Current Issues in Pharmacy and Medical Sciences

Formerly ANNALES UNIVERSITATIS MARIAE CURIE-SKLODOWSKA, SECTIO DDD, PHARMACIA on-line: www.umlub.pl/pharmacy



The history of pharmacy in Krasnobród

ANDRZEJ WRÓBEL^{1*}, MAŁGORZATA KORZENIOWSKA¹, RAFAŁ WRÓBEL², KATARZYNA MALCZENKO¹

- ¹ Department of History of Medicine, Medical University of Lublin, Poland
- ² Chair and Department of Paedodontics, Medical University of Lublin, Poland

ABSTRACT

Krasnobród called a heart of Roztocze, is one of the beautifully situated little towns in Poland. Krasnobród once received a charter drawn up by King Sigismund III Vasa in 1572. It lost these rights in 1896 and recovered them again in 1995. The first mention of a pharmaceutical enterprise within Krasnobród was in the nineteenth century. It was run by Seweryn Szydoczyński, the *prowizor of pharmacy* [professional degree obtained by the pharmacy staff after graduation from university and professional practice] and was in business for eleven years. In 1895 M. Pharm Ignacy Niedzielski bought the pharmacy, where he worked for 23 years. In 1930, his daughters sold the pharmacy to M. Pharm. Mieczysław Sieklucki. He was the owner of the pharmacy until 1951 (nationalization) and then for 17 years he was managing the pharmacy. Mieczysław Sieklucki, a man of great heart, social activist, was a true model of what a pharmacist can be. In 1970 M. Pharm. Zofia Kleniewska became the manager. In 1982, the pharmacy was moved from 3-Maja Street to newly built house of the Kleniewski's family at Lelewela Street. The pharmacy ceased functioning in 1998.

Keywords: History of pharmacy in Krasnobród, biographies of Mieczysław Sieklucki, Zofia Sieklucka, Zofia Kleniewska, nationalization of pharmacies in 1951

INTRODUCTION

As part of the research on the history of pharmacies in the Lublin province, the authors would like to present the history of the profession in Krasnobród and brief glimpse of the lives of its pharmacists, especially M. Pharm. Mieczysław Sieklucki, who was very dedicated to their professional work and to the local community.

Krasnobród (Eng. "beautiful ford") is a picturesque, small town in Lublin Voivodeship, in Poland. It is an important tourist attraction as one of the most beautifully situated little towns in Poland. It is located near the Roztocze National Park and Krasnobród Landscape Park. The River Wieprz flows through the town. Nearby an old church and a former Dominican monastery in Krasnobród-Podklasztor and a landscape park with an old manor in Krasnobród-Podzamek (sanatorium for children now) are situated.

In 1570s (1572 or 1576) Krasnobród was founded thanks the King Sigismund III Vasa, at former Ruthenian

Corresponding author

* Department of History of Medicine, Medical University of Lublin, Poland 18 Szkolna Str. 20-124 Lublin, Poland e-mail: wand@bg.umlub.pl Voivodeship. The owners of Krasnobród were the following families; Firlej, Leszczyński, Lipski, Zamoyski, Tarnowski, Mycewski, Nortitz-Jackowski and Fudakowski. During the occupation, Krasnobród, which became the center of resistance and the site of many partisans actions, Germans repeatedly carried out executions and killings of civilians – Polish and Jewish.



Photo 1. Panoramic view of Krasnobród Source: http://www.roztocze.net.pl/krasnobrod_warto.php.

DOI: 10.12923/j.2084-980X/26.3/a.25

HISTORY OF THE PHARMACY

The earliest reports on the history of the pharmacy on 3-Maja Street in Krasnobród go back around 1884, when Seweryn Szydoczyński appeared in papers, as the founder and owner of the pharmacy in Krasnobród.

Seweryn Lucjan Kacper Adamowicz Szydoczyński graduated from state primary (four class) school in Hrubieszów in 1862 and then continued his education in the schools in Piaski and Lublin. On December 8, 1866, he passed his exams at the Szkoła Główna Warszawska and received the rank of the assistant of pharmacy. On February 18, 1872, he obtained a diploma of a prowizor (pharmacy assessor) in Imperial University of Warsaw. From November 1873, he worked in pharmacy of Mikuliński in Kraśnik. On November 2, 1875, he bought the pharmacy in Łeczna; then since August 19, 1881, he worked in the pharmacy in Brańsk (now Podlaskie Voivodeship). From September 1882 to September 1884, he was the owner of the pharmacy in Brzezica – the village near Piaski [2]. In 1884 Szydoczyński sent letters to the Head of the Government of Lublin, asking for permission to establish a pharmacy in Krasnobród [3]. Krasnobród was distant from other cities, where the pharmacies were – Zamość, Tomaszów, Szczebrzeszyn, so the pharmacy in Krasnobród was needed. In these circumstances the permission to open the pharmacy was issued by the Governor of Lublin Government (dated April 18, 1885) [4]. Ten years later Seweryn Szydoczyński sold the pharmacy to Ignacy Niedzielski [5].

Ignacy Franz Julianowicz Niedzielski came from Hrubieszów and there, from 1879 to 1882, he worked in a military pharmacy belonging to M. Pharm. Aleksander du Chateau. From December 1882 to August 1884, he worked in the pharmacy of Kłossowski in Zamość, afterwards for nearly two years he worked in Warsaw, where he also studied pharmacy at Imperial University of Warsaw and after passing the exams, he obtained a diploma of master of pharmacy (cum laude). Then, he came back to Hrubi-

eszów and worked in the pharmacy of A. du Chateau for two years. Later he worked in Płock for seven years. On May 30, 1895, he bought the pharmacy from Seweryn Szydoczyński in Krasnobród, where he worked for 23 years. After the death of Ignacy Niedzielski, according to his last will, his wife Janina and his sister Helena inherited the pharmacy in equal and indivisible parts [12].

On April 26, 1930, Helena sold her part of the pharmacy to M. Pharm. Mieczysław Sieklucki [12], three years later Janina Niedzielska also sold him her part of the pharmacy [13]. In 1933, Mieczysław Sieklucki received a license to maintain and run the rural public pharmacy in Krasnobród. The Voivod's Office of Lubelskie issued the pharmacy concession on November 14, 1933 [6].

The pharmacy was located in the main street, 3-Maja in a beautiful brick house surrounded by an orchard. Half of the house was occupied by pharmacy premises, the rest for the living quarters. The Domański's family owned the whole house. M. Sieklucki was a friend of their daughter -Halina Domańska. The pharmacy consisted of three rooms, which were spacious and bright [7]. In the first one, with the old, stylish furniture from the mid-nineteenth century, there was a table for expedition. The furniture looked unique. It was beautifully carved, with lots of drawers, pigeonholes and other storage rooms. Dishes with specifics and semi-finished products were placed on the shelves. In the second room, there was a table for preparing medicines. There were various devices for making potions: funnels, spatulas, mortars, sieves, press, beauty weight with sculpture of an eagle and apparatus to water distillation. There were few due finished drugs in those days, this room was so very important and valuable part of the pharmacy. The third room was used for laboratory analysis, but for financial reasons, originally was not sufficiently equipped. There stood a cabinet with only a small amount of reagents. With time, the laboratory was equipped with the appropriate glass and chemical equipment. Pharmacy had a basement, storage on the first floor, where supplies of drugs were stored, wash bottles and cell for coal. An important element of the pharmacy was an attic for herbs. Hovered there – as the daughter says – prof. Maria Sieklucka-Dziuba was characteristic, beautiful scent. There was a special atmosphere when the smell of mint and eucalyptus oils were mixed with other fragrant herb mixtures.

Antique furniture of the pharmacy has been transferred to the Pharmacy Museum in Lublin and Rektorska Pharmacy in Zamość.



Photo 2. The building in 3-Maja Street in Krasnobród, where there was a pharmacy of M. Sieklucki

Source: Private collection of the Sieklucki's family.



Photo 3. The contemporary appearance of the building (photo K. Malczenko)

Mieczysław Sieklucki as a pharmacist and the man of great heart



Photo 4. M. Pharm. Mieczysław Sieklucki (1893–1979) Source: Private collection of the Sieklucki's family.

Mieczysław Sieklucki was born on April 22, 1893 in Koszyłowce (now Ternopil Oblast, Ukraine). His father, Gustaw, was a graduate at the Higher School of Agriculture in Dublany (near Lviv) and worked as an administrator of estates, died in 1922 [1]. Mother, Wanda, came from the Michniewicz family. Mieczysław had three sisters. In 1912, he began the practice in a pharmacy in Sokal (Lviv Oblast). After a break due to a typhoid fever and inflammation of the motor nerves, he worked as a pharmacy assistant at Wiewiórski's pharmacy in Lviv (from March

to 31 August 1914) and Nowicki's pharmacy in Peczyniżyn (Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast) for the next two years. When he was working as a trainee in Peczyniżyn, the First World War broke out. At that time, the owner of the pharmacy M. Nowicki went to Hungary leaving him alone for nearly a year. Even then, however, young and inexperienced Sieklucki was able to show his great courage and responsibility.

After completing the practice in 1916, he was called up to the Austrian army, where he remained until 1918. In the meantime, in 1918, he worked in a pharmacy in Rimasonibat in Hungary [9].

After the collapse of Austria, he began studying pharmacy at Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv. However, he had to give up the study due to recruitment to the Polish Army, where he served in the sanitary battalion, partly inside the country, in part on the frontline.

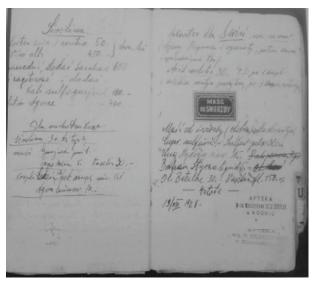
On December 21, 1920, he was transferred to the reserve troops and a year later, he received the pharmaceutical diploma. Initially he worked in the Kaniewski's pharmacy in Lviv. From 16 May to 16 October 1922, he worked in Janina Gulińska's pharmacy in Zwierzyniec (Zamość Country). From 16 October 1922 to 15 July 1927, he worked in Krasnobród in Ignacy Niedzielski's pharmacy as a head. From 16 October 1927 to 15 October 1929, he was the owner and manager of a pharmacy in Kodeń. When Janina Niedzielska gave an announcement about the sale of pharmacy in Krasnobród, Sieklucki sold the pharmacy in Kodeń and decided to live permanently in Krasnobród. He lived in a room rented by the Niedzielski's, in a house, where there was a pharmacy too. On July 31, 1939, he was called up to the army (into a military hospital in Chełm, to the auxiliary military service), and soon, he was imprisoned by Russians and he was included in transport to Katyń. Lieutenant Sieklucki managed to escape at some station. He was hiding in the woods, and then returned to Krasnobród in December for Christmas. With great enthusiasm, he began to work in his devastated pharmacy in harsh times of war. He belonged to the partisans' organization and took an active part in the resistance movement in Krasnobród. The pharmacy became a center of the sanitary supplies for partisans from the nearby forests. Especially at nights, partisans came, and brought a list of needed medicines and dressings and received them free. Also, at nights, Mr. Sieklucki, left the pharmacy and went to the nearby forest, where field hospitals were organized. There he treated the wounded and gave counsels. The Sieklucki's even gave a direct diversionary action directed against the enemy. M. Pharm Mieczyslaw Sieklucki with his future wife Zofia Przewęda (alias "Grażyna") and her brother Jerzy (alias "Oscar") arranged the room in a basement in the pharmacy building, where during raids and pacification many people exposed to capture were hiding [8]. The whole actions were even more

Vol. 26, 3, 351–358 353

dangerous because a German woman was living in the building of pharmacy. She monitored the work in the pharmacy and M. Pharm. Sieklucki worked under her tutelage, but it did not disturb him to help others in need. He made available not only medicines, bandages, food and clothing, but also shelter for the night. He was well aware that he risked his life. Sieklucki served very generously to all those in need. In 1943, he was beaten by the German "Landerdienst", who forced workers of the Zamość district health service to sign "Volksliste". When he refused, he was savagely beaten in the presence of customers. More than once, he was persuaded to accept a German nationality, but he never did [1]. In 1943, the Nazis began mass deportations from the Zamość area. As part of this action, Krasnobród was pacified, most of the inhabitants were expelled, and only a few were left, as a service to the Germans. Among the people destined for deportation there were, among others: M. Pharm Sieklucki, his future wife Zofia with her mother and grandmother, and his sister Zofia.

Mrs. Maria – daughter of the Sieklucki's mentioned: Among these people there was my father, my mother and aunt. At that time, one of the trucks with people who already had left had an accident. It overturned into the ditch. There were more than a dozen wounded. A German soldier came back by motorcycle and asked my father for help. My parents rushed there, dressed the wounded and stayed in Podzamek, as this district was not pacified. In this way, my parents avoided the deportation to Germany. They were hiding at a friendly doctor - Dr. Łoskowiecki in his house. [...] However, my aunt and my grandmother were exported. Later, my father tried to take them out from the concentration camp justifying the need for them to work in the pharmacy.

M. Sieklucki was an extraordinary man with strong character. He performed his job with great dedication and was in a constant readiness. He was a conscientious, generous and kind man, and therefore, he earned the highest respect and recognition among colleagues and the local population. He constantly strived to improve his skills. In social work he was always full of energy and enthusiasm to work. Pharmacists in those times combined the elements of work of a pharmacist, doctor and veterinarian. At the patient's request, he made up various types of medicines, for example: the fluid against lice, the powder against constipations, the ointment for frostbite, creams for freckles. M. Pharm Sieklucki while drawing up those potions used his own notebook, in which he began to write down working in different pharmacies. We find there not only variety of medicines for humans, but also recipes of veterinary medicines, for example: potions for cows with severe birth, ointment against scum for horses and many other interesting mixtures totally not connected with the pharmacy as a car coolant or lure for a fox. Recipes in his notebook were arranged alphabetically and constantly supplemented.



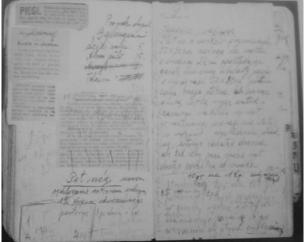


Photo 5, 6. M. Sieklucki's notebook Source: Private collection of the Sieklucki's family.

M. Sieklucki was a versatile man. In his spare time, he devoted himself to his hobbies – meteorology and astrology. He was curious about the world, new inventions, and new information. He developed his knowledge continuously and he also had a sensitive, artistic soul. Sometimes he switched off for a moment forgetting about the reality and painting beautiful landscapes. On September 30, 1969, M. Pharm Sieklucki retired at his own request, at the age of 76 [1].

Because the house belonged to the Domański's family, the Sieklucki's family decided to go to Lublin, because they did not have enough money to buy the house. In 1970, they moved to Lublin and bought a small flat in the Narutowicza Street. M. Sieklucki with "great pain in his heart", after fifty years of living in Krasnobród left, what he loved – people who needed him and his companions – firefighters. We can only imagine the immense emptiness, which the old man felt, facing the need to live in a strange

and unfamiliar city. He was an active, full of energy and enthusiastic man, in regard to work and did not give up. He found psychological support in his wife and children. He was very eager, attentive and he tried to help his beloved ones in everything. He was physically and intellectually fit to the end of his live [9].

Mr. Sieklucki appreciated the good company. He and his wife Zofia were able to gather wise and smart people around them. The house, in which they lived, was a safe place, where they could always return. It used to be the central point around which people gathered to celebrate a variety of holidays. Among the Sieklucki's guests, there were neighbors, intelligentsia, and very often firefighters. There was always something going on. The house was full of life [10].

Mieczysław Sieklucki died suddenly on August 24, 1979. He retired as a patriot, a real pharmacist, social worker, beloved husband and father. He was mentioned in the pages of Polish Pharmacy as one of the most distinguished chemists of Lublin, an ardent patriot, [...] and his death aroused sincere regret and sadness. He left a great heritage as a pharmacist and a social worker [14]. The day of the funeral was recalled by Maria with trembling voice: We did not notify people from Krasnobród, but they found out what time and where was the funeral. To our surprise many people came. They prepared a wonderful farewell. It can only indicate how much he was respected and loved.

MIECZYSŁAW SIEKLUCKI AS A FOUNDER, CHIEF AND COMMANDER OF THE VOLUNTARY FIRE BRIGADE IN KRASNOBRÓD

Especially in the period between wars, voluntary fire brigades that combined social and cultural operations, were important centers for the local community. Often pharmacists were among leading activists. For Mr. Sieklucki fire brigade was a passion of his life.

In 1910, M. Pharm Sieklucki joined the Voluntary Fire Brigade and he was its active member. In 1925, he founded the Voluntary Fire Brigade in Krasnobród. He was a chief and commander for a long time. Thanks to M Sieklucki, a large wooden watchtower (1958), and brick garages for cars (1958) were built. In the years 1968-1974 Fireman's House and Community Centre were built. They contained, among other things cinema, library. M. Pharm. Sieklucki tried to provide the best equipment for their units, thus in 1936 bought a fire-fighting equipment, in 1948 the first car was bought. Mr. Sieklucki was also the leader of the art team. As the head of the fire brigade, he was assertive and demanding.





Photo 7, 8. M. Sieklucki with firefighters Source: Private collection of the Sieklucki's family.

OTHER SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

M. Pharm. Sieklucki for sixteen years was an active member of the National District Council in Krasnobród and he served as a lay judge at the District Court for the criminal department in Zamość for four tenures. On his initiative, new buildings in Krasnobród were created or rebuilt. In 1933, he worked as a member of committee for rebuilding the school. Thanks to his efforts in the parish cemetery, graves of the insurgents of 1863 uprising and a monument to Polish soldiers of September 1939 were renovated. For his many-years professional work, outstanding contribution in social work, he received numerous designations and awards.

Zofia Siekucka was a great support for the work and social activities of her husband M. Pharm. Sieklucki.

Zofia Sieklucka – a polite, disciplined and hard-working woman who was always ready to help the ones in need. It was a deep feeling, as well as the same values and inter-

Vol. 26, 3, 351–358 355



Photo 9. Committee of the rebuilding of the school Source: Private collection of the Sieklucki's family.

ests which joined her and Mr Sieklucki. She worked with her husband for a long time and was his best associate.



Photo 10. Zofia Sieklucka (1922-2010) Source: private collection of the Sieklucki's family.

She was born on 23 August 1922 in Krasnobród (Zamojskie district). Her father (Antoni) was an office worker. In 1932, he lost his job and therefore, he had to go with his family to Krasnobród. Sieklucka's mother (Maria Służewska) was a teacher but she did not work. Living in Krasnobród, Zofia Sieklucka started a lower secondary school in Zamość. In 1933, she went to Biała Podlaska where she

finished her education in a lower secondary school. At the beginning of the II World War, Zofia went to Janów Podlaski where she was workink (giving ration cards) and pursued her studies in secret. In 1941, she went to Krasnobród and on 20 June of the same year, she began her practice at Mieczysław Sieklucki's pharmacy.

October 25, 1945 is the date when Zofia and Mieczysław Sieklucki got married. Four years later, she went to Łódź to take a course leading to a pharmacy assistant. Unfortunately, she had to stop it, because of her bad health condition. However, thanks to her perseverance and persistence, she was awarded a diploma of pharmacy assistant on April 30, 1951. From 20 June 1944 to 15 August 1944, she worked in Kłosowski's pharmacy in Zamość as a pharmacy assistant. Later, from 15 August to 9 January 1969, she worked in her husband's pharmacy replacing

him, when he could not work there.

Zofia Sieklucka was always smiling and radiating calmness and goodness. She is a model of a good wife and a great mother.



Photo 11. Mieczysław and Zofia, 1947 Source: private collection of the Sieklucki's family.

The daughter of the Sieklucki's (Maria) was born on 2 February 1947, and their son (Zdzisław) was born three years later (20 October 1950). Maria graduated from the Faculty of Pharmacy in 1969 and from the Faculty of Medicine at the Medical University of Lublin in 1979. Then, Prof. Assoc. Maria Sieklucka-Dziuba was the Head of the Hygiene Institute at the Medical University of Lublin. She died on October 18, 2002 [15]. Zdzisław graduated from the Faculty of Chemistry at the UMCS and he worked in labour inspectorate. He died in December 2011.

AFTER NATIONALIZATION

The longed freedom after the II World War was not such that everyone had dreamed of. They had been waiting for the liberation for 6 years. M. Pharm. Sieklucki during the occupation was very enthusiastic to the pharmacy. Immediately after the war, he spared no effort to give charm and splendor for the pharmacy. Every penny he devoted to the pharmacy equipment. Under the law "nationalization of private pharmacies," dated January 8, 1951, acquisition of pharmacies became executed before printing of law; each pharmacy was visited by three-four-person team, of which at least one member was a representative of the Security Office. Then literally everything was taken away from the family; all the cash and money from the bank accounts, private pieces of art and valuables; also in many cases numerous acts of violence and robbery took place. We can imagine what Zofia and Mieczysław Sieklucki were feeling and what pharmacists felt, who lost the property, dignity, and position to which they worked for years.

That very painful day for the Polish pharmacists Zofia Sieklucka remembers as follows:

It was Tuesday, January 9, 1951. For us it is the date to remember for a lifetime. It was a black Tuesday for the environment of pharmacists. In the morning, there appeared a committee consisting of three people of the party and entered without notice to our pharmacy. Anna Lewczuk was the head (formerly the guardian of the women at prison in Zamość). Władyslaw Kobla and Leon Podolak were assisting her. I had not known these people before. The guardian behaved rudely. She was very confident. They took everything from us: equipment, drugs, money, and above all, a monthly supply of drugs. They did not spare even the jacket hanging on a hanger or a husband's hat. They treated us very badly, as in Nazi prison. I was not allowed even to go for a while to take my child crying in the next room. Small Zdzisio was hungry and I was not allowed to feed him. The child was then only six weeks old. All of this happened in the full majesty of law, even though it was a scandalous looting of property. (...) Table of inventory and the book inventory was taken by the committee to transfer it to Social Pharmacy Head Office in

Lublin. These documents were destroyed. So, the value of medicines, equipment accessories is not known. It was a purposeful work, aiming to remove the traces of the committee activities.

After the nationalization of pharmacies, many employees had to change jobs. Sieklucki's were lucky – they stayed in the pharmacy number 109 in Krasnobród. They had to come to terms with the painful fact that what surrounded them under the law no longer belonged to them. They hoped, however, in the spirit of that injustice, to regain their pharmacy. That did not happen. The year 1989 brought hope to the living environment of pharmacy owners and their direct heirs (daughters, sons and grandchildren). The painful repression of the 1950s will be compensated. The Sieklucki's also hoped, unfortunately, so far this has not happened. In 1970 M. Pharm. Zofia Kleniewska became the manager [11].

Zofia Kleniewska was born on 10 January 1939 in Szczebrzeszyn. Her father (Czesław) graduated from the Pedagogical High School, but did not work in the profession. At first, he was involved in fruit-growing. Her mother (Anna) came from a farming family and she and her husband were running a general store in Szczebrzeszyn. Mrs Kleniewska graduated from a primary school in 1952 and then, the Pedagogical High School in Szczebrzeszyn, which lasted 5 years. After graduation, she started to work as a teacher. At first, she worked in Złojec and then in Topólcza in a country school. In the meantime, she graduated from an extramural Physical Education Teachers' College. Nevertheless, her dream was to study dentistry, but unfortunately, she was not admitted because of the lack of vacancies. In 1963, she began studies at the Faculty of Pharmacy at the Medical University of Lublin. She received a Master's degree in pharmacy in 1969. After completing training in a pharmacy in Lublin, she had two workplaces to choose from: the pharmacy in Piszcząc and the one in Krasnobród. She chose Krasnobród, because as she said, the first name of the place did not appeal to her at all and it was difficult to pronounce. She started working on 30 September 1970 in a pharmacy number 109 in Krasnobród at 3 Maja Street. On 24 November 1982, the pharmacy was moved from the 3 Maja Street to a newly built Kleniewski's tenement at Lelewela Street 52. The pharmacy ceased functioning in 1998.

REFERENCES

- 1. Archives of PZF Cefarm-Lublin, personal files of M. Sielkucki, B-50.
- APL State Archive of Lublin, RGL Guberniya Government of Lublin, Department of Medicine, personal files, 1923, 9-11.
- 3. APL-RGL personal files, 1923, 1.
- 4. APL-RGL, Department of Medicine II, 1884, 19.
- 5. APL- RGL, Department of Medicine II, 1885, 65.
- 6. APL-PWRN, 644, 31.
- 7. APL-PWRN, 644, 38.

Vol. 26, 3, 351–358 357

- 8. Głowacki W., Farmaceuci Zamojszczyzny w walce z okupantem hitlerowskim, *Farmacja Polska*, 5, 1987.
- 9. Memories of Maria Sieklucka, 05. 2001, unpublished.
- 10. Memories of dr Żołyński, unpublished.
- 11. Memories of Zofia Kleniewska, 04. 2001.
- 12. Notarial deed signed in Zamość in 1930 before John Zielinski
 notary of The Mortgage Department Municipal Court in Zamość. Private collection of the Sieklucki's family.
- 13. Notarial deed signed in Zamość in 1933 before John Zieliński notary of The Mortgage Department Municipal Court in Zamość. Private collection of the Sieklucki's family.
- 14. Romanowski H., Pożegnania, Farmacja Polska, 3,1980.
- 15. Wróbel A., Pożegnania, *Farmacja Polska*, 49(96) 16-31.01 2003, 93.