



cover design by Jennifer Steffey

THE HOPI INDIAN TOWN of Orayvi in northeastern Arizona is widely regarded as the oldest continuously inhabited settlement in North America, going back to at least the 12th century CE. According to Spanish accounts, by the 17th century Orayvi was also the largest Hopi community and it played a major role in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The Hopi villages were never reconquered, and at the time of United States annexation in 1848, they retained autonomy from colonial domination. As U.S. influence grew, via the army, traders, missionaries, Indian agents, and in the late 1880's, a boarding school, Orayvi became the center of Hopi resistance to hegemonic pressures. However, those pressures accelerated in the 1890's and, together with encroachment on Hopi lands and waters by Mormon settlers and migrating Navajos, exacerbated preexisting factionalism within the Orayvi community. In September 1906, the "Friendly" faction forced out the "Hostiles", and eventually five new villages arose from further social divisions.

A "classical Crow" matrilineal clan system, Orayvi presents a unique opportunity, in its split, to study the structure and operation of a kin-based social order, like that of many other "middle-range" systems around the world. The split has proven irresistible to anthropologists interested in the comparative analysis of social structure, to cultural geographers, and to archaeologists concerned with Ancestral Pueblo village formations and population movements. Studies of Orayvi's social forms, demography, and material conditions have burgeoned since the work of Mischa Titiev and Fred Eggan in the 1930's, generating alternative hypotheses about the split, which have become more sharply focused in several analyses since the 1970's. None of those inquiries has fully engaged the abundant archival record, however, and all have been hampered by the long afterlife of an obsolete structural-functional paradigm in anthropological descriptions of Hopi social structure.

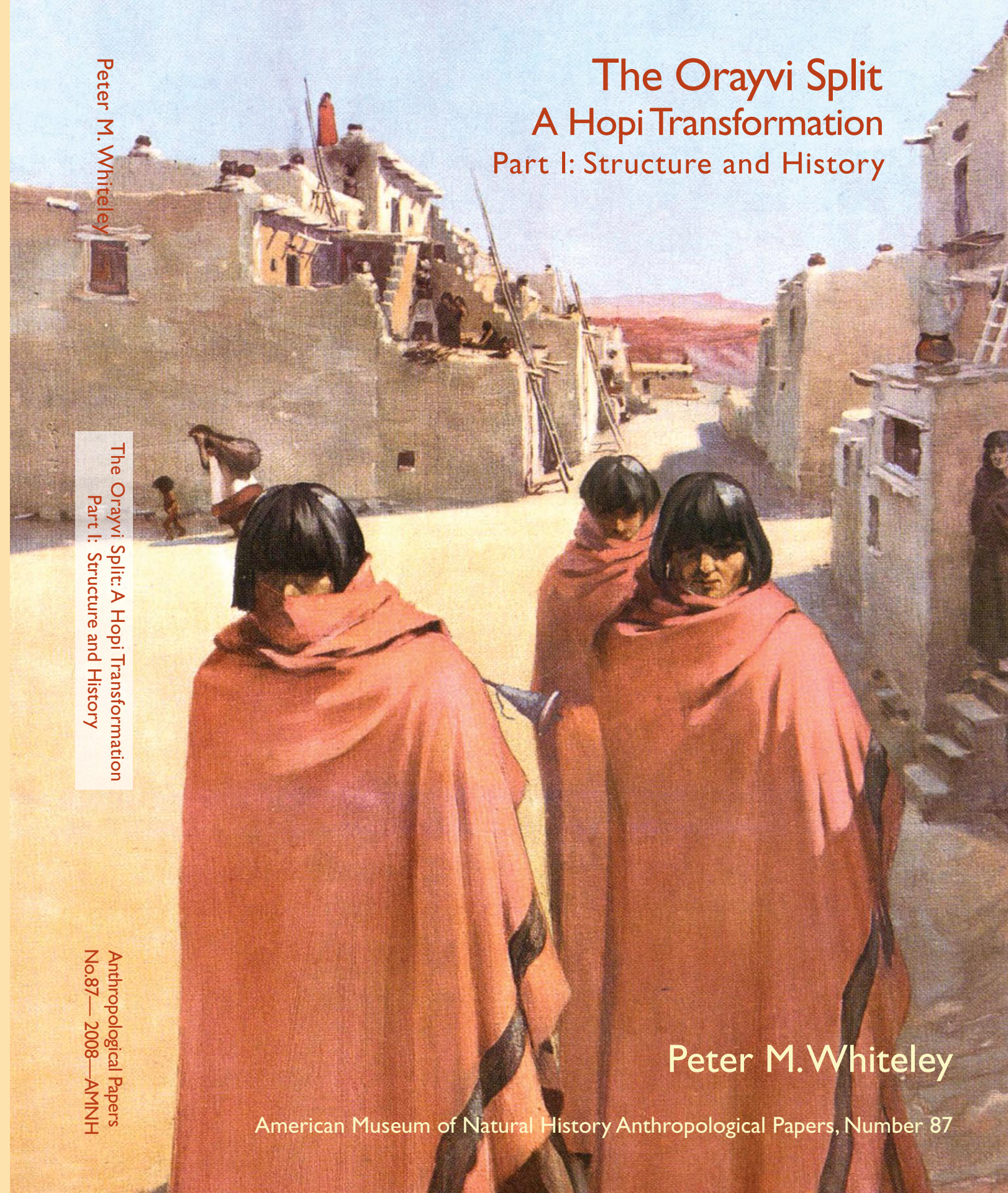
Building on the author's earlier studies (*Deliberate Acts: Changing Hopi Culture through the Oraibi Split*, 1988, and *Bacavi: Journey to Reed Springs*, 1988), the present monograph results from three years' ethnographic fieldwork on the Hopi Reservation and extensive ethnohistoric research, conducted over the last three decades. This work is distinguished from the canon of Orayvi studies by its comprehensive use of the archival record compiled by Indian agents, census enumerators, missionaries, and earlier ethnologists.

PART I: STRUCTURE AND HISTORY presents a critical analysis of existing sociological, demographic, and material-determinist hypotheses for the split. A detailed reconstruction of the exact population of Orayvi in 1906—based on systematic correlation of multiple census sources—demonstrates that all previous analyses have been seriously marred by substantive demographic error, both in terms of population totals and social characteristics of the factions. A retheorizing of Orayvi social structure in terms of "houses" and households moves beyond the received model of matrilineal descent groups to explain more cleanly the social facts of the split. The primary social units to relocate from or remain in Orayvi were houses and households, rather than matrilineal descent groups. Further, a prominent dualism at the heart of Orayvi political structure, echoing aspects of Rio Grande Pueblo dual organization, is shown as a primary axis of social division—between the town's "peace chief" (*Kikmongwi*) and its "war chief" (*Qaletaqmongwi*) and their respective factions.

Using contemporary land surveys and other records, Part I also develops a detailed picture of Orayvi's cultural ecology, and refutes the hypothesis that the split resulted from a loss of farmland from arroyo cutting in the Oraibi Wash. Those records assist too in a reassessment of Orayvi's so-called "clan lands" and their purported relationship to operational social groups. Analysis demonstrates that the developed anthropological representation of clan lands—long a cornerstone of theorizing about the split—rests upon major inaccuracies and misconceptions in the ethnological record. As with social structure in general, houses and households are shown as a more apposite model of Orayvi's economic organization than corporate unilineal descent groups.

PART II: THE DOCUMENTARY RECORD is an extended appendix that presents an array of historical documents pertaining to the Orayvi split, especially letters by government agents and records of Menno-nite missionary H.R. Voth.

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The Orayvi Split

A Hopi Transformation

Part I: Structure and History

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