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Stress and Warfare among the Kayenta Anasazi of the Thirteenth Century A.D. By Jonathan Haas and Winifred Creamer.

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**Author**

Case, Charles C.

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elegant and scholarly as *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico* is, it follows steadfastly in a lineage that does not question the monstrosous presence of these buildings within the pueblos. Much is made of them as monuments to faith and persistence. Little is mentioned of them as monuments to coercion and intolerance. It is dismaying likewise, considering the bloody history of the Spanish conquistadors in New Mexico, that the only time a word as strong as *massacre* is used in this book is in reference to Spanish victims of the futile Indian revolt of 1680. It is easy to find aesthetic pleasure, as so many artists and architects have, in the sensual haunches of the church in Ranchos de Taos; or to admire the play of light across the mud-plastered buttresses of the church of San Agustín in Isleta. However, such epicureanism is the privilege of those who can indulge in a convenient history of kindly friars and compliant natives. The Spanish were fundamentally hostile to native culture; a church was their brand on a pueblo, a sign of possession. And the Pueblo people's superficial compliance with the Spanish, and later Anglo, regimes disguised a deep commitment to their own beliefs.

Paradoxically, these monuments to the destruction of a culture are at times fiercely protected, but not on religious grounds. A visitor to Santo Domingo or Acoma is soon informed that, whatever the church may represent to the people of the pueblo (such as slaughter and slavery in the case of Acoma), it is nevertheless theirs and theirs alone. There is as little sympathy for aesthetics as there is for scholarly analysis. It is now a part of the pueblo's cultural landscape, neither venerated nor neglected. A conventional history of the churches in New Mexico can scrupulously recount martyred friars, allotments of nails, and the comings and goings of expeditions without a word about what these extraordinary structures mean to those who built them.

*Don Hanlon*  
University of Wisconsin

**Stress and Warfare among the Kayenta Anasazi of the Thirteenth Century A.D.** By Jonathan Haas and Winifred Creamer. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1993. 211 pages.

*Stress and Warfare* is a dense book of 211 pages that investigates the relationship between warfare and political formation among the

prehistoric people of northeastern Arizona in the period from A.D. 1100 to 1200. It is dense because it not only contains the details of a sweeping ground survey of dozens of archeological sites made in the Kayenta region from 1983 to 1986 but includes an extensive discussion of theory and method as well.

The first nine pages are devoted to an exploration of the concept of tribe and political formation. The second section of twenty-five pages reviews the characteristics of the Kayenta archeological region and ties the theoretical problems with the goals of the survey and with the methodology employed. The third section covers the actual field research, including excavations in Long House Valley and ground surveys in Kayenta, Klethla, and Tsegi canyons. Section 6 evaluates the research project and summarizes the findings and conclusions. An eight-page bibliography follows. Attached to the end of the book are four appendices totaling sixty-two pages. These cover in greater detail the excavations at two sites in Long House Valley, the use of a computer geographic information program, an analysis of the chipped stone artifacts recovered, and a technical discussion of the ceramic finds from the Kayenta area.

*Stress and Warfare* is an ambitious book that attempts to do more than simply report another season of archeological fieldwork. The real goal is to examine the theoretical question of whether "tribes" existed among the inhabitants of the greater Kayenta region before A.D. 1100 and the role warfare played in the development of discrete political entities. To answer these questions, archeological data, artifacts, and information about site locations and defensive structures are gathered and analyzed for evidence of intergroup fighting. Behind this enterprise lurks the lingering problem of why the inhabitants chose the great cliff shelters for their homes and why they subsequently abandoned them early in the 1300s—questions that have intrigued scholars for a hundred years.

This book is impressive at first glance, but a closer look reveals deep problems. That is not to say this is not a worthwhile book, only that it is possible to question some of the premises on which the book is based. The selection of a specific theoretical problem as the focus of research is commendable and gives important guidance and direction to the endeavor, but it must be the right problem—one that is amenable to an answer.

The strength of this study lies in the presentation of the factual survey data and the discussion and analysis of that material. This

is a well-done and valuable addition to the study of Southwestern prehistory. On the other hand, an attempt to relate this work to a specific theoretical question quickly reveals the difficulty of attempting to resolve complex ethnographic questions within the limits of archeological data. It moves dangerously close to constructing a theory and then setting out to find evidence to support that contention. Seeking simplistic cause-and-effect answers seldom works with human material. Most human events are embedded in a network of multiple causes that exist in sequential chains hidden in history, interpretation, and flexible definitions and are rarely susceptible to simple causal explanations.

In this case, the authors apparently are asserting that the redistribution and consolidation of the prehistoric Kayenta population into larger, more defensible communities between A.D. 1100 and 1300 was related to increasing chronic warfare, which pushed these communities into tribal political units. But the authors confuse the issue by stretching the commonly accepted definitions of key terms in order to make them fit their paradigm. They wrestle with the meaning of *tribe*, an abstract construct that has both a common, loose meaning and a more restricted anthropological use. In anthropology, it has generally meant a group of people composed of—in ascending order—the individual, the family, the clan, the phraety, the moiety, and ultimately the tribe. It is closely related to a generational, expanding population. This group shares a common biological background and a common language and culture, and occupies a common territory. It may or may not have a tight hierarchical power structure, but the internal structure is dominated by kinship, not by political organization. At this level of society, the concept of polity is generally not employed. Political structure does not come into play until the size of the social group becomes so large and unwieldy that kinship is no longer an effective operational instrument. But in small groups, kinship is almost always the dominating principle of social organization, and it is stretching the concept of polity to refer to social organization among the Kayenta peoples of the twelfth century in political terms, unless there is evidence that the population had expanded beyond kinship limits.

There was a similar problem with the use of the concept of *warfare*. The generic term is *fighting*. It is somewhat misleading to refer to occasional skirmishes, ambushes, raids, or attacks by small bodies of combatants as warfare. In general, the term *warfare* is reserved for fighting between large bodies of organized and

specialized warriors who are trained, equipped, and led by a structured hierarchy of leaders. Normally, it means systematic campaigns with planned objectives; occasional raids of a few men in a hit-and-run attack is fighting, not warfare. It is doubtful that true warfare existed among the Kayenta, although fighting no doubt did. But fighting or warfare, there is little doubt that such activity directly affects the organization and behavior of the groups involved.

The authors write as if they believe they originated the idea that hostilities and fighting helped shape the structure and organization of Kayenta society. They seem astonished that living sites in the Kayenta area were so often chosen with defense and line-of-sight visibility as a primary consideration. Yet every tourist who has ever visited the ruins of this area has noted the obvious defensive nature of the setting and structures. Even the most casual visitor to nearby Wupatki or Walnut Canyon cannot help but see that defensive positions, often carefully chosen with remarkable awareness for their observational advantages, are ubiquitous to the region. Of course, it never hurts to quantify such casual observations, but it should be made clear that this is not a new issue.

What answers did the authors find to the theoretical questions raised in this study? If there were any, this report did not reveal them. The authors state that their conclusions about tribal formation in the Kayenta region were "limited." But they did find more questions! They also claim that their work led to new insights regarding both the nature of tribal organization and the evolution of tribal polities. In truth, however, these insights were nothing but speculation. Perhaps the biggest insight gained was that, in attempting to go beyond mere reporting and explore the theoretical issues involved, it is easier to ask questions than to answer them. That is an insight we can all use.

*Charles C. Case*

**Tecumseh: Shawnee Rebel.** By Robert Cwiklik. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1993. 112 pages. \$18.95.

Tecumseh was one of the most important Indian leaders of the nineteenth century, as well as one of the most misunderstood. In this short work for young people, Robert Cwiklik chronicles the