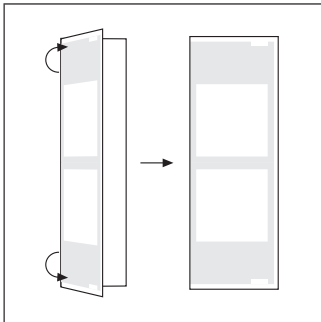
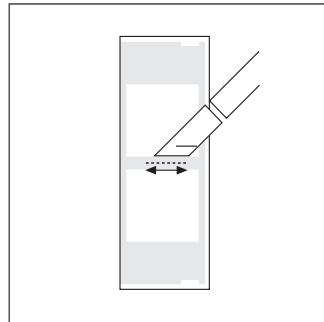


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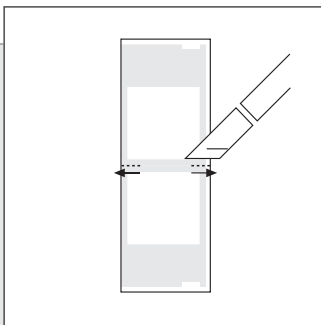
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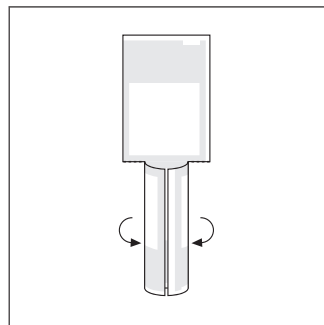
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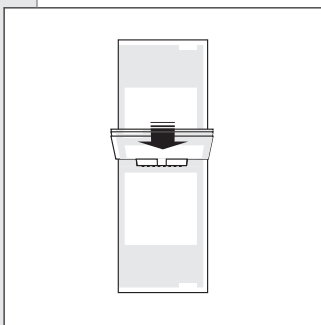
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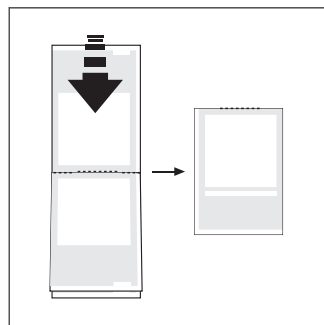
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- 1: First, fold each A4 sheet in half along the vertical axis.
- 2: Using a craft knife or scalpel, cut a horizontal slot along the centre dotted line of the first A4 sheet. (pages 1/2/13/14)
- 3: Then cut along the dotted lines on all the other sheets. Make sure to cut to the very edges of the paper.
- 4: Stack the folded sheets in ascending order with the even numbers at the top. Curl the bottom half of the second A4 page (pages 3/4/23/24).
- 5: Thread the curled page through the centre slot of the first A4 page. Repeat this process with the third (pages 5/6/21/22), fourth (pages 7/8/19/20), fifth (pages 9/10/17/18), and sixth A4 sheet (pages 11/12/15/16) with the even pages in ascending order.
- 6: When all the pages have been threaded through, check the pagination. Finally, fold the booklets in half along the horizontal axis.

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In QUECHUA, both spatial and social vertical divisions are expressed by the adjectives HANAN (upper) and URIN (lower), directions defined in relation to a centre, CHAWPI. At the same time, when referring to a physically lower place, the word UKHU or 'inside' is used, resulting in an opposition between 'above' and 'inside', rather than 'above' and 'below'.

HANAN

- upper
- physically and socially higher position

URIN

- lower
- physically and socially lower position

TAYPI (AYMARA) & CHAWPI (QUECHUA)

- middle
- centre
- place of convergence

Towards symmetrical convergence

Just as social and cultural relations are always changing, the ANDEAN landscape is understood to be constantly changing. More specifically, its high-altitude surface features are sensed to change

“As an element of AYMARA thought, LAKE TITICACA is not merely a specific geographical location: It is at once a centrifugal force that permits the differentiation of the two terms in opposition and a central force that ensures their mediation. In the symbolic architecture, the taypi, place of convergence, is crucial to the equilibrium of the system ... Spatial relations [are understood] in triadic terms: two elements and a center. Each implies the presence of the opposite, but the symmetry is imperfect.”⁸

Since Urcu was associated with upper elevations, and Uma with lower elevations, it was Lake Titicaca itself which was considered Taypi, or the middle.

- highlands
- masculine
- UMA
- lowlands
- feminine
- URCO

Situations, scapes and plans
According to the OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY, in the late 1600s the word 'scenery' (from the Italian scenario) was used to refer to performative story-telling, or more specifically to the arrangement and sequence of scenes in a play. In the early 1700s it began to refer to the places in which actions are performed, and by mid-century it was altered to 'scenery' and used to refer to the "general appearance of a place and its natural features, regarded from the picturesque point of view" or the "aggregate of picturesque features in a landscape". The word 'landscape' had entered the English language in the early 1600s, first referring to pictures of land and then to the scenery itself. Early landscapes were considered "views or prospects of something" or the "object of one's gaze" from a "bird's eye view". In the late 1700s, the word 'scape' was extended to other scenes, eventually coming to generate such terms as 'cityscape', 'mindscape', 'soundscape', 'bodyscape' and even 'objectscape'. By the late 1800s, distinguishing social and spatial features often served as a scene's boundary markers, especially if they were considered the "product of modifying or shaping processes and agents." And today's 'netscapes' have been described as "the networks of machines, technologies, organizations, texts and actors that

Spaces and Places of Convergence

Anne Galloway

ABOUT SPECIES OF SPACES
 This publication is one of a series of essays commissioned by Proboscis for the series Species of Spaces – inspired by and in homage to George Perec’s eponymous book. The series contemplates how we occupy space in the contemporary world of the twenty-first century – the virtual and physical, emotional and social – what Perec called the ‘intra-ordinary’. Species of Spaces questions the trajectory of contemporary urban existence, intervening in current debates on how the virtual and the physical relate to each other, and how technological advances affect cultural and social structures. DIFFUSION eBooks are designed to be freely available to download and print out. Under no circumstances should any version of this publication, whether print or electronic, be sold by any third party without prior permission in writing from the publisher.

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SPACES AND PLACES OF CONVERGENCE
 Anne Galloway

Species of Spaces

constitute various interconnected nodes along which flows can be relayed.”¹

Although both ‘scenary’ and ‘scenery’ require actions of pointing, ordering and framing places or scapes, the linguistic history also suggests a shift from an interest in how scenes and spaces are performed to a concern with how scenes and spaces are represented. In other words, an interest in situations shifted to a concern for plans. In today’s scapes, “amidst the actors and stage-machineries” of national, military-industrial, geographic coordinate systems, and increased everyday surveillance practices, the map or plan almost absolutely dominates western social and spatial imagination. Once indicators of freedom from constraint, “bird’s eye” views and “as the crow flies” movements have been appropriated in the names of objectivity and efficiency, while imaginary grids and precise locations control scenes as well as any theatrical stage or cage.

Stage management and the will to empire

Western coordinate systems – most familiar to us from compasses, political boundary maps, physical relief maps, and the NAVSTAR GLOBAL POSITIONING

Topographic maps that represent the relative positions, orientations and elevations of a surface’s distinguishing features are particularly interesting in terms of their social and spatial organisation

“I demand, I insist, that everything around me shall henceforth be measured, tested, certified, mathematical, and rational. One of my tasks must be to make a full survey of the island, its distances and its contours, and incorporate all these details in an accurate surveyor’s map. I should like every plant to be labeled, every bird to be ringed, every animal to be branded. I shall not be content until this opaque and impenetrable place, filled with secret ferments and malignant stirrings, has been transformed into a calculated design, visible and intelligible to its very depths!”²

SYSTEM – all have their origins in military, navigational and survey activities. Locating the precise latitude, longitude and elevation of a point on Earth’s surface is a crucial first step in being able to plan the movement of people and objects, and to control territories and resources. Put more simply, these mapping systems – these ways of representing space – are artefacts of empire.

and management. Locating the third dimension – altitude, height or depth – involves measuring unstable surface movements relative to a stable and arbitrary point such as average sea level. Culturally important features, then, are always subject to processes of accretion, multiplication and proliferation as well as abrasion, corrosion and dissolution. As long as representational maps or plans persist without alteration, they also resolve and stabilise these dynamic processes, turning mobility to immobility. Culturally important features measured relative to an arbitrary point in space are also located external to the human body, maintaining the occidental split between mind and body, and ignoring tensions between symbolic and embodied interaction. Again put more simply, maps and plans are never neutral – they make possible some worlds, and not others.

If we know that geographical coordinate systems are not the only – or necessarily the best – ways to describe spaces and places, what are the alternatives? Without suggesting that we simply exchange one view for another, I believe that native ANDEAN understandings of space/time offer a variety of possibilities and potentials worth exploring.

Without fixed points or direction
 Anthropologists have long noted that Q'UECHUA and AYMARÁ cultural experiences and understandings of space and time bear little resemblance to notions of CARTESIAN space and linear time.³ For example, the single term pacha refers both to space and time, as well as to the earth. In terms of relative position and orientation, the word Nawpa refers to the temporal qualities of 'before', 'anterior', and 'ancient', while simultaneously referring to the spatial position 'in front'. Complementing these notions, Q'URPA designates temporal aspects of 'closeness' or 'next', while also referring to the spatial notion of 'behind'. In these ways, and contrary to western notions, the future is located behind a person and the past in front (where it can be seen).

PACHA
 . space/time
 . earth
 NAWPA
 . prior in time
 . spatially in front
 Q'URPA
 . next in time
 . spatially behind

8 BOUYASSE-CASSAGNE: *ibid.* p.209.

9 CATHERINE ALLEN: The hold life has: coca and cultural identity. In: *An Andean community*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988, p.41.

10 LYNN SIRKINK & CHOQUE M.B.: *Landscape, gender, and community: Andean Mountain stories*. Anthropological Quarterly, 72(4), 1999, pp.167-182.

11 ALLEN: *op.cit.* p.44.

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- 5 EARLS and SILVERBLATT: *op. cit.*
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- 7 THÉRÈSE BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE: Urco and Uma: Aymara Concepts of Space. In J. MURRA, N. WACHTEL AND J. REVEL, EDS., *Anthropological History of Andean Polities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.205-207.

PACHA, or space / time, is also characterised by being closed, cyclical and without a single fixed point of orientation. This means that the articulation of 'outside / inside' or 'upper / lower' can only be affected by one point of view relative another. And while there are no fixed points of reference within the flow of PACHA, social experience delineates dynamic centres from which temporary and relative points may be meaningfully distinguished.

Coming together

The native ANDEAN COSMOS is divided into three layers: HANAY PACHA (upper-world), KAY PACHA (middle-world, this world) and UKHU PACHA (underworld, inside-world). INKA origin myths outline the corresponding social and spatial relations:

"At a place to the south of CUZCO called PACARIQTAMBO, there is a mountain called TAMPU T'OQO (window house) in which there are three windows, or caves. At the beginning of time, a group of four brothers and their four sisters – the ancestors of the INKAS – emerged from the central window. The principle figure of this group was MANQO QHAPAQ, the man who was destined to become the

In some ways, ANDEAN socio-spatial myths and rituals have more in common with remixes and collages than with discrete, coherent, linear, geo-spatial annotations. Geographical coordinate systems – and particularly maps – necessarily mandate particular fixities or immutabilities. Their effectiveness lies in precision, accuracy, predictability and stability in the face of increasingly unstable and volatile positions and boundaries at local, national, international and global scales. In this scenario, maps and plans require consensus. Native ANDEAN conceptions of space / time mandate more fluid experiences and expressions – their value lies in contextuality, mobility and mutability. With each body in motion, with each iteration of myth and ritual, Andean social and spatial relations are (re)configured, always (be)coming together. In this scenario, situations require convergence. And there are no maps for these territories.

often we will be spared as witnesses to their actual transformation or decay.

As claims to empire, territory and place, these universal and timeless relations are also understood to converge in local scenes and events. For example, in native AYMARA origin myths, MAMAQOCHA (MOTHER WATER) is considered to be the source of all water. WIRAQOCHA, the Creator, emerged from her waters (LAKE TITICACA) and continued his journey to the

founder-king of the empire. One of the first acts of the eight [ranked] ancestors was to organize the people who were living around TAMPU T'OQO into ten [ranked] groups, called AYLLUS. The full entourage of ancestral siblings and AYLLUS set off from TAMPU T'OQO to the north in search of fertile land on which to build their imperial capital, CUZCO. Along the way, they stopped to test the soil. At one of these stops, MANQO QHAPAQ and one of his sisters, MAMA OQTLU, conceived a child whom they called SINCHI RUGA. After a period of wandering filled with marvelous events the entourage arrived at a hill overlooking the valley of CUZCO. Recognizing by miraculous signs that this was their long-sought-after home, the Inkas descended from the mountain and took possession of the valley."⁴

From plans to situations

By now the reader may have noticed that there has been no mention of maps or plans in our exploration of ANDEAN space/time. It is not that the INKA, QUECHUA and AYMARA lack a sense of social and spatial order, but rather that it is expressed more in dynamic performance than in static representational form. Instead of referring to relatively stable maps, native ANDEAN peoples orient themselves and navigate places through oral histories and localised rituals that change slightly each and every time they are performed. These highly situational – and situated – activities are not subject to the same kinds of capture or immobilization of place made possible in geographic coordinate systems and GPS technologies.

We know that a story told face-to-face is never the same story twice. We also know that the most ancient and routine rituals inevitably vary between people, and from time to time. We even know that the same place is never experienced the same way twice. But in the age of mechanical reproducibility, the hundredth copy of a file is identical to the first. In the future, our valued spaces and places may well present themselves in perfectly preserved layers instead of in ruins. Data may one day be deleted, or become entirely unreadable, but most

ocean, where he disappeared within or under the water. As mentioned earlier, ANDEAN space/time is also considered to be cyclical. A PACHAKUTI is a cataclysm or reversal of space-time; when one cycle is completed, another begins (such as in the act of creation). While the world ocean cosmologically exists in horizontal space, LAKE TITICACA exists as an axis in vertical space, conceptualised by the existence of a great subterranean lake. The direction of creation is vertical, as is the vertical movement of water evaporation; the cyclical movement of water is expressed through its return in the form of rain.⁵

Relating to each other

The fundamental principle of interaction at work in these native ANDEAN orderings of space is AYNI, or reciprocity between all things. The actual experience or expression of AYNI occurs in both symmetrical and asymmetrical ways between different combinations of people, objects and ideas. The MIT'A, or rotational labour system of the Inka empire, is one example. If we could break it into discrete parts, we might see that in its temporal dimension, conquered peoples were required to pay tribute in the form of temporary and repeating labour. In its spatial dimension, the INKA would

relocate workers and redistribute the products of their labour throughout the empire. In its social dimension, the MIT'A involved complex exchanges of labour and goods, and the simultaneous differentiation and integration of people into an empire. However, beyond reciprocal exchange, we might also understand AYNI as everything, or the universe itself.

QUECHUA socio-spatio-temporality is further expressed in terms of PALLQA and TINKUY. PALLQA refers to the division of one thing into two, without implications of spatial directionality, and temporally reversible. An example is the canalisation of a river. TINKUY refers to the convergence of two parts into one, with implications of uni-directionality in space and irreversible time. An example is a natural river system.

unique orientation relative to an individual's position at any given moment, an orientation that shifts as the individual moves.”¹¹

- reciprocity
 - symmetrical
 - asymmetrical exchange
- PALLQA
- division of one into two or more
 - temporally reversible
 - spatially multi-directional
- AYNI

and social body to include relations between world and human body. For example, significant features on the landscape such as caves or springs are often given the names of body parts or regions that correspond to locations on the vertical planes of mountains and standing bodies. The organisation of the INKA cosmos also corresponds to a division of the human body: HANAY PACHA (upper-world) and the upper body are associated with structure; KAY PACHA (middle-world, this world) and the middle of the body are associated with integration; and UKHU PACHA (underworld, inside-world) and the lower body are associated with fluidity. In bodily terms the “trunk of the body corresponds to the living and to the present, and mediates between the feet and the head (the past and the future).”¹²

with its salty outline to one side of my new home, subtle changes in color from salt to desert sand to rusty browns. This initial impression of desolate beauty had little to do with how CONDENOS viewed this scene. Little by little, learning the 'stories' or 'legends' about the gods who animated this terrain, I was taught to identify the personages here and there and the marks of their relationships and disputes: that rock catapulted from a sling during a fight, this hill as a hat knocked off during a fight, this salt and sand a trail of breast milk and barley flour, this hill an abandoned child, those red rocks the blood of a wounded mountain/god..."¹⁰

However, as discussed above, vertical (hierarchical) space always meets horizontal (heterarchical) space, so that while a person or place may be 'higher' in one context, they can be 'lower' in another.

"[T]he vigilant Tirakuna provide an orientation that is both emotional and cognitive, for space is experienced and organized in terms of this ever-widening circle of landmarks. The mountainous landscape provides an immediate and

TINKUY

- convergence of two or more into one,
- temporally irreversible
- spatially unidirectional
- result of AYNÍ and PALLQA

Social intervention is understood in terms of PALLQA: it must be constructed, and it can be deconstructed and reconstructed. TINKUY can also be applied to social relations, but only of the irreversible kind, such as kinship. As well, social organisation can locate a TINKUY between different cycles of interaction, and this requires a dialectic formation of irreversible character. While AYNÍ and PALLQA serve to bring order and equilibrium to the universe, TINKUY serves as the result of those principles. This fluid expression of PACHA is further regulated by the flow of SAMI – an energy or force not unlike Asian understandings of CH'I or TAO. The QUECHUA word 'to create' is KAMAY, which

"refers to creation not in the sense of making something from nothing, but in the sense of controlling how something happens, of directing its mode of existence ...

"Arriving as an outsider to take up residence on the BOLIVIAN altiplano, I did not realize that even the landscape beyond my reach. What I initially saw was flat expanses of sandy pampa bounded by hills, some of them standing alone, the watery vision of LAKE POPO

In other words, just as people and actions are related to each other, so too are the TIRAKUNA, or Places. In effect, the land is no different from the people who live there.

"TIRAKUNA are not spirits who inhabit the places, but the Places themselves, who live, watch, and have ways of interacting with human beings, plants, and animals that live around and upon them."⁹

Native Andean places are known as TIRAKUNA, and they interact with people regularly.

with varying degrees of light, cloud and storm. The local inhabitants maintain a remarkably detailed knowledge of the land, and orient themselves according to related topographic features, weather conditions, narratives and rituals rather than by cardinal directions and maps.

Towards asymmetrical convergence
 In actively creating the world around them, historically the Aymara also distinguished between urco and uma.⁷ The term Urco was used to represent the highlands where the Aymara lived, and referred to the "manliness associated with violence, aggression and war, the male domain *par excellence*." On the other hand, uma was used to represent the eastern lowlands or valleys, and, since the word means water, also refer to liquidity or a lack of solid consistency, and to the "hollowness of a furrow, of valleys, of lowlands, or the concave parts of an object ... (as well as) the contained ... (and) the container ... (all) associated with the idea of femininity". However, the conceptual opposition between Urco and Uma was mediated by the intermediate zone, or TAYPI, thereby converting the apparent dualism to a tri-partite organisation.

While everything that has material existence is alive, the intensity of a things' liveliness [SAMÍ] varies and can be controlled, at least to some extent ... ANDEAN ritual works at holding, controlling, and directing the flow of SAMÍ."⁶