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## **LEGENDS AND REALITIES OF UKRAINIAN ALCHEMY: THE CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES DOCTOR FAUST - PAN TWARDOWSKI**

The article deals with legends about "sorcerous" knowledge and its possessors, which are connected with a "legendary" mode of alchemy phenomenon existence, especially on the Eastern borders of Late Medieval and Early Modern Western alchemy spread area. The similarity of images and plots of these legends bears witness either about their archetypal nature or numerous influences and borrowings, i.e. about the existence of unite European informational space as of Late Medieval era. In the Ukrainian context, alchemy was manifested in both "historical" and "legendary" modes as well as in their "adventurous" and "sorcerous" derivatives; in legends and their literary treatment. Considering this, it seems interesting and promising to consider a series of legends about a famous nobleman and sorcerer, Pan Twardowski, as well as about similar characters belonging to Faustian tradition. This type of stories comes from a proto-Indo-European plot "The Smith and the Devil". But in case of Faustian legends, one should deal not with folklore magic, e.g. fairytale magic or witchcraft, but with the phenomenon of learned magic which is related to high esoteric knowledge with even proto-scientific trends, including alchemy. A wide spread and popularity of such legends testify the social rooting of the phenomenon of alchemy and concomitant esoteric knowledge in Early Modern Ukraine.

**Key words:** *alchemy; legendary mode; sorcery; Doctor Faust; Pan Twardowski; Ukrainian alchemy.*

### **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; Yeshkiliev, 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 a 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 tradition<sup>1</sup>. 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 Žito, 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. Begunov<sup>2</sup> (1983). Recent pub-

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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

lications on this topic (Astafiev, 2013; 2014) are rather compilations. M. Rozmysł analyzes the character of Pan Twardowski (Master Twardowski) in terms of C.G. Jung's theory of archetypes: as an embodiment of the Wise Old Man archetype, Twardowski is considered in the context of an alchemical representation of the individuation process (Rozmysł, 2018). Our research relies mainly on information from fundamental works by A. Maciejowski (*Maciejowski, 1842*) and R. Bugaj (*Bugaj, 1986*). Other sources are used as auxiliary.

**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<sup>3</sup>. 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 preamble to Johann Spies' *Faustbuch* clearly states: "he signed a contract with the devil" (*Zhirmunsky, 1978: 35*). The same is told by Jan Barszczewski in the storybook *Szlachcić Zawalnia*, in particular, in the story of Hugon (*Barshcheuski, 1990: 176*) and "About the Sorcerer and the Serpent" (*Barshcheuski, 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, 2018: 113-115*), and Albert of the legend "Fire Spirits", presented by Jan Barszczewski, fed a magic viper with it (*Barshcheuski, 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

popular and widespread in Russia, and the analogies and parallels with local folklore were remote and mediated. Obviously, in historical retrospect, the phenomenon of alchemy could not be mentally inherent in Muscovy-Russia (*Rodyhin K., Rodyhin M., 2012a*). Therefore, in a legendary dimension, its presentation actually boils down to tales about alchemical affairs of the sorcerer Jacob Bruce in the Sukharev Tower in Moscow, and the courtly Petersburg adventures of Count Cagliostro (meanwhile, one of Catherine II's anti-Masonic plays features a parody character Kalifalkzherston, who recalls a satire on Cagliostro. Along with Freemasonry, alchemy is criticized as well (*Rodichenkov, 2018*)).

<sup>3</sup> This perception has some justification. According to legends, the secret of alchemical knowledge was given to Adam by rebellious angels. According to beliefs of Hellenic times, the first book of alchemy was written by the prophet Ham (*Figurovskij, 1969: 60*), which was later associated with the biblical Ham, son of Noah (*Oesper, 1930: 2664*). It was he who kept the secret knowledge of the fallen angels during the Flood, hiding the fundamental tables on the Ark (*Lippmann, 1938: 24*).

Thompson Uther Index as a fairy tale ATU 330 "The Smith and the Devil"<sup>4</sup> (*Graça da Silva, Tehrani, 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 Isis, who cunningly discovered the secret of alchemy from the angel Anamnael 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 demiurgical intentions of the alchemists, the desire for a certain unlimited resource, an absolute knowledge, a breakthrough into the sphere of the infinite (*Rodyhin, 2013*) 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" (*Zhirmunsky, 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 (*Zhirmunsky, 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<sup>5</sup> in a letter to Johann Wir-

<sup>4</sup> Mircea Eliade emphasizes the relationship of the images of a blacksmith, metallurgist, alchemist, and magician - "the masters of fire", who are endowed with knowledge and abilities to transform the nature of things. Also, he notes an ambiguous perception of such images in folklore, which is rooted in an archaic mythological worldview (*Eliade, 1998*).

<sup>5</sup> For some time, Trithemius was an abbot of the Spongheim monastery in Hunsrück. In 1508, in a letter to his patron, Emperor Maximilian I, who was not indifferent to alchemy, he fervently accuses the sorcerers and necromancers, and demands a severe punishment for them, demonstrating considerable awareness of this issue (*Zhirmunsky, 1978: 270*). The assumption that Trithemius was deeply integrated into this subject does not seem to be unfounded, since Augustine Lehrheimer stated that the abbot was a wise and enlightened man, but in his scholarly affairs was

dung, a court astrologer to Elector of Pfalz, of August 20, 1507 (*Zhirmunsky, 1978: 14, 364*). According to Trithemius' testimony, Faust boasted of his art, 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 (19<sup>th</sup> century) wrote that somewhere in the 16<sup>th</sup> 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"<sup>6</sup> to his signature. Also, he had a talent to defraud people and then to run away with money (*Zhirmunsky, 1978: 12, 278, 368*). 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 100<sup>th</sup> 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, 1842: 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 Ostrozkii, 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; Astafiev, 2014*). Also, he had been an alchemist in

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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 (Lehrheimer considers him as a disciple of Trithemius (*Zhirmunsky, 1978: 25*)) and a probable historical Faust (*Zhirmunsky, 1978: 277*), at least demonological 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*).

<sup>6</sup> 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 Celsus" (a prominent Roman physician).

literature: one of the numerous works was even called *Wielki alchemic pan Twardowski* (*Begunov, 1983; Astafiev, 2014*).

Studying at Wittenberg is another trait common to Pan Twardowski and Doctor Faust. Of course, this gave some, though not justified, grounds for trying to identify not only legendary characters but also their historical prototypes (*Bugaj, 1986: 180*). Roman Bugaj, a Polish researcher, made an interesting attempt to reconstruct the historical figure of Twardowski and tended to believe that the prototype of the famous alchemist and magician was called Lorenz Dhur (Latin name Laurentius Duranovius, probable years of life 1515 - 1573), he was born in Nuremberg, studied in Wittenberg and could have been a student or follower of the historical Johann Faust (1480 - 1540). In the Polonized version, his surname took the form "Twardowski" (etymologically: Latin durus = Polish twardy - "hard" → Twardowski) (*Bugaj, 1986: 215-216, 230, 232*). The alleged German origin of Twardowski's prototype looks natural in the historical context of Rzecz Pospolita (Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) of that time; so, a 17<sup>th</sup> century historian, Bartłomiej Zimorovic, in his chronicle *Leopolis Triplex*, even identifies a particular "German" period of formation of the city of Lviv (*Zimorovic, 2002: 67-121*).

Jakub Pęgowski, a secretary of King Sigismund II Augustus, testified that the "magicians Gradowski and Duran" (i.e., apparently, Duranovius - Twardowski) worked under the patronage of the Mniszech brothers. Gradowski, who later had appeared in the history of the attempted poisoning of King Stefan Batory, might had been a student of the historical Twardowski (*Bugaj, 1986: 215, 218*). R. Bugaj wrote that only in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the magician became a character of the classic legend: "Twardowski, dressed in żupan and kontusz, armed with a saber, became a true Pole, a folk hero and so later entered the literature" (*Bugaj, 1986: 239-240*).

There are many versions of such stories, but within the framework of this study these differences are not fundamentally significant. According to one version of the legend, a student Twardowski, due to his negligence, got into a university jail in Krakow. To get out of this, he made a pact with the devil (a certain analogy with a Bernardine monk of the Lviv legend (*Lemko, 2008: 104-105*)), and then with his help acquired a "super science" and gained a great power over people (*Begunov, 1983*). Here is the most important goal of alchemy - the achievement of absolute knowledge through an infinitely perfecting essence - the Philosopher's Stone, or a sinless omniscient Homunculus (some biblical analogy with Adam before the fall from grace), or in some other way (*Rodyhin, K. and Rodyhin, M., 2012b*). In his aspirations, Twardowski is very much like Faust, and they have achieved the same goal in the same way - with the help of unclean power. A lot of diverse research works were devoted to the analytical comparison of these legendary characters, including A. Maciejowski's (*Maciejowski, 1842: 396-397, 411-418*).

In another version of the legend, Pan Twardowski is not an irresponsible student. On the contrary, he practiced medicine, and the rest of his time he studied magic and looked for drugs that would "make the death to retreat". To achieve this, he signed a contract with his blood (*Begunov, 1983*). In the following reading, the sorcerer sold his soul to the devil for the "ability of an alchemist and art of magic" (in fact, the same motivation), to which he resorted repeatedly, in particular, in order to make himself younger (*Astafiev, 2014*). An immortality elixir, an elixir of life or youth, a universal cure or famous panacea - these are the

cherished dreams of the alchemists, and they were completely shared by Pan Twardowski<sup>7</sup>.

King Sigismund III's court physician, Joachim Possel, in his book "Historia rerum polonicorum ..." (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: 399). 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: 381-382). According to the legend, the Black Book<sup>8</sup> 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 "labored 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

mythology, for example, according to the legend, the alchemist and magician Pope Sylvester II was taken by the devil after serving a mass in a chapel called "Jerusalem" (Astafiev, 2014: 52).

Most of Twardowski's legendary adventures look like a grotesque description of a strange symbiosis of a nobleman's hooliganism with suspicious magical jokes similar to tricks of Faust in Christopher Marlowe's interpretation (Filonenko, 2017: 106) or those of Lviv legendary sorcerer Hryhorii Lyskevych (Vynnychuk, 2018: 110-117). A. Maciejowski wrote that many characters of legends used to do tricks like Twardowski's (Maciejowski, 1942: 381-382).

For example, the mentioned Lviv alchemist Lyskevych grew up the horns on the head of an arrogant lady, and she was unable to pull her head out of the window until the sorcerer had freed her of this shame (Vynnychuk, 2018: 116-117). A similar story can be found in Martin Luther's *Table Talk* (1566), and it concerns Emperor Friedrich and his magical contests with a sorcerer (Zhirmunsky, 1978: 17, 371). 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: 112). 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)).

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<sup>9</sup> of the ancient and glorious Radziwill family. Augustus was happy in marriage, but there was a mis-

<sup>7</sup> An interesting look at immortality and countless riches should be found in the Volyn legend about the troubles of Prince Vasyl Krasnyi. 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 church. A ghost of a young lady in a coffin (similar to the story of Gogol's *Viy*) appeared there, and people became frightened and began to bypass this building. If one is able to remove the curse and find the treasure, he will become immortal, and the cathedral building will collapse (Bendiuk, 2012: 59, 73). If a treasure contains the Philosopher's Stone, it gives the adept an endless wealth and immortality, that is, what is said in the legend. Another legend is reminiscent of stories about living and dead water. At the time of the Cossacks, on the Red Mountain near the Lutsk Tower, there was a well, the water from which could make one person young and rich, and another old and turn him into a beggar (Bendiuk, 2012: 152).

<sup>8</sup> The image of the Black Book is widespread and popular. However, its understanding may differ. In particular, in Hryhorii Skovoroda's parable *The Wretched Lark*, it goes beyond fairy-tale into the realm of epistemological morality. Skovoroda mentioned people "who learned from this black book, containing worldly woes (because the black book containing woes is the world itself) ... What good is it to read a lot of books and be a lawless person? ... Everyone reads this book, isn't he? ... Everyone reads but does not comprehend" (Skovoroda, 2017: 250-251).

<sup>9</sup> By the way, according to an ancestral legend, Radziwills are descendants of ancient Lithuanian high priests (magi); the legendary ancestor of the Radziwills, a priest named Lizdeyka, had interpreted Prince Gediminas' dream of an iron wolf as a sign upon which the city of Wilno was founded (Karnovich, 1873: 101-102; Zahorski, 1925: 11-16). The Radziwill genealogy also contains brief but interesting information that King Jan Sobieski's son-in-law, Prince Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł (1625 - 1680) was a connoisseur of alchemy (Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł URL). A contemporary Ukrainian writer O. Yeshkiliiev, in his novel *The Yarkovski Effect* interprets the legend of Barbara Radziwill in terms of metaphysical confrontation between Black and White Queens.

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 own<sup>10</sup>. 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 had 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 soon<sup>11</sup> (*Begunov*, 1983; *Astafiev*, 2014).

The motif of summoning the spirits is quite common<sup>12</sup>. Augustine Lehrscheimer told a similar story in his book on witchcraft. After the request of Emperor Maximilian I, Abbot 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 (*Zhirmunsky*, 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 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 (*Zhirmunsky*, 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 Polesia, 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 have 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 Batory).

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 Polesia, that is, practically all over Ukrainian territory. The prevalence and high popularity of folk legends about Twardowski among the population of Ukraine (*Maciejowski*, 1842: 392-394; *Kachenovskii*, 1827: 121) indicated that at least at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> 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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<sup>10</sup> Roman Bugaj wrote that the organizers of this affair were Franciszek Krasinski (Vice-Chancellor of the Crown, later Bishop of Krakow, Twardowski's fellow in Wittenberg), as well as the ambitious courtiers, the Mniszech brothers, Jerzy (Yuri) and Mikolaj (*Bugaj*, 1986: 201-202). The researcher considered the version that Barbara Gizanka, a woman who had looked like very similar to the late queen, and had agreed to play the role of her spirit, participated in the "necromancy session" - and an underground passage connecting the castle with the Bernardine nunnery was used for her sudden disappearance (*Bugaj*, 1986: 207-208). Later, Jerzy Mniszech became the governor (wojewoda) of Sandomierz and played a significant role in another, much more famous political affair - the coming of False Dmitry I to the Moscow throne.

<sup>11</sup> This episode could have a quite realistic version: after the death of King Sigismund II Augustus, when the political scandal threatening the Mniszech brothers hung in the air, they sent murderers to eliminate Twardowski, who knew too much about the recent affair with the King and could become an unwanted witness. The murderers caught up with the magician at the "Rome" tavern, and in later legends they were transformed into devils (*Besala*, 2003: 168; *Bugaj*, 1986: 239). The chaotic "no king" era that followed the death of the last Jagellon largely led to the oblivion of the true historical fate of Twardowski the magician, wrote Roman Bugaj.

<sup>12</sup> In the legends mentioned below, the biblical story of King Saul's encounter with the ghost of Samuel summoned by a fortune-teller from Endor (1 Samuel 28: 7-20) is presented as a background. Necromancy is also mentioned in the negative connotation in the books of the prophets (Isaiah 8; 19).

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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 "чорнокнижне" 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 пізнє Середньовіччя єдиного європейського культурно-інформаційного середовища. Поширеність і популярність таких легенд свідчать на користь соціального вкорінення феномена алхімії та супутнього езотеричного знання на теренах ранньомодерної України.

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

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