J. A. Nicolopoulos, *Inventaire du Fonds grec du Quai d'Orsay — Correspondance politique 1707-1833 — Mémoires et Documents 1821-1862* (Athens 1975).

7. Moscow 1960 — in progress. On the limitations of the earlier volumes in the series see P. K. Grimsted in *Slavonic and East European Review*, xli. (1966), 227 f.

8. *Sbornik Imperatorskogo russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva* (148 vols.; St. Petersburg 1867-1917).

western Europe — a comprehensive and objective synthesis of Capodistrias' life and work is at last a possibility. In this paper I seek to show what the Greek historians have achieved so far.

# I. PUBLISHED SOURCES<sup>9</sup>

The most important published primary evidence is what is authentically ascribed to Capodistrias: that is to say, essays and memoranda which he drafted during his lengthy diplomatic career. Of this material Zacharias Tsi-rpanlis has made a useful and comprehensive guide listing some seventy-two items covering the period 1809 until 1822<sup>10</sup>. As the author states, the list will become much longer as new materials are brought to light. The memoranda provide a wealth of material for the study of the period, but of the seventy-two listed only forty-six have so far been published, and of these Greek historians have made use of only a limited number.

In July-August 1809 Capodistrias, in collaboration with the Metropolitan Ignatius of Hungary-Wallachia, prepared a lengthy report entitled *Précis historique de la situation actuelle de l'Eglise Orthodoxe Orientale*. This report refers to the situation of the Greek clergy in the Ottoman Empire, and its authors endeavour to prove the high standard of the Greek clergy in contradiction to those who had accused them of decadence, and to show that the Greeks owed their intellectual regeneration to their Church<sup>11</sup>. Two years later, on 25 November / 7 December 1811, Capodistrias drew up a *Mémoire sur l'état actuel des Grecs* (subsequently translated into Greek, from a Russian

9. A recent, fairly comprehensive survey is by P. Petrides, *Βιβλιογραφία Ιωάννου Καποδιστρια, 1776-1831* (Bibliography on Capodistrias) (Thessaloniki 1981), pp. x + 119. Petrides has produced an important guide, including some 400 entries, for Capodistrian studies in Greece. But the work has not been compiled according to appropriate methodology, and there are a number of noteworthy omissions of bibliographical data which diminished the value of this otherwise useful work.

10. Z. N. Tsi-rpanlis, "Mémoires et rapports de Jean Capodistrias (1809-1822) (Problèmes et recherche)", *Balkan Studies*, xix (1978), 3-32. This is a translation of the Greek original which first appeared in *Δωδώνη, Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Ιωαννίνων* (Dodone, Annual of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Ioannina), vi (1977), 99-133.

11. Tsi-rpanlis, "Mémoires et rapports", 6; see also E. G. Protopsaltis, *Ιγνατίος Μητροπολίτης Ουγγροβλαχίας (1776-1828)* (Ignatius Metropolitan of Hungary-Wallachia) (Athens 1959), i. 290 f.

version, by G. Ioannidou-Bitsiadou)<sup>12</sup>. It was addressed to Count Gustav Stackelberg, and in it Capodistrias stated his views in regard to Russian policy towards the Greeks, and of the need to gain further influence over them. It also contains general information on Greek society, economy and culture, and important observations upon Greece within the context of the Eastern Question.

In February 1815 he drew up another note, on his own initiative, reflecting on the Sultan's treatment of the Serbs and, by implication, of his other Christian subjects. Although it was highly critical of Turkish policy, Capodistrias persuaded the Czar to circulate it amongst the Allied Powers, but with little apparent effect<sup>13</sup>. Another memorandum, *Mémoire sur l'état des Iles Ioniennes*, dated 22 September 1815, was addressed to the English Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh, during the negotiations leading to the establishment of the British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands. Here Capodistrias dilated upon the evils of previous administrations in the islands, drew attention to the importance of the Septinsular Republic, and outlined proposals for the form of their future government<sup>14</sup>.

Capodistrias' memorandum of 6/18 April 1819, *Observations sur les moyens d'améliorer le sort des Grecs*, was apparently written in Corfu. It bears no signature, but its authorship is indisputable. Capodistrias arrived in Corfu in the spring of 1819, ostensibly to visit his family. His appearance, however, was considered by many Greeks—and especially by members of the *Philiki Etairia*—as a signal for the declaration of independence from Turkish domination<sup>15</sup>. As he had been specifically warned by the Czar to restrain his countrymen from prematurely committing themselves to any hazardous enterprise which might disturb the peace of Europe, Capodistrias took immediate steps to suppress this sanguine feeling. National regeneration, he insisted in his *Observations*, could only be achieved by reestablishing national character; and that this character could only be regained through an improved system of education in the fields of Christian morality, of letters and of public affairs.

12. See the Institute for Balkan Studies, *Bibliographie Balkanique* (Thessaloniki 1973), i. (Supplement), 279-310.

13. The note is published in M. Lascaris, *Ἕλληνες και Σέρβοι κατά τους απελευθερωτικούς των αγώνες, 1804-1830* (Athens 1936), 50 ff.

14. A. Papadopoulos - Vretos, *Mémoires biographiques - historiques sur le Président de la Grèce ...* (Paris 1837), i. 167-80; see also Tsirpanlis, "Mémoires et rapports", 16.

15. Even Ali Pasha of Ioannina, who was cautiously preparing to revolt against the Sultan, felt that the moment was appropriate for an understanding with the Russians through Capodistrias.

This important political document, although published so early as 1825, remained unnoticed by Greek scholars, while it was used by non-Greek historians. Only in 1965 did E. Prevelakis reevaluate it in a paper read to the third Pan-Ionian Congress<sup>16</sup>.

Another result of his visit to Corfu was a memorandum addressed to Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, *Pro Mémoire sur la situation actuelle des Etats Ionniens* .... In this Capodistrias made a number of complaints against the robust administration of Sir Thomas Maitland, the Lord High Commissioner of the islands, and attempted to show that he had evaded the execution of the Treaty of Paris of November 1815: the instrument placing the islands under British protection. He also vehemently complained of British policy towards the Greeks both in the islands and on the mainland:

You wish to make the Greeks forget the very words, nationality and fatherland, but your policy is producing the opposite effect in them.

Sir Thomas Maitland, however, had little difficulty in constructing a very plausible defence and Capodistrias withdrew from the contest in discomfure<sup>17</sup>.

The memorandum of 17/29 July 1821, appears to have been written by Capodistrias in St. Petersburg. It was sent, via Archbishop Ignatius of Hungary-Wallachia who was then visiting Pisa, to Alexander Mavrokordatos in Missolonghi, who eventually communicated it to the Primates of Greece<sup>18</sup>. In this Capodistrias stated that he had strived to suppress the revolutionary tendencies of his enslaved countrymen; nevertheless, the War of Independence had broken out, and he hoped that through European, and especially Russian, inter-

16. G. Waddington, *A Visit to Greece in 1823 and 1824* (1825), introduction, xxxiv-xlv, prints a French version of the memorandum; a misleading English translation, together with a markedly anti-Russian commentary, is printed in *The Portfolio*, iv. (1836), 282-301. Prevelakis' version, together with additional documents and a useful commentary, is found in the *Πρακτικά Τρίτου Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου* (Proceedings of the IIIrd Panionion Congress) (Athens 1967) i. 298-398.

17. The *Mémoire* is printed in E. Rodocanachi, *Bonaparte et les îles Ioniennes* (Paris 1899), 279-92. More generally see C. W. Dixon, *The Colonial Administrations of Sir Thomas Maitland* (1939), 198-203; Woodhouse, *Capodistria*, 203-9, 213 f. Dixon's account makes copious reference to the *Ionian* files in the Public Record Office.

18. A Greek translation of this memorandum is located in the General State Archives of Greece, *A. Mamoukas Papers*, file 14. This version is published, *in extenso*, by E. Protopsaltis under the title «Υπομνήματα συναφή Ιγνατίου Μητροπολίτου Ουγγροβλαχίας και Ιω. Καποδιστρίου περί της τύχης της Ελλάδος (1821) (Adjacent memoranda by Metropolitan Ignatius of Hungary-Wallachia and John Capodistrias on the fate of Greece), in *Athens*, vol. ix (1956), 145-82.

vention the Greek Question would be resolved. He himself was not prepared to stand aside and witness the extermination of his compatriots, and he stated that he would remain in Russian service so that Russian policy might serve Greek ends. Once it was obvious that the policies he advocated would not be pursued, he would then leave Russian service and follow the example of any patriotic Greek. He went on to advise the Greeks to safeguard their liberated territory, to establish a strong administration, and to maintain the country's national character and language.

The most important memorandum from the pen of Capodistrias is known under the title *Aperçu de ma carrière publique depuis 1798 jusqu'à 1822*, dated 12/24 December 1826. It was submitted to Czar Nicholas I shortly after his accession to the throne, and was subsequently printed in the *Sbornik Imperatorskogo russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva*<sup>19</sup>. His Autobiography, as this document is usually termed, was found by M. Lascaris in draft form in the papers of the Capodistrias family in Corfu (many of which were subsequently destroyed during German air raids on the island in September 1943). Lascaris published it in a Greek translation in Athens in 1940 (reprinted in 1962) under the title *Autobiography of John Capodistrias*<sup>20</sup>. Although a public document, it is in fact Capodistrias' apologia for his career in Czar Alexander's service. It ends with the explanation that his patriotism clashed with his loyalty to the Czar and to Russia, and that he must therefore retire from Russian service.

To this printed evidence there should be added Capodistrias' published correspondence. This was edited by E. A. Bétant, one of his secretaries, under the direction of his brothers, Viaro and Agostino Capodistrias. The *Correspondance*<sup>21</sup>, in over two thousand pages, covers the period of his Presidency (1827-31). It was carefully extracted from his private papers, official documents and personal letters; in many cases only part of a document or letter was

19. In vol. iii. (1868), 163-292. It is printed in the original French with a Russian translation by K. K. Zlobin.

20. An earlier, partial Greek translation of the Autobiography was published in *Estia*, iii. (1877), 281-4. A complete translation of Zlobin's version was published in the *Nea Hemera* of Trieste in 1901, and reprinted in the *Nea Hemera* of Athens in 1912. An English version, edited by Kyriakos Delopoulos, translated by Dorothy Trollope, with a preface by Constantine Tsatsos, was published as *Letter to the Tsar Nicholas I* (London / Athens 1977), pp. x + 137, including an index and explanatory notes.

21. The full title is *Correspondance du Comte J. Capodistrias, Président de la Grèce, comprenant les lettres diplomatiques, administratives et particulières, écrites par lui depuis le 20 avril 1827 jusqu'au 9 octobre 1831 recueillies et mises en ordre par les soins de ses frères et publiées par E. A. Bétant, l'un de ses secrétaires* (4 vols.; Geneva/Paris 1839).

published. The editor attempted to show that Capodistrias was an enlightened statesman who hoped to achieve the regeneration of the Greek nation with the help of the Great Powers; a patriot who was determined to secure for his country the most advantageous frontiers; and an idealist struggling against the intrigues of both Greek and foreign elements and against the powerful opposition of England. It is prefaced with a biographical note of some one hundred and twenty pages written by his friend, Alexander Stourdja. there is a Greek translation by M. G. Schinas<sup>22</sup>, but it is not very trustworthy: there are many misinterpretations, wrong dates and unorthodox transliteration of names. However, it is a useful instrument, used in connexion with the French original, for the history of Modern Greece. The value of both of these editions has been enhanced by the publication of a detailed index to the French original and Greek translation by Christos Loukos and Vjena Bartholomeou<sup>23</sup>.

A further volume based upon Capodistrias' writings was anonymously edited (most probably by his brother, Viaro) with the title *Le Comte Jean Capodistrias, Président de la Grèce, jugé par lui-même ...*<sup>24</sup>. It contains extracts of Capodistrias' correspondence referring to political, economic and educational matters, and to Foreign relations covering the period June 1827 to June 1831. It was likewise intended to outline the ideal statesman.

To the pro-Capodistrian publications there should be added the *Lettres et Documents officiels, relatifs aux derniers évènements de la Grèce, qui ont précédé et suivi la mort du Comte Capodistrias, jusqu'au 31 octobre 1831. Publiés par plusieurs membres de l'ancien comité grec de Paris*<sup>25</sup>. This collection of documents, published on the initiative of J. G. Eynard, was intended as an act of homage although it is also an important, if biased, source for the history of the Hydra mutiny and the burning of the fleet at Poros—events which led

22. Michael Schinas, *Επιστολαί ... διπλωματικά, διοικητικά και ιδιωτικά...* (Diplomatic, administrative and private Correspondence) (4 vols; Athens 1841-1843).

23. «Ευρετήριο των Επιστολών του Ιω. Καποδίστρια» (Index to the Letters of John Capodistrias), *Mnemon* vi (1976-7), 131-211.

24. The full title is *Le Comte Jean Capodistrias, président de la Grèce jugé par lui-même, d'après les actes de son administration, constatés par sa correspondance publiée à Genève en 1839. Extraits textuels de ses lettres, caractérisant la régénération politique de la Grèce disposés dans un ordre méthodique à l'usage des hommes d'état, des administrateurs et des amis studieux de l'histoire du temps* (Paris 1842), pp. xv + 398.

25. Published in Paris, 1831, pp. 314. It will be noted that the Committee included men of considerable distinction: Le Duc de Broglie, Cottier, Vicomte de Chateaubriand, le Duc de Choiseul, le Duc de Dalberg, Comte Alexandre de Laborde, Benjamin Delessert, Ambr. Firmin Didot, Comte Eugène d'Harcourt, Baron Ternaux, etc.



to the destruction of Capodistrias' regime. Another publication, *Renseignements sur la Grèce et sur l'administration du Comte Capodistrias*<sup>26</sup>, should also be noted. The work was intended to throw a favourable light upon Capodistrias' presidency, and attempted to show him as a virtuous, modest man, whose sole ambition was the happiness of his country. The book is divided into three parts: the main text (pp. 1-117), supplementary explanatory notes (pp. 118-38), and justificatory texts (pp. 139-202). The documents being extracts from newspapers, legislative acts, decrees, and so forth.

To this collection of documents should be added Capodistrias' correspondence with Jean Gabriel Eynard, the Swiss Philhellene, covering the period 1826 to 1831, published by Sp. Theotokes<sup>27</sup>. It consists of 251 documents, largely relating to government finance, plans for relief and for education. Another useful collection, edited by K. Kairophylas, publishes the letters exchanged by Capodistrias and the poet Ugo Foscolo during the years 1818 to 1827, which are deposited in the Labronica Library of Livorno. Kairophylas' intention being to show that Capodistrias was neither an extreme Russophile nor an Anglophobe<sup>28</sup>. This collection has been supplemented in recent years by the discovery of further letters. In 1960 and 1961 C. Mertzios published fourteen documents from the Academia Labronica in Livorno. These are letters, dated 1819-1820, and mostly in French, addressed to Foscolo and the Zantiote nobles, Sicuro and Flamburiari, concerning the Ionian Islands and the administration of Sir Thomas Maitland. To this material Mertzios added a further sixty-three documents from the Austrian Police Archives in the Biblioteca Museo Correr Venezia. These consist of letters from Capodistrias to his brother Viaro, to the Russian Consul in Venice, Naratzi, and to Andrea Mustoxydes, and others, from the years 1818 and 1824-1828. This collection contributes greatly to our knowledge of Capodistrias' activities on behalf of his struggling countrymen, and also provides useful data on the activities of the various Philhellenic societies, notably in Switzerland<sup>29</sup>.

26. Written ... *par un Grec, témoin oculaire des faits qu'il rapporte* (Paris 1833), pp. vi + 202. The author was probably Viaro Capodistrias.

27. Sp. Theotokes (ed.), *Αλληλογραφία Ι. Α. Καποδιστρίου και Ι. Γ. Εὐνάρδου, 1826-1831* (Correspondence between J. A. Capodistrias and J. G. Eynard) (Athens 1929), pp. xl + 541. The letters are published in the original French with an introduction and notes in Greek.

28. K. Kairophylas, «Καποδιστρίας και Φώσκολος» (Capodistrias and Foscolo), *Ημερολόγιον της Μεγάλης Ελλάδος* (Almanach of Great Greece) (1929), 161-186. The texts are published in the original language with a commentary in Greek.

29. C. Mertzios, «Ανέκδοτος Αλληλογραφία Ιωάννου Καποδιστρία» (Unpublished Correspondence of John Capodistrias), *Parnassos*, 2nd Series, ii. (1960), 445-73; iii. (1961), 103-26, 207-38; texts published in the original languages, with a short introduction in Greek.

Still another publication on Capodistrias' pre-presidential life is by P. Enepekides, *Rhigas-Ipsilantis-Capodistrias*<sup>30</sup>. Although written as a monograph, it includes many documents from Austrian, French, German, Italian and Greek Archives (mainly from the Polizeiarhiv of Austria and the Prefecture de Police of France), covering various aspects of Capodistrias' life from 1811 to 1827. The same scholar has edited a further collection of documents of the greatest importance and interest<sup>31</sup>, which bring the reader much closer to Capodistrias' personality. The collection consists of letters to his family for the period 1809 to 1820 and, although he carefully avoided any reference to official concerns, the letters give many revealing insights about his private life and personality. The letters were originally written in Italian, but are published in this collection in a Greek translation and without a commentary, although a forty-five page introduction gives many clarifying details.

In 1976 Costas Daphnis inaugurated what promises to be a most valuable project under the title *Historical Texts* the first volumes in the series being the *John Capodistrias Papers*. This work is a compilation of original and published documents and memoranda, either drafted or written by Capodistrias, and printed in chronological order. The general principles governing this edition are that all the documents are published in the original language in which they were written together with a Greek translation; the letters are also annotated and a selective bibliography is appended (a full bibliography is to be published on completion of the work); and an index of names and places is also included. The first volume has a scholarly preface by C. Th. Dimaras, pointing out the fundamental importance of the work which, on completion, will at last provide sufficient materials for a complete and objective picture of Capodistrias. Volume I reprints Lascaris' Greek translation of Capodistrias' *Autobiography*; twenty documents referring to his mission to Cephalonia in 1800-1802; and twenty-three documents concerning his activities in the field of Ionian education. Volume II publishes the documents concerning his mission to Santa Maura and his appointment as 'Extraordinary Commissioner of the Ionian Government' in the island, and cover the period May to August 1807. Volume III reprints the 176 letters from Capodistrias to his father first published by Enepekides, but includes the Italian originals together with

30. (Athens 1965), pp. 329 (based on Austrian, German, Italian, French and Greek sources).

31. *Ιωάννης Καποδίστριας: 176 Ανεκδότα Γράμματα προς τον πατέρα του, 1809-1820. Εκ του εν Κερκύρα αρχείου της οικογενείας Καποδίστρια* (John Capodistrias: 176 Unpublished Letters to his Father, 1809-1820. From the Private Papers of the Family Capodistrias in Corfu) (Athens 1972), pp. 301.

useful explanatory notes by C. Daphnis. For reasons not stated, Daphnis continued the series by then producing volume X, covering the period 28 November / 10 December 1829 to 14/26 September 1831. This correspondence, covering the final period of his presidency, consists largely of letters to friends in Greece and abroad trying to convince the Protecting Powers to accelerate the negotiations for the final settlement of the Greek Question: although in the event, news of the settlement only reached Greece after his assassination. The volume has an appendix of some forty pages, printing material clarifying aspects of his activities towards the solution of the manifold problems then facing the country. The series continues with the production of volume VIII. This is devoted to the agricultural policy of the President<sup>32</sup>.

Finally, some reference may perhaps be made here to the frequently discussed issue of Capodistrias' ability to write comprehensible Greek. E. Photiadis, in his "The Greek Letters of John Capodistrias"<sup>33</sup>, states that he did so, and refers to (No 136) in the Archives of Corfu containing drafts of Greek letters by Capodistrias. A similar statement was made by Sp. Theotokes in an article "The national conscience of Capodistrias and the Greek language"<sup>34</sup>.

## II. MONOGRAPHS ON CAPODISTRIAS

In the aftermath of his tragic death, the pro-Capodistrian party, under the patronage, and with the active assistance of his brothers, published a number of works of eulogy in Paris. The first of these, by his Corfiot friend Stamati Bulgari, *Notice sur J. Capodistrias, Président de la Grèce*, appeared in 1832<sup>35</sup>. A year later an anonymously issued publication, (probably by Viaro Capodistrias), appeared under the title *Renseignements sur la Grèce...*. This book, already referred to elsewhere<sup>36</sup>, is a particularly useful work in so far that much of it is based upon personal observation of the events described. Another apo-

32. *Ιστορικά Κείμενα. Αρχαίον Ιωάννου Καποδίστρια (Historical Texts. John Capodistrias Papers)*. Five volumes have so far been issued: i. (Corfu 1976), pp. xxxviii + 320; ii. (Corfu 1978), pp. xv + 393; iii. (Corfu 1980), pp. xv + 493; x. (Corfu 1983), pp. xxii + 286; viii. (Corfu 1987), pp. xii + 375.

33. «Περί των Ελληνικών Επιστολών του Ιωάννου Καποδίστρια», *Hellenica*, (1931), 249-56.

34. «Η Εθνική Συνείδησις του Καποδιστρίου και η Ελληνική Γλώσσα», *Praktika tes Akademias Athenon*, vii (1932), 130-42.

35. A second edition was also published in Paris in 1835.

36. See above note 26.

logia is A. Papadopoulos-Vretos' *Mémoires biographiques-historiques...*<sup>37</sup> a general biographical memoir. To the same category of publications belongs Demetrio Arliotti's *La vita di Giovanni conte Capodistria, scritta nel 1833*<sup>38</sup>. Thereafter little further in the way of apology was published beyond a short pamphlet by P. Kalevras, *Political life of the late John Capodistrias, President of Greece...*<sup>39</sup> which was markedly prejudiced in Capodistrias' favour, and a decidedly biased eulogy by Demetrios Vernardakis, Professor of History in the University of Athens, first published in 1875<sup>40</sup>.

Far more scholarly is Mark Theotokes' *John Capodistrias in Cephalonia*, published in 1889<sup>41</sup>. This book, based upon the Archives of the Ionian State, deals with Capodistrias' missions to Cephalonia in 1800, 1801 and 1802 and the restoration of order after the civil strife in the island. It includes an appendix of relevant documents from the Ionian Archives, and may be considered as the first modern monograph of any value. The first detailed modern biography is T. E. Evangelidis' *History of John Capodistrias, President of Greece, 1828-1831*, published in 1894<sup>42</sup>. Decidedly favourable to its subject, the book is based entirely on secondary materials and is not free from some very rash judgments. At the turn of the century, A. Idromenos published a short, critical defence, *John Capodistrias, President of Greece*<sup>43</sup>. Basing his work entirely on secondary materials, Idromenos concludes that Capodistrias was an exceptional personality, a great European statesman who devoted himself to the welfare of Greece; he also underlined the previous criticism of Capodistrias by non-

37. *Mémoires biographiques - historiques sur le président de la Grèce, le comte Jean Capodistrias avec des notes critiques ... accompagnés des pièces justificatives ... et suivis d'un ouvrage posthume de Capodistrias sur Ali-Pacha de Janina* (Paris 1837-38), i. pp. xlvii + 196; ii. pp. xxiii + 416. The memorandum referred to on Ali Pasha was presented by Capodistrias (c. 1808) to Count Nicolai Rumiantsev, cf. A. F. Millar, *Mustapha Pacha Bairaktar* (Bucarest 1975), 265, N. 40.

38. Although written in 1833, the book was not published until 1859 in Corfu, pp. viii + 207. There is a Greek translation in *Kerkyraika Chronika*, xxii.(1978), 5-122.

39. *Ο Πολιτικός βίος του αοιδήμου Ιωάννου Καποδίστρια, Κυβερνήτου της Ελλάδος* (Athens 1873), pp. 37.

40. *Καποδίστριας και 'Οθων Επιστολιμαία βιβλιοκρισία 1875, Nea Hemera*. A further edition was published in N. Dragoumis, *Ιστορικά Αναμνήσεις* (Athens 1936), ii. 305-97, and yet another version by the Galaxias Press of Athens in 1967.

41. *Ο Ιωάννης Καποδίστριας εν Κεφαλληνία και αι Στάσεις αυτής εν έτεσι 1800, 1801, 1802. Ιστορικά σημειώσεις εξαχθείσαι εκ των εγγράφων του Αρχείου της Επτανήσιον Πολιτείας* (Corfu 1889), pp. 274.

42. *Ιστορία του Ιωάννου Καποδίστρια, Κυβερνήτου της Ελλάδος* (Athens 1894), pp. 528.

43. *Ιωάννης Καποδίστριας Κυβερνήτης της Ελλάδος* (Athens 1900), pp. 160.

Greek scholars and the lack of objectivity about him by Greek historians. Far more objective is Stamatis Lascaris' useful study *Capodistrias avant la révolution, sa carrière politique jusqu'en 1822*<sup>44</sup>. Confined, as its title implies, to the pre-1822 period, the book is based partly on Swiss Archives and a careful use of available published materials. Rather better documented is Lysimaque Oeconomos' *Essai sur la vie du Comte Capodistrias, depuis son départ de Russie en août 1822 jusqu'à son arrivée en Grèce en janvier 1828*<sup>45</sup>. This is a very detailed survey of Capodistrias' activities after his retirement from Russian service, particularly of his role in promoting Philhellenism. The book includes copious references to French and English archive sources. E. K. Mavrakis' *Capodistrias and his time*<sup>46</sup>, by contrast is a mere work of eulogy. Rather better is D. Gatopoulos' study, *John Capodistrias, the first President of Greece*<sup>47</sup>, which is based partly on the Capodistrias papers at Corfu and on the Zaimes papers. In this study of the internal administration of Greece, Gatopoulos portrays Capodistrias as a devoted and life-long patriot whose ignorance of the condition of the country was largely responsible for the ultimate failure of his government. Gatopoulos, however, did not make very full use of the archives at his disposal, and the references are rather thin.

After the Second World War, the first important monograph to appear was A. Despotopoulos' *President Capodistrias and the Liberation of Greece*<sup>48</sup>. This is a thorough narrative of Capodistrias' relations with the Greeks, based on all the available published materials. Despotopoulos presents Capodistrias as a successful President both in his domestic and foreign policy. He also states that it was only the indirect assistance of Russia that finally gave to Greece the Arta-Volos frontier<sup>49</sup>. In his study of the early political career of Capodistrias, Spyros Loukatos made extensive use of the Archives of the Septinsular Republic for his monograph *John Capodistrias and the Septinsular State, 1800-1807*<sup>50</sup>. Loukatos shows that it was in the Ionian Islands that Capodistrias derived the administrative experience he was later to need in Russian

44. (Lausanne 1918), pp. 127.

45. (Toulouse/Paris 1926), pp. ix + 100.

46. *Ο Καποδίστριας και η εποχή του* (Athens 1927), pp. 115.

47. *Ο Ιωάννης Καποδίστριας, ο πρώτος Κυβερνήτης της Ελλάδος* (Athens 1932), pp. 249.

48. *Ο Κυβερνήτης Καποδίστριας και η Απελευθέρωσις της Ελλάδος* (Athens 1954), iii + 223.

49. Despotopoulos repeats these observations in his article in the Greek newspaper *Kathimerini* (22 March 1964).

50. *Ο Ιωάννης Καποδίστριας και η Επτάνησος Πολιτεία* (Athens 1959), pp. 141.

service; and further states that he considered Russia to be the natural Protecting Power of the Ionian Islands and of Greece. Another study, more general in scope, is by Theodore Makris, *John Capodistrias and his patriotic pre-presidential activities*<sup>51</sup>. The author considers that the pre-presidential life of Capodistrias is not so well known as it should be, and he skilfully shows that Capodistrias had been a cautious but devoted supporter of the *Etairists* for at least three years before the outbreak of the War of Independence. And, in fact, the central theme of this study deals with Capodistrias' relations with the *Philiki Etairia*. Makris uses no new sources, and the monograph may be added to the so-called 'pro-Capodistrian' bibliography.

The few, though voluminous, monographs which have appeared more recently serve only to convince that Capodistrias remains as seemingly elusive as ever. Gregory Daphnis in his *John A. Capodistrias: The Creation of the Modern Greek State*<sup>52</sup>, gives a flattering picture of the President, although the book is largely confined to the period before 1828. A conscientious work of the 'pro-Capodistrian' school, it is based largely on published materials. John Anapliotis' *Capodistrias without a mask. The Mavromichalis: Common Murderers or Tyrannicides?*<sup>53</sup> is limited entirely to secondary sources and is written without any methodology whatsoever. It is a crude attempt to show that Capodistrias was a Russophile who was hated by the English, and that the chaotic situation in Greece resulted accordingly. A useful start for a systematic study of Capodistrias' diplomatic endeavours towards Greek Independence has been made by Paul Petrides<sup>54</sup>. The author considers that there has been no previous work dealing comprehensively with this theme for the period 1814 to 1831, and he endeavours to fill that vacuum. Unfortunately, the work is based largely upon Austrian archives and no use seems to have been made of the numerous accessible diplomatic archives elsewhere in Europe. The work includes a short summary in English, an excellent bibliography, but no index. A more recent monograph is by Helen Koukkou, *John Capodistrias: The Man:*

51. Ο Ιωάννης Καποδίστριας και η προκυβερνητική πατριωτική του Δράσις. *Ιστορική Μελέτη* (Corfu 1964), pp. 287.

52. Ιωάννης Α. Καποδίστριας. *Η Γένεση του Ελληνικού Κράτους* (Athens 1975), pp. 700.

53. Ο Καποδίστριας χωρίς Προσωπείο. *Μαυρομιχαλαίοι: Κοινοί φονιάδες ή Τυραννοκτόνοι;* (Athens 1976), pp. 604.

54. Η Διπλωματική Δράσις του Ιωάννου Καποδίστρια υπέρ των Ελλήνων, 1814-1831 (The Diplomatic Activity of John Capodistrias on behalf of the Greeks 1814-1831) (Thessaloniki 1974), pp. 237.

*The Diplomat, 1800-1828*<sup>55</sup>. This is based on new material from the Capodistrias papers, the records of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Athens, the Greek Community of Trieste, and the archives of the University of Padua. The author presents the life, work, ideas and personality of Capodistrias in a manner which brings us closer to the subject than has hitherto been attempted in a book of this nature. A useful appendix of some fifty letters in French from the Capodistrias papers and Theotokes archive of Corfu covering the period April 1819 to August 1828 is appended to the book. The most recent and perhaps the best monograph is by Christos Loukos, *The Opposition to President John Capodistrias, 1828-1831*<sup>56</sup>. This study is based on material from all accessible Greek archives, but also from the British Foreign and Colonial Offices records and French diplomatic and military papers. It is enriched with two appendices (on the population and the biographical data of the government and opposition leading persons), an excellent bibliography and a good index. The author traces how and why, contrary to all original expectation, Capodistrias was overturned in a few years by his opposition. At the same time, he examines the President's politics and statesmanship and the opposition's formation, qualitative transformation, ideology, political practice and principles of state organization. He concludes that the President's lack of cooperation with the existing social groups brought about the growth of a powerful opposition. He maintains also that, although the three Protecting Powers of Greece played a role, this was not however decisive to the development of Greek affairs. This study fills successfully a great gap in the Greek and foreign bibliography on the subject.

### III. RELATED MONOGRAPHS AND ARTICLES

Works in this area are legion. The most important, all published during the present century, deal with education. The first of these, by L. Velelis, *Capodistrias, the Founder of Public Education in Greece*<sup>57</sup>, is a useful general introduction, based on statistical sources and the available printed materials. An informative article by A. Papacharisis, 'Korais and Capodistrias as Na-

55. *Ιωάννης Καποδίστριας. Ο 'Ανθρωπος. Ο Διπλωμάτης, 1800-1828*. First published in Athens 1978 and reprinted, without alteration, in 1984, pp. 434.

56. *Η Αντιπολίτευση κατά του Κυβερνήτη Ιω. Καποδίστρια, 1828-1831* (Athens 1988), pp. 468.

57. *Ο Καποδίστριας ως Θεμελιωτής της Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης εν Ελλάδι* (Athens 1925), pp. VII + 190.

tional Educators<sup>58</sup>, stresses Capodistrias' views on the necessity of education as a vehicle of national regeneration. Through education the Greeks could improve their national character and regain the status of a civilized nation; and the author notes in detail the educational programme of the President: the founding of primary, secondary and professional schools, teacher-training, methods of teaching, and so forth. In 1930 G. Petrondas published his *Capodistrias et Eynard: leur oeuvre éducative pour la régénération de la Grèce*<sup>59</sup>, a short monograph dealing with the establishment of education in Greece. But the most important study in this field is Helen Koukkou's *Capodistrias and Education, 1803-1822*<sup>60</sup>, which is based on extensive documentation from Greek public and private archives, as also the records of the *Philomousos Etaireia* of Vienna. The first part of this two-volume survey lays particular stress on his oft-repeated dictum that education should be the basis for the regeneration of the Greeks and the establishment of a western civilization, and deals with his contribution to education while in the service of the Septinsular Republic and in Russia. The second part gives a detailed picture of education in the newly-independent state, including the functioning of schools and the training of teachers, and of the educational institutions founded by the President in Aegina. Another well-documented study is an article by C. Th. Dimaras, "Capodistrias - Moustoxydes - Koutloumousianos"<sup>61</sup>, which is based on the rich materials in the Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini of Venice, the Greek State Archives, as well as of private collections. Dimaras publishes fifteen documents with the study concerning the educational endeavours of these individuals and on the language—Greek archaic or demotic—question.

Turning briefly to the emotive issue of the Philhellenes—the subject of several authoritative surveys by non-Greek scholars—Spyros Loukatos has published an interesting study on Capodistrias and Fabvier<sup>62</sup>. Loukatos narrates the relations of the President with the French Philhellene in connexion with the failure of the expedition to Chios and its aftermath. An appendix of thirty-three documents from the Greek State Archives makes this study a va-

58. «Κοραΐς και Καποδίστριας ως Εθνικοί Παιδαγωγοί», *Nea Estia* (1928), 736-42, 789-94.

59. (Geneva 1930), pp. 80.

60. *Ο Καποδίστριας και η Παιδεία, 1803-1822*. Published in two volumes; the first under the title *Η Φιλόμουσος Εταιρία της Βιέννης* (The Philomuse Society of Vienna) (Athens 1958), pp. viii + 231; the second *Τα Εκπαιδευτικά Ιδρύματα της Αιγίνης* (Educational Institutions of Aegina) (Athens 1972), pp. 173.

61. *Thesaurismata*, i. (Venice 1962), 14-62.

62. *Mnemosyne*, ii. (1969), 219-77.



luable contribution to the story of the last stages of Fabvier's activities in Greece and of his relations with Capodistrias.

The judicial history of the period has of late been the subject of a number of important studies. An article by C. Triantaphyllopoulos, "Political Justice during Capodistrias' era"<sup>63</sup>, deals with the legislative system; while a parallel study is N. Pantazopoulos' article, "John Gennatas and the Judiciary organization during Capodistrias' time"<sup>64</sup>. What promises to be the most authoritative general survey, however, is D. G. Seremetis' *Justice under Capodistrias*<sup>65</sup> of which only the first volume, covering the period 1828-1829, has so far been published. This includes a full account of the President's intensive endeavours to transform the chaotic post-revolutionary Greece into a state with order and justice. Based throughout on primary sources, this scholarly work deals with the civil, criminal and commercial laws promulgated during his presidency, and with the establishment of Courts of Justice in Greece. A useful supplement to this work is the same author's article, "Judicial organizations of the President: A synoptic Dogmatic Comparison"<sup>66</sup>. While yet another interesting study in this field is an article by P. Zepos, "An Appeal for Legal Re-Examination under Capodistrias"<sup>67</sup>. Equally important studies have recently appeared on various aspects of maritime law during the period of Capodistrias' presidency. The first is a two-volume survey by Despina Themeli-Catifori, *Prosecution of Piracy and Maritime Courts during the first Capodistrian period, 1828-1829*<sup>68</sup>, based on extensive research in Greek and foreign archives. The first volume deals with the attempts by the Greek and European authorities to control and destroy piracy, while the second deals with the establishment and functioning of the maritime courts. Both volumes have useful documentary appendices supplementing the main text. A supplementary study by the same author, *The*

63. «Η Πολιτική Δικαιοσύνη επί Καποδιστρίου», *Praktika tes Akademias Athenon*, xxiii (1948), 472-90.

64. «Ο Ιωάννης Γεννατάς και η οργάνωσις της Δικαιοσύνης επί Καποδιστρίου», *Athina*, liii (1942), 297-318.

65. *Η Δικαιοσύνη επί Καποδιστρίου* (Thessaloniki 1959), pp. x + 485.

66. «Οι Δικαστικοί Οργανισμοί του Κυβερνήτου. Συνοπτική Δογματική Σύγκρισις», *Armenopoulos*, viii (1954), 417-28, 480-502, 572-81.

67. «Μια αύξησις Αναιρέσεως των Καποδιστριακών χρόνων», *Peloponisiaka* (1956), 197-237.

68. *Η Δίωξις της Πειρατείας και το Θαλάσσιον Δικαστήριον κατά την πρώτην Καποδιστριακήν περίοδον, 1828-1829*, vol. i: *Η Δίωξις της Πειρατείας* (Prosecution of Piracy) (Athens 1973), pp. 257; vol. ii: *Θαλάσσια Δικαστήρια* (Maritime Courts) (Athens 1973), pp. 170.

*Sentences of the Maritime Court, 1828-1829*<sup>69</sup>, is a collection of documents, including two important codices from the National Library of Greece, together with a concise introduction and index of names and places. The publication of these documents is useful enough in itself, but they are also an important additional source for the study of Greek Customary Law. A parallel monograph by Theodore Halkiopoulos, *Matters of Prizes during the Capodistrian Period*<sup>70</sup>, treats of the adjudication problems of the Prize Courts, and International Sea Laws within the context of the diplomatic difficulties involved. This is the first study to deal with this aspect of the subject, and as such it is an important contribution to Greek diplomatic history also. It is well referenced, and is based on a wide range of Greek and other sources.

The ecclesiastical history of the period, curiously enough, has not attracted much scholarly interest. A concise and well-documented introduction, however, is a monograph by Emmanuel Constantinidis, *John Capodistrias and his Ecclesiastical Policy*<sup>71</sup>. This deals with the history of the Orthodox Church in Greece from 1828 to 1831, and includes details on the establishment of a Secretariat for Cults and Public Education, the education of the clergy, and of the relations of Capodistrias with the Oecumenical Patriarchate. It may be noted in passing that Constantinides makes it clear that Capodistrias had no intention of creating an autocephalous Church in Greece.

Few Greek scholars have dealt with public economy and financial administration under Capodistrias, although the following monographs may be noted. Leon Maccas' *Capodistrias' Activities in the field of Public Finance*<sup>72</sup>, is a well-documented study which examines the population of 1828, landed property, the fiscal system and the Greek foreign debt. A similar study is by Andreas Andreadis, "L'administration financière de Jean Capodistrias, Gouverneur de la Grèce, 1828-31"<sup>73</sup>. Andreadis draws attention to the fact that Capodistrias realised, in a country just emancipated after four hundred years of Turkish rule, that rather than introduce radical changes he should attempt to improve the system already established; together with this he im-

69. *Αι Αποφάσεις του Θαλασσίον Δικαστηρίου* in *Annual of the Center for the Study of the History of Greek Law, Academy of Athens*, xx.-xxxi. (1973-74), 25-579.

70. *Θέματα Θαλασσίων Λειών κατά την Καποδιστριακήν περίοδον* (Athens 1974), pp. xv + 128.

71. *Ο Ιωάννης Καποδίστριας και η Εκκλησιαστική του Πολιτική* (Athens 1977), pp. 126.

72. *Η εν τοις Δημοσίοις Οικονομικοίς δράσις του Καποδιστρίου* (Athens 1910), pp. 48.

73. First published in *Revue des études grecques*, xxiii (1910) and *Le Mouvement économique*, xiii (1911); reprinted in Andreadis, *Έργα (Works)* (Athens 1938), i. 747-65.

posed the strictest economy possible on all departments of the government. These two studies are convenient introductions to the subject. To them may be added Despina Themeli-Catifori's survey, *French interest in Greece during the Capodistrian era. (1828-1831)*<sup>74</sup>. This interesting book concentrates on the early and largely unsuccessful French efforts to influence Greek domestic policy through the medium of financial and other assistance and by investment in the country. Although French policy here was assiduously supported by Capodistrias' friend Eynard, the opposition of England, anxious to limit French influence in the Levant, and the cautious demeanour of Capodistrias himself, frustrated these schemes. More general in scope is another well-researched study: Demetrius Loules' *The Financial and Economic Policies of President John Capodistrias, 1828-1831*<sup>75</sup>. This valuable work is based on a wide range of Greek, English and Russian archives (indeed, Loules appears to have been the first Greek scholar allowed real access to Russian sources). The author demonstrates that Capodistrias' policies in these spheres were only partially successful; even so, in the face of the tremendous difficulties involved, the results were still remarkable. The President strenuously tried to revive trade and agriculture, and to develop the natural resources of the country; he introduced a new monetary system; established postal services; and laid the foundations of a modern banking system in the country. Nevertheless, his failure to win the confidence of the Great Powers, Loules concludes, meant that sufficient financial assistance was not forthcoming, and his plans for the creation of a new Greek society were thus suspended in consequence.

Finally, we come to the attempts to assess the reasons for Capodistrias' failure<sup>76</sup> and his tragic death. Christos Loukos' "President John Capodistria and the Mavromichalis" is a study of the nature of the feud between the President and this family. And concentrates on the fact that the differences between Capodistrias and the Mavromichalis and other leaders of the War of Independence were inspired not so much for personal, but for ideological reasons; and that the terrible outcome of these differences was largely due to Capodistrias' lack of determination to impose the policies circumstances demanded. The study is well-documented and includes an appendix of twenty-five documents

74. *Το Γαλλικό Ενδιαφέρον για την Ελλάδα στην Καποδιστριακή περίοδο 1828-1831* (Athens 1985), pp. 190.

75. Published as an appendix to *Δωδώνη, Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Ιωαννίνων* (Annual of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Ioannina) (1985), pp. 228-229.

76. «Ο Κυβερνήτης Ιω. Καποδίστριας και οι Μαυρομιχαλαίοι», *Mnemon* (1974), 1-110.

for the clarification of Loukos' thesis. Of closely related interest is B. Kremmydas' article "The assassination of President John Capodistrias"<sup>77</sup>. This interesting study makes use of the file of the legal proceedings after the assassination, which is to be found in a private collection. And Kremmydas concludes that the social differences of Greece, differences intensified during the War of Independence, and combined with the opposition of the Protecting Powers, were largely responsible for the antagonisms which resulted in the President's untimely death. N. Pantazopoulos attempts to combine Sociology with History in his short study "Capodistrias and the contemporary political and social pluralism"<sup>78</sup>. Pantazopoulos reevaluates the work of Capodistrias as the founder of the modern Greek State, and concludes that his lack of success was the result of the complex pluralistic phenomena which he finally failed to master. As such it marks an important contribution towards a final appreciation of Capodistrias as a statesman.

The materials continue to accumulate. Yet, if Capodistrias is less seemingly elusive and controversial than hitherto, the complete story of his life has still to be written.

77. «Η δολοφονία του Κυβερνήτη Ιωάννη Καποδίστρια», *Eranistis*, iv (1977), 217-81.

78. «Ο Ιωάννης Καποδίστριας και η συγκρότηση του Ελληνικού Κράτους», in *Publications on the History of Political Life and Political Institutions*, ii, (Thessaloniki 1983), 11-70.