

Leben. Sie sind nicht so wie wir Menschen aber sie
leben sehr lang und wenn sie sterben
so wie wir Menschen sterben. Sie haben
aber auch ein Leben und wenn sie sterben
so wie wir Menschen sterben. Sie haben
aber auch ein Leben und wenn sie sterben

[Chilam Balam books. Tizimin book]

The Ancient Future of the Itza

The Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin

Translated and annotated by Munro S. Edmonson



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Tu men ah miatzob Ba Cabob:
Sir J. Eric S. Thompson,
Don Alfredo Barrera Vásquez,
Yum Ralph L. Roys,
Y etel Robert Wauchope,
U y Ahau Tulan,
May Cu.

*Pathih hun ten e;
Bey he u patal u lac e.*

It could happen once;
The like could happen again.

—Mayan proverb

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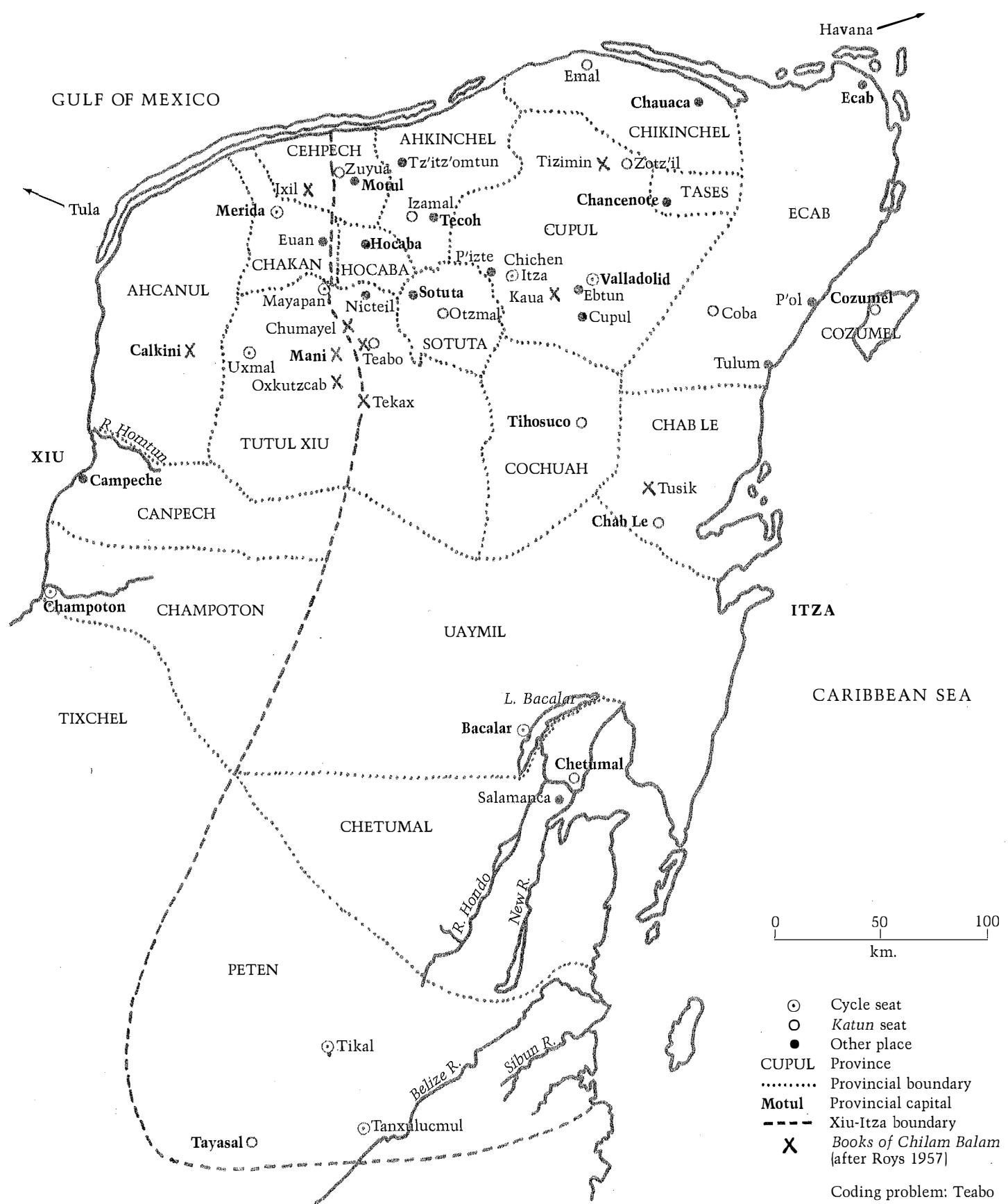
Acknowledgments

I have many debts. The first is to the U.S. Postal Service for having lost my Roys *Chumayel* in the mail. Without that, my collaboration with Victoria R. Bricker might have been less close and less productive. She can now have her Roys back together with my gratitude for her tact and energy as critic, adviser, and colleague. I am also returning Harvey M. Bricker's pocket calculator with equal gratitude for his getting hooked, however briefly, on the Mayan correlation problem.

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Finally, I should like to thank my wife, Barbara Edmonson, for letting me make free of her time and intelligence over many years, with the promise that I'll get back to cutting the hedge (and she can get back to her own research) before another *uinal* goes by.



Introduction

The Book

The *Books of Chilam Balam* (Spokesmen of the Jaguar) of the Yucatecan Maya constitute a treasure-house of historic and ethnographic information collected by the Maya themselves over a period of many centuries. They are exasperatingly difficult to translate and interpret for a number of reasons. They are largely composed in archaic and elliptical language. Their chronology is obscured by esoteric numerological, astrological, and religious assumptions. The orthography of the surviving texts leaves a great deal to be desired. But most of all the *Books* reflect a world view and a sense of history that are distinctively Mayan.

An additional complication to the comprehension of these *Books* is the fact that they are by no means purely Mayan. They have been shaped by almost a thousand years of cultural confrontation—five centuries and more of ideological friction between the Yucatecan heirs to the Classic Mayan civilization and the invading groups of Nahuatl speakers from Central Mexico, followed by an almost equal period of conflict and accommodation between the Mexica-Mayan cultures and the European civilizations of Spain and Republican Mexico. The resulting history is dramatic and dynamic and reflects the influence of at least three thoroughly different cultures.

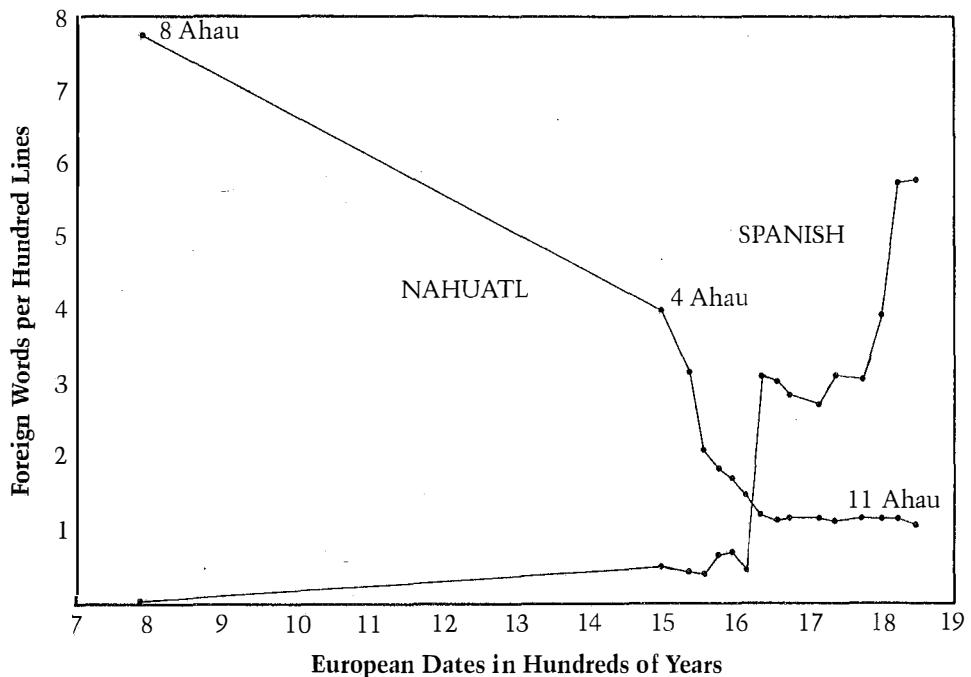
Among the twelve surviving *Books*, the *Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin* is the most historical. Others come from Mani, Calkini, Ixil, Chumayel, Kaua, Teabo (three of them), Tekax, Oxkutzcab, and Tusik. The Tizimin was collected by the parish priest of Tizimin, Manuel Luciano Pérez, who sent it to his bishop in Merida in 1870 with the remark that it had been in his possession for a number of years (*muy buenos años*) (Barrera 1948 : 291). The original is now in the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City. I have worked from a photostatic copy in the Latin American Library at Tulane University. All of the forty-two texts of the Tizimin except chapters 9 and 22 to 25 are parallel to passages in one or more of the other *Books*—those of Mani, Chumayel, or Kaua, all of which include additional materials of a less historical order: medical, exegetical, astronomical, liturgical, or literary. Taken by itself, however, the *Book of Tizimin* constitutes an outline history of Yucatan from the seventh century to the nineteenth, with explicit coverage of each *katun* (approximately twenty years) from 1441 to 1848.

This is history in the Mayan manner. It is dominated by a sense of cyclical repetition and by a profound faith that correct calendrical calculation will enable the priests to predict the fate of the next cycle. In most instances the cycle in question is that of the *katun*, a period of 7,200 days

(or twenty *tuns* of 360 days each). It was to be expected that each *katun* would repeat the fate of the preceding such period with the same numeral coefficient, there being thirteen sacred numerals to the count (see the appendix). The *Tizimin* itself makes it clear that the priests were expected both to predict and to record the events of each *katun*. The predictions (chapters 6, 9, 14, and 15) were taken seriously as guides to policy, and the recordings of recent events were taken seriously as guides to further predictions. The predictions, customarily drawn up five years before the beginning of the *katun*, were announced at his inauguration by the Jaguar (*Balam*)—its ruling lord. But it was also his duty (or that of his Spokesman—*Chilam*) to write the history of the *katun* five years after leaving office, as a basis for future prophecy. The burden of the *Book of Tizimin* may thus be accurately described as prophetic history—as the ancient past and the ineluctable future of the Mayan people.

Given these highly Mayan assumptions, the history of any one *katun* may be taken as equivalent to that of any other with the same number. There is no linear order to prophetic history. Nonetheless, I have found it possible to identify the primary reference of each passage of the *Tizimin* in European linear time, at least to the nearest twenty years, and I have therefore rearranged the passages in at least approximate historical order. A reader who wishes to follow the order of the original manuscript may do so by reading my chapters in the sequence listed in the table. Folio numbers are indicated together with corresponding passages in Barrera 1948 and Roys 1967, and folios are also indicated in the Mayan text of the present edition. There is usually, however, no way of judging the priority of several texts relating to the same *katun*. The plausibility of this reordering is indicated in the figure, which demonstrates that the incidence of Nahuatlisms (see "Nahuatl" in the index) appears to be roughly constant through (linear) time, while the incidence of Hispanicisms (see "Spanish" in the index) increases exponentially throughout the reordered text. Those texts I have placed as preconquest may have been preserved in oral or hieroglyphic form, and it is my belief that none of them was written in Latin letters before *katun* 9 Ahau (1559–1579).

Immediately after the Spanish conquest (that is, around 1548), the Franciscan missionaries to Yucatan, like those in the Valley of Mexico somewhat earlier, began instructing the children of the nobility in Spanish, Latin, and Mayan, and the Mayas promptly became literate in European alphabetic writing. The earliest surviving text known to me is a passage of the *Chumayel* written in 1556 (Edmonson 1976), but sections of the *Tizimin* were not written much later. The extant manuscripts of the *Books* are, however, later copies, and internal evidence (see note 5155) places the final composition of the *Mani*, *Tizimin*, and *Chumayel* manuscripts around 1824 to 1837. Various parts of the manuscripts are included in these extant versions in different orders, and some may have circulated independently for a time in oral, glyphic, or alphabetic form. There are consequently lexical, orthographic, semantic, and syntactic discrepancies among the texts that are suggestive of their varying histories. Thus, where the *Tizimin* has *ahau* (line 5368), the *Chumayel* has *rey*, a lexical substitution. Where the *Tizimin* has *Hauana* (line 5366), the *Chumayel* has *Havana*, an orthographic one. Where the *Tizimin* has *hum pis katun* (line 5202), the *Chumayel* has *lahun piz katun*, a semantic change (from



'one *katun*' to 'ten *katuns*'). And, where the Tizimin has *conobil* (line 5304), the Chumayel has *conbil*, a syntactic variation (implying something like 'marketing places' rather than 'marketplaces'). Obviously a close comparative study of these texts would be most rewarding, but such a study has not been undertaken here.

The Translation

With minor exceptions, the orthography of the Mayan text is that of the original manuscript. To facilitate typesetting I have changed *ch* to *ch'*, *o* to *tz'*, and *y* to *y etel*. With the exception of some marginal notes (see chapter 24) apparently added in the mid nineteenth century, the Tizimin appears to have been recopied in a single hand, probably between 1824 and 1837 and probably in or near Tizimin itself. Word divisions are not standardized in the manuscript and I have made my own, but in no case have I altered the original order of the letters.

Some of the late texts (chapters 24, 25, 39, 40, and 41) are written in a relatively straightforward style. But all of them are in the poetic form of couplet parallelism that is customary in formal Mayan discourse (Edmonson 1971). They have been so transcribed and translated. Except in the chapters just cited, there is an additional poetic element: the extensive use of kennings or *difracismos* (Garibay 1953). Each particular couplet has both an obvious and a synthetic or esoteric meaning, which sometimes applies to many couplets at a time. Examples are listed in the index under "kennings." Hence I have found it necessary to prepare an interpretative prose translation, which is presented first and which is keyed to the corresponding numbered lines of the literal translation and the Mayan text and to the notes that follow. My surmises as to the meanings of the

Concordance

Chapter	Folio	Barrera	Roys
22	1r–7r	167	
42	7r–8v	158, 220	120
	9r–9v		
	missing (see note 5514)		
15	10r	166	
6	10r	196	166
14	10r	196	167
29	10r–10v	197	167
9	10v–11r		
10	11v	144	
12	11v–12v	147	
2	12v–13r	223	
11	13r	95	133
16	13v	98	
18	13v–14r	99	
21	14r	104	
26	14r	106	
27	14r–14v	110	
30	14v	112	
33	14v–15r	113	
34	15r	115	
35	15v	117	
37	15v–16r	118	133
13	16r	124	147
17	16r	126	149
19	16r–16v	128	151
20	16v	129	152
23	16v	131	153
28	16v–17r	133	155
31	17r–17v	137	158
32	17v	139	159
3	17v	140	160
4	17v	140	161
5	17v–18r	140	161
7	18r	141	162
8	18r	121	
38	18r–18v		
1	18v–19r	57	135
36	19r		
39	19r–19v	119	134
41	19v–20r	121	134
40	20v–21r		
25	21r–22r		
24	22r–27v		

complex puns, metaphors, and traditional religious symbolisms that are involved are mostly based on the repetitive contexts in which they appear within the *Tizimin* itself (see the index under “metaphor” and “pun”). I do not pretend to understand them all, but perhaps this mode of presentation will enable others to understand the basis of my judgments and to push on to further clarifications.

The scansion of Mayan poetry is complex because the principle is semantic. When it waxes lyrical, as in prayers and dramas, the couplet structure may be tightly signaled by a strict parallelism of syntactic form, with analogous or identical noun and verb inflections in the paired phrases. In other cases the structure may become quite loose. For example, a locative adverb like *te* ‘there’ may be paired with a locative noun phrase like *ti ho* ‘at Merida’. Since one cannot scan it until the meaning is clear, scansion and translation form a kind of dialectic. If one of them becomes derailed, the other is bound to. I am aware that I have achieved neither perfect scansion nor perfect translation, and there are cases in which I have been poetically inconsistent. I remain uncertain, for instance, whether direct discourse falls inside or outside of the couplet structure, and I have sometimes made two lines in one context of an expression which appears as one line elsewhere. I remain persuaded that Mayan formal discourse tends strongly to couplets, whether or not they are syntactically marked. There are good and bad couplets, but I believe searching for them is in either case a significant aid to translation and an important aspect of the translator’s task.

The *Book of Tizimin* has not been adequately translated before. The only other complete translation (Makemson 1951) is so seriously flawed that I have not tried to use it (see note 1570 and the review in Thompson 1951). Barrera Vásquez has a draft translation which I have not seen. I have consulted a transcription and a partial translation and notes by Roys (n.d.). The most relevant published works are Barrera’s 1948 translation of the reconstructed text, based on the *Tizimin*, Chumayel, Mani, and Kaua versions, and Roys’ 1967 translation of the Chumayel. In addition, the First Chronicle (chapter 1) has been translated and published by Brinton (1882) and Martínez Hernández (1940). I have commented on these translations where relevant in the notes.

Students of the *Books of Chilam Balam* will have noted the really extraordinary discrepancies between one translator and the next (see notes 579, 1239, and 1570). I cannot but agree with Barrera that these are texts of quite unusual difficulty. The *Popol Vuh* is a model of explicitness and clarity by comparison. All scholars who wrestle with colonial texts in the Indian languages of Middle America must cope with archaism and homonymy—multiplied by textual, orthographic, and lexicographic inadequacies. But these texts are purposely obscure. They are not intended to make sense to outsiders—and they don’t.

I have the highest regard for the previous scholarship in this field, particularly for the contributions of Barrera and Roys. It is with diffidence that I dare to disagree with them. But it may be that many of the discrepancies are a consequence of method. I have chosen to translate the *Tizimin* blind, without prior consultation of the previous attempts or prior knowledge of the detailed parallel Spanish history of Yucatan. My endeavor was to gain an unbiased and presumably Mayan—or at least

endogenous—view of the work. I believe I have done that. While my confidence has been shaken or my interpretation changed by some items of subsequent reading, others have encouraged me to stick to my guns.

In learning Yucatecan Maya, I depended first on the production of a general dictionary incorporating all entries in Brasseur 1872, Pío Pérez 1866–67, Swadesh, Alvarez, and Bastarrachea 1970, Blair and Vermont-Salas 1965, and Solís Alcalá 1949, plus additional vocabulary from Roys 1931 and 1967, Redfield 1941, Tozzer 1941, and a substantial part of the Motul dictionary. I then prepared a root dictionary of my own (Edmonson n.d.b). I have also consulted Martínez Hernández 1929, Pacheco Cruz 1969, and Pío Pérez 1898. I lay no claim to speaking the language, but the language of the Tizimin is no longer spoken in any case.

Besides the problems presented by the copyist's errors, the manuscript gives no reliable indication of vowel length and no real phrase or sentence punctuation or word division. Furthermore, the language is archaic. Even the latest passages are about 150 years old, and the earliest ones may go back 500 years or even more. In the First Chronicle, for example, we read: *uac Ahau chuc cu lumil Chakan Putun* (lines 49–52). If my translation is correct, this would be expressed in modern Maya something like: *tz'oc u cusbis u lumil Chakan Putun e le uac Ahau i* 'six Ahau finished the seating of the lands of Champoton'. The form *le* 'the', which is ubiquitous in modern Maya, does not occur at all in the Tizimin. The rare verb *chuc* strikes me as archaic in comparison with *tz'oc* 'finish'. Modern Maya would almost certainly use some form of *cub*, *cul*, or *cut* for 'sit, seat' rather than *cu*, which is also an archaism, and it would make freer use of pronouns (*u*) and demonstratives (*e, i*). While the verb-object-subject ordering of noun phrases is not compulsory in modern Maya, it is much the commonest.

Verbs with aspect markers (*c, h, t*), which I believe to be the only true verbs in Maya, together with fully expressed pronominal subjects and objects, are the exception rather than the rule in the Tizimin. There is instead a marked addiction to participial and substantival constructions depending for their verbal force upon the Mayan lack of the verb 'to be'. Thus (lines 170–175): *ox lahun tun man i tz'ulob u yax ilc ob u lumil Yucatan* 'thirteen (Ahau) then (was) the passing (of) the foreigners; (it was) their first sighting of the lands of Yucatan'.

The style of the older texts particularly is terse but elegant. They are meant to be read and pondered rather than skimmed over or recited. I have tried to translate as literally as possible, representing every linguistic element of the Mayan text in English to the degree I could. Although indications of subject and object are often delayed for several phrases or clauses, leaving a literal translation quite stilted in English, I have nonetheless followed the Mayan order of things in order to preserve the couplet structure of the original. Every couplet in turn is represented in my interpretative translation, also in order, although I have felt free to alter the syntax to render more clearly what I think the text means. I have not changed the order of the ideas, but I have changed passive and participial to active constructions, broken the sentences at different points, and introduced my own paragraphing. Not all details are preserved in the interpretation, but they will be found in the literal translation, the Mayan text, and the index.

The Itza

What follows is a summary of the substantive content of the *Book of Tizimin*. It is not footnoted because the *Book* itself is the documentation for the assertions made. Specific points may be tracked down in the index, and additional references are provided in the notes to particular passages. If aspects of this treatment sound unfamiliar to Mayanists, that is because I find reason to disagree with a number of traditionally accepted viewpoints. Specifically, these include the interpretation of the colonial calendars, the nature of the post-Classic and colonial political and religious systems, and the relationship between the Xiu and the Itza. The *Books* differentiate clearly between the Chichen Itzas and the Peten Itzas, but they call them both Itzas.

The story of the Tizimin is the story of the Itza or Water Witches, a group of elite lineages who dominated the eastern half of the Yucatan Peninsula in the post-Classic and colonial periods. It is also the story of the *katun*, since the Itza claim to have established Chichen Itza as the seat of the thirteen-*katun* cycle (*may*) in *katun* 8 Ahau (672–692). According to the Tizimin, the Itza were joined a century later by the Toltec Xiu, a grouping of similarly elite lineages who dominated western Yucatan and Campeche until the seventeenth century and who claimed an ancestral seat at Tula itself. I believe these traditions to be essentially mythological as they relate to the Classic period but find no reason to mistrust the account from the tenth century on.

The Itza and the Xiu agreed that the right to seat the cycle conferred upon the city that did it dynastic and religious primacy over the whole country for 260 *tuns* (approximately 256 years). At the end of that time the primate city and its road and idols were ritually destroyed, and a new cycle seat was established. The Itza and Xiu disagreed, however, on the correct timing of the cycle, the Itza maintaining that it ran from 11 Ahau to 13 Ahau and the Xiu insisting that it went from 6 Ahau to 8 Ahau (see the appendix and the index under "calendar" and "cycle").

In 6 Ahau (948–968), the Itza seated the cycle in Champoton, where they ruled until the following 8 Ahau (1185–1204). Presumably under Xiu pressure, they destroyed Champoton and spent forty years wandering in the wilderness, finally settling at Chichen Itza. In 2 Ahau (1244–1263), the Xiu of Uxmal and the Itza of Chichen Itza compromised and agreed to seat the cycle at Mayapan, which was centrally located and was to be ruled jointly. This alliance, known as the League of Mayapan, lasted until 1451.

When the fateful *katun* 8 Ahau came around again (1441–1461), the Xiu governor of Mayapan, Hunac Ceel, entered into a conspiracy with the illegitimate Itza lord of Izamal, Can Ul, overthrowing and sacrificing the Itza rain priest of Chichen Itza, Xib Chac, and capturing and destroying Mayapan in 1451. The Tizimin gives a *katun* by *katun* account of Mayan history from this time down to the *katun* before the Caste War of the middle nineteenth century.

In addition to the mystique of the *katun* cycle, the *katuns* themselves were religiously and politically important. The seat of the cycle enjoyed an overall preeminence, but the actual rule of the country was vested in the lord of the *katun*, the Jaguar (*Balam*) and his Spokesman (*Chilam*),

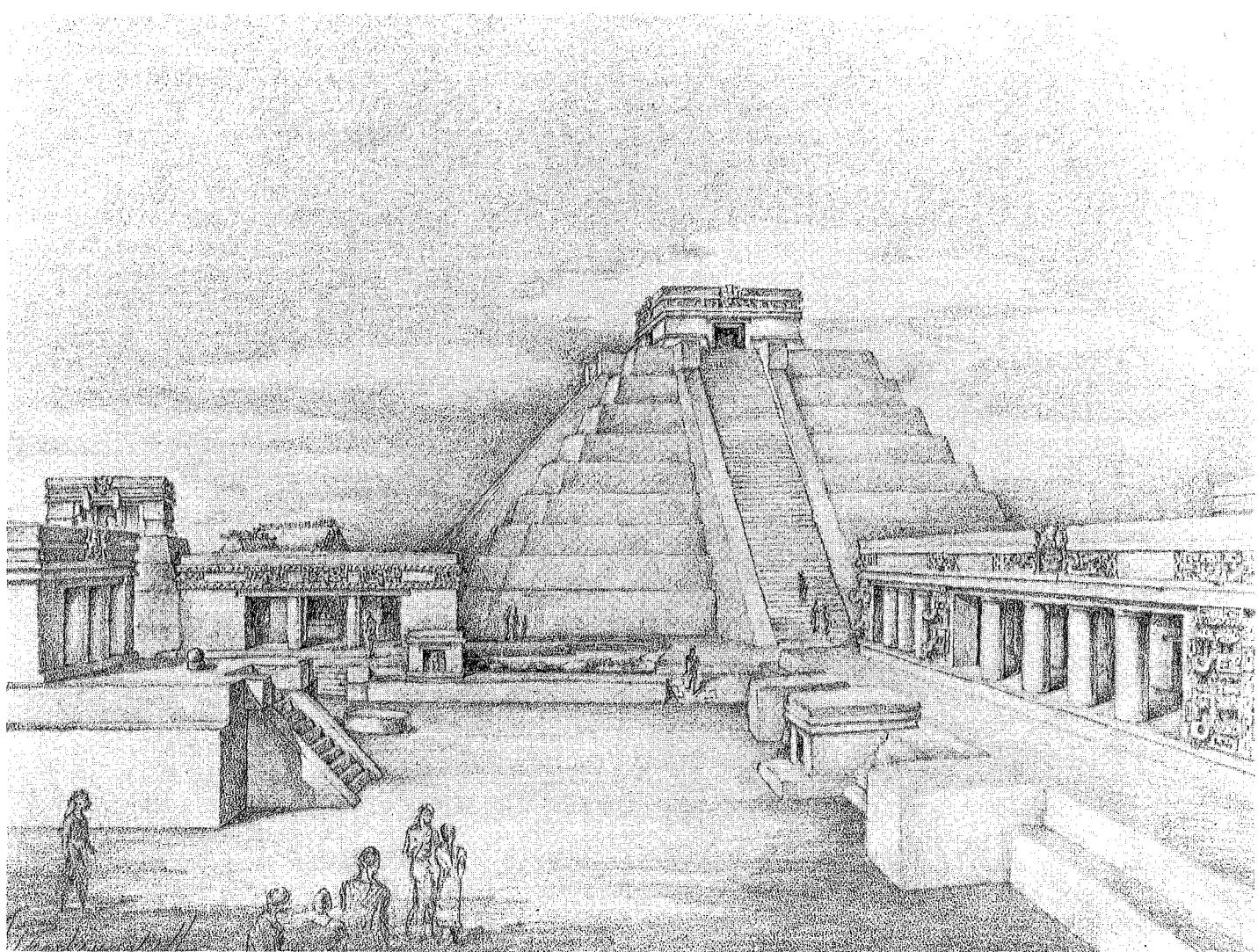
and was supposed to rotate among the subsidiary cities. Commonly more than one city claimed the honor, which conferred tribute rights, control of land titles, and appointments to public office. Even the ruined cities lent their prestigious names to the seating of the *katun*, and at various dates between 1461 and 1539 the privilege was claimed by Chichen Itza, Izamal, Uxmal, Tihosuco, Coba, and Emal.

Early in the sixteenth century, the war of the *katuns*—or *katun* of the wars (*u katun katunob*)—between the Xiu and the Itza was exacerbated by the arrival of the Spanish. The result was a formal bifurcation of the politico-religious system and, coincidentally, a major calendrical reform, which was promulgated at the beginning of 11 Ahau: 11.16.0.0.0 (1539). The Itza continued to consider Mayapan to be the seat of the cycle, and they seated the *katun* at Emal. The Xiu established Merida as the seat of both the cycle and the *katun*. In effect, the peninsula was divided into eastern and western jurisdictions along a north–south line running right through Mayapan. A new calendar was announced at Mayapan, with new yearbearers, a new count of the twenty-day *uinal*s (from 1–20 instead of 0–19), and a count of the *katuns* by initial date rather than by terminal date (see the appendix). This calendar, universally used by the colonial Yucatecans from 1539 to 1752, is in agreement with Landa's statement that the Mayan new year fell on Sunday, July 16, 1553 (see Edmonson 1976).

The Flower *katun* 11 Ahau thus initiated a new Itza cycle, which was also the cycle of the Spanish Empire and ended very nearly with the empire in 1824, at the end of 13 Ahau. The Itza of the sixteenth century found themselves embattled on several fronts, being opposed by the Spanish secular and religious authorities, the Xiu nobility, who found it convenient to become Christians, and the merchants and peasants of both the east and the west (often also Christianized), who objected to paying tribute to the Itza as well as taxes to the Spanish. Lowborn claimants to the lordship of the *katun* sprang up everywhere, supported by rebellious guerrilla companies in the woods who made it dangerous and eventually impossible for the legitimate lords to complete their ceremonial visits to collect tribute and confirm titles. Few lords of the *katun* completed their terms of office. The military companies were not brought under control until the middle of the seventeenth century, and peasant rebellions continued long after that.

The Xiu had a long-standing tradition of accommodating foreign culture. They were considerably more Mexicanized than the Itza even in the post-Classic period. After the conquest they accommodated similarly to Christianity and attempted to justify their stance in terms of Mayan prophecy. By the early seventeenth century, they apparently had lost interest in the Mayan political game and did not claim to seat the *katun* after 1 Ahau (1638–1658). Merida had become the Spaniards' city.

The Itza were more resistant. From the outset of the Spanish conquest they were troubled by the possible implications of the European calendar, particularly by the seven-day week, which (leap years being ignored) appeared to represent a new class of yearbearer that the Maya hadn't thought of. While the Xiu tried to accommodate the Mexican fifty-two year divinatory cycle and the Christian year by inventing a twenty-year (rather than twenty-tun) "katun" (see chapter 22), the Itza clung to the



Pencil drawing of restored structures at Mayapan, Yucatan, by Tatiana Proskouriakoff. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Photograph by Hillel Burger.

traditional *katun* and sacrificed the false lords whenever they could lay hands on them. Even the Itza had to give way, however, and in 1611 the Itza lord of the *katun*, Ol Zip of Emal, converted to Christianity. This was in the fourth *katun* after the corresponding conversion of the Tutul Xiu of Mani, but the Xiu and the Itza had always been four *katuns* apart.

By 3 Ahau (1618–1638), the Itza had managed to incorporate the Christian week into their cosmology, and the Tizimin gives the auguries of the days and the detailed divinatory significance of each day as a yearbearer (see chapter 25). While the Xiu were being assimilated as a peasant proletariat in and around Merida, the Itza lords were becoming independent peasant farmers in the eastern areas, increasingly preoccupied with weather, harvests, and the agricultural calendar. Nonetheless, they retained a lively interest in theology and in the traditional *katun* calendar, and they continued to read and ponder their prophetic histories.

The Itza took their prophecies very seriously indeed. One group which had fled south after the fall of Mayapan and resettled at Tayasal on Lake Peten rejected as calendrically premature the efforts of Cortés in 13 Ahau (1539) and of Fuensálida and Orbita in 3 Ahau (1618) to Christianize them. But when the appropriate *katun* 8 Ahau approached (1697–1717) they knew the time was right, and in 1695 they sent an embassy to Merida to ask the governor to convert them. Obliging with their usual obtuse alacrity, the Spaniards arrived before 8 Ahau began and forced the Indians into armed opposition. But true to the prophecy it was in 8 Ahau that Tayasal was conquered. (For a detailed documentation of this event, see Bricker 1981.)

In 1752, five years before the end of *katun* 4 Ahau, the Itza resolved upon another calendrical revision. It happened that in that year the name day of the *katun* fell on the second day of the Mayan year. Furthermore, the Itza cycle was due to end two *katuns* later, in 13 Ahau, with apocalyptic implications. The priests calculated that, if they redefined the *katun* as a period of twenty-four years instead of twenty *tuns*, they could always celebrate the seating of the *katun* on its eve, on the Mayan new year. If they further redefined the cycle (*may*) as twenty-four such *katuns* beginning from the 11 Ahau of the conquest, it would not end until 2088, a distinct advantage over surrendering legitimacy in 1776. *Katun* 4 Ahau was therefore reseated in 1752, hence lasting for thirty-nine years, and Valladolid (Zaciapan) was made the seat of the new cycle and also the seat of *katun* 2 Ahau (1776–1800). Just as the Mayapan calendar of 1539 adjusted Mayan terminal dating to Mexican initial dating, the Valladolid calendar of 1752 adjusted the Mayan calendar to the Julian one. The cost was the final abandonment of the true *katun* and hence of the Classic Mayan Long Count dating (see the appendix).

Despite the brilliance of the Valladolid calendar, there may well have been Mayas, including Itzas, who remained uneasy about 13 Ahau, the traditional end of the Itza cycle. One such may be responsible for the aberrant fifty-two-year calendar of chapter 41, which appears to have been designed in 1758 and may be identified with Coba. It retains the year-bearers of the Mayapan calendar but alters their numeral coefficients by twenty-one years (presumably the twenty-one years between the beginning of 4 Ahau in 1737 and the writing of chapter 41 in 1758). There is no evidence that this calendar was adopted by anyone but its author. Other similar experiments occurred sporadically in Mayan history: see the twenty-eight-year cycle of the early seventeenth century (lines 3531 ff.). A further experiment of this type may be implied by the marginal notes to chapter 24, probably added in 9 Ahau (1848–1872), which give Type I yearbearers and an ecclesiastical calendar attuned to the Gregorian one (see the appendix and Satterthwaite 1965).

The final chapter of the Tizimin continues to identify itself as Itza in the very last line. But this is a new Itza cycle that is initiated in 1824—or so its author appears to believe. It claims the mantle of all the gods, the privilege of prophetic vision, the tradition of the Spokesmen of the Jaguar Priest of the *katun*, and the aegis of the 4 Gods, yearbearers and rain giants of the four directions. It honors Mayapan and Christianity. And it predicts and records the ending of tribute to the Spaniards as well as the Caste War.

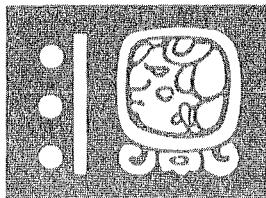
Perhaps the most startling aspect of the *Book of Tizimin* when it is viewed historically is the autistic disjunction between Mayan and Spanish views of the same broad epoch. There are consistent correspondences on numerous points, but the focus of attention is totally different. The Spaniards chronicled their *entradas*, the sequences of their officials, their laws, discoveries, and conquests. They themselves appear in Itza history, however, as an annoying but shadowy and largely irrelevant presence, alluded to by nicknames. Their tribute was regarded as a temporary burden, destined to be returned at the appropriate time. The thrust of Mayan history is a concern with Indian lords and priests, with the cosmology that justified their rule, and with the Indian civil war that was perceived as the real dimension of colonial history.

In effect, this is a secret history. Certainly the Spaniards remained largely oblivious to the continued existence of a traditional Mayan government in Yucatan and ignorant of the ideology that supported it. It is astonishing to learn from the *Tizimin* that the ancient Mayan cities—Mayapan, Uxmal, Chichen Itza, Coba, even Merida itself—continued to serve as symbolic reference points for a lively and indigenous religious and political life centuries after their pyramids had fallen into ruins. It is startling to find Chichen Itza still collecting tribute in the middle eighteenth century!

Even though these pages depict its decline, Mayan civilization here presents us with a strong sense of continuity, sophistication, and vitality. While we cannot read Itza history as a direct guide to events of the Classic period, the ideology of cyclic history doubtless both preceded and followed the period that is here described. And the end of the cycle is not yet.

THE SEVENTH CENTURY





8 Ahau

From the end of the Xiu cycle
in 692 to 751, and then came
the end of the Itza cycle in 771.
(10)

	•••	≡≡	••	••
(18v) Uaxac Ahau*			8 Ahau (692),	
Uac Ahau			6 Ahau (711),	
Can Ahau			4 Ahau (731),	
Cabil Ahau			Second Ahau (751)	
Ca kal hab*			5 Forty years,	
Ca tac			And then followed	
Hum ppel hab			One year,	
T u hum pis tun			Which was the first <i>tun</i>	
	•••	≡≡	••	••
Ah ox lahun Ahau			Of 13 Ahau (771).	
Ox lahun Ahau.*			10 It was 13 Ahau.	

1. This text, together with the two other early chronicles in the Mani and the Chumayel (Barrera 1948: 68 ff.; Roys 1967: 139 ff.), is unquestionably the oldest sketch of Mayan history we have. While the Chumayel contains one text that can be dated to 1556 (Edmonson 1976), it is likely that nothing in the Tizimin was transcribed from glyphs before 9 Ahau (1559). A glyphic version of this chronicle could have been composed in 13 Ahau (1539) but could also have drawn on glyphic predecessors. I consider the claim of the Itza to have ruled Chichen Itza (and that of the Xiu to have come from Tula) in 8 Ahau (692) to be legend or myth, but the tale seems to be substantially historical from the following 8 Ahau (948) on. See the appendix on chronology.

All the earliest chronicles are preoccupied with the sequence and dates at which various cities became the seats of the cycle. Taken together, the sources provide us with the following outline.

Date	Xiu	Itza	Other
8 Ahau (692)	Tula	Chichen Itza	Bacalar
8 Ahau (948)		Champoton	
2 Ahau (1263)	Uxmal	Mayapan	
8 Ahau (1461)			Tayasal
11 Ahau (1539)	Merida		
4 Ahau (1752)		Valladolid	

5. Barrera 1948: 59 has eighty.

10. The significance of this date is that it ends the Itza *may*, or cycle of thirteen *katuns*. The Itza counted from 11 Ahau to 13 Ahau; the Xiu count ran from 6 Ahau to 8 Ahau, as does the Chumayel text. The Tizimin and Mani chronicles

(note continued on following page)

From 692 to 751, then the East priest Bi Ton arrived, the

	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••
Uaxac Ahau*					8 Ahau (692),
Uac Ahau					6 Ahau (711),
(Can Ahau)*					(4 Ahau) (731),
Caa Ahau					2 Ahau (751).
Kuchc i					15 Then arrived
Chac Na Bi Ton*					The East priest Bi Ton,

(note continued from preceding page)

begin with 8 Ahau rather than 6 Ahau but otherwise agree with the Xiu. The beginning date is thus the end of *katun* 8 Ahau on 9.13.0.0.0 8 Ahau 8 Uo, March 18, 692.

11. The count now repeats.

13. 4 Ahau has been omitted.

16. Chac Na Bi Ton: the East priest (Chac) and chief of the Toltec Xiu. The prefix Na 'mother' commonly introduces the matronymic, in this case Bi 'roll', and the patronymic comes last: Ton 'lame'. Barrera 1948: 59 and Brinton 1882: 144 consider this a place-name.

The place-names of Yucatan are difficult to identify and often difficult to locate (see Roys 1935). Frequently they are introduced by the locative *ti* 'at', and the names of many of the smaller towns follow this with *Ix* 'little'. A few towns have monosyllabic names, more commonly the name is inflected or compounded, and names of four or more elements are not unknown (*ti Ix Peton Cah*, *ti Ix Kil Itzam Pech*). Numeral prefixes of unknown significance occur occasionally: *Hun Uc Ma*, *Cabil Neb A*, *Ox Cum*, *Can Uat Hom*, *Ho Tzuc Chakan*, *Uuc y Ab Nal*, *Uaxac Tun*, *Bolon Ch'och'*, *Lahun Chab Le*, and *Ox Lahun Zuyua*. Numbers above 13 do not seem to occur. Otherwise, since there appear to have been eighteen provinces (see note 777), I would be tempted to guess that they were numbered in relation to the *uinal*s. The numeral prefix is invariant over time for any one town.

Classificatory elements are common in place-names: *A* or *Ha* 'water', *Cab* or *Luum* 'lands', *Hol Tun* 'water hole', *Tun* 'rock', *Cah* 'town', *Ch'een* 'well', *Puc* 'hill', and *Tz'onot* 'cenote'. Animal and plant names are frequent descriptive elements: snail, deer, turkey, iguana, alligator, puma, squirrel, bat, rabbit, dove, and skunk in the first category, gourdroot, balche, guano palm, caoba, custard apple, banana, chile, nance, corn, and ceiba in the second. Construction features occur occasionally: mounds, walls, ovens, and plazas. Color names with directional associations are frequent. There is a surprising dearth of Nahuatl place-names. I have found only five: *Tizimin* (*Tzimentlan*), *Mayapan*, Yucatan (*Yucatlan*), *Valladolid* (*Zaciapan*), and *Zuyua*.

The interpretation of personal names presents several difficulties (Roys 1940). While it seems likely that calendrical names were used even after the conquest, they are extremely rare. Examples are 7 Eb and 5 Xochitl. Numeral elements are sometimes prefixed to surnames without any accompanying day name, as in 8 Ol Kauil, 11 Ch'ab Tan, or 7 Sat Ay. I believe these to be priestly titles. Occasionally a numeral appears to be used as a surname, as in *Lahun Chan*, *Cab Bech'*, or *Hun Pic*. The typical naming system is binomial, and most commonly both names are monosyllabic, the first being a matronym and the second a patronym, as in *Yax Cutz*, *Can Ul*, *Kak Mo*, or *Can Ek*. Often the matronym is preceded by *Na*—*Na Pot Xiu*, *Na Ahau Pech*, or *Na Puc Tun*—but this appears to be optional. Sometimes the name is preceded by *Ah*, as in *Ah Muzen Cab* or *Ah Kin Chil*, implying priesthood or a collective: the man and his family. Women's names may very occasionally be identified by the prefix *Ix*, as in *Ix Tab* or *Ix Kalem*, but I believe that this element is far more commonly the simple conjunction 'and'. Both Roys and Barrera have in my opinion provided us with an entirely excessive list of goddesses.

Very commonly either surname may take the suffix *-il* or *-Vl*, an abstractive, again with collective meaning, but this is also optional: *Chac Hub*, *Chac Hubil* or *Ul Ahau*, *Ulil Ahau*. Additional elements may precede or follow the name, apparently for differentiating people of similar names. These may be prefix titles, such

(note continued on following page)

chief of the Toltec Xiu. It was
710. (20)
From 692 when Chichen Itza

Mekat*	The chief
Tutul Xiu*	Of the Tutul Xiu,
Hum ppel hab	One year
Ma ti ho kal hab.*	20 Before it was one hundred years.
Uaxac Ahau*	8 Ahau (692)
Uchc u chicanpahal	Had been revealed;
Chi Ch'en Ytza*	Chichen Itza
Uchc u chicpahal	Had been manifested:
Tzucub te*	25 The grove
Sian Can la e.*	Born of Heaven there.

(note continued from preceding page)

as Ahau 'lord', Ah Kin 'sun priest', Chilam 'spokesman', Ah Bobat 'prophet', Ah Miatz 'sage', or Nacom 'captain'. Color words and numerals may also serve as titles, referring to the directional priesthoods or those of the numeral gods: (1) Chac 'red, east', (2) Zac 'white, north', (3) Ek 'black, west', (4) Kan 'yellow, south', (5) Yax 'green blue, center', (6) Uac Chu Uah, (7) Uuc Sat Ay, (8) Uaxac y Ol Kauil, (9) Bolon y Oc Te, (10) ?Lahun Chan (Lah Hun Chan), and (11) Buluc Ch'ab Tan. Again, higher numerals do not appear.

Following the patronym, additional elements of a similar kind may be appended, as in Na Tzin Yabun Chan: Tzin Yabun the Younger, or Hun Pic ti Ax: Hun Pic from Ax. A considerable ambiguity is created by the overlapping of categories of personal names, titles, place-names, day names, and colors. Thus Chac is a lineage name, a title (rain priest), a color (red), a place, a god, and an epithet (strong). Many of the traditional surnames have been continued into modern times, which is sometimes helpful in identifying them: Xiu, Ay, Pot, Bak, Pat, Puc, etc. The commonest lineage names in the Tizimin are Can, Ku, Ay, Ahau, Hun, Tun, and Chan in that order. The runners-up are Chac, Hub, Ol, Nab, Pat, Puc, Ul, Tz'itz', and Yan.

17. *Mekat* 'chief' from Nahuatl *mecatl* 'tumpline', implying a cargo bearer or bearer of the burden of the *katun*. The title appears to be restricted to the Xiu, but the concept is Mayan as well: public office is a 'burden' (*cuch*).

18. *Tutul Xiu* 'Toltecs', traditionally the rulers of Uxmal 'windfall'. The name is significantly bilingual: Nahuatl *totollin* 'many reeds', with the Mayanized Nahuatl explanation *xiu* 'grasses'. It identifies an elite ethnic group rather than a lineage or a person. The Xiu were the nobility of the western half of the Yucatan Peninsula and were more influenced by Nahuatl and Spanish ideology than were the eastern Itza. They claimed identification with Nonohualco, Zuyua, Chiconauhtla, and "the great city of Tula" (Barrera 1948: 57-58).

20. That is, Bi Ton arrived in Yucatan one year before the end of 13 Ahau (771). Barrera 1948: 59 adds these ninety-nine years to 2 Ahau to arrive at 5 Ahau (1106).

21. We return to the starting date for the second time: 692.

23. Chi Ch'en Itza 'mouth of the well of the witches of water', the best known of the Mayan cities and the traditional seat of the Itza. Like the Xiu, the Itza were an elite ethnic group. Together they dominate the history of Yucatan in an east-west, quasi-mojoity political system.

25. *Tzucub Te* 'grove of trees', a sacred grove, the most famous of which was always at the cycle seat, in this case Chichen Itza.

26. *Sian Can* 'born of heaven' was the traditional sobriquet of the primate city of the cycle, here Chichen Itza. Barrera 1948: 59 cites the Motul translation of the phrase as 'accounts and words from the histories of serious sages' and identifies it with Bacalar. It is elsewhere applied to Mayapan, Merida, Valladolid, etc.

was the seat of the cycle to 731 to 771, the end of the Itza cycle, to 810 to 849 to 889, Chichen Itza ruled two hundred years. Then it was destroyed and they went to Champoton, the home of the imperial Itza. By 968 they finished subjugating the

(Uac Ahau)*
Can Ahau
Cabil Ahau

(6 Ahau) (711),
4 Ahau (731),
2 Ahau (751),

... ≡ ० ० ०

Ox Iahun Ahau
Lai tzolc i*
Pop
Buluc Ahau
Bolon Ahau
Uuc Ahau
Ho Ahau
Ox Ahau
Hun Ahau*

30 13 Ahau (771).
That was the counting
Of the mats.
11 Ahau (790),
9 Ahau (810),
35 7 Ahau (830),
5 Ahau (849),
3 Ahau (869),
1 Ahau (889).

... ≡ ० ० ०

Lahun kal hab
C u tepal Chi Ch'en Ytza*
Ca pax i
Ca bin ob
T cahtal*
Chakan Putun*
Ti y anh i
Y otochob*
Ah Ytzaob
Ku y an uinicob i*
Uac Ahau
Chuc cu*

Two hundred years
40 Chichen Itza ruled.
Then it was destroyed.
Then they went
To the settlement
Of Champoton,
45 Where there were then
The homes
Of the Itza,
The gods who own men.
6 Ahau (968)
50 Completed the seating

27. Uac Ahau has been omitted.

31. The mats were counted at the end of the (Itza) *katun* cycle. Since mats were symbols of authority, frequently paired with thrones, counting them was a ritual confirmation of inherited ranks. Succession was not automatic; it involved an examination in ritual knowledge.

38. Barrera 1948: 60 continues this count down to 8 Ahau, which he interprets as 692.

40. That is, 692 to 889.

43. I read *ti cahtal*.

44. Chichen Itza was the primate city for 200 years. Then it was destroyed and the primacy was moved to Champoton. This occurred at the end of 8 Ahau or the beginning of 6 Ahau (ca. 948). A period of 40 years in the wilderness may have intervened. Being the seat of the cycle (*may cu*), as opposed to the seat (*hetz*) of the *katun*, theoretically established dynastic preeminence for a period of 260 *tuns* (ca. 256 years). The Chumayel gives Chichen Itza the full 260 *tuns*; the Tizimin awards it 200; the Mani strips it to 120. Doubtless, political differences are involved, but the terminal date is not affected. Chakan Putun 'meadow swamp' is the modern Champoton. Barrera 1948: 140 translates the name as 'plain of *putun* 'chiles'. *Putun* also means 'Chontal' (Roys 1935: 4).

46. *Otoch* 'home' contrasts with *na* 'house' as a dwelling place as opposed to a residence. One implication may be that the Itza formerly lived in Champoton.

48. Barrera 1948: 60 has 'religious men'; Brinton 1882: 145 says 'holy men'. *Kuyan* 'bent' could also mean 'sacrificed people'.

50. The Chumayel places this in 4 Ahau. It must have been around the end of 6 Ahau and the beginning of 4 Ahau (968).

territory of Champoton. From 968 to 1047 to 1086 to 1125 to 1165 to 1204, then Champoton was destroyed, having been ruled for a cycle by the Itza, who then destroyed their home again and its road. For two katuns the Itza wandered in the wilderness, suffering: from 1204 to 1244, forty years. Then they resettled in Mayapan and destroyed the road of Champoton.

Lumil
Chakan Putun
Can Ahau
Cabil Ahau

Of the lands
Of Champoton.
4 Ahau (987),
Second Ahau (1007),



Ox Iahun Ahau
Buluc Ahau
Bolon Ahau
Uuc Ahau
Ho Ahau
Ox Ahau
Hun Ahau
Lah ca Ahau
Lahun Ahau

55 13 Ahau (1027),
11 Ahau (1047),
9 Ahau (1066),
7 Ahau (1086),
5 Ahau (1106),
60 3 Ahau (1125),
1 Ahau (1145),
12 Ahau (1165),
10 Ahau (1185),



Uaxac Ahau
Paxc i
Chakan Putun*
Ox Iahun kal hab
C u tepal Chakan Putun
T u men Ytza uincob
Ca tal ob
U tzacl ob y otochob
T u ca ten
Ca u satah ob be*
Chakan Putun
Ca tz'it u katunil
Bi(n)ci ob Ah Ytzaob
Y alan che
Y alan haban
Y alan ak
Ti num yaob
Uac Ahau
Can Ahau
Ca kal hab
Ca tal ob
U hetz'
Y otochob t u ca ten
Ca u satah ob be
Chakan Putun

8 Ahau (1204).
65 Destroyed
Was Champoton.
Two hundred sixty years
Champoton was ruled
By the Itza people.
70 Then they came on
And returned to their homes
For the second time.
They destroyed the road
Of Champoton.
75 For two parts of the *katun* cycle
The Itza went on
Beneath the trees,
Beneath the bushes,
Beneath the vines,
80 Where they suffered.
6 Ahau (1224),
4 Ahau (1244):
Forty years,
Then they came
85 And established
Their homes again.
Then they destroyed the road
Of Champoton.

66. Coming to the end of its [Xiu] cycle, Champoton was destroyed in 1204. Another chronicle (Barrera 1948: 72) attributes the destruction to Kak u Pacat 'fire glance' and Tecuilli 'brazier', presumably Xiu. The Xiu did not believe that the Itza were programmed to rule Champoton any longer, so they drove them out to wander and suffer for forty years before establishing a new seat at Mayapan in 1263. This was the occasion for the founding of the League of Mayapan, allying that city with Uxmal (Xiu) and Chichen Itza (Itza). The rule of Mayapan itself was supposed to be shared.

73. Barrera 1948: 61 and Brinton 1882: 145 have 'lost the road'.

From 1204 to 1323 to 1362 to 1401 to 1441 they lived on the lands of Zuy Tok, a Toltec Xiu of Uxmal, which had been established for two hundred years. (104)

From 1283 to 1362 to 1401 to 1441, and in the final katun of the Xiu cycle, they destroyed the governors of Chichen Itza by the conspiracy of Hunac

Cabil Ahau

Ox Iahun Ahau

Buluc Ahau

Bolon Ahau

Uuc Ahau

Ho Ahau

Ox Ahau

Hun Ahau

Lah ca Ahau

Lahun Ahau

U hetz' i

Cab Ah Sui Tok*

Tutul Xiu

Uxmal

Lahun kal hab c uch i

Second Ahau (1263),

⋮ ⋯ ⚡ ⚡ ⚡

90 13 Ahau (1283),

11 Ahau (1303),

9 Ahau (1323),

7 Ahau (1342),

5 Ahau (1362),

95 3 Ahau (1382),

1 Ahau (1401),

12 Ahau (1421),

10 Ahau (1441).

They established

100 The land of Zuy Tok,

A Tutul Xiu

Of Uxmal.

Two hundred years had passed

⋮ ⋮ ⚡ ⚡ ⚡

Ca hetz' h ob lum Uxmal*

Since they established the land of Uxmal.

⋮ ⋯ ⚡ ⚡ ⚡

Buluc Ahau

Bolon Ahau

Uuc Ahau

Ho Ahau

Ox Ahau

Hun Ahau

Lah caa Ahau

Lahun Ahau

105 11 Ahau (1303),

9 Ahau (1323),

7 Ahau (1342),

5 Ahau (1362),

3 Ahau (1382),

110 1 Ahau (1401),

12 Ahau (1421),

10 Ahau (1441).

⋮ ⋮ ⚡ ⚡ ⚡

Uaxac Ahau

Paxc i

U hal ach uinicil*

Chi Ch'en Ytza*

T u keban than*

Hunac Ceel*

8 Ahau (1461)

They destroyed

115 The governors

Of Chichen Itza

By the sinful words

Of Hunac Ceel.

100. Zuy Tok 'flint knife', the Xiu lord of Uxmal in 1263 and the founder of a two hundred-year dynasty there. Barrera 1948: 61 reads this as meaning that Zuy Tok established himself in Uxmal in 2 Ahau (1007).

104. The text does not say so, but the preceding count of two hundred *tuns* leads up to 8 Ahau again. This is the critical 8 Ahau (1461) of the fall of Mayapan.

* The following lines return to Itza chronology and count down to the same date.

115. *Hal ach uinic* 'true virile man', the governor of a province or city, in this case the rain priest Xib Chac of Chichen Itza.

116. Brinton 1882: 146 has 'the ruler deserted (depopulated) Chichen Itza'.

117. The "sin" of Hunac Ceel was Xiu calendrical arrogance.

118. The fall of Mayapan was the epochal event of the preconquest period. See the discussion in Tozzer 1941: 32–34. Two different versions put the blame on

Ceel, Cinteotl the Younger, Tzontecome, Tlaxcallan, Pantemitl, Xochihuehuetl, Itzcoatl, and Cacalacatl, the eight of them conspiring with Ul Ahau of Izamal. One full cycle—and they were destroyed by Hunac Ceel because of betrayal of information. From 1461 to 1500, in forty years, they finished off the part of Mayapan inside the

*Ah Sinteyut Chan**
Tzum Tecum
Taxcal
Pantemit
Xuch Ueuet
Ytzcoat
Kakalcat
Lai u kaba
U uinicilob la e
Uuc tul ob
T u men u uahal
*Uahob**
Y etel Ytzmal
*Ulil Ahau**
Ox lahun uutz'
*U katunilob**
Ca pax ob
T u men Hunac Ceel
T u men u tz'abal
*U nat ob**
Uac Ahau
Can Ahau
Ca kal hab
Ca chuc i
U lumil ych paa
*Mayapan**

Cinteotl Chan,
120 *Tzontecome,*
Tlaxcallan,
Pantemitl,
Xochihuehuetl,
Itzcoatl,
125 *Cacalacatl:*
These are the names
Of the people there,
The seven of them,
Because they were patting
130 *Tortillas*
With Izamal
And Ul Ahau.
Thirteen folds
*Of the *katun* cycle,*
135 *Then they were destroyed*
By Hunac Ceel
Because of the giving away
Of their knowledge.
6 Ahau (1480),
140 4 Ahau (1500):
Forty years.
Then it was completed,
The land within the walls
Of Mayapan,

(note continued from preceding page)

Hunac Ceel and on Can Ul, the usurping Itza governor of Izamal. The primacy of the *katun* cycle was at stake. The sequence of events is far from clear, but it involved the elimination of Xib Chac (who was succeeded by Kukul Can as governor of Chichen Itza) and a related dynastic dispute in Izamal. It culminated in an internal rebellion within the walls of Mayapan by seven Xiu lords, and Mayapan was destroyed in accordance with the Xiu time schedule. The Mani gives the most precise date for the destruction of Mayapan: 1451 (Barrera 1948: 71). All sources agree that it occurred in *katun* 8 Ahau (1461), though Barrera 1948: 62 puts Hunac Ceel in 1204. Tozzer 1941: 32–34 identifies Hunac Ceel with Kukul Can.

119. The Mani makes it clear that the seven "Hummingbird" or "Highland" (Uitzil) lords, Xius resident in Mayapan, were responsible for the destruction of the city in 1451 (Barrera 1948: 64). They are not named in the Chumayel, but they all have Nahuatl names, albeit binomial ones in the post-Classic Mayan fashion: Cinteotl 'corn god' Chan 'the younger', Tzontecome 'skull grandfathers', Tlaxcallan 'tortilla house', Pantemitl 'flag bearer', Xochihuehuetl 'flower elder', Itzcoatl 'flint snake', and Cacalacatl 'crow cane'. Barrera 1948: 62 gives Cacalacatl 'crow people'.

130. "Patting tortillas with" implies "playing footsie with": conspiring. Barrera 1948: 63 and Brinton 1882: 147 convert this into banquets.

132. Ulil Ahau 'snail lord', governor of Itzmal 'lizards' in the 1450s. Both the Ul and the Ahau lineages remained prominent at Izamal into the seventeenth century. Barrera 1948: 63 has Ulmil, implying 'turkey people'.

134. Brinton 1882: 147 translates this as 'thirteen divisions of warriors'.

138. Barrera 1948: 63 has 'to teach the Itzas a lesson'.

144. *Mayapan*: Mayan *may* 'cycle' plus Nahuatl *-apan* 'water place', the holy and primate city of the Itza from the end of the Classic period (ca. 987–1007),

(note continued on following page)

walls, *Ul Ahau* and the *Itza*, because of the deceit of *Hunac Ceel*. (148)

From 1244 to 1323 to 1362 to 1401 to 1441, then in the katun ending in 1461, *Mayapan* was dismantled by the mob that had seized the walls of the city. (166)

From 1461 to 1533: then the

T u men Ytza uincob
Y etel Umlil Ahau
T u men u keban than
Hunac Ceel

Cabil Ahau

⋮ ⋯ ⋯ ⋯ ⋯
Ox lahun Ahau
Buluc Ahau
Bolon Ahau
Uuc Ahau
(19r) Ho Ahau
Ox Ahau
Hun Ahau
Lah ca Ahau
Lahun Ahau

145 By the *Itza* people
And *Ul Ahau*
Because of the sinful words
Of *Hunac Ceel*.

Second Ahau (1263),

150 13 Ahau (1283),
11 Ahau (1303),
9 Ahau (1323),
7 Ahau (1342),
5 Ahau (1362),
155 3 Ahau (1382),
1 Ahau (1401),
12 Ahau (1421),
10 Ahau (1441).

⋮ ⋯ ⋯ ⋯ ⋯
Uaxac Ahau
Uchc i*
Puch' tun ich paa
Mayapan
T u men u pach tulum*
T u men mul tepal
Ich cah
Mayapan

Uac Ahau
(Can Ahau)
Cabil Ahau
Ox lahun tun

8 Ahau (1461)
160 There was
Crushed stone inside the walls
Of *Mayapan*
Because of the seizure of the walls
By crowd rule
165 In the city
Of *Mayapan*.
6 Ahau (1480),
(4 Ahau) (1500),
Second Ahau (1520),
170 The thirteenth *tun*,

(note continued from preceding page)

when it was first called Born of Heaven, to 1752, and perhaps to 1824 for at least some *Itzas*. Barreirá 1948: 99 translates the name as 'deer standard'. It was the largest walled city of the post-Classic period; hence it is often referred to as *Pa Cabal* 'fort of the lands' or just as *Pa* 'fort'. After its destruction in 1451, it continued to be a ceremonial center, but the ceremonies were often held "outside the walls," and it acquired a new nickname: *Tzucub Te*, or Sacred Grove. Centrally located, it was the storm center of Mayan politics during the post-Classic and colonial periods. The modern name of the Maya may be derived from *Mayapan* but does not appear in the *Tizimin* until 4 Ahau (1737), despite the fact that it was known to Columbus and used constantly in the *Chumayel*. See Tozzer 1941: 7 on the origin of the name.

160. Barrera 1948: 63 has 'the land of *Ichpa-Mayapan* was seized by those from outside the walls—because of the multiple government inside *Mayapan*'. Brinton 1882: 147 says 'fighting took place in the fortress of *Mayapan*, on account of the seizure of the castle, and on account of the joint government in the city of *Mayapan*'.

163. *Tulum* 'walls' is a dramatic Mayan site on the Caribbean coast; here, however, the reference is to the walls of *Mayapan*. The walled city of *Tulum* is not mentioned in the *Tizimin*.

Spanish first saw Yucatan,
eighty years after the fall of
Mayapan, in the final katun of
the cycle. From 1539 to 1618 to
1658 to 1737 to 1800 to 1848!
(192)

Man i
Tz'ulob
U yax ilc ob
U lumil
Yucatan*
Tzucub te
Can kal hab

There came
The foreigners,
And first saw
The lands
175 Of Yucatan
And the grove,
Eighty years (after the fall of
Mayapan),



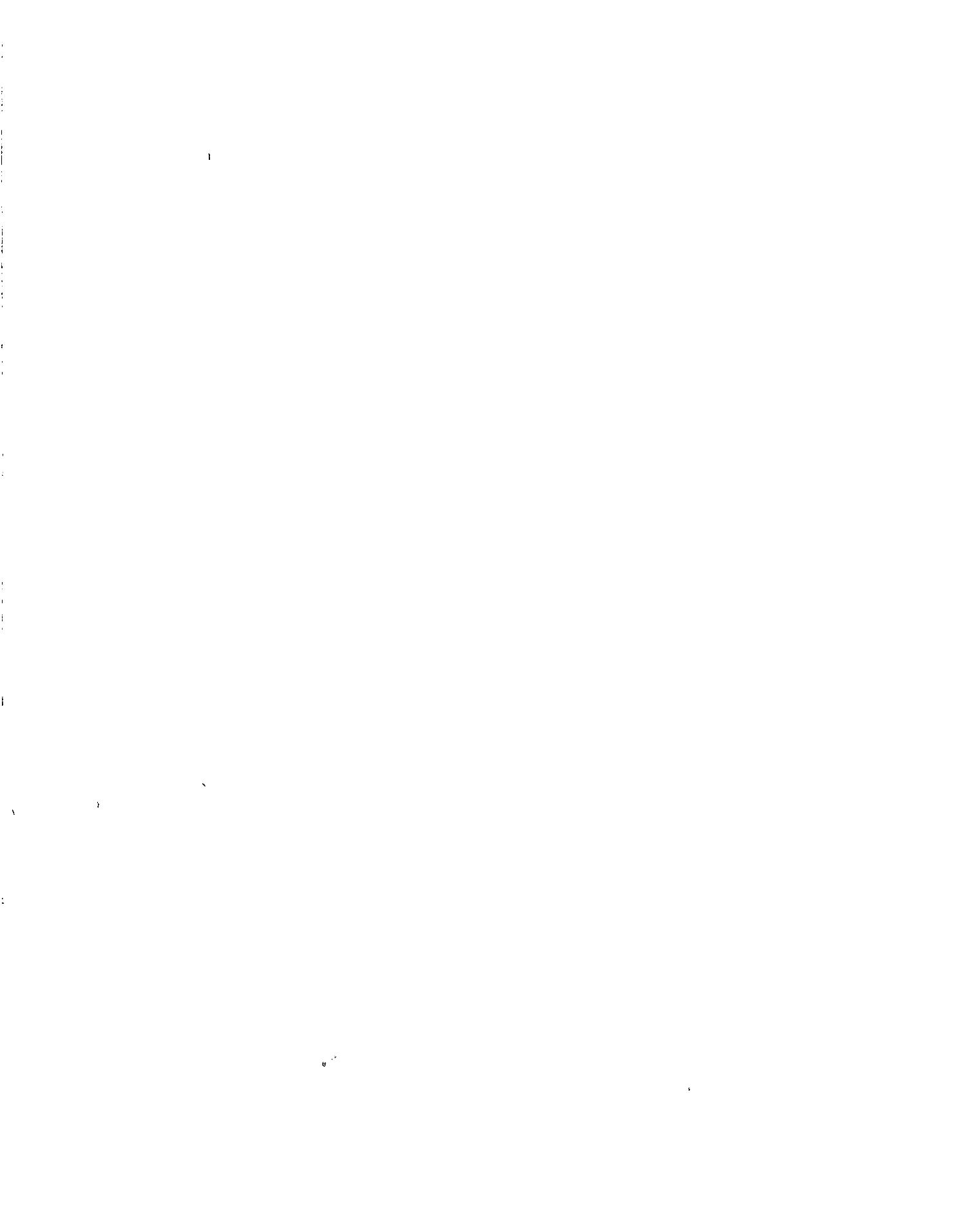
Ca tac ox lahun pis i

Buluc Ahau
Bolon Ahau
Uuc Ahau
Ho Ahau
Ox Ahau
Hun Ahau
Lah ca Ahau
Lahun Ahau
Uaxac Ahau
Uac Ahau
Can Ahau
Cabil Ahau
Ox lahun Ahau
Buluc Ahau.*

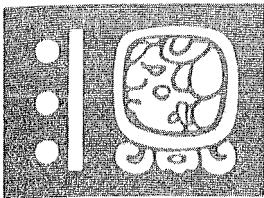
And then was the thirteenth
measure.
11 Ahau (1539),
180 9 Ahau (1559),
7 Ahau (1579),
5 Ahau (1598),
3 Ahau (1618),
1 Ahau (1638),
185 12 Ahau (1658),
10 Ahau (1677),
8 Ahau (1697),
6 Ahau (1717),
4 Ahau (1737),
190 Second Ahau (1776),
13 Ahau (1800),
11 Ahau (1824).

175. *Yucatlan*: Nahuatl 'plantation place', first seen by the Spaniards perhaps in 1507 (Aguilar) and 1511 (Valdivia), more definitely by Ponce de León in 1513. There were additional *entradas* by Córdoba (1517), Grijalva (1518), Cortés (1519), and Montejo (1526). In the 1530s it was approached from the west via Campeche. See Closs 1976 for a partial summary and discussion. The *katun* of the fall of Mayapan ended in the Mayan year 1461. The text is dating the distance from that to the end of 13 Ahau, which is eighty *tuns*.

192. This last count takes us from 1539 to 1816 in the preconquest chronology (1824 in the calendar of Valladolid) and ends on the first *katun* of a new Itza cycle. The whole chronicle shows a mixture of Xiu and Itza influences, but the Itza view predominates.



THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY



8 Ahau

By 1461 it was the Xiu time to
decorate the city for the 13 Gods.

(12v) Uaxac Ahau*

U kin
U mis kiuc
Ix chan cab*
Ca em i
U than ox lahun ku

• • •

8 Ahau

Was the time

195 To sweep the marketplace
And the little plazas,
When there descended
The word of the 13 Gods.

193. Although this text was written after the conquest in 9 Ahau (1559), it refers mainly to events of the period of the fall of Mayapan in 8 Ahau (1461) from the Itza point of view. From this 8 Ahau to 13 Ahau (1800), the Tizimin dutifully records the seats of the *katun*. Other early chronicles (Barrera 1948: 72) start even earlier, in 12 Ahau (1421). The primary seats of the *katun* (in a period of almost continuous revolts) were as follows.

Date	Xiu	Itza	Other
12 Ahau (1421)			Otzmal
10 Ahau (1441)			Sisal
8 Ahau (1461)	Champoton	Chichen Itza	Kan Caba, Izamal
6 Ahau (1480)	Uxmal	Chichen Itza?	Hunac Thi
4 Ahau (1500)		Chichen Itza	A ti Kuh
2 Ahau (1520)		Tihosuco	Chacal Na
13 Ahau (1539)	Merida?	Coba	Euan
11 Ahau (1539)	Merida	Emal	Kin Colox
9 Ahau (1559)	Merida	Teabo	
7 Ahau (1579)	Merida	Mayapan	
5 Ahau (1598)	Merida	Zotz'il	
3 Ahau (1618)	Merida	Zuyua	
1 Ahau (1638)	Merida	Emal	
12 Ahau (1658)		Valladolid	
10 Ahau (1677)		Valladolid	
		Chab Le	
8 Ahau (1697)		Chab Le	
6 Ahau (1717)		Teabo	
4 Ahau (1737)		Teabo	
2 Ahau (1776)		Valladolid	
13 Ahau (1800)		Coba	

196. They swept the main plaza and the smaller plazas for the *katun* ceremonies and announced the prophecy of the *katun*. Barrera 1948: 223 reads Ix Chancab as the name of a female personage.

In 1461 it was at Chichen Itza, and the 13 Gods provided poor fare. That was the fate of the time according to their own word in 1461. (210)

And Chichen Itza summoned the lord of Uxmal to celebrate the date under the East priest Xib Chac and the priest of Quetzalcoatl, Kukul Can. Then the Itza were betrayed, which led to fighting and slaughter and shooting and sin. (230)

And, because it was time for

Uaxac Ahau	8 Ahau
T u Ch'i Chen	Was at Chichen Itza.
Ox lahun ku*	The 13 Gods'
U ich	Aspect
Ox te	Was breadnut tree
Sa cum	And atole gourd.
Lai	205 That was
Hi u tepal	Exactly its rule,
Ti tal i	Which was spoken
T u than	In the words
Ox lahun ti ku	Of the 13 Gods.
Uaxac Ahau uchc i	210 8 Ahau occurred
T u Ch'i Chen	At Chichen Itza.
Ca tz'ibtab i*	Then it was written
U y ahau	To the lord
Ah Uxmal	Of the people of Uxmal.
Ca tal i	215 Then came
U chek eb*	The pacing of the pyramid
T u pach Chac	Behind the East priest
Xib Chac	Xib Chac
T u menel Ah Nacxit	For the priest of Quetzalcoatl,
Kukul Can*	220 Kukul Can.
Ca em i*	Then befell
U katlam Ah Itza e*	The betrayal of the Itza.
Ca tal i	Then came
Hoc*	Uprooting
Mucuc tza	225 And removal by burial,
Homol tza	Removal by dart shooting,
Tz'on	And blowgun,
Bacal tza	And removal by shot.
Ti ca oc i	When that started,
Keban ul i	230 Sin arrived.
T u men Ah Uaxac Ahau xan e	Also because of 8 Ahau
Ca uchic	There was then

201. Barrera 1948: 223 has 'where he was the most elaborately worshipped face'. I can't follow his reasons.

212. Barrera 1948: 223 has 'then it happened that a painting was sent to the Lord of Uxmal and he came to leave the imprint of his feet on the back of the Red Fearsome Chac'.

216. The ritual began with the "pacing of the pyramid" of the seat of the *katun*, in this case Chichen Itza. The Xiu were invited to participate.

220. The lord of the *katun* was the East priest Xib Chac. He was to be assisted by the priest of Quetzalcoatl, Kukul Can. Nacxitl [Nahuatl *nahuic icxitl* 'four leg'] is one of the names of Quetzalcoatl. Kukul Can 'quetzal snake' is the Mayan equivalent but is also in this instance a personal name. The Can lineage was prominent in Chichen Itza and Izamal.

221. The Itza were double-crossed and war broke out over the lordship of the *katun*.

222. Barrera 1948: 223 says 'the exodus of the Water Witch'.

224. Barrera 1948: 223 says 'there came fighting in hiding, fighting with fury, fighting with violence, fighting without mercy'. At lines 321 ff. he translates the same words as 'there will come snatching of bags and rapid and violent war'.

the ceiba sacrifices to end the cycle, all at once Chichen Itza's term ended and Izamal's began. It was ended by Ul Ahau three years early, the priestly office. Itzam Can and Ahau Can appeared, and Hapay Can was named priest designate. Ul Ahau was lord of Izamal, whose gods collected the tribute. Then the katun ended, and the rule of Izamal with it, and Hapay Can was sacrificed. The Izamal Rabbits and the Center priest Bol Ay arrived among the

Hul yax che*
 Bai ca uch t u ca ten
 Hi uilbal u cuch*

 T u kinil ual e
 Hun uatz'
 Hun tz'on ual e
 Uaxac Ahau ca uch i.
 Ulel Ytzmal
 Tabtab i
 T u men sipc i
 Ah Ulil Ahau
 Lai*
 U hetz' katun uch i
 Ichil uuc lahum pis katun

 U than
 U tepal kul
 Ytzam Caan hok i
 Ahau Caanil
 Y etel Hapai Caan
 Ti tabtab i*
 Ah Ytzmal
 Ul Ahau
 Ti uch i
 Patan u mehen kul Itzmal

 (13r) Ca hok i
 U tah katun
 Ti uch i
 Tepal Itzmal ca tz'oc i
 Hapai Can e*
 Tan u num ya
 Ah Ytzmal Thul ca ul i*
 Yax Bol Ai ca ul i*

 Kuch
 Tan y ol caan

The appearance of the ceiba,
 And thus it occurred again.
 235 It may have been the moon phase of
 the burden
 At the time of the return,
 One turn,
 One shot returning.
 8 Ahau was over.
 240 Coming up was Izamal,
 To be all tied up
 By the fault
 Of Ul Ahau,
 Who
 245 Was the seating of the *katun*
 In the seventeenth measure of the
katun:
 The word,
 The rule of the gods.
 Itzam Can appeared,
 250 Ahau Can,
 And Hapay Can,
 Who was all tied up.
 The lord of Izamal
 Was Ul Ahau.
 255 Then occurred
 The tribute of the sons of the gods
 to Izamal.
 Then came
 The division of the *katun*.
 That happened:
 260 The rule of Izamal then ended.
 Hapay Can then
 Had his suffering.
 Itzmal Thul then appeared;
 The Center priest Bol Ay then
 appeared,
 265 Arriving
 In the middle of the Cans

233. Barrera 1948: 223 reads 'weakening of the ceiba'. He loses me, but I think the scansion precludes his interpretation.

235. Barrera 1948: 223 has 'but who will know the burden he will bring when he has completely turned around?'

244. From some other text, Barrera 1948: 224 adds 'for the sin he had committed with the espoused wife of another lord his friend, which brought on war'.

252. Barrera 1948: 224 has Ul Ahau tied up. I think the terminative *i* precludes this.

261. Hapay Can 'swallowing snake' was arrow sacrificed at Uxmal, according to Tozzer 1941: 35.

263. Barrera 1948: 224 reads this as a place-name.

264. Barrera 1948: 224 translates *yax bolay* as 'great butcher beasts' and *kuch t an y ol caan* as 'celestial buzzards in the center of the Heart of Heaven'.

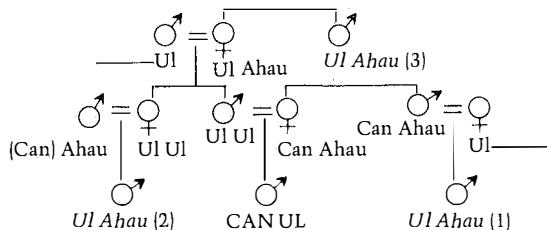
*Cans with the East priest Bol Ay and the East priest Xib Chac, the three victims who were sacrificed at Izamal. (274)
It ended with the crime of*

Y etel Chac Bol Ai
Y etel Chac Xib Chac
Ox num
Ti ya*
U pixan
T an u mansic u num yail
Uai
Itzmal
Tabtab i
T u men u keban
Y ahau
Can Ul e*

With the East priest Bol Ay
And the East priest Xib Chac:
The three victims
270 In pain
Whose souls
Underwent suffering
Here
At Izamal,
275 All tied up then
Because of the sin
Of the lord
Who was Can Ul.

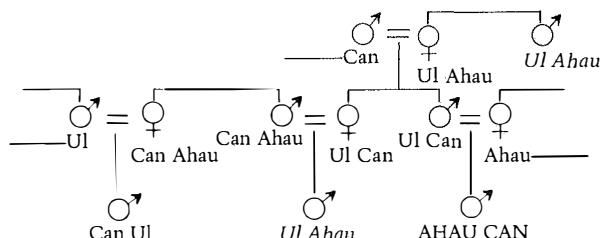
270. Barrera 1948: 224 has 'great was the suffering'.

278. Can Ul 'snake snail', a lord of Izamal and a member of the Can lineage on his mother's side and the Ul lineage on his father's, hence a relative of the Cans of Izamal and Chichen Itza, including Kukul Can. The squabble here was significantly dynastic. With patrilineal succession and lineage exogamy, the successor to Ul Ahau should have been an Ahau, but none appears in this account. Can Ul's claim to patrilineal legitimacy rests on what may have been an incestuous union. The closest kinship relations between him and Ul Ahau would reconstruct as:



A legitimate series of marriages could have made Can Ul the father's sister's son of the retiring lord, Ul Ahau (1). If preferential cross-cousin marriage obtained (Eggan 1934), Can Ul's mother's brother might have married his father's sister, producing a relationship through his father, as the text claims, to Ul Ahau (2). Such a relationship would be either too close (incestuous) or too distant to warrant succession: Can Ul's father and his father's sister would have to be Ul Uls. As the retiring lord was presumably older, it is also possible that Ul Ahau (3) was the brother of Can Ul's paternal grandmother who married incestuously.

All the Cans could be as close as half brothers, sons, or grandsons to one another and, given polygyny, some of them very likely were. Any one of them could have been Can Ul's father's sister's son, but not if Can Ul had any close relationship to Ul Ahau. Finally, one of them, Ahau Can, could have been Ul Ahau's mother's brother's son or sister's son's son without incest. The genealogy of this would have been:



(note continued on following page)

Can Ul, dividing the heirs of Hapay Can. And Kukul Can found out and killed and tortured the nobles and did in the Hapay Cans for the sin of their lord. Itzam Can was named designate; then came the usurpation of Can Ul. Ahau Can was the candidate with the Chichens. Who was Can Ul? He was announced as lord in his final office by inheritance from his father. It was another triumph for the orders of Ants,

Lei tah mehen*	280	This was the division of the sons
Hapai Can la e		Of Hapay Can.
Ca natab i		Then it was understood
T u men Kukul Can e		By Kukul Can.
Ca xot i		Then were cut
U cal		The throats,
U y i ob	285	The eyes,
U y ub ob		The ears
T u lacal y al		Of all the born
U mehen		And engendered children.
C u pactic		Then he folded
U luk Hapai Caan	290	The removal of the Hapay Cans,
Lei ah cuch teob		Who were made to be the bearers,
U cuchah u keban y ahau ob*		And bore the sin of their lord.
Ca tun hopp i		And then began
U tumtic Itzam Caan*		The renewal of Itzam Can.
Ca tal y ocol	295	Then came stealing,
U keban y ahau Can Ul		The sin of the lord Can Ul.
Ca hok i		Then appeared
Ahau Caan		Ahau Can
T u Chi Ch'enob		With the Chichens
Uai	300	Here.
Max		Who
Can Ul?*		Was Can Ul?
T u chican e*		He was manifested then
Ti hok i		And appeared
Ahau i	305	As lord,
Ox lahun te u cuch		His thirteenth burden,
Ca sihsab i		To which he was engendered
T u men u yum		Through his father.
Lai hun ppel cu*		This was one more seat
Yubil	310	And mantle
Sinic		Of the Ants
Balamil		And Jaguars,

(note continued from preceding page)

Both Can Ul and Ahau Can could have had a claim to patrilineal succession through their fathers' mothers, who could well have been sisters of Ul Ahau, but Ahau Can's grandmother neglected to marry incestuously. Presumably Can Ul went to better schools.

279. Barrera 1948: 224 reads *tah* as 'tribute'.

292. The text makes no distinction between the plural *-ob* and the third person plural pronoun *ob* or between the possessive use of the pronoun and its use as subject or object of a verb. I have made the first distinction where possible by treating the plural as an attached suffix and the pronoun as a separate word. It makes a difference, as in this case: *u keban y ahauob* 'the sin of the lords' or *u keban y ahau ob* 'the sin of their lord'. See also line 5160.

294. Barrera 1948: 224 has 'test'.

302. Barrera 1948: 224 sees this as a place-name: Maxcanú 'guardian monkey'.

303. Barrera 1948: 224 says 'at the beginning of the mountains'.

309. Barrera 1948: 225 has it as 'but he was valiant in war and had the Wooden Mask of the Breath Squeezers and was Flint Powerful'.

Jaguars, Coral Snakes, Wooden Masks, Stabbers, and Little Flints who assembled for the calendar round sacrifices. There was to be slaughter, shooting, and usurpation of the lordship into the Christian period, at the 1539 sacrifices for the final end of the Itza cycle, but the real end was 1461, which overwhelmed the Itza governors. (338)

Defeating the Spanish will be another matter: in 1559 there will be a war in the corresponding katun. (346)

Calam	Coral Snakes,
Koh Che	Wooden Masks,
Y etel Ah Cacap	315 Stabbers,
Chan Tokil*	And Little Flints,
Oc na	Coming to the house
Kuchil	And appearing
Ma ya cimnal	With the painless death
Kin tun y abil	320 Of the calendar round:
Hoc*	Uprooting
Muc tza	And removal by burial,
Tz'on	The blowgun
Bacal tza	And removal by shot,
Ah cootz*	325 Pluckers
Ah sitz'	And lusters
U cuch katun	After the burden of the <i>katun</i>
T u kinil x̄ptianoil*	In the time of Christianity,
T u kinil nice unicil	In the time of the Flower people,
T u kin u chac tun num ya	330 In the time of the red stone
Uchom u uutz'	suffering
Katun	Occurring on the fold
T u y ox lahun te	Of the <i>katun</i> ,
Ah uaxac Ahau ual e*	On the thirteenth:
U lubul	The return of 8 Ahau,
U than	335 The posting
Y okol u hal ach uinicil	Of his word
Y ahau Ah Ytza	Over the governors,
Ma cetel	Lords of the Itza.
Bin tz'ocbal nice uinicil	Otherwise
Lai bolon Ahau*	340 Will be the ending of the Flower
Ti pak i	people.
Chimal kal	That is 9 Ahau,
Y etel halal kal	Who plants
Lai bin uchuc t u nup katun	His shield bundle
Hun tz'am ual e.*	And arrow bundle.
	345 That will occur on the opposite <i>katun</i> :
	They are a pair returning.

316. That is, the explanation of Can Ul's de facto success was a deal with the military orders.

321. See note 224.

325. Line repeated in the text by error.

328. *X̄ptianoil* is an anachronism of the time of transcription. It is virtually the only Spanish word in any of the texts I have placed as preconquest. See also line 480.

334. That is, 8 Ahau (1461) was the thirteenth (Xiu) *katun*.

341. The ending of the Flower *katun* was the beginning of 9 Ahau (1559).

346. "Pairs" of *katuns* are not elsewhere attested, and the concept of pairing within a cycle of thirteen is difficult. 8 Ahau and 9 Ahau are six *katuns* apart, and the Maya sometimes divided their cycles of thirteen into six plus seven. Barrera 1948: 225 reads this as 'when the *katun* may close completely'.

From 8 Ahau (1461) on, the Tizimin makes a conscientious effort to keep track of the lords of the *katun*. Some pretenders are hard to identify, but the principal

(note continued from preceding page)

claimants were as follows. Items in parentheses are not mentioned in the Tizimin.

Date	Katim Lords	Other Events
8 Ahau (1461)	Can Ul of Izamal, Xib Chac and Kukul Can of Chichen Itza, Hunac Ceel of Mayapan	Fall of Mayapan
6 Ahau (1480)	Kak Mo of Uxmal and Champoton	
4 Ahau (1500)	Kukul Can of Chichen Itza	Ahau Pech Spokesman (Aguilar, Valdivia, De León, Córdoba, Grijalva, Cortés <i>entradas</i>)
2 Ahau (1520)	(?) of Tihosuco	(Montejo <i>entrada</i>)
13 Ahau (1539)	Kin Chil (?) of Coba (Bach Can), Pot Xiu of (Merida?), (Can Ek of Tayasal)	Xopan Nahuatl Spokesman
11 Ahau (1539)	Zulim Chan of Emal, Yax Chac of Merida	Tzin Yabun Spokesman, Ho Za Bac and Muzen Cab revolt
9 Ahau (1559)	Uac Nal of Teabo, (?) of Merida	Kauil Ch'el Spokesman (Landa)
7 Ahau (1579)	Chu Uah of Mayapan, Yax Chac and Amayte Kauil of Merida	Bech' Kab revolt
5 Ahau (1598)	Puz Hom and Kaua Hom of Zotz'il, Zuhuy Zip and Ol Zip of Emal, Hun Uitzil of Uxmal, Ahau Can of Merida, (Can Ek of Tayasal)	Kauil Ch'el and Puc Tun Spokesmen, Ma Zuy and Ben Pal revolt
3 Ahau (1618)	Yax Coc Ay Mut of Zuyua, Ek Coc Ay Mut of Merida	Bol Ay revolt
1 Ahau (1638)	Ol Zip and Ol Ha of Emal, Amayte Kauil of Merida	Ual Icim, Za Bac Na, Muzen Cab, Can Ul, and Hun Pic revolt, Chan war
12 Ahau (1658)	Yax Chuen and Pat Ay of Valladolid, Hun Pic of Ax	
10 Ahau (1677)	Pat Ay of Valladolid, Hun Chan of Chab Le	
8 Ahau (1697)	Amayte Kauil of Chab Le, (Can Ek of Tayasal)	Kak Mo revolt
6 Ahau (1717)	Kak Mo of Teabo	Chic Kalac revolt
4 Ahau (1737)	Mac Chahom of Teabo	(Canek 1761 revolt at Cisteil)
2 Ahau (1776)	Yopoc Ik of Valladolid	
13 Ahau (1800)	Kin Chil of Coba	Miz Cit revolt (Independence)

3. The Conspiracy Collapses

Katun 8 Ahau was the ninth
in the Itza cycle of katuns.
Izamal was its seat. And again
they made war on Champoton
and left carvings on its walls to
end the attempt of the great
Kak Mo to seat the katun. (366)

(17v) Uaxac Ahau*	8 Ahau
Katun	Katun
U bolon tz'it katun	Was the ninth part of the <i>katun</i>
C u xocol	350 To be counted.
Itzmal	Izamal
U hetz' katun*	Was the seat of the <i>katun</i> .
Y ulel ob	They were to arrive
T u ca uatz'	For the second occasion.
Emom chimal e	355 Descended are the shields;
Emom halal	Descended are the arrows
Y okol Chakan Putun*	Over Champoton,
Ti	Where
U pakal	They are planting
U polob ich pak i*	360 Their carvings in the walls
U tz'oc	To end
U sitz'il	The desire
Kin Ich*	Of Sun Eye
Kak Mo*	Kak Mo
U hetz'	365 To be the seat
T u katunil ual e.	Where the <i>katun</i> cycle returns.

347. The calendrical battle between the Itza and the Xiu is reflected in two cycles of *katun* prophecies (Barrera's first and second wheels) running from 11 to 13 Ahau. The "first wheel" is Itza and goes from 1539 to 1824. The "second wheel" is Xiu. It goes from 1539 to 1677 and then adds the prophecies for the preceding cycle, 1441 to 1539. The Itza cycle corresponds to my chapters 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 16, 18, 21, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, and 41; the Xiu cycle comprises chapters 11, 13, 17, 19, 20, and 23. The first eight *katuns* in both cycles correspond chronologically and depict the Xiu devotion to Merida and the Itza devotion to Mayapan as seats of the cycle. In the first seven of these *katuns*, Merida claimed to seat the *katun* as well and was opposed by one or another Itza center. When 8 Ahau was reached, the Xiu priests returned to the preceding *katun* of that name and gave us the text before us. There is no reason to suppose that it is not a transcription of a preconquest glyphic prophecy, probably made in 9 Ahau (1559).

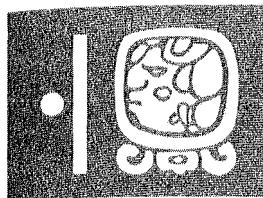
352. Can Ul of Izamal succeeded Kukul Can as lord of the *katun* and Ul Ahau as governor of Izamal late in 8 Ahau (1461). His lordship did not last long, and the following *katun* was seated at Uxmal. An extensive note on the history of Izamal is given in Tozzer 1941: 172–173.

357. Champoton apparently asserted a claim to seat the *katun* but was unsuccessful. It contended with Uxmal in the next *katun*.

360. Barrera 1948: 140 reads *polob* as 'heads'.

363. *Kin Ich* 'sun eye' is a metaphor for divine or glorious. It was later applied to Christ (line 1590). Landa 1929: 2: 26 considers it the name of a god.

364. Kak Mo 'fire parrot' of Uxmal overthrew Amayte KaUIL of Chab Le ca. 1710, retaining the lordship into the following *katun*. He was probably imitating the events of the preceding cycle, even to changing his name. Kak Mo was a god name, particularly at Izamal, where it was equated with Itzam Na. See Tozzer 1941: 144, 146, 173.



6 Ahau

4. Uxmal and Chichen Itza

Katun 6 Ahau was the tenth in the Itza katun cycle. Uxmal was its seat. They held the procession separately and announced their prophecy to their lords, but they lied and fornicated and raised taxes and cut throats. Thus was 6 Ahau. (386)

• = ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥

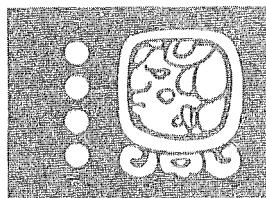
(17v) Uac Ahau*	6 Ahau
Katun	Katun
U lahun tz'it katun	Was the tenth part of the <i>katun</i>
C u xocol	370 To be counted.
Uxmal	Uxmal
U hetz' katun	Was the seat of the <i>katun</i> .
Oclis	They were made to steal
T u ba ob*	From themselves
Chic ix u u ich ob	375 And shameful were their faces
Chic ix u than ob	And shameful were their words
T u y ahaulilob	In their lordships
(.)*	(.)
Bin u tus ob	There will be lies
Coil than	380 And madness,
Tzuc	And also lust
Achil	And fornication.
Ca emec u koch ob	Then their taxes will come down
Xotic u cal ob*	To cut their throats.
Lai u cuch uac Ahau	385 That is the burden of 6 Ahau,
C u cutal t u katunil ual e.	Who is seated in this <i>katun</i> period again.

367. This text is probably from 9 Ahau (1559) from a glyptic original of 4 Ahau (1500) or, perhaps, a little earlier. I believe Kak Mo (formerly of Champoton) to have been the Xiu lord of the *katun*, opposed by Kukul Can of Chichen Itza.

374. Barrera 1948: 140 has 'in which it was placed by itself'.

378. Line missing. The preceding lines may imply a sort of truce: the Xiu and Itza lords of the *katun* were to proceed independently in their ceremonial circuits and see how it went.

384. It didn't work, and taxes had to be raised considerably, presumably to support soldiers.



4 Ahau

4 Ahau was the eleventh in the Itza katun series. Chichen Itza was its seat. For both the Xiu and the Itza attended, and there was a plague. And Kukul Can came for the fourth Itza term. For the fourth time he ruled the katun. (400)

	≡	≡	≡	≡	≡
(17v) Can Ahau*					4 Ahau
U buluc tz'it					Was the eleventh part
Katun					Of the <i>katun</i>
C u xocol	390				To be counted.
T u Chi Ch'en Ytza					At Chichen Itza
U hetz' katun					Was the seat of the <i>katun</i> .
Ulom kuk					Come is the quetzal;
Ulom yaxum*					Come is the blue bird;
(18r) Ulom Ah Kan Tenal	395				Come are the yellow deaths;
Ulom xe kik*					Come is blood vomit.
T u can uatz'					For the fourth time
Ulom Kukul Can t u pach Ah					Come is Kukul Can after the Itzas.
Ytzaob					
T u can ten					For the fourth time
U than katun ual e.*	400				Is the word of the <i>katun</i> 's return.

387. This is probably a glyptic text of late 4 Ahau (1500) or a little after, transcribed in 9 Ahau (1559). Kukul Can continued as lord of the Itza *katun*, apparently without Xiu competition, an astonishing longevity in that office (ca. 1461–1500): even the author is amazed at what he describes as a fourth term.

394. *Kuk* 'quetzal' (*Pharomachrus*) was the emblem of the Itza as *uitzil* 'hummingbird' (*Archilochus*, Nahuatl *huitzitzillin*) was for the Xiu. I believe *yax um* 'blue bird' is a euphemism for the hummingbird, which had astonishingly ferocious theological implications for the Nahuas—Huitzilopochtli, for example. The couplet is frequent in the Tizimin.

396. *Kan tenal* 'yellow deaths': jaundice? hepatitis? yellow fever? Barrera 1948: 140 has 'he of the yellow tree'. There is still considerable controversy about preconquest diseases. *Xe kik* 'blood vomit': tuberculosis? smallpox? The latter, generally considered a European introduction, would hardly be expected before 1500.

400. Barrera 1948: 141 says 'the fourth time the *katun* speaks'.

6. Hopes of the Xiu

The prophecy of Ahau Pech from start to finish: on the day of the ancestors, the end of the term after four katuns, the divination of the holy day is announced. Let me take office whom you know, O Itza Fathers of the Land, and acknowledge and reverence the sun priest Ahau Pech from beginning to

(10r) U profesia*
 Na (A)hau Pech
 Tu kin i
 Uil
 U natabal kin e
 Yum e
 Ti y oksah ich
 Ah tepal ual e*
 Can tz'it u katunil uchom i
 Ual e*
 Hahal pul
 Tu kin ku e*
 Y oktah
 Ua u ba*
 In kuben e
 Yum e
 Ti au ich ex
 Tu bel
 Au ulah ex Ah Ytza e
 U yum cab*
 Ca ulom
 Lai ca a tz'a t au ol
 Tal i
 Tu chi
 Na (A)hau Pech
 Ah kin*

The prophecy
 Of Ahau Pech
 On the sun
 And moon,
 405 Of the day of remembrance
 Of the fathers
 Which removes the face
 Of the returned ruler.
 Four parts of the *katun* cycle are done
 410 And returned.
 The true cast
 On the day of the god
 Is removed
 And stands up.
 415 Let me be seated then,
 Fathers,
 Whom you saw
 On the road.
 Welcome Him, O Itzas,
 420 Fathers of the Land.
 When He is come
 That will be when you give up your
 hearts
 And come
 Before
 425 Ahau Pech
 The sun priest

401. An interesting prophecy which seemingly tries to mediate between the Xiu and Itza cycles by setting up one that is halfway between them. It was probably written in glyphic form early in 4 Ahau (1500) and perhaps transcribed in 9 Ahau (1559). Na (A)hau Pech 'lord tick' was an Itza prophet, a sun priest, and, according to the Mani, *gran sacerdote* of the late fifteenth century at Chichen Itza. See also Tozzer 1941: 42. The Ahau lineage was prominent there and at Izamal, and the Pech lineage is notable slightly later at Merida.

408. The time of remembrance of ancestors is the end of one *katun* and the beginning of the next. *Katun*-ending monuments were regarded as ancestral commemorations (*natabal*).

410. The fourth *katun* in a cycle ending on 1 Ahau. I find no other evidence for such a cycle.

412. The omission of true (*hahal*) suggests that it is the Mayan God who is implied. Lines 419–422 appear to confirm this.

414. Literally, 'erects itself so that I may sit there'.

420. Ba Cabs were obsolescent by *katun* 4 Ahau (1737). Hence I believe this prophecy to be preconquest (1480).

426. The concept of priesthood among the post-Classic and colonial Maya centers on the office of sun priest (*ah kin*), a prerequisite to all political or religious authority. The office required both birth and training, being inherited

(note continued on following page)

end, and 4 Ahau will finish a cycle which is neither Xiu nor Itza. (432)

T u kin i	In the sun
Uil	And moon
	• ≡ ☯ ☯ ☯
Can Ahau	Of 4 Ahau,
Katun ual e	430 The <i>katun</i> returning.
T u hitz'	At the end
Bin u katunil ual e.*	It will be the return of the <i>katun</i> cycle.

(note continued from preceding page)

patrilineally but requiring appropriately high-ranking credentials in the maternal line as well. Sun priests were nobles in both lines: *al mehenob*, women's children and men's children of known lineage. They also underwent extensive training and were ranked by achievement as well as birth. The less distinguished were relegated to the practice of medicine, sorcery, and consultative divination. Those of higher rank became lords (*ahauob*) and took on the burden of public office.

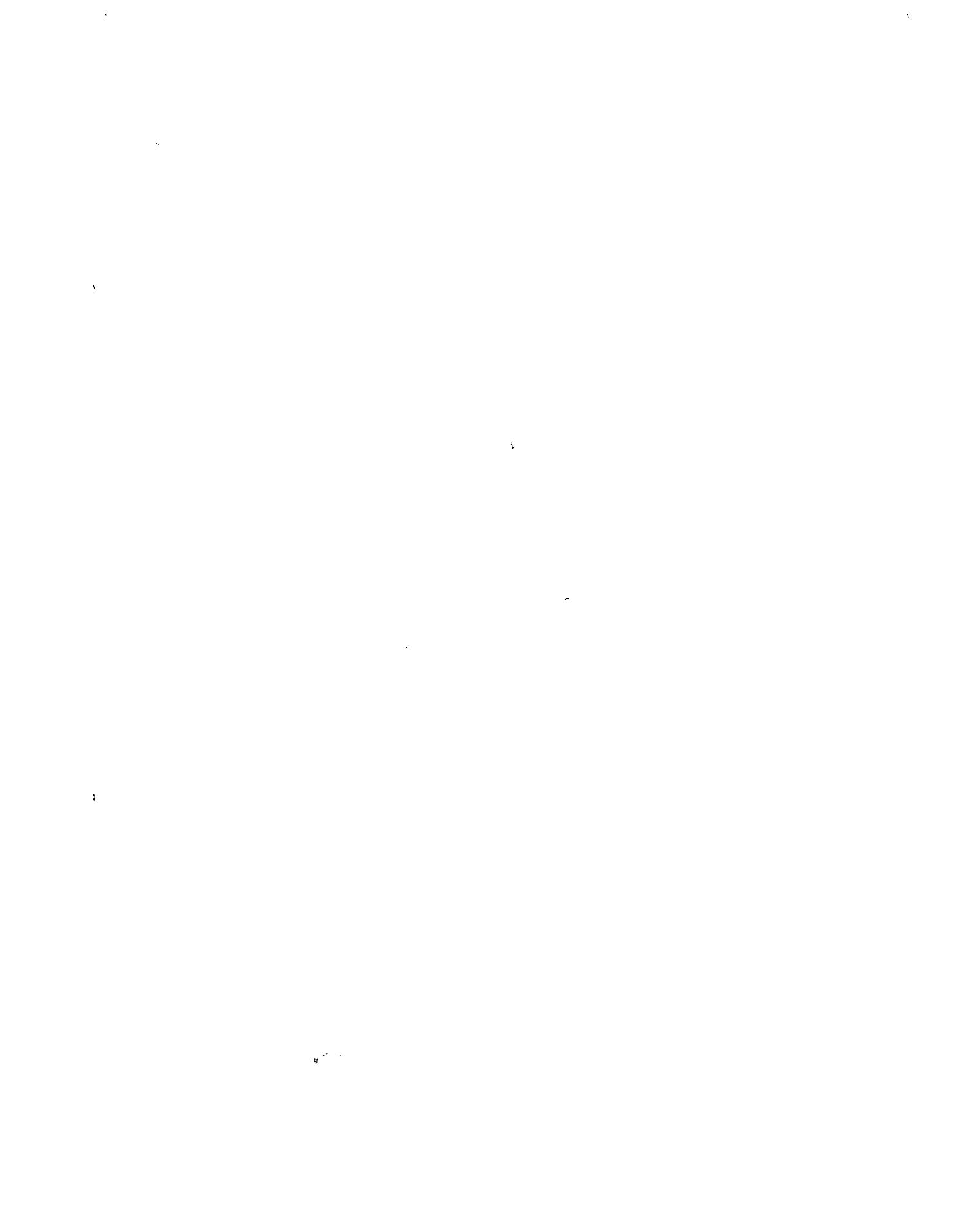
The highest-ranking priesthood was that of the Jaguar (*Balam*), who governed the entire country for one *katun* as the representative of the Sole God (*Hunab Ku*). Landa 1929: 1: 72 calls him the sun priest of the cycle (*ah kin may*). He was seconded by his Spokesman (*Chilam*), and together they manifested the complementarity (and friction) of variously named dualistic gods. On a different time scale were the rain priests of the four (or sometimes five) directions, who represented the yearbearers or Fathers of the Land (*Ba Cabob*), also identified with the rain gods (*Chacob*). Each city had its own directional priesthoods. More obscure are the priesthoods associated with the 9 Gods of the underworld and the 13 Gods of heaven, but these too were local, as were the priesthoods of the high gods who were patrons of the twenty sacred days.

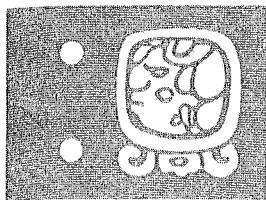
Few of these gods or priesthoods are clearly specified in the Tizimin, nor is their rank explicated, though they were almost certainly ranked. They included the priests of Itzam Na, Quetzalcoatl, Ah Puch', Ix Tab, Uayab Zotz', Itzam Cab Ain, Ix Ch'el, and Muzen Cab, all of whom are mentioned, and there may be a number of others whom I have failed to recognize. These various priesthoods were no doubt subject to considerable local variation in iconography, rank, and calendrical association. Some of the gods, for example, were also considered tutelary, as Itzam Na was for Izamal, Quetzalcoatl for Chichen Itza, and Muzen Cab for Coba. Additional confusion is introduced by the strong Mexican influence, particularly in the west.

432. The Chumayel adds these lines (Roys 1967: 166; the reference is apparently to the military orders):

Destroyed are the plants
Of the Ant people
Who are to have plants later
Because of the Skunk plants,
The mother
And father
Of Rabbit plants,
Ants,
Cowbirds,
Grackles,
Blackbirds,
And Mice.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY





2 Ahau

7. A Note from Tihosuco

2 Ahau was the twelfth in the Itza katun cycle. Tihosuco was its seat. It was halfway good in this katun. (442)



(18r) Cabil Ahau*

U lah ca tz'it

Katun

C u xocol

Maya Tzuc Pom*

E hetz' katun*

Tan coch hom u uah

Tan coch hom u y aal*

T u katunil

Lah cabil Ahau ual e.*

Second Ahau

Was the twelfth part

435 Of the *katun*

To be counted.

Maya Tzuc Pom

Was the seat of the *katun*.

Halfway clear was his food;

440 Halfway clear was his water

At the *katun* period

Of this second Ahau's return.

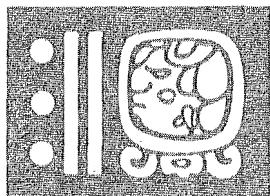
433. 2 Ahau marks the first arrival of the Spanish on the coast of Yucatan, but this fact is ignored in the present text. The *katun* seat was Maya Tzuc Pom 'cycle grove of copal', which may be Tihosuco. The lord of the *katun* is nowhere named, but there is mention of a great fire and what may have been a smallpox epidemic.

437. Barrera 1948: 141 has Maya Uas Cuzamil 'place of the Maya swallow' and then Maya Tzuc Pom 'groves of Maya copal gum trees'.

438. The manuscript has *e* for *u*.

440. Many of the prophecies describe the "food and drink" of the *katun* as a metaphor for its general character.

442. According to Morley 1946: 241, the last *katun*-ending monument was erected at the end of this *katun*. He does not say where.



13 Ahau

8. A Time of Troubles

13 Ahau was the thirteenth in the Itza katun cycle. The seat was in Coba. It was usurped at the outset and there were rebellions throughout, amid war and pillage and suffering of all, living and dead, who rise to the bright heavens or descend to the evil center of the earth. The

(18r) Ox lahun Ahau*
 U y ox lahun tz'it
 Katun
 C u xocol ti cabal
 Ix Bach Can*
 U hetz' katun
 Ek lahom
 U tz'ub
 Nocpahom kin*
 Nocpahom u u ich u*
 Emom u kikel che
 Y etel tunich
 Elom caan
 Elom lum
 Yuk xot
 Kin
 Y okol cuxanob
 Y okol cimenob
 Cuxlahom
 Cimenob
 Uchlahom hom canal
 Naac-hom tibil beob canal
 Emom lobol beob
 T u tz'u luum

÷ = ☺ ☺ ☺

13 Ahau
 Was the thirteenth part
 445 Of the *katun*
 To be counted in the lands,
 And Bach Can
 Was the seat of the *katun* again.
 Darkened
 450 Was its fold.
 Rising was its sun;
 Rising was the face of its moon.
 Descended were bloody sticks
 And stones.
 455 Burned was the sky;
 Burned was the land.
 General cutting
 And pain
 Over the living;
 460 Over the dead,
 The resurrected
 And the dead:
 Causing clear skies,
 Raising fear of the paths of heaven,
 465 Descending the evil paths
 To the marrow of the earth.

443. 13 Ahau was the end of the *katun* cycle in the Itza count. However, eighty days before it ended (on November 4, 1539: 11.16.0.0.0 13 Ahau 7 Xul), a new calendar was introduced at Mayapan which thereafter counted the *katuns* by initial dates. There were further Spanish *entradas* on the west coast in the 1520s and 30s, but the present text doesn't mention them.

447. Bach Can 'chachalaca snake', another name for Coba 'chachalaca water'. The seating of the *katun* was disputed by Pot Xiu, a water priest (*pul ha*) of Merida (Barrera 1948: 48), and by Tihosuco and Tz'itz'om Tun.

451. Barrera 1948: 141 has *se volteará*.

452. That is, the beginning (sun) and ending (moon) of the *may* (or thirteen-*katun* cycle) were celebrated.

final ending katun according to the Father of heaven and earth was 13 Ahau, at the end of the Itza cycle. (474)

U xul	The end of—
U hitz'ibte katun	The termination of the <i>katun</i> .
U than u yumil can	The word of the Father of heaven
Y etel lum	470 And earth
Lai y an t u cuch	That was in the burden
Ah ox lahun Ahau	Of 13 Ahau
T u kin	On the day
U tz'oc katun ual e.	This <i>katun</i> ended again.

9. The Council of Mayapan

The word and prophecy of the great sun priests, of the sages and prophets: the sun priest and Spokesman of the Jaguar was Xopan Nahuatl in 13 Ahau,

(10v) U tzol than*
 Ah kinob
 U bobat than
 Noh ah kinob
 Ah miatzob
 Profeta.
 Lai
 U y ah kinilob la e
 Chilam Balam*
 Ah Xupan Nauat

475 The account of the words
 Of the sun priests,
 The prophetic words
 Of the great sun priests,
 Sages
 480 And prophets.
 These
 Are the sun priesthoods then;
 The Spokesman of the Jaguar
 Was Xopan Nahuatl.

475. The text alleges that Xupan Nauat (Nahuatl *xopan nahuatl* 'summer speaker') produced this prophecy in 1527, predicting the arrival of the Spanish in 1530. Perhaps he did, but certainly not in this form: it is very much influenced by knowledge of the Spanish invasion, even though it uses no Spanish words to describe it (except *profeta* in line 480). It was very likely written early in the following *katun*, though Xopan Nahuatl may have used some of the prescient expressions ascribed to him (e.g., line 489). From his Nahuatl name, one suspects Xopan Nahuatl of being a Xiu from Merida or Mani. Neither lineage name occurs elsewhere in the Tizimin. Tozzer 1941: 36 has further details.

483. *Chilam Balam* 'spokesman of the jaguar' was the speaker or "talking chief" under the lord of the *katun*, who was called the Jaguar because he wore a jaguar skin. Like other high officials—the Jaguar himself, the governors of the cities, the chiefs of the towns, and the occupants of all priesthoods—the Spokesman was always a trained sun priest (*ah kin*). He was also not only a prophet (*ah bobat*) but the official Prophet for a particular *katun*. Finally, he was expected to have the highest degree of training and expertise in religious and calendrical matters: he was supposed to be a sage (*ah miatz*). When disagreement arose over the prophecies, it was up to the Spokesman to resolve it. Failing that, a convocation of sages could be called. The authority of such a meeting appears to have exceeded that of the lord of the *katun* himself, and, though it was largely confined to the religious sphere, its ability to concert calendrical changes had a sweeping impact on political and economic affairs. A committee of sages was also responsible for the ritual examination of public officials, normally under the aegis of the Spokesman, acting as Great Sun Priest (*ah noh kin*). Most Spokesmen appear to

(note continued on following page)

and in 1527 he told the sun priests of the coming of the Spaniards. And they wrote it down and began to tell the truth of the coming of the Spanish. But it was not the katun prophecy that justified tribute; it was only a prediction of the sun priests and prophets from their books where the katun is recorded that told the nobles and captains it would be in three years. (514)

And so it was, and then spoke the devil, telling the captains that thirteen makes seven. So the devil said: the

	• • ☺ ☺ ☺
Ox lahun Ahau	485 In 13 Ahau
Ah Xupan u kaba	Xopan was his name
He uaxac ppel y abil	Who in the eighth year's time
Ox lahun Ahau	Of 13 Ahau
Y almah xicin ob ah kinob	Spoke to the ears of the sun priests
U natah ob	490 What they knew
Ix u talel	And the coming
Y ulel tz'ulob	And arrival of the foreigners.
Ca ix u xocah ob	They also recounted it then
Ti yunil	In the books,
Ca ix hopp i	495 And they began
Y alic ob	And spoke
Hahil	The truth
Binil ketailt ob	Of the coming of their neighbors to them.
Ma ix u nah	500 But it was not the fulfillment
Katuntabalob y alah	Of the spirit of their <i>katun</i> reckonings
Ix ca tz'ab	That they were also given
Ca patan	Our tribute.
Lai uchc u patcunah	That just made it expectable:
Thanil ob	The sayings
Ah kinob	505 505 Of the sun priests
Ah bobatob	And prophets
Ti lic u xocic	Which were as told
Ti yunob	In the books.
T u catz' pop	They rolled the mat
T u ppicul katun	510 510 And totaled the <i>katun</i>
Ta muk y alic ob al mehenob	While they told the nobles
Y etel hol canob	And captains
Ox hab	That three years
U kin y ulel*	Would be the time of arrival.
C uch i	515 515 It occurred.
Ca thanah i	Then there spoke
Ku y okol ah bobat e	A god over the prophet:
Lai cisin	This was the devil,
Ta muk y alic t u hol can ex e	As he told your captains
Ual ci tac y ahal cab	520 520 To return just at dawn.
Ox lahun	Thirteen
Ti uuc e	Makes seven then,
Ci	Said
U than cisin ti ob	The word of the devil to them,

(note continued from preceding page)

have been very good at ambiguous and oracular public statements that would preserve their reputation for profundity while sidestepping controversial issues. Their life expectancy may correspondingly have exceeded that of the Jaguars they served. 514. That is, the priestly prophecies were misinterpreted to say that tribute was to begin in three years (1530). The misinterpretation was made by a "false prophet," 7 Sat Ay.

7 priest Sat Ay. That was the teaching of the 7 priest Sat Ay, who was unhappy with the Spaniards who were to end his rule. So the new count began and the tax for converts to God and the King, who ordered it in knowledge of their income and stacked and measured it. The nobles of the former Itza suffered extinction for salvation. (554)

Here they all are: Xopan Nahuatl the land reckoner and

T u men Uuc Sat Ai*
 U kaba cisin
 Lai y an chun can e
 Ti bin c u ch'aal than ob

Te chun can e
 Ti cahana Uuc Sat Ay

T u men ya ti y ol
 U talel tz'ulob cach i
 T u men bin hauac u tepal
 Cisin c uch i
 Ca tun hopp u xocic ichil
 Ah ual kin
 Te chil y ilabal
 U talel koch c uch i e

Y oklal
 T u y ol
 Y an hun ahau canal
 Hun y ahau ti cab

T u than ob c uch i e
 U nat-h ob ix hi bal u cuchma e

Y etel bin u ppiculite
 U ppisante*

Y al
 U mehen

Ah Ytza
 Uchmal e

Num ya bin u cib e
 U pixan uil

Utz cuxlahebal
 Ychil u pitic num ya e

Lei y an
 Ichil t u lacal e

Xupan Nauat
 U kaba

525 Because the 7 priest Sat Ay
 Was the name of the devil
 Who had the basic doctrine
 Which was going to prepare their
 word.
 This is the basic doctrine

530 That was initiated by the 7 priest
 Sat Ay
 Because his heart was sore
 That the foreigners had come
 Because that was going to end his rule:
 The devil was finished.

535 For then began the count of the face
 Of the returned sun:
 On the occasion of its appearance
 The tax came
 Because

540 In essence
 There was one lord on high,
 One lord on earth.
 They had spoken
 And they also knew something of
 his burden.

545 And they will stack it up
 And measure it,
 The born
 And engendered children
 Of the Itza

550 That were.
 Suffering goes its candle then,
 The soul of the moon.
 Good may be resurrected
 In the avoidance of that suffering.

555 Here they are then
 In their completeness:
 Xopan Nahuatl
 By name,

525. The 7 priest Sat Ay 'wait grease' was active in this and the following *katun* at Merida. If my surmise is correct, the number gods had corresponding priesthoods, but it may be that the first five number priests were the directional priests as well. The commonest number prefixes to personal names (if one includes the color prefixes) are 1 (red, east), 7, and 11, in that order. I believe 1 to be the commonest because it was the highest-ranking. Eleven is important because it symbolizes the inauguration of the second half of the *katun*. Seven is a problem. The contexts in which 7 priests are mentioned suggest to me that they early concluded that they could benefit from the ideological boost provided by the Christian week. If so, Sat Ay may have been the first to realize this. Compare the career of Cha Pat in 5 Ahau.

546. The removal and stacking of the burden were part of the *katun*-ending ceremonies. Compare lines 705–706.

the sun priests Kauil Ch'el, Ahau Pech, and Puc Tun, the Captains and Spokesmen of the Jaguar. These are the sun priests who knew the cycles and lands exactly down to the end in 13 Ahau. Come to Mayapan in 13 Ahau, the 13 Gods told the sun priest Spokesman: eat and drink! On the days of one and two, on the days of three and four, on the days

La bin tzol e
U tzolan cab
Y etel Ah Kin
Ch'el
Na (A)hau Pech
Na Puc Tun
Nacom Balam
Chilam Balam
Lei
Ah kinob
Ohel mailob
U tzolan cab
Y etel katunob
T u hum pis tun
Ti
Ox lahun Ahau
Kuch Mayapan
Ox lahun Ahau
(11r) He u thanob ox lahun ti ku*
T u tzolah ti ah kin Chilam
Uien! Uien a man uah!*
Uken! Uken a man haa!*
T u kin Puslum Pach*
T u kin Thuchlum Ich*
T u kin Naclah Muyal*
T u kin Naclah Uitz*

Who is going to count
560 The registered lands,
And the sun priests
Kauil Ch'el,
Ahau Pech,
And Puc Tun,
565 Captains of the Jaguar,
And Spokesmen of the Jaguar.
These
Are the sun priests
Who know the cycles
570 And the registered lands
And the *katuns*
To the measured *tun*
Which is
13 Ahau.
575 Come to Mayapan
In 13 Ahau.
These are the words of the 13 Gods,
Recounted to the sun priest and
Spokesman:
Eat! Eat all your food!
580 Drink! Drink all your water!
On the day of Puslum Pach,
On the day of Thuchlum Ich,
On the day of Naclah Muyal,
On the day of Naclah Uitz,

577. There follows a valuable passage invoking the thirteen day numeral gods of the thirteen levels of heaven and giving their names, which are rarely cited (cf. lines 852 ff.).

579. Brinton 1882: 127 considers these lines a "strange song" and translates them as:

Eat, eat, thou hast bread,
Drink, drink, thou hast water;
On that day, dust possesses the earth,
On that day, a blight is on the face of the earth,
On that day, a cloud rises,
On that day, a mountain rises,
On that day, a strong man seizes the land,
On that day, things fall to ruin,
On that day, the tender leaf is destroyed,
On that day, the dying eyes are closed,
On that day, three signs are on the tree,
On that day, three generations hang there,
On that day, the battle flag is raised,
And they are scattered afar in the forests.

580. "Finishing the remainder" of food and water was an important part of the *katun*-ending ceremonies. Also see lines 2366 ff.

581. Puslum Pach 'hunchback', god of 1.

582. Thuchlum Ich 'squat face', god of 2.

583. Naclah Muyal 'rising storm', god of 3.

584. Naclah Uitz 'rising mountain', god of 4.

of five and six, on the days of seven and eight, on the days of nine and ten, on the days of eleven, twelve, and thirteen. In the countryside famine came. The katun was celebrated in the northwest, and the Christian nobles were ambushed in the countryside. The Itza were sacrificed in the port. (608)

Ma Zuy was the captain in the woods, and at the new year Elom Tz'itz' took his final office at Tz'itz'om Tun. He took it in the woods because Lahun Chan

T u kin Chuclum Tz'itz'*	585	On the day of Chuclum Tz'itz', On the day of Hubul Hub,
T u kin Hubul Hub*		On the day of Cotz' y Ol Ch'elem,
T u kin Cotz' y Ol Ch'elem*		On the day of Etz'el Etz',
T u kin Etz'el Etz'*		On the day of Ox Tz'alab u Nak Yax Che,
T u kin Ox Tz'alab u Nak Yax Che*	590	On the day of Cuchlahom y Al Max,
T u kin Cuchlahom y Al Max*		On the day of Ox Ch'uilah Xotem,
T u kin Ox Ch'uilah Xotem*		On the days of Pan Tzintzin and
T u kin Pan Tzintzin y etel Ban		Ban Hob,
Hob*		Under the trees,
Y alan che		Under the bushes.
Y alan haban	595	Descended
Emom		Is the great plague of hunger.
Chac mitan uiih		Much clarified is the road of the <i>katun</i> ,
Cam pat-hom u bel katun*		Swept and painted.
Mis bon		Coming west:
Tali chikin	600	Coming north:
Tali xaman		The destined passage of the born
Manebal y al		And engendered of God,
U mehen ku		Destroyed under the trees,
Sat-hom y alan che		Under the bushes,
Y alan haban	605	At the red stone of the suffering of the
T u chac tun num ya y al		born children
U mehen Ah num Itza*		Of the engendered children of the
Elom u chi sus		poor Itza,
U chi kaknab		Who were burned at the edge of the sand,
Nacom ti che		The edge of the sea.
Ah Ma Suy*		The captain in the woods
Elom Tz'iitz'	610	Was Ma Zuy,
T u yax tzol Pop		And Elom Tz'itz'
Ah Sitz'om Tun		At the new count of Pop;
Ox lahun te u cuch		And Tz'itz'om Tun
Ch'ab on u numteil cab		Had its thirteenth burden,
U tzucteil cab*	615	Taken on in the thorntrees land,
		The grovetrees land,

585. Chuclum Tz'iitz' 'sooty hoof', god of 5.

586. Hubul Hub 'sinking snail', god of 6.

587. Cotz' y Ol Ch'elem 'rolling agave', god of 7.

588. Etz'el Etz' 'placing fakes', god of 8.

589. Ox Tz'alab u Nak Yax Che 'three squeezed inside the ceiba', god of 9.

590. Cuchlahom y Al Max 'carrying baby monkey', god of 10.

591. Ox Ch'uilah Xotem 'three hanging sentences', god of 11.

592. Pan Tzintzin 'old bugger', god of 12; Ban Hob 'many guts', god of 13.

597. *Cam pat-hom*: I read *can pathom* 'much cleared'.

606. The explicit identification of the Chan lineage of Emal as Itza is of interest. See also note 655.

610. Ma Zuy 'land rock' was apparently the *nacom* or military commander of the anti-Christian party.

616. Elom Tz'iitz' 'burned hoof' of Tz'itz'om Tun 'hoofed stone', north of Izamal, was installed as lord on 1 Pop in ceremonies in the wild, replacing the pro-Christian lord. His thirteenth office is his final and highest rank.

of Emal was killed by the priest of the east. It was a rain of fire over the Maya and the Christians alike. (624)

Then the sky calmed. The sacrificial priest of Emal was sacrificed by the eastern one. In 13 Ahau, it being the end of the Itza cycle, they decorated Chichen Itza and built a bonfire, and the priests assembled and conferred. And also on the day of baptism the unbaptized and the sun priests were told about Christianity—the God from the east and the Garden of Eden. And they destroyed Emal. (648)

T u men Lahun Chaan*
Paaxnom Chac Tenel Ahau

Kaxbom kak
T u tel chacil yooc
Ti tal i
Chac kit-hom u kab yax che*

Chac-hom u kab nicte
Chac-hom u xik mucuy*

T u kin
Ix lelem caan
Auatnom Chac Tenel Ah Ya
Paaxnom Sac Tenel Ahau*

T u kinil
Ox lahun Ahau ual e
He Chi Ch'en Itza e
Ox lahun te u cuch
Mis bom u petenil Chi Ch'en

Hopom kak tan chumuc cah

Ti uchom u than tambo ah kinob

Lai u ual ah bobatob e
Y etel y ubal
Tut
He le ix u kin ha
T u than ob e
Ah kinob e
Ti ma ix kaxom ha i

Lay ubah ob u pec
U xik mucuy
Ti te ku likin e
Pec u cah u kab nicte

Pax u cah
Sac Tenel Ahau

Because Lahun Chan
Was destroyed by the East sacrificial priest.
It dropped fire
620 And poured down steam,
Which came
And poured rain on the ceiba branches.
It rained on the flowering branches;
It rained on the doves' wings;
625 And at that time
The sky quieted.
Screamed the East sacrificial priest
And destroyed the North sacrificial priest
At the time
630 Of 13 Ahau's return.
Then Chichen Itza,
On the thirteenth of its burdens,
Swept and painted the country at Chichen,
And burned the fire before the middle of the city.
635 Then the sun priests talked to each other.
That was the return of the prophets.
And they listened
And visited.
Likewise on the day of water
640 They spoke to
The sun priests
And those who had not dropped water.
That was how they heard the message
Of the dove wing:
645 That there was a God in the east:
The awareness of the place of the flowering branch.
And they destroyed the city
Of the North sacrificial priest,

617. 10 Chaan 'molar', the pro-Christian leader, was sacrificed by fire. See also line 607.

622. 'Ceiba branches' is a metaphor for the pagan Maya, faithful to the sacred ceiba tree.

624. 'Flowering branches' and 'doves' wings' are metaphors for the Christians, who brought war (flowers) and peace (doves). *Mucuy* is identified by Tozzer 1941: 20 as belonging to the genus *Columbina*.

628. Chac Tenel Ahau (*sic*) and Sac Tenel Ahau, the 'red and white death lords', were the sacrificial priests of the east (red) and the north (white). The former sacrificed the latter, 10 Chaan. The eastern priest may have been 7 Sat Ay. See also lines 525 ff.

Then they paced the katun and performed the ceremonial circuit and held pig and rabbit rites, and Zulim Chan of Emal took his final office in Mayapan. Emal requested the office and the katun ended. Then came the sacrifices of the western priest at the pyramid, and plague and famine. All painted up to end the katun, the lord sacrificed and finished off the lords of the Snakes and Ants, Jaguars and Silent Leopards. At the end of the katun in the mid-

T u kin	On the day
Y an u chek be katun	650 There was the pacing of the road of the <i>katun</i> , Making the circuit of the fields, And the offices
Xoipahom t u chakanil	Of pig
Ix kan	And rabbit.
Citam	655 It was Zulim Chan
Thul*	Who came
Sulim Chan*	And requested the burden of the <i>katun</i> , His thirteenth burden and field,
Ti tal i	Which was tied
U katabal u cuch katun	660 In the heart of the country, Requesting the placement
Ox lahun te u cuch Chakan	And the burden were the people of Emal.
Ti kax i	Then came
U pucsikal peten	The rolling of the mat of the <i>katun</i> .
Katal u cah	665 Then came
U cuch Ah Emal	Our suffering in severe pain: The screaming of the West sacrificial priest.
Ti tal i	At the moon it happened, At the ruin
U cotz' pop katun	670 There descended
Ti tal i	The great scab plague, The great famine.
Num on t u cal ya	Paint-spattered was his face
Auatnom Ek Tenel Ah Ya	To return the lordship
Ti uil uchom*	675 On the day of painless death, Which was the moon
Mul tun tzek i	Of the lords of Snakes, Ants,
Emom	Jaguars,
Chac mitan kuch	680 And Silent Leopards.
Chac mitan uiih	Hearing that it was the seating of the <i>katun</i> ,
Hoi bon u u ich	Then came
Ualac y ahaulil	The screaming
T u kin ma ya cimlal	Of the middle day of Uo.
Ti uil uchom	
Ahau Canil	
Sinic	
Balamil	
Y etel Hun Coyol*	
Y ubil ti u hetz' katun	
Ti tal i	
Auatnom	
Chum kin Uoo*	

654. The implication may be that wild pigs and rabbits were sacrificed instead of people, out of deference to Christian sentiment.

655. Zulim Chaan 'yellow molar' of Emal 'descent' requested the lordship for the following *katun*, 11 Ahau. The Chan lineage of Emal appears to have been generally pro-Christian. See also line 617.

668. That is, the sacrificial priest of the west counterattacked. He is not identified by location or name. See also note 628.

680. Snakes, Ants, Jaguars, and Silent Leopards were military companies of the Christian persuasion. These orders continued to be a problem until 12 Ahau (the 1660s).

684. 11 Ahau 7 Uo; see also note 5275.

dle of Uo, Emal and Hol Tun Zuyua were enslaved, the north being beaten by the east. That is the curse of 13 Ahau. (690)

Lai u munal Ah Emal*

Bay ix Hol Tun Suiua*

Auatnom Chac Tanal Ah Ya*
Paxnom Sac Tenel Ahau

Lai u mut katun

Ox lahun Ahau.

685 That was the enslavement of the people of Emal,

And also of Hol Tun Zuyua.

Screaming, the East sacrificial priest Destroyed the North sacrificial priest.

That is the curse of *katun*

690 13 Ahau.

685. Emal 'descent', a coastal town to the north of Tizimin, alluded to frequently as "at the edge of the sand, at the edge of the sea." The site is still visible (Roys 1957: 102).

686. Hol Tun Zuyua 'wide stone bloody water', a town near Motul.

687. I read Chac Tenel Ahau. See also line 628. The red (east) sacrificial priest (?of Cozumel) defeats the white (north) (?of Emal).

10. The End of the Era

In 1539 Emal claimed the following *katun*, then Hol Tun Zuyua and Tihosuco, and finally Zalam Koh Cheil. In the Tihosuco period the *Xiu* were



(11v) Ox lahun Ahau*

U lubul

U cuch katun

Ti Ah Emalob

Ba ix Hol Tun Suiua

Ba ix Ho Tzuc Chakan*

Ti uil uchom

Salam Koh Cheil*

T u cuch

Ho Tzuc Chakan*

13 Ahau

Was the posting

Of the burden of the *katun*

To the people of Emal,

695 As well as Hol Tun Zuyua,

As well as Tihosuco.

In the moon it occurred

At Zalam Koh Cheil.

In the burden

700 Of Tihosuco

691. This text appears to belong to the very end of *katun* 13 Ahau, "posting the burden of the *katun* to the people of Emal," which was indeed the seat of the following *katun* (11 Ahau). "Posting" provides a rest stop for the burden of the *katun* and therefore symbolizes the transition from one time period to another, perhaps specifically referring to "requesting the burden." See also note 1702.

696. Ho Tzuc Chakan 'five grove meadow'; Barrera 1948: 144 says 'plain of the five fields': this is the modern Tihosuco. The "burden" of the *katun* seems to have been shifted there at some point during 13 Ahau.

698. But the "burden" of the *katun* ended up in Zalam Koh Cheil 'cross-eyed mask woods', apparently a dependency of Izamal and perhaps the modern Tecoh.

700. During the early part of the second decade of 11 Ahau (the 1550s).

painted and sacrificed on the plaza at the ending ceremonies in Mayapan in the dark of the moon. (710)

There were many duties to the seventh cycle and the final end of the katun. Seven such ends occur in a cycle—seven such years—and, on the seventh, sacrifices end the katun with monuments. And custom-

Uchc u num ya Ah Can Ul e

Uchc u ch'ohlam ch'oh

Uchc u num ya Ah Can Ul

Uay tam bitun Can Ul e*

Ti x u luksah

U ppicil u cuch

Uai

Sacl Ac Tun e*

Cum li cah ek uil a

Ua ix kalah i*

Yabh i

U cuch u ni uitz

Uuc te u picil u cuch

Y an uay e

Uai u tz'ocol u than katun

T u lacal e

Uuc te uil hab uay e

Kin tun y abil

Uuc te ix ti hab

Katun y ah uay e

Uuc te ti hab

Ma ya cimlal

Uabal bin hetz'bal*

Tz'ocebal u cuch katun

Uai

Ca nanan

There occurred the suffering of the Can Uls.

There occurred the painting with indigo.

There occurred the suffering of the Can Uls:

There before the plaza of Can Ul,

705 Which was also the removal,

The stacking of the burden

Here

At Valladolid,

Just within the beginning of the dark of the moon,

710 Or else just at its completion.

For numerous

Are the burdens of the mountaintop:

The seventh stacking of the burdens

There has been here.

715 This is the ending of the word of the katun

Altogether.

The seventh moon of the year here—

And the calendar round;

And the seventh in the year

720 Of the katun of people here:

The seventh in the year

Of painless death.

Pillars will be seated:

The finishing of the burden of the katun.

725 Here then

It is customary

704. Barrera 1948: 145 has *tam bi* 'plaster with paint' and (note 85) refers to the Nahua custom of painting the houses of rebels. He identifies the Ah Canul as the Nahua Guards of Mayapan who settled in Calkini, according to Landa. See also Roys 1967: 15, 63.

708. *Sac[i]l Ac Tun* 'white cave' is identified by Barrera 1948: 95 with Mayapan and translated as 'white carved stone'. I believe it to be Valladolid (*Zaci*), which is famous for its cave-cenote.

710. Or was this a lunar eclipse?

723. Up to a point this is good Itza doctrine: the end of *katun* 13 Ahau concludes the *katun* cycle. Here, however, we appear to confront Cozumel's justification for taking the half cycle away from Emal. *Katun* 1 Ahau ends the half cycle of the seven odd-numbered *katuns*, and Emal served as the seat of at least three of these (11 Ahau, 5 Ahau, and 1 Ahau). Counting the cycle from 13 to 1 Ahau instead of from 11 is not orthodox and implies a larger claim for Valladolid in the *katuns* to come. Valladolid was in fact the seat of the next two *katuns*, in 12 Ahau and 10 Ahau. The ingenuity of the Cozumel (or Valladolid) argument is that it tries to accommodate the Christian seven cycle within the Mayan system together with the Itza thirteen cycle and the Xiu nine cycle. Compare chapter 25.

arily, there are seven honey tamales at Valladolid and Cozumel. (730)

This is the whole word of the sun priest Uah, the pacer under the priest of Muzen Cab and Za Bac Na at the end of the thirteen katuns. In seven more katuns the beginning will join the end for the dawn of all the Gods. (748)

They were brought forth, and then came Itzam Cab Ain, at

Uuc ppel u cabil uah
T u menel ix Sacl Ac Tun
Lai culan t u pucsikal peten

Cusamil e*
Ti ulah
Y etel u xul u than
Ah kin Uah*
Ti ah lauac can chek i

Y oc Ah Musen Cab*
Y etel Sa Bac Na*
T u lah y ahaulil
Ah ox lahun Ahau*
Hun Ahau*
U kin ti
Ca bin nupp tam ba
Nac kin
Y etel u
Y etel akab
Ti ca tal i
U y ahal cab
Ti ox lahun ti ku
T u men bolon ti ku
Ti ca sih i
Ch'ab*
Ca sih i
Ytzam Cab Ain*

To have seven honey tamales—

Also on account of Valladolid
That is seated in the heart of the
island

730 In Cozumel.
This is the arrival
And the end of the word
Of the sun priest Uah,
Who is the measurer of the four
paces
735 Under the priest of Muzen Cab
And Za Bac Na,
Which completes the lordship
Of the thirteen lords.
1 Ahau
740 Is the day for it,
When they will join each other:
The rising sun
And moon
And night.
745 Then comes
The dawn
From the 13 Gods
For the 9 Gods,
Who are then born
750 And created.
Then is born
Itzam Cab Ain

730. Cusamil 'chimney swifts', the modern Cozumel. See Tozzer 1941: 201.
733. Uah 'food', sun priest and "pacer" of the *katun*, seemingly at Izamal.

735. Ah Musen Cab 'damp lands', already an important lord in 13 Ahau, claimed the lordship of *katun* 11 Ahau by "tying (the mask) on his face" and going underground with the "nameless" 13 Gods. See also line 849. He was probably from Izamal. The name is sometimes written Muçen or Mucen.

736. Sabac Na 'soot house', another lord, also perhaps from Izamal. See also note 882. The name recalls the Quiche Zipak Na from the Nahuatl Cipactonal (Edmonson 1971: 927).

738. The sun priest "squares the *katun*" with reference to the four directions "in four paces."

739. It is quite possible that 13 Ahau is intended, as Barrera 1948: 146 believes. See, however, note 723.

750. The implication here may be that the twenty-*katun* cycle (the *baktun*) is even more important than the thirteen-*katun* cycle (the *may*). However, seven *katuns* after 13 Ahau is not an even *baktun* in Long Count dating: it would be 12..3.0.0.0. I nonetheless think that the idea is to emphasize the next seven *katun* endings in order to invoke a larger cycle as a protection against revisionism. It is also true that Merida ceased to seat the *katun* in the seventh *katun* from this date.

752. Ytzam Cab Ain 'lizard earth alligator' could be a god name, but I believe he was an Itza personage: Cab Ain of Izamal. He attempted to "fold the *katun*" but was sacrificed by the Xiu, despite the precaution of using a Xiu pseudonym, Uoh Puc 'glyph hill' (line 770).

the division ceremonies, raising the land and celebrating the 13 Gods and flooding the whole world. Then Itzam Cab Ain ended the katun with a flood. But the 9 Gods disagreed, and Itzam Cab Ain was sacrificed, the earth monster. Only he is given the name Uoh Puc, ending the lordship of the katun with the idol shrouded. (776)

Xot eb u kin
 Bal cah
 Ca haulahom caan
 Ca nocpahi peten
 Ca ix hopp i
 U hum ox lahun ti ku
 Ca uch i
 Noh hai cabil*
 Ca lik i
 Noh Ytzam Cab Ain
 Tz'ocebal u than
 U uutz' katun
 Lai hun yeciiil
 Bin tz'oce(ce)bal u than katun*

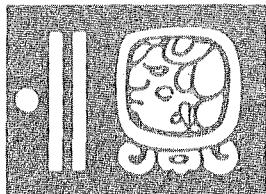
Ma ix y oltah
 Bolon ti ku
 Ca ix xot i
 U cal Ytzam Cab Ain
 Ca u ch'ah u petenil
 U pach
 Lai Ah Uoh Puc u kaba e
 Ma ix u toh pultah u kaba ti ob

Ti kaxan tun u ich
 Ualac y ahaulil la e.

Cutting the pyramid of the sun
 And the world.
 755 Then the sky is divided,
 Then the land is raised,
 And then there begins
 The Book of the 13 Gods.
 Then occurs
 760 The great flooding of the earth.
 Then arises
 The great Itzam Cab Ain.
 The ending of the word,
 The fold of the *katun*:
 765 That is a flood
 Which will be the ending of the
 word of the *katun*.
 But they did not agree—
 The 9 Gods;
 And then will be cut
 770 The throat of Itzam Cab Ain.
 Who bears the country
 On his back.
 That is Uoh Puc by name—
 For they didn't bear their right
 names—
 775 To tie the stone face
 And return the lordship.

760. *Hay* 'flattening' but *hai(l)* 'flood'; see also line 765.

766. The manuscript has *tz'ocecebal*; I read *tz'ocebal*, as in line 763.



11 Ahau

11. Divided Rule

Merida was the seat of the katun in 11 Ahau. Yax Chac

(13r) Ych Can Si Ho*
U hetz' katun

Merida
Was the seat of the katun

777. Ich Can Si Ho 'in heaven born five' is the modern Merida, seat of the Xiu cycle and *katun* from 1539 to 1638. The administrative organization reflected in the Tizimin vested a loose hegemony over the entire Mayan country in periodic councils of sages (*ah miatzob*). After 1539 there were two seats of the cycle, Mayapan and Merida, and consequently two councils, dividing the country along a north-south line running through Mayapan. The highest official in each area was the Jaguar or lord of the *katun*, sometimes also called the Rattlesnake (Ahau Can), who controlled public offices, land titles, and tribute rights within his half of the country. Theoretically the two Jaguars (Xiu and Itza) between them ruled over the modern territory of Yucatan, Campeche, and Quintana Roo. The Jaguar and his Spokesman were the only really general authorities, and the latter was ex officio the registrar of lands (*ah p'iz te*) and the Great Sun Priest (*ah noh kin*), in charge of the examination of public officials.

Each major city was the center of a province, ruled by a governor (*hal ach uinic*). There appear to have been eighteen provinces. I have tried to match the seventeen cities named in the Tizimin as seats of the cycle or the *katun* to the seventeen provinces identified by Roys 1957 from sixteenth-century tribute rolls, with the following results.

Seat	Province	Capital
Bacalar	<i>Uaymil</i>	Bacalar
Chab Le	(?Bahía de la Ascensión)	(?)
Champoton	<i>Chanputun</i>	Champoton
Chetumal	<i>Chetumal</i>	Chetumal
Chichen Itza	? <i>Sotuta</i>	Sotuta
Coba	<i>Ecab</i>	Ecab
Cozumel	<i>Cozumel</i>	Cozumel
Emal	<i>Chikinchel</i>	Chauaca
Izamal	<i>Ahkinchel</i>	Tecoh
Mayapan	? <i>Hocabá</i>	Hocabá
Merida	<i>Chakan</i>	Merida
Teabo	<i>Tutul Xiu</i>	Maní
Tihosuco	<i>Cochuah</i>	Tihosuco
Uxmal	? <i>Canpech</i>	Campeche
Valladolid	<i>Cupul</i>	Valladolid
Zotz'il	? <i>Tases</i>	Chancenote
Zuyua	? <i>Cehpech</i>	Motul
(?)	<i>Ahcanul</i>	?Calkini

(note continued on following page)

was the lord, with ceremonies and music, together with the 9 priest Oc Te, Yax Cutz, Zulim Chan, and Champoton. Starving in the wilderness was the

Ti buluc Ahau	In the 11 Ahau
Katun	Katun.
Yaxal Chac u u ich	Yax Chac was the person
U y ahaulil t u canil*	In the lordship on high,
Y et bal canal u al	Including the sky water,
Canal utz'ub	The sky perfume.
Pecnom pax	785 Resounded the drum,
Pecnom soot	Resounded the rattle
Ah Bolon y Oc Teil*	Of the 9 priest Oc Te
T u kin y an Yax Cutz*	At the time there was Yax Cutz;
T u kin y an Sulim Chan	At the time there was Zulim Chan;
T u kin y an Ah Chakan Putun*	790 At the time there was the lord of
Champoton.	Starved trees,
Starved rocks,	Which came
Which came	To befall in <i>katun</i> 11 Ahau,
Y emel ychil buluc Ahau katun	

(note continued from preceding page)

It would appear that Chab Le was the eighteenth province, somewhere west of Bahía de la Ascensión, which Roys leaves unassigned. Province names that occur in the Tizimin are italicized. Province boundaries fluctuated over time, so I am assuming that the boundaries were different when Chichen Itza ruled Sotuta, Mayapan ruled Hocabá, Zotz'il ruled Tases, and Uxmal ruled Canpech. Roys does not provide a capital for Ahcanul and doesn't identify Chab Le or Bahía de la Ascensión as provinces. Tixchel and the Petén were not part of the Yucatecan system.

Smaller towns and villages were ruled by headmen or chiefs (*ba tabob*) and their assistants (*ah kulelob*), and wards of the cities were ruled by counselors (*ah cuch cabob*), according to Roys.

All officials were supposed to be sun priests (*ah kin*), and they were presumably closely linked to the local levels of religious organization, headed by the directional priesthoods of the Ba Cabs, who seem to have been ex officio captains (*nacom*) for military and sacrificial purposes. The Ba Cabs of the *katun* seat thus served as Captains of the Jaguar.

The local organization imposed by the Spanish is nowhere mentioned in the Tizimin either for the town (*cabildos, alcaldías, regidores*) or for the parish (*cofradías, maestros, sacristanes*).

782. Both Zulim Chan of Emal and Yaxal Chac 'green rain' of Mérida claimed to seat *katun* 11 Ahau. The traditional opposition of east and west, Itza and Xiu, was compounded by the Mayapan calendar reform in 1539 and by the arrival of the Spaniards in Mérida in 1541, as the texts of this period document. A new Itza *katun* cycle began, scheduled to span the colonial period (1539 to 1796, but later revised to run to 1824) and theoretically seated at Mayapan. The Xiu cycle was already underway (1461 to 1718), and an effort was made to seat it at Mérida, which also claimed to seat the *katun* for the hundred years from 1539 to 1638.

787. Bolon y Octeil 'nine footed', an unidentified lord. This may be a Mayan day name, 9 Oc Te, possibly implying that he is a commoner, lacking one surname.

788. Yax Cutz 'green turkey', possibly a maternal kinsman of Yaxal Chac. The Chacs were a leading lineage in Chichen Itza in the fifteenth century and Mérida in the sixteenth, and the Yaxals were prominent in Valladolid (line 4043) in the seventeenth.

790. Chakan Putun is the modern Champoton but may be a personal name here.

fate of 11 Ahau, and poor food was its food. (800)

Yax Chuen was killed, and the news was spread by all and sundry, telling children, old, and young of the arrival of the Spanish to change your clothes to white: the bearded judges at the capital in Merida and the priests of the True God who is to be worshiped everywhere down here on earth: another

Okbaom	795	Being sent out
Caan		From heaven.
Ox		Breadnut
Koch		And gourdroot
U uah		Were the food
Katun		800 Of the <i>katun</i> .
Xotom u cal Yaxal Chuen*		Cut was the throat of Yax Chuen,
Uecom ix kay		And scattered was the song
U than ti bal cah		Of his word to the world.
Ti tal i		That came about.
Ban ban ah kayil i*	805	Many, many were the singers
Ma mac ma ah kay		And no one was not a singer:
(.)		(.)
Ah kainom pal		Sung to were children,
Ah kainom nu xib		Sung to were men,
Ah kainom ix nuc	810	810 Sung to were wives,
Ah kainom tan celem		Sung to were boys,
Ah kainom ix lok		Sung to were girls.
Bay en t u y ulel au itz'in ex		So be it: your younger brothers are coming!
A sucun ex ti y ulel		Your older brothers are arriving
U hel au ex	815	815 To change your pants,
U hel a nok		To change your clothes,
U sacil a buuc		To whiten your dress,
U sacil au ex		To whiten your pants—
Xotob tz'ul*		The foreign judges,
Ah mexob		820 The bearded men
Ich Can Si Ho		Of Heaven Born Merida,
U hetz' lumob		The seat of the lands.
Hex		And they
Ah kin e		Are the sun priests
Cuxul ku	825	825 Of the living God,
Hahal ku*		The True God.
La bin kultabac		He shall be worshiped
Ti hun yuklah		In one communion
Ti cab		On earth
Ti y emel	830	830 Below:
U chayan		An additional
Tepal		Rule.
T ix ma yum		And for the fatherless,
T ix ma na		And for the motherless—

801. Yaxal Chuen 'green monkey', an unidentified lord, possibly a maternal kinsman of Yaxal Chac. A lord with the same name ruled Valladolid in the 1660s (line 4043). Barrera 1948: 95 pairs Yaxal Chuen with Ix Kan Yul Ta.

805. *Kay* 'sing' apparently implies 'blab, spread the word'.

819. Barrera 1948: 98 translates *xotob* as 'accursed'.

826. Hunab Ku 'sole god' is the Mayan creator, identified as a father. All the other gods are unified (*hunab*) in his person. He is distinguished to some degree from the Christian God, identified in these texts as *Dios* or the True God (Hahal Ku). Eventually the two concepts merged.

rule of the peasants. The Jaguar urged the people to become converted, and then began the tripartite government of Merida, in 11 Ahau. (846)

Balam u pol
Cech u uinicil
Hoyan
T u yam cah
Ti tal i
U chun i
T ix u chun
Ox kas tepal*
Ich Can Si Ho
Lai u cuch
Buluc Ahau
Katun a.*

835 Jaguar was the head
And urged his people
To be sprinkled
In the changed city.
So came about
840 Its founding,
And it was the founding
Of the three-part rule
In Heaven Born Merida.
That is the burden
845 Of 11 Ahau,
The *katun* here.

842. Perhaps the tripartite government means Xiu, Itza, and Spanish.

846. Barrera 1948: 98 adds that *katun* 11 Ahau will end in 1848, which is correct in the Valladolid calendar. Similar dates are given in his texts for 9 Ahau (1872), 7 Ahau (1896), 5 Ahau (1920), 2 Ahau (1800), and 13 Ahau (1824), but 9 Ahau is incorrectly listed as 1822 and 5 Ahau as 1921.

12. The Flower *Katun* of the Xiu

In 11 Ahau the priest of Mu-
zen Cab had finished off the
13 nameless Gods, who were
just called Holy and Remote
rather than by name, and who
didn't show their faces either.
Then at the new beginning the
Gods who were exchanging
places came and spoke, the 13

(IIV) Ychil buluc Ahau*
Ca lik i
Ah Musen Cab
Kaax ix u u ich
Ox lahun ti ku
Ma ix y oheltah ob u kaba
Cilich
Citbil
Lai u kaba
Y alah ob ti*
Ma ix chicanh i
U u ich ti ob xan
Ca tz'oc i
Y ahal cab
Ma ix y oheltah ob binil
Ulebal ca ix cih i

In 11 Ahau
Then arose
The priest of Muzen Cab
850 And tied the faces
Of the 13 Gods,
But they didn't know their names.
"The Holy,"
"The Remote,"
855 These are the names
They called them.
And they also didn't show
Their faces to them either.
At last
860 It dawned,
And they didn't know their going
Or their coming, and then spoke

847. This is a particularly elliptical text, but it nonetheless has a great deal to say about the ideological struggles of this *katun*, which set Mayas against Spaniards, Xiu against Itza, prophets and priests against each other and against the warriors, and gods against gods.

856. See, however, lines 581 ff.

Itza Gods to the 9 Xiu Gods, ordering war and punishment, and there was war and punishment. And the Itza Gods beat them and abused them and took away the four yearbearers and the 5 priest Za Bac, Xiu and Itza and the children of both, for the first nine of the

Ox lahun ku	The 13 Gods
Ti bolon ku*	To the 9 Gods:
Ca emi kak	865 "Bring down fire,
Ca emi tab	Bring down the rope.
Ca emi tunich	Bring down stones
Y etel chee	And trees."
Ca tal i	Then came
U baxal	870 Pounding
Che	Of sticks
Y etel tunich*	And stones.
Ca ix kuch i	And then appeared
Ox lahun ti ku	The 13 Gods
Ca pax i	875 And beat
U pol	Their heads
Ca lah i	And flattened
U u ich	Their faces,
Ca tubab i	And they were spat on
Ca colpah i*	880 And snatched away,
Can hel	The four yearbearers
Y etel Ho Sabac*	And the 5 priest Za Bac;
Ca ch'abi ix kukil	And the quetzals were taken,
Ix yaxum	And blue birds,
U ppuyem sicil	885 Crushing the Zic,
U ppuyem topp	Crushing the Top,
U teppah u y inah*	And wrapping the seeds
Yax bolon tz'ocab*	Of the first nine steps

864. Bolon ti Ku 'the nine who are gods' were the gods of the nine levels of the underworld. They are evoked here along with the 13 Gods as a symbol of the debate over the cycle. The ninth *katun* in the Itza cycle was the thirteenth in the Xiu count and vice versa. Each was thus in a position to claim identification with heaven and relegate the other to hell. Compare line 1094, in which the seven demons symbolize the Christian cycle.

An additional significance to the preoccupation with cycles of nine and thirteen is their relationship to the Venus year: $9 \times 65 = 13 \times 45 = 585$, just one day more than the approximate Venus cycle of 584 days. Hence, in either series, the coefficient of the day that ends the Venus year progresses backward by 1 each time it occurs. This kind of mathematics corresponds to other similar equations discovered by the Maya: $52 \times 365 = 73 \times 260$ (52 years equals 73 *tzol kins*), $72 \times 365 = 73 \times 360$ (72 years equals 73 *tuns*), and $8 \times 365 = 5 \times 584$ (8 years equals 5 Venus years). In such calculations the Maya were very close to the invention of an algebra.

872. "Fire and rope" and "sticks and stones" are frequent kennings for war.

880. That is, the Itza party won. The first five (i.e., the directional) priests of the Xiu were eliminated.

882. I read Hol Sabac 'head soot', apparently a Xiu lord, perhaps from Izamal. Compare Sabac Na (Nahuatl ?Cipactonal) in line 736 and *sabac* in line 1870. Landa 1929: 2: 88 discusses a ceremony called Zabacil Than, and the modern Lacandon have a god called Men Sabac. The word could also represent a lineage name: Za Bac. There follows a list of Xiu lineages: Kuk 'quetzal', Yax 'green', Sic 'squash seed', and Topp 'pumpkin seed'.

887. That is, the Itza carried off the heirs of the Xiu and sacrificed them.

888. Landa 1929: 2: 20 identifies *ah bolon zacab* as a god; Seler (ibid.) translates it as 'lord of the nine generations or of the nine doctors'.

thirteen levels. And they performed the sacrifice of the breast and then the heart, because the 13 Gods didn't know that the heart is the end, and it was 11 Ahau 7 Uo. (902)

And the wretches without kin or spirits rot by the sea-shore. There was a flood unleashed by the yearbearers to clear the world for the next cycle, killing youngest sons. The katun ended in 1539 on 3 Oc 17

Ca bin i	Which went
T u y ox lahun tas caan	890 To the thirteen levels of heaven.
Ca culh i	Then was cut
U matz'il	The membrane
Y etel u ni	And the nose
U baclil	Of the skeleton.
Ca bin i	895 Then went
U pucsikal	The heart,
T u menel ox lahun ti ku	On account of the 13 Gods.
Ma ix y oheltah binc i	But they didn't know what was going.
U pucsikal	The heart
U uil la e	900 Of the moon there
Ca hut	Is dropped
Lah i	Flat.
Ix ma (12r) yumob	And the fatherless,
Ah num yaob	The miserable,
Ix mia ichamob	905 And those without spouses
Cuxanob*	Or living relatives,
Ix ti manan u pucsikal	And those that don't have hearts
Ca mucchahi ob	Then began to rot
T u yam sus	By the margin of the sand,
T u yam kaknab*	910 By the margin of the sea.
Hun uatz' hail	One torrent of water
Ti uch i	Occurred,
U col	Which was released
Can hel	By the yearbearers.
To homocnac canal	915 That was the clearing of heaven
Homocnac ix cabal	And also the clearing of the lands
T u katunil u nup	For the period opposite
U uutz'	The fold,
Cimc i	Killing
U thupil mehen	920 Youngest sons.
Lai u uutz' u katunil	That is the fold of the <i>katun</i> cycle;
Oxil Oc u kinil ulc i uay e*	3 Oc is the time it arrived here.

906. "Orphans" are peasants: nobles know their ancestry. The sense is that even widows and children of families of no account were carried off to be sacrificed at Emal. Doubtless it was difficult for the Itza to assault the Xiu strongholds at Merida and Mani after the Spanish were in residence there, so they turned their attention to the Xiu villages, consequently capturing few important nobles.

910. The reference is probably to Emal, which claimed to be the seat of *katun* 11 Ahau, see also lines 661–662. The counterclaimant was Merida (lines 778, 1171), but the present passage suggests the possibility that Izamal was also competing for the privilege.

922. The Xiu inaugurated the new *katun* in 1539 in their own way. The year began on 11 Ix 1 Pop (July 21). The Xiu ignored the Itza inauguration of the new *katun* on 11 Ahau 7 Uo (August 16) and initiated their own ceremonies on 3 Oc 17 Tzec (September 15), centering them on the terminal date of the old *katun*: 13 Ahau 7 Xul (November 4) and completing them on 1 Cimi 13 Ch'en (January 9, 1540). The seventy-six-day ceremonial program is described in the remainder of this chapter.

Tzec; the katun prophecy ended on 1 Cimi 13 Ch'en. And the four Fathers of the Land subjugated the land, returning to the east tree of fate, the senior one of the four and symbol of its subjugation. And they felled the tree of the yearbearers and seated the East priest Xib Yuy. Then to the north tree of fate to seat the North priest Hic, symbol of its subjugation. And then

Hun Cimi u kinil tz'occ i	I Cimi is the time that ended
U than katun ca ualh i	The word of the returned <i>katun</i> .
Can tul ku	925 The four gods—
Can tul Ba Cab*	The four Fathers of the Land—
Lai hayes ob cab*	That is their flattening of the land.
Ca tz'oci hai cabil e	When the lands have been flattened
Ca ualh i	Then there returns
Chac Imix che*	930 The red Imix tree
Lay y oc	That is proceeding
Mal can	To pass the four.
Lay u chicul	That is the sign
U hayal cab	Of the flattening of the land.
Lay u coicinah che	935 That is the toppling of the tree
Ba Cab	Of the Fathers of the Land,
U alic	Called
Kan Xib Yuy*	The East priest Xib Yuy.
Ca ualh i	Then there returns
Sac Imix che ti xaman	940 The white Imix tree to the north.
Lai u alic	He is called
Sac Hic*	The North priest Hic,
U chicul	The sign
Hai cabil	Of the flattening of the lands.

926. Ba Cab 'father of the land': the gods and priests of the four directions, identified also with the Chacs and the yearbearers.

927. What follows is one of many elliptical descriptions of ritual in the Tizimin. The ceremonial cycle was certainly both rich and varied, and like most of the rest of Mayan life it was calendrically organized. Some rituals were pegged to the life cycle, including naming, courtship, marriage, illness, induction into office, retirement, and burial. As time went on, much ritual was adjusted to the church calendar. At the outset, however, we may distinguish three primary ritual cycles: the *tzol kin*, the *tun*, and the *hab*. The *tzol kin* rituals emphasized in the Tizimin are the fire ceremonies of the Burners (*ah toc*), operating on a sixty-five-day cycle. The ceremonies governed by the *tun* are those that punctuate the lordship of the *katun*, mainly at five-year intervals: requesting office, taking the plate, making the ceremonial circuit, declaring the word of the *katun*, naming the remainder, suspending titles, and folding the mat (together with the ceremonial commemoration of ancestors). The rituals of the *hab* began with the new year and included at least one major ritual in each *uinal*, thus centering on a twenty-day cycle within the 365-day year. The most important ceremonies of all were the *katun* transitions every twenty *tuns* and the calendar round (*kin tun y abil*) transitions every fifty-two years. There is a continual play in the Tizimin between the Itza emphasis on *tun* and *katun* rituals and the Xiu emphasis on yearbearers and the calendar round.

930. There follows a counterclockwise ceremonial circuit to "flatten" (i.e., subdue) the land—by confirming titles (see also note 216). Each direction is identified by color and provided with an Imix tree, thought to symbolize cataclysm or destruction (Solís Alcalá 1949: 57), from the east (red) to the north (white) to the west (black) to the south (yellow) to the center (green blue).

938. Kan Xib Yuy 'yellow male matasano tree' appears to be a mistake for Chac Xib Yuy, presumptively the priest of the Ba Cab of the east. The matasano tree is the *Casimiroa*.

942. Zac Hic 'white ——?' is apparently the incomplete name of the Ba Cab priest of the north. Perhaps Ah Ic 'cane chile'.

the west tree of fate in the west country, the symbol of its subjugation. That is the west tree of fate, seating the West priest Tam Pic the Weak. Then the south tree of fate, the symbol of its subjugation, seating the South priest Oyal Mut. And then the middle tree of fate, the remainder of its subjugation, finishing the katun. (966)

By 11 Ahau there had been nine generations of sages seeking office, and the ninth term was 1538. That ended the cycle,

Ca ix ualh i	945	Then also returns The black Imix tree
Ek Imix che		To the west Of the country, The sign
T u chikin	950	Of the flattening of the lands: That Is the black Imix tree, Seating the West priest Tam Pic the Weak,
Peten		Seating the yellow Imix tree
U chicul	955	To the south Of the country, The sign
Hai cabil		Of the flattening of the lands Seating the South priest Oyal Mut.
Lai	960	Then is seated The green Imix tree In the middle of the land, The reminder Of the flattening of the lands.
Ek Imix che	965	Piled in its place is the whole Of the existence of this <i>katun</i> . 11 Ahau is the time Of the coming of the word
Culic Ek Tam Pic Tz'oy*		Of the nine steps
Culic kanal Imix che	970	Of sages Who folded And asked for the burden of the <i>katun</i> ,
T u nohol		The ninth Of his burdens,
Peten	975	That came down On 4 Kan, The time of the return That ended the burden.
U chicul		Then it descended
U hayal cab	980	And came
Culic Kan Oyal Mut*		
Ca culh i		
Yax Imix che*		
T u chumuc cab		
U kahlai		
Hai cabil		
Cuntal u cah u lac		
U y anal katun la e		
Buluc Ahau u kinil		
Y emel u than		
Bolon tz'acab		
Miatz		
Ti t u uutz'		
U katal u cuch katun		
Bolon te*		
U cuch		
Ca em i		
Ti canil Kan*		
U kinil ual e		
Ca hau u cuch		
Ca em i		
Tal i		

953. Ek Tam Pic Tz'oy 'black deep bedbug weak', the Ba Cab priest of the west.

959. Kan Oyal Mut 'yellow island pheasant', the Ba Cab priest of the south.

961. The inclusion of a fifth (center) stage in the circuit has a Mexican ring to it, presumably a Xiu rather than an Itza trait.

973. The symbolism by nines which follows may be an allusion to the lords of the night, gods of the underworld. See also note 864. It is thoroughly obscure but seems to involve a directional circuit of four (E-N-W-S) plus five (E-N-W-S-Center), which then repeats. Presumably there was a sage associated with each, and the rotation may have been by *uinal*s, thus completing two cycles per *tun*.

976. 4 Kan was the yearbearer for 1545. It appears that the ceremonial circuit and the cycles of time enumerated in the preceding lines are those of the eighteen *uinal*s of that year, each initiated on a day Kan.

which came to the center of the sky to be reborn in the nine bush houses and the nine cycles with mouth and nose, tongue and brain sacrifices. (990)

Then came the feast of the two Red Were Bats to suck the flowers: the east and north and west and south cups. And Hau Nab, Hutz' Nab, Kuk Nab, Oyal Nicte, Ninich Cacau, Chabi Tok, 5 Xochitl, Hobon y Ol Nicte, Kouol y Ol Nicte: these are the Flowers, the sellers of the cycles. These are the Flower Houses, the Flower sun priests and lords, the Flower captains. Thus are the Flower

Tan y ol caan
U ca put sihil
Bolon haban
Y otoch
Y et emc i
Bolon mayel
Ch'ahuc u chi
Ch'ahuc u ni
Y ak
Ch'ahuc ix u tz'amil
Ca em i
Ca tul
Chac Uayab Sotz'*
Lai tz'utz' e
U cabil ob nicte
Ti ca hok i
Ix Chac Hoch' Kom
Ix Sac Hoch' Kom
Ix Ek Hoch' Kom
Ix Kan Hoch' Kom
Ix Hau Nab*
Ix Hutz' Nab
Ix Kuk Nab
Hokc i
Tun ix Oyal Nicte
Ix Ninich Cacau
Ix Chabi Tok
Ix Mabil Xuchit
Ix Hobon y Ol Nicte
Ix Kouol y Ol Nicte
Lai
Hokci ob nicte la e
Ah con
Mayelob
Lai
U na nicteob hokc i
Y utz'ub ah kin
Y utz'ub ahau
Y utz'ub hol can
Lai u cuch

Before the center of the sky,
The second birth
Of the nine bush
Houses.
985 There also descended
The nine cycles,
Dripping at the mouth,
Dripping at the nose,
The tongue,
And dripping its brains.
990 Then descended
The two:
The Red Were Bats
Who suck
995 The nectars of the Flowers.
And then appeared
Also the red Hoch' Kom,
And the white Hoch' Kom,
And the black Hoch' Kom,
1000 And the yellow Hoch' Kom,
And Hau Nab,
And Hutz' Nab,
And Kuk Nab
Appeared then,
1005 And Oyal Nicte,
And Ninich Cacau,
And Chabi Tok,
And Macuilxochitl,
And Hobon y Ol Nicte,
1010 And Kouol y Ol Nicte.
This
Was the appearance of the Flowers,
The sellers
Of the cycles.
1015 These
Are the Flower Houses that
appeared,
The blossom of the sun priest,
The blossom of the lord,
The blossom of the captain.
1020 That is the burden

993. Chac Uayab Sotz' 'powerful were bat', the bat god, one of the more important of the Mayan divinities.

1001. These may be the lords of the night: (1) Hau Nab 'slice point', (2) Hutz' Nab 'split point', (3) Kuk Nab 'quetzal point', (4) Oyal Nicte 'island flower', (5) Ninich Cacau 'wormy cacao', (6) Chabi Tok 'digging knife', (7) Macuilxochitl (Nahuatl) 'five flower' (the Nahuatl *xochitl* 'flower' corresponds to the day Ahau 'lord' in Maya), (8) Hobon y Ol Nicte 'colored heart flower' (this is the Hobnil in Landa 1929: 2: 20), and (9) Kouol y Ol Nicte 'pouched heart flower'.

lords, bringing famine in 11 Ahau. It is the time not of the 9 Gods of hell, the nine lower levels, but of the Flower survey of the Xiu and the spirits, the 9 Flower Suckers. And, at the center of the four Flower priests, the sun priest sits counting the tun. (1044)

And the thirteen Itza priests appeared secretly for the prophecy of the Flower and the Flower rule. It was Za Uin who was seated. Envy is his time;

	Nicte ahau Ca em i Ma ix uah U cuch nicte katun*	Of the Flower lords When they descend. And "there is no food" Is the burden of the Flower katun.
1025	T u kinil Ma ix kuchi i U ch'abnac i Ku mitnal i Bolon tz'acab Ca em i U ch'ab nicte Ppis lim tee Yax bac Tz'unun*	In his time There also does not come The creation Of the Gods of hell, The nine steps
1030	Ix u uay inah Ca em i Ca u tz'utz'ah u kabil nicte	That descend, The creation of the Flowers, Of the measuring stick. Blue bird And hummingbird
1035	Bolon y al nicte*	1035 Are also the spirits Who come down When they suck the nectars of the Flowers, The nine children of Flowers.
	Ca tun hok i U puczikal nicte Can hek Ix u lac nicteob e Ti x culan ah kin Xocbil tun Ti ca uch i U hokol ox lahun ti ku Ma ix y oheltah ob Y emel u keban pop Kuch i T u than Cuch i Nicte Ix u pop nicte Ix u kan che Sa Uin Culic*	Then there appears 1040 The heart of the Flower: Four branches And all the Flowers, And there the sun priest is seated For the counting of the tun.
1045	Sauin u luch Sauin u lac Sauin u pucsikal Sauin u chi	1045 When that is done There appear the 13 Gods, But they don't know them, Descending to the unfolded mat, And arriving
1050		1050 At the word, Bearing The Flower, And the mat of the Flower, And the yellow throne.
1055	Za Uin	1055 Za Uin Is seated; Envy is his gourd; Envy is his plate; Envy is his heart;
1060		1060 Envy is his mouth.

1024. See note 1806.

1034. See note 119.

1038. In the myth of the origin of the Xiu, the Hummingbird sipped the nectar of the 9 Flowers, producing little Flowers (Roys 1967: 105).

1056. What follows is a pun on the name: *sauin* is 'envy'. It is a frequent expression for the contesting of the lordship, particularly by unqualified upstarts. Given the strongly hierarchical bent of Mayan society, envy is a particularly salient Mayan disease.

envy is his soul. Mad was the prophecy of the priest. Hungry and thirsty, he pretends to eat but faints, fasting and complaining. He takes the mask and throne and sits as lord, forgetting his parents, father and mother both, for truly he was misbegotten. He did not seek office properly from the 9 Gods or the 7 priest Sat Ay. He destroyed their spirit and murdered and strangled every one. (1100)

And the Itza prophet and sun priests were at fault, and partic-

Hach co u (12v) coil	Great is his madness,
U than	His word
Ti y ahaulil	In the lordship
T u kinil	At the time,
Auat uiil	1065 Crying food,
Auat ukul	Crying drink,
T u xai u chi	He opens his mouth
Lic u hanal	As though eating
T u pach	And afterward
U xau	1070 Gets dizzy,
C u uiil	Fasting
Auat ukul	And crying for drink.
Sip u than ti culic	Blame is the word of him who is seated,
Sip u can	Blame is his teaching.
Kaxan u u ich*	1075 Tied is the face
Ti culic	Of him who is seated.
Ch'a u cah tza*	He takes his place,
U cah pop	Demands his mat place,
Culic	And sits
T u y ahau	1080 As the lord,
Lic tuban u yum	As if forgetting his father,
Tuban u naa	Forgetting his mother.
Ma ix y ohel u yum	And he does not know the father
Mehente	Who engendered him,
Ma ix y ohel u na	1085 And does not know the mother
Sihese	Who bore him.
Halil i	For truly
Y an	It was
T u ni	By nose
Y ak tz'etz'ec e*	1090 And tongue he was born,
U h auat cuch	Crier of the burden
Ma u matan	He did not ask for.
Ti bolon ti ku em i	From the 9 Gods he descended,
Ix Uuc Sat Ai*	The 7 priest Sat Ay.
Ca ix sati y ol	1095 And then was destroyed their spirit,
Ca ix sati y ik	And then was destroyed their breath.
Ca ch'aci u cal	Then their throats were cut;
U hich' u cal	Their throats were tied,
T u ba	By themselves,
T u hunal	1100 Alone.
Sip u than ah bobat la e	Blamed was the word of that prophet,
Sip ix ah kin la e	And blamed was that sun priest.

1075. Tying the mask on his face.

1077. I read *tz'um*.

1090. Sexual insults are fairly common in the Tizimin, most often referring to sodomy or adultery.

1094. The allegation is that the usurping lord tried to justify himself in terms of the Christian calendar rather than the Itza cycle. Shocking! See also note 514.

ularly the lord and the captains, who just lay in their hammocks and dropped their shields and lances for the enemy and ran and didn't wait for the end of the war. So they began hanging and taking prisoners but did not end the katun. And they were sacrificed by the Xiu. The priests and captains conferred during the war, and at the end of 1548 the chiefs were judged by the nobles of Kin Chil of Coba and Miz Cit. (1142)

This is the word of the 13 Gods,

Sisip ahau
 Sipob ix hol can la e
 Ti haulah i
 T u thubob
 Ti noclah i
 Chimal
 Ti noclah i
 Nab te
 Lahun y al
 Y ah ual uincob
 Ix ca ualh i
 Ma ix ti y oltah ob
 U talel
 U tz'ocol u than
 Katun
 Hol can i
 Uil likci ob cuch i e
 U ch'uima ob
 Ix tab t u kab
 Ma ix kaxan
 U u ich katun
 U tz'ah ob ix u tan
 Ti lomol nicte
 Ix cimc i
 Ah kinob
 Ah miatzob
 Ahauob
 Hol canob
 Hokan ob
 Ix than
 Ichil u y anal
 Katun e
 T u bolon tun e
 Ti uil*
 Uchom u xotom ba tabil*
 Ti y ahaulil
 Y al
 U mehen
 Ah Kin Chil Coba*
 Y etel Ah Mis Cit ual e*
 U than
 Ox lahun ti ku

Twice blamed was the lord,
 And blamed were those captains—
 1105 Who rested
 In the bottoms of the hammocks—
 Who had dropped there
 The shields,
 Who had dropped there
 1110 The lances
 Of the ten born children,
 The enemies,
 And then turned back
 And didn't know
 1115 About the coming
 Of the ending of the word
 Of the war
 And soldiers.
 They may have raised
 1120 Their hangings,
 And tying by the hands,
 And they did not tie
 The face of the katun,
 And they gave up their fronts
 1125 To the stabbing Flower
 And died.
 The sun priests,
 The sages,
 The lords,
 1130 The captains
 Entered
 And spoke
 In the period
 Of the war,
 1135 In the ninth tun,
 In the moon
 Was the judging of the chiefs
 In the lordship,
 The born
 1140 And engendered children
 Of Kin Chil of Coba
 And Miz Cit again.
 This is the word
 Of the 13 Gods:

1136. That is, at the end of 1548 to 1549.

1137. Ba Tab 'fathers of the rope'; see also line 926, and compare the etymology of Ba Cab. *Bab* is 'father' in Ixil; compare Chol *pap*, Jicaque *bap*, Lenca *paab*, Sumo *pápa*, Ulua *papan*, Cuna *paba*, Cacopera *uapá*, and Huaxtec *pailom*.

1141. Kin Chil 'sun sailfish', lord of Coba 'chachalaca water' and of *katun* 13 Ahau in the early nineteenth century, and possibly also in the early sixteenth.

1142. Mis Cit 'sweep remove', another lord, presumably also of Coba. The reference is to the lord of 8 Ahau at the time of the fall of Mayapan.

not mine, for it happened thrice on earth: thrice in this katun: once on the day of Naclah Uitz (1546), once on the day of the sacrifice of the nobles of the poor Itza (1549), and once at the end of the Xiu in the Christianity of 11 Ahau (1559). (1164)

Ma i	1145	It is not
T in than		In my words.
Ca t uch i		For it happened
Ox uatz'*		On three occasions
T u uinicil ual e		To these people again
Y okol cab		1150 On earth,
Ca uch i		And it happened
Ox uatz' katun ual e		Three times in this <i>katun's</i> return:
T u kin Naclah Uitz*		On the day of Naclah Uitz
Chuchul Chuch		Bearing the load;
T u kin chac tun	1155	And on the day of red stone
Num ya		Suffering
U y al		Of the born
U mehen		And engendered children
Ah num		Of the sufferers,
Ytza	1160	The Itza;
Ma cetel bin tz'ocbal		Otherwise will be the ending
Nicte unicil		Of the Flower people,
Nicte katun		The Flower <i>katun</i>
Ichil Christianoil ual e.		On Christianity's return.

1148. That is, there were three prophecies in 11 Ahau, one at the beginning and others nine and eighteen years later.

1153. Naclah Uitz is the fourth of the 13 Gods; see also line 584. This may be a reference to a year with the numeral coefficient 4, perhaps 1545.

13. The Mayapan Calendar of the Itza

Katun 11 Ahau was the start of a new Itza katun count. The Spaniards arrived at its beginning. Merida was the katun seat. The red-bearded gods

(16r) Buluc Ahau	1165	11 Ahau
Katun		Was the <i>katun</i> .
U yax chun		It was the new base
U xocol katun*		Of the counting of the <i>katun</i> .
U hun tz'it katun		The first part of the <i>katun</i>
Ulic sac uinicob		1170 There arrived the white people.
Ich Can Si Ho		Heaven Born Merida
U hetz' katun		Was the seat of the <i>katun</i> .
Bee chac u mexob		So, red were the beards
'U mehen kin		Of the sons of the sun,

1168. A direct reference to the Mayapan calendrical reform of 1539. See the appendix and Edmonson 1976. 11 Ahau began the Itza *may*, the *katun* cycle that ended in 1824.

coming from the east were welcomed with tears. The bearded foreigners displayed the white God on the cross. Immediately beforehand you expected them. (1186)

They came to build, and priests came with them, bringing the word of God to redeem the world. So we wept over conversion, O peasants and nobles! God's will be done, as He is the Father of heaven and earth. Welcome it when it comes to Mani. (1206)

Sac uinicob e
Be okbac on ti tali ob
Ti likin u tal
Ca uli ob uay e
Ah mexob
Ah pulob*
Ti chicul ku sac
Uaom che canal
Hun lub
Hun auat u talel
Au ilc ex
Mut y ahal cab t ex
Ulic ob hunac mol cheob
Hunac mol tunichob
Y et ulc ob
U yumil ca pixan*
Oclis u than hahal ku
T au ol ex
Lei bin etz'kal
A pac ti bal cah tusinil
U than ku likul canal

Be okbac on ti tali ob
C ex u itz'in ex
C ex sucun ex e
U than ku ma tusbil
Be lic u talel u betabal i
U than u yumil caan
Y etel luum
Kam ex
Au ula ex
Talel u cah
Ah tan tunob e.*

1175 Those white people,
So we wept at their coming.
They came from the east;
Then they arrived here,
The bearded men,
1180 The *guayaba* people,
And manifested the white God
Standing on the tall pole.
One stop,
One shout before they came,
1185 You saw them
And awaited your dawn.
They came to assemble piles of trees,
To assemble piles of stones,
And there came with them
1190 The fathers of our souls,
Bringing the word of the True God
To your hearts.
That will be the setting of the roll,
Your fold of the wicked world.
1195 The word of God will be raised on
high.
So we wept at their coming,
O younger brothers,
O older brothers!
The word of God is no falsehood.
1200 Thus as it comes it will be done,
The word of the Father of heaven
And earth.
Take it
And welcome it,
1205 Coming to the town
Of the front stone people.

1180. The Maya were impressed that the first thing the Spaniards ate was *guayaba*, so they nicknamed them "guayaba eaters," as well as "red beards," "foreigners," "white men," and "sons of the sun." See Tozzer 1941: 49. *Guayaba* is *Annona*.

1190. The first Franciscans reached Campeche in 1546 (Ancona 1878: 2: 36), Mani in 1548 (ibid.: 49), Merida, Conkal, and Izamal in 1549 (ibid.: 71), and Valladolid in 1552 (ibid.: 72).

1206. Barrera 1948: 126 associates Tan Tun with Cozumel. I speculate that it may refer to the façade of the church at Mani, first headquarters of the Franciscans in 1548.

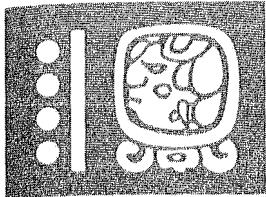
14. The Death of the Gods

Tzin Yabun the Younger's prophecy: the announcement of the priestly succession in Yucatan at the request of the sun priests. If it is rejected, tell what you know to be true in no uncertain terms. You will make up your minds about the ruined Mayan gods, and forget the wretches and worship the True God and the world of the Father and Creator. (1238)

(10r) U profesia	The prophecy
Na Tzin Yabun Chan*	Of Tzin Yabun the Younger,
U chi	The mouth,
U than	1210 The word
U hel	Of the replacement
Ah kin	To the sun priest
Te	There
Peten	In the country.
La u pak	1215 That is the expectation,
U hokol e	The request
Yum	Of the fathers,
Ah kinob	The sun priests.
Ua bin putz'c ob	If they should escape
Uchmal	1220 The occurrence,
Tz'a ex	Give out
Ka a nat	What you must know
T u than	In the word,
T u tzacil kak	In the purpose of fire,
A pixan ex	1225 Only your souls
Bin hahal kamic e	Will accept the truth.
Xeth au ol	Your heart shattered
T a kul Ah Ytza	At your Itza gods,
Tubes a hauai	Forgetting your wretched,
A satai kul e	1230 Your miserable deities,
La a kult e	Then you shall worship
U hahil ku lo e	The True God the redeemer.
T u lacal	Everything
Y anil	In the existence
Ah tepal e	1235 Of the ruler,
Yum	The Father,
Y ah ch'ab	Creator
U ti Tusinil e.	Even of the devil.

1208. The prophet Tzin Yabun 'manioc rattling' Chan 'the Younger' appears to belong to *katun* 11 Ahau and possibly to Merida. An alternative construal of his name might interpret *-tzin* as the Nahuatl honorific and his patronymic as Chan. His pro-Christian stance corresponds to that of the Itza Chans of Emal (see note 655). The use of a Nahuatlism would be more likely in a Xiu.

9 Ahau



15. A Plea for Unity

... let there finally be a prophet, a true one, to question in 9 Ahau the unity of the Maya. (1248)

(10r) . . . uil*
 Y anen mac
 To ah kin
 Ah bobat
 Bin toh alic
 U than uooh e
 Ychil bolon Ahau ual e
 Max ca a nat e
 Hunac
 Tzuc ti cab ual e.

1240 . . . the moon
 Let there be someone
 Who is a sun priest,
 A prophet,
 Who will recite correctly
 The words of the glyphs
 1245 In 9 Ahau again.
 Which of you knows
 To unite
 And assemble in this land again?

1239. Roys 1967: 165–166 has a fuller text which identifies these lines as a fragment of the prophecy of Kauil Ch'el. The preceding part in Roys' translation is: "When the end of the katun shall come, lord, ye shall not understand when it comes. Who shall believe it shall come because of misery. It comes from the north, it comes from the west at that time when it shall be, lord."

Barrera 1948: 194 has: "The pictures of the katun are coming out, oh father, there will be no one who understands how they come nor even who put them on the wheel of the katuns, oh father. The rigor of misery shall come to the north and to the west . . ." This prophecy probably belongs to the beginning of 9 Ahau and is more likely Itza than Xiu. Unity was certainly a problem throughout the post-Classic and colonial periods.

16. Civil War

Teabo was the seat of katun 9 Ahau. The governors as-

(13v) Bolon Ahau
 Uuc i Ab Nal*

9 Ahau:
 1250 7 Ab Nal

1250. Uuc y Ab Nal 'seven year corn-ear' I believe to be Teabo (*aliter* Ti Ab). The Kaua gives Uuccii Hab Nal. Barrera 1948: 98 translates this as 'aguas suyas' (*note continued on following page*)

sembled, but they were usurpers trying to be chiefs and sun priests and captains or lords in power but creating division and war. 9 Ahau was at fault: a bad katun in its governance. It was a nine-day Xiu rule in a 7 priest Christian period, a time of war in the west. (1278)

There was divided rule, with the North priest Uac Nal as

U hetz' katun	Was the seat of the <i>katun</i>
Ti bolon Ahau	In 9 Ahau.
T u kin oclis t u ba	Then they assembled
Bi y alab hal ach uinicil	As told, the governors,
Ti ma lai	1255 But they weren't.
Chen u u acunah u ba	They just elevated themselves
Ti ba tabil*	As chiefs,
Ti ah kinil	As sun priests,
Ba ix ti nacomal e	And as captains
Ti ualac y ahaulil*	1260 Who were to rise to lordship
T u pop	On the mat,
T u tz'am	On the throne—
Hum pai y ol	A division of the heart
Ti y emel tab	Which was to bring down the rope
Ti Ah Bolon Ahau la	1265 In 9 Ahau's rule there.
Sip u than	Blame was his word;
Sip u chi	Blame his mouth,
Sip u katun	Blame his <i>katun</i>
(.)*	(In the rules,)
Ti y ahaulilob	1270 In the lordships
Ah bolon kin*	Of the nine-day,
Ah bolon tz'am	Nine-throne people,
T u tepal Ah Uuc Cha Pat kin*	In the rule of the 7 priest Cha Pat's
U chamal katun*	days,
Ca tal i	Of the tobacco <i>katun</i> .
Y emel tab e	1275 Then came about
Ek Imix uah*	The descent of the rope.
U uah katun	Black Imix food
Ca kin	Was the food of the <i>katun</i> .
Chicul*	Two suns
Sac Uac Nal u u ich*	1280 Appeared.
Ti y ahaulil	The North priest Zac Uac Nal was the
	person
	In the lordship.

(note continued from preceding page)

and equates it with Chichen Itza. Compare also Roys 1967: 133. Teabo contested the seating of this *katun* with Merida and claimed the privilege again from 1717 to 1757.

1257. Barrera 1948: 98 translates this as 'those of the axe'.

1260. The manuscript repeats *ti ualac*.

1269. Line missing, perhaps *ti tepalob*.

1271. I believe that the nines here refer to *katun* 9 Ahau. Barrera 1948: 99 has Ah Bolon Am.

1273. Uuc Cha Pat 'seven lobster wait' appears to represent the Christian week. Barrera 1948: 99 omits Cha Pat.

1274. See note 1806 on the nicknames of the *katuns*.

1277. Barrera 1948: 99 translates this as 'comet of the *katun*'. See also note 930 on the Imix trec. Black is west.

1280. Barrera 1948: 99 interprets this as a proper name.

1281. Zac Uac Nal 'white six corn-ear' is identified in the Kaua as the ruling lord of Teabo (Uuccii Hab Nal).

lord: a beggar of a katun, starving and poor—famine and drunkenness—wandering and sacrificing and mean, with nine competing lords at the mercy of the military and grasping officials. It had its own character and stooped to honor sinners.
(1306)

Ti okol uah	By stealing bread,
Ti okal haa	By stealing water,
U uah katun	1285 Was the food of the <i>katun</i>
Ti uchom	That took place:
Hak	Choked
Otzil i	And poor—
Katun u uil	A <i>katun</i> of hunger,
Katun y ukul	1290 A <i>katun</i> of drinking,
Katun u ximbal	A <i>katun</i> of walking,
Katun u pucsikal	A <i>katun</i> of hearts.
Hach tz'etz'il i	Very small
Than u kat i	Was the word he wanted,
Ah bolon tepal kin	1295 The nine-rule time
U col kab katun la	Of this grasping <i>katun</i> .
Bin u tz'a u ba	He will surrender himself
Ti hol can thanil	To the captain's words—
U tz'oy y ahaulil	The weakness of the lordship,
Ti y an ban ban kulelil i	1300 Which had many, many officials
Y an u uah	It had its food;
Y an u y aal	It had its water.
T u tz'oc hayan u pop	He flattened his mat
T u tzic ti an	To honor those
Ban cal pach i	1305 Of many adulteries.
Lai than katun la e.	That was the word of this <i>katun</i> .

17. The Inquisition

9 Ahau was the second katun in the Itza count. Merida was its seat, and that was the beginning of Christianity in this area

(16r) Bolon Ahau	9 Ahau
U ca tz'it katun c u xocol*	Was the second <i>katun</i> .
Ich Can Si Ho	Heaven Born Merida
U hetz' katun	1310 Was the seat of the <i>katun</i> being counted;
T ix u hoppol	And there was the beginning
U canal x̄ptianoil i	And rise of Christianity,
Yukchahom ti bal cah tusinil i	Which was spread to the wicked world
Uai tac lum e	In the adjacent lands.

1308. The second *katun* in the Itza count of the cycle. Merida, which was Xiu territory, claimed to seat the *katun* for the second time but was willing to make concessions to both the Itza and the Christians. While adopting the Itza cycle, Merida urged the Maya to come to the city of "our older brothers" to be converted. Merida claimed to be the seat of the *may* and the *katun* from 1539 to 1638. See also note 1168. The former claim was disputed by Mayapan, the latter one (in this *katun*) by Teabo.

and the beginning of the cathedral in Merida. (1318)

It was a time of labor and punishment by hanging, and there was plague in the villages, devastating the peasants with lash and tribute. There was great theft by the Christians, but also the establishment of the sacraments. Welcome it by coming to the Spaniards' city.
(1340)

T ix u hoppol
U pakal ku na

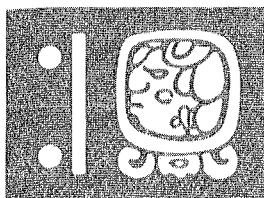
Y an chumuc cah
Ti Ho
Ban meyah
U cuch katun
T ix u hoppol
Hich' cal i
Hopan ix kak tun i
U kabob
U sac ib
Teil cabob
Y et ulic u sabanob
U taabob y okol bal cah
Ti tal i alam
Ytz' inil
Ychil u cal tza
U cal patan
T ix u noh ocol patan i
T ix u noh ocol x̄ptianoil e

T ix u uatal uuc ppel sacramento i

U than Dios noh
Kam ex
A ula ex
Talel u cah
Ca sucunob e.

1315 And there was the beginning
And the construction of the god
house
That is in the middle of the city
Of Merida.
Piling on work
1320 Was the burden of the *katun*.
And there was the beginning
Of the noose.
And started was the fever of the nose
And limbs
1325 Of the white lima bean
Grove lands,
Bringing with it their poison
And their ropes over the world—
Affecting children
1330 And younger brothers
With the harsh lash,
With the harsh tribute.
And there was great theft of tribute:
There was the great theft of
Christendom.
1335 There was the establishment of the
seven sacraments:
The word of God is great.
Take it
And welcome it,
Coming to the city
1340 Of our older brothers.

7 Ahau



18. Demoralization

In 7 Ahau Mayapan was the katun seat. The West priest was the lord officially, but Amayte Kauil was the lord who started the Flower sacrifices and the war, acting as governor of the world and priest and prophet. Nobody escaped the fate of the

(13v) Uuc Ahau
 Katun
 Mayapan
 U hetz' katun ti uuc Ahau
 Ek Chu Uah u u ich

 Ti y ahaulil*
 T u pop
 T u tz'am
 Amayte Kauil u u ich
 T u canil ti y ahaulil
 Hopic ci
 U tz'ocol u toppol
 Ix bolon y ol nicte
 Tz'ibal y ol nicte
 Nicteil uah
 Nicteil haa y aal
 Tz'am lic u hal ach uinicil
 Bal cah
 Tz'am lic ah kin
 Tz'am lic ah bobat
 Ma mac bin u toc u ba
 T u halal can y ahaulil

 Ti u u ich
 Y etel u pucsikal i

7 Ahau
 Was the *katun*.
 Mayapan
 Was the seat of the *katun* in 7 Ahau.
 1345 The West priest Chu Uah was the person
 In the lordship
 Of mat
 And throne.
 Amayte Kauil was the person
 1350 On high in the lordship,
 Who began
 And ended the sprouting
 Of the nine-heart flower,
 The painted-heart flower.
 1355 Flowery bread,
 Flowery water was its juice.
 Acting like the governor
 Of the world—
 Acting like a sun priest,
 1360 Acting like a prophet.
 Nobody will escape
 From the true teaching of the lordship,
 Which is its face
 And its heart.

1346. Ek Chu Uah 'black gourd food' (Barrera 1948: 99 says 'black scorpion', Landa 1929: 2: 82 considers it a god name) of Mayapan and Yaxal Chac 'green rain' of Merida claimed the lordship of *katun* 7 Ahau. A Yaxal Chac also ruled *katun* 11 Ahau, forty years earlier. Perhaps he was the same man, as he did not last out this *katun*. Neither did Chu Uah. Both seem to have been replaced by Amayte Kauil 'paper-tree deity' (Barrera 1948: 100 says 'square god') or Amayte Uitz 'paper-tree mountain', and the authors of both texts for this *katun* strongly disapprove. Merida was again Xiu and pro-Christian; Mayapan was Itza and pagan. The usurper had the support of the military orders and may also have been pro-Christian or Xiu or both.

time, with lust and sodomy everywhere day and night, constant sin enslaving the hearts of the rulers and blackening the wilderness. The peasants lived like animals in 7 Ahau. (1382)

People were crazy; Merida went crazy completely, everywhere: drinking and feasting, Xiu and Itza gorged themselves, and the girls were shameless. The lords did not even keep their vigils. It was a time of constant change of lords and usurpations even by the mob, ending the ceremonial calendar

Hunac tzuc ti cab
Ppen cech cal pach y an i
Ti pulan
Y oc t u lacal i
La u tucul t u kinil
La u tucul ti akab
U keban kin
U keban akab
U munul u pucsikal hal ach uinicob
Ah bobatob
Ti u y ekabtic u che
Y etel u tunich
Ix ma na
Ix ma yum i
Chaan u ba
Xaxak y oc
U uinicil
Ah uuc Ahau katun
Hach coil than
U than
Coil ximbal
U ximbal Ich Can Si Ho

Uchom t u hoppol
T u pach
Yuklahöm bal cah
T u lacal
Bolon tz'ocab uah
Bolon tz'ocab haa
U y al ix kuk
Y al ix yaxum
Uah uaan ti tz'atz'
Uaan ti bulux e
Y utzil
U cichpamil ch'uplal
Cichpamhom
Ma cichpam
Bin ahac
Ma ahan
Ti tal i
U kinil
Uuc kin tepal i
Ua sut tepal i
Homol tepal i
Uuc kinil i
U tepal y an i
U uinicilob e
Holil
Och*

1365 He will gather lust in the land.
There was lust and adultery,
Which was carried
And sprouted everywhere.
1370 That was the thought by day;
That was the thought by night:
The sin of day;
The sin of night,
Enslaving the hearts of the governors,
The prophets,
1375 Which blackened the trees
And the stones,
And the motherless
And fatherless.
They demeaned themselves
1380 To crawling on all fours,
The people
Of katun 7 Ahau.
Very mad words
Were their words.
1385 Very mad behavior
Was the behavior of Heaven Born
Merida
From start
To finish,
Covering the world
1390 Entirely.
Nine-step bread:
Nine-step water
Of the quetzal born,
The blue bird born.
1395 Food was raised to be sucked,
Raised to be crammed down;
And goodness—
The beauty of girls—
Being beautified
1400 Is not beauty.
Who should be awake
Is not awake.
There came
The time
1405 Of the seven-day rule,
Of instant rule
And fallen rule.
Seven-day
Rules took place
1410 By the people,
Ending
The count.

in peasant rule. The Strong Skunks, Jaguars, and Masked Deer and Rabbits were in the countryside and in power. Usurpers were in office and appointed the officials. Coveting power was the rule in 7 Ahau. (1434)

Ah paklen cab
Bin tepalnac ob i
Bin u keulelte
Hum Pai
Balam
U Koh Ceeh
Thul uinicil
(14r) Chehom u u ich*
T u cab
T u peten
T u tepal
T u y ahaulil
Ah mahan pop
Ah mahan tz'am
Ah mahan tepal
La u cah t u than
Bin u mul chek
U hal ach uinicil cah
U sitz'il ahaulil
Lai bin y ahaulil
Te
Ah uuc Ahau la.

And the farmers
Will rule over them.
1415 They will be robed
As Strong Skunks,
Jaguars,
Masked as Deer
And Rabbit people
1420 With wooden faces
In the land,
In the country,
In the rule,
In the lordship:
1425 Borrowers of the mat,
Borrowers of the throne,
Borrowers of the rule.
That is who was beginning to speak
And will pile up the pacing
1430 Of the governors of the towns.
The coveting of the lordship—
That will be the lordship
There
In this 7 Ahau.

(note continued from preceding page)

and could refer to the military orders. See also note 1459. Villa 1945: 103, 157 identifies it as a marsupial, which is an omen of death or illness.
1420. That is, masked.

19. The Council of Merida

7 Ahau was the third katun in the Itza count. Merida was its seat. Yax Chac was its lord.

(16r) Uuc Ahau
Katun
U y ox tz'it katun*
C u xocol
Ich Can Si Ho
U hetz' katun
Yaxal Chac u u ich
Ti y ahaulil
T an u pax cabal
T an u sot canal

1435 The 7 Ahau
Katun
Was the third *katun*
To be counted.
Heaven Born Merida
1440 Was the seat of the *katun*.
Yax Chac was the person
In the lordship.
There was the breaking of the lands;
There was the shaking of the heavens.

1437. That is, the third *katun* in the Itza cycle.

Everything was torn up by war in this katun. (1448)

The sages began to confer over the crisis, foreseeing the end of the noble lineages, Itza and Xiu. Amayte Uitz was the usurper, and the military orders without authorization began the damned katun and the Bech' Kab war. Welcome it when the missionaries come into our towns, and accept Christianity. (1474)

Nicte uah
Nicte ha
U cuch
Katum
T ix u hoppol
U tzuucil miatzob i
Cotz'bal u u ichob
Yuklahom ti bal cah
Yum a
U netzil uil
Kuk
Yaxum
Amaite Uitz u u ich
Bin u tus coil than

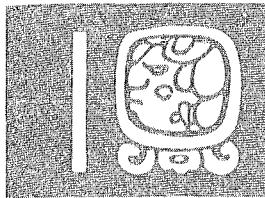
Balam Ochil*
Balam Ch'amacil
Ma tub u tz'al e
U than katun
T ix u hoppol
U tzin tzin loc katun i
T ix u ho- (16v) -ppol
U Bech' Kab nicte i*
Noh kam
A u ula ex
Te
U talel ichil
Ca cahal ex e
Talel u cah
U kat x̄ptianoil ex
T u tan kin ual e.

1445 Flower food,
Flower water
Were the burden
Of the *katun*.
And there was the beginning
1450 Of the gatherings of the sages,
Rolling their eyes
At what was spread in the world:
These fathers
Of the waning moon,
1455 Quetzal,
And blue bird.
Amayte Uitz was the leader,
And lies and madness will be the
word
Of the Jaguar Possums,
1460 The Jaguar Foxes.
Nowhere is given
The word of the *katun*.
And there is the beginning
Of the asshole boils *katun*.
1465 And there was the beginning
Of the Bech' Kab Flowers.
The right is to be accepted:
Welcome it!
There
1470 Will come the pairs
To your towns.
Come to the towns
To desire that you be Christian
At midday again.

1459. Balam Ochil 'jaguar possums' and Balam Ch'amacil 'jaguar foxes': military orders.

1466. Bech' Kab 'quail branch'. See also lines 2141 and 2,793, which appear to date this disturbance to the following *katun* (1604 or 1612).

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



5 Ahau

5 Ahau was the fourth in the Itza katun series. Merida was its seat and government. And there were hangings, and the people tried to kill the great lineages of the nobility. And usurpers went forth in the masks of the gods for the year-bearer ceremonies, exorcising the devil. (1500)

It was a time of rain and

(16v) Ho Ahau*
 U can tz'it
 U xocol
 Katun
 Ich Can Si Ho
 U hetz' katun
 U tepal
 U maxil katunob
 T ix y uchul
 Hich' cal i
 T u nucul uinicob
 Ti u cimil
 Noh ch'ibal i
 T ix u hoppol
 Chibil al i
 Chibil mehen i
 Co co al
 Co co mehen
 Ti tal i
 U binel
 U u ich ku
 U u ich kauil*
 T u can helebil caan
 T u can helebil be i
 T ix u hoppol
 U tza cisin i
 T ix y ulel u kin chac
 Ix u esil i

1475 5 Ahau
 Was the fourth part
 In the counting
 Of the *katun*.
 Heaven Born Merida
 1480 Was the seat of the *katun*,
 The rule,
 The shield of the *katuns*.
 And there occurred
 Hangings,
 1485 Which people meant
 To be the death
 Of the great lineages;
 And there was the beginning
 Of descent by birth,
 1490 Descent by engendering.
 Crazy born,
 Crazy engendered children,
 Came
 And went
 1495 With the faces of the gods,
 The faces of the holy,
 In the four changes of heaven,
 In the four changes of the road
 And that was the beginning
 1500 Of the removing of the devil,
 And that was the coming of the t
 of rain
 And witchcraft.

1475. The lordship of *katun* 5 Ahau was disputed by Merida, Uxmal, Zotz'il, and Emal, the first two Xiu, the last two Itza. The two brief texts on Merida and Zotz'il agree on the general character of the *katun*. The text on Emal is totally different and is by far the most detailed prophecy in any of the *Books of Chilam Balam*.

1496. This adds a further interesting detail to the ceremonial circuit of the *katun*: the priests were masked as yearbearer gods. Compare lines 938 ff.

witchcraft, and famine was everywhere, spelling the doom of the lineages and the rise of the East priest Ahau Can. This started the brief lordships of the military orders, who were sons of bitches. They were witches and miserable peasants from beginning to end—as God ordained. (1522)

Ti u hoppol uih i
Yukchahom ti bal cah i
Ti u likil u cal holil
Och ti chibal i
Ti u likil u cal Chac
Ahau Can ti chibal i*
Ti u hoppol ah ca kin tz'am
Ah ca kin pop i
Balam Och*
Balam Ch'amac
Pek
U mut machom
Ca u pucsikal
Pan u ca tz'ic unicil
Otzilhom
U u ich
T u kin
Uil
U cuch katun
U than ku canal uchom ual e.*

It was the beginning of famine,
Spread over the land,
1505 And raised the voice of the ending
Of the count of the lineages,
And raised the voice of the East priest
Ahau Can by descent.
There was the beginning of those of
the two-day throne,
1510 Those of the two-day mat:
Jaguar Possums
And Jaguar Foxes—
Dogs
By the reputation they got.
1515 Two were their hearts:
Many were the two-person people.
Impoverished were
Their faces
By sun
1520 And moon.
This was the burden of the *katun*,
The word of God on high that
occurred again.

1508. Ahau Can, a rain priest who lent himself to the leadership of the revolt of the military orders. A namesake figured in the politics of Chichen Itza and Izamal in the 1450s (see note 278).

1511. See note 680.

1522. *Ku canal* 'god of heaven', presumably the Christian god.

21. ZOTZ'IL

Zotz'il was the seat of katun 5 Ahau. Puz Hom was lord, and

(14r) Sotz'il*
U hetz'
Katum
Ti ho Ahau

Zotz'il
Was the seat
1525 Of the *katun*
In 5 Ahau.

1523. Zotz'il 'bats' is a city about six kilometers east of Tizimin. Its lord was Puz Hom 'dust dart', but he was not brave enough to assert his claim to the lordship, so he deputized Hun Tzol 'paper count' and Ben Palal 'spend child' of the military order of Foxes to make the ceremonial circuit of the villages. The lordship of the *katun* was disputed by Emal and Merida and perhaps also by Uxmal (line 2648).

Ma Zuy and Ben Pal were allies and besieged the city. The governor was afraid that the lords were hated and would be ambushed and have to hide from the vicious lords who were attacking each other to put down usurpers. A poor katun. (1548)

Pus Hom u u ich*	Puz Hom was the face
Y ahaulilob cab i	Of the lords of the land.
Hun tzol Ma Sui	For one count, Ma Zuy
Ben Palal	1530 And Ben Pal
Bin y oces u ba	Will be brought together
Ti ch'amacil	In alliance,
Y oc mal ob	And proceed to bypass
U xolobal ob cah i	And surround the city.
Bay lic u tucul	1535 So it was the idea
U hal ach unicil*	Of the governor
Ma mac bin u yacun	That nobody would like
Y ahaulilob cab i	The lords of the land.
C u culnac	They would be followed
T u ximbal	1540 If they walked
T u hunal	By themselves,
Bin mucchahac	And would have to start hiding.
Ah tubul uah	Spitters of food,
Ah tubul ha	Spitters of water
Ti u chibil tam ba holil	1545 Who attack each other to end the
Ochi u sitz'il ob ahaulil	count
Ox koch*	Of the coveters of the lordship.
U uah katun a.	Breadnut and gourdroot
	Were the food of this <i>katun</i> .

1527. Barrera 1948: 104 translates *pus hom* as 'cross-eyed'. The Kaua adds another lord named Kaua Hom.

1536. I read *uinicil*.

1547. *Ox* 'breadnut' (*Brosimum*) and *koch* 'gourdroot' were considered inadequate food, resorted to only in times of famine.

22. The Annals of Bacalar

13 KAN (1593)

In 1593 the priest of katun 5 Ahau was confirmed on Octo-

13 Kan (1593)

(Ir) Ox hun Kan*

T u hun te Pop*

13 Kan (1593)

On 13 Kan

1550 On the first of Pop

1549. This is the longest, most confusing, and most informative text in the Tizimin. It was finished by Kauil Ch'el 'god magpie' at Bak Halal 'four hundred change', the modern Bacalar, on 11 Chuen 18 Zac (February 8, 1596). The author thus claims to forecast the history of 5 Ahau two years before it was due to begin. He based his prophecy not on the history of the preceding 5 Ahau (which in any case we, at least, do not possess) but on the preceding cycle of the calendar round, fifty-two years earlier rather than 260 *tuns* earlier, as in all the other prophecies.

(rest of note 1549, and note 1550, on following page)

ber 23 to 24, 1593. This is its history. It had the end at the beginning, a new kind of katun

Ch'ab u lac katun*
 Ti ho Ahau*
 Ti hab 1593 cuch i*
 T u holhun Seec y al kab a*
 Heklai u cuch
 Lic u tal u alic la e
 He uil
 T u kinil*

Was taken the plate of the *katun*,
 Which was 5 Ahau.
 In the year 1593 it occurred,
 On 15 Tzec it dawned.
 1555 The relation of the events
 Will be told as follows.
 That was the moon
 At the sun:

(note continued from preceding page)

He was reading the earlier history (1541–1561), he says, from a hieroglyphic text (which we also do not possess). Despite the eastern origin of the text and the uniqueness of its inclusion in the Tizimin, Kauil Ch'el was a Xiu, identifying himself with Xopan Nahuatl and Puc Tun as an adviser to the lord of Uxmal, Hun Uitzil. He is simply borrowing the identity of an earlier prophet of 9 Ahau, although we can't rule out the possibility that he moved to Bacalar in his old age.

Kauil Ch'el's calendrical and divinatory theory is, from the Itza point of view, woefully primitive, and he doesn't understand the *katun* at all. He presents instead a year-by-year and calendar round (i.e., totally Nahua) view of the events he chronicles, using *tun* (360 days) for *hab* (365 days) and misdating the *katun* by five years. Nonetheless, his Mexican view of Mayan politics in this troubled *katun* appears to be well informed, and his comprehension of the Mexican calendar is excellent. See Edmonson 1976.

1550. 13 Kan is a yearbearer in the Mayapan calendar in use in Yucatan from 1539 to 1752. The date 13 Kan 1 Pop (July 20, 1541, or July 7, 1593) is the date intended. Without the particle *te*, a date of 13 Kan 0 Pop would be implied. This is the twelfth year of a fifty-two-year cycle that began on 1 Kan 1 Pop in 1581. The first thirteen of these years are associated with the east and the color red.

1551. 'Taking the plate of the *katun*' is the preliminary initiation of the priest who will serve in the following *katun*, a ceremony normally to be expected five years before the *katun* is to begin—in 1598.

1552. *Katun* 5 Ahau in the Tikal calendar ended on 12.0.0.0.0 5 Ahau 13 Zotz', September 20, 1618. In the Mayapan calendar it would have been counted from its beginning, eighty days before the end of the classical *katun* 7 Ahau on 11.19.0.0.0 7 Ahau 13 Ch'en, January 3, 1599. Thus the author expected that *katun* 5 Ahau would begin on October 15, 1598, a correct five years after the 'taking of the plate'.

1553. The correlation is correct: 1593 indeed marks the initiation of a year 13 Kan and should have been the date for the anticipatory ceremony of the 'taking of the plate'.

1554. This final dating assertion is complex. It refers to a date of 4 Cauac 15 Tzec, ninety-five days after the Mayan new year on 13 Kan 0 Pop. This was the day of the "dawn" of the plate ceremony, that is, the eve of the ceremony itself, which took place on 5 Ahau 16 Tzec. This is an anticipation of the calendar reform of Valladolid: celebrating the eve was already customary.

Note that these dates do not make sense unless the writer is beginning the year on 0 Pop. He is counting "old-style." The cue that he is doing so is the absence of the particle *te* 'round' (cf. *hun te Pop* and line 2977). The classifier *p'iz* has the same effect. The equivalent dates in the Mayapan calendar would be 4 Cauac 16 Tzec (*uac lahun te Tzec*) and 5 Ahau 17 Tzec. Having put both counts into play the author proceeds to specify that he will use the Mayapan calendar (see note 1560).

1558. Sun time (*kinil*) and moon time (*uil*) are constantly paired poetically in the Tizimin. In the present context, their normal order is inverted (see lines 1567–1568). In the other contexts the sun begins what the moon ends; hence I believe the metaphoric assertion here is that the end (of the *katun*) was at the beginning. Mathematical calculation demonstrates that such is precisely the case. The colonial Mayapan calendar counts *katuns* by initial dates and begins the year

(note continued on following page)

invented in Mayapan, and was the beginning of the decline of the Itza and Xiu matrilineages, the beginning of the end of the legitimate nobility. (1570)

There used to be three pyramids at Akab P'ix, now in ruins near Yaxche. It was all moved

Hi u ch'abal	That was the creation
Katun la e*	Of this <i>katun</i> .
Mayapan u u ich	Mayapan was the face
U kex katun	Of the change of the <i>katun</i> ,
T u kin*	In the sun
U y emel	Of the decline
Y al kuk	1565 Of the quetzal born,
Y al yaxum*	The blue bird born,
T u kin i	In the sun
Uil*	And moon
Chibil al	Of the born heirs
Chibil mehen*	1570 And engendered heirs.
T u kin y an ox mul tun tzek*	In the sun there were three ruins,
Pail Akab Ppix*	The stone walls of Akab P'ix,
Ich ox hublah cot	In the three collapsed walls,
Ox tz'alab u nak Yax Che*	The three slabs near Yaxche.

(note continued from preceding page)

with 1 Pop rather than 0 Pop. This was the consequence of the calendar reform opportunely inaugurated at Mayapan in 1539, when the relevant Mayan cycles were in a conjunction almost uniquely favorable to such a change. See Edmonson 1976.

1560. That is, the inversion of the naming of the *katun* is responsible for the dating system now in use. The author is specifying which calendar he wants to use: that of Mayapan.

1563. In the sun: at the beginning.

1566. In a number of other passages the quetzal and the blue bird are paired, commonly as a poetic reference to the Itza and the Xiu. The allusion is to the Toltec traditions of Quetzalcoatl and Huitzilopochtli respectively. Other passages of the Tizimin make it clear that the eastern Maya objected to the western emphasis on the female line, presumptively a consequence of the stronger survival of Mayan patriliney in the east. Accusing the westerners of matriliney, rather than merely of bilaterality, was an insult, but it was also a way of questioning their legitimacy. The Tizimin presents the eastern (Itza) viewpoint throughout.

1568. The normal sequence of sun and moon, like alpha and omega, implies eternity—all of time. Compare Quiche *u be q'ih, u be zaq* 'on the road of the sun, on the road of light'.

1570. The eastern lineages are claiming permanency because they are legitimate in both the maternal and paternal lines. Lines 1549 to 1572, translated by Makemson 1951: 3 as follows, will serve to illustrate the futility of any detailed comparison of her text with mine:

Thirteen Kan on the first of Pop. Katun 5 Ahau follows along its path, the year being 1593, save that one year still remains to be checked off before the bearer of the future arrives.

Now in those days when Mayapan was captured in battle, they confronted the *katun* of affliction. During the migration of the remnant of descendants, the remnant of the descendants of Yaxum, good fortune should have come to generation after generation of our sons, but instead there came all at once castigation, oppression, vigilance in the night. That was a long time ago.

1571. *Mul tun tzek* 'mounds of pebbled stone': ruined stone pyramids with the pebble fill showing.

1572. I am unable to locate Akab P'ix 'night vigil'. See, however, note 3234.

1574. Yax Che 'green tree, first tree, ceiba' is ubiquitous as a place-name in Yucatan, but, given that our documentation is from the east, the Yaxche about ten kilometers north of Chichen Itza seems a likely candidate. There is also a Yaxche near Tizimin.

north to *Emal*, beginning the yearbearer ceremonies in the Plaza by the Sea. And the prophecy is accomplished of the last half of katun 11 Ahau, for the new word will be done of Jesus and the Ascension. That is the word of this year. (1594)

T u kin	1575	In the sun
· Uil		And moon
Y an sac		It was white
Pai hail*		At the seashore.
T u kin thul		In the sun was the track
Can Chacil*	1580	Of the four rain gods,
Uaan ti tz'atz'		Standing in the open,
Uaan t u xul ix tabeil haa*		And standing at the edge of the salt water.
Okom ix		And done
Tz'ib'an*		Is what was written
Tan y ol nicte kin i	1585	In the middle of the Flower sun,
Uil t u katunil ual e*		The moon of the return of the katun cycle.
Ti tal i		It is coming:
U y anal than		The realization of the word
Y okol ah chaan te		About Him of the Little Tree,
Kin Ich Chaan*		
Ca sih i	1590	The Sun Eye of the Little Tree,
Ual t u caanil e*		Who was born
Lai bin u tha		And returned to heaven.
Ox lahun Kan ual e.*		This will be his word,
		This is 13 Kan again.

1578. The implication seems to be that an important lineage abandoned Akab P'ix to move to the north coast for the next thirteen-year period, initiated by the year 1 Muluc, which has the associations of white and north. From Chichen Itza the most likely place to describe in this way would be *Emal*.

1580. The reference is to the establishment of a new ceremonial cycle. The rain gods and the yearbearers were more or less equated.

1582. *Uaan* 'erected' could be a reference to stelae.

1584. That is, what had been written is now accomplished.

1586. The Flower time or Flower *katun* is 11 Ahau (1539), the period of the founding of Merida, the arrival of the missionaries, and the war of the *katuns* (*u katun katunob*). It suggests the flower wars of central Mexico, and indeed the battles between the lords and the military orders in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have very much that flavor. It also refers to the Mexican lords, the *Xiu*, since this *katun* marked the final triumph of the Central Mexican calendar and its initial counting over the end-dated Mayan *katun*. From the "middle" to the "moon" of this *katun* is a chronological reference to the decade 1549 to 1559.

1590. The "word" of Christianity will be actualized. Such an expectation of the efficacy of the Word is Mayan as well as Greek and Hebrew (see Edmonson 1971: line 2277) and is entirely consonant with the intention of the present document, which is to prewrite history. I read this line as repeating the *chaan te* of the preceding line. The image of the cross as the little tree or the high tree is frequent in the Tizimin. The eye (or face) of the sun is a pre-Columbian expression for the high god.

1592. While there are Mayan antecedents, the reference to the resurrection of Christ seems clear. The conversion of Tutul Xiu of Mani took place in 1541 (Ancona 1878: 322-323).

1594. In other passages also 'word' and 'date' are poetically paired. Time is fate.

1 MULUC (1594)

In 1594 word came of the European calendar and seven-day week, recurring in two years. You will be dressed by the Spanish nobles, which is bitter. (1610)

1 Muluc (1594)

Lai ca bin culac*
Hun Muluc ual*
T u kinil e
 Ti u than tam ba
Y okol u suyil cab
 Y okol ah uuc Cha Pat*
Uuc te u cuch
 Uuc te u ppic
Ti ual t u ca pis tun

U*
Tal a u ex
 A nok*
T u men y al
 U mehen Sat Ai uinicil*

Tocan uah
 Tocan ha ti t u chij.

2 IX (1595)

In 1595 there was war, burning, and destruction every-

2 Ix (1595)

Caa Ix ual u kin tz'on*
Bacal tza ual e
T u kin hopom kak
 Tan y ol peten
Elom ti cab
 Elom canal*

1 Muluc (1594)

1595 This is when there is to be seated
 1 Muluc again,
At the time
 That they told each other
About the swirling earth,
1600 About the 7 priest Cha Pat:
Sevenfold his burden,
 Sevenfold his pile,
Which returns on the second
measured tun—
 His time.
1605 Your loinloths
 And clothes will come
From the born
 And begotten children of the Sat Ay
people.
Burned is the bread
1610 And burned the water that is in his
mouth.

2 Ix (1595)

On 2 Ix returns the time of guns.
 The removal of bullets returns.
It is the time of flaming fires
 Before the heart of the country,
1615 Burning on earth,
 Burning in heaven.

1595. Seating was the ceremony initiating a priesthood, in this case for the yearbearer. It seems likely that in Classic times this meant seating one priest (and god) for the year, another for the four-year cycle, another for thirteen years (in years with the numeral prefix 1), and another for the *katun*.

1596. 1 Muluc 1 Pop (July 20, 1542, or July 7, 1594), the first of thirteen years associated with white and north.

1600. The implication is that the Maya were first told of the rotation of the earth and the seven-day week in 1542.

1604. The return of the weekday two *tuns* later is obscure but is consistent with the prophetic text. See also line 1668.

1606. Clothes are a recurrent reference to Spanish conquest, presumably alluding to later Spanish sumptuary laws dictating the white blouse and pants for Indian men.

1608. This couplet is of interest as defining Spanish bilateral descent with patrilineal emphasis in the same terms used for the apparently similar rules of the eastern Maya. There is an implication of the legitimacy of the Spanish nobility. Sa Tay 'atole drinkers' could be another of the many nicknames for the Spanish (but cf. Sat Ay). The Tizimin totally avoids *español* and *castellano*.

1611. 2 Ix 1 Pop (July 19, 1543, or July 6, 1595).

1616. The burning of milpas would normally occur about a month earlier. While the following phrase might suggest a fire ceremony, I believe fire is another metaphor for war, for the conquest of Uaymil in 1543 (Chamberlain 1948: 233) or the conquest of Bahía de la Ascensión in 1595 or both. The inversion of the

(note continued on following page)

where, and pillage in the name of religion, destroying the food supply and the native gods in heaven and on earth. (1624)

And the peasants were forced to move by the nine great lineages, destroying both fields and cities at the time of judgment, everywhere. By the halfway point, the son of 7 Eb was the lord by the sea with the East rain priests. There were

T u kin u ch'a och pak	In the time of the seizure of food plants,
T u kin okot ba ti caan*	In the time of dances on high,
Satom uah	Destroyed was the bread,
Satom kauil	1620 Destroyed the gods.
Okom cui	Gone is the witch,
Okom icim t u ho cam be*	Gone the owl at the four crossroads,
Ti hun yuklah ti cab	The one spread over the earth,
Hun yuklah canal	The other over the sky.
Bin pecnac xux	1625 The bees will have been moved;
Bin pecnac otzil*	The poor will have been moved
T u than ah Bolon y Oc Te	At the word of the nine trunks
Y etel ah bolon kanan*	And the nine branches.
Luban u u ich chakan	Fallen is the face of the field;
Luban u u ich paa*	1630 Fallen is the face of the fort,
T u kin	At the time
(Iv) Bul u xotemal	Of the posting of the judgment.
Uaan ti cab	Standing on the land,
Uaan ti peten*	Standing in the country,
Buluc Ch'ab Tan*	1635 The 11 priest Ch'ab Tan,
U mehen Ah uuc Eb*	The son of 7 Eb, was the one
Lei tun	That was the priest of the <i>tun</i>
T u kinil ual	When the time returned,
Uchom	Occurring
T u chi kaknab*	1640 At the edge of the sea—
He an u chi Chac Mumul Ain	Otherwise the port of the East priest
He an u chi Chac Uayab Xooc*	Mumul Ain;
	Otherwise the port of the East priest Uayab Xoc.

(note continued from preceding page)

couplet 'heaven and earth' may continue to mean 'everywhere', but it also suggests that what was going on on earth was in imitation of heaven—a true battle of the gods.

1618. Seizure of crops as tribute was justified by the holding of the ceremonies. Did they dance on the pyramids or were the gods dancing?

1622. The witch and the owl are pagan idols, normally placed at the center of the city, the cosmic crossroads of the directions and the navel of the universe.

1626. The metaphor of the poor as bees is noteworthy. The Mayan peasants always migrated into the forests in times of trouble.

1628. The nine trunks and branches were the leading lineages of the west. *Bolon* 'nine' is also 'great', and the pun may be deliberate.

1630. The field is the countryside and the fort is Mayapan.

1634. Oppressing the tilled lands and the untilled alike.

1635. Il Ch'ab Tan 'half taken' is the lord of the half *katun*. Compare note 3234.

1636. Though this appears to be a personal name, it could also be a date: 7 Eb 18 Pop (or 18 Kankin) in a year 2 Ix (1595–1596). I believe 7 Eb was the lord in the year 2 Ix, but at the halfway point of the *katun*, in 9 Muluc, Ol Zip succeeded him. This is the only use of a Mayan personal day name in the Tizimin. 7 Eb may have been a nobody, or this may be another name for somebody else whom we know only by surnames.

1640. Presumptively Emal.

1642. Mumul Ain 'clay alligator' and Uayab Xooc 'were shark' were both East priests.

forced migrations in the second half of the katun. This was the third year of katun 5 Ahau. (1650)

T u kin
U mol ba xux
Ti yala haa
Ti yala y och*
Uəlac hi
Ox uutz' katun ual e*
T u kin hi ix y ahaulil
Ah ho Ahau katun.

At the time
Of the swarming of bees,
1645 Which is the remainder of water,
Which is the remainder of food,
The measure of the occasions
Was three folds of that *katun* again
From the time which was also the
lordship
1650 Of the 5 Ahau *katun*.

3 CAUAC (1596)

In 1596 were the return to the towns and the beginning of the ceremonies for the final half, the time of the end of the cycle. (1658)

And there was missionizing by the Europeans at the end of this katun. And there was fighting over the control of the villages, and war began again at

3 Cauac (1596)

Oxil Cauac*
Ual u kin
U pec t u ch'enil*
T u y ac tunil
Binel u cah u tzacle kauil
Binel u than u ximbalte akab*
U tzotz ha
Tux ual y ukic haa*
T u chi
Ual
U uiic
Yala uah*
Ti ch'ab i
U pucsikal*
T u men Ah Uuc Te Cui
Ah Uuc Cha Pat
Ti to t u kinil
T u katunil ual e
U uiil che
U uiil tunich*

3 Cauac (1596)

On third Cauac
There returned the time
Of the move to the wells,
To the springs,
1655 The coming of the start of cursing the
gods,
The coming of the word of the
approach of night,
Finishing off the water
Where one returned to drink water.
On that occasion
1660 Was the return
Of the moon
Of remaining bread,
Which was the seizure
Of hearts
1665 By the 7 priest Te Cuy,
The 7 priest Cha Pat.
It was at the time
Of this *katun*'s return,
The moon of wood,
1670 The moon of stone

1646. The remainder (*yal*) was an installment of tribute due at the end of the *katun*, which comes two years after the present date. The priest of the second half of the *katun* was the 'father of the remainder'.

1648. That is, this is the third year of the "*katun*" being chronicled, atypically beginning with the taking of the plate. That's the Xiu for you. The author is ambiguous throughout over whether to trace the real *katun* (1598–1618) or a pseudo-*katun* that fits better with calendar round divination (1593–1613). He switches back and forth.

1651. 3 Cauac 1 Pop (July 19, 1544, or July 6, 1596).

1653. The people came back to the towns (wells) and villages (springs) from the wild.

1656. This initiated the open rejection of the Mayan gods and the darkening of the religion of light.

1658. Vitiating the water sacrifices and hence the sacredness of the wells and springs—the towns and villages.

1662. That is, the last installment of the *katun* tax is due this year.

1664. That is, conversion.

1670. Beginning in conversion, the *katun* ends in warfare: sticks and stones.

that point. This was the third year. On 13 Ahau, at the half-way mark between 11 Ahau and 9 Ahau, was the end of the reign, ending the cycle with five months to go with the removal of the ruler. That was the significance of 1596. (1692)

Y okol culan t u ch'enil
 Ti y ac tunil*
 Nicte ual c u tuch'ub
 Nicte ual u uah*
 Ti y ahaulil
 Lai u uah la e
 T u kin u ch'a cuch
 T u y ox pis tun ual e
 Ti to
 Uil
 Ah ox hun Ahau ual e
 Buluc Ch'ab Tan
 Buluc Ahau
 Bolon Ahau
 Lai u lukul u cuch
 La ix lic u tz'ocol
 Cabal kol
 Hoo te u cuch
 Ca ti luk i
 Ti y ahaulil*
 Lai u kinil
 Oxil Cauac la e.

4 KAN (1597)

1597 was a quarter of katun 5 Ahau. At the beginning of the katun, ancestral ceremonies were held in the central plaza.

4 Kan (1597)

Canil Kan*
 Ual u kin i
 T u tzelep katun*
 Ti hoo Ahau
 T u kin
 T u katunil*
 Ox kokol tzek
 Auatnom yax cach*
 T u ho cam be
 T u ho can luub*

Over the seating at the well,
 At the spring.

The Flowers headed up again;
 Flowers were again the food

1675 In that lordship.
 That was its food.
 At that time he took the burden.

It was the third measured *tun* again.
 Which was soon

1680 The moon
 Of 13 Ahau then,
 11 Ch'ab Tan,
 11 Ahau,
 9 Ahau.

1685 This was the removal of his burden,
 And that was also like the end,
 The doubling of the cycle.

Five rounds were his burden,
 When he was removed

1690 Who was in the lordship.
 That was the time
 Of 3 Cauac then.

4 Kan (1597)

Fourth Kan
 Was the return of the day

1695 At the side of the *katun*,
 Which was 5 Ahau
 In the sun

In the *katun* count.
 Three stone rattles:

1700 The green fly screeched
 At the entry of the four crossroads,
 At the entry of the four rests,

1672. Disputing the seating of the priests in the towns and villages.

1674. And bringing on another "flower war."

1690. We appear to be dealing here not with the lordship of the *katun* but with some more restricted term of office. The lord in question took office in 1595. He was due to leave it on 9 Ahau 2 Muan of the following year. However, on 13 Ahau 2 Yax, halfway between 11 Ahau 2 Xul and the end of his term, he left office five *uinals* early. He was probably forced out because of pro-Christian tendencies.

1693. 4 Kan 1 Pop (July 19, 1545, or July 6, 1597).

1695. The confusion continues with the identification of this fifth year as the side of the *katun*. The side of the classical *katun* would have come five years later and would have been counted by *tuns*, not by years.

1698. A pseudohieroglyph marks this as the beginning of *katun* 5 Ahau, but it is still a year early.

1700. Ceremonies for the ancestors, who are commonly identified with flies.

1702. The image of the road is central to Yucatecan cosmology. Life is a road. Fulfilling one's road is achieving one's destiny. One form of doing so is marriage:

(note continued on following page)

Then spoke the lesser priests.
And the East priest Uayab Xoc
won in hard fighting, and
Christianity was defeated in
the countryside in the middle
of Uo, 1597. And he announced

T u than	It said
Ca t u likil	When it arose.
Auatnom cui	1705 The screeching of the owl,
Auatnom icim	The screeching of the witch,
Auatnom ah ya	The screeching of the sorcerer.
Ulom u kat Chac Uayab Xooc*	Come is the desire of the East priest Uayab Xoc:
Hom che	The wooden arrow,
Hom tunich*	1710 The stone arrow.
T u kin y an Ah Uuc Chu Uah*	In the time of the 7 priest Chu Uah
Elom u u ich	Burned was his face
T u cab	On the ground
T u ch'enil	At the wellside,
Auatnom chum kin Uoo	1715 Lamenting the middle day of Uo
T u kin ti canil Kan*	At that time, which was fourth Kan.
U chabalhal u than	It was the bringing into being of his word,
Ulom u y anal than*	The coming of the existence of the word
Y okol sac boc*	Over the white stalks,
Y okol chac bob	1720 Over the red stalks,
Y okol may çu i	Over the cycle sign,
Ti ual	Which is the return
T u ho pis tun e	To this fifth measured tun
Ah ho Ahau	Of 5 Ahau,
U pec Ah Buluc Ch'ab Tan*	1725 The Mover of the 11 priest Ch'ab Tan,
Talic cah y alic u than kin	Come to begin to say the word of the time,
U than uooh	The word of the glyph,
U tichpahal ual	The fulfillment of the return

(note continued from preceding page)

c in tz'oocl in bel 'I finish my road' is 'I marry'. The sun and the gods also follow their roads, which intersect in the center of the community, which is the center of the universe. Because one is always carrying a burden—of duty, office, and fate—the roads are provided with rest stops, platforms on which one may temporarily deposit one's burden by backing up to them and slipping off the tumpline of duty. The image here is of ceremonial platforms of this sort at the entry to a central plaza, though nonceremonial ones occur on real trails.

1708. This identifies Uayab Xoc with the nativist Mayan cause.

1710. Compare line 1670. Adding arrows seems to strengthen the image.

1711. 7 Chu Uah 'atole gourds' also seems to be a symbol for the Christian week. Gourds were used ritually in the counting of time. Chu Uah is also a southeastern lineage name and, according to Landa 1929: 2: 82, a god name. The Spanish invasion of Cochuah took place in 1544 (Chamberlain 1948: 233).

1716. The date implied would be (in the year 4 Kan) that of 4 Ix 11 Uo, thirty days after the new year. As August 18, 1545, this could very well refer to the beginning of the Great Mayan Revolt, which probably started in the northeast.

1718. In fulfillment of the prophecy, possibly that of Uayab Xoc.

1719. I read *bob* for *boc*. Stalks are lineages.

1725. My supposition is that the Mover of 11 Ch'ab Tan is due in the fifth year of the *katun*. He is thus on time if we start the *katun* five years early, as the author seems to want to do. The function of the Mover was to initiate the prophecy of the midpoint of the *katun*.

his prophecy for the northeast at the time of the quarter katun, the halfway point of the prediction of the defeat of the Itza. And he preached Christianity. (1734)

And the traditionalists fought back, ending the cycle, and the East priest Bol Ay prophesied that it was time in 1597 to change everything. And the priests and peasants fought over cutting out the existing katun. (1748)

(3r) Uchom y okol ah num Ytza*
Lai u than u kat u cuchil

Which occurred over the suffering Itza.
1730 This was the word he wanted to bear,

Ca ti lik i
Y alic u than
U mehen kin
U mehen akab*
Ualac ti uchom u kin

And which he raised,
Speaking the word
Of the young day,
Of the young night.

U chibil tam ba
Holil och
Y etel Chac Bol Ai
T ix y ulel
U y anal than xan i*
Ti canil Kan ual e
U kin
U pec caan
U pec luum*
Nac tam ba nom ah kin

1735 In order to return him who had had his day,

They were biting each other,
Ending the cycle.

And the East priest Bol Ay,
Who was also the arrival,

1740 The existence of the word as well
On this fourth Kan,
The day

Of the movement of heaven,
The movement of earth,

1745 Knocking together the stubborn sun priests,
Knocking together the lands in the country,

The pruning of the *katun*
When it is seated.

Nac tam ba u luum ychil peten

Ut uch katun
Cat cul.

5 MULUC (1598)

5 MULUC (1598)

This may be the fulfillment of the katun in 1598. At the new year a good harvest was predicted for 1598, but first

5 Muluc (1598)

Hi ix lai ual*
Bin u nahin
T u kinil ual e
T u katunil ual e
Ti ho Muluc
U kin u ch'aic u bel
T u kin u hoch' ich
Ti tun
Y alic u xeic
U lukah u chi e.
Ti hoo Ahau ual u kin
Ychil ho Muluc

Perhaps this may also be the return
1750 Which will be fulfilled

In this time,
This *katun*,
Which is 5 Muluc,

The time of his taking his road—

1755 At the time of his decorating his face
For the *tun*,

Which is said to be his vomit,
The flow of his mouth there.

In 5 Ahau was the return of the day

1760 On 5 Muluc.

1729. Page 2 is misnumbered in the manuscript. We thus go from 1v to 3r to 3v to 2r to 2v to 4r.

1734. The defeat of the Itza was the prophecy of the Mover, who had become Christian. But the Mayan party fought back.

1740. They were also prophets.

1744. It sounds like an earthquake, but I believe the sense to be figurative. Yucatan is outside the earthquake zone. The implication appears to be that the battle was between traditionalist priests and Christianized peasants.

1749. 5 Muluc 1 Pop (July 19, 1546, or July 6, 1598). This "may also be the return" because the true date of 5 Ahau in the colonial *tun* count falls in this year, namely on 5 Ahau 12 Zip (August 25, 1598)—at harvesttime, as the following lines note.

there was famine and then later drought, and that did it. The sun priest attacked Christianity all by himself in public. Mayan drinking and Christian baptizing were everywhere as the end of the katun got closer. Maybe it was time to move to the towns and villages, as it had been when the Itza were

U kin	In the sun
Y anhom uil uah*	Was the occurrence of food shortage,
Hum pach tzucubil	And in the last part
Y anhom uil haa	The occurrence of water shortage.
T u tepal	1765 That was enough
T u hunal	All by itself,
Y oklal	Because
Patal u than	Awaiting his word,
T u sipic u cuch	He blamed the burden
T u tatah than	1770 On the declared word,
T u bel	On the road
T u hunal.	By himself,
Uaan ti tz'atz'	Standing in the clear,
Uaan ti bulux . . . te*	Standing at the full . . . tree,
Y ukul ti kin	1775 Drinking by day
Ti akab*	And night,
T ix tam beil	And renewing
. . . haa*	. . . with water
Hun yukla	All over
Ti cab	1780 In the land
T u kin tepal	At the time the rule
Ualac	Was to return.
Hun uatz'	One bend,
Hun tz'on*	One shot
Hi va le	1785 Perhaps it was,
T u kinil hi u pec	That it was time maybe to move
T u ch'enil	To the wellsides,
Ti y ac tunil	To the springs.
T u men bai uchc i	Because thus it had happened
Ti Ah Ytza ca lik i*	1790 To the Itza when they arose
T u cal ya	At the hole of pain,
Ca u p'atah	When they abandoned
U ch'enil	The wellsides
U y ac tunil	And springs
T u kin	1795 At the time
U hokol	Of their appearing

1762. There may be an intentional pun here, contrasting sun-beginning with moon-ending. *Uil* means both 'moon time' and 'shortage'. The following couplet makes it clear that the latter meaning is primary.

1774. Letters missing.

1776. A traditionalist Mayan priest blamed the famine and drought on Christianity, even standing before the cross as he did so and holding traditional Mayan ceremonies requiring drinking.

1778. Letters missing.

1784. This expression is frequent and implies both a short distance and a short time.

1790. The Itza had abandoned the towns and villages but were now considering reoccupying them. Abandonment of villages took place in the Great Mayan Revolt of 1545 to 1546 (Chamberlain 1948: 246).

exiled from them and came to the wilderness, and that was the outcome. (1802)

Ich lumil che
Ich lumil tunich
Y al
U than
U xotemal kin
U xotemal katun ual e.

In the lands of wood,
In the lands of stone.
So says
1800 The word
Of the judgment of the time,
The judgment of the *katun's* return.

6 IX (1599)

In 1599 5 Ahau began. There was a Mayan revival on the feast of the 4 Gods. After a year of the East priest Bol Ay, Tzay Can came and was established as the legitimate ruler in prosperity. (1818)

But it didn't last, being betrayed by the son of the late Max Can in fulfillment of what had happened in 12 Ahau (1421).

6 IX (1599)

Uac Hix*
U kinil
U lubul
U tzol ch'ich' katun*
Ti ual u colal ex
U colal nok*
Ch'ab t u kin
T u kin Uh Ahau Can

T u pachil tun
Ti Chac Bol Ai*

Lai ul
T u kin Tzai Can
U pacte Ah Tem Pop
Ah Ten Tz'am ti tal i*
U xeic t u chi
U lukah e
Lai het man t u cal
Ti ma t u pan i
T u men u tzotz
T u men u conic
U mehen
Ah Max Can bin i*
Ua u haulic u choch
U y ex
U max kin
(3v) U max katun e*

6 IX (1599)

6 IX
Is the time
1805 Of the posting
Of the order of the bird *katun*.
It is the return of loose pants,
Of loose clothes,
Created on the day,
1810 Created on the day of the Lords
Four,
After the *tun*
Which belonged to the East priest
Bol Ay.
That was the arrival
At the day of Tzay Can,
1815 The sight of the lord step mat,
The lord step throne who has come
Vomiting from his mouth
And flowing forth.
That splits and passes to the throat
1820 Without quenching
Because it was wasted,
Because it was sold
By the son
Of Max Can who is gone.
1825 Then he finishes the guts,
The pants
Of the monkey time,
The monkey *katun*.

1803. 6 IX 1 Pop (July 18, 1547, or July 5, 1599).

1806. Posting the *katun* means initiating it and ending its predecessor. This is an explicit adoption of the classical *katun* ideology. *Katun* 5 Ahau is nicknamed the bird *katun*, for reasons unknown. It is likely that all thirteen of the *katuns* had nicknames, though only a few can be securely identified: 13 Ahau, deer (line 5272); 11 Ahau, flower (line 1024); 9 Ahau, wax? tobacco? (lines 1274, 1913); 7 Ahau, deer? (line 2123, but see line 5272); 5 Ahau, bird (lines 1843, 2124); 3 Ahau, black? (line 2776); 1 Ahau, flint? (line 2386, but see line 4348); 12 Ahau, monkey (line 4094); 8 Ahau, flint? (line 4348); and 4 Ahau, turtle (line 4720).

1808. Loose or red clothes are Mayan; white clothes are Spanish.

1812. Bol Ay 'roll grease' seems always to be involved in war.

1816. The mat and the throne are symbols of legitimate authority.

1824. Max Can 'monkey snake' is a personal name.

1828. The passage refers to events in the monkey *katun*, 12 Ahau (1421).

The city traitor, the pretended easterner, came from the northwest on the beginning of the katun and betrayed the legitimate heir of Zuhuy Zip. It was all his fault that everything was finally disrupted at the katun sacrifices. Break chickens, break eggs: everything was torn up from start to finish all at once. (1852)

So there was no sacrifice, you peasants, because you disrupted the rites and destroyed tradition. So go into servitude rather than living as Mayas.

U manab	The ghost
Cabal	Of the town
Hebal u than	With the split word
Chac u u ex	And the red pants
Tali ti xaman	Coming from the north,
Tali ti chikin	Coming from the west
T u kin	1835 In the sun
T u katunil	Of the <i>katun</i> period,
U conic y al	Selling the born
U mehen Uuc Suhui Sip*	And engendered son of the 7 priest
T u kin y an sip u than	Zuhuy Zip.
Sip u chi	On that day his word is blame,
Ti uil uchom pax ti cab	1840 His mouth is blame.
Uchom soot canal	In the moon was the occurrence of
T u tzol ch'ich' katun	breaking on earth,
T u lom uatz' katun*	The occurrence of shaking in
heaven,	On the count of the bird <i>katun</i> ,
T u kin ha tab ak	On the stabbing of the bend of the
Bai ch'ich' heeb*	<i>katun</i> .
Heb tan ba nom caan	1845 At the time of torn chickens
Heb tan ba nom muyal	Thus are the birds' eggs.
T u u ich kin	The stubborn skies revolving,
T u u ich u	The stubborn storms revolving
Ualac hun uatz'	1850 In the face of the sun,
Hun tz'on	In the face of the moon,
Hii ual e	To return one bend,
Ma mac bin atz'ab*	One shot.
C ech ah mab na e	Perhaps that's it:
C ech ah mab yum e	No one is going to be bent,
T ech u uatz'	1855 Ye motherless,
T ech u tz'oi katun e	Ye fatherless.
Sati u canil	You who are the bend,
Sati ual t u pach e	You who are the weakness of this
T u kin y an u mol ba	<i>katun</i> ,
Sohol a u okol	Destroying its sprouting,
Ma a u ex	1860 Destroying the return afterward.
Ma a nok	At that time there will be gathered
	Cotton around you:
	Not your pants,
	Not your clothes.

1838. Zuhuy Zip 'virgin deer' was the traditionalist ruler at Emal and probably the father of Ol Zip. What follows is a pun on his patronymic. Landa 1929: 2: 54 considers Zuhuy Zip a god. Villa 1945: 103 identifies Zip as a deer spirit among the modern Maya.

1844. Counting the *katun* and stabbing the bend of the *katun* are presumably ceremonies appropriate to this year, the second in the traditional count.

1846. This sounds like an aphorism, perhaps implying that, if one generation is disrupted, so is the other.

1854. Bent over the sacrificial stone.

This is no time for usurpers.
(1866)

7 CAUAC (1600)

In 1600 at the new year ceremonies there was still rebellion of the peasants, destroying buildings throughout the period, capturing the eastern lineages and breaking the power of the military orders, taking captives and dragging them away because of hunger and thirst. The ruler was crazy, treating the half katun all over again as though it were Uayeb for the Itza—three years before the half katun. (1896)

Ma t u kin u ti al a mahan koh*
Ix mahan nail e.

7 Cauac (1600)

Uucul Cauac u kin*
T u uuc pis tun
T u hunte Pop
T u kin u ch'a sabac*
U max kin
U max katun*
Mul tun
Tzek
T u kin
U lach lam
Pach
Chac bob*
T u kin u paic u coo
T u kin u hotz'ic y ich'ac Cab
Coh*
Bin olal
U kan chek u piix
Bin ual u taninte y oc
U tan u kab
T u men u sitz'bic uah
U sitz'bic haa
Hach co u u ich
Ti y ahaulil
Ca ti lik i
T u men Buluc Ch'ab Tan*
Ualac hi
Ual
U tupul u kak
U xotemal Ah Ytza
Ox uutz' katun i
Uil e.

1865 It is not the time for those of borrowed masks
. And borrowed houses.

1870 At the time of getting soot,
The monkey day,
The monkey *katun*,
Piled stone,
Masonry

1875 At the time
Of the period sinking,
Seizing
The red stalk:
It was the time of breaking the beak—

1880 It was the time of pulling the claws
of the Earth Lion.
There came the desire
For many paces on one's knees.
Then will be the redirecting of feet,
The directing of hands

1885 Toward the desire for food,
The desire for water.
Very mad was his face
In the lordship
When he arose,
Because of the 11 priest Ch'ab Tan:
The return perhaps,
The return

1890 Of the quenching of the fire,
The judgment of the Itza—

1895 Three turns of the *katun*,
Its moon.

1865. To be maskless is to be without religious authority; to be without a house or motherless is to be totally illegitimate.

1867. 7 Cauac 1 Pop (July 18, 1548, or July 5, 1600).

1870. Soot (*sabac*) was used ceremonially for body paint in the new year ceremonies. Cauac is a west year [black].

1872. Peasants are monkeys.

1878. *Chac bob* 'red stalk' is another of the metaphors for war. See also lines 2555 and 3757.

1880. Cab Coh 'earth lion' is the potto or kinkajou (*Potos*). It was also the name of a pro-Christian military order.

1890. As noted in line 2068, the mid *katun* ceremonies were due three years later. This is another of the bits of evidence that different priests were calculating *katuns* differently, causing bitter religious disputes.

8 KAN (1601)

In 1601 in 5 Ahau there was a drought, burning up plants high and low, starting fires to the north right down to the seashore, burning up the crops and plants as in Merida in 9 Ahau (1559). There was civil war among the Itza, weakening them with hauling water. There were brigands in the fields, thieves in the fields, affronting the half-cycle god at the katun ceremonies and destroying order by the Christianized

8 Kan (1601)

Ti uaxacil Kan*
 T u hun te Pop
 T u uaxac pis tun ual e
 Ti hoo Ahau
 Uil u kin
 Ti thuchan ti y ac tunil
 Elom uil uitz
 Elom uil calap*
 Hopom kak
 Ti noh suc te
 Elom uil kaknab
 U chi sus
 Elom sicil
 Elom kum e
 Elom macal
 Tz'amal
 Ual u cib katun
 Si Hoo uchom*
 Ual u nap tam ba
 U cuch Ah Itza
 U kamic u chich
 Y etel u cuch
 Ua kom
 Chal tun
 Bin xobnac nom
 Xobnac ceeh*
 Tan sacil
 Chakan
 Kitz nom
 Ix kan itzam thul
 T u chakanil
 Ti uil
 U u ich ah at ol
 (2r) Ah Mai Cuc*
 T u kin
 T u katunil
 Satanil
 T u cuch hab
 Sac u y ex
 Sac u nok

8 Kan (1601)

On the eighth Kan
 On the first of Pop,
 On the eighth measured tun again
 1900 In 5 Ahau
 The sun returned
 And sank low in the springs.
 Burned were the plants of the hills;
 Burned were the plants of the flats.
 1905 There were flaming fires
 On the southern grassland.
 Burned were the plants of the sea
 At the edge of the sand.
 Burned were the squash shoots;
 1910 Burned were the squashes,
 Burned were the yams
 And poppies.
 A return of the wax katun
 Of Merida.
 1915 A return to biting each other:
 The burden of the Itza.
 The taking of their strength
 And burden,
 Either of the pit
 1920 Or of the cistern.
 Then came the whistling partridge,
 The whistling deer
 Before the squash vines
 In the fields,
 1925 The drumming partridge
 And yellow lizard hawk
 In the fields,
 In the plants,
 In the face of the remainder spirit,
 1930 The spirit of the cycle round
 At the time,
 At the katun period
 Of the destruction
 Of the burden of the year.
 1935 White are his pants,
 White his clothes.

1897. 8 Kan 1 Pop (July 18, 1549, or July 5, 1601).

1904. I read *tzalab*.

1914. Probably a reference to *katun* 9 Ahau (1559), when Merida was the seat of the *katun*. See also note 1806.

1922. Skulking people pretending to be animals: the military orders.

1930. Another reference to the approach of the half-cycle ceremonies. The priest of the second decade of a *katun* is identified with the remainder. Also see note 1729 on the pagination of the manuscript.

peasants. Then there was a hurricane, announcing the half *katun* three years later. (1942)

9 MULUC (1602)

In 1602 at the midpoint of 5 Ahau, Ol Zip took charge as during the captivity, and the heirs of the nobility renewed the purification movement of the Itza peasants of 12 Ahau (1421). The bastards! Laughing and playing music! And in the northwest! (1964)

The time came to change the Fathers of the Land, erecting

T u kin y an u y iklil ha*
 Bin u kat u cuchil
 Yala kin Buluc Ch'ab Tan
 T u buluc pis tun.
 T u uaxac pis tun
 Bin uchom ual e.

9 Muluc (1602)

Ti bolon Muluc*
 T u hun te Pop
 Talom tun
 Y al kaba ho Ahau*
 U y alic
 U than Ah Uuc y Ol Sip*
 Ualac t u kin num on chu

Num on celem
 T u kin u tal u mehenancil no xib

U y alancil ix nuc
 Ch'ab t u kin tan
 Ch'abom u than u suyil cab

U max kin
 U max Ah Ytza e*
 T u kin y an tzintzin coc xul
 T u kin y an tzintzin bac toc

Cheeh
 U u ich
 Kit hom be
 Kit hom heleb
 Tab ua xaman
 Tab ua chikin
 Canal
 Ual u u ich
 Haom can
 Ti Ahau Can

At that time there was a water tempest

Which came to desire its burden,
 The remaining time of the 11 priest
 Ch'ab Tan
 1940 In the eleventh measured *tun*.
 In the eighth measured *tun*
 That will have returned there.

9 Muluc (1602)

On 9 Muluc
 On the first of Pop
 1945 Came the *tun*
 Of the dawn of 5 Ahau
 To speak
 The word of the 7 priest Ol Zip,
 To return to the time of our suffering
 breasts,

1950 Our suffering shoulders,
 To the time of the coming of the
 generation of men,

Of the bearing of women,
 Creating at that time the appearance,
 The creation of the word of the
 virgin earth,

1955 The monkey sun,
 The monkeys of the Itza
 In that sun there were asshole buggers;
 In that sun there were asshole
 pederasts

With laughing

1960 Faces.
 The fired clay trumpet,
 The fire-changed trumpet
 Where it may be north,
 Where it may be west.

1965 The sky
 Changed its face.
 Removed are the four
 Who are the Lords Four.

1937. The hurricane is apparently regarded as a portent of the half *katun*, here predicted for three years later. According to line 1603, it should be two years later.

1943. 9 Muluc 1 Pop (July 18, 1550, or July 5, 1602).

1946. According to the initial chronology of this chapter, this is the tenth *tun* of the *katun*. It is thus the "dawn" (i.e., the eve) of the second half cycle.

1948. Ol Zip 'heart deer' may well have been the son of and legitimate successor to Zuhuy Zip. He was prominent throughout 5 Ahau and again in 1 Ahau as a leading lord of Emal.

1956. A kind of pun on the monkey *katun*, 12 Ahau, and monkeys as peasants.

the monuments for the ancestors. Ol Zip and the rebels held the ceremony of changing the katun for the katun that was ending, surrendering his office before the public at the right time in 1602. (1990)

Likan u che
 Likan u tunich
 Y okol u na
 Y okol u yum*
 T u men Ah Uuc y Ol Sip
 (. . . .)*
 T u men Uuc Tz'ac Sitz'il
 Uuc Tz'ac Tzotz*
 T u kinil
 Ti ualac
 Hom
 Ahal katun
 Ca koch u u ich
 Ti y ahaulil
 Bin tz'oces u than*
 Ix chaante u u ich
 Emom u luk
 Y okol u u ich paal
 Ualac bin u ximbalte akab
 Bin u ximbalte kin
 Ti u u ich caan
 T u bolon tun.

Erected was the tree,
 1970 Erected was the stone
 Over the mother,
 Over the father
 Because of the 7 priest Ol Zip,
 (. . . .)
 1975 Because of the 7 priest Tz'ac Tzitz',
 Because of the 7 priest Tz'ac Tzotz,
 At the time
 Which was to return,
 The descent
 1980 And waking of the *katun*,
 When his face was taxed
 In the lordship.
 His word was to be ended
 And his face would be seen,
 1985 His removal descending
 Over the face of the children,
 To return to the bringing of night
 And the bringing of day
 Which is the face of heaven
 1990 On the ninth *tun*.

10 IX (1603)

In 1603 were the katun ceremonies for the half katun, announcing the folding of the *tuns*. They marked the end and

10 IX (1603)

Ti lahun Hix
 T u hun te Pop*
 T u kin
 T u katunil
 T u kin u tepal
 Ho Ahau
 Emom canil
 Ual canil
 Utz'ub
 Y utz'ub tun*
 Ah tepal
 T u ch'ub uil

10 IX (1603)

On 10 IX
 On the first of Pop
 On the day
 Of the *katun* period,
 1995 On the day of the rule
 Of 5 Ahau,
 Descended the news,
 Returned the news
 Of the fold,
 2000 The folding of the *tuns*,
 The divider
 That designates the moon,

1972. The implication of ancestor monuments is of interest.

1974. Line missing.

1976. Another reference to the seven-day week, perhaps. Ol Zip plays an ambiguous role in the political struggle of this period and eventually turns Christian. See line 2684. The implication of several 7 priests (of different towns?) getting together is of interest.

1983. It was actually the half *katun* that was ending, but it was time to retire definitively the active priest of 7 Ahau, who had served honorifically in the first half of 5 Ahau.

1992. 10 IX 1 Pop (July 17, 1551, or July 4, 1603).

2000. The folding of the *tuns* marks the halfway point in the *katun*, the ceremonies for which are described colorfully and circumstantially in the following passage.

designated the ceremony, preparing the town that would rule the priesthood and government for the inauguration of Amayte Kauil in authority and office and the priesthood. For the half katun was to be retired, and the rulership changed throughout the wilderness. (2028)

The announcement was made and the preparations started for fasting and penance and self-denial. And the Center priest Bol Ay returned for the ceremony of beginning rather than ending amid general re-

U cah	The town
Tu kin	At the time
U ch'aic	2005 Of taking
U tepal	The rule—
Patal u cah	Shaping the town
U acunah u ca	To prepare his town
T u uaante	That it should be raised,
Accunah u cah	2010 And preparing the town
T u than	For his word,
Tu luch	For his gourd,
T u tz'aam	For his throne,
Tu pop	For his mat,
T u kan che	2015 For the yellow throne
Amayte Ku ual*	Of Amayte Ku's return.
Lic u cutal	Like his seating,
Ca bin culac	When he is to be seated
T u hanal	2020 In his office,
Tocol u than	Seizing his word,
Tocol u cah u luch	He seizes the town of his gourd,
Toocol u cah u laac	Seizing the town of his plate
T u men patal u cah	To prepare the town
Tu kin t u tz'ap tun	For the day to pack the <i>tuns</i> ,
T u kin u hel pop	2025 For the day to change the mat,
U hel tz'am	To change the throne.
Hokom ich lumil che	He appears in the lands of wood,
Ich lumil tunich	In the lands of stone;
Y alab than	2030 Spoken is his word
Y etel u caan	And his teaching.
Sihil u can (2v) u luch	Born are the sprouts for his gourd,
U chebal y ukul	The shoots for his drink
T u kin	On the day
Choch ich	Of bright fruit.
Ch'och' t u luch	2035 Salty is his gourd,
Ch'och'	And salty
U al	The liquid
Y ukul	He was to drink.
T u kin u tzol pop	On the day of counting mats
Yax Bol Ai ual*	2040 The Center priest Bol Ay returns.
Ma t u chi chucan yaal	Not on the occasion of completing his trust:
T u kin u ch'a matan	On the day of taking requests.
Ppitil ppit	Jumping over and over
Tzayal tzai	And seeking and seeking:
U ne can	2045 The snakes' tails
Tzai ne ba ob	Seek their own tails—

2016. Amayte Ku 'paper-tree god' is mentioned also in line 2811. Compare note 3890.

2040. The implication is that, at the midpoint of the *katun*, people filed applications for the positions they wished to occupy ten years later.

joicing of the rebels, as Ol Zip held the fire ceremonies, fasting. And the mats were folded, marking the new decade and the old one, by the priest of the Center, who sorrowfully confronted the new ruler and gave the power into his custody, marking the half katun with his confession to the rain god. And immediately Ol Zip did penance on his body. Then the dance was held for the two gods, the old and the new, and he destroyed the idol commemorating the plague and punish-

Ti ual uchom	At the return that has occurred,
T u kin u ch'a kak Ah Uuc y Ol Sip	On the day that the 7 priest Ol Zip seizes fire,
T u kin toc sitz'il satai hail	On the day of seizure of the pangs of thirst,
T u kin u lukul	2050 On the day of the removal
Yala pop	Of the remainder of the mats,
Yala u lac	The remainder of the plates,
Uatal	Erecting
U cah tun	The beginning of the <i>tun</i>
U nup	2055 And its opposite also,
Ix ah kin	And the sun priest.
Yax u pix	Green are his clothes,
Coc	Ragged,
Tun num ya	A miserable <i>tun</i> .
Amaite u u ich	2060 Amayte was the person
T u yum yala	Who was father of the remainder,
Ah tz'am	The man on the throne,
C u tz'abal ti	And it is given to him,
U yalomal	The remaining time—
Ah pop	2065 To the ruler
T u canil	To keep.
Lai u pacat	That was the appearance
Buluc Ch'ab Tan	Of the 11 priest Ch'ab Tan.
La chi	That was the occasion
T u y autic u pixan	2070 When he bared his soul
Si y ah tun	To the idol
Chac	Of the rain god,
Ua la chi hun auat	Or that was the occasion, one shout,
Hun tz'on hi e	One shot.
Lai u kinil	2075 That was the time
Ua sak	Of the itch either
Pach	On the back
Nahc i e	Or the belly.
Lai u kinil	That was the time
Y okot ba	2080 For dancing,
Ah Ua Tun	For Ua Tun,
Ah Nij Pop*	Niy Pop,
Ah Ma Suy	Ma Zuy,
U kin y Ahal Cab	The time of Ahal Cab,
Ca ix emec tun Kin Chil	2085 And when he shall have felled the stone of Kin Chil
Ah Chac Chibal	Of Chac Chib.
La chi ix t u kuchul	That was the occasion of the arrival
T u kinil u chac mitan	Of the time of the red plague,

2082. The old dispensation required the erection of monuments, the new one the inspection of mats. There may be more sense here than I can find in the dictionaries.

ment of the Itza nobles in the grove at Mayapan. (2094)

So ended 1603, which ended the oppression of the peasants at Yaxche, which was destroyed. So Ol Zip took his oath immediately and eagerly—a nobody, but he took his oath in the center, ending the barbarian control of Mayapan that began in 7 Ahau and ended in 5 Ahau. It now ended with an eastern celebration outside the city, an-

Num ya Ah Itza	The suffering of the Itza,
U xotemal	The judgment
Y al	Of the born
U mehen	And engendered children.
Uai ti tzucub te	That was in the grove of trees
Mayapan	At Mayapan
Ti u tupic	2095 Which was the extinction,
U tz'ocol	The ending
T u kinil	Of the period
Lahun Hix ual e	Of 10 Ix again.
Ti u tz'oc	It was the end
T u u ex hool	2100 Which more or less finished
T u kin	The period
Ox cuchlahom	Of the thrice burdened,
(Itz'in)*	Of the younger brothers,
Y al max	The monkey born
Ox tz'alab	2105 At the three pyramids
U nak Yax Che	Near Yaxche.
Ox ch'uilah	The three were removed
Xuthen	And reduced
T u kin u ch'a matan	On the day he got the request.
P'il tec	2110 He just snatched it in a wink
T u kin u ch'a ah tzotz	On the day the Grabber got it,
U ch'a matan	Got his request.
Oy	He was weak
Otz*	And poor
T u kin	2115 On the day
U ch'aic u matan	He took his request
Hol can be	At the gate of four roads,
Hol can lub	The gate of four rests,
Ti emom	Which lowered
U cuch uitz	2120 The burden of the mountain
Y okol may cu i*	Over the cycle seat.
Uai uchom Mayapan	That occurred at Mayapan
T u may ceh	In the cycle of Ceh.
T u xau cutz man i*	In the claw of the Curassow it
	passed then.
Uai u man	2125 There it passed so
Uay y uchul	There it was to occur.
U y okot chac tz'itz'ib	There was the dance of the Red Cardinal,
Chac tum pilix*	The New Red Parrot

2103. *Itz'in* is crossed out in the manuscript.

2114. The derogatory statements about Ol Zip may well relate to his being a priest but he appears to have inherited that position legitimately, and his fasts and ceremonial behavior were exemplary.

2121. Ending the control of Mayapan by the hill tribes of the west.

2124. It began in the deer *katun* and ended in the bird one. See note 1806. *Cutz* 'curassow' has been identified as *Agriocharis* and as *Crax* (Tozzer 1941: 202). It may be a constellation, however.

2128. The eastern (red) dance for 5 Ahau (bird).

ticipating by ten years what was coming in the next katun, the alliance of the northeastern lineages with baptism and the rule of Cab Bech' at Yaxche. Ol Zip ended the disorder of 5 Ahau when he took the office and the priesthood, succeeding as a Maya, legitimately in his seventeenth year, as the towns and villages will learn. (2160)

T u may ac tun
Lai uaan tan chakan
Uchom ti to
T u katunil
Bin i
Ual uchom
T u men lai u katunil
Ca uch i*
Hapai Canil*
T u kin u ch'a tam ba
Mumul
Aal
Auatnom Bech'*
T u kab yax che
U tz'oc tzotz
U tz'oc zitz'il
Y ahaulil
Ah ho Ahau ual e
T u kin u u acunic u luch
Y etz'cunic u pop
Ch'a u cah
Ti y ah kin
U kex ah kin e
T u hol u pop
He ix t a u ex
Y etel a nok
U buc
T u than
Lai u koch
T u uuc lahun ual e*
Ca bin hokoc t u ch'enil
Ti y ac tunil.

II CAUAC (1604)

1604 was the designation of the successor priest, who was

II Cauac (1604)
(4r) Bulucil Cauac*
T u hun te Pop
T u buluc pis tun
Ti to t u tepal

In the cycle of the spring of water,
2130 Standing there in the middle of the field.
That was early
In the *katun* period
And is going
To occur again,
2135 Because that is the *katun* period
When it occurred.
The Hapay Cans
Then seized each other,
Splashing
2140 Water,
While the Bech' screamed
In the branches of the ceiba.
The end of lust,
The end of desire:
2145 The lordship
Of 5 Ahau was that again.
On the day of the placement of his gourd,
The setting out of his mat,
He got his place
2150 As the sun priest,
The successor to that sun priest
At the head of the mat.
He is also in your pants
And your clothes,
2155 Clothed
In his word.
That is the tax
In the seventeenth *tun* again
When it shall appear in the wells
2160 And springs.

II Cauac (1604)

Eleventh Cauac
On the first of Pop
On the eleventh measured *tun*,
Which is the one ruled by

2136. That is, in 3 Ahau.

2137. The Cans appear somewhat consistently on the rebel (Christian) side of the struggle. See also lines 677, 1814, and 2045.

2141. Cab Bech' 'land quail' became lord in 6 Cauac: 1560 or 1612. See also line 2795. Compare Bech' Kab.

2158. Ol Zip could have been born in 1586, in which case he was only thirteen when he was passed over as a successor to his father (see line 1838).

2161. II Cauac 1 Pop (July 17, 1552, or July 4, 1604). See also note 1729 on the pagination of the manuscript.

installed in office and set up with the Fathers of the Land. He was seated in 1604. The four stars of the Fathers of the Land and the moon appeared at the katun festival. The Fathers of the Land took office, taking office with ceremony and drink on November 3, 1604. (2192)

Then came a missionary before whom they danced for God for a Christian festival, being

Ah ca kin pop
Ah ca kin tz'am
Etz'tal
U cah
U luch
Ah okol koh*
U atal
U cah
Ah koh Ba Cab
Ah Can Tzicnal*
Ti cutal ti tun
Ua t u buluc pis tun katun e

Hokan Ah Can Tzicnal

Hokan Ah Can Ek*
Ah sac
Tzi u*
T u kin
T u katunil*
T u ch'aic u bal
Ah Can Tzicnal
Ch'a u cah
T u bel
Ix tol och*
T u kin
U tz'amic
U ci katun*
(Ox Lamat)*
T u buluc te Xul ual e*
U hokol u y anal than

U y anal caan
Ti uil tun
Okot ba ti ku canal
T u kin
Tzayal can

2165 Him of the two-day mat,
Him of the two-day throne,
Setting
The place
Of the gourd
2170 Of those of the weeping masks,
Standing
In the place
Of the masked Fathers of the Land,
The four Honored Ones,
2175 Who come in this tun,
Or in the eleventh measured tun of
the katun.
The four Honored Ones having
appeared,
The four Stars having appeared,
And the Light,
2180 The sacred Moon,
On the day
Of the katun period.
They take office,
The four Honored Ones
2185 Taking their place
On the road
As the impersonators
Of the day
For soaking
2190 The wine of the katun,
(3 Lamat)
On the ninth of Xul again.
There appearing the existence of the
word,
The existence of heaven
2195 In the moon of the tun,
They dance to God on high.
On the day
Of seeking heaven,

2170. It is of interest that the masks of the Ba Cabs weep. Compare line 2348.

2174. Landa 1929: 2: 26 gives *canzicnal* as a god.

2178. The star or planetary associations of the Ba Cabs are not known.

2180. The Ba Cabs may be associated with the moon as a sign of termination (the second half of the *katun*): the first half of the *katun* would then be the sun half. Contrast in the prophecies for the two halves is common.

2182. On the day 5 Ahau.

2187. *Ix tol och* 'actor': the impersonators of the Ba Cabs for the ceremonies.

2190. *Ci* 'wine, sweet', probably honey mead or balche, which is not specifically mentioned in the Tizimin, though wine and drinking are frequent.

2191. Ox Lamat may have been omitted.

2192. 3 Lamat 10 Xul (November 3, 1552, or October 21, 1604). It may be significant that the earlier date falls on the day after All Souls'.

converted to Christian dress as the ruler decreed (as a Christian Maya) for the rest of the katun. (2208)

Then came the East priest Bol Ay and Bol Ay the Younger, producing civil war among the Itza throughout the countryside, which lined up with the native gods on the very day of the katun ceremonies. That brought back the suffering and tribulations of the nobility. There was continuous punishment from beginning to end from ambushes in the countryside, like a great wind of the rain god, sweeping everything before it—the scourge of the land. (2244)

U ch'aic	Of taking on
U y anal	2200 The nature of
U y ex	His pants,
U nok	His clothes,
U y anal ah tem pop	The nature of the step mat lord,
Ah ten tz'am	The step throne lord—
Te u u ich ti caan	2205 There with his eye on heaven
Ti y ahaulil	In the lordship
Lic u talel	As he comes
T u ppat be katun e	To the remainder of the road of the katun,
T u ch'aic u bel	Then take office
Chac Bol Ay	2210 The East priest Bol Ay
Y etel Bol Ai Can	And Bol Ay the Younger.
Chac Bol Ai ul	The East priest Bol Ay arrives,
Ualac hi u ch'a tam ba	Whereupon they seize each other,
Ah Ytza	The Itza,
Tan y ol che	2215 Amongst the trees,
Tan y ol haban	Amongst the bushes.
Ti y alic	He declared
U pixan siyah	His soul born
Tun	To the idol
Chac	2220 Of the rain god
T u kin	On the day
U katunil	Of the katun period.
Num ya uay i	Suffering it is,
Ual u num ya	The return of suffering,
T u cal ya	2225 Filled with pain
U manes	To be endured
Y al	By the born
U mehen	And engendered child,
U xotemal ob kin	The judgments of their day,
U xotemal ob akab	2230 The judgments of their night
T u kin	In the sun
U	And moon
Mul	Of the wasp,
At xux*	The short wasp
T u hool che	2235 In the hole in the tree,
T u hool haban	The hole in the bush.
T u kin u mol tam ba	On that day they collect each other
Y ikil cab	The winds of the earth,
Chac	The rain god
Ba yab	2240 Spirit,
Cat	Clear
Cex	And smooth,
Ah num	Punisher
Ah sas mil e.*	And brightener of the lands.

2234. I read *u xux*. 'Ambush' for 'wasp' is a guess: it seems to fit the following couplet.

2244. I read *sas luumil e*.

12 KAN (1605)

On the twelfth year in 1605 came the message of the Son of God and eternity. Again in the twelfth year there was a universal drought. Penance was imposed of fifty-two years of dancing with tears of joy for God, in the seventh of which katun 5 Ahau ends and there may be war in the west. (2272)

And this year we went back to the towns and villages to get food. The two sun priests officiated, and the new one, Amayte, had thirteen knots counted in

12 Kan (1605)

T u lah um pis tun
 T u kinil
 Lah ca ual Kan
 T u hun te Pop*
 U kinil y alic u than kin
 U than tam ba u kuchil
 U mehen kin
 U mehen akab
 Ualac uil cabal
 Ualac uil canal
 Ti ual
 T u lah ca pis tun
 Elom caan
 Elom luum
 U tz'oc sitz'il
 Ba la ua ma uchom e
 Kin tun y abil
 Lai bin uchebal
 Okot ba ti Hunab Ku
 U y oksah ah tepal cochrom

 Uuc te hab
 Kin tun y abil*
 Bin uakac chal tun
 Bin elec u ku ch'ich'*
 Bin hopoc
 U kab suc te
 T u cal chakan
 T u hem uitz
 Ti tun
 Sutnom
 T u ch'enil
 Ti y ac tunil
 U ch'a pak
 Och
 T u y okot ba ah kin
 T u nup ix e*
 Yax buc e*
 Ox lahun pis u ppic

12 Kan (1605)

2245 On the twelfth measured tun,
 At the time
 Of twelfth Kan
 On the first of Pop,
 The time speaks the word of the day,
 2250 Telling each other of the arrival
 Of the son of day,
 The son of night
 To return the moons of earth,
 To return the moons of heaven,
 2255 Which return
 On the twelfth measured tun.
 Burned the sky,
 Burned the earth.
 The end of desire,
 2260 And nothing may be done then
 But a calendar round.
 What may be done
 Is dancing to the Sole God,
 Eyes streaming for the distributor of
 pleasure,
 2265 The seventh year
 Of the calendar round.
 The cisterns may burst;
 The bird god may be burned.
 Then may flame
 2270 The grass tree branch
 At the pass to the fields
 Between the hills
 On the tun
 That is returned
 2275 To the wells,
 To the springs
 To get the plants
 And food.
 The sun priest danced
 2280 With his mate then.
 New are his clothes.
 And thirteen measures

2248. 12 Kan 1 Pop (July 17, 1553, or July 4, 1605).

2266. Actually the seventh tun of the Itza katun.

2268. The bursting of cisterns is a characteristically apocalyptic Mayan image for the end of a cycle. Burning the bird god ends katun 5 Ahau. See also note 1806.

2280. With his opposite number.

2281. New perhaps because of the completion of the first thirteen years of the katun and the fact that he is the symbol of the new cycle to come.

his sash. Solemnly they made the circuit of the villages again to claim the allegiance of the land, to be sacrificed as rulers and end the disorders. So that was done again in the villages. (2298)

Then came the command of heaven from the Spokesman of God, the one to examine closely the nobility of the Itza. And the sacrifice was performed everywhere, from Zanictiel to Cozumel, in the

Mocol
 U kax nak*
 Amayte u u ich ah kin e*
 Lai bin ocbal
 Tu ch'enil
 (4v) Tu y ac tunil t u ca ten
 Bin kamac u payal chi
 Bin t u y ac tunil
 Bin u cimes u ba

Tu kokolil
 Ah Tem Pop
 Ah Tem Tz'am
 Ti ual u tz'ocol sitz'il

Ti ual u tz'ocol cotz i e

Ca tun sutnac ti y ac tunil
 Tu ch'enil t u ca ten e

T ix tal tun u y anal than

U y anal caan
 Tu than ah noh kin

Chilam
 H ix binac
 H ix maac
 Lai
 Bin ilic
 Tac pach
 Tac tan
 U y alomal
 U mehen Ah Ytza

Tu chac tun
 Num ya ual e
 Ti uchom ual e
 Ti hetz'om
 Tu lumil Sak Nicteil
 Tu petenil Cusamil*

Are the piles,
 The knottings of his sash.
 2285 Amayte was the sun priest;
 There will be the progression
 To the wells,
 To the springs for the second time.
 He goes to take the edge of the shore;
 2290 He goes to the springs;
 He goes that he may have himself
 killed
 At the flaying
 Of the step mat lord,
 The step throne lord,
 2295 Which is the return of the ending of
 desire,
 Which is the return of the ending of
 plucking.
 So then it is repeated at the springs,
 At the wells for the second time
 there.
 And then also there came the nature
 of the word,
 2300 The nature of the sky
 In the word of the priest of the great
 sun,
 The Spokesman.
 He is also to go;
 He is also the person,
 2305 The one
 Coming to see
 Close behind,
 Close before
 The matrilineal
 2310 And patrilineal descendants of the
 Itza,
 At the red stone
 Of sacrifice that is.
 That is what occurred then;
 He has been seated
 2315 In the lands of white flowers,
 In the country of Cozumel.

2284. The successor priest seemingly counts the days by piles (of corn?) and knots in his sash.

2285. Amayte Ku was the priest of the second half of the *katun* (see line 2060). His return to traditionalism matches a resurgence of idolatry at Chancenote in 1605 (Sánchez 1892: 310).

2316. Sacnictiel 'field of white flowers' is located a few kilometers west of Sotuta. Cusamil 'flock of swallows' is the modern Cozumel. The *zac nicte* is *Plumeria alba*, called in Spanish *flor de mayo blanco*. The *cusam* has been identified as *Chaetura* and as *Stelgidopteryx*. Tozzer 1941 calls it a chimney swift.

villages and the fields and before the Fort. And it went on that summer quickly. The Itza commoners again swore loyalty, and the peasants, to the katun prophecy and judgment of the Itza. For it was time in 1605 for the ceremonies establishing the priest and rule of katun 5 Ahau in 1605. (2354)

	<i>Mayapan</i>		Mayapan:
	Uchom ual e		It happened there again
	T u cal ch'en		In the pass of the well,
	T u cal y ac tun		2320 In the pass of the spring
	Tan sacil		Before the whitening
	Chakan		Fields.
	T u kin tz'am coot		At the sun given the ditch,
	T u kin y an paa		At the sun there was a wall,
	Ti ual uchom		2325 Which has returned
	Y okol		And is departing,
	U chanil cab		The beginning of the clothing of the
	U buccanil uitz		earth,
	(.)*		The beginning of the clothing of the
	T u sesebil		hills
	U max kin		(.)
	U max Ah Itza		2330 As quickly as possible,
	Ti ual y alic		The monkeys of the sun,
	U than		The monkeys of the Itza,
	Ix ma yum t u kinil		Who again spoke,
	T u kinil		His word
	T u katunil ual e		2335 And the fatherless of the time too,
	Ti tun u kinil		At the time
	Y alic		Of this <i>katun</i> period again,
	U than		Which was then the time
	U xotemal		He spoke
	U mehen Ah Ytza		2340 His word,
	Bin i		His judgment
	Ua t u kinil		Of the sons of the Itza.
	Ah ho Ahau		It is to be
	T u lah ca pis tun uchom		If it is in the time
	U kulil sum ci		2345 When 5 Ahau
	U chan katun u cheeh koh che*		And the twelfth measured <i>tun</i> occurred:
	Can etz'lic u luch		The arranging of the maguey rope,
	Can etz'lic u lac		The little <i>katun</i> of the laughing
	Can etz'lic u xeec		wooden mask.
	T u katunil		He is placing his gourd,
	Ah ho Ahau		2350 He is placing his bowl;
	T u lah ca pis ual e.		He is placing his seat
			In the <i>katun</i> period
			Of 5 Ahau
			On the twelfth measured <i>tun</i> again.

13 MULUC (1606)

In the thirteenth year 1606

13 Muluc (1606)

T u y ox lahun pis tun
U kinil

13 Muluc (1606)

2355 On the thirteenth measured *tun*
Was the time

2329. Line missing.

2348. Compare the weeping masks of the Ba Cabs, line 2170.

began, and the next day was the overthrow of the ruler. In the thirteenth year of the katun they divided in four the remainder of the katun to the end. Both drink and food were collected at the katun ceremonies of 5 Ahau. (2379)

Like Mumul Ain, who took charge in the year 1445, they will bring back the East priest Cul Tun of Merida to Valladolid and throughout the country. And the katun ceremonies will be held throughout the Itza

Ti ox hun Muluc*	Of 13 Muluc
Ti hun te Pop	On the first of Pop.
Ti hunil Oc*	The first Oc
U kin u tepal	
Ca bin emom pop e	2360 Is the day of his rule.
Emom tz'am e	Then the mat will be lowered,
Y ox lahun pis	And the throne will be lowered.
Katun ual e	The thirteenth measure
T u kinil mul tepal	Of this <i>katun</i> ,
T u yala tepal canil	2365 At the time of pile division,
Hunacil u luch	The remainder of the rule was four,
Hunacil u lac	The completion of his gourd,
Uchebal	The completion of his plate
U mumul chitic	For the fulfillment
U tzotz haa*	2370 Of the piling up and filling
U ppuyul	Of tots of water,
U xelet	Of fragments
Yala uah	And crumbs
Yala u tzotz	Of remaining food,
Bin u mumul chit e	2375 Of remaining tots,
T u kinil	Which will all be piled up and filled
T u katunil	At the time
Ho Ahau ual e	In the <i>katun</i> period
Ti hokan	Of 5 Ahau's return,
Chac	2380 On the appearance
Mumul Ain	Of the East priest
Ca culhi	Mumul Ain
Ti y ahaulil	When he was seated
Ti ho habnal	In the lordship
Tok katun*	2385 In the fifth year period
Uay i	Of the flint <i>katun</i> .
Ual uchom	That's it:
Chac	There returned
Na Cul Tun*	The East priest
Ich Can Si Ho	2390 Cul Tun
Ti Sacl Ac Tun	Of Heaven Born Merida,
Tan chakan	To Valladolid
T u pucsikal peten	In the middle of the fields,
T u kin	In the heart of the country
U tuch'ub katun	2395 On the day
Y okol u petenil Ah Ytza	Of the gourds of the <i>katun</i>
Uchom te	Over the country of the Itza
	Which occurred there,

2357. 13 Muluc 1 Pop (July 17, 1554, or July 4, 1606).

2359. 1 Oc 2 Pop is the next day.

2371. Tzotz is unknown to me in this context. Barrera 1948: 180 has 'sobras de agua', which makes sense.

2386. See note 1806. The year would be 1445.

2390. Cul Tun 'shrub stone', the East priest at Merida in 1554.

land, cursing Christianity. That may or may not happen. That is the word for you peasants.

(2408)

Tan chakan
 Bin u tzacl e
 U mehen kin
 U mehen akab
 H ix uchac
 H ix ma uchac
 Lei
 A than
 C ech ah mab na e
 C ech ah mab yum e.

I Ix (1607)

In 1607, the fourteenth year, the civil war resumed with Uayab Xoc. There was fire and shark divining of the mysteries, and prediction by storms, astronomy, second sight, and eclipses during 1607. It was a

I Ix (1607)

(5r) T u can lahun pis
 U hun te Pop*
 T u can lahun tun u kinil
 T u katunil
 Ual ci u xixtic u ba
 Ah xixteel ul Chac Uayab Xoc
 T u kin u ti tzay kak*
 U tzai ne xoc
 Lai ual tzailic
 Ca tzay i
 Ti caan
 Ti moyal
 T u kinil
 Yuklah chaan
 T u kinil u macal u u ich kin
 U macal u u ich u
 (Ti ual uchom)*
 T u can lahun tun ual e

In the middle of those fields,
 2400 Which will be the cursing
 Of the son of day,
 The son of night.
 That also may occur,
 That also may not occur.
 2405 That then
 Is the word for you
 Ye motherless
 And ye fatherless.

I Ix (1607)

On the fourteenth measure
 2410 On the first of Pop,
 On the fourteenth *tun* is the time
 In the *katun* period.
 There remains being made to fight
 oneself.
 The fighters arrive with the East
 priest Uayab Xoc
 2415 At the time of seeking fire,
 Of seeking shark tails.
 That is the return of seeking things,
 When one seeks then
 In the sky,
 2420 In storms,
 Sun phases,
 Far seeing,
 At the time of covering of the face of
 the sun,
 Of covering of the face of the moon,
 2425 (Which recurred)
 On the fourteenth *tun* again.

2410. 1 Ix 1 Pop (July 16, 1555, or July 3, 1607). This is the reference date for the correlation of the Mayan and Christian calendars from 1539 to 1555. The leap year correction is ignored, and one always looks ahead to the next year 1 Ix, which is a day that began on July 16. Thus Landa was told correctly that the Mayan new year fell on Sunday, July 16, 1553. And Thompson 1958 was correct in giving July 17 as the date because he was counting days completed, like a Classic Maya; Landa's informants were colonial. After 1555 the reference date shifts to fifty-two years later—1607—and is again pegged to July 16. But the Maya would have added (or subtracted from the Christian date) an additional correction of thirteen days (the number of Ix or leap years in the fifty-two-year cycle). See, however, line 2980, which uses a different reference year, 1 Kan (see Edmonson 1976). The year 1 Ix also marks the shift of the ceremonial cycle to the west and to the color black.

2415. There follows a series of references to forms of divination: by fire, by sharks' tails, by the stars, by the sun, by storms, by clairvoyance, and by eclipses. A resurgence of idolatry at Tizimin is reported for 1607 (Sánchez 1892: 270, 311), as well as a rain of blood at Cupul and Valladolid.

2425. Text for missing line suggested by Roys n.d.

year of dissipation, adults and children suffering alike. (2432)

The governor was overthrown and put out of office, and the town was destroyed by Uayab Xoc at the pyramids, and no one attended the ceremonies at the right time. Even the commemoration of the Itza was skipped. The northwest united the hill lineages again in 1607—a time of suffering, a time of peasant revolt in the towns and villages. According to the prediction in the glyphs, either the

Satan xiuit*

T u men u coch e

Num chi t u na

Num ch t u yum

Numen chu

Numen celem

Satan yala

Hal ach uinic

Mananhom u hel

Mananhom u hel kan

Satal u cah

T u ch'aah

Chac

Uayab Xooc

T u kin mul tun ya

Mul tun tzek

Ma mac bin

Ca tz'ab

T u kin chaan

T u katunil ual e

Mananhom uil yala

U xotemal Ah Ytza

Ualac xaman

Ualac uil chikin

U nupp tam ba chibalnom tun

U bobil uitz*

Ti ual uchom

T u can lahun tun ual e

U num ya kin

U num ya katun

Emom xulab

Emom chac uay ah cab

Paic t u ch'enel

Ti y ac tunil

Uchom

Bai c u y alic kulen

Tz'ib

Y etel uooh

Ualac t u can lahun tun

Y uchul uac satai ba tabil*

Destroyed is the year

By pleasure:

Suffering mouth for the mother,

2430 Suffering mouth for the father;

Suffer girls,

Suffer boys.

Destroyed is the residue

Of the governor.

2435 Already past is his change;

Already past is his change of office,

Destroying the town

He had seized,

The East priest

2440 Uayab Xoc

On the day of the pyramid of pain,

Of the stone pyramid.

No one goes

When it is given

2445 On the seen day,

On the return of the *katun* period.

Already past is the moon of the

remainder

Of the judgment of the Itza

To return to the north,

2450 To return to the west.

They join together the descendants of the *tun*,

The stalks of the hills,

Which recurred

In this fourteenth *tun* again,

2455 The day of suffering,

The *katun* of suffering.

Descended are the stingers

Descended are red were bees,

Attracted to the wells,

2460 To the springs,

Occurring

According to what is in the arrangement

Of the writing

And glyphs.

2465 It was to return in this fourteenth *tun*

Or was to occur at the need of the

chiefs,

2427. *Xihuitl* 'year', a rare Nahuatlism in Yucatec, is particularly rare in calendrical matters.

2452. The stalks of the hills are the Xiu lineages of the Puuc, the only hills in Yucatan.

2466. The ambiguity suggested in line 2426 is repeated here. The governor was replaced either because the priests certified that the fourteenth year was the

(note continued on following page)

priests or the captains replaced the governors, (2468)

2 CAUAC (1608)

In the fifteenth year, 1608, the last quarter of 5 Ahau petered out and was wrapped up with the vigil of the successor, the custodian of offices. On his last day, Sun Eye of the Cross appeared and spoke, and the half-katun priest departed to settle in the west. (2496)

But the new priest was afraid to take office because of the violence in the countryside and

U mumuk hal ach uinic
T u can lahun tun ual e.

2 Cauac (1608)

T u ho hun te
U kinil
Ah cabil Cauac
T u hun te Pop*
U chek tam ba katun
T u lah u than Ah ho Ahau
Emom u taa
Emom u toon*
Hokan tab
Hokan halal
T u hoo lhun tun ual e*
U kin u pacat cot
Ich ah tzai kan che
Ah hai kin bak
Ah toc
Ah tz'utz'lah i
U kinil u muxul tun
U muxul kan
T u kin u tuctal
Halal
Hokan Kin Ich Chaan Te

Kin Ich t u than
Buluc Ch'ab Tan
Bin i
Uil letz'nac
U ch'ibal
Y okol u tz'ulil cab
U bucchanil uitz e
Ma u ch'a u matan
Ix ti ti be
T u kin che
Tun cimil
Hatz'cab u cah
Hatz'cabnah i
Ix cahcunab
Xe kik

The renewal of the governors
In this fourteenth tun again.

2 Cauac (1608)

In the fifteenth tun
2470 At the time of
Second Cauac
On the first of Pop,
The *katuns* pace each other.
Completed is the word of 5 Ahau;
2475 Descended is his word;
Descended is his secret.
There appeared the tying up;
There appeared the edging
On this return of the fifteenth tun,
2480 The day of the eagle-eyed watch
Of the seeker of the throne,
The coiler of four hundred days,
The Burner,
The Sucking of the time
2485 Of the total of the days,
The total of the offices.
On the day of the fulfillment
Of the truth
There appeared Sun Eye of the Little
Tree.
2490 Sun Eye spoke.
The 11 priest Ch'ab Tan
Departed then,
Settled his moon,
His perch
2495 Over the budding land,
Beginning to clothe those hills.
He did not take his request,
And shook with fear then
On the day of wood
2500 And stone death,
Pounding on his place
And then having pounded,
Also beginning to initiate
Blood vomit.

(note continued from preceding page)

correct time or because the village headmen (*ba tabil*) decided upon it. The author of the prophecy isn't sure which.

* 2472. 2 Cauac 1 Pop (July 16, 1556, or July 3, 1608).

2476. The text implies 'descended is his shit, descended are his balls'. This must have surprised the copyist but he wrote it anyway—repeatedly. In another passage (line 3885) he did get it right: *ox kax u than* 'three divisions are their word'. *Toon* means both 'testicles' and 'secret'.

2479. I read *hoo lahun*.

the attacks and plague that afflicted the end of 5 Ahau. At the beginning of 1608 Itzas were being tortured. The next day the cycle was announced, and the prophecy of the repetition of the katun cycle of the year-bearers, the Fathers of the Land: the definitive announcement for 1608. And there was a ceremony of renewal for the last quarter katun, and the priest did penance and accepted punishment to see if he deserved the priesthood. (2540)

Lai u munal	2505	That was the slavery,
U kax cuch katun		The tying of the burden of the <i>katun</i> ,
Ti ho Ahau katun		Which was the 5 Ahau <i>katun</i> ,
U habil ual e		That year again
T u hun te uil katun		At the first moon of the <i>katun</i> ,
Hun te uil ti hab		
U pac ob Ah Itza	2510	The first moon of the year
(5v) Kaxan ti che		Of the beating of the Itzas
U ca kin		Tied to trees.
U co katun		
May		The second day
Ual y ohel		Of the cycling <i>katun</i>
U ximbalt kin	2515	The cycle
U ximbalte akab		And return are known.
Sutnac		The probable course of the days,
Ual u pucsikal		The probable course of the nights,
T u men u co katun		Having returned
Ti u col can gel*	2520	The repetition of its heart
Ah Can Tzicnal		By the cycling <i>katun</i>
Ba Cab		By the turning of the four changers
Talel u cah		The four Honored Ones,
U tz'ocol than		Fathers of the Land
T u kin	2525	Coming to begin
Ua cabil Cauac		And end the word
Ti y uchul yuk ba		On the day—
Nom Cab*		Or second Cauac—
Ti tal i		That was to occur the drinking of mole
U pacax	2530	And partridge honey—
Emel katun		Who came
U katun ix tol och		To reseed
U munal		The declining <i>katun</i>
U tzacil		And the <i>katun</i> of the impersonators,
U baxal katun	2535	The slavery,
Bin u nat e		The cursing,
Ua y an ah kin		The beating of the <i>katun</i> .
Ua tz'acan u pixan la e.*		It will be known then
	2540	Whether there is a sun priest,
		Whether this has cured his soul.

3 KAN (1609)

The sixteenth year was the beginning of the end: 1609.

3 Kan (1609)

T u uac lahun tun
T u kinil i uil

3 Kan (1609)

In the sixteenth *tun*,
In the sun of the moon,

2522. *Cangel* is a curious but frequent aberration. As far as I can recall, it represents the only use of the letter *g* in Maya. I read it as *can hel* 'four changers' (as it is often written), but note that it may also be seen as *c angel* 'our angels', and I suspect the later colonial Maya thought about it that way too. Either way, these are the yearbearers, Burners, Chacs, Ba Cabs, and presumably the preconquest Pauah Tuns as well, though the latter are not mentioned in the Tizimin.

2530. See note 2856.

2540. Penance and vigils were standard measures of the legitimacy and worth of priests, along with knowledge of the esoteric lore.

Land titles ended, and the new ruler was designated and punished secretly in 1609, because the rule was rotating to the west from the east and north lineages. (2556)

Subdued were the Itza warriors at the time of the feast for the installation of the ruler. He wept as he started into the wilderness to demonstrate his authority, initiating his priestly and secular power as priest of 3 Ahau. And he changed the pol-

	Ti Ah oxil Kan T u hun te Pop* U kax cuch katun* He x y ahaulil cabob	That was third Kan On the first of Pop, 2545 The tying of the burden of the <i>katun</i> That was also the lordship of the lands.
	Kaxan u u ich Ti ualac y ahaulil	Tied was the face Of him who was to return the lordship.
	Ma mac bin thanic U baxal katun*	No one will tell 2550 Of the beating of the <i>katun</i>
	T u kinil Oxil Kan*	At the time Of third Kan,
	Colbom Y ekel	It having been turned To blackness.
	Chac bob Sac bob	2555 Red stalk, White stalk.
	Hotz'om y ich'ac Hotz'om u co	Pulled were the claws, Pulled the madness
	U balmil Ah Ytza	Of the Jaguars
	Manac T u kin	2560 Of the Itza, This having occurred
	Chac bul hail Chac bul ik	On the day Of red bean soup, Red bean chile,
	Hokan U u ich ku	2565 And there having appeared The face of god
	T ah pop T ah tz'am	In him of the mat, In him of the throne.
	Y oklal tal U cah u binel	Because he came
	T u che T u tunich	2570 To begin his journey In the trees, In the rocks,
	U pacte U kohbal*	That he may manifest His being endowed with the mask,
	Binel u cah u luch U kan che	2575 Going along to begin his gourd, His yellow throne,
	Binel u cah u pop T u ch'ab e	Going along to begin his mat, Which has been taken.
	Be Ah ox Ahau ual e Ti tal i	So 3 Ahau it is again 2580 Who comes.

2544. 3 Kan 1 Pop (July 16, 1557, or July 3, 1609).

2545. Tying the burden is a ritual symbol of termination of office for gods and men. In this sixteenth year of the *katun*, land titles were suspended, and the struggle over who had the right to renew them dominates the rest of the *katun*.

2550. The penance of the *katun* priest was particularly severe, presumably as a consequence of the dissension.

2552. Here finally the ceremonial cycle usually associated with the thirteen numbers is shifted to the west (black) from the east (red) and north (white) lineages (stalks). The shift is two years late, which may be due to additional calendrical disagreements. See also note 2410.

2574. The Jaguar priest made his ceremonial circuit masked.

icy and priesthood of the katun, shifting the priesthood and the lordship to the northwest. So in 1609 the lands reverted to the lord of the katun, and the lordship of 5 Ahau was suspended around 1609. (2598)

4 MULUC (1610)

1610 was the application deadline for public office. They marked the end and awaited the end of the katun with drinking and sacrifices at the

U y anal ahaulil
U hel than
U hel ah kin
T u hel tam ba katun
Talel u cah u helic u luch
U helic u laac
U hel
Y ahaulil
Ualac xaman
Ualac chikin*
Ti to
T u uac lahun tun
U sut u petenil
Ti y ahaulil katun
Ti to ualac y ahaulil
Ah ho Ahau ual e
Tac pach
Tac tan ual e.*

4 Muluc (1610)

T u uuc lahun tun
Ti ca Muluc*
U kuchul u kinil
U tzai katun
T u kin mumul
Uil katun
U ti al u mucul
Uiil katun
U kuchul u kinil
Sac hail*
Ah baac
Balam habil
Mul tun tzek
(Mul tun ya)*
Ah ox kokol tzek*
Ah mis peten
Kin tun y abil*
Ma ya cimlal*

The nature of the lordship
Is the change of the word,
The change of the sun priest.
The katuns exchange each other,
2585 Coming to begin to change his gourd,
To change his plate.
The change
Of the lordship
To return to the north,
2590 To return to the west.
At that,
In the sixteenth tun
He returns his country
To the lordship of the katun.
2595 At that he is to return to the lordship
Of 5 Ahau again:
Shortly after
Or shortly before, that is.

4 Muluc (1610)

In the seventeenth tun
2600 On 4 Muluc
Was the arrival of the time
Of the seeking of the katun
At the time of piling up
The moon of the katun,
2605 So as to await
The moon of the katun,
The arrival of the time
Of white water,
A bone
2610 And jaguar year.
The ruin
(. . . .)
Three stone rattles
Sweepers of the country
2615 The calendar round
Painless death

2590. Further evidence that the struggle of the period was between the northwest (Merida and Uxmal) and the northeast (Emal and perhaps Zozt'il).

2598. That is, shortly after 1609 and shortly before the end of katun 5 Ahau in 1618.

2600. 4 Muluc 1 Pop (July 16, 1558, or July 3, 1610). The manuscript has *ca* for *can*.

2608. *Sac hail* 'white liquid' I assume to be a holy (white) drink.

2612. Line missing, possibly *mul tun ya* 'pyramid of pain'.

2613. *Ox kokol tzek* recurs every thirteen years. See 4 Kan, line 1699.

2615. *Kin tun y abil* 'day-tun-year period' is the time when the 260-day, 360-day, and 365-day counts come out even. Thus it may refer either to 52 years (*hab*) and 72 *tzol kins* or to 72 years and 73 *tuns*. The three cycles coincide only once in 3,744 years, and the expression appears to be used in the Tizimin to mean "maximal cycle," hence the 52-year calendar round.

2616. *Ma ya cimlal* 'no pain killing' could be etymologized as 'Maya death' and
(note continued on following page)

pyramid, scouring the forest for human sacrifices with fasting and ceremony. They decimated the villages to the south and the people on the roads. There was mourning everywhere, ending the half katun on January 2, 1611, precisely. The period ended with the ancestor rites. Three years of death and destruction is the ceremonial duty, fate, and fulfillment of the seventeenth year. (2642)

These are the sevenfold glyph

T u kinil ukah	In the time of thirst,
T u kinil uiyh	In the time of fasting
Bin manac ha	The water will be gone
Bi tycinac sayab ob	2620 The springs will be dissipated
U noholil	In the southern
Luum	Lands
Bin kiknac be	The roads will be bloody,
Bin kiknac heleb	The stops will be bloody
Auatnom bul	2625 Mourning bowls
Cum t u hol cah*	And gourds at the entrance to towns.
Buluc Ch'ab Tan	The 11 priest Ch'ab Tan,
Buluc te ti Chuen*	The eleventh of Chuen
U u ich	Is its face
T u tepal	2630 Exactly.
Okom ku	Gone is the god
Okom bal cah	Gone is the world
Ti tun u kahsic u na	In the <i>tun</i> of remembering one's
(6r) U yum*	One's father.
Ox uutz' katun u cimi e	2635 Three folds of <i>katuns</i> of this death
Sati e	This destruction
Bin y alan che	Will be under the trees,
Y alan haban e*	Under the bushes,
T u men u than kin	Because the word of the day,
U kahlai	2640 The word of history
Bin uchebal	Will be accomplished
Ti uuc lahun tun	In the seventeenth <i>tun</i> .
Bay i li ichil uuc tz'ocab uooh*	Thus only in seven steps of glyph
Tz'ab u xoc ob	Are given the counts

(note continued from preceding page)

has been so interpreted. It is relevant to note that the preceding expression *kin tun y abil* could be rendered 'sun stone sickness', a pun which cannot be ruled out. I believe in any case that 'painless death' means sacrifice and have so interpreted it throughout (see line 5269). It is very frequently, but not always, associated with the year or the calendar round. Aside from this expression, the word "Maya" does not occur in the Tizimin until the eighteenth century.

2626. I have no ethnographic warrant for mourning bowls at the entrances to towns. Votive mounds of stones were found at the entrances to Quiche towns in Guatemala.

2628. 11 Chuen 3 Zac (February 3, 1559, or January 21, 1611) would be the only occurrence of this date within a year 4 Muluc. In 1559 this was the day after Camas. The real date of the mid *katun* was 4 Ahau 2 Zip in 1608, Mayapan-style.

2634. Commemoration of ancestors. See also note 1700.

2638. The tree and the arbor are attributes of the direction gods in the *Ritual the Bacabs*. See Roys 1965.

2643. The word *tz'ocab* is not a classifier. It follows that there is more than one glyph to a 'step', but there is no way of knowing how many more. Nor is it clear how much of the preceding text is covered by seven 'steps' of glyphs: the forty-four lines of the 4 Muluc prophecy? the seventeen years from 1593 to 1610. It is not even clear that 'steps' are standard units. I am inclined to guess that one 'step' may be a "fold" in a codex-style book, and from the length of the exegesis on glyphs that follows I would suppose that the reference is to the whole of the preceding chapter. Also see lines 5435 ff.

accounts of Puc Tun, the Spokesman of Hun Uitzil of Uxmal, the translation of the glyphs of the earlier priest Kauil Ch'el, who saw it as an obligation of the Spokesmen of the Jaguar from the gods and as a sign of class warfare. Penance is the advice of the glyph. There is also a personage depicted as a Christian warning of poverty and starvation. So the glyphs say. (2676)

Ah kin Chilam
 Y etel ah kin Na Puc Tun*
 U h ah kin Hun Uitzil*
 Chac Uxmal
 Lai u hoksay
 T u uooh anahte
 T u than ah kin Ch'el*

 Yax nat e
 Ti y ilah
 Licil u lubul koch
 Lai alab ti ob
 Chilam Balam
 T u men Hunab Ku
 Ox lahun ti ku
 Lai bin
 Lub bal
 Sinic
 Balam Habil
 Hun
 Coyol
 Y ubil ual e
 T u than uoh
 Ix binac h ix maac
 Xan uai
 Y okol chapat che
 Ua ix ma uchac t oon e
 Uchom ix y okol uah
 Ua ix y okol haa
 Y oklal ox koch*
 U than katun la e
 Bai chican ichil uooh katun

 Ychil anahte.*

5 Ix (1611)

Then occurred the return to the center at Mayapan and the

Uai ual t u xaman cab
 T u nohol cab
 Uai tan cah
 Mayapan

2645 Of the sun priest Spokesman
 And the sun priest Puc Tun
 Sun priest of Hun Uitzil,
 The rain priest of Uxmal.
 This is the explanation
 2650 To the glyphs of the paper
 In the words of the sun priest Kai
 Ch'el,
 The first to know it,
 Who saw it
 As a signal of the debt.
 2655 This was told to them,
 The Spokesmen of the Jaguar,
 By the Sole God,
 The 13 Gods.
 That then
 2660 Will be the sign of something:
 An ant
 And jaguar year period.
 Silence
 And abstention
 2665 Is the news again:
 The glyph has spoken.
 Also to go on there is also a person
 There too
 Over the centipede tree,
 2670 And if it is not to happen to us
 There did occur also begging bread
 Or also begging water,
 Lamenting the breadnut and gourd
 Is the word of this *katun*.
 2675 Thus it is shown in the glyph of the
katun
 In the paper.

5 Ix (1611)

This is the return from the north country
 To the south country
 That is the capital,
 2680 Mayapan

2646. Puc Tun 'hill stone' was a Xiu prophet of 5 Ahau (1598) at Uxmal.
 2647. Hun Uitzil 'one hummingbird', East priest and governor of Uxmal in 5 Ahau (1598). I read *u y ah kin*.
 2651. Kauil Ch'el was a notable prophet of 9 Ahau (1559). We appear to have a namesake here, especially if, as I suppose, the present text was written in 3 Ahau.
 2673. The Maya had a recurrent theory that they were destined to pay tribute to the Spanish only for a limited time. See also note 5290.
 2676. The allusion to postconquest glyphic writing seems quite clear. *Anahte* 'book' from Nahuatl *amatl* 'paper' and Maya *te* 'tree'.

conversion of *Cha Pat* and the conversion of *Ol Zip*, at the beginning of 1611, toward the end of 5 Ahau. (2692)

Then was the enslavement of *Cap Uah* of *Tayasal*, causing dissension, and the priests ended the ceremony by inaugurating *Uuc Het* in 1611. Back in exile with a Spanish saint to protect the lake, abandoned by

Ti uil manabtic u ba
Ah Uuc Cha Pat*
T ix uil u manabtic u ba

Ah Uuc y Ol Sip ual e.*
T u kuchul
U cuch kinil
Ah ho Hix*
T u uaxac lahun tun
U hitz'il katun ual e
T u kin u kaxal
U cuch
Ah ho Ahau
Ti tun u munal
(Ti tun u munal)*
Ah Cap Uah*
Tun holom t u cal ya

Auatnom pax che
Thannom tan y ol ha*
Hach u kin
U ch'eeh tam ba
U cah ix tol och
Ti tal i
U hel ep than i
U cumtal ti ahaulil
Ah Uuc Het
Lai u than
T u uaxac lahun pis
Ti ual
U sutup peten
U pacahtal Ah Itza
Bin ual ximbalnac koh

Cib uinlis
He uac hitz'hal u than
Tan chumuc haa

In the moon of the self-transformation
Of the 7 priest *Cha Pat*
That was also the moon of the self-transformation
Of the 7 priest *Ol Zip* again,
2685 On the arrival
Of the burden of the time
Of 5 Ix
In the eighteenth *tun*,
The ending of the *katun* again
2690 On the day of the tying
Of the burden
Of 5 Ahau,
In the *tun* of his slavery,
In the *tun* of the slavery
2695 Of the stuffer of tamales,
Tun of completion of the filling of pain,
Lamented by the wooden drum
Spoken in the middle of the water.
Greatly they hurt
2700 And beat each other,
And the impersonators started
And came
And finally closed the word,
The inauguration into the lordship
2705 Of *Uuc Het*.
That is the word
On the eighteenth measure
Which is the return
Back to the country:
2710 The chastisement of the *Itza*.
There will have been the parading of the mask,
The human figure of wax
That may be worshiped
In the middle of the water

2682. Initially I thought this might refer to the Gregorian reform of the Christian calendar, promulgated by the pope in 1582, but the chronology of the Tizimin remains Julian at least down to Corpus Christi of 1629. Indeed, the only Gregorian dates in the Tizimin belong to the middle nineteenth century. Also see line 3116 and the notes to chapter 24.

2684. *Ol Zip* had attempted to play a conciliatory role in the religious struggle. He now became Christian.

2687. 5 Ix 1 Pop (July 15, 1559, or July 2, 1611).

2694. Line crossed out in the manuscript.

2695. *Cap Uah* 'stuff tamales,' possibly a personal name.

2698. It is almost impossible to find a place "in the middle of the water" on the Yucatan Peninsula. The reference is quite likely to Lake Peten. See also line 2714. But Lake Bacalar cannot be ruled out. *Tan Xuluc Mul* is mentioned by name in other *Books of Chilam Balam*. See Bricker 1981 for a discussion of the Peten *Itza* embassy to Merida in 1614.

the Maya lords, Cap Uah spread the new religion and worship and new calendar and customs, destroying the wooden idols of 11 Ahau and destroying even the metal idols, because of two days' drinking and a riot. And when they got back to the towns and villages the respected nobles were seized and beaten. The return of the Itza was a disaster. They suffered penance in fulfillment of the oath of office but also at the desire of the villages. (2750)

And heaven and earth were moved by the rumors of the eastern lineages in the towns and villages. And the lord of the katun just sat there because

Ppatbe u cah
Satai ahaulil
Ch'ehel u than
Ti tal i
Y utzil ahaulil
Uatal u cah
U hel u luch
U hel u nok
Ti uchac hatz'hal
Bom koh che
He tun
Buluc Ahau e*
T u kin u salam pop
U paclam pacat
Koh che cheehnom
Koh che mascab

T u menel ti ca kin cii
Ox kin chanal
T u kin
U sutup
T u ch'enil
Ti y ac tunil
Uchom u ch'a tam ba
Mehentzil*
He boh t u tzelec
U pacax ha
U than y oklal kuch i

T u kinil u sutup Ah Itza
Likul t u cal ya
T u cal ukah
Bai ual
Bin ualak nahbal
U kat
(6v) U cuchil
U y anal
Ix y ac tunil
Ti uchom u pec can
Ti uchom u pec luum
Humnon ix Chac
Ix Chu Ah*
T u ch'enil
Ti y ac tunil
Tan u cucul it
Koh che

2715 Or whose place may be abandoned,
 Needing the lordship,
 Broadcasting the word
 That is coming,
 The goodness of the lordship

2720 2720 Standing in the place
 Of the change of the gourd,
 The change of the clothes,
 Where may occur the beating,
 The end of the wooden mask,

2725 2725 Which is then
 On 11 Ahau,
 On the day of the dried mat,
 The pounded flat look
 At the wooden mask,

2730 2730 The hammered wooden mask of
 metal,
 Because it is the second day of wine,
 The third day of rioting.
 At the time
 Of the return

2735 2735 To the wells
 To the springs
 Occurred the seizing each other
 Of the honored sons,
 That is beating on the legs,

2740 2740 The reseeding of water,
 The speaking of lamentation for the
 arrival
 Of the time of the return of the Itza,
 Arising at the pass of pain,
 The pass of thirst.

2745 2745 Thus is the return
 Or else the fulfillment
 Of the desire
 Of the burden
 Of his existence—

2750 2750 Also of the springs
 Which occurred moving heaven,
 Which occurred moving earth.
 Hummed both Chacs
 And Chu Uahs

2755 2755 At the wells,
 At the springs,
 And he just sat on his ass,
 The wooden mask,

2726. A day rather than a *katun*: 11 Ahau 7 Pop (July 21, 1559, or July 8, 1611).

2738. The noble factions attacked each other.

2754. I believe Chac to be a Xiu and Chu and Uah to be Itza lineage names.

of the northeast war, the true sacrificer of the katun. (2762)

T u men chac uen co
Sac uen co
Ah maben tok
U chan katun.

6 CAUAC (1612)

In 1612 they broke off and went back to sacrificing the priests over the lordship of 3 Ahau by the sea. Various lords in the female line caused the destruction of Quetzalcoatl in the plague of the final year. (2788)

The priesthood being open, it was seized by Cab Bech' in the last year of the katun. Cab

6 Cauac (1612)

Uacil Cauac*
Ti bolon hun tun
U kuchul u kinil
Pailam kab
Ti ual
T u kin
T u yabil ual e
Ma ya cimlal
Y etel u hach
Pik tam ba
Ah Uuc Te Cuy
Y etel Ah Chac Mitan Ch'oc*
T u kokol
Box katun
Ti uchom
T u chi kaknab
Lai Ah Ma Suy
Sitz'om Tun*
Chac Hubil Ahau*
Sihom al
Lai
U kin uch
C u sin
Choch Kukul Can
T u katunil
U cucul it
Ah chichic sot ti tun
U chichic sot katun i*
Ti hokan
U ch'a u matan
Ca bin u Bech' Kab
Ti
T u bolon hun tun
U kin u chichic sot katun

Because of red sleep madness,
2760 White sleep madness,
Chest knife
And tooth of the *katun*.

6 Cauac (1612)

Sixth Cauac
In the nineteenth *tun*
2765 Was the arrival of the time
Of separated hands,
Which is the return
To the day
Of this year again,
2770 Painless death.
And they propose
To remove each other,
The 7 priest Te Cuy
And the East priest Mitan Ch'oc
2775 In the smear
Of the black *katun*.
Which occurred
At the edge of the sea:
Ma Zuy,
2780 Zitz'om Tun,
And the East priest Hub Ahau,
The born children.
That then
Is the day occurring
2785 That flattens
And levels Kukul Can
In the *katun* period
Of runny asses,
The priest of the full swelling in the
tun,
2790 Of the full swollen *katun*,
Who appeared
To take his request.
Then Bech' is going
For it
2795 In the nineteenth *tun*,
The time of the full swollen *katun*,

2763. 6 Cauac 1 Pop (July 15, 1560, or July 2, 1612).

2774. These sound like pejorative names for the two factions, Christian and Maya respectively: 7 Te Cuy 'tree hex' and Chac Mitan Ch'oc 'red plague rot'. They could also be personal names with titles.

2780. Ma Zuy is also associated with Tz'itz'om Tun in 13 Ahau (1539).

2781. Chac Hubil Ahau 'red snail lord' is not otherwise mentioned in the Tizimin.

2790. The nearly completed *katun*.

Bech' came to the lake and caused chaos among the nobility. Sodomites and liars exhausted 1612. Copal was collected for the god for the ceremony of the end of the katun. The insignia were taken by Uayab Xoc of Emal and P'iz Te

Nak tam ba u than Cabil Bech'
 Y etel ix tan y ol haa*
 U ch'ab u matan coil
 Ch'ab coil
 U coil mehen
 Y al
 U mehen tzintzin*
 Coc xul
 Ma ix tan y al u than
 Ua bin laac t u kinil
 Ti y abil
 Uacil Cauac
 U uatal chic che
 Numen y ol
 Amaite Ku u u ich
 Ca sutz'
 Y okol yax che
 Yaxum pul
 Y okol uil
 U xotemal katun
 Paibehom ppus
 Paibehom koh
 Pachalhom Chac Uayab Xoc
 Hokom ah ppis te*

Approaching each other the words of Cab Bech'
 And the middle of the water,
 Creating the reign of madness,
 Creating madness,
 2800 Creating
 The madness of the engendered
 And born children,
 The sons of sodomy,
 Ass buggers.
 2805 For there is no weight to his word
 If that is all of his time
 In the year
 Of sixth Cauac,
 The collection of graceful trees
 2810 To inform the spirit
 Of Amayte Ku
 When he is stopped
 Over the ceiba,
 The dove guayaba,
 2815 Over the moon
 And judgment of the katun.
 The humps having been separated,
 The masks having been separated,
 Having backed up the East priest
 Uayab Xoc;
 2820 There having appeared P'iz Te

2798. Possibly a personal name but more likely a place-name personification of the leader of the Peten Itza, Can Ek, who is not mentioned by name in the Tizimin.

2803. *Tzintzin* from Nahuatl *tzintli* 'anus'. "Sodomist" is a frequent colonial insult. The modern Maya lean toward insulting mothers.

2820. *Ah p'is te* 'measuring stick', a personage, but the designation may be a title rather than a name. The town of P'is Te is a few kilometers west of Chichen Itza.

Mayan ideas of measurement are closely linked to the use of numeral classifiers, of which the language provides an almost indefinite number. The generic units are a measure (*p'iz*) or a count (*och*, *tzol*, *xoc*).

Linear distance is measured by the knuckle (*p'uc*, *pic*), palm (*nab*), span from thumb to forefinger (*mab*), foot (*oc*), forearm (*kok*), waist (*xoc*), pace (*chek*), arm span (*zap*), and man's length (*ualah*). Larger units are the *mac* of about 24 meters, blowgun shot (*tz'on*), shout (*auat*), post or rest (*lub*), and sleep (*uay*). Horizontal distances are conceived of in length (*uat*, *uac*) and width (*hat*); vertical distance, conceived of as a matter of levels (*kaz*, *xay*), is measured by the rise or step (*eb*, *tem*) or fall (*hom*).

Area concepts include the square (*am*) and circle (*pet*). Agricultural land is measured by the rope or *cuerda* (about 437 square meters) or by the day's labor (*kin*).

Volume measures are the pinch of two fingers (*nip'*) and three fingers (*thuth'*), fistful (*lap'*), handful (*kab*), fold (*uutz'*) of about seven liters, armload (*kal*), and backload (*cuch*, *patan*). Particular substances are counted by the containers in which they were typically carried, but these do not appear to be standardized. Weight and force are only vaguely specified.

Time measures of less than a day are not precise: an instant (*zut*), an instance (*chi*, *put*, *ten*, *uatz'*), or an interval (*yam*). Hours of the day are indicated by a

(note continued on following page)

to impose authority in the west, but they fell out over the passing of the katun and came to blows over the office and disrupted the katun. (2832)

U ch'ab u matan
Ualac uil chikin
U napp tam ba
U chibal tam bail
U tz'ocol u than ho Ahau
U uatal ox toscum*
T u bolon tun
Y uchul chuc tam ba
Ualac y ahaulil
Ti ualac u than
Talan ti cib
Lai y an t u ppicul katun la e.

To create the mandate
And return the moon to the west.
They pinch each other;
They bite each other,
2825 Ending the word of 5 Ahau,
Voicing the three "voices"
On the nineteenth *tun*.
Occurring sooking each other
To bear the lordship,
2830 To bear its word,
Having come to the desire for that;
That was the tearing up of the
katun then.

7 KAN (1613)

By the time of 1613 someone had to settle it and take over as ruler. The priesthood would have to wait on the fasting of the end of the katun. (2845)

Ol Kauil then arrived at the katun ceremony to take the office held for him. It was agreed

7 Kan (1613)

Ti uil uucil Kan*
U kinil u hitz'il
Talel u cah
U ch'a be katun
Ah pop
Ah tz'am
Bin u patab
U luch
T u cal yaa
T u cal num ya
T u hitz' katun
Cal pul uiyh
Bin u acunte
Ah Uaxac y Ol Kauil*
Ca bin
Kuchuc
U kinil
U katunil ual e
Cam pat-hom be
Tal i
Ti caan
Heb tam ba

7 Kan (1613)

At the moon of seventh Kan,
The time of the ending,
2835 One may come to settle
And take the road of the *katun*,
The man of the mat,
The man of the throne.
He then will be awaited,
2840 His gourd
Filled the pain,
Filled the suffering
At the end of the *katun*.
Throat-bearing hunger
2845 May be made to arise.
The 8 priest Ol Kauil
Will then
Be due to arrive
At the time
2850 Of that *katun*.
The road having been kept waiting,
He comes then.
In heaven
They divide each other,

(note continued from preceding page)

gesture representing the angle of the sun, those of the night by the angle of the Big Dipper, and noon (*tan kin*), rest stops (*lub*), and dawn (*al kab*) are specified. The measurement of larger intervals of time is incredibly sophisticated and precise (see "calendar" in the index).

Value is expressed in a count of specific goods, particularly the cacao bean (*cacau*) and the quetzal feather (*kuk*). Colonial tribute is paid largely in agricultural produce, textiles, and wax, and colonial punishment is measured by the lash stroke (*p'uc*).

2826. *Toscum* from Nahuatl *tozcome* 'voices': the "voices" of the *katun* were three pseudoprophets, Nahuas at that!

2833. 7 Kan 1 Pop (July 15, 1561, or July 2, 1613).

2846. 8 Ol Kauil 'heart god', the priest designate for 3 Ahau.

to divide the land, weakening it, east and west. Then the lord was able to unite people to end the katun and be installed and take command. He claimed the katun in 1613. (2874)

Normalcy returned with the lineages of Tok, Uah, and Kauil as usual in 1613. On July 8, 1613, they started to survey the land and by August 31, 1613,

Nom cab	2855	The partridge lands, The moonflower partridge,
Sutup nom*		To return to a weak Shadow of heaven
Ualac oy		In the west, In the east.
Och caan		The burden
Ti chikin		Of him who is in the lordship
Ti lakin		May be coming
U cuch		To begin to collect itself,
Ti y ahaulil	2865	To carry it
Talel		To its completion,
U cah u mol ba		Which is then the end of the burden of
T u cuch		the katun.
T u tepal		His face tied up.
Ti tun u tz'ocol u cuch katun		He may be coming to begin his throne,
Kaxan u u ich	2870	Coming to begin his mat, Coming to say
Binel u cah u tz'am		That he has been wanting the
Binel u cah u pop y it		katun.
Binel u than		Seventh Kan
T u sitz'il katun		Was the time
Ti uucil Kan	2875	His bread atole . . .
U kin		. . . that may be the food of the
U pa sa . . .*		katun
(7r) . . . he uac y an u uah		On the day
katun		Of the division of the Tok,
T u kin		Of the division of the Uah,
U pai Tok*	2880	Of the division of the Kauil,
U pai Uah		Which occurred
U pai Kauil		For the desire of the katun,
Ti uchom		Seventh Kan
T u sitz'il katun		Being its day.
Uucil Kan	2885	13 Oc
U kin.		Was the moon of the sun
Ox hun Oc*		Of pacing
Uil u kin		The steps of the katun,
U chek		And fourth Cauac
Oc katun	2890	The moon
Y etel canil Cauac*		
Uil		

2856. Zutup Nom 'moonflower partridge', a diviner who disagreed with Nom Cab about the fate of *katun* 3 Ahaū? They could have been cousins. See also line 2530.

2875. There may be a word missing here.

2878. Tok 'knives', Uah 'bread', and Kauil 'god' were lineages, scrapping over the lordship. Apparently they all lost.

2885. 13 Oc 7 Pop (July 21, 1561, or July 8, 1613).

2889. 4 Cauac 16 Zotz' (September 13, 1561, or August 31, 1613). It may be significant that the next day is 5 Ahau. The new *katun* would have begun on 3 Ahau 17 Mac (March 15, 1614) but would still be five years early by the traditional (Mayapan) count.

they finished it and changed rulers and started to change priests. The change of rulers ended 5 Ahau, who had done his duty and surrendered his office. His Spokesman was replaced at the shrine and the cycle was ended at Mayapan, his seat and origin, and in the villages with sacrifices. A new one started immediately as the katun was folded. (2926)

U ualak u uutz' katun
U kin u ppatic
U pop
U tz'am
Talel
U cah
U hel u luch
U hel u pop
U hel u tz'am
U hel y ahaulil
U lubul u cuch
Ah ho Ahau
U pacat pach ual e
T u ch'a matan
Binan u luch
Binan u pop
Binan y ah pulil u than
Uatal t u cah u heel cab

T u yax cheil
T u tzuc teil cab
Ha li li uchan
T u tz'oc u cuch katun
Ti to uil y okol *Mayapan*
Ti uchom may cu
U y etz'
U ch'ibal
T u ch'enil
Ti y ac tunil
Ti x uchom cim cehil
Ma ya cimlal
Ti uchom
Yax cahil
Sibis
Sibisil
T u kin u tz'oc katunob
U uutz' hun tz'it katun.

8 MULUC (1614)

In 1614 came the new tun cycle. (2930)

2 IX (1596)

So I, Kauil Ch'el, and Puc

8 Muluc (1614)

Uaxac Muluc
T u hun te Pop*
U la may tun
Ti ul i.

2 Ix (1596)

On c en
Ah Kauil Ch'el

To erect the fold of the *katun*,
The day he abandons
His mat,
His throne.
2895 There may be coming
The beginning
Of the change of his gourd,
The change of his mat,
The change of his throne,
2900 The change of his lordship,
The fall of the burden
Of 5 Ahau.
Looking back at it
He has taken the request.
2905 Gone is his gourd,
Gone is his mat,
Gone is the bearer of his word.
Standing in his place is the change
of the land
In the ceiba grove,
2910 In the copse land.
Truly then it is done,
The burden of the *katun* is finished.
Which is one moon over Mayapan,
The cycle seat,
2915 His setting,
His lineage,
At the wells,
At the welling fountains.
And there occurred deer death
2920 And painless death.
There occurred
The first settlement
As fact,
As possible
2925 On the day they finished the *katuns*,
The fold of one *katun*.

8 Muluc (1614)

8 Muluc
On the first of Pop
Arrived the cycle of the *tun*,
2930 Which arrived then.

2 Ix (1596)

Then I,
Kauil Ch'el

Tun and Xopan Nahuatl, sun priests to the governor Hun Uitzil, the East priest of the Toltec Xiu at Uxmal under Mayapan, who was to rule 3 Ahau, have prepared him and spoken for him in Ni Tun Tz'ala and Pacat Ha. He has had me count 5 Ahau legitimately, adding one katun. This I have done at Bacalar. I have written it in glyphs which will be checked by the sage to see if I am right. In the district of Salamanca at the capital in the territory of Chetumal, division of

Y etel Na Puc Tun	And Puc Tun
Y etel Ah Xupan Nauat	And Xopan Nahuatl,
U y ah kin	2935 The sun priests
Noh hal ach uinic	Of the great governor
Hun Uitzil	Hun Uitzil,
Chac	The rain priest
Tutul Xiu	Of the Tutul Xiu
Ti Uxmal	2940 At Uxmal
T u lumil Mayapan	In the lands of Mayapan
May cu	The cycle seat,
Ti u ch'abal u lac	Which was taking the plate
Ah ox Ahau	Of 3 Ahau
Bai bic	2945 To humble,
Uchic	Soften,
U alic	And speak
U than	His word
Uai Ni Tun Tz'ala*	At the place called Ni Tun Tz'ala,
Uai Pacat Haa*	2950 The place called Pacat Ha,
Ti chul te	Who may have occasioned
T in tzolah u ch'ich' katun	That I count the bird <i>katun</i>
T u hahil sihanil	In the truly born
Ychil u cuch katun	Within the burden of the <i>katun</i> ,
Likul ti	2955 Raising it
Hun tz'it katun	By one <i>katun</i> piece.
Lai t in tzolah	That is what I counted
Uai Bak Halal e*	Here at Bacalar.
T in hoksah	I have manifested
Ti uooh*	2960 In glyphs
Ti ual bin u toh cin	Which return will have been corrected,
Ah miatz bin y ila	And the sage will see
Ua ma toh	If it is not correct,
U binel uchic	What may come to pass
In tzolic	2965 That I have counted
Uai t u lumil	In the lands,
T u cabil	In the country
Salamanca*	Of Salamanca,
Ti tzuc peten	In the groves of the country
Uai tan cah	2970 Here at the capital,
Chac Temal*	Chetumal
T u lumil tzucub te*	In the lands of the sacred grove,

2949. Ni Tun Ts'ala 'squeezed noseplug', a town near Chetumal.

2950. Pacat Ha 'water view', a town near Chetumal.

2958. Bacalar, on the lake of the same name. Roys 1957: 159 translates Bak Halal as 'surrounded by reeds'.

2960. The continued insistence on glyphs is of interest. See also line 2976.

2968. Montejó founded several Salamanca in honor of his birthplace. This appears to be the one near Chetumal. See Tozzer 1941: 8.

2971. Chac Temal 'red steps': pyramids or ceremonial benches of the east. This is the modern Chetumal.

2972. The sacred grove of Bacalar.

Uaymil, I have finished the glyphs on 11 Chuen 18 Zac, February 15, 1544. (2980)

Tah*	Division of
Uaymil*	Uaymil.
Ti tz'oc in tz'aic	2975 I have finished giving
Uooh*	These glyphs
Lae t u uaxac lahun te Sac	On the eighteenth of Zac
Ti buluc huen	On 11 Chuen
T u ho lhum pis kin Febrero	On the fifteenth day of February,
1544 hab.*	2980 The year 1544.

2973. *Tah* 'division' could be a place-name, as Roys would have it, but I don't think so.

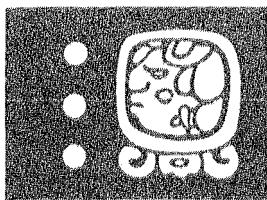
2974. *Uaymil* 'guaya tree', the modern Uaymil, also near Chetumal.

2976. In preceding passages (see line 2643) the author makes it clear that he is reading from a hieroglyphic manuscript, presumably a prophetic one covering the pseudo-*katun* from 1541 to 1561. It is not possible that this glyptic document was transcribed as early as 1544, as is implied below. Here, however, I think the assertion to be that he completed translating the glyptic prophecy on the date given but in 1596.

2980. 11 Chuen 18 Zac (February 21, 1544, or February 8, 1596). The date cited is incorrect because it suppresses the leap year correction, choosing to relate the correlation to a base year 1 Kan 1 Pop, July 16, 1581. The author is aware that there is a seven-day error (the difference between this base and the true base year of 1 Ix 1 Pop, July 16, 1555), but he doesn't bother to note it. The correct interpretation of the date for the composition of the manuscript is therefore 11 Chuen 18 Zac, February 8, 1596. He writes the year 1544 to emphasize that he is basing his prophecy on the fifty-two-year cycle—but he is also aware that this involves a thirteen-day leap year correlation, which he also doesn't bother to enter. See also note 2410.

I believe both dates, and the claimed authorship of this document, to be fictional. If there were a glyptic document for the pseudo-*katun* 1541 to 1561, it would presumably have been written around 1566. If the second document were the 'finished' word for the pseudo-*katun* 5 Ahau it purports to describe, it would probably date to around 1618 to 1623. Since it seems to reflect actual history in both *katuns*, I incline to the latter supposition. Kauil Ch'el, Xopan Nahuatl, and Puc Tun were already named in a prophecy for 13 Ahau (1539); see lines 562 ff., which, however, may have been put into present form as much as two *katuns* later: 9 Ahau (1559). Kauil Ch'el may well have been Spokesman of the Jaguar at the beginning of 9 Ahau (1559)—see note 1239—but I don't believe he prepared the present text in 1596, let alone in 1618. Whoever did simply used his name.

3 Ahau



23. Merida under the Gallows

3 Ahau was the fifth in the Itza katun series. Merida was its seat. The West priest Coc Ay the Crier was its lord, and Cib Yan and Muk Yan and Pat Yan tried hard to exorcise the devil. All three were hanged by God's command. (2998)

There were Locusts and Jaguars, Monsters, Ants and Bees,

(16v) Ox Ahau
 U ho tz'it
 Katun
 C u xocol
 Ich Can Si Ho
 U hetz' katun
 Ek Coc Ay Mut u u ich*

 Tan y ahaulil
 Cib Yan u u ich
 Muk Yan u u ich
 Pat Yan u u ich
 Sitz'il tz'utal
 Tz'ut u tza cisin i
 Ti y emel ox ualah
 U le
 Silil i
 U than Hunab Ku
 Canal
 Sakal Habil*
 Balam Habil
 Sac Pat Ay Chacil*

 Thul Can Chacil*

3 Ahau
 Was the fifth part
 Of the *katun*
 To be counted.

2985 Heaven Born Merida
 Was the seat of the *katun*.

The West priest Coc Ay Mut was the person
 Who was in the lordship.

Cib Yan was his face;

2990 Muk Yan was his face;

Pat Yan was his face.

Desire was sharpening.

Sharp was the exorcism of the devil.
 There descended three turns

2995 Of the noose
 Which was rolled up,
 The word of the Sole God
 On high.

There were the Locust scouts,

3000 And Jaguar scouts,
 The North priest Pat Ay of the
 Monsters,
 Thul Can of the Monsters,

2987. Ek Coc Ay Mut 'black turtle grease crier', a West priest who seated the *katun* in Merida. He was opposed by the Center priest Coc Ay of Zuyua (possibly a brother) and by Cib Yan 'wax direction', Muk Yan 'strength direction', and Pat Yan 'wait direction', the last three of whom were apparently caught and hanged.

2999. There follows a list of the military orders active around Merida at this time. While the orders were generally pro-Christian and propeasant, they probably opposed the taxes of both Merida and Zuyua. They include Sakal Habil 'locust scouts', Balam Habil 'jaguar scouts', Chacil 'monsters', Sinic 'ants', Balamil 'honeybees', Pan 'flags', and Ch'in Ch'in 'chiggers'. Of these, the Monsters and the Chiggers are not mentioned elsewhere.

3001. Pat Ay 'wait grease', a North priest and leader of the Monsters.

3002. Thul Can 'rabbit snake', another leader of the Monsters.

Flags and Chiggers! Three trials of peasants were staged in this katun. Three times in seven years there were hangings, and burnings began in the center of Merida, destroying the robe of the East priest Bol Ay before the three pyramids on the plaza. Copal fires and many, many hangings were held, and the burden of suffering and fear fell on the fly-by-night lords by the true will of the risen God, O peasants. The ceremonial insignia were taken from the cen-

Sinic	Ants,
Balamil	Bees,
Pan	3005 Flags,
Ch'in Ch'in	And Chiggers.
Ox ch'uolah xotem	Three sentences of hanging—
Ox cuch-hom y al max	Thrice burdened was the monkey child
Ulom ix u esil	Which came about and was manifested
Ti bal cah i	3010 On earth.
Ti tal i	He came:
U cuch katun uch i	The katun was carried.
Uuc ppel hab	Seven years
U chibal	Was his term.
Ox ualah u le	3015 Three turns of the noose
Silil i	Were rolled up.
Hopom	There flamed
Kak	The fire
T u Xulub Yuc*	At the Goat Horns
Ich Can Si Ho	3020 In Heaven Born Merida.
Haulahom u keulel	Carved up is the hide
Chac Bol Ay*	Of the East priest Bol Ay
Tan kiuic	In the middle of the plaza
Ox mul tun tzekil	Of the three stone pyramids,
Ix pom	3025 And copal
Kakil	Fires,
Ban ban hich' cal	Piles and piles of hangings
U cuch katun	Were the burden of the katun.
Ti tal i	3030 There came
U cuch	The burden
Num ya	Of suffering,
Cotz'bal u u ich	Rolling of eyes
Ah ca kin pop	Of the two-day mat people,
Ah ca kin tz'am	The two-day throne people.
T u tz'oc u than katun	3035 The word of the katun was done.
Ma tus i	It does not lie—
U than ku	The word of God
Likul canal	Who ascended into heaven,
Cex	O ye
U itz'in ex e	3040 Younger brothers.
Okom bul cum	Gone are the beans and squash,
Okom yax cach	Gone are the green flies
T u can xai be	From the four crossroads.
Ti tali ob	They have come
Tan y ol che	3045 Among the trees
Ti ual	And returned

3019. Xulub Yuc 'goat horns' is unidentified but sounds like a *cantina* that may have been the site of a memorable fire. My guess is that it was known as Los Cabrones.

3022. Chac Bol Ay and Yax Bol Ay were both active in the politics of 5 Ahau and 3 Ahau (1598–1638). Both had namesakes in 8 Ahau (1461).

ter to the wilderness, and Ol Zip accepted the nomination. (3048)

T u kamic u matan
Ah Uuc y Ol Sip ual e.*

To accept the request
Of the 7 priest Ol Zip again.

3048. Ol Zip, lord of Emal, was priest of the *katun* off and on in 5 Ahau (1602–1618) and again at the beginning of 1 Ahau (1638–?).

24. Days of the Year

This text, the final one in the manuscript, is a calendar of the Christian year 1626 with corresponding dates in the tzol kin and divinations. The day-by-day auguries are either "good" (utz) or "bad" (lob) or else they are not given. Some 199 days are "bad"; 118 are "good." The first 105 days are repeated at the end of the year, 15 of them with different auguries. A second-order translation is not necessary, as the language is not ritual and the texts make peasant sense as they stand.

The calendar is accompanied by three contemporary texts, dating it to the first half of 3 Ahau (1618) and mentioning Sotuta. A reference to *Corpus Christi* makes it probable that the Julian calendar was still in use. The note for 10 Kan (1629) records a plague of locusts; that for 3 Muluc (1622) describes a famine; and that for 8 Ix (1627) describes another plague of locusts.

(22r) Enero (31)

1. lahun Oc
2. buluc Chuen
3. lahca Eb
4. oxlahun Ben
5. hun Hix
6. ca Men
7. ox Cib
8. can Caban
9. ho Etz'nab
10. uacil Cauac
11. uuc Ahau
12. uaxac Ymix
13. bolon Ik
14. lahun Akbal
15. bulucil Kan
16. lahca Chicchan

utz*
utz
utz
utz
lob*
lob
utz
utz
utz
utz
utz
utz
utz
lob*
lob*
lob
utz*
lob

3050
3055
3060

January (31)

1. 10 Oc	good
2. 11 Chuen	good
3. 12 Eb	good
4. 13 Ben	good
5. 1 Ix	bad
6. 2 Men	bad
7. 3 Cib	good
8. 4 Caban	good
9. 5 Etz'nab	good
10. 6 Cauac	good
11. 7 Ahau	good
12. 8 Imix	bad
13. 9 Ik	bad
14. 10 Akbal	bad
15. 11 Kan	good
16. 12 Chicchan	bad

3049. The first marginal note, for January 1, reads: *U hopol kak* 'the flaming of the fire'. This marks the second phase of the Oc fire ceremonies, begun on January 1, centered on January 21, and ended on February 10.

3053. *Licil cimil uinicob* 'as the death of people'.

3058. The use of the *-il* suffix with numerals appears to be euphonic rather than syntactic or semantic. It is generally found with short rather than long day names. Reading the present list of days aloud rapidly will make the point that it is the rhythm of the count that is at issue.

3060. *Licil u cutal Yaax* 'as the seating of Yax'. If Yax is seated on 8 Imix, the yearbearer for this year would be 10 Imix, implying yet another calendar with Type I yearbearers (Imix, Cimi, Chuen, Cib). Most (but not all) of the subsequent seatings of the *uinal*s in the notes to this chapter confirm this intention.

3061. *U kukum tok ch'apahal y an i* 'the quetzal feather knife has been seized'. Perhaps a reference to sacrifice: if so, it is a very late one!

3063. *U xul u kaxal ha i* 'the end of the dropping of water'. The observation has no perceptible relation to the Yucatecan rainy season, which begins in May. It could be a reference to baptism.

The extensive marginal notes, added substantially later, give Catholic saints' days in Gregorian dates and correlate the tzol kin with the Mayan year in a new calendar with new year-bearers, and there are additional calendrical notations which are simply aberrant or erroneous. Other marginal notes relate to the cult of the Burners (see chapter 40), and there are also notes on ceremonies, taxes, weather, agriculture, and other matters—some of them quite obscure. These notes are reproduced in the following footnotes. I believe them to belong to katun 9 Ahau, which began in 1848.

17. oxlahun Cimi	utz*	3065	17. 13 Cimi	good
18. hun Manik	utz*		18. 1 Manik	good
19. ca Lamat	lob		19. 2 Lamat	bad
20. ox Muluc	lob		20. 3 Muluc	bad
21. canil Oc	*		21. 4 Oc	
22. ho Chuen	lob	3070	22. 5 Chuen	bad
23. uac Eb	utz*		23. 6 Eb	good
24. uuc Been	lob		24. 7 Ben	bad
25. uaxacil Hix	lob		25. 8 Ix	bad
26. bolon Men	lob		26. 9 Men	bad
27. lahun Cib	lob	3075	27. 10 Cib	bad
28. bulucil Caban	utz		28. 11 Caban	good
29. lahca Etz'nab			29. 12 Etz'nab	
30. oxlahun Cauac	utz		30. 13 Cauac	good
31. hun Ahau	lob*		31. 1 Ahau	bad

(22v) Febrero (28)

1. ca Ymix	lob*	3080	1. 2 Imix	bad
2. oxil Ik	lob		2. 3 Ik	bad
3. can Akbal	lob		3. 4 Akbal	bad
4. hoil Kan	lob		4. 5 Kan	bad
5. uac Chicchan	lob		5. 6 Chicchan	bad
6. uuc Cimi	utz*	3085	6. 7 Cimi	good
7. uaxac Manik	utz		7. 8 Manik	good
8. bolon Lamat	lob		8. 9 Lamat	bad
9. lahun Muluc	lob		9. 10 Muluc	bad
10. bulucil Oc	utz*		10. 11 Oc	good
11. lahca Chuen	*	3090	11. 12 Chuen	
12. oxlahun Eb	lob		12. 13 Eb	bad
13. hun Ben	lob*		13. 1 Ben	bad
14. ca Hix	lob		14. 2 Ix	bad
15. ox Men	*		15. 3 Men	

February (28)

3065. *U sian chaac* 'born is the rain'.

3066. *U kalal u koch mehen palal* 'the collection of the tax on boy children'.

3069. *Y al kaba ah toc* 'the dawn of the Burner'. This is the third phase of the quarter-tzol kin fire ceremonies of Oc.

3071. *Sut ti kax u ti al ah ceehob* 'return to the forest for the deer people'. Perhaps a survival of the old hunting ritual.

3079. *U hokol chac mitan chac; che tun cimi* 'the appearance of red plague rot, stick and stone death'. Compare line 2774. With Roys, I read *chac mitan ch'oc*.

3080. *Licil u cutal Sac* 'as the seating of Zac'.

3085. *U tup (kak ah toc); hai xan* 'the Burner quenches his fire, there is a flood too'. The phrase in parentheses is crossed out in the manuscript, and the assertion is reentered below on the correct date, February 10 (11 Oc).

3089. *U tup kak ah toc* 'the Burner quenches his fire'. This ends the first (Oc) of the four quarter-tzol kin fire ceremonies. It is described by Landa 1929: 2: 78 in some detail and by Villa 1945: 79, 116 in the twentieth century.

3090. *U koch ah kin; ppix ich* 'the sun priest's tax; vigil'.

3092. *Ch'apahal chocuil* 'getting hot'.

3094. *U ch'a kak ah toc* 'the Burner takes the fire'. The beginning of the Men fire ceremonies.

16. can Cib	lob*	3095	16. 4 Cib	bad
17. ho Caban	*		17. 5 Caban	
18. uac Etz'nab	lob		18. 6 Etz'nab	bad
19. uuc Cauac	lob		19. 7 Cauac	bad
20. uaxac Ahau	lob*		20. 8 Ahau	bad
21. bolon Imix	lob*	3100	21. 9 Imix	bad
22. lahun Ik	lob		22. 10 Ik	bad
23. buluc Akbal	*		23. 11 Akbal	
24. lahca Kan	*		24. 12 Kan	
25. oxlahun Chicchan	lob		25. 13 Chicchan	bad
26. hun Cimi	lob	3105	26. 1 Cimi	bad
27. ca Manik	lob		27. 2 Manik	bad
28. ox Lamat	lob*		28. 3 Lamat	bad

10 Kan (1629)

En 6 de Junio
 1629 años ti ban i
 Sak y okol nalob
 Muk tun y an nal
 C uch i
 T u hach man
 Kinal
 Corpus*
 Sat i
 Col
 T u hanal ob
 T u y ukul
 Cahtal
 Ti chikin
 Tal Cupul*
 Tal Ppol e*
 Man i
 U hanal sak nak pucil*

10 Kan (1629)

On the sixth of June
 3110 Of the year 1629 there fell
 Locusts on the corn-ears
 And the ears rotted,
 Which happened
 On the very passing
 3115 Of the time
 Of Corpus,
 And destroyed
 The fields.
 They ate
 3120 And drank,
 Starting to come
 From the west,
 Coming to Cupul,
 Coming to P'ol,
 3125 And passed
 The devouring locusts near the
 Hills.

3095. *Ti ppix ich i* 'which is a vigil'.

3096. *U lubul u koch ah manob* 'the posting of the tax of the buyers'.

3099. *U nup tun cisin* 'the opposing tun of the devil'. Obscure. The date is 8 Ahau, which may have something to do with it.

3100. *U cutal Ceh* 'the seating of Ceh'.

3102. *U koch ah kulelob* 'the tax of the officials'.

3103. *U koch ah uil uinicob* 'the tax of the poor people'. The manuscript adds: x *S. Mateo Ap.* 'St. Matthew the Apostle'. The date is Gregorian.

3107. A dummy line has been counted at line 3108 so as not to disrupt the numbering of the following couplet.

3116. 4 Chuen 7 Pop, June 6, 1629, Corpus Christi. The date is Julian.

3123. Cu Pul 'seat of guayaba', probably Cupul. The province of Cupul was centered around Valladolid (Roys 1957: map).

3124. P'ol 'head[land]', a town on the east coast near Cozumel.

3126. Pucil 'the hills': the only hills in Yucatan, the Puuc. The sense is that the locusts spread clear across the peninsula from west to east.

Hex te	And it was there
Sututa e*	At Sotuta
U tabah u cal*	That there hung herself
U ch'upil D. Fran ^{co} Cocom*	3130 Don Francisco Cocom's girl
T u men satc i	Because of the destruction
U col	Of the fields
Y ah canan hunob*	Of the guardian of books
T u hanal sak	By the devouring locusts.
Hach otzil cahob	3135 Very miserable were the towns.
T u men uih ob	Because of hunger.
Pecnah i	Oppressed
Cah t u lacal t u men num ya	Were all the towns by suffering,
Hex y al sakob	And there were the locusts' offspring,
Chan u ne sak	3140 Small-tailed locusts,
U ca . . . lal nal	Which . . . occupied the corn-ears
T u hanal ob	And ate them.
Cahlah i	The residents
Ma u tosic u nal ob	Couldn't pick the ears:
T u hanal sak ma chaanh i	3145 The locusts ate them before they were
	ripe
Tocsah i.	For picking.

(23r) **Marso (31)**

1. can Muluc
2. hoil Oc
3. uac Chuen
4. uuc Eb
5. uaxac Ben
6. bolon Hix
7. lahun Men
8. buluc Cib
9. lahca Caban
10. oxlahun Etz'nab
11. hun Cauac
12. cabil Ahau

utz*	1. 4 Muluc	good
lob	2. 5 Oc	bad
lob*	3. 6 Chuen	bad
lob	3150 4. 7 Eb	bad
lob	5. 8 Ben	bad
lob	6. 9 Ix	bad
*	7. 10 Men	
lob	8. 11 Cib	bad
lob*	3155 9. 12 Caban	bad
*	10. 13 Etz'nab	
lob	11. 1 Cauac	bad
lob	12. 2 Ahau	bad

March (31)

3128. Sotuta, a town near Izamal. Roys 1935: 8 translates the name as 'water in a circle'.

3129. This is the only reference to suicide in the Tizimin. Suicide and hanging are associated with the goddess Ix Tab (Tozzer 1941: 132).

3130. Francisco Cocom, an unidentified man from Sotuta. This is the only Indian with a Christian first name mentioned in the Tizimin, with the possible exception of Antonio Martínez.

3133. The guardian of books may have been the local keeper of the *Book of Chilam Balam*, often elsewhere the choirmaster or the *sacristán* of the church.

3147. *U kin u pec chac i* 'the day of the hard rain'.

3149. *U kalal hub* 'the taking of conch'.

3153. *U hopol u kak ah toc; u pec chac i* 'the flaming of the fire of the Burner; hard rain'.

3155. *Chikin chac y an i* 'in the west there is rain'.

3156. *Y oc uiil payan be c u kaxal ha i* 'germinate plants before it rains'.

13. ox Ymix	lob*	13. 3 Imix	bad
14. canil Ik	lob	3160 14. 4 Ik	bad
15. ho Akbal	lob	15. 5 Akbal	bad
16. uacil Kan	utz*	16. 6 Kan	good
17. uac Chicchan	utz	17. 7 Chicchan	good
18. uaxacil Cimi	utz	18. 8 Cimi	good
19. bolon Manik	lob	3165 19. 9 Manik	bad
20. lahun Lamat	lob	20. 10 Lamat	bad
21. buluc Muluc	utz	21. 11 Muluc	good
22. lahcabil Oc	lob	22. 12 Oc	bad
23. oxlahun Chuen	lob	23. 13 Chuen	bad
24. hun Eb	lob	3170 24. 1 Eb	bad
25. ca Been	lob	25. 2 Ben	bad
26. ox Hix	lob	26. 3 Ix	bad
27. can Men	utz*	27. 4 Men	good
28. ho Cib	utz	28. 5 Cib	good
29. uacil Caban	utz	3175 29. 6 Caban	good
30. uuc Etz'nab	utz*	30. 7 Etz'nab	good
31. uaxacil Cauac	utz*	31. 8 Cauac	good

3 Muluc (1622)

1622 años
 Li hab uchc i
 Chac mitan uiyh
 T u hach
 Yukul peten
 T u lacal e
 Otzilh on
 La ix hokc i
 U pectzil chibc i
 Ca lakob
 T u man ixim ob
 Te
 Ti kax e
 Nak Uitzil e
 T u men ah col cabob
 Ma ix bin uiyh u cah ob
 C uch i e
 He ix t on e
 Cahan tah u pak huhub*
 Kum che*

3 Muluc (1622)

The year 1622
 3180 Was the year there occurred
 Red hunger plague.
 It emptied
 The whole country
 Entirely.
 3185 We were miserable
 And there appeared
 Rumors of devouring
 Our neighbors.
 They bought corn
 3190 There
 In the wild
 Near the mountains
 Because the farmers of that land
 Had no famine in their villages
 3195 That had occurred,
 And here we were
 Living on pine tree fruit
 And squash trees.

3159. *Uai c u cutal Mac* 'here is the seating of Mac'.

3162. *T u hopol ha i* 'which is the beginning of water'. I read *hop'ol*.

3173. *Y al kaba ah toc* 'the dawn of the Burner'.

3176. *Y oc uiil te la* 'generate sprouts thereon'.

3177. A dummy line has been counted at line 3178 so as not to disrupt the numbering of the following couplet.

3197. *Huhub* 'plums'.

3198. *Kum che* 'squash tree'. Genus *Jacaratia*.

U pachahal yab palal cim ob
 Y etel nucuch uincob
 T u men uih
 Ma tz'etz' num ya
 Y anh i
 T oon.

3200 Afterward many children died
 Together with grown people
 Because of hunger.
 No small thing was the suffering
 That had come
 Upon us.

(23v) *Abril* (30)

1. bolon Ahau
2. lahun Ymix
3. buluc Ik
4. lahcabil Akbal
5. oxlahun Kan
6. hun Chicchan
7. ca Cimi
8. ox Manik
9. can Lamat
10. ho Muluc
11. uacil Oc
12. uuc Chuen
13. uaxacil Eb
14. bolon Ben
15. lahun Hix
16. buluc Men
17. lahca Cib
18. oxlahun Caban
19. hun Etz'nab
20. cabil Cauac
21. ox Ahau
22. can Ymix
23. hoil Ik
24. uac Akbal
25. uucil Kan
26. uac Chicchan
27. bolon Cimi
28. lahun Manik

April (30)

utz*	3205	1. 9 Ahau	good
lob*		2. 10 Imix	bad
*		3. 11 Ik	
utz		4. 12 Akbal	good
*		5. 13 Kan	
utz	3210	6. 1 Chicchan	good
utz		7. 2 Cimi	good
utz		8. 3 Manik	good
utz		9. 4 Lamat	good
lob		10. 5 Muluc	bad
lob	3215	11. 6 Oc	bad
lob		12. 7 Chuen	bad
utz		13. 8 Eb	good
utz		14. 9 Ben	good
utz		15. 10 Ix	good
utz*	3220	16. 11 Men	good
utz		17. 12 Cib	good
utz		18. 13 Caban	good
lob		19. 1 Etz'nab	bad
lob		20. 2 Cauac	bad
*	3225	21. 3 Ahau	
lob*		22. 4 Imix	bad
lob		23. 5 Ik	bad
lob		24. 6 Akbal	bad
lob*		25. 7 Kan	bad
lob	3230	26. 8 Chicchan	bad
utz		27. 9 Cimi	good
lob		28. 10 Manik	bad

3205. *U ch'aal ba ku* 'the god prepares himself'. The day being 9 Ahau, the name day of the *katun* is one *uinal* later.

3206. *U cutal Kan Kin* 'the seating of Kankin'.

3207. *U hokol y ik hub; u kin haa* 'the appearance of the conch wind, the time of water'.

3209. *U coi kinal kuu* 'the abstention period of the god'.

3220. *U tup kak ah toc* 'the Burner quenches the fire'.

3225. *U ch'a kak ah toc* 'the Burner takes the fire'. This is the beginning of the Ahau fire ceremonies.

3226. *U cutal Moan; y oc uiil* 'the seating of Muan, germinate plants'.

3229. *U hun te Pop* 'the first of Pop'. See June 14, September 27. The three dates form a series of new year dates (5 Ix, 6 Cauac, 7 Kan) in the Mayapan calendar, but the Gregorian equivalents make no sense, implying years like 1373, 1723, 1883, or 1987. A more likely 7 Kan 1 Pop would be 1666.

29. buluc Lamat
30. lahca Muluc

lob
*

29. 11 Lamat
30. 12 Muluc

bad

8 Ix (1627)

*En 1 de Mayo
De 1627 años*
Ca ul i
Sak sat i
Nal t u hanal ob
Y etel buul
Y etel kumob
Ibob
Yuklah
Hi u ximbal sak la e

Hex ba tabob e
U hach kubah ob sak
T u tan jue sob
U bin ob
U tohl ob sak
Y etel hemob
Chirin chulob*
Tzitzac i
Ha u kamsib
Sak la e.

8 Ix (1627)

3235 On the first of May
Of the year 1627
Then came
The destroying locusts.
They ate the corn-ears
3240 And beans
And squashes
And lima beans
Everywhere.
That was the coming of the locusts
then.
3245 And the chiefs
Set the locusts directly
Before the judges
Who went
To judge the locusts
3250 And the grubs,
(?) to douse
And sprinkle them.
Water will be the death
Of these locusts.

(24r) Mayo (31)

1. oxlahun Oc
2. hun Chuen
3. ca Eb
4. ox Ben
5. can Hix
6. ho Men
7. uac Cib
8. uuc Caban
9. uaxacil Etz'nab

utz*
lob
lob*
lob*
*
lob
lob*
lob*
lob*

3255
3260

May (31)

1. 13 Oc
2. 1 Chuen
3. 2 Eb
4. 3 Ben
5. 4 Ix
6. 5 Men
7. 6 Cib
8. 7 Caban
9. 8 Etz'nab

good
bad
bad
bad
bad
bad
bad
bad
bad

3234. *U ua be hun ch'ab tan; ox ppel kab pix ich i* 'the raising of the road of 1 Ch'ab Tan; three nights' vigil'. I read *akab p'ix*.

3251. There is no *r* in colonial Yucatec, and I have not been able to come up with a sensible reading of *chirin*. My sense of the couplet rests on *chul* 'drip' and *tzitz* 'sprinkle'.

3255. *U kin haa* 'a day of water'.

3257. *Santa Cruz; y oc uiili* 'Holy Cross; germinate plants'. The date is Gregorian.

3258. *Sut ob ti kax* 'they return to the wild'.

3259. *U takal u keban ahaub i* 'the engendering of the sins of the lords'.

3261. *Xinximbal ti kax* 'wandering in the wild'.

3262. *Pasar ceh utz i* 'passing deer is good'.

3263. *Ti kuyan uinicob* 'who are bent people'.

10. bolon Cauac	utz*	10. 9 Cauac	good
11. lahun Ahau	*	3265 11. 10 Ahau	
12. buluc Hix	lob*	12. 11 Imix	bad
13. lahca Ik	lob*	13. 12 Ik	bad
14. oxlahun Akbal	lob*	14. 13 Akbal	bad
15. hun Kan	lob*	15. 1 Kan	bad
16. ca Chicchan	lob	3270 16. 2 Chicchan	bad
17. ox Cimi	lob	17. 3 Cimi	bad
18. can Manik	utz	18. 4 Manik	good
19. ho Lamat	utz	19. 5 Lamat	good
20. uac Muluc	utz*	20. 6 Muluc	good
21. uucil Oc	lob	3275 21. 7 Oc	bad
22. uaxac Chuen	lob	22. 8 Chuen	bad
23. bolon Eb	lob	23. 9 Eb	bad
24. lahun Ben		24. 10 Ben	
25. buluc Hix	lob	25. 11 Ix	bad
26. lahca Men	lob	3280 26. 12 Men	bad
27. oxlahun Cib	utz	27. 13 Cib	good
28. hun Caban	utz	28. 1 Caban	good
29. ca Etz'nab	utz*	29. 2 Etz'nab	good
30. oxil Cauac	utz	30. 3 Cauac	good
31. can Ahau	lob*	3285 31. 4 Ahau	bad

(24v) *Juño (30)*

1. ho Ymix	lob*
2. uacil Ik	lob
3. uuc Akbal	lob
4. uaxacil Kan	lob
5. bolon Chicchan	utz
6. lahun Cimi	utz
7. buluc Manik	lob
8. lahca Lamat	lob
9. oxlahun Muluc	utz
10. hunil Oc	utz*
11. can Men	lob*
12. ox Eb	lob
13. can Been	lob

June (30)

1. 5 Imix	bad
2. 6 Ik	bad
3. 7 Akbal	bad
4. 8 Kan	bad
5. 9 Chicchan	good
6. 10 Cimi	good
7. 11 Manik	bad
8. 12 Lamat	bad
9. 13 Muluc	good
10. 1 Oc	good
11. 2 Men	bad
12. 3 Eb	bad
13. 4 Ben	bad

3264. *Ti y ahaulil cabob* 'who are lords of the land'.

3265. *U hopol u kak ah toc; u k(in) ha i* 'the flaming of the Burner's fire, day of water'.

3266. *Ti ba tabob; u cutal Paax* 'who are chiefs; the seating of Pax'.

3267. *Ik tan y ol uinc i* 'clever-hearted people'.

3268. *Licil pix ich* 'as a vigil'.

3269. *Cup ikal* 'calm winds'.

3274. *U xocol y oc kin* 'the counting of movement of the sun'.

3283. *Utz cahtal te la* 'good to live here or there'.

3285. *Y al kaba ah toc* 'the dawn of the Burner'.

3286. *Licil u cutal Kayab* 'as the seating of Kayab'.

3295. *U kin noh chac* 'the day of the great rainstorm'.

3296. The manuscript has Men for Chuen.

14. hoil Ix	lob*	14. 5 Ix	bad
15. uac Men	lob	15. 6 Men	bad
16. uuc Cib	lob	16. 7 Cib	bad
17. uaxac Caban	lob	17. 8 Caban	bad
18. bolon Etz'nab	utz	18. 9 Etz'nab	good
19. lahun Cauac	utz	19. 10 Cauac	good
20. buluc Ahau	*	3305 20. 11 Ahau	
21. lahca Imix	utz*	21. 12 Imix	good
22. oxlahun Ik	lob	22. 13 Ik	bad
23. hun Akbal	lob	23. 1 Akbal	bad
24. cail Kan	lob*	24. 2 Kan	bad
25. oxil Chicchan	*	3310 25. 3 Chicchan	
26. can Cimi	utz*	26. 4 Cimi	good
27. ho Manik	utz	27. 5 Manik	good
28. uac Lamat	lob	28. 6 Lamat	bad
29. uuc Muluc	lob*	29. 7 Muluc	bad
30. uaxacil Oc	utz	3315 30. 8 Oc	good

(25r) *Julio (31)*

1. bolon Chuen	lob	1. 9 Chuen	bad
2. lahun Eb	lob	2. 10 Eb	bad
3. buluc Ben	lob	3. 11 Ben	bad
4. lahca Ix	*	4. 12 Ix	
5. oxlahun Men	utz*	3320 5. 13 Men	good
6. hun Cib	lob	6. 1 Cib	bad
7. ca Caban	lob	7. 2 Caban	bad
8. ox Etz'nab	utz	8. 3 Etz'nab	good
9. can Cauac	lob*	9. 4 Cauac	bad
10. ho Ahau	lob	3325 10. 5 Ahau	bad
11. uac Ymix	utz*	11. 6 Imix	good
12. uucil Ik	lob	12. 7 Ik	bad
13. uaxac Akbal	lob	13. 8 Akbal	bad
14. bolon Kan	utz*	14. 9 Kan	good
15. lahun Chicchan	utz*	3330 15. 10 Chicchan	good

July (31)

3299. *U hun te Pop* 'the first of Pop'. See also note 3229.
 3305. *U tup kak ah toc* 'the Burner quenches his fire'.
 3306. *Ti al u cutal Cumku* 'for the seating of Cumku'.
 3309. *San Juan* 'Saint John's day'. The date is Gregorian.
 3310. *U ch'a kak ah toc* 'the Burner takes the fire'.
 3311. *U sian ku* 'God is born'.
 3314. *S. Pedro Ap.* 'St. Peter the Apostle'. The date is Gregorian.
 3319. *U kin balam habil* 'the day of the jaguar year period'. This corresponds to 12 Ix and Ix is the day of the jaguar.
 3320. *U nahal ppolom; ppix ich* 'fulfillment of trade; vigil'.
 3324. *Payab te la; accunabal siil* 'divided here and there; settlement of gifts'.
 3326. 6 Imix 1 Uayeb, but the manuscript does not note it.
 3329. *Ti u tz'abal sil te la; y oc chicam* 'which is given gifts here and there; germinate gourdroot'.
 3330. *Ti u hopol kak ah toc* 'which flames the Burner's fire'.

16. buluc Cimi	utz*	16. 11 Cimi	good
17. lahca Manik	utz*	17. 12 Manik	good
18. oxlahun Lamat	lob	18. 13 Lamat	bad
19. hun Muluc	utz*	19. 1 Muluc	good
20. cail Oc	utz	3335 20. 2 Oc	good
21. ox Chuen	utz	21. 3 Chuen	good
22. can Eb	utz*	22. 4 Eb	good
23. ho Ben	*	23. 5 Ben	
24. uacil Hix	lob	24. 6 Ix	bad
25. uuc Men	utz	3340 25. 7 Men	good
26. uaxacil Cib	utz	26. 8 Cib	good
27. bolon Caban	utz	27. 9 Caban	good
28. lahun Etz'nab	utz	28. 10 Etz'nab	good
29. bulucil Cauac	lob	29. 11 Cauac	bad
30. lahca Ahau	utz*	3345 30. 12 Ahau	good
31. oxlahun Imix	utz	31. 13 Imix	good

(25v) Agosto (31)

1. hunil Ik	utz*	1. 1 Ik	good
2. ca Akbal	lob	2. 2 Akbal	bad
3. oxil Kan	lob	3. 3 Kan	bad
4. can Chicchan	lob*	3350 4. 4 Chicchan	bad
5. ho Cimi	lob*	5. 5 Cimi	bad
6. uac Manik	lob*	6. 6 Manik	bad
7. uuc Lamat	lob	7. 7 Lamat	bad
8. uaxac Muluc	*	8. 8 Muluc	
9. bolon Oc	lob	3355 9. 9 Oc	bad
10. lahun Chuen	*	10. 10 Chuen	
11. buluc Eb	lob	11. 11 Eb	bad
12. lahca Ben	lob	12. 12 Ben	bad
13. oxlahun Hix	lob	13. 13 Ix	bad

August (31)

3331. *Uai c u cutal Pop* 'here is the seating of Pop'. See also note 3060. The year 10 Imix is followed here by 11 Cimi [1 Pop]. This is consistent with the seatings of the other *uinal*s in this calendar but not with the notes for April 25, June 14, and September 27, which are in the Mayapan calendar. See also note 3229.

3332. *U ti al pakal* 'for planting'. A reasonable date for planting, well north on the Yucatan Peninsula.

3334. *Cup canil u ti al pakal* 'cut sprouts for planting'.

3337. *U ti al ah ceehob* 'for the deer people'. See also note 3071.

3338. *Kal ikal; u chibal tok* 'seizing the winds; bite of the knife'.

3345. *Licil u sihil ah miatzob* 'as the birth of sages'.

3347. *U ti al al mehenob* 'for the nobles'.

3350. *Y al kaba ah toc* 'the dawn of the Burner'.

3351. *Licil u cutal Uoo* 'as the seating of Uoo'.

3352. *Trasfiguracion* 'Transfiguration'. The date is Gregorian.

3354. *Ka lob; ppix ich* 'just bad, vigil'. Oddly, there is no general prognostication for this day.

3356. *U sian che tun cimil; S. Lorenzo; chac ikal y an i* 'the origin of stick and stone death; St. Lawrence; there was a hurricane'. The date for San Lorenzo is Gregorian.

14. hun Men	*	3360	14. 1 Men	
15. caa Cib	lob*		15. 2 Cib	bad
16. ox Caban	lob		16. 3 Caban	bad
17. can Etz'nab	lob		17. 4 Etz'nab	bad
18. hoil Cauac	lob*		18. 5 Cauac	bad
19. uac Ahau	*	3365	19. 6 Ahau	
20. uuc Ymix	lob		20. 7 Imix	bad
21. uaxacil Ik	lob		21. 8 Ik	bad
22. bolon Akbal	lob		22. 9 Akbal	bad
23. (lahun Kan)			23. (10 Kan)	
24. buluc Chicchan	*	3370	24. 11 Chicchan	
25. lahca Cimi	lob*		25. 12 Cimi	bad
26. oxlahun Manik	lob		26. 13 Manik	bad
27. hun Lamat	*		27. 1 Lamat	
28. ca Muluc	lob		28. 2 Muluc	bad
29. oxil Oc	lob*	3375	29. 3 Oc	bad
30. can Chuen	lob		30. 4 Chuen	bad
31. hoo Eb	lob		31. 5 Eb	bad

(26r) Septiembre (30)

1. uac Ben	lob	
2. uuc Hix	lob	
3. uaxac Men	lob	3380
4. bolon Cib	utz	
5. lahun Caban	*	
6. buluc Etz'nab	utz	
7. lahcabil Cauac	utz	
8. oxlahun Ahau	utz*	3385
9. hun Imix	utz	
10. cabil Ik	utz	
11. ox Akbal	utz*	
12. canil Kan	utz*	
13. ho Chicchan	utz	3390

September (30)

1. 6 Ben	bad
2. 7 Ix	bad
3. 8 Men	bad
4. 9 Cib	good
5. 10 Caban	
6. 11 Etz'nab	good
7. 12 Cauac	good
8. 13 Ahau	good
9. 1 Imix	good
10. 2 Ik	good
11. 3 Akbal	good
12. 4 Kan	good
13. 5 Chicchan	good

3360. *Ti ulah che tun cimil i* 'which brought stick and stone death'.

3361. *Asumpcion* 'Assumption'. The date is Gregorian.

3364. *Chac ikal* 'hurricane'.

3365. *U hokol chac mitan ch'oc* 'the appearance of red plague rot'. See also note 3079.

3370. *U tup kak ah toc; S. Bartolome* 'the quenching of the fire of the Burner; St. Bartholomew'. The date is Gregorian.

3371. *Licil u cutal Sip* 'as the seating of Zip'.

3373. *U takal u kak balam* 'the engendering of the jaguar's fire'. Roys' transcription suggests reading *u kab balam*.

3375. *U cha kak ah toc; ik y an i* 'the Burner takes the fire; there is wind'. Like Roys, I read *ch'a*.

3382. *U sian ahaub* 'the birth of the lords'.

3385. *Natiuidad; ik y an i* 'Christmas; there is wind'. I have no explanation for Christmas in September.

3388. *Hahaal te la e* 'scattered thunderstorms'.

3389. *Hahaal te la e* 'scattered thunderstorms'.

14. uac Cimi	utz*	14. 6 Cimi	good
15. uuc Manik	lob	15. 7 Manik	bad
16. uaxac Lamat	*	16. 8 Lamat	
17. bolon Muluc	lob	17. 9 Muluc	bad
18. lahun Oc	*	3395 18. 10 Oc	
19. buluc Chuen	utz	19. 11 Chuen	good
20. lahca Eb	utz	20. 12 Eb	good
21. oxlahun Ben	utz	21. 13 Ben	good
22. hun Hix	lob*	22. 1 Ix	bad
23. cail Men	lob	3400 23. 2 Men	bad
24. oxil Cib	utz*	24. 3 Cib	good
25. can Caban	utz	25. 4 Caban	good
26. ho Etz'nab	utz	26. 5 Etz'nab	good
27. uacil Cauac	utz*	27. 6 Cauac	good
28. uuc Ahau	utz	3405 28. 7 Ahau	good
29. uaxac Imix	lob*	29. 8 Imix	bad
30. bolon Ik	*	30. 9 Ik	

(26v) *Octubre* (31)

1. lahun Akbal	lob	1. 10 Akbal	bad
2. bulucil Kan	utz*	2. 11 Kan	good
3. lahca Chicchan	lob	3410 3. 12 Chicchan	bad
4. oxlahun Cimi	*	4. 13 Cimi	
5. hun Manik	*	5. 1 Manik	
6. ca Lamat	lob	6. 2 Lamat	bad
7. ox Muluc	lob	7. 3 Muluc	bad
8. canil Oc	lob*	3415 8. 4 Oc	bad
9. ho Chuen	lob	9. 5 Chuen	bad
10. uac Eb	utz*	10. 6 Eb	good
11. uuc Ben	lob	11. 7 Ben	bad
12. uaxacil Hix	lob	12. 8 Ix	bad
13. bolon Men	lob	3420 13. 9 Men	bad
14. lahun Cib	utz	14. 10 Cib	good
15. buluc Caban	utz	15. 11 Caban	good

October (31)

3391. *U sian ku; u cutal* 'the birth of god; the seating of Zotz'. The manuscript omits Zotz'.

3393. *U nich' co; hun Ahau Can* 'the teething of a tooth; one Lord Snake'.

3395. *U hopol kak ah toc* 'the Burner flames his fire'.

3399. *Licil u sihil ahauob* 'as the birth of the lords'.

3401. *U pakal cab i* 'planting the land'.

3404. *U hun te Pop* 'the first of Pop'. See also note 3229.

3406. *San Miguel* 'Saint Michael'. The date is Gregorian.

3407. *U kukum tok ch'apahal y an i* 'the quetzal feather knife has been seized'. See also note 3061.

3409. *U kaxal ha i* 'the dropping of water'. See also note 3063.

3411. *U sian chac; u cutal Seec* 'the birth of rain; the seating of Tzec'.

3412. *U lubul u koch palal; ch'apahal y an i* 'the posting of the tax on children; there are seizures'. Compare note 3407.

3415. *Y al kaba ah toc* 'the dawn of the Burner'.

3417. *Sut ti kax ximbal* 'return to the wild, walking'.

16. lahca Etz'nab	*	16. 12 Etz'nab	
17. oxlahun Cauac	utz	17. 13 Cauac	good
18. hun Ahau	lob*	3425 18. 1 Ahau	bad
19. ca Imix	lob	19. 2 Imix	bad
20. oxil Ik	lob	20. 3 Ik	bad
21. can Akbal	utz	21. 4 Akbal	good
22. hoil Kan	lob	22. 5 Kan	bad
23. uac Chicchan	lob	3430 23. 6 Chicchan	bad
24. uuc Cimi	utz*	24. 7 Cimi	good
25. uaxac Manik	*	25. 8 Manik	
26. bolon Lamat	lob	26. 9 Lamat	bad
27. lahun Muluc	lob	27. 10 Muluc	bad
28. bulucil Oc	*	3435 28. 11 Oc	
29. lahca Chuen	*	29. 12 Chuen	
30. oxlahun Eb	lob*	30. 13 Eb	bad
31. hun Ben	lob*	31. 1 Ben	bad

(27r) **Noviembre (30)**

November (30)			
1. cail Hix	lob*	1. 2 Ix	bad
2. ox Men	*	3440 2. 3 Men	
3. can Cib	*	3. 4 Cib	
4. ho Caban	lob	4. 5 Caban	bad
5. uac Etz'nab	lob	5. 6 Etz'nab	bad
6. uucil Cauac	lob	6. 7 Cauac	bad
7. uaxac Ahau	lob	3445 7. 8 Ahau	bad
8. bolon Imix	lob	8. 9 Imix	bad
9. lahun Ik	lob	9. 10 Ik	bad
10. buluc Akbal	*	10. 11 Akbal	
11. lahca Kan	*	11. 12 Kan	
12. oxlahun Chicchan	lob*	3450 12. 13 Chicchan	bad
13. hun Cimi	lob*	13. 1 Cimi	bad

3423. *Hac lob; cimil y an i* 'very bad; there is death'. Like Roys, I read *hach lob*.

3425. *U hokol chac mitan ch'oc* 'the appearance of red plague rot'.

3431. *U sian chac; u cutal Xul* 'the birth of rain; the seating of Xul'.

3432. *U kin ha i; utz* 'the day of water; good'. There is no general augury.

3435. *U tup kak ah toc* 'the Burner quenches the fire'.

3436. *U lubul u kob ah kinob; u kin ppix ich* 'the posting of the sun priests' tax; vigil day'. Like Roys, I read *koch* for *kob*.

3437. *U kin ppix ich* 'vigil day'.

3438. *Ch'apahal y an i* 'there are seizures'.

3439. *Mnium. S. M.* 'All Saints'. Like Roys, I reconstruct *Omnium Sanctorum*. The date is Gregorian.

3440. *U cha kak ah toc; finados* 'the Burner takes the fire; the ends (?)'.

3441. *U lubul u koch ah menob; ppix ich* 'the posting of the curers' tax; vigil'.

3448. *U lubul u koch a kulel; cimil* 'the posting of the tax of the officials; death'.

3449. *U cimil ahuob, ti cimil ix . . .* 'the death of the lords, which is also the death . . . '.

3450. *S. Diego* 'St. James'. The date is Gregorian.

3451. *U cutal tz'e Yax Kin* 'the seating of the birth of Yaxkin'.

14. can Manik	lob	14. 2 Manik	bad
15. ox Lamat	lob	15. 3 Lamat	bad
16. can Muluc	utz*	16. 4 Muluc	good
17. hoil Oc	lob	3455 17. 5 Oc	bad
18. uac Chuen	*	18. 6 Chuen	
19. uuc Eb	lob	19. 7 Eb	bad
20. uaxac Ben	lob	20. 8 Ben	bad
21. bolon Hix	lob	21. 9 Ix	bad
22. lahun Men	*	3460 22. 10 Men	
23. buluc Cib	lob	23. 11 Cib	bad
24. lahca Caban	lob	24. 12 Caban	bad
25. oxlahun Etz'nab	*	25. 13 Etz'nab	
26. hunil Cauac	lob*	26. 1 Cauac	bad
27. can Ahau	lob*	3465 27. 2 Ahau	bad
28. ox Ymix	lob	28. 3 Imix	bad
29. canil Ik	lob	29. 4 Ik	bad
30. ho Akbal	lob*	30. 5 Akbal	bad

(27v) *Diciembre (31)*

1. uacil Kan	utz*	1. 6 Kan	good
2. uuc Chicchan	utz	3470 2. 7 Chicchan	good
3. uaxac Cimi	*	3. 8 Cimi	
4. bolon Manik	lob	4. 9 Manik	bad
5. lahun Lamat	lob	5. 10 Lamat	bad
6. buluc Muluc	utz	6. 11 Muluc	good
7. lahca Oc	lob	3475 7. 12 Oc	bad
8. oxlahun Chuen	lob*	8. 13 Chuen	bad
9. hun Eb	lob	9. 1 Eb	bad
10. ca Been	lob	10. 2 Ben	bad
11. ox Hix	lob	11. 3 Ix	bad
12. can Men	lob*	3480 12. 4 Men	bad
(13. ho) Cib	utz	(13. 5) Cib	good
(14. uac) Caban	utz	(14. 6) Caban	good
15. uuc Etz'nab	utz	15. 7 Etz'nab	good
16. uaxac Cauac	utz	16. 8 Cauac	good
17. bolon Ahau	*	3485 17. 9 Ahau	
18. lahun Imix	lob	18. 10 Imix	bad

3454. *U pec chac y an i* 'there was a hard rainstorm'.3456. *Uchic u kalal hub* 'occurred the taking of conch'.3460. *U hopol u kak ah toc* 'the Burner flames his fire'.3463. *Y oc noh uah pai be ocsah* 'germinate the big food before sowing'.3464. *Ceel y an i* 'there is fog'.3465. *Ceel y an i* 'there is fog'.3468. *S. Andres* 'St. Andrew'. The date is Gregorian.3469. *U hoppol ha i* 'the beginning of water'.3471. *U cital Mol* 'the seating of Mol'.3476. *Consepcion* 'Conception'. The date is Gregorian.3480. *Y al kaba ah toc* 'the dawn of the Burner'.3485. *U ch'aal ba ku* 'the god prepares himself'. The date is again 9 Ahau: see note 3205.

19. bulucil Ik	*	19. 11 Ik	
20. lahca Akbal	utz	20. 12 Akbal	good
21. oxlahun Kan	*	21. 13 Kan	
22. hun Chicchan	utz	3490 22. 1 Chicchan	good
23. ca Cimi	utz*	23. 2 Cimi	good
24. ox Manik	utz	24. 3 Manik	good
25. can Lamat	utz*	25. 4 Lamat	good
26. ho Muluc	lob	26. 5 Muluc	bad
27. uacil Oc	lob	3495 27. 6 Oc	bad
28. uuc Chuen	lob	28. 7 Chuen	bad
29. uaxac Eb	lob	29. 8 Eb	bad
30. bolon Ben	utz	30. 9 Ben	good
31. lahun Ix	utz*	31. 10 Ix	good
		3500	

3487. *U kin chac i* 'a day of rain'.

3489. *U coi kinal ku* 'the abstention time of god'.

3491. *U cutal Ch'een* 'the seating of Ch'en'.

3493. *Natividad* 'Christmas'. The date is Gregorian. The omission of Lent, Holy Week, and Easter from the Tizimin is striking.

3499. A dummy line has been counted at line 3500 so as not to disrupt the numbering of the following couplet.

25. The Seven-Day Week

Like the preceding chapter, this text does not require an interpretative translation. It begins with a table for predicting the abundance of corn according to which day of the week initiates the Christian year—thus reinterpreting the seven days of the week as seven year-bearers. Each day is associated with its corresponding planet or with the sun and moon, and the auguries are laconic, implying feast, famine, or average conditions. The years are listed by fours, implying an awareness of leap years.

(21r) U ti al u pat-hal yxim*

Ba ix maxan.

Domingo	Sol	tz'oc lukan	Sunday	Sun	gulped
Lunes	Luna	tan coch	Monday	Moon	halfway
Martes	Marte	uiih	3505 Tuesday	Mars	hungry
Miercoles	Mercurio	tan coch	Wednesday	Mercury	halfway
Viernes	Venus	tz'oc lukan	Friday	Venus	gulped
Sabado	Saturno	uiih	Saturday	Saturn	hungry
Domingo	Sol	tz'oc lukan	Sunday	Sun	gulped
Lunes	Luna	tan coch	3510 Monday	Moon	halfway

For the usage of corn

And likewise cornmeal:

3501. It is of some interest to note that 1620 in the Julian calendar and 1752 in the Gregorian one (!) were years in which the Christian count began on New Year's Day on Sunday. The pattern of the count here presented repeats each twenty-eight years (see lines 3531 ff.). The pattern of the following auguries is the first such in the Tizimin which (tacitly) acknowledges leap years, omitting each fifth weekday "yearbearer."

Note 1 speculates about a twenty-eight-year cycle—presumably because the whole text is playing with sevens and fours. Note 2 reports a hurricane in 1628. Note 3 repeats the report of the 1629 plague of locusts, emphasizing the damage near Merida (see the preceding chapter). And note 4 specifies that these were red-spotted locusts and that they came in April.

The remainder of the text details the yearbearer-divinatory significance of the days of the Christian week, emphasizing agricultural implications and specifying the expected corn harvest. The order of the days is peculiar (Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Sunday, Monday), and I have no explanation for it.

Miercoles	Mercurio	tan coch	Wednesday	Mercury	halfway
Juebes	Jupiter	tz'oc lukan	Thursday	Jupiter	gulped
Biernes	Benus	tz'oc lukan	Friday	Venus	gulped
Sabado	Saturnoo	uiih	Saturday	Saturn	hungry
Lunes	Luna	tan coch	3515	Monday	Moon
Martes	Marte	uiih		Tuesday	Mars
Miercoles	Mercurio	tan coch		Wednesday	Mercury
Juebes	Jupiter	tz'oc lukan		Thursday	Jupiter
Sabado	Saturno	uiih		Saturday	Saturn
Domingo	Sol	tz'oc lukan	3520	Sunday	Sun
Lunes	Luna	tan coch		Monday	Moon
Martes	Marte	uiih		Tuesday	Mars
Juebes	Jupiter	tz'oc lukan		Thursday	Jupiter
Viernes	Venus	tz'oc lukan			gulped
Sabado	Saturno	uiih	3525	Saturday	gulped
Domingo	Sol	tz'oc lukan		Sunday	hungry
Martes	Marte	uiih		Tuesday	hungry
Miercoles	Mercurio	tan coch		Wednesday	halfway
Juebes	Jupiter	tz'oc lukan		Thursday	gulped
Viernes	Benus	tz'oc lukan	3530	Friday	halfway

(Note 1)

Hun kal
 Ca tac uaxac pel hab
 Y an ichil
 Lei hun canal la e
 He ix ca bin tz'alloc u xoc
 Tac cabal e
 Ca nacac u xoc t u ca ten
 U ti al u nup hab
 La t u lah
 U tz'ocol u xoc e
 Ca ix chumpahac canal
 T u ca ten*
 Lei t ob hay tun canal o
 Lai li c u sat cab
 Ba hun hab
 Lei tux y an Domingo lo
 La t u ppis u
 Hayal cab.

Note 1

One twenty
 And then eight years
 Are in
 This one sky
 3535 And that is when the count will have
 to be given
 Of hidden land.
 Then is to approach the count again
 For the opposite year
 That completes
 3540 The ending of the count
 And when the pile is to be set up
 Again.
 This they (?) the fire stone of the sky
 In the same way come the lands
 3545 Of that many years
 That is where Sunday is:
 That it measures
 The amount of land.

(Note 2)

1628 años
 Lei hab

Note 2

1628.
 3550 That was the year

Y an ca uch i
 Noh chac ikal
 Ichil akab ca hop i
 Ik lub lah i
 Cheob
 Naob
 He bal canal tac ob e
 Lubi t u men ik.

There occurred
 The hurricane
 During the night, when there began
 A wind that devastated

3555 Trees
 And houses.
 Everything that was close to the sky
 Was felled by the wind.

(Note 3)

1629 años
 Lei hab uchc i
 U hach satal nal
 T u men saak
 Lic u tupul u u ich
 Kan tub ai sak
 Ma chanh i
 Cimsah i
 Tac T Ho sin
 Lic sak c uch i
 La t u lah ti Cupul
 Manan y oc.

Note 3

1629.

3560 This was the year there occurred
 The great destruction of corn-ears
 By locusts
 Like the quenching of the face
 That was there where the locusts
 3565 Did not appear
 They died.
 Near Merida it was flattened
 As the locusts occurred
 When they returned to cut it
 3570 There wasn't a sprout.

(Note 4)

He le en 19 de Abril
 De 1629 años ul i
 U y anal sak
 Chac nicen u pach ob
 Sati kax
 T u hanal ob
 T u hach hitz' yax kin
 Chac sak*
 Ti ul i
 Bai chachacil ti.

Note 4

Then on April 19,
 1629, there arrived
 The locusts
 With red-spotted backs

3575 To destroy it.
 They ate up the forest
 And totally finished off the springtime
 The red locusts
 That came
 3580 And thus trampled it down.

(21v) Jueves

He t u lubul Enero
 Ti Juebes e
 Matan
 Y antal
 U lol cheob i
 U ti al cabob i
 Bin y anac yax kin i
 Bin y anac u kaxal ha i
 Bin ix chuplahac
 Yoc haob i

Thursday

This is on the posting of January
 On Thursday.

It is expected
 That there will be
 3585 Flowers on the trees
 So that the lands
 Will have spring.
 They will have the falling of rain
 And will be stuffed
 3590 With sprouting water.

Bin il
 Ti bilac
 Ch'apahal ob i
 T u lacal cah
 Bin y an heb
 Bin patai yxim i.

There will be
 Someone
 To help them gather it.
 All the towns
 3595 Will have a turn.
 There will be the expected corn.

Viernes

He t u lubul Enero
 Ti Biernes e
 Utz
 T lobal
 Bin y anac chauac yax kin i
 Bin ix y anac ch'apahal i
 Bin y anac ya ich i
 Pec otzil u talel
 Ma okolal ob i
 T katunob i
 T u men num ya
 Bin talac ob
 Bin pata Yxim i
 Tz'etz'il i
 Nahal
 Y an i.

Friday

This is on the posting of January
 On Friday.

It is good

3600 That befalls.
 There will be a long spring
 And there will be a harvest.
 It will have pain in it.
 Grinding poverty is coming.

3605 They do not believe
 In the *katuns*
 Because suffering
 Will trouble them.
 There will be the expected corn
 3610 But little
 That is useful
 Will there be.

Sabado

He t u lubul ero*
 Ti Sabado e
 Bin y anac kin tun y abil i
 Bin ix cohac yxim xan i
 Ma ix mac bin hach conic
 Tz'etz'il i
 Bin pat heb ixim i
 Bin y anac chocuil i
 La ob i
 Box i
 Ti u cimlahal no xi cabob i*
 Bin lublahac kak i
 Bin ix hokoc nucuch kak y okol
 unicob i
 Bin ix y anac ch'uhuc ob i
 U u ich
 Cheob i

Saturday

This is the posting of January
 On Saturday.

3615 It will have a calendar round
 And will pound corn too,
 But there will not be very much to
 sell,
 Just a little.

The corn will be expected to turn.

3620 There will be a heat wave
 And it
 Will be black.
 That will be the dying off of the adult
 men of the lands

Who will be felled by fever,

3625 And it will appear as a great fire over
 the people.
 And they will be sweet:
 The fruits
 Of the trees.

3613. I read *enero*.

3623. I read *noh xib*.

T u lacal ocsah ob e i
 T u lacal ocsah ob e
 Bin hauac
 Bin cimlahac y ikil cabob i.

They will sow everything . . .

3630 Everything they sow
 Will be finished:
 Will be killed by the winds of the
 lands.

Martes

He t u lubul *Enero*
 Ti *Martes* e
 Bin y anac y nohil thanal
 Than i
 He x ti y ahal cab
 Ychil hab la e
 Bin y an y anac yeob
 Bin y anac kin tun y abil xan
 Bin cohac (u tohol) yxim i*
 Y okol conol ob i
 He ix ppolomob ti chem e
 Ma t u yabhal u na balob i
 T u men num ya
 Bin ma ya cimil
 U nucil al mehenob i
 Ma t an u pattal ixin
 Tz'etz'il i
 Bin y anac i.

Tuesday

This is on the posting of January
 On Tuesday.
 3635 They will have the right words
 To say.
 And this is at the dawn
 Of the year.
 It is going to be having fog,
 3640 It will have a calendar round also.
 It will pound the straight corn
 They go to sell.
 And those who are traders in boats
 Will not have their houses sicken,
 3645 Because the suffering
 Will be painless death,
 The complaint of the nobility.
 Not half the expected corn
 And little
 3650 Will it be.

Miercoles

He t u lubul *Enero*
 Ti *Miercoles* e
 U y utz hab
 Utz ix yax kin xan i
 Bin utzac u bel
 Ah tanlahob i
 Bin y anac ch'uuhucob i
 Bin y anac pah subtal i

 Utz u cambaltabal cux olal i
 T u men ah ma cux ol e
 Bin choc uac
 Lum i
 He ix ah ximbalte
 Y etel ah numul beob e
 Y an bin cimic ob i
 Cimlahac
 Tatan
 Celemob i

Wednesday

This is on the posting of January
 On Wednesday.
 Good is the year
 And good is the spring too.
 3655 It will be a good road
 For half of the people.
 They will have sweets.
 It will have to be able to shame
 them.
 Good is its instruction in happiness
 3660 Because those who are not happy
 Will have to oversee
 The land.
 And there are the travelers
 And those who suffer the roads.
 3665 They will die
 And must die:
 Old men
 And youths,

Ix tam pamob i
 Y etel palalob i
 Bin ix y anac uih
 Tz'etz'ec i
 Hanilte
 Uinicob e
 Bin cimic ob i
 T u men ti
 C u lubul
 U koch ob i
 Tan coch
 Bin pat heb yxim i.

Beautiful girls
 3670 And children.
 And there will be hunger
 And very little
 To be eaten
 By the people,
 3675 Who will die
 Because of it.
 They are posting
 Their arrival
 Half will be expected
 3680 Of the measure of corn.

Domingo

He t u lubul *Enero*
 Ti *Domingo* e
 Lic u y antal kin tun y abil i
 Ca hatz u cah *Dios* i
 Ix ma can tan coch i
 Kin tan coch i
 He x canaltac ob e
 Bin cabalac t u lacal
 He uacaxob e
 Y etel u chayan bal cheob e
 Bin y okoc ob
 T u men ukah
 Bin paxlahac cabob i
 Bin y anac y ah pau lob
 Bin y anac ch'uhuc ob i
 Y etel lauacbal pakalbil ob e

 Bin y anac katun ti uinicob
 T u men ix ma okolalob i
 Bin ix uluc u nohol anumal i

 Bin xococ
 Ti noh thanil
 Bin y anac tuk olal i
 Bin patai yxim i
 T u y uklalil.

(22r) Lunes

He t u lubul *Enero*
 Ti *Lunes* e
 Bin y anac u tz'ayal
 Tzil *Dios* i
 Bin ix lubuc
 U hach nohil chacil ha i

Sunday

This is on the posting of January
 On Sunday.
 As it has a calendar round,
 Then it divides the town of God,
 3685 And it is not the sky half—
 The sun half.
 And this is to elevate them:
 It will descend to bear everything.
 These are the cattle
 3690 And the other animals
 Who will leave
 Because of thirst,
 And will destroy the lands,
 And it will have ghost giants.
 3695 It will have them burned,
 And that is the return of their
 expectations.
 There will be war for men
 Also because of the infidels
 Who must also arrive at the right
 speedily,
 3700 And must come
 Into the right word.
 It will have a groaning spirit.
 There will be the expected corn
 For drinking.

Monday

3705 This is on the posting of January
 On Monday.
 It will have the giving
 Of the remainder of God
 And it will have to post
 3710 The rightest rainwater.

Bin hach sisac lum i
 Bin y anac u nohol
 Chapahal i
 Oox e
 U cuch
 Bin ix hokoc
 Ah chalamat
 Lai u tus ci uchc i
 U ch'a haal
 Kakanab
 Ma t u ci ci pat-hal yxim i
 Tan cochil i.

It will be very numbing to the earth.
 It will have the south
 Taken.
 Three then
 3715 Are its burdens,
 And there must arrive
 The possibly evil people,
 That is who have lied—
 The taking of water
 3720 From the sea.
 Not the best expectation of corn,
 Just half.

26. Zuyua

Zuyua was the seat of katun
 3 Ahau. As fated, Zuyua got the
 lordship. Ahau Can as Jaguar
 ruled in Merida. With the re-
 turn of the constellation Nok,
 the Center priest Coc Ay the
 Crier was lord. (3738)

(14r) Ox lahun Suiua
 U hetz'
 Katun
 Ti ox Ahau
 Lic u than
 U bel
 Suiua
 U hetz' y ahaulil.
 Hau lic u keulel Ahau Can

 Bai lic u keulel Balam*
 Ich Can Si Ho
 Ti ox kin
 U sut ekel
 Nok canal.*
 Yax Coc Ai Mut u u ich*

 Y ahaulil.

13 Zuyua
 Was the seat
 3725 Of the *katun*
 In 3 Ahau.
 Like its word,
 Its road,
 Zuyua
 3730 Was the seat of the lordship.
 Divided like the skin of the
 Rattlesnake,
 Just like the skin of the Jaguar
 In Heaven Born Merida.
 In three days
 3735 Was the return of the stars
 Of Nok on high.
 The Center priest Coc Ay Mut was
 the person
 In the lordship.

3732. Ahau Can 'lord snake, rattlesnake', like Jaguar, is a title of the lord of the *katun*, who wore both jaguar and rattlesnake skin robes. Landa 1929: 1: 72 gives the full title as *ahau can may* 'rattlesnake of the cycle' and equates it with *ah kin may* 'sun priest of the cycle'. Ahau Can was also the personal name of notables at Chichen Itza in 8 Ahau (1461) and at Merida in 5 Ahau (1598).

3736. *Nok* 'clothes' may be an unidentified constellation, presumably one visible in Yucatan at the approach of the half *katun*: 2 Ahau 2 Zac, December 27, 1628. On the offhand guess that the reference was to Halley's Comet, I've checked it out. The only occurrence of that comet within a recent 3 Ahau was in 1378.

3737. See note 2987. Landa 1929: 2: 28 considers Yax Coc Ay Mut a god name.

It was clear weather but windy as the sky was searched for the approach of the mid katun. (3746)

The lord was overthrown in office. Cut was the throat of the ruler by the peasants and the East priest Bol Ay of the northeast lineages, causing mourning for the poor lords because of the northeast demons, scouts, and peasants. (3768)

And God in heaven knew that Merida and all the world were puffed up with pride. The land was flattened and broken

Sac	Bright
Patai habil	3740 Clear years;
Chen ik	Only the wind
Bin ma nanac i	Will be unusual.
Pacatnom	They searched
T u canil	In the sky
T u tzicil	3745 For the glory
T u tepal Buluc Ch'ab Tan	For the rule of the 11 priest Ch'ab Tan.
Paaxlahom	Destroyed
Y ahaulil cab	Was the lordship of the land.
T u pop	On the mat
T u tz'am	3750 On the throne.
Xotom	Cut
U cal	Was the throat
Ah tem pop	Of the step mat lord,
Ah tem tz'am	The step throne lord
U balmil cab*	3755 By the Honeybees
Chac Bol Ai	And the East priest Bol Ay
Chac bob	The red stalks
Sac bob	And white stalks.
Num y ol ualac	Sadness will arise
Y acan	3760 And be covered up
T u pach y ahaulil cab	After the lords of the land
Otzilhom ob	Are impoverished.
Chac uen co	Red nightmare,
Sac uen co	White nightmare
Ah chin coot*	3765 Eagle porters
Ah chin pacat*	And lookout porters
Ah mab yum	The fatherless
Ah mab na	And motherless.
Uchom u tz'oc sitz'il	Ended is envy;
Uchom mac tzil	3770 Come are the brave.
Ti caan	In heaven
Hunab Ku y ohel uchom	The Sole God knew.
Ich Can Si Ho	Merida
Yuklah bal cah	And the whole world
Bin uchbal	3775 Underwent
Ppuluxhal	Puffing up.
Uesahom cab	Spread over the land,
Uecsahom peten	Spread over the jungle
Chochpahom u u ich	Flattened was the face,
Chochpahom u kab	3780 Flattened was the hand,
Chochpahom y oc	Flattened was the foot
Ua Pa Cabal	Whether of the Fort of the Lands,

3755. See note 2999.

3765. *Ah chin coot* 'bearer eagles': the porters of the Eagles, a military order.

3766. *Ah chin pacat* 'bearer lookout', a military scout, presumably also a porter of the Eagles; these were peasants or "orphans," as the following lines state.

even in Mayapan by sacrifices in 3 Ahau. The ruler was ill and hemorrhaging during his brief and illegitimate rule, abandoning his office, capital, and throne to the peasants. And lesser nobles took over. (3804)

Ua ma ya cimbal
 Ua hai cabil
 Y an ichil y ahaulil
 Ox Ahau katun
 He x ah tem pop
 Ah tem tz'am e
 Bin u xee u lukah e
 Ti u hoyabal u cal i
 Ah ox kin tepal i
 Ah ox kin tz'am
 Ah ma mahan
 Nail
 Okom yax cach
 Okom bul cum
 T u ho can be
 Bin y okte
 U tz'am
 U pop
 Ah mab yum
 Ah mab na
 Uch cutal tz'itz'iil al
 Tz'itz'iil mehen i.

Or of the sacrifices,

Or of the devastated lands

3785 That were under the lordship
 Of *katun 3 Ahau*.

And he was the lord of the step mat
 Of the step throne,

Who will vomit and spew forth

3790 With the discharge of his throat.
 The three-day rulers,

The three-day thrones

Of these unknown
 By matriline.

3795 Departed are the green flies;
 Departed are the bean gourds

From the four crossroads.

They will be made to leave

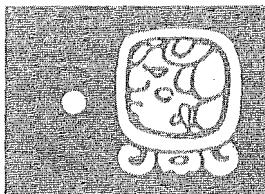
The throne,

3800 The mat

Of the fatherless,

The motherless.

There have been seated the mean born,
 The mean engendered.



I Ahau

Emal was the seat of katun 1 Ahau, bringing warfare to the time of Puc Ol Ha and Ual Icim. There were three terms of office, three terms of rule. It will be seen who supports the lords. Then Amayte Kauil was lord and beat down both the

(14r) **Emal***
 U hetz'
Katun
 Ti hun Ahau.
Ti y emel tab i
 Ti y emel sum i
T u kin y an
 Ca em
Ix Puc y Ol Ha*
 Ix Ual Icim*
Ox kas u ta*
 Ox kas u toon
Ox kas ti y ahaulil
 Ox kas u tucul
Bin y ilab max cuxan
 Kosan ahaub i
He ahau la e
 Amaite Kuil u u ich*
 (14v) **Bin pecnac peten i**
 Pecnom bal cah i

3805 **Emal**
 Was the seat
 Of the *katun*
 In 1 Ahau,
 Which was to lower the rope,
 3810 Which was to lower the cord.
 At this time it was
 That there came down
 Also Puc Ol Ha
 And Ual Icim;
 3815 Three divisions of his word;
 Three divisions of his secret;
 Three divisions of the lordship;
 Three divisions of his thought.
 It will be seen who has experienced
 3820 And served the lords.
 This was the lord:
 Amayte Kauil was.
 The country will be made aware,
 The world informed,

3805. Emal, which had served as the seat of the *katun* in 11 Ahau and 5 Ahau, had already been designated as the seat of 1 Ahau with Ol Zip as lord (see also note 3048). The claim was contested by Amayte Kauil of Merida, though no Merida text on the point has survived. This was the last time that Merida claimed to seat the *katun*, having become sufficiently Christianized to lose interest in the traditionalist competition. It may be about this time that Merida ceased to style itself Born of Heaven and became simply *ti Ho* again.

3813. Puc y Ol Ha 'hill heart water', perhaps a relative of Puc Tun (see also line 3883). Barrera 1948: 110 translates this as 'she who destroys the heart of the water'.

3814. Ual Icim 'fan owl', an otherwise unidentified lord. See also line 3884, which gives Ual Ecuy. Barrera 1948: 110 has 'owl with her wings spread'. Icim is the horned owl (*Bubo*) according to Tozzer 1941: 202.

3815. See line 3885, which gives *than* for *ta*.

3822. I read Amayte Kauil. See also line 3890, where he is identified as a sage and lord. A namesake was prominent in 7 Ahau.

country and the city, even Merida to the north. (3828)

The usurper of the throne and lordship was dealing in land. Son of a sun priest and a street mother, he abandoned his duty. The world was mad. The destroyer then calmed down again in his brief term in office. Then spoke the northeast lineages to end it, restoring the ceremonies and ending 1 Ahau.

Pecnom chumuc cab	3825	The center of the land informed
T u pol peten*		At the head of the country
Ich Can Si Ho		In Heaven Born Merida,
Ti y an y okol		That he is over
Ah cotz matan i		The office seekers
Ah mahan koh	3830	As the announced mask lord,
Ah mahan tz'am		The announced throne lord,
Ah mahan pop		The announced mat lord
Ti y ahaulil		In the lordship.
Cuch lum tam ba*		Bearing the land for each other.
Bin tz'ocebal	3835	That will be the termination
Ah sitz'bic ahaulil*		Of the coveter of the lordship,
U mehen ah kin		Son of a sun priest
Y al ti ti be		And born of a whore.
Okom yax cach		Departed are the green flies;
Okom bul cum*	3840	Departed are the bean gourds.
Coopahom bal cah i		The world has been driven mad;
Bin u co co u Ba Cab i		The land will go mad.
Ah taxtal		The flattener
Ah actal		The diminisher
Ca bin tz'em	3845	Will be calm
Actum e		And small anew
Y ua ua than katun		Is the agonizing word of the <i>katun</i>
U hun kin tepal		Of one-day rule,
Ah tem pop		Lord of the step mat,
Ah ten tz'am	3850	Lord of the step throne.
Ti u pul		That will be the casting
Than		Of the word
Chac uen co		Of red nightmare,
Sac uen co		White nightmare.
Bi ba o	3855	Thus it follows;
Bi uil		Thus is its moon.
Much*		It was twisted
Coc-hom e		And cleared.
Ox y al		Three loads
Ah toc*	3860	Of the Burners
U tz'oc sitz'il		Ended the covetousness
Ti hun Ahau ual e		In 1 Ahau again.

3826. *Tu pol peten* 'at the head of the country' describes the geographical position of Merida. I read *p'ol*.

3834. *Cuch lum tam ba* 'bearing the land for each other'; bearing land is claiming title to it.

3836. Barrera 1948: 111 translates this as 'maestras', but on page 116 he agrees with me.

3840. A repeated couplet alluding to the disappearance of spirits and insignia at the end of a *katun*.

3857. Barrera 1948: 111 has 'who look like frogs, those of big testicles, those of flint'.

3860. *Ah toc* 'burner': the god and priest who presided over the fire ceremonies on certain Chicchan, Oc, Men, and Ahau days. Each Burner ruled a sixty-five-day cycle, or a quarter *tzolkin*. See lines 3049 ff., 5000 ff. The Burners are more or less equated with the Ba Cabs (Tozzer 1941: 136).

The peasants returned and made peace with the minor nobles of the west. It was a sad time in 1 Ahau. (3874)

Sutpahom ah cuc lum
Itz'in ob i
Yuklah cab u than
Ti tal u habil
Tz'itz'iil al
Tz'itz'iil mehen i
Mucui al
Mucui mehen i*
Okom y ol y ahaulil
Ti ulom u y anal than i

T u cuch
Hun Ahau katun ual e.

Returned were the bearers of the land,
The younger brothers.
3865 Across the land was the word
That came of the year
Of the mean born,
The mean engendered,
Dove born,
3870 Dove engendered.
The lordship sorrowing
At the arrival of the essence of the
word
In the burden
Of *katun* 1 Ahau again.

3870. Mucuy 'dove', a town not far from Acanceh.

28. The Surrender of Merida

Katun 1 Ahau was the sixth in the Itza katun series. Emal was its seat, and there were both Puc Ol Ha and Ual Ecuy. There were three factions and three terms of office. (3888)

And, it was the sage Amayte Kauil who was lord and brought

(16v) Hun Ahau
Katum
Uac tz'it
Ti katun
Ich cah Emal
U hetz' katun
Ti tal i
U y emel
Ix Puc y Ol Ha i
Ix Ual E Cuy i*
Ox kax u than
Ox kax u toon
Ox kasap u tucul
Ox kasap y ol*
Ti y ah miatzil i
Amaite Kauil u u ich*

3875 1 Ahau
Was the *katun*,
The sixth part
In the *katun* cycle
In the town of Emal,
3880 The seat of the *katun*.
There came
The descent
Also of Puc Ol Ha
And Ual Ecuy.
3885 Three divisions are their word,
Three divisions are their secret,
Three divisions are their thought;
Three divisions are their span.
It was the sage
3890 Amayte Kauil

3884. Ual Ecuy 'enemy hard', another rival for the lordship of the *katun*.
Compare Ual Icim, line 3814.

3888. There were three factions, led by Ol Zip (traditionalist), Amayte Kauil (pro-Christian), and Hun Pic and Can Ul (representing the military orders). What may be the ideology of the third faction is spelled out in the following text, which also identifies it with the Chan lineage of Emal. Cozumel and Izamal may also have been involved, and there was a Xiu-Itza dimension to the scrap as well.

3890. Amayte Kauil 'paper-tree god' (see also line 3822) was apparently successful in gaining the lordship in 1 Ahau. He is not to be confused with his

(note continued on following page)

the true prophecy to the world from edge to center, with justice, the word of God, and taxes. (3902)

And Hun Pic and Can Ul came to power, the latter for seven years and the former for seven years. Then came the land tax and the Chan rising, the Chan war. This was the martyrdom of the Spaniards by 240 darts, they say. It was the rulers of the port who lost. It was not the lords, who were judged and accepted if legiti-

	T an y ahaulil Ti y ulel U y anal than i U y anal (17r) can i Bin okomac Y ol bal cah i Pecnom-u xik cab	Who was in the lordship, The bringer Of the existing word, The existing teaching
3895	To be brought Pecnom chumuc luum i	To be brought Into the hearts of the world, To the awareness of the wings of the earth, To the awareness of the middle of the land.
	Ti y emel justisia Likul tí can i U than hahal ku U koch bal cah Ti y ulel Hun Pic ti Ax*	That is the descent of justice Rising up to heaven The word of the True God, The taxation of the world.
3900	Ti y emel Can Ul ti chibal i	That will be the coming of Hun Pic from Ax;
	Uuc ppel hab u chibal Can Ul	That will be the descent of Can Ul by succession.
3905	Uuc ppel hab u chibal Hum Pic ti Ax i	Seven years will be the succession of Can Ul, Seven years will be the succession of Hun Pic from Ax.
	Ti tal i Y emel U koch Chakan i Ti u likil Chan*	Then came The descent Of the tax on fields
3910	Ti bateel i U Chanal katun Ti y emel u tzicil Ah ben tenal tz'ul i	Which was the rising of the Chans In arms, The war of the Chans.
	Ox much' hom Yala Ah canan sus Ah canan kaknab ti y emel	That was the descent of their worships, The foreign people who go to die:
3915	Ma xul ahau i Xotom ahau	Three piles of darts It says here.
		It was the guardians of the sands, The guardians of the sea who descended.
3920		It was not the end of the lords. The lords were judged

(note continued from preceding page)

namesakes who held office in 7 Ahau and 8 Ahau or with Amayte Ku, who was prominent in Emal in 5 Ahau. The present Amayte Kaul was a leader of the Christian faction in Emal.

3903. Hun Pic 'strong bedbug' ti Ax 'from blister', an unidentified village, was a pro-Christian who was lord in the *katun* from 1651 to 1658 and again in the following *katun* from about 1664 to 1670. He followed Can Ul in his first term and Yax Chuen (1658–1664) in his second and was succeeded by Pat Ay (1670–1671). He was supported by the merchants, peasants, and military companies against the priests and curers. Accused of illegitimacy because his mother was a commoner, he was executed by the traditionalists in 1670.

3910. Chan 'molar', a lineage prominent in Emal and Chab Le in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see note 4289). Hun Chan was lord of *katun* 10 Ahau in Chab Le.

mate, declaring peace and suppressing the military orders. Then came the imposition of tribute, Christianity, and hangings, and there were sacrifices and plague and famine in 1 Ahau. There was a ceremonial removal of the insignia from the center, and they were hidden, to end the ambitions of the poor at katun time. (3950)

lx mektan	And were embraced
Ca sih i	When they were born.
Hoyic u u ich	Sprinkling the face
U maxil katun*	Of the shields of war,
Xotic y ich'ac Ch'uyum Thul*	3925 Cutting the nails of the Hanging Rabbits,
Ah Cab Coh	The Earth Lions.
Ti y emel u cuch patan i	Then came the burden of tribute;
Ti tali x̄ptanoil i	Then came Christianity.
Ti y emel sum	Then descended the rope
Tal canal i	3930 Coming from the sky.
Ti tali chac sitz'il	Then came red desire,
Ma ya cimlal	Painless death,
Xe kik	Blood vomit,
Chac mitan uiih	Great hunger plague,
U cuch	3935 The burdens
Hun Ahau katun	Of katun 1 Ahau.
Ocnal	The progression
Kuchil	And arrival
Okom yax cah	Of the departed green flies,
Okom bul cum	3940 Of the departed gourd bowl
T u ho can be	At the four crossroads
T u ho can heleb	At the four rest stops
T ix u mucul nicte i	Where the flowers are to be hidden
C u xul muc u cuch katun	And the burden of the <i>katun</i> is hidden
Ti u tz'oc sitz'il	3945 Which is the end of the desire,
U tz'oc cotz	The end of the plucking
Ti ah tz'utul	Of those who
Tz'utob	Are the most needy:
T u kin	At that time
T u katunil ual e.	3950 In this <i>katun</i> period.

3924. Apparently a ritual of peace. See also line 4134.

3925. Ch'uyum Thul 'hanging rabbits', a military order.

29. A Word from Mani

The song of the Spokesman of the Jaguar of Mani for 13 Ahau

(10r) U profesia Chilam Balam*

T ix kayom

The prophecy of the Spokesman of the Jaguar

Which is also sung

3951. Although it is identified with Mani, this text appears to express the position of Izamal as well in the continuing religious debate of *katun* 1 Ahau.

(note continued on following page)

was the end of the capital. God was set up on the cross, forgiving the whole world. (3968)

The Xiu are jealous when we come bearing God as priests. At once He may rouse the world in the northwest and the god Itzam Na at the place of the Itza and the sculpture. (3984)

Welcome then the Spaniards, the bearers of God. The word of

Cabal Chen	In the lands of the well
Mani*	At Mani.
Ox lahun Ahau u hetz' i	3955 13 Ahau was the seating
Uil katun	Of the moon of the <i>katun</i> ,
Ualac uil Ytza	To return the moon of the Itza,
Ualac uil tan cah e*	To return the moon of the capital.
Yum	The father,
U chicul hunab ku canal	3960 The sign of the Sole God on high
Uлом uaom che	Who came on the standing tree
Etsahom ti cah e*	Was placed in the town,
Uchebal	Occasioning
U sas-hal	His forgiveness
Y okol cab e	3965 Of the whole world
Yum	As father.
Tz'uni moc tam ba	The Xiu tie each other in knots;
Tz'uni sauinal*	The Xiu are jealous
Ca tal on	When we come
Ti pul chicul ku uchmal	3970 Who bear the blessed god:
Ah kin uinic e	The sun priest men,
Yum	The fathers.
Hun auat	One shout,
Hun lub i	One stop
Uil u tal	3975 And he may come
Ahom uil cab	And may awaken the earth.
Hun xaman	One north
Hun chikin	One west.
Ahom	Awakened
Itzam Na Kauil*	3980 Is Itzam Na Kauil,
Talel u cah	Coming to the place
A yum Ytza	Of your Itza fathers,
Talel u cah	Coming to the place
(U) sascun tan tun e	Of the clarified front stone.
Kam	3985 Receive them
A u ula	Welcome them—
Ah mexob	The bearded ones,
Likin cabob	The eastern landers,
Ah pulob	The bearers of him
Ti chicul ku yum	3990 Who is the blessed father god.

(note continued from preceding page)

Like the preceding texts, it refers back to the authority of the Spokesman of the Jaguar in a plea for Christian orthodoxy.

3954. Mani 'buying', a major town of central Yucatan, notable as the first permanent seat of the Franciscan missionary effort and the origin of one of the *Books of Chilam Balam*.

3958. Tan Cah 'front town', hence capital. Mani was the capital of the province of Tutul Xiu.

3962. Roys n.d. suggests *ti bal cah e* 'in the world'.

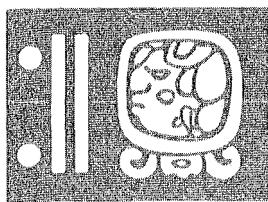
3968. Tz'uni 'needles', apparently a lineage. If we read Tz'unun 'hummingbird' the reference would be to the Xiu.

3980. Itzam Na Kauil: Itzam Na the God.

God is good. He is the light of our lives. O God the Creator whose word is good, Father and guardian, be established and manifest in the cross, to the sorrow of the yearbearer priests beyond the ceiba. This is the Sole God of the Itza. Worship Him on high with true faith as the True God. Enter into the word of your Redeemer, O Itza, now. Love one another, I say, for that is God's word. I shall unite it in 1647. (4038)

Utz kau than ku
 C u talel k icnal e
 Talel u cah u thanl
 U kin ca cuxtal e
 Ma a sahtic y okol cab e yum
 T ech hunab ku ch'abtic oon
 Utz tum ba
 U than ku e
 Yum
 (Y ah canul ca pixan)
 Ca u acunte u chicul canal
 Ca a u acunto
 Ca pacte hele e
 Ca u acunto u uaom che
 Numtetah u kex
 Ah okol hele e
 U hel t u pach u yax cheel cab
 Etsahom helel ti bal cah e
 La u chicul hunab ku canal
 (10v) Talom e
 La a kult ex
 Ah Itza ex
 Ca a kulte hel e
 U chichil ku
 Likul canal e
 Ca c kulte to
 T u hahil kolah
 Ca c kulte to
 Ca hahal ku e
 Oces t a ba
 U than hunab ku
 Tal i
 Canal au ah thanul e
 Cuxcint a u ol
 Ah Ytza
 Ahom uil cab ti ob
 Ocsic ti y ol
 Ychil u y anal katun ual e
 Yab t u ba
 In than
 C en
 Chilam Balam
 Ca in tzolah
 U than hahal ku
 In bin hunac
 Tzuc ti cab
 T u bolon pis y abil
 Ah hun Ahau ual e.*

Good is the word of God
 Which is coming before us,
 Coming to begin the words,
 The sun of our lives here.
 3995 Do not frighten the world, Father,
 Thou, Sole God, created us.
 Good is the news—
 The word of God,
 The Father,
 4000 (Guardian of our souls).
 Establish his grace on high;
 Establish it
 And manifest its change.
 Establish his standing tree
 4005 To pain his replacement,
 The believer in change:
 The change behind the ceiba land
 Placed as a change in the field
 That is the blessed Sole God on high
 4010 Who is come.
 That is your God,
 O ye Itza.
 Worship the replacement
 Of the powerful God
 4015 Rising to heaven.
 Let us worship him
 With true devotion;
 Let us worship him
 Our True God.
 4020 Enter yourselves
 Into the word of the Sole God
 Who is come
 To raise your spokesman
 And resurrect your hearts,
 4025 O Itza,
 That the earth may be awakened
 By those who are brought to his heart
 In the period of this *katun's* return.
 Love one another
 4030 Is my word,
 Mine
 As Spokesman of the Jaguar.
 For I am recounting
 The word of the True God.
 4035 I shall unite
 And assemble it on earth
 In the ninth year's time
 Of him who is again 1 Ahau.



12 Ahau

30. Valladolid Fights On

Valladolid was the seat of katun 12 Ahau. Yax Chuen was the lord. He united the shamans and magicians and was seated as a sun priest on the throne with insignia for six years. The lords and people were righteous everywhere, and

(14v) Sacl Ac Tun*	Valladolid
U hetz'	Was the seat
Katun	Of the <i>katun</i>
Ti lah ca Ahau.	In 12 Ahau.
Yaxal Chuen u u ich*	Yax Chuen was the person
U y ahaulil	In the lordship
Ti uchom	4045 Who achieved
Hunac ah menil*	Unifying the curers,
Hunac ah itz'atil	Unifying the seers,
Hunac ah esil	Unifying the sorcerers.
Hokom	Seated
Y an ti can	4050 He is on high,
Ah kin	A sun priest
Cumlahom	Seated
T u tz'am	On the throne,
T u pop	On the mat
Ti balam	4055 In the jaguar robe
Kokob*	And rattles.
Uac tz'ac	Six steps
U tepal uchom*	His rule lasted.
Ci ci ba tabil i	Righteous were the chiefs;
Ci ci ahaulil i	4060 Righteous were the lords;

4039. Valladolid was the undisputed seat of the *katun* when 12 Ahau began, but the lordship nonetheless changed hands twice. At the outset it was claimed by Yax Chuen of the anti-Christian party; he was succeeded by Hun Pic (pro-Christian), and he in turn was succeeded by Pat Ay, who was anti-Christian again. Both this and the following text are Itza and anti-Christian.

4043. Yaxal Chuen 'green monkey', lord of Valladolid and a sun priest and priest of *katun* 12 Ahau. The Yax were a Xiu lineage prominent in Merida in the sixteenth century, and another Yax Chuen was an early victim of the Spanish there in the 1540s.

4046. *Ah menil* 'curers', *ah itz'atil* 'seers', *ah esil* 'sorcerers'. These practitioners are not otherwise mentioned in the Tizimin. Yax Chuen achieved peace and stability by incorporating the lower orders into the power system. He was opposed by the military orders and the merchant class, who were pro-Christian.

4056. 'In the jaguar robe and rattles': signs of lordship.

4058. Yax Chuen was overthrown in 1664.

the priest designate awaited his legitimate rule. And Yax Chuen cleared the area of the woods for the poor villagers, eliminating the soldiers and assaulters and sacrificers. Such was 12 Ahau. It produced order even though hungry. (4088)

It ended with sacrifices at Mayapan, and finished was the term of the monkey katun with the Death God. There were six good and six bad years and then the final ceremonies. The

	Ci ci uniicil i	Righteous were the people;
	Ci ci al mehenil	Righteous were the nobles
	Yuklahom	Everywhere
	Ti cab	In the land.
4065	Cuch	Burden
	Pach-hom	On his back,
	Ah holil	The ender
	Och i	Of the count
	Bin u ppat u mahan pop	Will await the announcement of his mat,
4070	U mahan tz'am*	4070 The announcement of his throne,
	Ca xic nak	Then go nearby
	Tan cab nak	Before the nearby land,
	Poc	The thickets
	Che	And trees,
4075	Ci otzilhom uinicil	4075 Telling the impoverished people
	Utzhom cah i	That the town has been improved.
	Manan Cab Coh i	There are no Earth Lions,
	Manan Ch'amacob	There are no Foxes,
	Manan Hom Sabin i	There are no Dart Weasels,
	Manan Ah Coc ahaulil i	4080 There are no Turtle Lords,
	Manan Ah Coc tepal i	There are no Turtle Rulers;
	Manan hom al letz' ahaulil*	There are no darts of the lord lickers.
	Ma uchom ah mahan koh i	The mask announcer has not come.
	Lai u cuch lah ca Ahau katun	That is the burden of <i>katun</i> 12 Ahau.
4085	Y an u tepal	4085 He had his rule;
	Y an y ahaulil	He had his lordship;
	Y anahom u tzic	He had his honor,
	He uac manahom u uah	Whether in fact he finished his food
	Pa Cabal u tz'oc	And ended at Mayapan
	Ua ma ya cimlal*	4090 Or in painless death.
	T u tz'oc	That completed
	U y anhal	The existence
	U max kin	Of the monkey time,
	U max katun	The monkey <i>katun</i> :
4095	Ah Puch'*	4095 The Death God
	Tun	Idol.
	Uac te ti hab utz i	Six of the years were good;
	Uac te ti hab lob i	Six of the years were bad.
	Ca utzac t u ca ten	Then it was possible again
4100	Yambil tam*	4100 That it be changed,

4070. Yax Chuen was punctilious about the traditional ritual. He started on his ceremonial circuit only four days after assuming office (see line 4126), bearing to the villages the official count of the *katun*, confirming titles, and holding the drinking ceremonies.

4082. Yax Chuen cleared the woods of the military companies. This must have been between 1638 and 1645.

4090. And he was installed at Mayapan, holding sacrifices.

4095. Ah Puch' 'crusher', the god of death. See Tozzer 1941: 132.

4100. This text omits direct reference to the six-year rule of Hun Pic

(note continued on following page)

katun ended in the selection of the new lord, eliminating the soldiers, assaulters, and sacrificers and reviving the land in 12 Ahau. (4116)

Pel eb	The danger step,
Xot eb katun	Cut step katun.
Bin tohcintic	There will be sought;
Bin chaanac	There will be found
U than hun kul ahau i	4105 The word of one divine lord
Bin utzac cah i	To improve the town.
Manan hom u Ch'amacil	There will be no darts of Foxes;
Manan Coh i	There will be no Lions;
Manan Sabin i	There will be no Weasels;
Manan hom Ah Chibal i	4110 There will be no darts of the nobility.
Hotz'om	Pulled
Ych'ac Coh i	Are the claws of the Lions
Cuxlahom cab	Who lived on the land,
Cuxlahom peten	Who lived in the country.
Ti y ox lahun uutz'	4115 This was the thirteenth fold
Ah lah ca Ahau ual e.	Of the divider 12 Ahau again.

(note continued from preceding page)

(1664–1670), which is described in the following chapter, skipping to the re-establishment of Mayan orthodoxy in 1671.

31. Class War

12 Ahau was the seventh of the Itza katun series. Valladolid was its seat. Yax Chuen was its lord, and on the fourth day he left, bearing the result of the count in the Mayan tradition

(17r) Lah cabil Ahau	
U uuc tz'it	
Katun	
C u xocol	
Sacl Ac Tun	
U hetz' katun	
Yaxal Chuen u u ich*	
U y ahaulil	
Okom y an t u canil kin	
Y an t u canil akab	
Cuch	
Pach-hom	
Holil	
Och	
Ti y emel chac tun	
Ah u sil	

The twelfth Ahau	
Was the seventh part	
Of the <i>katuns</i>	
4120 To be counted.	
Valladolid	
Was the seat of the <i>katun</i> .	
Yax Chuen was the face	
Of the lordship,	
4125 And departed to be there on the fourth	
day	
On the fourth night,	
Bearing	
Loaded on his back	
Holil	
The ending	
4130 Of the count.	
That was the descent of the red stone,	
Ah u sil	
The witches.	

4123. Compare lines 4043 ff., a briefer account of this *katun* which is nonetheless in general agreement. Yax Chuen was the traditionalist lord from 1658 to 1664.

and declaring peace. Bitter and defeated were the merchants over the confusion of katuns, their lordship, their processions, and their ceremonies. This was the katun of families, children, and young men. (4152)

The merchants and headmen rebelled at once at the lordship of the beginning of the katun, bringing on the pain of division and war. It was half-bad, half-good: six years bad, six good, making twelve years. And what they wanted, the merchants, was the seventh year in the cen-

	Hoyic u u ich U maxil katun Cicilnac Papalnac Hom u pucsikal Y ah belnalil cab i T u men u saual katun Katun tepal Katun ahaulil Katun than Katun hanal Katun ukul Katun ximbal Katun belnalil Ti tali u katun no xib U katun ix nuc U katun palal (.)* U katun hol can U katun tan celem Ti tali sisitz' belnalil Sisitz' ba tabil Hun kin Hun uay U tz'am U pop Al kab Katum Oc yail Tepal Ti u likil che Y etel tunich ti bateel i Tan koch utz i Tan koch lob i Uac ppel hab lob i Uac ppel hab utz i*	He sprinkles the faces Of the shields of war. 4135 Throbbing And shattered Are the darts in the hearts Of those who travel about the earth Because of envy of the <i>katun</i> : 4140 The <i>katun</i> of rule; The <i>katun</i> of lordship; The <i>katun</i> of the word; The <i>katun</i> of eating; The <i>katun</i> of drinking; 4145 The <i>katun</i> of walking; The <i>katun</i> of traveling; The <i>katun</i> of husbands; The <i>katun</i> of wives; The <i>katun</i> of children; 4150 (.) The <i>katun</i> of warriors; The <i>katun</i> of youths. Then came the passion of travelers, The passion of chiefs. 4155 One day, One sleep away Was the throne The mat Of the dawn 4160 Of the <i>katun</i> , The coming of pain And division Which was the raising of sticks And stones in battle. 4165 Halfway good, Halfway bad: Six years bad; Six years good. That completes twelve 4170 Steps of the <i>katun</i> . That was the desire And belief Of those who roam the earth Where they wish. 4175 The seventh step Is the navel of the earth,
--	---	--

4150. Line missing.

4168. War broke out again in 1684 to 1685.

4176. Seven may again symbolize Christianity, though the implication of six plus seven produces a cycle of thirteen. Presumably an Itza-Christian syncretism is implied, possibly the one represented by weekday divination.

ter as the local books said. For the merchants, God is coming: accept and welcome Him. He is coming immediately. (4184)

And Hun Pic took power as one of the three lords of the katun, to demand a parent for the snarled katun, a new one. God was installed in the lordship of the rich katun 12 Ahau. This ended the fighting around the country, and the warriors fled to the forest and the lordship was established. The merchants were beaten. (4208)

New lords were nominated for the end of the katun, to do away with the irresponsible nobles. The sun priest was executed, the son of a street mother. Tribute was imposed

	Ti u katal U libroil cah i*	Which is the desire Of the books of the place.
	Ti y ah belnalil cabob i U than ku lic u talel	That is the travelers of the earth;
4180	Kam A u ula ex	The word of God as it is coming.
	Hun lub Hun auat u tal	Receive And welcome it.
	Hum Pic ti Ax*	In one rest,
	U cuch katun	One shout it is coming.
	Ox kasap y ol Ox kasap u than	4185 Hun Pic from Ax Was the bearer of the <i>katun</i> .
	Bin u tza u yum Y etel u na t u saual katun	Thrice blocked its heart, Thrice blocked its word.
	Kekex yum Kekex na	He will demand a father
	Hunab ku C u tza i	4190 And a mother for the envy <i>katun</i> : A substitute father, A substitute mother.
	Okol kan che u cah T u pop	The Sole God Is installed
	(17v) Lah cabil Ahau Ayikal katun	4195 On the throne of his place, On the mat
	Bay hol i Xan punob cal	Of 12 Ahau, The rich <i>katun</i> .
	Punob peten Punob tan chumuc cab*	Thus it is finished,
	Sutnom halal Tan chumuc peten	4200 As well as ending the Flags: The Flags of the country, The Flags in the middle of the land.
	Ti tali u y anhal Y ahauil bal cah i	Returned are the arrows In the middle of the country.
	Ti y uchul ban meyah i Ti u baxtabal y ah belnalil cahob i	4205 Then came the realization Of the lordship of the world.
	Ti culh i Al cab katun	Then were occurring piles of work.
	Hul katun Tz'on katun	Then was the beating down of the travelers of the towns.
	Bin y anac U tz'on	Then was seated
	Co co al Co co mehen	4210 The dawn of the <i>katun</i> , The pierced <i>katun</i> , The shot <i>katun</i> .
	T u tza katun Satnom y al	It is going To be the end
	Ix ti ti be*	4215 Of the insane born And insane engendered children.
	Ti tali patanhali i	The <i>katun</i> was removed. Destroyed were the born children Of the street mother.
4220		4220 Then came the tribute system.

4178. *Libroil* 'books': the locally written prophecies.

4185. *Hum*: I read *hun*. Hun Pic ruled from about 1664 to 1670. See also note 3903.

4202. *Panob* 'flags' from Nahuatl *pantli*: a military company.

4219. See line 3838. I surmise that it was Hun Pic whose parentage was ques-

(note continued on following page)

and the duumvirate ended. Pat Ay became lord and imposed new officials and taxes. He united the curers and made his circuit of the wilderness, judging the lords and warriors of the military orders, burning villages, and destroying the orders. Great and rich was the katun. And the headmen rejoiced everywhere. The count was accepted by country and city for the katun and the calendar round. But disease struck as the lord feasted, and it was neither good nor bad in that katun again. (4262)

Ti y emal ahau ca ppel u pol i
 Baxtic y ah belnalil cabob i
 Ek Pat Ai u u ich*
 Tu men u saual katun
 T ix u hatzal u cuch bal cah i
 Ti u katabal u takin ahau i
 Hunac ah menil
 Hunac ah tz'acil*
 Ti tal i
 U hokol
 Ich lumil che
 Ich lumil tunich i
 Xotom ahau i
 Xotic y ich'ac
 Ah Chuyum Thul i
 Ti u lachlam pach
 Cab Coh i
 Y etel Ch'amac i
 Elom
 Y ac tunil
 Manan tun Ch'amac
 Manan tun Cab Coh
 Noh uah
 U uah
 Katun
 Ayikal katun
 Ci ci ba tabil
 Ci ci olal bin y anac
 Ti bal cah
 Tu chi kaknab
 U ch'aic y och tan y ol che
 U hetz'
 U katunil ual e
 Kin tun y abil
 Xe kik
 U tz'oc ci ci olal
 Ti u katabal natal nat
 Ti hanal i
 Manan tun num ya
 Ci ci olal
 Tu kin
 Tu katunil ual e.

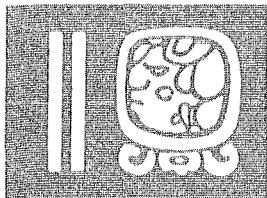
There will descend the lord with two heads
 And beat the travelers of the lands.
 The West priest Pat Ay was the face
 For the envy *katun*,
 4225 And he divided the burden of the world
 And demanded the money of the lords:
 To unite the shamans,
 To unite the curers.
 There came
 4230 His appearance
 In the lands of trees,
 In the lands of stones.
 Cut are the lords;
 He cuts the claws
 4235 Of the Hanging Rabbit people,
 Which is the scratched back
 Of the Earth Lion
 And the Fox.
 Burned
 4240 Are the springs.
 There are then no Foxes;
 There are then no Earth Lions.
 Great food
 Is the food
 4245 Of the *katun*;
 Rich is the *katun*.
 Happy are the chiefs.
 Rejoicing is to be
 On earth
 4250 And at the edge of the sea.
 They get the count among the trees,
 The seat
 Of the *katun* period again,
 Of the calendar round.
 4255 Blood vomit
 Ended the rejoicing
 Of him who was asked to comprehend,
 Who was eating.
 There was neither then suffering
 4260 Nor rejoicing
 On that day,
 On that *katun* period again.

(note continued from preceding page)

tioned (note the atypical name) and who was executed by the traditionalists in 1670.

4223. Pat Ay 'wait grease', lord of the *katun* from about 1670 to 1671. A traditionalist, he attacked the military orders and merchants.

4228. See note 4046.



10 Ahau

32. Christian Victory

10 Ahau was the eighth in the Itza katun cycle. Valladolid was its seat. The Chab Le founded Uat Hom in the wilderness, claiming title in poverty and burning and destroying the north coast. Christianity was regretted throughout. (4284)

(17v) Lahun Ahau
U uaxac tz'it
Katun
C u xocol
Sacl Ac Tun
U hetz' katun.*
Lahun Chab Le y ulelob
T u cahal ob Can Uat Hom*
U kax eb
Cheob
Y okol y ahaulil
Cabob
Oxil uah
U uah ob
Elom u Ku Ch'ich'*
Ua Kom Chal Tun
Elom Tz'itz'
Elom Mucuy t u chi kaknab
U than ku canal
Bin tz'oc lucuc
Tac pach
Tac tan ual e.

10 Ahau
Was the eighth part
4265 Of the *katun*
To be counted.
Valladolid
Was the seat of the *katun*.
The 10 Chab Le people were to arrive
4270 And settle Can Uat Hom,
Its forests
And trees
Over the lordship
Of their lands.
4275 Breadnut food
Is their food.
Burned is Ku Ch'ich'
And Kom Chal Tun;
Burned is Tz'itz';
4280 Burned is Mucuy at the edge of the sea.
The word of God on high
Will end in lamentation
Both behind
And before it again.

4268. Valladolid again claims to seat the *katun* and accuses the people of Chab Le of burning and looting in the name of Christianity.

4270. Can Uat Hom 'four length sink', an unidentified place, probably near Emal.

4277. These appear to be place-names: U Ku Ch'ich' 'god of birds' and Kom Chal Tun 'pit flat stone'. Tz'itz' may be Tz'itz'om Tun. For Mucuy, see note 3870.

33. Christian Defeat

Chab Le was the seat of katun 10 Ahau. Hun Chan was the ruler. Whether blessed or waning, the woods and gods wait in the sky. It was a miserable time of hunger and thirst, and the lords were tied and destroyed in the penitential cere-

(14v) Lahun Chab Le	4285 10 Chab Le
U hetz'	Was the seat
Katun	Of the <i>katun</i>
Ti lahun Ahau.	In 10 Ahau.
Hun Chaan u u ich*	Hun Chan was the person.
Cit bolon ua u u ich t u canil*	4290 Either the Remote Nine were the
Cit bolon	face in heaven,
Ua u u kin*	Or the Remote Nine
U kax eb	Were the moon of the sun
Cheob	Of the forests
Can lot*	And trees.
Pat-hom be	4295 The four twins
Te	Awaited their road
Ti caan e	There
Satai habil y an i	In heaven.
Manan hom uah	Needy years they were;
Ox	4300 Gone was the bright food.
Y etel cup*	Breadnut
U uah	And gourdroot
Y etel y aal	Were its food
(15r) Kaxan u u ich	And drink.
Kaxan y ahaulil	4305 Tied was its face;
Satan hal ach uinicob	Tied the lordship.
Y etel u cucteelob*	Destroyed were the governors
Uiuh u cuch	And officials.
Y oklal u keban bal cah i	Hunger was the burden.
	4310 Weeping for the sins of the world,

4289. Hun Chan 'book molar' of Chab Le 'sapote leaf' contested the seating of the *katun* with Valladolid (line 4269). I believe Chab Le to be on or near the site of Chan Santa Cruz or the modern Felipe Carrillo Puerto. See also note 777. The end of this *katun* marked the conquest of the Peten Itza; but the Tizimin does not mention it.

4290. *Cit bolon* 'remote nine' is a pregnant religious pun. It refers to the approach (in the next *katun*) of the end of the Xiu nine cycle on 8 Ahau. The nine lords of the night, like the thirteen lords of the day, were "holy and remote." They symbolically represent the (black) west and the Xiu, as the day gods represent the (red) east and the Itza. *Bolon*, furthermore, connotes 'great'. The Itza were understandably perturbed as the end of the Xiu cycle approached, particularly so since they also had to cope with the mysterious seven cycle of the Christians.

4292. *Ua u u kin* 'or the moon was its sun': see note 1558. Either Valladolid was justified in its grandiose pretensions, or it had it upside down. That was indeed the question.

4295. Were the Ba Cab priesthoods doubled? Old and new perhaps?

4302. *Cup*, also called *chicam* in Maya, is identified variously as jicama or camote (*Pachyrhizos* or *Calopogonium*). See Tozzer 1941: 196. It was considered an undesirable food.

4308. *Cuchteel ob* 'those who were arranging for them to be borne', hence landowners. Bearing land was owning it.

monies of the four Fathers of the Land behind the ceiba. And the stars brought the word of the end of the katun and redemption. 10 Ahau was a sad period. (4326)

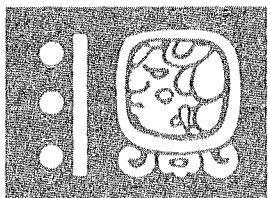
Pecnahom pax
Pecnom sot
Pecnahom
Can tul Ba Cab i
Ti u ch'abal
U pach u yax cheel cab i
T ix u colabal
Y ekil cal
C u cup u hahal than
U catz' pop*
Kaspahan ti ualac
U xihul bal cah e*
T u cuch lahun Ahau ual e
Okom olal y an i
Ti y ahaulil
T u cuch hab ual e.

Sounded was the drum,
Sounded the rattle—
Sounded
The four Fathers of the Land,
4315 Who are doing it
Behind the ceiba grove.
And that is the cultivation
Of the starry voice,
Releasing the true word
4320 Of the fold of the mat,
Preventing the arising
Of the stain of the world.
He bore 10 Ahau again
And there was sorrow
4325 In the lordship
Bearing the year's return.

4320. *Catz'* may be an error for *uatz'*. I so read it.

4322. *Xihul* 'stain' refers to the "sins of the world"; see also line 4310.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY



8 Ahau

34. The Final Battle for Mayapan

Katun 8 Ahau was seated at Mayapan, and in the south Chab Le was the seat of katun 8 Ahau. Amayte Kauil was the lord and leader and proceeded on Xiu doctrine to sacrifice and war. No one could provide his village with food and drink. Fields and hills were poor and

(15r) Uaxac Ahau
 Katun
 Culh i
 Ca uch i
 Pa Cabal
 Mayapan
 Ti nohol
 Y an i
 Lahun Chab Le
 U hetz'
 Katun
 Ti uaxac Ahau*
 Amaite Kauil u u ich
 Y ahaulil
 Ti u uah
 Ti y aal
 Oclis t u ba
 Ti xul i
 Cit bolon ua*
 U u ich
 Tokil uah
 Tokil haa
 Hol can
 U can
 Ma mac u tzic
 Ti besah u cah
 T u uah
 T u y aal
 Otzilhom chakan
 Otzilhom uitz

8 Ahau
 Was the *katun*
 That was seated
 4330 When it occurred
 At the Fort of the Lands,
 Mayapan.
 In the south
 It was.
 4335 10 Chab Le
 Was the seat
 Of the *katun*
 In 8 Ahau.
 Amayte Kauil was the person
 4340 Of the lordship.
 He was its food;
 He was its drink,
 Collecting himself
 At the end.
 4345 Or the Remote Nine
 Were the face:
 Flint food,
 Flint water.
 The captains
 4350 Were its guardian.
 No one succeeded
 In teaching the towns
 Their food,
 Their drink.
 4355 Idled the plains,
 Idled the hills.

4338. The leading lineages of Emal apparently emigrated to Chab Le, which again claimed to seat the cycle under Amayte Kauil. The southern part of Quintana Roo was becoming a refuge for traditionalist Mayas, as it has been since, though the lordship continued in the northeast "from Chichen Itza to the sea" under Kak Mo, heir to the tradition of the pro-Christian Itza. The primacy of Mayapan continued to be respected by both parties, at least ritually.

4345. See note 4290. This *katun* ends the Xiu cycle.

cursed by all; fields and hills were without water for the land everywhere. (4362)

The Fathers of the Land were in the flats and brought Kak Mo to power, and he ruled the country directly for the scouts and peasants from Chichen Itza to the sea. The north went Ba Cab (anti-Christian), and taxes were suspended as the rule broadened. And war broke out over the many, many lords and rulers, heirs of the Itza and street women, who were dispossessed and taxed by the Death God, by power seekers.

Bin tzaclabac
 Tu men t u lacal
 Manan u y aal chakan i
 Manahom ix y alil uitz i
 Yuklah ti cab
 Yuklah peten
 Tu sinil
 Y an Ba Cab i
 Ti emom
 Kin Ich
 Kak Mo
 Tu tepal i
 Ti emom ix
 U y anal cab
 Ti y uchul cha
 Toh
 Tu men ah chin cot
 Ah chin pacat
 Tu men ah mab na
 Ah mab yum
 U koch y ahaulil t u Chi Ch'en
 Y etel y ahaulil u chi kaknab

Ah xaman cab
 Y an Ba Cab
 Ca bin tac u koch i
 Uil t u lacalob
 Lic y ahaulil
 Cochrom e
 Emom halal
 Emom chimal
 Y okol paxebalob
 Ah yan yan tepalob*
 Ah ten tz'am*
 Ah ten popob
 U mehenob
 U hoyob Ah Iza
 Y alob ix
 Ix hihitz' be
 Koch
 U than katun a
 Puch'*
 Tun y an i
 Pa Cabal u tz'oc*
 Tu men ah sisitz' ahaulilob

They will be cursed
 By all:
 No juice of the plains
 4360 And no juice of the hills.
 All over the world,
 All over the country.
 In the plains
 There were the Fathers of the Land,
 4365 Who brought down
 The Sun Eye,
 Kak Mo,
 To his rule,
 And who brought down
 4370 The existing earth
 And made it adequate
 And correct
 For the Eagle bearers
 And Scout bearers,
 4375 For the motherless
 And fatherless.
 The tax of the lordship at Chichen
 And the lordship at the edge of the
 sea.
 The north country
 4380 Has the Fathers of the Land.
 Then they will stop the tax,
 Perhaps altogether,
 As the lordship
 Is broadened.
 4385 Arrows descending,
 Shields descending
 Over the destructions
 Of the owners of the rules,
 The step throne lords,
 4390 The step mat lords,
 The engendered sons
 And little ones of the Itza.
 And those born
 Of streetwalkers
 4395 Are the tax
 And word of this *katun*.
 The Death God
 Idol is there.
 The Fort of the Lands is finished
 4400 By the coveters of the lordship.

4388. *Yan yan*: I read *yaan* from *ya* 'exact'. It has the sense of the Spanish *mero mero*: the veriest rulers.

4389. *Ten*: I read *tem*.

4397. See line 4096.

4399. I read Pa Cabal to be Mayapan.

Such was the evil power of Kak Mo in katun 8 Ahau. (4406)

Seizing Mayapan, Kak Mo came and divided the priesthoods and raised the peasants. The priesthoods were divided and village governors were exalted. The real lords were captured or in hiding and dispossessed by the ruler. The peasants were raised, and the indigent seized property. So they abandoned the insignia and the capital. Thus was 8 Ahau. (4434)

Alas, the prophecy was fulfilled at Mayapan. Its ancient doom returned. The sun priest has spoken and written the character of the katun in 8 Ahau. (4448)

Bai chacanil
Bin u lobal
Ah kin ich
Kak Mo
Ichil uaxac Ahau
Katun ual e
Pa Cabal
Bin ocbal
Ah kin ich
Kak Mo e
Ti tal i
Haulahom caan
Noclahom luum
Ti uchom
Haulahom can e
Sipc i
Bin chacanac ob
U hal ach uinicilob cah e
Bin ix thilac
U calob y ahaulil cab i
Muc
Chehan ob
T u men ah ten tz'am
Ah ten popob e
Hex oc
Ti nocpahom luum e
Ah chincunah bailob
Ah ma balob
T u tz'oc okom yax cach
Okom bul cum
Tu ho cam be
U y okol ob
Lai u than
Uaxac Ahau ual e
Heklai
Uchc i
Pa Cabal
Mayapan
Kas u than katun
Bai li bin labal u than
Ca bin sutnac
T u ca ten
T u than ah kin
Chilam*
Ca t u tz'ibtah
U u ich
Katun
Ichil uaxac Ahau e.

Thus was the trampling,

Thus the evil

Of the glorious

Kak Mo

4405 In 8 Ahau,
The returned katun.

The Fort of the Lands
Will be stolen.

It is the glorious

4410 Kak Mo
Who came
And divided the sky.

Raised was the land
When he did it,

4415 And he divided the sky
To permit it.

They will appear,
The governors of the towns,

And will stop

4420 The throats of the lords of the land.
Hiding
And beaten

Are the step throne lords,
The step mat lords,

4425 And so they come
To the raised land

The bearers of such evil,
The destitute.

The green fly is mourned;

4430 The bean gourd is mourned
At the four crossroads.

They weep.

That is the word
Of 8 Ahau again,

4435 The events
Occurring

At the Fort of the Lands,
Mayapan.

Stopped is its word,

4440 So its word will just be old
When it shall return

For the second time.

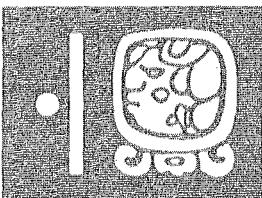
The sun priest has spoken,
The Spokesman.

4445 Then he has written
The character

Of the katun

In 8 Ahau.

4444. Like the prophet of line 3951, this one claims the mantle of the Spokesman of the Jaguar to justify a vision of the Xiu apocalypse for the Itza.



6 Ahau

35. Chic Kalac Rebels

Teabo was the seat of katun 6 Ahau. Kak Mo of Uxmal was the lord. (4456)

And Chic Kalac rebelled, promoting himself as legitimate lord, raising himself to the sky as legitimate, but it was a lie. Secret punishment appeared and the people suffered and died in the middle of 6 Ahau, starving and dying as he sat in

(15v) Uuc y Ab Nal*
 U hetz'
 Katun
 Ti uac Ahau.
 Kin ich
 Kak Mo
 Uxmal
 U u ich ti*
 Ti y ahaulil
 Chic Kalac u u ich
 Co u than
 Ti uchom
 Oclis t u ba i
 Ti u u acutnic u ba
 Ah ten pop
 Ah ten tz'am
 Oclis t u ba t u canil
 T u y ekil
 T u sihnalil
 Bin u tusub
 Homol tza
 Hoc
 Mucuc tza
 U uinicil yah
 T an lahul
 Ah uac Ahau
 Uuiynom che
 Uuiynom tunich

7 Ab Nal
 4450 Was the seat
 Of the *katun*
 In 6 Ahau.
 The glorious
 Kak Mo
 4455 Of Uxmal
 Was the face of it.
 In the lordship
 Chic Kalac was the face.
 Mad was the word
 4460 That occurred.
 He summoned himself
 And elevated himself.
 The step mat lord,
 The step throne lord
 4465 Summoned himself to the sky,
 To the stars
 By having been born to it—
 But it will be lies.
 Dart removal,
 4470 Uprooting,
 And burial removal
 Of the people of pain:
 That was the completion
 Of 6 Ahau:
 4475 Starved trees,
 Starved stones;

4449. Like the preceding prophecy, this shows a degree of confusion between this *katun* and the preceding one of the same name, seated at Uxmal. Kak Mo continued to claim the lordship from the previous *katun*, presumably still in the northeast. He was opposed around 1728 by Chic Kalac 'coati resting' of Teabo, who was anti-Christian and represented the southwest. Toward the end of the *katun* (around 1732) a third claimant arose, Cup Uah 'cup food', who ambushed and killed the other two. Itza history is increasingly concentrated in the east.

4456. Compare lines 367 ff., which agree that Uxmal was the seat of the *katun*.

state killing village headmen and abusing the neighborhood. Because the agents just divided the land, they began to say, permanently, and he wanted to do this even in the wild. (4492)

The third time this happened, war broke out and famine. At Mayapan there were three rulers and rulers, and in 1719 they were ambushed, the rulers, and finished off. And the lands were confirmed again because it wasn't time to replace the lords, not time for the installation. That is the katun fate and what happened in katun 6 Ahau. (4526)

Chac mitan uih
U cuch cimom
Culan ti pop
Culan ti tz'am
Xotom u cal
Hal ach uinicilob cah i
Bin culac ob nak
Cot nak tan cab
T u men ah macil
Tah be lo bi
T u men ppis u cah la
U cah t u than manan u xul

T u tz'i y ol
Ti u hokol
Ich lumil che
Ich lumil tunich i
Ti ox ten uchom
Cahom i
U chacil
Cupil
Uah
Chac mitan uiih
Pa Cabal
Uchom i
Ox kas tepal i
Ox tul
Ah ten tz'am
Ah tem pop
Bin y anac i
T u can pis tun
U pactic
U pach
Ti an tepal i
Ti an ahaulil i
T u tz'oc e
Ma on t kin
Bin haulac luum e
Ca noclac t u ca tèn
Mamanom kin
T u thical
Ah ten pop
Ah ten tz'amob i e
Ma ix bal put-hom
Ti y ahaulil
Lai u than katun
C u talel e
He lai u u ich
U uohil
Ah uac Ahau
Katun ual e.

The red plague of hunger,
The burden of the dead,
Seated on the mat,
4480 Seated on the throne.
Cut were the throats
Of the governors of the towns.
They are to be seated nearby,
Cleared nearby before the land
4485 By the people
Dividing it that way.
Because they surveyed the town there
And began to say that it was
permanent,
Which they wanted
4490 And asked for
In the lands of trees,
In the lands of stones.
The third time it happened
It was set:
4495 The chopping
And cutting
Of food:
Red hunger plague.
At the Fort of the Lands.
4500 There occurred
Three divisions of rule:
Three people,
Step throne lords,
Step mat lords
4505 Who will be there
In the fourth tun.
Looking
Back
There were rulers:
4510 There were lords.
That's finished—
Not now
When the land is divided:
When it is raised again.
4515 Time has passed
And unraveled
The step mat lords
The step throne lords,
And nothing is carted
4520 To the lords.
That is the word of the *katun*
That is coming.
Indeed, that is the character
Of the glyphs
4525 Of 6 Ahau,
The returning *katun*.

36. Early History

In 8 Ahau was destroyed the city of Mayapan by the hill tribes, 280 years ago. (4534)

In 6 Ahau and 4 Ahau sacrifices were held in the Fort. (4538)

In 2 Ahau was the great fire. (4540)

In 13 Ahau the water priest died. Six years before the end of the katun, an east year (2 Muluc) when 4 Kan fell on 16 Pop and 5 Kan on 15 Zip. Add three, and on 9 Imix 3 Ceh

(19r) Uaxac Ahau*
 Paxc i
 Cah
 Mayapan
 Tu men uitzi
 Tz'ul*
 Lahun kal hab
 Ca tac can kal hab i*
 Uac Ahau
 Can Ahau uchc i
 Ma ya cimbal ocnal
 Kuchil Ych Paa*
 Cabil Ahau uchc i
 Noh kakil*
 Ox lahun Ahau uchc
 U cimil Ah Pul Ha*
 Uac ppel hab u binel
 Ca tz'ococ u xoc ox lahun
 Ahau c uchi e
 Ti y an u xocol hab
 Ti lakin c uchi e
 Canil Kan cumlahc i
 Pop
 Hool Kan
 Tu ho Ihun Sip
 Ca tac
 Ox ppel i

8 Ahau (1461)
 There was destroyed
 The city
 4530 Of Mayapan
 By the Hummingbird
 Foreigners.
 Two hundred years
 And then eighty years:
 4535 6 Ahau (1480),
 4 Ahau (1500) passed.
 Painless death was brought,
 Appearing inside the walls.
 Second Ahau (1520) passed
 4540 The great fire.
 13 Ahau (1539) occurred
 The death of Water Thrower.
 Six years were to come:
 Then came the end of the count of
 13 Ahau.
 4545 It lay in the counting of the year
 That occurred in the east:
 4 Kan was included
 In Pop.
 5 Kan
 4550 Was on the fifteenth of Zip.
 So then
 There were three.

4527. This unusual text is incomplete and different in character from the remainder. On its own testimony it was written at Mani in 1732. It constitutes a highly summary account of the major events from the destruction of Mayapan in 1451 to the first census in 1611, where it breaks off. It manifests far more attention to Spanish affairs than does the rest of the Tizimin.

4532. Uitzil Tz'ul 'mountain or hummingbird foreigners': the Mexicanized western lineages.

4534. That is, Mayapan was destroyed 280 years before the composition of the present text, which therefore dates to 1732.

4538. Sacrifices continued at Mayapan into the seventeenth century. It continued to be considered the seat of the cycle by some Itzas into the nineteenth century.

4540. Other sources agree laconically that there was a "great fire" in 2 Ahau. Nobody knows where. Barrera 1948 remarks in another context which I cannot relocate that forest fires are rare in Yucatan, and I surmise that this fire was in Mayapan.

4542. Pul Ha 'throws water', a water priest (see Tozzer 1941: 54) and probably lord of the *katun* at Merida in 13 Ahau, since no other is mentioned. Barrera 1948: 65 gives his name as Pot Xiu 'blouse grass'. The emphasis on dating his death may be related to the arrival of the Spanish.

the water priest died, in 1536.
(4556)

In 11 Ahau there arrived the Spanish missionaries from the east here in this land. (4564)

In 9 Ahau there began Christianity and there arrived the first bishop, Toral, in 1544.
(4574)

In 7 Ahau Bishop Landa died, and in 5 Ahau our town priest died at Mani. In 1550 he came over to settle and in 1552 they

	Bolon Imix*	9 Imix
	U kinil cimc i	Was the time of death
4555	Ah Pul Ha	Of Water Thrower.
	Lei tun hab 1536 c uch i*	That was then the year 1536.
	Buluc Ahau	11 Ahau
	Ulc i	Was the arrival
	Tz'ulob	Of the foreigners,
4560	Kul uincob*	The people of the gods.
	Ti lakin u tal ob	From the east they came
	Ca ul ob	When they arrived
	Uai	Right here
	Tac lumil e	In this land.
	Bolon Ahau	4565 9 Ahau
	Hoppc i	It began:
	Xptianoil uchc i	Christianity occurred,
	Ca put si	Second birth.
	Lai li ichil u katunil	It was just in this <i>katun</i> period
4570	Ulc i	4570 That there arrived
	Yax obispo	The first bishop,
	Toral*	Toral.
	He ix hab c u ximbal c uchi e	And this was the year he came:
	1544	1544.
	Uuc Ahau cimc i	4575 7 Ahau there died
	Obispo Landa ychil u katunil*	Bishop Landa on the <i>katun</i> date.
	Hoo Ahau ca yum cah i	5 Ahau the Father of our town,
	Padre Mani*	The priest of Mani.
	Lai hab c u ximbal c uch i	This was the year he came:
	La 1550	4580 It was 1550.
	Lai hab c u ximbal	This was the year they came
	Ca cahi ob	And settled our town
	Y ok ha*	Above the water:
	1552 c uch i	It happened in 1552.

4553. Brinton 1882: 149 has this as 9 Imix 18 Zip.

4556. A very confusing bit of chronology here: the scribe appears to be calculating out loud. He first mentions 1533, six years before the end of *katun* 13 Ahau. He then takes us to 1530, which began on 2 Muluc 1 Pop, remarking correctly that it was an East year and that 4 Kan fell on [16] Pop and 5 Kan on 15 Zip. How this digression helps his calculation is obscure to me. He then goes back to 1533 (which began on 5 Kan 1 Pop) and adds three years, bringing him to 1536 (which began on 8 Cauac 1 Pop), then adds the two days to get to Imix. That lands him on 10 Imix 3 Pop, and he can then figure (though he does not say so) that Pul Ha died on 9 Imix 3 Ceh. The mention of an East year may relate to the coming of the Spaniards from that direction. The thirteen years from 1529 to 1542 were East years.

4560. The Spanish reached Merida in 1541, the second year of 11 Ahau.

4572. Francisco de Toral arrived in 1562 (Barrera 1948: 65). The first missionaries reached Merida in 1549.

4576. Diego de Landa died in Merida on April 19, 1579 (Julian), in the first year of 7 Ahau (Barrera 1948: 66; Ancona 1878: 2: 115). It was 4 Imix 13 Muan, the 101st day of the *katun* and the 201st day of the Mayan year.

4578. The word *padre* does not otherwise occur in the Tizimin. Who was the priest of Mani in 5 Ahau?

4583. *Y ok ha* 'above the water': probably the well of Mani.

settled at Mani. In 1559 the Auditor came. In 1560 the Doctor came: Quijada, the first governor here. In 1562 there were hangings. In 1563 the Marshal arrived. In 1569 was the fire. (4598)

In 1610 they hung the prisoners. In 1611 was the judge's sentence . . . (4602)

1559 hab ca ul i
 Oydon ca pak ispital*
 1560 u habil ca ul i
 Doctor
 Quixada
 Yax hal ach uinic*
 Uai
 Ti lum e
 1562 hab ca uch i
 Ch'ui tab*
 1563 hab ca ul i
 Mariscal*
 1569 hab ca uch i
 Kakil*
 1610 u habil ca hich i
 U cal Ah Kaxob*
 1611 hab ca tz'ibtab i

 Tu mene jue . . .*

4585 1559 was the year when there arrived
 The Auditor (? of our hospital).
 1560 was the year when there arrived
 The Doctor,
 Quijada,
 4590 The first governor
 Here
 In this land.
 1562 was the year when there occurred
 The hanging of the rope.
 4595 1563 was the year when there arrived
 The Marshal.
 1569 was the year when there occurred
 The fire.
 1610 was the year when they knotted
 4600 The necks of the Tied Ones.
 1611 was the year when there was
 written
 The settlement by the judge . . .

4586. Tomás López, *oidor*, founded the hospital in Merida in 1562 (Barrera 1948: 66).

4590. Diego Quijada was named *alcalde mayor* in 1560; he arrived at Merida in 1562 (Ancona 1878: 2: 81) and remained until 1565 (Barrera 1948: 66).

4594. Hangings were instituted by Landa as punishment for heresy in 1562 (Barrera 1948: 65).

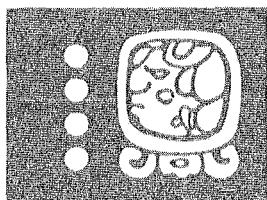
4596. *Mariscal*: Barrera 1948: 66 identifies the marshal as Governor Luna de Arellano (1604–1612).

4598. Another fire? Brinton 1882: 149 and Barrera 1948: 66 say 'smallpox'.

4600. There is general agreement that this refers to the punishment of the rebellion of Tekax (Ancona 1878: 3: 201).

4602. Barrera 1948: 67 refers to a census conducted by Judge Diego Pareja in 1611.

4 Ahau



37. The War Is Over

Teabo was the seat of katun 4 Ahau. There were seven uprisings at Chichen. Mac Chahom was the ruler in the south. Both parties fought each other and the military companies were cleared out. But Mac Chahom died of starvation and thirst, and it was the old nobility that got the mandate by fate. (4622)

It was both mad and just, a period without honor, disreputable but straight. Only in

(15v) Uucil y Ab Nal*
U hetz'.
Katun
Ti can Ahau.
Uuc ten u yail
T u Chi Ch'en
Mac Chahom u u ich
Ti nohol
Y ah es u ne
Sas tam ba
Ah bal cab
Cochom
Macan u u ich
Cimen u u ich
Y ok u uah
Y okol y aal
Lic u tzicil ob u than
U kat tzicil
Ma y olah tzic
Bai u bel y ahaulil cabob
Co
Cach
T u uah
Ti y aal
Bin tz'oc oc ti
T u tzicilil
Hum pai y ol
Ma t an u tzic halic i

Teabo
Was the seat
4605 Of the katun
In 4 Ahau.
Seven times was it rising
At Chichen.
Mac Chahom was its face
4610 In the south.
The tailed sorcerers
Cleared each other up.
The animal people
Were cleared up.
4615 His face was not tired:
His face was dead.
Tears were his food,
And weeping his drink.
As they honored his word,
4620 He sought honors,
Not being honorable:
That was the road of the lordship of
the lands.
Mad,
Broken
4625 In his food,
In his drink.
He will finally get to it—
To glory.
One part of his heart
4630 Wants honor to be true.

4603. Teabo continued to claim the lordship under Mac Chahom 'cover embittered'. Christianity made continuing inroads on the Itza, culminating in the Valladolid calendar reform of 1752. The reform repeated *katun* 4 Ahau on a new twenty-four-year basis (1752–1776) while retaining the Mayapan calendar year-bearers (see below). But Sunday was also the Christian yearbearer in 1752 (note 3501)!

the west was its rule, with sacrifice and destruction of lords: bloody and Christian. There was little food with the western lineages, the branches of the wild, the barbarian lineages. They suppressed the tribute to Chichen. (4654)

The katun was half-good, half-bad, and came to be ruled by Chicum Ek, Yax Lam, Yax Ah, and Coc Ay the Crier, who kept bad vigils because they were sleepyheads, each and

T u cal tzicil	It has sought honor
T u hunal e	By itself.
Chikin	The west
T an hom	Is half-gone:
U pop	4635 Its mat,
U tz'am	Its throne.
Ma ya cimil u cuch	Painless death is the burden
Ti tal i	That is coming,
Satai ba tabil i	Destroying the chieftainship,
Much'lahom u hal ach uinicilob	4640 Choking off the governors of the
cah i	towns.
Xe kik u cuch katun	Blood vomit is the burden of the
T u kin y anhom	katun
A u ex	Of the time there was.
Sac a nok i	(White) your pants,
Ix chamben uah	White your clothes.
U uah	4645 And reduced food
Ulom kuk	The food.
Ulom yaxum	Come is the quetzal,
T u kab	Come the blue bird
Kax te	In the branches
Ulom ah kayom mut	4650 Of the wild tree.
Ulom ah tzimi tepoi*	Come is the news crier,
Ulom ah tzimin	Come is the official horseman,
Mucuc patan t u Chi Ch'en	Come is the rider
Tan coch katun utz i	To suppress the tribute at Chichen.
Tan coch ix ma utz i	4655 Half the <i>katun</i> is good;
Lai bin tepalnac	And half is not good.
Ah Chicum Ek t u canil*	It will be ruled
Yax lam*	By the Seven Stars in heaven,
Yax Ah	The Turtle,
Coc Ai Mut e*	4660 The Green Cane,
Ah Ahsa*	The firefly Announcer,
Ma ix mac ahom	The Wakener.
T u men mut e	And there is no one awake
Ch'en ch'en	For the vigil:
U xicin	4665 Totally at rest
Ti babal	Were the ears
T u lacal	Of each
Te	And every one.
T u u ich	There
	4670 In the face

4652. I read *tzimin tepal*.

4658. There follows a series of references to stars, beginning with the Pleiades: Chicum Ek [Nahuatl *chicome* 'seven'].

4659. *Yax lam*: Barrera 1948: 106 reads *yax ac lam* 'new turtle sinking' and identifies it with Ac Ek 'the turtle stars', a three-star constellation in Gemini.

4661. *Yaxal coc ay mut* 'announcer of the green turtle': another constellation. Cocah Mut has been identified as Itzam Na (Tozzer 1941: 145–146).

4662. Ah Ahsa Cab 'waker of the land': Venus.

every one of them. Such were the lords of 4 Ahau. (4672)

Sacrifices began to be possible, and 4 Ahau was started over at the new year (in 1752). As the sun priest Spokesman said of 4 Ahau, it was the time of Chichen Itza and its katun cycle. This is its real history, which is known in writing and appears in the books of Ni Tun Tz'ala, Chetumal, the division of Uaymil, and Hol Tun of the Itza, and it is also seen correctly in a report book which is completely accurate. It gives the time for ending each part of the katun cycle, with a standing memorial to recount the suffering that comes day by

	Can Ahau katun ual e Uchc i	Of the returned 4 Ahau There occurred
	Ma ya cimilal ocnal Kuchil	Painless death, coming
	Bai bin uch Pahbal	And arriving.
4675	T u uutz' T u ca ten*	Thus will occur The possibility
	Ti cutal T u cuch habil	That it fold A second time
4680	Bay y alc i Ah kin Chilam*	At the seating In the burden of the year.
	T u cuch katun Can Ahau ual e.	Thus it is said By the sun priest Spokesman
(16r)	Can Ahau U kinil t u Chi Chen Ytza	In the burden of the <i>katun</i> Of the return of 4 Ahau.
	Can Ahau U katunil xan	4 Ahau Was the time at Chichen Itza.
	U kahlai U miatz	4 Ahau Was also the <i>katun</i> period:
4690	Natil Ychil u anahteil	The account Of the wisdom
	Uai c u hoksabal Ti y unil	And knowledge In the manuscripts.
4695	Ni Tun Tz'ala Chac Temal	This is the explanation In the books
	Tah Uaimil	4700 The division of Uaymil, Hol Tun, And Itza,
	Hol Tun Ytza	Which are also perfectly visible In true language.
	Ti ci ci ilab i xan T u tohil than	One book, The <i>Reportorio</i> ,
	T u y un i Reportorio*	4705 Has no errors. Then knowledge can be perfected.
	Manan sipan i Ca utzac y oheltablel	Then one can arrive At the time of seating
	Ca bin kuchuc T u kinil u cumtal	Every single part of the <i>katun</i> ,
	Hun hun tz'it katun U cuch katunob	4710 The burdens of the <i>katuns</i> , As well as the memorials Erected.
	Licil u natabal Uabal	

4678. I read this to mean that 4 Ahau was to be repeated, which is substantially what happened.

4682. And the authority of the Spokesman of the Jaguar is invoked along with the stars and written sources to legitimize the calendar change.

4704. *Reportorio* is an unusual Hispanicism in these texts. It may be a direct reference to the 5 Ahau Emal prophecy (chapter 22) that initiates the Tizimin manuscript, a speculation encouraged by the similarity of the preceding place-names (see lines 2949 ff.).

day, whenever they come, the monkey and turtle katuns and their departure. (4722)

U cuch num ya
Tzolantac
Ti u talel ti kin
Licil u binil tz'acab kin
C u talel e
Ha li be oclis t u ba ob

U maxil katun
Coc ix u katunilob
Oklem ix
U u ichob.

The burdens of suffering
Will be recounted
4715 That are coming at the time,
As well as the future steps of days
That are coming.
However they will be brought
together:
The monkey *katuns*,
4720 The turtle *katuns*,
And the departure
Of their faces.

38. End of the Long Count

And this was the lord of the south, 3 Cauac 1 Pop in 1752 in katun 4 Ahau. There was a twenty-year cycle and then four more and Cauac returns. Then Kan speaks, making five days,

(18r) He x Ahau culh i*
T u cuch hab ti nohol
Oxil Cauac
U hun te Pop
T u habil
Hi 1552 culh i
Can Ahau katun
T u hach kinil
Hun hun kal hab u cuch ob
Hun hun tul ti ob
Tun cam ppel i e
Ix ma kaba
Licil u baxal ho ppel hab i
Y etel Cauac bac ix
Ti lic u cutal katun i e
Kaan

And that was the lord who was seated
And bore the year in the south.
4725 On the third Cauac
On the first of Pop
In the year
1552 it may have been seated.
4 Ahau was the *katun*
4730 At that very time.
Each twenty years were their burdens,
Each and every one of them.
Then there were four of them
And they were without names,
4735 As they played five years
And Cauac was once again
The one who was seating the *katun*,
Kan

4723. This is the earlier of the two texts in the Tizimin dealing with the Valladolid calendar. Written in 1752, it is a concise summary of the state of the Mayan calendar at that time. It acknowledges the supremacy of the Spanish *año* (albeit still without recognizing leap year), lists the *tzol kin* second, then the *hab*, and finally the *katun* of *tuns*—for sacrifice and divination. It leaves unstated the premise of the change, which was that in a year beginning 3 Cauac 1 Pop the name day of the *katun* fell on May 27, 1752, the second day of the year: 4 Ahau 2 Pop. Calculating correctly that extending the *katun* from twenty *tuns* to twenty-four *hab*s would make this circumstance permanent, the priests decided to do so, even though it meant giving 4 Ahau a span of thirty-nine years. They continued to peg the Mayan new year to an arbitrary July 16 in the Christian calendar and to carry the leap year correction “in their heads.”

and the year and the katun
come out even. The fifth year
completes the katun. (4748)

These are the counts of the
katuns: there are four of them.

1. The year (año) of birth of
Jesus Christ, the best count.

2. The ancient Mayan count
(tzol kin) is the second.

3. The yearbearers (hab) make
the third.

4. And the katun of tuns for
sacrifice and divination. (4772)

The new system that is for fu-
ture use is in twenty-day uinals,
twelve in all, for the moon and

Licil y alic u kaba	As its name says
Y etel u than t u lacal	4740 And its whole word.
Lei ho ppel kin	These five days
Ix ma kaba	Without names
Amal hab e	Square the year,
Ba ix amal	And so squaring
T u hitz'il	4745 At the end
Katun ual e	Of the <i>katun</i> again.
Ho ppel hab u baxal	Five years it plays
U mol box katun*	And collects the cask of the <i>katun</i> ,
He x tun u tzolan	And that then is counted
U u ich katunob la e	4750 As the faces of the <i>katuns</i> .
Can tzolob	These are the four counts
He u yax chun u tzolol e	That are the new base for counting,
Lai	Namely:
Y abil u sian	(1) The year of birth
C ah loh i	4755 Of our Savior
Ti Jesu X̄pto e*	Who is Jesus Christ,
U hach tohil xoc	The quite correct count
Y okol t u lacal xocob	Over all counts.
La ix lic u tzulabal u pach	(2) And this is like the ordering before
T u men u uchben Maya xok i	4760 By the ancient Maya count.
La cab ob	This is their land;
He u ca tzol e	That is the second count.
Lei ah cuch habob e	(3) These are the yearbearers
T u can tukil	In the four corners
Can ob e	4765 Of the sky;
He y ox tzol e	That is the third count.
Lei katunob	(4) There are the <i>katuns</i> ,
Licil u natabal	As a reminder
U lamay tun	Of the <i>tuns</i> to be removed,
U yail haab	4770 Of the pains of the years,
Licil y uchul ma ya ciml ob	Like the painless deaths
Pec otzil t u than ob	And grinding poverty they told.
He uac ma ocsah ben ti ol	However it may be introduced,
Hel e	This change,
Lae	4775 That is,
Ba ba hunil i	Insofar as
Uchac u ch'abal i e	It is to be accepted
Heklai sansamal kin xoc	For breaking off future day counts,
Y an ichil uinal	It is in <i>uinals</i>
Hun kal kin e	4780 Of twenty days.
Bi lah ca cancun e*	So twelve are to be kept
U nah y ilabalob i e	To complete their appearance,

4748. *Mol box* 'full cask': possibly a new coinage for the completion of the new *katun*.

4756. This is the only occurrence of the name Jesus in the Tizimin.

4781. A curious assertion, otherwise unconfirmed. Keeping twelve *uinals* of twenty days each would certainly not serve as an agricultural calendar. In point of

(note continued on following page)

planting beans, lima beans, chile, and gourdroot, and farming. That counts time like the cycles in the codices. Anyone who knows how can read it right, since the lords are listed by fours. After the sixteenth year it is the nameless part. Then the katun is folded because the tun ends, and it

	Ohelatal y oc uiil	To inform us of the coming of the moon phases,
	U kin col	The time of planting,
4785	Y oc buul	The coming of beans,
	Y oc ib	The coming of lima beans,
	Y oc ic	The coming of chile,
	Y oc chicam	The coming of gourdroot,
	He cen c u pakal ti colob e	Who is planting in their fields
	He tun u uac tzol e	4790 And where the count is supervised.
	Lai uabal ti uinalil	That is the position that the <i>uinal</i> count is in,
	Y an ichil lubantac ti kinbesabal	And so measuring in the passing of time
	He tun u chayan kuyahma	Where is the adding of the bending
	Y etel nahma	And the completion
4795	Tz'ibtabal	4795 Of the writing
	Y ub e	In color.
	Ua mac y an y ol	If someone has the wit
	Y ohelte	He will know
	Ma hun ppel tub a	Without forgetting one
	Uchac u tz'ibtabal t lob i e	4800 The occurrence of the writing that is evil,
	Ti lic u tz'abal ti can ban tul	Which is like being given four at a time
	Ti ahauob cuchic hun tz'it	Who are the lords of one section of the <i>katuns</i> —
	katunob*	4805 Which is just said “four rolls of years.”
	Ti ci alabal can kal habil	Then when it is the sixteenth measure
	Ca tac (18v) uac lahum pis	And it is the nameless <i>katun</i> that is brought together,
	Y etel ix ma kaba katun amal u	And if one doesn't forget what is being manifested,
	uatal	It will be the passing of the fold of the <i>katun</i> .
	Ua ix ma tub u chacanpahal e	Which will not be found
	Y an u man u uutz' katun	Because the <i>tun</i> has ended.
	Ti ma u caxantal	4810 It is collected.
	T u men t u tz'oc tun e*	
	Mol cab	

(note continued from preceding page)

fact all nineteen of the *uinals* were retained, at least into the nineteenth century, but there was an increasing awareness of the twelve European months and the church calendar of saints' days. The former would approximately mark the moon phases, and either or both would serve for agricultural purposes.

4802. The author notes that the yearbearers are retained, pointing out that they rotate by fours. It is not clear what he means by saying that they are “squared,” that is, come out even, after sixteen years, since the new *katun* “rolls” for twenty years plus an additional “nameless” four.

4809. Due notice is taken of the fact that the true *tun* [of 360 days] is no more. There had been an increasing tendency during the colonial period to equate it with the *hab* [of 365 days], but as long as it timed the naming of the *katuns* (i.e.,

(note continued on following page)

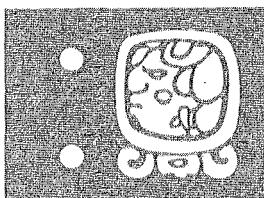
starts over. At the time of the tun, fourth, third . . . (4816)

Bin ual	It is going to return,
Hebal	Turning
Ca bin y anac	When it may be
U tunil	The time of the <i>tun</i> ,
Ua can tz'it	4815 Either four counts,
Ua ox tz'it.*	Or three counts . . .

(note continued from preceding page)

until 1752) it was implicitly present. This same date therefore marks the definitive end of the Mayan Long Count, four years before 12.7.0.0.0.

4816. The text breaks off without clarifying what assertion is being made about the *tun*. The repetition of *katun* 4 Ahau leaves its second incarnation unaccounted for historically. None of the *Books of Chilam Balam* mentions the 1761 rebellion of Jacinto Canek at Cisteil [Villa 1945: 171]. One wonders whether Canek was involved in the calendrical debates.



2 Ahau

39. The Valladolid Calendar

This text expands and confirms the report of the preceding chapter of the institution of the twenty-four-year katun in 1752 at Zaciapan (Valladolid), making it plain that this calendrical reform was intended to make the initial day of the katun always fall on the second day of the 365-day year—as it did in 1752. The passage lists the year-bearers for two of the new katuns, 1752 to 1775 and 1776 to 1799, counting the years (rather than the tuns) by twenties and transmuting the old concept of five Uayeb days to four “nameless” years to make up the count of twenty-four and “fill the cask” of the katun.

(19r) He x Ahau
Bin tac te la e

Cauac
U hun te Pop*
Y ahal cab
T u ca te
U kinil
Hab
Cutal
Can Ahau
Oxil Cauac culh i e
Can Ahau katun.
1752 oxil Cauac
1753 canil Kan
1754 ho Muluc
1755 uacil Hix
1756 uucil Cauac
1757 uaxacil Kan
1758 bolon Muluc
1759 lahun Hix
1760 buluc Ahau*
1761 lah cabil Kan
1762 ox lahun Muluc
1763 hunil Hix

And these are the lords
Who are going to be approaching
then.

Cauac

4820 On the first of Pop
Is the dawn,
And the second
Of the days
Of the year
4825 Is the seating
Of 4 Ahau.
Third Cauac is seated;
4 Ahau is the *katun*.
1752 3 Cauac
4830 1753 4 Kan
1754 5 Muluc
1755 6 Ix
1756 7 Cauac
1757 8 Kan
4835 1758 9 Muluc
1759 10 Ix
1760 11 Cauac
1761 12 Kan
1762 13 Muluc
4840 1763 1 Ix

4820. The new calendar of Valladolid was designed to make that city the seat of a new cycle—a cycle composed of twenty-four *katuns* instead of thirteen, which, nonetheless, began the epoch with the *katun* 11 Ahau of the conquest. This was a daring and desperate ideological innovation, since the end of the Itza cycle (13 Ahau) was near. In *katun* 2 Ahau Saciapan (Maya *zaci* ‘whiteness’, Nahuatl *-apan* ‘water place’), the modern Valladolid, seated the cycle under Hun y Op Oc Ik ‘one macaw foot wind’ and claimed equal rank with Mayapan as being Born of Heaven. Adopting the Nahuatlized place-name may have been part of the plan. The object, quite obviously, was to avoid the doom of 13 Ahau and double the life-span of the Itza, which would have extended to 2088.

4837. The manuscript has Ahau for Cauac.

1764 cabil Cauac	1764 2 Cauac
1765 oxil Kan	1765 3 Kan
1766 canil Muluc	1766 4 Muluc
1767 hoil Hix	1767 5 Ix
1768 uacil Cauac	4845 1768 6 Cauac
1769 uucil Kan	1769 7 Kan
1770 uaxac Muluc	1770 8 Muluc
1771 bolon Hix	1771 9 Ix
U tz'oc u cuch	Ends the burden
Can Ahau katun	4850 Of <i>katun</i> 4 Ahau
Ca tun culac	And then are seated
Cam ppel hab	Four years
Ix ma kaba	Without names
U hitz'il katun	To complete the <i>katun</i> :
(19v) Ca culac	4855 Then is to be seated
Cabil Ahau	2 Ahau,
U mol box	The full cask
Katum	Of the <i>katun</i> :
1772 lahun Cauac	1772 10 Cauac
1773 buluc Kan	4860 1773 11 Kan
1774 lah cab Muluc	1774 12 Muluc
1775 ox lahun Hix	1775 13 Ix
He x cabil Ahau	And this is 2 Ahau
C u cutal	Who is seated.
Hun Cauac	4865 1 Cauac
Y ahal cab	Is the dawn;
T u ca ppel	It is the second
U kinil	Of the days.
Hun te Pop	The first of Pop.
Lai u than	4870 This is the word
Y an ychil u cuch	That is in its burden
Y etel u bel	And the road
Y an ychil u cuch hab i la e	That is the burden of the year.
Saciapan	Valladolid
U hetz'	4875 Is the seat
Katum	Of the <i>katun</i>
Ti cabil Ahau	Which is 2 Ahau.
Sacl Ac Tun	Valladolid
Amay cu*	Is the seat of the cycle,
Mayapan	4880 And City of the Cycle,
Oclis t u ba katun	Establishing the <i>katun</i> for itself.
T u kin y an emom sum	At the time there is the descent of
Emom saban	the rope,
Emom ya	The descent of venom,
Ma ya cimlal	The descent of pain,
Ox mul tun tzekil	4885 Painless death,
	The three pyramids.

4879. *Amay cu*: I read *may cu* and consider the following line to be a Nahuatl paraphrase.

Despite its late date, the text remains divinatory and traditional, predicting the final assimilation of the Itza (lines 4921–4928):

The time of arrival
Of their older brothers
Thus is coming
To the poor Itza.
You will intermarry with
them;
You will wear their
clothes;
And you will put on their
hats,
And you will speak their
language.

	La u cuch La u chaan Katum Ti Ah cabil Ahau Kaxan u cuch Buluc Ch'ab Tan Ca sih i Hun y Opol Ik Oxil uah U uah Cupil uah U uah Tan coch u cuch habil Utz Y anil u uah Y anil y aal Y etel u tepal U y ahaulil Tan coch ix chac tun Num ya i Y anil u tz'am U pop Y an u tzic t u pop Ti y ahaulil cabob i Ti y an u chek oc U y anal cabob i Lai oheltabc i* U kinob Sac uinicob Ah mexob Bai chacanpah C in Ah kin Chilam U kin y ulel U sucunob Bai y ulc i ti ob Ah num Ytzaob Bin a balint ex ob Bin ix a bucint ex u buc ob A ppocint ex u ppoc ob Bin ix a thanint ex u than ob He uac he u ppolmal e Bateil ppolmal T u kinil u toppol nicte* Un crus nicte	That is the burden, That is the appearance Of the <i>katun</i> 4890 That is 2 Ahau. Tied is the burden Of the ll priest Ch'ab Tan. Then is born Hun y Opoc Ik. 4895 Breadnut food Is his food. Gourdroot food Is his food. Half of the burden of the year 4900 Is good. There is food; There is drink, And the glory Of the lordship; 4905 And half is red stone And suffering. There is his throne, His mat. There is his Honor on the mat, 4910 In the lordship of the lands, Which is the pacing off Of the existing lands. This is so they will be informed Of the days 4915 Of the white people, The bearded people As has been manifested By me, The sun priest 4920 Spokesman. The time of arrival Of their older brothers Thus is coming To the poor Itza. 4925 You will intermarry with them; You will wear their clothes; And you will put on their hats, And you will speak their language. Nevertheless there will be trade: 4930 War trading At the time of the sprouting flowers, Of the flowers of the cross;
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4913. That is, the purpose of this document is to bring the Mayan and Christian calendars closer together and to instruct the Maya in the new system.

4931. The following lines define yet another Mayan-Christian syncretism as the ideology of the new *katun*.

Ma ix macma lub on i	But no one of us will rest,
T u kin ix tz'ib ol nicteil	And on the day of painted flowers,
Ca bin u luc ob	4935 Then will be their lamentation
(Tzol ox) Ahau ual e*	Of the count of 3 Ahau again.
U tan ca mol boxtic	We shall have half filled the cask
U katunil buluc Ahau*	Of the <i>katun</i> cycle of 11 Ahau.
Lei culic Ah cabil Ahau	There is seated 2 Ahau:.
C u cutal ti hunil Caua la e.*	4940 He is seated on first Cauac.
1776 hunil Cauac	1776 1 Cauac
1777 cabil Kan	1777 2 Kan
1778 oxil Muluc	1778 3 Muluc
1779 canil Hiiix	1779 4 Ix
1780 hoil Cauac	4945 1780 5 Cauac
1781 uacil Kan	1781 6 Kan
1782 uucil Muluc	1782 7 Muluc
1783 uaxac Hix	1783 8 Ix
1784 bolon Cauac	1784 9 Cauac
1785 lahun Kan	4950 1785 10 Kan
1786 buluc Muluc	1786 11 Muluc
1787 lah cabil Muluc*	1787 12 Ix
1788 ox lahun Cauac	1788 13 Cauac
1789 hun Kan	1789 1 Kan
1790 cabil Muluc	4955 1790 2 Muluc
1791 oxil Hiiix	1791 3 Ix
1792 canil Cauac	1792 4 Cauac
1793 hoil Kan	1793 5 Kan
1794 uacil Muluc	1794 6 Muluc
1795 uucil Hix	4960 1795 7 Ix
U tz'oc	It ends,
Tz'oc u cuch Ah cabil Ahau	And ends the burden of 2 Ahau,
C u cutal	Seating
U hitz'il katun	The ending of the <i>katun</i> .
Cam ppel hab	4965 4965 The four years
Ix ma kaba	Without names,
Ca culac	Then is to be seated
Ox lahun Ahau.	13 Ahau.
1796 uaxac Cauac	1796 8 Cauac
1797 bolon Kan	4970 1797 9 Kan
1798 lahun Muluc	1798 10 Muluc
1799 buluc Hix	1799 11 Ix

4936. Text blurred; Roys reads *Cabil* where I get *Tzol ox*.

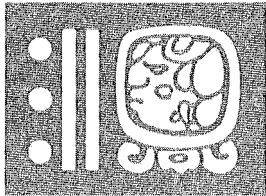
4938. Meaning 2 Ahau is the twelfth *katun* counting from 11 Ahau, hence marking the halfway point in the new cycle of twenty-four *katuns*.

4940. Another syncretism is suggested here: that of holding the *katun* ceremonies on the first day of the year, since the next day is the day name of the *katun*. See also note 1554, emphasizing that the "dawn" of a ceremony goes back to the sixteenth century.

4952. The manuscript has *Muluc* for *Ix*.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

13 Ahau



40. The Burners

This text begins with a table correlating the Mayan and Christian years on the premise that the first day of Pop will always be July 16 and that the most convenient starting point is a year 1 Kan, the first year of the fifty-two-year cycle.

(20v) U kaba kin*
Amal y ahal cab ich uinal.

				4975	1 Kan	16 July	Pop
hunil Kan	16 Julio	Pop*			2 Chicchan	5 Aug.	Uo
ca Chicchan	5 Agosto	Uo*			3 Cimi	25 Aug.	Zip
ox Cimi	25 Agosto	Sotz'*			4 Manik	11 Sept.	Zotz'
can Manik	11 Septi ^e	Cip			5 Lamat	4 Oct.	Tzec
ho Lamat	04 Octubre	Zec*			6 Muluc	24 Oct.	Xul
uac Muluc	24 Octubre	Xul	4980		7 Oc	13 Nov.	Tz'e
uucil Oc	13 Nobi ^e	Tz'e					Yax Kin
		Yaxkin*					
uaxac Chuen	03 Dici ^e	Mol			8 Chuen	3 Dec.	Mol
bolon Eb	23 Dici ^e	Chen			9 Eb	23 Dec.	Ch'en
lahun Ben	12 Enero	Yax			10 Ben	12 Jan.	Yax
buluc Hix	01 Febrero	Sac	4985	11 Ix		1 Feb.	Zac
lah ca Men	21 Febrero	Mac*			12 Men	21 Feb.	Ceh
ox lahun Cib	13 Marso	Queh			13 Cib	13 Mar.	Mac
hun Caban	02 Abril	Kankin			1 Caban	2 Apr.	Kan Kin
ca Etz'nab	22 Abril	Muan			2 Etz'nab	22 Apr.	Muan
oxil Cauac	12 Mayo	Kayab*	4990	3 Cauac		12 May	Pax
can Ahau	01 Juno	Paax			4 Ahau	1 June	Kayab
ho Imix	21 Juno	Cumku			5 Imix	21 June	Cumku

4973. This text, beginning with a handy calculation table for computing dates, has a number of features of interest. It consists of three columns, listing (1) the thirteen sacred numbers (*xoc*) and the day names (*kin*), (2) the initial days of the Mayan months in Christian dates for a year beginning on July 16, and (3) the names of the Mayan months (*uinals*)—with three errors in their order.

4975. Marginal note: *hun hun kal* 'each one twenty'.

4976. Marginal note: *u cuch hum pel u* 'the burden of one month'.

4977. The manuscript inverts Zip and Zotz'.

4979. The handling of zero in this passage is of interest. See also lines 5130 ff.

4981. Tz'e Yaxkin: 'Yaxkin is born'. See also note 3451. It is not clear why Yaxkin is the only *uinal* that is habitually "born." At this date it began in the latter part of August.

4986. The manuscript inverts Ceh and Mac.

4990. The manuscript inverts Pax and Kayab.

The passage moves on to a description of the Burner (*Ah Toc*) fire ceremonies, of their periodicity and directional associations (see the footnotes to chapter 24). The four Burners appear to be a replication of the pattern of quadripartite gods represented also by the year-bearers, the Fathers of the Land (*Ba Cabob*), the sun giants (*Pauahutunob*), the rain giants (*Chacob*), and others.

uacil Ik	00 U tich kin	—5—*	6 Ik	00 enough days	—5—
uucil Akbal			7 Akbal		
Hun kal kin		4995	Twenty days		
Y an ichil u cuch			Are in the burden		
Y uil			Of the moon period,		
Uinal			The <i>uinal</i> .		
Lai u kaba ob la e*		5000	These are their names.		
U kahlai			This is the account		
Ah Tocob			Of the Burners		
Y an ich uinal			That are in the <i>uinal</i> :		
Can tul			Four of them,		
T u ba ob			By themselves.		
He can Chicchan e		5005	There is 4 Chicchan,		
Lahun Chicchan u ch'a kak			And 10 Chicchan who gets the fire,		
Buluc Chicchan u tup kak			And 11 Chicchan who quenches the		
			fire,		
Ah cuch uinal ti lakin			The bearer of the <i>uinal</i> in the east.		
He ah canil-Oc e			There is 4 Oc,		
Lahunil Oc u ch'a kak		5010	And 10 Oc who gets the fire,		
Bulucil Oc u tupic u kak			And 11 Oc who quenches the fire,		
Ah cuch uinal ti xaman			The bearer of the <i>uinal</i> in the north.		
He can Men e			There is 4 Men,		
Lahun Men u ch'a kak			And 10 Men who gets the fire,		
Buluc Men u tupic u kak		5015	And 11 Men who quenches the fire,		
Ah cuch uinal ti chikin			The bearer of the <i>uinal</i> in the west.		
He Ah canil Ahau e			There is 4 Ahau,		
Lahun Ahau u ch'a kak			And 10 Ahau who gets the fire,		
Buluc Ahau u tupic u kak			And 11 Ahau who quenches the fire,		
Ah cuch uinal ti nohol		5020	The bearer of the <i>uinal</i> in the south.		
He lai Ah Tocob la e			These then are the Burners.		
Ti culan ob t u chun uinal e			It is they who are seated at the base		
			of the <i>uinal</i> .		
He t u hopol u xoc Kan e			Those that begin on the count Kan,		
Ti bin a caxante Chicchan t u			You will find Chicchan on the		
ca ppel u xoc e			second of the count.		
Ca a caxante hi tub y an lei can		5025	When you find wherever 4 Chicchan is,		
Chicchan e					
Bai bin a caxantic u chucanil			Thus you will find all of the		
Ah Tocob ichil uinalob			Burners in the <i>uinals</i> ,		
Ua ichil Pop			Whether they are in Pop		
Ua ichil Uoo			Or in Uoo.		
Ca ix ua tub ci tan			And then wherever is exactly half		
A u ilic amal hab		5030	You will see the squaring of the		

4993. The manuscript avoids mentioning the month of Uayeb by name.

4999. Here is a detailed account of the Burners (*Ah Tocob*), who governed fire ceremonies centered on a day with the numeral prefix 4 but involving the announcement of the cycle forty days beforehand, a ceremonial fire twenty days before, and the extinguishing of the fire twenty days after each of the significant dates.

The final lines imply divination from the sign of the European zodiac in which the moon lies, and the emphasis in the whole passage is agricultural—when to plant, expected harvest, etc. The continuing use of glyphic writing in the katun that began with the nineteenth century (line 5055) is noteworthy.

Ma t ech
U (21r) mahal
Cux olal hach kabeet
U bilal ti ah colob*
Ca y oltah ob u ti al ca utzac
U ci ci hokol u nal ob uchebal

U ci ci y antal u nalil
Bin a u ila ti an ua tub u tich
kin e
Ua tumbul hokol
Ua ti an ti lakin ca bin
ocsahnac ech e
Bin ban ban hatz'abac

T u menel ch'ich'
Y etel i xan c au u ila
Ua ti an u
T u signo
T auro
C ancro
V irgo
L ibra
C apricornio
T u lacal lai signos la e
Ma lob u ti al ocsah
Bin ci ci patac hi bal
Bin a tz'ab ichil col e
Ti bin a u ila ichil u uohil
Sansamal kin xoc
Y oc ti cin muc e
Bai bin a u ilic
C ech
Ah col e.

And never
Will you stop.
Good judgment is very necessary
To helping those who are planters.
5035 When they desire for it to be good,
Politely requesting the filling in of
the corn ears,
The ears will come out sweet.
You will see they are whenever
there are enough days.
Either the request is fulfilled
5040 Or it is to the east that you must
sow.
It will be piles and piles to be bundled
up
Because of the birds.
And also you will see
Whether there was a moon
5045 In the signs
Taurus,
Cancer,
Virgo,
Libra,
5050 Or Capricorn.
All of these signs
Are not bad for sowing.
It will be pleasant to use something
That you will plant in the field.
5055 That you will see in the glyph writing
Of future day counts.
Go into what is hidden:
Thus you will see,
You
5060 Planters.

5034. Here we change the subject to consider divination for agriculture, including the use of prayer, the moon, and the signs of the European zodiac. Most of the signs fall in the summer: Taurus (April 20 to May 20), Cancer (June 22 to July 22), Virgo (August 23 to September 22), Libra (September 23 to October 23), and Capricorn (December 22 to January 19).

41. The Word of Itzam Na

Katun 13 Ahau was seated the day before, on new year's day, 12 Cauac. Kin Chil of Coba seated katun 13 Ahau. Mayapan was the seat of the cycle. His prophecy was the word of Itzam Na: fighting and famine, five years of famine and locusts. And in the tenth year (?) he enumerated the solar years as follows. (5086)

(19v) C u cutal ox lahun Ahau
katun*
Ti lah bil Cauac
Kin Chil
Coba
U hetz' katun
Ti ox lahun Ahau
May cu
Mayapan*
Lai bin thanbal
U than
Y an u chi
Y alic u than Itzam Naa*
Chac sabin u u ich*
Chac mitan uihi u cuch
Cupil uah u uah
Oxil uah u uah
Ho ppel hab
Em i*
Cup
Ox te hab
Sakil y an u uah
Sak y an ix y aal xan
Lahun tz'acab
U (20r) . . .*
. . . xoc u buk
Habob lai la*

Then is seated the *katun* 13 Ahau

On 12 Cauac.

Kin Chil

Of Coba

5065 Seated the *katun*,

Which was 13 Ahau.

The cycle seat

Was Mayapan.

There will be spoken

5070 His word.

There is the mouth

To speak the word of Itzam Na.

Red weasel is his face;

The red hunger plague is his burden.

5075 Gourdroot food is his food.

Breadnut food is his food.

Five years

There descend

Gourdroot

5080 And breadnut years.

Locusts will be his food,

And locusts will be his water as well.

Ten steps

His (?) . . .

5085 . . . enumerated the years,

The solar years as follows.

5061. All sources agree that Kin Chil 'sun sailfish' of Coba 'chachalaca water' seated *katun* 13 Ahau. There is probably a relation with the previous *katun* of the same name, seated at Bach Can 'chachalaca snake'. The fact that this *katun* ends the old Itza cycle gives all the prophecies an apocalyptic tone. That of the Chumayel is Christian; that of the Mani is traditionalist. The Tizimin is somewhere in between.

5068. Documenting the fact that Mayapan was considered by some to be the seat of the cycle from 987 to 1824. See, however, line 4880, where Valladolid appears to be called Mayapan.

5072. Itzam Na 'alligator house' still lives!

5073. Chac Sabin 'red weasel': a personal name?

5078. Perhaps 1800 to 1805.

5084. Several words are missing.

5086. The following list gives the traditional yearbearers with their directional associations for fifty-two years from 1758 through 1809. The list is disjunctive with the dating of the yearbearers in the rest of the Tizimin, according to which the year 1 Kan would have been 1737, not 1758. This could have something to do with the new calendar, but I don't see it. In the nineteenth-century notes to the 3 Ahau calendar (lines 3049 ff.), a further change in yearbearers occurs. See also

(note continued on following page)

1758 hunil Kan ti likin	1758 1 Kan in the east
1759 ca Muluc	1759 2 Muluc
1760 oxil Hix	1760 3 Ix
1761 canil Cauac	5090 1761 4 Cauac
1762 hoil Kan	1762 5 Kan
1763 uac Muluc	1763 6 Muluc
1764 uucil Hix	1764 7 Ix
1765 uaxacil Cauac	1765 8 Cauac
1766 bolon Kan	5095 1766 9 Kan
1767 lahun Muluc	1767 10 Muluc
1768 buluc Hix	1768 11 Ix
1769 lah cabil Cauac	1769 12 Cauac
1770 ox lahun Kan	1770 13 Kan
1771 hun Muluc ti xaman	5100 1771 1 Muluc in the north
1772 cabil Hix	1772 2 Ix
1773 oxil Cauac	1773 3 Cauac
1774 canil Kan	1774 4 Kan
1775 ho Muluc	1775 5 Muluc
1776 uacil Hix	5105 1776 6 Ix
1777 uucil Cauac	1777 7 Cauac
1778 uaxacil Kan	1778 8 Kan
1779 bolon Muluc	1779 9 Muluc
1780 lahun Hix	1780 10 Ix
1781 bulucil Cauac	5110 1781 11 Cauac
1782 lah cabil Kan	1782 12 Kan
1783 ox lahun Muluc	1783 13 Muluc
1784 hunil Hix chikin	1784 1 Ix west
1785 cabil Cauac	1785 2 Cauac
1786 oxil Kan	5115 1786 3 Kan
1787 canil Muluc	1787 4 Muluc
1788 hoil Hix	1788 5 Ix
1789 uacil Cauac	1789 6 Cauac
1790 uucil Kan	1790 7 Kan
1791 uaxacil Muluc	5120 1791 8 Muluc
1792 bolon Hix	1792 9 Ix
1793 lahun Cauac	1793 10 Cauac
1794 bulucil Kan	1794 11 Kan
1795 lah cabil Muluc	1795 12 Muluc
1796 ox lahun Hix	5125 1796 13 Ix
1797 hunil Cauac ti nohol	1797 1 Cauac in the south
1798 cabil Kan	1798 2 Kan
1799 oxil Muluc	1799 3 Muluc
1800 canil Hix	1800 4 Ix
18001 hoil Cauac	5130 1801 5 Cauac

(note continued from preceding page)

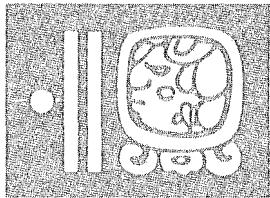
note 3060. It is relevant to remark that the Mayan cycles are now synthesized, but there is still competition between Christian (weekday), *katun* (twenty-four-year), and *kin tun y abil* (fifty-two-year) divination.

These are the years in order.
After that the count ends on
13 Cauac and starts again
with 1 Kan as listed. One sec-
tion of the katuns has been
given with its four divisions. It
is a true count. (5154)

18002 uacil Kan
18003 uucil Muluc
18004 uaxacil Hix
18005 bolon Cauac
18006 lahun Kan
18007 bulucil Muluc
18008 lah cabil Hix
18009 ox lahun Cauac
Lai u xocan u bukubil
 Habob t in u alah e
Hun hun ppel hab u cuch
 Lai tzolantac ob la e
La t u pak
 U tz'ocol u xoc
Lai
 Ox lahun Cauac la e
Ca tun hoppoc u xocic
 Hunil Kan t u ca ten
Lai lic u sut e
 Bai tz'aanil canal lo
Hun tz'it katun u y alabal
 T u cam pelil
Lei
 Hah la e.

1802 6 Kan
1803 7 Muluc
1804 8 Ix
1805 9 Cauac
5135 1806 10 Kan
1807 11 Muluc
1808 12 Ix
1809 13 Cauac
This has enumerated the year periods.
5140 The solar years I have recited.
Each year is borne.
 This sets them in order.
When these are used up
 The count ends.
5145 That is
 13 Cauac then.
So then one must begin to count
 1 Kan a second time.
That is how it returns,
5150 As has been given above.
One part of the *katuns* is reported
 In their four divisions.
This then
 Is true.

II Ahau



42. Antonio Martínez

This is the history of God by the priests and prophets Xopan Nahuatl, Puc Tun, Ahau Pech, and Kauil Ch'el—the true word and mystery. (5170)

The Spokesman of the Jaguar went into a trance before his house. He lay unseeing and

(7r) Lay u kahlai uchc i*
 Y emel
 Hunab ku
 Ox lahun ti ku
 Hum pic ti ku*
 T u than ob ah kinob
 Profetaob
 Chilam Balam
 Y etel Ah Xupan
 Na Puc Tun
 Ah kin N Ahau Pech
 Ah Kauil Ch'el ca tzol i
 U than almah xicin ti ob
 Tz'ab u ppisan than ti ob
 He uac ma u natah ob i
 Lai than alab ti ob la e
 He bin Chilam Balam e
 Chil cabal
 Bin ichil u (7v) uay
 Ichil y otoch
 Ma ix bin tan u likil
 Ma ix bin tan u y ilabal u u ich

5155 This is the account of the occurrence
 Of the descent
 Of the Sole God,
 The 13 Gods,
 The 400 Gods,
 5160 In the words of the sun priests
 And prophets,
 The Spokesmen of the Jaguar:
 Xopan Nahuatl
 And Puc Tun,
 5165 The sun priests Ahau Pech
 And Kauil Ch'el when they counted it,
 The word entrusted to their ears,
 The measured word given to them
 That perhaps they did not understand.
 5170 These are the words entrusted to
 them then.
 That will be the Spokesman of the
 Jaguar
 Stretched out on the ground
 Going into his place,
 Into the house.
 5175 And he will not be getting up
 And his eyes will not be seeing,

5155. Both the dating and the interpretation of this text present problems. It is one of the earlier texts in the Mani, Chumayel, and Tizimin manuscripts and hence must antedate 1837, when Juan Pío Pérez copied the Mani. The references to the French would appear to place it after the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, and the reference to the King of Havana as an enemy implies a date after the Revolution of Independence in 1821. The text itself claims to come at the end of fourteen *katuns* of Spanish rule, which would bring us to 1848. I believe therefore that it was written early in *katun* 11 Ahau (1824–1848) and that our extant copies of the Mani, Chumayel, and Tizimin were written slightly later but in any case fall between 1824 and 1837.

5159. I read *hun pic* 'four hundred'. In later colonial times it meant 'one thousand', but the intent is a very large number rather than a specific count.

someone spoke to him from above, being lodged on top of his house. And he spoke to the assembled priests and preached anonymously. The Fathers of the Land spoke and people arose to hear the Spokesman in the first year of 11 Ahau at the third moon (November–December 1824). And he attacked the Itza and the Xiu with the prophecy of their destruction and of the obliteration of their faces. (5216)

They may return in 1834 quoting him, but that is the

Ua ba hun u cah
Max c u than
Y okol u nail
Y otoch
T u men te
Bin c u hecel
Y okol u nail
Y otoch
Ca tun bin hoppoc
U y alabal than la e
Ti tum bin hu mol ah kinob
Y icnal Chilam
Ca hopp u y alabal than
C u talel ti ob la e
Ma y oheltah ob
Mac al ti ob i
Ca y alah ob e
Noh can yum
Ci bin u thanob
Ca bin noclah ob ti lum

U y ub ob
Than la e
Profeta
Chilam
Ohelte ti culh i
T u hum pis katun
Ti culh i
Nicté katun
Oc te uu culam
Yum a
U netzil kuk
Yaxum
Ti ual y anom u u ich

Ti ual y anom bolon te uitz

U netzil uil kuk
Yaxum
Ma mac bin natic ob
Ch'ab t u kin
T u tan ob
Ti y ahaulil c u talel e
Ma uil mac bin natic ob
• Ti ulac u talel ob e
T u lah ca pis katun
Y alah u kaba
Lai
Uil e

Inasmuch as there began
Someone speaking
Over his dwelling,
5180 His house.
Because there
He must have been supported
On his dwelling,
His house.

5185 So then was to begin
The speaking of this word.
There will then be a crowd of sun
priests
Together with the Spokesman.
Then begins the saying of this word

5190 That had come to them there.
They were not informed
Who was speaking to them.
Then spoke
The four Great Fathers.

5195 They are just going to speak.
Then they are going to rise from the
land
And listen
To the words
Of this prophet

5200 Spokesman.
Let it be made known that he is seated
On the first measure of the *katun*,
He is seated on
The Flower *katun*,

5205 The third moon having set.
This father
Is the abasing of the quetzal
And blue bird,
Which is the return of his previous
face,

5210 Which is the return of the previous
ninth hill,
The abasing of the sight of the quetzal
And blue bird.
No one will remember them
Taken on the day

5215 Before their faces
In the lordship that is coming.
No one will remember them
That their coming is to return
On the tenth measure of the *katun*

5220 To speak his name.
That then
Is the moon:

end of the Jaguar priesthood.
Like mad dogs, they are sacrificing and celebrating. That is not his message: it is false and insane. He has not stolen the peasants' land. The thieves will be removed together with their heirs. (5240)

So now all of you are to hold the katun ceremonies, because if it is not done properly you will be exiled like wild animals. If you don't do it you will suffer famine and pestilence and eclipse at the shrine of the cycle in the City of the Cycle,

Balam u pol
Uaan u co
Tzui tzui uinicil
Ppec unicil*
Man ch'acat hulte t u uinicil

T u pucsikal
Ci ix u y ukul
Ci ix u hanal
Ma la t u than i
Ma la bin y ub i
Bin ix u tus
Coil than
Ma tub u tz'aic u ba
Ix cuch lum itz'nil

Bi lukebal uai ti peten

Bin baac ob ah cuch lum
ytz'inob
Ti y alancil
Ix mehen lok
Bayen ob i ti samal cabeh e
Ch'a ex a ba ex
C ex u itz'in
Sucun ex e
Mans ex u cuch katun
Lic u talel e
Ua ma tan a manes ex e
Ti u bohhol
T a u oc ex e
T ex ix bin u helinte ceeh e

Ua ma a mansic ex e
T ex ix bin kuxic u motz che
U chun che
Y etel u le xiu
Ua ma a mansic ex e
Bai cim cehil uchebal u hokol

Uai ti cab
Ca bin tac u kinil uchmal

Uai t u chumuc tzucub te
May cu
Mayapan
Siyah Caan u kaba

A jaguar head.
Raised is the madness
5225 Of the canine people,
The dog people,
Coming across that they might pierce
people
And hearts,
And just drinking
5230 And just eating.
That is not what he said,
That is not what will be heard,
But there will be their lies
And insane talk.
5235 Nowhere did he give himself up
Or bear the land of the younger
brothers.
They are to be removed here from the
country
The bearers of the land of the
younger brothers will be absorbed,
Their offspring
5240 And adolescent sons
So be it: on the day after tomorrow
You will take yourselves,
O younger
And older brothers,
5245 And pass the burden of the *katun*
As it should have come,
For if you do not pass it
By the listing,
You shall leave,
5250 And shall also be transformed into
deer then.
If you should not pass it,
You will also gnaw the roots of trees,
The trunks of trees,
And the leaves of grass.
5255 If you should not pass it,
The occurrence of deer death will
arrive
Here on earth.
The hiding of the sun will then be
brought about
Here amid the bunched trees
5260 Of the seat of the cycle,
Mayapan,
Born of Heaven by name.

5226. The Maya are generally not fond of dogs, identifying them with an excessive appetite for food and sex.

the Heaven Born. In this katun there will return the beginning of the animal sacrifices of 13 Ahau, a rather poor time. (5274)

Then in 11 Ahau there will be the thirteen followers of the buggers, and the three-part Bull will reach the judge, ordering the return and distribution of

Ti u hokol u y anal caan
 U y anal katun i
 Bin manac u sut ichil a cahal ex
 Ti ma u cuchil e
 Bin uchuc ocnal
 Kuchil
 U kin ma ya cimbal bal cheob*
 Ca bin culac t u pop
 Hun Sip u than
 Hun Sip u caan u Sip katun*
 Ox tzuc u uah
 Oxil uah
 Nicte katun kuch i*
 U kin u cutal
 Ox lahun
 Y ti u pop
 Ah calam chuuch
 Ah cal pach
 Te ix u tal bula u ca ten tac*
 Ox pp*
 Tii u manel bula
 Lai ca uli ix ues*
 Ualac xolte (8r) takin
 Ualac sac cib
 Bin u uahite
 He x cib e

Which is the arrival of the existing heaven,
 The existing *katun* then.
 5265 It is going to pass its return in your towns.
 It is not its burden then.
 Then is to occur the coming
 And arrival
 Of the day of painless death of animals.
 5270 Then he is to be seated on his mat.
 One Zip the word,
 One Zip the teaching of the deer *katun*.
 Breadnut his food,
 Breadnut food.
 5275 The Flower *katun* arrives then,
 The day of his seating.
 Thirteen
 Are the children of the mat,
 Of the hole suckers,
 5280 Of the asshole sinners.
 There also arrives the Bull for the second time.
 And in three parts.
 That was the purchase of the Bull,
 Which then comes to the judge
 5285 To return the sums of money,
 To return the wax candles.
 It is to be distributed
 Together with those candles

5269. Animal rather than human sacrifice, presumably a concession to Christianity, reestablishing authority, as the next line states.

5272. Zip, the third month of the solar year, is identified by Roys with the deer god. This is the only thing in the passage resembling a date, but it doesn't quite make it. It does establish that 13 Ahau may have been the deer *katun*. See also note 1806.

5275. The Flower *katun* arrived on 11 Ahau 7 Uo, August 26, 1539; thirteen days later would have been 1 Zip (falling on 12 Ix). The end of the classical [Tikal] *katun* would have fallen four *uinal*s after 11 Ahau on 11.16.0.0.0 13 Ahau 7 Xul, November 4, 1539 (Julian). In 1824 the Mayan new year fell on 10 Cauac 1 Pop, September 18, and 11 Ahau was the following day.

5281. There are two papal bulls that could be referred to here: Pius VII's *Vix nova a nobis* (1809) and Pius VIII's *Litteris alto* (1830). Both deal with mixed marriages (Fremantle 1956: 121, 124). It seems more likely, however, that the "Bull" was the announcement of the suspension of tribute by the Cortes of Cadiz in 1812. This important bit of news was finally and reluctantly released in Yucatan but was almost immediately revoked. Republican Mexico suspended Indian tribute definitively in 1821.

5282. I read *ox ppel*.

5284. I read *juez* for *ues*.

tribute and the establishment of Christianity. For justice now is blind. And they will preach about the world. 11 Ahau will end in pain and who knows what prophet! And it will end the yearbearer doctrine that has spread everywhere as the message of 11 Ahau. You will be decapitated for heresy by the Archbishop when he comes. You will flee to the forest and follow after Christ the merciful. And he will depart and his sacrifices will be designated and

Ti em justisia likul canal	To the descending justices raising on high
Nacebal christianoil ual e*	5290 The elevation of this Christianity again.
Uenel u u ic justisia	Sleeping is the eye of the justice
Ti u natic cochrom	Who understands it clearly.
Ca bin ticin	Then will be spread
Pecnac	The awareness
Caan	5295 Of heaven
Y etel luum	And earth.
Hach ya ix	Great pain too
Bin tz'ocebal nicte katun e	Will be the end of the Flower <i>katun</i> .
Ma u uil	One can't see
Mac bin kuchuc t u than i	5300 Who will arrive and speak.
Ca bin chin chin polcinabac	Then will be loaded up to be carved out
U tel chacil che	The fake rain tree
Ti tun u y uk ba peten	Which has spread itself to the country,
T u lacal conolbil	To all the markets,
Ua bin tz'ocbal	5305 As though it will be the ending
U than nicte katun e	Of the word of the Flower <i>katun</i> .
Ma uil bal u bel	If you don't follow the road
A tz'aic a pol ex ti arsobispo e*	You'll give your heads to the
Ca bim emec e	Archbishop
Bin ix uil xic es	Who may be coming down,
A bal a ba ex ti kax e	5310 And if you are to come,
Ua bin a tz'a ba ex i e	You will route yourselves to the forest.
Bin ex	If you are going to be taken there
Xic ex	then,
T u pach hahal ku tal i	You go
Ti Xp̄to	And come
Bin u kabat e	5315 Behind the True God who has come,
Ti y anom cochrom e	Who is called Christ,
Ti tun ca bin tz'ococ	Who may be called upon
U thibah a u ichil ex	To be merciful,
Talel bin u cib	5320 And then will have to finish
U lil nicte*	His appearance within you.
Lai atan	There will be coming his candles,
Bin u kabate*	His shaken Flowers.
	That is the payment
	Which may be designated

5290. There is a recurrent prophecy in these texts that the tribute paid to the Spanish was an indemnity for the wars of the conquest, to be paid off in a definite term, after which no further tribute would be required and what had been collected would be repaid. The Spaniards do not appear to have been aware of this expectation.

5308. "False prophets" are abundant in this history, and executions for heresy began in the early years of missionization. They are obliquely referred to as the hangings. Decapitation is not elsewhere mentioned.

5322. I read *u lol nicte*.

5324. Sacrifices other than human.

you will be converted. 13 Ahau will end in suffering, for he will prophesy and you will come to God. For the sage who understands the aim of true Christianity will rule 280 years before the darkness. (5340)

Then will come the nobles Don Antonio Martínez and Saúl by name, who went to heaven and to Tizimin, killed a captain, and married a queen. Seven times that year they divided out the marriage license fees and saved them, raising a fleet of thirteen-sail ships

Ti x a natic ex	5325	And when you understand
Ca bin tycin pecnac can e		Then will be spread the awareness of heaven.
Hach ya bin tz'ocebal		Great pain will be the ending
Nicte uinicil		Of the Flower people,
Ti to ca bin thanac		For soon he will speak
U tz'ib t u nak pak e	5330	His writing near the wall
Ti x a u alc ex kuil xan		Where you also call upon the deity;
Lei bin a u ocsic ex t a u ol kuil		That will bring the deity into you.
Hi uil mac ah miatz		Should there be someone
Y an a u ichil ex		Who is a sage among you,
Bin natic	5335	Then he will understand
T an hitz'il		That was the end,
U tamlil x̄ptianoil		The profundity, of Christianity.
Bin natice halilil o		He will understand this truth.
Lahu cam ppel katun c u ba tabil		For fourteen <i>katuns</i> he will rule:
Ca tun batabac och e*	5340	And then will rule the shadows.
Ca bin uluc		Then will be the arrival
Al mehenil e		Of the nobility:
Dn Antonio Maltines		Don Antonio Martínez
Y (etel) Xaul*		Y Saúl.
Lai	5345	These
U kaba		Are their names:
Ca luki		Who ascended
Ti caan		Into heaven
Ti x bin i		And who went
Tzimentan e*		To Tizimin.
Ti x y ilah hun tul ix ahau	5350	And who saw a queen
Ca ix cimi hun tul nacom		And then killed a captain;
Ca ix y alah ix ahau		And the queen said
Y ichamte		To her husband,
Uuc te	5355	"Seven rounds
Ti hab		In the year
U kamic (u ca e)*		He gets married
Ca heb i		Then we divide up
U hol nail takin		The house door money
Ti can kas na	5360	Of the four-room house.
Etsab i		And it is placed
Ti		In them."
Ca t u liksah u chem		Then his fleet is raised:
Ox lahun bak		It is of thirteen sails.

5340. Fourteen *katuns* from the end of 13 Ahau (1539) brings us to the end of the Spanish Empire: 11 Ahau (1824).

5344. Antonio Martínez y Saúl is unknown to history, but his story is remarkably parallel to that of Santiago Iman, who was imprisoned in Tizimin in 1838 (Reed 1964).

5350. *Ti tzimin* 'at the tapir/horse' is Nahuatlized as *Tzimentlan*.

5357. Roys reads *casamentoil* for *ca*. I believe he is right. The Chumayel text makes it clear that the "house with four rooms" was the marriage registry office.

against Havana, which was apostate. And God heard about the secret buggers inevitably, and that's what happened in Tizimin. And he was judged, and three days later jailed. (5384)

"But I shall save you, and you captains will follow me in travail and see the guns and the burning sea, and I shall take power. And when the firing stops, dust and foam will cover the sea and the face of the sun. And the captains will prepare, and a hurricane will drop rocks and earth, clanging like thirteen-sail ships. And the cap-

Ca t u liksah katun
Hauana u lumil*
Ti x y an u nup
U than ahau *Hauana*
Ca ix tun alab u xicin ahau
Tu men u nup u than e
Ti y an u y ah tacil
U hol t u pach
Ca bin i
Y ubah ix u chucul xan i
Ti likul i
Ca bin i
Te
Tzimentan e
Ti chuc i
Ti u xotah u than xan
Ti y ah chucil i
Oxeh kin kuchl i
Lic tun u kuchul e
Lic u kalal ti mascab
Tan muk tun in talel*
T en bin luksic ech ti mascab
T ex c ex nacom e
Ca tulil i
Bin tac t in pach i
Nacsabac bolon ti ya
C u ilah tz'on e
Bin ix elec kaknab
Bin in likebal
Ti culan
Kak u tz'ocol i
Bin likic
Sus
Y etel yom ha
Bin ix tupuc u u ich kin
T u men chac bul ikil e
Ti tun u
U cenic u ba nacom i
Bin hu . . . lacial tunichob*
Y etel luum t u men yk
C u cumta
(8v) Lic u tal ox lahun bak
chem

5365 When the *katun* is raised
Havana is its country,
For there is also opposition
To the word of the lord in Havana.
And so it was borne to the ears of the lord

5370 Because of the opposition to his word:
Which was the secret
Back holes.
For it was going then
To be heard, and that's that then;

5375 Which is what came up
And went on
There
In Tizimin.
It was finished

5380 And his word was also judged.
The ghost was completed.
Three days arrived,
And since he had arrived
He was clapped in irons.

5385 "Meanwhile then I am coming.
I shall remove you from irons.
You who are captains
Are returning,
And will shelter behind me

5390 To be returned great in pain,
And see the guns.
And the sea will also burn,
And I shall be raised
And seated.

5395 The firing will stop
And will raise
Dust
And foam on the water
And will cover the face of the sun

5400 Because of the strong filling of the winds.
When there is a moon,
The captains will dress themselves,
And all the stones . . .
And earth will be dropped by the wind,

5405 And be made to clang
Like the coming of thirteen-sail ships.

5366. Havana was the habitual place of exile for deposed Yucatecan politicians in this period.

5385. I read *ta muk*.

5403. Some letters are missing.

tains will lead your fathers to kill the French." So says this man. (5412)

"Why fight for your fellow man? Because you will be told to. Press on after the lead ship with good wind and sail. For the sea will burn, and I will raise one sun and then another to destroy ships. Don't you believe me? I am your preparer. You will be twice born or my name isn't Martínez. (5434)

"For there are the seven priestly books compiled in three by Xopan Nahuatl, Kauil Ch'el, and Puc Tun, who also knew the seven books and his-

Ti u cenic u ba nacom i
Ch'a ba yumil ex e
Te u talel *Flances* e
Bin ix ciman t u men e
Ci u than
Uinic e
Bax u bil u lubul a muk

T u men a u et uinicil e
Ca ix alabacte
C ex i to e
Xicen
T in tz'al u hool chem chumuc

Uet lic ci
Ix u ikal e
El ix kaknab
In binc i
Nocoi hi ix u u ich caan
He tun ca emen e

Tak licil i
U u ich ca sat chem e*
Max a uinicil c u than t en
Ix ma ok olal e
T en i
Ah ch'aal t ex t en i
Bin a ca put sihes e
Ca ix y alah xan
Bin ix in tum t in kaba
Lai *Martínez* in kaba
Ca ix t u hoksah uuc tz'ocab
*libro**
U xocob ah kinob
Ti ox ppel u mansic u ba ah kinob

Ah *Xupan*
Y etel ah kin Ch'en
Na Puc Tun
Ti x ohelan uuc tz'ocab *libro*
Ti tem te

When the captains dress themselves,
Your fathers will be taken.

There will come the French
And will be killed by them."

5410 So says
This man's word.
"What's the use of wielding your strength

Because of your fellow man?

5415 For also it is to be told
To you there as follows.

Go on:
I have pressed the head ship in the middle.

The sail is raised,
5420 And the wind,
And the sea burned.
I am just going to raise
Also perhaps the eye of heaven,
And then when it shall descend
there,

5425 Create another—
An eye to destroy ships.
Which of your people speaks to me
And does not believe me?

Your preparer

5430 Am I.
You will be twice born
And mothered as well,
And I shall try in my name,
My name which is Martínez.

5435 For seven steps of books have
appeared,

The accounts of the sun priests.
In three it was compiled by the sun
priest

Xopan Nahuatl,
And the sun priests Kauil Ch'el

5440 And Puc Tun,
Who also knew the seven-step book
In these steps,

5426. No such naval engagement is recorded.

5435. The *uuc tz'ocab libro* 'seven-step book' may well have been a glyptic manuscript, possibly in seven chapters or folds. Here, Xopan Nahuatl and Puc Tun join Kauil Ch'el in preparing a new three-chapter version in the tradition of Ahau Pech and the Spokesmen of the Jaguar, probably sometime in 5 Ahau. The story of Antonio Martínez would be inserted at a substantially later date when the manuscript was recopied in the 1820s. Despite the prophetic preoccupation of the Mayan sun priests, their frequent citation of written precedents is a significant step toward modern history.

tories like those of Ahau Pech,
and the date of the katun.
(5448)

"That's not all. The merchants have agreed to give me their towns. Half of each town is altogether mine, that you must pay for. Do that for justice and Christianity. So good Christians will come secretly to the holy city in the wilderness in the designated place without further notice at the beginning of 9 Ahau. (5476)

"That will complete my prophecy of the end of tribute and suffering in the final katun

Heklai
Potz'
Licil u payal chi ah kin
Pech
Ti x tun
T u katunil uchmal
Talom*
Ma hauom in than
He ix u mansic u ba ob
Ah belnalob e
Ti tun y alah
U tz'a u cahal t en
Tan coch
Tub y an a cahal
In cahal t u lacial
C u than
Ti t a botic in cahal c en

Xaul e
Lic u alic t ech
Ti emi justisia
Uchebal u nacal x̄ptianoil

Y etel bolon pixan
Lai bin ocebal nicte uinicil

Ti u katabal than ti ob
Ti y ahaulilob cah
Ua ma mac y ohel e ti u hokol
Ich lumil che
Ich lumil tunich i
T u u y etz'tal
Cah i*
Manan Ch'amac
Bin chibalnac i
Lai t u kuchul
T u bolon Ahau katun ual e*
Lai u binel tulah
Pach in than
Ti kuchi t u kinil
Bin ix emec patan
T u hitz' num ya
Y etel t u hitz' chuchul chuch

Accounts

And extracts,

5445 Like the predictions of the sun priest
Ahau Pech,
And the *tun*
When the *katun* period occurred.
Come
5450 But not ended is my word.
Thus they all got together too,
These travelers,
And then said
To give their place to me.
5455 Halfway
Where your place is
Is my place altogether.
It says
That you are to pay for my place for
me.
5460 So come then
As I have told you,
For the descent of justice
Has brought about the rise of
Christianity,
And the great soul
5465 That will be the coming of the Flower
people
Who are desired to speak to them
In the lordship city.
If no one knows that he is appearing
In the lands of wood,
5470 In the lands of stone,
In the designated
Place,
There is no courting
That will have been brought about.
5475 That is on the arrival,
At 9 Ahau *katun* then.
That is who is going to complete
The back of my word,
Which is coming at the time
5480 When he shall drop his tribute
And end the suffering,
End the carrying of the load:

5449. A final syncretistic propaganda message asking for contributions for a secret "Christian" cult, the ideology of which is consonant with that of the Cruzob of the Caste War.

5472. Chan Santa Cruz perhaps? The first outbreak of the Caste War is identified with Tizimin, Valladolid, Ichmul, and Tihosuco (Reed 1964). They are all late Itza centers.

5476. That is, 1848 to 1872.

of 4 Ahau. For the war indemnity it will not be a sun priest in charge or a tax collector. When the time comes for the French to invade, there will be no sun priest even secretly because of the Christian katun. (5498)

"That is the prophecy forever for this katun from me, the Spokesman of the Jaguar and Spokesman of the True God, the judge of the Itza nobles." (5514)

T u katunil ox lahun
Ti can Ahau ual e*

Ti tz'oc u botic ob
U liksah katun ca yumob ual e

Ma ix a u alic ex
A u ahaulil ex katun c u talel e

Y ah cuchul a koch ex
Ca natz'ac

T u kin uchmal e
Lai kom cab e

Flances e
Lai katunob e

Manan ah kin
Bin alic u cuch

Tupan u u ich
T u men nicte katun

Lai u tucul
Lei u naat

M an kin
M an akab

T u nicteil katun ual e
Halil e in u almah xicin t ex

Oktah
Ben in than

C en
Chilam Balam

Ca in tzolah u than halah ku
Ca bin uchuc u kin

U salhal
U num ya

Y al
U mehen Ah Itza e.*

In the *katun* period 13,
In 4 Ahau again.

5485 Which completes their payment
For the raising of the wars of these
our fathers.

And don't say
That it is your lordship of the *katun*
that is coming,

The bearer of your taxes

5490 Who is to approach.
When the time is accomplished
That is the digging of the land
By the French,
That is the *katun* period

5495 Without a sun priest,
Who will tell his burden
With his face hidden,
Because of the Flower *katun* again.
That is his thought,

5500 That is his knowledge.
No day;
No night
In the flowering of this *katun*.
True enough, I am the spokesman
to you

5505 In advance,
And spread my word,
I,
Spokesman of the Jaguar.
For I recount the word of the True God,

5510 Whose day will come
To help
Or punish
The born
And engendered children of the Itza."

5484. 4 Ahau will be the final *katun* in a significant sense—it will be the thirteenth *katun* after the Valladolid reform that shifted the calendar to a twenty-four-year *katun*, and it will be the twenty-fourth *katun* since the conquest. See also note 4940. The new chronology ran:

1752–1776 4 Ahau	1920–1944 3 Ahau
1776–1800 2 Ahau	1944–1968 1 Ahau
1800–1824 13 Ahau	1968–1992 12 Ahau
1824–1848 11 Ahau	1992–2016 10 Ahau
1848–1872 9 Ahau	2016–2040 8 Ahau
1872–1896 7 Ahau	2040–2064 6 Ahau
1896–1920 5 Ahau	2064–2088 4 Ahau

5514. Following this in the original manuscript is a note in a late hand: *aquí falta una hoja* 'page missing here'. The missing page (9r–9v) contained the fragmentary end of a version of the Antonio Martínez story, the prophecies of Chilam Balam and Puc Tun, and the first half of the prophecy of Kauil Ch'el, versions of which may be read in Roys 1967: 163–166.

Appendix: The Mayan Calendar

The *Book of Tizimin* counts time (as it says in chapter 38) in four systems: (1) the 260-day *tzol kin*, a permutative count of 13 numbers and 20 named days, (2) the 365-day *hab*, made up of 18 named *uinal*s of 20 serially numbered days each plus 1 *uinal* of 5 days, (3) the 360-day *tun*, and (4) the Spanish *año* of 365 days plus leap years. The *tuns* were counted by twenties, 20 *tuns* being a *katun*. Larger intervals of time were counted in two systems: by twenties (20 *katuns* being a *baktun*) and by thirteens (13 *katuns* being a *may*). The *baktun* or Long Count dating system does not appear directly in the Tizimin (though it does in the Chumayel), the *may* is featured prominently.

The *Tzol Kin*. The numerological interaction of these cycles is complex, and the Mayan comprehension of it was masterly. The numerology of the *tzol kin* automatically produces cycles of 13 and 20 days. Among the permutations of the factors of these, the Maya were particularly impressed by cycles of 4×13 , or 52, and 5×13 , or 65, and they used those cycles (a fifth and a quarter of the *tzol kin* respectively) in divination and ritual. The *tzol kin* traditionally begins on 1 Imix, and it works out that Imix will recur 13 times within this cycle, or every 20 days. Because the count runs 1 to 13, then 1 to 7 (for a total of 20), Imix' second occurrence will have the coefficient 8, leading to the sequence 1, 8, 2, 9, 3, 10, 4, 11, 5, 12, 6, 13, 7 as the coefficients of any particular day. Thus the numerals 1 and 7 come to represent alpha and omega to the Maya. The same sequence applies to the *uinal* and the *tun* for the same reason, as both are based on 20-day counts.

The *Hab*. Because 20 goes into 365 18 times with 5 days left over, the first day of the year advanced by 5 days each year, and only 4 of the 20 days could begin the year ($20 \div 5 = 4$). These were the yearbearers (*ah cuch hab*) or the four changers (*can hel*). The yearbearer that began the first month, or 20-day *uinal*, also started all the others.

Different calendars used different yearbearers. The Zapotecs, for example, used their equivalents of Imix (+ 5 days later), Cimi (+ 5 days later), Chuen (+ 5 days later), Cib, or Type I yearbearers (in Zapotec Chilla, Lana, Goloo, Loo). The Quiche and the Classic Maya used Type II (Ik, Manik, Eb, Caban; or Ik, Ceh, E, Noh in Quiche). The Aztecs used their equivalents of Type III (Akbal, Lamat, Ben, Etz'nab, or Calli, Tochtli, Acatl, Tecpatl in Nahuatl). The colonial Maya used Type IV (Kan, Muluc, Ix, Cauac). And the Type V set (Chicchan, Oc, Men, Ahau) is the focus of the Yucatecan Burner cycle of fire ceremonies, which fall automatically one day later than the colonial yearbearers.

Since 13 goes into 365 28 times with a remainder of 1, the numeral coefficient of the first day of the year advanced by one each year, thus

producing a cycle of 13 years, and the same day appeared with the same coefficient only after four such cycles, producing the 52-year *kin tun y abil*, or calendar round. In the colonial calendar used in the Tizimin, the calendar round began on 1 Kan in 1581, for example.

The Mayan *hab* of 365 days, sometimes called a vague year, had 18 *uinal*s of 20 days each and 1 *uinal* of 5 days, the dreaded Uayeb (?‘specter steps’). These 5 were called nameless days (*x ma kaba kin*), although they were numbered and named normally in the *tzol kin* count and in the *hab* count. This was the period of the year’s end ceremonies, to be followed by those of the new year.

The Tun. The *tun*, a period of 360 days, was divided into 18 periods of 20 days each and always began on a day Imix. Consequently, it also ended on a day Ahau. The numeral coefficients of these days followed the same sequence as in the *tzol kin* (1, 8, 2, 9, 3, 10, etc.), repeating after 13 *tuns*.

The Katun. *Tuns*, however, were normally counted by twenties, and 20 *tuns* constituted a *katun*. Before 1539 the *katuns* always began on a day Imix and ended on a day Ahau, but in 1539 the system was changed so that they always began on a day Ahau and ended on a day Imix. In either case, the numeral coefficients of the Ahau days yield a cycle of 260 *tuns* or 13 *katuns*. The period of the *katun* (7,200 days) divided by 13 gives 553 cycles of 13 with a remainder of 11. Thus the sequence of the numeral coefficients of the *katuns* runs 13, 11, 9, 7, 5, 3, 1, 12, 10, 8, 6, 4, 2. The period of the half *katun* of 10 *tuns* (*lahun tun*), which was also ceremonially significant and which ran to 3,600 days, when divided by 13 gives 276 cycles of 13 with a remainder of 12. Thus if we count by half *katuns* we get a sequence of 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1.

The Baktun. The Long Count dating system of the Classic Maya was based on periods of 20 *katuns*, each of which equals 1 *baktun*. A typical Long Count date might be transcribed as 11.16.0.0.0, meaning 11 *baktuns*, 16 *katuns*, no *tuns*, no *uinal*s, no days. (All these units were counted vigesimally from 0 to 19 except for the *tuns*, which were counted from 0 to 17, thus totaling 18.) Not content with this rather elegant and precise dating system, the Classic Maya usually recorded important dates in “initial series” dating, giving the Long Count date, the *tzol kin* date, and the *hab* date, thus using all three of the basic cycles that have been described.

The May. For most purposes this elaboration was not required, and the Maya were content to count *katuns* by thirteens rather than by twenties. This gives us a period of 260 *tuns* (or 260 years minus 1,300 days, 160 days short of 256 years). This cycle was called the *may*, or the *kahlay katunob* ‘account of the *katuns*’. The Maya stopped carving Long Count (*baktun*) dates on their monuments in 10.6.0.0.0 (948). What survived into colonial times was the *may*. A great deal of debate has gone into resolving the correspondence between the *may* dating and the *baktun* dates, an essential step in correlating the Mayan and Christian calendars, with a potential discrepancy of nearly 256 years always hanging in the balance.

* The general relationship among these various cycles was well understood by the Maya. They realized that 73 *tzolkins* equaled 52 *hab*s ($52 \times 365 = 73 \times 260$). They knew that 72 *hab*s equaled 73 *tuns* ($72 \times 365 = 73 \times 360$). And they calculated that $9 \times 65 = 13 \times 45 = 585$, just one day more than the Venus year of 584 days! They concluded that they were right in thinking 9 and 13 to be important.

The Tikal Calendar. During the period represented by the *Books of Chilam Balam*, three different Mayan calendars were in use at different dates: the classical Tikal calendar from 692 to 1539, the Mayapan calendar from 1539 to 1752, and the Valladolid calendar from 1752 to 1848. Other calendrical proposals were made from time to time, but none seems to have caught on. The naming of these calendars is my own (Edmonson 1976), based on where they were first found or where they were inaugurated.

The Tikal calendar appears to have been used throughout Mayan country until 1539 except for certain aberrant inscriptions, largely in the Usumacinta Valley. It used Type II yearbearers, numbered the days of the *uinal* from 0 to 19, and counted *katuns* terminally. Its last *katun*, 13 Ahau, ended in 11.16.0.0.0 (1539).

The Mayapan Calendar. The Xiu and the Itza, both Mexicanized groups of elite lineages among the post-Classic and colonial Maya, disputed the proper use of the *may*, a cycle which they believed legitimized political power. The Xiu wanted to end the *may* in 8 Ahau, which appears to have been the Classic Mayan view; the Itza wanted to end it in 13 Ahau. In or shortly before 1539, there was a calendrical congress to resolve this issue, which resulted in the promulgation of a new calendar, initiated in 1539. The Xiu compromised by accepting 11 Ahau as the beginning of a new cycle. The Itza compromised by accepting initial dating of the *katun*. The date was dictated by calendrical considerations: the conjunction of the cycles was unusually favorable to the change contemplated. The result was that, 80 days before the end of 13 Ahau in 11.16.0.0.0, the Itza inaugurated a new (colonial) calendar at Mayapan. It differed from that of Tikal in adopting Type IV yearbearers, numbering the days of the *uinal* from 1 to 20, and naming the *katuns* from their initial days rather than from their final ones. The Xiu initiated the same system at their own date in Merida.

The result of this change was literally epochal. As in the case of the birth of Christ, Mayan dates before 1539 are counted backward from their endings, and those after 1539 are counted forward from their beginnings.

The Valladolid Calendar. As dated in the Mayapan calendar, *katun* 4 Ahau began in 1737. Five years before it ended, a new calendar was promulgated, apparently at Valladolid. By calendrical coincidence, in 1752 the name day of the *katun* (4 Ahau) fell on the second day of the Mayan year. The Itza sun priests, who were due to be obsolete in 1776, figured out that by redesigning the *katun* as a period of 24 *hab*s instead of 20 *tuns* they could fix it so that the initiation of future *katuns* would always fall on the second day of the year. Tidy enough. But, if they also converted the 260-*tun* cycle (the *may*) into a "katun" cycle of 24 *katuns* of 24 years each, they (or their descendants) could remain in office until 2088! They therefore reinaugurated *katun* 4 Ahau on the 24-*hab* basis, ending it in 1776. In the Tizimin this system is used only in dates after 1752; in the Chumayel it was sometimes used retroactively, with disastrous (but traceable) effects on some of the dates.

The Año. The Maya thought it very clever of the Spanish to have a year of their own—they learned it rapidly and found it child's play. By the time Landa got around to asking them (in 1553) when their year began, they were able to give him a deceptively simple but correct answer:

Sunday, July 16. The 365-day cycle was nothing new to them, of course, and they had figured out how to handle leap years by reckoning them separately.

Every Christian leap year day fell in a Mayan year with the yearbearer Ix, and the day 1 Ix initiated the second half of the calendar round in 1555. In the only really direct correlational statement in the Chumayel, written in 1556, it is clear that the July 16 correlation is pegged to the year 1 Ix, 1555 (Edmonson 1976). The true Christian date can thus be reached by adding the number of Ix years for dates before 1555 or subtracting them for dates thereafter. The Maya did that in their heads but simplified matters by clinging to the July 16 correlation. It was not until the present century that the Europeans generally accepted the Goodman-Martínez-Thompson (GMT) correlation and acknowledged that the Maya were correct (Edmonson 1976).

The only direct correlational statement in the Tizimin, in a text written around 1618 to 1623, also dates the beginning of the Mayan year to July 16 but pegs this not to 1 Ix, the middle of the calendar round, but to 1 Kan, the beginning of it. This was 1581. But the priest who wrote this must surely have been aware that the true correlational date was half a calendar round (26 years) earlier (including 6 Ix years). All references to the Christian year in the *Books* are tied to the July 16 date for 1 Pop, the first day of the Mayan year. And that was true only for 1552 to 1555.

The Julian Calendar. All the European dates are in the Julian calendar. Despite the promulgation of the Gregorian calendar by the pope in 1582, the Maya clung to the Julian one throughout. It is only in some late marginal notes of the nineteenth century that they began using Gregorian dates, which add ten days to the Julian ones. Since the Gregorian reform was accepted promptly in the Spanish world, this is an interesting documentation of the autonomy of Mayan calendrical thought.

The Week. The Mayan reaction to the 7-day week merits special comment. They realized promptly that the days of the week acted as year-bearers, constituting [leap years ignored] a 7-year cycle. (That is, the 365-day year contains 52 weeks plus 1 day.) Eventually they figured out that because of leap year these Christian "yearbearers" occur in cycles of four, and it takes 28 years before any particular 4-year set will be repeated. The number 7 was already important in Mayan numerology, so they comfortably added the weekdays and their planetary associations to the native astrology and used them for divination.

The Mexican Calendar. The Mexican calendar was only partly parallel to the Mayan one; the Nahuas lacked the *tun*, *katun*, *may*, and *baktun*.

Maya	Mayan and Mexican Calendars	Nahuatl
<i>xoc</i>	day number	<i>pohualli</i>
<i>kin</i>	day name	<i>tonalli</i>
<i>uinal</i>	20-day cycle	<i>cempohualtonalli</i>
<i>u</i>	lunar month	<i>metzli</i>
<i>tzol kin</i>	260-day cycle	<i>tonalpohualli</i>
<i>tun</i>	360-day cycle	
<i>hab</i>	365-day cycle	<i>xihuitl</i>
<i>katun</i>	20-tun cycle	
<i>kin tun y abil</i>	52-year cycle	<i>xihuitl molpia</i>
<i>may</i>	13-katun cycle	
<i>baktun</i>	20-katun cycle	

These tables may help in understanding and calculating the numerous calendrical references in the text and notes. For a fuller discussion of the Mayan calendar see Thompson 1927, Morley 1946, and Satterthwaite 1965.

Yearbearer
Type

Days (<i>Kin</i>)				
I	Imix	Cimi	Chuen	Cib
II	Ik	Manik	Eb	Caban
III	Akbal	Lamat	Ben	Etz'nab
IV	Kan	Muluc	Ix	Cauac
V	Chicchan	Oc	Men	Ahau

Note: These are counted permutatively: 12 Imix, 13 Ik, 1 Akbal, 2 Kan, etc.

Months (*Uinals*)

Pop	Xul	Zac	Pax
Uo	Yaxkin	Ceh	Kayab
Zip	Mol	Mac	Cumhu
Zotz'	Ch'en	Kankin	Uayeb
Tzec	Yax	Muan	

Note: These are counted serially, as with our months:
19 Pop, 20 Pop, 1 Uo, 2 Uo, etc.

Sequence of
Uinals (For a
year 1 Kan)

Sequence of <i>Katuns</i>		Calendar Round Yearbearer Dates (1 Kan equals:)
1 Kan	13 Ahau	
8 Kan	11 Ahau	1529
2 Kan	9 Ahau	1581
9 Kan	7 Ahau	1633
3 Kan	5 Ahau	1685
10 Kan	3 Ahau	1737
4 Kan	1 Ahau	1789
11 Kan	12 Ahau	1841
5 Kan	10 Ahau	
12 Kan	8 Ahau	
6 Kan	6 Ahau	
13 Kan	4 Ahau	
7 Kan	2 Ahau	

Long Count Dates

8 Ahau	9.13.0.0.0	692
13 Ahau	9.17.0.0.0	771
8 Ahau	10. 6.0.0.0	948
13 Ahau	10.10.0.0.0	1027
8 Ahau	10.19.0.0.0	1204
13 Ahau	11. 3.0.0.0	1283
8 Ahau	11.12.0.0.0	1461
13 Ahau	11.16.0.0.0	1539

Katun Dates

	Tikal				Mayapan	Valladolid
8 Ahau	692	948	1204	1461	1697	
6 Ahau	711	968	1224	1480	1717	
4 Ahau	731	987	1244	1500	1737	
2 Ahau	751	1007	1263	1520		1776
13 Ahau	771	1027	1283	1539		1800
11 Ahau	790	1047	1303		1539	1824
9 Ahau	810	1066	1323		1559	1848
7 Ahau	830	1086	1342		1579	
5 Ahau	849	1106	1362		1598	
3 Ahau	869	1125	1382		1618	
1 Ahau	889	1145	1401		1638	
12 Ahau	909	1165	1421		1658	
10 Ahau	928	1185	1441		1677	



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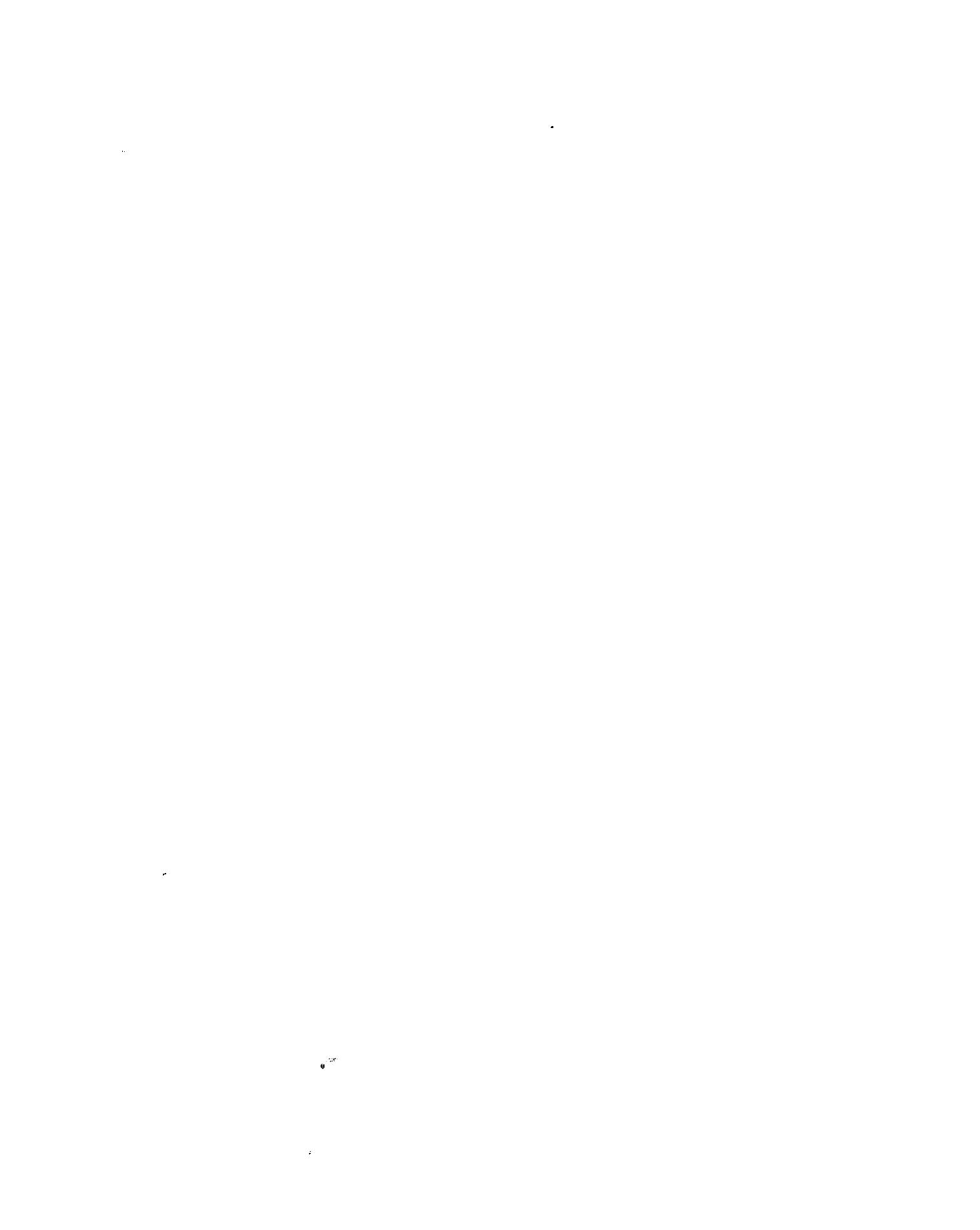
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 —, bird: *Accipiter* (hawk); *Agriocharis* (curassow, partridge, pheasant); *Amazilia* (blue bird, hummingbird); *Anthracothorax* (blue bird, hummingbird); *Ara* (parrot); *Archilochus* (blue bird, hummingbird); *Attila* (dove); *Aves* (bird); *Bubo* (horned owl); *Buteo* (hawk); *Buteogallus* (hawk); *Cardinalis* (cardinal); *Cassidix* (crow); *Chaetura* (chimney swift, swallow); *Chlorostilbon* (blue bird, hummingbird); *Ciccaba* (owl); *Claravis* (dove); *Columba* (dove); *Columbina* (dove); *Cotinga* (dove); *Crax* (curassow, partridge, pheasant); *Dactylortyx* (quail); *Dives* (Blackbirds); *Doricha* (blue bird, hummingbird); *Elanus* (hawk); *Gallus* (chicken); *Geranospiza*

(hawk); *Harpia* (Eagle); *Herpetotheres* (yellow lizard hawk); *Leptotila* (dove); *Meleagris* (turkey); *Molothrus* (Cowbirds); *Ortalis* (chachalaca, Magpies); *Otus* (owl); *Phaethornis* (blue bird, hummingbird); *Pharomachrus* (quetzal); *Rostrhamus* (hawk); *Spizaetus* (Eagle); *Threnetes* (blue bird, hummingbird); *Zenaida* (dove)

—, reptile: *Caiman* (alligator); *Caretta* (turtle); *Chelonia* (turtle); *Lacertilia* (lizard); *Micrurus* (Coral Snakes); *Trigonocephalus* (rattlesnake, snake)

—, fish: *Elasmobranchia* (shark); *Istiophorus* (sailfish)

—, invertebrate: *Cassis* (conch); *Cimex* (bedbug); *Formicidae* (Ant); *Ixodoidea* (tick); *Lampyridae* (firefly); *Melipona* (bee, Honeybees); *Palinurus* (lobster); *Strombus* (conch); *Tunga* (Chiggers). *See also* flies; green fly; grub; locust; snail; wasp; worm

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