# Uncanny beauty. Unveiling a prison interior

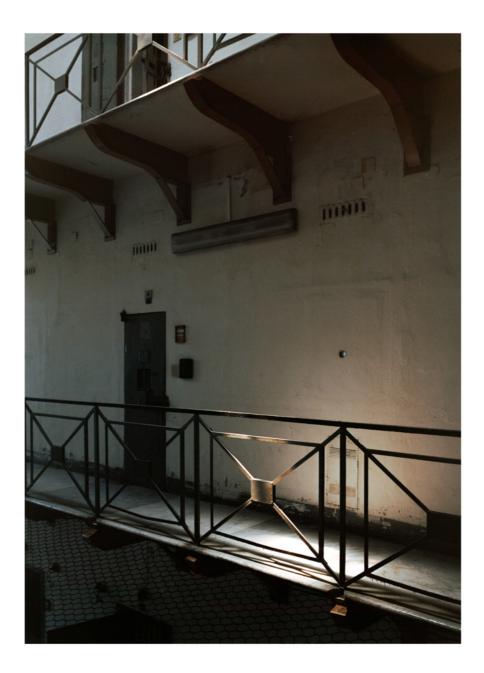
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# ABSTRACT

This essay reflects on the paradox that invests common perceptions of prison interiors by presenting a formal investigation of the nineteenth century prison of Buoncammino in Italy and questioning its uncanny beauty.

While we unanimously refuse as abominable the pre-modern dark dungeon, we are also very ambivalent towards the (unrealised) promises of the carefully designed enlightened and 'enlightening' spaces of the modern prison, which in principle we consider superior but that, ultimately, we end up perceiving in a not too dissimilar way from the pre-modern imaginary of darkness. Is this survival of darkness inside modern institutions, born in the age of the Enlightenment, a sign of failure for the hopes embedded in the modern prison? Or does it derive from the imperfect implementation of the model modern prison in reality? Or, alternatively, was darkness already embedded in modernity itself? The apparently irresolvable paradox of the coexistence of 'dark space' in 'light space' relates to the dichotomic nature of contemporary debates on penal institutions: whether to humanise or abolish them.

Text by Sabrina Puddu. Photographs by Giaime Meloni.



Above Figure 1. Photo Essay. Studio sulla forma n.01 (photo by Giaime Meloni)









**Opposite** Figure 3. Photo Essay. Studio sulla forma n.03 (photo by Giaime Meloni)

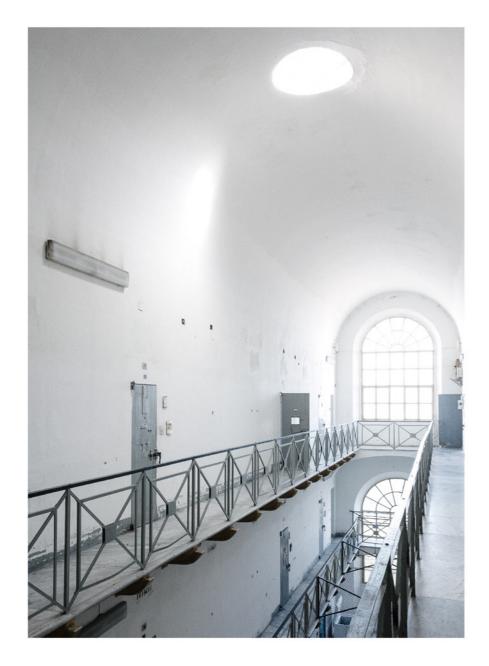
Above Figure 4. Photo Essay. Studio sulla forma n.04 (photo by Giaime Meloni)

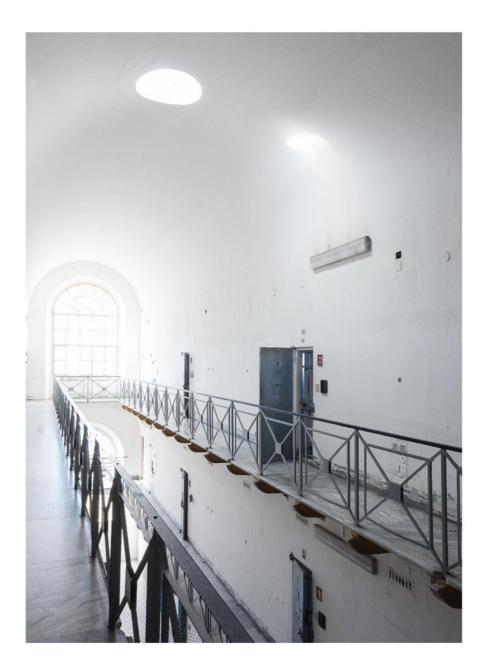




**Opposite** Figure 5. Photo Essay. Studio sulla forma n.05 (photo by Giaime Meloni)

Above Figure 6. Photo Essay. Studio sulla forma n.06 (photo by Giaime Meloni)





**Opposite** Figure 7. Photo Essay. Studio sulla forma n.07 (photo by Giaime Meloni)

Above Figure 8. Photo Essay. Studio sulla forma n.08 (photo by Giaime Meloni)

We entered the prison of Buoncammino in Cagliari, Sardinia, a few days following its vacation in November 2014.<sup>1</sup> As the inmates were moved to a new carceral citadel on the outskirts of the city, they left behind the city prison, a building that over 150 years of existence had become ingrained in collective memory as the embodiment of ideas of confinement and moral reform. By 2014 it was believed timely for a new architecture of incarceration. Whatever the reason, the beauty of the old Buoncammino prison interior was paradoxically overwhelming and stronger than any other feeling — Shame? Anger? Sadness? Curiosity? The suspension of its past use — of any event that had animated the building — and the sudden absence of human presence left behind a display of naked architectural splendour and squalor, inviting the eye to focus on a level of abstraction that otherwise only projective representation — the noble medium of drawing — could guarantee. This abstraction is captured in the photos accompanying this text, framing this now empty prison in the absence of the human targets of such power as a pure, silent object with its past charge of control and power now fully revealed. An uncanny beauty is unexpectedly attached to such charge.

Sardinia boasts an extended archipelago of correctional institutions. Due to the geographical and historical conditions of the island, this archipelago was implemented since the beginning of the modern era at the service of the national state and has always been significantly oversized compared to the small local population and the relatively low criminal rates. Nevertheless, as proof that an island is still considered a perfect condition for confinement, over the past decade the construction of prisons has continued, giving birth to four high security complexes. Evidence that, sadly, the times are still distant when we can imagine a society without prisons.

As a consequence of the new constructions, four older prisons dating back to the nineteenth century have been vacated. Buoncammino is one of these. Standing as an example of the modern attempts to reform penal institutions, Buoncammino shows how, in the late nineteenth century, the Italian debate over penalty was in line with the ideas discussed throughout Europe and North America and with the anxiety to design institutions that could contain, if not reform, crime. From an architectural perspective, the prison followed the then dominant principle of cellular segregation common to other international examples. Built on the top of a hill, in a dominating relationship with the city, it is perceived from the outside as a megablock, enclosed by a polygonal wall within which a series of symmetrically arranged blocks emerge. Despite its sculptural urban presence, however, like all prisons, Buoncammino is a project of interiors.



Above Figure 9. Photo Essay. Studio sulla forma n.09 (photo by Giaime Meloni)

# A PROJECT OF INTERIORS

In the 1982 book The Fabrication of Virtue, Robin Evans recognises prisons as the ultimate machines of architectural efficiency, and the locus where the project of modernity has been put to the test most explicitly.<sup>2</sup> Newgate (1750s) and Pentonville (1840s) are respectively the starting and end points of Evans' account of the history of British prisons, taken as a model case for a more widespread reform of western carceral systems between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The British case is a perfect demonstration of the fact that the modern prison, as it emerged in that period and developed into the twentieth century, was mostly a project of interior space. Such project was deployed through the scrupulous drawing of floor-plans and sections, conceived as perfect imprints of the patterns of human relationships that prison reformers imagined would unroll in space. As Evans writes,

these buildings, with their proliferating components and patterned plans, were to map the location of staff and inmates, guide their movements and mediate the transactions between them. [...] The pattern of walls in a plan and the distribution of apartments in a section are abstracts of a social reality defined by interdicted or extended communication between one place and another.<sup>3</sup>

The formation of this new kind of institutional interior thus subscribed to principles of causality occurring between the physical space and the social realm. Alliances of the kind signed by reformer John Howard and architect William Blackburn in England were to promote a series of typological experimentations towards the implementation of an interior capable of tracing a correspondence between the institutional protocols, hierarchies and routines envisioned by the reformer, and the structure of space drawn by the architect. The latter was meant to define an 'architecture of inescapable relationships,' <sup>4</sup> drawing a building that could 'be regarded as a frozen image of intercourse.' <sup>5</sup> To prove this point, Evans consistently compares the floor plans of pre-modern detention buildings to those of reformed modern prisons, and highlights how the former — like the one drawn by Jacob live for the Clerkenwell House of Correction in 1757 <sup>6</sup> — mostly depicted a geography of rooms, each labelled with its correspondent use and suggesting a pattern of occupation. Yet the rooms were not structured according to a prescribing geometry.<sup>7</sup> In contrast, labelling became almost superfluous to the prescribing value of the floor plan in modern prisons, where an intentional and instrumental use of geometry, composition, symmetry, hierarchy and proportions was clearly at play. The latent power of the floor plan (and of the section) in making real and material the principles of penal reform was masterfully understood by William Blackburn, as shown for instance in the project for the Liverpool Borough Gaol (1785-89), one of nineteen prisons he designed.

The interior of the modern prison was born as a confined environment, as much controlled and organised as it was carefully lightened and aerated. It developed according to a widespread rhetoric of refusal of another, precedent interior represented by the dark dungeon of the pre-modern era.



Vividly pictured in prints, literature, and reports written and popularised by philanthropists and reformists, this rhetoric found an outspoken advocate in John Howard. In the many editions of his book *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales* <sup>8</sup> (1777-1780-1784-1792), Howard expressly contrasted the out-dated British prisons to buildings like the house of correction in Rome designed by Carlo Fontana in the 1700s, which he took as a precedent more fitting to his principles of reform, because it was rationally designed according to a precise discipline. <sup>9</sup> But the accusations against the old dungeons were just a specific case of wider refusal for certain types of spaces encouraging promiscuity and what were conceived as its related social illnesses. Thus, Evans shows how the refusal of the pre-modern dungeon interior was transposed, with similar tones and argumentations, from the spaces of confinement to the domestic domain.<sup>10</sup> Similarly to the dungeons, the houses for the poor in the eighteenth century were described as interiors scarcely organised, chaotically inhabited in promiscuity, unclean, smelly, dark, and poorly ventilated. As response to this line of accusation, these houses were replaced in the nineteenth century by the newly conceived model houses and residential estates promoted on grounds of hygiene, non-promiscuity, light and ventilation.

Above

Figure 10. In the darkness of dungeons. Between a rhetoric of refusal and the definition of a phenomenology of darkness. John Howard Esq. visiting and relieving the miseries of a prison painted by Francis Wheatley and engraved by James Hogg, 1787. Wellcome Library no. 544703i.

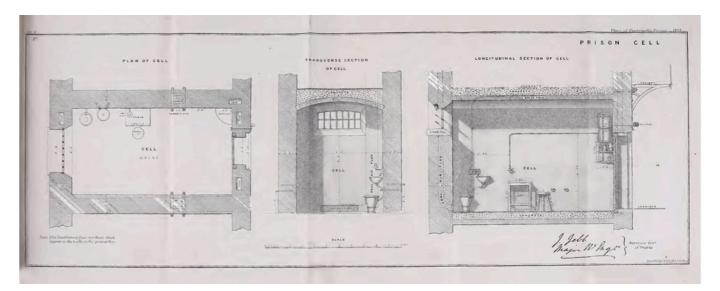
The dark interiors of dungeons and houses conveyed aesthetic repulsion as much as they were alleged to be the source of physical and moral disease, and of corporal and vicious epidemics. In the first steps towards a reform that would eventually lead to the construction of the model modern prison – exemplified by the facility of Pentonville in London (1842) by the Royal Engineer Joshua Jebb - light and air were among the most powerful drivers of typological experimentation. They were conceived as antidotes to the problems of physical contagion among inmates that had created an epidemic guickly surpassing the prison walls to affect the free society outside — as happened in the spread of the gaol fever in 1750.<sup>11</sup> When, expanding the scope of Blackburn's typological efforts, the Bentham brothers started developing their famous Panopticon Penitentiary in the 1780s, <sup>12</sup> it became clear that light was to participate in the reformative project to a larger extent than salubrity itself. The Panopticon was the ultimate affirmation of light as the key element in the toolbox for control and moral reform used to build the new physicality of the modern prison.

The cells in the Panopticon had two windows, one looking to the outside and allowing light to cross the cells, the other looking toward the inside and located in correspondence to one of the windows of the central control kiosk. The effect of backlighting created by this setup allowed the reduction of the confined human being inside the backlit atmosphere of the cell to a 'small captive shadow,' <sup>13</sup> a de-individualised, de-humanised actor in the Panopticon disciplinary theatre. The efficiency of the principle of inspection, clearly embedded in the centripetal architectural diagram of the Panopticon, was thus extended by this reduction of information achieved through light control. In particular, the I787 scheme prescribed the cylindrical kiosk to be further separated from the cells by a wider and lightened rotunda, thus making inspection anonymous, for the prisoners were not able to see inside the darkness of the kiosk. <sup>14</sup>

A pure embodiment of the Panopticon has never been built and the attempts at reproducing it have been incomplete and clumsy.<sup>15</sup> In contrast, many prisons were modelled on Pentonville, which provided a perfectly interiorised environment based on a



radial building type, as opposed to the circular scheme deployed In this newly defined prison architecture, floor plans were by the Benthams. In Pentonville too, control was based on a indispensable to control the hierarchical disposition of spaces, central point of inspection. However, this was located at the and acted as crucial media to evaluate the power enforced by convergence of wings housing the cells, each of which was architecture over the carceral community. Yet, it was the section composed of a central nave running the full length of the wing — often drawn as a shadowed section — that was to act as the and flanked on both sides by three-storey batteries of equally key representational medium to grasp the central role of light distributed cells that were accessed from narrow galleries. Thus, and shadows in the definition of the prison interior, depicting its the central inspection point overlooked the silent vaulted naves quality and its sequential access from the nave to the cell. without exerting any direct scrutiny into the cells themselves. Accurately drawn internal perspectival views of Pentonville Pentonville synthesised a discourse on penal institutions revealed the sensorial aspect of the big vaulted and galleried through the late eighteenth century and the first decades of naves sprinkled with light from the massive windows at their the nineteenth, with the efforts of Blackburn and his European end and from skylights on the roof. These images show how colleagues finding a major reply on the other side of the Atlantic light reached the cell as a diluted entity, mostly from the front in the Philadelphia (1830s) and Auburn (1820s) systems. With door facing the nave. On the other side, a tiny celestial beam of Pentonville, the main principles for modern prison architecture light penetrated from a window located high enough to avoid were finally fixed: solitary confinement, inspection, security, and any visual contact between the interior and the exterior worlds. salubrity. The nineteenth century prisons built according to the Stripped from a role of establishing a relationship between the Pentonville model made use of light as an element to ensure interior of the prison and the exterior world, these windows salubrity and to enhance control over the confined inmates and thus merely worked to guarantee light and air to enter in a the staff. But beyond these utilitarian reasons, light also served measure that was sufficient to provide some comfort within as an essential element in the overall quality of the architectural articulation and composition. High ceilings and vaulted spaces, the cell.



### Opposite

Figure 11. Pentonville's nave. Picture from Joshua Jebb, Report of the surveyor general of prisons on the Construction, Ventilations, and Details of Pentonville Prison, London : Printed by W. Clowes and sons for H.M. Stationery Off, 1844. Wellcome Library no. n 88255625.

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### Above

IDEA JOURNAL 2017 DARK SPACE \_ the interior

zenith light, and carefully controlled proportions were retained other way than in praise of beauty? It was a mix of these reasons in many projects, with symmetry, neatness, and cleanliness acting that gave birth to a series of buildings located at the crossroads of as guarantors of beauty. These features were so pronounced top-down repressive power and ultimately uncanny architectural that they left a deep impression on contemporary observers, as beauty. The prison of Buoncammino is such an example. demonstrated by the two passages below:

The first thing that strikes in mind on entering the prison passage is the wondrous and perfectly Dutchlike cleanliness pervading the place. The floor, which is of asphalt has been polished, by continual sweeping, so bright that we can hardly believe it has not been black-leaded, and so utterly free from dust are all the mouldings of the trim stucco walls, that we would defy the sharpest housewife to get as much off upon her fingers as she could brush even from a butterfly's wing. 16

Nevertheless, it is not the long, arcade-like corridors, nor the opera-lobby-like series of doors, nor the lengthy balconies stretching along each gallery, nor the paddle-box-like bridges connecting the opposite sides of the arcade, that constitute the peculiar character of Pentonville prison. Its distinctive feature, on the contrary — the one that renders it utterly dissimilar from all other jails — is the extremely bright, and cheerful, and airy quality of the building; so that, with its long, light corridors, it strikes the mind, on first entering it, as a bit of the Crystal Palace, stripped of all its contents. There is none of the gloom, nor dungeon-like character of a jail appertaining to it.<sup>17</sup>

enlightened institution pursuing the noble purpose of reforming of Piedmont-Sardinia. The first had already approved, in 1853, and improving the human condition? Or, alternatively, were a progressive penal code opting for a canonical Philadelphia architects trained in a Beaux-Arts tradition — like Georgian system — a model based on strict solitary confinement and architect Blackburn himself<sup>18</sup> — simply unable to design in any originally materialised in radial typologies with generous cells

Buoncammino, which was mostly the creation of the engineer Oreste Bulgorini, was designed in the second half of the nineteenth century. This was a particularly tumultuous period for the newly born Kingdom of Italy established in the 1860s, which sought a shared and unified national penal code. Bulgorini was an in-house employee of the new planning department of the Italian Ministry of Interior that at that time was in charge of penal establishments throughout the kingdom. While very little information on Bulgarini has survived, what is sure is that he was in charge of designing at least four carceral establishments <sup>19</sup> in the 1880s-90s, all of which were based on the cellular system.

The debate on penal reform in the Kingdom of Italy was influenced, on the one hand, by the discussions happening at European level, and, on the other, by the many penal systems that were in place in pre-unitarian states.<sup>20</sup> As frequently noticed by studies of the history of penal systems, nineteenth century Europe endorsed a communal discourse on prison regimes,<sup>21</sup> which favoured the circulation of architectural models. Among the common principles shared throughout Europe was solitary confinement, which acted as a protocol of reform, and materialised in the architecture of a specific building type — the prison. However, this was also a shared belief, which wavered under continuous critique. Partly because of recurrent doubts on the validity of solitary confinement, and partly because of Was this ultimate architectural beauty an involuntary economic reasons, many European countries — Italy included compensation for the guilt felt by both the national state and — vacillated in its unconditional application and often opted the architects for building the modern, ruthless machines of for its empowerment in mitigated, less severe systems. In Italy, control that prisons embodied? Or, on the contrary, was this this was the case of some of the most progressive pre-unitarian search for beauty a manifestation of pride in the prison as a new, states, such as The Grand Duchy of Tuscany and the Kingdom



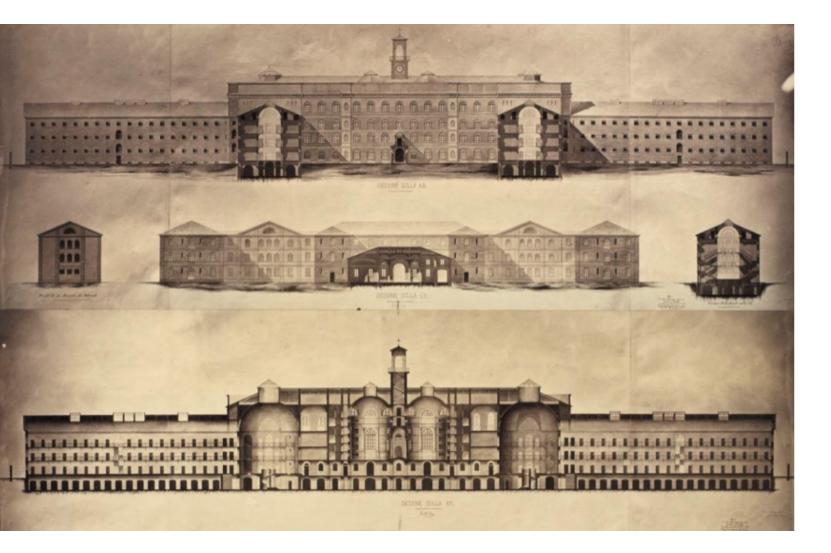
- that was then attenuated, allowing prisoners to work in of modernisation of the country. With regard to penalty and groups during the day. The Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia had a incarceration, the island was pervaded by the Kingdom's preference for the Auburn system<sup>22</sup> — a model based on solitary progressive penal philosophy. For instance, Sardinian local confinement at night, and group but silent activities during the politicians and philanthropists — either in newspapers or as day, and originally materialised in a layout of little cells back-to- part of Parliamentary Commissions — articulated critiques back. In contrast, the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venice, under of the existing condition of detention with a similar rhetoric the Austrian crown, had a particularly severe penal system and to the one that was pervading the European debate, and still enforced corporal punishment, whereas the prisons in the solicited the construction of new cellular prisons that could Papal State and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies were generally embrace the civilised principles of discipline, light and morality. still unreformed dungeons, manifesting little awareness of the <sup>26</sup> Evidence of the pre-unitary effort in penology in the Kingdom general reformative movements that were shaking the penal of Piedmont-Sardinia and of its exposure to the European systems of western countries. <sup>23</sup> Following this schizophrenia in debate — with a particular link to France — is a series of penalty options throughout the various constituent states, united competitions for the design of prisons that were held in the Italy was characterised by a varied and multifaceted archipelago first half of the nineteenth century. One of these competitions, of carceral institutions spanning from penal colonies to newly for a penitentiary in Alessandria, near Turin, was won in 1839built cellular prisons to monasteries and fortresses adapted into 40 by the French architect Henri Labrouste. <sup>27</sup> Aware of prison prisons.<sup>24</sup> Accordingly, penal philosophies were different and reformism, Labrouste manifestly embraced the belief in the differently interpreted from place to place. The cell itself, when it positive role of architecture and art in healing deviant and sick did not retain the character of a dungeon, was subject to shifting people within new types of institutional buildings. He endorsed understandings: it could either be acknowledged as a reforming an idea of penitentiary where prisoners were segregated at space or as an un-reforming container for subjects whose night and worked during the day in line with the Auburn routine. criminal attitude was considered innate and thus impossible to A hint of Labrouste's fascination for the Panopticon, the prison redeem.<sup>25</sup> of Alessandria was designed with a central rotunda that housed a few radial single cells with open patios for those prisoners

Although Sardinia is today considered a peripheral and scarcely subjugated to stricter solitary confinement. The rotunda had influential region in the national scene, it was then an important also the aim of distributing four identical radial wings where constituent part of the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia, the little Auburnian cells were stacked back-to-back and were state that eventually initiated the process of unification of Italy separated from the block walls by a four-storey gallery. In his in the 1860s. It thus participated in the progressive project, Labrouste 'worked to create a setting with soothing

### Above

Figure 13. Sections and Elevations of Henry Labrouste's Competition Entry for the Construction of a Central Prison in Alessandra (Piedmont), 1839. Académie d'architecture / Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine/Archives d'architecture du XXe siècle pour la collection du 20e siècle. 285.1

qualities, thus showing a new awareness of the role of atmosphere' and 'developed several inventive solutions that soften the prison atmosphere, such as large vertical windows surrounding the cell building, without bars or grates,' <sup>28</sup> or through the control of zenithal light in the central rotunda. Proposing a grand penal institution that embodied paradigms of space and luminosity so distinctive of the French architect's oeuvre, Labrouste's triumphal project must have exerted an effect on its contemporaries. The Italian architect Pietro Bosso, who would eventually lead the construction of the prison of Alessandria, later applied similar principles to other buildings.



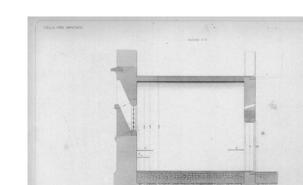
Another international competition, held in 1857 for the prison of Turin and Genoa and, again, entered by many European architects, saw the victory of the Italian engineer Giuseppe Polani with a scheme that abandoned the radial geometry for a cruciform one. Polani's prison also avoided the back-to-back cell distribution proper of the Auburn system and that Labrouste had faithfully reproduced. In contrast, he disposed the cells (measuring  $2,2 \times 4 \times 3$  meters) along the external walls of the wings, facing a central nave. The cross section of Polani's wings was basically a replica of the typical section of Pentonville, where the cells, also of similar proportions and dimensions to those of Pentonville, were organised internally by a three-storey vaulted nave and distributed by galleries.

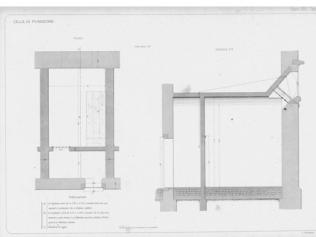
The influence of these competition entries can be retraced many years later in the prescriptions that the Italian Ministry of Interior had codified by the 1890s, and in the prison of Buoncammino itself. The design of Buoncammino developed in two phases, stretching into the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>29</sup> Buoncammino's structure and space recorded both the uncertainty and tumultuous discussions that characterised Italy in the transitional period of unification, and the prison design principles inherited from the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia, as previously described. In a first phase, between 1855-59, pushed by a state of emergency for the growing prison population, two large linear buildings hosting 16 dormitories for about 300 inmates were designed. <sup>30</sup> A second and longer design and construction phase started in 1887, <sup>31</sup> giving shape to the prison as can still be seen today: a megablock confined within a double boundary wall, where four courtyards organise, according to a principle of symmetry, a few longitudinal building blocks that were subsequently added to host the inmates. Whereas in the other main city of the island, Sassari, a prison was going to be built according to a radial typology (1862, designed again by Polani) that also characterised the two most recent achievements in Italian prison architecture (1882 Regina Coeli in Rome and 1892 San Vittore in Milan), this typology was not used for Buoncammino. We don't know the reasons why a radial or cruciform typology was not pursued here, but we can assume that they could be found in site constraints (on top of a hill) and the presence of existing buildings.

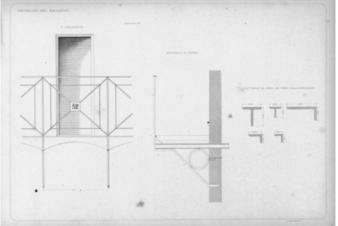
The 1890s <sup>32</sup> were crucial years for the Italian penal system, in which Italy finally agreed on a unified penal code (the Zanardelli Penal Code, 1889) and formulated rules and standards for the building of new prisons. Eventually, neither the Auburn nor the Philadelphia systems were adopted. Instead, the choice was for a mixed penal system, also known as the Irish system. In 1891, a design code <sup>33</sup> was approved following the institution of an in-house planning and design department of the Ministry of Interior <sup>34</sup> in 1888. This was constituted by about five in-house engineers, and relied on a pool of inmates who were draftsmen, recruited from a Roman prison. This team was not only assiduously working on the actual design, improvement, and enlargement of the prisons of unified Italy, but also pursued the goal of defining typological prescriptions and standards. Among the latter, a set of typical drawings <sup>35</sup> was collated in an accurate and well-detailed dossier in the 1890s, that provided indications about details, proportions and geometry of the key elements for the so-called 'Carceri Giudiziari' (prisons for preliminary detention). Much space was given to represent

Opposite

Figure 14. Exploring a prototypical section. Giuseppe Polani, Carcere Giudiziario Le Nuove, Turin, 1861. Courtesy of Archivio Storico Città di Torino (any further reproduction is subject to further authorisation)







in plan and section the cells, which were distinguished as cells for the defendant, cubicles for the convicted, cubicles for young offenders, and punishment cells for adults and young offenders. These respected the prescriptions given by the national board of health <sup>36</sup> that in the same year had fixed the dimensions of the cells in m. 2,10  $\times$  4  $\times$  h 3,30, and those of the cubicles in m.  $1,40 \times 2,40 \times h$  3,30. While the dossier did not contain any drawing depicting a whole prison, the location and relation of the cell to the external wall or to internal corridors and galleries were hinted at in the drawings and mostly explicated in the construction of Buoncammino, which was classified as Carcere Giudiziario,37 and acted as a testing ground for the standards defined in the dossier <sup>38</sup>

Buoncammino's interior eventually developed as a collage of spaces organised in an imperfect courtyard typology and characterised by a neoclassical style that can still be appreciated today. On the ground floor of the older blocks, a central dark corridor gives access to large communal dormitories on either side, which are illuminated by the skylights placed in the vaulted ceiling. The cubicles for the young offenders on the second floor of the same block are arranged according to a back-to-back layout and located in the central axis of the block, thus facing two luminous, vaulted generous corridors on either side that overlook the courtyards. Replicating the nave section of Pentonville (and, by way of extension, of Polani's scheme for Turin), the cells for the defendants located in the two most prominent wings are accessed by narrow galleries, and face a central vaulted nave sprinkled by both direct and zenithal light. Finally, the punishment cells located in the most peripheral location — the basement of one of the two main wings — are totally devoid of natural light.

To cross this array of spatial situations means engaging in a ritual procession, via forced trajectories, through variations of darkness(es) and light(s): the bright light of Mediterranean latitudes hinting at the pale yellow plaster of the elevations; the zenithal light diluting the whiteness of the nave; and the shadowed condition of corridors and cells. Engraved in light and darkness is the physical organisation of space, the plan and section being more than just the registration of a diagram of control and discipline.

# THE MEASURE OF LIGHT

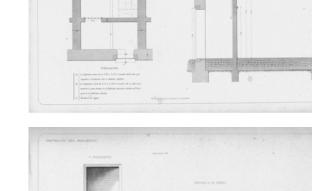
Museum, with its accumulation of antiquities in the shadowed, articulated interior carved in the mass of three Georgian terraced houses. The house-museum of the great 18th century Junichiro Tanizaki's essay 'In praise of shadows' <sup>39</sup> is a tribute to English architect is taken as an exemplar of how to eradicate the those environments able to embrace the full sensorial experience of the body, where the patina of time and darkness is opposed to hyper-sanitised character of the clean, white, rational and bright spaces that have been ingrained in the mind of modern man as the striking brilliancy of the sanitised white interiors that have built the common, clichéd image of western modernity. Whenever the ultimate physical representation of the spirit of his time. light touches an interior, he argues, it should be diluted to the Such fascination for a pre-modern space, however, hardly finds point of losing the power to illuminate, for 'the world of shadows [forms] [...] a quality of mystery and depth superior to that of any easy application to the domain of prisons. Two centuries after its foundation, the prison — this very first test-bed building any wall painting or ornament.'<sup>40</sup> Tanizaki argues that, whereas in for modernity — still fails to convey an image of a sanitised, lapanese interior environments the lack of clarity deriving from bright and modern building. In contrast to hospitals, which the darkness does not disturb but rather produces beauty, <sup>41</sup> the Westerners fail to 'comprehend the mystery of shadows'.<sup>42</sup> 'But public naturally recognises, accepts and requires to be hygenised environments, the common imaginary of the prison is always the progressive Westerner,' he claims, 'is determined always to that of a pre-modern space of confinement. Two centuries better his lot. From candle to oil lamp, oil lamp to gaslight, gaslight of reforms, efforts and experimentation, while succeeding in to electric light—his quest for a brighter light never ceases, he establishing the prison as the only possible institution to deal spares no pains to eradicate even the minutest shadow.' 43 with criminality, have completely failed to communicate to the public (and perhaps truly realise?) a modern aesthetic for This propensity to see beauty in darkness has been paralleled in prisons as they did for other institutions. Thus, the critique and recent times by a re-consideration of spaces of delight diverting disappointment expressed by John Howard in 1777 resonates from the modern canon of beauty of anesthetised, white or cyclically in the protest campaigns for more 'humanised' prisons. transparent interiors. Since the last decades of the twentieth Any civilised society that is respectful of basic human rights,

century, environments boasting pre-modern and anti-western sensorial qualities have been brought back to attention and taken as a paradigm for the possibility of a new interior. As an example, we can consider some of the interiors designed by the Italian architect Antonino Cardillo who, in his built project 'House of Dust' <sup>44</sup> (Rome, 2013), declares primordial caverns and Renaissance grottos as sources of reference. In the accompanying poem praising dust, Cardillo argues against 'That modernity that disowns sediment. That shaves walls, that sanitises space. That modernity that disowns dust. Disowns even death.' 45

Alternatively, we can consider how architectural education suggests students should reconsider the complexity of shadowed dusty congested spaces: any first year student of architecture in London will at some point have to pay homage to Sir John Soane

### Opposite

Figure 15. 1890s Codification of spaces in Prison Design. These drawings are part of an official Dossier produced by the in-house planning and design department of the Ministry of Interior. Courtesy of Domenico Alessandro De Rossi. The drawings are part of the personal archive of Domenico Alessandro De Rossi and have been previously published in De Rossi, D.A., ed., L'universo della detenzione. Storia, Architettura e





Norme dei modelli penitenziari (Milano: Mursia Editore, 2011). a. Section of a Typical cell ('Cella per imputato') b. Section of a cell for punishment/strict solitary confinement ('Cella di punizione') c. Technical drawings of the gallery ('Dettaglio del Ballatotio')

Figure 16. Buoncammino prison as a project of interiors. Composed Drawing of plan, sections, and elevations. Drawing by Sabrina Puddu and Simone Ferreli, based on an approximate reconstruction of the prison of Buoncammino.

interiors proposed by Tanizaki, nor the pre-modern society at prescient experiment in the projection of dark space.<sup>52</sup> whom Foucault winks, <sup>47</sup> appear to be compatible with a fictional future without prisons.

penal institutions: to humanise or abolish them?

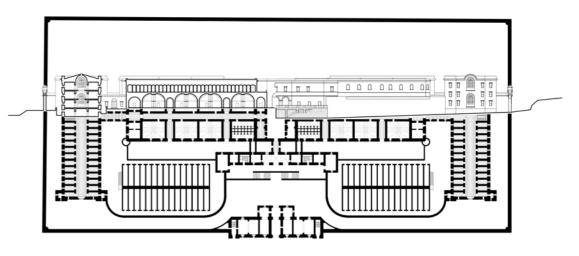
beauty in modernity might offer the key to explaining this and reform in modernity. paradox. Vidler argues that the paradox of the re-emergence of dark spaces in light spaces does not derive from the ashes Labrouste's rotunda, which much influenced the rotundas and of modernity — neither modern architecture or planning, nor nodal points of cruciform and radial Italian prisons, cannot be modern penal institutions, in our case. Nor is it a sign of its failure free from such interpretation. Nor can the vaulted prototypical to throw light on every corner of our space, and life. This paradox section that recurred in the displacement from Pentonville to was rather already embedded in modernity itself, and in its double Polani's prisons, to, finally, Buoncammino. In transposing models,

activists and reformers argue today, should guarantee to inmates acknowledgement of light and shadowed spaces. Vidler essentially the right to a clean, bright and airy interior. This is the interior guestions Foucault's and other most recurrent narratives, which found, for instance, in the Norwegian 'model prison' of Halden, a depict power as imposed and operating on subjects and spaces high security facility built in 2010 by HLM Arkitektur and widely throughout modernity by means of 'enlightening' and making hailed as the 'most humane prison' in the world. <sup>46</sup> Perhaps, and them visible. The spatial paradigms of light and transparency, as this is the main difference from the eighteenth century rhetoric, we have noticed, emerged out of a fear for the dark, unknown, these humanised interiors should also include colour, look more irrational realm. This same fear, however, was coupled with a domestic, and establish a relationship with an outside of gardens fascination for that same shadowy realm and contributed to the and landscape, as in the case of the Norwegian facility. On the invention of a spatial phenomenology of darkness. Etienne-Louis other hand, those proclaiming abolitionist theses seek an anti- Boullée's work, and his 1782 Palace of Justice in particular, with model that refuses the very existence of the prison. For those the counter position of the justice hall above and the sunken who travel along this route, it would therefore be nonsense to podium for the prison below, 'confronted the two worlds, light find the seeds for a future prison-free society in the pre-modern and dark, in a telling allegory of enlightenment.<sup>51</sup> Boulleé thus spaces and institutions. Neither the sensorial pre-modern dark invented the 'first self-conscious architecture of the uncanny, a

Also, Robin Evans seems to advance a similar, though underdeveloped, argument when, in the chapter 'From correction We are facing a strong perceptive paradox. On the one side, we to Reformation. From Dungeon to Cell,' <sup>53</sup> he observes how, in are all descendants of Howard and his refusal of the pre-modern the first phases of reforms, 'dungeons' were at the same time dark dungeon – that we still consider an abominable threat in the a target of critique and a locus of fascination, of melancholic realm of prisons. On the other, we are moved by the promise of theatrical setting. Dungeons, or at least the projection of their the carefully designed enlightened (and 'enlightening') space of the mythical representation and atmosphere, were reproduced in modern prison, which makes us also relatives of Bentham. And yet prison architecture and in particular, in the prisons designed in we are very ambivalent in our evaluation of the latter, so that we the 1780s and 1790s by Boullée, Ledoux, Houssin and Bellet. continue to perceive even the most advanced model prisons as Evans soon dispels any doubt about his main narrative, observing not fundamentally different from their dark precedents.<sup>48</sup> This how this attitude did not belong to prison architecture in irresolvable paradox, which sees 'light space' invaded by the figure England, where dungeons never became an 'ingredient' of prison of 'dark space,' <sup>49</sup> is manifest at the level of aesthetics, and relates architecture. It is, however, the very last image he uses in this to the main doubt at the core of the debate on contemporary chapter — a painting picturing John Howard spotlit by a light in the foreground and standing out of the dark background of a vaulted dungeon <sup>54</sup> — that allegorically confirms Vidler's point on Anthony Vidler's <sup>50</sup> account of the conscious search for uncanny the necessary double of light-darkness for the triumph of power

from royal and first class architects and engineers to much more allowed for a light beam to penetrate the interior, whereas in the local technicians, and even passing through the codification of atrium, the edges of bodies, objects and furniture were sharply standards, nineteenth century prison architecture embodied defined by the artificiality of neon lights. The feeling was that those light-darkness effects and academic composition rules that of living in an eternal Dantean circle similar to an underground could still act as guarantors of an uncanny beauty.

Post Scriptum: When in 2015 I visited the Level III (high security) dismissed, but also the manipulation of natural light appeared department of the Sierra Conservation Center in Jamestown, to have been given up. No beauty was left in that anaesthetic, California, it was immediately clear that no sign of the nineteenth shameless interior. century dignity I had been struck by in Buoncammino was left in the contemporary prison space. Inside of any of the five Beauty has been voluntarily and completely eradicated in most identical blanked pavilions of the 270-type (referring to the post-war prison architecture. National prison departments, who 270° angle of control) in the Californian prison, a double-height do not want to disappoint the public, somehow encourage the common atrium organised a sequence of high-security cells and anaesthetic design of contemporary prisons. <sup>55</sup> For instance, was controlled by a tower at the entrance. When I entered the the guidelines written by the Italian Ministry of Justice for the pavilion, the transition from the brilliant summer light of the construction of the recent super-prisons treat these buildings exterior was almost unbearable: the interior was completely as a pure question of standards, numbers and functional zoning. deprived of any source of natural light, yet artificial light was In these projects, the word architecture is rarely mentioned. strong and powerful. Only inside the cells, a narrow loophole Needless to say, the word beauty falls completely off the radar.



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- carpark, where light quality always remained identical throughout the day. Not only were ornamentation and proportion fully

### Above

Figure 17. Photograph of the juvenile department of Buoncammino prison, picturing one of the vaulted corridors in front of the cubicles. 1937. Published in Di Lazzaro, A. and Pavarini, E., ed. Immagini dal Carcere. L'Archivio Fotografico delle Prigioni Italiane. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1994, 217..

BUONCAMMINO PRISON

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# NOTES

I. This work derives from a preliminary research that I conducted when I was a post-doctoral researcher at the University of Cagliari, Italy. In many phases, this research took the shape of a collaborative investigation involving masters students (Ferreli, S. 'Spazi dell'educazione continua. Progetto per una macchina educativa all'interno del carcere di Cagliari'. (Masters diss., University of Cagliari, 2012)), colleagues from the Department of Architecture (Martino Tattara and Francesco Zuddas) and photographer Giaime Meloni. The research could not have been conducted without the assistance of PRAP Sardegna.

This research had begun a few years before Buoncammino's vacation. As it often happens in research work that targets confined environments, the access to Buoncammino was not easy and the drawing archives inaccessible. The few preliminary visits to the facility when it was still in operation covered only the communal and open spaces. Thus, the first and only possible approach to the prison was truly formal: without any official drawing being accessible, the interior of the prison was to be reconstructed starting from a few journalistic descriptions and from what the aerial and perspective views of web mapping services could offer. Interiors were recreated from the elevations, following the composition of windows, eaves and roofs visible from the exterior. Approximate models and drawings were produced at this early stage. The floor plans that eventually became accessible in 2014 confirmed or denied some of the first assumptions. Although a long and a painful pedagogic experiment, re-drawing and measuring a building before visiting it proved advantageous, as it unveiled the connections between the formal structure of the space and the experience of our visit. To this approach, photography was soon to be added as a further medium of exploration and communication. The aim of including photography in the research project was that of enhancing the formal study of the prison interior and, by means of abstraction, to enable the communication of the prison's physicality and institutional power by escaping the most common clichés. Four photographic sessions resulted into two photo-essays: the first developed the sequential introspection into the interior space and, playing with abstraction as a tool of estrangement, erased any sign of inhabitation, working with flat images and playing with light and whitened surfaces; in the second, using a optical bench, chromatism re-emerged, that had been somehow neglected in the first.

2. R. Evans, *The Fabrication of Virtue: English Prison Architecture 1750-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

3. Ibid., 16, 170.

4. Ibid. 93.

- 5. Ibid., 171.
- 6. Ibid., I 4.
- lbid., 13.

7.

8. John Howard published several editions of *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales*, the first of which followed his 1773 study and was published in 1777. This publication captured much public attention among its contemporaries and it is still a strong reference text for scholarship in prison architecture. However, as pointed out in R McGowen, 'The Well-Ordered Prison', in *The Oxford History of the Prison. The Practice of Punishment in Western Society*, ed. Morris, N. and Rothman, D.J. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 79-10, rather than producing an original account, Howard's contribution had the merit of synthesising existing thoughts (like those of Josia Dornford and Jonas Hanway in England), to add to these a broader European perspective and to spread them with passionate commitment.

9. The House of Correction of San Michele is published in the 1784 edition of *The State of the Prisons*, page 114, Plate 12.

10. R. Evans, 'Rookeries and model dwellings. English housing reform and the moralities of private space', Architectural Association Quarterly 10 (1978): 23-35.

11. R. Evans, The Fabrication of Virtue.

12. Evans stresses several time the difference between Blackburn's prisons and the Benthams' proposal. Although the latter had many similarities to the former and was informed by many Howardian reform principles — solitary confinement, discipline, labour, salubrity — the panopticon gave priority to the inspection principle over the other principles of reform and brought it to the core of the building. More importantly, the Panopticon 'brought the prison into the realm of utopia' '(R. Evans, *The Fabrication of Virtue*, 198). Architecture was the key agent to ensure the viability of this utopia and was freed from the 'bargain' of academic rules of classical organisation and formal composition still present in Blackburn.'If Blackburn's work stood at the very edge of a practice stretching back to the Renaissance, of dovetailing formal composition with the convenient distribution of space, Bentham's was outside it. In the Panopticon the principle of utility was to have been translated directly into architecture without the intervention of academic rules of composition.' (R. Evans, The Fabrication of Virtue, 223-224).

M. Foucault, Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books 1995),
216.

14. Cfr. M. Foucault, Surveiller et Punir: Naissance de la Prison (Paris: Gallimard, 1975); R. Evans, The Fabrication of Virtue, 199; , R. Evans, 'Bentham's Panopticon', Controspazio 10 (1970): 4-18.

15. See, for instance the description of Pentonville provided by Mayhew and Binny in the report *The Criminal Prisons* of London; (London: Griffin, Bohnand and company, 1862).

H. Mayhew and J. Binny, *The Criminal Prisons of London* (London: Griffin, Bohnand company, 1862), 119.
Ibid., 120.

18. Evans suggests that Blackburn — who had studied in 1773 at the Royal Academy — and his colleagues did not surrender formal academic principles to the strict functionalism required in prison design, but they rather extended academic principles of architecture (parti, geometry as plan generator, composition, simmetry, etc.) to a new field, that of prisons. [is spelling of parti right? Yes, it should be]

19. I have so far ascertained that Engineer Oreste Bulgarini supervised four projects. The 1884 design of the Penal Colony of Isili, Sardinia: documents and drawings consulted at the Archive of the Colony of Isili. The 1886 adaptation of the criminal asylum of Villa Ambrogiana in Tuscany: see C. Marcetti, La doppia anima dell'Ambrogiana: polarità culturale del suo recupero, in *L'abolizione del Manicomio Criminale tra Utopia e Realtà*, ed. Fondazione Michelucci (Fiesole: Fondazione Michelucci Press, 2015). The 1887 expansion of Buoncammino Prison. The 1890-1902 expansion and re-adaptation of Santa Maria Capua Vetere prison in Campania: the drawings are stored in the Archivo di Statodi Caserta (ASCe, Prefettura, Contratti, 931, Contratto d'appalto per la costruzione di nuove celle nel carcere giudiziario di S. Maria C.V. (10 maggio 1902), Carcere di S. Maria Capua /Progetto per aumento celle punizione, scala 1/250; and ASCe, Prefettura, Contratti, 588, Progetto per la costruzione di un muro di cinta del carcere giudiziario di S. Maria Capua/Disegni/Piante e Sezioni/Roma 10 giugno 1890/ing. Oreste Bulgarini) and have been published in M.G. Pezone, 'S. Maria Capua Vetere. Il carcere Borbonico', in *Dimore della Conoscenza*. Le Sedi della Seconda Università degli Studi di Napoli, ed. G.Amirante and R. Cioffi (Napoli: Edizioni

Scientifiche Italiane, 2010).

20. L. Daga, 'Sistemi penitenziari', in Immagini dal Carcere. L'archivio and Europe. Fotografico delle Prigioni Italiane, ed. A. Di Lazzaro, and E. Pavarini, (Roma: Istituto 30. Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1994), 329-380.

21. P. O'Brien, 'The Prison on the Continent. Europe 1865-1965', in The 31. Oxford History of the Prison. The Practice of Punishment in Western Society, ed. N. Ceccarelli, whereas the building supervision was commissioned to Architect Morris, and D.I. Rothman, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 199-226.

22. The Auburn and Philadelphian penal systems, as well as the buildings 32. originally constructed for their enforcement in America, were known all over and thoroughly discussed in D. Dondici, 'Italy's Prison System and the Reforms of Europe and were recurrent in the Italian debate. For a synthetic description, 1889-1891: A Road to Modernity?' (PhD Thesis diss., University of East Angliasee N. Johnston, Forms of Constraint. A History of Prison Architecture (Chicago: School of History, 2017). University of Illinois Press, 2000).

23 complexity of penalty in these states and in the Vatican state in particular, where with Royal Decree | June 1891 n. 261. institutions like San Michele House of Correction had been built.

See, for instance, the description provided by politician Federico by General Director Martino Beltrani-Scalia 24. Bellazzi in F. Bellazzi, Prigioni e Prigionieri nel Regno d'Italia (Firenze: Tipografia di 35. Barbera, 1866).

25. criminologist Cesare Lombroso who, following biological determinism, believed (Milano: Mursia Editore, 2011). The dossier is called 'Tipo di Cella di Isolamento deviance to be innate and therefore discredited the role of the prison as a place per carcere giudiziario'. Along with the detailed drawing of cells and cubicles of human reform because, for him, inmates could not be cured.

26 Commission constituted by Conti, Macchi, Nelli, Testa, Pescetto, Mari, Sanna, includes technical drawings of the gallery, of windows and doors, of bathrooms Mureddu, Grixoni, in 1861 and 1862 in 'Autorizzazione di spesa straordinaria sui and showers. bilanci 1861-62-63 per la costruzione di un carcere giudiziario cellulare in Sassari', 36. 01.06.1861 - 26.01.1862, vol. 25, 111-147.

27 The drawings by Henri Labrouste, Competition Entry for the 37. Construction of a Central Prison in Alessandra (Piedmont, 1839), are stored at (prison for preliminary detention) and was to host mostly inmates waiting for the Academic d'Architecture, Paris, 285 and a copy of the essay accompanying trial or condemned to short sentences, along with those who were unable to the project is at Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Estampes, HZ-465 (1) – PET FOL, folder 12. The drawings have been published in C. Bélier and B. Bergdoll, M. 38. Le Cœur, and Martin Bressani, in Henri Labrouste: Structure Brought to Light (New Buoncammino's cell for defendants are a copy of the typical cell for the defendant, York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2013), 97-99.

M. Bressani and M. Grignon. The Bibliotheque Sainte-Genevieve and 28 'Healing' Architecture, in Henri Labrouste: Structure Brought to Light, 98-99.

29. Access to the archival drawings and documents of the prison of Buoncammino is still limited. Thus, it is still impossible to reconstruct its genesis position and size of the window facing outside. The cubicles for young offenders and development except as a fragmented and incomplete history. The very in Buoncammino also roughly correspond to those of the dossier (1.4x2.3x2.58), little information that has been published on the prison throughout the years and were probably borrowed from the Aurburnian kind of cell (1x2.1x2) that in official reports written by the council planning department (PPCS, Piano was in place in the first experimental prisons of the Kingdom of Piedmont. Particolareggiato del Centro Storico, Comune di Cagliari, July 2015) or by 39. the statutory body for the protection of historical heritage (Relazione storico (Stony Creek: Leete's Island Books, 1977). artistica, Soprintendenza per i beni architettonici, paesaggistici, storici, artistici 40. ed etnoantropologici per le province di Cagliari e Oristano, 2011) are mostly 41. a repetition of the same information based on very few sources. This research 42. relies on these limited resources and, in particular, on a process of investigation 43. that has collected evidences from direct observation, drawing, photography, and 44.

from comparing Buoncammino with similar buildings and related histories in Italy

A description of the building in this first phase can be found in F. Corona, Guida di Cagliari (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1894).

Oreste Bulgarini was accompanied in the design by Engineer Barborini and Engineer Trancioni.

The ambitions and contradiction of these years have been recently

33 'Regolamento generale degli stabilimenti carcerari e dei riformatori This is a very crude simplification, for it does not acknowledge the governativi'. Approved with Royal Decree | February 1891 n. 260, and amended

> Ufficio Tecnico Direzione Generale delle Carceri, instituted in 1888 34

These drawings, which belong to the Dipartimento Amministrazione penitenziaria Amministrazione di Giustizia, have been published in D.A. De Rossi, The latter position owed a debt to the penal philosophy of ed., L'universo della Detenzione. Storia, Architettura e Norme dei Modelli Penitenziari (Cella per imputato; Cubicolo per condannato; Cubicolo per minorenni; Cella See, for instance, the reports written by the Parliamentary di punizione; Cella di punizione per minorenni), and of the parlour; the dossier

> Consiglio Superiore di Sanità, instituted by the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1847 and inherited by the Kingdom of Italy in 1865.

> Buoncammino belonged to the category of 'Carcere Giudiziario' work in other penal settlements.

> Located in the main wing and accessed from a narrow gallery, whose measure was fixed by the Consiglio Superiore di Sanità in 4x2.1x3.3 and whose geometry and relevant features (the yault, the door and the window) were represented in the 1890s drawings. This is also a replica of the geometry and dimension (4x2) of Pentonville's typical cell, with the main discrepancy in the

J. Tanizaki, In Proise of Shadows, trans. T.J. Arper, and E.J. Seidensticker

See Pasquale Marino's film on the House of Dust, published on

Vimeo, accessed 01 November 2017, https://vimeo.com/72216020.

from the Architectural Association School of Architecture, 45. The project is available on Antonino Cardillo official website, accessed and she was a Visiting Scholar at GSAPP, Columbia University. 01 November 2017, http://www.antoninocardillo.com/works/house-of-dust.html. Her research investigates the role of major public institutions Halden Prison is one of the most praised prison in the press and across the contemporary urban and rural condition, with a public opinion, and one of the top hits in the list of best practices in prison architecture that characterise many academic scholarships. As an example of specific focus on prisons and agrarian penal colonies. She has co-authored two books and published regularly on architecture public praise, see the Guardian article 'Inside Halden, the most humane prison in the world' (2012) and the New York Times article 'The Radical Humaneness magazines and journals.

46 of Norway's Halden Prison' (2015). Danish artist and director Michael Madsen portraits the prison in 2014 in the documentary film Halden Prison, part of Wim html.

Giaime Meloni (Cagliari, 1984) is an architect and photographer. He lives and works between two islands: Île-de-France | Sardinia. He received a PhD from the University of Cagliari, Italy, and the University of Paris-Ouest Nanterre La Défense, France. Giaime M. Foucault, Folie et Déraison. Histoire de la Folie à l'Âge Classique (Paris: is Co-founder of atmosphériques narratives and is visiting lecturer at the Ecole Nationale Superieure d'architecture ville et As an example, we can read the description of Buoncammino written territoire de Marne-la-Vallée. The aim of his work is to explore the role of the photography as a sensible instrument to narrate the space complexity. His research has been published in various publications (MAM Saint Etienne, INTRU) and presented at several International Conferences (CCA, FAUP).

Wenders' series Cathedrals of Culture. For a review of the documentary see S. Puddu, 'Halden Prison', review of Halden Prison, by Michael Madsen, Domus web, 23 February 2015, http://www.domusweb.it/en/art/2015/02/23/halden prison. 47. Gallimard, 1961). 48. by a formal inmate and reported in the website of humanitarian association 'Associazione 5 Novembre'. He vividly describes his cell as a dark, wet and dirty catacomb. 'Quando sono arrivato al Buon Cammino mi hanno messo in una cella al piano terra del braccio destro. Una catacomba. Buia, umida e sporca. [...] Quella cella era talmente buia che anche di giorno tenevamo la luce accesa.' Official website Associazione 5 November, accessed 01 November 2017, http:// associazione5novembre.blogspot.co.uk/2008/01/carcere-della-pazzia-delladroga-e.html.

49. A. Vidler, 'Dark Space', in The Architectural Uncanny. Essays in the Modern Unhomely (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1992), 168.

53. Evans, R. The Fabrication of Virtue, 47-93.

54. John Howard Esq. visiting and relieving the miseries of a prison painted by Francis Wheatley and engraved by James Hogg, 1787. Wellcome Library no. 544703i.

55. lewkes, Y. 'The aesthetics and anaesthetics of prison architecture', in Architecture and Justice. Judicial Meanings in the Public Realm. ed. J. Simon, N. Temple, R.Tobe (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing , 2013), 9-22.

# BIOGRAPHIES

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lbid., 21.

lbid., 19.

lbid., 18,

lbid., 31.

<sup>50.</sup> Ibid., 167-175.

<sup>51.</sup> lbid., 168.

<sup>52.</sup> lbid., 168.