



Undoing Time

The Cultural Memory of an Italian Prison

Eleanor Canright Chiari

PETER LANG

VOL. 14 ITALIAN MODERNITIES

The walls of Le Nuove prison in Turin are scarred by graffiti, bullets and blood. Opened in 1870, Le Nuove was one of Italy's first panoptical prisons. During the Second World War it was occupied by the Nazis, who executed and deported anti-Fascist and Jewish prisoners held there. In the 1970s it housed left-wing 'terrorists', who spearheaded violent riots that spread to prisons across Italy. The prison staff became targets and four were shot dead. When Le Nuove finally closed down in October 2003, the memories of the tragic events that occurred there became obstacles to its demolition.

Combining oral history, anthropology and micro-history, this book examines the cultural memory of Le Nuove via interviews, archives and the material traces left within the building itself. The volume examines issues such as the relationship between memory and place, forgetting, and the problems of a global cultural heritage increasingly focused on places of suffering. By following the architecture of the prison in her narrative, the author actively engages with the many layers of time competing to give meaning to the prison today, as well as addressing the hidden stories, myths and silences that condition any study of cultural memory.

Eleanor Canright Chiari is a teaching fellow in the Department of Italian at University College London. She also teaches on the MA in Cultural Memory at the Institute of Germanic and Romance Studies, University of London.



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ITALIAN MODERNITIES

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University of Cambridge



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Oxford · Bern · Berlin · Bruxelles · Frankfurt am Main · New York · Wien

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Printed in Germany

To my family

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The Narrators

The Italian oral historian Alessandro Portelli argues that his interviewees are co-authors of his oral history books and he refers to them as ‘narrators’. This book also relies on the words and thoughts of ‘narrators’. The list below includes basic information about each of my interviewees whose voices are heard throughout this book (or whose insights significantly shaped it). Information is listed in the following order: last name, first name, year of birth written in parenthesis (where given), relationship to the prison and date of the interviews. Unless otherwise indicated in the book, all interview transcriptions are mine and are based on interviews that I conducted in the narrators’ homes or in public places in Turin.

BERRUTO, GIUSEPPE (1927) held in Le Nuove for six months in 1944 before being deported to Dachau. Volunteer for *Nessun uomo è un’isola*. Also author of memoirs and poetry collections (28 October 2003).

BUFFA, PIETRO (1959) Director of Turin’s prison, Le Vallette (25 September 2003).

CAPPELLETTO, VINCENZO (1938) Teacher in Le Nuove until 1986, later transferred to Le Vallette (20 October 2003).

CHERCHI, ANNA (1924) was held in Le Nuove from March to June 1944 for partisan activities. In June 1944 she was deported to the women’s concentration camp in Ravensbrück (13 November 2003).

CHIESA, CARLA is a volunteer for the organization Gruppo Abele. She worked as a volunteer in Le Nuove from 1980 to 1986 where she mostly helped solve bureaucratic problems for prisoners about to complete their sentence (27 October 2003).

CHINDAMO, FILOMENA (1956) corresponded with a prisoner from Le Nuove in the late 1960s (18 October 2003).

CIPOLLA, PADRE RUGGERO (1911–2006) served as prison chaplain in Le Nuove from 1944 to 1986 and in Le Vallette from 1986 to 1994. He was the author of *I miei condannati a morte* and *Un francescano dietro le sbarre*, which recount his experiences as prison chaplain.¹ He is also the subject of various books based on his memories (6 June, 11 June, 25 July, 16 September, 23 September 2003)

CONTINI, RICCARDO taught in Le Nuove from 1977 to 1978. He teaches Technical Education at the Istituto Plana, which has been running courses in Turin's prisons since 1952 (1 October 2003).

CRISTOFANELLI, FILIPPO worked in Le Nuove's prison administration, starting in 1965. He also worked as prison director for the Ferrante Aporti facility for minors. In 1970 his office was transferred inside Le Nuove, where he worked for the District Inspectorate of Prisons until his office was destroyed in the prison riot of 1971. Today Cristofanelli works for the Centro di Formazione Professionale, which provides training and job placement to inmates and ex-inmates (18 November 2003).

FARINA, GIOVANNI began work as a prison officer in Le Nuove in 1964 and advanced to the position of commander. Worked in Le Nuove until he was transferred to Le Vallette in 1986 and he retired in 1999 (26 November 2003).

1 Cipolla (1945, 1994).

GAMBERA, GIUSEPPE worked as prison administrator in Le Nuove (in the accounting department) from 1949 to 1987. His wife also briefly worked as a prison guard and their family was lodged in some of the apartments for staff on the prison premises (13 November 2003).

GARIZIO, ADRIANA (1938) was a member of the *Brigate Rosse*. She served nine years in eleven different prisons across Italy, including the women's special prison in Voghera. She was one of the leaders of the 1976 prison riot in Le Nuove and was part of the negotiating team that met politicians and administrators to improve prison conditions. Prior to her arrest she worked as a middle school teacher in Turin (19 November 2003).

GIOVENALE, ANDREINA Daughter of the owner of the Ditta Giovenale, a factory which had a workshop in the prison where inmates built metal scales. The company withdrew from the prison after the riot of 1969 in which inmates destroyed the machinery used to produce the scales (9 September 2003).

H, ERMANNO (false name) worked in the prison but wishes to remain anonymous. Specifics on his tasks in the prison would jeopardize his anonymity (11 November 2003).

LANZA, ANTONELLA Mother of the policeman Salvatore Lanza, who was killed by the *Brigate Rosse* while patrolling the prison on December 15, 1978 (3 November 2003).

NICOLOTTI, LUCA (1954) Member of the *Brigate Rosse* arrested in 1980. He spent three years in Le Nuove's penal section where he attended courses in woodworking while studying for a university degree in Sociology. Since 1990 he has been allowed to work outside the prison. He was married by Padre Ruggero in the prison chapel and has two children but continues to serve time in Le Vallette while working in a bookshop outside the prison during the day (22 November 2003).

P, GIULIANO (false name) asked to remain anonymous. Served time in Le Nuove for white-collar crimes. Remains in partial custody in Le Vallette but works outside the prison during the day (31 October 2003).

PARENTE, CARMELO is a retired prison officer who achieved the rank of *maresciallo*. He started in Le Nuove in 1970 after working in four other Italian prisons (Palermo, Alessandria, Casale Monferrato, Solmona). He resigned from his post in 1977 due to the 'unbearable' tension of the job. His wife also briefly worked as a prison guard in the female section of the prison (15 September 2003).

PERLA, ALDO Defence lawyer for many members of the *Brigate Rosse* in Turin. Visited Le Nuove every day for almost thirty years (18 September 2003).

PISTOI, ENNIO (1920–2009) was held in Le Nuove for several months during 1944–1945. He helped organize the mass escape of prisoners from the military prison in Corso Dante in April 1944 but was re-arrested and remained in Le Nuove until April 1945. He served as first Secretary of the Democratic Christian Party in Turin and was a volunteer for the organization *Nessun uomo è un'isola*. He gave talks in schools about his partisan activities and was the author of a memoir entitled *Nonno Ennio racconta: perché parlare di Resistenza ai giovani?*² (30 October 2003).

PISTOI, IRMA Wife of Ennio Pistoï, was also involved in partisan activities and was arrested but released almost immediately because she was eight months pregnant. Her main role in the Resistance consisted of forging documents (30 October 2003).

R, FEDERICO (false name) (1960) asked to remain anonymous. Served time in Le Nuove as well as prisons in Genoa and in Le Vallette for crimes related to his heroin addiction. He now works for a drug rehabilitation centre, which is also a charity that helps addicts reintegrate into society (28 November 2003).

2 Pistoï (1997).

ROMANO, GIOVANNA worked as a female prison officer in Le Nuove in 1974 and lived on the prison premises because she was married to Teodoro Romano. She witnessed riots and unrest in the female section of the prison (7 October 2003).

ROMANO, GRAZIO (1928) worked as prison doctor in Le Nuove, starting in the early 1960s. On 1 February 1979 he was shot several times by two men who were waiting for him outside his clinic. He still has a bullet lodged in his femur and one in his leg. The organization *Squadre Armate Proletarie* claimed responsibility for his shooting (25 November 2003).

ROMANO, TEODORO (1935) started his work as prison officer in Le Nuove in 1967. He worked primarily in the warehouse, organizing clothing and other equipment, assisted by three inmates. He and his family lived on the prison premises but he resigned from his job in 1979 (7 October 2003).

RONCONI, SUSANNA (1954) was a member of the *Brigate Rosse* and one of the founding members of *Prima Linea*. She participated in two assassinations. In 1982 her partner Sergio Segio organized her escape from the Rovigo prison and during the explosion of a wall a bystander was killed. She first arrived in Le Nuove to attend a trial in 1980, and returned to Le Nuove in 1984. In 1991 she was allowed to work outside prison and in 1998 she was released. She went on to work for the Gruppo Abele, a charity for the rehabilitation of drug addicts (12 December 2003).

SALMOIRA, MAURO Member of the *Brigate Rosse*, served time in Le Nuove in 1976 while awaiting trial. He also faced long sentences in various 'special' prisons across Italy (27 November 2003).

SCALA, MARISA (1919) acted as a partisan messenger and was taken to Le Nuove in 1943. Her brother and cousins were also partisans. After being held in Le Nuove and regularly interrogated for a month she was freed on condition that she did not leave the city, but she went into hiding following harassment by fascist militias. She continued working for the Resistance and was re-arrested in 1944. Despite one successful escape she was re-arrested and deported to a women's concentration camp in Ravensbrück (29 October 2003).

SEVEN, RENATA lived near Le Nuove and remembers seeing prisoners communicating with family members through the bars as well as being forced to take long detours and pass through heavily armed checkpoints at the time of the trials of the *Brigate Rosse* in the late 1970s (23 September 2003).

SIMIONI, BRUNO Member of the ANED (National Association of Ex-Political Deportees) was held in Le Nuove for a month in 1944 and was transferred to San Vittore in Milan before being deported to Dachau concentration camp. While in Le Nuove he was badly beaten during interrogations and kept in total isolation. Upon his return from Dachau he discovered that his father had been executed (4 November 2003).

SPATAFORA, SALVATORE worked as a prison officer in Le Nuove between 1968 and 1978. In 1978 he received a threatening letter from the *Brigate Rosse* and was transferred to work in the prison administration outside Turin. He was in charge of weapons distribution and also contributed to ballistic training. In 1993 he began work on the administrative side of trials against prison officers and retired in 1998 (6 October 2003).

SURACE, GIUSEPPE was director of Le Nuove from 1983 to 1986 and is credited with bringing order to the prison. He put political prisoners into a separate wing, effectively creating a 'special' prison within Le Nuove (13 November 2003).

TAGLIENTE, FELICE Founding member and acting chief of the committee *Nessun uomo è un'isola*. Was prison psychologist in Le Nuove starting in the late 1970s and went on to work in Le Vallette. He also teaches history in the Majorana technical high school in Turin (8 July 2003).

TAGLIENTE, MARIA Founding member of the committee *Nessun uomo è un'isola*. She and her husband Felice Tagliente have been deeply involved in running the museum in Le Nuove and securing funding and recognition for the organization (I did not conduct a formal interview).

TOPPINO, ANGELO is the prison librarian for Le Vallette and was one of the founding members of the committee *Nessun uomo è un'isola*. He is an expert on Turin history and particularly on the city's early prison history and on the countess Maria Giulia di Barolo, who founded one of the first female prisons in Turin in the early nineteenth century (18 September 2003).

TOSCANO, ORAZIO (1936) Volunteer for the committee *Nessun uomo è un'isola*, handled the daily working of the museum in the prison until his illness in 2006. He was the son of anti-fascist dissident Diego Toscano who was held in Le Nuove from March to May 1944 until he was deported to the concentration camp in Mauthausen, where he died in January 1945 (15 October 2003).

VALER, PAOLO High-ranking police officer in the Prefecture of Turin. He was a young policeman at the time of the prison riots of 1976 and he was called in to put down the rebellion. For a few months in 1978 he worked the morning shift patrolling Le Nuove's walls and he shared a room in the police barracks with Salvatore Porceddu, who was killed while patrolling Le Nuove on 15 December 1978 (6 November 2003).

W, ANNAMARIA (false name) worked as female prison officer in Le Nuove and Le Vallette but wishes to remain anonymous.

ZANINI, GIORGIO is a chemical technician at the University of Turin. In the 1950s he helped organize one of the early strikes at FIAT and he wrote an article for the first issue of *Quaderni Rossi* a radical leftist publication in print between 1961 and 1966. He was arrested in 1968 following a violent demonstration on the streets of Turin (although he was not involved in the violence). During his arrest he was badly beaten and lost consciousness. He was held in Le Nuove for a fortnight. He was acquitted shortly thereafter (14 November 2003).

Introduction



The current state of the present consists of a palimpsest of all durations of the past that have become recorded in matter.

— OLIVIER, 2001

From 1870 the *Casa Circondariale di Torino detta 'Le Nuove'*¹ served as Turin's main prison until most of its inmates were moved to a new prison on the outskirts of the city in 1986–1988. Le Nuove was finally decommissioned in 2003. Still under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice, the large nineteenth-century structure would have been entirely converted into office space had it not been for the work of a vocal volunteer organization, the *Comitato Nessun uomo è un'isola*,² which was bent on establishing a permanent museum on the prison premises. At stake was the preservation of the empty prison space as a vehicle for memories in a battle between a perceived indifference towards the past and a memory described as civic duty. For the volunteer group, Le Nuove prison bore witness to a tragic past that contemporary visitors had a responsibility to know about and share as their own. The empty building thus 'spoke' or was made to speak through a guided tour in which ex-partisans or their descendants shared their personal experiences of the place and thus re-inscribed it with memories and meanings.

The organization *Nessun uomo è un'isola* was not the first to see the prison building as an agent capable of action. Already in 1891 the criminal anthropologist Cesare Lombroso had contested the idea that a prison was a 'mute and paralytic or tongueless organism': instead, he defined the prison as an *organism* 'that speaks, moves, and at times is able to wound and kill'. In later years the prison chaplain Padre Ruggero Cipolla said that the prison had been a 'witness to tears, to pain and to blood' and Orazio Toscano (the son of an anti-fascist resistance fighter held in Le Nuove who later died in the Mauthausen concentration camp) talked about how, down in the cells of the condemned men, he could 'feel' the suffering that occurred there.

1 From here onwards simply referred to as Le Nuove.

2 The 'No man is an island Committee', from the famous phrase in John Donne's *Meditation XVII*. From here on referred to simply as *Nessun uomo è un'isola*.

Can buildings bear witness to the past? If they speak, how does 'listening' take place? In what ways are tourists and historians *interlocutors* in the exchange between the material remnants of the past and the present? Are they spectators or creators of that past? Scholars working on commemorative practices around places have commented on the space of the imagination in the reading of place.³ Victor Buchli and Gavin Lucas, for example, commented on the importance of storytelling for creating and transmitting a sense of the past that has occurred at a given site:

We would like to think that these sites, because they have been the scenes of exceptional or tragic events, intrinsically preserve the memory of those events. In fact, neither places nor things say anything whatsoever in themselves, unless it is to those who have memories of them.... What do we do when faced with these sites that are empty of meaning? To bear witness to this incommunicable past, it becomes necessary to tell stories; that is to invent a history that could be told by the remains, or by the traces of past events.⁴

This book aims to find, describe and analyse the stories that can be told by the remains of Le Nuove in a physical as well as a symbolic sense. It starts from the stories that are already in circulation around the prison site and then engages in its own task of unravelling and creating further stories by detailed oral historical and micro-historical analysis aimed at recovering and discussing the darker and more hidden stories from Le Nuove. The aim of this book is to produce a study that is not a history but a 'cultural memory' of Le Nuove.⁵

According to Marita Sturken, cultural memory can be described as 'the field of cultural negotiation through which different stories vie for a

3 See for example Coombes 2003 or Young 1993.

4 Buchli and Lucas 2001, p. 184.

5 Should readers wish to further their knowledge of the history of Italian prisons more generally they should look at two main historical works. Melossi and Pavarini's 1981 *The Prison and the Factory* is a good source for a history of the early prison system in Italy. Christian de Vito's 2007 *Camosci e Girachiavi: Storia del Carcere in Italia*, based on extensive interviews and meticulous archival research, should be the main point of reference for anyone wanting to understand the very complex history of Italian prisons after the Second World War and provides an excellent overview of the transformations the institution has undergone over the last hundred years.

place in history.⁶ Inspired by oral history work such as Alessandro Portelli's book on Terni,⁷ this book is the first to focus on an individual prison over its entire lifespan as a functioning institution and to combine oral history and cultural memory to tell its stories. The stories in this book have emerged from a variety of sources. I conducted forty-five qualitative interviews with ex-prisoners, prison workers (the priest, the doctor and psychiatrist, prison officers, volunteers, prison directors), family members of inmates, and volunteers who were usually people that had worked or were held in Le Nuove between 1943 and 2003. Interviews were carried out between October 2003 and January 2006. In some cases interviewee names have been changed (either because they requested anonymity or for their own protection) and this is indicated in a footnote. All translations are my own, with the unfortunate caveat of the loss of some subtleties and nuances of Italian oral speech; when a faithful translation was not possible I tried to keep the Italian in the text. The book also relies on the prison-related materials held in the *Archivio di Stato di Torino*, in the *Archivio Storico della Città di Torino* (mainly newspaper clippings), the *Archivio Lombroso*, the *Museo di Antropologia Criminale 'Cesare Lombroso'* and the archive of Padre Ruggero Cipolla (until recently held in the convent of San Bernardino da Siena in Saluzzo). It also takes account of the changing practices in the tours run by the *Nessun uomo è un'isola* group as well as the material traces found in the building itself. This project addresses the forms that stories from Le Nuove take, the larger myths and assumptions that they imply, and how they are used by different social actors to further a particular vision of the past, for active use in the present.

The book is organized in chapters that follow the physical geography of the prison, in order to underline the importance of the architectural make-up of this institution and the different way its various sections worked through time. Chapter 1 is 'located' inside a prison cell and describes the memories of prisoners relating to their cell as a lived and remembered place. Chapter 2 'takes place' on the ramparts and describes the memories of prison guards, focusing on the dominant stories and myths from the *anni*

6 Sturken 1997, p. 1.

7 Portelli 1985.

di piombo.⁸ Chapter 3 concentrates on the Roof (considering prison riots in particular), Chapter 4 focuses on the Church (the role of the Church in the prison); Chapter 5 ‘takes place’ in the Main Hall and concentrates on the tour (which follows the work of *Nessun uomo è un’isola* as it moves spatially across the prison as a way to introduce a comparative discussion of prisons as heritage sites, drawing on examples from Brazil, Northern Ireland, the USA and South Africa). A concluding chapter on the outer walls reflects on the perception of the prison in the city and its future.

The decision to organize the stories from Le Nuove in an inscribed prison geography is both methodological and stylistic, as the book constitutes a journey around the prison, which is both historical and physical. As material and symbolic traces of the past surface into the present, they come to ‘haunt’ the present in a fragmentary and a temporal fashion. By their very nature the stories from Le Nuove ‘overlap’ spatially as well as semantically. A ‘cell’ is simultaneously a physical place that can be visited today and a composite of thousands of overlapping cells experienced by inmates in extremely diverse historical and psychological contexts. One can attempt to describe these overlaps but the complexity of the pasts from Le Nuove would make a linear storytelling impossible. As I untangle the different stories from Le Nuove, readers should not be surprised to find the narrative moving between different historical moments and contexts, from the memories of partisans from the Second World War, to those of ‘terrorists’ from the 1970s, and back to the last words of suicidal inmates of the 1880s. Organizing these fragments into confined chapters/sections of the prison contributes to creating a sense of a bounded space, so important to the experience of confinement, and also reminds the reader that the stories being told are first and foremost the stories of a building, which contained within itself many different times and experiences, each leaving its own unique trace.

8 ‘Years of lead’: from the 1981 film by this name by German director Margarethe Von Trotta. This phrase denotes the period of political violence in Italy between 1969 and 1983 in which radical armed bands from the left and right engaged in kidnappings, killings and bombings and in which the State also engaged in violence and repression against civilians.

Many Italian prisons could have made excellent subjects for such a study. From Le Murate in Florence, to Regina Coeli in Rome or Poggioreale in Naples, each of these prisons reflects the unique character of the city it stands in and contains its own mythologies of violence and folklore. Le Nuove served as a particularly interesting case study because at the time I was conducting my research it was being closed down and its future was still being decided. It thus lent itself particularly well to addressing questions concerning the meaning of prison buildings and the struggles by social actors trying to preserve them from oblivion.

Since I grew up in Turin, Le Nuove was also ‘my prison’, only a short bicycle ride away from my parents’ house. I remember passing Le Nuove’s foreboding walls as a child, and being told that guards were shot at from the street. Even in high school I knew nothing of the recent history of Turin and I found it difficult to reconcile the panorama of coffee shops and traffic with guns and violence. Professor Buffa, director of Turin’s new prison Le Vallette, also had trouble reconciling the violent history of Le Nuove with today’s reality. When I interviewed him about what he knew about Le Nuove when he became prison director, he said that he heard a lot of rumours that were not *buona memoria* (good memory), so that he didn’t really know what to believe. ‘They are stories of *rivolte, botte e terrorismo* (riots, blows and terrorism). Are they real? Is it plausible? They are stories of extreme difficulty, battles, flames, guns and knives. Some of this must have been true because there have been dead people and the dead are real, but these are stories of things repeated at the bar. They are not interesting and unreliable.’ This book is not concerned with reliability but considers precisely that dominance of particular sensational myths and stories, which make up the prison’s cultural memory.

Le Nuove was also particularly attractive as a case study for the special significance and role the city of Turin had in the radical transformations affecting all aspects of Italian society in the second half of the twentieth century. In its perceived role as a *città fabbrica* (factory city) dominated by the car factory FIAT, Turin came to embody aspirations and anxieties about modernity, progress and crisis perhaps more than any other Italian city and events in Turin had far-reaching consequences for the rest of Italy. This was true of the student movement of 1967–1968, the *autunno caldo* (1969

sequence of protests that marked the beginning of an era of mass mobilization in which factory workers in Northern Italy arranged continuous strikes and demonstrations for improved working conditions and better pay) the defeat of the worker movement and the winding down of Fordism in the city.⁹ Less known, however, is the history of the prisoner movement, which began in Le Nuove in 1969 and spread to prisons all over Italy.

Visiting Le Nuove today it is striking to find that some 'pasts' are more prominent than others. This imbalance in focus will also be reflected in the book, where the stories from the *anni di piombo* are disproportionately represented, perhaps due to the traumatic power of that still not fully resolved time. Before drawing out a cultural memory of Le Nuove it may be helpful to produce a brief chronology of Le Nuove to place the prison within a broader context and fully understand the stories and memories I will be analysing in later chapters.

A Brief History of Le Nuove

Turin's Le Nuove prison first opened its doors to prisoners in 1870 shortly after Turin had lost its status as capital of the newly formed Kingdom of Italy.¹⁰ Built following the panoptical radial structure made popular by the prisons constructed at Auburn and Philadelphia,¹¹ it had a female wing from the very start and was unique for the presence of a multi-celled chapel, which allowed prisoners to view mass while remaining entirely isolated from other prisoners. There is very little information about the early inmates in Le Nuove. We can infer a sense of their isolation and the brutality of their conditions from the prison architecture and from the prison code of 1863 and the Zanardelli code of 1889, which abolished

9 Tranfaglia 1999, pp. 29, 42–47.

10 Comoli-Mandracci 1974.

11 King and Elliott 1977; Meranze 1996; Teeters 1955.

the use of chains, the death penalty and the more extreme forms of solitary confinement that had been typical of prisons up to that point.¹²

There are material traces of prisoner life in Cesare Lombroso's criminological collection.¹³ As doctor and criminologist in Le Nuove between 1886 and his death in 1909, Lombroso collected measurements and artefacts, as well as a significant number of inmate brains and skulls. To Lombroso these items were scientific evidence, and he referred to them, together with the writings he found scribbled illicitly in prison bibles, on walls, embroidered on clothing or written on tattooed skin, as 'palimpsests from prison', which he edited in a book published for and addressed only to 'men of science'.¹⁴ Although most of the writings and artefacts were stored anonymously and can no longer be reconnected to their individual owners, Lombroso's *Palimpsesti del Carcere* provides us with anonymous voices from the nineteenth-century prison, which would have otherwise been lost to history.

A bomb is said to have destroyed the prison archive in 1944, which would explain the scarcity of documents from Le Nuove before the end of the Second World War. Anonymous graffiti in the prison chapel suggest the presence of deserters from the First World War and the name of one guard, Costantino Simula, carved in marble on the prison wall, is a small reminder of the violence of the *biennio rosso*.¹⁵ Simula's body was found abandoned near the city cemetery and workers of the Nebiolo factory were tried and sentenced for his killing.¹⁶

12 For a full text of the Codice Zanardelli with updated comments see Marino and Petrucci 2010.

13 For a collection of images of these gathered materials, including carved water jugs, writings and sculptures of criminals from Le Nuove and other prisons and psychiatric institutions, see Colombo, 1975 and Montaldo and Tappero, 2009. For more on Lombroso see Castelnuovo Frigessi, 2003; Gibson, 2002; Harrowitz, 1994; Horn, 2003; Martucci, 2002; Villa, 1985.

14 Lombroso 1891.

15 1919–1920 period of radical protests and violence leading to the occupation of factories including FIAT in the devastating financial aftermath of the First World War.

16 'Il processo per l'uccisione del nazionalista Sonzini e della guardia carceraria Simula', *La Stampa* (2 March 1922).