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Euler in Wartime: Publishing in the Seven Years' War

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Abstract

At the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756, Leonhard Euler (1707-1783) was a successful and prolific scholar at the Berlin Academy of Sciences, well on his way to producing many significant contributions to 18th century science and mathematics. However, once the war began his opportunities were sharply curtailed. Most of the war did not go well for Prussia, and Euler's place in the midst of this conflict limited his ability to publish his work. With the Euler Archive available online, Gustaf Eneström's index may be analyzed more deeply to uncover the effects of the conflict on Euler's life and work. In particular, we will see how Euler relied on his ties to the St. Petersburg Academy to present his work to the world.

1 Introduction

Sometimes described as the first global war, the Seven Years' War is a name given to the portion of the conflict that occurred in Europe, involving the nations of Great Britain, Prussia, France and Russia, among others. Skirmishes in North America broke out two years earlier between the British and French and their Native American allies, but the European theater opened on August 29, 1756 when Prussian King Frederick II (1712-1786) invaded Saxony. By invading an Austrian ally, Frederick had hoped to prevent Empress Maria Theresa (1717-1780) from invading Silesia, which he had occupied since the War of the Austrian Succession in the previous decade.

In the following year, Frederick attempted to press his advantage by invading Bohemia. However, he was forced to retreat after losing the battle of Kolín to Austria. In spite of some successes later in 1757, Prussia's fortunes began to turn sour in 1758, with much of the country being in the conflict zone. The situation became so dire that Austrian and Russian soldiers held Berlin itself, albeit temporarily, in October 1760. On the verge of defeat, Frederick was spared this fate by the death of Russian Empress Elizabeth I in early 1762. The new emperor, Peter III, was an admirer of the Prussian king and immediately withdrew Russian troops from Frederick's eastern flank. Ultimately, the Treaty of Hubertusburg brought the central European portion of the war to a close in February 1763.¹

¹This is only the broadest of descriptions of the war, which was multifaceted and had many consequences for the other belligerents and their allies. Marston [10] has written a concise summary of the various theaters of conflict and their consequences, along with a helpful chronology.

Situated in the middle of the conflict, the Berlin Academy of Sciences suffered from multiple delays, budget cuts, and threats to the physical security of its members. Academic salaries were halved in 1757, and Euler was often occupied by the task of deciphering and translating correspondence intercepted from the Russian armies [1, pp. 412-414]. Even worse, Euler's Charlottenburg estate was sacked by Russian forces when Berlin came under foreign occupation in October 1760. Austrian forces entered Berlin itself on October 9, an event which was mentioned obliquely in the register of the Berlin Academy: "There was no assembly because of public circumstances" [13]. While the Russian government reimbursed Euler for his losses, there is no doubt that these events late in the war presented a serious disruption to his career aspirations.

However, this time was not without new projects and scholarly work. Euler began his correspondence with the princess Charlotte Ludovica Luisa (a second cousin to King Frederick), and his 234 letters to her on scientific and philosophical subjects became a bestseller when they were eventually published in 1768. He also wrote portions of two major books during the war. The first to be published was *Theoria motus corporum solidorum seu rigidorum* [7] in 1765. In the preface to this work, W. J. G. Karsten noted that it had been completed by 1760 and that he had received the manuscript from Euler in early 1761. Second was the *Institutionum calculi integralis* [8], Euler's book on integral calculus, which the Swedish archivist Gustaf Eneström noted in his index [2] of Euler's works that Euler had begun to write during this time (though the first volume was only presented to the St. Petersburg Academy in 1766 and published in 1768).²

In order to more accurately assess Euler's publication record during the Seven Years' War, we will exclude these larger works from our view. Instead, we focus on the research articles that appeared in the journals of the various academic institutions across the continent.³ This will include the Berlin *Mémoires*, along with St. Petersburg's *Commentarii* and *Novi Commentarii*. (While many of Euler's letters were eventually published in these and other journals, they are not included in this analysis.) A full list of the considered works is included in the appendix.

2 Euler in Berlin, 1741-1756

Euler was no stranger to political turmoil. In 1727, on the very day he arrived in St. Petersburg to take up a position at the newly-formed Imperial Academy of Sciences, Russian Empress Catherine I (the widow and successor of Peter I) died. Catherine was succeeded by her 11-year-old stepson Peter II, who died of smallpox a mere three years later. Peter II was succeeded by his cousin Anna of Courland, whose unpopular rule lasted ten years until her death in 1740. Her infant grand-nephew Ivan VI succeeded her only to be overthrown in a coup

²In the years 1910-1913, Eneström published a list of 866 of Euler's works, and introduced the numbering system still used by scholars today. This list includes books, journal articles, and some letters he deemed to be especially important. More information about Eneström's work, including an English translation of the index, can be found in [2].

³In addition to allowing a comparison of similar types of work, this choice also permits a comparison of page counts.

led by Peter I's daughter Elizabeth. Understandably, the frequent turnover in regimes resulted in a great deal of instability.⁴ So when Euler was invited to the court of Frederick II in Berlin, he jumped at the opportunity. He brought his family to Berlin in 1741, and in 1744 he was appointed director of the mathematics class at the newly-founded Academy of Sciences.

Euler settled into his new position by publishing... a lot. During his first full year in Berlin, he wrote six articles for the Berlin Academy's *Miscellanea Berolinensia* journal,⁵ followed soon after by three books on comets ([5], [3], and [4]). For the Berlin Academy's next journal series, the *Mémoires*, Euler contributed two papers to the first volume. By the mid 1750s, his contributions to the *Mémoires* had increased to five articles in Volume 9 (pub. 1755) and six articles in Volume 10 (pub. 1756). However, during his time in Berlin Euler sent as many manuscripts to St. Petersburg for publication in that Academy's *Novi Commentarii*: according to Eneström [2], Euler wrote 10 articles in 1755-56 that eventually appeared in its pages. Here we have a picture of a successful, mid-career professional with the connections and resources to produce many new works (see Table 1 below).

Year Written	Publication	Number of works
1751	<i>Commentarii</i> , Vol. 13	2
	<i>Novi Commentarii</i> , Vols. 4, 5, 6	9
	<i>Mémoires</i> , Vols. 6, 7, 14, 16	6
1752	<i>Novi Commentarii</i> , Vols. 5, 6	3
	<i>Mémoires</i> , Vols. 6, 7, 9, 10, 20	8
	<i>Opera Postuma</i> , Vol. 2	1
1753	<i>Novi Commentarii</i> , Vols. 6, 7, 9	6
	<i>Mémoires</i> , Vols. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11	7
1754	<i>Novi Commentarii</i> , Vol. 6	2
	<i>Mémoires</i> , Vols. 9, 10, 12	7
1755	<i>Novi Commentarii</i> , Vols. 7, 8	5
	<i>Mémoires</i> , Vols. 10, 11, 20	4
	<i>Opera Postuma</i> , Vol. 2	1
1756	<i>Novi Commentarii</i> , Vols. 7, 8, 10	5
	<i>Mémoires</i> , Vols. 12, 13, 17	4

Table 1: Research articles written by Euler in pre-war Berlin (1751-1756). This list does not include his 1751, 1752, and 1755 submissions to the Paris prize competition, the 1751 *Theoria Motus Lunae* or the 1753 *Atlas Geographicus*. Note that two of these manuscripts were not published during Euler's lifetime, instead appearing in 1862's *Opera Postuma*.

Already in Table 1 we can see some intriguing features in Euler's publication record. Of his many articles written for the *Novi Commentarii* and the *Mémoires*, several appeared many volumes after their companions, e.g., his

⁴Riasanovsky's comprehensive history of Russia [11] includes a concise summary of the political events of these decades.

⁵Interestingly, one of these articles was written anonymously and Euler was not identified as the author until after Eneström compiled his index [2]. So this is one of the few articles by Euler that does not have an Eneström index number.

1755-56 manuscripts for the *Mémoires* appeared in Volumes 10-13 (which were printed annually from 1756 to 1759) but also in Volumes 17 and 20 (printed in 1768 and 1766, respectively). These observations lead us to two key questions concerning Euler's publications from this period: (1) why were manuscripts written in the same period published on such a disparate timeline, and (2) how did the Berlin Academy come to publish volumes the *Mémoires* in this disordered way? Ultimately, both questions have the same answer: the Seven Years' War.

3 Euler's Work During the Seven Years' War, 1756-1763

In addition to his prolific writing agenda, Euler was engaged in numerous other scholarly activities when the war came in 1756. His 880-page quarto book *Institutiones Calculi Differentialis* [6] was published in 1755 after a considerable delay. Calinger notes [1, pp. 404-405] that Euler had made arrangements for the printing costs to be paid by the St. Petersburg Academy, but the funds had not come as promised. By the spring of 1756, he was still seeking reimbursement for those costs. Also, in June his friend and Academy president Pierre Louis Moreau de Maupertuis (1698-1759) departed Berlin in hope that warmer climates would improve his health. He was not to return, dying in Switzerland in July 1759. Maupertuis corresponded frequently with Euler during these years, having made him acting president of the Berlin Academy before leaving the city.

After Frederick invaded Saxony in August 1756, Prussia and Britain found themselves at war with Russia, Austria, and France. At the Berlin Academy, the two most immediate impacts of the war were the redirection of finances toward the war effort and the disruption of postal connections across Europe. Acting President Euler saw Academy salaries cut in half and his correspondence curtailed. By 1760, the Berlin *Mémoires* had also become a casualty of war, with printing suspended until 1763. Frederick's advisor Jean-Baptiste de Boyer, Marquis d'Argens (1704-1771), argued that the paper was needed for state business and took priority over the Berlin Academy [1, p. 420]. As a result, none of Volumes 14-19 would appear in print until 1765, and even then only one of these volumes was printed alongside the "current" volume for each year (see Table 2).⁶

Euler's own publication record during the war was strong, if inconsistent. From Figure 1 we see that Euler wrote 150 or more pages of work annually, with a similar minimum number of pages appearing in print each year.⁷ While he was more productive in some years than in others, the effect of the war is not so obvious. However, the effect becomes clear when we break out the printed pages by location. In Figure 2, the Berlin Academy's publication hiatus is obvious, with no pages printed in the years 1760-1764. More important, though, is the fact that the St. Petersburg Academy helped keep Euler's career

⁶When the backlog had been cleared in 1770, the Berlin Academy replaced its *Mémoires* with the *Nouveaux Mémoires*, which would continue until 1786, the year of Frederick's death.

⁷Of course, these two metrics are offset in time: written pages measure Euler's personal research activity in a given year, while printed pages measure his ability to get work—often written years earlier—published.

Volume	Title year	Printing year
10	1754	1756
11	1755	1757
12	1756	1758
13	1757	1759
14	1758	1765
15	1759	1766
20	1764	1766
16	1760	1767
21	1765	1767
17	1761	1768
22	1766	1768
18	1762	1769
23	1767	1769
19	1763	1770
24	1768	1770

Table 2: Printing of the Berlin Academy *Mémoires* was suspended in 1760 and only resumed after the war's conclusion in 1763. Volume 14, for the title year 1758—which would normally have been published in 1760—was instead printed in 1765. From then until 1770, two volumes of the *Mémoires* were published each year, at which point the *Mémoires* were replaced by the *Nouveaux Mémoires*.

afloat during these years.

Euler left Berlin in 1766; however, much of his work remained. Of his pre-war writing listed in Table 1, five articles appeared in the *Mémoires* after the war. Moreover, 11 articles that Euler had written and presented to the Academy during the war only appeared in the *Mémoires* after he had left Berlin. As we know from Figure 2, Euler relied on the St. Petersburg Academy to publish his work during the Berlin printing hiatus. A total of 25 pre-war articles were printed in the *Novi Commentarii* during the years 1760-1763. In fact, if we include the articles written *during* the war, that total rises to 33. Clearly, in spite of the war's effect on the post, Euler was able to send his work to Russia. We can confirm this by checking the presentation dates of Euler's works, as recorded by Eneström [2]. In particular, Eneström reported 9 articles presented on October 15, 1759, 11 articles presented on December 1, 1760, and 6 articles presented on May 17, 1762. In war-weary Berlin, Euler found that the best way to publish his work was to send bundles of manuscripts to St. Petersburg.

4 After the War: The Return to St. Petersburg

The war had long-ranging consequences in Europe and around the world. Notably, France lost most of its colonial possessions to Spain and the United Kingdom, and remained in dire financial straits through the revolutions that began in 1789. Prussia, while exhausted from the years of conflict that had taken place on its own soil, had emerged as a great power in the European political sphere. Both developments were to affect European history for decades, from

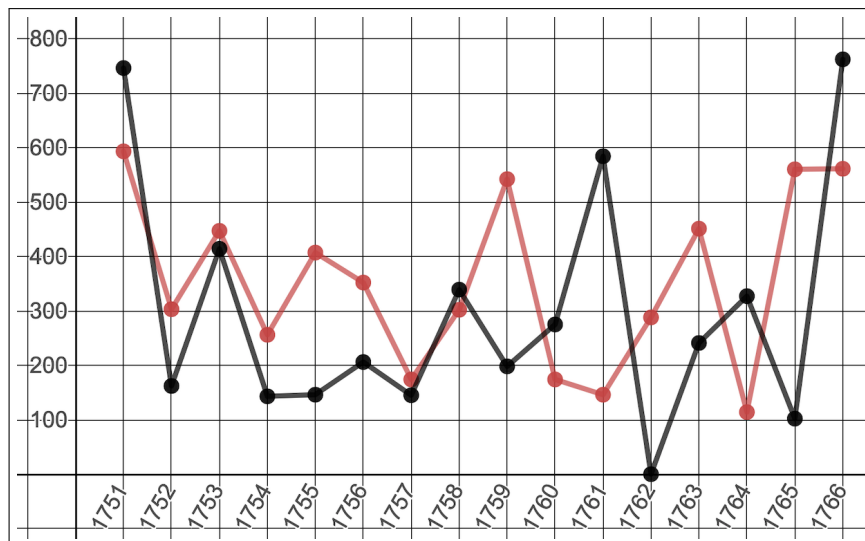


Figure 1: The total number of journal pages produced by Euler during the years 1751-1766. The count of pages written each year is in red, while the count of pages printed each year is in black.

the American and French Revolutions to the partition of Poland and Napoleon Bonaparte's invasions in the early 19th century.

More immediately, Euler's experience during the war (and his continuing estrangement from Frederick) only accelerated his eventual decision to return to St. Petersburg. While his relationship with the Prussian king is not the focus of this article, its impact cannot be overstated. As related by Richeson [12, p. 20],

[Euler's] greatest frustration while in Berlin was Frederick's refusal to make him president of the Academy. For several busy years, while he was fighting the Seven Years' War, Frederick was unable to find a suitable person to fill this position... Euler performed well as interim president, but because he was not a philosopher capable of sharp, lively conversation, he would never gain Frederick's favor. The ultimate insult occurred in 1763 when Frederick admitted that he could not find a suitable replacement and declared himself president of the Academy.

Understandably, the post-war Berlin years were not pleasant ones for Euler. Having been passed over for the Academy presidency, he was also unable to ensure secure employment for his sons Johann Albrecht and Karl [1, p. 445]. His habit of sending manuscripts to St. Petersburg continued, with 7 being read on 21 December 1763, and 6 being read on 19 December 1765. Around the same time that these latter papers were being presented in St. Petersburg, Euler wrote to Russian Empress Catherine II (1729-1796), requesting terms by which he could return to the Academy.

Catherine responded with a generous offer of employment, and the Euler family arrived in St. Petersburg in July 1766. Almost immediately, he set to work: his letters to princess Charlotte were printed in 1768, the first volume

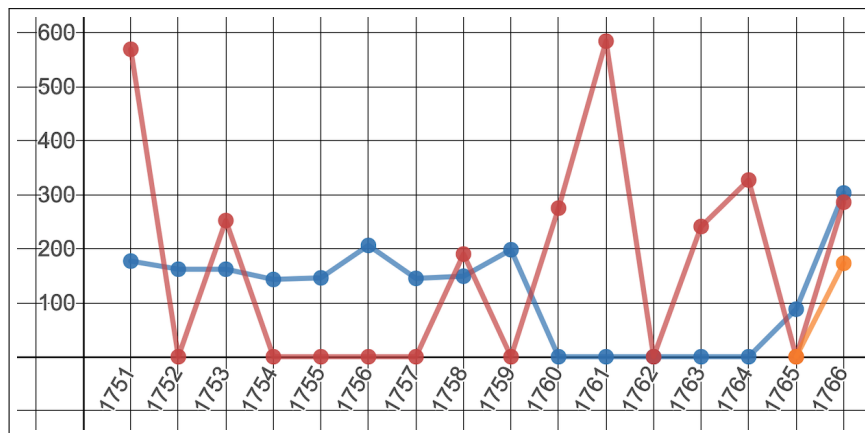


Figure 2: The total number of printed journal pages published by Euler during the years 1751-1766. Berlin Academy pages are in blue, St. Petersburg Academy pages are in red, and Turin Society pages are in orange. (Note that Euler's work appeared in the Turin *Mélanges* for a single year, 1766.)

of his integral calculus [8] (written near the war's end in 1763) also appeared in 1768, and the Algebra [9] was written in 1767 and published three years later [1, p. 457]. Euler's second St. Petersburg period was to be his most productive. As documented in [2], he reached his peak in the early 1770s, with 19 articles printed in 1773, 14 articles in 1774, and 11 articles in 1775. Having left a beleaguered Prussia behind, Euler and his work would not be so severely disrupted again until his death in 1783.

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5 Appendix: Record of Euler's Works

Ultimately, all the information in this article on the writing, publication, and presentation of Euler's works comes from Eneström's index [2], which provides the epistemic foundation for the Euler Archive. It cannot be overstated how valuable the Euler Archive was in compiling, verifying, and analyzing Euler's publication record during the 1750s and 1760s. Without it, this analysis would have been much more difficult.

All works in our data set were written or published in the years 1751-1766. Only journal articles were included in the counts used in this article, since their page counts were deemed more reliable than books or pamphlets. Published letters of Euler's were also not included. The remaining articles were divided into three categories: pre-war, wartime, and post-war. The articles are listed here in the order they were printed, in order to be commensurate with Eneström's numbering system.

Eneström Index	Date Written	Date Published	Source Publication	Volume Number
156	—	1751	<i>Nova acta eruditorum</i>	1755
157	1740	1751	<i>Commentarii</i>	13
158	1741	1751	<i>Commentarii</i>	13
159	1742	1751	<i>Commentarii</i>	13
160	1751	1751	<i>Commentarii</i>	13
161	1751	1751	<i>Commentarii</i>	13
162	1748	1751	<i>Commentarii</i>	14
163	1748	1751	<i>Commentarii</i>	14
164	1747	1751	<i>Commentarii</i>	14
165	1744	1751	<i>Commentarii</i>	14
166	1747	1751	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	2
167	1748	1751	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	2
168	1747	1751	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	5
169	1747	1751	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	5
170	1746	1751	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	5
171	1750	1751	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	5
172	1747	1751	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	5
173	1746	1751	<i>Opuscula varii argumenti</i>	3
174	1744	1751	<i>Opuscula varii argumenti</i>	3
175	1747	1751	<i>Bibliothèque impartiale</i>	3
176	1752	1752	<i>Berlin Histoire</i>	6
177	1750	1752	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	6
178	1751	1752	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	6
179	1751	1752	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	6
180	1752	1752	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	6
181	1750	1752	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	6
182	1752	1752	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	6
188	1750	1753	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	3
189	1749	1753	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	3

Eneström Index	Date Written	Date Published	Source Publication	Volume Number
190	1749	1753	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	3
191	1750	1753	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	3
192	1750	1753	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	3
193	1749	1753	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	3
194	1746	1753	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	3
195	1750	1753	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	3
196	1750	1753	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	3
197	1752	1753	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	7
198	1753	1753	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	7
199	1752	1753	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	7
200	1753	1753	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	7
201	1753	1753	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	7
202	1751	1753	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	7
203	1751	1753	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	7
206	1749	1754	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	8
207	1749	1754	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	8
208	1750	1754	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	8
209	1753	1754	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	8
213	1754	1755	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	9
214	1753	1755	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	9
215	1754	1755	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	9
216	1754	1755	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	9
217	1752	1755	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	9
219	1752	1756	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	10
220	1754	1756	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	10
221	1754	1756	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	10
222	1753	1756	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	10
223	1755	1756	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	10
225	1753	1757	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	11
226	1755	1757	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	11
227	1755	1757	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	11
228	1749	1758	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	4
229	1751	1758	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	4
230	1750	1758	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	4
231	1751	1758	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	4
232	1750	1758	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	4
233	1756	1758	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	12
234	1757	1758	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	12
235	1754	1758	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	12
236	1754	1758	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	12
237	1757	1759	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	13
238	1757	1759	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	13
239	1756	1759	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	13
240	1756	1759	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	13
241	1750	1760	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	5
242	1751	1760	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	5

Eneström Index	Date Written	Date Published	Source Publication	Volume Number
243	1751	1760	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	5
244	1760	1760	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	5
245	1751	1760	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	5
246	1752	1760	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	5
247	1746	1760	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	5
248	1751	1760	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	5
249	1751	1760	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	5
250	1752	1761	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	6
251	1751	1761	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	6
252	1753	1761	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	6
253	1752	1761	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	6
254	1753	1761	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	6
255	1754	1761	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	6
256	1754	1761	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	6
257	1753	1761	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	6
258	1753	1761	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	6
259	1761	1761	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	6
260	1751	1761	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	6
261	1755	1761	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	7
262	1755	1761	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	7
263	1753	1761	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	7
264	1755	1761	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	7
265	1756	1761	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	7
269	1755	1763	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	8
270	1755	1763	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	8
271	1758	1763	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	8
272	1759	1763	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	8
273	1760	1763	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	8
274	1758	1763	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	8
275	1758	1763	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	8
276	1756	1763	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	8
277	1756	1763	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	8
278	1757	1763	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	8
279	1758	1764	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	9
280	1758	1764	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	9
281	1757	1764	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	9
282	1753	1764	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	9
283	1760	1764	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	9
284	1742	1764	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	9
285	1759	1764	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	9
286	1759	1764	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	9
287	1760	1764	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	9
288	1759	1764	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	9
291	1758	1765	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	14
292	1751	1765	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	14

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294	1765	1765	<i>Journal encyclopedique</i>	2
295	1759	1766	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	10
296	1756	1766	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	10
297	1756	1766	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	10
298	1761	1766	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	10
299	1761	1766	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	10
300	1761	1766	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	10
301	1759	1766	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	10
302	1761	1766	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	10
303	1760	1766	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	10
304	1762	1766	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	10
305	1759	1766	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	15
306	1759	1766	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	15
307	1759	1766	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	15
308	1759	1766	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	15
309	1758	1766	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	15
310	1752	1766	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	20
311	1761	1766	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	20
312	1762	1766	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	20
313	1755	1766	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	20
314	1760	1766	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	20
315	1764	1766	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	20
316	1758	1766	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	20
317	1765	1766	<i>Turin Mélanges</i>	3
318	1765	1766	<i>Turin Mélanges</i>	3
319	1765	1766	<i>Turin Mélanges</i>	3
320	1763	1766	<i>Turin Mélanges</i>	3
321	1765	1766	<i>Turin Mélanges</i>	3
322	1762	1767	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	11
323	1759	1767	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	11
324	1763	1767	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	11
325	1763	1767	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	11
326	1763	1767	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	11
327	1763	1767	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	11
328	1763	1767	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	11
329	1763	1767	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	11
330	1762	1767	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	11
331	1764	1767	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	11
332	1751	1767	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	16
333	1763	1767	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	16
336	1758	1767	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	16
337	1762	1767	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	16
339	1765	1767	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	21
340	1765	1767	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	21

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346	1765	1768	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	12
347	1765	1768	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	12
348	1765	1768	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	12
349	1762	1768	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	12
350	1763	1768	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	12
357	1756	1768	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	17
358	1758	1768	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	17
359	1764	1768	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	22
360	1766	1768	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	22
361	1765	1768	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	22
362	1765	1768	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	22
363	1765	1768	<i>Paris Mémoires</i>	1765
368	1765	1769	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	13
369	1765	1769	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	13
371	1763	1769	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	13
372	1763	1769	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	13
373	1763	1769	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	13
374	1763	1769	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	13
375	1766	1769	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	12
376	1761	1769	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	18
377	1762	1769	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	18
378	1762	1769	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	18
379	1762	1769	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	18
380	1762	1769	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	18
382	1758	1769	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	18
396	1766	1770	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	14
398	1762	1770	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	19
399	1763	1770	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	19
400	1765	1770	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	19
401	1766	1770	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	19
402	1759	1770	<i>Berlin Mémoires</i>	19
409	1766	1771	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	15
424	1766	1772	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	16
430	1765	1773	<i>Novi Commentarii</i>	17
812	1763	1862	<i>Opera Postuma</i>	1
833	1752	1862	<i>Opera Postuma</i>	2
834	1759	1862	<i>Opera Postuma</i>	2
844	1765	1862	<i>Opera Postuma</i>	2
846	1755	1862	<i>Opera Postuma</i>	2

Table 3: The full list of Euler's works analyzed in this article. The St. Petersburg Academy journals were the *Commentarii academiae scientiarum Petropolitanae* and *Novi Commentarii academiae scientiarum Petropolitanae*; the Berlin Academy journals were the *Mémoires de l'académie des sciences de Berlin* and *Histoire de l'academie des sciences de Berlin*; the Paris Academy journal was the *Mémoires de l'académie royale des sciences de Paris*; the Turin Society journal was the *Mélanges de philosophie et de la mathématique de la société royale de Turin*.