The early meteorological network of the *Societas Meteorologica Palatina* (1781-1792): Foundation, organization, reception.

Peter Winkler

5   D-82362 Weilheim, Hechenbergstr. 9, Germany

Correspondence to: P. Winkler (pu_winkler@t-online.de)

Abstract. The Societas Meteorologica Palatina arranged the first international meteorological network in a modern sense being in operation between 1781 and 1792 during the last period of enlightenment. A total of 39 stations contributed observations.

10   The original aim was to investigate influences of the moon and planets on the atmosphere. Instruments were provided free, a physically very advanced instruction guaranteed reliable observational results and the data collected at three hours per day were printed at high costs in the Ephemerides Meteorologicae of Mannheim. This wealth of data has become a famous treasure trove for scientists and has been used later very often for climatic studies, climatic comparisons of different locations in textbooks, for overcoming antiquated and find new explanations on meteorological phenomena, for studying extremes of

15   meteorological parameters. Even in modern times, the data were evaluated and used to reconstruct historical weather maps. Although meanwhile some problems of the historical instruments have been recognised most of the conclusions are still basically correct. The data were also used for verifying geomagnetic models or proxy data from tree ring analysis. This network stimulated many scholars for special meteorological studies and was attractive for new stations to join the network. The early death of the meteorological secretary Hemmer and the Napoleonic wars brought about the end of the project. Nevertheless,

20   many of the stations continued the observations using the available instruments.

1 Introduction

Galileo's aphorism "Measure what can be measured, and make measurable what cannot be" stimulated scholars as well as instrument makers in the period of enlightenment to a new approach in analysing and interpreting natural phenomena, including
25   the atmosphere. At some places, regular meteorological observations were started by interested professors at universities. Scientific academies even included meteorological observations in their statutes. However, production and calibration of meteorological instruments were still a demanding task and no general agreement existed how observations should be performed. Each scholar and each institution set own rules and at best, data exchange was arranged on a private basis. In this situation the realisation of an international meteorological society by the Academy of Sciences in Mannheim was a very
30   attractive, promising, and eventually successful project.

Countless publications appeared already on the Societas Meteorologica Palatina the most informative of which are Kistner (1930); Cappel (1980b); Cassidy (1985); Kington (1988); and Frångsmyr et al. (1990). All emphasise as the most important achievements:

- free provision of uniformly manufactured and calibrated instruments,
35   - instruction for installing instruments and doing observations,
- invitation of institutions rather than private persons as observers to ensure continuity,
- uniform observation times at 7 am, 2 pm, and 21 pm, the so-called Mannheim hours,
- uniform registers, to be sent in by diplomatic mail,
- printing the extenso observations in the Society's Ephemerides.

40   This early example has demonstrated the feasibility of international cooperation in meteorology, and stimulated later efforts in this direction. This first meteorological network was created due to the personal engagement and organisational talent of its secretary, Johann Jakob Hemmer. The collected data have been re-evaluated since then for many applications. One should be aware that the local view of weather determined the imagination of the meteorological development and that farmers rules were the only known means for forecasting weather.

45   The purpose of the present work is to report on less emphasized aspects which played a role in the implementation of the Societas Meteorologica Palatina including the preceding mental development, instrumental deficiencies and data quality. Moreover, I will bring some examples for the broad reception of the datasets by scientists in many fields of knowledge.

During the last phase of enlightenment, the usefulness of scientific efforts played a predominant role under regents who had to decide which project should be funded. Two examples may illustrate this point: Lightning-rods had proven to protect
50   buildings from ignition and physicists had understood the mode of functioning. Therefore, decrees were enacted to install lightning-rods on all public buildings. The second example is the drainage of moors in order to cultivate barren land. The governments expected that the productivity of their country would rise without, in that case, having knowledge of the ecological function of moors.

In meteorology of the 18th century the gravity pull of the moon on the atmosphere was known and assessed to be 850 times
55 larger than the oceanic tide. While Daniel Bernoulli (1700-1782) had recognised the compressibility of the atmosphere and
refrained from calculations of atmospheric tidal calculations (Bernoulli, 1987, p. 270), Kratzenstein (1723-1795) considered
the atmosphere as incompressible (Fig. 1) and expected a large lunar tide (Kratzenstein, 1747). The latter simple hypothesis
had a better reception among scholars than mathematical unsolved problems.

Scholars argued that in the atmosphere predictable pressure oscillations would be induced by the moon and could be measured.
60 A meteorological observation network would enable to analyse such regular waves and allow prediction of weather, once long
enough time series of meteorological parameters were available. Agriculture would take profit from such predictions
convincing Elector Karl Theodor from Palatine to invest money in such an important project. A rapid result was expected
whereas any promotion of basic science was not a governmental goal. In continuation of the mechanics of Newton, everybody
believed in the world that is functioning like a machine.

65

2. Foundation of the meteorological society

The foundation of a meteorological society in Mannheim was the result of a special constellation of several persons (Fig. 2;
Kistner, 1930; Stengel and Ebersold, 1993): The privy counsellor and minister for educations Georg von Stengel (1721-1798)
of Elector Karl Theodor (1724-1799) had started private meteorological observations three times per day in 1758, and his son
70 Stephan (1750-1822) helped him in cases when he was tied up with business. Karl Theodor was personally interested in physics
and he made weather observations in his castles and during journeys (Kistner, 1930). He had studied law at the university of
Leiden (The Netherlands) and probably might have come into contact with the widely known professors s' Gravesande or
Musschenbroek, who were teaching physics. Stephan von Stengel was an illegitimate child of the Elector, who followed him
to Munich in 1779 as secretary, when Karl Theodor became successor of the childless Elector Max III. of Bavaria at the end
75 of 1777.

Karl Theodor was interested in physics and had installed a collection of physical instruments, for which he hired the court
chaplain Johann Jakob Hemmer (1733-1790) as custodian. Karl Theodor often spent several hours in the physical cabinet,
learning physical experiments arranged by Hemmer. He had recognized the progress which could be achieved in explaining
natural phenomena by means of experiments instead of magic explanations or the antiquated physics of the Jesuits, being based
80 on their Aristotelian teaching methods.

After the move of Karl Theodor to Munich, Stephan von Stengel and Hemmer exchanged information on meteorological
events. Inspired by the plan of Lorenz Böckmann (1741-1802) in Karlsruhe in the neighbour-state Baden to implement a
meteorological network of 16 stations in 1779 (Cassidy, 1985; Lüdecke, 2010), Hemmer as well as von Stengel discussed the
possibility to implement another meteorological network in Palatine or even in Europe (Kistner, 1930; Stengel and Ebersold,
85 1993).

In Baden progress was hampered due to delay in manufacturing of meteorological instruments which eventually resulted in the failure of the project. However, Stephan von Stengel, being a good organizer of statesmanlike projects and having a good overview on meteorological observations already running at other places succeeded in motivating Elector Karl Theodor to found a third meteorological class at the Academy of Sciences in Mannheim in 1780 and nominating Hemmer as the secretary

90 (Fig. 3).

The scientific goal was to analyse periodic developments in the course of weather induced in the atmosphere by the gravitation of the moon.

Von Stengel and Hemmer had postulated that "harmonizing" instruments were necessary in order for the meteorological network to become successful. Hemmer sent relevant expert reports to Stengel in Munich. Obviously, both knew of the

95 difficulties in manufacturing and calibrating meteorological instruments. Karl Theodor could be convinced, that for the success of such a project, standard calibration instruments should be implemented in the entire network. Stephan von Stengel, his father Georg von Stengel and Hemmer worked out the document of the foundation charter which was signed by the Elector on September 15th, 1780, in Munich.

Hemmer presented a speech to the Academy on 21th October 1780.[1] He was a well-known scientist who had published results

100 of physical experiments, lightning rod installations, and application of electricity to heal human diseases. Thus, when Benjamin Thompson, the later Count Rumford, started his experiment in Mannheim to elucidate the existence of infrared heat radiation by drilling a cannon in order to demonstrate that phlogiston was not existing, Hemmer was invited as a critical observer and experienced experimentalist. If phlogiston should be responsible for the warming during drilling, the heating should cease when all phlogiston would have escaped. His drilling with a blunt drill was continued for many days but the cannon was as

105 hot as at the beginning. They concluded that the heat was generated by friction and not by phlogiston (Meyer d. J., 1806-1808). Hemmer's organizational capability was gravely missed after he had died.

3 The Influence of Lambert and Toaldo

Johann Heinrich Lambert (1728-1777) was a member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and in a paper published in 1761 he developed a programmatic system for regular observations in agronomy, medicine and meteorology (Lambert, 1961). We

110 have no information, whether Georg von Stengel or Hemmer in Mannheim or even Böckmann in Karlsruhe had received knowledge of this paper, but we cannot exclude, that they obtained a copy, since both academies exchanged information. Lambert recommended three observations per day and the use of a thermometer in the shadow and in the sun, barometer, atmospheric moisture, evaporimeter, pluviometer, measurement of soil temperatures in several depths, river level, windspeed and -direction, state of the heaven, cloud cover, meteorological events like fog, rain, thunderstorm, hail, and so on, state of soil

115 (moist or dry), snow cover, colour of the heaven during sunrise and sunset, polar lights, sunshine duration, monthly minima and maxima of atmospheric pressure and other meteorological parameters and in a special column the phases of the moon, solar elevation, and positions of planets in the zodiac circle. He expected also to achieve recognizing any astronomical influences. In addition, a magnetic needle instrument should be observed to learn about changes of the geomagnetic field. In

his "Exposé" he recommended a worldwide observation network (Lambert, 1973). This is important because at his time the
120   local view on the weather was prevailing and atmospheric pressure systems and their extension were unknown.

In 1762, Lambert calculated the astronomical calendar of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, where he reported in an annex "On the Meteorology", that analysis of atmospheric pressure data had shown only marginal effects by the moon (Lambert, 1762). As it often occurs in science, his insight was ignored and scholars tended to prove their own hypotheses, in this case the hypothesis of a strong influence by the moon.

125   Lambert recommended to compare the wind direction with the average atmospheric pressure (Lambert, 1765). He was one of the first to argue that wind forms as a result of differences in atmospheric pressure and overcame the traditional explanation developed by Cartesius: Winds can be compared with vapours which move from one place to another where they can expand with less effort (Descartes, 1637, p. 189 f.). His experimental proof was the heating of water in a suffocated ball blowing out vapour off a hole in its wall.

130   Lambert's conclusion and recommendation was to investigate meteorology with the methods of astronomers. In this way, physical laws could be recognised and mathematically formulated. Once, the main laws were found, one could study the deviations and identify the responsible processes and become able to describe them mathematically. The mathematical formulas should be refined with time and would allow to obtain methods for meteorological predictions.

Toaldo in Padua was a representative of scientists being convinced that astronomical influences on atmospheric pressure and
135   the development of the weather would exist. His agrometeorological essay which had won the price in 1774 of the academy in Montpellier, was published in Paris in October 1777 (Toaldo, 1777a) and translated in the same year into German (and other languages). At least three editions appeared. Toaldo had developed further earlier ideas of Duhamel (1623-1706) and Mairan (1687-1771). Also, Hemmer had received knowledge of Toaldo's paper, because early in 1779 he wrote to the Elector with the petition that the meteorological observations should be intensified with respect to agricultural requirements and be
140   supplemented by observations on geomagnetism and atmospheric electricity. He requested, the physical cabinet should be moved to another location in the castle being closer to his living rooms, because the observer should be able to use the instruments between the regular observing hours in case when special meteorological events were occurring: "*Would Your Serenity be pleased, to install the meteorological instruments just mentioned in the physical cabinet, in order to start observations during the new year at this place in connection with other designated locations of your states, the next summer*
145   *would be most suitable, because the preparation needs time and my lectures [public academic lectures] will start in autumn.*" (undated letter 1779 in: Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, Sign. 77/6400).

At this moment, Hemmer obviously thought only about setting up a national network intended to be similar to that in the neighbouring state of Baden. Von Stengel now became the spiritual father for extending the network to an international dimension. This international network should be supplemented by regional networks in the Palatina and in Bavaria under the
150   guidance of the academies in Munich and in Mannheim. In addition, Hemmer organized in the Palatine a phenological network with 94 observers (Cappel 1980b).

Toaldo had emphasised the importance of atmospheric electricity for plant growth and that people would have noticed, that electricity starts to form with sunrise and ceases with sunset: "We can conclude that scattering of the sunrays stimulates the formation of electricity, which moves to the earth taking vapor with it …" Toaldo knew of studies on atmospheric electricity

155 performed in France, however, he relied upon unproven effects. In order to achieve progress Hemmer proposed that electricity should be measured at meteorological stations and he constructed an atmospheric electrometer for regular observations using the available experience. The first instrument was designed in 1749 by the clockmaker Jean-Baptiste Le Roy in Paris. Hemmer partly constructed his instrument according to the electrometer of (Nollet, 1753, Plate 4). Some people claimed to know that atmospheric electricity would be necessary for activating and vivifying the semen of plants (Stoll, 1790). Poey (1879) had

160 compiled a number of publications from the 18th century on electrical effects on germination and growth of plants, including those by the famous Linnaeus. This shows, that Toaldo was not alone with his opinion and Hemmer might have had knowledge of some more literature which would have confirmed his intention to measure atmospheric electricity.

The reason for the wide reception of Toaldo's ideas was the apparent evidence of astrometeorological effects of the moon on weather. Ultimately, this was a consequence of Newtons mechanics seeing the world as running like a clockwork. Toaldo

165 claimed to have shown that atmospheric pressure was higher when the moon had its minimal distance from earth and vice versa. Due to the 19-year Saros-cycle, according to which the moon takes the same position, weather was expected to become predictable to some degree. From a today's statistical point of view this finding proved to be completely insignificant, however, statistical methods did not exist at the time. In particular, Toaldo had not defined criteria on what should be understood by saying "the weather has changed or not changed" at full moon (Sheynin, 1984). However, everybody was impressed and

170 believed in the effect of the moon on the air pressure, as was well known from the oceanic tides. Toaldo's influence was so large that Hemmer mentioned him in the foreword of the first volume of the Ephemerides.

Today we know, that a similar large effect in the atmosphere would require the incompressibility of the air as a prerequisite (as with water) which, however, is not the case. Nevertheless, Stengel and Hemmer expected to become able to predict weather by analysing periodical fluctuations in time series if only long enough. Von Stengel, being a member of the Bavarian Academy

175 of Sciences, initiated a priced question on the effect of the moon on atmospheric pressure and they corresponded with Eberhard Schroeter in Petersburg who had developed a sophisticated method of calculating the aspects of planets and their influence on weather (Bavarian States Library, codex Cgm 6101 and Winkler, 2020, p. 44).

4 Instrumentation and instructions to observers

Hemmer, being aware of the deficiencies in Böckmann's strategy chose a more successful way (Hemmer, 1779): he ordered

180 the glassblower Carlo Artaria, who lived in Strasbourg and who had needed an overly long time in manufacturing the instruments for Baden, to come to Mannheim and produce the instruments for the Societas Meteorologica Palatina under his own survey. Hemmer knew that harmonizing instruments needed special care which the usually freely working glassblower didn't consider: The tube of the thermometer must have a uniform calibre; the barometer must be completely free from air bubbles which easily tended to adhere at the inner surface of the glass tube when quicksilver was filled in and which he

185   carefully removed by means of a thin iron wire. Hemmer preferred the Reaumur temperature scale to that of du Crest, Fahrenheit, de Lisle and others because the calibration could be reproduced most suitably. He knew that the boiling point of water depends on atmospheric pressure and took care to set the relevant mark at the thermometer to average pressure at sea level.

A barometer with reduction thermometer, two thermometers for use in the shadow and the other "in the sun" and a goose-spell

190   hygrometer belonged to the instruments distributed by the Societas Meteorologica Palatina which were provided on the expense of the Elector Karl Theodor. Declinometers, fabricated by Brander in Augsburg, were distributed to those who were interested. They should be placed on a table of marble, being free from vibrations. A description of all instruments and how carefully they were manufactured and calibrated was published in Hemmer (1782).

In his "Monitum", i.e. the instruction for the observers, Hemmer recommended the use of additional instruments like

195   precipitation and snow gauges, an atmospheric electrometer, evaporimeter, and a wind vane, but he left it to the engagement of each observer. A universal time did not exist. Observation should be made at 7, 14, and 21 hours local mean solar time, however, not all stations followed this recommendation (e.g. in Petersburg the barometer was read at 6, 12 and 18 hours and the thermometer at 6, 14 and 22 hours). The amount of precipitation should be measured at 14 hours. A good clock should be available and the observers must be able to adjust it to the local solar mean time using a meridian line and a correction table.

200   The universal time was introduced in 1884 (in Germany 1893). Uniform symbols were used to notify special meteorological events. At this time, many observers created own symbols (e.g. Wilse in Norway, (Federhofer, 2001)). Hemmer's meteorological symbols continued to be used in the US-army after 1816 (Chenoweth, 1996). In case of being unable to make an observation, another trained person should read the instruments. Additional observations should be noted at the beginning and end of extreme situations. The state of the heaven had to be observed as well as meteorological events like rain, snow, fog,

205   hail, halos, cloud cover, polar lights, the levels of nearby rivers and the phase of the moon. Botanical resp. phenological and ornithological observations should be made as well as statistical information on the number of births, deaths, and illness of the local population; Hemmer's letter is transcribed in (Cappel, 1980a). The hope was, to recognize meteorological conditions, that would favour illness. The Latin language should be used. All stations should provide a short description of the location and the position of the instruments as well as their height above ground. Essays and papers on special findings were welcome.

210   Every half year the monthly tables should be sent to the permanent secretary.

According to Hemmers recommendation to measure additional parameters the observer of Hohenpeissenberg informed the community of his newly constructed evaporimeter or atmidometrum (Schwaiger, 1783).

Electricity was the most important research field for physicists in the second half of the 18th century. Atmospheric electrometers were operated at several places (Mannheim, Hohenpeissenberg as mentioned; a Cavallo-type electrometer was operated by

215   van de Perre in Middelburg because in the Netherlands effects of natural electricity on the healthy and ill body were of interest (Zuidervaart, 2006). The observation at an electrometer was dangerous, as the death of Richman in 1753 had demonstrated, who was hit by a lightning stroke when observing his instrument. Despite of this negative experience the observations were impressive. Hemmer's electrometers at Mannheim and Hohenpeissenberg allowed to measure the spark length at a gap of the

antenna and thus conclude on the electrical field strength. Hemmer had also a method to distinguish whether a lightning stroke
220   went from cloud to earth or from earth to cloud. The Hohenpeissenberg station at around 1000 m height gave insight into
atmospheric electricity aloft and the noise of strong sparks at the electrometer gap could be heard throughout the large building,
having three floors.

At this time, it was unclear, whether electricity would be necessary for the formation of hailstones (e.g., Seiferheld, 1790). A
simple phenomenological hypothesis was based on the argument that hail would occur only in electrified clouds, i.e., in which
225   lightning was observed. Bertholon (Academy of Montpellier), a well-known expert on electrical phenomena, reported
experiments of Nollet, who had covered the bulb of a thermometer with a piece of linen saturated with spirit of wine. Then the
thermometer was electrified by means of an electricity generating machine and he could "prove" that this thermometer cooled
much more than an unelectrified thermometer. Another conclusion was, that lightning rods would drain the electrical fluid
from the atmosphere, and consequently would help to prevent hail formation. He also argued that lightning rods would rebuff
230   thunderstorm clouds (Bertholon, 1792). Nollet claimed contrarily, that lightning rods would attract flashes which was denied
by Hemmer. These few examples illustrate the need for continuous observations on atmospheric electricity. However, science
was still in a state where electrical and magnetic phenomena were observed but by far not interpreted correctly. Many basics
had to be studied and discovered before progress could be achieved. Priestley had cited Beccaria's opinion, that strong
electricity would bring hail pieces closer together than snow crystals (Priestley, 1767). Hail clouds therefore would appear
235   much darker than snow clouds or rain clouds. On the other hand, he described an experiment performed in 1767 where he
could not accelerate the freezing of water by electrifying it. – These few examples show, that many conclusions were
amateurish and circumstantial but scholars felt convinced since the majority believed in them. Progress occurred finally when
experiments were repeated by others and logical doubts arose.

The Palatine instruments were used at some of the observation sites for a long time: at Hohenpeissenberg until 1840 and at
240   Prague until 1829 (Fritsch, 1850; Lamont, 1851), in Cambridge until 1802, and probably also for similar long times at other
sites. Samuel Williams in Harvard considered Hemmer's barometer to be correct and he reduced his old to the new barometer
(Middleton, 1964).

Some of the instrumental deficiencies were known to Hemmer, others were unknown such as the rising zero point of the
thermometers due to shrinking of the thermometer bulb which was first realized and described by Bellani (1808) and Yelin
245   (1824). To overcome the incompleteness of the goose spell hygrometer (Retz, 1786), Hemmer launched a price question by
the Mannheim Academy in 1783. The price was awarded to Toaldo and his nephew Chiminello in Padua. The main unsolved
problem was the availability of fixpoints. Chiminello had developed a procedure to take into account the thermal expansion of
mercury (for details see Cocheo and Camuffo (2000); Camuffo (2014). However, the goose spells were not perfectly round
and their volume individually changed with temperature such that each instrument would have required an individual
250   correction. In addition, we now know that the adaptation time upon a rapid change of humidity is a function of temperature
(Winkler, 2015). Hemmer gave also advice how to construct wind vanes in such a manner that they easily follow the wind
direction.

The available instruments were not sufficient in order to describe all processes or effects of meteorology in nature or on human health. Therefore, observers should note agricultural phases like blooming of fruit-trees, growth and harvest of crops and

255   especially nutrient plants, bird migration, illness of cattle, level of rivers, floods and extraordinary events. In addition, the number of births and deaths of the local population, and various diseases should be reported.

5 Organizing and establishing the network

Hemmer and Stengel knew about existing weather observations at many places (Marseille 1749; Berlin 1721, Petersburg, Göttingen, Padua and others). They selected those which seemed to be reliable and were operated continuously. The central

260   station (Fig. 4) was established in the Castle of Mannheim with Hemmer as secretary.

V. Stengel travelled through Bavaria and won six monasteries for cooperation (Stengel and Ebersold, 1993; Martius, 1859). These stations delivered data starting from 1781. Due to numerous diplomatic and scientific connections he and Hemmer selected international stations, but they also refused the participation of interested scientists when the distance was not large enough (Cassiy, 1985). In 1785 Hemmer mentioned in an overview of the first years of activities, that he had obtained support

265   by many influential men in other states and countries (Hemmer, 1785/86):

In Rome the papal librarian cardinal Zelada and the electoral ambassador Count Antici helped to install the observer Calandrelli. Both were members of the Academy of Mannheim.

In Bologna, the Count of Savioli, member of the Academy in Mannheim, arranged the meteorological station in Bologna with Matteucci as observer.

270   The capuchin general Erhard von Radkersberg, living in Munich since 1779, agreed that monks of Milan should do the observations at the hospice on St. Gotthard in Switzerland.

Baron von Dalberg in Mainz, also governor of Erfurt, agreed that meteorological observations were performed at the University of Erfurt.

Baron of Beveren arranged the station in Düsseldorf.

275   Mr. David, electoral agent and secretary of the legation in Paris supported the installation of French stations.

Bugge in Copenhagen supplied the station in Spideberg with instruments rebuilt after Hemmers models and the station in Moscow obtained rebuilt instruments from the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.

Van de Perre in Middelburg bought instruments from Hemmer on his own costs, because, as a private man, he could not guarantee uninterrupted observations. This shows, how careful Hemmer and v. Stengel selected stations for the European

280   network. Thus, the Societas adopted a coordinating and standardising function in unifying the scattered observations and providing instruments from the same manufacturer. This new and outstanding function was even emphasised and recognised by the philosopher Schelling (Schelling, 1861, p. 492).

All observers were nominated as external members of the Meteorological Class of the Academy of Sciences in Mannheim and listed in the "Kurpfalzbaierischer Hof- und Staatskalender" (1802). In 1802, long after the last volume of the Ephemerides was

285   printed, the meteorological society with all members was still mentioned in this official calendar which means, that the Societas

Meteorologica Palatina formally still existed, although being inactive since many years and the founder Karl Theodor had died in February of 1799.

The very successful organization and detailed description by Hemmer, how the instruments were manufactured and calibrated, stimulated other academies to imitate the organization of national meteorological networks: In 1785 the Newspaper of
290   Mannheim (Nov. 15th) reported that the Swedish king had concluded to establish a meteorological network in his kingdom after the model of the Societas Meteorologica Palatina (Mannheimer Zeitung, CXXXVIII, Nov. 15th, 1785). The Swedish Academy of Sciences had made a corresponding proposal.

Similarly, the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg achieved that the Russian Emperor agreed to establish a meteorological network in all Russian provinces and to provide instruments built after the models of Hemmer (Hemmer, 1785/86). In Spain,
295   there was hope to include Madrid as a new station and instruments had been sent to minister of state Florida Blanca (ibid.). However, this aim was not realised for unknown reasons. Also, in India, initial ambitions to arrange meteorological stations could not be realised.

Some of the invited persons refused after having firstly agreed to do observations: Lichtenberg (1742-1799) in Göttingen, for example, confirmed primarily his participation and was very interested to obtain a hygrometer, which he was lacking and
300   which he needed for his lectures (Lichtenberg, 1985).[2] Later he urged his colleague Gatterer, who was already performing observations, to take over this duty. He also promised to ask his friend Jean Deluc in London, although being unable in his position as lecturer of the Queen, to observe personally, for helping to find observers in England. No success could be achieved with British stations, although the Academy in Mannheim had nominated scientists in Dublin and Edinburgh as members (Cassidy, 1985). Scholars from Lemberg, Lisbon, London, Paris, Turin and Vienna were also invited, but they did not
305   participate.[3]

Gatterer from Göttingen, on his turn, rated Wilse in Norway to be unable in systemising the complex processes of the atmosphere.[4]

The instruments like barometer and thermometer were sent out in duplicate, because many of them broke during shipping. Printed tables were distributed to facilitate and harmonize the notification. The Mannheim hours were not obeyed at all stations.
310   The printed tables should also help to achieve a high uniformity and completeness. The notification of positive and negative temperatures was explained. A special advice was given to avoid errors in thermometers by the radiation of candles which were needed in winter or at night to read the outside thermometers.

Although the instruction was detailed, some of the stations kept the window of their observing room open during fine weather. The observations were shipped to Mannheim not by the ordinary post but through diplomatic channels.[5] Any risk with regard
315   to a possible loss of data should be avoided.

A total of 57 stations were invited to participate in the network and about 20 of them sent in observations in the first year (Voss, 1984). Data were published. Finally, data of only 39 stations were printed, some of which reported only for a few years (Fig. 5; Table in Appendix). The reason why another 18 stations did not send in data were complex: at some of them, only broken instruments arrived, others like London or Vienna might have had no confidence in the success of the project. In the

320   first volume of the Ephemerides, the letters of confirmation were published. Père Louis Cotte in Paris, although having agreed to contribute to the network, never sent in data, probably because of broken instruments.[6]

Von Stengel succeeded in convincing the prelate of the Bavarian monastery of Rottenbuch, being responsible for the operation of the station Hohenpeissenberg, to install another atmospheric electrometer (Bertucci, 2007; Winkler, 2005). He personally brought the fragile barometers and thermometers to some of the Bavarian stations.

325   At some of the places meteorological observations already existed, although with interruptions: e.g. in Berlin (1719) (Cubasch and Kadow, 2011), Bologna (Camuffo, 2002b), Göttingen (Gatterer, 1780); Copenhagen (1767) Geneva (1753) (Häderli et. al., 2020), Marseille (1749), Regensburg (1773), Padua (1725), Petersburg (1751), Prague (1775), Stockholm (1756) (Moberg et al, 2002), Sagan (1773) (Felbiger, 1773), Würzburg (1773) (Rudloff, 1967; Camuffo, 2002b; Winkler, 2020). The new society thus coordinated these activities.

330   Phenological observations were initiated by the Societas Palatina in many countries like Belgium (Ihne, 1894; Demarée and Chuine, 2006), Italy, France, Norway, Russia, or supplemented in Germany, Switzerland, Sweden and Finland (Cappel, 1980a). In Mannheim the military major Denis started phenological observations in 1783.

At some stations physicians studied the disease pattern of the local population: M. Güthe and J. N. Fischer in Mannheim, Winkler in Regensburg, Cloos in Stockholm, and van Breda in Delft (Hemmer, 1785/86). They provided the requested data.

335   The network became well known and stimulated scientists to report data from additional stations outside the meteorological society, e.g. meteorological data from the African Isles of France (Mauritius) and Bourbon (Reunion) were reported by M. Brunel, member of the Académie des Sciences de Bréziers, and data of Poona in India by the Belgian scholar Malavois (Ephemerides of 1788, p. 400). In 1791 Brunel was nominated as an external member of the Academy of Sciences in Mannheim (Voss, 1994).

340   Both, the regular instrumental observation and observation of the state of the heaven turned out to be most important for scientific progress. Although not published in the Ephemerides and although many interpretations were later found to be wrong, meteorological phenomena were discovered and described: e.g. the thunderstorm hook (Heinrich, 1794). Another point was the overcoming of religious practices in handling natural hazards, e g. ringing church bells or shooting guns in order to disperse thunderclouds.

345   After Hemmer's death in 1790, no new secretary of the meteorological society was nominated. As editor of the Ephemerides the physician Melchior Güthe (1753-1812) was employed. The engagement and energy, which Hemmer had brought in, was missing and the whole project slowed down (Stephan, 2017). Güthe even didn't take care of the meteorological observations and had no interest in the physical cabinet and refused to take over the correspondence. St. von Stengel deplored this development very much, but he was not in a position to bring the academy of sciences in Mannheim back to the earlier efforts.

350   A successor with the personal engagement of Hemmer couldn't be found.

However, as the organization and management of this station network had previously turned out to be exceedingly efficient based on steering the individual stations from a central station, which also collected and published the data, it became a model for later meteorological and other networks.

5 Data quality

355 Since the measurement of atmospheric pressure was regarded as more important than that of ambient temperature, some of the stations like Regensburg (Ratisbonum) and Hohenpeissenberg kept the window of the observing room open during fine weather for the first years as mentioned above. Thus, temperatures at the window could be partly biased by air from the interior of the building.

The data collected in the 12 Ephemerides have often been considered as representative for the pre-industrial period, especially 360 with regard to obtaining information about climate change. However, this somewhat indiscriminate adoption of these data needs to be scrutinized: With respect to the temperature records, it has been overlooked, that the zero point of thermometers was not stable as mentioned above. Hemmer, although he didn't know of this effect, emphasized from experience that it was necessary to manufacture all instruments from the same glass. In the 1820s this effect was discussed broadly and most physicists attributed it to the atmospheric pressure which would compress the evacuated thermometers (e.g. Yelin, 1824). In 365 the 1880s, the instability of the glass could be attributed to the glass mixture. Mixtures for thermometers were optimized and the cause for the secular rise of thermometer zero points was better understood (Krause, 1974; Winkler, 2009a; 2009b). This secular rise of the zero point was of the order of 0.65°C in the first 5-6 years (Lamont, 1851; Winkler, 2009a). Nevertheless, many homogenizations were performed without considering the instrumental bias. In 1826 the zero point of the thermometer in Stockholm was checked and found to be too high by 0,75°C, unfortunately without notifying the period in which this 370 thermometer was used (Moberg et al., 2002). The recognition of the instable zero point of thermometers did not lead to corrections of past data at all stations.

Other instrumental deficiencies and uncertainties of historical thermometry are described for example in (Pelz, 1993). Brander as an experienced and thorough manufacturer of thermometers had already arranged an intercomparison with other manufacturers (Christin in Lion, France and König in Franecker, The Netherlands) in 1757 and achieved good agreement 375 (Winkler, 2017). But even when temperatures of neighbouring stations agree well, the thermometers might suffer from a similar rise of the zero point.

Other instrumental deficiencies were recognized earlier: barometer deterioration due to oxidation of mercury or by penetration of air into the vacuum. The capillary depression was studied by (Pilgram, 1788) but no conclusions were drawn on the barometer reading technique or on necessary corrections to be applied. It was also unclear whether the mercury position should 380 be read at the top of the meniscus or at the edge of the mercury column at the glass wall. Later it turned out that the height of the cap may vary with time depending on the chemistry of the glass influencing the contact angle because the glass changed its volume due to slow diffusion effects in the crystalline structure of sodium and potassium ions. This is important when homogenisation is undertaken.

The hygrometers provided some coarse information on humidity. For the goose spell hygrometers, Chiminello in Padua had 385 developed a method compensating the thermal expansion of mercury on its volume (Cocheo and Camuffo, 2000; Camuffo, 2002b), and he won half of the corresponding price of the Academy of Sciences in Mannheim in 1783 (Hemmer, 1783/84).

However, a uniform volume change of goose spells with temperature can be expected only when they are more or less perfect in roundness (Winkler, 2009b). Heinrich in Regensburg performed comparisons of goose spell and gut string hygrometers (Fig. 6) which showed, that the goose spell hygrometer reacted relatively linearly whereas the gut string did not.

390 The magnetic needle in the declinometer could be disturbed by iron pieces near the instrument. Such a disturbance was unknown at that time.

Despite of these instrumental deficiencies, a multitude of valuable information on basic meteorology, weather and climate has been derived from the data pool collected by the Societas Meteorologica Palatina.

6 The Ephemerides and scientific results presented therein

395 In the Ephemerides the data were published partly in extenso partly as monthly means. For a long time, this collection of data was the only basis for scientific use (Fig. 7).

Short reports on special themes were also printed in the Ephemerides as shown below. In most cases only observations and their interpretations were reported. Real physical understanding was low at that time; however, physical methods were applied:

- Ephemerides 1783 (Vol. IV, 1785): Hemmer wrote on the dry fog over Europe 1783, not accepting the widespread
400   hypothesis of its volcanic origin. The availability of a hygrometer allowed to conclude that the turbidity of the air was not caused by water droplets (Stephan, 2017; Cappel, 1980c).
- About the same item more opinions were presented by König, Maret, Senebier. van Swinden. Holmius described the eruption of Laki in Iceland and its destructive effects.
- Other scientists argued that the dry fog originated from the earthquake in Calabria in February 1783 (Torcia, 1784).
405   At this time, no information and even no imagination existed on the strength and direction of the upper airflow. As a consequence erroneous conclusions were drawn easily.
- Planer: Diurnal pressure variations based on readings every 4 hours were attributed to the effects by the moon, atmospheric electricity and wind.
- In the second volume Steiglehner published a comparison of the barometric pressure readings at three stations
410   (Regensburg, London and Petersburg) between December 1775 and January 1776. Based on these data he recognized the eastward propagation of pressure minima. Steiglehner's primary idea was a study of the number and mean duration of "pressure oscillations" per year which he adopted and continued as a similar approach of van Swinden in the Netherlands. He hoped to become able to predict the pressure tendency for the next three hours as argued in another private publication (Steiglehner, 1783).
415 - S. Williams presented yearly barometric and thermometric maxima and minima from Bradford (USA) for the years 1771 to 1776. Wigglesworth presented monthly barometric and thermometric maxima and minima of the years 1781 - 1783.

- In the Ephemerides for 1787 (Vol. VI), van de Perre presented observations of tides at Middelburg, Vlissingen and Westcapella.

420
- Hemmer presented hourly data of atmospheric pressure monitored with the recording barometer of Changeux in the volume VI of the Ephemerides containing the data of 1788 and he became aware that a daily cycle existed which, therefore, he could only attribute to influences by the sun, but not the moon.

- Chiminello had calculated daily courses of the temperature of Padua for the years 1788 and 1789 (Ephemerides of the year 1789, printed 1793) and Toaldo presented average temperatures of several cities in Italy, including Rome,

425
Chioggia, and Padua, however, only the number of years of observation were given but not the overall period.

The attractiveness of the Ephemerides was obviously large and many additional observations could have been accepted for inclusion. However, the printing costs were very high and the volumes sold less frequently than expected.

After Hemmer's death in 1790, the physician Johann Melchior Güthe (1753-1811) edited the following volumes, without investing the necessary energy or enthusiasm. Thus, volumes XI and XII appeared only in 1794 and 1795, respectively. In

430
November of the final year, 1795, the western wing of the castle of Mannheim was shot on fire by Austrian troupes. In this part the meteorological cabinet was destroyed including the archive with the irreplaceable original meteorological tables, a terrible loss for science. This violent loss of the centre of the Meteorological Society implied the end of the coordination and collection of the tables. As mentioned already, the Meteorological Society formally kept existing and the observers continued to publish in the organizational calendar of the Palatine state.

435
The Bavarian stations continued their observations until 1803, when the monasteries were secularized, except Hohenpeissenberg, where the observer was obliged by the ministry to continue the observations without interruption. Many other stations of the network continued the observation program as well.

In 1806, the Academy in Mannheim was closed and the remnant documents transferred to Munich. Among these were the lead letters with the symbols for typesetting (Archive of Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Sign. VII 453 - 454).

440
7 Expenses to print the Ephemerides and loss of the original observation

The costs for paper and printing of the first three data volumes were very high and stressed the fund for other tasks of the Academy of Science of Mannheim appreciably (Archive of Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Sign. VII, I 26, l: fol. 4.):

Descriptio Instrumentorum	28 Gulden (florines) 32 Kreuzer
Ephemerides 1783, Vol. I	1285 Gulden 22 Kreuzer
Ephemerides 1784, Vol. II	1604 Gulden 21 Kreuzer
Ephemerides 1785, Vol III	1942 Gulden 35 Kreuzer

445

To rate these expenses, we can compare them with Hemmer's yearly salary as secretary of the Meteorological Society, which amounted to 300 Gulden. The whole budget of the Academy amounted to 6000 Gulden, from which 1200 Gulden had to be paid to other societies. The budget was not raised when the meteorological class was arranged. Interests arising from the

450
foundation capital could not compensate the expenses of the meteorological class. After summing up the salaries only 1500

Gulden remained for printing the Meteorological Ephemerides. Thus, it became difficult to publish the data of all stations in extenso in each year. Clearly, a single academy was financially overwhelmed with the high printing costs of this European project but no effort was undertaken for sharing the costs among more participants.

455 To remain able to print the following volumes, the number of stations from which the data were published was either reduced or the data were not printed completely, but only daily or monthly means. When in later years the financial resources reduced further, the members of the Academy abdicated their weekly fee for attending the sessions (Fuchs, 1963).

Progress was slow and small; scientific meetings could have been helpful but were too difficult to organize. Instead, scientific academies in numerous cities allowed to discuss findings and scientific questions. The local view on the weather still prevailed and large-scale (synoptic) pressure systems and their movement were unknown.

460 The great interest in observing nature stimulated engagement and participation, although most scholars of that time can be compared to unexperienced pupils and adolescents who are in the process of learning and who make many mistakes and misinterpretations, because the magnitude of effects are overinterpreted.

Lalande mentioned in his Bibliographie astronomique (1803) the 10th volume of the Ephemerides for the year 1790, printed in 1793. He regretted very much the reduced size of the volume comprising only 319 pages, whereas the volume of 1783 had 465 800 pages. For scholars the completeness of the observed datasets was much more important than the commercial aspects.

8 Early and modern scientific evaluations of the meteorological observations

The collected data found a broad interest very early: Thomas Jefferson, the later president of the United States, while travelling through Marseille in 1787, asked his correspondent W. Short in Paris in a letter of May 5th, to buy for him the first volumes of the Ephemerides (Jefferson, 1983). He might have been informed about them during a visit to the Academy or the astronomical 470 observatory of Marseille. The data of the meteorological society were evaluated very often which shows the exceptional importance of the Ephemerides. The data have been used in numerous textbooks especially for presenting climatological information (Kämtz, 1831, 1832, 1836). Only few examples of the scientific outcome are listed below and shall illustrate this.

1. The frequent cold weather in upper Bavaria was wrongly attributed entirely to the proximity of the Alps. However, by an evaluation of temperatures as a function of the elevation of stations, Stephan von Stengel showed that the elevation rather 475 than the distance from the Alps is responsible for the local average temperature (Stengel, 1786).

2. To facilitate the pressure readings to the prescribed temperature of 10° Reaumur Guarin Schlögl (1752-1788), observer at Hohenpeissenberg, calculated tables from which the correction value could be retrieved (Schlögl, 1787). The pressure range, for which his tables could be applied, included the highest station, St. Gotthard in the Alps. Although the adopted coefficient of expansion of mercury was slightly too large, these tables helped to avoid errors, when the pressure reduction 480 would be calculated manually.

3. In 1791 the observer Albin Schwaiger compiled a climatology of the station Hohenpeissenberg using the first ten years (Schwaiger, 1791). This work was stimulated by his abbot, who saw a need in presenting the observations to the public. In 1811 a second but unchanged edition appeared.

4. Père Cotte in Paris published a similar evaluation in 1792 for a number of French stations: barometric variations; numbers
485   of frost days; magnetic declination, and other variables (Cotte, 1792).

5. Gelas Karner (1763-1816), another observer at Hohenpeissenberg, calculated the elevations asl. of 8 Palatina stations from
barometric data in a very time-consuming work and published the results in 1812 (Karner, 1812).

6. Similarly, Placidus Heinrich from the monastery St. Emmeram in Regensburg calculated the height of stations along the
river Danube down to Budapest (Heinrich, 1812). His results agree remarkably well with modern heights. This was the
490   first paper from a station on the slope of a European river. This work was stimulated by Alexander von Humboldt, whom
Heinrich had met in Paris.

7. In 1813 Placidus Heinrich published a climatological study on the temperature of St. Peterburg (Fig. 8), for which he had
evaluated the data from 1772 to 1792, i.e. including the period covered by the Societas Meteorologica Palatina (Heinrich,
1813). His impetus was to inform scientists at least in Germany about the harsh climate in Russia. In order to enable a
495   comparison with other cities he shifted the observations to the Gregorian Calendar being in use in Russia until 1918. He
also recalculated the temperature for the scale of Reaumur from original Delisle's scale. In addition to the monthly mean
temperature, he indicated the extremes.

8. An early evaluation of extremes and mean values of heat and cold from the Ephemerides has been conducted by Holyoke,
a Massachusetts physician in Salem, USA. He was interested in excess heat and cold of America beyond that of Europe
500   in the same latitude (Holyoke, 1793). His unrealistic conclusion was that the pine forests were causing the cold in America
whereas in Europe the cutting down of forests since many centuries had brought a much milder climate. Being an adherer
of the phlogiston theory, he was convinced that huge evergreen pine forests would absorb large amounts of phlogiston
thus permanently producing dephlogisticated i. e. cold air. This is a typical example of obstructions in learning processes
at that time.

505 9. An overview of the strong frost in December 1788 has been worked out by Strnad in Prague by evaluating the 8th volume
of the Ephemerides. He compared the peculiarities reported from all stations of the Palatina network and calculated cold-
sums to be able to compare the winter strength in the different regions of Europe (Strnad, 1793). However, no map was
constructed.

10. In 1817 A. von Humboldt used the temperature data of the Palatine Society and some other stations for the first
510   construction of global isotherms (Humboldt, 1817). It is important to mention that for this construction he applied a
reduction of the temperature of elevated locations to sea level and considered data quality as well as the lengths of
observation periods. His idea was stimulated by the traditional so-called Macrobius maps of the climatic zones in which
the isotherms run parallel to the equator (Humboldt, 1837), (Fig. 9). Using observed temperatures mainly from the
Ephemerides Humboldt could show that the isotherms were not parallel to the equator and that in Europe the isotherms
515   extended further to the north (a consequence of the heat transport by the Gulf-stream, which was still unknown at his
time). Humboldt's graphical visualisation was an important progress as compared to the presentation of data in a simple
table.

Macrobius was a Latin philosopher of the fifth century who had firstly described climatic zones in his Commentary of Ciceros work. Although he hardly can be considered as the inventor of climatic maps, this type bears his name. Examples

520   of Macrobius-type maps can be found in many major libraries (Destombes, 1964, p. 85-95).

11. In 1818, Schön in Würzburg published a book on *Basics of the Atmosphere and Weather*. Here he presented graphs of the yearly variation of meteorological elements (Fig. 10). He also demonstrated, by connecting months with similar solar elevation, the asymmetric deviation of the yearly temperature variation from the sinusoidal solar insulation peaking at June 21th.

525   12. Volney investigated the influence of the sea on the temperature of coastal stations in France in 1821 and recognized the increasing continental influence with the distance from the coast (Volney, 1821).

13. In eastern Europe, the data of the station Budapest were used to extrapolate to meteorological parameters of other stations like Temeswar (Csernus-Molnár and Kiss, 2011; Csernus-Molnár et al., 2014).

14. Polar lights should be observed in the meteorological network and Aaspas evaluated the observations, regarding the

530   modern knowledge (Aspaas and Hansen, 2012), They counted about 1400 observations in the Ephemerides but their verification showed, that a large part of them were misinterpretations because noctilucent clouds were interpreted as polar lights. However, the data were used already earlier to identify the „polar-light-oval" (Fritz, 1874).

15. The variations of the magnetic needle during polar light events were known before 1750. Hemmer and other observers confirmed this interaction by own observations (Hemmer, 1792). Wilse in Norway also described such effects (Federhofer,

535   2014) as well as the observer on Hohenpeissenberg (Bay. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, 1782-1796, vol. 1, 1783, p. 76). In 1806, Humboldt termed the effect of polar lights on the magnetic needle as magnetic storm. The periodicity of sun spots and declination was analysed by (Wolf, 1861, 1862), using stations of the Societas Meteorologica Palatina. Meanwhile, we understand the effect as an interaction of ring-currents induced in the high atmosphere by solar proton events with the magnetic field of the earth.

540   16. The observations of magnetic declination turned out to be more valuable than originally expected. For example, books on applied geography of Hungary mentioned the historical data (Hunfalvy, 1882). Modern methods allow to calculate the secular change of the geomagnetic field (Fig. 11). The historical measurements were used for verification and quality control (Hunfalvy, 1882; Korte et al. 2009).

17. The pressure observations were used to construct first synoptic maps. The first trial was made by (Brandes, 1826), who

545   used deviations from the mean instead of the unreduced pressure (Fig. 12). In 1898, Hildebrandsson and Teisserance de Bort (1898), who applied the meantime collected meteorological knowledge, showed isobars in a re-evaluation and by plotting wind arrows they could demonstrate the convergence of surface-near air into a low. The discovery of this phenomenon is usually ascribed to Dove (1857). More recently, daily pressure maps were drawn by Kington (1988) using the data of the Ephemerides. A similar evaluation considering some improvements was published by McNally (2004). In

550   all cases, the data of the Palatine Society provided an important data source.

18. Using the historic observations, the global circulation patterns between 1781 and 1785 have been reconstructed by (Yiou et al., 2014), in order to visualise the dispersion of the ash-cloud of the Laki eruption in Iceland over Europe in 1783. A thesis at the University of Rennes focused on the same eruption in using the Ephemerides (Hellmann, 2021).

19. An apparent cluster of floods could be recognized in the mid-1780's. The winters in 1784 and 1789 were extremely cold and the Palatina network data shows these conditions spreading all over Europe: The temperature in Padua stayed below zero for many days in January and dropped as low as -12°C in February 1784. As a consequence, the Lagoon of Venice froze in both years (Camuffo et al., 2017), and Lake Constance in 1789 (Meichle, 1963). The river Rhine was also frozen. Due to a rapid warming in February 1784 a centenary flood causing huge damages occurred in many parts of Europe (Anonymous, 1784). In the Ephemerides such events were not explicitly mentioned, although the observers might have reported them. However, using the published data, the meteorological situation could be reconstructed (Brázdil et al, 2010).

20. A historic storm over the North Sea on 21/22th March 1791 causing a flood in Hamburg could be re-analysed by Lamb (1991). At this time the moon had a minimal distance to earth. Historical storm surges in the Adriatic Sea have been re-evaluated by (Raicich, 2015).

21. The quality of historical precipitation measurements was studied by Braun, who investigated errors due to placing the precipitation collector in different heights above ground. He compared, amongst others, data collected by Böckmann in Baden with those collected by Hemmer (Braun, 1885).

22. Astro-meteorological influences of the moon and the planets on weather as postulated by Hell in Vienna (Hell, 1775) and Toaldo in Padua (Toaldo, 1777b) had stimulated the work of the Palatine meteorological network. This hypothesis was later re-examined by (Lamarck, 1798; Cotte, 1805; Ellinger, 1814; Celoria, 1874), however, due to missing knowledge of statistical significance they erroneously believed to have proven an effect of the moon on meteorological processes.

23. The temperature measurements of the Palatine network have turned out to be important for comparison resp. calibration of proxy-data derived from tree-ring evaluations (Holopainen, 2005) or from mussel shells (Grafenstein et al. 1996). The cold year 1784 already mentioned above was responsible for an exceptionally narrow tree ring in Northern Europe, and also here the data of the Ephemerides were used for confirmation (Kalela-Brundin, 1996). The data of the Palatina network has been used to calculate European maps of the deviation of the summer temperature from the mean (Schweingruber et al., 1991).

24. The synopsis of time series of atmospheric pressure gave insight into parallel developments at various places which paved the way for recognising the extension of atmospheric pressure systems (Daniell, 1827).

25. Nicander in Stockholm constructed a meteorological table for a 21-year period ending in 1795, i. e. including the Palatina period, in order to investigate the influence of weather on mortality due to different diseases. He was convinced that influenza in Sweden could originate from Siberia and vice versa. When he compared the barometric variations with diseases no clear results were obtained (Nicander, 1801). This first trial to study meteorological influences on human health was imitated by other scientists. The concept of the Societas Meteorologica Palatina to collect meteorological

585   together with data of diseases provided the necessary basis. After a comparative study on influenza waves in Europe in the year 1782 about one third of the population of Rome and nearly all of the population of Regensburg fell sick with this infection (Ripperger, 1892). This information could be based on data of the Ephemerides.

9 Poor knowledge and lessons to be learned

Due to the prevailing focus on the local weather no information existed on large-scale pressure systems and on wind systems

590   in upper atmospheric levels. Thus, the data were often prone to misinterpretations. As mentioned earlier, the dry fog in the year 1783 originated from the volcano Laki in Iceland. Many scholars had doubt that the ash could be transported over such far distances. Professor Lichtenberg at the University of Göttingen, who thought about the dry fog, was convinced, that it was responsible for frequent thunderstorm formation. He termed this mysterious fog as "nebula nebularum" and investigated the air quality but found no conspicuous change of the properties (Hochadel, 2009). Therefore, he supposed that the air might have

595   lost some of its constituents because it was filtered through rainwater. Being unable to find a convincing explanation he wished that the strange fog would have stayed in Calabria, where he assumed its origin.

Another misinterpretation was published by Hemmer in 1790: He had experimentally proved that a flame would produce free electrical charges. This led him to conclude that a fume from a house was strongly electrified and had attracted parts of a cloud passing that place (Hemmer, 1990).

600   Schön in Würzburg also studied the results of the meteorological society being stimulated by Heinrich in Regensburg. He found the pressure variations to increase with increasing latitude (Schön, 1818; Daniell, 1827). Because no stations in high latitudes were available, he concluded that the barometric variation would increase with increasing latitude.

A very important progress for science during the enlightenment era was the edition of numerous journals in all countries. Here, new ideas were scrutinized and the interpretation of experiments was questioned. When studying historical papers, we easily

605   recognise that most scholars were well informed about the state of knowledge. The data of the Palatina were used immediately after appearance with many attempts for interpretation and gaining understanding. For example, (Rosenthal, 1784/85) compared the temperatures of the two neighbouring stations Hohenpeissenberg (ca. 1000 m) and Andechs (ca 700 m) and found the pressure difference to be not constant in the yearly course. He concluded the atmospheric pressure data could be doubtful. He didn't know that in winter Andechs was frequently lying within the cold valley pool where the pressure was

610   higher due to the greater density of air whereas Hohenpeissenberg was mostly above the topping inversion. Despite these misinterpretations, the harmonized instruments provided correct results and the exploration of new unexpected phenomena led to scientific and methodological progress.

Other scholars were glad that by such an observation program as set up by the Societas Palatina antiquated opinions would be overcome such as: "the atmosphere and especially clouds should be regarded as the footrest of God" (Ernesti, 1773; Hollmann,

615   1783). Such opinions were deduced from bible translations and still taught by theologists who educated the pupils. Thus, the observation of meteorological phenomena was an important step to a physical view on nature.

The available instruments misled some scholars to believe in meteorological effects which in fact did not exist as such. Although many errors and misinterpretations occurred, the data base remained available and was used by persons who had not been observers in the network. More political insight into the usefulness of such a long-term and diverse data collection is

620 needed with respect to its fostering of both progress in science and education for the general benefit of society. However, decision makers still need to be convinced that basic science fundamentally depends on data to be evaluated without the expectation of immediate commercial applicability.

---

[1] The speech was held in German but printed in Latin in the first volume of the Ephemerides (1783), p. 18-23.
[2] Vol. II, undated letter No. 760, [1780]. On 27th May 1781 (letter No. 817) Lichtenberg mentioned in a letter to the printer Schwan in Mannheim, that he had not obtained the promised instruments. In a third letter to the Scientific Society of Göttingen, dated 29th Nov. 1781 (letter Nr. 876), he explained not to be able to do the observations due to lack of time and that Gatterer most easily could take over the task.
[3] Cassidy (1985, p. 23.
[4] Gatterers disregard of Wilse is mentioned in a circulation letter (Lichtenberg, 1985, Vol. II, letter No. 838 of 7th Jul. 1781). Wilse had previously published two books referring to meteorology (Wilse, 1778; Wilse, 1780) which were known to Gatterer.
[5] Private contacts were also typical in this time and were used for a safe shipment of the tables: e.g. Bernoulli took over meteorological tables from Marseille (letter Bernoulli to secretary Lamey, 15th Aug. 1793 in Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, Abt. S, Kremer-Lamey, vol. 133, fol 189.
[6] Cotte's letter to Lavoisier, cited by Cassidy (1985, footnote 55). Cassidy mentions in footnote 12, that only one of three cases with instruments reached Cotte but the instruments were broken during control by customs. One of the lost shipments contained the barometer and thermometer, the other the declinometer. However, they reappeared in 1789 in a bureau en Champagne (p. 194).
[7] Karl Theodor, Painting in Bayerisches Nationalmuseum München; Stephan von Stengel: Painting 1776 by Carl Brandt in Reis-Engelhorn-Museum Mannheim, Foto Jan Christen; J. J. Hemmer: private property.
625 [8] Reproduction of a collage containing the foundation charter in the Library of German Weather Service, most probably compiled on the occasion of the 200-year anniversary of the Societas Meteorologica Palatina in 1981.

Acknowledgment

For valuable hints and improvements of the manuscript I am indebted to Harald Berresheim and Jost Heintzenberg. To the

630 latter I am additionally obliged for translating Nicander's paper written in Swedish. The possibility to reproduce the foundation charter (original in Library of Deutscher Wetterdienst), the model of the meteorological cabinet (original in Technoseum Mannheim) and the portraits of Elector Karl Theodor (painting in Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. Nr. 2009/40.1), St. v. Stengel (Reiss-Engelhorn Museum) and of J. J. Hemmer is gratefully acknowledged. The portraits of Chiminello and van de Perre could be used by courtesy of the INAF-Astronomical Observatory of Padua, Historical Archive and of the Royal Zeeland

635 Scientific Community, respectively.

Competing interests

The contact author has declared that he has no competing interests.

References

640   Anonymus: Historische Nachrichten von den schrecklichen Wasser-Ergießungen von den entsetzlichen Eiß-Fahrten und von den dadurch angerichteten traurigen Verwüstungen welche in den Monaten Februar und März dieses 1784sten Jahres fast in ganz Deutschland sich eräugnet haben Aus theils öffentlichen, theils privat Nachrichten gesammelt, Scharf, 1784.

Aspaas, P. P. and Hansen, T. L.: The role of the Societas Meteorologica Palatina (1781-1792) in the history of Auroral research, Acta Borealia: A Nordic Journal of Circumpolar Societies, 29, 157–176, 2012.

645   Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Der baierischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in München meteorologische Ephemeriden auf das Jahr 1781-1789, München, 1782-1796.

Bellani, A.: Tentativi per determinare l'aumento di volume che acquista l'acqua prima e dopo la congelazione, Giornale di Fisica, 2, 305–329, 1808.

Bernoulli, D.: Mechanik, Die gesammelten Werke der Mathematiker und Physiker der Familie Bernoulli, Bd. 3, Birkhäuser,
650   Basel, 457 pp., 1987.

Bertholon, P.: Die Elektricität der Lufterscheinungen worinne von der natürlichen Elektricität überhaupt, und von den Lufterscheinungen besonders gehandelt wird, auch die vornehmsten Phänomene der elektrischen Meteorologie nach Beobachtungen und Erfahrungen aufgestellt, De l'Electicité des Méteores Paris, 1787, Siegert, Liegnitz, 1792.

Bertucci, P.: Therapeutic Attractions: Early Applications of Electricity to the Art of Healing, in: Brain, mind and medicine:
655   essays in eighteenth-century neuroscience, edited by: Whitaker, H. A., Springer, Berlin, 271–283, 2007.

Bock, C. W.: Sammlung von Bildnissen gelehrter Männer und Künstler, Nürnberg, 1802.

Brandes, H. W.: Dissertatio physica de repentinis variationibus in pressione atmosphaerae observatis, Staritz, Leipzig, 1826.

Braun, G.: Die Niederschlagsverhältnisse des Großherzogthums Baden, Beiträge zur Hydrographie des Grossherzogthums Baden Herausgg. von dem Centralbureau für Meteorologie und Hydrographie., 2, 1885.

660   Brázdil, R., Demarée, G. R., Deutsch, M., Garnier, E., Kiss, A., Luterbacher, J., Macdonald, N., Rohr, C., Dobrovolný, P., and Chromá, K.: European floods during the winter 1783/1784: scenarios of an extreme event during the 'Little Ice Age', Theoretical and Applied Climatology, 100, 163–189, 2010.

Bugge, M.: Grundzüge zu Thomas Bugges Lebensbeschreibung: dt. von Posselt, Fr., Zeitschrift für Astronomie und verwandte Wissenschaften, 2, 1816.

665   Camuffo, D.: Errors in Early Temperature Series Arising from Changes in Style of Measuring Time, Sampling Schedule and Number of Observations, Climatic Change, 53, 331-352, 2002a.

Camuffo, D.: History of the long series of daily air temperature in Padova, Climate Change, 53, 7–75, 2002b.

Camuffo, D., Bertolin, C., Craievich, A., Granziero, R., and Enzi, S.: When the Lagoon was frozen over in Venice from A.D. 604 to 2012: evidence from written documentary sources, visual arts and instrumental readings, Méditerranée, 2017.

670   Camuffo, D., Bertolin, C., Bergonzini, A., Amore, C., and Cocheo, C.: Early hygrometric observations in Padua, Italy, from 1794 to 1826: the Chiminello goose quill hygrometer versus the de Saussure hair hygrometer, Climatic Change, 122, 217–227, 2014.

Cappel, A.: Phänologische Beobachtungen der Societas Meteorologica Palatina, Promet, 10, 52–53, 1980a.

Cappel, A.: Societas Meteorologica Palatina (1780-1795), Annalen der Meteorologie (N. F.), 16, 11–27, 1980b.

675   Cappel, A.: Societas meteorologica Palatina (1780-1795), Beil. z. Mitt.-Bl. Dt. Wetterd., 28, 1980c.

Cassidy, D. C.: Meterology in Mannheim: The Palatine Meterological Society, 1780-1795, Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften, 69, 8–25, 1985.

Cetta, T.: Senebier, Jean, Historisches Lexikon Schweiz, 11, 436, 2011.

Chenoweth, M.: The U.S. Army Medical Department's Involvement in the Early History of Weather Observing: Was Benjamin
680   Waterhouse the First Army Weather Observer?, Bulletin of the American Meteorological Society, 77, 559–563, 1996.

Churfürstlich-Pfalzbaierischer Hof- und Staatskalender auf das Jahr …, Franz, München, 1802.

Cocheo, C. and Camuffo, D.: L'igrometro di Chiminello e le misure igrometriche effettuate a Padova per la 'Meteorologica Societas Palatina', Mannheim, Centro per la Storia dell'Università di Padova e Osservatorio Astronomico di Padova, Padova, 743–762, 2000.

685   Collart, M.: Théodore Mann, savoir et pouvoir, Académie royale de Belgique, Bruxelles, 2022.

Cotte, L.: Recherches météorologiques, Observations sur la Physique, XLI, 269–283, 1792.

Csernus-Molnár, I. and Kiss, A.: A XVIII. század végi magyarországi műszeres meteorológiai mérések feldolgozási és vizsgálati lehetőségei: (Research and study possibilities of late 18th-century instrumental weather measurement series in Hungary), Conference Környezettörténet, 2, 203–214, 2011.

690   Csernus-Molnár, I., Kiss, A., and Pócsik, E.: 18th-Century Daily Measurements and Weather Observations in the Se-Carpathian Basin: A Preliminary Analysis of the Timişoara Series (1780-1803), Journal of Environmental Geography, 7, 1–9, 2014.

Cubasch, U. and Kadow, C.: Global Climate Change and Aspects of Regional Climate Change in the Berlin-Brandenburg Region, (DIE ERDE – Journal of the Geographical Society of Berlin), 142, 3–20, 2011.

695   Curti, M., Tillman, W., and Williams, S.: Philosophical Lectures by Samuel Williams, LL. D., on the Constitution, Duty, and Religion of Man, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 60, 1, 1970.

Daniell, J. F.: Essays and Observations: Vol. 2, Underwood, London, 1827.

Demarée, G. R. and Ogilvie, A.: Early Meteorological Observations in Greenland: The Contributions of David Cranz, Christian Gottlieb Kratzenstein and Christopher Brasen, in: Legacies of David Cranz's 'Historie von Grönland' (1765), edited by:
700   Jensz, F. and Petterson, C., 141–164, 2021.

Demarée, G. R. and Chuine, I.: A concise history of the phenological observations at the Royal Meteorological Institute of Belgium, Proceedings of the HAICTA-2006 Conference, Vol. III, Phenology-Agrometeorology, 815–824, 2006.

Demarée, G. R., Engelen, A. E. V. van, and Geurts, H. A. M.: Les observations météorologiques de Théodore-Augustin Mann, Ciel et Terre, 110, 41–48, 1994.

705   Descartes, R.: Discours de la méthode pour bien conduire sa raison, & chercher la verité dans les sciences. Plus La dioptrique, les météores et la géométrie, qui sont des essais de cete méthode. Leyden, 1637.

Destombes, M.: Mappemondes, Amsterdam, 1964.

Deutsch, M. and Börngen, M.: Anmerkungen zum Leben des Erfurter Arztes und Naturwissenschaftlers Johann Jacob Planer, Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde von Erfurt, 72, 51–69, 2011.

710   Deutsch, M. and Börngen, M.: Johann Jacob Planer (1743-1789) und sein meteorologisches Wirken im Rahmen der Societas Meteorologica Palatina, in: Universitäten und Akademien, edited by: Kästner, I. and Kiefer Jürgen, Shaker, Aachen, 211–224, 2010.

Dove, H. W.: Über das Gesetz der Stürme, Verlag von Dietrich Reimer, 1857, Germany, 1857.

Egede, P. H.: Nachrichten von Grönland, Kopenhagen, 1790.

715   Ernesti, J. A.: Neue theologische Bibliothek, darinnen von den neuesten theologischen Büchern und Schriften Nachricht gegeben wird: Bd. 3.1, Leipzig, 1773.

Federhofer, M.-T.: "Magnetische Ungewitter" und "Erd-Lichter": Alexander von Humboldt und das Nordlicht, Z. für Germanistik, 24, 267–281, 2014.

Federhofer, M.-T.: Wetterzeichen. Zum meteorologischen Codierungsverfahren Jacob Nicolaj Wilses (1735-1801), Cardanus,
720   2, 13–30, 2001.

Felbiger, J. I. von: Anleitung, jede Art der Witterung genau zu beobachten, in Karten zu verzeichnen, zu vergleichen, und daraus, besonders für die Landwirthschaft, nützliche Folgen zu verzeichnen, Lauhe, Sagan, 92, 1773.

Flügel, H. W.: Das abenteuerliche Leben des Benedikt Hermann: (1755 - 1815); vom steirischen Bauernsohn zum Chevalier und Intendanten der russischen Bergwerke, Böhlau, Wien, 334 pp., 2006.

725   Frångsmyr, T., Heilbron, J. L., and Rider, R. E.: The Quantifying Spirit in the Eighteenth Century, Univ. of Calif. Pr, Berkeley, 1990.

Friedrich, O.: Stritter, Johann Gotthelf von, in: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, 36, 598, 1893.

Fritsch, C. von: Grundzüge einer Meteorologie für den Horizont von Prag, entworfen aus den an der k. k. Universitäts-Sternwarte daselbst in den Jahren 1771 bis 1846 angestellten Beobachtungen: Aus den Abh. d. k. böhm. Ges. d. Wiss. V
730   Folge, VII Bd., bes. abgedruckt, Gottl. Haase, Prag, 1850.

Fritz, H.: Die geographische Verbreitung des Polarlichtes, Petermanns Georgr. Mitt., 20, 347–358, 1874.

Fuchs, P.: Palatinatus illustratus: die historische Forschung an der kurpfälzischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bibliograph. Inst, Mannheim, 1963.

Garlato, A.: Canti del Popolo di Chioggia, Naratovich, Venezia, 1883.

735   Gatterer, J. C.: De anno meteorologico fundamentali, Commentationes der Ges. der Naturwiss. Göttingen, III, 82-120, 1780.

Goldbeck, J. F.: Litterarische Nachrichten von Preußen: Tl. 2, Leipzig, Dessau, 1783.

Grafenstein, U. von, Erlenkeuser, H., Müller, J., Trimborn, P., and Alefs, J.: A 200-year mid-European air temperature record preserved in lake sediments: An extension of the δ^{18}Op-air temperature relation into the past, Geochimica et Cosmochimica Acta, 60, 4025–4036, 1996.

740 Gurlt, E. and Hirsch, A.: Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte aller Zeiten und Völker, Urban & Schwarzenberg, München [u.a.], 1886.

Häderli, S., Pfister, S., Villinger, L., Brugnara, J., and Brönnimann, S.: Two meteorological series from Geneva, 1782–1791, Geographia Bernensia, 96, 33–46, 2020.

Hartmann, L.: Der Physiker und Astronom P. Placidus Heinrich von St. Emmeram in Regensburg (1758 - 1825): Seine
745 wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten und sein handschriftlicher Nachlass, STMBO, 16, 157–182; 316-351, 1929.

Heinrich, P.: Kurze Lebensgeschichte des letzten Fürst-Abtes zu St. Emmeram in Regensburg Cölestin Steiglehner, Daisenberger, Regensburg, VI, 107 S, 1819.

Heinrich, P.: Die Temperatur von St. Petersburg aus einer Reihe zwanzigjähriger Beobachtungen hergeleitet,, Journal für Chemie und Physik, 8, Beilage 3, 1–21; Beilage 4, 1–14, 1813.

750 Heinrich, P.: Vom Gefälle der Donau: Schreiben an Herrn von Humboldt, vom Professor Heinrich, Zachs Monatl. Correspondenz, 25, 368-379, 1812.

Heinrich, P.: Oscillationes Mercurii in tubo torricelliano ingruentibus procellis et tempestatibus observatae in museo physico Ratisbonae ad St. Emmeramum annis 1788 et 1789, München, 1794.

Hell, M.: Maximilian Hells Schreiben über die in Wien entdekte Magnet-Cur an einen seiner Freunde, Neueste Nachrichten
755 aus Wien von den vermittelst des Magnets geschehen seyn sollenden Curen, 12.01.1775, 11–15, 1775.

Hellman, G.: The Laki volcanic eruption of 1783-1784 a reappraisal and reinterpretation of the consequences of the event in Europe. Villain or fall guy?, Thesis, History, 2, Rennes, 2021.

Hellmann, G.: Repertorium der deutschen Meteorologie, Engelmann, Leipzig, 1883.

Hemmer, J. J.: Von der Variabilität der Magnetnadel zur Zeit des Nordlichts, Grens Journal der Physik, VIII, 88–90, 1792.

760 Hemmer, J. J.: Merkwürdige Erscheinung an einer vorüber ziehenden Wolke, mit Anmerkungen begleitet, Historia et commentationes Academiae Electoralis Scientiarum, VI, 319–324, 1790.

Hemmer, J. J.: Nachricht, von der kurpfälzischen Witterungsgesellschaft, Pfalzbaierisches Museum, 3, 259–278, 1785/86.

Hemmer, J. J.: Urtheil der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Mannheim über die eingelaufenen Preisschriften, von Erfindung eines vergleichbaren Feuchtigkeitsmessers in ihrer öffentlichen, den 20. Weinmonat 1783 gehaltenen Versammlung,
765 abgelesen vom Herrn geistlichen Rath Hemmer, Pfalzisches Museum, 1, 388–410, 1783/1784.

Hemmer, J. J.: Descriptio Instrumentorum Societatis Meteorologicae Palatinae tam eorum, quæ observatoribus suis distribuit quam quibus praeter haec Manheimii utitur, Officinae Novae Societas Typographcae Electoralis, Manheimii, 1 volume, 1782.

Hemmer, J. J.: Kritische Anmerkungen, Rheinische Beiträge zur Gelehrsamkeit, 457–470, 1779.

770 Heß, R.: Gatterer, Christoph, Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, 8, 409–410, 1878.

Hildebrandsson, H. H. and Teisserance de Bort: Recherches ancienne sur les tempêtes des zones tempérées. Théories centripèdes de Brandes, Espy et Loomis, Les bases de la météorologie dynamique, historique, 1, 45–60, 1898.

Hochadel, O.: "In nebula nebulorum": The Dry Fog of the Summer of 1783 and the Introduction of Lightning Rods in the German Empire, 45–70, 2009.

775 Hollmann, S.: Nöthiger Unterricht von Barometern und Thermometern, Grapen, 1783.

Holopainen, J.: Reconstruction of past climates from documentary and natural sources in Finland since the 18th century, Diss. Dept. Geology Uni. Helsinki, Helsinki, 2005.

Holyoke, E. A.: An Estimate of the Excels of the Heat and Cold of the American Atmosphere beyond the European, in the Same Parallel of Latitude: To Which Are Added, Some Thoughts on the Causes of This Excels, Memoirs of the American

780 Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2, 65, 1793.

Humboldt, A. von: Examen critique de l'histoire de la géographie du nouveau continent et des progrès de l'astronomie nautique aux quinzième et seizième siècles, Librairie de Gide, Paris, 247 pp., 1837.

Humboldt, A. von: Des lignes isothermes et de la distribution de la chaleur sur le globe, par Alexandre de Humboldt, Mém. Soc. d'Arcueil, 3, 462–602, 1817.

785 Hunfalvy, P.: Ungarische Revue, Kilian, Budapest, 1882.

Ihne, E.: Geschichte der pflanzenphänologischen Beobachtungen in Europa, Beiträge zur Phänologie, 1–105, 1894.

Jefferson, T.: The papers of Thomas Jefferson, 21, Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton, NJ, 592 pp., 1983.

Kalela-Brundin, M.: The narrow ring of 1784 in tree-ring series of Scots pine (pinus sylvestris L.) in southwest Norway - a possible result of volcanic eruptions in Iceland, in: Holocene tree line oscillations, dendrochronology and palaeoclimate,

790 edited by: Frenzel, B., Fischer, Stuttgart et al., 105–118, 1996.

Kämtz, F. L.: Lehrbuch der Meteorologie, 1-3, Gebauer, Halle, XX, 595 S., [3] Faltbl., 1831, 1832, 1836.

Karner, A. G.: Altitudines, Massiliae, Manheimii, Ratisbonae, Monachii, St. Andex, Tegernsee, Peißenberg et montis St. Gotthardi supra libellam maris mediterranei ope barometricarum et thermometricarum obseruationum determinatae, Denkschriften k. Bay. Akademie der Wiss., 3,14, 437–448, 1812.

795 Kington, J.: The weather of the 1780s over Europe, Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge [u.a.], X, 164 S., 1988.

Kistner, A.: Die Pflege der Naturwissenschaften in Mannheim zur Zeit Karl Theodors: Geschichte der kurpfälzischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mannheim, Mannheim, 1930.

Korte, M., Mandea, M., and Matzka, J.: A historical declination curve for Munich from different data sources, Physics of the Earth and Planetary Interiors, 177, 161–172, 2009.

800 Kratzenstein, C. G.: Abhandlung von dem Einfluß des Mondes in die Witterungen und in den menschlichen Körper, Hemmerde, S. L., 1747.

Krause, J. T.: Ultrasonic measurement technique to study thermometric effects in glass, Journal of Non-Crystalline Solids, 14, 32-40, 1974.

Lamarck, J.-B. de: De l'influence de la lune sur l'atmosphère terrestre, Paris, 1798.

805   Lamb, H. H.: Historic storms of the North Sea, British Isles and Northwest Europe, Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 204
        pp., 1991.

Lambert, J. H.: Exposé de quelques Observations qu'on pourrait faire en météorologie: Année 1771, Nouveaux Mémoires de
        l'Academie Royale des Sciences de Berlin, 60–65, 1773.

Lambert, J. H.: Abhandlung Von den Barometerhöhen und ihren Veränderungen, Abh. der k. Bay. Akademie d. Wiss., 3, 75–
810   182, 1765.

Lambert, J. H.: Von der Meteorologie, Akademischer Kalender, 1762, Anhang, 1762.

Lambert, J. H.: Entwurf eines akademischen Systems in seinen Theilen, und deren Verbindungen; dann eines dreyfachen
        Tagregisters, vom Profeßor Lambert 1761, Westenrieder, L., Geschichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,
        Bd. 1, 1784, 482–531, 1761.

815   Lamont, J.: Beobachtungen des Meteorologischen Observatoriums auf dem Hohenpeißenberg von 1793 - 1850, Annalen der
        K. Sternwarte in München, Supplementband III, 1–787, 1851.

Leipelt, A.: Geschichte der Stadt und des Herzogthums Sagan, Rauert, Sorau, 1853.

Lichtenberg, G. C.: Briefwechsel, Beck, München, XI, (1985).

Lüdecke, C.: Von der Kanoldsammlung (1717-1726) zu den Ephemeriden der Societas Meteorologica Palatina (1781-1792).
820   Meteorologische Quellen zur Umweltgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts, Cottbuser Studien zur Geschichte von Technik,
        Arbeit und Umwelt., 30, 97–119, 2010.

Martius, C. F. P. von: Erinnerung an Mitglieder der mathematisch-physikalischen Classe der K. Bayr. Akademie der
        Wissenschaften eine Rede, vorgetragen in der öffentlichen Sitzung zur Feier des akademischen Saecularfestes am 29. März
        1859, Fest- und Gedächtnisreden / Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, München, 74 S, 1859.

825   Masson, P.: Encyclopédie des Bouches-du-Rhône, Bd. III, Archives départementales, Marseille, 1921.

Mayer, A. and Westermayer, G.: Statistische Beschreibung des Erzbisthums München-Freising, Manz, München, 1884.

McNally, L. K.: The weather of 1785, Diss. Univ. Maine, 2004.

Meichle, F.: Seegefrörne und Eisprozession in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte des
        Bodensees und seiner Umgebung, 81, 145–170, 1963.

830   Meyer d. J., J. R.: Systematische Darstellung aller Erfahrungen in der Naturlehre, Sauerländer, 1806-1808.

Middleton, W. E. K.: The history of the barometer, Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1964.

Moberg, A., Bergström, H., Krigsman, J. R., and Svanered, O.: Daily air temperature and pressure series for Stockholm (1756-
        1998), Climatic Change, 53, 171–212, 2002.

Nicander, H.: Om Tabell-Vårkets Tillstånd, ifrån 1772 till 1795, Kongl. Vetenskaps Akademiens nya Handlingar, XII, 298–
835   334, 1801.

Nollet, J. A.: Lettres sur l'Électricité, Paris, 1753.

Novontá, E. and Kalvoda, J.: Antonin Strnad (1746-1799) - the first professor of physical geography at Charles University in
        Prague, AUC Geographica, 48, 41–46, 2013.

Otto, F. J.: Die Gesammtliteratur Niederlands, oder Leben und Wirken der holländischen Schriftsteller seit dem dreizehnten

840   Jahrhundert bis auf unsere Zeit, Bibliograph. Institut, Hildburghausen, 1838.

Pelz, J.: Eine kritische Betrachtung zur Geschichte der Temperaturmessungen und deren Auswertung in Berlin seit 1701, Meteorol. Anhandl. Fr. Univ. Berlin, 4.4, Berlin, 1993.

Pilgram, A.: Anton Pilgrams Untersuchungen über das Wahrscheinliche der Wetterkunde durch Vieljährige Beobachtungen, von Kurzbeck, Wien, [12] Bl., 608 S., [2] Bl., [1] gef. Bl., 1788.

845   Poey, A.: Action of electricity on the germination and growth of plants, Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, 1869, 152–157, 1879.

Poggendorff, J. C.: Biographisch-literarisches Handwörterbuch der exakten Naturwissenschaften: enthaltend Nachweisungen über Lebensverhältnisse und Leistungen von Mathematikern, Astronomen, Physikern, Chemikern, Mineralogen, Geologen usw. aller Völker und Zeiten, Barth, Leipzig, 1863.

850   Priestley, J.: The History and Present State of Electricity: With Original Experiments, Dodsley, Johnson and Davenport, Cadell, London, 1767.

Raicich, F.: Long-term variability of storm surge frequency in the Venice Lagoon: an update thanks to 18th century sea level observations, Nat. Hazards Earth Syst. Sci., 15, 527–535, 2015.

Rainguet, P.-D.: Biographie saintongeaise, Niox, Saintes, 1851.

855   Retz, N.: Herrn Retz's, der Arzneywissenschaft Doktors, Abhandlung vom Einfluße der Witterung auf die Arzneywissenschaft und den Ackerbau nebst der Beschreibung eines neuen vergleichbaren Hygrometers. Eine gekrönte Preisschrift, Originalpublikation 1779, Henning, Greiz, [1] Bl., 210 S., [1] Bl., 1786.

Ripperger, A.: Die Influenza, Lehmann, München, 1892.

Rosenberg, A.: Zeichen am Himmel das Weltbild der Astrologie, 2nd ed., Kösel, München, 1984.

860   Rudloff, H. von: Die Schwankungen und Pendelungen des Klimas in Europa seit dem Beginn der regelmäßigen Instrumenten-Beobachtungen (1670), Die Wissenschaft, Vieweg, Braunschweig, VIII, 370 S., 1967.

Scheglmann, A. M.: Geschichte der Säkularisation im rechtsrheinischen Bayern, Habbel, Regensburg, VIII, 820 S, 1908.

Schelling, F. W.: Über das sogenannte Wetterschießen, S. 427-438, Sämtliche Werke, 8, Cotta, Stuttgart, 1861.

Schlögl, G.: Tabvlae Pro Redvctione Quorvmvis Statvvm Barometri Ad Normalem Qvemdam Caloris Gradvm, Lindaver,

865   Monachii, Ingolstadii, [4] Bl., XXX, 122 S., [3] Bl. ;, 1787.

Schön, J.: Die Witterungskunde in ihrer Grundlage: Mit 1 Titelkupf., 1 Chärtch. u. 12 lith. Tab, Würzburg, 1818.

Schuster, F.: Život a dílo astronom a Antonína Strnada, Rocnic, 12, 79-115, 1931.

Schwaiger, A.: Versuch einer meteorologischen Beschreibung des hohen Peißenbergs als eine nöthige Beylage zu dessen Prospektskarte, Enth.: Prospects Charte von Hochenpeissenberg, Franz, München, 1791.

870   Schwaiger, A.: Descriptio Atmidometri (Evaporatorii) nostri & Methodi quam in eo observando adhibemus, Ephemeriden der Societas Meteorologica Palatina, 300, 1783.

Schweingruber, F. H., Briffa, K. R., and Jones, P. D.: Yearly maps of summer temperatures in Western Europe from A.D. 1750 to 1795 and Western North America from 1600 to 1982: Results of radiodensitometrical study of tree rings., Vegetatio, 92, 5–71, 1991.

875 Seiferheld, G. H.: Electrischer Versuch wodurch Wassertropfen in Hagelkörner verändert worden samt der Frage an die Naturforscher: Ist eine Hagelableitung ausführbar, und Wie?, Monath, Altdorf, Nürnberg, [3] Bl., 38 S, 1790.

Sheynin, O. B.: On the History of the Statistical Method in Meteorology, Archive for History of Exact Sciences, 31, 53–95, 1984.

Sigrist, R.: Pictet, Marc-Auguste, Historisches Lexikon Schweiz, 9, 729–730, 2009.

880 Stäckel, P.: Johann Albrecht Euler, Vierteljahrsschrift der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich NGZH, 55, 63–75, 1910.

Steiglehner, C.: Atmosphaerae pressio varia observationibus baroscopicis propriis et alienis, Haberberger, Ingolstadii, [4] Bl., 58 S., [8] Bl., [5] gef. Bl., 1783.

Stengel, S. von: Philosophische Betrachtungen über die Alpen, Rede am Stiftungstag der bay. Akad. Wiss. am Stiftungstage 28. März 1786 vorgetragen, München, 1786.

885 Stengel, S. von and Ebersold, G.: Denkwürdigkeiten, Schriften der Gesellschaft der Freunde Mannheims und der Ehemaligen Kurpfalz, Mannheimer Altertumsverein von 1859, 23, Palatium-Verl., Mannheim, VII, 170, 1993.

Stephan, F. J.: Johann Jakob Hemmer: 1773-1790 kurfürstlicher Hofkaplan in Mannheim, Sprachreformer, Physiker und Meteorologe ein Gelehrter in praktischer Absicht Lebensbeschreibung aus der Sicht eines Familienforschers, Cardamina Verlag, Weißenthurm, 292 pp., 2017.

890 Stoll, J. J.: Beleuchtung einiger Vorurtheile in Ansehung der Donnerwetter und Blizableiter, [Selbstverl.], Lindau, 54 S, 1790.

Strnadt, A.: Beyträge zu der Geschichte des Winters im Christmonaste 1788, Sammlung Physikalischer Aufsätze, besonders die Böhmische Naturgeschichte betreffend, 3, 40–88, 1793.

Toaldo, G.: Essai de météorologie appliquée a l'Agriculture' (Prix de la Société Royale des Sciences de Montpellier, en 1774, Observations sur la Physique, X, 249–279, 1777a.

895 Toaldo, G.: Witterungslehre für den Feldbau: Eine, von der Königl. Societät der Wissenschaften zu Montpellier gekrönte Preisschrift, über die für das Jahr 1774. aufgelegte Frage: Was hat die Witterung für Einfluß auf den Wachsthum der Pflanzen, und was für praktische Folgerungen lassen sich, in Rücksicht auf den Wachsthum, aus den verschiedenen bisher gemachten Wetterbeobachtungen ziehen?, Himburg, Berlin, 1777b.

Torcia, M.: Briefe des Herrn Michael Torcia an den Herrn Professor Toaldo zu Padua von dem Höhenrauch des vergangenen 900 Jahres zu Neapel und in Calabrien, Der Teutsche Mercur, 3-16, 1784.

Vinovskis, M. A.: The 1789 Life Table of Edward Wigglesworth, Journal of Economic History, 31, 570–590, 1971.

Volney, C.-F.: Oeuvres complètes de C.-F. Volney, Comte et Pair de France, membre de l'Académie Française, honoraire de la Société Asiatique, séante à Calcutta, Vol. 7, 7, Bossange, Paris, 1821.

Voss, J.: Die Kurpfälzische Akademie der Wissenschaften und ihre Beziehungen zu Frankreich 1763-1800, Mannheimer 905 Geschichtsblätter N.F., 1, 181–194, 1994.

Wilse, J. N.: Forsøg tilstedsvarende Meteorologisk Natur- og Huusholdrings-Calender for Norge Søndenfields, Christiania, 1780.

Wilse, J. N.: Meteorographia Compendiosa eller en kort Maade, ved beqvemme Tegn, at optegne alle slags Veyr, veyrskifter og Luftsyner, Godiche, Kopenhagen, 1778.

910 Winkler, P.: Geschichte der Meteorologie in Bayern bis zum Jahr 1900, Geschichte der Meteorologie in Deutschland, 12, Deutscher Wetterdienst, Langen, 2020.

Winkler, P.: Georg Friedrich Branders Briefe an das Kloster Polling 1754-1780, Algorismus (Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik und der Naturwissenschaften Ed. M. Folkerts), 83, 2017.

Winkler, P.: Untersuchung zu historischen und neuzeitlichen Dampfdruckmessungen am Observatorium Hohenpeißenberg, 915 Ber. DWD, 245, 2015.

Winkler, P.: Revision and necessary correction of the long-term temperature series of Hohenpeissenberg, 1781–2006, Theoretical and Applied Climatology, 98, 259–268, 2009a.

Winkler, P.: Wissenschaftshistorische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und insbesondere zur Datenqualität der langen meteorologischen Reihen des Observatoriums Hohenpeißenberg, Berichte des DWD, 233, 1–187, 2009b.

920 Winkler, P.: Der Meteorologe; Der Statistiker, J. von Lamont (R. Häfner, H. Soffel Hrsg.)., 53-64; 107-110, 2006.

Winkler, P.: Early observations of and knowledge on air electricity and magnetism at Hohenpeissenberg during the Palatina era, Algorismus, 52, 55–68, 2005.

Wolf, R.: Über die elfjährige Periode in den Sonnenflecken und erdmagnetischen Variationen, Poggendorffs Annalen der Physik, CXVII, 502–509, 1862.

925 Wolf, R.: Mitteilung über die Sonnenflecken, Vierteljahresschrift Nat.-forsch Ges. Zürich, 6, 416-451, 1861.

Wolfschmidt, G.: Astronomy in Culture -- Cultures of Astronomy. Astronomie in der Kultur -- Kulturen der Astronomie: Featuring the Proceedings of the Splinter Meeting at the Annual Conference of the Astronomische Gesellschaft, Sept. 14-16, 2021. Nuncius Hamburgensis; Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften, 57, tredition Verlag, Ahrensburg, 775 pp., 2022.

930 Wurzbach, C. von: Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich: mehrbänd. Werk, Wien, 1856-1891.

Yaskell, S. H.: From research institution to astronomical museum: A history of the Stockholm observatory, Journal of Astronomical History and Heritage, 11, 146–155, 2008.

Yelin, J. C. von: Über die Veränderlichkeit des Nullpunktes in den Quecksilber und Weingeist-Thermometern, Kastners Archiv für die gesamte Naturlehre, 3, 109–122, 1824.

935 Yiou, P., Boichu, M., Vautard, R., Vrac, M., Jourdain, S., Garnier, E., and Menut, L.: Ensemble meteorological reconstruction using circulation analogues of 1781–1785, Climate of the Past, 10, 797–809, 2014.

Zuidervaart, H. J.: An eighteenth-century medical–meteorological society in the Netherlands an investigation of early organization, instrumentation and quantification. Part 2, 39, 49–66, 2006.

940

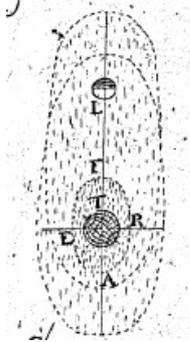
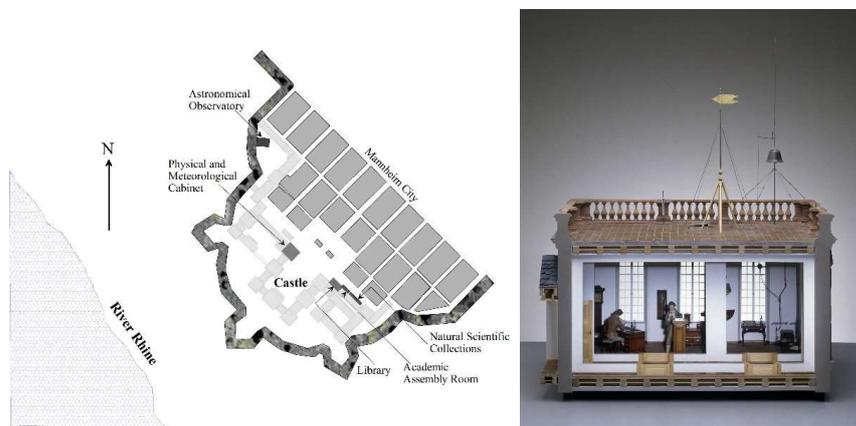



Figure 1: Gravitational deformation of the earth's atmosphere by the moon (Kratzenstein, 1747).

Figure 2: Portraits of Karl Theodor, Stephan von Stengel, Johann Jakob Hemmer.[7]

945

Figure 3 Foundation Charter.[8]

950   **Figure 4: Central station of the Societas Meteorologica Palatina in the Castle of Mannheim (historical situation). A model of the meteorological cabinet is available in TECHNOSEUM Mannheim (photo Klaus Luginsland).**

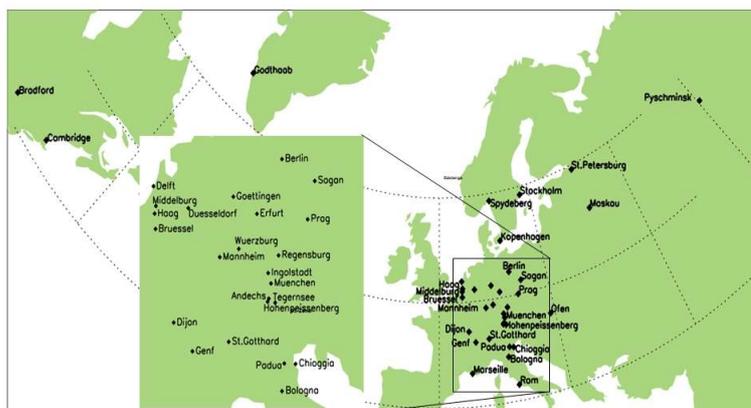



Figure 5: Map with stations of the network of the Societas Meteorologica Palatina.

955

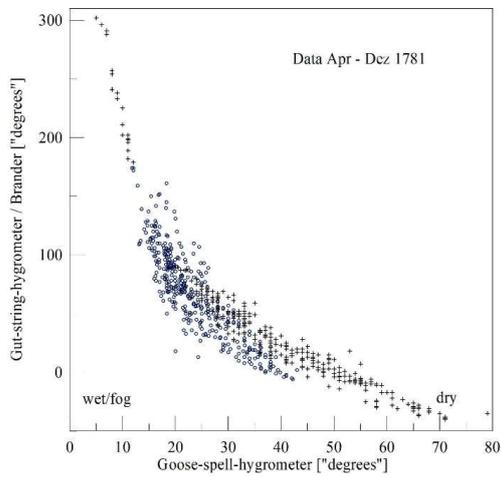



Figure 6: Comparison of goose spell vs. gut string hygrometers in Regensburg.

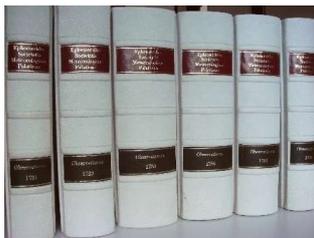



Figure 7: Ephemerides Meteorologicae Palatinae (photo Peter Winkler).

960

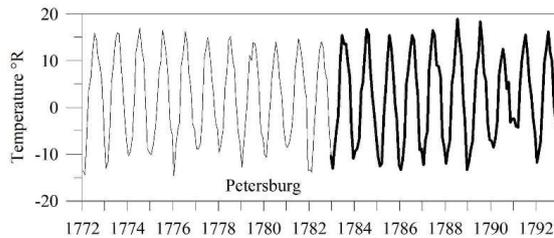
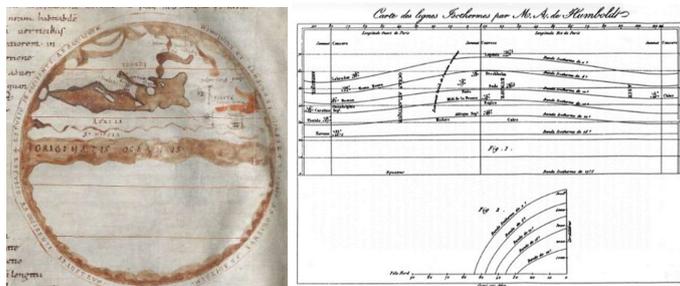



Figure 8: Monthly mean temperatures of St. Petersburg. The data from the Ephemerides are printed fat.

965   **Figure 9: Example of a traditional Macrobius map (Bavarian States Library, Clm 15738) with five climate zones and Humboldt's isotherms (Humboldt, 1817). His analysis showed that the isotherms do not run parallel to es equator.**

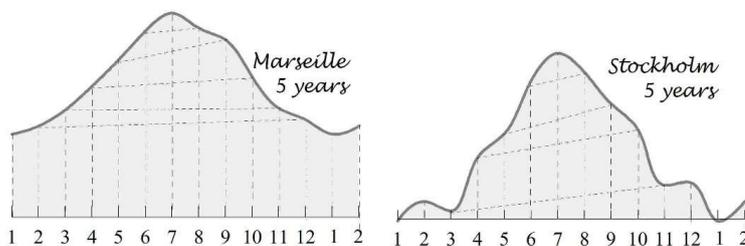



Figure 10: Average yearly cycles of temperature at Marseille and Stockholm according to Schön (1818). The Y-scales have been harmonised. Schön connected months with the same solar elevation by inclined lines.

970

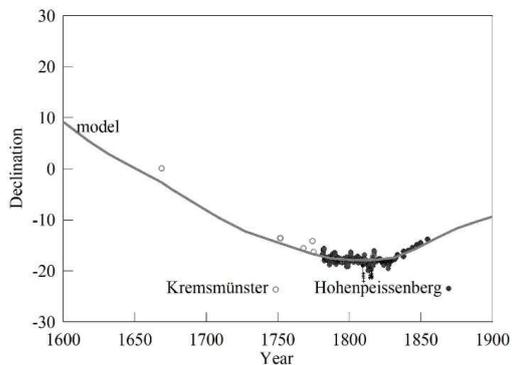



Figure 11: Secular variation of the magnetic declination (model and observations) adapted from Korte et al. (2009). (Crosses mark unreliable measurements, because the declinometer deviated from the northern direction).

975

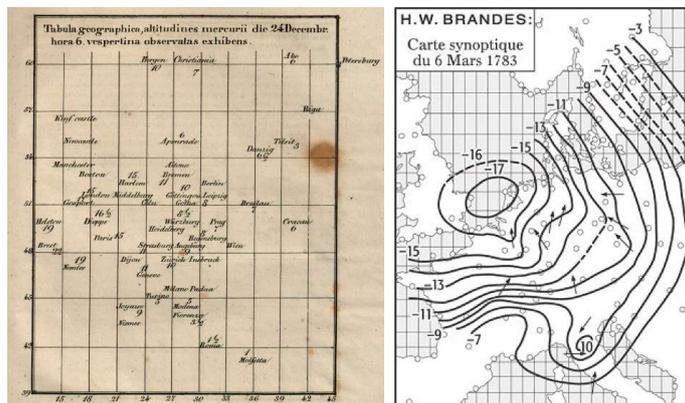



Figure 12: First synoptic map designed by (Brandes, 1826) and a reconstruction of the isobars by Hildebrandsson and Teisserance de Bort (1898).

980

Appendix

985 **The Observers**

In the Meteorological Ephemerides of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences the observers are indicated more precisely than in the Ephemerides of Mannheim.

Some literature with information of observers or supplementing information is indicated at the end of the Table.

Table A1

Germany	Observers	Profession	data in Ephemerides
Andechs 710 m asl. Monte Andex	Placidus Schärl (1731-1814) Clemens Kettl (1751-1808) Joseph Sanftl (1753-1803) Edmund Hochholzer (1764-1830)	Benedictines	1781 1782 1783-1785 1786-1792
Berlin Berolina	Nicolas de Beguelin (1714-1789) Franz Karl Achard (1753-1821)[1]	Members of Academy	1781-1787 1787-1788
Düsseldorf	Matthias Pfennings[2] (1736-1783) Abt Johann Liessem (1759-?)	Acad. of fine Arts	1782 1783
Erfurt Erfordia	Joh. Jacob Planer (1743-1789)[3]	Prof. medicine, chemistry, botany	1781-1788
Göttingen Gottinga	Christoph Gatterer (1759-1838)[4]	Prof. history	1783-1785; 1787
Hohenpeißenberg 988 m asl	Cajetan Fischer (1739-1790) Guarin Schlögl (1752-1788) Herkulan Schwaiger (1756-1830) Albin Schwaiger (1758-1824)[5]	Augustine priests, physicists	1781-1792
Ingolstadt Ingolstadia	Coelestin Steiglehner (1738-1819)[6]	Prof. experimental physics	11.1781-12.1782
Mannheim	JJ Hemmer (1733-1790)[7] member of Academy of Science	Court priest, physicist	1781-1790 1790-1792
Munich Monachia	Theophilus Huepbaur (1749-1825)[8]; Maximus Imhof (1758-1817)[9]	Priest priest, physicist	1781-1787 1788-1792
Regensburg Ratisbona	Placidus Heinrich (1758-1825)[10]	Benedictine Priest, physicist	1781-1792
Sagan	Christian Procop Theodat Preus[11]	Augustine; optician,	1781-1792

	(† 1808)	astronomer	
St. Zeno	observator ignatus	Augustine	1781
Tegernsee	Gotthard Durmayr (1725-1783)	Benedictines	1781-1782 (1783)
	Heinr. Donaubauer (1749-1826)		1783
	Maurus Magold (1761-1837)		1783-1786
	Ottmar Schmid (1757-1822)		1786-1788
	Martin Frischeisen (1766-1825)		1788-1790
	Maurus Magold (1761-1837)[12]		1790-1792
Würzburg Herbipolis	Ambrosius Egell (1732.1801)[13]	SJ, Prof. nat. science	1781-1788
Foreign countries			
Bologna Bononia	Petronio Matteucci (1717-1800)[14]	astronomer	1782-1792
Bradford	Samuel Williams (1743-1817)[15]	Prof. nat. science	1782-
Brussels Bruxellae	Théodore Augustin Mann (1735-1809)[16]	Priest, Abbot; perman. secret. academy	1782, 85, 86, 1788-92
Cambridge (Mass.) Cantabrigia	Edward Wigglesworth 1732-1794[17]	Prof. Theol.	1785-1786
Chioggia Fossa Claudia	Josepho [Giuseppe] Vianelli (1720-1803)[18]	Doctor of pharmacy.	1782-1789
Copenhagen Hafnia	Thomas Bugge (1740-1815)[19]	Astronomer	1782-1788 7, 12, 21 hours
Delft	Hendrik van Swinden (1746-1823)[20]	Advokat	1784; 1786
Hague Hagen	van Swinden (see above)[20]		9.1782-12.1784
Dijon	Hugues Maret (1726-1786)[21] M. Louis Caillet (1736-1800)	Dr. med.; Seretary of the Akademy of Dijon	1783-1784
Edsberg	Jacob Nicolai Wilse (1735-1801)[22]	Priest	1787
Geneva	Jean Senebier (1742-1809) Marc-Auguste Pictet (1752-1825)[23]	Preacher; librarian Physicist	1782-1789
Godthaab	Andres Ginge (1754-1812)[24]	Priest	1786-1787
La Rochelle	Pierre Seignette (1735-1807)[25]	Secret. Academy Sci.	1782-1790

Rupella			
Marseille Massilia	Jacques de Silvabelle (1722-1801)[26]	Astronomer	1782-1792
Middelburg Neth. Metelloburg	Adriaen van de Perre (1738-1790) [27]	Instrument maker	6.1782-1788 8, 14, 21 hours
Moscow Moscovia	Heinrich Gottlieb Engel (1720-1785);[28] J. Gotthelf Stritter (1740-1801)[29]	Operator at hospital Court counsellor	1783-84 1785-89; 1791-92 (96)
Ofen Buda	Franz Weisz (1717-1785)[30] Franz Bruna (1745-1817)[31] Franz Taucher (~1747-?)[32]	Astronomers at observatory Gerardsberg all three were Exjesuits	1782-1785 1785-92 1785-92
Padua Patavia	Guiseppe Toaldo (1719-1797); Vincenzo Chiminello (1741-1815)[33]	Astronomers Padua	1781-1792
Petersburg Petropolis	J. Albrecht Euler (1734-1800)[34]	Perpetual secretary of Academy of Sciences	1783-1792
Prague Praga	Antonin Strnad (1746-1799)[35]	Astronomer	1782-87; 1789-91
Pyschminsk	Benedikt Franz Johann Hermann (1755-1815)[36]	Engineer	1791-1792
Rome Roma	Abt Giuseppe Calandrelli (1749-1827)[37]	Astronomer	1783-1792
Spydeberg	Jacob Nicolaj Wilse (1706?-1786)[38]	see Edsberg	1784-1786
St. Gotthard 2093 m asl	P. Onofrius; Laurentius Belmas de Caladray[39]	Priests	1781-1791 1792
Stockholm Holmia	Henric Nicander (1744-1815)[40]	Astronomer	1783-1792

990 1 Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, 1, 1875, p. 27-28.

2 Pfennings (Phennings) was Ex-Jesuit (†1783). Seiner kurfürstl. Durchleucht Hof- und Staatskalender, 1782, S. 359. After the abolition of the Jesuits in 1783, a congregation of secular priests continued to exist.

3 (Deutsch and Börngen, 2010, 2011). Planer observed mostly at 6 or 7 am, 14 am and 22 am.

4 (Heß, 1878). Observations were continued in Göttingen after 1787, but not published in the Ephemerides. Neues Hannoversches Magazin

995   1803, Sp. 119 ff.

5 (Winkler, 2006).

6 (Heinrich, 1819).

7 (Stephan, 2017). Hemmer had Karl König as assistant.

8 (Bock, 1802; Mayer and Westermayer, 1884, S. 518).

1000 9 (Bock, 1802; Poggendorff, 1863).

10 (Hartmann, 1829). Heinrich had several assistants who helped when he was busy.

11 (Leipeld, 1853, S. 246).

12 (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1782-1796, Vol. 1783 (1785); Scheglmann, 1908; Winkler, 2020); Donaubaur seems to have assisted to Durmayr who had become sick.

1005 13 (Hellmann, 1883, S. 109).

14 Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, Vol. 72 (2008).

15 (Curti et al., 1970).

16 (Demarée et al. 1994; Collart, 2022). Mann had probably two assistants Needham and Chevalier.

17 (Vinovskis, 1971).

1010 18 After Garlato (1883, p. 55), Vianelli was termed as "medico et meteorologo").

19 (Bugge, 1816).

20 (Otto, 1838, S. 430).

21 (Gurlt and Hirsch, 1886, Vol. 4, 1896, S. 133).

22 Wilse had sent his „Meteorographia Compendiosa" (1778) to Hemmer in 1782 (Federhofer, 2001).

1015 23 (Sigrist, 2009; Cetta, 2011; Häderli et al., 2020).

24 Ginge went to Godthaab in 1782 and sent meteorological observations to Bugge in Copenhagen who provided the first instruments (Egede, 1790, p. 307). He later obtained instruments from Hemmer and placed them in the church, who published the results 1786 and 1787. (Demarée and Ogilvie, 2021, p. 145).

25 (Rainguet, 1851, p. 552).

1020 26 (Masson, 1921, p. 783-787).

27 Dutch instrument maker, (Zuidervaart, 2006.

28 J. G. Engel was born near Halle in Saxony, Germany (Goldbeck, 1783); he had employments at many locations in Russia before he became operator at the first military hospital in Moscow in 1762. He observed at 6, 14 and 22 hours but in parts of 1782 at 7, 14, and 22 hours.

1025 29 (Poggendorff, 1863). Stritter, born in Germany, was a teacher of history and deputy head at the Gymnasium of the Academy of St. Petersburg, before he changed to Moscow in 1785, where he became conservator of the imperial archive (Friedrich, 1893). He regularly sent his observations to the Academy of Sciences in Petersburg, as is noted in the protocols.

30 (Poggendorff, 1863; Hunfalvy, 1882, p. 863).

31 (Poggendorff, 1863).

1030 32 (Wurzbach, 1856-1891, Vol. 43, 1881, p. 135).

33 (Camuffo, 2002b; Torcia, 1784); Chiminello was the nephew of Toaldo.

34 (Stäckel, 1910).

35 (Novotná, E. and Kalvoda, J., 2013). The Observatory was situated in the Clementinum, 2nd floor in his dwell (Fritsch, 1850).

36 (Flügel, 2006).

1035 37 (Wolfschmidt, 2022).

38 (Federhofer, 2001).

39 Both were Capuchin monks from Milan.

40 (Yaskell, 2008).

1040

1045

1050

Figure A1: First row (from left): Franz Karl Achard, Berlin (a), Nicolas de Beguelin, Berlin (b), Thomas Bugge, Copenhagen (c), Giuseppe Calandrelli, Rome (d); Vincenzo Chiminello, Padua (e), Giuseppe Tolado, Padua (f); second row: Alexander Euler, Petersburg (g), Coelestin Steiglehner, Ingolstadt (h); i: Benedikt Franz Hermann, Pyschminsk (i), Christoph Gatterer, Göttingen (j), Theophilus Huepbaur, Munich (k), Maximus Imhof, Munich (l); third row: m: Theodore Augustine Mann, Brussels (m), Hugues

1055
Maret, Dijon (n), Marc-Auguste Pictet, Geneva (o), Pierre Seignette, La Rochelle (p), Jean Senebier, Geneva (q), Jacques de Silvabelle, Marseille (r); forth row: Antonin Strnad, Prague (s), Adriaen van de Perre, Middelburg (t),Hendrik van Swinden, Delft (u), Giuseppe Vianelli, Chioggia (v), Samuel Williams, Bradford (w), Jacob Nicolaj Wilse, Spydeberg (x); fifth row: y: Herkulan Schwaiger HP (z), Albin Schwaiger. HP (z1), Alois Karner, Hohenpeissenberg (z2), Placidus Heinrich, Regensburg (z3).

Copy right owner for image:

Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (Inv. Nr. 2009/40.1): Fig. 2a

1060 Reis-Engelhorn-Museum Mannheim: Fig. 2b

painting privately owned (owner not publicly known): Fig. 2c

Deutscher Wetterdienst: Fig. 3

Technoseum Mannheim: Fig. 4b

Peter Winkler: Fig. 4a, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11; App. y

1065 Portraits in Appendix: Wikipedia Commons free: a, b, c, d, f, g, i, j, n, o, p, q, r, u, v. x; Stadtmuseum Regensburg: h,

Haverhill Public Library; USA, Mass.: w; Pröpstetafel Pfarrkirche Rottenbuch: z; Observatory Hohenpeissenberg: z1;

Kirchenstiftung Wallfahrtskirche HP: z2; University Regensburg z3; u: (Schuster, 1931) s; Vlaams Instituut voor de Zee: m;

INAF-Astronomical Observatory of Padua, Historical Archive: Fig. A1-e.

Royal Zeeland Scientific Society: Fig. A1-t.