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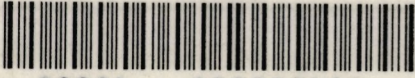
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THE PSYCHE IN "TRANCE": INQUIRIES INTO HYPNOTISM

At this point Kublai Khan would interrupt him ... with a question like ... does your journey take place only in the past?

This was all so that Marco Polo could explain ... that what he was looking for was always something in front of him, and even if it was the past, it was a past that changed as he proceeded with his journey, since the traveller's past changes according to the route covered, we do not mean the immediate past to which each day that goes by adds one day, but the more remote past.

I. Calvino, Le città invisibili.

Normal and pathological

"The healthy resist": no obscure force could have made "the conscience of a physiological man" waiver, that is, the awareness, the capacity for control, the rectitude of a strong man. Yet there were many who proved to be weak. Thus, one who expressed fear was Angelo Mosso, who had devoted years of study and a volume to La paura (fear) (Milan, 1884), carefully identifying all its physiological manifestations. The concerns he displayed in an article in "La Nuova Antologia" of 1886 were aroused by the sensation created in public opinion and the scientific community by some displays of hypnotism, which he defined as a "psychic degradation of man ... more abasing" than humiliating drunkenness, "since hypnotism is the onanism of drunkenness".

In the circumstances, he felt himself obliged to intervene "from a sentiment of humanity, more than from my duty as a physiologist". He launched an appeal for resistance: "I hope that the good sense of the Italians will save us from a nervous epidemic". The enormous curiosity over the phenomena of hypnotism ought to be snuffed out; he explained that it depended entirely on an error "in taking to be physiological a state which is instead pathological".¹

Not everyone, even among his colleagues, was in agreement that this distinction could be drawn in the terms Mosso presupposed.

* * *

How can one distinguish, and recognize, the normal and the pathological? Giving this question a scientific answer became a central problem for European and American culture in the nineteenth century, which was asking science for a capacity to analyse reality that would operate directly as a means of providing solutions in order to govern, control, order the human world. How can historical research deal with how and why this question was formulated, with what theoretical and practical solutions from time to time emerged in contexts of different societies and cultures?

A start on a history of science centring around the problem of the normal and the pathological was made in 1943 by Georges Canguilhem.² His work brings out well how research focussed on the emergence of concepts and the conditions that made it possible to formulate them has greater interpretive relevance than a traditional history by theories and discoveries, precursors and continuators defined as such, presupposing a vision of the history of science as a continuing approximation to the truth or at least to the theories presently regarded as valid. What he indicates would now seem to be a matter of course, and ought to be taken as established; yet in the specific inquiries and choices of subject by historians it is not yet given sufficient value nor applied. Further merit in Canguilhem's approach consisted in not isolating himself within the internal limits of a discipline even when he paid special attention to it as he did specifically in his book on Le normal et le pathologique, referring primarily to the history of medicine.

On an internalistic perspective, too many historical inquiries continue to be carried out that end up liquidating their own object of research when it lacks scientific "greatness", making it unworthy of display in the gallery of the illustrious heroes of science, of discovery or of innovation.

Thus, apart from continuing to lag behind with a model

largely superseded in the historiography of other areas of research, there is a failure to grasp the scope of cultural processes which, for all their theoretical weakness, have indeed been present and relevant in a society. For the period we are interested in here, suffice it to recall the wealth of positivist culture in Italy recently uncovered by many studies, as against the concealment imposed on it by its victorious neo-idealist adversaries and despite the fact, which ought not to count as a historiographical criterion, that the Italian picture lacked any great theoreticians of positivism.³ The inadequacies and distortions resulting from the internalist perspective are clear as soon as they are put to the test; it is enough to look at the life of a scientific journal of last century, to reconstruct a biography of some scholar, to follow the movement of certain scientific terms and metaphors moving from one of the disciplinary territories to another, or into science from philosophy, religion, common sense and literature. It is better, then, to proceed by issues, though the task is undoubtedly harder, for the breadth of competences the enterprise requires and because the researcher must pursue an uneasy course, with the risk of constant losses.

Repeatedly, nineteenth-century culture kept extending to different levels of reality a "strong" model of science, from the natural world to the human world, to species and races, genera and individuals, to the individual subjectivity, to society. At each of these levels it introduced the difficult demarcation between normal and pathological: almost a challenge by the scientists--anthropologists, physicians, psychiatrists, criminologists, sociologists, moral statisticians (as they were called)--who all set out from the front of normality to attack various disciplinary objects characterized by otherness, irregular at least in the sense of not yet being fully reduced to the already known, the familiar or the customary.

In order to deal with the question of the normal and the pathological, the programme planned to articulate the distance between the two categories chiefly through observation of the

facts, in accordance with the usual positivist dictate; to proceed without prejudices, so as to be distinguished both from philosophical abstractions and from common sense. It was therefore necessary to objectivize the distinctions, naturalize their terms, rid them of normative contamination even where it was admitted that the objectivizing operation was to serve to reestablish value judgements on the difference (inferior/superior), on mental and moral deviance. It was no coincidence that the proposals put forward in the various specialities of the human sciences converged towards a model of biological determinism that was put forward not only to distinguish the healthy body from the sick body, but also the mind working properly from the disordered one, regular behaviour from anomalous behaviour, and any other directly evaluative opposition that the distinction between normal and pathological evoked, between good and bad, right and wrong, natural and unnatural. To support the process of objectivization, the somatic and organic characteristics of otherness were isolated, mechanical instruments were employed, measurements were performed and calculations were applied to large numbers.⁴

A first objective that historical research can deal with is that of finding the complex social and cultural quality that continued to apply under the biological definition of those distinctions but which was concealed by them. In some cases even the words help, or better their history does, to decodify the differentiated or superposed meanings. The Italian word malattia and the French maladie are separated in English into disease, illness and sickness, which may indicate respectively the biomedical aspect, the subjective experience of the sick person, the socialization of the objective aspect recognized by the doctor and at the same time of the subjective experience of the patient. In the decomposed or condensed triad of meanings, the first, denoting the most objective core of the pathological, does not include the other two levels at all, which in turn have a reality irreducible to the former one, and sometimes even independent of it (being treated by others as ill without being

so and vice versa, or feeling well or ill when biomedical analyses deny this condition, for instance).⁵

The naturalistic definition of the pathological has historically included conditions which in other social and historical contexts instead appeared "normal", as we shall see in connection also with the hypnotic phenomena considered here. Historical research can, then, take these terms as a theme by relating them back to their contexts. It can, moreover, and I think that this too ought to be of interest to historians, not only pick out the relation between the parallel "things" (the pathological and physiological states, the sick and healthy individuals) that have been dealt with dualistically in the history of science, and in particular here that of medicine and psychopathology, but may also reject the monotonous repeated presentation of the separateness among discourses that counterposed them.

It seems instead that historians of culture have, as it were, taken further the customary, schematic separations, especially as far as the field of the normal and the pathological is concerned. Perhaps because, as De Martino pointed out, they work with healthy minds, whereas the sick minds remain within the exclusive province of the psychiatrists.

The unrelated break in competences, methods and objectives between the psychopathologist and the historiographer has neglected the dialectical relationship between insanity and mental health, favouring the dualistic image of two worlds, that of the healthy and that of the sick, according to the boundary drawn⁶

by the institutions and by psychiatric knowledge aimed at proposing itself as adequate for models of scientific type based on objectivizing, naturalistic analyses.

But the distinction between health and sickness, the struggle of health against sickness, the process of becoming ill and getting better, not only take place beyond these boundaries and these limits, but concern man in general, and are indeed inherent in human culture as such, pervading all man's historical products.

The historian must thus, said De Martino, be asked to display "an understanding that binds the judgement as to sickness and health".

The break in separateness has still more to be demanded of historians who are from various sectors assailing the problem of the relationship between the normal and the pathological. But even a history from the viewpoint of deviants (specifically the mentally ill, prostitutes or delinquents), to which an impetus has rightly been given in the last twenty years, is not enough to get beyond the demarcation that imprisons those subjects in classifications that have now been changed and in part unmasked. It is not a question merely of illuminating new areas of research; some studies have done so, with the positive intention of "emancipating" the victims, reevaluating their experiences and testimony, the subjectivity so far denied or unheard; reversing the role of yesterday's benefactors into oppressors; but, I feel, underlining the opposition that they wished to oppose. Another example of antagonism perpetuated rather than overcome can, I feel, be found in research opposing the scientific presumptions of positivism with a rediscovered wealth of alternative forms of knowledge to orthodoxy and scientific reason (though they cannot on that count be called irrational), more related to art, to religion and to popular traditions. Thus, in the area of health and sickness, village healers are set up against professional physicians; mediums and circus hypnotists against university and laboratory psychologists; the experience of the "marvellous" by mediums and sleep-walkers against the serious experimental inquiries of academics.

Portrayals of this type give rise to richer and undoubtedly fascinating histories, but repeat a rigidity--that the positivists have already been accused of, but which was declared more than practised by them, and accentuated by the antipositivists of the early twentieth century--which imposes an indifference and a break between the approaches of science, imagined as being linear, and other cognitive experiences. In my opinion we should not believe too much in the self-presentations,

philosophies and self-images that the sciences too tend to offer. One should, for instance, listen to what scientists said at official congresses of their respective specialities, but with an effort not merely to reflect those same images. I should at least not want research into the history of science to be assigned a value, sometimes automatically without reflection or specific choice, that depends on the conventional verdict on its subjects; as if a hierarchical dignity of historical research applied, descending according to whether one is dealing with the so-called hard sciences or the soft ones, or with disciplines regarded as being scientific in the past (physiognomy, phrenology, mesmerism, for instance) but no longer regarded as such though one can (though with unconventional research approaches) show that they have contributed much to the formulation of problems and theories that are still important. There ought not to be barriers of relevance established on presentistic criteria of what is scientific. This is equally true within any one given discipline; I think its past ought to be rethought, avoiding adaptation to the priorities that have historically been affirmed. Nineteenth-century psychology that had to win respectability as a science vaunted for propaganda purposes Wundt's experimentalism (even beyond the credibility and particularly the relevance that his own contemporaries attributed to his studies);⁹ but this does not mean that it would be appropriate in a history of psychology to devote oneself primarily to a reconstruction of the Wundtian experiments, nor would it be very fruitful to resume the controversy, of the late nineteenth century, over which among the various claimants had actually been the first laboratory of experimental psychology founded in a given country, because a certain convention has decided to date the scientific origin of psychology with the year of inauguration of the Leipzig laboratory. Our interest as historians cannot, if it is to be interpretively rich, fail to subject to critical reflection the internal structures of relevance and importance in a discipline, which vary historically, at one time established and then

consolidated or changed, for a variety of reasons not always attributable to the criterion of cognitive superiority.

There are, then, varied, but not equivalent, ways of looking at the past. With regard to a problem that science has repeatedly claimed to categorize in separated borders--the normal counterposed to the pathological--which is in content instead experienced as breaking through those borders, it will perhaps appear more justified to proceed by analyzing the boundary areas. Among these, I think that the study of hypnotism is particularly interesting.

The spread of hypnotism

One striking thing is the breadth of interest in hypnotic phenomena in the second half of the nineteenth century. There was a geographical and temporal spread, but also a wide variety of related phenomena around hypnotism, as well as in the variety of settings, institutional or otherwise, and the people involved.

The discourse on hypnotism acquired scientific dignity in the 80's of last century, on which I shall concentrate. It was in February 1882 that Jean-Martin Charcot presented to the Académie des Sciences in Paris his work Sur les divers états nerveux déterminés par l'hypnotisation chez les hystériques,⁹ and in '89 that the Premier Congrès International de l'Hypnotisme was held. Official entry to academic settings implied the rearrangement of the variety of phenomena into a scientific object, which as such had the requirements for being dealt with experimentally and objectively. This entailed a restriction in the field, a rigidification among the common criteria and explanatory models, which would subsequently be subjected to repeated contradiction and revision, and thus to a devaluation of suggestive practice not conducted under medical control. But even earlier, a critical definition of animal magnetism had defined hypnotism as nervous sleep; in 1843 the British surgeon James Braid related the mysterious fluids of Mesmer's late

eighteenth century theories to a natural cause: it was the power of mind over body that could be stimulated in the most sensitive, willing individuals.¹⁰ His proposal was not successful; set aside, it was almost forgotten, so much so that Charcot's hypothesis was welcomed with great success as an unexpected novelty. The different welcome given the two theories cannot be explained only by general considerations on the presumed unripeness of the times when Braid wrote. It should instead be noted that he, arousing much resistance, proposed to insert the phenomenology of hypnotic sleep into a physiological model, while on the contrary the neurologist of the Salpêtrière located it in a pathological context, distinguishing himself, in the same 1880's, from Liébeault and Bernheim, who were still maintaining an explanation contained within normal psychological dynamics.¹¹

During the forty years that intervened between the announcement of these two theories, interest in hypnotism had not, however, disappeared, even if the introduction of chloroform in 1846 had terminated the use of hypnosis as an anaesthetic procedure in surgical operations, launched by Braid and employed on a large scale by, for instance, the Scots doctor James Esdaile in India.¹² Without theoretical pretensions, hypnotism had continued to be practised--not in the academies but in theatres, not in clinics but in houses, studios and private salons--by the various cultivators of animal magnetism, mesmerists with therapeutic intentions, and those who put on displays of telepathic and clairvoyant powers. Some doctors too engaged privately in producing the hypnotic sleep, having at their disposal docile human material in the form of the patients; but in this pre-scientific phase, as was stated in Comtian terms,¹³ doctors and scientists were for the most part not the protagonists (still less the exclusive ones as they were later to claim), but instead the spectators of the powers of suggestion. They attended as curious spectators, as did others, or as experts, at shows and at meetings on hypnotic and telepathic and even spiritist experiments, since here too,

whatever the presumed origin, the role of suggestion was at any rate admitted. Faced with so many varied phenomena, they were in general prepared to admit that they contained something more and different from what their knowledge could manage to accept and explain.

A map of the hypnotic and magnetic experiments followed by doctors was soon traced, in 1890, by one of them, who like many of his British and foreign colleagues had gone to the Salpêtrière in 1881 and to Nancy in 1885, the same year that the Viennese Freud went to Charcot, to learn how the patients in the clinic were hypnotized. Dr. Myers, of the Belgrave Hospital for Children, London, documented the spread of these experiments in all the European countries--with Italy in third place after France and Germany for publications on the subject--stating that it was only to a minimal extent that they proposed therapeutic goals.¹⁴ A survey by national territories of Abnormal Hypnotic Phenomena issued in 1967-68 in four volumes supplies detailed information on the impressive extent of this interest, even if the work is not equally valid for interpretive analysis. The resulting framework only partially occupies medical and institutional spaces; instead there are overlaps among circles and individuals who move outside from their professional boundaries and usual locations¹⁵ (for instance, the professors of the Milan Faculty of Medicine who, like other gentlemen, met at La Scala in September 1852 to attend the magnetizing performances of a French couple; Lombroso who in the Turin clinic in 1891 did hypnotic experiments on hysterical women, assisted by three advocates, and so on). It was not only ideas that circulated beyond local boundaries--in French, English and German reviews and publications, books in original editions or translated--but also direct experiences and persons, since starting with Mesmer, who had moved from Austria to France, and during the Revolution to England, magnetizers like the Dane Hansen or the Belgian D'Hont, and telepathics like Pickman and Dalton, gained fame by travelling throughout Europe. This was done, too, by Mrs. Piper who went to the United States, and the

Apulian Paladino, living in Naples, where she was discovered by an aristocrat who had long lived in England; the most powerful mediums were invited abroad to give proof of their mediumistic powers. Recently a book by Clara Gallini has shown how many hypnotizers and sleep-walkers there were in Italy in the second half of the nineteenth century, in couples, practicing magnetic therapy or else clairvoyancy, telepathy and other marvellous powers.¹⁶ This was a flourishing, organized activity, accompanied by publications including periodicals: Il Mesmerista, Giornale di magnetismo at Turin, for example, La Gazzetta Magnetico-Scientifica at Bologna, Magnetismo e Ipnatismo at Florence¹⁷--followed by a dense public, promoted by people of varying social and cultural background and certainly not controlled by the medical profession.

Nor was there any lack of charlatans or, for that matter, of the skeptics at all costs, nor of superstitions and prejudices; however, it must be recognized that it was just this activity outside research and professional scientific institutions that drew the attention of men of science. It did not become a simple theoretical opposition between the specialist knowledge of the latter and the art or magic of the practitioners. That scientists were adverse as such to the "love of the marvellous", as Gallini suggests, or else sensitive to it only as a fault, from a breakdown of the individual or collective reason, as traditionally repeated by overly sectorial critics of culture, seems to me not historically exact, nor justified by the perception of the problem that those directly concerned had. Augusto Tamburini, director of the Reggio Emilia asylum, and Enrico Morselli, clinical professor of mental diseases at Turin, both very authoritative on the Italian psychiatric scene, separately declared that the experimental inquiries into hypnotism owed much to the performances of hypnotizers in theatres; similarly, Giuseppe Seppilli in this connection thanked the Dane Hansen.¹⁸ And their opinion, apart from being confirmed, was also useful both for understanding how things went in that specific scientific context and in order not

to underrate the complex identity of positivism, which no longer appears as split between a rigid scientific obsession and the blind enthusiasm for the irrational, as if the irrational was a fixed objectivity instead of something negative--as William James taught in the controversy on determinism--undefined in content, historically and culturally variable. That is why, then, through the historical course of studies on hypnotism, even when it is chiefly the medical aspect that is looked at, it is just where approaches least corresponded to the orthodoxy of the times (even though legitimated, if by nothing else than the insistent criterion of observation of the facts, whatever they be) that new light can be thrown on a whole cultural context.

Questions unbounded

Theatre stages alongside experimental psychology laboratories, elegant drawing-rooms and sections of asylums or clinics. They are documented for us by diverse sources: scholarly and literary,¹⁹ journalistic reports and comments, printed publicity brochures, posters and announcements from those offering their powers, with promises to amaze or to cure; hospital bulletins and other medical writings, differing according to their addressees; congress proceedings, internal speeches in clubs, practical handbooks on how to hypnotize others or even oneself.²⁰ At the centre was the relationship between the male hypnotist and the female sleep-walker, often his spouse--as with the celebrated couple, Domenico and Emma Zanardelli²¹--, but also the delicate relationships between medical hypnotizers and their patients, preferably the hysterical young ladies who consented meekly or exuberantly to take suggestion from the doctor who, in turn, was supposed to have learnt from repeated attempts how best to use his own ascendancy. Around were the public or the family, they too persuaded to trust these obscure powers. In very special conditions, the problem of the general relationship between the doctor and the patient coming or being entrusted to him was

posed: without having any theoretical awareness of it, one could note the power of personal influence, with less predictable and definite effects than those of medicaments, diets, electrical treatment or rest, hydrotherapy, bloodletting or any other direct intervention on the organism.

Even when restored to the institutional places of science, to the official roles of authority, the phenomena of hypnotism managed to raise questions with no easy answer overlapping various disciplinary areas. I shall mention a few. Why, it was asked above all, did the hypnotizer have so much success? The question concerned several levels. There was not only that of the hypnotized or hypnotizable individual, of defining him in medical terms for pathological or physiological reasons according to the interpretations, but also that of using sociological and cultural categories (it was said that the subjects most sensitive to hypnotic suggestion were those habituated to subordination, socially and occupationally). Moreover, there was a collective phenomenon to explain: the public's open curiosity for the paranormal, its gullibility towards the theatre "fascinator", the fashion for spiritualism, were seen as symptoms of a widespread malaise, still to be interpreted, that struck developed society precisely when it was in its self-perception moving towards ever greater progress.

The great discourse of hypnotism suggested both an individual pathology of a private nature and a collective one, of cultural and social life, which could not be isolated in a diagnosis nor solved by medical treatment. In Italy Angelo Mosso (notably in the citation at the start) and among others Cesare Lombroso feared the risk of a "nervous epidemic" if hypnotism were practised on the public instead of on the mentally ill in asylums or laboratories; the anthropologist Giuseppe Sergi inaugurated one of his courses at the University of Rome with a lecture on endemic psychosis.²² In France Théodule Ribot wrote about the increasingly frequent maladie de la volonté, which ended up being cancelled out in somnambulism;²³ from the other side of the ocean came alarm at an epidemic, so-called American

nervousness, which the psychiatrist George Beard, an electro-therapist and also an expert in hypnosis, diagnosed as neurasthenia. In his books, translated into Italian immediately in the 1880's, he explained that this was an exhaustion of nervous energies; among subjects at risk he considered were educated, prosperous individuals belonging to the upper classes, as being more gifted than others with an evolved nervous organization, sensitive also to stress; and he expected this functional disturbance to spread in modern society, and not only in America, with highly changeable symptoms.²⁴ Psychic anomalies or personal crises were connected to a background of ways of living and thinking--as they were in the nineteenth-century metaphors of society as an organism and of social evils as diseases. When they wrote about their own depression in diaries and letters, many intellectuals perceived it in relation to the decline of certain moral and religious values, to living in a "age of anxiety"--as it was defined by a historian of ideas properly attentive to the biographies and the subjectivities of men and women of culture.²⁵ There was a crisis of individual normality, of the person, and a crisis of the normality, the equilibrium, of an epoch nearing the end of the century, when the magical was reappraised in literature, mysticism and neospiritualism in philosophy, and the "bankruptcy of science" was declared, as was done in the Vatican by the Frenchman Ferdinand Brunetière, who was answered, not incidentally, more firmly than by others by Enrico Morselli, who cultivated philosophy and was a professional psychiatrist.²⁶

Also part of the crisis of positivism and its rationalist values into which the very followers of Comte and Spencer, of Darwin and of Ardigò fell, to their personal torment, was the new research on mental and moral deviance, of individuals and of society, a special insistence on diversity, irregularity, anomalies, and the propensity displayed by literary people, philosophers and scholars in the human sciences towards inquiry into psychopathological dynamics, the unconscious, and psychic powers.

* * *

There was no surety of being able to identify the "facts"; of being able, that is, to distinguish the real outlines of the anomalous phenomena of somnambulism or the hypnotic trance, for instance, from what was instead the outcome of fraud. The problem of establishing the scientific demarcation between true and false was complicated in hypnotism, since the usual criteria for this distinction referred to a context of consciousness and mental normality, not of (induced) sleep and temporary alteration, or even permanent if the subject was regarded as hysterical or in some way nervously ill. What truth could there be in the words of a hysterically ill woman, hypnotized into the bargain? There were to be efforts to listen to her (something not even Charcot did), there would be an effort to enter into relations with her mental attitudes, with her language, gaining an awareness of the difference and of the relationship. Even had it been in some way decreed what was true and what was false, there was still a need to explain the origins of the suggestion or hallucination of those caught in a shammer's trap. This happened, for instance, to Cesare Lombroso, who had in many experiments verified the telepathic powers of Pickman, but the latter publicly declared, after being subjected to visits, measures and checks, that he had deceived the celebrated professor to see how far a scientist's stupidity could go.²⁷ That theatre clairvoyants and magnetizers used tricks was easy to imagine; that all the phenomena of the hypnotic repertoire could be written off as false was, however, an excuse--as Lombroso himself after much resistance admitted²⁸--for not recognizing the difficulty science had in explaining those unlikely facts.

Venturing onto that unsafe ground also meant facing questions that had traditionally been reserved to philosophy and religion. Instead of confining themselves to observing, describing and classifying facts, however unaccustomed, the

scientists had to go back to debating what, for instance, individual freedom and will were, considering how these superior human faculties were shaken, threatened, even temporarily wiped out by some tuppence-ha'penny hypnotizer able to dominate personalities that obeyed him without even realizing it. It had thus been proved that an individual could manage to act without awareness and freedom, by the effect of an irresistible internal or internalized constraint: in moral and legal terms this meant being irresponsible, not chargeable with the act committed, as advocates and psychiatrists maintained before judges and the public.

In some trials involving these topics there were arguments also on hysteria and magnetism; for instance, in the extremely complicated case reconstructed by Gallini. The scene was Naples between 1886 and 1889, involving the young seminarist Paolo Conte, suffering from convulsions with loss of consciousness, tremors and contractions, who was cured by a good medical magnetizer, Dr. Catello Fusco, on which ground he was found by the bishop to have been possessed by the devil and forced to abandon the cloth, as well as being diagnosed by psychiatrist Leonardo Bianchi as a pathological shammer, and as such not responsible, as being hysterical, for certain attacks he had admitted to. Reappearing in court for other matters, Conte accused his benefactor Fusco of having induced him to lie and behave badly by hypnotic commands; and accordingly hypnotism, Charcot's theories and the suppression of a weak will by a magnetic gaze, all came up for a discussion in the trial, with opposing testimony from other experts specializing in nervous and mental illnesses.²⁹

Hard as the hypnotic origin and range of any suggestion might be to demonstrate case by case, there was growing awareness that human behaviour could be greatly influenced by involuntary and unconscious factors, in nervous or mental patients, but also in normal individuals. The free will that seemed an undisputed premise of ordinary morals and of the classical conception of law was to be analysed as action that

was never totally independent, that is without causes, even where it was as free and conscious as possible.³⁰ The practical implications of these changes were great; the need was not to sentence for crimes, condemn sins or inflict penalties; but to get rid of the "hypnotic morbidity" or (depending on the interpretive model adopted, normal or pathological) recover from the illness, weakness or "softening" of character that annihilated the will and brought yielding to suggestion. It would be too much to say that cure was talked of. Even with hysterical women inside clinics, the therapy given brought only scarce, precarious results; till then hypnosis had succeeded chiefly in highlighting the difficulties of medicine and the existence of a powerful, albeit mysterious influence that could be exercised for good or ill by a psychologically strong person on a weaker one.

Anyone dealing with morals and justice, or with education, with the cure of minds and souls, could not fail to be interested in these psychological and medical studies. This was understood by judges, but also by priests, who wrote articles, several times reprinted, with changing attitudes. These sources too should be exploited. In Civiltà cattolica in the 1880's there was reprobation and horror against hypnotism, regarded as inexplicable by natural hypotheses, and thus a diabolical phenomenon or due to other fallen angels (as asserted notably by Bishop Sarnelli in connection with Conte) seeking to counterfeit the miracles in God's power.³¹ Later, by contrast, according to Casus Conscientiae propositi et soluti, confessors were to absolve those who to gain relief from unaccustomed vague feelings of unwellness approached a hypnotizer instead of trusting to the parish priest as curer of souls or the doctor as healer of the body, as long as they were honest and prudent; meaning that the Church had now accepted the lay, naturalistic interpretation of hypnosis.³²

Empirical research and theoretical debates over extremely varied psychic phenomena served, finally, in uncertain but fruitful terms, to set up a confrontation of science with

philosophy, law, theology and other disciplines, but also with morals and common sense, better than had been achieved by the repeated appeals and inclusive debates of philosophical schools.

Shift and relevance of object

The central position of this chapter in the history of ideas, in particular of science and psychology, has been accepted by some historical writers. Henry Ellenberger, in his History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry, saw specifically hypnotism as the "royal road to the soul", and has rightfully displayed mesmerism and magnetism in their prolific thematic relationships, alongside spiritualism and the theories of Charcot and Bernheim. Similarly, though it was a backward look to predecessors, Léon Chertok and Raymond de Saussure have gone still further back to Mesmer and Braid, to the schools of Nancy and the Salpêtrière, to arrive at the "Freudian discovery".³³ But this is not merely a recent historiographical choice, understandably dictated by an approach that hinges round the advent of psychoanalysis. Exactly a century ago in 1890 The Principles of Psychology was published. In it, William James analysed the approach that seemed to have finally given a scientific foundation to psychology, and concluded that the psychophysical, mechanistic model of Wundt had already after barely a decade disappointed the promise of arriving at revolutionary changes. Laboratory experiments on normal adult average individuals, treated as if they were "stones from New Hampshire", seemed to him to lead to results that were hardly of relevance given the wealth of psychic experience.³⁴ "I cannot but think that the most important step forward that has occurred in psychology", he declared in The Varieties of Religious Experience, "is the discovery, first made in 1886, that ... there is not only the consciousness of the ordinary field, with its usual centre and margin", but something subliminal, as Myers had called it, "has revealed to us an entirely unsuspected peculiarity in the constitution of human nature". Better,

therefore, to pursue paths that if less rigorous were more problematic, to explore less ordinary topics, like the "hidden ego" to which attention had been drawn initially by French psychopathology; the personality disorders studied by Binet and the Boston school of psychotherapy (with the famous case of multiple personality observed by Dr. Morton Prince in Miss Beauchamp); the exceptional mental states (telepathy, hallucinations, clairvoyancy, mediumship) dealt with by the open-minded Society for Psychical Research set up in London in 1882, with an American section equally "scientific and rationalist" directed by James himself.³⁵ On the basis of these empirical inquiries, new concepts could be proposed--the subliminal consciousness, albeit insufficiently defined, of Frederic Myers (trained as literary man and jurist)--that represented psychic levels that though unconscious were equipped with individually variable creative capacities, therefore not reducible to neurological automatism.³⁶ The study of suggestion was important, and James got Boris Sidis in particular to work on it; "I am persuaded that a serious study of these trance-phenomena is one of the greatest needs of psychology", the Harvard professor noted in his treatise.³⁷ In lessons, he used to do hypnotic experiments on the students, as related by Gertrude Stein, who was one of them in the Autobiography of Alice Toklas (1933). On the basis of this varied prospect for research, not even the order of topics to be dealt with in a psychology textbook remained unchanged, and so the prospect for retracing the paths covered in the opposite direction could become different too; and perhaps one could take "the one less travelled by".

This is not however exactly an enlargement of the field. Among the various interpretive possibilities, the very existence of historical interest in hypnotism and related sectors of research draws attention to how mental diversity was conceived, in individual terms--instead of typologically as in much positivist science; and pathological diversity, it too understood no longer in simple terms, as the non-ordinary, the

exceptional. In a disciplinary sense, what is being looked at is where psychology meets notably psychiatry.

This encounter was, moreover, foreseen by the programmatic approach; knowledge of the normal and knowledge of the pathological were seen as so complementary that one helped to explain the other and vice versa. The terms of the mutual relationships were variously understood: the hypo/hyper-function with respect to an equilibrium position; the lesion or organic illness, non-development or regressive growth in the versions of degeneration derived from Morel or from Mantegazza's atavism, for instance. Seen through hypnosis, the relationship changed: the abnormal did not serve to explain the normal solely through difference or complementarity. If anyone deprived of will could yield to magnetic suggestion, then this anomaly was caught nesting within the normal itself, insinuating itself into an existence that thitherto had been only healthy. Was it so no longer? Had it never been so? Or ought words and things to be understood differently? Hypnotism impelled a transformation of the concepts of pathological and normal--the other no longer being the inverse nor a residual category of the one. The dualistic vision of psychophysical parallelism became much complicated; consciousness did not exhaust the psychic dimension nor constitute its essence, but merely an attribute, and an inconstant one; unconscious activity was not just the organic, neurological background to the psychic, as experimental psychology claimed.

These questions were to be clarified and further investigated by Freud, recognizing that primacy in opposing customary reductionism did not lie with psychoanalysis. "For some time now the concept of the unconscious had been knocking at the doors of psychology, demanding a hearing." As an illuminating example he cited, in 1938, an experiment done by Bernheim in post-hypnotic action, since it was above all studies in hypnotism that had "experimentally shown that there are unconscious mental acts and that awareness is not an indispensable condition of action".³⁸ These studies were to undermine a rigid explanatory model and,

by showing its powerlessness to explain, to impel the difficult search for other models. Especially when the hypnotized person was not a madman, or a hysterical woman, but seemed to be a healthy person, there were grounds for thought. There should be thinking about the risk of disaggregation, of the loss of will and freedom, of self-determination, that could happen even to the normal individual, of transcending or sometimes losing oneself. Yet without risk, without "defect", mental health is just as abstract as illness seen as total, separate otherness. I feel that dealing with the history of hypnotism, for all the reasons I have sought to give, underlines the concern that knowledge (and cure) ought not to be separated in science from diseases on the one hand and from health and the norm on the other, since it is their relationships that we need to know about.

The Italian debate

In the 1880's the scientific debate on hypnotism turned round the theses put forward by the two French schools. On what hypnotism was and who was subject to it, their differences were well-known. According to Hyppolite Bernheim, who had from 1882 onwards adopted the hypnotic method practised free for years by the physician Ambroise Liébeault, hypnosis was a condition of a psychological nature; it depended on suggestibility, that is, the capacity to transform an idea into an act, present in differing degrees in everyone; accordingly, any individual was hypnotizable. Jean-Martin Charcot claimed instead that hypnosis was a pathological neuropathological state, distinguished by three phases: the cataleptic, the lethargic and the somnambulistic. It could be induced only in nervously ill people, in particular in hysterics.³⁹

In Italian medical circles too the discourse was resumed in these terms, with wide information on the European literature and also using direct experimentation. But the debate had specific features of its own, given the setting in which it was

taking place. The decisive break with the spiritualistic tradition of the soul and its faculties had been made in 1870 by La psicologia come scienza positiva of Roberto Ardigò, the ex-priest who was the honorary leader of Italian positivism. In fact, though, his work, poorly informed and not based on empirical research, did not help much in directing specific inquiries, except towards a naturalism of principle. Indeed at a certain point his positions came to constitute an obstacle to those applying themselves to the actual study of psychic phenomena, especially for those who, in assumed complementarity with the normal, were working particularly on the pathological.

Ardigò recognized that psychopathology could be employed as a useful tool of research, but was decisively opposed to regarding as mental phenomena that did not enter constantly and fully into the sphere of consciousness. Everything that went beyond that rigid boundary (including the phenomena manifested in hypnotism) was something non-mental, and could be nothing but the neurological substratum, the modification of the cerebral apparatus during its activity. Mental and unconscious seemed to him to be incompatible terms: "saying unconscious psyche is like saying dead life".⁴⁰ Statements of this nature failed to recognize the results and even the legitimacy of the research being done by many psychologists and even more psychiatrists--and particularly by the latter who, at least in Italy, were to make the most innovative contributions to psychology. It is no coincidence that the person who reprinted that annihilating article by Ardigò was the editor of the major mouthpiece for the positivist debate, Enrico Morselli, who was a psychiatrist largely involved, as we shall see, in probing the unconscious, also using hypnotic and even medianic experiments. In taking up Ardigò's authoritative opinion, the Rivista di filosofia scientifica itself did not fail to express direct dissent, on both an experimental and a theoretical basis.⁴¹

On the other hand, at the level of mental and behavioural pathology, the most resounding proposal, albeit rather less shared than lasting, came from Cesare Lombroso. Since 1876 he

had been systematizing an organicist and somatic interpretation of deviance, madness and criminality, where the pathological was inserted in a materialistic, degenerative model with which he claimed to maintain constant coherence;⁴² even when he was to embrace faith in spiritualism, thereby contradicting himself, as Morselli did not fail to reproach him with.⁴³

From these two basic orientations, to normal psychology and to mental pathology, one might expect that in the debate over the interpretation of hypnotism the famous Charcot might be more favoured than Bernheim. If one attempts to trace the groupings among Italian scientists, it is indeed true that Lombroso inclined towards treating every phenomenon observed in hypnotized subjects, including the execution of commands after awaking, as hysterical symptomatology.⁴⁴ As a psychiatrist and criminal anthropologist, he regarded as hysterical, nervously ill and therefore marked by stigmas, as he invariably laid down, all the sleepwalkers and the hypnotized, all those who made themselves subject to suggestion, perhaps becoming hypnotizers themselves. By deduction, the neuropathological theory entailed saying that those who let themselves be induced into hypnotic sleep by a professional magnetizer or were hired to give a show before a gullible public or otherwise could not be anything but "of delicate nerves". This included Prof. Enrico Morselli, since he had had the imprudence to have himself hypnotized, and in particular to say so, in 1886; likewise the neurologist Francesco Vizioli and the physiologist Angelo Mosso disapproved of their colleague for having compromised himself with the "fascinator Donato"; and on hypnotism both agreed on the neuropathological thesis.⁴⁵

More numerous, though, (for convenience I am here going back to a subdivision that was not schematic) were those who came close to the psychological theses. Without there being any need every time to mention one or the other French school, the alignment between the two groupings did not derive much from having developed some decisive experiment to resolve the dispute. If anything, the impulse came from outside; not from

laboratory findings or from case-studies, certainly much less numerous than those of the Salpêtrière on treatments with the magnet or hypnosis tried out in mental illness clinics (for instance by Carlo Livi before 1877 in the Reggio Emilia lunatic asylum and then by Tamburini and Seppilli and by Morselli at Macerata).⁴⁶

Among the scientists in Italy, I think the question immediately concerned the differing explanatory power of the two theories. In the indecision over which was the "true" theory, perhaps a criterion of pragmatic truth was applied: what different consequences derived from a neuropathological model à la Charcot and which instead derived from a psychological model à la Bernheim? The question was particularly relevant to making an innovative choice, a break, towards approaches which though called scientific risked becoming entangled in the conception of psychology recommended by Ardigò or in the quantitative, and certainly simultaneously reductive and impressionist, system of Lombroso.

The greatest concentration of Italian scientific publications on hypnotism comes from the psychiatric school of Reggio Emilia, as already documented.⁴⁷ This does not mean that there was any lack elsewhere of practice and study in this sector, or that it was always necessarily inferior in quantity and quality. While it is difficult to gain an exact picture of the whole panorama, the centre directed by Carlo Livi and then by Tamburini at Reggio equipped itself from the outset with a journal of its own, the Rivista sperimentale di freniatria e medicina legale, in which the internal workers could easily write, and from the year of foundation, 1875, was to represent officially the Italian Phreniatric Society.

The San Lazzaro asylum enjoyed a high reputation in those years, abroad too: it was modern, considerable research activity was done there, it was equipped with laboratories of its own, including the one for experimental psychology started in 1880 by Gabriele Buccola; it operated as a detached section for the

clinical courses in mental diseases of the University of Modena at which, among other things, a professor of pathology had already been doing experiments on magnetic sleep as long ago as the 1840's.⁴⁸

The choice of the term "phreniatrics" by Livi, and some statements in the programme (which however contained other ones in the opposite direction) on the necessary connection of psychiatry with nervous pathology, have induced some confusion among historians who tend to accentuate the organicist propensity in the whole of Italian psychiatry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Francesco De Peri, in his historical article on Italian psychiatric institutions and knowledge written for the Einaudi Storia d'Italia, states that the "eyes and hopes of the young guard in Reggio were directed towards" Cesare Lombroso, and that it was precisely the "extension of the editorial coverage to legal medicine and the coopting of Lombroso that pointed the way" for the organicist direction taken by the Reggio school, against the old Milanese school of Verga and Biffi. But Lombroso was never coopted; there was a proposal to bring him onto the board by the young assistants Tamburini and Morselli (who was soon to become a serious critic of Lombroso); but Livi rejected it, constantly dissenting from the approach that the two young men themselves found neither profound nor exact, but full of gaps and exaggerations. On the contrary, Livi wanted Francesco Carrara, a leader in the classical school of law, the very thing the positive criminological school was opposed to. Even for anthropological studies Livi's preferred reference was Paolo Mantegazza, who was well known to be in scientific and personal dispute with Lombroso. As for the extension of phreniatrics into legal medicine, the two collaborators would have preferred to do without it, but the idea was the editor's, and certainly did not depend on Lombroso: as long ago as ten years earlier, Livi had written the first textbook of specialist forensic psychiatry, and was still teaching it.⁴⁹

It is best to go and reread the programmes and articles by the protagonists themselves, in order for it not to be incomprehensible that it was none other than his pupil Morselli that taught generations of alienists the primacy of the psychological approach in the semiotics of mental diseases.⁵⁰ Nor should it seem coincidental that it was just among the doctors trained in San Lazzaro that the scientific sensitivity for psychopathology was preeminent and encouraged; a fact testified to by, among others, the autobiographies of Francesco De Sarlo and Giulio Cesare Ferrari, for twelve years editor-in-chief of the Rivista sperimentale di freniatria.⁵¹

From object to method of inquiry

As it were summing up the situation, in 1880 the editor, Augusto Tamburini, and his close collaborators (not necessarily the editorial committee indicated on the title page, with histologist Camillo Golgi, medical examiner Arrigo Tamassia and psychiatrist Morselli) decided to publish, in three parts, a collection of Gli studi recenti sul così detto magnetismo animale. The extremely well informed Dr. Giuseppe Seppilli gave consideration in it to 37 articles, most published in the previous three years in Germany, a country to which he felt a particular debt was owed and where recently the "spectacular displays ... of the celebrated Danish magnetizer Hansen" had been held.⁵²

The first objective was to naturalize the phenomena that occurred during induced somnambulism, clearing the field of pretended supernatural explanations. This was not yet an outcome that could be taken for granted; the materialist Lombroso was to continue to speak of the facts of hypnotism as mysterious, incomprehensible facts, as belonging to the "threshold of that world that should rightly still be called occult, as being unexplored".⁵³ On this basis the next thing was to distinguish the facts to accept from those to be rejected as fraudulent (here too, extremely natural). But the simulations were not all

that numerous; Seppilli moralistically found it reprehensible to insinuate that relatives and friends of illustrious scientists subjected to their experiments would lend themselves to tricks.

As for explanations, three principal ones were proposed. According to the chemical hypothesis, the tiredness brought about by concentration on the hypnotic command produced substances that took oxygen away from the blood in the brain, so that the brain could not manage to exercise the higher levels of its activity. The localizing hypothesis instead supposed a temporary paralysis of the cortical centres, the seat of voluntary and conscious activity, leaving the medulla, bulb and cerebellum, governing neurological automatism, functional. Finally, an explanation that completely ignored the organicist substrate attributed the hypnotic manifestations to functional manifestations similar to hysterical ones, varying according to how the nervous molecules were moved. Yet "we ought not to believe that a special neuropathic constitution is necessary in all cases", as Seppilli clarified, not feeling convinced by any of the hypotheses put forward.

There was a need for further study, which he himself undertook in the laboratory along with the expert Gabriele Buccola.⁵⁴ The facts of somnambulism reported by trustworthy observers were not confined to the physiological symptomatology, varied as that was--contractions, inability to lift the eyelids, aphasia, paralysis--there was more. Soft-mannered ladies became unbearably arrogant and aggressive during hypnosis; while Felida X, whose double personality had been studied in 1876 by Dr. Azam of Bordeaux, was extremely depressed when awake, and gay in the state she could not remember. One of Richet's patients when hypnotized did remarkable work of imagination, maintaining that a sultan was wanting her at all costs in his harem.

What to say? How to explain these strange things? Sometimes after all they could even become criminal acts, albeit unconscious. It was certainly striking that the hypnotic reaction contained a certain individual elaboration which, it was presumed, depended on the mental associations and experienc-

es of various persons subjected to the same stimulus. At a noise, for instance, a city girl would imagine a concert; a country girl the rustling of the woods; a very religious girl would have heard the chanting of the angels. But Seppilli went prudently. He wondered whether the greater part in hypnotic phenomenology might not be psychological rather than physiological, and replied that it was not possible to clarify this. Accordingly, he did not pay attention to the words spoken under hypnosis; he did not explain how so-called automatic action could be as rich as it sometimes appeared. But he did say at least this: it was an old prejudice to consider that mental events were entirely regulated by the conscience and the ego. Buccola was in agreement.⁵⁵

Once the naturalness of the "amazing facts" had been established, they could then be constructed as scientific objects, to be dealt with as such, subjected to direct and objective observation, in ideal controlled conditions. This was the second stage in the research programme advanced by the Reggio group: from literature on hypnotism to experimental analysis. It was the Reggio asylum director himself who engaged in this; Augusto Tamburini, flanked by his assistant Seppilli, decided to undertake a series of researches on artificial somnambulism; they recounted the findings in a session of the Istituto Lombardo in June 1881 and then published them in the Rivista sperimentale.⁵⁶

They too at San Lazzaro, like Charcot at the Salpêtrière, had "the good luck to possess ... a typical case of hysteria major". G.V. of Modena, 28 years old, slender, pale, dark-eyed and dark-haired; taken into the city hospital at 16 for convulsions, at 22 into the asylum, where she suffered from hemiplegia, aphasia and also transitory alalia. Under psychic examination she proved to be of "bizarre, eccentric, variable moral character; often spiteful, violent, perverse Otherwise, lively intelligence, rapid ideation, ready memory". During the attacks she was caught by tremblings and contractions in her limbs, with her body in an opisthotone arch; she entered

delirium of word and deed, "almost always in fear at the almost constant hallucination of seeing her mother dead". Her tactile, olfactory and gustatory anaesthesia disappeared as soon as copper or zinc plates or a magnet were applied in the ovarian area. But besides metallotherapy,⁵⁷ other things had been tried.

Here a confession is in order. Some three years ago now, we had had information of the research being done by Prof. Charcot ... before there was yet any publication in this connection, we sought to produce the hypnotic phenomena in our hysterical patient, and succeeded fully: we secured, in fact, apart from trance, anaesthesia, the cataleptiform state, localized and diffuse contractions and spasms on simple pressure or with the passes, and other phenomena ... We must, though, confess that, being used to the wiles and tricks of hysterics, doubt had then entered our minds on the possibility of some shamming, particularly in face of psychic phenomena; this doubt ended by being dispelled through further research, on a topic that had been so much exploited by all sorts of charlatans and illusionists.⁵⁸

What had convinced them to resume the investigations? The fact that undoubted hypnotic results had been secured not only with hysterics "but also with undoubtedly sane, trustworthy people". That it was again patient G.V. to whom they had recourse was for convenience, without their considering that hypnotism depended on hysteria. Between the two conditions they saw only one parallel, the functional rather than organic nature; they as psychiatrists were very interested in investigating it "to throw some light on the intimate nature of the above-mentioned neurosis". Hypnosis allowed just this: the isolation of certain aspects, usually of the most objective ones, the consideration of nervous correlations in pathological and physiological states, neutralization of subjective intervention, at any rate voluntary, by the individual used as a guinea pig, and hence reduction to the minimum of possibilities of error in the verification of certain hypotheses.

Accordingly, hypnosis, while still an object of analysis, came to be taken up as a favoured method of inquiry: a choice the Italian school was to claim as a deliberate one of its own (though Charcot too had practised it more in this sense than as

therapy).⁵⁹ Emerging from the field of mental pathology, hypnotism was employed as a means of physiological study. In particular, the hypothesis the two Reggio scholars wished to check concerned the physiological parallelism between the awake state, natural sleep and magnetic sleep, the latter being divided into the classical three phases, lethargic, cataleptic and somnambulistic.

They kept the young woman hypnotized for two or three hours every time. Easy to put into trance, she was hard to waken completely, when she was exhausted and "worried at seeing on her body the traces of injections and reddenings ... she did not know the reason for". Once she was still in a state of somnolence and asked for something to drink; sitting on the bed, her eyes half shut, she tried to bring a glass of water to her lips. All of a sudden, though

the experiments were finished ... one of us started exercising light pressure in front of the ear lobe, at the point of emergence of the facial nerve: immediately the muscles on the corresponding side of the face entered into spastic contraction, preventing her from being able to drink the water, and she could be seen to make efforts to manage but not succeeding, and as if not being able to understand why, she could be seen to become anxious and even to pull her hair.⁶⁰

This served to convince them that the peripheral nerve trunks, and not only the muscles, were hypersensitive to mechanical excitement. They applied the cardiograph to her, and Marey's pneumograph, to record the respiration curves; for her circulation they used the plethysmograph, the sphygmomanometer and Mosso's hydrosphygmograph; to carry out some experiments properly, they kept in touch with the physiologists Moritz Schiff and Giulio Fano. They presented extremely detailed accounts of everything; their findings differed from those presented in Lombroso's Archivio di psichiatria by Salvioli.⁶¹ He had asserted an inverse physiological relationship between natural sleep, when the blood flowed less to the brain and more to the periphery, and induced sleep; this was, explained Tamburini and Seppilli, became colleague was referring to the

cataleptic phase in which the peripheral vessels contracted, not to the whole hypnotic state nor even to its first stage, the lethargic one, in which instead the peripheral vessels dilated, as was also the case with natural sleep. The question was to be further investigated in the laboratory by others too, among them Doctors Sgrosso and Andriani of Naples as regards the endocular circulation, and Sciamanna and his collaborators in Rome, still in dispute with Tamburini, who intervened to explain the reasons for it. In the Turin university psychiatric institute too, directed by Morselli, one of his pupils was working on sleep.⁶²

The conclusions of all these experiments on the poor patients were nevertheless rather slight; descriptive, simple summaries of what changes could be observed in motor and sensory functions, in the circulation and in the respiration, during the artificial sleep. The two Reggio psychiatrists returned to the topic in a brief article in 1882, to clarify their distance from Charcot; the changes in function depended on the intensity and duration of the stimuli, so that there were no characteristic differences of entirely distinct phases of hypnosis, as was taught at the Salpêtrière.⁶³

On the nature of hypnotism, then, it seemed that still less was known. Certainly, an explanation was far from being supplied, as the two researchers admitted. According to them, no more could be demanded if one wished to stay scientific: studies in the sector were "still in a stage in which what is most needed is to gather facts".

Mental suggestion

After a pause, the Rivista sperimentale di freniatria went back to publishing other critical reviews on the topic, again assembled by Giuseppe Seppilli. The size was different from before; more selective, and significantly oriented in the 1885 review. It started by immediately declaring the supreme importance of the hypnotic state as a "means for studying cerebral automatism" and in particular "the functional energies. The hypnotized individual resembles an automaton, a living mechanism, responding to stimuli received from outside".⁶⁴ That these responses were not entirely automatic and predictable was later to be made clear by Seppilli, reporting cases taken from Binet and Feré.

In the irregular series of phenomena brought out by hypnotism, he no longer put the stress on physiological changes but on the effects of verbal suggestion with a mental basis, even if muscular and nervous in aspect. For instance the "paralysis of imagination or of idea" of certain parts of the body or of certain functions (writing, sewing, etc.) brought about by a hypnotic command and analogous to the spontaneous results of hysteria; or the visual, olfactory and gustatory illusions and hallucinations. Still more interesting were the "psychic phenomena properly so called"; Enrico Morselli in Turin too was studying the changes in mental processes during hypnosis.⁶⁵ Certain ideas suggested in the induced sleep created --this is the exact verb Seppilli used-- little somnambulistic scenes, the complexity and liveliness of which depended on the individuals and on "their way of responding to the suggestion". One hypnotic subject was made to believe he was a different person; he forgot his identity and took on another's, talking and acting as if he were someone else. Sometimes there was better success with those personality changes that Binet and Feré had called psychic polarizations, which had precedents in the motor and sensory polarizations themselves (left paralysis could be transferred to the right side) on which Leonardo

Bianchi was working at the Naples asylum.⁶⁶ A certain emotion or psychological attitude was replaced by the opposite one: gaiety in place of sadness, benevolence instead of anger and vice versa.

Confining consideration solely to mechanism rather than content (complementarity), it was still hard to understand and accept that virtuous persons could act in immoral ways they would not even have regarded themselves as in their normal state. Normality and morality became temporary attributes instead of solid essences of the individual and collective identity. Lombroso, though shocked, had sought to provide reassurance: the change in personality could not come about where the hypnotizer had suggested assuming a character too different from the hypnotized person's own. Yet he himself had suggested to one student to identify himself with the brigand La-Gala, and though a "youth ... of honest customs", he had managed this better than identification with an affectionate little girl.⁶⁷ When, accordingly, Lombroso insisted that a decent person would have resisted identification with a subject whose conduct was immoral, he did not at all succeed in quelling doubt as to the quality and tenacity of virtuous conduct. Many scholars instead accepted, as Seppilli noted, "the possibility that intelligent and moral individuals could through the influence of hypnotic suggestions become the culprits of thefts, murders, false witness and accusations".⁶⁸

In the Faculty of Medicine special lessons were now being given on the importance of the phenomena of suggestion in legal medicine, given by among others in 1885 the physicist Enrico Dal Pozzo di Mombello, who had already written a book on animal magnetism.⁶⁹ The facts were extraordinary, suitable for novelists' pens; they appeared almost supernatural, but found confirmation in both pathological conditions of the mind (in the various forms of madness) and normal ones, and here Seppilli mentioned dreams. But the phenomena that most struck him, the most singular and disquieting, were those on which Bernheim was insisting to support his own theses on the power of suggestion.

These were commands given during hypnosis, to be carried out, as in fact occurred, some time later, at the date and time specified by the hypnotist. One boy started to read a book from page 100, just as Bernheim had asked him to do, after the doctor had awakened him from the hypnotic trance and had gone away. A certain S. went to the doctor thirteen days after being hypnotized, following the suggestion received. What seemed more interesting--Freud himself recounted cases of this type seen in Nancy--was that, not recalling having received the order under hypnosis, these individuals if asked sought for some justification for their automatic act. They no longer knew its real origin, unaware of the true cause, but as aware, reasonable persons presumed they had acted freely and adduced another cause for their behaviour, though not very convincing. Perhaps this too was normal; the discovery of how limited and complicated normality was proceeded through the search for amazing facts.

* * *

There was study of medical literature and there were experimental investigations. There was also the clinical approach, not to be forgotten. Therapeutic results secured with the hypnotic method were now also being discussed at congresses of the Italian Phreniatric Society, as was done in 1883 by the constitutionalist Achille De Giovanni. Dr. Petrazzani, assistant in the Reggio asylum, gave an account of cases he had personally followed in the Florence medical clinic in the year 1884-5.⁷⁰ He transcribed a clinical diary on the history of Augusta M., 18 years old, blonde and delicate, frightened a year and a half earlier by two oxen and since without menstruation. The symptomatological setting was characterized by severe pains in the abdomen, urinary and fecal incontinence for as long as 43 consecutive days, hystero-epileptic attacks, disproportionate swelling of the abdomen (so much so that she had been diagnosed as pregnant). The pains increased, yet there was nothing abnormal. She was given morphine, and finally attempts were made

to hypnotize her; this succeeded after eight sessions, by making her stare at a faceted crystal button. Under hypnosis the pains disappeared; the girl answered questions and on command fell into paralysis: Dr. Petrazzani then decided to tell her, repeating aloud, the following words: "You are now entirely cured of your illness; shortly after you awake you will need to urinate and go to stool, which you will do perfectly and immediately: remember that". Once awake, remembering nothing, she sat at her table doing crochet and then

walked off slowly, almost distractedly, towards the closet; shortly after she entered, we heard loud cries and weeping, exclamations; we ran up and found her on her knees weeping, shouting that it was a miracle and thanking some saint or other. She had, without any hesitations, evacuated her rectum and some three hundred grams of urine from her bladder.⁷¹

From that point on everything went well. Nine days later she was discharged from the hospital. Unfortunately, after a short time, back home, completely different disturbances of hysterical origin resumed, which the writer of the article did not however see fit to inform us of.

The young girl T.N., pale and anaemic but tall and of generous proportions, was suffering from respiratory disorders from an intermittent paralysis of the diaphragm of suspected hysterical origin; at the Perugia civic hospital where she had been admitted, Dr. Purgotti and Pedrazzani himself hypnotized her with ease. Our hero ordered her "in an imperious voice to set about getting better" and ordered her to "breath 'with your tummy'. I was immediately obeyed, indeed too much obeyed, since ... we passed a few bad moments because of some strange, worrying hiccups that denoted over-quick reawakening of the diaphragm". In subsequent sessions they managed to correct the undesired effects, until the patient was cured and her fellow inmates all began to want to come along and get magnetized. In a short time "she was able to leave the hospital completely cured of the paralysis.

It is true, though, that not much later she relapsed ...", the physician once again concludes, as if it were a negligible detail.⁷² The fact is that he could not manage to explain why his wonder-working successes lasted such a short time; still less what lay behind the changing symptoms that disappeared and reappeared in different forms in the bodies of his patients. Of these women, of their stories, he tells nothing. He was ingenuously enthusiastic over verifying that certain illnesses with somatic symptoms nevertheless had no organic lesions underlying them; he discovered that the organicist, hereditary model did not always work, or at least was not the sole one for understanding mental pathology. Having seen this, however, it almost seemed as if the disease no longer existed, or else was not serious, as being entirely "imaginary". He confided, for instance, that certain forms of sexual impotence could "be produced or cured on the spot under the slightest moral impression".

The pivot of everything, illness and cure, consisted in suggestion: Petrazzani cited Bernheim, many French and Italian scholars, admired the magnetizer Hansen and sought to explain that the power of suggestion depended on the movement of centripetal excitations on the paths of sensitive nerves. As regards how the verbal or mental suggestions operated, however, it seemed to him "too nebulous" to explain them as a physiological mechanism. He did not manage to draw theoretical conclusions from what he himself had rather boldly practised. From how he recounted his experiments, however, it was clear that he attached much importance in fact if not in theory to the doctor's succeeding in conquering the patient, or imposing himself. He had explained to Miss T., before putting her to sleep, his therapeutic aims, "surrounding her with all the promises, all the pomp, all the charm possible".

There were two possible methods of beneficial influence, either by slow and constant persuasion or by arriving "suddenly, with miraculous processes, with a convinced, assured command"; as had been successful with himself, he did not fail to add, as

well as with Charcot. It was clear that the luminary of the Salpêtrière managed to secure instantaneous, portentous cures; without even hypnotizing her, he had made a little girl who had become paraplegic in a nuns' school walk, with the risk that if word had spread in the convent a hysterical epidemic might have broken out among the pupils. Petrazzani wanted to do more or less the same, even if "there is this difference that Charcot, luckier", gave suggestion to the awake too. If he had tried it would have been a fiasco, he imagined: his patient Augusta was "too much the hard-headed Florentine to take me for a wonder-worker or to believe in miracles: at most I might have managed to make her laugh". Whereas success was already assured with the "lovely miss" T.Y., suffering from a nervous cough; another doctor had exhausted "all the imaginable repertory of the hypnogenics" in the vain endeavour to hypnotize her; for him, instead, it was enough to touch her "almost by chance around the orbits", it did not matter where, and she yielded to the hypnotic trance, smiling and murmuring "I knew it", bringing a sudden end to the attack. She had so much trust in him that what cured her more than anything was autosuggestion, as Petrazzani recognized.⁷³ Moreover, he noted how many circumstances of ordinary life, individual and collective, had a decisive part played in them by suggestion, without anyone being aware of it.

It was specifically to unconscious mental activity, finally, that investigations into functional diseases and their cure, into natural sleep and hypnotism, seemed to lead; to the exercise of mental faculties without the ego taking part or governing them, as instead happened with conscious action. This was the conclusion--he cited in connection with one of the most read English psychiatrists, Henry Maudsley: to believe that the intervention of the conscious ego was an indispensable condition for any mental activity was an error. It was an error of the "old philosophy"; repeated again by the positivist philosopher Ardigò, as we have seen. Petrazzani did not even mention it; he wished to offer the readers of the psychiatric review some questions on which to continue research. Many ideas, many acts,

in the life of both ill and sane persons, which seem to have no reason because we do not know how to find it, many of those things out of the ordinary but not necessarily mad that we happen to do, "could they too not be residues of dreams"? How much room did the unconscious have in the normal, suffering existence? Questions of this kind had little or no meaning in Ardigò's scientific psychology, or in Wundt's either; for this very reason, the roads to explore in search of the unconscious would have to be other ones.

The magnetic spectacle

The academy was indignant. Prof. Morselli had done wrong given his position as teacher in Turin university and consultant in the city asylum, to compromise himself with a theatrical magnetizer, that is, to have himself hypnotized by Alfredo d'Hont, ex-Belgian military officer, whose stage name was "Donato the charmer". And he had done very wrong to report publicly on this reckless initiative in the Sunday Gazzetta letteraria, artistica e scientifica and then in a weighty tome, thereby exposing himself and indirectly his colleagues collectively to the criticisms of anyone whatever.⁷⁴ There came a rebuke even from France; Alfred Binet, in his Revue Philosophique, found it unbecoming for a man of science, as such devoted to silent laboratory investigations, to raise a statue to a showman, to have thereby subjected himself to a coarse personality, revealing himself in turn to be a delicate nature, over-delicate. Morselli instead was not ashamed at all. He replied "that science ought not to "exhaust itself in sterile researches and solitary lucubrations". If "almost all the scientists shut themselves up hermetically in laboratories", he wanted to understand what was happening outside too; he believed in the social function of science, in the fight against ignorance on the one hand and dogmatism on the other; in the necessity of understanding people's needs, be they even "needs for the marvellous".⁷⁵

There were crowds in Turin in late April 1886 and then in Milan to attend the shows by Donato, touring Europe like his Danish colleague Hansen. The press competed in extravagant reports, concerned or ironic comments, over the epidemic of "charm" in a city which, as is well known, already cherished a special propensity for spiritualism.⁷⁶ What Donato did that was so special and why so much debate was raised around him was seen immediately by Morselli and his assistant Eugenio Tanzi, future director of the Florence asylum, as soon as they went to the Théâtre Scribe. The novelty was this: the hypnotized subjects were numerous and all voluntary, different every evening, and came from the ranks of the stalls or the boxes to the stage. They were not assistants of Donato, they could not all be deceivers, and they were healthy individuals; or at least normal, not, in short, like the mental and nervous patients on whom hypnotic experiments were normally performed. Accordingly, those who supposed that only the ill and the hysterical were hypnotizable were wrong (Morselli said urbane that it was a "popular error", but it was mainly one of doctors and scientists); even the strong fell into the hypnotic trance, sometimes better than the less robust. Forty officers of a Savoy garrison; he put them all to sleep, yet it could not be said of them that they were shamers, still less neuropathic. This was not all; what the three hundred or so hypnotic subjects did in the Turin shows was rather complex, and particularly interesting from the psychological point of view, Morselli noted. They reacted to the verbal suggestion of opposing physical sensations--heat, cold--by sweating, unbuttoning their clothes, taking them off, and suddenly shivering, making their teeth chatter, rushing to get their clothes back and quarreling over them. But the most surprising scenes were those in which ideation and emotivity dominated, where the behaviour and indeed the whole character and personality went through considerable changes, as Morselli explained. The public was astonished at seeing a group of young men coming to blows because Donato had convinced them they belonged to rival political parties; they were moved by the

betrayed lover who thought he had killed his rival or himself. And the psychiatrist was no less enthusiastic, since from the scientific point of view he saw in those scenes the proof that the "consciousness is therefore only ... an episode, an extra" to mental activity.

The individual wealth and variety of responses to the same suggestive command led to at least two generalizations: the causal condition of the hypnotic state lay in the person hypnotized, not in the "charmer"; the phenomena of response to the command always depended on mental individuality. Thus hypnosis proved to be an excellent means for exploring normal and not just pathological neutral processes; it brought out of the shadows some special aspects of every individual which in the conscious state remained inhibited, kept under control, camouflaged. Apart from the universal nervous automatism, trance gave an account of the subjectivity; it isolated and projected outwards its unconscious contents, albeit deformed by enlargement or contrast. The breach had finally been opened to "what ancient philosophy held to be inaccessible to our means of scientific inquiry"; and this was undoubtedly a rather vast territory, if from it there came all the impulses which if unknown made human action appear presumptuously free.⁷⁷

The thoughts the meeting with Donato had aroused in Morselli and the reading they led to were many, transcending disciplinary barriers. As if from one discipline to another, he invited the utilization, direct or other, of what animal magnetism was throwing light on. For too long science had neglected it; but its practical applications were now clear in all spheres of medicine, since every doctor, in the relationship with the patient, ought to succeed in practising a form of psychotherapy. Additional, on the theoretical plane too there could be precious contributions; to physiopsychological research of course, to the law in the questions of so-called free will; and to historical research, for instance, which ought to recognize the role played by crowd psychology (Le Bon's book was

to come out a few years later), and the suggestion exercised over the masses by great personalities.⁷⁰

Rightly, Morselli's book on Il magnetismo animale. La fascinazione e gli stati ipnotici scored great success, as did its author, then 34. By comparison with it, the opposition Lombroso exercised against Donato seems less distant than that of the Jesuit Giovanni Giuseppe Franco. The latter's conclusion was truly unique (or better aligned on previous positions expressed by the Church on these phenomena), when in Civiltà cattolica he maintained that magnetic practices like those performed in the Turin and Milan theatres were of diabolical origin.⁷¹ Apart from this revelation, explicitly reserved to believers, at another point the author differed from Lombroso's positions; where he rejected the neuropathological interpretation of hypnotic phenomena. He did so to support his thesis and was at any rate acute in attacking the organicist model; it was not true that the hypnotic state was biologically pathological (instead of diabolical) and that all mental disturbances were based on nervous damage; the "poor doctors" who (including Lombroso) laboured to support these ideas were denied by the facts themselves of hypnosis, where healthy individuals awake became paralysed in somnambulism and vice versa; where, in short, it became clear that the body entered into it less than did the soul (or than the psyche).

Otherwise, however, the positions of the positivist scientist and the priest were similar. Both sought to deny that the magnetic spectacles were worthy of attention or contained any novelty. Alfredo d'Hont was only a conjurer; those who had not stood up to his skilful tricks were poor creatures, gullible ignoramuses or even ill. Yet the matter was serious for all the grave dangers it involved; there was news that various young men had set about imitating him; some young ladies were now confessing to the priest that they had been victims of unscrupulous charmers; even among friends and relatives, the Donatists were said to have been able to insinuate themselves and take advantage. Honour and morals were at threat, as was

thought also by Angelo Mosso, who wrote about it in La Nuova Antologia. But so was the fatherland, if the criminal anthropologist was right to fear that foreign spies could have hypnotized an Italian statesman or soldier to extort some state secret from him. Not to speak of health; the hypnotized proved to be, or ended up being, softened in character; subject to disturbances of every type, particularly hysterical attacks.⁸⁰

In practice, there remained only one thing to do: to ban public displays of hypnotism. This was the opinion of Lombroso and of the other experts--Mosso, Strambio, Sapolini and Vizioli--appointed along with him by health minister Guido Baccelli, a doctor of medicine, to decide what to do faced with the sensational Donato case. The reporter to the ad hoc committee was Francesco Vizioli from Naples, editor of the Giornale di neuropatologia, a psychiatrist who had dealt among other things with suggestive sleep. Not that they were against studies on hypnotism, clearly, as long as they did not get beyond the strict control of them. The specialists. At Turin too, for instance, it was entirely proper that there was in the medical clinic, dealing with hypnotism, apart from Morselli, Prof. Silva too. Accordingly, let the "prolonged, laborious and methodical analyses done in the institutes and clinics" continue; the important thing--for morals and for science, they asserted--was for them not to be done in public, and to be done by no one but doctors.

Such a closure was not, however, likely to promote discussion even among scientists: the Higher Council for Health, meeting in Rome in June that year, laid down that there was no longer any "need to discuss the scientific and technical part of induced somnambulism and hypnotic suggestions, both being integral parts of modern neurological doctrines".⁸¹ But here too they were wrong: the theories of Charcot on the pathology needed for hypnotizability were losing ground in the dispute with Bernheim, and the debate continued.

Lombroso himself had to rethink. To the orthodox textbook on l'ipnotismo e gli stati affini, published in Naples in 1887

by Giuseppe Belfiore (certainly not a Donato enthusiast), he wrote a preface on the advantages of the new hypnotic studies, admitting that scientists ought to have bowed their heads a little, since the alleged superstitions of some magnetizers and non-medical healers instead did have some foundations. Let us, then, continue these studies, he encouraged, even if the explanation is not ready.⁸²

The psychology of the unconscious

And studies did indeed go forward; various of them appeared in Morselli's Rivista di filosofia scientifica, presenting some new theoretical suggestions even where based on extremely restricted experimental inquiries. There was an increasing move to look at the anomalies thrown up by hypnotism by changing the concept of the normal. The hypnotic state was defined as pathological or otherwise, but at any rate the areas of abnormality and of anomalies became less clearly separate. Hypnotic sleep, ordinary sleep, dreams, became "many-faced prisms" through which the complexity of the psyche could be looked at. The loss of consciousness common to these states was accompanied by a unilaterality of nervous concentration; perhaps, then, normality consisted essentially in the capacity to be multiple, to go beyond the self, to be not single but harmoniously plural; and indeed mania is dominated by an obsession, delirium often by an idée fixe. The one who proposed these ideas was the physician Francesco De Sarlo, who had a tendency to philosophical passion, and had not coincidentally gone on to specialize in psychiatry at Reggio Emilia; he wrote them down in 1887 in an essay on dreams (twelve years before De Sanctis's book that Freud too appreciated), where he cited Bernheim, Maudsley, Sully and Du Prel at length, showing the importance of studies on hypnotic phenomena and other mental facts that appeared to be amazing.⁸³

The physiologist Mosso, regarding the magnetic sleep as pathological, compared the hypnotized man to a newborn baby in

which the cerebral convolutions, the seat of mental processes, were not yet formed. Returning to an evolutionary vision, he located somnambulism, both natural and induced, in a series of gradations between sleep and madness, repeating that "the dream is a brief madness, and conversely madness is a long dream".⁶⁴ In a different and more fruitful line, the same ideas had been coupled by Eugenio Tanzi, who found in dreams deep meanings that were generally ignored, and advised a search for some thread of association that might be found even in the delirium of the maniac, the soliloquy of the mad.⁶⁵

After having lived through the Donato experiment with Morselli--he had been there, the sole attentive witness, when the professor had had himself magnetized--as his assistant at Turin university, he had given some lessons on collective suggestion and on states of hallucination in normal individuals. Additionally, he had gone back to working on individuals hypnotized in the laboratory. With Morselli, he recorded, over a certain sample, the values of pulse and respiration during the phases of suggestion; he communicated the results to the Royal Academy of Medicine of Turin and to the Medical Congress at Pavia.⁶⁶ Perhaps Morselli wished to resume and intensify, after his work on animal magnetism, the strictly experimental inquiries, and pushed his collaborators in this direction. Tanzi and Giuseppe Musso together prepared a piece of research on suggestion in hysterical hypnosis, and another in which the hypnotic state was employed merely--on healthy subjects--as an expedient to be able to study other things, namely emotions, experimentally.⁶⁷ They were to be understood, as Morselli's two pupils started by saying, not as mere effects of a mechanism of response to sensation, since they also varied according to the content of the associated processes bound up with ideas and memories. They had decided to study them using the hypnotic method in order to get round the greatest difficulty of such studies: "that of bringing about real, intense emotions when it is suitable for the experimenter". It could not in fact be "expected that a person with his head crowned with batteries and

thermometers ... could nibble the bait of a false piece of news and be really moved" by a false report that, for instance, a loved person had suddenly died. With hypnosis everything was solved; those examined became "real dreamers, to whose dream we have the keys; they accept as true and real all the facts we present to their mind; ... so much so ... as to abandon themselves entirely to the impression received, putting their whole spirit in unison with it". But the implicit novelty was also that the examiners took seriously, and not as a response without meaning psychologically, what each person plunged into a world beyond that of consciousness had to say.

The findings obtained, with great concern for experimental rigour and indeed quantitative, were nevertheless limited to the physiological correlations of the emotions, and indeed concerned only the temperature changes in forehead, cheeks, parietal and occipital region registered by an apparatus of thermoelectric batteries with an extremely sensitive galvanometer in circuit. These changes at cutaneous level were supposed to reflect proportionally the temperature oscillations in the underlying areas of the brain, and it was concluded that the changes were more accentuated in the parts of the brain where during the emotions a more complex, ideational and abstract mental activity was going on. A research programme of this nature was to be resumed two years later at Reggio Emilia and published in the Rivista sperimentale di freniatria by Francesco De Sarlo and Carlo Bernardini, who were able to apply it to the circulation directly into the cerebral organ.

There was a farmer in the asylum, 40 years old, who following an accident was undergoing epileptic attacks and had suffered a cranial opening; through this, the two alienists observed the reactions in the vessels in certain nervous centres during the emotions they induced in the man when they had hypnotized him.⁸⁸ Here too, over and above the specific objectives of the inquiry, it was the conclusion of broader scope that counted: the hypnotic states could be taken as testimony to the subjective states of an individual; hence "they

ought not to be regarded as something in themselves", by contrast with what Charcot was doing. Not only this; since they broke down the personality that appeared to be a unitary complex in the conscious state, it followed that the unicity of the psychic ego, even in the normal, could no longer be regarded as a solid reality.

In further demonstration of this were the cases of multiple personality, studied particularly in France and by the Boston school of psychotherapy; alongside the conscious ego, a different character could become organized, the one separated from the other and inaccessible to the consciousness, at least until a psychic therapy of reaggregation, often through hypnosis, had come about. At the Voghera medical congress in 1887, Augusto Tamburini wished to present a clinical study of his on hypnotic suggestion and dual personality. Two years later at the congress of the Phreniatric Society in Novara he presented a report with the modest title Sulla natura dei fenomeni somatici nell'ipnotismo, in which he instead engaged in a sort of summary of the research that he himself had contributed much to in that decade.⁸⁹

It was inevitable that there were further allusions to the controversy between the two French schools. At the Paris Hôtel Dieu a month earlier, in August, the first international congress of hypnology had been held; it was packed out, pursued by correspondents from over thirty newspapers, and attended also by foreigners, among them James, Lombroso and Freud: the dispute had resumed, this time basically in favour of Bernheim over his rival Charcot.⁹⁰ Till then reference to their theses had been obligatory for all those interested in hypnotism; now a comparison could be reconsidered with greater critical independence, and the director of San Lazzaro seemed to offer a reconciliation between the neuropathological thesis of the Salpêtrière and the psychological one of Nancy. Morselli declared himself favourable to the proposal, but Tamburini stated that he did not intend to speak in these terms. Indeed, by giving a reasoned account of his experimental and clinical

work on hypnotic states from 1880 onwards, in the report to the society of Italian psychiatrists, he had, perhaps with some exaggeration, sought to trace his steadily growing distance from Charcot. He recalled that he had already, along with Seppilli (then working on hypnotic therapies), rejected the triple division of the phases; even then they had realized how the somatic facts found in hysterical hypnotism were not at all characteristics of the hypnotic sleep, but of hysteria, since hypnotism did nothing more than bring out the psychophysiological state of a subject, whether hale or ill, and indeed the typical phenomena of hypnotism were better found in healthy subjects, since in neuropathics the morbid conditions were added. Hypnotism was not at all a pathological state, and it was an error to seek to define it on the basis solely of the cases of hysterics.⁹² This was a clear stance, without hesitations, now able to supply answers to the questions left open ten years earlier. On the substance of these, over and above any academic suitability, Morselli's declarations in favour of the psychological model followed along; in the meantime, embittered by the criticisms met with in the university and psychiatric atmosphere of Turin, he had asked for a transfer to Genoa.

After the storm around the Donato case, the programme of work on hypnotism resumed by the group of psychiatrists that had formed in Reggio Emilia seemed almost lax, all concentrated on specific experiments without evident theoretical ambitions. But behind this modest attitude, as I have sought to show, importance choices had been decided. While the initial proposal had been to include within the territory of science phenomena about which beliefs in mystery and marvel had prevailed, there had come a realization that it was not a simple broadening of the field that was involved.

Leafing through the Rivista sperimentale di freniatria, at the end of a series, it is perhaps appropriate to note another of the critical surveys which, significantly, was brought together under the title "On the Unconscious: Hypnotism,

Spiritualism, Thought-Reading".⁹² Francesco De Sarlo explained: it was just the discoveries on these three subjects that made the change in viewpoint that was now in progress necessary. Classical psychology had referred exclusively to the conscious; today's psychology, instead, even when it did consider the conscious, did so "through the accurate study of the unconscious". Some had earlier denied it; others reduced it to old, now lifeless museum representations. The chief traditional interpretations numbered three: the philosophical one assumed it to be a state of the soul not yet governed by the ego; the physiological one regarded it as a nervous process concomitant with the higher functions of consciousness. The experimental model finally, the most important one, showed how ordinary mental life could take place even through mental but not conscious action; and further attested that in everyone there were greater mental potentialities than those expressed, which in pathological cases could reach doubling. The recognition arrived at was that the equilibrium and unity of the ego were, always, precarious.

Patrizia Guarnieri

Notes

1. A. MOSSO, "Fisiologia e patologia dello ipnotismo", Nuova Antologia, s. 3a, estr. tip. della Camera dei Deputati, Rome 1886, pp. 5-6.
2. G. CANGUILHEM, Le normal et le pathologique, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1966.
3. A good bibliography of studies on positivism, updated to 1986 and with an Italian section, can be found in S. POGGI, Introduzione al positivismo, Laterza, Rome - Bari 1987, pp. 261-67.
4. Frequent references are made to the vocation for measurement of European positivist culture, which are perhaps to be collected and reconsidered interpretively. For the Italian area, where this mission would, looking at certain cases (particularly Lombroso), seem more accentuated, I have traced some records in my article "Misurare le diversità" in Misura d'uomo. Strumenti teorie e pratiche dell'antropometria e della psicologia sperimentale tra '800 e '900, Istituto e Museo di Storia della Scienza, Florence 1986, pp. 119-71. The fact that nineteenth-century culture accorded a preference to measuring and calculating was well seen in 1904 by J.T. MERZ, A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century, New York 1965 (2nd ed.), in the chapter "On the Statistical View of Nature", vol. II, pp. 548-626.
5. For a discussion of these terms, barely hinted at here, see F. LAPLANTINE, Anthropologie de la maladie, Payot 1986), esp. chap. 1 and the associated bibliographical notes.
6. E. DE MARTINO, La fine del mondo. Contributo all'analisi delle apocalissi culturali, ed. by Clara Gallini, whose extensive introduction (pp. IX-XCIII) should be read, Einaudi, Turin 1977; this and the quotations below are on p. 192.
7. An interdisciplinary approach to various practices and beliefs of alternative medicine during the nineteenth century, which does not simply counterpose it to medical orthodoxy, is attempted in the collection of Studies in the History of Alternative Medicine, ed. by Roger Cooter, St. Antony's and MacMillan Press, London 1988; and Medical Fringe and Medical Orthodoxy 1750-1850, ed. by W.F. Bynum and R. Porter, Croom Helm, London 1987.
8. Behind the official tributes or educated silence in relation to the Wundtian school lurked many doubts and hesitations. There would be a need to reconstruct a map of them; among

the names certainly would be the Swiss psychologist Flournoy and the American William James, who had both taken apprenticeships in the Leipzig laboratory. Among themselves they confided, by letter and in person, opposition to that method and type of studies, annoyed at nevertheless for academic reasons still having to lose so much time in repetitive laboratory experiments of the Wundtian style (cfr. The Letters of William James and Théodore Flournoy, ed. by Robert C. Le Clair, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison and London 1966, and P. GUARNIERI, "Carta penna e psiche. Lettere fra William James e Théodore Flournoy (1890-1910)", Il piccolo Hans, 65, 1990, pp. 123-150). Moreover, James did not fail to take a public distance from Wundt's psychology, as early as his Principles of Psychology (New York 1890); but the disappointment with what had seemed to be the model of psychological science was widespread (apart from George T. Ladd's position) and more evident precisely where it had been intended to import that model. See R.W. RIESE "Wundt and the Americans: from Flirtation to Abandonment" in the volume edited by him on W. Wundt and the Making of Scientific Psychology, Plenum Press, London 1980, pp. 137-51, and also A.L. BLUMENTHAL, "W. Wundt and Early American Psychology", *ibid.*, pp. 117-35.

9. "Séanc. Académie des Sciences", XCIV, Paris 1882, pp. 403-5.
10. See J. BRAID, The Power of the Mind over the Body: An Experimental Enquiry into the Nature and Cause of the Phenomena attributed by Baron Reichenbach and others to the "New Imponderable", J. Churchill, London 1846; and IDEM. Neurypnology or the Rationale of Nervous Sleep Considered in Relation with Animal Magnetism, J. Churchill, London 1843 another work of critical confrontation with non-naturalistic theories, from which Braid sought to demonstrate his own distance, was Magic, Witchcraft, Animal Magnetism, Hypnotism and Electrobiology, J. Churchill, London 1852 (3rd ed.). For therapeutic application, but also for an appendix on the naturalistic explanation of cases of spiritism (another subject often associated with an interest in hypnotism), see IDEM., Hypnotic Therapeutics, Murray and Gibbs, Edinburgh 1853. The greater part of his writings is collected by A.E. WAITE, Braid on Hypnotism: The Beginnings of Modern Hypnosis, Julian, New York 1960. For his biography see C.A.S. WINK, The life and Work of James Braid, Surgeon, with special reference to his influence on the development of hypnotism as an orthodox medical procedure, B.Litt. thesis, Oxford University 1970.
On Mesmer see F. RAUSKY, Mesmer ou la révolution thérapeutique, Paris 1977, and the proceedings of a congress, with a paper by R. COOTER, "The History of Mesmerism in Britain: Poverty and Promise" (pp. 152-62), ed. by H. Schott, Franz Anton Mesmer und die Geschichte des Mesmerismus, F. Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1985. A compendium of his writings has

- been edited by R. AMADOU, F.A. Mesmer: le magnétisme animal, Payot, Paris 1971.
11. For the well-known difference on interpretation, to which I shall return below, between the Salpêtrière school with Charcot and the Nancy school with Liébeault and Bernheim, see the classic H.F. ELLENBERGER, The Discovery of the Unconscious. The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry; Basic Books, New York 1970, cap. X, but also cap. II, in connection with Mesmer. On the French scene, see also D. BARRUCAND, Histoire de l'hypnose en France, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1967.
 12. See J. ESDAILE, Mesmerism in India and its Practical Application in Surgery and Medicine, Longman, Brown, Green, London 1846, and J.M. BRAMWELL, Hypnotism Its History, Practice and Theory, W. Rider, London 1921, esp. pp. 4-28.
 13. Cf. E. MORSELLI, Il magnetismo animale. La fascinazione e gli stati ipnotici, Roux e Favale, Turin 1886; chap. II divides the story of magnetism into three phases: religious mysticism; empiricism; the scientific phase covered in chap. III. After Charcot, Braid was reevaluated to become the commonly recognized pioneer of scientific hypnotism, though it was only with Charcot that it became solidly established.
 14. A.T. MYERS, "Hypnotism at Home and Abroad", Practitioner, XLIV, 1890, pp. 196-206.
 15. Cf. E.J. DINGWALL (ed.), Abnormal Hypnotic Phenomena: a Survey of the 19th Century Cases, 4 vols., Churchill, London 1967-68; vol. I is on France, II on Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany and Scandinavia; vol. III is on Russia and Poland, on Italy (pp. 139-89), Spain, Portugal and Latin America; vol. IV is on the United States and Britain.
 16. C. GALLINI, La sonnambula meravigliosa. Magnetismo e ipnotismo nell'Ottocento italiano, Feltrinelli, Milan 1983, with rich bibliography, pp. 323-41. On professional magnetizers in theatres, see also L. STEFANONI, Magnetismo e ipnotismo svelati. Storia critica, Rome 1889.
 17. Many of the European and American journals of mesmerism, magnetism and hypnotism, and also of psychical research or parapsychological studies, are listed in A Century of Serial Publications in Psychology 1850-1950. An International Bibliography, ed. by Donald V. Osier and Robert H. Wozniak, Kraus Intern. Publ., New York 1984.
 18. See G. SEPPILLI, "Gli studi recenti sul così detto magnetismo animale", Riv. sper. fren., VI, 1880, pp. 337-44, at p. 338.

19. For the Italian scene, there are some hints in A. CAVALLI-PASSINI, La scienza del romanzo. Romanzo e cultura scientifica tra Ottocento e Novecento, Patron, Bologna 1982, esp. chap. IV. S. FERRARI, "Psicologia come romanzo: dalle storie di isteria agli studi sull'ipnotismo", Studi di estetica, XIII, 1985, pp. 49-96, gives some foreign examples of a possible history of encounters and misunderstandings between literary and medical men in connection with hypnosis.
20. After the period concentrated on here, I would mention at least Ipnotizzate voi stessi! L'arte di ipnotizzarsi da soli in dieci minuti, Istituto Hermes, Milan 1925, 5th ed., and Come si diventa ipnotizzatore. Manuale scientifico popolare, Milan 1937.
21. See the handbook by D. ZANARDELLI, La verità sull'ipnotismo. Rivelazioni, Rome 1886; the pair held displays in Rome Naples and Florence, and also in France and Spain. On the model of the hypnotizing couple, see GALLINI, op. cit., pp. 69 ff., and the whole of chap. III.
22. Besides the above-cited article by Mosso, see C. LOMBROSO, "Studi sull'ipnotismo. Comunicazioni preventive", Archivio di psichiatria, VII, 1886, pp. 257-81, esp. 273 ff.; G. SERGI, "Psicosi endemica", in Riv. filos. scient., VIII, 1889, pp. 151-72.
23. Cf. Th. RIBOT, Les maladies de la volonté, Baillière, Paris 1883, esp. chap. V.
24. See at least G. BEARD, A Practical Treatise on Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia) Its Symptoms, Nature, Sequence, Treatment, W. Wood, New York 1880; IDEM, American Nervousness. Its Causes and Consequences, Putnam's, New York 1881. The Italian editions came out in a positivist climate; see Il nervosismo americano, le sue cause e le sue conseguenze, trans. by Sofia Fortini Santarelli (who also translated Spencer), Lapi, Città di Castello 1888, and Trattato pratico dell'esaurimento nervoso, Vallardi, Milan n.d., which appeared in the popularizing series "Piccola biblioteca medica contemporanea".
25. I refer to W.E. HOUGHTON, The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870, Yale University Press, New Haven 1959, (prb 1985), esp. chap. III.
26. Among the more important announcements of the crisis from within, see G. MARCHESINI, La crisi del positivismo e il problema filosofico, Bocca, Turin 1898. In polemic with Brunetière, E. MORSELLI, "La pretesa 'Bancarotta della Scienza'. Una risposta" appeared in the Rivista di sociologia, extr., Sandron, Palermo 1895; see also IDEM., "L'eredità materiale, intellettuale e morale del secolo

- XIX", in Annuario della R. Univ. degli studi di Genova, Genoa, 1894-95, pp. 15-73. On this point I refer to P. GUARNIERI, "La ricerca dell'ordine. A proposito della crisi del positivismo", in Filosofia e politica a Genova nell'età del positivismo, ed. by Dino Cofrancesco, 2 vols., Compagnia dei Librai, Genoa 1988, vol. I, pp. 11-20.
27. See C. LOMBROSO, "Pickman e la trasmissione del pensiero", Archivio di psichiatria, XI, 1890, pp. 207-18, to be compared with the experiments controlled by E. MORSELLI, "Le cosiddette esperienze di 'divinazione del pensiero' eseguite dal Pickman in Italia. Lettera aperta al prof. A. Filippi", Lo Sperimentale, extr., Tip. Cenniniana, Florence 1890.
28. C. LOMBROSO, "L'ipnotismo e gli stati affini", Archivio di psichiatria, IX, 1888, pp. 198-99, and IDEM, "Inchiesta sulla trasmissione del pensiero. II Ricerche originali", ibid., XII, 1891, pp. 71-108, see p. 98. On the unlikely truth in the hypnotic suggestion of a female patient in the Nancy clinic, see an article by the French expert A.-A. LIEBEAULT translated from the Revue de l'Hypnotisme, "Come il vero non sia sempre verosimile", Rivista di studi psichici (a monthly "dedicated to experimental and critical research into phenomena of telepathy, clairvoyance, premonition, mediumship, etc."), I, 1895, pp. 33-42. For a handbook of tricks, see P. BETTOLI, Rivelazioni ed insegnamenti del giuoco di simulare i fenomeni magnetici ed ipnotici, Milan 1891.
29. I refer to the extremely well-documented reconstruction of the Conte case in C. GALLINI, op. cit., pp. 157-87, and the opinion by the expert L. BIANCHI, "Paolo Conte e la grande isteria - due aggressioni patite o simulate - quattro persone incriminate", Psichiatria, neurologia e scienze affini, III, 1886, pp. 268 ff. and 311 ff. Careful studies of forensic psychology have been devoted to the specific pathology of lying and self-accusation by W. HEALY and M.T. HEALY, Pathological Lying, Accusation and Swindling, Heinemann, London 1915. One famous case brought up in court again the dispute between the schools of the Salpêtrière and of Nancy, when in Paris in 1890 Gabrielle Bompard, 22 years old, was tried for being an accomplice to murder, and defended by Jules Liégeois, a disciple of Bernheim, on the ground of having acted under post-hypnotic suggestion. On this see R. HARRIS, Murder and Madness: Medicine, Law and Society in the Fin de Siècle, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1988. J.-R. LAURENCE, Hypnosis, Will and Memory: a Psycho-Legal History, Guilford Press, New York 1988, brings the discourse of mesmerism right up to the recent forensic applications of hypnosis, with a bibliography.
30. Among the important writing on responsibility in the light of what was demonstrated by hypnotism, applying even in a

model without mental pathology, was that of E. MORSELLI, Il magnetismo, cit., pp. 186 ff. Contemporaneously, see G. CAMPILI, Il magnetismo, ipnotismo e la suggestione ipnotica nei rapporti del diritto penale e civile, Bocca, Turin 1886. On the medical-legal implications of hypnotism, discussed from the respective viewpoints of the Nancy and Salpêtrière schools, see J. LIEGEAIS, De la suggestion et du somnambulisme dans leurs rapports avec la jurisprudence et la médecine légale, Doin, Paris 1889, and G. DE LA TOURETTE, l'hypnotisme et les états analogues au point de vue médico-légal, Plon, Paris 1887. Recently, from the Milan centre for legal psychology, see G. GULOTTA, Ipnosi. Aspetti psicologici, clinici, legali, criminologici, Giuffrè, Milan 1980, with a bibliography.

31. Cf. G.G. FRANCO, "L'ipnotismo tornato di moda", La Civiltà Cattolica, XXXVII, 1886, vol. III, pp. 5-18, 129-49, 257-79, 402-17, 513-29, 665-78, and vol. IV, pp. 41-54, 277-94, 530-51, 657-79; then collected as a volume, Giachetti Prato 1886, and in 1888 the third edition "enriched with new observations and recent facts"; and in French trans., St Joseph, St. Amond Cher 1890. Franco also dealt with spiritism, in the same journal and in various books. On the verdict of diabolical possession mentioned in the Conté case, see the pamphlet "Monsignor Sarnelli e il magnetismo" Tribuna giudiziaria, 1889, cit. by Gallini, *op. cit.*, p. 357, n. 16.
32. See Casus Conscientiae propositi et soluti, Analecta Ecclesiastica, Rome 1916, n. 18; Casus III. De Hypnotismo, pp. 9-13, goes through the history from Mesmer to Braid and Charcot and proposes the following questions: "1) What hypnotism is and what are its chief and specific phenomena 2) Whether its use be licit. 3) Whether Dr. Caio [who had successfully practised hypnosis after having failed with other treatments] had acted rightly", p. 9. I wish to thank Michele Ranchetti for having suggested this source.
33. Cf. H. ELLENBERGER, *op. cit.*, chap. III and chap. II; L. CHERTOK and R. DE SAUSSURE, Naissance du psychanalyste de Mesmer à Freud, Payot, Paris 1973.
34. In W. JAMES, The Principles of Psychology, Holt, New York 1890, reprint, Dover, New York 1980, 2 vols., It. trans. I Principi di Psicologia, thoroughly revised by the psychiatrists G.C. Ferrari and A. Tamburini, Società Editrice Libreria, Milan 1901, see the Prefazione, in which the author states that he is an increasingly convinced anti-mechanist. But he had expressed disappointment in the Wundtian "new psychology" even earlier; e.g. in "What the Will Effects", Scribner's Magazine, III, 1888, pp. 240-50.
35. Apart from the specific pages in the Principles (among them I, pp. 373-401), see the statement cited in The Varieties of

Religious Experience, Longmans Green, London 1912, p. 233; 1st ed. 1902; It. trans. 1904, ed. by G.C. Ferrari and M. Calderoni), and in the following pages, also on hypnotic suggestion; and IDEM, "The Hidden Self", Scribner's Magazine, VII, 1890, pp. 361-73, and the many reviews of this in contemporary French psychopathological literature. On the Boston school of psychotherapy with James J. Putnam, Morton Prince and Boris Sidis (author of The Psychology of Suggestion, 1896), in relation to James, see at least N.G. HALE Jr., Freud and the Americans. The Beginnings of Psychoanalysis in the United States 1876-1917, Oxford Univ. Press, New York 1971.

The manuscript notes of a series of lecture on hypnotism, telepathy, etc. have been published only recently, ed. by Eugene Taylor, William James on Exceptional Mental States: The 1896 Lowell Lectures, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York 1983. On the scientific validity of the work promoted by the Society for Psychical Research, see at least W. JAMES, "What Psychical Research Has Accomplished", in The Will to Believe and Other Essays on Popular Philosophy, Longmans Green, New York - London 1897, pp. 299-327 (It. trans., La libertà di credere, Lib. Ed. Milanese, Milan 1912, pp. 341-75). On the S.P.R., of decisive importance in this sector of research, with "Proceedings" that were much read and reviewed, in Italy too, a number of studies came out on the occasion of the centenary in 1982; but see J.P. WILLIAMS, The Making of Victorian Psychical Research: An Intellectual Elite's Approach to the Spiritual World, Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge 1984.

36. See F.W.H. MYERS, "The Subliminal Consciousness", Proceedings S.P.R. of London, VII, 1891-92, pp. 298-355, VIII, 1892, pp. 333-404 and 436-535, esp. pp. 444 ff. on hypnotism; IX, 1893-94, pp. 3-128, esp. pp. 3-25 on hysteria and hypnotism.
37. Cf. W. JAMES, Principles, I, cit., p. 396. As regards the French dispute on the pathological nature of the hypnotic trance, James favoured the theses of the Nancy school against Charcot's.
38. See S. FREUD, Some Elementary Lessons in Psychoanalysis (1938), in Gesammelte Werke, XVII, S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt, 1941, pp. 141-147, where he describes Bernheim's hypnotic experiments he had attended at Nancy in 1889. On the French sources for hypnotism, see Freud's Preface to his translation of J.-M. Charcot's Leçons sur les maladies du système nerveux (1886) and Leçons du mardi de la Salpêtrière, also his various writings on hypnotism and suggestion (1888-92). He wrote on telepathy in Psychoanalyse und Telepathie (1921), Traum und Telepathie (1921), and in the 30th lesson of Neue Folge der Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse (1933).

39. See H. BERNHEIM, De la suggestion à l'état hypnotique et dans l'état de la veille, Doin, Paris 1884; IDEM, De la suggestion et de ses applications à la thérapeutique, Doin, Paris 1886. J.-M. CHARCOT, op. cit.; his Oeuvres complètes were published in 9 vols. between 1886 and 1893; Ital. trans. from those years, IDEM, Lezioni cliniche dell'anno scolastico 1883-84 sulle malattie del sistema nervoso; IDEM, Nuove lezioni sulle malattie del sistema nervoso ed in modo particolare sull'isterismo dell'uomo (acad. yrs. 1884-85 and 1885-86), and his further Lezioni sulle malattie del sistema nervoso ... acad. yr. 1889, all edited by Dr. Giulio Melotti, Milan 1885, 1887 and 1889 respectively; IDEM, Lezioni sulle malattie del sistema nervoso fatte alla Salpêtrière da J.-M. Charcot raccolte e pubblicate da Bourneville, ed. by Dr. Angelo Scambelluri, Naples 1884, 2nd rev. ed.; IDEM, Differenti forme di afasia. Lezioni fatte nella Salpêtrière nel semestre d'estate dell'anno 1883, ed. by G. Rummo, Milan 1884; see G. RUMMO (ed.), Iconografia fotografica del grande isterismo - Istero epilissia, omaggio al prof. J.-M. Charcot, Clinica Medica Propedeutica, Pisa, Naples 1890. In his clinic Charcot sought to photograph hysteria; on these pictures see G. DIDI-HUBERMAN, Invention de l'hystérie. Charcot et l'Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière, Macula, Paris 1982.
40. R. ARDIGÒ, "L'equivoco dell'inconscio di alcuni moderni" Rivista di filosofia scientifica, VII, 1888, pp. 1-14, cit. p. 1, which took off from a previous article of his; he was to return to it speculatively in L'Inconscio, in Opere filosofiche, Draghi, Padua 1909, pp. 369-480 (originally in Riv. di filos. e scienze affini, 1908). For an article on the topic see W. BUTTEMEYER, Roberto Ardigò e la psicologia moderna, La Nuova Italia, Florence 1969.
41. More will be said below on the former: among the articles by philosophers maintaining the accidental nature of consciousness in psychic activities see at least G. CESCA, "La dottrina psicologica sulla natura della coscienza", esp. Part 2, Rivista di filos. scient., V, 1886, pp. 97-108, and the troubled pupil of Ardigò, G. MARCHESINI, "Conscio ed inconscio", ibid., VIII, 1889, pp. 641-50. On the complex physiognomy of the review itself, I refer to P. GUARNIERI, "La volpe e l'uva". Cultura scientifica e filosofia nel positivismo italiano, Physis, XXV, 1983, pp. 601-36.
42. The date I have indicated is that of the first edition of his major work; see C. LOMBROSO, L'uomo delinquente in rapporto all'antropologia, alla giurisprudenza ed alle discipline carcerarie, Hoepli, Milan 1876. For a critique see R. VILLA, Il deviante e i suoi segni. C. Lombroso e l'origine dell'antropologia criminale, Franco Angeli, Milan 1985.

43. Cf. E. MORSELLI, "Osservazioni critiche sul neomisticismo psicologico. I fenomeni telepatici e le allucinazioni veridiche", Archivio per l'antropologia e l'etnologia, XXVI, 1896, pp. 183-236; at the time it was not scientific colleagues that came to Lombroso's defence, but, in the same review, spiritualists like C. BAUDI DI VESME, "A proposito dell'opuscolo 'I fenomeni telepatici' del prof. Morselli", Archivio di psichiatria, antrop. crim., XVIII, 1897, pp. 261-65. In this periodical, the materialist Lombroso in 1896 began a section dedicated to "Hypnotic and mediumistic research", continued under the heading of "Medianismo", in which he stupefyingly collected everything studied, read or heard in parapsychology and paranormal impressionism. The embarrassing spiritualist conversion into which the medium Eusapia Paladino persuaded Lombroso, who went about magic Turin hunting for haunted houses, is reported by L. BULFERETTI, Cesare Lombroso, Utet, Turin 1975; but much more consideration should be given to it than has been. He devoted his last energies to the subject, in the collection of Ricerche sui fenomeni ipnotici e spiritici, Utet, Turin 1909.
44. Cf. C. LOMBRROSO, "L'ipnotismo e gli stati affini", Archivio di psichiatria, IX, 1888, pp. 198-99, where he nevertheless accuses of pedantry the academics who rejected the reliability of hypnotic phenomena.
45. See F. VIZIOLI, "Del morbo ipnotico (ipnotismo spontaneo) e delle suggestioni", Giornale di neuropatologia, I, 1885, pp. 5-6; IDEM, "La terapeutica suggestiva", ibid., II, 1886, pp. 308-39, and as reporter of an interministerial commission in which Mosso and Lombroso also took part, "Relazione sull'operato del Consiglio Superiore di Sanità intorno le esperienze di ipnotismo nei pubblici spettacoli", ibid., II, 1886, pp. 135-51.
46. A report on the effects of metallotherapy is given by the director of the Reggio asylum, C. LIVI, in Rivista sperimentale di freniatria, III, 1877, pp. 68-72; but Lombroso too did his experiments. A curious one is the clinical case of a girl diagnosed as hysterical, who said she could perceive odours through her feet; see C. LOMBRROSO, "Sull'azione del magnete e la trasposizione dei sensi nell'isterismo", Archivio di antropologia, III, 1882, pp. 220 ff.; also reporting other people's experiments, IDEM, Studi sull'ipnotismo con ricerche oftalmoscopiche del prof. Raymond e dei proff. Bianchi e Sommer, Bocca, Turin 1882. See also L. ELLERO, "Sopra un caso di ipnosi con fenomeni della così detta trasposizione dei sensi", Gazzetta medica italiana delle province venete, XXV, 1882, pp. 43 ff. But there is certainly a lack of documentation on all the doctors that attempted hypnotic therapies or experiments.

47. See S. FERRARI, "Gli studi sull'ipnotismo e la suggestione tra scienza e misticismo", in L'età del positivismo, ed. by Paolo Rossi, Il Mulino, Bologna 1986, pp. 121-52.
48. Cf. L. VERATI, Cenni critici alle osservazioni ed esperienze intorno al metodo dell'assopimento animale e umano con scientifiche e pratiche applicazioni mediche e chirurgiche del dott. Geminiano Grimelli professore di istituzioni patologiche nella R. Università di Modena, Florence 1847. On the laboratory, an article written by the person who was to be its director until 1902, G.C. FERRARI, "Il laboratorio di psicologia sperimentale di Reggio Emilia", is in Emporium, VII, 1898, pp. 1-14. On the psychiatric hospital there are various works; I would advise consulting the activity documented in the Gazzetta del frenocomio di Reggio Emilia, I, 1875, and V. GRASSELLI, L'ospedale di S. Lazzaro presso Reggio nell'Emilia, Calderini, Reggio Emilia 1897, and in the two issues Per un museo storiografico della psichiatria, supplement to the still active Riv. sperimentale di freniatria, CIII, 1979.
49. All this is explained by E. MORSELLI, "Come nacque la Rivista di freniatria", Riv. sper. fren., XLI, 1915, pp. XXXVI-XLV. For the textbook I refer to C. LIVI, Frenologia forense. Delle frenopatie considerate relativamente al foro criminale, Tip. G. Chiusi, Milan 1865-68. Not that there was any lack of divergencies and ambiguities in Italian psychiatry; but these should not, I insist, be blotted out under a totalizing organicism; in this connection I refer to my Individualità difformi. La psichiatria antropologica di E. Morselli, F. Angeli, Milan 1986, esp. chap. III. See F. DE PERI, "Il medico e il folle: istituzione psichiatrica, sapere scientifico e pensiero medico fra Otto e Novecento", in Storia d'Italia. Annali 7. Malattia e medicina, ed. by F. Della Peruta, Einaudi, Turin 1984, esp. pp. 1086-1092. Another view is offered by V. BABINI, "Organicismo e ideologie nella psichiatria italiana dell'Ottocento", in Passioni della mente e della storia, ed. by F.M. Ferro, Vita e pensiero, Milan 1989, pp. 331-50.
50. Cf. E. MORSELLI, Manuale di semeiotica delle malattie mentali, vol. II, Esame psicologico, Vallardi, Milan 1894, where he denounced the danger and crudeness of the somatic, organicist approach, which set up useless equations "between organism and thought, between brain and consciousness".
51. Cf. F. DE SARLO, Esame di coscienza. Quarant'anni dopo la laurea 1887-1927, Florence 1928, and the autobiography of G.C. FERRARI in A History of Psychology in Autobiography, ed. by C. Murchison, Worcester, Mass. 1932, II, pp. 63-88.
52. G. SEPELLI, "Gli studi recenti", Riv. sper. fren., VI, 1880, pp. 337-44; VII, 1881, pp. 106-40 and 308-29.

53. C. LOMBROSO, "Sull'azione del magnete", cit., but he repeated it in his volume of Ricerche sui fenomeni ipnotici e spiritici, Un. Tip. Ed. Tor., Turin 1909, p. 7.
54. See IDEM and G. BUCCOLA, "Sulle modificazioni sperimentali della sensibilità e sulle teorie relative", *ibid.*, VI, 1880, pp. 107-25; by G. BUCCOLA see also "Gli studi recenti sulla genesi e sulle condizioni fisiologiche dell'ipnotismo", La Rassegna settimanale di politica, scienze, lettere ed arti, VII, 1881, 2 January, pp. 11 ff. On this outstanding figure in experimental psychology, see N. DAZZI, "Gabriele Buccola", in Gli studi di psicologia in Italia: Aspetti teorici scientifici e ideologici, ed. by N. Dazzi and G. Cimino, Domus Galilaeana, Pisa 1980, pp. 23-39; the volume contains various articles and an "Introduzione alla storia della psicologia e della neurofisiologia nel XIX secolo. Saggi" by Guido Cimino, pp. 157-257.
55. See G. SEPPILLI, "Gli studi recenti", cit., p. 134 n., and G. BUCCOLA, "Sui fenomeni e sulla natura dell'ipnotismo", Rivista di filosofia scientifica, I, 1881-82, pp. 201-207. Cf. E. AZAM, Hypnotisme et double conscience, Alcan, Paris 1887.
56. See A. TAMBURINI and G. SEPPILLI, "Contribuzioni allo studio sperimentale dell'ipnotismo. 1a comunicazione. Ricerche sui fenomeni di senso, di moto, del respiro e del circolo nell'ipnotismo e sulle loro modificazioni per gli agenti estesiogeni e termici", Riv. sper. fren., VII, 1881, pp. 261-300; "2a comunicazione. Ricerche sui fenomeni di senso, di moto, del respiro e del circolo nelle così dette fasi, letargica, catalettica e sonnambolica dell'ipnosi isterica", *ibid.*, VIII, 1882, pp. 268-307 and 392-414.
57. On these therapies practised at San Lazzaro see G. SEPPILLI and G. MARAGLIANO, "Studi clinici a contributo dell'azione dei metalli, delle correnti elettriche e della magnete in alcuni casi d'anestesia", *ibid.*, IV, 1878, pp. ...
58. A. TAMBURINI and G. SEPPILLI, op. cit., p. 262.
59. Also maintained by F. DE SARLO and C. BERNARDINI, "Ricerche sulla circolazione cerebrale durante l'ipnosi", Riv. sper. fren., XVII, 1891, pp. 346-56.
60. A. TAMBURINI and G. SEPPILLI, op. cit., p. 275.
61. Cf. G. SALVIOLI, "Alcune ricerche sul così detto sonno magnetico", Archivio di psichiatria, II, 1881, pp. 414 ff., and A. TAMBURINI and G. SEPPILLI, op. cit., pp. 305-307. For an illustrated description of the instruments mentioned here and other ones typical for physiological and psychological research, see Misura d'uomo, cit., esp. pp. 103-18 and 155-60 and 165-70. A list of the scientific measuring instru-

- ments belonging to the Reggio asylum, drawn up in 1882, is contained in V. GRASSELLI, op. cit.
62. Cf. E. SCIAMANNA and O. PARISOTTI, "Ricerche oftalmologiche sull'ipnotismo", Atti dell'Accademia medica di Roma, a. XVI, 1889, vol. IV, pp. 265 ff., and E. SCIAMANNA and TORTI, "Ricerche grafiche sull'ipnotismo", ibid., 1889; A. TAMBURINI, "Sulla natura dei fenomeni somatici nell'ipnotismo", Riv. sper. fren., XVI, 1890, pp. 170 ff. Likewise G. BORDONI-UFFREDUZZI, "I fenomeni fisiologici nel sonno", Riv. filos. scien., III, 1883-84, pp. 76-95, 202-17, 441-53. By E. SCIAMANNA, see also "Ipnotismo e spiritismo", La Nuova Antologia, s. 3, XXXVI, 1891, pp. 84 ff.
63. Cf. A. TAMBURINI and G. SEPPILLI, "Contribuzione allo studio sperimentale dell'ipnotismo nelle isteriche", Riv. sper. fren., VIII, 1882, pp. 99-106.
64. G. SEPPILLI, "I fenomeni di suggestione nel sonno ipnotico nella veglia. Rassegna", ibid., XI, 1885, pp. 325-50, cit. p. 325; and earlier, IDEM, "Delle nuove ricerche sull'ipnotismo", ibid., VIII, 1882, pp. 123-36.
65. Cf. E. MORSELLI, "Fisiopsicologia dell'ipnotismo modificazioni fondamentali del processo psichico negli stati ipnotici", Riv. di filos. scient., V, 1886, pp. 449-78.
66. See L. BIANCHI and G. SOMMER, "La polarizzazione psichica nella fase sonnambolica dell'ipnotismo", Archivio di psichiatria, VII, 1886, pp. 386 ff.
67. See C. LOMBROSO, Ricerche sui fenomeni, cit., pp. 29-30 and ff., which repeated part of his article "Studi sull'ipnotismo. Comunicazioni preventive", Archivio di psichiatria, VII, 1886, pp. 257-81. On the experiments with writing to which he subjected the same hypnotic subject at every personality change requested, Lombroso was to return in L'uomo delinquente, which I cite here from the fifth edition, Bocca, Turin, 1896, 4 vols., I, p. 564, with plates xxiv-xxv; in the same work he also dealt with "criminal hypnotic suggestions", I, pp. 407 ff., and II, 517, 464 ff., as well as with moral hypnotic suggestion in the rehabilitation of criminals.
68. G. SEPPILLI, I fenomeni di suggestione, cit., p. 348.
69. Cf. E. DAL POZZO DI MOMBELLO, Un capitolo di psicofisiologia, Foligno 1885, reviewed in Riv. di filos. scient., V, 1886, pp. 504-508, with some distancing positions because experimental studies on hypnotism were not yet very advanced. See also IDEM, Il magnetismo animale considerato secondo le leggi della natura, Siena 1852.

70. See A. DE GIOVANNI, "Alcune risultanze terapeutiche ottenute mediante l'ipnotismo", Gazzetta Medica Italiana Prov. Ven., XXV, 1881, 43, pp. 343 ff., IDEM, "Sull'ipnotismo. Comunicazione fatta al Quarto Congresso della Società freniatria italiana tenutosi in Voghera nel settembre 1883", extr. from Archivio ital. per le malattie nervose, Milan 1884.
P. PETRAZZANI, "La suggestione nello stato ipnotico e nella veglia", Riv. sper. fren., XII, 1886, pp. 154-207.
71. Ibid., p. 155.
72. Ibid., p. 182.
73. Cf. ibid., pp. 190-91 and 178-79.
74. See E. MORSELLI, "Il magnetismo animale e la fascinazione del Donato", Gazzetta letteraria, artistica e scientifica, XVIII, 1 May 1886, pp. 37 ff., much extended in the book Il magnetismo animale, cit. (from which the quotations are taken). See the review of the volume by A. BINET in Revue Philosophique, XVII, 1887, pp. 423-26. On Morselli's important book and the debate it aroused, I draw in part on P. GUARNIERI, "Theatre and Laboratory: Medical Attitudes to Animal Magnetism in Late-Nineteenth-Century Italy", in Studies in the History of Alternative Medicine, cit., pp. 117-39.
75. E. MORSELLI, Il magnetismo animale, cit., p. vii; see the "Presentazione" and chap. 1 "Perché ho scritto".
76. See esp. "Donato l'ipnotizzatore", Gazzetta piemontese, XX, 26 April 1886, n. 115, p. 3, and DOCTOR ALFA, "Fascino", Gazzetta del popolo della domenica, IV, 1886, n. 18, pp. 1-2, an editorial in a periodical directed by physician G.B. Botero, collaborated on also by Mosso, Lombroso, Jacob Moleschott and Giulio Bizzozero. For illustrations of Donato and his hypnotic subjects see Illustrazione italiana, I, 1886, p. 463. On his shows in Milan the following month see the reports in L'Italia, 22-23 May 1886; Il Secolo, 27-28 May 1886; L'Unità cattolica, 27 May 1886; L'Osservatore cattolico, 26-28 May 1886.
77. Cf. E. MORSELLI, Il magnetismo animale, cit., pp. 246-50 on the unconscious when awake; the citation on p. 221; on psychic individuality, a theme dear to Morselli ("are there perhaps two madmen with the same identical delirium, or two hysterics with the same symptoms? ... For some years I have spent my life amidst the mad and the neuropathic [alas, poor me] and I am convinced that to mental differences there are no limits", p. 243), pp. 223-45; see also chap. VI on the psychological phenomena of magnetism, with the citation on the episodicity of consciousness on p. 101. Chap. II retraced the story of animal magnetism from Braid; chap. XI

was dedicated specifically to Donato and to his own direct experience with him.

78. Cf. *ibid.*, chap. XIII, divided into applications to theory and applications to practice; the following chapter considers the presumed dangers of animal magnetism, continuously harped on by its opponents.
79. Cf. G.G. FRANCO, "L'ipnotismo", *cit.*, (and pp. 23-4 and n. 30 above); for the critique of organicism see esp. pp. 406-17 and section 5a.
80. Cf. C. LOMBROSO, "Sulle proibizioni degli spettacoli ipnotici", Archivio di psichiatria, VII, 1886, pp. 504-505, cf. again A. MOSSO, *op. cit.*
81. F. VIZIOLI, "Relazione sull'operato del Consiglio Superiore di Sanità intorno a le esperienze di ipnotismo nei pubblici spettacoli", Giornale di neuropatologia, II, 1886, pp. 135-51, *cit.* p. 137; see also "Donato e il Consiglio Superiore di Sanità", *ibid.*, p. 134. In addition, IDEM, "Del morbo ipnotico (ipnotismo spontaneo) e delle suggestioni", *ibid.* I, 1885, pp. 5-6; IDEM, "La terapeutica suggestiva", *ibid.* II, 1886, pp. 308-39.
- As for the studies in the Turin medical clinic, appreciated by Mosso too, see B. SILVA, "Su alcuni fenomeni che si osservano durante l'ipnotismo e fuori di esso", Rivista clinica, April 1885.
82. Cf. "Lettera del prof. C. LOMBROSO all'Autore sui vantaggi dei nuovi studi ipnotici e la loro relativa certezza", in G. BELFIORE, L'ipnotismo e gli stati affini, Pierro, Naples 1897 (3rd ed., 1st ed. 1887), pp. V-X.
83. See F. DE SARLO, I sogni. Saggio psicologico, Tip. Tocco, Naples 1887, esp. pp. 9-10. Also S. DE SANCTIS, I sogni. Studi clinici e psicologici di un alienista, Turin 1899. On these very interesting questions in De Sarlo, I would refer to P. GUARNIERI, "Il morale e il normale. Sull'antideterminismo di Francesco De Sarlo", Rivista di filosofia, LXXV, 1984, pp. 251-71.
84. See A. MOSSO, "Fisiologia e patologia dello ipnotismo", *cit.*, p. 10 ff.
85. Cf. E. TANZI, "Intorno all'associazione delle idee. Appunti staccati di psicologia introspettiva", Riv. filos. scient., VII, 1888, pp. 602-609; and IDEM, "Gli allucinati", *ibid.*, VIII, 1889, pp. 274-85.
86. See E. MORSELLI and E. TANZI, "Contributo sperimentale alla fisiopsicologia dell'ipnotismo", Riv. filos. scient., VIII, 1889, pp. 705-29.

87. See E. TANZI and G. MUSSO, L'influenza della suggestione nell'ipnosi isterica, Vallardi, Milan 1887 ("Collezione italiana di letture sulla medicina", s. IV, n. 6); and IDEM, "Le variazioni termiche del capo durante le emozioni. Ricerche termo-elettriche sopra individui ipnotizzati", ibid., VII, 1888, pp. 147-60, cit. p. 149.
88. Cf. F. DE SARLO and C. BERNARDINI, "Ricerche sulla circolazione", cit., with fine photos of the hypnotic subject; the quotation is from p. 358.
89. Cf. A. TAMBURINI, "Sulla natura dei fenomeni somatici nell'ipnotismo. Comunicazione al Congresso Freniatico di Novara, 13 settembre 1889", Riv. sper. fren., XVI, 1890.
90. See Premier Congrès international de l'hypnotisme expérimental et thérapeutique, ed. by E. Bérillon, Doin, Paris 1890; and H.F. ELLENBERGER, op. cit., pp. 879-82, the report of the congress followed, in October, by the international congress on magnetism where once again the figure of Mesmer was hailed.
91. See A. TAMBURINI, "Sulla natura", cit., p. 166; cf. E. MORSELLI and E. TANZI, "Contributo sperimentale", cit., p. 729. The reference in parenthesis is to G. SEPPILLI, "La terapeutica suggestiva nelle malattie mentali", Archivio ital. per le malattie nervose, 1890, pp. 231-60.
92. See F. DE SARLO, "Sull'Inconsciente (ipnotismo, spiritismo, letture del pensiero). Rassegna critica", Riv. sper. fren., XVI, 1890, pp. 352-79.



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