



Real, Unreal, and Retrospective Emplacements: The Le Corbusier Centre as Heterochronotopia

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Abstract

This paper will view the Le Corbusier Centre in Sector 19-B, Chandigarh as a Heterochronotopia, combining Foucauldian notions of 'heterotopia' and 'heterochronia', reading it as a place that opens out spatially to other places and temporally to other times. The paper will assess the various artefacts archived at the Centre to argue that the Centre grants an organised 'heritage' to an ahistorical city by creating a materialized memory of the city through its exhibition of heterotopic emplacements. Positing the Centre's space as unenclosed and indeterminable, the paper will also explore how it controls the imagination and consumption of Chandigarh through institutional alterations that discipline and organise its past by omitting multiple contesting creative visions, making the citizen/tourist complicit in an umbilical fascination with a past, premised, quite precariously, on the singular creative vision of Corbusier. In conclusion, the paper will argue that the Centre ultimately exists as a contradictory heterochronotopia, where the unreal space networked through different times is always threatened by the real space of the teeming cosmopolis outside.

Keywords: Chandigarh, Heterochronotopia, Foucault, Urban Culture

Introduction

This paper will argue that the Le Corbusier Centre in Sector 19B, Chandigarh is a heterochronotopia, combining the Foucauldian notions of heterotopia and heterochronia. It will identify the Centre as a place that opens up spatially to other places and temporally to other times. Assessing select artefacts from the Centre, such as letters, photographs, and other material archives, the paper will further argue that the Centre grants a

select official heritage to an ahistorical city by constructing a material memory of the city. At the same time, it controls the imagination and consumption of the city by cementing Corbusier as the titanic visionary behind Chandigarh. In doing so, it relegates multiple originary voices to the periphery making the visitor/citizen complicit in propagating an umbilical fascination with the past. The paper will conclude that the Le Corbusier Centre is ultimately a contradictory hetero chronotopia, representing a dominant public space whose sterile display is constantly threatened by the changing cosmopolis outside.

Heterotopias and Heterochronotopias

Heterochronotopia is a place that opens up both spatially and temporally to other “real sites” in culture, and other times (Foucault 1). In doing so, it combines Foucault’s concepts of heterotopia and heterochronia, described in his notes from a lecture delivered to a group of architects in 1967¹. These notes, later translated as “Of Other Spaces”, contain Foucault’s theory of emplacement and space as a relation network. Opposing the fixity of medieval space and the spatial expansiveness of Cartesian times, Foucault conceptualises space as “emplaced” or space as a set of “elements” which are “simultaneous, placed side by side, close and distant, sorted and scattered” (Dehaene and de Cauter 5; Foucault 71). Simply put, emplaced space is relational space, a reading of space through spatial and temporal relations. Utopias and heterotopias are both emplacements; our chief concern being the latter.

Heterotopias, etymologically “other spaces”, consist of representations, contradictions, inversions, and other distortions of real emplacements. Heterotopias are spaces where things are different. They are constantly changing, being mapped and remapped, redefining the epistemological and ontological continuity of space. Thus, they become “counter-sites”, usually thought of as liminal, existing in the interstices of spaces produced by the cultural mainstream (Foucault 3). The temporal function of heterotopias is significant, for it to “function” it is

necessary to “break with traditional time” (Foucault 4). Heterochronia, or “the combination of various times in a single place” (Osman et al. 935), is the accumulating temporal function of heterotopia. In an archive such as the Centre, this materialisation contrasts the transient nature of real-time with the permanent nature of artefacts on display, linking the Centre with other times and places. Heterochronotopias draw upon the principles of heterotopic emplacement originally outlined by Foucault. Out of Foucault’s six original emplacements², heterochronotopias are largely linked to the first four, owing to their geographical and temporal nature. This reading of the Le Corbusier Centre will illustrate that the Centre’s space is relational, that it transforms in time, that it is semantically layered, and that it opens up to time from different periods crafting real, unreal, and retrospective emplacements. The Centre will be read as a heterochronotopia, existing as a “set of mutually related places in different times” (Osman et al. 939), as a “configuration” (Foucault 1).

Real Emplacements

Heterotopias are relational spaces, existing via networks and associations with other spaces. They are “non-restricted”, opening up through “infrastructure connections” or “information flows.”

(Osman et al. 936)

It is through its linkages with geographies worldwide that the Centre becomes a relational space. In August 1948, the Indian Embassy in Washington DC was informed about the nature of the Chandigarh Project and requested to assist in finding town planners (Evenson 8). The Capital Project was first headed by American architect Albert Mayer and his Polish partner Matthew Nowicki; Mayer had been selected based on his prior connection with and recommendation of Nehru (12). Mayer, while addressing a symposium on urban planning in Washington in 1950, claimed that in building Chandigarh he wanted “to restore pride and confidence” and avoid the “over-scale sterility and stiltedness of New Delhi and the over-

monumentality of Washington DC” (13). His effort, in nutshell, was to try to provide residents and visitors with “the elements of serenity, and of excitement, of homeliness and of splendour, of greatness, *but not of overwhelming greatness*” (13; emphasis added). After Mayer’s plans sunk with the plane crash that took Nowicki’s life in Egypt, permission was given to PL Varma, Chief Engineer of Punjab (who in 1949 quit his study of road construction in the US to help with the Chandigarh project), and PN Thappar, an ex-ICS who served as the administrative head of the project, to search for a new team from Europe³.

In England, they first met with Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry who suggested Corbusier’s work in Paris with the latter refusing to work without his nephew and architectural collaborator, Pierre Jeanneret. This B-team, comprising (somewhat problematically in a newly de-colonised India), two Britishers, one Swiss, and Corbusier himself who insisted on being called Swiss even though he was French (Drew 365), was chosen by Varma and Thapar. A letter was written to the Indian embassy in Paris about selecting Corbusier as “architectural advisor” and Pierre Jeanneret as “senior architect” (Thapar 1950) and a telegram returned from Paris, informing Thapar in London about the contracts signed by Corbusier and Jeanneret, attesting to the multitude of locations that comprise the lived histories of those who conceived Chandigarh (Indian Embassy 1950). In 1951, the city plan originally designed by the New York firm of Mayer, Whittlesey, and Glass a year before was taken over by Corbusier and his team.

Locations within India are also referenced frequently through documents. India’s seat of power, New Delhi, not only in Chandigarh being ‘not Delhi’ but also represented via archived documentation between Nehru and Corbusier. The duo corresponded frequently, especially when Corbusier required Nehru’s powerful intervention to remedy an apparent transgression on the part of other officials. In this example, Corbusier, in Chandigarh since October 1960 after the first phase was well underway, refers to a telegram sent by him to

Nehru in September 1960 detailing his discontent against the proposed construction near the Sukhna lake which the CM of Punjab, Pratap Singh Kairon was in favour of (Nehru 1960; see image 1). Corbusier's work in Ahmedabad where he constructed Villa Sarabhai for the city's civic elite is also referenced through a photograph. Corbusier's bucolic, new Eden, vision for Chandigarh has been recorded by Aditya Prakash, a junior architect on his team: "I will make a plan which is simple. A big village. In burnt brick. I will bring in air. Keep Sun-God in control. Garden in every house. Not Paris, not London, not New York – Chandigarh, a new city" (5) – as a city, Corbusier described it via cancelled-out relationships to other places from the same time⁴.

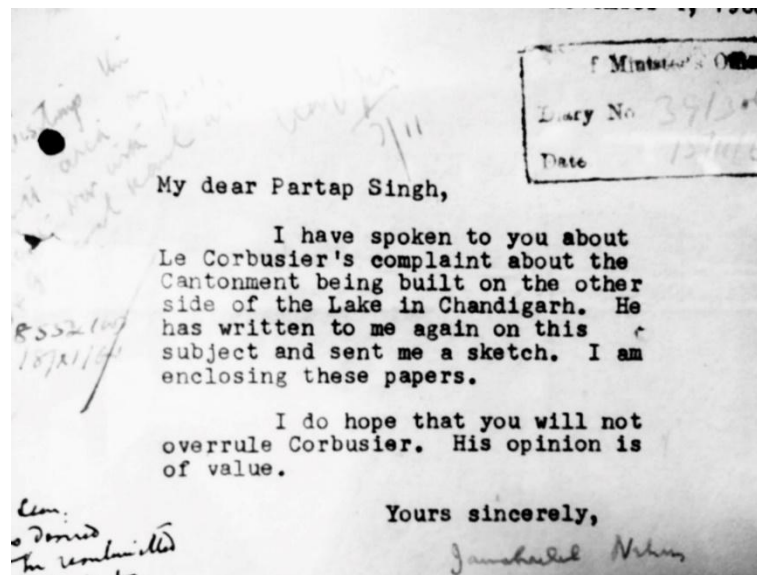


Image 1: Letter from Nehru to Kairon professing his complete confidence in Corbusier (Nehru 1960).

Such linear and historical relationships to other spaces heavily infest the Centre, also in terms of artefacts such as the items of handmade furniture on display at the Centre. Jeanneret built many items using tropical materials endemic to the Punjab

region. Bagga's examinations of letters and photographs of Jeanneret housed at the Canadian College of Architecture, Montréal, reveals Jeanneret's deep commitment to the Chandigarh project, especially in the introduction of customised furniture for "public, civic architectural types" and "private villas" featuring housing projects including "built-in cupboards, closets, seats", "lighting alcoves and concrete uplighting" which served as a fitting complement to the straight-lined minimal design of the city (see Image 2). She writes that such introduction of "custom furniture" served an "immediate need" but also employed "carpenters, masons, technicians and displaced craftsmen" from "across the borders of Lahore and West Punjab" after 1947 (Bagga). Jeanneret's designs also draw upon his earlier association with Charlotte Perriand, a close friend and furniture designer in Paris (Bagga; Catalano).



Image 2: A classic Pierre Jeanneret chair on display at the Le Corbusier Centre, Sector 19, Chandigarh.

Much of these functional elements lie unused or broken at Panjab University, or are exported abroad and auctioned as pieces of modernist art (Catalano). The theft of furniture from many colleges⁵, Panjab University premises⁶, the Vidhan Sabha,

and in one instance from 2015, from the Centre itself, has been investigated time and again by the police⁷ (Express News Service, “Heritage furniture”). In addition to chairs, and as per one instance, a dining table stolen from the University premises which later fetched 5 lakhs, manhole covers featuring the grid layout of the city designed by Jeanneret have also been stolen after being sold off in the scrap for as little as Rs 200-300 (TNN, “Panjab University”). Such heritage items then feature as prominent additions to portfolios of auctions held prominently in New York, France, and England, selling for lakhs of rupees⁸, highlighting not only the failure of such myopic conservation efforts but also the apathy of authorities who deal with ‘heritage’ conservation in purely theoretical terms⁹.

Interestingly, it is not only the sale and purchase of artefacts that is global but the acquisition of this archival material also spans many places. In 2010, the Centre received around thirty rare heritage pictures of Le Corbusier, Nehru, and the late CM of Punjab, Partap Singh Kairon in a joint venture agreement by the Le Corbusier Archives in Paris and Zurich, the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montréal, and the Saakaar Foundation, Chandigarh¹⁰ (Walia). Thus, the Centre employs description through letters and artefacts, mirroring these locations with few distortions. It heightens the mobility of these spaces and the urgency associated with some of these locations, such as in the Varma-Thappar example where the mission to locate architects willing to settle in India, train Indian architects, and accept payments in low-value Indian currency, was a pressing enterprise. Emerging as a heterotopia of compensation¹¹, a real yet other space, the Centre is haunted by the fore-images and after-images of other locations. Thus, the Centre becomes un-centred, its “decentralised” (Osman et al 936, 939) space resembling “an ensemble of relations” and locations (Foucault 1).

Unreal Emplacements

Through specific and innate references, the Centre juxtaposes contradictory spaces within the real space and time of the

archive, creating a semantically layered yet semantically ambiguous space that also transforms in time. These physical and functional transformations, in conjunction with the continual transformations of the real world, create a “matrix” such that “the relational network is rearranged” (Osman et al 936).

Originally constructed as an office space in sector 19, the B-team migrated here from the colonial guest house near the train station to Shimla. It is here that they planned the city. One of the earliest buildings in Chandigarh, until 1965 it served its official architectural purposes. When the Department of Urban Planning shifted to Sector 9 in 1965, the building’s official architectural purposes were interrupted and its historic and symbolic value was left exposed. Richard Osman, in his theorisation of heterochronotopia, argues that the biography of each place comprises “dynamic development stages” followed by “periods of stagnation” where nothing happens (Osman et al. 938) – and nothing happened to the Centre for 40 years. Demoted to “a non-viable temporary structure” that was “functionally and structurally redundant”, several users made many “incompatible changes and adaptations”¹² which compromised the “original design” (Parul).

In 2010, when the Centre took its current shape, its director Deepika Gandhi observed, “As many as 100 people worked here [in the 1950s]”, making it “abuzz with creative activity and energy” (Parul). The Modernist strategies that revealed Corbusier’s “plastic” architecture, such as fluid precast beams and the infamous sun-grid to tackle the extreme tropical climate¹³ were now highlighted. The restoration was accompanied by the inauguration of the Open Hand Art Studio in 2018 to channel the inherent creativity of the space into a new crop of young researchers. The Studio regularly hosts lectures and organises workshops on the history of the Centre or Chandigarh’s iconic architecture - many of these in collaboration with other city-based institutions¹⁴. The Centre also has a small amphitheatre to serve as a performance area

and place for lectures and discussions, proposed also to be used as “a forum for architects to talk about burning issues” (Parul). Along with the Studio, the Centre also boasts a cafeteria on one portion of the excavated ruins, intermixing the uncovered brick modernist vaulted arch with functions of entertainment, rest, and refreshment.

The Le Corbusier Centre for the Interpretation and Augmentation of the Heritage of Chandigarh (its full name is quite a mouthful), indicates a dual purpose – it memorializes the namesake architect, but more so, it ‘interprets’ the ‘heritage’ of the city to ‘augment’ it by adding heritage value. Understanding ‘heritage’ as the transmission of characters from parent to offspring¹⁵, the Centre is thus accountable for granting an official heritage to the city in line with other museums and archives. Owing to the relatively generous footfall received by the Centre, it inevitably emerges as *the* place for the city’s official history. The Centre does not shy away from claiming this role; its website claims that the Centre will “focus on preservation, interpretation, research, display of the works and legacy of Le Corbusier” while aiming to conserve the vision of Chandigarh for “appropriate *transmission* to *future generations*” (*Le Corbusier Centre*; emphasis added). As a home and workspace for the B-Team refurbished as an archive and museum in 2010, as an artist’s studio, an academic research centre, a popular tourist spot, and through other liminal functions, the heterotopic space of the LCC forges connections with many other ‘heres’ and ‘nows’¹⁶.

Retrospective Emplacements

The heterochronic function of heterotopic space requires it to be open to many times in a single space and display an almost “perpetual and indefinite accumulation within an irremovable place” (Foucault 7). As a museum, the Centre also accumulates time, not only through a change in function but also in material memory. The material artefacts on display here document the evolution of the Chandigarh site itself, highlighting some

aspects at the cost of some others deemed unimportant for this ‘official’ history.

Before Chandigarh was Chandigarh, it belonged to the Harrapan civilisation. It is an eerie coincidence that Chandigarh was planned over another civilisation renowned for its organised civic structures. Mortal remains from the later part of the Harrapan civilisation, between 2000-2500 BC, have been unearthed under sector 17, with the Centre documenting this evolution through dioramas and original figurines. Named after Goddess Chandi whose temple is in Panchkula, the Centre continues its documentation of the city’s origin while glossing over the numerous villages and villagers who toiled over this land and were displaced, “bulldozed”, “erased”, their land “seamlessly integrated into the secular grid” (V. Prakash, “Many Names”, 57), for the city’s conception.



Image 3: An Untamed Wilderness: in the 1950s, the Chandigarh site was dusty and sparse with fledgling trees just taking root (photograph at the Le Corbusier Centre, Chandigarh).

In the face of such exclusions, other sources of Chandigarh's history, textual or archival, become alternate sites to access what has been authoritatively cancelled. Heterotopic in their capacity to reclaim what suffered from distortions in the real space of the Centre, these “other” histories do much to ameliorate these lapses. Biographies of the city describe the site of the Capital Project from the 1940s, when Chandigarh was non-existent and the land was full of mango groves, fields of wheat, and rice, with the Patiali ki Rao to the west and Sukhna Cho to the east. Harold Elvin, on a bicycle tour of the country in *Ride to Chandigarh* writes of the Chandigarh site in 1957, “Virgin fields: so soon to be a hive of tear and toil... New York and London were just like this, tomorrow, Piddletrenthide may be the centre of the Universe” (328). The actual temple of Goddess Chandi also becomes an emergent site for such omissions, with enthusiastic priests narrating the story of the Pandavas who accidentally came across the temple during their 12-year-long exile. Other accounts concur that Chandigarh could also be the ancient city, Virata, where the Pandavas anonymously spent the penultimate year of their fourteen-year exile (V. Prakash 2013, 56). Closer to our time, the temple records the 1953 visit by President Rajendra Prasad, Defence Minister K.N. Katju, and Punjab’s Governor S.P.N. Singh and their subsequent decision to name the city after the temple’s rich legacy. Other, less dramatic sources, have suggested that the site was chosen by PL Varma from a plane¹⁷ (Elvin 320). Such multiplicity of representations has been streamlined and condensed into a unifocal view at display in the Centre.

The Centre, in another curious elimination, also favours the documentation of the Capital Complex, comprising the high court, the secretariat, and the assembly (all primarily envisioned by Corbusier), over establishments constructed by other actors, especially (albeit junior) Indian actors. For example, the Gandhi Bhawan in the Panjab University campus is an architectural icon owing to its white exterior, sitting lotus-like amidst the red sandstone structures that surround it. But “its three-winged structure inspired by the pinwheel”, “like a lotus standing in a

pool of water”, is omitted from the archives at the Centre. Jeanneret, its designer, is cemented into his secondary role of a guardian, appearing as a lesser designer through these erasures even though it was Jeanneret who, “open to imbibe in and embrace the culture of Punjab”, spent over a decade of his life in Chandigarh, devoting his time and creativity to both construct and document the city through his skills as a photographer¹⁸. In this light, other museums in the city, especially those oriented towards a more holistic heritage and conservation effort, also display a differently oriented urban history. For instance, the Chandigarh Architecture Museum in Sector 10 houses many letters archiving the progress of the original architect duo of Mayer and Nowicki, who barely receive any space in the Centre. Nevertheless, the Centre interconnects different times in the city’s evolution in a single space allowing us to retrospectively bring Chandigarh to life.

Contesting the Singularity of Vision

The heterotopic associations formed by the Centre ultimately present a singular vision of the city’s origin overshadowed by Corbusier. Though the centre is by name and fame reflective of an eponymous vision, its purpose is also to provide a historical “heritage” to the city. In conflating the two functions, life-history with place-history, the Centre memorializes Corbusier-as-God. The same is noted by Singh, who writes that such hero-worship makes the city a “static representation of a state-sponsored narrative” without a social context to support it (Singh 1227).

Along with Corbusier, Nehru emerges as the second prominent actor and the “main political personality” in the Chandigarh saga depicted here (1229). Singh’s discourse analysis of Nehru’s speeches on Chandigarh concludes that in 1950, Nehru shaped Chandigarh as a “symbol of the entire nation” (1226), announcing in 1953 that it was to be a “new experiment in architectural design” for which “engineers” have been “called in from *abroad*” (1231; emphasis added). Often labelled as “Nehru’s ideal city”, it is commonly believed that

“all that we see today in the city, the roads, the parks, the ecology, Nehru had a part to play in it all” (1229). In actuality, Nehru had little input in deciding the location or dictating the planning of the city but the idea of Chandigarh as Nehru’s Chandigarh nevertheless persists, augmented by the archived correspondence and photographs of Corbusier-Nehru together. It is difficult to ascertain whether this is a political stratagem persisting across decades or a historical accident, but it is bolstered by the correspondence and photographs of Corbusier-Nehru archived at the Centre.

The narrative of Corbusier as “hero architect” and Nehru as a modern visionary reign supreme in Chandigarh’s imagination due to a wider ignorance of tertiary contributors (V. Prakash 2002, 15; Evenson 1966; Singh 2019). Ironically, the official title of Corbusier in the Capital project was “Architectural Advisor”, while Pierre Jeanneret, his nephew, and right-hand man, was the Chief Architect till 1963. It was Jeanneret Jr. who stayed in Chandigarh the longest and implemented Corbusier’s sketches sent from Paris. His devotion to the city is manifest in his last wish, for his ashes to be interred in the Sukhna lake, reminiscent of where Corbusier and Jeanneret sailed their self-designed boats. Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry are remembered only in academic circles, with only a few photographs and sketches documenting their contribution. Even less is said about other bureaucrats and administrators who contributed to various stages of the Capital Project. Though the Old Architect’s Office was the workspace of a dedicated team, the photographs of junior architects with Jeanneret are conspicuous for the absence of Indian names.

One has to look elsewhere for these names. Vikramaditya Prakash writes that except for the 4 Europeans, the names of the other 75 members of the Chandigarh Capitol Project Team are yet to be recovered from the archives (“Many Names”, 64-65; see Image 4). According to a photograph in the repository of his father and Corbusier’s team member, Aditya Prakash, Vikramaditya Prakash names many Indians like RR Handa,

Harbinder Chopra, Jeet Malhotra, BP Mathur, MN Sharma, MS Randhawa, UE Chowdhury (the team's only Indian female member), AE Prabhawalkar and of course, Aditya Prakash, who were involved in Corbusier's core team. Despite such efforts, a tight-lipped indifference still marks the displacement of thousands of villagers who lived on what became the Chandigarh site in the 1950s¹⁹. Accounts vary, according to V. Prakash, 16 villages with a total of 28,000 people were displaced ("Many Names"); for Vinayak Bharne, the figure is 24 villages and 9,000 villagers; Tarlochan Singh, a Punjabi journalist, places the count at 609 settlements displaced. The contribution of an even larger number of labourers brought in from Odisha²⁰ to build the city's concrete behemoths becomes even more consequential in the absence of its acknowledgement, not to mention the absence of the names of contractors, workers, and junior administrators who worked with the team.



Image 4: The team of Indian architects and collaborators, all unnamed, with Pierre Jeanneret in the middle (photograph at the Le Corbusier Centre, Chandigarh).

The Centre dangerously ignores the multiple contestations of Chandigarh's originary vision. In positing a heritage for an ahistorical city, the Centre makes the resident complicit in "the positive role of heritage conservation", by situating itself as an "authentic resource" for Chandigarh's "original ambience" (*Le Corbusier Centre*). Opposing undercurrents are erased, the cosmopolitan plurality of voices inherent in the city lost through the legitimisation of a comfortable yet glorious 'history' of the city's origin.

Conclusion: A Contradictory Heterochronotopia

To read the Le Corbusier Centre as a heterochronotopia is to understand its various spatial and temporal links, and also to visualize it as a place connected to other sites and other times via "a system of associations" (Osman et al. 927). Through these connections to remote locations and times, the Centre performs many real (as a relational space in the present time and its semantic layers), unreal (through its transformation in time), and retrospective (in its accumulation of past times) emplacements, justifying a reading of the Le Corbusier Centre as heterochronotopia. This is in accordance with what Edward Soja theorised in 2000, that heterotopias change in function or meaning over time as per the culture where they occur (Soja 160).

At the same time, it appears contradictory. In common architectural understanding, heterotopic space is marginal, eccentric, or subliminal, but the Centre is literally *central*, with a dominant public character as a spot popular with tourists, residents, and school children alike (Dehaene and de Caeter 6). As such, the Centre's erasure of tertiary actors and voices becomes even more problematic owing to its hegemonic heritage function.

Further contradictions emerge in the Centre's relation to outside space and time. I have argued elsewhere that Chandigarh was conceived as a cosmopolis – inclusive, open, and plural exemplified in the ethos of the Open Hand, "open to give and open to receive", (Corbusier 1964) – but is now

transitioning to the claustropolis – closed off, unsecure and colonised exemplified in the gated communities of the periphery and the enforced militarization of Chandigarh's emblem, the Open Hand monument itself. Noting this distinction, the heterotopic emplacements of the Centre are almost claustropolitan, closed-off to the polyphony of the city's origins. The Centre emerges as a contradictory heterochronotopia where the memorialized vision remains static and impenetrable but is nevertheless threatened by the externalised real space of the cosmopolis and its ongoing transition to the claustropolis.

This threat is inconsequential if one remembers that all heterotopias accumulating time are threatened by the very real external passage of time. Yet, it holds special significance for our purposes as the contradictions of an uncompromising vision suffer a further setback when faced with the transitioning sensibility outside, with the cosmopolis giving way to the claustropolis. Simply put, the static and sterile vision at display²¹ in the Le Corbusier Centre exists outside time as all heterotopic clusters do, but keeping in mind the acute shift in sensibility, the static vision faces a greater threat from the real claustropolitanization of the cityspace. The claustropolis threatens us all, but more so this memorialized museum space for the closed-off colonisation of the cityspace directly contradicts the cosmopolitan, inclusive, and diverse conception of cityspace tangibly apparent at the Centre.

The citizen/tourist is nevertheless complicit in the Centre's umbilical fascination with the past, and his imagination of the city is then dominated by the singular vision at display here. Peeling these semantic layers is urgently required to finally escape the administrative obsession with preservation of the (selective) originary vision exemplified in the disparity between the development plans for the city and the periphery²² and allow lived experience of co-habitations such as the Artist's Studio to breathe a new life into the Centre, keeping it in line with these times (see Image 5). Battling this threat would need the

museum space to become more heterotopic through the introduction of evolving exhibits and immersive experiences (Crosby). The Artist's Studio is a tentative step in this direction.



Image 5: The Open Hand Art Studio in the Le Corbusier Centre featuring a human figure ruminating on at the Open Hand, the official emblem of the city, depicted on the canvas.

Endnotes

1. Foucault first mentioned heterotopias in *The Order of Things* (1971) as a space where things are different. Later, he theorised the same in a lecture delivered to The Architecture Circle in 1967 which was later published as “Des Espaces Autres” in 1984 and translated from French into English by Jay Miskowiec as “Of Other Spaces” in 1986. The present

paper will analyse and quote from this translated version. Since Foucault developed the concept later in his life, theorists have depended on others to concretize his spatial ideas.

2. The six emplacements are paraphrased as follows: (i) Heterotopias are omniscient and all cultures produce heterotopias (heterotopias of crisis and deviation); (ii) Heterotopias change over time; (iii) Heterotopias are other spaces, and form heterogenous connections with other places; (iv) They are also connected to other times (heterotopias of accumulation of time); (v) Heterotopias might possess several entries and exits, with rituals governing admission or exit (heterotopias of ritual or purification); and finally, (vi) Heterotopic space emplaces real spaces, that is they are based on illusion of or compensation of functions of real space (heterotopias of illusion and compensation).
3. PN Thapar was an ex-ICS officer, and the head of the team to build the capital at Punjab. He has been described as a man of “supreme skill and integrity” by Maxwell Fry (356), who he was often at odds with. PL Varma held the title of Chief Engineer in the Chandigarh project and was described as an “evasive” and “autocratic chief engineer” by Fry (353).
4. Casual visitors and longtime residents usually describe Chandigarh as unlike other urban Indian cities, free from traffic, pollution, population density and other urban evils.
5. *The Indian Express* has run a series of articles over the past year to document the continuing precarious condition of heritage furniture in Chandigarh, the attempts to steal these items from the University premises (Express News Service, “Two arrested”), and the exorbitant prices they fetch at auctions abroad (Express News Service, “Heritage furniture”). The *Times of India* also ran an article testifying to the inability of the Archaeological Society of India to stop such acts as heritage items are not classified as “art treasures” which are protected under law (Nagarkoti).
6. According to a *Times of India* report, a consignment of fourteen chairs seized by Indian Customs had been stolen from the University (TNN, “Heritage chairs”).
7. Oft-cited causes are “poor storage, lack of CCTV cameras, poor lighting, weak barbed wires” and “careless guards” (Prashar).

8. Such furniture is often purchased at low prices by foreign nationals who later auction them at inflated prices. In 2017, different auctions in the US, London, New Jersey and New York fetched upwards of 2 crores in total for furniture designed by Jeanneret (TNN, “Panjab University”).
9. “The UT administration has dual standards and superficial approach. On one hand, it talks about heritage status and on the other, they forget about such precious structures”, said Gaurav Chhabra, a local activist (TNN, “PU Lets Jeanneret”).
10. The photographs depict Nehru looking at a model of the Governor’s Palace in 1952, Jeanneret with his self-designed furniture, Jeanneret and Nehru discussing the plan for Panjab University and many others featuring the construction of the Capitol Complex (Walia).
11. The last characteristic of heterotopias as outlined by Foucault refers to their function in “relation to all the space that *remains*” creating either an “illusion” which “exposes every real space” (such as brothels) or, more significantly for our purpose, another real space, equally “perfect” and “meticulous” as the original is “messy” and “jumbled”, a heterotopia of compensation (8; emphasis added). Foucault writes that the early, well-organized colonies from the seventeenth century or the Puritan societies in America are suitable examples of heterotopias of compensation (8).
12. “One side of the complex was taken over by various departments, such as water department, who did their own thing by breaking one part or the other. Wildlife department established a rescue centre here for *langoors* and they made structural changes to install cages. It was only gradually we could claim the buildings back”, said Deepika Gandhi (Sharma). As late as 2009, the Forest department was operating from the second wing of the Old Architect Building (Bhardwaj).
13. Inspired by Mughal architecture, this canopy would (in theory) create a cooling effect by capturing moving air in shade. For a better review of its architectural function, please see *Le Corbusier in Detail* by Flora Samuel (Elsevier, 2007).
14. In the recent past, the Centre’s Studio conducted a workshop on block-printing in conjunction with city-based artists and in collaboration with the local Lalit Kala Akademi (Behal).

15. From the Latin, meaning to leave behind or abandon, then becoming “hérédité” in French, the scientific understanding of heritage as “transmission of characteristics from parent to offspring” accompanies the work of social Darwinist Herbert Spencer in the late nineteenth-century.
16. “From being promoted as a tourist spot to being an educational hub, Le Corbusier Centre is projecting many images, the latest being that of a research centre” (Bhardwaj).
17. According to Elvin, the site was chosen by PL Varma, chief engineer, in 1948 from a plane. Probably based on second-hand information from Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew themselves, this source of information may as well be trusted (Elvin 320).
18. The majority of the archives at the CCA contain many photographs of projects in Chandigarh in various stages of conceptualisation, modelling and making, with many images featuring notes scribbled at the back. It was probably in part due to the lack of easy communication between Jeanneret and his team, owing to his little knowledge of English and the latter’s deficiency in French, that Jeanneret relied “most extensively” upon the camera for “documentation” and “reference” (Bagga). Travelling across North India with his camera, Bagga writes that at one point, Jeanneret possessed seven cameras, “often running out of film during his travels”. Many of these photographs, sketches and drawings are now housed at the CCA archives in Montréal.
19. The villagers launched many protests and lobbied for a change in the location of the new capital. The land deemed to be converted for the capital project was very fertile. It was full of mango groves and much of it was being utilised for routine agriculture. Kalia also records the protests of many politicians from Nehru’s own party in solidarity with the agitating villagers. For more details on these protests, see Kalia (1999) and Tarlochan Singh (2019).
20. In a series of articles run by *Hindustan Times* in 2013 titled “Cosmo Culture”, journalist Victor Hillary covered the communities of ‘outsiders’ who feel at home in the tri-city. He writes that the Odia community was instrumental in building Panjab University, PGIMER, Kisan Bhawan and the Secretariat. Hillary quotes a member as saying, “The contribution of our community in building the city is

immense, but we got nothing in return from the UT administration” [specifically ruing the lack of a direct train route from Chandigarh to their “native place” (Hillary)].

21. Staticity refers to the overarching semantic message generated by the Centre, not to the heterotopic space of the Centre itself. Heterotopic space is permanently changing, evolving and consequently, semantically ambiguous.
22. The differences in Chandigarh Master Plan 2021 and Greater Mohali Area Development Authority 2021 starkly delegate the functions of preservation and development to Chandigarh and its periphery respectively.

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