Introduction
The philosophical analysis of the manifestations of Western alchemy allows us to distinguish two of its fundamental modes, namely the historical and the legendary ones (Rodyhin K., Rodyhin M., 2018). In the Ukrainian environment, the manifestations of alchemy are traced in both mentioned modes, as well as in their “adventurous” (Rodyhin K., Rodyhin M., 2019) and “sorcerous” derivatives; in legends and their contemporary literary treatment (see: Vynnychuk, 2015; Yeshkilie, 2012). Therefore, in terms of investigation of the socio-cultural status of the alchemy phenomenon in Ukraine, the consideration of a series of legends about Pan Twardowski, a nobleman and sorcerer, seems to be interesting and promising. A comparative analysis of the phenomenon in the context of the common and particularly alchemical folklore in its Ukrainian dimension seems to be informative.

The legends about Pan Twardowski are the classic pieces of “sorcery” genre within Faustian tradition1. However, finally Twardowski shouldn’t be considered simply as a Polonized version of Doctor Faust. The character of Pan Twardowski is appreciated as equivalent to such famous legendary characters as Old Persian Zahhak, Byzantine Theophilus, Celtic Merlin, Spanish Cyprian, Czech Zito, and German Faust, i.e. magicians of the highest grade (Begunov, 1983).

In turn, the genesis of the plots of Doctor Faust legends is comprehensively investigated in V. Zhirmunsky’s academic study (Zhirmunsky, 1978). O. Filonenko views the Faustian plot as one of the “modes of the magic” in literature (Filonenko, 2017), and R. Haynes considers it one of the archetypes of modern mythologization of the scientist image, along with the later image of Frankenstein (the historical prototype of which is Konrad Dippel, a German alchemist) (Haynes, 2006).

The cycle of legends about Pan Twardowski is discussed in detail by Yu. Begunov² (1983). Recent pub-

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1 Oleksandra Filonenko distinguishes the following modes of magic in literature: the natural magic of fairytale creatures - Faërie, and human magic. The last one is divided into such varieties: elemental, mostly female magic - Witchcraft; Magic proper / White magic; Sorcery / Black magic; Mockery / ridiculing magic. In each of these modes there is a certain type of stories that are structured by specific literary codes (Filonenko, 2017: 68-69). For example, literary characters correlate the three kinds of “learned” magic:

- Magic proper - Shakespeare’s Prospero (his probable prototype was a magician and alchemist John Dee); Mockery - swindling alchemist Subtle from Ben Jonson’s The Alchemist; Sorcery - Doctor Faust in folk legends and their interpretation by Christopher Marlowe (more relevant than Goethe’s reinterpretation of Faust).
- Within this classification of modes of magic in literature, one could confidently state the steady popularity and great influence of the “Faustian subcode” of perception of the phenomenon of magic.

2 However, considering the title of the article The Tale of the Sorcerer Twardowski in Poland, Ukraine and Russia ..., it should be noted that the sorcerer and alchemist Twardowski was not
The purpose of the study is to consider the existence of the phenomenon of alchemy in Ukraine on the basis of a comparative analysis of the plots of characteristic European legends of the Faustian tradition, in particular, about Pan Twardowski and similar characters; to discuss these legends in terms of the formation of unite European cultural and informational environment.

Research methods

The methods of analysis and synthesis, as well as descriptive and comparative methods, are used to examine the basic plots of the Faustian tradition legends. The principle of historicism is the basis for considering materials of legendary dimension in the context of historical realities and information of the Late Medieval and Early Modern periods.

Results and discussion

The perception of the image of an alchemist as a sorcerer is one of the characteristic features of the established socio-cultural view on alchemy. In turn, the leading motif of the sorcery legends is a deal with the devil. For the fulfillment of the sorcerer's desires - knowledge, wealth, women, or revenge, - Satan should be paid by the magician's soul. The preambles to Johann Spies' Faustbuch clearly states: "he signed a contract with the devil" (Zhirnusky, 1978: 35). The same is told by Jan Barszczewski in the storybook Szlachcic Zawalnia, in particular, in the story of Hugon (Barszchewski, 1990: 176) and "About the Sorcerer and the Serpent" (Barszchewski, 1990: 27; Vynnychuk, 2007: 47, 50, 61). A magician named Hryhorii Lyskevych, a character of Lviv legends, signed the contract with his own blood (Vynnychuk, 2007: 113-115), and Albert of the legend "Fire Spirits", presented by Jan Barszczewski, fed a magic vapor with it (Barschewski, 1990: 151).

Researchers say that the oldest prototype of the story of a deal with the devil and a sale of the soul is one of the proto-Indo-European fairy tales recorded in the Aarne Thompson Uther Index as a fairy tale ATU 330 "The Smith and the Devil" (Fraça da Silva, Tehran, 2016). The story of a man who contracts with a supernatural creature in order to acquire extraordinary abilities and skills is a basic one for Indo-European consciousness, and this explains such extraordinary resilience of the Faustian tradition in culture and its prevalence in modern Western literature over all other magical subjects (Filonenko, 2017: 102-103). Perhaps the prototype of such stories in alchemical folklore is the legend of Ihsis, who cunningly discovered the secret of alchemy from the angel Anamnnael who fell in love with her, declaring it as a condition of her consent (Franz, 2002: 47-48; Hessmann, 2012: 9).

Interestingly, the key motive in "the Smith and the Devil" plot is the main character's attempt to deceive the devil in some way, in order to avoid fulfilling the protagonist's part of the deal, but to get the benefits he wants (one should recall the literally treatment of this motif in Nikolai Gogol's Night Before Christmas). This motif is well traced in the various versions of Faust legend, and very clearly in the story of Pan Twardowski. The character of the legends acquires the features of an ambivalent, archetypal trickster resembling with an image of Mercury, which is widespread in alchemy, reminiscent to Scandinavian Loki, and carefully analyzed by C.G. Jung (1996).

The demigurrical intentions of the alchemists, the desire for a certain unlimited resource, an absolute knowledge, a breakthrough into the sphere of the infinite (Rodichenkov, 2018) are quite consonant with the plots of the basic legends of the European "sorcery". Probably, their occurrence is a natural result of synthesis of folk prejudices and beliefs, black magic folklore and the achievements of scholastic scholarship, and their "refraction through the prism of Medieval worldview" (Zhirnusky, 1978: 5). Considering the pan-European universality, defining analogies and analyzing the manifestations of these subjects in Ukraine's legendary dimension is of great interest.

First of all, one should make sure that historically the "sorcerer" Faust (a legendary image or his real prototype) was related to alchemy indeed, or at least it was thought to be so.

In a letter to the Emperor's court physician Crato von Krafftheim, dated August 16, 1561, a physician Conrad Gessner mentions Faust in connection with the Paracelsus School. They practiced empty astrology, geomantics, necromancy and other forbidden sciences, Gessner wrote. Among members of this school Faust was especially famous (Zhirnusky, 1978: 14, 370). Although this fragment does not mention alchemy as such, it is stated that there is an extracurricular "forbidden knowledge".

A direct information about Faust the alchemist is provided by Johann Trithemius in a letter to Johann Wir-
dung, a court astrologer to Elector of Pfalz, of August 20, 1507 (Zhirmunsky, 1978: 14, 364). According to Trithemius' testament it was boasted of that part, calling himself the greatest of alchemists (namely the alchemist - K.R., M.R.) who lived ever before (Zhirmunsky, 1978: 14, 9-10). In his Description of Maulbronn, Schott (19th century) wrote that somewhere in the 16th century Doctor Faust dealt with Johann Entenfus, an abbot of the Maulbronn monastery in Swabia. Schott suggests that namely Faust excited Entenfus' hope of filling the empty chests with alchemical gold. By the times of Schott, there still was a bricked up laboratory called the Faust's Kitchen (Zhirmunsky, 1978: 31, 378). In 1539, a physician of the city of Worms, Philipp Begardi wrote that Faust added a formula "the philosopher of philosophers" to his signature. Also, he had a talent to defraud people and then to run away with money (Zhirmunsky, 1978: 12, 278, 386). Thus, in historical context, Dr. Faust emerges not only as a highly regarded philosopher, but also as a representative of the "adventurous" direction of alchemy. Obviously, considering the similarity of images and plots of legends, these considerations could be extrapolated to the image of Pan Twardowski.

Over the centuries, a lot of literary and musical works have been written, plays staged, films shot, based on legends about Twardowski. Due to the mentioned, this character also seems like Faust. Just like Faust, Pan Twardowski's image has its own strong tradition of literary and cinematic interpretations: in particular, one should mention Adam Mickiewicz's poem "Pani Twardowska", which collects and rethinks the plots of the nobleman-magician legends, and also a cartoon screenplay of this poem ("Pani Twardowska", Studio filmów rysunkowych, Bielsko-Biała, 1955), dedicated to the 100th anniversary of death of the prominent poet.

First of all, the real or legendary magician Twardowski really had a direct relation to alchemy. In his book Polska i Ruś aż do pierwszej połowy XVII wieku, A. Maciejowski dedicated special chapters to alchemy (on p. 433, some mention is made of someone by the name "Alchemist") and astrology (Maciejowski, 1942: 139-142). Chapters 11-12 deal with the legendary story of Twardowski (Maciejowski, 1842: 376-436). Noting the significant development of the Krakow Astrological School (Maciejowski, 1842: 396-397), the author mentioned the outstanding scholar of the time, Jan Latosz, along with Twardowski (Maciejowski, 1842: 139). Jan Latosz, an astrologer and physician to Prince Vasyl Kostiantyn Ostrozki, was a quite historical person, but also got to the legendary dimension in Volyn folklore (Bendiuk, 2012: 132).

Franciszek Krasinski, a Bishop of Krakow, stated that he used to meet Twardowski in Wittenberg, where the last one studied science, in particular, alchemy (Begunov, 1983; Astafeiev, 2014). Also, he had been an alchemist in

TEMPTED BY THE DEVIL (ZHIRMUNSKY, 1978: 24). Researchers believe that Abbot Trithemius belonged to the same high circle of initiates as Paracelsus, Agrippa of Netthesheim (Lerheimer considers him as a disciple of Trithemius (Zhirmunsky, 1978: 25)) and a probable historical Faust (Zhirmunsky, 1978: 277), at least demological legends about them they have much in common (Zhirmunsky, 1978: 269-270). Trithemius' malevolence towards Faust and the Paracelsian school may be a manifestation of competition between different scientific schools (Zhirmunsky, 1978: 364).

In this he reminds historical Paracelsus, who also considered himself an extraordinary scientist without unnecessary complexes, and chose a name that means "the one who surpasses Celsius" (a prominent Roman physician).
cherished dreams of the alchemists, and they were completely 

Shchedrin’s court physician, Joachim Possel, in his book "Historia rerum polonorum..." (1624) reported that Pan Twardowski served at the court of King Sigismund II Augustus (Begunov, 1983; Astafiev, 2014), who was fascinated by magic and alchemy (Maciejowski, 1842: 392). In addition, the service as Master of a Horse (a significant court rank) (Astafiev, 2014), Twardowski apparently also dealt with magical and alchemical affairs. At least, it is known that people used to go to Krakow Castle to be his disciples (Maciejowski, 1842: 391-392). According to the legend, the Black Book created by Twardowski is stored in Krakow or it was walled up in the library in Wilno (now Vilnius) and subsequently lost (Begunov, 1983). A. Maciejowski confirmed that the manuscript of the alleged authorship of Twardowski (by the time of Maciejowski it had been already known to be a work of another alchemist, but for a legend it did not matter) had been held in the Wilno castle library by the time when Sigismund II Augustus presented it to the Jesuits (Maciejowski, 1842: 394-395). A secret book walled up in a castle, monastery, or cathedral is another of the most popular subjects in alchemical folklore. For example, the works of Basil Valentine were allegedly bricked up at the altar of the Erfurt cathedral. In turn, according to legend presented by Victor Hugo, an Arabic philosopher Averroes hid a ray of sunlight under one of the columns in a large mosque in Cordoba during his alchemical studies.

Master Twardowski "laborer over the sciences and healed" until Satan killed him in Rome (Maciejowski, 1842: 381-382). The death in Rome was mentioned in the contract, but Twardowski decided nevermore to visit the Eternal City (one should recall the motif of deceiving unclean power in "the Smith and the Devil" plot). So, the devil had tricked, and "Rome" appeared as the name of a roadside tavern (Maciejowski, 1842: 392). Once again, Twardowski's analogy with Faust is revealed: according to chapter 67 of the Johann Spies' Faustbuch, Faust had found his end in the settlement of Riemlich near Wittenberg (Zhirmunsky, 1978: 295). This plot is also typical for the European alchemical nature, for example, Gargantua and Pantagruel by François Rabelais, who was a contemporary of historical Faust (see: Filonenko, 2017: 106). However, at least one of the legends of the Twardowski cycle is not a joke. It is sharply different from other legends due to dark atmosphere of a thriller inherent in European black magic stories. It is clear that it has a real historical basis and its legendary development and rethinking. It is not easy to separate them, because they are components of a unite complex that has been formed for centuries.

In general, this story is the following (Besala, 2003: 159-160). King Sigismund II Augustus married Lady Barbara of the ancient and glorious Radziwill family. Augustus was happy in marriage, but there was a mis-

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7 An interesting look at immortality and countless riches should be found in the Volyn legend about the troubles of Prince Vasyl Krasny. For pragmatic reasons, the prince did not complete the Epiphany Church he founded in Ostroh. For the broken promise he was punished by the Lord: the prince completely forgot where he hid his treasure on Castle Hill. A curse was hanging over the tavern (chapter 34 of the Faustbuch by Johann Spies) (Zhirmunsky, 1978: 76). The same is said of the adventures of Faust by a theologian Benedictus Aretius (1575) (Zhirmunsky, 1978: 20, 374). In this way, Doctor Faust mocked a drunk knight in the tavern (chapter 34 of the Faustbuch by Johann Spies) (Zhirmunsky, 1978: 76), and Schramhans, a Salzburg priest, did it with his fellow citizens (Zhirmunsky, 1978: 277, 385).

Another story is also popular, and it exists in numerous versions with diverse characters, forms and course of events (Zhirmunsky, 1978: 276-277, 386). Lyskevych transformed the straw bundles into pigs and sold them profitably with a condition that they should not be allowed to enter the water. However, the pigs still got into the swamp and eventually turned into the original straw, and the indignant buyer tore Lyskevych's leg off, becoming strongly frightened because of this (Vynnychuk, 2018: 116-117). The same is said of the adventures of Faust by a theologian Benedictus Aretius (1575) (Zhirmunsky, 1978: 20, 374), and Johann Spies in chapters 39 and 43 of his Faustbuch (Zhirmunsky, 1978: 79-81, 385-386).

Firstly these plots seem to have no regard for the alchemical realm, and therefore allegedly have no relevance to the topic of research. But the deeper explorations show that grotesque works can have sometimes a profound alchemical nature, for example, Gargantua and Pantagruel by François Rabelais, who was a contemporary of historical Faust (see: Golovin, 2003).
understanding of the couple’s relationship with Bona, the Queen Mother. In 1551 Barbara died. It was rumored that she was poisoned by Queen Bona with the help of her pharmacist Monti, an Italian (Shishigina-Potockaja, 1997: 22). The King was in despair and grief over his suddenly dead wife. At that time, a magnate Jerzy Mniszech said that Master Twardowski could summon her spirit, and then let the magician meet the king, apparently, having some interests of his own10. Without much enthusiasm, Twardowski agreed to carry out a necromancy session with a warning that the king might not interfere the process. When the spirit appeared, the king had recognized Barbara and, forgetting the horror and the warning, rushed to her. Suddenly the light had gone out, the spirit had disappeared, and the king had allegedly nearly lost his life (Bugaj, 1986: 201). Twardowski was caught by the devils soon11 (Begunov, 1983; Astafiev, 2014).

The motif of summoning the spirits is quite common12. Augustine Lehrheimer told a similar story in his book on witchcraft. After the request of Emperor Maximilian I, Abbott Johann Trittenheim had summoned the emperor’s late wife, Maria of Burgundy. The Emperor had recognized her by naevus and almost touched her, but restrained, and it had not ended so tragically as in the story of Sigismund II (Zhirmsnys, 1978: 24-25, 270, 375). According to the chapter 33 of the Faustbuch, Faust had been serving the Emperor Charles V, and had summoned for him the spirits of Alexander the Great and the emperor's deceased wife, who had been recognized by him after a large wart on the back of her neck. The legend is presented in many sources and in at least two versions, but here the necromancy session also had ended satisfactorily (Zhirmsnys, 1978: 24-25, 270, 384). The existence of close analogues does not leave us in doubt that this fragment from the cycle of Pan Twardowski legends is entirely in the focus of European magical folklore.

Roman Bugaj noted that the legend of the invocation of the spirit of Queen Barbara by Twardowski is based on three historical reports - by a poet Jan Giza (1573), Dr. Joachim Possel (1624), and the Jesuit Stanislaw Bielicki (1710) (Bugaj, 1986: 198). They mentioned different details, place and time of action, and the story of Bielicki, the latest of the authors mentioned, acquired distinctive features of the legend - lost its specificity, but was supplemented by new, even more fantastic details in the spirit of the Faustian legends: Twardowski showed the king not just Barbara, but also all his ancestors (Bugaj, 1986: 201). According to Giza, the session took place at the Royal Castle in Warsaw in 1569: according to Possel, at the Wawel Castle in Krakow in 1551 (Bugaj, 1986: 209).

Later, the plot underwent new modifications, and its virtual geography expanded. In the Belarusian versions of the legend, the action is transferred to the Nesvizh Castle, the ancestral estate of the Radziwills (the northern border of Poland, now the Minsk Region of Belarus), and the plot is combined with the local legend of the Black Lady of Nesvizh (Shishigina-Potockaja, 1997: 13-26; Grynblat, Gurski, 1983: 254-255). The new dramatic details emerged: when the King had rushed towards the spirit of Barbara, an explosion had occurred and the spirit had disappeared, becoming unable to return to another world. Still unconcerned, it had been wandering the halls and galleries of the Nesvizh Castle as the Black Lady. These versions mentioned the alchemists Twardowski and Mniszech (Shishigina-Potockaja, 1997: 22) or some invited magician from England (Grynblat, Gurski, 1983: 255) (one should recall the image of Dr. John Dee, who, by the way, had attended the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth under the reign of the King Stefan Batowy).

Finally, one should argue that an activity of the alchemist and sorcerer Pan Twardowski - a legendary character or his real prototype - was directly related to Ukrainian lands. According to A. Maciejowski, "Twardowski lived between the Ruthenians and Lithuanians over the Dnieper" (Maciejowski, 1842: 391), and the tavern "Rome" could be located near the Ukrainian town of Lubny (Maciejowski, 1842: 392). Thus, Twardowski’s adventures took place both on the Left Bank and on the Right Bank of Dnieper, including Northern Poland, that is, practically all over Ukrainian territory. The prevalence and high popularity of folktale legends about Twardowski among the population of Ukraine (Maciejowski, 1842: 392-394; Kachenovskii, 1827: 121) indicated that at least at the end of the 18th century, the phenomenon of alchemy and the associated esoteric knowledge were well known and well socially adapted in these territories.

Conclusions

The consideration of the existence of alchemy in Ukraine, using numerous materials of historical and legendary direction, allows us to state that the development of the phenomenon in the ethnic Ukrainian territories took place within the course of the pan-European tradition.

The prevalence and high popularity of typical alchemically directed legends among the population indicate that by Modern period, the phenomenon of alchemy was well socially adapted in Ukraine. The similarity of images and plots of legends testifies that by the Late Medieval period, a unite European cultural and informational environment was formed within civilization understanding.

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Легенди та реалії української алхімії: 
Культурно-історичні ремінісценції доктор Фауст - Пан Твардовський

У статті розглянуто дотичні до "легендарного" модусу існування феномена західної алхімії в соціокультурному просторі легенди про "чорнокнижні" знання та його носіїв, зокрема, на східних рубежах ареалу поширення західної алхімії пізньосередньовічної та ранньомодерної доби. Схожість образів та сюжетів легенд свідчить про численні впливи і запозичення та, можливо, про їх архетипний характер, тобто існування станом на пізні Середньовіччя єдиної європейської культурно-інформаційного середовища. Поширеність і популярність таких легенд свідчать на користь соціального викорінення феномену алхімії та спутнього езотеричного знання на теренах ранньомодерної України.

Ключові слова: алхімія; легендарний модус; чорнокнижня; доктор Фауст; пан Твардовський; українська алхімія.

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