

Michaela Šmidrkalová

ORCID [0000-0002-1048-6134](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1048-6134)

Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of
 Sciences (Prague, Czechia)
smidrkalova@mua.cas.cz



Bohemian and Czechoslovak Commemoration of Copernicus 1873–1973

Abstract

The article is devoted to the images of Nicolaus Copernicus in Bohemia and Czechoslovakia in the years 1873–1973, with particular emphasis on important anniversaries related to the astronomer in the years 1873, 1953 and 1973.

It shows that Nicolaus Copernicus was used and instrumentalised in Bohemia and Czechoslovakia for various contemporary purposes.

In the nineteenth century, he was used to elevate and recognise the Czech nation.

In inter-war Czechoslovakia, Copernicus's manuscript *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*, deposited in the Nostitz Library in Prague, was celebrated as part of the rich material cultural heritage stored there.

After the Second World War, Copernicus became a tool for demonstrating Czechoslovak-Polish socialist brotherhood. However, the instrumentalisation of Copernicus had reached such a point that content sometimes disappeared at the expense of ritualisation and ideological platitudes. The celebration of Copernicus thus said more about the society and ideological framework of the time than about the astronomer himself.

Keywords: Nicolaus Copernicus, *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*, Czechoslovakia, Poland, 1873, 1953, 1973, anniversaries of prominent scientists

PUBLICATION INFO		e-ISSN 2543-702X ISSN 2451-3202		 DIAMOND OPEN ACCESS
Šmidrkalová, Michaela 2026: Bohemian and Czechoslovak Commemoration of Copernicus 1873–1973. <i>Studia Historiae Scientiarum</i> (FirstView Article). DOI: 10.4467/2543702XSHS.26.007.22696 .				
RECEIVED: 22.05.2025 ACCEPTED: 08.09.2026 PUBLISHED ONLINE: 11.10.2026		ARCHIVE POLICY OPEN POLICY FINDER	LICENSE 	
WWW	https://ojs.ejournals.eu/SHS/ ; https://pau.krakow.pl/Studia-Historiae-Scientiarum/archiwum			

Czeskie i czechosłowackie obchody upamiętniające Kopernika 1873–1973

Abstrakt

Artykuł poświęcony jest wyobrażeniom na temat Mikołaja Kopernika w Czechach i Czechosłowacji w latach 1873–1973, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem ważnych rocznic związanych z astronomem w latach 1873, 1953 i 1973.

Pokazuje, że postać Mikołaja Kopernika była wykorzystywana i instrumentalizowana w Czechosłowacji do różnych współczesnych celów. W XIX wieku wykorzystywano go do podnoszenia rangi i uznania narodu czeskiego.

W międzywojennej Czechosłowacji rękopis Kopernika *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*, przechowywany w bibliotece Nostitzów w Pradze, był celebrowany jako część bogatego dziedzictwa kulturowego znajdującego się w Czechosłowacji.

Po II wojnie światowej Kopernik stał się narzędziem demonstrowania socjalistycznego braterstwa Czechosłowacji i Polski. Instrumentalizacja postaci Kopernika osiągnęła jednak taki poziom, że treść czasami zniknęła, ustępując miejsca rytualizacji i ideologicznym frazesom. Obchody związane z Kopernikiem mówiły więcej o społeczeństwie i ideologicznych uwarunkowaniach niż o samym astronomie.

Słowa kluczowe: *Mikołaj Kopernik, De revolutionibus orbium coelestium, Czechosłowacja, Polska, 1873, 1953, 1973, rocznice wybitnych uczonych*

1. Introduction

Anniversaries of prominent scientists have long served as occasions for scholarly reflection, public ritual, political instrumentalisation, and the negotiation of national identity. Nicolaus Copernicus occupies a particularly significant place in this context. His anniversaries have repeatedly given rise to large-scale public celebrations that extend far beyond the history of astronomy. These celebrations have mobilised symbolic meanings that vary according to local and temporal circumstances.

In recent centuries, a debate has developed as to whether Copernicus was a Pole or a German. There have been periods, especially during the strained German-Polish relations, when both nations have claimed this astronomer. This was the case during the Second World War, which also marked the 400th anniversary of Copernicus's death and the publication of his most famous work, *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres), in 1943.

While this dispute over Copernicus's nationality is well known today (Kokowski 2009, pp. 115–136; 402–431; Ritter 2015), it is less well known that there was also a period when Copernicus was claimed as “theirs” by the Czechs – especially around 1873, when the world celebrated the astronomer's 400th birthday.

The celebrations of 1873¹ are therefore the starting point of the following study, but they are not the only anniversary to be examined. On the contrary, other jubilees associated with Copernicus come to the fore. In the inter-war period, these included 1923, the 450th anniversary of his birth, and during the Second World War, 1943, the 400th anniversary of his death and the publication of *De revolutionibus*. 1953 was also a significant year, although it was not a round anniversary. Its purpose was to celebrate, with a ten-year delay, a jubilee that could not be fully celebrated because of the war and the occupation of Poland. Finally, the study focuses on 1973, the 500th anniversary of the birth of Copernicus.²

¹ On the celebrations in 1873 in divided Poland and other countries cf. also: Kokowski 2023, pp. 76–83; Gingerich 1999, pp. 39–42.

² On the Polish celebration of Copernicus in 1973 cf.: Kola 2025; Piasek 2025; Gross, Tomkiewicz 2023; Kleinschrodt 2023; Kubasik 2023; Polak 2013.

The various celebrations naturally took place in different contexts, reflecting the changing national conditions in Europe and the redrawing of borders. In 1873, Poland was still partitioned, while the Bohemian lands were part of the Austrian Habsburg monarchy and experienced a national revival shaped by Czech-German rivalry. Interwar celebrations reflected the growing national tensions in Central Europe and were particularly significant for Czechoslovakia in the context of efforts to publish a photographic edition of Copernicus's famous manuscript *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*, then held in Prague. Celebrations in 1943 reflected the realities of war, while festivities in Czechoslovakia in 1953 and 1973 occurred within the framework of relations between two fraternal socialist states, both allies of the Soviet Union. These anniversaries also played a role in legitimising communist regimes in both Poland (Chmielak, Popławski 2017, p. 113; Gross, Tomkiewicz 2023, p. 89; Tomkiewicz 2023; Zaremba 2023; Hübner 2024) and Czechoslovakia during the Cold War.³

The following study thus shows that Nicolaus Copernicus was used and instrumentalised in Czechoslovakia for various contemporary purposes. First of all, he was used for the elevation and recognition of the Czech nation, then for the visibility of Copernicus's work as a cultural and scientific monument in interwar Czechoslovakia, and finally as a tool for demonstrating Czechoslovak-Polish socialist brotherhood.⁴ However, similar instrumentalisation was not fundamentally exceptional, as it can be observed in many other historically significant figures borrowed by regimes to promote and legitimise themselves. Copernicus was chosen as a suitable candidate for this role for a number of reasons, which varied from one historical period to another. Initially it was his "Slavicness" and alleged Czech roots, later Copernicus was presented mainly as a fighter against obscurantism and the Church. In addition, his scientific importance was sufficiently understandable and easy to explain to people ("he stopped the sun, he moved the earth"). However, as we will show, by the second half of the twentieth century the instrumentalisation of Copernicus had reached such a point that it was essentially an instrumentalisation of instrumentalisation. Content sometimes disappeared at the expense of ritualisation and ideological platitudes.⁵ In these cases, the celebration of Copernicus did not really speak about Copernicus himself, but mainly about the society and the ideological framework prevailing at the time. This did not apply to scientific discourse or Copernican research at the time, which was not usually intended for the general public. However, the Copernicus anniversaries provided scientists with an opportunity to publicise and disseminate their research on Copernicus, as well as to foster activities in the field of Czechoslovak-Polish scientific collaboration.

2. Bohemian lands celebrate "their" Copernicus (1873)

Interest in Copernicus grew in the Bohemian lands in the middle of the 18th century and during the period of national revival, when the famous astronomer was perceived primarily as a "great Slavic scientist". The legacies of important Slavic personalities were presented as the achievements of all Slavs, and in the Czech environment they served mainly as proof of the strength of the Czech nation, especially in defining itself against the Germans. This was most evident in 1873, when the 400th anniversary of the birth of Copernicus was celebrated and dozens of towns in Bohemia and Moravia took part in the festivities. And in this atmosphere, it is no coincidence that "the hypothesis of the Czech origin of the Copernican family spread easily," as one of the documents of the Czechoslovak Astronomical Society states a hundred

³ More generally on the legitimisation of the communist regime through national and scientific symbols or historical figures, see for example Zaremba 2001; V. Macura 2023.

⁴ For examples of how traditions and historical figures have been used to foster "brotherhood" in the Central and Southeastern European regions, see also Zimmermann (2014), especially the chapter by Jan Randák (Randák 2014).

⁵ On the ideological discourse and language in socialist Czechoslovakia, see: Fidelius 1986; 2016.

years later, adding that this theory had now been abandoned.⁶ Let us take a closer look at what the Czech celebration of Copernicus in 1873 was like, and how the hypothesis of Copernicus' alleged Czech origin actually came about.

The extent of the Copernican celebrations in the Bohemian lands from 1873 surprised even the Poles themselves, for even in divided Poland there were not as many celebrations in honour of this astronomer as in Bohemia – in the words of a Prague correspondent for *Gazeta Warszawska*, “there was hardly a Czech town where such a celebration did not take place” (*Gazeta Warszawska* 1873, p. 3). According to this correspondent, the celebrations took place in up to a hundred Czech towns and villages and had a distinctly pro-Czech and pro-Slavic character.⁷ The celebrations involved lectures on the life and work of Copernicus, including one in Prague by the mathematician František Josef Studička (1836–1903) (*Gazeta Warszawska* 1873, p. 3).⁸ The commemoration also involved the publication of a booklet entitled *About the Great Astronomer Copernicus* by the philosopher Josef Durdík (1837–1902) (Durdík 1873a). According to the correspondent of *Gazeta Warszawska*, the Czechs were even the most active of all the Slavic nations in the Copernican celebrations organised by the Poles in Vienna or Munich. The correspondent noted that “nowhere did the Copernican anniversary arouse so many movements and so many expressions of joy as in Bohemia” (*Gazeta Warszawska* 1873, p. 3).

Not surprisingly, the author of these words asked why this was so. First he mentioned “Slavic reciprocity”, then the anti-German character of the celebrations (an attempt to tease the Germans, which allegedly succeeded – the Germans were said to be “furious”).⁹ As a third reason, the author mentions Adrian Krzyżanowski's¹⁰ claim in his book *Old Poland* (Krzyżanowski 1844) that the Copernicus family might have come to Poland from Bohemia from a settlement called Koprník (*Gazeta Warszawska* 1873, p. 3).¹¹ However, what the *Gazeta Warszawska* correspondent mentioned as a third reason for Copernicus's popularity in the Bohemian lands was probably the main reason. At least some of his contemporaries thought so. The Polish historian Ignacy Polkowski (1833–1888), in his book *The Life of Nicolaus Copernicus* (1873), also mentions the thesis of some authors, led by Krzyżanowski, about the alleged Czech origin of Copernicus's grandfather, and in particular he states that

this opinion so appealed to the Czechs that to this day all scholars in this country are convinced that Copernicus came from Bohemia (Polkowski 1873, p. 88).

Although it is now difficult to reconstruct the views of Czech scholars of the 1870s on the origins of Copernicus's grandfather, it is certain that literary and scientific production not only from that period but also from later eras suggests a widespread belief in Copernicus's Czech origins. The historian František Palacký (1798–1876) was one of the first to popularise this idea among Czechs in the early 1830s, that is before the publication of Krzyżanowski's

⁶ Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences (hereafter MIA CAS). *Czechoslovak Astronomical Society within the CSAS*, box 7, inv. no. 49, Suggestions for opening the seminar, 1973, p. 2.

⁷ According to Polish Slavist Jerzy Śliziński, in 1873 the Czechs celebrated Copernicus's anniversary in 152 different places in Bohemia and Moravia, giving 161 lectures (Śliziński 1953, p. 669).

⁸ The lecture was also published as a booklet. Cf. Studička 1873.

⁹ According to Jerzy Śliziński, in 1873 the Germans perceived the Copernican celebrations in the Bohemian Lands as a Czech national demonstration and therefore did not participate, although they themselves claimed Copernicus as a German (Śliziński 1953, p. 669).

¹⁰ Adrian Krzyżanowski (1788–1852) was a Polish mathematician, historian and translator.

¹¹ Krzyżanowski said specifically of Copernicus: “The father and grandfather of this founder of modern astronomy had been residents of the city of Cracow since 1396, the year in which this family from Bohemia and with a Czech name came to Poland” (Krzyżanowski 1844, p. 18); Krzyżanowski also stated this thesis in his work *Copernicus in Walhalla* (Krzyżanowski 1843, p. 1).

works (Palacký 1831).¹² In the 1830s, Copernicus's name appeared frequently in the poetic works of Czech and Slovak revivalists – for example, in the lyrical-epic poem *Slávy dcera* (The Daughter of Sláva, second expanded edition from 1832) by Ján Kollár, in the poem *Koperníkův sen* (The Dream of Copernicus) by Josef Bojislav Pichl (1839) (Čupr 1943, pp. 96–97) or in the poem *Koperník a jeho súvěk* (Copernicus and his contemporaneity, 1835) written by Slovak poet Michal Godra (Tibenský 1975, pp. 139–140).

In the 1840s, information about Copernicus's manuscript *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* appeared in the Czech-language press. At that time, the manuscript was owned by the noble Nostitz family and kept in the library of their Prague palace. Earlier, it had been owned by the Czech philosopher and educator John Amos Comenius (1592–1670).¹³ In 1840, the Czech physician, teacher, and philosopher Karl Slavoj Amerling (1807–1884) discussed the manuscript in the magazine *Květy*.¹⁴ The existence and location of the manuscript in Prague were frequently mentioned during the celebrations in 1873 (Čech 1873, p. 1; Pokrok 1873, p. 4; Durdík 1873b, p. 34; Studnička 1873, p. 32). It served as another symbol of Copernicus's connection to the Bohemian lands, specifically Prague.

At the same time, however, Copernicus was perceived as an important representative of the Slavs, and as someone with whom some prominent Czechs could be compared, and thus their greatness should also be shown. This was particularly true of Comenius, whose 300th birthday was celebrated by the Czechs (and some Slovaks) in 1892. The Slovak writer Ján Zigmundík (1846–1938) wrote about Comenius in the Slovak *National Newspaper* that he was a personality

whose merits for world culture are no less than those of Copernicus [(...) and who] like Copernicus laid the irreversible foundations of astronomy, enabled the development of knowledge of material nature and its forces, so Comenius laid the granite foundations of spiritual development, ennoblement and moralisation of mankind (Zigmundík 1892, pp. 1–3).

Czech-language publications in the second half of the 19th century, however, were mainly characterised by celebrations of Copernicus's alleged Czech roots. František Josef Studnička presented Copernicus's Czech origins as *a fait accompli* in the 1873 brochure quoted above:

For us Czechs, however, today [the 400th anniversary of Copernicus's birth] is of even greater significance than for other nations: for Copernicus was a *Slav* by origin, a *Pole with Bohemian roots!* (Studnička 1873, p. 2).

Studnička even consistently spelled Copernicus's name as *Koprník* (instead of *Koperník*), which is the name of the Czech village from which his grandfather is said to have come.¹⁵ Copernicus's alleged Czech origin was also mentioned in the biographies of Copernicus published in the contemporary Czech press in 1873 (*Našinec* 1873, p. 1; *Svobodný* 1873, p. 1).

¹² Palacký referred to the “research of Polish scientists” and the Czech historian Bohuslav Balbín (1621–1688). See also: Horský 1975, p. 49.

¹³ The manuscript was originally owned by Georg Joachim Rheticus (1514–1574), a mathematician and astronomer who was one of Copernicus's students. On the history of the manuscript cf. Vetter 1932; Pietrzyk 2021; see also Šimák 1910, p. 1; on the history of other copies of this manuscript cf. Gingerich 2005.

¹⁴ Amerling 1840, p. 63; However, German bibliographer Friedrich Karl Gottlob Hirsching (1762–1800) mentioned the manuscript stored in the Nostitz Library more than 50 years earlier – see Hirsching 1788, p. 472. For further literature on the history of the manuscript from the second half of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, including Polish scholarship, see Zíbrt 1912, p. 450.

¹⁵ The village of Koprník is located in Central Bohemia near Mladá Boleslav and has about 100 inhabitants. The village's Wikipedia page says that it is probably the original home of the Copernicus family (Wikipedia 2025); the website of the municipality of Kněžmost, to which Koprník now belongs, also commemorates Copernicus's Czech origins and lists him as an significant personality of the municipality (Obec Kněžmost 2025).

Copernicus was depicted, among other things, as “a star of the first magnitude on the horizon of science and the great pride of Slavic civilization” (*Našinec* 1873, p. 1), as “son of a Slavic mother” (*Svobodný* 1873, p. 1), “a great man of Czech blood” (*Našinec* 1873, p. 2). It was not uncommon for newspaper articles of the time to emphasise the link between the existence of these “great men” and the nation:

Individuals, the Greats, are the most eloquent proof of the intellectual power and strength, the talents and abilities of the whole nation (*Svobodný* 1873, p. 1).

Even then, however, there were texts that questioned Copernicus’s Czech origins, citing the latest historical research (Šembera 1873, pp. 1–2).¹⁶

The image of Copernicus as a man of Czech blood persisted in the Bohemian lands even at the time of the Jubilee Exhibition in Prague in 1891. Copernicus’ manuscript *De revolutionibus* was also displayed at the exhibition (*Katalog* 1891, p. 161). The first information about Copernicus in the exhibition guide was that he was “a famous astronomer whose family came from Bohemia” (Kronbauer 1892, p. 91). This view remained widespread even during the inter-war period of the First Czechoslovak Republic, as can be seen, for example, in the articles celebrating the 450th anniversary of the astronomer’s birth in 1923 (Nachtkal 1923, p. 7), in contemporary Czechoslovak history textbooks (Štorch, Čondl 1937, p. 7), or encyclopedias (*Masarykův slovník* 1929, p. 91).

3. Interwar intermezzo: the book that never was

In interwar Czechoslovakia, Copernicus was not celebrated as much as he was in the Bohemian lands in the last quarter of the 19th century. This was partly due to the fact that this period did not have such an important anniversary associated with this astronomer as 1873, and also because the Czechs gained “their” state in the form of Czechoslovakia in 1918 and began to celebrate more “their” personalities and less the personalities of other Slavic nations (and Copernicus was no longer as much of a Czech for the Czechs as he had been in the 19th century).

However, his name continued to appear in public from time to time. This was often in connection with his manuscript *De revolutionibus*, which was still kept in the Nostitz Library in Prague and, as mentioned above, was exhibited at the Land Jubilee Exhibition in Prague in 1891. In the late 1920s, the Czechoslovak State Observatory decided to publish a photographic reproduction of this Copernican manuscript, for which it also obtained the permission of the owner Erwein Nostitz-Rieneck.¹⁷ The initiative is said to have come from a Prague manufacturer and astronomer Josef Jan Frič.¹⁸ However, plans to publish a photographic reproduction of this work had appeared before. For example, in May 1922, at the meeting of the International Astronomical Union in Rome, the Polish historian of science Aleksander Birkenmajer proposed this idea.¹⁹ By this time, a number of photographs of parts of the manuscript had already been printed in various publications.²⁰

The planned publication was announced by the Czech mathematician and historian of science Quido Vetter (1881–1960) at the First International Congress for the History of Science

¹⁶ Alois Vojtěch Šembera (1807–1882) was a Czech linguist and literary historian.

¹⁷ MIA CAS. *State observatory*, box 29, inv. no. 148, Letter from the secretariat of Erwein Nostitz-Rieneck to the directory of State Observatory in Prague, 23 April 1930.

¹⁸ Josef Jan Frič (1861–1945) was a manufacturer of optical, astronomical and other measuring instruments and the founder of the Ondřejov Observatory near Prague (1898).

¹⁹ MIA CAS. *State observatory*, box 29, inv. no. 148, Letter from the State Observatory in Prague to Erwein Nostitz-Rieneck (undated, typewritten copy); see also *Transaction of the International Astronomical Union*. Vol. I, 1922; A. Birkenmajer’s father Ludwik Birkenmajer studied Copernicus’s manuscript in the Nostitz Library in Prague in 1896 (Pietrzyk 2021, p. 18).

²⁰ MIA CAS. *State observatory*, box 29, inv. no. 148, Letter from the directorate of the Copernicus Museum to Erwein Nostitz-Rieneck, 14 January 1930.

in Paris in May 1929 and again at the Second Congress for the History of Science in London in the summer of 1931. The announcement of the publication was also advertised in several international journals dealing with the history of science.²¹ However, the main promotional channel was to be the mailing of brochures around the world. The brochure was published in Czech (150 copies), French (5,900), German (1,450) and English (1,050). The brochures were sent mainly to university libraries, faculties of philosophy and natural sciences, observatories and other libraries and institutes. The subscription ended on 1 October 1931 and was unofficially extended until the end of 1931. However, there were not enough subscriptions to publish the book. The director of the State Observatory, František Nušl (1867–1951), later commented that “today there is no interest in expensive editions of cultural documents, although many of them are essential cultural assets”. The global economic crisis, he argued, undoubtedly contributed to the failure.²² Thus, in the end, the State Observatory had to abandon the publication of Copernicus’s manuscript due to the low number of submissions. Allegedly, out of 9,500 prospectuses sent out, it received only 43 applications, 10 of which came from Czechoslovakia.²³

Although Copernicus’s manuscript was certainly the pride of inter-war Prague, the expectations of Czech astronomers and other scientists of its worldwide popularity were probably exaggerated. The unsuccessful attempt to publish a facsimile (or more precisely a photographic reproduction) of the manuscript was also the last major milestone in its history on Czechoslovak territory (not counting its survival of the Second World War and its post-war nationalization by the Czechoslovak state). More than twenty years after this unsuccessful attempt, although Copernicus’s work was again reported in the Czechoslovak press, its history was already being written on Polish territory. The manuscript ended its Czech journey as a symbol of Czechoslovak-Polish (socialist) brotherhood.

4. 1953: Postponed Copernican celebrations

In 1953, the world, including Czechoslovakia, commemorated the 410th anniversary of the death of Nicolaus Copernicus. Since the 400th anniversary fell during the Second World War, the 1953 anniversary was intended to serve as a kind of substitute for the little-celebrated quadricentennial.²⁴ Although the same anniversary also marked the publication of *De revolutionibus*, the work was discussed primarily in the context of Copernicus’s life and broader intellectual legacy rather than as a celebration of its publication anniversary. As one of the official Czechoslovak documents of the time noted, the 1953 Copernicus celebrations were meant to represent

²¹ Specifically, these were *Archeion*, *Isis*, and *Archiv für Geschichte der Mathematik, Naturwissenschaften und Technik*. MIA CAS. *State observatory*, box 29, inv. no. 148, Letter from Quido Vetter to an unknown addressee, Prague, 5 January 1932.

²² MIA CAS. *State observatory*, box 29, inv. no. 148, František Nušl: Report on preparations for the publication of a photographic reproduction of Nicolaus Copernicus’ manuscript “De Revolutionibus...” and on the results of the subscription to it, Prague, 21 May 1932.

²³ MIA CAS. *State observatory*, box 29, inv. no. 148, Letter from the Directorate of the State Observatory, 28 January 1932; Some documents give slightly different figures. For example, František Nušl, in the report quoted above, lists 11 subscribers from Czechoslovakia, 8 from Germany, 6 from the United States, 4 from Poland, 3 from Great Britain, 2 each from Sweden, Canada and China, and finally 1 each from the Netherlands, Japan, Belgium, Romania, Chile and France. MIA CAS. *State observatory*, box 29, inv. no. 148, František Nušl: Report on preparations...; see also: Seydl 1931, pp. 173–174; in this article, Seydl reports 41 subscribers after sending out 8500 prospectuses, which he describes as a “pitiful” result.

²⁴ The quadricentennial was celebrated mainly by Nazi Germany, in whose interpretation Copernicus was a German (Kokowski 2009, p. 57). In 1943, however, conferences on Copernicus were held in the Soviet Union (Kokowski 2009, p. 57; Hübner 2024, p. 45); (American and Polish) celebrations were also held in the United States (Gingerich 1999, p. 48; Kokowski 2009, pp. 56–57).

a cleansing of Nazi injustices and falsifications and a clarification of the importance of Copernicus for progress and the peace movement.²⁵

Thus the Czechoslovak interpretation of Copernicus's role was similar to the contemporary official Polish view.²⁶

The Czechoslovak celebration of Copernicus was to emphasise three areas in particular. The first was “the true mission of science, the peaceful and humane meaning of scientific endeavor, and the importance of science for the creation of the new man.” The second area was “the epochal significance of Copernicus for the new age,” including his “scientific revolutionism” and his importance for the materialist conception of the world. The third area to be demonstrated by the celebrations was not only “Copernicus's belonging to the Polish nation,” but also the Czechoslovak-Polish “fraternal relationship.”²⁷ A number of local institutions were involved in the Czechoslovak celebrations, ranging from the Czechoslovak Committee for the Defense of Peace, the newly established Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Charles University, to the Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge or the Czechoslovak Astronomical Society.²⁸

One of the most important commemorative events in Czechoslovakia was a celebratory meeting held in May 1953 at the Carolinum in Prague. The ceremony, which was attended by the Polish ambassador Wiktor Grosz, was opened by the then rector of Charles University, Jan Mukařovský, and the Argentine writer Alfredo Valera, who represented the World Peace Council. The two opening speakers and the other speeches at the ceremony focused mainly on the themes of peace and strengthening brotherhood between nations (*Věstník* 1953, p. 119).

In 1953, Czechoslovak newspapers and magazines also began to publish more articles devoted to Copernicus, portraying him as a “fighter against obscurantism,” (Novák 1953b, p. 29), a great “revolutionary” (Novák 1953a, p. 4), “fighter for progress” (Sviták 1953, p. 4). His characterization as “the one who stopped the sun and moved the earth” was also popular (Horský 1953, p. 2; Rybka 1953, p. 11; Špaček 1953, p. 178).²⁹

Although most texts defined him primarily as a Pole, there were also references to his Slavicness (Mohr 1953, p. 5; Zich 1953, pp. 169–171). The contemporary ideological colouring of the evaluation of Copernicus's personality and historical role can be seen, for example, in the speech of the astronomer Mikuláš Mohr, according to which Copernicus was

one of the leading watchmen and the first fearless fighters in the historical struggle for the emancipation of man, who in his own way contributed to the fact that one day a classless human society will become a reality (Mohr 1953, pp. 5–6).

²⁵ MIA, Coll. *Czechoslovak Astronomical Society*, box 33, inv. no. 198, Minutes of a meeting on the celebration of the cultural anniversary of Nicolaus Copernicus in Czechoslovakia in 1953.

²⁶ For the Polish view see Hübner 2024; on the Polish celebrations in 1953 cf. also Chmielak, Popławski 2017.

²⁷ MIA CAS. *Czechoslovak Astronomical Society*, box 33, inv. no. 198, Minutes of a meeting on the celebration of the cultural anniversary of Nicolaus Copernicus in Czechoslovakia in 1953; Also from the Polish (government) point of view, the Copernicus celebrations in 1953 were intended to contribute to the “fraternisation of nations” (Chmielak, Popławski 2017, p. 110).

²⁸ MIA CAS. *Czechoslovak Astronomical Society*, box 33, inv. no. 198, Minutes of a meeting on the celebration of the cultural anniversary of Nicolaus Copernicus in Czechoslovakia in 1953; A year prior to the Copernican celebrations, members of the Czechoslovak Astronomical Society prepared a significant but ideologically inflected publication entitled *Astronomie v Československu od dob nejstarších do dneška* (Astronomy in Czechoslovakia from the Earliest Times to the Present), issued in a print run of 8,400 copies. Its introduction explicitly linked the popularisation of astronomy to Czechoslovakia's new people's democratic system, presenting the book as one that “certainly could not have been published under bourgeois rule” (Slouka et al. 1952, p. 5).

²⁹ It is originally a verse by poet Jan Nepomucen Kamiński from 1828: *Polskie wydało go plemię / Wstrzymał słońce, ruszył ziemię*.

In a similar spirit, the travelling exhibition on Copernicus was opened in Prague's Wenceslas Square in June 1953 and then moved to Bratislava and other regional cities. The motto of the exhibition was "Progressive science – a fighter for peace and a better future" (*Práce* 1953a, p. 5; *Literární* 1953, p. 9).³⁰

On the Copernican Jubilee, his manuscript *De revolutionibus* came to the fore again. After the Second World War, with the change of regime in Czechoslovakia, the owner of the manuscript also changed. When the property of the noble Nostitz family in Czechoslovakia was nationalized in 1945, their library was transferred first to the National Museum and then to the University Library. In 1953, the manuscript was loaned to Poland for an exhibition in Warsaw commemorating the 410th anniversary of the death of this eminent astronomer. The manuscript was also exhibited at the Polish Academy of Sciences during the Copernicus Session in September 1953 (Buchar 1953, pp. 292–293; Pietrzyk 2021, p. 18).

The handover of the manuscript to Poland in September 1953, which took place in Prague's Wallenstein Palace, was also an important cultural and political event. On the Czechoslovak side, the Minister of Education Ladislav Štoll, the Minister of Culture Václav Kopecký and the astronomer František Link were present. When receiving the manuscript, the Polish ambassador Wiktor Grosz emphasised the Czechoslovak-Polish dimension of the event. He expressed the gratitude of the Polish nation to the "brotherly" Czech nation for "preserving and protecting this great monument of progressive human thought from the storms of history" and described the manuscript as "a monument of friendship" between Poland and Czechoslovakia (*Rudé právo* 1953, p. 2). The Czech media referred to the handover of the manuscript as a "loan" (*propůjčení*) (*Práce* 1953b, p. 9; *Rudé právo* 1953, p. 2), i.e. temporary, while the Polish media referred to it as a "transfer" (*przekazanie*) rather than a loan, i.e. without any mention of the need for a future return (*Echo* 1953, pp. 1–2; *Gazeta Krakowska* 1953, p. 1). Similar reports of the manuscript's transfer appeared abroad. For example, the American *Journal of Franklin Institute* ran a headline reading "Poland Receives Priceless Copernicus Manuscript from Czechoslovakia" on this event. As well as "receive", the text mentions that the manuscript was "presented" and "returned" to Poland (*Journal* 1953, p. 550).

Since the "loan" in 1953, the Polish government has been trying to acquire the manuscript so that it does not have to be returned to Czechoslovakia. The historian Aleksander Birkenmajer was also involved in the negotiations. In the end, the valuable document was given to Poland in exchange for a Czech Bible from the early 15th century, which is now kept in the National Library in Prague (Pietrzyk 2021, p. 19; Svobodová 1996, p. 31). In 1957, the Polish government also donated the Wrocław manuscript of John Amos Comenius's *Labyrint světa a ráj srdce* (The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart) to Czechoslovakia, presenting it as a reciprocal gift from the Polish people to the Czechoslovak people (Svobodová 1996, p. 68; Urbánková 1975, p. 158; Haubelt 1974, p. 71; *Rudé právo* 1957, p. 1).

While the "loan" of the Copernicus's manuscript took place on Czechoslovak soil, the donation of the manuscript took place in Warsaw at the seat of the Polish government, as the manuscript had been in Poland since its loan in 1953. In July 1956, the manuscript was handed over in person by the Czechoslovak Prime Minister Viliam Široký, who was on an official visit to Poland at the time. Many Polish dignitaries attended the ceremony, including the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Ochab, the President of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Jan Dembowski, and others. As three years earlier, the importance of Czechoslovak-Polish relations was again the focus of the speeches at the ceremony. In addition to this ceremony, the Czechoslovak Prime Minister paid tribute to

³⁰ In the Czechoslovak environment, however, the Hussites were presented in ideological discourse as the main historical predecessors of the Communists (Randák 2017).

Copernicus by laying a bouquet of red roses at his monument in front of the Polish Academy of Sciences in the centre of Warsaw (*Dziennik* 1956, p. 1; *Rudé právo* 1956, p. 1).

Unlike in 1953, the Polish and Czechoslovak media agreed on how to describe the events surrounding the manuscript – Czech journalists wrote explicitly about the handover (*odevzdání*) (*Lidová demokracie* 1956, p. 1) and “gift” (*dar*) (*Rudé právo* 1956, p. 1), while Polish headlines again, as in 1953, announced the transfer (*przekazanie*) of the manuscript to Poland (*Dziennik* 1956, p. 1). Both ceremonies – the loan and the gift of Copernicus’s manuscript to Poland – presented Copernicus as a Pole and did not even hint at a possible Czech origin. However, this was not the case in all contemporary Czechoslovak texts about Copernicus – there were still some that presented the Czech origin of Copernicus’s grandfather at least as probable (Metelka 1953, p. 2).

5. Czechoslovakia celebrates the Copernican Quincentenary (1973)

Barely twenty years after the Copernican celebrations of 1953, almost the whole world was celebrating Copernicus again – this time on the 500th anniversary of his birth. The global nature of the celebrations was underlined by the fact that 1973 was declared the “Year of Copernicus” by UNESCO. The celebrations in Czechoslovakia were to be overseen by the Copernicus Commission, established in October 1972 within the Czechoslovak Astronomical Society at the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. The Commission was chaired by the astronomer and then Director of the Astronomical Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Luboš Perek. Its official task was to assist in the organisation of various Copernican exhibitions in Czechoslovakia, to organise a two-day seminar on Copernicanism, or to prepare a Czech translation of Copernicus’ works.³¹ Similarly, and partly asymmetrically, a “Committee for the Preparation of the Celebration of Nicolaus Copernicus” was also established in Bratislava under the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Socialist Republic.³² Its members included representatives of the Institute of Astronomy of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, the Comenius University in Bratislava, and other institutions (Kopčan, Mackovič 1973, pp. 5–6).

Shortly after the creation of the Czechoslovak Copernicus Commission and on the eve of the opening of the “Year of Copernicus”, in November 1972, Paweł Czartoryski, head of the Center for Copernican Research at the Institute of the History of Science and Technology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, visited Prague. He met with the Czechoslovak Commission and gave a public lecture at the Prague Planetarium about Copernicus and astronomy in Cracow in the 15th century.³³ The lecture left its mark on the contemporary discourse of Czechoslovak-Polish friendship, as one of its aims was to highlight “Czechoslovak-Polish scientific contacts in the past and present”.³⁴ According to Czartoryski, the connection between Czech and Polish science in the past was demonstrated by the fact that

³¹ MIA CAS. *Czechoslovak Astronomical Society within the CSAS*, box 7, inv. no. 49, Final report on the activities of the Copernicus Commission of the Czech Academy of Sciences and proposal to close this commission, 22 December 1974.

³² From 1969 Czechoslovakia was a federation – it consisted of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic. However, not all institutions were divided symmetrically. This was the case with the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences – there was a Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and then the Slovak Academy of Sciences operating in Slovakia, but the Czech Academy of Sciences was not created. A similar asymmetry existed with the committees for the Copernican celebrations – there was a Czechoslovak and a Slovak committee, but no Czech committee.

³³ MIA CAS. *Czechoslovak Astronomical Society within the CSAS*, box 7, inv. no. 49, List of events planned or held to mark the 500th anniversary of the birth of Nicolaus Copernicus.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, Concept: Report on the stay of Doc. Dr. P. Czartoryski in Czechoslovakia.

the high level of astronomy in Cracow was due to the fact that its founders had studied astronomy at the University of Prague and brought the Prague tradition to Cracow (*Ibid.*).

Czartoryski also visited Slovakia, where he attended a seminar on Copernicus organised by the Socialist Academy of Slovakia and the Institute of Education in Bratislava (Kopčan, Mackovič 1973, p. 5).

However, the Czechoslovak celebrations were concentrated mainly in 1973, and more precisely in the spring months (the 500th anniversary of Copernicus's birth was on 19 February 1973). One of the highlights of these celebrations was the above-mentioned seminar on Copernicanism, held in April 1973, and the festive meeting at the Great Hall of the Carolinum in Prague on the eve of the opening of this seminar. The ceremony was opened by the rector of Charles University, Bedřich Švestka, with speeches by the president of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Jaroslav Kožešník, and Vladimír Vanýsek, head of the Department of Astrophysics and Astronomy at the Faculty of Mathematics and Physics of Charles University. The ceremony was also attended by Czechoslovak President Ludvík Svoboda, Prime Minister Ladislav Štrougal and Polish Ambassador Lucjan Motyka (Klimešová 1973, p. 372; Rybka 1973, pp. 244–254).³⁵ The two-day seminar organised by the Czechoslovak Astronomical Society under the auspices of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences was then held at the Institute of Theoretical and Applied Mechanics of the CSAS on the grounds of the Emmaus Monastery in Prague.³⁶ A similar seminar was also held in Bratislava in October of the same year organised by the Slovak Astronomical Society of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava.³⁷

As Copernicus's manuscript *De revolutionibus* had already been on Polish territory for twenty years by the time of the 500th anniversary of Copernicus' birth, it did not play such a significant role in the context of the Czechoslovak celebrations. However, it continued to be an important source for Czech and Slovak scholars, as evidenced by the publication of a facsimile of this work with manuscript annotations by Tycho de Brahe in 1971, edited by Zdeněk Horský (1929–1988) (Koperník, Brahe 1971).³⁸ Zdeněk Horský also contributed to the Slovak translation of *De revolutionibus*, published in Bratislava in 1974 by the Slovak Academy of Sciences (Koperník 1974). The decision to publish a Slovak translation of the work was taken by the Presidium of the Slovak Academy of Sciences on the initiative of the philosopher Vojtech Filkorn. The text was translated by several contributors, and some sections were first translated into Czech and only subsequently into Slovak. This was the case, for example, with chapters translated by Zdeněk Horský,³⁹ who at the time was prohibited from publishing with the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences publishing house (Hermann, Hladký 2011, p. 20).⁴⁰

At the time, Horský was arguably the foremost expert on Copernicus in Czechoslovakia, and a figure of international significance, largely due to his professional background in both history and astronomy. Horský, who studied philosophy and musicology at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University and astronomy and mathematics at the Faculty of Science, initially

³⁵ *Ibidem*, Invitation to the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the birth of Nicolaus Copernicus.

³⁶ The papers from this seminar, including the discussion papers, were published in English translation in the journal *Memoirs and Observations* (Memoirs 1975).

³⁷ MIA CAS. *Czechoslovak Astronomical Society within the CSAS*, box 7, inv. no. 49, Invitation to the conference on the 500th anniversary of the birth of Nicolaus Copernicus; See also: A SAS, Coll. Slovenská spoločnosť pre dejiny vied a techniky pri SAV, box 2, inv. no. 43, sign. B II 5, Report on the conference marking the 500th anniversary of the birth of Nicolaus Copernicus.

³⁸ However, the authorship of Tycho de Brahe's notes has been questioned (Rosen 1981a; Rosen 1981b).

³⁹ MIA CAS. *Czechoslovak Astronomical Society within the CSAS*, box 7, inv. no. 49, Zdeněk Horský: Report on a work trip to Bratislava (June 1972).

⁴⁰ Zdeněk Horský's Czech translation was finally published more than 40 years later (Koperník, Horský 2016).

worked at the Institute of History of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.⁴¹ However, due to the post-1968 normalisation purges, he was forced to leave the Institute in 1970 and ended up working at the Institute of Astronomy. His publishing activities and travel abroad were restricted. Nevertheless, the Copernicus anniversary in 1973 allowed Horský to publish on Copernicus to a limited extent, participate in exhibitions, and contribute to the aforementioned Slovak translation of *De revolutionibus*. His trip to the Copernicus conference in Paris in June 1973, where he presented a paper entitled “Mathematics and Physics in Copernicus’s Astronomy,” was his last for a long time (Hermann, Hladký 2011, pp. 19–21). In addition to his scientific work, he was also involved in popularisation activities and was the author of a shorter book on Copernicus’s life, which was published in 1973 (Horský 1973, republished in Koperník, Horský 2016, pp. 12–77).

Although the Slovak Academy of Sciences intended the Slovak translation of *De revolutionibus* to be “semi-popular,”⁴² it was not the main result of the Czechoslovak campaign to celebrate Copernicus’s anniversary for the widest audience. In fact, a large number of exhibitions were aimed at the general public. These included the travelling exhibition “Nicolaus Copernicus – Creator of a New Image of the World”, exhibition at the Prague Planetarium “Nicolaus Copernicus – Life and Work”, or the exhibition of Copernican literature organized by the State Library of the Czechoslovak Republic in cooperation with the Astronomical Society of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (Bouška 1973; Horský, Urbánková 1973). Exhibitions and lectures on Copernicus were also prepared in Bratislava and other Slovak cities (Kopčan, Mackovič 1973, pp. 5–6). Copernicus was also the subject of many articles in the Czechoslovak press at the time, including the most widely circulated newspaper and press organ of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, *Rudé právo* (Guth 1973).

The Polish astronomer was also honoured by the Brno Observatory, which was named after him in April 1973 and from then on was officially known as the Nicolaus Copernicus Observatory and Planetarium in Brno. The renaming ceremony itself became an important part of the Copernican celebrations, attended by high-ranking state officials, including the then Czechoslovak Minister of Culture, the Polish Ambassador and other important representatives (*Rudé právo* 1973). Two commemorative plaques – bronze circular reliefs were placed on the observatory to mark the renaming. The first commemorative plaque bore the new name of the observatory and the inscription “19 February 1973 – 500 years since the birth of the creator of the new image of the world.” The second had a portrait of Copernicus with the inscription “He stopped the sun and made the earth move. In his footsteps we conquer the universe” (Crhonek et al. 1981, p. 334; Gabrielová 1984, p. 8).⁴³ At present, however, the plaques no longer adorn the entrance to the observatory, as they were removed in August 2010 during the observatory’s reconstruction and are now stored in the observatory’s repository (Menšíková 2025; Říhová, Jakubcová, Kořánová 2025).

In 2010, however, Copernicus not only disappeared from the walls of the observatory, but also from its name. It is now officially called the Brno Observatory and Planetarium. The renaming was approved by the Brno City Council in October 2010, with the explanation by the director of the observatory Jiří Dušek that it was “not an expression of disrespect to the Polish astronomer,” but an attempt to switch to a “simpler” and “more concise” name that “expresses the long-term orientation of the organisation towards the present and the future”. It has also been pointed out that Copernicus was never in Brno and has no connection with it. Moreover,

⁴¹ In the context of Czechoslovak-Polish relations, it is worth mentioning that his book *Poznávání vesmíru* (Exploring the Universe), written with astronomer Miroslav Plavec and devoted in part to Copernicus (Horský, Plavec 1962), was published in Polish translation in 1966 (Horský, Plavec 1966).

⁴² MIA CAS. *Czechoslovak Astronomical Society within the CSAS*, box 7, inv. no. 49, Zdeněk Horský: Report on a work trip to Bratislava (June 1972).

⁴³ The memorial plaques were created by Miloš Slezák and Miroslav Šimorda.

the addition of Copernicus's name to the observatory in 1973 was not entirely spontaneous or an expression of a desire to name the observatory after the Polish astronomer. It was reportedly a kind of emergency solution to avoid naming the observatory after the first Soviet cosmonaut, Valentina Tereshkova, which was being considered in party circles (Dušek 2010b, p. 48; 2010a). This renaming episode thus shows that perhaps not all acts of popularisation or celebration of Copernicus in 1973 were based on a genuine desire to commemorate the stargazer or as the implementation of party and government decisions. Whatever the circumstances of the decision to rename the observatory in this way, the result was that between 1973 and 2010 the observatory bore Copernicus's name, and that the 1973 renaming was disseminated to the public and contributed in no small measure to the popularisation of the Polish astronomer.

The two commemorative plaques unveiled at the Brno Observatory were not the only artistic objects created in Czechoslovakia at the time of the Copernican Quincentenary, although the number of similar Czechoslovak monuments cannot be compared with those created in Poland at the time.⁴⁴ The monument to these celebrations was also a larger-than-life bronze statue of Copernicus by Tibor Bártfay unveiled in 1973 on the university campus in Mlýnská dolina, Bratislava.⁴⁵ The sculpture depicts the astronomer in a slightly stooped posture with his gaze fixed on the sky (Droppová 2022). Tibor Bártfay was also the author of the bust of Copernicus that traveled through Slovakia as part of a traveling exhibition about the astronomer (*Svet vedy* 1972, p. 226).

The Czechoslovak-Polish context consisted not only in the celebration of a Polish scientist and the participation of Polish representatives in various ceremonies, but also in the publication of several Polish books on Copernicus in Czech (Bietkowski, Zonn 1972; Iwaniszewska 1972; Śniadecki 1973) or Slovak (Szostakowski 1973; Turkowski 1973) translation and the participation of Czech and Slovak educators, journalists and astronomy popularisers in the study excursion to Poland (Kopčan, Mackovič 1973, pp. 5–6; *Večerník* 1972, p. 2). The 1972 Polish biographical film Copernicus by Ewa and Czesław Petelski, starring Andrzej Kopiczyński, was also shown in Czechoslovak cinemas. For the local audience, it was interesting that the film was also shot in Czechoslovakia, as the town of Telč, located in the Vysočina region, represented Italy (Nyklová, Kopiczyński 1973). Last but not least, the Polish celebrations were also extended to the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia, as the Polish Cultural Centre organised a competition for Polish schoolchildren (Kola 2025, p. 114).⁴⁶ The Czechoslovak celebrations of Nicolaus Copernicus in 1973 were thus reflected in many areas, including exhibitions, book production, schools or cinematography.

6. Conclusion

The study looked at the celebration of an eminent scientist and historical figure in a country to which he did not belong – with the exception of nineteenth-century ideas about Copernicus's Czech origins. It is from this perspective that the celebrations described must be interpreted: it is a view of the celebrations of a great man from a neighbouring country, and the emphasis was therefore in many cases on Czechoslovak-Polish relations. Copernicus's manuscript *De revolutionibus* also became part of these intergovernmental relations in the 1950s.

While the year 1873 was marked by Czech-German rivalry and the Czechs spontaneously celebrated the Polish and then also a little Czech astronomer, this interest waned somewhat in the inter-war period. The Czechs had their own state (the first Czechoslovak Republic) and

⁴⁴ For Poland, see, for example: Kola 2025.

⁴⁵ MIA CAS. *Czechoslovak Astronomical Society within the CSAS*, box 7, inv. no. 49, Proposal to establish a Czechoslovak Copernican Committee.

⁴⁶ On the activities of the Polish Association in Czechoslovakia in connection with the Copernicus Year 1973, see also Macura 1973.

celebrated more “their” heroes. The two Cold War Copernican anniversaries: the postponed celebrations in 1953 and 1973 were already in the spirit of celebrating the brotherhood of the two socialist states, although the discursive image of Copernicus changed even within the twenty-year period between the two anniversaries. As Copernicus’s role as a peacemaker faded, he increasingly came to be seen as a scientist, and a popular image grounded in the scientific research began to take hold. Nevertheless, the revolutionary character of his ideas and work—and his struggle “against obscurantism”—proved more enduring and continued to shape his popular image.

In addition to the official Copernican celebrations that took place in the Bohemian lands and later in Czechoslovakia on the occasion of the astronomer’s important anniversaries, Copernicus and his work were also the subject of scientific research. František Josef Studnička, Quido Vetter and Zdeněk Horský are just a few examples of the most prominent experts who focused on this topic. However, scientific discourse, as distinct from popular discourse, was not the subject of this study (although in the case of the former, these types of discourse overlapped to some extent).

Since Copernicus was not “their” hero for the Czechs and Slovaks, the celebrations were more official, statesmanlike and ceremonial, but they also served to promote Czechoslovak-Polish cultural exchange. However, the instrumentalisation and ritualisation of the Copernican celebrations reached its peak in moments when it was not a pure reception of Polish celebrations, migrating objects, theses and ideas. The emptiness of Copernicus’s personality and its instrumentalisation was then fully revealed in 1973 when the Brno Observatory was named after him. His qualities and the reasons for naming it after him at that time were that his anniversary was just being celebrated and that he was not Valentina Tereshkova. Nevertheless, in 2014, a plaque commemorating the Polish astronomer was unveiled in the Czech village of Koprník. The plaque is stating that “the fortress of the nobles of Koprník, from whose family the eminent astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus most probably descended, used to stand nearby” (Kuldová 2014). At the unveiling of the commemorative plaque, the mayor of Koprník expressed the idea of using the famous astronomer to link the village with places in Poland that claim Copernicus as their own (*Ibidem*). Thus, the story of the Czech(oslovak)-Polish friendship under the aegis of Copernicus is probably not over yet and perhaps, as in 1873, the astronomer will be celebrated in the Czech Republic as a great man “with Czech blood” on some future Copernican anniversary.

7. Sources of funding for the article

The study was funded by the Czech Science Foundation (GAČR), project No. GF21-45624L “Czechoslovak-Polish Scholarly Entanglements in the Cold War Between High Politics and Individual Strategies”.

8. Acknowledgments

The author would like to thank two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions.

Bibliography

Archival sources

Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences, *Czechoslovak Astronomical Society*.
Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences, *Czechoslovak Astronomical Society within the CSAS*.
Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences, *State Observatory*.

Studies

- Amerling, Karel Slavoj 1840: Kopernijkův rukopis w Praze: „De corporum coelestium revolutionibus”. *Nowiny z oboru literatury, umění a věd (Příloha ku Kwětu)* 16 (6 August), p. 63.
- Bietkowski, Henryk; Zonn, Włodzimierz 1972: *Kopernikův svět*. Translated by Jan Jersák. Praha: Orbis.
- Bouška, Jiří 1973: Výstavy o Koperníkovi. *Vesmír* 52(7), p. 220.
- Buchar, Emil 1953: Zpráva o Koperníkových oslavách ve Varšavě. *Věstník Československé akademie věd* 62(9–10), pp. 292–293.
- Chmielak, Tomasz; Popławski, Błażej 2017: Rok Kopernika 1953 i 1973 jako przejawy polityki komemoracji w Polsce Ludowej. *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 61(2), pp. 105–114. DOI: 10.5604/01.3001.0010.4149. URL: <https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0010.4149>.
- Crhonek, Iloš et al. 1981: *Brno v architektuře a umění*. Brno: Blok.
- Čech 1873: Slavnost Koperníkova v katolické besedě pražské. *Čech* (18 February), p. 1.
- Čupr, Karel 1943: Mikuláš Koperník u nás. *Říše hvězd* 24(5), pp. 94–97.
- Dropková, Zoja 2022: *Mikuláš Koperník*. [In:] *Umenie mesta Bratislavy*. Galéria mesta Bratislavy. URL: <https://www.umeniemesta.sk/diela/recAObXRhRRpkArO7> (last modified on 15 November 2022).
- Durdík, Josef 1873a: *O velikém hvězdáři Koperníkovi*. Praha: Jan Otto.
- Durdík, Josef 1873b: Pražský rukopis Koperníkův De revolutionibus orbium caelestium. *Světobzor* 7, pp. 77–78.
- Dušek, Jiří 2010a: Brněnská hvězdárna mění své jméno. [In:] *Astro.cz* (19 October). URL: <https://www.astro.cz/clanky/ostatni/brnenska-hvezdarna-meni-sve-jmeno.html> (accessed 20 March 2025).
- Dušek, Jiří 2010b: *Půl století brněnské hvězdárny. Půl tisíciletí brněnské astronomie*. Brno: Hvězdárna a planetarium v Brně. ISBN 978-80-85882-29-2. URL: <https://www.hvezdarna.cz/wp-content/uploads/historie.pdf> (accessed 20 March 2025).
- Dziennik* 1956: Dar rządu Czechosłowacji. Przekazanie Polsce rękopisu dzieła Kopernika „De revolutionibus orbium coelestium”. *Dziennik Polski* (10 July), p. 1.
- Echo* 1953: Nieśmiertelne dzieło. Rękopis Kopernika „De revolutionibus orbium coelestium” przekazany narodowi polskiemu przez rząd Czechosłowacji. *Echo Krakowskie* (17 September), pp. 1–2.
- Fidelius, Petr 1986: *L'esprit post-totalitaire*. Paris: Bernard Grasset. ISBN 2-246-36691-7.
- Fidelius, Petr 2016: *Řeč komunistické moci: nové, rozšířené vydání*. Praha: Triáda. ISBN 978-80-7474-176-0.
- Gabrielová, Bronislava 1984: Sochařská tvorba Miloše Slezáka. *Československý architekt* 30(6), p. 8.
- Gazeta Krakowska* 1953: Rząd czechosłowacki przekazał narodowi polskiemu oryginał nieśmiertelnego dzieła Kopernika „O obrotach ciał niebieskich”. *Gazeta Krakowska* (17 September), p. 1.
- Gazeta Warszawska* 1873: Korrespondencya Gazety Warszawskiej, Praga, d. 11 marca 1873 r. *Gazeta Warszawska* (15 March) 100(60), p. 3.
- Gingerich, Owen 1999: The Copernican Quinquecentennial and Its Predecessors: Historical Insights and National Agendas. *Osiris* 14, pp. 37–60. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/301960> (accessed 30 April 2025).
- Gingerich, Owen 2005: *The book nobody read: chasing the revolutions of Nicolaus Copernicus*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Gross, Radosław; Tomkiewicz, Ryszard 2023: *Obchody pięćsetnej rocznicy urodzin Mikołaja Kopernika w województwie olsztyńskim w 1973 roku / Celebrations of the 500th Birth Anniversary of Nicolaus Copernicus in Olsztyn Voivodship in 1973*. Olsztyn: Wydawnictwo UWM. ISBN 978-838100-374-2. URL: <http://wydawnictwo.uwm.edu.pl/uploads/documents/czytelnia/emonografie/Obchody-500-rocznicy.pdf> (accessed 30 April 2025).
- Guth, Vladimír 1973: Zastavil Slunce a uvedl do pohybu Zemi. K pětistému výročí narození Mikuláše Koperníka. *Rudé právo* (14 February), p. 5.
- Haubelt, Josef 1974: *Mikuláš Koperník*. Praha: Horizont.
- Hermann, Tomáš; Hladký, Vojtěch 2011: Zdeněk Horský (1929–1988). Veličina známá a neznámá. [In:] Zdeněk Horský et al., *Koperník a české země: soubor studií o renesanční kosmologii a nové vědě*. Červený Kostelec: Pavel Mervart. ISBN 978-80-87378-87-8, pp. 11–41.
- Hirsching, Friedrich Karl Gottlob 1788: *Versuch einer Beschreibung sehenswürdiger Bibliotheken Deutschlands nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Städte*, Bd. 3. Erlangen: Palm.
- Horský, Zdeněk 1953: Zastavil slunce a zemi uvedl v pohyb. *Pionýrské noviny* (4 June), p. 2.
- Horský, Zdeněk 1973: *Mikuláš Koperník: profil významné osobnosti renesanční doby*. Praha: Ústav pro kulturně výchovnou činnost.
- Horský, Zdeněk 1975: Bohemia and Moravia, and Copernicus. [In:] *Memoirs and Observations of the Czechoslovak Astronomical Society of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences 15: The 500th Anniversary of the Birth of Nicholas Copernicus*. Praha: Czechoslovak Astronomical Society, pp. 46–102.
- Horský, Zdeněk; Plavec, Miroslav 1962: *Poznávání vesmíru*. Praha: Orbis.

- Horský, Zdeněk; Plavec, Miroslav 1966: *Człowiek poznaje wszechświat*. Translated by Ludek Holub. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Horský, Zdeněk; Urbánková, Emma 1973: *Výstava Mikuláš Koperník. 1473–1543: pořádá Státní knihovna ČSR, Čs. astronomická společnost při ČSAV. Zrcadlová síň, Klementinum, Praha 17.4.–12.5.1973*. Praha: Státní knihovna ČSR.
- Hübner, Mateusz 2024: Popularyzacja postaci Mikołaja Kopernika i jego dorobku w publicystyce i propagandzie Polski Ludowej. *Klio. Czasopismo poświęcone dziejom Polski i powszechnym* 71, pp. 37–61. DOI: 10.12775/KLIO.2024.028. URL: <https://doi.org/10.12775/KLIO.2024.028>.
- Iwaniszewska, Cecylia 1972: *Astronomie Mikuláše Koperníka*. Translated by Zdeněk Horský. Praha: Orbis.
- Journal 1953: Poland Receives Priceless Copernicus Manuscript from Czechoslovakia. *Journal of Franklin Institute* 256(6), p. 550.
- Katalog 1891: *Katalog retrospektivní výstavy: skupina 25*. Praha: Zemská jubilejní výstava.
- Kleinschrodt, Alexander 2023: The Copernicus Anniversary Year of 1973 in the Polish People's Republic. [In:] *Copernico. History and Cultural Heritage in Eastern Europe*. URL: <https://www.copernico.eu/en/link/63d309449cca57.87838155> (accessed 30 April 2025).
- Klimešová, Hana 1973: Koperníkovy oslavy v Československu a účast ČSAV. *Věstník Československé akademie věd* 82(6), pp. 371–373.
- Kokowski, Michał 2009: *Różne oblicza Mikołaja Kopernika. Spotkania z historią interpretacji* (Different Faces of Nicolaus Copernicus. Meetings with the History of Interpretations). Warszawa: Instytut Historii Nauki PAN, Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, ISBN 978-83-87992-67-5.
- Kokowski, Michał 2023: Dlaczego nadal interesują nas Mikołaj Kopernik (1473–1543)? 550-lecie urodzin Mikołaja Kopernika i 150-lecie pierwszego publicznego posiedzenia Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie. *Studia Historiae Scientiarum* 22, pp. 71–147. DOI: 10.4467/2543702XSHS.23.003.17694. URL: <https://doi.org/10.4467/2543702XSHS.23.003.17694>.
- Kola, Adam F. 2025: Copernicus Glocalised: Remembering the 1973 Anniversary Celebrations. [In:] Adam F. Kola, Wojciech Piasek (eds.), *Nicolaus Copernicus in the Culture of Memory: Sedimentation of Knowledge*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlag. ISBN 978-3-7370-1779-4 (Geschichte im mitteleuropäischen Kontext – Band 008), pp. 111–126. DOI: 10.14220/9783737017794.111. URL: <https://doi.org/10.14220/9783737017794.111>.
- Kopčan, Štefan; Mackovič, Ján 1973: Zastavil Slnko, pohl zem. *Kozmos: populárno-vedecký astronomický časopis* 4(1), pp. 5–6.
- Koperník, Mikuláš 1974: *Obehy nebeských sfér*. Bratislava: VEDA, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied.
- Koperník, Mikuláš; Horský, Zdeněk 2016: *O oběžích nebeských sfér. První kniha*. Translated by Zdeněk Horský. Edited by Vojtěch Hladký. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, v.v.i. ISBN 978-80-7285-199-7.
- Koperník, Mikuláš; Brahe, Tycho 1971: *Nicolai Copernici De revolutionibus orbium coelestium libri sex (editio basileensis) cum comentariis manu scriptis Tychonis Brahe*. Pragae: Pragopress. Editio Cimelia Bohemica; Volumen 16. Edited by Zdeněk Horský.
- Kronbauer, Rudolf Jaroslav 1892: *Naše jubilejní výstava*. Praha: Jos. R. Vilímek.
- Krzyżanowski, Adrian 1843: *Kopernik w Walhalli (Kopernik's Walhalla's Genoss)*. Warszawa: J. Unger.
- Krzyżanowski, Adrian 1844: *Dawna Polska: ze stanowiska jej udziału w dziejach postępującej ludzkości skreślona w jubileuszowym Mikołaja Kopernika roku 1843*. Warszawa.
- Kubasik, Maria 2023: Rok Kopernikański w Legnicy na tle Dolnego Śląska (1973 r.). *Legnicki Almanach: Rocznik Historyczny* 5, pp. 103–120. URL: <https://pamiecidualog.pl/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/3.-LA-2023-str-103-120-Kubasik.pdf> (accessed 30 April 2025).
- Kuldová, Petra 2014: V Koprníku odhalili pamětní desku slavnému hvězdáři Koperníkovi. *Mladoboleslavský deník.cz* (10 July). URL: https://boleslavsky.denik.cz/zpravy_region/v-koprniku-odhalili-pametni-desku-slavnemu-hvezdari-kopernikovi.html (accessed 25 April 2025).
- Lidová demokracie 1956: Slavnostní odevzdání Koperníkova díla polské vládě. *Lidová demokracie* (12 July), p. 1.
- Literární 1953: Koperníkova výstava. *Literární noviny* (27 June), p. 9.
- Macura, Józef 1973: Rok kopernikowski a PZKO. *Zwrot* 25(1), pp. 11–12.
- Macura, Vladimír 2023: *Šťastný věk a další studie o literatuře a kultuře dvacátého století*. Praha: Academia. ISBN 978-80-200-3386-4.
- Masarykův slovník 1929: *Masarykův slovník naučný: lidová encyklopedie všeobecných vědomostí. 4. Ko–M*. Praha: Československý kompas.
- Memoirs 1975: *Memoirs and Observations of the Czechoslovak Astronomical Society of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences: The 500th Anniversary of the Birth of Nicholas Copernicus* 15.
- Menšíková, Miroslava 2025: *Mikuláš Koperník*. [In:] *Internetová encyklopedie dějin Brna*. URL: <https://encyklopedie.brna.cz/home-mmmb/?acc=profil-objektu&load=510> (last modified on 9 April 2025).
- Metelka, Josef 1953: Ke Koperníkovu večeru v Olomouci. *Stráž lidu* (16 June), p. 2.

- Mohr, Josef 1953: *Mikuláš Koperník*. Praha: Orbis.
- Nachtikal, [František] 1923: Mikuláš Koperník, *Lidové noviny* (20 February), p. 7.
- Našinec 1873: Mikuláš Koperník, *Našinec* (19 January), pp. 1–2.
- Novák, Adolf 1953a: Mikuláš Koperník – tvůrce revolučního astronomického názoru. *Literární noviny* (23 May), p. 4.
- Novák, Adolf 1953b: Mikuláš Koperník – velký bojovník proti tmářství. *Československý voják* 2(14), pp. 29–30.
- Nyklová, Milena; Kopiczyński, Andrzej 1973: Filmový Koperník. *Záběr: časopis filmového diváka* 6(14), p. 6.
- Obec Kněžmost 2025: *Koperník Mikuláš (1473–1543)*. URL: <https://www.knezmost.cz/obec/zakladni-informace/vyznamne-osobnosti/kopernik-mikulas-1473-1543-141cs.html> (accessed 20 March 2025).
- Palacký, František 1831: Koperník původem snad Čech. *Časopis českého museum* 5(4), pp. 435–436.
- Piasek, Wojciech 2025: Nicolaus Copernicus in Public and Official Memory on the 500th Anniversary of His Birth: Inhomogeneity and Variability. [In:] Adam F. Kola and Wojciech Piasek (eds.), *Nicolaus Copernicus in the Culture of Memory: Sedimentation of Knowledge*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlag. ISBN 978-3-7370-1779-4 (Geschichte im mitteleuropäischen Kontext – Bd 8), pp. 97–110. DOI: 10.14220/9783737017794.97. URL: <https://doi.org/10.14220/9783737017794.97>.
- Pietrzyk, Zdzisław 2021: A History of the Autograph Manuscript of Nicolaus Copernicus's "De Revolutionibus". *Polish Libraries* 9, pp. 6–23.
- Pokrok 1873: Mikuláš Koperník. *Pokrok* (19 February), pp. 1–4.
- Polak, Wojciech 2013: Obchody pięćsetlecia urodzin Mikołaja Kopernika w 1973 roku w Toruniu. *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 281(3), pp. 573–584.
- Polkowski, Ignacy 1873: *Żywot Mikołaja Kopernika*. Gniezno: J.B. Lange.
- Práce 1953a: Výstava Mikuláše Koperníka, *Práce* (24 June), p. 5.
- Práce 1953b: Propůjčení rukopisu Mikuláše Koperníka k jeho oslavám ve Varšavě. *Práce* (15 September), p. 9.
- Randák, Jan 2014: Geschichtsbilder im Dienste der Sozialistischen Freundschaft. Die Hussiten in der Beziehungen zwischen der Tschechoslowakei und der DDR. [In:] Tanja Zimmerman (ed.), *Brüderlichkeit und Bruderzwist: mediale Inszenierungen des Abbaus und des Niedergangs politischer Gemeinschaften in Ost- und Südosteuropa*. Göttingen: V&R Unipress. ISBN: 978-3-8471-0136-9, pp. 331–351.
- Randák, Jan 2017: Jan Hus als Protokommunist. Die Rekonstruktion der Prager Bethlehemskapelle und die Konstruktion nationaler Traditionen in der Tschechoslowakei nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. [In:] Arnold Bartetzky (ed.), *Geschichte bauen. Architektonische Rekonstruktion und Nationenbildung vom 19. Jahrhundert bis heute*. Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau. ISBN 978-3-412-50725-1, pp. 272–290.
- Ritter, Elisabeth 2015: Nikolaus Kopernikus: Über die nationalen Umschwünge im Lebenswerk des großen Astronomen. [In:] Hans Hennig Hann and Robert Traba (eds.), *Deutsch-Polnische Erinnerungsorte*. Vol. 1: *Geteilt/Gemeinsam*. Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh. ISBN 978-3-506-77338-8, pp. 615–633.
- Rosen, Edward 1981a: In Defense of Tycho de Brahe. *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 24(4), pp. 257–265.
- Rosen, Edward 1981b: Was Copernicus's "Revolutions" Annotated by Tycho Brahe? *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 75(4), pp. 401–412.
- Rudé právo 1953: Propůjčení rukopisu Mikuláše Koperníka k jeho oslavám ve Varšavě. *Rudé právo* (15 September), p. 2.
- Rudé právo 1956: Dar československého lidu bratrskému Polsku. *Rudé právo* (12 July), p. 1.
- Rudé právo 1957: Dar polské vlády. Vzácný rukopis J.A. Komenského. *Rudé právo* (25 September), p. 1.
- Rudé právo 1973: Koperník a současnost. *Rudé právo* (20 April), p. 2.
- Rybka, E[ugeniusz] 1953: Zastavil Slunce a pohnul Zemí. *Květy* (4 June), p. 11.
- Rybka, E[ugeniusz] 1973: Obchody Kopernikowskie poza Polską. *Wszechświat* 9, pp. 244–245.
- Říhová, Vladislava; Jakubcová, Andrea; Kořánová, Klára 2025: *Dvě pamětní desky k přejmenování Hvězdárny a planetária Mikuláše Koperníka*. [In:] Zuzana Křenková – Vladislava Říhová et al., *Sochy a města*. Univerzita Pardubice a Vysoká škola chemicko-technologická v Praze. URL: <https://sochyamesta.cz/zaznam/21714> (accessed 20 March 2025).
- Seydl, Otto 1931: Výsledek subskripce na reprodukci Koperníkova rukopisu. *Říše hvězd* 12(9), pp. 173–74.
- Śliziński, Jerzy 1953: Kopernikania czeskie, *Problemy* 9(10), p. 669.
- Slouka, Hubert et al. 1952: *Astronomie v Československu od dob nejstarších do dneška*. Praha: Osvěta.
- Śniadecki, Jan 1973: *O Koperníkovi*. Praha: Odeon.
- Studnička, František Josef 1873: *Mikuláš Koperník: na oslavu 400 leté památky jeho narození*. Praha: Jednota českých matematiků.
- Svet vedy 1972: Pětistoročnica Mikuláša Koperníka. *Svet vedy* 19(4), p. 226.
- Sviták, Ivan 1953: Mikuláš Koperník – bojovník za pokrokovou vědu. *Rudé právo* (24 May), p. 4.
- Svobodný 1873: Slavnost Koperníkova. *Svobodný občan* (15 February), p. 1.
- Svobodová, Milada 1996: *Katalog českých a slovenských rukopisů sign. XVII získaných Národní (Univerzitní) knihovnou po vydání Truhlářova katalogu z roku 1906*. Praha: Národní knihovna ČR. ISBN 80-7050-230-4.

- Szostakowski, Stanisław 1973: *O Mikulášovi Koperníkovi*. Translated by Anna Laťáková. Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo.
- Šembera, Alois V[ojtěch] 1873: Byl Mikuláš Koperník potomek český? *Moravská orlice* (9 February), pp. 1–2.
- Šimák, Jozef Vítězslav 1910: *Rukopisy majorátní knihovny hrabat z Nostitz a Rhieneka v Praze*. Praha: Čes. akademie.
- Špaček, Miroslav 1953: Zastavil Slunce a pohnul Zemí. *Člověk a příroda* 4(9), p. 178.
- Štorch, Eduard; Čondl, Karel 1937: *Pracovní učebnice dějepisu*. Praha: Státní nakladatelství.
- Tibenský, Ján 1975: Slovakia and Copernicus. [In:] *Memoirs and Observations of the Czechoslovak Astronomical Society of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences 15: The 500th Anniversary of the Birth of Nicholas Copernicus*, Praha: Czechoslovak Astronomical Society, pp. 113–140.
- Tomkiewicz, Ryszard 2023: Commemorating the Figure of Nicolaus Copernicus in the Polish People's Republic Period as an Element of Historical Policy Pursued after 1945. *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 323(4), pp. 591–606. DOI: 10.51974/kmw-177282. URL: <https://doi.org/10.51974/kmw-177282>.
- Turkowski, Leonard 1973: *Slnko nezapadá*. Translated by Matej Andráš, Miloš Krno, Vojtech Mihálik. Bratislava: Obzor.
- Urbánková, Emma 1975: The Manuscript of Nicholas Copernicus “De Revolutionibus” from the Estate of J.A. Comenius. [In:] *Memoirs and Observations of the Czechoslovak Astronomical Society of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences 15: The 500th Anniversary of the Birth of Nicholas Copernicus*. Praha: Czechoslovak Astronomical Society, pp. 153–163.
- Večerník* 1972: Koperníkův rok před námi. *Večerník Praha* (13 November), p. 2.
- Věstník* 1953: Oslava díla Mikuláše Koperníka. *Věstník Československé akademie věd* 62(5–6), p. 119.
- Vetter, Quido 1932: Sur les destins du manuscrit pragois de Koperník “De revolutionibus orbium caelestium libri sex”. *Věstník Královské české společnosti nauk. Třída mathematicko-přírodovědecká*, pp. 1–21.
- Wikipedia 2025: *Koprník*. [In:] *Wikipedia. The Free Encyclopedia*. URL: <https://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Koprn%C3%ADk> (accessed 20 March 2025).
- Zaremba, Marcin 2001: *Komunizm, legitymizacja, nacjonalizm. Nacjonalistyczna legitymizacja władzy komunistycznej w Polsce*. Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN – Wydawnictwo Trio. ISBN 83-88542-14-1.
- Zaremba, Marcin 2023: “Dla wzmocnienia socjalistycznego rozwoju Polski”. Wielki spektakl władzy w roku kopernikańskim 1973. *Polityka. Pomocnik Historyczny* 3, pp. 84–87.
- Zíbrt, Čeněk 1912: *Bibliografie české historie. Díl pátý*. Praha: Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění.
- Zich, Otakar 1953: Slovanský genius Mikuláš Koperník (1473–1543). *Slovanský přehled* 39(6), pp. 169–171.
- Zigmundík, Ján 1892: Život a dílo Jana Amose Komenského. *Národné noviny* (29 March), pp. 1–3.
- Zimmerman, Tanja (ed.) 2014: *Brüderlichkeit und Bruderzwist: mediale Inszenierungen des Abbaus und des Niedergangs politischer Gemeinschaften in Ost- und Südosteuropa*. Göttingen: V&R Unipress. ISBN 978-3-8471-0136-9.