
Historical Changes as Reflected in South American Indian Myths

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We have seen that the flood myth is widely reported in native North America and in Mesoamerica. It is also found in South America. In this stimulating essay by a Hungarian ethnographer, we learn what happens when a "foreign" myth of the flood (from the Bible) introduced by Spanish explorers is juxtaposed with an indigenous flood myth—among the Inca of Peru, for example. The contrasting worldviews implicit in the two traditions of the flood myth are part of the overall acculturation context which inevitably occurs when two diverse cultures come into contact.

For other treatments of South American Indian flood myths, see Robert Lehmann-Nitsche, "Mitología sudamericana I: El diluvio según los araucanos de la pampa," *Revista del Museo de La Plata* 24(2) (1919): 28–62; Martin Gusinde, "Otro mito del diluvio que cuentan los araucanos," *Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Anthropología* 2 (1920): 183–200; Konrad Theodor Preuss, "Flutmythen der Uitoto und ihre Erklärung," in Walter Lehmann, ed., *Festschrift Eduard Seler* (Stuttgart, 1922), pp. 385–400; Rudolfo M. Casamiquela, "The Deluge Myth in Patagonia," *Latin American Indian Literatures* 6 (1982): 91–101; and the entries under "Flood" in Susan Niles, *South American Indian Narrative: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1981), p. 178.

Primera generación de indios multiplicó de aquellos españoles que trajo Dios a este reino de los Incas los que salieron de arca de Noe despues del diluvio.¹

The above quotation is a surprising genesis (i.e., Noah → the Spaniards → Indians) all the more so since it was written by an Indian who in all

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¹Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1944, p. 49.

probability had been born in the Inca Empire. The Indian chronicler aims at writing the history of his own people placing it against the chronology reflected in the Bible. In his attempts the two world views and two kinds of knowledge given by the two opposing sources of information bring about an anachronistic situation. *The myth of the conqueror* (which must be true) opposes *the myth of the conquered* (which must be a lie).

It is obvious that such a clear-cut acceptance or rejection is impossible. As the short quotation above shows, the confrontation of the two mythological worlds results in the emergence of a new myth even if temporarily (but in some cases still surviving) which preserves the elements of both mythologies while eliminating some of them. Here we aim at touching upon this moment, the adaptation of myth to the new society.

What is the relationship of myth to historical changes? It is true without doubt that the process of this change cannot be traced among a people who have had no historiography. Although it could be examined—perhaps with the help of archaeology—in what way myths reflect the differentiation of property status that accompanies historical development, it is also obvious, however, that myth is not historiography. There is no sense in searching for a historical myth. As Raglan mentioned those who believe in historical myth talk a lot about how easily these emerge but present nothing to verify this statement: "If a process cannot actually be proved to occur, it is surely the duty of those who postulated it to give some reason for believing in its occurrence. It seems to be regarded as the privilege of a professor of classics or literature to guess the origin of a particular story, and then elevate his guess to the status of an universal rule. What is needed is a comparative study of history and myth, and this, so far as I have been able to carry it, seems to show clearly that the 'historic myth' is a fiction."²

We are not trying to find a historical myth, either, but rather the process through which myth adjusts itself to the necessities created by historical changes. We are not aiming at following how myths are created artificially—though partly this is a problem in question, too—but the process in which the *main message systems* of the myth (including the motif of the Deluge) are "equipped" with *sub-message-systems* and with new *armature* that enables them to perform the function of myths while working their way into the system of myths of a new historical period.

² Raglan, 1936, p. 124.

THE MYTHS

Myths analyzed and described here have been taken from chronicles written after the Spanish Conquest. Myths were preserved in Spanish, though, with the exception of myth 8, all of them had been created before the Conquest. Among the chroniclers we can find soldiers, adventurers, clerks, priests, baptized Indians. Their view of the Inca Empire is rather ambiguous and the latter tried to defend it and give a more favorable picture of it while most of the Spanish writers despising their uncivilized nature did not make too much effort to understand a historical period which they considered as "the Realm of Satan." Let us introduce here three of the chroniclers from whose works the bulk of myths analyzed here have been taken.

Guaman Poma de Ayala wrote his work *Nueva Crónica y buen gobierno* comprising several thousand folios between 1580–1615. He was a baptized Indian who in his wonderful descriptions preserved pictures of source value of the religious life, feasts and everyday life of the Inca times.

Garcilaso de la Vega was born in 1540 in Cuzco. His father was a member of the Spanish aristocracy; his mother, the niece of Inca 11, had come from the Inca aristocracy. He wrote his most important work *Comentarios reales* as an old man in Cordoba, Spain. This work consists of two parts; the first part deals with Inca history, the second with the history of the Conquest. When writing it he relied on the memories of his youth on what he had experienced and had heard during the time he spent among the surviving members of the Inca royal family. But later he changed his opinion concerning things he had heard there, for instance, in the case of the myth of the Deluge:

"Dicen que pasado el diluvio, del cual no saben dar más razón de decir que lo hubo, ni se entiende si fue el general de tiempo de Noé o de algun otro particular (por lo cual dejaremos de decir lo que cuentan de él y de otras cosas semejantes, que de la manera que las dicen más paracen sueños y fábulas mal ordenadas que sucesos historiales)."³

Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa was a typical Spanish adventurer. He wrote his book *Historia de los Incas* upon the request of the Peruvian viceroy where he pieces "facts" together to confirm how tyrannical and despotic and repressive the Inca rule was, as a quasicounter-propaganda against Father Las Casas who tried to defend the Indians in his works.

³Garcilaso de la Vega, 1943, vol. III, p. 26.

We consider and describe these texts as myths despite the fact that they were written by literate authors though we lack all data about their future life. Here we refer to Lévi-Strauss who when analyzing the Oedipus myth wrote: "Our method thus eliminates a problem which has, so far, been one of the main obstacles to the progress of mythological studies, namely, the quest for the *true* version, or the *earlier* one. On the contrary, we define the myth as consisting of all its versions; or to put it otherwise, a myth remains the same as long as it is felt as such. A striking example is offered by the fact that our interpretation may take into account the Freudian use of the Oedipus myth and is certainly applicable to it. . . . Not only Sophocles, but Freud, himself, should be included among the recorded versions of the Oedipus myth on a par with earlier or seemingly more 'authentic versions'."⁴

Hereafter we are giving eight rewritten versions of the Deluge. From among these myths 5, 6, 7, 8, which later on are going to be analyzed in detail, were grouped according to the following system: "*actant*"—"action"—"*complementary information*." It might be surprising that we regard the Deluge not an "armature" but a "message" which we think seems reasonable since the Deluge to our mind in myths 1, 4, 8 is identified as the *punishment* and in other myths is referred to as the *message justifying the new creation*.

Myth 1

The sons of Pancha the first man (or god?) commit a sin by shooting arrows at a big snake. As a punishment the snake spits so much water that it floods the whole earth. The Deluge. Pancha and his three sons together with their wives survive in their house built on top of Pinchoncha mountain where they had taken animals and food. As soon as the Deluge had retreated they came down from the mountain and settled on a high plateau—where Quito can be found today—and built houses, but they did not understand each other's tongues so they moved away to different parts of the country where their descendants can still be found.⁵

Myth 2

A llama warns his master of the coming Deluge. They run to a high mountain to find shelter there on top of Uillacacoto. The shepherd and

⁴Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 217.

⁵Velazco, 1884, vol. I, p. 142.

the animals survive. The shepherd is the ancestor and all the people are his descendants.⁶

Myth 3

The Deluge. Two brothers survive by finding shelter on top of a high mountain in the province of Huaca Yñan. As the water rose, so did the mountain. As soon as the water had stopped flowing they came forth to find some food. They were fed by two mysterious beings. The brothers spied upon them and they turned out to be two guacamayos or torito birds with a woman's face. They caught the younger one and one of the brothers made the bird his wife. They had six sons and six daughters; they lived on seeds which they later on planted and lived on the crop. They are the ancestors of the Canari Indians who worshipped the Huaca Yñan mountain as a place of cult and highly adored the guacamayo bird.⁷

Myth 4

Viracocha for the first time creates giants on the earth but they prove to be too big and so he kills them. For the second time he creates people after his own image. Viracocha makes laws but people sink into sin; they are greedy, self-interested, conceited. Viracocha flies into a temper and turns the people into stone or other objects; they are swallowed by the earth or by the sea. Deluge. It lasts 60 days and 60 nights. Three men survive who are the servants of Viracocha and help to create the second period of the world. Viracocha creates the heavenly bodies. His servants expel Taupacaco, the rebelling servant. He re-creates mankind. First he draws and forms on a relief the people he means to create with the help of his two servants on the seaside, and the new tribes come forth wandering in the Andes shouting their name from rivers, trees, rocks, cliffs. Viracocha wandered along. He was almost killed in Cacha as a foreigner. Viracocha punished them by fiery rain but forgave them when they beseeched him. People worshipped Viracocha and erected a huaca for him. Viracocha was wandering around in the country, taught people a lot of things, talked about their future that there would come people who call themselves Viracocha but they should not believe them. Viracocha disappeared in the waves of the sea.⁸

⁶Avila, 1873, p. 133.

⁷Molina de Cuzco, 1916, pp. 123-124.

⁸Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1942, pp. 23-24, 24-28.

Myth 5*After the Deluge*

The sun	came out	on the Titicaca island of lake Titicaca— sooner than any- where else
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(Garcilaso's comment: "Finding out that the Indians believe in the ancient myth and respect the island as a sacred place, the first Inca Manco Capac with his ingenuity and shrewdness made an advantage of this and made up the second story.")⁹

Myth 6

Including myth 5 it continues the following way:

The sun	placed its children	Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo on the island of lake Titicaca so that setting out from there
the Incas	should teach and en- lighten	the peoples of the earth and release them of all the besti- ality they used to live in ¹⁰

Myth 7

Viracocha	after the Deluge cre- ates	the second mankind
people	are ordered	to breed
people	obey,	settle down, build a village, cultivate land, but they have no rule, their lords and mas- ters live without the feeling of indepen-

⁹Garcilaso de la Vega, 1943, vol. III, p. 25.

¹⁰Ibid.

		dence and in ignorance
Viracocha	creates	their lords, the Ayar brothers
Manco Capac Inca and Mama Ocllo Coya	go to war	Inti (the sun) is the name of their falcon-like bird, people thought that Manco had got the Inca leadership from them
the Incas	subjugated people	and established the town of Cuzco ¹¹

Myth 8

The Deluge

God	sends the Spaniards	the descendants of Noah to this kingdom of the Indies
following God's order	the first generation of Indian breeds <i>Rasse</i>	which lasts 800 years
these are the Huari Viracocha people (an ancient white people)	who were the descendants of the Spaniards	that is why they are called viracocha which means "white" or "lord"
The other Indians	were the descendants of this generation	later this first generation was called Gods; they did not die and did not kill each other and gave birth to a man and a woman at the same time
the first Indians	could not	make clothes from leaves, nor build houses and lived in caves; all their work

¹¹Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1906, pp. 29-30, 33-34.

		was the worship of God
people	worshipped God	but not the demons, the huacas
Indians	begin to work	to plough like their father Adam and they were wandering around on the earth like lost people
snakes, lions, pumas and other animals	lived	on the earth
Indians	killed them and subjugated the earth	
God	ordered them	to come to this kingdom of the Indies
The first people	lost their belief and hope in God	and therefore they were also lost, though they had some knowledge of the Creator of the heavens, the earth and people, so he was called runa camac viracocha
the first people	did not know their ancestors	therefore they worshipped neither idols nor the moon nor the demons. They did not remember that they were the descendants of Noah, though they knew about the flood which is called "una yaco pachacuti" (God's punishment)
The first people	worshipped and served	God, like Isaiah the prophet
the first Indians	were taught to plough the land	by Eve and Adam the first people
The first Indians	worshipped	Pachacamamac (the creator of the world)

runa camac (the creator of mankind) ticze viracocha (the Lord of the Beginning), cuylla viracocha (the Lord of the End) kneeling in front of them and crying: "My Lord, my Lord, why did you leave me?"¹²

Analysis

Though the above myths have been selected on the basis of their common motif of the Deluge, which is in itself a natural phenomenon, it is already obvious from the transcriptions themselves that we are faced here not merely with the description of a natural phenomenon. Henry Murray is wrong in placing myths about the Deluge among myths describing natural phenomena which give the description of events thought to be true in the past.¹³

In the following we are giving the main message system of the myths arranged in chronological order and inserted in a table:

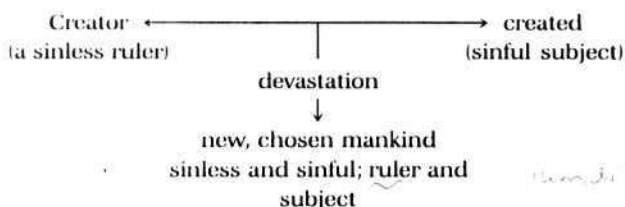
Main message	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Creation				+				+
2 Committing sin	+			+				+
3 The Deluge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4/a Survivors remain	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
4/b New creation				+		+	+	
5 The fate of survivors	+		+	+		+	+	+

The five marked messages are inserted in two myth models (myths 4 and 8) created among completely different messages. This is the main message system in our myths which in itself—even without the sub-message systems—is capable of giving the topic of myths.

¹²Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1944, pp. 49–51.

¹³Murray, 1960, p. 306.

Before defining the theme of the myths let us examine for a minute the logical relationship that lies behind the surface of the messages. Now again, myths 4 and 8 that contain all messages are chosen as the basis of our model.



Opposition is the confrontation of homogeneous qualities which in this case means that homogeneous *humanity* is in hierarchical opposition to divinity of homogeneous quality. This opposition is resolved by the creation of the hierarchy of qualities (which refers to social and ethnic hierarchy). Opposing qualities presuppose each other. The surviving sinless or sinful (creature) presupposes an opposing quality which is either inferior or superior to it. High social status and sinlessness are correlating pairs, just like low social status with sinfulness. Supposed qualities can appear not only together but also in sequence. (For instance, the surviving but sinful human creature presupposes a sinless superior who has created him, which in case of myth 7 happens later.)

It is the 5th component of the main message that provides most information about the time of the creation of the myth. This is the component which most strictly defines the possible ways of interpreting the above logical system.

There is no hierarchy of qualities in the second myth, since in general no hierarchical relation is reflected in myth. Thus causality—so important in our system of logic—does not become a necessary ingredient of the event. Thus it can be stated that the difference in the dominance of the elements of the logical relationship is explained by the less differentiated nature of the above mentioned social situation. The 5th component reveals this differentiation most explicitly.

The topic of the myths is determined by the messages that give the resolution of the oppositions. This topic now can easily be seen; myths are about the origin of the culture in which they evolve, their function is to maintain the system of rules of this culture, the positive character and the absolute necessity of their institutions; thus in fact we are faced with aetiological myths.

For brevity here we only examine myths where the historical background is verifiable.

Myths 5 and 6

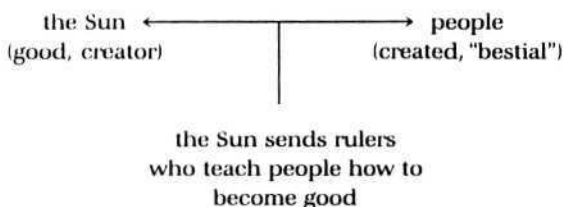
On the basis of archaeological finds modern history maintains the view that the Inca state once was a local kingdom restricted to the area around Cuzco until as late as the rule of Inca Pachacuti. He was 9th Inca of the dynasty and ruled between 1440–1470. It was his and his son Topa Inca's conquest that established the Inca Empire from Quito to the southern Nazca. (It was at this time that they intruded upon the territory of Lake Titicaca. Thus, the Peruvian megalithic architecture was for the most part accomplished before the Incas, since it is unimaginable that the short period of 100 years between the conquering of the land and the Spanish invasion could have been enough to establish such a developed state which would have been necessary for carrying out these vast building operations.) Tiahuanaco culture which created the most outstanding works undoubtedly shows the signs of a highly developed society. In this culture the Sun cult must have had a central role as it is shown by the archaeological finds, such as the Tiahuanaco Sun Gate. From our myths of the Deluge traces of this cult are preserved in myth 5, which according to Garcilaso is the myth of the Indians of Lake Titicaca, and he thinks that it emerged before Inca times. Incas, after they had conquered the territory and had realized the importance of the Sun cult, made it the basis of the verification of their own superiority and power so forming myth 6. *This way the myth of the conquered people became part of the myth of the conquerors*, since myth 5 built into myth 6 appears as a prophecy of the coming rulers. From the very beginning of his coming to power Pachacuti Inca laid a special emphasis on transmitting the history of the Empire which was meant to be the history of the dynasty according to central principles.

Let us examine what happens to the mobile message system of the myth and together with this its armature in a case when a part of a new myth is incorporated from outside.

message:	the prophecy of the Sun about the coming of the rulers of the world
armature:	after the Deluge the sun first shines at Titicaca Island of Lake Titicaca
message:	the Sun creates the rulers of the world
armature:	the sun places Manco Capac and Ocllo on Titicaca Island

message:	they are the bearers of civilization
armature:	the sun orders them to teach and enlighten the people of the earth so that they can purge out their sins the bestialities they used to live in.

Only one sub-message system is incorporated into the main message system taken as a model. The theme of this one is the interpretation of the origin of the Inca Empire, its function is to verify the positive character of the Inca Empire. This claim makes it obvious why myth 5 is incorporated by which they can prove that they are the descendants of the Sun—through the father-son relationship they are unequivocally of divine origin—and that they are altogether superior in power to all. The original message of myth 5 becomes an armature in the new myth and attains a new meaning, adjusting itself thus to the myth that explains the divine origin of the Incas. At the same time its new meaning enters the group of sub-message systems and becomes an indispensable element of this system. Even when these two myths merge into one the principle of "retaining while terminating" still prevails. The inner logic of the myth that was formed this way follows the pattern of the above logical model.



The relationship of opposition and resolution is only formally equivalent to that of the model described above; that resolves oppositions for the entire myth whereas here it only resolves the 5th main-message component. The same hierarchical relationship (ruler and subject) can be found between the Incas and the "common" people that is characteristic of the relationship of the Sun and the people. Good as a moral category is unequivocally superior to the negative category of bestiality. Such a hierarchical relationship of qualities reflects and at the same time justifies the given state of affairs.

Myth 7

Another version of the origins of the Inca dynasty can be read in the myth of the Ayar brothers. Pacaritambo (The House of Procreation) or

Tamputtacac (The House of Windows) is the name of the place in the myth where Viracocha summoned the Ayar brothers (the number of the brothers varies but they are at least six). Its similarity with the second creation described in myth 4 is conspicuous at first sight. This topological myth may have been incorporated into the story of the Ayar brothers. There is a mountain at Pacaritambo in the side of which three window-like holes are to be found. The ancestors of the Incas came to the world through the "Royal Window" which is in the middle; the Mara Indians and the Tambo Indians, who were the allies of the Incas and at the same time formed the non-royal (i.e., non-Inca) section of the ruling class, came through the other two openings. Unlike in myth 6 the story is not about a couple but about a group (perhaps a tribe) from which Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo separated themselves probably through inner strife and they assumed power. The description of the struggle for power contains a motif which makes it worthwhile to summarize the whole myth; one of the brothers, Ayar Achi, with his cruelties intimidates not only his enemies but also his allies so they decide to get rid of him by putting him into a cave. However, once he returns in the shape of a winged flying man and prophesies the future success of the Incas then he turns into a stone (huaca) with his last words ordering them to offer sacrifice for him.

The worship of idols is in opposition with the monotheistic Sun cult. In times before the Incas, worship of idols had been widespread. We can hypothetically state that in the person of the Ayar brother who turned into a stone (huaca) Incas wanted to connect the worship of the huaca with their own myth of origin and thus build it into their own system to use it for the promotion of their efforts towards hegemony.

In spite of all this we can state that we are not analyzing artificially created myths. Their tendency is obvious but it can be accounted for by the special feature of myths since a new ruling class requires new myths. This change cannot take place within a short time. The new that is aimed at, and that meets new requirements, is brought to life by building it into already existing myths.

The myth of the Ayar brothers has a more complex sub-message system than the myth of the Sun (myth 6). The first sub-message system and the system of armature connected with it includes the fate and life of second mankind created by Viracocha after the Deluge but with whom he was completely dissatisfied.

- message: a new mankind comes to life after the Deluge
- armature: Viracocha creates a second mankind after the Deluge
- message: people multiply and occupy the land
- armature: they settle down, build villages and cultivate land

- message: they join the Ayar brothers as their henchmen or they are subjugated
- armature: Manco Capac and Ocllo fight each other so as to establish the empire where people are kept together and taught

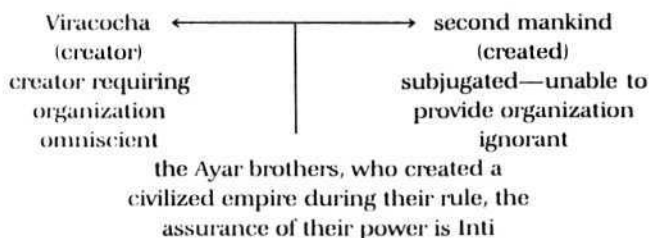
The second sub-message system and system of armature follow the life and fate of the Ayar brothers who were created at Pacaritambo.

- message: Viracocha creates rulers for the second mankind who live in a state of anarchy
- armature: he calls forth the Ayar brothers at Pacaritambo
- message: Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo become rulers
- armature: their brothers are sent away by different means
- message: the empire is established
- armature: they defeat their enemies in war with their followers and build Cuzco

The third sub-message and armature system is structurally separate from the two above lines, but has an important role in the inner logic of the myth.

- message: the Inca's power might originate from the Sun
- armature: Manco Capac has a falcon-like bird called Inti Sun from which he—as people think—got his leadership
- message: the bird ensures the continuity of the Inca's power
- armature: Manco Capac leaves Inti to his son and it used to descend from father to son till the rule of Inca Yupanqui

The three message systems are arranged into the following logical relationship:



As it is obvious from the above figure the logical relationship of the resolution of oppositions can only be observed in the main message

component. It can be clearly stated from all this that this logical organizing principle of the myth is not an aim in itself but makes the realistic reflection of these hierarchical relations possible. By this all the elements of the myth are logically related to each other irrespective of the number of sub-systems.

Myth 8

Before analyzing this myth it is important to give an outline of the historical period in which it emerged. Guama Poma de Ayala must have written it between 1584–1600. This period is half a century after the Conquest.

On 16 November 1532 the Spaniards captured Atahualpa Inca, the weakened ruler of the empire who lost his power in fratricidal war. He was forcefully baptized, then he was killed. The Spanish conquerors verified their right for the conquest with the spreading of "true" faith. This justified the devastating campaign in which temples and huacas were destroyed. (Even as late as 1616 people were given financial reward for giving information to the authorities about hidden idols.)

The Pope ordered the Spanish king to send an "adequate" number of properly educated missionaries to the subjugated district. Missionaries—having adapted themselves to the special circumstances—and having realized the hierarchy of the Inca society considered the most important to baptize the leaders of the Incas, the ruling class and the *Ayllus* (a clan-community, extended family, sub-tribe). After the christening of Paullu Inca, brother to the rebel Manco-Inca, they achieved great success. After a lot of debates it was accepted that the mission would be more effective if they used those elements and rites of the ancient religion which were reconcilable with Christian dogmas.

Contemporary chroniclers write about serious resistance. The uprising of Manco Inca and his success forced a temporary halt upon both the soldiers and the missionaries (500 missionaries were killed). Because of the Indian resistance and inner struggle among the Spanish conquerors the situation became consolidated only in the first half of the 18th century.

Before analyzing myth 8 we have to refer to the fact that Poma de Ayala presents the Deluge of the Bible on the 25th folio. This is considered to be the beginning of this myth.

One of the basic elements of the logical model is presented by the basic conflict between sinful mankind and God and the resolution (of the conflict), i.e., the rescue of Noah. We have arrived at the conclusion that the 5 components of the main message-system which coincide with the present state of the society that has created the myth verifies

the former communications through causal relationships. *The present of the myth*, though it tells about the first generation of the Indians, is *the time of the Spanish Conquest*. This justifies the descent from Spanish conquerors. The Spaniards just like Noah are the descendants of the "good" man and they release the conflict of creator = good ↔ created = evil. As we can see so far it entirely agrees with the above analyzed two myths, fulfils its function in the same way by justifying the rule of the conqueror. This myth—after the story of the Deluge—describes the life and fate of the first generation of the Indians. Let us examine the message system and armature *connected with the Bible*:

- message: God populates the New World with believers
- armature: God sends the Spaniards—the descendants of Noah—to the Inca kingdom
- message: they were monotheistic
- armature: they worshipped God and did not worship the demons and the huaca
- message: all of their deeds praised God
- armature: they did not know how to build houses and lived only for God
- message: they worshipped and served God
- armature: with such enthusiasm like the prophet Isaiah
- message: they cultivated land
- armature: they learnt how to plough from Adam and Eve

Connected with the Indian belief system:

- message: the first generation of Indians become dignified in the eyes of their descendants
- armature: the runa people of Huari viracocha did not die, they did not kill each other, they gave birth to a man and a woman at the same time
- message: the first Indians conquered the land
- armature: they killed beasts living on the earth
- message: they knew the creator of the heavens, the sky and the earth
- armature: he was called runa camac viracocha but no one knew him perfectly
- message: the first Indians did not know where they had come from

- armature: they did not worship the idols, the sun, the moon, the demons, they did not remember the role of the Deluge though they had heard about it and they call it God's punishment
- message: they worshipped gods
- armature: (they worshipped) the creator of the world, the creator of mankind, the lord of the beginning and the lord of the end (these four marks can characterize one God, as well)

The analysis of the myths of the first generation of Indians resulted in an opposing message system and armature system that exclude each other. Nor can we set up an acceptable chronological order which could show a possible causality. At the same time, however, we can state that it is not an incoherent mass. The functional power of myth can overcome this anarchy, too, even if not without contradictions. The sub-message system connected with the Bible refers unanimously to the Spanish conquerors. They are believers of God (which is the only true faith), they taught people to cultivate land (culture heroes), and by this they represent the positive side of the first generation. The second sub-message system and armature system preserved the elements of the Indian belief system if we consider elements taken as "unknown" "unworshipped" with positive mark. Poma de Ayala considers the Spanish belief to be true; nevertheless he does not ignore the Indian belief system either; he would like to unite two opposing religious systems and two opposing kinds of knowledge. However, these are superstructures built upon two different systems of production and this way cannot be united. His aim is to describe without conflict the otherwise conflict-ridden relationship of Spaniards and Indians; by doing this he dissolves the inner logical system of the sub-message system.

With the above analysis of the three myths we proved that our original hypothesis, i.e., *the main message system of the myths is actualized by sub-message systems*, holds true. It has turned out that the different character of the myths is explained by the different life and fate of the human characters in them. The function of the myth to fulfil a social need alters the sub-message systems in accordance with the present of the myth. For the myth to fulfil this function completely it is necessary that there should be certain *continuity* in the socioeconomic development. This is verified by myths 6-7 and on the opposite pole by myth 8. The others could retain their autochthonous character, either because they reflect other economic relationships (e.g., myth 2) which

were bypassed by history or there is no reference to social relations (e.g., myth 1) or it is only peripheral and has only local relevance as in myth 3.

Within such a cycle of myths describing a seemingly neutral natural phenomenon like the Deluge society is reflected. So Durkheim and Cassirer are right in saying that the origin of myth must be searched for not in the material but in social reality.

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Suggestions for Further Reading on the Flood Myth

Allen, Don Cameron

- 1963 *The Legend of Noah*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 221 pp. A most scholarly treatment of the debate between religion and science concerning the flood with special reference to the Renaissance. One chapter from this outstanding study has been included in the present volume.

Anderson, Walter

- 1923 *Nordasiatische Flutsagen*. Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis B. Humaniora 4:1–44. Twenty-one texts of North Asian myths are presented to refute claims by earlier scholars such as Andree, Winternitz, and Frazer that the flood myth was absent from this part of the world. The nine myth traits proposed by Winternitz are utilized and critiqued.

Andree, Richard

- 1891 *Die Flutsagen: Ethnographisch betrachtet*. Braunschweig: Friedrich Vieweg. 152 pp. One of the first truly comprehensive compilations of flood myths worldwide.

Baumann, Hermann

- 1936 *Schöpfung und Urzeit des Menschen im Mythos der afrikanischen Völker*. Berlin: Verlag von Dietrich Reimer. 435 pp. The discussion of "Der Grosse Flut" in Africa (pp. 307–319) seeks to disprove the allegation repeated by most flood myth researchers (e.g., Andree, Usener, Frazer, Riem) that the myth is not reported in Africa. However, the scanty total of a bare two dozen texts which the author maps for the African continent actually supports the idea that the myth is relatively rare among the peoples of this area.

Berge, François

- 1951 "Les légendes de Déluge." In *Histoire generale des religions*, vol. 5. Paris: Librairie Aristide Quillet. Pp. 59–101. One of the finest, most scholarly, and succinct surveys of flood material. Includes a substantial treatment of the various interpretations proposed to explain the myth's content (pp. 93–101).

Böklen, Ernst

- 1903 "Die Sintflutsage: Versuch einer neuen Erklärung." *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 6:1–61, 97–150. The author, an advocate of lunar mythological interpretation, applies this theory to the flood myth. For example, the ark is the moon (p. 12); the black raven is the dark of the moon (p. 110); Noah's sons are phases of the moon with Ham being the dark of the moon (p. 140).

Buttmann, Philipp

- 1828 "Über den Mythos der Sündflut." *Mythologus*. Berlin: In der Mylius'schen Buchhandlung. Pp. 180–214. In this essay, first presented in 1812, the author compares the biblical flood with the classical Greek account of Deucalion among others.

Casalis, Matthieu

- 1976 "The Dry and the Wet: A Semiological Analysis of Creation and Flood Myths." *Semiotica* 17:35–67. An application of semiotics, including the binary oppositional paradigms of Claude Lévi-Strauss, to the J and P creation accounts in Genesis with special emphasis upon the contrast between dryness and wetness.

Charencey, H. de

- 1865 "Le Déluge, d'après les traditions indiennes de l'Amerique du Nord." *Revue americane*, 2nd series, 2:88–98, 310–320. One of the earliest serious attempts to review flood myths in the Americas.

Custance, Arthur C.

- 1979 *The Flood: Local or Global?* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House. 307 pp. Only the first third of this book (pp. 7–105) treats the flood, including "the extent of the flood" and "flood traditions of the world." The author contends that although the flood was universal, mankind was originally confined to a small geographical area and thus it was essentially local—a novel solution to the global-local debate. Aware of the scientific critique of the biblical account of the age of the earth, the author wistfully hopes (pp. 44, 57) for "some little discovery" which will disprove the modern methods of dating the past.

Dalton, W. J.

- 1957– "The Background and Meaning of the Biblical Flood Narrative." *Australasian Catholic Record* 34:292–304; 35:23–39. A valuable review of the Near Eastern analogues of the flood account in Genesis with a careful comparison of the P and J strands of the latter.

Filby, Frederick A.

- 1970 *The Flood Reconsidered: A Review of the Evidences of Geology, Archaeology, Ancient Literature, and the Bible*. London: Pickering & Inglis. 148 pp. A good example of a "believer's" attempt to document the historicity of the deluge. After reviewing data from a variety of disciplines, the author concludes (p. 124): "Thus from the first statement about the Flood to the last in the book of Genesis every verse

that can be questioned, examined and tried has stood the test. . . . Not one sentence of the Biblical account, carefully interpreted in its context, can be shown to be incorrect or second-hand or even to be unrealistic or unlikely. It is the recorded, reliable account of an eye-witness."

Fischer, Hanns

- 1925 *Weltwenden: Die grossen Fluten in Sage und Wirklichkeit*. 2nd ed. Leipzig: R. Voigtländers Verlag. 230 pp. A rather extreme example of the literal-historical approach to the flood insofar as a strange admixture of astronomical and geological conjectures is invoked to prove that the flood myth represents a vestigial memory of actual ice-age and earlier catastrophic events. The problem of how humans are supposed to "remember" things that took place during a period when dinosaurs roamed the earth is not seen as an obstacle.

Frazer, James George

- 1916 "Ancient Stories of a Great Flood." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 46:231–283. This Huxley Memorial Lecture for 1916 began an extensive comparative investigation of the flood myth which culminated in Frazer's treatment of the same topic in the first of three volumes of *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*. In his revision of the 1916 paper, Frazer gives the most comprehensive survey in English of flood myths worldwide. See "The Great Flood" in *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1918), pp. 104–361. A brief selection from this elaborate essay has been included in this volume.

Gillispie, Charles Coulston

- 1959 *Genesis and Geology: A Study in the Relations of Scientific Thought, Natural Theology, and Social Opinion in Great Britain, 1790–1850*. New York: Harper & Row, 306 pp. This work, first published in 1951, is a masterful historical overview of the early geologists' attempts to wrestle with the question of the historicity of the biblical flood.

Gittée, Auguste

- 1899 "Les légendes du Déluge devant l'ethnographie et l'histoire." *Revue de Belgique* 27:250–265, 350–362. A survey of classical, Indic, and "primitive" flood myths.

Hwei, Li

- 1955 "The Deluge Legend of the Sibling-mating Type in Aboriginal Formosa and Southeast Asia." *Bulletin of the Ethnological Society of China* 1:171–206. A survey in Chinese of some fifty-one flood myths from Southeast Asia and southern China which involve brother–sister incest. Much of the same material is covered in Walk's 1949 essay.

Kamma, Freerk C.

- 1978 *Religious Texts of the Oral Tradition from Western New-Guinea (Irian Jaya)*. Part B, Religious Texts Translation Series NISABA. Vol. 8. Lei-

den: E.J. Brill. 196 pp. Twenty substantial flood myths (pp. 1–86) document the deluge tradition in Western New Guinea.

Lambert, G.

- 1955 "Il n'y aura plus jamais de Déluge (Genèse IX, 11)." *Nouvelle revue théologique* 77:581–601, 693–724. The first part of this essay consists of a detailed comparison of the P and J flood accounts in Genesis while the second part reviews the Near Eastern cognate myths and archaeological data with respect to their relevance to the Genesis flood.

Lenormant, François

- 1879 "The Deluge: Its Traditions in Ancient Nations." *Contemporary Review* 36:465–500. One of the most erudite of the earlier comparative surveys of flood myths. The author concludes that "the Biblical Deluge is a real and historical fact" and that it must arise "from the reminiscence of a real and terrible event, so powerfully impressing the imagination of the first ancestors of our race, as never to have been forgotten by their descendants." This event, he argues (p. 500), must have occurred "before the dispersion of the families from which the principal races were to spring."

Lewis, Jack P.

- 1968 *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature*. Leiden: E.J. Brill. 199 pp. A detailed account of apocryphal and postbiblical Jewish and Christian writings on the flood with such chapters as "The Flood in Hellenistic-Jewish Writers" (pp. 42–81); "Early Christian Interpretations of the Flood" (pp. 101–120); and "The Flood and Later Christian Spiritual Exegesis" (pp. 156–182).

Montgomery, John Warwick

- 1974 *The Quest for Noah's Ark*. Minneapolis: Dimension Books. 384 pp. One of the more comprehensive popular accounts of the numerous expeditions during the past several centuries seeking traces of the ark on Mount Ararat. It includes a substantial bibliography (pp. 360–371).

Parrot, André

- 1955 *The Flood and Noah's Ark*. London: SCM Press. 76 pp. This translation of a 1953 book by a distinguished French archaeologist ably reviews the Near Eastern flood texts and the archaeological data. He considers the flood as a historical event.

Peake, Harold

- 1930 *The Flood: New Light on an Old Story*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. 124 pp. A survey of the evidence for a Near Eastern flood as a historical occurrence from an archaeological perspective, ending with a chapter on Leonard Woolley's "discoveries" at Ur (pp. 83–112).

Pessoa, Marialice Moura

- 1950 "The Deluge Myth in the Americas." *Revista do Museu Paulista*, N.S. 4:7-48. This summary essay, written in Portuguese but with accompanying English translation, includes a classification of the principal elements of the deluge story. Based upon texts from North, Central, and South America, these elements include (1) deluge is foretold, (2) causes of the deluge, (3) the physical element that produced the flood, such as rain, tears, blood, urine, and hot liquid, (4) means by which the people were saved from the flood, and (5) people saved.

Rehwinkel, Alfred M.

- 1951 *The Flood in the Light of the Bible, Geology, and Archaeology*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House. 372 pp. The author, who believes that "the flood is the greatest single event in the history of the earth since the days of Creation," argues that it was a "prototype of the Final Judgment, which will make a sudden and fearful end of the second world" (pp. 343, xix).

Riem, Johannes

- 1925 *Die Sintflut in Sage und Wissenschaft*. Hamburg: Rauhen Haus. 194 pp. This comparative overview, based upon some 303 texts (as opposed to the 88 amassed by Andree in his 1891 study), differs from others in its effort to provide accurate statistical counts of details. Among the 268 reports—as distinguished from 35 allusions to the myth—we find 77 simple floods, 80 instances of inundation, 3 cases of snowfall, 58 examples of excessive rain, etc.

Rooth, Anna Birgitta

- 1962 *The Raven and the Carcass: An Investigation of a Motif in the Deluge Myth in Europe, Asia, and North America*. FF Communications no. 186. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica. 268 pp. A detailed study of the motif of the raven or crow which stops to eat carrion in contrast to the dove who returns with the olive branch. Rooth divides flood myths into fourteen traits: (1) cause of the fall of man, (2) the exception of one man, (3) man's explanation, (4) the size and building of the ship, (5) the loading of the boat, (6) the storm and the deluge, (7) the storm ceases, (8) stranded on a mountain, (9) sending out birds, (10) alighting from the ark, (11) the offerings, (12) the divine promise, the covenant, (13) deification, and (14) criterion of the flood's historicity (remains of the ark are still to be seen or found, for example). Concentrating on trait 9, Rooth concludes that the raven and the carcass motif which occurs in Gilgamesh and in native North America was originally an oriental motif which partly via Greek-Roman and partly via Jewish-Christian tradition spread in medieval Europe. The Amerind occurrences are said (p. 251) to be Christian borrowings presumably introduced by missionaries.

Teeple, Howard M.

- 1978 *The Noah's Ark Nonsense*. Evanston, Ill.: Religion and Ethics Institute. 156 pp. An eminently readable and informed account of flood myth scholarship arguing that literal belief in the Noachian flood and the purported discovery of an actual ark—as recounted in the film *In Search of Noah's Ark*, for example—does a disservice to enlightened belief in the Bible and Christianity. "If we accept the Flood story as 'true,' then we have a religion with a God who is a mass murderer!" (p. 76).

Usener, Hermann

- 1899 *Die Sintfluthsagen*. Bonn: Verlag von Friedrich Cohen. 279 pp. A serious attempt to apply the tenets of solar mythology to the flood myth.
- 1901 "Zu den Sintfluthsagen." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 56: 481–496. A continuation of the solar mythological interpretation of the flood.

Utley, Francis Lee

- 1960 "Noah, His Wife, and the Devil." In Raphael Patai, Francis Lee Utley, and Dov Noy, eds., *Studies in Biblical and Jewish Folklore*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Pp. 59–91. An urbane, humanistic overview of the Noah story's impact on science, the history of ideas, fine arts, folklore, and literature.

Van De Fliert, J. R.

- 1969 "Fundamentalism and the Fundamentals of Geology." *Journal of the American Scientific Affiliation* 21:69–81. A Dutch geologist with religious convictions writes an intentionally devastating critique of *The Genesis Flood* by Whitcomb and Morris. Opposing Fundamentalism, he concludes (p. 80): "The reliability of the Word of God spoken in this world through His prophets and apostles is beyond the reach of scientific control, because the Bible is not a scientific book. As such, it is not vulnerable to the results of science."

Vitaliano, Dorothy B.

- 1973 "The Deluge." In *Legends of the Earth: Their Geologic Origins*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Pp. 142–178. Flood stories are "recollections—vastly distorted and exaggerated . . . of real local disasters." The author contends "there is not *one* deluge legend, but rather a collection of traditions which are so diverse that they can be explained neither by one general catastrophe alone, nor by the dissemination of one local tradition alone." She concludes: "Flood traditions are nearly universal . . . mainly because floods *in the plural* are the most nearly universal of all geologic catastrophes" (p. 178).

Walk, Leopold

- 1931 "Die Sintfluttradition der Völker." *Österreichische Leo-Gesellschaft Jahrbuch*, pp. 60–81. A sophisticated and succinct review of the major theoretical issues involved in flood myth scholarship.

- 1949 "Das Flut-Geschwisterpaar als Ur- und Stammelternpaar der Menschheit: Ein Beitrag zur Mythengeschichte Süd- und Südasiens." *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Prähistorie* 78/79:60–115. A remarkably meticulous and massive assemblage of South and Southeast Asian flood myths involving sibling incest.

Whitcomb, John C., Jr.

- 1973 *The World That Perished*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House. 155 pp. A sequel to the 1961 work by Whitcomb and Morris seeking to rebut criticisms of that book.

Whitcomb, John C., Jr., and Henry M. Morris

- 1961 *The Genesis Flood: The Biblical Record and Its Scientific Implications*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House. 518 pp. A professor of Old Testament and a professor of hydraulic engineering teamed up to write a comprehensive but doctrinaire attempt to bring scientific evidence to argue for the historicity of a universal flood.

Winternitz, M.

- 1901 "Die Flutsagen des Alterthums und der Naturvölker." *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 31:305–333. One of the most detailed and influential comparative studies of the flood myth in which some seventy-three versions (many taken from Andreu) are broken down into traits such as (1) cause of the flood, (2) the flood, (3) the spread of the flood, (4) the hero of the flood, (5) the rescue, (6) the prophecy, (7) the taking along of the "seed of life" (forms of plant and animal life), (8) the duration of the flood, (9) the end of the flood, and (10) the fate of the hero and mankind after the flood. The author further distinguishes (p. 325) what he terms very characteristic features such as the enclosed ark, taking along the seed of life, the sending out of birds, the sacrifice, and the rainbow. These are differentiated from such features as the ethical motive, the rescue of a hero, the prophecy, and the renewal of mankind.