

GOOD WORKS AND THEIR PLACE IN THE PROCESS OF PERSONAL SALVATION ACCORDING TO THE THEOLOGICAL VIEWS OF ST PETER MOGIŁA, THE METROPOLITAN OF KYIV (1596–1646)

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Summary: In this article, the author examines the writings of St Peter Mogila on the subject of good works and their place in the process of personal salvation. Keeping in mind the strong polemical context of the 17th century religious situation, the author focuses on the issues of the ratio of faith and good works, the definition of virtues and the notion of merit. Answers to these questions might show us the theological position of the metropolitan in relation to non-Orthodox influence.

Key words: Peter Mogila, personal salvation, good works, virtues, merits.

Introduction

In the history of Christianity, the question of the correlation of faith and good works in relation to personal salvation was very controversial, especially during the Reformation. Catholic theologians had traditionally taught that good works are merits with which one can earn eternal life. In turn, the Protestants insisted that eternal life is given solely by the merits of Christ, by faith in Him, for nothing. Besides faith, a person cannot do anything for his or her salvation. Even a justified person sins in every good work, since it comes from human nature corrupted by sin.¹

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¹ "Explanations of the Ninety-Five Thesis," in *Luther's works*. Vol. 31: Career of the Reformer: I, ed. Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957), 77–252.

In response to this teaching, the Catholic side not only condemned the errors of the reformers at the Council of Trent but also made adjustments to its own doctrine. Now salvation was presented, on the one hand, as a gift of grace, on the other, as a reward for good works and merits. Through acts performed in a state of grace, one could increase Justification received. It was argued that the status of merit is given to good works, according to God's will: it is He who wants His gifts poured out on people to be considered their merits (Sess. VI, cap. 16, can. 26, 32).² Thus, Catholic theology did not abandon the idea of merit, although there were some adjustments made to it.

From this perspective, it is interesting to look at the writings of St Peter Mogila, the Metropolitan of Kyiv, the 17th century Orthodox hierarch, the first one, whose confession of faith was approved by all the Eastern Orthodox patriarchs. In difficult socio-political conditions for the Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, he tried to protect his flock from heterodox influence. At the same time, setting out the Orthodox doctrine, he used the works of his opponents on both sides. Mogila's theological heritage is valued differently, and sometimes his fidelity to the Orthodox tradition is questioned or even denied, given his personal contacts and the use of Western sources and methods.³ So, based on the foregoing, within the framework of this

² *Concilium Tridentinum: Canones et Decreta (1545–1563)* (Romae, MMVII), 22–23, 25; *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, ed. and trans. James Waterworth (London: Dolman, 1848), 43–45, 48, 49.

³ On this topic see: Martin Jugie, "La Confession orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila. À propos d'une publication récente," *Échos d'Orient* 28, no. 156 (1929): 414–430; Antoine Wenger, "Les influences du Rituel de Paul V sur le Trebnik de Pierre Moghila," in *Melanges en l'honneur de Monseigneur Michel Andrieu* (Strasbourg: Palais Universitaire, 1956), 477–499; Arkadiy Zhukovs'kyy, *Petro Mohyla y pytannya yednosti tserkov* (Paryzh: Ukrayins'kyy vil'nyy universytet, 1969) [Arcady Zhukovsky, *Peter Mohyla and the Issues of Church Unity* (Paris: Ukrainian Free University, 1969)]; Ihor Ševčenko, "The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8, no. 1–2 (June 1984): 9–44; Paul Meyendorff, "The Liturgical Reforms of Peter Moghila: A New Look," *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (1985): 101–114; Andriy Patrykevich, "The Orthodoxy of Peter Mohyla," *Faith and Culture* 7, no. 7 (1985–1989): 75–82; Aleksandr Rogov, "Petr Mogila kak antiuniatskiy polemist," v *Slavyane i ikh sosedi*, T. 3: Katolitsizm i pravoslaviye v sredniye veka (Moskva: Institut slavyanovedeniya i balkanistiki AN SSSR, 1991), 109–118 [Alexander Rogov, "Peter Mogila as an Anti-Uniate Polemicist," in *Slavs and Their Neighbours*, Vol. 3: Catholicism and Orthodoxy in the Middle Ages (Moscow: Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1991), 109–118]; Francis Thomson, "Peter Mogila's Ecclesiastical Reforms and the Ukrainian Contribution to Russian Culture: A Critique of Georges Florovsky's Theory of the Pseudomorphosis of Orthodoxy," *Slavica Gandensia* 20 (1993): 67–199; D. G. Levina, "Mitropolit Petr Mogila (1596–1647) v otechestvennoy istoriografii: vzai-

article, I am going to consider several aspects related to the concept of good works in the writings of Metropolitan Peter. These are the ratio of faith and good works in the process of personal salvation, the definition of good works and virtues as well as the presence of the notion of merit in the works of the theologian.

When working with the primary sources, it is important to note that the *Orthodox Confession* of the metropolitan does not fully reflect his original views, since a number of corrections were made to it at the Synod of Jassy 1642. In addition, the final text was written in Latin, but for approval by the Eastern patriarchs it was translated into Greek, which entailed several changes. Therefore, in this article I will use the Latin text of the *Orthodox Confession*, first published in 1927 by A. Malvy and

mootnosheniya s pol'skimi vlastyami i Sv. Prestolom," *Vestnik Russkogo Khristianskogo gumanitarnogo instituta* 1 (1997): 177–188 [D.G. Levina, "Metropolitan Peter Mogila (1596–1647) in Russian Historiography: Relations with the Polish Authorities and the Holy See," *Bulletin of the Russian Christian Humanitarian Institute* 1 (1997): 177–188]; Valentin Asmus, "K otsenke bogosloviya svyatitelya Petra Mogily, mitropolita Kiyevskogo," *Bogoslovskiy sbornik* 10 (2002): 224–241 [Valentine Asmus, "On the Assessment of the Theology of St Peter Mogila, the Metropolitan of Kiev," *Theological Collection* 10 (2002): 224–241]; Margarita Korzo, "'Pravoslavnoye ispovedaniye very' Petra Mogily: k voprosu o zapadnom vliyaniy na kiyevskoye bogosloviye XVII v.," v *Sravnitel'naya istoriya: metody, zadachi, perspektivy*, pod red. M. Paramonovoy (Moskva: Institut vseobshchey istorii RAN, 2003), 33–56 [Margarita Korzo, "'Orthodox Confession of Faith' by Peter Mogila: On the Issue of Western Influence on the 17th Century Kiev Theology," in *Comparative History: Methods, Objectives, Perspectives*, ed. M. Paramonova (Moscow: Institute of World History, RAS, 2003), 33–56]; Sil'vestr Stoychev, "K voprosu o zapadnom vliyaniy v bogoslovskom nasledii svyatitelya Petra Mogily," *Trudy Kyyivs'koyi dukhovnoyi akademiyi* 17 (2012): 103–112 [Sylvester Stoychev, "On the Question of Western Influence in the Theological Heritage of St Peter Mogila," *Works of the Kyiv Theological Academy* 17 (2012): 103–112]; Darko Dzhogo, "Svyatitel' Petr Mogila v sovremennoy serbskoy bogoslovskoy mysli," *Trudy Kyyivs'koyi dukhovnoyi akademiyi* 23 (2015): 75–86 [Darko Djogo, "St Peter Mogila in Modern Serbian Theological Thought," *Works of the Kyiv Theological Academy* 23 (2015): 75–86]; Sergey Bortnik, "Svyatitel' Petr Mogila i pravoslavnoye predaniye," *Trudy Kyyivs'koyi dukhovnoyi akademiyi* 23 (2015): 87–94 [Sergey Bortnik, "St Peter Mogila and Orthodox Tradition," *Works of the Kyiv Theological Academy* 23 (2015): 87–94]; Aleksey Dobosh, "'Yedineniye Rusi s Rus'yu': bogoslovsko-istoricheskiy analiz 'universal'noy unii svt. Petra Mogily," *Pravoslav'naya zhizn'* [Aleksey Dobosh, "'The Union of Rus' with Rus'": A Theological and Historical Analysis of the 'Universal' Union of St Peter Mogila," *Orthodox Life*], accessed March 15, 2020, Part 1, <http://pravlife.org/content/edinenie-rusi-s-rusyu-bogoslovsko-istoricheskiy-analiz-universalnoy-unii-svt-petra-mogily>; Part 2, <http://pravlife.org/content/edinenie-rusi-s-rusyu-bogoslovsko-istoricheskiy-analiz-universalnoy-unii-svt-petra-mogily-0>; Part 3, <http://pravlife.org/content/edinenie-rusi-s-rusyu-bogoslovsko-istoricheskiy-analiz-universalnoy-unii-svt-petra-mogily-1>.

M. Viller,⁴ and translated into English by R. Popivchak.⁵ However, texts that have not undergone such changes and therefore reflect the original position of the metropolitan are more preferable for this research. Such texts are the *Little Catechism*, published in 1645 before the final approval of the *Orthodox Confession*, the *Trebnik* 1646 compiled by the hierarch and some of his sermons. And the last thing to mention is that all biblical citations in this article are taken from the Douay-Rheims translation of the Vulgate, since the metropolitan used the Latin text of the Holy Scripture in his *Orthodox Confession*.

The Unity of Faith and Good Works as a Condition of Personal Salvation

In his introduction to the *Orthodox Confession*, St Peter Mogila says that in order to gain eternal life, right faith and good works are necessary. Thanks to them, a good Christian can have a certain hope of eternal salvation. To support this statement, the hierarch refers to Apostle James who says: “You see that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only” (James 2:24), “for even as the body without the spirit is dead, so also faith without works is dead” (James 2:26). Then he cites the words of Apostle Paul about the necessity of faith and good conscience, because without the latter one can fail in faith (see 1 Tim 1:19; 3:9).⁶ Obviously, by a good or clear conscience the metropolitan means living according to faith.

Focusing on good works as the fulfilment of faith, the theologian shows that faith is primary in relation to them, because “without faith it is impossible to please God, he that comes to God must believe that he is, and is a rewarder to them that seek him” (Hebrews 11:6). Thus, to be pleasing to God and please Him, one must first have faith in God, and then build his or her life according to faith. These two principles in the matter of personal salvation consist of three theological virtues: faith, hope and love.⁷

⁴ *La Confession orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila métropolitain de Kiev (1633–1646) approuvée par les Patriarches grecs du XVIIe siècle: Texte latin inédit publié avec introduction et notes critiques, par Antoine Malvy et Marcel Viller* (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, Paris: G. Beauchesne, 1927).

⁵ “The Orthodox Confession of Faith by Peter Mohila, Metropolitan of Kiev (1633–47),” transl. Ronald P. Popivchak, *the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, Eastern Byzantine Rite*, accessed March 11, 2020, <http://web.archive.org/web/20060206044141/http://esoptron.umd.edu/UGC/OCF.html>.

⁶ “Orthodox Confession,” I, Q.1.

⁷ “Orthodox Confession,” I, Q.2–3.

Summarising the foregoing, one notes that the metropolitan avoids unilateral expressions in favour of salvation by faith or works alone. According to him, faith is not only an acceptance of God's existence, but it acts also as a motive, an incentive to action, and good works are the fulfilment of faith. Without works, a person fails in faith, but it is faith that gives value to works. As one can see, faith is a theological virtue, so it must be right, i.e. true and Orthodox, that was important to emphasise in the introduction to the doctrinal book. It is worthy to note that in the introductory part, salvation is seen not only in the expectation of retribution from God but also in the endeavour to please Him and be pleasing to Him. There are seen dimensions of doing and being.

The unity of faith and good works as a condition of salvation is also mentioned in other places of the *Orthodox Confession*. In particular, speaking of faith in the Triune God, the theologian reminds of the saint martyrs suffered for it. Like them, one needs to believe with a whole heart without doubt, to keep faith firmly and to be ready to die for it, "because of this faith and the hope of our salvation, then we will receive eternal reward in heaven, presuming the presence of our good works."⁸ As one sees, in addition to faith, good works are necessary for salvation. At the same time, it should be noticed that keeping faith, openly confessing of it and being ready to die for it are already good works themselves.

Searching for other places, there are two more cases found. So, the sacraments are "a sure sign of our faith in God, being certain of our eternal salvation through faith and good works."⁹ In another place, speaking of excessive and reckless confidence in the grace of God, the metropolitan indicates that those are deceived who hope to inherit eternal life by faith alone without good works.¹⁰

Scholars rightly note that emphasising the need of faith and good works for salvation, the metropolitan opposes the Protestant doctrine of salvation by faith alone (*sola fide*).¹¹ A. Malvy and M. Viller point out to similar places in the *Summa doctrinae christianae* by Peter Canisius, which refers to the mistake of hoping for salvation by faith alone,¹² and to faith and works in the context of the sacraments.¹³ A number of scholars suppose that the statement of salvation by faith and works is a Catholic influence, but P. Ponomarev believes that it does not go

⁸ "Orthodox Confession," I, Q.9.

⁹ "Orthodox Confession," I, Q.101.

¹⁰ "Orthodox Confession," III, Q.39.

¹¹ *Confession orthodoxe*, 57, note 1.

¹² *Confession orthodoxe*, 109, note 1.

¹³ *Confession orthodoxe*, CIV.

further than the formula.¹⁴ At the same time, the Catholic publishers of the *Orthodox Confession* themselves notice that there are enough moments when the Orthodox can repeat the statement of the Latins without contradicting the teachings of their Church.¹⁵ In this regard, A. Malvy and M. Viller point to the fourth catechetical lecture of St Cyril of Jerusalem.¹⁶ The saint directly says in it: “True religion consists of these two elements: pious doctrines and virtuous actions,”¹⁷ and further develops this idea.

Turning to the introductory part of the *Little Catechism*, one finds the same thought as in the *Orthodox Confession*. However, some details are interesting in their expressions. So, two things are necessary for salvation: “First, to believe well in the Lord God, the One in the Holy Trinity, and in everything that the teaching of Christ has given. Second, to live godly according to faith.”¹⁸ In this phrase, as well as in the *Orthodox Confession*, “to believe well” means right and strong faith in God, but the dimension of faith as faithfulness to and following Christ’s teaching is added. Another nuance can be noted: after the faith, the theologian does not speak of good works, but of a godly life according to faith. This pair of “good faith — a godly life” also appears in the next two questions and answers of the *Catechism*.¹⁹ Of course, it does not contradict that salvation is accomplished by works, and the metropolitan quotes the same passages from the Holy Scripture as in the *Orthodox Confession*. Nevertheless, the emphasis is clear: salvation is not the result of good works, but more broadly — of a godly life from faith.

¹⁴ Pavel Ponomarev, “Knigi simbolicheskiye voobshche i v Russkoy Pravoslavnoy Tserkvi v chastnosti,” v *Pravoslavnyaya bogoslovskaya entsiklopediya*. T. 12 (Sankt-Peterburg, 1911), Stb. 16. [Paul Ponomarev, “Symbolic Books in General and in the Russian Orthodox Church in Particular,” in *Orthodox Theological Encyclopaedia*. Vol. 12 (St Petersburg, 1911), Col. 16].

¹⁵ *Confession orthodoxe*, XCIII.

¹⁶ *Confession orthodoxe*, XCIII, note 2; 182, note 2.

¹⁷ “Lenten Lectures (*Catecheses*),” in *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem*. Vol. 1, transl. Leo P. McCauley and Antony A. Stephenson (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 119–120.

¹⁸ *Katekhyzys Petra Mohyly*, uporyadkuvannya A. Zhukovs’koho, pereklad V. Shevchuka (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo “Voskresinnya,” 1996), 58. [*Catechism of Peter Mohyla*, arr. A. Zhukovsky, transl. V. Shevchuk (Kyiv: Publishing House “Resurrection,” 1996), 58]. Here and below there is the translation from Old Ukrainian of the author of this article.

¹⁹ “firstly, to believe well, and then to live godly from faith,” “on faith and good Christian life.” *Katekhyzys*, 58, 60. In other places, this pair is expressed in the following words: “in true faith and in godly life,” “at good faith and good works,” “no faith, no virtue,” “to believe well in the Lord God and to keep well His holy commandments.” *Katekhyzys*, 132, 134, 136.

Coming to the *Trebnik*, in “Order of How to Receive Adults from Jews, or from Pagans, or from Heretics,” one finds that salvation and inheritance of the Heavenly Kingdom is possible only by preserving the Orthodox faith unshakable and firm to the last breathe as well as avoiding evil deeds and doing good for all time. It is not enough for a Christian to have a right faith without good works, because it is dead, or good works without a right faith, because they are also dead and useless, for everything, that is not from faith, is sin. Further, the questions to the catechumens and the proposed answers speak of the need to grow in true faith and virtues and remain in them until death.²⁰ In the “Fifth Order of Catechisation,” the hierarch persuades the catechumens, while there is time before the Last Judgment, to succeed in faith and virtues, because apart from them no one and nothing can help there, but only they will save a person from eternal torment.²¹

Good Works and Virtues

So, the condition of salvation, along with faith, is good works. Good works (*opera bona*) or Christian virtues (*uirtus Christiana*) are the fruit that comes from faith as from a good tree. The metropolitan reinforces this definition with quotes from the Holy Scripture: “Wherefore by their fruits you shall know them” (Matt 7:20); “By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one for another” (John 13:35); “And by this we know that we have known him, if we keep his commandments” (I John 2:3).²² From these three verses it follows that a virtue comes from faith, is its fruit and witnesses about the true knowledge of God.

To facilitate understanding of what a virtue is, the hierarch formulates one more definition: “Good works are the fulfilling of the

²⁰ “Chin kako priymati vozrast imushchikh ot zhidov, ili ot pogan, ili ot yeretik neveruyushchikh v Svyatuyu Troitsu,” v *Trebnik Mytropolity Petra Mohyly*. T. 1 (Kyiv: Informatiyno-vydavnychyy tsentr Ukrayins'koyi Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy, 2004), 82–84. [“Order of How to Receive Adults from Jews, or from Pagans, or from Heretics, Who Do not Believe in the Holy Trinity,” in *Trebnik of Metropolitan Peter Mogila*. Vol. 1 (Kyiv: Information and Publishing Centre of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, 2004), 82–84].

²¹ “Oglasheniye pyatoye,” v *Trebnik Mytropolity Petra Mohyly*. T. 1 (Kyiv: Informatiyno-vydavnychyy tsentr Ukrayins'koyi Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy, 2004), 156. [“Fifth Order of Catechisation,” in *Trebnik of Metropolitan Peter Mogila*. Vol. 1 (Kyiv: Information and Publishing Centre of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, 2004), 156].

²² “Orthodox Confession,” III, Q.3.

commandments of God, with divine help and the disposition of our mind that comes from our own will, with eagerness and love for God and neighbor, where there is no obstacle, which can be properly called an impediment".²³

From the second definition one can see that a good work is the fulfilling of God's commandments, which takes place not by force but by free will. The impellent cause of it is love for God and neighbour. It is also important to emphasise the cooperation between human reason and will, so in a good work there are making away contradictions between them and brought integrity to a person. And this happens with the help of God.

In the definition of good works one might find some similarities with the conditions the Catholic theology sets for merits (namely, *meritum de condigno*). Firstly, they must be morally good. The metropolitan, obviously, concludes this requirement in the fulfilling of God's commandments. Secondly, merits must be morally free, that is, proceed from one's own will with no compulsion. Thirdly, merits must be done with the help of actual grace (*gratia actualis*). In his definition, the metropolitan speaks of divine assistance; he does not differentiate any kinds of grace. Fourthly, merits must be inspired by a supernatural motive: faith or love. Here, the hierarch speaks of an action, coming out from love for God and neighbour, but does not give it the status of a supernatural motive. It is worthy to note that the definition omits the conditions of merits related to a person (being in the state of pilgrimage and the state of grace — *status viae* and *status gratiae*) and to God (the acceptance of a good work by Him).²⁴ One should also pay attention that in the Catholic theology a good work and merit are not identical: in order to be merit, a good work must satisfy all the listed requirements. But, do not having the notion of merits, St Peter applies the same conditions to good works as the Catholics do to merits, with some corrections. By this, in a way, he raises the level of requirements for good works.

It is noteworthy that in the *Orthodox Confession* virtues and good works are defined as synonyms. Although it is necessary to note the difference in the concepts themselves: a good work is a single good act or deed, and a virtue is a broader concept. This is the performing of good deeds, which has become a habit, has entered the very nature of a person, has become a part of one's life, one's moral quality. Thus, one can say that the pledge of salvation is not just good deeds, but a

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Joseph Pohle, "Merit," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 10 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911), 205–207.

virtuous, morally quality life, flowing from faith. This conclusion is perfectly consistent with the expression “godly / pious life,” used in the introductory part of the *Little Catechism* along with faith instead of the phrase “good works,”²⁵ as noted above.

The *Little Catechism* also states that “the fulfilling of the commandments is the fruit of the Christian Faith.”²⁶ This idea corresponds to that expressed in the *Orthodox Confession*, but there is one nuance. The commandments of God are “a test of Christian virtue and sin”: “whoever always exercises in God’s commandments, lives virtuously in this world, and whoever neglects God’s commandments, sins.”²⁷ Thus, the very life of a person, his or her value attitude, comes to the fore. This is manifested either in the exercise (learning and practicing) in God’s commandments, or in neglect of them. So, in the *Catechism*, the notion of virtue is not adapted to any specific definition, but simply called the fruit of faith, the quality of which is tested by the commandments of God.

Let us pay attention to the philological side of the term “virtue.” In Church Slavonic, it is *dobrodetel’*, literally “good-doing” (from *dobro* — “good” and *delat’* — “to do”). But this is not equal to a “good work” because it has the dimension of a practice, habit and moral quality. In the *Little Catechism* the term *dobrodetel’* corresponds to the word *tsnota* or *chesnota* in Ukrainian. Besides the meaning of “good-doing,” it has an additional connotation of “honour” and “dignity.” In the Latin text of the *Orthodox Confession*, the word *virtus* is used. In addition to a moral state, it also indicates valour, primarily military, heroic deeds (the word itself comes from the name of the goddess of military valour). The latter word might indicate the difficulty of performing virtue for a person in a fallen state, as well as a certain expectation of an appropriate reward. In Church Slavonic, it is clear that the concept of virtue directly depends on the concept of good. And this is expressed in the *Orthodox Confession* although not so obviously philologically: *Per bonum proprie intelligitur omnis uirtus* — “By ‘good’ is characteristically understood every virtue.”²⁸

According to St Peter’s teaching, good works for which the Lord promises the eternal beatitude are so interconnected that whoever has even one virtue in a proper sense, has all the others, and whoever has not acquired even one, is deprived of all the others. At the same time, not only the eternal beatitude in heaven awaits virtuous people, but

²⁵ *Katekhyzys*, 58, 60.

²⁶ *Katekhyzys*, 242.

²⁷ *Katekhyzys*, 244.

²⁸ “Orthodox Confession,” III, Q.2.

even in this world they can be blessed, enjoying temporal goods according to God's favour. To support the last thoughts, the theologian gives quotations from Matt. 19:29 and Mk. 10:29–30.²⁹

A. Malvy and M. Viller believe that the idea of the connection of all virtues with one another was inspired by the expression of Thomas Aquinas: *Qui caret una virtute, caret omnibus* — “Who is deprived of one virtue, is deprived of all.”³⁰ Actually, in the indicated text, Aquinas discusses the connection of sins with one another. The connection of virtues is spoken in another place of *Summa Theologiae*. Wherein, this statement is based on quotations from St Ambrose of Milan, St Gregory the Great and St Augustine of Hippo.³¹ It is interesting that inspired by the Catholic writer, the metropolitan remained in the patristic field.

Teaching about interconnection of virtues, St Peter Mogila gives some examples. So, the first virtues are the theological ones: faith, hope and love. Further, “from faith through hope in love” (*ex fide per spem in caritatem*) the other virtues grow: prayer, fasting and almsgiving.³² Continuing this chain, the metropolitan indicates four general virtues (*uir-tutes generaliores*) that proceed from the previous ones: wisdom or prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance³³.

Some facets of virtue are revealed when the hierarch writes about sins against the Holy Spirit. In particular, he teaches that one sins, slandering the good works of a neighbour, saying that they are not from God (*non esse ex Deo*). Similarly, the Jews and Pharisees slandered when Christ was driving out unclean spirits and performing miracles. In the same way, one sins ascribing someone's piety (*pietas*) and other virtues, which are the fruits of the Holy Spirit (*quae sunt fructus Spiritus Sancti*),

²⁹ “Orthodox Confession,” II, Q.63.

Matt. 19:29: “And every one that has left house, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake, shall receive a hundredfold, and shall possess life everlasting.”

Mk. 19:29–30: “There is no man who has left house or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands, for my sake and for the gospel, who shall not receive a hundred times as much, now in this time: houses and brothers, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecutions, and in the world to come life everlasting.”

³⁰ *Confession orthodoxe*, 185. See the citation: *Summa Theologica*, I–II, Q.73, Art. 1.

³¹ “Ambrose says on Luke 6:20: ‘The virtues are connected and linked together, so that whoever has one, is seen to have several’: and Augustine says (De Trin. vi, 4) that ‘the virtues that reside in the human mind are quite inseparable from one another’: and Gregory says (Moral. xxii, 1) that ‘one virtue without the other is either of no account whatever, or very imperfect.’” *Summa Theologica*, I–II, Q.65, Art. 1.

³² “Orthodox Confession,” III, Q.5.

³³ “Orthodox Confession,” III, Q.10.

to hypocrisy.³⁴ Here one can see that virtues are called descending from God and the fruits of the Holy Spirit.

Speaking of the fruits of the Holy Spirit, the saint lists the following: “charity [*charitatem* — love], joy, peace, patience, kindness, mercy, faith, gentleness and continence” (Gal 5:22–23). He also calls these fruits of the Holy Spirit the signs of the grace of God (*signa gratiae Dei*). According to the list of Apostle Paul, there are nine of them. But Metropolitan Peter says that the other virtues as well should be called the fruits of the Holy Spirit, because they come from Him, and it is with His help that a person exercises them. In the hierarch’s opinion, this position does not contradict the apostle who says: “against such there is no law” (Gal 5:23). This phrase implies that besides the listed fruits, there are the other virtues similar to them.³⁵

A. Malvy and M. Viller point out that, listing the fruits of the Holy Spirit, the metropolitan used the Greek text instead of following the Vulgate, as usually. The fact is that instead of nine fruits the Vulgate gives twelve, and this number was followed by scholastic theologians in the West. The researchers believe that this discrepancy was convenient for the hierarch, since it gave reason to assert that there were more than nine fruits of the Holy Spirit.³⁶

So, according to the Vulgate (*Clementina*), the fruits of the Spirit are as follows: “charity, joy, peace, patience, benignity, goodness, longanimity, mildness, faith, modesty, continency, chastity” (*Fructus autem Spiritus est caritas, gaudium, pax, patientia, benignitas, bonitas, longanimitas, mansuetudo, fides, modestia, continentia, castitas*³⁷).

In any case, in front of us there is an interesting example of how Metropolitan Peter moves away from scholastic rigour. Like the Latin scholastics, he could have settled on a single number. But, even referring to Apostle Paul and having in front of him both the Greek and Latin texts of the Epistle, he says that the fruits of the Holy Spirit cannot be precisely listed; there are more than a certain number of them. This is also a typical example of how the hierarch could freely use Latin sources if they did not correspond to his thoughts.

In a parallel place of the *Little Catechism*, it is explicitly stated: “All sorts of virtues and piety are the fruit of the Holy Spirit,” according to what was said: “the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness and righteousness and truth” (Eph 5:9).³⁸ It is noteworthy that here, before Gal 5:22–23, there is a quo-

³⁴ “Orthodox Confession,” III, Q.41.

³⁵ “Orthodox Confession,” I, Q.81.

³⁶ *Confession orthodoxe*, 47, note 1.

³⁷ *Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Clementinam*. Editio electronica (Londini, MMV), 1441.

³⁸ *Katekhyzys*, 136.

tation from Eph 5:9, which is absent in the *Orthodox Confession*, but more clearly illustrates the thought of the metropolitan. It turns out that he does not refer to Gal 5:22–23 as an indication of the number of fruits of the Spirit, but only as an illustration of some of them. Thus, his position on the number of fruits of the Holy Spirit is not caused by the inconsistencies of the Greek and Latin texts, but has a deeper foundation in his theological views.

As we could notice earlier, St Peter considers virtues not only as the fruits of the Holy Spirit but also as the signs of the grace of God. A similar expression was used by Protestants, who considered good works merely as the fruits and signs of Justification received. Their assertion that good works are not also the cause of the increase of Justification was condemned at the Council of Trent (Sess. VI, can. 24).³⁹ As one can see, in the multi-confessional conditions of life in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the metropolitan has perceived some concepts of his opponents, but has not stopped on them only. Of course, he does not have the notion of the “increase of Justification” and some similar to it, which are characteristic of Catholic theology. However, he definitely believed that good works were one of the most important conditions for the personal salvation, and not only a sign of it.

The Notion of Merit in the Writings of the Theologian

From the previous sections, it is clear that for the theologian faith and good works are interconnected and interdependent. Moreover, he speaks more often of a virtuous or pious life according to faith than just of good works. Nevertheless, touching the concept of good works, it is worthwhile to turn to the notion of merit in his writings, since it has a specific Catholic marking.

In the Latin text of the *Orthodox Confession*, merits are found several times but absent in the Greek version.⁴⁰ This notion is used in the context of original and acquired sins. So, original sin is cleansed only by the grace of God in Baptism “because of the merits and the shedding of the most precious blood of Jesus Christ” — *propter merita et effusionem preciosissimi sanguinis Jesu Christi*.⁴¹ In turn, acquired sin is blotted out by the mercy of God in Repentance “by the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ” — *per [...] merita Domini nostri Jesu Christi*.⁴² Thus, the concept of merit is used twice in relation to the Saviour and designates the Golgotha sacrifice.

³⁹ *Concilium Tridentinum*, 24; *Canons and Decrees*, 48.

⁴⁰ *Confession orthodoxe*, CIX.

⁴¹ “Orthodox Confession,” III, Q.20.

⁴² “Orthodox Confession,” III, Q.21.

In relation to people, the *Orthodox Confession* does not use the developed concept of merit. But there are two cases of the use of cognate words. In particular, the theologian writes that everyone knows one's own sins at the time of death, therefore "will recognize even more so after his death what he has merited" — *multo magis post mortem cognoscet quidnam promeritus sit*.⁴³ Similar it is said about eternal beatitude: it is inherited together by the soul and body, "because they have merited together and not separately" — *quia simul promerentur, tamen non diuisim*.⁴⁴

In the text of the *Little Catechism*, the notion of merit occurs twice. The first time it is in the definition of hope, which is the confidence to receive eternal deliverance and everything that is asked from God with faith "through the merits of our Saviour."⁴⁵ The second time it is in the words that at the Last Judgment the righteous "will be paid according to merits."⁴⁶

In the *Trebnik* in "Preface to Marriage," it is said that in the sacrament of the Matrimony grace is given "from the work done, that is, for the merit of the passions of the Lord."⁴⁷ Except this sacrament, the grace of fatherhood or motherhood in raising children can be bestowed on people only "from the works of the doer, that is, from the works and good deeds of their own, by which they themselves can merit grace" thanks to the special mercy of God.⁴⁸

From the cases above, it is clear that the metropolitan uses the notion of merit mainly for the redeeming work of Christ the Saviour. In relation to a person, it does not stand out in a special category in his writings: good works are not given the status of merit, there is no division of them into *de condigno* and *de congruo*, as well as ideas about increasing of justification by them or renewing them through Repentance inherent for the Catholic doctrine. The fact that a person deserves the mercy of God or the punishment for one's own works is used in the most general sense, so the use of the notion of merit in relation to good works is rather arbitrary.

The latter is confirmed by the fact that at the very beginning of the *Orthodox Confession* faith and good works, contained in the three

⁴³ "Orthodox Confession," I, Q.61.

⁴⁴ "Orthodox Confession," I, Q.126.

⁴⁵ *Confession orthodoxe*, 196, 198.

⁴⁶ *Confession orthodoxe*, 124.

⁴⁷ "Predмова pry shlyube," v *Trebnik Mytropolyta Petra Mohyly*. T. 1 (Kyiv: Informatsiyno-vydavnychyy tsentr Ukrayins'koyi Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy, 2004), українська [926]. ["Preface to Marriage," in *Trebnik of Metropolitan Peter Mogila*. Vol. 1 (Kyiv: Information and Publishing Centre of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, 2004), українська [926]].

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

theological virtues, from which all the others come, are interpreted as a duty, an obligation regarding to personal salvation.⁴⁹ The same is expressed in the *Trebnik*. “Fifth Order of Catechisation” says that at the Last Judgment the question will be asked “not only about foundation, that is, only about the obligation which is hope, faith and love, but also about excess, that is, if along with faith and pious life, you have done more good.”⁵⁰ The meaning of “excess” contains seven acts of bodily and spiritual works of mercy and similar good works. However, they do not mean any kind of “supererogation,” since it is further said about them: “The duty of the Christian justification is not only to avoid evil, that is, sin but also to do good.”⁵¹ Thus, both “foundation,” which is the three theological virtues, and works that seem to go beyond them, but actually from them, are a duty of justification for a Christian.

Along with this, the metropolitan distinguishes between commandments and evangelical councils. In particular, the “Questioning of the Aryan” lists monastic vows: poverty, virginity and obedience, which “are Christ’s counsels beyond the commandments.”⁵² This is described in more details in the sermon “The Cross of Christ the Saviour.” Here the commandments and evangelical councils are expressed as “the orders of the Lord” and “advices of the Redeemer” respectively. The commandments are given equally for all Christians to fulfil, and the advices are given for those who desire perfection. The councils are the virtues of non-acquisition, virginity and obedience that monks take upon them. The hierarch compares the fulfilment of the commandments with the payment of the required rent, and the fulfilment of the advices together with the commandments, with voluntary gifts brought over the rent paid.⁵³

⁴⁹ “Orthodox Confession,” I, Q.1–3.

⁵⁰ “Oglasheniye pyatoye,” рїїє [155].

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² “Voprosnaniye ariyanina, ili inago yeretika neveruyushchago v yedinago Boga v Troytsi slavimago,” v *Trebnik Mytropolitya Petra Mohyly*. T. 1 (Kyiv: Informatsiyno-vydavnychyy tsentr Ukrayins’koyi Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy, 2004), рїїї [134]. [“Questioning of the Aryan, or Another Heretic, Unbelieving in One God, Glorified in the Trinity,” in *Trebnik of Metropolitan Peter Mogila*. Vol. 1 (Kyiv: Information and Publishing Centre of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, 2004), рїїї [134]].

⁵³ “‘Krest Khrista Spasitelya’ — propoved’, proiznesennaya Kiyevno-Pecherskim arkhimandritom (v posledstvii kiyevsk. mitropolitom) Petrom Mogiloy v krestopoklonnyuyu nedelyu 1632 g.,” v *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoy Rossii*. Chast’ I, T. 8, Vypusk 1 (Kiyev: N.T. Korchak-Novinskiy, 1914), 413–414. [“‘The Cross of Christ the Saviour’: A Sermon Delivered by the Kiev-Pechersk Archimandrite (Later the Metropolitan of Kiev) Peter Mogila on the Cross-Worshipping Sunday 1632,” in *Archive of South-Western Russia*. Part I, Vol. 8, Issue 1 (Kiev: N.T. Korchak-Novinsky, 1914), 413–414].

So, in the sermon, good works, proceeding from the commandments, are regarded as a duty, not a merit. The fulfilment of the evangelical counsels is presented as the fulfilment of what is more than necessary. Interesting, St John Climacus has a similar expression: "There are souls who have gone even beyond the commandments."⁵⁴ However, St Peter Mogila explains the observance of the evangelical councils, first of all, by the desire for perfection in likening to Christ and following Him, with no hint of merit. Thus, one can conclude that his writings lack the doctrine of merit, although the word itself is used in certain contexts.

Conclusion

Having examined the writings of St Peter Mogila on the subject of good works and their place in the process of personal salvation, the conclusions might be the following. Such concepts as good, good works, virtues, the fruits of faith and the fruits of the Holy Spirit are used and defined by the metropolitan as equivalent. Speaking of good works as a condition of salvation along with faith, the theologian uses also expression "godly life" that emphasises rather value attitude of a person than single deeds. The notion of virtue as a synonym of good works brings the idea of the moral quality of an individual, in addition to a good practice or habit. It expresses more the way of life that changes a person from within. Using some times the notion of merits in relation to people's actions, the metropolitan is conscious that they are nothing else than a duty of Christian justification. Even the presence of the idea of evangelical councils does not lead him to "supererogation" with the related effects of the Catholic theology.

In relation to faith, good works are the realisation of it. Faith is primary, because it is a motive for a godly life, without which faith is dead. As Patriarch Sergius (Stragorodsky) noted, faith is a way of thinking that marks a whole way of life. But if faith is divorced from life, it is not enough for salvation.⁵⁵ Obviously, the Kyiv hierarch shared this idea. That is why in time of controversies between Catholics and Protestants, he always underlined the necessity of unity of faith and good works for personal salvation.

⁵⁴ John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, transl. Archimandrite Lazarus Moore (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), Step 26, par. 12.

⁵⁵ Sergiy Stragorodskiy, *Pravoslavnoye ucheniye o spasenii* (Kazan': Tipo-litografiya Imperatorskogo Universiteta, 1898), 225–227. [Sergius Stragorodsky, *Orthodox Doctrine of Salvation* (Kazan: Type-Lithography of the Imperial University, 1898), 225–227].

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ДОБРА ДЕЛА И ЊИХОВА УЛОГА У ПРОЦЕСУ ЛИЧНОГ СПАСЕЊА ПРЕМА БОГОСЛОВСКИМ УВИДИМА МИТРОПОЛИТА КИЈЕВСКОГ СВ. ПЕТРА МОГИЛЕ (1596–1646)

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Апстракт: У чланку аутор истражује сачине Св. Петра Могила у погледу његовог разумевања добрих дела и њихове улоге у процесу спасења. Држећи на уму снажан полемички контекст 17. века, аутор се усредсређује на ишњања односа вере и добрих дела, одређења врлина и смисла заслуге. Одговори на ова ишњања могу нам показати богословски став Св. Петра Могила односно нејавославних ишњања.

Кључне речи: Св. Петар Могила, лично спасење, добра дела, врлине, заслуге.