

JOHN CAPODISTRIAS AND THE GREEK HISTORIANS: A SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW

Count John Capodistrias remains one of the most controversial political figures of the first three decades of the 19th century. His career began in his native country, the Ionian Islands, in 1800, as a member of the Government under the Russians. In 1807, when the Islands were ceded to the French, Capodistrias remained loyal to Russia and left for St Petersburg. His loyalty to the Czar Alexander I resulted in his rise to a position of great prominence in the Russian service. Capodistrias saw in Alexander the saviour of Europe whose liberalizing policy would maintain a balance between the extremes of revolution and absolutism. This is the reason why Capodistrias was devoted to the Czar and the Russian service; and this is also the reason why his attitude towards the revolutionary idea of independence for the Greeks was reserved. He was convinced that they were not yet ready for the freedom they desired; and that only the beneficial influence of education would eventually lead to a peaceful regeneration of their nation. Events, however, were to disprove this comfortable theory. They ignored his advice and finally revolted in 1821. He disapproved of the Greek resort to violence; yet he was not prepared to remain inactive. He strived to make Russian policy serve Greek ends. The result was that he very soon lost the trust of Alexander I. His personal ambition was not strong enough to make him deny his patriotism and remain in the Russian service. In 1822, Capodistrias retired to Geneva until 1827 when the Greeks elected him their first President. He accepted this new post assuring England, France and Russia that he would serve their Alliance — assurances which sounded false to both England and France, because of his previous devotion to the Czar. English and French distrust had strong bearing on his domestic and foreign policy during his four years of Presidency. He never succeeded in living down his Russian past, although he was always sincere to the Alliance and the Greeks, keeping in prominence his country's national aspirations. By April 1829 his antagonism with the British reached its peak when he did not accept the unfavourable terms of the Protocol (22 March 1829), designed by the English, for the settlement of the Greek question. Failure to engage English goodwill encouraged the English supported anti-Capodistrias within Greece (the leading Greeks and members of his Government

who feared that his internal reforms would undermine their influence). They used a campaign of rumours to undermine the President's reputation in Europe. Under these circumstances he momentarily welcomed the terms of the Protocol: the grant of independence to Greece with Prince Leopold on the throne, and the Aspropotamos-Volos frontier line. This he did hoping to work through Leopold for the more favourable frontier line for Greece, running from Arta to Volos. This policy, however, did not satisfy his opposition. They were more intent on wresting power from Capodistrias rather than on resisting the unfavourable term of the Protocol. His endeavours, therefore, to serve his nation were ill-rewarded and, in October 1831, his administration was abruptly terminated by his assassination.

Capodistrias's career naturally gave rise to numerous stories: he was thought of as a dangerous revolutionist, who, whilst serving the Czar, instigated the Greek Revolution. Others described him as a patriot and a great European statesman who, unlike other leading Greeks, was in a position to negotiate with the Great Powers and secure a favourable settlement of the Greek question. The most groundless interpretation of all was that of an unscrupulous diplomat and a fanatically devoted partisan of Russia, who, throughout his presidency, was prompted by his own ambition.

In judging this controversial man there are numerous documents and publications.

I. PUBLISHED SOURCES

The most important published primary evidence is Capodistrias's own writings. These consist of four important statements in the form of memoranda, which he wrote in order to explain his policy during the different stages of his political career, and of his correspondence.

His memorandum of 6/18 April 1819, written in Corfu, is entitled *Observations sur les moyens d'améliorer le sort des Grecs*. It bears no signature; but there is evidence that it was written by John Capodistrias. In the spring of 1819, after many years absence, he returned to Corfu to visit his family. In Russia, the Czar had advised him to restrain the Greeks (the Ionians and the mainlanders) from prematurely committing themselves to a hazardous enterprise which might disturb the balance of power in Europe. The appearance of Capodistrias in Corfu, however, was considered by all classes of the Greek people (and especially by the members of the *Philiki Etairia*) as an immediate signal for the declaration of Greek independence from Turkish domination.¹ Finding that a premature outbreak was very likely to take place,

1. Even Ali Pasha of Yannina, who was cautious preparing to revolt against the Sultan, felt that the moment was appropriate for an understanding with the Russians

he immediately adopted measures to repress this sanguine feeling, and to enlighten his countrymen of their actual situation. The memorandum in question is considered to have been drawn up for this immediate purpose. The aim of the writer was to show his enslaved countrymen that national reformation 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. This important political document, although published, remained unnoticed by Greek historians, while it was used by non - Greek historians. In 1965 E. Prevelakis reevaluated it in a paper read at the Third Panionian Congress, which is now being published in the *Minutes* of the Congress.

The second memorandum of John Capodistrias was dated 17/29 July 1821 and should have been written in St Petersburg. It was sent to Archbishop Ignatius in Pisa. Ignatius then forwarded it to Alexander Mavrokordatos in Missolonghi, who eventually communicated it to the Primates of Greece. It can be found in Greek translation in the General State Archives of Greece (Collection A. Mamoukas, file 14). It is published *in extenso* in its Greek version by E. Protopsaltis in *Ἀθηνᾶ* (Athena), Vol. 60 (1956), pp. 145-182, and it is entitled *Ὑπομνήματα συναφῇ Ἰγνατίου Μητροπολίτου Οὐγγροβλαχίας καὶ Ἰω. Καποδιστρίου περὶ τῆς τύχης τῆς Ἑλλάδος (1821)* (Adjacent memoranda by Metropolitan Ignatius of Hungary-Wallachia and by John Capodistrias on the fate of Greece). In this, Capodistrias stated that he strived to repress the revolutionary tendencies of his enslaved countrymen. Nevertheless the revolution broke out. He thus hoped that through European intervention and especially Russian, the Greek problem would be solved; otherwise, the Greeks had better win or die. He himself was not prepared to stand aside and witness the extermination of his compatriots. He stated that he would remain in the Russian service so that Russian policy might serve Greek ends. Once it would become obvious to him that the policy he advocated would not be pursued, he would then, without hesitation, leave the Russian service and follow the example of any other self-respecting Greek. He went on to advise the Greeks to safeguard their freed territories, to establish a powerful administration and to maintain the country's national character and language.

When in the spring of 1822, the degree of Russian trust reached a new low, Capodistrias decided to retire to Geneva. Before leaving Russia Capodistrias composed yet another memorandum, as Th. Makris writes in his

through Capodistrias. See D. Gatopoulos, *Ὁ ρόλος τοῦ Καποδιστρία κατὰ τὴν πώλησιν τῆς Πάργας εἰς τὸν Ἀλῆ Πασᾶ* (The rôle played by Capodistrias during the negotiations for the sale of Pasha to Ali Parga), *Estia*, No 17120, 1938.

‘Ο Ἰωάννης Καποδίστριας καὶ ἡ προκυβερνητικὴ πατριωτικὴ του δρα̃σις (John Capodistrias and his patriotic pre-presidential activities), Corfu, 1964, pp. 246-260. Its original has not been found; but in the Archives of John Baptist Theotokis of Corfu there are two copies which were written by two different hands. Makris believes that the original was amongst the papers of the Capodistrias family, which were destroyed during the bombing of Corfu in September 1943. In this memorandum Capodistrias analyzed European policy. He explained that the Sovereigns were not only responsible but also the appropriate leaders of Europe; and those who attempted to change their political status, were considered revolutionaries and consequently perishable. Yet Capodistrias encouraged the Greeks to continue their struggle for their emancipation from Turkish domination; and he suggested a new military organization, a good administrative system, and a policy of friendship with their neighbours still enslaved. He went on to explain that the Greeks should refrain from requesting Russian assistance. If a Russo-Turkish war were declared the Greeks might, on the one hand, acquire a powerful ally, but, on the other, they might eventually be conquered by the Russians — an assertion which foreshadowed the rise of Panslavism in the Balkans.

The fourth memorandum is known as *Aperçu de ma carrière publique depuis 1798 jusqu'à 1822*, dated 24 December 1826. It was submitted by Capodistrias to the Czar Nicholas I, as soon as he ascended the throne. It is printed in the *Archives of the Russian Historical Society* (*Sbornik russkago istoriceskago obscestva*), Vol. III (1868), pp. 163-292, in the original French with a Russian translation by K. K. Zlobin. Capodistrias's autobiography, as this document is usually referred to, was found by M. Lascaris in draft form in the *Papers* of the Capodistrias family in Corfu (those which were destroyed in 1943). Lascaris published it in a Greek translation in Athens in 1940 (re-printed in 1962) under the title *Αὐτοβιογραφία Ἰωάννου Καποδίστρια* (Autobiography of John Capodistrias).¹ This autobiography is a public document; but it is in fact an apologia of Capodistrias himself of his political career in the service of the Czar Alexander I. It ends with the Count's explanation that his patriotism clashed with his loyalty to the Czar and the Russian service; and his patriotism dictated him to retire from Russia.

To this printed evidence there should be added the *Correspondance du Comte Jean Capodistrias*, Vol. I-IV, Geneva, 1839, edited by E. D. Bétant, one of his secretaries, under the direction of his brothers Viaro and

1. Already part of the *Aperçu...* had been translated into Greek and had been published in 1877 in *Estia*, No 70, under the title: *Ἀνέκδοτον Ὑπόμνημα Καποδίστριας* (Unpublished mémoire by Capodistrias).

Agostino Capodistrias. There is also a translation into Greek by M. G. Schinas, Athens, 1841-43.¹ The *Correspondance* refers to the period of John Capodistrias's Presidency (1828-1831) and it is extracted from his personal correspondence. It reveals an enlightened statesman who hopes to achieve the regeneration of the Greek Nation with the help of the Great Powers; a patriot who was determined to secure for Greece 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 A. Stourdja. To this collection of documents there should be added Capodistrias's correspondence with J. G. Eynard, the Swiss Philhellene, during 1826-1831. *Ἀλληλογραφία Ἰ. Α. Καποδίστρια - Ἰ. Γ. Ἐυνάρδου, 1826-1831*, edited by Sp. Theotokis, in two volumes, Athens, 1929. It consists of documents relating mostly to plans for the financial relief and the education of the Greeks. K. Kairophylas also published letters exchanged between J. Capodistrias and Ugo Foscolo, from 1818 to 1827, which are deposited in the Labronica Library of Livorno. Kairophylas's intention is to show that Capodistrias was neither a russophil nor an anglophob. These are published in the *Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος* (Calendar of Greater Greece), *Καποδίστριας καὶ Φώσκολος* (Capodistrias and Foscolo), 1929, pp. 161-186. In recent years C. Mertziotis published in the Greek periodical *Parnassos* (1960, pp. 445-472 and 1961, pp. 103-126 and 207-238) a collection of letters from J. Capodistrias to Ugo Foscolo, Viaro Capodistrias, Naranzi (Russian Consul in Venice), Moustoxydis, Necker, etc. These are to be found in the Academia Labronica in Livorno and in the Library of the Municipal Museum of Correr in Venice; and they refer to Capodistrias's activities before his Presidency, 1819-1826. A very interesting collection of letters are published in two volumes under the title *Σύμμεικτα Ἑλληνικά* (Greek Miscellanea) by anonymous writers (which in fact F. Fournarakis and C. Th. Rallis), Paris, 1832. These two volumes contain the numerous letters addressed from Greece to A. Korais, which strongly criticize President Capodistrias. As a reply to these letters N. G. Pagalakis wrote to Korais, on 20 September 1832, refuting all this calumnious correspondence. Pagalakis's letter consisting of sixteen pages is published in the *Ἑλληνικά* (Hellenica), 1935, pp. 289-314, *Κοραΐς καὶ*

1. An anonymous editor (most probably Viaro Capodistrias) published a volume with the title, *Le Comte Jean Kopodistrias, Président de la Grèce, jugé par lui-même (D'après les actes de son administration, constatés par sa correspondance publiée à Genève 1839)*, Paris 1842. These are extracts from his correspondence referring to the political regeneration of Greece, and was intended to outline the ideal statesman.

Καποδίστριας (Koraïs and Capodistrias) by C. Amantos.¹ Still another publication on Capodistrias's pre-presidential life is P. Enepekidis's *Ρήγας - Ύψηλάντης - Καποδίστριας* (Rhigas - Ypsilantis - Capodistrias), Athens, 1965. It deals with Capodistrias's life from 1811 to 1827. Not synthetic, it is a publication of documents from the Austrian, German, Italian, French and Greek Archives (the documents are mainly from the Polizeiarhiv of Austria and La Prefecture de Police of France).

To these there should be added publications of minor importance but which, however, complete the story. These are: *Lettres et documents sur les derniers événements de la Grèce qui ont précédé la mort du Comte Capodistrias*, Paris, 1931, by an anonymous editor; *Ἀπόσπασμα: Δίκη τῆς δολοφονίας τοῦ Ι. Καποδίστρια* (Extract: the Lawsuit of the Assassination of J. Capodistrias) published in the *Γενικὴ Ἐφημερὶς* (General Newspaper), 1831, Nos. 84-85; two unpublished letters of Capodistrias to A. Stourdja, Poros, 7/19 September, 1828 and Nauplia, 5/17 May, 1831, printed in *Δελτίον Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* (Bulletin of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece), 1885, II; S. Kougeas, *Ἡ Διαθήκη τοῦ ἐκ τῶν φονέων τοῦ Καποδίστρια Ι. Μαυρομιχάλη* (The Will of John Mavromichalis, one of Capodistrias's Assassins), published in *Πελοποννησιακὰ* (Peloponnesiaka), 1956.

II. SECONDARY AUTHORITIES

Upon the failure of Capodistrias's Presidency and his assassination, the pro-Capodistrian party, under the patronage of his brothers or by his brothers themselves published in Paris works in the form of eulogies on him. In 1832, S. Bulgari, a Corfiot friend of the Capodistrias, composed a short work under the title *Notice sur J. Capodistrias, Président de la Grèce*. A year later, in 1833, Viaro Capodistrias published anonymously a book entitled *Renseignements sur la Grèce et sur un Grec témoins oculaire des faits qu'il rapporte*, Paris. This publication is a narrative on the development of the situation in Greece, from 1821 to 1831. The story is supported by some seventy documents. It is a very useful book, as Viaro had been an eyewitness of many events in Greece during these years. It can also be said that the *Mémoires biographiques-historiques sur le Président de la Grèce, le Comte J. Capodistrias*, Vols I-II, Paris, 1837-38, by A. Papadopoulos-Vretos, is still another apologia for Capodistrias's political career. To this category of publications belongs D. Arliotti's *La vita di Giovanni Conte Capodistria*, Corfu, 1859.

1. A. Daskalakis published a study on the same subject *Κοραΐς καὶ Καποδίστριας* (Koraïs and Capodistrias), Athens, 1958; but this is based on published matter only.

The first important study however, on Capodistrias was written by a German and it appeared in Berlin in 1864. It was K. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's *Graf Johann Kapodistrias* in two volumes. Mendelssohn - Bartholdy based his book on materials in the Archives in Athens, Corfu, Vienna and Munich only to interpret the President's paternal Government as a tyranny maintained for the benefit of Russia and in opposition to England and France. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy ruined Capodistrias's reputation. His knowledge of original sources created great confidence in his narrative.¹ Three years later, in 1867, an Austrian, A. von Prokesch-Osten, published in Vienna his *Geschichte des Abfalls der Griechen vom türkischen Reich im Jahre 1821 und des Gründung des hellenischen Königsreiches aus diplomatischen Standpunkte*, Vols I-VI (2 text and 4 documents). The text was translated into Greek by G. Antoniadis in 1868-1869. Prokesch - Osten, using primary sources, gave a far more balanced picture of Capodistrias. Thereupon the study of the subject of Capodistrias seemed to have remained in abeyance, with the exception of a short composition by P. Kalevras, *Πολιτικός βίος τοῦ ἀοιδήμου Ἰωάννου Καποδίστρια, Κυβερνήτου τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (Political life of John Capodistrias, President of Greece), Athens, 1873, which is prejudiced in favour of Capodistrias.

In 1889 M. Theotokis published in Corfu *Ὁ Ἰωάννης Καποδίστριας ἐν Κεφαλληνίᾳ* (John Capodistrias in Cephalonia). This is based on documents from the Archives of the Ionian State and it deals with Capodistrias's special missions to Cephalonia during 1800, 1801 and 1802, aiming at restoring order after civil strife. Theotokis considered that it was in Cephalonia where Capodistrias received his first experience in public affairs. The importance of this book lay also on the several appendices of documents from the Ionian Archives. T. E. Evangelidis's, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἰωάννου Καποδίστρια, Κυβερνήτου τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1828-1831* (History of John Capodistrias, President of Greece, 1828-1831), Athens, 1894, is the first detailed study in Greek. It is a book based on published matter only. Evangelidis describes Capodistrias as an able statesman and diplomat who devoted himself to his country. It is a one-sided book and it is not free from some rash judgements. In 1900, A. Idromenos published *Ἰω. Καποδίστριας, Κυβερνήτης τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (John Capodistrias, President of Greece,) using only printed matter. He sketches the entire political life of Capodistrias in the form of a biography, underlining that the President was

1. In the Greek periodical *Ποικίλη Στοὰ* (Miscellaneous Stoa) of 1886, S. Xenos, published an article *Ὁ Ἰωάννης Καποδίστριας* (John Capodistrias), in which he reviewed Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's *Graf Kapodistrias*. Xenos considered that the book was prejudiced, although based on primary sources, and that Bartholdy was proved to be an author influenced by his personal sympathies in a way that it was believed that Mendelssohn was a member of the English party in Greece.

criticized by non-Greek scholars and that very few Greek historians wrote objectively about him. Idromenos concludes that Capodistrias was an exceptional personality, a great European statesman who devoted himself to the welfare of Greece. The first objective picture of Capodistrias is sketched by S. Lascaris in his study under the title *Capodistrias avant la révolution, sa carrière politique jusqu'en 1822*, Lausanne, 1918. Lascaris, however, confined his study to the time Capodistrias served the Czar. This work is partly based on the Swiss Archives and on almost all available printed matter. A better documented study is L. Oeconomos's *Essai sur la vie du Comte Capodistrias, depuis son départ de Russie en août 1822 jusqu'à son arrivée en Grèce en janvier 1828*, Toulouse, Paris, 1926. It is a very detailed account of Capodistrias's activities, while in exile in Western Europe, in order to promote philhellenism. Oeconomos makes use of the French Archives (Quai d'Orsay and Nationales) and of the British Foreign Office and Admiralty Papers. E. K. Mavrikis in his *Ο Καποδίστριας και η εποχή του* (During the time of Capodistrias), Athens, 1927, outlines the political career of the President trying to "sanctify" him. A couple of years later D. Gatopoulos published his *Ιωάννης Καποδίστριας, ο πρώτος Κυβερνήτης της Ελλάδος* (John Capodistrias, the first President of Greece), Athens, 1932. This is based on the Capodistrian Archive in Corfu, and in the Zaimis papers. Gatopoulos, however, did not make full use of this material and his references are rather thin. He shows the President as a devoted patriot even during the time he lived outside Greece. Assuming the Presidency, he arrived in Greece without knowing the real condition of his country; and this is, to a great extent, as Gatopoulos states, the reason why Capodistrias failed in the government of Greece. Gatopoulos confines his story to the internal administration only.

After the Second World War, many Greek historians became interested in Capodistrias. A. Despotopoulos published *Ο Κυβερνήτης Καποδίστριας και η απελευθέρωσις της Ελλάδος* (President Capodistrias and the Liberation of Greece), Athens, 1954. This is a complete story of Capodistrias's relations with the Greeks, based only on published matter, but it compiles all available monographs. Despotopoulos presents Capodistrias as a successful President in both his domestic and foreign policy. He also states that only indirect assistance of Russia finally gave to Greece the Arta-Volos frontier line.¹ Referring to the very early political career of Capodistrias, S. Loukatos, making an extensive use of the Archives in Corfu, wrote *Ο Ιωάννης Καποδίστριας και η Επανάστος Πολιτεία* (John Capodistrias and the

1. A. Despotopoulos made the same statements about Capodistrias in an article he published in the daily Greek newspaper *Kathimerini* (22 March 1964) entitled *Ο Καποδίστριας και η εποχή του* (Capodistrias's career).

Septinsular State 1800-1807), Athens, 1959. Loukatos shows that it was in the Ionian Islands that Capodistrias derived the experience which he needed when later he served in the Russian Government. He also states that Capodistrias considered Russia as the sole protecting power of the Ionian Islands and of Greece. Another study on the same period is Th. Makris's *Ὁ Ἰωάννης Καποδίστριας καὶ ἡ προκυβερνητικὴ πατριωτικὴ του δρα̃σις* (J. Capodistrias and his Patriotic Pre-presidential Activities), Corfu, 1965. He uses no new material, except for the long memorandum of 1822, already cited. Makris considers that until today the pre-presidential life of Capodistrias is not well-known, as very few books present the story completely and without prejudice. Makris skillfully elucidated that, stating that Capodistrias had been a cautious but devoted supporter of the *Etairists*, at least three years prior to the Greek Revolution. The main discussion of this book is the relations of Capodistrias with the *Philiki Etairia*.¹

III. RELATED MONOGRAPHS AND ARTICLES

As a continuum of these, numerous related monographs and articles have been published, which cover the main facets of Capodistrias's administration. The most important bibliography is on education. In 1925 L. Velelis published in Athens *Ὁ Καποδίστριας ὡς θεμελιωτὴς τῆς δημοτικῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως ἐν Ἑλλάδι* (Capodistrias the founder of demotic education in Greece). It refers to Capodistrias's activities in education during his entire political life. A scholarly study, it is based on statistics and on all available printed sources (i. e., newspapers, chronicles and political correspondence). A. Papacharisis wrote a very informative article *Κοραΐς καὶ Καποδίστριας ὡς ἐθνικοὶ παιδαγωγοὶ* (Koraïs and Capodistrias as National Educators), in *Nea Estia*, 1928, pp. 736-742, 789-794. There it is explained that Capodistrias preached the necessity of education which he considered vital for Greek national regeneration. Through education the Greeks could also improve their national character and thus regain the status of a civilized nation. The writer expounds in detail upon the educational programme of the President; i. e., the founding of primary and secondary schools, methods of teaching, training of teachers and professional schools etc. In 1930, Petrondas published in Geneva, *Capodistrias et Eynard: leur oeuvre éducative pour la régénération de la Grèce*. Petrondas shows in his short monograph that Capodistrias succeeded in establishing primary and professional education

1. To these specialized syntheses on John Capodistrias, there should be added the general histories of the Greek War of Independence, which usually cover the period from 1821 to 1832 when Greece became a monarchical state.

in Greece. But the most important study of Capodistrias's educational policy is E. Koukkou's *Ὁ Καποδίστριας καὶ ἡ παιδεία, 1803-1822* (Capodistrias and Education, 1803-1822), Athens, 1958. This study is complete in its documentation. It is based on the Archives of Corfu, on the Greek State Archives and on private collections. In it Capodistrias's contribution to education during his service in the Ionian Islands and in Russia is traced. E. Koukkou states that according to him education should be the basis for the regeneration of the Greeks, and the establishment of a westernized civilization. A supplement to this monograph is G. Laïos's *Ἡ Φιλόμουσος Ἑταιρεία τῆς Βιέννης, (1814-1820)* (The Philomousos Etairia of Vienna) published in the *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* (Annual of the Institute of Mediaeval Studies of the Academy of Athens), vol. 12, 1962. It is a very good study of the *Philomousos Etairia*, based on new unpublished material from the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, the Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv and the Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv in Vienna. Another very well-documented article is by D. Th. Dimaras *Καποδίστριας-Μουστοξύδης-Κουτλουμουσιανός* (Capodistrias - Moustoxydis - Koutloumousianos) in *Θησαυρίματα* (Synopsis), Vol. I, Venice, 1962, pp. 14-62. There is reference to the sources of the Greek State Archives and of the Greek Institute of Venice, as well as of private collections. Dimaras publishes fifteen documents representing the endeavours of these three men towards educating the Greeks, and establishing a language (Greek archaic or demotic).

Capodistrias's ability to write in Greek is frequently discussed. E. Photiadis in his *Περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ Ἰωάννου Καποδιστρίου* (The Greek Letters of John Capodistrias) published in the *Hellenica*, 1931 pp. 249-256, states that the President did actually write in Greek. The author refers to the Archives in Corfu where a file (No 136) is deposited containing drafts of Greek letters by John Capodistrias. A similar statement makes Sp. Theotokis in an article *Ἡ ἐθνικὴ συνείδησις τοῦ Καποδιστρίου καὶ ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ γλῶσσα* (The national conscience of Capodistrias and the Greek language) published in the *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* (Acts of the Academy of Athens), vol. 7 (1932), p. 130 et seq.

In reference to his Justice (his legal system) in the *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* (Acts of the Academy of Athens) was published (1948)¹ the *Ἡ Πολιτικὴ Δικαιοσύνη ἐπὶ Καποδιστρίου* (Justice during the Presidency of Capodistrias) by C. Triantaphyllopoulos. He explains how Capodistrias established and promulgated a legislative system in Greece. Another

1. There is also a speech delivered by N. Dragoumis in 1873 under the title *Δικαιοσύνη, Παιδεία, Ἐκκλησία ἐν Ἑλλάδι* (Justice, Education, and the Church in Greece during the years 1821-1831) published in Athens.

parallel article is 'Ο Ἰωάννης Γενναῖος καὶ ἡ ὁργάνωσις τῆς Δικαιοσύνης ἐπὶ Καποδιστρίου (John Genatas and the organization of Justice during Capodistrias's time) by N. Pantazopoulos published in Ἀθηνᾶ (Athena), vol. 53, pp. 297-318. The main work on this subject is D. G. Seremetis's *Ἡ Δικαιοσύνη ἐπὶ Καποδίστρια* (Justice under Capodistrias), vol. I, 1828-1829, Thessaloniki, 1959. Though only the first volume is now published, it is a complete and detailed account of Capodistrias's intensive endeavours to transform a chaotic, post-revolutionary state into Greece with order and justice. Based on primary sources this scholarly work deals with the civil, private and penal laws promulgated under Capodistrias, as well as with the establishment of courts of Justice in Greece. This work is supplemented by an article by the same author, entitled *Οἱ δικαστικοὶ ὀργανισμοὶ τοῦ Κυβερνήτου. Συνοπτικὴ δογματικὴ σύγκρισις* (Judicial Institutions of the President. A Synoptic Dogmatic Review) published in *Armenopoulos*, vol. VIII (1954), pp. 417-428, 486-502 and 572-581. In addition to this P. Zepos's *Μία ἀῶσις ἀναιρέσεως τῶν Καποδιστριακῶν χρόνων* (An Appeal for Legal Reexamination under Capodistrias) published in *Πελοποννησιακά* (Peloponnesiaka), 1956, pp. 197-237.

Few writers have dealt with public economy and financial administration under Capodistrias. L. Maccas published an account under the title *Ἡ ἐν τοῖς Δημοσίοις Οἰκονομικοῖς δαῖσις τοῦ Καποδιστρίου* (Capodistrias's Public Finance), Athens, 1910. Complete and well-documented, it examines the population of 1828, landed property, the system of taxation, salaries, budgets and the foreign debt of Greece. Another study of Greek finance is an article by A. Andreadis, *L'administration financière de Jean Capodistrias, Gouverneur de la Grèce, 1828-1831* in *Ἔργα* (Works), Athens, 1938, pp. 747-765. This is confined to Capodistrias's financial administration. The President, in a country just emancipated after four hundred years of Turkish domination, realized that, rather than introduce radical changes, he should attempt to improve the system already established. Parallel to this, he imposed the strictest possible economy on all departments of the Government. Andreadis's and Maccas's studies combined together give, more or less, a complete picture of the public economy under Capodistrias.¹

IV. UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

This selective bibliography of John Capodistrias by Greek historians shows that a final study is still to be desired, and it is expected to be the out-

1. In a recent issue of the *Ἑρανιστής* (Compiler) vol. IV, No 21/22 (1966), G. D. Dimakopoulos publishes a very useful article *Αἱ κυβερνητικαὶ ἀρχαὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Πολιτείας 1827-1873* (Greek Government). The result of extensive research at the Greek

come of extensive research at the Archives. By now almost all Archives on this period, in Greece and elsewhere, are accessible to scholars. Concerning the pre-presidential political life of Capodistrias most important are the Archives of the Senate at Corfu; but of even greater importance are the Archives of Russia which have only very recently become accessible to historians.¹ The Greek State Archives provide a wealth of documents from the main departments of the Capodistrian Government, which have been sorted out in alrough chronological order; but which have not been listed. These papers, although seen by many historians, have not been used to the extent possible. True it is that their reading by a non-Greek historian is difficult; but even for a Greek, the work would be long and very hard. But without extensive use of these documents, the detailed administrative history of that period cannot be written. The same is true for the history of Capodistrias's relations with the European Powers. The difference here is that the primary sources concerning diplomacy of that period, are mostly outside Greece.² In England, in the Public Record Office (London) there exists a complete collection. The so-called *Ionian Papers*, as also some of the *Foreign Office Papers*, are invaluable; but, as English reporting of the Greek scene was not impartial, a study of the *Correspondance Politique* (under Greece, England and Russia) in the Archives of the Quai d'Orsay in Paris is considered mandatory. These French documents constitute the most essential source material for Capodistrias's relations with the Great Powers. The French agents in Greece remained the most objective, for France's vital interests, at the time, was outside Greece. The publication of the Russian Foreign Ministry, *Foreign Policy of Russia during the 19th and 20th centuries*, Moscow, 1960, et seq., and the Russian State Archives, which having recently opened, should provide the final evidence that scholars have been awaiting. Lastly, some important Austrian material in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna should be included, which clarifies certain controversial points.

After one and a half centuries the complete story of Count John Capodistrias has become a possibility.

Athens

DOMNA N. DONTAS

State Archives, he lists in detail the different government departments, as well as the names of all appointed officials.

1. The Russian historian G. L. Arch published in Moscow, 1965, *Tajnoe Obshchestvo "Filiki Etairia"* (The Secret Society Filiki Etairia), based on these Russian Archives and it is announced that other works based on primary Russian sources concerning Greece in the 19th century are about to be published.

2. In Greece the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs referring to this are incomplete. What few documents can be found are either duplicates or originals of no importance.