

"dyablu": its meanings in Cañar quichua oral narrative¹

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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 Duviol's discussion of it (DUVIOLS 1971) and,

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*, número 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* Llocclayhuancupa 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 show². In the other cases, the witnesses are describing their relationship with the

² eg. TITU CUSI YUPANQUI (1973:39), quotation given in note (23) ; cf. Wachtel's discussion of native representations of Spaniards as devils (WACHTEL 1977:22).

huacos; 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 appears³. 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

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 perspective⁴. 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 ESTÉÑOS (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, ie. 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

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"⁵. 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 grand-parents, a time before the widespread use of motorized transport when it was necessary to make long journeys on foot⁶. 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

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 west⁷.

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 tanya. Ña punzha tutayashpa ima munduta xwin trwinus. Simixanti xiru waykukunata pasarishka. Chaypimi tupashka kunan 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"⁸. 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').

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

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

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

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

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

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 practice 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 **dyablu** ? In those tales where the meeting takes place on the road, the hero or heroine is led to hell - referred to as "infyirnu" 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: in 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 **dyablu 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 **dyablu** of soil which miraculously turns to grain upon the hero's return home (*D.D.*: 59), or the **dyablu** may teach him how to cure **xatun wayrashka** (the sickness caused by contact with the **dyablu'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).

"dyablu" 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, intunsis chaypi krusta ruwashpa shitankuna nin, uchupata u miyashpa shitankuna nin, chaypi ña sanu nin, kukukuna llugshin 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 **dyablu** 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', *Cathartes 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

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 intermediary¹⁴. Moreover, a local ravine is said to be inhabited by **awka** - the souls of unbaptized children who have been 'captured by the dyablu'¹⁵.

The **ullachu** (a lexical variant of **ullawanga** 'turkey buzzard') appears in **iximplu** 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' vomit¹⁶.

The role of the **ullachu** as castigator of those who infringe moral and social codes of conduct may be traced far back in Andean culture¹⁷. 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 *op. cit.*). The **dyablu** is also found as "non-human"

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.

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'.

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 Tamtanameca" myth (ZUIDEMA 1982).

¹⁷ See HOCQUENGHEM'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 CALANCHA'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-kapatás** 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 it¹⁸.

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 Imbabura's *Chipicha*, to *Mama Huaca* of Cañar and Azuay, and to the Peruvian *Achikay* and *Wa-Qon*²⁰. The theme has encouraged varying degrees of assimilation of the European "Hansel and Gretel" tale, in Ecuadorean versions in particular.

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 tímido del agua bendita, como gallinazo" "(...) *supai ari huiñaila ñucanchicta catirayan, ashunrac ñucanchic huañui pachapi ancha ancha sinchicushpa ñucanchicta atina munan, chashnapish supaica bendiciashca yacuta ullahuangashina chucchuc shungu 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 *diablo*²¹.

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 "*Ascay guaris*" mentioned in a document relating to Cajatambo (DUVIOLS 1971: 375), whom the *extirpadores de idolatrias* treated as "diabolic" manifestations.

"millay suldadu irudis-kuna-ka"	('bad + soldier + < <i>Herodes</i> + <i>pl.</i> + <i>top.</i> ', 'the bad soldier herods')
"xudayku-kuna"	(<' <i>judaico</i> + <i>pl.</i> ', 'the Jews')
"sanas"	(<' <i>Satanás</i> ', 'Satan').

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 **kapataska**, 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

Chaymanta tayta dyus kawsarishpa rishpa nirka: -Tayta dyuska mikushunchi. Tayta dyuska mana mikuy tukurka intunsis. Tayta dyuska nirka intunsis : -Kankuna ñukata mikungichipish ñuka charini shug sumaymana xazindata. Chayta kankunaman irinsyata sakisha xakuchi rikungichi, nishpa. Chay dyablukunaka kushillitu rirka mana tayta dyuska kutish pa mikungapa. Intunsis kada unu kwartuta xapirka dray simixanti xaganikug ukuta. Chay xaganikug ukupi intunsis wichkarirkakuna kunan punzhakama kundinarish kawsankuna.

'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 horse²², contrasting with the threatening **dyablu-chazu** 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 **dyablu** 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 *hacendado*, 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 times²³.

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 protector, 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 (<**wayra** 'wind,

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

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 rreués 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 *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 dyablucha 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)²⁴.

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 one occurrence of **dyablu** is governed to some extent by the tale-type in which he 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:

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 cendreau, 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):

CLASSIFICATORY CATEGORIES	PROPERTIES SUPPLYING THE DESCRIPTIVE MEANINGS OF "DYABLU"	urku yaya	ullachu	kuychi	mama amerdona	tayta dyusitu	almita
<i>sociological</i>	1a <i>mestizo</i> (chazu)						
	1b <i>hacendado ; amo</i>					X	
<i>spatio-ecological :</i> (i) realistic	2a frequents forested lowlands (<i>sacha</i>)				X	X	X
	2b frequents ravines and river gorges (<i>wayku</i>)		X				
	2c dwells in <i>hacienda</i> buildings and empty houses				X	X	X
	2d dwells in <i>infyirnu/uku pacha</i> (conceptualized as 2b)					X	X
	2e dwells in <i>infyirnu/uku pacha</i> (conceptualized as 2c)				X		X
(ii) mythological	3 belongs to the <i>tiempo de Dios Hijo</i>						
<i>temporal</i> <i>behavioural</i>	4a causes sickness	X		X			X
	4b cures sickness	X					X
	5a causes transgressions of moral and social norms						
	5b punishes transgressions of moral and social norms	X	X	X	X	X	X
	6 transports hero to "other world"	X	X	X	X		
	7 protects travellers	X					X
	8 provides wealth for hero through :						
	8a European-type pact						
	8b books containing knowledge						
	8c inheritance of <i>hacienda</i>					X	(*)
	8d reward for reciprocity and good conduct	X					
	8e hidden gold	X		X			
	9 takes on human form for purposes of seduction		X	X			
	10 pursues Christ (" <i>niñu xisus</i> ", " <i>tayta dyusitu</i> ")						
	11 may be overcome by :						
	11a crowing of two-coloured cockerel (<i>gallu mishiku/zhiru/runa</i>) (*)					X	
	11b being set impossible tasks (<i>dyablu as dupe</i>)						
11c brandishing of religious tokens by hero							
11d aspersion with urine				X		(*)	
11e daybreak							
12 captures unbaptized children (<i>awka</i>)	X						
13 has cannibalistic tendencies		X		X			
<i>physiological</i>	14 physically deformed (<i>suchu, wishtu</i>)				(*)		
<i>zoological</i>	15 turkey buzzard (" <i>ullawanga</i> ")		X				
	16 mounts a black mule						(*)
<i>atmospheric</i>	17 appears in mist, rain and thunderstorms	X					

(*) 8c : the myth traces the *dyablu*'s ownership of the *hacienda* to a trick by *tayta dyusitu*.

(*) 11a: *zhiru*, the colour that defeats the *dyablu*, is the colour worn by the *urku yaya*.

(*) 11d: aspersion of *chicha*.

(*) 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"

DEFINING TERMS & EPITHETS	USUAL FORM & MEANING IN LANGUAGE OF ORIGIN	SUGGESTED ASSOCIATIONAL PROCESSES
<p>Group (i)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. tintasyun 2. millay xudas runa 3. inimigu malu 4. xudiu runa 5. xudayku 6. irudis 7. pilatus 8. satanas, sanas 9. kuku 10. ladrun 11. amigu 12. ruku 	<p><i>tentación</i>, 'temptation'</p> <p>millay, 'bad'; <i>Judas</i>, 'Judas'; runa, 'man'</p> <p><i>enemigo</i>, 'enemy'</p> <p><i>malo</i>, 'bad'</p> <p><i>judío</i>, 'Jew' runa, 'man'</p> <p><i>judaico</i>, 'Judaic'</p> <p><i>Herodes</i>, 'Herod'</p> <p><i>Pilatos</i>, 'Dilate'</p> <p><i>Satanás</i>, 'Satan'</p> <p><i>coco</i>, 'bogyman'</p> <p><i>ladrón</i>, 'thief'</p> <p><i>amigo</i>, 'friend'</p> <p>ruku, 'old man' (used as pejorative epithet)</p>	<p>influence of Evangelization: association with qualities or attributes generally deriving from Christian teachings and values.</p>
<p>Group (ii)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 13. chazu 14. kapatas 15. amu 16. mayurdumu 17. dwiñu 18. mayur kabisa 19. kapitan 20. tiranya 	<p>chazu, '<i>mestizo</i> of Indian origin'</p> <p><i>capataz</i>, 'foreman'</p> <p><i>amo</i>, 'boss'</p> <p><i>mayordomo</i>; 'steward of an estate'</p> <p><i>dueño</i>, 'property owner'</p> <p><i>mayor cabeza</i>, lit.'main head'</p> <p><i>capitán</i>, 'captain'</p> <p><i>tiranía</i>, 'tyranny'</p>	<p>influence of imposed non-Indian socio-economic structure ; metonymical association reflecting native perceptions of the dominant <i>mestizo</i> group and the Indians' position in the socio-economic structure</p>
<p>Group (iii)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 21. alma 22. supay 23. wishtu 24. suchu 25. patuxu 26. ullawanga 27. antimunya 28. awardunapa wawa 	<p><i>alma</i>, 'soul'</p> <p>supay, 'malevolent agent of other world'</p> <p>wishtu, 'twisted in the limbs'</p> <p>suchu, 'paralysed in the limbs'</p> <p><i>patojo</i>, 'lame'</p> <p>ullawanga, 'turkey buzzard'</p> <p><i>antimonio</i>, 'antimony'</p> <p>awardunapa wawa, 'son of (the ogress) Ahuardona'</p>	<p>survival of elements of the native belief system.</p>

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 196a 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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