

# Ernesto Bozzano

Italian psychologist and psychical researcher (1862-1943), author of number of books analysing psi phenomena. Bozzano was a strong defender of spiritist interpretations and of survival. Long overlooked in the English-speaking world, his work is now being reassessed by scholars and historians.

## Introduction

The Italian psychologist and psychical researcher Ernesto Bozzano was well known during his lifetime, particularly in Italian and French circles. In his *Encyclopaedia of Psychic Science*, Nandor Fodor called him the dean of Italian psychical researchers and spiritualists.<sup>[1]</sup> A contemporary, the French physiologist Charles Richet, referred to him as ‘the psychologist to whom are due so many penetrating and shrewd studies on various issues of metapsychics’.<sup>[2]</sup>

Nonetheless Bozzano has been somewhat forgotten, particularly in the English-speaking world, perhaps in part because the bulk of his work is not in English. It is not unusual to find his name missing in English-language books about parapsychology, such as historical overviews<sup>[3]</sup> and textbooks.<sup>[4]</sup> While there have been good and detailed studies of Bozzano’s life and work,<sup>[5]</sup> studies that have increased our knowledge about the man considerably, this knowledge has not circulated widely, perhaps because they were published in Italian. However, Italians continue to be interested in Bozzano, as is evident from a recent issue of *Luce e Ombra* devoted to a celebration of his 150th birth anniversary.<sup>[6]</sup>

## Brief Biography

Bozzano was born in Genoa on January 9, 1862 into a middle-class family, and died in the same city in 1943. He was the fourth-born son, and although he never received a formal education, he educated himself, eventually becoming a scholar in psychical research and Spiritualism during the 1890s.<sup>[7]</sup> With a few exceptions – and then briefly – he did not work to earn a living. The period in which he published the most, the two decades beginning in 1921, coincided with an improvement in living conditions from his move to a villa in Savona owned by his brother Adolfo, where he was able to devote his life mainly to reading and writing.

Bozzano is said to have read many philosophers during his early studies,<sup>[8]</sup> also to have been interested in astronomy, geology, paleontology, physiology. However, we have no precise confirmation of the works or the authors that he studied, except for a few hints about Darwin.<sup>[9]</sup>

Bozzano was deeply influenced by the ideas of the British philosopher and sociologist Herbert Spencer,<sup>[10]</sup> admitting that Spencer interested him greatly.<sup>[11]</sup> It is possible that Spencer’s ideas led Bozzano to be empirical in his investigations, that is, empirical in terms of collecting published examples of psychic manifestations.

Bozzano published many books and articles, revising them in later years, and updating them with new cases.<sup>[12]</sup> The books published after his death in 1943 were prepared by his disciple and friend, physician Gastone De Boni. Most of the works consisted of discussions of specific phenomena based on published cases. In the great majority, Bozzano defended the involvement of spirits of the dead.

His publications include, but were not limited to: *Ipotesi Spiritica e Teorie Scientifiche* (1903); *Phénomènes Psychiques au Moment de la Mort* (1923c); *Per la Difesa dello Spiritismo* (1927); *Dei Fenomeni di Infestazioni* (2nd ed., 1936); *Discarnate Influence in Human Life* (n.d., ca 1938); *Popoli Primitivi e Manifestazioni Supernormali* (1941); *Dei Fenomeni di Telestesia* (1942); *Musica Trascendentale* (1943); *Luci nel Futuro* (1947a); *La Psiche Domina la Materia* (1948); and *La Crisi della Morte nelle Descrizioni dei Defunti Comunicanti* (1952).

## Initial Steps in Psychical Research

Bozzano stated that he was at first a ‘positivist materialist.’<sup>[13]</sup> He wrote that in 1891 he received from the French philosopher and psychologist Théodule Ribot the first published issue of the *Annales des Sciences Psychiques*. Skeptical to start with, Bozzano said that, prompted by Ribot, he studied the subject and became convinced of the reality of psychic phenomena. He refers to a dramatic change of mind brought about by the consideration of facts, amounting practically to a conversion. However, Giovanni Iannuzzo<sup>[14]</sup> doubts this account, arguing that the Bozzano’s writings suggest rather a gradual change of mind caused by the analysis of cases and his own studies, including an impactful experience at a séance involving his deceased mother.

Bozzano was a co-founder of the Circolo Scientifico Minerva (Minerva Scientific Circle) in Genoa, whose more prominent members included journalist Luigi Arnaldo Vassallo, astronomer Francesco Porro, and psychiatrist Enrico Morselli. The group organized séances with mediums, one of the main ones being Eusapia Palladino. Some of the reports of these séances were published by Bozzano<sup>[15]</sup> and by Morselli.<sup>[16]</sup>

Bozzano's first major published work was *Ipotesi Spiritica e Teorie Scientifiche* (1903). The first chapter reported on two sittings with Palladino, and was followed by two others on theoretical aspects of mediumship. Bozzano described one experience as follows:

A powerful and enormous hand comes to rest open behind the shoulders [Bozzano's]; and pushes and pulls strongly. Its proportions are such that it goes from one to the other shoulder. Shortly after the hand itself withdraws, and hits me familiarly three times on the *humerus* [upper arm]; it went to caress my face.<sup>[17]</sup>

In other sections about Palladino, Bozzano argued for an explanation based on discarnate agency, critiquing psychological and living agency explanations of mediumistic phenomena.

Bozzano's studies brought him into contact with many individuals in the field of psychical research, including William Crookes, Arthur Conan Doyle, Camille Flammarion, James Hyslop, Oliver Lodge, Cesare Lombroso, Enrico Morselli, and Henry Sidgwick.<sup>[18]</sup> Unfortunately much of this correspondence has been lost.

## Bozzano's Research and Analytical Approach

Although Bozzano held séances with mediums<sup>[19]</sup> most of his work was bibliographical. That is, he compiled published cases and analyzed them, in ways described elsewhere.<sup>[20]</sup> Bozzano's approach has been described as consisting of

dealing with a single issue in an article or book, one order of mediumistic phenomena, a single class of spontaneous events, reporting a series of examples, commenting briefly on them and presenting the result of all the subject matter. He organized the material in such a way as to always reach a prearranged conclusion, which was to demonstrate the possibility (or better, the need for) the spiritist hypothesis. The finished work was material organized by classes, reordered in a progressive scale, as if it was the reconstruction of a tree in evolutionary lineage.<sup>[21]</sup>

It has also been suggested that Bozzano started with a conclusion and then looked for material to justify his beliefs.<sup>[22]</sup> Another student of Bozzano has stated:

Bozzano's methodological approach was specific and comparable to that of an eighteenth-century naturalist; he did not carry out experiments or directly gather testimony because he did not feel the necessity of proving the existence of the psychic, but he summarized the accounts of the phenomena present in the literature (which he patiently classified during his entire life) as immediately valid natural phenomena, and he inserted them into an inductive process based on comparative analysis and convergence of proofs; in other words, he pointed out all the likenesses of a certain class of phenomena and reached specific conclusions.<sup>[23]</sup>

Bozzano seemed to have no doubts about the validity of his procedures to acquire knowledge. Analyses of cases convinced him of the existence of phenomena such as telepathy and hauntings. Comparing and classifying cases brought to him what he repeatedly referred to as 'convergence of proof.' He believed that different phenomena – and types of phenomena – supported each other to the point of providing proof of their existence and confirming the involvement of a discarnate agency.<sup>[24]</sup>

An interesting contribution was to draw attention to phenomena that were frequently ignored or that at the time received little attention. Examples include his writings about communications of living persons via mediums,<sup>[25]</sup> panoramic memory when close to death,<sup>[26]</sup> transfiguration,<sup>[27]</sup> 'transcendental music' (which included music heard at deathbeds or in other contexts)<sup>[28]</sup> and non-recurrent physical manifestations related to death,<sup>[29]</sup> among many other topics.

## Analyses of Psychic Phenomena

### Deathbed Visions

One of Bozzano's best known works is his analysis of cases of deathbed visions, a topic he discussed in various publications.<sup>[30]</sup> He classified his cases as:

- Apparitions seen only by the dying person of individuals known to have died

- Apparitions seen only by the dying person or individuals that the person did not know had died
- Apparitions seen both by the dying and by others around
- Apparitions with details related in some way to communications received via mediums
- Apparitions perceived only by those around the dying persons

This last included what more recently has been called shared death experiences, a topic in which Bozzano was a pioneer.

Specific features persuaded Bozzano that spirits produced the visions. For example, he could not believe that dying children could be brought to hallucinate by suggestion. In other cases, the fact of people being in coma excluded explanations in terms of a projection from the mind of the dying. He also pointed to cases in which the apparition was identified via portraits, or that presented precognitive aspects, which he believed were 'unexplained by hallucinatory, suggestive, and telepathic hypotheses'.<sup>[31]</sup>

## **Bilocation**

Closely related to deathbed visions (and to apparitions of the living), was a group of manifestations Bozzano referred to as 'bilocation,' involving an 'etheric body', sometimes including out-of-body experiences.<sup>[32]</sup> He classified the cases he analyzed as:

- the phantom limb sensations reported by amputees and the feelings of 'doubling' of hemiplegics
- cases of autoscopy, or apparitions of oneself
- various cases of apparitions, such as those seen emerging from dying persons
- other apparitional cases, such as apparitions of the living

All of these experiences indicated to him the separation from the physical body of an etheric body.

While in some of the cases he argued 'the personal consciousness is transferred to the phantom',<sup>[33]</sup> many others lacked this feature. He presented 20 published cases of out-of-body experiences, noting they tended to happen during low physical activity<sup>[34]</sup> and that veridical perceptions showed these were not mere hallucinations. Other cases that impressed him were those when people around deathbeds saw mists, lights or subtle bodies emerge or hover over the dying persons. He believed these represented the initial stages of death, involving the separation of a fluidic body: 'embryonary or rudimentary' doubling presented the 'initial phase of deathbed bilocation phenomena'.<sup>[35]</sup>

## **'Transcendental Music'**

In his 1943 book *Musica Trascendentale*, Bozzano studied various musical phenomena, offering 42 cases on music produced by mediums; music received telepathically; music heard during hauntings, around deathbeds, and after a death; and phenomena involving music unrelated to death.

As elsewhere, Bozzano argued for explanations in terms of spirit agency. He rejected the hallucinatory explanation of hauntings on the grounds that in some cases those who heard music did not know the location was haunted. He objected to psychometry as an explanation because sometimes music was heard when the person was at some distance from the house. Against conventional explanations, he pointed to deathbed cases in which bystanders heard the music, but not the dying person, which he felt was not consistent with the idea that the dying affected the bystanders telepathically.

## **Premonitions**

Bozzano wrote several times about premonitions.<sup>[36]</sup> His last statement about this, *Luci nel Futuro: I Fenomeni Premonitorio*, is one of the most detailed discussions of precognitive phenomena ever published,<sup>[37]</sup> as can be seen in the classification of cases below:

### **I. Self-Premonitions of Infirmity or Death**

- Infirmity
- Short term death due to natural causes
- Long-term death due to natural causes
- Death due to accidental causes

### **II. Premonitions of infirmity and of death about others**

- Infirmary about others
- Short term death of others due to natural causes
- Long term death of others due to natural causes
- Short term death of others due to accidental causes
- Long term death of others due to accidental causes
- Recurrent deaths usually in a family

### III. Premonitions of Various Events

- Important events not related to death
- Insignificant events
- Meteorological and seismic events
- Protective
- Those which determine the fulfillment of the event
- Those which present theoretically important elements

Bozzano found many cases in which premonition was expressed via dreams. Some were recurrent dreams, occurring either on the same night or on successive nights. Compared to ordinary dreams, he stated, dreams about the future were more labile, so that 'part of the premonitory dream is much more vivid than the ordinary one'.<sup>[38]</sup> But these dreams were also quickly forgotten.

Other premonitions came by way of visual and auditory hallucinations. The latter included voices 'sometimes recognized to be an interior or subjective one and other times as having an objective and often familiar timbre'.<sup>[39]</sup> There were also sounds such as raps and sobs. Premonitions could be expressed as a 'vague sense of deep anxiety or of a dark presage',<sup>[40]</sup> or as motor impulses that included seemingly irrational acts such as retracing one's steps, rushing, and changing one's location, leading percipients to avoid a dangerous situation of which at the time they had been unaware.

While Bozzano could offer no explanation for seeing into the future, he believed the phenomena were real and could not be accounted for via conventional explanations. He concluded: 'the situation of positivist materialism in front of premonitory cases may be considered as literally untenable'.<sup>[41]</sup>

## Other Phenomena and Issues

In a study of xenoglossy, Bozzano<sup>[42]</sup> classified cases as those in which languages were expressed via speaking or auditory perceptions, automatic writing, direct voice and direct writing. Another study focused on non-recurrent physical manifestations for which there was no apparent explanation, such as pictures that fell, clocks that stopped, bells that rang, and objects that moved or broke.<sup>[43]</sup> Here again, Bozzano referred to the 'incontestable validity of the spiritualist interpretation' of such phenomena.<sup>[44]</sup>

Other studies were devoted to phenomena such as symbolism in psychic phenomena,<sup>[45]</sup> transfiguration,<sup>[46]</sup> clairvoyance,<sup>[47]</sup> and mediumistic descriptions of death.<sup>[48]</sup> More general issues included the relation between evolution and psychic phenomena,<sup>[49]</sup> and psychic phenomena among 'primitive' people.<sup>[50]</sup>

## Polemics

Bozzano engaged in polemics against those who favored non-survivalist interpretations of psychic phenomena,<sup>[51]</sup> such as biologist William Mackenzie and physiologist and psychical researcher Charles Richet.<sup>[52]</sup>

A prominent example is his book critique<sup>[53]</sup> of French psychical researchers René Sudre's *Introduction à la Métapsychique Humaine* (1926). Sudre adopted conventional approaches to explain survival-related phenomena, for instance in terms of artificial mediumistic personalities and psi among the living. Bozzano considered these misleading and listed many phenomena he believed defied them: communications about persons unknown to both mediums and sitters; deathbed visions; some death-related telekinetic phenomena; and cases in which mediums produced writing that matched that of the communicator when alive.

Bozzano also questioned Sudre's competence, considering that his mentality

combined with a greatly partisan temperament, makes him very inferior to the task of investigating profitably metapsychic manifestations. His talent is of a different nature, and he can gather laurels dedicating himself to

journalism, literature, theater, but in the field of metapsychics he will only hamper the work of others, disorienting the research and delaying the advent of Truth.<sup>[54]</sup>

## Theoretical Ideas

As has been seen throughout, Bozzano believed that discarnate action – and consequently survival of death – were clearly indicated by his analyses of cases, considering that they ‘converge... in the experimental demonstration of the existence and the survival of the soul’.<sup>[55]</sup> For him, the discarnate agency explanation had stood the test of time: ‘far from showing weakness or defeat... it appears like a lighthouse pointing to the port for sailors who are lost in the ocean of life’.<sup>[56]</sup>

Bozzano also wrote about related issues, such as evolution. He did not think that psychic phenomena were shaped or affected in any way by biological evolution. Like Myers,<sup>[57]</sup> Bozzano saw psychic phenomena as part of a spiritual dimension, used by persons after their death.<sup>[58]</sup> This view – that the powers of the subconscious mind are not regulated by evolution – ‘renders inevitable a recurrence to the theory propounded by Myers, as the only one capable of furnishing a comprehensive and rational explanation of the facts’.<sup>[59]</sup>

Bozzano thought that the spirit of human beings produced psychic phenomena.<sup>[60]</sup> The source of psychic manifestations was the same in the living as in the dead, what he referred to as animism and Spiritism: in both cases the agency was the non-physical spirit. For this reason he believed it made no sense to try to account for survival-related phenomena in terms of animism. In his view, phenomena produced by the living support both the existence of an immaterial spirit and phenomena produced by the dead. Both living and deceased agency, Bozzano affirmed

are indispensable for the purpose and cannot be separated, since both are the effects of a single cause; and this cause is the human spirit, which, when it manifests in transient flashes during incarnate existence, determines animistic phenomena, and when it manifests in a discarnate condition in the world of the living, determines spiritistic phenomena.<sup>[61]</sup>

It seems Bozzano was influenced in these ideas by Myers, and probably also by Alexander Aksakov’s classic discussion of animism and spiritism, which Bozzano must have read in its French translation.<sup>[62]</sup>

Despite this complementary incarnate-discarnate action of the spirit, Bozzano continually resorted to discarnate agency as an explanation for psychic phenomena. This is evident in most of his writings, among them those about death-related phenomena and hauntings.<sup>[63]</sup> He also wrote about the non-materiality of the psychic faculties of the living. For example, telepathy, he wrote, was ‘a manifestation of a psychic or spiritual nature’ that was ‘independent of the psycho-physiological functions of the cerebral organ’.<sup>[64]</sup> He wrote similar things about the phenomena of clairvoyance.<sup>[65]</sup>

Another interesting conceptual aspect of Bozzano’s thought were his speculations about the existence of an etheric brain.<sup>[66]</sup> He wrote:

It is in fact evident that the existence of an etheric body immanent in the somatic body takes for granted the existence of an etheric brain within the somatic brain. This admission would clear up at once all the perplexities which have always held back physiologists from admitting the existence of a spirit surviving the death of the body, which perplexities are summed up in the indubitable fact of the existence of a psycho-physiological parallelism in the phenomena of thought, leading inexorably to the conclusion that thought is a function of the brain. There is no doubt that the physiologists were apparently right in concluding this; but they would not be so if the terms of the formidable problem were inverted by the experimental demonstration of the existence of an etheric brain within the somatic brain; in which case the latter would be merely the indispensable apparatus for the translation of the impressions that come to it from the outer world by means of the senses in the form of *physical vibrations*, into terms of *psychic vibrations* perceptible to the spirit immanent in the etheric brain...<sup>[67]</sup>

## Bozzano in Perspective

It may be argued that Bozzano made many contributions to the study of psychic phenomena. As well as strongly defending the idea of non-physical aspects of human beings – and of survival of bodily death – his many case compilations stand as valuable sources of examples of the phenomena reported in the spiritualist and psychical research literature of his times – a literature that even today is not well indexed.

Although citations to Bozzano’s work seem to have declined in recent times, it was previously influential. As was to be expected, it was frequently cited by spiritist writers,<sup>[68]</sup> especially those from France and Italy.<sup>[68]</sup> But non-spiritists were also

positive about his work. French jurist and physician Joseph Maxwell considered Bozzano's studies to be 'among the most important that have been devoted to the examination of metapsychical phenomena. They are distinguished by a wide erudition, by fair critiques, by a deep knowledge of the subject'.<sup>[69]</sup>

Citations of Bozzano also appeared frequently in systematic treatises of psychical research authored by non-believers in discarnate agency, such as Mackenzie's *Metapsichica Moderna* (1923),<sup>[70]</sup> Richet's *Traité de Métapsychique* (1922)<sup>[71]</sup> and Sudre's *Introduction à la Métapsychique Humaine* (1926).<sup>[72]</sup> In his *Traité*, Richet referred to cases presented by Bozzano<sup>[73]</sup> and cited his views, respecting them regardless of theoretical differences.<sup>[74]</sup>

Enrico Morselli held a similar view. Although he did not believe in survival of death, preferring the concept of psychic powers of the living, Morselli referred to Bozzano as 'unquestionably the most learned and authoritative of the connoisseurs of psychic studies in Italy'.<sup>[75]</sup>

Bozzano's work has also been strongly criticized. One reviewer of his work on hauntings complained of low evidential standards and too hasty acceptance of the reality of phenomena.<sup>[76]</sup> In a critical book review, British psychical researcher Herbert Saltmarsh wrote:

In his first chapter the author argues that the supernormal faculties of the subliminal mind are not the product of biological evolution and that the integral subconscious personality is a spiritual entity independent of any functional interference, direct or indirect, from the brain. The reasoning employed appears to me to be weak, and I cannot see that the conclusion at which the author arrives is established thereby... The alternative explanations which he brings forward for cases which appear to go against his theory rest, as it seems to me, on unproved assumptions... In my opinion the author would have made out a much stronger case if he had not tried to make it quite so strong. Much of the book's content is interesting and some is suggestive, but when it is claimed that the inferences drawn are rigorously logical deductions from the facts I feel bound to demur.<sup>[77]</sup>

Similarly, German biologist Hans Driesch believed that even though Bozzano was an acute theorizer, he was 'far too slipshod in accepting alleged facts'.<sup>[78]</sup>

## Scholarship

Although short articles about Bozzano's life and work have been available for a while,<sup>[79]</sup> scholarship has expanded, as seen in a recent bibliography.<sup>[80]</sup> An important study that presents new information and corrects various misconceptions is authored by Italian psychiatrist Giovanni Iannuzzo, entitled *Ernesto Bozzano: La Vita e l'Opera* (1983). Other studies that contribute in various ways are Silvio Ravaldinis *Ernesto Bozzano e la Ricerca Psicica: Vita e Opere di un Pioniere della Parapsicologia* (1993), and (the most detailed yet) Luca Gasperini's unpublished thesis *Ernesto Bozzano: Tra Spiritismo Scientifico e la Ricerca Psicica* (2009-2010). This last author has published various articles in recent years,<sup>[81]</sup> among them the best article-length general discussion of Bozzano to date.<sup>[82]</sup> We learn much from these works about Bozzano's life, his early studies, his analytical approach, the phenomena he studied and his conclusions about them.

Other works have helped to make Bozzano better known outside Italy,<sup>[83]</sup> for instance a history of Italian spiritistic and psychic studies which includes a discussion about him.<sup>[84]</sup> See also articles by Cugaschi (2002), and Siegel & Hirschman (1983).<sup>[85]</sup> Carlos Alvarado has produced several articles in an attempt to make Bozzano better known outside his native country.<sup>[86]</sup>

Gasperini stated that Bozzano

was probably the most important Italian representative of psychical and spiritualistic studies before the 1940s, as well as one of the few to emerge on the international scene... He was at the center of an intense network of correspondence with Italian, European, and American intellectuals, receiving an average of 200 letters a month, and was furthermore one of the few Italian scholars to have been named an honorary member of the Society for Psychical Research... the American Society for Psychical Research... and the Institut Métapsychique International...<sup>[87]</sup>

Iannuzzo believes an outdated conception of science isolated Bozzano from the work of others.<sup>[88]</sup> Instead of relating psychic phenomena to other areas of science, he worked in 'metapsychics in a completely autonomous way in terms of other scholars and other tendencies in psychical research'. His education came from knowledge obtained through the 1800s, 'based on the texts of Darwin and Heckel or, in any case, on scientific works of *fin de siècle*'.<sup>[89]</sup>

Bozzano's approach to the analysis of cases has been compared to that of Frederic Myers.<sup>[90]</sup> Both depended for the

support of their ideas mainly on analyses of published materials, such as case and séances reports. Both, particularly Myers, conducted some empirical work, but were less empirical than others in psychical research (also often the case in such areas as psychology). However, Myers's analyses were deeper, and he did more to relate psychic phenomena to the workings of the subconscious mind than did Bozzano.

Recent scholarship has added much knowledge about Bozzano's early intellectual career, also about the phenomena he studied by Bozzano and the conclusions he reached. A good example is Ravaldini's 1993 study<sup>[91]</sup> covering such topics as early Spiritualism, phenomena among 'primitive' people, mediumistic materializations, precognition, psychometry, xenoglossy, and the literature produced by mediums. Other authors have presented much information about Bozzano's writings about bilocation,<sup>[92]</sup> the life review in near-death experiences,<sup>[93]</sup> and mediumistic communications about death.<sup>[94]</sup>

As has been argued elsewhere,<sup>[95]</sup> there is a great deal more to learn about the life and work of a researcher as prolific as Bozzano, who produced thousands of printed pages in his lifetime. One avenue that remains virtually unexplored is the use of his work to guide modern research, and addressing this would be a productive step indeed.

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## References

### Footnotes

- 1.^ Fodor, n.d., p. 36.
- 2.^ Richet, 1922, pp. 323–324; this and other translations are mine.
- 3.^ e.g., Beloff, 1993.
- 4.^ Irwin & Watt, 2007.
- 5.^ Gasperini, 2009–2010; Iannuzzo, 1983; Ravaldini, 1993.
- 6.^ Alvarado, 2012.

- 7.^ For biographical information see Gasperini, 2009-2010, 2012b; Iannuzzo, 1983; Ravaldini, 1993.
- 8.^ e.g. De Boni, 1982, p. 8; Iannuzzo, 1983, p.15.
- 9.^ Gasperini, 2012d, p. 224.
- 10.^ Gasperini, 2012d; Iannuzzo, 1983.
- 11.^ Bozzano, n.d., p. 1.
- 12.^ See the following bibliographies: Anonymous, n.d.; Iannuzzo, 1983, pp. 93-103; and Ravaldini, 1993, pp. 95-103.
- 13.^ Bozzano, 1924.
- 14.^ Iannuzzo,1983.
- 15.^ Bozzano, 1903.
- 16.^ Morselli, 1908.
- 17.^ Bozzano, 1903, p. 17.
- 18.^ According to Gasperini, 2011.
- 19.^ e.g., Bozzano, 1903.
- 20.^ e.g., Gasperini, 2011c; Iannuzzo, 1983; Ravaldini, 1993.
- 21.^ Biondi, 1988, p. 167.
- 22.^ Biondi, 1988.
- 23.^ Gasperini, 2012b, p. 757.
- 24.^ Bozzano, 1933a, p. 156.
- 25.^ Bozzano, 1925.
- 26.^ Bozzano, 1933b.
- 27.^ Bozzano, 1934.
- 28.^ Bozzano, 1943.
- 29.^ Bozzano, 1948.
- 30.^ Bozzano, 1906a, 1923c, 1947b.
- 31.^ Bozzano, 1923c, p. 108.
- 32.^ Bozzano, 1911, 1934/1937.
- 33.^ Bozzano, 1934/1937, p. 41.
- 34.^ Bozzano, 1934/1937.
- 35.^ Bozzano, 1934/1937, p. 120.
- 36.^ Bozzano 1912-1913, 1947a.
- 37.^ Bozzano 1947a.
- 38.^ Bozzano, 1947a, p. 14.
- 39.^ Bozzano, 1947a, p. 12.
- 40.^ Bozzano, 1947a, p. 12.
- 41.^ Bozzano, 1947b, p. 247.
- 42.^ Bozzano,1932.
- 43.^ Bozzano, 1948.
- 44.^ Bozzano, 1948, p. 117.
- 45.^ Bozzano, 1907.
- 46.^ Bozzano, 1934.
- 47.^ Bozzano, 1942.
- 48.^ Bozzano, 1952.
- 49.^ Bozzano, 1906b, 1923b.
- 50.^ Bozzano, 1941.
- 51.^ see Gasperini, 2010, 2011b.
- 52.^ Bozzano, 1922, 1923a.
- 53.^ Bozzano, 1926/1927.
- 54.^ Bozzano, 1926/1927, p. 210.
- 55.^ Bozzano, 1923c, p. 260.
- 56.^ Bozzano, 1910, p. 308.
- 57.^ Myers, 1903.
- 58.^ Bozzano, 1906b, 1923b.
- 59.^ Bozzano, 1906b, p. 169.
- 60.^ E.g., Bozzano, n.d..
- 61.^ Bozzano, n.d., pp. viii-ix.
- 62.^ Aksakof, 1890/1895.

- 63.^ Bozzano, 1923b, 1936.
- 64.^ Bozzano, 1933a, p. 148, p. 149.
- 65.^ Bozzano, 1942.
- 66.^ Bozzano, 1934/1937, n.d..
- 67.^ Bozzano, n.d., pp. 142-143.
- 68.^ e.g., Delanne, 1909.
- 69.^ >Maxwell, 1920, p. v.
- 70.^ Mackenzie, 1923.
- 71.^ Richet, 1922.
- 72.^ Sudre, 1926.
- 73.^ e.g., pp. 141, 189, 269, 432.
- 74.^ e.g., pp. 221, 417, 440, 480.
- 75.^ Morselli, 1908, Vol. 1, p. xvi.
- 76.^ Troubridge, 1919.
- 77.^ Saltmarsh, 1938, pp. 277-278.
- 78.^ Driesch, 1932/1933, p. 34, footnote.
- 79.^ e.g., De Boni, 1941; Di Porto, 1971,
- 80.^ Gasperini, 2012a.
- 81.^ e.g., Gasperini, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2012c,
- 82.^ Gasperini, 2012b.
- 83.^ e.g., Alvarado, 2005, 2007, 2013.
- 84.^ Biondi, 1988, pp. 165-169, and
- 85.^ e.g., Cugnaschi, 2002; Siegel & Hirschman, 1983.
- 86.^ e.g., Alvarado, 2005, 2007, 2013.
- 87.^ Gasperini, 2012, p. 755.
- 88.^ Iannuzzo 1983, p. 84.
- 89.^ Iannuzzo 1983, p. 83.
- 90.^ Alvarado, 2013.
- 91.^ Ravaldini, 1993.
- 92.^ Alvarado, 2005.
- 93.^ Biondi, 2010.
- 94.^ Gasperini, 2012c.
- 95.^ Alvarado, 2013.