Karoline Noack

# Mobilization as Dependency: The Case of Mitimaes in the Inka State as a Hotspot of Early Glocalization

## 1 Introduction: Globalization and Glocalization in the Pre-Hispanic Andes

Like other polities in the pre-Hispanic Americas, the Inka state was established completely independently from historical developments in other regions of the world. Yet, no other polity in the Americas has been discussed in so many different ways. The Inka state, or Tawantinsuyu, encompassed southern Columbia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and from northwest Argentina up to central Chile, making it the largest state in the Americas in terms of geographic extent. With its manifold landscapes ranging from coast to hot and fertile valleys, from arid highlands to the eastern slopes of the Andes and the rainforest, Tawantinsuyu was a global phenomenon in and of itself. It is estimated that between six and thirteen million people lived under the control of Inka rulers at its peak.[1] This raises pertinent questions as to how such a large empire was consolidated and managed from a single center, the capital of Cusco, and all within just 100 years.

Scholarship about the Inka state has a long and varied history, and has almost always been conducted within a global framework. Many questions that have been raised over time remain unanswered today. A turning point was the work of John V. Murra, who posed new questions inspired by approaches from social anthropology research on African kingdoms. He applied them in his study of the Americas and offered a new reading of the literary sources: early Spanish eyewitness accounts and historical chronicles written by cosmographers, travelers, and Spaniards married into Inka families. These also included visitation reports of the Spanish colonial administration (*visitas*), previously overlooked sources which Murra showed can provide insight into social life down to the household level. Thanks to these sources, many of the central institutions and categories of the Inka state can be recognized as deeply rooted in local communities and in institutions much older than the Inka state itself. In this way, various local perspectives were brought into the discussion and changed

1 John W. Verano and Douglas H. Ubelaker, eds., *Disease and Demography in the Americas* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992): 16.

**Note:** The first draft of this paper was presented at the joint workshop of Tel Aviv University and the University of Bonn "What is Global about Global Enslavement?" which was held in Tel Aviv in December 2019 and organized by Stephan Conermann, Youval Rotman, Ehud R. Toledano, and Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz.


https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111296913-004

the global picture of the Inka state. Could the more recent concept of "glocalization" fit into such a framework?[2] In this article, I would like to examine this question by focusing on socio-economic and political forms of dependency.

Integrating new concepts into Inka research is necessary and challenging. Concepts such as glocalization and glocal are promising and productive for Inka studies because they describe the "the simultaneous occurrence of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies."[3] Both must be understood in order to grasp the particularities of the Inka state and its political and socio-economic organization, including relations of dependency. The Inka state, possibly more than any other "early state"[4] in the Americas and beyond, has been the subject of theoretical-conceptual debates from the beginning of scholarly research in the nineteenth century and up to the present, including approaches in (global) world-system perspectives from the archaeology of the Americas, which nevertheless continued to transmit earlier ideas. In this article, I would like to show that applying and studying the concept of glocal in Inka studies can lead to new insights in regard to the questions debated. The theoretically underdeveloped concept of glocalization "invite[s] a more extensive, transdisciplinary, and critical engagement with the notion of glocal."[5] Although some have argued that glocalization is a concept "that captures modern realities,"[6] others have emphasized that the glocal "offers an additional layer that allows social theory to capture the complexity and multifaceted nature of social processes" more generally.[7] It is to be expected that the impetus in applying the concept will go in both directions: toward further development of the concept itself as well as of Inka studies.

A related concept to be focused on here is that of dependency, specifically that of strong asymmetric dependency. With this concept, "the traditional European 'binary opposition of "slavery versus freedom"' still dominating slavery studies" is to be overcome.[8] Asymmetric dependency "encompasses all 'diverse forms that human bondage

**2** The term *glocal*, which since the 1990s has entered into various disciplines including sociology and anthropology, was defined by Robertson (Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* [London: Sage, 1994]) as a metatheory relevant to understanding the globalized world of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

**3** Joachim Blatter, "Glocalization," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 22.02.2022, https://www.britannica.com/topic/glocalization [accessed 03.04.2023].

**4** Norman Yoffee, *Myths of the Archaic State: Evolution of the Earliest Cities, States and Civilizations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

**5** Victor Roudometof, *Glocalization: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2016): 16.

**6** Philemon Bantimaroudis, Review of *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, by Victor Roudometof, *International Journal of Communication* 11 (2017): 728–30. This characterization has seemed especially necessary since the onset of the twenty-first century, as the influence of the concept of globalization has begun to decline in the context of the finance crisis, the dawn of new social movements, and the advance of right-wing political groups.

**7** Roudometof, *Glocalization*: 10.

**8** Julia Winnebeck et al., "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021): 2.

and coercion have taken over time'"[9] as a "continuum of dependency."[10] The concept of dependency, if not slavery, hitherto hardly in focus in the sequence of theoretical approaches in Inka studies since the nineteenth century and largely based on European typologies, can be used to elaborate and sharpen the characteristics and globally integrated local particularities of the Inka state beyond those models. Above all, the view of the *yanacona* (Quechua, see below) as slaves, i.e., as the most dependent and "unfree" group, long discussed, is an effect of the importation of a universal-historical and Eurocentric view into Inka society, linked to the idea of a centralized state.

One thing is clear: we are not getting anywhere with concepts and terms from a Europe-centered universal history. Some of this terminology has morphed into a trope, which shows how persistent it is: this applies in particular to concepts like modes of production or socio-economic formations, debt bondage, and serfdom, but also of power, social differentiation and the group, stranger, coercion, freedom/un-freedom, and autonomy.[11] Before we can come to a new proposal for Inka research by exploring the concepts of glocalization and dependency, we must first track down the tropes, anchoring the investigation in a critical historiography of thought about the Inka.

Therefore, this paper introduces in the second part world-system perspectives from the archaeology of the Americas, discussed since the 1970s, which came very close to "glocal" insights. This is followed by a brief introduction of the Inka state in the third part. The fourth part will continue tracking down the tropes, discussing earlier interpretations of the Inka state within a universal framework marked by concepts of "modes of production" or "socio-economic formations," whose global notions had also appeared in the later world-system perspectives. Part five offers a still wider range of approaches to the political economy of the Inka state, including those nurtured by social anthropology, and will provide another facet of the global framework, among them those that have not been continued by later research. On that basis, part six will develop the conceptualization of the Inka state as an "early state" or "fragile state." Here, the emergence of *mitimaes* (together with *yanacona*, *camayoc*, *acllacuna and mitayos* as the other main social categories of the Inka state)[12] will be explained as part of a particular moment of state consolidation and expansion. This phenomenon is the subject of part seven, followed by a case study of *mitimaes* in the Cochabamba Valley in present-day Bolivia in the eighth

**9** Quoted in Winnebeck et al., "On Asymmetrical Dependency": 2.

**10** David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman, "Dependence, Servility and Coerced Labor in Time and Space," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 3, *AD 1420–AD 1804*, ed. David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 3, quoted in Winnebeck et al., "On Asymmetrical Dependency": 2.

**11** See also Christian G. De Vito, "Five Hypotheses on Dependency" (unpublished manuscript, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies, University of Bonn, n.d.).

**12** *Camayoc* were producing "specialists" on different levels of society (community and state level) and *acllacuna* were "chosen women" who also performed specialized work, above all the production of *chicha* or maize "beer" and textiles for the Inka ruler in particular settings. The *mitayos* formed rotating forced labor groups.

part. This region will be discussed as a hotspot of early glocalization, the most prominent case of mobilization of people and goods as a power strategy, and the strongest expression of dependency in the Inka state. The paper will close with the thesis that the question of strong asymmetric dependency in the Inka state can be addressed only by examining it through an interdisciplinary case study and by reconsidering and combining wrongly ignored research strands into an innovative perspective of glocalization.

## 2 The World-Systems Perspective in the Archaeology of the Americas

Although archaeology is not mentioned among the fields invoked by the "glocal" perspective,[13] scholars have widely recognized over the last decade that many aspects of modern globalization were also characteristic of earlier periods in history, following an initial trend in scholarship from the 1970s toward examining the glocal in precapitalist world-systems.[14] In current debates in global archaeology, the world-system still "resonates" in concepts of "world," "core," and "periphery"; one of these "worlds" was the Andes.[15] Widespread systems of economic interdependence across political boundaries are thought of as cyclical globalization processes in the Americas, as "bursts of interregional interaction were followed by balkanization."[16] But "not all of these bursts of interaction should be considered as earlier globalizations."[17]

Globalization is understood "as complex connectivity, a condition created by a dense network of intense interactions and interdependencies between disparate

**13** Roudometof, *Glocalization*: 27.

**14** See Tamar Hodos, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization* (London: Routledge, 2017); especially Jennings, "Distinguishing Past Globalizations": 12, and Sillar, "Globalization without Markets?": 229–42.

**15** Alexander Geurds, "Globalization Processes as Recognized in the Americas," in *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, ed. Tamar Hodos (London: Routledge, 2017): 174.

**16** Jennings, "Distinguishing Past Globalizations": 12. The term "balkanization," used by Jennings and elsewhere by Covey (R. Alan Covey, "Intermediate Elites in the Inka Heartland, A.D. 1000–1500," in *Intermediate Elites in Pre-Columbian States and Empires*, ed. Christina M. Elson and R. Alan Covey [Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006]: 113) and other authors should not be applied to these contexts. It is a negatively connotated term coined at the end of the nineteenth century. To this day, it is still associated with violence, primitiveness, conservatism, and patriarchies. This discourse became particularly clear during the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s and early 2000s, "when a larger context unfoundedly and in a concrete or figurative sense 'bloodily' breaks up into a thousand pieces" (see interview with Martina Baleva, "Balkan. Das vollständig Andere. Die Historikerin Martina Baleva über die Erfindung des Balkans in der Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts," interview by Samuela Nickel, Neues Deutschland Journalismus von links, 25.09.2020, https://www.nd-aktuell.de/artikel/1142315.balkan-das-unvollstaendige-andere.html [accessed 28.01.2023] [translation is mine]).

**17** Jennings, "Distinguishing Past Globalizations": 12.

people brought together through the long-distance flow of goods, ideas, and individuals."[18] Glocalization is considered an integral part of these processes,[19] one that "emphasizes the local responses" and "the ways in which broadly shared ideas, goods, and practices are modified and adapted locally to accord with local practice, customs, habits, and beliefs."[20] This cultural impact and its variations in practice were identified as an obvious gap in previous studies. Lau noted that in "trying to reconstruct the political economies crucial in complexity, [. . .] much of 'the cultural' has been underemphasized, not least in considerations of Andean South America."[21] But unlike in previous debates, little attention is now being paid to social groups, labor categories, asymmetric dependencies, or socioeconomic frameworks in general. The necessary link between political economy and cultural processes merits examination in archaeological-ethnohistorical case studies, as will be outlined in part seven for the Cochabamba Valley.

It is important to remember that although the world-systems perspective has mostly been applied to capitalist Western societies, it is relevant to all societies in the world's history and present.[22] Its "tremendous potential for theory building in the social sciences," due to its "single theoretical framework in which to analyze both Western and non-Western societies,"[23] has led to rich debate in archaeology.[24] In his introduction, Peregrine proposes "to direct attention once again to the world-system perspective," because it has hardly been discussed in archaeology, especially in relation to case studies from the Americas.[25] Wallerstein's notion is based on the world-

**18** Jennings, "Distinguishing Past Globalizations": 13.

**19** Tamar Hodos, "Globalization: Some Basics. An Introduction to *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*," in *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, ed. Tamar Hodos (London: Routledge, 2017): 7.

**20** Hodos, "Globalization": 6–7.

**21** George F. Lau, "On the Horizon: Art, Valuables and Large-Scale Interaction Networks in the Ancient Andes," in *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, ed. Tamar Hodos (London: Routledge, 2017): 195.

**22** Immanuel M. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, Studies in Social Discontinuity (New York: Academic Press, 1976).

**23** Peter N. Peregrine, "Introduction: World Systems. Theory and Archaeology," in *Pre-Columbian World Systems*, ed. Peter N. Peregrine and Gary M. Feinman (Madison, WI: Prehistory Press, 1996): 1.

**24** Jane Schneider, "Was There a Precapitalist World-System?" in *Core/Periphery Relations in Precapitalist Worlds*, ed. Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas D. Hall (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991 [1977]): 45–66; Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas D. Hall, eds., *Core/Periphery Relations in Precapitalist Worlds* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991); Elizabeth M. Brumfiel, ed., *The Economic Anthropology of the State* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994); Peter N. Peregrine and Gary M. Feinman, eds., *Pre-Columbian World Systems* (Madison, WI: Prehistory Press, 1996); Michael E. Smith and Frances F. Berdan, "The Postclassic Mesoamerican World System," *Current Anthropology* 41, no. 2 (2000): 283–86; Michael E. Smith and Frances F. Berdan, eds., *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2003).

**25** Peregrine, "Introduction": 1.

systems perspective. This concept allows scholars "to perceive the world as a set of autonomous political units linked into larger functioning unit through economic interdependence."[26] It assumes "that social action take [sic] place in an entity within which there is an ongoing division of labour, and seeks to discover *empirically* whether such an entity is or is not unified politically or culturally, asking *theoretically* what are the consequences of the existence or non-existence of such unity."[27] The "entity" is the world-system defined only by economic interdependence, not "by any specific geographical, political, or cultural units."[28] Ultimately, the world-systems perspective "hinges on two overlapping processes – one of competition between various geographically localized populations of unequal power; the other of differentiation, division of labor, and interdependence among these same units."[29]

The constellation of hierarchized populations constantly moving within determined geographic spaces and differentiated by their specialized labor also defines the more recent concept of the "fragile state."[30] The "fragile state," like the world-system, cannot be defined by geographical, political, or cultural borders; instead, economic, political, and cultural interdependencies constitute its multilayered reality.[31] For our case study of *mitimaes* in the Cochabamba Valley, however, this perspective makes way for reconsidering the specific socio-economic relationships that formed in the context of Inka conquests and state-building processes. From a world-systems perspective, they can be interpreted as asymmetric dependencies that form part of the understanding of glocalization outlined here.[32] This includes the notion of the "fragile state" as a concept that puts the Inka state into a global framework in a way that makes it comprehensible with respect to the dialectics of "center" and "local." In order to be able to present new forms of dependency in the Cochabamba Valley that can be understood in a glocal context, we first need to give an overview of the Inka state.

---

**26** Peregrine, "Introduction": 1; see also Smith and Berdan, "Postclassic Mesoamerican World System": 286.

**27** Wallerstein: *The Modern World-System*: 345, quoted in Peregrine, "Introduction": 2.

**28** Peregrine, "Introduction": 2.

**29** Schneider, "Was There a Precapitalist World-System": 20, quoted in Peregrine, "Introduction": 2.

**30** Norman Yoffee, "Introducing the Conference: There Are No Innocent Terms," in *The Evolution of Fragility: Setting the Terms*, ed. Norman Yoffee (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2019): 1–8; Tom D. Dillehay and Steven A. Wernke, "Fragility of Vulnerable Social Institutions in Andean States," in *The Evolution of Fragility: Setting the Terms*, ed. Norman Yoffee (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2019): 9–23. See Darrell La Lone, "An Andean World-System. Production Transformations under the Inka Empire," in *The Economic Anthropology of the State*, ed. Elizabeth M. Brumfiel (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994): 18, 21; see part six.

**31** See Peregrine, "Introduction": 2.

**32** Interestingly, the pre-Columbian studies from the 1990s that assumed a world-systems perspective placed little emphasis on the Andes compared to other regions of the Americas, especially Mesoamerica (see La Lone, "Andean World-System"; Peregrine and Feinman, *Pre-Columbian World Systems*). The reasons are many and varied and include competing perceptions of the Inka state in the historiography, which made applying a world-systems approach more difficult.

## 3 The Inka State – An Overview

The Inka state arose through expansion during the hundred years or so before the Spanish conquest of Peru beginning in 1532. How did Inka rulers manage to establish a state of such great dimensions in such a short time? The success of the Inka control system relied on a combination of three social institutions whose interlocking structures were deeply rooted in Andean communities: the *mincca,* the *ayllu*, and the *mita*.[33] The *mincca*, local "mutual aid," was inseparably linked to the *ayllu*, the basic, household-based social organization of *hatun runa* or "commoners." Almost imperceptible to the *hatun runa*, these communal structures were used by the state to construct the *mita*, a form of labor organization by rotating shifts of the heads of households, the *mitayos*, and the main source of revenue for the Inka state. While the *mincca* was carried out at local levels with the coordination of local authorities, the *mita* was coordinated by the central authorities, the Inka, mediated by local rulers.

Social relations within the *ayllu* were structured on the basis of collective land ownership and the related principle of reciprocity. Members of local communities benefited from the *mincca* in agricultural work or house construction, for example. During Inka conquests, the local *mincca* began to assume the form of the state-organized *mita* and became part of a "redistributive" economy.[34] The state needed this form of extended labor obligation through rotating community members, or *mitayos*, to expand its productive agricultural base and infrastructure (e.g., roads, road stations, warehouses, administrative centers).

The Inka succeeded in achieving a subtle balance between population, social, political, and ecological diversities by maintaining local structures while (globally) unifying them in the Andes.[35] In the diverse Andean region, with its micro-landscapes and micro-climates, local agriculture was not only practiced at a single altitude level: for example, growing maize at about 3,000 meters or potatoes in the *puna* highlands, thus encompassing the diverse ecosystems of the high Central Andes. Local communities

**33** John V. Murra, *The Economic Organization of the Inka State* (Greenwich: JAI Press, 1980); Franklin Pease, *The Incas* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la PUCP, 2011).

**34** Within this constellation, redistribution and reciprocity belonged to the central mechanisms of the Inka state (on the present-day validity of the approaches of Mauss and Polanyi, see Chris Hann, "Economic Anthropology," in *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, ed. Hilary Callan [Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2018]: 14). However, redistribution and reciprocity aimed to maintain a supposedly homogeneous power structure between the global (central) and the local in the Inka state, at least on a symbolic level; thus, it is still difficult to distinguish the associated structures of asymmetric dependencies.

**35** Murra, *Inka State*; see Karoline Noack, "Die Staatsstruktur der Inka," in *Könige der Anden. Große Landesausstellung Baden-Württemberg im Linden-Museum Stuttgart vom 12. Oktober 2013 bis 16. März 2014*, ed. Inés Castro and Doris Kurella (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2013): 140–52.

controlled several vertical levels by establishing permanent colonies or "archipelagos"[36] in order to obtain a wider range of agricultural products. These levels were often inhabited by *mitimaes* or "colonists" of different origins[37] and different "classes."[38] Although social organizations such as *ayllus* and *mita* were retained in principle under Inka rule, new relationships of dependency were created in the course of state consolidation and integration – one of the most important being the institution of *mitimaes*. Inka rulers "globalized" this institution by systematically resettling families, groups, or even entire communities to new, strategic locations that became hotspots of state formation.

The *mitimaes* were decisive in expanding the productive base of the Inka state, with its growing need for storable goods such as maize. Therefore, the institution is an appropriate example for questioning the encounter between mobilized, uprooted, local groups and new, globalized modes of asymmetric dependency. In particular, I examine to what extent the asymmetric dependencies to which *mitimaes* were subject can be considered as *glocal*, mainly because *mitimaes* came from different origins with different identities and material cultures and experienced new modes of dependency. This will enable us to examine the broader question about the glocal framework of institutionalized asymmetric social dependency.

The increasing demands that Inka rulers placed on laborers to produce, store, and transport maize was a central element in state-building and found its most remarkable expression in Cochabamba in present-day Bolivia, close to the eastern slopes of the Andes. After the original population of Cochabamba was completely displaced, around 14,000 laborers were recruited to produce a huge surplus of maize, which was stored in around 4,000 granaries (*qollqas*). In no other region of the Inka state were so many storage buildings erected. The Inka administration altered access to resources, modified patterns of cultivable land ownership by establishing farms owned by the state or by individual rulers, and changed the succession of central leadership and the configuration of fragmented political elites.[39] But it remains far from clear who the laborers were, including whether they were all *mitimaes*. It is also unknown to what extent they can be distinguished from other dependent groups, above all from *mitayos* or *yana* (plural *yanacona*); the latter term is frequently translated as "slave" or "servant" and refers to individuals in a relationship of extreme personal dependency to a ruler.[40]

**36** John V. Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1975).

**37** Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas*: 59–115.

**38** Within "classes," Pease differentiates between *mitimaes* sent by the Inka and "ethnic entities." Franklin Pease, "La formación del Tawantinsuyu: mecanismos de colonización y relación con las unidades etnicas," *Histórica* 3, no. 1 (1979): 103.

**39** Murra, *Inka State*; Pease, *The Incas*.

**40** See Karoline Noack, "'. . . los mitimaes temían a los naturales y los naturales a los mitimaes': políticas de reasentamiento y la construcción de la diferencia en el Estado inca," *Surandino Monográfico*, no. 4 (2018): 23–38. When the Spanish chronicles mention conquered and resettled peoples, they group

The expansion of Tawantinsuyu and the associated restructuring of economic and political relationships shortly before the Spanish conquest led to striking asymmetries of dependency. The transformations were part of pre-Hispanic globalization processes in the Andes that can be observed beginning in the Middle Horizon (AD 700–1000) and culminating in the Inka state.[41] But, as noted previously, the history of thought about the Inka state in terms of globalization pre-dates recent approaches that adopt a world-systems perspective from world archaeology.[42] The global or glocal frameworks within which scholars previously interpreted the Inka state were very different. Since these approaches affected and still affect our understanding of strong asymmetric relations of dependency, their history must first be outlined. Various concepts that have been used to describe the Inka state since the nineteenth century and their connotations still echo in more recent approaches. Only after considering them we can address the question of how to define and analyze space- and time-specific dependency relationships as part of multidimensional interactions between the global and the local, like those in the Cochabamba Valley.

## 4 Early Thinking about the Inka State in a Global Framework

Discourse about the Inka state, like those about other historical states, was first examined in a global framework of social evolution and development processes in the nineteenth century. Marxist concepts of political economy, such as "socio-economic formations" or "modes of production," served and still serve as a "model for a new universal or global history."[43] This Marxist model had significant repercussions when applied to the Inka state, as demonstrated in the ongoing world-systems debate.[44] It is still fruitful because it makes clear that asymmetric dependencies are "embedded" in modes of production and in the reproduction of society as a whole.[45] But the early debate in particular also suggests that forms of asymmetrical dependency are different in each "mode of production," or that a certain form of dependency is associated with each production method.

---

together persons of high socio-political status and others of low status under the general term *mitimaes*. Even if the different status categories overlapped in pre-Hispanic times, it can be assumed the terms referring to them underwent further changes under colonial influence in the sixteenth century, the period from which the earliest written sources about the Inka state originate (Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas*: 232–33).

**41** See Lau, "On the Horizon."

**42** See Geurds, "Globalization Processes."

**43** Hann, "Economic Anthropology": 5.

**44** See La Lone, "Andean World-System."

**45** On the interrelation of production and reproduction, see Claude Meillassoux, *Anthropologie der Sklaverei* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 1989): 317–21.

The "modes of production" debate is directly connected to the category of *yana* (plural *yanacona*), "slave; servant," and its role and significance. According to Murra,[46] the dispute about the *yanacona* is as old as modern anthropology of the Inka state. It is remarkable that these debates have taken place in different academic fields, sometimes related to each other and sometimes not, and in global contexts. Since the early twentieth century, they have involved scholars from Germany (including both German states between 1949 and 1990), France, Peru,[47] the Soviet Union, the US, and Mexico.[48] According to Karl Marx,[49] the Inka represented a "natural community" (*naturwüchsiges Gemeinwesen*) or an "artificially developed communism" (*künstlich entwickelter Kommunismus*),[50] an idea that Heinrich Cunow also pursued in his first "ethnographic" studies on the Inka.[51] However, Rosa Luxemburg's argument for the Inka ruler as a "benevolent despot" and for "oriental despotism" as a global and necessary form of political organization at a certain stage of societal development[52] recalls a discourse persistent in European thought since antiquity.[53] According to this discourse, "Oriental despotism was one of the most influential ways of interpreting Asian society and politics in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,"[54] a statement which was and still is true for the Inka state as well.[55]

**46** Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas*: 226.

**47** In Peru from the 1920s up to the end of the 1980s especially, with a peak in the 1960s and 1970s.

**48** See, e.g., Pedro Carrasco, "Comment on Offner," *American Antiquity* 46, no. 1 (1981): 62–68; Hans Neumann, "Ethnographie und (Alt-)Orientalistik. Irmgard Sellnow und die Periodisierung der frühen 'Weltgeschichte'," in *Ethnologie als Ethnographie: Interdisziplinarität, Transnationalität und Netzwerke der Disziplin in der DDR*, ed. Ingrid Kreide et al. (forthcoming). This is far from complete, and completeness is not intended here.

**49** Karl Marx, *Das Kapital: Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1966 [1890]): 102; and Karl Marx, *Das Kapital: Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1966 [1894]): 884.

**50** In contrast to Marx, many prestigious European authors and travelers during the nineteenth century questioned the "Peruvian" origin of the supposed founder of the Inka realm, Manco Capac, and searched for his origins instead in China, Armenia, Egypt, and among the Hebrews. Alexander von Humboldt also thought that the possible origin of the Inka was in the "Orient" (Mark Thurner, *History's Peru: The Poetics of Colonial and Postcolonial Historiography* [Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012]: 102–3).

**51** Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas*: 296–97.

**52** Rosa Luxemburg, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 5, *Ökonomische Schriften* (Berlin: Dietz, 1975); see Karoline Noack, "Buscando un Inca de aquí y de allá. Los incas de nuestro tiempo, Alemania y Lima, Perú," in *Perspectives on the Inca: International Symposium from March 3rd to March 5th, 2014*, ed. Inés de Castro et al. (Stuttgart: Linden-Museum, 2015): 18.

**53** On the concept of "oriental despotism," which has its origins in the writings of Aristotle and Montesquieu, see Chen Tzoref-Ashkenazi, "Romantic Attitudes toward Oriental Despotism," *Journal of Modern History* 85, no. 2 (2013): 280–320.

**54** Tzoref-Ashkenazi, "Romantic Attitudes": 281.

**55** On the continuity of this discourse to the present, see Noack, "Buscando un Inca." Urs Willmann, "Die Schule der Diktatoren: Eine Ausstellung in Stuttgart zeigt die Pracht des Inkastaats – und wie die Despoten ihr Reich regierten" [An Exhibition in Stuttgart Shows the Magnificence of the Inka State – and How the Despots Ruled Their Empire], Die Zeit Online, Zeit Wissen, 02.10.2013, https://www.zeit.de/2013/41/ausstellung-peru-inka [accessed 29.01.2023].

Oriental despotism (or, alternatively, totalitarianism) has not been considered a "mode of production," but instead a form of government that could rule a "communist" (Marx), a "socialist,"[56] or even a slave-holding society.[57]

Aristotle's idea that in a despotic state, the "relationship between ruler and subjects resembled that between master and slaves"[58] brings us to the heart of a long-lasting debate that was ongoing in Peru from the 1950s through the early 1980s, with occasional influence from Soviet contributions.[59] The debate, which aside from a few exceptions like Espinoza Soriano largely lacked empirical grounding, questioned modes of production and with them the essence of asymmetric dependencies in the Inka state: did slaves exist? Were *yanacona* slaves? Was the Inka state a despotic, slave-holding society, as in the model favored by Emilio Choy,[60] Waldemar Espinoza Soriano,[61] Yuri Zubritski,[62] as well as Carlos Núñez Añavitarte[63] and Julio Valdivia Carrasco,[64] although the latter discussed only a slave society, not despotism?[65]

**56** Heinrich Cunow, *Die soziale Verfassung des Inkareichs: Eine Untersuchung des altperuanischen Agrarkommunismus* (Stuttgart: J.H.W. Dietz, 1896); Louis Baudin, *L'Empire socialiste des Inka*, Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1928); Louis Baudin, *Essais sur le Socialisme*, vol. 1, *Les Incas du Pérou* (Paris: Librairie de Médicis, 1944); Louis Baudin, *Die Inka von Peru* (Essen: Dr. Hans v. Chamier, 1947); Louis Baudin, *Der sozialistische Staat der Inka*, Rowohlts Deutsche Enzyklopädie (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1956); Louis Baudin, *El Imperio Socialista de los Incas* (Santiago: Editorial Zig-Zag, 1978); Oscar Martens, *Ein sozialistischer Grossstaat vor 400 Jahren: Die geschichtliche, soziale und politische Grundlage des Reiches Tahuantinsuyu des Staatswesens der Incas, auf dem südamerikanischen Hochlande* (Berlin: Verlag von Emil Streisand, 1905); Rafael Karsten, *A Totalitarian State of the Past: The Civilization of the Inca Empire in Ancient Peru* (Helsinki: Ejnar Munksgaard Forlag, 1949); José Antonio Arze, *Fué socialista o comunista el imperio inkaiko?* (Bogotá: Argra, 1958); Hans-Gert Braun, "Die Planwirtschaften der Inkas und der Sowjetunion im Vergleich," *Wechselwirkungen, Jahrbuch aus Lehre und Forschung der Universität Stuttgart* (2004): 31–39; (cf. questioning the "socialist" character of the Inka) Hermann Trimborn, "El Socialismo en el Imperio de los Incas," *Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria. Actas y Memorias* 13 (1934): 235–38.

**57** Emilio Choy, "Estructuras de Amortiguación y Lucha de Clases en el Sistema Esclavista Incaico," in *Atti del XL Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma-Genova, 3–10 settembre 1972* (Genoa: Tilgher, 1973): 511–14; Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, *Los Modos de Producción en el Imperio de los Incas* (Lima: Editorial Mantaro, 1978); Yuri Zubritski, *Los Incas-Quechuas* (Moscow: Editorial Progreso, 1979); Carlos Núñez Añavitarte, "Carácter Esclavista-Patriarcal de la Moral Inca," *Revista Universitaria* 47, no. 115 (1958): 117–36; Julio Valdivia Carrasco, *El Imperio Esclavista de los Inkas* (Lima: Editorial e Imprenta Desa S.A., 1988).

**58** Tzoref-Ashkenazi, "Romantic Attitudes": 285.

**59** I.e., Zubritski, *Incas-Quechuas*.

**60** Choy, "Sistema Esclavista Incaico."

**61** Espinoza Soriano, *Los Modos de Producción*.

**62** Zubritski, *Incas-Quechuas*.

**63** Núñez Añavitarte, "Carácter Esclavista-Patriarcal."

**64** Valdivia Carrasco, *Imperio Esclavista*.

**65** The Peruvian historian Francisco Quiroz Chueca recalls that the parallel, bigger debate that accompanied the question of slaveholding in the Inka state was about the capitalist character of Latin American and of Peruvian societies in particular (personal communication, August 3, 2020).

The figure of the Inka "despot" connects to the topos of the "tyrant," which was first constructed immediately after the conquest by the anti-Inka faction of Spanish politics led by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1515–1582). This topos has nurtured ideas of an authoritarian Inka state, which gradually entered the nineteenth-century framework of political economy and its theories, including the notion of despotism. In theories connected to tyranny, too, the institution of *mitimaes* was imagined as the most restrictive in terms of individual "freedom" and was considered an important priority within the Inka state's integrated infrastructure, which consisted of administration centers and communication networks.[66] In fact, even in this early thinking, *mitimaes* were thought, like the *yanacona*, to be a fundamental institution integrated into the Inka state and one of the main actors in society, especially during state expansion and formation.[67]

Ultimately, all these debates have narrowed our view of Inka society. Generally, the "paradigm as a whole was considered too deterministic; for example, while the term 'slavery' might well have its uses, it was wrong to consider slavery as a stage in a general model of human evolution."[68] In the course of this paper, I will examine to what extent a general and theoretically based perspective of an "anthropology of slavery" (Claude Meillassoux) can stimulate new research about Inka society.[69]

## 5 Political Economy and the Social Structures of the Inka State – State of the Research

In the past forty years, considerable changes have transformed Inka studies. New approaches, which will be discussed here briefly, correlate with advances made by John H. Rowe and John V. Murra as early as the 1960s and up to the 1980s,[70] and more

**66** See Jeremy Ravi Mumford, *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012): 109, 180.

**67** Emilio Choy, *Antropología e Historia* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1979): 241–44. The question was how to distinguish these categories and in what way they could be understood as "slaves" (Heinrich Cunow, "Die altperuanischen Dorf- und Markgenossenschaften," *Das Ausland: Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde* 63 [1890]: 821–25, 853–56, 872–878; Cunow, *Die soziale Verfassung des Inkareichs*; Martens, *Ein sozialistischer Grossstaat*; Hermann Trimborn, "Die Gliederung der Stände im Inka-Reich," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 19 [1927]: 303–44; Zubritski, *Incas-Quechuas)*.

**68** Hann, "Economic Anthropology": 3.

**69** Meillassoux considers research problematic when its starting point is the definition, including the legal one (which he describes as ideological fiction) of the slave, and not the social system in which slavery existed. Meillassoux, *Anthropologie der Sklaverei*: 11–12.

**70** See Murra, *Inka State*; John Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions Relating to the Cultural Unification of the Empire," in *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400–1800: Anthropology and History*, ed. George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo and John D. Wirth (New York: Academic Press, 1982): 93–118.

recently by Catherine Julien.[71] They encouraged us to see the pre-Hispanic past in terms of social history and to view its main social categories (*mitimaes*, *yanacona*, *camayoc*,[72] and *mitayos*) not only as structural and stable sociological types constituting society, but as historically evolving and transforming social groups, which may also have implied different dependency relationships over time. The idea of a *sui-generis* Inka society, a legacy of earlier debates, demonstrates its long-term impact in the concept of the "Andean world" (*mundo andino*), a geographic term that was converted into a historical, anthropological, archaeological, and sociological concept in the 1980s and has dominated Andean ethnohistory ever since. With Murra's popularization of the use of the term "Andean," which resulted from the connection between the pre-Hispanic and continuities into the present, he gave it "a clear political content which today we could call a 'subaltern agenda'."[73] For "Murra, the term 'Andean' emphasizes the study of those structural and organizational forms in which the continuous struggle of indigenous peoples to preserve their own culture, which does not lose its unity and coherence despite an evident syncretism, is constantly reworked. It was for Murra an eminently political slogan."[74]

Reflecting concerns in the 1940s "with divining the right 'mode of production' to describe the Inka,"[75] US scholars raised another possibility for interpreting the Inka context, namely a "feudal" mode of production.[76] The *Handbook of South American Indians*, with the still-classic article by John H. Rowe[77] on Inka culture at the time of the Spanish conquest, paved the way to a new phase of research. Rowe became one of the most important authorities in Peruvian studies, one who combined "the fields of archaeology, history, ethnography, art, linguistics and intellectual history."[78] When Murra retracted his former characterization of the Inka state as "feudal" ten years later in his 1956 dissertation,[79] he also introduced into Inka research new approaches

**71** Catherine J. Julien, *Reading Inca History* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000).

**72** Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions."

**73** Enrique Mayer, *Casa, chacra y dinero: Economías domésticas y ecología en los Andes* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2004): 71 [translation is mine].

**74** Mayer, *Casa, chacra y dinero*: 71; [translation is mine]. About the notion of the Andean in Latin American Scholarship, see Friedhelm Schmidt-Welle, "Lo andino en la crítica cultural latinoamericana de los años setenta y ochenta del siglo XX," *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 55, no. 3 (2021): 633–48.

**75** John V. Murra and John Howland Rowe, "An Interview with John V. Murra," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 64, no. 4 (1984): 640–41.

**76** John V. Murra, "The Historic Tribes of Ecuador," in *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 2, ed. Julian Haynes Steward (Washington, DC: Government Print Office, 1946): 785–822.

**77** John H. Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," in *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 2, ed. Julian Haynes Steward (Washington, DC: Government Print Office, 1946): 183–330.

**78** Kathleen Maclay, "John Rowe, Authority on Peruvian Archaeology, Dies at 85," UC Berkeley News, May 7, 2004, https://www.berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2004/05/07_rowe.shtml [accessed January 29, 2023].

**79** Murra and Rowe, "Interview with John V. Murra": 641.

to fieldwork, drawing on research from British social anthropology on African kingdoms. The most refreshing, creative, and productive epoch of "Andean studies" had begun, abandoning one of the tropes – "feudal" mode of production – and expanding the global approach.

This era lasted for at least half a century: "If one wanted to understand precapitalist, preliterate polities in all parts of the world, which indeed motivated my study of the Inka state, one had to ask new questions and take account of the new data from outside the American continent."[80] Answers to these new questions could be found in the sources that scholars had begun exploring in the late 1950s, namely Spanish colonial visitation reports or *visitas*.[81] In combination with chronicles and testimonies from eyewitnesses at the time, these texts offered a totally new vision of Andean society, albeit still based on "socio-economic formations" at the community level in relation to the state, the "fabrication" of ethnic identities in the course of Inka conquests,[82] and everyday life in political units, including the question of pre-Hispanic slaves in the Inka state and during pre-Inka periods. This latter question still cannot elicit as clear an answer as it seeks. What is clear, however, is that slavery or other forms of strong asymmetric dependency cannot be limited to the institution of *yanacona*, as the social realities were too complex to be able to separate the deeply rooted social categories of the Inka state.[83] Despite the new thinking within a global approach and anthropological perspectives, Murra did not give up the modes of production or socio-economic formations trope; the conflation of each mode of production with one labor relation is still visible.[84] Therefore, it is necessary to look for another approach that focuses more on the specific and changing contextual conditions of the constitution of the Inka state. As will be seen, mobilization is a concept that opposes the separation of social categories in the analysis and that focuses much more "dependency" in the context of the Inka as a "fragile state" (see part six below).

The concept of socio-economic formations echoes in Murra's and his colleagues' scholarly production.[85] Murra's findings about *mitimaes* as integrated into the Inka model of vertical control of a maximum ecological range makes clear that the institution was deeply rooted in Andean socioeconomic organization, at both the community

**80** Murra and Rowe, "Interview with John V. Murra."

**81** Franklin Pease, *Del Tawantinsuyu a la historia del Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978).

**82** Pease, "La formación del Tawantinsuyu."

**83** Murra emphasized that if one wants to assume that the *yanacona*, about whom we know very little, were slaves, one must estimate their percentage of the total population. His considerations bring him to a proportion of 2–3%. Even if one assumes that these 2–3% of servants were slaves, Murra (*Formaciones económicas y políticas*: 226, 234, 235) wondered, does this transform a society into a slaveholding society?

**84** De Vito, "Five Hypotheses on Dependency": 10.

**85** Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas*; Murra, *Inka State*.

and wider political levels.[86] The advances in Inka studies proposed by Rowe, Murra, Franklin Pease, and Julien, among others, bridge between approaches from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries on the one hand and newer ones established since the 1980s on the other, the latter deriving principally from archaeology and reflecting a renewed framework of political economy.

Yet, despite this new view of Inka society, we are still missing a new analytical focus on the socioeconomic groups of *mitimaes*, *yanacona*, *camayoc*, and *mitayos*, one that addresses labor expropriation for the state like the discussions previously elaborated by Rowe and Murra. Although these groups are mentioned, listed, and described in newer archaeological studies,[87] their entanglement with each other and with the whole social, economic, and political structural framework of the Inka state is still unclear. Rowe has already noted that, as the only written sources at our disposal are colonial Spanish documents, the "incomplete information creates difficulties in interpretation."[88] Rowe's recommendation that "it is best to leave the problem as a subject for further research"[89] is just as valid today as it was then. Our planned research project on *mitimaes* in the Cochabamba Valley will allow us to draw new conclusions from an archaeological and ethnohistorical interlinked case study.

The new approaches to analyze the pre-Hispanic past in terms of social history derived principally from archaeology. These demonstrated that Inka history was not only an endeavor of the last three rulers before Spanish conquest, as the Inka state had been under construction for a long time.[90] At the same time, Inka archaeology has become "provincialized." On the basis of profound archaeological research in the "imperial heartland,"[91] as well as in its periphery, researchers have discovered that

**86** Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas*, 59–115; Pease, "La formación del Tawantinsuyu": 100; see Noack, "'. . . los mitimaes temían a los naturales.'"

**87** "The lives of estate laborers are not as clear in the documentary research available. The Cheqoq Archaeological Project's (CHAP) valuable contribution is a detailed and systematic archaeological study of estate laborers and administrators and its application to larger regional patterns of economic development." Kylie E. Quave, *Labor and Domestic Economy on the Royal Estate in the Inka Imperial Heartland (Maras, Cuzco, Peru)* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 2012): 6.

**88** Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 97.

**89** Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 97.

**90** Thus, Rowe ("Inca Policies and Institutions": 111) claimed that the "formation of the Inca Empire and the policies and institutions by which it was governed were effectively the work of only three successive rulers: Pachacuti (also called Inga Yupangui), Topa Inga, and Guayna Capac." Covey points out that Rowe's model ignores the importance of Inka development in the greater Cusco region (R. Alan Covey, "A Processual Study of Inka State Formation," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 22, no. 4 [2003]: 333–57), painting an image of a village-turned-empire under a charismatic ruler (Quave, *Labor and Domestic Economy*: 73).

**91** Brian S. Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004).

the "deep history" of the Inka state is connected to the "Wari tradition of statecraft."[92] In the terms of simultaneously emerging world-systems, discussed in the next part, this means that the two "globalizing periods," Wari and Inka, were interlinked,[93] as well as those of Tiwanaku and the Inka.[94] Archaeological research on the Inka from a provincial perspective has concentrated on selected regions, such as the Huanca or Mantaro valleys,[95] the Titicaca region in Bolivia and Peru, southern Peru in general,[96] the provincial perspective *within* the "heartland,"[97] or even "household-level and site-based non-palace contexts," as in the case of Quave.[98]

The structural links, e.g., in terms of dependency relationships between the Wari and Inka states, that are important in explaining the rapid rise of the Inka have also been studied in archaeology. For instance, Covey draws attention to Pikillaqta, a large archaeological Wari site south of Cusco that was probably constructed with the labor of Wari colonists (i.e., *mitimaes*) and local populations in the Cusco region.[99] Bill Sillar, Emily Dean, and Amelia Pérez Trujillo studied "labor camps" in Raqchi, an

**92** R. Alan Covey, *How the Incas Built Their Heartland: State Formation and the Innovation of Imperial Strategies in the Sacred Valley, Peru* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010): 5, 7–8; Sillar, "Globalization without Markets?": 234.

**93** Lau, "On the Horizon": 194.

**94** In an earlier article, Isbell and Schreiber discussed the question of whether Wari was a state (William H. Isbell and Katharina J. Schreiber, "Was Huari a State?" *American Antiquity* 43, no. 3 [1978]: 372–89). Sillar describes Wari as an empire of the Middle Horizon, contrasting it with the Tiwanaku "culture" that had the "multi-ethnic city" (John Wayne Janusek, *Identity and Power in the Ancient Andes: Tiwanaku Cities through Time*, Critical Perspectives in Identity, Memory, and the Built Environment [New York: Routledge, 2004]: 404–30) of the same name as its center (Sillar, "Globalization without Markets?": 231–33; Janusek, *Identity and Power*, quoted Isbell and Schreiber, "Was Huari a State": 233). While "the Wari exploited the labour of conquered groups for agricultural production" (Katharina Schreiber, "The Wari Empire of Middle Horizon Peru. The Epistemological Challenge of Documenting an Empire Without Documentary Evidence," in *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, ed. Susan E. Alcock [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001]: 70–92, quoted in Sillar, "Globalization without Markets?": 233), "the city of Tiwanaku supplemented its own *puna* area resources by establishing 'colonies' or diaspora communities" (Sillar, "Globalization without Markets?": 233). Both Wari and Tiwanaku were important predecessors of the Inka state.

**95** Terence N. D'Altroy and Timothy K. Earle, "Staple Finance, Wealth Finance, and Storage in the Inka Political Economy," *Current Anthropology* 26, no. 2 (1985): 187–206; Terence N. D'Altroy, *The Incas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

**96** Catherine J. Julien, *Hatunqolla: A View of Inca Rule from the Lake Titicaca Region* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1983); Charles Stanish, *Post-Tiwanaku Regional Economies in the Otora Valley, Southern Peru* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Charles Stanish, "Nonmarket Imperialism in the Prehispanic Americas: The Inka Occupation of the Titicaca Basin," *Latin American Antiquity* 8, no. 3 (1997): 195–216; Charles Stanish, "Regional Research on the Inca," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 9, no. 3 (2001): 213–41; Charles Stanish, *Ancient Titicaca: The Evolution of Complex Society in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

**97** Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*.

**98** Quave, *Labor and Domestic Economy*: 3.

**99** Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*: 7.

important Inka sanctuary and former Wari site south of Cusco.[100] Following Covey, Quave[101] suggests an analogy to the Inka state "in the pre-Inka states," including with respect to *mitimaes*. In addition, before it was established as an Inka enclave, Cochabamba was already a Tiwanaku colony or diasporic community settled by *mitimaes* during the Middle Horizon.[102]

The conclusions that can be drawn from these findings suggest a strong connection between the emergence, formation, and consolidation of the state through conquest, first by the Wari and then by the Inka state, that paved the way for globalizing periods and structures. One such structure was the appearance and dissemination of state-institutionalized *mitimaes* to reinforce state-building efforts. A range of studies on Inka state formation in the context of political economy indicates that *mitimaes* especially were involved in these contexts.[103] Most approaches from the 1980s through today can be situated within the heterogeneous field of economic anthropology. They focus on political economy as a framework, as well as on state ideology and control and on the concept of energy (coming from ecological anthropology). They also combine an emphasis on state-building and surplus production of goods by *mitimaes* with concepts of staple and wealth finance and the conversion of a staple economy into a wealth economy.[104]

---

**100** The suggestion "that the capture of these Wari and Tiwanaku sites and their development as Inka cult sites contributed to the motivation for, and justification of, Inka expansion" (Bill Sillar, Emily Dean, and Amelia Pérez Trujillo, "My State or Yours? Wari 'Labor Camps' and the Inka Cult of Viracocha at Raqchi, Cuzco, Peru," *Latin American Antiquity* 24, no. 1 [2013]: 23) is very inspiring. Nevertheless, the assumption "that the restricted movement and rigid organization of the enclosures at Raqchi, Pikillacta, and Azangaro echo the labor camps that the Allies, Germans, and Japanese all used to coerce labor from prisoners during the Second World War" (Sillar, Dean, and Trujillo, "My State or Yours?": 43) must be rejected as an unacceptable, even dangerous, historical comparison.

**101** Quave, *Labor and Domestic Economy*: 51.

**102** Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*: 192; Janusek and Kolata (John Wayne Janusek and Alan L. Kolata, "Top-Down or Bottom-Up: Rural Settlement and Raised Field Agriculture in the Lake Titicaca Basin, Bolivia," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 23 [2004]: 423) compared another Tiwanaku colony, Moquegua, with the enclaves of *mitimaes* during the Inka Horizon (Quave, *Labor and Domestic Economy*: 51).

**103** E.g., D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 190; Terence D'Altroy, "Public and Private Economy in the Inka Empire," in *The Economic Anthropology of the State*, ed. Elizabeth M. Brumfiel, Monographs in Economic Anthropology 11 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994): 191, 205; Terry Y. LeVine, "The Study of Storage Systems. Introduction," in *Inka Storage Systems*, ed. Terry Y. LeVine (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992): 17; La Lone, "Andean World-System": 23, 30; Ana María Lorandi, "El Control del Estado en las Fronteras del Imperio. Los Mitimaes y la Alteración de las Estructuras Étnicas Originarias," in *La Arqueología y la Etnohistoria: Un Encuentro Andino*, ed. John R. Topic (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2009): 320; Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*: 50.

**104** D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy"; R. Alan Covey, "Intermediate Elites in the Inka Heartland, A.D. 1000–1500," in *Intermediate Elites in Pre-Columbian States and Empires*, ed. Christina M. Elson and R. Alan Covey (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006): 112–35, quoted in Quave, *Labor and Domestic Economy*: 352. The market versus non-market discussion must be mentioned but cannot be further elaborated here (see in anthropology John V. Murra, *La organización económica del*

Within that context, Terence N. D'Altroy and Timothy K. Earle have suggested that *mobilization* could be a key concept to describe the Inka state, thus contributing to a debate over "redistributive versus mobilization economy."[105] They proposed

> that *mobilization* more accurately describes the system of finance used to obtain goods from both the subsistence producers and the local elites than does the more general term redistribution. [. . .] In most current analyses of the Inka political economy, the costs and economic constraints of such mass mobilization of goods are often overlooked.[106]

The central problem was to control "the economy and hence the dependent population," with one consequence being the importance of storage.[107] While they make no further mention of social dependency, nor do they analyze the term, both authors stress the mobilization of goods – which makes sense within the concept of staple and wealth finance. It is my intention here to connect "mobilization" with dependency and therefore with the institution of *mitimaes* as a form of strong asymmetric dependency, despite the fact that this institution possibly provided privileges. That is, I would like to interpret mobilization *as* dependency[108] (see part seven below) within the concept of the "fragile state," as will be discussed in the following part of this article.

## 6 The Inka State as a "Fragile State"

From the 2000s, approaches to ancient states have concentrated on more general questions regarding historically and empirically informed state-building processes in global history, with the idea that a number of case studies can provide characteristics for modelling state-building processes in general. As a result, the models of an "early state" or a "fragile state" emerged.[109] Interestingly, in the volume *On the Evolution of Fragility*,[110]

---

*estado Inca*, trans. Daniel R. Wagner [Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1978]; Roswith Hartmann, "Märkte im alten Peru" [Phd diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 1968]; in archaeology, Arthur A. Demarest and Geoffrey W. Conrad, eds., *Ideology and Pre-Columbian Civilizations*, School of American Research Advanced Seminar [Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1992]; Charles Stanish, *Ancient Andean Political Economy* [Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992]; LeVine, "Introduction"; D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy"; Quave, *Labor and Domestic Economy*; Sillar, "Globalization without Markets?").

**105** D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy."

**106** D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 190.

**107** D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 192.

**108** It is important to understand mobilization in distinction to mobility in order to make the connection to dependency clearer. See part seven.

**109** Yoffee, *Myths of the Archaic State*; Yoffee, "Introducing the Conference"; Dillehay and Wernke, "Vulnerable Social Institutions."

**110** Norman Yoffee, ed., *The Evolution of Fragility: Setting the Terms* (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2019).

authors writing about regions such as East Africa, Afro-Eurasia, and the Indian Ocean stress the concept of the world-system, but those referring to the Americas do not.[111] As mentioned previously, I refer to the concepts of "fragility" and "vulnerability" because they present an opportunity to reconsider socioeconomic relationships as asymmetric dependencies from a *glocalized* world-systems perspective. These terms will be explicated in following.

Today, it is unanimously recognized that Tawantinsuyu was a state that grew rapidly through conquest[112] and whose dynamics were interrupted by the Spanish conquest. But what is new about the concept of the Inka state as "fragile" is that Tawantinsuyu was a conquest state itself. Little by little, Tawantinsuyu comprised a "wide range of socio-political orders," within which a centralized state was only one actor.[113] Even if its "institutions and high-ranking rulers may have claimed absolute authority [. . .], in large parts of the territory of the Inka empire only outposts of the state existed."[114] Therefore, the Inka state can be imagined as "a vast fractal political landscape" that integrated different polities. While Inka core territories and outposts included dispersed administrative centers, *tambos* (road stations), roads, sanctuaries, agricultural terraces, aqueducts, and canal networks, the extremely diverse social organizations in the Andes were frequently stateless communities based on kin relations.[115] This corresponds to the success of the Inka, which implied basically the structures of kin-based Andean communities, *mincca* and *ayllu*, which enabled the state *mita*.[116]

These different, yet integrated societies[117] with a "conciliar political organization"[118] were connected through the mobilization of people for labor extraction and goods to fulfil obligations of reciprocity between them, with the Inka state as its core.

**111** E.g., Patricia A. McAnany, "Fragile Authority in Monumental Time. Political Experimental in the Classic Maya Lowlands," in *The Evolution of Fragility: Setting the Terms*, ed. Norman Yoffee (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2019): 47–59 on the Classic Maya lowlands; Dillehay and Wernke, "Vulnerable Social Institutions" on Andean states.

**112** Pease, *Del Tawantinsuyu a la historia del Perú*; Pease, "La formación del Tawantinsuyu": 110.

**113** Dillehay and Wernke, "Vulnerable Social Institutions": 12–13.

**114** Dillehay and Wernke, "Vulnerable Social Institutions": 13.

**115** Dillehay and Wernke, "Vulnerable Social Institutions": 13; on sanctuaries, see Sillar, Dean, and Trujillo, "My State or Yours?".

**116** See part 3.

**117** A situation which corresponds to the "early state," see Yoffee, *Myths of the Archaic State*.

**118** Patricia J. Netherly, "Out of Many, One: The Organization of Rule in the North Coast Polities," in *The Northern Dynasties: Kingship and Statecraft in Chimor*, ed. Michael E. Moseley and Alana Cordy-Collins (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1990): 461–88, quoted in Dillehay and Wernke, "Vulnerable Social Institutions": 14–16; on the term "middle-level elite," see D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 189.

The "constructive interaction between state and local governance"[119] guaranteed the efficient mobilization of people.[120] In the Inka state, it is the combination of rulers and institutions from the communal or local sphere and the wider Inka state, especially *mitayos* and *mitimaes*, that allows us to analyze these findings from a world-systems perspective. The mobilization and resettlement of thousands of *mitimaes* from multiple local spheres to work on state projects, such as maize cultivation, road building, and craft production, formed the basis of the Inka state's expansion in the fifteenth century.[121]

The "embeddedness" of asymmetric dependencies in Inka society can be understood by applying the "mode of production" approach, as suggested by Darrell La Lone,[122] a proponent of a world-systems perspective for the Inka state. Mode of production refers "to 'the basic logic revealed in the processes of the mobilization of social labor, the production of the material requisites of life, and the reproduction of social institutions which enable material production and accumulation to be accomplished' (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991, 3)."[123] With this in mind, the "early" and "fragile state" approaches permit a comparative view from a world-systems perspective, which can be complemented by the earlier notion of Tawantinsuyu as a complicated and extended net of relations.[124] "The rise and expansion of Andean states produced a mosaic of core/periphery hierarchical relations."[125] In a "fragile state," i.e., in the context of central (global) and local relationships between the respective (mid-level elite) rulers and their people in production and reproduction, a historically established practice had to be maintained. It was perpetuated by means that can be summarized as symmetric and/or asymmetric reciprocity in sociopolitical and economic relations within communities and between them on different levels where dependencies were realized. Thus, the institution of *mitimaes* served Inka rulers as a mechanism for controlling the population and work in an exchange structure characterized by "asymmetric reciprocity."[126]

**119** D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 19.

**120** Patricia J. Netherly, "Local Level Lords on the North Coast of Peru" (PhD diss., Cornell University 1977), quoted in D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 15–16.

**121** D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 18.

**122** La Lone, "Andean World-System."

**123** La Lone, "Andean World-System": 21.

**124** Pease, "La formación del Tawantinsuyu": 116. A careful conceptual framing that starts from the "mode of production," like that exemplified here, prevents anachronisms, for instance when discussing Inka imperialism. This approach has consequences for the overall interpretation not only of the Inka state and its institutions, but also of global, local, and cross-temporal understandings of the state, dependency versus "freedom," prosperity, poverty, prestige, work, and other concepts (e.g., Di Hu and Kylie E. Quave, "Prosperity and Prestige: Archaeological Realities of Unfree Laborers under Inka Imperialism," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 59, no. 2 [2020]: 1–34).

**125** Dillehay and Wernke, "Vulnerable Social Institutions": 18.

**126** Stanish, "Nonmarket Imperialism": 200.

This situation makes clear that state violence, respect, or consent,[127] as well as coerced mobilization of population groups, hierarchies, and associated agencies, cannot be understood independently of the relationships and institutions rooted and "embedded" at a community or local level. It was the institution of *mitimaes* that most concertedly undercut the borders of social entities on a community or local level through mobilization of social labor for the Inka state as part of state formation and "explosive expansion."[128] As La Lone states, the "success of the Inka state in mobilizing labor was the most obvious legacy of the empire," as attested by its impressive infrastructure like roads, agriculture terraces, administrative centers, and storage facilities.[129] The close connection between *mitimaes*, mobilization, and dependency was sustained and maintained by Inka infrastructure, especially transport and storage facilities, which will be analyzed in the next section.

## 7 Emergence of the *Mitimaes* State Institution and Infrastructure for Mobilization as Dependency

As stated above, the institution of *mitimaes*, together with *yanacona* and the *camayoc*, were an integral part of Andean societies. All three categories constituted particular social relationships on the community level and were embedded in both community (local/provincial) and central (global) levels of the Inka state with the aim of mobilizing labor for the state.[130] Despite their deep societal roots, however, the three existed in contrast with the *hatun runa* and the *mitayos*, organized in kin-based household groups and connected to local levels of society. *Mitayos* were obliged to provide *mita* labor service by rotation as mediated by the local rulers, whereas the other social groups on the state level were linked directly to the Inka.[131]

The three male status categories of *mitima*, *yanacona*, and *camayoc*, "not three contrasting categories of men,"[132] could overlap.[133] Men could be everything together, a combination of two or only one category.[134] The labor of women was also appropriated by the Inka state, not in their capacity as heads of households, but as specialists in weaving and brewing *chicha* (maize beer). As *acllacuna* or "chosen women," they

**127** See Pease, "La formación del Tawantinsuyu": 111.

**128** La Lone, "Andean World-System": 23; Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*: 5, 7–8.

**129** La Lone, "Andean World-System": 23; see Stanish, "Nonmarket Imperialism": 211. It was also a legacy in the sense that Spanish colonizers adopted this mode of labor mobilization and continued it very successfully.

**130** Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions"; LeVine, "Introduction": 17.

**131** Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions."

**132** Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 96.

**133** Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 96; see Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas*.

**134** Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 96.

were gathered in special houses, called *aclla huasi*, to perform their labor obligations: "Which status or statuses are mentioned [in written sources, KN], may depend on the context of discourse."[135] Rowe emphasizes that "it is a mistake to see the difference as one of degree of servility. No one was 'free' in the Inka State. No man could choose his place of residence, occupation, or civil status [. . .]."[136] The difference between status categories "was not more or less freedom but more or less access to honor and privilege," the source of which was the Inka government.[137] This view is completely contrary to one that sees dependency as the absence of freedom or distinguishes "free" from "unfree" labor (or "corvée labor" from unfree labor).[138] The obligation to work applied to all who depended on a master, "patriarch," or ruler, whether or not they were in bondage.[139] Accordingly, the status of (strong asymmetric) dependency in Inka society, not its degree, was directly related to the honor and privilege to be transferred by the Inka ruler to his subjects. In fact, this shows that there are no degrees of dependency.[140] As outlined in part five, *mobilization* is proposed as a key concept to understand the economy of the Inka state as mobilization economy.[141] While D'Altroy and Earle stress the mobilization of goods, I will be complementing the concept by mobilizing labor, as the prerequisite for the mobilization of goods, and connecting it with dependency.[142] This labor was performed by people, *mitimaes*, the most mobile group created by the Inka state. The institution of *mitimaes*, which obscures further, overlapping categories, must be regarded as a form of strong asymmetric dependency, despite the possible privileges that the institution entailed.

**135** Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 96.

**136** Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 97.

**137** Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 97.

**138** Hu and Quave, "Prosperity and Prestige."

**139** Meillassoux, *Anthropologie der Sklaverei*: 12.

**140** I owe this reference to the editors of the volume. In contrast, Hu and Quave argue that the "privileges that the Inka supposedly gave the mitmaqkuna (*mitimaes*, KN) andyanakuna (*yanacona*) were a combination of material benefits, such as luxury prestige goods, and social benefits, such as increased freedoms" (Hu and Quave, "Prosperity and Prestige": 2), but without referring to Rowe or considering the concept of "freedom" at all.

**141** D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy." Bell and Taylor (Martin Bell and John Taylor, "Conclusion: Emerging Research Themes," in *Population Mobility and Indigenous Peoples in Australasia and North America*, ed. John Taylor and Martin Bell [London: Routledge, 2004]: 266, quoted in Miguel Alexiades, ed., *Mobility and Migration in Indigenous Amazonia: Contemporary Ethnoecological Perspectives* [New York: Berghahn Books, 2013]: 4) underlined that mobility, a "means to ends in space," refers to all forms of territorial movement by people. "These movements take place at different spatial and temporal scales and reflect a wide range of underlying factors and motivations" (Alexiades, *Mobility and Migration*: 4). One main distinction is seen between individual mobility and collective movements, including permanent movements or migration (Alexiades, *Mobility and Migration*: 4). Mobilization, on the other hand, is seen here as an intended and directed movement of population groups and goods in the context of power relations. In this power relationship, these population groups are in a dependent position on the state.

**142** I do not follow the characterization of the economy of the Inka state as a mobilization economy.

As this relationship – mobilization/dependency and honor/privilege – became a new structural element that developed within the context of Inka state formation and expansion through conquest, we must examine how it became entangled with the social, economic, and political structures of the evolving state. In particular, the development of these structures was intended to strengthen the state's productive, social, and political basis. Therefore, the state had to distribute its administrators and rulers on different levels, as we have seen in the model of the "early" and "fragile state." Inka armies on long-term campaigns, which reached across the region and as far north as present-day Ecuador,[143] had to be provided with staple goods.

As the need for an even greater agricultural surplus exceeded the limits of community and local structures, the only possible way of meeting it was to appropriate labor and to intensify agricultural production through new forms of landownership. Whereas previous surplus production had been based on skimming off surplus product from households and communities through *mita* labor services based on reciprocity and redistribution,[144] new, intensive forms of agriculture had to take place outside household and other community structures. One result was the creation of state farms,[145] as noted in part two. The farms had to be cultivated by laborers who, in turn, had to be taken from their kin-groups and other local social organizations, but were nevertheless loyal to the Inka: their work thus consolidated new conquests through agriculture. One of the new categories of laborers ("new" at least at the state level) were the *mitimaes*.

But before this process could be realized, cultivable land, which in newly conquered territories was designated to become state and Inka rulers' land,[146] had to be appropriated from the communities. In anticipation of the intensive production of staple goods, land appropriation was accompanied by the construction of new storage systems, which were integrated in turn into a larger infrastructure network (roads, road stations, warehouses, administrative centers). The easiest way to facilitate these changes under the umbrella of the community-rooted *mitimaes* institution, especially in the most fertile areas, was to expel the whole local population and resettle the region with *mitimaes* from very different parts of the Inka sphere of influence.[147] A key factor was that *mitimaes* were "a new retainer class with no ethnic affiliation[148] and [. . .]

**143** See La Lone, "Andean World-System": 31.

**144** D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 190. On the long-standing discussion of land ownership in the pre-Hispanic Andes, see Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas*: 26. The scenario presented here still constitutes the most plausible interpretation. "Human energy" (or labor force in certain relations of dependence) determined the quality of land ownership.

**145** Murra, *Inka State*; D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 188; D'Altroy, "Public and Private Economy": 191.

**146** D'Altroy, "Public and Private Economy": 189.

**147** See La Lone, "Andean World-System": 30.

**148** The Inka combined resettlement politics with a specific "ethnic policy," which also can be denominated a "system of difference" that was part of creating a "imperial culture" and can be related

direct obligation to the Inka elite [which] was an important means by which the empire began to undermine traditional equations of kin-based reciprocity."[149] "Retainer" (*Bediensteter*, *Gefolgsmann*) is a very problematic term in this context, because it is much too general on a descriptive level and does not characterize the status of dependency in detail. Nevertheless, it has been in use since early research in ethnohistory,[150] demonstrating another deficit in prior analysis of strong asymmetric dependency.

Based on the case of Cochabamba, it is possible to describe the strongest form of dependency by mobilization ("making strangers") as *mobilization as dependency*, a process which decisively severed local and regional affiliations. Therefore, *mitimaes* can be considered a category of strong asymmetrical dependency in the context of state strategies to establish two new forms of land ownership: farms belonging to the state or to rulers as to any other individuals. This enabled the construction of novel storage facilities. In conquered territories, *mitimaes* "were assigned lands to provision themselves in the regions to which they were assigned."[151] The place where this approach was implemented most radically was Cochabamba,[152] where it was accompanied by the construction of around 4,000 *qollqas* for storing agricultural products, mainly maize. In applying a world-systems perspective to Cochabamba, La Lone underlines that in "this very large and fertile valley we find another world-upheaval."[153] An indispensable part of this radical transformation were *mitimaes*, which became the most dependent group in the context of state construction.

to "unfree labor" (Hu and Quave, "Prosperity and Prestige": 4). In their interpretation, Hu and Quave are drawing on intersectional Black feminist and Marxist thought ("Prosperity and Prestige": 4). On the discussion of "ethnic" affiliation, see Karoline Noack, "Die Einheimischen, die Fremden und die Furcht: Umsiedlungspolitik im Inka-Staat," in *Erzwungene Exile: Umsiedlung und Vertreibung in der Vormoderne (500 bis 1850)*, ed. Thomas Ertl (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2017): 107–12; and Noack, "'. . . los mitimaes temían a los naturales.'"

**149** Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*: 196.

**150** I.e., Murra, *Inka State*; Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions"; Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*. The term recalls the Spanish term *criado perpetuo* used by the chronicler Cieza de León in reference to *yana* and *mitimaes*. *Criado* (retainer) has many and different layers of significance in various socio-economic contexts.

**151** Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*: 196. "Although later students may occasionally confuse the similar sounding mit'a with mitmaq [*mitimaes*, KN], the distinction seems quite clear in the lawsuits [of the sixteenth century, KN]: those on mit'a service were not granted lands, while mitmaq were allocated land" (La Lone, "Andean World-System": 30).

**152** Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*: 196, 206, 213; D'Altroy, "Public and Private Economy": 191; La Lone, "Andean World-System": 31.

**153** La Lone, "Andean World-System": 31.

# 8 Outline of the Case Study: Cochabamba Valley, Bolivia

Cochabamba[154] represents the most remarkable and explicit case that bundles all the elements of the process of consolidating and expanding a "fragile state": creation of an extended economic base in the form of state farms for intensified agriculture across a huge, depopulated, newly appropriated territory. The work was performed by uprooted, mobilized social labor, by "strangers" no longer bound by kinship or locality; in addition, it was facilitated by the implementation and maintenance of a new state infrastructure, with around 4,000 *qollqas* in an area of more than 200 hectares.[155] This is the highest number of deposits among the known storage centers in the territories of the former Inka state. They formed part of a network of agriculture terraces, roads, way stations (*tambos*), and administrative centers that enabled mobilization not only of people, but also of goods.

This archaeological-ethnohistorical project on the mobilization and production strategies of the Inka directed towards the Cochabamba Valley aims to understand the entangled mobilization/dependency of social groups of people, described in different labor categories, and the centralized maize production for the "fragile" Inka state in a particular moment of state consolidation and expansion shortly before the Spanish conquest. The project intends to provide the necessary link between political economy, paying attention to social groups in asymmetric dependencies, and cultural processes in the Cochabamba Valley both at the center and at the local level, i.e., in a *glocal* context.[156]

During the reign of the last Inka ruler before the Spanish conquest, Huayna Capac (ca. 1491–1527), the central valley of Cochabamba experienced massive population replacements through the mobilization and settlement of 14,000 *mitimaes* and their families from all over the Inka territories, both from the surrounding highland provinces, but also from as far away as from Cusco, the Peruvian north and south coast, and Chile, to work on the newly created Inka state farms. The *mitimaes* were allocated land for subsistence production, while the original population groups, the Cota and the Chuy, were sent to the eastern peripheries of the Inka sphere on the east Andean slopes of the rainforest. The state was principally interested in the fertile valley bottom for the production of surplus staple foodstuffs for further conquests, including more than

**154** The following paragraph is based on Olga Gabelmann and Karoline Noack, "The Archaeological Complex of the Inca Qollqas of Quillacollo and Colcapirhua in View of a Late Horizon Panorama of the Valleys of Cochabamba, Bolivia" (unpublished manuscript, 2020).

**155** David Pereira Herrera, "Kharalaus Pampa: Tambo Incaico en Quillacollo," *Cuadernos de Investigación. INIAM. Serie Arqueología* 1 (1982): 99–104.

**156** Archaeologist Olga Gabelmann and anthropologist Karoline Noack. The project, entitled "Balancing the center and the local: mobilization and production strategies of the Inka and early colonial state in Cochabamba, Bolivia," has been launched in 2022.

2,000 km away in present-day Ecuador. In no other area of the vast Inka Empire did such gigantic capacity exist for maize storage as in Cochabamba. The western part of the central valley of Cochabamba in particular played an important role in the economic, political, and social organization of the empire. Maize was cultivated nearby in an area that Spanish documents from the sixteenth century record as having included more than 20 large fields with irrigation canals a short distance from the *qollqa* sites, allocated to the Inka himself, his captains, and other rulers and officeholders. The new and intense cultivation of maize in Cochabamba under Inka rule is also to be seen in a glocal context. This raises the question of maize's social role at the time, because the foodstuff seems to have been used in the region in rather limited ways until the Middle Horizon.

Although Inka storage centers are also known from other parts of the Andes along the *qhapaq ñan* ("imperial road") in present-day Peru,[157] there are decisive differences here. These centers are much smaller, so they apparently housed supplies for the local population rather than for the state itself. Most notably, the original populations in places like Huánuco Pampa and Hatun Xauxa (Chupaychu, Wamali, and Wanka) in the north central and central Andes were politically integrated into the Inka state system,[158] in contrast to the situation in Cochabamba, far to the southeast of the Inka heartland. This demonstrates the economic and political potential of the Cochabamba Valley for the Inka state and reveals that it was "another world-upheaval,"[159] i.e., a scene of highly diverse social and cultural, central and local dynamics, specifically with respect to the institution of *mitimaes*.[160] This scenario aligns with the hypothesis of this paper that the

**157** LeVine, "Introduction." Other examples are the Vilcanota Valley (James Snead, "Imperial Infrastructure and the Inka State Storage System," in *Inka Storage Systems*, ed. Terry Y. LeVine [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992]: 62–106), Hatun Xauxa in the Upper Mantaro Valley (D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy"), Huánuco Pampa (Craig Morris, "Huánuco Pampa: Nuevas evidencias sobre el urbanismo inca," *Revista del Museo Nacional* 44 [1978]: 139–52; Craig Morris and Donald E. Thompson, *Huánuco Pampa: An Inca City and Its Hinterland* [London: Thames and Hudson, 1985]; Monica Barnes, "Almacenaje en Huánuco Pampa: Una Reevaluación," in *Memoria XVII Congreso Peruano del Hombre y la Cultura Andina y Amazonica Alfredo Torrero Fernandez de Cordoba, 22–27 de agosto de 2011*, ed. Filomeno Zubieta Núñez [Huacho: Universidad Nacional José Faustino Sánchez Carrión, 2012]: 100–120), and Huamachuco (John R. Topic and Coreen E. Chiswell, "Inka Storage in Huamachuco," in *Inka Storage Systems*, ed. Terry Y. LeVine [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992]: 206–33).

**158** Terence N. D'Altroy and Christine A. Hastorf, "The Distribution and Contents of Inca State Storehouses in the Xauxa Region of Peru," *American Antiquity* 49, no. 2 (1984): 334–49.

**159** La Lone, "Andean World-System": 31.

**160** A similar example in the Abancay estate (Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, "Colonias de mitmas múltiples en Abancay, siglos XV y XVI. Una información inédita de 1575 para la etnohistoria andina," *Revista del Museo Nacional* 39 [1973]: 225–99) seems to confirm that installation of "multi-ethnic" state estates was an instrument to combat internal uprisings and border conflicts during the decline of the Inka state (János Gyarmati and András Varga, *The Chacaras of War: An Inka State Estate in the Cochabamba Valley, Bolivia* [Budapest: Museum of Ethnography, 1999]: 97).

institution of *mitimaes* guaranteed the fragile balance between central state actors and local rulers: it debilitated local groups by penetrating them and enhancing the central state at the same time.

The analysis of the changing patterns of land ownership and use in the Cochabamba Valley to be carried out by the project, linked to the specific organization of settlements and higher-level units, forms of labor, and the transport of goods by the *mitimaes*, will allow us to understand the consolidation and expansion of the Inka state, caused by its global dynamics and strategies by integrating "disparate people brought together through the long-distance flow of goods, ideas, and individuals"[161] in the valley. The valley was the space where these global flows of goods, ideas, and people and the local responses met. Here, central actors and local practices, imaginations, structures and institutions (social groups, rulers and officials on different levels, institutionalized and subsistence land, settlement patterns and communities) interacted, leading to the creation of new entities, i.e., new centers (like the Cochabamba Valley), defined by multi-layered interdependence, within the "fragile" state. Attention will be drawn to settlement and land-use changes in the valley and to archaeological evidence regarding different functions of the settlements under investigation. We do not yet know how the new settlements were organized in spatial, political, cultural, or social terms and how were they related to labor categories. Settlement patterns can provide hints regarding social labor categories: there are only few settlements known to have been the home of *mitimaes*. *Mitimaes* worked close to the *qollqas*, according to indications from colonial documents.[162] One possible settlement near Inka state fields is the contemporary village of Sipe Sipe,[163] as are the sites of Sorata and Payacollo.[164] Nevertheless, these sites would not have been big enough to host 14,000 *mitimaes* and their families. Thus, it is unclear whether these *mitimaes* were all permanent settlers or temporary workers (*mitayos*), who were not allocated cultivable land,[165] or even a combination of both. How were working groups organized during an agricultural year for transporting products to the *qollqas* and its final destinations? How did the Inka organize control? The questions raised here will be answered by archival and archaeological research. Archaeological evidence should still be present in the Cochabamba Valley. On this basis, a picture of the Inka state at the time of its strongest consolidation will be drawn.

**161** Jennings, "Distinguishing Past Globalizations": 13; see above.

**162** See Nathan Wachtel, "The 'Mitimas' of the Cochabamba Valley: The Colonization Policy of Huayna Capac," in *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400–1800: Anthropology and History*, ed. George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo and John D. Wirth (New York: Academic Press, 1982): 199–235.

**163** Gyarmati and Varga, *The Chacaras of War*.

**164** Pereira Herrera, "Payacollo. Chacras Asignadas por el Tawantinsuyu a Plateros Icallungas en el Valle de Cochabamba. Los Tiempos, Cochabamba" (unpublished manuscript, 1987).

**165** Gyarmati and Varga, *The Chacaras of War*: 33–35.

The Spanish conquest produced new waves of mobilization, resettlement, and, of course, new asymmetric dependencies. During the sixteenth century, the central valley of Cochabamba was populated by a mixture of peoples who had settled there prior to Inka occupation and then returned after Spanish conquest, plus groups of *mitimaes* who had remained. Other groups who denominated themselves *mitimaes* (in contrast to *mitayos*) returned home, while still others struggled to stay where they had been resettled by the Inka.[166] The overlapping and changing significance of labor categories complicates the picture. This situation triggered a series of lawsuits over land between the rulers of different indigenous groups and the Spaniards, as well as between local rulers or among the Spaniards themselves. But it is these lawsuits, together with archaeological research, that can also shed light on the distribution of different populations, settlement structures, and patterns of landownership in pre-Hispanic times.

## 9 Conclusion

The phrase "fragility of stones," which La Lone[167] coined to refer to the fact that a number of weaknesses are apparent behind the monumental façade of Inka architecture, can be seen as a metaphor for the concept of the "fragile state."[168] However, the "fragile state" is not only associated with weakness; rather, its "fragile" traits also explain its strength. Through expansionary "bursts of interaction" in the context of globalization processes,[169] the "fragile state" reorganized social geography.[170] What makes Cochabamba such a real and glocal "world upheaval"[171] within the "fragile" Inka state?

It has become clear that the strategies of the "fragile" Inka state, as a conquering and increasingly established polity, were most radically implemented in Cochabamba. In Cochabamba, *mitimaes* turned out to be *the* institution for mobilizing uprooted social labor,[172] "perhaps the most dramatic achievement of the Inka state"[173] and one

**166** María de las Mercedes del Río, *Etnicidad, territorialidad y colonialismo en los Andes: Tradición y cambio entre los Soras de los siglos XVI y XVII (Bolivia)* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Bolivianos, 2005); Jeremy Ravi Mumford, "Litigation as Ethnography in Sixteenth-Century Peru: Polo de Ondegardo and the Mitimaes," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 88, no. 1 (2008): 5–40; Mumford, *Vertical Empire*; Jeremy Ravi Mumford, "Las llamas de Tapacarí: un documento judicial de un alcalde de indios en la Audiencia de Charcas, 1580," *Histórica* 40, no. 2 (2016): 171–85.

**167** La Lone, "Andean World-System": 34.

**168** Yoffee, "Introducing the Conference"; Dillehay and Wernke, "Vulnerable Social Institutions."

**169** Jennings, "Distinguishing Past Globalizations": 12.

**170** La Lone, "Andean World-System": 34.

**171** La Lone, "Andean World-System": 31.

**172** La Lone's term "mobilization of social labor" must be complemented by the "uprooted" quality of the laborers, as I propose here.

**173** La Lone, "Andean World-System": 23.

that changed local and provincial modes of production and reproduction. It is already apparent that the *mitimaes* of Cochabamba represent a completely different iteration of that category. The institution changed but the designation remained the same. This was part of the strategy of domination of the Inka and later the Spanish, but also part of the problem. Of course, it was not the institution of *mitimaes* alone that effectively changed the Andean world; instead, it was the combination of new, uprooted, mobilized social labor and newly conquered, expropriated territories that allowed a stockpiling of surplus staple goods to supply the military and – although it may seem contradictory – to strengthen the "fragile" Inka state more generally.

For this reason, I consider the *mobilization* of social labor – the creation of new social and political entities by uprooting populations and resettling them on expropriated land designated for intensified agriculture – as an asymmetric form of dependency.[174] Therefore, in this context, dependency refers to the relation between uprooted, "foreign" social labor and state agents constituting the conciliar political elite embedded in the "mode of production" as understood by La Lone.[175] Labor extorted from state's or ruler's field, spurred by an increasing demand for workers who were no longer ethnically, socially, culturally, or politically integrated above the level of small household groups, was to be employed in spaces that were also no longer ethnically, socially, culturally, or politically homogeneous. The limits of dependency were forms of reproduction, which in the case of *mitimaes* were secured through allocation of communities' expropriated land for their and subsequent generations' subsistence – land which they alone held.

The central valley of Cochabamba, with its state and ruler-owned farms, was the hotspot of "an ongoing division of labour"[176] in the Inka state, which aggravated dependencies of the mobilized population groups but did not reinforce the political and cultural unity of the Inka state in Cochabamba. Rather, a world-systems perspective allows us to perceive the overlapping processes in the central valley of Cochabamba, as well as within the "different yet integrated" Inka state as a whole,[177] of competition between populations of different geographic origin in unequal power relations on state farms, in storage, and in administrative and cult centers on the one hand; and of differentiation, labor division, and interdependence among the same units on the other. It involved continuous processes of labor division and specialization, especially in new production enclaves like Cochabamba that were under the rule of a political elite as fragile as it was complex.

**174** Of course, these included other phenomena besides the *mitimaes*, although they are the most prominent. For further discussion, see Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*: 215.

**175** La Lone, "Andean World-System."

**176** Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*: 345.

**177** Schneider, "Was There a Precapitalist World-System," quoted in Peregrine, "Introduction": 2; see Yoffee, *Myths of the Archaic State*.

Mobilization/dependency – as two sides of the same coin – became the core and motor of Inka state formation and expansion at the same time, such that "the huge volume of provincial storage complexes bears witness to the integration of local staple production [rather than of the people themselves, KN] to sustain the empire."[178] Mobilization/dependency in the dynamic, interconnected production and distribution of goods became the crucial, entangled feature that shaped socioeconomic relationships in the Inka state as strong asymmetric dependencies. For this reason, the Inka state can be understood as a "mobilizing state."

Factors defining the position of the slave present the socio-institutional framework as changing "modes of production," a world-system of global conquest, subjugation, and exploitation that follows the logic of a capitalist economy. This kind of dependency works as long as dependent peoples fulfill productive or functional tasks in the society to which they belong. According to Meillassoux, alienation does not represent the slave's transcendental state; it only comes into play when, for whatever reason, he or she can no longer perform those productive tasks in the society in which he or she finds him/herself. Then, institutions such as raiding for captives or slave markets begin evolving, facilitating the "depersonalizing operations" to which slaves were subjected.[179] This situation did not exist in the Inka state, however; one may well ask whether, had the Inka state not been conquered, the institution of *mitimaes* or "strangers/foreigners,"[180] which "exclusively undercut provincial loyalties,"[181] could have been considered a first step toward those "depersonalizing operations" for which foreignness was a prerequisite.[182] During the first half-century after the European conquest, indigenous peoples were enslaved across the Americas with catastrophic consequences, including the extermination of large populations, especially in the Caribbean. The Spanish legal basis for this approach was withdrawn after bitter ideological and religious disputes with the so-called New Laws of 1542. This process, in turn, paved the way for the growth of the African and Atlantic slave trade, which eventually provided the largest proportion of slaves across Latin America.

The *glocalization* perspective, an integral part of globalizing processes[183] in the "fragile state," allows us to connect modern world-systems to pre-Hispanic ones. Through multilayered interactions between the local and the global, multiple centers and changing peripheries became culturally and economically integrated and fragmentated simultaneously. As mobilization/dependency co-created the integrated-

**178** Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland:* 213; see LeVine, "Introduction": 3–4, 16.
**179** Meillassoux, *Anthropologie der Sklaverei*: 13.
**180** See Noack, "'. . . los mitimaes temían a los naturales.'"
**181** Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 93.
**182** Meillassoux, *Anthropologie der Sklaverei*: 13, 89.
**183** Hodos, "Globalization": 7.

fragmented "spaces of long-distance flows,"[184] cultural landscapes linked people, objects, ideas, and institutions and restricted them at the same time, forcing them into new spaces of power – that is, into new "centers," of which one was the valley of Cochabamba.

## Bibliography


Alexiades, Miguel, ed. *Mobility and Migration in Indigenous Amazonia: Contemporary Ethnoecological Perspectives* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013).

Appadurai, Arjun, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Arze, José Antonio. *Fué socialista o comunista el imperio inkaiko?* (Bogotá: Argra, 1958).

Baleva, Martina. "Balkan. Das vollständig Andere. Die Historikerin Martina Baleva über die Erfindung des Balkans in der Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts," interview by Samuela Nickel, Neues Deutschland Journalismus von links, 25.09.2020, https://www.nd-aktuell.de/artikel/1142315.balkan-das-unvollstaendige-andere.html [accessed 28.01.2023].

Bantimaroudis, Philemon. "Victor Roudometof, Globalization: A Critical Introduction," *International Journal of Communication* 11 (2017): 728–30.

Barnes, Monica. "Almacenaje en Huánuco Pampa: Una Reevaluación," in *Memoria XVII Congreso Peruano del Hombre y la Cultura Andina y Amazonica Alfredo Torrero Fernandez de Cordoba, 22–27 de agosto de 2011*, ed. Filomeno Zubieta Núñez (Huacho: Universidad Nacional José Faustino Sánchez Carrión, 2012): 100–120.

Baudin, Louis. *Der sozialistische Staat der Inka*, Rowohlts Deutsche Enzyklopädie (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1956).

Baudin, Louis. *Die Inka von Peru* (Essen: Dr. Hans v. Chamier, 1947).

Baudin, Louis. *El Imperio Socialista de los Incas* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Zig-Zag, 1978).

Baudin, Louis. *Essais sur le Socialisme*, vol. 1, *Les Incas du Pérou* (Paris: Librairie de Médicis, 1944).

Baudin, Louis. *L'Empire socialiste des Inka*, Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1928).

Bauer, Brian S. *Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca*, Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004).

Blatter, Joachim. "Glocalization," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 22.02.2022, https://www.britannica.com/topic/glocalization [accessed 03.04.2023].

Braun, Hans-Gert. "Die Planwirtschaften der Inkas und der Sowjetunion im Vergleich," *Wechselwirkungen, Jahrbuch aus Lehre und Forschung der Universität Stuttgart* (2004): 31–39.

Brumfiel, Elizabeth M., ed. *The Economic Anthropology of the State*, Monographs in Economic Anthropology 11 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994).

Carrasco, Pedro. "Comment on Offner," *American Antiquity* 46, no. 1 (1981): 62–68.

Chase-Dunn, Christopher, and Thomas D. Hall, eds. *Core/Periphery Relations in Precapitalist Worlds* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991).

Choy, Emilio. *Antropología e Historia* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1979).


**184** Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Jennings, "Distinguishing Past Globalizations".

Choy, Emilio. “Estructuras de Amortiguación y Lucha de Clases en el Sistema Esclavista Incaico,” in *Atti del XL Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma-Genova*, *3–10 settembre 1972* (Genoa: Tilgher, 1973).

Covey, R. Alan. “A Processual Study of Inka State Formation,” *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 22, no. 4 (2003): 333–57.

Covey, R. Alan. *How the Incas Built Their Heartland: State Formation and the Innovation of Imperial Strategies in the Sacred Valley, Peru*, History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010).

Covey, R. Alan. “Intermediate Elites in the Inka Heartland, A.D. 1000–1500,” in *Intermediate Elites in Pre-Columbian States and Empires*, ed. Christina M. Elson and R. Alan Covey (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006): 112–35.

Cunow, Heinrich. “Die altperuanischen Dorf- und Markgenossenschaften,” *Das Ausland: Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde* 63 (1890): 821–78.

Cunow, Heinrich. *Die soziale Verfassung des Inkareichs: Eine Untersuchung des altperuanischen Agrarkommunismus* (Stuttgart: J.H.W. Dietz, 1896).

D’Altroy, Terence. “Public and Private Economy in the Inka Empire,” in *The Economic Anthropology of the State*, ed. Elizabeth M. Brumfiel, Monographs in Economic Anthropology 11 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994).

D’Altroy, Terence N. *The Incas*, Peoples of America (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

D’Altroy, Terence N., and Timothy K. Earle. “Staple Finance, Wealth Finance, and Storage in the Inka Political Economy,” *Current Anthropology* 26, no. 2 (1985): 187–206.

D’Altroy, Terence N., and Christine A. Hastorf. “The Distribution and Contents of Inca State Storehouses in the Xauxa Region of Peru,” *American Antiquity* 49, no. 2 (1984): 334–49.

De Vito, Christian G. “Five Hypotheses on Dependency” (unpublished manuscript, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies, University of Bonn, n.d.).

Demarest, Arthur A., and Geoffrey W. Conrad, eds. *Ideology and Pre-Columbian Civilizations*, School of American Research Advanced Seminar (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1992).

Dillehay, Tom D., and Steven A. Wernke. “Fragility of Vulnerable Social Institutions in Andean States,” in *The Evolution of Fragility: Setting the Terms*, ed. Norman Yoffee (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2019): 9–23.

Espinoza Soriano, Waldemar. “Colonias de mitmas múltiples en Abancay, siglos XV y XVI. Una información inédita de 1575 para la etnohistoria andina,” *Revista del Museo Nacional* 39 (1973): 225–99.

Espinoza Soriano, Waldemar. *Los Modos de Producción en el Imperio de los Incas* (Lima: Editorial Mantaro, 1978).

Gabelmann, Olga, and Karoline Noack. “The Archaeological Complex of the Inca Qollqas of Quillacollo and Colcapirhua in View of a Late Horizon Panorama of the Valleys of Cochabamba, Bolivia” (unpublished manuscript, 2020).

Geurds, Alexander. “Globalization Processes as Recognized in the Americas,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, ed. Tamar Hodos (London: Routledge, 2017): 173–76.

Gyarmati, János, and András Varga. *The Chacaras of War: An Inka State Estate in the Cochabamba Valley, Bolivia* (Budapest: Museum of Ethnography, 1999).

Hann, Chris. “Economic Anthropology,” in *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, ed. Hilary Callan (Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2018): 1–16.

Hartmann, Roswith. “Märkte im alten Peru” (PhD diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 1968).

Hodos, Tamar. “Globalization: Some Basics. An Introduction to *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, ed. Tamar Hodos (London: Routledge, 2017): 3–11.

Hodos, Tamar, ed. *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization* (London: Routledge, 2017).

Hu, Di, and Kylie E. Quave. "Prosperity and Prestige: Archaeological Realities of Unfree Laborers under Inka Imperialism," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 59, no. 2 (2020): 1–34.

Isbell, William H., and Katharina J. Schreiber. "Was Huari a State?" *American Antiquity* 43, no. 3 (1978): 372–89.

Janusek, John Wayne. *Identity and Power in the Ancient Andes: Tiwanaku Cities through Time*, Critical Perspectives in Identity, Memory, and the Built Environment (New York: Routledge, 2004).

Janusek, John Wayne, and Alan L. Kolata. "Top-Down or Bottom-Up: Rural Settlement and Raised Field Agriculture in the Lake Titicaca Basin, Bolivia," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 23 (2004): 404–30.

Jennings, Justin. "Distinguishing Past Globalizations," in *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, ed. Tamar Hodos (London: Routledge, 2017): 12–28.

Julien, Catherine J. *Hatunqolla: A View of Inca Rule from the Lake Titicaca Region*, University of California Publications in Anthropology 15 (Berkley: University of California Press, 1983).

Julien, Catherine J. *Reading Inca History* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000).

Karsten, Rafael. *A Totalitarian State of the Past: The Civilization of the Inca Empire in Ancient Peru*, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 16/1 (Helsinki: Ejnar Munksgaard Forlag, 1949).

La Lone, Darrell. "An Andean World-System. Production Transformations under the Inka Empire," in *The Economic Anthropology of the State*, ed. Elizabeth M. Brumfiel, Monographs in Economic Anthropology 11 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994): 17–41.

Lau, George F. "On the Horizon: Art, Valuables and Large-Scale Interaction Networks in the Ancient Andes," in *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, ed. Tamar Hodos (London: Routledge, 2017): 194–211.

LeVine, Terry Y. "The Study of Storage Systems. Introduction," in *Inka Storage Systems*, ed. Terry Y. LeVine (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992): 3–28.

Lorandi, Ana María. "El Control del Estado en las Fronteras del Imperio. Los Mitimaes y la Alteración de las Estructuras Étnicas Originarias," in *La Arqueología y la Etnohistoria: Un Encuentro Andino*, ed. John R. Topic (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2009): 311–30.

Luxemburg, Rosa. *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 5, *Ökonomische Schriften* (Berlin: Dietz, 1975).

Maclay, Kathleen. "John Rowe, Authority on Peruvian Archaeology, Dies at 85," UC Berkeley News, 07.05.2004, https://www.berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2004/05/07_rowe. shtml [accessed 29.01.2023].

Martens, Oscar. *Ein sozialistischer Grossstaat vor 400 Jahren: Die geschichtliche, soziale und politische Grundlage des Reiches Tahuantinsuyu, dem[!] Staatswesen der Incas, auf dem südamerikanischen Hochlande* (Berlin: Verlag von Emil Streisand, 1905).

Marx, Karl. *Das Kapital*: *Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1966 [1890]).

Marx, Karl. *Das Kapital*: *Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1966 [1894]).

Mayer, Enrique. *Casa, chacra y dinero: Economías domésticas y ecología en los Andes* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2004).

McAnany, Patricia A. "Fragile Authority in Monumental Time. Political Experimental in the Classic Maya Lowlands," in *The Evolution of Fragility: Setting the Terms*, ed. Norman Yoffee (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2019).

Meillassoux, Claude. *Anthropologie der Sklaverei*, Theorie und Gesellschaft 9 (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 1989).

Morris, Craig. "Huánuco Pampa: Nuevas evidencias sobre el urbanismo inca," *Revista del Museo Nacional* 44 (1978): 139–52.

Morris, Craig, and Donald E. Thompson. *Huánuco Pampa: An Inca City and Its Hinterland*, New Aspects of Antiquity (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985).

Mumford, Jeremy Ravi. "Las llamas de Tapacarí: un documento judicial de un alcalde de indios en la Audiencia de Charcas, 1580," *Histórica* 40, no. 2 (2016): 171–85.

Mumford, Jeremy Ravi. “Litigation as Ethnography in Sixteenth-Century Peru: Polo de Ondegardo and the Mitimaes,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 88, no. 1 (2008): 5–40.
Mumford, Jeremy Ravi. *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).
Murra, John V. *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino*, Historia andina 3 (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1975).
Murra, John V. *La organización económica del estado Inca*, trans. Daniel R. Wagner (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1978).
Murra, John V. *The Economic Organization of the Inka State*, Research in Economic Anthropology, Supplement 1 (Greenwich: JAI Press, 1980).
Murra, John V. “The Historic Tribes of Ecuador,” in *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 2, ed. Julian Haynes Steward (Washington, DC: Government Print Office, 1946): 785–822.
Murra, John V., and John Howland Rowe. “An Interview with John V. Murra,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 64, no. 4 (1984): 633–53.
Netherly, Patricia J. “Local Level Lords on the North Coast of Peru” (PhD diss., Cornell University 1977).
Neumann, Hans. “Ethnographie und (Alt-)Orientalistik. Irmgard Sellnow und die Periodisierung der frühen ‘Weltgeschichte’,” in *Ethnologie als Ethnographie: Interdisziplinarität, Transnationalität und Netzwerke der Disziplin in der DDR*, eds. Ingrid Kreide, Sabine Imeri, Karoline Noack, Leonore Scholze-Irrlitz (forthcoming).
Noack, Karoline. “Die Staatsstruktur der Inka,” in *Könige der Anden. Große Landesausstellung Baden-Württemberg im Linden-Museum Stuttgart vom 12. Oktober 2013 bis 16. März 2014*, ed. Inés de Castro and Doris Kurella (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2013): 140–52.
Noack, Karoline. “Buscando un Inca de aquí y de allá. Los incas de nuestro tiempo, Alemania y Lima, Perú,” in *Perspectives on the Inca: International Symposium from March 3rd to March 5th, 2014*, ed. Inés de Castro, Javier Flores Espinoza, Doris Kurella and Karoline Noack (Stuttgart: Linden-Museum, 2015): 16–37.
Noack, Karoline. “Die Einheimischen, die Fremden und die Furcht: Umsiedlungspolitik im Inka-Staat,” in *Erzwungene Exile: Umsiedlung und Vertreibung in der Vormoderne (500 bis 1850)*, ed. Thomas Ertl (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2017): 107–30.
Noack, Karoline. “‘. . . los mitimaes temían a los naturales y los naturales a los mitimaes’: políticas de reasentamiento y la construcción de la diferencia en el Estado inca,” *Surandino Monográfico*, no. 4 (2018): 23–38.
Núñez Añavitarte, Carlos. “Carácter Esclavista-Patriarcal de la Moral Inca,” *Revista Universitaria* 47, no. 115 (1958): 117–36.
Pease, Franklin. *Del Tawantinsuyu a la historia del Perú*, Historia Andina 5 (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978).
Pease, Franklin. “La formación del Tawantinsuyu: mecanismos de colonización y relación con las unidades étnicas,” *Histórica* 3, no. 1 (1979): 97–120.
Pease, Franklin. *The Incas* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la PUCP, 2011).
Peregrine, Peter N. “Introduction: World Systems. Theory and Archaeology,” in *Pre-Columbian World Systems*, ed. Peter N. Peregrine and Gary M. Feinman, Monographs in World Archaeology 26 (Madison, WI: Prehistory Press, 1996): 1–10.
Peregrine, Peter N., and Gary M. Feinman, eds. *Pre-Columbian World Systems*, Monographs in World Archaeology 26 (Madison, WI: Prehistory Press, 1996).
Pereira Herrera, David. “Payacollo. Chacras Asignadas por el Tawantinsuyu a Plateros Icallungas en el Valle de Cochabamba. Los Tiempos, Cochabamba” (unpublished manuscript, 1987).
Pereira Herrera, David. “Kharalaus Pampa: Tambo Incaico en Quillacollo,” *Cuadernos de Investigación. INIAM. Serie Arqueología* 1 (1982): 99–104.

Quave, Kylie E. *Labor and Domestic Economy on the Royal Estate in the Inka Imperial Heartland (Maras, Cuzco, Peru)* (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University, 2012).

Río, María de las Mercedes del. *Etnicidad, territorialidad y colonialismo en los Andes: Tradición y cambio entre los Soras de los siglos XVI y XVII (Bolivia)*, Colección Cuarto Centenario de la Fundación de Oruro Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines/Institut Français d'Études Andines (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Bolivianos, 2005).

Robertson, Roland. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: Sage, 1994).

Roudometof, Victor. *Glocalization: A Critical Introduction*, Routledge Studies in Global and Transnational Politics (London: Routledge, 2016).

Rowe, John H. "Inca Policies and Institutions Relating to the Cultural Unification of the Empire," in *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400–1800: Anthropology and History*, ed. George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo and John D. Wirth (New York: Academic Press, 1982): 93–118.

Rowe, John H. "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," in *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 2, ed. Julian Haynes Steward (Washington, DC: Government Print Office, 1946): 183–330.

Schmidt-Welle, Friedhelm. "Lo andino en la crítica cultural latinoamericana de los años setenta y ochenta del siglo XX," *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 55, no. 3 (2021): 633–48.

Schneider, Jane. "Was There a Precapitalist World-System?" in *Core/Periphery Relations in Precapitalist Worlds*, ed. Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas D. Hall (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991 [1977]): 45–66.

Sillar, Bill. "Globalization without Markets? Population Movement and Other Integrative Mechanisms in the Ancient Andes," in *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, ed. Tamar Hodos (London: Routledge, 2017): 229–42.

Sillar, Bill, Emily Dean and Amelia Pérez Trujillo. "My State or Yours? Wari 'Labor Camps' and the Inka Cult of Viracocha at Raqchi, Cuzco, Peru," *Latin American Antiquity* 24, no. 1 (2013): 21–46.

Smith, Michael E., and Frances F. Berdan, eds. *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2003).

Smith, Michael E., and Frances F. Berdan. "The Postclassic Mesoamerican World System," *Current Anthropology* 41, no. 2 (2000): 283–86.

Snead, James. "Imperial Infrastructure and the Inka State Storage System," in *Inka Storage Systems*, ed. Terry Y. LeVine (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992): 62–106.

Stanish, Charles. *Post-Tiwanaku Regional Economies in the Otora Valley, Southern Peru* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

Stanish, Charles. *Ancient Andean Political Economy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992).

Stanish, Charles. "Nonmarket Imperialism in the Prehispanic Americas: The Inka Occupation of the Titicaca Basin," *Latin American Antiquity* 8, no. 3 (1997): 195–216.

Stanish, Charles. "Regional Research on the Inca," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 9, no. 3 (2001): 213–41.

Stanish, Charles. *Ancient Titicaca: The Evolution of Complex Society in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

Thurner, Mark. *History's Peru: The Poetics of Colonial and Postcolonial Historiography* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012).

Topic, John R., and Coreen E. Chiswell. "Inka Storage in Huamachuco," in *Inka Storage Systems*, ed. Terry Y. LeVine (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992): 206–33.

Trimborn, Hermann. "Die Gliederung der Stände im Inka-Reich," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 19 (1927): 303–44.

Trimborn, Hermann. "El Socialismo en el Imperio de los Incas," *Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria. Actas y Memorias* 13 (1934): 235–38.

Tzoref-Ashkenazi, Chen. "Romantic Attitudes toward Oriental Despotism," *Journal of Modern History* 85, no. 2 (2013): 280–320.

Valdivia Carrasco, Julio. *El Imperio Esclavista de los Inkas* (Lima: Editorial e Imprenta Desa S.A., 1988).

Verano, John W., and Douglas H. Ubelaker, eds. *Disease and Demography in the Americas* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992).

Wachtel, Nathan. "The 'Mitimas' of the Cochabamba Valley: The Colonization Policy of Huayna Capac," in *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400–1800: Anthropology and History*, ed. George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo and John D. Wirth (New York: Academic Press, 1982): 199–235.

Wallerstein, Immanuel M. *The Modern World-System*, Studies in Social Discontinuity (New York: Academic Press, 1976).

Willmann, Urs. "Die Schule der Diktatoren: Eine Ausstellung in Stuttgart zeigt die Pracht des Inkastaats – und wie die Despoten ihr Reich regierten" [An exhibition in Stuttgart shows the magnificence of the Inka state – and how the despots ruled their empire], Die Zeit Online, Zeit Wissen, 02.10.2013, https://www.zeit.de/2013/41/ausstellung-peru-inka [accessed 29.01.2023].

Winnebeck, Julia, Ove Sutter Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann. "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021), https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/concept-papers/bcdss_cp_1-_on-asymmetrical-dependency.pdf [accessed 29.01.2023].

Yoffee, Norman. "Introducing the Conference: There Are No Innocent Terms," in *The Evolution of Fragility: Setting the Terms*, ed. Norman Yoffee (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2019): 1–8.

Yoffee, Norman. *Myths of the Archaic State: Evolution of the Earliest Cities, States and Civilizations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Yoffee, Norman, ed. *The Evolution of Fragility: Setting the Terms* (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2019).