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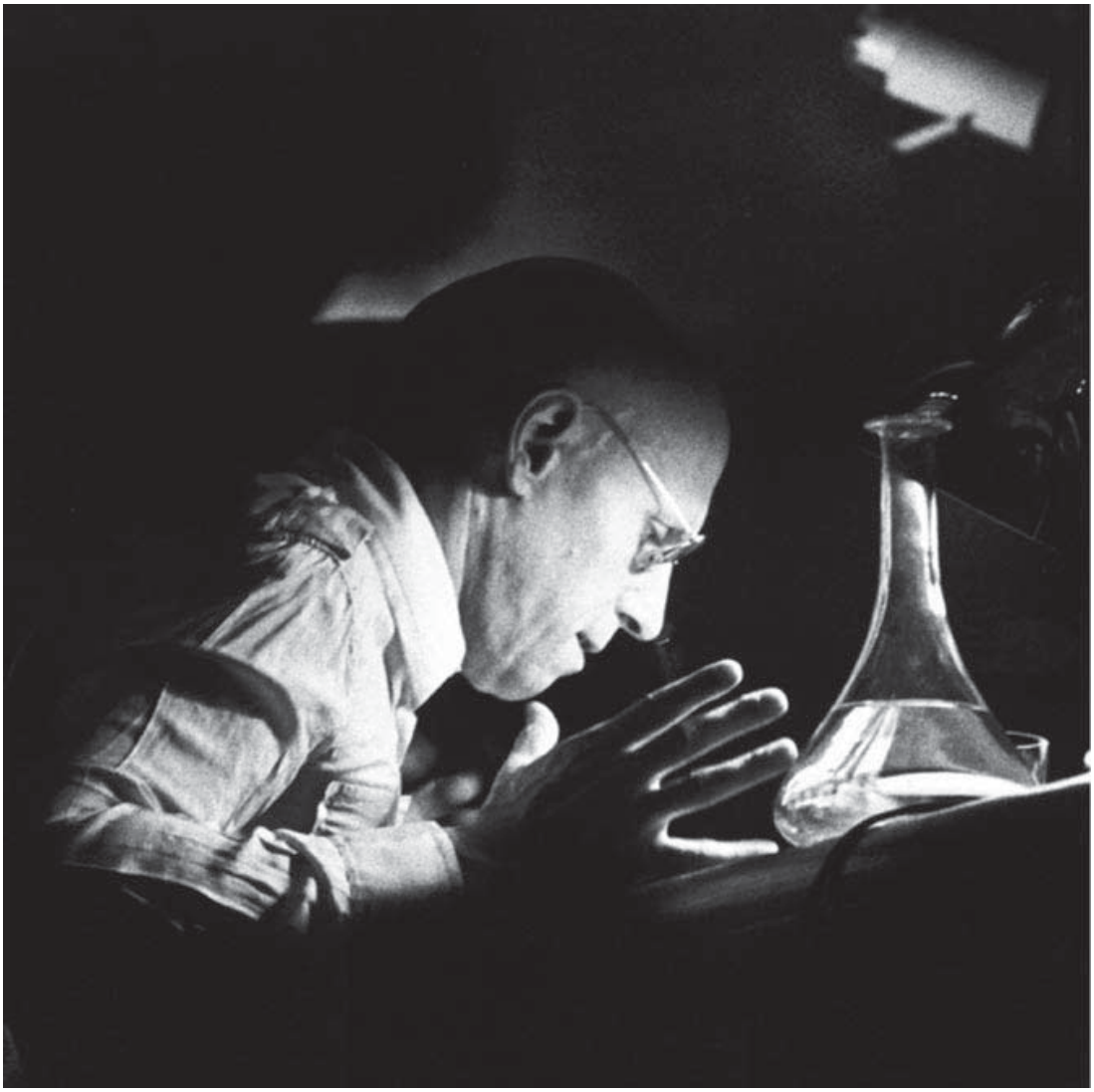

Of other spaces* (1967)

Michel Foucault
(translated by Lieven De Cauter and Michiel Dehaene)

This text, entitled 'Des espaces autres' – the point of departure of this book – was a lecture given by Michel Foucault on 14 March 1967 to the Cercle d'études architecturales (Circle of Architectural Studies). From 1960 to 1970 the circle was directed by Jean Dubuisson and Ionel Schein, two important figures in French post-war architecture. It was Schein who invited Foucault to speak after hearing his address on 'France Culture' of 7 December 1966 on heterotopias: 'Les Hétérotopies' (Foucault 2004a and 2004b). In this radio talk, part of a series on literature and utopia, Foucault adopts the tone of an old traveller telling children amusing stories about the marvellous places he has visited. The lecture for the Cercle d'études architecturales was written during a stay in Sidi-Bou-Saïd, Tunisia, to whence he had fled to escape the commotion stirred by the publication of *Les Mots et les choses*. It was a setting that perfectly complemented the light, lyrical tone of the radio talk (Defert 2004). All lectures at the circle were noted down by a stenographer and the typed record distributed to the members of the circle. The rumour of heterotopia spread through these transcripts. The text however was not published for almost 20 years, although excerpts were printed in the Italian journal *l'Architettura* in 1968. The fact that it was based on a radio talk as well as the atmosphere of fantasy in it help to explain why both the concept and the text remained as if forgotten by Foucault till late in his life (Defert 2004). Although not reviewed for publication by the author, the manuscript was released into the public domain with the consent of Foucault shortly before his death for the Internationale Bau-Austellung Berlin (Foucault 1984a). As the theme was the renovation and even reunification of Berlin, heterotopia proved in retrospect to be the right concept. Heterotopias, like museums, cultural centres, libraries and media centres, have been the ultimate levers for urban renewal ever since. The text was finally published by the French journal *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* in October 1984 as 'Des espaces autres. Une conférence inédite de Michel Foucault' (Foucault 1984b). Two years later, in 1986, the text was published in English (in *Diacritics* and in *Lotus*: Foucault 1986a, 1986b). Now it is part of the posthumous edition *Dits et écrits*

(Foucault 2001). The text is based on the transcript of the lecture that was made and circulated by the Cercle d'études architecturales. This explains the spoken character of the text and the loose punctuation (which was changed in the final publication in *Dits et écrits*). Our translation steers a precarious course between the three existing (fine but imperfect) translations: (1) the translation by Jay Miskowiec, which appeared in *Diacritics* and is available online (Foucault 1986a); (2) the translation that appeared in *Lotus* and was reprinted in Neil Leach (ed.) *Rethinking Architecture* (Foucault 1986b, 1997); and (3) the translation by Robert Hurley, which appeared in James Faubion (ed.) *Aesthetics, Method and Epistemology: Essential Writing of Foucault 1954–1984, Volume II* (Foucault 1998). To enhance transparency and in order to make Foucault's voice and style of thinking audible, we have tried to translate as literally as possible. We believe in Benjamin's idea that 'the task of the translator' is not to make the French read as if it were English, but rather to give the English a French flavour – in order to reveal both of them as fragments of the complete language (Benjamin 1923). Above all, we have tried to be as precise as possible on technical terms. In endnotes we supply background information, signal problems and give theoretical context (the three existing translations will be referred to as Miskowiec, *Lotus* and Hurley).

* * *

The great haunting obsession of the nineteenth century was, as we know, history: themes of development and stagnation, themes of crisis and cycle, themes of the accumulation of the past, the big surplus of the dead and the menacing cooling of the world.[1] It is in the second principle of thermodynamics that the nineteenth century found its essential mythological resources.[2] The present epoch would perhaps rather be the epoch of space. We are in the epoch of simultaneity; we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and the far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed. We are at a moment, I believe, when our experience of the world is less that of a great life developing through time than that of a network that connects points and intersects with its own skein.[3] One could perhaps say that certain ideological conflicts animating present-day polemics take place between the pious descendants of time and the fierce inhabitants of space. Structuralism, or at least that which is grouped under this slightly too general name, is the effort to establish, between elements that could have been distributed over time, an ensemble of relations that makes them appear as juxtaposed, opposed, implicated by each other, in short, that makes them appear as a sort of configuration. Actually, this does not entail a denial of time; it is a certain manner of treating what is called time and what is called history.[4]

Yet it is necessary to point out that the space that appears today on the horizon of our concerns, of our theory, of our systems, is not an innovation.

In the experience of the West, space itself has a history; and it is not possible to disregard this fatal intersection of time with space. One could say, by way of retracing very roughly this history of space, that in the Middle Ages it was a hierarchic ensemble of places: sacred places and profane places, protected places and open spaces without defence, urban places and rural places (so far for the real life of humans). For cosmological theory, there were the super-celestial places as opposed to the celestial, and the celestial place was in turn opposed to the terrestrial place. There were the places where things found themselves placed because they had been violently displaced, and then, on the contrary, the places where things found their emplacement and natural rest. It was this complete hierarchy, this opposition, this intersection of places that constituted what could very roughly be called medieval space: the space of localization.

This space of localization opened up with Galileo, for the real scandal of Galileo's work is not so much his discovery, or rediscovery, that the earth revolved around the sun, but his constitution of an infinite and infinitely open space. In such a space the place of the Middle Ages found itself dissolved as it were; the place of a thing was nothing but a point in its movement, just as the rest of a thing was only its movement indefinitely slowed down. In other words, starting with Galileo, starting with the seventeenth century, extension supplanted localization.[5]

Today the emplacement[6] substitutes extension, which itself had replaced localization. The emplacement is defined by relations of proximity between points or elements; formally, we can describe these relations as series, trees, or grids.[7] Moreover, the importance in contemporary technology of problems of emplacement is well known: the storage of information or of the intermediate results of a calculation in the memory of a machine; the circulation of discrete elements with a random output (automobile traffic is a simple case, or indeed the sounds on a telephone line); the spotting of marked or coded elements inside a set that may be randomly distributed, or may be arranged according to single or to multiple classifications, etc.

In a still more concrete manner, the problem of place or the emplacement arises for mankind in terms of demography.[8] This problem of the human emplacement is not simply the question of knowing whether there will be enough space for men in the world – a problem that is certainly quite important – but it is also the problem of knowing what relations of propinquity, what type of storage, circulation, spotting, and classification of human elements, should be adopted in this or that situation in order to achieve this or that end. We are in an epoch in which space is given to us in the form of relations between emplacements.

In any case I believe that the anxiety of today fundamentally concerns space, no doubt much more than time. Time probably appears only as one of the various possible operations of distribution between the elements that are spread out in space.[9]

Now, in spite of all the techniques invested in space, despite the whole network of knowledge that enables us to determine or to formalize it, contemporary space is perhaps still not entirely desacralized (apparently unlike time, it would seem, which was desacralized in the nineteenth century). To be sure a certain theoretical desacralization of space has occurred (the one signalled by Galileo's work), but we may still not have reached the point of a practical desacralization of space. And perhaps our life is still ruled by a certain number of oppositions that cannot be touched, that institution and practice have not yet dared to undermine; oppositions that we regard as simple givens: for example, between private space and public space, between family space and social space, between cultural space and useful space, between the space of leisure and that of work. All these are animated by an unspoken sacralization.

Bachelard's monumental work, the descriptions of phenomenologists have taught us that we do not live in a homogeneous and empty space, but on the contrary in a space thoroughly loaded with qualities and perhaps also haunted by fantasy. The space of our primary perception, the space of our dreams and that of our passions hold within themselves qualities that seem intrinsic: it is a light, ethereal, transparent space, or again it is a dark, rough, encumbered space; it is a space from above, a space of summits, or on the contrary a space from below, a space of mud; it is a space that can be flowing like lively water, or it is a space that is fixed, solidified, like stone or like crystal.

Yet these analyses, while fundamental for reflection in our time, primarily concern inner space. It is of outer space[10] I would like to speak now. The space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, of our time and our history occurs, the space that torments and consumes us, is also, in itself, a heterogeneous space. In other words, we do not live in a kind of void, inside which we could place individuals and things. We do not live inside a void that could be coloured with diverse shades of light; we live inside a set of relations that delineate emplacements that cannot be equated or in any way superimposed.

Of course one could no doubt take up the description of these different emplacements, by looking for the set of relations by which a given site can be defined. For example, describing the set of relations that define the emplacements of passage, the streets, trains (a train is an extraordinary bundle of relations because it is something through which one passes, it is also something by means of which one can go from one point to another, and then it is also something that passes by). One could describe, via the cluster of relations that allows them to be defined, the emplacements of temporary halts – cafés, cinemas, beaches. Likewise one could define, via its network of relations, the closed or semi-closed emplacements of rest that make up the house, the bedroom, the bed, and so forth. But what interests me, among all these sites, are the ones that have the curious property

of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspend, neutralize, or invert the set of relations designated, mirrored, or reflected by them. These spaces, as it were, that are linked with all the others, that nevertheless contradict all the other emplacements, are of two main types.

First there are the utopias. Utopias are emplacements with no real place.[11] They are emplacements that have a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of society. It is society itself perfected, or else it is society turned upside down, but in any case, these utopias essentially are fundamentally unreal spaces.

There are also, and this probably in all culture, in all civilization, real places, effective places, places that are written into the institution of society itself, and that are a sort of counter-emplacements, a sort of effectively realized utopias in which the real emplacements, all the other real emplacements that can be found within culture, are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted; a kind of places that are outside all places, even though they are actually localizable. Since these places are absolutely other than all the emplacements that they reflect, and of which they speak, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias.[12] And I believe that between utopias and these absolutely other emplacements,[13] these heterotopias, there might be a sort of mixed, in-between experience, which would be the mirror. The mirror is, after all, a utopia, since it is a place without place. In the mirror, I see myself there where I am not, in an unreal space that virtually opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives me my own visibility, that enables me to see myself there where I am absent. Utopia of the mirror. But it is also a heterotopia in so far as the mirror does really exist, and as it exerts on the place I occupy a sort of return effect; it is starting from the mirror that I discover my absence in the place where I am, since I see myself over there. Starting from this gaze that is, as it were, cast upon me, from the depth of this virtual space that is on the other side of the looking glass, I come back towards myself and I begin again to direct my eyes towards myself and to reconstitute myself there where I am.[14] The mirror functions as a heterotopia in the respect that it renders this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the looking glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since, in order to be perceived, it has to pass through this virtual point, which is over there.[15]

As for heterotopias properly speaking, how can we describe them? What meaning do they have? We might imagine, I do not say a science because that is a word that is overused today, but a sort of systematic description that would have as its object, in a given society, the study, analysis, description, and 'reading', as some like to say nowadays, of these different spaces, of these other places, as a sort of simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live. This description could be called heterotopology.[16]

A first principle is that there is probably not a single culture in the world that does not constitute heterotopias. That is a constant in every human group. But heterotopias obviously take on forms that are very varied, and perhaps one would not find one single form of heterotopia that is absolutely universal. We can, however, classify them in two major types.

In so-called 'primitive' societies, there is a certain form of heterotopia that I would call heterotopias of crisis, that is to say that there are privileged, or sacred, or forbidden places, reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis: adolescents, menstruating women, pregnant women, the elderly, etc.

In our society, these heterotopias of crisis are steadily disappearing, though one can still find a few remnants. For example, the boarding school, in its nineteenth-century form, or the military service for boys have certainly played such a role, as the first manifestations of male sexuality were in fact supposed to take place 'somewhere other' than at home. For girls, there was, until the middle of the twentieth century, a tradition called the 'honeymoon trip'; it was an ancestral theme. The young girl's deflowering could take place 'nowhere' and, at the moment of its occurrence the train or honeymoon hotel was indeed the place of this nowhere, this heterotopia without geographical markers.

But these heterotopias of crisis are disappearing today and are being replaced, I believe, by what could be called heterotopias of deviation: those in which individuals are placed whose behaviour is deviant in relation to the mean or required norm. Cases of this are rest homes and psychiatric hospitals; there are, of course, the prisons, and one should perhaps add retirement homes that are, as it were, on the borderline between the heterotopia of crisis and the heterotopia of deviation since, after all, old age is a crisis, but it is also a deviation since, in our society where leisure is the rule, idleness is a sort of deviation.[17]

The second principle of this description of heterotopias is that, in the course of its history, a society can make a heterotopia that exists, and has not ceased to exist, function in a very different way; for each heterotopia has a precise and determined function within a society and the same heterotopia can, according to the synchrony of the culture in which it occurs, have one function or another.

I will take as an example the strange heterotopia of the cemetery. The cemetery is certainly another place compared to ordinary cultural spaces; it is a space that is, however, connected with all the emplacements of the city or the society or the village, since each individual, each family happens to have relatives in the cemetery. In Western culture the cemetery has practically always existed. But it has undergone important changes. Until the end of the eighteenth century, the cemetery was placed in the very heart of the city, next to the church. A whole hierarchy of possible burial places existed there. There was the charnel house in which corpses lost the last

traces of individuality, there were a few individual tombs, and then there were tombs inside the church. These latter tombs were themselves of two types. Either simply tombstones with an inscription or mausoleums with statues. This cemetery, which was lodged in the sacred space of the church, has taken on a quite different look in modern civilizations, and, curiously, it is in a time when civilization has become, as we say crudely, 'atheist', that Western culture has inaugurated what is called the cult of the dead.[18]

Basically, it was quite natural that, at a time when people really believed in the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul, they did not lend cardinal importance to mortal remains. On the contrary, from the moment when people are no longer quite sure that they have a soul, and that the body will resurrect, it becomes perhaps necessary to give much more attention to these mortal remains, which are ultimately the only trace of our existence in the world and in words.

In any case, it is from the nineteenth century onwards that everyone has had a right to his own little box for his own little personal decomposition; but, on the other hand, it is only from the nineteenth century onwards that cemeteries began to be put at the outer edges of cities. In correlation with the individualization of death and the bourgeois appropriation of the cemetery, there emerged an obsession with death as an 'illness'. The dead, it is supposed, bring illnesses to the living, and it is the presence and proximity of the dead right beside the houses, next to the church, almost in the middle of the street, it is this proximity that propagates death itself. This major theme of illness spread by the contagion of the cemeteries persisted until the end of the eighteenth century; and it is only during the nineteenth century that a beginning was made with the displacement of cemeteries towards the outskirts. The cemeteries then no longer constitute the sacred and immortal belly[19] of the city, but the 'other city', where each family possesses its dark dwelling.

Third principle. The heterotopia has the power to juxtapose in a single real place several spaces, several emplacements that are in themselves incompatible. Thus the theatre brings onto the rectangle of the stage a whole series of places that are alien to one another; thus the cinema is a very odd rectangular room, at the end of which, on a two-dimensional screen, one sees the projection of a three-dimensional space; but perhaps the oldest example of these heterotopias, in the form of contradictory emplacements, is the garden. One should not forget that the garden, an astonishing creation now thousands of years old, had in the Orient very deep and seemingly superimposed meanings. The traditional garden of the Persians was a sacred space that was supposed to bring together inside its rectangle four parts representing the four parts of the world, with at its centre a space still more sacred than the others, that was like an umbilicus, the navel of the world (it is there that the water basin and fountain were). And all the vegetation of the garden was supposed to be distributed in that space, within this sort

of microcosm. As for carpets, they were originally reproductions of gardens. The garden is a rug where the whole world comes to accomplish its symbolic perfection, and the rug is a sort of garden that is mobile across space.[20] The garden is the smallest parcel of the world and then it is the totality of the world. The garden has been, since the dawn of antiquity, a sort of blissful and universalizing heterotopia (hence our modern zoological gardens).

Fourth principle. Heterotopias are most often linked to slices of time – which is to say that they open onto what might be called, for the sake of symmetry, heterochronisms.[21] The heterotopia begins to function fully when people find themselves in a sort of absolute break with their traditional time; one can see that the cemetery is indeed a highly heterotopian place since the cemetery begins with this strange heterochronism, that, for the individual, is the loss of life, and with this quasi-eternity in which he incessantly dissolves and fades away.

Generally speaking, in a society like ours heterotopia and heterochronism are organized and arranged in a relatively complex fashion. First of all, there are heterotopias of time that accumulates indefinitely, for example the museums, the libraries; museums and libraries are heterotopias in which time never ceases to pile up, heaping up on top of its own summit, whereas in the seventeenth century, even until the end of the seventeenth century, museums and libraries were the expression of an individual choice. By contrast, the idea of accumulating everything, the idea of establishing a sort of general archive, the will to enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes, the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time, and inaccessible to its ravages, the project of organizing in this way a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in a place that will not move – well, all this belongs to our modernity. The museum and the library are heterotopias that are characteristic of Western culture in the nineteenth century.

Opposite these heterotopias, which are linked to the accumulation of time, there are heterotopias that are linked, on the contrary, to time in its most futile, most transitory, most precarious aspect, and this in the festive mode.[22] These heterotopias are not eternitary[23] but absolutely chronic.[24] Such are the fairgrounds, these marvellous empty emplacements at the outskirts of cities, which fill up, once or twice a year, with stands, displays, heteroclite objects, wrestlers, snake women, fortune tellers. Quite recently, a new kind of chronic heterotopia has been invented: the vacation villages; those Polynesian villages that offer three short weeks of primitive and eternal nudity to city dwellers. You see, moreover, that the two forms of heterotopia, the heterotopia of festivity[25] and that of the eternity of accumulating time, come together: the huts of Djerba are in a sense relatives of libraries and museums, for, by rediscovering Polynesian life, one abolishes time; yet it is also time regained, it is the whole history of humanity harking back to its source as if in a kind of grand immediate knowledge.[26]

Fifth principle. Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. In general, one does not access a heterotopian[27] emplacement as if it were a pub.[28] Either one is constrained, as in the case of entering a barracks or a prison, or else one has to submit to rites and to purifications. One can only enter with a certain permission and after having performed a certain number of gestures. Moreover, there are even heterotopias that are entirely consecrated to these activities of purification – purification that is partly religious and partly hygienic, such as the hammam of the Muslims, or else purification that appears to be purely hygienic, as in Scandinavian saunas.

There are others, on the contrary, that look like pure and simple openings, but that, generally, conceal curious exclusions. Everybody can enter into those heterotopian emplacements, but in fact it is only an illusion: one believes to have entered and, by the very fact of entering, one is excluded. I am thinking for example of the famous rooms that existed on the large farms of Brazil and elsewhere in South America. The door for accessing did not lead into the central space where the family lived, and every individual who came by, every traveller, had the right to push open this door, enter into the room and sleep there for a night. Now these rooms were such that the individual who passed by never had access to the family's court, he was absolutely a passing visitor, he was not really an invited guest. This type of heterotopia, which has practically disappeared from our civilizations, could perhaps be found in the famous American motel rooms where one goes with one's car and one's mistress and where illicit sex is both absolutely sheltered and absolutely hidden, kept isolated without, however, being left in the open.

Sixth principle. The last trait of heterotopias is that they have, in relation to the rest of space, a function. The latter unfolds between two extreme poles. Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes all real space, all the emplacements in the interior of which human life is enclosed and partitioned, as even more illusory. Perhaps that is the role played for a long time by those famous brothels[29] of which we are now deprived. Or else, on the contrary, creating another space, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is disorderly, ill construed and sketchy. This would be the heterotopia not of illusion, but of compensation, and I wonder if certain colonies have not somewhat functioned in this manner.[30]

In certain cases, they have played, on the level of the general organization of terrestrial space, the role of heterotopias. I am thinking, for example, of the first wave of colonization, in the seventeenth century, of the Puritan societies that the English had founded in America and that were absolutely perfect other places.

I am also thinking of those extraordinary Jesuit colonies that were founded in South America: marvellous, absolutely regulated colonies in which human

perfection was effectively accomplished. The Jesuits of Paraguay established colonies in which existence was regulated in all of its points. The village was laid out according to a rigorous plan around a rectangular place at the foot of which was the church; on one side, there was the school; on the other, the cemetery, and then, in front of the church, there opened up an avenue, crossed by a second at a right angle; each family had its little hut along these two axes and thus the sign of Christ was exactly reproduced. Christianity thus marked with its fundamental sign the space and geography of the American world.

The daily life of the individuals was regulated, not by the whistle, but by the bell.[31] Awakening was set for everybody at the same hour, work began for everybody at the same hour; meals were at noon and at five o'clock, then everybody went to bed, and at midnight came what was called the conjugal wake-up, that is to say, when the convent bell rang, everybody accomplished his duty.

Brothels and colonies are two extreme types of heterotopia, and if one considers, after all, that the boat is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is self-enclosed and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea and that, from port to port, from bank to bank, from brothel to brothel, goes as far as the colonies in search of the most precious treasures they conceal in their gardens, you will understand why, from the sixteenth century until the present, the boat has been for our civilization, not only the greatest instrument of economic development (I have not been speaking of that today), but also the greatest reserve of imagination. The ship is the heterotopia par excellence. In civilizations without boats, dreams dry up, espionage replaces adventure, and the police the pirates.[32]

Notes

* The translation of the title is a subject of disagreement among the different translations we consulted. Robert Hurley has ventured an alternative translation as 'different spaces'. James Faubion explained to us the reasons for this interpretative choice: (1) the word 'heterotopia' contains the root 'hetero-', derived from the Greek and meaning 'different' rather than 'other'; (2) the placement 'autre(s)' after rather than before the word it qualifies typically requires or favours translation into English as 'different', to distinguish between 'des autres espaces' and 'des espaces autres'; and (3) a clear interpretative choice that argues against a view of heterotopia as radically other than the spaces of ordinary life:

> The spaces and places that Foucault identifies as heterotopic are not spaces of the erasure of the normative. They are instead places and spaces in which the ordinary normative order is modified, or rather more precisely, where certain of the norms of ordinary life are under suspension.
>
> (Quoted from email exchange with James Faubion)

We choose to stick with the translation as 'other spaces'. We believe that Foucault's discussion takes place at the intersection of a reflection on alterity and difference. The qualification 'other space' sets it aside from the 'remaining spaces' (difference); however, it is also an attribute of the space per se, which has characteristics that make it deserve the label 'other' (alterity). On a more fundamental level, Foucault's discussion reveals both the exclusive and distinct character of heterotopia, while insisting on the relationships of reflection and inversion these spaces have with respect to the remaining spaces. Difference suggests a relational definition, otherness privileges separation. The word other, after all the adjective Foucault chose to use and that we kept in translation, can assume these two nuances and does not preclude an understanding of heterotopia as based in difference. All this might sound highly pedantic but it points to the heart of much of the confusion surrounding the concept of heterotopia. An other minor but related dispute concerns the (non-)translation of the article 'des' in 'des espaces autres', which can be translated as both 'other spaces' or 'of other spaces'. We follow the, by now, classical 'Of other spaces'.

1 In the formulation 'surplus of the dead' we read a reference to the demographic and hygienic fears of the nineteenth century; more particularly, the fear of a demographic explosion (Malthus) bringing with it the accumulation of dead bodies. The question that followed was how and where to bury all these surplus dead bodies? Foucault comes back to this debate later in the text when he speaks about the relocation of cemeteries to the outskirts of the city. The menacing cooling of the planet is a similar theme. The nineteenth century was haunted by the fear that the earth was cooling, in a linear, physically determined way from fire ball to ice ball.
2 Foucault is referring to the concept of entropy. The second law of thermodynamics states that closed systems – while their energy remains constant – evolve to ever higher levels of disorder.
3 With the formula 'a great life that develops through time', Foucault evokes, in one word group, romanticism, Hegelianism, historicism and most of all Darwinism. More importantly, these sentences might constitute one of the very first formulations of what much later would be called the network society with its space of flows (Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1996). The introduction of this notion is rather early. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's 'rhizome' is of a much later date (notably in *Mille Plateaux*, Paris: Minuit, 1980). The rise of a new spatial order based on the network is a leading theme in the first part of the lecture.
4 Here Foucault refers, and in a certain way responds, to the then common criticism that structuralism was negating diachronicity, or history, in favour of synchronicity, space, the grid, the structure. He clearly sides with the structuralists. One could even see this remark as an honorary salute to Claude Lévi-Strauss, before the author embarks on one of his most anthropological texts.
5 Foucault's term for medieval space – localization – is his own, but the term for the second phase refers to the Cartesian notion of 'extension': 'res extensa'.
6 The term 'emplacement' in French refers to site and location (as in parking space) or the setting of a city, but also to a support (for instance, *emplacement publicitaire*: a billboard). In English, the meaning of the term is more specific. It is used in geology and more commonly as a military term to indicate the support/position of a semi-stationary weapon. In Foucault's text, emplacement

should be considered a technical term, that is space or rather place in the era of the network as opposed to extension. The space of emplacement only exists as 'discrete space', an instance of one of the possible positions that exist within a set of positions. We believe that the term perhaps also foreshadows one of Foucault's later key concepts, 'dispositif'.

On occasion, he uses the term in a non-technical sense to refer more generally to sites and places, but it is clear that he deliberately avoids the common words 'place', 'lieu', or 'endroit' and thereby produces an effect of both emphasis and estrangement. We have, hence, left the term 'emplacement' throughout the text to indicate its technical character and this sense of estrangement.

7 The three phases of Foucault's short history of space are impressive in their simplicity and clarity; they are classical. They conceptualize in a succinct way pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial space and supply a conceptual key to the spatial ordering of the old city, the modern metropolis and the post-industrial sprawling megalopolis. (See D. Grahame Shane in this volume.)

8 Presenting the problem of emplacement, of assigning places, as the problem of our age, is prophetic. It proves the lucidity and *sérieux* of Foucault's panoramic introduction that he sets emplacement against the backdrop of the demographic explosion, the consciousness of which began to dawn in the 1960s, resulting in the famous report of the Club of Rome in 1972: *Limits to Growth*. In fact, these introductory remarks on the history of space constitute a mini essay in their own right. This should not be obscured by the lighter tone of the remainder of the text.

9 In this passage we recognize the contours of David Harvey's famous time–space compression, elaborated in *The Postmodern Condition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).

10 'Espace du dehors' is not only outside space but has again a specific Foucauldian sense. Two texts are specifically relevant: *Le language de l'espace*, 1963 (*Dits et écrits I, 1954–1975*, pp. 435–9); and even more so *La Pensée du dehors*, 1966 (*Dits et écrits I*, *1954–1975*, pp. 546–67). Both texts try to show that modern literature is not about time, but about space: the space of language, language as space. In that respect, these and other texts could supply the missing link between heterotopia as it figures in the introduction to *The Order of Things* (*Les Mots et les choses*), which refers to utopia and heterotopia as literary genres, and the heterotopia of this lecture, which refers to places and institutional arrangements in society.

11 Here Foucault of course refers to the origin of the word, the neologism of Thomas More: *u-topos*, non-place or no-where. However, by insisting on utopia as fiction, as literary blueprint (from Plato to Morus and beyond), he expels all the realized utopias, from communes to communism, from his discussion. Under the flat, almost banal definition of utopia as a non-existent inversion, a reflection of society, we can detect Foucault's latent anti-utopianism. Like Deleuze he tries to think politics and society without 'transcendence', without utopia in its idealized form. Deleuze and Foucault are anti-messianic, anti-Hegelian. Like Nietzsche, they have tried to unmask utopian thinking as idealist rhetoric about a *Hinterwelt* – a world beyond – that devaluates the world as it is – the real, immanent world. Against any teleology (of progress, continuity, utopia) Foucault puts his archaeology, the science of layers, and discontinuities. See also note 31.

12 Foucault suggests it is his finding, his neologism. In fact the word has a medical origin and history (see the text of Heidi Sohn in this volume). But it is unclear

how much he was aware of this, and to what degree it informs his concept. As far as we know, there is, so far, no proof in any text that Foucault was aware of it or alluding to its medical meaning.

13 This passage is a clear example of the excessive use of the word emplacement, and this in a manner that seems not entirely consistent with the technical use of the word emplacement in the third phase of the history of space, 'the space of emplacement', as the name for the positional logic of the network space. The type of spaces that are introduced here as heterotopias are in 'the definition' referred to as places in the strong sense of the word: '[T]hese places (lieux) are absolutely other than all the emplacements that they reflect.' But this use of 'lieux' rather than emplacement might be intentional. This formulation contains the suggestion that, within the logic of emplacement, heterotopias are the only places that deserve that designation, because they interrupt the 'non-place' character of the network. (See also the general introduction and note 32). However, even these heterotopias exist as 'real spaces' in the positional logic of the network space. That might be the reason that he calls them emplacements here.

14 The radio lecture 'Les Hétérotopies' of 7 December 1966 was followed by a lecture two weeks later on 'Le Corps utopique'. In this lecture Foucault describes the body, both as an absolute *topos* and as its absolute opposite since the unity of a body is an imagined whole. It is this imaginary body that binds the two sides of the mirror, that allows one to travel from one side to the other and back:

> The body is a phantom that only appears through the optical illusion of the mirror, and even then, in a fragmentary way. Am I really in need of ghosts and fairies, death and soul, to be at the same time indissociably visible and invisible?
>
> (Foucault 2004b: 59 [translation ours])

15 Heterotopias are aporetic spaces that reveal or represent something about the society in which they reside through the way in which they incorporate and stage the very contradictions that this society produces but is unable to resolve. Foucault's essay provides a double introduction into this aporetic world. First, heterotopia is introduced as the antipode of utopia, the latter being imaginary, heterotopias being real arrangements, i.e. the way in which utopias crystallize in realized form. At the same time heterotopias are introduced as 'heterotopos' as the other of normal places, common places. Their placement at the intersection of these two axes real/imaginary (utopia–heterotopia) and normal/other (topos–heterotopos) makes these heterotopias into mirroring spaces: 'a sort of counter-emplacements, a sort of effectively realized utopias in which the real emplacements, all the other real emplacements that can be found within culture, are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted'. Its attachment to utopia charges heterotopia with the full ambiguity, even undecidability, of whether to attribute to it 'eutopic' or 'dystopic' qualities. Its place in reality as other (topos–heterotopos) opens up its own set of ambiguities, raising the question of whether heterotopia is a world of discipline or emancipation, resistance or sedation.

16 In the radio programme he called heterotopology 'a science in the making'. In a more serious vein, he might refer to the mathematical discipline called topology. It is concerned with referencing places in abstract mathematical space. Topology seems a particularly adequate term to describe space in the era of the network. It is open to interpretation to what extent the whole essay on heterotopia should be read as a reflection on space in the age of the network.

17 Here the radio version seems much more straightforward in its argument: 'Idleness, in a society as busy as ours, is a deviation' (Foucault 2004b: 43 [translation ours]). In 1966 Foucault opposes the idleness of retirement to the society of production. In 1967, he chooses to oppose it to the society of consumption and leisure. It is not impossible that in the meantime he took notice of the ideas of the situationists in general and of Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* (*La Société du spectacle*, Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1967) in particular.

18 (Catholic) Europe from the Middle Ages to the present, that is by and large the time-spatial perspective Foucault adopts throughout the entire text. This explains why he makes no mention of the antique cultus of the dead. Since the Renaissance, the modern cultus – which he does mention – considered itself a revival of the classical one. Hence the 'classicist' (heathen) iconography that dominated Christian nineteenth-century cemeteries.

19 The French text reads: 'Le vent sacré et immortel de la cité', and obviously *vent* should be translated as 'wind' (as *Lotus* and Hurley do). But 'wind of the city' doesn't really make sense? Unless Foucault is making a poetical reference to the breath or the spirit of the city? Miskowiec translates this as 'heart of the city'. We believe 'vent' is a flow in the transcript and in fact should be *ventre*: 'the sacred and eternal *belly* of the city', producing a somewhat crude metaphor alluding to the fact that the cemetery with its underground world, as the underbelly of the city, indeed, digests the bodies of all its inhabitants. This interpretation strikes a chord with the beginning of the same paragraph: 'everyone . . . his own little box for his own little personal decomposition'. Belly does make more sense than 'hearth'. Rather than being the most vital organ of the city, the cemetery is 'the other city'. Hence, we take the risk to 'wrongly' translate *vent[re]* as belly.

20 In the radio talk he even makes mention of flying carpets: 'Then if one thinks that Oriental carpets were originally reproductions of gardens – in the strict sense of the term 'Winter gardens' – one can understand the legendary value of flying carpets, carpets that travelled the world' (Foucault 2004b: 45 [translation ours]).

21 All translators make a different choice: Miskowiec: heterochrony, heterochronies; Hurley: heterochronia(s); *Lotus*: heterochronism(s). 'Heterochrony' would be the most logical option, per analogy with synchrony. But for the sake of fluency we decided for heterochronism.

22 The French text says 'mode de la fête': 'the mode of the feast'. Miskowiec and Hurley translate this as 'festival', *Lotus* as 'celebration'. We choose a literal rendering for it keeps the anthropological touch (see note 30).

23 The word *éternitaire* is Foucault's fabrication. We likewise go for the English fabrication 'eternitary'. In this we follow Hurley.

24 Most translators go for 'time-bound' or 'temporal', but we believe that Foucault stresses the cyclical aspect of the heterotopia of festivity. Hence, we adopt the somewhat strange word 'chronic', as in 'chronic disease'.

25 'Hétérotopie de la fête': literally 'heterotopia of the feast'. Again, Hurley and Miskowiec translate this as 'heterotopia of the festival', while *Lotus* has 'heterotopia of celebration'. 'Heterotopia of the feast', we believe, would bring out most clearly the anthropological weight Foucault seems to give it. However, 'Heterotopia of the feast' is not really viable in English, hence 'heterotopia of festivity'.

More importantly, Foucault is pointing here to two additional types of heterotopia, which so far went more or less unnoticed (maybe partly due to translation): the heterotopia of permanence and the heterotopia of festivity.

With the huts of Djerba, Foucault points to the holiday camp or resort as a permanent heterotopia of festivity. The holiday resort and even more so the theme park might be a historical synthesis of the modern heterotopia of permanence (the museum) and the ancient one of the feast (the fair); in fact, a permanent form of the heterotopia of festivity, which in many ways produces the paradigm of the festival city, hence 'variations on a theme park'. It is exactly this point Foucault might be making by pointing to the huts of Djerba – a permanent site of festivity.

26 By ironically stressing this 'grand immediate knowledge' (of regressing to the beginnings of mankind), Foucault points not only to tourism but also to discovery as immediate, individual experience: the basis for what is now called the experience economy.

27 'Emplacements hétérotopiques': some authors translate as heterotopic (Miskowiec), some (Hurley and *Lotus*) adopt, by analogy with utopian, heterotopian. We think that the latter is the best solution. Even if it might prove difficult or premature to impose uniformity, one could envisage the use of the word heterotopic when the emphasis is on the place, and heterotopian when the emphasis is on the function. But that might prove too scholastic. So we stick with heterotopian.

28 'Comme dans un moulin'. This is a French expression, used for example in 'On n'entre pas dans l'éternel retour comme dans un moulin' (Laruelle in *Nietzsche et Heidegger*), meaning Nietzsche's hypothesis of eternal return is not easy to understand, not a commonplace. The expression could come from the fact that the windmill was a semi-public place, a place you could freely enter, a place of transaction, a 'common place'. Miskowiec translates as 'like a public place'; Hurley risks 'like a windmill'; the *Lotus* version translates as 'Usually one does not get into a heterotopian location by one's own will.' This is a long shot, except for the fact that it rhymes with windmill. We venture to translate using 'pub', going back to its original meaning pub(lic) (drinking)place.

29 'Maisons closes': closed houses; this famous French euphemism points very explicitly to the closed, enclosed nature of this heterotopia. The assonance with 'cloisonnée (les emplacements à l'intérieur desquels la vie humaine est *cloisonnée* – the enclosing and partitioning of human life) of the phrase before, is lost in translation.

30 The qualifications 'illusion' and 'compensation' recall the distinction between heterotopias of crisis and deviance introduced in the first principle. Most readings distil four types of heterotopias out of the text: crisis, deviance, illusion, compensation. We believe there are at least six. Heterotopias of festivity and permanence should be added (see notes 22 and 25 on 'the festive mode'). Rather than considering these distinctions as a full-fledged taxonomy, we are inclined to conceive of them as qualifications of the different axes that run through heterotopia. This, albeit sketchy, system of coordinates makes it possible to place heterotopias at the cross-section of several qualifications. We distinguish three axes in the text: an anthropological, a temporal and an imaginary axis. It is clear, however, that there are potentially more, pointing to other dialectical tensions at work in the world of heterotopia. The anthropological axis (1) situates heterotopia on the division normal/abnormal, topos/heterotopos, common place/other place, resulting in the historical qualifications of crisis and deviance. The temporal axis (2) opposes permanence to the event-like character of the feast. The imaginary axis (3) conceives of heterotopias as realized utopias, as real spaces with a specific relation to the non-real spaces of utopia, resulting

in the specific function heterotopia has with respect to 'the rest of space', namely that of illusion or compensation. Two of these three axes, we believe, are in fact addressed in the passage on the mirror (see not 14 and 15 on the mirror).

31 The shift from the bell to the whistle, from praise of god to discipline, resonates with Foucault's insistence on describing these classical utopian experiments as heterotopia, and betrays his latent anti-utopianism.

32 This poetical artifice of the ship obscures the fact that the text ends in limbo, that the text required a final part. After the historical outline, the 'short history of space' from the introduction and after the main part, the transhistorical/ahistorical outline of heterotopology, the third part should have treated the role of heterotopia in the third phase of space, the spatial order of emplacement. In any case, Foucault has not responded to the question that the construction of the text calls for. The task of the book *Heterotopia and the City* then consists, in a sense, in making up for this missing part, exploring the function of heterotopia in the network society (and beyond).

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