

# GEOGRAPHERS WHO WERE VICTIMS OF SONDERAKTION KRAKAU

The most tragic date in the history of Cracovian and Polish geographical studies was November 6, 1939, the day of Sonderaktion Krakau. On that day geographers Jerzy Smoleński, Wiktor Ormicki, Stanisław Leszczycki, Stanisław Korbel and Walenty Winid were imprisoned along with all the other academics.

Monday, November 6 started in the Institute of Geography with the usual staff meeting. The custom of holding a meeting every day had been introduced by the Institute's director, Professor Jerzy Smoleński, as soon as most of the staff returned to work in late September. At these meetings people passed on news, presented their research, and worked on the preparation of the course of studies that had been adopted for the war years.

After the meeting Smoleński, Ormicki and Leszczycki decided to make their way together to the meeting with Müller. All three were in a fairly good mood<sup>1</sup> as they set off from the Institute along the Planty Gardens for the Collegium Novum Building. They did not take their usual, shorter route, the path along Ulica Straszewskiego, but chose the route by the walls of what is now the Archaeological Museum. The change was due to the fact that Smoleński wanted to drop into the Theological Seminary to see his son Stanisław, who was a seminarian,<sup>2</sup> and pass on some family news. It was the last time father and son saw each other. After that exchange the three of them moved on towards Collegium Novum, no doubt talking about the meeting with Müller.

At about that time news reached the Institute that there were several Gestapo vehicles on the Jagiellońska and Gołębia. As soon as he heard of this, Adam Figuła, the Institute's porter, ran after the three professors to turn them back. Unfortunately he looked for them along their usual route. He did not find them and returned to the Institute. Meanwhile, not having been stopped by anyone, Smoleński, Ormicki and Leszczycki reached Collegium Novum, where there was already a large group of professors.<sup>3</sup> Walenty Winid and Stanisław Korbel made their own way to Collegium Novum.

From the time when Müller finished his "lecture" and Gestapo men charged into the room where the professors were assembled the prisoners were handled very brutally. A young Gestapo man ruthlessly beat up Professors Jerzy Smoleński and Ignacy Chrzanowski when they were still on the stairs in the Collegium Novum Building.<sup>4</sup>

Word went round among the prisoners that they would soon be released. They thought they were only being held as hostages as Independence Day, November 11, was drawing up, and looked forward to being discharged thereafter. As several of them said later, this hope allowed them to survive the first few days, which were the most difficult.

However, reality turned out to be far more vicious. After a few days they were all transported to the prison in Wrocław [then Breslau]. Wiktor Ormicki, Walenty Winid and Stanisław Leszczycki found themselves among the inmates of cell no. 306, which was meant to hold 20 prisoners, along with Tadeusz Estreicher, Ignacy Chrzanowski, Kazimierz Nitsch, Stanisław Pigoń, Jerzy Lande, Tadeusz Kowalski, and the Mayor of Kraków, Stanisław Klimecki. Their cycle of talks on scholarly subjects started already in Wrocław jail. They would be held in the evenings after lights-out (7 p.m.). These lectures covered a wide range of subjects, quite naturally in view of the many disciplines the prisoners represented. On 21 November Wiktor Ormicki delivered a lecture on the Italian colonisation of Libya; a day later Stanisław Leszczycki spoke on regional planning, and on 25 November Ormicki had another lecture, on domestic colonisation in Poland.<sup>5</sup>

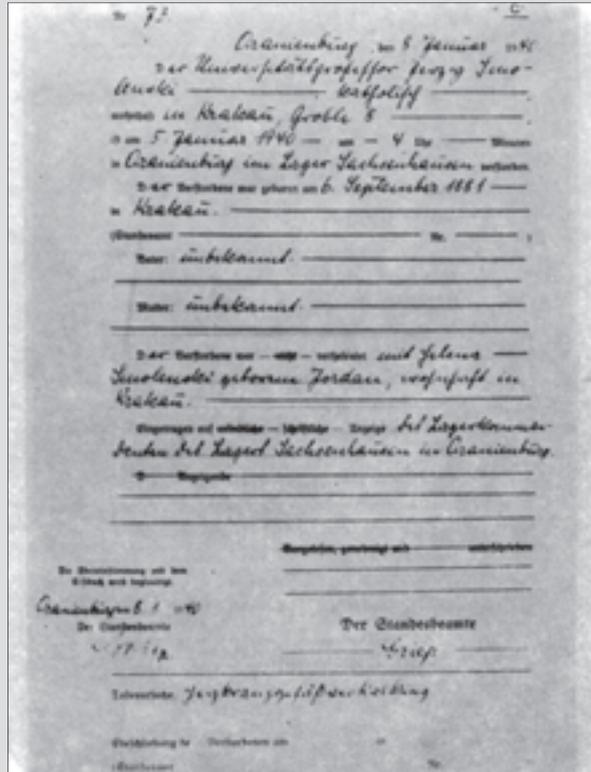
On November 27 the academics were transported from Wrocław to Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp and put in huts no. 45 and 46.

Despite the inhuman conditions in the concentration camp, the academic inmates did all they could to keep up their morale. That was the purpose of

the scholarly talks, which were continued here as well. There were also foreign language courses. The prisoners dubbed the lecture campaign their "concentration camp university." By February 1940 a total of nearly 300 lectures had been delivered. Virtually all the professors, including Wiktor Ormicki, Stanisław Leszczycki, Walenty Winid and Jerzy Smoleński, and the junior academics gave talks. Smoleński delivered his last lecture at Christmas.<sup>6</sup>

The hard conditions in the camp combined with the very cold winter of 1939/1940 made some of the inmates go down with illness, chiefly diarrhoea and furunculosis (chronic boils) caused by vitamin shortage. In late December 1939 Jerzy Smoleński developed a very serious condition.

*He [Smoleński] is having trouble with diarrhoea. Since he cannot take the food we are given, and we can get nothing else, he is*



*Zawiadomienie otrzymane przez rodzinę Jerzego Smoleńskiego o jego śmierci na atak serca, 8 stycznia 1940 r. Źródło: „Studia i materiały z dziejów nauki polskiej”, 1988, seria II, z. 1, s. 102*

*Letter informing Prof. Smoleński's family that he had died of a heart attack, 8 January 1940*

beginning to lose weight dramatically and is rapidly getting weaker and weaker. He is showing symptoms of serious heart failure. He is not suffering, his life is simply ebbing away. He is aware of his condition, and says to his colleagues, "I think I'm going to kick the bucket here." Yet he's not complaining; he just sits at table with a sad smile.<sup>7</sup>

Day by day Smoleński was weaker and weaker.

...Within a few days he had grown thinner, his cheeks had sunk, and his jaw- and cheek-bones became very prominent. He was so weak that Ormicki and Leszczycki had to carry him to appeal. Finally one day he was admitted to the camp sick bay. Ormicki took, or rather carried, him there, and managed to stay a while to see how Smoleński would be treated. The beginning looked very promising. Surprisingly, a doctor saw Smoleński and apparently showed some sympathy for his condition, asking him for his profession and what was ailing him, and cheering him up that in the sick bay he would rest and recover. In a word, Smoleński was given quite exceptional treatment. No wonder Ormicki returned to the block full of hope. ...Alas, some two days later we were informed of his death. ... On the next day after his death we held a memorial ceremony for him. The speakers were Ormicki, on the deceased's scientific achievements; and Leszczycki on his work as head of the Jagiellonian University Institute of Geography. Then Siedlecki took the floor, and even though he could barely speak owing to pneumonia, he made a moving description of Smoleński as a person and a friend. Then Chrzanowski spoke, emphasising Smoleński's composure and serenity and identifying his profound but unobtrusive religious devotion as the cause of such an attitude. Finally at the end of the ceremony Banachiewicz said a few words about some papers by Smoleński connected with astronomy.<sup>8</sup>

Smoleński died on 5 January 1940. News of his death caused a stir throughout the world. On 26 January 1940 the BBC broadcast a bulletin that the well-known Polish geographer and geologist "George Smolenski" had died in a German concentration camp, the victim of German bestiality. Professor Smolenski, author of many scientific publications, was 60.<sup>9</sup> Obituaries appeared in the British, Canadian and American press, emphasising his achievements for Polish and world geography. On 22 February 1940 a memorial mass was said in the Polish Church in Paris for Professor Smoleński and the other professors who died in the concentration camp.

Stanisław Leszczycki made a record of the epilogue to this story. On receiving news of her husband's death, Professor

Smoleński's wife Helena got a permit and she and their son Stanisław travelled to Berlin on it. There they were helped by Professor Paul Woldstedt, a German geologist who had been a friend of Smoleński's. Thanks to him the widow and son were able to see the body in the concentration camp. This was very exceptional indeed.<sup>10</sup> It was certainly one of those rare instances when a German had the courage to intervene with the Gestapo on behalf of a Pole. The Professor was cremated, and the scientist from Berlin made sure that the urn the widow received really contained her husband's ashes. The urn was sent to Kraków and was interred in the family tomb in Rakowice Cemetery.<sup>11</sup> The

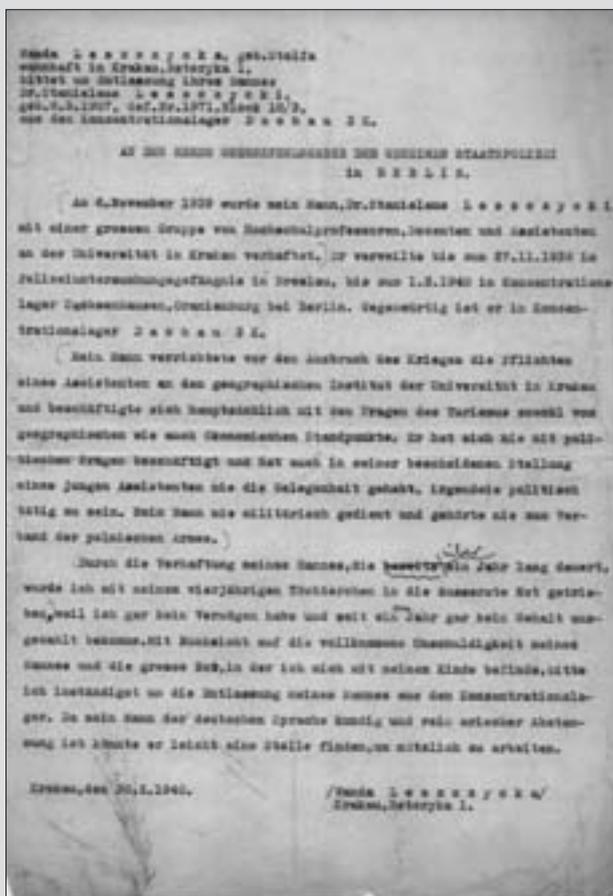
sombre package was accompanied by an official letter from the management of the concentration camp, informing the family that Professor Smoleński had died of a heart attack. There was no limit to the murderers' duplicity!

The first group of professors released included Stanisław Korbel and Walenty Winid. On 4 March 1940 44 of the younger academics of the Jagiellonian University were transferred to Dachau Concentration Camp. Among them were Wiktor Ormicki and Stanisław Leszczycki. The Germans decided to exploit the group's intellectual potential and set up a special scientific unit. After a short time Stanisław Leszczycki managed to become a member of this group and came up with the idea of keeping a record of meteorological measurements. He was assisted by Stanisław Turski, a junior member of staff in the Jagiellonian University Chair of Mathematics. This helped them to survive another 14 months in Dachau. Stanisław Leszczycki was released on 14 January 1941.

Leszczycki's first wife Wanda made many attempts to obtain his release. Unfortunately, not all of the correspondence that she kept

with the German authorities has survived. Her last letter is dated 22 November 1940. Here are some excerpts:

*On 6 November 1939 my husband, Dr. Stanisław Leszczycki and a large group of academics were arrested in the University in Kraków. He has been in a concentration camp for 13 months and is now in Dachau 3 K. [...] Before the war my husband was an assistant in the Jagiellonian University Institute of Geography, working chiefly on tourism. [...] On 1 July of this year I submitted my first application to the Commanding Officer of the Secret State Police [the Gestapo] in Berlin petitioning for my husband's release. I have not received a reply to that application [underlined by Wanda Leszczycka]. On 30 October I sent a second application, and again no response has come. [...] Due to my husband's*



Jeden z wielu listów wysłanych przez Wandę Leszczycką do gestapo w sprawie uwolnienia męża Stanisława, 30 października 1940 r.

One of many letters Wanda Leszczycka sent to the Gestapo petitioning for the release of her husband Stanisław, 30 October 1940

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detention, which has now lasted for over a year, my 4-year-old daughter and I have become destitute. Because of my child, which I cannot leave unattended, I am not able to take up any employment, which means that I have found myself in a tragic plight. Hitherto I have obtained the means necessary for survival by selling our clothes and furniture. However, this source is about to be exhausted as well. I only live in the hope that my husband will return and bring an end to our poverty. Since my husband has a knowledge of German and is a pure Aryan he has already been guaranteed a job in Władysław Klimek's cast iron foundry and machine factory in Kraków. [...] On behalf of my child and myself I hereby submit a petition for my husband's release.<sup>12</sup>

Wanda Leszczycka did not stop at trying to procure her husband's release only through the German authorities directly. She also turned for help to Professor Angelo Mariotti, a prominent individual in Fascist Italy and an associate of the La Sapienza University in Rome. Leszczycki had made his acquaintance during one of his periods abroad. Professor Mariotti's research interests focused on tourism, and Leszczycki invited Mariotti to publish a paper in the Jagiellonian University's publications on tourism studies. Mariotti took up the offer and his article "L'organizzazione turistica nell'Italia fascista" appeared in a bilingual version (in Polish and Italian) in fascicle 17 (1939) of the *Komunikaty Studium Turyzmu UJ* series. This encouraged Mrs. Leszczycka to write a letter to him (dated 19 July 1940). Mariotti immediately responded with an intervention, as evidenced by a letter of 30 July 1940 to him from the Inspectorate for Italian Collections Abroad. Here is the content of this unusual document:

Dear Professor Mariotti,

In compliance with your request I have forwarded your letter concerning Professor Leszczycki to Berlin. However I must inform you that in similar cases we have always received a negative response.

Yours faithfully,

General G. Gangemi<sup>13</sup>



List przesyłany do Wandy Leszczyckiej przez prof. Angelo Mariottiego z wiadomością o podjętej interwencji w sprawie uwolnienia jej męża Stanisława

Professor Angelo Mariotti's letter to Wanda Leszczycka informing her of his intervention for her husband's release



Relacja dotycząca śmierci Wiktora Ormickiego, sporządzona przed 29 maja 1945 r. przez Włodzimierza Wnuka

Włodzimierz Wnuk's account of the death of Wiktor Ormicki, written before 29 May 1945

In our opinion Professor Mariotti's intervention was crucial in Leszczycki's release. Mariotti was a well-known personality and a distinguished specialist in the economics of tourism. He had often lectured in German universities.

The most tragic fate fell to Wiktor Ormicki, who enjoyed a very high reputation with his fellow prisoners, and whom even the Germans respected, in their own way.

One day a comprehensive search was conducted on the prisoners. They were told to undress, and every part of their clothing was examined. The outline of a paper entitled *Die Bevölkerung von Polen* (The Population of Poland) written in German on a scrap of newspaper was found in a little money-bag Ormicki had on a cord round his neck. He intended to publish this paper on his return home. The scrap of newspaper was confiscated and Ormicki was brutally beaten up for this offence.<sup>14</sup>

In our midst there was an extremely decent, talented and promising young academic of Jewish origin, a docent of economic geography called Wiktor Ormicki. For the time being his secret was safe. He was with us, and when the first group was released he stayed with those who were under forty and was sent with them to Dachau. In Dachau an anthropological examination was carried out on the prisoners, the aim of which was to determine their psycho-physical types. There was something odd about him and the researchers started asking him – maybe without anything specific in mind – whether he had a mix of non-Slavonic blood. And then that true scientist, proud and naïve, came out with it – though there was no need to do so, which of course meant a death sentence for him.<sup>15</sup>

Stanisław Leszczycki, who was in the queue with Ormicki, waiting to be examined, also witnessed the incident, and wrote the following account of it:

After he [Ormicki] had been photographed an SS-man said he had a Semitic skull type and asked him whether he was Jewish. Ormicki ... replied that he came from a Semitic family. There was a terrible rough which finished with his remo-

val from our block. He was put in the penal company, to which all the Jews belonged. From that moment on we saw Ormicki only on rare occasions through the barbed wire which separated his block from the rest of the blocks. In the evenings we would bring him things he had left and other things he could never have obtained in the penal company. In 1940 [16 August] when they were taking him to Mauthausen I managed to pass some money and some food to him, as well as some things which I could do without. We lost contact with Ormicki forever.<sup>16</sup>

Ormicki had always been truthful, he was not capable of lying, even when he knew that admitting his Jewish origin was tantamount to a death sentence. He made his decision fully aware of the consequences, on the basis of his conviction that the worst crime one could commit was to repudiate one's roots – even at the price of one's life!

Respect for him grew systematically, also among the criminals who were prisoners, the German functionaries, the professional villains, both in Block 16 and later in Block 24, from which he went to certain death. He continued his scientific work until the last moments of his life, endeavouring to enhance the knowledge of geography in the small community of his fellow-prisoners. Other testimonies by fellow inmates describe the esteem he enjoyed and help us to piece together the last stage of this scientist's life.

Wiktor R. Ormicki [...] was transferred to Gusen with the recommendation he be assigned to the penal company, as he had been declared Jewish, since apparently he had an ancestor of Jewish origin. In Block 16 he turned out to be an excellent speaker on the development of the war in 1940 and 1941. His audience was fascinated especially by his lectures on the geography, population studies, and ethnography of various countries where fighting was going on at the time, such as the Balkans and North Africa. [...] When he was relieved of the

duty to go out to work and permitted to stay in his block he used his time to write two papers on subjects he had been working on before the war. One discussed world population issues and was an extensive analysis of the factors causing an uneven population density in the various regions of the world. A specialist in economic geography, Ormicki showed the relation between natural resources and the economic level of various parts of the world, their current population and their future demographic prospects. The second paper concerned the population of desert regions and the availability of water on the basis of the research he had done in the desert areas of Algeria before the war. In the conclusion to his discussion he made general observations on the agricultural development and industrialisation of desert areas through the creation of favourable conditions for settlement.<sup>17</sup>

Straight after the war another Gusen inmate, the writer and journalist Włodzimierz Wnuk, activist of the Podhalanian Union (1915–1992), submitted his account of Ormicki in the concentration camp. He was in Gusen as of June 1940. Here is an excerpt:

On Sundays or Saturday afternoons when he was not toiling at his extremely exhausting work Ormicki spent his free time telling friends about his travels or delivering talks on scientific subjects. Later these talks became quite popular and Ormicki spoke to larger and larger audiences. I have vivid memories of his talk on the Balkans during an "arts and sciences" night in one of the blocks. There were nearly 200 of us pallid and ashen, emaciated and sallow listeners

in the room. One day we saw Ormicki with a yellow star on his chest. We knew what that meant. It was tantamount to a death sentence, an excruciating death in the most literal sense. [...] Ormicki had been assigned to the Jewish penal company. If Gusen, one of the worst and most monstrous camps in the history of the war, was itself one huge penal company, you can imagine what "the penal company", which was segregated off from the rest, was like. [...] Ormicki's situation was a little bit better as he was being helped by many Polish prisoners, and thanks to their efforts the German kapos were slightly more considerate towards him. But bad days came for the Jewish prisoners. The bloodbath. The camp authorities decided to make an end of the Jews. [...] It was in the summer of 1941 if I remember correctly. The block kapos got down to work instantly. The handful of Jewish prisoners still left in the camp went to the washroom one after another. They went to slaughter. [...] One of the last, or perhaps the last, was Ormicki. Next day, when the entire camp was still heaving with the gruesome atmosphere of the previous night, people were passing on the scientist's last words: "I know what they're summoning me to the washroom for. But I'm going there with composure. I'm going deeply convinced that I'm

not dying for nothing, that it's all for Poland." Perhaps I haven't quoted the exact words, but that was the sense – the sense of the late Professor Ormicki's last talk delivered at Gusen.<sup>18</sup>

The most disturbing account was written by Stanisław Nogaj (1987–1971), a Silesian writer and journalist whom fate cast into the Mauthausen-Gusen camp. The document he compiled describes Wiktor Ormicki's last days or in fact minutes. It contains an account of the barbarity of his execution.

Professor Ormicki became our chief speaker on news and events. We had an illegal supply of newspapers and Ormicki would read every scrap of them and in the evening hold a talk commenting on the world situation. He had separate talks for the camp's VIPs, which brought him a substantial income, so that after some time he could



Pismo dziękowa Wydziału Humanistycznego UJ prof. Jana Dąbrowskiego do Prezydium Krajowej Rady Narodowej w Warszawie poświadczające heroiczną postawę Wiktor Ormickiego, 22 stycznia 1946 r.

Affidavit sent by Professor Jan Dąbrowski, Dean of the Jagiellonian University Faculty of the Humanities, to the Presidium of the National Council in Warsaw, concerning the heroic attitude of Wiktor Ormicki, 22 January 1946

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forget about hunger and share his income with others. [...] Professor Ormicki was one of the few Poles who did not lose hope and bravely kept up the spirits of their fellow prisoners. In his daily commentaries he always managed to identify the Nazis' weak points and at the worst times confirm us in the belief that the war would come to a favourable end for Poland. Ormicki was also one of our scientific lecturers. ... He lectured on topics in geography to an audience of several hundred, and chose subjects from those countries where fighting was going on. He had the knack of skilfully bringing in wartime incidents in such a way that his listeners could easily draw their own conclusions about the situation and the wartime prospects for the German army. Having plenty of time on his hands, Professor Ormicki worked on the problem of world population and wrote two extremely interesting papers on the subject. Unfortunately they were later destroyed [by one of the prisoners].<sup>19</sup>

On 17 September 1941 the functionaries received an order to murder the eight Jews within 24 hours. The seventh victim of the slaughter was Wiktor Ormicki. By way of "clemency" he was allowed to choose how he would die: by drowning or hanging. He chose the latter. According to the official statement sent to his wife, he died of a heart disease.

That is how, on the night of 17 September 1941, Wiktor Ormicki, one of the most distinguished Polish geographers, died a martyr's death. News of his murder went round the camp and was hot on people's lips for a long time. Historians regard the date of Ormicki's death as the end of the Sonderaktion Krakau period.

In accordance with the last will of the deceased, the murderers handed over the manuscripts of his papers to Stanisław Nogaj. They were circulated among the prisoners, and those who wanted to have them had to put their name down on a waiting list. Unfortunately the last prisoner to have them destroyed both manuscripts in anticipation of an expected search.<sup>20</sup>

Professor Ormicki's family undertook a campaign for his release. According to his wife's statement the efforts were made in several different modes: officially through the Gestapo, unofficially through the intercession of one of the professors of the University of Rome (unidentified by name), and finally for money. In spite of all these efforts his wife was never granted permission to see him in the camp.<sup>21</sup> The Germans did not like such situations, especially when they involved Jews. The camp commander wrote the worst possible opinion of Ormicki, that he was still a Polish chauvinist and a threat to German society.

Wiktor Ormicki must have been a remarkable personality if so many fellow-prisoners cherished his memory. His heroic attitude in the concentration camp still awaits a full account in our academic publications.

The suffering experienced by Cracovian geographers during the Second World War did not end with Sonderaktion Krakau. Of the professors arrested under this operation Walenty Winid later died in Auschwitz, on 18 January 1945, the eve of the camp's liberation. He was released from Sachsenhausen, but re-arrested on 10 March 1943 for secret teaching. There were other university geographers who also died in Auschwitz: Władysław Breitmeier (1943), Adam Gadowski (1942),

Zdzisław Simche (1940), and Julian Stanoch (1942). Tadeusz Czort and Edward Kremky were murdered at Katyn. Tadeusz Betleja fell during the campaign of September 1939, and Krzysztof Beres in the resistance in 1944. Walerian Łoziński died in Kraków in 1944. Zdzisław Czeppe, Jan Flis and Władysław Milata fought in the Polish forces in the West. And many unidentified Jagiellonian University graduates participated in the resistance movement and secret teaching at all educational levels.

**Antoni Jackowski  
and Izabela Sołjan**

<sup>1</sup> S. Leszczycki's oral account related to A. Jackowski around 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Stanisław Smoleński was later an auxiliary bishop in the Archdiocese of Kraków.

<sup>3</sup> S. Leszczycki, "Z pobytu w Sachsenhausen i Dachau, 1939–1941", *Przegląd Lekarski*, Vol. 45, No. 1, 1988, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> J. Gwiazdomorski, *Wspomnienia z pobytu profesorów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w niemieckim obozie koncentracyjnym w Sachsenhausen*, Kraków, 1945, p. 27

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> A. Bolewski, "Kilka słów o profesorze Jerzym Smoleńskim i jego zgonie", *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej*, Series II, fasc. 1, 1988, p. 63.

<sup>7</sup> J. Gwiazdomorski, *Wspomnienia...*, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 165–166. Michał Siedlecki died six days, and Ignacy Chrzanowski a few weeks after Smoleński.

<sup>9</sup> J. Buszko and I. Paczyńska, *Podstępne uwięzienie profesorów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego i Akademii Górniczej (6 XI 1939 r.)*. Dokumenty, Kraków 1995, p. 234.

<sup>10</sup> Only the widow of Stefan Bednarski "enjoyed" the same "privilege".

<sup>11</sup> S. Leszczycki, "Z pobytu w Sachsenhausen i Dachau, 1939–1941", *op. cit.*, p. 108.

<sup>12</sup> Wanda Leszczycka, geb. Stolfa an den Herrn Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei in Krakau, 22 November 1940, Archives of the Jagiellonian University Institute of Geography and Spatial Management [Polish translation by Letterman sp. z o.o. Agencja Tłumaczy Zawodowych].

<sup>13</sup> Letter of 30 July 1940 from Fasci Italiani all'Estero. L'ispettore to Prof. Angelo Mariotti, Archives of the Jagiellonian University Institute of Geography and Spatial Management [Polish translation by Letterman sp. z o.o. Agencja Tłumaczy Zawodowych].

<sup>14</sup> S. Leszczycki, "Z pobytu w Sachsenhausen i Dachau, 1939–1941", *op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>15</sup> W. Krzyżanowski, *Uniwersytet Jagielloński w obozie koncentracyjnym w Sachsenhausen*, *Studia Historyczne*, 1969, 12, 4, p. 549.

<sup>16</sup> S. Leszczycki, "Z pobytu w Sachsenhausen i Dachau, 1939–1941", *op. cit.*, p. 113–114.

<sup>17</sup> S. Dobosiewicz, *Mauthausen-Gusen: w obronie życia i ludzkiej godności*, Warszawa, 2000, Bellona; quoted after *Reżimy totalitarne wobec ludzi nauki 1939–1945. Uniwersytet Jagielloński. Sonderaktion Krakau. Zbrodnia katyńska*, Warszawa, 2007, p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> W. Wnuk, "Jak zginął prof. Wiktor Ormicki", undated manuscript, probably before 29 May 1945, when Mrs. Ormicka cited this account in her statement for the Jagiellonian University. Jagiellonian University Archives, File No. KHUW 19.

<sup>19</sup> S. Nogaj, "Jak zginął znany geograf prof. Włodzimierz [Wiktor] Ormicki", *Gusen*, Part III, Katowice & Chorzów, 1945, p. 162–163. Nogaj got the first name wrong: Włodzimierz was the brother of Wiktor. But this mistake cannot be held against him, since he published his memoirs a few months after the war and probably had no time to check his data.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 169–170.

<sup>21</sup> Statement made by Irena Ormicka for the Jagiellonian University, 29 May 1945, Jagiellonian University Archives, File No. KHUW 19.



Tablica pamiątkowa poświęcona pamięci Jerzego Smoleńskiego i Wiktora Ormickiego, wmurowana w hallu budynku przy ul. Grodzkiej 64. Replika tablicy znajduje się w budynku Instytutu Geografii i Gospodarki Przestrzennej na Kampusie 600-lecia Odnowienia UJ

Jerzy Smoleński's and Wiktor Ormicki's memorial tablet, in the hall of the University building at No. 64, ulica Grodzka. A replica is to be found in the Institute of Geography and Spatial Management Building on the Jagiellonian University's Third Campus