

EARLY INCA EXPANSION AND THE INCORPORATION OF LOCAL ETHNIC GROUPS:
ETHNOHISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECONNAISSANCE IN THE REGION OF ACOS,
DEPARTMENT OF CUSCO, PERU

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INTRODUCTION

Until relatively recently, many Inca scholars have accepted the chronicles' account that imperial expansion outside the Inca heartland was stimulated by, and subsequent to, the attack on Cusco by the Chancas, a rival ethnic group centered around Andahuaylas (summarized in Bauer 1992, e.g., Niles 1987:6-7; Rostworowski 1999; Rowe 1946). One gnawing question about this scenario concerns the development of the nascent Inca state: How were local groups incorporated as Tawantinsuyu expanded? More importantly, did the reputed Inca genius for organization and conquest emerge suddenly with Pachacuti's ascent to power during the Chanca attack? Or, is there an unwritten scenario of state development during which the Incas created many of their institutions that they implemented during their imperialistic expansion? Fueled by an increasing skepticism which posits that the chronicles provide a western, event-based history (e.g., Bauer 1990, 1992; Conrad and Demarest 1984, Zuidema 1964), Inca scholars thus have begun to rethink the relationship of the ethnohistoric documents and archaeology for reconstructing Inca history and society (e.g., Bauer 1990, 1992, 1996, 1999; Conrad and Demarest 1984; Grosboll 1993; Julien 1993; Malpass 1993a, 1993b).

The assumed importance of the Chanca attack has fit well with the belief that the early Inca state emerged through internecine warfare.¹ Some scholars believe that this inter-

pretation also explains emerging polities elsewhere during the Late Intermediate Period. For support, they point to the widespread occurrence of hilltop or defensive sites during that time (e.g., in the Ayacucho² region (Lumbreras 1959a, 1959b, 1974), in the Jauja Valley (D'Altroy 1992:55-62), and elsewhere).³ In summaries of the literature on early Inca state development and expansion, however, Bauer (1992) and Julien (1993) have shown that the Incas used several means of incorporating local groups and did not necessarily engage in warfare to bring them into the Inca realm (see also Rostworowski 1999).

One significant feature of Inca imperial expansion was the replacement of newly conquered people with pacified and trusted groups (called *mitmaquna* in Quechua or *mitimaes* in Spanish: Bauer 1992; Cieza de León 1967 [1553]: Chapter 22, pp. 189-193; Cobo 1979 [1653]: Chapter 23; Rowe 1946:269-270; Rostworowski 1999:172-174).⁴ At least some of these groups, including the Acos people, were "Incas by Privilege" (*Incas de Privilegio*) that is, nobility created by Pachacuti to expand the administration of the empire beyond a small

¹ This explanation of state development is essentially that of Carneiro's circumscription hypothesis (1970). Carneiro posited that increased competition and warfare occurred among neighboring groups as population growth developed within agricultural land that could not be expanded because of natural barriers. Eventually, the most powerful political entity emerged, subjugating all others.

² In the Ayacucho Valley, for example, a very large site, probably dating to the Late Intermediate Period, is on the top of the highest mountain (Quehuahuilca) along the western edge of the valley. It is almost directly across from Huari (see Arnold 1975, 1993:17).

³ The large hilltop site of Ancasmarcha, in a valley adjacent to the Urubamba Valley east of the town of Calca, probably dates to this period.

⁴ Even though these population movements took place well before the Spanish Conquest, many of the relocated groups maintained relationships with their area of origin until the end of the sixteenth century. The continuation of these relationships and their mention in the historical documents enable scholars to discover the region of origin of many *mitmaq* groups (e.g., Bauer 1992; Zuidema 1966).

group of hereditary rulers (Guaman Poma 1987[c. 1615]:84-85, 339, 349, 754; Rowe 1946:260-261). Incas by Privilege held important low level positions within the infrastructure of the Inca Empire (Guaman Poma *op cit.*; Bauer 1990:166; 1992:18-35). They also included local ethnic groups who lived outside of the capital at Cusco, spoke Quechua (Bauer 1990:33-50, 1992:24-26; Rowe 1946:261), and paid tribute to the Inca (Bauer 1992:24, 27). Pachacuti apparently saw them as useful in the linguistic unification of the empire (Rowe 1946:261).

Any consideration of the role of local group resettlement in imperial expansion, however, revisits basic questions about how the Incas developed the infrastructure to transport large groups of people (as many as 6,000-7,000 "families" according to Cobo [1979[1653]: Chapter 23, p. 189]) into newly conquered territories. How were such groups incorporated into the Inca state to make this relocation possible? By comparing ethnohistoric data about one of these groups with an archaeological reconnaissance of the region of their origin, this paper suggests how the Incas may have incorporated one such group into their nascent state.

THE ACOS INDIANS

One of the *mitmaq* groups used by the Incas was the Acos Indians. Guaman Poma de Ayala stated that the Acos Indians were Incas by Privilege and that the maintenance of the bridges of the empire was under the administration of "Acos Inga" (Guaman Poma 1987 [c. 1615]:358-359). He illustrated this point with a drawing showing Acos Inga in front of the bridge at Guambo (*Guambochaca*).⁵

Acos lies east of the Apurímac River adjacent to the southern portion of Province of Paruro (Bauer 1990, 1992, 1999; Figure 1). In an archaeological survey of that province, Bauer found no settlement changes from the Late Intermediate Period to the Late Horizon and found no fortified hilltop sites of the Late Intermediate Period that indicated that the Incas

used conquest to incorporate that region into their developing state. Do the archaeological sites around nearby Acos follow a similar pattern, or do they fit some other explanation of incorporation, such as military conquest?

One clue to answering this question comes from Sarmiento de Gamboa, who originally wrote his *History of the Incas* in the late sixteenth century (1572). Sarmiento described how the people of Acos resisted the expansionist intentions of the Inca and were integrated into the early Inca state:

There was another pueblo called Acos which is 10 or 11 leagues from Cusco. The *cinches*⁶ of this pueblo were two — one called Ocacique and other called Otoquasi. They were openly contrary to the views of the Inca and resisted him forcefully. For this reason, [Pachacuti] Inca Yupanqui thus fought against them with great military strength. The great difficulty of this conquest became obvious to the Inca because those of Acos defended themselves with a great deal of animosity and wounded Pachacuti in the head with a stone. For this reason, the Inca did not want to stop fighting them until he had finally conquered them even though he had spent a great deal of time in battle. He killed almost all of the people of Acos, and those he pardoned and those who survived that cruel massacre, he exiled to the edges of Huamanga where they are now called Acos (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1942 [1572]: Chapter 35, p. 115; translation mine).⁷

⁶ "Headmen".

⁷ "Había otro pueblo llamado Acos, que está diez u once leguas del Cuzco. Los cinches de este pueblo eran dos, llamados Ocacique el uno y el otro Otoquasi. Estos eran contrarios muy al descubierto de la opinión del inga y le resistieron fortísimamente. Por lo cual Inga Yupangui fue con gran poder contra ellos. Mas el inga se vido en grande trabajo en esta conquista porque los de Acos se defendían animosísimamente y hirieron a Pachacuti en la cabeza de una pedrada. Por lo cual no quiso el inga alzar la mano de la guerra, hasta que, habiendo mucho tiempo que los combatía, en fin los venció. Y mató casi a todos los naturales de Acos, y a los que perdonó y restaron de aquella mortandad cruel, los desterró a los términos de Guamanga, adonde ahora llaman Acos" (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1942[1572]:Chapter 35, p. 115).

⁵ Translated, the text incorporated into the drawing reads "Governor of the bridges of this kingdom" in Spanish and "[person] responsible for bridges, Acos Inca" in Quechua. This drawing is reproduced in Arnold (1993:43).

Sarmiento (1942 [1572]: Chapter 34) gives another account of how Pachacuti received a blow to his head. He says that while Pachacuti was in Cuyos (the capital of the province of Cuyosuyo), he was struck in the head with a stone (or as some say, with a pitcher) by a potter who was

It is not clear what Pachacuti wanted from the Acos Indians. Whatever his intentions, however, the two headmen of Acos resisted him, and he decided to attack and defeat them.

Although the Acos area thus appears to have been depopulated according to Sarmiento's account, it probably did not remain so. In other areas, the Incas not only moved groups inter-regionally, but intra-regionally as well (Julien 1993). They may also have moved other groups into the Acos area, because by 1571, when the *Visita* of Francisco de Toledo counted many Andean populations, Acos had 1261 inhabitants (Cook *et al.* 1975:xxxiii, 159).

BACKGROUND

Between February and July 1967, I studied contemporary ceramic production in the District of Quinua, 15 km northeast of the city of Ayacucho in central Peru (Figure 2; Arnold 1972a, 1972b, 1975, 1983, 1993). Because some Quinua potters lived virtually on the edge of the Middle Horizon site of Huari and because their pottery was unique in the Ayacucho Valley and within Peru as a whole, it seemed that Quinua ceramic production might somehow be historically linked to Huari (see Arnold 1993:xxvii-xxviii, 197-199). Ceramic production, like all technology, is socially embedded and transmitted. Therefore the geographic proximity of modern potters to the Middle Horizon potters made a historical connection seem likely. Not long after beginning my research, however, I learned that the people around Quinua had been Inca *mitimaes* from Acos (Figures 1 and 2).⁸ I thus wanted to find out if there might be

a servant of the *sinche*. Thereafter, a plot was revealed against Pachacuti and he killed all of the *sinches*, and eventually all of the people in the village except some children and old women. Whether this account is another version of the Acos account, or whether Pachacuti was struck on the head more than once, is unclear.

⁸ The factors contributing to the origin and survival of ceramic production in Quinua are diverse and the craft may have been reorganized and reinterpreted within the local ecological and social context (Arnold 1983, 1993). The selective effects of ecology and transportation have been critical to the survival of the craft (Arnold 1975, 1993). Furthermore, the structure of Quinua pottery design in patterns of symmetry and design layout reflects the structural principles of the social organization of the community (Arnold 1983).

an Acos influence on the development of Quinua pottery.

Sarmiento says that when the people of Acos were conquered by Pachacuti, the survivors were exiled to "the edges of Huamanga." Huamanga is modern Ayacucho⁹ and lies 250 km northwest of Acos. Cieza de León (1959 [1553]: Chapter 35), a Spanish soldier who traveled throughout southern Peru in the sixteenth century, corroborates the location of the Acos Indians in the Huamanga (Ayacucho) area, and mentions that there was a village called Acos along the Inca road north of the city.¹⁰ The Acos Indians, he said, lived in the rugged mountains to the east.

These statements suggest that communities called "Acos" northeast of Ayacucho were probably the locations where the Acos exiles were settled by Pachacuti (Zuidema 1966). One such location is Acosvinchos (also spelled Acos Vinchos), a village 15 km east-northeast of Ayacucho (Figure 2) and another such location consists of the area around Quinua. The *Visita* of Toledo in 1570 lists the "Repartimiento of Quinua" as being made up "of Acos Indians" (Cook *et al.* 1975: 270).¹¹ In addition, two documents concerning land disputes in Quinua (one from the seventeenth century and another from the early eighteenth century) indicate that

⁹ Huamanga (Guamanga) was the name for the city of Ayacucho during the Spanish colonial period. After the forces of Simon Bolivar under the leadership of General Sucre defeated the army of the Spanish Viceroy on the *pampa* above the village of Quinua on December 9, 1824, the site became known as "Ayacucho" (corner of the dead), and the conflict became known as the Battle of Ayacucho. Afterwards, the name of the nearby city of Huamanga and the Department was changed to "Ayacucho", while the name "Huamanga" was retained as the name for the province in which the city is located.

¹⁰ There is a town called "Acobamba" much further north of Ayacucho near the road to Huancayo. This town may also be a settlement location of the displaced Acos Indians. The "Acos" place names east of Ayacucho that lie within the Ayacucho Valley, however, appear to fit Cieza's and Sarmiento's description better.

¹¹ Quinua is only one of five communities listed for the Provinces of Zangaro and Huanta in Huamanga (Cook *et al.* 1975:xviii). None of the other communities mentioned in the *Visita* of Toledo correspond to the names of the modern communities in the region. The "Repartimiento of Quinua" thus probably included Acosvinchos and perhaps Acocro.

the two major divisions of Quinua were called Hananacos¹² and Lurinacos, literally “upper Acos” and “lower Acos” (Archivo Nacional del Perú, Lima, [ANP] 1632: Títulos de Propiedad, Legajo No. 13, Cuaderno No. 354; ANP 1702: Derecho Indígena y Encomiendas, Legajo No. 8, Cuaderno No. 186). These documents indicate that the territory of Hananacos extended to Suso and hence to the border of the District of Acosvinchos. The Acos Indians may also have been settled in the region around the village of Acocro (Acos Ocros, see Figure 2 and Zuidema 1966:71), even though it lies outside of the area mentioned by Cieza. The area of “Acos” names thus extends from Quinua to Acocro (Zuidema 1966:71) and appears to correspond to the location of the resettled Acos Indians mentioned by Cieza (1959 [1553]: Chapter 35) as east and north of Ayacucho and by Sarmiento (1942[1572]: Chapter 35, p. 115) as “the edges of Huamanga”.

Because of the important historical relationship between Quinua and Acos, I traveled overland to Acos in the hope that a visit to the community would provide some insight into the possible relationship of ceramic production in Quinua with the people of Acos. My primary objective was to find out whether Acos might have had some influence on Quinua ceramic production through their relocation as Inca *mitimaes*. Within an hour of my arrival in Acos, however, I learned that no pottery was made there and none had been produced in recent memory (see also Ghersi 1959). The closest community that produced pottery, I was told, was “several days” walk to the west in the Province of Chumbivilcas.¹³

¹² These two sections of the community are now called Hanansayuc and Lurinsayuc (see Arnold 1983, 1993:26-31; Mitchell 1976).

¹³ Pottery production in this community (Charamoray, in the Province of Chumbivilcas) was studied by Sillar (see Sillar 2000:24-25, 152). He and Bauer (1992) reported that pottery was also made in Araypallpa, 15 km east-northeast of Acos. Pottery was probably also made there in 1967, but my informants did not mention it. One boy in the market in Acomayo said that pottery was made in the puna, but I could not discover where, and no one else verified this statement. The boy could have been referring to Araypallpa. None of the pottery from these communities, however, bear any resemblance to the pottery made in Quinua (see Arnold 1993).

Because my overland trip to Acos had required five days¹⁴ of arduous travel from Ayacucho, an immediate return to Ayacucho seemed unwise without learning something more about the area. Consequently, I carried out an archaeological reconnaissance around Acos.¹⁵ I did not go there originally to do such a survey, but in retrospect, it did provide some important, although very preliminary archaeological data that contributed to an understanding of how one local ethnic group around Cusco might have been incorporated into the early Inca state.¹⁶

THE VILLAGE OF ACOS

The village of Acos lies 53 km southeast of Cusco and is the principal population center in the District of Acos. The district is a part of the Province of Acomayo, one of the 12 provinces in the Department of Cusco¹⁷ and lies directly east of the southern portion of the Province of Paruro where Bauer did an archaeological survey between 1984 and 1987 (Bauer 1990, 1992, 1999).

Topographically, Acos lies on a small plateau above the nearby Apurímac River (Figures 3-7). It is strategically located along the only natural corridor from the Urubamba/Vilcanota Valley on the east to the Apurímac River on the west (Figure 6). The modern road follows this

¹⁴ For this account, I include only the actual travel time and not stops in Abancay and Cusco. Even with modern car, bus, train, and truck transportation, the trip from Ayacucho to Acos was an arduous journey. After a 13 hour bus ride from Ayacucho to Andahuaylas, I got a ride in a private car for the 6 hour trip to Abancay. After a day's rest in Abancay, the same car required another 7-8 hours (including time to repair two flat tires) to travel to Cusco where I rested several days before making the two-day trip to Acos by train and by truck. No experience with travel in the Andes did more to convince me of the monumental task of the state relocation of *mitmaq* groups over such difficult terrain.

¹⁵ Because I did not have a permit to do a formal archaeological survey, there are no site numbers for the sites described here.

¹⁶ Much more survey and excavation work could be done in the Acos area, but I have long since moved on to other research interests. The purpose of this article is to provide a summary of what I have done in Acos so that others can build upon it with future research.

¹⁷ See *Librería E Imprenta “Guía Lascano”* (1972:24).

corridor.¹⁸ After the road rises to the plain around Lake Pomacanchi (Figure 8), it passes through the towns of Maracaonga and Sangarara, and descends into the Apurímac drainage through the town of Acomayo. It then follows the valley of the Acomayo/Chacco River (Figures 6 and 7) for much of its length until the valley ends just east of Acos where the River enters a steep narrow canyon before it empties into the Apurímac (Figures 3 and 7). Because movement along the Acomayo River is impossible at this point, travelers must go up and over the Acos plateau before descending the 250 meters to Apurímac. The road ended (Figure 3) at the town of Pillpinto (Figures 3 and 4), and any travel into the Provinces of Paruro and Chumbivilcas to the west could only be accomplished on foot or on horseback.

This topography places Acos in the crucial position as the gateway from the Apurímac River and the region to the west to the area around Lake Pomacanchi to the east. Once one reaches this puna from Acos, it is but a brief trek by foot (about 5 hours) to the Vilcanota Valley (Figures 6 and 8).¹⁹ From there, Cusco (to the northwest) or the altiplano around Lake Titicaca (to the south) are easily accessible.

Acos is surrounded by abundant agricultural land with large areas of both level and intensively terraced fields (Figures 5 and 9). Inhabitants say that the Spanish dug for gold on the pampa or *pajonal* on the top of the mountain north of the village (called Curi Urqu “gold mountain”). They also reported that salt was mined nearby.

According to Gade and Escobar (1982; Gade 1991), the village of Acos is one of the locations of surviving indigenous populations concentrated between 1570 and 1575 by the Spanish Viceroy, Francisco de Toledo. First, its

site generally fits the description of the position and character of the transplanted settlements (Gade and Escobar 1982). Most such towns were placed upon valley sides and plateaus and had to conform to the Spanish grid plan as much as the topography would permit. These settlements also had a central plaza and adobe houses (Gade and Escobar 1982: 434). Second, according to the map published by Gade and Escobar, Acos was one of many communities that still had more than 41 to 60 percent of its 1972 population concentrated in villages of *reducción* origin (Gade and Escobar 1982). Third, the number of *ayllus* (kin groups) formerly in the village also suggests its *reducción* origin. Inhabitants of Acos said that the community once contained seven *ayllus*,²⁰ and this number conforms to the pattern of population concentration elsewhere that brought many *ayllus* together. Gade and Escobar (1982:435), for example, said that some of the reconstituted communities consisted of 12-14 such *ayllus*.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AROUND ACOS

The reconnaissance around Acos revealed several archaeological sites (Figures 3 and 6). Immediately south of the village lies a mountain called Marca Urqu (Figures 3, 7, and 10) which means “mountain defender” in Quechua.²¹ The site consists of eroded terraces on its northern slopes and collapsed rectangular structures on the upper terraces and summit (Figure 11). Large concentrations of ceramics also extend down the terraces on the northern slope, but are heaviest near the summit.

On the east end of the summit lies a small rectangular platform (Figure 12) with two terraced levels each about 45 cm high. To one side of the topmost level are the remains of the collapsed walls of a small square room that was

¹⁸ For another view of Acos from the west, see Arnold (1993:45).

¹⁹ Because the truck traffic was one way in 1967 and changed direction on alternate days, I had to walk from Sangarara to the Vilcanota Valley (about 18 km) to find a vehicle to take me to Cusco. The trek required about five hours. Although the walking distance between Acos and the *puna* around Lake Pomacanchi is unknown, the total distance from the Vilcanota Valley to Acos is about one day's walk.

²⁰ In 1967, local inhabitants said that Acos was an old village and was once the capital of the area.

²¹ *Marca* means *el valedor* (protector or defender) in Spanish (González Holguín 1952[1608] s.v.) and *urcco* means *cerro* (hill or mountain) in Spanish (González Holguín 1952[1608] s.v.). Other Quechua dictionaries provide a different translation of Marca Urqu such as mountain storehouse (*marca* meaning *deposito* such as the storage used in the rafters of a house; Soto Ruíz 1976 s.v.), high region on a mountain, mountain village, and/or the mountain land that belongs to an *ayllu* (Guardia Mayorga 1961 s.v.).

much smaller than the area of the top of the platform and just large enough for a person to stand inside. From this location, one has a commanding view of the Acomayo Valley to the east and of the pass that leads into the high plain around Lake Pomacanchi. To the north, one can see the entire Acos plateau (Figures 5 and 9), a portion of the Apurímac Valley, and to the west one can also see a considerable distance. The structure's small size and strategic position, with views of much of the surrounding area, suggests that it may have been a lookout.

Marca Urqu was strategically located and easily defended. On the east and south are cliffs several hundred meters in height (see Figure 7). Accessibility is restricted on the west by very steep slopes. On the north, the steepness of the slope, walls, and terraces make this site easily defensible. Fallen walls of rectangular structures and extensive ceramics on the terraces suggest that the site was used for habitation rather than agriculture.

The pottery on the surface of this site is Killke-related with both bowls and jar forms (Figures 13 to 18; Table 1) and is very similar to the Late Intermediate Period pottery that Bauer (1999) found in the Province of Paruro across the Apurímac River to the west. There is seldom any slip on the vessels, but jar exteriors are often burnished while both the exterior and interior surfaces of bowls are burnished. Bowls often have red-painted rims and decoration on their interiors. Designs consist mainly of triangular zones of parallel or hatched lines pendant from the rims of bowls, or dark red lines that are parallel, crossed, or used in hatching (see Bauer 1999). One sherd was decorated with a camelid-like figure (for a similar sherd see *ibid.*: 17, 40). White-slipped and orange-slipped sherds from bowls occurred rarely in the sample, while black paint (either alone or in combination with red) appeared on some sherds (Table

1).²² The only handles found were strap handles.²³

On the top of Curi Urqu, the mountain north of Acos, informants reported a site called Atu Huasi (House of the Fox),²⁴ a ruined town with remains of oval structures and human burials. Although I did not visit the site, its location and size were confirmed by Martina Munsters (personal communication 1989) who went to the site in conjunction with Bauer's archeological survey west of the Apurímac River (Brian Bauer, personal communication 1989). Like the site of Marca Urqu, Atu Huasi was strategically located. It was also defensible and inhabitants could observe activity in the Apurímac River Valley to the west and the Acomayo River Valley to the east, as well as on the Acos Plateau itself.

Another large site called Quispillaqta (literally Crystal Village in Quechua [Soto Ruíz, s.v.]; Figure 19) is on a hill overlooking the pass between the Acomayo Valley and the puna around Lake Pomacanchi. The structures there are both oval and rectangular in plan with Killke-like pottery (Bauer 1999) on the surface. To the south, on the plain below, the remains of a probable Inca road crosses the low pass from the puna to the Acomayo drainage to the west. Next to the road, on the pass itself, are the remains of two rectangular structures that were probably an Inca *tambo* or way station (Figure 20).

On the northern edge of the village of Acos is a large mound (Figure 5) that appears to be a circular-shaped cultivated field. Around the mound, the village grid plan is superimposed upon on a series of terraces similar to those found elsewhere on the plateau. There was no

²² The sherds with black and red paint probably belong to the Colcha style, a Killke-related style that Bauer (1992, 1999) found in his survey to the west. He suggests that Colcha ceramics were made in Araypallpa, a modern pottery making community 25 km northwest of Acos (Bauer 1992).

²³ I made no observations concerning the paste of these sherds nor did I make any measurements of the rim and vessel diameters.

²⁴ *Atok* means *rapossa* or *zorra* (fox) in Spanish (González Holguín 1952[1608] s.v.) and *Huaci* means *casa* (house) (González Holguín 1952 s.v.).

standing architecture on the mound, but rock walls may have been removed and placed in the piles that occurred on and around it. Pottery on the surface consisted of a largely undecorated brown ware similar to that found at Chanapata near Cusco (Rowe 1944). The little embellishment that did exist was plastic decoration and was totally unlike that from Marca Urqu, but reminiscent of Chanapata pottery (Bauer 1999; Rowe 1944:15-20). The density of surface pottery diminished as one moved down into the village to the south. An apparent spring on the site was perhaps the reason for the prehistoric occupation here.²⁵

Another site, Albanapata,²⁶ occupies a commanding position on three artificially-terraced mounds (or natural hills) above the Apurímac River immediately to the west of the village (Figures 3, 21). Some undiagnostic ceramics occurred on these mounds, but pottery was not nearly as abundant as it was on Marca Urqu. The top of each mound was square and was supported by retaining walls. On each of two of the mounds, a circular hole had been dug down into the rock or earth, reportedly excavated recently to collect water.²⁷

Another site was a small rock shelter southwest of Acos along the Chacco/Acomayo River (Figure 3) at the end of a narrow canyon that lies on the south side of Marca Urqu. The rock shelter was only two meters deep and the front portion was just wide enough to walk along it comfortably. The shelter consisted of two compartments separated from each other by a natural rock intrusion. In the easternmost compartment, many human bones were scattered both on the surface and partially buried in dry sand, but I could not assess the depth of the cultural deposit. Some bones had been removed and tossed onto the talus slope below. Small fragments of a textile and a bone were partially buried and pieces of rope and other textile

fragments occurred nearby on the surface. The second compartment was smaller, narrower, and had more looted bones, along with a rim sherd and some strap handles. Unfortunately, the pottery, rope, and textiles found on the surface were not diagnostic enough to provide even a tentative chronological placement for this site.

I found only one sherd of Imperial Inca polychrome pottery during the reconnaissance, on the mound on the northern edge of the village (Figure 5). By way of contrast, a Peace Corps volunteer found Provincial Inca pottery 22 km to the east (Figures 6 and 8) in an area with many burials (some with trephined skulls) associated with Inca pottery in *chullpas* (small structures used for human burials). The *chullpas* are in rock shelters on the edge of the plain northwest of Sangarara. Other Inca remains observed include a probable Inca road and *tambo* on the pass between the puna of Sangarara and the Acomayo River Valley (Figure 20).

The only other known Inca site in the area is the small but impressive site of Huaccra Pucara²⁸ 10 km to the south of Acos above the Apurímac River canyon (Brian Bauer, personal communication 1989; Pardo 1957:433-454). This is the only site of the region known to have Inca cut stone architecture.

ACOS AND EARLY INCA EXPANSION

The largest and most obvious archaeological sites in the Acos area have surface pottery similar to the Killke-related pottery from elsewhere in the Cusco region.²⁹ Killke-related pottery is one type of Late Intermediate Period pottery that was used during the time of the developing Inca state (Bauer 1992, 1999; Rowe

²⁵ Inhabitants, however, said that the spring was not natural.

²⁶ Apparently from Spanish *albanar*, to place one thing above another (Real Academia Española 1992 s.v.) and Quechua *pata*, something that is elevated or flat (Soto Ruiz 1976 s.v.). The toponym is appropriate because the site consists of a series of terraced hills.

²⁷ An informant who accompanied me to the site in 1967 said that these holes were recently made.

²⁸ In contemporary Quechua *huaccra*, also spelled *waqra*, is an animal horn (Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua 1995 s.v.) and *pukara* means fort or lookout (*ibid.* s.v.). The *Diccionario Quechua-Español-Quechua* of the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua notes that Waqrapukara is an archaeological site in the Pomakanchi District of Acomayo Province, Cusco Department characterized by rocky geological formations resembling horns around which are the Inca constructions of Pomakanchi including tunnels, terraces, and pathways (*ibid.* s.v.).

²⁹ Bauer and Stanish (1990:3-5) have provided an excellent, detailed review of research on Killke pottery up through 1990 (see Bauer 1990 for a brief update).

1944:60-62). The Killke style occurs in the Cusco Basin (Bauer and Stanish 1990; Rivera 1971, 1972; Rowe 1944:60-62), in the Lucre Basin (Dwyer 1971), in the Urubamba/ Vilcanota drainage at Cusichaca³⁰ below Ollantaytambo, and immediately to the west of Acos across the Apurímac in the Province of Paruro (Bauer 1990:255-267, 1992, 1999). The occurrence of this pottery on the largest sites around Acos thus appears to place them chronologically in the Late Intermediate Period during development of the Inca state.

The quotation from Sarmiento de Gamboa cited above (1942[1572]: Chapter 35) indicated that the ancient inhabitants of Acos resisted the advances of Pachacuti, and that Pachacuti spent time fighting them. This narrative implies that the people of Acos occupied a sufficiently defensible position to resist Pachacuti's aggression over a lengthy period of time.

My reconnaissance of the Acos region suggests that Marca Urqu, a defensible mountaintop site south of Acos, matches the kind of a location of which Sarmiento speaks. It is one position from which the Acos people could have defended themselves and resisted Pachacuti's attacks. Its setting and organization suggest that the occupants could have held off any attackers for some time. First, the strategic location of the site with panoramic views in three directions provided ample warning of approaching armies and imminent attack. Second, terraces on one side and steep slopes around the other sides provided security from attacking armies. Third, the quantity of pottery on the site implies habitation over a period of some duration.

Atu Huasi, the site on the top of Curi Urqu, may also have been a defensible settlement that could have resisted the Inca attack. It is possible that the two *cinches* of Acos (Ocacique and Otoquasi) mentioned by Sarmiento may reflect the moiety division of the community and that each section had its own defensible location. One may have been the site of Atu Huasi on the mountain of Curi Urqu north of Acos. The other may have been the site of Marca Urqu south of Acos (Brian Bauer, personal communi-

cation 1989). The similarity of the name of one *cinche* (*Otoquasi*) in Sarmiento and the current name of one of these sites (*Atu Huasi*) suggest that the two names may be historically related.³¹ In sixteenth and seventeenth century accounts of Peru, Spanish writers often followed the European practice of referring to a leader by the name of his principal seat (Monica Barnes, personal communication, 2005). Because the current position of Acos was the site of the late fifteenth century *reducción*, and the two *cinches* mentioned by Sarmiento appear to reflect the Andean moiety division, the two defensible sites north and south of Acos thus may be the residence locations of each of the two *cinches* mentioned by Sarmiento.

Given all of this information, why was the conquest of Acos so important to Pachacuti? If the people of Acos already had bridge-building and bridge-maintaining skills, then they would have been very useful to Inca imperial expansion. Bridges across deep rivers provided critical components of the Inca road system. Bridges, according to Rostworowski (1999:62), also required a toll as a form of control over users, who were recorded on a *quipu* that was passed on to authorities. "It is also likely," Rostworowski says, that "... since the bridges were strategic places, their vigilance was the responsibility of people of confidence, perhaps special *mitmaq* similar to those who guarded the borders of the Inca state" (*ibid.*). Acos lies near the Apurímac River at a point where the river emerges from a narrow canyon. Given its position in the main corridor from the Apurímac River to the Vilcanota River, a bridge across the Apurímac at Acos might have been one of the main points of entry to the region west of the Apurímac because of the ease of crossing. Finally, the intensive terracing and extensive agricultural land in the Acos region suggests that it was a significant producer of maize. At an elevation of 3085 m, the altitude of Acos is relatively low by Andean standards and was

³⁰ Ware 45 (Lunt 1987:177-179; Ann Kendall, personal communication 1989; Sara Lunt, personal communication 1989).

³¹ The González Holguín (1952[1608]) Quechua dictionary lists no equivalent of *Oto* or *Otoquasi*. This absence suggests that *otoquasi* (like *atu huasi*) might be a cognate of the Quechua *atok huasi* (see Note 24). In modern Cusco Quechua, however, *oto* is listed as meaning *apollado* that can be freely translated as "moth-eaten" or "gnawed", and perhaps more generally "spoiled" or "rotten" (Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua 1995 s.v.).

probably an extensive maize growing region in the past. It was thus the prospect of maize tribute from the Acos Indians that Pachacuti might have found desirable.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

If this superficial comparison of historical sources, the Acos landscape, and the archaeological sites around Acos is valid, then the process of incorporation of the Acos region into the Inca empire is different from that documented by Bauer (1990, 1992, 1999) in his survey just a few kilometers away to the west on the other side of the Apurímac River. There, Bauer (1990) found no settlement changes from the Late Intermediate Period to the Late Horizon. Furthermore, he found no defensible or fortified hilltop sites of the Late Intermediate Period, which implied to him that early Inca expansion involved mechanisms other than conquest of nearby warring ethnic groups. The hilltop sites of Marca Urqu south of Acos and Atu Huasi north of Acos, the Killke pottery on the surface of Marca Urqu, Sarmiento's reference to the resistance of the Acos to Pachacuti, and the eventual Inca conquest of the people of Acos suggest that their incorporation into the Inca state differs from what took place farther west and north of Acos in the Province of Paruro. In the Acos area, then, the reconnaissance and landscape data thus appear to fit a more traditional view that explanation of the Inca incorporation of local ethnic groups must involve warfare. Further archaeological research in the Acos region should help clarify the relationship between the ethnohistorical sources and archaeology.

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I am indebted to Tom Zuidema for the ideas that led to the present article. He first told me about the relationship of Acos and Quinua in the ethnohistorical sources, provided copies of two early documents from Quinua, and suggested that I travel to Acos. I am also grateful to Oscar Peña who generously provided hospitality in Acos. Michael Anderson drew the maps and Scott Larsen illustrated the sherds. Comments by Brian Bauer, Sara Lunt, Sergio Chávez and the late Karen Mohr Chávez, Pat Lyon, and anonymous reviewers have greatly improved this manuscript. Jack Clark provided help with idioms in the translation of Sarmiento. Delores Ralph Yaccino, Christy Reed, and Heidi Biddle helped with the bibliographic search, typing, and editing. The Wheaton College Alumni Association and the Wheaton College Aldeen Fund provided financial support to prepare the illustrations for publication. I am grateful to Ward A. Krieg-

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Vessel shape	Type of sherd	Paint color	Slip color	Slip location	Burnish location	Design location	Reference for Figs. 13-18	Design characteristics
jar	Handle	none	none	--	exterior	none	1	--
jar	Handle	none	none	--	none	none	2	--
jar	Handle	none	none	--	exterior	none	3	--
bowl	Body	red	none	--	exterior and interior	interior	4	parallel lines
jar	Body	black and red	none	--	exterior	exterior	5	joining red and black lines
?	Body	red	none	--	same side as decoration	no data	6	parallel lines
jar	Body	red	none	--	not polished	exterior	7	crossed lines in unclear figure
bowl	Body	red	white	exterior	exterior and interior	interior	8	parallel lines; hatching
jar	Body	black and red	none	--	exterior and interior	exterior	9	parallel lines
jar	Body	black and red	none	--	exterior	exterior	10	parallel lines
jar	Body	red	none	--	exterior	exterior	11	parallel lines
?	Body	red	none	--	exterior	no data	12	red lines
jar	Body	black	none	--	exterior	exterior	13	parallel lines geometric
bowl	Body	red	none	--	exterior and interior	interior	14	parallel lines
jar	Body	black/brown	white	exterior	exterior and interior	exterior	15	parallel lines
bowl	Body	red	none	--	exterior and interior	interior	16	figure of llamas
bowl	Body	red	none	--	exterior and interior	interior	17	hatching
?	Body	red	none	--	exterior and interior	no data	18	parallel lines crossing
bowl	Body	black or dark red	none	--	exterior and interior	interior	19	parallel lines; hatching
bowl	Body	red	white	exterior and interior	exterior and interior	interior	20	parallel lines
?	Body	red	none	--	exterior	no data	21	parallel lines
bowl	Body	red	none	--	exterior and interior	interior	22	parallel lines
bowl	Rim	red rim	none	--	exterior and interior	interior	23	parallel lines; hatching
bowl	Rim	red rim	none	--	exterior and interior	interior	24	parallel lines; hatching
bowl	Rim	red	none	--	exterior and interior	interior	25	parallel lines
bowl	Rim	none	none	--	none	no data	26	parallel lines
bowl	Rim	red	none	exterior	exterior and interior	exterior	27	indistinguishable
bowl	Rim	red rim	none	--	exterior and interior	interior	28	parallel lines; hatching
bowl	Rim	red rim	none	--	exterior	interior	29	hatched triangle pendant from rim
bowl	Rim	red rim	none	--	exterior and interior	interior	30	parallel lines
bowl	Rim	red rim	orange	exterior	exterior and interior	interior	31	triangle pendant from rim
bowl	Rim	red rim	none	--	exterior and interior	interior	32	parallel lines
bowl	Rim	red rim	none	--	exterior and interior	interior	33	parallel lines crossing
bowl	Rim	red rim	none	--	exterior and interior	interior	34	parallel lines from rim
bowl	Rim	red rim	orange (?)	exterior and interior	exterior and interior	no data	35	line
bowl	Rim	red rim	white or cream	exterior	no data	interior	36	triangle pendant from rim
bowl	Body	red	none	--	exterior and interior	interior	not illustrated	one line

Table 1. Description of sherds from Marca Urqu, District of Acos, Province of Acomayo, Department of Cusco, Peru.

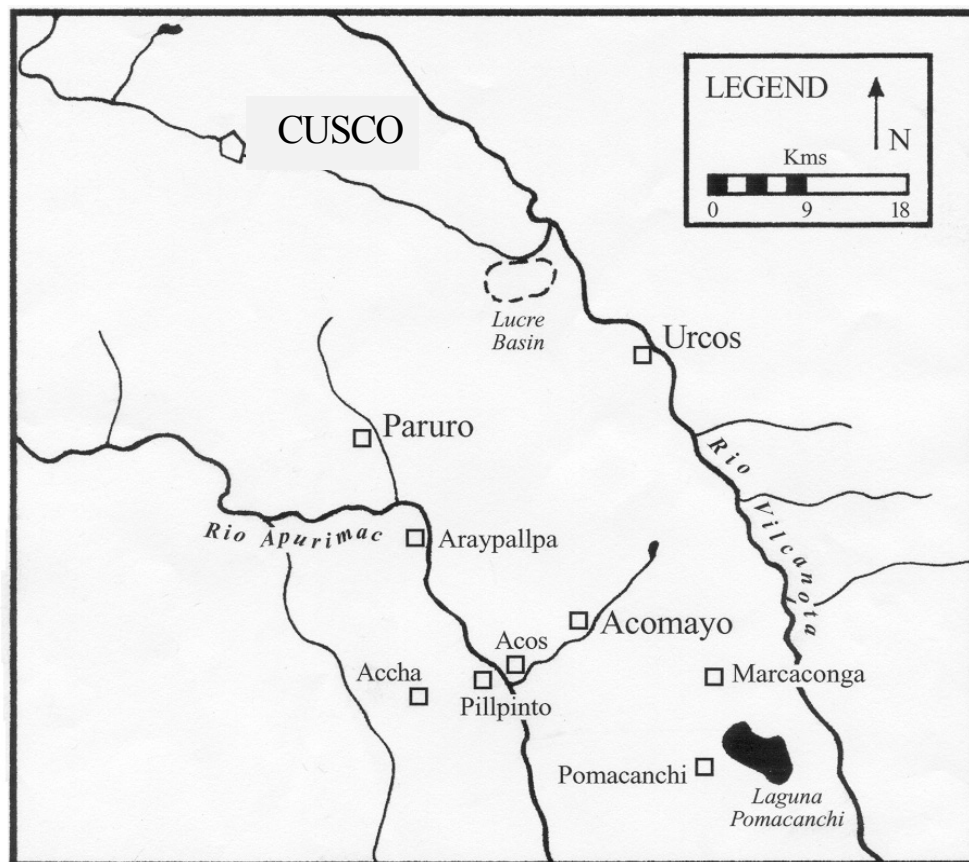


Figure 1. Map of the Cusco area showing the spatial relationship of Acos, Cusco, and some of the locations mentioned in the text.

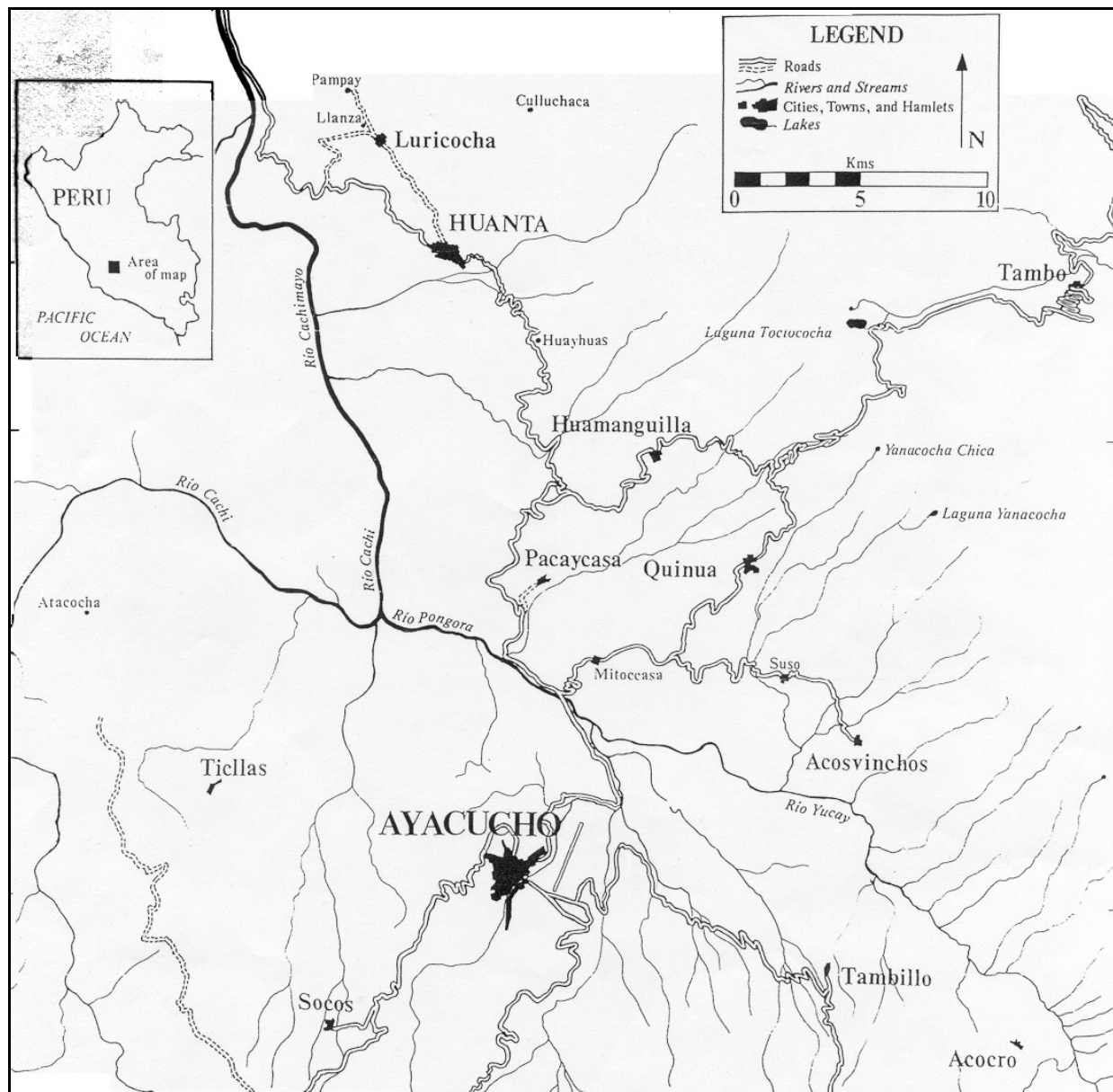


Figure 2. Map of the area around Ayacucho, Peru. After the Inca conquest of the area, exiles (mitmaquna) from the village of Acos, 250 km southeast of Ayacucho, were settled around Quinua, Acosvinchos and probably Acocro.

Note: the road from Ayacucho to Quinua on this map follows the route it took in 1967. In preparation for the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Ayacucho in 1974 (see Note 9), however, the route was changed and went through Pacaycasa.

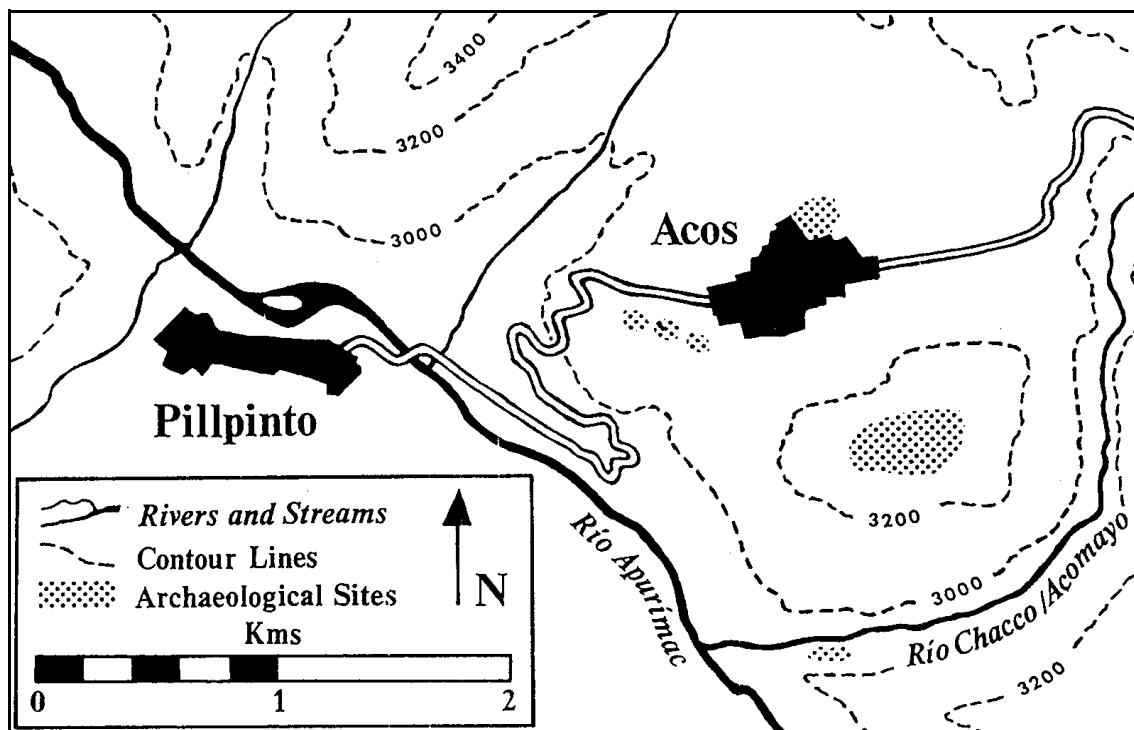


Figure 3. Map of the region around Acos showing the topographic position of Acos and the location of the most important archaeological sites identified during the reconnaissance. Atu Huasi, the site north of Acos on the mountain of Curi Urqu, is not on the map because it was not visited during the reconnaissance.



Figure 4. View of Pillpinto and the Apurímac River Valley looking northwest. Acos lies on relatively flat terrain just off the photo to the right. The land west of the Apurímac is part of Bauer's survey area (Bauer 1999) and is intensively terraced just like the land in the immediate region of Acos. Part of the site of Albanapata is visible on the far right of the photograph. This segment of the river (or perhaps one slightly further upstream) may have been the site of a bridge built and maintained by the Acos Indians.

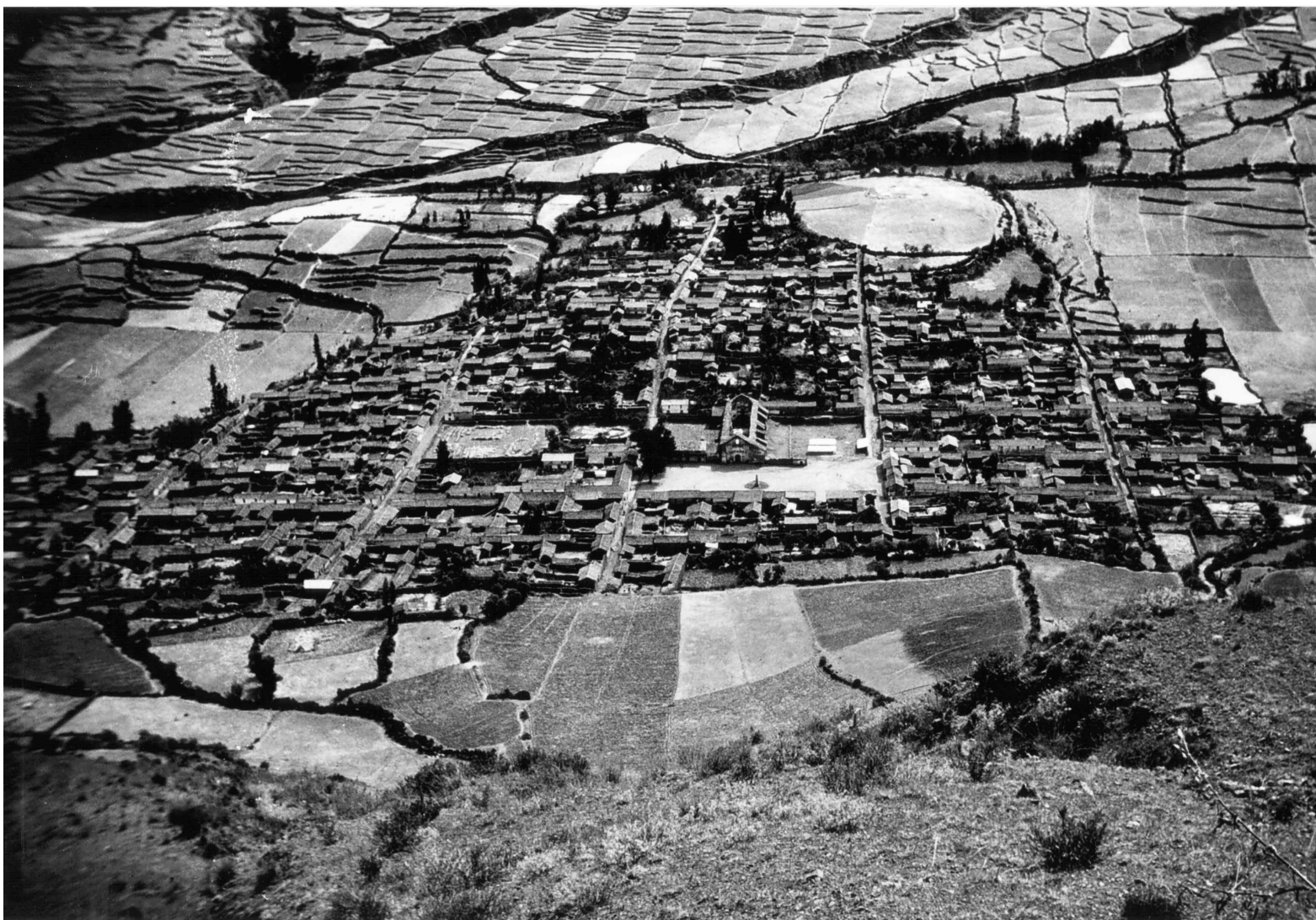


Figure 5. View of the village of Acos from the site of Marca Urqu. The circular area in the upper center of the photograph is an archaeological site yielding surface sherds that were similar to Chanapata pottery from Cusco.

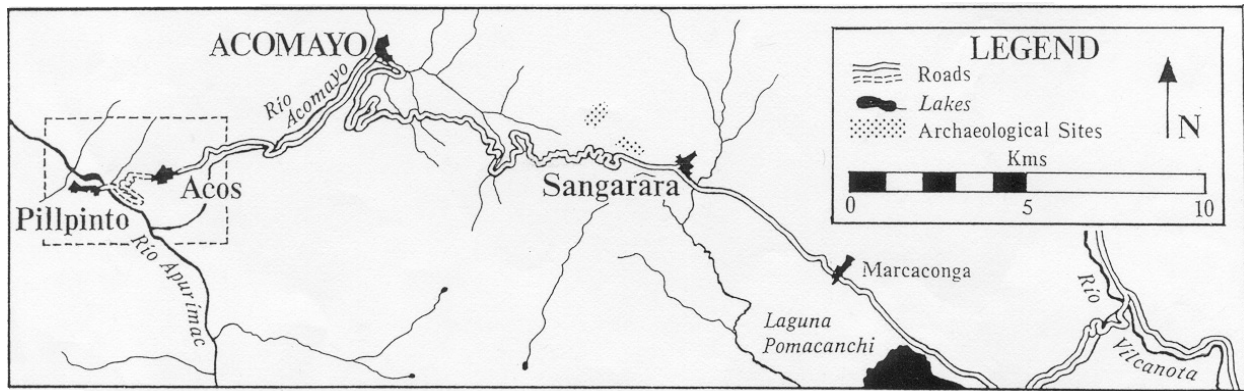


Figure 6. Map of the corridor between the Apurímac River and the Vilcanota River showing the location of two archaeological sites between Acomayo and Sangarara and their relationship to Acos. Figure 3 shows details of the area around Acos delimited by dashed lines.



Figure 7. The position of Acos relative to the surrounding terrain as seen from the east along the road from Acomayo. Acos sits on the plateau in the center of the photograph. The Acomayo River enters the Apurímac through a canyon marked by the steep face on the mountain slightly to the left of center of the picture (compare with Figure 3). The archaeological site of Marca Urqu lies on the same mountain, but on the opposite side; this steep face contributes to the defensive character of the site.

Note: the hat in the right foreground was that of another passenger in the open truck from which the author took this photograph.



Figure 8. The puna around Lake Pomacanchi looking southeast along the route from Acos to the Vilcanota River.
 The village of Sangarara lies in the center of the photo and beyond is the community of Marcaconga.
 Lake Pomacanchi lies beyond the low hill in the right center of the photograph.



Figure 9. View of the intensively cultivated agricultural land immediately east of Acos. The road in the foreground leads to the district capital, Acomayo, to the right and to Acos and Pillpinto to the left.



Figure 10. The site of Marca Urqu looking south from the village of Acos. Although not evident from the photograph, the entire slope of the mountain visible here is covered with ruined terraces, retaining walls, and structures. Remains of ruined structures were found at the top portion of the site along with the heaviest sherd concentrations. Unlike the terraces across the valley (Figures 4, 5, and 9), it does not seem likely that this site was originally constructed for agricultural purposes. In 1967, however, the walls and structures on the terraces had been cleared for their use as fields.



Figure 11. The north slope of Marca Urqu (lower right third of the photograph) showing the remains of walls/terraces on the site.
The valley of the Acomayo drainage lies in the background.



Figure 12. The raised platform/lookout at the east end of the summit of Marca Urqu (slightly to the right of center of the photograph) against the background of the Acomayo/Chacco Valley and its intensive agricultural terracing. For a better appreciation of its strategic position as a lookout see Figures 5, 9, and 17.

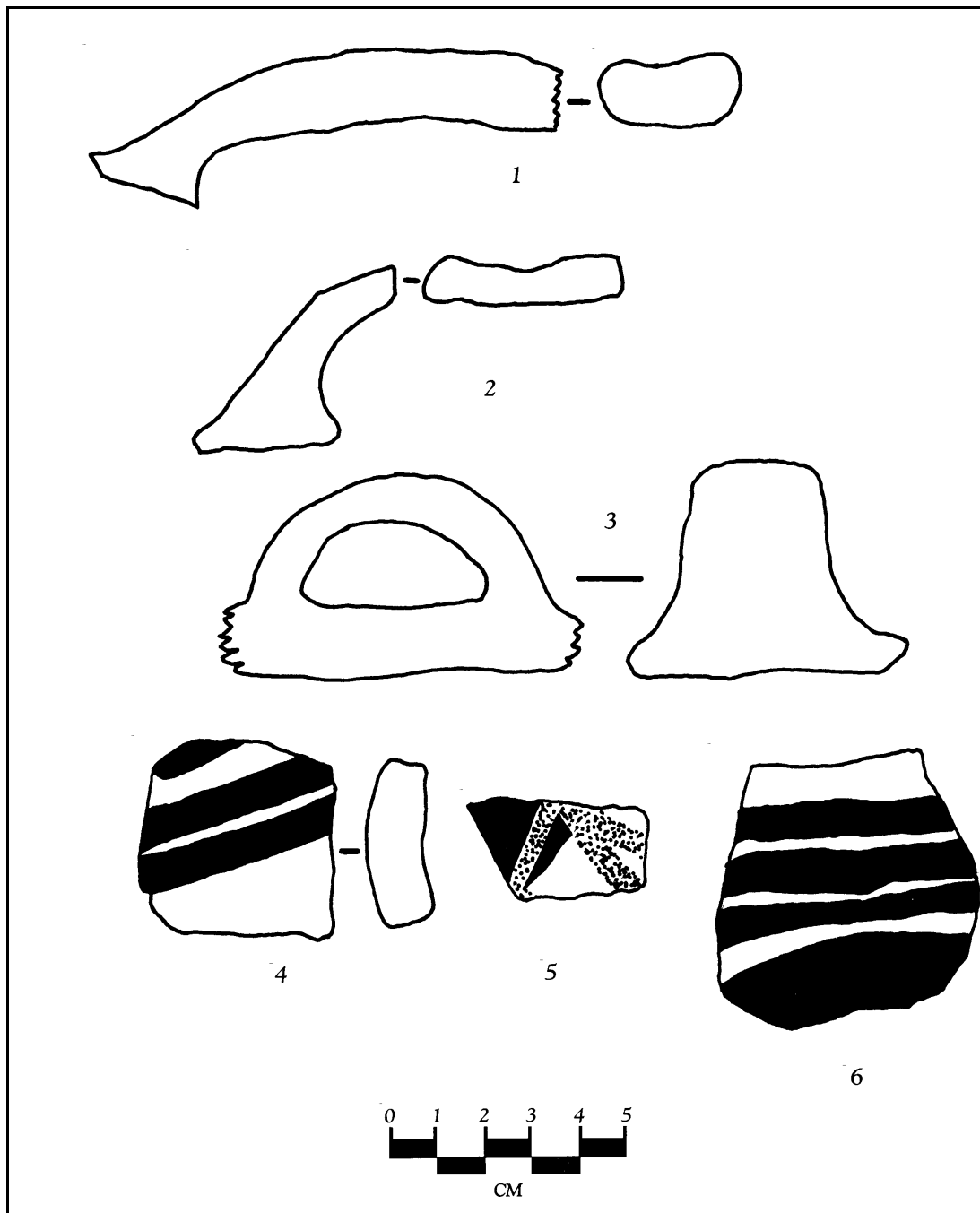


Figure 13. Killke-related sherds from the site of Marca Urqu, south of Acos.
Solid fill represents red paint while a stippled design is black paint.

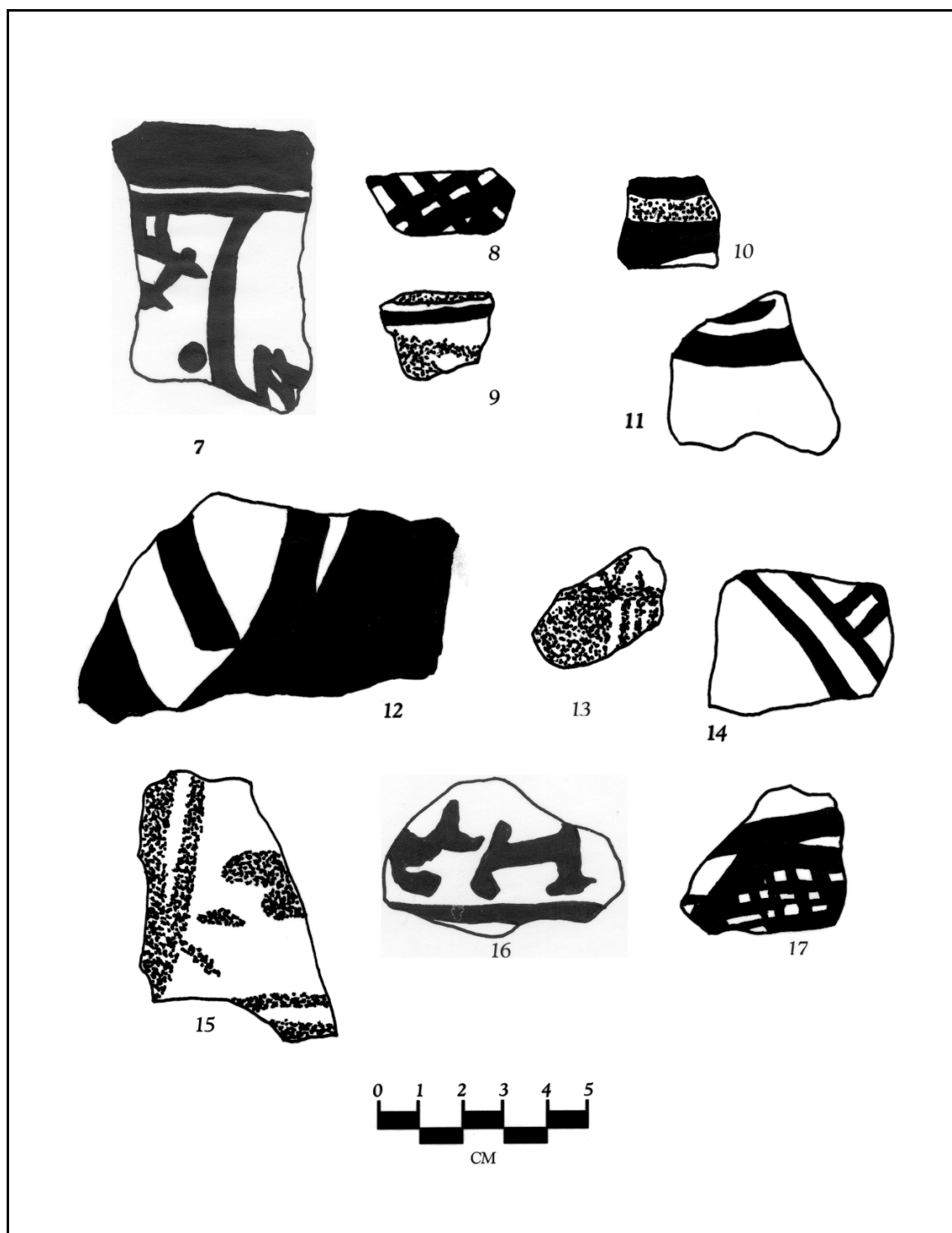


Figure 14. Killke-related sherds from the site of Marca Urqu, south of Acos.
Solid fill represents red paint while the stippled design is black paint.

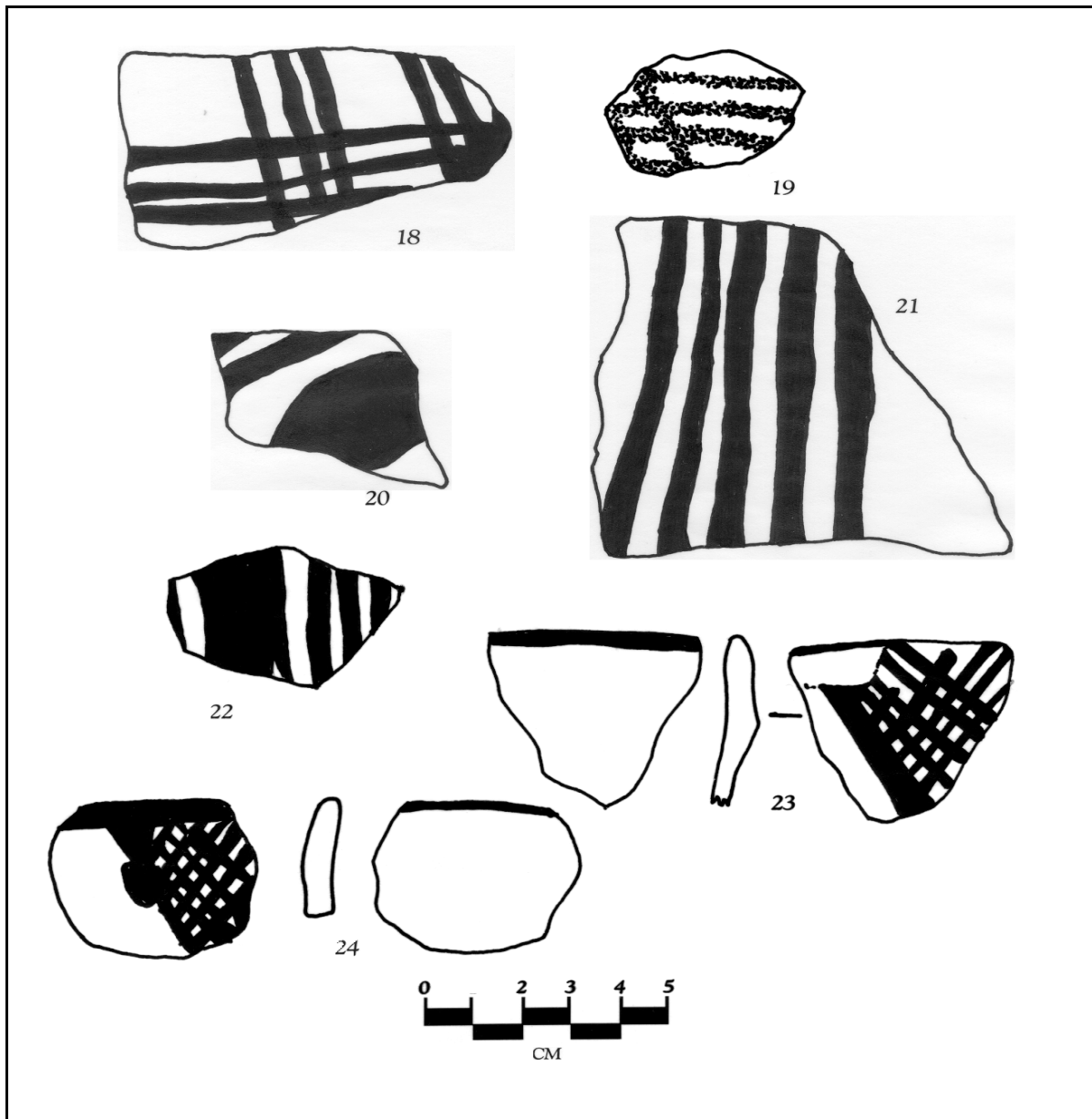


Figure 15. Killke-related sherds from the site of Marca Urqu, south of Acos.
Solid fill represents red paint while the stippled design is black paint.

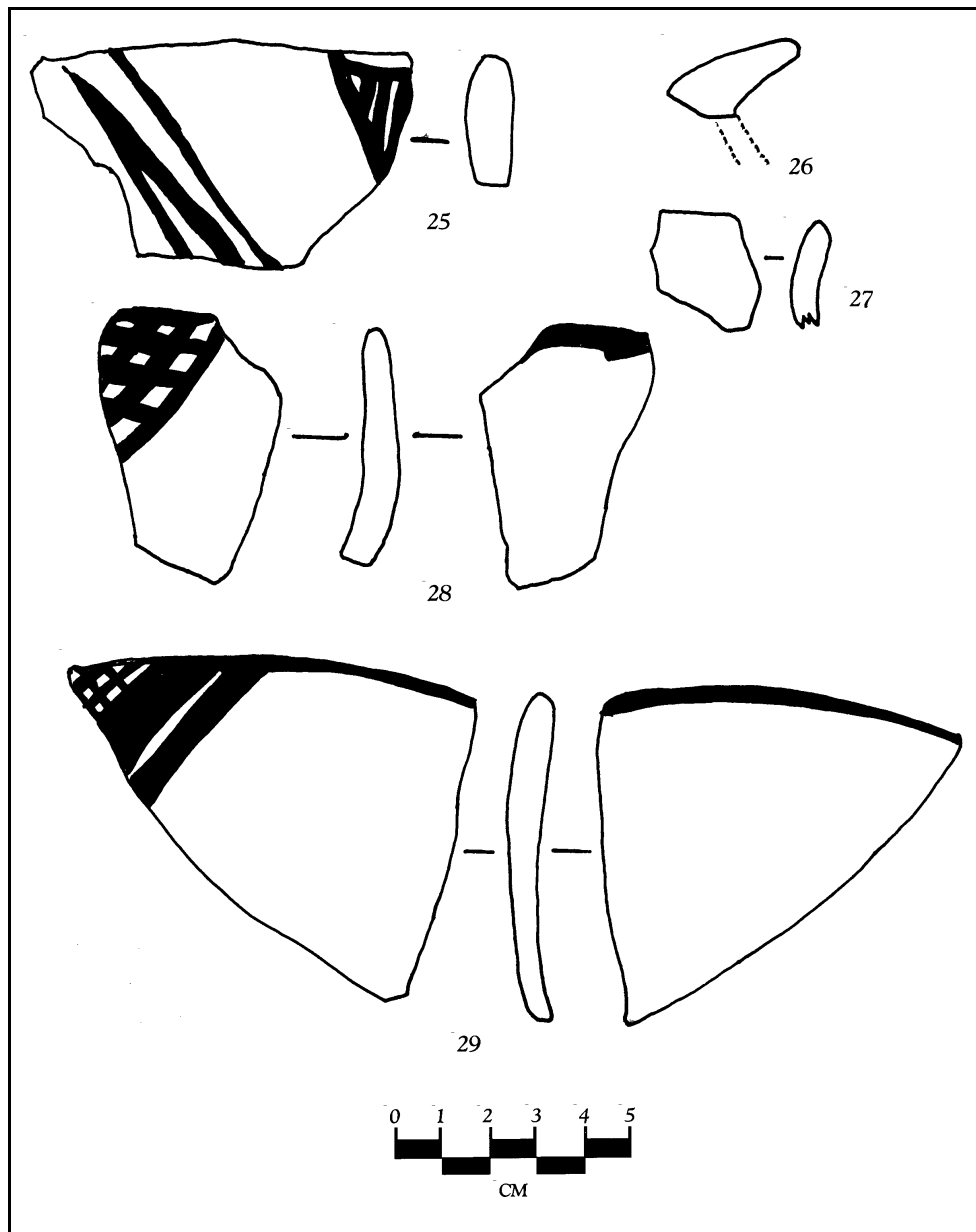


Figure 16. Killke-related sherds from the site of Marca Urqu, south of Acos.
Solid fill represents red paint while the stippled design is black paint.

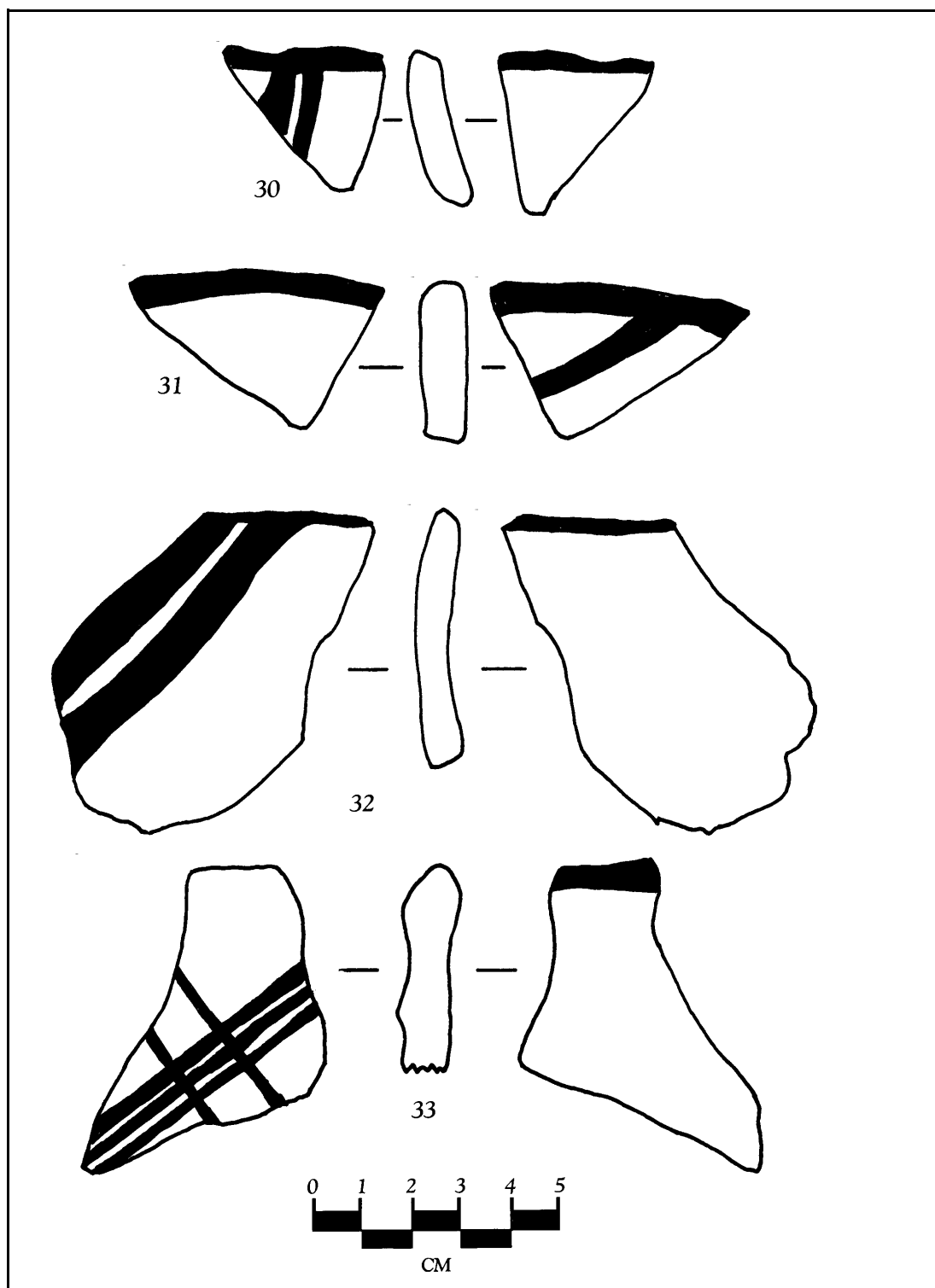


Figure 17. Killke-related sherds from the site of Marca Urqu, south of Acos.
Solid fill represents red paint while the stippled design is black paint.

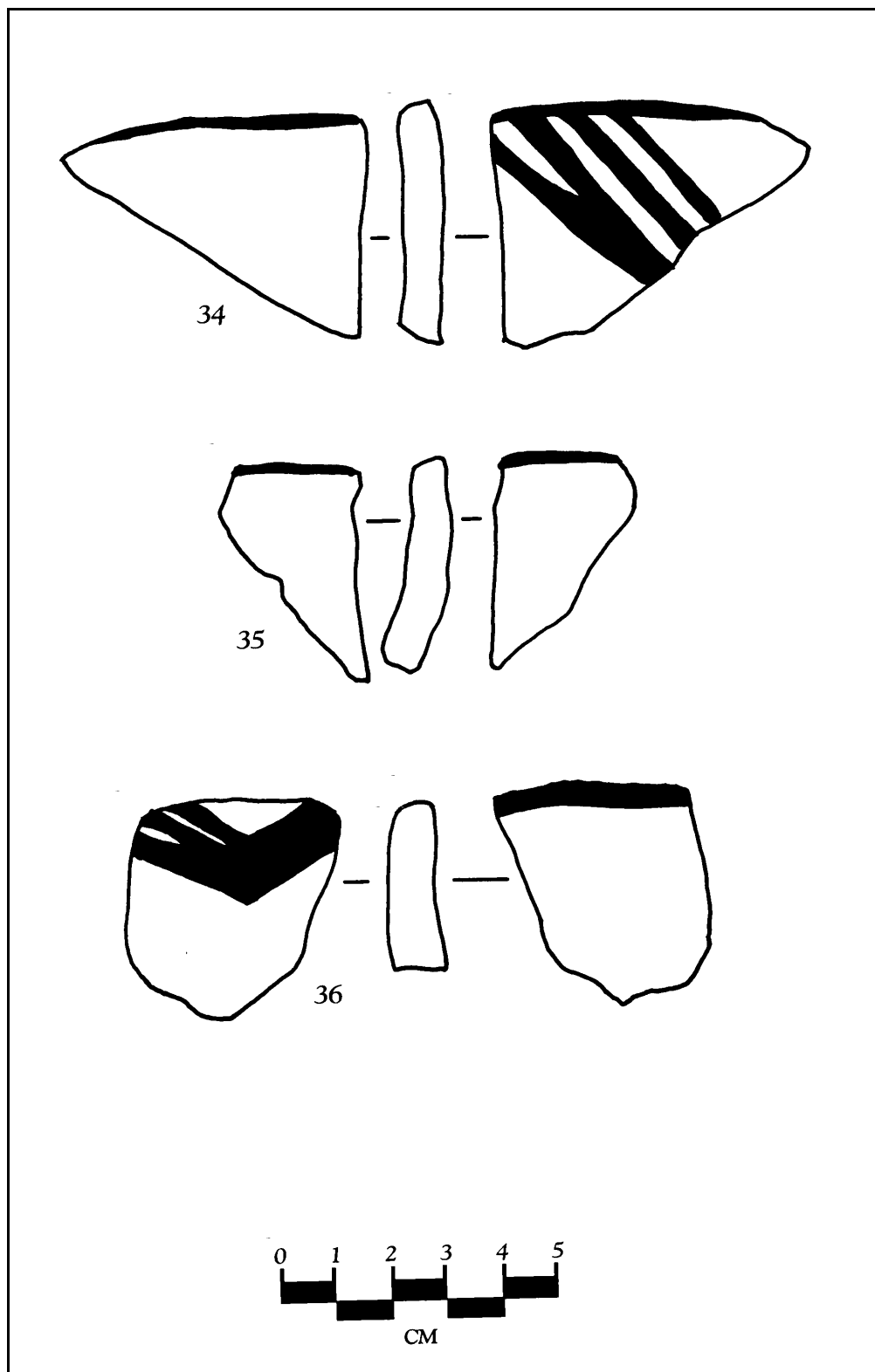


Figure 18. Killke-related sherds from the site of Marca Urqu, south of Acos.
Solid fill represents red paint while the stippled design is black paint.



Figure 19. View of the site of Quispillaqta (with its oval structures) north of the pass between the Sangarara puna and the Chacco/Acomayo drainage (see Figure 6).



Figure 20. The low pass between the puna of Sangarara (left) and the Chacco/Acomayo drainage (on the right). A probable Inca road, currently a foot trail, traverses the pass through the center of the photograph. Two ruined structures lie on the road, one slightly to the left of center and the other on the far right. The modern road follows the contour of the hill along the upper edge of the cultivated area in the center of the photograph.



Figure 21. View of the three terraced mounds (the site of Albanapata) west of Acos (lower right), the terraced land west of the village of Acos, and the Apurímac Valley around the town of Pillpinto as seen from the summit of Marca Urqu. Part of the north slope of Marca Urqu is visible in the lower left. See also Figure 4 for a view of part of Albanapata from a lower elevation. The area west of the Apurímac River shown here was part of the area of Bauer's survey in the Province of Paruro.