ST NIKODEMOS THE HAGIORITE AND THE SPIRITUALITY OF THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION

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WE DO NOT USUALLY THINK of the Reformation as having any direct effect on the Eastern Orthodox Church. Yet the repercussions on the Orthodox world were profound. On the theological level, the sixteenth-century confessions of faith issued by the Lutherans and Calvinists, together with the Roman Catechism published in 1566 after the Council of Trent, put pressure on the Orthodox to define their own faith in the new confessional mode. The Orthodox responded with the Latinising *Orthodox Confession* of Peter Mogila, metropolitan of Kiev, which was ratified by the Synod of Jassy in 1642 and again, with modifications, by the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672. It remains for the Orthodox an authoritative statement of the Christian faith.

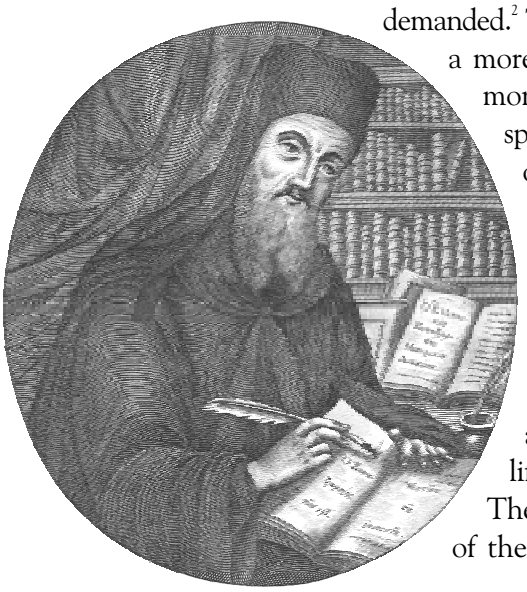
On the spiritual level, the influence of the Reformation was manifested less formally but penetrated the consciousness of the Orthodox more deeply. It is evident from many publications of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that one of the chief consequences of the Reformation for both Catholics and Protestants was the interiorisation of spirituality. Devotional emphasis moved away from the confraternities, processions and popular festivals characteristic of the late Middle Ages to the earnest cultivation of the individual's inner life. It was this aspect of the Reformation that exerted the greatest influence on one of the most important Orthodox figures of the renewal of spiritual life in the eighteenth century, St Nikodemos the Hagiorite (1749–1809).[1]

[1] The best overview of Nikodemos, with a full bibliography, is in Italian: Elia Citterio, 'Nicodemo Agiorita', in *La Théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, volume 1, *XIIIe—XIXe s.*, edited by Carmelo Giuseppe Conticello and Vassa Conticello (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 905–997. Also important is Daniel Stiernon,

Nikodemos and the kollyvades *Movement*

Nikodemos was born on the Aegean island of Naxos, to pious parents, and baptized Nicholas. He was educated first on Naxos by a learned archimandrite and then at the celebrated Greek 'Evangelical School' of Smyrna. On completing his studies in 1770, he returned to his home island, where he found employment as the bishop's secretary. A bright pupil such as Nicholas would normally have gone abroad for university studies. Nicholas's family had the means to enable him to do so, but while he was working for the bishop of Naxos he met Makarios, a former metropolitan of Corinth, who inspired him to enter the monastic life.

Makarios was one of the leaders of a group of zealous monks known as the *kollyvades*, who acquired their sobriquet as a result of their opposition to holding memorial services for the dead (at which *kollyva*, or boiled wheat, was offered) on Sundays rather than on weekdays as tradition demanded.[2] The *kollyvades*' initial protest soon became a more general movement of return to strict monastic observance and to the earlier spiritual traditions of Orthodoxy. Nicholas, on being tonsured and given the name Nikodemos, embraced the principles of this movement with intelligence and enthusiasm.



From the beginning, the leaders of the *kollyvades* movement had in view not only the renewal of monasticism but also the intensification of the Christian life of the Orthodox faithful in general. They were traditionalist in their observance of the canons and emphasis on the spiritual

'Nicodème l'Haghiorite', *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1935–1995), volume 11, 234–250. In English one may consult Constantine Cavarnos, *St Nicodemos the Hagiorite* (Belmont: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1974); George Brebis's introduction to Nicodemos of the Holy Mountain, *A Handbook of Spiritual Counsel*, translated by Peter A. Chambers (Mahwah: Paulist, 1989), 5–65; or, more briefly, Norman Russell, 'Nikodemos the Haghiorite', in *The Orthodox Christian World*, edited by Augustine Casiday (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 318–324.

[2] The dispute arose in 1754, when the monks of one of the Athonite monasteries, the Skete of St Anne, began, for the sake of convenience, to hold memorial services for deceased benefactors on Sundays rather than Saturdays in order to leave Saturdays free for other activities, such as visiting the weekly market at the monastic centre of Karyes.

teaching of the Greek Fathers, yet fully up to date in their interest in new ways of communicating the Christian faith. Although hostile to the Roman Catholic Church, they consciously mirrored several aspects of the Catholic Reformation, notably its popular preaching, its internal missions and its production of spiritual handbooks for the Christian laity.

The economic and cultural situation of the Orthodox in the Ottoman Empire had improved considerably by the mid-eighteenth century. Although Christian institutes of higher learning were forbidden by the Ottoman authorities, education was highly prized. Many who had studied at Greek schools went on to pursue university studies in the West. The most famous of these was Nikodemos' exact contemporary Adamantios Korais (1748–1833) who, after medical studies at Montpellier, went to live in Paris, where he experienced the French Revolution at first hand. He welcomed it enthusiastically as the birth of liberty and worked indefatigably to commend its principles to his fellow Greeks.

Most Western-educated Greek intellectuals, however, returned to the Ottoman Empire at the conclusion of their studies, where many entered the clergy, the only career that offered them positions of leadership in Greek society. Although generally less radical than Korais, they often brought with them the ideas of the Enlightenment. The outstanding cleric of this type was Eugenios Boulgaris (1716–1806), an admirer of Locke, Voltaire and Wolff who nevertheless taught in the 1750s at the monastic academy on Mount Athos and in the 1760s at the patriarchal academy in Constantinople, before going on to become an archbishop in Russia. It was partly to counter the influence of teachers such as Korais and Boulgaris that Nikodemos embarked on his own programme of spiritual renewal under the guidance of Makarios of Corinth.

Catholic–Orthodox Relations in the Eighteenth Century

The Reformation did not touch the Orthodox world in an immediate fashion. The issues that were important to the reformers, such as the relation between faith and reason, the operation of grace, the role of the human will in attaining salvation and the nature of papal authority, had arisen out of the concerns of Western scholasticism. They hardly impinged on the Greek world, which was orientated much more towards the monastic and patristic traditions. Indeed, the Orthodox regarded the

dispute between the Protestant reformers and the papacy as a purely Western matter of little concern to them.

By contrast, the leaders of the Reformation on both the Catholic and the Protestant sides were keenly interested in the Orthodox. In their dispute it would have been an advantage for either side to be able to claim the support of an ancient Church of indisputably apostolic origin. In 1574 the Protestant theologians of the University of Tübingen began a seven-year correspondence with Patriarch Jeremias II of Constantinople with a view to winning his approval of the key Lutheran confessional statement, the *Confessio Augustana* (1530). The patriarch explained that he was unable to agree with the Protestant theses and eventually broke off the correspondence. On the Catholic side, the Jesuit Antonio Possevino put forward a project for church union in 1584 which was likewise rejected by Jeremias, not least because the Ottoman authorities had indicated that in the event of union with Rome they would suppress the patriarchate and close all the Greek churches.

Most patriarchs of Constantinople naturally felt a greater affinity with the Roman Church, with which the Orthodox had been dealing for centuries, than with the new and unfamiliar Protestant communions. In the early part of the seventeenth century relations were particularly warm, largely because the Orthodox hierarchy was greatly impressed by the new orders of the Catholic Reformation, especially the Society of Jesus. Jesuits were invited to preach and hear confessions in Orthodox churches. Jesuit professors were even employed to teach at the monastic theological academy on Mount Athos.[3]

By the end of the seventeenth century, however, all this had changed. The reason was that the Orthodox gradually discovered that the Jesuits who lived among them held the view that redemption was not possible outside the Roman Catholic Church and were working to bring about conversions to Rome by undermining confidence in the Orthodox Church as a reliable vehicle of salvation. This soteriological exclusiveness (a consequence of the decisions of the Council of Trent) was brought home to the Orthodox by several publications in the later part of the century, particularly a work in the Greek vernacular by a French Jesuit, François Richard, called *Shield of the Roman Faith* (Rome, 1658), which

[3] For more on these friendly relations (and how they deteriorated), see Timothy Ware, *Eustratios Argenti: A Study of the Greek Church under Turkish Rule* (Oxford: OUP, 1964), 16–33.

taught that the Greek Church was in error and that outside the Roman faith it was impossible to please God. The book so alarmed the ecumenical patriarch Parthenios IV (especially because it was in the vernacular) that he procured its suppression by the Ottoman authorities.[4]

By the mid-eighteenth century relations between Catholics and Orthodox had reached a particularly low point, chiefly in consequence of the defection of a large part of the patriarchate of Antioch to Rome. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century a schism arose which split the Antiochene Church in two. The occasion for the schism—not for the first time at Antioch—was a succession dispute. Two rival patriarchs were elected, one (Sylvester) being supported by the Orthodox of Aleppo, the other (Seraphim) by the Orthodox of Damascus. In October 1724 Seraphim who, not unusually for an Orthodox cleric at that time, had studied at the College of Propaganda in Rome, was consecrated and enthroned in Damascus as Cyril VI. A week later Sylvester was consecrated for the same patriarchal throne by the ecumenical patriarch Jeremias III in Constantinople. The Ottoman government accordingly withdrew recognition from Cyril VI and gave it to Sylvester.

Cyril, deposed and excommunicated by Constantinople, fled to the Lebanon. In 1729, however, he won recognition from Pope Benedict XIII as the legitimate patriarch of Antioch, thus initiating the Melkite schism. A majority of Syrian bishops followed Cyril, becoming known as Greek Catholic Melkites. In support of the Melkites, Propaganda issued a directive in the same year (1729) forbidding *communicatio in sacris* with the 'dissident Orientals' (that is, with the Orthodox). Partly in response to this directive and the flow of converts to Catholicism that it encouraged, the Home Synod of Constantinople (or more probably, as recent scholarship has shown, the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria and Jerusalem simply acting in concert)[5] resolved in 1755 to regard Catholic baptism as invalid.[6]

[4] I have discussed this episode and its ecclesiastical context in greater detail in Norman Russell, 'From the "Shield of Orthodoxy" to the "Tome of Joy": The Anti-Western Stance of Dositheos II of Jerusalem (1641–1707)', in *Orthodox Constructions of the West*, edited by George Demacopoulos and Aristotle Papanikolaou (New York: Fordham UP, 2013), 71–82, 286–294.

[5] Vassa Kontouma, 'La Définition des trois patriarches sur l'anabaptème', *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*, 121 (2012–2013), 255–268.

[6] This decision is not regarded as binding on the Orthodox Church—according to previous practice Catholic converts to Orthodoxy were not rebaptized but were received simply by chrismation—but the scrupulous still observe it.

Nikodemos' Literary Activity

Such was the lamentable state of Catholic–Orthodox relations at the time Nikodemos became a monk. Yet the cultural and theological bonds between the two sides were never entirely broken, as Nikodemos' own ambivalent attitude indicates. On the one hand he was hostile to the Roman Catholic Church, upholding the decree of 1755 as fully canonical and regarding the Latins as unbaptized heretics.[7] On the other, like his Western counterparts of the Catholic Reformation, he sought to engender in the Orthodox laity an intense devotion to the person of Christ through spiritual reading, scrupulous self-examination, personal asceticism, and frequent communion.

The best known of Nikodemos' works is his compilation, with Makarios of Corinth, of the anthology of patristic spiritual texts known as the *Philokalia* (Venice, 1782). In the nineteenth century the *Philokalia* was translated into Russian and, in the twentieth, was published, with unexpected success, in English.[8] Nikodemos also wrote a compendium of canon law, a martyrology of the new martyrs of the Ottoman era, a confession of faith, works of patristic exegesis and a number of books of spiritual edification. His massive commentary on the Church's canons, the *Pedalion* ('rudder'), insists on the rigorous observance of the canons by all, laypeople as well as clerics, if they are to avoid perdition. It reflects the *kollyvades*' emphasis on the responsibility of individuals for their own salvation, as opposed to relying for salvation on the communitarian solidarity of the faithful.

The same attitude is indicated with particular clarity and power in Nikodemos' *Neon martyrologion* ('new martyrology') (Venice, 1799). The primary purpose of this work was not to encourage a sense of Orthodox solidarity in the face of a steady loss of converts to Islam, as is often supposed. It was to strengthen the resolve of individual

[7] On the treatment of Western baptism by Nikodemos in his canonical work, the *Pedalion* (Leipzig, 1800), see the important article by John H. Erickson, 'On the Cusp of Modernity: The Canonical Hermeneutic of St Nikodemos the Haghiorite (1748–1809)', *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 42/1 (1998), 45–66.

[8] The unexpected success was achieved by Faber's publication in 1951 (on the recommendation of T. S. Eliot, then an editor at Faber) of an anthology entitled *Writings from the Philokalia on Prayer of the Heart*, translated by E. Kadloubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer. The full edition followed much later: *The Philokalia: The Complete Text compiled by St Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St Makarios of Corinth*, translated and edited G. E. H. Palmer, Philip Sherrard and Kallistos Ware (London: Faber and Faber, 1979–), four volumes published so far.

Icon of the New Martyrs under the Turkish Yoke

Christians who had become Muslims and wished to make public their return to Orthodoxy. Such an open repudiation of Islam incurred the death penalty, usually after terrible tortures imposed by Ottoman judges to make the apostate recant. The ecclesiastical authorities strongly discouraged these voluntary declarations of apostasy from Islam, partly because of uncertainty as to whether the returning apostate could endure the torture that would ensue, and partly because of the mob violence which, under the circumstances, could easily be provoked against the Christian community.

Even Muslim judges sometimes advised apostates to go away to a place where they were not known and live there quietly as Christians. Nikodemos, however, took a different line. He believed that each person should take full responsibility for his or her own actions. He developed a special apostolate in this regard, preparing for martyrdom those returned apostates who were deeply troubled by the saying in Matthew's Gospel, 'Everyone … who acknowledges me before others, I also will acknowledge before my Father in heaven; but whoever denies me before others, I also will deny before my Father in heaven' (Matthew 10:32–33; and compare Luke 12:8–9), and wanted to free themselves from the condemnation of the second part. He did not do this lightly, but only after prolonged prayer and deep probing of the spiritual state of the would-be martyr.

Among Nikodemos' spiritual works are, remarkably, adaptations of several books published originally in Italian in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These are *Combattimento spirituale*, a practical manual on the struggle for spiritual perfection by the Theatine Lorenzo

Scupoli;[9] *Esercitii spirituali di S. Ignazio*, an adaptation for the laity of St Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, and *La religiosa in solitudine*, a guide to private meditation for women religious, both by the Jesuit Giampietro Pinamonti;[10] *Il Confessor istruito* and *Il Penitente istruito*, two handbooks on confession by another Jesuit, Paolo Segneri;[11] and *La Filosofia morale*, a work on moral philosophy based on Aristotle by a former Jesuit, Emanuele Tesauro.[12]

Scupoli's work, in an edition where it was combined with a work on the attainment of interior serenity by a Franciscan author, Juan de Bonilla, was used very extensively by Nikodemos in a book entitled *Aoratos polemos* ('unseen warfare') (Venice, 1796);[13] Pinamonti's two books were adapted by Nikodemos as *Gymnasmata pneumatika* ('spiritual exercises') (Venice, 1800); Segneri's manuals for confessors and penitents were closely followed by Nikodemos' *Exomologetarion* ('confessional') (Venice, 1794); and Tesauro's *La Filosofia morale* made a substantial contribution to Nikodemos' *Symbouleutikon encheiridion* ('handbook of counsel') (Vienna, 1801).[14] Two questions immediately arise from this surprisingly extensive but barely acknowledged use of Western publications. First, given that Nikodemos did not read Italian, how did he gain access to these books?[15] Secondly, in view of his hostility to the Roman Catholic Church, what is it that attracted him to them?

The first question is the easier to answer. Despite attempts to argue that Nikodemos had a working knowledge of Italian or had come across

[9] Lorenzo Scupoli, *Combattimento spirituale* (Venice, 1589) republished by another Theatine, Carlo de Palma (Rome, 1657), with the addition of *Della pace interiore ovvero sentiero del paradiso* by the Spanish Franciscan Juan de Bonilla. For full bibliographical details of Nikodemos' spiritual works and his Italian sources, see Citterio, 'Nicodemo Agiorita', 927–930.

[10] Giampietro Pinamonti, *Esercitii spirituali di S. Ignazio* (Bologna, 1698), and *La religiosa in solitudine* (Bologna, 1695).

[11] Paolo Segneri, *Il Confessor istruito. Operetta in cui si dimostra a un confessor novello la pratica di amministrari con frutto il Sacramento della penitenza* (Brescia, 1672) and *Il Penitente istruito* (Bologna, 1669).

[12] Emanuele Tesauro, *La Filosofia morale derivata dall'alto fonte del grande Aristotele Stagirita* (Turin, 1670). Emanuele Tesauro (1591–1675) left the Jesuits in 1634 and became a secular priest.

[13] An English translation has been published of the expanded Russian version: *Unseen Warfare, Being the Spiritual Combat of Lorenzo Scupoli as Edited by Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain and Revised by Theophan the Recluse*, translated by E. Kadloubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer (London: Faber and Faber, 1952).

[14] Published in English translation as *Handbook of Spiritual Counsel* (see n. 1 above).

[15] Emmanouil H. Phranghiskos, 'La Questione della conoscenza delle lingue straniere in Nicodemo l'Aghiorita', in *Nicodemo l'Aghiorita e la Filocalia*, edited by Antonio Rigo (Magnano: Qiqajon, 2001), 205–222.

French translations, the simple fact is that Modern Greek translations of these and other contemporary Catholic works already existed at the great monastery of St John the Theologian on the island of Patmos.[16] From 1717 to 1758 the monastery's secretary was a Cretan called Manuel Romanites. As Italian was widely spoken in Crete, which had been a Venetian possession from the beginning of the thirteenth century until its fall to the Turks in 1669, it is not surprising that Romanites should have been fluent in the language. The translations he made of Italian works have mostly not been published but are still preserved in a series of manuscript volumes in the monastery's library.[17]

It is these that Nikodemos used, especially the translations of Scupoli and Pinamonti. Nikodemos himself is not known to have visited Patmos, so we cannot visualise him poring over Theatine and Jesuit authors in the library there. But his mentor and literary collaborator, Makarios of Corinth, was a frequent guest at the monastery. It seems

Monastery of St John the Theologian, Patmos

[16] Citterio, 'Nicodemo Agiorita', 930.
[17] Romanites' translations of Segneri's manuals for confessors and penitents found their way to Constantinople, and from there were sent to Venice for publication in 1742.

fairly safe to assume that Makarios borrowed Romanites' translations and made them available to Nikodemos. In large sections of *Aoratos polemos* and *Gymnasmata pneumatika*, Romanites' version is reproduced word for word.

The second question is more complicated. To take *Aoratos polemos* as an example, on the title page Nikodemos acknowledges that he is only editing and correcting with a great deal of care the work 'of a certain wise man'. He does not reveal the name of the original author (Lorenzo Scupoli), let alone the fact that the work is of Roman Catholic origin. Nikodemos' adaptation is in fact a very faithful translation of Scupoli, but with the addition of many supporting quotations from authors important to the Greek monastic tradition, particularly Basil the Great (fourth century), Isaac the Syrian (seventh century), Maximus the Confessor (seventh century) and Gregory Palamas (fourteenth century). Despite being padded out with the Greek Fathers, however, the work retains a strong Latin flavour, with exhortations to overcome the passions 'by the merits of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and the saints', and an insistence on the necessity that God's justice should be satisfied. When Theophan the Recluse came to make his Russian version (first published in 1885), he judged it necessary to rewrite a number of passages, particularly on Eucharistic doctrine, spiritual communion and the practice of perpetual prayer, calling his work 'a free rendering rather than a literal translation'.[18] In Greece Nikodemos' original version, however, has always been popular. It was reprinted twice in the nineteenth century and three times in the twentieth, most recently in 1965.

The *Gymnasmata pneumatika* closely follows the Ignatian system. Out of Pinamonti's 41 meditations Nikodemos has reproduced 34, adding a further 30 brief meditations of his own, one for each day of the month. Each of the longer pieces is divided into a meditation, an examination of conscience and texts for spiritual reading. The purpose, as Nikodemos states in his preface, is to assist the reader to pass from imperfection to perfection, in accordance with God's command to Adam to till the garden and keep it (Genesis 2:15) and Paul's exhortation, 'Train yourself in godliness' (1 Timothy 4:7). From Segneri, Nikodemos

[18] Kadloubovsky and Palmer, *Unseen Warfare*, 69. The changes introduced by Theophan are analyzed by H. A. Hodges in his valuable introduction to this translation at 60–67.

has taken in particular the advice given to confessors on how to conduct themselves and how to question penitents in order to uncover hidden sins.

What Nikodemos seems to value most in the Catholic handbooks he draws upon is the psychological insight they exhibit, together with the way most of them are specifically designed to be used by laypeople. Theatine and Jesuit spirituality, with its meditation on Christ's passion, its exhortation to frequent communion and its daily examination of conscience, fitted well with the ideals of the *kollyvades* movement. The social and intellectual developments that were taking place among the Orthodox of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century required a deepening of the spiritual life of the individual in a practical manner. In the counsels of Scupoli, Segneri and Pinamonti, Nikodemos found a sophisticated, up-to-date approach to the spiritual life that he could combine with elements of the Orthodox monastic and ascetical tradition to help laypeople appropriate the life in Christ with fervour and conviction. But if he wanted to win readers among devout Orthodox, it would have been counter-productive to have drawn attention to the Catholic provenance of his texts. What in his view outweighed any confessional consideration was their practical utility.

A sophisticated, up-to-date approach to the spiritual life

Nikodemos succeeded in his mission. His works found a constant readership throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1955 he was canonized by the ecumenical patriarch Athenagoras I, and in the following year the Holy Synod of the Church of Russia also inscribed him among the saints. In 1959 the monk Theokletos of the Athonite monastery of Dionysiou (where Nikodemos himself began his monastic life) published the standard Greek life of Nikodemos, in which he hails him as 'the most Orthodox Saint Nikodemos'.[19]

Not all Orthodox are as laudatory as Theokletos. Christos Yannaras regards Nikodemos' writings as marred by a legalistic approach and concerned mainly with the individualistic achievement of virtue and avoidance of sin.[20] He finds Nikodemos' teaching on repentance

[19] Theokletos Dionysiates, *Hagios Nikodēmos ho Hagioreitēs. Ho bios kai ta erga tou (1749–1809)* (Athens: Astēr, 1959; repr. 1978 and 1990).
[20] Christos Yannaras, *Orthodoxy and the West* (Brookline: Holy Cross, 2006), chapter 12, 'Vigilance and Resistance'.

dominated by an Anselmian 'metaphysics of exchange'—the demand for satisfaction for the offence given to divine justice. Only a writer who accepts a 'Frankish' God who punishes sin in his Son's person, Yannaras says, could write: 'The only payment of this infinite debt of sin was the infinitely precious blood of God, and only the Cross and the nails and the passion could balance the weight of sin'.[21] The thoroughly Westernised mentality of Nikodemos is confirmed for Yannaras by the fact that the Hagiorite is known to have petitioned the patriarchate in 1806 for an indulgence in favour of a fellow monk on Mount Athos, enquiring at the same time about the sum he should send as a fee.[22] So far as Yannaras is concerned, Nikodemos exemplifies in an Eastern context what he calls the 'religionizing' of ecclesial experience, 'its transformation into self-centred moralism with legalistic presuppositions'.[23]

Yannaras characterizes very powerfully the chief features of what is widely regarded as the period of the Greek Church's 'Babylonian captivity', a period lasting from the sixteenth to the mid-twentieth century, when Western theological notions dominated the thinking of Orthodox theologians.[24] He is right about the moralising and legalism—Nikodemos, for example, wanted to ban dancing and singing at weddings as conducive to sin—but it is difficult to maintain that Nikodemos thereby betrayed his Orthodox heritage. Rigorism has a long history in Orthodox teaching. To meet the spiritual needs of his own time Nikodemos did not hesitate to use all the means available to him, combining the Orthodox canonical and ascetical traditions with the spiritual and psychological insights of his Western contemporaries. He judged rightly that the communitarian dimension of ecclesial experience needed to be complemented by the development of the interior life of the individual. Many Greek commentators today are willing to see him as a great teacher of the mystical life of enduring importance.[25] Not everyone agrees with

[21] Yannaras, *Orthodoxy and the West*, 133, quoting Nikodemos' *Exomologetarion* (Athens, 1963 [1794]), 134.
[22] Yannaras, *Orthodoxy and the West*, 97.
[23] Yannaras, *Orthodoxy and the West*, 137.
[24] For Yannaras this 'captivity' mirrors the Russian experience as presented by Georges Florovsky in his book *The Ways of Russian Theology* (Belmont: Nordland, 1979).
[25] For example, Antonios-Emilios N. Tachiaos, 'Nicodemo l'Aghiorita: un esempio di vita per i laici ortodossi', in Rigo, *Nicodemo l'Aghiorita*, 193–204.

that, but here is no doubt that Nikodemos 'has left an indelible mark on Orthodox thought'.[26]

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[26] Erickson, 'On the Cusp of Modernity', 66.