A New Source for the Study of Unexplored Aspects of the Italian Health Transition: The Burial Permits

By Matteo Manfredini and Lucia Pozzi

To cite this article: Manfredini, M., & Pozzi, L. (2026). A New Source for the Study of Unexplored Aspects of the Italian Health Transition: The Burial Permits. *Historical Life Course Studies, 16*, 87–95. https://doi.org/10.52024/hlcs25553

HISTORICAL LIFE COURSE STUDIES

Counting the Death.
Sources and Databases on Individual-Level Causes of Death in Historical Societies (1800–1950)

VOLUME 16, SPECIAL ISSUE 8

GUEST EDITORS
Tim Riswick
Michail Raftakis
Grażyna Liczbińska
Elena Crinela Holom

EHPS NETWORK

MISSION STATEMENT

HISTORICAL LIFE COURSE STUDIES

Historical Life Course Studies was established within *European Historical Population Samples Network* (EHPS-Net). The journal is the primary publishing outlet for research involved in the conversion of existing European and non-European large historical demographic databases into a common format, the Intermediate Data Structure, and for studies based on these databases. The journal publishes both methodological and substantive research articles.

Methodological Articles
This section includes methodological articles that describe all forms of data handling involving large historical databases, including extensive descriptions of new or existing databases, syntax, algorithms and extraction programs. Authors are encouraged to share their syntaxes, applications and other forms of software presented in their article, if pertinent.

Research articles
This section includes substantive articles reporting the results of comparative longitudinal studies that are demographic and historical in nature, and that are based on micro-data from large historical databases.

Historical Life Course Studies is a no-fee double-blind, peer-reviewed open-access journal supported by the European Science Foundation, the International Institute of Social History, the European Society of Historical Demography, Radboud University Press, Lund University and HiDO Scientific Research Network Historical Demography. Manuscripts are reviewed by the editors, members of the editorial and scientific boards, and by external reviewers. All journal content is freely available on the internet at hlcs.nl.

HISTORICAL LIFE COURSE STUDIES
VOLUME 16 (2026), 87–95, published 14-04-2026

A New Source for the Study of Unexplored Aspects of the Italian Health Transition: The Burial Permits

Matteo Manfredini
University of Parma

Lucia Pozzi
University of Sassari

ABSTRACT

This paper introduces a new source for the study of mortality and the health transition in Italy: the Burial Permits. In the years leading up to the Italian Unification, local authorities began requiring official documentation, compiled by medical officers, for the burial of individuals in local cemeteries. These documents, preserved in the form of single sheets or registers, contain a wealth of individual-level data on deceased people, including the indication of the cause(s) of death. This feature, a novelty in the Italian historical demographic research, allows addressing a longstanding gap in the availability of individual-level information on causes of death, a factor that has limited and hampered the research on the evolution of the mortality patterns and the health transition in Italy. The paper provides a detailed description of this source and the type of information it contains, reviews what has been done so far, and investigates its possible applications to address new directions in the study of health and mortality in Italy.

Keywords: Death certificates, Cause of death, Italy

e-ISSN: 2352-6343
DOI article: https://doi.org/10.52024/hlcs25553

1 INTRODUCTION

The analysis of causes of death has always been a complex undertaking, particularly for historical populations. Numerous factors contribute to this complexity, and these issues have been widely discussed in the literature (Bernabeu-Mestre, 1993; Bernabeu-Mestre et al., 2003; Moriyama et al., 2011; Pozzi, 2002; Sainz-Otero et al., 2020). The problems concern not only the availability of reliable and continuous sources for historical populations, but also the possible presence of ill-defined causes of death — i.e. conditions such as symptoms or poorly informative terms — or references to socially stigmatized diseases. Such inconsistencies reflect both the level of scientific and medical knowledge at the time and the diverse qualifications of the professionals who recorded the death certificates (Alter & Carmichael, 1996, 1999; Reid & Garrett, 2012; Williams, 1996). While the first issue concerns all populations and societies without exception, the second is more closely linked to the timing of the establishment of an efficient and comprehensive statistical and demographic system. In this respect, it is well-known that Italy lags behind many other Western countries.[1] The statistics on causes of death began to be recorded only in 1881, following political unification of 1861, but until 1886, they were limited to provincial capitals, districts, or compartments. It was not until 1887 that these statistics were expanded to include all the municipalities of the Italian Kingdom. This limits the time window of analysis, which as a result is much narrower than in other countries such as France (Biraben, 1973). However, notwithstanding their start in 1887, Italian official statistics face a further limitation. Although the cause of death was collected for each deceased person, it was not incorporated into the respective individual death certificate, and it was solely used to produce aggregate statistics by cause of death. The data for the period 1887–1955 were later collected and published by the Central Institute of Statistics in 1958, with all causes reclassified according to the international classification of 1955 to ensure comparability over time. Parish registers do not effectively address this gap as they rarely include information on causes of death. Even when such data are available, they are often so vague and imprecise that they can hardly be used in demographic studies. These characteristics of the sources make it exceedingly challenging to move beyond a descriptive account of nosological categories and their evolution. Consequently, not only is any form of epidemiological analysis precluded, but so too are studies on the health status of populations, on the identification of vulnerable groups, and, more broadly, the possibility to explore the more complex mechanisms of the epidemiological transition.

In light of these premises, in this contribution, we draw the attention of scholars and researchers to a lesser-known and underexploited Italian historical source, the burial permits. The paper will introduce the characteristics of these sources, the richness and quality of the information they provide, and will discuss both their potential and limitations for investigating causes of death at the individual level. So far, we have analyzed the burial permits from Parma (1861–62, 1901, and 1918) and have begun examining similar documents for Bologna (1877, 1888, and 1900) and Iglesias (1890–1920). Table 1 reports the number of burial permits recorded in selected years for each municipality, alongside the corresponding census population data.[2] The research started in Parma, the first archive in which these sources were documented (Manfredini, 2022a), and was then expanded to other accessible historical archives to collect and describe possible different forms of burial permits preserved in Italian archives. These cities represent different urban contexts both in terms of population size (small, medium, and large cities) and socio-economic backgrounds. Although Bologna and Parma are today located in the same region, they belonged to two different pre-unification states, the Papal States and the Duchy of Parma, respectively. Moreover, Parma's local economy relied more on agriculture than that of Bologna. By contrast, Iglesias is a mining-rural community in Sardinia. Taken together, these communities allow us to highlight different paths of health transition.

Ultimately, our intention is to highlight the potential of burial permits for studying the early stages of the Italian epidemiological transition, including the 1918 flu, the last major pandemic of the 20th century. The selection of these three towns allowed us to explore this issue across three distinct urban settings, from the large and wealthier city of Bologna, to the medium-sized and newly industrialized city of Parma, and finally to the poorer, rural, and mining context of Iglesias, in Sardinia.

1 We can mention here the experiences of Sweden, where the collection started in 1749, as well as those of England and Wales (1850) and the Netherlands (1850s). See Caselli (1996) and Moriyama et al. (2011).

2 In the city of Bologna, the burial permits are recorded from 1801 to 1973, with a ten-year gap from 1890 to 1899. In Iglesias, these permits are available from 1894 through the 1970s, but data on the causes of death are missing for the years 1898 to 1914 and 1918. As for Parma, burial permits cover the period 1855–1956. All the related documentation is preserved in the local municipal historical archives.

Table 1 *Totals of burial permits by municipality and selected periods*

Bologna			Parma			Iglesias		
Period	N	Pop.[1]	Period	N	Pop.[2]	Period	N	Pop.[3]
1888–89	7,681	126,178	1861–62	943	68,284	1895–97	1,226	19,879
1900–03	14,521	153,271	1901	1,684	77,004	1904–05	1,109	
			1918	2,775	84,140			

Notes: [1] Census of 1881 for the period 1888–89 and census of 1901 for the period 1900–03; [2] Census of 1861 for the period 1861–62, census of 1901, and census of 1911 for 1918; [3] Census of 1901.

2 THE BURIAL PERMITS

2.1 LEGISLATIVE BACKGROUND

In 1865, Article 385 of the Civil Code for the Italian Kingdom introduced the Burial Permit as the administrative authorization required to bury a corpse in a cemetery. That article relied extensively on the Napoleonic Code of 1804, imposing a series of procedural and bureaucratic obligations that the civil registrar had to fulfill to issue both the death certificate and the burial authorization.[3] To begin with, deceased individuals had to be buried in the municipality where the death had occurred. Burials were not permitted to take place sooner than 24 hours after death under normal circumstances, and not before 48 hours in cases of sudden or violent death. This norm was established to prevent premature burial in case of apparent death and to avoid hasty burials, which could impede the collection of potential evidence of violent crimes. Municipalities were also encouraged to provide each cemetery with mortuary chambers to store bodies awaiting burial. Moreover, a medical examination by a forensic pathologist or another designated health officer was required before issuing the death certificate and granting burial authorization (Ciancio, 2017). However, these regulations were often disregarded. Firstly, these provisions were recommendations rather than legal obligations, and many municipalities, especially the smallest and most marginalized ones, failed to implement them due to poor financial conditions. Secondly, the law itself allowed for exemptions and exceptions, such as waiving the necropsy requirement in small municipalities that were often unable either to bear the associated costs or to recruit qualified medical personnel. In 1892, the legislation was revised by enacting a new mortuary police regulation that removed such exemptions and mandated the construction of a temporary mortuary chamber for the deceased and an additional one for cases of death due to infectious diseases (Ciancio, 2017).[4] These were the legislative background and the norms governing the registration of death certificates and burial permits up until the mid-1930s.

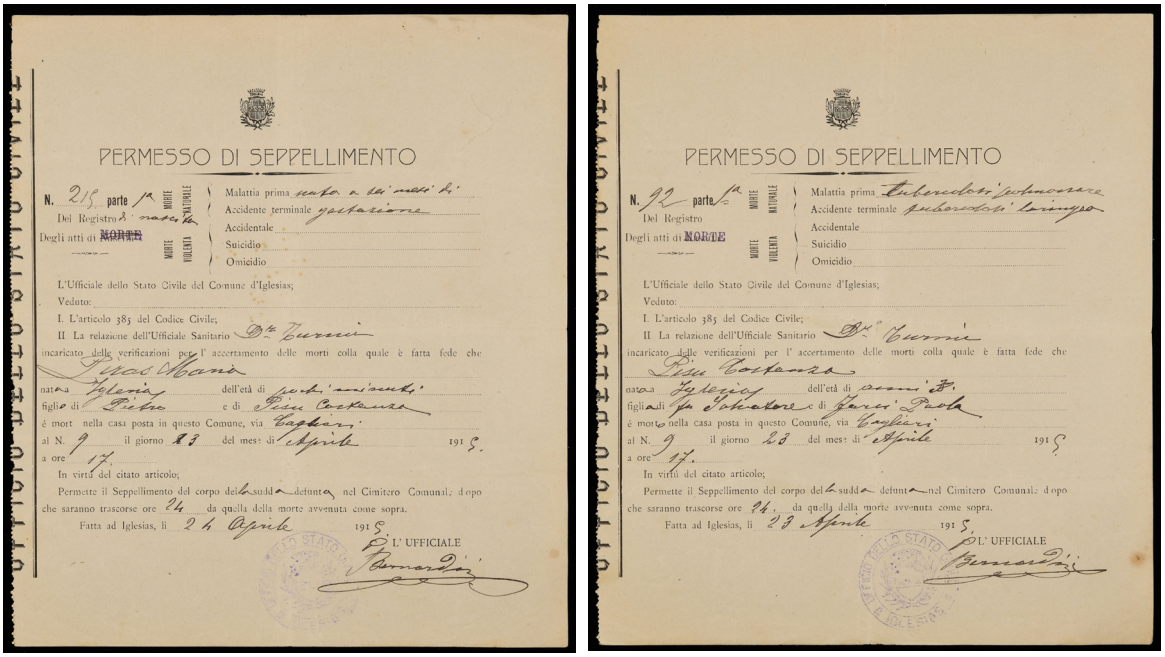
2.2 INFORMATION AND DATA

Burial permits are documents recorded by the authorized municipal officer(s) who commanded the burial of the deceased person after a period of 24 hours following the time of death (Pozzi, Raftakis, & Ruiu, 2025). In some municipalities, such as Iglesias and Bologna, the historical archives preserve the original sources, i.e. the individual burial permits, in the form of single burial sheets. These documents usually included detailed individual-level information, including the deceased's full name, parents' names, date of death, date of death notification, age at death, places of birth, death, and residence, as well as the cause of death (Figure 1 and 3). Other information could be recorded as well, according to the format of the burial permits, the rules and customs of the local civil administrations, and the adherence of public servants to such norms.

3 Some cemeteries, such as the Cimitero della Certosa (founded in 1801) in Bologna, however, date back before the introduction of the Napoleonic Code (Vidor, 2012), and the city burial permits have been available since that date.

4 An extensive description of the features and characteristics of the two chambers is provided by F. Corradini (1898).

Figure 1 *Example of Burial Permits of 1915 — Iglesias*



Source: Municipal Historical Archive of Iglesias (ASCI), Burial Permits (1915).

Each individual burial sheet also included the corresponding civil death certificate number, which allows the linkage and integration of supplementary information (such as occupation, marital status, and the spouse's name and surname).[5] These pieces of information are crucial in many instances. For example, in the analysis of maternal mortality, the knowledge of the husband's surname of a married woman is key to indirectly detect maternal deaths occurring after the birth of a child who bears the father's surname.

In other cases, burial permits have been conserved in the form of registers (Figure 2), as in the municipal historical archives of Parma and Bologna.[6] These registers systematically collected each individual document, recording it as a separate entry in a chronological list based on the date of issue (Manfredini, 2022a).

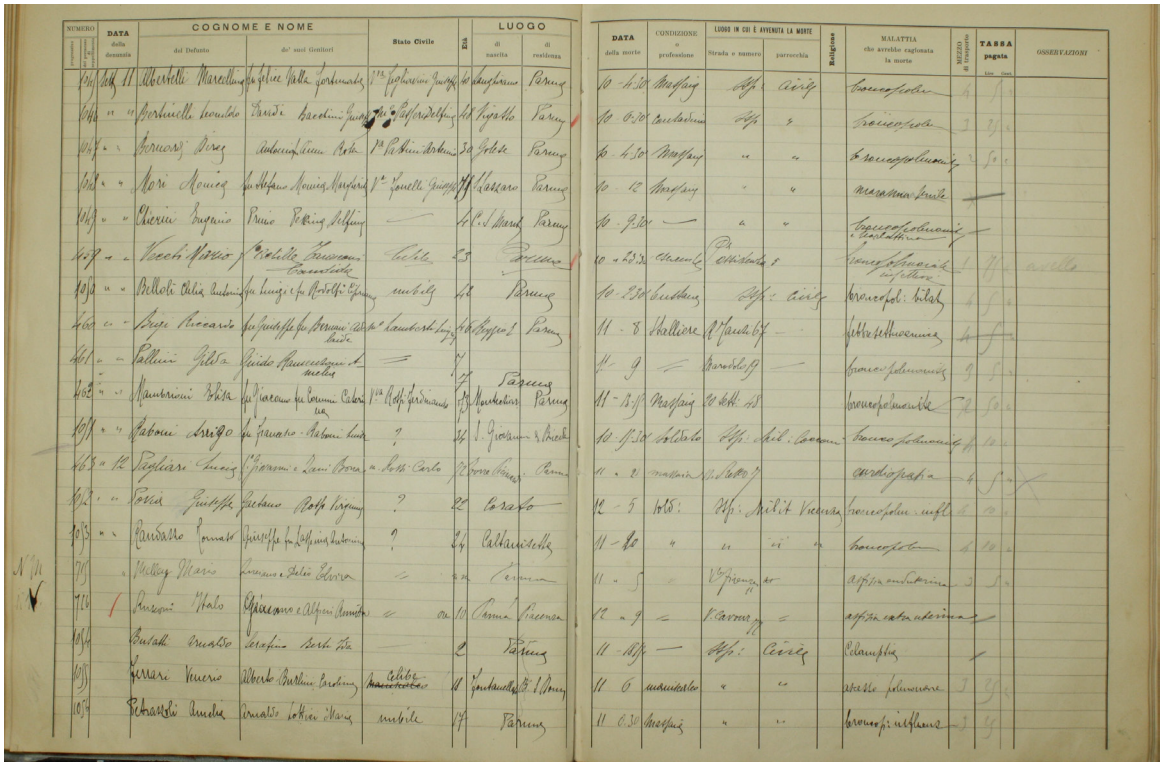
These registers reported the same information contained in the individual burial sheets described above, integrating them with additional information, such as the marital status of the deceased and some indicators of his/her socioeconomic status (not regularly present in the individual permit sheets in Bologna and Iglesias). These included the occupation of the deceased (or other relevant family members) and the burial tax, which varied depending on the deceased's socioeconomic status and the method used to transport the body to the cemetery (Figure 2).[7] Unlike the individual burial sheets, however, the registers — at least those found in the historical archives of Parma and Bologna — did not report any reference to the corresponding civil death record.

5 Both sources include the deceased's key personal information (name, surname, age at death, date and place of death). Employment status, spouse's name (if applicable), and parents' names are always included in the civil records of death, while their presence is not always guaranteed in burial permits. Conversely, the cause of death is never included in the civil records. Other information found only in burial records concerns the burial fees paid and, in the case of the city of Parma, the type of transportation used for the funeral.

6 For Bologna, the situation is much more complex. First, the archive contains both sources only for specific years. Second, the burial permits pertain to different sections of the Certosa cemetery, each identified by a letter that corresponds to a particular category of individuals. For instance: Letter A: male children (0–7 years), Letter B: female children (0–7 years), Letter D: women (who died either at home or in hospital), etc. The original individual sheets are preserved separately based on the relevant category. The preservation of these documents depends on the category analyzed.

7 The tax amount for children was fixed regardless of the socioeconomic status of the deceased's family.

Figure 2 *Registers of Burial Permits — Parma, 1918*



Source: Municipal Historical Archive of Parma, Burial Permits (1918).

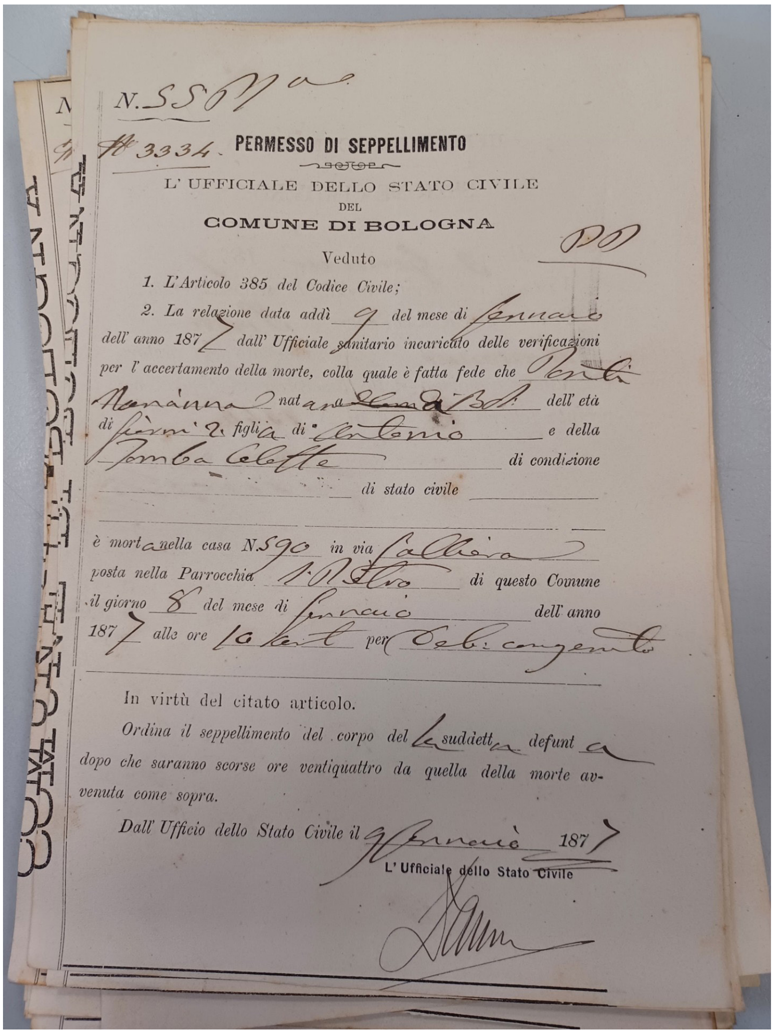
Lack of consistency can also be observed in the reporting and indication of cause(s) of death. Differences may depend either on the type of the burial source (individual sheets or registers) or on the specific periods in which burial records were recorded. For example, the individual burial permits from 1915 in Iglesias explicitly mandated the reporting of both the immediate (or direct) cause and the underlying cause of death (Figure 1). In contrast, such a critical distinction was missing not only in the burial registers from the same period in Parma (Figure 2) but also in the individual sheets of 1877 from Bologna (Figure 3), reflecting significant advancements in medical knowledge and scientific practice over time as well as a growing awareness among governments and public organizations regarding public health and the need to correctly classify causes of death. In these documents, the medical officer indicated either a single cause of death or a list of causes without any clear sequence, making it impossible to reconstruct the causal chain of diseases involved in the process of death.[8] Consequently, the analysis of this second set of documents presents important methodological issues. One possible strategy is to assume the first-listed disease as the underlying cause of death. Alternatively, one could use more sophisticated multiple-causes techniques and methods aimed at identifying either the potential underlying cause of death or groups based on recurrent patterns of associated conditions (IUSSP, 2025).

This latter approach also responds to the consideration that "the underlying cause alone does not adequately describe the pathologic processes responsible for most deaths" (Bishop et al., 2023, p. 334).

Another important aspect to highlight concerns the evolution in the registration of causes of death. For the registers of Parma, for instance, there is an evident time trend toward a more detailed specification of the causes of death (Manfredini, 2022a). When examining the burial permits from 1861–62 and 1901 together, only 2 out of 2,627 records reported two or more causes of death (0.1%), compared to 498 out of 2,775 (17.9%) in 1918.

8 For instance, the 1918 burial permits of Parma contain both clear, single-cause entries, such as "Bronchopneumonia" or "Chronic Nephritis", and more complex, multiple-cause records, like "Diffuse Bronchitis and Acute Nephritis" or "Syphilitic Arthritis and Cardiac Paralysis".

Figure 3 *Burial permit of a baby girl — Bologna, January 9th, 1877*


N. 5507
PERMESSO DI SEPPELLIMENTO
L' UFFICIALE DELLO STATO CIVILE
DEL
COMUNE DI BOLOGNA
Veduto
1. L'Articolo 385 del Codice Civile;
2. La relazione data addì 9 del mese di Gennaio dell' anno 1877 dall' Ufficiale sanitario incaricato delle verificazioni per l' accertamento della morte, colla quale è fatta fede che
nat dell' età di figlia di Antonio e della di condizione di stato civile
è morta nella casa N. 590 in via posta nella Parrocchia di questo Comune il giorno 8 del mese di Gennaio dell' anno 1877 alle ore per
In virtù del citato articolo.
Ordina il seppellimento del corpo della suddetta defunta dopo che saranno scorse ore ventiquattro da quella della morte avvenuta come sopra.
Dall' Ufficio dello Stato Civile il 9 Gennaio 1877
L' Ufficiale dello Stato Civile

Source: Municipal Historical Archive of Bologna. Burial permits Girls, envelope/register 396. Collection: Certosa Monumentale.

Another significant feature of burial permits, in whatever format they were recorded, is the inclusion of stillbirths. This inclusion was necessary because cemeteries established under the Napoleonic Code were required to have a designated area for the burial of stillbirths, aborted fetuses, and individuals sentenced to death (Delendati, 2011). The documents in Figure 1 illustrate precisely one of these cases: the permit to bury a stillbirth (left), who "died" in 1915 on the same day as her mother, as evidenced by the corresponding burial permit on the right. This peculiar characteristic of burial permits opens up a largely unexplored area of research and raises critical questions that have traditionally been challenging to address, such as "hidden" maternal deaths as well as the analysis of the link between reproductive/maternal health and fetal health, a topic that has seldom been explored (Pozzi, Breschi, & Ruiu, 2025).

3 WHAT HAS BEEN DONE SO FAR

The three series of burial permits analyzed in this paper were collected independently in the local archives of Bologna, Parma, and Iglesias. The documents were all written in formal Italian and were of high quality, but were available only in their original paper format. This prompted us to create a database for storing and standardizing the information, a database that could include the diverse information they provide and allow for, wherever possible, the linkage and integration of the data derived from both individual single sheets and the registers. Ultimately, the database included all the variables described in the previous section, whether retrieved from the single sheets or the registers.

Particular attention was paid to the digitization of causes of death, reserving specific fields to single and multiple causes of death as well as their standardization according to ICD-10 classification or to the ICD10h, the Historical International Classification of Causes of Death, developed within the Greatleap Cost Project.[9]

With very detailed individual-level data and information on causes of death for periods that start, in some cases, from the beginning of the 19th century, burial permits are a highly valuable source for scholars in historical demography. They offer a unique opportunity to study and shed some light on the mortality profile by cause of death of the Italian population(s) before the demographic transition and, more broadly, on key aspects of the Italian health transition.

The analyses carried out so far have used those data to investigate tuberculosis (Pozzi et al., 2024), stillbirths (Pozzi, Breschi, & Ruiu, 2025), maternal mortality (Raftakis et al., 2023), and the mortality pattern during the 1918 flu (Manfredini, 2022b), as well as to carry out a more general analysis of the evolution of cause-specific mortality in the city of Parma (Manfredini, 2022a). All of these studies had first to address the complex issue of the coding of causes of death. As a general rule, we used the scheme of classification of diseases adopted by the National Institute of Statistics at the time under study: for instance, in our analysis of the 1918 flu, we used the nosological classification adopted at the beginning of the 20th century (Ministero dell'Economia Nazionale, 1924).

For the first two topics-maternal mortality and stillbirths-burial permits were analyzed in combination with other sources, namely birth and death certificates as well as official statistics at the national and/or municipal level.[10] In these cases, burial permits primarily served to test and validate the official statistics of maternal mortality and stillbirth. By contrast, the other studies mentioned above required a much more extensive effort of cleaning, harmonizing, and coding the causes of death, as they addressed the whole spectrum of possible pathologies rather than being limited to those associated with maternal or infant mortality. As an example, Table 2 presents the classification by cause of death derived from the burial permits of Parma for the years 1861–62, 1901, and 1918, subsequently codified according to the nosological classification adopted in Italy at the time. These data clearly show the emergence of the epidemiological transition between 1861–62 and 1901, with deaths due to infectious diseases declining from 16.5% to 8.7%, a trend that was temporarily interrupted by the outbreak of the flu in 1918.

Looking ahead, since burial permits have been compulsory since 1865 and, in principle, should be preserved in historical archives throughout Italy, unless lost or dispersed, we plan to expand our digitalized collection by either sampling other areas and populations or extending the periods already investigated for Parma, Bologna, and Iglesias. Of particular interest are the permits recorded before the Italian unification of 1861, as they provide rare individual-level information on causes of death for that earlier period, when such data are otherwise extremely scarce.

Table 2 *Groups of causes of death — Parma, 1861–1862, 1901, and 1918*

Causes	1861–62	1901	1918
Respiratory diseases	18.7	21.4	29.1
Cardiovascular diseases	8.8	11.3	8.9
Tuberculosis	7.9	11.0	8.4
Gastrointestinal diseases	13.2	13.6	6.1
Infectious diseases	16.5	8.7	5.3
Flu	-	-	17.2
Other diseases	17.5	34.0	25.0
Total	886	1525	2683

Source: Manfredini (2022a).

9 The process of standardization of causes of death is currently manual and still in progress at this stage. As for the Greatleap Project, see the website of the project at https://greatleap.eu.

10 In particular, records of birth were used in combination with burial permits to compute both direct and indirect values of maternal mortality.

4 CONCLUSIONS

The present paper intends to introduce an important yet little-known source of civil records of deaths for pre-transitional and early-transitional Italy, namely, the burial permits. In whatever form they can be found, these permits provide researchers with valuable individual-level information, including details on causes of death. Beyond the various research opportunities this source presents, the information on causes of death specifically helps to address a considerable gap in the Italian demographic history, which is characterized by the lack of reliable, continuous, and individual-level sources that may allow tracing the evolution of diseases and the health conditions of individuals and communities.

The chance to analyze such an evolution and the related mortality patterns by sex, age, and social status is of particular interest to historical demographers, epidemiologists, and social scientists concerned with public health, social inequalities, and mortality differentials.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank all the staff and the people at the Municipal Historical Archive of Parma, Daniela Aretino and Giorgia Marcia of the Municipal Historical Archive of Iglesias as well as Luca Palestini, Maria Rita Biagini and all the staff at the Historical Municipal Archive of Bologna for their help and collaboration in making this study possible.

REFERENCES

Alter, G., & Carmichael, A. (1996). Studying causes of death in the past: Problems and models. *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History, 29*(2), 44–48. https://doi.org/10.1080/01615440.1996.10112728

Alter, G. C., & Carmichael, A. G. (1999). Classifying the dead: Toward a history of the registration of causes of death. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, 54*(2), 114–132. https://doi.org/10.1093/jhmas/54.2.114

Bernabeu-Mestre, J. (1993). Expresiones diagnósticas y causas de muerte: Algunas reflexiones sobre su utilización en el análisis demográfico de la mortalidad [Diagnostic expressions and causes of death: Some considerations on their use]. *Revista de Demografía Histórica - Journal of Iberoamerican Population Studies, 11*(3), 11–22. http://hdl.handle.net/10045/20268

Bernabeu-Mestre, J., Ramiro Fariñas, D., Sanz Gimeno, A., & Robles González, E. (2003). El análisis histórico de la mortalidad por causas. Problemas y soluciones [The historical analysis of mortality by causes. Problems and solutions]. *Revista de Demografía Histórica - Journal of Iberoamerican Population Studies, 21*(1), 167–193. http://hdl.handle.net/10045/20319

Biraben, J. N. (1973). Essai sur la statistique des causes de décès en France sous la Révolution et le Premier Empire [Essay on the statistics of causes of death in France during the Revolution and the First Empire]. *Annales de Démographie Historique*, 59–70. https://doi.org/10.3406/adh.1973.1131

Bishop, K., Balogun, S., Eynstone-Hinkins, J., Moran, L., Martin, M., Banks, E., Rao, C., & Joshy, G. (2023). Analysis of multiple causes of death: A review of methods and practices. *Epidemiology, 34*(3), 333–344. https://doi.org/10.1097/EDE.0000000000001597

Caselli, G. (1996). National differences in the health transition in Europe. *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History, 29*(3), 107–125. https://doi.org/10.1080/01615440.1996.10112733

Central Institute of Statistics. (1958). *Cause di Morte, 1887–1955* [Causes of death, 1887–1955]. Azienda Beneventana Tipografica Editoriale. https://ebiblio.istat.it/digibib/Cause%20di%20morte/Causedimorte1887-1955.pdf

Ciancio, C. (2017). *Il momento della morte come evento giuridico. Definire, tutelare, gestire fra Ottocento e primo Novecento*. Bononia University Press.

Corradini, F. (1898). Nuovo edificio per le camere mortuarie e d'osservazione in Bologna [New building for mortuary rooms in Bologna]. *L'Ingegneria Sanitaria, 3*, 25–26. https://digit.biblio.polito.it/3741/1/mese%2002%20(febbraio).pdf

Delendati, S. (2011). Il cimitero della Villetta: Un viaggio nella Parma che fu [The cemetery of Villetta: A journey through the Parma of the past]. *Parma Economica, 1*, 80–87.

IUSSP Scientific Panel on Declining Mortality and Multi-morbidity at Death. (2025). *Multiple cause-of-death analysis*. IUSSP. https://iussp.org/en/qa-multiple-cause-death-analysis

Manfredini, M. (2022a). Una nuova fonte per lo studio delle cause di morte: I permessi di sepoltura [A new source for the study of causes of death: The burial permits]. In L. Mocarelli & G. Ongaro (Eds.), *Condizioni di vita e disuguaglianze. Una prospettiva storico-demografica* (pp.189–200). Forum.

Manfredini, M. (2022b). The Spanish flu and the health system: Considerations from the city of Parma, 1918. *Demographic Research, 47*, Article 2, 1009–1018. https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2022.47.32

Ministero dell'Economia Nazionale, Direzione Generale della Statistica. (1924). *Movimento della popolazione secondo gli atti dello stato civile nell'anno 1918* [Population dynamics according to civil registry records in the year 1918]. Libreria dello Stato.

Moriyama, I. M., Loy, R. M., & Robb-Smith, A. H. T. (2011). *History of the statistical classification of diseases and causes of death*. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. https://stacks.cdc.gov/view/cdc/5928

Pozzi, L. (2002). The determinants of infant and childhood mortality: A complex tangle in the historical research. In Società Italiana di Statistica (Ed.), *Atti della XLI Riunione Scientifica, Milano 5–7 Giugno* (pp. 77–86). CLEUP.

Pozzi, L., Breschi, M., & Ruiu, G. (2025, March 26). *An unresolved conundrum: Stillbirth registration in Italy between the 19th and the 20th century. First evidence from the case study of the city of Bologna* [Conference presentation]. ESSHC conference 2025, Leiden, the Netherlands.

Pozzi, L., Raftakis, M., & Ruiu, G. (2024, Sept. 27). *Tuberculosis mortality during Sardinia's health transition: Fresh insights from a rural mining community* [Conference presentation]. IUSSP workshop Tuberculosis: The White Death as a social cisease, Alghero, Italy.

Pozzi, L., Raftakis, M., & Ruiu, G. (2025, May 24). *La conquista della salute in Italia: Iglesias tra il XIX e il XX secolo* [The path to health in Italy: Iglesias between the 19th and 20th centuries] [Conference presentation]. I permessi di seppellimento digitalizzati, Iglesias, Italy.

Raftakis, M., Manfredini, M., Mazzoni, S., & Pozzi, L. (2023, August 31). *From macro to micro: Consistency between official statistics and individual level archival sources in the study of maternal mortality in Italy (19th–20th centuries)* [Conference presentation]. 5th ESHD Conference, Nijmegen, the Netherlands.

Reid, A., & Garrett, E. (2012). Doctors and the causes of neonatal death in Scotland in the second half of the nineteenth century. *Annales de Démographie Historique, 123*(1), 149–179. https://doi.org/10.3917/adh.123.0149

Sainz-Otero, A.-M., Marín-Paz, A.-J., & Almenara-Barrios, J. (2020). The Classification of Causes of Historical Mortality (CCHM): A proposal of the study of death records. *Plos One, 15*(4), e0231311. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0231311

Vidor, G. M. (2012). *Biografia di un cimitero italiano* [Biography of an Italian cemetery]. Il Mulino.

Williams, N. (1996). The reporting and classification of causes of death in mid-nineteenth-century England: The example of Sheffield. *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, *29*(2), 58–71. https://doi.org/10.1080/01615440.1996.10112730