Chandigarh's Collaborative Modernism: Departing From Le Corbusier Dominated Narratives.

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Abstract

This thesis, enabled by the Midlands3Cities doctoral training programme and supported by The University of Nottingham's Centre for Critical Theory, presents the notion of 'collaborative modernism' as an interpretive lens through which to view the architectural history of Chandigarh, India. The primary aim of this project is to disrupt the Le Corbusier dominated framework that has been constructed around the city and presented by both European and Indian scholarship alike. The idea of collaborative modernism is indebted to the research of scholars Chattopadhyay, Hosagrahar and Glover, that critically reflects on Indian modernity. Equally, the concept has been enriched by the active research clusters at The University of Nottingham, such as The Centre for Critical Theory and The Interdisciplinary Modernism Research Network. Chandigarh is typically considered the work of Le Corbusier; however, my research has shown that the city was the result of a collaboration between Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry, Jane Drew and the Indian team. The concept of collaborative modernism emphasises the agency of the Indian team which at the very least included M.N. Sharma, A.R. Prabhawalkar, B.P. Mathur, Piloo Moody, U.E. Chowdhury, N.S. Lamba, Jeet Malhotra, J.S. Dethe and Aditya Prakash. If we accept that modernity is a stage of capitalism that intrinsically requires something that is globalising, there are consequences for artistic responses to this process, such as modernism. Through exploring whether Chandigarh can be viewed as a back and forth Indo-European exchange, the notion of collaborative modernism will suggest a non-geopolitically specific theorisation of modernism as inherently de-centred. However, it is not necessarily the assertion that the architecture produced by the Indian team was aesthetically different from the architecture produced by the European team, especially since the working relations were inherently collaborative. The claim of collaborative modernism in relation to Chandigarh is intended to emphasise the Indian agency in the design of the city, rather than a significant aesthetic contribution. Indeed, in many ways the focus of this thesis is the character of the working relations that facilitated Chandigarh's creation, rather than its specific aesthetic or architectural qualities. Accordingly, the city of Chandigarh, and the process that led to its creation, provides a case study through which the lost history of the Indian contribution can be excavated, exploring thereby the complexities of collaborative modernism.

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Chapter 1- Introduction.

Background

Chandigarh, India, is the state capital of Punjab and Haryana and sits close to the Himalayan Foothills. It was commissioned shortly after the partition of India, which saw Lahore, the former state capital of the region, fall within the national boundaries of Pakistan. It is a city that has its critics. For example, historian and travel writer William Dalrymple in *City Djinns* describes the city in the following terms:

> Nehru's disastrous commission of a hideous new city by Le Corbusier at Chandigarh. Chandigarh is now an urban disaster, a monument to stained concrete and discredited modernism (Dalrymple, 2005, p.85).

Indian architect Charles Correa summarises Indian perspectives on the city in the following terms, highlighting the perceived disgruntlement at the concrete buildings that comprise the city:

> They dislike his [Le Corbusier's] aesthetic, his lack of climate control – and more than anything else, they dislike his concrete. Recently, a New Delhi housewife said to me, 'Those buildings in Chandigarh! They are huge, clumsy, awful athletes'. And an American photographer cried angrily of the Assembly, 'It's just a very fancy jungle gym' (2012, p.14).

However, as this thesis will demonstrate, Chandigarh has emerged as a subject for critical re-evaluation, and my research is a response to this trajectory. In 2014 I visited India, having attended a screening of Alain Tanner's *Une ville à Chandigarh* at the Arnolfini in Bristol and presented by curator Shanay Jhaveri. I decided to visit Chandigarh.

Having visited The Capitol Complex and navigated myself around the city's various sectors, I found it inconceivable that the city was the result of an overarching or monolithic design. Around this time, I became aware of the research of Iain Jackson, Manish Chalana and Tyler. S. Sprague, which critiqued the Le Corbusier dominated narratives that surround the city, and the notion that Chandigarh was the imposition of one arrogant man's architectural vision.

Based in Rishikesh and with some time to spare, I decided to read several articles by the above authors and became convinced that a PhD could be devoted to the role of the Indian architects that contributed to the city. Several years would pass before I formally commenced research on this project, but the nucleus of this thesis developed whilst sitting on the balcony of a Swiss Cottage in the middle of the Himalayan Foothills.

In these interim years, based on the literature encountered, the following preconceptions about the city developed:

1. Le Corbusier was solely responsible for Sector 1

2. The primary historical omission from dominant narratives of the city, was the contribution of Fry and Drew; and their work with the Indian team

3. That the 'Indian team' consisted of the following: M.N. Sharma, A.R. Prabhawalkar, B.P. Mathur, Piloo Moody, U.E. Chowdhury, N.S. Lamba, Jeet Malhotra, J.S. Dethe and Aditya Prakash

4. That Pierre Jeanneret was simply executing Le Corbusier's bidding.

Within the following years, many of these pre-conceptions would be overturned through both further reading and archival research. It should also be noted, that whilst the subject of this thesis might legitimately be described as architectural history, I do not claim to be an architectural historian, but rather an art historian hosted by The University of Nottingham's Centre for Critical Theory, that happens to write about architecture. I hope that my training in art history and critical theory will create the possibility for observations that might be of interest to these aforementioned interconnected fields. It should be noted at this juncture, that the application of the concept collaborative modernism, emerged from conversations with Colin Wright from The Centre for Critical Theory and James Mansell, an active member of the Interdisciplinary Modernism Research Network. The project is therefore indebted to their insights and benefited immensely from these respective research clusters.

Introduction.

This introduction represents the point of departure for my thesis which commenced initially in 2015 on a part-time basis, but due to the receipt of an Midlands3Cities grant, became a full-time project in 2016.

The aim of this project is to consider alternative ways of conceptualising the architectural history of Chandigarh, India. In conjunction with this, my thesis aims to develop and apply the concept of collaborative modernism to the city. The objective over the following pages is to clarify the thematic and conceptual concerns of the project, which is anchored around the concept of collaborative modernism; I will then outline the thesis structure and methodology. The last few pages of the introduction are given over to highlighting the emergence of scholarly attention on Chandigarh, and also to the historical context of the city.

This project will explore the architectural history of Chandigarh, India, through the critical perspective of 'collaborative modernism'. Deviating from Madhu Sarin's critique of Chandigarh as being European modernist architecture transposed onto the plains of Punjab, by Le Corbusier, Swiss architect and paragon of aesthetic modernity (1977. p.378), the project will excavate the lost history of the Indian architects who contributed to this city. As such, this project will contribute to the recent architectural historical discourse on Chandigarh – Iain Jackson (2013), Manish Chalana and Tyler Sprague (2013) – which begins to highlight the role of the Indian architects that contributed to the design of Chandigarh. This research trajectory develops the work of Vikramaditya Prakash and his benchmark text *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in Postcolonial India* (2002), which highlighted nine Indian architects as having worked on the city- M.N. Sharma, A.R. Prabhawalkar, B.P. Mathur, Piloo Moody, U.E. Chowdhury, N.S. Lamba, Jeet Malhotra, J.S. Dethe and Aditya Prakash. The extent to which this is a definitive list is an ongoing line of enquiry.

Through combining this emergent historical and theoretical research with the findings of my extended field trip conducted with the support of Panjab University (Chandigarh), I will uncover the collaborative and crucially transcultural nature of Chandigarh's Euro-Indian modernism. This interest in exploring the city as resulting from transcultural flows, was heavily influenced by the work of Chattopadhyay, Hosagrahar and Glover. The focus of this thesis

holds significant affinities with the research of Prakash, insofar as it deviates from celebrating the work of Le Corbusier and begins to consider the contributions of Fry, Drew, administrators and the Indian team. However, this thesis will avoid Prakash's strategy of regarding Le Corbusier and Nehru as 'highly charged condensations' (Prakash, 2002, p.26) and explore what occurs if we investigate Chandigarh from the bottom up. Arguably, Prakash's strategy emanates from Von Moos' notion of a convenient confluence between Le Corbusier and Nehru, which is an interpretation that this thesis seeks to critique.

The concept of collaborative modernism departs from Stanislaus Von Moos' argument made in 'The Politics of the Open Hand: Notes on Le Corbusier and Nehru at Chandigarh' (1977), that the city reflected the convenient confluence of Le Corbusier's architectural philosophy and Indian Prime Minister Nehru's political ideology (1977, p.441)[1]. The idea of a convenient confluence between the respective approaches of Nehru and Le Corbusier is insightful, as it activates the importance of Nehru's vision for modernity. The problem is that it does nothing to problematise the centrality of Le Corbusier within the narratives that surround the city. By carrying out this research, I hope to inaugurate a radical rethinking of both Chandigarh and modernism.

This notion of collaborative modernism takes root from the scholarly analysis of Jyoti Hosagrahar (2005), Swatti Chattopadhyay (2006) and William Glover (2008) that views modernity in India as transcultural and decentred. By decentred and transcultural, I refer to a critique of the notion that modernity was simply imposed by the colonising British. Within Hosagrahar's *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism* (2005), Chattopadhyay's *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny* (2005) and finally Glover's *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City* (2008), we find critical reflections the on the development of modernity within India. Whilst each of these texts refers to 19th Century colonial India, they robustly critique the notion of modernity as being a top down imposition from coloniser to colonised. These texts compellingly present Indians as actively participating in the production of modernity within the colonial context. The intellectual horizons provided by these texts will inform my critical methodology used when demonstrating that Chandigarh was an example of collaborative rather than imposed European modernism.

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[1] The idea of a convenient confluence, is an interpretation of the phrase Convergence of Ideologies used by Von Moos, for example he states 'He [Le Corbusier] finally met a political leader whose outlook was in tune with his own architectural philosophy and whose authority was strong enough to put it to work' (1977, p.441).

According to many interpretations of Marxism, modernity should be regarded as an economic process involving industrialisation, aligned with primitive accumulation, that requires Europe's exploitation of non-Europe. We can see that modernity, as stage of capitalism, intrinsically requires something that is expansively 'global' or 'globalising'. It would seem likely that if modernity and its mechanisms are globalising, then responses to this phenomenon will appear globally. These responses might not necessarily directly resemble the European version, but they are nonetheless equally as valid and authentic. This way of thinking could lead to a de-territorialised conception of modernism.

Whilst my appeal to collaborative modernism could be viewed as an acknowledgement of the fact that architecture is inherently collaborative, it also emphasises the agency of the Indian architects that contributed to the design of Chandigarh, that is typically overlooked. The agency of the Indian architects connects to the concept of collaborative modernism, because the concept suggests that Chandigarh was created by a network of administrators, architects, town planners and engineers who were motivate by varying concerns; but nonetheless contributed in a very tangible way.

Thesis Structure

In many respects the order of my chapters reflects the intended trajectory of my investigation, with Chapter Two - 'Collaborative Modernism: What is it and Why is it Necessary?' reflecting not only on existing scholarship on Chandigarh, but also the literature which affirmed the need for collaborative modernism. The chapter, perhaps more importantly, will consider whether the concept of collaborative modernism is a necessary intervention into both understandings of Chandigarh's architectural history and modernism more generally. Chapter Three - 'Modernity and Modernism in India', will function as an extension of this latter objective and as a more pronounced articulation of collaborative modernism. The subsequent three chapters will reflect the sequence of my respective research trips to Chandigarh, with Chapter Four - 'Chandigarh's Institutional and Emerging Counter Narratives' providing the opportunity to reflect on the city's own self representation within the context of its museums. Chapter Five - 'Challenging the Invisibility of Chandigarh's Indian Agency', will draw heavily on the Aditya Prakash

Foundation archive and The Randhawa Papers, and presents research both on the architecture of Aditya Prakash and The Capitol Complex. The Aditya Prakash Foundation Archive will be the first archive to be consulted, since I hope to encounter material that will reflect the perspective and experience of Prakash, one of the architects that worked alongside Le Corbusier, Jeanneret, Fry and Drew. Once this has been achieved, I will proceed to consult The Randhawa Papers, which are more bureaucratic in nature and not specific to any particular architect. Chapter Six or 'Fry, Drew and Jeanneret's Collaborative Modernism', has been situated at the end of this thesis, since it will critically engage with the material that first inspired this project, primarily the work of Iain Jackson, Manish Chalana and Tyler S. Sprague. This will enable me to clearly signpost what has been found through engagement with the archives, and what my research can contribute to this body of work. Finally, according to this logic, these findings will allow me to reflect more broadly not only on the ramifications for the architectural history of Chandigarh, but for understandings of Modernism. I will now expand on these chapters in more detail.

This thesis has been divided into 6 chapters, and this introductory chapter which will indicate the broad intellectual concerns of this project and how they relate to the city of Chandigarh. This chapter will briefly outline the resurgence of both academic discourse and curatorial interest in Le Corbusier, Chandigarh and modernism. This chapter will also explain the field to which this thesis aims to contribute and finally it will elucidate the post-Partition context of the city.

Chapter Two will expand the concept of collaborative modernism and the literature that informed this way of understanding Chandigarh's modernism. This chapter will review pre-existing literature on the city, ranging from the writings of individuals such as Madhu Sarin and Stanislaus Von Moos' through to the work of Ravi Kalia (2002), Vikramaditya Prakash (2002) and Sarbjit & Surinder Bahga (2000). Broadly speaking, the work of Curtis (1997), Von Moos and Sarin explicate the need for the intervention of collaborative modernism. However, there are aspects of Von Moos work which can be extracted and used by the concept of collaborative modernism. Whereas the work of Prakash and Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga begin to articulate an Indian agency. This is developed further by Iain Jackson, Tyler S. Sprague and Manish Chalana. This chapter will demonstrate both the insights and limitations of such texts, with a view to demonstrating the necessity and prefiguration of collaborative modernism. Importantly, with relation to the overall originality of this project, the final section of this chapter will distinguish the concept of collaborative modernism from potentially similar

concepts such as vernacular modernism and indigenous modernities, which have been advanced by Umbach and Hosagrahar respectively.

Chapter Three will seek to provide a far from comprehensive, but hopefully satisfactory, overview of modernism produced in India prior to 1947. I devote this chapter to several interconnected objectives, the first of which being to clarify what I mean by modernism and modernity in the Indian context. I will briefly consider the work of Chattopadhyay, Glover and Hosagrahar, who aim to nuance understanding of modernity in India, from a spatial and architectural perspective. Having outlined their critiques, I will further outline and develop the concept of collaborative modernism, which will frame the following discussion of modernism in India, prior to 1947. Methodologically, the decision to include this extended consideration of Indian modernism reflects a continued critique of the idea that Chandigarh's modernism was imposed on India. This chapter aims to reflect on the extent to which modernism meant something in the Indian context prior to 1947, and whether it had a relationship with the independence movement. Through my consideration of the Sir Jamesethji School of Art (Mumbai) and the work of urban planner, Otto Koenigsberger, I will explore the extent to which salient examples of collaborative modernism existed in India prior to the commissioning of Chandigarh.

One of the key conceptual points of this chapter is to consider the implications of Partha Mitter's *The Triumph of Modernism: India's Artists and the Avant-Garde 1922-1947* (2007), in which he argues that Vasarian approaches to the construction of art historical discourse still permeate the way in which art history is produced. Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) was the author of The Lives of Artists and is regarded as one of the founders of art history. Mitter asserts that Vasari's approach to art history, which was anchored around specific urban centres and typically regarded 'fringe' cities to produce derivative work of inferior artistic merit, underlies contemporary understandings of modernism (Mitter, 2007, p.9). Discourse on modernism has clear centres of power, with clear vested interests in certain narratives. Intriguingly, although the city of Chandigarh benefitted from the contributions of Fry, Drew, Jeanneret and the Indian team, their roles have been subordinated to lesser and greater extents to Le Corbusier's. Arguably, this has happened because Le Corbusier's oeuvre is intrinsically linked with Paris, one of the perceived centres of modernist production. This point will also be further expanded in my discussion of collaborative modernism, later in this introduction.

The concern that art historical discourse has been constructed around centres of power, initially with a Eurocentric and latterly with a Euro-American bias, segues into recent writing on contemporary art. For example, Wu Hung in the article 'A Case of being "Contemporary": Conditions, Spheres, and Narratives of Contemporary Chinese Art' (2008), states:

> Several years ago, after I gave a talk on contemporary Chinese art, I was asked how "Chinese art" could also be "contemporary". The person who asked this question obviously found these two concepts incompatible. To him, China or Chinese art was intuitively-and necessarily-situated in a time/place outside the realm of the contemporary. I pointed out the falsehood of this presumption, but also confessed that a systematic explanation was yet to be worked out to account for the creation and operation of a "local" or "national" contemporary Chinese art but also contemporary Iranian art, contemporary Indian art, contemporary Mexican art, and contemporary Algerian art to name just a few (2008, p.290).

There are other salient examples of this spatial and geo-political concern around the notion of artistic centres as emanating from centres of power. We can turn to the concept of Altermodernity, curator Nicolas Bourriaud's theorisation of the contemporary planetary reality in which we live. Altermodernity operates with an internal teleological logic, which suggests that temporally modernism and post-modernity has now passed (or that the latter is ending). This temporal and non-geopolitically specific category that Bourriaud proposes, has been explored with projects such as Altermodern, the fourth Tate Triennial in 2009. Intriguingly the manifesto associated with this exhibition stated the following of relevance to the concept of collaborative modernism.

> If twentieth-century modernism was above all a western cultural phenomenon, Altermodernity arises out of planetary negotiations, discussions between agents from different cultures. Stripped of a centre, it can only be polyglot. Altermodernity is characterised by translation, unlike the modernism of the twentieth century which spoke the abstract language of the colonial west, and postmodernism, which encloses artistic phenomena in origins and identities (Tate, 2009).

Altermodernity asks to strip contemporary art of its geopolitical centre, which means according to this critique, artistic discourse (if not production) has been anchored around specific centres, which are typically Euro-American. Unfortunately, this critique does not address that this

'planetary' dialogue is being conducted in Central London, just off the Thames, a site and tributary redolent with colonial association. As this my chapter 'Modernity and Modernism in India' will explore, it is not possible to view Modernism as only a western phenomenon. Ostensibly, if Bourriaud fails to adequately conceptualise the past, can he adequately capture the present? The preoccupation of decentering artistic production from Europe, shows the contemporary relevance of collaborative modernism.

Chapter Four will examine the narratives of the city's design and construction presented by both The City Architecture Museum (1997) and The Le Corbusier Centre (2008), both located in Chandigarh. This chapter focuses on Chandigarh's changing self-representation, how it sees itself and how this is presented in a museum context. Accordingly, consideration will be given to the extent to which these respective institutions rehabilitate the Indian architects that contributed to the design of the city or if they help perpetuate their obscurity. Subsequently, attention will be given to the recent efforts of Panjab University and Chandigarh College of Architecture to investigate Pierre Jeanneret's contribution to the design of Chandigarh. Finally, consideration will be given to Vikramaditya Prakash's recent architectural guide to Chandigarh which controversially ascribes several significant buildings to Indian architects, previously attributed to either Le Corbusier or Jeanneret.

Chapter Five will look at the contribution of the Indian professionals, including architects, town-planners, engineers and administrators, who worked on Chandigarh. This will be achieved through consideration of the design of The Capitol Complex which includes Chandigarh's main governmental buildings and both the architectural and poetic output of Aditya Prakash. The Capitol Complex case study will consider The Capitol Complex as a site of consultation, compromise, contestation and collaboration. This will be achieved by considering Le Corbusier's engagement with his Indian colleagues and the workforce at large. I will also throw a spotlight on his working relationships with Chief Engineer P.L. Verma, and the architects Prabhawalkar and Jeet Malhotra. The Aditya Prakash case study will commence with a consideration of Prakash's two texts on Chandigarh entitled *Chandigarh, A Presentation in Free Verse* (1978) and *Reflections on Chandigarh* (1983). Both texts include introductions from Mulk Raj Anand, modernist, and well-known Indian- Anglophone writer. I will propose that they provide a critical lens through which to consider both Prakash's output and Chandigarh as a city. It is my hope that these poetic texts might offset the distorted narratives

of academia on the city. The Aditya Prakash case study will consider the architect's creative independence whilst working on the city and the extent to which his output supports the concept of collaborative modernism. Both case studies will present archival documents from The Randhawa Papers, The Aditya Prakash Foundation Archive and Le Corbusier's Sketchbooks (1982), which to the best of my knowledge have not been considered in the context of the Indian contribution to Chandigarh.

Chapter Six will outline the contribution that Drew, and Fry made to the design of the city, the design of Sector- 22, one of Chandigarh's residential areas with an adjoining market. This chapter develops from Iain Jackson's article 'Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew's Early Housing Neighbourhood Planning in Sector-22, Chandigarh' (2013). The article takes on significant resonance within this thesis since it claims that the tendency to frame Le Corbusier as the sole author of the city has resulted in the contribution of the architects being subordinated (2013, p.1). It argues that the tendency to perceive the city as a holistic entity, conceived according to the singular vision of a lone genius, has led to misleading readings of the city. Jackson notes that Maxwell Fry (1899-1987) and Jane Drew's (1911-1996) contribution to Chandigarh has not been adequately researched and although Kiran Joshi[2] has carefully catalogued their buildings in Chandigarh, their work in the city has been given little scholarly attention (ibid). As Jackson notes, Fry and Drew are generally accepted as significant exponents of twentieth century British architecture and pioneers of tropical architecture, yet their work in Chandigarh, alongside Pierre Jeanneret's, has been eclipsed by the work of their collaborator, Le Corbusier (ibid). This chapter will focus on the work of Fry, Drew and Jeanneret in Chandigarh, and the extent to which this work was collaborative. This chapter will also consider the apparent disparity between Maxwell Fry's appraisal of Pierre Jeanneret and the high level of esteem held for the architect in India, and the extent to which his derisory comments could have led to misleading narratives about the city's creation.

An arguably striking omission of this project is Nek Chand's Rock Garden, which was constructed in secret for almost 20 years, before being discovered by governmental workers. It is discreetly situated near The Capitol Complex, making its clandestine construction even

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[2] The text to which Jackson refers it Kiran Joshi's *Documenting the Indian Architecture of Pierre Jeanneret, Edwin Maxwell Fry and Jane Beverley Drew*, Chandigarh, 1999.

more remarkable. The garden as Prakash tells us was constructed from the remnants of the villages cleared to make way for the new city and from the waste generated by Chandigarh's construction. Prakash's description of the garden is worth quoting here:

> It is an unusual and fascinating assemblage of thousands of human and animal forms staged in a series of free form courts, cascading one into the other. Every square inch is covered. One is drawn in to touch and caress, almost with a sense of disbelief, the countless broken pipes, bulbs, lavatories, chinaware, electrical fittings, fluorescent lamps, soda water caps, bangles, feathers, plain ordinary rocks, beer bottles, earthen pots, and the innumerable other objects of everyday life that have been cast into sculptures, doors, walls, floors, roofs, columns, and bridges of surreal beauty. Each court is unique, and they all twist and turn like intestines (2002, p.71).

The garden is a stunning phantasmagoria of Mughal minarets, beautiful gnarled roots, cacti, elegant bridges and canals, dramatic waterfalls and beguiling structures that reflect the architectural vernacular associated with past rulers of India combined with a contemporary perhaps Modernist sensibility. What is particularly striking throughout is both Chand's overwhelming sense of a grand vision combined with a meticulous attention to detail, for example, broken bits of plastic have been ornately placed to provide exquisite sculptural relief to the garden's walls. Furthermore, after having passed through a series of interconnected organic scenes one then encounters a fascinating sculptural installation that consists figurines with an aesthetic that resembles fleshed out Giacometti sculptures their features and ambiance enunciated through beautiful mosaic. The decision not to include Chand's Rock Garden was based on its pre-existing national and international notoriety, the garden has at times been one of India's most visited tourist attractions. Ostensibly I felt, given the conceptual concerns of collaborative modernism, that it was more important to rehabilitate the contributions of architects such as Aditya Prakash, than to devote a chapter to Nek Chands Rock Garden. Although the Rock Garden was initially an individual effort, its discovery led to municipally funded assistance, which suggests that the critical lens might have been appropriately cast over Nek Chand's creation. I believe that an entire research project could be devoted to the garden, as explored through the lens of collaborative modernism, but it would be a different project to the present one.

However, despite these inevitable omissions, this thesis will aim to present original scholarly research on the following:

 1. The role of Chandigarh's cultural institutions in the invisibility of the Indian architects within dominant narratives of the city.

2. The insights that Le Corbusier's sketchbooks can provide on Indian agency within Chandigarh's construction.

3. The role that collaboration and negotiation played in the creation of 'Le Corbusier's' Capitol Complex.

4. The architecture and poetry of Aditya Prakash.

5. The work conducted in Chandigarh by Jane Drew, Maxwell Fry and Pierre Jeanneret, especially buildings designed in collaboration with the Indian team.

6. Finally, I hope to discover Indian accounts of Pierre Jeanneret, who spent fifteen years living in India working on the design and construction of the city.

Research Methodology:

From a methodological perspective, my thesis critically engages in three different discursive sites, these being literature, the museum, and the archive. Regarding literature, my interest in this domain goes beyond the remit of the literature review, with texts such as Sarbjit and Surinder Bahgas' *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints on the Sands of Indian Architecture* and Vikramaditya Prakash's *Chandigarh*, themselves becoming sites of critical enquiry. Crucially, these texts do not merely constitute scholarship on Chandigarh within the context of my thesis and hold greater significance than 'supporting literature'. Crucially, the reason that these texts go beyond being 'supporting literature', is that they can be regarded as sites of discursive construction about Chandigarh. Furthermore, Chapter Four which considers Chandigarh's evolving self-representation through museological narrative, the museum-both spatially and textually- becomes a site of discursive enquiry. The respective institutions chosen for analysis are the only institutions in Chandigarh and India, solely devoted to the architectural history of Chandigarh. Therefore, these institutions became an important way of understanding the institutionally endorsed understanding of Chandigarh's design process. Likewise, a central aspect of my methodological modus operandi entails the consultation of archival sources. However, these archives are brought into critical interplay through the creation of an inter-

archive dialogue, and these archives and their contents are transformed into sites for critical investigation.

These three discursive sites have been selected so that a holistic understanding of Chandigarh's architectural history and its self-representation can be obtained. It seems evident that texts such as *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: footprints on the Sands of Indian Architecture* and *Chandigarh*, can be regarded as interventions into Eurocentric discourses on the city and form counter discursive constructions of the city. The decision to select the 'museum' as a site of discursive construction, was in part motivated by a desire to clarify that my project and its concerns were not simply an issue of knowledge transfer. Crucially, it was essential to ensure that while the Indian contribution is not well known in Anglophone Euro-American scholarship on the city, that a more expansive account of this contribution did not exist in India. The purpose of utilising the archives is that they provide micro-historical information that holds the potential to alter the fabric of pre-existing macro-historical narratives of the city.

Indeed, the research objective of discovering Chandigarh's Indian agency has determined my methodological decision to use archival research. Holdings such as The Randhawa Papers, provide an opportunity or opening through which to view the historical process of Chandigarh's creation, and hopefully facilitate a departure from Le Corbusier dominated narratives. The purpose of my archival research will be to answer these questions: What was the contribution of other architects involved in the design of Chandigarh, including Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, Pierre Jeanneret and the Indian team? To what extent did Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry collaborate with the Indian team? Why are the Indian architects that worked on the city largely invisible from canonical narratives and to what extent is this an issue about knowledge transfer, e.g. is the contribution of architects such as Aditya Prakash better understood in India (as opposed to Anglophone Euro-American scholarship)? I aim to gain an understanding of the aesthetic planning of the city, how it was circulated and through what forms. Finally, I hope to shed light on whether viewing the modernism in Chandigarh as the result of a set of negotiations between individuals, communities and the post-independence Indian state challenges canonical Anglophone discourses on modernism. Whilst significant effort will be given to bringing hitherto under-used Indian archives into critical interplay with prevailing Anglophone Euro-American discourse on Chandigarh, the documents consulted will themselves be Anglophone; this is an unavoidable limitation due to my linguistic abilities.

Fortunately, The Randhawa Papers and the documents held at The Aditya Prakash Foundation Archive, are largely in English.

This project will be dependent on consulting several museums and archives located in Chandigarh. The Aditya Prakash Foundation run by the son of the namesake architect and author of *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in Post-Colonial India* will be an invaluable resource for establishing the role of this architect in the design and construction of Chandigarh. I will consult the Dr. M. S. Randhawa Papers which contain rare books, newspapers, photographs, and other archival materials related to the design of the city. I am particularly interested in locating architectural drawings, personal writings, official documents and official correspondences with a view to providing tangible evidence that architects such as Aditya Prakash and Jeet Malhotra were far more than merely architectural assistants. Whilst researchers such as Prakash and Jackson have stated such architects contributed to the city, there is little concrete visual evidence of this within their respective works. Additionally, collections at The Government Museum and Art Gallery, The Le Corbusier Centre will be consulted. These specific architectural holdings have been selected for differing reasons, in the case of The Aditya Prakash Foundation archive, I believed that this collection would provide 'an on the ground perspective' from one of the architects that contributed to the design of the city. Iain Jackson's emergent research has suggested the importance of the Randhawa Papers as a valuable resource in departing from a Le Corbusier dominated narrative, and since a primary objective of this thesis is to be expand his findings, these holdings demanded consultation. This research will be crucial in discerning the contribution of other architects, especially the role of Indian architects on the project and the extent to which they collaborated with Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry. The Victoria & Albert's National Art Library and Royal Institute of British Architect's British Architectural Library will be invaluable when researching Le Corbusier, Chandigarh, Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry, and will be consulted accordingly.

These respective collections are by no means unproblematic. For example, sources from V&A National Art Library and The Fry and Drew Papers, that would support a more Eurocentric account of the city. Indeed, one of the tasks of this thesis will be to create a critical interplay between The Randhawa Papers (Chandigarh, India) and The Fry and Drew Papers (London, England) and this is specifically achieved in the final chapter 'Drew, Fry and Jeanneret's Collaborative Modernism'. However, The Randhawa Papers and Aditya Prakash Foundation

archives are not without their own respective problems, the former being very much a bureaucratic account of the city's design process, whereas the latter is the only archive solely devoted to one of Chandigarh's Indian architects. It has been difficult to locate holdings that might shed light on the contribution of A.R. Prabhawalkar, and given the nature of this architect's contribution, this is far from ideal, especially when wanting to provide primary examples of Indian agency in Chandigarh's design. The absence of material on A.R. Prabhawalkar is largely symptomatic of the very problematic that this thesis seeks to address.

This project will therefore entail a significant research trip to Chandigarh, that will facilitate this methodological approach, which hinges on successful access to the archives. The use of the Aditya Prakash archives will enable access to an extensive collection of architectural drawings, poetry, photography and notes. This holds the potential to present a more nuanced picture of Aditya Prakash, one of Chandigarh's overlooked architects. An extended consideration of the holdings located at The City Museum and Art Gallery, will enable access to a vast range of documents which date from the late 1940's to 1965. Before proceeding to the main body of the thesis, I should clarify my hypothesis is that it is possible to advance an understanding which departs from a Le Corbusier dominated narrative and the notion that the city was a European imposition. I contend that archival evidence will provide ample grounds to generate more pluralistic narratives about the city's creation.

In order to provide a more nuanced and expanded conception of Chandigarh's architectural history and the Indian agency that underpinned the city's creation, this thesis considers several domains, these being: architects, planners, engineers, bureaucrats, manual labourers, and craftspeople. Through expanding the conception of agency to a range of different domains and considering individuals hitherto overlooked, this thesis hopes to destabilise the significance of previously central figures such as Le Corbusier. By expanding the conception of agency in architectural production, to a range of different domains and actors, the overall significance of the European team is decentred. Crucially, this expanded conception of agency compels consideration of how individuals such as Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry, and Jane Drew interrelated with a wider network of actors upon which the creation of Chandigarh depended. This methodological decision is conducive to critiquing the notion that Chandigarh emanated from a single monolithic and in this case European vision, revealing the complexity of authorship in architectural production. Crucially, this methodological gesture will create the

possibility of providing a more comprehensive account of Chandigarh's Indian agency, which will therefore engender a more decentred understanding of the architectural modernism found in Chandigarh.

This thesis has chosen to focus on Chandigarh's first phase of construction from 1951 to 1965. Although Le Corbusier made his final visit to Indian in April 1964 (Prakash, 2002, p.168), Pierre Jeanneret remained in the city overseeing construction until 1965. Several of the protagonists within early stages of Chandigarh's story-Pierre Jeanneret (1896-1967), Le Corbusier (1887-1965) and Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964)- passed away around the end of this chronological period; Jeanneret's departure from India therefore presents an ideal cut off point for the scope of this investigation. Had the chronological framework of this thesis been broader, the sheer volume of the material that required consultation would have been truly vast and could not been contained by one thesis alone.

Regarding methodology, whilst there is certainly the potential to conduct a visual ethnography of the city, perhaps with relation to the Corbusian principles according to which the city was allegedly constructed and the lived actuality of the city, which might easily have involved interviews with contemporary inhabitants. This presents another way through which one could critique the centrality of Le Corbusier in accounts of the city, since the unpredictable and unexpected ways in which people interact with urban space can undermine the rationale behind initial planning and design. However, this is not an avenue pursued by this thesis. This is due to the historical focus of the project (|1951-1965) and the extent of the archival work required to address my research questions.

A key methodological approach for this project is that art and architecture are fundamentally interconnected in a modernist context. There is no shortage of practitioners that traversed this incredibly porous boundary between art and architecture. Beside Le Corbusier himself (architect and painter), the output of Alvar Aalto (sculptor/architect), Vladimir Tatlin (painter/architect), Theo Van Doesburg (painter and architect), Konstantin Melnikov (painter and architect) and Gerrit Reitveld (designer and architect) can all attest to the transdisciplinary spirit of modernism. The Bauhaus, the German art school opened between 1919-1933 is perhaps the paragon of the interconnection between art and architecture in the modernist context; its founder Walter Gropius was an architect, as were subsequent directors

Hannes Meyer and Mies Van der Rohe. However, one of the founding principles of the Bauhaus school was the integration of the arts, including architecture. Based on this interconnection, this thesis draws heavily on the work of Partha Mitter, whilst his work is art-historical in focus, I believe it is equally applicable to modernist architecture found in India.

Chandigarh, Le Corbusier, and Modernism: A Resurgence of Interest?

There is an existing dominant conception of Chandigarh as the work of a singular author (Jackson, 2013, p.1)[3]. To demonstrate this, it seems important to provide some renditions of the Chandigarh narrative found in Anglophone Euro-American scholarship, for example, Colin Davies' *A New History of Modern Architecture* (2017), states:

> In February 1951, Le Corbusier travelled to India with his cousin and collaborator Pierre Jeanneret and for the first time saw the full potential of the project. Here was a chance to realise his ambition to design a government centre and align his architecture with the prestige of political authority. The League of Nations, The Palace of the Soviets, The Mundaneum and the UN headquarters had all been disappointments. Chandigarh promised satisfaction at last' (2017, p.232).

Problematically, Davies' account appears to reduce Chandigarh to The Capitol Complex and makes no mention of the Indian architects that contributed to the design of the city. Mailis Favre, however, in the publication that accompanied the Centre Pompidou's exhibition major retrospective of Le Corbusier, entitled *Le Corbusier Mesures de l'Homme* (2015), achieves a greater degree of nuance when she states:

> After a lifetime exploring the urban question, Le Corbusier, along with his associate and cousin Pierre Jeanneret and architects Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, was finally entrusted in 1950 with the construction of Chandigarh, the capital of the Punjab state, a symbol of modernity and peace in a divided region, a city forged from any available material, on desert terrain, with the Himalayan ranges visible in the distance. Jawaharlal Nehru wanted a "new town, symbolic of the freedom of India, unfettered by the traditions of the past, an expression of the nation's faith in the future". On this immense

construction site, Le Corbusier assigned residential areas to his associates and focused on the sites of power: Administration department, the Palace of Assembly, and the High Court of Justice' (Favre, 2015, p.48).

Favre's account certainly has its problems, as it would be difficult to accurately describe the Punjabi Plains as a desert and the building materials were hardly scavenged. However, there is an acknowledgement that Chandigarh should be considered beyond the governmental buildings. There is mention of Drew, Fry and Jeanneret, but there is no mention of the Indian architects that contributed; Le Corbusier is given centrality in the narrative.

However, this thesis seeks to build upon a clear resurgence of interest in Chandigarh, Le Corbusier and Modernism. Shanay Jhaveri, assistant curator of South Asian Art at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, presents curated film screenings on the historical legacy of Chandigarh and its filmic representations at major cultural institutes, such as the Institute of Contemporary Arts, London. As the accompanying handout to this event entitled *Artist's Film Club: Chandigarh is in India* points out that 'this program intends to remind us that Chandigarh is in India and is not and has never only been merely a stage set for Corbusier's magnum opus' (2016). Included within Jhaveri's programme was an excerpt from *Journeys into the Outside with Jarvis Cocker* (1998), which features an interview with the musician and Nek Chand, its inclusion connoting a desire to depart from Le Corbusier dominated narratives when discussing the city (2016, p.2) In 2015, The Centre Pompidou hosted a major retrospective entitled Le Corbusier Mesures de l'Homme. Jhaveri's polemically entitled 2016 publication *Chandigarh is in India*, shows an emergence of critically engaged South Asian scholarship on the city. Chandigarh College of Architecture and Panjab University's recent collaborative symposium devoted to Pierre Jeanneret and his contribution to the design of the city (November 2017) explicates along with the above, that there is a need to revisit previously accepted narratives about Le Corbusier, Chandigarh and modernism.

Within an academic context the work of Iain Jackson has also critiqued the tendency to perceive Le Corbusier as the sole author of the city and has highlighted the need for further scholarly investigation into the work of Fry, Drew and Pierre Jeanneret in the city. Likewise, Manish Chalana and Tyler S. Sprague in their article 'Beyond Le Corbusier and The Modernist City: Reframing Chandigarh's 'World Heritage' Legacy' (2013), have suggested the importance of

rethinking Chandigarh's legacy and heritage beyond a 'Le Corbusier dominated framework' (2013, p.206). Chalana and Sprague suggest viewing the city as a collaboration affords the city a 'richer and more nuanced historical significance' (ibid, p.207). This project consequently hopes to respond to these suggestions and consider the value of departing from a Le Corbusier dominated narrative of the city with a view to formulating suggestions about how we might alternatively think about the creation of the city.

Collaborative Modernism

The chapter 'Collaborative Modernism: What is it and Why is it Necessary?' will discuss the concept of collaborative modernism in relation to Chandigarh, but I will briefly explicate here the significance of this project to wider art-historical discourse. This is in confluence with the methodological approach of this thesis which perceives art and architecture as fundamentally interconnected within the modernist context. Indeed, one motivation of this thesis is to critique the way in which modernism is canonised in Anglophone Euro-American scholarship. To do so, I will refer to two texts from Partha Mitter entitled *Decentering Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde Art from the Periphery* (2008) and *The Triumph of Modernism: India's Artists and the Avant-Garde 1922-1947*. Within *Decentering Modernism* Mitter astutely remarks that art history despite its universalising aspirations is still circumscribed by the limitations of western or European epistemologies (2008, p.532). To demonstrate this point, Mitter makes the following observation:

> In the social sciences, the use of the universal for this specific is described as an unmarked case. Modernism in this sense is an "unmarked case" that implicitly stands for "Western" modernism. By this token, a qualifying epithet becomes necessary to speak of any other: East European modernism, Chinese modernism, Indian modernism, and so on (ibid).

This critique is expanded in his text *The Triumph of Modernism*, in which he argues that Vasarian sensibilities pervade the way in which art history is produced and understood. Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574), was born in Tuscany and established himself as a successful artist and architect. He was also the author of *The Lives of Artists* and is considered one of the founders of modern art history. Mitter suggests that art historical practices which date back to the sixteenth century, inform contemporary understandings of modernism. In order to understand Mitter's arguments and their potential relevance to Chandigarh, let us consider the following words:

We notice the operation of this paradigm even in the field of Renaissance art. The Vasarian master narrative of artistic progress defines cities, such as Florence, Rome and Venice, as centres of innovation, presenting peripheries as sites of delayed growth and derivation. This has affected the reputation of an artist such as Correggio. Hailing from Parma, considered to be peripheral compared with Rome, Venice and Florence, Correggio's innovative work has until now been assessed in the light of Raphael or Michelangelo's achievement, rather than as an independent achievement. (Mitter, 2007, p.9)

Using Mitter's logic, we can see how a Vasarian logic has potentially permeated contemporary understandings of Chandigarh. Whilst the city benefitted immensely from the contributions of Maxwell Fry, Jane Drew and Pierre Jeanneret and the Indian team, their role has been overwhelmed by Le Corbusier's. This is perhaps because his output emanates from Paris, one of the perceived centres of modernist production. Pierre Jeanneret was also based in Paris but is typically understood to have been an assistant or even disciple of Le Corbusier's. Within the narratives of modernism, one might suggest the Parisian aura eclipses that of London's. Consequently, this has relegated the status of Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew. Furthermore, due to these implicit hierarchies[4], which would make it inconceivable to consider Le Corbusier as collaborating with his 'subordinates' or the Indian team, the convention has been to use a what Chalana describes as a Le Corbusier dominated framework when discussing the city (2012, p.207).

There is a confluence between the Vasarian sensibilities to produce narratives about urban centres and artists, and the colonial logic that 'asserts cultural transmissions to be a one-way process flowing from the Occident' (Mitter, 2007, p.10). Partha Mitter uses the writing of British Art Historian W. G. Archer, the author of numerous publications on Indian art including *India and Modern Art* (1959), to illustrate this confluence. W.G. Archer refers to the work of Gaganendranath Tagore, which adopted the visual language of cubism. Archer, as Mitter claims, arrived at the conclusion that Gaganendranath's work was a rehashed version of the

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[4] Here is an illuminating quote from Colin Davies *A New History of Modern Architecture* 'It is possible to imagine an ideal, geographically representative history of modern architecture that would choose examples from every region of the globe and allocate them on a democratic basis. This new book falls short of that ideal. But then such a theatrically perfect coverage would be of limited use because it would ignore the fact 'modern architecture' is essentially a field of western culture' (2017, p.9). Davies reveals the conception that modern architecture was essentially a field of western architecture, is still reproduced in contemporary historiographies of modern architecture.

supposedly authentic European original. (2007, p.7). Mitter argues that, when a European artist such as Picasso uses non-western artefact like an African mask for artistic inspiration, it indicates a certain level of genius, but when an artist from the periphery (not Europe or North America) uses the visual language of modernism, their work is regarded as a lesser derivation of the 'authentic' original. This also raises an important and nuanced point about collaborative modernism, which is that the explicit use of references from non-European cultures in High Modernism, does not necessarily indicate inclusive or collaborative relations. Indeed, this type of borrowing might potentially indicate the precise opposite: a kind of Othering, by means of inclusion of the exotic.

What does the concept of collaborative modernism seek to intervene in? The concept is intervening in a Eurocentric narrow conception of modernism as an embodiment of European genius, which was then subsequently shared with, imposed on or badly copied by the rest of the world. The Eurocentrism of this account would seemingly overlook that modernism has always been a set of transcultural or transnational flows. The abstract geometric patterns found within the paintings of artists such as Johannes Itten, Piet Mondrian or Kazimir Malevich[5], were variously influenced by either 'Eastern' or eastern inspired mysticism such as Mazdaznan, Theosophy or ancient Hindu texts such as the Bhagavad Gita. Crucially, the transcultural nature of modernism will be considered in greater detail in Chapter Five. Furthermore, the ability to collect and share non-western artefacts or ethnographic objects, which was important to the development of modernism, was facilitated by transnational flows enabled by modernity, though problematically under a certain coloniality of global relations.

Collaborative modernism aims to intervene in certain art historical norms pertaining to the canonisation of modernism. As previously mentioned, Partha Mitter describes what he perceives as a 'hegemonic universality' (2008, p.532) in reference to Eurocentric accounts of modernism. It is highlighted that modernism is simply construed as shorthand for western modernism (ibid, p.532). Collaborative modernism provides a non-geopolitically specific epithet-for modernism produced globally-which also creates the possibility for transcultural

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[5] It should be noted that whilst Malevich's painting *The Black Square* (1915) has been viewed by some as reflecting an interest in sacred Indian geometry, the square being the 'ultimate and ideal form and site of the absolute' (Mitter, 2008, p.538). However as Aleksandra Shatskikh highlights in the article 'Inscribed Vandalism: The Black Square at One Hundred', recent research conducted by the Tretyakov Gallery in Russia, has revealed that the painting carries the inscription "A Battle of Negroes… continuation illegible" (e-flux, journal 85, 2017), which is thought to be a reference to the work by Alphonse Allias A Battle of Negroes in a Cave on a Dark Night. Consequently, this painting can quite legitimately be viewed as racist, though has been used by individuals such as Partha Mitter to demonstrate modernism as a transcultural set of flows. This constitutes an extreme example of a point raised earlier in the introduction of this thesis, which is that explicit references to non-European cultures in modernism, by no means indicate collaborative, inclusive or benevolent relations.

dissemination and exchange. It aims to critique the canonisation of modernism within art historical discourse and what these grand narratives exclude. Collaborative modernism explores the conceptual and theoretical frameworks required to include supposedly peripheral modernisms into more pluralistic narratives.

I will now distinguish collaborative modernism from the interrelated discourses of transnational and transcultural modernism, while also considering their commonality. Ultimately, each of these discourses reflect different investigations into the phenomenon of global modernism, its circulation, protagonists, and associated problematics. Whereas global modernism functions as an umbrella term for modernism that appears in a global context, concepts such as transcultural, transnational, and collaborative modernism offer reflections on the mechanisms of its creation; each with their own individual emphasis. From the outset, it is necessary to articulate what collaborative modernism offers that these related discourses do not. Perhaps what primarily distinguishes collaborative modernism from both transnational and transcultural modernism, is that it seeks to explore the working relations of the different 'actors' involved in Chandigarh's production, and endeavours to capture the different affective and emotive interconnections shared by the team.

Collaborative modernism functions as an investigative device deployed to unpack how Chandigarh was created and endeavours to augment certain figures, such as Indian architects, engineers, and administrators, that are not typically included or given prominence in narratives of the city. Collaborative modernism seeks to show that Chandigarh emanated from a mutual flow of ideas, collaborative endeavour, and emotive/affective interactions. The notion of collaborative modernism does not suggest that the working relations that facilitated Chandigarh's creation transcended the post-colonial historical conditions of its creation. There is little doubt that there would have been an undeniable hierarchy between the white western 'experts' and their Indian counterparts. However, the notion of collaborative modernism suggests that as the working relations developed, it is expedient to consider the extent to which roles, responsibilities, and contributions disrupted this implicit hierarchy.

However, before venturing any further with this articulation of the differences between these interrelated concepts, it should be acknowledged that these concepts share significant affinities. Although distinctions can be drawn between the concepts of transcultural, transnational, and collaborative modernism, they all seek to comprehend modernism from a global and decentred perspective. The boundaries between each of these concepts are porous and they each provide

further nuance to critiquing the tendency to ascribe certain forms of cultural production to specific places. These respective concepts stem from a shared conceptual origin, this being the intellectual preoccupation with regarding modernity from what Kravagna refers to as a 'post-Eurocentric perspective' (2013, p.35), examples of which emerged towards the end of the last century in the wake of globalisation.

Christian Kravagna observes, in the chapter entitled 'Transcultural Beginnings: Decolonisation, Transculturation and the Overcoming of Race' (2013), that towards the end of the 20th Century conservative authors such as Samuel P. Huntington, argued that geopolitical relations resembled a 'clash of civilisations' (ibid). However, authors such as Paul Gilroy, Arjun Appadurai and James Clifford repudiated the essentialist conception of culture as a clear cut and independent thing, distinctly attached to a specific geographic region. A body of work emerged that critically investigated transcultural flows, interactions, and mutual influence, with an expansive chronological perspective, providing critical considerations of modernity, colonialism, and decolonisation (ibid).

Transcultural, transnational, and collaborative modernism are all indebted to authors such as Gilroy, Appadurai, and Clifford, who provide a critical conception of modernity as being dislocated from a specific territory or location. Strikingly, as Kravagna highlights, Gilroy with the notion of the Black Atlantic 'radically severed the link between culture and territory' (ibid). Clifford 'has countered anthropology's fixation on a static and place-bound conception of culture with a paradigm of "routes", arguing for a particular emphasis to be placed on travelling cities' (ibid). Appadurai has focused on cultural globalisation, highlighting 'complex dynamics of diverse "flows" and scapes' (ibid) emphasising 'the global production of locality' (ibid). It should be acknowledged that these works have contributed to an intellectual backdrop that is omnipresent with the concepts of collaborative modernism, transnational, and transcultural modernism alike.

Now that we have discussed the commonalities, it is crucial to show how collaborative modernism offers fresh nuance to contemporary understanding of global modernism. First, let us consider transnational modernism, a concept developed by academics such as Dorothy Rowe at The University of Bristol, under the auspices of the Transnational Modernism Research Cluster. We can clarify the preoccupations of this research in the following terms:

Researchers within the group are concerned with the study of cultural dialogues and visual exchange within and across nation-states and national borders. The group asks how the movement and migration of artists, writers, and intellectuals across borders, challenges hegemonic narratives of national identity, and changes the conditions of the cultural encounter. Of particular interest is the dynamic relationship between the hegemonic constructions of national identities and the conflicting concerns of the international avant-garde (Bristol University Transnational Research Cluster webpage, 2020).

Transnational modernism would seem to imply a network of firmly established nations between which artistic modernism can circulate, whereas the notion of collaborative modernism considers the creation of a city which played an important part in the construction of a post-independence nation. Collaborative modernism operates at the intersection of modernity/modernism and independence/decolonisation, whereas the concept of transnational modernism appears adept at rendering the positionality of artists in relation to global structures, especially in unpacking their underpinning coloniality.

To further understand the conceptual parameters and concerns of transnational modernism, it is expedient to consider Rowe's work. As Rowe highlights in the chapter 'Retrieving, Remapping and Re-writing Histories of British Art: Lubaina Himid' (2013), notions of the transnational in art historical discourse are heavily influenced by shifts in the contemporary art world:

> Contemporary discourses concerning transnational art practices within a global context have accelerated in Europe and America since the beginning of the 21st century, prompted in part by major curatorial shifts of high-profile international exhibitions such as "Documenta" and the "Venice Biennale", and one-off shows such as "Global Feminisms" (Brooklyn Museum New York, 2007). In Britain, the 2006 *British Art Show 6* exhibited a plethora of emigre artists selected as signifiers of for new curatorial focus on art produced within a global and transcultural rather than hegemonically white and Western context (2013, p.291).

Importantly, the conceptual coordinates of transnational modernism reflect a certain osmosis with the tributaries of the globalised art world. While not a concept specifically tied to the 'art-world', the concept has certain affinities within this domain.

The concerns of transnational modernism are given nuanced painterly expression by the work of Turner Prize-winning artist Lubaina Himid. In 2017, Himid's work was shown at concurrent exhibitions held at three contemporary art institutions, Nottingham Contemporary, Modern Art Oxford, and Spike Island. As the exhibition handout from Spike Island states:

> Adopting the mantel of the history painter, Himid seeks to question and subvert tradition by introducing colour and pattern associated with the non-western and the feminine (2017, p.1).

Let us briefly consider the large-scale installation monochromatic installation entitled Cotton.com (2002), a history painting which constitutes a tactical subversion of the visual language of High Modernism. The work comprises two large intersecting rectilinear forms, evoking the visual language of artists such as Mondrian or Malevich. However, on closer inspection, the two planes are composed of smaller canvases that variously evoke both the grids and rectilinear forms of the 'mechanised age' and African art. The painting reveals a primary preoccupation of transnational modernism, which is the reframing of modernism. Himid's work constitutes a visualisation of how Western modernism relied on the 'plundering' of African cultural forms, and how ultimately modernism operates as a microcosm of modernity, in so far as its existence and development depended on a similar type of colonial exploitation. Rowe captures this insightfully in the following passage:

> Himid's work "challenges this tendency" to erase history, by attending to a new form of history painting that politically reanimates the genre from within as an address to the colonial violence against Africa, African subjects, and the subjects of African diasporas, on which the structures of Western modernism were founded. Using the quintessentially modernist medium of painting as her main tool, Himid wrests it from its traditional function as the instrument for white Western canon formation and re-deploys it in a dialogical relation to its origins' (ibid. p.293).

Thus, we encounter Himid's ongoing aesthetic strategy of evoking the artistic vocabularies of canonical Western avant-garde artists to enact a confrontation with the historical actuality, that the exploitation of Africa was intrinsically linked to both 'economic and aesthetic modernity' (ibid, p.296).

From a macro-historical perspective, the painting candidly illustrates how modernity/modernism emerged from back-and-forth cultural flows. This indicates the intention

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to offer a 'post-Eurocentric' interpretation of modernity and modernism, which connects this artwork with the concerns of collaborative modernism. It is also pertinent to reflect further on the ideas underpinning the work:

> Cotton.com (2002) is inspired by a little-known act of solidarity enacted by Manchester Mill workers at the time of the American Civil War (1861-1864). As President Lincoln moved to abolish slavery, raw cotton supplies from the plantations to British mills dried up, resulting in mass unemployment- an event known as the Cotton Famine. Despite the high personal cost, the workers' unions passed a motion in support of Lincoln's efforts to end slavery (ibid).

Himid conceptualises the painterly installation as a conversation between the labourers from the cotton mills and the plantations, pattern not language is the method of communication:

> I love the language of pattern, its immense potential for movement, illusion, colour experiments and subliminal political messaging. This is just part of the exploration of how to imply invisible influences without explanation but without slipping into the abstract. The patterns are narratives (ibid).

Himid's poetic interpretation of micro-historical detail and amalgamation of this material with wider narratives of transnational exchange, situate this artist's work within the domain of transnational modernism. Collaborative modernism shares this interest in narrative and in viewing modernity/modernism as a dialogue or set of back-and-forth cultural flows. However, collaborative modernism can be distinguished from transnational modernism, because of the importance that it places on the granular micro-historical detail that can be extrapolated from archival research. This holds the potential to disrupt more conventional underpinnings of modernism and, Chandigarh. Whilst Himid's work might refer to a micro-historical moment, and perhaps even extrapolates raw archival detail as its source, it does not provide the archival specificity that collaborative modernism seeks to offer.

However, it should also be noted that exponents of transnational modernism offer an expanded conception of the archive which has profound resonance with the methodology deployed by collaborative modernism. Rowe, when discussing the endeavours to document the activities of the Black Arts Movement, presents the notion of a 'living archive' (ibid, p.290). This refers to the work of individuals such as Eddie Chambers, Paul Gilroy, Kobena Mercer, Gilane Tawadros and their contributions to the journal *Third Text* (ibid). As Rowe articulates:

The concept of the "living archive" recalls a Foucauldian understanding of the archive as a "practice that causes a multiplicity of statements to emerge". The archive thus understood is transformed from a passive library or repository of past records "outside time and place" to an active system of enunciation' (ibid).

This reframing of the archive is also important to the approach of collaborative modernism, which operates with a focus on three separate yet interconnected sites of investigation: literature, the museum, and the archive. Ultimately, it is the view of collaborative modernism that these discursive sites constitute what Rowe aptly conceptualises as an active system of discursive enunciation.

Let us now reflect on the overlaps and distinctions with transcultural modernism and collaborative modernism. The recent publication *Transcultural Modernisms: Model House Research Group* (2013), analyses different expressions of architectural modernism in locations such as India, Israel, Morocco, and China. As with collaborative modernism, transcultural modernism sidesteps localising modernism to a specific geographic location and seeks to comprehend the interpersonal dimensions and cultural flows that underpinned modernist architectural prospects:

Rather than building on the notion of modernism as having moved from North to South- or from the West to the rest of the world- the emphasis in *Model House* was on exchanges and inter-relations among international and local actors and concepts, a perspective in which "modernity" is not passively received, but is a concept in circulation, moving in different directions at once subject to constant renegotiation and re-interpretation' (2013, p.13)

This account exemplifies that transcultural modernism advocates a decentring of modernism and does not proliferate the notion of it having a single home. Transcultural modernism also engages in the interplay between different international and local actors that participated in different modernist projects. Strikingly, transcultural modernism shares an interest in the working relations between western and non-western architects:

At the beginning of our research project, we were concerned with the question of how travel and building practices of both western and non-western architects within colonial and post-colonial contexts set transnational transfers in motion (ibid, p.13)

Although it important to acknowledge the salient overlaps between collaborative modernism and transcultural modernism, it is necessary to consider how they might be distinguished. While transcultural modernism might engage with the granularity of interpersonal interactions, collaborative modernism gives this a particular emphasis and considers the how these emotive and affective dynamics permeated the process of Chandigarh's creation and influenced its production. However, one can suggest that these concepts -collaborative modernism included- far from being pitted in opposition to one another form different yet interconnected parts of an endeavour to regard cultural production from a decentred and post-Eurocentric perspective.

While it is important to acknowledge the commonalities and distinctions with pre-existing literature on global modernism, it should also be noted that my own intervention into this field, namely- collaborative modernism- could also have been framed in different terms. Given the remit of collaborative modernism, perhaps alternative conceptions could have been provided, for example, 'collective modernism' or 'co-produced modernism'. As discussed later in Chapter 5, Raj Mulk Anand's introduction to Aditya Prakash's *Chandigarh, A Presentation in Free Verse* (1978), captures a vignette of an early moment in Chandigarh's conception and evokes the sense of a collective imaginary. In this scene, we encounter the granular interconnections of the collective, which is ultimately anchored around Le Corbusier, with the embittered Maxwell Fry estranged from the group. In this respect, it could be argued that the ideas presented in this thesis might have been adequately advanced under the banner of collective modernism.

Thus the question emerges, why was the conceptual frame of collaborative modernism preferred over that of collective modernism, equally, why was the concept of co-produced modernism rejected? The notion of a collective modernism suggests a flat equality, whereas collective imaginaries are often enacted by a privileged elite or in some way powerful groups. By the same token, the concept of co-produced modernism cannot capture the conceptual concerns of my project, as it suggests equal counterparts working together around a common project. Problematically, this precisely obscures the issues of colonial and cultural hegemony and counter-hegemony which collaborative modernism seeks to explore. Co-produced also evokes two distinct entities coming together, which does not fit well with the theorisation that underpins collaborative modernism, which engages in critiquing the opposition between the respective camps; in so far as there was a flow and counter-flow of ideas and influences.

Neither seems conducive to reflecting on the material processes and negotiations inherent to collaboration itself.

The term 'collaborative' was chosen as it aims to disrupt the conception that the implicit hierarchy between the white European experts and their Indian counterparts inevitably meant a vertical top-down working relationship. The notion of collaborative modernism seems more capable of disrupting this assumption than the notion of 'collective modernism' which could imply a default horizontality of working relations. Therefore, we can see the notion of collaborative modernism as achieving two interrelated objectives, first, to avoid idealising the working relations shared by the team and suggesting that they signified a flat equality. Second, although avoiding any insinuation that Chandigarh was some sort of transcendent space immune to issues of cultural hegemony and implicit hierarchies, collaborative modernism investigates how this unevenness was subverted.

Chandigarh's Post-Partition Context

Before proceeding to Chapter Two, I will briefly place Chandigarh into its post-Partition context. Of course, the city can also be placed into a broader context of transcultural architectural projects in South Asia. As Jackson notes, we can view Chandigarh in a wider context of town and urban planning in India (2016, p.216). Indeed, as will be discussed in Chapter Three, Otto Koenigsberger arrived in India in 1939 and designed Orissa's capital Bhubaneshwar and consulted on Faridabad. Indeed, Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew were by no means the only European architects that worked in South Asia in the post-colonial context. Louis I. Kahn's *Sher-e-Bangla Nagar* (1962-1983), Dhaka, was commissioned in 1963 as the governmental buildings for Eastern Pakistan, now Bangladesh (MoMA, 2020). Constructed despite tumultuous geo-political circumstances, it was intended to serve two interconnected functions: 1) to function as the political centre for Eastern Pakistan and 2) to operate as a beacon for national unity (MoMA, 2020). Naturally, this second objective changed following Bangladesh's independence from Pakistan in 1971, and the building became a monument to newly acquired political freedom (MoMA, 2020). It is also important not to forget that Greek Urbanist Constantinos Apostolou Doxiadis is cited as designing the Master Plan for Islamabad, Pakistan, in 1960.

However, for our purposes, there are two aspects of Chandigarh's historical context which require elucidation, the first of which is Partition. In June 1947 Sir Cyril Radcliffe was given

the task of drawing the line that would divide India and Pakistan, which resulted in Lahore the previous state capital of Punjab, ending up in Pakistan, the Indian Punjab in need of a new state capital.

Refugees travelling in both directions were murdered by mobs in acts of reciprocal and escalating violence, with 2 million dead and 17 million displaced (Srivastava and Scriver, 2015, p.127-128). The government of Indian East Punjab thus faced a colossal refugee problem which was compounded by the fact that the government was functioning without an administrative or state capital (Prakash, 2002, p.2). Although short-term arrangements were made to host the local government in the hill station of Shimla (located in what would become Himachal Pradesh), the previous summer residence of the British colonial government, the search for a new state capital became a project of national significance (Prakash, 2002, p.7).

> In the end, according to P. L. Verma, the chief engineer of Punjab, the critical reason to build a new city was not practical but symbolic. "None of the existing cities of Punjab," he recalled, "possessed sufficient magnificence and glamour to make up for the psychological loss of Lahore suffered by the strife-stricken but proud Punjabis" (2002, p.7).

Ravi Kalia, in his text *Chandigarh: The Making of an Indian City*, is insightful on the selection process for Lahore's replacement, as he explains. Simla, Amritsar, Jullandar, Ludhiana and Ambala were all considered to a lesser and greater extent. Ostensibly, as Kalia observes:

> three major considerations played on the minds of the decision makers: 1) strategic and military security against the neighbouring hostile state of Pakistan 2) adequate space for new government machinery, for refugees and for further expansion and 3) the potential to replace the material and psychological loss of Lahore, which had been the hub of commercial and cultural activities of the Punjabis (2002, p.4).

Given the remit of this criterion, it is perhaps clear that Simla was only briefly entertained 'its severe winters, its disagreeable location almost on the edge of the new state, its limited accessibility, lack of adequate floor space for government operations, and lack of good communications made it impossible to convert this small town into the permanent headquarters of East Punjab' (Ibid, p.3). Amritsar and Jullandar were overlooked amidst security concerns, both locations deemed far too close to the border with Pakistan. They ruled Ludhiana out because of its poor communication infrastructure and as Kalia points out it was deemed likely that the city's large Muslim population would not be acceptable to the generally Hindu refugees

(Ibid. p.7). In early 1948, the Ambala site emerged as the favourite option, however it was 'disqualified because out of its total 50 square miles of area only 4.5 square miles was in East Punjab' (Ibid, p.11).

Secondly, the city's inception was intimately bound up with the development ideology of India's first prime minster Jawaharlal Nehru. On January 30, 1948, shortly after India's independence and the tumult of partition, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was shot dead. As Srivastava and Scriver observe:

> the demise of Gandhi inadvertently resolved the ideological impasse between the de facto leaders, clearing the way for Nehru to pursue his preferred vision for the development of an emphatically modern India (2015, p.128)

Manish Chalana and Tyler S. Sprague observe that Nehru pursued the loss as a political opening to create a contemporary secular city which reflected the aims and objectives of the newly formed nation state (2012, p200). Chandigarh would become a symbolic beacon to the rest of India:

> As a modern secular city, Chandigarh would - through its architecture and urban form - reflect the ideals of modernity and embody a faith in the citizens to rise above religious and political differences (Chalana and Sprague, 2012, p.200)

The commission to design the city was given to Albert Mayer and Matthew Nowicki. However, the death of Nowicki in a plane crash over the Libyan Desert in 1950 saw the formation of a new capital project team. Once chief engineer P.L. Verma and administrator Prem Thapar had recruited Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, the latter was able to convince the somewhat begrudging Le Corbusier to acquiesce to leading the project. As Von Moos informs us:

> Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew were among those they visited first, and they suggested to the Indians that they contact Le Corbusier. His reaction was all but encouraging. Apart from his general scepticism regarding the project's chances of being realized, he considered the proposed honorarium as well as the time allowed for planning "ridiculous" (1977, p.420)

Following a phone call from Jane Drew and some negotiation, it was agreed that Le Corbusier would design the governmental buildings of Sector 1 and the commercial centre found in Sector 17. However, the majority of the city's buildings would be designed by Jeanneret, Maxwell

Fry and Jane Drew, in conjunction with the Indian team, which Prakash suggested included, M. N. Sharma, A. R. Prabhawalkar, B. P. Mathur, Piloo Moody, U. E. Chowdhury, N.S Lamba, Jeet Malhotra, J. S. Dethe, and Aditya Prakash (2002). However, as will be explored in both Chapters Four and Six, this list is certainly questionable, especially since Prakash himself offered a different list in his publication *Chandigarh* (2014).

To conclude, whilst the city of Chandigarh is associated with Le Corbusier, a more nuanced account of the city's creation can be developed if greater attention is given to the roles of Jeanneret, Fry and Drew, the Indian architects that contributed to the city and the ongoing influence of P.L. Verma and Prem Thapar. Collaborative modernism holds two interconnected objectives within the context of this thesis: first, to deviate from the centrality of Le Corbusier in prevalent accounts of the city by showing evidence of a significant Indian agency in the city's creation. That not only was the city the result of a collaboration-which one would typically expect from architecture- but that architects such as Prakash, Malhotra and Prabhawalkar were significant in this collaborative process. However, this thesis is not only content to re-evaluate contemporary understandings of Chandigarh's architectural history. The second strand of collaborative modernism is to offer fresh insights on aesthetic modernism, which this thesis suggests can be viewed as inherently transcultural and de-centred. I link these objectives by one of the central arguments of this thesis, which is that Chandigarh's modernism was not an imposition. The notion that Modernism was inherently transcultural and de-centred circles back to the idea that Chandigarh resulted from a significant Indian agency. This is primarily because you cannot impose something that already exists and as my chapter 'Modernity and Modernism in India' will show, modernism very much existed in India prior to Le Corbusier, Jeanneret, Fry and Drew.

Collaborative Modernism- What is it? And Why is it Necessary?

Questions From a Worker Who Reads,
Bertolt Brecht.

Who built Thebes of the seven gates?
In the books you will find the names of Kings.
Did the kings haul up the lumps of rock?
And Babylon, so many times demolished.
Who raised it up so many times? In what houses,
Of gold glittering Lima did the builders live?
Where, the evening that the Wall of China was finished
Did the masons go? Great Rome
Is full of triumphal arches. Who erected them? Over Whom
Did the Caesars triumph? Had Byzantium, much praised in song
Only palaces for its inhabitants? Even in fabled Atlantis
The night the ocean engulfed it
The drowning still bawled for their slaves

The young Alexander conquered India
Was he alone?
Caesar beat the Gauls.
Did he not even have a cook with him?

Philip of Spain wept when his Armada
Went down. Was he the only one to weep?
Frederick the Second won the Seven Years' War. Who
Else won it?

Every page has a victory.
Who cooked the feast for the victors?
Every ten years a great man
Who paid the bill?

So many reports.
So many questions.

(Willet and Manheim, 1976, pp. 252- 253)

'In February 1951, in a little rest house on the road to Simla, close to the small village of Chandigarh, the blueprint for the new capital was drawn up in a matter of days. Le Corbusier had been ruminating on the history and meaning of cities for over forty years, and came supplied with his pre-existing vision of a modern urban ideal ready to be modified by conditions' (Curtis, 1997, p.427).

Introduction

The combination of Bertold Brecht's *A Worker Reads History* and the excerpt from William J. R. Curtis's *Modern Architecture Since 1900*, which reflects the historical Anglophone narratives that surround the design of Chandigarh, India, ignites the conceptual coordinates of this chapter. Curtis' brief account is problematic not only because it presents the notion of a lone male genius heroically devising a design solution in a matter of days, but also that this modification to local conditions somehow emanated from the genius of the plan. As the inclusion of the Brecht poem insinuates, much of this modification was carried out by others and formed the essence of the city. This literature review will suggest the notion of collaborative modernism, an analytical tool for understanding modernism, which is indebted to the scholarly interpretation of Jyoti Hosagrahar, Swatti Chattopadhyay and William Glover who view modernity in India as inherently transcultural and decentred. Their notion that modernity in India resulted from a collective volition rather than a vertical imposition will underpin my reading of Chandigarh as an example of collaborative modernism. This chapter will review pre-existing literature on the city, including the work of Madhu Sarin, Stanislaus Von Moos, through to the work of Ravi Kalia, Vikramaditya Prakash and Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga. I will combine the critical understanding of modernism in the Indian context afforded by these texts with the recent architectural discourse of Iain Jackson, Tyler S. Sprague and Manish Chalana, which questions the accrediting of the design of the city entirely to Le Corbusier.

 This investigation shares the objectives of Vikramaditya Prakash's *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in Post-Colonial India* (2002), namely exploring the process of the city's creation, the role of Le Corbusier, Nehru, Drew, Fry and the Indian workers involved in the project, which included the Chief Engineer P.L. Verma and Chief Administrator P.N. Thapar and the Indian architects involved including M. N. Sharma, A. R. Prabhawalkar, B. P. Mathur, Piloo Moody, U. E. Chowdhury, N.S Lamba, Malhotra, J. S. Dethe, and Aditya Prakash. However, it departs from Prakash's decision to view 'Nehru and Le Corbusier perspectives as highly charged condensations to precipitate larger political and cultural narratives' (2002, p.26).

Prakash's notion of Nehru and Le Corbusier functioning as condensations allows for macro-political arguments about Chandigarh's architectural history. Whereas collaborative modernism offers the possibility for a micro-material perspective. Collaborative modernism

suggests that it is possible to create an understanding of Chandigarh which avoids a neo-colonial logic, but simultaneously refutes the notion of Chandigarh's modernism as having been imposed. The drawback of dominant Anglophone Euro-American scholarship on Chandigarh is that it presents Le Corbusier and the European cohort as benevolently creating an urban space that would have otherwise been unavailable in an Indian context; such a perspective inevitably misses out the considerable Indian contribution to the city. Using the notion of collaborative modernism to consider Chandigarh's Indian contribution, this thesis will present a different and perhaps more accurate account of this process. The final focus of this investigation will be to consider whether the concept of collaborative modernism disrupts or reproduces the neo-colonial rationale of pre-existing Eurocentric scholarship on Chandigarh.
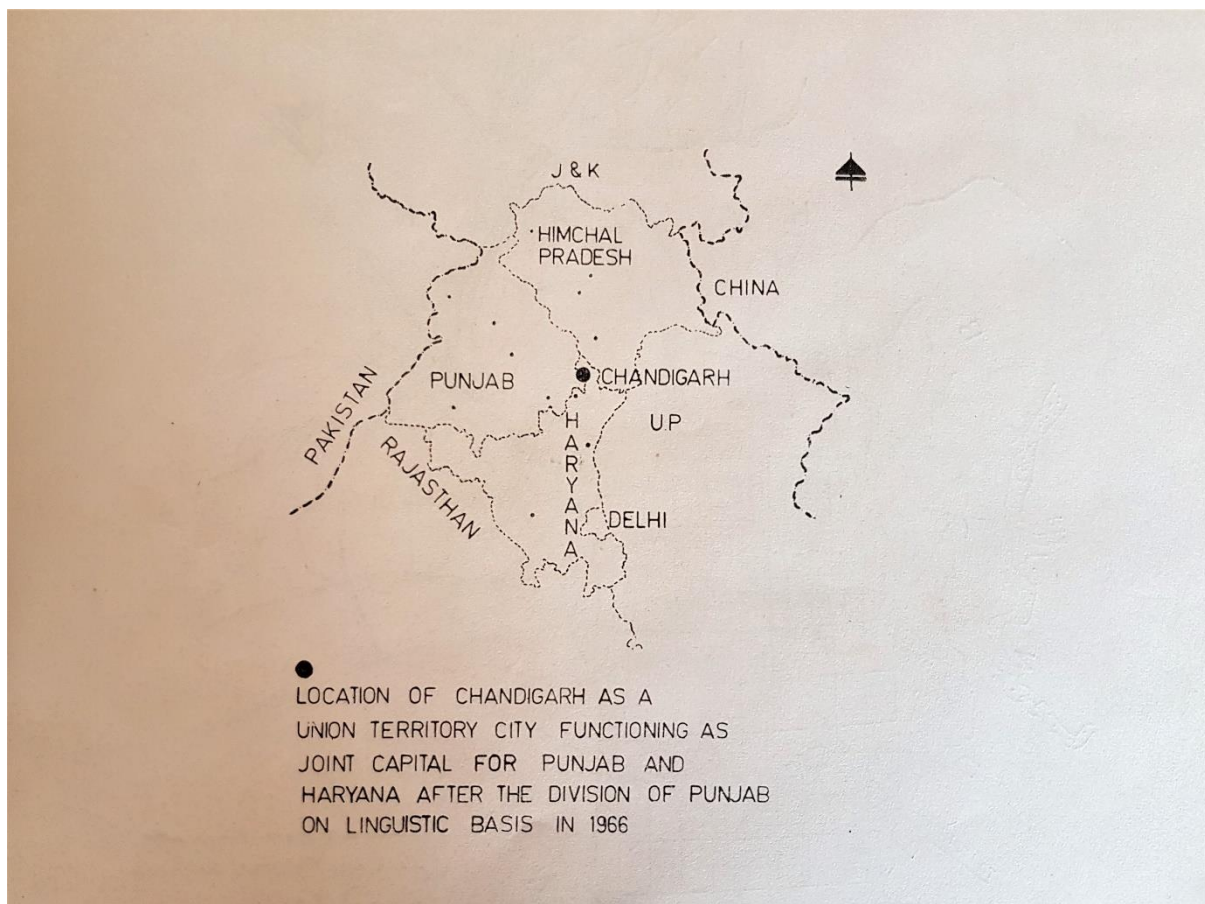
Fig. 1. Map of North West India. Placing Chandigarh into topographical context. Taken from Aditya Prakash's Chandigarh, *A Presentation in Free Verse* (1978). Courtesy of The Aditya Prakash Foundation Archive

Problematising pre-existing scholarship on Chandigarh.

In order to say what collaborative modernism is, it is useful to say what it is not, and with certainty it can be said that not even the traces of this notion can be found in William J. R. Curtis' text *Modern Architecture Since 1900*. Curtis' text, the architectural historical equivalent of Ernst Gombrich's *The Story of Art* (first published in 1950), is relevant since it is the canonical narrative that most of the art and architecture history students will encounter when studying modernist architecture in an Anglophone context. Although the text is a survey, which by default limits the depth of its analysis, it is pertinent to this discussion since it reflects the dominant narrative of Chandigarh's creation. Prakash observes that from the 1980s onwards (perhaps overlooking Stanislaus Von Moos' 1977 article considered next) there was a departure from outright critique of Le Corbusier and his cohort for having crudely transposed European modernism onto the plains of Punjab. Prakash elaborates:

> Curtis, in fact, seems to make a special effort to exert the presence of Indianness in Le Corbusier's architecture, to the point that his arguments begin to seem fanciful. But the ultimate interests of Curtis's argument lie, of course, not in studying the architectural history of modern India- in the annals of which Chandigarh would surely be prominently mentioned- but in celebrating Le Corbusier (2002, p.23).

Curtis' account of Le Corbusier's use of Indian architecture reproduces the problematic outlined in Hosagrahar's critique of British Orientalist scholarship on Asian architecture, insofar as it mono-fixates on isolated monuments and does not attempt to consider them within their wider cultural context. However, this is also arguably true of the critique of modernist architecture generally, including in the West. Prakash explicates the connection between Anglophone historiography and what he describes as 'epistemic colonization' (ibid, p.25), which I perceive as the process whereby Anglophone and Eurocentric perspectives permeate cultural narratives and become naturalised as universal.

> The Indian context and the question of Indian perspective is negated, not by denying its presence but by making it subservient to Le Corbusier's personal design process. Curtis's argument relies on the assumption that a "prodigious feat of abstraction" enabled Le Corbusier to seek out "correspondence in principal" and to bridge the gap between identarian and historical claims such as "East" and "West", "ancient" and "modern", into his aesthetic cauldron (Prakash, 2002, p. 24).

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For Prakash, the major problem here is that Curtis presents Le Corbusier's abstraction not only as universal, but as holding the potential to traverse and collapse historical and geographic distinctions, for example the binaries suggested in his writings of "East" and "West" (ibid, p.24). However, this becomes problematic, as Prakash argues, because his argument becomes Eurocentric due to its failure to place abstraction into its historical context (ibid, p.24). Prakash goes onto to state further:

> In Curtis's narrative, abstraction does not dissolve the "East-West" opposition; rather it is an unguarded neo-orientalist instance in which the "East" is negated and dissolved into the "West" and irreparably "othered" and silenced in the process (ibid, p.24)

The primary issue when contemplating Curtis' analysis of the city, is the complete centrality of Le Corbusier within the narrative presented. Therefore, clearly an alternative conception is required- but to what extent do we find this in the work of Von Moos?

Stanislaus Von Moos and the Convergence of Ideologies.

 This section of the review will explore Stanislaus Von Moos' notion of a convenient confluence between Le Corbusier's architectural philosophy and India Prime Minister Nehru's political ideology. Attention will be given to distinguishing Von Moos' argument from the concept of collaborative modernism. Von Moos maintains the idea that Le Corbusier implemented *his* design on the Punjabi Plains and that this design happened to coincide with the aspirations of the post-Independence Indian state. This literature review argues that the notion of collaborative modernism is more fitting since the Indian architects, town planners and administrators were invested in this project and were not simply executing Nehru or Le Corbusier's bidding.

Von Moos arguably pre-empts the idea of collaborative modernism, but he does not go far enough to avoid imperialistic overtones within his critique. However, there are two points which can be extracted when developing the idea of collaborative modernism in relation to Chandigarh. Firstly, Von Moos writes that:

for some, Chandigarh means progressive, socialist planning, crowned by outstanding architectural achievement; for others, it is a symbol for the arrogance of Western planning ideology inflicted upon the Third World' (Von Moos, 1977, p. 413).

Von Moos questions the notion that the modernism of Chandigarh was *inflicted* on the intended population, without consideration for the pre-existing ways of living practised by the individuals that would inhabit this newly constructed urban environment (ibid, p.413). Von Moos disagrees, stating that:

> As long as a plan remains on paper, it can at least partly be judged as a matter of professional expertise. But when, as is the case at Chandigarh, the government and the ruling class of the country decides to realise such a plan in full scale, it does so because it accepts it as the embodiment of its own social and political philosophy (ibid, p.414).

Von Moos' rebuttal is both insightful and problematic, it is valuable because he suggests an Indian agency in the realisation of Chandigarh. Von Moos is arguably in dialogue with the criticisms levelled at Chandigarh exemplified by Madhu Sarin's (architect and scholar based in Chandigarh) text *Chandigarh as a Place to Live* (1977)*,* which suggests that Le Corbusier was more preoccupied with his personal architectural objectives than resolving the set of problems the eventual inhabitants of the city would face. Von Moos appears mindful of Eurocentric tendencies to render the (post)colonial subject as passive recipients of European values, and depicts the Indian ruling classes and Nehru as working in conjunction with Le Corbusier to achieve this modernist vision. However, this is problematic since Von Moos reduces India to its ruling class which connotes an imperialistic sentiment.

Secondly, Von Moos is wary of attributing the design of the city solely to Le Corbusier. He elucidates that the layout of Le Corbusier's design was an update of the master plan submitted by Albert Mayer. The salient aspects of Chandigarh's design including the placement of the governmental buildings outside the city, situating the commercial district in the centre of the city and the division of the city into sectors, were all taken from the pre-existing Mayer Plan (ibid, p.422). According to Von Moos the alterations made to the design problematise Le Corbusier's assertion to have authored the city's plan (ibid, p.422). The significance of this observation is heightened when we juxtapose it with William J.R Curtis' (1997) account of the design process in the quotation cited at the beginning of this literature review.

Above-Fig. 2. High Court. Below- Fig. 3. View from Secretariat. Fig. 4. Guards outside the Secretariat Building. Photographs by William McCrory. These photographs were taken during my first trip to Chandigarh in 2014.

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The Capitol Complex or Sector 1 (represented in Fig. 2, 3 and 4) is not reflective of the city, since besides Sector 17, most of the city was designed by other architects[6]. The Capitol hosts the judiciary, legislative and executive powers of Punjab, within The High Court (Fig. 2), Palace of Assembly and Secretariat (Fig. 2& 3) respectively. These gargantuan buildings which have an overt functionality and expound a comprehensive political symbolism, provide an architectural language for Nehru's conception of the new nation state. These structures reflected Nehru's belief in embracing technological progress for India to hold its own within the new post-colonial geopolitical order:

> "We cannot keep pace with the modern world," Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister, insisted in a speech, "Unless we adapt the latest techniques. We cannot keep pace with the modern world unless we utilise the sources of power that are available to the modern world". (ibid, p.417).

The Capitol Complex buildings therefore epitomise the two central themes of the city, these being the inauguration of a new state centre which could embody and oversee political cohesion in the post-independence context and a championing of the notion that modern technology would underpin and stimulate India's modernisation (ibid, p.440). However, even if we accepted that The Capitol Complex reflected a convenient confluence between Le Corbusier and Nehru, an alternative paradigm is required to conceptualise the rest of the city. Ostensibly, as suggested in introducing this thesis, the main reason that Von Moos' scholarship on Chandigarh does not invalidate the need for collaborative modernism's intervention, is that although it suggests an Indian agency through the role of Nehru, it does nothing to critique the centrality of Le Corbusier within this narrative. The account of Indian agency that is provided is one-dimensional due to it being anchored around Nehru. As sketched out over the following pages and articulated in greater detail in both Chapters Five and Six, this is woefully inadequate.

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[6] However, it should be noted that research presented in my Chapters Five and Six, complicates this idea, with evidence that other architects assisted Le Corbusier with the delivery of the Capitol Complex.

Towards Collaborative Modernism

It is within articles such as Madhu Sarin's article 'Chandigarh as a Place to Live' that we find the notion that Chandigarh was an imposition of monumental proportions. Sarin even ventures to assert that we can consider Chandigarh as a monument to one man's vision (1977, p.378). However, it is abundantly clear that Chandigarh is not merely the imposition of Le Corbusier's urban design, nor was it the case that an architectural team comprising of Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry simply transposed European modernism onto the Punjabi Plains. Sarin's position can be nuanced via consideration of Ravi Kalia's *Chandigarh: The Making of An Indian City*, Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga's *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints On The Sands of Indian Architecture*, and Jeet Malhotra's text included in the Bahga's publication, entitled 'A Participant Witness: Jeet Malhotra (Architect-Planner and a close associate of Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret)'. Through reference to these texts, a more insightful conception of Chandigarh's design process can be discovered, which demonstrate the importance of regarding Chandigarh as an inherently collaborative endeavour, with a significant Indian agency.

In order to nuance Sarin's analysis, let us first consider the writings of Ravi Kalia, which takes an archival approach, dispelling rehearsed and sometimes inaccurate narratives that surround the city. The first way that Kalia can be used to unpick the notion of Chandigarh being a Corbusian imposition, is through the discussion surrounding Albert Mayer. The decision to use foreign expertise to design Chandigarh, was based on necessity insofar as there were no available Indian architects or planners that could deliver a project of this scale[7]. Kalia attributes this to the absence of Indian involvement in large scale urban projects during British colonial rule, arguing that Jamshedpur and other industrial towns, not to mention the Imperial Capital in Delhi, has all been British delivered (2002, pp24-25). Crucially, it was Albert Mayer who in late December 1949 was recruited by the East Punjab government to design its new capital (ibid, p.32). As Kalia elucidates, Mayer who was a graduate of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, commenced professional life as a civil engineer in New York, though subsequently he became registered as an architect (ibid, p.31). Importantly, Mayer who alongside individuals such as a Otto Koenigsberger was part of a transnational cohort already present in India, has served as a Lieutenant Colonel in India during World War Two, and had as Kalia notes 'gained from his experimental rural development programme in the Etawah

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[7] However, Chapter Three considers the research of Scriver and Srivastava which complicates this claim, in the section Anglo-Indian Collaborative Modernism.

District [present day Uttar Pradesh] of the Western United Provinces a familiarity with India and her problems' (ibid, p.25). Kalia goes onto to point out that besides this, Mayer had also been involved in several post war planning projects, contributed to early studies for the development of Greater Bombay and finally had worked in an advisory capacity for the city of Kanpur (ibid, p.32). Indeed, given that the Mayer plan was implemented with modifications by the eventual Anglo-European and I would argue Indian partnership, it is almost impossible to accept that Chandigarh was an imposition of one man's vision. Furthermore, given Mayer's wealth of experience working in India, could he really have been so detached from the needs of the eventual inhabitants or could the force of Le Corbusier's personality have altered the implementation of the city so dramatically?

It is also worth noting Kalia's discussion of Mayer's departure from the Chandigarh project, which complicates the rehearsed narrative, that following the death of his co-worker Nowicki in a plane crash over the Libyan desert, Mayer felt he could no longer continue with the project. This is worth noting both for its historical value but also as a salient example of how the smooth narratives that surround the city's inception can be ruptured through engagement with archival evidence. Jeet Malhotra's account of Mayer's departure is reflective of the conventional narrative:

> Unfortunately, Nowicki died in an air crash and Mayer lost his nerve. He said "Nowicki was the man who could give shape to this city. I am only a theoretician, I can do city planning and regional planning but cannot build a capital of this nature". He was a frank and forthright person (2000, p.339).

However, this is by no means the full story, since it transpires Mayer himself suggested that government officials travel to Europe to acquaint themselves with contemporary European architectural practices, however this would have unforeseen consequences (Kalia, 2002, p.36). Indeed, as a letter dated September 8th (a mere 8 days after Nowicki's death) from C.M Trivedi to Prime Minister Nehru suggests, this suggestion had blossomed into an altogether different type of proposal and seemingly reflected a dialogue established prior to the death of Nowicki:

> "What we want to do is to send Thapar, the administrator in charge of the project, and Varma, the Chief Engineer attached to the Capital Organization, to Europe merely to select one or two good architects. What Mayer has given us is a Master Plan, and one of the architects deputed by him has given us a very detailed layout of one neighbourhood

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block. What remains to be done is the designing of the important buildings like the Secretariat, the High Court, the Government House, the planning of the plots in the other areas, and the general architectural treatment of various blocks, squares, parks, etc. Our idea is to have an organisation consisting of assistant architects and town planners recruited from India, but headed by one or two... good architects from abroad" (ibid, p.36).

The provocative though archivally verifiable insinuation is that Mayer's being dropped from the project 'like a hot brick' (ibid, p.38), owed as much to the high exchange rate of the dollar (Mayer insisted on the payment being made in dollars), as it did to the death of Nowicki.

Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga in their text *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints on the Sands of Indian Architecture*, also seek to nuance this notion of Chandigarh being a Corbusian imposition. This is achieved with the detailed consideration of the working relationship shared by Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, in doing so they begin to explicate the significance of the latter's contribution. They explain that:

> In their collaboration, Jeanneret was in charge of ongoing projects and was responsible for their implementation, he also dealt with clients, colleagues and friends as well as voluminous correspondence. Le Corbusier used to come to the office only in the afternoon to review projects in hand, then it was left to Jeanneret to give a definite shape to the plans (Bahga, S&S, 2000, p.24).

Consequently, when Jeanneret followed Le Corbusier to work on the new Punjabi capital, Le Corbusier had firm belief in Jeanneret's ability to materialise his grand architectural and urban vision (ibid, p.29). However, Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga are keen to emphasise, Jeanneret's success in the role of senior architect was by no means predicated on his ability to obediently transpose the lofty architectural whims of his aloof, yet seemingly brilliant cousin. Indeed, his pursuit for aesthetic beauty and genuine desire for cultural engagement, resulted in expansive exploration of the Punjabi countryside on his bicycle, equipped with camera and sketch pad, he carefully observed the culture and people of the region for which he was designing a capital (ibid, p.29). Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga assert that:

> In due course of time, his thinking processes acquired the patina of an Indian point of view and he made a rigorous enquiry into the economics and materials of construction, people and their cultural traditions as well as local climatic conditions (ibid)

They praise Jeanneret for his dedication to creating an architecture which respected local tradition, culture and needs, claims which are completely counter to the conception of Chandigarh being in some way a monument to one man's vision.

Fig. 5. The Gandhi Bhawan by Pierre Jeanneret, Panjab University Campus. Photography by William McCrory, taken during my second Midlands3Cities research trip to India.

Finally, the Bahgas' discussion of Jeanneret's contribution to the design of Chandigarh complicates the notion of the city being a Corbusian imposition in other ways. The first of which is to articulate cohesively the esteem that is held for Jeanneret in India, albeit in scholarly and architecture circles. Indeed, Patwant Singh in a remarkable passage suggests that the architect ruptured a centuries long tendency for foreign architecture in India to be unsympathetically transposed without environmental or cultural consideration:

> To the contrary, Jeanneret's was a totally different attitude. He disciplined his rational Western mind into seeking solutions to Eastern problems within the Eastern context. His solutions were not impatient impositions (ibid, p.33).

Although it is not explicitly stated, one gets the impression that if one architect should be singled out above all others, it should be Pierre Jeanneret and not Le Corbusier. It is highlighted

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that the architect made a remarkable contribution to the design of the city and was involved with multiple projects including the Panjab University Campus (Fig.5), housing of various grades, schools, the town hall and The Central Library (ibid, p.31). Pandit Sneh encapsulates this sentiment when stating 'in many ways Chandigarh feels the impact of Jeanneret's work more than it does Le Corbusier's for it is he who helped to design the mass of humbler dwellings around which the daily life of the common man is woven…' (ibid). This is certainly the feeling of the architect Eulie Chowdhury who worked on the design of Chandigarh, who in 1964 wrote:

> "Very few know that since 1951… he has been creating buildings of great architectural worth. Because he is preoccupied with buildings he has little time to think of publishing his work. The result is that outside [India] far less outstanding architects are better known internationally than him" (ibid, p.36).

It is expedient to note that there is an emergent revisionist sentiment within Indian discourse which is predicated on the notion that Jeanneret's contribution has not been adequately acknowledged. However, the question that emerges in relation to this trajectory becomes- is the cult of Le Corbusier simply being replaced by the cult of Pierre Jeanneret? On a separate note, the work of Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga indicates the importance of adopting a micro-material perspective, in order to understand the historical actuality of the city. This approach will distinguish my research from the work of Prakash and Von Moos, whose arguments emanate from a macro-political perspective. However, once this micro-material work has been achieved, it can feed into the dismantling of these grand narratives that surround the city.

The Invisibility of the Indian Agency and the Relationship of the Indian team with Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry

Chalana and Sprague's article 'Beyond Le Corbusier and The Modernist City: Reframing Chandigarh's 'World Heritage' Legacy' forms an excellent point of departure for developing an alternative conception of the city's design. This is achieved largely on the basis that that they problematise the current invisibility of the role of Indian workers- administrators, engineers, town planners and architects- that worked on the design and construction of the city. Their research demonstrates that the modernism found in Chandigarh transcends a mere gentleman's agreement between Le Corbusier and Nehru. The observations of Chalana and

Sprague indicates that reducing India to its ruling classes and denying agency to the individuals that physically designed, planned and built the city is inherently flawed.

Chalana and Sprague highlight that prior to European involvement in the city, serious consideration was given to the selection of the site:

> Indeed, site selection for the new township was conducted by the Indian team, headed by Chief Engineer P.L. Verma, a task that involved the detailed consideration of numerous site conditions, including location, access, linkages, water supply, site gradient and setting. After much deliberation, the current site was selected in 1948, which provided the base for the Mayer plan and the Corbusier plan' (Chalana and Sprague, 2013, p 208)**.**

Chalana and Sprague excellently capture and highlight the complexity of the collaborative working relations that led to the design of Chandigarh:

> B.P. Mathur[8] worked closely with Pierre Jeanneret in developing a low-income housing typology, and Aditya Prakash collaborated with Jane Drew on developing Type VI houses and the General hospital in Sector 16. In his design for the Sector 2 Sweeper Homes, Jeet Malhotra[9] adopted aspects of brick-vaulted design of Maison des Peons, an unrealised 'Model Village' for low-income employees whose layout and design are attributed to Le Corbusier, but which likely had heavy input from Jane Drew given her central role in the design of low-cost housing in the city overall. In many, if not most, of the cases of Indian contributions, authorship in fact remains highly contested to this day (Chalana and Sprague, 2013, p 209)

Through consideration of Chalana and Sprague's text, we learn that there was not only a large team of Indian architects working on the city, but that the management of the project was headed by Chief Engineer P. L. Verma. Crucially, these observations are reinforced and expanded by Iain Jackson's article 'Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew's Early Housing and Neighbourhood Planning in Sector-22, Chandigarh'. Jackson informs us that P.L. Verma, working alongside Administrator P.N. Thapar, ignored Nehru's preference for an Indian

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[8] B. P Mathur, an architect, was another member of The Chandigarh Capital Project Team that worked alongside Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew.
[9] Jeet Malhotra was an Indian architect recruited to work as part of The Chandigarh Capital Project Team, there is little Anglophone discourse on either Malhotra or Mathur.

architect to lead the project. Verma especially, comes across as highly active in the process that led to Chandigarh's design and construction since he 'had a clear strategy as to how the city was to develop' (Jackson, 2013, p 6). Crucially:

> He outlined a 'programme of priorities for construction', which stated that government officials' and staff housing (including elementary schools and shopping centres) were to be undertaken as soon as possible, followed by temporary government office accommodation and then two high schools and a 30-bed hospital. His programme seems to have been closely followed and set the agenda for the construction sequence (Jackson, 2013, p 6).

Verma's invisibility in canonical Anglophone discourse highlights a very European fixation on the power of the abstract idea and a failure to factor in how Indian sensibilities and practical know how facilitated the realisation of this vision. Crucial to developing the notion of collaborative modernism is the conception that modernism was never simply an idea or an aesthetic, but also a set of material relations.

Iain Jackson also informs us that Jane Drew established a night school on modernist architecture for the Indian architects recruited to work on the project, which suggests a pedagogical and collaborative aspect to the project which has been eclipsed by canonical Anglophone Euro-American narratives on the city. Jackson's research shows that Fry and Drew established consultations with the intended inhabitants of the city, which is significant in demonstrating that the city was more than just a confluence between Le Corbusier and Nehru. This is because others were active in the authorship of the city and furthermore, that this modernism was exchanged in a horizontal way. Jackson discusses the consultation process that Fry and Drew conducted with the end-users of the buildings that they were designing, which Fry claimed to an innovation (Jackson, 2013, p 11). Through this consultation process with the end users, Drew and Fry operated as facilitators, the future inhabitants collaboratively to an extent, defining the modernist structures in which they would eventually live or do business. However, as the chapters Chandigarh's Institutional and Emerging Counter-Narratives and Drew, Fry and Jeanneret's Collaborative Modernism will reveal, Fry's claim to have introduced the innovation of these consultations does not appear to be historically accurate. Through creating a critical interplay between the curated archival documents held at The City Architecture Museum, The Randhawa Papers and the Fry and Drew Papers, I will show that

although Fry and Drew embraced the practise of end-user consultations, it was not their innovation.

Thus far it has been demonstrated that the working relations shared by Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew and the Indian team demonstrates that Chandigarh's modernism was more transcultural and de-centred than previously imagined. However, this is not to suggest the absence of post-colonial literature with a specific focus on Chandigarh. Vikramaditya Prakash- the architect, architectural historian, theorist and son of Aditya Prakash (member of the Indian team)- published *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in Post-Colonial India* (2002). Ostensibly, the focus of this book holds significant affinities with this investigation:

> My primary historiographical interests do not lie in celebrating Le Corbusier. I explore his aesthetic process, his observations- along with those of Nehru, Fry, Drew, the administrators, and others involved in the capital project- to excavate the more hidden interests and desires underlying the making of Chandigarh (Prakash, 2002, p.23)

Furthermore, Prakash's nuanced account of Chandigarh's modernism, which propagates the notion of there being competing modernisms at play within the context of the city's conception, design and construction is foundational to the concept of collaborative modernism.

> And although they were referring to the same object, ultimately the modernism that was imported by Nehru was not the same as the modernism imported by Le Corbusier. There are, therefore, at least two modernisms differentially woven into the single textile of Chandigarh. Between Le Corbusier's modernism and that of Jawaharlal Nehru, as between Le Corbusier's "Western" background and Chandigarh's "Eastern" contexts, there was a lot of distance, ample opportunity for misrecognitions and misunderstandings and the inevitable need for negotiations (ibid, p.21).

However, the significant caveat when contemplating this text is the use of Nehru and Le Corbusier perspectives overt condensations in order to allow for larger macro-political argument (ibid, p.26). Conversely, the notion of collaborative modernism seeks to allow for a more micro-material perspective and investigate from the bottom up or perhaps even to abolish such hierarchical conceptions, whereas, with Prakash we encounter a top down mentality at play. Despite this criticism, Prakash raises perhaps one of the most pertinent questions that the idea of collaborative modernism must navigate, which follows here:

How, then, can one rescue Chandigarh's history from Eurocentrism and rehabilitate it as Indian history- not just in its putatively "Indianized" elements, but in toto, with all its Western aesthetic? (ibid, p.25).

This is a fascinating question and the notion of collaborative modernism, which does not discount the city's aesthetic qualities, gives special emphasis to the material and working relations that facilitated its creation, aims to respond to this conundrum. I would suggest that Prakash's macro-political perspective is not in fact helpful in addressing this question. This is because arguably the 'rehabilitation' occurs through the granular exchange and cross-cultural flows that occurred between the Euro-Indian team, which a macro-historical approach is less likely to excavate. Having said this, it is doubtful whether the city can be rehabilitated only as Indian history, because of the transcultural dimension and post-colonial context.

Collaborative Modernism and Postcolonial Thought

It is important to consider the notion of collaborative modernism within the context of post-colonial theory, since this is a field which has questioned the Eurocentrism of modernity and modernism. Given the intellectual concerns of this thesis and precise focus of Chapter's Five and Six, which are based on presenting the hitherto overlooked contribution of Indian architects to the city of Chandigarh, post-colonial theory's project of recovering subaltern knowledges and practices seems highly relevant. The post-colonial theory writings of Edward Said, Homi K. Bhabha and Ania Loomba have been selected, since they represent important examples of this field and will be very useful in briefly signposting the relevance of post-colonial theory to my project. Edward Said's text *Orientalism* (2003) aims to advance an understanding of the body of Eurocentric knowledge on the Orient, which was, and arguably continues to be, connected to imperialism. Within the writings of Said, he argues that the Orient is a discursive construction, built on three categories of knowledge, which for him make up an imagined geography. To elaborate, Said presents Orientalism as an expansive category of knowledge with three interconnected facets, the first of these being the academic practice of studying the orient:

Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient- and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, philologist- either in its specific or general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism (2003, p.2).

Said's second category contains an array of academic, artistic, and literary activities:

> Orientalism is a style of thought based on an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the orient" and (most of the time) "the occident". Thus a very large mass of writers, among whom are poets, novelists, philosophers, political theorists, economists and imperial administrators have accepted the basic distinction between the east and west as the starting point for elaborate theories, epics, novels, social descriptions and political accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, "mind", destiny and so on (ibid, p.2-3).

The third category, as Said explains:

> Taking the late 18th century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed as the corporate institution for detailing the orient- dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the orient (ibid, p.3).

Misinterpreting Said's critique of Orientalism, the concept of collaborative modernism could fall within the first category of Orientalism, as India presumably falls within the category of the Orient and we could characterise my investigation as being an Orientalist architectural historical text. However, Said's point is more subtle than this. The Orient is a discursive category which relates only to an imagined geography, and a vast body of European responses to it. Importantly, we should note that just because one is dealing with India does not the discursive output automatically result in Orientalism. It is how it is dealt with. Whilst India is a part of this imagined geographic category the 'Orient', the notion of collaborative modernism emerges from the critiques embedded within Orientalism, where it demands transcending these Eurocentric and geopolitical categories when dealing with modernism as a global phenomenon. Essentially, the notion of collaborative modernism takes Orientalism's idea that the Orient is nothing more than a Western discursive construction, as a building block to advance the idea that modernism was inherently a decentred phenomenon.

There is arguably a link between the canonical narrative of European modernism and Orientalist framings of Chandigarh, which would emphasise them as Imperialism of a certain representation. I hope that my use of collaborative modernism is moving in the opposite

direction by undermining that Eurocentric imaginary, evidencing the agency of Indian architects and workers, but also showing that Modernism has always been a complex intra- and extra- European phenomena, not least because of its imperial projects.

Collaborative modernism does not accept the distinction between east and west as a point of enunciation, it also suggests instead that modernism was transcultural and de-centred; aiming to create a conceptual framework that does not simplistically reproduce the binary opposition of east and west. It is pertinent as this point to highlight Loomba's critique of Said, via the work of Bhabha, who views the functioning of colonial ideology in relation to the subject as being incomplete:

It is also useful to refer to Bhabha, since Said's Foucauldian framework does at times emphasise the power of discursive constructions over individual agency. Bhabha accords with Said's notion that the Orient never existed as a thing, but only as a discursive construction, to the subject positions of coloniser and colonised. Indeed, the parameters of this critical framework render the notion of an imposition a weak proposition.

> In Homi K. Bhabha's view, highlighting the formation of colonial subjectivities as a process that is never fully or perfectly achieved helps us in correcting Said's emphasis on domination, and in focusing on the agency of the colonised. […] In the very process of their delivery, they are diluted and hybridised, so that the fixed identities that colonization seeks to impose upon both the masters and the slaves are in fact rendered unstable. There is no neat opposition between colonizer and colonized (2005, p.193-4).

Bhabha's critique, which suggests that there was no neat opposition between coloniser and colonised, holds affinities with the concept of collaborative modernism. The notion of collaborative modernism suggests that more reductive critiques might regard the city as the result of a neo-colonial dynamic, with the city resulting from one man's vision being unreasonably imposed on an unsuspecting population (as per Sarin) or as a confluence between Le Corbusier and Nehru (as per Von Moos). However, collaborative modernism suggests that such critiques silence the role of the Indian architects, administrators, engineers, and town planners, in short, they maintain the invisibility of Chandigarh's significant Indian agency that vastly transcended Nehru's approval of the project. The notion of collaborative modernism suggests there was a horizontality, albeit a bumpy one, in the realisation of Chandigarh, and draws on the critiques of post-colonial theory to articulate this.

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Post-Colonial theory also concerns itself with how academic discourse might reproduce a neo-colonial logic and potential strategies to avoid that, a good example of this would be the writings of Walter Mignolo. So then, does the concept of collaborative modernism achieve what Mignolo describes as "epistemic disobedience" (Mignolo, 2016, p.xii) and what precedents exist for a more de-centred horizontal conception of modernism? Mignolo's concept of "epistemic disobedience" appears desirable since it suggests the possibility of disrupting Eurocentric classifications. Mignolo states:

> to find one's way one cannot depend on the words of the master; one has to delink and disobey. Delinking and disobeying here means avoiding the traps of colonial differences, and has nothing to do with the rebellious artistic and intellectual acts that we are used to hearing about in European history (Mignolo, 2016, p.xxiv).

Consequently, we can say that collaborative modernism also takes something from the notion of epistemic disobedience, since it emphasises the importance of occupying a subversive scholarly position, in this case on modernism in India. Furthermore, as will we find in Chapter Five, Aditya Prakash published volumes of poetry in English with the celebrated Anglophone Indian Writer Raj Mulk Anand, specifically as a means of nuancing this Eurocentrism of Anglophone Euro-American scholarship. Crucially, the overt decision to write or publish in English is not a default subscription to Orientalist discourse but indicates something messier and more complicated. Curiously, this also brings to mind the article 'Postcolonial Modernities' by Bill Ashcroft, which states:

> The phenomenon we now call 'Glocalization' is modelled consummately in the transcultural interactions of postcolonial literatures. The view that the local and global should not be seen in a single homogenising power relationship, but that the local contributes to the character of the global, is now widely held. But how this occurs is less clear (2014, p12).

As we will see, Anand used English as a discursive tool, to create an important interplay between a local 'perspective' or 'experience', and a dominant Euro-American narrative about Chandigarh, which had become naturalised. In conclusion we can say that this investigation asserts that the object of study is 'modernism', furthermore that the concept of collaborative modernism can disrupt Eurocentric conceptions of modernism.

Distinguishing collaborative modernism from the concepts of vernacular modernism and indigenous modernities?

I will now consider two critical concepts that could be misconstrued with the notion of collaborative modernism and what I hope to achieve with it, both in the context of Chandigarh's architectural history and wider critiques of modernism. Umbach and Hüppauf's definition of "vernacular modernism" (2005) offers a more heterogeneous account of modernism which acknowledges the primary role that vernacular forms played within the formation of modernist architecture. At first glance the concept has affinities with collaborative modernism, especially since it promises to offer a global perspective on the development of modernism. There are echoes of Chattopadhyay, Glover, Hosagrahar and even Prakash when Umbach and Hüppauf write:

> It is not the discovery of the vernacular per se, we contend, that makes it interesting. It is, rather, the negotiation between, and the interdependence of, the regional and the global, concrete locality and border devouring abstraction, that can generate a new and more complex narrative of the Modern. […] The vernacular is of interest to us where and when it elucidates how local and regional identities are constructed within- rather than against- the context of the modern (2005, p.2).

However, despite this promise of a more pluralistic narrative of the formation of modernism, the investigation limits its focus to Europe and North America:

> We have chosen a different focus from cultural anthropology and post-colonial theory. We do not investigate modernity's other, but the alternative-vernacular- potentialities within modernism itself. To do so, we revisit the definitional core of the project of the modern, both in geographic terms, by focusing on the "West"- that is, Europe and America- and in terms of genre (ibid, p.9).

Their conceptual apparatus does not accommodate a more decentred understanding of modernism and its transmission. Therefore, the concept of vernacular modernism, rather than supplanting collaborative modernism, explicates the need for such a critique. Another important point to make here, which is specific to architecture, is that it's a collaborative process. It is not overtly clear how notions of the vernacular avoid reifying essentialisms. An important feature of collaborative modernism is that it is not dependent on strong claims about

pre-existing local purities, which is something that appears to underpin the concept of vernacular modernism.

The concept of indigenous modernities can be seen as a polemical device implemented to engender a pluralistic attitude for considering modernism and its various expressions, especially non-European ones (Hosagrahar, 2005, p.2). Hosagrahar uses the term to critique the inflexible distinction between 'traditional' and 'modern' (ibid, p.7), stating that:

> the concept indigenous modernities celebrates their simultaneity and engagement. Rather than the typical dualities of 'traditional' and 'modern', 'ruler' and 'subject', 'orient' and 'occident', indigenous modernities helps recognise the polarization as politically derived and socially constructed (ibid, p.7).

Conclusion

The concept of collaborative modernism seeks to explore this nuanced and decentred conception of modernity but will distinguish itself from indigenous modernities based on what the term can be seen as signifying, especially from a Eurocentric perspective. As the focus of Umbach's investigation demonstrates, even self-reflexive, critical theory inspired discourse can perpetuate Eurocentric sensibilities. This exemplifies that within Eurocentric discourse there is a hierarchy of modernisms, the supposedly authentic European modernism- simply referred to as modernism- at the top[10]. When asserting the legitimacy of other modernisms, it is perhaps wise to do so in a language that does not immediately subordinate it to an ancillary category. Therefore, whilst in accord with the intentions behind the concept of indigenous modernities, this investigation advocates that the notion of collaborative modernism is more fitting in this context.

It is my intention that through expanding the recent historical research of Jackson, Sprague and Chalana with a theoretical lens provided by Hosagrahar and their cohort, that Chandigarh's modernism can be rehabilitated within Anglophone discourse. It has been compelling to encounter the invisibility of figures such as P.L Verma and Aditya Prakash within Anglophone

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[10] As stated earlier in the thesis introduction and explored further Chapter two, often when the term modernism is used, it often becomes shorthand for European modernism. This is problematic explored by Partha Mitter in texts such as *The Triumph of Modernism.*

architectural historical discourse, and it is my hope that with further archival research their roles in the design and construction of the city will be acknowledged. Indeed, in Chapter Four both Aditya Prakash and Verma are considered in more detail. Finally, I hope that collaborative modernism has been demonstrated as a potential way of understanding the process that led to Chandigarh's creation. The following Chapter will now expand how the concept will impact understandings of modernism more broadly.

Chapter Three: Modernity & Modernism in India

Introduction

The following chapter aims to achieve several interconnected objectives, the first of which being to clarify what I mean by modernism and modernity in the Indian context. I will briefly consider the work of Chattopadhyay, Glover and Hosagrahar, who aim to nuance understanding of modernity in India, from a spatial and architectural perspective. Glover's recent work will also be considered in relation to the work of Preeti Chopra on urban redevelopments in 19th Century Bombay. Methodologically, the decision to include this extended consideration of Indian modernism reflects a continued critique of the idea that Chandigarh's modernism was imposed. Ostensibly, this chapter aims to reflect on the extent to which modernism meant something in the Indian context prior to 1947 and whether it had a relationship with the independence movement. The historical coordinates of this chapter reflect what can be described as the first period of modernism in India. As will be discussed later in this chapter, 1922 Calcutta (or Kolkata as it is now known) witnessed a major exhibition of transnational modernist art, with Indian artists such as Gaganendranath Tagore, alongside individuals such as Wassily Kandinsky. 1947, the year of Indian independence, represents the end of this period of artistic production, which had a heavy emphasis on the idealisation of rural life. Through my consideration of the Sir Jamesethji School of Art (Mumbai) and the work of urban planner, Otto Koenigsberger, I will explore the extent to which salient examples of collaborative modernism existed in India prior to the commissioning of Chandigarh.

As stated, when introducing this thesis, a key point that collaborative modernism seeks to make, is that Chandigarh's modernism cannot have been an imposition from the 'outside' if it was well underway on the 'inside'. Related to the previous point, as stated in the preceding chapter, post-colonial theory has been active in critiquing the Eurocentrism of modernism. There is an interrelated critique which can be found in the work of Chattopadhyay (2005, p.4) that will be discussed shortly, that concerns the problematic of Modernism's teleological dimension which asserts a single-arrow like- timeline of modernity, with Europe at its apex and the rest of the world striving to catch up. An aim of this chapter, through exploring modernism in India, is to challenge that linear and spatialised history.

In keeping with the conceptual focus of collaborative modernism, this chapter will adopt a micro-historical perspective on modernism in India, that in turn will assist in critiquing the wider macro-political arguments that surround both modernism in India and Chandigarh. As stated in introducing this thesis, one of the key conceptual points of this chapter is to consider the implications of Partha Mitter's *The Triumph of Modernism: India's Artists and the Avant-Garde 1922-1947*, and how his text might influence our understanding of modernism in India and Chandigarh. He argues that Vasarian approaches to the construction of art historical discourse still permeate how art history written and understood. Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) was the author of the *Lives of Artists* and is seen as one founder of art history. Mitter asserts that Vasari's approach to art history was orientated around specific urban centres and regarded 'fringe' cities to produce derivative work of inferior artistic merit, underlies a contemporary understanding of modernism. Discourse on modernism has clear centres of power, with clear vested interests in certain narratives. To a large extent, the work of Indian modernists does not feature in canonical narratives of modernism, and so on a very basic micro-material-historical level, this chapter seeks to show that they existed. I contend that this has ramifications for our understanding of Chandigarh, which will hopefully permeate throughout the thesis.

There is an evident distinction between modernity and modernism both within the Indian context and more generally, yet the two are completely entangled. Mitter elucidates that modernity can be conceived as a global process with significant political, economic and social ramifications, whereas modernism can be more sharply focused as an aesthetic movement which critically responded to the condition of modernity (Mitter, 2007, p.10). This thesis is wary of promoting historical chronologies, which purport the notion that, 'Global modernity as such arrived in India with the consolidation of the British Empire in the 19th Century' (2007, p.10). It is pertinent to demonstrate how the critiques found within Chattopadhyay, Glover and Hosagrahar's respective texts, have informed this investigation. Chattopadhyay and Hosagrahar both critique the way in which Europe has ideologically acquired ownership of *modernity*:

> To be 'modern' was the prerogative of European rulers who claimed the right to define its meanings and assert its forms. [...] For those who regard the forms of Europe's modernity to be the only ones that are valid, all others were transitory, incomplete, inadequate, or traditional (Hosagrahar, 2005, p.1).

Both writers problematise canonical Eurocentric narratives of modernity that omit Asia and Africa, even though their histories and architecture overlap significantly (ibid, p.6). Both texts are preoccupied with critiquing the notion of an authentic European modernity, Chattopadhyay asserting that in:

> Marshal Berman's imaginative mapping of the genealogy of modernism, there is a particular time and place allocated to Paris, New York and Brasilia- each city is seen to come to its best/worst at a particular creative moment along a linear chain of progress/regress. Everywhere except in Europe and the United States (of course by the logic of such history the thread of progress has to find its way to the twentieth century US) the effects of Modernism are distorted; modern cultural forms appear as caricatures or as fantasy- "shrill, uncouth, and inchoate" (2005, p.4).

Hosagrahar highlights how 19th Century British Orientalist scholarship on Indian architecture has until recently permeated not only European understandings, but also South Asian conceptions of Indian architectural history. British 19th century scholarship created the idea of India as land of picturesque decay. Hosagrahar highlights that individuals such as James Ferguson and Alexander Cunningham wrote:

> Architectural histories that gave primacy to isolated monuments of the ancient and medieval periods. They characterized structures as based on religious differences and perceived stylistic traits […] Authenticity of styles rather than the social, economic, and political context of particular buildings were at the heart of Ferguson's monumental, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture,* first published in 1876, the book became the most widely read and influential work of scholarship published on South Asian architecture and continues to be used as the primary text in many schools of architecture in South Asia (2005, p.8).

I will argue that it is important to recognise the pervasiveness of 19th century British Orientalism within the accounts of Indian architecture found in recent European scholarship. It should also be noted that other writers such as John William Kaye were far less favourable than James Ferguson and Alexander Cunningham. Within the text *The Administration of the East Indian Company: A History of Indian Progress* (1853) the Victorian colonial ideologue advanced the critique that Mughal architecture was preoccupied with the celebration of individual greatness rather than the collective good:

2That the Mogul Emperors left behind them some magnificent works, rests not merely on the authority of the Mohammedan historians. There are many picturesque evidences of this fact still patent to the senses of all who journey through the provinces of Hindostan. But only a small portion of these works ever conferred any substantial benefit on the people, and a still a smaller portion were intended, primarily, to promote their happiness (1853, p.40).

This appraisal of the Mughals can be regarded as implicit justification for the British and their colonial 'intervention' in India, e.g. to rid the country from despotic and self- aggrandising rulers. Of course, the rather fortunate implication for the likes of Kaye, was that the British were somehow a better alternative. Curiously, Kaye's writing brings to mind Patwant Singh's comments regarding Jeanneret's approach to architecture in India. As mentioned in the preceding chapter Singh suggested that Jeanneret's approach to architecture transcended a centuries long tendency (which by virtue of this implicit chronology- would include Mughal architecture) for *foreign* architecture to be unsympathetically imposed without climatic or cultural consideration. And, one wonders if the origins of Singh's analysis emanated from the British colonial dismissal of Mughal architecture as being largely vanity projects.

Glover, Chopra, and 19th modernity in Lahore and Bombay

Before proceeding to consider modernist artists active in India between 1922 and 1947, I will briefly consider the writings of William Glover and Preeti Chopra on 19th Century urban developments in Lahore and Bombay, respectively. William Glover's *Making Lahore Modern* (2008) demonstrates through various examples such as Lawrence Hall and Aitchison College, that the urban transformation of Lahore from the mid-19th Century onward benefitted from a significant Indian agency. Similarly, Preeti Chopra presents the idea of Bombay's 19th Century urban developments as emerging from *A Joint Enterprise* (2011), effectively a collaborative endeavour between Indian and European elites. Both works hold resonance with the concept of collaborative modernism since they can be perceived as a corrective to the prevalent idea that colonial cities resulted from a monolithic colonial vision, Chopra, for instance, arguing that 'local inhabitants played a major role in shaping urban design and form' (2011, p.xv). Of profound relevance to the concerns of my project, both writers show a collaborative dimension to these urban enterprises and therefore contribute to developing the historical context for collaborative modernism, which endeavours to offer fresh nuance on the East-West encounter.

William Glover's writings on 19ᵗʰ Century Lahore are of value when developing the idea of collaborative modernism. Glover's research focuses on the urban developments that took place from 1858 when the city became the capital of the Punjab province in British India. According to Glover, Lahore had fallen into a state of decline, citing historical sources such as the account of the city provided by Lord Charles Metcalfe, who described the city as a:

> Melancholy picture of fallen splendour. Here the lofty dwellings of masjids [mosques], which fifty years ago raised their tops to the skies and were the pride of a busy and active population are now crumbling into dust (2008, p xi).

However, the redevelopment of Lahore's urban fabric did not simply emerge from a singular colonial vision nor did it only reflect the prerogatives of the incumbent British colonial power. As Glover writes:

> The tradition of modern urbanism brought to India by British colonialism did not simply replace pre-existing practices and attitudes wholesale, creating everything anew in its own image […] Importantly, as the protocols of this new urban tradition reached deeper into local society, the protagonists of modern urbanism increasingly came from both the British and Indian communities (2008, p.xx).

Furthermore, Glover ventures to assert that the intention that underpinned Lahore's restoration was to create an urban platform that might possess the physical qualities to allow for a more harmonious spirit of interracial interaction (ibid, p.59). I shall consider two projects associated with Lahore's redevelopment, reflecting on their connection to the objectives underpinning their creation and the concept of collaborative modernism.

Let us now turn our attention to Lawrence and Montgomery Hall and the extent to which they reflected or invoked a spirit of inclusivity. Both buildings were situated in the area known as Lahore's Civil Station, which was set apart from the more densely populated Old City (ibid). Lawrence Hall was the first of the structures to be constructed between 1861-62 and was designed by G. Stone, an engineer from the Public Works Department (ibid, p.62). William Glover describes the building in the following terms:

> Lawrence Hall was conceived as a social and entertainment space for Lahore's European community. The plan of the building was that of a conventional European banqueting hall, with a rectangular double height room on the ground floor surrounded

above by a narrow colonnaded gallery on all four sides. Throughout the colonial period in Lahore, Lawrence Hall hosted a range of theatrical and musical performances by both local and travelling troupes (ibid).

As mentioned, Lawrence Hall was a segregated space, and it is initially perplexing that Glover highlights the interplay between Lawrence and Montgomery Hall as an example of the spirit of inclusivity underpinning Lahore. This apparent contradiction between the desire for harmonious interracial interaction and the preservation of British/European spaces is also observed by Preeti Chopra in *A Joint Enterprise* in relation to the urban developments in Colonial Bombay:

> The creation of secular public institutions where all castes, religions and people of all races would interact on a more intimate level was a new phenomenon. The action of the government was contradictory: it promoted the establishment of common public institutions and spaces, yet the British maintained their own separate institutions (2011, p. xxi).

Therefore, taking this overt contradiction into consideration, it is necessary to further reflect on Glover's argument and whether Montgomery Hall can be regarded as a spatial remedy to the racial exclusivity of Lawrence Hall.

Montgomery Hall which was finalised in 1866 shared the neoclassical façade of its earlier counterpart Lawrence Hall, and the latter building's function. However, the use of the building was characterised by a greater degree of inclusivity. As Glover notes:

> Unlike the earlier building, however, Montgomery Hall was financed entirely from subscriptions raised from native chiefs of the Punjab. Montgomery Hall was larger, more complex, and more costly than the earlier building (2008, p. 65).

The patronage of the building perhaps influenced the nature of the building's openness, since it enabled Indians and British to rub shoulders and to share a social space, this standing in marked contrast to Lawrence Hall. Furthermore, as Glover notes, these respective buildings were eventually united by a purpose-built corridor, a gesture redolent with symbolic significance:

The joining of Lawrence and Montgomery Halls thus helped materialise a metaphorical joining of interests between the elite European and aristocratic Indian patrons who donated the building to the city while presenting a tangible model of British and Indian elite collusion in concrete form' (ibid, p.66).

That Montgomery Hall facilitated a degree of racial interaction not permitted by the earlier Lawrence Hall, lends some credibility to the notion that Lahore's redevelopment was underpinned by a desire to facilitate racial inclusivity; albeit, limited by social class. Furthermore, the patronage of Punjab's elite demonstrates an Indian agency, which is significant in the context of collaborative modernism. However, the existence of an essentially segregated racial space in the form of Lawrence Hall and the need for an architectural remedy for this reveals the nuance, contradiction, and complexity of the British approach to Lahore's redevelopment.

William Glover argues that Aitchison College, an independent boarding school constructed in the 1880s, can be regarded as exemplifying a more overt example of Anglo-Indian collaboration (ibid, p.72). The first reason for this claim relates to the planning and construction of the building, which can be regarded as inherently collaborative. The commission for the project was put out to competition and the two favoured designs were from Bhai Ram Singh and Sir Samuel Swinton Jacob. Singh was vice-principal at Lahore's Mayo School of Art and worked under the principal John Lockwood Kipling (ibid), whereas Jacob was a senior engineer working in Jaipur State, who had garnered notoriety for his work on The Albert Hall Museum (completed 1887) in Jaipur (ibid). Although Jacob was eventually appointed as the project's principal designer, the awarding committee requested that he incorporate Singh's elevations into his schema. As Glover notes, Jacob, Singh, and Kipling were jointly awarded the competition.

The building, which represented the amalgamation of two separate designs, can be characterised by its electric range of architectural references, as Glover notes:

Jacob's final design incorporated an eclectic array of architectural features from diverse sources, including pre-Mughal chattris (umbrella-like features) anchoring each inverted corner of the building, Mughal inspired shallow relief patterns in the brickwork on the lower story, interwoven arches and screens on the veranda borrowed from Umayyad

Spain, and a large bronze clock of English manufacture on the domed octagonal tower rising over the building's centre' (ibid).

The building represented an example of late 19th Century hybrid architectural expression, known as the Indo-Saracenic style, as Glover notes:

> As Thomas Metcalf shows, eclecticism was a characteristic feature of the Indo-Saracenic architecture more generally, a style of architecture that became the more or less "official" colonial style during the period 1870-1890. Indo-Saracenic design represented a more self-consciously "traditional" approach to modern imperial buildings than other neoclassical or modern alternatives, one that grew out of a growing imperial consensus, as Metcalf shows, that British rule needed to annotate its authority in the traditional visual forms of India's indigenous rulers (ibid).

Therefore, the Indo-Saracenic style emerged from a need to represent British Colonial power with an aesthetic that held meaning to its Indian subjects; adopting architectural and design motifs from the previous ruling dynasty proved helpful in this endeavour. Through these respective projects highlighted by Glover and briefly considered within the context of this chapter, we can see that during the urban redevelopment of Lahore from 1858 onwards, various Indian actors contributed through both patronage and design, to the construction of the new urban fabric. Consequently, one can argue there is a connection between this historical perspective and the argument presented by collaborative modernism, which endeavours to present the idea that Chandigarh was not the result of a singular vision but brought into being by a network of different actors, such as architects, engineers, labourers, and bureaucrats.

However, while Glover provides important historical information on the different buildings discussed, we learn nothing of the dynamic shared between Jacob, Singh, and Kipling. Taking Glover's consideration of Aitchison College, for example, although we are told Jacob was requested to incorporate the elevations provided in Singh's design, it is manifestly unclear whether this adaptation was conducted collaboratively with Singh, or if this was left to Jacob's discretion. There is little articulation about why Kipling was also credited with the design besides being Singh's superior at the Mayo School of Art, which is elliptical if not problematic. The process of this collaboration, its materiality and interpersonal dimension, receives no sort of exposition from Glover. Importantly, for collaborative modernism, consideration of this micro-historical granularity leads to a more comprehensive understanding of architectural

production. Indeed, such scholarship exemplifies the need for the intervention of collaborative modernism, which gives importance to consulting the archives for micro-historical details that reveal the affective and emotional contours of architectural production.

Let us now turn our attention to a consideration of Preeti Chopra's *A Joint Enterprise,* which focuses on the urban reconfigurations of 19th Century Bombay. Ostensibly, Chopra's underlining premise for *A Joint Enterprise* reacts against the work of Anthony D. King, who 'credits European imperialism and colonialism alone with the creation of colonial cities' (2011, p. 2). Chopra overturns this perspective by highlighting three salient strands, which clearly denote a significant Indian contribution, as we see below:

> The colonial government and Indian and European elites shaped the city to serve their different interests, constructing an urban infrastructure conducive to economic and industrial entrepreneurs from both communities in the city as well as the colonial state. Second, European, and Indian engineers, architects, and artists collaborated to design the city, while Indian labourers and craftsmen left their mark on the designs they executed. Finally, Indian philanthropists entered into partnership with the colonial regime to found and finance institutions for the general public (ibid, pp.xv-xvi).

Consequently, as this account suggests, there are strong overlaps with Chopra's work and the analysis found within Glover's writings on Lahore. Significantly, both writers highlight the patronage of wealthy Indian benefactors, as well as the contributions of various Indian actors, such as engineers and craftspeople. Both Glover and Chopra perceive this process as collaborative, which holds resonance for the concept of collaborative modernism, which seeks to bring into play the notion that Chandigarh was brought into being by a range of different actors, architects, engineers, bureaucrats, and craftspeople. The following pages will now be given over to a consideration of Chopra's work and how it relates to Glover's analysis and the concept of collaborative modernism.

As Chopra informs us, In 1860s Bombay, the city's Governor Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere (in office between 1862-1867) made a call to transform Bombay's infrastructure and amenities (ibid, p.xiv). Chopra asserts that 'Colonial Bombay was made jointly by Indians and the colonial regime' (ibid, p.30). As Chopra explains, the scale of these developments was vast and included the following projects: University Library and Clock Tower, the Convocation Hall, the High Court, the Electric Telegraph Department, the Post Office, Elphinstone College,

Elphinstone High School, The Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art, Gokuldas Hospital, and the Sailors Home to name a few (ibid, p.23). Chopra highlights the contributions of Bombay based benefactors such as Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Sir Dinshaw Manockjee Petit, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Sir Albert Abdullah Sassoon, Currimbhoy Ebrahim and Chinubhai Madhowlal (ibid, p.25). Chopra argues that these wealthy benefactors enabled the development of the city's educational and medical amenities (ibid, p.xiv). Sir Cowasji Jehangir was not content with providing drinking water or public gardens to the population of Bombay, and ensured an enduring legacy by funding many projects, as Chopra notes:

> In 1865, he encouraged female education by funding the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney School at Khetwadi. Students graduating from Elphinstone College, one of the major new institutions for higher education at that time, would have spent years in the building paid for by Jehangir. Students from the University of Bombay would have had their convocation ceremonies in the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall (1869-1874/University Convocation Hall) and gazed at his statue that graces the garden. Individuals with vision problems could take advantage of the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Ophthalmic Hospital (1865) in Byculla, an individual building in the Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Hospital. Those residents of the Bombay Presidency in need of mental assistance had the lunatic asylum established by Jehangir in Hyderabad, Sind (ibid, p.xiv)

Chopra's text offers compelling complementary evidence to Glover's work on post-1858 Lahore to show emphatically that urban environments that emerged under the auspices of British colonial government, were not the result of a singular colonial vision. There is a direct link between these critiques and the concept of collaborative modernism, which challenges the notion that Chandigarh emerged from a singular or monolithic vision offered by Le Corbusier.

However, it was not only members of Bombay's elite that contributed to the re-articulation of Bombay's urban fabric. As Chopra recounts:

> In Bombay, both ordinary and privileged sections of Indian society undercut colonial and elite projects by challenging the government in court or by bargaining with the government through contestatory acts that were not always overt or conscious' (ibid, p.2).

We can find a primary example of this in the repurposing of a small part of Victoria Park to accommodate devotees to a pre-existing Muslim shrine. Chopra explains that in 1874, the acting municipal commissioner E.W. Ravenscroft alerted the colonial government to the erection of a mosque near a tomb constructed earlier in the century (ibid, p.226):

> According to Ravenscroft between 1814 and 1824, a tomb or dargah of a Muslim was placed under a large tree on the east of what was then the Victoria Gardens. The encroachment occurred in 1871, when the official in charge of the gardens was away during the monsoon months. He returned to find that a fakir or holy man was constructing a mosque near the tomb. Subsequently, a house and tank were added (ibid, p.228).

Initially, the British took legal recourse against this perceived 'encroachment' but found this approach to be ineffectual. The British had to acquiesce to the continued presence of this 'encroachment' and duly erected an enclosure around the site, intending to ensure that other park users would not be affected by the Muslim visitors that used the mosque (ibid, p.228). Consequently, although the Victoria Gardens were unveiled to honour Queen Victoria, as Chopra notes, during the annual Safar celebrations, the site saw many Muslims opt to convene for a picnic in honour of the prophet Mohammed. Chopra cites an account of this annual practice:

> To the Victoria Gardens the tram cars brings hundreds of holidaymakers, most of whom remain in the outer or free zone of the gardens and help to illumine its grass plots and shady paths with the green, blue, pink, and yellow glories of their silk attire. Here a group of men and women are enjoying a cold luncheon; there a small party of Memons are discussing affairs over their "bidis", while on all sides are children playing with paper toys, rattles, and tin wheels which the hawkers offer at such seasons of merry-making. Coal-black Africans, ruddy Pathans and yellow Bukharans squat on the open turf to the west of the Victoria and Albert Museum (ibid).

 This account exemplifies how the eventual users of urban space can subvert the intentions that underpinned its creation. Glover and Chopra both show in 19th Century colonial Lahore and Bombay respectively, modernity had a significant Indian agency, and whilst collaborative modernism can be viewed as an acknowledgement of the fact that architecture is inherently collaborative, it also emphasises the agency of the Indian architects that contributed to the

design of Chandigarh, that is typically overlooked. Regarding the overlaps between Glover's research and Chopra's notion of *A Joint Enterprise*, it can be said that there are tremendous affinities, and the critique of the notion that colonial cities were the result of a monolithic vision, resonates particularly. However, Glover's failure to reflect on the collaborative process in its material and interpersonal dimensions reveals that collaborative modernism brings a new historical perspective to aspiring post-Eurocentric interpretations of modernity and modernism. It can be said that collaborative modernism is closer to the methodology apparent within *A Joint Enterprise*, especially in the tendency to use vignettes from the archives, such as the Safar picnics in Victoria Park. However, while both authors introduce the notion that cities such as Lahore and Bombay were created by a range of different actors, they pay little attention to the emotive and affective dimensions involved in these urban redevelopments. Therefore, reflection on such research shows that collaborative modernism offers an innovative approach to the study of architectural history, offering a critical methodology capable of offering fresh insight into both modernity and modernism.

A Modernist Interlude.

Hans Belting's text *The End of The History of Art* (1987) articulated the fear that art history would collapse 'as a grand Hegelian narrative' (ibid, p.531) due to what he perceived as a 'progressive disjunction between the awareness of the enormous diversity of art forms and practices and the narrow focus of canonical art histories' (ibid, p.531). Belting's concern seems to have been misplaced, since today canonical Eurocentric narratives of modernism are far from dismantled and rarely include artists from the periphery. The concern that 'art history' would crumble under the weight of a kaleidoscopic array of artistic practices from the perceived periphery, has yet to be vindicated. Consequently, it is necessary to describe and contextualise the characteristics and important figures within modernism in India prior to 1947, which predominantly found expression through the visual arts rather than architecture and was often rural in its focus. This will be achieved through a consideration of the modernism of Rabindranath Tagore (or simply Tagore), Amrita Sher-Gil and Nandalal Bose, via the observations of Indian art historian, Partha Mitter. The final section of this chapter will also consider the architecture of Surendranath Kar, Anglo-Indian collaborations in Bombay and the arrival of European emigres at the end of the 1930s. From the tone of the anti-imperialist

critiques advanced towards Chandigarh and its creators, it could easily be assumed that there had been no prior precedent for modernism before the commissioning of the city.

India had at least two competing visions for modernity, Nehru's was predicated on technological advancement and the importance of urban centres, which contrasted with the Gandhian vision of a more agrarian future. The trajectory of modernism in India roughly equates with the political transition from a Gandhian concept of modernity to the urban focus of Nehru's political aspirations. As the permanent exhibition of Indian modernism at India's National Gallery of Modern Art explains:

> The years prior to Indian Independence in 1947 saw a shift from rural to urban areas. Cities became the focal point for the creation of a forward-looking nation that was soon to be born anew. Simultaneously, artists, writers and theatre practitioners came together to form groups and collectives that looked ahead, basing their practice on the socialist ideals that were being inscribed as the bedrock of the new Indian state. Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and Madras emerged as key players in the formation of a new art for India; one that emphasised the creation of a new visual language and modernist identity that could be expressed through art reference (2017. Wall Text. National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi).

The commissioning of European architects for the design of Chandigarh can been seem as emblematic of this transition, though the seminal nature of this moment has seemingly eclipsed earlier forms of modernism in India. This chapter will demonstrate that transcultural modernism very much existed in India between 1922 and 1947. Whilst only Tagore, Bose and Sher-Gil are considered, this discussion could also have been extended to several other artists including Sunayani Devi, Ramkinkar Baij and Jamini Roy. The artists chosen for discussion arguably represent the differing facets of modernism in India prior to 1947. With regards to the subsequent consideration of modernist architecture in India, discussion could also have been expanded to include, for example, the work carried out by Ganesh. B. Deolalikar under the auspices of the Delhi Improvement Trust from 1936 onwards. It would have been an interesting contribution to this chapter, to consider the work of Deolalikar during his time at the DIT, not least because as Scriver and Srivastava observe:

> under the DIT's chief architect, G.B. Deolalikar- a veteran of almost two decades in the PWD… the stark new geometric order and antiseptic aesthetics of modernism were deployed as models and instruments of social improvement, in much the same way that

the Anglo-Indian bungalow had previously served to shape and sustain the colonial status quo (2015, p.123).

However, based on Otto Koenigsberger's connection with figures such as Albert Mayer and Jeet Malhotra, who have a direct relevance to the wider concerns of this thesis, I opted to focus on Koenigsberger rather than Deolalikar.

The absence of modernism from India within canonical art historical discourse can in part be attributed to the tendency to perceive non-western modernism as a rehashed version of the supposedly authentic European original. Partha Mitter uses the writing of British Art Historian W. G. Archer, the author of numerous publications on Indian art including *India and Modern Art* (1959), to illustrate this tendency:

> Unsurprisingly, Archer drew the conclusion that Gaganendranath was *un cubiste manqué;* in other words, his derivative works, based on a cultural misunderstanding, were simply bad imitations of Picasso (2007, p7).

The crux of the issue is that for individuals such as Archer, when a European artist such as Picasso uses non-western art forms like an African mask as a source of artistic inspiration, it indicates a certain level of genius, but when an artist from the periphery (not Europe or North America) utilises the visual language of modernism, they are derided for creating an inadequate Cubist pastiche.

Negative interpretations of Indian modernism have been perpetuated by Indian authors themselves in the latter part of the twentieth century. As Pran Nath Nago writes, 'As is well known, Thomas B. Macaulay, the law member of government under the East India Company formulated the Colonial Education Policy in 1835 to practically demolish Indian cultural values' (2000. P.25). It could be noted at this point that within the concept of Orientalism, Said emphasised that inhabitants of the 'Orient' began to see themselves as Oriental, thereby internalising an imposed psycho-geographical schema (Said, 2003, p.325). The legacy of this perceived demolition can be found in N Iqbal Singh's article 'Amrita Sher Gil', which gives the reader the impression that Sher-Gil was the only Indian artist of any value in the first part of the twentieth century. This text promotes the reductive and misleading narrative that Indian art in the 1930s was in a 'state of absolute decay', positing Sher-Gil as its sole saviour. Indeed, Iqbal Singh proceeds to state:

The celebrated art critic, the late Dr. Charles Fabri, described the scene obtaining in the early thirties in these words: "The situation of the art in India… was entirely directionless… On the one hand, we had here a half-dying art of sentimental paintings in water colours, reminiscent of Edmund Dulac. Weak, ill-drawn paintings of no merit, based on the worst period of ancient miniature and mural painting, soft and dripping with mawkish sentiment. On the other hand, the Government Schools of art imparted a watered-down variety of academic impressionism… This soulless, imitative… art did not know where it wanted to go (1975, p. 209).

Accordingly, this chapter will counter such narratives of the early to mid-twentieth-century Indian art, with a consideration of the respective artistic practices of Tagore, Sher-Gil and Bose. Of course, this chapter could have included consideration of other artists such as Jamini Roy, Sunayani Devi and Ramkindar Baij. However, the objective of this chapter is not to provide a comprehensive overview of modernism in India, but instead to discuss thematic concerns surrounding modernism in India. Reflection will be given to the extent to which they reinforce the ideas that support collaborative modernism, showing that modernism was in indeed a decentred globalised phenomenon.

Tagore's Transcultural Modernism

On December 23, 1922, Calcutta witnessed the opening of the 14th Annual Exhibition of The Indian Society of Oriental Art. However, the contributors were not only from Calcutta, Bengal or even the Indian Subcontinent. The transnational exhibition featured a showcase of Bauhaus works, including the work of Johannes Itten, Wassily Kandinsky and Paul Klee, as well as less known artists such as Lyonel Feininger, Georg Muche, Gerhardt Marcks, Lothar Schreyer, Margit Tery-Adler and Sophie Körner (Mitter, 2007, p.17). The exhibition also included the

Fig. 6. Rabindranath Tagore, Pages from Purabi Manuscript, Lithograph, 1924. Courtesy of V&A.
(http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O198124/lithograph-tagore-rabindranath/)

work of Anglo-American painter Wyndham Lewis, alongside the work of established Indian artists such as Gaganendranath Tagore. But how did this transnational cohort of Indo-European modernists come to display their work in Calcutta? This exhibition was the initiative of the poet, painter, and pedagogue, Rabindranath Tagore, who in 1921 had visited the Weimar based Bauhaus (1919-1933). Tagore felt there to be a commonality between his integrated educational experiments in Santiniketan and those of the Bauhaus. Amongst the 'masters' of the Bauhaus included Johannes Itten and Georg Muche, both of whom were heavily influenced by Eastern philosophy (ibid p.17). This perceived affinity resulted in the decision to host the artwork of Bauhaus artists the following year, which was requested by Tagore and facilitated by Muche. This was not previously known and in W.G Archer's *India and Modern Art*, which was dedicated to the writer Raj Mulk Anand (who be considered in further detail in Chapter

Five), it was stated although 'there is once again no direct proof that he had seen the exhibition, it is most unlikely that he failed to visit it' (1959, pp.56-57). The following paragraphs will explore Tagore's collaborative and transcultural modernism, firstly as an artist and secondly in his capacity as an educator.

Tagore's trajectory as an artist demonstrates an affinity with European modernists and denotes the existence of a globalised community of artists with a loosely shared intellectual and aesthetic understanding. Rather than suggesting that Tagore is simply mimicking European modernism, collaborative modernism would suggest that these artistic tendencies did not specifically belong to Europe. Mitter argues that there is a potential commonality between Tagore and Jugendstil artist Adolf Hölzel:

> one primarily a writer and the other an artist, but both incorporating written texts in a work of art […] somewhat like Tagore's doodles, Hölzel's abstract ornaments were often placed alongside handwritten texts. He also incorporated printed texts in his doodles and designs, sometimes supplying his own texts for them. Tagore, who belonged to a self-conscious literary milieu that cherished elegant calligraphy became well known for his Bengali handwriting (ibid, p.70).
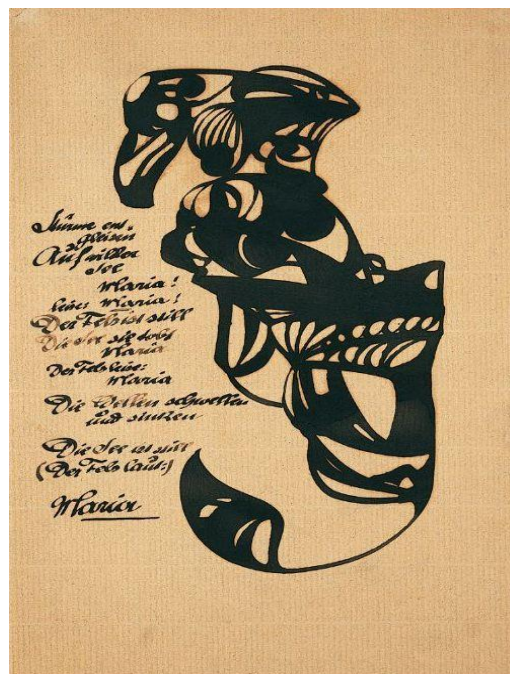
Fig. 7. Adolf Hölzel, *Abstract Ornament with Text*, 1900 (http://www.adolf-hoelzel.de/bildauswahl/graphik/)

Tagore's pages from the *Purabi Manuscript*, 1924 (Fig. 6) and Adolf Hölzel's *Abstract Ornament with Text* 1900 show (Fig. 7), demonstrates that there does appear to be a visual

correspondence between the organic ornamentation that augments the poetry of Tagore and the undulating text accompanied forms found within the work of Hölzel.

It is not merely aesthetic and superficial methodological affinity that links Tagore to the European modernist milieu, since his development as a painter was strongly influenced by non-western ethnographic art. Mitter highlights:

> What took Tagore's work from the decorative to a more radical modernist plane was his discovery of Native American, Oceanic and African ritual masks, totemic animals, face 'scars' and body tattoos, some of which drew upon Friedrich Ratzel's popular work, *The History of Mankind* (1896). (ibid, p. 71).

The 'mask' operated as a catalyst for the artistic vocabularies for paragons of modernism such as Picasso, notably manifested in works such as *Demoiselles d'Avignon* (1907), and it can be argued that Tagore used such objects in a remarkably similar way[11]. Indeed, as Fig's 8 and 9 indicate, the mask not only features as a visual motif (see fig.8) but the flattening and simplification of form associated with such objects, can also be seen (fig.9) to the extent that Tagore's work straddles the boundary between representation and abstraction. This is significant since it complicates the narrative that it was the genius of European modernism to perceive the artistic value of supposedly primitive art, an attitude that can be discovered in W.G Archer's catalogue (co-authored with art critic associated with the British Surrealists- Robert Melville) for the Institute of Contemporary Art inaugural exhibition *40,000 Years of Modern Art*, (1948, p.10).

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[11] The concept of collaborative modernism must at times navigate tricky terrain and be careful with the examples that it uses to reinforce it. The uptake of the mask as a means of emancipation from European artistic conventions, does not necessarily function as a vindication of collaborative modernism. Hugh Honour and John Flemings *A World History of Art* (1982) an exemplary example of Anglophone/canonical art historical discourse, offers a conventional narrative of how artists in Europe used African masks as a means of artistic inspiration: 'If Picasso was a pioneer in the appreciation of African art for its formal qualities, other artists, who had discovered primitive art as early or even earlier , responded more emotionally. The Fauve painters […] who whom Picasso probably owed his introduction to African sculpture, were less overtly influenced by it, but by 1904 in Germany artists were recognising as 'art' much of their Ethnographic museums and German artists were to be perhaps more deeply influenced by it than were any others. For them it meant essentially a sensual awakening' (1982, p.567). The above arguably serves as ammunition for the point made with footnote 9, which is that referencing non-European modernism, by no means indicates inclusive or benevolent relations. Quite the opposite, this type of borrowing might indicate a kind of othering by means of including the exotic.
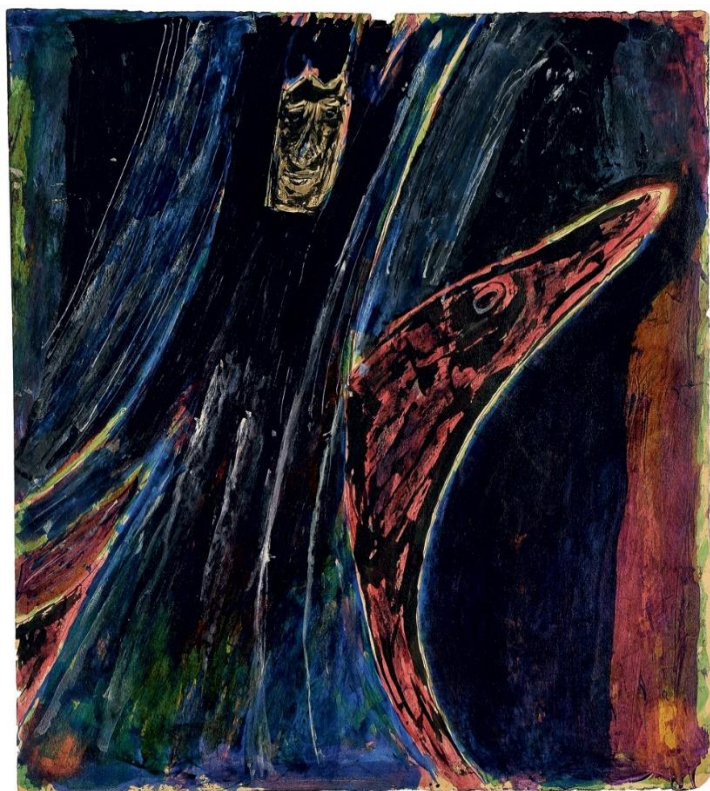
Fig. 8. Rabindranath Tagore, *Coloured Ink on Paper*, 1930, Copyright Rabindra Bhavana.
(http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/r/rabindranath-tagore-poet-and-painter/)

Fig. 9. Rabindranath Tagore, *Coloured Ink on Paper,* 1930, Copyright Rabindra Bhavana.
(http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/r/rabindranath-tagore-poet-and-painter/)

Significantly, Tagore's stance on the relationship between art and political engagement and his perceived duality as an artist and activist is evocative of the debates surrounding the relationship between art and politics that have abounded since the 1930s. As Irmgard Emmelhainz notes individuals such as André Breton argued that 'true art is necessarily revolutionary' (2012, p6), whereas others maintained a split between their political and artistic identities. Tagore embodied a de-territorialised anxiety or concern about the relationship between art and politics that was globally dispersed and non-geopolitically specific, which manifested itself in different guises throughout the 20th century (and no doubt the 21st century also). Francis Frascina highlights in *Art, Politics and Dissent* (2008) how Meyer Schapiro, critic and theorist and an advocate of modernism in his capacity as an art historian (2008, p.160), who had well known and historic ties to the Old Left e.g. Marxist and revolutionary groups, refused to participate in a public campaign compelling Pablo Picasso to remove his painting *Guernica* (1937) from the Museum of Modern Art during the Vietnam War. Privately or as an 'individual' Schapiro had financially supported artist-led protests and had even signed the 1967 petition '1000 American Artists Petition Pablo Picasso Urging him to Withdraw Guernica As An Act of Protest Against United States Bombing in Vietnam' (Frascina, 2008, p.160). However, when invited to make the public gesture of signing a letter to the artist, Schapiro refused. Similarly, Minimalist artist Donald Judd, who was known for his political militancy, preferred to make art work distanced from his subjectivity as an activist, opting instead to make sculptures that explored 'space, mass, texture and colour of his specific object' (2008, p.140). Ostensibly, he was the creator of formalist spatial sculpture with predominantly aesthetic concerns.

Likewise, it was perceived by some that Tagore did not use his platform as an internationally respected artist to condemn the atrocities of colonialism in India. Mitter notes that Tagore's *primitive modernism* took two salient forms, public and private. In his role as painter, Tagore utilised his *primitive* art inspired artistic vocabulary to explore the unconscious workings of his mind, whereas in his role as an educational activist, he promoted his rurally located college in Santiniketan as a centre for anti-colonial resistance based on a *primitivist*[12] rejection of British

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[12] Primitivism can be understood as the idealisation of pre-modern modes of existence by exponents of Industrial and typically western societies. Indian primitivism nuances this account, since within the context of India, primitivism functioned as a mode of resistance to 'colonial-capitalist cultural domination' (2008, p.541). Indeed, Mitter expands this point further when he states that 'it [primitivism] enabled them to construct their

imperialism. Paradoxically, it was his more private artistic concerns that much of his audience encountered. Though at this juncture it should be noted that for all the various complaints of this nature, one of the reasons that Tagore is not as well known in Britain stems from his very public denouncement of the Amritsar Massacre otherwise known as the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, which took place in 1919, an event which saw British soldiers under the command of Colonel Reginald Dyer open fire on a crowd which had congregated in Jallianwala, Amritsar, Punjab.

Tagore's establishment of the Santiniketan college in 1921 the same year that Gandhi launched his non-cooperation movement and just two years after the formation of the Bauhaus, also demand further reflection. Mitter explains that 'Tagore the reformer of education was very different from Tagore the universalist painter. In 1909, in his seminal essay, he portrayed the Indian village as the very antithesis of the colonial city. His environmental primitivism was to be realised through his holistic educational experiments at his Visva Bharati in rural Santiniketan in the 1920's' (2007, p.78). Mitter is keen to assert the similarity between Santiniketan and the Bauhaus:

> The poet's pedagogic ideology had remarkable parallels with the Bauhaus movement, even as its driving force was a critique of Western urban colonialism based on ancient Indian thought. In a letter dated 1921 the artist Oskar Schlemmer remarked on the existence of two separate ideological strands at Bauhaus, a form of primitivism that drew inspiration from Eastern 'spirituality' versus commitment to progress and technology. Tagore showed little interest in Bauhaus reform of industrial design, but he must have responded to Kandinsky's search for an alternative spiritual expression and Johannes von Itten's mystical approach to art. (ibid, p.79).

Yet it was not simply the spirituality of the individuals involved in the Bauhaus that forces the parallels between these respective institutions but in the commonality between Tagore's and Walter Gropius's educational techniques:

> He shared Gropius's ideas about the individual's place in the wider environment. The architect was less mystical than Itten, but there are telling parallels between Tagore's educational ideals of 'integrated life', and Gropius's dislike of 'mechanized work', his

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resistance to urban Industrial capitalism and the ideology of progress, the cornerstone of colonial Empires' (ibid, p.542).

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insistence on individual creativity and allegiance to the Deutscher Werkbund ideal of communal art, as expounded in *The Theory and Organization of the Bauhaus* (ibid, p.79).

Gropius' modernism can be regarded as being from the critical strand, contra the Futurists, which was alarmed by the shock of the (urban) new. Furthermore, that this more spiritually orientated version of modernism shared affinities with a more agrarian culture's similar horror to the colonial articulation of modernity in India.

It should also be noted that Tagore hired the Austrian modernist art historian Stella Kramrisch (1896—1993), who taught at the Santiniketan for two years between 1922-1924. This is significant, not only because it signifies Tagore's modernist sensibility, but also because once again it arguably demonstrates the poet as belonging to a transnational cohort. Indeed, to convey the extent of Tagore's reputation and his ability to have an agency within this transnational cohort, the writing of W.G. Archer is helpful, who stated that by the mid-1920s 'he [Tagore] had been recognised for thirty years as possibly the greatest Bengali writer who had ever lived, and an aura of greatness seemed to surround everything he said or did' (1959, p.52). Despite the derisory comments made about Tagore's nephew Gaganendranath, Archer discusses Tagore in glowing terms, indicating that when Kramrisch joined Tagore in the Bengali countryside this was not a bizarre or inexplicable decision, but a conscious choice to participate in an educational experiment led by a globally respected artistic figure.

Nandalal Bose at Santiniketan

To consider the extent to which Tagore was not at all an isolated exponent of an otherwise non-existent culture of modernism in India, it is prudent to consider the educational and artistic practice of Nandalal Bose (1882-1966). Bose was not only a celebrated pioneer of modernism in India, but also the principal of the Kala Bhavan (or Faculty of Art) at Santiniketan. As a devout disciple of Mahatma Gandhi and strongly committed to establishing a non-hierarchical artistic community in Santiniketan, Bose could be regarded as compensating for Tagore's perceived faults, for example, his lack of direct political engagement and his ambivalence towards the caste system. Tasked with devising an artistic curriculum for Santiniketan, Bose did not completely repudiate European artistic training, but instead carefully amalgamated a range of influences which were respectful of the incumbent Indian nationalism. However, his

intelligent negotiation of coloniality enabled him to discerningly embrace certain (though arguably not exclusively) European practices:

> Nandalal's curriculum was quite eclectic; he was prepared to accept even colonial art teaching, including scientific anatomy, which had been anathema to the orientalists, if it helped artistic progress. However, as a concession to them, he devised schematic 'stick' figures to work out naturalist poses rather than using nude models, at the same time introducing vigorous life studies of animals. By the 1930s, however, Nandalal was forced to introduce a more conventional curriculum, including Renaissance art, after his failure to ensure competent levels of art training. Students were also encouraged to draw the scantily clad Santal women at work to understand the body in movement. (ibid, p.80)

It should briefly be acknowledged that the reference to the indigenous Santal population, which is certainly not unproblematic, but will not be explored within the context of this chapter. However, it should be noted that for individuals such as Bose, middle class artists from urban centres such as Calcutta or Kolkata, that perhaps the dynamic that existed was akin to the relation between Gauguin and his Tahitian subjects. Furthermore, that such Indian artists had their own process of self-definition though the creation of a more 'primitive' 'other'. This in turn could suggest that there was a global, non-geographically specific or de-territorialised tendency during this stage of modernity to use in various ways, pre-industrial or pre-urban ways of life and associated artefacts as a source of inspiration. However, the nature of this similarity is ambiguous, as we know, the construction of a primitive past is part of the teleology of European modernism. Equally, since Romanticism there has been a strand of primitivism which has entailed the idealisation of pre-modern modes of existence, of which Gauguin is a prime example. With Bose and the Santals, there is perhaps a related process at work, but it is distinct, especially when we remember that the idealisation of the 'rural' in pre-independence Indian arts, was firmly located in a rejection of British Imperialism.

Bose, much like Tagore, was known for his friendship with the international cohort associated with Santiniketan:

> Nandalal's growing openness to Western art, shunned by the orientalists, can be partly explained by his symbiotic relationship with Tagore and his friendship with the small international contingent at the university, the political activist Charles Freer Andrews,

the Orientalist Sylvain Lévi, the art historian Stella Kramrisch, the artist Andrée Karpelès and the urban theorist Patrick Geddes. Among these, Kramrisch's presence was decisive in introducing Western art history at Santiniketan (ibid, p.81)

Whilst politically axiomatic, Bose's artistic plurality can be regarded as synthesising a disparate range of influence and creating the foundations for the next generation of modernists, including artists such as Ramkinkar Baij (ibid, p.81). Furthermore, his willingness to embrace differing flows of cultural influence, can be regarded as demonstrative of a certain form of collaborative modernism at work.

Amrita Sher-Gil's Indo-European modernism

Described variously as a 'Kafkaesque outsider' (Mitter, 2007, p.58) and as a saviour of Indian art, Sher-Gil (1913-1941) made a formidable contribution to Indian art despite her relatively short-life, which traversed cultural and artistic boundaries. She was the daughter of Umrao Singh Sher-Gil Majithia 'Sikh nobleman, scholar of Sanskrit and amateur photographer' (ibid, p.47) and Marie Antionette Gottesman, an opera singer from Budapest. Sher-Gil was born on January 30th, 1913 in Budapest. Her initial eight years were spent in this city and the subsequent eight years in India. At the age of sixteen, she enrolled at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière in Paris, and subsequently trained with Post-Impressionist painter Lucien Simon at the École des Beaux-Arts (Mitter, 2007, p.47). The transcultural nature of her artistic identity was further expanded by spending her summers in Budapest, during which she associated with leading writers and artists. Furthermore, she also spent time with exponents of Hungarian neo-Impressionism.

However, despite this apparently cosmopolitan European lifestyle, Sher-Gil was drawn to return to India by a melancholic vision of a rural winter scene:

> I began to be haunted by an intense longing to return to India, feeling in some strange inexplicable way that there lay my destiny as a painter," she wrote. And added: "It was the vision of a winter in India-desolate, yet strangely beautiful-of endless tracks of luminous yellow-grey land, of dark bodied, sad faced, incredibly thin men and women, who move silently looking almost like silhouettes, and over which an indefinable melancholy reigns (Iqbal Singh, 1977, p.213).

Correspondingly, she perceived her artistic mission thus:

> To interpret the life of Indians, particularly the poor Indians, pictorially; to paint those silent images of infinite submission and patience, to depict their angular brown bodies, strangely beautiful in their ugliness; to reproduce on canvas the impression of their sad eyes created on me; to interpret them with a new technique, my own technique that transfers what might otherwise appeal on a plane that is emotionally cheap to the plane which transcends it, and yet conveys something to the spectator, who is aesthetically sensitive enough to receive the sensation. (ibid, p.210).

Sher Gil's *Hill Men and Woman* (1935) fig. 10, demonstrates Mitter's observation that the artist's representation of rural India stemmed from four separate aspects of her creative subjectivity: the assimilation of Hungarian neo-impressionism, the post-impressionism of Gauguin, the Buddhist art of the Ajanta Caves and an interest in what Mitter refers to as Colourism (2007, p.55). This can be seen in the following ways: Firstly, the painting has a discernible frieze like quality which is not only evocative of the flattening of form associated with Gauguin but also the paintings and relief sculptures found in the Ajanta Caves. It is noteworthy that Gauguin himself was known for his use of Buddhist art as a visual stimulus, for example, the stone carved frieze sculptures from the temple of Borobudur, in Bali, Indonesia (Thomson, 1997, p.145). Secondly, the use of colour can be regarded as attempting to engender the optic experience of the scene albeit in a slightly stylised manner, indicating not only neo-impressionism, but also Sher-Gil's colourism; the subdued tones used arguably anchor the piece into a modernist context.

Fig. 10. Amrita Sher-Gil, *Hill Men and Women*, 1935, Courtesy of Mia Araujo. (http://www.art-by-mia.com/aoc/2018/6/11/artists-of-color-amrita-sher-gil).

Transcultural Modernist Architecture in India Prior to 1947.

Fig. 11. Surendranath Kar, Santiniketan, 1930's, Copyright Ayetree Gupta. (www.ayetreegupta.com/internationalisms-regionalisms).

Based on the prevalent perception that there were no suitable Indian architects present or available at the time of the Chandigarh commission, one could easily be for forgiven for assuming that prior to 1947, twentieth century Indian architecture was virtually non- existent. However, Amit Srivastava and Peter Scriver's publication *India* demonstrates that the vestiges of what would take a more pronounced articulation in the form of Chandigarh, were already present in India prior to 1947. That is to say that there were numerous modernist architects working in India, prior to the arrival of Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew.

As has been previously discussed Tagore's retreat to the hills was predicated on a desire to create a space removed from the oppressive coloniality of late Raj India, that was founded upon holistic and environmentally orientated principles, whereby practically equipped and creatively empowered Indian artists could be produced. This significant attempt to revitalise arts education in India resulted in the creation of the Visva Bharati University in Santiniketan in 1921, shortly after the formation of the Bauhaus in Weimar (Scriver and Srivastava, 2015, p.91). This was the culmination of not only Tagore's personal trajectory as a politically motivated educationist, but of his family's wider involvement in anti-colonial resistance, as

Scriver and Srivastava observe:

> As early as the 1870s the Tagores had been among the Bengali elite who had begun to challenge economically and exploitative trading policies by prudentially producing and consuming only local crafts and goods. By the turn of the twentieth century the neo-orientalist aesthetic and cultural focus of subsequent generations of artists and intellectuals associated with the wealthy clan had served to ennoble the notion of *Swadeshi* or home craft, as a broader, more holistic metaphor for self-help and autonomous development in spite of the continuing colonial presence (Ibid, p.91).

It perhaps goes without saying that this ground-breaking new educational establishment would require new buildings that it could inhabit and thrive in. The responsibility for designing the new buildings for Tagore's project fell to Surendranath Kar, the cousin of Nandalal Bose and the subsequent recipient of commissions from The Theosophical Society in Madras (now Chennai) and the Sarabhai family in Gujrat (ibid, p.93). In the context of collaborative modernism, Theosophy is a primary example of the transcultural exchange of ideas, synthesising a disparate range of influences spanning the occult, the Kabala and other 'Eastern' systems of thought. Broadly, Theosophy is a cosmological system devised by Madame Blavatsky (1831-1891) (Kaplan and Manso, 1977, p.250), who founded the Theosophical Society in 1875. As outlined throughout this thesis, collaborative modernism argues that modernism has always been a set of transcultural flows. Artists such as Marc, Mondrian and Kandinsky were very much inspired by Theosophy and this aspect of collaborative modernism will be further contemplated in Chapter Five, especially in relation to Le Corbusier's Enamel Gate. Ostensibly, we can say that Kar went from one embodiment of transcultural exchange to another.

The structures created for Santiniketan (Fig.11&12) can be perceived as a synthesis of Kar's aesthetic sensibility which had been cultivated through extensive travel not only in India but in Asia and Europe also, a pan-Asian neo-orientalism, and an architectural expression of *Swadeshi*. Scriver and Srivastava highlight Kar's *Shyamali House* (1935) (Fig.12), which was a mud construction that:

> Harked to simpler, ephemeral structures associated with village life in ancient Vedic times, as these had been depicted in Buddhist carvings and caves. Intended as Tagore's final dwelling in his old age, this coarse yet symbolically self-possessed

little structure spoke directly to the Swadeshi ideals and practices that both Tagore and Mohandas had come to stand for by this time, as doyens of the resistance to colonial rule (ibid, pp. 92-3).
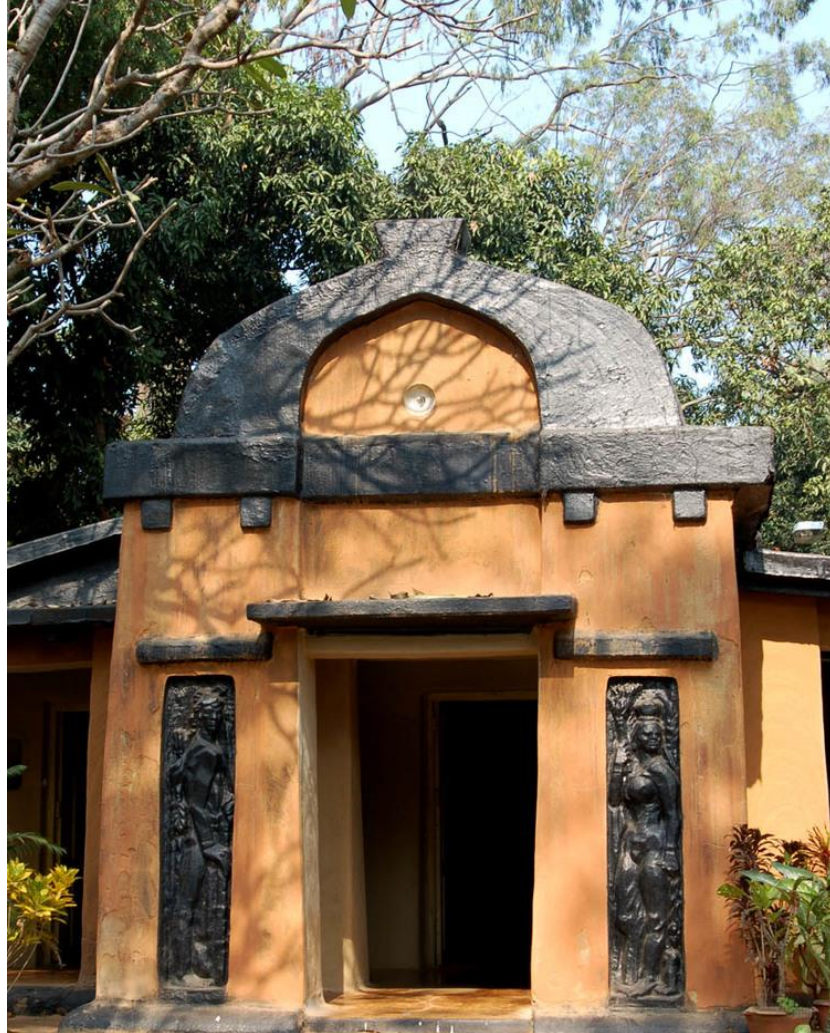
Fig. 12. Surendranath Kar, *Shyamali House*, 1935, (http://www.atreyeegupta.com/internationalisms-regionalisms/q2985tz1gbv6s2lmrpk20pcul8gj3g)

One could assert that a simple mud-hut in the Bengali countryside hardly constitutes a thriving body of Indian architecture, yet given the status of Kar's subsequent commissions and the range of influences called upon for the buildings at Santiniketan, one might more optimistically view *Shyamali House* as the result of an artist-builder self-consciously invoking this Vedic inspired structure as an embodiment of Indian identity and cultural resistance.

Anglo-Indian Collaborative Modernism

Scriver and Srivastava observe that architectural training was only formalised in the UK in 1892, with Professor Banister Fletcher's three-year architectural course at Kings College London (ibid. p.96), followed by The University of Liverpool's full-time degree course in 1901. John Begg and George Willet started the delivery of architectural training in India, the latter initiating the four-year course at the Sir Jamsethji Jibibhai School of Art (J.J. School), Bombay, in 1908. The course was recognised by RIBA in 1920 and fully accredited by 1929. The J.J. School and its subsequent graduates were to exert a significant impact in the development of the architectural profession in India, for example, through the formation of The Indian Institute of Architects. The J.J. School recruited staff such as Claude Batley from Gregson, Batley and King, one of the most significant architectural practices in Bombay and India at large (ibid, p.99). Crucially, as Scriver and Srivastava observe:

> Claude Batley maintained the principled view that the architecture of modern India had to be rooted in its own context, not least in the rich architectural legacies of India's past. But no more, in his view, should faddish modern styles be imported slavishly from elsewhere, or an authentic contemporary architecture be generated merely by mimicking traditional styles and historical precedents in an equally uncritical manner (ibid, p.99).

The graduates produced by the school not only came to inhabit the Public Works Department but also private architectural firms, such as Batley's GBK, and a symbiotic relationship soon developed. Although the initial offerings of such firms reflected the incumbent colonial architectural vernacular, subsequent buildings such as *The Bank of India Building* (Mumbai, 1944), can be viewed as an Anglo-Indian collaboration:

> A generic classical schema and planning rationale continued to provide the syntax, but semantics were now given over almost entirely to Indian content and style. This project was primarily the work of the newer Indian partners in the firm, the first of whom, Kumar Ramsinh, had been admitted in 1938- and seems to have reflected a gentlemanly accord within the practice that their transparently hybrid and collaborative architectural output should represent the mutual interest and respect that was embodied in their professional partnership and the ideal that evidently they

shared, that a modern 'Anglo- Indian' cultural fusion was feasible and sustainable' (ibid, pp100-101).

It is striking to note that there was a precedent for a critical articulation of modern architecture and the Indian vernacular, devised in a transcultural dialogue between British and Indian architects, in a manner which prefigures the relationship shared by Pierre Jeanneret and his Indian collaborators such as Jeet Malhotra; that a type of collaborative modernism existed in India prior to the commissioning of Chandigarh.

Otto Koenigsberger and Collaborative Modernism

Otto Koenigsberger arrived in India- via Egypt- in 1939 as a Jewish exile from Nazi Germany to work as an architect for the Maharaja of Mysore in southern India (modern day Karnataka) in the capacity of Mysore State Architect, though he would eventually work throughout India. During his time in India his output was prolific, as Kalia notes:

> Koenigsberger was also known to Nehru, having been engaged in several developmental projects in India, including the planning of Orissa's new capital Bhubaneshwar and serving as a consultant for Faridabad near Delhi. The blueprint for the other major post-independence urban settlement, Gandhidham in Gujarat, had also been prepared by Koenigsberger in consultation with the Americans Frederick Adams and Roland Greeley (1999, p.25).

Koenigsberger was a friend of Albert Mayer the architect initially given the Chandigarh commission; it should also be noted that Koenigsberger was briefly considered for the Punjabi state capital. In the transnational and transcultural context of modernism in India, Koenigsberger can be seen as a bridge between the pre- and post-Independence period and was connected to key individuals within the story of Chandigarh. Indeed, between 1948 and 1951 he worked for the India government and within his office worked Jeet Malhotra, who would eventually join the team of young Indian architects that worked alongside Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew. As Jeet Malhotra recounts:

> I was aware of the whole project [Chandigarh] and the pace of work because at the time I was working part-time with the town and country planner, Dr. Otto

Koenigsberger, Secretary Housing, Government of India and his Delhi Office. Mayer and Nowicki used to come there to use the facilities for correcting the plans which were prepared in New York. Often, I was assigned the duty of correcting the drawings of the master plan (2000, p.339).

Through this anecdote, Malhotra not only reveals the interconnectedness of the transcultural milieu present in India during the late 1940s and early 1950s, but simultaneously makes an indirect claim to having the most longstanding involvement in the Chandigarh project, pre-dating any other European or Indian architect that would eventually work on the design of the city.

Conclusion

It has been demonstrated that modernism in India had a variety of expressions between 1922 and 1947, the consideration of Tagore, Bose, Sher-Gil, Surendranath Kar, GBK and Otto Koenigsberger, both providing evidence of transcultural modernism and destabilising certain Eurocentric assumptions that pervade modernist discourse, for example that it was the unique genius of European artists to perceive the emancipatory qualities of non-western art. Furthermore, with huge resonance to this thesis, the notion that modernism parachuted onto the Punjabi Plains on the back of the white-male-genius- Le Corbusier who heroically arrived to solve the architectural and urban planning dilemmas of Post-Independence India, can be viewed with appropriate disregard. By the time that Le Corbusier has arrived in 1951, there has been longstanding practise of modernism in India for over a quarter of a century. As the final anecdote reveals or perhaps exemplifies, there were young capable modernists active in India prior to the arrival of Le Corbusier, Jane Drew, Maxwell Fry and Pierre Jeanneret. The question that must now be engaged with is the extent to which these young Indian architects were able to collaborate with the aforementioned European cohort in the design and construction of Chandigarh. This question will be considered in Chapter Five, but first I will proceed to establish what can be learned about Chandigarh's Indian architects from institutions devoted to the city's architectural history.

Chapter Four: Chandigarh's Institutional and Emerging Counter Narratives.

Introduction

This thesis, as stated earlier in the introduction, has benefitted immensely from being situated in the Centre for Critical Theory and the wider context of the School of Cultures, Languages and Area Studies. During my annual WIP (work in progress paper) paper, a fellow PhD researcher posed the question of *"Why did I think the role of the Indian architects that had contributed to the design of Chandigarh, have been excluded by dominant narratives that surrounded the city?"* As a result of this question during reflection was given to whether a well-rounded more inclusive history of Chandigarh that incorporated the contribution of the Indian architects, existed in India, and whether this could be encountered in the institutions in India specifically devoted to Chandigarh's architectural history. The research for this chapter was conducted during my two research trips to Chandigarh in 2017 and emerged from the notes taken during multiple visits. Although my academic training has not overtly included museum studies, this work nonetheless seemed crucial to the development of my thesis. This is because the chapter can be regarded as an exploration of Chandigarh's evolving self-representation by considering narratives about the city found in India. It has been situated at this point in the thesis, since this is no longer the terrain of literature review, but a consideration of whether or not there is a confluence between narratives in India and Eurocentric accounts of the city, necessitating museum-based investigation. However, this chapter can be regarded as a continuation of Chapter Two, in the respect that it aims to establish the state of knowledge on Chandigarh's Indian contribution, with a view to more confidently assert the need for the intervention of collaborative modernism in the architectural history of Chandigarh.

Accordingly, this chapter will examine the narratives of the city's design and construction presented by both The Le Corbusier Centre and The City Architecture Museum (Chandigarh). The remit of these respective institutions can be regarded as distinct from one another. The Le Corbusier Centre, is devoted to the preservation of Le Corbusier's cultural legacy in Chandigarh, as the institution's website explains:

The Centre displays and exhibits the life and works of Le Corbusier, so that tourists and future generations may be able to acquaint themselves with the rich cultural heritage of the city.

The main aim of the Centre would be preservation, interpretation, research, display of the works and legacy of Le Corbusier. (Le Corbusier Centre, 2020)

It is intriguing to note that The Le Corbusier Centre is run by the municipal tourist board, while The City Architecture Museum is the concern of Chandigarh municipal museums, especially since both are under the directorship of architectural historian Deepika Gandhi. The City Architecture Museum, aims to provide visitors with a broader overview of the making of Chandigarh, as the municipal website states:

The Chandigarh Architecture Museum, which was set up in 1997 to document, preserve and showcase rare documents, drawings, sketches and archives etc. pertaining to the making of Chandigarh. The sculptural building designed by architect S.D. Sharma, was adapted from a structure designed by Le Corbusier as an Exhibition Pavilion at Zurich, in 1965- the CITY [architecture] MUSEUM building has been built in concrete. The main cuboid block of the museum is a simple, yet elegant structure in concrete derived from two squares placed at an off set in plan. The striking double roof over the terrace of the main structure is in the form of two pyramids-one upright and the other inverted-over each square. (The City Architecture Museum, 2020)

It is striking to note within the context of collaborative modernism that the building was designed by S.D. Sharma (referenced heavily in the preceding chapter), based on an earlier Le Corbusier structure. Consideration will be given to the extent to which these respective institutions rehabilitate the reputation of the Indian architects that contributed to the design of the city or if they help perpetuate their obscurity. These institutions have been selected because they are the two primary collections devoted entirely to the architectural history of Chandigarh, with no other comparable institutions existing in Chandigarh. Subsequently, attention will be given to the recent efforts of Panjab University and Chandigarh College of Architecture to reinvigorate longstanding calls for serious scholarly investigation into Pierre Jeanneret's contribution to the design of Chandigarh. Finally, consideration will be given to Vikramaditya Prakash's recent architectural guide to Chandigarh which controversially ascribes several significant buildings to Indian architects, previously attributed to either Le Corbusier or

Jeanneret. This chapter could also have included a discussion of The Pierre Jeanneret Museum, founded in 2017. However, when planning my research trip, I was not aware of its existence, this is because the museum is not included on the municipal website, nor does it have its own website (which perhaps speaks for itself). I learned of its existence shortly before my unscheduled departure from India (due to ill health). Equally, in terms of recent scholarship on the city, this chapter might also have included consideration of texts such as *Le Corbusier Rediscovered: Chandigarh and Beyond* (2018), By Deepika Gandhi. However, since The City Architecture Museum and The Le Corbusier Centre are under the directorship of Gandhi, I felt that the inclusion of Prakash's text gave the chapter a sense of balance that might not otherwise have existed; nor did I want the chapter to become a critique of Deepika Gandhi's museum based and academic work on the city.

In 2002 Vikramaditya Prakash's *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in Postcolonial India*, tried to clarify the extent to which the Indian team had contributed to the design of Chandigarh, specifically naming nine architects: M.N. Sharma, A.R. Prabhawalkar, B.P. Mathur, Piloo Moody, U.E. Chowdhury, N.S. Lamba, Jeet Malhotra, J.S. Dethe and Aditya Prakash (2002). Additionally, the importance of Chief Engineer P.L. Verma and Administrator Prem Thapar, was conveyed. Whilst the latter individuals had been discussed in previous publications such as Ravi Kalia's *Chandigarh: The Making of an Indian City* and Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga's *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints on the Sands of Indian Architecture* (2000), Prakash's gesture of beginning to articulate the extent of the Indian involvement was unprecedented. Following Prakash's lead, subsequent scholarship from individuals such as Iain Jackson, Manish Chalana and Tyler. S. Sprague has reinforced the legitimacy of this list of nine Indian architects. However, this chapter seeks to explore whether Indian architects that contributed to the design of the city remain invisible in the Institutional narratives within Chandigarh's municipal museums. This chapter seeks to understand if the invisibility of the Indian architects in Anglophone Euro-American scholarship is the consequence of a knowledge transfer issue, e.g. that a more inclusive narrative exists in India that just hasn't permeated into international scholarship, or if there is a confluence between Indian narratives and Eurocentric accounts of the city. Furthermore, I wish to investigate the extent to which there are consonances and dissonances between these institutional narratives and the scholarship of Vikramaditya Prakash, Ravi Kalia and the Bahga's on Chandigarh and the question of Indian agency that is so central to the concept of collaborative modernism.

The methodological coordinates of this chapter have been informed by *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures and Exhibitions* (2012) edited by Suzanne MacLeod, Laura Hourston Hanks and Jonathan Hale. Within their co-authored introduction to the text *Museum Making-The Place of Narrative*, the editors-with great relevance to the concept of collaborative modernism- problematise the function of narratives within museums

> In museums, narrative has come to be associated, negatively, with 'top-down', macro histories; linear interpretive frameworks which present a dominant version of history, silencing the experiences and values of others in the process (2012).

This critique, that narratives are self-evidently human constructs dependent on an editorial process that perpetuates certain perspectives and stories at the expense of others, is subsequently expanded. As MacLeod, Hanks and Hale observe

> In so many cases the inherently fragmentary, complex and ambiguous nature of life itself and its incomplete and sometimes inconvenient stories is suppressed in the name of, at best clarity, and at worst, control (2012, pxxii).

These observations are pertinent to the discussions around collaborative modernism, since it could be extrapolated from this, that the respective institutions considered in this chapter, rather than addressing the imbalances that collaborative modernism seeks to address, could actually re-enforce them. As stated in the two preceding chapters, the notion of collaborative modernism entails the use of post-colonial theory's critique of modernism's Eurocentrism. This engagement has two strands, one being the inherent teleology associated with modernism which upholds in temporal terms, a single straight line of modernity's development, with Europe at its pinnacle and the rest of the world playing catch up (as highlighted in Chapter Three). The other salient strand of the osmosis between collaborative modernism and post-colonial theory, is that the Orient is nothing more than a Western discursive construction, which functions as a building block for arguing that modernism was a globally decentred phenomenon. Ostensibly, the problematic that emerges in relation to these respective collections, is whether they reinforce this linear spatialised history or reinforce it. Part of achieving this endeavour would entail presenting evidence of the Indian architects that worked in the design of Chandigarh and their collaboration with the European team which has not been given the attention that it deserves. Whilst The City Architecture Museum and The Le Corbusier Centre, for example, might begin to cohesively account for the roles of the Indian

architects, town-planners and engineers that contributed to the city, it is equally possible that they continue to perpetuate their obscurity, and in turn this linear spatialised narrative associated with modernism.

Whilst it is important to maintain a critical perspective on the narratives found within the museums discussed, this chapter also shares the optimism for the potential for narratives within institutional settings. In the specific context of this chapter, this optimism is related to the ability of storytelling within the museum environment to make discursive interventions into sedimented, naturalised and canonical narratives. MacLeod, Hanks and Hale indicate the significant potentiality of museums as interpretive environments and their strength as conveyors of narratives. This ability is facilitated by their multidimensionality and the interplay between the architectural, spatial and the textual. From a methodological perspective, these respective elements will also be considered in relation to The City Architecture Museum, The Le Corbusier Centre and the recent Jeanneret commemorations held between Panjab University and Chandigarh College of Architecture. It will be interesting to consider the extent to which the museum offers information that might facilitate a more nuanced micro-historical perspective on the city, that might in turn displace the centrality of Le Corbusier from wider macro-historical narratives about the city.

The City Architecture Museum.

To start this consideration of the institutionally endorsed narratives that can be found in Chandigarh's museums, attention should first be given to The City Architecture Museum, and the extent to which it complicates Le Corbusier dominated narrative of the city's creation. Also, in more general terms the narrative presented by this institution will be critically interrogated. The permanent collection which populates this institution was installed in 1997, in commemoration of India's independence and remains largely unchanged to this day[13]. This in itself is highly intriguing, since it is not clear why the institution has not sought to engage with developments in scholarships on the city. It could be suggested that the hegemonic status of this narrative has seemingly been isolated from debate, evoking the sense of a grand and unchanging narrative. This consideration of the museum will reflect the spatiality of the museum itself, in keeping with the methodological concerns of this chapter, I will reflect on

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[13] This was verified via email correspondence with the Director of the Museum, Deepika Gandhi (27/05/19).

the spatialization of the narrative found within this institution. Accordingly, I will commence with the basement of the building.

From a critical spatial perspective, upon entering the museum, we encounter a highly instructive introduction provided by the museum in the form of a wall text. The author of the text is architectural historian Rajnish Wattas, who recently co-authored *Le Corbusier Rediscovered: Chandigarh and Beyond* (2018), with Deepika Gandhi, the director of The City Architecture Museum. The Wattas text describes and summarises the various sections that the visitor will encounter on their visit to the museum. Wattas, perhaps with a sensitivity to spatial concerns, refers to how the entrance takes the visitor into the basement of the museum, whereupon the trauma of partition and the necessity of Chandigarh's construction is contextualised. Subsequently, we learn that we will discover how Chandigarh's site was selected, and the site's topography, vegetation and archaeology. The museum endeavours, as Wattas highlights, to explore the first team of architects/planners, e.g. the American team led by Albert Mayer and Matthew Nowicki. I have included a section of the Wattas text below in order to provide a sense of the building's spatiality and how the respective exhibits inhabit it, or to put it another way how the spatialisation of the narrative begins:

> One enters the City Museum through a small tube-like stairway at the basement level. It unfolds the displays with the trauma of partition of the country and the necessity to build the new capital city of Chandigarh. The various panels tell the story of the selection of the site- and the accompanying controversies- through rare documents, maps and drawings. The salient features of the site finally chosen such as its topography, existing features of villages, vegetation and archaeological history, provide a fascinating picture of the land- with a panoramic view of the Shivalik hills- to be transformed into the new City. (Rajnish Wattas 'Introduction'. 1997. Wall text. At: The Chandigarh City Architecture Museum).

The exhibits focus on the selection of the first team of architects and planners, i.e. the American team comprising Albert Mayer and Matthew Nowicki. Evocative sketches, studies and drawings prepared by the American team show the pioneering work they did in evolving the first Master Plan and a schematic architectural idiom for the new capital city. Of particular interest are the broad similarities between the city's first Master Plan prepared by Albert Mayer and the final one modified by Le Corbusier, which was highlighted earlier in Chapter Two, when discussing the observations of Von Moos on Chandigarh. The institution presents a

narrative about the city that is not entirely focused on Le Corbusier. However, this minimal gesture which complicates the centrality of Le Corbusier in the narratives that surround the city is not sufficient for collaborative modernism. This is primarily because this does nothing to subvert the idea that Chandigarh's modernism was imposed, since it merely points out an American input that preceded the European team. By way of further clarification, it is important not to conflate anything that slightly displaces Le Corbusier, with collaborative modernism. There is a spatial ambiguity in the curatorial gesture of placing Mayer at the beginning of the institutional narrative. Arguably, on the one hand, the decision to include Mayer (and Nowicki) seems significant, since although architectural historians such as Von Moos have highlighted the importance of the Mayer plan as early as 1977, Jeet Malhotra still found it necessary in 2000 to put on record, the contribution that the American team had made. Whereas, including Mayer on the lower ground floor, spatially suggests that the American occupies a place in the basement of Chandigarh's history. This is an example of how the spatiality of the building conspires with the text and implies a certain curatorial analysis of Mayer's significance. Mayer's insertion into the museum's hierarchical spatial arrangement ultimately implies a value-judgement. Regardless of this ambiguity (or potential lack of), let us consider the information presented. The accompanying exhibition text elaborates on the plan provided by Mayer and his team. As the wall text informs us:

Mayer drew his inspiration for Chandigarh from a number of residential projects, such as Stein's Baldwin Hills in Los Angeles, California. This was, in turn, influenced by the Garden City Movement in England prevalent in the late 19th century. Conceived by Ebeneezer Howard, Garden Cities sought to "counteract the disadvantages of the sprawling industrial towns by creating self-sufficient cities restricted in the size and surrounded by green belts, which would have the advantages of both town and country" (1997. Wall Text 'Albert Mayer'. At: The Chandigarh City Architecture Museum). Below, we find an example of the text expounding the contributions of the Mayer team:

> The master plan as conceived by Mayer and Nowicki assumed a fan shaped outline spreading gently to fill out the site between the two seasonal riverbeds. At the head of the plan was the capital area, the seat of government, and the City Centre was located in the heart of the city. Two linear parklands can be noticed running continuously from the northeast head of the plan. To its southwestern tip, a curving network of main roads surrounded the neighbourhood units called Superblocks. The first phase of the city was

to be developed on the north-eastern side to accommodate 150,000 residents and the second phase on the southwestern side for another 350,000 people (ibid)

However, The City Architecture Museum perpetuates the somewhat historically simplistic narrative that Mayer's involvement with Chandigarh ended abruptly with the death of Matthew Nowicki. Whilst this is the accepted historical narrative, as highlighted in Chapter Two, architectural historians such as Ravi Kalia have nuanced this account of events. Furthermore, as Maxwell Fry's text Le *Corbusier at Chandigarh* (1977) demonstrates, Mayer was still endeavouring to exert influence on proceedings in early 1951 (which was following the formation of the new Le Corbusier/Pierre Jeanneret & Maxwell Fry/Jane Drew team).

> The arrival of Corbusier galvanised the situation. We moved down to the Rest House in the lovely village of Chandigarh on the road to Kalkar, where the mountain railway starts for Shimla. Corbusier, Varma [Verma], Jeanneret and myself, and intermittently Thapar were there: Albert Mayer was making his way to us from the South. Without waiting for Mayer to appear Corbusier started on large sheets of paper to approach a plan by a method of rough and ready analysis […] The plan was well advanced by the time that the anxious Albert Mayer joined the group. He must have had an unnerving journey, and he was too upset to make the most of his entry. I found him a high-minded decent man, a little sentimental in his approach, but good humoured; not in any way was he a match for the enigmatic but determined figure of the prophet.
>
> We sat down for lunch in a ready silence broken by Jeanneret saying to Mayer, "Vous parlez francaise, monsieur?" to which Mayer responded "Oui, musheer, je parle", a polite but ill-fated rejoinder that cut him out of all discussion that followed (Fry, 1977).

Regarding the exhibits relating to Mayer, it is noteworthy that the information lacks the historical nuance provided by Kalia and Fry, which has yet to be fully acknowledged or addressed. The curators have opted to include these exhibits and Wattas has sought to bring them to the visitor's attention, however, given their position within the spatial hierarchy implicit within the structure of the building, Mayer's contribution cannot be described as having significant emphasis. Ostensibly, rather than displacing Le Corbusier's centrality, including Mayer and the American team, does little more than prop up the grand narrative that ensues in relation to Le Corbusier. Ostensibly, Mayer's contribution has been spatialised to the basement of Chandigarh's history.

Key Figures in the Chandigarh Story.

Here, key Indian figures from the Chandigarh story are introduced- with a great deal of brevity- in the museum's basement. There is also a plaque entitled 'Significant Personalities who shaped the making of Chandigarh'. These individuals were as follows 'Gopi Chand Bargava, Chief Minister of Punjab. (15.8.1947-13.4.1949 & 18.10.1949), Bhim Sen Sachar, Chief Minister of Punjab. (13.4.1949-18.10.1949 & 17.4.1952- 23.11.1956), Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India. (15.8.1947-27.5.1964), Partap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab. (23.11.1956-21.6.1964), Dr. M.S. Randhawa, First Commissioner of Chandigarh. (1.11.66-31.10.68), C.P.N. Singh, Governor of Punjab. (11.3.1953-14.9.1958) N.V. Gadgil, Governor of Punjab. (15.9.1958-13.9.1962'. exhibit 150'. (1997. Wall text 'Significant personalities. At: The Chandigarh City Architecture Museum). However, there is little information or context, and their inclusion deserves further clarification and expansion. Regarding the concept of collaborative modernism, it's useful to understand which individuals contributed and to have a chronology of their involvement. However, in a more critical vein, it is also important to note the list-like, entirely factual form of inclusion here, which contrasts dramatically with the animated, almost lyrical inclusion of the Euro-American architects in the text above. Based on these exhibits, it would appear that the institution seems more focused on celebrating the Euro-American contribution than it does presenting evidence of a significant Indian agency in Chandigarh's design and development. Based on the lack of textual elaboration and its positioning within the spatial organisation of the museum, one can extrapolate a curatorial judgement on the significance of these contributions. To put it plainly, these figures sit at the bottom order of hierarchical significance in the museum's narrative about the history of Chandigarh.

Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew.

In addition to these key Indian figures within the context of Chandigarh's development, there are also wall texts on Pierre Jeanneret, Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry. It is noteworthy that despite the importance of each of these respective architects, that they are situated within the *basement* of Chandigarh's history, clearly located as subordinate within the museum's spatial hierarchy. Indeed, in terms of how the narrative has been spatialized, it is noteworthy that

Jeanneret, Fry and Drew are located in the basement or underbelly of Chandigarh's history, which indicates a curatorial value judgment about their overall significance to the making of the city. To commence with the analysis of these plaques, consideration will first be given to the information on Pierre Jeanneret. To begin, with it is salient that Jeanneret's biographical information is anchored in relation to Le Corbusier:

> Pierre Jeanneret was born on 22 March 1898. Like his famous cousin Le Corbusier, he too migrated to France, where the two worked together. In 1949 when Le Corbusier accepted the Punjab governments commission for Chandigarh, his cousin was also prevailed upon to accompany him. He stayed on as Chief Architect and Town Planning Adviser to the Punjab Government until ill health forced him to leave in 1965- long after the other members of the team had returned. (1997. Wall Text 'Pierre Jeanneret'. At: The Chandigarh City Architecture Museum).

Of relevance to the concept of collaborative modernism, the text that describes Jeanneret's contribution seemingly pre-empts literature such as *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints in the Sands of Indian Architecture*. This is because the institution acknowledges that Jeanneret's architectural impact can be felt throughout the city. However, Jeanneret is considered alongside Le Corbusier and does not receive significant mention on the subsequent floor which is mostly reserved for Le Corbusier. Furthermore, the notion that Jeanneret was 'prevailed upon' to join Le Corbusier, implies a subordinate relation, which is hard to overlook. However, it is mentioned that Jeanneret supervised an Indian team, but the members of this team are not named, and this is not mentioned again elsewhere in the museum.

> Jeanneret's stamp is therefore visible all over Chandigarh, not only in the buildings he himself designed, but in those designed by the team of Indian architects which he organised. His influence on housing design was dominant; that schools and other important buildings. He played an important role in the development of the university campus, which houses his "Temple of Truth", the […] Gandhi Bhavan. (1997. Wall Text 'Pierre Jeanneret'. At Chandigarh City Architecture Museum).

Problematically for the concept of collaborative modernism, given the location within the spatial hierarchy within the museum and the fact that neither the role of Jeanneret or the Indian team is given further articulation in the subsequent sections of the museum, it could be perceived that this historical actuality is conveyed as a mere footnote in Chandigarh's dominant narrative. However, it could also be the case that the inclusion of Jeanneret's work and his

collaborations with the Indian team, were limited or circumscribed by the contemporaneous range of research on this subject. However, it is problematic the hegemonic status of this grand narrative which preserves the centrality of Le Corbusier, leads to a curatorial failure to respond to evolving scholarship on the contribution of Pierre Jeanneret and the city more generally.

Equally unhelpful in relation to the concept of collaborative modernism the information on Fry and Drew is not expansive and is largely contextualised within the *origins* of the Chandigarh story. In the previous chapter it was explained that Drew played an important role in persuading Le Corbusier to take the commission and this is referenced. The exhibition text dwells on this:

> In their negotiations with Le Corbusier unresolved, P.N. Thapar and P.L. Verma arrived in London. They called on Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, an architect couple to supervise the execution of the Mayer Plan. Fry was initially reluctant, as they were already committed to projects in West Africa and Britain, but Drew was thrilled, and her enthusiasm prevailed. They were taken on as Senior Architects for a three-year term, on salaries of £3000 each; Fry gave up an annual practice of £40,000 in England […] [when asked about the consequences of] taking Le Corbusier on, Fry said, "Honour and glory for you, and an unpredictable misery for me. But I think it is a noble way out of present difficulties". (1997. Wall Text 'Fry and Drew'. At: The Chandigarh City Architecture Museum).

Furthermore, there are other ways in which the institutional narrative undermines the concept of collaborative modernism. Importantly, although the museum text proceeds to mention the contributions of the Frys to the design of Chandigarh but does not fully elucidate the significance of their role in the design of Sector-22 (which I will discuss in Chapter Six). Equally unhelpful for those seeking further evidence that might support the notion of collaborative modernism, the institutional narrative does not mention, for example, Drew's work with Aditya Prakash including the hospital in Sector-16. The lack of information on the Prakash collaboration is a clear instance of how the institutional narrative fails to convey a sense of Indian agency. The Prakash dimension is centrally relevant to the concept of collaborative modernism, since it shows not only collaboration-which is integral to architecture anyway-but collaboration with an Indian architect.

> Among Fry's works in Chandigarh are the Government Printing Press, The Government College for Girls, Kiran Cinema, the shopping complex in Sector-22, 13-D Housing, the General Hospital in Sector 23. These and others of their works were

influential in the India of their time, and familiar features in the daily life of the city today'. (1997. Wall Text 'Fry and Drew'. At: The Chandigarh City Architecture Museum).

Consequently, not only are Fry and Drew spatialised to the 'basement' of Chandigarh's history, but the historical details of their involvement are far from comprehensive. This thesis will off-set this salient omission in the final chapter.

Le Corbusier.

Let us consider the way in which Le Corbusier is constructed within the narrative structure of The City Architecture Museum. We first encounter Le Corbusier in the *basement*, through wall panel and text. We find biographical detail combined with more subjective claims about the buildings that he designed in Chandigarh, in this lyrical exposition of the architect:

> Charles-Edouard Jeanneret was born in La Chaux-de-Fonds on 6 October 1887 and adopted the pseudonym Le Corbusier.
>
> He was a powerful thinker of urban theories and propagated a bold modern architecture. In 1951 he was appointed Architectural Advisor to the Punjab Government for the designing of Chandigarh. This city represents the expression of his revolutionary ideas and is where his greatest monuments have been erected. (1997. Wall Text 'Le Corbusier'. At: The Chandigarh City Architecture Museum).

Subsequently, moving on from the basement, the middle floor is firmly devoted to Le Corbusier and a thoroughgoing exposition of his architectural principles and work completed in the city, achieved through a range of exhibits- including models of the buildings in Sector-1. There is also *The Edict of Chandigarh*, which is displayed across several wall panels. As the significant text-based exhibit informs us:

> The object of this edict is to enlighten the present and future citizens of Chandigarh about the basic concepts of the city so that they become its guardians and save it from the whims of individuals. (1997. Wall Text 'The Edict of Chandigarh'. At: The Chandigarh City Architecture Museum).

The museum therefore operates as a repository for Le Corbusier's intellectual and architectural 'genius', which according to the logic of this document should be preserved and perpetuated

in subsequent developments within the parameters of the city. This arguably further indicates the hegemonic and unchanging nature of the narrative that it presents.

However, The City Architecture Museum does not necessarily idealise Le Corbusier or the design process as exclusively benevolent or harmonious. The curators have included letters that indicate various frictions amongst the design team. There is a significant letter between Le Corbusier and Jawaharlal Nehru, which can be perceived as achieving at least three functions within the institutional narrative of the museum. Firstly, it indicates that although Le Corbusier is greatly venerated within Chandigarh and its municipal institutions, that he most certainly came up against opposition during the design process:

> I have myself spent hours of anger, indignation and discouragement on the site of the High Court and Secretariat not being able to give my orders myself. I had to transmit them to a Sub-Engineer who himself transmitted them to a higher authority. The effects of these orders were not appreciable till fifteen days later. This is a mistake which should not last and which appeals to common sense to obtain a just reparation of power and responsibilities. (I wish however to say here that in spite of all this I have always met with the utmost kindness in Chandigarh). (1997. Wall Text 'Letter from Le Corbusier to Nehru'. At: The Chandigarh City Architecture Museum).

Secondly, although it was at times necessary for Le Corbusier to contact Nehru, very often it was the hard work and diplomacy of Pierre Jeanneret that navigated these numerous difficulties during the design process. Thirdly, the letter demonstrates that Le Corbusier himself was not averse to acknowledging the incredible contributions made by his cousin. It can also be viewed as tentatively introducing the notion of Jeanneret's huge contribution to the city to the institutionally endorsed narrative of the city, however, it is not signposted as such.

> Yesterday I was informed that the Secretary (Capital) Mr. D.P. Nayar, intends to reduce staff in the Architect's Office of Chandigarh, created and managed by M. Pierre Jeanneret, and finally suppress the Office so as to curtail expenses… When you made your first declaration concerning Chandigarh, in 1951, you said: "Chandigarh must constitute a living school of architecture, a school on the site".

> Things have turned out well (it is not so every day!) thanks to the personality of M. Pierre Jeanneret wo has occupied the post of Senior Architect since February 1951. His

temperament is perfectly adapted to the task set before him. Effectively, he is respected like a father and liked as a brother by the fifty or so young men who have applied to work in the Architects' Office. Pierre Jeanneret by means of his persistent work, his fundamental loyalty and his real capacity, has won over the respect of his staff and of everybody in Chandigarh (ibid).

Its inclusion demonstrates a symbiosis between institutionally endorsed narrative and emerging trajectories within Indian research on Chandigarh and the growing need to recognise Jeanneret-signified by texts such as and Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga's *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints on the Sands of Indian Architecture*, which was published shortly after the installation of the museum's permanent collection. The respect and admiration held for Jeanneret will be given further consideration in Chapters Five in the context of my discussion relating to Aditya Prakash's account of working with the architect. Additionally, an entire case study will be devoted to Jeanneret, in the Chapter Six.

Upper Floor of The City Architecture Museum

Intriguingly, some of the exhibits that are of the greatest interest to the concept of collaborative modernism, are almost hidden away. For example, on the upper floor there is a relatively non-descript cabinet on the edge of the museum floor, beyond which one can see the level below. It could easily be bypassed and contains photocopied articles from various contributors, including Maxwell Fry, Le Corbusier and Dr. M.S. Randhawa, all of which were published in a special edition of the *Hindu Times*, 7th October 1953- exclusively devoted to Chandigarh. It is important to consider the respective articles entitled 'A Plan Takes Shape' (1953) by Maxwell Fry and 'Ideal Homes for All' (1953) by P.N. Thapar, not least because of their contradictory claims and how this intersects with emergent research trajectories on Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew in Chandigarh. Maxwell Fry states:

At Chandigarh, we took pains to find out the needs of the people, interviewing on several occasions' groups of Government officials and their wives, drawn from the grades for which we were building. Very particular views were expressed, but they were varied. It was not always the talkative ones that voiced the common opinion, and as between young officials and old officials there was disagreement, upon quite vital

issues concerning habits and customs and as between husbands and wives not always a perfect agreement on matters concerning the running of a house. (1997. Photocopied Newspaper Article. 'A Plan Takes Shape'. At: The Chandigarh City Architecture Museum).

The photocopied article is confusing and presents the question: who is Fry referring to when he states we? Does he mean the entire team or is he simply referring to himself and Jane Drew, in relation to this endeavour of consulting end-users? This matter seems ambiguous, but it is possible to gain clarification from Iain Jackson, who in his 2012 article, cites Fry as stating:

> we developed Sector-22, Jane and I, working as none of the others did, directly with the shopkeepers, the cinema owner and all the others concerned… (Jackson, 2013, p.11).

This claim becomes interesting when considered in relation to Thapar's article 'Ideal Homes for All' which discusses the government housing scheme for peons, junior and senior clerks. The process that Fry states was unique to his and Drew's practise, appears to have been a municipal initiative and in no way isolated to the two British architects.

> The obvious decision was to ask each group to elect 10 representatives for discussing their requirements. The suggestion was received with enthusiasm and each group elected a team of 10 representatives. Each team was interviewed by the architects […] These interviews with the representatives of the various groups were a source of great interest and illumination. What was only vaguely known to us before was brought pointedly to our notice. (1997. Wall Text 'Ideal Home'. At: The Chandigarh City Architecture Museum).

Furthermore, the in-depth analysis of these consultations provided in Thapar's article displayed at the museum demonstrates a thorough-going engagement with the consultation process. For example:

> We saw vividly how different environments influenced different sociologies, and how the Punjabi of a later generation was breaking away from the old standards. Peons from peaceful districts like Kangra, Hoshiarpur and Pathankot preferred glazed doors and glazed windows whereas peons from turbulent districts like Amritsar, Ferozepur and Ludhiana asked for iron bars in all external openings. Peons from law abiding districts

did not insist on high compound walls and preferred more money to be spent on the house. Peons from violent districts wanted high compound walls with broken glass pieces stuck at the top to prevent intruders from jumping over. Only after it was repeatedly explained to them that Chandigarh was neither Ferozepur, nor Ludhiana, nor Kangra, that it was going to be adequately policed, that their neighbours would be mostly from their own category, that it was possible to obtain approval on the two types that were finally selected (1997. Wall Text 'Ideal Homes'. At: The Chandigarh City Architecture Museum).

Documents found in the Randhawa Papers (discussed in the next chapter) also demonstrate that consultations with end-users had been an integral part of the Chandigarh project since the late 1940's, which clearly predated the involvement of the British duo. The tendency for Fry and Drew to overstate their achievements in Chandigarh, will be given further consideration in the Chapter Six.

The City Architecture Museum: Conclusion.

The museum focuses not only on the legacy of Le Corbusier, but it gives the architect textual and spatial centrality within a permanent collection that aspires to plurality but relies on rehearsed Corbusian narratives. Within this Corbusian narrative, we still learn of the contributions of P.N. Thapar, P.L. Verma, Maxwell Fry, Jane Drew and Pierre Jeanneret. The latter arguably is given a greater presence within the institutional narrative, which is pre-emptive of research published at the beginning of this century. Pierre Jeanneret's role is given more articulation than Fry, Drew, or the Indian team. It is also noteworthy in this context that the museum holds a recreation of Jeanneret's living room, a clear acknowledgement of the time that the architect devoted to the city. However, the Indian agency included within this narrative demands further expansion. There's only one photograph of the Indian team which in this 1954 version comprised: V.P Dhamija, S.K. Datta, M.S. Siali, R.R. Handa, B.P. Mathur, A. R. Prabhawalkar, M.N. Sharma, N.S. Lamba, J.S. Dethe, Aditya Prakash, Jeet Malhotra, Surjit Singh, B. Dass and S.G. Nangia. This is a variation of the list provided by Vikramaditya Prakash, and I will discuss the significance of this in the next section.

The Le Corbusier Centre

The Le Corbusier Centre, established in 2008, is located in The Old Architects Office, which as the introductory text on the outside wall informs us, was alongside The Old Engineers Office and staff residences in Sector 19, and was one of the earliest constructions of the city. Not without irony, The Old Architects Office was designed by Pierre Jeanneret and is typically considered the first building to have been erected on the Chandigarh site (Prakash, 2014, p.176). The building retained its original function until 1965, when The Department for Urban Planning shifted to its present location within the U.T. Secretariat in Sector 9 (2008. Wall Text. The Le Corbusier Centre). It is, therefore, a site redolent with significance for any narrative about the city. It was where Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry, Jane Drew worked alongside the Indian team to design the city. The permanent collection, installed in 2008, displays a range of archival documents, drawing and photographs detailing the design and construction of Chandigarh. Consequently, the focus of this section will be to consider the interplay of narrative, architecture and spatial arrangement within the context of this museum, and whether it concurs with the narrative found within The City Architecture Museum.

Let us consider how the narrative of The Le Corbusier Centre unfolds in relation to the spatiality of the museum. The museum commences with a corridor. On one side, we find photographs and information on Le Corbusier and saliently on the other, photographs and text about Pierre Jeanneret. The wall text states the following:

> Pierre Jeanneret, one of the associates of [the] Le Corbusier team who stayed for 17 years in Chandigarh looking after the project (first Chief Architect and Secretary to Government). Most humble and noble person who created several projects himself including Panjab University campus, several school, housing (2008. Wall Text 'Pierre Jeanneret'. At: The Le Corbusier Centre)

Fig. 13. Entrance at the Le Corbusier Centre, taken in October 2017, during my three-month research trip based at Panjab University.

There are several portraits including photographs of Jeanneret with Rajinder Prasad (the first president of India). There is also another striking photograph (Fig.14), which captures, as the wall text informs us:

> Pierre Jeanneret's ashes being carried by Jacqueline- his niece to be immersed in Sukhna Lake as per his wishes. Also present is Dr. M.S. Randhawa and architect M.N. Sharma. (2008. Wall Text 'Pierre Jeanneret-text accompanying photograph'. At: The Le Corbusier Centre).

Therefore, the narrative and spatial arrangement found in this initial encounter with the museum appears to give similar significance to both Le Corbusier and Jeanneret. The spatiality of this narrative is arguably evocative of the internal logic of the publication *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints in the Sands of Indian Architecture*, the first chapter of which is entitled 'The Tale of Two Colossi' and is devoted to the two architects.

Intriguingly, as Fig. 13 shows, not only do we see the sides of the corridor flanked by photographs of the architects, but at the end of the corridor, curators have placed a photograph of the Euro-Indian team. Although the institution is ostensibly devoted to Le Corbusier, the

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narrative encountered seems more expansive. The visitors entering the museum can see that Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret are given the same level of importance within the institution's narrative about the city. Whilst the latter is not contextualised or elaborated upon, it is apparent that despite being The Le Corbusier Centre, the narrative of the city is more pluralistic when considered in relation to The City Architecture Museum. This constellation, which combines spatial layout and museum exhibits, shows an acknowledgement that the city was an Indo-European venture; that this is spatialised from the outset.

Fig. 14. Photograph exhibited at the Le Corbusier Centre, which shows Pierre Jeanneret's niece Jacqueline carrying her uncle's ashes to be scattered at Lake Sukhna, 1967. Taken during my three-month research trip based at Panjab University. Courtesy of The Le Corbusier Centre.

Documents and Correspondence Room

It could be said that to tell the story Jeanneret in Chandigarh, is also to tell the story of his Indian colleagues and their contribution to the city; that these respective stories are fundamentally interwoven. The room entitled 'Documents and Correspondences' holds a number of key correspondences between Le Corbusier and Jawaharlal Nehru amongst others. This curatorially orchestrated space contains a letter from the Chief Minister of Punjab dated

October 18th/19th 1961. The letter concerns the formalising of the Indian architects involved in the project. Of relevance to the concept of collaborative modernism, it can be regarded as profoundly complicating the notion of a homogenous nine-man Indian Team, as presented by Vikramaditya Prakash (2002). As the letter states:

> The trouble about the seniority of senior architects really arose about two years ago. As you are perhaps aware architects for the Chandigarh Capital Project were initially taken only on an ad hoc basis for the building of this city. It was only recently that a decision was taken to formally organise an architects wing in the Punjab P.W.D […] Naturally, the question of fixing inter se seniority of the architects, who had been taken into service from time to time arose. (2008. Wall Text 'Letter from Chief Minister of Punjab-1961'. At: The Le Corbusier Centre).

Consequently, from this document it can be extrapolated that one of the reasons for the differing lists of architects at different times, is that the Indian architects were hired on a casual, non-permanent basis. Furthermore, because of this, it should be easier to determine the authorship of buildings post-1961. The process of determining the inter-seniority of architects required establishing a commission to make the final judgement. It is perhaps telling that this commission was instructed to consult Jeanneret and none of the other European architects involved (Fry and Drew had long since departed India). The perception was that Jeanneret had worked so closely with each of these architects that he would be able to make an informed judgement on their individual merits as architects. Saliently, this list contradicts the list provided by Vikramaditya Prakash in 2002:

1) M.N. Sharma

2) A.R. Prabhawalkar

3) U. E. Chaudhary

4) B.P. Mathur

5) J.S. Date

6) Aditya Prakash

7) J.R. Malhotra

8) P.J. Ghista

9) R.R. Handa

10) V. P. Dhamija

11)   Surjit Singh (ibid)

This fascinating list is relevant to the concept of collaborative modernism, since at the beginning of this project, based on my reading of Vikramaditya Prakash, I held the assumption that the Indian Team comprised of M.N. Sharma, A.R. Prabhawalkar, B.P. Mathur, Piloo Moody, U.E. Chowdhury, N.S. Lamba, Jeet Malhotra, J.S. Dethe and Aditya Prakash[14]. However, it would seem that this archival document held at The Le Corbusier Centre complicates the accuracy of this list. Furthermore, the insight that prior to the formation of the PWD Department for Architecture, supervised by Pierre Jeanneret (discussed at length in Chapter Six), that the team was employed on an ad-hoc basis, is equally pertinent. In many ways it reflects one of the difficulties that the notion of collaborative modernism faces when discerning Chandigarh's Indian agency, which is that to some extent it is unquantifiable or that no formal records exist. The actuality of the situation would appear to be that, their casual rather than permanent status, is what distinguished the Indian architects from their European counterparts. This relates directly to establishing who counts in the story of Chandigarh and by extension, what gets recorded provides the basis for subsequent historical narratives about the city.

The Exhibition Hall

Appropriately, given the remit of the museum there are rooms given over to the Sector 1 buildings, 'The Assembly', 'High Court', 'Governors Palace', 'Road Network' and 'Secretariat', surveying the buildings which are synonymous with and sometimes shorthand for the city itself. However, there are traces of the Indian team and their close working relationship with Pierre Jeanneret and Le Corbusier, for example, in The Exhibition Hall, although we predictably find photographs of Le Corbusier, there are also large reproductions of photographs capturing Pierre Jeanneret with P.L. Verma on a paddling boat in Lake Sukhna and a corresponding photograph with Mrs. Verma; indicating a significant degree of

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[14] To throw further confusion on the issue of Chandigarh's Indian architects, Vikramaditya Prakash's publication *Chandigarh* (2014), deviated from the original list (2002). Consequently, the list which initially comprised of the following: M.N. Sharma, A.R. Prabhawalkar, B.P. Mathur, Piloo Moody, U.E. Chowdhury, N.S. Lamba, Jeet Malhotra, J.S. Dethe and Aditya Prakash- became replaced by the following list: Aditya Prakash, A.R. Prabhawalkar, B.P. Mathur, Harbinder Chopra, Jeet Malhotra, J.K. Chowdhury, M.N. Sharma, Piloo Moody, R.R Handa, S.D. Sharma and U.E. Chowdhury.

conviviality. As this thesis will highlight in Chapter Five, Verma was the Chief Engineer for the Capital Project and his perseverance (and that of Chief Administrator Thapar) resulted in securing the services of Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew. Verma was a favorite of Le Corbusier and he intervened upon finding that the engineer had become marginalised by ministers and deputies. However, whilst these photographs are included, and they certainly convey a sense of friendship, this does not explicate the huge importance that Verma held in Chandigarh's creation.

Furniture, Committee Room and Master Plan of Chandigarh

Fig. 15. Pierre Jeanneret photographed with Indian architects. Date unknown. Courtesy of The Le Corbusier Centre, Chandigarh, India.

The final room of the museum entitled 'Furniture, Committee Room and Master Plan of Chandigarh' is located within the seminar room where Le Corbusier would pontificate during his visits to the city (Prakash, 2014, p.176). Curatorially, Jeanneret's role is once again alluded to with several large reproductions of photographs that show the architect during his time in Chandigarh.

Fig. 16. Pierre Jeanneret Photographed with Indian architects including J.S. Dethe, S.D. Sharma and O.P. Mehta. Date unknown. Courtesy of the Le Corbusier Centre, Chandigarh, India

There are two photographs which are particularly striking, Fig. 15, captures Jeanneret's integration into the Indian team, as he poses for a large group photograph. Similarly, another photograph (Fig. 16) records Jeanneret alongside J.S. Dethe, S.D. Sharma and O.P. Mehta, the latter architect not thus far encountered, demonstrating the difficulty of providing a homogenous list of architects that worked on the city. Regrettably, neither of these photographs are dated. There is also a wall display devoted to model maker Rattan Singh. The inclusion of this panel is perhaps explained- though by no means contextualised- by the possibility that this was where Singh's models were presented to the team, before they were executed as structures. This could have been curatorially explicated, since the result of not doing so gives a disproportionate emphasis to Singh; the only Indian contributor to have a wall panel devoted to them. Given that there are differing lists in of the Indian architects provided in these institutions, some explanation on their contributions would be beneficial. However, it should be said that Singh's place within this institutional narrative would appear artificially inflated and seems a somewhat erratic curatorial decision.

This sense of the arbitrary is perpetuated by another exhibit which provides yet another conflicting list of architects (Fig.17). It is not even affixed to a wall but casually propped up on

a chair. This is arguably emblematic of a desire to identify the specifics of who did what and when, but a recognition of the archival inconsistencies that are encountered in this endeavour; the institution successfully problematises the notion of a definitive or cohesive Indian team, though highlights the significance of certain individuals.
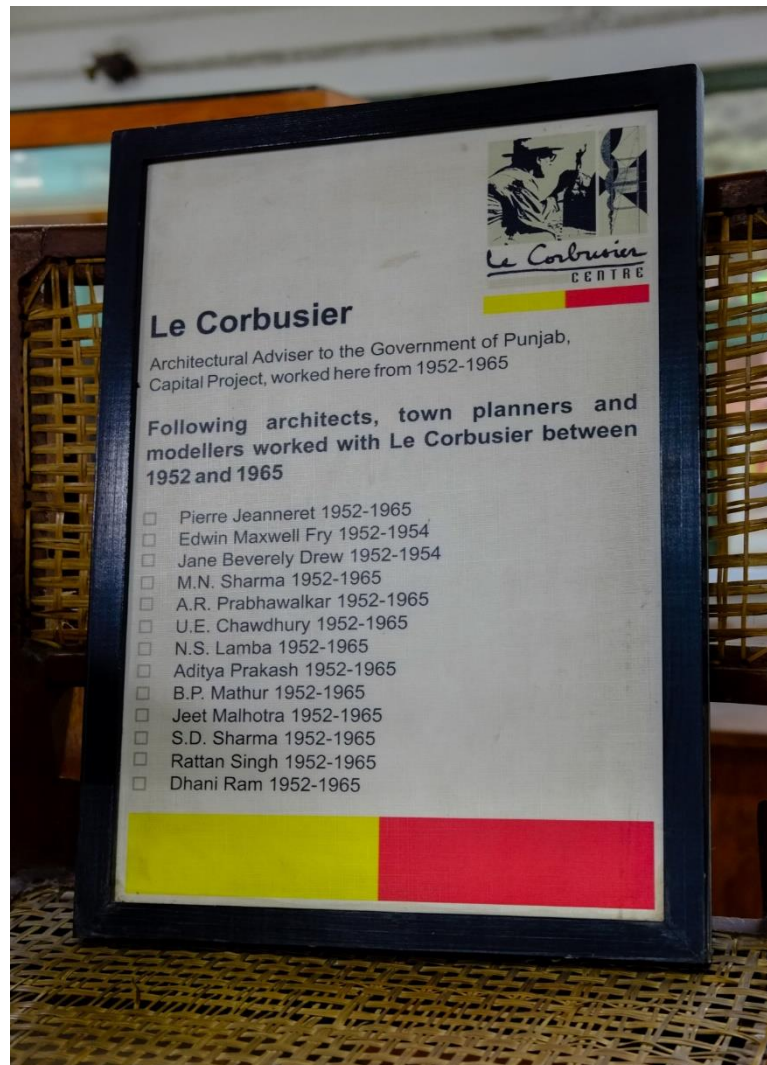
Fig. 17. List of architects provided by The Le Corbusier Centre. Taken in October 2017, during my three-month research trip to Chandigarh, based at Panjab University. Courtesy of The Le Corbusier Centre.

Indeed, just as resuscitating Pierre Jeanneret and highlighting an Indian agency can be perceived, in conjunction with this, there is also a pinning down of Le Corbusier's actual contributions to the city, which hardly strayed beyond Sector 1. There is an exhibit, which provides the following clarification:

A. Buildings and monuments in capitol complex

Buildings:

1. High Court
2. Assembly
3. Secretariat
4. Governor's Palace (Unbuilt)
5. Museum of Knowledge (Unbuilt)

Monuments

1. Open Hand
2. Trench of Consideration
3. Tower of Shadows
4. Martyrs' Memorial
5. Modular Sculpture
6. Harmonic Spiral

Monument of Solar Hours (Geometric Hill with Le Corbusier's diagram of the daily balance of light and darkness, that "rules men's creativity" to be inscribed on the side facing the plaza. However, the Geometric Hill is constructed but there is no sign of Le Corbusier's diagram' exhibition plaque- Le Corbusier Centre permanent collection. (2008. Wall Text 'Le Corbusier's Buildings'. At: The Le Corbusier Centre)

But, as we have already seen, Le Corbusier was not averse to putting on record the contributions of others. within this context, it is worth highlighting small piece of text entitled 'Presentation of the Enamel Gate of Punjab Legislature', in which Le Corbusier states:

From Paris I bring the gate of the Legislature at Chandigarh, the building of which I have made with Prabhawalkar. (2008. Wall Text 'Presentation of the Enamel Gate of Punjab Legislature. At: The Le Corbusier Centre)

Le Corbusier went on record to indicate the contribution of A.R. Prabhawalkar to the design of the Legislative Assembly. In relation to the concept of collaborative modernism, questions emerge, for example, to what extent was it an equal collaboration? Who was Prabhawalkar? Did he work on other buildings in Sector 1? To what extent does this disrupt canonical narratives of the city? It seems self-evident to state that far more could have been made of this curatorially and it demands further explanation. I will endeavour to further explore Le Corbusier's working relationship with Prabhawalkar, in the Chapter Five, through consultation with Le Corbusier's sketchbooks, a hitherto under-used resource for discerning Chandigarh's Indian agency.

The Le Corbusier Centre seems to compensate for the more monolithic nature of The City Architecture Museum and introduces the notion of a significant Indian agency through beginning to articulate the significance with Pierre Jeanneret which ushers in the narrative of his ongoing collaboration with the nebulous, ill-defined and morphic entity that is referred to as the 'Indian Team'. However, although we encounter several lists of Indian architects, their involvement is not cohesively articulated, nor is their specific information on individual architects. Given that there is currently an unused section of this building, one wonders if these narrative omissions could be addressed within the context of this museum[15]?

Contemporary Celebrations of Pierre Jeanneret and their Discontents

As we have already seen with the institutional narratives of both The City Architecture Museum and The Le Corbusier Centre, there is an interplay with contemporaneous research and the narrative discourse and the latter of these institutions. Yet as counter narratives deviate from the canonical Corbusian account of the city, it is important to discern if contemporary

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[15] Recently in conversation with Deepika Gandhi, it was mentioned that there are plans to have a display on the Indian architects that worked on Chandigarh, in the currently unused section of the of the building.

institutional narratives interplay with academic research on the city[16]. To consider this I will briefly consider *Commemorating the Legacy of Pierre Jeanneret: Foot Architect of Chandigarh* the 2017 commemoration of Jeanneret's contribution to the city, in relation to Vikramaditya Prakash's *Chandigarh* (2014), which is ostensibly a guidebook to the city. *Commemorating the Legacy of Pierre Jeanneret* saw multiple events across the city, including a two-day symposium at The Chandigarh College of Architecture, tours of the Capitol Complex and Panjab University and an exhibition entitled *Modernism in South Asia: The Work of Pierre Jeanneret.* The event featured speakers such as Deepika Gandhi (architectural historian and director of both The City Architecture Museum and The Le Corbusier Centre), and architectural historians Surinder Bahga and Rajnish Wattas[17]. Prakash's *Chandigarh*, ostensibly an architectural guide to Chandigarh, can also be perceived as a vehicle for disseminating the author's recent research and polemical device, in the sense that it begins to ascribe certain notable buildings to Indian rather than European architects.
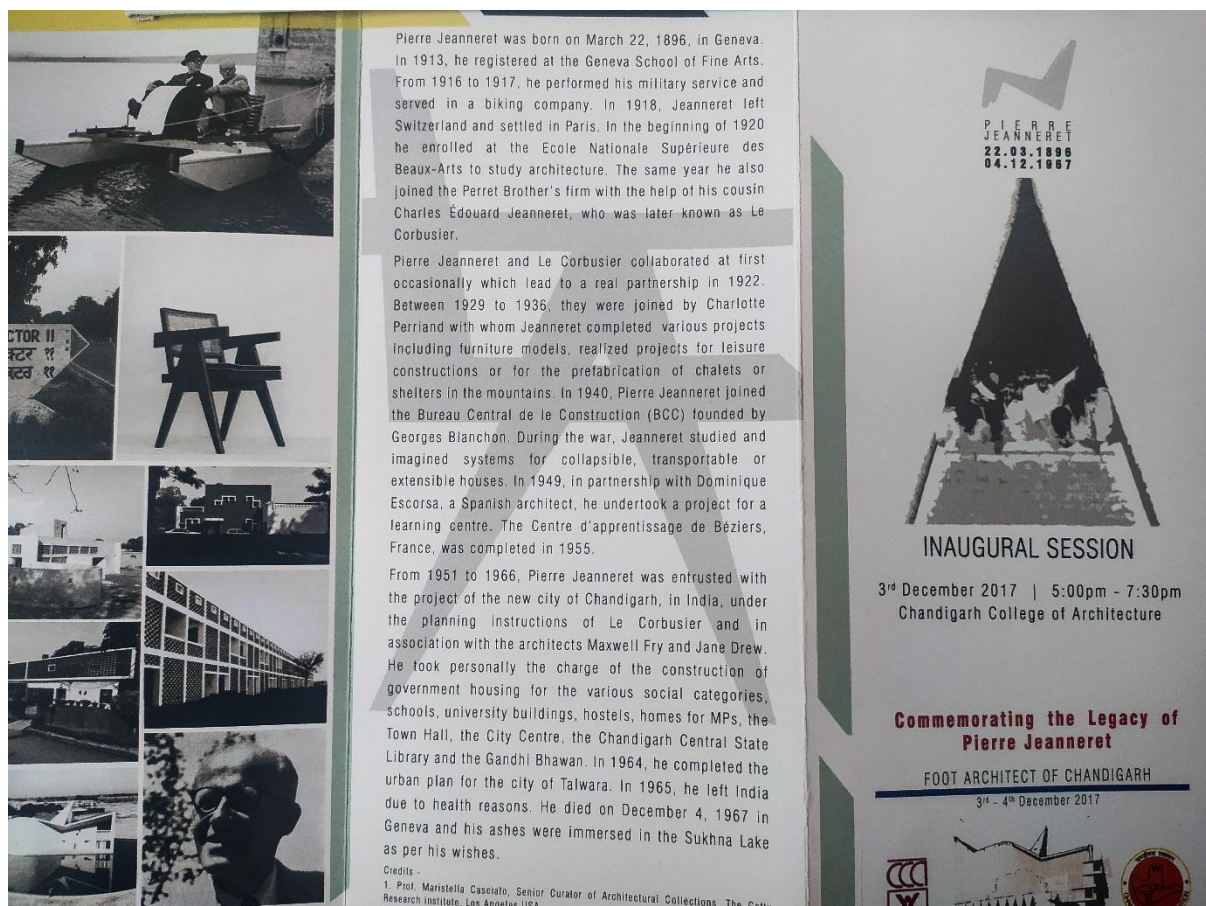
Fig. 18. Handout for Commemorating the Legacy of Pierre Jeanneret: Foot Architect of Chandigarh. 2017. Chandigarh College of Architecture.

Commemorating the Legacy of Pierre Jeanneret commenced on December 3, 2017 with an inaugural lecture from architect S.D Sharma (hosted at the Chandigarh College of Architecture) (Fig. 18), who notably worked with both Le Corbusier and Jeanneret on the design of Chandigarh. Sharma's lecture entitled *Pierre Jeanneret: Apostle of Creative Humility* was exclusively focused on the architect's individual merits and his contribution to the design of Chandigarh. S.D. Sharma stated the following:

He had three roles to play in Chandigarh, in the making of the city.

1. The implementation of Le Corbusier's projects in Sector 1 and Capitol Complex. Le Corbusier was only to come twice a year but a month each time. In his absence he [Jeanneret] would go to the site to tell him what is happening and that everything is being implemented. Le Corbusier was only sending basic plans, but the details and everything else are being looked after here [Chandigarh]. That was a difficult time and luckily for Corbusier and Jeanneret we had P.L. Verma, Chief Engineer, who was a great engineer and he would go during the night and inspect the workmanship. That is why the workmanship of the Capitol Complex is comparable to anywhere in the world.

2. The second thing was the personal projects, like the government housing, schools, hospital and above all the mega projects like the university- Panjab University- that was a very big thing! He was always under the shadow of his cousin but given chance he has shown himself as a great architect, a sort of genius by creating the university.

3. The third was the training of Indian architects, it was in their contracts, Le Corbusier and Jeanneret's that apart from whatever building they do, they would also train Indian architects [inaudible] Architects from the office, those with practical knowledge would regularly visit the college, so that they would impart a very practical training to the students. (Sharma, S.D, 2017).

Sharma's lecture is intriguing for several reasons. First, regarding the Curtis quote problematised at the beginning of Chapter Two, which insinuates that the genius of Le Corbusier's plan was that it was particularly amenable to modification. Sharma's lecture clarifies that Le Corbusier only sent very basic plans for Sector 1 and The Capitol Complex it

was down to Jeanneret and P.L. Verma to translate these basic architectural drawings into reality; that this resulted from their hard work and labour and not Le Corbusier's genius. Second, despite living under the shadow of his more famous cousin, Jeanneret contributed significantly to the architectural fabric of the city, designing civic amenities and the sizeable Panjab University Campus. Third, that Jeanneret would visit the Chandigarh College of Architecture to mentor the junior students which attended this institution; this besides guiding the young architects under his auspice. Importantly, this information doesn't go beyond what we find in the research of Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga, but it helps give a more comprehensive conception of Jeanneret's contribution to the city.

The exhibition *Modernism in South Asia: The Work of Pierre Jeanneret*, largely focused on Jeanneret's work on Panjab University Campus, though also contained contextualising information on the architect. The exhibition conveys mutually interconnected points, chiefly, the architect's contribution to the city and his architectural expertise. The exhibition cites Le Corbusier acknowledging the tireless work of this cousin:

> In Chandigarh, Pierre Jeanneret had the thankless task of supervising, step-by-step, the creation of the new capital city, of sticking to the plans and carrying them through when the path was difficult and strewn with obstacles. On his own initiative, Pierre Jeanneret has created some excellent architecture with modest means and in the face of enormous difficulties. His friendship was of enormous help in getting my palaces built. I am very appreciative of it and I owe him a debt of gratitude (2017. Wall Text 'Archival material from Le Corbusier'. Modernism in South Asia: The Work of Pierre Jeanneret. Panjab University).

We also find a quote from Jean Prouvé on Jeanneret:

> If there were a cataclysm and only a handful of architects were left on earth among the stones and trees, they would die very quickly because they would not know how to use a tree or stone. But I think, Jeanneret, whatever happened, would always build something… although I'm not sure whether Corbu would. (2017. Wall Text 'Jean Prouve' Modernism in South Asia The Work of Pierre Jeanneret. Panjab University).

However, the exhibition which explores Jeanneret's work on Panjab University Campus, does not explicate the role of the Indian architects with whom Jeanneret worked so closely. The exhibition includes a photograph of the Indian/Euro team from 1954 (roughly five years before any of the university buildings were constructed), including the following: V.P. Dhamija, S.K. Datta, M.S. Siali, R.R. Handa, B.P. Mathur, A.R. Prabahawalkar, M.N. Sharma, P. Jeanneret, Jane B. Drew, Le Corbusier, E. Maxwell Fry, N.S. Lamba, J.S. Dethe, Aditya Prakash, Jeet Malhotra, Surjit Singh, B. Dass, S.G. Nangla. Crucially, only one of these architects-B.P. Mathur- collaborated with Jeanneret on the design of Panjab University, the other architects that worked with Jeanneret on Panjab University Campus included J.K. Chowdhury and B.S. Kesevan.
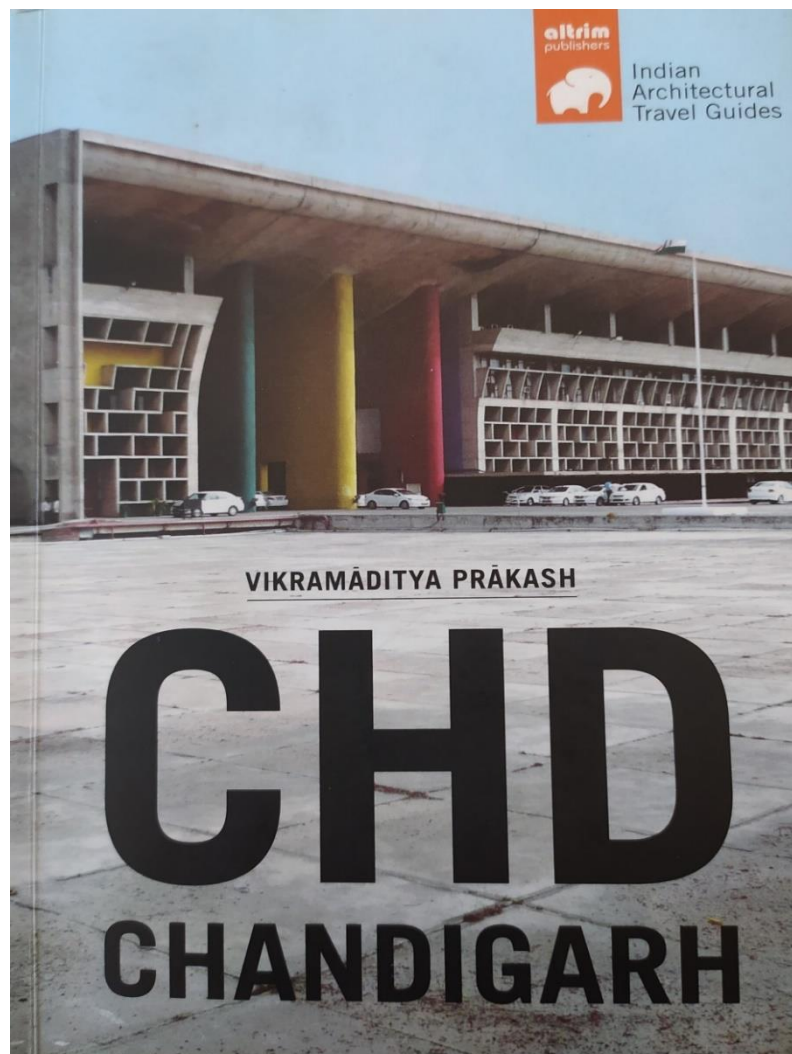
Fig.19. Front cover of Vikramaditya Prakash's *Chandigarh*, a pocket-sized guidebook to Chandigarh. Author's own photograph.

Now let us turn our attention to the potential disparity between *Modernism in South Asia: The Work of Pierre Jeanneret* and Prakash's *Chandigarh* (fig.19). The latter, published as part of Altrim's Indian Architectural Travel Guides Series, is at first glance a travel guide to the city and it serves this function more than adequately. However, this publication transcends its status as a guide to the city, to become an intervention into architectural-historical conceptions of the city. To begin with, the publication's introduction provides a nuanced and inclusive account of the city's architectural history, acknowledging the roles of Le Corbusier and those of Mayer, Nowicki, Fry, Drew, Thapar and Verma. A particular emphasis is given to the role and legacy of Pierre Jeanneret (2014, p.11). Prakash also provides further texture to our understanding of the Indian team, stating:

> The Indian architects on the Capitol Project Team generally had either English qualifications- i.e. they were Associates of the Royal Institute of British Architects/Town Planners- or had earned an Indian diploma in architectural drafting and subsequently independently qualified as an architect by passing a board exam (U.E. Chowdhury and J.K. Chowdhury has B.Arch. degrees from the University of Sydney). As a consequence, the Architect's Office of the Chandigarh Capitol Project literally became a professional atelier where the practice of teaching and mentoring, all the way down the hierarchy, was instilled as a core part of the culture from the very beginning (ibid, p.11).

Following this insightful introduction, the publication provides another list of the Indian architects that contributed to the city (mentioned earlier in the chapter). The rest of the publication divides the city into various sections such as 'Capitol Complex and Sukhna Lake, 'The City Centre', 'Museum Complex' and 'Panjab University'. The publication provides maps (fig.20), photographs, annotated historical information (fig.21) and cites the architects responsible for each of the buildings. The publication provides a comprehensive overview of who did what and when. Crucially, Prakash uses this as an opportunity to acknowledge, for example, Aditya Prakash's work on the Chandigarh College of Architecture (1969), previously attributed to Le Corbusier. Prakash also renders B.P. Mathur's contribution to Panjab University campus emphatically clear, perhaps most notably ascribing The Student Centre (1970), to Mathur rather than Jeanneret.

Fig. 20. Detail from Prakash's *Chandigarh*. Detail from map representing the Capitol Complex. Author's own photograph.

Notably, there is discord between *Modernism in South Asia: The Work of Pierre Jeanneret* and Prakash's *Chandigarh*, the architectural historian's guidebook to the city. Even when they concur, for example in their mutual accrediting of The Gandhi Bhawan to Jeanneret, it seems that the work of the Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga could have been called upon, to provide a more nuanced micro-historical account of Panjab University's creation. As discussed in the Chapters Two and Six, this building was the result of Jeanneret immersion into the local context and his dialogue with Indian colleagues, who suggested the reference to the tomb found in Fatehpur Sikri.

2. Open Hand Le Corbusier - 1950-60 (built 1982)

Capitol Complex / Sector 1
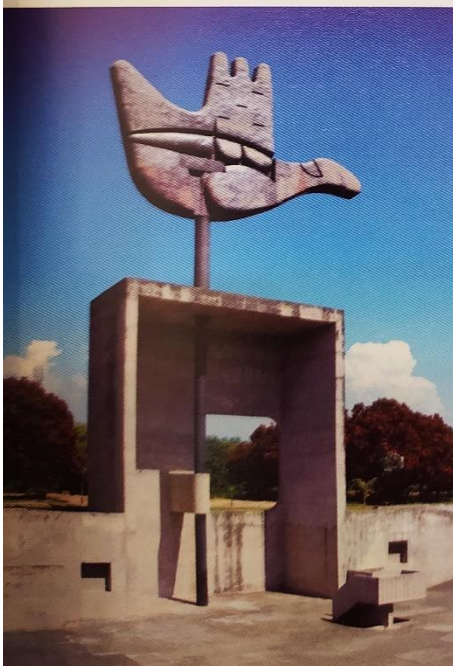
Emerging out of a sunken 'Trench of Consideration', the Open Hand is 14 m (46 ft) tall bronze sculpture, finally completed only in 1985. 'Gifted' by Le Corbusier to Chandigarh as its symbol, the Hand is on ball bearings and turns in response to the wind. The prevailing winds – SE to NW – ensure that its front normally faces the Plaza and is profiled against the mountains. Symbolic of the potential of industrializaton to openly share its products – 'open to receive, open to give' - Le Corbusier also offered the Hand to Nehru as a symbol of the Non Aligned Movement. The 'Trench', accessed by ramp, has two terraces for audiences – indicating the inevitability of differing points of view – and a centrally positioned speakers platform that thrusts forward suggestive of assertive speech. A shell shaped audio reflector, behind the speaker's platform, remains to be built.

Fig.21. Detail from Prakash's Chandigarh. Example of presentational format. Author's photograph.

Conclusion

We can distinguish The Le Corbusier Centre from The City Architecture Museum, to the extent that it goes some way to mitigate the centrality of Le Corbusier, by way of Pierre Jeanneret. However, with regards to contextualising Chandigarh's Indian agency, The Le Corbusier Centre can be regarded as inconsistent and lacking cohesion. With regards to micro-historical details, there is also discord in the emerging narratives about the city, that reflect divergent strands of research on the city. Crucially, while *Modernism in South Asia: The Work of Pierre Jeanneret,* attributes significant works such as the AC Joshi Library and The Student Centre to the Swiss architect, Prakash attributes them to B.P. Mathur (2014, p.115). Likewise, whilst the

exhibition attributes buildings such as The University Hostel for Girls and The Health Centre to Jeanneret, Prakash cites them as Jeanneret/Mathur collaborations (ibid, pp.120-121). Whilst this exhibition and overall celebrations of the architect, seek to assert the significance of Jeanneret in the Chandigarh context, the nature of this emerging narrative could be seen as replicating the coordinates of the Corbusian narrative, e.g. lone white male genius. Prakash continues to press the issue of Indian agency in *Chandigarh,* and recent institutional drives to commemorate Jeanneret would be well complemented by this type of micro-historical research. It is noteworthy that Although Vikramaditya Prakash's *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in Postcolonial India* (2002) shows an interest in wider macro-historical arguments anchored around Le Corbusier and Nehru, his more recent endeavours show a more micro-historical preoccupation with the granular detail of who did what and when.

This thesis will now proceed to the consideration of Chandigarh's Indian agency, until now most of the material presented has been taken from sources in widely printed circulation. Chapter Five, represents a methodological shift from museum-based concerns to consultation of archival sources, since this chapter will be anchored around The Aditya Prakash Foundation Archive, The Randhawa Papers and Le Corbusier's Sketchbooks. What follows constitutes the presentation of original scholarly research on Chandigarh's Indian agency.

Chapter Five: Challenging the Invisibility of Chandigarh's Indian Agency

Introduction

I base this chapter on two case studies that focus on Chandigarh's governmental buildings, generally referred to as, The Capitol Complex and the work of Aditya Prakash, respectively. The Capitol Complex case study will explore the extent to which the site can be regarded as a site of consultation, compromise, contestation and collaboration. I will achieve this by considering Le Corbusier's engagement with his Indian colleagues and the workforce at large. The Aditya Prakash case study will explore the work of one of the architects that worked with Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret and Jane Drew. Through these case studies, I hope to put a spotlight on the extent of Indian agency in Chandigarh's design. Agency in this context links intrinsically to the concept of collaborative modernism, as my thesis has shown, Chandigarh was produced collaboratively by various Indian architects, and individuals such as P.L. Verma, in conjunction with the European contributors. The Capitol Complex case study will consider the role of the architects Jeet Malhotra and Anant Prabhawalkar, and the Chief Engineer P.L. Verma. It will also reflect on the bureaucratic mechanisms that Le Corbusier negotiated, with a view to question the idea that Le Corbusier has unfettered creative freedom in The Capitol Complex. The Aditya Prakash case study will consider the architect's creative autonomy and the extent to which his output confirms, nuances, or undermines the concept of collaborative modernism. Both Chapters will present archival documents from The Randhawa Papers, The Aditya Prakash Foundation Archive and Le Corbusier's Sketchbooks (1982), which hitherto has not been considered in the context of the Indian contribution to Chandigarh.

The research discussed in this chapter was conducted during my three-month extended research trip, based at Panjab University. This chapter is premised on presenting a micro-historical perspective, cultivated through the analysis of archival documents, with a view to nuance Chandigarh's architectural history. It is hoped that this might lead to a reconfigured version of macro-historical interpretations of Chandigarh and perhaps modernism more generally. Before proceeding with this chapter, it is necessary to briefly outline the distinction between micro-history macro-history, with a view to explicate the significance of the latter to collaborative modernism. As within the observations of MacLeod, Hanks and Hale, macro-history can be understood as top-down linear narratives that, in the case of Chandigarh, reflect an incumbent

Eurocentrism that gives particular emphasis to certain actors, for example Le Corbusier, due to their position within spatialised narratives about modernism. Conversely, micro-history entails subverting this Eurocentric bias, by adopting a bottom-up perspective, giving emphasis to actors typically overlooked. The notion of collaborative modernism upholds that through conducting micro-historical research into the other actors involved in Chandigarh's creation, such as planners, engineers, bureaucrats, manual labourers, and craftspeople, that a more nuanced understanding of Chandigarh's architectural history emerges.

The aspiration which motivates this chapter is to capture voices and contributions to Chandigarh's creation that are otherwise overlooked by canonical Euro-American scholarship. Adopting an archive-based research methodology represents an efficient way of achieving this aim. In many respects, this thesis equates the granular details that can be extrapolated from archival research with micro-historical narratives, similarly, that the grander narratives which perhaps overlook archival specificity found with Euro-American scholarship, can be equated with macro-historical narratives. The methodology of this thesis enacts a critical interplay between micro-historical and macro-historical narratives. To explicate the importance of granular and micro-historical detail that collaborative modernism regards as being significant, it is useful to consider Jo Melvin's article 'Holes in the archive- to fill or to leave that is the question' (2015). The article provides insights on the nature of archives and the material they contain. These reflections emanate from Melvin's early archival experiences obtained when engaging with the papers of prominent British writer and editor, Peter Townsend the founder of *Art Monthly* (2015, p.69). This first-hand experience of negotiating archives and the material they contain enables Melvin to remark on the actuality of using this resource for obtaining information:

> Archives are seen as the portal to temples of knowledge. Archives properly designated are hierarchical in structure and sometimes difficult to access. Gaining permissions to read material can be complicated and persistence is a required characteristic for the researcher. This occurs in particular when the documents are not housed within a public institution or when they are deposited in a public institution and not yet catalogued. (ibid, p.68).

Melvin's article considers the decisions that researchers must make when including or excluding certain historical information. With great importance to the concept of collaborative

modernism, Melvin articulates the importance of exploring material that might offer insight on the interior worlds of the protagonists or actors in question:

> Research exposes what was once confidential in letters, for example, in notes of ideas committed to paper or recorded from conversations. Often these documents reveal the dirty side: art's interpersonal connections, passions, opinionated reactions, anecdotes, hearsay, and gossip. It this kind of dirty matter which gives the archive its peculiar status and distinguishes it from the 'clean publication'. Often overlooked, the dirty or the banal can invigorate. It is transformative in its effect' (ibid, p.71).

Crucially, the notion of collaborative modernism concurs with Melvin's suggestion that 'dirty matter' anchored around the anecdotal and interpersonal can reconfigure historicised accounts through a 'vivid reconnection' (ibid). Both this chapter and collaborative modernism more generally suggests that the consultation of micro-historical information and putting it into dialogue with macro-historical narratives has the potential to alter the status of material and information previously considered ancillary. Furthermore, that this is transformative for both the sources in question and pre-existing macro-historical narratives of Chandigarh.

The Capitol Complex Case Study

Chapter Four, highlighted that Le Corbusier was not reluctant to put on record the contribution of other architects "From Paris I bring the gate of the Legislature at Chandigarh, the building of which I have made with Prabhawalkar". (2008. Wall Text: Presentation of the Enamel Gate of Punjab Legislature. The Le Corbusier Centre). The public acknowledgement of Prabhawalkar's contribution justifies an investigation into the extent to which an archival research can nuance conventional understanding of the Capitol Complex, which is synonymous with Le Corbusier. Le Corbusier was willing to acknowledge the work of his Indian collaborators, but somehow this has not translated into the presence of architects such as Prabhawalkar into canonical narratives (as I will soon demonstrate in this chapter). I will give consideration to Le Corbusier's engagement with the Indian construction workers that worked on the Capitol Complex, his working relationship with Chief Engineer P.L. Verma, and the architects Prabhawalkar and Jeet Malhotra. I explore whether The Capitol Complex was unconditionally given over to the creative whims of Le Corbusier or if it was a site of consultation, compromise, contestation, and collaboration. This could potentially produce a

more nuanced understanding of how the concept of collaborative modernism applies to Chandigarh's design process.

What is meant by the Capitol Complex? As can be seen in Fig. 22, It is composed of three main buildings, The Assembly Building, The Secretariat and The High Court, these structures are accompanied by several monuments, The Open Hand, The Shadow Tower, Geometric Hill and Martyrs Memorial. Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga cite Norma Evenson's observations on The Secretariat (1951-58):

> Although the Secretariat helps define the space of the Capitol Complex, it is separated from the cross axis uniting the […] main buildings and creates a form of architectural introduction to the area which has not been completely penetrated until one is standing on the axial promenade between the High Court and the Assembly (2000, p.113).

The Secretariat is therefore set back from the main buildings, The Assembly Building and The High Court and serves as an adequate precursor to the architectural choreography that unfolds with the interplay between the two dominant structures (ibid). The High Court was the first building constructed in the Capitol Complex and was completed in 1955 (ibid, p.102). The Assembly Building, the last of the major buildings to be completed in 1963, which houses both the Punjab and Haryana assemblies, constitutes a more complex architectural gesture than The High Court, especially with its striking enamel gate and the tower on the roof, evocative of the paraboloid cooling towers that Le Corbusier encountered whilst in Ahmedabad (Prakash, 2002, p.116). Jean-Louis Cohen in *Le Corbusier: The Buildings* (2018) shows how Le Corbusier's creative vision was informed by the local context 'Le Corbusier focused his attention on the area for the government institutions, the Capitol proper, and oversaw every detail of the concept, from the landscape as a whole to the individual buildings, whose construction would extend over 15 years. The outline of this sector, eccentrically located in relation to the rest of the city, was inspired by his discovery of Mughal Gardens, such as the one situated in the nearby city of Pinjore' (2018, p.388). As we can see below in Fig. 23, The Capitol Complex is situated in the top left of the city. It is unclear as to whether Cohen perceives Le Corbusier's placement of The Capitol Complex as an example of his sensitivity to the local context or a clumsy adaptation of Mughal urban planning.

Plan du Capitol

1 l'Assemblée	1 Parliament (Assembly)	1 Parlamentsgebäude
2 le Secrétariat (les Ministères)	2 The Secretariat	2 Sekretariat (Regierungsgebäude)
3 le Palais du Gouverneur	3 Governors Palace	3 Gouverneurs-Palast
4 la Haute-Cour	4 Justice Court	4 Justizpalast
5 la Fosse de la Considération	5 The basins in front of the Governors Palace	5 Gouverneurs-Palast
6 les bassins devant le Palais du Gouverneur	6 The Open Hand	6 Die Wasserbecken vor dem Gouverneurs-Palast
7 la Main Ouverte		7 Die Offene Hand

Fig.22, Site Plan for The Capitol Complex. Scan from Le Corbusier Oeuvre Complète, Vol.6. Courtesy of Ben Lepley, (https://www.flickr.com/photos/red_gloww/3258920983)

Fig. 23. Tourist map of Chandigarh, courtesy of the Aditya Prakash Foundation Archive. Taken during my three-month research trip based at Panjab University.

Before considering Le Corbusier's engagement with the Indian workforce, the contributions of P.L. Verma and also the architects Prabhawalkar and Malhotra, it seems expedient to further consider pre-existing literature on The High Court, The Legislative Assembly and The Secretariat. This will be achieved via consideration of the Bahga's *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints in the Sands of Indian Architecture*, Vikramaditya Prakash's *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier* and Jean-Louis Cohen's *Le Corbusier: The Buildings.* I will do this with a view to discerning the extent to which these texts affirm or overlook the contributions of the Indian architects involved in the construction of these buildings. The question emerges: does considering this existing literature on The Capitol Complex, help us gain a greater understanding of whether the notion of collaborative modernism is a necessary and strategic intervention into the architectural historical narratives that surround the city? Strategically, I shall quote these respective texts with a view to paint a picture, but also to indicate the omission of Indian agency and pervasive European perspective, in the texts themselves.

The words of Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga, provide an illuminating snapshot on the state of knowledge that exists on the Capitol Complex:

> With the dawn of independence, India opted to be the world's largest democracy. The Option of democracy as a way of life came naturally India had a long tradition of Panchayat (village republic) system that took care of all aspects of civility of civil society. Nehru visualized a technically and scientifically advanced nation unfettered by the traditions of the past. The era of kings, *sahibs* and *memsahibs* and their palaces had gone. The new democratic state needed modern offices to symbolize the newly acquired freedom. Edifices and offices were needed to accommodate elected governments, the executive and judiciary-the three important wings of democracy. As destiny would have it, two visionary Swiss architects were invited to help transform Nehru's dream into a reality. (2000, p.85).

Le Corbusier is given a significant degree of agency here and is presented as acting in confluence with the political vision of Nehru. This is a stance that will hopefully be nuanced through the subsequent sections of this chapter, through the critical lens of collaborative modernism.

Let us proceed to consider The High Court (1955), commencing with the observations of the Bahgas'. 'Its structure symbolizes three ideas: the majesty of the law, the protection of the law and the power and fear of the law. The building has an L-shape and houses eight double height court rooms and a triple height court room on the ground floor with offices above each court' (2000, p.102). It should be noted within the context of acknowledging an Indian agency within The High Court that both the Bahgas and Jean-Louis Cohen mention the exquisite work of the Kashmiri tapestries provided for the building. As Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga note:

> To ensure satisfactory acoustics, Le Corbusier used tapestries which he realised could also serve as a convenient element in the composition of modern architecture and not just as mere decoration. He elaborated further, "In addition to that, this woollen wall, may in certain cases, fulfil an important acoustic mission. In Kashmir, I have had 650 square metre woven (ibid, p.103).

Likewise, Cohen remarks:

> Eight of them [tapestries] hang in the smaller court rooms and the largest, a twelve-metre square, is installed in the High Court itself, an isolated volume at the end of the building (2018, p.392).

Cohen's comments are intriguing since from this account, it is apparent that incorporating a vernacular aesthetic was important to Le Corbusier's plans for the internal space of the building. The sheer quantity also seems noteworthy, as does the logistical feat of commissioning so many workers to achieve the creative vision for the space.

Prakash's chapter 'The Aesthetics of The High Court', highlights Caroline Constant's suggestion that we should consider the Capitol Complex a landscape project (2002, p.98). We can develop this point with Benjamin Polk's text *Building for South-Asia* (1992), which observes that the perennial problem facing contemporary Indian architects is that because of climatic determinism and the worship/usage associated with Indian tradition, most of India's greatest buildings are exercises in landscape architecture. By extension, this applies to the Taj Mahal as it is the Capitol Complex. With the spatial arrangement of sites such as the Taj Mahal there is a question mark against where the buildings begin and end, the suggestion being that the physical structures and landscaping are part of a holistic whole. This observation could equally apply with the Capitol Complex.

Regarding The Capitol Complex as an example of landscape architecture is a double-edged sword for the concept of collaborative modernism. As suggested above, much of Indian architecture can be regarded as examples of landscape architecture, and Le Corbusier's response to this with the spatial arrangement of The Capitol Complex, could be seen as an attempt to assimilate the local vernacular. However, landscape architecture holds certain connotations in a European context, and landscape gardening can be regarded as an Enlightenment project of rationalising nature.

Prakash particularly focuses on the architectural interplay between The Assembly and The High Court:

> The Assembly and the High Court face each other across the giant Esplanade, battling each other for the viewer's attention. The distance between them is too great to make them work in concert, yet they are not sufficiently far apart to be autonomous. The Assembly is always more arresting, with its dominating paraboloid roof, much like a high-domed church, firm in its presence. On the other side of the Esplanade, the High Court draws one in, intriguing one to unravel the mysteries of its simple form, reminiscent of the Egyptian pyramids. (2002, p.122).

Apart from hearing of the contribution of the Kashmiri weavers, none of the highlighted authors present a significant Indian agency in the design of The High Court. Furthermore, it could be said that the very language of esplanade's and paraboloid roofs is very European, and certainly evocative of high-domed churches. Ostensibly, there is very little granular micro-historical analysis that might contribute to one of collaborative modernism's concerns, which is to establish an Indian agency in Chandigarh's creation.

Fig. 24. The Assembly Building, Enamel Gate. Authors own photograph. Taken in October 2017, during my three-month research trip based at Panjab University.

The Assembly Building was the last major structure to be completed in the Capitol Complex in Spring 1963. The structure faces the High Court across an expansive and dramatic esplanade and houses the two respective houses of state parliament, Punjab and Haryana. Cohen perceives the building to be the most elaborate structure within The Capitol Complex because of its synthesis of a disparate range of influences that include the Mughal structures of Delhi such as the Red Fort and Jaipur's Jantar Mantar an astronomical observatory complex comprising various ramps and stairs. Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga highlight the observations of Peter Serenyi, which relate to the structures on the building's rooftop: a hyperbolic shell, a pyramid and lift tower (2000, p. 96). It based the hyperbolic shell on the cooling towers of the recently constructed power plant in Sabarmati, Ahmedabad. The structure was a shrewd nod to the importance that Nehru gave to technological advances (ibid). As can be clearly seen in Fig.

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24, The Assembly Building also possesses the Enamel Gate, which is situated under the portico that faces the High Court across the vast esplanade. Cohen informs us:

> The door was a gift from France to India, produced in the workshop of Jean Martin in Luynes. It combines themes from the poem *de l'angle droit*, such as the tortoise, the bull, the serpent, the fish and the modular man along with the Indian cow and an eagle from Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (2018, p.402).

In the writing of Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga we catch a rare glimpse of Prabhawalkar's involvement, who is on record as confirming with Le Corbusier that the panels of the Enamel Gate had arrived in Chandigarh (2000, p. 95). The gift of the Enamel Gate seems vaguely reminiscent of the gifting of the Statue of Liberty, from France to the United States of America. In these accounts of The Assembly Building, there is little to support the notion of collaborative modernism in relation to Chandigarh. However, I will return to the enamel gate later in the chapter to discuss its potential significance to collaborative modernism.

The statuesque Secretariat lacks the grandiosity of both The Assembly Building and The High Court. Unsurprisingly, for a building premised on its robust functionality, the Bahgas, Cohen and Prakash remark mostly on the practical qualities of the Secretariat. Commencing with the Bahgas, we learn that:

> The ten-storeyed Secretariat houses the administrative offices of ministers and of all ministerial agencies. It has a reinforced-concrete-frame structure, separated by five expansion joints into six distinct bays' (2000, p.109)

Cohen does not dwell extensively on the building, but he does make some insightful comments on the functionality of the building and how this determined its architectural form:

> The linear administrative *Unité* is break with the palatial edifice, of colonial bureaucracy and of conventional office buildings, insomuch as it employs architecture to express the bureaucratic hierarchies on the exterior. One of the six "blocks" making up the building is devoted to the cabinets of the governor and minsters, which are expressed by loggias and sculptural balconies, with double height offices looking out onto them. The series of loggias extends from one side to the other of this sort of building-within-the building (2018, p.410).

There are also comments on the aesthetic qualities of the building and its relation to the other structures. The Bahgas remarking:

> The Secretariat is topped by a roof garden which has been designed not only to insulate the building against the direct rays of the sun but also provide an excellent recreational space. A cafeteria has been built on the tenth floor to ensure that the smell and fumes from the kitchen do not pollute the interiors of the building. Also, it offers a panoramic view of the Shivalik Hills and the whole complex' (2000, p.111).

Prakash comments on the noteworthy expansive quality of the building and how it blends into the Assembly Building. However, once again, if architects Prabhawalkar and Malhotra assisted on this building, this contribution is not clearly discernible. It should be noted that Sarbjit and Surinder highlight Malhotra as having contributed to The Secretariat and cite him as stating the following:

> The most important consideration that weighted on him (Le Corbusier) was to facilitate quick and easy movement to attain maximum efficiency. This could only be possible in a compact vertical building with modern facilities of automatic lifts. Besides, in such a building, services (like air-conditioning, telephones, drainage, electricity, etc.) are more economically provided and effectively controlled (ibid).

However, this inclusion of Malhotra's account does little to explicate this architect's contribution and has far more to do with providing further evidence of Le Corbusier's preoccupations when designing The Secretariat. Of course, Malhotra's ability to reflect in this way, indicates evidence of Malhotra's proximity to the project and a working relationship with Le Corbusier; but further tangible evidence is required.

At this juncture, it seems important to consider Le Corbusier's engagement with the Indian workforce that toiled on the Capitol Complex buildings. Le Corbusier was not entirely consistent in his admiration for or observations on the Indian workforce. At times, he can be found to be full of awe, as we find in the annotated correspondence highlighted by Jean Louis Cohen:

Construction of the High Court was an eye-opening experience for Le Corbusier, who discovered the daily working conditions of Indian workers of both genders. He described them to Yvonne and his mother: "What an extraordinary spectacle. Teams of women dressed in the wildest colours, carry baskets on their heads filled with earth for the foundations and pass them on in an incredible and dazzling chain. The same with concrete? They work for twelve hours, to a powerful cadence of songs and shouts. A mixture of countless machines and manual workers. Men and women at work, children in the middle of the rubble, camping out at night on rush mats, between two short walls three feet high" (2018, p.392).

Within the above section we find a sense of family, community, collective and collaboration amongst the construction workers. In a private musing in his sketchbook, presumably not readily accessible to others, Le Corbusier extolled the virtues and ingenuity of the Indian workforce but also seemed relieved by the near slave labour conditions and the flexibility that this gave him:

The advantages of slavery in high and noble works of architecture, <u>Palaces parks and gardens</u>= manpower is free (or almost so, in India) consequently changes are possible on the site, <u>right under one's nose!</u> In contrast: the efficiency of the Western World, manpower astronomical [ly expensive] = everything must be thought out in advance and it's fateful and sometimes <u>fatal</u> (Le Corbusier, 1982, H34195).

This is quite a staggering private admission and demonstrates that a significant detachment from the plight of the workers constructing The Capitol Complex. It also reveals that Le Corbusier appreciated and benefited from the coloniality of his situation in Chandigarh.

The construction workers of Chandigarh remain almost entirely invisible in most existing literature on the city. Cohen has remarked on Le Corbusier's admiration of the Punjabi workers and also his extensive use of Kashmiri textiles in both the High Court and the Assembly Building.

Fig. 25. Screen shot of *Une ville à Chandigarh.* Courtesy of Trigon Film.

Alain Tanner's film *Une Ville à Chandigarh* (1966) idealises Chandigarh's construction workers and their practises. The narrator John Berger suggests that they built the city with techniques practised 4000 years ago, giving the workers a timeless and romanticised quality. This could be interpreted as a colonial romanisation of the indigenous 'other'. The narrator, John Berger, makes the point poetically, 'To build Chandigarh meant crossing many centuries. But crossing them, as it were, on foot'. This statement is then supported by the following statement:

> The city of Chandigarh was built by hand and carried on the heads of women. What is architecturally one of the most modern cities in the world is being built by men and women who have to carry each brick, each measure of earth and concrete, as they were carted 4000 years ago (Berger and Tanner, 2006).

As can be seen inferred from Fig. 25 the construction of the city would have been impossible without the know-how of the local construction workers, who have not altered their building practices despite the modernist aesthetic of the building. Equally, whilst this raises an important point about the materiality of Chandigarh's construction, the claim that the city was constructed with methods unchanged in 4000 years, shows that the makers of this film romanticise the endeavour of the labourers.

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There is no such romantic lens in the research of Aditya Prakash conducted in the early 1970s into the inhabitants of the various labour settlements in Chandigarh. The archival holding entitled Aditya Prakash's *Labour Housing in Chandigarh,* from 1972, animate the workers resident in Chandigarh. Prakash felt compelled to act on the issue that those that had built the city, had no official place within it. Prakash conducted research with the workers that lived in these haphazard labour settlements, such as the one in Sector-25. For example, K. Singh, 45, from Ambala Punjab, Lived on a wage of Rs. 150. Prakash was interested to learn of their ambitions, yet it lists his response as 'nil' (Prakash, A, 1972. Random Harvest: Labour Housing in Chandigarh. [text-based interview]. This 'nil' appears significant since it indicates a staggering disjunction between the architecture of Chandigarh and all of the rhetoric that surrounded it, and the lived actuality of those that constructed it. The Aditya Prakash Foundation Archive, D.88) We also learn that Singh arrived in Chandigarh twenty years ago in the early 1950s, at the time when construction started in Chandigarh (ibid). We might assume it that Singh had lived in a temporary shelter for two decades, with no immediate prospect of this being rectified. Likewise, Krishan Lal a mason from Pakistan, arrived in Delhi as a refugee and moved to Chandigarh as construction started (ibid).

It should be noted that for a chapter that seems intent on focusing on the invisibility of Chandigarh's Indian agency, for the above paragraph to be the only section that considers the manual labourers that built the city, is somewhat problematic. It was my intention to interview some of the surviving labourers that worked on the construction of the city, which had been facilitated by a friend in Chandigarh. However, unforeseen circumstances made this impossible. Saliently, one might argue that this omission holds a resonance within the project. It would appear that through thoroughgoing archival research one can begin to paint a picture of the Indian architects that contributed to the city. However, there is precious little about the work of the manual workers in the archives, at least the ones that I consulted. As my anecdote suggests, a different interview-based methodology would have been required to offer an account of this contribution. This omission, therefore, demonstrates one of the limitations of my adopted research methodology. However, the absence of manual workers and their contributions to the project, their long hours of toil and material ingenuity etc. is perhaps reflective of the very issue that this thesis seeks to address. This thesis has already shown that perhaps one reason for lack of documentation on the Indian architects that contributed to the city resulted from their being employed on an ad hoc basis until the early 1960s. Of course,

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what gets recorded will inevitably form the basis of the historical narratives that are subsequently constructed.

Le Corbusier, P.L. Verma; The Exception or the Rule?

Le Corbusier's attitudes to the construction workers certainly varied, but his relationship with P.L. Verma, the Chief Engineer, who played an important role in Chandigarh's inception and negotiated Le Corbusier's involvement, appears consistent. Cohen references Le Corbusier's esteem for his co-worker:

> The chief engineer Varma, who is responsible for all of the results on site, is an angel of sweetness. 'We want a capital of humility, for Indians are very humble'. Very touching- in contrast with the arrogance of Wall Street (2018, p.389).

Raj Mulk Anand, in his introductory piece for *Chandigarh, A Presentation* (1978), referenced the emerging relationship between the two which developed from around 1951 onwards:

> 'Corbusier Sahib,' said the engineer, Verma. 'In my house, no chillies. And I will show you some drawings I have done- adaptations of the India square house, which will fit with your rectangular plan'.
>
> I come- your house. See drawings. (1978, p.4)

When in 1955 Verma's continued presence on the project seemed in doubt, Le Corbusier intervened. The following anxious entry in his sketchbook, makes the personal importance of this to Le Corbusier clear:

> Varma[18] no longer has the confidence of the deputies and ministers.
>
> Varma, who gave his all, who along with Thapar, made the city, conceived it, realised it. He chose this admirable and efficient site which contains within itself the future for centuries to come, of a capital: a healthy future. To begin such a work to spend days and years and sleepless nights on it. To take on all the responsibilities. It is no longer

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[18] Frustratingly, perhaps perpetuating the invisibility of Verma, he's sometimes referred to as Varma. However, not by Indian authors, so I go with the spelling Verma, as per Vikramaditya Prakash.

speeches which are weighed according to the music of the words. It's concrete which has to hold up, resist, and serve. And it's dangerous.

We here can be counted on the fingers of one hand, and it is we who have taken the responsibility and overcome the weight of inertia' (Le Corbusier, 1982, J39 460)

This is a significant finding, since it shows that Le Corbusier recognised Verma's role, his selection of the site and continued facilitation of its construction. This passage serves as a ringing endorsement of Indian agency from Le Corbusier himself. It is relevant to the concept of collaborative modernism, since as with Prabhawalkar, it shows that Le Corbusier was firmly aware and appreciative of the Indian contribution to the city. Such entries demonstrate that Le Corbusier has perhaps at least in the instance of Chandigarh, become emmeshed in narrative of the lone creative genius, that he did not actively proliferate.

Malhotra, Prabhawalkar and Collaborative Modernism

Jeet Malhotra and Anant Prabhawalkar both assisted Le Corbusier on the design of the Capitol Project, which is a matter of historical record but is usually overlooked. Prabhawalkar was slightly older than the majority of the young architects that worked on the design of Chandigarh, and this might account for Le Corbusier's public acknowledgement of his work on The Assembly Building. However, as Vikramaditya Prakash observes, Prabhawalkar worked with Le Corbusier on other projects during the 1950s, and it is also noteworthy that the architect served as the first principal of the Chandigarh College of Architecture from 1960-1965 (Prakash, 2014, p.12). Prabhawalkar then became an architectural advisor to the government of Mauritius, under the auspice of Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, this arrangement resulting from mutual assistance between non-aligned countries. Jeet Malhotra is one of the few remaining living architects that worked with Le Corbusier, the other being S.D. Sharma. The writing of Vikramaditya Prakash typifies the state of knowledge on Malhotra, by observing that he worked with Le Corbusier on the Secretariat and then other municipal buildings of various functions (ibid, p.13)). It is also highlighted that Malhotra had a long and productive career which included his role of Chief Architect of Punjab and projects such as The Rajasthan Canal (ibid, p.13). He also held senior positions with both the National Council of Architecture and the Indian Institute of Architects in New Delhi (ibid, p.13). Unfortunately, this is the extent of the information, that is readily available on the architect.

We can expand this by referring to Le Corbusier's sketchbooks, which he kept consistently throughout his career and during his time in India, and crucially have yet to be considered as a resource for discerning the Indian architectural contribution to the design of Chandigarh. Importantly, whilst scholars such as Vikramaditya Prakash have used these documents to discuss Le Corbusier's work in Chandigarh, they have not been used to discover evidence of Chandigarh's Indian agency; thereby this thesis offers thoroughly original research on this subject. They emerge as an expansive body of evidence for advancing the concept of collaborative modernism in relation to Chandigarh. In them, we find numerous references to both Prabhawalkar and Malhotra. For example, in Autumn/Winter 1955, Le Corbusier made the following entries:

> 74 Urgent Malhotra to elevation [at] 05cm. per m. of filling glazing behind ramp. Waiting hall *ondulatoire* + front of the courts'

> 83 Malhotra//Prabhawalkar//Height of garages for bicycles because of ramp// perhaps// grass shrubs plant//bicycle// section

> 84 Malhotra design fenestration Hall basement B[lock] 4, eliminate the partitions, idem for Waiting rooms = 8 floors!! (Le Corbusier, 1982, J38: 375)

Such entries indicate that the three architects were working together closely on The Secretariat Building. This therefore suggests that besides assisting on The Assembly Building, that Prabhawalkar also worked on The Secretariat. A year or so later in November 1956, we find Le Corbusier becoming anxious at the prospect of Prabhawalkar taking an extended absence during the early stages of The Assembly Building:

> 8 Prabhawalkar 2 ½ [months] of vacation time off December January February: And the plans of the Assembly? It's too long an absence'. (Le Corbusier, 1982, K44:731).

Strikingly, we find two entries which show that Malhotra and Prabhawalkar were working with Le Corbusier on The High Court Building:

> 'H34, 168. View toward High Court//Prabhawalkar//water//pedestrian way//Water boulevard' (Le Corbusier, 1982, H34:168).

> September 18, 1954, Malhotra get from his design [for] anti rain canvas//Doshi= High Court photograph- 11am//since the erosion in front of the lawyers at 100 m. at

least//Prabha[walkar] plans [of] hill// + Malhotra plans [for] 3 ponds to Rao signed by Varma (Le Corbusier, 1982, H34:184)

45. Malhotra prepares rear offices// offices// Courts// for me to provide colours of the curtains.

46. Malhotra give me back the High Court photograph to send to studio 35 rue de Sèvres…

48. Urgent Malhotra the plan [for] Judges waiting room

49. Prabhawalkar study the <u>pools</u> sailing and rowing Water boulevard

50. *Attention* Malhotra the doors and panels of Small Courts (Le Corbusier, 1982, H34: 187).

These entries suggest that Le Corbusier Sketchbooks made during his time in India, show significant evidence on the Indian contribution to Chandigarh. Of profound relevance to the concept of collaborative modernism, they suggest that Le Corbusier, Prabhawalkar and Malhotra worked together collaboratively on The Secretariat and The High Court, buildings which are considered to be quintessentially Corbusian structures. They nuance the perception that Le Corbusier worked on these buildings completely independently and I would argue that they require further scholarly investigation. A primary reason for not having consulted them in more detail is that I wanted to allocate more time to excavating what could be found in Indian archives, the perception being that these sketchbooks were circumscribed by a certain Eurocentrism and coloniality; in retrospect, this was perhaps an overly hasty judgement.

The Capitol Complex: Indifference and Discord

The notion of collaborative modernism aspires to disrupt a Corbusian dominated account of both Chandigarh and even tentatively The Capitol Complex, by critiquing the assumption that the site represented an unchecked creative outpouring. As can be seen from the layout of The Capitol Complex, featured in Fig. 26, the site is activated by a dramatic interplay between The High Court and The Assembly Building. The Assembly Building and in particular The Enamel Gate nuance arguments that underpin collaborative modernism, as it provides an example of when Le Corbusier unsuccessfully invited collaboration. Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga inform us that Le Corbusier wanted ideas for the enamel gate from Nehru and his cohort, specifically wanting inspiration for symbols that might evoke pertinent and contemporary ideas (2000,

p.95). However, on October 17, 1961, Nehru informed him that having consulted his associates he did not have any novel suggestions for the enamel gate, leaving Le Corbusier to his own devices to create his own aesthetic schema.

However, it should be noted that the notion of collaborative modernism isn't simply reducible to collaboration. Whilst we can clearly perceive Le Corbusier's open attempt to get an Indian input, it is intriguing that Nehru and those around him, appear to have been much less interested than Le Corbusier. The question emerges, was there a reason for Nehru's lack of interest? Could it be that in his desire for a modern Indian state, Nehru wanted to avoid the use of symbolism associated with India's past?

Let us now consider the Enamel Gates's aesthetic schema. As we can see in Fig. 27, the ensemble includes a variety of flora and fauna, the bull, tortoise, serpent fish; outside of the frame the gate also includes an eagle and the modular man (2002, p.74). Vikramaditya Prakash focuses on Le Corbusier's preoccupation with the bull, which has been given a focal point on the gate. The significance of the bull has several potential explanations, one of which is that Le Corbusier might have been inspired by the Nandi Bull which is typically located outside temples devoted to Shiva, another being Le Corbusier's interest in the seals of the ancient Indus Valley Civilisation inspired him to set the bull in pride of place (ibid, p.113). Prakash observes that the bull reflects Le Corbusier's interest in the local environment; we find the animal roaming all over India and the Punjabi Plains. The green backdrop arguably echoes the themes of fecundity evoked by the bull, but also recalls the fertility of the Punjabi Plains and the Himalayan Foothills, the latter forming to the backdrop to the city. A river runs through the ensemble that serves as a signifier as one of the five rivers that runs through the Punjab, the land of five rivers. The symbolic potentiality of the bull is supported by the other animals included in the aesthetic schema. The bull is also evocative of European modernism, insofar as it is evocative of Picasso, who was fascinated by the bull motif. Equally, the flattening of forms and the use of colour brings to mind the fauvist work of Matisse.

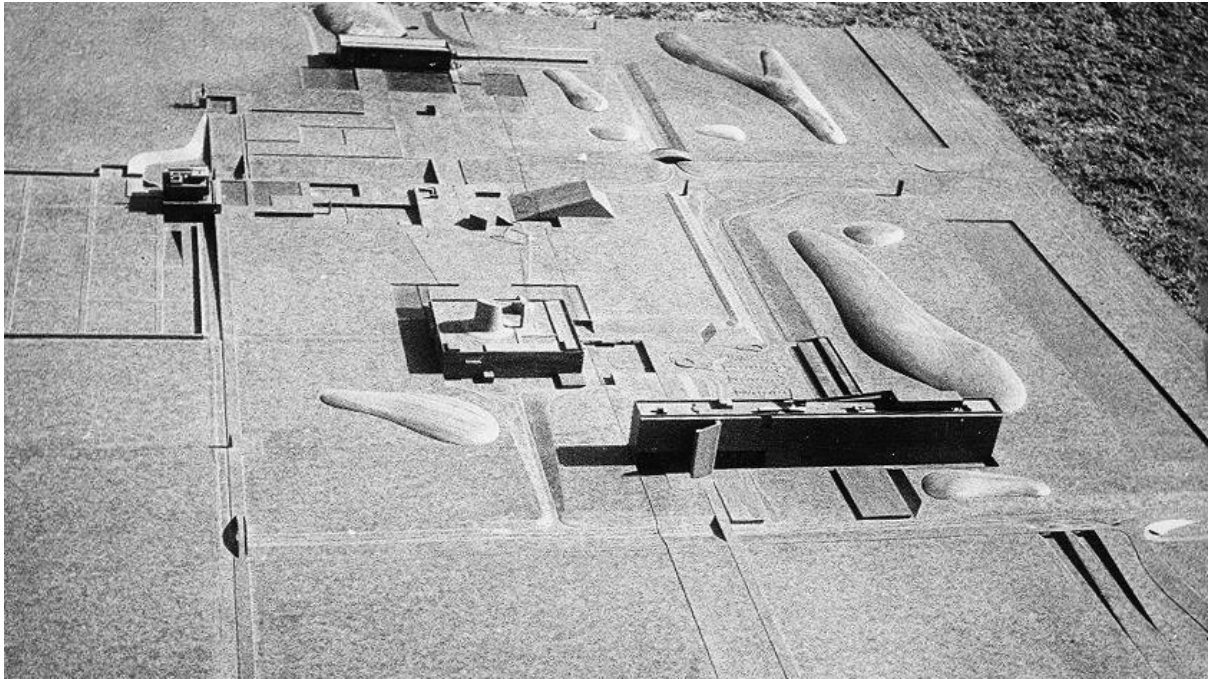Fig. 26. Model layout of the Capitol Complex. From Landscape Architecture Association
(www.landscapearchirecture.org.uk)

Fig. 27. Detail of the Enamel Gate, author's own photograph. Taken in November 2017 during my three-month research trip
based at Panjab University.

I would suggest that the bull, serpent, eagle and tortoise combine to create an ensemble that strongly reinforces notions of regeneration, fecundity, and the restorative power of nature. This perhaps owes as much to Le Corbusier's personal predilections as to the hopes and aspirations for a newly independent India. Indeed, one could argue that since Nehru seemed uninterested in the schema, that Le Corbusier's vision overwhelms the visual experience that the gate provides. To unpack the meaning of the gate's visual schema, we can refer to *An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols* (1978). It should be noted that Cooper wrote on a broad range of subjects including philosophy, comparative religion. Cooper notes, 'usually the bull is the masculine principle in nature; the solar generative force […] fecundity; the reproductive power of nature (1978, p.26). The tortoise strengthens this regenerative quality, as Cooper informs us 'the tortoise is frequently depicted as the support of the world as the beginning of creation and the all sustaining' (ibid, p.174). It is likely that the inclusion of both the eagle and serpent held significance for Le Corbusier. The serpent is 'a highly complex and universal symbol […] It is solar and lunar, life and death, light and darkness, good and evil, wisdom and blind passion, healing and poison, preserver and destroyer, and both spiritual and physical rebirth […] when the eagle or stag appears with the serpent they are solar and manifest light with the serpent as darkness, the unmanifest and chthonic; together they are cosmic unity, totality' (ibid, p.148). Le Corbusier can therefore be perceived as creating a visual programme for the gate which placed Chandigarh and perhaps India into a cosmic continuum, an inevitable cycle of regeneration and destruction.

There is undoubtedly a spiritual dimension to the Enamel Gate, and this places it within a discernible trajectory within modernism, which sometimes took its inspiration from Eastern mysticism. As previously mentioned in the Modernist Interlude chapter, the notion of collaborative modernism asserts that modernism has always been a set of transcultural flows. Artists such as Franz Marc, Frank Kupka, Ciurlionis, alongside Mondrian and Kandinsky were inspired by Theosophy; a cosmological system devised by Madame Blavatsky (Kaplan and Manso, 1977, p.250). Importantly, Le Corbusier's Enamel Gate, with its cosmological symbolism that asserts the regenerative quality of nature, into an ever-flowing continuum, connects to the desire of some modernists to achieve 'the re-enchantment of modernity' (Mansell, 2017, p.65).

In The Enamel Gate, we find an object that embodies the transcultural flows that collaborative modernism hopes to explore. It is an object that shows a modernist desire to 're-enchant' modernity through the re-invigoration of spiritual concerns, augmented by Eastern mysticism. Indeed, it should be noted that aesthetic modernism was often a quasi-spiritual critique of industrial modernity, which held its origins in Romanticism's reaction to the Enlightenment. However, The Enamel Gate is topographically situated in an Eastern setting and the flows of which we speak are not in one direction, e.g. the migration of Eastern mysticism to Europe, but this trajectory of modernism finds itself materialised in architectural form in an Eastern setting; commissioned by Indian patrons. We can say that The Enamel Gate was an example of collaborative modernism, that was complexly collaborative, insofar as it is a material manifestation of back and forth cultural flows.

The Capitol Complex layout, Fig. 22 and tourist map shown in Fig. 23 combine to visualise that The Capitol Complex is removed from the rest of the city and holds a hierarchical significance. The Secretariat a shown in Fig. 4 is set back from the giant esplanade and the drama of The High Court and The Assembly Building. Whilst The High Court possesses an intriguing façade, The Enamel Gate and the attention given to the architectural symbolism of The Assembly Building seemingly reflects a highly curated architectural and spatial hierarchy, of the which the former is at the epicentre. One might argue that the Enamel Gate is what anchors The Assembly Building as the most significant within The Capitol Complex, since it reflects both Le Corbusier's architectural and spiritual vision.

Fig. 28. Detail of the Enamel Gate. Authors own photograph. Taken in November 2017, during my three-month research trip based at Panjab University.

Also, as Fig. 28 shows, we also find a small gathering of animals, the identity and meaning of which is revealed in by Jane Drew in a piece of autobiographical writing found in the Fry and Drew Papers, in which we learn that the Le Corbusier had once produced a drawing that depicted:

> Jeanneret as a proud little cock, me [Jane Drew] as a goat, Max as a dog suckling at me and Le Corbusier as a crow looking the other way (F&D/25/2)

Given the highly idiosyncratic nature of the visual programme for the gate, it is very difficult to contest that Le Corbusier wholeheartedly embraced the creative freedom presented to him by the indifference of his Indian patrons. The question begs whether this indifference was typically experienced in the creation of the Capitol Complex? What is interesting here is that the creative freedom, can be regarded as drawing on a trans-individual cultural flow, which is already a mixture of 'East & West'. As has already been shown, Nehru's indifference to the aesthetic schema of the Enamel Gate, might be explained by an aversion to using symbolism associated with India's past. Furthermore, it could be suggested the former colonised are in a

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greater hurry to decolonise than their former colonisers. Whilst Le Corbusier might have thought it very important to create mystical (Orientalist) allegory, Nehru would certainly not have prioritised this as a political objective.

We should not regard the enamel gate as typifying Le Corbusier's experiences in Chandigarh, which usually entailed consultation, contestation and compromise, evidence of this can be found in the Randhawa Papers, held in the municipal archives, in the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh. Vikramaditya Prakash notes, the Capitol Complex is essentially incomplete as Le Corbusier had initially envisaged the site as including a building referred to as The Governor's Palace, later re-conceptualised as The Museum of Knowledge (2002, p. 83). The Governor's Palace was intended as the apex of the site, yet they abandoned it at the behest of Jawaharlal Nehru, who felt that such an opulent building was hugely undemocratic (Bahga, S&S, 2000, p.116). A letter from Le Corbusier to Nehru, reveals that working relations were strained between the architect and senior administrators, such as K.S. Narang. The letter also shows that there was not only resistance to Le Corbusier's creative vision, but also significant interpersonal clashes, which disrupt the notion of Le Corbusier having unfettered free creative reign. The letter is dated 26th October 1963:

> Dear Mr. Nehru,
>
> There are various currents flowing at Chandigarh. Since the time of Messrs P.N.Thapar and P.L. Verma the atmosphere is completely changed. People would like me to be completely shut out of Bhakra Dam and at the same time of the work of the Capitol of Chandigarh. The Bhakra Dam has been inaugurated on the 20th […] I knew of it accidentally having not been invited at its inauguration by the Bhakra administration.
>
> A letter from Pierre Jeanneret of 15-10-1963 gives me the indication of the violent hostility of the department of Shri K.S. Narang pertaining to my office as Government Adviser (for the 'Museum of Knowledge', Art Gallery, which are at present under construction at Chandigarh). I had undergone once before the hostility from one of the predecessors of Shr. K.S. Narang, Mr. D.P. Nayar, and I had requested you to kindly chose between him and me.

I have always felt it my duty to achieve my obligations. You were in a state of war with China during the course of the summer of 1963. I did not wish to intervene at this moment out of respect and tact. However, I have written to Mr. K.S. Narang on 14th December, 1962, that taking into consideration the serious worries of every nature which assail your country at this time I made a gift of my honorarium at Chandigarh and stated that I would not like to be paid while I undertook to control the work- the only expenditure Govt. of India might incur would be the air ticket Paris-Delhi and return through Air India.

Mr. K.S. Narang reproaches me in his letter of 24th July, 1963 to Mr Pierre Jeanneret of not only having written to him about my decision to complete the above buildings without honorarium (Corbusier, Le, 1963. Letter from Le Corbusier to Nehru. *The Randhawa Papers*, 1554 Chandigarh 1964-65, 1554:0009)

However, even Le Corbusier's revised proposal met opposition, as we can see in the minutes of the meeting of the High-Level Committee, dated 18th April 1964, attended by several individuals including Thapar, M.S. Randhawa, K.S. Narang, Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret.

The question of construction of Museum of Knowledge in place of Governor's residence in Capitol Complex was discussed at length. While it was agreed that there should be the 4th building in the Capitol Complex to complete it according to the original conception, the idea of Museum of Knowledge was not very clear to members. Also while the possibility of constructing this building was not ruled out, it was decided that the concept of Museum of Knowledge should be studied further (author unknown. Minutes from the High-Level Committee 18th April 1964. *The Randhawa Papers*, 1554 Chandigarh 1964-65, 1554:0069).

This extract shows that proposals were scrutinised, and that acceptance was based on merit and suitability. Here, Le Corbusier's revised proposal was not accepted, even after further elaboration and development. Even the iconic Open Hand monument was negotiable, and compromise was necessary, as the correspondence between Le Corbusier and M.S. Randhawa shows:

I am glad to receive your letter enclosing the sketch of the Open Hand. I like the drawing which you have sent and I am firmly of the view that it should find place in the Capitol Complex. The 'Open Hand' as a symbol of work, generosity of man and peace, is of particular significance. When the colossal resources which are now locked up in armament, are diverted to construction work your dream of dwellings built in an artistic manner, would possibly come true. (Randhawa, M.S. Letter from M.S. Randhawa to Le Corbusier, 1964. The Randhawa Papers, 1554 Chandigarh 1964-65, 1554:0028).

M.S. Randhawa clearly endorses the idea of the Open Hand Monument, yet his acceptance is conditional on the appropriate funds becoming available. It should be noted that the construction of The Open Hand Monument, was directly opposed by Nehru because of its unwelcomed semiotic association with India's past (Prakash, 2002, p.19). The monument was not completed until 1982, almost thirty years after Le Corbusier's final visit to Chandigarh.

Conclusion

I premised this case study on several objectives, and primarily to explore the extent to which the Capitol Complex could be perceived as a site of consultation, compromise, contestation and collaboration. Regarding collaboration, I gave forensic focus to establishing if I could discern traces of the contribution of Indian architects in existing literature. Given the absence of this contribution in the selected texts, it then became necessary to refer to archival sources. Through collaboration with Le Corbusier's sketchbook we have glimpsed into the working relationship of Le Corbusier, Malhotra and Prabhawalkar and have seen that they worked collectively on the Secretariat and High Court. Thus, there are grounds to suggest that the Capitol Complex was a site of Indo-European collaboration, with a significant Indian agency. As Le Corbusier's private endorsement of modern slavery demonstrates, the architect retained an imperialist sentiment whilst working in India, which complicates the notion of collaborative modernism in Chandigarh. However, another facet of this case study was to explore the Capitol Complex as a site of consultation and contestation. As we have seen with the minutes from the High-Level Committee (held regularly throughout Le Corbusier's fifteen years involvement with Chandigarh) consultation and contestation featured in Chandigarh's design process, with Le Corbusier's creative schemes being vetoed. Likewise, as Le Corbusier's correspondence with Dr. M.S. Randhawa demonstrates, compromise and patience were necessary. All of this

conspires together to critique the notion that Le Corbusier was given unfettered creative reign in the Capitol Complex and suggests that we could perceive even this deep Corbusian territory as a site of collaborative modernism. It now seems pertinent to progress to the Aditya Prakash case study with a view to establish the extent to which his work confirms, nuances complicate the notion of collaborative modernism in India.

Aditya Prakash Case Study

I devote this case study to both the poetry and architecture of Aditya Prakash (1924-2008), who formed part of the capitol project team and who collaborated with Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret and Jane Drew. Through doing so, I hope to discern an Indian agency in Chandigarh's design. Agency in this context, connects to the concept of collaborative modernism. As stated throughout this thesis, collaborative modernism suggests that Chandigarh was created by a network of administrators, architects, town planners and engineers, who despite divergent objectives, worked together collaboratively in order to create the city. The nature of Prakash's contribution to the city will be considered, to elaborate this sense of an Indian agency in the design of Chandigarh. I will achieve this through presenting archival evidence of Aditya Prakash's contribution, which has been overlooked or subordinated by the compelling Corbusian mythology that surrounds Chandigarh.

I will now elaborate on the decision to select Aditya Prakash. On a practical level, Prakash's work whilst not hugely well known is well documented by the Aditya Prakash Foundation archive (Chandigarh), consequently I have been able to access this resource. The material gathered for this chapter was obtained during an intensive two weeks spent at the Foundation's archive, which formed   part of my three-month research trip based at Panjab University. I was particularly interested in locating architectural drawings, personal writings and photographs. Whilst Prakash's voice is arguably clear in the architectural historical texts of his son Vikramaditya Prakash, the latter almost seems cautious of giving undue emphasis to his father's contribution, and so when compared to the often cited M.N. Sharma, S.D. Sharma who has an entire monograph dedicated to his oeuvre and Jeet Malhotra, who was heavily consulted for the benchmark text *Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret; Footprints in the Sands of Indian Architecture*. Prakash has produced two texts on Chandigarh entitled *Chandigarh, A Presentation in Free Verse* and *Reflections on Chandigarh*. Both texts include introductions from Mulk Raj Anand, modernist, who associated with the Bloomsbury set and was friends to both André Malraux and Pablo Picasso. Anand's association with leading European modernists, demonstrates the transcultural spirit of modernism and of relevance to the concept of collaborative modernism, that not all modernists were from the perceived 'centre', e.g. Europe. I will propose that whilst these texts are not conventionally 'academic', that they provide a critical lens through which to consider both Prakash's output and Chandigarh as a city. It is my hope that these poetic texts might assist in offsetting the distorted narratives of

academia on the city. Finally, this is a live strand of research, Vikramaditya Prakash's monograph on Aditya Prakash is pending publication at the time of writing and will be due in the summer of 2020.

In methodological terms, a primary source for this case study will be the archives held at the Aditya Prakash Foundation archive, which provides an invaluable resource in attempting to understand the architect's contribution to the city and his relationship with modernism, Le Corbusier and the design of Chandigarh. This case study will combine a consultation of the Aditya Prakash Foundation archive, with the poetic and biographical writings of Prakash and extant material such as *Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints in the Sands of Indian Architecture*.

Prakash's poetry has been selected since I believe it is significant that Prakash wrote and published these poetry publications in English and in collaboration with perhaps the most famous Anglophone Indian writer of the mid-twentieth century. It is intriguing that Prakash produced both volumes collaboratively, which perhaps he felt to be consummate with the working spirit of Chandigarh, that had somehow been eclipsed. Prakash and Anand intended to contribute to existing knowledge on the city, based on their respective involvement in Chandigarh and modernism. Whilst the use of English shows a certain coloniality, it also suggests that Prakash and Anand wanted their ideas, critiques and analysis of Chandigarh, to reach by an international audience. This is reminiscent of the earlier discussion of Mignolo's concept of epistemic disobedience (Mignolo, 2016) in relation to Prakash and Anand's decision to publish their work in English. It was suggested-via reference to Bill Ashcroft's article 'Postcolonial Modernities' (2014)- that the decision was in part motivated by a desire to create a dialogue between 'local' experience and dominant Anglophone Euro-American narratives about the city; therefore engendering a subversive position in relation to prevailing discourse on the city. This also brings to mind the notion of writing back to the Empire, which has been a salient feature of post-colonial theory since the 1980s, for example, Bill Ashcroft's book *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practise in Post-Colonial Literature* (1989). To expand this point, it is worth making a detour to the recent novel by Poet Ocean Vuong *On Earth We're Briefly Gorgeous* (2019), which takes the form of a letter from a son to a mother. The following extract is illuminating:

> That night I promised myself I'd never be wordless when you need me to speak for you. So I began my career as our family's official interpreter. From then on, I would fill in

our blanks, our silences, stutters, whenever I could. I code switched. I took off our language and wore my English like a mask so that others would see my face, and therefore yours (2019, p.32).

We might suggest that Aditya Prakash's use of English was a mask, or a device deployed to ensure that his ideas, critiques and experiences would be seen and perhaps permeate Anglophone Euro-American scholarship. This is highly significant within the context of collaborative modernism. I propose that this poetic and literary intervention into the fabric of existing knowledge on Chandigarh and its creation demands the inclusion of this material within the context of this thesis.

The case study will also focus on Prakash's Tagore Theatre (1961) and Neelam Cinema, the former has been selected since it is widely considered to be his greatest contribution to the city and the latter since it holds pride of place in Sector 17, a site conventionally considered to have been designed by Le Corbusier. I will conduct the above with a view to understand the nature of Prakash's contribution to Chandigarh and the extent to which it affirms or ruptures conventional narratives that surround the city. The hope is that by exploring this material, I will gain a greater understanding of how Aditya Prakash's work contributes to a greater understanding of collaborative modernism, both within the context of Chandigarh and more broadly.

Before proceeding with this consideration of Aditya Prakash's architecture and poetry, it seems important to provide some biographical information about the architect, painter and poet. Perhaps an ideal point of departure for this task is provided by the writing of Vikramaditya Prakash, who notes that:

> He belongs to this first generation of Chandigarh's inhabitants- Salman Rushdie's infamous "Midnight Children". At the stroke of the midnight hour, 14-15 August 1947, when India became independent, my father was on his way to study architecture. He might have lived his whole life in the UK, had he not heard of Chandigarh. Working in a small architects office in Glasgow, however lucrative a prospect did not compare with the historical opportunity to help build a new capital city, commissioned personally by Jawaharlal Nehru, the celebrated first prime minister of independent India' (2002, p.3).

With regards to Aditya's seniority within the context of the Capitol Project team, Vikramaditya Prakash is unambiguous, and provides a list of nine architects (which I have contested in Chapter Three and will also present evidence in the next chapter) that worked on Chandigarh in the first phase of its design 'these were-in the bureaucratic order of seniority- M.N. Sharma, A.R. Prabhawalkar, B.P. Mathur, Piloo Moody, U.E. Chowdhury, N.S. Lamba, Jeet Lal Malhotra (sic), J.S. Dethe and Aditya Prakash' (2002, p.96). Aditya is placed at the bottom of the pile of the young Indian team. This might then account for the lack of scholarly discourse on the architect, it also demonstrates that Vikramaditya Prakash could hardly be accused of giving undue emphasis to his father.

Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga do not give Prakash a significant exposition, though their brief words on the architect are favourable:

> the other towering figure is Aditya Prakash who is multifaceted personality. He is an educationist, architect, artist and author and protagonist of Corbusier and Jeanneret's school of thought. Not only did he work on the capitol project assisting the masters till their departure in the mid-sixties but was also the principal of the Chandigarh College of Architecture (2000, p. 314).

This is a fascinating passage as the language used seems to possess a certain coloniality. The relation it evokes between Prakash and the European team e.g. 'assisting' and 'master', perhaps indicates an imperialism of a certain representation (of Le Corbusier and his cohort), has permeated Indian accounts of Chandigarh's design. As indicated in Chapter Four, the centrality of Le Corbusier presented in the institutional narrative of museums such as The City Architecture Museum, suggests there is a strong confluence between Anglophone Euro-American narratives and Indian ones. It is now necessary to venture into the archives held at the Aditya Prakash Foundation. From his obituary in *The Times of Chandigarh* on Wednesday 13th August 2008, we learn that he studied architecture in London and worked with Le Corbusier on the design for the Chandigarh School of Art. They later developed this design for the Chandigarh School of Architecture (Times News Network. Architect Aditya Passes Away. Times of Chandigarh, 13th August 2008. APF Archives Folder D53.). Both *The Times of Chandigarh* and *The Chandigarh Tribune* concur that his most significant project was the Tagore Theatre, but that other noteworthy buildings include The District Courts, Treasury Building, Indo-Swiss Training Centre, Cable Factory, Jagat, Neelam and KC Cinemas and

several markets in Chandigarh (ibid & Sharma, S.D. Aditya Prakash Dead. The Chandigarh Tribune. 13th August 2008. APF Archives Folder D53). *The Hindu Times* obituary refers to Prakash's polymath tendencies:

> Aditya. Who designed the City's cultural nucleus- Tagore Theatre, was in essence an architect who understood that art and architecture are inextricably linked. Painter, architect or theatre person [actor]… you can take your pick. He was all rolled into one' (Singh, Nonika. The Sun Set. The Hindu Times. 13th August 2008. APF Archives Folder D53).

Despite the lack of critical attention given to Aditya's work thus far, I contend that his architectural and poetic oeuvre demand further scholarly attention and that doing so has profound relevance to formulating an understanding of collaborative modernism in relation to Chandigarh.

Unreconcilable Contradictions: The Poetry of Aditya Prakash.

Before considering Aditya's architecture, I will enrich this process by first exploring the architect's two poetry publications devoted entirely to Chandigarh entitled *Chandigarh, a Presentation in Free Verse* (1978) and *Reflections on Chandigarh* (1983). I consider these publications side by side, to augment a formidable set of critical concerns, including Indian agency in the design of Chandigarh, the relation of Le Corbusier to his 'peers' or colleagues and also how Le Corbusier related to the project itself. Prakash articulates how secular forms of spirituality relate to the structures erected in Chandigarh, specifically in the Capitol Complex. Whilst the secular and the spiritual might seem contradictory, Prakash seems intent on exploring these differing aspects of Chandigarh.

This section will discuss the poetic works of Aditya Prakash and before doing so, it is important to clarify the reasons for including material that is perhaps not conventionally used in architectural historical discourse. There is a difference between the largely 'external' and seemingly factual nature of many historical sources as compared to the partial views of the interior and personal life, that can be accessed through poetry. Cultural historians, who are invested in attempting to understand the life-worlds of past people, give more value to these

more intimate types of sources which would also include diaries, recorded conversations, notes and drawings, than for example, demographic data. The crux of the issue relates to explaining how poetry complements or embellishes historical information that can be obtained through more conventional sources, such as historical documents. It can be argued that including Prakash's poetry relates to core aspects of collaborative modernism. First, the highlighted poetry provides access to Prakash's interior life and potentially a greater understanding of the nuances and subjectivity of the architect's engagement and contribution to the city. This is important to the overall project of collaborative modernism, as it expands the potential for critically engaged discourse on an important protagonist in the history of Chandigarh, that has been typically overlooked in canonical discourse on the city.

This connects with another important feature of collaborative modernism, which is to understand the emotive and affective dimensions of Chandigarh's architectural history. Over the following pages, for example, we encounter an insightful vignette of the emotional interactions that shared by the team, evoked by Raj Mulk Anand's introduction to *Chandigarh, a Presentation in Free Verse*. These poetry volumes offer fresh insight on the complexity of Prakash's relationship with Chandigarh's creation, Le Corbusier and the notion of Chandigarh being an imposition. Indeed, these poetic sketches, musings and reflections are not so different from the material that we encounter in Le Corbusier's sketchbooks, which also provide access to the interiority of one of Chandigarh's protagonists. Also, as has been suggested, both *Chandigarh, a Presentation in Free Verse* and *Reflections on Chandigarh* were produced in conjunction with Raj Mulk Anand and are Anglophone, indicating that they contribute to the ongoing discourse of collaborative modernism. Therefore, it expedient to consider this material alongside more conventional historical sources.

The opening piece of writing found in *Chandigarh, A Presentation in Free Verse*, is a piece by Raj Mulk Anand, Indian Anglophone writer and modernist. Within the context of collaborative modernism and Chandigarh, it is striking that Anand inserts a more pluralistic version of the Chandigarh foundation myth. Anand commences:

> In the little clearing in the jungle, by the barn-like refugee style hut, where Le Corbusier and his associate architects worked, the heavy perfume of the vegetation came into our nostrils. The mosquitoes buzzed in a conference as though to pass a resolution against the building of Chandigarh, and a few of us crowded around the pale sage with the big-black-framed glasses on his furtive eyes

Jane Drew passed around a tray of small wine glasses, saying: 'Jeannert's [sic] Devil Brew!'

P.N Thapar raised his glass in a toast. He did not say who the toast was to.

All smiles, the company sipped wine made by Jeannert [sic], while the brewer said: 'Not bad, eh'

Maxwell Fry twisted his lips and gave grudging approval (Anand, Raj Mulk, 1978, p.3)

Anand recounts that Le Corbusier serenades the group with the poetry of Rimbaud, translated by Jane Drew. From Anand's writing, we find a sense of the collective and with ebullient optimism, Anand goes onto state:

I knew on this evening that, from the craters and the ravines, below the Shivaliks, out of the woods, would arise the apotheosis of a city, to advance Mandu, Sikri and Jaipur, with shelter for men and women of the city. Today, that city is a reality, lived in, coveted, loved and sung about by Aditya Prakash, a challenge to future generations to evolve it into the finest city of humanism in the whole world' (ibid, p.6)

So, what do this scene add to an understanding of Le Corbusier's relationship with his Indian colleagues? Of importance to the concept of collaborative modernism his narrative not only includes the usual suspects, Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry, but also Thapar, Verma, Malhotra and intriguingly Anand himself. As it transpires Anand was a friend of the Chief Minister Thapar and had been (or so the author claimed) been involved in some of the early conversations during Chandigarh's conception. Although Le Corbusier is clearly signified as the creative genius behind the project, he appears firmly integrated within the team, rather than an isolated lone male genius. Anand's narrative places Chandigarh alongside the great cities of Fatehpur Sikri and Jaipur, he begins to weave Chandigarh into India's architectural history.

Anand shows the admiration that his Indian colleagues held for Le Corbusier. The image of the cohort huddled around the pale sage and his subsequent poetry performance shows the existence of the cult of Le Corbusier. There is an intriguing reference to the poet Rimbaud,

who was reputed to have worked as an arm-dealer whilst in Ethiopia and somebody that had arguably exploited the coloniality of his situation. Although Le Corbusier was a respected figure, he was also fallible, and the importance given to his works, also worthy of critique. We could reduce this to an uncomfortable idealisation and an acknowledgement of the architectural merits of the Capitol Complex, but also some deep misgivings about the coloniality of relations which facilitated their creation. This takes a more pronounced form in the second volume of poetry *Reflections on Chandigarh*, that evokes an unreconciled ambivalence, the complexity of which might never be resolved.

An ongoing concern within both of Raj Mulk Anand's contributions to both *Chandigarh, A Presentation in Free Verse* and *Reflections on Chandigarh,* not to mention Prakash's poetry within these publications, is an exploration of whether Chandigarh can be perceived as an imposition. This is conceptually pivotal to the underpinning aim of collaborative modernism, which is to advance an understanding of Chandigarh which avoids a neo-colonial logic, simultaneously refutes the notion of Chandigarh as an imposition. As stated at the beginning of Chapter Two, the primary drawback of Anglophone Euro-American scholarship is that it presents Le Corbusier and his cohort as benevolently gifting an urban space that would not otherwise have existed. This position is destabilised through consideration of these texts, let us briefly consider the following passage:

> 'Housing
>
> Undoubtedly a Western Imposition
> On the Indian way of life;
> Yes, an imposition,
> But consciously done,
> In the spirit of experiment
> An experiment which succeeded
> Albeit modified by experience.
>
> Standing to work is a way of life
> In each Chandigarh household
> Irrespective of status, origin or religion

A way of life which has

Imperceptibly crept into

The lives of neighbouring areas

And made people erect, alert and efficient'.

(Prakash, Aditya, 1978, p.19).

From Prakash we find the notion of Chandigarh as a knowing imposition, which was subject to modification by local experience. This modification based on local experience, is incredibly important to the idea of collaborative modernism, since it implies that the architecture of Chandigarh was in fact the result of a back and forth exchange. This adds to the critique of Curtis' conception this modification emanating from the genius of the plan (1998), indicated at the beginning of Chapter Two. As Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga (2000) and SD Sharma (2017) have indicated, the process of this modification was carried out by individuals such as Jeanneret and P.L. Verma and has very little to do with Le Corbusier. This notion of a conscious or considered imposition, is referenced by Anand in *Chandigarh, A Presentation in Free Verse.* Le Corbusier's well-known habit of drawing as a means of apprehending the local context is given emphasis:

Le Corbusier said, 'You look, my sketch book.'

We all eagerly scanned, as he turned the pages: Open Hand, camels, donkeys, village belles, turbaned peasant, snakes, doorways, corners, verandas, trees, pipal leaves, all drawn with the free hand, in great profusion.

Pierre Jeannert [sic] commented in French what I understood him to mean: 'Corb believes in precise drawing for his pupils. Himself, he is for something more than drawing. He did not go to ecole or college. He has mastered his craft. So that he can forget it. He is a creative artist'.

'Bricklaying,' added Le Corbusier. 'There are many ways of bricklaying… Straight… Triangle… curved- dancing wall, eh?'

'Our mistris know that,' said Verma. 'In many havelis they have shown great skill. And in the palaces of Udaipur.'

'Once upon a time,' I said.

'I will make a plan which is simple,' said Le Corbusier. 'A big village. In burnt brick. I will bring in air. Keep Sun-God in control. Garden in every house. Not Paris, London, New York- Chandigarh, new city.' (Anand, Raj Mulk, 1978, p.5)

Le Corbusier used sketching to investigate the local context, with a view to manifesting this knowledge gained through empirical observation, into the urban planning of Chandigarh. Le Corbusier is ingesting local building techniques with a view to both adopting and adapting them.

Anand's celebratory tone vanishes from his critique of the city found in *Reflections on Chandigarh*. Despite Le Corbusier's non-scholarly engagement, but nonetheless not insignificant engagement with the local context, Anand states the following:

> The impact of western machine civilisation destroyed the fabric of stagnant village society. The factories in the towns and cities began to absorb the peasants, who lost their lands, through the rigours of the cash nexus economy. And every settlement became a slum in which people with rural habits crowded into narrow spaces, in hells reminiscent of the kingdom of the god of death-Yama […] So he tried to cover the neglect of human interests of the current industrial order of the west with the professed love of 'man'. He had not read Marx, nor Gandhi, nor even Nehru, and the Fabians. And while his Chandigarh plan became acceptable, because India had just initiated a planned agro-industrial order, neither he, nor his hosts in our country, thought out the consequences of the city, divided into classes for residence, in what was intended to be a 'socialistic pattern of society' (Anand, Raj Mulk, 1983, p.vi)

Anand's reference to Marx in his critique, has implications for both the newly independent India and collaborative modernism. Colonialism, as Ania Loomba reminds us, was the seizure of land and economy, and with European colonialism, the re-alignment of non-

capitalist economies to facilitate the ongoing expansion of European capitalism (Loomba, 2005, p.23). The act of situating colonialism within the ongoing development of capitalism, reflects the belief of many Marxist thinkers that colonialism and capitalism were unfortunate but essential phases in the development of human social relations (Loomba, ibid). Marx himself had the following to say about colonialism in India:

> England, it is true, in causing a social revolution in Hindustan was actuated only by the vilest of interest, and was stupid in her manner of enforcing them. But that is not the question. The question is, can mankind fulfil its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia. If not, whatever may have been crimes of England she was the unconscious tool of history in bringing about that revolution (Loomba, ibid).

In the post-independence context, Anand accepted the process of colonialism as a necessary evil, regarding Chandigarh as an opening in the fabric of history onto which a socialist, if not Marxist urban vision could be woven. Anand's reservations about the city suggest a partial or even outright failure of this endeavour. Of significance to collaborative modernism, they also show the transcultural flow of ideas that underpinned the conceptual and political horizons for Indian modernity. It also reveals the paradoxical drawing on the European tradition of critique in order to critique Europe and its legacies.

 Prakash also appears to recognise the need for a more critical appraisal of the city, even as he concluded the far more celebratory Chandigarh, A Presentation in Free Verse. Indeed, at the beginning of Reflections on Chandigarh, he makes the following comments:

> Even before I had completed composing "Chandigarh- A Presentation in Free Verse" during the Silver Jubilee year of the city, it had become clear to me that the booklet had to be followed by a "critique" on the City Beautiful. This city had either been over praised or over criticised, but no one had reflected on its concept**s** (Prakash, 1983, p.viiii).

The rest of this section will be given to the articulation of Chandigarh's secular spirituality within these texts. This is especially pertinent, since an underdeveloped criticism of the city, which was purported to be an embodiment of Nehruvian secularism, was named after an

ancient Hindu deity, Chandi, which somewhat contradicts notions of religious neutrality. To my knowledge, this criticism has only been briefly mentioned in Cohen's publication *Le Corbusier: The Buildings* (2018) and by Ian Jackson in *The Architecture of Edwin Maxwell Fry: Twentieth Century Architecture, Pioneer Modernism, and the Tropics* (2016). It also demonstrates the tension between supposed secularism and modernity its role in Indian independence. As the naming of Chandigarh exemplifies, the slate is seldom wiped truly clean. Aditya's poetry serves as a partial though potentially insufficient response to such criticism, as I shall now demonstrate.

In *Chandigarh, A Presentation in Free Verse*, Prakash begins to articulate his version of a secular spirituality, that he purports Chandigarh to imbibe:

Homage to Concrete, Homage to Mountains

Monumental in Concept, Spiritual by Design.

It is a new concept of worship

It is a new idea of temples,

With Temple Cities we, in India, are familiar

Detached, forlorn, uninhabited

A world of Gods alone

To which 'Man' is admitted on occasion

In physical concept similar

In usage entirely dissimilar (1978, p.45)

The scare quotes over man appear significant, since it acknowledges a European political history, but at the same times adds it to 'in usage entirely dissimilar'. This could be perceived as a gentle nod to the importance of not perceiving European conceptions as a universalising force. Aditya suggests that Chandigarh is a democratised incarnation of earlier Indian temple cities that served the purpose of facilitating the functioning of the state. He elaborates on this to suggest that this concept of worship, is predicated on a new form of secular humanism:

The new temples are the institutions of man

Man dedicating himself to Man,

Man giving himself to a constitution,

Man himself executing the constitution

And again himself giving interpretation.

Making, executing, interpreting, the will of Man (1978, p.45)

These sentiments, which have a very European Enlightenment feel, are given more pronounced expression in *Reflections on Chandigarh*, within Prakash's exploration of the Capitol Complex. With regards to the grandiosity of the structures, Prakash writes:

THE CAPITOL

FIRST THE CAPITOL OR

                THE CAPITOL COMPLEX

THE 'PIECE-DE-RESISTANCE',

THE MONUMENTS OF MODERN CIVILISATION

OR HOMAGE TO DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS,

FOR THEIR ONLY JUSTIFICATION

TO MONUMENTALITY

IN A POOR COUNTRY LIKE INDIA

RENDERED POORER BY

THE TRAUMA OF PARTITION

IS IN CONCEIVING OF THE BUILDINGS AND THE

                        PRECINCT

AS 'SACRED'- LIKE THE ABODE OF GODS. (1983, p. 35).

Prakash's polemic, which traverses political, religious and spiritual concerns, appears complex. Initially, one can perceive an anti-religious appeal to a humanistic discourse of man. However, as the scare quotes over 'man' indicate, we also encounter an appeal to spirituality, that seemingly serves to counteract class inequalities. Prakash goes onto state further:

THUS IN IMAGINATION THEY EMERGE

LIKE TEMPLES

WHICH, NOTWITHSTANDING THE POVERTY,

THE 'POOR' ERECT

WITH 'DEDICATION'

GIVING THEIR ALL-WEALTH, TIME, AND SKILL,

TO CREATE A SYMBOL OF FAITH

DEARER THAN THEIR VERY LIVES.

INDEED THEY LIVE

BUT FOR THE SYMBOL-THE TEMPLE

THIS AND THIS ALONE

IS THE JUSTIFICATION

OF THE CAPITOL'S MONUMENTALITY.

AND IN MY ASSESSMENT,

IS A JUST JUSTIFICATION' (ibid)

Prakash's earlier secular humanism underpinned by a sense of religiosity transforms into a preoccupation with the divine, not only terms of the functionality of the buildings, but with regards to their 'creator' Le Corbusier. In apparent contradiction to the humanistic account of man, these sentiments are reversed through a religious justification for the type of exploitative labour required for Chandigarh's construction. This evocative of the logic that accepted the toil and hardship for the labourers and craftsman that constructed European cathedrals.

I ACCEPT THE CAPITOL

AS A SACRED PRECINCT

AND AS A WORK OF ART

TO BE JUDGED SOLELY BY THESE CRITERIA

AND NOT JUDGED BY MUNDANE FUNCTION AND

EFFICIENCY (ibid, p.36).

This suggested departure is an intriguing insight from mundane function and efficiency, since although there is nuance and complexity regarding Modernism's relationship with functionality, the relationship between function and form was important to modernist designers and architects. Colin Davies problematises Le Corbusier's quote 'A house is a machine for

living in' (2017, p.116) as 'hackneyed' (ibid), yet of course when we consider Le Corbusier's Five Points of Architecture[19], it is clear that they were determined by a preoccupation with the functional implications of design features. Aditya Prakash would appear to be suggesting a departure from this design ethos and at the same time, referencing the homogeneity of modernism. Ultimately, this depends on how we perceive functionality and Prakash appears to be exposing the concept to a cross-cultural flow. For some, the critique of modernism would be that it can be reduced down to a utility serviceable to Industrial capitalism. However, if we consider the notion of 'function' in a transcultural context, there's a chance that different ideas of function and functionality might emerge. It is perhaps self-evident, but it's also worth noting here that cultural difference influences perceptions of what might considered 'functional'. Prakash writes further:

> NO MATTER WHAT I THINK
>
> OR WHAT ANY-BODY THINKS
>
> WE HUMANS HAVE NO RIGHT
>
> TO JUDGE THIS PLACE FROM OUR DIMINUTIVE
>
>   POINT OF VIEW
>
> WE HAVE TO RAISE OURSELVES
>
> TO THE STATURE OF GODS' (Ibid, p.38)

This passage appears to idealise Le Corbusier to a staggering extent, seemingly deifying the architect. The earlier discourse surrounding the humanistic discourse of 'man', seems completely abandoned in favour of a quasi-religious neutralising of critique on Le Corbusier and Chandigarh. This arguably makes the poem one of the most complex and nuanced pieces of 'critical' writing on the city that I have encountered.

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[19] As Davies highlights, Le Corbusier described these *Five Points of a New Architecture* in the following terms:
1. Pilotis. Modern buildings should be raised off the ground on columns allowing space to flow freely underneath.
2. Roof gardens. Roofs should be flat and the space should be used
3. Free plan. The supporting structure of a modernist building will be a steel or concrete frame, not loadbearing walls, partitions can be placed anywhere and space can flow freely
4. Free façade. Similarly, if the external walls are not load bearing, then openings can be placed to suit the views or the day-lighting without worrying about arches or lintels
5. Long window. If there are no arches or lintels, then why not have the widest windows possible, continuous 'ribbon wondows' like those on the entrance side of the Villa Stein and on all four sides of the Villa Savoye's shallow box' (2017, p.118-119).

Aditya Prakash, Tagore Theatre, and 'Surpassing' the 'Master'?

Fig. 29. M.N. Sharma discussing Aditya Prakash's Tagore Theatre with Jawaharlal Nehru. Taken in October 2017 during my three-month research trip based at Panjab University. Courtesy of the Aditya Prakash Foundation Archive.

Now that we have contemplated the poetry of Aditya Prakash, let us consider his architecture. I will achieve this through a critical analysis of both Tagore Theatre and Neelam Cinema, the former widely considered the architect's crowning achievement in Chandigarh. Chandigarh's municipality conceived the Tagore Theatre to commemorate the Tagore centenary, one hundred years after the artist, pedagogue and poet's birth. Tagore, Nobel Prize winner, transcultural modernist and founder of the Visva Bharati University in Santiniketan, Bengal, India, was instrumental in the re-invigoration of Indian art and culture in the late Raj. As can be seen in Fig. 29, this was a project of national importance and was of interest to Jawaharlal Nehru.

As Regina Bittner and Kathrin Rhomberg inform us in the text *The Bauhaus: An Encounter of the Cosmopolitan Avant-Garde* (2013), Visva Bharati can be translated as "the universal in one place" (2013, p.4). The Santiniketan project and its pedagogical reform was an alternative

model to the British education system and connected directly to the Independence Movement. This, as Bittner and Rhomberg explain:

> Involved a return to reflection on India's own rich cultural resources. Tagore likewise sought an intense exchange with western knowledge (2013, p.4).

Tagore established Santiniketan College in 1921, the same year that Gandhi launched the non-cooperation movement and just two years after the Bauhaus. A previously discussed in Chapter Three, Tagore held direct connections with the Bauhaus, having visited in 1921. Of significance to the concept of collaborative modernism, Tagore subsequently organised an exhibition of Bauhaus art which opened in Calcutta on December 23, 1923. The exhibition featured the work of Johannes Itten, Wassily Kandinsky and Paul Klee, and less known artists such as Lyonel Feininger, Georg Muche, Gerhardt Marcks, Lothar Schreyer, Margit Tery-Adler and Sophie Körner (Mitter, 2007, p.17). The building therefore served as a monument to an ongoing legacy of transnational modernism in India, which had not been inaugurated by the commissioning of Chandigarh.

The building was significant for the interpersonal and creative relationship shared by Aditya and Pierre Jeanneret, since it is a clear instance where the pupil surpasses the master. This of course has significant implications for collaborative modernism, as Aditya recounts:

> My great day came when I undertook the design of the Tagore Theatre. Tagore centenary was due in 1961. Govt. of India decided that the best way to perpetuate the memory of the great Guru would be that each state of the country build one theatre for 'live' drama performance. I got the opportunity
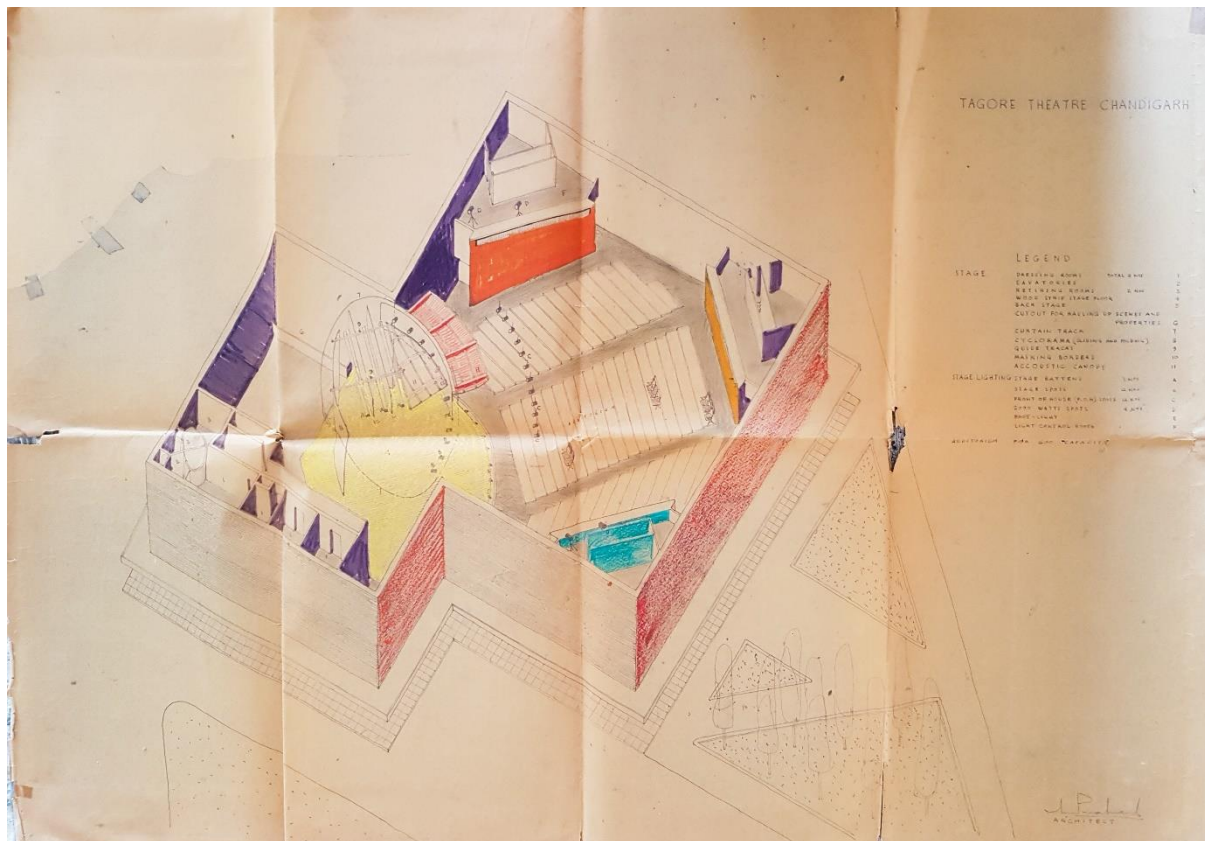
Fig. 30. Plan of Tagore Theatre, Aditya Prakash. Taken in October 2017 during my three-month research trip based at Panjab University. Courtesy of the Aditya Prakash Foundation Archive.

to try my hand at it. But then every architect has the wish to show his competence. Pierre Jeanneret, my boss and guru, also worked on an idea of his own while I was busy in my studio. All of a sudden he called me and placed before me the sketch he had worked out with a view that I work on it further. I picked up his sketch and just before leaving said, 'Monsieur, I also have a sketch. Would he please have a look at it'. I think, it was providential help that just before being called I had sketched two inter-locking squares—one for the auditorium, 2nd for the actors, and the interlocking area for the stage. I put that sketch before Pierre Jeanneret. He looked at it, and the comprehension creeped through his mind. I do not think many words passed between us then. He simply asked for his own sketch back, and asked me to proceed with my own design.

At this point I must pay tribute to the magnanimity of the little—GREAT man Pierre Jeanneret. Any other person would simply have dismissed my idea as in significant (even idiotic for no theatre had ever been built like that) and insisted that I work

further on the idea of the boss. Needless to say that Tagore Theatre of Chandigarh is a significant feather in my architectural career. (Prakash, Aditya, 1998).

This passage is intriguing since it clearly shows the respect that Jeanneret held for his Indian co-workers and that he was able to prioritise architectural vision over potential concerns about seniority, and this is certainly important for the concept of collaborative modernism. However, there is also something complex at work in the way that this interaction is conceptualised. The way in which Prakash puts on record this moment between Jeanneret and himself, almost circumscribes his own architectural achievement. Indeed, this moment seems to have been embedded with the notions of *student* and *master*, and this power dynamic also evokes *colonised* and *coloniser*. The title of this section Aditya Prakash, Tagore Theatre and 'Surpassing' the 'Master', uses scare quotes (in a manner in confluence with Prakash) to problematise this conception, which appears to have an underpinning coloniality.

In terms of design, as can be seen in Fig.30, the building comprised of two interlocking squares and the elimination of a false ceiling. As M. Panchcoly, A.F. Chhapgar and Davinder Sigh observe in the Indian Concrete Journal (1965):

> 'In keeping with the general trend of architecture of all construction in Chandigarh, the theatre is designed in a novel manner […]
>
> The main hall is located on the upper ground floor of the building, the ground floor being occupied by a foyer, while the basement contains numerous rooms for heavy machines and air conditioning equipment. The comparatively small size and judicious proportions of the hall provide maximum intimacy between the stage and the audience- the seating area being all on one floor with an upward raking for good visibility and acoustics' (Panchcoly, M, Chhapgar, A. F, Singh, D. Acoustics of the Tagore Theatre, Chandigarh. The Indian Journal of Concrete. 1965. APF Archives Folder D114).

Arguably, this proximity between the audience and the stage reflected an egalitarian spatial sensibility. Prakash perhaps hoped his buildings might offer a counterbalance to the estranged

monumentality of The Capitol Complex, referenced in both *Chandigarh, A Presentation in Free Verse* and *Reflections on Chandigarh*.

As Fig.31 suggests, the external structure lacked Corbusian grandiosity, its modesty connoting the influence of Jeanneret's ascetic aesthetic sensibility. The architect's presence is more profoundly felt in the building's interior. It gives significant emphasis over to the acoustics of the building, which as discussed earlier was a pre-occupation of Le Corbusier in buildings such as the High Court, which suggests that the interior was Corbusian in nature. However, when we consider the egalitarian spatial sensibility and the wider associations of acoustics, e.g. amplification and communication, we might regard the building as a re-stating of Chandigarh's message or mission. The building suggests the critiques found in *Chandigarh, A Reflection*, since it mitigates the authoritarian quality of the Corbusian structures in the city; somehow a response to potential class-based criticisms of the city. Aditya painstakingly considered the acoustics of the building and this was brought into sharp focus when the building was renovated.

Fig. 31. Tagore Theatre, December 2017. Taken in December 2027, during my three-month research trip based at Panjab University. The author's own photograph.

The renovations to Tagore Theatre raised considerable objections and this was exemplified Vikramaditya Prakash's strongly worded contribution to the *Hindustan Times*, on Monday, September 15, 2008, entitled *Not 'Tagore Theatre' Please.*

> Since I am also a historian and architectural critic, I must take issue with the term 'renovation' of Tagore Theatre; Indeed, I must object to this new auditorium being called 'Tagore Theatre' at all. The logic, as I understand it, is that this new building is still the Tagore Theatre since the huge blank façade of the original building has been maintained, while the interior has been 'renovated'.

> In a lot of cases this could be a plausible argument. Thus, for instance, if one were to completely renovate the interior of Edwin Lutyens' Rashtrapati Bhawan in New Delhi, and call it by its original name, this would make sense. This is because it is precisely the façade of the Rashtrapati Bhawan, so carefully and lovingly designed by Lutyens as the terminus of the Raj Path, that is its essential character, not the interior […] But this was not the case with the Tagore Theatre. In this building, it was precisely the interior that was so lovingly designed by Aditya Prakash, not its exterior. The interior, made actively in consultation with theatre stalwarts like Prithviraj Kapoor and Zul Vellani , was based on careful study of practical issues like acoustics, sight lines, size of stage with respect to the size of the auditorium, maximum distance of unaided facial recognitions and so on. And then its aesthetics, such as the colour of the curtains (originally yellow and red) the processional routes entering the theatre , the colours of the glass in the small square windows that let external light in, and so on, were based on explorations into modern art, the lexicon of cubism, inspired by Le Corbusier even more than Pierre Jeanneret (Prakash, Vikramaditya, 2008).

The Tagore Theatre demonstrates that not only did architects such as Aditya Prakash have an agency within the design process, but that Pierre Jeanneret endeavoured to enable creative openings for his younger architects.

Aditya Prakash and Sector 17; Departing from a Corbusian Conception

Let us proceed to consider the Neelam Cinema, which occupies a relatively central position within Chandigarh's Sector 17, which was initially the primary commercial and shopping area for the city. It seems pertinent to consider the extent to which this building reinforces the sense of agency discerned in Tagore Theatre, or if it unravels this critique. Whilst the Chandigarh School of Art (a collaboration with Le Corbusier) or the Chandigarh College of Architecture could have easily been selected, Neelam Cinema has been selected since it exemplifies that contrary to common perception that Le Corbusier worked alone on Sector 1 and 17, he in fact a received a considerable degree of help on both. Prabhawalkar, who assisted Le Corbusier on Sector 17 and Sector 1, articulates the significance that the Sector held for Le Corbusier:

> Ever since the ancient and medieval times, the most important limb of town, the civic core, has always received special attention from town designers, manifesting the pride and valued position it holds in the urban structure (Bahga, S&S, 2000 p.177)

Arguably reflective of this significance, Sector 17 is found in the geographic hearth of the city (Bahga & Bahga, p.177). The Sector also took on a greater resonance, since ostensibly Sector 17 became Le Corbusier's opportunity to transcend the benchmark set by New Delhi's Connaught Place, which is framed as 'the reference point for other commercial centres being designed as it is perhaps the only planned shopping centre in India' (ibid).

Le Corbusier made specific design stipulations for the subsequent developments in Sector 17, that all buildings were meant to follow, as the Bahgas explain:

> Since the whole centre was to be developed by different agencies or developers, Le Corbusier introduced a system of standard volumetric and facade control for all of the buildings so that uniform and regulated growth could be ensured (ibid, p.181).

Despite these stipulations, deviations emerged that were initiated by Pierre Jeanneret. Buildings such as Chandigarh's Town Hall and the General Post Office introduced what could be understood as 'marked variations' (ibid, p.186). As such:

> The vocabulary that evolved, gives pleasant relief from the otherwise monotonous facades. Inspired by Jeanneret's experiments some other Indian architects later explored the idea of creating a double height veranda in their buildings by eliminating slabs at middle levels. (ibid).

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We can see that although Le Corbusier insisted on a strict design schema, the architects on the ground deviated from this, regarding Le Corbusier's stipulations as a guiding principle, which could be modified according to use.

It is through this lens, that we must view Aditya Prakash's Neelam Cinema. For the Bahgas Neelam Cinema ruptured the monotonous austerity of Sector 17's central plaza (2000, p.192). Indeed, as Vikram Prakash puts it, the cinema 'anchors the main plaza and is the centre of Sector 17'. Yet within the context of conceptualising Aditya Prakash's agency, does this building confirm the tendencies perceived in Tagore Theatre? Intriguingly, what could be highlighted as confirmation of Prakash's creative autonomy, is significantly complicated by his own words. Though, this is not to say that the idea of collaborative modernism is reducible to the idea of that certain Indian architects working on the design of Chandigarh, enjoyed creative freedom. However, it would not be a stretch to consider the situation in Sector 17 as a design imposed by Le Corbusier and then rehabilitated by Jeanneret and his dedicated cohort of Indian architects. Prakash by contrast, provides coordinates for a differing analysis, in his text *Working With Le Corbusier* (1998):

> In the epic poem Mahabharata there is a story about the great teacher Dronacharya and a low caste person Eklavya. Dronacharya was the teacher of the Pandava princes and he had vowed to make Arjuna the greatest archer. Eklavya also wanted to be an archer and he requested Dronacharya to accept him as his pupil. Dronacharya refused. We need not go into the reasons of the refusal. After some time it so happened that during their sojourn in the forest the great guru and his disciples were faced with a curious situation—a barking dog. The dog could not be silenced by any means in spite of the efforts of all his princely disciples. Then it happened that the dog was silenced but not of its own volition. The dog appeared before the guru with a number of arrows stuck in its mouth but without any injury to its person. This amazed the guru, and he wondered who could be that archer that had carried out this feat. On search they found the archer was no other than the discarded disciple Eklavya. In his hut Eklavya had drawn a portrait of the guru, and thereby made him his guru and learnt archery and achieved the amazing proficiency. The story beyond is of no interest to our subject.

> What I want to say is that a guru, in my concept, does not teach, but only inspires you to learn. You may or may not be in the presence of a guru, but if you place him in your heart then your receive inspiration to learn, to discover your own potential to

acquire skill and to create through your own genius. Corbusier did not teach me. For a long time I had no direct contact with him. Yet his presence in Chandigarh and his works in Chandigarh and by direct contact with his disciple Pierre Jeanneret, I was able to discover my own potential of design and creativity, of comprehension and analysis. (Prakash, Aditya, 1998).

The use of Eklavya and the dynamic insinuated above has also been noted by seminal Indian architect Charles Correa (2012). Prakash's articulation of the dynamic that exists between the guru and student can be regarded as reflecting a candid reformulation of the agency and influence issue, which collaborative modernism seeks to explore. The significance of Le Corbusier is acknowledged, but ultimately the successful manifestation of this influence, is dependent on the individual. This sentiment is expanded upon further in the texts, when contemplating on the importance of what Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret referred to as the creative principle, which they felt all successful buildings should have, which has direct reference to the Neelam Cinema building:

> It happened like this: - After some time of my being in Chandigarh, I was asked to prepare the design of the District Courts and Treasury building. I went through the usual exercise of collecting the brief and prepare a plan by putting together on a plan the requirements as given to me. In about a month or so I had a plan ready which I took to Pierre Jeanneret for him to see and approve or comment upon. He briefly looked at it and said, 'A bit chaotic. What is the system?' he asked. In my entire education of architecture of over ten years before that event I had not heard about the 'system' with reference to the design of any building. This was a revelation, namely that before you design you look for the 'system' to which the building in hand would respond. In a sense that was the beginning of my education as an architect. All that I had gone through before I had to set aside and begin all over again to learn the rudiments of architecture. I discovered that for every design there has to be a 'GENERIC' principle. Every life form carries that generic principle in its genes. When a life is born, be it human, or animal or vegetable, in the beginning it has nothing much visible actually invisible. But the generic principle is in-built. As it grows within a certain environment, the generic principle takes shape, and the potential of the life form is revealed. You can see how a butterfly is formed from an egg, to larva to pupa and then to butterfly. Or a plant from

the seed to full grown tree to flowers and fruits, Or a human being from an embryo to child to adult and then to full grown man or woman […] When I was asked what is the system, I searched for the system for the Courts building. I discovered that for the City Centre Le Corbusier had already laid down a 'system' within which I had to function. It is up to me what I can do within that system. It is the same with life forms. They function within a 'system'. The life has to find its generic principle within a system. Can I create a suitable design within that given system. Needless to say I did, and that is part of the history (Prakash, Aditya, 1998).

Prakash's analysis of his engagement with Le Corbusier's architecture suggests that the architect felt his own creative autonomy to have been both enabled and circumscribed by the design principles of his absent Dronacharyaesque guru; Le Corbusier. This passage inadvertently signposts a previously under explored aspect of collaborative modernism, that the concept should really be a critique of radical creative autonomy, regardless of whichever geographic or cultural location it belongs. Indeed, this critique will be developed in the following chapter, through consideration of Maxwell Fry's claims about certain practices adopted by himself and Drew, pertaining to their originality.

Conclusion

I have applied the notion of collaborative modernism in relation to The Capitol Complex, supported with archival evidence from the Randhawa Papers and Le Corbusier's Sketchbooks. However, my reading of Aditya Prakash's poetry, writing and architecture, complicate the notion of collaborative modernism, both in relation to the architect's output and Chandigarh. His poetry openly endorses Chandigarh as an imposition, which undermines my previous claim that it's possible to advance an understanding of Chandigarh that averts a neo-colonial logic, but also refutes the notion of Chandigarh's modernism having been imposed. However, the creative freedom afforded to Aditya Prakash suggests a vindication of collaborative modernism, and Prakash in his own words likens himself to the character Eklavya from the Mahabharata. The point of this tale is that the Guru doesn't teach but inspires others to learn. The significance of this being that Prakash attributed his achievements to Le Corbusier in the same way Eklavya attributed his mastery to the absent Guru Dronacharya. Yet, at the same as much as he acknowledged the influence of Le Corbusier, Prakash also recognised the

importance of his own creative abilities in this process. Through engaging with the reflections of Prakash, we perhaps stumble on a feature of collaborative modernism that should have been more explicit from the outset of this thesis, which is that ultimately the concept is a critique of radical creative autonomy.

Consequently, whilst my consideration of The Capitol Complex surprisingly constituted a vindication for the concept of collaborative modernism, the consideration of Aditya Prakash and especially the architect's own appraisal of his output, demonstrates the nuance involved in applying this concept to the city of Chandigarh. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the working relationships of Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew with their Indian collaborators, with a view to discern if the concept of collaborative modernism can be further applied to Chandigarh.

Chapter Six: Maxwell Fry, Jane Drew, and Pierre Jeanneret's Collaborative Modernism?

Introduction

As stated at the beginning of this thesis, the origins of my project emanated from two articles Iain Jackson's 'Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew's Early Housing and Neighbourhood Planning in Sector 22, Chandigarh' (2013) and Manish Chalana and Tyler S. Sprague's 'The Modernist City: Reframing Chandigarh's 'World Heritage' Legacy'(2013). Both articles concur with the notion that to understand the significance of Chandigarh, it is crucial to conceptualise the city beyond the parameters of Le Corbusier. However, whilst Chalana and Sprague suggest that the city was a collaborative endeavour, Jackson, despite presenting evidence of collaboration, maintains that the city was highly individualistic. Critiquing the notion that Chandigarh was inherently an individualistic project is important to the arguments being made around collaborative modernism, since if we accept Jackson's arguments, then it is difficult to apply the concept to Chandigarh. Differing scholarly resources consulted in this thesis have suggested the work of Fry and Drew on one hand (Jackson), and Jeanneret on the other (S&S Bahga), to have been hubs of collaboration. It is crucial to consider these respective interpretations in relation to the work of Fry, Drew and Jeanneret, with a view to discern if their work in Chandigarh can be seen as examples of collaborative modernism. Because of the invisibility of Indian contribution to the city from canonical Anglophone Euro-American scholarship, this chapter proposes to use these respective European architects as gateways into the historical period of Chandigarh's design, with a view to excavate the lost history of Chandigarh's Indian agency.

This chapter is therefore divided into two case studies, the first of which will outline the contribution that Fry and Drew made to the design of the city. This chapter develops from Iain Jackson's article 'Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew's Early Housing Neighbourhood Planning in Sector-22, Chandigarh' and the subsequent publication 'The Architecture of Edwin Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew: Twentieth Century Architecture, Pioneer Modernism and the Tropics' (2016). The article takes on significant resonance within this thesis since it claims that the tendency to frame Le Corbusier as the sole author of the city, has resulted in the contribution of the architects being subordinated (2013, p.1). Jackson notes that Maxwell Fry (1899-1987)

and Jane Drew's (1911-1996) contribution to Chandigarh has not been adequately researched and although Kiran Joshi has carefully catalogued their buildings in Chandigarh, their work in the city has been given little scholarly attention (ibid). As Jackson notes, Fry and Drew are generally accepted as significant exponents of twentieth century British architecture and pioneers of tropical architecture, yet their work in Chandigarh, alongside Pierre Jeanneret's, has been eclipsed by the work of their collaborator, Le Corbusier (ibid). This chapter will therefore focus on the work of Fry, Drew and Jeanneret in Chandigarh, and the extent to which this work was collaborative. The second case study will consider the work of Pierre Jeanneret in Chandigarh and the extent to which this can be considered collaborative. The starting point for this chapter will be the apparent disparity between Fry's appraisal of the architect and the high level of esteem held for Jeanneret in India. This critical investigation will be achieved through consideration of Jeanneret's role as Chief Architect, his work on Panjab University and the archival evidence found in the Randhawa Papers.

In keeping with the critical methodology of collaborative modernism, which entails consulting archival resources for micro-historical details that have the potential to influence macro-historical understandings of Chandigarh's architectural history, archival sources are instrumental in the development of this chapter. This chapter will consult both the Fry and Drew Papers, held at RIBA and the Randhawa Papers, held in Chandigarh, India, with a view to present original scholarly research on the respective contributions of both Fry, Drew and Jeanneret. Through consulting these sources I hope to present the contours of the interpersonal interactions shared by Fry, Drew, and Jeanneret, which will be achieved through presenting archival vignettes anchored around the anecdotal and interpersonal. Regarding the claims made for Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, the archives hold the potential to complicate the recent work of Iain Jackson. By extension, the Randhawa Papers will be used to address whether Pierre Jeanneret has been misrepresented as the slavish transcriber of his cousin's architectural vision or if a richer, more nuanced historical picture of the architect can be rendered. I have selected the Randhawa Papers since they contain a significant range of newspapers, photographs, drawings, and official correspondences (though in many respects they are a bureaucratic account of the city's design) and therefore provide an ideal opportunity to discover tangible evidence of Jeanneret's collaboration with the Indian team. As previously mentioned, it is hoped that this chapter will create a critical interplay between the Randhawa Papers and the Fry and Drew Papers, which might nuance our understanding of collaborative modernism in relation to Chandigarh. The Fry and Drew Papers differ from the archival material found in the

Randhawa Papers, largely comprising notes, drawings, letters, and autobiographical writings. It is hoped that the micro-historical analysis of these documents will produce a more thoroughgoing understanding of Fry, Drew and Jeanneret's architectural contributions to Chandigarh and the extent to which they collaborated with the Indian team. Furthermore, that considering these documents will provide a greater understanding of the affective and emotional aspects of their interactions and how these dynamics influenced Chandigarh's creation. As a result, revealing a more nuanced account of Chandigarh's architectural history.

Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew's Collaborative Modernism?

This case study will critically engage with the architecture of Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry produced in Chandigarh, between 1951-1954. The investigation reacts against the scholarly research of Iain Jackson found in the article 'Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew's Early Housing and Neighbourhood Planning, Sector 22, Chandigarh' and the publication *The Architecture of Edwin Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew: Twentieth Century Architecture, Pioneer Modernism and the Tropics*. Within these texts, Jackson makes several observations, the accuracy of which hold the potential to complicate the notion of collaborative modernism in relation to Chandigarh. Firstly, of profound relevance to the credibility of collaborative modernism, Jackson asserts that Chandigarh was essentially an individualistic project. Secondly, Jackson suggests that there were in actuality two cities under construction, Le Corbusier's Capitol Complex and the rest of the city; a notion already complicated by the findings of Chapter 5. This is a crucial observation which in many respects activated the concept of collaborative modernism in relation to Chandigarh. The suggestion being that Le Corbusier worked exclusively and with free creative reign on the design of The Capitol Complex, whereas Fry, Drew, Jeanneret and the nebulous entity referred to as 'the Indian team', designed the rest of the city. This is a very persuasive critique, however, based on the findings of Chapter Five, it would appear that Le Corbusier was not always given free creative reign and also received considerable assistance. Finally, that Fry and Drew's significance to the development of Chandigarh was greater than previously imagined and their influence extended beyond their departure from India. Fry and Drew's work in Chandigarh will be investigated through consideration of Sector 22, Press Office Building and their work on early housing in Chandigarh. My argument will be informed by the writing of Jackson, Sarbjit and Surinder

Bahga, Manish Chalana and Tyler S. Sprague, but ultimately underpinned by my findings in both the Randhawa Papers and the Fry and Drew Papers.

Before proceeding, it is important to consider Jackson's rationale for thinking about Chandigarh as an individualistic endeavour, since the author's other claims appear to cascade from this position. Within the article 'Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew's Early Housing and Neighbourhood Planning in Sector-22, Chandigarh', Jackson states the following:

> Whilst the notion of teamwork and collaboration was theoretically a part of the Congres International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) agenda, in reality, the Chandigarh project was highly individualistic. In addition Fry did not draw any distinction between Town Planning and Architecture and was reluctant to design buildings to fit within another architect's masterplan. In part, this principle was maintained as he and Drew were to design the 'interior' layouts of each sector, which were not party to the overriding grid, nor to Le Corbusier's Modulor System, which they also refused to adopt' (2013, p.5).

Jackson makes a clear distinction between the work of Le Corbusier on one camp, and the work of Fry and Drew on the other. This critique feeds into the notion that there were essentially two cities under construction, these being:

1. Le Corbusier's governmental buildings in the Capitol Complex and the rest of Sector 1.
2. The mass housing schemes and buildings around which daily life was anchored, attributed to Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew.

Jackson spells out a complex analysis, since presenting Chandigarh as being an individualistic project seems to overwhelm the idea that the city resulted from collaboration. However, an alternative interpretation could be that Jackson is appealing to individualism to question the sole and domineering contribution emanating from Le Corbusier's creative 'genius'. However, despite this potential nuance, in this narrative Chandigarh is characterised as the result of the competing approaches of Fry/Drew and Le Corbusier, with Jeanneret serving a subordinate or *diminutive* role. Jackson's decision to view the city as individualistic, reveals one of the possible and arguably inherent flaws of collaborative modernism, since architecture is inherently collaborative in nature. Crucially, Jackson does not discount the collaborations

between Jane Drew, Maxwell Fry and the Indian team, but one can only assume that Jackson perceives this as an inevitable feature of the architectural design process. Consequently, an important task of this case study will be to reflect on the character of the working relations shared by Fry, Drew and their Indian colleagues. I propose that doing so, holds the potential to reveal the complex interchange between India and Europe in the process of Chandigarh's design, with a view to disrupt the notion of Chandigarh having been a top-down imposition.

Fry and Drew's Sector-22 and Collaborative Modernism

Sector-22 holds both a spatial and historically significant position within the story of Chandigarh. It is located close to the adjoining bus station on Sector-22 and its immediate proximity to Sector-17 the commercial centre of the city means that it occupies a central position within the overall layout of the city. Jackson elucidates the sector was intended to house manual workers, shopkeepers and clerks, alongside civil servants (2016, p.222). In order for the reader to conceptualise Sector-22, it is useful to refer to the words of Jane Drew, who describes it in the following terms:

> [Sector-22 is a] Fairly low-class sector which… has a large area of open space. It is planned as are all sectors in Chandigarh to look inwards and be fairly self-contained. The traffic roads are round a perimeter of the sector and are designed to take fastmoving traffic which is not encouraged within the sector… the greens give a clear view of the Himalayas and contain the educational and recreational features of daily life, that is to say, the swimming baths, nursery schools, health centre, day school and so on, the idea being that, within a quarter of a mile of the dwelling, there should be green and school facilities (ibid, p.222).

Sector-22's buildings were aesthetically modernist, but the plan for the sector originated from earlier trajectories in 20th Century urban planning, as Jackson notes:

> Although Fry claimed that he was trying to avoid the garden city movement like the plague, in the Sector-22 plan, it is largely adhered to (replacing the English vernacular facades with a modernist alternative)' (2013, p.8).

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Importantly, as Jackson notes, prior to Le Corbusier's Capitol Complex Buildings, the first of which to be completed was the High Court Building in 1955, Sector-22 functioned as the 'model settlement', a proposition for how the rest of the city would develop (2016, p.224). Jackson even ventures to suggest that the successful realisation of Chandigarh hinged on the delivery of Sector-22, since it would attract prospective residents, commercial enterprises and ideally encourage favourable coverage from the press (ibid). The following paragraphs will consider the extent to which reflection on Sector-22 confirms Jackson's notion that the city was a highly individualistic endeavour.

In both the article 'Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew's Early Housing and Neighbourhood Planning, Sector 22- Chandigarh, and *The Architecture of Edwin Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew: Twentieth Century Architecture, Pioneer Modernism and the Tropics*, Jackson argues that a significant feature of Fry and Drew's output in Chandigarh was their unique decision to consult with the end-users. However, in Chapter Four, I suggested that the claim that this practice was isolated to the two British architects was historically inaccurate. This was based on the article by Thapar entitled 'Ideal Homes for All' (1953), which indicated that this approach was a municipal initiative and seemingly not the invention of Fry or Drew. Problematically, the claim for the ownership of this practice originated from Fry, as this earlier cited quote demonstrates:

> We developed Sector-22, Jane and I, working as none of the others did, directly with the shopkeepers, the cinema owners and all the others concerned (Jackson, 2013, p.11).

Indeed, Jackson re-states this position, as can be seen here:

> It was Drew who consulted the 'end-users' of the city and tried to formulate some useful data from which the designers could derive their solutions. In her draft autobiography Drew recalls how she 'sat with medics for hours trying to figure out solutions' for the Chandigarh hospital and clinics, and how she consulted the poorest workers over needs. Coupled with their previous research into housing and small neighbourhoods, they made further, if limited attempts to respond to the Indian context' (2016, p. 228-229).

Jackson claims a process that reflects a type of collaboration that he considers atypical of the inherently collaborative practice of architecture, especially since it is distinguished from the other approaches prevalent in the city at the time.

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However, documents found in the Randhawa Papers dating from 1948-49, demonstrate clearly that consultations with end-users had been seemingly an important part of the Chandigarh project well before the arrival of Fry and Drew. Within the Randhawa Papers it is possible to find numerous questionnaires created for different municipal and commercial bodies, including the High Court and Bar Association, The University, Education Department, Health and Medical Department. For example, quoted below are some of the questions produced for the High Court and Bar Association in 1948/9:

> 1.What are your requirements in the matter of (1) court rooms, (2) Retiring rooms, (3) library and reading rooms, (4) office accommodation for staff, (5) Bar room, (6) Garages, (7) other amenities such as refreshment rooms or restaurants, (8) Waiting rooms for litigants, (9) Waiting rooms for visitors, (10) Record room, (11) Accommodation for petition writers and lawyers clerks and any other items.

> 2. Do you approve of chambers for lawyers being located on the premises of the High Court; if not, how far from the High Court should these chambers be located? Do you want these chambers in one particular street of building and can you give approximately the number that will be required?

> 3. Do you want the High Court air-conditioned? Please state your minimum requirement in this matter.

> 4. What style of architecture do you favour for the high court building?

> 5. Do you want the District Courts, including District and Sessions Judge's Courts and District Magistrate's located in the same place, whether in the same building or otherwise? (Author Unknown. End-User Questionnaire. *The Randhawa Papers*, 1514-Planning-Architecture-Construction of Government Buildings, 1514:0002)

Therefore, through creating a critical interplay between The Fry and Drew Papers and The Randhawa Papers, we can see that claims made in the former, can be nuanced and critiqued via the latter. Indeed, it would seem that, when using the Fry and Drew Papers, it is wise to cross reference them with other archival sources. In doing so, it reveals that claims made for the originality of certain practices, were being made on rather flimsy ground. As mentioned in in Chapter Five, collaborative modernism can be regarded as a critique of radical creative autonomy. This critique emanated from Aditya Prakash's reflections on his own creative

autonomy from Le Corbusier, which he beautifully formulated with the example of Dronacharya and Eklavya. But this critique goes beyond deconstructing the binary between 'guru' and 'student', to become a wider reflection on how notions of 'genius' functions within narratives of modernism. Perhaps in an attempt to counteract the centrality of Le Corbusier in prevailing narratives of the city, Fry makes claims for the innovation and novelty of his (and Drew's) approach. Arguably a certain claim is being made for creative autonomy in relation to the approach of Fry and Drew and there way of designing buildings in Chandigarh. However, through consultation of the archives, we can see that this practice of consulting with end-users was not unusual in the context of Chandigarh's design nor restricted to Fry and Drew.

It is apparent that quite detailed questions were being asked of the eventual end-users, though it is unclear how these questions were posed and if they were conducted in interview format. It should be noted that even Jackson notes Drew's occasional propensity for slight exaggeration:

> [she vehemently proclaimed that] 'the first thing to know about Chandigarh is that it is no vainglorious national projection, but a sober necessity for a shattered state gathering its remnants together to consider the future'. Drew was being naïvely optimistic if she genuinely believed their work in Chandigarh was anything other than a symbolic gesture to the housing requirements of India following partition. Chandigarh was not a social housing project- but was fundamentally concerned with setting up a branch of government, courts and administration for Punjab (2016, p.223)

Consequently, as we proceed to consider both their work in Sector-22 and Chandigarh at large, we should be aware of the fact that both Drew and Fry were certainly capable of overstating the significance and originality of their work. Yet it is also important to ask why this overstating occurred and why these claims feature within Jackson's argument. Indeed, it is intriguing that Jackson focuses on these claims that can be critiqued via cross reference with Indian sources. It can be speculated that Fry and Drew made these claims in order to fashion a space for themselves in the dominant narratives that overwhelmingly focused on Le Corbusier. Also, these claims form an important part within the internal logic of Jackson's argument relating to Chandigarh's inherent individualism. By making or endorsing these claims for the uniqueness of Fry and Drew's approach, it supports the notion of the city as emanating from competing individualisms. Conversely, the gesture of suggesting that their practices were not out of the

ordinary during the early years of Chandigarh's design, in a sense, reclaims them as evidence of collaborative modernism and undermines the validity of Jackson's arguments.

Whilst it seems doubtful that the innovation of consulting with the eventual end-users belonged entirely to Fry and Drew, their account of this process is nonetheless intriguing within the context of collaborative modernism. Despite claiming the Chandigarh project was an individualistic endeavour, Jackson observes a collaborative process with the end-users, presenting the notion of Fry and Drew as facilitators:

> The result was a combined design effort with the architects acting as facilitators rather than form makers. In light of this Fry and Drew's work cannot be simply viewed as neo-colonialist architecture dressed in a modernist façade (2016, p.229).

Fry elaborates on this in a piece of autobiographical writing entitled 'India' dating from 1983, found in the Fry and Drew Papers:

> Sector 22 is still a lively place I am told but for us then it was the centre of our life where we came into contact with our clients. Along the 'bazaar' street crossing the sector we created a widening big enough to hold a market, bounded by larger shops with dwellings over the, smaller shops built by their owners to our design, permanent covered booths for street traders, and cinema to top it off

> The shopkeepers were eager to build themselves more cheaply than the contractors could and entering into the spirit of the enterprise we designed with them the sort of simple affair they could manage with their own means but conforming with our overall design (Fry, Max. Autobiographical Writing entitled 'India'. *The Fry and Drew Papers*, F&D/4/2, p.40).

Consequently, with profound relevance to the notion of collaborative modernism, we learn that Fry and Drew created designs that were constructed independently by the end-users, following a process of consultation. Whilst Jackson suggests that this indicates a certain degree of reciprocity between the design team and end-users, I would suggest that in this example, we find a collaborative process at work. This evidence nuances Jackson's arguments, and indeed, my own, but yet it is unclear if this practice was initiated by Fry and Drew. It is intriguing, without being essentialist, to reflect on the 'Indianness' of this architectural improvisation. It certainly brings to mind the word 'jugaad', used in Hindi, Marathi, Bengali and Punjabi but

has also found its way into British English and has been endorsed by publication such as the Collins Dictionary. The term can be defined as 'a resourceful approach to problem solving' (2020), which seems apt in the context of these buildings erected by the shopkeepers, who undoubtedly would have undercut the construction costs of the PWD.

Experiments in Low-Cost Housing

We find evidence of a similar collaborative process outlined by Jane Drew in documents relating to their work on low-cost housing, found in the Fry and Drew Papers, which gives further credibility to regarding their work in Chandigarh as embodiments of collaborative modernism. As can be regarded in the following sections of Drew's account quoted below, there appears to be a tension between the maintenance of time-honoured taboos and the drive towards westernisation. As was previously mentioned in Chapter Four, the decision was made to ban the keeping of animals, for example cows and buffalos, which caused objections from would be residents. Drew's account, is pertinent in the context of this discussion:

> Before large numbers were built, we built prototypes of each different house type which were then lived in, criticised and improved. In this way we found that the Indians were able to experiment with new types of dwellings and did not simply follow tradition. Public open space was provided for all low income……. House rentals were graded so that no more than a tenth of a man's income went on rent. We banned the keeping of animals (such as buffalos and cows) in with the housing, since this custom had led to much fly-borne disease. The Indians were to realise that many of their traditional forms of housing were obsolete and were willing to try out new ways of living (Drew, Jane. Autobiographical Writing. *The Fry and Drew Papers*, F&D/25/3, pp4-5.40).

In another piece of autobiographical writing, Drew reflected further on this process:

> Our first job was to design houses and Max did the first house. We had thirteen categories of house to design with an exact budget in rupees for each. The first house he designed obeyed all of the taboos we had been told about. The special way for the sweeper to clean the W.C. and bath purdah screen for the women on the first floor, the walls on the roof where people slept to separate one house from the next and give privacy and so on. The houses were occupied by our staff and after a little while we all gathered on the roof for a party in order to criticise it […] It seemed that many would

prefer not to follow the time-honoured taboos. They would prefer to have bigger rooms and do without the sweepers passage. The purdah screen on the balcony was not so essential but all the walls on the roof were not high enough to prevent amorous Sikhs climbing them. So alternative 'Type 9' houses were built. We followed this pattern of building and obtaining use reaction for all types of houses but it really only showed us that whatever we did, would only suit some of the people. The degrees of westernisation were varied. Religious taboos all important for some and hardly at all for others. (Drew, Jane. Autobiographical Writing. *The Fry and Drew Papers*, F&D/26/2, p.124)

It is doubtful that 'all' of the staff were invited to these gatherings, however, it is nonetheless relevant to the concept of collaborative modernism, that this type of forum was created. Furthermore, that there was a willingness to vary the degree of westernisation, based on existing sensitivities. The process reveals Fry and Drew to have been immersed in spatial, cultural and architectural concerns, taking into consideration salient contemporary debates, with regards to the notion of untouchability and lower caste servants. As Jackson notes, the two floored Type 9-F, reflected a traditional spatial arrangement, since it enabled cleaners to enter the WC without having to access other rooms in the house. This means that this type of housing maintained the arrangement prescribed by the caste system. Jackson elaborates:

> The servants had a distinct zone within the house, giving them access to the kitchen, store and sanitation areas. Cleaners were given their own entrance to the staircase to enable them to access the upstairs W/C without entering the house proper (2016, p.335).

It is intriguing that some end-users wished to architecturally and spatially perpetuate the practise of untouchability within their housing in this post-independence secular urban environment since Gandhi had vehemently fought to abolish this form of religious discrimination. As Ramachandra Guha notes in his introduction to Raj Mulk Anand's novel *Untouchable* (1935), Gandhi rejected the use of the term 'untouchable', opting for 'Harijan' (child of god) (2014, pviiii). Indeed, Guha notes further:

> On a tour of southern and eastern India, he spoke of how 'the shame of caste Hindus will continue so long as these disabilities are practised in the name of religion, no matter to how little or great extent. It is the duty of sanatanists [orthodox Hindus] so called to denounce the disabilities in the severest possible language and join hands with the reformers in protecting Harijans from humiliation heaped upon them under the sanction of religious custom' (ibid).

Though as Jackson suggests, the eventual variance between the 'traditional' and 'modern' version of the housing types that were eventually delivered en masse, were not hugely significant, it is apparent from the autobiographical writing of Drew that they were actively engaged with the local context and the concerns of the eventual end-users. It is noteworthy that the design process culminated with the social gatherings where the merits of each of the structures were discussed. It suggests both a conviviality and informality that makes it difficult to regard these structures as impositions, but rather collaboratively devised solutions to spatial, cultural and religious concerns.

Fry and Drew's Anglo-Indian Collaborative Modernism?

Thus far we've seen that on both the design of Sector-22 and their work on early housing in Chandigarh, Fry and Drew opted for a collaborative approach, lending credibility to viewing their output in the city as an example of collaborative modernism. As has been previously discussed, Fry and Drew worked closely with a number of Indian architects and Jackson's recent research on this, is illuminating within the context of collaborative modernism. Indeed, Jackson informs us:

> The Indian architects were given considerable responsibility and Fry and Drew made it a policy to 'give the various junior members of the staff work for which they are individually responsible'. This was the only way it was possible for the small team to design such large numbers of buildings within such a short period. Drew ran 'a night school' for the Indian architects and it was down to her and Fry to manage the workloads, create the design teams and effectively take the role of practice managers' (2016, pp.255-256).

However, despite the verticality of this set-up, i.e. Fry and Drew delegating work to junior architects, it would appear that certain architects transcended this hierarchy with noteworthy contributions:

> M.N. Sharma (1923-) (who later became Chandigarh's first Indian Chief Architect in 1966) was in charge of the design and construction of a police station, housing, press building, offices, a hostel, nursery schools in Sector 22 and 23, as well as supervising the construction of a cinema … Aditya Prakash (1923-2008) was also, incredibly, solely responsible for the design of a maternity hospital as well as housing and petrol

stations. These were not minor, insignificant commissions even for experienced architects with a design team' (ibid, p.256-257).

Given the discussion of Aditya Prakash's output in the previous chapter, especially the confidence that Jeanneret had in the architect, it is perhaps no surprise that Jackson ventures to single this architect out. M.N. Sharma once again stands out as an architect that demands recognition, which to some degree, he already enjoys.

However, whilst this thesis will shortly problematise M.N. Sharma's selection as the first Indian Chief Architect, with research that suggests A.R. Prabhawalkar was deprived of this position, I will now consider the Government Press Building, designed by Fry and M.N. Sharma. Jackson frames this building as a counterbalance to the Corbusian buildings being erected in the Capitol Complex. However, as was previously demonstrated in Chapter Five, there is pertinent archival evidence which demonstrates that not only did Le Corbusier not have complete creative free reign, but that he received considerable assistance from Jeet Malhotra and A.R. Prabhawalkar. This information, to a large extent problematises the dichotomy that Jackson creates between Le Corbusier's work in the city, and the contributions from other architects that worked in the city. However, Jackson argues the following:

> The type of architecture chosen for such an institution is therefore loaded with symbolic connotations- what was the printing press of a free postcolonial India to look like, how would it mirror the political regime that it voiced? Rather than the cosmic and mystical forms preferred by Le Corbusier, Fry proposed a modern and efficient factory building- borrowing from US and European daylight factories and presenting the state as a modern, transparent, illuminated and efficient regime. The workplace was to be no longer subservient to the machine, and dirt and ill-health was to be expelled from the modern workplace' (ibid, p.239).

Crucially within the context of whether we can view this structure as an example of collaborative modernism, Jackson writes that:

> M.N. Sharma was given the responsibility for the detailing of the louver mechanism, which is a more elaborate version of the timber system detailed in *Village Housing in the Tropics*. The building has a similar resemblance to Antonin Raymond's Golconde Dormitory in Pondicherry, labelled 'the first modernist building in India' that set the

modern precedent of using the louver across the entire façade, and must have influenced Fry's proposal (ibid, p.241).

It is highly noteworthy that M.N. Sharma was selected to work on this building with Fry, since it was a structure with significant political symbolism. As Jackson notes, the building was important as since the Goan Presses which dated back to the sixteenth century, these were places responsible for the production and dissemination of political propaganda and religious texts (ibid, p.239). Ostensibly, printing presses served a regulatory function, setting and homogenising dates, holidays and religious celebrations (ibid). Whilst Chandigarh used a modernist aesthetic which represented a distinct visual break from Luyten's Delhi, the decision to include a printing press in the city held significant colonial associations, and connoted Chandigarh as a political centre, from which political rule and administration would emanate (ibid).

The building, much like the Enamel Gate, discussed in Chapter Five, appears to be the result of transcultural flows and influences. Sharma had apparently offered his own interpretation of a design schema developed by Fry and Drew in a Sub-Saharan West African context. Furthermore, the building is said to have referenced a proto-modernist structure, built in the 1930's. Within the context of collaborative modernism, it demonstrates that Indian architects were making significant contributions to important buildings within the city, connoting a degree of collaboration that has hitherto, been overlooked. This builds on the findings of the previous chapter which demonstrated both the contributions that Malhotra and Prabhawalkar made to The Capitol Complex, and the wider contributions of Aditya Prakash.

Maxwell Fry and his discontents

 As has been consistently demonstrated throughout this thesis, smooth and cohesive narratives about the city, rarely do justice to the complexity of the historical conditions and interpersonal relations that facilitated the city's creation. The narrative of Fry and Drew's relentlessly benevolent commitment to Chandigarh and their colleagues, is also equally flawed. This becomes apparent when we consider their accounts of Chief Engineer P.L. Verma, Chief Administrator Thapar and Pierre Jeanneret. The earlier entries that we find in the Fry and Drew Papers are not entirely unfavourable and there is perhaps a distinction between the tone of Fry and Drew. Let us consider their respective account of their first meeting with the pair in 1950:

Thapar and Verma were really impressive. Thapar a high-class Brahmin educated at New College Oxford had a bulldog face full of determination; Verma was a dreamer and more difficult to access. Suddenly we heard them asking us to go out to India to design the capital of Punjab. They explained that a town plan had been already drawn up by an American called Mayer but that they had lost their Chief Architect, a Pole called Nowicki in an air crash, and would we take on the job?'. (Drew, Jane. Autobiographical Writing 'Chandigarh'. *The Fry and Drew Papers*, F&D/29/6, pp1-2).

Fry describing the same interaction, stated the following:

Thapar was far more formidable of the two with his Napoleonic nose and chin and stocky frame, a man used to power but on good terms with the world. Verma was the opposite, his complexion sanguine against the near uniform grey of Thapar's skin, his manner less weighty, more pleasing, the easier to assimilate for being more traditionally Indian, and for being, in this first interview the subordinate' (Fry, Maxwell. Autobiographical Writing. *The Fry and Drew Papers*, F&D/4/2 p.2).

Both Fry and Drew characterise Verma as a dreamer and somewhat aloof, which is curious since as noted in Chapter Five, Le Corbusier regarded him as a driving force behind the project. The slightly dismissive tone that underlies both accounts, takes on a more pronounced form in Fry's later observations:

My description of his [Le Corbusier's] cousin remains constant throughout the drama that follows, but I must say something of the curious figure of the engineer Verma who dogged my years to come, for he, was a dreamer. Never marry a dreamer said a nice woman to me one day and I who was as good as married to one for three years knew what she meant.

He was a powerful figure and our rival in power. Historically aware of his position and monitoring it daily, he set out to serve Le Corbusier, as being above all architects, and his own dream of Chandigarh to which he had materially contributed, and for which he was maturing in utter secrecy (Fry, Maxwell. Autobiographical Writing 'India'. *The Fry and Drew Papers*, F&D/4/2 p.18).

From this we can determine that Fry felt that the Capitol Project team was fractured and that lack of cooperation permeated the relations which existed throughout the team, however, as variously consulted sources have indicated, this does not always bare up to historical scrutiny.

These observations give a new resonance to Raj Mulk Anand's, opening piece of writing found in *Chandigarh, A Presentation in Free Verse*. Within the context of collaborative modernism and Chandigarh, it is striking that Anand inserts an aromatic and sensory infused account of Chandigarh's creation, which depicts Le Corbusier, Jeanneret, Malhotra, Thapar and Drew, delighting (with some degree of satire) over Le Corbusier's sketches and sharing wine, with Fry cast as a bitter and estranged presence (Anand, Raj Mulk, 1978, p.3). It is significant that Fry felt threatened by Verma, since it nuances the idea of the city being a top-down imposition. Instead, we can say that it contributes to the idea of the city being the result of a complex set of negotiations, with an underpinning Indian agency. Significantly, this adds to the findings of Chapter 5 which successfully demonstrated that The Capitol Complex was a complex set of negotiations, both enabled and circumscribed by an Indian agency.

However, Fry clearly held some degree of animosity towards Jeanneret, with whom he shared his first few months in India, during a predictably miserable winter in Shimla. During the period that Drew completed her work on the Festival of Britain, Fry embarked to India, and found himself based at Clarkes Hotel, Shimla, during the early months of 1951. Fry presents Jeanneret in highly derisory and condescending terms, with overtones of unwarranted classism:

> I was to share my winter quarters with Le Corbusier's cousin and watch dog Pierre Jeanneret, and as in a prison where it is luck of the drawer with whom a man shares the intimate life of a cell, so was my luck out at Clarks.

> Pierre was a decent man of his type but with fewer mental and cultural resources than ever I have met with. He was Parisian as a man might be a cockney, a man not only limited by his milieu, but unaware of its limitations, and though he had been Corbusier's helpmate for time out of mind up to the moment of his break with him, he reflected less of it than did Sancho Panza of Don Quixote' (Fry, Maxwell. Autobiographical Writing 'India'. *The Fry and Drew Papers*, F&D/4/2 pp.10-11).

From this brief passage, it is apparent that Fry did not consider Jeanneret his creative or intellectual equal, and such sentiments take a more pronounced form in Fry's account of their failed attempt at Hindi lessons, which apparently descended into an excuse for Jeanneret and the teacher to drink whisky:

> We had the notion of learning Hindi, not knowing how dearly our staff would want to improve its English, and for this purpose hired a teacher, an obsequious and very

puzzled gentleman who had not bargained for the double take of Pierre's French-into-English-into-Hindi, and in the event Pierre had two teachers for the price of one.

As my colloquial French improved daily Pierre's English made little ground and his Hindi never left the starting post, but our sessions took place in my bed-sitter, in front of a well maintained coal fire with a bottle of whisky to hand, the rigours of the exercise were lessened and our teachers armour proper was so far mollified that it could be said, all scholarship aside, that he came for the whisky. And then, the effects of whisky being what they are, this timid pedagogue became a loquacious Indian on the Peter Sellers model with a flow of anecdote and information from a level I was unlikely otherwise to discover, so that though we did our best for Pierre the teacher and I had the running and it became obvious that Hindi had gone up the chimney.

Both Pierre and the teacher had taken a decided fancy for whisky when the sessions came to an end, leaving me only with Pierre and the bottle, the rambling staircases and corridors of Clarks, and the sheer loneliness of the dining room' (ibid, p.11).

Fry describes becoming overwhelmingly disillusioned with his stay in India, exasperated by his disdain for Jeanneret and frustration with P.L. Verma, whom he perceived as an aloof dreamer, as a result he wrote a letter to Thapar conveying his decision to leave the project:

I was beginning now positively to hate Clarks, Pierre, shabby Shimla, and myself, and though Jane's arrival was imminent decided on retreat and wrote a letter to Thapar in which I spoke of Pierre's isolation and lack of communication, of Verma's holy man's evasion and of Thapar having not taken the trouble to see me though he lived only two hundred feet higher up the cliff. I was too furious to consider the consequences and sent a runner with it to his house.

Thapar came down quickly in person alarmed and apprehensive. "You speak of Verma as being evasive, I am sorry it is so, but it is known, and it is true. He is, I could say, my worst enemy in this respect, and if you were to go I do not know what we should do. I beg you to forgive me, and change your decision to stay".

With this he moved to put his arm on my shoulder and in his dark eyes I saw what I could respect and trust, and my anger still smouldering, still smarting from the affront to my personal and professional dignity, I tore the letter up and allowed the pieces to fall to the floor, knowing that I had made my first good friend in India' (ibid, p.15).

In this version of events, Fry enters into partnership with Thapar to heroically steer the project in spite of the bumbling incompetence of Jeanneret, the detached architectural offerings of Le Corbusier and the quixotic P.L. Verma. Fry's account contributes to Jackson's notion of the city emanating from competing individualisms, but ultimately the notion of collaborative modernism and this thesis takes a critical distance from this position.

Whilst this narrative does not hold up to historical scrutiny, it has value insofar as it indicates that there were factions within the Capitol Project, and that allegiances and comraderies existed that were by no means universal. Fry clearly clashed with Jeanneret and Verma, but others involved in the Capitol Project felt them to be essential to the development of the project. Furthermore, on balance, there is more than enough evidence to suggest that both Verma and Jeanneret contributed more to the development of Chandigarh than Fry. Indeed, whilst Fry spent only three years on the city, Verma selected the site for the city and facilitated vast swathes of its creation, Jeanneret spent 15 years in the city and was responsible for and supervised the design of schools, housing, markets, and the university. Furthermore, Jeanneret mentored and trained his Indian team for a period spanning over a decade. Ultimately, as has been demonstrated, Fry and Drew were capable of over-stating their achievements and contributions.

To conclude this section on Fry and Drew's contribution to the city of Chandigarh, it is pertinent to consider that Jackson makes two intriguing suggestions that indicate the architect's impact extended beyond their stay in the city. Firstly, Jackson observes that the text from the early nineteen thirties entitled *Recent Advances in Town Planning*, co-authored by Thomas Adams, F. Longstreth Thompson, James W.R. Adams and Fry, might have contributed to the thinking that produced the concept of the 'sector'. Saliently, it is worth mentioning that the first chapter of this publication outlined the specifications for a Neighbourhood Unit, quoted below, which indicates that at the very least, these ideas influenced the conception of Sector-22:

1. Provide housing for a population… for which one element school is required, its actual area depending on population density.
2. The Unit should be bounded on all sides by arterial roads sufficient for … 'through traffic'.
3. A system of small parks and recreation spaces… should be provided
4. Institution sites suitably grouped around central points or commons

5. One or more shopping districts, should be laid out in the circumference of the unit, preferably at traffic junctions and the adjacent to similar districts of all adjoining neighbourhoods

6. An internal street system: suitable for circulation about the unit and to discourage use by 'through traffic'' (Jackson, 2016, p.224).

The suggestion is that there is a significant overlap between these specifications and Sector-22. Furthermore, it could be the case that *Recent Advances in Town Planning* exerted a significant influence on the subsequent sectors that were constructed in the city. As Jackson notes:

> Each sector has a series of planned open spaces that contain schools, clinics and other such public and community and buildings. The edges of the sector take a defensive role with the larger commercial structures such as hotels and large shops 'protecting' the dwellings within, from fast moving traffic and associated noise' (ibid, pp-222-223).

Jackson's argument is intriguing and persuasive, and as such it would be intriguing the further investigate how the conception of the 'sector' developed, and which individuals contributed. Unfortunately, I had hoped to locate archival items which demonstrated how design ideas were shared amongst the Indo-European team, but discovered through talking about research with Indian academics, that these documents certainly do not exist within The Randhawa Papers. Deepika Gandhi still hopes that this material can be found, whereas others believe that this material has been destroyed. I personally find the latter convincing, since the architects office in which the team worked was relatively small and it would have been easy to circulate around and observe each other's work; in this scenario it perhaps only became necessary to preserve the final designs rather than the preliminary sketches which circulated around the team.

Secondly, Jackson's research suggests that it was Fry's innovation to homogenise Chandigarh's architectural team, that Jeanneret would eventually lead. It would appear that Fry was concerned by the different dynamics at play. In a letter dated 13 February 1954, Fry wrote to Nehru:

> I have hesitated a good deal before deciding to write to you but I believe that this generation of architects is of such value to India, and to the oncoming stages of your national plans, that their continued suppression within the PWD system seems to me a sad waste of good creating spirit that should at all costs be prevented… You will

produce men eating their hearts out in private instead of lively responsible architects creating a new background for Indian life' (ibid, p.257).

Nehru replied requesting Fry's proposed alternative for the reorganisation of the PWD, and Fry suggested reformulation involved creating the role of 'Chief Architect', which was initially fulfilled by Pierre Jeanneret, a position he held until 1965 (ibid). This lends greater nuance to the achievements of Pierre Jeanneret that recent scholarship has been keen to promote, since the platform from which Jeanneret operated, was potentially attributable to the insights of Fry. Indeed, it is at this juncture that we begin to turn our attention to Pierre Jeanneret and his work in Chandigarh.

Pierre Jeanneret's Collaborative Modernism

As we have seen in the previous case study, Fry framed Pierre Jeanneret in less than favourable terms as lacking cultural and creative faculties. However, as my previous chapters have shown, especially Chapters Two and Four, an alternative appraisal exists for Pierre Jeanneret. As the observations of Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga make clear, Jeanneret's success in his role of Chief Architect was not predicated on his ability to slavishly deliver the architectural whims of his cousin. In the writing of Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga, which is well supported by a range of sources, Jeanneret emerges as a highly astute, culturally sensitive individual, who was hugely supportive of his young Indian colleagues. To make sense of these discrepancies, this case study will first summarise the emergent scholarly discourse on the architect and what has been presented by the thesis thus far. Subsequently, attention will be given to his collaborative work on Panjab University Campus, the insights that can be gained from the Randhawa Papers and his role of Chief Architect. By doing so, I hope to present further evidence of Chandigarh's collaborative modernism and the working relations that Jeanneret shared with the Indian team.

I will consider what has already been covered on Pierre Jeanneret in my three previous chapters. As highlighted in Chapter Two, Jeanneret's success in the role of Senior Architect was not predicated on his ability to transpose the lofty architectural whims of his aloof, yet seemingly brilliant cousin. His exploration of the Punjabi countryside armed with his bicycle, camera and notepad, allowed the architect to cultivate an understanding of cultural traditions,

building materials and the local environment (2000, p.29). They claim this process, informed the architect's approach whilst working on the new capital city, Chandigarh. Saliently, Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga show the esteem that is held for Jeanneret in India, albeit in scholarly and architecture circles, which contrasts dramatically with the appraisal offered by Fry. As highlighted in Chapter Two, they highlight a remarkable passage from Patwant Singh, which suggests that the architect ended the centuries long tendency for foreign architecture in India to be imposed without environmental or cultural consideration (ibid, p.33).

As a dramatic departure from Fry's opinion, the impression conveyed is that if one single contribution should be highlighted above all others, it should be Pierre Jeanneret and not Le Corbusier's. Importantly, Jeanneret's fifteen year stay in India and his engagement with local vernacular forms, provide further evidence to support the notion of collaborative modernism. It is highlighted that the architect contributed remarkably to the city and was involved with a plethora of projects including the Panjab University Campus, housing of different grades, schools, the town hall and The Central Library (ibid, p.31). Pandit Sneh is referenced to convey the idea that Chandigarh reflects more of Jeanneret's influence than of Le Corbusier's, since daily life is structured around the buildings that he designed (ibid, p.31). This is the feeling of the architect Eulie Chowdhury that worked on the design of Chandigarh and in close collaboration with Pierre Jeanneret, who in 1964 wrote, far lesser architects are better known internationally (ibid, p.36)

Let us briefly consider some of the key points made in Chapter Four, which focused on the cultural institutions in Chandigarh that are devoted to the architectural history of Chandigarh, primarily focusing on The City Architecture Museum and The Le Corbusier Centre. Within the consideration of the Le Corbusier Centre, we found curated archival documents providing evidence that would appear to rehabilitate Jeanneret's reputation. Saliently, it was Pierre Jeanneret who was consulted on the inter-seniority of the Indian architects and not Maxwell Fry or indeed any of the other European team, during the period that the architectural branch of the PWD was being formalised[20]. This suggests that Jeanneret was both firmly embedded within the design process and that he above all others, would know the individual merits of each of the Indian architects that had worked on the design of the city.

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[20] However, as this chapter will subsequently explore, Jeanneret's opinion did not accord with the government's appraisal and this would become a source of significant friction.

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Chapter Four also considered the events entitled *Commemorating the Legacy of Pierre Jeanneret* (2017), which saw multiple events around the city of Chandigarh, including a two-day symposium held at the Chandigarh College of Architecture, tours of The Capitol Complex and Panjab University and an exhibition entitled *Modernism in South Asia: The Work of Pierre Jeanneret*, hosted at Panjab University. Indeed, a salient feature of the two-day symposium held at the Chandigarh College of Architecture, was the inaugural lecture from S.D. Sharma, one of the few remaining architects that worked with both Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret. The lecture was entitled *Pierre Jeanneret, An Apostle of Creative Humility* and it gave exclusive focus to the creative and personal merits of the architect, there was scant mention of Le Corbusier or indeed Fry and Drew. Sharma, already quoted extensively in this earlier chapter, made three striking points about Jeanneret's contribution to the city. 1) Jeanneret, as we know, was responsible for the implementation of Le Corbusier's projects in Sector 1 and the Capitol Complex. However, Sharma made it very clear that only partial designs were sent by Le Corbusier and the successful delivery of these buildings was facilitated by the successful working relationship of Pierre Jeanneret and P.L. Verma, the Chief Engineer. 2) That Jeanneret, despite operating under the shadow of his cousin, delivered government housing, schools and Panjab University. 3) That Jeanneret took responsibility for the training of the young Indian architects. However, one could suggest that while such insights corroborate the research of Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga, it does not advance it. However, Sharma's corroboration of their research suggests that it reflects the prevalent perspective shared by the young Indian architects that worked on the city (Malhotra, 2000).

Chapter Four also highlighted some of the complexities of attributing authorship in the context of collaborative working relations. Indeed, within the exhibition *Modernism in South Asia: The Work of Pierre Jeanneret,* certain buildings such as the AC Joshi Library and the Student Centre, were attributed entirely to Jeanneret. As my chapter discussed, this has been problematised by Vikramaditya Prakash, who suggests within his recent publication *Chandigarh*, that these buildings were designed by B.P.Mathur. Similarly, the exhibition attributes buildings such as the University Hostel for Girls and The Health Centre to Jeanneret, whereas Prakash attributes them as Jeanneret/Mathur collaborations. Therefore, it is clear that this chapter contributes to a live sphere of contentious debate, concerning the legacy of Jeanneret and the nature of his work in Chandigarh.

Panjab University: Pierre Jeanneret's Collaborative Modernism

As was demonstrated in Chapter Five, Jeanneret emerged as highly encouraging of his junior architect and responded positively to proposals from this cohort. Aditya Prakash described how Jeanneret discarded his own design for the Tagore Theatre, in favour of a design offered by Prakash. Indeed, it would seem that this was no means an isolated example and Jeanneret welcomed input on even seminal pieces such as the Gandhi Bhawan, arguably the finest building constructed on the Panjab University Campus.

Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga provide insights on the nature of Jeanneret's working relationship with his Indian colleagues. This certainly lends credence to the notion of collaborative modernism. Whilst working on the design of Panjab University campus (1959-1975)[21], designed by Jeanneret, B.P. Mathur and J.K. Chowdhury (Prakash, 2014, p.106), he was known to have welcomed creative suggestions from co-workers. Significantly, as the Bahga's explain, during the design of the Gandhi Bhavan (Fig. 32), a junior colleague suggested the use of an alternative material for the exterior of the building, with a view to distinguish it from adjacent buildings. Indeed, the suggestion was based on the Salim Chisti tomb found within the courtyard of the Jama Masjid complex, Fatehpur Sikri. The striking structure is rendered in white marble, whereas the rest of the mosque is constructed from red sandstone. Accordingly, this suggestion was embraced by Jeanneret and rather than opt for red sandstone for the construction of the Gandhi Bhavan as per the surrounding structures, white marble was used instead (2000, p.33). This is revealing of Jeanneret's approach to the design process and indicates a humble and receptive disposition, echoing the sentiments of S.D. Sharma (2017). Of profound relevance to collaborative modernism, this interest in the Indian vernacular, strongly suggests that he wanted his buildings to connote a direct link with pre-existing architectural traditions and design solutions.

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[21] The first buildings constructed on the campus were completed in the late 1950's. However, some of the later structures were completed after Jeanneret's departure from India, for example, The Museum of Fine Arts (1975), The Students Centre (1970) and The Institute for Chemical Engineering and Technology (1970).

Fig. 32. The Gandhi Bhawan by Pierre Jeanneret, Panjab University Campus. Photograph taken during my three-month research trip based at Panjab University.

Pierre Jeanneret In the Randhawa Papers

Having briefly reviewed pre-existing literature on the architect and summarised the findings of the thesis thus far, I will now pose the question of what can be ascertained about the architect and his working relations via consultation of the Randhawa Papers. Below we find a secret correspondence between M.S. Randhawa and Partap Singh Kairon, from 1964:

> During my last visit to Chandigarh about two months ago, when I held a meeting of High-Level Committee for the Capitol Project, I made a thorough enquiry into the prevailing discontent and heard from everybody. I found Mons. P. Jeanneret very unhappy. In fact, before the meeting of the committee, he met me and explained that he was not receiving any support from Shri K.S. Narang. While he was explaining his point of view and mentioning his difficulties, he broke down and was in tears. I met him again in the evening and explained that the Chief Minister who has been the main support of the Project, would create conditions so that he would be enabled to work in harmony…

After studying everything, I am of the opinion that it is not possible for Shri. K. S. Narang to handle the project in a statesmen-like manner. He is no doubt an able person, but he lacks tact and sensitiveness. In dealing with creative people, a different attitude is required. He has not been able to win the respect of Mons. Jeanneret, the Chief Architect. All the architectural innovations which are going on in Chandigarh are due to the genius of Mons. Jeanneret. The Indian architects, in spite of their training over the years, can only play a secondary role. They lack imagination and power of innovation. As much, I feel that it would be desirable to make necessary changes so that Mons. Jeanneret who has worked so devotedly for so many years, is given peace of mind and is able to work without further irritation. I would suggest that the administration of the Capital Project may be given to Shri Saroop Krishan, who is a smooth operator and is high-minded enough to understand the problems of architecture and to deal with men of intelligence, sensitiveness and imagination. (Randhawa, M.S. Secret Correspondence. *The Randhawa Papers*, 1554 Chandigarh 1964-65, 1554:0006 & 0007).

The letter is intriguing on a number of levels, since it tells us that Jeanneret was highly distressed by his working relations with certain state officials, specifically K.S. Narang. It also reveals the   that the architectural achievements of Chandigarh, were largely attributable to Jeanneret. Finally, it shows that Dr. M.S. Randhawa was more than willing to exercise his political influence in order to remove the uncooperative Narang from office, in order for Jeanneret to work unimpeded. It is hard to imagine that Randhawa would take such steps if Jeanneret's value to the development of Chandigarh, was not significant. In light of this, such archival entries, seemingly contradict the highly disparaging appraisal of the architect offered by Maxwell Fry.

The Randhawa Papers are also insightful in other respects and reveal aspects of Jeanneret's working relationship with the Indian team members, such as Jeet Malhotra. Earlier in this thesis in Chapter Five we considered Malhotra and Prabhawalkar's contribution to The Capitol Complex Buildings such as The High Court and The Secretariat, which are usually considered exclusively the work of Le Corbusier. From engaging with the Randhawa Papers, we can also see that Malhotra worked closely with Jeanneret on the delivery of The Open Hand monument; the iconic sculptural installation found in The Capitol Complex. Unfortunately, this monument

was not completed until 1982, but as we can establish, conversations were well underway in the mid-1960's. This can be ascertained from a series of letters, the first of which is a letter from Le Corbusier to Pierre Jeanneret, dated 3rd October 1964:

Dear Monsieur, Jeanneret,

Owing to certain inevitable delays I am only enclosing today my letter of September, 21st, 1964. Following this letter we have made a wax-model of the "Open Hand", scale 5 centimetres by meter. The impression of it shall be produced in "papier mache" and, if possible, a galvanoplasty (copper)

These documents of the "Open Hand" represent the definitive form adopted by me.

You might consult the useful people at Nangal and I am sure that one of them [would be glad to help] …

Malhotra sent me through three drawings of the "New Design of Monument" which I received the (Corbusier, Le. Correspondence between Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret. *The Randhawa Papers*, 1554 Chandigarh 1964-65, 1554:0186).

As can be inferred from the letter, the three architects are communicating together on the matter of The Open Hand, discussing the final designs and the practical considerations surrounding the construction of the monument. In a subsequent letter from Le Corbusier to Pierre Jeanneret, there is further evidence of this collaborative working relation:

Dear Mr Jeanneret,

Mr Jeet Malhotra, Senior Architect (Office of Chief Architect & Town Planning Adviser to Gvt. Punjab Chandigarh) writes me to send you the model and definitive plans of the "Open Hand" to enable you to prepare the working drawing in consultation with the Nangal Workshop.

I am therefore sending the drawings of the "Open Hand" to:

You, Mr Pierre Jeanneret, Chief Architect & Town Planning Adviser to Gvt. Punjab.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Prime Minister.

Shri Ram Krishen, Chief Minister.

Director of Nangal Workshop. (Corbusier, Le. Correspondence between Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret. *The Randhawa Papers*, 1554 Chandigarh 1964-65, 1554:0188

Further communication between Pierre Jeanneret and the Secretary to the Government of Punjab, suggests that Jeanneret trusted Malhotra as a reliable ambassador for The Open Hand Monument.

> Le Corbusier and myself are very keen that all the buildings- particularly the Museum of Knowledge and Open Hand and other sculptures, details of which exist in your office should materialise at a very early date. The details of the Open Hand (drawings) which I have received now from Mons: Corbusier are being forwarded to the Chief Engineer, Capital and the Director, Nangal township for preparing a detailed estimate so that Government is in a position to provide necessary funds for the construction of this monument….

> It will be worthwhile to discuss in detail the completion of the Capitol Complex in the fourth- coming meeting of the Capital Board. In case, you wish to understand the details of these projects I would be happy to send Mr. Jeet Malhotra, my Senior Architect to explain you things at any time convenient to you (Jeanneret, P. Letter from Pierre Jeanneret. *The Randhawa Papers*. 1554 Chandigarh 1964-65, 1554:0189).

As we know, The Museum of Knowledge was never constructed and although The Open Hand Monument would be delayed until 1985, we can speculate that the groundwork established by Malhotra and Jeanneret, perhaps assisted the eventual completion of this monument. We can certainly see evidence of Jeanneret's dogged persistence in the delivery of The Capitol Complex and how Malhotra was called upon to assist in important discussions with state officials.

Pierre Jeanneret worked as Chief Architect and Town Planning Adviser until 1965, and it is in this capacity that the architect most impacted the city of Chandigarh. Staying long after the departure of Fry and Drew (well over 10 years after their 1954 departure), Jeanneret became

fully immersed in the delivery of Chandigarh. He was devoted to his task and we find evidence of this not only in the buildings that remain, but also in the recollections of his co-workers:

> Early morning, on weekends, a knock on the door meant Jeanneret was there- some urgent work had to be done. And that was the end of a beautiful weekend. But we learnt much from the process' (Bahga, S&S, 2000, p.33).

Pierre Jeanneret and the role of Chief Architect.

The Randhawa Papers can also assist in understanding the extent to which Jeanneret contributed to the city and explicate how his role went beyond translating his cousin's architectural vision. Thus, the question emerges, what can we learn from The Randhawa Papers about Jeanneret's role as Chief Architect?

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, it appears that Fry claimed responsibility for the drive to formalise the architecture branch of the PWD, which appears slightly circumspect, since this did not occur for years after his departure. Indeed, this drive commenced in around 1958 and Fry departed in 1954. A letter between Jeanneret in his capacity of Chief Architect and Nehru, would appear that the drive to create the Department for Architecture was in fact, strongly influenced by the new workload placed in Pierre Jeanneret. The excerpt below can be perceived as serving two functions 1) throwing into doubt Jackson's claim that correspondences between Fry and Nehru lead to the formalisation of the architecture branch of the PWD 2) rendering in plain terms, the extent of Jeanneret's contribution:

> I venture to address your intervention and assistance in regard to the selection of personnel for the architects' organisation of the state, of which I am the Chief Architect.
>
> It is ten years since I have been working for the Chandigarh State Capital Project, but this is the first time I am writing to you. I do so in distress and anguish, and having exhausted all means, over a period of several months of a fair and acceptable decision over here.
>
> During the last two years the Punjab Government has entrusted many new works to me:
>
> > (1) A central Architectural Organisation for the Punjab of which I am the Chief Architect

(2) In this capacity I am designing Talawara-a future industrial township which is connected with the Pong Dam on the River Beas

(3) The University of the Punjab at Chandigarh

(4) Adviser to the newly set-up College of Architecture which started functioning on the 7th August 1961.

(5) Architectural advice for the Rajasthan Canals

(6) Bhakra Dam for the execution of the projects of Le Corbusier.

I accepted all these new responsibilities with enthusiasm without asking for any modification in the conditions of my original contract with the Capitol Project, as I like my work and for me the essential thing is to build.

For all of these new jobs I needed Senior Architects which the Government proposed I should name in order of merit from amongst the staff already working in my office. But all sorts of intrigues, orders, cancellations of orders-all quite incomprehensible to me-over the past year have added up to a small result which is not acceptable to me and indeed revolts my sense of justice, apart from the irreparable damage which I am certain the selection of wrong personnel for key positions will do to the future of architecture in this state' (Jeanneret, P. Letter from Pierre Jeanneret to Nehru. *The Randhawa Papers*. 1539A Chandigarh, 1539A:0136).

In a further correspondence, Jeanneret further expands the founding of the Department of Architecture, which explains how the Indian architects became employed on contracts in clearly defined positions, rather than on ad-hoc basis.

The architectural organisation in this state grew up on an ad hoc basis almost entirely because if the construction of the Chandigarh Capital, for which a team of foreign architects, headed by Le Corbusier, was selected by the Punjab Government. These in turn, with the assistance and guidance of Indian officers, both administrative and technical, selected a promising team of Indian architects for the Project. These selections had to be made against time, and the persons selected were appointed and have been working as junior architects…

The Punjab Government decided about two years ago to set up a permanent Department of Architecture to design and construct buildings for all the departments of Government throughout the State. This department was to work initially under me as Chief Architect and Town Planner. This decision meant not only an immediate expansion in the work and responsibility of the Chief Architect […] but also emphasised the need for establishing an organisation, which was to be permanent and long-term, which would be able to provide both the technical and organisational leadership needed for these tasks. The proper selection and placing of personnel at this crucial stage of organisation thus became a matter of vital importance (Jeanneret, P. Letter from Pierre Jeanneret to Nehru. *The Randhawa Papers*. 1539A Chandigarh, 1539A:0137).

Senior Architects were deemed necessary to support Jeanneret in his capacity of Chief Architect and he was asked to compile a list of the most deserving and competent junior architects. What happened next begins to explain the absence of Prabhawalkar from dominant narratives about the city, despite the fact that Le Corbusier went on record to acknowledge the contribution of the architect to his landmark structure The Assembly Building. Whilst Jeanneret does not state it explicitly, it is strongly inferred that the selection of Senior Architects became embroiled in corruption. Following the discussion of this process, I will also highlight Drew's allegation of untoward practices during his time in Chandigarh, which would suggest that Chandigarh's design and construction was not immune to corruption.

In the first instance, it seemed that Jeanneret's input would be of the greatest value in the selection of the Senior Architects that would populate the Department of Architecture, however it would seem that Jeanneret's appraisal of his Indian colleagues did not satisfy certain political incumbencies. The list as shown below reflects-from Jeanneret's perspective- the merits of the junior architects and their suitability for the role of Senior Architect:

1. A.R Prabhawalkar
2. Mrs. U.E. Chowdhury
3. J.L. Malhotra
4. A. Prakash
5. B.P. Mathur
6. M.N. Sharma

(Jeanneret, P. Letter from Pierre Jeanneret to Nehru. *The Randhawa Papers*. 1539A Chandigarh, 1539A:0138).

Indeed, the Punjab government did not recruit on the basis of this recommendation and instead resolved to set up another committee, comprised of B.B. Vohra Secretary of the Department and Chief Engineer G.C. Khanna and they produced the following list:

1. A.R Prabhawalkar
2. Mrs. U.E. Chowdhury
3. M.N. Sharma

(Jeanneret, P. Letter from Pierre Jeanneret to Nehru. *The Randhawa Papers*. 1539A Chandigarh, 1539A:0138).

However, again, the government was not happy with this ranking and conducted another set of interviews conducted by a Public Services Commission. This resulted in the following list:

M.N. Sharma

A.R. Prabhawalkar

U.E. Chowdhury

B.P. Mathur

J.S. Dethe

A. Prakash

J.L. Malhotra

P.J. Ghista

(Jeanneret, P. Letter from Pierre Jeanneret to Nehru. *The Randhawa Papers*. 1539A Chandigarh, 1539A:0139).

M.N. Sharma who was not regarded as being a standout architect by Jeanneret, was placed at the top of the list. Jeanneret notes that on 12th August 1961, the first five architects on the list were recruited. However, in just five days all of the new recruits had been dismissed. Subsequently, the Public Services Commission recommended that the candidates be re-interviewed, and that Pierre Jeanneret and his staff be excluded from any further decision making (Jeanneret, P. Letter from Pierre Jeanneret to Nehru. *The Randhawa Papers*. 1539A Chandigarh, 1539A:0140). Further interviews were held on 26th August 1961 and the following architects were listed M.N. Sharma, A.R. Prabhawalkar, Mrs E.U. Chowdhury, B. P. Mathur, J.S. Dethe, P.J. Ghista, A. Prakash and Jeet Malhotra (Jeanneret, P. Letter from Pierre Jeanneret to Nehru. *The Randhawa Papers*. 1539A Chandigarh, 1539A:0140). Jeanneret was clearly furious about the course of events and had the following to say:

Both as a conclusion and as a man, I find it impossible to accept the decisions of Government in this case, and have in these circumstances, after exhausting over many months of anxiety and care (during which I have been unable even to take my normal summer leave), all means available to me legally, been compelled to seek intervention by the prime minister

The sequence of events and facts set out in this note speak for themselves. The selection has been manifestly unfair and perhaps inspired by local conditions; (it is significant that both Prabhawalkar and Mrs. Chowdhury, placed No. 1 and 2 by me and also by the Committee of officers are outsiders to this State with no local contacts outside their work and social sphere). It is useful to underline also: -

a) At first selection by the P.S.C, decisions as to merits were not made in the presence of technical advisers—myself and Shri Joglekar—differed in the result considerably from the impression obtained by me at the selection

b) At the selection the Administrative Secretary was excluded from advising the Commission

c) At the second selection by the P.S.C not only were all technical and administrative advisers excluded, but also two years' reports of the most crucial period deliberately ignored (Jeanneret, P. Letter from Pierre Jeanneret to Nehru. *The Randhawa Papers*. 1539A Chandigarh, 1539:0141 & 1539:0142)

It could be contended that the process outlined above resulted in the perception of Sharma's seniority over Prabhawalkar, which on balance seems unjust. The longstanding consequence of this was that upon Jeanneret's departure from Chandigarh, it was Sharma and not Prabhawalkar that took the mantle of Chief Architect. The evidence above suggests that he was propelled into this position through untoward means. Strangely, this brings us back to a question raised at the beginning of Chapter Four, pertaining to why the role of Indian architects that contributed to the design of Chandigarh had been excluded from Anglophone Euro-American scholarship? It would seem that in this case, the contribution of Prabhawalkar and arguably Prakash and Malhotra's were obscured not by an inherent Eurocentrism, but by virtue of local prejudice, which I believe has been demonstrated through consultation of The Randhawa Papers.

Importantly for the notion of collaborative modernism, Jeanneret appears emotionally connected to this issue, and was upset by the ranking of both Malhotra and Prakash. Although, as has been stated in this thesis, the notion of collaborative modernism is not merely reducible to the practice of collaboration, it is evident that Jeanneret's emotional investment stemmed from the experience of having worked with these architects. A later archival document demonstrates that he further intervened on behalf of Malhotra, in order to secure him the role of Senior Architect (Jeanneret, Pierre. Letter to Narang. *The Randhawa Papers.* 1552, 1552:0148).

At this juncture, it is worth noting that Drew noted the existence of corruption in Chandigarh during her time in the city. Whilst this does not necessarily indicate a culture of corruption in Chandigarh, it is nonetheless, noteworthy. Following Fry's departure, and during Drew's final months in the city, the following incident is alleged to have occurred:

> Well one day I was looking at drawings in the office when I saw one of the assistants Dette guiltily whip a drawing off his board and hide it underneath. I immediately became suspicious and asked him to produce it. It was the design of a house for the new administrator Nawab Singh…

> Now I knew perfectly well that no site had been allocated for his house. Sites were by then going to auction with a priority for refugees […] I looked at the position of the site. Chandigarh was growing very fast at that time and got in my jeep. I found the foundations had already been dug and there were building materials stacked' (Drew, Jane. Autobiographical Writing. *The Fry and Drew Papers*, F&D/26/2, p.127).

Having established that this secret plan had become a structural reality, Drew realised that swift and immediate action was required and resolved to make a clandestine journey to discuss the matter with Nehru in New Delhi:

> Now I could hardly report my chief administrator to my chief administrator, and I fully understood Dette' position. So I decided to risk things and quietly nipped into the night train to Delhi. I frequently spent a day on site visiting jobs and I didn't think my presence would be missed. The only person I told was my trusted Sakh Der who I knew would cover for me. I arrived at Nehru's early in the morning and sent him a Chitty as notes were called, asking to see him at once and privately. I was at once ushered up and told him all, and that I could no longer stay if I had to work under a corrupt Chief Administrator. Nehru replied by saying he is a Sikh, I dare not sack him but I promise

he will be moved to another post forthwith and I agreed to stay on. Nawab Singh was moved to Delhi' (Drew, Jane. Autobiographical Writing. *The Fry and Drew Papers*, F&D/26/2, p.128).

This interaction and outcome demonstrate the sway and authority that Drew possessed. It is remarkable, at least in this account that no formal investigations were initiated. This perhaps suggests the expectation of nefarious practices, which were seemingly tolerated until detected. Whilst this anecdote does not necessarily corroborate Jeanneret's account, it suggests that further investigation might be required, though this is by no means integral in advancing the concept of collaborative modernism.

Conclusion

Regarding the work of Fry and Drew in Chandigarh, despite Jackson's claim that Chandigarh was an inherently individualistic project, through consideration of Sector-22, their work on early housing projects and their work with architects such as Aditya Prakash and M.N. Sharma, it would seem that there is ample evidence to perceive their work in Chandigarh as reflective of a collaborative modernism. This chapter has therefore further shown an Indian agency in Chandigarh's creation, through cultivating a micro-historical perspective and presenting evidence of the collaborative working relations of Fry, Drew and Jeanneret. Fry at the very least held a very dim view of both Jeanneret and P.L. Verma and it is doubtful that they shared a hugely productive collaborative relationship. Importantly, consideration of this granular archival detail reveals that mutual antagonisms existed within the team, and Fry estranged himself from two key figures in the creation of Chandigarh. Consideration of Jeanneret's output elucidates that Fry's appraisal of him was based on opinion rather than the actuality of his personal disposition or architectural competence. The Randhawa Papers revealed further evidence of Jeanneret's collaboration with architects such as Malhotra, with whom he worked on The Open Hand. This finding further deconstructs the notion that Le Corbusier worked independently on the delivery of The Capitol Complex, which increasingly emerges as a site of collaborative modernism.

Conclusion

I predicated this thesis on exploring the architectural history of Chandigarh through the analytical lens of collaborative modernism, which had two salient and interconnected objectives, one being to show that Chandigarh resulted from significant Indian agency and the other to show that modernism is an inherently decentred globalised phenomenon. Regarding Chandigarh's Indian agency, a strand of research which started in the early 2000s with scholars such as Vikramaditya Prakash, Sarbjit Bahga and Surinder Bahga but as yet has not been given the attention that it deserves, I hoped that this thesis could further facilitate a departure from the Le Corbusier dominated narratives that surround the city. As stated in the introduction, this thesis posed these questions: 1. What was the contribution of other architects involved in the design of Chandigarh, including Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, Pierre Jeanneret, and the Indian team? 2. To what extent did Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Jane Drew, and Maxwell Fry collaborate with the Indian team? 3. Why are the Indian architects that worked on the city largely invisible in canonical narratives and to what extent is this an issue about knowledge transfer, e.g. is the contribution of architects such as Aditya Prakash better understood in India (as opposed to Anglophone Euro-American scholarship)? This thesis contended that a more nuanced picture of Chandigarh's creation could be presented if further attention was given to the roles of Fry, Drew, the Indian architects that worked on the city, and figures such as Chief Engineer P.L. Verma. The other aim- that underpinned this thesis- was to present an account of modernism as an inherently decentred phenomenon. As stated in the introduction, the question that unified these respective concerns was whether Chandigarh could be perceived as a European imposition?

Whether the city can be perceived as a European imposition can be regarded as an analytical tool to activate research into Chandigarh's Indian agency, and to a large extent this question underpinned each of my chapters. After having problematised the general invisibility of the Indian architects that contributed to the city of Chandigarh, through my literature review in Chapter Two, I advanced the notion of collaborative modernism, by way of Chapter Three. This chapter further clarified the notion of collaborative modernism and showed that modernism had existed in India for a at least a quarter of a century before Le Corbusier and his team arrived in Chandigarh. This chapter served an important function within the internal logic of the thesis, since it showed that between 1922-1947 in India, modernism was a developed and established mode of cultural expression. Ultimately, Chandigarh's modernism cannot have been imposed from the 'outside' if it was already well underway on the 'inside'. Importantly,

I developed Chapter Two's use of post-colonial theory, to critique modernism's inherent Eurocentrism. Ostensibly, this chapter introduced another aspect of collaborative modernism that entails the critique of modernism's teleological dimension, which asserts a single timeline of modernity, with Europe at its pinnacle and the rest of the world playing catch up. Ultimately, this chapter challenged this linear and spatialised history. I achieved this through consideration of the different case studies presented in this chapter, which included a variety of artists and architects, including Tagore, Amrita Sher-Gil, Nandalal Bose and Surendranath Kar, to name a few.

Challenging linear spatialised narratives about modernism and its consequences for Eurocentric conceptions about Chandigarh, also underpinned Chapter Four, which focused on Chandigarh's evolving self-representation. In many respects, this chapter emerged from a desire to answer research question three, highlighted in the introduction of this conclusion, pertaining to the general absence of Indian architects from dominant narratives about Chandigarh, and whether the contribution of these architects is better understood in India. Through considering Chandigarh's museums such as The City Architecture Museum and The Le Corbusier Centre, I wanted to understand if these institutions rehabilitated the reputations of the Indian architects that worked on the design of Chandigarh or if they were silent on their contributions. Before commencing work on the research that would lead to this chapter, I considered it possible that these institutions might offer a more comprehensive account of Chandigarh's Indian agency.

To a large extent both institutions not only perpetuated the invisibility of the Indian architects that worked on Chandigarh, but also implicitly endorsed linear spatialised narratives about modernism. This is because the narratives found in these respective institutions are anchored around Le Corbusier and to a far lesser extent Pierre Jeanneret, both European men, the former considered a paragon of architectural modernism. Crucially, the renewed collaborative efforts of Panjab University and Chandigarh College of Architecture to displace the centrality of Le Corbusier from dominant narratives about the city, replicate a similar logic, through emphasising the role of Pierre Jeanneret; seemingly at the expense of the Indian team.

The response to whether Chandigarh can be perceived as an imposition found nuanced expression in Chapter Five, which arguably revealed some inherent complexities of collaborative modernism, both in relation to Chandigarh and wider critiques of modernism's Eurocentrism. Through archival analysis this chapter complicated the notion that The Capitol

Complex was given over entirely to Le Corbusier. I achieved this by demonstrating the roles of Jeet Malhotra, A.R. Prabhawalkar and P.L. Verma and the considerable help that they provided to Le Corbusier. Through consideration of official correspondences found in The Randhawa Papers, this chapter revealed The Capitol Complex as a site not of monolithic and singular genius but of complex negotiation and compromise.

The discussion of The Assembly Building's Enamel Gate revealed some complexities and nuances that must be navigated when applying the concept of collaborative modernism to Chandigarh. As discussed in the chapter, Nehru and his cohort appeared disinterested in Le Corbusier's invitation to collaborate on the aesthetic schema for The Enamel Gate. Le Corbusier took this opportunity to create a complex visual allegory of regeneration and cosmic continuum, which can be regarded as reflecting the transcultural influence of High Modernism. The Gate appeared to be the manifestation of back and forth cultural flows, an object that reflected the migration of Eastern mysticism to Europe, and an architectural expression of modernism in an Eastern setting, commissioned by Indian patrons. However, although the gate is a material expression of such back and forth cultural flows, one could assert that Nehru's indifference to the visual schema could have resulted from his engagement with more pressing concerns of state. It could well have showed a lack of interest in using symbolism associated with India's past. We could interpret Le Corbusier's desire to include this gate for The Assembly Building, as reflecting a misreading of his patron's intentions, or perhaps we might even go further to say that The Enamel Gate constituted an imposition of Le Corbusier's creative intentions.

The Aditya Prakash case study in Chapter Five was also pertinent in discussions about Chandigarh's Indian agency, not least because of its consideration of Prakash's own creative autonomy. Speaking of his relationship with Le Corbusier, Prakash referenced the story of Dronacharya and Eklavya (1998). As narrated by Prakash, the low-caste Eklavya wanted to be an archer and asked Dronacharya if he could train under his guidance, but this request was declined. One day, the guru and his associates were in the forest and found themselves under threat from a barking dog. Unexpectedly the dog was silenced with several arrows fired into its mouth, but without causing it any harm. They later established that the mysterious archer was none other than Eklavya. It transpires that despite the refusal, Eklavya had drawn a portrait of Dronacharya and made him his guru. According to this narrative, the role of the guru is not to teach, but to inspire you to learn- ultimately of your own volition. We can regard this as

a beautiful reformulation of the agency and influence issue, which is so important to the concept of collaborative modernism. Prakash acknowledges the importance of Le Corbusier, but the successful manifestation of this influence depends on his own devotion to his craft. This account shows another feature of collaborative modernism, which is a critique of radical creative autonomy. This relates to collaborative modernism's critique of narratives that perpetuate the notion of Le Corbusier as a lone male genius. Simultaneously, it connects to the narratives problematised by academics such as Partha Mitter, that both celebrate the genius of European artists and their use of non-western art, but denigrate modernists from the perceived periphery for 'failing' to understand the internal logic of Cubism.

I devoted chapter Six to the contributions of Maxwell Fry, Jane Drew, and Pierre Jeanneret to the design of Chandigarh. An important aspect of the case study devoted to Fry and Drew, related to critiquing Iain Jackson's notion that the city was inherently individualistic and to circumscribe some claims made by Fry and Drew regarding the originality of their practise. Through reference to the Fry and Drew Papers, this chapter successfully critiqued the notion that this city was an individualistic endeavour, through a consideration of their early housing experimentation which negotiated caste and social considerations. This chapter critically engaged with the claims that Fry made for their consultations with end-users. Ultimately, this was demonstrated to have been an ongoing practise and not isolated to Fry and Drew. Intriguingly, it could be suggested that through making these claims for creative autonomy, Fry was attempting to displace Le Corbusier's centrality in dominant narratives of the city.

This analysis of Fry and Drew once again stresses collaborative modernism as a critique of radical creative autonomy. Instead, Fry and Drew's work can be regarded as a synergetic response to pre-existing practices in Chandigarh, that reveal the collaborative exchange of ideas, rather than a story of competing individualisms. This further galvanised an interpretation of Chandigarh as being a collaborative endeavour that went beyond imposition and that this collaboration had a significant Indian agency.

This critique of radical creative autonomy found further expression in the Pierre Jeanneret case study, which served to address the harsh and misleading account of the architect found in the writings of Fry. This chapter demonstrated the high level of esteem held in India for Jeanneret and showed that his success in the role of Chief Architect was in part due to his cultural sensitivity and 'immersion' into the local context. Consideration of his working relations with architects such as Aditya Prakash and his collaborators on buildings such as the Gandhi

Bhawan, reveal that Jeanneret integrated with the Indian team and worked collaboratively with them. Since Jeanneret spent fifteen years in this role and was responsible for vast swathes of the city, the notion that the city was the result of competing individualisms, seems somewhat misleading. Indeed, based on these accounts of Jeanneret's approach, it is difficult to accept the city as having been an imposition.

Reflections on Research

This thesis adopted a methodological approach based on archival research and having read Vikramaditya Prakash's Chandigarh's *Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in Post-Colonial India*, I naively assumed that my task was to find evidence of the nine Indian architects listed in the book and to find out the extent of their respective contributions. However, even before entering the formal archives, this list was rendered problematic. Through consultation of The Le Corbusier Centre, it became apparent that initially the Indian architects that worked on the design of the city did so on an ad hoc basis. Tellingly, Prakash revised his own list in 2014, omitting some initially listed architects and introducing new ones. While I have been able to explore the contributions of Malhotra, Prakash and Prabhawalkar, based on my current level of research, I will not venture to offer a new or different version of this list; partly because I do not wish to enter into the politics of inclusions and exclusions.

However, the methodological decision to use archive-based research seemed conducive to the interrelated objectives of displacing the centrality of Le Corbusier dominated narratives of the city and providing evidence of Chandigarh's Indian agency. Sometimes this thesis experienced the limitations of this approach, not least in the consideration of the construction workers that built the city. Whilst snapshots could be encountered in the writings of Le Corbusier and the interview-based work of Aditya Prakash (discussed in Chapter Five), ultimately this archive based approach was not conducive to accommodating the contribution- the material sensibility- of the workers that built the city. However, one could argue that the difficulty in accessing evidence on the workers is reflective of the very issue that this thesis is addressing. Indeed, it could be suggested that the archiving of Chandigarh is bound up with the celebration of certain figures at the expense of others.

This thesis clearly has not delivered a comprehensive overview or survey of the work produced by all the Indian architects that worked variously with Maxwell Fry, Jane Drew and Pierre Jeanneret. Indeed, this thesis only provides a partial snapshot of the work produced by Aditya

Prakash, Jeet Malhotra and A.R. Prabhawalkar, and more work could easily be devoted to these architects alone. Furthermore, far more work is required on the contribution of architects such as B.P Mathur and U. E. Chowdhury, who were singled out by Pierre Jeanneret for their excellent contributions to the city. The reason for this is in part, the inherent limitations of the PhD format, but also in part since my second research trip in India ended abruptly due to ill health. This thesis could have also expanded on the research of Manish Chalana and Tyler S. Sprague, which highlighted the collaboration of B.P. Mathur and Pierre Jeanneret and Aditya Prakash and Jane Drew on municipal housing in Chandigarh (Chalana & Sprague, 2013, p.209). Additionally, further research might have been completed on the controversy surrounding buildings such as The Chandigarh College of Architecture, designed by Aditya Prakash, but ascribed to Le Corbusier (ibid, p. 210).

Contributions: the architectural history of Chandigarh

As stated previously, in 2017, I spent just over a quarter of the year in India. Travelling initially to visit sites and cities said to have influenced the design of Chandigarh and contacting various archives and curators. I was fortunate to gain the sponsorship of Panjab University for a research visa application, which facilitated three months based at Panjab University and ongoing access to The Randhawa Papers and The Aditya Prakash Foundation Archive. This research was complemented by consideration of the Fry and Drew Papers held at the RIBA study room in the V&A. As stated in the introduction, I approached this thesis with four core assumptions, which had been developed through consultation of contemporaneous research:

1. Le Corbusier was solely responsible for The Capitol Complex and Sector 1 (Jackson, 2013, p.5)

2. The primary historical omission from dominant narratives of the city, was the contribution of Fry and Drew; and their work with the Indian team (Jackson, 2013, pp1-2)

3. That the Indian team comprised: M.N. Sharma, A.R. Prabhawalkar, B.P. Mathur, Piloo Moody, U.E. Chowdhury, N.S. Lamba, Jeet Malhotra, J.S Dethe and Aditya Prakash (2002, Prakash, p.14)

4. That Pierre Jeanneret simply executed Le Corbusier's bidding- his contribution circumscribed by his own limitations (Jackson, 2016, p.218).

I will now go through these core assumptions and clarify how my research has expanded existing knowledge on these respective positions.

1. Jackson has presented the interpretation of Chandigarh as effectively two distinct cities, with Le Corbusier taking responsibility for The Capitol Complex, the Indo-European team taking responsibility for the rest of the city, e.g. housing and civic amenities (2013, p.5). We can perceive this as a gesture to dislocate the centrality of Le Corbusier dominated narratives of the city. Importantly, this thesis does not contradict the idea that Le Corbusier had very little to do with the less glamorous buildings, but it has successfully problematised the notion that Le Corbusier worked alone on The Capitol Complex, with unfettered free creative reign. Crucially, Chapter Five revealed the contributions of Jeet Malhotra and A.R. Prabhawalkar. To the best of my knowledge, no previous literature on Chandigarh uses the sketchbooks of Le Corbusier (1982) as a resource to discern the contributions of the young Indian architects that worked alongside Le Corbusier, therefore, this research contributes to the ongoing concern of discerning Chandigarh's Indian contribution[22]. This chapter also presented evidence of the bureaucratic hurdles and negotiations, which seemed inherent to the delivery of The Capitol Complex. This thesis therefore nuances the distinctions presented in the work of Jackson, by supplementing them with archive-based findings that offers greater complexity to the working relations involved in the creation of Chandigarh.

2 & 4. These assumptions can be critiqued at the same time since they are intrinsically linked. Jackson (2013) strongly contends that the work of Fry and Drew in Chandigarh demands further scholarly research. Shortly after this, Jackson cites Fry's dismissal of Jeanneret without any form of critical consideration of its validity. The gesture of accentuating the importance of Fry and Drew combined with the referencing of Fry's derisory stance towards Jeanneret, serves as a justification to investigate the contribution of the British duo, over Jeanneret. However, as we know, Fry and Drew spent three years in India, which is dwarfed by the fifteen years that Jeanneret devoted to Chandigarh. Until I met with Jeet Malhotra, I had not fully understood or

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[22] However, although this thesis has consulted a wide range of texts, due to the COVID'19 Pandemic I was unable to consult two important texts, these being Shaun Fynn's *Chandigarh Revealed* (2017) and Hasan-Uddin Khan, Charles Correa and Julian Beinart's *Le Corbusier: Chandigarh and the Modern City* (2011).

appreciated the high level of esteem held for Pierre Jeanneret. During this meeting Malhotra recommended that I read Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga's *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints in the Sands of Indian Architecture*, in which we encounter a cogent expression of the emphasis given to Jeanneret in India. While Fry and Drew designed Sector-22, worked collaboratively on the design of low-cost housing, and worked individually with specific Indian architects (Drew/Prakash and Fry/M.N. Sharma), this simply does not compare with the work of Pierre Jeanneret in Chandigarh. As we found in Chapter Six, Jeanneret took responsibility for the design of the Panjab University Campus, housing of different grades, the town hall, and the central library. Furthermore, he presided over the formalisation of the architecture branch of the PWD, mentoring the Indian architects with whom he collaborated.

The perception that Chandigarh feels the impact of Jeanneret more than it does Le Corbusier's, is further reinforced through consultation with The Randhawa Papers. In M.S. Randhawa's letter cited in Chapter Six, we find acknowledgement that the work being carried out in Chandigarh, was largely down to Jeanneret's volition. Furthermore, within this chapter, we also found that Jeanneret greatly assisted in the delivery of The Capitol Complex, once again with the help of Malhotra. This builds on the S.D. Sharma lecture cited in Chapter Four, which indicated that the drawings sent by Le Corbusier for The Capitol Complex were very basic and required considerable modification by Jeanneret. This of course, serves as a further critique of Jackson's conception of two cities under construction, since it would seem there was considerable osmosis between the respective ventures. The danger in asserting the significance of Jeanneret in order to displace the centrality of Le Corbusier, however, is that it could well result in a similar problematic, with narratives becoming anchored around Jeanneret. However, one of the principal ways of avoiding this is to acknowledge that Jeanneret's success was seemingly predicated on his own immersion into the local context and his willingness to collaborate.

3. Based on the research of Vikramaditya Prakash (2002), I had thought that the following architects were involved: M.N. Sharma, A.R. Prabhawalkar, B.P. Mathur, Piloo Moody, U.E. Chowdhury, N.S. Lamba, Jeet Malhotra, J.S Dethe and Aditya Prakash. I had initially thought that my account of collaborative modernism in relation to Chandigarh, would in part emanate from my archival work demonstrating their respective contributions. However, during my first research trip to India, I discovered alternative versions of this list.

As discussed in Chapter Four, in The Le Corbusier Centre there is a fascinating letter from the Chief Minister of Punjab, concerning the matter of ranking the seniority of the architects working on the city. It is most surprising because it deviates from the list provided by Vikramaditya Prakash. The letter is dated October 18th/19th 1961.

Below is a transcription of a letter from the Chief Minister of Punjab, displayed at The Le Corbusier Centre, Chandigarh.

1)   M.N. Sharma

2)   A.R. Prabhawalkar

3)   U. E. Chaudhary

4)   B.P. Mathur

5)   J.S. Dethe

6)   Aditya Prakash

8)   P.J. Ghista

9)   R.R. Handa

10)   V. P. Dhamija

11)   Surjit Singh

During the process of researching this thesis, I have uncovered other lists with different configurations of architects and most surprisingly, I discovered that Vikramaditya Prakash's recent publication on Chandigarh, entitled *Chandigarh*, deviated from earlier accounts, adding Harbinder Chopra and Jugal Chowdhury, but omitting Dethe and Lamba. When I asked him about this discrepancy, he informed me that he was largely reliant on oral accounts and the emphasis of these accounts were the reason for this new configuration. However, I would suggest the primary reason for these differing lists emerges from the fact that until formalisation of the architects branch of the PWD (a drawn out and problematic process discussed in Chapter Six), that the architects were employed on an ad hoc basis. This relates to the institutional politics behind inclusions and exclusions highlighted in the difficulty in accessing information on the material contributions of construction workers. Although the case of the Indian architects is less extreme than the outright invisibility of the construction workers,

a similar problematic is at work. This is because what gets recorded provides the basis for subsequent historical narratives about the city. It would seem that documenting the work of Le Corbusier and the European team took priority over detailing the material ingenuity of the construction workers, or the contributions of the young Indian architects that worked on an ad-hoc basis.

While Vikramaditya Prakash will shortly publish a monograph on his father Aditya Prakash entitled *One Continuous Line: Art, Architecture and Urbanism of Aditya Prakash* (2020), Chapter Five's consideration of Aditya Prakash's poetry and Tagore Theatre constitute an original contribution to ongoing discourses on the architectural history of Chandigarh. Likewise, to the best of my knowledge Chapter Six's presentation of the controversy surrounding the ranking of the Indian architects and specifically the disagreement over Prabhawalkar and M.N. Sharma, also adds to pre-existing knowledge on the city. Though, it is important to add that this thesis does not wish to detract from the achievements of M.N. Sharma, who presided over Chandigarh's second phase of construction from 1966.

Finally, the notion of collaborative modernism offers the potential for the re-framing the conceptual terrain of modernism. Through several key actions, the concept of collaborative modernism operates as an analytic tool capable of offering fresh insight on Chandigarh's architectural history. Through the interconnected gestures of expanding the conception of agency in architectural production, investigating micro-historical detail, and endeavouring to understand the affective and emotional contours that influenced and, in some cases, defined the creation of Chandigarh, this thesis proposes an innovative approach to understanding modernism, especially its manifestations in a global context.

It was precisely this methodological gesture that animated the role of certain actors previously overlooked and allowed for their contributions to be articulated in a more cohesive way. Indeed, for example, this approach allowed for Le Corbusier's dependence on Chief Engineer P.L. Verma and the anxiety that his potential departure from the project caused for the former to be presented in Chapter 5. Capturing the archival vignettes encountered in Le Corbusier's sketchbook pertaining to Verma, reflect collaborative modernism's modus operandi, exploring micro-historical detail with a view to alter the fabric of dominant macro-historical accounts. Considering the European team in relation to an extended network of actors from different domains, including architects, planners, engineers, bureaucrats, manual labourers, and craftspeople, successfully engendered a more nuanced and decentred account of Chandigarh's

architectural history. Given its focus on discerning mutual influence and regarding modernism as emanating from back-and-forth cultural flows, collaborative modernism demonstrably offers a methodology particularly adept to the decentering of modernism. The question emerges, can the concept of collaborative modernism offer fresh inflection on prevalent conceptions of modernism and on modernism studies? Ostensibly, collaborative modernism with its expanded conception of agency, its attention to granular archival details, the emotive and the interpersonal, presents a productive line of enquiry for modernism studies and offers the potential to nuance prevalent conceptions of modernism.

Future avenues of research

As indicated above, the collaborative work of Jeanneret and his Indian team requires further expansion and whilst this thesis has by no means exhausted The Randhawa Papers as a resource, I believe that this research might well benefit from consulting the Pierre Jeanneret archive held at The Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal. It is possible that just as Le Corbusier's Sketchbooks function as a gateway to understanding the contributions of Indian architects such as Jeet Malhotra and Prabhawalkar, similar findings could be obtained from the Pierre Jeanneret archive. Furthermore, continued research on the contributions of A.R. Prabhawalkar is required, since as Chapter Six reveals, this architect might well have been unfairly relegated to the annals of Chandigarh's architectural history for unfortunate and nefarious reasons. The architect was consistently ranked as the most competent of the Indian team by both Pierre Jeanneret and other municipal bodies, yet these findings were ignored due to certain political incumbencies. Also, the years following the departure of the European team, presided over initially by M.N. Sharma, could also be of immense interest. I believe that these respective research strands would further galvanise a reading of Chandigarh as an example of collaborative modernism.

This thesis reflects an amalgamation of concerns that appeared to converge around the dominant narratives of the Indian city, Chandigarh. On an architectural historical level, this thesis was a response to the misleading dominance of Le Corbusier in prevailing narratives of the city and also a critique of more recent research on the city. The preceding pages show how the thesis presented research relating to these concerns.

However, this PhD was also prompted by concerns around the inherent Eurocentrism of modernism and its canonisation, as signified by the use of Partha Mitter (2007). When introducing this thesis, I raised concerns about certain discourses emerging from the contemporary art world and speculated that the concept of collaborative modernism might well intervene in the set of problems presented by concepts such as Bourriaud's Altermodernity.

Whether the notion of collaborative modernism transcends the specificity of Chandigarh and can intervene in the canonisation of modernism, remains an open question. The primary reason for this is that besides the consideration of modernism in Indian in Chapter Three, the concept does not have a thoroughgoing application to another context. However, there are other case studies to which the concept might well be applied, for example, Louis Kahn's work in Dhaka, Bangladesh or the work of Greek Urbanist Doxiadis in Islamabad, Pakistan. Because my research reflects on the intersections between modernity & modernism and national independence & decolonisation and how these processes manifest through architecture and urban planning, there are a range of potential case studies to which the concept could be applied. Because of the methodology used by collaborative modernism, the concept is particularly well suited to the decentering of modernism, which could well guarantee future applications to global modernism and its various manifestations. Indeed, as much as this thesis offers new information and analysis on the architectural history of Chandigarh, the concept of collaborative modernism offers a critical methodology which holds the potential to reframe the conceptual landscape of modernism.

There are aspects of the thesis which could have been expanded, not least the curious instance of Nehru's complete lack of interest in Le Corbusier's invitation to collaborate on the visual schema for the Enamel Gate of The Assembly Building. Although this thesis speculated on the reasons for Nehru's lack of interest, I could further conduct investigations into Nehru's engagement in the project's aesthetics, and perhaps more broadly on the aesthetics of the Non-Alignment-Movement. Perhaps an ideal place to begin such reflections would be the Bandung Conference of 1955, held in Bandung, Indonesia. Nehru attended this seminal event, alongside president Tito of Yugoslavia and President Nasser of Egypt. Applying the concept of collaborative modernism to the aesthetics of the Non-Alignment-Movement would also increase the range of potential case studies significantly.

 Regarding applying the concept of collaborative modernism to contemporary art discourses around modernism and teleological frameworks, further research is required. This could be

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well supported by reflection on the commonalities between collaborative modernism and Gilroy's concept of The Black Atlantic (1993), which also holds sway in the contemporary art world (and offers a more nuanced conception of modernism than the one presented by Altermodernity). Until this work has been conducted, the extent to which the concept of collaborative modernism can apply to the aforementioned debates is currently limited by its sole application to Indian modernism.

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