"dyablu": its meanings in Cañar quichua oral narrative

Rosaleen HOWARD-MALVERDE

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1.0 Introduction

In the course of an analysis of the structure and content of a collection of Quichua narratives from Cañar, Ecuador, I have been struck by the frequency with which the hispanism "dyablu" is used to designate the inhabitants of the "other world", encounters with which provide the subject matter for many of the tales. Recently, research has been brought to bear upon the semantic changes undergone in Quechua religious terminology during the early colonial period in Peru as a result of re-interpretations by the Catholic Church, which then provided the ideological basis for its evangelization campaign among the native population. In the light of Taylor's study of the term "supay" (TAYLOR 1980a), which follows in turn upon Duviols' discussion of it (DUVIOLS 1971) and,

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1 The field work on which this article is based was carried out from January 1976 to February 1977 and formed the basis for a Ph.D. thesis presented at St. Andrews University, Centre for Latin American Linguistic Studies, Scotland, in November 1979, entitled Quichua Tales from Cañar, Ecuador. The full collection with linguistic and ethnographic commentary has been published as Dioses y Diablos : Tradición oral de Cañar, Ecuador, Amerindia, numéro spécial n° 1, A. E. A., Paris, 1981. This work will be referred to here as D.D. I am grateful for comments on earlier versions of the present article, to A.-M. Hocquenghem, N. Wachtel and R.T. Zuidema ; and for helpful suggestions in the later stages to my husband, R. Malverde.
more particularly, takes the latter's article on the concepts *camaquen* and *upani* (DUVIOLS 1978) as a starting point, it would seem of interest to examine this use of "dyablu" in a modern-day context, in an attempt to determine how far its outwardly acculturated form (<Sp. *diablo*) points to a corresponding acculturation in meaning. How successful has been the task begun by the Colonial Church, who adopted "*supay*"-which they took to refer to a malevolent spirit - as a blanket term for the gamut of gods and spirits, good or bad, and declared the *huacas* to be the devil, and the *huacamayos* witches?

Originally, "*supa, supay, or (s)upani*" ('shadow', 'soul') was the aspect of man's soul which would find rest after death in "(s)upay-marca" ('land of shadows'), and contrasted with man's *camaquen* or 'vital force' by which he was 'animated' during life (TAYLOR op. cit.: 58). The confusion created in the minds of the native population at having their habits of worship suppressed, and the identity of their gods and the spirits of their ancestors subsumed arbitrarily under inaccurate and alien labels is reflected in certain chroniclers' accounts and in the testimony of witnesses during the trials of Idolatrias; the spiritual dilemma in which many native religious leaders must have found themselves is illustrated in the well-known passage of Avila's Huarochiri manuscript where don Cristobal Choquecaxa confronts the *huaca* Llocllayhuancupa and, after much doubting, declares it to be the devil ("*supai*") (TAYLOR 1980b: ch.21).

The varying degrees of early assimilation of Catholic doctrine in this regard may be appreciated, for example, from Duviols's discussion of Pablo Prado's account: the devil was variously described to this chronicler as: an indian of reduced physical stature, an Inca, a monstrous figure with a cavernous voice, a figure with cockerel's claws and a trident in its hand, and so on (DUVIOLS 1971: 27). The testimonies from 17th century idolatry trials studied by Silverblatt reveal a similar diversity of opinion among indian witnesses: he was an 'angel' who taught the use of medicinal herbs, a serpent inhabiting a spring, a Spaniard astride a mule at the foot of a mountain, an indian who asks for offerings of black and white maize, and so forth (SILVERBLATT 1979). The analogy "devil = Spaniard" did not take long to establish itself in popular lore, as early documentary records of oral tradition show. In the other cases, the witnesses are describing their relationship with the

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The surface adoption of Catholic terminology long preceded changes at a conceptual level.

Modern-day narrative shows the influence of Catholic teachings to be more deeply rooted, as we might expect. In so far as, of 16 narrators and across 51 texts, only two elderly informants (a husband and wife) used the term "supay", and did so interchangeably with "dyablu", I am able to assume that the latter term has all but replaced the former in Cañar Quichua. It remains for me to determine the range of concepts in the Cañar belief system to which the term is applied. "dyablu" will be examined in the context of a relatively narrowly-defined corpus: the traditional oral narratives of the Quichua-speaking population of Cantón Cañar during the period 1976 to 1977. It will be seen that it stands for notions regarding the "other world" and its inhabitants as diverse as those of native descriptions in colonial times.

Throughout the article, double inverted commas are used to distinguish between mention of the Cañar Quichua (CQ) term "dyablu", belonging to the linguistic code, and mention of the CQ notion of dyablu, which belongs to the conceptual scheme and to which, for members of CQ culture, the term is purported to refer. In oral narrative, the concept is personified and ascribed with properties that vary according to the tale-type in which it appears. This variation reflects the heterogeneity of the concept in CQ culture and, by extension, points both to a polysemic function for the term "dyablu", and to the use of other terms of reference which substitute for "dyablu" in the texts, where their specific connotations are called for. These terms will also be discussed.

Due to the language in which the article is written, the word "devil" is used for the general concept of European origin, to whose Spanish equivalent the introduction of "dyablu" into CQ can be traced. "Devil" is also used to refer to comparative occurrences of the Andean devil; I do not propose here to discuss the appropriateness of the translation beyond the bounds of Cañar. The descriptive meanings of "dyablu" and "devil" (and, of course, "diablo"), it will be concluded, are largely different for members of the cultures to which they each belong. However, despite the non-western context in which it is used, the outward form of the word "dyablu" cannot help but trigger pre-suppositions with regard to its meaning in the mind of the western observer. The same goes for the

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3 My method of application of the folkloristic notion of "tale-type" to the corpus is fully explained in HOWARD-MALVERDE (1979).
other hispanisms discussed. Furthermore, its polysemy, a result of the drawn-out assimilation of the notion by a belief system to which it was extraneous, also renders the task of determining the meanings of the term a complex one.

The discussion will draw on comparative data where appropriate: our ethnographical knowledge of native Cañar owes much to Fock and Krener's research in Juncal (Cantón Cañar), and to that of Bernand in the Spanish-speaking village of Pindilig (Cantón Azogues) (FOCK & KRENER 1977, 1977/8; BERNAND 1981). With specific regard to the study of Ecuadorean Quichua narrative, access to unpublished manuscript collections of texts from other parts of the sierra enabled me to place my own results in perspective. These collections contain many tales of encounters between Indian protagonists and the devil. Published collections which contain relevant comparative material include: PARSONS (1945), CARVALHO-NETO (1966), COSTALES & PEÑAHERRERA DE COSTALES (1966) and GUEVARA (1972). In a wider geographical context, devil tales feature in ARGUEDAS's collection (1953; and there are several early studies: MACLEAN Y ESTÉNOS (1941), ALAYZA Y PAZ SOLDAN (1943), LIRA (1950), and CACERES OLAZO (1970), to take a few examples.

However, as the method of analysis of folk narrative of the structuralist school has shown (PROPP 1968 (1928); DUNDES 1962, 1974), it is misleading to draw comparisons between tales, and classify them together or separately, merely on the grounds of content, i.e. on the grounds of the "same" or a "different" actor recurring from one tale to the next. Identification of the actor must take into account his semantic function in the context of the individual tale, and classification must show sensitivity to the interdependent relationship between tale structure, actor identity, and spatial and temporal setting of the action (cf. note 5).

The different actors in the Cañar tales belong, first and foremost, to discrete spheres of the popular belief system. This differentiation is marked linguistically by the use of terms of reference ("urku yaya", "kuychi", etc.) which are in no respect interchangeable in the linguistic code either with each other or with "dyablu". A summary of their distinctive attributes is given in

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4 The following unpublished collections of Ecuadorean Quichua narrative -several made available to me by Louisa Stark -were consulted: Gunther SCHULZE (Cañar 1968) Louisa STARK (Imbabura 1975 Chibuleo, Tungurahua 1976); Hugh DUFNER (Salasaca 1975); José Chávez (Imbabura 1976); Dieter MUYSKEN (Cotopaxi 1976); Sharon GALAMBOS (Saraguro 1975).
Section 3.0. Nonetheless, structural correlations between tales featuring different actors have been pointed out and, correspondingly, certain shared behavioural properties and similarities in the nature of the relationship between non-human and human protagonist have allowed comparison to be drawn between dyablu and other figures in the narrative tradition (HOWARD-MALVERDE 1979). The degree of comparison varies according to the other figure in question. Where dyablu and almita ('unquiet soul') are concerned, their analogous roles in narrative make it possible to postulate their membership of particularly closely related sets of beliefs. Here, the evidence put forward by Taylor for the assimilation of Catholic teachings regarding the devil to pre-hispanic beliefs concerning the souls of the dead, and the subsequent appearance of negative attributes assigned to the latter, is very relevant (TAYLOR 1980a: 59).

So, with regard to the notion dyablu in the CQ conceptual scheme, a degree of permeation between extraneous and indigenous sets of beliefs may be observed. By contrasting dyablu with the other figures in oral tradition, certain attributes of the former will be better appreciated, and the various meanings of "dyablu" will be more clearly determined.

Turning now to "dyablu", member of the CQ linguistic code: by examining the occurrences of the term in the context of the narratives, I shall attempt to show the ways in which the CQ narrator understands and applies it. It will be seen that its sense is multiple: that is, that there are a number of descriptive predicates which can be said to characterize the sense of "dyablu", and that some but not all of these descriptions are mutually exclusive. These predicates detail the various physical and behavioural properties which may be ascribed to dyablu in any one narrative context. These properties may be classified in such a way as to bring out the CQ concern with such conceptual categories as sociological grouping, spatial and temporal orientation, and the nature of man's relationship with the "other world".

"dyablu" occurs, on the one hand, across a range of tales of quite different structural and generic type. The tale-type to some extent predetermines the particular properties attributed to him in that context. However, a degree of overlap of these properties from one type of tale to another leaves me in no doubt that I am dealing with a polysemic term rather than with a case of homonymy. On the other hand, "dyablu" may alternate with, or even be replaced by, other terms of reference within the context of one particular tale. The interchangeability of these terms (eg. "millay xudas runa" 'bad judas man') with
"dyablu" is important for determining the meanings of the latter, due to the semantic connotations with which they are charged.

"dyablu" is therefore: (i) a linguistic sign endowed with multiple sense from one tale-type to another it will have related but not necessarily identical meaning: (ii) a linguistic sign which alternates with other linguistic signs in one and the same narrative context with the effect of specifying, by means of connotation, the descriptive meaning of "dyablu" in that context.

2.0 The Cañar "dyablu" narratives

In Cañar, the dyablu most commonly appears in narratives of the legend genre, the Quichua term for which is "iximplu". Typically, the iximplu describes an encounter between a human protagonist, whose ethnic affiliation is indicated by the use of the terms "runa" ('indian', 'man') or "warmi" ('woman'), and a non-human protagonist generally designated "dyablu". The temporal setting of the legends is ñawpa tyimpu, a relatively recent, historical, past which some narrators specify as during the lifetime of their great-grandparents, a time before the widespread use of motorized transport when it was necessary to make long journeys on foot. The spatial location is identifiable as close to Cañar (toponyms sometimes being supplied), and the experience may be attributed to a distant relative.

The journey provides a motive for the human protagonist to absent himself from his usual domestic surroundings (the zone between 3,200 - 3,500 m., immediately adjacent to the páramo which reaches 3,800 m.) and to be passing through the undomesticated densely vegetated sacha zone (ceja de montaña) which divides Cañar from the maize-producing valleys of Biblián and

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5 A hispanism conveying the sense of the Mediaeval Spanish exemplo 'didactic tale'. Native taxonomy of oral narrative is relatively undeveloped in Cañar. I believe this to be true of Andean culture in general, in contrast, for example, with certain Mesoamerican groups such as the Chamula (see GOSSEN 1974). For convenience sake I sometimes use terms such as "myth", "legend", and "folktale" as Bascom has defined them (Bascom 1965). However, every attempt was made to determine the relationship between "tales" (used as a neutral term equivalent to "narrative") according to internal factors of narrative structure, temporal and spatial setting, and the identity of the dramatis personae, and not according to external western criteria for generic grouping.

6 ñawpa ("before", with spatial and/or temporal reference) is commonly used in Quechua narrative to designate an age before the present creation, cf. GOW & CONDORI (1976) and URBANO (1980). Here, however, ñawpa tyimpu is during this creation, the tiempo de Dios Hijo, as opposed to the age of the previous one, before the arrival of the Spaniards, known as the tiempo de Dios Padre, with which the events of the myths, and the supremacy of the urku yaya ('mountain father') are associated, cf. FOCK & KRENER (1977).
Azogues (2,800 - 3,000 m.), geographically south of Cañar, and from the tropical valleys (yunga) geographically due west.

It is here, in characteristic atmospheric conditions, that the encounter with the dyablu mad take place, as one narrator describes:

Ña maypi kashpapish simixanti phuyu, simixanti tamya. Ña punzha tutayashpa ima munduta xwin trwinus. Simixanti xiru waykukunata pasarishka. Chaypimi tupashka kuran chay payta apag amuwanka.

'Then in one place there was a heavy mist, and heavy rain. Night was falling and there were many claps of thunder. She (the warmi) was passing through steep-sided ugly ravines, and there she met with the amo who was to take her with him.' (D.D.: 54)

The narrow river gorges (wayku) that traverse the sacha frequently provide the setting for such encounters. In the text from which this extract comes, the non-human actor is alternately termed "dyablu", "amu" and "chazu". This devil is therefore conceptualized as a mestizo patrón. In this guise, he is generally mounted on a black mule, whose association with the devil in folklore is not confined to the Andes, and likened to a mayurdumu ("overseer", D.D.: 48). This appearance inspires distrust in the indian, which may be dispelled by the amo's insistence that he be addressed as "amigu" and not as "amitu", thus persuading the indian to accompany him (D.D.: 55, 61). The amu=dyablu symbolism is made explicit by the narrator of Tale 5 in his closing words:

Chayka mana kashka karkachu xazinda sinu uku pacha xatun ninami kashka karka. Chay ñampi tupag amuman rigchagpish xatun mayur satanás kashkarka.

'That place hadn't been a hacienda after all, but the big fire of hell. And that man resembling an amo whom they met on the road turned out to be the great chief Satan'. (D.D.: 50).

Alternatively, the dyablu's physical appearance may not evoke an analogy with any particular social group, but is left unstated. In such cases, he acts as a guide to the runa and protects him against other dyablu-kuna (dyablu+pl.) they encounter on the road, who typically appear in a procession carrying a condemned soul (alma kundinadu) to hell, lighting their way with multi-coloured torches made from animal bones, and sounding the kaxa runka ('devil's drum').

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7 The Quichua terms designating these two directions are washa (lit. 'behind') and ura (lit. 'below') respectively.
8 "chazu" is the term used by the runa to refer to the mestizo group of Indian origin, who have turned their back on this origin by their rejection of Quichua, adoption of westernized dress and life-style, and the cutting of the traditional plait in the case of men. They are a group who interact closely with the runa, particularly in economic activities, and relationships between the two are marked by distrust.
Tales 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 of the collection are typified by an episode in which the human (or animal, in Tale 12) protagonists arrive at a deserted house in the sacha where they witness a night-time gathering of dyablu figures who report to their leader on the sins they have incited humans to commit. I shall refer to this as the "rendering accounts" episode: it is widespread in Andean narrative (cf. BALLON & CAMPODONICO 1978, for example), and there is no doubt that the characteristics of the participants in the meeting derive much from the European diablo. However, an examination of the terminology used in the Cañar texts suggests that a specifically CQ expression of that concept is in question here. The following terms are applied alike to all these dyablukuna:

Tale 8: "millay xudas runa-kuna" 'bad judas (hisp.) man + plural (pl.)'
Tale 9: "millay kuku-kuna" 'bad bogeyman (hisp.) + pl.'
Tale 10: "ullawanga-kuna" 'turkey buzzard + pl.'
"judíos" 'Jews' (uttered in Spanish)
"patuxu-kuna" 'cripple (deformed in the legs) (hisp.)+pl.'
"ladrun-kuna" 'thief (hisp.) + pl.'
"ruku-kuna" 'old man + pl.'
Tale 11: "inimigu malu" 'bad (hisp.) enemy (hisp.)'
"supay" 'harmful "other world" agent'
Tale 12: "dyablu-kuna" 'devil (hisp.)+ pl.'
"tintasyun-kuna" 'temptation (hisp.)+ pt.'

There are then two sub-groups of terms which refer, (a) to the chief dyablu:

Tale 9: "kapitan" 'captain (hisp.)'
Tale 11 & 12: "kapatas" 'foreman (hisp.)'
Tale 10: "mayur kabisa" 'chief (hisp.) head (hisp.)'
Tale 11: "tiranya" 'tyranny (hisp.)'
Tale 12: "dwiñu" 'owner (of the house) (hisp.)'

and (b) to the crippled dyablu always described as arriving last at the meeting

Tale 9: "suchu" 'paralysed (in the limbs) or deformed'
Tale 10 & 11: "wishtu" 'twisted (in the limbs)'

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9 "xudas" has acquired wide coinage as a CQ synonym for "dyablu" it is the term most readily offered by informants if asked to translate Spanish "diablo" into Quichua (cf. STARK & MUYSKEN 1977:45).
10 The Quichua term "suchu" has been retained in the Spanish of Pindilig to describe the typical symptoms in men of enfermedades del campo, such as rainbow sickness and sickness caused by witchcraft (BERNAND op. cit.: 467, 584) ; in a Chibuleo myth the devil who resists being overcome by Christ is described as suchu (STARK 1976).
These latter terms, along with patuxu (see above), are sometimes extended to the whole group.

The diverse connotations of these terms reflect the effort that has been made by the Quichua speaker: (a) to integrate an introduced concept into a scheme of already existing notions in his own culture, and (b) to understand the introduced concept in terms of other features of the culture from which it comes (viz. the intrusion of other hispanisms). The result is that each term, whether Quichua or Spanish in origin, is used in a way which points to a modification of its customary meaning in other linguistic and cultural contexts (both synchronically and diachronically speaking). Moreover, the very diversity of these defining terms and epithets for dyablu can itself be seen as indicative of an attempt to "pin words" onto a phenomenon which remains elusive and hard to characterize for members of the borrowing culture11.

It is very likely that this episode, in which the chief dyablu notes in a book the sins caused, is a parodic re-working of Catholic teachings about the Day of Judgment (cf. GRIMM 1903: 714-715). There, books and writing as sources of knowledge and power play a prominent role, which has evidently caught the popular imagination: having put the dyablukuna to flight, the hero in the legend uses the information noted in the book to undo the harm they have done, and be rewarded for it.

Further typical properties of the dyablu in Tales 8 to 12 include: cannibalistic desire (he smells the human flesh of the hero, hidden from view on the upper floor of the building); he is overcome by the crowing of the gallu mishiku (the cockerel that "belongs to God" in the native classification system)12, by aspersion of urine and/or by the brandishing of religious tokens by the hero.

The typical theme of European devil lore - the "demonic pact" appears only once in the corpus, in a narrative which contains an interesting allusion to local custom after these dyablukuna are overcome, the indian who had entered a pact with them for material gain has his cédula returned to him - an allusion to the practrice whereby an indian will leave his identity card as security whenever he is obliged to borrow money from a blanco (D.D.: 101). The dyablu-kuna are

11 It is also probable that euphemism is in operation here, but this needs to be verified.
12 A black and white speckled cockerel, also known as zhiru gallu or tuna gallu. mishiku is probably a diminutive form of misha "punto negro en una mazorca blanca" (PARIS 1961) ; cf. note (13).
given a series of impossible tasks, and being unable to accomplish them before daybreak are so outdone. The tale would appear to have been adopted relatively unchanged from European tradition.

What then is the outcome for the runa or warmi protagonist of the encounter with the dyabl? In those tales where the meeting takes place on the road, the hero or heroine is led to hell - referred to as "infiyimu" or "uku pacha". This is to be found either behind a rock or boulder in a ravine, or in an abandoned hacienda building. In those tales where the hero witnesses the "rendering accounts", either the house and all its riches are inherited by him once the dyablukuna have been chased away, or, as I have mentioned, he gains knowledge from their book which he puts to later use: n Tale 10, for example, he restores the water supply to a village where they had blocked it up, and is acclaimed by the villagers (D.D.: 79). In all the dyabl iximplu, the human protagonist either gains materially from his experience or is confined to eternal punishment in hell. In the former case he may also receive a gift from the dyabl of soil which miraculously turns to grain upon the hero's return home (D.D.: 59), or the dyabl may teach him how to cure xatun wayrashka (the sickness caused by contact with the dyabl's breath) using certain herbs and other ingredients - the hero is then rewarded for performing the cure he learnt by this means (D.D.: 61, 316).

"dyabl" is also used in expressions of popular belief regarding buried gold:

Kurita allashpa chaypi intunsis dyablukuna kawsashka nin, dray antimunya nishka. Kurita tarishpa, intunsis chay kuku-kuna llugshichun kruswan santiwarishpa llugchinkuna nin kukukunata mayxankunaka. Xichushka wasipi kukukuna kawsan ninkuna, intusis chaypi krusta ruwashpa shitankuna nin, uchupata u miyashpa shitankuna nin, chaypi ña sanu nin, kukukuna llugshir ña.

'Where people dig for gold, there are dyablukuna or antimunya. When they find gold, then some people cross themselves to disperse the kukukuna. It is said that the kukukuna live in abandoned houses; people get rid of them by making the sign of the cross, by scattering ashes or by urinating; then the kukukuna come out and the place is made safe'.(D.D.: 41)

In this translation, I have preserved the Quichua terms used to refer to the bad influences thought to emanate from abandoned houses and places where gold is believed to be buried (which, in some cases, are one and the same). The informant equated dyabl with the antimunya or 'harmful vapours' traditionally associated with the presence of mineral deposits. He applies the term "kukukuna" (<Sp. coco) to the same phenomenon. This example shows Spanish
terms relating to popular notions of evil integrated into a description of what remains essentially an expression of Andean beliefs concerning harmful influences in the natural environment, and how to deal with them. Thus it is that we find a telling ambivalence in legends, such as the ones discussed so far, in which an encounter with a personified dyablu may lead to either sickness or material profit for the runa, and which may be considered as literary expressions of such beliefs. The "harmful influences" may not always have been viewed as such: Taylor, speaking of supay, suggests the origin of the change in attitude:

"[...] l'âme-ombre des ancêtres, condamnée par l'Eglise au feu perpétuel, connaissant les secrets du pouvoir ancien, des rites et des traditions, de l'emplacement des mines, de la nature des plantes médicinales, fut identifiée avec le démon." (TAYLOR 1980a: 59)

The above examples will have served to suggest that there is an ambiguity and a diversity in the characteristics of the dyablu in the Cañar legends which hardly correspond with the orthodox Catholic depiction of the devil as tempter and punisher of sins. It is worth noting that Catholic teachings were not alone responsible for the introduction of the concept of devil in the first place certain elements of the tales recall traditional European legends such as the ones classified by AARNE & THOMPSON (1961) as "Stupid Ogre" tales, in which the devil is the dupe outdone by the astuteness of the hero. This is to say that, at the time of his introduction into the Andes, the European devil already possessed ambiguous characteristics in popular tradition.

Nonetheless, Andean oral narrative persists as a practical means by which the Indian community expresses its image of itself as part of a specific natural and social milieu. The dyablu in Cañar tradition is an example of an external cultural element which has been re-shaped and integrated into a system of beliefs which expresses and accounts for man's relationship with his Andean environment. In terms of the latter, we have seen that dyablu is associated particularly with the sacha ecological zone, with mist and thunder, with causing and yet curing disease, with the age since the arrival of the Spaniards (tiempo de Dios Hijo), and with the chazu social group. These classificatory attributes may not be solely confined to dyablu. As I indicated in the Introduction, it is necessary to contrast dyablu's role with the roles played by other actors in traditional narrative, in order to fully appreciate the sense of the term "dyablu".
3.0 Other actors in Cañar narrative

Other iximplu describe encounters between an Indian protagonist and such inhabitants of the "other world" as: the urku yaya and urku mama ('hill father', 'hill mother'), the ullachu ('turkey buzzard', *Cathartos burroviana Cass.*), the kuychi ('rainbow'), the mama awardona, tayta dyusitu, and the almitas. I shall give a brief description of each.

The urku yaya and his female counterpart, the urku mama, are thought to inhabit the local mountaintops. Their mountain chambers contain stores of produce representing the three main agricultural zones: tubers, maize, yuca, tropical fruits, all of gold. It is said that offerings of unbaptized children, unsalted guinea-pig, and uncooked beans were formerly made to them, and gold could be had in return. Modern-day narratives speak metaphorically of such sacrifices and demonstrate that disregard for the traditional laws of reciprocity in one's dealings with the urku yaya can bring about sickness and death. In Tale 1, a mother accepts him as godfather to her child and receives gifts of black and white corn-cobs which later turn to gold; when she does not reciprocate, she is captured by the hill and transformed into a bush. The urku yaya's influence over the lives of men is also demonstrated in traditional curing ceremonies where the curandero is said to mediate with him. Informants described the urku yaya as an old man, a runa of shorter than usual height, clad in a zhiru-coloured poncho13; who makes his appearance under cover of mist and rain and is associated with thunderstorms.

Thus, whereas the dyablu is generally associated with the chazu group and the sacha zone, the urku yaya is thought of as a runa and lives in the páramo, a zone associated primarily with absence of domestic habitation and herding of flocks. Some of the indigenous attributes of the urku yaya have passed over to the dyablu, however: the latter may act according to Andean laws of reciprocity, and reward men with grain rather than money; and the dyablu who teaches the journeying Indian the use of medicinal herbs is akin to

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13 zhiru : 'two-coloured' (brown, black or red, and white); the ponchos worn by the older villagers were described as zhiru (they were red and black woven in an overlapping check pattern); the Mama Huaca in one of Landívar's versions wears a "shiro" coloured skirt (LANDIVAR 1971: 115); the gallu mishiku capable of overcoming the dyablu is a black and white speckled cockerel. Such dualism in association with the power of the autochthonous deities is a striking theme in Andean colour symbolism: the urku yaya offers gifts of black and white maize that later turn to gold (D.D.: 29).
the urku yaya who communicates with the curer intermediary\textsuperscript{14}. Moreover, a local ravine is said to be inhabited by awka - the souls of unbaptized children who have been 'captured by the dyablu'\textsuperscript{15}.

The ullachu \textit{(a lexical variant of ullawanga 'turkey buzzard')} appears in ixiimplu which convey an overt message for the control of social behaviour, in particular with regard to marriage rules. Typologically, these legends fall into two groups whose characteristics have been discussed elsewhere (HOWARD-MALVERDE 1980). In the first group, a male ullachu appears as a traditionally-dressed indian youth for the purpose of seducing an unmarried indian girl, who has hitherto been choosy towards prospective husbands. He then turns into a bird and carries her off to his home on a rocky ledge (pata) where she is devoured by her buzzard in-laws. In some versions she revives from her bones. In the second group, a young man who has failed to marry finds himself wedded after death to a female ullachu known as "mama andrea" who lives in a ravine (wayku) and whose family devours him. In some variants he revives from the birds' vomit\textsuperscript{16}.

The role of the ullachu as castigator of those who infringe moral and social codes of conduct may be traced far back in Andean culture\textsuperscript{17}. Cañar oral narrative reveals various points of convergence between beliefs about the turkey buzzard and beliefs about the dyablu. On the one hand, these are suggested by close structural similarities between texts where the human victim is taken to the dyablu's hell-hacienda and texts where he is led to the buzzard's wayku home (HOWARD-MALVERDE \textit{op. cit.}). The dyablu is also found as "non-human"

\textsuperscript{14} This aspect deserves further comment: the tales describing the Indian's journey from the highlands to a lower ecological zone where he learns a cure from a dyablu-healer, tie in with recent research into links between mountain villagers and lowland shamans in historical times, as expression of political power structures (SALOMON 1983). In this light, what might be the significance of Tale 7 in which a travelling kañar ixu ('runa from Cañar') learns the dyablu's remedy and, with it, successfully cures a zambu ('indian from Biblián') whom the dyablu's breath has touched? The zambu thereupon declares that the kañar ixu must surely be "God", so expressing, in the context, his opinion of the runa's superior powers.

\textsuperscript{15} cf. CORDERO (1967): "auca, n. ant, guerrero. auca adj. salvaje; bárbaro; rebelde; sedicioso". In Cañar, Carnival Monday, when traditional hostilities between villages expressed themselves in sporadic fighting, was known as awka punzha ('day of the warrior'); as an extension of its historical association with the selvatic "savages", "awka" has also come to mean 'unbaptized'.

\textsuperscript{16} I am grateful to R.T. Zuidema for his observations concerning the ethnographic content of the Cañar tales; for example there is an evident interpretation to be put upon the ullachu tales in terms of the kinship system, cf. his study of the San Damián "Huatyacuri and Tamtanamca" myth (ZUIDEMA 1982).

\textsuperscript{17} See HOQUENGHEM's studies of Mochica iconography: she has observed that adulterers and thieves were punished by being exposed live to the voracity of the vultures (1980-81). In CALANCHIA's version of the myth of Pachacamac, the body of Vichama's mother was thrown to the "cuervos indicos" (1639: Lib. II, cap. XIX, f.10). Pedro PIZARRO records the ceremonial feeding of the gallinazos which were kept in front of the temple of Pachacamac (1978: 154v).
spouse-hacendado in Tale 24 ("La hermana culebra"). The content of the legends also points to such a conceptual association a group of buzzards gathers to threaten a woman traveller shortly before she meets the dyablu-chazu who takes her to hell (D.D.: 53). A dyablu-kapatas uses a buzzard's feather to write with (D.D.: 69). The term "ullawanga" is used interchangeably with "dyablu" (D.D.: 75, 69). If indeed the bird has long been associated with the chastisement of social transgressions, it is not surprising that the European image of the devil-punisher-of-sins has been assimilated to it.18

The kuychi ('rainbow') is associated with the urku ('mountain'), in particular with the marshes and lakes of the páramo. Contact with the kuychi can cause paralysis of the limbs in men19 and abnormalities in the reproductive system in women (cf. BERNAND op. cit.; PARSONS op. cit.). The narrative concerning the kuychi collected in Cañar personifies the rainbow as a blond youth who lives high on the mountainside, wears ponchos that vary in colour from day to day, and who abducts a shepherd girl who "spends too much time herding the flocks in the hills". She gives birth to a child with multicoloured eyelashes, the distinguishing mark of the kuychipa churi ('rainbow's son'). The presence of the kuychi is also associated with that of gold, usually in animal form: a becerro de oro is thought to inhabit the lakes from which the rainbow rises.

The tales of the mama awardona are of a widespread Andean type: broadly speaking they describe the arrival of two children (usually brother and sister) at a house or hacienda in the sacha which belongs to the cannibalistic old woman, who captures them. In some cases the brother is eaten and the sister escapes carrying his bones, from which he later revives. There are many variants, and awardona is clearly related to Imbabra's Chipicha, to Mama Huaca of Cañar and Azuay, and to the Peruvian Achikay and Wa-Qon20. The theme has encouraged varying degrees of assimilation of the European "Hansel and Gretel" tale, in Ecuadorean versions in particular.

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18 A passing reference in GRIMM suggests that this assimilation worked in both directions: "el diablo siempre nos está persiguiendo y, sobretodo en la hora de la muerte, se esfuerza por vencernos pero se huye timido del agua bendita, como gallinazo" "(...) supai ari huinailla ŋucanchicita catirayan, ashunrac ŋucanchic huaini pachapi ancha ancha sinchicushpa ŋucanchicita atina munan, chashnapish supaica bendiciashca yacuta ullahuangashina chucchue shangu miticunmi". (GRIMM 1903: 702).

19 This state is described as suchu or wishtu: the same adjectives are used to describe the crippled dyablu of the legends (cf. note (10)).

20 For Chipicha, see PARSONS (op. cit.); for Mama Huaca, LANDIVAR (op. cit.) and BERNAND (op. cit.); for Achikay and Wa-Qon, ORTIZ RESCANIERE (1973), among other sources.
According to Cañar versions, the awardona is the 'mother of the devils': the captive children observe the arrival in the house of her dyablu offspring, who report on the sins they have caused to be committed (D.D.: 107). In one variant, her house is referred to as "infyirnu", and her victim is a man who has committed incest with his comadre (D.D.: 115). The clearest association between awardona and the dyablu is provided by a complex variant collected in Cañar by SCHULZE (op. cit.): here, once the children have escaped from the awardona, they arrive at the house of the dyablukuna and witness the "rendering accounts" scene discussed above. There is therefore a strong conceptual association between mama awardona and the dyablu, which is manifested in oral narrative by varying degrees of fusion between two originally separate branches of tradition. There is not space here to discuss her ancestry, but it is probable that awardona has roots as deep in the indigenous culture of Ecuador as has the Achikay in Peru. The fusion of narrative traditions in present-day Cañar may be an aspect of a widespread, long-established process of assimilation between beliefs in a local female deity (Mama Huaca, Chipicha, awardona, Achikay, as the case may be) and the European notion of diablo21.

The term "tayta dyusitu" ('little father God') is of varying use in CQ: in everyday conversation it may refer to God, to a particular patron saint, to a particular representation of Christ, or to a cross. In those oral narratives which I call myths, it generally refers to a trickster-type culture-hero who is also termed "niñu xisus". In particular, I refer to the cycle of myths which provide an Indian version of the Gospel (D.D.: 194-221).

Part of this cycle contains a pursuit sequence during which the niñu xisus repeatedly avoids capture by magically transforming himself (into a cockerel, a cotton tree and so on). The terms used to designate his pursuers are of particular interest here: in general, these are proper names of Bible origin. Frequently, however, the plural marker -kuna is attached to these names, thus altering their grammatical status from proper name to common noun, with the accompanying conceptual shift that this entails. Thus, in Tale 29 we find Christ's persecutors variously termed:

"pilatus-kuna"  
(<'Pilatos + pl.', 'the pilates')

21 cf. TAYLOR'S observations (1980a); there is probably an historical connection between Achikay and the "achacallas" of SANTA CRUZ PACHACUTI's account (1968: 283) and the "Asay guaris" mentioned in a document relating to Cajatambo (DUVIOLS 1971: 375), whom the extirpadores de idolatrias treated as "diabolic" manifestations.
These terms are used interchangeably with no apparent distinction between the actors thus named.

As a further indication that the CQ narrator does not conceptualize Herod or Pontius Pilate as the European observer is bound to do, the words "suchu" ('deformed in the limbs'), "kapatas" ('overseer') and "manku" (<manco 'one-armed') are freely used in addition to the above listed terms, thus ascribing to Christ's pursuers properties that frequently supply the descriptive meaning of "dyablu" in CQ oral tradition (cf. Section 2.0). What is more, the herods track down their victim using their sense of smell (in this quotation, the terms designating Christ's pursuers are in heavy type):

Chay ultimu suchu, chay irusdiska nina nin, - Mana, mana ima kayta rishkachu. Kutiy kutishun chay algudun yuramanta chaymanta kutin mutkingapa maytami rishka, nina nin chay ultimu, chay kapataka, chay pilatus nishkaka.

'That last cripple, that herod is said to have said, "No, he (the niñu xisus) hasn't gone this way at all. Let's go back and sniff out which way he has gone (starting) from that cotton tree", that last one, that overseer, that pilate so-called, is said to have said.' (D .D.: 202).

In the part of the cycle dealing with the Resurrection, the actors responsible for Christ's Crucifixion are explicitly termed "dyablukuna" (Tale 31) or "kukukuna" and "xudíu runakuna" (Tale 32). The myth provides support for the popular belief that empty hacienda buildings are the abode of dyablukuna and their stores of gold


'Then, when tayta dyus came back to life, (the dyablukuna) said to each other: "Let's eat tayta dyus". But tayta dyus didn't let himself be eaten. He said (to them) "Even if you eat me, I have a beautiful hacienda that I am going to leave you as an inheritance, come and I'll show it to you". The dyablukuna followed him happily and they didn't eat him. Then each of them chose a room (in the hacienda), a shining room. Then they were locked up inside those shining rooms and there they live condemned to this day.' (D.D.: 215)
tayta dyus appears occasionally in the iximplu. Terms of reference applied to him also include: "amitu", "kaballiru", and "wirakucha". In one narrative he appears as a benevolent blond caballero mounted on a white horse\textsuperscript{22}, contrasting with the threatening dyabluchazu on a black mule. In another case, he is a personified cross who guards the entrance to hell in a wayku, allowing the runa to take a gratuitous look inside (D.D.: 315). A personified cross pushes the "sinful" warmi into the hell-hacienda in another text (D.D.: 51). Both dyabluchu and dyusitu are associated with the sacha and the non-indigenous social groups, and in this respect are in contrast to the urku yaya. Native interpretation of Catholic doctrine does not demand that they be placed consistently in opposition to each other in the traditional narratives. Whilst in some instances tayta dyusitu adopts a benevolent stance towards the runs, he also belongs to the double-edged category haciendado, and elsewhere his function in narrative becomes assimilated to that of the dyablu as guardian of hell. They both act for good or for ill towards man according to circumstances, an ambiguity which is reminiscent on the one hand of more indigenous Andean deities (the Peruvian apu and wamani, and indeed the urku yaya), and on the other suggests a persistence of ambivalent native attitudes towards the Christian God traceable back to colonial times\textsuperscript{23}.

Finally, there are various points of similarity in the legends between the attributes of the dyablu and those of the almita ('unquiet soul of the dead'). The latter may act as benevolent protectors, and companion to the runa on his journey, and expects certain services from the runa in return. The almita inhabits the same milieu as the dyablu (sacha; abandoned hacienda buildings] and the conceptual link between the two is so close that one informant hesitates between the terms "alma" and "supay" in reference to the participants in the "rendering accounts" episode (D.D.: 84).

As with the dyablu, contact with the almita can cause wayrashka, the sickness associated with harmful influences in the environment (<\textit{wayra} 'wind,

\textsuperscript{22} In other parts of the Ecuadorean sierra the 'hill father' appears in this form (eg. PARSONS, DUFNER, STARK).

\textsuperscript{23} An ambivalence linked, of course, to attitudes towards the Spanish themselves, as the supposed words of Manco Capac II reveal: "pareçeme que me ha salido al reués de lo que yo pensaua, porque sabed, hermanos, que éstos segund me has dado las muestras después que entraron en mi tierra, no son hijos del Viracochan sino del demonio". (TITU CUSI YUPANQUI \textit{loc. cit.}); in a Cañar tale where the dyablu rewards a runa with soil that later turns to grain, the narrator comments: "Who knows whether it was a blessing from God or help from the devil, who can tell?" ("Ima, imatami tayta dyus bindyash nishka u dyabluchu ayudarka, imachari ña?") (D.D.: 58).
air' + -shka verbal participle, perfective aspect) and, likewise, the almita teaches the hero to counteract this (by aspersion of chicha, D.D.: 318). The almita is differentiated in CQ belief from the alma kundinadu, which appears alongside the dyablu in those tales where the latter is characterized as conveying the former to "hell". Both almita and alma kundinadu differ again from the condenado of Peruvian folk narrative (eg. ARGUEDAS op. cit.). The latter, however, can be compared on another level with dyablu: common feature of the Peruvian texts is the pan-Andean "Magic Flight" sequence whereby the heroine evades her condenado-spouse; in the Cañar text "La hermana culebra" the heroine uses the same means to escape a dyablu-husband (D.D.: 168-171). Elsewhere in the corpus, we find a dyablu who incites people to commit incest, to be compared with the condenado in that the latter is prototypically 'one who has committed incest'. Indeed, the dyablu appears in numerous Ecuadorean popular belief legends whose Peruvian equivalents feature a condenado (cf. MOROTE BEST 1957: 165).

4.0. Synthesis

In sections 2.0 and 3.0 I have given enough examples of the CQ narrative contexts in which the term "dyablu" is used, to be able to establish its meanings in those contexts in terms of the various descriptions of dyablu which it is possible to extrapolate from a reading of the texts. These "descriptive meanings" are therefore supplied by the properties ascribed to dyablu. They are summarized in Table I below. In reading this table it should be borne in mind that the properties have been separately identified for the purpose of analysis but, of course, more than one property will apply to dyablu in any given context. The combination of properties attributable to any occurrence of dyablu is governed to some extent by the tale-type in which it occurs. Furthermore, as I said in the Introduction, these properties overlap to a certain degree with properties belonging to more indigenous figures in oral tradition. The overlap is indicated by "X" in the right-hand columns, which represent the six most important of these figures. Additionally, shown in the left-hand column, the properties can be classified according to certain categories in the conceptual scheme:

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24 A definition of the diablo recorded by the chronicler Pablo Prado corresponds closely with modern-day descriptions of the Peruvian condenado: "il a un aspect terrible ou repoussant, le teint cendreux, violacé, la voix caverneuse....le feu l'habite....il lui arrive d'en cracher par la bouche...." (cited by DUVIOLS 1971: 31) The Ecuadorean alma condenado and almita have milder attributes than their Peruvian counterpart and appear in tales of a different structural type.
In historical terms, we may take the points of convergence "X" to be the result of the adaptation to the indigenous belief system of an originally extraneous element, by its assimilation of certain elements native to that system. Many of the properties unique to dyablu have in common their association with the non-indian world: nos. 1a, 3, 5a, 8a, 8b, 10 and 11c in particular. We may recall here that urku yaya, by contrast, is thought of as indian; he and kuychi are associated only with the mountain uplands. It is interesting to note that dyablu alone is seen as causing the runa to transgress (5a); but his role as chastiser (5b) is in common with all the other figures. Transgression against the latter is not seen as a result of malicious incitement on their part, but as an outcome of the runa's failure to observe the known code of conduct in their regard.

In addition to these descriptive meanings of "dyablu", in order to determine its sense we must take into account the connotations of the terms with which "dyablu" has been found to be interchangeable in any one narrative context. These connotations (which term I use non-technically) evoke certain associational processes which, I suggest, gave rise to this CQ usage of the words as defining terms and epithets for dyablu. This evidence is summarized in Table II, where I have divided the "associational processes" into three broad groups. As might be expected, the predominance of hispanisms is largely confined to Groups (i) and (ii):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASSIFICATORY CATEGORIES</th>
<th>PROPERTIES SUPPLYING THE DESCRIPTIVE MEANINGS OF &quot;DYABLU&quot;</th>
<th>urum</th>
<th>huichol</th>
<th>muisca</th>
<th>aimara</th>
<th>quechua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sociological</td>
<td>1a mestizo (chechu)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>1b hacendado; amo</td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>epistemic-ecological</td>
<td>2a frequents forested lowlands (secha)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(i) realistic</td>
<td>2b frequents ravines and river gorges (wayku)</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(ii) mythological</td>
<td>2c dwells in hacienda buildings and empty houses</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>3 belongs to the tiempo de Dios Hijo</td>
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<td>behavioural</td>
<td>4a causes sickness</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4b cures sickness</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5a causes transgressions of moral and social norms</td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5b punishes transgressions of moral and social norms</td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>6 transports hero to &quot;other world&quot;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>7 protects travellers</td>
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<td>8 provides wealth for hero through:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>8a European-type pact</td>
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<td></td>
<td>8b books containing knowledge</td>
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<td></td>
<td>8c inheritance of hacienda</td>
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<td></td>
<td>8d reward for reciprocity and good conduct</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8e hidden gold</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 takes on human form for purposes of seduction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 pursues Christ (&quot;niñu xisus&quot;, &quot;tayta dyusitu&quot;)</td>
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<td>11 may be overcome by:</td>
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<td>11a crowing of two-coloured cockcrei (qaru mishiku/zhiru/ruga)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>11b being set impossible tasks (dyabiu as dupe)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11c brandishing of religious tokens by hero</td>
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<td></td>
<td>11d aspersion with urine</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11e eyebreak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 captures unbaptized children (awku)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 has cannibalistic tendencies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>physiological</td>
<td>14 physically deformed (suchu, wihatu)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>zoological</td>
<td>15 turkey buzzard (&quot;ulinwange&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 mounts a black mule</td>
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<tr>
<td>atmospheric</td>
<td>17 appears in mist, rain and thunderstorms</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(*) 8c: the myth traces the dyabiu's ownership of the hacienda to a trick by tayta dyusitu.
(*) 11a: zhiru, the colour that defeats the dyabiu, is the colour worn by the urum yaya.
(*) 11d: aspersion of okháka.
(*) 14: rainbow sickness produces symptoms described as "suchu".
(*) 16: mounts a white horse.

**TABLE I: DESCRIPTIVE MEANING OF "DYABLU"**
**TABLE 2: DEFINING TERMS AND EPITHETS CONNOTING THE SENSE OF "DYABLU"**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEFINING TERMS &amp; EPITHETS</th>
<th>USUAL FORM &amp; MEANING IN LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN</th>
<th>SUGGESTED ASSOCIATIONAL PROCESSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group (i)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. tintasyun</td>
<td>tentación, 'temptation'</td>
<td>influence of Evangelization:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. millay xudas runa</td>
<td>millay, 'bad'; Judas,</td>
<td>association with qualities or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. inimigu malu</td>
<td>'Judas'; runa, 'man'</td>
<td>attributes generally deriving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. xudíu runa</td>
<td>enemigo, 'enemy'</td>
<td>from Christian teachings and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. xudayku</td>
<td>malo, 'bad'</td>
<td>values.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. irudis</td>
<td>judio, 'Jew' runa, 'man'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. pilatus</td>
<td>judeico, 'Judaic'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. satanas, sanas</td>
<td>Herodes, 'Herod'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. kuku</td>
<td>Pilatos, 'Dilate'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. ladrun</td>
<td>Satanás, 'Satan'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. amigu</td>
<td>coco, 'bogeyman'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. ruku</td>
<td>ladrón, 'thief'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>amigo, 'friend'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ruku</strong>, 'old man' (used as pejorative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>epithet)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Group (ii)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. chazu</td>
<td><strong>chazu</strong>, 'mestizo of Indian origin'</td>
<td>influence of imposed non-Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. kapatas</td>
<td>capataz, 'foreman'</td>
<td>socio-economic structure;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. amu</td>
<td>amo, 'boss'</td>
<td>metonymical association reflecting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. mayurdumu</td>
<td>mayordomo; 'steward of an estate'</td>
<td>native perceptions of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dueño, 'property owner'</td>
<td>dominant mestizo group and the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mayor cabeza, lit.'main head'</td>
<td>Indians' position in the socio-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>capitán, 'captain'</td>
<td>economic structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. dwiñu</td>
<td>tiranía, 'tyranny'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. mayur kabisa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>19. kapitan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20. tiranya</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Group (iii)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. alma</td>
<td><strong>alma</strong>, 'soul'</td>
<td>survival of elements of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. supay</td>
<td><strong>supay</strong>, 'malevolent agent of other</td>
<td>native belief system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>world'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. wishtu</td>
<td><strong>wishtu</strong>, 'twisted in the limbs'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. suchu</td>
<td><strong>suchu</strong>, 'paralysed in the limbs'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. patuxu</td>
<td>patojo, 'lame'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. ullawanga</td>
<td>ullawanga, 'turkey buzzard'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. antimuny</td>
<td>antimonio, 'antimony'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. awardunapa wawa</td>
<td><strong>awardunapa wawa</strong>, 'son of (the ogress)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ahuardona'</td>
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</tbody>
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5.0 Concluding Remarks

Diachronic processes of linguistic and cultural resistance and change have brought about a complex situation with regard to the expression of religious and "animistic" notions about the environment in modern Cañar Quichua society. This article has confined itself to one particular mode of cultural and linguistic expression - traditional narrative - and undoubtedly the incorporation of data from other spheres (ritual, everyday discourse, and so on) would add depth to the discussion. As it is, still further aspects of the sense of "dyablu" might be gleaned from the present material: I have not included the bawdy sacrilegious tales, probably derived from urban mestizo culture, in which the dyablu and the alma are treated as figures of fun (eg. D.D. Tale 48); in connection with the "dyablu=mestizo" analogy, it should also be mentioned that the devils' dialogue in the texts is often delivered in Spanish in an otherwise Quichua discourse.

The correlations to be observed between dyablu, urku yaya and others, and those areas of the conceptual scheme concerned with native perceptions of time, space and ethnic identity are particularly significant in the light of Fock and Krener's results in Juncal (FOCK & KRENER 1977), and Urbano's research in Southern Peru tells us that variations on the Cañar model are to be found across Andean culture as a whole, and that modern oral narrative is one important source of insight into the subject (eg. URBANO 1980 & 1981). Studies based on wider-ranging sociological research such as that of NASH (1972) and TAUSSIG (1980) show how devil lore in Latin American peasant society has far-reaching implications in the context of this society's interaction with the capitalist economic system.

To return to the question asked at the outset: "How successful has been the task begun by the Colonial Church...? "TAYLOR (1980a), by treating colonial sources, was able to trace cases of semantic change in Quechua religious terminology to its misinterpretation and misapplication (from the Indians' point of view) by members of the dominant culture. In the modern Cañar texts, the terminology in question now consists very largely of borrowings from Spanish, and so Quichua language and culture have demonstrably been undermined in the course of four centuries. However, a process which might be viewed as the inverse of the one described by Taylor appears to have taken place the description of the material given above (Sections 2.0, 3.0 and 4.0) should have shown that, in their usage in Quichua, these terms have altered in semantic
value. It is now the native culture which has re-interpreted the terminology it has adopted. When examined in context, the terms can be said to operate as linguistic signs in reference to a conceptual scheme which is Quichua, not Spanish. This conceptual scheme has itself evolved to account for introduced elements, not least the *hacienda* system, officially abolished since the 1966 Agrarian Reform Law but slow to relinquish its symbolic role in folklore. During this evolution many pre-Conquest elements have been either lost or transformed but, if only to take the example of traditional oral narrative, present-day modes of cultural expression are still uniquely Quichua in spite of this. As a final note, I should like to agree with Salomon that the title I gave to the Cañar collection - "Dioses y diablos..." - gives the initial impression that European labels have once again been imposed on American ideas (Salomon 1982). Hopefully, this article has served to explain just who that title refers to, making clear what I believe to be the modern-day Quichua identity of those "gods" and "devils".

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