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Momaday, Silko, and Allen, but several Latin American poets and novelists as well as well-known North Americans like Gary Snyder and W.S. Merwin. Jerome Rothenberg provides an extended overview of his own goals and methods. Dell Hymes's contribution is a rich, rambling advocacy of eclectic method—"Use all there is to use." Hymes is exasperated by arbitrary disciplinary limits on what a scholar might aim for, and by scholars who try to pigeonhole him, vis-à-vis other workers, as "the particle person." His paper includes some attention to Chinookan materials but centers on a beautiful translation of a long narrative by a Tonkawa speaker, John Rush Buffalo. Hymes's chapter is grouped not with the theoretical introductions but with the case studies. Like Rothenberg's paper, however, this would be a superb introduction to Hymes's work and is probably much more accessible than most of the papers in *In Vain I Tried to Tell You* (1981).

In summary, if I were not fortunate enough to have received this volume as a review copy, I would certainly buy it. I have already assigned several chapters in it to students, and I expect to consult it again as a reference. I would regard it as indispensable even to a minimal collection on Native American languages and literatures.

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Orayvi Revisited: Social Stratification in an "Egalitarian" Society. By Jerrold E. Levy, with assistance from Barbara Pepper. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press, 1992. 176 pages. \$35.00 cloth.

The stated aim of *Orayvi Revisited* is an examination of the Hopi system of social stratification as (1) a source of internal contradiction in Hopi social organization and (2) a factor in the disintegration of the village of Orayvi during the early years of the twentieth century. Using previously unexamined field notes by Mischa Titiev, as well as federal census data of 1900, Jerrold Levy provides the first quantitative analysis of the 1906 Orayvi split. As Levy points out, this book is, in many ways, a restudy of Titiev's *Old Oraibi: A Study of the Indians of Third Mesa* (1944). It is more, by virtue of the perspectives afforded by Levy's quantitative analy-

sis and comparative perspectives from Navajo social organization. It is less, in that Titiev provides valuable overviews of the Hopi worldview and ceremonial organization. The result is a work which, if not the first book read on the Hopi, should be the second.

Levy draws on demographic, ethnographic, and historical sources in his reanalysis of Hopi social organization. In doing so, he largely reaffirms the work of Titiev and Fred Eggan (*Social Organization of the Western Pueblos*, 1950) while taking issue with the conclusions of *Deliberate Acts* (1988), Peter Whiteley's study of the Orayvi split.

Because land and water resources were both restricted and tenuous, Hopi society structured itself on an inequitable distribution of land. In Levy's view, Titiev and Eggan "accurately described the methods devised to 'preserve the core' of the land-controlling descent groups by sloughing off excess population in an orderly method during time of scarcity" (p. 3). At the same time, the constraints represented by inequity required a high degree of cooperation and social integration. The net result was a society in a state of dynamic tension that increased or decreased as droughts alternated with wet periods. Both ideology and values stressed the importance of commoners and ceremonialists and contributed to social integration. In addition, marriage restrictions and open membership in ceremonial societies precluded the development of alliances between a few ceremonialist families.

Orayvi Revisited is the product of well-informed scholarship; careful analysis of relevant demographic, ethnographic, and historical data; and a carefully constructed argument. Levy begins with a speculative reconstruction of Hopi society, giving particular attention to the history of drought, epidemics, and population and to evidence for the previous existence of factions and intervillage conflict. Here, as elsewhere, Levy underscores the changing, fluid, dynamic nature of Hopi society as it adapted to an environment that seems unsuitable for agriculture. In a discipline that has produced—in its ethnographies—portraits of peoples as unchanging, timeless, stable, Levy's essay is a reminder that this is seldom the case, especially in the American Southwest.

Hopi social stratification includes *pavansinom*, "most important people," and *sukavungsinon*, "grass-roots people," or commoners. *Pavansinom* refers to those clans that control ceremonies and

includes all members of the clan whether or not they are active participants in the ceremonial life. However, there is no clear dividing line between these two strata; rather, Levy portrays a system that permits individuals and groups to define and negotiate their status. Nonetheless, regression analysis shows an almost perfect correlation between "ceremonial" scores and the quality of land owned at the turn of this century.

Through examination of demographic, social structural, and other information, Levy is able to demonstrate that at the time of the Orayvi split, lower-ranking clansmen joined the hostiles in significant numbers. If high- and middle-rank clans were split, prime and alternative lineages remained loyal to the friendly village chief. Levy concludes, "The composition of the factions suggests that the Orayvi split was nothing if not a revolt of the landless" (p. 7). Key to this conclusion is an analysis of the droughts, smallpox epidemics, and population growth (both immigrant and natural) between 1856 and 1906. Levy finds that the population exceeded the capacity of the land to support it.

Having confirmed the structural-environmental hypothesis, Levy provides a detailed review and critique of Whiteley's arguments that the Orayvi split was the result of a conspiracy among politico-religious leaders from both factions: a revolution to overturn the allegedly corrupt Orayvi religious order. Levy asks whether Whiteley's reconstruction is consistent with (1) Hopi beliefs and (2) anthropological analyses; he concludes that it is not. At the same time, Levy provides a constructive framework, "Cycles and Prophecies" (pp. 162-65), in which to consider the Hopi modes of explanation that are central to Whiteley's work. Many peoples have cyclic views of history, including the Hopi. To this, the Hopi add a particular emphasis on prophecy. The net result is the perspective that if something happened, it must have been prophesied. As Armin Geertz (*The Invention of Prophecy*, 1992) has also pointed out, Hopi prophecy has been and continues to be a dynamic strategy used to negotiate the meaning of events for the benefit of segments of Hopi society.

Levy's work is not simply a contribution to the history and ethnography of one Hopi village. In passing, it offers corrective perspectives on community and culture and personality studies as well as past analyses of Hopi social organization and adaptive strategies. The chapters on social stratification and social integration are simply the best available introductions to Hopi social and

ceremonial organization and have valuable methodological implications for the study of other communities.

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Our Grandmothers' Lives as Told in Their Own Words. Edited and translated by Freda Ahenakew and H.C. Wolfart. Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Fifth House Publishers, 1992. 408 pages. \$24.95 paper.

One persistent stereotype of Native North Americans is that a people with a distinct culture ceased to exist in the nineteenth century. What is thought to remain of indigenous people is a group of dark-haired, dark-skinned, lazy alcoholics who live off government subsidies for the poor. Contrary to popular belief, at the time of initial contact with non-Indians, Native North Americans possessed an elaborate system by which they achieved social, political, and religious integration. This system was relational in nature, rather than based on individualism. Tribalism was the means by which each member of society was given a particular role or function to perform. Creation stories (the peoples' history) helped to establish relationships and set the morality of the tribe.

Unlike the Europeans' reliance on the written word, creation stories were passed from generation to generation by oral tradition. This was problematic for the Europeans, because they embraced a "linear sequential view" of history which was based on truth. Efforts were aimed at validating theory, with an emphasis on facts. Facts were derived through a scientific epistemology. Because knowledge derived through oral tradition was connected to religion and considered by the Europeans to be a non-scientific epistemology, it was not considered to be fact but fiction. Even the creation story of Europeans was considered to be fact, based on eyewitness testimony and recorded through the written word. Considered inferior, traditional Indian culture had to be eradicated in terms of religion, language, leadership, and overall social structure by U.S. governmental policies and replaced by the superior European culture. The American public was very much in support of this assimilationist approach to dealing with the "Indian problem." Further, assimilation was considered to be