

A Cure for the Soul:

Mesmerism, Psychical Research, and Psychoanalysis in the
Life and Work of

Emilio Servadio (1904-1995)

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Table of Contents

- Introduction, 7.
- Chapter 1: Eros and Thanatos the Life and Work of Emilio Servadio, 17.
- Chapter 2: The Hidden World of an Italian Psychoanalyst: Hypnotism, Spiritualism, and Psychical Research in the Life and Work of Emilio Servadio, 127.
- Conclusions, 204.
- Bibliography, 214.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude towards all people who made this work possible: First of all, I would like to thank Hans Thomas Hakl, who first encouraged me to develop my ideas and line of research for a proper project on Emilio Servadio.

Then Massimo Biondi, whose continual support, precious advice, and knowledge of the history of parapsychology were crucial for the elaboration of some crucial points of this dissertation.

To Marco Pasi, who made the possibility of staying and collaborating at the University of Amsterdam during my doctoral program a reality.

Then I would like to thank Bozzano-De Boni Foundation in Bologna and its president Paola Giovetti, Associazione Italiana Scientifica di Metapsichica, Centro di Studi Parapsicologici in Bologna and their most prominent members, Nerio Bonvicini and Bruno Severi, Institut für Grenzgebiete der Psychologie und Psychohygiene and member of its directory board Eberhard Bauer, Associazione Italiana di Psicologia and among their members and referents Dr. Simona Argentieri and Dr. Jacqueline Amati Meheler, Mario Novaro Foundation in Genoa, Cineteca Nazionale and Fondazione Centro Sperimentale in Rome, Fondazione Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea in Milan, Library of Congress in Washington, Senate House Library in London, Archivio dell'Enciclopedia Italiana in Rome, Emilio Servadio Archives in Rome and its director Bianca Maria Puma, the journal *Psicoterapia e Science Umane* and their directors Paolo Migone and Marianna Bolko, Gianfranco De Turris, Alessandro Giuli, and Giorgio Grimaldi for providing me with fundamental materials, help, and support for the dissertation.

A special thanks goes to Carlos S. Alvarado, Leslie Price, Andreas Sommer, and Renaud Evrard, whose work, advice, and exchanges helped me in addressing my research and consolidating the use of sources and the theoretical framework.

Then I would like to thank Adelina Talamonti and Davide Ermacora, whose research suggestions on the contact and relationship between Servadio and Ernesto De Martino were crucial.

Thanks to Diego Coelli, whose support, kindness, and extensive knowledge on the topic of normal and paranormal dreams influenced much of my elaboration on altered states of consciousness in Servadio.

Thanks to Roberto Labanti, who provided me with crucial contributions of Servadio on U.F.O.s and the 1970s mediatic debate on parapsychology in Italy.

Last, but not least, I owe a lot to my beloved colleagues, supporters, and friends, Jafe Arnold and Tommy Cowan, who, besides encouraging and motivating me in hard times, helped me with the copyedit and production of this manuscript.

Introduction

When Swiss psychiatrist Henri F. Ellenberger published his two-volume masterpiece *The Discovery of the Unconscious* (1970),¹ along with the names of Enrico ‘Henry’ Morselli, Cesare Lombroso, and Paolo Mantegazza, another Italian exponent of the psychiatric, psychological, psychoanalytical current is mentioned in the work, Emilio Servadio. More specifically, the name of the Italian psychoanalyst is connected to the article “Freud's Occult Fascination” that Servadio published in the journal *Tomorrow*.² The year of publication was 1958, and several events and publications characterized a transitional phase in the life of Servadio: he took part to the sixth international conference organized by the Parapsychology Foundation in New York, whose main theme was “Parapsychology and Psychedelics”;³ a series of the photos, which were taken during an anthropological expedition to Lucania in which Servadio took part, were gathered for an exhibition which took place first in Perugia, next in Rome;⁴ Servadio published an article, where he provided the Italian reader with an overview of the historical circumstances and facts linked to the release of the Wolfenden report, whose main point was the decriminalization of homosexuality in Great Britain;⁵ last but not the least fact worthy to be considered was the disappearance in the same year of Welsh neurologist and psychoanalyst Ernest Jones.⁶

An additional factor that Servadio couldn't ignore was that Jones was the main biographer of the father of the psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud. Furthermore, Servadio was also well aware of the fact that Jones minimized Freud's interest in *occult* phenomena in his

¹ Henri F. Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious. The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry* (New York: Basic Books, 1970).

² Emilio Servadio, “Freud's Occult Fascination,” *Tomorrow: The World's First International Digest of Psychological Research and Occult Studies* 9, n. 1 (1958): 9-16.

³ Cfr. *Proceedings of Two Conferences on Parapsychology and Pharmacology* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1961).

⁴ Tullio Seppilli, Ando Gilardi, “Magia e medicina popolare in Lucania,” *Erreffe - La Ricerca Folklorica* 3, n. 8 (October 1983): 129-36.

⁵ Emilio Servadio, “Non è bastata la condanna di Oscar Wilde per frenare il malcostume in Inghilterra. È stato presentato un rapporto alla Camera dei Comuni, compilato da una Commissione composta di deputati, ecclesiastici, donne, medici e giuristi, per accertare il male, prevenirlo, curarlo e, se occorre, punirlo,” *Il Tempo*, January 28, 1959, 3-5.

⁶ Servadio, “Ernest Jones (1879–1958),” *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 4, n. 2 (1958):79-81.

late life and production.⁷ Notwithstanding the reconstruction of Jones' opposition to Freud's adherence to psychical research,⁸ Servadio offered in his article an in-depth analysis of Freud's approach to the world of the paranormal. Two main themes conveyed this interest and involvement of the founder of the psychoanalytic discipline: hypnosis and telepathy. These two topics represented, mostly for some of Freud's disciples, a crucial intersection between psychoanalysis and parapsychology.

Let me go back to Ellenberger's reference to Servadio. According to the historical situation at the end of the 1950's, the Italian psychoanalyst excelled, to say the least, in three fields of scientific and humanistic knowledge: psychoanalysis, sexology, and parapsychology. This latter, in Italy and in most of Europe, was characterized by the shift from 'Metapsychics' to 'Parapsychology' following the first international conference of Parapsychology Foundation in 1953.⁹ Servadio did not only take part in several conferences organized all over the world, but, as mentioned above, took part in and organized different kinds of activities including ethnological/anthropological explorations (which were entirely funded by Parapsychology Foundation). In the sexological field, he considered homosexual behavior from different perspectives, from social implications and decriminalization to its conception as deviancy within a psychoanalytical context. A prominent exponent of a peculiar approach to homosexuality, who heavily influenced Servadio and his production, was Austrian born American psychoanalyst Edmund Bergler. Concerning the psychoanalytical front, by 1958 Servadio already participated in seven congresses of the International Psychoanalytic Association and presented four papers whose subjects varied from the reality of telepathic phenomena¹⁰ between analysand and analyst to the interpretation of the castration complex linked to figure of diviner¹¹ in different religious and anthropological contexts.

⁷ Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, vol. III (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1957), 379ff.

⁸ Servadio, "Freud's Occult Fascination," 11-2.

⁹ See *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Parapsychological Studies* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1955).

¹⁰ Servadio, "Psychoanalyse und Telepathie," *Imago – Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Psychologie ihre Grenzgebiete und Anwendungen* 21, n. 4 (1935): 489-97.

¹¹ Servadio, "Magic and the Castration-Complex," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 39, n. 1 (1958): 147-50.

Servadio's life and literary production reflect a key insight of Western culture. More exactly, by considering all activities of the Italian psychoanalyst in the parapsychological, sexological, and psychoanalytical fields, two crucial themes emerge, namely the notion of 'cure' and that of 'power.' Related to the former theme, most of those familiar with psychoanalysis or any form of psychotherapy will surely know the controversies linked to the conception of healing a patient. However, the notion of 'cure' was developed within a philosophical, cultural, and scientific context of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which were embedded in alternative approaches to the exploration of the body, soul, and Spirit of the individual. To be more exact, the discovery of the self in all its manifestations entailed, in the modern era, a lengthy research of its concealed sphere, namely the *unconscious* one. This latter, as this work will delineate, is not entirely conceived by Freud himself, but has its roots in the Mesmeric practice and phenomena of the eighteenth century as well as in the later development of the doctrine of Franz Anton Mesmer. This discovery of the unconscious, which will mostly be treated in the second chapter of this dissertation, is analyzed on the basis of a specific theoretical framework, but, above all, its diegesis is linked to the manifestation of *power*. The conception of this latter is herein considered to essentially consist of the expression/exertion of the influence of one person on another. This kratophanic manifestation is derived, in turn, from the manifestation of the sacred, formulated by Romanian scholar Mircea Eliade. Thus, from an initial dichotomic relationship between kratophany (manifestation of the power) and hierophany (manifestation of the sacred), the former character prevailed and characterized most of the narrations of the West. Given this perspective, the case of Emilio Servadio and his personal contribution to several fields of humanistic and scientific knowledge is embedded in a *kratophanic* storytelling.

Thus, this dissertation introduces two main thematic poles: that one related to the formulation, conception, and practice of 'cure,' and that related to the expression, research, and application of 'power.' Although both chapters are pervaded by these two leitmotifs, devoted to offer a particular definition and dimension of cure as an example of kratophanic storytelling, the first chapter mainly consists of the investigation of some fields devoted to a therapeutic dimension concerning the individual, while the second is entirely devoted to the analysis of a manifestation and legitimization of some *Western* concepts through the

dynamic of power. In other words, the first part of the dissertation focuses on the life and work of Emilio Servadio, and all three fields previously mentioned, to which Servadio contributed, are interconnected because of one aspect: the inner dimension of the individual.

Despite the specialistic attitude and expertise dedicated to each topic, the Italian psychoanalyst effectively considered the totality of the human being on different perspectives and levels.¹² According to a late vision, which was developed by Servadio after several events' participation and fieldwork in different disciplines, the dynamic which characterized the manifestations of the self within the individual is the same across different situations. Therefore, the analysis of the female orgasm has something in common with the experiments with psychedelics not only because of their possible psychoanalytical and social interpretations, but because the expression of the self was equivalent in both cases. More exactly, certain factors involved in the realization of the sexual climax were – according to Servadio -- the same which granted the individual access to another dimension of his psychic life.¹³ Going back to the reference to Servadio introduced at the beginning, this sexual feature of the exploration of the self and the connection with an 'unknown' sphere of the inner dimension surely found some resonance in Freud's late production.¹⁴ However, Freud was the 'ultimate' exponent in a long tradition of scientists who proposed and legitimized the notion of the *unconscious*.

Besides this specific content of the second chapter, the first part of the dissertation aims to show that this virtual connection between the exploration of sex and 'abnormal ways' to explore the *Self* was part of the broader context and audience in the twentieth century. Each passage of Servadio's life shows some historical and theoretical connections between sexology, psychoanalysis, and parapsychology. It is not by chance that the works of characters like Piero Cassoli, Eric J. Dingwall, Sándor Ferenczi, Albert Ellis (even though he showed a hostile attitude towards the whole issue of the connection between

¹² See Servadio, "Parapsychology and the 'ultimate reality', *The Philosophy of Parapsychology. Proceedings of an international conference held in Copenhagen, Denmark, August 25-27, 1976*, ed. Allan Angoff, Betty Shapin (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1977), 284-92

¹³ Servadio, "Sesso e paranormale," *Playmen* 12 (July 1978): 27-9.

¹⁴ See Servadio, "Freud's Occult Fascination."

psychoanalysis and parapsychology),¹⁵ Géza Roheim, Michael Balint, Jan Ehrenwald, István Hollós, Nandor Fodor and George Devereux are introduced in both chapters. Moreover, the range of topics and activities Servadio managed to get involved in show a peculiar aspect of this interconnection between these different fields, namely that, historically speaking, the idea of psychodynamic *force* which was sexually connotative, and able to influence two subjects at a distance, was widely shared. In addition to that, another crucial aspect was debated at length: the role of creativity in the connection between sexual factor and extrasensory perception phenomena.¹⁶

Going back to the main theme of the first section, the 'cure,' besides the sexual characterization (or dynamic) of specific abnormal phenomena, another topic which emerges from the wide range of Servadio's interests is research on unorthodox healing. Through his attendance at the First Conference of Parapsychology Foundation in Utrecht (1953), Servadio was among the supporters for creating a research group on healers and unorthodox cases of healing.¹⁷ This wasn't only a recurrent topic in Servadio's production,¹⁸ but was a crucial theme of research for a brand new generation of parapsychologists in Italy in the 1950's: Centro Studi Parapsicologici in Bologna, thanks to the cooperation between Piero Cassoli, his wife Brunilde, and among others Servadio, started an Italian group for the research on 'peasant healers' and unorthodox healings.¹⁹ Cassoli himself (and later on Paola Giovetti,²⁰ director of Bozzano-De Boni Foundation) dedicated a volume to the topic, which represented a cornerstone for the figure of the healer for most parapsychologists in Italy, including Servadio.²¹

One of the main reasons Cassoli's approach to this dimension of healing became a reference has been shown by Servadio in a book review: the Italian psychoanalyst stresses

¹⁵ Albert Ellis, "Reanalysis of an Alleged Telepathic Dream," in *Psychoanalysis and the Occult*, ed. George Devereux (New York: International Universities Press, 1953), 363-72.

¹⁶ See Servadio, "Preconscious Process, Esp, and Creativity," In *Psi Factors in Creativity. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Le Piol, St. Paul de Vence, France, June 16-18, 1969*, edited by Allan Angoff, Betty Shapin (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1969), 141-52, Jule Eisenbud, *Paranormal foreknowledge: Problems and Perplexities* (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1982), 23, 87-91; 115-7.

¹⁷ *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Parapsychological Studies*, 132.

¹⁸ See Servadio, *Unconscious and Paranormal Factors in Healing and Recovering. The Fifteenth Frederic W.H. Myers Memorial Lecture* (London: Society for Psychical Research, 1963).

¹⁹ Brunilde Cassoli, Paola Righettini, *Un sole nascosto. Cinquant'anni di vita del Centro Studi Parapsicologici* (Rome: Phoenix, 1999), 31ff.

²⁰ Paola Giovetti, *I guaritori di campagna. Tra magia e medicina* (Rome: Mediterranee, 1984).

²¹ Cassoli, *Il guaritore* (Milan: Armenia, 1979).

the general plan of the volume in seven parts, whose first is dedicated to the figure of the healer since Late Antiquity to the modern era.²² Among the popular historical examples, Cassoli makes reference to Franz Anton Mesmer. According to the Italian sexologist (i.e. Cassoli) the formulation of the theory of the universal fluid not only represented an early form of psychotherapy, but also established a 'model' to conceive the dynamic itself of healing processes.²³ This passage implies another consideration relevant within modern scientific fields: although later developments proved that Mesmeric fluid didn't exist, the model to research and understand the effects of the "influence and impact" of healers on their patients was to be found within Mesmer's practice and thought.²⁴ Cassoli's book – along with Servadio's consideration – highlights another crucial element emerging from the meanders of history, which is that most of the participants in publishing or research connected to unorthodox healings, abnormal hypnotic phenomena, and ESP phenomena were part of the medical field. In the first chapter of the present dissertation, most of the efforts are devoted to reconstructing the role of some contributors to medical journals regarding research on the paranormal. Above all, one journal to which Servadio and Cassoli contributed, and which characterized a crucial lapse of time in the history of medical and parapsychological milieus, was *Minerva Medica*.

Last fact to be mentioned about first chapter: I pointed out at the beginning of the introduction that, in 1957, Servadio took part to an ethnological expedition in Lucania with Ernesto De Martino. The mission aimed to verify the effective paranormal skills of so-called peasant healers in that area in Southern Italy.²⁵ Besides Servadio's participation as a parapsychologist, two issues are worthy to be stressed here: Servadio's role in the organization of the expedition, and the mutual themes considered in all participant reports at the end of the journey. Not to enter in detail, the event which originated the whole ethnological/anthropological investigation in the south of Italy was the 1956 Royaumont conference organized by Parapsychology Foundation. Servadio played an active role both in the organization of the conference and of the Lucanian investigation. After the ethnological experience, Servadio pointed out in his report that, among the phenomena observed was

²² Servadio, "Il guaritore dalla storia alla scienza. Pregiudizi e ipotesi interpretative su un'arte sorprendente," *Il Tempo*, May 17, 1979, 7-8.

²³ Cassoli, *Il guaritore*, 75.

²⁴ Servadio, "Il guaritore dalla storia alla scienza," 8.

²⁵ Servadio, "Peasant Healers and the Paranormal," *Parapsychology Review* 5, n. 4 (July-August 1974): 12-5.

the conviction to harm or influence somebody at distance (by focusing on a specific thought), the prediction of the future, and, at last, the healing of the patient. Two out of three events observed rested on a specific notion of evil, whose consistency was moral, physical, and spiritual at the same time.²⁶

As I proceed towards an exploration of my second chapter, one should remember that Cassoli – along with Servadio – considers Mesmer one of the first crucial examples of healers in his book, and Ellenberger as well indicates some episodes in the life of the father of Mesmerism as a fundamental step towards the instauration of the scientific model of dynamic psychiatry.²⁷ As already stressed in the first part of the dissertation, Mesmer was an author of reference for Servadio. Since the achievement of his thesis, the future Italian psychoanalyst became one of the major contributors, in Italy, concerning the historical reconstruction of hypnagogic techniques. More specifically, Servadio acknowledged Mesmer as forerunner of the psychoanalysis along with French philosopher Charles de Villiers. Besides the peculiar historical circumstance which characterized his novel, *Le magnétiseur amoureux* (1787),²⁸ one of the crucial issues linked to the rise and fall of animal magnetism was the emergence of a sexual element in the practice of magnetism and somnambulism. As shown within the historical contextualization and reconstruction offered in the second chapter, the sexual connotation of the bond between magnetizer and somnambulist was conceived within the analysis of so-called abnormal hypnotic phenomena. These latter entailed the occurrence of ESP phenomena, as well as an unexpected ability of the mesmerized subject to diagnose diseases and psychic disturbances.²⁹

The induction of unexpected physio-sexual responses, modified states of consciousness, and mental communication phenomena (even though these latter were not directly linked to the magnetizer's will) were labeled as 'abnormal' by academic and

²⁶ Servadio, "Rapporto sulla spedizione in Lucania per lo studio dei Maghi-guaritori, promossa dalla Parapsychology Foundation," *Ricerca sui guaritori e la loro clientela*, ed. Adelina Talamonti (Lecce: Argo, 2008), 260.

²⁷ Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 53ff.

²⁸ See François Azam, "Introduction générale," *Le magnétiseur amoureux*, ed. François Azouvi (Paris: Vrin, 1978), XXIV-XXXIII.

²⁹ Adam Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud: Magnetic Sleep and the Roots of Psychological Healing* (New haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 33-4.

scientific establishments by the end of the nineteenth century. This led to the banishment of animal magnetism and its practice from legitimated fields. The contextualization of Mesmerist, hypnotic, and Spiritualist currents in the second chapter is part of the transversal process which unified on the same level the analysis of Servadio's production with a specific theoretical framework. This latter is characterized by the definition of the field of research on paranormality and pseudoscience by French scholar Bertand Méheust, and history of religions scholar Jeffrey Kripal. Both authors focus on the historical conception and revisionism linked to the research on paranormality, in addition to this latter's reception in the modern era. The application of Kripal's conception of 'impossibilities'³⁰ jointed to Méheust's operation of deconstruction of modern cultural models leads one to consider Mesmer and his heirs within the Western scientific context. The purpose of providing the reader with this peculiar perspective is not to subvert the ordinary conception of a knowledge system based on "trials and errors," but rather to offer an interpretation of history where certain previous failed attempts to establish some 'scientific truths' become worthy of consideration.

In the group of historical facts and authors removed from normative conceptions of 'science,' Servadio included Mesmer and Villiers.³¹ Moreover, Servadio – as Ellenberger officially attests – started first with his thesis, then in the historical part of his first major work, *La ricerca psichica* (1930)³² traced a series of steps which connected Mesmer to Freud.³³ Servadio's focus on hypnosis within his thesis, as well as in most of his production of the 1920's, implied a series of observations connected to the evolutionary course of animal magnetism towards the birth of the psychoanalysis.³⁴ Still related to this issue, we must connect all contributions the Italian psychoanalyst dedicated to relationship of Freud with hypnagogic techniques and states.³⁵

The attitude of the father of psychoanalysis towards hypnosis was quite reluctant, mainly because of two reasons: his lack of success in practicing it regularly; the emergence

³⁰ Kripal, *Authors of the Impossible*, 201-2.

³¹ Servadio, "Freud «anticipato» da un romanziere Il magnetismo amoroso in un libro di Charles de Villiers," // *Tempo*, October 7, 1978, 2-5

³² Servadio, *La ricerca psichica* (Rome: Cremonese, 1930).

³³ Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 1-18.

³⁴ Servadio, "La suggestione «a termine»," *Luce e Ombra* 23, n. 3-4 (March-April 1923): 99

³⁵ Servadio, "Freud e l'ipnosi," *Rassegna di Ipnosi e Medicina Psicosomatica* 6, n. 13: 3843-50.

of a sexual factor in the relationship between analyst and analysand.³⁶ The sexual connotation which characterized both the *rapport* between magnetizer and somnambulist, and that between psychoanalyst and patient, was a preliminary condition to approach a thematic intersection which characterized the whole history of Mesmerism and hypnotism. According to Servadio – as well as many other scholars of the history of Psychological Research – the hypnotic techniques and abnormal phenomena which occurred during states of artificial sleep were considered the opening to the world of the paranormal. Servadio's reconstruction and interest in the connection between parapsychology and psychoanalysis represents the interests at that time of many exponents of the scientific community. To be precise, not only were the members of the Italian Metapsychical Society devoted to understanding the role of hypnagogic techniques and related ESP phenomena, but the psychoanalytical environment as well was pervaded by curiosity and interest towards the topic. Further proof of that is offered in both chapters of the dissertation, where Italian psychoanalysts were personally involved in exploring the reality of certain 'anomalies' with psychoanalytical sessions.

In addition to the efforts of defining the Mesmeric phenomenon, Servadio was committed to the definition of another current which also characterized the beginning of Psychological Research: Spiritualism. Besides his personal experience with Spiritualist milieus connected to publishing house *Luce e Ombra*,³⁷ thanks to his experience at Treccani Institute the Italian psychoanalyst had the opportunity to demarcate substantial features of Spiritualism present within Psychological Research. The theoretical demarcation between these two currents implied a series of observations on the nature of the *Spirit* and Soul which were considered on the philosophical level by both psychoanalysis and philosophy as well. Part of this latter context was Italian philosopher and supervisor of sections of the *Italian Encyclopaedia*, Giovanni Gentile. Not to enter into detail on the historical reconstruction of Servadio's collaboration in the *Italian Encyclopaedia* project – which is introduced and analysed in the first chapter – the Italian psychoanalyst channeled through the production of entries his purpose to clarify some crucial issues linked to the study of the irrational dimension of

³⁶ Servadio, "Freud e l'ipnosi," 3843.

³⁷ Silvio Ravaladini, "Emilio Servadio e «Luce e Ombra»,," *Luce e Ombra* 95, n. 1 (March 1995): 1-6.

humanity. Besides the efforts devoted to the definition of the Freudian discipline,³⁸ the Gordian knot, which luckily did not raise any objection from editors or Gentile, lay in the distinction between Spiritualism and 'spiritistic hypotheses.'³⁹ In other words, most of the meta/psychical world in the twentieth century was wondering whether the occurrence of abnormal phenomena was linked to a natural cause or to the intervention of an external entity or 'spirit.'

This latter point leads directly to the focus of the second chapter: given initial theoretical framework assessed through the work of Kripal and Méheust, the transition from Mesmer to Freud should be conceived as an important and unique segment in the history of the *Spirit*. In the evolutionary course which developed different conceptions of self, which underpinned the application of hypnotic techniques, a peculiar episode draws attention: the advent of Spiritualism. More specifically, the propagation of spiritualist séances implied a crucial transition and 'alternative ending' of the era of Mesmerism. The body of the medium became pervaded by the same forces that the corporal vessel of the somnambulist tended to host and manifest. By applying the theoretical framework linked to the history of impossibilities previously mentioned, it is possible to discern in this transition from body to body the manifestation of a specific idea, that of *power*. More specifically, the manifestation of power (or kratophany) reveals itself to be the main feature of this narration of the Spirit. The deconstruction akin to poststructuralist visions of history introduced by Méheust implies the fact that all failed attempts conceived within scientific environments, as well all previous formulations of self proposed before the advent of Freud, were absorbed and molded into an acceptable model. Yet, this latter is embedded in the same kratophanic narration.

In other words, after the adoption of the psychoanalytical model, the paranormal powers of the somnambulist, medium, or patient, (which are the irrational expression of the soul), are legitimized, identified, and located in the same body that is the source and expression of the Spirit. The life and work of Emilio Servadio represents the discovery and

³⁸ Emilio Servadio, Edoardo Weiss, "Psicoanalisi," In *L'Enciclopedia Italiana*, Appendix II, Vol. II (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1949), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/psicoanalisi_res-b1e5d778-87e6-11dc-8e9d-0016357eee51_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.

³⁹ Servadio, "Spiritismo." In *L'Enciclopedia Italiana*, Vol. XXXI (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1936), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/spiritismo_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.

awareness of the investigation of soul that is not limited to the rational language of the Spirit: the world of a psychoanalyst populated by *strange* forces.

Chapter 1: Eros and Thanatos

The Life and Work of Emilio Servadio

Emilio Servadio was born on August 14, in Sestri Ponente (nowadays an industrial suburb of Genoa, Italy), in 1904.⁴⁰ His father, Cesare Servadio (1869-?), was the vice-director of the Navigazione Generale Italiana⁴¹ shipping company; his mother, Faustina Finzi (1878-

⁴⁰ A first selection of Servadio's psychoanalytic writings is included in Alexander Grinstein, *The index of Psychoanalytic Writings*, Vol. IV (New York: International University Press, 1958), 1821-4; a general overview of Servadio's life and work is offered by his pupil, Eugenio Gaddini (1916-1985) in a contribution followed by a bibliographical list of Servadio's works, see Eugenio Gaddini, "I settanta di Emilio Servadio," *Rivista Italiana di Psicoanalisi* 20, n. 1 (January-December 1974): 5-13 and Gaddini, "Bibliografia essenziale degli scritti di Emilio Servadio," *Rivista Italiana di Psicoanalisi* 20, n. 1 (January-December 1974): 68-72; another celebratory contribution is offered by the Dutch parapsychologist and founder of the Dutch Society for Parapsychology, George Zorab (1898-1990), George Zorab, "A Tribute to Emilio Servadio on his Seventieth Birthday," *Parapsychology Review* 5, n. 4 (July-August 1974): 5-11; During an interview with the Italian journalist Salvatore Taverna, besides biographical elements, Servadio's interest and experience with psychedelics and altered states of consciousness emerges - see Salvatore Taverna, "A colloquio con Emilio Servadio," *Giornale Storico di Psicologia Dinamica* 1, n. 2 (June 1977): 388-90; the interview with the 'science writer' Pierangelo Garzia introduces for the first time Servadio's active participation in parapsychological international initiatives, see Pierangelo Garzia, "Intervista con Emilio Servadio," *Luce e Ombra* 80, n. 1 (January-March 1980): 1-26. Another significant contribution to reconstructing the Italian psychoanalyst's life is to be found in the article devoted to Servadio in Alberto Stabile, *I buoni maestri: Chi sono, che cosa ci hanno insegnato, sedici protagonisti della nostra cultura* (Milan: Mondadori, 1988), 207-31. One of the most significant articles on Servadio's parapsychological activity which was published posthumously includes Giuseppe Perfetto, "Parapsicologia psicoanalitica: l'opera di Emilio Servadio," *Quaderni di Parapsicologia* 26, n. 2 (October 1995): 54-79; Carlos Alvarado, "Emilio Servadio at Ninety: A Tribute," *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* 60, n. 837 (October 1994): 122-8; Massimo Biondi, "I tre volti parapsicologici di Emilio Servadio," *The Missing Links - Il presente e il passato della parapsicologia e delle aree connesse* 1, n. 2 (March 2010): 30-5; among the obituaries which also introduce some specific biographical elements, see Graziella Magherini, "Servadio: Un profilo intellettuale," *Inventario - Rivista Quadrimestrale di Critica e Letteratura* 3, n. 3 (July-September 1995): 131-140, Arnaldo Novelletto, "Emilio Servadio," *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 41, n. 1 (January-March 1995): 171-9; Rosemarie Pilkington, "Emilio Servadio - Interview, Rome, August 24, 1995," in *Men and Women of Parapsychology Personal Reflections*, Volume I, ed. Rosemarie Pilkington (San Antonio; New York: Anomalist Books, 2010), 90-7. Among the major works, monographic issues, most recent unpublished studies, and media reporting information on Servadio's life, I include: the volume result of the interview between Servadio and Giovanni Errera, *Emilio Servadio - Dall'ipnosi alla psicoanalisi* (Florence: Nardini, 1990); the special issue of the journal (dedicated to Servadio) of the Genoa-based foundation of Mario Novaro, *La Riviera Ligure* 15, n. 45 (September-December 2004); the MA dissertations of Silvana Cannoni, "Emilio Servadio - La cultura di uno psicanalista" (MA diss., Università degli Studi di Firenze, 2000) and Diego Coelli, "Aspetti della vita e dell'opera di Emilio Servadio" (MA diss., Università degli Studi di Urbino "Carlo Bo", 2004). For the biography of the Italian psychoanalyst posted on the website (this latter launched in 2004, modified in 2007) of Emilio Servadio's archives in Rome, see Biancamaria Puma, "Biografia," Emilio Servadio, last modified 2007, <http://www.emilioservadio.it>. Lastly, the documentary directed by Giovanna Gagliardo (dir. by), "I padri della psicoanalisi in Italia: Emilio Servadio - Passi della memoria" (Rome: Istituto Luce; Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1985).

⁴¹ Cfr. Ministero delle Finanze, *Bollettino ufficiale della legislazione finanziaria e della cassa depositi e prestiti, del debito pubblico, delle pensioni di guerra, della ragioneria generale dello stato, del tesoro, dell'ufficio del contenzioso* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1932), 1006; "New Mediterranean Liner Inspected," *The Nautical Magazine*, July 1, 1922, 329, Navigazione Generale Italiana shipping company was founded in 1881 by

1948), was a member of one of the wealthiest families involved in the jewelry business.⁴²

Emilio was the eldest of three sons, namely Mario (1905-?) and Letizia (1910-?).⁴³

Information on Emilio's first education is scarce; however it is well attested that he studied piano, violin, and musical composition for several years.⁴⁴ In 1917, when he was 13, Emilio spent a period in Florence with his mother and sister, while his brother was sent to a boarding school because of the latter's temper.⁴⁵ Although his parents were not orthodox Jews,⁴⁶ Emilio studied Hebrew under the guidance of David Prato (1882-1951) who later served as Chief Rabbi of Rome in the '1930s.⁴⁷ Servadio composed and dedicated a prelude

the merger of Società in accomandita Piroscafi Postali-Ignazio & Vincenzo Florio of Palermo and Raffaele Rubattino of Genoa. From 1881-1932, N.G.I. served seven sea lanes between Genoa and Palermo, the USA, Canada, Mediterranean and Black Sea ports, India, the Far East and South America. N.G.I. later merged with the Turin-based and Trieste-based shipping companies, Lloyd Sabauda and Cosulich line, into Italian Line, in 1932.

⁴² Faustina's father was Giuseppe Filippo Yosef Haim Finzi (1832-1908). The latter was one of the most prominent exponents of the Jewish intelligentsia in Florence at the end of the eighteenth century. The Jewish families of Finzi, De Angelis, Neppi Modona, and Treves played a major role in the cultural and social environment in Florence between the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries; about the history, and social and cultural influence of certain Jewish families in Florence, see Massimo Longo Adorno, *Gli ebrei fiorentini dall'emancipazione alla Shoà* (Florence: Giuntina, 2003); for a specific reference to Finzi family, see Michele Luzzati, Cristina Galasso (ed.), *Donne nella storia degli ebrei d'Italia: Atti del IX Convegno internazionale "Italia Judaica"* (Florence, Giuntina, 2007), 113. Among the figures whose commitment in the social field is self-evident, I include the lawyer of Jewish origins Guido De Angelis (1887-1971); see Luzzati & Galasso, *Donne nella storia degli ebrei d'Italia*, 450; Adorno, *Gli ebrei fiorentini dall'emancipazione alla Shoà*, 105-6. The latter married one of the six daughters of Giuseppe Finzi, Evelina Finzi (De Angelis, as married name, 1894-1981?) Evelina and Letizia had another four sisters: the eldest one, Luisa Finzi (1874-1944), Adriana Finzi (1876-1962), Costanza Finzi (1876-1965), and Faustina's twin sister, Noemi Finzi (1878-1960), see Lionella Viterbo (ed.), *La comunità ebraica di Firenze nel censimento del 1841* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia della Letteratura, 2004), 66.

⁴³ I take the opportunity to express my gratitude towards the staff of Centro di Documentazione Ebraica (Milan) for providing me with files on Letizia and Mario Servadio, as well as to Lionella Viterbo Neppi Modona, Lia De Angelis Cohen, and Biancamaria Puma whose personal communications helped me in the historical contextualization of the brother and sister of Emilio Servadio.

⁴⁴ Puma, "L'impegno e la passione," 8; Puma, "Biografia".

⁴⁵ Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 14.

⁴⁶ Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 13-4.

⁴⁷ Prato (who was native of Livorno) moved to Florence in 1903, where he was hired as *chazzan* (i.e. a Jewish precentor trained in vocal arts) at the Great Synagogue. While in Florence, Prato enrolled in the Collegio Rabbinico Italiano (Italian College Rabbinical College) to complete his studies and become a Rabbi. In 1910 he also obtained his degree in Philosophy, while he received his degree in Rabbinical studies, namely *chacham ha shalem* (literally, 'the complete sage', in this case the term corresponded to the academic degree of 'Master of Rabbinic Studies') in 1926. See Angelo M. Piattelli, "David Prato, una vita per l'ebraismo," *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel* 79, n. 1/3 (January-December 2013): 118-20; about Prato's singing and musical skills see David Prato, *Canti liturgici Sefarditi* (Rome: Adei-Wizo-Roma, 1980), accessed on January 22, 2019, <http://www.sephardicmusic.org/artists/Prato,David/Prato,David.htm>.

to Prato, who, in turn, made it possible to have the musical piece played at the Great Synagogue in Florence.⁴⁸

Emilio enthusiastically studied Hebrew and attended together with his aunts and mom the temple mostly because for the “sake of rituals”,⁴⁹ but he later (almost) completely stopped practicing or attending any form of Jewish religious practices and rituals.

During this year in Florence, Servadio was attending the fourth year of gymnasium (at the time, this corresponded to the fourth year of elementary school).⁵⁰ Once he finished elementary school,⁵¹ Servadio was enrolled in the Liceo Classico Statale Andrea D’Oria in Genoa.⁵² Here, Emilio kept nurturing his musical education⁵³ and enthusiastically joined the high school orchestra, playing the violin,⁵⁴ and, on the occasion of his graduation, produced one of his first poems, *Commiato* (‘Farewells’).⁵⁵

While pursuing his formal and musical education, Emilio took an interest in another field of knowledge. When he was thirteen, he read *The Great Initiates*⁵⁶ by the French philosopher and Theosophist (even though he later joined the Anthroposophical Society),

⁴⁸ Puma, “Biografia;” Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 13.

⁴⁹ Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 14.

⁵⁰ Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 13; Coelli, “Aspetti della vita e dell’opera di Emilio Servadio,” 10.

⁵¹ Until the advent of the Gentile reform (1923), the Italian educational system abided by the structure set forth by Legge Casati, Royal Decree of Kingdom of Sardinia on November 13th, 1859 see *Codice dell’istruzione secondaria, classica e tecnica e della primaria e normale. Raccolta delle Leggi, Regolamenti, Istruzioni ed altri provvedimenti emanati in base alla legge 13 Novembre 1859 con note spiegate e raffronti con le leggi preesistenti. Approvato dal Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* (Turin: Tipografia Scolastica di Sebastiano Franco e Figli, 1861).

⁵² Puma, “L’impegno e la passione,” 8-9; Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 12-13.

⁵³ The German composer, Richard Wagner (1813-1883) represented a crucial inspiration in the education and production of Servadio. Servadio used to regularly attend the annual Bayreuther Festspiele, launched by Wagner himself. Servadio also contributed to the connection between the work of German Opera director and eroticism. See Servadio, “Wagner e l’erotismo,” *Playmen* 5, n. 11 (November 1971): 23-5; Servadio, “Wagner, il sesso e l’amore,” *Playmen* 9, n. 11 (November 1975): 23-5; The Italian psychoanalyst didn’t miss to offer alchemical or ‘parapsychological’ interpretations of Wagner’s work see Servadio, “L’oro alchemico nell’opera di Wagner. A Bayreuth il Centenario dell’«Anello del Nibelungo»,” *Il Tempo*, August 24, 1975, 3-6; Servadio, “Wagner parapsicologo? L’ «Olandese volante» a Bayreuth,” *Il Tempo*, August 13, 1978, 3-7.

⁵⁴ Associazione degli ex Allievi del Liceo Classico «Andrea D’Oria» (ed.), *Il “vecchio” D’Oria – Storie di ieri e di oggi* (Genoa: Editrice Liguria, 1991), 32-3.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Gaddini, “I settanta di Emilio Servadio,” 9; Garzia, “Intervista con Emilio Servadio,” 2.

Edouard Schuré (1841-1929).⁵⁷ This text had a great impact and influence on Emilio and his later production and involvement with initiatory milieus in Italy and India.

At an unspecified time following his graduation in 1922, Emilio visited New York and reported his impressions in the Italian newspaper, *Il Lavoro*.⁵⁸ The background underlying the publication of his first article involves Servadio's personal acquaintance with the editor-in-chief of the Italian newspaper, Giovanni Ansaldo (1895-1969).⁵⁹ It is unknown where Servadio managed to meet for the first time Ansaldo. However, it is known that he used to regularly attend the *Società di Letture e Conversazioni Scientifiche* in Genoa. The latter was a prestigious cultural circle, where prominent exponents of the local intelligentsia used to meet and organize events.⁶⁰ In addition to making the acquaintance of the renowned poet, Eugenio Montale (1896-1981),⁶¹ Servadio had the opportunity to come across the issues of

⁵⁷ About Schuré's life see, Jean-Pierre Laurant, "Schuré Edouard" in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, ed. Wouter J. Hanegraaff, Antoine Faivre, Roelof van den Broek, and Jean-Pierre Brach (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006), 1045; about Schuré's friendship with the founder of Anthroposophical movement, Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925), see Helmut Zander, *Anthroposophie in Deutschland: Theosophische Weltanschauung und gesellschaftliche Praxis 1884–1945*, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2007), 2: 1020–4; given the fact that part of Servadio's original books collection is split between Archivio Servadio (Rome), Associazione Italiana di Psicanalisi (Rome), and Communal Library Stelio Crise (Trieste), I verified the presence of the following titles in the part of the collection located in Trieste, Edouard Schuré, *Les grands inités: esquisse de l'histoire secrète des religions* (Paris: Perrin, 1917); Edouard Schuré, *Histoire du drame musical* (Paris: Perrin, 1922); Edouard Schuré (ed.), *L'iniziazione dei Rosacroce - Lineamenti di esoterismo cristiano: diciotto conferenze tenute a Parigi nel 1906 da Rudolf Steiner liberamente redatte da E. Schure* (Rome: Tilopa, 1979).

⁵⁸ Unfortunately, I found no trace of this article in the collection linked to Servadio's journalistic production located at Fondazione Mario Novaro, Genova.

⁵⁹ Ansaldo was a close friend and colleague of the radical liberal journalist (influenced by Antonio Gramsci's ideas) Pietro Gobetti (1901-1926). In the twenties, Gobetti founded three journals *Energie Nuove* (1918-1920), *Il Baretto* (1924-1928), and *La Rivoluzione Liberale* (1922-1925) which had Ansaldo among its main columnists. In 1925, Ansaldo was offered to become editor-in-chief of newspaper, *Il Lavoro* (1903-1992). Given the Marxist background of the periodical, Ansaldo (whose activity as an antifascist intellectual was noticeable since the beginning of 1920) eagerly accepted the job, see Giovanni Ansaldo, *Memorie – 1920-1925*, vol. I (Turin: Aragno, 2014). Servadio also published three articles on *La Rivoluzione Liberale*: Servadio, "Grazie," *La Rivoluzione Liberale* 3, n. 47 (December 1924): 190; Servadio, "Sguardo alla Metapsichica," *La Rivoluzione liberale* 4, n. 12 (March 1925): 51 (actually, two contributions were published, because this journal issue was seized by the Fascist regime); Servadio, "Sguardo alla metapsichica," *La Rivoluzione Liberale* 4, n. 13 (March 1925): 55.

⁶⁰ Among those who joined and characterized the activities of the circle included: the poet Giosuè Carducci (1835-1907), the writer and orientalist Angelo de Gubernatis (1840-1913), the novelist Antonio Fogazzaro (1842-1911), the psychiatrist Enrico Morselli (1852-1929), the German archeologist Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903), and the poet Eugenio Montale (1896-1981). I can discern that many of the personalities here listed above had a specific influence in the field of the History of Religions, Spiritualism, and Psychoanalysis. About the history of the cultural circle, see Giorgio Grimaldi, *La Società di Letture e Conversazioni Scientifiche – Cultura e conoscenza a Genova. Dal 1866 al servizio della città* (Genoa: De Ferrari, 2018).

⁶¹ There is a peculiar anecdote that Servadio reports in one of his interviews: briefly after having made the acquaintance of Montale, who used to show his poetry drafts to the younger Servadio, the Genoese poet

journals to which the circle subscribed. One of these issues belonged to the Italian Spiritualist journal, *Luce e Ombra* ('Light and Shadow').⁶² Although Servadio discovered the journal at *Società di Letture e Conversazioni Scientifiche*, it is alleged that other circumstances and events he took part in encouraged him to collaborate with *Luce e Ombra*.⁶³ The fact remains that, in 1923, Servadio published his first article on the 'post Hypnotic suggestion' in this journal.⁶⁴

From 1922 onwards, Servadio started regularly collaborating with both *Luce e Ombra* and *Il Lavoro*,⁶⁵ by contributing on several topics. Besides hypnosis and spiritualism, Servadio also focused some of his contributions on the work of the father of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud (1856-1939).⁶⁶

More specifically, Servadio stated that the two works which influenced him the most in this period were, firstly, *Traité de Métapsychique*⁶⁷ by physiologist and Nobel prize winner Charles Richet (1850-1935), and secondly, the French translation of Freud's *Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse* ('Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis'), originally published between 1916-17.⁶⁸ Even though his interest in hypnosis preceded

published his main collection of poems, *Ossi di Seppia* ('Cuttlefish Bones', Turin: Pietro Gobetti, 1925). Servadio had his copy of the work signed by Montale. Servadio - who was collaborating with *Il Lavoro* at the time - wanted to review Montale's book for the newspaper. Ansaldo (just received his position at *Il Lavoro*) sardonically commented the proposal of a book review of Montale's book, and rejected it, Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 16; Servadio, "Il peso dei ricordi," *Chevron Club* 5, n. 2 (May-August 1972): 7

⁶² I will treat the foundation and the history of the journal later.

⁶³ According to Silvio Ravaladini (1925-2015), former editor-in-chief of *Luce e Ombra*, and director of Bozzano-De Boni library (see the obituary of Carlos Alvarado, "Remembering Silvio Ravaladini (1925-2015)," [carloalvarado.wordpress.com](https://carloalvarado.wordpress.com/2015/11/27/remembering-silvio-ravaladini-1925-2015/), accessed on January 24, 2019, <https://carloalvarado.wordpress.com/2015/11/27/remembering-silvio-ravaladini-1925-2015/>), Servadio started his collaboration with *Luce e Ombra* because he attended some Spiritualist séances that he later defined as "not of great value". Perhaps the more reliable reasoning behind Servadio's decision to collaborate with the journal (to the point of becoming part of the board in the thirties) was to popularize international spiritualist initiatives and publications for Italian audiences, see Ravaladini, "Emilio Servadio e «Luce e Ombra»," 1-2.

⁶⁴ Servadio, "La suggestione «a termine»," 96-9.

⁶⁵ About Servadio's journalistic production and collaboration with newspapers and journals, see the bibliography.

⁶⁶ The first article which Servadio ever dedicated to Freudian psychoanalysis was written by Servadio under the pseudonym of Eutidemo, "La psicoanalisi," *Il Lavoro*, January 15, 1926, 3, Servadio's collaboration with the newspaper ended with the publication of his last piece, Servadio, "Lo strapazzo oculare," *Il Lavoro*, July 14, 1926, 1.

⁶⁷ Charles Richet, *Traité de Métapsychique* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1922).

⁶⁸ The reference to the French translation of Freud's work is to be found in Garzia, "Intervista con Emilio Servadio," 3; Puma, "Biografia,"; I could not verify the presence or edition of Freud's work among the books

‘psychoanalytic science’, the encounter with this latter represented a crucial event in Servadio’s life. At the time, Servadio was not satisfied with experimental psychology and other attempts to study human behaviors.⁶⁹ Servadio discerned in Freud’s psychoanalysis a similar process he already considered in his approach to spiritualism and mesmerism,⁷⁰ that was “to make the unconscious conscious”.⁷¹

Besides *Traité de Métapsychique* and *Introduction à la psychanalyse*, Servadio on more than one occasion mentions also the first edition of *Mémoire sur la découverte du magnétisme animal*⁷² of the German physician Franz Mesmer (1734-1815) among the books of his collection.⁷³ This text played a crucial role in this period in Servadio’s life and education.⁷⁴ In 1922, he enrolled at Regia Università di Genova (Royal University of Genoa).⁷⁵ Servadio wanted to study Law, in order to become a journalist.⁷⁶ The latest exam he passed was Medical Jurisprudence.⁷⁷ The person assigned to test students on the subject was Professor Giangiacomo Perrando (1866-1939).⁷⁸ After passing (in ‘a spectacular way’)⁷⁹

Servadio owned. However, the French version Servadio is referring to is most probably Sigmund Freud, *Introduction à la psychanalyse* (Paris: Payot, 1921).

⁶⁹ Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 17.

⁷⁰ See Pilkington, “Emilio Servadio,” 90.

⁷¹ Gaddini, “I settanta di Emilio Servadio,” 10.

⁷² Franz Friedrich Anton Mesmer, *Mémoire sur la découverte du magnétisme animal* (Geneva; Paris: Didot, 1779).

⁷³ Garzia, “Intervista con Emilio Servadio,” 2; Errera, “Servadio,” 126.

⁷⁴ Among the books of Servadio’s collection located at Library Stellio Crise in Trieste, I point out the presence of Charles Lafontaine, *L’art de magnétiser ou le Magnétisme animal considéré sous le point de vue théorique, pratique et thérapeutique* (Bruxelles: Société typographique belge, 1851).

⁷⁵ *Annuario della Regia Università di Genova – Anno Accademico 1922-23* (SIAG: Genoa 1923), 291.

⁷⁶ Puma, “Biografia”; Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 16; Taverna, “A colloquio con Emilio Servadio,” 388; Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 15.

⁷⁷ Servadio explained that the exam was mandatory to achieve the degree in Law.

⁷⁸ Perrando was habilitated to the teaching of Medical Jurisprudence in 1895. He obtained his position at Royal University of Genoa in 1907. He served as Lieutenant Colonel in Medical Corps, in Italian army during the Great War. After the war, he was culturally, socially, and politically committed in Genoese environment. Perrando was one of the Italian leading scholars of Medical Jurisprudence (see *Annuario della Regia Università di Genova – Anno Accademico 1938-39* [Ferrari Occella: Alessandria, 1939], 283-5). On the same topic he published a manual which represented a cornerstone in the Italian medicolegal field until the forties, Giangiacomo Perrando, *Manuale di medicina legale: ad uso dei medici, giuristi e student* (Naples: Idelson, 1921). Perrando was also affiliated to the masonic body/lodge of Grand Orient of Italy, *Rito Simbolico Italiano* (‘Italian Symbolic Rite’) or Serenissima Gran Loggia del Rito Simbolico Italiano, see *Presidenza della Serenissima Gran Loggia del Rito Simbolico Italiano 1921-1925*, Rito Simbolico Italiano, accessed on January 24, 2019, <http://www.ritosimbolico.net/storia/storia04.html>. From 1931 until his own death, Perrando contributed to *La giustizia penale* with some articles (the one which gained the most popularity on the European level is Perrando, “Sull’indole giuridica della perizia psichiatrica,” *La giustizia penale* 38, n. 1-2 (1932): 863-80) and to *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze Lettere e Arti*, where he devoted several entries, among

the exam, Servadio asked Perrando to be the supervisor of his thesis, the focus of which was the history and practice of hypnosis.⁸⁰ Although Perrando was initially astonished, he agreed to supervise Servadio's thesis, which was successfully defended in 1926.⁸¹ Servadio stressed repeatedly that the bibliography of his dissertation included as many as 253 titles on hypnosis.⁸²

Upon achieving his degree in Law, Servadio first spent an undefined lapse of time in Switzerland to learn German,⁸³ then he dedicated himself completely to journalism. In 1926, a group of students of University of Genoa founded a journal, *Pietre*.⁸⁴ Its headquarter was a "room" located at Piazza Fontane Marose,⁸⁵ Genoa, where the *La Società di Letture e Conversazioni Scientifiche* could also be found, and its purpose was to contrast all the cultural expressions of the fascist regime. The original core of founders of the journal included Francesco Manzitti (1908-1977),⁸⁶ the economist Franco Antolini (1907-1959), and the Italian politician Virgilio Dagnino (1906-1997), all of whom were later involved in the resistance against the fascist regime.⁸⁷

these Perrando and Mario Barbara, "Eutanasia," in *L'Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1932), accessed on January 24, 2019, <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/eutanasia>, Perrando, Arturo Castiglioni, Alessandro Messea, Nicola Leotta, Adalberto Pazzini, Raffaele Corso, Giuseppe Vidoni, "Medicina," in *L'Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1934), accessed on January 23, 2019, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/medicina_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/, Perrando, "Perversioni sessuali," in *L'Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1935), accessed on January 24, 2019, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/perversioni-sessuali_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/, Perrando, "Sadismo," in *L'Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1935), accessed on January 24, 2019, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sadismo_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/, Perrando, "Tribadismo," in *L'Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1937), accessed on January 24, 2019, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/tribadismo_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.

⁷⁹ Errera, "Emilio Servadio", 18.

⁸⁰ Errera, "Emilio Servadio", 16-9.

⁸¹ *Annuario della Regia Università di Genova – Anno Accademico 1926-27* (Genoa: Oliveri, 1927), 330.

⁸² The information on the length of the thesis is given by Servadio himself, Errera, "Emilio Servadio," 18; unfortunately, the copy of his thesis has been discarded or destroyed, given the fact that 1991 flood ravaged several sections of the storage of the University of Genoa, where the theses were located.

⁸³ Perfetto, "Parapsicologia psicoanalitica," 54.

⁸⁴ Grimaldi, *La Società di Letture e Conversazioni Scientifiche*, 233-5.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Son of Giuseppe Manzitti (1871-?), who was, at the time (1926) director of Navigazione Generale Italiana.

⁸⁷ See also Giuseppe Marcenaro, *Genova nella cultura italiana del Novecento: Le carte della fondazione della rivista Pietre* (Genoa: Cassa di Risparmio di Genova e Imperia, 1983), 8-13.

Servadio also collaborated with several other periodicals and joined the group of the newborn journal.⁸⁸ His first contribution was a book review (in the form of a brief introduction and excerpt of the Italian translation) of *City Block* (1922) by the American novelist Waldo David Frank (1889-1967).⁸⁹ Half a year later, Servadio published another article, whose topic is entirely different and original: “Neo-magia” (‘Neo-magic’).⁹⁰ The latter was dedicated to the gathering of the group of esotericists that led to the foundation of the journal, *Ur*.⁹¹ Although the creation of the journal was the outcome of collaboration between the mason and Theosophist Arturo Reghini (1878-1946), Giulio Parise (1902-1970), and Julius Evola (1898-1974), only the latter figure emerges in Servadio’s contribution. In his article, Servadio stresses how the name of the group took inspiration from an archaic root for ‘fire’,⁹² and how Evola went through a ‘Dadaist phase’ and was involved in avant-garde art movements⁹³ before approaching a peculiar initiatory experience linked to the publication of this journal of the same name.⁹⁴ In addition, Servadio offers a general overview of Evola’s literary production, which included (at the time), *Teoria dell’individuo assoluto* (‘Theory of the Absolute Individual’).⁹⁵ Evola published his work in 1927,⁹⁶ and Servadio reviewed it in 1928 on religious studies journal, *Bilychnis*.⁹⁷ In the same year an

⁸⁸ Grimaldi, *La Società di Letture e Conversazioni Scientifiche*, 232-3.

⁸⁹ Servadio, “L’ultimo libro di W. Frank,” *Pietre* 1, n. 9 (September 1926): 2-5.

⁹⁰ Servadio, “Neomagia,” *Pietre* 2, n. 4 (April 1927): 110-2.

⁹¹ About the history of the group see Renato Del Ponte, *Evola e il magico «Gruppo di Ur» - Studi e documenti per servire alla storia di «Ur-Krur»* (Scandiano: Sear, 1994); Hans Thomas Hakl, “Julius Evola and the Ur Group,” *Aries* 12, n. 1 (January 2012): 53-90; Fabrizio Giorgio, *Roma Renovata Resurgat – Il Tradizionalismo Romano tra Ottocento e Novcento*, vol. II (Rome: Settimo Sigillo, 2011), 433-61; Christian Giudice, “Traditionalism and Occultism – Arturo Reghini and the Antimodern Reaction in Early Twentieth Century Italy” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Gothenburg, 2016), 288-99.

⁹² Servadio, “Neomagia,” 110; Julius Evola, *Il cammino del cinabro* (Milan: All’insegna del Pesce D’oro, 1963), 90.

⁹³ See Hans Thomas Hakl, “Deification as a Core Theme in Julius Evola’s Esoteric Works,” *Correspondences* 6, n. 2 (2018): 2; Valeria Paoletti, “Dada in Italia. Un’invasione mancata” (Ph.D. diss., Università degli Studi della Tuscia Viterbo, 2009).

⁹⁴ Servadio, “Neomagia,” 112.

⁹⁵ For a better understanding see Hakl, “Julius Evola and Tradition,” *Key Thinkers of the Radical Right – Behind the New Threat to Liberal Democracy*, ed. Mark Sedgwick (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 54-69.

⁹⁶ Julius Evola, *Teoria dell’individuo assoluto* (Turin: Bocca, 1927).

⁹⁷ Servadio, “Evola J.; La Teoria dell’Individuo Assoluto,” *Bilychnis* 16, n. 8 (August 1928): 18-22; On the genesis and history of monthly periodical of Religious Studies, *Bilychnis*, see Antonio Mastantuoni, *Bilychnis: una rivista tra fede e ragione (1912-1931)* (Turin: Claudiana, 2012).

anonymous contribution, “Idealismo e metapsichica” (‘Idealism and metapsychics’),⁹⁸ was published in *Ur*. The anonymous contributor expressed his appreciation for Servadio, who was considered to be the one and only to have understood the so-called ‘idealismo magico’ (‘magical idealism’).⁹⁹ In support to this position, a contribution signed by Ea (i.e. which was the pseudonym Evola used to often sign his articles)¹⁰⁰ appeared on *Krur*¹⁰¹ and praised Servadio for his effort of “explaining and discerning” magical idealism from metapsychics.¹⁰² This series of publications characterized the beginning of an acquaintance, collaboration, and friendship¹⁰³ between Evola and Servadio.

Moving back to 1928, Servadio, while participating in a conference in Milan,¹⁰⁴ managed to make the acquaintance of Calogero Tumminelli (1886-1945), who offered him to take part into the project of *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere e Arti* (‘Italian Encyclopedia of Science, Letters, and Arts’).¹⁰⁵ Then, he moved to Rome to actively participating to the project.¹⁰⁶ Besides producing around a thousand entries on sexological and parapsychological topics, the most challenging task was to write the entry ‘Psychoanalysis’.

I briefly mentioned that Servadio’s interest for psychoanalysis rose upon approaching ‘psi phenomena’¹⁰⁷ and coming across the reading of *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*. In the lapse of time between the publication of the French version of Freud’s text¹⁰⁸ and the publication of Servadio’s article on psychoanalysis¹⁰⁹ (i.e. 1921-

⁹⁸ Anonymous, “Idealismo e metapsichica,” in Massimo Scaligero (ed.), *Ur – Introduzione alla Magia quale Scienza dell’Io*, vol. II (Rome: Tilopa, 1928), 90-6.

⁹⁹ Anonimo, “Idealismo e metapsichica,” 90.

¹⁰⁰ Del Ponte, *Evola e il magico «Gruppo di Ur»*, 179.

¹⁰¹ *Krur* was the continuation of *Ur*, even though it was edited by Evola himself, see Giudice, “Traditionalism and Occultism,” 293.

¹⁰² Ea, “Che cosa è la realtà metafisica”, Massimo Scaligero (ed.), *Krur – Rivista di Scienze Esoteriche* (Rome: Tilopa, 1929), 107-17.

¹⁰³ About the friendship between Evola and Servadio see the interview this latter gave to Gianfranco De Turreis, “La testimonianza di Emilio Servadio,” *Abstracta* 2, n. 16 (June 1987): 12-21.

¹⁰⁴ Garzia “Intervista con Emilio Servadio,” 4.

¹⁰⁵ On the project and the structure of the Italian Encyclopaedia, see Gabriele Turi, *Il mecenate, il filosofo e il gesuita – L’«Enciclopedia Italiana», specchio della nazione* (Bologna: Mulino, 2002), 99-132.

¹⁰⁶ Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 21.

¹⁰⁷ Gaddini, “I settanta di Emilio Servadio,” 10.

¹⁰⁸ Freud, *Introduction à la psychanalyse*.

¹⁰⁹ Eutidemo, “La psicoanalisi.”

1926), several events linked to the propagation of psychoanalytic science occurred. Sigmund Freud, in the 1923 edition of his pamphlet, *On the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement*, added a note where he called the Italian neuropsychiatrist, Marco Levi Bianchini (1875-1961),¹¹⁰ and the physician, Edoardo Weiss (1889-1970) the “translators and chaperons of psychoanalysis”.¹¹¹ In 1915, Levi Bianchini published an authorized translation of Freud and Jung lectures held at Clark University (1909) in Italian,¹¹² while Weiss, in 1922, translated and published the first three parts of ‘Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis’.¹¹³ These editorial initiatives, along with the foundation of the journal of *Archivio di Neurologia e Psichiatria* (which in 1920 changed its title in *Archivio di Neurologia, Psichiatria e Psicoanalisi*) were part of the project of Levi-Bianchini who wanted publish all the works of the father of psychoanalysis in Italian,¹¹⁴ as well to introduce psychoanalysis to the Italian medical field. In the same year, Weiss published in Levi-Bianchini’s journal one of the first significant contributions to psychoanalysis, “La «psicoanalisi selvaggia» di Sigmund Freud” (‘The wild psychoanalysis of Sigmund Freud’).¹¹⁵ By the end of 1925, both Weiss and Levi-Bianchini had already joined the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society (relatively in 1914¹¹⁶ and in 1921)¹¹⁷ when it was founded at the Psychiatric Hospital of Teramo where he worked, the Società Psicoanalitica Italiana (Italian Psychoanalytic Society), with Freud’s approval.¹¹⁸ Levi-Bianchini’s founding of the SPI represented the first attempt to launch an institution devoted to psychoanalytic training.

¹¹⁰ On the life of Levi Bianchini, see Glauco Ceccarelli, “Marco Levi Bianchini tra cultura italiana e tedesca: psichiatria, neurologia, psicoanalisi,” *Physis*, 47, n. 1-2 (2010): 257-88; on the role he played in the endorsement of the psychoanalytical doctrine in Italy, see Ceccarelli, “Marco Levi Bianchini e le origini della psicoanalisi in Italia,” *La psicologia italiana. Saggi storiografici*, ed. Glauco Ceccarelli (Urbino: QuattroVenti, 1999), 53-107.

¹¹¹ Paul Roazen, *Edoardo Weiss – The House That Freud Built* (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), 31.

¹¹² Freud, *Sulla psicoanalisi: Cinque conferenze tenute nel settembre 1909 alla Clark University di Worcester Massachusetts in occasione del 20. anniversario di fondazione*, trans. Marco Levi Bianchini (Nocera Inferiore: Manicomio; Naples: Giannini & Sons, 1915).

¹¹³ Freud, *Introduzione allo studio della psicoanalisi*, 2 vols., trans. Edoardo Weiss (Nocera Inferiore: Libreria Psicoanalitica Internazionale, 1921-22).

¹¹⁴ Roazen, *Edoardo Weiss*, 31-2.

¹¹⁵ Edoardo Weiss, “La «psicoanalisi selvaggia» di Sigmund Freud” *Archivio Generale di Neurologia, Psichiatria e Psicoanalisi* 2, n. 2 (1921): 113-9.

¹¹⁶ Roazen, *Edoardo Weiss*, 54.

¹¹⁷ Marco Conci, “La psicoanalisi in Italia. Inizi, sviluppi e situazione attuale,” *Quaderni di Collalbo*, 2, n. 2 (1997): 55-113.

¹¹⁸ Biondi, “Marco Levi Bianchini: A Forgotten Italian Supporter of Parapsychology,” *A Journal of Scientific Exploration* 22, n. 3 (2008): 324.

A year later, Enrico Morselli¹¹⁹ devoted two lengthy volumes to Freud's scientific discipline, *La psicoanalisi*.¹²⁰ This latter was far from being considered a supportive text on psychoanalysis, but was rather called a "worthless volume".¹²¹ This assessment was expressed by Weiss in a review of Morselli's work a few months after its publication. Morselli got in touch with Weiss in order to acknowledge some basic concepts of psychoanalysis and have Freud's therapeutic procedures explained.¹²² Morselli, to express his gratitude, invited Weiss to speak at the XVII Congress of the Società Freniatria Italiana ('Italian freniatic society') which was held in Trieste on 24-27 September, 1925.¹²³ After finishing his presentation,¹²⁴ Weiss thought that the latter would be favorably received, but Morselli unexpectedly replied to him "by criticizing Freud's analysis, distorting his concepts, without considering all the explanations I had given him in our long correspondence".¹²⁵ This 'treason' by Morselli's¹²⁶ meant not only the end of Weiss and Morselli's relationship and collaboration, but also the splintering into two different branches of study, namely psychiatry and psychoanalysis.¹²⁷

At the time, Morselli was committed to more than the promulgation of psychoanalysis. In addition to becoming director of a psychiatric clinic at the Royal University of Genoa (he obtained the position and launched a private psychiatric clinic, Villa Maria Pia in 1889),¹²⁸ Morselli was also a fervent investigator of Spiritualism, hypnotism, and mediumship. More specifically, he became personally involved in the examination, as well as Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909) did,¹²⁹ of psychic phenomena associated with the

¹¹⁹ On the life and education of Morselli see the introductory part by Valeria. P. Babini, *Liberi tutti. Manicomi e psichiatri in Italia: una storia del Novecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino 2009); for a general overview of Morselli's anthropological-psychiatric approach, and complete bibliographical list of his production see Patrizia Guarnieri, *Individualità difformi: la psichiatria antropologica di Enrico Morselli* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1986).

¹²⁰ Enrico Morselli, *La psicoanalisi: Studi ed appunti critici*, 2 vols (Turin: Bocca, 1926).

¹²¹ Weiss, *Recensione*, *Archivio Generale di Neurologia, Psichiatria e Psicoanalisi* 7 (March-June 1926): 370.

¹²² See Weiss, *Sigmund Freud come consulente* (Rome: Astrolabio, 1971), 72ff.

¹²³ Roazen, Edoardo Weiss, 107-8; Michel David, "La psychoanalyse en Italie," *Histoire de la psychoanalyse*, vol. 2, ed. Roland Jaccard (Paris: PUF, 1982), 309-10.

¹²⁴ Weiss, "Psichiatria e psicoanalisi," *Quaderni di Psichiatria* 11 (1925): 206-8.

¹²⁵ Roazen, *Edoardo Weiss*, 107.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ See Conci, "La psicoanalisi in Italia," 65-7; David, "La psychoanalyse en Italie," 310.

¹²⁸ *Annuario della Regia Università di Genova – Anno Accademico 1926-27* (Genoa: Oliveri, 1927), 331.

¹²⁹ On Lombroso's interest and experiences with spiritualistic seances see Carlos S. Alvarado, Massimo Biondi, "Cesare Lombroso on mediumship and pathology," *History of Psychiatry* 28, n. 2 (2017): 225-41.

Italian medium Eusapia Palladino (1854-1918). Morselli included all his considerations on psychic phenomena and reports of some of the séances in which he took part with Palladino in his voluminous work which represents a cornerstone in the field of studies on Italian spiritualism, *Psicologia e «Spiritismo»* ('Psychology and Spiritualism').¹³⁰ Another interesting fact that should be furthermore stressed here is that most of the séances in which Morselli participated took place in Genoa, at the Circolo Scientifico Minerva ('Scientific Circle Minerva').¹³¹ The latter was founded by the writer Ernesto Bozzano (1862-1943) and the journalist Luigi Arnaldo Vassallo (1852-1906) in 1899.¹³²

While Morselli was promoting the release of his latest publication and his "exaggerated considerations" on psychoanalysis in Genoa,¹³³ Servadio personally intervened in the debate. In an article published in *Il Lavoro*,¹³⁴ Servadio analysed which misunderstandings were lying at the base of the work of the elder psychiatrist, namely the misconceptions of Freudian 'libido' and of 'dream interpretations'.¹³⁵ Another consideration Servadio offers in his contribution is of an historical nature: although, in the 1910s, Morselli was part of the editorial board of a journal which endorsed some of the fundamental concepts of the psychoanalysis,¹³⁶ he couldn't be included among the promoters of the psychoanalysis nor – according to Servadio – among the (most fierce) denigrators of Freudian discipline.¹³⁷

Although at the beginning of the twenties one of the 'former allies' of psychoanalysis, namely the bordering psychiatric field, left its cause as stronger opponents

¹³⁰ Morselli, *Psicologia e «Spiritismo»*, 2 vols. (Milan: Bocca, 1907).

¹³¹ Morselli, *Psicologia e «Spiritismo»*, vol. II, 3-86.

¹³² On the life and work of Vassallo, see Guido Mazzoni, "Vassallo, Luigi Arnaldo," *L'Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1937), accessed on January 22, 2019, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luigi-arnaldo-vassallo_\(Enciclopedia-Italiana\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luigi-arnaldo-vassallo_(Enciclopedia-Italiana)/); on the life and literary production of Bozzano see, Silvio Ravaladini, *Ernesto Bozzano e La ricerca psichica – Vita e opere di un pioniere della parapsicologia* (Rome: Mediterranee, 1993); Luca Gasperini, "Ernesto Bozzano: tra spiritismo scientifico e ricerca psichica" (M.A. dissertation, Università di Bologna, 2010).

¹³³ See Servadio's report of Morselli's lecture at Società Ligustica di Scienze e Lettere, Servadio, "Le teorie della Psicoanalisi in una conferenza del prof. Morselli," *Atti della Società Ligustica di Scienze e Lettere* 5, n. 1 (1926): 12-3.

¹³⁴ Servadio, "La critica della psicanalisi," *Il Lavoro*, March 6, 1926, 1.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ The reference is to *Psiche – Rivista di Studi Psicologici* which shouldn't be confused with *Psiche. Rivista di cultura psicoanalitica* founded in 1952. I will later refer to the board and the genesis of the journal.

¹³⁷ Servadio, "La critica della psicanalisi,"

manifested themselves immediately afterwards. When Servadio moved to Rome, in 1929,¹³⁸ to take part in the project of the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, one of the hottest topics to treat (besides the sexological ones) was Freud's psychoanalysis.

A general overview of the situation is required: Tumminelli – who offered Servadio to collaborate on the project – had been contacted by the wealthy industrialist and cultural patron Giovanni Treccani (1877-1961) to become head of the editorial board of the project.¹³⁹ Treccani – who was elected senator in 1924 and decided, beyond the initial suggestions of the director of the Banca d'Italia ('Bank of Italy'), Bonaldo Stringher (1854-1930) and writer Ferdinando Martini (1841-1928),¹⁴⁰ to fund and endorse the project of Italian Encyclopaedia – chose Tumminelli because of his expertise in the editorial field.¹⁴¹ Besides Tumminelli, the head of the scientific committee was given to senator and philosopher Giovanni Gentile (1875-1944).¹⁴² At the time Gentile was named the Minister of Public Education (duty which he held from 1922 until 1924)¹⁴³ of the Fascist government. Among his most significant actions, Gentile introduced a reform of the educational system in the Autumn 1923.¹⁴⁴ One of its immediate effects was the removal of teaching psychology from secondary institutions.¹⁴⁵ This decision was directly linked to Gentile's approach to idealism.¹⁴⁶ Despite having an entirely different political view and a peculiar conception of idealism, Benedetto Croce (1866-1952) also agreed with Gentile about

¹³⁸ Gaddini, "I settanta di Servadio," 10.

¹³⁹ Turi, *Il mecenate, il filosofo e il gesuita*, 99.

¹⁴⁰ A compelling analysis of the political and cultural forces involved which endorsed the creation of the project of *Italian Encyclopaedia* is offered in Alessandra Cavaterra, *La rivoluzione culturale di Giovanni Gentile. La nascita della Enciclopedia italiana* (Siena: Cantagalli, 2014).

¹⁴¹ Tumminelli founded an editorial publishing house specialized in art in 1906 in Milan, Bestetti Edizioni d'Arte, and became the director of another remarkable and renowned editorial firm, Fratelli Treves, see Turi, *Il mecenate, il filosofo e il gesuita*, 99.

¹⁴² For a general biographical overview on Gentile, see Turi, *Giovanni Gentile. Una biografia* (Turin: UTET, 2006).

¹⁴³ Turi, *Giovanni Gentile*, 303-4.

¹⁴⁴ Turi, *Giovanni Gentile*, 332, for the content of the reform see Giovanni Gentile, *La riforma della scuola in Italia* (Milan; Rome: Treves-Treccani-Tumminelli, 1932).

¹⁴⁵ David, "La psychoanalyse en Italie," 314.

¹⁴⁶ More specifically, Gentile conceived a specific form of idealism, that was 'attualismo' or 'idealismo attuale' ('actualism' or 'actual idealism'). For a definition and contextualization of Gentile's actualism see Francesco Petrillo, "La teoria dello Stato come sintesi dell'attualismo. Il problema dell'esistenza dello Stato come problema dell'esistenza di Dio," Giovanni Gentile. *La filosofia italiana tra idealismo e anti-idealismo*, ed. Piero Di Giovanni (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2004), 389-98.

restraining the borders of psychology.¹⁴⁷ Since 1906, Croce devoted most of his efforts to criticizing and dismantling the ‘theoretical claims’¹⁴⁸ of psychology, and, in so doing, also involved the philosopher Guido De Ruggiero (1888-1948) and literary critic, Francesco Flora (1891-1962) in the later developments of his idealism. An immediate consequence of Gentile’s reforms (along with opposition of idealistic philosophy to psychology) was the decrease of university chairs in psychology and its teaching in secondary schools.¹⁴⁹ Instead, philosophy and pedagogy were taught to fill the gap left by psychology.

Another historical opponent which contributed to the marginalization of psychoanalysis in the academic and cultural field in Italy was the Catholicism. As the historian of Italian and French literature, Michel David (1924-?), pointed out in his work on the history of psychoanalysis¹⁵⁰, when it came to any possible attacks on the psychoanalytic milieu, Freud feared the Catholic church more than the exponents of the Nazi regime.¹⁵¹ This statement could be applied to the Italian context as well: besides his being atheist, Freud’s reception was impeded because of the risk of the “degeneration of ‘libido’ into a sexual anarchy”, the materialistic determinism linked to the psychoanalytic approach, and the replacement of the notion of ‘sin’ with that of ‘guiltiness’.¹⁵² According to Father Agostino Gemelli, this latter factor leads to one fate only: the secularization of confession.

Before mentioning the third and fiercest opponent of psychoanalysis and Freud’s reception in Italy, namely the Fascist regime,¹⁵³ I would like to contextualize the elements

¹⁴⁷ However, this did not entirely apply to the psychoanalysis, as Croce took the effort to review the French version of Freud’s *Traumdeutung* (‘Dream Interpretation’), Freud, *La science des rêves* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1926). For an in-depth analysis of Croce’s interest in Freud and psychoanalysis see Daniela Coli, *Croce, Laterza e la cultura europea* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1983), 86ff; more recently a detailed study of Croce’s private collection of books showed how the Idealist philosopher was interested in Western Esotericism and Occultism, as well, see Francesco Baroni, “Benedetto Croce e l’esoterismo,” *Annali dell’Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici* 11, n. 11 (2011): 251-336.

¹⁴⁸ David, “La psychoanalyse en Italie,” 313.

¹⁴⁹ This is the situation described by Conci: by the end of 1941, when only two (out of four) chairs of psychology survived, one was in Rome, at La Sapienza, tenured by Mario Ponzio (1882-1960), and one in Milan, at Catholic University of Sacred Heart, tenured by Father Agostino Gemelli (1878-1944), Conci, “La psicoanalisi in Italia,” 67.

¹⁵⁰ David, *La psicoanalisi nella cultura italiana* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1990)

¹⁵¹ David, *La psicoanalisi nella cultura italiana*, 17ff.

¹⁵² David, “La psychoanalyse en Italie,” 314; Conci, “La psicoanalisi in Italia,” 69.

¹⁵³ David, *La psicoanalisi nella cultura italiana*, 19-20.

provided: in 1929, Servadio was collaborating with multiple periodicals and newspapers.¹⁵⁴ Among the most significant and popular ones was *Luce e Ombra*. Although Servadio had already been regularly contributing to the periodical, his collaboration became only more active. Further evidence of this is the fact that he physically attended and worked in the offices of the spiritualist journal along with the founder of the periodical, Angelo Marzorati (1861-1932).¹⁵⁵ While the morning was committed to book reviews and the examination of foreign journals on spiritualism and metapsychics at the number four in via Carducci (where the headquarter of *Luce e Ombra* was, at the time),¹⁵⁶ in the afternoon he regularly went to Treccani Institute to meet with other editors of the *Italian Encyclopaedia* project.

The Italian Encyclopaedia project was structured into three orders of contributors: section editors/'directors', those devoted to the supervision of all entries pertaining to a specific topic (i.e. Gentile – who was also the head of the scientific committee and was the supervisor of the Philosophical and Pedagogical topic); editors, those commissioned to write entries, each of them having a 'field of expertise' (which was previously established by Gentile, in accordance with Tumminelli);¹⁵⁷ and the group of correctors and layout artists.

Although Servadio was committed to the popularization of various Freudian concepts for Italian audiences, the main reason he was involved in the project was because of his expertise on spiritualistic and mediumistic phenomena.¹⁵⁸ Among the entries Servadio was assigned to write, there was one entitled 'Ricerca Psicica' ('Psychical Research').¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Among these I include *La Fiera Letteraria* (which later changed its name to *Italia Letteraria*, with the advent of the film-writer, Curzio Malaparte [aka Kurt Erich Suckert 1898-1957] from 1928), and the Italian newspaper, *Il Tempo*.

¹⁵⁵ On the life of Marzorati, see Antonio Bruers, "Angelo Marzorati (1862-1931)," *Luce e Ombra* 31, n. 11-12 (November-December 1931): 487-502.

¹⁵⁶ Garzia, "I settant'anni di Servadio," 4.

¹⁵⁷ Turi, *Il mecenate, il filosofo e il gesuita*, 101.

¹⁵⁸ Gagliardo, "I padri della psicoanalisi in Italia;" Margarete Durst, "Gli studi di psicologia nell'Enciclopedia Italiana," *La psicologia in Italia – I protagonisti e i problemi scientifici, filosofici e istituzionali (1870-1945)*, ed. Guido Cimino, Nino Dazzi (Milan: LED, 1998), 625-6.

¹⁵⁹ More specifically, Servadio contributed to the twenty-eighth volume with the following entries, Servadio, "Premonizione" ('Premonition'), in *L'Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia, 1935), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/premonizione_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/; Servadio, "Psichica, ricerca", in *L'Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia, 1935), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ricerca-psichica_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/; Servadio, "Metapsichica," in *L'Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia, 1934), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/metapsichica_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/; Servadio, "Rabdomanzia,"

More precisely, in the beginning Servadio had been contacted in order to become the editor of all entries connected to Medieval and Modern History.¹⁶⁰ Servadio had asked Gentile to become the editor of all entries connected to Music, Occultism, and Metapsychics. However, given the fact these fields of expertise were not agreed upon with Tumminelli beforehand (and they did not exist as official disciplines among the humanities), and considering that historian Walter Maturi (1902-1961) was chosen to replace Servadio in the Medieval and Modern History field,¹⁶¹ Gentile decided to entrust him with the management of 'Scienze navali', 'Sport,' and 'Varie' ('Naval Science', 'Sport', and 'Miscellaneous subjects'). Servadio admitted that he produced around forty entries signed with his initials, 'E.S.' or under a pseudonym,¹⁶² and over a thousand anonymously.¹⁶³

Another historical digression is required: on February 11, 1929, the Lateran Pacts were signed. The latter represented an agreement between the Catholic Church and the Italian State structured in three parts (i.e. treaties), and whose aim was the recognition of the independence of the Vatican State on the political and financial level. This also implied a specific leverage for the Church in the Italian cultural environment. In the case of the *Italian Encyclopaedia*, the strong influence of the Catholic intelligentsia expressed itself through the person of Jesuit Pietro Tacchi Venturi (1861-1956). Father Tacchi Venturi, whose research on the the Society of Jesus represented a work of reference in the History of Christianity,¹⁶⁴ was chosen as section editor of 'Materie ecclesiastiche' ('ecclesiastical subjects'). Although the choice of Tacchi Venturi to collaborate on the Encyclopaedia represented no compromise or direct effect of the Lateran Pacts, his self-proclaimed role of 'censor' of the Catholic faith over many topics of the entries required a lot of mediations by other participants of the project, including Gentile. Certain exponents of Catholic culture

L'Enciclopedia Italiana (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia, 1935),
http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/rabdomanzia_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.

¹⁶⁰ Coelli, "Aspetti della vita e dell'opera di Emilio Servadio," 13.

¹⁶¹ Both Venturi and Ernesto Sestan (1888-1986) were 'ideal' pupils of the historian, Gioacchino Volpe (1876-1971) – who was editor of the section on Medieval and Modern History for the *Italian Encyclopedia* project – this also why Venturi was chosen, even though assisted by Sestan. The latter compiled the remarkable entry, Germania ('Germany'), without sign it, see Ernesto Sestan, *Memorie di un uomo senza qualità*, Giovanni Cherubini and Gabriele Turi ed. (Milan: Le Lettere, 1997), 204-5.

¹⁶² Cannoni, "Emilio Servadio," 32n

¹⁶³ Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 21.

¹⁶⁴ Pietro Tacchi Venturi, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia narrata col sussidio di fonti inedite*, 2 vols (Milan: Società Dante Alighieri; 1910-1922; Rome: La Civiltà Cattolica, 1950).

revealed themselves to be the most intransigent among Italian intellectuals at the time to contribute to Italian Encyclopaedia,¹⁶⁵ The biblical scholar and priest Giuseppe Ricciotti (1890-1964) did not behave the same way. Ricciotti, who later become lecturer in Semitic languages and History of Christianity at University of Bari,¹⁶⁶ and acquired popularity thanks to his work, *La Vita di Gesù Cristo* ('Life of Jesus Christ'),¹⁶⁷ was hired by Gentile as the editor of the section 'Ecclesiastical subjects'. Even indirectly, Ricciotti played a crucial role in the mediation between some of the figures and ideologies involved.¹⁶⁸

He was himself an exponent of a different branch of Catholicism, this latter characterized by an innovative opening to future a comparative approach in different field of studies, History of Religions and Christianity included. Related to this, going beyond the different ideological backgrounds of the characters involved in the project, the internal discordances, and the external political pressures, *Italian Encyclopaedia* represented a unique opportunity to gather at the most brilliant personalities of different cultural fields. Among the section editors is to be found the historian Raffaele Pettazoni (1883-1959),¹⁶⁹ who supervised 'Storia delle Religioni' section ('History of Religions'), while in the editors group it is easy to spot the name of the philosopher and (until 1932) pupil of Gentile, Ugo Spirito (1896-1979),¹⁷⁰ whose entries were devoted to 'Filosofia', 'Economia', 'Finanza', 'Statistica', 'Diritto', 'Storia del Diritto', 'Materie ecclesiastiche', as well as the philosopher Guido Calogero (1904-1986).¹⁷¹ It is self-evident that some 'jurisdiction issues' characterized the choices and actions of the editors. More specifically, historian Adolfo Omodeo (1889-1946),¹⁷² having taken part in the previous edition of the *Encyclopaedia*, was fiercely

¹⁶⁵ See Turi, Turi, *Il mecenate, il filosofo e il gesuita*, 199-240.

¹⁶⁶ Andrea Nicolotti, "Ricciotti, Giuseppe," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2016) 373.

¹⁶⁷ Giuseppe Ricciotti, *La Vita di Gesù Cristo* (Rome: Rizzoli, 1941).

¹⁶⁸ See Turi, *Il mecenate, il filosofo e il gesuita*, 200-1; peculiar is the anecdote Servadio in Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 29.

¹⁶⁹ About the life and works of Raffaele Pettazoni, see Mario Gandini, *1883-1959: Materiali per una biografia. Indice generale – Indice dei nomi di persona – Bibliografia degli scritti* (Bologna-San Giovanni in Persiceto: Aspasia-Tipolitografia FD, 2009), 181-255.

¹⁷⁰ For a biographical overview on Spirito, see Danilo Breschi, *Spirito del Novecento: il secolo di Ugo Spirito dal fascismo alla contestazione* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubettino, 2010).

¹⁷¹ On the life of Calogero, see Marcello Mustè, "Guido Calogero," *Belfagor* 55, n. 2 (2000): 163-85.

¹⁷² See Durst, "Adolfo Omodeo collaboratore dell'Enciclopedia Italiana di scienze, lettere e arti," *Il Veltrò* 35, n. 1-2 (1991): 147-56.

targeted by Father Tacchi-Venturi.¹⁷³ The latter claimed that both the ‘History of Christianity’ and ‘Ecclesiastical subjects’ had two referents, Gentile and him.¹⁷⁴ Ricciotti tried to mediate with the Jesuit, but fruitlessly, and, once Gentile denied his support to Omodeo, the latter inevitably left the project.¹⁷⁵ However, the same ‘jurisdictional issue’ also characterized the dynamics of interaction within the Treccani institute. Agostino Gemelli – who at the time was tenured professor of psychology and dean (until his death)¹⁷⁶ of the Catholic University of Sacred Heart in Milan – wrote to Gentile asking to be commissioned to write the entry ‘Psicologia Sperimentale’ (‘experimental psychology’). Gentile, who assigned the entry ‘Psicologia’ (‘Psychology’) to Calogero – firstly agreed to Gemelli’s request, then, after a while, changed his mind and gave the assignment to Antonio Aliotta (1881-1964).¹⁷⁷ The solution Gentile opted for could not be ascribed to a personal discord, but rather, most likely, to an idealistic position. Within the context of Italian Encyclopaedia, the ‘Catholics’ and ‘idealists’ got along with each other on the basis of a fragile balance which later broke apart.¹⁷⁸

Given this general background, Servadio became editor of the section ‘Varie’. To this latter macro-section belonged (notwithstanding the entries already mentioned above) ‘Chiromanzia’ (‘Chiromancy’), ‘Ipnotismo’ (‘Hypnotism’), ‘Magnetismo Animale’ (‘Animal magnetism’), ‘Metapsichica’ (‘Metapsychics’), ‘Occultismo’ (‘Occultism’), ‘Parapsicologia’ (‘parapsychology’) ‘Spiritismo’ (‘Spiritualism’), and many others. Besides the series of topics connected to (and ‘split’ between) Western Esotericism, Occultism, and Spiritualism, Servadio also contributed to ‘Varie’ by writing the entries ‘Sessuologia’ (‘Sexology’, structured into seven subheadings), ‘Sacher Masoch, Leopold von’ and ‘Sade, Donatien-Alphonse-François’.

¹⁷³ Turi, *Il mecenate, il filosofo e il gesuita*, 200.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Durst, “Adolfo Omodeo collaboratore dell’Enciclopedia Italiana di scienze, lettere e arti,” 147-8.

¹⁷⁶ Ilaria Montanari, *Agostino Gemelli psicologo, Una ricostruzione storiografica* (Milan: EDUCatt, 2017), 6; Durst, “Gli studi di psicologia nell’Enciclopedia Italiana, 637.

¹⁷⁷ Durst, “Gli studi di psicologia nell’Enciclopedia Italiana,” 638.

¹⁷⁸ Durst, “Gli studi di psicologia nell’Enciclopedia Italiana,” 645-6.

I would like to particularly stress the capital importance of two entries: 'Ipnotismo' ('Hypnotism')¹⁷⁹ and 'Sessuologia' ('Sexology').¹⁸⁰ Besides the specific content of these entries which I will consider later, Servadio's authorship on these specific topics marked a specific phase of Servadio's life. One of the main references in the text and bibliography of the sexological entry (and its microsections), was *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie* ('Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality') by Sigmund Freud, which officially appeared in 1905.¹⁸¹ The introduction of Freud's work on sexuality alongside those of the British physician Ellis Havelock (1859-1939)¹⁸² and the Austrian Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840-1902)¹⁸³ underlay an incredible shift in perspective on sexual deviances, as it implied a detachment from an organicist vision of sex.¹⁸⁴ Servadio was aware of this and feared that the censorship of Tacchi Venturi would raise some objections to his entry.¹⁸⁵ However, Tacchi Venturi considered the topic to be of no urgency compared to others.

The fact that Servadio dedicated an entry to 'Hypnosis' – along with 'Magnetismo Animale' ('Animal Magnetism'), and 'Mesmer, Franz' - implied an analysis which was conducted on two different levels - pragmatic and historical. The purpose of Servadio's investigation was devoted to delineating the role of hypnosis in Western society and in the History of Scientific Thought.¹⁸⁶ In addition, Servadio, since the achievement of his degree in Law, never ceased to admit that he practiced hypnosis himself (at an amateur level).¹⁸⁷

Although the interest in Freud and in his new-born discipline was in the air, its official introduction in the *Italian Encyclopedia* was yet to come, in 1930. Servadio, in still

¹⁷⁹ Servadio, "Ipnotismo," in *L'Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia, 1933), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ipnotismo_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.

¹⁸⁰ Servadio, "Sessuologia," in *L'Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia, 1936), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sessuologia_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.

¹⁸¹ Freud, *Tre contributi alla teoria sessuale*, trans. Marco Levi Bianchini (Zurich: Libreria Psicoanalitica Internazionale, 1921).

¹⁸² For a bio-bibliographical overview on Havelock, see Phyllis Grosskurth, *Havelock Ellis: A Biography* (London: Allen Lane; New York: Knopf, 1980).

¹⁸³ For a biographical introduction on Von Krafft-Ebing, see Heinrich Ammerer, *Am Anfang war die Perversion: Richard von Krafft-Ebing: Psychiater und Pionier der modernen Sexualkunde* (Wien: Styria, 2011).

¹⁸⁴ Erwin Haeberle, *The Birth of Sexology: A Brief History of Documents* (New York: United States Consortium for Sexology, 1983), 10.

¹⁸⁵ Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 29.

¹⁸⁶ Servadio, "Strana storia dell'ipnotismo," *Luce e Ombra* 30, n. 11-12 (November-December 1930): 337-57.

¹⁸⁷ Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 17-9.

unknown circumstances,¹⁸⁸ proposed to Gentile to dedicate an entry to psychoanalysis. However, Servadio thought that the most likely favored person to write an encyclopedic contribution on the emergent psychoanalytic discipline was Edoardo Weiss. So, Servadio got in touch with Weiss,¹⁸⁹ and asked him to take part in the project. Weiss, who had already joined the International Psychoanalytic Society,¹⁹⁰ resigned in 1927 from the Provincial Psychiatric Hospital in Trieste in defiance of the Fascist regulation of public employment.¹⁹¹ Then, as an ‘intellectual farewell’ to his birthplace,¹⁹² Weiss presented a series of five lectures at the headquarter of the Order of Physicians of Trieste.¹⁹³ These presentations were turned into a book which represented, at the time, a cornerstone in the Freudian discipline, *Elementi di psicoanalisi* (‘Elements of Psychoanalysis’).¹⁹⁴ In 1931, he moved from Trieste to Rome. Here he experienced great difficulty in establishing his psychoanalytic practice, leading him to ask Professor Sante de Sanctis (1862- 1935) – who was enthusiastic about Freud’s work and the founder of Laboratory of Experimental Psychology (1907) at the University of Rome –¹⁹⁵ if he could refer some of his patients to him.¹⁹⁶ After having received a patient diagnosed with obsessive-compulsive disorder, who couldn’t pay for the session fee, Weiss considered the collaboration with de Sanctis unfruitful. However, while his practice was yet to launch in the Roman *milieu*, Weiss was first contacted and then visited by the politician Nicola Perrotti (1897-1970) and Servadio. The latter asked Weiss to start a psychoanalytic training with him.¹⁹⁷ Weiss (as a president), Perrotti, and Servadio

¹⁸⁸ Servadio, “Edoardo Weiss (1889-1970),” *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 16, n. 1 (1970): 6.

¹⁸⁹ Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 21.

¹⁹⁰ Roazen, *Edoardo Weiss*, 54ff.

¹⁹¹ See Anna Maria Accerboni, “Psychanalyse et fascisme: deux approches incompatibles. Le rôle difficile d’Edoardo Weiss”, *Revue internationale d’histoire de la psychanalyse* 1, n. 1 (1988): 229; “[he] resigned from his job at the [Provincial Psychiatric] Hospital in 1927...as he would not agree to Italianize his surname and join the Fascist party. The regulations concerning public employment had become very strict in Italy after 1926: no one could any longer be employed by the State without being a member of the Fascist party.”

¹⁹² For an insightful study which stresses the importance of his birthplace, Trieste, in Weiss’s work and in the development of the Italian psychoanalytic environment, see Rita Corsa, *Edoardo Weiss a Trieste con Freud. Alle origini della psicoanalisi italiana – Le vicende di Nathan, Bartol e Veneziani* (Rome: Alpes 2018²).

¹⁹³ Weiss, *Sigmund Freud come consulente*, 81; Conci, 72.

¹⁹⁴ Weiss, *Elementi di psicoanalisi* (Milan: Hoepli, 1931).

¹⁹⁵ De Sanctis was at the head of the Laboratory until 1931, when the latter was succeeded by Mario Ponso, see Giorgia Morgese, Giovanni Pietro Valdimiro Lombardo, Alessandra Albani, “The discontinuity in scientific psychology at the University of Rome, 1907-47: from general psychology to psychotechnics,” *History of Psychology* 19, n. 4 (November 2016): 315-6.

¹⁹⁶ Weiss, *Sigmund Freud come consulente*, 84.

¹⁹⁷ Weiss, *Sigmund Freud come consulente*, 84-6; Roazen, 57.

refounded¹⁹⁸ in 1932 the Società Psicoanalitica Italiana ('Italian Psychoanalytic Society')¹⁹⁹ and started the publication *Rivista Italiana di Psicoanalisi* (which later changed its name in *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* in 1955). The founding members, besides those already mentioned, also include Alessandra Tomasi di Palma(1895-1982)²⁰⁰ and the psychologist Cesare Musatti (1897-1989),²⁰¹ who joined the group only in a second time,²⁰² while Levi-Bianchini and de Santis received the honorary membership of president.²⁰³ Thus Perrotti, Tommasi di Palma, Musatti, and Servadio started their 'training' under the supervision of Weiss.

Concerning the events which characterized and surrounded the birth of the S. P. I. (i.e. 'Italian Psychoanalytic Society'), Servadio, who was already in touch with Weiss before his arrival in Rome,²⁰⁴ asked him to write the entry dedicated to psychoanalysis²⁰⁵ for *Italian Encyclopedia*. The process of planning, writing, and editing the entry on psychoanalysis took place between November 1930 and April 1935. Servadio probably acted as an intermediary between Weiss and the effective coordinator of the whole project, Giovanni Gentile. Given the general overview described above, Weiss wrote a letter to Gentile, where he expressed his appreciation for the project and suggested to devote some space to both Sigmund Freud and his discipline and proposed to write other entries linked to the psychoanalytic field.²⁰⁶ Gentile replied by explaining his correspondent that any other entry dedicated to psychoanalytic terms was excluded, while he confirmed the assignment of the subjects 'Freud', 'Psychoanalysis', and a marginal note to the entry 'Dream'.²⁰⁷

¹⁹⁸ I use the term 'refoundation', because of the first attempt made by Marco Levi-Bianchini in 1925.

¹⁹⁹ Servadio, "Il movimento psicoanalitico in Italia," *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 22, n. 2 (1976): 162.

²⁰⁰ Her full name was Alessandra Wolff Stomeressee Tomasi di Palma, princess of Lampedusa, on her life see Francesco Corrao, "Alessandra Tomasi di Lampedusa (1895-1982)," *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 28, n. 3, 1982, 455-9

²⁰¹ On Musatti's life and work, see Rodolfo Reichmann, *Vita e opere di Cesare Musatti*, 3 vols. (Milan: Arpa, 1996-9).

²⁰² Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 25.

²⁰³ Servadio, "Il movimento psicoanalitico in Italia," 162; Piero Bellanova, Anna Bellanova (ed.), *Le due Gradive – Notizia sull'attività della Società Psicoanalitica Italiana (1932-1982)* (Rome: CEPI, 1982), 49.

²⁰⁴ Weiss, *Sigmund Freud come consulente*, 84.

²⁰⁵ Weiss, *Sigmund Freud come consulente*, 92-3.

²⁰⁶ More exactly 'complesso psichico', 'coscienza', 'conscio', 'Eros', 'Es', 'Inconscio', 'Istinto', 'Libido', 'Metapsicologia', 'Narcisismo', 'preconscio', 'Psicologia individuale', 'Rimozione', 'Sogno', 'Sublimazione', 'Super-io', 'Tabù', 'Totemismo', 'Traslazione', see Edoardo Weiss to Giovanni Gentile, November 18, 1930, Archivio dell'Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, S. 1, s. 2. Lettere inviate a Giovanni Gentile: 1-4.

²⁰⁷ Giovanni Gentile to Edoardo Weiss, November 20, 1930, Archivio dell'Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana.

The situation that Servadio and Weiss had to face in order to achieve the publication of these entries was quite complicated: although Gentile approved the subject, this didn't exclude any possible critic from the exponents of idealism, and this is what happened in 1931 and in 1932 with the attacks of Francesco Flora and Guido De Ruggiero;²⁰⁸ after Gentile's refusal to assign 'experimental psychology' to Gemelli, and the permanent action of censorship and contrast of Tacchi Venturi, the Catholic component within *Italian Encyclopedia* editorial group and section editors revealed itself to be even more hostile towards specific topics, psychoanalysis included.²⁰⁹ This intellectual clash consisted not only of an aversion towards the Freudian scientific discipline, but also reflected the strong contrast between intransigent Catholic scholars and idealistic philosophers. More specifically, this aspect implied a sempiternal negotiation and search for a compromise between Gentile and Tacchi Venturi.²¹⁰ This situation also affected Servadio and Weiss's venture of writing the entry on 'psychoanalysis'. More specifically, their work was conditioned by the length of the entry. In 1933, Weiss received notification that the entry should not exceed a specific limit,²¹¹ which was five columns. In addition, it should be taken into consideration that to write on 'Psychical Research', Servadio was granted thirteen columns. The same happened with 'Sexology', to which he dedicated eleven columns of the Italian Encyclopedia, despite the complex history and nature of the topic. In addition to the issue of the number of columns granted for the entry, another request had to be fulfilled by the authors: a bibliography of titles 'unfavorable' to psychoanalysis had to be added after the main one. According to David, this feature was an indisputable request made by Tacchi-Venturi.²¹²

Once Weiss (although he cooperated with Servadio, only his signature had to appear at the end of the section!) drafted the whole entry, he sent it to Freud. This latter advised Weiss to arrange all the information contained in the first draft differently, and then considered that the space his pupil (i.e. Weiss) was provided to write the entry was

²⁰⁸ See Francesco Flora, "La rivelazione di Freud," *Nuova Antologia – Rivista di Lettere, Scienze e Arti* 31, n. 279 (October 1931): 337-356; Guido De Ruggiero, "Freudiana," *La Critica Rivista di Letteratura, Storia e Filosofia* 30, n. 3 (1932): 194-8.

²⁰⁹ Durst, "Gli studi di psicologia nell'Enciclopedia Italiana," 635-41.

²¹⁰ See Turi, *Il mecenate, il filosofo e il gesuita* 116-9.

²¹¹ Weiss, *Sigmund Freud come consulente*, 92.

²¹² David, David, "La psychoanalyse en Italie," 100-7.

scarce:²¹³ as reported both in his main biography and bio-documentary on his life, Servadio assessed that Freud could never imagined “how much time he and Weiss required” to obtain those five columns for the psychoanalytic entry, given the fact that ‘they’ (probably Tacchi-Venturi and Gemelli)²¹⁴ did not want to grant much space.²¹⁵

In the background of the whole Italian Encyclopedia experience, Weiss launched his practice in Rome and, in the meanwhile while, was editing *La Rivista Italiana di Psicoanalisi* (which hosted, among other contributions of Freud, the first translation in Italian of his *Der Moses des Michelangelo*)²¹⁶ and started. Together with Servadio, Perrotti, and Musatti, Weiss launched a books series devoted to the publication of the classics of psychoanalysis, the *Biblioteca Psicoanalitica Internazionale - Serie italiana* (‘International Psychoanalytic Library – Italian series’).²¹⁷ In 1936, this series published a work celebrating Freud: *Saggi di Psicoanalisi in onore di Sigmund Freud*.²¹⁸

Although this period seemed favorable towards the propagation and divulgation of psychoanalysis, the third opponent of the emerging psychoanalytic approach manifested itself in the historical context: the Fascist regime did not tolerate the psychoanalytical discipline, mainly because of the Jewish origins of its founder.²¹⁹ Initially, the SPI and its restricted group of members had the chance to pass undetected by Fascist censorship and control. Eventually, however, they drew the attention of Mussolini and his surveillance organs once Weiss managed to have the SPI recognized by the International Psychoanalytic Society, a resolution effectively established 1936.²²⁰ This process of recognition ‘compelled’

²¹³ Weiss, Sigmund Freud come consulente, 92.

²¹⁴ Turi, *Il mecenate, il filosofo e il gesuita*, 199-240.

²¹⁵ Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 29.

²¹⁶ Sigmund Freud, “Il Mosé di Michelangiolo”, *Rivista Italiana di Psicoanalisi* 1, n. 5 (1932): 353-80.

²¹⁷ Servadio, “Il movimento psicoanalitico in Italia,” 163-4.

²¹⁸ Edoardo Weiss (ed.), *Saggi di Psicoanalisi in onore di Sigmund Freud* (Rome: Cremonese, 1936).

²¹⁹ Coelli, “Aspetti della vita e dell’opera di Emilio Servadio,” 6.

²²⁰ The relationship between psychoanalysis and Fascism is complicated, and even more complex was the relationship between Freud and Benito Mussolini (1883-1945). A peculiar episode characterized, to some extent, the persecution of psychoanalysis by the Fascist regime: Weiss had in analysis with him the daughter of the playwright and director of propaganda films for the National Fascist Party, Giovacchino Forzano (1884-1970). Given the complexity of the case, Weiss decided to bring the young woman, and her father to a meeting with Freud. On that occasion, Forzano decided to pay homage to Freud, by gifting him a copy of a play he coauthored with Mussolini (Benito Mussolini, Giovacchino Forzano, *Napoleon: The Hundred Days* [London: s.n., 1932]), and asked for something in exchange to be delivered to Mussolini. In the presence of an embarrassed Weiss, Freud gifted Mussolini, by mean of Forzano, a copy of his pamphlet-exchange with

the regime to intervene, one of the first actions taken against the Italian Psychoanalytic Society was to stop the publication of its journal, *La Rivista Italiana di Psicoanalisi*.²²¹ Another consequence of this action of surveillance and repression is the denial of Servadio's 'request' to join the Wiener Psychoanalytische Vereinigung ('Viennese Psychoanalytic Society') in 1934,²²² by asserting that Servadio might not know that the whole executive committee of the Viennese Society was formed by people of Jewish origins.²²³

When the Fascist regime increasingly intervened against the psychoanalytic field on Italian soil, Servadio was taking part in a series of events abroad: on September 1932, he took part in the 12th International Congress of Psychoanalysis (presided by Max Eitigon [1881-1943]), which took place in Wiesbaden, Germany.²²⁴ On this occasion, Servadio did not present any paper, but he had the opportunity to make the acquaintance of the daughter of the father of psychoanalysis – who could not attend the congress due to health issues –²²⁵ Anna Freud (1895-1982), with whom he would build a friendship and correspondence lasting until Anna's death.²²⁶ The international congress in Wiesbaden also represented a crucial step in the transitional phase characterizing both the psychoanalytical international *milieu* and certain historical events. The Hungarian psychoanalyst, Sándor

scientist, Albert Einstein (1879-1955), *Why War?* (1933). Freud also wrote a dedication on the frontispiece, which read: "To Benito Mussolini with the respectful greetings of an old man who recognizes in the ruler the cultural hero" (for possible interpretation see Roberto Zapperi, *Freud e Mussolini – La psicoanalisi in Italia durante il regime fascista* [Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2013]). Despite this brief idyllic exchange, two months later, Mussolini **deliberated** against the communist threat, psychoanalysis and its founder (for an overview of the whole anecdote see Glauco Carloni, "Freud and Mussolini: A Minor Drama in Two Acts, One Interlude, and Five Characters," *L'Italia nella Psicoanalisi, Italy in Psychoanalysis*, ed. Arnaldo Novelletto, Franca Rovigatti, Gianni Eugenio Viola [Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1989] 51-60).

²²¹ The suppression of *La Rivista Italiana di Psicoanalisi* happened in 1934. On the hypothesis that the Catholic intelligentsia played a crucial role in the interruption of the journal, namely through the influence of Pietro Tacchi Venturi and (Pater) Wilhelm Schmidt (1868-1954) see Francesco Migliorino, "Il Dr. Freud e le riviste colpevoli," *Quaderni Fiorentini – per una storia del pensiero giuridico moderno* 44, n. 2 (2015): 785-6; Coelli, "Aspetti della vita e dell'opera di Emilio Servadio," 16.

²²² Servadio, "La psicoanalisi e il fascismo. Un documento inedito significativo Nota preliminare," *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 20, n. 1 (1974): 60.

²²³ In the notes to a report by the Ministry of the Interior on Servadio's eligibility as member of the Viennese Society, the author of the document politely inferred that "Servadio's mother might have Jewish origins" Errera, Emilio Servadio, 40; for the whole text of the document Bellanova & Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 14-6.

²²⁴ Servadio took part in the congress, along with Perrotti, with a young psychiatrist whose name was Ettore Rieti, Weiss, and the latter's wife Wand. See anonymous, "Il XII Congresso Internazionale di Psicoanalisi," *Rivista Italiana di Psicoanalisi* I, n. 4 (1932): 336.

²²⁵ Miguel Gutiérrez-Peláez, *Confusion of Tongues - A Return to Sándor Ferenczi* (London, New York: Routledge, 2018), 29.

²²⁶ See Servadio, "Ricordando Anna Freud (Vienna 1895 Londra 1982)," *Rivista Italiana di Psicoanalisi* 28, n. 4 (1982): 611-7.

Ferenczi (1873-1933) presented a paper entitled, “Confusion of Tongues Between Adults and the Child”, in which he introduced his innovative techniques in psychoanalytic sessions and his considerations on a more active role for the therapist. Some among the most significant exponents and friends in the psychoanalytic suggested him not to read the paper (i.e. Freud and Freud’s pupil and main biographer, Ernest Jones [1879-1958]),²²⁷ since the contribution – in Freud’s opinion – offered inaccurate conclusions and diverged completely from classical psychoanalytical methodology. The decision of Ferenczi to read it notwithstanding Freud’s warnings²²⁸ would lead to an irreconcilable situation between him and the father of psychoanalysis. The break up concerned not only their relationship, but Ferenczi’s conception of *Genitaltheorie* (‘Theory of Genitality’) as well.²²⁹ In 1924, Ferenczi published *Versuch einer Genitaltheorie*,²³⁰ whose title was later changed in the English version, in 1932, to *Thalassa – A Theory of Genitality*.²³¹ At the time, “Thalassa” represented the most original elaboration of Freud’s theories on sexuality through the introduction of the concept of ‘amphimixis’ (term composed by ‘amphi’: ‘from both sides’ and ‘mixo’: ‘mixture’). This work, as well as the rest of Ferenczi’s literary production, had a strong influence on Servadio.²³² The congress of Wiesbaden was probably the first chance Servadio ever had to get in touch personally with Ferenczi. However, Freud’s ‘secret grand Vizier’ (i.e. Ferenczi)²³³ wasn’t the only schismatic figure of psychoanalysis and sexological field that was influential and inspirational at once, for Servadio. In the same years Ferenczi published *Thalassa*, Austrian doctor and psychoanalyst, Wilhelm Reich (1897-1957) published *Die Funktion des Orgasmus* (1927).²³⁴ Although the latter was dedicated to

²²⁷ About the genesis and the attempt of suppression of Ferenczi’s paper see Arnold Wm Rachman, “The suppression and censorship of Ferenczi’s Confusion of Tongues paper,” *Psychoanalytic Inquiry* 17, n. 4 (1997): 459-85.

²²⁸ Gutiérrez-Peláez, *Confusion of Tongues*, 12-3.

²²⁹ Fausta Ferraro, Alessandro Garella, *In-Fine. Saggio sulla conclusione dell’analisi* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2001), 16.

²³⁰ Sandor Ferenczi, *Versuch einer Genitaltheorie* (Leipzig: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1924).

²³¹ Sandor Ferenczi, *Thalassa – A Theory of Genitality* (Albany, New York: The Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 1938).

²³² Servadio, “«Thalassa» rivisitato,” *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 30, n. 4 (1984):522-37

²³³ This was how Freud called Ferenczi in the farewell letter to his pupil, Ernst Falzeder, Eva Brabant (ed.), *The Correspondence of Sigmund Freud and Sándor Ferenczi, Volume 3: 1920–1933* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000), XXXI.

²³⁴ Wilhelm Reich, *Die Funktion des Orgasmus* (Leipzig; Vienna; Zurich: Internationale Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1927).

Freud,²³⁵ the work marked his gradual detachment from his master²³⁶ and from the International Psychoanalytic Association, a rift that would finally materialize some years later.

The year 1934 marked a turning point in the life of Servadio, as well as to all those involved with the international psychoanalytic environment. The year before saw, along with the death of Ferenczi, the publication of Reich's *Charakteranalyse* ('Character Analysis').²³⁷ January of the same year also saw a crucial historical-political change in Germany, as Hitler seized the power and this fact implied - as an immediate consequence - strict surveillance of the lives and activities of the German-speaking members of the IPA.²³⁸ Since the morning of November, 27, 1934, when Servadio was considered eligible for joining the Wiener Psychoanalytische Vereinigung ('Viennese Psychoanalytical Society', which was, at the time, the underlying and supportive structure of IPA), an action of surveillance which concerned his person and family was launched by part of Fascist regime. Given this fact, it became even more evident that the Italian Psychoanalytical Society was targeted by Mussolini's secret police, the OVRA (Organizzazione per la Vigilanza e la Repressione dell'Antifascismo, 'Organization for Vigilance and Repression of Anti-Fascism')²³⁹ and other organs of surveillance coordinated by the Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sorveglianza,²⁴⁰ in addition to the previously mentioned suppression of *La Rivista Italiana di Psicoanalisi*. In August, the 13th International Psychoanalytic Congress took place in Lucerne, Switzerland, at which Servadio presented a paper on "Psychoanalysis and Telepathy", which was later published in the journal (founded) and edited by Freud himself, *Imago*.²⁴¹ The committee of

²³⁵ Myon Sharaf, *Fury on Earth: A Biography of Wilhelm Reich* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1983), 101.

²³⁶ Sharaf, *Fury on Earth: A Biography of Wilhelm*, 114 ff.

²³⁷ Reich, *Charakteranalyse: Technik und Grundlagen für Studierende und praktizierende Analytiker* (Vienna: Im Selbstverlage des Verfassers, 1933)

²³⁸ For an in-depth analysis of the surveillance and repression of the activities of the psychoanalytical movement in German speaking countries, see Karen Brecht, Hella Ehlers, Christine Trollope, "*Here Life Goes On in a Most Peculiar Way...": Psychoanalysis before and after 1933* (Hamburg: Kellner, 1992).

²³⁹ On the OVRA, its structure, and collaborators, see Mimmo Franzinelli, *I tentacoli dell'ovra – Agenti, collaboratori e vittime della polizia politica fascista* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1999). A more recent work offered an analysis of the involvement of members of the Catholic church with specific activities of surveillance. One of the characters considered is Father Tacchi-Venturi. See David I. Kertzer, *The Pope and Mussolini – The Secret History of Pius XI and the Rise of Fascism in Europe* (New York: Random House 2014).

²⁴⁰ See Bellanova & Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 4-43.

²⁴¹ Servadio, "Psychoanalyse und Telepathie," *Imago – Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Psychologie ihre Grenzgebiete und Anwendungen* 21, n. 4 (1935): 489-97. He later contributed to the psychoanalytical journal

the IPA took the opportunity of the congress to announce the expulsion (i.e. by omitting his name from the list of the members of the German Psychoanalytical Society) of Reich from the association:²⁴² more than once, since the beginning of the 1933, Reich was asked, by part of the committee of the German Psychoanalytical Society, to offer his resignation due to his political commitment and previous attempts to link psychoanalysis to Marxism, but he refused.²⁴³ Although he was allowed to read his paper on “Psychischer Kontakt und Vegetative Stromung” (“Psychic Contact and Vegetative Current”), he was ostracized by almost every participant at the congress, excluding Servadio and the other members of the Italian section, who, at the congress banquet, invited Reich and his wife to enjoy the dinner at their table.²⁴⁴ In 1936, Servadio participated in the international congress of Marienbad, where he presented some psychoanalytic considerations on certain psychic phenomena of a clairvoyant medium.²⁴⁵ On this occasion, the Italian section was recognized by the International association, which also attracted the interest of Mussolini and his secret police.²⁴⁶ Servadio (this time without Weiss)²⁴⁷ also took part in an international psychoanalytical congress in 1938 in Paris, where he lectured on psychoanalysis and Yoga.²⁴⁸

In this general overview of this series of events characterizing the history of psychoanalytic movement, both Ferenczi and Reich played a major role in these circumstances, as they boasted strong influence on Servadio. The Italian psychoanalyst had

founde by Freud with Servadio, “Die Angst vor dem bösem Blick,” *Imago – Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Psychologie ihre Grenzgebiete und Anwendungen* 22, n. 4 (1936): 396-408.

²⁴² Sharaf, *Fury on Earth*, 155ff.

²⁴³ Ilse Ollendorff Reich, *Wilhelm Reich - Eine Persönliche Biografie* (Leverett, Massachusetts Ollendorff Editions, 1969), 26; Sharaf, *Fury on Earth*, 180-1.

²⁴⁴ Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 35, Gagliardo, “I padri della psicoanalisi in Italia” about the episode concerning the situation afterwards Reich’s expulsion: Servadio “I asked Weiss whether I could invite Reich at our table, and he consented. I said to myself «it is unconceivable that Wilhelm Reich and his wife couldn’t find a table where to sit!»”

²⁴⁵ Unfortunately, I couldn’t verify the identity of this ‘medium chiaroveggente’ Servadio referred to, in one of his articles, see the reference into Servadio, “Il metodo in metapsichica,” *Metapsichica* 1, n. 2 (1946), 77; Servadio, “Contributi della psicologia del profondo alla ricerca metapsichica,” in *Nuovi problemi di metapsichica: Seconda Serie. Atti del Secondo Congresso Nazionale, Salerno, 4-6 Ottobre 1952* (Rome: SIM, 1952), 109.

²⁴⁶ For an overview of the activities of OVRA (‘Organization for Surveillance and Repression of Antifascism’) and SIM (Military Information Service) see Romano Canosa, *I servizi segreti del Duce* (Milan: Mondadori, 2000).

²⁴⁷ Weiss “smelled the air” and, fearing for his family, moved to the U.S. in 1939, first to Topeka, Kansas, then to Chicago - Roazen, *Edoardo Weiss*, 9ff.

²⁴⁸ The paper was later expanded and published in English and Italian: Servadio, “Psychoanalysis and Yoga,” *Bulletin of the Bombay Medical Union* 8, nn. 3-4 (1940): 216-20; Servadio, “Psicoanalisi e Yoga,” *Luce e Ombra* 47, nn. 3-4 (June-July 1947): 151-56.

already come across the work of Ferenczi during the elaboration of his dissertation on hypnosis. One of the chapters of his thesis was dedicated to the psychoanalytic interpretation of the relationship between the hypnotist and hypnotized individual.²⁴⁹ Ferenczi's use of hypnotism in the therapy was strictly linked to the sexual identification of the therapist with one of the parents of the patient.²⁵⁰ The topics of hypnosis, animal magnetism, and mesmerism acquired a specific meaning for Servadio since its first reading at the *Società di Letture e Conversazioni Scientifiche* in Genoa. In 1932, in an interview released to the French journal *Psychica*,²⁵¹ Servadio explained how he approached the field of 'psychic studies': besides including personal motivations,²⁵² Servadio claimed an interest in spiritualist and psychic phenomena, because of the mutual aspects belonging to both the metapsychical and psychological fields. Servadio said: "it was clear that those [psychic] phenomena should have been studied, through the approach of abnormal and normal psychology, and by moving from what is known and ascertained to what is lesser known, and eventually to what is ignored. Then, I focused myself on hypnotism [...]"²⁵³ There are several aspects from this statement to clarify; in a previous affirmation, I stressed how Servadio approached spiritualism and mesmerism by means of psychoanalytic method, more specifically by making "the unconscious conscious". The later reference to a movement towards the unknown does not represent a contradiction but a neat direction of research. More precisely, when Servadio used the terms 'normal and abnormal psychology', he referred to two branches of psychoanalysis: depth psychology (the term allegedly coined by Eugen Bleuler [1857-1939], *Tiefenpsychologie*, and adopted by Freud for the first time in 1914)²⁵⁴ and 'psychodynamic'.²⁵⁵ According to the psychiatrist and medical historian, Henri Ellenberger (1905-1993), depth psychology, in an initial transitional phase of the

²⁴⁹ Puma, "Biografia,"; on the role of hypnosis in Ferenczi see Sandor Ferenczi, "The Part played by Transference in Hypnotism and Suggestion," in *First Contributions to Psycho-Analysis*, ed. Judith Dupont (London; New York: Karnac, 2002), 58-98; see Julia Gyimesi, "Why 'spiritism'?" *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 97, n. 2 (2016): 17-18; 22-23.

²⁵⁰ Ferenczi, "The Part played by Transference in Hypnotism and Suggestion," 63-6.

²⁵¹ Servadio, "Comment je suis venu aux Études Psychique," *Psychica – Revue Mensuelle des Sciences Psychique* 12, n. 133 (March 1932) : 33-4.

²⁵² Servadio reported that he personally assisted to some spiritualist séances in a 'familial environment': Servadio, "Comment je suis venu aux Études Psychique," 34.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Sigmund Freud, "Zur Geschichte der psychoanalytischen Bewegung," in *Sigmund Freud Gesammelte Werke – Werke aus den Jahren 1913-1917*, vol. X, edited by Anna Freud, (London: Imago 1946), 83.

²⁵⁵ Servadio, "Contributi della psicologia del profondo alla ricerca metapsichica," 107.

psychoanalytic science at the beginning of the twentieth century, “claimed to furnish a key to the exploration of the unconscious mind, and through this a renewed knowledge of the conscious mind, with wider application to the understanding of literature, art, religion, and culture.”²⁵⁶ In addition, Servadio affirmed that depth psychology aims to study unconscious psychic processes by establishing their purposes and meanings.²⁵⁷ Then, the movement from the field of known to the sphere of unknown mentioned by Servadio in his interview to the French journal, and the process of “making the unconscious conscious” are assembled in one perspective of research: to verify certain phenomena (and unconscious processes) on a qualitative level.²⁵⁸ This latter assessment has a specific implication, namely, that the point is not to verify the existence of this kind of phenomena itself, but their ‘inner’ dynamics. On this basis, both psychic and spiritualist phenomena could be approached through the spectrum of depth psychology.²⁵⁹

A further clarification must be introduced: if the identification of ‘normal psychology’ with depth psychology is certain, then the association between ‘abnormal psychology’ and dynamic psychology (or psychodynamics) is not self-evident. The motivation adduced to this lack of identification is linked to conceptual and historical factors. At the same time that Servadio wrote his first article on hypnotism (1923),²⁶⁰ the Italian biologist (of Scottish origins), William Mackenzie (1877-1971),²⁶¹ published a work “spreading the view of metapsychical research he learned from Morselli and Richet.”²⁶² This latter work was

²⁵⁶ Henri F. Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 490.

²⁵⁷ Servadio, “Telepathy and Psychoanalysis,” *The Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research* 52, n. 4 (1958): 125.

²⁵⁸ Anna Maria Battistin, “La psicologia dell’impossibile,” *Salve* 18, n. 6 (June 1994): 122.

²⁵⁹ Servadio, “Contributi della psicologia del profondo alla ricerca metapsichica,” 107.

²⁶⁰ Servadio, “La suggestione «a termine»,” *Luce e Ombra* 23, n. 3-4 (March-April 1923): 96-9.

²⁶¹ See Biondi, “Chi era William Mackenzie, parapsicologo. I,” *Psi Report*, accessed on January, 24, 2019, <https://psireport.wordpress.com/2016/01/26/chi-era-william-mackenzie-parapsicologo-i/>; Biondi, “Chi era William Mackenzie, parapsicologo. II,” *Psi Report*, accessed on January, 24, 2019, <https://psireport.wordpress.com/2016/01/30/chi-era-william-mackenzie-parapsicologo-ii/>; Biondi, “Chi era William Mackenzie, parapsicologo. III,” *Psi Report*, accessed on January, 24, 2019, <https://psireport.wordpress.com/2016/02/03/chi-era-william-mackenzie-parapsicologo-iii/>; “William Mackenzie,” in *The Biographical Dictionary of Parapsychology with Directory and Glossary 1946-1996*, ed. Helene Pleasants (New York: Garrett Publications, 1964).

²⁶² Gasperini, “Book Review of *Metapsichica Moderna: Fenomeni Medianici e Problemi del Subcosciente*,” *Journal of Scientific Exploration* 26, n. 4 (2012): 913.

Metapsichica moderna.²⁶³ Besides the purpose and the specific content of the work to be discussed later, what is important to point out is that this volume contains a specific passage mentioned by Servadio in many of his writings):²⁶⁴ while Mackenzie is reporting his personal discovery (and contact) of the theories²⁶⁵ of Swiss psychoanalyst and Lutheran minister Oskar Pfister (1873-1956) and the psychoanalytic considerations of Swiss professor Théodore Flournoy [1854-1920] on the mediumistic paintings of Hélène Smith (1861-1929), Mackenzie assessed that “psychoanalysis and metapsychics are two German twin sisters.”²⁶⁶ This deliberation implied some kind of connection, or analogous process characterizing both the psychoanalytic and metapsychical field. This similarity and affinity of these two branches found their cornerstone in the notion of the ‘unconscious’, its conception at the beginning of the twentieth century and roots in a primeval dimension of psychic/psychological healing. The ambiguity of Servadio’s abnormal psychology with relation to dynamic psychiatry or parapsychology is due to the fact that these two ‘pseudo-scientific’ disciplines were going through a transitional phase at the beginning of the century, and the underlying notion of ‘unconscious’ constantly changed over the years.

Servadio approached metapsychical and spiritualist phenomena because his interest and efforts were aimed towards “the unveiling of a mystery”.²⁶⁷ His dissertation on hypnosis, as well as his first experiences with spiritualist séances in Genoa (which remain unclear and demand further investigation), constituted Servadio’s attempt to investigate the ‘roots’ of the scientific thought and all possible potential expressions of the unconscious.²⁶⁸ On this perspective, recently considered by scholars from different fields of studies,²⁶⁹ Servadio tried to reconstruct and investigate the origins and ancestors of the modern psychoanalytic discipline. Among these I include ‘mesmerism’, ‘animal magnetism’, and ‘hypnosis’.

²⁶³ William Mackenzie, *Metapsichica moderna: fenomeni medianici e del subcosciente* (Rome: Libreria di Scienze e Lettere, 1923).

²⁶⁴ Servadio, “Contributi della psicologia del profondo alla ricerca metapsichica,” 107;

²⁶⁵ Oskar Pfister, *Die psychoanalytische Methode. Eine erfahrungswissenschaftlich-systematische Darstellung von Dr. Oskar Pfister Pfarrer und Seminarlehrer in Zürich* (Leipzig; Berlin: Klinikhardt, 1913).

²⁶⁶ Mackenzie, *Metapsichica moderna*, 342.

²⁶⁷ Servadio, “Comment je suis venu aux Études Psychique,” 33.

²⁶⁸ Stabile, Stabile, *I buoni maestri*, 210.

²⁶⁹ The reference is to Alan Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Adam Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*; Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious*.

As mentioned above, the *Italian Encyclopaedia*,²⁷⁰ along with his collaboration with the spiritualist journal *Luce e Ombra* gave Servadio the chance to deal with specific topics bordering between psychoanalysis and metapsychical themes. Although I will later devote more space to the issue, Servadio's involvement with the *milieu* gravitating around the spiritualist journal and publishing house was not limited to mere intellectual collaboration.²⁷¹ From the moment he moved to Rome in 1929 (with the genesis of the spiritualist/metapsychical societies) Servadio managed to make acquaintance with a series of people personally involved in the emerging Italian metapsychical environment as well others committed to the investigation of the 'field' of spiritualist phenomena.

At the end of the twenties, Servadio paid attention to the spiritualist scene, as well to the occultist one. I briefly mentioned above that Servadio wrote about a group of writers gathering around a publishing initiative also known by the name *Ur*. One of the founders of the journal was Julius Evola. In his article, the Italian psychoanalyst explains that Evola is popular both for his attempt at launching an Italian Dadaist movement as well for introducing his peculiar Magical Idealism.²⁷² Although this represents a significant moment in the friendship between Servadio and Evola, this is not as crucial as their first contact and Evola's relationship with *Luce e Ombra*. In 1926, Gioacchino Farina D'Anfiano (1902-1931)²⁷³ delivered a harsh critique of Evola's volume, *Saggi sull'idealismo magico*,²⁷⁴ to the issue of the spiritualist journal.²⁷⁵ The most astonishing fact was not the critique Evola received for the "fierce anti-Christian attitude of his book",²⁷⁶ but the fact that Servadio himself defended Evola's book against the position of the editorial board of *Luce e Ombra*.²⁷⁷ Although Servadio reported that immediately after this clash some of the contributors of

²⁷⁰ Servadio, "Mesmer, Franz Anton," in *L'Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1934), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/franz-anton-mesmer_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/;

²⁷¹ Biondi, "I tre volti parapsicologici di Emilio Servadio," 30-5.

²⁷² Servadio, "Neomagia," 111.

²⁷³ Anonymous, "Il N. H. Gioacchino Farina D'Anfiano," *La nobiltà della stirpe* 1, n. 11 (1931): 7-9; Anonymous "Obituary of Gioacchino Farina d'Anfiano," *Luce e Ombra* 31, n. 11-12 (November-December 1931): 372.

²⁷⁴ Julius Evola, *Saggi sull'idealismo magico* (Rome; Todi: Atanor, 1925).

²⁷⁵ Gioacchino Farina D'Anfiano, "Book Review of *Saggi sull'idealismo magico*," *Luce e Ombra* 16 (March 1926): 142.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ Servadio, "Metapsichica e Filosofia," *Luce e Ombra* 27, n. 11 (November 1927): 473-75, see also La Redazione, "Metapsichica e idealismo," *Luce e Ombra* 27, n. 11 (November 1927): 475-9.

Luce e Ombra wrote to him in order to subscribe to his journal,²⁷⁸ I could not verify when exactly their correspondence started. However, Servadio reported about his first meeting with Evola, at this latter place, in an article published in the Fascist journal *Il Popolo di Lombardia* on April 21, 1928.²⁷⁹ Thus, it can be established that Evola and Servadio's personal acquaintance and friendship began from that moment onwards. Although his collaboration with the journal *Ur/Krur* was sporadic, Servadio was well aware of the occult/initiatory activities involving the contributors of the journal.²⁸⁰ According to Servadio, he both collaborated with the journal and joined the group, but never took part in their initiatory activities.²⁸¹ When the experience of *Krur* finished, Evola and some of the journal collaborators, among these Servadio, Gino Ferretti (1880-1951),²⁸² poet Girolamo Comi (1890-1968),²⁸³ the writer and traditionalist Guido De Giorgio (1890-1957),²⁸⁴ the alpinist and mountaineer Domenico Rudatis (1898-1994),²⁸⁵ the philosopher and Gentile's pupil Leonardo Grassi (1873-1961),²⁸⁶ and the Sicilian engineer and regular contributor to *Luce e Ombra* Roberto Pavese (1873-?), gathered altogether at Comi's house to start a new editorial venture.²⁸⁷ The meeting was aimed to decide the new name of the journal. Servadio took inspiration from a Catholic periodical of the past, started in 1913 by the writers Domenico Giuliotti (1877-1956) and Federigo Tozzi (1883-1920), *La Torre*. Evola promptly opted for Servadio's proposal and added the subheading "Foglio di espressioni

²⁷⁸ Claudio Morici, "Emilio Servadio e la scienza dell'esperienza," *Kultur – Philo-Sophia quaternaria e Tradizione primordiale* 4 (2000): 74-5.

²⁷⁹ Servadio, "Evola o il mago – Sagome di contemporanei," *Il Popolo di Lombardia* 6, n. 1 (April 1928): 23-5.

²⁸⁰ Servadio, "Commento ad alcune esperienze «magiche»," *Luce e Ombra* 29, n. 4 (April 1929): 321-4.

²⁸¹ Errera, Emilio Servadio, 88-9.

²⁸² On the life and works of the Sicilian professor of pedagogy at the University of Catania, Giuseppe Luigi (Gino) Ferretti, see Giovanni Maria Bertin, "L'estetismo materialista di Gino Ferretti," *Rivista Critica di Storia della Filosofia* 7, n. 4 (July-August 1952): 312-7.

²⁸³ Carlo Caporossi, *Ascetico Narciso. La figura e l'opera di Girolamo Comi* (Milan: Olschki, 2001); on Comi and his 'Aristocratic Christianity' see Sergio Scartozzi, "Letteratura italiana e «scienze occulte» tra *fin de siècle* e primo Novecento" (Ph.D. diss., Università degli Studi di Trento, 2017), 191-209.

²⁸⁴ For a general biographical introduction of De Giorgio see Evola, *Il cammino del cinabro* (Rome: Mediterranee, 2014), 179-180.

²⁸⁵ For a biographical profile of Domenico Rudatis see Giuseppe Sorge, "Profilo di Domenico Rudatis: il carteggio con Attilio Tissi," in *Attilio Tissi. Quei giorni quelle montagne*, edited by Bepi Pellegrinon (Belluno: Nuovi Sentieri, 2000), 71-91.

²⁸⁶ For a biographical profile of Leonardo Grassi, see Rosario Fisichella, "Un filosofo dall'anima di poeta," *Ausonia* 19, n. 4 (July-August 1964): 111-134.

²⁸⁷ Giorgio, *Roma Renovata Resurgat*, 543,

varie e di Tradizione una".²⁸⁸ The journal published ten issues before being suppressed by Fascist authorities.²⁸⁹ Servadio's contribution consisted mostly in poems and a (critical) overview of American literature.²⁹⁰ The factor that I would like to stress here is that, besides this brief collaboration with Evola (which lasted only one year), the contrast between the contributors of *Ur/Krur* and *Luce e Ombra* was based on the difference between Mysticism and Metapsychics.

Servadio also shared with Evola, and other members of the *Ur* group, the reading of texts of Western Esotericism and the Initiatory field. In addition to Schuré's masterpiece (i.e. *Les grands inités*), Servadio also devoted great consideration to the thought and works of the traditionalist thinker (who eventually reconciled with Catholicism)²⁹¹ René Guénon (1886-1951).²⁹² Along with Evola, Guénon's presence and reference in Servadio's literary production allowed him to introduce a reflection on a crucial topic, namely to distinguish the difference between initiatory/occult dimension and the first attempts at psychical research in Europe (and even more specifically in Italy).²⁹³ In opposition to 'metapsychic studies', Servadio presents certain initiatory experiences (including the *Ur* group), or 'occultist sciences', and among the traits characterizing their dissimilarity he distinguished

²⁸⁸ Servadio, "Come nacque «La Torre»," *Solstitium – Centro di Formazione Tradizionale "Julius Evola"* 7, n. 3 (March 1982): 15-6.

²⁸⁹ Marco Rossi, "Neopaganesimo e arti magiche nel periodo fascista," *Storia d'Italia. Annali. vol. 25: Esoterismo*, ed. Gianmario Cazzaniga (Turin: Einaudi, 2010), 621.

²⁹⁰ Servadio, "Segreti del mestiere," *La Torre – Foglio di Espressioni Varie e Tradizione Una* (Milan: Il Falco, 1977): 37-9; 85-9; Servadio "Liriche," *La Torre – Foglio di Espressioni Varie e Tradizione Una* (Milan: Il Falco, 1977): 116-7; Servadio, "Leda o i due mondi," *La Torre – Foglio di Espressioni Varie e Tradizione Una* (Milan: Il Falco, 1977): 262-3; Servadio, "Reazioni americane contro l'America," *La Torre – Foglio di Espressioni Varie e Tradizione Una* (Milan: Il Falco, 1977): 366-9.

²⁹¹ On the life of Guénon see, Jean-Pierre Laurant, *René Guénon. Les enjeux d'une lecture* (Paris : Éditions Dervy, 2006).

²⁹² Although I could not find any evidence that Servadio had ever been in touch with Guénon, the Italian psychoanalyst referred to him in more than one article: Servadio, "Studi psichici e scienze occulte," *La Fiera Letteraria*, September 30, 1928, 3-7; Servadio, "Il ritorno di Katie King" *La ricerca psichica* 33, n. 2 (February 1933): 118-25; among the volumes of Servadio's books collection located at the Communal Library Stelio Crise, I noted the presence of the following works of Guénon: René Guénon, *Aperçus sur l'ésotérisme chrétien* (Paris : Éditions traditionnelles, 1973); Guénon, *La métaphysique orientale* (Paris: Éditions traditionnelles, 1970); Guénon, *Formes traditionnelles et cycles cosmiques* (Paris: Gallimard, 1970); along with biographies on Guénon, Paul Chacornac, *La vie simple de René Guénon* (Paris: : Éditions traditionnelles, 1958).

²⁹³ Servadio, "Studi psichici e scienze occulte;" Servadio "Esoterismo e parapsicologia," *Rassegna italiana di Ricerca Psichica* 8-9, n. 1 (1973): 123-5.

their *Weltanschauung*²⁹⁴ and their approach to spiritualist, supernatural, and religious phenomena (namely ‘miracles’).²⁹⁵

I recognize two different factions herein, ‘metapsychics’ on one side, and ‘occultists’ on the other side. Although a process of rationalization interested both factions, a positivist feature characterized the metapsychical group, while a seek for transcendence the occultist one. Besides his commitment to the emerging metapsychical field in Italy in the thirties, Servadio also dealt with systems of thought, Eastern philosophies, and meditation techniques devoted into the quest of altered and transcendental states. Given his message to the international congress in Paris in 1937, I can assess that from that moments onwards, the Italian psychoanalyst focused on the role and practice of Yoga.²⁹⁶

Yogic-transcendental techniques are not the only subject of an anthropological/historical religious nature which Servadio treated in the thirties. In August 1935, Servadio published a psychoanalytic contribution on the figure of the diviner in French, “La baguette des sourciers” (‘Divining Rod’).²⁹⁷ The manuscript was originally written in 1924 in Vienna,²⁹⁸ and delivered to the editorial board of *Revue Française de Psychanalyse* in April 1935. Thanks to his connection with Princess Marie Bonaparte (1882-1962), Servadio later published in 1938 in the same journal “Le cerf-volant, le feu et la foudre” (‘The Kite, the fire, and the lighting’).²⁹⁹ The latter was already published (in its

²⁹⁴ Servadio, “Studi psichici e scienze occulte” 7.

²⁹⁵ Servadio, “Mistica e parapsicologia,” *Luce e Ombra* 82, n. 4 (April): 310-22; Servadio “L’estasi mistica,” *Playmen* 14, n. 4 (April 1981): 23-7.

²⁹⁶ In part of the book collection located at Stelio Crise Library in Trieste, I found the following books on Yoga and religious systems or doctrines related/permeated by yogic meditation technique: Mircea Eliade, *Techniques du yoga* (Paris: Gallimard, 1948); Eliade, *Patanjali et les yoga-sutra – Techniques de la méditation – Les chemins de la liberté – Histoire des pratiques yogiques – le yoga bouddhiste – Le hatha-yoga* (Paris: Payot, 1960); Sri Aurobindo, *Les bases du yoga* (Paris: Maissoneuve; Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé; Frameries: Union des imprimeries, 1939); Félix Guyot, *Le yoga de l’occident* (Paris: Éditions Adyar, 1938); Eva Ruchpaul, *Philosophie et pratique du yoga* (Paris: Éditions Planète, 1969); Walter Evans-Wentz, *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines, or Seven Books of Wisdom of the Great Path – According to the Late Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdup’s* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935).

²⁹⁷ Servadio, “La baguette des sourciers,” *Revue Française de Psychanalyse: Organe Officiel de la Société Psychanalytique de Paris* 8, n. 3 (1935): 488-500.

²⁹⁸ Servadio, “La baguette des sourciers,” 500.

²⁹⁹ Servadio, “Le cerf-volant, le feu et la foudre,” *Revue Française de Psychanalyse: Organe Officiel de la Société Psychanalytique de Paris* 10, n. 3 : 421-46.

Italian version) in *Saggi in onore di Sigmund Freud* (1936)³⁰⁰ and aimed to provide the reader with a psychoanalytic interpretation of crucial elements in religious and mythological traditions.³⁰¹ Besides the psychoanalytic perspective adopted, the focus on religious and anthropological topics characterized Servadio's production from this moment onwards. More specifically, his interest in the field of the history of religions and anthropology (even though constantly perceived through a psychoanalytical/parapsychological lens) began to manifest itself at the end of the thirties.

Servadio's interest in hypnosis, rhabdomancy, and 'spiritualism' entailed a practical aspect (i.e. fieldwork and personal involvement in phenomena verification) as well as observation of phenomena.³⁰² The considerations on theoretical and pragmatical aspects of the metapsychics were duly included and analysed by Servadio in *La ricerca psichica* ('The Psychical Research').³⁰³ The work was published in 1930 and was prefaced by Richet. The book aimed to offer a general historical overview and a series of technical observations on the emerging psychical research *milieu* on a global level. More specifically, Servadio first recalled the entire history of psychical research from its very beginning, namely Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.³⁰⁴ This represented a different conceptualization of the history of psychic research (and future history of parapsychology) because of the focus on the 'paranormal dream' in the authors of the Late Ancient Greece, and mediumistic phenomena among saints and mystics in the Medieval era.³⁰⁵ If most contemporary scholars identified Mesmer as the 'founding father' (or the figure, who characterized the first transitional phase) of 'psychical research',³⁰⁶ then Servadio wanted to point out another direction in the research of paranormal phenomena. In the preface and introduction of the late 1946 edition of *La ricerca psichica*, the Italian psychoanalyst proposed a number of distinctions: since the publication of *Metapsichica moderna* of Mackenzie, no other work

³⁰⁰ Weiss, *Saggi di psicoanalisi in onore di Sigmund Freud* (Rome: Cremonese, 1936).

³⁰¹ A crucial element in the whole analysis was the 'lighting'.

³⁰² Biondi, "I tre volti parapsicologici di Emilio Servadio," 33.

³⁰³ Servadio, *La ricerca psichica* (Rome: Cremonese, 1930).

³⁰⁴ Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 14-29.

³⁰⁵ Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 15-6.

³⁰⁶ In addition to Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious* and Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, for what concerns an alternative historical interpretation of the psychiatry see also Carlos S. Alvarado, "Mediumship, Dissociation, and the Powers of Subconscious Mind," *Journal of Parapsychology* 78, n. 1 (2014): 98-114.

offered a general overview psychical/metapsychical themes to the Italian audience;³⁰⁷ and in an integrated and corrected conclusion,³⁰⁸ Servadio summated the myriad of directions and approaches in the field of psychical research in three theses, 'ipotesi spiritica' ('spiritic hypothesis'), 'interpretazioni religiose e occultistiche' ('religious and occultist interpretations'), 'ipotesi naturalistiche' ('naturalistic hypothesis'). I will later consider in detail these three hypotheses. For now, it is important to take heed of a specific aspect, that is the difference between the metapsychical and the ('potential') parapsychological concepts. If the emerging discipline of "parapsychology was characterized by a universalist and quantitative approach", then "metapsychics" was identified with "an elitist and qualitative approach".³⁰⁹

However an 'elitist' attitude never characterized Servadio's literary production, but rather an educational tone marks the entirety of the over 3,300 articles written between the twenties and the first four years of the nineties.³¹⁰ Given his personal intention of becoming a journalist,³¹¹ and his purpose of making the content of every article accessible to everybody, it is possible to see how Servadio wanted to divulge specific topics on an international level.

Taking into account this personal endeavor of the Italian psychoanalyst, it is much easier to understand the development of psychical research in Italy in the thirties, and how one of its main exponents - Servadio - interacted with Italian audiences, the academic field, and authorities all at once to try to preserve the future of this potential discipline. The formulation of three hypotheses at the end of the second edition of *La ricerca psichica* reflected specific historical changes and circumstances linked to the birth of the metapsychics movement in Italy. However, the story began far earlier in 1900 in the journal *Luce e Ombra* (1900), thanks to the meeting and combined efforts of Marzorati and Italian

³⁰⁷ Servadio, *La ricerca psichica* (Rome: Cremonese, 1946), 9.

³⁰⁸ The historical introduction of the updated second edition of the book was also integrated with data and events linked to the late thirties and forties, see Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 26-9.

³⁰⁹ For an exhaustive analysis of French metapsychical approach see Robert Amadou, *La parapsychologie* (Paris: Éditions Denoël, 1954), 13-4; 30-2.

³¹⁰ This the number of Servadio's articles collected until the beginning of January 2019.

³¹¹ Errera, *Emilio Sevadio*, 16.

entrepreneur Achille Brioschi (1860-1942).³¹² A year later, thanks to the financial support of Brioschi, the Società di Studi Psicici ('Society of Psychic Studies') was founded in Milan.

Under the guidance of Marzorati, the journal, besides being marked by an initial Christian-spiritualist imprinting,³¹³ focused on the promotion of spiritualist and psychical research initiatives abroad.³¹⁴ Although some of the members and collaborators of the journal were not active or personally involved in the verification of 'paranormal phenomena',³¹⁵ the Society aimed to experiment with mediums. Thus, the Society of Psychic Studies represented the pragmatic section of this circle, while the journal was devoted to the promotion of content of a 'philosophical and moral' nature.

Many personalities belonging both to the scientific and cultural environment joined the Society and its activities. These included the poet Antonio Fogazzaro (1842-1911), who accepted the position of "Presidente Onorario" ('Honorary President') of the Society of Psychic Studies,³¹⁶ Morselli, Lombroso, as well as the novelists Arrigo Boito (1841-1918) and Salvatore Farina (1846-1918)³¹⁷ and the writer Luigi Capuana (1839-1915) deserve special mention as members of the Society.³¹⁸ The Society also boasted the membership of the French astronomer Camille Flammarion (1842-1925).³¹⁹

In the while, the Director of the Department of Public Health, Rocco Santoliquido (1854-1930), who was interested and personally involved in Spiritualism, played a crucial

³¹² On the figure of Brioschi, as promoter and financial supporter of *Luce e Ombra* and Società di Studi Psicici, see Antonio Bruers, "Come nacque Luce e Ombra," *Luce e Ombra* 51, n. 5 (September-October 1951): 259-63; Biondi & Ravaldini, "La storia di Luce e Ombra," *Le tracce dell'Anima - Scelta di brani dalla rivista Luce e Ombra 1901-1925*, ed. Massimo Biondi, Silvio Ravaldini (Rome: GSE, 1998), 4-18; for a general biographical overview on Brioschi, see GG. P. Marchese, "Brioschi, Achille Antonio," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1972), [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/achille-antonio-brioschi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/achille-antonio-brioschi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

³¹³ See Bruers, "Come nacque Luce e Ombra," 259; Biondi & Ravaldini, "Storia di Luce e Ombra," 37; Ravaldini, *Ernesto Bozzano e La ricerca psichica*, 35.

³¹⁴ Bruers, "Come nacque Luce e Ombra," 259.

³¹⁵ *Statuto Società di Studi Psicici in Milano* (Milan: Tipografia degli operai, 1901?), 4.

³¹⁶ Marianna Brighenti, "Antonio Fogazzaro presidente onorario della Società di Studi Psicici: Un documento inedito sul rapporto tra spiritismo, religione e scienza," *Atti della Accademia roveretana degli Agiati - Classe di scienze umane, lettere ed arti* 5, n. 1 (2005): 162.

³¹⁷ Bruers, "Come nacque Luce e Ombra," 258.

³¹⁸ About Capuana and involvement with Spiritualism, see the introduction by Simona Cigliana (ed.), *Mondo occulto* (Catania: Prisma, 1995); Cigliana, "Spiritismo e parapsicologia nell'età positivista," *Storia d'Italia. Annali. vol. 25: Esoterismo*, ed. Gianmario Cazzaniga (Turin: Einaudi, 2010), 541-3.

³¹⁹ Ravaldini, "Storia di Luce e Ombra," 27.

role in the creation of the French metapsychics center in Paris in 1919, Institut Métapsychique International ('International Metapsychics Institute'),³²⁰ and also tried to launch an Italian metapsychics institute, immediately in the post-war (i.e. The Great War) period. He, along with Levi-Bianchini³²¹ supported Brioschi in the creation of a section of the Society in Rome. From that moment onwards,³²² Marzorati started moving regularly between Milan and Rome, until the headquarter of the Society and the journal was definitely settled in Rome in 1911.³²³ The decision of Marzorati to not establish himself indefinitely in Rome was linked to his friendship with Antonio Bruers (1887-1954).³²⁴ The latter was asked by the founder of *Luce e Ombra* to join him in Rome. Although he refused at first, he later became Deputy Secretary of the Society in Rome, in 1913. Then, at the end of the same year, the spiritualist journal had its own headquarter in Via Varese 4, in Rome, while an apartment in Via della Croce, was the official location of the Society for experiments with mediums. The inauguration of the Roman section and headquarters in the Italian capital did not imply the suppression of those in Milan: once Marzorati was nominated Secretary of the new-born section and definitely moved to Rome, medical doctor and malacologist, Carlo Alzona (1881-1961) succeeded him in Milan as the head of the local section of the Society of Psychic Studies.

On October 12, 1931, Marzorati died, and the committee of the journal announced that the headquarter of the journal and Society of Psychic Studies was about to be moved back to Milan,³²⁵ and that Bruers was chosen to succeed Marzorati as the head of *Luce e Ombra*.³²⁶ The journal was 'reborn' with a new name, *La ricerca psichica* ('Psychical Research'),³²⁷ a new editor-in-chief (i.e. Bruers), but with an old location, Rome - only the

³²⁰ Renaud Evrard, *Enquête sur 150 ans de parapsychologie – Le légende de l'esprit* (Escalquens : Éditions Trajectoire, 2016), 271-4.

³²¹ Biondi, "Marco Levi Bianchini: A Forgotten Italian Supporter of Parapsychology," 324.

³²² Bruers, "Come nacque Luce e Ombra," 264.

³²³ Massimo Biondi, Silvio Ravaldini, "Luce e Ombra: storia ed evoluzione di una rivista," *Luce e Ombra* 100, n. 2 (April-June 2000): 137.

³²⁴ On Bruers see Eugenio Garin, "Bruers, Antonio," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1972), [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-bruers_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-bruers_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

³²⁵ Società di Studi Psichici, "Comunicato," *Luce e Ombra* 31, n. 11-12 (November-December 1931), 486.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ The title in its entirety was: *La ricerca psichica - Luce e Ombra: organo dell'Istituto di Studi Psichici di Milano*.

Society was moved back to its original headquarters.³²⁸ Bruers edited the journal from 1932 until 1934, when Brioschi – its main sponsor – decided that the direction of the journal was not in line with his idea of a ‘spiritualist journal’.³²⁹

Although I will later discuss the perception of French spiritist and spiritualist currents, and their substantial differences in the Italian context, I would now like to stress an aspect which is crucial to the reporting of historical facts: one of the main discrepancies between Brioschi and Bruers consisted in the adoption of a ‘scientific approach’ to spiritualist phenomena by the latter.³³⁰ The choice of changing the title of the journal implied a laic vision of spiritualism and an orientation towards a different model after which to adapt a metapsychics institute, but, above all, to create a means devoted to “treat the soul beliefs of different civilizations and everything connected to the paranormal.”³³¹

At the time, the conception of metapsychics by Bruers was not an isolated case. A year after the change of the editor-in-chief of *La ricerca psichica*, the politician and psychiatrist Ferdinando Cazzamalli (1887-1958),³³² the statistics lecturer Giovanni Schepis (1894-1963),³³³ and Servadio tried to found an institute for the study and experimentation of metapsychical phenomena.³³⁴ This attempt also involved History of Religions scholar, Raffaele Pettazzoni. In 1934, Pettazzoni committed to write the entry ‘Penitenza’ (‘Penance’) for *the Italian Encyclopaedia*.³³⁵ Bruers – who already contributed to the same project with the entries ‘Aksakov, Alexandr’ and ‘Apporto’ (‘Apport/Materialization’) ³³⁶ was

³²⁸ Biondi & Ravaldini, “La Storia di Luce e Ombra,” 30-1.

³²⁹ See Bruers, “Come nacque Luce e Ombra,” 267-8.

³³⁰ Biondi & Ravaldini, “La Storia di Luce e Ombra,” 31.

³³¹ Antonio Bruers to Raffaele Pettazzoni, December 23, 1931, Fondo Raffaele Pettazzoni, n. 1.

³³² On the life of Cazzamalli, see Pietro Martini “Ferdinando Cazzamalli (1887-1958),” *Insula Fulcheria - Rassegna di studi e documentazioni di Crema e del Cremasco a cura del Museo Civico di Crema* 48, n. 1 (2018): 309-18; *Ferdinando Cazzamalli* (Milan: Casa Editrice Ceschina, 1959).

³³³ See the memorial volume SIM, *Rassegna italiana di ricerca psichica: volume speciale dedicato alla commemorazione di Giovanni Schepis* (Rome: Società Italiana di Metapsichica, 1965).

³³⁴ Silvia Mancini, “Fra pensiero simbolico, religione civile e metapsichica: la storia delle religioni nel primo Novecento italiano,” *Storia d'Italia. Annali. vol. 25: Esoterismo*, ed. Gianmario Cazzaniga (Turin: Einaudi, 2010), 639.

³³⁵ Mario Gandini, “Raffaele Pettazzoni dal gennaio 1934 all’estate 1935 – Materiali per una biografia,” *Strada Maestra. Quaderni della Biblioteca comunale “G. C. Croce” di San Giovanni in Persiceto* 33, n. 51 (2001): 137.

³³⁶ Bruers, “Aksakov, Alexandr,” in *L’Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana, 1929), <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-bruers/>; Bruers, “Apporto,” in *L’Enciclopedia Italiana* (Rome: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana, 1929), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/apporto_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.

nominated chancellor of *Accademia dei Lincei* ('Lincean Academy') and vice-chancellor of *Accademia d'Italia* ('Royal Academy of Italy').³³⁷ Pettazzoni was also a member of the Lincean Academy first and subsequently the Royal Italian one.³³⁸ While he was still running the spiritualist journal, Bruers asked Pettazzoni to collaborate on the periodical,³³⁹ but the latter, although at first promptly positively replied, never sent a contribution for the publication. Despite this missed opportunity of collaborating with *Luce e Ombra*, Pettazzoni established an authentic and long-lasting friendship with Bruers.³⁴⁰ At the beginning of the thirties, Pettazzoni was in touch with other exponents of the emerging metapsychical milieu, namely Schepis and Cazzamalli. On May 13, 1935, the history of religion scholar received a letter which requested his help and support for the foundation of an Italian institute for the scientific study of metapsychical phenomena.³⁴¹ More specifically, Pettazzoni was asked to provide the signatories of the letter with a list of people possibly interested in joining and/or supporting the initiative. Along with the names of Cazzamalli and Schepis, another signature appeared at the end of the latter - Servadio's.

Pettazzoni likely had the opportunity to make the acquaintance of Servadio in 1930 at a conference at the headquarters of *Associazione per il Progresso Morale e Religioso* ('Association for the Moral and Religious Progress'), at Piazza Nicosia 3 in Rome. Pettazzoni, on the suggestion of Evola,³⁴² was invited by the president of the association, Mario Puglisi

³³⁷ The Royal Italian Academy was established by Royal decree in 1926, but effectively inaugurated in 1929. This institution, created by the Fascist government, had as its main objective "to promote and coordinate the Italian intellectual movement" (see Mussolini's quotation in Paola Cagiano De Azevedo, Elvira Gerardi (ed.), *Reale Accademia d'Italia – Inventario dell'Archivio* [Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali Dipartimento per i Beni Archivistici e Librari Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, 2005], XI), and, eventually, as secondary purpose, to supplant the Lincean Academy, whose liberal direction wasn't tolerated by Mussolini. So, the holdings of the Lincean Academy were moved to the Royal Italian Academy and a few years later, in 1939 was also suppressed. Two more additional factors to stress about the Royal Italian Academy are the brief presidency (1937-1938) of the poet and politician, Gabriele D'Annunzio (1863-1938), and the work of the reorganization of D'Annunzio private archives. This duty was assigned by the Royal Italian Academy to Bruers, who was already in touch with D'Annunzio since 1921, and was nominated vice-chancellor of the Academy in 1929. About relationship between Bruers and D'Annunzio see Mirko Senna, Raffaella Castagnola (ed.), *Carteggio D'Annunzio-Bruers* (Lanciano: Rocco Carabba, 2011); Antonio Bruers, "Mio padre ricordava," in *D'Annunzio romano e altri saggi* (Rome: Palombi, 1964), 75-80.

³³⁸ De Azevedo & Gerardi, *Reale Accademia d'Italia*, 13.

³³⁹ Antonio Bruers to Raffaele Pettazzoni, December 23, 1931, Fondo Raffaele Pettazzoni, n. 1.

³⁴⁰ Gandini, "Raffaele Pettazzoni dal gennaio 1934 all'estate 1935," 54-5.

³⁴¹ Ferdinando Cazzamalli, Giovanni Schepis, Emilio Servadio to Raffaele Pettazzoni May 13, 1935.

³⁴² Gandini, "Raffaele Pettazzoni intorno al 1930 Materiali per una biografia," *Strada maestra. Quaderni della Biblioteca comunale "G. C. Croce" di San Giovanni in Persiceto* 32, n. 49 (2000): 206.

Pico (1867-1954)³⁴³ to open the series of lectures of the year 1930/1931. The topic of his introductory lecture was “the primitive conception of sin” and took place at the Association on November 30, 1930.³⁴⁴ Among those who participated to the inauguration of the session and the discussion which followed included Ugo Redanò (1893-1964), Ercole Quadrelli, and Servadio. A report of the discussion session was published in the journal *Il Progresso Religioso* connected to the Association of Moral and Religious Progress.³⁴⁵ For Servadio, and in general, the lectures and activities of Association for Moral and Religious Progress represented a cultural crossroad between different fields of study and scholars coming from different backgrounds.³⁴⁶

In the lapse of time included between 1930 and 1935, Bruers, Cazzamalli, Schepis, Servadio, and a few others³⁴⁷ were aiming to introduce an innovative, laic and non-spiritualist³⁴⁸ approach and center for the study of paranormal phenomena. According to Cazzamalli, this campaign to promote the metapsychical field and its possible institution of reference on Italian soil started ten years before, through a series of conversations occurred between Santoliquido and Arnaldo Mussolini (1885-1931) which, allegedly, endorsed a later approval of the project by Fascist regime.³⁴⁹

However, this event only took place in May 1937: following the notification of the Royal Decree of January 23, 1941, the Società Italiana di Metapsichica (‘Italian Society of Metapsychics’) was founded.³⁵⁰ Among the founding members, in addition to Cazzamalli,

³⁴³ About the life of Puglisi, see Salvatore Corso, “Mario Puglisi Pico (1867-1954) – Dalla letteratura alla filosofia di Brentano e al metodismo laico ecumenico e teologico dell’esperienza religiosa,” *Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Belle Arti degli Zelanti e dei Dafnici Acireale* 5, n. 6 (2007): 263-85.

³⁴⁴ Gandini, “Raffaele Pettazoni intorno al 1930,” 206.

³⁴⁵ See Conference report session in *Il Progresso religioso* 11, n. 1 (1931): 12-3.

³⁴⁶ Fabrizio Giorgio stresses that the physician and future founder of Istituto di Psicointesi (‘The Institute of Psychosynthesis’), Roberto Assagioli (1888-1974), the Russian poet and occultist, Maria de Naglowska (1883-1936), and Julius Evola lectured at the Association run by Puglisi. See Giorgio, *Roma Renovata Rersurgat*, 437.

³⁴⁷ Among the correspondents of Pettazoni connected to the SIM, whose letters are located at Fondo Raffaele Pettazoni, at Giulio Cesare Croce library of San Giovanni in Persiceto, I found the name of Anhelus (pseudonym of Linda Murri, 1871-1957) and that of the Fascist anthropologist Lidio Cipriani (1892-1962).

³⁴⁸ Mancini, “Fra pensiero simbolico, religione civile e metapsichica,” 639-40.

³⁴⁹ The reference is to a series of meetings between Mussolini and Santoliquido that would have occurred in the lapse of time between 1928-1932, see Mancini, “Fra pensiero simbolico, religione civile e metapsichica,” 640.

³⁵⁰ Mancini, “Fra pensiero simbolico, religione civile e metapsichica,” 640.

Schepis, and Servadio, was also the psychiatrist Romolo Luigi Sanguineti (1883-1965)³⁵¹ who signed the founding act of the SIM.³⁵² In June 16, 1938, the first issue of *Notiziario di Metapsichica*³⁵³ was published. On the second page of the cover, the statute of the Society was reported:

“the essential purpose of this society is the scientific-experimental study of psychic and psychophysical phenomena, also known as the so-called paranormal phenomena, it is convenient to define this latter as ‘metapsychical’, in homage to the great physiologist, Charles Richet, who is the meritorious and the highest authority in this field of investigation.”³⁵⁴

Two facts are to be stressed in this quote (and will be analysed exhaustively later): the inspirational role of Richet³⁵⁵ and the use of the adjective ‘metapsychical’ to define certain phenomena. This entailed a serious consideration of the core of scientific knowledge in the twentieth century,³⁵⁶ more specifically Richet’s conception of metapsychics refers to a “complex of phenomena that, at the actual state of the (scientific) investigation, goes beyond our knowledge of the psyche.”³⁵⁷ This definition of paranormal phenomena was adopted and shared by most of the members of the Italian Metapsychical Society.

What it is even more interesting is that this vision of metapsychical studies attracted scholars – who also joined the Society from its beginnings - from fields of research other than the Medical one. Besides the founding members, in the issue of the newsletter considered here, the name of other members of the Society is reported, among which one

³⁵¹ For a biographical profile of Sanguineti see Anonymous, “Il profilo – Luigi Romolo Sanguineti,” *Nicia Rivista Medica d’Arte e Attualità* 4, n. 9-10 (September-October 1934): 14-5.

³⁵² Acronym for Società Italiana di Metapsichica.

³⁵³ The complete title was *Notiziario di Metapsichica – Bollettino per i soci della Società Italiana di Metapsichica* (‘Newsletter of Metapsychics – Bulletin for the members of the Italian Society of Metapsychics’).

³⁵⁴ “Estratto dello Statuto,” *Notiziario di Metapsichica – Bollettino per i soci della Società Italiana di Metapsichica* 1, n. 1 (June 1938): II.

³⁵⁵ For in-depth analysis of Richet’s ‘solipsist vision and perspective’ of metapsychics, see *Enquête sur 150 ans de parapsychologie*, 169-204.

³⁵⁶ About the connection between sciences and pseudosciences in the history of literature and scientific thought see Crabtree, Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*; Germana Pareti, *La tentazione dell’occulto: Scienza ed esoterismo nell’età vittoriana* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1990); Bertand Méheust, *Somnambulisme et médiumnit  *, 2 vols (Paris: Les Emp  cheurs de penser en rond, 1999).

³⁵⁷ Servadio, “Che cos’  la metapsichica moderna (parte prima),” *Luce e Ombra* 30, n. 5 (May 1930): 274.

can notice the presence of the politician and tenured professor of agrarian sciences at the University of Turin, Vittorino Vezzani (1885-1955),³⁵⁸ and the anthropologist and assistant director of Museo Nazionale di Etnologia e Antropologia ('National Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology') in Florence, Lidio Cipriani.³⁵⁹ As I will later stress further, the membership of Vezzani and Cipriani, along with their political creeds, were indicative of the variety of ideological orientations within the Society. However, the history of the Italian Metapsychical Society (as well as the background and activities of its members) was characterized by a peculiar (more often complicated) relationship with the Fascist regime and its intelligentsia.³⁶⁰ The series of meetings between Mussolini (i.e. Arnaldo, Benito's brother) and Santoliquido aimed to ease the emergence of favorable circumstances for the creation of the SIM.

Going back to the publication of the newsletter, the first issue offered an interesting historical overview: Cazzamalli immediately afterwards having told the genesis of the Society, listed the events which characterized the international situation of the 'metapsychical' movement until then, and the interaction of some of the members of the new-born Italian center with the European (i.e. metapsychical) *milieu*, more precisely he mentioned the participation of Mackenzie to the Second International Congress of Psychic Research in 1923 in Warsaw.³⁶¹ Compared to any previous spiritualist center or group, the

³⁵⁸ For a biographical overview of Vezzani see Anonymous, *In ricordo dell'On. Gr. Uff. Prof. Vittorino Vezzani, fondatore e direttore dell'Istituto zootecnico e caseario per il Piemonte di Torino: 25-2-1885, 13-8-1955* (Turin: SPE, 1958).

³⁵⁹ For a biographical overview on Cipriani's life and work, see Francesca Cavarocchi, "La propaganda razzista e antisemita di uno 'scienziato' fascista – Il caso di Lidio Cipriani," *Italia Contemporanea - Rassegna dell'Istituto nazionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione in Italia* n. 219 (June 2000): 193-225.

³⁶⁰ Massimo Biondi already stressed the connection between Spiritualism and Racism (see Biondi, "Rapporti e contatti tra fascismo e spiritismo," *psichica.it*, accessed on January 22, 2019, <http://www.psichica.it/Spiritismo%20e%20fascismo.pdf>), however it is worth considering that some of the names of the members of the SIM were listed in the 'Manifesto degli scienziati razzisti' (or 'Manifesto of Race'), which contributed to and ideologically endorsed Italian Racial Laws. Besides Cipriani, the names of Nicola Pende, Arturo Donaggio, Lino Businco appeared among the ten signers of the Manifesto of Race. Allegedly Pende protested being associated with the Manifesto, see Franco Cuomo, *I dieci: Chi erano gli scienziati italiani che firmarono il Manifesto della razza* (Milan: Baldini Castoldi Dalai, 2005): 67.

³⁶¹ Ferdinando Cazzamalli, "Origine, caratteristiche e scopo di un organizzato movimento metapsichico italiano," *Notiziario di Metapsichica – Bollettino per i soci della Società Italiana di Metapsichica* 1, n. 1 (June 1938): 2; for Mackenzie's participation to the conference see Anonymous, "Secondo Congresso Internazionale delle Ricerche Psiciche," *Luce e Ombra* 38, n. 5-6 (May-June 1938): 190. The first International Congress of Psychic Research took place in 1921 in Copenhagen, the third in 1927 in Paris, the fourth and the last one in Athens in 1930. See Carl Vett (ed.), *Congrès International des Recherches Psychiques. Le Compte rendu officiel du premier Congrès International des Recherches Psychiques à Copenhague, 26 août–2 septembre 1921*, 60

SIM aimed to interact on international level with other exponents and institutions also involved in the study of paranormal phenomena.

Another reference to the lectures of the member of the Society is reported in the section of the journal dedicated to the activities of the Society. This column was inaugurated by a report of a Servadio's lecture.³⁶² This latter took place at Società di Lettere e Conversazioni Scientifiche in Genoa on February 12, 1938.³⁶³ Servadio lectured on "The exploration of the unconscious and metapsychical investigation".³⁶⁴ As I mentioned before, the Genoese Society already played a crucial role in the nurture of Servadio's interests towards hypnotism and spiritualism, but also represented a fertile environment for the introduction of heterodoxic ideas.³⁶⁵ Still in Genoa, while Emilio was travelling all over the world his sister Letizia married, abiding to the Jewish rite, the Hungarian physician Bela Schoenfeld (1902-?), and his brother was pursuing a career both as employer of Navigazione Generale Italiana³⁶⁶ and as Olympic runner.³⁶⁷ However, this seemed to be the 'calm before the storm'.

The same year saw the idyllic cultural life of Società di Lettere e Conversazioni Scientifiche invaded by an astonishing notification and census: all members of Jewish origins were requested to fill a form with their data and send it back to the Ministry of Education. The reactions of the members of the Genoese society to the racial census entailed by the promulgation of the Italian racial laws³⁶⁸ were different, some of them filled the form,

(Copenhagen: Secrétariat International des Comités pour les Recherches Psychiques, 1922); *L'état actuel des recherches psychiques d'après les travaux du IIème Congrès international tenu à Varsovie en 1923 en l'honneur du Dr Julien Ochozewicz* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1924); *Compte rendu du IIIème Congrès International de Recherches Psychiques à Paris, septembre–octobre 1927* (Paris: Institut Métapsychique International, 1928); Theodore Besterman (ed.), *Transactions of the Fourth International Congress for Psychical Research, Athens, 1930* (London: Society for Psychical Research, 1930).

³⁶² Cazzamalli, "Conferenza Servadio," *Notiziario di Metapsichica – Bollettino per i soci della Società Italiana di Metapsichica* 1, n. 1 (June 1938): 14-5.

³⁶³ Cazzamalli, "Conferenza Servadio," 14.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Among the volumes of Morselli's holdings were books donated by Morselli himself to the Società di Lettere e Conversazioni Scientifiche, including: Morselli, *Giordano Bruno: commemorazione pronunciata nell'aula magna del Collegio Romano* (Turin; Naples: Roux, 1888). This book is a celebratory obituary dedicated to the life and innovative scientific approach of the philosopher Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) - of great interest are the references to the 'hermetic and occult activity' of the Italian philosopher.

³⁶⁶ Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 17.

³⁶⁷ Personal communication of Biancamaria Puma.

³⁶⁸ See Annalisa Capristo, *L'espulsione degli ebrei dalle accademie italiane* (Turin: Zamorani, 2002), 7ff.

others resigned without filling the document, others didn't offer their resignations neither filled the form.³⁶⁹ Among those who resigned, I notice the presence of Servadio himself,³⁷⁰ notwithstanding he was regularly registered to PNF ('National Fascist Party') since July 31, 1933,³⁷¹ was constantly controlled by Fascist authorities since he formally requested to become member of the Viennese Psychoanalytical Society on November 27, 1934. The Italian Ministry of the Interior, after an investigation lasted an year, on April 1, 1935 denied the request of Servadio to join the Viennese Society.³⁷² In the documents of this enquiry emerge different interesting facts about the psychoanalytic movement. One of these facts already mentioned above, was the assessment that the founder of the Viennese Psychoanalytic Society, Sigmund Freud and all members of the executive committee were of Jewish origins.³⁷³ In the same document, besides listing the other members of the committee, the emphasis is on a single character (of Jewish origins) of the Austrian association, Paul³⁷⁴ Federn (1871-1950).³⁷⁵ This latter did not only follow Weiss during in his psychoanalytical training, but he was also member of the Communist party since 1924.³⁷⁶ In addition to the political militancy of Federn, things get even more complicated, when one of the informers of Ministry of Foreign Affairs communicated to Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicurezza ('Director General of Public Safety') that Freud (allegedly)³⁷⁷ corresponded with the anarchist, Camillo Berneri (1897-1937).³⁷⁸ Along with the official recognition and admission to the International Psychoanalytic Society in 1936, the Italian authorities constantly controlled the Italian exponents of the psychoanalytic movement.

³⁶⁹ I would like to thank Annalisa Capristo for providing me with copy of the letter sent from the executive committee of Società di Letture e Conversazioni Scientifiche in Genoa to the Ministry of Education related to the compilation of the form by its members, see the document Archivio Centrale dello Stato, MPI, DGAB (1926-1948), b. 112, pos. 13.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 37.

³⁷² Bellanova & Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 13.

³⁷³ Bellanova & Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 15.

³⁷⁴ In the document is reported the name of Paolo Federn, since the use of the Italianized version of names was part of the Fascist ideology and style.

³⁷⁵ About Federn's life see Maria Teresa de Melo Carvalho, *Paul Federn: une autre voie pour la theorie du moi* (Paris: PUF 1996).

³⁷⁶ According to the informer, Federn also attended the Communist Congress in Stuttgart in the same year, Bellanova & Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 15.

³⁷⁷ See Roberto Zapperi, *Freud e Mussolini*, 121n; Zapperi states that there is no evidence about the contact between Freud and Berneri ever happened.

³⁷⁸ Servadio, *La psicoanalisi e il fascismo*, 61.

The latter was conceived by the Department of Public Safety as a movement controlled and transmitted by Jewish people, who were also sensible to specific subversive ideas.³⁷⁹ The document ended by inferring that, although no suspicious was related to the person of Servadio, the origins of some members of his family³⁸⁰ might damage his respectability.

Given the fact that the editorial board of *La Rivista Italiana di Psicoanalisi* was prohibited from producing other issues of the periodical, from 1934 onwards, and *Luce e Ombra* was about to be suppressed (September 1939),³⁸¹ later political developments and his Jewish origins, Servadio decided to move out of the country. He first considered the chance to pursue his psychoanalytic career in France,³⁸² but then opted for a more exotic destination. So, in September 1938, Servadio reached Genoa to say goodbye to his parents³⁸³ and, probably announced to them that he would have to leave the country for a while. In November, he traveled to Zurich, to obtain a touristic visa valid for three days in France.³⁸⁴

In the previous months, Servadio wrote to Ernest Jones to express his intention to leave Italy and continue his psychoanalytic activity in India.³⁸⁵ Jones encouraged him and supported his decision by writing him a letter of recommendation, though he warned him that the activity he was about to carry out was eminently of 'pioneristic' nature. When asked why he choose India as 'land of exile', Servadio answered:

The reasons of this choice were of a philosophical and cultural character. I have long been interested in many aspects of the art, literature and speculative tradition of that immense sub-continent. I contemplated pictures of the frescoes of Ajanta, the sculptures of the Ellora Caves, the great temples of Southern India, and the Taj Mahal in

³⁷⁹ Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 16.

³⁸⁰ Ibid. The reference here is to Servadio's mother, Faustina Finzi.

³⁸¹ Biondi & Ravaldini, "La storia di Luce e Ombra," 32.

³⁸² Emilio Servadio to Marie Bonaparte, December 10, 1936, Princess Marie Bonaparte papers, 1889-1962, Box 8, Library of the Congress.

³⁸³ Gagliardo, "I padri della psicoanalisi in Italia."

³⁸⁴ Emilio Servadio to Marie Bonaparte, November 23, 1938, Princess Marie Bonaparte papers, 1889-1962, Box 8, Library of the Congress.

³⁸⁵ Servadio, "La psicoanalisi in India (una semiautobiografia)," *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 33, n. 3 (1987): 430.

Agra. I read poems of Tagore and Aurobindo. I meditated on the 'Yoga Aphorism' of Patanjali and on the 'Baghavad Gita' [...]³⁸⁶

So, on December 2, 1938, Servadio boarded in Marseille a ship headed to Port Said (Egypt),³⁸⁷ and from there he boarded on a vessel directed to Bombay. As I mentioned before, Jones helped Servadio obtaining a letter of recommendation for launching a psychoanalytic activity on Indian soil. Jones's effort to endorse Servadio and his arrival in India were addressed to the Indian psychoanalyst, Girindrasekhar Bose (1887-1953).³⁸⁸

If Jones warned Servadio that his activity as 'psychoanalytical trainer' in Bombay was to be considered 'pioneering', the Italian psychoanalyst stated that the real pioneer of psychoanalysis in India was Bose himself.³⁸⁹ Bose received a degree in experimental psychology in 1917 at the University of Calcutta, and, in 1921, his thesis on the "Concept of Repression"³⁹⁰ was awarded with the first degree ever of Doctor of Science in psychology in India.³⁹¹ One of the reasons which put Bose in contact with psychoanalytic publications and the corresponding milieu was an early interest in hypnosis.³⁹² Still in 1921, he wrote a letter to Sigmund Freud, with whom his correspondence would last until 1937.³⁹³ Despite the polite tone of their exchange, some disagreement characterized Bose and Freud's correspondence. More exactly, Freud did not approve of Bose's theory of opposite wishes and his conception of the castration complex.³⁹⁴

³⁸⁶ Servadio, "La psicoanalisi in India (una semiautobiografia)," 429.

³⁸⁷ Emilio Servadio to Marie Bonaparte, November 26, 1938, Princess Marie Bonaparte papers, 1889-1962, Box 8, Library of the Congress

³⁸⁸ In Bose's life see Alf Hiteibeitel, *Freud's India – Sigmund Freud and India's First Psychoanalyst Girindrasekhar Bose* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

³⁸⁹ Servadio, "La psicoanalisi in India," 428.

³⁹⁰ Girindrasekhar Bose, *Concept of Repression* (Calcutta: Gouranga Press, 1921).

³⁹¹ Christiane Hartnack, "Vishnu on Freud's Desk - Psychoanalysis in Colonial India," *Vishnu on Freud's Desk – A Reader in Psychoanalysis and Hinduism*, ed. T. G. Vaidyanathan, Jeffrey J. Kripal (Calcutta; Chennai; Mumbai: Oxford University Press, 1999), 84.

³⁹² Christiane Hartnack, "Vishnu on Freud's Desk," 83.

³⁹³ For a comprehensive introduction and analysis of Bose-Freud correspondence see Hiteibeitel, *Freud's India*.

³⁹⁴ Salman Akhtar and Pratyusha Tummala-Narra, "Psychoanalysis in India," *Freud along the Ganges: Psychoanalytic Reflections on the People and Culture of India*, ed. Salman Akhtar (New Delhi: Other Press, 2005) 7.

Besides Bose's innovative approach to psychoanalysis and the following historical events which corresponded to the creation of psychoanalytical institutions and realities in India, another factor is worth stressing: the psychoanalyst and history of religions scholar, Christiane Hartnack points out that the reception and application of psychoanalytic discipline in India was heavily influenced by the social and cultural context. More specifically, the different family structure and the practice of psychoanalysis in a different context characterized by polytheistic religious conception led to the 'assertion' of the identity of the therapists. Besides this main consideration, the psychoanalytic method imported into the 'colonial setting' implied another aspect connected to the practice, namely the reference to formative cultural images which differed from those emerging during the analysis of Western patients. This latter aspect characterized both Bose³⁹⁵ and Servadio's experience as psychoanalysts in India.³⁹⁶

Going back to the correspondence between Freud and Bose, the latter announced to the Austrian psychoanalyst the creation of an Indian Psychoanalytical Society on January 26, 1922,³⁹⁷ and in the September of the same year, Jones notified its inclusion among those affiliated to the International Psychoanalytical Association during the Seventh International Psychoanalytical Congress in Berlin.³⁹⁸ On October 27, Freud communicated to Bose the reception of the Indian society as one of the groups of the IPA (i.e. International Psychoanalytical Association) and asked for the permission to include his name as president and founder of the Indian center, both in *the Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse* and in *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*.³⁹⁹

Despite the constitution of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society in 1921, its activities did not commence until the beginning of the 1930s. The formal inauguration of the Indian Psycho-Analytical Institute occurred in 1932, but it was from 1933 onwards that the IPS (i.e.

³⁹⁵ Hartnack, "Vishnu on Freud's desk," 86-9.

³⁹⁶ Stabile, *I buoni maestri*, 224.

³⁹⁷ Servadio, "La psicoanalisi in India (una semiautobiografia)," 429.

³⁹⁸ Jones, "Seventh International Psychoanalytical Congress, Berlin 1922. Minutes of Business Meeting," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 4, n. 1 (1923): 236.

³⁹⁹ Indian Psychoanalytic Society, *The Beginnings of Psychoanalysis in India: Bose-Freud Correspondence* (Kolkata: Indian Psychoanalytical Society, 1999³), 10.

Indian Psychoanalytical Society) oversaw an outpatient clinic at Carmichael (now R.G. Kar) Medical College and Hospital in Calcutta (Kolkata).⁴⁰⁰

So, Servadio – who was already in touch with Bose⁴⁰¹ arrived in Bombay (Mumbai) around January 1939.⁴⁰² If in Calcutta in these years the first activities of IPS were about to start and a location for (approximately) thirty-five members⁴⁰³ was available, then in Bombay the situation was entirely different. Here, in 1938, a Parsi psychiatrist K. R. Masani,⁴⁰⁴ opened a General Hospital Psychiatry Unit at Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Hospital.⁴⁰⁵ In his autobiographical contributions and interviews, Servadio briefly recalled the isolated attempt of Masani to start a psychoanalytic practice in Bombay,⁴⁰⁶ though he stressed more than once that no members of the IPS had received any psychoanalytic training, and that Bose himself was a “psychoanalytic trainer self-made.”⁴⁰⁷ Given his past experience with Italian Psychoanalytic Society and training, Servadio was promoted by Bose to psychoanalytic trainer. Given the little information on his Indian stay, I can assess that, by the end of the 1930s, Servadio had started to manage the training of other members of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society in Bombay. In addition, he regularly attended and lectured at the local Bombay Medical Union⁴⁰⁸ on psychoanalytical and parapsychological topics. For

⁴⁰⁰ Hartnack later points out that, in 1940, one of the Bose’s brothers donated a small mental health facility with a few beds, Lumbini Park Mental Hospital, to the Society, Hartnack, “Vishnu on Freud’s desk,” 86.

⁴⁰¹ Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 57.

⁴⁰² Emilio Servadio to Marie Bonaparte, January 16, 1939, Princess Marie Bonaparte papers, 1889-1962, Box 8, Library of the Congress.

⁴⁰³ Hartnack, “Vishnu on Freud’s desk,” 85.

⁴⁰⁴ I could not find any biographical information on Keki R. Masani, though I traced some information concerning his medical career: Masani achieved first a certificate of Doctor of Pediatric Medicine (D.P.M.), then both a diploma of Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians (L.R.C.P.) and Membership of the Royal Colleges of Surgeons of Great Britain and Ireland (M.R.C.S.) in London. In the 1940s, he became Lecturer in Psychiatry at The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work and Director of the Child Guidance Clinic of the School. Tata Graduate School had its own journal, *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, Masani was active as a contributor and editor-in-chief of the journal. See *The Indian Journal of Social Work – A Quarterly Devoted to the Interest of Social Work* 1, n. 1 (June 1941): 48.

⁴⁰⁵ S. P. Agarwal, *Mental Health - An Indian Perspective 1946–2003* (New Delhi: Directorate General of Health Services, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, 2005), 102.

⁴⁰⁶ Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 57; Servadio, “La psicoanalisi in India,” 431.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁸ Servadio, “Psychoanalysis and Yoga,” 217.

what concerns the sexological field, Servadio contributed and lectured on sexual life and preparatory and psychological phase linked to marriage.⁴⁰⁹

On September 23, 1939, Servadio was informed that Freud had died in London. To pay homage to the father of psychoanalysis, Servadio wrote an obituary in the local newspaper, *The Times of India*.⁴¹⁰ In the same period, besides the psychoanalytical practice, Servadio took the chance to do some sightseeing: given the photographic materials published in one his interviews,⁴¹¹ I can affirm that Servadio visited Elephanta caves in Gharapuri (or Elephanta Islands in Mumbai Harbour), the group of monuments near the Kanheri caves, and also visited the cities of Nasik and Pune. While visiting these places he was joined by Italian physician Salvatore Ottolenghi (1861-1934)⁴¹² and his brother-in-law, the Hungarian physician, Bela.

Servadio satisfied his thirst for knowledge not only by admiring the ancient caves and frescoes, but also by attending the activities of specific milieus in Bombay. One of these was the Yogic Center in Bombay founded by Swami Kuvalayananda (1883-1966).⁴¹³ This represented a crucial passage in the life of the Italian psychoanalyst. Henceforth, from the moment of his meeting with Swami Kuvalayananda, yogic practice acquired a peculiar meaning for Servadio.

On June 10, 1940, Italy entered the Second World War as an ally of Germany. This historical development led, as an immediate consequence, to the imprisonment of all Italians (including many Catholic missionaries) on Indian soil: although most of them were refugees who reached India to escape from the repression, deportation and horrors perpetrated by Fascism and Nazism, the British authorities conceived as 'volunteers in exile'

⁴⁰⁹ The content of one of the lectures flew into an article which was later published into *The International Journal of Sexology*, see Servadio, "Psychology and Preparation for Marriage."

⁴¹⁰ Servadio, "La psicoanalisi in India," 429.

⁴¹¹ Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 62-71.

⁴¹² For a biographical overview on Ottolenghi, who was also active in research in field of Mesmerism/hypnotism, see: Anonymous, "La ricerca psichica nell'Archivio di Cesare Lombroso," *The Missing Links - Il presente e il passato della parapsicologia e delle aree connesse* 2, n. 1 (January 2013): 25. See also: Laura Schettini, "Ottolenghi, Salvatore," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2013), [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/salvatore-ottolenghi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/salvatore-ottolenghi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

⁴¹³ On Swami Kuvalayananda see Joseph. S. Alter, *Yoga in Modern India: The Body between Science and Philosophy* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), 73-108.

only people coming from Germany and Austria.⁴¹⁴ Servadio was initially jailed in a prisoner of war camp for two years and a half, then he was moved to a *parole camp* thanks to a fortuitous meeting with the renown Colonel Harold Steven (1843-?).⁴¹⁵

While Servadio was being moved to the *parole camp*, the situation in Italy for his family was terrible: his parents moved to Florence because their house in Genoa was destroyed;⁴¹⁶ Letizia and Bela were arrested in Bomporto on December 3, 1943, detained in Fossoli, and deported to Auschwitz and Bergen Belsen on August 2, 1944;⁴¹⁷ his brother Mario was first arrested in January 1942, in Genoa, for conspiratorial activity against the regime, then sentenced to five years of detention (which was commuted into five years of political confinement in Avezzano), and then jailed again for a second attempt of conspiracy against the state. Having been pardoned on July 25, 1943 he reached his parents in Florence, but there he was wanted by authorities,⁴¹⁸ so he decided to flee to Perugia, and briefly after joined the partisans in the mountains nearby. After the liberation of Perugia by allied forces in 1944, thanks to his knowledge of English language, he joined them. Given his skillfulness in liquidating the enemy, the steering command of liberation forces brought him first in Como then in Brescia until January 1946. The same month, when the Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories was disbanded, Mario was then discharged.⁴¹⁹

In January 1946, Servadio (i.e. Emilio) returned to Italy. He met with his parents and learned about the death of Letizia and Bela.⁴²⁰ In 1945, the Polish refugee and Weiss' disciple, Joachim Flescher, founded the journal *Psicoanalisi* ('Psychoanalysis')⁴²¹, which represented the first act of the reconstruction of the psychoanalytical milieu in Italy. The Italian Psychoanalytical Society was effectively re-founded in 1947 thanks to the combined

⁴¹⁴ Servadio, "La psicoanalisi in India," 430.

⁴¹⁵ He was also known as 'Colonello Buonasera', the popular voice of Radio London - Servadio, "La psicoanalisi in India," 428.

⁴¹⁶ Gina Formiggini, *Stella d'Italia, Stella di David – Gli ebrei dal Risorgimento alla Resistenza* (Milan: Mursia, 1970).

⁴¹⁷ Bela was deported to Auschwitz, while Letizia to Bergen Belsen, Liliana Picciotto, *Il libro della memoria: gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia, 1943-1945* (Milan: Mursia, 2002) 77-80.

⁴¹⁸ Formiggini, *Stella d'Italia, Stella di David*, 134, "Both Fascists and German soldiers wanted me for my triple quality of being a Jew, a fled antifascist, and a former political exiled".

⁴¹⁹ Formiggini, *Stella d'Italia, Stella di David*, 73.

⁴²⁰ Gagliardo, "I padri della psicoanalisi in Italia."

⁴²¹ Bellanova & Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 52.

efforts of Servadio, Musatti, and Perrotti.⁴²² On October 22-23, 1946, the first National Congress of Psychoanalysis took place in Rome, and six former members of the pre-war formation of the SPI were present at the conference, including Tomasi di Palma, Musatti, Perrotti, Servadio, and the lawyer and professor Raffaele Merloni (1907-1967). This group constituted the nucleus of the re-established Italian Psychoanalytical Society, along with Claudio Modigliani (1916-2007). Weiss, having left Italy for America in 1939 in order to avoid persecution under the racial laws, could not attend the event, but sent his regards from Chicago.⁴²³ All the elected members, together with many others,⁴²⁴ presented papers.

Servadio took the opportunity to offer a heartfelt memorial on Sigmund Freud and briefly recall the 'mesmeric/hypnotic' origins of psychoanalysis.⁴²⁵ Servadio stressed three crucial factors in this bio-historical reconstruction, namely the first series of lectures Freud held at the Clark University in 1909;⁴²⁶ the limits of hypnotic techniques in the treatment of hysterias and Freud's contribution to obviate them; and the publication of *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* in 1905. These three points might seem disconnected and referring to different monographic topics (i.e. relatively psychoanalysis, hypnosis, and sexuality), but all of them had for Servadio a mutual factor in their genesis and conditioning of the possibility of a 'therapeutic' approach.

The congress was also an opportunity to define the structure and the resources of the SPI: Perrotti was nominated president of the society, while an honorary presidency was assigned to Weiss. *Psicoanalisi*, which had consisted of only four issues between January 1945 until December 1946,⁴²⁷ was chosen as the official journal of the Italian Psychoanalytical Society. On November 1948, Perrotti, in a second attempt to provide the

⁴²² Servadio, "La psicoanalisi in Italia," 433.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ The complete programme and list of papers presented is reported in *Psicoanalisi applicata alla medicina, pedagogia sociologia, letteratura ed arte* 2, n. 4 (July-December 1946): 32-4.

⁴²⁵ With the realization of the first national congress of psychoanalysis, Servadio stated that the Freudian discipline had finally been favorably received. This was a crucial passage to take in consideration in view of the following historical developments and 'crossovers' with parapsychology. Servadio, "Ricordando Freud," *Psicoanalisi applicata alla medicina, pedagogia sociologia, letteratura ed arte* 2, n. 4 (July-December 1946): 17-20.

⁴²⁶ For an in-depth analysis of the Clark University lecture in Freud-Jung's relationship (within a possible angle on themes intersecting psychoanalysis and metapsychology in Freud), see William A. Koelsch, *Incredible Day-Dream: Freud and Jung at Clark, 1909* (Worcester: Friends of the Goddard Library, Clark University, 1984).

⁴²⁷ Bellanova & Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 52.

SPI with an official organ of communication, founded the journal *Psiche*,⁴²⁸ whose publication lasted until February 1951.

In the meanwhile, Servadio started to work as employee for Alto Commissariato per l'Igiene e la Sanità Pubblica ('High Commission of Hygiene and Health'), probably thanks to Perrotti, who was the vice-director of the same department,⁴²⁹ and was also committed to the psychoanalytic training of the new members.⁴³⁰

Besides the Italian Psychoanalytical Society, the post-war period also saw the restoration of another society. Although it never really ceased to exist or convene general meetings with its members who had not fled Italy during the Second World War, the Italian Metapsychical Society was about to be formally restored and officially renovated. Before the effective advent of this moment, a series of events characterized the history of the metapsychical center whose main location, at the beginning of the 1945, was in Rome.⁴³¹ Cazzamalli, who was the president since the moment of founding during the war, inaugurated a new section of the SIM in Milan, whose location was the headquarter of the medical journal *Humana*, Corso Vittorio Emanuele 1.⁴³² On January 1946, Cazzamalli started the publication of the journal *Metapsichica*.⁴³³ Although this periodical intended to supplement the newsletter (*Notiziario di Metapsichica*) of the Italian Metapsychical Society, it later became the only aspect of the Society Cazzamalli had to deal with. For the first time, the Italian neuropsychiatrist (i.e. Cazzamalli) was nominated extraordinary commissioner of the Roman section of the Society, but briefly afterwards was substituted by physician Guido Presti.⁴³⁴ In the following issue of the newsletter,⁴³⁵ the name of Cazzamalli disappeared from the organization chart on inside cover of the periodical. The reason was later

⁴²⁸ The complete title was *Psiche Rivista internazionale di psicoanalisi e scienze dell'uomo*.

⁴²⁹ See *Notiziario dell'amministrazione sanitaria* 3 (July 1947): 32-3.

⁴³⁰ At the end of 1955, SPI counted 25 members, among those 9 were "candidates in training", Bellanova & Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 67.

⁴³¹ To be precise, by the beginning of 1945 the headquarters of the Society was located at number 12 of Via Boncompagni, see *Notiziario di Metapsichica* 1, n. 1 (June 1938): inside cover.

⁴³² The location in Rome for experiments with mediums and meetings was at Via Boncompagni 12, see "Costituzione dei Centri di Roma e Milano," *Notiziario Interno per i Soci* 7, n. 7 (September-December 1945): 17-8.

⁴³³ *Notiziario Interno per i Soci*, inside cover.

⁴³⁴ See "Parte Prima – Atti Ufficiali," *Notiziario Interno per i Soci* 7, n. 8 (January 1946-October 1947): 2.

⁴³⁵ *Notiziario Interno per i Soci* 7, n. 9 (November 1947-April 1948): inside cover.

explained: Cazzamalli tried to hold a referendum at distance in Como, which was later recognized as not valid, to change the statute of the Society, which led to a dispute between him and the newly elected president of the Italian Metapsychical Society, the senator and lawyer Giovanni Ciraolo (1873-1954).⁴³⁶ In 1948, Ciraolo sued the director of psychiatric hospital in Como for founding another metapsychical institution with the same name of the already existent one (i.e. Società Metapsichica Italiana). Besides being connected to these legal issues, Cazzamalli left the SIM and devoted his efforts to the publication of *Metapsichica* and the creation of a schismatic branch of the metapsychical movement in Italy, namely the Associazione Italiana Scientifica di Metapsichica ('Italian Scientific Association of Metapsychics').⁴³⁷

Servadio had the chance to be part of the Society while this series of changes were happening, and he was nominated advisor, together with Mackenzie, Schepis, and the psychiatrist Antonio Mendicini.⁴³⁸ At the beginning of the 1946, Servadio was summoned by the executive committee of RAI ('Radiotelevisione Italiana') to launch a radio broadcast structured into a series of conversations with specialists and scholars on different topics, including psychoanalysis, sexology, and metapsychics.⁴³⁹ The name of the broadcast was *Convegno dei Cinque* ('Convention of Five', because five scholars/experts were invited and out of five, one guest acted as moderator) and was transmitted weekly from 1946 to 1990 on the Second Channel of RAI. Amongst all the sessions of the radio program, the episode of April 7, 1948 was dedicated to metapsychics,⁴⁴⁰ the experts invited were Mendicini, Schepis, Servadio, Mackenzie (who was broadcasting live from Bern from the headquarters of Radio Ginevra [today Radio Télévision Suisse]), and father Gennaro Moretti (1887-1962).⁴⁴¹ This

⁴³⁶ For a biographical overview of Ciraolo, see Mario Caravale, "Ciraolo, Giovanni," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1981), [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-ciraolo_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-ciraolo_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

⁴³⁷ Massimo Biondi, Patrizio E. Tressoldi, *Parapsicologia – Storia, ricerca, evidenze* (Bologna: Mulino, 2007): 77.

⁴³⁸ Mendicini was the director of a psychiatric clinic and professor of neuropathology at the University of Rome. Mendicini was member of the Italian Metapsychical Society and regular frequenter of the Theosophical Group, 'Il Roma' in the capital. Mendicini was invited to lecture on the topic of the life beyond death at the headquarter of the Theosophical group, on February 1928, the title of his presentation was "Il tono dell'anima", see "Conferenze e conversazioni pubbliche," *Ultra – Rivista di Studi e Ricerche Spirituali* 22, n.1 (January-February 1928): 45.

⁴³⁹ Puma, "Biografia."

⁴⁴⁰ See "La metapsichica alla radio," *Notiziario di Metapsichica* 10, n. 9 (November 1947-April 1948): 12.

⁴⁴¹ For a biographical overview on Father Gennaro Moretti, see Alessandro Maria Galuzzi, *Notizie bibliografiche del Padre Gennaro Maria Moretti dei Minimi (1887-1962)*, (Rome: Manuscript, 1964).

wasn't the only initiative Servadio was committed to, in order to promote metapsychics on Italian soil: in the same period the Italian psychoanalyst created a book series of metapsychical works with publishing house Astrolabio;⁴⁴² the planification of a documentary on metapsychical and spiritualist phenomena with movie director Ubaldo Magnaghi (1903-1979)⁴⁴³ to be presented to The Venice Biennale edition of 1948. The following year, another broadcast program was launched thanks to the collaboration of Servadio, Schepis, Mendicini, along with Giorgio Rabbeno (1882-1967),⁴⁴⁴ and Lino Businco (1908-1997)⁴⁴⁵ on RAI Third Channel, from January 8, 1949 till May, 4, 1949.⁴⁴⁶ Meanwhile, on October 8-10 of the same year, the First National Congress of Metapsychics took place in Siena, at which Servadio presented a paper on extrasensory perception.⁴⁴⁷ Among the most significant contributions to the conference which interested both psychoanalysis and metapsychics was also Levi-Bianchini's paper, "Radizioni cosmiche ed energia cosmica in rapporto alla psicobiofisica, alla psicoanalisi ed alla metapsichica" ('Cosmic radiations and cosmic energy in relation to psychobiophysics, psychoanalysis, and metapsychics').⁴⁴⁸ One further significant historical event which characterized both the life of Servadio and of the metapsychical/parapsychological movement at the time was a meeting in Rome with the Irish medium Eileen J. Garrett (1893-1970).⁴⁴⁹ According to Servadio,⁴⁵⁰ Garrett already

⁴⁴² Among the published titles Whately Carington, *Telepatia fatti teoria deduzioni* (Rome: Astrolabio, 1948); Eileen J. Garrett, *Vita di medium* (Rome: Astrolabio, 1948); Guy Christian Barnard, *Il supernormale: Introduzione critica alla scienza psichica* (Rome: Astrolabio, 1949); Joseph Banks Rhine, *I poteri dello spirito* (Rome: Astrolabio, 1948); Francis Yeats-Brown, *Introduzione allo yoga* (Rome: Astrolabio, 1949).

⁴⁴³ Unfortunately, I could not find any trace of the documentary. However, in 1936 Magnaghi directed "Il caso Valdemar", inspired by a short story which was permeated with supernatural and mesmeric themes - "The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar," by the American novelist Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849).

⁴⁴⁴ For biographical information on General Inspector of Corps of Naval Engineering, see Paolo Alberini, Franco Prosperini, *Uomini della Marina 1861-1946 - Dizionario biografico* (Rome: Ufficio storico della Marina, 2015), 439.

⁴⁴⁵ For biographical information on the lecturer of General Pathology at the University of Rome, Lino Businco, see Cuomo, *I dieci*, 102; Gabriele Ainis, "Lino Businco, il razzismo dimenticato nell'Enciclopedia della Sardegna," accessed on January 22, 2019, <https://exxworks.wordpress.com/2012/03/26/lino-businco-il-razzismo-dimenticato-nellenciclopedia-della-sardegna/>.

⁴⁴⁶ See *L'inchiesta radio 1949. Quaderni della Società Italiana di Metapsichica* (Rome: Arti Grafiche Italiane Roma, 1949), I-II.

⁴⁴⁷ Servadio, "La percezione extrasensoriale," ('Extrasensory perception') *Nuovi Problemi di Metapsichica*, ed. Società Italiana di Metapsichica (Rome: ESIM, 1950), 59-68.

⁴⁴⁸ Marco Levi Bianchini, "Radiazioni cosmiche ed energia cosmica in rapporto alla psicobiofisica, alla psicoanalisi ed alla metapsichica," *Nuovi Problemi di Metapsichica*, ed. Società Italiana di Metapsichica (Rome: ESIM, 1950), 43-50.

⁴⁴⁹ For a biographical overview on the founder of Parapsychology Foundation see Allan Angoff, *Eileen Garrett and the World beyond the Senses* (New York: William Morrow, 1974).

knew his work, and they meet each other at the place of a mutual friend who lived in Via Margutta in Rome, namely the British photographer Eva Barrett (1879-1950).⁴⁵¹

While on the Italian metapsychical front things were finally taking shape, another peculiar field of studies was aiming towards realization in the same period, namely the field of sexology. Although he had produced a few contributions and activities just before the outbreak of the Second World War⁴⁵² and during his Indian exile,⁴⁵³ it was at end of the '40s and the beginning of the '50s that Servadio started to develop a specific sexological conception. Three crucial themes characterized the beginning of Servadio's sexological propaganda in the period included between 1949 and 1954: female gender theories, the introduction of the concept of *transfert* in psychoanalysis, and the sexual life of the child. The first step which eventually led to a definition of Servadio's approach to sexual behaviors and deviances was his book review of *Il sesso* by the Jewish professor Renato Pollitzer (1894-1992).⁴⁵⁴ Although he reckoned that Pollitzer tried to adopt some crucial principles of psychoanalysis in order to consider the sexual life of the child, Servadio seriously criticized his lack of comprehension of the basics of Freud's scientific discipline.⁴⁵⁵ In Pollitzer's book, the child was described as "unresponsive and passive towards the matters of sexuality."⁴⁵⁶ This assessment was not only unacceptable for Servadio - further, the denial of sexual impulse inflamed an exhaustive defense of the sexual life of the child and adolescent on the part of the Italian psychoanalyst. Another crucial passage in the formation of Servadio's theoretic framework on sexology was the series of broadcasts *Mezzo Secolo* ('Half of a Century'). The radio program was devoted to the divulgation of scientific culture through conversations with several host who were also experts in different fields of research. In an episode broadcasted on August 1951, Servadio offered a general historical overview of the

⁴⁵⁰ Servadio, "Eileen Garrett: un ricordo personale," *Quaderni di Parapsicologia* 1, n 2 (February 1970): 35-7.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

⁴⁵² Servadio, "Book Review of *Forme Larvate Omosessualità e recensione*," *Rivista Italiana di Psicoanalisi* 1, n. 3 (1932): 248-252

⁴⁵³ Servadio, "Psychology and Preparation for Marriage," *The International Journal of Sexology* 8, n. 1 (August 1954): 28-31

⁴⁵⁴ Pollitzer - who taught at the pediatric clinic of the University of Rome - coauthored the book with physician Giuseppe Tallarico (1880-1965), see Giuseppe Tallarico, Renato Pollitzer, *Il sesso: con 29 figure* (Florence: Sansoni, 1936).

⁴⁵⁵ Servadio, "L'educazione sessuale del bambino," *Psiche - Rivista di Psicoanalisi e delle Scienze dell'Uomo* 2, n. 6 (March-May 1949): 52.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

psychoanalytic discipline by emphasizing the different passages of the reception and development of Freud's thought.⁴⁵⁷ Among the factors which characterized Freud's late literary production, and practice, was the concept of *transference*.⁴⁵⁸ Besides his detailed explanation of how the emergence of transference had specific theoretical implication on the origins of the psychoanalysis and the use of the hypnosis (to be exhaustively analysed later),⁴⁵⁹ the crucial features associated with the occurrence of Freudian *Übertragung* ('Transference') were an intensive emotional factor and the identification (and following interaction with) of the therapist as a parental figure.⁴⁶⁰ In the perspective of depth psychology, the emergence of this emotional aspect implies a specific dynamic, where the component of Eros is conceived as a force interacting both on a social and a psychological level.⁴⁶¹ A third and crucial phase in the construction of Servadio's sexological framework is the lecture he kept at Associazione per il Progresso degli Studi Morali e Religiosi,⁴⁶² in Rome, on July 25, 1954, on the role and sexuality of woman. The paper focused on "Nuove vedute e controversie sul problema della femminilità" ('New Perspectives and Controversies on the Issue of Womanliness'),⁴⁶³ and, as the title suggested, the age-old issue of the conception of the inferiority of the woman. To sum up the position and view of the topic of the Italian psychoanalyst: the inferiority of the woman lies not in her biological condition, but rather in the cultural coercion built by society heavily influenced by a masculinocratic vision.⁴⁶⁴ Although Freud also made a distinction between male and female sexuality and asserted that the latter case had a late psychosexual development, he also stated that, for him, female sexuality remained the 'dark continent' of psychosexology.⁴⁶⁵ According to Servadio, this was one of the Gordian knots of Western society, inferring that a biological difference

⁴⁵⁷ Servadio, "La psicoanalisi," *Mezzo Secolo – Il Progresso Scientifico*, ed. Roberto Almagia (Turin, Edizioni Radio Italiana, 1951), 90-5.

⁴⁵⁸ Servadio, "La psicoanalisi," 94.

⁴⁵⁹ Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious* 495-501.

⁴⁶⁰ Servadio, "La psicoanalisi," 95.

⁴⁶¹ Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 496.

⁴⁶² In 1934, the association Association for the Moral and Religious Progress changed its name into AS.PRO.MO.RE. ('Association for the Progress of Moral and Religious Studies'). Poet and politician Raniero Nicolai (1893-1958) followed Puglisi as secretary of association. The organization committee of the association included Perrotti, Pende, and Vezzani.

⁴⁶³ Servadio, "Nuove vedute e controversie sul problema della femminilità," *Annali di Neuropsichiatria e Psicoanalisi* 1, n. 3 (July-September 1954): 451-62.

⁴⁶⁴ Servadio, "Nuove vedute e controversie sul problema della femminilità," 460.

⁴⁶⁵ Servadio, "Nuove vedute e controversie sul problema della femminilità," 452.

justified the inferiority of the woman and her compulsion in a segregate role (i.e. mother and housewife).⁴⁶⁶ However, the Italian psychoanalyst showed that the latest publications in the biological field at the time had revealed an equality between the female and male sex. To further support his thesis, Servadio mentioned the work *Psychosexual Functions in Women*⁴⁶⁷ by the Hungarian-American psychoanalyst Therese Benedek (1892-1977), where a general recognition of the active (still not very popular at the time) sexual tendencies in woman is offered, as well as the Spanish philosopher, Gregorio Marañón (1887-1960).⁴⁶⁸ The first point Servadio wanted to make in his contribution was that “femininity and masculinity are expressions of one function, they are two episodes of the same general process”.⁴⁶⁹ Although this statement as well as the rest of the content of Servadio’s lecture directly implied the considerations on sexuality and gendered social roles of Reich,⁴⁷⁰ the Austrian philosopher of Jewish origins, Otto Weininger (1880-1903),⁴⁷¹ and the (author who influenced Servadio most), the American psychoanalyst of Austrian origins, Edmund Bergler (1899-1962),⁴⁷² I would like to stress the historical debate which this specific contribution engaged. Besides tracing back this notion of inferiority at the origins of Western society, and in Freud’s doctrine as well, Servadio also argued that the latest innovative studies on sexual behaviors - the whole process of research - have been based on a misleading conception. The specific reference was to the fresh-off-the-press report on a general survey conducted at the Indiana University coordinated by the American biologist Alfred Kinsey (1894-1956). The *Sexual Behavior of the Human Female*⁴⁷³ was the second part of these reports on the

⁴⁶⁶Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ Therese Benedek, *Psychosexual Functions in Women* (New York: Ronald Press, 1952).

⁴⁶⁸ In the book collection located in Roma at A.I.Psi. (i.e. Associazione Italiana di Psicoanalisi) there is the following title belonging to the literary production of the Spanish scholar, Gregorio Marañón, *L’evoluzione della sessualità e degli stati intersessuali* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1934).

⁴⁶⁹ Servadio, “Nuove vedute e controversie sul problema della femminilità,” 457.

⁴⁷⁰ The first exhaustive article dedicated to Reich was Servadio, “La tragica parabola di un genio mancato. Dieci anni fa moriva Wilhelm Reich Uomo di vasto ingegno, lo studioso austriaco già discepolo di Freud si illuse di aver scoperto una delle chiavi dell’universo: l’energia organica. Finì i suoi giorni in una prigione americana,” *Il Tempo*, April 22, 1967, 7-8.

⁴⁷¹ The first reference to Weininger is to be found in Servadio, “Freud nella sua severità scientifica era avversario della pansessualità. Quantunque in teoria patrocinasse una vita sessuale più libera, nella vita privata confessò di aver fatto pochissimo uso di tale libertà, senza essersi lasciato mai fuorviare,” *Il Tempo*, December 6, 1960, 6-12.

⁴⁷² For a biographical overview of Bergler, see the introduction of Edmund Bergler, *Selected Papers of Edmund Bergler: 1933-1961* (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1969).

⁴⁷³ Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, Clyde E. Martin, Paul H. Gebhard, *Sexual Behavior in Human Female* (London; Philadelphia, Walter Burns Saunders, 1953).

sexual behaviors of American people.⁴⁷⁴ Despite the pioneering nature of the survey and the founding of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction in 1947,⁴⁷⁵ Servadio expressed his complete disapproval towards the notion of ‘normality’ which the American biologist presented to the international audience.⁴⁷⁶ According to Kinsey, this normality in woman excluded the existence of any frigidity in her, since the achievement of sexual satisfaction was not expected.⁴⁷⁷ This, along with other points from Kinsey’s reports, represented the main point of Servadio’s critique towards the sexual revolution and education.⁴⁷⁸

Going back to the stream of historical events, on October 21-23, 1950, the Second Italian Congress of Psychoanalysis in Rome took place.⁴⁷⁹ Servadio lectured on “L’aggressività delle nevrosi” (‘Aggressivity of Neuroses’).⁴⁸⁰ In 1952, Perrotti founded L’Istituto di psicoanalisi romano (‘The Roman Institute of Psychoanalysis’), whose executive committee was presided over by him and Servadio. This was the first Italian psychoanalytical institution disjointed from the international society. As mentioned before, Perrotti had inaugurated the journal *Psiche* in 1948. This latter was based on the model of the already existent French journal, *Psyché. Revue Internationale de psychanalyse et des sciences de l’homme*, whose editor-in-chief was the French philosophical writer Maryse Choisy (1903-1979).⁴⁸¹ Between *Psyché* and its Italian edition edited by Perrotti, there was strict collaboration, inasmuch as the two periodicals often ‘exchanged’ and published

⁴⁷⁴ In the book collection in Trieste I found the following edition of the first report Alfred C. Kinsey, *Le comportement sexuel de l’homme* (Paris: Éditions du Pavois, 1948).

⁴⁷⁵ Originally named the Institute for Sex Research (ISR), in 2016 the institute merged with Indiana University; for further information of the history of the institute see Judith A. Allen, Hallimeda E. Allison, Andrew Clark-Huckstep, Brandon J. Hill, Stephanie A. Sanders, Liana Zhou, *The Kinsey Institute – The First Seventy Years* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017).

⁴⁷⁶ Both reports were translated into over fifteen languages.

⁴⁷⁷ Servadio, “Nuove vedute e controversie sul problema della femminilità,” 460.

⁴⁷⁸ See Servadio, “La serietà scientifica dell’opera di Alfredo Kinsey Il più discusso sessuologo dei nostri tempi,” *Il Tempo*, August 27, 1956, 3-4.; Servadio, “Educazione sessuale,” *Playmen* 8, n. 3 (March 1974): 23-4; Servadio, *Sesso e Psiche* (Milan: Armenia, 1979), 59-62.

⁴⁷⁹ Bellanova & Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 53.

⁴⁸⁰ Servadio, “L’aggressività nelle nevrosi,” *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 18, n.1 (1972): 119-38.

⁴⁸¹ Marise Choisy, who started her psychoanalytical training with Freud himself, was a journalist (she contributed to the magazine, *Planète*), psychoanalyst and a prominent exponent of French parapsychology. For an overview on her life and involvement with parapsychology see Evrard, “1935-1968. L’ère du réalisme fantastique – Contribution à l’histoire de la parapsychologie en France,” *The Missing Links - Il presente e il passato della parapsicologia e delle aree connesse* 1, n. 2 (March 2010): 45-6.

translations (from Italian to French and vice versa) of the same articles.⁴⁸² Servadio was part of the editorial board of both the Italian and French journal.

While Perrotti and Servadio were committed to this editorial adventure, Musatti published *Trattato di Psicoanalisi*,⁴⁸³ which was - notwithstanding the fact that many of Freud's works were still not available in the Italian language at the time -⁴⁸⁴ a point of reference among initiatives promoting Freud's thought in Italy. However, this wasn't an isolated action supporting the Freudian discipline on Italian soil: once the journal *Psiche* ended its publication, due to the position of some members of the board to conceive psychoanalysis as a political-social theory, rather than a tool of investigation belonging to psychoanalytical and psychotherapeutic field,⁴⁸⁵ the Italian Psychoanalytic Society needed another organ to communicate its initiatives and publications. Given the fact that a series of monographic cahiers strictly connected to the journal edited by Perrotti was created, *Quaderni di Psiche*, and a group of contributors and followers of the periodicals regularly gathered and was mainly active in Milan throughout the whole existence of the journal,⁴⁸⁶ it is not too much of a surprise that Musatti - who was mainly active in this city of the North of Italy - took the chance to start a whole new journal. This represented a matter of discussion between him and Servadio since the beginning of 1952.⁴⁸⁷ In the exchange of letters between these two founders of the SPI, Servadio was informed about the deliberation of a meeting of the members of the Society which expressed the need for a journal directed by Musatti himself, and this motion was approved by all the participants of the assembly.⁴⁸⁸ However, from the following letter Servadio received, I can deduce that he was not really supportive of Musatti's plans: the disciple of experimental psychologist

⁴⁸² One example is Servadio, "Psicodinamica della pubblicità," *Psiche - Rivista di Psicoanalisi e delle Scienze dell'Uomo* 1, n. 3 (1958): 142-5.

⁴⁸³ Cesare Musatti, *Trattato di Psicoanalisi*, 2 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 1949).

⁴⁸⁴ Coelli, "Aspetti della vita e dell'opera di Emilio Servadio," 19.

⁴⁸⁵ David, 322-23; Marina Manotta, "Psiche. Rivista internazionale di psicoanalisi e scienze dell'uomo," ASPI - Archivio storico della psicologia italiana, accessed on January 22, 2019, <https://www.aspi.unimib.it/collections/entity/detail/170/>

⁴⁸⁶ See Manotta, "Psiche. Rivista internazionale di psicoanalisi e scienze dell'uomo."

⁴⁸⁷ The correspondence of Musatti and Servadio is located the University of Milan, Bicocca and it consists of six letters sent to Servadio, see Archivio Cesare Musatti, 1921-1989, Folder n. 104, Recipient Servadio Emilio 1952/02 - 1954/03/22.

⁴⁸⁸ Musatti to Servadio, 1954, Archivio Cesare Musatti, 1921-1989, Folder n. 104, Recipient Servadio Emilio, n. 2.

Vittorio Benussi (i.e. Musatti) reproached Servadio for persuading some of the members of the Society not to take part in the creation of the journal.⁴⁸⁹ Besides this alleged attempt at sabotage on Servadio's part, in 1955 Musatti founded *Rivista di Psicoanalisi*, which the following year became the official organ of the Italian Society of Psychoanalysis.⁴⁹⁰ As I will briefly show, this wasn't an isolated case of internal tensions within the SPI, as other disagreement between its members characterized the historical developments of the Society.

The year 1952 saw the participation of Servadio in several conferences and cultural initiatives of different natures on both the national and international levels. Given the great audience reached thanks to the radio program, *Mezzo Secolo*, Servadio was again chosen to be part of a series of talks on psychoanalysis broadcasted on RAI's third channel.⁴⁹¹ A year later, the radio program was renewed and part of the cultural conversations broadcasted were transcribed and adapted into the book *La psicoanalisi*.⁴⁹² The book was structured in four sections edited by different contributors: Servadio "La psicoanalisi nel mondo moderno" ('Psychoanalysis in the Modern World'), Musatti "Il colloquio psicoanalitico; Cinema e psicoanalisi" (The Psychoanalytical Interview; Cinema and Psychoanalysis'), again Servadio "Momenti di una psicoanalisi" ('Moments of Psychoanalysis'), and Perrotti "La psicoanalisi e il teatro; La musica linguaggio dell'inconscio" ('Psychoanalysis and Theatre; Music as Language of the Unconscious'). The volume had two main purposes: to make the psychoanalytic doctrine and practice accessible to a wider audience; to use the analytical method to approach arts and literature. Speaking of alternative psychoanalytical approaches, Servadio in the same year (1953) took part in the 16th Congress of Psychoanalysts of Romance Languages, where he presented the paper (in French), "Role des conflits préodipiens" ('The Role of Pre-Oedipal Conflicts').⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁹ Musatti to Servadio, March 22, 1954, Archivio Cesare Musatti, 1921-1989, Folder n. 104, Recipient Servadio Emilio, n. 6.

⁴⁹⁰ Coelli, "Aspetti della vita e dell'opera di Emilio Servadio," 19.

⁴⁹¹ One of these talks was later published as Servadio, "Il mangiatore di sogni," *Rivista di Psicopatologia, Neurologia e Psicoanalisi*, n°4 (1952): 21-5.

⁴⁹² Emilio Servadio, Carlo Bo, *La psicoanalisi – Il Surrealismo* (Turin: Edizioni Radio Italiana, 1953).

⁴⁹³ Servadio, "Funzione dei conflitti pre-edipici - Relazione alla XVI Conferenza degli Psicoanalisti di lingue romanze (Roma, settembre 1953)," *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 20, n. 1 (1974): 15-59.

Before proceeding with the events which characterized the history of psychoanalytical *milieu*, still in 1952 the greatest achievements were about to be reached in Italy at the end of the year. On October 4-6, the Second National Congress of Metapsychics took place in Salerno.⁴⁹⁴ Servadio presented a paper, whose capital importance to both fields of psychoanalysis and metapsychical research is self-evident in its title, “Contributi della psicologia del profondo alla ricerca metapsichica” (‘Contributions of Depth Psychology to the Metapsychical Research’).⁴⁹⁵ This conference represented one step in a broader program devoted to the promotion and support of psychic research on an international level. During their meeting in Rome, Garrett told Servadio that she would be able to promote initiatives linked to their mutual field of research. On December 14, 1951, thanks to the combined efforts of the Irish medium and the Honorable Frances P. Bolton (1885-1977),⁴⁹⁶ the Parapsychology Foundation (PF) was founded.⁴⁹⁷ Two years later, the PF organized its first international event which strongly influenced the perception of spiritualist and metapsychical phenomena and literally changed the perspective of the psychic research: starting on July 30, 1953, the First International Conference of Parapsychological Studies took place in Utrecht. The conference represented the first major project of the foundation. A preliminary meeting devoted to the organization of the conference was held in Paris on December 1952.⁴⁹⁸ During the latter meeting different decisions were taken of further significance. Firstly, it was decided that the location of the conference, would be the University of Utrecht. One of the motivations which led to this choice was the presence of Wilhelm Heinrich Carl Tenhaeff (1894-1981).⁴⁹⁹ Tenhaeff was habilitated as *privat dozent* of

⁴⁹⁴ Proceedings were published in Società Italiana di Metapsichica, *Nuovi Problemi di Metapsichica – Atti del Secondo Congresso Nazionale 4-6 Ottobre 1952* (Rome: E.S.I.M., 1952).

⁴⁹⁵ Servadio, “Contributi della psicologia del profondo alla ricerca metapsichica.”

⁴⁹⁶ For biographical information on Congresswoman Frances P. Bolton see David Loth, *A Long Way Forward: The Biography of Congresswoman Frances P. Bolton* (New York; London; Toronto: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1957); Christopher Eiben, “Reaching out for Liberty & Light: The life of Frances Payne Bolton,” (Virginia: Telos Productions/History Enterprises, 2000).

⁴⁹⁷ Garrett, *Many Voices – The Autobiography of a Medium* (New York: Putnam’s Sons, 1968): 167 ff.; Carlos S. Alvarado, Eileen Coly, Lisette Coly, Nancy L. Zingrone, “Fifty Years of Supporting Parapsychology: The Parapsychology Foundation (1951-2001),” *International Journal of Parapsychology* 12, n. 2 (2001): 3.

⁴⁹⁸ Alvarado, “Discussing Parapsychology at Utrecht: The First International Conference of Parapsychological Studies,” last time accessed January 19, 2019, <http://www.pflyceum.org/432.html>.

⁴⁹⁹ For biographical information on Tenhaeff see H. van der Hoeven, “Tenhaeff, Wilhelm Heinrich Carl (1894-1981),” *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*, posted on November 12, 2013, <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn4/tenhaef>.

parapsychology in 1933, and later, in 1953, full professor of the same discipline.⁵⁰⁰ In the same year, thanks to the intervention of the executive committee of the Dutch Society for Psychic Research, Tenhaeff was granted by royal statute to create the Parapsychological Institute of the State University of Utrecht.⁵⁰¹

During the organizational meeting of the PF conference, Tenhaeff, along with Servadio and many others,⁵⁰² was included in the executive committee of the conference. Besides being part of the organizational staff, and chairing the working group linked to psychoanalytical-oriented sessions of the conference,⁵⁰³ Servadio presented a paper on “Depth Psychology and Parapsychology”.⁵⁰⁴ In addition, Servadio wasn’t the only Italian participant to the event, Mackenzie participated to the conference, as well.⁵⁰⁵ As mentioned before, the conference in Utrecht changed the perspective of the psychical research in Europe and characterized all future initiatives connected to the same field on an international level. More precisely, in the opening speech, Murphy – who was the Chairman of the congress – along with ‘psychic research’, used the term ‘parapsychology’,⁵⁰⁶ by explaining that the investigation of paranormal phenomena is not yet limited to a

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ For a general introduction to Dutch parapsychology Sybo A. Schouten, “History of Parapsychology in the Netherlands,” in the *Research in Parapsychology 1991. Abstracts and papers from the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Parapsychological Association, 1991*, ed. Emily Williams Cook and Deborah L. Delanoy (Metuchen; London: Scarecrowpress, 1991), 342-55.

⁵⁰² Psychiatrist Gardner Murphy (1895-1979) was appointed as Chair of the convention, while, among the members of the executive committee, besides Servadio and Tenhaeff, there was also the director of the newborn (at the time, 1950) Institut für Grenzgebiete der Psychologie und Psychohygiene, Hans Bender (1907–1991), the mathematician Samuel George Soal (1889-1975), French journalist René Sudre (1880-1968), Czech-American psychiatrist Jan Ehrenwald (1900-1988), and many others, see *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Parapsychological Studies*.

⁵⁰³ See “Working Group B – Psychotherapeutic and Psychoanalytical Approach,” *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Parapsychological Studies* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1955), 37-76.

⁵⁰⁴ For the abstract of Servadio’s paper, see Servadio, “Depth Psychology and Parapsychology,” *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Parapsychological Studies* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1955), 69-70. The text of the lecture was published two years later, along with the addressing remarks of the 1954’s PF congress on “Unorthodox Healings” in: Servadio, “Psychologie des profondeurs et parapsychologie,” *La science et le paranormal - Le 1 colloque international de parapsychologie (Utrecht, 1953) Les entretiens de (Saint-Paul-de-Vence, 1954)*, ed. Robert Amadou (Paris: IMI, 1955), 199-205.

⁵⁰⁵ See Mackenzie, “Biological Roots of Parapsychology,” *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Parapsychological Studies* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1955), 100-1.

⁵⁰⁶ Gardner Murphy, “Introduction,” *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Parapsychological Studies* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1955), XII.

demarcated territory, but to a broader international context.⁵⁰⁷ Thus, the term parapsychology (over metapsychics) was legitimized and adopted from that moment onwards.

Furthermore, references to 'PSI phenomena' became even more frequent in the field of psychic research thanks to the Utrecht conference. More precisely, in the paper presented by Ehrenwald to the working group dedicated to the connection of psychoanalysis and parapsychology, a peculiar conception of 'PSI phenomena' was offered. Besides being paradoxical, extra-temporal and extra-spatial, these series of phenomena were characterized by a third feature: that is their *metalogical* nature.⁵⁰⁸ Although I will later treat this specific psychoanalytical aspect and its meaning in the set of circumstances linked to the emergence of paranormal phenomenon, Ehrenwald stressed that a peculiar trait which featured PSI events was the presence of a strong emotional bond and/or relationship with family.⁵⁰⁹

Summarizing the objectives which the PF achieved in 1953, it is worth emphasizing: this was the first major event in the history of Psychic Research since the last conference in Athens;⁵¹⁰ the American foundation represented the main institution devoted to patronizing any possible initiatives in parapsychological field in the next five years after the conference;⁵¹¹ last but not the least the constitution of the International Medical Verification Center devoted to investigating cases of so-called 'unorthodox healing'.⁵¹² In addition, a follow up committee, which consisted of other subgroups, was devoted to the organization of future conferences (on pre-established topics)⁵¹³ and side activities. Among these, the preparation of a questionnaire, by a committee composed of psychoanalysts and psychotherapists, to collect, collate, and evaluate observations relating to telepathic

⁵⁰⁷ The reference is to the inclusion of the American experimental environment of Duke University on the list of the European based institutions - Murphy, "Introduction," XII-XIII.

⁵⁰⁸ Jan Ehrenwald, "Psi, Science, and Psychoanalysis," *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Parapsychological Studies* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1955), 48.

⁵⁰⁹ The most significant considerations on the relationship between the emergence of ESP (i.e. Extrasensory perception) and the family context were expressed in: Ehrenwald (ed.), *The History of Psychotherapy – From Healing Magic to Encounter* (Northvale, New Jersey; London: Jason Aronson Inc., 1991²), 428ff.

⁵¹⁰ See note 403.

⁵¹¹ *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Parapsychological Studies*, 130.

⁵¹² *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Parapsychological Studies*, 132.

⁵¹³ *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Parapsychological Studies*, 131-3.

incidents occurring in therapeutic situations was .⁵¹⁴ Servadio played a role in all these mentioned activities promoted and financially supported by the Parapsychology Foundation.

The intersection of psychoanalysis and parapsychology represented a significant leitmotiv in some of the papers and events in which Servadio took part in this period. Still in 1953, he presented a paper at the eighteenth International Psychoanalytical Association Congress, whose title was “Realtà psichica e realtà obiettiva” (‘Psychic Reality and Objective Reality’).⁵¹⁵ Although his lecture was focused on the perception of the patient during psychoanalytical sessions, Servadio stressed the role of the psychoanalyst as a ‘psychic mediator’.⁵¹⁶ This concept represented a conceptual intersection between psychoanalysis and parapsychology, as well as between psychoanalysis and an initiatic dimension.⁵¹⁷ Besides this specific possible connection with the initiatory world, Servadio kept the focus of his lectures and papers on the parapsychological aspect of psychoanalysis. First, in July 20-24, 1954, he presented a paper⁵¹⁸ on transference and its relationship to ‘PSI’ phenomena at the International Conference of Psychotherapy in Zurich.⁵¹⁹ On July 1955, Servadio was invited as keynote speaker at the congress of the IPA⁵²⁰ in Geneva.⁵²¹ His paper aimed to list and show the conditions linked to the occurrence of E.S.P. (in this very specific case, telepathic communications in-between patient and therapist); more specifically he focused

⁵¹⁴ Ibid.

⁵¹⁵ Servadio, “Realtà psichica e realtà obiettiva,” *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 1, n.2 (1955): 15-9.

⁵¹⁶ Servadio, “Realtà psichica e realtà obiettiva,” 19.

⁵¹⁷ This concept applied not only to the several references to the comparison of yogic practice with psychoanalytic doctrine (see Servadio, “Psicoanalisi e yoga,”), but also to possible comparison and contact between psychoanalyst and the figure of the ‘initiate.’ See: Servadio, “La squadra,” *Rivista Massonica* 61, n. 3 (March 1970): 115-6; Servadio, “Il valore della simbologia nella formazione e perfezionamento dei Massoni,” *Rivista Massonica* 61, n. 6 (July 1970): 257-66; Servadio, “Considerazioni sulla morte,” *Rivista Massonica* 67, n. 10 (December 1976): 599-602, and Servadio, “Mistica e parapsicologia.”

⁵¹⁸ Servadio, “Le conditionnement transférentiel et contre-transférentiel des événements «psi» au cours de l’analyse,” *Acta psychotherapeutica, psychosomatica et orthopedagogica* 2, n. 3 (1955): 656-61.

⁵¹⁹ Puma, “Biografia.”

⁵²⁰ See Servadio, “Transference and Thought-Transference,” *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 37, n. 37 (1956): 392-5.

⁵²¹ Ruth S. Eissler, “Report of 19th IPA Congress, Geneva, 1955,” *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 37, n. 37 (1956): 120.

on the role of one crucial factor in the whole manifestation of a series of psychic phenomena, namely transference and counter-transference.⁵²²

In the '50s, the intersection between psychoanalytical and parapsychological field was self-evident in both Servadio's literary production and in historical event. After having introduced and chaired another international event,⁵²³ between 11-17 July, 1955, Servadio took part in the International Conference on Spontaneous Phenomena.⁵²⁴ The latter took place at the Newnham College (University of Cambridge, London), was funded by Parapsychology Foundation, and coordinated by the Society for Psychical Research.⁵²⁵ A more complete analysis of this event will be delivered later; for now, it is sufficient to stress that Servadio at this time presented the paper "A Psychology of Telepathy"⁵²⁶, a lecture which represented a crucial step in both the field of study as related to a particular aspect already introduced by Freud himself in one of his writings,⁵²⁷ as well as in his *Introductory Lectures*.⁵²⁸ the telepathic nature of patients' dreams. The dream is a medium par excellence to convey psychical energy (besides being an effective 'field-test' for considering the meaning and the role of transference in the patient).⁵²⁹ Amidst the debate over the nature of the dream ongoing at the time, the following necessary step for Servadio was to dedicate a whole work to the topic: on June 20, 1955, Servadio published *Il sogno* ('The Dream').⁵³⁰ In addition to its main psychoanalytical themes, this work is packed with

⁵²² Servadio, "La télépathie. Étude psychanalytique," *La Tour Saint Jacques* 2, n. 3 (1956): 128.

⁵²³ The reference is to the international conference which took place in the Spring of 1954 at Le Piol, Saint-Paul de Vence, Alpes Maritimes, France, and was structured in two phases. The second macro-session was dedicated to the cases of 'Unorthodox Healing', see *Proceedings of Four Conferences of Parapsychological Studies* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1957), 43-89.

⁵²⁴ *Proceedings of Four Conferences of Parapsychological Studies*, 91-131.

⁵²⁵ Servadio, "La conferenza internazionale sui «fenomeni spontanei»," *Bollettino della Società Italiana di Metapsichica* I, n. 2 (July-December 1955): 64.

⁵²⁶ *Proceedings of Four Conferences of Parapsychological Studies*, 101-3.

⁵²⁷ See Sigmund Freud, "Eine Erfüllte Traumahnung," *Sigmund Freud Gesammelte Werke – Schriften aus dem Nachlass 1892-1939*, Vol. XVII, ed. Anna Freud, 83 (London: Imago Publishing, 1941), 21-23, for a general overview of Freud's production and interest in occultism/paranormal see Georges Devereux, *Psychoanalysis and the Occult* (New York: International Universities Press, 1953), 49-112.

⁵²⁸ Freud, "Dream and Occultism," *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. XXII, ed. James Strachey, Anna Freud (London: The Hogarth Press; The Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1964), 31-56.

⁵²⁹ See Servadio, "Un sogno presumibilmente telepatico precognitivo durante un'analisi," in *Telepatia di ieri, di oggi, di domani*, ed. Salvatore Guarino (Naples: Istituto Editoriale del Mezzogiorno, 1972), 27-9.

⁵³⁰ Servadio, *Il sogno* (Milan: Garzanti, 1955).

references to the meanings of dreams in different cultural and anthropological contexts, as well as to different forms of divination or manticism.⁵³¹

Another trait characterized this work was Servadio's interest in folklore. I already mentioned how during the collaboration with *La Revue Française de Psychanalyse* this anthropological/historical religious focus of the Italian psychoanalyst was emphasized in his articles. However, Servadio did not only nurture this interest through a theoretical approach. His Indian exile presented the chance to do field work related to paranormal and religious phenomena.⁵³² Although the relationship between Emilio Servadio and Eileen Garrett deserves a detailed study on its own, what I can assess is that from the moment of their meeting in Rome onwards, the Italian psychoanalyst benefited from the financial support of the Parapsychology Foundation, on more than one occasion to travel around the world to pursue his folkloric and anthropological interests.⁵³³ So, in January 1956, Servadio was invited to deliver a series of lectures on psychoanalysis at the University of Port-au-Prince (Haiti).⁵³⁴ During his stay in Port-au-Prince, Servadio also took the opportunity to plunge himself into the anthropological and rural reality of the island: the Italian psychoanalyst documented the whole experience in a series of articles published on the Italian newspapers, *Il Tempo*,⁵³⁵ and his lectures (more specifically one on dynamic psychology)⁵³⁶ at the University were welcomed by detailed reportage in the local newspaper, *Le Nouvelliste*.⁵³⁷ In his account, Servadio described the situation of the local people and did not forget to mention the issue of illiteracy.⁵³⁸ However, what roused his interest were some elements linked to the traditional narrative and local phenomena.

⁵³¹ The point of departure of this analysis is the specific oneiromancy drawn from the five volumes of the *Oneirocritica* of the Greek author Artemidorus Daldianus (who lived in the second century A.D.), Servadio, *Il sogno*, 6.

⁵³² Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 60-1; Servadio, "La psicoanalisi in India (una semiautobiografia)," 429; Garzia, "Intervista con Emilio Servadio," 5-6.

⁵³³ Servadio, Servadio, "Ricordando Anna Freud (Vienna 1895 Londra 1982)," 612; Servadio, "Eileen Garrett: un ricordo personale," 33.

⁵³⁴ Servadio, "Ricordando Anna Freud," 613.

⁵³⁵ Servadio, "Calde sere di Haiti in un mondo di fiaba - Racconti popolari e danze folkloristiche incantano il viaggiatore," *Il Tempo*, February 3, 1956; Servadio, "Ad Haiti aria nuova. Un'isola magica Lotta senza quartiere all'analfabetismo - Il problema linguistico," *Il Tempo*, February 17, 1956, 1; Servadio, "Tamtam ad Haiti per i riti del Vodun. La religione degli haitiani è la cattolica ma il paganesimo resiste, specie presso la popolazione rurale," *Il Tempo*, March 7, 1956, 1-2.

⁵³⁶ Servadio, "Ad Haiti aria nuova," 2.

⁵³⁷ Servadio, "Ricordando Anna Freud," 613.

⁵³⁸ Servadio, "Ad Haiti aria nuova," 1.

Among these latter, the Italian psychoanalyst demonstrated a particular interest in ‘Vodun rites’. Leafing through Servadio’s article on Haitian Voodoo, it is abundantly clear that Servadio set himself the goal of doing fieldwork to debunk many of the preconceived theories (alleging ‘mass hysteria’) linked to these kinds of rites.⁵³⁹

Servadio presented a paper on the same topic⁵⁴⁰ to the Third Congress of Parapsychology (the exponents of the psychic research milieu in Italy all agreed to adopt the new term proposed during the 1953 Utrecht conference).⁵⁴¹ This latter took place in Rome, at the Institute of Physiology of the University of Rome, on May 12-14, 1956.⁵⁴² In addition to its main purpose (i.e. debunking misleading psychoanalytical theories linked to anthropological phenomena), Servadio’s paper mirrored a matter of interest more relevant than ever on an international level: at the time of the conference, psychical research and (now finally all over world) parapsychology, hitherto often considered the ‘stepchildren of science’⁵⁴³, were seeking connections with anthropological, ethnographic, and religious studies. The third congress represented the opportunity to develop this connection on a theoretical, as well as on a practical level. In particular, two factors are to be considered. Firstly, event was attended by two exponents of the international parapsychological milieu: Dutch parapsychologist George Zorab and German American author, Martin Ebon (1917-2006), at the time, administrative secretary of Parapsychology Foundation.⁵⁴⁴ The second detail concerns the presentation of the ethnologist and history of religions scholar, Ernesto De Martino (1908-1965).⁵⁴⁵ The latter presented the paper “Esplorazione etnografica

⁵³⁹ Here Servadio mentions the studies of the Haitian ethno-psychiatrist Louis Price-Mars (1906-2000), whose work Price-Mars, *La crise de possession dans le Vaudou* (Port au Prince, Haiti: Imprimerie de l’État, 1946) was later reprinted by Parapsychology Foundation.

⁵⁴⁰ Servadio, “I culti Vodun di Haiti,” *Studia Parapsychologica: Atti e memorie della società* (Rome: Società Italiana di Parapsicologia, 1956), 3-12.

⁵⁴¹ Piero Cassoli, Brunilde Cassoli, *La parapsicologia* (Milan: Xenia, 2000), 19; Cassoli & Righettini, *Un sole nascosto*, 37.

⁵⁴² See *Studia Parapsychologica*.

⁵⁴³ The expression is borrowed from the experimental psychologist, Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920), see Wilhelm Wolfram, *The Stepchildren of Science – Psychical Research and Parapsychology in Germany, c. 1870-1939* (Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi 2009), 15ff.

⁵⁴⁴ Gastone De Boni, “Il terzo Congresso Nazionale di Parapsicologia – 12-14 Maggio 1956, a Roma,” *Luce e Ombra* 56, n. 1 (1956): 5

⁵⁴⁵ For a detailed biographical introduction to the Italian ethnologist and son-in-law of the archaeologist Vittorio Macchioro (1880-1958), see Vittorio Lanternari, “De Martino, Ernesto,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, (Rome: Enciclopedia Treccani, 1990) accessed on January 29, 2019, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ernesto-de-martino_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

nell'Italia Meridionale e fenomenologia paranormale,” (‘Ethnographical Exploration in the Southern Italy and Paranormal Phenomenology’).⁵⁴⁶ One historical event is worth noting, namely, the fact that De Martino, Ebon, and Servadio had already met once in the same year. Servadio, along with the French writer Robert Amadou (1924-2006),⁵⁴⁷ in collaboration with the Parapsychology Foundation, had organized and chaired a conference which took place at the Cultural Circle of Royaumont in Asnières-sur-Oise (Northern France), from April 30 to May 4, 1956.⁵⁴⁸ At this conference, while Servadio lectured on the state (at the time) of parapsychology in the world,⁵⁴⁹ De Martino offered an overview of the possible connections between the fieldwork of parapsychologists and historians of religion.⁵⁵⁰ De Martino began his analysis by introducing the interpretation of magical powers as a means of cultural conditioning of the nature on men,⁵⁵¹ followed by a proposal on how to approach a peculiar class of religious phenomena, namely ‘miracles’.⁵⁵² Unfortunately, this second part of De Martino’s presentation – as pointed out by history of religions scholar Clara Gallini (1931-2017)⁵⁵³ – passed almost unnoticed, because of the following debate with a participant to the conference. This latter was the Romanian scholar, Mircea Eliade (1907-1986),⁵⁵⁴ who engaged in discussion with De Martino on the reality of magical powers.⁵⁵⁵ While an exhaustive treatment of the topic of ‘De Martino’s interest in and defence of

⁵⁴⁶ Ernesto De Martino, “Esplorazione etnografica nell’Italia Meridionale e fenomenologia paranormale,” *Studia Parapsychologica: Atti e memorie della società* (Rome: Società Italiana di Parapsicologia, 1956), 216-21.

⁵⁴⁷ For a biographical overview of Amadou, see Evrard, *Enquête sur 150 ans de parapsychologie*, 379-82,

⁵⁴⁸ *Proceedings of Four Conferences of Parapsychological Studies*, 133.

⁵⁴⁹ Servadio, “État présent de la parapsychologie psychanalytique,” *La Tour Saint-Jacques – La Parapsychologie et Le Colloque de Royaumont* 2, n. 6-7 (September-December 1956): 42-8.

⁵⁵⁰ De Martino, “Histoire de religions et parapsychologie,” *La Tour Saint-Jacques – La Parapsychologie et Le Colloque de Royaumont* 2, n. 6-7 (September-December 1956): 96-107.

⁵⁵¹ The authors and texts of reference are the British anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) with his *Primitive Culture: researches into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, language, art and custom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1871), and the Scottish writer, Andrew Lang (1844-1912) with his *The Making of Religion* (London: Gree and Co., 1900).

⁵⁵² De Martino, “Histoire de religions et parapsychologie,” 99-101.

⁵⁵³ Clara Gallini, “Introduzione,” in *Ricerca sui guaritori e la loro clientela*, ed. Adelina Talamonti (Lecce: Argo, 2008), 16.

⁵⁵⁴ Although the bibliography on the life and work of Eliade is immense, to the end of the contextualization of the connection of the Romanian scholar with Italy (and Italian scholars of history of religions involved with parapsychology at once), Pietro Angelini, *L’uomo sul tetto. Mircea Eliade e la «storia delle religioni»* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2001); while for a detailed analysis of the interest of an early Eliade in parapsychology see Davide Ermacora, “Mircea Eliade e la realtà dei poteri paranormali - L’articolo del 1937,” *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 81, n. 2 (2015): 689-757.

⁵⁵⁵ The discussion between Eliade and Italian anthropologist that followed De Martino’s presentation was later published on *La Tour Saint-Jacques* 2, n. 6-7 (September-December 1956): 104-7.

metapsychics/parapsychology'⁵⁵⁶ is beyond the scope of this study, it is important to emphasize that, on this occasion, Eliade, whose literary production focused on both the reality of magical powers⁵⁵⁷ and paranormal phenomena,⁵⁵⁸ in the discussion with De Martino, the Romanian scholar argued about his 'ethnometapsychical' method to consider the reality and nature of supernatural/magical powers.⁵⁵⁹ More exactly, Eliade wanted to furthermore stress the difference between the approach adopted by a history of religions scholar, whose point of departure of the analysis are customs, traditions, and creeds, and the 'ethnometapsychical' one, which aims to verify the effective existence of supernatural phenomena.⁵⁶⁰

The analysis of miracles as religious phenomena which characterized the paper of De Martino, or more specifically, the reality of miracles, magical powers, and unorthodox healings, represented, in a determined period in history, three linking topics between parapsychology and religious studies.⁵⁶¹ Each of these themes characterized transitions and events in the history of parapsychology. One such development was the 1956 Congress of Parapsychology in Rome. When De Martino lectured on *Ethnographical Exploration in the Southern Italy and Parapsychological Phenomenology*, in the introduction to his paper he said: "During the congress of Royaumont, it has been proposed to address our research towards those producers of paranormal phenomena who live and work far from an urban

⁵⁵⁶ Recently, a debate on De Martino's actual interest and relationship with magic and metapsychics took place in France. Basically, two theses were presented and supported: on one hand, a 'metapsychical' interpretation of some of the main writings of the Italian ethnologist has been endorsed, on the other hand a neat influence of any metapsychics on any part of literary production of De Martino. For an overview and analysis of the debate, see Alessandro Testa, "Il magismo di Ernesto De Martino: Un confronto e un dibattito francese," in *Ernesto De Martino: storicismo critico e ricerca sul campo*, ed. Floriana Ciccodicola (Rome: Domograf, 2012): 209-36. It is also worthy to be mentioned a latest contribution on the complicated relationship between the history of religions and metapsychic, see Flavio A. Geisshuesler, "A Parapsychologist, an Anthropologist, and a Vitalist Walk into a Laboratory: Ernesto de Martino, Mircea Eliade, and a Forgotten Chapter in the Disciplinary History of Religious Studies," *Religions* 10, n. 5 (May 2019): 304.

⁵⁵⁷ See Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism - Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (New York: Boilingen Foundation, 1964), 67-99; 215-42; 466-87.

⁵⁵⁸ See Eliade, "Folklore as an Instrument of Knowledge," in *Mircea Eliade: A Critical Reader*, ed. Bryan Rennie (London: Equinox, 2006), 25-37.

⁵⁵⁹ Related to the (less investigated) topic of the magical powers and the Royaumont debate between De Martino and Eliade, see Pietro Angelini, "Eliade, de Martino e il problema dei poteri magici," in *Mircea Eliade. Le forme della Tradizione e del Sacro*, ed. Giovanni Casadio, Pietro Mander (Rome: Mediterranee, 2012), 11-38.

⁵⁶⁰ *La Tour Saint-Jacques*, 104.

⁵⁶¹ The choice of the term 'Religious Studies' is due to a double motivation: the first is to refer to an umbrella concept including the disciplines Anthropology, History of Religions, Sociology, Psychology, and Philosophy; the second reason is linked to the influence of the work of Tylor, Lang, Frazer, and the pragmatist, William James (1842-1910) on the parapsychological milieu, see Mancini, Kripal, Crabtree.

context.”⁵⁶² The Italian ethnologist made reference to a specific location where to investigate such ‘producers of phenomena’, namely the area of Lucania, here De Martino had already conducted two ethnological expeditions in 1952 and in 1956.⁵⁶³

While De Martino was involved with his explorations, Servadio, following his Haitian stay, took the opportunity presented by the Rome conference to offer a general overview of Vodun cults and rites⁵⁶⁴. Both in Servadio and De Martino’s presentations, there emerged a possible connection between anthropological/ethnological inquiry and parapsychological research focus. Among the audience of the Third Parapsychological Congress was the secretary of the PF, Martin Ebon. Ebon had already met both Italian members of the SIM⁵⁶⁵ at the Centre Culturel de Royaumont, where – given also the previous constitution of an International Medical Verification Center for the verification of cases of ‘unorthodox healings’ - a project directed by Servadio and De Martino was launched and approved for the examination of phenomena produced by so-called ‘peasant healers’. However, the effective realization and financial support for this project from the PF would materialize only when Ebon met De Martino for (at least) the second time in Rome, at the congress. Following that event, on June 15, 1956, Ebon wrote a letter where he expressed his gratitude to the Italian ethnologist⁵⁶⁶ and, through the Foundation, granted him \$4,000 to conduct his research in the South of Italy.⁵⁶⁷ An expedition team of seven people⁵⁶⁸ went into action on May 15, working until June 4, 1957 across seven locations⁵⁶⁹ in the ancient area of Lucania (which corresponds nowadays with almost the entirety of the region of Basilicata and some parts of Basilicata and Campania).⁵⁷⁰ The aim of the project was to

⁵⁶² De Martino, “Esplorazione etnografica nell’Italia Meridionale e fenomenologia paranormale,” 216.

⁵⁶³ See Clara Gallini, Francesco Faeta, *I viaggi nel Sud di Ernesto de Martino* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1999).

⁵⁶⁴ Servadio, “I culti Vodun di Haiti.”

⁵⁶⁵ In the meeting of Italian Metapsychical Society of October 28, 1942, De Martino was listed as member of the Society, see Società Italiana di Metapsichica, *La Stampa ed il Volume “Studi e Ricerche di Metapsichica”* (Rome: Stabilimenti Tipografici Carlo Colombo, 1942), II.

⁵⁶⁶ Gallini, “Introduzione,” 17.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸ Along with Servadio and De Martino, they were joined by the expedition hygienist, Mario Pitzurra (1916-1998), the Italian-American sociologist Adam Abruzzi, the photographer Ando Gilardi (1921-2012), the interviewer Vittoria De Palma, and the secretary and organizer of the whole expedition, Romano Calisi (1931-1975).

⁵⁶⁹ More exactly seven locations were visited: Albano di Lucania, Genzano di Lucania, Castelmezzano, Valsinni,

⁵⁷⁰ For an historical-geographic overview of Lucania, see Emilio Magaldi, *Lucania Romana* (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1948).

verify the occurrence of paranormal phenomena⁵⁷¹ connected to the healing practices of so-called 'peasant healers'⁵⁷² or, using one of the variants derived from local dialects 'maciari' (more or less literally translated: 'magicians').⁵⁷³ Following the expedition, a selection of the photographic materials (taken by Ando Gilardi) was made in order to be exhibited first in Perugia at the Istituto di entologia e antropologia culturale (Institute ofology and Cultural Anthropology') of the local University from February 6-16, 1958, and then in Rome at the Museo nazionale delle arti e tradizioni popolari ('National Museum of Arts and Popular Customs').⁵⁷⁴ The name of the photographic exhibition was "Prima mostra italiana della fotografia etnografica e sociologica" ('First Italian Exhibition of Ethnographic and Sociologic Photography') and was covered by Italian magazines and newspapers. Related to this, Servadio played a major role in the mediatic promotion of the Lucanian expedition.⁵⁷⁵

Magic interested Servadio on several different levels. Among these, it is worth considering two aspects of the magical conception which he wanted to investigate, namely the anthropological-psychoanalytical and the parapsychological dimensions. The former aspect is linked to the collaboration that Servadio had established with the French journal, *La Tour Saint-Jacques* – which represented the heir of *La Revue Metapsychique* –⁵⁷⁶ since its very beginning.⁵⁷⁷ Servadio, through his literary production and fieldwork (in Port-au-Prince and Lucania) focused on different figures of the 'magician-practitioner' (this also includes

⁵⁷¹ Servadio, "Rapporto sulla spedizione in Lucania per lo studio dei Maghi-guaritori, promossa dalla Parapsychology Foundation," 251.

⁵⁷² Servadio, "Peasant Healers and the Paranormal," 12-5.

⁵⁷³ In De Martino's report of the expedition, as well as in the seventh chapter of *Sud e magia* (see De Martino, "Vita magica di Albano," *Sud e magia*, ed. Ernesto De Martino [Milan: Feltrinelli, 1982], 58-77), he introduces the term 'maciari' or 'magiari' for male peasant healers, and 'maciare' for female healers. The interesting fact is the extensive description of most of the features associated to 'maciare', see Talamonti, *Ricerca sui guaritori e la loro clientela*, 67-77.

⁵⁷⁴ Seppilli & Gilardi, "Magia e medicina popolare in Lucania," 129-36.

⁵⁷⁵ Servadio, "Spedizione scientifica in Lucania alla ricerca di maghi e taumaturghi," *Il Tempo*, June 16, 1957, 3; Servadio, "Difficile il responso della scienza sui fenomeni che avvengono in Lucania," *Il Tempo*, June 18 1957, 3; Servadio, "Scoprirono in Lucania il Medio Evo della Magia," *La Settimana Incom Illustrata* 10, n. 27 (July 1957): 38-41; Servadio, "Operazione maghi sulle montagne lucane," *Epoca* 7, n. 356 (July 1957): 17; Servadio, "Le oscure vie della guarigione," *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 5, n.2 (1959): 149-64; Servadio, "Spedizione di De Martino tra i guaritori," *Paese Sera*, June 1, 1963, 4; Servadio, "Il problema dei guaritori," *Rassegna Italiana di Ricerca Psicologica* 5, n. 1-2 (1969): 23-30; 13-7.

⁵⁷⁶ On the crucial role of *La Tour Saint-Jacques*, which produced sixteen issues from 1955 to 1958, and the group of people surrounding its editorial experience, see Evrard, *Enquête sur 150 ans de parapsychologie*, 380-1; Evrard, "1935-1968. L'ère du réalisme fantastique," 42-3.

⁵⁷⁷ Servadio, "Un rêve de nature apparemment télépathique et précognitive pendant une psychanalyse," *La Tour Saint-Jacques* 1, n. 1 (November-December 1955) : 67-72.

the 'diviner' type).⁵⁷⁸ What is crucial in this biographical passage is the approach which Servadio adopted to analyze the magician and his interaction with the world. Servadio published a revised version of a paper in the French journal, "La magie et le complexe de castration" ('Magic and Castration Complex'),⁵⁷⁹ in which he offered the interpretation that the rod of the magician was connected to a sexual interpretation (i.e. the penis) and to an anthropological consideration of the powers connected to this item, that was the passage from a state of impotence to that of omnipotence.⁵⁸⁰ What I take heed of in this article is the fact that, according to Servadio, the psychoanalytical vision of the most powerful threat for the magician (i.e. the castration) does not exclude anthropological analysis, but rather the latter showed how the sexualized object and correlated magical powers – which eventually led to the occurrence of paranormal phenomena – were conceived as manifestation of a force. No matter whether this latter was a version of the Freudian unconscious or the expression of telluric elements, the relationship of the magician to nature/the external world was ruled by a manifestation of power (*kratophany*).

The second encounter with magic in the '50s happened for Servadio at the Third National Congress of Parapsychology, where, besides the presentations of papers, an experimental session with a producer of paranormal phenomena: Achille d'Angelo⁵⁸¹, also known as 'il mago di Napoli' ('the magician of Naples') was subjected to verification of his paranormal powers.⁵⁸² D'Angelo's paranormal abilities were already subjected to verification first, in 1948, by a commission made up of Ciruolo, Egidi, Presti, Schepis, and

⁵⁷⁸ Servadio, "La baguette des sourciers."

⁵⁷⁹ Servadio, "La magie et le complexe de castration," *La Tour Saint-Jacques* 4, n. 16 (July-August 1958): 145-52.

⁵⁸⁰ Servadio, "La magie et le complexe de castration," 149-152.

⁵⁸¹ Achille D'Angelo (1907-1971) was a medium and magician, whose popularity reached its apex in the 1960s in Italy. A promotion of his 'alleged' supernatural powers and mediumship abilities was perpetrated through the world of show-business to the point that D'Angelo was consulted by and portrayed with many TV show and cinema celebrities. D'Angelo was particularly renowned for his 'eclectic' TV broadcasted appearances and predictions, see "NAPOLI: Il mago di Napoli", *Caleidoscopio CIAC/C1485*, Archivio Luce, accessed on January 22, 2019, patrimonio.archivioluca.com/luce-web/detail/IL5000053731/2/napoli-mago-napoli.html. In a brief self-published pamphlet, D'Angelo revealed how he obtained his paranormal powers and his ability to foresee the future - see: Achille D'Angelo, *Rivelo l'ignoto* (Naples: Arti grafiche dottor Amodio, 1948). About his involvement in fraud in the '40s in Rome, see: Mario Tedeschi, *Roma democristiana* (Milan: Longanesi, 1956), 83-5. For a general biographical overview, see Luciano Bonacini, *Il mago D'Angelo, l'uomo-medicina* (Rome: FABI, 1966).

⁵⁸² Anonymous, "Esperienze," *Luce e Ombra* 57, n. 1 (February 1957): 52-4.

Servadio during a private session in Milan,⁵⁸³ then again in the '50s by the engineer Vittorio Perrone (1898-1961),⁵⁸⁴ and psychiatrist Ettore Patini.⁵⁸⁵ All of these experiences and publications were presented by Servadio at the international conference in Sain-Paul de Vence in 1954.⁵⁸⁶ The conference was structured into two sessions: from April 20- 26, the International Philosophical Symposium take place; from April 27 - May 1, the International Study Group on Unorthodox Healing followed and concluded the event. The group was established during the first conference in Utrecht in 1953⁵⁸⁷ and its focus was to verify the presence or absence of the 'PSI factor' in specific healing processes.⁵⁸⁸ The reason why the case of 'Il mago di Napoli' was considered during the conference of 1954 was linked to the therapeutical feature of his powers: by the imposition of his own hands at a distance D'Angelo could intervene in the recovery of the individual.

A technical discussion of D'Angelo interactions with the patient falls outside of the historical overview that is the main aim of this dissertation. However, the concept behind PF promotion of the international study group is crucial: the medium, magician, or 'medicine-man'⁵⁸⁹ acts as an external agent to balance the health status of an individual. More than a mere producer of paranormal phenomena, or invested with thaumaturgical abilities, the

⁵⁸³ Anonymous, "Il mago di Napoli," *Notiziario di Metapsichica* 5, n. 9 (November 1947- April 1948): 11-2; the report of this experience was partially published in Anonymous, *Il mago di Napoli, Achille D'Angelo al giudizio della scienza* (Rome: Società Grafica Romana, 1952).

⁵⁸⁴ Perrone was a regular contributor to *Luce e Ombra* and an expert on psychometry. He presented a detailed study on the topic at the Third National Congress of Parapsychology in 1956, see Vittorio Perrone, "Su «La Psicometria», relazione," *Studia Parapsychologica: Atti e memorie della società* (Rome: Società Italiana di Parapsicologia, 1956), 41-113. Perrone also presented a paper on his experiences with the magician, Achille D'Angelo, at the Second National Congress in Salerno in 1952, Perrone, "Achille d'Angelo e possibilità di indagini scientifiche nuove attraverso talune sue facoltà eccezionali con effetti costantemente ripetibili," *Nuovi problemi di metapsichica: Seconda Serie. Atti del Secondo Congresso Nazionale, Salerno, 4-6 Ottobre 1952* (Rome: SIM, 1952), 173-82.

⁵⁸⁵ Patini was pupil of the psychiatrist Francesco De Sarlo (164-1937). De Sarlo founded in Florence in 1903 a Laboratory of Experimental Psychology and also supported by Assagioli with the foundation, in 1912, of the journal *Psiche. Rivista di Studi Psicologici*. The experience of the Laboratory and of the journal gathered a group of people who shared a mutual vision on philosophical and psychological themes. Patini can be included in these group both close to De Sarlo and the publishing experience started by Assagioli, for an overview of the group of people linked/surrounding *Psiche*, see Patrizia Guarnieri, *Senza cattedra - l'Istituto di psicologia dell'Università di Firenze tra idealismo e fascismo* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2012), 66ff. Patini offered a report of the experiences with D'Angelo's supernatural abilities, see Ettore Patini, "Al di là della scienza. Osservazioni di uno psicologo neuropsichiatrico sul Mago Achille D'Angelo," *Rivista di Psicopatologia, Neuropsichiatria e Psicoanalisi* 3, n. 21 (1953): 365-413.

⁵⁸⁶ Amadou, *La science et le paranormal*, 275-7.

⁵⁸⁷ *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Parapsychological Studies*, 132.

⁵⁸⁸ Amadou, *La science et le paranormal*, 276.

⁵⁸⁹ This was one of the other name D'Angelo was popular for in Rome in the fifties.

healer is a living means to restore a previous condition in the patient. The topic of the healers and unorthodox cases of healings characterized most part of Servadio's literary production since his initial interest in Mesmerism and Hypnotism.⁵⁹⁰ However, his anthropological/ethnological experiences in 1956, along with his time in India, helped the Italian psychoanalyst to develop a conception of the healer similar to that introduced. Research connected to healing practices represented a crucial passage for the parapsychological milieu in Europe in the '50s: as happened with the figure of the psychoanalyst, the healer became the symbol of another conceptual intersection between different fields of studies.

Going back to the chronological order of historical events, in Spring 1957, the PF held another international conference at Le Piol, Sain-Paul de Vence.⁵⁹¹ Along with Servadio, among the Italian exponents of the parapsychological movement was the physician and sexologist, Piero Cassoli (1918-2005).⁵⁹² Cassoli, along with a few chosen ones,⁵⁹³ founded on October 13, 1954 the Centro Studi Parapsicologici ('Centre of Parapsychological Studies') in Bologna.⁵⁹⁴ Although Italian-based, the CSP⁵⁹⁵ carefully followed events and developments linked to parapsychological associations abroad. More specifically, Cassoli, with other members of the Italian center,⁵⁹⁶ favorably acknowledged the creation of the study group on unorthodox healings and personally took an interest in research on healers.⁵⁹⁷

In the '50s and '60s, Cassoli also promoted a series of initiatives and publications aimed at offering an in-depth analysis of the topic. In order to achieve this objective, and also to provide the CSP with an organ of communication, Cassoli approached the physician

⁵⁹⁰ A general overview of his position on healing processes and the historical developments of Hypnosis is to be found in Servadio, *Il problema dei guaritori* (Rome: Rassegna Italiana di Ricerca Psicica, 1969).

⁵⁹¹ Alvarado et al., "Fifty Years of Supporting Parapsychology," 9.

⁵⁹² For a bio-bibliographical overview on Cassoli, see Alvarado, "Piero Cassoli (1918-2005): Dean of Italian Parapsychologists," obituary, Parapsychological Association, accessed on January 22, 2019 https://archived.parapsych.org/members/p_cassoli_obituary.html.

⁵⁹³ Among the founders, I include the physician Alessandro Buscaroli, and the gynecologist Enrico Marabini.

⁵⁹⁴ Cassoli and Righettini, *Un sole nascosto*, 43.

⁵⁹⁵ Acronym for Centre of Parapsychological Studies.

⁵⁹⁶ Cassoli and Righettini, *Un sole nascosto*, 31.

⁵⁹⁷ See Cassoli, *Il guaritore*.

Tomaso Oliaro (1909-1987),⁵⁹⁸ who was, at the time, the sole director of the publishing house *Minerva Medica*⁵⁹⁹ and editor-in-chief of a medical journal of the same name. Thanks to an agreement reached between Cassoli and Oliaro, from 1956 to 1961, the journal *Minerva Medica* was regularly published along with a supplement.⁶⁰⁰ This latter's name was "Parapsicologia" ('Parapsychology') and was a separate monographic section of the periodical dedicated to the in-depth analysis of topics connected to the world of paranormal.⁶⁰¹ Servadio, who at the time was a member of the executive committee of Società Italiana Parapsicologia⁶⁰² and made the acquaintance of Cassoli in Rome in 1952⁶⁰³, was invited several times to the CSP headquarters in Bologna, as well as to collaborate on the supplement of the medical journal.⁶⁰⁴ Besides the interest in healers and alternative and heterodox healing practices, other topics were treated in the issues of "Parapsicologia", Among these, one particular topic drew the attention of international audiences: the topic of fire walking.

It is not by chance that Cassoli was actively engaged at the time in research on this specific topic. What astonishes most is the fact that, at the beginning of 1957, Cassoli received a phone call from Cipriani, who informed the Italian sexologist about the presence of a group of people in the village of Langadas and in other parts of Greece who were able to practice the Anastenaria (i.e. fire-walking).⁶⁰⁵ Thanks to the financial support of the Parapsychology Foundation, Cassoli altogether with his wife Brunilde (Cassoli) Mignani

⁵⁹⁸ For a biographical overview of the physician and historian of medicine, Tomaso Oliaro, see Walter Montorsi, "In ricordo di Tomaso Oliaro," *Notiziario chirurgico – Giornale di aggiornamento ed informazione* 8, n. 1 (1987): 77ff. Cassoli managed to know Oliaro at a medical congress in 1955, see Biondi, "Sfogliando il passato. IV," Psi Report, accessed on January 22, 2019, <https://psireport.wordpress.com/2016/06/18/sfogliando-il-passato-iv/>.

⁵⁹⁹ For a brief historical overview of the publishing house, see: Anonymous, "Minerva Medica – Vi et mente," *Minerva Medica*, accessed on January 22, 2019, <https://www.minervamedica.it/it/chi-siamo.php>.

⁶⁰⁰ Cassoli and Righettini, *Un sole nascosto*, 88ff.

⁶⁰¹ For a general overview of the contributors and articles published in *Minerva Medica* in the period, see Cassoli and Righettini, *Un sole nascosto*, 89n.

⁶⁰² After the Utrecht conference, the Italian group also adopted the term 'parapsicologia', in stead of 'metapsichica'.

⁶⁰³ Cassoli and Righettini, *Un sole nascosto*, 75.

⁶⁰⁴ First article the Italian psychoanalyst ever published in "Parapsicologia" was, Servadio, "Psicoterapia, psicoanalisi e parapsicologia," *Minerva Medica* 47, n. 2 (December 1956): 2025-30.

⁶⁰⁵ Cassoli, "La pirobazia in Grecia (Le Anastenaria)," *Minerva Medica* 49, n. 77 (September 1958): 3677.

(1926-2014), Lido Cipriani, Professor Vittorio Beonio Brocchieri (1902-1979),⁶⁰⁶ a photographer, and a local interpreter,⁶⁰⁷ went to assist the rite of Anastenaria, between May 19 and 20, first in the village of Langadas and then in that one of Agia Eleni.⁶⁰⁸ The rite of fire-walking is linked to the festivities of Orthodox calendar, more exactly to the celebration of Saint Constantine and Helen's day on May 21. Besides the self-evident anthropological interest that led Cassoli and his group to visit these two villages, in order to assist the preparation to the rite of fire-walking,⁶⁰⁹ the Italian sexologist aimed to verify whether this ability was liable to be labeled as paranormal. The paper which Cassoli presented at the international conference in 1957, whose contents were published the following year in *Minerva Medica* supplement,⁶¹⁰ focused more on the concept behind the practice of Anastenaria,⁶¹¹ namely the immunity to fire (i.e. Apiria).⁶¹² This ability in the specific case of the Greek festivals was a sort of protection granted by celebrated Saints (i.e. Saint Constantine and Helen), however Cassoli traced back other examples and anecdotes of Apiria and Anastenaria in ancient and modern authors all over the world. The central fact linking Cassoli's first participation in a PF conference and anthropological expedition to investigate this phenomenon, was to establish the circumstances that allowed the individual to perform such practice and, in turn, granted him such power. Furthermore, on a theoretical-historical level, it might be assessed that Religious Studies and Parapsychology had the mutual interest to investigate this dynamic connected to a religious-folklorist context.

⁶⁰⁶ For a biographical overview of the Professor of History of Modern Political Thought at the University of Pavia, see Arturo Colombo, "Beonio-Brocchieri, Vittorio," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Enciclopedia Treccani, 1988) accessed on January 29, 2019, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vittorio-beonio-brocchieri_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vittorio-beonio-brocchieri_(Dizionario-Biografico)/). In Servadio's collection of books located at Stelio Crise library in Trieste, I found copy of Vittorio Beonio-Brocchieri, *Spengler – La dottrina politica del pangermanesimo post bellico* (Milan: Athena, 1928).

⁶⁰⁷ Cassoli, "La pirobazia in Grecia (Le Anastenaria)," 3679. Unfortunately, I was unable to find more biographical info about the photographer, Alessandro Lambrianides, and the interpreter, the countess Lina Vianelli, both natives of Athens.

⁶⁰⁸ Cassoli, "La pirobazia in Grecia (Le Anastenaria)," 3678-9.

⁶⁰⁹ For an in-depth analysis of the festivals and celebrations linked to the rite of Anastenaria in the Greek context, see Dimitris Xygalatas, *The Burning Saints – Cognition and Culture of Fire-walking Rituals of the Anastenaria* (London; New York, Routledge, 2014).

⁶¹⁰ Cassoli, "La pirobazia in Grecia (Le Anastenaria)."

⁶¹¹ The terms 'Anastenaria' (singular 'Anastenari') may refer both to the practice and to the people performing it, see Xygalatas, *The Burning Saints*, 197.

⁶¹² Cassoli, "La pirobazia in Grecia (Le Anastenaria)," 3678.

Given the favorable reception of Cassoli's report, as well as the small delegation of Italian representatives at the 1957's conference,⁶¹³ the following year Garrett financially supported the constitution of a scientific committee devoted to the verification and organization of fire-walking experiences in Bologna.⁶¹⁴ Along with Cassoli, Beonio-Brocchieri, physician and *Luce e Ombra's* editor-in-chief, Gastone De Boni (1908-1986),⁶¹⁵ George Zorab, Servadio was member of this committee.⁶¹⁶ Even though Servadio did not take part in the expedition in Greece, and it is unclear whether he supported Cassoli's participation to 1957's conference to any extent,⁶¹⁷ he surely played no small role in the formation of the fire-walkers verification committee.⁶¹⁸

While in Bologna, some experiences with fire-walkers were organized at the headquarters of the Centre for Parapsychological Studies,⁶¹⁹ Servadio kept participating in international conferences and publishing initiatives abroad: in Summer 1957,⁶²⁰ he took part in the 20th International Psychoanalytical Congress in Paris and gave a lecture, "Magic and the Castration Complex",⁶²¹ which was later published in *La Tour Saint-Jacques*.

On November 15-16, 1958, Servadio participated in the PF conference "Parapsychology and Psychedelics".⁶²² As assessed by Garrett herself,⁶²³ and by the scholar

⁶¹³ Allan Angoff, Betty Shapin (ed.), *Parapsychology Today: A Geographic View. Proceedings of an International Conference, held at Le Piol, St. Paul de Vence, France, August 25-27, 1971* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1973), 187-93.

⁶¹⁴ Cassoli and Righettini, *Un sole nascosto*, 104.

⁶¹⁵ See Anonymous, "Gastone De Boni (1908-1986)," Fondazione Biblioteca Bozzano De Boni, accessed on January, 22, 2019, <https://www.bibliotecabozzanodeboni.com/pagina-di-esempio-2/i-fondatori-gastone-de-boni-1908-1986/>.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid.

⁶¹⁷ Angoff & Shapin, *Parapsychology Today*, 187.

⁶¹⁸ One instance of evidence of Servadio's support for the expedition to Greece is the copy of Beonio-Brocchieri's book (this latter was part of Servadio's collection and is today located at Stelio Crise library in Trieste) signed by the author and with a dedication to Italian psychoanalyst, Vittorio Beonio-Brocchieri, *Camminare sul fuoco* (Milan: Longanesi, 1964).

⁶¹⁹ Cassoli and Righettini, *Un sole nascosto*, 104ff.

⁶²⁰ The IPA congress was held in Paris, from July 29 to August 1, 1957, see Eissler, "Report of 20th IPA Congress, Paris, 1957," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 39, n.1 (1958):276-96.

⁶²¹ Anonymous, "Note sul XX Congresso Internazionale di Psicoanalisi," *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 3, n. 3 (1957): 240. Servadio's paper boasted strong reception and success at the conference, since its contents and/or abstract were translated and published in French, Spanish, and English, Servadio, "Magic and the Castration-Complex;" Anonymous, "Servadio, Emilio: Magic and the castration-complex (Magia y el complejo de castración)," *Revista de Psicoanálisis* 16, n. 2 (1959): 186; Servadio, "La magie et le complexe de castration."

⁶²² *Proceedings of Two Conferences on Parapsychology and Pharmacology*, 1-55.

⁶²³ Garrett, *Many Voices*, 167.

of history of Parapsychology Massimo Biondi,⁶²⁴ this represented a preliminary “exchange of ideas”⁶²⁵ to explore the field from the standpoint of this specific topic. Besides the surge of ESP cases, the connection/association of PSI phenomena with ‘mind manifesting’ (or ‘mind expanding’) experiences was among the favorite topics of international PF conferences. Even more intriguing was the theme of substance-induced experiences.

Given the fact that the Swiss chemist Albert Hofmann (1906-2008) officially and intentionally synthesized LSD-25⁶²⁶ for the first time on April 19, 1943, the substance was tested in a psychiatric hospital unit in Zurich⁶²⁷ and following released by Basel based Chemical company, Sandoz, on the international market for psychiatric purpose, this *psychotomimetic* substance was considered suitable for experimentation in parapsychological field.

Hofmann did not only focus his effort in LSD-25, but also got interested in the ‘Mexican relative’ of lysergic acid, namely the sacred mushroom Teonanácatl (also known as *Psilocybe Mexicana*).⁶²⁸ Recruited by the French botanist Roger Heim (1900-1979), Hofmann committed himself to the isolation of active principles of the psychotropic mushrooms. This is how he isolated and named the active compound of psilocybin and psilocin.⁶²⁹ Given Hofmann’s success in isolating the active compound, the American Central Intelligence Agency procured some samples of psilocybin and forwarded them to pharmacologist and research department director of Federal Medical Center of Lexington,⁶³⁰ Harris Isbell (1910-1994), who started to test the psychotropic substance on inmates.⁶³¹

⁶²⁴ Biondi, “Eileen Garrett: La mia esperienza con l’LSD,” *Quaderni di Parapsicologia* 41, n. 2 (2009): 41-6.

⁶²⁵ Garrett, *Many Voices*, 167.

⁶²⁶ Albert Hofmann, *LSD, My Problem Child: Reflections on Sacred Drugs, Mysticism, and Science* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980), 14: “In 1938, I produced the twenty-fifth substance in this series of lysergic acid derivatives: lysergic acid diethylamide, abbreviated LSD-25 (Lyserg-säure-diäthylamid) for laboratory usage.”

⁶²⁷ Hofmann, *LSD, My Problem Child*, 35.

⁶²⁸ Hofmann, *LSD, My Problem Child*, 100.

⁶²⁹ Hofmann, “Psilocybin und Psilocin, zwei psychotrope Wirkstoffe aus mexikanischen Rauschpilzen,” *Helvetica Chimica Acta* 42 (1959): 1557-72.

⁶³⁰ The institution was also known by the name of the Lexington Narcotic Hospital and The Narcotic Farm, see Nancy Campbell, J. P. Olsen, Luke Walden, *The Narcotic Farm: The Rise and Fall of America's First Prison for Drug Addicts* (New York: Abrams, 2008).

⁶³¹ See Martin A. Lee, Bruce Shlain, *Acid Dreams - The Complete Social History of LSD: The CIA, The Sixties, and Beyond* (New York: Grove Press, 1985), 64.

So, by the end of the 50s LSD-25 was employed in psychiatric structures throughout U.S. A key figure in the use and test of psychotropic substances in the psychiatric (and 'recreational') field was British psychiatrist Humphry Osmond (1917-2004).⁶³² In 1957, Osmond took part in a meeting of the New York Academy of Sciences where he offered insight into the use of psychotropic substances in other cultures and religious traditions. Above all, he suggested to call a specific group of substances 'psychedelic'.⁶³³ According to Osmond, the adoption of the term 'psychedelic' (which is the fusion of psyche: mind and dēlos: manifest) was to refer to a drug-induced state caused by the ingestion of LSD, mescaline, or peyote.⁶³⁴ The British psychiatrist inferred that the word 'psychedelic' was much more appropriate over the term 'hallucinogen', in order to define the 'exciting and pleasant' situation caused by such substances in a patient.⁶³⁵ Although this was its first use in the medical field, the association of the word psychedelic with such psychotropic/psychotomimetic substances was debated in the correspondences between Osmond and the British-American writer Aldous Huxley (1894-1963).⁶³⁶ The exchange of letters began on March 31, 1953, when Osmond replied to Huxley's kind gesture of sending a copy of his *The Devils of Loudun* (1952) along with an appreciative notes on the article on personal experiences with mescaline that Osmond wrote in collaboration with neuropsychiatrist John Raymond Smythies (1922-2019).⁶³⁷ Osmond, who was familiar with the experimentation in first person with psychedelics, (allegedly)⁶³⁸ introduced Huxley to mescaline in the same year.⁶³⁹ The mutual experimentation with drugs represented a crucial passage, in their letters and exchanges, to define the underlying dimension as well as the

⁶³² For a biographical overview of Osmond, see Agnese Codignola, *LSD: Da Albert Hofmann a Steve Jobs, da Timothy Leary a Robin Carhart-Harris: storia di una sostanza stupefacente* (Milan: UTET, 2018), chap. 2.

⁶³³ Humphry Osmond, "A Review of the Clinical Effects of Psychotomimetic Agents," *Annals of the New York Academy of Science* 66 (1957): 418-34.

⁶³⁴ Osmond, "A Review of the Clinical Effects of Psychotomimetic Agents," 420-1.

⁶³⁵ Ibid.

⁶³⁶ On the life and work of Huxley see Sybille Bedford, *Aldous Huxley: A Biography* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1974).

⁶³⁷ Humphry Osmond, John Raymond Smythies, "Schizophrenia: A new approach," *Journal of Mental Science* 98 (1952): 309-15.

⁶³⁸ On the hypothesis that Huxley's initiator to mescaline was the British occultist Aleister Crowley (1875-1947), see Pasi, *Aleister Crowley and the Temptation of Politics* (Durham: Acumen, 2014), 170, 86n.

⁶³⁹ Cinthya Carson Bisbee, Paul Bisbee, Erica Dyck, Patrick Farrell, James Sexton, James W. Spisak, *Psychedelic Prophets – The Letters of Aldous Huxley and Humphry Osmond* (Montreal & Kingston; London; Chicago: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018), XXVIII.

term linked to these substances.⁶⁴⁰ Quoting a passage from the work of the mathematician and philosopher Alfred North Whitehead (1861-1947),⁶⁴¹ Osmond showed how an evolutionary feature characterized the research on these 'mind expanding' substances and all those tested subjects, whose outcomes during experimental phase were positive and revealing.⁶⁴² In so doing, Osmond endorsed his vision and the term to describe a peculiar range of drug induced states.

Given this background, the final deliberation upon the choice of this term implied crucial theories linked to the core of Western thought: on one side, Huxley's personal conception of modern mysticism, on the other side, Osmond's psychiatric/biologist vision of human. The conception of the British novelist was based on his access to the mystical dimension in the work of French philosopher Henri Bergson (1859-1941).⁶⁴³ The Bergsonian theory held that "the brain was a filter acting as a utilitarian device for limiting, and making selections from, the enormous possible world of consciousness, and for canalizing experience into biologically profitable."⁶⁴⁴ In this perspective, 'psychedelics' helped to inhibit the brain-filter of the individual and, consequently, granted him an enlarged awareness. Osmond based his conclusions of having access to another whole plane of experiences on a different point: in the early '50s Osmond moved to Canada from Great Britain to become the director of Weyburn Mental Hospital of Saskatchewan.⁶⁴⁵ In 1952, he shocked the medical world by affirming a structural similarity between mescaline and adrenaline molecules. This implied that schizophrenia might be a form of self-intoxication caused by the body mistakenly producing its own hallucinogenic compounds.⁶⁴⁶ In order to

⁶⁴⁰ Huxley, by his side, proposed to Osmond to label mescaline and LSD as 'phanerothymic' (phanein=to reveal and thymos= mind, soul), that is 'soul revealing'. This discussion on the choice of term occurred in the correspondence included between March 30, 1956 and July 1, 1956, see Bisbee et al., *Psychedelic Prophets*, 266-75.

⁶⁴¹ The passage is borrowed from Alfred North Whitehead, "Symbolism: Its Meaning and Effect," *Alfred North Whitehead – An Anthology*, ed. F. S. C. Northrop, Mason W. Gross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 535: "as a general principle low-grade characteristics are better studied first in connection with correspondingly low-grade organisms, in which those characteristics are not obscured by more developed types of functioning. Conversely, high-grade characters should be studied first in connection with those organisms in which they first come to full perfection."

⁶⁴² Bisbee et al., *Psychedelic Prophets*, 275.

⁶⁴³ The reference is to Henri Bergson, *Matière et mémoire* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1896).

⁶⁴⁴ Bisbee et al., *Psychedelic Prophets*, 5

⁶⁴⁵ Codignola, *LSD: Da Albert Hofmann a Steve Jobs*, chap. 2.

⁶⁴⁶ Osmond and Smythies, "Schizophrenia: A new approach," 309-11.

understand the symptoms, and cure them, Osmond recommended a self-administration of the same 'psychedelic' on the physician. The same intuition related to the use of LSD-25 in case of alcoholics who experienced *delirium tremens*, whose effect – according to Osmond and his colleague at the Canadian hospital, Abram Hoffer (1917-2009) – was to some extent similar to that caused by DELSYD.⁶⁴⁷ So, Osmond and Hoffer started to treat alcoholic patients with LSD-25 and they later coauthored a book on this and other cases.⁶⁴⁸

So, the birth of the term 'psychedelic' is linked to the meeting of two different visions of altered states. However, a further crucial step linked to the conception of this heterodox field of research is to be found in historical developments. Huxley, who was a long time friend of Garrett, since their meeting during First World War⁶⁴⁹ and whose interest in parapsychology rose in 1937, when he visited Joseph Banks Rhine (1895-1980)⁶⁵⁰ at Duke University, ⁶⁵¹ presented the paper, "The Far Continents of The Mind"⁶⁵² to the 1954 conference held at Le Piol, Saint-Paul de Vence.⁶⁵³ The focus of the presentation was on the method to explore the inner unconscious within the man. Although Smythies lectured at the same conference (and was probably invited thanks to the mediation of Huxley), according to the British novelist he wasn't the most indicated speaker to "act as liaison officer between pure science and the rest of the world on this matter of the nature of the Mind."⁶⁵⁴ Huxley thought that a more valid representative would have been Osmond.⁶⁵⁵ It was then that the British novelist put Osmond in touch with Eileen Garrett.⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁴⁷ This was the name under which Sandoz patented LSD-25, Hofmann, *LSD, My Problem Child*, 59.

⁶⁴⁸ In Servadio's stock of books located at AIPsi (i.e. Associazione Italiana di Psicoanalisi) in Rome, I found the following edition of Abram Hoffer, Humphry Osmond, *How to live with Schizophrenia* (New York: University Books, 1966).

⁶⁴⁹ Jake Poller, "Beyond the Subliminal Mind - Psychological Research in the Work of Aldous Huxley," *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism* 15, n. 2 (2015): 260.

⁶⁵⁰ For a bio-bibliographical overview on Rhine, see Anonymous, "Joseph Banks Rhine (1895-1980)," obituary, Parapsychological Association, accessed on January 22, 2019, https://archived.parapsych.org/members/jb_rhine.html.

⁶⁵¹ Poller, "Beyond the Subliminal Mind," 254.

⁶⁵² The text of the paper was published in Michael Horowitz, Cynthia Palmer (ed.), *Moksha: Aldous Huxley's Classic Writings on Psychedelics and the Visionary Experience* (Rochester: Park Street Press, 1999), chap. 12.

⁶⁵³ *Proceedings of Four Conferences of Parapsychological Studies*, 6-8.

⁶⁵⁴ Bisbee et al., *Psychedelic Prophets*, 101.

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁶ Bisbee et al., *Psychedelic Prophets*, XLVI.

Along with Osmond⁶⁵⁷ and Smythies,⁶⁵⁸ Hoffer was invited to the preliminary conference in New York.⁶⁵⁹ According to Servadio, all the papers presented at the conference had an incredible reception among the audience.⁶⁶⁰ More exactly, Servadio was interested by Osmond and Smythies' innovative therapeutic method to approach schizophrenia,⁶⁶¹ and overall heterodox way to deal with the process of healing. However, what impressed most the Italian psychoanalyst was the introduction of patient psychological (and eventually psychical)⁶⁶² perception of the whole process. This would be particularly emphasized in the passage that Servadio quoted in his article: "it makes all the difference in the world to the patient if he is treated by a doctor who believes life is dealing with a spiritual personality with an immortal destiny to be fulfilled, or by a doctor who believes that human beings are skinfuls of psychochemical automata..."⁶⁶³

In Servadio's mind, the theme of the conference was evidently connected to the issue of the cases of 'unorthodox healing'. Fresh from the Lucanian expedition and still a member of the five years plan for investigating alternative sources of healing,⁶⁶⁴ Servadio started a series of activities (at the Centre for Parapsychological Studies in Bologna)⁶⁶⁵ devoted to treating these topics. Besides offering an account of the ethno-parapsychological investigation in Southern Italy along with Ernesto De Martino,⁶⁶⁶ Servadio lectured on "Le oscure vie della guarigione" (which might be literally translated as 'The Obscure Ways of Healing').⁶⁶⁷ Although I will later dedicate a more detailed analysis to the contribution, three

⁶⁵⁷ Osmond, "Variables in the LSD setting," *Proceedings of Two Conferences on Parapsychology and Pharmacology* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1961), 33-5.

⁶⁵⁸ John Raymond Smythies, "Spontaneous activity of the human psyche," *Proceedings of Two Conferences on Parapsychology and Pharmacology* (New York, NY: Parapsychology Foundation, 1961), 41-2.

⁶⁵⁹ Hoffer, "Non-statistical research techniques," *Proceedings of Two Conferences on Parapsychology and Pharmacology* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1961), 17-8.

⁶⁶⁰ Servadio, "Droghe scientifiche che rivelano il mondo oscuro e surreale della psiche," *La Stampa*, February 13, 1959, 3-4.

⁶⁶¹ Although I found no evidence that Servadio read it nor could I trace its presence in his book collection, the reference is most likely to Osmond and Smythies, "Schizophrenia: A new approach."

⁶⁶² Osmond, "Variables in the LSD setting," 35.

⁶⁶³ Osmond and Smythies, "The Present State of Psychological Medicine," *Hibbert Journal: A Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology and Philosophy* 51, n. 201 (January 1953): 134.

⁶⁶⁴ *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Parapsychological Studies*, 131-3

⁶⁶⁵ Cassoli and Righettini, *Un sole nascosto*, 318.

⁶⁶⁶ Cassoli and Righettini, *Un sole nascosto*, 109.

⁶⁶⁷ Servadio, "Le oscure vie della guarigione," later translated and published as Servadio, *Unconscious and Paranormal Factors in Healing and Recovering. The Fifteenth Frederic W.H. Myers Memorial Lecture*.

factors which characterized this paper should be mention here: given his recent Haitian and Lucanian and experiences, Servadio introduced the notion of ‘healer’ in a contemporary context;⁶⁶⁸ Servadio showed how physician and healer belonged to two opposite polarities: both of these figures can influence both health and disease.⁶⁶⁹ In sum, Servadio assessed (by offering a brief overview of series of unorthodox methods of healing, like hypnosis and an alternative diagnostics)⁶⁷⁰ how the official medicine and psychoanalysis operate on different levels to ‘restore’ a status of health within the individual. Furthermore, the fact that the professional figure of an ‘integral physician’ (i.e. a physician able to deal with psychical and psychological issues) had yet to be established was one of the main reasons liable for the discrepancies between clinical pathology and alternative methodology of healing.⁶⁷¹

Besides this recurring consolidated theme in the international parapsychological environment, the New York conference also peaked Servadio’s interest in *mind-expanding* experiences.⁶⁷² In his contribution, the Italian psychoanalyst hailed the introduction of psychedelics as an original direction to address psychoanalytical research, and also praised Osmond for innovative positions and Garrett for his efforts in organizing the event.⁶⁷³ Though, as mentioned before, the conference on Parapsychology and Psychedelics was a preliminary step. The following year, another PF symposium was held in Le Piol, Saint-Paul de Vence from July 6 to 10.⁶⁷⁴ It was structured in two thematic sessions, “The Study of Precognition: Evidence and Methods” and “Parapsychology and Pharmacology”. Servadio took part in the latter and presented a paper. Herein he briefly summed up the three lines of research for testing psychedelics, namely “psychopharmacology, depth psychology and parapsychology”.⁶⁷⁵ From this moment onwards, Servadio effectively started to investigate psychedelics and their possible connection with ‘PSI phenomena’. More specifically,

⁶⁶⁸ Servadio, “Le oscure vie della guarigione,” 149.

⁶⁶⁹ Servadio, “Le oscure vie della guarigione,” 160.

⁶⁷⁰ Servadio, “Le oscure vie della guarigione,” 153.

⁶⁷¹ Servadio, “Le oscure vie della guarigione,” 149, 153, 160.

⁶⁷² Servadio, “Droghe scientifiche che rivelano il mondo oscuro e surreale della psiche.”

⁶⁷³ Servadio, “Droghe scientifiche che rivelano il mondo oscuro e surreale della psiche,” 4.

⁶⁷⁴ *Proceedings of Two Conferences on Parapsychology and Pharmacology*, 56ff.

⁶⁷⁵ Servadio, “Psychological Criteria and Testing Methods,” In *Proceedings of Two Conferences on Parapsychology and Pharmacology*, (New York: Parapsychology Foundation), 84.

Servadio got interested in the use of LSD-25 and psilocybin in experimental settings, as I will briefly show.

His commitment in research on altered states, and other topics characterized a crucial transition in Servadio's life and literary production. To some extent, the prelude of some historical changes occurred at the end of the '50s which shaped the development of this biographical phase: on September 4, 1957, in the United Kingdom, the Report of the Departmental Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution (also known as the Wolfenden Report, named after the chairmen of the committee, Sir John Wolfenden [1906-1985]) was published. Against the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act - which made homosexual acts between men illegal - the committee of the Wolfenden report recommended that homosexual behavior between consenting adults in private no longer be considered a criminal offence.⁶⁷⁶ Servadio reported about this fact in the Italian newspaper *Il Tempo*.⁶⁷⁷ Besides offering a brief overview of the situation, Servadio took the opportunity to consider the international study of homosexuality and how they are often isolated between and inhibited from collaborating because of their approach.⁶⁷⁸ So, Servadio stated that any scientific theory on homosexuality as deviance is far from being definitive: the formulation of such a theory on the basis of geographical area, statistical data, and cultural/typological classification of the individual meant using the same method adopted for studying plants and ants.⁶⁷⁹ What Servadio wished for was a transcultural and inter-scientific orientation to understand the phenomenon.⁶⁸⁰ In so doing, Servadio mentioned three authors in sexological and gender studies, whose production – beyond good and evil – constituted the point of reference for the Italian psychoanalyst: these were Alfred Kinsey, Edmund Bergler, and the pioneer of the sociology of homosexuality and

⁶⁷⁶ James Lewis, *Wolfenden's Witnesses: Homosexuality in Postwar Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) 275.

⁶⁷⁷ Servadio, "Non è bastata la condanna di Oscar Wilde per frenare il malcostume in Inghilterra," 3-5.

⁶⁷⁸ Servadio, "Non è bastata la condanna di Oscar Wilde per frenare il malcostume in Inghilterra," 4.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁰ Servadio, "Non è bastata la condanna di Oscar Wilde per frenare il malcostume in Inghilterra," 5.

campaigner for the Homosexual Law Reform Society, Gordon Westwood (aka Michael Schofield 1919-2014).⁶⁸¹

Both Kinsey and Bergler are relevant insofar as Servadio shared the Austrian-American psychoanalyst's critique of Kinsey's second report.⁶⁸² A few years later after his rejection of Kinsey's *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, Bergler published the books which would consecrate him to controversial fame, namely *Homosexuality: Disease or Way of Life?*⁶⁸³ If this work had a negative impact and reception, at the time, among the members of the gay and lesbian community,⁶⁸⁴ it was even more shocking when, two years later, Bergler published his work *One Thousand Homosexuals*,⁶⁸⁵ where Bergler stated to have 'treated' hundreds of cases of homosexuality throughout his psychoanalytical career.⁶⁸⁶ However, to understand why the Austrian-American psychoanalyst was so influential on Servadio, it is necessary to consider another work of his published in the same lapse of time, namely *Principles of Self-Damage*.⁶⁸⁷ Bergler affirmed that it is impossible to understand and discern, on a psychiatric level, abnormal from normal behaviors, without considering a crucial psychic component of the individual: the Ego is sempiternally attacked by a primitive version of the Super-Ego. To the end of dealing with it (and protecting from it), the Ego tends to love and search for this aspect of personality. The latter is called by Bergler himself 'psychic masochism'.⁶⁸⁸ So, despite the not so politically correct position towards homosexuality, whose status is that of a 'psychic disease' according to Bergler, the originality of the Austrian-American psychoanalyst lay in the discovery of this crucial aspect of the human personality.

⁶⁸¹ In the stock of Servadio's books collection located at AIPSI, in Rome, I found copy of Michael Schofield, *Sociological Aspects of Homosexuality* (London: Longmans, 1965).

⁶⁸² Servadio borrowed most of the arguments against Kinsey from Edmund Bergler, William Kroger, *Kinsey's Myth of Female Sexuality: The Medical Facts* (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1954). I found a copy of the book in part of the book collection located in Rome.

⁶⁸³ Bergler, *Homosexuality: Disease or Way of Life?* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1957).

⁶⁸⁴ A reliable overview of the outrage and protests connected to Bergler's work can be seen in Ronald Bayer, *Homosexuality and American Psychiatry – The Politics of Diagnosis* (Princeton; New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 78ff.

⁶⁸⁵ Bergler, *One Thousand Homosexuals* (Paterson: Pageant, 1959).

⁶⁸⁶ Servadio, "Book Review of Edmund Bergler - One Thousand Homosexuals," *Annali di Neuropsichiatria e Psicoanalisi* 7, n. 1 (1960): 18-20.

⁶⁸⁷ Bergler, *Principles of Self-Damage* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959).

⁶⁸⁸ Servadio, "Book Review of Edmund Bergler - Principles of Self-Damage," *Annali di Neuropsichiatria e Psicoanalisi* 7, n. 1 (1960): 23-4.

Although I must postpone an exhaustive analysis of the approach to normal and abnormal sexual behaviors and Servadio's transcultural approach to homosexuality, besides Bergler another three authors played a role in the field of sexology. In the period between 1956 and 1958, the psychologist Albert Ellis (1913-2007)⁶⁸⁹ published *Sex without Guilt*⁶⁹⁰ which was, at the time, a cornerstone work on premarital sex (and masturbation), and Ferenczi's pupil, Michael Balint (1896-1970)⁶⁹¹ along with the Hungarian-American psychoanalyst Sándor Lorand (1893-1987), published *Perversions, Psychodynamics and Psychotherapy*,⁶⁹² in which one of the contributions, which interpreted the Oedipus complex through the filter of Ferenczian genitality theory, greatly impressed Servadio.⁶⁹³ Last but not the least, the British anthropologist Eric John Dingwall (1890-1986)⁶⁹⁴ published his sexual-historical survey, *The American Woman*.⁶⁹⁵

What it is worthy to be stressed here is the fact that all three of these psychoanalysts connected to the sexological field were also involved, to some extent, in the parapsychological one: Ellis (even though adhering to a different approach towards the topic) appeared in the volume edited by the Hungarian ethnologist Georges Devereux (1908-1985),⁶⁹⁶ *Psychoanalysis and the Occult*, because of his involvement in a controversy concerning the occurrence of telepathy during psychoanalytical sessions in the magazine *The Psychiatric Quarterly*.⁶⁹⁷ Balint, who in the 50s deliberated on the nature of 'PSI

⁶⁸⁹ For a biographical overview see Emmett Velten, *Albert Ellis: American Revolutionary* (Tucson: See Sharp Press, 2009).

⁶⁹⁰ Albert Ellis, *Sex without Guilt* (Oxford: Lyle Stuart, 1958).

⁶⁹¹ On Balint's life see Harold Stewart (ed.), *Michael Balint – Object Relations Pure and Applied* (London: Routledge, 1996), XI-XXX.

⁶⁹² Michael Balint, Sándor Lorand (ed.), *Perversions, Psychodynamics and Psychotherapy* (New York: Random House, 1956)

⁶⁹³ Servadio "I libri di psicoanalisi in Italia," *La Voce della Libreria: Quindicinale d'Informazione Culturale e Bibliografica* 4, n. 10 (April 1966): 12.

⁶⁹⁴ On Dingwall's life, see "Eric J(ohn) Dingwall," in *The Biographical Dictionary of Parapsychology with Directory and Glossary 1946-1996*, ed. Helene Pleasants (New York: Garrett Publications, 1964), <https://www.pflyceum.org/260.html>.

⁶⁹⁵ Eric J. Dingwall, *The American Woman – An Historical Study* (New York: Rineheart, 1956).

⁶⁹⁶ For an overview on the life and work of Devereux, see Georges Bloch, "Les origines culturelles et la vie de Georges Devereux: son oeuvre et ses concepts: la naissance de l'ethnopsychanalyse" (Ph.D. dissertation, L'Université de Paris VII, 2003).

⁶⁹⁷ About the whole debate, see Devereux, *Psychoanalysis and the Occult*, 223-372.

phenomena',⁶⁹⁸ was part of the Hungarian psychoanalytical milieu interested in 'occult phenomena', and more precisely his involvement in Spiritualism is nowadays evident.⁶⁹⁹ Dingwall was an active member in the investigation of mediums (one among many, Willy Schneider [1903-1971])⁷⁰⁰ of the Society for Psychical Research, and he was also interested in paranormal phenomena in Late Antiquity.⁷⁰¹ As I will point out, he shared a mutual background and interest with Servadio in the history of Mesmerism.

Before approaching the turning point of the '60s, there is one last figure who deserves mention in the growing sexological field and among Servadio's personal acquaintance. This was the clinical psychologist (and self-proclaimed psychosociologist) Luigi De Marchi (1927-2010).⁷⁰² De Marchi, whose authors of reference were Reich and Freud's pupil, Otto Rank (1884-1939), founded in 1955 the first center for contraceptive consultation, the Associazione Italiana per l'Educazione Demografica ('Italian Association for Demographic Education')⁷⁰³ and four years later published one of his major works, *Sesso e civiltà* ('Sex and civilization').⁷⁰⁴ As Servadio stated in a book review,⁷⁰⁵ De Marchi's work represented a frontal attack on sexophobic positions which – according to De Marchi – culturally imprinted Western civilization. Servadio also showed that the book was important for two reasons: first, the incredible amount of sexological and erotological literature which the Reichian psychologist provided the reader, along with some elements of the volume which led De Marchi to critically approach Reich's writings,⁷⁰⁶ converged into a

⁶⁹⁸ Michael Balint, "Notes on Parapsychology and Parapsychological Healing," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 36, n. 1 (1955): 31–5.

⁶⁹⁹ See Gyimesi, "Why 'spiritism'?"

⁷⁰⁰ Dingwall, "Physical phenomena recently observed with the medium Willy Schneider at Munich," *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* 20 (1922): 359-70.

⁷⁰¹ Dingwall also authored a volume on folklore and parapsychology. See: Dingwall, *Ghosts and Spirits in the Ancient World* (London: Trubner & Company, 1930).

⁷⁰² For a biographical overview on De Marchi, see Luigi De Marchi, *Solista - Autobiografia d'un italiano fuori dal coro* (Rome: Edizioni Interculturali, 2003).

⁷⁰³ For an historical overview of the association see, Gianfranco Porta, *Amore e libertà – Storia dell'AIED* (Rome; Bari: Laterza, 2013)

⁷⁰⁴ Luigi De Marchi, *Sesso e civiltà* (Bari: Laterza, 1959).

⁷⁰⁵ Servadio, "Bookreview of Luigi De Marchi — Sesso e civiltà," *Annali di Neuropsichiatria e Psicoanalisi* 7, n. 1 (1960): 33-4.

⁷⁰⁶ In the 1970s, De Marchi translated and edited the complete works of Reich. For a chronology and order of works published see Renato Vignati, *Lo Sguardo sulla persona – Psicologia delle relazioni umane* (Padova: Libreria Universitaria, 2016) 150; and wrote his biography De Marchi, *Wilhelm Reich. Biografia di un'idea* (Milan: Sugar, 1970).

programmatic manifesto for a new branch of psychoanalysis, namely ‘psicopolitica’ (‘psychopolitics’).⁷⁰⁷ Besides his political activity and involvement with the Radical Party (which also implied lectures and radio programs on sexual education, pregnancy awareness, contraception),⁷⁰⁸ De Marchi represented one of the leading exponents of sexology and sexual education in Italy. Even though they did not always share the same opinion, Servadio and De Marchi collaborated on some specific mass media initiatives in the sexological field.

The advent of the ‘60s implied several changes, on different levels, in Servadio’s life. The first indicative field where these changes were manifest was the psychoanalytical one: Musatti became president of SPI in 1959.⁷⁰⁹ Musatti – who already strengthened the collaboration with his pupil in Milan – focused his efforts on editing and publishing (in Italian) Freud’s *Gesammelte Werke* in twelve volumes, between 1966 and 1980. Several other publishing initiatives concerning psychoanalysis in Italy started in Milan. Among these, Pier Francesco Galli⁷¹⁰ launched along with Gaetano Benedetti (1920-2013)⁷¹¹ in 1961 a books series, *Biblioteca di Psichiatria e di Psicologia Clinica* (‘Library of Psychiatry and Clinical Psychology’) with the publishing house Feltrinelli, and, in 1964, *Programma di Psicologia, Psichiatria, Psicoterapia* (‘Program of Psychology, Psychiatry, Psychotherapy’) with the publishing house Bollati Boringhieri. Last but not least, in 1962, he created together with Berta Neumann, Marianna Bolko, Enzo Codignola, Emanuele Gualandri, and Gianbattista Muraro the *Gruppo Milanese per lo Sviluppo della Psicoterapia* (‘Milanese Group for the Advancement of Psychotherapy’). In 1967, he founded the journal *Psicoterapia e Scienze Umane*.⁷¹² During these years, some of the articles and the authors

⁷⁰⁷ De Marchi, *Psicopolitica* (Milan: SugarCo, 1976).

⁷⁰⁸ “Aborto: processo, dopo 15 anni, ad appartenenti al Cisa ed al Pr” Radio Radicale, last modified October 3, 1990, <https://www.radioradicale.it/scheda/37203>. From June 30, 1995 onwards, De Marchi kept his own radio program on Radio Radicale, whose name was “Controluce”.

⁷⁰⁹ Conci, “La psicoanalisi in Italia,” 78.

⁷¹⁰ For a bio-bibliographical overview on Galli, see Anna Grazia, “Analisi dell’istituzione psichiatrica dopo la legge 180: Intervista a Pier Francesco Galli,” *Psychiatry Online Italia*, accessed on January 22, 2019, <http://www.psychiatryonline.it/node/3981>.

⁷¹¹ On Benedetti, see Conci, “Gaetano Benedetti,” *ASPI – Archivio storico psicologia italiana*, accessed on January 22, 2019, <https://www.aspi.unimib.it/collections/entity/detail/391/>.

⁷¹² Pier Francesco Galli, “Osservazioni sulla diffusione della psicoanalisi in Italia,” *Il secolo della psicoanalisi*, ed. Pier Francesco Galli (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1999) 240-8.

hosted in the journal also approached the nature or the occurrence of a specific range of 'PSI' phenomena.⁷¹³

While in the North of Italy the psychoanalytical milieu in Milan was developing several initiatives, in Rome, Servadio and his pupils were carrying on the activities of the Roman Institute of Psychoanalysis along with Perrotti and some of his trusted pupils/colleagues.⁷¹⁴ The crucial event in the psychoanalytical world in Italy in 1960 was the XXI Congresso degli psicoanalisti di lingue romanze ('Twenty-First Congress of Psychoanalysts of Romances Languages', which were a series of conferences in Italian, French, and Spanish launched and promoted by Perrotti), which was held in Rome, between 7 and 9 of April. Servadio's speech at the conference focused on three possible lines of research in psychoanalysis, not exhaustively treated (according to Servadio) during the congress: 1) the phenomenon of multiple personality and mental **destruction**, by referring to *Principles of Dynamic Psychiatry* of Jewish psychoanalyst Jules Masserman (1905-1994);⁷¹⁵ the state of dissociation connected to out-of-body-experiences, which were widely investigated by the American sociologist, Hornell Hart (1888-1967);⁷¹⁶ lastly, the third (recurring) theme that Servadio introduced was the use of LSD-25 in the psychiatric and psychoanalytical field.⁷¹⁷ In 1961, at the Twenty-First Congress of International Psychoanalytical Association (which was held in Edinburgh), following some arguments within the Italian Psychoanalytical Society, the committee of the international association decided to constitute a commission of control three Swiss psychoanalysts (these latter member of IPA) to oversee the situation of Italian society.⁷¹⁸ Besides the exit from the IPA, this situation developed into the creation of three schismatic groups in 1962, two in Rome,

⁷¹³ One example is the contribution by Marianna Bolko, Alberto Merini, "Sogno e telepatia. Continuità e discontinuità della ricerca psicoanalitica," *Sogni: figli di un cervello ozioso*, ed. Marino Bosinelli, PierCarla Cicogna (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1991), 129-48.

⁷¹⁴ Among Servadio's pupils, I include Gaddini, Piero Bellanova (1917-1987), Eugenio Gaddini and Anna Maria Muratori.

⁷¹⁵ Jules Masserman, *Principles of Dynamic Psychiatry* (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Company, 1961).

⁷¹⁶ On Hart's life see Hornell Hart, *The Enigma of Survival: The Case for and Against an After-Life* (London: Rider, 1959), see also "Hornell (Norris) Hart," in *The Biographical Dictionary of Parapsychology with Directory and Glossary 1946-1996*, ed. Helene Pleasants (New York: Garrett Publications, 1964), accessed on January 22, 2019, <https://pflyceum.org/303.html>.

⁷¹⁷ Anonymous, "Interventi al Congresso degli psicoanalisti di lingue romanze (1960, XXI), Roma," *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 6, n. 3 (1960): 180.

⁷¹⁸ Bellanova & Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 67.

directed by Servadio and Perrotti respectively, and one in Milan directed by Musatti, while a central commission of nine people (three members coming from each group) oversaw the training of the new coming members along with the chosen Swiss member from IPA.⁷¹⁹ In order to establish a balance between these three groups, during the first meeting after the Edinburgh conference deliberations, the structure of the SPI was changed so as to have Servadio as president, and Mussatti and Perrotti as vice-presidents. Amidst this terrain at the beginning of the 60s, Servadio founded the Centro psicoanalitico di Roma ('Psychoanalytical Center of Rome') and launched a series of activities with his pupils.

In the same period, Servadio published *Psicologia dell'attualità*⁷²⁰ (later translated as "*Psychology Today*").⁷²¹ The latter was a compendium of contributions and personal accounts on different topics and experiences: from Lucanian healers, to Kinsey and Masters' reports on Sexual Health and Behaviors, to Haunted Houses and British spiritualism, to Freudian theory on transference, to 'mind opening' experiences and drugs. It clear emerges from this work that Servadio aimed to find a way to approach several immanent changes: in the same years, the American psychologist Timothy Leary (1920-1996) and his colleague Richard Alpert (aka Ram Dass, 1931-) "carried out studies in the religious use of psychedelics"⁷²² at Harvard University, which led to Leary's layoff from the Institution.⁷²³ In 1960, *Le matin des magiciens*⁷²⁴ was published by the French journalist, Louis Pauwels (1920-1997) and chemist Jacques Bergier (1912-1978),⁷²⁵ which represented the creation a whole new genre in literature, namely Fantastic Realism. A year later, in October, Bergier and Pauwels launched the first issue of their journal, *Planète*, whose content ranged from

⁷¹⁹ Bellanova & Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 68.

⁷²⁰ Servadio, *Psicologia dell'attualità* (Milan: Longanesi, 1961).

⁷²¹ Servadio, *Psychology Today* (New York: Garrett Publishing, 1965).

⁷²² Lee & Shlain, *Acid Dreams*, 63ff.

⁷²³ On Leary and his layoff from Harvard see his autobiography Timothy Leary, *High Priest* (New York: World Publishing, 1968).

⁷²⁴ Louis Pauwels, Jacques Bergier, *Le matin des magiciens: Introduction au réalisme fantastique* (Paris : Gallimard, 1960).

⁷²⁵ For a biographical overview on the two authors and the literary movement they created, *réalisme fantastique* ('Fantastic Realism'), see Damien Karbovnik, "L'ésoterisme grand public : Le réalisme fantastique et sa réception – Contribution à une sociohistoire de l'occulture," (Ph.D. dissertation, L'Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3, 2017).

ethnology/anthropology to futurology/parapsychology.⁷²⁶ In 1964, the Italian version of the journal was launched as *Pianeta*, which would be published until the end of 1970. Servadio – who started to contribute to the French version –⁷²⁷ played a major role in the promotion of the journal and regularly published his article therein. The Italian psychoanalyst consecrated his first contribution to the journal to the scientific and media reception of LSD-25 in Europe.⁷²⁸

Servadio's interest in psychedelics was not only of a theoretical nature. In the summer of 1960, he attended an organizational meeting in Le Piol, Saint-Paul de Vence together with Eileen Garrett, Hans Bender (more exactly he reached the group later), and the Italian biochemist Roberto Cavanna (1927-). The purpose of the meeting was to organize the tenth conference of the Parapsychology Foundation (which was never held because of personal conflicts between Servadio and Bender during the organizational phase).⁷²⁹ While he was there, Servadio exchanged some messages with Cassoli. In the first letter, Servadio informed the Italian sexologist about the development of the meeting, and revealed that he had tested LSD-25 on himself and initiated Garrett to her first experience with psilocybin.⁷³⁰ In the following replies, Cassoli sounded so surprised and enthusiastic about Servadio's experience to the point that he wished to try the psychedelic as well.⁷³¹ A group experience with Cassoli, Servadio, and the physician Massimo Inardi (1927-1993) was organized in Rome on November 13, 1960.⁷³² Following this meeting, Servadio and Cavanna decided to plan an experiment to verify ESP and telepathic skills connected to the administering of LSD-25 and psilocybin. The experiment took place between February 2, 1961 and July 15, 1962, on four subjects under the supervision of a physician and a nurse in

⁷²⁶ For an overview of the topics and contributions published between 1961 and 1972 in the French journal, see Grégory Gutierrez, "Le discours du réalisme fantastique: La revue Planète" (M.A. dissertation, Université Sorbonne - Paris IV, 1999), 97-116.

⁷²⁷ Gutierrez, "Le discours du réalisme fantastique," 104, 108.

⁷²⁸ Servadio, "Il mito del L.S.D.," *Pianeta* 4, n. 16 (May-June 1967): 71-5.

⁷²⁹ See Emilio Servadio to Piero Cassoli, August 21, 1960, unpublished correspondence.

⁷³⁰ Ibid. Garrett probably experienced LSD-25 for the first time together with Osmond, Hoffer, and the Latvian-born parapsychologist Karl Osis (1917-1997) at 1958 PF conference, see Bisbee et al., *Psychedelic Prophets*, 403-4.

⁷³¹ Piero Cassoli to Emilio Servadio, August 28, 1960, unpublished correspondence.

⁷³² Piero Cassoli to Emilio Servadio, October 16, 1960, unpublished correspondence.

addition to Servadio and Cavanna.⁷³³ Besides the results of this specific experience – which was entirely funded, promoted, and reported in a volume published by Parapsychology Foundation –⁷³⁴ Servadio kept promoting the research of psychedelics in both psychoanalytical and parapsychological field. More precisely, Servadio oversaw, endorsed and introduced a new group of people in different context, to the use of LSD-25. These included the film director Federico Fellini (1920-1993), who, for a brief period after the release of the movie, *La strada* ('The Road') attended therapy with Servadio. In the 60s, Servadio provided the movie director with a dose of LSD-25 in a private setting and context.⁷³⁵ Fellini's engagement with LSD-25 under Servadio's supervision did not represent an isolated case in Roman artistic environment in the sixties. The painter Gian Berto Vanni (1927-2017), together with another forty-nine artists all over France and Italy, was asked by Servadio to draw paintings under the influence of psychedelics: the whole experience was overseen by a medical team composed by psychoanalysts and physicians.⁷³⁶ The same protocol applied during Servadio and Cavanna's ESP tests was adopted herein again, more specifically all the painters were administered a substance unknown to the subjects: at each session a different drug (chosen among LSD-25, psilocybin, and plain water) was given to the artist before the realization of the painting.⁷³⁷

Although the creativity factor was intensely experimented and considered with the advent of psychedelics, testing LSD-25 for psychiatric purposes remained crucial in medical research in the period between 1964 and 1967. As mentioned before, in the first years of

⁷³³ Roberto Cavanna, Emilio Servadio, *ESP Experiments with LSD-25 and Psilocybin: A Methodological Approach* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1964), 15-28.

⁷³⁴ Cavanna & Servadio, *ESP Experiments with LSD-25 and Psilocybin*, X.

⁷³⁵ According to the playwright Tullio Kezich, Fellini experimented with LSD-25 under the supervision of Servadio in June 1964. This experience with psychedelics played no minor role in the direction of the following movie, *Giulietta degli spiriti* ('Juliet of the Spirits', 1965), see Tullio Kezich, *Federico Fellini: His Life and Work* (New York: Faber and Faber Inc., 2006), 255-6; 408. Besides this episodic psychoanalytical treatment, what it is of the utmost interest in the analysis of Fellini's life is Jungian psychiatrist, Ernst Berhard (1896-1965): Fellini and Berhard met in the 1960s and, from that moment onwards, consolidated a long-lasting therapist-patient relationship. Berhard was also the therapist of Wanda Shrenger Weiss (1892-1968), the wife of Edoardo Weiss, and was also in touch with Servadio. Berhard mentions a meeting with Servadio which occurred on August 6, 1947, at which they discussed the interpretation of 'telepathic dreams', see Ernst Berhard, *Mitobiografia* (Milan: Adelphi, 1969), 128-9; on Bernhard's life, Thomas B. Kirsch, *The Jungians* (London: Routledge, 2000) 147-55 and the introduction and work of contextualization made by Luciana Marinangeli, *I Ching di Ernst Bernhard - Una lettura psicologica dell'antico libro divinatorio cinese* (Rome: La Lepre, 2015).

⁷³⁶ Valentina Puccioni, "Gian Berto Vanni – Itinerari pittorici" (M.A. dissertation, Università degli Studi di Siena, 2001), 77, 25n.

⁷³⁷ Ibid.

the newly formed Psychoanalytical Center of Rome a series of activities were organized, including courses and meetings devoted to the training of new members. Group meetings consisted of a twofold structure: the presentation of a paper and following discussion. The presentation might either be focused on a topic or on a project. At the meeting of October 27, 1964, Servadio considered the opportunity to introduce the experience with psychedelics into psychoanalytical training.⁷³⁸ More specifically, he hypothesized that the consumption of lysergic acid diethylamide would induce an altered state of consciousness in the individual which might be exploited to ponder appropriately all emotional factors entailed in his life and career as a therapist.⁷³⁹ So, Servadio proposed that the psychedelic experience could be set up as final step to achieve didactic analysis. On the occasion of one of the following meetings, Piero Bellanova presented a report of a patient: an artist under treatment with LSD-25.⁷⁴⁰ Bellanova asserted that on the basis of a similar experience shared by artists and therapists, a valid comparison between these two figures could be drawn.⁷⁴¹ Both Servadio and Bellanova agreed about the fact that an artist in treatment, as well as a therapist during his psychoanalytical training had to deal with an amount of emotional awareness, whose role was crucial in a possible experiment with psychedelics. All these factors and circumstances were considered in the experiment set up with Servadio between France and Italy with forty-nine artists.⁷⁴²

Another fact to take into consideration is that immediately following Servadio's presentation, in the same cycle of conferences/activities, some members (i.e. Muratori and Gaddini) of the Psychoanalytical Center lectured on topics which intersected with these parapsychological features. More exactly, the surge of ESP phenomena during psychoanalytical training and interview became a topic of wider discussion.⁷⁴³ A recurring

⁷³⁸ Servadio, "Esperienze psicofarmacologiche («psichedeliche») come fasi finali dell'analisi didattica," *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 12, n. 1 (1966): 82-4.

⁷³⁹ Servadio, "Esperienze psicofarmacologiche («psichedeliche») come fasi finali dell'analisi didattica," 83.

⁷⁴⁰ Bellanova presented a report on "Effetti sulla somministrazione di LSD 25 in un paziente pittore in corso di trattamento," see *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 12, n. 1 (1966): 266.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid.

⁷⁴² Ibid.

⁷⁴³ The reference is to the lengthy debates surrounding the lectures of Anna Maria Muratori, "Rapporti oggettuali e struttura dell'io (Osservazioni sul caso clinico di un adulto – nato prematuralmente – con tratti ossessivo coatti)," on November 24, 1964, and of Eugenio Gaddini, "Contributo dell' «Effetto P.E.S.» nella situazione analitica," on January 12, 1965, see *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 12, n. 1 (1966): 84-92.

crucial element in this heterodox configuration of psychoanalytical settings was the element of 'transference'.⁷⁴⁴

Servadio's endorsement of psychedelics for psychiatric purposes, as well as other activities of his, implied an action of promotion in several contexts and countries. The program of the Center entailed the participation of its members in international conferences, which were connected to the interests treated during the meetings (given also the fact that the IPA only later, in 1969, considered the position of Italian Psychoanalytical Society on an international level).⁷⁴⁵ Servadio himself, in Italy and abroad (i.e., in Zurich, Geneva, Montevideo, New York, Buenos Aires, London, Paris, Stockholm, and many other destinations) participated in at least 30 conferences between 1964 and 1967.⁷⁴⁶ Among the most significant ones, I include the following. In 1964, the conference of Parapsychology Foundation, "Psychological Aspects of Parapsychological Phenomena" which was held in Saint-Paul de Vence;⁷⁴⁷ in 1965 he took part in the International Psychoanalytical Congress in Amsterdam.⁷⁴⁸ Servadio was also invited to lecture on the topic of "Ipnosi e parapsicologia" ('Hypnosis and Parapsychology') at the Catholic University of Sacred Heart in Milan;⁷⁴⁹ he was invited to the "International Conference on the Psychiatric Use of LSD in Psychotherapy and Alcoholism" at the South Oaks Hospital, in Amityville, New York;⁷⁵⁰ and he was invited to the PF conference "Religion and Parapsychology" in Saint Paul de

⁷⁴⁴ See Servadio, "Transference and Thought-Transference."

⁷⁴⁵ Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 74-7.

⁷⁴⁶ My reconstruction of the approximative number of the conferences which Servadio attended during this lapse of time, both as a listener and as a speaker, is based on: "Relazione del presidente, prof. Emilio Servadio, sull'attività svolta nell'anno 1964-65 dal Centro psicoanalitico di Roma," *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 12, n. 1 (1966): 76-8; Gaddini, "Relazione del prof. Emilio Servadio, presidente del Centro Psicoanalitico di Roma, sul IV anno di attività del centro," *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 13, n. 3 (1967): 268-9; Gaddini, "Bibliografia essenziale degli scritti di Emilio Servadio," 70.

⁷⁴⁷ Alvarado et al., "Fifty Years of Supporting Parapsychology," 10.

⁷⁴⁸ Gaddini, "Relazione del prof. Emilio Servadio, presidente del Centro Psicoanalitico di Roma, sul IV anno di attività del centro," 268.

⁷⁴⁹ The conference was held in Milan, on December 11, 1965. Servadio also lectured on the same topic later at Società Italiana di Parapsicologia (Italian Society of Parapsychology) in Rome, on March 12, 1966. The paper was published as contribution of *Minerva Medica*, see Servadio, "Ipnosi e parapsicologia," *Minerva Medica* 57, n. 87 (October 1966): 3633-69.

⁷⁵⁰ The meeting with investigators in the psychiatric field from all over the world took place in May 1965. The proceedings of this colloquium were published in Harold A. Abramson (edited by), *The Use of LSD in Psychotherapy and Alcoholism* (Indianapolis; New York; Kansas City: Howard W. Sams & Co., 1967).

Vence,⁷⁵¹. Further, Servadio was then invited to the First International Congress of Sport Psychology, held in Rome, where he lectured on sport and gender,⁷⁵²; and in 1966 he was invited to lecture first at the II Congreso Panamericano de Psicoanálisis ('Panamerican Congress of Psychoanalysis) in Buenos Aires,⁷⁵³ and then to the VI Congreso Psicoanalítico Latinoamericano (Psychoanalytical Latin-American Congress) in Montevideo. Servadio was also invited as a guest lecturer to the University of Sao Paulo,⁷⁵⁴ and among the series of lecture meetings kept up in Rome at the Psychoanalytical Center, crucial was his "«Vodùn» e «Candomblé»" ('Vodun and Candomblé').⁷⁵⁵ In 1967, Servadio organized and attended La Settimana Psicoanalitica Internazionale ('International Psychoanalytical Week'), in Rome,⁷⁵⁶ and he was invited to present a paper, chair various sessions, and take part in the general discussion at the PF conference, "Psi and Altered States of Consciousness: Hypnosis, Drugs, Dreams and Psi".⁷⁵⁷ The latter was held at Le Piol, Saint Paul de Vence from June 9 to 12. The Italian psychoanalyst, besides introducing into English language an extract from his "Hypnosis and Parapsychology", also presented a paper on the psychodynamic protocol adopted to analyze 'paranormal dreams'.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵¹ Servadio presented some remarks on yogic techniques and their possible connection with PSI phenomena during the conference. These observations were published in his report on the conference, see Servadio, "A Psychodynamic Approach to Yoga Experience," *International Journal of Parapsychology* 8, n. 2 (1966): 181-91.

⁷⁵² The conference took place from April 20 to 26, 1965, see Servadio, "Esiste uno sport femminile?," *Psicologia dello sport: Atti del I congresso internazionale di psicologia dello sport/Sport psychology: Proceeding of the 1st International Congress of Sports Psychology*, ed. Ferruccio Antonelli (Rome: Federazione Medico-Sportiva Italiana, 1966), 1002-11.

⁷⁵³ The congress took place from July 31, to August 4, 1966, Servadio's paper was later published as Servadio, "El Psicoanálisis en Italia," *Revista de Psicoanálisis* 25, n. 2 (1968): 879-85.

⁷⁵⁴ "Relazione del presidente, prof. Emilio Servadio, sull'attività svolta nell'anno 1964-65 dal Centro psicoanalitico di Roma," 77.

⁷⁵⁵ Servadio, "«Vodùn» e «Candomblé», ovvero, la ritualizzazione catartica delle fantasie primarie," *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 13, n. 3 (1967): 274.

⁷⁵⁶ Settimana Psicoanalitica Internazionale took place on September 11 to 16, 1967, see Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 69.

⁷⁵⁷ Roberto Cavanna, Montague Ullman (ed.), *Psi and altered states of consciousness. Proceedings of an international conference on hypnosis, drugs, dreams, and psi held at Le Piol, St. Paul de Vence, France, June 9-12, 1967* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1968).

⁷⁵⁸ Servadio, "Hypnosis and Parapsychology: A Short Historical Survey," *Psi and altered states of consciousness. Proceedings of an international conference on hypnosis, drugs, dreams, and psi held at Le Piol, St. Paul de Vence, France, June 9-12, 1967* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1968), 17-23; Servadio, "Dreams and Psi: The Clinical Dimension," *Psi and altered states of consciousness. Proceedings of an international conference on hypnosis, drugs, dreams, and psi held at Le Piol, St. Paul de Vence, France, June 9-12, 1967* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1968), 170-7.

The latter conference represented a crucial event both in the international parapsychological milieu and in the life of Emilio Servadio. Proof of the success of the conference came with the fact that the proceedings were also translated into Italian and edited by Cavanna.⁷⁵⁹ In addition, other factors of undeniable interest include the topics treated at the 1967 event and the participants of the conference themselves. Besides Osmond, Cavanna and Servadio, the conference saw the participation of Albert Hofman, along with Indian professor Koneru Ramakrishna Rao (1932-), and the American psychologist Charles T. Tart (1937-). Thus, Servadio – as he often recalled later –⁷⁶⁰ met the renowned Swiss chemist who synthesized LSD-25 and established acquaintance with Ramakrishna Rao, Tart, and other major scholars for the first time in his life. All of these scholars were connected by their participation in the same event, which defined their commitment to the parapsychological field, as well as their interests in a specific theme of research. In the same years, notwithstanding the foundation of the Department of Psychology and Parapsychology at the Andhra University (which will be headed by Ramakrishna Rao) and the publication of the work of reference in the studies on altered and modified states (edited by Tart himself),⁷⁶¹ the topic of hypnosis and paranormal dreams also came to be considered fertile fields for investigation. Perhaps one of the most significant proofs of this observation is the fact that, after the 1967 conference, the organizational committee of the Parapsychology Foundation decided to fund an historical survey of hypnosis, produced by Dingwall in a four-volume edited series, *Abnormal Hypnotic Phenomena*.⁷⁶² To each volume corresponded a country, and the third book of this collection was dedicated to Italy⁷⁶³ (the first part to France; the second one to Belgium, Germany, Netherlands, and Scandinavia; the fourth and last one to the USA and Great Britain). Also with relation to the ‘paranormal dream’ topic, the year before the conference, a publication promoted and financially supported by the Near Eastern Center of the

⁷⁵⁹ Cavanna (ed.), *Aspetti scientifici della parapsicologia* (Turin: Boringhieri, 1973).

⁷⁶⁰ Servadio, “Incontro con Albert Hofmann,” *Playmen* 13, n. 9 (September 1980): 33.

⁷⁶¹ Charles T. Tart, *Altered States of Consciousness: A Book of Readings* (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1969).

⁷⁶² Dingwall (ed.), *Abnormal Hypnotic Phenomena: A Survey of Nineteenth-Century Cases*, 4 vols. (London: J. & A. Churchill, 1967-8)

⁷⁶³ Dingwall, *Abnormal Hypnotic Phenomena: A Survey of Nineteenth-Century*, vol. III (London: J. & A. Churchill, 1968).

University of California, *The Dream and Human Societies*, was released.⁷⁶⁴ Leafing through the volume, I notice the presence of the names of such History of Religions scholars as Eliade, Corbin, Angelo Brelich (1913-1977) alongside those of Ebon, Servadio, and Devereux. The work consisted partially of the proceedings of the international colloquium “Le rêve et les sociétés humaines” held at the Cultural Circle of Royaumont in Asnières-sur-Oise, and partially of original contributions. Servadio, who dedicated his contribution to “The Dynamics of So-Called Paranormal Dreams”⁷⁶⁵, was among the participants at the Royaumont conference.

From September 2 to 6, 1968, Servadio attended the PF conference, “PSI Favorable States of Consciousness”, where he presented a paper on dreams and PSI phenomena.⁷⁶⁶ In October, a thematic conference, “Psicoanalisi e Cultura Italiana”, whose purpose was to celebrate the life and career of Edoardo Weiss, was held at the University of Trieste.⁷⁶⁷ Besides his role in the organization of the event, Servadio presented a celebratory paper on Weiss’ life and career, “Edoardo Weiss e la psicoanalisi italiana.”⁷⁶⁸ Unfortunately, Weiss could not attend the conference because of health issues, and died two years later.⁷⁶⁹

1969 represented a crucial a year for the psychoanalytical field. The annual conference of Parapsychological Foundation, which was held in Saint- Paul de Vence on June 16-18, had as its main theme “Psi Factors in Creativity”. The topic connected well with all the activities undertaken by Servadio’s psychoanalytical group in Rome. Besides Servadio’s participation itself,⁷⁷⁰ what draws our attention is the participation of Gaddini, who

⁷⁶⁴ Gustave Edmund Von Grunebaum, Roger Caillios (ed.), *The Dream and Human Societies* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966).

⁷⁶⁵ Servadio, “The Dynamics of So-Called Paranormal Dreams,” *The Dream and Human Societies*, ed. Gustave Edmund von Grunebaum, Roger Caillios (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), 190-16, the text also had an Italian edition introduced by Clara Gallini and Vittorio Lanternari, see von Grunebaum & Caillios, *Il sogno e le civiltà umane* (Bari: Laterza, 1966).

⁷⁶⁶ Servadio, “Dreams and Psi in the Psychoanalytical Setting,” *Psi Favorable States of Consciousness. Proceedings of an International Conference on Methodology in Psi Research*, ed. Roberto Cavanna (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1970), 43-5.

⁷⁶⁷ Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 70-3.

⁷⁶⁸ The contribution was first published in Società Psicoanalitica Italiana, *Convegno nazionale sul tema: Psicoanalisi e cultura - In onore di Edoardo Weiss. Atti del Convegno, Trieste 11-13 ottobre 1968* (Trieste: Università, 1968); later revised and expanded on the occasion of the death of Weiss, Servadio, “Edoardo Weiss (1889-1970).”

⁷⁶⁹ Weiss died on December 14, 1970.

⁷⁷⁰ Servadio, “Preconscious Process, Esp, and Creativity.”

delivered the paper “Psi Phenomena, Psi Factors, and the Creative Process.”⁷⁷¹ I leave the technical analysis of the contribution aside for a moment in order to stress another factor, namely, the intersection between psychoanalysis and parapsychology. Since Freud’s interest in ESP phenomena during the psychoanalytical interview, a possible means between the two fields of study had been identified in the so-called ‘creativity factor’. This implied another series of considerations about the manifestation of the unconscious. More specifically, the evidence which emerged over the course of experiments with LSD-25, psilocybin, and a placebo on the chosen group of artists between France and Italy implied the consideration of another crucial aspect of the patient, namely, his sexuality. The most vivid instance of this was Bellanova, who (in the period included between February 1965 and March 1966) conducted a psychoanalytical treatment on patient whose homosexual life became (according to the report), from a certain moment onwards, a source of depression for him.⁷⁷² What it is of the utmost interest here is that the analysis focused not on the definition of homosexuality as a tendency (or deviancy according to a specific medical-cultural standards and categories),⁷⁷³ but on the connection between creativity and sexuality.⁷⁷⁴ More specifically, the female figures portrayed by the patient were typified by a peculiar representation of the eyes. The same patient, under the effect of psychedelics, depicted the eyes differently. The sexual significance which characterized this aspect of the artistic production was investigated not as a deviant psychological behavior, but as the expression of an inner self which connected the subject to his mother (who was already deceased at the time). Although Bellanova tended to offer psychoanalytical interpretations

⁷⁷¹ Gaddini, “Psi Phenomena, Psi Factors, and the Creative Process,” *Psi Factors in Creativity. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Le Piol, St. Paul de Vence, France, June 16-18, 1969*, ed. Allan Angoff, Betty Shapin (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1970), 153-68.

⁷⁷² Bellanova, “Rapporti tra terapia ed espressione pittorica nell’analisi di un omosessuale,” *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 12, n. 1 (1966): 93-8; Bellanova presented a paper/report on the same patient, who was then treated by giving him a dose of LSD-25, during another meeting of the Psychoanalytical Center of Rome on March 8, 1966, “Effetti della somministrazione di LSD-25 in un paziente pittore in corso di trattamento” see “Attività scientifica del Centro” *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 13, n. 3 (1967): 266-7.

⁷⁷³ For an overview of how the cultural-medical category of homosexuality as a (reversible or irreversible) disease (in psychoanalytical field) was conceived, see Bayer, *Homosexuality and American Psychiatry*, 21-7; see also the introduction to the genesis of the process of the ‘pathologisation’ of homosexuality in Italian context in Gabriella Romano, *The Pathologisation of Homosexuality in Fascist Italy – The Case of ‘G’* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave, 2019), 13-26; for a monography on the repression of homosexuality in modern Italy based on the materials from the Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome, see: Dario Petrosino, “La repressione dell’omosessualità nell’Italia repubblicana e nei paesi NATO: Italia e Francia, casi a confronto (1952-1983)” (Ph.D. dissertation, Università degli Studi della Tuscia di Viterbo, 2014).

⁷⁷⁴ “Attività scientifica del Centro,” 266.

of the case, some of the members of the Roman group supervised by Servadio approached this 'sexually connotated revelation of the self' differently.

The 26th international conference of the psychoanalytical association took place in Rome, from July 27, to August 1, and was chaired by the Dutch psychoanalyst, Pieter Jacob van der Leeuw (1909-1985), who was the international coordinator of all psychoanalytical associations around the world at the time of the conference.⁷⁷⁵ Although Servadio played mainly an organizational role in the event, the congress represented an occasion for SPI to be considered on an international level.⁷⁷⁶ Servadio also authored a couple of episodes for the radio program "Terzoprogramma" ('Third Program') on psychoanalytical themes, which were broadcasted on March 19 and 26, 1969.⁷⁷⁷

While all these events were taking place on the psychoanalytical front, Servadio – in addition to his active international participation to conferences and events – was committed to a series of activities in Rome connected to the sexological field. In particular, he organized with the Associazione per l'Educazione Matrimoniale (Association for Matrimonial Education) a series of lectures for sexual education.⁷⁷⁸ The purpose of these conferences was to provide necessary help and support to young people⁷⁷⁹ given the lack of education on matters of sex, feelings, and the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases which concerned Servadio ever since his *Psychology Today*.⁷⁸⁰ However, this was not the only initiative Servadio launched to fight ignorance connected to sexual topics and promoting the sexological field in Italy: in August 1969, the Italian psychoanalyst published his first article

⁷⁷⁵ See Servadio, "Il congresso mondiale di psicoanalisi si svolgerà a Roma," *Il Tempo*, March 6, 1968, 3; on Van der Leeuw's life see the obituary by Frans Verhage, "P. J. Van der Leeuw (1909-1985)," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 67, n. 67 (1986): 497-500.

⁷⁷⁶ Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 74-6.

⁷⁷⁷ Servadio, "Il transfert," *Terzoprogramma – L'informazione culturale alla radio* 10, n. 1 (1970): 72-5; Servadio, "Il sogno," *Terzoprogramma – L'informazione culturale alla radio* 10, n. 1 (1970): 80-3.

⁷⁷⁸ The series of lectures took place on January 20 and 27, 1968, January 18, 1969, and January 16, 1971, and the texts of the conferences were published in Servadio, *Problemi dell'educazione sessuale: due conferenze* (Rome: AEM, 1968); Servadio, *La sessuologia, oggi: Prolusione al corso di educazione sessuale 1969 dell'Associazione per l'Educazione Matrimoniale* (Rome: AEM, 1969); Servadio, *Sessuologia e Psicologia: Prolusione al Corso di educazione sessuale 1971 dell'Associazione per l'Educazione Matrimoniale Roma* (Rome: AEM, 1971).

⁷⁷⁹ Servadio, *Problemi dell'educazione sessuale*, 10-1.

⁷⁸⁰ Servadio, *Psicologia dell'attualità*, 182-7.

in the freshly inaugurated magazine, *Playmen*.⁷⁸¹ The title of the contribution was “L’orgasmo e il ritorno alla madre” (‘The Orgasm and the Return to the Mother’),⁷⁸² which is clearly a reference to the Ferenczian theory of genitality and his *Thalassa*. The regular column that Servadio had up to 1981 in the adult magazine was not restricted to sexual topics. The Italian psychoanalyst often took the opportunity to write about themes which might introduce elements from different fields of research, namely folklore, anthropology, and the history of religions.⁷⁸³ Servadio’s collaboration with the periodical represented a crucial work of popularization of specific content and matters pertaining to sex and sexology.

Servadio used the magazine not only to raise awareness of the growing field of research on sexuality, but also as a platform to intervene in public debate on related topics and initiatives. One crucial example was Servadio’s contribution dedicated to the congress of “Significato della Sessualità Umana” (‘The Meaning of Human Sexuality’), which was held in Turin, from October 18 to 19, 1969.⁷⁸⁴ As it happens, in most cases of historical reconstruction, the event itself origins a great reception on the media level, but the background connected to its genesis and organization remained mostly unknown. Thus, Servadio’s article informed the audience about his participation in the congress,⁷⁸⁵ as well as about the conference’s twofold structure. The congress opened with a discussion session on recently released documentaries on sex, which was followed by the projection of the German movie *Helga – Vom Werden des menschlichen Lebens* (‘Helga – on the Development of Human Life’).⁷⁸⁶ In his review, Servadio affirmed that the movie, directed by Eric Bender, whose focus was the sexual life (thoroughly displayed from pregnancy to the childbirth) of a young German girl (i.e. Helga), implied pros and cons linked to its reception in the Italian Catholic context. If on the one hand the movie treated original education

⁷⁸¹ The magazine published its first issue in 1967.

⁷⁸² Servadio, “L’orgasmo e il ritorno alla madre,” *Playmen* 2, n. 8 (August 1969): 23-4.

⁷⁸³ Besides the article on Hofmann - Servadio, “Incontro con Albert Hofmann” - an enlightening example is the reference to Indian subtle physiology in: Servadio, “Lo sperma dal cervello,” *Playmen* 18, n. 12 (December 1985): 23-5.

⁷⁸⁴ Servadio, “Carte in tavola al Convegno di Torino,” *Playmen* 2, n. 12 (December 1969): 23-5.

⁷⁸⁵ Servadio, “Le aporie dell’educazione sessuale,” *Sessuologia* 11, n. 2 (April-June 1970): 10-7.

⁷⁸⁶ Erich F. Bender (dir. by), “Helga – Vom Werden des menschlichen Lebens,” (Munich: Rinco-Film GmbH, 1967).

contents, then on the other hand it was unfairly labeled as pornographic.⁷⁸⁷ Servadio's review did not pass unnoticed and, still in unknown circumstances, he was contacted to take part in the conference along with the director of the Centro Italiano di Sessuologia ('Italian Center of Sexology'), Giacomo Santori (1905-1970),⁷⁸⁸ the psychologist and psychiatrist Alberto Longhi (1909-1997), the pedagogist Marcello Peretti, and the priest and founder of the Institute La Casa ('The House') Don Paolo Liggeri (1911-1996).⁷⁸⁹ This latter organized, during 1969 and 1970,⁷⁹⁰ two projections of *Helga* at the Cultural Catholic Center Rosetum in Milan, and invited Servadio (and probably Santori) to discuss the movie and its content.⁷⁹¹

By the time of the publication of his movie review, Servadio was involved first in the discussion initiatives organized by Liggeri and then in the congress, where Santori (who was also the editor-in-chief of *Sessuologia*, which was a journal specializing in sexological topics and the official bulletin of Italian Center of Sexology, published by *Minerva Medica* editions) played a major role in the organization of the event. I would like to stress that Servadio was invited to the congress as a prominent exponent of the Italian Psychoanalytical Society. So, besides his personal commitment, the participation of the Italian psychoanalyst represented a crucial detail in a broader picture. Before delving into the historical meaning and developments of the conference, it is useful to stress Servadio's contribution to these series of events: both in the discussion on the German educational film, and in the paper presented at the conference, Servadio intervened on the urge of sexual education in Italy, more specifically on the construction of solid bases devoted to supporting and teaching this discipline.⁷⁹² Servadio focused his efforts not only to the deconstruction of a moralistic prudish attitude linked to the debate on sexual intercourse, pregnancy, and reproduction, but he also stressed the urge of a more pragmatic and incisive campaign for sexual education.

⁷⁸⁷ Servadio, "HELGA - Un film sul problema dell'educazione sessuale," *Idea: Mensile di Cultura Politica e Sociale* 23, n. 6-7 (June-July 1968): 34.

⁷⁸⁸ On the life of Santori see Anonymous, "Giacomo Santori: Un confronto difficile," *Minerva Medica* 70, n. 6 (May 1979): 63-6.

⁷⁸⁹ On Liggeri's life see Giuliana Pelucchi, *Un prete per la famiglia: don Paolo Liggeri* (Milan: Paoline, 1998).

⁷⁹⁰ See Giovanni Memola, "Tutti pazzi per Helga: Cattolici, cinema ed educazione sessuale nel nell'Italia del '68," *Schermi - Storie e Culture del Cinema e dei Media in Italia* 1, n. 1 (January-June 2017): 165, 42n.

⁷⁹¹ Servadio, "HELGA - Un film sul problema dell'educazione sessuale," 34.

⁷⁹² Servadio, "Le aporie dell'educazione sessuale," 16.

Among the series of actions belonging to this project, in 1968, Servadio was hired as external advisor (and protagonist) by the movie director Alfonso Brescia for his movie, *Nel labirinto del sesso* ('The Labyrinth of Sex') which was released one year later.⁷⁹³ The documentary by Brescia focused on different cases of sexual deviancy. In 1970, following his activities at the headquarters of the Association for Matrimonial Education, he gathered most of the papers presented together with the observations/questions asked by teachers, pedagogists, and parents during his lectures in one volume, that was *L'educazione sessuale* ('The Sexual Education').⁷⁹⁴ In 1972, he published *Psiche e sessualità* ('Psyche and sexuality'),⁷⁹⁵ which was the first major work on sexology produced by Servadio. The structure of the book was like that of *Psychology Today*: several contributions treating different topics ranging from sex education, to erotic literature, to debunking false myths on sexuality.

Given this background, the advent of the early 1970s also entailed some historical changes. For instance, the First International Congress of Sexology, in 1972 in San Remo, whose main theme was on "Comportamenti sessuali deviati" ('Deviant Sexual Behaviors')⁷⁹⁶, was organized by the Italian Center of Sexology and was supposed to have taken place from April 5 to 8. What actually happened is that the conference was interrupted, on the third day, by a group of (around) forty people belonging to the Italian FUORI! (acronym for Italian Revolutionary Homosexual Unitarian Front), the French FHAR (Homosexual Front of Revolutionary Action), the Belgian MHAR (Homosexual Movement of Revolutionary Action), the British Gay Liberation Front, and the IHR (Homosexual International Revolution).⁷⁹⁷ This flash mob protest occurred because of the conceptual core of different papers presented at the conference, that was to treat homosexuality as a disturbance.⁷⁹⁸

Given this historical background, the Freudian psychoanalytical background of Servadio – who was strongly indebted to the work of Bergler – and his recent involvement

⁷⁹³ Alfonso Brescia, "Nel Labirinto del Sesso (Psichidion) – The Labyrinth of Sex, Sexual Inadequacies" (Italy: Roas Produzioni, 1969).

⁷⁹⁴ Servadio, *L'educazione sessuale* (Naples: Guida, 1970).

⁷⁹⁵ Servadio, *Psiche e sessualità* (Rome: Astrolabio, 1972).

⁷⁹⁶ Centro Italiano di Sessuologia, *Comportamenti sessuali deviati. Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Sessuologia - San Remo, 5-8 aprile 1972* (Turin: Minerva Medica, 1974).

⁷⁹⁷ Angelo Pezzana (ed.), *La politica del corpo* (Rome: Savelli, 1976), 16.

⁷⁹⁸ This event characterized the birth of Homosexual Liberation Front, see Pezzana, *La politica del corpo*, 32.

with the Italian Center of Sexology, one might assume that the sexological perspective of the Italian psychoanalyst strictly abided by a Catholic morality. Besides the critical approach towards homosexuality adopted in more than fifty articles produced in between 1923 and 1981, Servadio in 1974 starred – side by side with De Marchi – in the documentary *Sesso in confessionale* (internationally released as ‘Sex Advice’).⁷⁹⁹ The movie plot took inspiration from a recording of over six thousand confessions published in one book.⁸⁰⁰ Some of them were visually represented on screen in an act of confession between penitent and priest (played by a professional actor), while four experts expressed their opinion on the link between Catholic morality and matters of sex. In addition to Servadio and De Marchi, the art historian and theologian Carmine Benincasa (1947-), and journalist and editor of the magazine *Noi Donne*,⁸⁰¹ Patrizia Carrano (1946-) made their appearance among the experts. The outcome of the cinematographic representation is clear: the pathological obsession and curiosity devoted to the sexual intercourse, the rigidity of the Catholic moral, and the sense of guiltiness intrinsically associated with the act of confession was evidently showed on the screen. The lack of absolution for the penitent, if a duly accurate description of the sexual intercourse wasn’t delivered during the confession, was represented as twisted aspect of the Catholic approach to sexuality. According to Servadio, as well as to some of the other experts introduced at the beginning of the movie, these circumstances didn’t prevent the individual an access to sexual mature consciousness, but, at once, didn’t really endorse them.⁸⁰² The Italian psychoanalyst was pretty confidence about the fact that a sexual maturity of the individual was to be considered a pillar within the disciplines of sexology and psychoanalysis.⁸⁰³

If in the sexological field Servadio was committed to creating the bases for sexual education and health, then on the parapsychological front several initiatives were taking

⁷⁹⁹ Vittorio De Sisti (dir. by), “Sesso in confessionale” (Italy: Supernova, 1974).

⁸⁰⁰ Norberto Valentini, Clara di Meglio (ed.), *Il sesso in confessionale* (Padoa: Marsilio, 1973), I take the chance to thank Cineteca Nazionale in Rome for providing me with the link to watch copy of the movie located in their archives.

⁸⁰¹ *Noi Donne* (‘Us Women’) was a monthly periodical and official bulletin of the political association of promotion of socio-cultural activities Unione Donne Italiane (Italian Women Union), for general overview on the history and creed of the UDI, see Federica Burrone, *Pensieri manifesti: I manifesti dell’Unione Donne Italiane degli anni ’70* (Rome: Aracne, 2003) 28ff.

⁸⁰² De Sisti (dir. by), “Il sesso in confessionale.”

⁸⁰³ Ibid.

place in Italy and abroad. In 1970, the Centre of Parapsychological Studies in Bologna created a new bulletin of communication, *Quaderni di Parapsicologia* ('Notebooks of Parapsychology'), the journal was presented by Servadio on January 26.⁸⁰⁴ The action of launching a new 'organ of communication and promotion of parapsychology' wasn't an isolated case in these years. Besides very specific cases of other journals linked to the history of the parapsychological movement (i.e. *Giornale Italiano di Ricerca Psichica*), the publishing initiatives which launched in this period included *ESP – Mensile di parapsicologia e fenomeni dell'ignoto* ('monthly magazine of parapsychology and phenomena of the unknown', which was published from 1975 to 1976), *Il Giornale dei Misteri* ('Newspaper of Mysteries' which started in 1971 and is still published nowadays), and later *Il Mondo della Parapsicologia* ('The World of Parapsychology', whose existence was limited to four exemplars published in 1980).⁸⁰⁵ Servadio regularly contributed to all these magazines, where often an entire column was dedicated to him. This phase of Servadio's literary production, along with his collaboration with the Italian newspaper, *Il Tempo*, is peculiarly demonstrative of his character: Servadio often adopted an educational angle to treat complex topics, in order to make the contents accessible to a wider audience. In addition to this, Servadio did not hesitate to take the chance to resort to radio or television broadcasted programs to promote peculiar topics. Indeed, as it happened in the sexological field, Servadio had the opportunity to promote parapsychology to a broader audience by serving as an external consultant for a TV series. This latter was *ESP*, a mini-TV series in four episodes broadcasted from May 1973 to June 1973, based on the anecdotes of the life of the Dutch **psych**, Gerard Croiset (1909-1980).⁸⁰⁶

Going back to the strict chronological order of events in Servadio's life: from September 1970 until August 1985, Servadio took part in nine conferences of the

⁸⁰⁴ Servadio, "Presentazione," *Quaderni di Parapsicologia* I, n. 1 (January 1970): 3-4. The first series of issues was published until the end of 1977, then the periodical reissued from May 1983 onwards.

⁸⁰⁵ *The Handbook of Parapsychology* by Polish-American psychologist, Benjamin Wolman (1908-2000), which was published in 1977, played a specific role in the Italian parapsychological milieu to the point that the Italian edition, Wolman, *L'Universo della Parapsicologia* (Milan: Armenia, 1979), inspired the launching of the magazine, *Il Mondo della Parapsicologia*. For an in-depth analysis of this publishing experience, see Biondi, "Sfogliando il passato. VII," *Psi Report*, accessed on January 22, 2019, <https://psireport.wordpress.com/2018/01/19/sfogliando-il-passato-vii/>.

⁸⁰⁶ The series was directed by Daniele D'Anza (1922-1984), who gained his fame as a director in Italy for his previous TV-series, *Il segno del comando* (1971), where he dealt with the topics of the occult and spiritualism.

Parapsychology Foundation. At the conference “A Century of Psychical Research: The Continuing Doubts and Affirmations”, Servadio made the opening and closing remarks of the conference.⁸⁰⁷ Opened and closed by Servadio’s words, this conference represented a turning point in the parapsychological world, because it saw the last participation of Eileen Garrett: the founder of PF died some days after the nineteenth international symposium at Le Piol.

In 1971, Servadio took part in the next edition of the conference, “Parapsychology today: A geographic view”, presided over by Garrett’s daughter, Eileen Coly, who, from that moment onwards, served as second president of the Foundation. Besides giving the concluding remarks of the conference, Servadio participated side by side with Cassoli, who presented an overview of the Italian parapsychological center and their activities.⁸⁰⁸ Immediately afterwards, in Italy, the conference “Parapsicologia e Psichiatria” (‘Parapsychology and Psychiatry’) was held.⁸⁰⁹ The event gathered psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, and physicians from all over Italy to discuss possible connections and the future of parapsychology in medical field. Besides Servadio’s presentation on “Psicoanalisi e parapsicologia” (‘Psychoanalysis and parapsychology’),⁸¹⁰ the conference saw the participation of Cassoli, who offered a general overview of PSI phenomena,⁸¹¹ and of the Jungian psychoanalyst Aldo Carotenuto (1933-2005), who presented a paper on Jung and the paranormal.⁸¹² Servadio proposed a similar paper the following year in Amsterdam, the chosen theme was “Parapsychology and the Sciences”,⁸¹³ and his

⁸⁰⁷ Angoff & Shapin, *A century of psychical research: The continuing doubts and affirmations. Proceedings of an international conference held at Le Piol, St. Paul de Vence, France, September 2, 3, 4, 1970* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1971), 3-5; 204-10.

⁸⁰⁸ Cassoli, “Parapsychology in Italy today,” *Parapsychology today: A geographic view. Proceedings of an international conference, held at Le Piol, St. Paul de Vence, France, August 25-27, 1971*, ed. Allan Angoff, Betty Shapin (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1973), 187-97.

⁸⁰⁹ The conference held in Moderna, from September 25 to 26, in two thematic days/sessions, see Romolo Rossini, Piero Benassi (ed.), *Parapsicologia e Psichiatria – Caratterologia e Psichiatria* (Reggio Emilia: Age, 1972).

⁸¹⁰ Servadio, “Psicoanalisi e parapsicologia,” *Parapsicologia e Psichiatria – Caratterologia e Psichiatria*, edited by Romolo Rossini, Piero Benassi (Reggio Emilia: Age, 1972), 52-63.

⁸¹¹ Cassoli, “Limiti e oggetto della parapsicologia,” *Parapsicologia e Psichiatria – Caratterologia e Psichiatria*, edited by Romolo Rossini, Piero Benassi (Reggio Emilia: Age, 1972), 39-51.

⁸¹² Aldo Carotenuto, “Fenomeni paranormali nella vita di C. G. Jung,” *Parapsicologia e Psichiatria – Caratterologia e Psichiatria*, edited by Romolo Rossini, Piero Benassi (Reggio Emilia: Age, 1972), 75-84.

⁸¹³ Servadio, “Psychoanalysis and Parapsychology,” *Parapsychology and the sciences. Proceedings*

contribution generated a lengthy dense discussion afterwards. At conferences in 1973, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1982, and in 1985, Servadio participated actively both as a speaker and in the discussions.⁸¹⁴ On most of the occasions, the Italian psychoanalyst offered an in-depth analysis of topics previously treated or conceived in another language or within another initiative. One in particular deserves to be mentioned here. At the conference organized by the Foundation (with the local support of Servadio and other Italian exponents of the parapsychology) in Rome, on August 23-24, 1985, Servadio presented a paper on “Mysticism and Parapsychology”. The paper was already presented to the Sixth National Congress of Parapsychology held in Arezzo in 1982. This initiative was organized by engineer Lorenzo Mancini Spinucci (1902-1996), and the focus of the 1982 edition of the event was on ‘Borderland Phenomena’. The Italian psychoanalyst offered an analysis of the nature of miracles, since Late Antiquity to the modern era, and their possible comparison with ‘PSI phenomena’.

While a general overview of all the main topics in Servadio’s parapsychological production has been delivered, some events characterizing the history of the parapsychological movements must also be mentioned. If at the beginning of the ‘70s, a certain positive reception in media marked the development of several parapsychological centers and their activities, then in 1978 the global perspective on this now so-called ‘pseudoscience’ changed. From April 1 to 29, Italian company RAI aired five episodes of the TV program, *Viaggio nel mondo del paranormale: indagine sulla parapsicologia* (‘Travel into the World of Paranormal’), which was presented by the scientific journalist, Piero Angela

of an international conference held in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, August 23-25, 1972, edited by Allan Angoff, Betty Shapin (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1974), 68-76.

⁸¹⁴ See Servadio, “Peasant-Healers and the Paranormal,” *Parapsychology and anthropology. Proceedings of an international conference held in London, England, August 29-31, 1973*, ed. Allan Angoff, Betty Shapin (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1974): 121-36; Servadio, “Parapsychology and the ‘ultimate reality;’ Servadio, “Minus versus plus awareness – and Psi,” *Psi and states of awareness. Proceedings of an international conference held in Paris, France, August 24-26, 1977*, ed. Betty Shapin, Lisette Coly (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1978); Servadio, “Beyond Parapsychology: The Use and the Meaning of Psi Phenomena,” *Parapsychology’s second century. Proceedings of an international conference held in London, England, August 13-14, 1982*, ed. Betty Shapin, Lisette Coly (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1983), 137-47; Servadio, “Mysticism and Parapsychology,” *Parapsychology, philosophy, and religious concepts. Proceedings of an international conference, held in Rome, Italy, August 23-24, 1985* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1987), 1-12.

(1928-).⁸¹⁵ Besides the technical content of the five episodes, the outcome of this enquiry into the ‘paranormal world’ (which included elements from fields of research totally disconnected from parapsychological one)⁸¹⁶ was glaring: besides being depicted as an integral part of a pseudoscientific milieu, most of the exponents or subjects involved in the parapsychological scene were presented as either charlatans or frauds. Some months later, Angela published his book, *Viaggio nel mondo del paranormale*,⁸¹⁷ where most of the content of TV program was included alongside original contributions. The reaction of the exponents promptly backed him, and an avalanche of letters and book (and TV program) reviews by people who wanted to intervene in the public debate on parapsychology and get in touch with the journalist.⁸¹⁸ After an attempt at establishing dialogue between Angela and exponents of the spiritualist/parapsychological world, through the journal *Luce e Ombra*,⁸¹⁹ and while Servadio and Cassoli replied to the journalist from the columns of the same journal,⁸²⁰ an opportunity to counterstrike the critics to the ‘pseudodiscipline’ was offered by an RAI broadcasted program, directed by the popular presenter Maurizio Costanzo (1938-). However, the scarce room given to Servadio, Cassoli, and the vice-president of SIP, Giorgio Salvadori (1912-) to reply to Angela, who represented the opposition at the TV program, did convince the part of the Italian audience, already lined up against parapsychology.⁸²¹ The other part of audience decisively criticized Angela and its denigratory approach to the world of paranormal, proof of that was the incredible number of critics addressed to *Viaggio nel mondo del paranormale* throughout 1978.⁸²²

⁸¹⁵ For an in-depth analysis of the event, see Roberto Labanti, Elena Iorio, “Il lungo Viaggio: appunti su un dibattito,” *Viaggio nel mondo del paranormale: Indagine sulla parapsicologia*, ed. Piero Angela (Padua: Cicap 2018), 397-417.

⁸¹⁶ Servadio, “Quando non c’è trucco nel fenomeno paranormale «Processo» a un’inchiesta televisiva sulla parapsicologia,” *Il Tempo*, June 28, 1978, 3-4.

⁸¹⁷ Piero Angela, *Viaggio nel mondo del paranormale: Indagine sulla parapsicologia* (Milan: Garzanti, 1978).

⁸¹⁸ Labanti & Iorio, “Il lungo Viaggio,” 398.

⁸¹⁹ See Gian Marco Rinaldi, “Un’ottima antologia delle critiche: La serie TV e il libro di Piero Angela – Parte Prima” *Luce e Ombra* 78, n. 2 (June 1978): 97-163, Rinaldi, “Un’ottima antologia delle critiche: La serie TV e il libro di Piero Angela – Parte Seconda” *Luce e Ombra* 78, n. 3 (July-September 1978): 177-210.

⁸²⁰ Servadio, “Note polemiche in risposta a Piero Angela,” *Luce e Ombra* 78, n. 4 (December 1978): 302-5.

⁸²¹ Labanti & Iorio, “Il lungo Viaggio,” 407.

⁸²² Rinaldi, “Un’ottima antologia delle critiche: La serie TV e il libro di Piero Angela,” 100-2.

While in the parapsychological world this earthquake was taking place, on the psychoanalytical front things were marching on well. From May 29 to June 2, 1976, the Third National Congress of Psychoanalysis was held in Venice. Servadio proposed a crucial contribution to the history of psychoanalysis in Italy through his opening speech.⁸²³ Further crucial developments within the Italian Psychoanalytical Society concerned the change of statute in 1974⁸²⁴ and the appointment of Servadio as honorary president of the SPI during the celebratory conference of the Society's 50th anniversary.⁸²⁵

In 1977, Servadio published *Passi sulla via iniziatica* ('Steps towards Initiatory Path').⁸²⁶ The work was a compendium of previously published articles on the topic of magic, yoga, Rosicrucianism, and initiatory sects and society. The volume is strictly related to the personal path that Servadio had embarked upon in 1964 when he was affiliated to the Propaganda 2 Lodge.⁸²⁷ However, his membership in the lodge was brief, given the fact that on December 16, 1966 he joined R.L. Hermes n. 594 in Rome. Three years later, Servadio was affiliated with Monte Sion Har Tzion n. 705 thanks to the double membership granted by the Grand Orient of Italy.⁸²⁸ Another feature that characterized Servadio's masonic path and commitment was his collaboration with *Rivista Massonica*, the official organ of the Grand Orient of Italy, which later changed its name to Hiram in late 1971.⁸²⁹ Servadio had become an inactive member by 1980.

A more exhaustive analysis of sexual maturity and education (both for adolescents and adults), together with a collection of brand new topics and those he had treated throughout his life was then offered by Servadio in *Sesso e psiche* ('Sex and Psych') in 1979. Although an educational angle was adopted, this work is considered to be a compendium of Servadio's contributions to the sexological field of research. In the same direction, Servadio

⁸²³ Servadio, "Il movimento psicoanalitico in Italia."

⁸²⁴ Bellanova & Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 81-7.

⁸²⁵ Bellanova & Bellanova, *Le due Gradive*, 109.

⁸²⁶ Servadio, *Passi sulla via iniziatica* (Rome: Mediterranee, 1977).

⁸²⁷ Puma, "Biografia."

⁸²⁸ Anonymous, "Uno di noi," Montesion, accessed on January 22, 2019, <http://www.montesion.it/esterni/Uno/Servadio/Servadioidex.htm>.

⁸²⁹ First article Servadio ever published on Rivista Massonica was Servadio, "La squadra" in March 1970.

presented a paper on transcendent experience and sexual intercourse⁸³⁰ on the occasion of the Third Mondial Congress of Medical Sexology⁸³¹ held in Rome, from October 25 to 28, 1978.

I will not consider the poetic production of Servadio in the period included between 1984 and 1993, because it would require more space and a different focus, in order to deliver an exhaustive analysis.

Two other relevant historical passages deserve consideration. In 1992, Servadio was one of the members of SPI who appealed to the International Psychoanalytical Association to create a new, separate association for psychoanalytical training in Rome. This latter was named A.I.Psi (the acronym stands for Italian Association of Psychoanalysis). Then, in Amsterdam in 1994, Servadio was presented the Parapsychology Foundation Career Achievement Award.⁸³²

Following a stomach infection, Servadio died in a Roman clinic on January 18, 1995.

⁸³⁰ Servadio, "Il significato della sessualità," *Sessualità e medicina – Materiali del Terzo Congresso mondiale di sessuologia medica. Roma 25-28 Ottobre 1978*, ed. Romano Forleo, Willy Pasini (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1980), 77-84.

⁸³¹ The first session of the congress was held in Paris, in 1974, followed by the second one in Montreal, in 1976.

⁸³² Puma, "Servadio, Emilio."

Chapter 2: The Hidden World of an Italian Psychoanalyst:

Hypnotism, Spiritualism, and Psychical Research in the Life and Work of Emilio Servadio.

“The past history of the world is in no way sanctified-and it might be rather that it is damned, for it has shunted aside other, effectively possible histories. These latter have as much importance for the mind [*esprit*]-and perhaps more value for our practical attitudes-than ‘real’ history”⁸³³

This quotation is borrowed from the work, *Le monde morcelé* (translated as ‘World in Fragments’)⁸³⁴ by the psychoanalyst and economist Cornelius Castoriadis (1922-1997). Besides being emblematic itself, this passage is crucial because of its mention in the two-volume work, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité* (‘Somnambulism and Mediumship’). This latter was the outcome of the Ph. D dissertation on the history of parapsychology by the scholar Bertand Méheust. Méheust quoted Castoriadis to refer to the case of ‘escheat’ of William James’ approach to psychical research.⁸³⁵ More exactly, Méheust pointed out that with the disappearance of James from the academic field, the only possible perspectives on psychoanalytical and psychological discipline were those proposed by Freud and Wundt. The so-called ‘dèfi du magnetisme’ that Méheust proposed as the fulcrum of his work, says history of religions scholar Jeffrey J. Kripal, is not that distant from the scholarly process of ‘Great Forgetting’.⁸³⁶ Kripal stressed that what particularly characterizes this reconstruction of magnetism is that the French scholar employs the same tools which scientism and post-structuralism used to relegate this (mesmeric influenced)⁸³⁷ practice into oblivion, to

⁸³³ Cornelius Castoriadis, *Philosophy, Politics, Autonomy* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 10-1.

⁸³⁴ Castoriadis, *Le monde morcelé – Les carrefours du labyrinthe*, III vol. (Paris: Seuil, 1990).

⁸³⁵ Bertand Méhéust, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité – Le choc des sciences psychique* (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2014), 462-3; on James approach to psychical research see the introduction and postface to Garder Murphy, Robert O. Ballou (ed.), *William James on Psychical Research* (New York: Viking, 1960).

⁸³⁶ For an overview and relevant analysis of the four points of Méheust’s work, see Kripal, *Authors of the Impossible*, 216-23.

⁸³⁷ Compared to other scholars who considered the whole genesis and story of hypnotism (see Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*) Méheust focuses, in the beginning of his dissertation, 128

properly consider the origins, historical and conceptual developments, and remaining traces of magnetism in the Western socio-cultural context.⁸³⁸ More exactly, Méheust deconstructs modernity, in order to reveal how modernity is strongly indebted to its past and to the ‘history of forgotten ideas’ which supported its genesis. Two crucial ideas characterized this postmodern (in turn ‘out of date’) history of events, namely those of ‘spirit’ and ‘consciousness’. Given the fact that in a specific socio-cultural (and academic) context, humanistic and scientific disciplines argue over the nature of experience and its *storytelling*, Kripal intervenes once more by assessing:

“Psychical and paranormal phenomena strongly suggest that certain, very special forms of human consciousness are in actual fact not reducible to local cultures, even if they must finally express themselves in the terms and languages of those very cultures. They provide us with some of the most suggestive evidence that consciousness and culture cannot be collapsed into one another but work together, in incredibly complex ways, to actualize different human potentialities, different forms of reality, different (im)possibilities.”⁸³⁹

On the basis of this assessment, the instrumental use of the concept of *esprit* (extracted from Castoriadis’ quote and following interpreted by Méheust himself) is strictly linked to these ‘impossibilities’, which characterized the heart of modern philosophical currents of the West. However, this storytelling of the spirit, and all related possible experiences, is not (even more so in this dissertation) limited to philosophy and literature. The ‘trial and error’ method applied within the scientific milieu played a major role in the marginalization of so-called ‘pseudo-sciences’ or other certain classes of phenomena. The scientific method is not to be blamed per se, for it is intrinsically influenced by a deterministic social construction of an *episteme*.⁸⁴⁰ Given this background, it is far more

on the life and work of Amand-Marie-Jacques de Chastenet, Marquis de Puységur (1751–1825), who effectively started the practice of animal magnetism, and on the case of the ‘magnetized’ peasant, Victor Race.

⁸³⁸ Kripal, *Authors of the Impossible*, 218.

⁸³⁹ Kripal, *Authors of the Impossible*, 201-2.

⁸⁴⁰ See Kripal, *Authors of the Impossible*, 217-8; related to ‘Western esoteric traditions’ see Wouter J. Hanegraaff, *Esotericism and the Academy - Rejected Knowledge in Western Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 368ff.

conceivable how a history of the spirit in Western culture was to some extent 'neglected'.⁸⁴¹ More exactly, through the prism of scientism and post-structuralism, alternative possible, heterodox paradigms were discarded because they did not abide by specific norms (the latter being of a social or academic nature). Although rejected, such previous hypotheses, in particular those linked to the idea of spirit and consciousness, were crucial parts of the evolution of Western thought and culture. Following the track of some of these forgotten paradigms, as in the case of the reconstruction offered by Méheust, it is possible to find the origins of different disciplines, which, besides sharing a mutual theoretical ground, also had an impact on the scientific and religious fields.⁸⁴²

Besides any possible reason connected to the rise of a peculiar mesmeric/spiritualist/psychical (and psychological) milieu (among these I stress out the urge to oppose to a 'dehumanizing science'),⁸⁴³ what peculiarly characterized the relationship between the idea of spirit and consciousness is a peculiar kind of *storytelling*. This story is about a particular manifestation of power (or even better, *powers*), whose closer notion in the history of religions and sociology of religions to be compared is the concept of 'kratophany'. When Mircea Eliade introduced this notion, he wanted to make a few distinctions within the notion of 'hierophany' (more or less literally, 'manifestation of the sacred')⁸⁴⁴ which, according to the Romanian scholar, was a characterizing trait of religious

⁸⁴¹ With the notion of 'rejected knowledge' proposed by the Dutch scholar, Wouter J. Hanegraaff, within the conception of the study of Western esotericism as 'anti-eclectic historiography' (since the advent of the Enlightenment), Hanegraaff applied this category to the emergence of mesmerism/magnetism in German Romantic culture (with a specific reference to writer and poet Justinus Kerner [1786-1862]), see Hanegraaff, *Esotericism and the Academy*, 260-77; in addition, Hanegraaff already introduced to English speakers a contextualization and analysis (where he aims "to discern myth from reality") of 'The Seeress of Prevorst' in Hanegraaff, "A Woman Alone: The Beatification of Friederike Hauffe Née Wanner (1801-1829)," in *Women and Miracle Stories – A Multidisciplinary Exploration*, ed. Anne-Marie Korte (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 211-47.

⁸⁴² See Méhéust, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité – Le choc des sciences psychique*, 260-98, with specific reference to the psychology of Religion, see Kripal, *Esalen – America and the Religion of No Religion* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 136-56; a theoretical framework concerning the primeval origins of psychical research and its influence, to some extent, on the religious field (in English speaking countries) is offered in Pareti, *La tentazione dell'occulto*, 31-42.

⁸⁴³ For a general overview of this hypothesis see Gallini, *La sonnambula meravigliosa – Magnetismo e Ipnatismo nell'Ottocento italiano* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1983), 20-33; Pareti, *La tentazione dell'occulto*, 44ff.

⁸⁴⁴ See Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (London; New York: Sheed & Ward, 1958), 23-33.

communities and groups,⁸⁴⁵ even though the advent of the Christianity changed the whole dimension of sacrality and ritual in the West.⁸⁴⁶ However, the emphasis is to be put on the peculiar narrative which intrinsically characterized the cultural (and religious) history of the West. In order to understand this and to attempt a proper historical reconstruction, at least on the level of history of ideas, the following quotation by Eliade should be considered:

I see the history of religions as a total discipline. I understand now that the encounters, facilitated by depth psychology, with stranger within, with that which is foreign, exotica, archaic in ourselves, on the one hand [...] are cultural moments which find their ultimate meaning only from the perspective of the history of religions. The hermeneutic necessary for the revelation of the meanings and the messages hidden in myths, rites, symbols, will also help us to understand both depth psychology and the historical age into which we are entering and in which we will be not only surrounded but also dominated by the “foreigners,” the non-Occidentals. It will be possible to decipher the “Unconscious,” as well as the “Non-Western World,” through the hermeneutic of the history of religions.⁸⁴⁷

Given this historical perspective, the interpretation of a whole series of elements which consistently support this storytelling, namely “myths, rites, symbols” can be seen to play a crucial role in the whole process. To be precise, this necessary hermeneutic gives access to the “meanings and the messages hidden” in all sort of elements of this narration. It is not by chance that Eliade also introduced the instrumental role of depth psychology in this analysis, given the fact that understanding the meaning and purposes of the ‘unconscious’ is the aim of this discipline.⁸⁴⁸

In the previous chapter, I took heed of the direction of Servadio’s personal objective through the application of depth psychology, which was “to make the unconscious

⁸⁴⁵ In order to offer an outline of all the groups involved in Spiritualism, Occultism, and (with relation to the ritualistic/ceremonial aspect) Magic, the Italian sociologist of religions, Massimo Introvigne borrowed the same distinction from Eliade to define the ultimate objective of most of the orders and sects (whose majority hardly were to be classified as ‘esoteric’, according to Antoine Faivre’s definition of Western esotericism), as introduced in his work, see Massimo Introvigne, *Il cappello del mago* (Milan: SugarCo, 1990), 11.

⁸⁴⁶ Eliade, *The Sacred and The Profane* (New York: Harvest, 1987), 72-9; 92-5; 110-1.

⁸⁴⁷ Eliade, *Myths, Dreams, and Mysteries* (New York: Torchbooks, 1967), 7-12.

⁸⁴⁸ See Servadio, “Contributi della psicologia del profondo alla ricerca metapsichica,” 107; Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 490.

conscious".⁸⁴⁹ Leaving aside for a moment the psychodynamic significance of the basic components of the psychoanalytical discipline,⁸⁵⁰ as well as all those elements which might be reconnected to a proto-psychology of religion in Servadio,⁸⁵¹ of the outermost interest is the Italian psychoanalyst's personal involvement in this Western narration: one of the two above-mentioned archetypes of this story, namely 'consciousness', strongly influenced Servadio's life and production.

Going back to Eliade's hermeneutic, whose mutual objectives with depth psychology (to find purpose and meaning of symbols and phenomena) are clearly showed in the aforementioned passage, this is a crucial means for analyzing the history of forgotten ideas from a kratophanic perspective. If a dynamic is established on the bases of the ultimate aim/end of a practice/phenomenon/event, and its meaning, then the interpretation of history as 'manifestation of powers' should be associated not only with the 'great forgetting', but also with these '(im)possibilities' which manifested themselves throughout the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. This does mean that through this kratophanic lens will be considered both the scholarly coalition against 'pseudo'sciences (Méheust) as well as the nature of paranormal phenomena in specific context (like the religious one, as per Kripal).

Leaving aside another crucial factor which will later strongly influence the whole evolution of this Western narration, namely, the concept of 'modernity' related to the consideration of the insurgence of paranormal phenomena in certain practices,⁸⁵² I would like to take heed of a specific aspect of the whole process of discovering forgotten paradigms, ideas, and archetypes which intrinsically constituted and supported this

⁸⁴⁹ Servadio, "Contributi della psicologia del profondo alla ricerca metapsichica," 111.

⁸⁵⁰ See Servadio, "La psicoanalisi e la moderna psicologia dinamica," *Ulisse* 14, n. 40 (1961): 41-54.

⁸⁵¹ I personally identify the first contribution, which marked the beginning of this personal conception towards religion with Servadio, "L'aquilone, il fuoco ed il fulmine – Contributo allo studio psicoanalitico dei simboli e miti," *Saggi di Psicoanalisi in onore di Sigmund Freud*, ed. by Edoardo Weiss (Rome: Cremonese, 1936), 99-129.

⁸⁵² The reference here is to the conception of 'occulture' as blend of several elements belonging to the fin-de-siècle occultism into several expression of popular culture, see Christopher Partridge (ed.), *The Occult World* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 8-11; and the relationship between fundamental features of modernity and the occult, see Pasi, "The Modernity of Occultism: Reflections on Some Crucial Aspects," in *Hermes in the Academy – Ten Years's Study of Western Esotericism at the University of Amsterdam*, ed. Wouter J. Hanegraaff, Joyce Pijneburg (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 59-74.

alternative version of the history of scientific thought: besides concepts (virtually and meta-historically considered), the reception of the paranormal in Western culture has been punctuated by the involvement of certain characters whose contributions have been fundamental. As I will later point out, Servadio was one those.

It all began with a peculiar figure, an “inventive physician and eccentric thinker”,⁸⁵³ whose name was Franz Anton Mesmer (1734-1815).⁸⁵⁴ In order to achieve his degree in medicine (before having attended fruitlessly a course of study in law) at the University of Vienna, Mesmer completed his medical studies, in 1766, defending the thesis, *Dissertatio Physico-Medica de Planetarum Influxu*.⁸⁵⁵ As one can already discern from the title, the crucial core was the influence of the tides and planets on the human body. Although being based on the considerations of the physician Richard Mead (1673-1754) on the influence of the stars on men, more exactly on their health,⁸⁵⁶ Mesmer’s thesis aimed to show the influence and the effects of universal gravitation on both planets and men. To be precise, this influence which Mesmer initially labeled as ‘animal gravity’⁸⁵⁷ implied a direct connection between men and celestial bodies. On the basis of a principle of universal gravitation, which influences and connects the human and astral plane,⁸⁵⁸ the Austrian

⁸⁵³ Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 3.

⁸⁵⁴ For a biographical overview of Mesmer, see Jean Thuillier, *Franz Anton Mesmer, ou l'extase magnetique* (Paris: Laffont, 1988), while a detailed reconstruction of his life has been delivered by Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 1-17.

⁸⁵⁵ Franz Anton Mesmer, *Dissertatio Physico-Medica de Planetarum Influxu* (Vienna: Ghelenias, 1766).

⁸⁵⁶ Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 4; about the influence of Mead and his *De Imperio Solis ac Lunae*, see Frank A. Pattie, “Mesmer's Medical Dissertation and Its Debt to Mead's *De Imperio Solis ac Lunae*,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 11, n. 3 (July 1956): 275-87.

⁸⁵⁷ Ibid; for the role of the ‘animal gravity’ in the conception of Mesmer’s healing practices see Servadio, “Ipnosi e parapsicologia,” 3650-2.

⁸⁵⁸ In his thesis, Mesmer used a metaphor where he compared all the bodies in celestial and earthly dimension to the strings of a musical instrument (see Mesmer, *Dissertatio Physico-Medica de Planetarum Influxu*, 14, 19) which resonated with a given tone. Music played a crucial role in the life of Mesmer – who was also, according to many accounts on his life, a discreet glass armonica player – as well as in the formulation of theories on ‘universal fluid’, see Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 5; Servadio, “Nuove luci su Mesmer,” *Quaderni di Parapsicologia* 21, n. 1 (1990): 9-10. This latter contribution was already presented by at Psychoanalytical Center of Rome, on June 14, 1989. Although information on Mesmer’s musical education and interest is provided within this article, the original typescript of the paper introduced some other additional details linked to the issue (that is to be found in Servadio, “L’ipnosi nella pratica medica,” in *Psiche, corpo, malattia - Lezioni per medici e psicologia*, ed. Fabrizio Franchi [Castovillari: Teda, 1993], 19; Servadio, “Mozart, cuore cristiano e massone - La personalità del musicista secondo Anna Manfredini,” *Messaggero Veneto*, January 14, 1992, 3).

physician hypothesized the existence of a ‘matter’ which filled and *flowed* within spaces and things of the universe. In the development of this theory, Mesmer attended some lessons of the Jesuit professor and astronomer, Maximilian Hell (1720-1792), who used to employ iron magnets in the treatment of patients with stomach cramps.⁸⁵⁹ In 1775, Mesmer started to adopt the same method to treat one of his patients.⁸⁶⁰ Given the improvement of the latter, Mesmer was convinced to have finally ascertained the force he dubbed ‘animal gravity’, and how to control it for therapeutic purposes. However, some controversies with Hell – who wanted to take credit for the success of the treatment by attributing more value to the role of ‘his’ magnets in the process of healing than the force itself - over Mesmer’s patient,⁸⁶¹ led the Austrian physician to change his mind over the therapeutic application of magnetism. This change was linked to the formulation of the existence of two different kinds of phenomena in nature: mineral magnetism and animal magnetism. Mesmer opted for the latter form: this implied the acknowledgment that the ‘force/fluid’⁸⁶² flowed through the patient, but could also be concentrated by the magnetist/healer in specific parts of the body of the treated individual.

A life experience which prompted Mesmer to further develop this conception of energy and how to deal with it in the therapeutic field was when he was asked by Prince Elector Maximilian Joseph III of Bavaria (1727-1777) to investigate a series of exorcisms performed in the small town of Ellwangen (Württemberg), by a local priest, namely Father Johann Joseph Gassner (1727-1779).⁸⁶³ According to the reports received by the Prince

The ‘musical’ connection between Servadio and Mesmer, made this latter not only into a precursor of psychoanalysis, but one of the Italian psychoanalyst’s favorite characters, besides Wagner and Schuré. Although in the documentary directed by Giovanna Gagliardo (i.e. Gagliardo, “I padri della psicoanalisi”), Servadio showed his own copy of Mesmer’s *Mémoire sur la découverte du magnétisme animal*, I found no traces of the original edition of the book, nor any other edition or translation from the literary production of the Austrian physician, in both book collections located in Rome and Trieste.

⁸⁵⁹ Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 7.

⁸⁶⁰ The reference is to Franziska (Franzl) Österlin, see Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 15-6.

⁸⁶¹ See Rudolf Tischner, Karl Bittel, *Mesmer und sein Problem: Magnetismus, Suggestion, Hypnose* (Stuttgart: Hippokrates-Verlag Marquardt, 1941), 34-5.

⁸⁶² Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 17.

⁸⁶³ For a detailed biographical and cultural background of Gassner, see H. C. Erik Midelfort, *Exorcism and Enlightenment – Johann Joseph Gassner and the Demons of Eighteenth-Century Germany* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2005).

Elector,⁸⁶⁴ Gassner was a country priest, who performed miraculous healings by laying his hands on patients and performing a series of ‘*suggestive gestures*’.⁸⁶⁵ According to different historians and contributions,⁸⁶⁶ the priest developed his own diagnostics linked to a peculiar theory of disease: before applying an exorcism, Gassner had to verify whether the disease had natural or supernatural origins. In this latter case, he proceeded with the practice.⁸⁶⁷ At that time, many people visited Gassner to be ‘exorcised’, and, most of them, following the exorcistic routine, manifested the same range of symptoms: swellings, fevers, headache, cramps, convulsions, tremors, and pains in one or both feet.⁸⁶⁸ Although not all cases treated by Gassner were linked to demonic possession, Mesmer was more inclined to find a ‘natural cause’ for such physiological reactions to priest exorcism. After having assisted in some of the exorcism sessions, Mesmer was even more convinced of two points: the cause of the induced seizure was to be found in the natural cosmos; and the ‘fluid’ flowed through the healer/physician and could be transmitted, concentrated, and condensed in order to balance the deficiency of this substance in the sick person.⁸⁶⁹ Thus, the Austrian physician proved that the point of departure of the healing process lay in the ‘healer’ (rather than in the attempt to identify and cast out a demon), by inducing in his patients⁸⁷⁰ the same symptoms and/or seizures which Gassner did. Although Gassner proposed a classification of the supernatural causes of disease,⁸⁷¹ the investigation which Mesmer conducted on his healing method led to a different conclusion. More precisely, this encounter with Mesmer represented the emergence of dynamic psychiatry in the history of scientific thought:⁸⁷²

⁸⁶⁴ Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 53, “His every word and gesture and those of his patients were recorded by a notary public, and the official records were signed by the distinguished eyewitnesses.”

⁸⁶⁵ Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 18; the use of the adjective ‘*suggestivo*’ (‘suggestive’) is related to the concept of suggestion, in the field of hypnosis.

⁸⁶⁶ Méhéust, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité – Le défi de du magnétisme*, 111; Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 8-9; Midelfort, *Exorcism and Enlightenment*, 20-1; 63-4.

⁸⁶⁷ For a detailed account on how “Gassner drove the devil out” of a possessed person, see Midelfort, *Exorcism and Enlightenment*, 64ff.

⁸⁶⁸ Midelfort, *Exorcism and Enlightenment*, 65.

⁸⁶⁹ See Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 12 ff.

⁸⁷⁰ Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 9.

⁸⁷¹ Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 55.

according to the Swiss psychiatrist Ellenberger, the acknowledgment that certain physiological effects on the patient were linked to a different cause, implied a different perspective of the whole healing process. The fact that a supernatural being is not responsible for the induced seizure, but rather a natural dynamic of the world (like animal magnetism), introduced a revolutionary factor in the eighteenth century. In addition to the innovative aspects of mesmeric practice which have already been mentioned (i.e. that the 'power' lies in the healer and the nature of the influence of the Cosmos on the man), another feature is worth emphasizing: the induction of the modified/altered state in the patient.

The encounter with Gassner represented both a crucial passage in the cultural history of Western scientific thought and, nonetheless, a jigsaw piece of a bigger picture. Discussing the role of the Austrian physician and his conception of 'animal magnetism', French physician, Michel-Augustin Thouret (1748-1810) assessed that Mesmer and its doctrine were nothing else than a 'puerile attempt' at legitimizing natural magic within the stream of official science, as had happened – in Thouret's perspective - in the past with the Swiss physician Paracelsus (pseud., Theophrastus von Hohenheim, 1493-1541), the Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680), the English mathematician Robert Fludd (1574-1637), and last, but not least, Gassner himself.⁸⁷³ Despite the denigrating tone which Thouret's assessment connoted, the assumption that both Kircher⁸⁷⁴ and Gassner⁸⁷⁵ were considered precursors of the practice of magnetism is not a secondary fact among historians and scholars of Mesmerism as a cultural-scientific phenomenon. In his entry on 'Hypnotism' for the *Italian Encyclopedia*,⁸⁷⁶ Servadio mentioned this connection between Kircher and Gassner on one side, and Mesmer on the other. It is not without reason that Kircher and

⁸⁷² Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 53 ff.

⁸⁷³ Michel Augustin Thouret, *Recherches et doutes sur le magnétisme animal* (Paris : Prault, 1784), XXIV, 227-9.

⁸⁷⁴ For an insightful analysis of the conception of magnetism proposed by Kircher, and about the fact that Mesmer borrowed the term 'animal magnetism' from the seventeenth century Jesuit savant (i.e. Kircher) see William Hine, "Athanasius Kircher and Magnetism," in *Athanasius Kircher und seine Beziehungen zum gelehrten Europa seiner Zeit*, ed. John Fletcher (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 79–99.

⁸⁷⁵ For an analysis of Gassner's unawareness concerning his practice of 'animal magnetism' see Midelfort, *Exorcism and Enlightenment*, 18-22.

⁸⁷⁶ Servadio, "Ipnotismo."

Gassner were conceived as forerunners of such practices, whose ‘protocol’ was later changed and improved: Servadio – who was himself actively involved in the historical reconstruction of hypnotism –⁸⁷⁷ not only included Mesmer among those ‘practical thinkers’ who developed the conception of mineral and animal magnetism (i.e. Kircher and Gassner), but also defined him as a ‘semplicatore’ (‘simplifier’) of the scientific thought.⁸⁷⁸ To be precise, the insightfulness and observation of the Austrian physician allowed him to discard ‘partial parascientific hypotheses’ linked to specific historical and social circumstances.⁸⁷⁹

One of these occasions was the investigation of Gassner’s exorcisms. Ellenberger showed that modern dynamic psychiatry emerged when Mesmer observed, explained (through a different *dynamic*), and reproduced in his patients the same seizures that the exorcist induced in his devotees. Rather than dealing with the supernatural on different levels,⁸⁸⁰ Mesmer wanted to find the cause and the remedy to all previous mentioned symptoms in his natural cosmos. However, from this natural environment not every ‘abnormal’ factor was suppressed or discarded. The revealing fact that the production of certain phenomena lay in the “hands of the magnetist”, and more exactly in the concentration, flowing, and direction of the universal fluid, did not exclude the manifestation of a range of ‘anomalies’. Mesmer’s paradigm virtually entirely identified both with a storytelling of power, and, as Kripal defined it, a history of impossibilities. This latter aspect, though, entails some relevant controversies in the case of the birth of ‘animal magnetism’. More precisely, if ‘animal magnetism’ is considered an attempt to establish a solid core for a future (more accurate) science, then Mesmer is worthy to be included, along with Kircher, Gassner, and many others, among the promoters of a form of natural tradition (also defined by someone, with denigrating tone, as ‘natural magic’).⁸⁸¹ However, if one takes into account the (post)structural approach which endemically characterizes scientific

⁸⁷⁷ See the first chapter, 6ff.

⁸⁷⁸ Servadio, “La strana storia dell’ipnotismo,” 337.

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁰ The reader must not forget that Gassner first identified which of three cases of preternatural illness had to be treated, and only in one of the cases, a demonic entity invaded the sick person, see Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 53.

⁸⁸¹ Thouret, *Recherches et doutes sur le magnétisme animal*, 227-9.

thought, then an analysis of the whole, as previously showed in the work of Méheust, might shed some light on the Western cultural context. Linked to Mesmerism and its following historical/scientific developments, two approaches are devoted to abnormal hypnotic phenomena and alternative scientific paradigms: firstly, a psychiatric/psychopathological perspective (also adopted by Ellenberger himself), where animal magnetism and its heterodox treatment of patients is a 'chapter' in a broader scientific/psychoanalytical history; the second approach concerns the definition of peculiar elements connected to 'abnormal, supernatural, paranormal phenomena', which were so hard to classify or consider, that psychoanalysis restrained itself to preconceived categories.⁸⁸² Servadio not only neatly depicted this difference between methodologies, but furthermore stressed the debt and the 'intimate' connection, as I will later show, between sciences and 'pseudosciences'.⁸⁸³ The main difference Servadio found between these two branches of scientific knowledge is that the former adopts a 'quantitative' approach (which excludes, by nature, any abnormal phenomenon), while the latter is based on the 'qualitative' definition of the same.⁸⁸⁴ In sum, Servadio conceived Mesmer not as a 'naïve' forefather of the quantitative method, but rather a crossroad with an alternative history of scientific paradigm.

Going back to the historical developments of Mesmerism, once he established that the one responsible for seizures and other symptoms was the magnetist himself, Mesmer started to adopt a protocol to treat his patients. Although the healer played a crucial role in the manipulation of the fluid, other elements (i.e. water, iron rods, mirrors etc.)⁸⁸⁵ could help him store, direct, and reflect the universal 'matter'.⁸⁸⁶ The fundamental concept was to

⁸⁸² Servadio, "La strana storia dell'ipnotismo," 337

⁸⁸³ One of the first references to the debate and comparison between psychical research and official science see Servadio, "Metapsichica," an insightful consideration is offered in Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 116-28; see also Servadio, "Ipnosi e parapsicologia."

⁸⁸⁴ Servadio, "La parapsicologia: verifiche e ambizioni," *Psicologia contemporanea* 4, n. 34 (July-August 1979): 38.

⁸⁸⁵ Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 10.

⁸⁸⁶ I will not enter into a technical discussion of the use, genesis, nor adoption of the term 'fluid', however Mesmer since his thesis defense, where he was heavily influenced by Mead, also considered alternative prototypical conceptions to that of the 'universal fluid.'

restore a healthy status in the patient by addressing and balance the amount of fluid.⁸⁸⁷ Thus, the Austrian physician set up a protocol, which entailed the use of music and other tools to convey the universal fluid into patients bodies and to cope with their lack of substance. The most peculiar case connected to this decision was that of Maria Theresia von Paradis (or von Paradies, 1759-1824). Being blind since the age of three and a half, Maria Theresia was talented in playing the harpsichord, piano, and organ. Mesmer's colleague, Anton [Freiherr] von Störck (1731-1803) was commissioned by Empress Maria Theresa to see what he could do about her sight. Von Störck contacted Mesmer, who, in turn, entered in touch with Maria Theresia and her family at the beginning of 1777. At that time, Mesmer's house was already turned into a "residential clinic for magnetic treatments."⁸⁸⁸ Mesmer applied the new protocol to the treatment of Maria Theresia: initially a series of hysterical attacks and seizures occurred to the girl; then, after an intense period of care, the young musician (at the time of the treatment, she was eighteen) started to discern first light, then objects. Even though she only partially recovered sight, it was the first time in her life that she could see anything.

Despite this remarkable achievement, the Viennese academic establishment (including von Störck) strongly opposed Mesmer's method and refused to recognize any possible success from his heterodoxic healing techniques. Maria Theresia's parents (more specifically her father) were advised against sending their daughter to Mesmer's estate again.⁸⁸⁹ Although her father asked for her withdrawal from magnetic treatment, the girl refused to leave.⁸⁹⁰ Afterwards, when the public sphere was involved in the issue, Maria Theresia was sent back home and, after a while, lost all the gained improvement.

Despite the continual rejection of Mesmer's theories and achievement, in part by the academic field and in addition by the opposition of the musician's father – who greatly

⁸⁸⁷ Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 12ff.

⁸⁸⁸ Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 11.

⁸⁸⁹ One of the dissuaders was the Dutch physiologist, Jan Ingenhousz (1730-1799), who presented to Maria Theresia's father the possibility that the empress could withdraw the pension granted to her daughter to improve her musical skills, see Mesmer, *Mémoire sur la découverte du magnétisme animal*, 46ff.

⁸⁹⁰ Of the utmost interest is Servadio's interpretation of the relationship between Mesmer and Maria Theresia as characterized by factors of transference and countertransference, see Servadio, "L'ipnosi nella pratica medica," 21-2.

contributed to turning local newspapers and public opinion against him -this event represented a 'turning point' in Mesmer's life: rejected from the Viennese medical establishment, he felt himself offended and humiliated by the same milieu he believed to represent.⁸⁹¹ Thus, Mesmer left Vienna for Paris. Mesmer arrived in February 1778 with a presentation letter from the Austrian Minister of External Affairs to the ambassador to the court of Versailles, Florimund (or Florimond) Claude (comte) de Mercy-Argenteau (1727-1794).⁸⁹² Once settled down in the French capital, in his lodgings in Place Vendome, the Austrian physician restarted his practice of animal-magnetism. His office was literally "flooded by the ill and the curious".⁸⁹³ Mesmer's reception in Paris, punctuated by his representation as a spectacular thaumaturge and renewed practice integrated with a *baquet* (i.e. a wooden tub filled with magnetized water and iron filings, from which branched off a series of iron rods),⁸⁹⁴ Mesmer gained incredible popularity in brief time. Thus, his reputation led him to obtain a hearing by the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris. The director of the Academy, Jean-Baptiste Le Roy (1720-1800) invited Mesmer to present a brief paper (or *Mémoire*) where he could expose his theories. Unfortunately, the Austrian physician found a chaotic environment at the Academy, which led to the refusal to discuss his *mémoire*. Thus, he asked to have a private hearing with some of the members of the committee; however, in the middle of the demonstration of his treatments some of them left: this was his first rejection. Although his popularity as a healer continually attracted a multitude of patients (to the point that he had to hire three assistants to deal with the mass of people who crowded his office),⁸⁹⁵ and despite a relatively fortunate period when it seemed that the Austrian physician had found an heir in Charles Nicolas d'Eslon (1750-

⁸⁹¹ See Servadio, "Quel fluido che guarì la signorina Paradies," *Il Tempo*, September 26, 1984, 3.

⁸⁹² Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 12.

⁸⁹³ *Ibid.*; Mesmer, *Mémoire sur la découverte du magnétisme animal*, 50.

⁸⁹⁴ On the setting of Mesmer's office in Paris and different version of the account of his performance dressed with a long purple vest, see Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 5; Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 14-5; Servadio, "Nuove luci su Mesmer," 11; for a detailed analysis of this aspect of Mesmer's practice in his French period, Servadio stressed the undeniable value of Stefan Zweig, "Francesco Antonio Mesmer," in *L'anima che guarisce*, ed. by Stefan Zweig (Milan: Sperling & Kupfer, 1933), 12-34; about the genesis of the *baquet*, which was conceived and adopted by Mesmer from 1775 onwards, see Gasperini, "Ernesto Bozzano: tra spiritismo scientifico e ricerca psichica," 29, 16n.

⁸⁹⁵ Servadio, "Nuove luci su Mesmer," 11.

1786),⁸⁹⁶ the rejection of Mesmer's practice still represented an excruciating failure. In 1779, D'Eslon managed to have the Austrian physician invited to a dinner at the Faculty of Medicine, where he was supposed to deliver a speech. Mesmer presented a description of the practice of animal magnetism, its genesis, history, and related treated cases (including Maria Theresa Paradis' one). At the end of the eighty-five page pamphlet he prepared (later printed with the title *Mémoire de la découverte du magnétisme animal*), an index of twenty-seven propositions on the properties of animal magnetism was attached.⁸⁹⁷ After dinner (i.e. Mesmer presented his *Mémoire* before the meal was served), the decision was made to assign three members of the faculty committee to the observation of the Austrian physician's treatments. Three physicians followed and assisted Mesmer at work for several months, but, eventually, deliberated against an identification of 'animal magnetism' as the agent of the curing observed in his patients.⁸⁹⁸

As previously mentioned, in the same period, a group of people started to gather around Mesmer, both to assist with his patients, and to learn/promote the practice of animal magnetism. Even though the Austrian physician never conceived his assistants or supporter as his heirs,⁸⁹⁹ D'Eslon considered himself so. This latter underwent magnetic treatment himself and helped Mesmer in his Parisian studio, in order to learn to perform the magnetic procedures. However, when Mesmer left the French capital for Spa (Belgium) in 1781 and in 1782, where he should have established a new treatment center, D'Eslon continued the practice of magnetism on patients against the Austrian physician's will. In addition, D'Eslon sent a letter to the dean of the Faculty of Medicine, demanding proper recognition for animal magnetism. After being expelled, D'Eslon started his own practice of magnetism, which attracted a large clientele from the very outset. Needless to say, this led to a separation with Mesmer, who was irritated by the attitude of his "alleged pupil"⁹⁰⁰.

⁸⁹⁶ About the life of D'Eslon and his involvement with Mesmer see Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 16-8; Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 27-36.

⁸⁹⁷ Mesmer, *Mémoire sur la découverte du magnétisme animal*, 74-85.

⁸⁹⁸ Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 19.

⁸⁹⁹ About this specific attitude of Mesmer, see Zweig, "Francesco Antonio Mesmer," 71ff.

⁹⁰⁰ Zweig, "Francesco Antonio Mesmer," 73.

Although a reconciliation between these two exponents of magnetism was attempted, no communication followed.

Besides D'Eslon's self-proclamation as Mesmer's heirs, from the entourage of the Austrian physician also emerged two characters who made the continuation and European propagation of animal magnetism possible, namely the French lawyer Nicolas Bergasse (1750-1832) and the Belgian banker Guillaume Kornmann (1741-?) The latter two were both grateful to Mesmer for having treated their parents,⁹⁰¹ and they became close with him afterwards. The Austrian physician expressed concern for his financial situation during a conversation with Bergasse, so this latter decided, along with Kornmann, to excogitate a plan and means to preserve the practice of animal magnetism and solve Mesmer's issue. The idea was to create a structure whose purpose was to spread Mesmer's teachings under specific conditions: thus, in March 1783, La Société de l'Harmonie Universelle ('The Society of Universal Harmony')⁹⁰² was founded in Paris.⁹⁰³ All possible and future subscribers of the Society had to pay a one-time membership (one hundred *louis d'ors*), in order to have access to Mesmer's teachings. In doing so, Bergasse and Kornmann not only dealt with the situation on a financial level, but also managed to promote and expand the influence of animal magnetism to most parts of France (besides Paris, Lyon, Strasbourg, Montpellier, Dijon, Nantes, Marseille, Bordeaux, and Lausanne), to Italy (namely to Turin), and to Haiti.

Although Mesmer himself was a renowned personality and member of Austrian Freemasonry,⁹⁰⁴ it would be more accurate to define the Society of Universal Harmony as a 'para-masonic' institution:⁹⁰⁵ while access to the Society had no initiatory feature, but was characterized by the financial aspect, still the organization of the teaching sessions and

⁹⁰¹ Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 33-4.

⁹⁰² Initially was named 'La Loge de l'Harmonie Universelle'.

⁹⁰³ For a detailed analysis of the structure and impact in the French political environment of the Society see Robert Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 1968), 69-77; 147-159; 180-2.

⁹⁰⁴ On Mesmer's masonic connections see Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France*, 68ff.

⁹⁰⁵ Servadio, "Nuove luci su Mesmer," 12.

meetings with members followed a masonic model.⁹⁰⁶ More exactly, Bergasse – who, according to his papers, experimented with different kind of ‘occultisms’ – heavily influenced the Society and the conception of animal magnetism with a spiritual(ist) connotation,⁹⁰⁷ in addition to the selection/invitation of the first one hundred members of the magnetic institution.⁹⁰⁸

When everything seemed to be arranged in an idyllic situation for both Mesmer and his ‘pupils’ (i.e. Kornmann and Bergasse), things started to collapse once more: while Mesmer was away in August 1784 for some demonstrations of animal magnetism in Lyon, Bergasse opened some of his lectures in Paris in his absence. Mesmer felt betrayed and, with the rift with D’Eslon’s still vivid on his mind, thought to leave Paris. However, this was not the main issue which prevented Mesmerism from spreading and being legitimized within scholarly field: the same year, D’Eslon, who, after having been removed from the Faculty of Medicine started his schismatic promotion and practice of animal magnetism (he charged his clientele only half of Mesmer’s fee for the treatment), sent a letter to the government to publicly demand the creation of an official commission devoted to verify the effectiveness of the performed treatments. Therefore, King Louis XIV appointed a commission to verify the scientific status of animal magnetism.⁹⁰⁹ The commission was formed by nine of the most renowned scientists of the time, five of them belonging to the Academy of Sciences and the other four being members of the Faculty of Medicine. Among

⁹⁰⁶ Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France*, 180-1.

⁹⁰⁷ Besides his well-documented connections with one of the most influential exponents of French Martinism, namely writer Jacque Cazotte (1719-1792), Bergasse also attended the spiritualist séances at the home of Johann Caspar Schweizer (1754-1811), and his wife Anna Magdalena Hess (1751-1814), see David Hess, *Johann Caspar Schweizer. Ein Charakterbild aus dem Zeitalter der französischen Revolution* (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1884), 51-9; Bergasse also played a crucial role in the development of Mesmerism/Somnambulism in the city of Lyon: according to Méheust, one of following currents linked to a spiritualist approach was developed within this French city in Martinist and masonic milieus, for a general overview of the ‘spiritualist current’ see Méheust, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité – Le défi du magnétisme* [Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2014] 136-8), for more specific overview of the connection between Martinism, Spiritualism and Magnetism at the beginning of the nineteenth century, see Christine Bergé, *L’au-delà et les Lyonnais: Mages, Médiums et Francs-Maçons du XVIIIe au XXe siècle* (Lyon: LUGD, 1995).

⁹⁰⁸ It is well attested that Bergasse, thanks to his connections involved in the Society different exponents from both scientific and masonic milieu, see Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France*, 64ff.

⁹⁰⁹ On April 5, 1784, a second commission, whose participants were all members of the Royal Society of Medicine was appointed to verify the effectiveness of the magnetic treatments.

the exponents of the Academy were the physicist Jean-Baptiste Le Roy (1720-1800), the astronomer Gabriel de Bory (1720-1801), the physician Jean Baptiste Le Roy (1724-1800), the chemist Antoine Lavoisier (1743–1794), and the mathematician and astronomer Jean Sylvain Bailly (1736–1793) who served as secretary, while the American polymath and ambassador Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) oversaw the whole commission.⁹¹⁰ On the side of the members of the Faculty of Medicine, the commission was joined by the physicians Michel-Joseph Majault (1714?-1790?), Jean-Charles-Henri (1735-1796), Jean Darcet (1727-1801), and Joseph-Ignace Guillotin (1738-1814). While the physicians of the commission were devoted to the fieldwork at D’Eslon’s clinic (Mesmer did not want to be associated with this inquiry at all), the rest of the commission examined all 27 propositions of Mesmer (the latter presented in D’Eslon’s pamphlet published in early 1780).⁹¹¹ The conclusions of all those who took part in this investigation were presented to the King in the form of a report. The main point of the latter was that all symptoms and crises induced in the patients were limited to factors of touching, imagination, and imitation,⁹¹² rather than to the magnetic fluid.

In addition to this report, another one was delivered to the King secretly: the content of this secret dossier was about the conception of animal magnetism as a morally dangerous discipline.⁹¹³ The main three points put forth to consider animal magnetism were:⁹¹⁴ 1) one of the most recurring situations in therapeutic-magnetic field was that of a male magnetizer addressing the fluid in the body of a female patient,⁹¹⁵ by mean of ‘magnetic passes’ (i.e. a

⁹¹⁰ Given his health issues and infirmities, Franklin was most of the time absent, so Lavoisier acted as chairman in his stead, see Gasperini, “Ernesto Bozzano: tra spiritismo scientifico e ricerca psichica,” 33; Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 24.

⁹¹¹ See Charles Nicolas D’Eslon, *Observations sur le magnétisme animal* (London ; Paris : Didot, 1780).

⁹¹² Jean Sylvain Bailly (ed.), *Rapport des commissaires chargés par le roi de l’examen du magnétisme animal* (Paris : Imprimerie Royale, 1784), 123.

⁹¹³ Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 92-5; see also Servadio, “Sesso e ipnosi,” *Playmen* 4, n. 11 (November 1970): 31-5; Servadio “Sesso e ipnosi – Parte II,” *Playmen* 11, n. 3 (March 1988): 34-7.

⁹¹⁴ The reference to these specific series of considerations are to be found in Bailly, *Rapport des commissaires chargés par le roi de l’examen du magnétisme animal*, 148-53.

⁹¹⁵ Although a structural difference between the nervous systems of men and women was unanimously acknowledged within French magnetic milieus, D’Eslon, the librarian at Museum of Natural History, Joseph Philippe François Deleuze (1753-1835) and secretary for life of Magnetic Society in Paris (which was later founded in 1842), Aubin Gauthier then, all argued that women were perfectly able to magnetize a subject, for

series of different techniques involving touching and/or the imposition of the hands onto the patient); 2) induced crises in patients which showed a series of collateral stimulations and reactions similar to those manifested during the orgasm or ejaculation 3) when D'Eslon was asked by a police lieutenant – who attended one of the investigation sessions of the commission at his clinic - whether the magnetizer could sexually abuse his female patient during the magnetic treatment, in addition to confirming the hypothesis of the policeman, he replied to him that only men of 'high character' should be permitted to practice magnetism (needless to say the latter statement did not impress the members of the commission positively).⁹¹⁶

Going back to the theoretical framework introduced at the beginning of this chapter, even though Méheust began his analysis by focusing on a different historical moment (which I will treat briefly), the definition of animal magnetism as a morally dangerous discipline in 1784 represented the prelude to the process of the 'great forgetting' (or 'l'oublie du magnétisme')⁹¹⁷ linked to the reception of Mesmerism within the history of scientific thought: the French scholar Méheust presented the main *challenge* (or 'défi') that Mesmer's discipline had to face throughout two centuries, namely its post-structuralist interpretation.⁹¹⁸ Although the conception of Mesmerism as a necessary step in the process of trials and errors, the teachings of Austrian physician provide insight into the cultural history of West. Given the operation of the deconstruction of the approach of social, political, philosophical sciences towards animal magnetism (Méheust), along with the history of 'impossibilities' (Kripal), some light might be shed on the kratophanic process connected with the figure of the magnetizer and the universal fluid. More exactly, all

a detailed overview of the debate at the beginning of the nineteenth century see Franklin Rausky, *Mesmer ou la révolution thérapeutique* (Paris: Payot, 1977), 200ff.

⁹¹⁶ Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 94.

⁹¹⁷ Méheust, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité – Le défi du magnétisme*, 36-46.

⁹¹⁸ More exactly, Méheust dedicated a lengthy detailed discussion of the concept of 'décrire-construire' (literally, to describe-construct) as a double-edged sword within the modern poststructuralist interpretation, this implied that animal magnetism could not be considered as one of the previous attempt towards the realization of a proper scientific discipline, rather an insightful revelation in the Western cultural dimension of experience. More specifically, two themes marked the difference in this latter conception/employ of post-structuralist vision of experience, namely those of 'consciousness' and 'culture', see Méheust, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité – Le défi du magnétisme*, 82-94; for a detailed analysis (in English language) of how these two notions are introduced and intertwined in Méheust's work, see Kripal, *Authors of the Impossible*, 222-27.

statements linked to the existence or non-existence of this mentioned fluid offer a (still nowadays) valid insight about the exertion of power: if the healer/magnetizer can exert on a patient some kind of influence, this latter has its own meaning and purpose. Excepting for Ellenberger - whose perspective on the birth of modern psychiatry was self-evident with Gassner's case – another crucial character in the reconstruction of the history of magnetism/hypnotism who also offered his conclusions on the 1784 reports and on the mesmeric phenomenon itself, was Servadio. According to the Italian psychoanalyst – who produced several articles on the topic⁹¹⁹ - the 1784 investigations represented a turning point in the history of scientific thought: the fact that the practice of animal magnetism could induce the same physiological reactions of an orgasm or an erection led to a series of solid considerations. Among the latter, Servadio included the fact that in this practice the relationship between the patient and the healer played a crucial role.⁹²⁰ In doing so, the Italian psychoanalyst conceived the sexual connotation of the animal magnetism (which was considered danger for morality at the end of the end of the eighteenth century) an opportunity to consider the whole healing process from a different perspective. More exactly, in addition to distinguishing an anticipation of the transference and countertransference factor in this specific relationship between the magnetizer and the magnetized subject,⁹²¹ Servadio considered the induced sexual reactions in Mesmer's patients as an opportunity to follow an alternative path of the scientific field. In sum, the fact that something or somebody could induce the same physiological outcomes of sexual intercourse implied a series of considerations (and, once again, moral issues!) on how to interact and influence other people as well as several questions concerning the nature of this 'power', which acted in the relationship between healer and patient. In order to understand such a dynamic, it is necessary not only to consider the well-attested conception of some aspects of animal magnetism and/or Mesmer himself as a forerunner of the

⁹¹⁹ Servadio started to focus on mesmerism and hypnotism in his thesis for obtaining his MA in Law. Even though I could find no copy of the dissertation to consult (see chapter 1), most of the work of research, bibliographical references flowed into the *La ricerca psichica* (1930), while the first comprehensive article ever published by the Italian psychoanalyst on the history of hypnotism was "La strana storia dell'ipnotismo" (1930).

⁹²⁰ Servadio, "Sesso e ipnosi," 33; Servadio, "La strana storia dell'ipnotismo," 336.

⁹²¹ Servadio, "Sesso e ipnosi," 33-4.

psychoanalytical discipline, but, once again, a different historical perspective. In Servadio's literary production, this phase of animal magnetism set the ground for decoding a series of 'anomalies', whose dynamic – said the Italian psychoanalyst - found no effective explanation within the scientific field.⁹²² At the time of the Franklin commission, one these 'abnormal occurrences' was the induction of such sexual-physiological reactions. Leaving aside a psychoanalytical meaning of this relationship, according to Servadio, on a scientific level, the difference between a normal and pathological fact lay in the collective perception of the members of the scientific environment,⁹²³ which, at the time of this specific historical event, were heavily influenced by moral issues. With regards to the specific sexual aspect of the relationship between the magnetizer and his patient, the abnormal factor lay in the causality linked to the heterodox stimulation of the individual (i.e. the induction of the orgasm/erection was not associated with regular intercourse). However, this phenomenon (the latter became a label for a distinct range of experiences and events in the parapsychological field)⁹²⁴ represented both a crucial transitional phase of the animal magnetism, and a fact to be considered on a scientific level: concerning this latter aspect, if one excludes the psychoanalytical interpretation (which was offered no sooner than two centuries later), or the hypothesis of the universal fluid linked to the induction of the physiological reactions, the only factor left to be considered – affirmed Servadio -⁹²⁵ is the dynamic of the relationship between the healer and the patient. An event of reference in the history of magnetism that shed some light on the connection between magnetizer and his female patient was the publication in 1787⁹²⁶ of *Le magnétiseur amoureux*, by the

⁹²² Servadio, "Psychoanalysis and Psychic Research. A Panoramic Evaluation," *Journal of American Society for the Psychological Research* 32, n. 6 (June 1938): 240-1.

⁹²³ Servadio, "Psychoanalysis and Psychic Research. A Panoramic Evaluation," 240.

⁹²⁴ Servadio, "Ipnosi e parapsicologia," 3633-40.

⁹²⁵ Servadio, "L'ipnosi nella storia e nell'attualità," *Corso di ipnosi medica*, ed. Franco Granone (Turin: Minerva Medica, 1975), 97.

⁹²⁶ About the history of the book see Servadio, "Freud «anticipato» da un romanziere, 2-5; Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 74-6; The crucial information to be reported is that all copies of first edition of de Villiers' novel (except for one sample which is located today at the Municipal Library of Besançon) were seized or destroyed. Although the following edition of the novel was published in 1824, both Servadio and Méheust (see relatively Servadio, "Freud «anticipato» da un romanziere Il magnetismo amoroso in un libro di Charles de Villiers," 3; Méheust, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité – Le défi du magnétisme*, 37n.) considered the version introduced and edited by François Azouvi (1945-) a work of reference to approach the history of animal magnetism, see Charles de Villiers, *Le magnétiseur amoureux*, ed. Francois Azouvi (Paris: Vrin, 1978).

French philosopher Charles de Villiers (1765-1815). Here is the plot briefly explained: the story is set in an unknown French city at the mansion of the wealthy Monsieur de Sainville. The hero of the novel is Valcourt, a young military officer on leave in the same city (which is also its birthplace) where the De Saintville's live. The wealthy man hires Valcourt to treat his daughter Caroline with magnetic treatments. The young officer and the Mademoiselle de Saintville fall in love with each other. Besides the love story which take place progressively since the first pages of the book, the whole work looks more like a treatise than a novel: as Crabtree stresses,⁹²⁷ the title of the volume is related both to Valcourt and Caroline's story, and to the main skill the magnetizer should be equipped with in order to cure any patient effectively, namely affection and cordiality. According to Villiers, the ability to magnetize people lies in the soul of the magnetizer himself, and not -as Mesmer theorized – in the universal fluid. The soul is the sole entity and principle to start the magnetic process. By reaching an empathetic status with his patient, a connection between the soul of the magnetizer and that of the *somnambulist* is established, and an 'amalgam' of the two souls is created.⁹²⁸ This link between souls is devoted to the healing of the patient. In order to be effective, treatment should focus on the identification of the soul of the somnambulist with that of the magnetizer,⁹²⁹ where this latter plays an active role in the 'transference' of feelings and thoughts to his patient.

Despite its evident meaning in the evolutionary path leading animal magnetism towards its future developments, Servadio inferred that (before the advent of the psychoanalytical concepts of 'transference' and 'counter-transference') the erotic components are disseminated everywhere in the relationship between magnetizer and somnambulist.⁹³⁰ More exactly, both physiological sexual reactions and possible erotic manifestations of both the patient and the healer are to be considered part of the same phenomenon. This 'affection' which revealed itself through this mutual connection of souls

⁹²⁷ Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 74.

⁹²⁸ Villiers, *Le magnétiseur amoureux*, 131.

⁹²⁹ Villiers, *Le magnétiseur amoureux*, 155.

⁹³⁰ Servadio, "Sesso e ipnosi," 33.

– which Servadio conceived differently in the sexological field though –⁹³¹ represented a crucial factor in the evolution of the scientific (and cultural thought) in the West.

In addition to that, Servadio stated that Villiers' work clearly exposed another feature of magnetism, that is the somnambulistic state.⁹³² The condition of magnetic somnambulism implied not only the identification of the soul of the patient with that of the magnetizer, but also the transmission of the thoughts, feelings, commands, and images of this latter to the mesmerized subject. Servadio stated that *Le magnétiseur amoureux* precognized both the advent of psychoanalysis and parapsychology: the peculiar link established between the magnetizer and his subject (more exactly between their souls!) allowed the latter to foresee any eventual disturbance that could occur during the magnetic séance.⁹³³ According to Villiers' novel, the amalgam of souls was connected to the occurrence of abnormal phenomena in two peculiar set of circumstances: the first case, above mentioned, concerned the ability of the patient to predict unforeseen difficulties during the treatment;⁹³⁴ the second one concerns the nonverbal communication between healer and patient. This latter case – stated Servadio – included some specific episode where, no matter the distance, the magnetizer could transmit images to the subject. More exactly, Villiers considered both the dream and the somnambular state as a transitional phase where all souls enter in contact/resonance because of their mutual nature.⁹³⁵ Despite the fact that Villiers reckoned this specific condition of the somnambulist an ideal state for the patient, the archaic nature of the dream, its interpretation, and its conception as a means of communication between people and/or different 'worlds' of the individual were all crucial themes which had a strong influence on several members of the modern scientific environment, Servadio included.⁹³⁶

⁹³¹ See Servadio, Servadio, *Sesso e Psiche*, 64; Servadio, *Passi sulla via iniziatica*, 138.

⁹³² Villiers, *Le magnétiseur amoureux*, 116ff.

⁹³³ Servadio, "Freud «anticipato» da un romanziere Il magnetismo amoroso in un libro di Charles de Villiers," 3.

⁹³⁴ The reference here is linked to issues linked to the condition of the patient, which might prevent proceeding with the healing process. One might associate this ability with diagnostics, rather than parapsychology, see Villiers, *Le magnétiseur amoureux*, 122.

⁹³⁵ Villiers, *Le magnétiseur amoureux*, 110ff.

⁹³⁶ See Servadio, *Il sogno*.

Behind this conception of anomaly in the history of scientific thought there are two significant interpretations linked to both cases study considered within the period included between 1784 (the Franklin commission) and 1787 (the publication of *Le magnétiseur amoureux*). The relationship between magnetizer and patient represented the occasion for the occurrence of two kind of phenomena: the first concerned the affectivity, in other words, that these two subjects could influence each other, by means of a force/link of an erotic nature; the second phenomenon implied the ability of the mesmerized subject to acquire knowledge of events and thoughts thanks to his state, and for the magnetizer to transmit images to the patient via the magnetic bond. As I mentioned before, these phenomena are apt to be interpreted on two different levels: on the one hand, if every paranormal aspect of both affectivity and the transmission of thoughts could be reconnected with the notion of ‘suggestion’, or the prelude of the psychotherapy,⁹³⁷ then on the other hand Servadio assessed that nobody, except for a few forerunners of the psychoanalytical doctrine, saw these anomalies as a means to the world of paranormal.⁹³⁸

Going back to the historical course of events: all three reports (in addition to the one oversaw by Franklin, which produced two reports, King Louis XIV assigned another delegation of members)⁹³⁹ did not endorse the cause of animal magnetism. Reactions to the reports varied,⁹⁴⁰ and Mesmer publicly disagreed with the conclusions of the two commissions, arguing that the investigations did not involve his person. In the meanwhile, at the end of 1784, animal magnetism and its 27 propositions flourished in the Francophone area of Europe. The Society of Universal Harmony promoted the Austrian physician’s teachings and techniques. Among those who received Mesmer’s teachings was the artillery officer Amand-Marie Jacques de Chastenet, marquis of Puységur (1751-1825). Puységur was the eldest brother of an aristocratic family, who was ‘converted’ to animal magnetism by his

⁹³⁷ Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 73ff.

⁹³⁸ Servadio, “Psicoterapia, psicoanalisi e parapsicologia,” 2027.

⁹³⁹ See footnote 77.

⁹⁴⁰ Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 29-32.

brother Antoine-Hyacinthe, called the count of Chastenet (1755-1848).⁹⁴¹ Once convinced by his brother to join the magnetic cause, Puységur received his training directly from Mesmer in Paris⁹⁴² and started to practice in the French village of Buzancy, where his castle was located. Among the people he treated free of charge were locals and the coworker at his estate. One of his first patients was Victor Race, a 23-year-old peasant who suffered from an inflammatory condition of the lungs and fever. On the 4th of May 1784, Puységur proceeded to magnetize the young peasant: within fifteen minutes of the beginning of the process, Victor fell asleep in the arms of the magnetizer.

A brief digression here is necessary: Richet – who played a major role in rediscovering the figure of Puységur in 1886 – stressed in his work that “Mesmer is no doubt the initiator of magnetism, but not its true founder.”⁹⁴³ The latter was considered, for all intents and purposes, to be Puységur himself. Among the differences that can already be spotted with Mesmer’s method, since he tackled the case of Victor Race (and, previously, his sister):⁹⁴⁴ compared to the seizures and convulsions induced in the patient of the Austrian physician, which were considered crucial in the healing process, Puységur treatments did not imply any violent reaction; and although being member of the Universal Society of Harmony,⁹⁴⁵ Puységur and his associates practiced animal magnetism without any lucrative purposes. Both of these factors assumed a specific meaning: considering that the artillery officer also changed the setting for the magnetic treatments and, instead of adopting the use of the *baquet*, Puységur preferred to magnetize a tree, where the treatment of locals began.⁹⁴⁶

⁹⁴¹ About Puységurs and the thesis that all three brothers played a role in the history of magnetism, see Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 70ff.; Léon Chertok, Raymond de Saussure, *Naissance du psychanalyste: de Mesmer à Freud* (Payot: Paris, 1973), 119; Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 39ff.

⁹⁴² Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 39.

⁹⁴³ Richet, *L'Homme et l'intelligence. Fragments de philosophie* (Paris: Alcan, 1884), 543 [the translation from French is Ellenberger's].

⁹⁴⁴ Chertok & de Saussure, *Naissance du psychanalyste*, 120.

⁹⁴⁵ When Puységur was ordered to take command of an artillery regiment in Strasbourg on August 1785, the local Masonic lodge asked him to teach them Mesmer’s teachings. While stationed there, Puységur also organized a local branch of the Society of Universal Harmony, La Société Harmonique des Amis Réunis. See Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 72ff.

⁹⁴⁶ About the fact that the magnetization of the tree assumed a particular meaning for the peasants, and that it could be explained by implying a connection with popular beliefs and customs, rather than a scientific level, see Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 188-9.

Going back to the case of Victor Race, when Puységur started to treat the young boy, one of the first observations he later offered in his *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire et à l'établissement du magnétisme animal* (1784) was that the magnetized subject entered into a sleep-like state which differed from regular sleep. According to Puységur, the subject was immersed into an 'unusual state of consciousness' where he could talk, drink, and even dance while asleep, in other words, young Victor was 'awake while asleep'.⁹⁴⁷ Given its resemblance to the state of sleepwalking, the artillery officer named this condition 'magnetic somnambulism'.⁹⁴⁸ The main, leading scholars of the history of the techniques devoted to the induction of modified states of consciousness (i.e. Mesmerism, animal magnetism, and hypnotism) agree on the fact that Puységur set the basics precedents of magnetic sleep. The same features which characterized the somnambular state later showed up in the authors, literature, and cases of the next hundred years.⁹⁴⁹ First character was linked to 'sleepwalking activities', which entailed, for the somnambulist, not only the ability to walk and deambulate, but also to eat, dance, and talk *consciously* about his personal life. Strictly connected to the previous feature was the connection with the magnetizer and his will, more specifically the magnetized subject obeyed or tended to fulfill any indication/order the magnetizer suggested.⁹⁵⁰ It happened that during sessions the magnetized subject manifested a different personality from the regular one: related to the case of Victor Race, as when mesmerized, the latter was not a young naive peasant anymore, but turned into a well-educated individual who could speak properly, even though, once he was woken up from the magnetic sleep, he had no memory of what happened. One last feature which distinguished the somnambulistic state – according to

⁹⁴⁷ Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 38.

⁹⁴⁸ Puységur adopted different names to indicate the same state, among these: 'magnetic crisis', 'magnetic sleep', 'magnetic somnambulism'. For a more detailed list and analysis, see Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 39n.

⁹⁴⁹ See Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 40-53; for a more detailed overview of the phenomenology linked to magnetic séances, not only related to the methodology adopted by Puységur only, but including his "heirs", paranormal characters of magnetic sessions, see Méheust, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité – Le défi du magnétisme*, 146-216.

⁹⁵⁰ Although this issue represented one of the gordian knots of the early developments of hypnosis, Puységur first, and then some among his 'successors' (i.e. Jules Denis [Baron Dupotet de Sennevoy, 1796-1881]; The man who was considered the 'first historian' of the animal magnetism (see Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*,) Deleuze affirmed that the more the health of the patient improved with the magnetic sessions, the weaker the rapport/connection became. See Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 41.

Puységur – was mental communication and clairvoyance: in Victor’s case the artillery officer did not have to express his indications/orders verbally, but it sufficed that the magnetizer thought of the action he wanted the mesmerized subject to execute.⁹⁵¹ In Victor’s case – which in his sleep was aware of all things happening inside and outside his body – this ability also implied to diagnose his own diseases, foresee and monitor their course, and prescribe the treatment to cure them.⁹⁵²

According to Puységur, all features linked to magnetic sleep are structured around one crucial factor: the magnetizer’s will. The same innovative element has been considered in Villiers’ work too, however the artillery officer (i.e. Puységur) introduced this crucial element in a whole different context. Given the fact that there was a general mutual consensus, in the medical and scientific field, about the statement that one of the manifestations of universal fluid – along with magnetism - was electricity,⁹⁵³ the conception of the human being as a sort of ‘electric animal machine’ apt to channel this force underlaid Puységur’s writings.⁹⁵⁴ Through *thoughts* and *power*, the magnetizer decided where and whether the electricity could operate in their own or others’ bodies. Despite the self-evident kratophanic dynamic which emerges from this overview, the initial theoretical framework (i.e. of Méheust, Kripal) assigned to this innovative element a different role. Puységur revolutionized the whole treatment of the animal magnetism by emphasizing on the will of the magnetizer.

A brief digression is necessary here: by applying the same methodology which Méheust adopted for his historical deconstruction and reconstruction, it is possible to see that the power/influence/force is exerted not only by the magnetizer, but *through* the body of the mesmerized subject as well. In order to discern this dynamic, special focus should be dedicated to the so-called ‘abnormal hypnotic phenomena’. Leaving aside the issue that the whole tradition leading from mesmeric treatments to the psychoanalytical discipline has

⁹⁵¹ Amand Marie Jacques de Chastenet, Marquis of Puységur, *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire et à l’établissement du magnétisme animal* (Paris : Dentu, 1820), 35-6.

⁹⁵² Victor Race’s diagnostic ability described by most part of the historian of hypnotism as sort of ‘sixth sense’, was indicated by Puységur with the term, “pressensation”, see Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 71.

⁹⁵³ Gasperini, “Ernesto Bozzano: tra spiritismo scientifico e ricerca psichica,” 41.

⁹⁵⁴ Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 49.

been considered, per se over time 'abnormal',⁹⁵⁵ among the abnormal events which characterized the case of Victor Race, as well as in the patients treated by Baron Jules Denis (Baron du Potet de Sennevoy, 1796-1881) at the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris in 1820,⁹⁵⁶ the occurrence of episodes of mental communication and clairvoyance belong to this classification. More exactly, this kind of 'medical clairvoyance' entailed a self-diagnosis, which allowed the somnambulist in this state to identify the pathology and self-prescribe the ideal cure, as well as the ability to perceive himself from the point of view of his organs.⁹⁵⁷ Once again, even though a psychoanalytical/psychopathological interpretation of these events could be offered, these two abnormal manifestations of power represented a gordian knot both in the history of scientific thought and future psychical research.⁹⁵⁸ The last paranormal factor worthy to be mentioned, in connection with Puységur's methodology and thought, is that the somnambulist, during the session, acquired a sort of sixth sense, which consisted of all the abilities mentioned above. So, the mesmerized subject was to some extent considered responsible for the occurrence of above-mentioned phenomena.

Going back to the historical overview: Méheust labeled this tradition started by Puységur 'psychofluidist'.⁹⁵⁹ The notion of Mesmeric universal fluid is, within the exponents of this current (Du Potet, Deleuze etc...),⁹⁶⁰ compared to the dimension of the soul, which played a crucial role in the relationship between magnetizer and somnambulist. The *psychofluidists* not only believed that the 'will' of the healer was the driving force leading the magnetic process to its apex, it was a psychodynamic force which was either connected

⁹⁵⁵ Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 57-8.

⁹⁵⁶ See Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 177ff.

⁹⁵⁷ About the genealogy, context, and definition of 'autoscopy' (a compound of two words 'autos' ['self'] 'scopos' ['watcher']), see Servadio, "Autoscopia;" Méheust, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité – Le défi du magnétisme*, 140-6.

⁹⁵⁸ Even though an in-depth analysis has to be found in the historical part of Servadio's work, *La ricerca psichica*, the issue about the reality of psychobiological force responsible for the occurrence of abnormal hypnotic phenomena was first been introduced by the Italian psychoanalyst in Servadio, "La strana storia dell'ipnotismo;" Servadio, "L'ipnosi nella pratica medica;" Servadio, "Freud «anticipato» da un romanziere Il magnetismo amoroso in un libro di Charles de Villiers."

⁹⁵⁹ Méheust, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité – Le défi du magnétisme*, 135-6.

⁹⁶⁰ Ibid.

or apt to liberate concealed powers in the individual.⁹⁶¹ So, according to this *spiritual* vision of the animal magnetism, the soul/self/will/*fluid* of the magnetizer manifested itself and acted through the patient. The psychofluidist conception also implied a discussion of the nature of the fluid and its relationship with the 'soul' of the two protagonists of the magnetic process (i.e. magnetizer and somnambulists). Although Deleuze started to introduce the topic in his impressive historical reconstruction of animal magnetism,⁹⁶² mystical visions of Mesmerism have been often proposed over time. The focal point of this kind of interpretation is the soul: according to the father of animal magnetism, the fluid, given its universality, gave access to any individual accessing to it to any possible psychophysical (where also the 'psychical' is considered an aspect of the materiality) dimension.⁹⁶³ One of these realities was the 'world of the spirits'. On an historical level, many scholars of hypnotism trace back the theoretical passage to the ethereal/spiritual dimension to the literary production of the German oculist, Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling (1740-1817), whose tripartite subdivision of the human being into material body, ethereal fluid, and immortal spirit⁹⁶⁴ was propagated throughout the German-speaking world at the beginning of the century. However, the case study which characterized the complicated the relationship between the spirits and the practice of animal magnetism was the case of Friederike W. Hauffe (1801-1829), also known as the 'seeress of Prevorst'. The person who treated and accounted about her case,⁹⁶⁵ the German physician and poet Justinus Kerner (1786-1862) stated that the occurrence of paranormal phenomena (i.e. clairvoyance, predictions etc.) was connected to the somnambular state Hauffe was often in.⁹⁶⁶ Besides this, all miracles connected to Hauffe's convulsions/somnambulism, according to Kerner,

⁹⁶¹ Servadio, "L'ipnosi," *Vita – Settimanale di Notizie* 2, n. 43 (October 1960): 12.

⁹⁶² Joseph Philippe François Deleuze, *Histoire critique du magnétisme animal*, vol. I (Paris : Mame, 1813), 250ff.

⁹⁶³ Introvigne, *Il cappello del mago*, 50-51.

⁹⁶⁴ Johann H. Jung-Stilling, *Theorie der Geisterkunde: in einer Natur- Vernunft- und Bibelmässigen Beantwortung der Frage: Was von Ahnungen, Gesichten und Geistererscheinungen geglaubt und nicht geglaubt werden müsse* (Nuremberg: Raw, 1808), 54ff.

⁹⁶⁵ Justinus Kerner, *Die Seherin von Prevorst: Eröffnungen über das innere Leben des Menschen und über das Hereinragen einer Geisterwelt in die unsere*, 2 vol. (Stuttgart and Tübingen: J. G. Cotta, 1829).

⁹⁶⁶ For a general overview and the influence of Jung-Stilling on both Kerner and Hauffe's family see Hanegraaff, "A Woman Alone."

were considered the result of cooperation and, in certain cases, the direct intervention of the spirits.

Given the introduction of this element into the narration of the storytelling of the spirit, a contextualization is necessary: if, on the one hand, Puységur provided the Western medical world with a reliable tool for exploring the human psyche, then on the other hand, mesmeric sleep represented an achievement in research on 'consciousness'. This notion, however, in the Western scientific and cultural environment, was intimately embedded with the kratophanic conception that was the manifestation/liberation of the power of the body of the somnambulist, more precisely by means of the dichotomic soul of the magnetizer and mesmerized subject. In addition, an innovative element was introduced into this storytelling about power in the first years of the nineteenth century: the communication with the world of the dead.

Before considering the role and impact of the spirits or external entities on somnambulism and hypnotism, it is necessary to consider the following historical events: the psychofluidist current launched by Puységur collected several adherents who, in turn, further supported and developed his methodology. Deleuze not only offered a comprehensive compendium and account of all the progresses achieved by animal magnetism during years among these successors, but also stressed the role of the magnetizer's will and its connection/identification with the ethereal universal fluid. In doing so, Deleuze emphasized and structured the ability of the healer to magnetize and influence the subject at distance.⁹⁶⁷ Thus, the conception of the suggestibility of the mesmerized subject became the fulcrum of the following evolution of hypnotic techniques.

However, both the ability to command an individual and the abnormal hypnotic phenomena mentioned above - more specifically the sixth diagnostic sense and clairvoyant paranormal faculties of the somnambulist - heavily influenced the historical circumstances: in the 1820's Baron Dupotet employed animal magnetism in order to anesthetize patients before surgical operations,⁹⁶⁸ and the general director of Hôtel de Dieux, Henri Marie-

⁹⁶⁷ About Deleuze as theoretician of post-hypnotic suggestion, see Servadio, "La suggestion «a termine»," Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 118.

⁹⁶⁸ See Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 136.

Husson (1772-1853) was so impressed by Dupotet's work that he engaged in the rehabilitation of animal magnetism. Together, they made several experiments in order to magnetize their patients at distance, and 'plunge' them in a different kind of magnetic sleep (or *modified state*), also known as 'artificial somnambulism'.⁹⁶⁹ This technique was used in the medical field and drew the interest of the Academy of Medicine.

Thus, following the investigation of the 1780's, two different commissions were appointed first to consider this peculiar initiative of Husson, then to evaluate animal magnetism. Two reports were produced in 1826 and in 1837 respectively.⁹⁷⁰ The most controversial features connected to the practice, namely medical clairvoyance (or the ability of the somnambulist to diagnose his own disease and cure) and magnetization and healing at distance represented crucial factors in the whole process of evaluation. If the first report, eventually, encouraged the study of somnambulism to discover its potentialities, then in the 1837 report, the judgement of the members of the commission was not in favor of the heirs of Mesmer and their discipline: the report denied the existence of the practice itself and that of any related paranormal skills, including clairvoyance and mental orders/communication phenomenon.⁹⁷¹

The most immediate consequence was the ban of animal magnetism and its practice from the medical and academic establishment. However, if on the one hand Mesmer's fluid and its later conceptual developments were officially disinherited of any scientific credibility in France, then somnambulism, from the beginning of the 1820s, became a folkloric phenomenon.⁹⁷² Somnambulist shows were performed all over France and, later, in Germany and Italy.⁹⁷³ In the latter country, animal magnetism was propagated also thanks to this kind of shows. However, the fact that somnambulism manifested through local

⁹⁶⁹ Servadio, 'Ipnosi e parapsicologia,' 3636.

⁹⁷⁰ Several reports in favor of the magnetic practice were later produced, but I will only focus on some specific decisive passages, see Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 128-9.

⁹⁷¹ Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 188.

⁹⁷² In order to understand the genesis of these kind of phenomena, and how somnambulist public demonstrations of the Portuguese priest José Custódio de Faria (1756-1819), see Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 273-7.

⁹⁷³ About the dynamic of how animal magnetism and somnambulism were (mis)represented into popular lore in Italy see Gallini, *La sonnambula meravigliosa*, 102-25.

folkloric events, because of the loss of its scientific endorsement, in addition to those factors which brought the practice into disrepute (i.e. clairvoyance, mental communication, induction of erotic stimuli in the individual), led to the association of animal magnetism with two different situations (on a social level): that the whole practice of animal magnetism was a fraud; and that the real force responsible for any of the phenomena occurred during magnetic sleep was the devil. Luciano Leppo (1928-2001) – who was also a member of the Psychoanalytical Center of Rome founded by Servadio himself⁹⁷⁴ started his historical reconstruction in the third volume of *Abnormal Hypnotic Phenomena*⁹⁷⁵ by assessing that at the beginning of the eighteenth century:

Italy was initially unfavorable ground for the development of the theory and practical applications of animal magnetism, either on account of the generally negative approach of the various local authorities, the hostility of academic circles or of the many reservations made by the Roman Catholic Church.⁹⁷⁶

The main reason for the hostility of most scientific institutions, as well as of the Roman Catholic Church, was the cause of mesmeric phenomena, whose nature, according to the Jesuit Giuseppe Brunengo (1821-1891), stood “on the boundaries of the natural and supernatural.”⁹⁷⁷ Although, in the early days, respectable physicians were forced to practice the application of animal magnetism secretly, it was not long before a process of legitimization of Mesmerism started: by the end of 1842, the Holy See (represented *in loco* by the Holy Office), after several deliberations, agreed on the fact that “magnetism would not be forbidden when it is not used for illicit purposes or *invocatione daemonis* (invocation of the demon) or in any manner designed to obtain supernatural effects.”⁹⁷⁸ At the beginning of the 1840s, on the one hand, the magnetic practice was gradually integrated within a social-proto-scientific environment, while on the other hand the Roman Catholic

⁹⁷⁴ See “Organico del Centro Psicoanalitico di Roma,” *Rivista di Psicoanalisi* 12, n. 1 (1966): 79.

⁹⁷⁵ Dingwall (ed. by), *Abnormal Hypnotic Phenomena*, vol. III, 139-89.

⁹⁷⁶ Luciano Leppo, “Hypnotism in Italy – 1800-1900,” *Abnormal Hypnotic Phenomena*, vol. III, ed. by John E. Dingwall (London: J. & A. Churchill, 1968), 139.

⁹⁷⁷ Giuseppe Brunengo, “Book Review of Sulla Causa dei Fenomeni Mesmerici,” *La Civiltà Cattolica* 7, n. 3 (1857): 593.

⁹⁷⁸ Leppo, “Hypnotism in Italy – 1800-1900,” 141.

Church still demonstrated an adverse attitude towards some specific aspects linked to the dimension of the *spirit*.

Another brief digression into the historical circumstances on the international level is necessary here: while in France the sun definitely set on animal magnetism in its *fin de siècle* form, Mesmerism – and its related kratophanic storytelling – changed shape: in 1843, the British surgeon, James Braid (1795-1860) published in 1843 the work *Neurypnology*.⁹⁷⁹ The latter study not only sanctioned the birth of hypnotism, but also implied that magnetic sleep was a phenomenon totally detached from the mesmeric fluid. More precisely, Braid analyzed that the magnetizer could hypnotize the subject without the help of the magnetic passes, and that the subject – during the hypnotic process – experienced a peculiar psychophysical fatigue, which was the preliminary phase to somnambular state.

As recently stressed by the French scholar Renaud Evrard,⁹⁸⁰ and Ellenberger before him,⁹⁸¹ Braid attended one of the séances of the French-Swiss magnetizer Charles Lafontaine (1803-1892),⁹⁸² and this event was entirely inspirational for the elaboration of his theory of ‘nervous sleep’. More exactly, Braid’s colleagues, namely the physician Pierre P. Broca (1824-1880), and Étienne E. Azam (1822-1899), further developed his discoveries, by focusing on the emergence of different personalities during the hypnotic state.⁹⁸³

In first half of the eighteenth century, Lafontaine was not an isolated case (in Europe) of such a ‘public demonstrator’ who had an inspirational role on medical field. The French hypnotist, Auguste Lassaigue (1819-1887) – who later adopted the nickname ‘Dr. Laurent’ – along with his wife and ‘natural somnambulist’ Prudence Bernard introduced into Italy the theatrical performance of animal magnetism. One of the first magnetic performances ‘on stage’ occurred in September 1950, in Milan, in front of a commission of members of the

⁹⁷⁹ James Braid, *Neurypnology or the Rationale of Nervous Sleep, Considered in Relation with Animal Magnetism. Illustrated Numerous Cases of Its Successful Application in the Relief and Cure of Disease* (London: John Churchill, 1843).

⁹⁸⁰ Evrard, *Enquête sur 150 ans de parapsychologie*, 93.

⁹⁸¹ Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 157-8.

⁹⁸² For a biographical overview see Charles Lafontaine, *Mémoires d'un magnétiseur*, 2 vols. (Paris: Germer-Baillière, 1886).

⁹⁸³ Evrard, *Enquête sur 150 ans de parapsychologie*, 93.

Academy of Sciences.⁹⁸⁴ The same month, the Italian physician Carlo Ampelio Calderini (1804-1856) tested the couple on the ‘transmission of the will’,⁹⁸⁵ which consisted in the magnetizer giving order to the mesmerized subject via mental communication. Calderini wanted essentially to verify two factors: the nature and the effective existence of the somnambulist state, and whether the only communication which occurred between the magnetizer and mesmerized subject was mental. After several tries, Calderini was convinced of the genuineness of the hypnotic state, as well as of the produced phenomenon of will/thought transmission. Given the success of his colleague, the psychiatrist and hospital director of Vicenza, Pietro Beroaldi (1807-1873) started, between December 1, 1850 and January 19, 1851, a series of tests on four of his patients.⁹⁸⁶ The experiments aimed to prove the nature of artificial sleep, its effectiveness as anesthetic, and, last, but not least, the occurrence of the so-called thought-transmission and clairvoyance in the somnambulist. Both psychiatrists and hypnotists were involved in the experiment. In his conclusions on the experience, Beroaldi reported about the fruitful lethargic state, an empathetic connection of feelings and perceptions between magnetizer and somnambulist, but no manifestation of clairvoyance in the patient.⁹⁸⁷ Both Calderini and Beroaldi affirmed that the state of artificial sleep was genuine, and that a natural cause was responsible for so-called ‘abnormal phenomena’.

Along with Calderini and Beroaldi, other exponents of Italian Mesmerism were investigating the cause behind the occurrence of this kind of phenomena in the first half of the century. Among these, I can include the Barnabite chemist and physiologist, Enrico Dal Pozzo di Mombello (1822-1892), the poet and opera librettist Francesco Guidi (?) who founded La Società Filomagnetica in Turin 1853 and who was editor of both magnetic journals, *La Luce Magnetica* and *Il Filomagnetico*,⁹⁸⁸ and Giuseppe Terzaghi (?) who was the

⁹⁸⁴ Méhéust, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité – Le défi de du magnétisme*, 115.

⁹⁸⁵ Biondi & Tressoldi, *Parapsicologia*, 69.

⁹⁸⁶ Biondi & Tressoldi, *Parapsicologia*, 70.

⁹⁸⁷ Pietro Beroaldi, “Sul magnetismo animale; osservazioni ed esperienze fatte nell’ospedale civile di Vicenza,” *Annali Universali di Medicina* 139, n. 415 (1852): 55-56.

⁹⁸⁸ Leppo stressed out at, the beginning of his contribution, that Guidi’s *Trattato Teorico Pratico di Magnetismo Animale* (Milan: Turati, 1854) was place on the index, Leppo, “Hypnotism in Italy – 1800-1900,” 139.

editor of *Cronaca del Magnetismo Animale*, published in Milan.⁹⁸⁹ Most of the characters involved in animal magnetism in Italy all shared the same purpose in their research, that was to find the ultimate cause of these supernatural abilities manifested by the somnambulist. However, not everyone agreed about the nature of the principle which triggered such phenomena. In 1850s, in Turin, physician Giacomo Forni (?) treated two cases, those of Maria Geltrude Fodrat (?) and Agostino Clapier (?), whose symptoms – which looked exactly like those connected to a somnambulist state – were interpreted as case of spirit possession.⁹⁹⁰

In the meanwhile, in the first months of 1853, *La Civiltà Cattolica* - which, along with newspaper, *Giornale di Roma* might be considered one of the main platforms of expression of Roman Catholic Church -⁹⁹¹ focused on the strange manifestations from the ‘world of the spirits’.⁹⁹² More exactly, one of the issues highly debated in the columns of the Catholic periodical was the phenomenon of ‘table tilting’ and ‘turning’. Considerations varied from an initial tolerance of the paranormal event, to the discernment of an agency of the devil behind that specific practice.⁹⁹³

As one of the first manifestations of *Spiritualism* (and its French version, Spiritism),⁹⁹⁴ ‘table turning séances’ became popular in the main city of the Italian peninsula.⁹⁹⁵ This

⁹⁸⁹ For a detailed list of the Italian mesmerists, see Cigliana, “Spiritismo e parapsicologia nell’età positivista,” 531-2; Gasperini, “Ernesto Bozzano: tra spiritismo scientifico e ricerca psichica,” 129;

⁹⁹⁰ See Giacomo Forni, *Del mondo degli spiriti e della sua efficacia nell’universo sensibile, coll’esame di un caso d’ossessione osservato in Torino nel 1850* (Turin: Speirani & Ferrero, 1851).

⁹⁹¹ Biondi, “Spiritualism in Italy: The Opposition of the Catholic Church,” In *The Spiritualist Movement – Speaking with the Dead in America and around the World*, vol. I ed. Christopher M. Moreman (Santa Barbara; California: Praeger, 2013), 39.

⁹⁹² Anonymous, “Il mondo degli spiriti,” *La Civiltà Cattolica* 2, n.2 (1853): 593–615.

⁹⁹³ [Brunengo], “I diavoli e un Omicronne nello Spettatore di Firenze,” *La Civiltà Cattolica* 5, n. 3 (1857): 728.

⁹⁹⁴ About the main difference between the phenomenon of Spiritualism, originated within the American context of the 1830s (more exactly in the ‘Burned-over District’, see Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned Over District. The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York* [Ithaca: Cornell University, 1950]); as for Spiritism, which was characterized by a reincarnationist feature, and started twenty years later in France, thanks to the works of Allan Kardec (ps. Hippolyte Léon Denizard Rivail, 1804-1869) see Michael W. Homer, *Lo spiritismo* (Turin: Elledici, 1999), 16-26 ; 33-8.

⁹⁹⁵ In order to understand the genesis, structure, and propagation of the practice of ‘table turning’ and ‘table tilting’ in Italian peninsula, not to mention the occultist interpretation of some mesmeric phenomena, it is necessary to consider the figure of the French statesman Agénor de Gasparin (1810-1870), see Evrard, *Enquête* 161

'fashion' raised the attention of some members of the scientific and mesmeric community, as well: the physician Francesco Orioli (1783-1856) wrote a couple of pamphlets on table turning, where he proposed a natural cause for the phenomenon.⁹⁹⁶ Orioli, along with Guidi, Terzaghi and others, were interested both in the verification of mediumistic phenomena, as well as in animal magnetism, and its following hypnagogic development.⁹⁹⁷ Terzaghi distinguished himself for the statement that the abnormal movements of the table might be stopped by hypnotizing the participants of the séance.⁹⁹⁸ Besides their wide range of hypotheses, one mutual conclusion was shared by these scholars: that these mediumistic phenomena were explained by means of a natural cause, rather than an intervention of an external spirit entity.

It therefore seems possible to discern that in the first half of the century in Italy, two currents of thought developed after the interpretation of this specific kind of mediumistic phenomena: on the one hand some members of the scientific/cultural/mesmeric world acknowledged a natural/physiological motivation linked to the occurrence of these paranormal event; on the other hand some exponents of the spiritic and/or spiritualistic (who were also influenced by mesmeric/magnetic elements) who preferred to discern the presence and/or action of external entities within the context of table turning/tilting practice. Among those who completely adhered and supported the spiritic/spiritualistic cause (besides Enrico Dal Pozzo, whose literary production, mostly indirectly, served as preparatory field for spiritic doctrine)⁹⁹⁹, I include the high-school teacher, mason, and founder of Italian Red Cross, Vincenzo Scarpa (?) who, under the pseudonym of Niceforo Filalete,¹⁰⁰⁰ edited and translated into Italian the work of Allan Kardec, *Le Spiritisme à sa*

sur 150 ans de parapsychologie, 59-62; Alvarado, "Table Turning in the Early 1850s: The Séance Reports of Agénor de Gasparin," *Journal of Scientific Exploration* 32, n. 4 (2018): 723–62.

⁹⁹⁶ Orioli agreed with the English scientist, Michael Faraday (1791-1867), who explained that table turning/tilting was caused by small unconscious movements of the participants in the séances, see Alvarado, "Introduction to Michael Faraday's Essay on Table-moving," *International Journal of Parapsychology* 11 (2000): 153-63.

⁹⁹⁷ Biondi; "Francesco Orioli e il 'meraviglioso'," *Intersezioni* 26, n. 2 (2006): 233-50.

⁹⁹⁸ Cigliana, "Spiritismo e parapsicologia nell'età positivista," 532.

⁹⁹⁹ See Biondi, *Tavoli e medium – Storia dello spiritismo in Italia* (Rome: Gremese, 1988), 21ff.

¹⁰⁰⁰ For a biographical overview of Scarpa see, Vincenzo Tummolo, "Vincenzo Giovanni Scarpa," *Luce e Ombra* 12 (December 1912): 147–50; Nicola Zingaropoli, "Niceforo Filalete," *Luce e Ombra* 12 (December 1912): 177–162

plus simple expression,¹⁰⁰¹ and the typographer, Enrico Dalmazzo (?), who adopted the pseudonym of Teofilo Coreni, who was the main editor of one of the most notorious spiritist journals, *Annali dello Spiritismo in Italia* (since 1864) and founder of the first institutions for the study of Spiritualism in Italy in 1863, La Società torinese di Studi Spiritici. For a brief time, other societies which shared the same purpose (i.e. verification and study of spiritualistic phenomena) were established in Parma, Florence, and Naples.¹⁰⁰² The members of these societies were committed on theoretical level to the study of spirit(ual)ism, or spiritualistic phenomena. A diplomatic native of Palermo, Giovanni Damiani (?), who was the coordinator of Sodalizio Psicologico in Naples, and contributor of *Annali*, along with the Italian businessman Ercole Chiaia (1850-1905) discovered, endorsed, and patronized a medium from Naples, whose name was, Eusapia Palladino (1854–1918).¹⁰⁰³ In the 1950s, the presence and activity of the Scottish medium Daniel Dunglas Home (1833-1886)¹⁰⁰⁴ was spotted several times in Florence, Naples and other cities.¹⁰⁰⁵

Given the fact that in Italy two factions coexisted whose interpretations of the table turning practice differed over the nature of the final cause, this implied a reaction on the Catholic front. The fact that some exponents of Italian Spiritualism shared a mutual Christian vision of this newly introduced doctrine did not endorse the mesmeric/hypnotic

87; different scholars pointed out that the nickname 'Niceforo' was inspired after his masonic affiliation. Related to that, Scarpa abided by the hermetic-masonic system of 'Philalèthes', which was established in 1773 within the context of the French lodge, Les Amis Réunis (The United Friends). Although it is not known whether Dalmazzo was also affiliated to a masonic lodge, Scarpa and him shared a mutual 'Christian-Spiritualist' project concerning the reformation of mankind. For a general overview of the 'Christian-spiritualist' purpose which Dalmazzo, Scarpa, and other contributors of *Annali dello Spiritismo in Italia* shared, see Teofilo Coreni (pseud. Enrico Dalmazzo), *Lo spiritismo in senso cristiano* (Turin; Rome; Naples: Unione Tipografico-Editrice, 1889).

¹⁰⁰¹ The original French version was Allan Kardec, *Le Spiritisme à sa plus simple expression* (Paris: Dentu, Ledoyen, 1862), the Italian edition followed Kardec, *Lo spiritismo alla più semplice espressione*, trans. ed. by Niceforo Filalete (Turin: Degiorgis, 1863).

¹⁰⁰² For a more detailed list of the Societies which were established in 1860s in the Italian peninsula, see Cigliana, "Spiritismo e parapsicologia nell'età positivista," 533; Biondi, *Tavoli e medium*, 39ff.

¹⁰⁰³ For a biographical overview, see Alvarado, "Eusapia Palladino: An Autobiographical Essay," *Journal of Scientific Exploration*, 25, n. 1 (2011): 77-101.

¹⁰⁰⁴ For biographical overview, see Julie Home, *D. D. Home his Life and Mission* (London: Trüber, 1888).

¹⁰⁰⁵ For an accurate report of Home's visits and performances in Italy, see Zorab, *Daniel Dunglas Home – Vita e opere del più famoso spiritista* (Milan: Ghibli, 2014).

cause, but rather pushed the Roman Catholic Church to identify the hypnotic experiences with the mediumistic séances.¹⁰⁰⁶ Despite not explicitly forbidden, the hypnotic practice was, for a period, considered morally and psychologically dangerous for those who practiced it. Most publications and initiatives linked to Spiritualism were imbued with elements borrowed from the works of Swedish philosopher Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772)¹⁰⁰⁷ – who was considered by scholar Jane Williams-Hogan an ‘innovator of Christianity in his own times’-¹⁰⁰⁸ and Kardec. The influence of these two authors within the environment of those who practice hypnosis, it indirectly endorsed an identification-transition in-between the body of the mesmerized subject and/to that of the medium. As Gauld himself assessed:

The new Spiritualism and the old mesmerism accorded so well with each other that a marriage was inevitable [...] Mesmeric clairvoyants became Spiritualist medium, and writers and lecturers on mesmerism turned their attention to the phenomena and philosophy of Spiritualism.¹⁰⁰⁹

As pointed out by Massimo Biondi, if in the first half of the century on the one hand the American fashion of table turning¹⁰¹⁰ provided the European audience with practice, then the revelations and reports of Monsieur Rivail of his previous druidic reincarnation and

¹⁰⁰⁶ Biondi, “Spiritualism in Italy,” 39.

¹⁰⁰⁷ For a detailed analysis of Swedenborgian doctrine and of some crucial elements which set the ground for the propagation of the thought of the Swedish philosopher on the Italian peninsula, see Jane Williams-Hogan, *Swedenborg e le chiese swedenborgiane* (Leumann; Turin: Elledici, 2004); Francesca M. Crasta, *La filosofia della natura di Emanuel Swedenborg* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1999); a text of reference, which stresses the role of reverend Andrew Jackson Davis (1826-1910) in the propagation of Spiritualism in America first, offers an historical-conceptual reconstruction of the connection between Mesmerism and Swedenborgianism, is: George Bush, *Mesmer and Swedenborg or The Relation of The Developments of Mesmerism to The Doctrines and Disclosures of Swedenborg* (New York: John Allen, 1847).

¹⁰⁰⁸ Williams-Hogan, *Swedenborg e le chiese swedenborgiane*, 75.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Gauld, *A History of Hypnotism*, 192-3.

¹⁰¹⁰ For an historical reconstruction of the events in Hydesville in 1848, which led to inauguration of the Spiritualist fashion of the ‘séance’ (in its different several forms) in Europe, see Barbara Weisberg, *Talking to the Dead. Kate and Maggie Fox and The Rise of Spiritualism* (New York: Harper Collins, 2004).

the hidden world of the spirits¹⁰¹¹ provided them with a ‘philosophy’ to which they could relate.¹⁰¹² In addition, the evolutionary approach to afterlife offered by Swedenborg¹⁰¹³ integrated perfectly within the Italian spiritualistic creed.

Despite the solemn condemnation of the Roman Catholic Church, hypnotic experiments and mediumistic séances persisted until the end of the century. Although on a theoretical level various criterion of demarcation have been offered, a neat demarcation between those who believed in the hidden world of the spirits and those who sought a natural cause of paranormal phenomena is difficult to trace. This statement is even truer insofar as the exponents of the two groups populated, every now and then, the same séances and collaborated with the same journals. Related to this, a case of mediumship and production of paranormal phenomena which interested the scientific and spiritualist community in Europe between eighteenth and nineteenth century was that of Eusapia Palladino. Palladino, whose séances were associated mainly with the occurrence of so-called ‘physical phenomena’ (i.e. table turning; chairs movement; cold wind etc...), started to practice her mediumship in the early 1870s.¹⁰¹⁴ However, it was not before the 1890s that

¹⁰¹¹ The text of reference for the Kardecist doctrine/system is the series of communications (including one where his spirit guide revealed him that he was the druid Allan Kardec in his previous incarnation) Rivail/Kardec had with the spirits is Kardec, *Le livre des esprits contenant les principes de la doctrine spirite sur la nature des esprits, leur manifestation et leur rapports avec les hommes; les lois morales; la vie presente, la vie future, et l'avenir de l'humanité* (Paris: Dentu, 1857); for a general overview of Kardec’s life and work see Régis Ladous, *Le spiritisme* (Paris: Cerf, 1989), 113ff.

¹⁰¹² Biondi, *Tavoli e medium*, 42.

¹⁰¹³ The first Italian edition of *De Coelo et Ejus Mirabilibus et De Inferno Ex Auditis et Visis* was published and translated by Loreto Scocia – whose role in the propagation of Swedemborgian doctrine has yet to be investigated – in 1870, see Emanuel Swedenborg, *Del Cielo e delle sue Meraviglie e dell'Inferno secondo quel che è stato udito e veduto* (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice, 1870).

¹⁰¹⁴ For historical reports on Palladino’s séances, see Francesco Zingaropoli, *L’opera di Ercole Chiaia* (Milan: Luce e Ombra, 1908); Morselli, *Psicologia e «Spiritismo»*; Cesare Lombroso, *Ricerche sui fenomeni ipnotici e spiritici* (Turin: Unione Tipografica Torinese, 1909) see also available its English edition Lombroso, *After Death--What? Spiritistic Phenomena and Their Interpretation* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1909); Filippo Bottazzi, *Mediumistic Phenomena: Observed in a Series of Sessions with Eusapia Palladino* (Princeton, New Jersey: ICRL, 2011); for an historical reconstruction and contextualization of both Morselli and Lombroso psychiatric approach to mediumship, see Maria Teresa Brancaccio, “Enrico Morselli’s Psychology and ‘Spiritism’: Psychiatry, psychology and psychical research in Italy in the decades around 1900,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 48 (2014): 75-84; Alvarado & Biondi, “Introduction to Cesare Lombroso on Mediumship and Pathology,” 225–41; Alvarado, “Mediumship, Psychical Research, Dissociation, and The Powers of The Subconscious Mind,” *Journal of Parapsychology* 78, n. 1 (2014): 98–114.

serious verification of these paranormal phenomena by Italian members of both the scientific and spiritualist/*psychic* communities began. In addition to the investigation conducted by Giovanni Battista Ermacora (1858-1897) – who, besides devoting a crucial contribution on the possible connection between concealed psychological functions in the individual and the spirits,¹⁰¹⁵ founded, in 1895, *Rivista di Studi Psicici* – at the end of the century in Milan,¹⁰¹⁶ another series of tests took place almost immediately afterwards and involved two of the main researchers on spiritualist phenomena of the modern era, namely the psychiatrists Enrico Morselli (1852-1929)¹⁰¹⁷ and Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909).¹⁰¹⁸

In terms of a ‘point of departure’ for the quest for the ultimate cause of mediumistic phenomena which involved both Morselli and Lombroso, along with other scholars, I would point to magnetism: in 1886, on the occasion of a psychiatric conference, the theory that a magnet could exert an influence on human mind was debunked.¹⁰¹⁹ Morselli instantly accepted this conclusion, but Lombroso remained convinced for the rest of his life that magnets could have an effect on the mind. The two psychiatrists were interested in most of the themes which characterized the history of *spirit* and *consciousness*¹⁰²⁰ in the nineteenth century, namely, animal magnetism, hypnosis, and supernatural phenomena during mediumistic séances. Although they shared mutual interests, their opinions contrasted on every topic. Starting from thought reading and telepathic phenomena, while Lombroso was entirely persuaded of their authenticity, Morselli totally denied their existence and labeled any occurrence of those events fraudulent.

As for mediumistic séances, a couple of characters made their appearance in the eternal debate among the two scientists: one was the enigmatic ‘thought reader’

¹⁰¹⁵ Giovanni Battista Ermacora, *Attività sub-coscienze e spiritismo* (Rome: Tipografia delle Terme Diocleziane di Balbi Giovanni, 1893).

¹⁰¹⁶ Biondi & Tressoldi, *Parapsicologia*, 73-4.

¹⁰¹⁷ For a biographical overview see Guarnieri, *Individualità difformi*.

¹⁰¹⁸ For a biographical overview see Giuseppe O. Armocida, “Lombroso, Cesare,” *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2005), [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cesare-lombroso_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cesare-lombroso_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

¹⁰¹⁹ Biondi & Tressoldi, *Parapsicologia*, 72-3.

¹⁰²⁰ See the theoretical framework introduced at the beginning of the chapter.

Pickman,¹⁰²¹ the other the Belgian magnetizer 'Donato' (pseud. of Alfred Edouard D'Hont, 1845-1900).¹⁰²² Morselli and Lombroso both assisted their public performances, and they both remained surprised (and dissatisfied) on specific occasions, as Morselli was not so appreciative of Pickman's abilities, and his colleague shared the same negative attitude towards Donato.¹⁰²³

However, the crucial event in the world of spirits had not yet happened: Chiaia – who officially became Palladino's *spiritist advisor* – challenged Lombroso to verify Palladino's paranormal skills in a séance.¹⁰²⁴ Thus, a series of experiments with 'Sapia'¹⁰²⁵ took place in Naples in March of 1891, during which Lombroso witnessed the occurrence of several physical phenomena; once the experience ended -- even though he was not yet convinced of the spiritistic nature of the events -- the Italian father of physiognomics had no doubt of their genuineness. Then it was Morselli's turn: four series of séances took place in Genoa between 1901-2, and 1906-7. Afterwards, Morselli expressed his concerns and considerations regarding the experience in his two-volume work, *Psicologia e «Spiritismo»*. One of the crucial points of the whole report is that Morselli did not believe any of the telekinesis and/or materialization phenomena he assisted were attributable to spirits, but rather to a kind of bio-psychic force present in the human organism that was freed or triggered through the séance.¹⁰²⁶

Thus, both Morselli and Lombroso attended Palladino's séances, but came to different conclusions: even if, initially, Lombroso was not enthusiastic about the idea of interventions of the dead being behind Palladino's physical phenomena,¹⁰²⁷ he later changed his mind and

¹⁰²¹ For some biographical reference on the character see Leppo, "Hypnotism in Italy – 1800-1900," 151-2; 172ff.

¹⁰²² For a biographical and historical overview of the character see Gallini, *La sonnambula meravigliosa*, 215-6; Brancaccio, "Enrico Morselli's Psychology and 'Spiritism'," 78.

¹⁰²³ Biondi & Tressoldi, *Parapsicologia*, 72.

¹⁰²⁴ Cigliana, "Spiritismo e parapsicologia nell'età positivista," 544.

¹⁰²⁵ This was the recurrent nickname journalists adopted for indicating Palladino.

¹⁰²⁶ For a detailed analysis of the topic see Brancaccio, "Enrico Morselli's Psychology and 'Spiritism'."

¹⁰²⁷ Morselli observed (along with many others before him) that during her state of trance Palladino tended to personify the spirit of an ancient buccaneer, namely John King, who communicated with the world of the living through her. Allegedly, this spirit-guide was the father of another entity that tended to incarnate in the body

converted to the view of supernatural causation.¹⁰²⁸ Morselli reckoned that the phenomena produced by Palladino were authentic, but was more inclined to find a natural *force* responsible for the whole incredible events he examined.¹⁰²⁹

Although there is no room within this work to treat the veracity of Palladino's performances or assess the accuracy of the scientific investigations done by these psychical researchers/spiritists (nor is there room to examine how many times the medium native of Minervino Murge was caught cheating during the sittings¹⁰³⁰), I would like to stress the focal point of this historical analysis: since the discovery of animal magnetism, medical/healing/therapeutic practices developed in parallel with specific theorizations of specific theorizations of biophysical principles that were often connected to the sphere of the human individual and their will; more exactly, the universal fluid was linked to the interaction, dominance, or reciprocal influence a man or a woman might have on nature. Taking for granted that some theoretical premises hinged upon access to an alternative dimension and utilized alternative interpretations of historical events,¹⁰³¹ it is natural that over time some members of the scientific community in Western society devoted their efforts to the discovery of a dimension of pure consciousness by following a kratophanic dynamic; in other words, the conception of 'power' in its pure essence (a vital concept which reveals itself through connections and relationships on the social, political, and religious levels), underpins the whole story of investigations into the universal fluid, where this latter changes its aspect, every now and then.

of a different popular medium of the nineteenth century, Florence Cook (1856-1904). In the 1870s, Cook underwent several tests planned by a scientist and pioneer of psychical research, William Crookes (1832-1919). During the course of a séance, the spirit daughter of the fierce and ancient pirate, Katie King, took possession of Cook. For an insightful analysis related to these manifestations, see Servadio, "Lo spettro di Katie King la figlia del losco pirata," *Il Tempo*, August 7, 1962, 3-9; Servadio, "I maestri invisibili," *Gli Arcani: Mensile del Mondo Oscuro e Misterioso* 7, n. 7/8 (July-August 1981): 21-9.

¹⁰²⁸ See Alvarado & Biondi, "Introduction to Cesare Lombroso on Mediumship and Pathology," 231-2.

¹⁰²⁹ Morselli, *Psicologia e «Spiritismo»*, vol. I, 97.

¹⁰³⁰ The most remarkable episode regarding Palladino's fraudulent conduct was linked to Cambridge sittings in 1895. Australian psychical research, Richard Hodgson (1855-1905) caught her while she was freeing her hands from the séance controller and performing her trick. For a detailed report, see Gauld, *The Founders of Psychical Research* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), 234ff.

¹⁰³¹ See Méhéust, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité – Le choc des sciences psychique*, 462ff.

Conceptions of individual power dominated psychical theories for a long time. As Servadio stresses more than once in his literary production, there is a tradition connecting the evolution of universal fluid to the Freudian 'unconscious' first,¹⁰³² and to the holographic universe later.¹⁰³³ Thus, the evolution from its primeval ethereal form to the modern hypnotic practice connotes a specific direction in the discovery of the notion of 'spirit.' In the passage from the fluidic omni-pervasive principle to a psychodynamic force, the subjects involved in magnetic/hypnotic processes acquired a different consciousness of themselves on both physical and psychological levels because of the observed relationship between their will, soul, and spirit. Braid, Azam, and, later, Pierre Janet (1859-1947)¹⁰³⁴ observed the emergence of a second personality in their patients during the modified states of consciousness. The presence of another *self*, or a 'subconscious,' represented for some the physical proof of the psychic realm of the individual. In the European context, the advent of American Spiritualism and French Spiritism led to the creation of a system both for fulfilling the never-ending need of the sacred and for addressing the quest to discover the 'soul' (a quest which the scientific community had always wanted to satisfy); this newer system of investigation inherited some conditions and features from its magnetist ancestors (i.e. the somnambulist body), and generally did not really modify the fundamental dynamic of interpretation, nor did Servadio: according to him, whether in the parapsychological or psychiatric field, the source of abnormal phenomena is to be found in the medium/patient himself, rather than the setting of the spiritualist séance or the psychiatric ward.¹⁰³⁵ The body of a medium or mesmerized subject is the means to express, liberate, and materialize strange new *forces*.

While the most popular investigations on Palladino were taking place in Italy, in 1882 London something was about to change the course of history for the 'spirit': a conference with both spiritualists and scientists convened to channel their efforts toward a new kind of

¹⁰³² Servadio, "La strana storia dell'ipnotismo," 333; not to mention the self-evident title of Adam Crabtree's work, *From Mesmer to Freud*.

¹⁰³³ Servadio, "Breve storia dell'ipnosi. Dal fluido universale all'universo olografico," *Rassegna di Studi Psicici* 4, n. 3 (1993): 5-7.

¹⁰³⁴ See Evrard, *Enquête sur 150 ans de parapsychologie*, 124-38.

¹⁰³⁵ Servadio, "Oltre i cinque sensi: dallo spiritismo alla parapsicologia," *Argomenti: Conferenze nei Lions Clubs d'Italia* 3, n. 11 (November 1968): 9.

research; Cambridge philosopher Henry Sidgwick (1838-1900), political activist Frank Podmore (1856-1910), and musicologist Edmund Gurney (1847-1888) formed the steering committee of the Society for Psychical Research.¹⁰³⁶ The *Objects of the Society* were: 1) An examination of the nature and extent of any influence that may be exerted by one mind upon another, apart from any generally recognized mode of perception; 2) The study of hypnotism and the forms of so-called mesmeric trance along with its alleged insensibility to pain and its connections to clairvoyance and other allied phenomena; 3) A critical revision of Reichenbach's research with certain organizations deemed 'sensitive,' and an inquiry into whether such organizations possess any power of perception beyond a highly exalted sensibility of the recognized sensory organs; 4) A careful investigation of any reports resting on strong testimony regarding apparitions at the moment of death or other times, including disturbances in houses reputed to be haunted; 5) An inquiry into the various physical phenomena commonly called spiritualistic, with an attempt to discover their causes and general laws; 6) the collection and collation of existing materials bearing on the history of these subjects.¹⁰³⁷

As one can see from the Society's objectives, some of these points already characterized the historical progression from animal magnetism to the later incarnations of hypnotism; however, some crucial innovative themes were introduced for the first time within the foundation of the Society. Along with the verification or disproof of thought-transmission or Mesmerism, the main reference I would like to stress here is the discovery of the 'odyle' or 'odic force' by German baron Carl von Reichenbach (1788-1869).¹⁰³⁸ Reichenbach theorized and 'saw' in the luminescence of certain crystals the presence of an electro-fluidic force that also flowed/manifested throughout the human body.¹⁰³⁹ This latter conceptualization – which, according to Servadio, was more debated than effectively understood¹⁰⁴⁰ -- presented itself as a development of the psychofluidist theory. Once more,

¹⁰³⁶ See Gauld, *The Founders of Psychical Research*, 137ff.

¹⁰³⁷ *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* 1, n. 1-4 (1882-83): 3-4.

¹⁰³⁸ Since 1839, his extended name was Karl Ludwig Friedrich Freiherr von Reichenbach, for a biographical overview see Michael Nahm, "The Sorcerer of Cobenzl and His Legacy: The Life of Baron Karl Ludwig von Reichenbach, His Work and Its Aftermath," *Journal of Scientific Exploration* 26, n. 2 (2012): 381–407.

¹⁰³⁹ Carl von Reichenbach, *Aphorismen über Sensitivität und Od* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1866).

¹⁰⁴⁰ Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 18; Servadio, "Quell'aura misteriosa che avvolge i corpi. Un problema riproposto da recenti tecniche fotografiche," *Messaggero Veneto*, July 4, 1986, 3.

besides looking for evidence which led to the existence of the soul (or its hidden world),¹⁰⁴¹ a part of the scientific community wanted to find a force whose impact on an environment and the individual was provable, thus being able to explain some abnormal phenomena. Thus, along with the transition from the body of the somnambulist to that of the medium -- which on an historical level might be well exemplified by the investigations into the mediums Eusapia Palladino and Daniel D. Home -- a verification of the existence of the so-called Odyle force (which was connected to an extraordinary sensitivity of the organs) represented another crucial step in the history of psychical research.

For the sake of historical accuracy, it should be noted that the scientific quest for the discovery of this force (within the field of the 'paranormal') had been started before the foundation of the Society by two of its future prominent members. These were Royal Society member and chemist William Crookes, and English lawyer 'Serjeant'¹⁰⁴² Edward William Cox (1915-1994). Both were contributors to the *Quarterly Journal of Science* (started by Crookes himself in 1864), and both were active psychical researchers devoted to the verification of spiritualist phenomena. If it is well attested nowadays that French astronomer Camille Flammarion (1842-1925) – who was also member of the scientific committee of the Society for the Psychical Research -- adopted for the first time the term 'psychic,'¹⁰⁴³ it was thanks to Crookes and Cox that the term 'psychic force' was adopted as a principle responsible for certain phenomena. Following a series of experiences with Home, Crookes published a couple of articles in *Quarterly Journal of Science* (1871), where he argues that the main cause responsible for the phenomena which occurred during the sittings was a force situated within the human body.¹⁰⁴⁴ However, Crookes didn't deliberate on the nature of this force; it was actually Cox who suggested the nervous system as the source of paranormal events, and the British lawyer persuaded his colleague to adopt the above-mentioned term to indicate that force.¹⁰⁴⁵

¹⁰⁴¹ Pareti, *La tentazione dell'occulto*, 87.

¹⁰⁴² In 1868, Cox obtained the title of 'serjeant at law' because of his merit both as lawyer and legal writer, see Josef L. Altholz, "Mister Serjeant Cox, John Crockford, and the Origins of «Crockford's Clerical Directory»,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 17, n. 4 (1984): 153-8.

¹⁰⁴³ Nandor Fodor, *Encyclopædia of Psychic Science* (London: Arthurs Press Limited, 1933), 310.

¹⁰⁴⁴ See William Crookes, "Experimental Investigation of a New Force," In *Crookes and The Spirit World a Collection of Writings by or Concerning the Work of Sir William Crookes in The Field of Psychical Research*, ed. by Richard George Medhurst, M. R. Barrington (New York: Taplinger, 1972), 9-19.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Crookes, "Experimental Investigation of a New Force," 19.

Last but not least, of Society for Psychical Research activities worth mentioning is the production of the two-volume *Phantasms of the Living*,¹⁰⁴⁶ which consisted of over seven hundred cases of ‘crisis apparitions’;¹⁰⁴⁷ in other words, the report analyzed manifestations of spirits of the dead, at the time of their death, to their relatives. According to the group of psychical researchers, visions of loved ones in conjunction with their disappearance, or the occurrence of serious trauma, is linked to the emergence of a particular form of telepathy.¹⁰⁴⁸ More specifically, if telepathy might be conceived as the transmission of thoughts or feelings from one person to another without using verbal communication or ordinary means (even though it is worthwhile to remember that not everybody within psychical research/paranormal field agreed with this definition),¹⁰⁴⁹ this kind of paranormal perception implies more a visual sphere in its manifestation since a person recently deceased might be ‘seen’ by his/her loved ones at distance.

It is possible to discern three main points in this enquiry: first, the presence of empathetic feelings and a constant state of anxiety experienced by those who saw the spirits of their dead relatives; next, the fact that all collected cases concerned ordinary people and not mediums or people involved in theatrical performance,¹⁰⁵⁰ lastly, the abnormal nature of the phenomenon involved both the ‘temporary seer’ (i.e. the subject who saw the apparition) and the deceased loved one (i.e. the phantasm). Besides these crucial factors, and the huge achievement regarding the collection of a huge amount of data, the study received several critics of psychical researchers from other countries. This latter event stimulated the start of the new study on (more) *veridical* hallucinations.¹⁰⁵¹

The foundation of the Society for Psychical Research didn’t only inaugurate a new era for the study of the paranormal, but also unified to some extent the courses of different concepts and currents into one stream. More specifically, the study of ‘spontaneous

¹⁰⁴⁶ Edmund Gurney, Frederik Myers, Frank Podmore (ed.), *Phantasms of the Living*, 2 vols. (London: Rooms of the Society for Psychical Research; Trübner and Co., 1886).

¹⁰⁴⁷ Initially, 5705 witnesses/cases were gathered, then, after an accurate process of selection, 703 were considered for the final study.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Gurney et al., *Phantasms of the Living*, vol. I, XXXVff.

¹⁰⁴⁹ For an insightful overview of this divergence of view in parapsychological field, see Servadio, “La telepatia non è trasmissione di pensiero. Un fenomeno paranormale da sempre in bilico fra superstizione e il riconoscimento sul piano scientifico,” *Il Corriere della Sera*, July 19, 1988, 3-4.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Servadio affirms that all theatrical experiments of thought transmissions are *tricks*: Servadio, “La telepatia non è trasmissione di pensiero,” 3.

¹⁰⁵¹ See Gauld, *The Founders of Psychical Research*, 195-6.

phenomena' (i.e. paranormal events occurring *through* the body of a person who is not a medium or 'producer of psi phenomena') did not only treat some crucial themes in Spiritualistic fields, but also strengthened the thesis of a force/energy located within human beings that was responsible for these extraordinary events.¹⁰⁵² This latter perspective would genealogically influence other scientific fields of research, especially those linked to the *study of the soul*.

Going back to the imminent turn of the century, another important character made an appearance in this kratophanic storytelling about the soul: Sigmund Freud. In 1900, Freud published his *Die Traumdeutung*¹⁰⁵³ ('The Interpretation of Dreams'), whose circulation was unfortunately overshadowed by the compendium of sexual deviations from Austrian clinician Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886).¹⁰⁵⁴ Along with *The Interpretation of Dreams*,¹⁰⁵⁵ another contribution of Freud's -- written on November 10, 1899 -- that didn't gain much popularity at the time was "Eine Erfüllte Traumahnung" ('A Premonitory Dream Fullfilled').¹⁰⁵⁶ Besides being posthumously published, the other main reason why this brief text was prevented from circulating was its content: Freud reports the premonitory nature of a dream of one of his patients and effectively considers the creation of prophetic dreams by means of the unconscious.¹⁰⁵⁷ In addition to that, it is possible to discern in Freud's text a crucial issue which intersects with the history of psychical research, namely the dream as a manifestation of ESP phenomena. This latter theme greatly influenced the international psychoanalytical scene of the twentieth century. More exactly, one of the prominent exponents of the Italian psychoanalytical milieu focused on Freudian conceptions of 'telepathic communication': Emilio Servadio, of course.

¹⁰⁵² Scientist and philologist, Frederic W. H. Myers (1843-1901) -- who also was a pioneer in psychology -- interpreted telepathic hallucinations/spirits as a manifestation of 'persistent personal energy' on psychic/psychological level; see Gauld, *The Founders of Psychical Research*, 194. For insightful overview of his life, see Trevor Hamilton, *Immortal Longings: F. W. H. Myers and the Victorian Search for Life After Death* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2009).

¹⁰⁵³ Freud, *Die Traumdeutung* (Leipzig; Vienna: Deuticke, 1900).

¹⁰⁵⁴ Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia sexualis: Eine klinisch-forensische Studie* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1886).

¹⁰⁵⁵ For the reception of the book among Freud's future 'disciples' see Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 452.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Freud, "Eine Erfüllte Traumahnung."

¹⁰⁵⁷ See Freud, "A Premonitory Dream Fullfilled," in *Psychoanalysis and the Occult*, ed. Georges Devereux (New York: International Universities Press, 1953), 49-51.

Another brief conceptual-historical contextualization is necessary before approaching the core of the case study: Freud and his work represented a turning point in multiple fields of study, namely psychology, sexology, and psychical research. Excepting for the sexological current (which abides by the same definition), Méheust appointed psychoanalysis with the label “guardian of the threshold.”¹⁰⁵⁸ According to the French scholar, the model of psychoanalysis introduced by Freud “incorporated, refashioned, and domesticated select aspects of these new models of the psyche,” which would “render them relatively harmless to the reigning materialism and scientism of the day.”¹⁰⁵⁹ In other words, the Freudian *unconscious* has at its back several previous formulations of the human psyche that dealt with similar ideas. As one can guess from the historical reconstruction of Mesmerism introduced above, among the ancestors of psychoanalysis is Puységurian psychofluidism. Regarding magnetic and artificial sleep, Freud borrows elements from hypnagogic experiences and personally practiced it (even though unsuccessfully),¹⁰⁶⁰ and he also got in touch with Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893) and Hippolyte Bernheim (1840-1919),¹⁰⁶¹ the exponents of two French hypnotist currents at the time.

Besides the appropriation and elaboration of some aspects of the Nancy School and its rival institution in Paris, Freud’s notions of the unconscious owed a lot to two other pioneers of psychology: Pierre Janet and Frederic W.H. Myers (1843-1901). Janet and Myers shared mutual experiences, background, and research interests. Besides conducting investigations together on a patient in hypnotic state – who also manifested abnormal phenomena during sessions¹⁰⁶² -- and being both personally committed to meta/psychical research,¹⁰⁶³ in the same period¹⁰⁶⁴ they made crucial contributions to depth psychology.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Méhéust, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité – Le choc des sciences psychique*, 441ff.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Kripal, *Authors of the Impossible*, 221.

¹⁰⁶⁰ See Servadio, “Freud e l’ipnosi,” *Rassegna di Ipnosi e Medicina Psicosomatica* 6, n. 13: 3844.

¹⁰⁶¹ About Freud’s encounter with Charcot at Hotel San Petrière in Paris and with Bernheim and his tutor and colleague Ambroise-Auguste Liébeault (1823-1904) in Nancy, see Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 435-6; 485-9.

¹⁰⁶² About the investigations linked to the case of patient ‘Léonie,’ see Evrard, *Enquête sur 150 ans de parapsychologie*, 127; Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 337ff.

¹⁰⁶³ About the difference between metapsychical and psychical research see Amadou, *La parapsychologie*, 13-4; 30-2.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Eventually, Janet rejected most of the conclusions of the metapsychical research. For an in-depth analysis which shows that Janet’s decision represented a sort of ‘strategic repentance,’ see Evrard, *Enquête sur 150 ans de parapsychologie*, 127-8.

While Janet showed how the processes of the subconscious mind worked in his *L'Automatisme Psychologique*,¹⁰⁶⁵ Myers informed the European audience of the existence of a 'subliminal self' in the individual by mean of his literary production, mostly published posthumously.¹⁰⁶⁶ Both volumes focused on a crucial theme already introduced before: consciousness. Janet stated that consciousness implied a peculiar kind of psychological process, also known under the name of 'automatism.' Two variants of the process were entailed: a total automatism (which resembled the cataleptic state of consciousness), and a partial automatism (which was comparable to the state of artificial sleep). In order to investigate this latter condition, the French psychologist tested his patients with automatic writing¹⁰⁶⁷ and post-hypnotic suggestion, in Nancy and Le Havre.¹⁰⁶⁸ As explanation for both practices (not to mention that of the divining rod and the manifestation/communication with the spirits),¹⁰⁶⁹ Janet argued that the 'subconscious' intervened when a series of circumstances created an altered state. Among these circumstances, Janet categorically excluded the suggestion of the individual. According to Servadio, this latter consideration could be a possible reconciliation regarding the eternal war between 'animists' (those who believed that the concept, feature, and excitement of suggestion in the individual was actually responsible for the induction of an altered state) and 'fluidists.'¹⁰⁷⁰

Side by side with the operations of 'subconscious mind,' Myers formulated the existence of two different selves, a supraliminal and a subliminal one. The former manifests throughout the daily routine of the individual, while the latter acts and connects to a series of subliminal existences and actions that hardly exist during the waking state.¹⁰⁷¹ One self is detached from the other, this means that the subliminal self has its own memory and

¹⁰⁶⁵ Pierre Janet, *L'Automatisme Psychologique - Essai de psychologie expérimentale sur les formes inférieures de l'activité humaine* (Paris: Alcan, 1889).

¹⁰⁶⁶ Myers, *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, 1903).

¹⁰⁶⁷ About the role automatic writing and Spiritualism in general play in the conceptualization of the 'unconscious', see Sonu Shamdasani, "Automatic writing and the discovery of the unconscious," *Spring: Journal of Archetype and Culture* 54 (1993): 100-31.

¹⁰⁶⁸ See relatively Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 360ff; Evrard, *Enquête sur 150 ans de parapsychologie*, 121ff.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Janet, *L'Automatisme Psychologique*, 367ff.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Servadio assesses that the division between Nancy School and Salpêtrière could be interpreted as a form of the revivification of the ancient conflict between animists (Bernheim) and fluidists (Charcot); see Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 19-20.

¹⁰⁷¹ Myers, "The Subliminal Consciousness," *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* 8 (1892): 333-535.

identity.¹⁰⁷² However, Myers discerned a 'threshold' which separated the two selves within the individual. The manifestation of the subliminal sphere during the hypnotic state represented the emergence of a part of the individual that was connected to an alternative awareness involved in its own existence (or previous 'incarnations') and range of action (which also includes so-called 'paranormal' phenomena). If one considers this formulation of the 'subconscious life' of the individual, on the basis of Myers' interest in the verification of survival after-death, I can assess that this attempt to define the nature of the *soul* involved both psychological and psychical research. More exactly, the fact that another personality/self independently and parallelly survives in the individual could be interpreted both as a manifestation of the spirit (conceived in a broader sense) or *power*.

Going back to Freud: although it has already been proven that Freudian notions of the unconscious were strongly indebted to the previous formulations of the same concept,¹⁰⁷³ as additional evidence that the birth of psychoanalysis was to some extent connected to psychical research can be found within its formative practices, not to mention in Freud's life and literary production. My main point about psychology's appropriation and elaboration of previous models of the 'subconscious' regards the rapport between healer/physician and patient. The influence exerted between the two main protagonists of psychic treatment (psychofluidism and psychoanalysis), besides being both adapted from hypnagogic practices and contexts, represents a crucial factor in the development of psychotherapy: previously, a universal fluid (one of whose manifestations is electricity) acted as an intermediary element between two individuals; later on, the soul itself becomes involved in the relationship of healer-patient, and according to one specific interpretation, the unconscious -- pervaded by several different bio-psychic forces -- connects these two.

It is necessary to stress another crucial theoretical passage in the elaboration of the Freudian unconscious. Freud dismissed hypnosis mainly for two reasons: the first was linked to the emergence of a sexual factor during the induction of modified states; the second was of a technical nature, or as Freud says, "I gave up the suggestive technique, and with it hypnosis, so early in my practice because I despaired of making suggestion powerful and

¹⁰⁷² Myers, "The Subliminal Consciousness," 306.

¹⁰⁷³ Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen, Sonu Shamdasani, *The Freud Files – An Inquiry into the History of Psychoanalysis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 6-20.

enduring enough to effect permanent cures.”¹⁰⁷⁴ According to Servadio – who, in turn, quotes the work of American psychologist Milton V. Kline (1923-2004)¹⁰⁷⁵ in *Freud and Hypnosis*¹⁰⁷⁶ -- Freud considered both sexual and technical factors as element of disturbance, rather than a means to reach his therapeutic purpose (even though, as already most of the scientific environment had pointed out, the aim of psychoanalysis is not about the ‘healing’ of the patient, rather more so the *balancing* of his/her mental health). Thus, Freud, from a certain moment onwards,¹⁰⁷⁷ approached hypnosis and suggestive techniques with a hyperationalist approach, which led him to the conclusion that hypnosis alone is not sufficient to explore or heal somebody’s ‘inner’ dimension.¹⁰⁷⁸ In Freud’s perspective, notwithstanding his later production on sexuality, because of the sexual factor and other technical issues (i.e. the fact that he couldn’t achieve specific results through hypnosis),¹⁰⁷⁹ hypnagogic techniques were to some extent excluded from the accurate tools for the investigation of the soul.

Hypnosis wasn’t the only theme Freud was skeptical about. In addition to this, a specific range of *occult*¹⁰⁸⁰ phenomena should be added to the list. In 1909, the father of psychoanalysis went to Berlin alongside his pupil Ferenczi to attend a séance with clairvoyant Frau Seidler (the medium claimed she could read letters on paper while blindfolded), and then in Budapest met with somnambulist Frau Jelinek (who was renowned as a fortune teller in the Hungarian capital).¹⁰⁸¹ Initially, Freud was skeptical about the existence of occult phenomena; later on (after a second sitting with Frau Seidler) a doubt

¹⁰⁷⁴ Freud, “Über Psychotherapie,” in *Sigmund Freud Gesammelte Werke – Werke aus den Jahren 1904 - 1905*, vol. V, edited by Anna Freud, (London: Imago 1942), 17, “Ich habe die Suggestionstechnik und mit ihr die Hypnose so frühzeitig aufgegeben, weil ich daran verzweifelte, die Suggestion so stark und so haltbar zu machen, wie es für die dauernde Heilung notwendig wäre.”

¹⁰⁷⁵ For a biographical overview, see Anonymous, “In Memoriam: Milton V. Kline 1923-2004,” *The International Journal of Clinical and Experimental Hypnosis* 52, n. 4 (2004): 333-4.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Milton V. Kline, *Freud and Hypnosis - The Interaction of Psychodynamics and Hypnosis* (New York: Julian Press, 1958).

¹⁰⁷⁷ See Freud, “Über Psychotherapie.”

¹⁰⁷⁸ Servadio, “Freud e l'ipnosi,” 3850.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Kline, *Freud and Hypnosis*, 45.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Servadio explained that the reference here is not to the modern phenomenon of ‘occultism’ or ‘occulture’ (see Pasi, ‘Occultism,’ in *Vocabulary for Study of Religion*, III vol. ed. Robert A. Segal and Kocku von Stuckrad [Leiden: Brill, 2015], 1364-8; see Partridge, *The Occult World*, 8-11) rather to the German definition of ‘Okkultismus’, namely an umbrella concept which also included the vast range of paranormal phenomena; see Servadio, “Freud's Occult Fascination,” *Tomorrow: The World's First International Digest of Psychical Research and Occult Studies* 9, n. 1 (1958): 9-16.

¹⁰⁸¹ See Eva Brabant, Ernst Falzeder, Patrizia Giampieri-Deutsch, *The correspondence of Sigmund Freud and Sandor Ferenczi* (London, UK: Belknap Press, 1992), 73-6; 85, 90.

began to bud in his mind: thought-transference might be real. Although his main biographer Ernest Jones diminishes the importance of paranormal/ESP phenomena (labeling them as merely ‘superstition’), reporting on Freud’s credulity¹⁰⁸² has shown that the Jewish psychoanalyst’s interest in occult phenomena and telepathy since the 1910s is well attested.¹⁰⁸³ In 1922, Freud wanted to lecture for the first time on the topic “Psychoanalyse und Telepathie” (‘Psychoanalysis and Telepathy’) at the seventh international psychoanalytical congress in Berlin (Jones advised against his decision, eventually persuading him to not deliver the paper), and later he duly explored the possibility of telepathic communication through his contribution “Traum und Telepathie” (translated as ‘Dreams and Telepathy’).¹⁰⁸⁴

Given the historical perspective and theoretical premises introduced by both Méheust and Kripal at the beginning of this chapter, I can assess that the Freudian unconscious is the crossroads of two possible tellings of the story of cultural and scientific thought in the Western context. On one hand, it is possible to distinguish an historical course of events whose evolution is strictly connected to a “trials and errors” process, where the most prominent members of a scientific community referred to a rooted, tested model, such as the divisionism within hypnotism between Charcot and Berheim. On the other hand, there are ‘traces’ of alternative scientific models which were officially discarded, but whose validity, methodology, and empirical research pragmatically nurtured the evolution of the parallel ‘successful’ course; the latest case I offered of such alternative models concerned Myers and Janet. However, both historical versions of scientific progress are embedded within kratophanic storytelling. In other words, both models of historical narration deal with the manifestation of certain energies/forces that show a peculiar aspect of the concept of *power*. At a certain point in history, the birth of psychoanalysis subsumed both these historical alternatives. As already stressed by Méheust, psychoanalysis (in its

¹⁰⁸² Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, 379ff.

¹⁰⁸³ See Júlia Gyimesi, “Sándor Ferenczi and the Problem of Telepathy,” *History of the Human Sciences* 0, n. 0 (2011): 1–18; Claudie Massicotte, “Psychical Transmissions: Freud, Spiritualism, and the Occult,” *Psychoanalytic Dialogues* 24, n. 1 (2012): 88-102.

¹⁰⁸⁴ See Freud, “Psychoanalyse und Telepathie,” in *Sigmund Freud Gesammelte Werke – Schriften aus dem Nachlass*, vol. XVII, edited by Anna Freud, (London: Imago 1941), 25-44; Freud, “Traum und Telepathie,” *Sigmund Freud Gesammelte Werke – Jenseits des Lustprinzips*, vol. XIII, edited by Anna Freud, (London: Imago 1940), 165-91.

Freudian variant) represented the 'guardian of the threshold.'¹⁰⁸⁵ According to the reconstruction herein presented though, it emerges that Freud himself represented the *guardian*. In order to understand this, the focus should be on the sexual factor: Freud discarded the hypnotic alternative in psychotherapy because he both didn't practice successfully and suspected the possibility of an emotional/sexual link between therapist and patient. This dichotomous relationship presented itself throughout nineteenth and twentieth centuries under different guises (i.e. magnetizer and mesmerized subject; hypnotist and somnambulist; healer and possessed/subject in artificial sleep, etc...), as did the 'principle' which characterized their relationship. However, the fluid changed its shape (i.e. psychofluid, odyle, force-inducing sleep, sexual arousal, etc.), but maintained its purpose and meaning: the methodology is that of depth psychology, which was officially adopted by Freud in 1914 (borrowing its unrefined structure and terminology from Bleuler).¹⁰⁸⁶ Thus, the Freudian unconscious is the heir of a long tradition whose main aim was to heal the *soul*.

So, as concerns the origins of psychoanalysis: the forgotten history of the spirit and consciousness finds via the ideas of Freud a means of expressing itself, since both abnormal hypnotic/telepathic phenomena and sexual anomalies find their explanation via his unconscious. However, this process implied a new place where to relegate them. No matter though how accurate or rationalistic was this operation of storing sexual and biopsychic energies, since their manifestation emerged through different fields of research. In Italy and abroad,¹⁰⁸⁷ experimental and abnormal psychology and psychical research shared an interest in the unconscious. The discovery, verification, and study of this force/power/dimension allowed psychical researchers, psychologists, and psychoanalysts to compare their theories and ideas in a mutual field.

Thanks also to the involvement of sexuality, which represented a crucial way for rooting his production and work,¹⁰⁸⁸ Freud started to redefine the label of abnormal both in sexology and psychology. This action implied a peculiar perspective of the unconscious.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Méhéust, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité – Le choc des sciences psychique*, 441.

¹⁰⁸⁶ See Freud, "Zur Geschichte der psychoanalytischen Bewegung."

¹⁰⁸⁷ See Ingrid Kloosterman, "Capturing the Paranormal Scientifically. Suggestions for the Investigation of the History of Dutch Parapsychology" (M.A. dissertation, Utrecht University, 2009), 89ff.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Servadio, "Che cos'è il peccato?" *Playmen* 13, n. 6 (June 1980): 32-3; See Vern L. Bullough, *Science in the Bedroom: A History of Sex Research* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 84.

Although Freud continually developed his concepts throughout his life,¹⁰⁸⁹ the Austrian psychoanalyst more or less passed from a model of the psychic life where basically two personalities were identified (or *dipsychical*, one linked to the waking state, the other to sleep and modified states of consciousness), to another where multiple personalities manifested themselves (or *polypsychical*).¹⁰⁹⁰ Once again, this latter conceptualization of the psyche was strongly indebted to both hypnotist and magnetist environments, and the fulcrum of the adaptation of previous categories into the threefold Freudian psychical structure (Ego, Id, Super-Ego) is the conception of energy/force that pervaded his whole corpus. Besides the idea of mental energy, which he borrowed from German philosopher, Gustav T. Fechner (1801-1887),¹⁰⁹¹ Freud assigned to the word *libido* a different meaning and range of influence. Before being supplanted by the dichotomic relationship between *Eros* and *Thanatos*,¹⁰⁹² 'libido' was conceived by the father of psychoanalysis (inspired via the work and theories of his peer Albert Moll [1862-1939])¹⁰⁹³ as a sort of psychobiological phenomenon.

This factor will lead some of Freud's pupils to a peculiar interpretation of the polypsychical structure of human beings. If Freud's vision of the unconscious life of the individual corresponded to a dark place where multiple non-conscious processes happened, by letting an external observer glimpse some deconstructed symptoms of what effectively happened behind the threshold, some of his followers began approaching the unconscious differently. To those pupils who – as already shown above – were embedded in the discoveries of experimental psychology and psychical research, the human being might be a sort of living storage of psychodynamic forces.

In addition to that, Freud's later interest in the *occult* phenomena when he further developed the notions of 'Lustprinzip' ('Pleasure principle') and 'Todestrieb' ('Death drive'), offered a whole new perspective on the manifestation dynamic of abnormal events. Strictly related to "Dreams and Telepathy," herein Freud did not only conceive the possibility of the

¹⁰⁸⁹ Borch-Jacobsen & Shamdasani, *The Freud Files*, 45; Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 206ff.

¹⁰⁹⁰ For a difference between dipsychism and polypsychism see Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 145-7.

¹⁰⁹¹ Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 218.

¹⁰⁹² Freud, "Jenseits des Lustprinzips," *Sigmund Freud Gesammelte Werke – Jenseits des Lustprinzips*, vol. XIII, edited by Anna Freud, (London: Imago 1940), 1-64.

¹⁰⁹³ Albert Moll, *Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis* (Berlin: Kornfeld, 1898).

effective occurrence of telepathic dreams, but also about the manner in which these events presented themselves. In his contribution, Freud considered the case of a patient who dreamt about his second wife (his current partner) giving birth to twins. The morning after, he woke up and received a telegram which informed him that the daughter of his former wife gave birth to two children, a boy and a girl. Freud stressed that the genuineness of the ‘telepathic dream’ was due to the presence of oneiric censorship, that the real mother of the twins shapeshifted into his wife. A couple of issues that Freud didn’t consider thoroughly (if compared to other defense mechanisms of the unconscious) within this set of circumstances, were the emotional factor and the presence of transference. These latter were repeatedly and exhaustively treated by those who propagated the psychoanalytical doctrine all over Europe, and were influenced by psychical research. Besides the name of Sándor Ferenczi (also known as the ‘Great Vizier’ of psychoanalysis), it is more than legitimate to also quote the name of Emilio Servadio.

As already shown in the first chapter, Servadio was not a direct pupil of Freud, rather a close friend of his daughter Anna. He received his psychoanalytical training from Edoardo Weiss, who received it, in turn, from Paul Feder. Besides the fact, he never wanted to visit Freud;¹⁰⁹⁴ Servadio approached for the first time the work of the father of psychoanalysis by acquiring a copy of the French edition of *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* (1921).¹⁰⁹⁵ However, along with Freud’s volume, two other works he considered crucial in his early formation and transition towards both psychoanalytical and psychical field were Mesmer’s *Mémoire sur la découverte du magnétisme animal* (1779)¹⁰⁹⁶ and Richet’s *Traité de Metapsychique* (1922).¹⁰⁹⁷ I use the term ‘transition’ because of the topic of his first major, a thesis to achieve his degree in Law. The main focus of his dissertation (according to Servadio’s own witness, its principal theme was the use of hypnosis within medical jurisprudence) was the history and practice of hypnotic techniques.¹⁰⁹⁸ Thus, it is not surprising to find among the books which belonged to Servadio a reference work on the

¹⁰⁹⁴ When asked about the issue, Servadio tended to reply that he never wanted to visit Freud, so he would have been able to say: “I went there!” and, in so doing, steal “if only ten minutes of his precious time”; see Gagliardo, “I padri della psicoanalisi in Italia”; Errera, *Emilio Servadio*, 28.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Freud, *Introduction à la psychanalyse*.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Mesmer, *Mémoire sur la découverte du magnétisme animal*.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Richet, *Traité de Metapsychique*.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Errera, “Emilio Servadio”, 16-9.

history of animal magnetism like *Le magnétiseur amoureux* (1778)¹⁰⁹⁹ by Charles de Villiers. The presence of this and many other classics¹¹⁰⁰ on the history of Mesmerism and hypnotism implied the fact that Servadio was aware of the interpretation of animal magnetism as the forerunner of psychotherapy. In addition to that, from the bibliography at the end *La ricerca psichica* it is possible to infer that the Italian psychoanalyst had an extensive knowledge of the historiographical production on magnetism, hypnosis, and paranormal phenomena: among all titles on the list, three volumes particularly draw attention: along with the already mentioned *Phantasms of the Living*,¹¹⁰¹ *De la suggestion mentale* (translated as 'Mental Suggestion')¹¹⁰² by Polish psychologist Julian Ochorowicz (1850-1917),¹¹⁰³ and *L'homme et l'intelligence*¹¹⁰⁴ ('Man and Intelligence') by nobel prize winner Charles Richet; each volume represents a crucial step in the historical evolution of psychical research, as well as in Servadio's approach to the investigation of abnormal hypnotic phenomena. Ochorowicz, in the last part of his book, analyzed all the main theories which explained the mechanism of hypnosis,¹¹⁰⁵ in addition to the experiments he personally conducted. Richet also presented his experiences and conclusions regarding the induction of changes in personality for the mesmerized subject.¹¹⁰⁶ Although they didn't share the same conviction in the survival of personality/soul after death,¹¹⁰⁷ both

¹⁰⁹⁹ The edition of Villiers's work located in Rome at at AIPsi library is Villiers, *Le magnétiseur amoureux* (Paris. Vrin, 1978).

¹¹⁰⁰ In the same book holding located in Rome I found the following titles. Hyppolite Bernheim, *Hypnotisme, suggestion, psychothérapie* (Paris: Doin, 1903), Léon Chertok, *L'Hypnose* (Paris : Masson, 1961), Paul Chauchard, *Hypnose et suggestion* (Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1951), Joseph Grasset, *L'Hypnotisme et la suggestion* (Paris : Doin, 1916), Paul Schilder, Otto Kauder (ed.) *Lehrbuch der Hypnose* (Vienna ; Berlin : Springer, 1926), Giuseppe Lapponi, *Ipnosi e spiritismo* (Rome: Desciée, Lefebvre, 1906), Jules Luys, *Leçons cliniques sur les principaux phénomènes de l'hypnotisme dans leurs rapports avec la pathologie mentale* (Paris : Carré, 1890), Albert Moll, *Der Hypnotismus* (Berlin : Fischers Medizin, 1924), Pfister, *Die psychologische Enträtselung der religiösen Glossolie und der automatischen Kryptographie* (Leipzig : Deuticke, 1912), Jean Paulus, *Le problème de l'hallucination et l'évolution de la psychologie d'Ésquirol à Janet* (Paris : Le se Belles Lettres, 1941),

¹¹⁰¹ Gurney et al., *Phantasms of the Living*.

¹¹⁰² Julian Ochorowicz, *De la suggestion mentale* (Paris: Doin, 1887).

¹¹⁰³ For a biographical overview see "Julian Ochorowicz," in *The Biographical Dictionary of Parapsychology with Directory and Glossary 1946-1996*, ed. Helene Pleasants (New York: Garrett Publications, 1964).

¹¹⁰⁴ Richet, *L'homme et l'intelligence - Fragments de physiologie et de psychologie* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1883).

¹¹⁰⁵ Ochorowicz, *De la suggestion mentale*, 287ff.

¹¹⁰⁶ Richet, *L'homme et l'intelligence*, 235ff.

¹¹⁰⁷ See Richet, *La grande espérance* (Paris: Montaigne, 1933).

Ochorowicz and Richet attended Palladino's séances,¹¹⁰⁸ and both verified the possibility of telepathic phenomena in the practice of hypnagogic techniques.

Servadio conceived Ochorowicz's and Richet's investigations into telepathic phenomena as a fundamental passage in the history of psychical research.¹¹⁰⁹ The Italian psychoanalyst was in touch with Richet (and this latter prefaced Servadio's first major contribution¹¹¹⁰); he was also aware of Ochorowicz's verification of the most popular medium at the time, and familiar with his positivist approach to the world of the paranormal.¹¹¹¹ And even though further research is required on the topic, Servadio carefully followed the French metapsychical scene.¹¹¹²

Thus, Servadio wasn't only well aware of the historical developments of Mesmerism and hypnosis,¹¹¹³ but about the main approaches to paranormal phenomena. Given the fact that the Italian psychoanalyst dedicated most of his literary production of the early 1920s to the conception and role of abnormal hypnotic phenomena on a historical level,¹¹¹⁴ then he couldn't be unaware of its later developments. More precisely, Servadio knew about the difference between metapsychics and spiritualism, not to mention the division between "Studi psichici e scienze occulte" ("Psychic studies and occult sciences").¹¹¹⁵ In addition to that, in the same period in which he was achieving his Law degree, two of the most

¹¹⁰⁸ Evrard, *Enquête sur 150 ans de parapsychologie*, 236ff.

¹¹⁰⁹ Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 20, 60.

¹¹¹⁰ Richet, "Introduzione," in *La ricerca psichica* (Rome: Cremonese, 1930), 5-8.

¹¹¹¹ Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 60-1; Servadio, "Un caso di ipnotizzazione a distanza," *Luce e Ombra* 31, n. 8 (August 1931): 383.

¹¹¹² A peculiar case he followed with much dedication was the relationship between metapsychics and Surrealism. A crucial statement (which was mostly negative, because of their views on homosexuality) about surrealists is expressed by Servadio in "Surrealismo e medianità," *Luce e Ombra* 30, n. 4 (April 1930): 169-74; see also Servadio, "Surrealismo e Ricerca Psichica," *Luce e Ombra* 31, n. 9 (September): 439-45; "Il surrealismo: Storia, dottrina, valutazione psicoanalitica," *Psicoanalisi applicata alla Medicina, Pedagogia, Sociologia, Letteratura ed Arte* 2, n. 2 (1946): 77-85. Servadio's considerations on Surrealism represent one of the mutual topics he used to discuss with the exponents of the French metapsychical movement. As further proof of that is the letter that physician Eugène Osty (1874-1938) sent to Servadio, where he informed the Italian psychoanalyst that once he had to resort to local police to remove "André Breton et sa bande" ('André Breton's gang'). Given this fact, in the same letter, Osty communicated to Servadio his decision not to dedicate any contribution against or in favour of Surrealism in any of the forthcoming issues of *La Revue Métapsychique*. See Eugène Osty to Emilio Servadio, December 8, 1930, Archive Institut Métapsychique Internationale. I take the opportunity to thank Renaud Evrard for providing me with a copy of this document.

¹¹¹³ See Servadio, "La strana storia dell'ipnotismo," 340ff; Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 57-90.

¹¹¹⁴ Servadio, "La suggestione «a termine»," *Luce e Ombra* 23, n. 3/4 (March-April 1923): 96-9; "I pericoli dell'ipnotismo." *Luce e Ombra* 23, n. 9/10 (September-October 1923): 313-6; "La medicina psicologica," *Luce e Ombra* 23, n. 11/12 (November-December): 348-53;

¹¹¹⁵ See Servadio, "Studi psichici e scienze occulte."

prominent exponents of psychical research/'Italian spiritism' were active in Genoa, namely Ernesto Bozzano and Enrico Morselli. Even though I couldn't find any trace of the contact between Bozzano and Servadio before the beginning of the 1930s,¹¹¹⁶ it is certain that Morselli represented a crucial personality in Servadio's education and first activities. As I already mentioned in the previous chapter, Morselli was appointed director of the psychiatric clinic at the Royal University of Genoa in 1889; in 1907, he published about the sittings with Palladino (and other mediums) in *Psicologia e «Spiritismo»*; in 1926, he published his lengthy volume *La psicoanalisi*. About this latter publication, I stressed how Servadio, on a couple of occasions, reported on Morselli's critical conception of psychoanalysis¹¹¹⁷ and also attended a conference where the psychiatrist lectured on the same topic. In addition to this, Servadio considered the role Morselli played in the Italian spiritualist scene:¹¹¹⁸ in the definition of these two poles -- the occultist and the Spiritualist/Spiritist/Psychical one -- Morselli, along with Bozzano, is considered and exponent of this latter group.¹¹¹⁹

Although included in this spurious category of spiritualists/metapsychists, Morselli didn't share the same vision as Bozzano at the beginning of the 1920s. From the comparison with Lombroso, it has already emerged how the Italian psychiatrist Morselli opted for the existence of a natural force responsible for paranormal phenomena; Bozzano had a different opinion: as Gasperini stresses in his dissertation, Bozzano initially adhered completely to the positivist materialism of Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), only to later convert to spiritualism in 1893, thanks to the reading of the French version of *Phantasms of the Living*,¹¹²⁰ participation in the seventeenth sittings with Palladino in Milan,¹¹²¹ and when at a peculiar séance in the same year he managed to communicate with the spirit of his

¹¹¹⁶ In the correspondence between Bozzano and *Luce e Ombra's* editor, Gastone de Boni, which was published in the same journal from 1974 till 1977, several negative judgements concerning Servadio and his psychoanalytical approach emerged. See De Boni, "A proposito del carteggio Bozzano - De Boni da me pubblicato," *Luce e Ombra* 76, n. 1 (December 1976): 144.

¹¹¹⁷ The first reference was Servadio, "La psicoanalisi."

¹¹¹⁸ See Servadio, "Studi psichici e scienze occulte," 3.

¹¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹¹²⁰ Gurney et al., *Les hallucinations télépathiques* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1891).

¹¹²¹ He also attended the séances with Palladino in Genoa in 1891 at Circolo Scientifico Minerva, which he founded along with Vassallo in 1899, see Gasperini, "Ernesto Bozzano: tra spiritismo scientifico e ricerca psichica," 199.

deceased mother.¹¹²² Both Morselli and Bozzano belonged to Circolo Scientifico Minerva and herein they ignited the most heated debate between metapsychics and spiritualism.

Back to Servadio: among his first articles in the 1920s, alongside Morselli, the Italian psychoanalyst focused a meaningful contribution of his early production on Bozzano. In “L’opera di Ernesto Bozzano” (‘The Work of Ernesto Bozzano’),¹¹²³ Servadio stresses the ‘double soul’ of Bozzano, which – according to the article – was both metapsychical and spiritualist at once,¹¹²⁴ and notes his main interests of research (i.e. ‘haunted houses,’ ‘premonition,’ ‘bilocation,’ ‘psychometry’), and his incessant ability to write a countless number of contributions. Besides Servadio’s personal contact and contrast with the author, the work of Bozzano represented for him a specific line of research. It is not by chance that the Italian psychoanalyst did a brief review of Bozzano’s *La crisi della morte nelle descrizioni dei defunti comunicanti*.¹¹²⁵ According to Servadio, with this work Bozzano adhered completely to a Spiritist-system and left the ‘experimental field’ of research.¹¹²⁶ Thus, in the 1920s, Servadio started to clearly demarcate the difference between spiritism and *metapsychical research*.¹¹²⁷ Despite Servadio’s critical attitude towards ‘Italian Spiritism,’ his interest in the so-called ‘infestation phenomena’ was raised and nurtured by Bozzano’s literary production and strenuous defense of ‘ipotesi spiritica’ (‘spiritist hypotheses’).

As I already mentioned above, there were two main interpretations of abnormal/paranormal phenomena: 1) a natural force/energy was responsible for the occurrences of such abnormal metapsychical events; 2) one (or more) external entity/ies was/were the primary cause of these paranormal manifestations. On one hand, there was this crucial demarcation of the stance of Spiritism from that of Psychological/Metapsychical research, and on the other both Italian spiritists and metapsychists attended the same milieu. In Servadio’s case, even though it should be perfectly clear that he totally refused

¹¹²² Gasperini, “Ernesto Bozzano: tra spiritismo scientifico e ricerca psichica,” 184.

¹¹²³ Servadio, “L’opera di Ernesto Bozzano,” *Il Lavoro*, September 12, 1925, 1.

¹¹²⁴ By the time of the publication of his first major work, namely *La ricerca psichica*, the Italian psychoanalyst became aware of the transition from a materialistic to a pure spiritualist vision of the world by part of Bozzano. See Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 32.

¹¹²⁵ Ernesto Bozzano, *La crisi della morte nelle descrizioni dei defunti comunicanti* (Naples: Mondo Occulto, 1929).

¹¹²⁶ Servadio, “Bookreview of *La crisi della morte nelle descrizioni dei defunti comunicanti*,” *L’Italia Letteraria*, March 2, 1930, 3.

¹¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

the idea of an external being which intervened within any paranormal set of events, he still attended spiritist séances.

One of the most popular Italian ‘producers of paranormal phenomena,’ Pasquale Erto (1895-1981), whose alleged ability to produce unique colored-light phenomena was verified at least twice (first in Paris at the Institut Métapsychique International with Eugène Osty, in 1924,¹¹²⁸ and in London at the National Laboratory of Psychical Research with Harry Price [1881-1948]), in 1931¹¹²⁹ became the object of investigation for the Italian metapsychical researchers. More specifically, after having been caught cheating during the sittings at IMI in Paris, and an unsuccessful series of experiments in London, most of the Italian audience was eminently convinced about Erto’s fraudulent conduct. One example was an article by Servadio about Italian medium séances abroad.¹¹³⁰ In the article, Servadio mentions the prompt reply by lawyer Settimio Mobilio following the fraud accusations at IMI to his reference of Erto’s sittings in Europe in the first edition of *La ricerca psichica*.¹¹³¹ Mobilio publicly defended the Italian medium by publishing some articles where he endorsed Erto’s paranormal abilities.¹¹³² This action, along with other favorable circumstances (including the fact that Emanuele Sorge, professor of surgery at the Royal University of Naples,¹¹³³ hosted the Italian medium séances at his place),¹¹³⁴ helped Erto resume the ‘production’ of paranormal phenomena in Naples.

Given the endorsement of the Italian medium, Servadio – who was in touch with Harry Price, who, in turn, informed the Italian psychoanalyst about the unsuccessful outcome of the sittings at National Laboratory¹¹³⁵ -- took the opportunity to verify Erto’s abilities. From May 10 till June 2, 1932, at the place of Raffaele Merloni, in Rome, a small group of people took part in a series of eight sittings with the Italian medium.¹¹³⁶ Among the

¹¹²⁸ See Servadio, “Discussioni a proposito del medium Erto,” *Luce e Ombra* 31, n. 9 (September 1931): 423-6; Evrard, *Enquête sur 150 ans de parapsychologie*, 294-7.

¹¹²⁹ Harry Price, “The Experiments with Pasquale Erto,” *Light* 52, n. 2662 (1932): 27.

¹¹³⁰ Servadio, “Discussioni a proposito del medium Erto.”

¹¹³¹ Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 100-1.

¹¹³² Servadio, “Discussioni a proposito del medium Erto,” 424.

¹¹³³ See *Guida Sanitaria Italiana – Annuario Sanitario d’Italia* 15, n. 3 (1924): 392.

¹¹³⁴ A regular visitor of Erto’s séances at Sorge’s home was Nicola Perrotti, one of the founders of the Italian Psychoanalytical Society; see Biondi, “Psicoanalisi e parapsicologia,” *Luce e Ombra* 95, n. 1 (1995): 28.

¹¹³⁵ Emilio Servadio to Harry Price, January 16, 1932, HPC/4B/234, Special Collections, Senate House Library.

¹¹³⁶ Servadio, “Otto sedute col medium Erto,” *La Ricerca Psichica* 32, n. 8/9/10/11/12 (August-December 1932): 345-546.

regular participants – the participants to the experiments and their number varied from sitting to sitting¹¹³⁷ -- I ascertain the constant presence of Servadio and his mentor, Edoardo Weiss.¹¹³⁸ The presence of Weiss implied a crucial consideration in the experimentation with mediums, namely a psychoanalytical analysis of the whole séance. In addition to the report of all paranormal manifestations (colored flashes; cold winds etc...)¹¹³⁹ Servadio wrote a 'classified' dossier on Erto.¹¹⁴⁰ In this secret report, he offers his psychoanalytical consideration of the experience with the medium. Four aspects were considered in the following order: the state of trance; the 'entities' which manifested themselves during the sittings; the meaning of the paranormal phenomena; the psychoanalytical value of the psychic energies involved.¹¹⁴¹

According to Servadio's considerations of the first aspect, the state of trance was conceived as a form of liberation for the inhibited and unconscious complexes. These latter were 'blocked' during the waking state and their expression during this altered state of consciousness entailed that the subject would have never remembered what happened during the séance. Given the fact that these processes were triggered, the trance-state showed symptoms typical of 'pathological intoxication.'¹¹⁴²

Passing to the analysis of the entities: these latter manifested themselves through the emission of two voices from the medium body. A female whispered voice characterized 'Fagal', a feminine entity which intervened just before the manifestation of a physical phenomenon, or in cases of failure in the production of any metapsychical event, to encourage the participants to make another attempt. A deep manly voice represented 'Incognito,' which manifested itself after any successful manifestation to congrats with all participants and express pride and joy.

Given Erto's psychological background, which entailed the loss of his mother when he was twelve and the presence of a very stern father, Servadio was keen to interpret

¹¹³⁷ Servadio, "Otto sedute col medium Erto," 347-8.

¹¹³⁸ Weiss wrote about the experience to Freud. This latter in his reply warned Weiss about the peril of being deceived in these set of circumstances, but didn't argue about the fact of participating in these kinds of events. See Weiss, *Sigmund Freud come consulente*, 87-8.

¹¹³⁹ See Servadio, "Otto sedute col medium Erto," 350-420.

¹¹⁴⁰ Servadio, *Otto sedute col medium Erto (parte riservata)* (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1932).

¹¹⁴¹ Servadio, *Otto sedute col medium Erto (parte riservata)*, 2.

¹¹⁴² Ibid.

'Fagal' and 'Incognito' as mother- and father-like figures. More exactly, if on one hand 'Fagal' encouraged and approved the behavior of the participants, 'Incognito' expressed its satisfaction for successful results as well as its aversion towards people didn't approve. According to this psychoanalytical interpretation of the séance, the 'father' rewards and punishes in accordance with an established dynamic between medium and experimenters.¹¹⁴³

About the phenomena: besides their effectiveness on a materialistic level, most of the produced phenomena were linked to one main feature in the life of the medium, namely *guilt*. The state of trance, the manifestation of two voices, the interaction with the participants and seeking their approval, all connoted the same feeling: if some unconscious processes took place during this sleep-like state, their purpose corresponded to the liberation of the guilt, a feeling the medium had been suffering all his life. The emergence of these two entities, in addition to the identification of some of the experimenters with the same models, was linked to an attempt to balance the loss and escape the guilt from the lack of approval.¹¹⁴⁴ The requirements applied to verify some of the paranormal skills (i.e. handcuffs, ropes, restraining laces...) and the relationship with them characterize some crucial aspects of his psychic life: Servadio identified not only the action of liberating, and then restraining himself again, with the concept of reward and punishment, but the Italian psychoanalyst also reckoned that the objects the medium tended to be tied to (i.e. tables, chairs, rings) had a female gender¹¹⁴⁵ within the psychoanalytical interpretation offered.

Last but not least, about the nature of the psychic forces involved, these consisted of a 'mixture' of libido and aggressive energies, which were channeled by the medium according to a sadomasochistic model: the tendency to punish himself and to express any reproach towards his person through the manifestation of a father-like figure had the purpose to repress and inflict pain on the person of the medium.

¹¹⁴³ If one leafs through the report and its classified addenda, one of the participants in the sitting, whose approval on an unconscious level was crucial for the medium, was reprimanded harshly by 'Incognito.' This implied the occurrence of a physical phenomenon, whose manifestation was delayed by these psychoanalytical circumstances; see Servadio, "Otto sedute col medium Erto," 400ff; Servadio, *Otto sedute col medium Erto (parte riservata)*, 3-4.

¹¹⁴⁴ Biondi, "Psicoanalisi e parapsicologia," 30.

¹¹⁴⁵ While the objects associated with a punishment he received during his childhood (i.e. lightbulbs, fluorescent objects) had a male gender, according to the Freudian interpretation; see Servadio, *Otto sedute col medium Erto (parte riservata)*, 4.

Given the previous historical-conceptual reconstruction of the notion of the unconscious, one can already guess how certain psychoanalysts and psychologists were led to a psychoanalytical interpretation of psychic forces. More specifically, Freud's interest in the *Occult* phenomena and telepathy, besides his personal attendance and contact with metapsychical/psychical *milieus*,¹¹⁴⁶ went through different phases. As stressed by Servadio, after an initial period of denial (which was highly endorsed by his biographer Jones),¹¹⁴⁷ in 1904's *Zur Psychopathologie des Alltagslebens* ('Psychopathology of Everyday Life') Freud started to consider the origins of certain superstitions and, in the end, the nature of prophetic dreams,¹¹⁴⁸ even though embedded in skepticism. As already mentioned above, in 1922 he wanted to present his paper (published posthumously) at the international psychoanalytical congress in Berlin, "Psychoanalysis and Telepathy"; once persuaded against doing so, he wrote more cautiously about the topic in "Dreams and Telepathy." In addition to that, one of the main reasons behind his gradual adherence to the telepathic cause was Sándor Ferenczi.

The Hungarian psychoanalyst didn't only try to involve, even though with little success, Freud with the spiritualist cause: the innovative issue introduced by Ferenczi in psychoanalysis and parapsychology (which was also approved by Servadio), was the examination of the sets of circumstances linked to the emergence of telepathy. In 1910s exchanges between Freud and Ferenczi, this latter informed his mentor about the latest successful outcome in reading the mind of his patients.¹¹⁴⁹ As a prompt reply, Freud asked his pupil not to publish his results until 1913. As stressed by Hungarian scholar Júlia Gyimesi, Ferenczi's ideas on telepathy were not thoroughly elaborated, however he managed to define some crucial factors which connoted the occurrence of telepathic phenomena.¹¹⁵⁰ The first feature connected to the observation of telepathic processes Ferenczi's theory of

¹¹⁴⁶ Besides his personal experience with mediums in Berlin and Budapest, on January 1, 1911, Freud became honorary member of the Society for Psychical Research and contributed to the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* with "A Note on Unconscious in Psycho-Analysis" (*Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* 26, n. 66 [1912]: 312-8); on the relationship between Freud and Myers, and this latter appreciation for Freud-Breuer studies on hysteria, see Janet Oppenheim, *The Other World: Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England, 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 245.

¹¹⁴⁷ Servadio, "Freud's Occult Fascination," 11-2.

¹¹⁴⁸ Freud, "Determinismus – Zufalls- und Aberglauben – Gesichtspunkte," in *Sigmund Freud Gesammelte Werke – Zur Psychopathologie des Alltagslebens*, vol. IV, edited by Anna Freud, (London: Imago 1941), 273ff.

¹¹⁴⁹ Brabant et al., *The correspondence of Sigmund Freud and Sandor Ferenczi*, 211.

¹¹⁵⁰ Gyimesi, "Sándor Ferenczi and the Problem of Telepathy," 7ff.

‘introjection and projection.’ More specifically, the Hungarian psychoanalyst claimed that a state of anxiety in the patient favorably induced a mental communication with the therapist, while a state of calmness inhibited the same process.¹¹⁵¹ According to Ferenczi, ‘introjection and projection’ are fundamental principles of individual self and outside reality. The emergence of a situation of abnormal *mental* connection between patient and analyst within the psychoanalytic setting implied the activation of unconscious homologous complexes in both figures involved. Given this set of circumstances (a sort of mutual unconscious state shared between patient and psychoanalyst), the predominance of one of the two principles (i.e. introjection or projection) in the analyzed subject characterized the ability of this latter to send or receive telepathic messages.¹¹⁵²

In addition to the personality models of ‘sender’ or ‘receiver,’ Ferenczi theorized an interaction between the unconscious complexes of the people involved in the psychoanalytic session. Once given for granted that in a peculiar situation the psychoanalyst and their patient established a reciprocal connection on an unconscious level, the Hungarian psychoanalyst found in the libido the originating and resolute (even though ‘regressive’)¹¹⁵³ factor; thus, a dimension of ‘healing,’ characterized by a sexual feature, was expressed and conceived on symbolical, metaphysical, metapsychical, and nonverbal levels between the main two ‘actors’ (patient and psychoanalyst).¹¹⁵⁴ This conception – along with his other crucial contributions --¹¹⁵⁵ made Ferenczi the forerunner of a psychoanalytical tradition in Hungary,¹¹⁵⁶ one that included Michael Balint, George Devereux, István Hollós (1872-1957),¹¹⁵⁷ and Géza Róheim (1891-1953),¹¹⁵⁸ not to mention his indirect influence exerted on Nándor Fodor (1895-1964).¹¹⁵⁹ In addition to these names, those of physician

¹¹⁵¹ Gyimesi, “Sándor Ferenczi and the Problem of Telepathy,” 7-8.

¹¹⁵² Gyimesi, “Sándor Ferenczi and the Problem of Telepathy,” 8.

¹¹⁵³ Servadio, “Regressione psichica ed esperienze intorno alla nascita,” *Quaderni di Parapsicologia* 17: 134-5.

¹¹⁵⁴ Gyimesi, “Sándor Ferenczi and the Problem of Telepathy,” 3ff.

¹¹⁵⁵ See Ferenczi, *Thalassa – A Theory of Genitality*.

¹¹⁵⁶ On the birth and historical developments of Budapest School of Psychoanalysis Livia Nemes, Gábor Berényi, *Die Budapester Schule der Psychoanalyse* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 2000); while for an overview of its member and activities see Judit Mészáros, *Ferenczi and Beyond - Exile of the Budapest School and Solidarity in the Psychoanalytic Movement during the Nazi Years* (London: Karnac, 2014).

¹¹⁵⁷ For a personal account of the clinical experience see István Hollós, *I miei addii alla casa gialla* (Rome: Edizioni Scientifica Magi, 2000).

¹¹⁵⁸ On life and work of Róheim, see George B. Wilbur, Warner Muensterberger (ed.), *Psychoanalysis and Culture: Essays in Honor of Géza Róheim* (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1967).

¹¹⁵⁹ For a biographical overview see “Nandor Fodor,” *Biographical Dictionary of Parapsychology*, ed. Helene Pleasants (New York: Helix Press, 1964).

Jule Eisenbud (1908-1998)¹¹⁶⁰ and Polish-American psychoanalyst Helene Deutsch (1884-1982)¹¹⁶¹ should be included in this reception of the psychoanalytical interpretation of ESP phenomena. All these authors were, to some extent, committed to the elaboration of Ferenczi's theory on the telepathic connection/communication between analyst and patient. Besides consideration of the role of emotional states and unconscious complexes involved in the event, the main focus of this ideological reception concerned two crucial features of the psychoanalytical setting: transference and countertransference. Both these factors acquired a specific meaning, if one considered the biunivocal connection and active role of the two *actors*. In other words, in order to send or receive a telepathic message, both psychoanalyst and patient should be connected on an unconscious level, and the original connotation and contribution Ferenczi gave to this dynamic was the sexual characterization of the psychic energies involved.

Although I couldn't establish whether Servadio ever got in touch with Ferenczi, it is well attested that he knew the work of his Hungarian colleague (and above-mentioned exponents of the Budapest School of Psychoanalysis) since the beginning of the 1930s. His first reference to Ferenczi can be found in "La strana storia dell'ipnotismo" ('The Strange History of Hypnotism', 1930),¹¹⁶² where Servadio quotes Ferenczi's "Introjektion und Übertragung,"¹¹⁶³ more specifically the passage "Credulity and hypnotic docility have their roots in the masochistic elements of the sexual tendency."¹¹⁶⁴ As already mentioned in the first chapter, the Hungarian psychoanalyst strongly influenced Servadio since his early production: according to him, Ferenczi represented a crucial passage in his dissertation on hypnosis.¹¹⁶⁵ Although I couldn't find any copy of his thesis, the importance of Ferenczi and his work in the historical reconstruction of Mesmerism, hypnotism, and psychical research can be deduced from Servadio's following contributions. Compared to Freud, the innovative

¹¹⁶⁰ For a biographical overview see "Jule Eisenbud," *Biographical Dictionary of Parapsychology*, ed. Helene Pleasants (New York: Helix Press, 1964).

¹¹⁶¹ For a biographical overview see Roazen, *Helene Deutsch: A Psychoanalyst's Life* (New York: New American Library, 1985).

¹¹⁶² Firstly, the contribution was published as Servadio, "La strana storia dell'ipnotismo," then translated and published the following year as Servadio, "The Strange History of Hypnotism," *Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research* 25 (1931): 343-50.

¹¹⁶³ Ferenczi, "Introjektion und Übertragung: 1. Die Introjektion in der Neurose 2. Die Rolle der Übertragung bei der Hypnose und Suggestion," *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen* 1 (1909): 422-57.

¹¹⁶⁴ Servadio, "The Strange History of Hypnotism," 347.

¹¹⁶⁵ Puma, "Biografia."

element Ferenczi introduced regarding the interpretation of Freudian 'Besetzung' (which was associated with the Greek term *cathexis* and, in turn, translated as 'investment')¹¹⁶⁶ was the nature of this force pervading the mixture of libido and unconscious processes. In sum, the Freudian *libido* addresses the connection between the therapist and their patient pertaining to its regressive or resolute phase.

Servadio acknowledged the importance of the libidinal investment of emotional and mental energies in the psychoanalytical interview, as well as in its alternative forms: the somnambulistic state¹¹⁶⁷ and spiritualist séance. About this latter topic, it is not difficult to discern in the psychoanalytical interpretation of the sittings with Eco (as shown in the 'classified' dossier) a distinctly Ferenczian influence. To be more precise, when Servadio refers to a 'mixture' of libido and aggressive energies,¹¹⁶⁸ the Italian psychoanalyst had clearly in mind the notion of 'amphimixis' proposed by Ferenczi in his *Thalassa*.¹¹⁶⁹ In Servadio's literary production during the 1930s, he adopts the concept of 'amphimixis' both in anthropological and sexological contexts. For the sake of accuracy, let me note that Servadio introduced this element in two contributions that appeared in these years, namely "La paura del malocchio" ('The Fear of the Evil Eye')¹¹⁷⁰ and "Forme larvate di omosessualità" ('Latent Forms of Homosexuality').¹¹⁷¹ In the former contribution, whose aim was to offer a psychoanalytical interpretation of the origins of the evil eye in various religious contexts from Late Antiquity, in addition to a peculiar case linked to 'Romani' lore,¹¹⁷² Servadio identifies an homologous structure in the circumstances of the curse, and notes some aspects of sexuality and fertility. The reference to Ferenczi is located in the passage where Servadio analyzes the focal point of the whole contribution: the eye. The eye is herein conceived as the organ which attracts pleasure (i.e. 'Schaulust', 'the pleasure in looking') and the fear, pain, and anxiety connected to the sight deprivation.¹¹⁷³ The eye

¹¹⁶⁶ See Servadio, "Preconscious Process, Esp, and Creativity," 142.

¹¹⁶⁷ Servadio "Sesso e ipnosi," 35.

¹¹⁶⁸ Servadio, *Otto sedute col medium Erto (parte riservata)*, 8.

¹¹⁶⁹ See Ferenczi, *Thalassa*.

¹¹⁷⁰ Servadio, "La paura del malocchio," *Rivista Italiana di Psicoanalisi* 3, n. 2 (1934): 67-83.

¹¹⁷¹ Servadio, "Forme larvate di omosessualità," *Rivista Italiana di Psicoanalisi* 1, n. 4 (1932): 248-52.

¹¹⁷² Servadio, "La paura del malocchio," 70.

¹¹⁷³ Servadio, "La paura del malocchio," 72-3.

catalyzes pain and pleasure in religious, mythological, and anthropological contexts,¹¹⁷⁴ since the organ represents the fulcrum of different energies (positive and negative) on a symbolical, psychological, and sexual level. About the second contribution with a Ferenczian reference, in “Latent Forms of Homosexuality,” Servadio approaches homosexual relationships on the basis of the nature of their erotic component. Once again, the notion of ‘amphimixis’ and its homological conception played a significant role in the analysis: the Italian psychoanalyst discerns in the homosexual tendency, as well as in the heterosexual one, a mixture of libido and aggressive energies.¹¹⁷⁵ Thus, Servadio recognizes a particular form of homosexuality in different cultural and social manifestations (i.e. the army, schools, among members of the same group, et cetera); besides his timeworn conception of female and male homosexuality, the crucial point of the contribution is the social relevance of libidinal investment: if the main cause of a series of malicious pranks is identified with a love-hate (Todestrieb) relationship between colleagues/schoolmates whose sexual drive has to be sublimated and satisfied, then the erotic component is revealed to be a double-edged sword for unconscious dynamics. To sum up, an unrequited/unsatisfied love does not imply any possible explanation of the erotic nature of (heterosexual or homosexual) individuals, while a component of psychic masochism sheds some light on the energies which characterize the relationships between people.

The more one delves into the content of Servadio’s contributions linked to a Ferenczian conception of ‘Libidoteorie’, the more one realizes that the kratophanic perspective (theorized at the beginning of this chapter) acquires a peculiar meaning. In the 1930s, Servadio’s literary production was characterized by the main themes and historical reconstruction of hypnotism. In addition to his first contribution for the *Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research*,¹¹⁷⁶ the Italian psychoanalyst produced a series of articles on the history of Mesmeric fluid. More exactly, in the two-part article “Proofs and

¹¹⁷⁴ Servadio’s main source about the symbolical and practical value of the eyes in other cultures are the texts of the ophthalmologist Siegfried Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und verwandtes - Ein Beitrag zur Geischichte des Aberglaubens aller Zeiten und Völker*, 2 vols (Berlin: Hermann Barsdorf Verlag, 1910); Seligmann, *Die Zauberkraft des Auges und das Berufen - Ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte des Aberglaubens* (Hamburg: Friederichsen, 1922).

¹¹⁷⁵ Servadio, “Forme larvate di omosessualità,” 248.

¹¹⁷⁶ Servadio, “The Strange History of Hypnotism.”

Counter-Proofs concerning Human «Fluid»”¹¹⁷⁷ Servadio traces back some crucial passages that led from the Mesmeric fluidist conception to the photography of human emanations (also known as Effluviographs) by French physician Jules Bernard Luys (1828-1897)¹¹⁷⁸ along with the “latest attempt to ascertain the existence of the human fluid” by medical electrician Walter J. Kilner (1874-1920).¹¹⁷⁹ The main purpose of Servadio’s article was to show that the conception of scientific thought as a trial-and-error process overshadowed the collection of achievements that nurtured the latest scientific discoveries.¹¹⁸⁰ A Gordian knot is identified in the series of theories developed by Carl von Reichenbach: Servadio states the existence of two groups of researchers working on human fluid, those who tried to render the fluid visible, and those who tried to build an highly sophisticated apparatus to discern the fluid.¹¹⁸¹ Reichenbach and his research belonged to the first group, thus he relied on the observations and witnesses of some ‘sensitives,’ concluding that some crystals, plants, and animals emitted radiations. Besides later conceptual developments of universal fluid, Reichenbach represented a crucial passage because of the setting of his research. According to Servadio, the methodology Reichenbach applied to deliver his conclusions on odyle were not only convincing, but highly influenced the whole European growing *milieu* of psychical research.¹¹⁸² Besides Servadio’s endorsement of the research on human fluid by means of the latest technologies, the fulcrum of the analysis concerned another topic: the nature of the fluid. Servadio offered a brief reconstruction of the history of human fluid since its Mesmeric origins, where at every passage its nature, essence, and existence were differently conceived. I will not recap once again the transition from universal fluid to Freudian unconscious; however, by introducing the concepts of ‘aura’ or ‘etheric double,’¹¹⁸³ Servadio promoted a personal stance that later was to further extend the line of

¹¹⁷⁷ Servadio, “Proofs and Counter-Proofs concerning Human «Fluid»,” *Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research* 26: 107-14; 168-73.

¹¹⁷⁸ Servadio, “Proofs and Counter-Proofs concerning Human «Fluid»,” 172.

¹¹⁷⁹ Servadio focuses onto Kilner’s major work, Walter J. Kliner, *The Human Atmosphere – The Aura Made Visible by the Aid of Chemical Screens* (London: Rebman, 1911).

¹¹⁸⁰ Servadio, “Proofs and Counter-Proofs concerning Human «Fluid»,” 170-2.

¹¹⁸¹ Servadio, “Proofs and Counter-Proofs concerning Human «Fluid»,” 168.

¹¹⁸² Although, Servadio doesn’t deliver a clear in-depth analysis in any of the contributions where he refers to Reichenbach or his work (see Servadio, “Proofs and Counter-Proofs concerning Human «Fluid»,” 168-9; Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 18; 92-3), these considerations are offered with the content of the contribution Servadio, “Metapsichica e visione della vita,” *Luce e Ombra* 30, n. 4 (April 1930): 24-30.

¹¹⁸³ For a general overview on the concept on Kilner, see Servadio, “Un problema riproposto da recenti tecniche fotografiche;” On the concept of ‘aura’, see Servadio, “Aura: aura psichica,” In *L’Enciclopedia Italiana*, 194

research (i.e. “Mesmer to Freud”) to the latest achievements of physical research and psychoanalysis.¹¹⁸⁴

One last passage of the article is worth stressing: as further example of investigation into the human fluid, Servadio mentions the experiments of Cazzamalli, neuropsychiatrist at the University of Milan, on hypnotized patients.¹¹⁸⁵ Most of his patients were mentally unstable, affected by neurotic disorders or schizophrenia.¹¹⁸⁶ Cazzamalli theorized that these subjects, in certain conditions, could emit radiations from the brain and interfere with the equipment.¹¹⁸⁷ More exactly, these brain radio-emissions explained also some phenomena of clairvoyance, telepathy (during modified states of consciousness), and dowsing.¹¹⁸⁸ Although most of his conclusions would be later debunked by Russian physiologist Leonid L. Vasiliev (1891-1966),¹¹⁸⁹ the purpose of Cazzamalli’s experiments was to find a physical substratum for abnormal phenomena. In other words, Cazzamalli, in the wake of Morselli and Mackenzie, was committed to finding a natural cause responsible for certain phenomena, and wanted to investigate the relationship of a specific energy (under the guise of ‘radiations’) to paranormal abilities.

At the end of 1929, Servadio’s investigation of psychic forces took a different shape: he moved to Rome to collaborate on the project of the *Italian Encyclopaedia*. This experience granted him the opportunity to deal with some of the crucial themes of metapsychical research. Besides the unfavorable circumstances which characterized the

Vol. V (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1930),

http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/aura_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.

¹¹⁸⁴ Not to mention the following developments of hypnagogic techniques, altered states of consciousness, and the formulation of the existence of the holographic universe. Servadio will consider Charles T. Tart and scientist David J. Bohm (1917-1992) as pioneers in the research of the Self, see Servadio, “Breve storia dell'ipnosi.”

¹¹⁸⁵ Servadio, “Proofs and Counter-Proofs concerning Human «Fluid»,” 113-4.

¹¹⁸⁶ Cazzamalli, *Phénomènes électromagnétiques rayonnant du cerveau dans l'état de petite transe des sujets sensitifs et rhabdomanciens, et pendant l'activité psychosensorielle intense de la création artistique* (Paris : Sagny, 1935), 11.

¹¹⁸⁷ Cazzamalli, “Esperienze, argomenti e problemi di biofisica cerebrale,” *Quaderni di Psichiatria* 16 (1929): 81–105.

¹¹⁸⁸ Cazzamalli, *Phénomènes électromagnétiques rayonnant du cerveau*, 12ff.

¹¹⁸⁹ Servadio, “C’è un «oltre cortina» anche nella parapsicologia. Come vengono conciliati i principi del materialismo dialettico con il paranormale A giudicare dalle poche pubblicazioni che giungono dall'URSS, l'atteggiamento ufficiale nei confronti degli studi del settore è un misto di favore e di disfavore, di corrette valutazioni e di erronei apprezzamenti,” *Il Tempo*, July 24, 1978, 7.

composition of the ‘Psychoanalysis’ entry,¹¹⁹⁰ the Italian psychoanalyst committed himself to writing the capital topics of the world of the supernatural and paranormal. The first entry revolving around the history of psychical research in Italy was ‘Metapsichica.’¹¹⁹¹ Herein, Servadio briefly explains the adoption of the term ‘Parapsychologie’ and ‘Psychical Research’ respectively for German- and English-speaking countries, while the term ‘Metapsychics’ was proposed by Richet in France.¹¹⁹² In addition to that, Servadio states that the definition of ‘metapsychical phenomena’ consists of ‘all events which go beyond our regular knowledge of the psyche.’¹¹⁹³ The term was introduced by the French Nobel prize winner (Richet) to address and delineate all kinds of paranormal phenomena. Although somebody attempted to offer a demarcation of Metapsychical and Psychical Research, the Italian group of researchers which orbited around Cazzamalli¹¹⁹⁴ opted, probably because of their French connections, for the foundation of an Italian Society of Metapsychics. That didn’t imply that Italian *metapsychists* were completely unaware of the existence of the Society for the Psychical Research and/or its members. Further proof of that was the entry Servadio dedicated to Frederic Myers.¹¹⁹⁵ The Italian psychoanalyst focused on three main issues: the biography, and pioneering aspects of Myers’ life; Myers’ participation in the foundation and investigations of SPR; the fact that he coined the term telepathy.¹¹⁹⁶ These latter themes characterized a particular phase of productivity and research for Servadio.

Concerning telepathy, besides writing a whole entry on the topic and later further developing the topic on occasions of international conferences and events, Servadio wanted to offer an overview of the different conceptions circulating at the time of this particular ESP phenomenon. Both in his *La ricerca psichica* and the encyclopedic entry “Telepatia”

¹¹⁹⁰ Servadio & Weiss, “Psicoanalisi,” in *L’Enciclopedia Italiana*, Appendix II, Vol. II (Rome: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/psicoanalisi_res-b1e5d778-87e6-11dc-8e9d-0016357eee51_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.

¹¹⁹¹ Servadio, “Metapsichica,” in *L’Enciclopedia Italiana*, Vol. XXIII (Rome: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/metapsichica_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.

¹¹⁹² Servadio, “Metapsichica.”

¹¹⁹³ Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 25.

¹¹⁹⁴ See previous chapter.

¹¹⁹⁵ Servadio, “Myers, Frederic William Henry,” In *L’Enciclopedia Italiana*, Vol. XXIV (Rome: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/frederick-william-henry-myers_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.

¹¹⁹⁶ Servadio, “Myers, Frederic William Henry.”

(*tele*, 'distant'; *pathos*, 'to feel'),¹¹⁹⁷ Servadio emphasized some features which belonged to Myers' conception of telepathic phenomena: first of all, the peculiar kind of telepathy Myers elaborated was more similar to a form of clairvoyance (that is, to perceive events and material objects at a spatio-temporal distance); second, the association of feelings, emotions, and sensations with the notion of telesthesia (*tele*, 'distant'; *aesthesia*, sensation).¹¹⁹⁸ In addition to this, Servadio introduced the main difference between spontaneous telepathy and induced/experimental telepathy.¹¹⁹⁹ According to the Italian psychoanalyst, while the former conception didn't represent an object apt to be investigated within the psychical field, the latter presented itself as the ideal subject for researchers: the fact that they could reproduce the event as they pleased implied a crucial experimental factor. Strictly connected to that was the set of circumstances under which the paranormal event occurred. Servadio introduced two main factors, namely the emotional coefficient and the unconscious character of telepathic communication.¹²⁰⁰ In an overview of the different positions adopted by various authors (except for the experimentation with suggestion at a distance [Ochorowicz, Janet]), three main positions and characters were introduced in the debate: the adoption of a functional external device to emphasize the psychical unconscious contents of the phenomenon, which was proposed by chemical engineer René Warcollier (1881-1962);¹²⁰¹ the experimentation with predisposed subjects strongly endorsed by Osty; Richet himself backed the idea of adopting special psychical requirements for developing ESP phenomena.¹²⁰² In addition to the French exponents of the theories on induced telepathic phenomena, I must include the hypothesis formulated by Bozzano. This latter proposed to distinguish the authentic form of telepathy from its spurious counterpart called 'thought-transference.'¹²⁰³ Bozzano was a staunch defender of spiritistic hypotheses which implied that telepathic phenomena as well were connected to the intervention of spirits.

¹¹⁹⁷ Servadio, "Telepatia," In *L'Enciclopedia Italiana*, Vol. XXXIII (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/telepatia_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.

¹¹⁹⁸ Servadio, "Telepatia;" Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 72.

¹¹⁹⁹ Servadio, "Telepatia;" Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 71.

¹²⁰⁰ Servadio, "Telepatia;"

¹²⁰¹ For an insightful analysis of this innovative position, see René Warcollier, "Les conditions expérimentales de la télépathie," *Annales des Sciences Psychiques* 21 (1911): 173-5.

¹²⁰² Servadio, "Telepatia."

¹²⁰³ Bozzano, "Considerations et hypothèses au sujet des phénomènes télépathiques," *Revue Métapsychique* 13 n. 3 (1933): 145-58.

Strictly related to that, the experience with *Italian Encyclopaedia* allowed Servadio to demarcate modern Spiritualism from a European conception of Spiritism: as I previously mentioned, if on one hand American Spiritualism (which found among its first promoters of Mesmerism the spiritualist Andrew Jackson Davies [1826-1910] and French magnetizer Charles Poyen St. Sauveur [?-1844])¹²⁰⁴ provided the European audience with the practice of table-turning and table-tilting (which, all over the world, was passing through the transition from the body of the mesmerized subject to that of the medium), on the other hand French Spiritism, by means of Allan Kardec's reincarnationist-spiritic system, provided them with a discipline. In the entry 'Spiritismo' ('Spiritualism'/'Spiritism'),¹²⁰⁵ Servadio presents three meanings associated with the term: first was an association with a Kardecist mystic system; second was the identification with a global movement pertaining not only to Kardec's doctrine; and the third meaning concerned the interpretation of some abnormal phenomena. Servadio introduced the three sections by historically contextualizing the movement. This introductory part offered an overview of the past edition of the international congresses of International Spiritualist Federation which took place from 1923 to 1934.¹²⁰⁶

Passing directly to the third section, Servadio distinguishes the Spiritist system from a spiritistic hypothesis. This latter concerns a peculiar interpretation within the field of psychical research regarding manifestations of paranormal abilities/powers as direct interventions of spirits. In addition to that, Servadio notes that (after the experimentation with mediums) the investigation of unconscious complexes and dynamics, following a psychoanalytical methodology, led to the narrowing of the field of practices for Spiritualism. Among those in Italy who partially accepted an animistic explanation linked to paranormal events, but also resiliently supported the spiritistic hypothesis, Servadio mentions the name of Bozzano.¹²⁰⁷ From this first data, it is possible to deduce that Servadio wasn't inclined to support 'spiritistic hypotheses.' Servadio reckoned a series of issues that prevented

¹²⁰⁴ For a biographical overview see Eric T. Carlson, "Charles Poyen Brings Mesmerism to America," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 15, n. 2 (April 1960): 121-32.

¹²⁰⁵ Servadio, "Spiritismo," In *L'Enciclopedia Italiana*, Vol. XXXI (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/spiritismo_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.

¹²⁰⁶ Servadio, "Spiritismo," the international congress took place in Liège (1923), Paris (1925), London (1928), The Hague (1931), and in Barcelona (1934).

¹²⁰⁷ See Bozzano, *Per la difesa dello spiritismo* (Naples: Società Partenopea, 1927).

Spiritualism (and Italian Spiritism) from being explained or have any truthfulness, after the discovery of different models of personalities.¹²⁰⁸

Besides this fundamental position, the real point that characterized Servadio's conviction about the denial of the intervention of the spirits was his idea of *force*. In addition to a conception of the 'unconscious' which also involved other forms of exploration of the *Self*,¹²⁰⁹ the experience of the *Italian Encyclopaedia* represented a phase of incubation for several concepts which found their expression and elaboration immediately after Servadio's collaboration with Treccani institute. One very peculiar case might be found in the entry "Od" (or Odyle force).¹²¹⁰ As he showed in his brief "history of human fluid,"¹²¹¹ Odyle force was a 'necessary,' crucial passage of this historical reconstruction, where 'necessary' was adopted because of the never-ending interpretation of scientific thought as "trial and error process." However, the idea of a biopsychical force of ethereal consistency (or at least invisible appearance) which was apt to influence two or more people and their bodies was nothing new to Servadio. More specifically, when the Italian psychoanalyst wrote the entry 'Sessuologia' ('Sexology'),¹²¹² not only was he aware of the abnormal sexual phenomena and bond between magnetizer and somnambulist in the history of animal magnetism,¹²¹³ but he was familiar with the fact that the psychoanalytical interpretation of specific forces and processes, whose nature might be symbolical¹²¹⁴ as well as telluric,¹²¹⁵ revealed specific dynamics of interaction. These interactions, despite their sexual, unconscious, or emotional nature, had an effective influence on people, in addition to their manifestation. Given this interpretation, libido and its following transformations (when aggregated to spurious mixtures of unconscious complexes) were conceived as a sort of vital force by Servadio in the 1930s.¹²¹⁶ Thus, it doesn't surprise that the Italian psychoanalyst considered the notion of Wilhelm Reich's orgone (even if he was entirely skeptical towards

¹²⁰⁸ About dipsychism and polypsychism see Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*, 145-7.

¹²⁰⁹ Servadio, "Oltre il fenomeno," *Quaderni di Parapsicologia* 15, n. 1 (1984): 17-25.

¹²¹⁰ Servadio, "Od," In *L'Enciclopedia Italiana*, Vol. XXV (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/od_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.

¹²¹¹ Servadio, "Proofs and Counter-Proofs concerning Human «Fluid»."

¹²¹² Servadio, "Sessuologia."

¹²¹³ Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 17-8.

¹²¹⁴ See Servadio, "La paura del malocchio."

¹²¹⁵ See Servadio, "Le cerf-volant, le feu et la foudre."

¹²¹⁶ For an overview of the theoretical premises which underlie this vitalist dimension in Servadio see Servadio, "Discussion of the Intrapsychic Process and its Analysis: A Recent Line of Thought and its Current Implications." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 51 (1970) n. 51: 195-209.

the creation and usage of orgone accumulators)¹²¹⁷ as one of the latest forms of “human fluid.”¹²¹⁸

Unfortunately, I have to abstain from delineating the interests of the exponents of sexological science like Moll, Ellis, Fodor, Dingwall regarding abnormal, hypnotic, and paranormal phenomena in the same period; however, I can assess that Servadio’s conception of psychosexual energy, and its later association with more heterodox manifestations, clearly mark an evolution in his literary production. To be more precise, from the 1930s onward he started to approach different formulations of the notion of *Self* and *Unconscious*.¹²¹⁹ Within the narrative of power presented at the beginning of this chapter, once finished with the *Italian Encyclopaedia* project, the main journey Servadio started through the exploration of hypnosis, altered states of consciousness, investigation of mediumistic and psi phenomena, study of mystical traditions, and, last but not least, meditation techniques, was that towards the ‘discovery of transcendence.’

Let me return to main leitmotif, the dynamic of mental/telepathic communication: as I just stated, at the beginning of the 1930s, the sexual connotation of the abnormal relationship between psychoanalyst and patient represented one of the crucial themes of Psychical Research all over Europe, and was an accessible intersection with psychoanalysis. The intervention of the libido in the unconscious *liaison* between the two characters introduced an appealing connection with the parapsychological field. Despite that the most prominent exponents of the Budapest School of Psychoanalysis were interested in the emotional factors for the manifestation of ESP phenomena and they offered insightful writings on the topic,¹²²⁰ Servadio wanted to contribute significantly as well: in 1934, at the 13th International Psychoanalytic Congress, Servadio presented the paper “Psychanalyse

¹²¹⁷ Servadio, “Le mistificazioni «orgoniche» di Reich il pioniere della liberazione sessuale. C’è chi crede ancora alle virtù terapeutiche di misteriosi apparecchi,” *Il Tempo*, April 25, 1976, 7-8.

¹²¹⁸ Servadio, “Nuove luci su Mesmer,” 11.

¹²¹⁹ Servadio, “Oltre il fenomeno,” *Quaderni di Parapsicologia* 15, n. 1 (1984): 21.

¹²²⁰ See Gyimesi, “Sándor Ferenczi and the Problem of Telepathy,” 8-10; Devereux, *Psychoanalysis and the Occult*, 147-57; 199-203; 283-96; 330-1; 391-418.

und Telepathie.”¹²²¹ Notwithstanding, Servadio spent a period in Switzerland to learn German, he practiced the presentation of the paper several times with Weiss.¹²²²

By the time of his presentation to the Psychoanalytic Congress, Servadio was already interested in two main themes linked to Freud’s work on telepathy: the first topic was the occurrence of telepathic hallucinations; second, was the nature of paranormal dreams. In 1933, Servadio published “Sul meccanismo psichico delle allucinazioni telepatiche.”¹²²³ Given the fact that the French edition of *Phantasms of the Living*, was *Les hallucinations télépathiques*,¹²²⁴ it is quite intuitive to see why that the Italian psychoanalyst focused on such a topic with the content of his article. Although Servadio mentions that telepathic hallucinations tend to manifest themselves in different situations including some forms of psychoses or hallucinatory satisfaction in children, most of the contribution focuses on the occurrence of ESP phenomena during sleep. After an introductory part where he distinguishes the form ‘illusion’ and ‘hallucination’ on the basis of the reflections of Richet and psychologist William McDougall (1871-1938),¹²²⁵ Servadio reaches the heart of the topic: the role of the Id in the creation of a hallucinatory event. The Italian psychoanalyst bases his analysis on Freud’s conception of Id, namely the component of the psychic life of the individual characterized by the pleasure principle. This condition sets the Id in opposition to the Ego, whose existence rests on the reality principle. The contrast between these two components implied various situations, such as the psychic life of the child, which, according to Federn, is pervaded by an “ego-cosmic ego.”¹²²⁶ In sum, every time the Id takes over the consciousness of the individual, this latter experienced a sort of hallucinatory state. When this happened, the psychic life (more exactly his/her unconscious) took a regressive direction of expression. Normally, the individual tended to satisfy his drives through the contact with the external world. In the case of the child, when they crave for something (pleasure principle), but the object of their desire is non-existent (reality

¹²²¹ Servadio, “Psychoanalyse und Telepathie,” *Imago – Zeitschrift für psychoanalytische Psychologie ihre Grenzgebiete und Anwendungen* 21, n. 4 (1935): 489-97.

¹²²² Gagliardo, “I padri della psicoanalisi.”

¹²²³ Servadio, “Sul meccanismo psichico delle allucinazioni telepatiche,” *La Ricerca Psichica* 33, n. 10 (October 1933): 577-92.

¹²²⁴ Gurney et al., *Les hallucinations télépathiques* (Paris : Félix Alcan, 1891).

¹²²⁵ Servadio, “Sul meccanismo psichico delle allucinazioni telepatiche,” 580.

¹²²⁶ Paul Federn, “Das Ich als Subjekt und Objekt im Narzißmus,” *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse* 15, n. 4 (1929): 393-424.

principle), then a dynamic between these two opposite principles is well attested. But when the child is still in a preliminary epistemological phase, connotated by the 'ego-cosmic' (which implies a non-distinction between the inner dimension and the outside reality), the will to satisfy this drive could effectively create the vision of such an object.

Servadio resorted then to his mentor Edoardo Weiss to introduce the cornerstone of the case study: Weiss stated that the 'Id' personality is incapable of making any renunciation. Then, Id naturally tended towards a hallucinatory realization unless a sort of virtual or effective reward is given to the child. It doesn't always happen though, something might intervene in order to prevent the natural vanishing of the hallucination. More specifically, in the case of the adult or neurotic individual, the regressive mechanism was assumed to be the same, but offered another insight about the whole dynamic. By taking the example of the dream, when the Ego is inhibited, Id has free access to both conscious and unconscious spheres. As stressed by Servadio, the direction of the satisfaction process is inverted: given the example of the adult individual, during sleep the individual tries to satisfy his drive by searching out the object of his desire in his unconscious. Given the fact that he looks for his satisfaction through his inner dimension instead of the outside reality, the subject might recollect some filtered information of his psychic life, or from somebody else's unconscious.¹²²⁷ Thus, Servadio identified in the inhibition of Ego, and in the regressive dynamics of knowledge oriented to the unconscious, a crucial condition for receiving or sending images of the desired object during the state of sleep.¹²²⁸

The conclusion of the first contribution led directly to the second theme of Servadio's production in these years: the dream. Although the Italian psychoanalyst published his major work on dreaming years later,¹²²⁹ by the beginning of 1934 Servadio had already sent the draft for the entry on the same topic to Giovanni Gentile.¹²³⁰ In the entry, Servadio made a brief reference to so-called 'paranormal dreams.'¹²³¹ Besides the category of telepathic dreams, Servadio briefly introduced the definition of 'psychic dreams,' whose

¹²²⁷ Servadio, "Sul meccanismo psichico delle allucinazioni telepatiche," 580.

¹²²⁸ Servadio, "Sul meccanismo psichico delle allucinazioni telepatiche," 591-2.

¹²²⁹ Servadio, *Il sogno*.

¹²³⁰ Emilio Servadio to Unknown Recipient, Archivio dell'Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, January 27, 1934, S. 1, s. 4, Corrispondenza tra diversi, 2-3.

¹²³¹ Servadio, "Sogno," In *L'Enciclopedia Italiana*, Vol. XXXI (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sogno_%28Enciclopedia-Italiana%29/.

content was determined by an event totally unrelated to the life of the dreamer, and that of 'prophetic dreams,' which concerned the realization of a future event.¹²³² In addition to that, the entry offered a section dedicated to the theories apt to explain the paranormal dynamics of dreams. The one which particularly draws my attention states that during sleep the *spirit* (an intermediary component of the individual, in-between the soul and the body) is able to perform such extraordinary psychological activities.

Although this represented an impressive start to approaching telepathic dreams, Servadio had yet to introduce some crucial requirements and circumstances linked their nature; needless to say, that occasion was the 13th International Psychoanalytic Congress in Lucerne. The paper started with a sarcastic note addressed to all psychoanalysts who denied the reality of telepathic phenomena, Servadio comparing them to those who, in the popular Andersen tale, saw the king naked and didn't want to say anything stupid.¹²³³ Then, he introduced the requirements connected to telepathic transmission: first, the unconscious character of the transmission of thoughts, representations, and emotions; second, a partial or total clouding of consciousness (as in sleep, in hypnoid states, etc.), especially on the part of the receiver; and, at last, an appreciable emotional cathecting of the thoughts.¹²³⁴ Servadio went on to state that these three conditions are more less present within psychoanalytical settings. More exactly, if a dichotomous model needs to be established where one plays the role of receiver and the other one transmitter, then two of these conditions (the unconscious character of the transmission belonged both to the transmitted and the receiver - who was normally identified with the analysand - while the emotional cathecting of thoughts belonged to this latter only. However, according to Helene Deutsch, whose contribution on telepathy in the psychoanalytical field is renown,¹²³⁵ the same conditions could be applied to the analyst as well. Servadio then proceeded to present a personal case: while he was having the beginning of his conference paper translated into German by a friend, the Italian psychoanalyst had a session with his patient. This latter abruptly said that he "wanted to go out among people like that Emperor - you know what I

¹²³² Servadio, "Sogno."

¹²³³ Servadio, "Psychoanalyse und Telepathie," 489.

¹²³⁴ Servadio, "Psychoanalyse und Telepathie," 492.

¹²³⁵ Deutsch, "Occult Processes Occurring During Psychoanalysis," in *Psychoanalysis and the Occult*, ed. Georges Devereux (New York: International Universities Press, 1953), 133-146.

mean? - the one who wore a coat which made him invisible."¹²³⁶ Once he rectified the patient, by saying that in the passage of Andersen's tale the Emperor was naked, Servadio immediately realized that the patient somehow perceived his concern for the paper presentation in addition to its content. The most doable explanation for this telepathic event was that the patient felt neglected by his analyst and, therefore, telepathically received the message.

Besides his personal case, whose psychoanalytical-parapsychological interpretation is clear enough, Servadio presented in his paper two crucial conclusions on the issue of thought transference. These considerations were also presented by Freud in his late production.¹²³⁷ Servadio stated that Freud was once asked whether the theory of dream interpretation needed to be remodeled if telepathic/prophetic dreams were effectively existent. Freud's conclusion – which was adapted by Servadio in his speech – was that no matter whether a dream was telepathic or not, its content would be 'filtered' by unconscious processes anyhow. The fact that these processes were triggered in the presence of specific bond (i.e. the investment of the receiver with an emotional charge) led to the consideration of the Id component in the telepathic mechanism: the regressive direction where the patient was addressed to implied the resort to a primeval form of communication between him and the objective of his unconscious emotional complex (i.e. the psychoanalyst). Servadio thus concluded by saying that these two issues were to be considered crucial requirements for: first, considering the main discrepancies between experimental and spontaneous telepathy; second, to start an effective evaluation of ESP phenomena in the presence of the emotional investment in the patient (transference) and a possible partial one in the analyst (countertransference).

¹²³⁶ Servadio, "Psychoanalyse und Telepathie," 492.

¹²³⁷ When Servadio's contribution is being translated and published in the collection *Psychoanalysis and the Occult* (1953), all Freud's contributions on occult phenomena and telepathy are available in German and English language.

Conclusions

Despite the heterogeneity of the two parts offered herein, a main thread is clear enough from the beginning to the end: Servadio's personal story, his production and activities, belong to part of a broader narrative. Since his early works, Servadio was interested and personally involved in themes which are crucial, endemic, and ever-morphing in Western cultural scenarios of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including the idea of a hidden world populated by mysterious forces. Despite any possible similarity

this image might have with the title of Janet Oppenheim's work, *The Other World*,¹²³⁸ the dimension the Italian psychoanalyst wanted to explore wasn't limited to the reign of the spirits. The idea of *Spirit* that emerges when we reconstruct the events and dynamics that underpin the history of scientific and humanistic thought in the West should be conceived as an inclusive concept that, from the perspective of a history of ideas, acquired more than one meaning. According to Italian philosopher Giovanni Gentile, the philosophical idea of Spirit stood for an inclusive unity (or synthesis) of subjective and objective spirit.¹²³⁹ This implied that the artistic-religious-philosophical spirit resided within the philosophical form,¹²⁴⁰ while the soul was conceived as specific essence of the body. To be precise, if body and spirit were opposed to each other, the negative function of the spirit (i.e. being the counterpart of the physical body) was expressed, in its pure essence, by the soul itself.¹²⁴¹

In the opinion of one of the pioneers of psychology, Frederic W. H. Myers (despite his adhesion to Spiritualism at the end of his life) saw an incompatibility between some manifestations of the spirit and the expression of the secondary self.¹²⁴² The existence of a series of subliminal activities within the individual implied a different conception of the human personality and its survival after death. The main focus was on the relationship between a subliminal self and an indwelling ethereal principle which supported the conscious and subconscious dimensions, in other words, the *soul*, while the rational dimension of the Spirit was absorbed by a supraliminal life. However, when Freud made his appearance at the beginning of the century, the whole definition of Spirit changed. Freudian writer, Bruno Bettelheim (1903-1990) states that most of the notions of the father of psychoanalysis were mistranslated in English language and, therefore, probably misconceived.¹²⁴³ More specifically, Bettelheim stresses how the English translators confused/associated *Spirit* – which, according to the Austrian psychoanalyst, was the

¹²³⁸ See Oppenheim, *The Other World*.

¹²³⁹ Mauro Visentin, "Il concetto attualistico della religione. Cattolicesimo, diritto e morte fra astratto e concreto," in *La filosofia italiana tra idealismo e anti-idealismo*, ed. Giovanni Di Piero (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2004), 213-4.

¹²⁴⁰ Visentin, "Il concetto attualistico della religione," 214.

¹²⁴¹ In other words, according to Gentile, the fact that the soul exerted a role as a negative part in the opposition between body and spirit was the ultimate proof of a vision, expression, perception of history (and with it) as pure act. See Giuseppe Cacciatore, *Dal «logo astratto» al «log concreto», dal tempo all'eternità. Gentile e la storia*," in *La filosofia italiana tra idealismo e anti-idealismo*, ed. Giovanni Di Piero (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2004), 120-2.

¹²⁴² Hamilton, *Immortal Longings*, 158ff.

¹²⁴³ Bruno Bettelheim, *Freud e l'anima dell'uomo* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1983), 95ff.

fulcrum of rationalist activities –¹²⁴⁴ with the *Soul*, the irrational cradle of the Id and Superego.

These three authors' interpretations of the notions of 'Spirit' and 'Soul' influenced Servadio's thought and production and were conceptions he continually elaborated over time. It is not possible here to offer a comparison between Servadio and each of the authors I've introduced, nor to identify a certain point in Servadio's life when the impact of their works was more evident than in others. However, one fact can be attested for sure, that is the initial conception (or misconception) of *soul* that Servadio adopted. In 1931, the Italian psychoanalyst reviewed the Italian edition of the book by Austrian biographer Stefan Zweig (1881-1942), *L'anima che guarisce*.¹²⁴⁵ The original German edition of the work was *Die Heilung durch den Geist* (1931).¹²⁴⁶ An issue that Servadio marked at the beginning of the contribution was that the Italian translators were authorized by the author himself to render the title in Italian by using the term 'anima' ('soul').¹²⁴⁷ The essays Zweig presented in the book were "three incarnations of one necessity, that one of healing through psychical means."¹²⁴⁸ Although in the first two cases every term and concept fit perfectly, in the case of Freud something, according to him, was conceived differently. More exactly, Zweig's concession to adopt the term soul shouldn't be connected to the misconception mentioned above, rather than to an operation of including Mesmer and Freud in the same line of research.¹²⁴⁹ As I pointed out in the second chapter, on this perspective, where the soul was conceived as a fundamental principle of healing, Mesmer and his heirs could be considered the forerunners of modern psychotherapy.¹²⁵⁰ This interpretation rests on a crucial factor: the fluid as expression of this healing power.

¹²⁴⁴ Bettelheim emphasizes the fact that Freud prevalently adopted the terms 'Seele' and 'seelig' (i.e. 'Soul' and 'about/of the soul'), instead of 'geistig' ('about/of the Spirit). This latter term was associated to the rational aspect of the human mind, see Bettelheim, *Freud e l'anima dell'uomo*, 97.

¹²⁴⁵ Servadio, "Book Review of *L'anima che guarisce*," *Rivista Italiana di Psicoanalisi* 1, n. 1 (1932):74-8.

¹²⁴⁶ Zweig, *Die Heilung durch den Geist: Franz Anton Mesmer, Mary Baker Eddy, Sigmund Freud* (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1931).

¹²⁴⁷ Servadio, "Book Review of *L'anima che guarisce*," 74.

¹²⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁴⁹ For the vision of a unified tradition which connected several pioneers in psychological and psychoanalytical fields, including Mesmer and Freud, see the reflections in the second chapter of Borch-Jacobsen & Shamdasani, *The Freud Files*; Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*; Ellenberger, *The Discovery of Unconscious*.

¹²⁵⁰ Crabtree, *From Mesmer to Freud*, 73-88.

In our reconstruction, we saw that the fluid changed aspects from a universal fluid to a psychodynamic force. This process of shapeshifting throughout history wasn't entirely devoid of polemics and contrasts. Just to mention one, Servadio in his article in 1923, "La medicina psicologica" ('Psychological Medicine') mentions the lengthy critique Janet devoted to the psychoanalytical discipline.¹²⁵¹ The main two issues of the contrast between Janet and Freud was the fact that this latter seized some of the significant observations of the French colleague (i.e. Jante) and turned them into a medical philosophical system, but the father of psychoanalysis also associated a sexual feature to cases of neurosis and related crises.¹²⁵² This fact was unacceptable for Janet. This polemical passage implies a crucial factor that characterized Servadio's research and production on human fluid: the investigation into its nature.

So, the historical reconstruction offered within the second chapter marked several aspects and manifestations of the fluid.¹²⁵³ All these expressions were characterized, within the Western context, by a dynamic which was embedded in a specific idea, that of *power*. More exactly, I pointed out that most of the later variants of the universal fluid connoted a relationship between two or more subjects. This expression of power (or kratophany) was distinguished by Mircea Eliade from his defined manifestation of the sacred (or hierophany).¹²⁵⁴ I resorted to Eliade's exclusion of the krathophanic dynamic from the horizon of sacred because of another crucial issue emphasized by the Romanian scholar, that is the process of de-sacralization.¹²⁵⁵ This latter entailed the loss of the homologous intersection of sacred time and space, where the cyclical dimension, the foundation, delimitation, consecration of a place, and imitation and reproduction of the divine life, were crucial features.¹²⁵⁶ Thus, with the advent of the de-sacralization process, the kratophanic dynamic endemically pervaded some cultural and scientific fields that crossed the sphere of sacred.

¹²⁵¹ Servadio, "La medicina psicologica."

¹²⁵² Servadio, "La medicina psicologica," 349-50.

¹²⁵³ About the Puysegurian psychofluidist variant of the universal fluid and its later conjugations see Méheust, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité – Le défi du magnétisme*, 146-216, and the reconstruction offered within the second chapter.

¹²⁵⁴ Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, 23-33.

¹²⁵⁵ Eliade, *The Sacred and The Profane*, 154; 158.

¹²⁵⁶ Eliade, *The Sacred and The Profane*, 154; 158.

One of these intersections was that of the *Spirit*. Specifically, given the fact that historiographical interpretations tended to forget or not consider this intersection (as Méheust already stated), I considered an alternative approach to following the events which characterized this historical course. So, I applied Méheust's methodology of deconstruction, the poststructuralist considerations¹²⁵⁷ of this history of the spirit, in addition to applying the kratophanic theme to the narration of 'impossibilities' as introduced by Kripal.¹²⁵⁸ These impossibilities consisted of all the 'failed attempts' and 'paradigms' formulated by authors, or within experiences which the European cultural establishment and scientific thought officially discarded, but nevertheless pragmatically absorbed and re-adapted.¹²⁵⁹ The same dynamic established itself between psychoanalysis and psychical research. At the moment, one case perfectly fits within these circumstances: Myers and his notion of the subliminal self was a clear example of that. It is not by chance that both Myers and Freud had an influence on Servadio because of their vision of the Spirit and investigation of the Soul. Of outermost interest is the transitional phase which characterizes the passage from Myers's formulation of subliminal activities to Freud's first adaptations of *Unbewusst* ('Unconscious'), which Servadio was aware of.¹²⁶⁰

Going back to the case study: besides the notion of Spirit and Soul, Servadio's interest in the psychic life of the individual connotes another main theme, that of *consciousness*. Since his personal involvement in the spiritualistic séances at Genoa in the period before enrolling at the University,¹²⁶¹ the main focus of his investigations of paranormal phenomena was mainly "whether to experience or not a state, where uncontrolled forces take over the person [...]"¹²⁶² The effective participation of Servadio to his first spiritualistic séances, as well as the experimentations with popular mediums like Erto¹²⁶³ and, as I stressed in the first chapter, with psychedelics, didn't only put an end to a lengthy debate about his personal involvement in investigations (and limiting his contribution to a theoretical level),¹²⁶⁴ but implied a different factor in his study of altered

¹²⁵⁷ Méheust, *Somnambulisme et médiumnité – Le défi du magnétisme*, 82-94.

¹²⁵⁸ Kripal, *Authors of the Impossible*, 198ff.

¹²⁵⁹ See the beginning of the second chapter.

¹²⁶⁰ See Servadio, "Nuove luci su Mesmer," 9-10.

¹²⁶¹ See the first chapter.

¹²⁶² Servadio, "Comment je suis venu aux Études Psychique," 33.

¹²⁶³ Servadio, "Otto sedute col medium Erto;" Servadio, *Otto sedute col medium Erto (parte riservata)*.

¹²⁶⁴ Biondi, "I tre volti parapsicologici di Emilio Servadio," 32.

states of consciousness. Servadio thought that besides the personal experience, the phenomenon, normal or paranormal, needed to be examined according to some standardized criteria. These latter were derived from depth psychology, namely the meaning and purpose of the event.¹²⁶⁵

Servadio wasn't only fully aware of the evolutionary path which connected Franz Anton Mesmer to Freud, he was also aware that hypnagogic techniques implied an access to another dimension of the self and reality. In his thesis, his first significant contribution "The Strange History of Hypnotism,"¹²⁶⁶ and the historical introduction of *La ricerca psichica*,¹²⁶⁷ Servadio examines the occurrence of abnormal hypnotic phenomena. More exactly, he stresses two features that characterize the status of 'abnormality' of these events, namely the mental connection between the involved subjects and the sexual connotation of their bond. Thus, the conception of 'abnormal' linked to the practice of hypnosis, even before Freud's intervention, was connected to the presence of the sexual factor.¹²⁶⁸ The emergence of telepathic phenomena, as well as sexual climaxes during this modified state of consciousness were equally judged abnormal or morally unacceptable. If one refers to Myers' demarcation showed here at the beginning, it is possible to affirm that during the 'sleep' of the Spirit, the Soul may generate strange heterodox phenomena. At a closer look, it is possible to realize that the state of wakefulness and that of sleep (or the 'altered' state) are 'intimately' and psychophysically connected, not only because two dimensions of psychic life coexisted in the same body, but because of the energies/forces pervading this two-fold structure.

Actually, this was a partial vision of the psychic life of the individual and the forces which the 'subconscious/unconscious' part generated. The occasion to clarify some the passages related to the history of Mesmerism first, and then hypnotism, was Servadio's contribution to the project of *Italian Encyclopaedia*.¹²⁶⁹ In the entry "Ipnotismo"

¹²⁶⁵ See Servadio, "Contributi della psicologia del profondo alla ricerca metapsichica," and the part dedicated to the topic in the first chapter.

¹²⁶⁶ First published as Servadio, "La strana storia dell'ipnotismo," and then Servadio, "The Strange History of Hypnotism."

¹²⁶⁷ Servadio, *La ricerca psichica*, 18-20.

¹²⁶⁸ See Servadio, "Freud «anticipato» da un romanziere Il magnetismo amoroso in un libro di Charles de Villiers," and the d

¹²⁶⁹ See Cannoni, "Emilio Servadio," 25-33 and the related part in the first chapter.

(‘Hypnotism’),¹²⁷⁰ the Italian psychoanalyst already stressed the connection with the world of paranormal, more specifically that from the idea of universal fluid in its next evolutionary steps, and reached two possible hypotheses: the conception of a mental connection/communication between patient and hypnotist (metapsychical hypothesis), and the foundation of emotional bonds which might influence the relationship analyst and vice versa (psychoanalytical hypothesis).¹²⁷¹

Concerning the former hypothesis, Servadio offered a series of considerations in other entries related to the emergence of telepathic states between patient and healer. In the entry on Myers¹²⁷² and ‘Telepatia’ (‘Telepathy’),¹²⁷³ the Italian psychoanalyst states that a peculiar form of telepathy was considered in collection of accounts in *Phantasms of the Living*¹²⁷⁴ and, briefly after in the 1930s,¹²⁷⁵ devoted a lengthy explanation to this phenomenon in another contribution: essentially, the kind of telepathic hallucinations which were considered in the two-volume work were different from regular thought-transference. More exactly, the founders of the Society for Psychical Research considered cases of ‘homologous perception,’ where subjects perceived at distant what another person – who was about to die or suffer from a traumatic event – would experience, a form of perception also known as telesthesia.¹²⁷⁶ In addition to that, Servadio stressed the fact that during the occurrence of these hallucinations two kinds of psychodynamic forces are involved: the first kind of force is the ‘Id,’ whose disinhibition induced the hallucinatory experience; the second is the communication of the death or casualty which represented an emotional charge.¹²⁷⁷ On the basis of Ferenczi’s assessment on telepathy and on how the predominance of the principle of ‘introjection’ influenced the telepathic phenomenon, I can affirm that the emotional factor believed to be vehiculated or concentrated through the psychodynamic forces referred to by Servadio in his works (i.e. the liberation of ‘Id,’ and the personal attachment to the deceased) were considered the crucial requirement to establish the personality of ‘sender’ and ‘receiver’ in this distant communication.

¹²⁷⁰ Servadio, “Ipnotismo.”

¹²⁷¹ Ibid.

¹²⁷² Servadio, “Myers, Frederic William Henry.”

¹²⁷³ Servadio, “Telepatia.”

¹²⁷⁴ Gurnery et al., *Phantasms of the Living*.

¹²⁷⁵ Servadio, “Sul meccanismo psichico delle allucinazioni telepatiche.”

¹²⁷⁶ Servadio, “Sul meccanismo psichico delle allucinazioni telepatiche,” 579.

¹²⁷⁷ Servadio, “Sul meccanismo psichico delle allucinazioni telepatiche,” 587-92.

According to Servadio, there was another situation where both these forces interacted, in order to create this ‘telepathic bond’ between two people; after the experience at the Treccani Institute, Servadio decided to treat this variant of the topic in his first lecture abroad in the psychoanalytical field. In 1934, he presented the paper “Psychoanalysis and Telepathy” at the 13th International Psychoanalytic Congress in Lucerne.¹²⁷⁸ As I have shown, Servadio’s paper had the same title as a lecture never presented by Freud at a 1922 congress in Berlin.¹²⁷⁹ Besides the explanation on how the censorship of the Super-Ego intervened to ‘filter’ the telepathic content of dreams, the crucial element Servadio introduced in this context was the emotional/erotic factor characterizing the relationship between analysand and analyst. To be precise, the libidinal investment (or ‘Besetzung’) involved some emotional ‘knot’ and charges from the unconscious complexes (most often an oedipal one),¹²⁸⁰ which led to the complete identification of the patient, and a possible partial identification of the analyst, with father-like or son-(or daughter-)like figures.¹²⁸¹ In psychoanalytical fields these emotional investments of libidinal energy corresponded to the factor of transference (in the patient) and counter-transference in the psychoanalyst. Going back to Servadio’s lecture in Lucerne: the implication of the anecdote connected to his patient showed that the notion of transference characterized and structured the emergence of telepathic phenomena.

However, the occurrence of phenomena telepathy between analysand and analyst is a specific case study that implies the *occult* dimension of psychoanalysis in the twentieth century, and, once again a peculiar storytelling of the energies involved: going back to the main theoretical interpretation, if one adopts the kratophanic conception for the history of impossibilities introduced by Kripal and focuses on the notion of spirit, the case of psychical research and its intersection with psychoanalysis reveal a history where two forces, energies, ideas played a crucial role: that of the *unconscious* and that of *libido*. As mentioned above, Méheust labels Freud and his

¹²⁷⁸ Servadio, “Psychoanalyse und Telepathie.”

¹²⁷⁹ See Júlia Gyimesi, “Sándor Ferenczi and the Problem of Telepathy,” *History of the Human Sciences* 0, n. 0 (2011): 1–18; Claudie Massicotte, “Psychical Transmissions: Freud, Spiritualism, and the Occult,” *Psychoanalytic Dialogues* 24, n. 1 (2012): 88-102, and the passage dedicated to the event in the second chapter.

¹²⁸⁰ Servadio, “Preconscious Process, Esp, and Creativity,” 142-4.

¹²⁸¹ Servadio, “Le conditionnement transférentiel et contre-transférentiel des événements «psi» au cours de l’analyse.” *Acta psychotherapeutica, psychosomatica et orthopedagogica* 2, n. 3 (1955): 656-7.

psychoanalytical doctrine as ‘the guardian of the threshold’ because it “incorporated, refashioned, and domesticated select aspects of these new models of the psyche.”¹²⁸² As mentioned above in the second chapter, the Freudian unconscious is strongly indebted to previous formulations of subconscious activities (Janet)¹²⁸³ and subliminal selves (Myers).¹²⁸⁴ The same might be said of the notion of libido, which, according to Freud, was (in its early production)¹²⁸⁵ a mere satisfaction of sex drives, while psychiatrist Albert Moll introduced a dynamic conception of libidinal force, a force that was subjected to continual evolution through the different relationships (heterosexual or homosexual) and stages of an individual’s development.¹²⁸⁶ Thus, Freud borrowed the term libido from his colleague, but without the same conception and application.¹²⁸⁷ The father of psychoanalysis would later join it with the psychodynamic vision of Moll when he theorized the existence of the ‘Lustprinzip.’¹²⁸⁸

Therefore, given the theoretical framework introduced at the beginning of the second chapter, and given Servadio’s pioneering activity both in sexology and parapsychology, it is possible to offer some considerations: Freud himself represented, on an historical level, a threshold between the ‘past’ and ‘modern’ dimensions of the studies on the soul. On a level of the history of ideas, the dynamic is a bit different: the fact that the soul and the *Spirit* coexisted in the same body wasn’t a limitation to the discovery of the self. The irrational part of one’s psychic life wasn’t an obscure area where to relegate all non-approved facts, feelings, experiences. According to a psychodynamic approach, the *unconscious* was a mine of psychic energies which could be expressed during a peculiar state through the body of the individual. However, specific energies are not acknowledged within a specific context. Forces manifested during the hypnotic or trance states were considered the most irrational part of the individual. In addition to that, their sexual and abnormal features were even more unacceptable if connected, to any extent, to the

¹²⁸² Kripal, *Authors of the Impossible*, 221.

¹²⁸³ Janet, *L’Automatisme Psychologique*.

¹²⁸⁴ Myers, “The Subliminal Consciousness.”

¹²⁸⁵ Freud, “Die Libidotheorie,” *Sigmund Freud Gesammelte Werke – Werke aus den Jahren 1904 - 1905*, vol. V., ed. Anna Freud (London: Imago, 1942), 118-20.

¹²⁸⁶ See Servadio, “Libido e libidine,” *Playmen* 10, n. 2 (February 1981): 32; Bullough, *Science in the Bedroom*, 77-8.

¹²⁸⁷ See Servadio, “Libido e libidine,” 32.

¹²⁸⁸ See Freud, “Jenseits des Lustprinzips.”

dimension of the Spirit. Soul and Spirit always had different paths and disciplines. Before the advent of the psychoanalytical practice, the dimension of the soul was considered by scientific disciplines as an expression of a secondary self. Freud established a politicized form where Spirit and Soul incarnated the same being. However, not all his disciples thought the same way: if on one hand Freud's approach to the investigation of the Self consisted of the relegation of all irrational aspects to a darker area of the body, on the other hand the same unconscious dimension was conceived as a potential domain of fruitful forces. Along with Ferenczi, Emilio Servadio started this operation of analysis of the manifestation of the unconscious. Thanks to his production regarding the history of hypnosis, we can see that he didn't only infer that the universal fluid changed form into a human fluid, but this vision of fluidism helped compose a fundamental knowledge of the process which allowed the psychoanalytical discipline to emerge. The kratophanic storytelling which characterized the success and endorsement of Freud's thought was the same process which connoted and displaced the abnormal manifestation from the body of the somnambulist to the body of the medium; it was the same narration whose expression allowed a different conception of sexuality and the self.

Servadio's investigations of ESP phenomena and neuroses relied on the same conception of force. The interest of the Italian psychoanalyst in the notion of 'psychic force,' as well as in the sexual connotation of abnormal processes, implies a peculiar fact: the manifestation of paranormal powers, or the occurrence of paranormal phenomena (besides being conceived within the Western context through kratophanic storytelling) are expressions of the same forces that are responsible for 'normal' phenomena like common neuroses. Psychodynamic energies are thus akin to the aggressivity that Servadio endorsed for channeling through sports activities, through a harmonious sex life, and/or through the path of meditation. But this is another story...

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