

The magazine “Panteon Polski” and its editor Zygmunt Zygmuntowicz

Marek Gałęzowski

KEY WORDS

"Panteon Polski", independence, The Polish Legions, Lviv, press of combatants, Zygmunt Zygmuntowicz

ABSTRACT

The article presents outline history of magazine “Panteon Polski”, the only one in Polish press between the wars, whose the main objective was to commemorate fallen participants fighting for independence of Poland (1914–1918) and Polish borders (1918-1921). In time, the subject-matter of magazine took over all activities for reconstruction of Poland. The article also presents subject-matter and circle of authors, who wrote in this magazine, especially the silhouette of editor, Zygmunt Zygmuntowicz, and actions taken to maintain the magazine on the market.

Among the numerous periodicals published in the environment of former soldiers of the Polish Legions, as well as other Polish military formations from the World War I, "Panteon Polski" associated with the Lviv circle of Polish literature, was exceptional. It was the only one whose priority was the commemoration of the fallen participants of the struggles for Polish independence in the years 1914-1918 and the Polish borders in 1918-1921. Although, over time, the subject matter of the magazine was extended to the issues of efforts to rebuild the Polish state (articles related to Polish-Ukrainian relations were also published), preservation of memory and dissemination of knowledge about national heroes remained its main goal and dominated the content. It is also worth noting that the magazine was released for almost seven years (1924-1931), which was not common among the press titles of the veterans' environment¹.

This article examines the goals and themes of "Panteon Polski". Attention was drawn to its relationship with the Piłsudski camp, a circle of authors gathered around it, highlighting the editor Zygmunt Zygmuntowicz - the most involved person in its development. The editorial activities aimed at keeping the magazine on the market were also discussed. It can be said without exaggeration that it was a constant struggle for survival. The fight was finally lost, and it was even more dramatic because "Panteon Polski" ceased to appear suddenly, failing to implement the plans presented in the last issue.

Editor and authors

The first issue of "Panteon Polski" appeared in Lviv on 1 November 1924. It was initially published by the Lviv branch of the Polish Legionnaires Union. The editorial office was located at ul. Zielona 7, but from 1 September 1925 it only used the post office box no. 98. The magazine was printed in the printing house of A. Szyjkowski at ul. Zimorowica 14, then in Drukarnia Polska at ul. Chorążczyzny 17, again at Szyjkowski, and finally in "Sztuka" printing house at pl. Strzelecki 2. Initially it came out as a biweekly, on the 1 and the 15 day of each month, from January 1926 - as a monthly. The volume was usually 12 or 16 pages, sometimes more like in the issue 13 (17), which had 24 pages; there were also double issues, e.g. from 1929, respectively 20 pages (no. 60/61) and even 24 pages (no. 58/59). There were, however, only eight-page issues (1927, issue 29). The price was initially PLN 0.60 (quarterly prepayment

¹ M. Jabłonowski, *Przyczynek do dziejów prasy polskich związków byłych wojskowych w latach 1918–1939* [Contribution to the history of the press of Polish former military associations in the years 1918-1939], "Kwartalnik Historii Prasy Polskiej" 1991, no. 2, pp. 69–86. This valuable study omitted "Panteon Polski", which seems to be an additional argument for the presentation of the magazine, which commemorated participants of the struggles for Polish independence in the veteran press of the inter-war period.

PLN 3.50 PLN). Then it was raised by PLN 0.05, on 1 September 1925 - up to PLN 0.80, and from July-August 1927 until the end of its existence it cost PLN 1.00.

The magazine was first published under the subtitle “An illustrated bi-weekly magazine dedicated to the memory and honour of those fallen for Poland's independence together with the chronicle of the actions of a Polish soldier in 1914-1921”. Sometimes the subtitle appeared in other variants, but it did not change its original meaning². Initially Marian Heizler was the editor responsible for the magazine³. From 1 July 1925, “Panteon Polski” was published and edited by the Publishing Committee composed of dr F. Konieczny, director J. Niemiec, dr Jan Rogowski, Maria Strońska, and Zygmunt Zygmuntowicz⁴.

From among the members of this ephemeral, as it turned out, Committee, apart from Zygmuntowicz and Rogowski, whose role in “Panteon” will be further discussed, it is worth paying attention to Maria Strońska (1895-1944), a Jagiellonian University graduate, a teacher connected with the independence activities of the Polish Legions, and then one of the leading members of the Polish Military Organisation, for which she was decorated with the Cross of Independence with Swords. During the World War II, she joined the Service for Poland's Victory in the first days of its existence, later served in the Second Division (intelligence) of the ZWZ-AK, among others leading the secretariat of its boss, lieutenant colonel Waław Berka. She was arrested by the Germans and imprisoned in Pawiak. She was taken to the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. She died there. It is worth mentioning her cooperation with “Panteon Polski” and then the short participation in its editing, all the more so because it was omitted in the entry published in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*⁵ [Polish Biographical Dictionary].

After “Panteon Polski” was taken over by the Publishing Committee, Marian Heizler was the responsible editor until the end of 1925, but he did not join the Committee. From the 22nd issue, which appeared in January 1926, Zygmunt Zygmuntowicz started to be the publisher and responsible editor, but the names of the other Committee members disappeared.

²In 1927, the title page featured the information “Dedicated to the Polish soldier's heroic action, chronicles of the fight for independence, memory and honour of the fallen defenders of the homeland for Poland's independence in 1914-1921”. Two years later: “Dedicated to the deed of Józef Piłsudski and the heroism of the Polish Soldier, chronicles of the fight for independence and the memory of the fallen and defenders of the homeland for the Poland's freedom.” From January 1930, the magazine was published with the subtitle: “Dedicated to the chronicles of the fight for Independence, the heroism of the Polish Soldier and the memory of the fallen in the fight for Poland's freedom”.

³ There is no information about him, except that he was the author of the book *Orleńta i lwy* [Eagles and lions]. Historical sketches from the defence of Lviv and the Borderlands (Lviv 1925), and in 1927 - the editor of the Lviv weekly “Gazeta Niedzielną”.

⁴ [Notification], “Panteon Polski” [hereinafter: “PP”] 1925, no. 12 (16), p. 20.

⁵ M. Sulej, *Strońska Maria* [Maria Strońska] [in:] PSB, vol. 44, Warszawa–Kraków 2006–2007, pp. 371–372.

Its name remained on the first page of the magazine until the end of the year and ceased to appear from January 1927 (issue 28). From issue 30 to the end of the magazine in August 1931 (issue 79/80), Zygmuntowicz edited it and his name appeared on the title page.

Zygmuntowicz was probably associated with the magazine from the beginning, as evidenced by the articles he published, above all *The heroic death of King-Kaszubski*⁶. Probably since the beginning of the magazine he also sat in the editorial office, as evidenced by a request to the readers in the editorial commentary in the issue 2 to send a memoir and a photo of Stanisław Kaszubski, because the editorial office intended to publish a booklet dedicated to him. The publication appeared four years later, its author was Zygmuntowicz, who previously published it in three parts in “Panteon Polski”⁷. It was he who began to play the main role in the further publishing of the magazine, both as the editor giving shape to each issue, as well as one of the authors.

Zygmunt Zygmuntowicz was born on 28 November 1881 in Jezierna (district of Zborów) as the son of Józef Ostersetzer and Gabriela Rozmaryn⁸ - he probably took the name Zygmuntowicz shortly after 1915. He graduated from the gymnasium in Złoczów, then he worked as an official in Lviv, where he lived almost until his death. He combined his work with journalism, cooperating with many magazines: “Kurier Lwowski”, “Gazeta Ludowa”, “Depesza”, “Wiek Nowy”. From 1902, he was active in the group of peasant movement gathered around Bolesław Wysłouch, and from 1905 until the outbreak of the World War I - in the People's Party. From 1905, he was a member of the board of the Society of the People's School of Tadeusz Kościuszko. He was also involved in independence activities - he belonged to the Riflemen's Association, he was a collector of the Polish Military Treasury.

After the outbreak of the war, in August 1914, he joined the Polish Legions. Initially, he organised the Legions field mail (he passed specialist examinations in the field of telegraphy

⁶ [Z. Zygmuntowicz], *Bohaterska śmierć Króla-Kaszubskiego* [The heroic death of King-Kaszubski], “PP” 1924, no. 2, pp. 8–11. He also published, among others, the text *Bój pod Jastkowem* [Battle of Jastków] “PP” 1924, no. 4, pp. 5-6.

⁷ *Od Redakcji i Administracji* [From the editorial office and administration], “PP” 1924, no. 2, p. 16. See Z. Zygmuntowicz, *Stanisław Król-Kaszubski. Bohater-męczennik* [Stanisław, King-Kaszubski. Martyr-hero], “PP” 1928, no. 41, 42, 44; by the same author: *Stanisław Król-Kaszubski oficer I Bdy Piłsudskiego powieszony przez Moskali w dniu 7 lutego 1915 r. w Pilźnie* [Stanisław King-Kaszubski officer of the 1st brigade of Piłsudski, hanged by the Muscovites on 7 February 1915 in Plzeň], Warszawa–Lwów 1928.

⁸ Zygmunt Zygmuntowicz's character has not yet been given a detailed biographical study. See W.K. Cygan, *Zygmuntowicz Zygmunt* [Zygmunt Zygmuntowicz] [in:] *ibid.*, *Oficerowie Legionów Polskich 1914–1917. Słownik biograficzny* [The officers of Polish Legions. Biographical dictionary], vol. 5, Warszawa 2007, pp. 219–220. Newer findings: M. Gałęzowski, *Zygmuntowicz Zygmunt* [Zygmunt Zygmuntowicz] [in:] *ibid.*, *Na wzór Berka Joselewicza. Sylwetki żołnierzy i oficerów pochodzenia żydowskiego w Legionach Polskich* [Like Berk Joselewicz. Silhouettes of soldiers and officers of Jewish origin in the Polish Legions], Warszawa 2010, pp. 689–691 (*ibid.* bibliography). Read more: A. Biedrzycka, *Kalendarium Lwowa 1918–1939* [Timeline of Lviv], Kraków 2012.

and telephony before the war), and on 4 June 1915 he was appointed ensign, after which he was entrusted with the creation of a telephone branch of the Third Brigade of the Legions. The unit was included on 23 June to 4th infantry regiment, and Zygmuntowicz assumed its command. From 15 July he participated in fights in the Lublin region and Wołyń, but on 22 August 1915 he was transferred to the Legion Command⁹.

When on 1 November 1915 he was released from the Legions, he returned to Lviv, where he took over the post office in Zamarstynów. From August 1917, he was a member of the Lviv POW District Command - he dealt with financial matters, hidden former legionaries from the Austrians and he provided material protection. From 1 November 1918 he participated in the defence of Lviv as a second lieutenant. Despite his light wound, he continued to fight, also in later struggles on the Ukrainian front¹⁰. In March 1919 he was assigned as a communications officer to the headquarters of the "East" Front, and in June 1919 - to the Command of the 6th General District of Lviv. For participation in the Polish-Ukrainian war, he was awarded the Cross of Valour and the Cross of Defence of Lviv, and in 1933 for the service in the Legions - the Cross of Independence¹¹. From 2 October 1921, as a major (seniority of 1 June 1919), he was the head of communications of the 6th Division of the Corps of Lviv. On 1 July 1923 he was appointed lieutenant colonel and became deputy commander of the 2nd communications regiment¹². He received very good ratings¹³. On 30 June 1926 he was retired¹⁴. From that time on, he devoted himself fully to the commemoration of the Polish struggle for independence¹⁵. In addition to editing "Panteon Polski", he published in it, among others, popularising texts about Józef Piłsudski¹⁶ and fallen legion officers, including the

⁹ Military Historical Office Central Military Archive (hereinafter: WBH CAW): Zygmunt Ostersetzer-Zygmuntowicz, ap 2711, 4219, 4438, 2648 and KN 4 XI 1933; J.A. Teslar, *Czwarty pułk. Rok działań wojennych 4-go pp Legionów Polskich od dnia 10 maja 1915 roku do dnia 10 maja 1916 roku* [The fourth regiment. The year of warfare of the 4th infantry regiment of the Polish Legions from 10 May 1915 to 10 May 1916], Lwów 1916, pp. 31–32; B. Waligóra, *Organizacja 4 pułku Legionów Polskich* [Organisation of the 4th regiment of the Polish Legions], "Żołnierz Legionów i POW" 1939, no. 3/4, p. 266.

¹⁰ *Obrona Lwowa 1–22 listopada 1918* [Defence of Lviv 1–22 November 1918], vol. 3, Lwów 1933, pp. 147, 438; *Semper Fidelis. Obrona Lwowa w obrazach współczesnych* [Defence of Lviv in contemporary images], ed. W. Mazanowska, Lwów 1930, p. 122.

¹¹ WBH CAW, Zygmunt Ostersetzer-Zygmuntowicz, KW 141/Z-1383; *ibid.*, KN 4 XI 1933.

¹² "Rocznik Oficerski" 1923, pp. 98, 960, 967.

¹³ WBH CAW, Zygmunt Ostersetzer-Zygmuntowicz, ap 2711, 4219, 4438, 2648.

¹⁴ "Rocznik Oficerski" 1928, p. 897; "Rocznik Oficerski Rezerw", Warszawa 1934, pp. 353, 974.

¹⁵ In the context of his social activity, it should be mentioned that he was a member of the Lviv branch of the Association of Polish Legionnaires, as well as a participant of initiatives related to commemorating the fallen participants of the struggles for independence in Lviv, including he was the vice-president of the board of the Society for the Protection of the Graves of the Heroes and a board member of the Society for the Study of the History of the Defence of Lviv. He also participated in the works of the Polish Historical Society. See M. Gałęzowski, *Zygmuntowicz Zygmunt...*, *op. cit.*, p. 690.

¹⁶ Z. Zygmuntowicz, *Józef Piłsudski przy kaszcie drukarskiej (1894–1900)* [Józef Piłsudski at the printing office (1894–1900)], "PP" 1930, no. 63, pp. 2–5; by the same author: *W dniu święta naszego* [On the day of our feast],

aforementioned cycle dedicated to Stanisław “King” Kaszubski, who was taken prisoner by the Russians near Łowczówek, and as a Russian citizen was sentenced to death and on 7 February 1915 was hanged in Plzeň. His dramatic history, described by Zygmuntowicz, was one of the events in the history of the legions, which served the editorial office of “Panteon Polski” to build a tradition of preserving the memory of the sacrifice of soldiers of Józef Piłsudski in the fight for Polish independence.

In addition to Zygmuntowicz, Jan Rogowski was a regular contributor to the magazine. He wrote about Piłsudski, and also published his own memories of service in the Legions. Born on 13 September 1894, just like Zygmuntowicz before the World War I, he was active in the Society of the People's School and was associated with the independence movement. From 1915, he served in the Second Brigade of the Legions, then in the Polish Auxiliary Corps, and finally in the POW in Lviv, where - as one might suppose - he met Zygmuntowicz. In November 1918 he participated in the defence of Lviv, and later in the Polish-Bolshevik war, at that time he was promoted to an officer. After demobilization, he worked as a geography and history teacher in Lviv gymnasiums. He was the author of many articles and books popularising the deeds of the Polish Legions and the defence of Lviv, and, together with Zygmuntowicz, co-author of the work *Lwów i Małopolska w Legionach Polskich 1914–1917* [Lviv and Lesser Poland in Polish Legions 1914-1917] (Lviv 1935), used by researchers to this day¹⁷.

Among the authors who often published their texts in “Panteon Polski” was Zofia Zawiszanka. She wrote sketches from the history of the Legions, as well as her own memories¹⁸. Deserved Lviv history popularizer, Józef Białynia Chołodecki and Adam Błotnicki published there. More popular authors included Władysław Dunin-Wąsowicz, one of the leading journalists involved in the popularization of the struggle for independence¹⁹, and the historian Waław Lipiński, who published the work called *Szlakiem I Brygady*²⁰ [In the footsteps of the First Brigade]. The magazine was also open to other authors of memories from times connected

“PP” 1925, no. 13, pp. 2–3. Earlier, he also wrote to “Polska Zbrojna” [*Poczta polowa w Legionach (1914–1917)*], “Polska Zbrojna” 1924, nr 9–12 [Field mail in Legions (1914-1917)], “Polska Zbrojna” 1924, no. 9–12.

¹⁷ K. Lewicki, *Rogowski Jan* [Jan Rogowski] [in:] PSB, vol. 31, Wrocław 1988–1989, p. 448–449; G. Mazur, J. Węgiński, *Konspiracja lwowska 1939–1944. Słownik biograficzny* [Lviv conspiracy 1939-1944. Biographical dictionary], Katowice 1997, pp. 157–159.

¹⁸ Z. Zawiszanka, *Mój najlepszy wywiad* [My best interview], “PP” 1926, no. 14–17.

¹⁹ W. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *W legendarnym Sulejówku* [In the legendary Sulejówek], “PP” 1929, no. 52, pp. 1–3.

²⁰ M. Gałęzowski, *Waław Lipiński i jego pamiętnik z bojów I Brygady* [Waław Lipiński and his diary of the battles of the First Brigade] [in:] W. Lipiński, *Szlakiem Pierwszej Brygady* [In the footsteps of the First Brigade], Łomianki 2014; by the same author: *O Waławie Lipińskim – pierwszym historyku polskiego czynu niepodległościowego lat 1905–1918* [About Waław Lipiński - the first historian of the Polish independence struggle of 1905-1918] [in:] W. Lipiński, *Walka zbrojna o niepodległość Polski 1905–1918* [Armed struggle for independent Poland in 1905-1918], ed. M. Gałęzowski, in cooperation with J. Kirszak, Łomianki 2016.

above all with the struggle for independence and Polish military formations from the war. They also started to fill the majority of individual issues²¹.

It is worth to also bring up the names of those occasionally supporting the magazine. One of the first issues of the magazine thanked, among others, Henryk Lewartowski (journalist, ex-officer of the Legions) for providing the editorial office with resumes and photographs and Zygmunt Degenstück, “for the selfless delivery of film for the cover”²².

“Signpost of perseverance”

The magazine edited by Zygmuntowicz was the only periodical, not just in the inter-war period, but in general in the history of the Polish press, whose principal purpose, recognised in the subtitle *From the history of the commemoration of participants in the struggle for Polish independence in the veteran press of the inter-war period*, and having a strong expression in the content, was commemoration of fallen participants of the struggle for Polish independence and wars for the borders of reborn Poland. Regardless of the aforementioned extension of the subject matter, as the magazine developed, this goal remained unchanged until the end of its existence. It was described with pathos in the first issue: “Today boulders of tombs, graves and burial mounds of fallen heroes of the Polish Freedom and Independence lean, and their shadows shine for the Nation [...]. We, the living, survivors of so many fights go humbly before them, we give a deep honour to fellow fighters who shared the great idea of our leader Józef Piłsudski. Let these notes guide the generations like signposts, giving fortitude, faith, steadfastness and strength and clarity of idea, to shine and keep our »Legionaries forward - long live Poland.”²³

At the same time, the editors appealed to send biographical information and photographs of the fallen. The first issues were to contain biographies of those who died in the legionary battles, in later issues - notes about participants of wars for the borders of Poland in 1918-1921, and finally those who were awarded the Virtuti Militari Cross or the Cross of Valour for their

²¹ They included, among others, a very valuable diary of Rafał Hirsch from the January Uprising; memories of Jan Starościanek with the Polish Division in Siberia; Józef Kreis Polish Army in Eastern Russia and Siberia; a diary from the 2nd and 3rd infantry regiment battle under Mołotków by Władysław Matkowski; A. Maj and his Second Brigade; memories of the Polish-Bolshevik war of Władysław Goliczewski (whose name was constantly mistakenly given as Golczewski); Roman Śliwa from the days of internment of soldiers of the Polish Auxiliary Corps after February 1918, and also in part related to the subject matter of the magazine, *From experiences in Pokuta 1914-1919* by Stanisława Sozańska.

²² [Editorial office of “Panteon Polski”] “PP” 1924, no. 2, p. 16. These films were performed from issue 3 to the end of the existence of the magazine in zinc-graphical company Degenstück Ars at ul. Sykstuska 32. It happened that the owner made them for free also later, for which he was thanked in one of the next issues (providing inaccurate name Degenstik). *Od Redakcji i Administracji* [From the editorial office and administration], “PP” 1925, no. 7, p. 16. To read about Zygmunt Degenstück, see M. Gałęzowski, *Na wzór Berka Joselewicza...*, op. cit., pp. 201–202.

²³ [Od redakcji] [From the editorial office], “PP” 1924, no. 1, p. 2.

participation in both struggles and died after they were finished, often as a result of wounds. The editorial declaration was preceded by the poem on the cover by the legionnaire and poet Artur Prędski *Braciom poległym* [For the fallen brothers], the very title already emphasising the main purpose of the magazine.

The contents of the first issues, published in 1924 and at the beginning of 1925, confirmed the direction presented in the editorial declaration. There were numerous notes about fallen Legion soldiers, about a dozen officers - short articles and texts about battles in which they died (including the Battle of Czarkowa, Battle of Krzywoploty, Battle of Mołotków, Battle of Łowczówkiem).²⁴

Although the notes and articles published had no back matter, they had a great commemorative and source value as a material for research on the history of the Polish struggle for independence that began to develop after 1926. Published materials were created on the basis of the accounts of the participants of the described events from the previous decade, which significantly influenced their credibility. In some cases, however, especially in the first issues of the magazine, they were compiled on the basis of articles published in the years 1914-1916 in "Wiadomości Polskie", not informing about using this source (as in the case of texts about Eugeniusz Medyński or Stanisław Paderewski, younger brother of famous pianist and politician).

The disadvantage of the published biographies was the excessive accumulation of generic decorations, the lack of basic data identifying a given person, such as date and place of birth, names of parents, or information that did not refer to independence activities (such as education or professional achievements). However, the participation in the liberation of Poland, as well as the circumstances of death described in the notes and biographies are confirmed in the source materials, sometimes significantly complementing them.

Accounts and memories, which were usually printed in longer cycles, began to fill most individual issues since 1925. Nevertheless, the biographies of the fallen were still appearing in almost every issue in the section *Those who are gone* or in another variant of the title *For you Poland, and your glory!*, later shortened to *For you, Poland!*²⁵ According to the editors' announcement, there were published notes about those killed in the Polish-Ukrainian and Polish-Bolshevik war, and finally - participants of these struggles who died in independent

²⁴ See other works: *Śp. Herwin – Kazimierz Piątek*, "PP"1924, no. 1, pp. 4–5.

²⁵ The title of the column is *in extenso* quoted last line of the poem of the legionary of the Second Brigade, Adam Szania, engraved on the cross placed by the soldiers of the unit on the Pantyrska Pass in the Carpathians.

Poland, such as legionnaire-writers: Bolesław Lubicz-Zahorski, Wacław Denhoff-Czarnocki and the most popular among them - Władysław Orkan²⁶.

The permanent column of the magazine was *Notatki* [Notes] (used interchangeably with the title *Zapiski* [Notations]). Historical information was included in it (e.g. about the activities of the Riflemen's Association in 1914), short accounts²⁷ or obituaries of activists associated with the independence environment (e.g. Kazimierz Dłuski).²⁸ In *Notes*, articles appeared sporadically, for example *Drużyny Bartoszone* [Bartosz Brigades], which, however, should be considered an editorial mistake, because this text definitely went beyond the smaller forms typical of this section²⁹.

Attention should be paid to information and notes about books and magazines placed on the last pages of almost every issue, sometimes extracted in the *Books and Reports*³⁰ section. In this part, reviews were also published sometimes. One of the most interesting was written by Zygmuntowicz about the book by Władysław Studnicki *Z przeżyć i walk* [On experiences and fights]. He assessed it very positively, calling him an apostle of the independence movement. “Self-willed, cannot be subordinated, does not recognise the will of the environment - but with one exception” - he writes in his memoirs – of Józef Piłsudski³¹. In fact, Zygmuntowicz freely chose this passage, and the attitude of the famous Germanophile to Piłsudski was much more complex³².

“Panteon Polski” devoted a lot of space to promote independence publications, which stood out among contemporary magazines (in the 1930s this role was taken over by “Niepodległość”). One of the many books to which it encouraged was *Wspomnienia legionowe* [Memories from Legions] from 1926 containing “so many valuable and historical memories that they must take a serious place in the history of our liberation movement, especially the military one [...]. *Wspomnienia legnionowe* must be found in the hands of every Legionary,

²⁶ *Ci, którzy odeszli* [Those who are gone], “PP” 1930, no. 68, pp. 10–12.

²⁷ T. Dręgiewicz, *Wspomnienia z pierwszych lat Związku Walki Czynnej* [Memories of the first years of the Union of Active Struggle], “PP” 1931, no. 77, pp. 14–15.

²⁸ *Notatki* [Notes], “PP” 1930, no. 72, pp. 14–15.

²⁹ *Drużyny Bartoszone* [Bartosz Brigades], “PP” 1930, no. 63, pp. 12–13.

³⁰ Among the magazines, there were some related to the subject of “Panteon Polski” (e.g. “Niepodległość”), but also devoted to the problems of national minorities (“Sprawy Narodowościowe”). *Notatki* [Notes], “PP” 1931, no. 78, pp. 11–12; 1931, no. 77, pp. 14–15.

³¹ *Notatki* [Notes], “PP” 1929, no. 53, pp. 14–15.

³² “When I saw Piłsudski in the beginning of 1909 Piłsudski, he was sick and it seemed to me that his life hangs in a thread; I felt that the fate of our military might hangs in the thread as well. If it was possible, I would give away all the years I still had left just in favour of extending his life. It was not a result of Piłsudski's charm on me. In 1916, during the Council of State, I was antagonistic with him, and when, with the oath, he depleted our legions, I wished I had killed him before, that I did not give my life so that he would not live!”. W. Studnicki, *Z przeżyć i walk. Pisma wybrane* [On experiences and fights. Selected works], vol. 1, ed. J. Gzella, Toruń 2002, p. 258.

because they are the image of his pride, and anyone who went along this road to rebuild the Homeland should have it at home.”³³

Each issue was closed with the section *Od Redakcji i Administracji* [From the editorial office and administration] which usually contained information for the recipients of the magazine, most often requests for timely payment and help in reaching more readers.

“Panteon Polski” also published the poetry of the leading poets associated with the legions circle - Józef Relidzyski, Artur Prędski, Józef Mączka (who died in 1918), Edward Słoński, Roman Woynicz-Horoszkiewicz and authors already quite forgotten, such as W. Chowański or Juliusz Słończa-Kresowczyk. It was valuable to recall a few sculpting attempts by the poet and officer of the Legions Włodzimierz Konieczny, who died in the battle of Kostiuchnówka³⁴.

While the source value of the texts appearing in “Panteon Polski”, except for the occasional ones, should be assessed relatively high, given that researchers from this period of Polish history draw on them to this day, the level of their edition sometimes raised reservations. This problem would require a separate study on the form and stylistic measures typical of veterans' magazines related to the Piłsudski camp. At this point, however, it should be noted that although the magazine rarely made blatant mistakes changing the meaning of the statement, today euphemistically called “typos”, it was not free from substantive errors³⁵.

The editors commented on this problem, allowing themselves even to post a comment in which they promised that “correction would improve. The previous adept of this art left many “surprises”, for which we apologise to our readers.”³⁶ In addition, editorial corrections appeared relatively often. When in issue 27 photos of colonel Przemysła Barthel de Weydenthal were mistaken with photographs of another officer of the Legions, Józef Herbut “Warski”, also

³³ *Książki i pisma* [Books and magazines], “PP” 1925, no. 12 (16) p. 19.

³⁴ *Z nieznanych wierszy śp. por. Włodz. Koniecznego* [Unknown poems of the late lieutenant Włodzimierz Konieczny], “PP” 1931, no. 79/80, p. 9.

³⁵ In the content we find incorrectly given names of officers: Tadeusz Monasterski (Manasterski) and Adolf Sterschuss (Sternszus). *Polegli oficerowie* [Fallen officers], “PP” 1924, no. 2, pp. 6–8; *Ś.p. dr Adolf Sternszus* [The late dr Adolf Sternszus], “PP” 1924, no. 4 pp. 14–16. Lieutenants: Zosik, Wolski i Błażejowski (A. Błotnicki, *Ze wspomnień o komendancie. Anielin-Laski 22 X–26 X 1914* [Memories of the commandant. Anielin-Laski 22 X–26 X 1914], “PP” 1929, no. 55, pp. 2–3) are actually Stanisław Tessaro “Zosik”, Stanisław Michałowski “Wolski” and Antoni Jan Błaszczewicz, while the first one, contrary to the given information, was not killed near Laski and Anielin like the two other, but he was heavily wounded, and at the time the article was printed, he was already a general of the Polish Army; A.J. Narbut-Łuczyński, *Historia wojenna Legionów Polskich. Powstanie i działalność bojowa Oddziału Józefa Piłsudskiego (VIII–XI 1914)* [Military history of Polish Legions. Establishment and combat activity of the Józef Piłsudski Squad (June–November 1914)], Warszawa–Kraków 2014, pp. 346–347; WBH CAW, Błaszczewicz Jan Antoni, KN 16 III 1937.

³⁶ [Od redakcji] [From the editorial office], “PP” 1929, no. 55, p. 15.

mistaking the personalities of the author of the article - T. Albinowski, instead of Władysław Albino - the correction appeared in the next issue.³⁷

Summing up the comments on the subject of the magazine, it is worth noting that “Panteon Polski” was also aimed at shaping patriotic attitudes. Although the narrative did not omit other military formations, as evidenced by the memoir cycle on the Siberian division or the article about the company of Bajonians, the models were sought primarily in the actions of Józef Piłsudski and the Polish Legions and the fight for the eastern border of Poland. The latter should be explained by the fact that the magazine was published in Lviv and the issues of commemoration related to this part of the country were a priority for it.

Assumption of power by Józef Piłsudski, although it was not a clear turning point in the history of the magazine, undoubtedly caused that it began to strongly favour the Piłsudski camp. This is evidenced by the increased number of texts referring to the Marshal, and issues 24 and 30 of the magazine from 1926 and 54 from March 1929 were also devoted to him. The image of Marshal was often present on the covers, including in issues 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 36, but also in later ones. Many articles have been published about the Commander of the First Brigade. Written in a panegyric spirit, typically occasional, they only have a source value as a material for the study of the press related to the Piłsudski camp in Poland in 1926-1939. It is with this political environment that the magazine “Panteon Polski”, its editors and collaborators should be associated with³⁸.

Everyday life: the struggle for survival of the magazine

Despite the significant number of potential recipients in the environment, both the former soldiers of the Polish Legions, as well as defenders of Lviv and the eastern territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the magazine struggled with financial problems from the very beginning. No state subsidies were received, and the source of financing was based only on subscribers (payments made on a quarterly basis), advertising money and voluntary contributions from readers. Despite the resignation from renting the editorial office, the aforementioned income was not enough to cover printing, administration and other costs,

³⁷ *Dla Ciebie Polsko!* [For you, Poland!], “PP” 1927, no. 27, pp. 11–12; *Sprostowanie* [Correction], “PP” 1927, no. 28, p. 15.

³⁸ The selection of advertisements and other magazines could also be a proof of editor’s sympathy to the Piłsudski political camp. The recommended magazines included, among others: “great political journal ‘Głos Prawdy’, Piłsudski’s camp body [...] only PLN 5 per month” and “Droga” of the outstanding representative of Piłsudski camp thought, Adam Skwarczyński, which was praised in the following way: “Rich in content, focuses on state, national and social issues. ‘Droga’ deserves the support of the general public, who have the construction of the New Poland at heart”. “PP” 1926, no. 26, p. 12. See “PP” 1926, no. 28, p. 16.

which, as the editorial office declared, amounted to PLN 10,000 a year. This sum was not received from the prepayment in any publishing year, which in turn meant that the publisher in the first three years of the magazine was forced to provide an astronomical sum of PLN 15,000.³⁹ The editorial office relatively quickly informed that “high labour and paper costs, and lack of proper understanding in readers put us in a hopeless position”.⁴⁰

Due to constant financial problems, the editors asked readers for support from the very beginning of the magazine. It was supposed to consist in, besides the timely payment of subscriptions (which quickly turned out to be one of the main problems), winning new subscribers. In the last pages of the magazine, usually in the section *From the editorial office*, the following type of entries were published: “spread ‘Panteon Polski’, an illustrated bi-weekly dedicated to the memory and honour of the fallen heroes for the freedom of the Homeland” or “Every reader should win one new subscriber”. It was announced that whoever gets six annual subscribers, will receive one copy of the magazine free of charge for half a year⁴¹. When thanking for winning the subscribers (e.g. to Józef Kapias from Komorowice, who won five new readers), the magazine asked: “Who is next?”⁴².

The editors strived not only for the material support of the readers, but also for propagating the mission of the magazine, disseminating information about it. This was the purpose of, e.g. postulates that in every branch of the Polish Legionnaires Union, the Riflemen's Association, the Peowiak Association or in the circles of youth, there should be copies of the magazine. “Demand this!” - called one of the issues⁴³. This constant campaign was accompanied by the argument that it is the only periodical in the country devoted in its entirety to commemorating the fallen and late participants of the struggles for independence and the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. As can be seen from the information provided in the section *Od Redakcji i Administracji* [From the editorial office and administration], this action did not bring the expected results, regardless of short-term successes⁴⁴.

Payments from readers were occasional. The names of donors, which were scrupulously recorded, did not appear in every issue. Usually, they were also very modest, rarely exceeded

³⁹ *Do naszych czytelników!* [To our readers!], “PP” 1927, no. 39, p. 12.

⁴⁰ *Od redakcji* [From the editorial office], “PP” 1926, no. 22, p. 16.

⁴¹ *Od Redakcji i Administracji* [From the editorial office and administration], “PP” 1925, no. 1 (5) p. 16.

⁴² *Od redakcji* [From the editorial office], “PP” 1930, no. 65, p. 12. Books, among others by Błotnicki, were to be incentive for new annual subscribers. *Od Redakcji i Administracji* [From the editorial office and administration], “PP” 1931, no. 76, p. 12. These types of incentives are widely used in the contemporary press.

⁴³ *Od redakcji i administracji* [From the editorial office and administration], “PP” 1925, no. 1 (5) p. 16. A similar appeal can be found in issue 12 (16) of 1925 (p. 20): “We ask our readers to make sure that ‘Panteon Polski’ is found in each reading room, association, casino, etc”.

⁴⁴ *Od Redakcji i Administracji* [From the editorial office and administration], “PP” 1928, no. 41, p. 16.

the sum of several dozen zlotys a month. There were PLN 1 payments among them as well - like from legionnaire Mieczysław Kaplicki, future president of Kraków, and colonel Edward Pfeiffer, or not much bigger, e.g. from colonel Teodor Furgalski in the amount of PLN 2.⁴⁵

A serious problem faced by the editors was the careless readers who defaulted on paying subscriptions on time. Prompts in this matter appeared relatively often: “to compensate for the arrears for the fourth quarter and to pay a prepayment for the first quarter - this is not much of a duty”.⁴⁶ Seriousness of the problem is indicated by the information about debtors in one of the issues⁴⁷. Soon, another, much larger list was published listing many institutions and persons by name and last name, including well-known general Leon Berbecki, colonel Bernard Mond, colonel Władysław Langner or members of parliament Ignacy Daszyński and Zygmunt Marek⁴⁸. Debts of readers were so troublesome that in issue 15 (19) editors on first page appealed to the readers to pay their arrears, and called for support. This probably did not give the expected result, since the recipients of the magazine were disciplined in almost every issue: “many Readers have not yet made a prepayment for the first quarter of this year. Please take care of this matter”⁴⁹.

The difficult material position of the magazine was emphasised to the end of its existence. It reported that “due to the difficult material conditions the issue 72 was not published” and the editors were forced to publish it together with issue 73, but it had the same number of pages as a single issue. It was reported that the magazine appears thanks to the readers and the publisher's contribution, but “does not benefit from any subsidies, although ‘Panteon Polski’ is the only magazine in Poland which devoted 72 issues to the history of the Legions and their Commander”⁵⁰.

The chance for improving the financial condition of “Panteon Polski” might have been advertising. However, there were relatively few of ads. Most of them were included in 1925,

⁴⁵ *Od redakcji* [From the editorial office], “PP” 1925, no. 23, p. 16; no. 25, p. 16. In the next issues, it was reported, among others, that lawyer A. Staniewicz paid PLN 25, and engineer Henryk Felsztyn - PLN 10. In one of the last issues of the magazine, the payments amounted in total PLN 60. Felsztyn was the father of Stefan Felsztyn, commemorated in Panteon, who, as an 18-year-old non-commissioned officer of the Polish Army, died fighting the Ukrainians in Eastern Lesser Poland. *Od redakcji i administracji* [From the editorial office and administration], 1927, no. 29, p. 8. Exemplary payments: see among others *Od redakcji* [From the editorial office], “PP” 1926, no. 22, p. 16; 1931, no. 76, p. 12.

⁴⁶ “PP” 1929, no. 64, p. 16.

⁴⁷ Among others, E. Wojtowicz from the Polish Legionnaires Union from Drohobycz was in default for PLN 82 (probably as a representative of the entire branch), legionaries from Brześć nad Bugiem - PLN 36, from Lublin - PLN 90, from Brzeżany - PLN 35.5; “the sent urging did not help, so the editorial office stopped the shipping” said the magazine. In total, the debts amounted to about PLN 2,000, a very large sum. *Od Redakcji i Administracji* [From the editorial office and administration], “PP” 1925, no. 12 (16) p. 20.

⁴⁸ *Wykaz naszych dłużników* [cz. 1] [List of our debtors, part 1], “PP” 1925, no. 15, p. 16.

⁴⁹ *Od redakcji* [From the editorial office], “PP” 1930, no. 66, p. 12.

⁵⁰ *Od redakcji* [From the editorial office], “PP” 1930, no. 72, p. 16.

when several advertising blocks appeared as a separate insert between the last page of the magazine and the cover, or on its last page. First ads were published in the second issue. They included the offer of café “De la Paix” encouraging to visit it with the concerts of the salon orchestra; J. Manga restaurant praising the “excellent buffet and drinks of the best brand”; “Imperial” café at ul. Legionów 5 (the program included: jazz band concerts and dancing in a modern light), and Weapons workshop and storehouse of S. Kopczyński.

In subsequent issues, advertised companies included footwear and tailoring companies, famous company “Baczewski” praised its vodkas, liqueurs, tinctures and distillates, and Zygmunt Rucker's canning factory encouraged to purchase “canned vegetables, fruit compotes, marmalades, canned meat and coffee”. The reader's attention could be drawn by “Rekordowe piwa żywieckie” [Record Żywiec beers], among which the Żywiec porter was advertised as “completely replacing the English porter” and the recently fashionable “Ale” beer, modelled on English Pale-Ale. There were also advertisements of toothpaste - Pearl Cream. Ihnatowicz – Lwów.

Another larger advertising block appeared in issue 11 (15) in 1925 and took 1.5 pages. Advertised companies included, among others, the company of Juliusz Meinel importing coffee and the Municipal Savings Bank in Lviv. Later, advertising slogans appeared only sporadically - the Municipal Savings Bank in Lviv (issue 26 and 27), Wholesale of military and chivalry accessories N. Kriss-A. Meisner (issue 30), Zakłady Przemysłu Metalowego J. Zaczkowski i St. Dubiński (issues 32 and 37), “Leda” offering pile and feathers (issue 31). There were still advertisements of Lviv beer - “Demand it always and everywhere - only Lviv beer” of Lviv Brewery Acquisition Society (issue 54, 64, 67 and 74, the last one convinced that “the most pleasant gift for the holidays is Lviv Beer” - export light - Bavarian dark - imperial black porter”)⁵¹.

Aborted mission

The last issue of “Panteon Polski” appeared in August 1931. The editorial staff informed that the issue comes out with a significant delay caused by the financial situation of the magazine. “The publisher put all his property and gave away his modest salary, always hoping for some help. However, we have not received any help from authoritative readers, and because of the general crisis, we do not have so much readers anyway. Hardly any of the regular readers sent us a prepayment for this year”. The situation of the periodical was worsened by the great

⁵¹ “PP” 1929, no. 60/61–63; 1930, no. 64.

economic crisis, which may have caused that in 1931 no advertisement was included in it. Although it was announced that by the end of the year there will be three more issues, it was also announced that there are no funds for that. In this situation, the editorial staff made an appeal: “Everyone who cares about further publication of ‘Panteon’ - please provide any help whatsoever”⁵².

In the December issue, it was planned to present a balance of income and expenses for the whole period of publication of the magazine, as well as a word of thanks - as was written with irony - to those who promised financial subsidy, but did not keep their word. “We serve good cause - and till the end of the magazine - we will remain faithful to this cause”⁵³. It was the last sentence written in “Panteon Polski”, most likely by its editor.

Zygmunt Zygmuntowicz, after magazine was gone, still lived in Lviv and was active in the Polish Legionnaires Union. He continued to work on commemorating the heroes of the struggle for independence. His most interesting book from that period was a popular biography of Tadeusz Żuliński, the first commander of the POW fallen during the Wołyń campaign of the Legions, entitled *Komendant podziemnej Warszawy* [Commandant of underground Warszawa] (Lwów–Warszawa 1937)⁵⁴. It is not known whether Zygmuntowicz left Lviv for Krakow before the outbreak of World War II, or after its outbreak, or perhaps later, when the city was under Soviet occupation. It is certain that death threatened him from both occupiers, whose hands killed so many of his legionary friends, arrested on the south-eastern Polish territory by the NKVD and murdered in 1940-1941 or later killed by the Germans, who in late June 1941 started the occupation of these areas. Zygmuntowicz was deported from Kraków to the German concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau on 19 December 1940, where he died on 15 or 16 March 1942⁵⁵.

⁵² *Od Wydawnictwa* [From the publishing house], “PP”, 1931, no. 79/80, p. 16

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ M. Gałęzowski, *Zygmunt Zygmuntowicz...*, op. cit., p. 690. In addition, he was the author of, among others: *Józef Piłsudski we Lwowie* (Lwów 1934) [Józef Piłsudski in Lviv (Lviv 1934)] and *Agaton Giller w świetle akt państw zaborczych* (Lwów 1937) [Agaton Giller in the light of files of occupying states (1937)] and articles included in the collective development *W dwudziestą rocznicę czynu zbrojnego Józefa Piłsudskiego* (Lwów 1934) [On the 20th anniversary of the armed act of Józef Piłsudski (Lviv 1934)].

⁵⁵ *The book of memory. Transporty Polaków do KL Auschwitz z Krakowa i innych miejscowości Polski południowej 1940–1944* [Transports of Poles to KL Auschwitz from Kraków and other places in southern Poland in 1940-1944], ed. F. Piper, I. Strzelecka, vol. 1, Warszawa–Oświęcim 2002, pp. 385, 389; *Lista dziennikarzy pochodzenia żydowskiego zabitych lub zmarłych w czasie II wojny światowej* [List of journalists of Jewish origin who were killed or died during World War II], ed. J. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, “Biuletyn ŻIH” 1963, no. 46/47, p. 261. Among the people murdered by the Germans associated with “Panteon Polski” were Artur Prędski, Zygmunt Degenstück and Henryk Lewartowski (all of them served in the Legions). Among the mentioned authors of the magazine Jan Rogowski survived the war. About his further fates, see K. Lewicki, *Rogowski Jan...*, op. cit., p. 449.

“Panteon Polski” played a unique role in commemorating the heroes of the Polish independence struggle in Poland in the inter-war period, publishing both information about them and photographs, in many cases the only ones that have survived to this day. This work was primarily possible to one man - Zygmunt Zygmuntowicz. For several years, he was struggling with the difficulties caused by the lack of subsidies for the magazine (which was not the case for “Niepodległość”), he pursued the mission outlined in the first issue: "It is our thought and will that the memory of the last fighters for Independence is not lost, just like the memory of many heroes from uprisings, whose bones are scattered around the world without care, and their lives and actions are so little known to the general public"⁵⁶.

After the war, during the communist rule, a similar magazine could not be published. However, in independent Poland there was also no media *pro memoria* similar to “Panteon Polski”, although a group of potential people worthy of commemoration grew during the World War II, and the participants of the struggle for independence killed and murdered during this time belonged to the Polish elite. This could be a sufficient argument in favour of the legitimacy of issuing such a magazine, not necessarily in a paper version. Magazines similar to “Panteon Polski”, which in part has achieved its goal, for almost seven years posting materials that - as written in one of the editorial notes - in the future “will give a huge service to researchers of these times, and will leave the progeny a beautiful reservoir of deeds and sacrifice of a generation that was lucky enough to win freedom and independence for the Homeland”⁵⁷.

References

Sources

Military Historical Office Central Military Archive, Zygmunt Ostersetzer-Zygmuntowicz, ap: 2711, 4219, 4438, 2648.

Ibid., KN 4 XI 1933.

Ibid., KW 141/Z-1383.

Ibid., Błaszkiwicz Jan Antoni, KN 16 III 1937.

“Panteon Polski” 1924–1931.

The book of memory. Transporty Polaków do KL Auschwitz z Krakowa i innych miejscowości Polski południowej 1940–1944 [Transports of Poles to KL Auschwitz from Kraków and other places in southern Poland in 1940-1944], ed. F. Piper, I. Strzelecka, vol. 1, Warszawa–Oświęcim 2002.

⁵⁶ [Od redakcji] [From the editorial office], “PP” 1924, no. 1, p. 2.

⁵⁷ *Od Redakcji i Administracji* [From the editorial office and administration], “PP” 1930, no. 64, p. 15.

“Rocznik Oficerski” 1923, 1928.

“Rocznik Oficerski Rezerw” 1934.

Memories, studies and articles

Biedrzycka A., *Kalendarium Lwowa 1918–1939* [Timeline of Lviv], Kraków 2012.

Cygan W.K., *Zygmuntowicz Zygmunt* [Zygmunt Zygmuntowicz] [in:] *ibid.*, *Oficerowie Legionów Polskich 1914–1917. Słownik biograficzny* [The officers of Polish Legions. Biographical dictionary], vol. 5, Warszawa 2007.

Gałęzowski M., *Zygmuntowicz Zygmunt* [Zygmunt Zygmuntowicz] [in:] *ibid.*, *Na wzór Berka Joselewicza. Sylwetki żołnierzy i oficerów pochodzenia żydowskiego w Legionach Polskich* [Like Berk Joselewicz. Silhouettes of soldiers and officers of Jewish origin in the Polish Legions], Warszawa 2010.

By the same author: *Wacław Lipiński i jego pamiętnik z bojów I Brygady* [Wacław Lipiński and his diary of the battles of the First Brigade] [in:] W. Lipiński, *Szlakiem Pierwszej Brygady* [In the footsteps of the First Brigade], Łomianki 2014.

Ibid., *O Wacławie Lipińskim – pierwszym historyku polskiego czynu niepodległościowego lat 1905–1918* [About Wacław Lipiński - the first historian of the Polish independence struggle of 1905-1918] [in:] W. Lipiński, *Walka zbrojna o niepodległość Polski 1905–1918* [Armed struggle for independent Poland in 1905-1918], ed. M. Gałęzowski, in cooperation with J. Kirszak, Łomianki 2016.

Lewicki K., *Rogowski Jan* [Jan Rogowski] [in:] PSB, vol. 31, Wrocław 1988–1989.

Lista dziennikarzy pochodzenia żydowskiego zabitych lub zmarłych w czasie II wojny światowej [List of journalists of Jewish origin who were killed or died during World War II], ed. J. Dunin-Wąsowiczowa, “Biuletyn ŻIH” 1963, no. 46/47.

Mazur G., Węgierski J., *Konspiracja lwowska 1939–1944. Słownik biograficzny* [Lviv conspiracy 1939-1944. Biographical dictionary], Katowice 1997.

Narbut-Łuczyński A.J., *Historia wojenna Legionów Polskich. Powstanie i działalność bojowa Oddziału Józefa Piłsudskiego (VIII–XI 1914)* [Military history of Polish Legions. Establishment and combat activity of the Józef Piłsudski Squad (June-November 1914)], Warszawa–Kraków 2014.

Obrona Lwowa 1–22 listopada 1918 [Defence of Lviv 1-22 November 1918], vol. 3, Lwów 1933.

Semper Fidelis. Obrona Lwowa w obrazach współczesnych [Defence of Lviv in contemporary images], ed. W. Mazanowska, Lwów 1930.

Studnicki W., *Z przeżyć i walk. Pisma wybrane* [On experiences and fights. Selected works], vol. 1, ed. J. Gzella, Toruń 2002.

Sulej M., *Strońska Maria* [Maria Strońska] [in:] PSB, vol. 44, Warszawa–Kraków 2006–2007.

Teslar J.A., *Czwarty pułk. Rok działań wojennych 4-go pp Legionów Polskich od dnia 10 maja 1915 roku do dnia 10 maja 1916 roku* [The fourth regiment. The year of warfare of the 4th infantry regiment of the Polish Legions from 10 May 1915 to 10 May 1916], Lwów 1916.

Waligóra B., *Organizacja 4 pułku Legionów Polskich* [Organisation of the 4th regiment of the Polish Legions], "Żołnierz Legionów i POW" 1939, no. 3/4.