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[ Chilam Balam books, Tizimin book ]

# The Ancient Future of the Itza

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## **The Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin**

Translated and annotated by Munro S. Edmonson



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*T u men ah miazob 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

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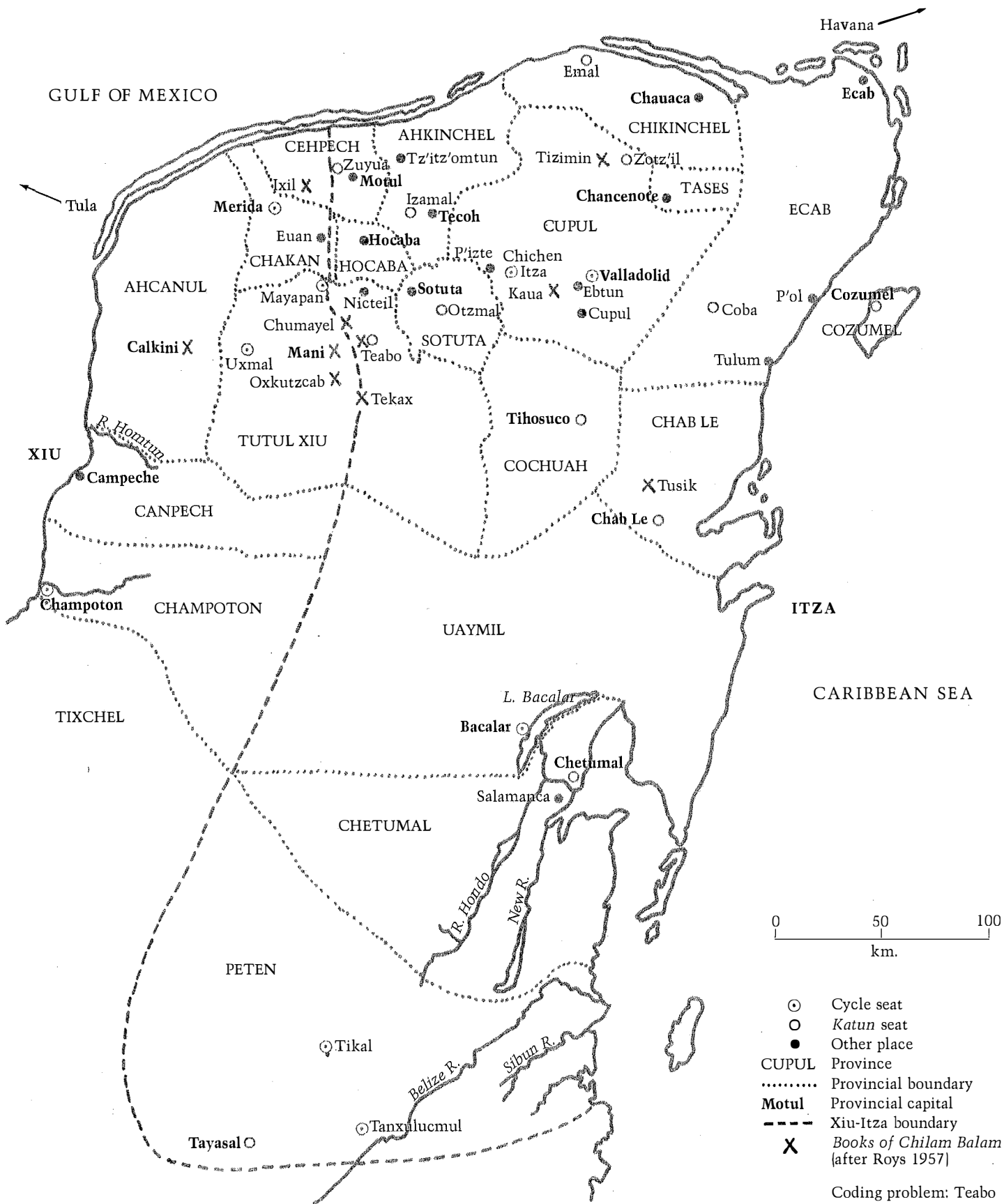
I have many debts. The first is to the U.S. Postal Service for having lost my Roys *Chumayel* in the mail. Without that, my collaboration with Victoria R. Bricker might have been less close and less productive. She can now have her Roys back together with my gratitude for her tact and energy as critic, 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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I am grateful to Tulane University and the National Endowment for the Humanities for a summer grant that enabled me to complete the translation and to Arthur Welden for including me in the Tulane Yucatan Colloquium that got me to parts of the peninsula I had never visited. The generosity, hospitality, and assistance of Alfredo Barrera Vásquez and Joann M. Andrews during my visits to Yucatan are profoundly appreciated. The helpful and creative labor of the late Marjorie LeDoux, director of the Latin American Library at Tulane, has been invaluable to me over many years, specifically so on this project.

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.





Coding problem: Teabo

# 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.

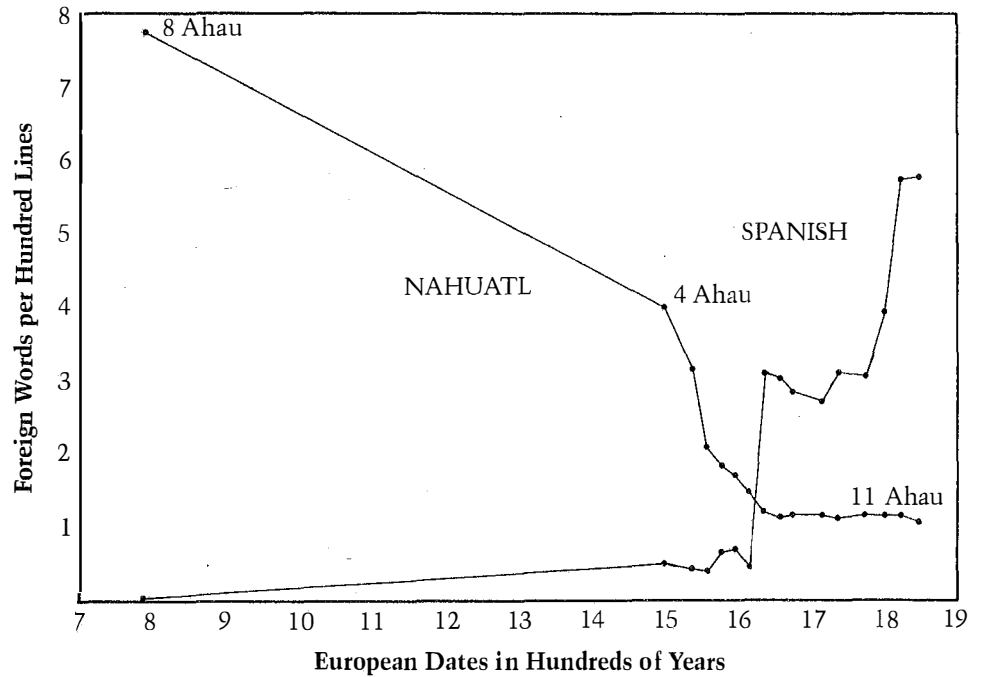
Among the twelve surviving *Books*, the *Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin* is the most historical. Others come from Mani, Calkini, Ixil, Chumayel, Kaua, Teabo (three of them), Tekax, Oxxutzcab, and Tusik. The Tizimin was collected by the parish priest of Tizimin, Manuel Luciano Pérez, who sent it to his 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 *qhau* (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 *conolbil* (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 cubsic 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.

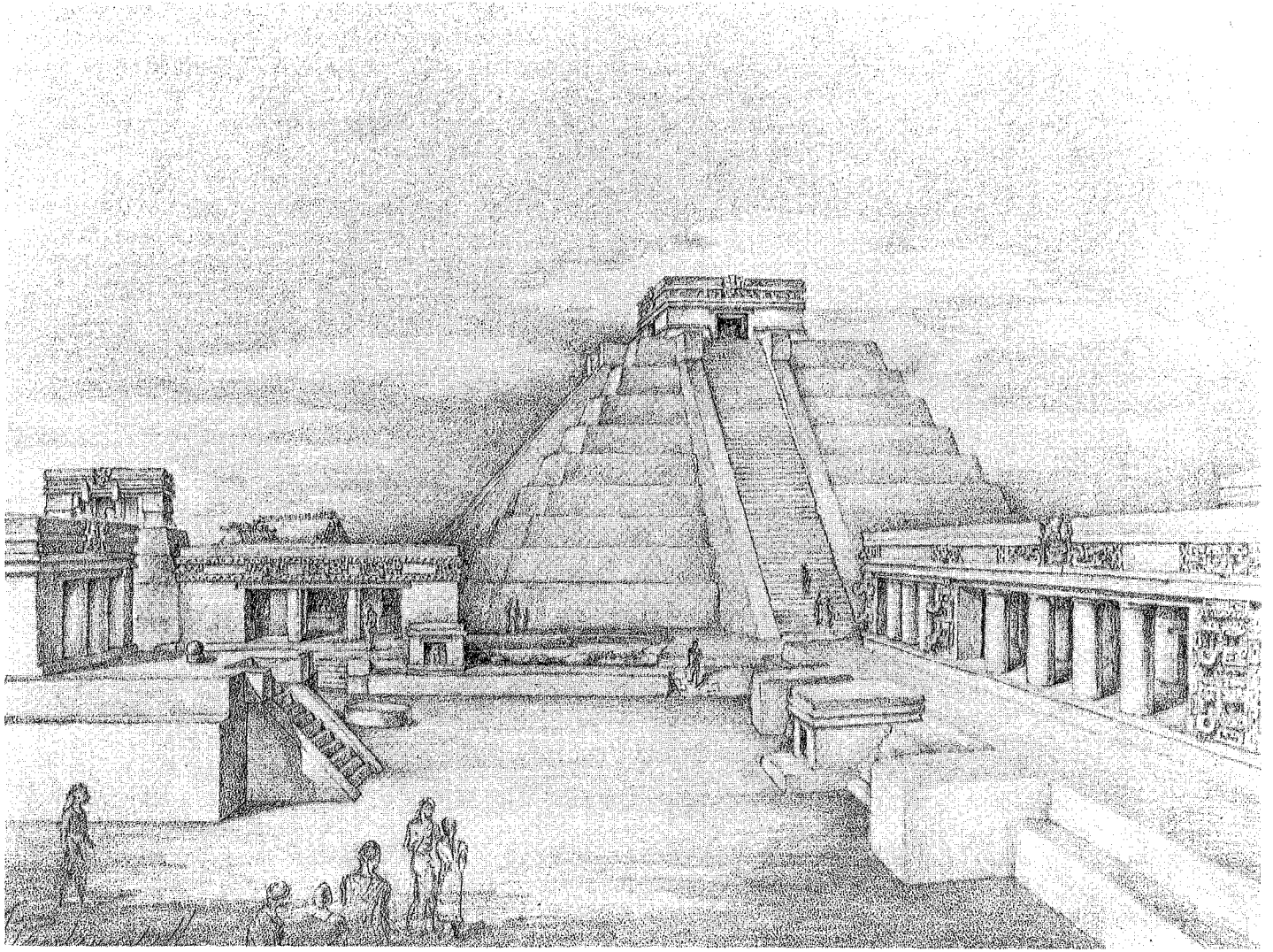
Early in the sixteenth century, the war of the *katuns*—or *katun* of the wars (*u katun katunob*)—between the Xiu and the Itza was exacerbated by the arrival of the Spanish. The result was a formal bifurcation of the politico-religious system and, coincidentally, a major calendrical reform, which was 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 *uinals* (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<sup>4</sup> (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 yearbearers 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.

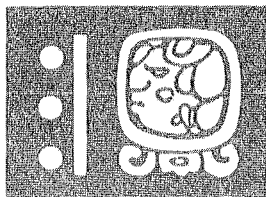
In effect, this is a secret history. Certainly the Spaniards remained largely oblivious to the continued existence of a traditional Mayan government in Yucatan and ignorant of the ideology that supported it. It is astonishing to learn from the Tizimin that the ancient Mayan cities—Mayapan, Uxmal, Chichen 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.

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## THE SEVENTH CENTURY





## 8 Ahau

### 1. The First Chronicle

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)		Champanot	
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 *uinals*. 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 (*Yucatlán*), Valladolid (*Zacapan*), 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\*  
Tutul Xiu\*  
Hum ppel hab

The chief  
Of the Tutul Xiu,  
One year

....       
Ma ti ho kal hab.\* 20 Before it was one hundred years.

....       
Uaxac Ahau\* 8 Ahau (692)  
Uhc u chicanpahal Had been revealed;  
Chi Ch'en Ytza\* Chichen Itza  
Uhc 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-moiety 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. Siyan 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)*					(6 Ahau) (711),
Can Ahau					4 Ahau (731),
Cabil Ahau					2 Ahau (751),
	....	≡	☉	☉	☉
Ox lahun Ahau					30 13 Ahau (771).
Lai tzolc i*					That was the counting
Pop					Of the mats.
Buluc Ahau					11 Ahau (790),
Bolon Ahau					9 Ahau (810),
Uuc Ahau					35 7 Ahau (830),
Ho Ahau					5 Ahau (849),
Ox Ahau					3 Ahau (869),
Hun Ahau*					1 Ahau (889).
	....	≡	☉	☉	☉
Lahun kal hab					Two hundred years
C u tepal Chi Ch'en Ytza*					40 Chichen Itza ruled.
Ca pax i					Then it was destroyed.
Ca bin ob					Then they went
T cahtal*					To the settlement
Chakan Putun*					Of Champoton,
Ti y anh i					45 Where there were then
Y otochob*					The homes
Ah Ytzaob					Of the Itza,
Ku y an uinicob i*					The gods who own men.
Uac Ahau					6 Ahau (968)
Chuc cu*					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		Of the lands
Chakan Putun		Of Champoton.
Can Ahau		4 Ahau (987),
Cabil Ahau		Second Ahau (1007),
	= =   	
Ox lahun Ahau		55 13 Ahau (1027),
Buluc Ahau		11 Ahau (1047),
Bolon Ahau		9 Ahau (1066),
Uuc Ahau		7 Ahau (1086),
Ho Ahau		5 Ahau (1106),
Ox Ahau		60 3 Ahau (1125),
Hun Ahau		1 Ahau (1145),
Lah ca Ahau		12 Ahau (1165),
Lahun Ahau		10 Ahau (1185),
	=    	
Uaxac Ahau		8 Ahau (1204).
Paxc i		65 Destroyed
Chakan Putun*		Was Champoton.
Ox lahun kal hab		Two hundred sixty years
C u tepal Chakan Putun		Champoton was ruled
T u men Ytza uincob		By the Itza people.
Ca tal ob		70 Then they came on
U tzacl ob y otochob		And returned to their homes
T u ca ten		For the second time.
Ca u satah ob be*		They destroyed the road
Chakan Putun		Of Champoton.
Ca tz'it u katunil		75 For two parts of the <i>katun</i> cycle
Bi(n)ci ob Ah Ytzaob		The Itza went on
Y alan che		Beneath the trees,
Y alan haban		Beneath the bushes,
Y alan ak		Beneath the vines,
Ti num yaob		80 Where they suffered.
Uac Ahau		6 Ahau (1224),
Can Ahau		4 Ahau (1244):
Ca kal hab		Forty years,
Ca tal ob		Then they came
U hetz'		85 And established
Y otochob t u ca ten		Their homes again.
Ca u satah ob be		Then they destroyed the road
Chakan Putun		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

Second Ahau (1263),

≡ ...   

Ox lahun Ahau

90 13 Ahau (1283),

Buluc Ahau

11 Ahau (1303),

Bolon Ahau

9 Ahau (1323),

Uuc Ahau

7 Ahau (1342),

Ho Ahau

5 Ahau (1362),

Ox Ahau

95 3 Ahau (1382),

Hun Ahau

1 Ahau (1401),

Lah ca Ahau

12 Ahau (1421),

Lahun Ahau

10 Ahau (1441).

U hetz'c i

They established

Cab Ah Sui Tok\*

100 The land of Zuy Tok,

Tutul Xiu

A Tutul Xiu

Uxmal

Of Uxmal.

Lahun kal hab c uch i

Two hundred years had passed

≡ ≡   

Ca hetz'h ob lum Uxmal\*

Since they established the land of Uxmal.

≡ ....   

Buluc Ahau

105 11 Ahau (1303),

Bolon Ahau

9 Ahau (1323),

Uuc Ahau

7 Ahau (1342),

Ho Ahau

5 Ahau (1362),

Ox Ahau

3 Ahau (1382),

Hun Ahau

110 1 Ahau (1401),

Lah caa Ahau

12 Ahau (1421),

Lahun Ahau

10 Ahau (1441).

≡ ≡   

Uaxac Ahau

8 Ahau (1461)

Paxc i

They destroyed

U hal ach uinicil\*

115 The governors

Chi Ch'en Ytza\*

Of Chichen Itza

T u keban than\*

By the sinful words

Hunac Ceel\*

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, Pantemilt, Xochihuehuatl, 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  
Pantemilt  
Xuch Ueuet  
Ytzcoatl  
Kakalcatt  
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,  
Pantemilt,  
Xochihuehuatl,  
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', Pantemilt 'flag bearer', Xochihuehuatl '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 Ulmil 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  
Uhc 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*. Barrera 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

And then was the thirteenth  
measure.

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.\*

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.

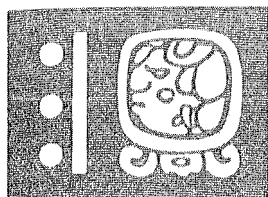


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## THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY







## 8 Ahau

### 2. The Fall of Mayapan

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

	≡ ≡ ≡ ≡ ≡	
(12v) Uaxac Ahau*		8 Ahau
U kin		Was the time
U mis kiuc		195 To sweep the marketplace
Ix chan cab*		And the little plazas,
Ca em i		When there descended
U than ox lahun ku		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)	Champtoton	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	200 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 uhc 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 *nahui icxiti* '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 Ytzmäl  
 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 Ytzmäl  
 Ul Ahau  
 Ti uch i  
 Patan u mehen kul Itzmäl  
  
 (13r) Ca hok i  
 U tah katun  
 Ti uch i  
 Tepal Itzmäl ca tz'oc i  
 Hapai Can e\*  
 T an u num ya  
 Ah Ytzmäl 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 Hapai 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.  
 Hapai Can then  
 Had his suffering.  
 Itzmäl 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. Hapai 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'.

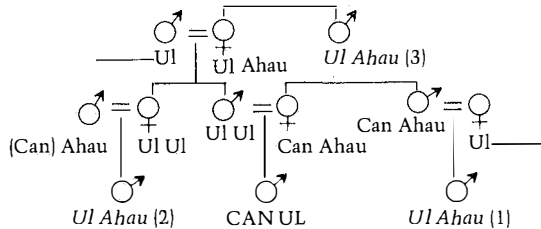
*Cans with the East priest Bol  
Ay and the East priest Xib  
Chac, the three victims who  
were sacrificed at Izamal. (274)  
It ended with the crime of*

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.

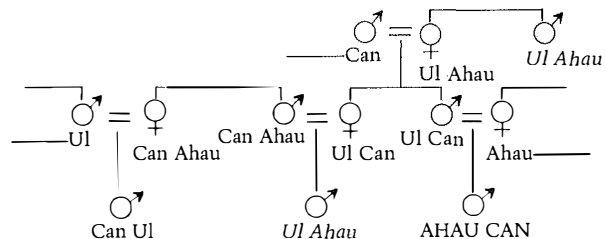
270. Barrera 1948: 224 has 'great was the suffering'.

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 Ul. 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\*  
 Hapai Can la e  
 Ca natab i  
 T u men Kukul Can e  
 Ca xot i  
 U cal  
 U y i ob  
 U y ub ob  
 T u lacal y al  
 U mehen  
 C u pactic  
 U luk Hapai Caan  
 Lei ah cuch teob  
 U cuchah u keban y ahau ob\*  
 Ca tun hopp i  
 U tumtic Itzam Caan\*  
 Ca tal y ocol  
 U keban y ahau Can Ul  
 Ca hok i  
 Ahau Caan  
 T u Chi Ch'enob  
 Uai  
 Max  
 Can Ul? \*  
 T u chican e\*  
 Ti hok i  
 Ahau i  
 Ox lahun te u cuch  
 Ca sihsab i  
 T u men u yum  
 Lai hun ppel cu\*  
 Yubil  
 Sinic  
 Balamil

This was the division of the sons  
 280 Of Hapay Can.  
 Then it was understood  
 By Kukul Can.  
 Then were cut  
 The throats,  
 285 The eyes,  
 The ears  
 Of all the born  
 And engendered children.  
 Then he folded  
 290 The removal of the Hapay Cans,  
 Who were made to be the bearers,  
 And bore the sin of their lord.  
 And then began  
 The renewal of Itzam Can.  
 295 Then came stealing,  
 The sin of the lord Can Ul.  
 Then appeared  
 Ahau Can  
 With the Chichens  
 300 Here.  
 Who  
 Was Can Ul?  
 He was manifested then  
 And appeared  
 305 As lord,  
 His thirteenth burden,  
 To which he was engendered  
 Through his father.  
 This was one more seat  
 310 And mantle  
 Of the Ants  
 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 Squeezer 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  
Koh Che  
Y etel Ah Cacap  
Chan Tokil\*  
Oc na  
Kuchil  
Ma ya cimlal  
Kin tun y abil  
Hoc\*  
Muc tza  
Tz'on  
Bacal tza  
Ah cootz\*  
Ah sitz'  
U cuch katun  
T u kinil xptianoil\*  
T u kinil nicté uinil  
T u kin u chac tun num ya  
  
Uchom u uutz'  
Katun  
T u y ox lahun te  
Ah uaxac Ahau ual e\*  
U lubul  
U than  
Y okol u hal ach uinil  
Y ahau Ah Ytza  
Ma cetel  
Bin tz'ocbal nicté uinil  
  
Lai bolon Ahau\*  
Ti pak i  
Chimal kal  
Y etel halal kal  
Lai bin uchuc t u nup katun  
Hun tz'am ual e.\*

Coral Snakes,  
Wooden Masks,  
315 Stabbers,  
And Little Flints,  
Coming to the house  
And appearing  
With the painless death  
320 Of the calendar round:  
Uprooting  
And removal by burial,  
The blowgun  
And removal by shot,  
325 Pluckers  
And lusters  
After the burden of the *katun*  
In the time of Christianity,  
In the time of the Flower people,  
330 In the time of the red stone  
suffering  
Occurring on the fold  
Of the *katun*,  
On the thirteenth:  
The return of 8 Ahau,  
335 The posting  
Of his word  
Over the governors,  
Lords of the Itza.  
Otherwise  
340 Will be the ending of the Flower  
people.  
That is 9 Ahau,  
Who plants  
His shield bundle  
And arrow bundle.  
345 That will occur on the opposite *katun*:  
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. *Xptianoil* 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 on following page)

(note continued from preceding page)

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

Date	<i>Kat'in</i> 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).

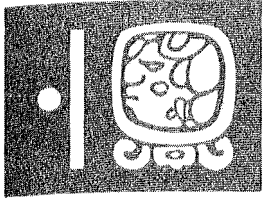
352. Can Ul of Izamal succeeded Kukul Can as lord of the *katun* and Ul Ahau as governor of Izamal late in 8 Ahau (1461). His lordship did not last long, and the following *katun* was seated at Uxmal. An extensive note on the history of Izamal is given in Tozzer 1941: 172–173.

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)

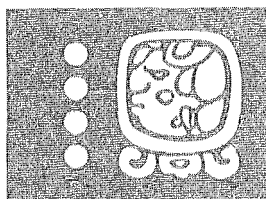
	≡	≡≡	☉	☉	☉	
(17v) Uac Ahau*						6 Ahau
Katun						Katun
U lahun tz'it katun						Was the tenth part of the <i>katun</i>
C u xocol					370	To be counted.
Uxmal						Uxmal
U hetz' katun						Was the seat of the <i>katun</i> .
Oclis						They were made to steal
T u ba ob*						From themselves
Chic ix u 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 glyphic 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's</i> return.

387. This is probably a glyphic 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  
T u 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  
T u kin ku e\*  
Y oktah  
Ua u ba\*  
In kuben e  
Yum e  
Ti au ich ex  
T u bel  
Au ulah ex Ah Ytza e  
U yum cab\*  
Ca ulom  
Lai ca a tz'a t au ol  
  
Tal i  
T u 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 pre-conquest (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  
Uil

In the sun  
And moon



Can Ahau

Of 4 Ahau,

Katun ual e

430 The *katun* returning.

T u hitz'

At the end

Bin u katunil ual e.\*

It will be the return of the *katun*  
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 (*Chacab*). 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.

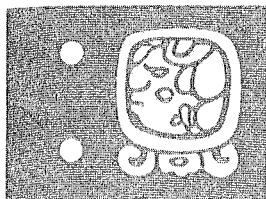
432. The Chumayel adds these lines (Roys 1967: 166; the reference is apparently to the military orders):

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.

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## 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*						Second Ahau
U lah ca tz'it						Was the twelfth part
Katun					435	Of the <i>katun</i>
C u xocol						To be counted.
Maya Tzuc Pom*						Maya Tzuc Pom
E hetz' katun*						Was the seat of the <i>katun</i> .
Tan coch hom u uah						Halfway clear was his food;
Tan coch hom u y aal*					440	Halfway clear was his water
T u katunil						At the <i>katun</i> period
Lah cabil Ahau ual e.*						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.

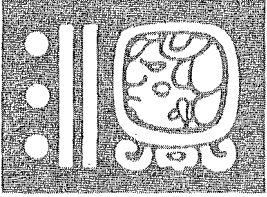
437. Barrera 1948: 141 has Maya Uas Cuzamil 'place of the Maya swallow' and then Maya Tzuc Pom 'groves of Maya copal gum trees'.

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*						13 Ahau
U y ox lahun tz'it						Was the thirteenth part
Katun					445	Of the <i>katun</i>
C u xocol ti cabal						To be counted in the lands,
Ix Bach Can*						And Bach Can
U hetz' katun						Was the seat of the <i>katun</i> again.
Ek lahom						Darkened
U tz'ub					450	Was its fold.
Nocpahom kin*						Rising was its sun;
Nocpahom u u ich u*						Rising was the face of its moon.
Emom u kikel che						Descended were bloody sticks
Y etel tunich						And stones.
Elom caan					455	Burned was the sky;
Elom lum						Burned was the land.
Yuk xot						General cutting
Kin						And pain
Y okol cuxanob						Over the living;
Y okol cimenob					460	Over the dead,
Cuxlahom						The resurrected
Cimenob						And the dead:
Uchlahom hom canal						Causing clear skies,
Naac-hom tibil beob canal						Raising fear of the paths of heaven,
Emom lobol beob					465	Descending the evil paths
T u tz'u luum						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 voltará*.

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  
U hitz'ibte katun  
U than u yumil can  
Y etel lum  
Lai y an t u cuch  
Ah ox lahun Ahau  
T u kin  
U tz'oc katun ual e.

The end of—  
The termination of the *katun*.  
The word of the Father of heaven  
470 And earth  
That was in the burden  
Of 13 Ahau  
On the day  
This *katun* 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 Span-  
ish. 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  
Ah Xupan u kaba  
He uaxac ppel y abil  
Ox lahun Ahau  
Y almah xicin ob ah kinob  
U natah ob  
Ix u talel  
Y ulel tz'ulob  
Ca ix u xocah ob  
Ti yunil  
Ca ix hopp i  
Y alic ob  
Hahil  
Binil ketaitl ob  
  
Ma ix u nah  
Katuntabalob y alah  
  
Ix ca tz'ab  
Ca patan  
Lai uchc u patcunah  
Thanil ob  
Ah kinob  
Ah bobatob  
Ti lic u xocic  
Ti yunob  
T u catz' pop  
T u ppicul katun  
Ta muk y alic ob al mehenob  
Y etel hol canob  
Ox hab  
U kin y ulel\*  
C uch i  
Ca thanah i  
Ku y okol ah bobat e  
Lai cisin  
Ta muk y alic t u hol can ex e  
Ual ci tac y ahal cab  
Ox lahun  
Ti uuc e  
Ci  
U than cisin ti ob

485 In 13 Ahau  
Xopan was his name  
Who in the eighth year's time  
Of 13 Ahau  
Spoke to the ears of the sun priests  
490 What they knew  
And the coming  
And arrival of the foreigners.  
They also recounted it then  
In the books,  
495 And they began  
And spoke  
The truth  
Of the coming of their neighbors to  
them.  
But it was not the fulfillment  
500 Of the spirit of their *katun*  
reckonings  
That they were also given  
Our tribute.  
That just made it expectable:  
The sayings  
505 Of the sun priests  
And prophets  
Which were as told  
In the books.  
They rolled the mat  
510 And totaled the *katun*  
While they told the nobles  
And captains  
That three years  
Would be the time of arrival.  
515 It occurred.  
Then there spoke  
A god over the prophet:  
This was the devil,  
As he told your captains  
520 To return just at dawn.  
Thirteen  
Makes seven then,  
Said  
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 ppiculte  
 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 lalac e  
 Xupan Nauatl  
 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  
(Ilr) 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'iitz'*	585	On the day of Chuclum Tz'itz',
T u kin Hubul Hub*		On the day of Hubul Hub,
T u kin Cotz' y Ol Ch'elem*		On the day of Cotz' y Ol Ch'elem,
T u kin Etz'el Etz'*		On the day of Etz'el Etz',
T u kin Ox Tz'alab u Nak Yax Che*		On the day of Ox Tz'alab u Nak Yax Che,
T u kin Cuchlahom y Al Max*	590	On the day of Cuchlahom y Al Max,
T u kin Ox Ch'uilah Xotem*		On the day of Ox Ch'uilah Xotem,
T u kin Pan Tzintzin y etel Ban Hob*		On the days of Pan Tzintzin and Ban Hob,
Y alan che		Under the trees,
Y alan haban		Under the bushes.
Emom	595	Descended
Chac mitan uiih		Is the great plague of hunger.
Cam pat-hom u bel katun*		Much clarified is the road of the <i>katun</i> ,
Mis bon		Swept and painted.
Tali chikin		Coming west:
Tali xaman	600	Coming north:
Manebal y al		The destined passage of the born
U mehen ku		And engendered of God,
Sat-hom y alan che		Destroyed under the trees,
Y alan haban		Under the bushes,
T u chac tun num ya y al	605	At the red stone of the suffering of the born children
		Of the engendered children of the poor <i>Itza</i> ,
		Who were burned at the edge of the sand,
Elom u chi sus		The edge of the sea.
U chi kaknab		The captain in the woods
Nacom ti che		Was Ma Zuy,
Ah Ma Suy*	610	And Elom Tz'itz'
Elom Tz'iitz'		At the new count of Pop;
T u yax tzol Pop		And Tz'itz'om Tun
Ah Sitz'om Tun		Had its thirteenth burden,
Ox lahun te u cuch		615 Taken on in the thorn trees land,
Ch'ab on u numteil cab		The grove trees land,
U tzucteil cab*		

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 tamba 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  
Y an u chek be *katun*  
  
Xoipahom t u chakanil  
Ix kan  
Citam  
Thul\*  
Sulim Chan\*  
Ti tal i  
U katabal u cuch *katun*  
Ox lahun te u cuch Chakan  
Ti kax i  
U pucsikil peten  
Katal u cah  
U cuch Ah Emal  
  
Ti tal i  
U cotz' pop *katun*  
Ti tal i  
Num on t u cal ya  
Auatnom Ek Tenel Ah Ya  
  
Ti uil uchom\*  
Mul tun tze k i  
Emom  
Chac mitan kuch  
Chac mitan uiih  
Hoi bon u u ich  
Ualac y ahaulil  
T u kin ma ya cimlal  
Ti uil uchom  
Ahau Canil  
Sinic  
Balamil  
Y etel Hun Coyol\*  
Y ubil ti u hetz' *katun*  
  
Ti tal i  
Auatnom  
Chum kin Uoo\*

On the day  
650 There was the pacing of the road of the *katun*,  
Making the circuit of the fields,  
And the offices  
Of pig  
And rabbit.  
655 It was Zulim Chan  
Who came  
And requested the burden of the *katun*,  
His thirteenth burden and field,  
Which was tied  
660 In the heart of the country,  
Requesting the placement  
And the burden were the people of Emal.  
Then came  
The rolling of the mat of the *katun*.  
665 Then came  
Our suffering in severe pain:  
The screaming of the West sacrificial priest.  
At the moon it happened,  
At the ruin  
670 There descended  
The great scab plague,  
The great famine.  
Paint-spattered was his face  
To return the lordship  
675 On the day of painless death,  
Which was the moon  
Of the lords of Snakes,  
Ants,  
Jaguars,  
680 And Silent Leopards.  
Hearing that it was the seating of the *katun*,  
Then came  
The screaming  
Of the middle day of Uo.

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*		13 Ahau
U lubul		Was the posting
U cuch katun		Of the burden of the <i>katun</i>
Ti Ah Emalob		To the people of Emal,
Ba ix Hol Tun Suiua		695 As well as Hol Tun Zuyua,
Ba ix Ho Tzuc Chakan*		As well as Tihosuco.
Ti uil uchom		In the moon it occurred
Salam Koh Cheil*		At Zalam Koh Cheil.
T u cuch		In the burden
Ho Tzuc Chakan*		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 lal 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 ppe! u cabil uah  
T u menel ix Sacl Ac Tun  
Lai culan t u pucikal 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).

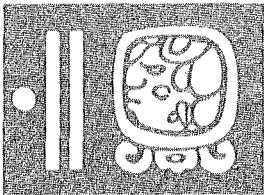
*the division ceremonies, raising the land and celebrating the 13 Gods and flooding the whole world. Then Itzam Cab Ain ended the katun with a flood. But the 9 Gods disagreed, and Itzam Cab Ain was sacrificed, the earth monster. Only he is given the name Uoh Puc, ending the lordship of the katun with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



II 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 miazob*). 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	Uaymil	Bacalar
Chab Le	(?Bahía de la Ascensión)	(?)
Champoton	Chanputun	Champoton
Chetumal	Chetumal	Chetumal
Chichen Itza	?Sotuta	Sotuta
Coba	Ecab	Ecab
Cozumel	Cozumel	Cozumel
Emal	Chikinchel	Chauaca
Izamal	Ahkinchel	Tecoh
Mayapan	?Hocaba	Hocaba
Merida	Chakan	Merida
Teabo	Tutul Xiu	Mani
Tihosuco	Cochuah	Tihosuco
Uxmal	?Canpech	Campeche
Valladolid	Cupul	Valladolid
Zotz'il	?Tases	Chancenote
Zuyua	?Cehpech	Motul
(?)	Ahcanul	?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. Starv-  
ing in the wilderness was the

Ti buluc Ahau		In the 11 Ahau
Katun	780	<i>Katun</i> .
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.
Uilnom che		Starved trees,
Uilnom tunich		Starved rocks,
Ti tal i		Which came
Y emel ychil buluc Ahau katun		To befall in <i>katun</i> 11 Ahau,

(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 Hocaba, 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 Peten 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 Merida 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 Merida 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 Merida, which also claimed to seat the *katun* for the hundred years from 1539 to 1638.

787. Bolon y Oteil '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 Merida 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  
Caan  
Ox  
Koch  
U uah  
Katun  
Xotom u cal Yaxal Chuen\*  
Uecom ix kay  
U than ti bal cah  
Ti tal i  
Ban ban ah kayil i\*  
Ma mac ma ah kay  
(. . . .)  
Ah kainom pal  
Ah kainom nu xib  
Ah kainom ix nuc  
Ah kainom tan celem  
Ah kainom ix lok  
Bay en t u y ulel au itz'in ex  
  
A sucun ex ti y ulel  
U hel au ex  
U hel a nok  
U sacil a buuc  
U sacil au ex  
Xotob tz'ul\*  
Ah mexob  
Ich Can Si Ho  
U hetz' lumob  
Hex  
Ah kin e  
Cuxul ku  
Hahal ku\*  
La bin kultabac  
Ti hun yuklah  
Ti cab  
Ti y emel  
U chayan  
Tepal  
T ix ma yum  
T ix ma na

795 Being sent out  
From heaven.  
Breadnut  
And gourdroot  
Were the food  
Of the *katun*.  
800 Cut was the throat of Yax Chuen,  
And scattered was the song  
Of his word to the world.  
That came about.  
805 Many, many were the singers  
And no one was not a singer:  
(. . . .)  
Sung to were children,  
Sung to were men,  
810 Sung to were wives,  
Sung to were boys,  
Sung to were girls.  
So be it: your younger brothers are coming!  
Your older brothers are arriving  
815 To change your pants,  
To change your clothes,  
To whiten your dress,  
To whiten your pants—  
The foreign judges,  
820 The bearded men  
Of Heaven Born Merida,  
The seat of the lands.  
And they  
Are the sun priests  
825 Of the living God,  
The True God.  
He shall be worshiped  
In one communion  
On earth  
830 Below:  
An additional  
Rule.  
And for the fatherless,  
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 Muzen 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*

(11v) Ychil buluc Ahau\*  
Ca lik i  
Ah Muzen 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 punish-  
ment. 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  
Ti bolon ku\*  
Ca emi kak  
Ca emi tab  
Ca emi tunich  
Y etel chee  
Ca tal i  
U baxal  
Che  
Y etel tunich\*  
Ca ix kuch i  
Ox lahun ti ku  
Ca pax i  
U pol  
Ca lah i  
U u ich  
Ca tubab i  
Ca colpah i\*  
Can hel  
Y etel Ho Sabac\*  
Ca ch'abi ix kukil  
Ix yaxum  
U ppuyem sicil  
U ppuyem topp  
U teppah u y inah\*  
Yax bolon tz'acab\*

The 13 Gods  
To the 9 Gods:  
865 "Bring down fire.  
Bring down the rope.  
Bring down stones  
And trees."  
Then came  
870 Pounding  
Of sticks  
And stones.  
And then appeared  
The 13 Gods  
875 And beat  
Their heads  
And flattened  
Their faces,  
And they were spat on  
880 And snatched away,  
The four yearbearers  
And the 5 priest Za Bac;  
And the quetzals were taken,  
And blue birds,  
885 Crushing the Zic,  
Crushing the Top,  
And wrapping the seeds  
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  
T u y ox lahun tas caan  
Ca culh i  
U matz'il  
Y etel u ni  
U bacilil  
Ca bin i  
U pucsikal  
T u menel ox lahun ti ku  
Ma ix y oheltah binc i  
  
U pucsikal  
U uil la e  
Ca hut  
Lah i  
Ix ma (12r) yumob  
Ah num yaob  
Ix nia ichamob  
Cuxanob\*  
Ix ti manan u pucsikal  
Ca mucchahi ob  
T u yam sus  
T u yam kaknab\*  
Hun uatz' hail  
Ti uch i  
U col  
Can hel  
To homocnac canal  
Homocnac ix cabal  
T u katunil u nup  
U uutz'  
Cimc i  
U thupil mehen  
Lai u uutz' u katunil  
Oxil Oc u kinil ulc i uay e\*

Which went  
890 To the thirteen levels of heaven.  
Then was cut  
The membrane  
And the nose  
Of the skeleton.  
895 Then went  
The heart,  
On account of the 13 Gods.  
But they didn't know what was  
going.  
The heart  
900 Of the moon there  
Is dropped  
Flat.  
And the fatherless,  
The miserable,  
905 And those without spouses  
Or living relatives,  
And those that don't have hearts  
Then began to rot  
By the margin of the sand,  
910 By the margin of the sea.  
One torrent of water  
Occurred,  
Which was released  
By the yearbearers.  
915 That was the clearing of heaven  
And also the clearing of the lands  
For the period opposite  
The fold,  
Killing  
920 Youngest sons.  
That is the fold of the *katun* cycle;  
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  
 U than katun ca ualh i  
 Can tul ku  
 Can tul Ba Cab\*  
 Lai hayes ob cab\*  
 Ca tz'oci hai cabil e  
 Ca ualh i  
 Chac Imix che\*  
 Lay y oc  
 Mal can  
 Lay u chicul  
 U hayal cab  
 Lay u coicinah che  
 Ba Cab  
 U alic  
 Kan Xib Yuy\*  
 Ca ualh i  
 Sac Imix che ti xaman  
 Lai u alic  
 Sac Hic\*  
 U chicul  
 Hai cabil

I Cimi is the time that ended  
 The word of the returned *katun*.  
 925 The four gods—  
 The four Fathers of the Land—  
 That is their flattening of the land.  
 When the lands have been flattened  
 Then there returns  
 930 The red Imix tree  
 That is proceeding  
 To pass the four.  
 That is the sign  
 Of the flattening of the land.  
 935 That is the toppling of the tree  
 Of the Fathers of the Land,  
 Called  
 The East priest Xib Yuy.  
 Then there returns  
 940 The white Imix tree to the north.  
 He is called  
 The North priest Hic,  
 The sign  
 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 reminder 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 ual h i  
Ek Imix che  
T u chikin  
Peten  
U chicul  
Hai cabil  
Lai  
Ek Imix che  
Culic Ek Tam Pic Tz'oy\*

Culic kanal Imix che  
T u nohol  
Peten  
U chicul  
U hayal cab  
Culic Kan Oyal Mut\*  
Ca cul h 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

945 Then also returns  
The black Imix tree  
To the west  
Of the country,  
The sign  
950 Of the flattening of the lands:  
That  
Is the black Imix tree,  
Seating the West priest Tam Pic the Weak,  
Seating the yellow Imix tree  
955 To the south  
Of the country,  
The sign  
Of the flattening of the lands  
Seating the South priest Oyal Mut.  
960 Then is seated  
The green Imix tree  
In the middle of the land,  
The reminder  
Of the flattening of the lands.  
965 Piled in its place is the whole  
Of the existence of this *katun*.  
11 Ahau is the time  
Of the coming of the word  
Of the nine steps  
970 Of sages  
Who folded  
And asked for the burden of the *katun*,  
The ninth  
Of his burdens,  
975 That came down  
On 4 Kan,  
The time of the return  
That ended the burden.  
Then it descended  
980 And came

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 *uinals*, 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 *uinals* 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 Nichte, Ninich Cacau, Chabi Tok, 5 Xochitl, Hobon y Ol Nichte, Kouol y Ol Nichte: 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 nichte  
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 Nichte  
Ix Ninich Cacau  
Ix Chabi Tok  
Ix Mabil Xuchit  
Ix Hobon y Ol Nichte  
Ix Kouol y Ol Nichte  
Lai  
Hokci ob nichte la e  
Ah con  
Mayelob  
Lai  
U na nichteob 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,  
990 And dripping its brains.  
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 Nichte,  
And Ninich Cacau,  
And Chabi Tok,  
And Macuixochitl,  
And Hobon y Ol Nichte,  
1010 And Kouol y Ol Nichte.  
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 Nichte 'island flower', (5) Ninich Cacau 'wormy cacao', (6) Chabi Tok 'digging knife', (7) Macuixochitl (Nahuatl) 'five flower' (the Nahuatl *xochitl* 'flower' corresponds to the day Ahau 'lord' in Maya), (8) Hobon y Ol Nichte 'colored heart flower' (this is the Hobnil in Landa 1929: 2: 20), and (9) Kouol y Ol Nichte 'pouched heart flower'.

lords, bringing famine in 11  
 Ahau. It is the time not of the 9  
 Gods of hell, the nine lower lev-  
 els, 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 proph-  
 ecy 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\*  
 T u kinil  
 Ma ix kuch 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\*  
 lx u uay inah  
 Ca em i  
 Ca u tz'utz'ah u kabil nicte

Bolon y al nicte\*  
 Ca tun hok i  
 U puczikal nicte  
 Can hek  
 lx u lac nictēob 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  
 lx u pop nicte  
 lx u kan che  
 Sa Uin  
 Culic\*  
 Sauin u luch  
 Sauin u lac  
 Sauin u pucsikāl  
 Sauin u chi

Of the Flower lords  
 When they descend.  
 And "there is no food"  
 Is the burden of the Flower *katun*.  
 1025 In his time  
 There also does not come  
 The creation  
 Of the Gods of hell,  
 The nine steps  
 1030 That descend,  
 The creation of the Flowers,  
 Of the measuring stick.  
 Blue bird  
 And hummingbird  
 1035 Are also the spirits  
 Who come down  
 When they suck the nectars of the  
 Flowers,  
 The nine children of Flowers.  
 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 When that is done  
 There appear the 13 Gods,  
 But they don't know them,  
 Descending to the unfolded mat,  
 And arriving  
 1050 At the word,  
 Bearing  
 The Flower,  
 And the mat of the Flower,  
 And the yellow throne.  
 1055 Za Uin  
 Is seated;  
 Envy is his gourd;  
 Envy is his plate;  
 Envy is his heart;  
 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  
 U than  
 Ti y ahaulil  
 T u kinil  
 Auat uiil  
 Auat ukul  
 T u xai u chi  
 Lic u hanal  
 T u pach  
 U xau  
 C u uiil  
 Auat ukul  
 Sip u than ti culic  
  
 Sip u can  
 Kaxan u u ich\*  
 Ti culic  
 Ch'a u cah tza\*  
 U cah pop  
 Culic  
 T u y ahau  
 Lic tuban u yum  
 Tuban u naa  
 Ma ix y ohel u yum  
 Mehente  
 Ma ix y ohel u na  
 Sihese  
 Halil i  
 Y an  
 T u ni  
 Y ak tz'etz'ec e\*  
 U h auat cuch  
 Ma u matan  
 Ti bolon ti ku em i  
 Ix Uuc Sat Ai\*  
 Ca ix sati y ol  
 Ca ix sati y ik  
  
 Ca ch'aci u cal  
 U hich' u cal  
 T u ba  
 T u hunal  
 Sip u than ah bobat la e  
 Sip ix ah kin la e

Great is his madness,  
 His word  
 In the lordship  
 At the time,  
 1065 Crying food,  
 Crying drink,  
 He opens his mouth  
 As though eating  
 And afterward  
 1070 Gets dizzy,  
 Fasting  
 And crying for drink.  
 Blame is the word of him who is  
 seated,  
 Blame is his teaching.  
 1075 Tied is the face  
 Of him who is seated.<sup>1075</sup>  
 He takes his place,  
 Demands his mat place,  
 And sits  
 1080 As the lord,  
 As if forgetting his father,  
 Forgetting his mother.  
 And he does not know the father  
 Who engendered him,  
 1085 And does not know the mother  
 Who bore him.  
 For truly  
 It was  
 By nose  
 1090 And tongue he was born,  
 Crier of the burden  
 He did not ask for.  
 From the 9 Gods he descended,  
 The 7 priest Sat Ay.  
 1095 And then was destroyed their spirit;  
 And then was destroyed their  
 breath.  
 Then their throats were cut,  
 Their throats were tied,  
 By themselves,  
 1100 Alone.  
 Blamed was the word of that prophet,  
 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 liki 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 miazob  
 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 Huastec *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 no-  
bles of the poor Itza (1549), and  
once at the end of the Xiu in  
the Christianity of 11 Ahau  
(1559). (1164)

Ma i  
T in than  
Ca t uch i  
Ox uatz'\*  
T u uinicil ual e  
Y okol cab  
Ca uch i  
Ox uatz' katun ual e  
T u kin Naclah Uitz\*  
Chuchul Chuch  
T u kin chac tun  
Num ya  
U y al  
U mehen  
Ah num  
Ytza  
Ma cetel bin tz'ocbal  
Nichte unicil  
Nichte katun  
Ichil *Christianoil* ual e.

1145 It is not  
In my words.  
For it happened  
On three occasions  
To these people again  
1150 On earth,  
And it happened  
Three times in this *katun's* return:  
On the day of Naclah Uitz  
Bearing the load;  
1155 And on the day of red stone  
Suffering  
Of the born  
And engendered children  
Of the sufferers,  
1160 The Itza;  
Otherwise will be the ending  
Of the Flower people,  
The Flower *katun*  
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 begin-  
ning. Merida was the katun  
seat. The red-bearded gods

(16r) Buluc Ahau  
Katun  
U yax chun  
U xocol katun\*  
U hun tz'it katun  
Ulic sac uinicob  
Ich Can Si Ho  
U hetz' katun  
Bee chac u mexob  
'U mehen kin

1165 11 Ahau  
Was the *katun*.  
It was the new base  
Of the counting of the *katun*.  
The first part of the *katun*  
1170 There arrived the white people.  
Heaven Born Merida  
Was the seat of the *katun*.  
So, red were the beards  
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.

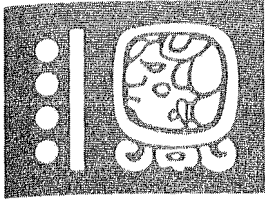
## 14. The Death of the Gods

*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 God and the world of the Father and Creator. (1238)*

(10r) U *profesia*  
 Na Tzin Yabun Chan\*  
 U chi  
 U than  
 U hel  
 Ah kin  
 Te  
 Peten  
 La u pak  
 U hokol e  
 Yum  
 Ah kinob  
 Ua bin putz'c ob  
 Uchmal  
 Tz'a ex  
 Ka a nat  
 T u than  
 T u tzacil kak  
 A pixan ex  
 Bin hahal kamic e  
 Xeth au ol  
 T a kul Ah Ytza  
 Tubes a hauai  
 A satai kul e  
 La a kult e  
 U hahil ku lo e  
 T u lacal  
 Y anil  
 Ah tepal e  
 Yum  
 Y ah ch'ab  
 U ti Tusinil e.

The prophecy  
 Of Tzin Yabun the Younger,  
 The mouth,  
 1210 The word  
 Of the replacement  
 To the sun priest  
 There  
 In the country.  
 1215 That is the expectation,  
 The request  
 Of the fathers,  
 The sun priests.  
 If they should escape  
 1220 The occurrence,  
 Give out  
 What you must know  
 In the word,  
 In the purpose of fire,  
 1225 Only your souls  
 Will accept the truth.  
 Your heart shattered  
 At your Itza gods,  
 Forgetting your wretched,  
 1230 Your miserable deities,  
 Then you shall worship  
 The True God the redeemer.  
 Everything  
 In the existence  
 1235 Of the ruler,  
 The Father,  
 Creator  
 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.

. . . the moon  
1240 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  
 Ti bolon Ahau  
 T u kin oclis t u ba  
 Bi y alab hal ach uinicil  
 Ti ma lai  
 Chen u u acunah u ba  
 Ti ba tabil\*  
 Ti ah kinil  
 Ba ix ti nacomal e  
 Ti ualac y ahaulil\*  
 T u pop  
 T u tz'am  
 Hum pai y ol  
 Ti y emel tab  
 Ti Ah Bolon Ahau la  
 Sip u than  
 Sip u chi  
 Sip u katun  
 (. . . .)\*  
 Ti y ahaulilob  
 Ah bolon kin\*  
 Ah bolon tz'am  
 T u tepal Ah Uuc Cha Pat kin\*  
  
 U chamal katun\*  
 Ca tal i  
 Y emel tab e  
 Ek Imix uah\*  
 U uah katun  
 Ca kin  
 Chicul\*  
 Sac Uac Nal u u ich\*  
  
 Ti y ahaulil

Was the seat of the *katun*  
 In 9 Ahau.  
 Then they assembled  
 As told, the governors,  
 1255 But they weren't.  
 They just elevated themselves  
 As chiefs,  
 As sun priests,  
 And as captains  
 1260 Who were to rise to lordship  
 On the mat,  
 On the throne—  
 A division of the heart  
 Which was to bring down the rope  
 1265 In 9 Ahau's rule there.  
 Blame was his word;  
 Blame his mouth,  
 Blame his *katun*  
 (In the rules,)  
 1270 In the lordships  
 Of the nine-day,  
 Nine-throne people,  
 In the rule of the 7 priest Cha Pat's  
 days,  
 Of the tobacco *katun*.  
 1275 Then came about  
 The descent of the rope.  
 Black Imix food  
 Was the food of the *katun*.  
 Two suns  
 1280 Appeared.  
 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  
 Ti okal haa  
 U uah katun  
 Ti uchom  
 Hak  
 Otzil i  
 Katun u uiil  
 Katun y ukul  
 Katun u ximbal  
 Katun u pucsikal  
 Hach tz'etz'il i  
 Than u kat i  
 Ah bolon tepal kin  
 U col kab katun la  
 Bin u tz'a u ba  
 Ti hol can thanil  
 U tz'oy y ahaulil  
 Ti y an ban ban kulelil i  
 Y an u uah  
 Y an u y aal  
 T u tz'oc hayan u pop  
 T u tzic ti an  
 Ban cal pach i  
 Lai than katun la e.

By stealing bread,  
 By stealing water,  
 1285 Was the food of the *katun*  
 That took place:  
 Choked  
 And poor—  
 A *katun* of hunger,  
 1290 A *katun* of drinking,  
 A *katun* of walking,  
 A *katun* of hearts.  
 Very small  
 Was the word he wanted,  
 1295 The nine-rule time  
 Of this grasping *katun*.  
 He will surrender himself  
 To the captain's words—  
 The weakness of the lordship,  
 1300 Which had many, many officials  
 It had its food;  
 It had its water.  
 He flattened his mat  
 To honor those  
 1305 Of many adulteries.  
 That was the word of this *katun*.

## 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  
 U ca tz'it katun c u xocol\*  
 Ich Can Si Ho  
 U hetz' katun  
 T ix u hoppol  
 U canal x̄ptianoil i  
 Yukchahom ti bal cah tusinil i  
 Uai tac lum e

9 Ahau  
 Was the second *katun*.  
 Heaven Born Merida  
 1310 Was the seat of the *katun* being  
 counted;  
 And there was the beginning  
 And rise of Christianity,  
 Which was spread to the wicked world  
 In the adjacent lands.

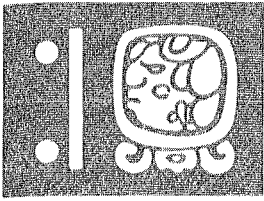
1308. The second *katun* in the Itza count of the cycle. Merida, which was Xiu territory, claimed to seat the *katun* for the second time but was willing to make concessions to both the Itza and the Christians. While adopting the Itza cycle, Merida urged the Maya to come to the city of "our older brothers" 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 x̃ptianoil e  
 T ix u uatal uuc ppeľ *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 nicté  
Tz'ibal y ol nicté  
Nictéil uah  
Nictéil 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 pucsikali

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 lalac i  
La u tucul t u kinil  
La u tucul ti akab  
U keban kin  
U keban akab  
U munal u pucsikil 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  
Yuklahóm bal cah  
T u lalac  
Bolon tz'acab uah  
Bolon tz'acab 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.  
That was the thought by day;  
1370 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.

1412. Barrera 1948: 104 translates Holil Och as 'possum rats', which is possible  
(note continued on following page)

*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 robbed  
 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  
Katun  
T ix u hoppol  
U tzuucil miazob 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 x̃ptianoil 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.

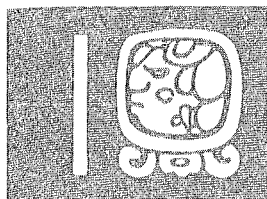
1459. Balam Ochil 'jaguar possums' and Balam Ch'amacil 'jaguar foxes': military orders.

1466. Bech' Kab 'quail branch'. See also lines 2141 and 2793, which appear to date this disturbance to the following *katun* (1604 or 1612).

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## THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY





## 5 Ahau

### 20. Merida under the Dons

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 nukul 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  
 lx 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 unil  
 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'  
 Katun  
 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\*  
 Y ahaulilob cab i  
 Hun tzol Ma Sui  
 Ben Palal  
 Bin y oces u ba  
 Ti ch'amacil  
 Y oc mal ob  
 U xolobal ob cah i  
 Bay lic u tucul  
 U hal ach unicil\*  
 Ma mac bin u yacun  
 Y ahaulilob cab i  
 C u culnac  
 T u ximbal  
 T u hunal  
 Bin mucchahac  
 Ah tubul uah  
 Ah tubul ha  
 Ti u chibil tam ba holil  
  
 Ochi u sitz'il ob ahaulil  
 Ox koch\*  
 U uah katun a.

Puz Hom was the face  
 Of the lords of the land.  
 For one count, Ma Zuy  
 And Ben Pal  
 Will be brought together  
 In alliance,  
 And proceed to bypass  
 And surround the city.  
 So it was the idea  
 Of the governor  
 That nobody would like  
 The lords of the land.  
 They would be followed  
 If they walked  
 By themselves,  
 And would have to start hiding.  
 Spitters of food,  
 Spitters of water  
 Who attack each other to end the  
 count  
 Of the coveters of the lordship.  
 Breadnut and gourdroot  
 Were the food of this *katun*.

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)

(1r) 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 Nahuatl) 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*	1560	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 tze*		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 tze\** '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'iban*		Is what was written
Tan y ol nicté kin i	1585	In the middle of the Flower sun,
Uil t u katunil ual e*		The moon of the return of the <i>katun</i> 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*	1590	The Sun Eye of the Little Tree,
Ca sih i		Who was born
Ual t u caanil e*		And returned to heaven.
Lai bin u tha		This will be his word;
Ox lahun Kan ual e.*		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.

## I 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)*

## I 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.

## 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 loincloths  
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)

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

## 2 lx (1595)

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

## 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
(lv) 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
		Mumul Ain;
He an u chi Chac Uayab Xooc*		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. 11 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\*  
Ualac 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 pucikal\*  
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\*  
 Nicté ual c u tuch'ub  
 Nicté 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.

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)

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 tzele  
 Auatnom yax cach\*  
 T u ho cam be  
 T u ho can luub\*

#### 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 <i>tun</i>
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*

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

*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*

*Nac tam ba u luum ychil peten*

*Ut uch katun*  
*Cat cul.*

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

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

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.

## 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*

## 5 Muluc (1598)

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  
Y anhom uil uah\*  
Hum pach tzucubil  
Y anhom uil haa  
T u tepal  
T u hunal  
Y oklal  
Patal u than  
T u sipic u cuch  
T u tatah than  
T u bel  
T u hunal.  
Uaan ti tz'atz'  
Uaan ti bulux . . . te\*  
Y ukul ti kin  
Ti akab\*  
T ix tam beil  
. . . haa\*  
Hun yukla  
Ti cab  
T u kin tepal  
Ualac  
Hun uatz'  
Hun tz'on\*  
Hi va le  
T u kinil hi u pec  
T u ch'enil  
Ti y ac tunil  
T u men bai uchc i  
Ti Ah Ytza ca lik i\*  
T u cal ya  
Ca u p'atah  
U ch'enil  
U y ac tunil  
T u kin  
U hokol

In the sun  
Was the occurrence of food shortage,  
And in the last part  
The occurrence of water shortage.  
1765 That was enough  
All by itself,  
Because  
Awaiting his word,  
He blamed the burden  
1770 On the declared word,  
On the road  
By himself,  
Standing in the clear,  
Standing at the full . . . tree,  
1775 Drinking by day  
And night,  
And renewing  
. . . with water  
All over  
1780 In the land  
At the time the rule  
Was to return.  
One bend,  
One shot  
1785 Perhaps it was,  
That it was time maybe to move  
To the wellsides,  
To the springs.  
Because thus it had happened  
1790 To the Itza when they arose  
At the hole of pain,  
When they abandoned  
The wellsides  
And springs  
1795 At the time  
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)*

# 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).*

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

# 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\*

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)

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  
Cabal  
Hebal u than  
Chac u u ex  
Tali ti xaman  
Tali ti chikin  
T u kin  
T u katunil  
U conic y al  
U mehen Uuc Suhui Sip\*

T u kin y an sip u than  
Sip u chi  
Ti uil uchom pax ti cab

Uchom soot canal

T u tzol ch'ich' katun  
T u lom uatz' katun\*

T u kin ha tab ak  
Bai ch'ich' heeb\*  
Heb tan ba nom caan  
Heb tan ba nom muyal  
T u u ich kin  
T u u ich u  
Ualac hun uatz'  
Hun tz'on  
Hii ual e  
Ma mac bin atz'ab\*  
C ech ah mab na e  
C ech ah mab yum e  
T ech u uatz'  
T ech u tz'oi katun e

Sati u canil  
Sati ual t u pach e  
T u kin y an u mol ba  
Sohol a u okol  
Ma a u ex  
Ma a nok

The ghost  
1830 Of the town  
With the split word  
And the red pants  
Coming from the north,  
Coming from the west  
1835 In the sun  
Of the *katun* period,  
Selling the born  
And engendered son of the 7 priest  
Zuhuy Zip.  
On that day his word is blame,  
1840 His mouth is blame.  
In the moon was the occurrence of  
breaking on earth,  
The occurrence of shaking in  
heaven,  
On the count of the bird *katun*,  
On the stabbing of the bend of the  
*katun*.  
1845 At the time of torn chickens  
Thus are the birds' eggs.  
The stubborn skies revolving,  
The stubborn storms revolving  
In the face of the sun,  
1850 In the face of the moon,  
To return one bend,  
One shot.  
Perhaps that's it:  
No one is going to be bent,  
1855 Ye motherless,  
Ye fatherless.  
You who are the bend,  
You who are the weakness of this  
*katun*,  
Destroying its sprouting,  
1860 Destroying the return afterward.  
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.

## 7 Cauac (1600)

Seventh Cauac is the day  
Of the seventh measured *tun*  
On the first of Pop,  
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,  
1890 Because of the 11 priest Ch'ab Tan:  
The return perhaps,  
The return  
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 sea-shore, 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 ikilil 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  
T u kin  
U ch'aic  
U tepal  
Patal u cah  
U acunah u ca  
T u uaante  
Accunah u cah  
T u than  
T u luch  
T u tz'aam  
T u pop  
T u kan che  
Amayte Ku ual\*  
Lic u cutal  
Ca bin culac  
T u hanal  
Tocol u than  
Tocol u cah u luch  
Toocol u cah u laac  
T u men patal u cah  
T u kin t u tz'ap tun  
T u kin u hel pop  
U hel tz'am  
Hokom ich lumil che  
Ich lumil tunich  
Y alab than  
Y etel u caan  
Sihil u can (2v) u luch  
U chebal y ukul  
T u kin  
Choch ich  
Ch'och' t u luch  
Ch'och'  
U al  
Y ukul  
T u kin u tzol pop  
Yax Bol Ai ual\*  
Ma t u chi chucan yaal  
  
T u kin u ch'a matan  
Ppitil ppit  
Tzayal tzai  
U ne can  
Tzai ne ba ob

The town  
At the time  
2005 Of taking  
The rule—  
Shaping the town  
To prepare his town  
That it should be raised,  
2010 And preparing the town  
For his word,  
For his gourd,  
For his throne,  
For his mat,  
2015 For the yellow throne  
Of Amayte Ku's return.  
Like his seating,  
When he is to be seated  
In his office,  
2020 Seizing his word,  
He seizes the town of his gourd,  
Seizing the town of his plate  
To prepare the town  
For the day to pack the *tuns*,  
2025 For the day to change the mat,  
To change the throne.  
He appears in the lands of wood,  
In the lands of stone;  
Spoken is his word  
2030 And his teaching.  
Born are the sprouts for his gourd,  
The shoots for his drink  
On the day  
Of bright fruit.  
2035 Salty is his gourd,  
And salty  
The liquid  
He was to drink.  
On the day of counting mats  
2040 The Center priest Bol Ay returns.  
Not on the occasion of completing his trust:  
On the day of taking requests.  
Jumping over and over  
And seeking and seeking:  
2045 The snakes' tails  
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 uhom  
 T u kin u ch'a kak Ah Uuc y Ol  
 Sip  
 T u kin toc sitz'il satai hail  
  
 T u kin u lukul  
 Yala pop  
 Yala u lac  
 Uatal  
 U cah tun  
 U nup  
 Ix ah kin  
 Yax u pix  
 Cöc  
 Tun num ya  
 Amaite u u ich  
 T u yum yala  
 Ah tz'am  
 C u tz'abal ti  
 U yalomal  
 Ah pop  
 T u canil  
 Lai u pacat  
 Buluc Ch'ab Tan  
 La chi  
 T u y autic u pixan  
 Si y ah tun  
 Chac  
 Ua la chi hun auat  
 Hun tz'on hi e  
 Lai u kinil  
 Ua sak  
 Pach  
 Nahc i e  
 Lai u kinil  
 Y okot ba  
 Ah Ua Tun  
 Ah Nij Pop\*  
 Ah Ma Suy  
 U kin y Ahal Cab  
 Ca ix emec tun Kin Chil  
  
 Ah Chac Chibal  
 La chi ix t u kuchul  
 T u kinil u chac mitan

At the return that has occurred,  
 On the day that the 7 priest Ol Zip  
 seizes fire,  
 On the day of seizure of the pangs of  
 thirst,  
 2050 On the day of the removal  
 Of the remainder of the mats,  
 The remainder of the plates,  
 Erecting  
 The beginning of the *tun*  
 2055 And its opposite also,  
 And the sun priest.  
 Green are his clothes,  
 Ragged,  
 A miserable *tun*.  
 2060 Amayte was the person  
 Who was father of the remainder,  
 The man on the throne,  
 And it is given to him,  
 The remaining time—  
 2065 To the ruler  
 To keep.  
 That was the appearance  
 Of the 11 priest Ch'ab Tan.  
 That was the occasion  
 2070 When he bared his soul  
 To the idol  
 Of the rain god,  
 Or that was the occasion, one shout,  
 One shot.  
 2075 That was the time  
 Of the itch either  
 On the back  
 Or the belly.  
 That was the time  
 2080 For dancing,  
 For Ua Tun,  
 Niy Pop,  
 Ma Zuy,  
 The time of Ahal Cab,  
 2085 And when he shall have felled the  
 stone of Kin Chil  
 Of Chac Chib.  
 That was the occasion of the arrival  
 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  
 U xotemal  
 Y al  
 U mehen  
 Uai ti tzucub te  
 Mayapan  
 Ti u tupic  
 U tz'ocol  
 T u kinil  
 Lahun Hix ual e  
 Ti u tz'oc  
 T u u ex hool  
 T u kin  
 Ox cuchlahom  
 (Itz'in)\*  
 Y al max  
 Ox tz'alab  
 U nak Yax Che  
 Ox ch'uilah  
 Xuthen  
 T u kin u ch'a matan  
 P'il tec  
 T u kin u ch'a ah tzotz  
 U ch'a matan  
 Oy  
 Otz\*  
 T u kin  
 U ch'aic u matan  
 Hol can be  
 Hol can lub  
 Ti emom  
 U cuch uitz  
 Y okol may cu i\*  
 Uai uchom Mayapan  
 T u may ceeh  
 T u xau cutz man i\*  
 Uai u man  
 Uay y uchul  
 U y okot chac tz'itz'ib  
 Chac tum pilix\*

The suffering of the Itza,  
 2090 The judgment  
 Of the born  
 And engendered children.  
 That was in the grove of trees  
 At Mayapan  
 2095 Which was the extinction,  
 The ending  
 Of the period  
 Of 10 Ix again.  
 It was the end  
 2100 Which more or less finished  
 The period  
 Of the thrice burdened,  
 Of the younger brothers,  
 The monkey born  
 2105 At the three pyramids  
 Near Yaxche.  
 The three were removed  
 And reduced  
 On the day he got the request.  
 2110 He just snatched it in a wink  
 On the day the Grabber got it,  
 Got his request.  
 He was weak  
 And poor  
 2115 On the day  
 He took his request  
 At the gate of four roads,  
 The gate of four rests,  
 Which lowered  
 2120 The burden of the mountain  
 Over the cycle seat.  
 That occurred at Mayapan  
 In the cycle of Ceh.  
 In the claw of the Curassow it  
 passed then.  
 2125 There it passed so  
 There it was to occur.  
 There was the dance of the Red Cardinal,  
 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 7 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 Hapai 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.

## 11 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 1830).

2161. 11 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 Amat)\*  
 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 Amat)  
 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 Amat may have been omitted.

2192. 3 Amat 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  
 U y anal  
 U y ex  
 U nok  
 U y anal ah tem pop  
 Ah ten tz'am  
 Te u u ich ti caan  
 Ti y ahaulil  
 Lic u talel  
 T u ppat be katun e  
  
 T u ch'aic u bel  
 Chac Bol Ay  
 Y etel Bol Ai Can  
 Chac Bol Ai ul  
 Ualac hi u ch'a tam ba  
 Ah Ytza  
 Tan y ol che  
 Tan y ol haban  
 Ti y alic  
 U pixan siyah  
 Tun  
 Chac  
 T u kin  
 U katunil  
 Num ya uay i  
 Ual u num ya  
 T u cal ya  
 U manes  
 Y al  
 U mehen  
 U xotemal ob kin  
 U xotemal ob akab  
 T u kin  
 U  
 Mul  
 At xux\*  
 T u hool che  
 T u hool haban  
 T u kin u mol tam ba  
 Y ikil cab  
 Chac  
 Ba yab  
 Cat  
 Cex  
 Ah num  
 Ah sas mil e.\*

Of taking on  
 2200 The nature of  
 His pants,  
 His clothes,  
 The nature of the step mat lord,  
 The step throne lord—  
 2205 There with his eye on heaven  
 In the lordship  
 As he comes  
 To the remainder of the road of the  
 katun,  
 Then take office  
 2210 The East priest Bol Ay  
 And Bol Ay the Younger.  
 The East priest Bol Ay arrives,  
 Whereupon they seize each other,  
 The Itza,  
 2215 Amongst the trees,  
 Amongst the bushes.  
 He declared  
 His soul born  
 To the idol  
 2220 Of the rain god  
 On the day  
 Of the katun period.  
 Suffering it is,  
 The return of suffering,  
 2225 Filled with pain  
 To be endured  
 By the born  
 And engendered child,  
 The judgments of their day,  
 2230 The judgments of their night  
 In the sun  
 And moon  
 Of the wasp,  
 The short wasp  
 2235 In the hole in the tree,  
 The hole in the bush.  
 On that day they collect each other  
 The winds of the earth,  
 The rain god  
 2240 Spirit,  
 Clear  
 And smooth,  
 Punisher  
 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 lahum 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 cohom  
  
 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 Zanicteil to Cozumel, in the

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

T u 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  
T u ch'enil t u ca ten e

T ix tal tun u y anal than

U y anal caan  
T u 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

T u chac tun  
Num ya ual e  
Ti uchom ual e  
Ti hetz'om  
T u lumil Sak Nicteil  
T u 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 Chancénote in 1605 (Sánchez 1892: 310).

2316. Sacnicteil '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)

Mayapan

Uchom ual e  
T u cal ch'en  
T u cal y ac tun  
Tan sacil  
Chakan  
T u kin tz'am coot  
T u kin y an paa  
Ti ual uchom  
Y okol  
U chanil cab

U bucchanil uitz

(. . . .)\*

T u sesebil  
U max kin  
U max Ah Itza  
Ti ual y alic  
U than  
Ix ma yum t u kinil  
T u kinil  
T u katunil ual e  
Ti tun u kinil  
Y alic  
U than  
U xotemal  
U mehen Ah Ytza  
Bin i  
Ua t u kinil  
Ah ho Ahau  
T u lah ca pis tun uchom

U kulil sum ci  
U chan katun u cheeh koh che\*

Can etz'lic u luch  
Can etz'lic u lac  
Can etz'lic u xeec  
T u katunil  
Ah ho Ahau  
T u lah ca pis ual e.

13 MULUC (1606)

In the thirteenth year 1606

13 Muluc (1606)

T u y ox lahun pis tun  
U kinil

Mayapan:

It happened there again  
In the pass of the well,  
2320 In the pass of the spring  
Before the whitening  
Fields.  
At the sun given the ditch,  
At the sun there was a wall,  
2325 Which has returned  
And is departing,  
The beginning of the clothing of the  
earth,  
The beginning of the clothing of the  
hills  
(. . . .)  
2330 As quickly as possible,  
The monkeys of the sun,  
The monkeys of the Itza,  
Who again spoke,  
His word  
2335 And the fatherless of the time too,  
At the time  
Of this *katun* period again,  
Which was then the time  
He spoke  
2340 His word,  
His judgment  
Of the sons of the Itza.  
It is to be  
If it is in the time  
2345 When 5 Ahau  
And the twelfth measured *tun*  
occurred:  
The arranging of the maguey rope,  
The little *katun* of the laughing  
wooden mask.  
He is placing his gourd,  
2350 He is placing his bowl,  
He is placing his seat  
In the *katun* period  
Of 5 Ahau  
On the twelfth measured *tun* again.

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\*  
 Ti hun te Pop  
 Ti hunil Oc\*  
 U kin u tepal  
 Ca bin emom pop e  
 Emom tz'am e  
 Y ox lahun pis  
 Katun ual e  
 T u kinil mul tepal  
 T u yala tepal canil  
 Hunacil u luch  
 Hunacil u lac  
 Uchebal  
 U mumul chitic  
 U tzotz haa\*  
 U ppuyul  
 U xelex  
 Yala uah  
 Yala u tzotz  
 Bin u mumul chit e  
 T u kinil  
 T u katunil  
 Ho Ahau ual e  
 Ti hokan  
 Chac  
 Mumul Ain  
 Ca culhi  
 Ti y ahaulil  
 Ti ho habnal  
 Tok katun\*  
 Uay i  
 Ual uchom  
 Chac  
 Na Cul Tun\*  
 Ich Can Si Ho  
 Ti Sac! Ac Tun  
 Tan chakan  
 T u pucikal peten  
 T u kin  
 U tuch'ub katun  
 Y okol u petenil Ah Ytza  
 Uchom te

Of 13 Muluc  
 On the first of Pop.  
 The first Oc  
 2360 Is the day of his rule.  
 Then the mat will be lowered,  
 And the throne will be lowered.  
 The thirteenth measure  
 Of this *katun*,  
 2365 At the time of pile division,  
 The remainder of the rule was four,  
 The completion of his gourd,  
 The completion of his plate  
 For the fulfillment  
 2370 Of the piling up and filling  
 Of tots of water,  
 Of fragments  
 And crumbs  
 Of remaining food,  
 2375 Of remaining tots,  
 Which will all be piled up and filled  
 At the time  
 In the *katun* period  
 Of 5 Ahau's return,  
 2380 On the appearance  
 Of the East priest  
 Mumul Ain  
 When he was seated  
 In the lordship  
 2385 In the fifth year period  
 Of the flint *katun*.  
 That's it:  
 There returned  
 The East priest  
 2390 Cul Tun  
 Of Heaven Born Merida,  
 To Valladolid  
 In the middle of the fields,  
 In the heart of the country  
 2395 On the day  
 Of the gourds of the *katun*  
 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)

# 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

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)

(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 muyal  
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.

# 1 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 tze  
 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'ene  
 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 buccchanil 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  
 U kax cuch katun  
 Ti ho Ahau katun  
 U habil ual e  
 T u hun te uil katun  
 Hun te uil ti hab  
 U pac ob Ah Itza  
 (5v) Kaxan ti che  
 U ca kin  
 U co katun  
 May  
 Ual y ohel  
 U ximbalt kin  
 U ximbalte akab  
 Sutnac  
 Ual u pucsikal  
 T u men u co katun  
 Ti u col can gel\*  
 Ah Can Tzicnal  
 Ba Cab  
 Talel u cah  
 U tz'ocol than  
 T u kin  
 Ua cabil Cauac  
 Ti y uchul yuk ba  
 Nom Cab\*  
 Ti tal i  
 U pacax  
 Emel katun  
 U katun ix tol och  
 U munal  
 U tzacil  
 U baxal katun  
 Bin u nat e  
 Ua y an ah kin  
 Ua tz'acan u pixan la e.\*

### 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

2505 That was the slavery,  
 The tying of the burden of the *katun*,  
 Which was the 5 Ahau *katun*,  
 That year again  
 At the first moon of the *katun*,  
 2510 The first moon of the year  
 Of the beating of the Itzas  
 Tied to trees.  
 The second day  
 Of the cycling *katun*  
 2515 The cycle  
 And return are known.  
 The probable course of the days,  
 The probable course of the nights,  
 Having returned  
 2520 The repetition of its heart  
 By the cycling *katun*  
 By the turning of the four changers  
 The four Honored Ones,  
 Fathers of the Land  
 2525 Coming to begin  
 And end the word  
 On the day—  
 Or second Cauac—  
 That was to occur the drinking of mole  
 2530 And partridge honey—  
 Who came  
 To reseed  
 The declining *katun*  
 And the *katun* of the impersonators,  
 2535 The slavery,  
 The cursing,  
 The beating of the *katun*.  
 It will be known then  
 Whether there is a sun priest,  
 2540 Whether this has cured his soul.

### 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 pre-conquest 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

Kaxan u u ich  
Ti ualac y ahaulil

Ma mac bin thanic  
U baxal katun\*  
T u kinil  
Oxil Kan\*

Colbom  
Y ekel  
Chac bob  
Sac bob  
Hotz'om y ich'ac  
Hotz'om u co

U balmil  
Ah Ytza

Manac  
T u kin  
Chac bul hail  
Chac bul ik

Hokan  
U u ich ku  
T ah pop  
T ah tz'am  
Y oklal tal  
U cah u binel

T u che  
T u tunich

U pacte  
U kohbal\*

Binel u cah u luch  
U kan che

Binel u cah u pop  
T u ch'ab e

Be Ah ox Ahau ual e  
Ti tal i

That was third Kan  
On the first of Pop,  
2545 The tying of the burden of the *katun*  
That was also the lordship of the  
lands.  
Tied was the face  
Of him who was to return the  
lordship.  
No one will tell  
2550 Of the beating of the *katun*  
At the time  
Of third Kan,  
It having been turned  
To blackness.  
2555 Red stalk,  
White stalk.  
Pulled were the claws,  
Pulled the madness  
Of the Jaguars  
2560 Of the Itza,  
This having occurred  
On the day  
Of red bean soup,  
Red bean chile,  
2565 And there having appeared  
The face of god  
In him of the mat,  
In him of the throne.  
Because he came  
2570 To begin his journey  
In the trees,  
In the rocks,  
That he may manifest  
His being endowed with the mask,  
2575 Going along to begin his gourd,  
His yellow throne,  
Going along to begin his mat,  
Which has been taken.  
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)

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)

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

#### 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 north-west (Merida and Uxmal) and the northeast (Emal and perhaps Zotz'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 uihi	In the time of fasting
Bin manac ha	The water will be gone
Bi ticinac sayab ob	2620 The springs will be dissipated
U noholil	In the southern
Luum	Lands
Bin kilnac be	The roads will be bloody,
Bin kilnac 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 kabsic 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'acab uooh*	Thus only in seven steps of glyphs
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 *Ca mas*. 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'acab* 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*

# 5 Ix (1611)

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 Kauil 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 gourds  
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 manabt'ic u ba  
Ah Uuc Cha Pat\*  
T ix uil u manabt'ic 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 ahauilil  
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 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 Which is then  
On 11 Ahau,  
On the day of the dried mat,  
The pounded flat look  
At the wooden mask,  
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 To the wells  
To the springs  
Occurred the seizing each other  
Of the honored sons,  
That is beating on the legs,  
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 Thus is the return  
Or else the fulfillment  
Of the desire  
Of the burden  
Of his existence—  
2750 Also of the springs  
Which occurred moving heaven,  
Which occurred moving earth.  
Hummed both Chacs  
And Chu Uahs  
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)

### 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

T u men chac uen co  
Sac uen co  
Ah maben tok  
U chan *katun*.

### 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 Mitán 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 Mitán 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 Mitán 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'		Approaching each other the words of Cab Bech'
Y etel ix tan y ol haa*		And the middle of the water,
U ch'ab u matan coil		Creating the reign of madness,
Ch'ab coil	2800	Creating madness,
U coil mehen		The madness of the engendered
Y al		And born children,
U mehen tzintzin*		The sons of sodomy,
Coc xul		Ass buggers.
Ma ix tan y al u than	2805	For there is no weight to his word
Ua bin laac t u kinil		If that is all of his time
Ti y abil		In the year
Uacil Cauac		Of sixth Cauac,
U uatal chic che		The collection of graceful trees
Numen y ol	2810	To inform the spirit
Amaite Ku u u ich		Of Amayte Ku
Ca sutz'		When he is stopped
Y okol yax che		Over the ceiba,
Yaxum pul		The dove <i>guayaba</i> ,
Y okol uil	2815	Over the moon
U xotemal katun		And judgment of the <i>katun</i> .
Paibehom ppus		The humps having been separated,
Paibehom koh		The masks having been separated,
Pachalhom Chac Uayab Xoc		Having backed up the East priest
		Uayab Xoc,
Hokom ah ppis te*	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 socking 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 uiih  
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  
Sutup nom\*  
Ualac oy  
Och caan  
Ti chikin  
Ti lakin  
U cuch  
Ti y ahaulil  
Talel  
U cah u mol ba  
T u cuch  
T u tepal  
Ti tun u tz'ocol u cuch *katun*

Kaxan u u ich  
Binel u cah u tz'am  
Binel u cah u pop y it  
Binel u than  
T u sitz'il *katun*

Ti uucil Kan  
U kin  
U pa sa . . . \*  
(7r) . . . he uac y an u uah  
*katun*  
T u kin  
U pai Tok\*  
U pai Uah  
U pai Kauil  
Ti uchom  
T u sitz'il *katun*  
Uucil Kan  
U kin.  
Ox hun Oc\*  
Uil u kin  
U chek  
Oc *katun*  
Y etel canil Cauac\*  
Uil

2855 The partridge lands,  
The moonflower partridge,  
To return to a weak  
Shadow of heaven  
In the west,  
2860 In the east.  
The burden  
Of him who is in the lordship  
May be coming  
To begin to collect itself,  
2865 To carry it  
To its completion,  
Which is then the end of the burden of  
the *katun*.  
His face tied up.  
He may be coming to begin his throne,  
2870 Coming to begin his mat,  
Coming to say  
That he has been wanting the  
*katun*.  
Seventh Kan  
Was the time  
2875 His bread atole . . .  
. . . that may be the food of the  
*katun*  
On the day  
Of the division of the Tok,  
Of the division of the Uah,  
2880 Of the division of the Kauil,  
Which occurred  
For the desire of the *katun*,  
Seventh Kan  
Being its day.  
2885 13 Oc  
Was the moon of the sun  
Of pacing  
The steps of the *katun*,  
And fourth Cauac  
2890 The moon

2856. Zutup Nom 'moonflower partridge', a diviner who disagreed with Nom Cab about the fate of *katun* 3 Ahau? 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  
 Sibus  
 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*

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

## 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

2928. 8 Muluc 1 Pop (July 15, 1562, or July 2, 1614).

*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  
Y etel Ah Xupan Nauat  
U y ah kin  
Noh hal ach uinic  
Hun Uitzil  
Chac  
Tutul Xiu  
Ti Uxmal  
T u lumil Mayapan  
May cu  
Ti u ch'abal u lac  
Ah ox Ahau  
Bai bic  
Uchic  
U alic  
U than  
Uai Ni Tun Tz'ala\*  
Uai Pacat Haa\*  
Ti chul te  
T in tzolah u ch'ich' katun  
T u hahil sihanil  
Ychil u cuch katun  
Likul ti  
Hun tz'it katun  
Lai t in tzolah  
Uai Bak Halal e\*  
T in hoksah  
Ti uooh\*  
Ti ual bin u toh cin  
Ah miaz bin y ila  
Ua ma toh  
U binel uchic  
In tzolic  
Uai t u lumil  
T u cabil  
Salamanca\*  
Ti tzuc peten  
Uai tan cah  
Chac Temal\*  
T u lumil tzucub te\*

And Puc Tun  
And Xopan Nahuatl,  
2935 The sun priests  
Of the great governor  
Hun Uitzil,  
The rain priest  
Of the Tutul Xiu  
2940 At Uxmal  
In the lands of Mayapan  
The cycle seat,  
Which was taking the plate  
Of 3 Ahau  
2945 To humble,  
Soften,  
And speak  
His word  
At the place called Ni Tun Tz'ala,  
2950 The place called Pacat Ha,  
Who may have occasioned  
That I count the bird *katun*  
In the truly born  
Within the burden of the *katun*,  
2955 Raising it  
By one *katun* piece.  
That is what I counted  
Here at Bacalar.  
I have manifested  
2960 In glyphs  
Which return will have been corrected,  
And the sage will see  
If it is not correct,  
What may come to pass  
2965 That I have counted  
In the lands,  
In the country  
Of Salamanca,  
In the groves of the country  
2970 Here at the capital,  
Chetumal  
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. Montejo founded several Salamancas 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, Feb-  
ruary 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 <i>Febrero</i>	On the fifteenth day of February,
1544 hab.*	2980 The year 1544.

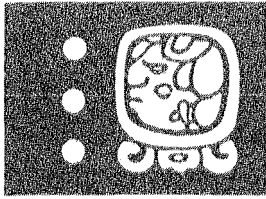
2973. *Tah* 'division' could be a place-name, as Roys would have it, but I don't think so.

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 glyphic document was transcribed as early as 1544, as is implied below. Here, however, I think the assertion to be that he completed translating the glyphic 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 glyphic 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  
Balamil  
Pan  
Ch'in Ch'in  
Ox ch'uilah xotem  
Ox cuch-hom y al max  
  
Ulom ix u esil  
Ti bal cah i  
Ti tal i  
U cuch katun uch i  
Uuc ppeh hab  
U chibal  
Ox ualah u le  
Silil i  
Hopom  
Kak  
T u Xulub Yuc\*  
Ich Can Si Ho  
Haulahom u keulel  
Chac Bol Ay\*  
Tan kiuic  
Ox mul tun tzekil  
Ix pom  
Kakil  
Ban ban hich' cal  
U cuch katun  
Ti tal i  
U cuch  
Num ya  
Cotz'bal u u ich  
Ah ca kin pop  
Ah ca kin tz'am  
T u tz'oc u than katun  
Ma tus i  
U than ku  
Likul canal  
Cex  
U itz'in ex e  
Okom bul cum  
Okom yax cach  
T u can xai be  
Ti tali ob  
Tan y ol che  
Ti ual

Ants,  
Bees,  
3005 Flags,  
And Chiggers.  
Three sentences of hanging—  
Thrice burdened was the monkey  
child  
Which came about and was manifested  
3010 On earth.  
He came:  
The *katun* was carried.  
Seven years  
Was his term.  
3015 Three turns of the noose  
Were rolled up.  
There flamed  
The fire  
At the Goat Horns  
3020 In Heaven Born Merida.  
Carved up is the hide  
Of the East priest Bol Ay  
In the middle of the plaza  
Of the three stone pyramids,  
3025 And copal  
Fires,  
Piles and piles of hangings  
Were the burden of the *katun*.  
There came  
3030 The burden  
Of suffering,  
Rolling of eyes  
Of the two-day mat people,  
The two-day throne people.  
3035 The word of the *katun* was done.  
It does not lie—  
The word of God  
Who ascended into heaven,  
O ye  
3040 Younger brothers.  
Gone are the beans and squash,  
Gone are the green flies  
From the four crossroads.  
They have come  
3045 Among the trees  
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	utz*	
2. buluc Chuen	utz	3050
3. lahca Eb	utz	
4. oxlahun Ben	utz	
5. hun Hix	lob*	
6. ca Men	lob	
7. ox Cib	utz	3055
8. can Caban	utz	
9. ho Etz'nab	utz	
10. uacil Cauac	utz*	
11. uuc Ahau	utz	
12. uaxac Ymix	lob*	3060
13. bolon Ik	lob*	
14. lahun Akbal	lob	
15. bulucil Kan	utz*	
16. lahca Chicchan	lob	

### 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 *uinals* 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	

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 tupkak 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 Juño*  
*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 Ceeh* '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 <sup>co</sup> 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 toci 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	utz*	
2. hoil Oc	lob	
3. uac Chuen	lob*	
4. uuc Eb	lob	3150
5. uaxac Ben	lob	
6. bolon Hix	lob	
7. lahun Men	*	
8. buluc Cib	lob	
9. lahca Caban	lob*	3155
10. oxlahun Etz'nab	*	
11. hun Cauac	lob	
12. cabil Ahau	lob	

**March (31)**

1. 4 Muluc	good
2. 5 Oc	bad
3. 6 Chuen	bad
4. 7 Eb	bad
5. 8 Ben	bad
6. 9 Ix	bad
7. 10 Men	
8. 11 Cib	bad
9. 12 Caban	bad
10. 13 Etz'nab	
11. 1 Cauac	bad
12. 2 Ahau	bad

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 uiih  
 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 uiih 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		Afterward many children died
Y etel nucuch uincob	3200	Together with grown people
T u men uih		Because of hunger.
Ma tz'etz' num ya		No small thing was the suffering
Y anh i		That had come
T oon.		Upon us.

**(23v) Abril (30)**

1. bolon Ahau	utz*
2. lahun Ymix	lob*
3. buluc Ik	*
4. lahcabil Akbal	utz
5. oxlahun Kan	*
6. hun Chicchan	utz
7. ca Cimi	utz
8. ox Manik	utz
9. can Lamat	utz
10. ho Muluc	lob
11. uacil Oc	lob
12. uuc Chuen	lob
13. uaxacil Eb	utz
14. bolon Ben	utz
15. lahun Hix	utz
16. buluc Men	utz*
17. lahca Cib	utz
18. oxlahun Caban	utz
19. hun Etz'nab	lob
20. cabil Cauac	lob
21. ox Ahau	*
22. can Ymix	lob*
23. hoil Ik	lob
24. uac Akbal	lob
25. uucil Kan	lob*
26. uac Chicchan	lob
27. bolon Cimi	utz
28. lahun Manik	lob

**April (30)**

1. 9 Ahau	good
2. 10 Imix	bad
3. 11 Ik	
4. 12 Akbal	good
5. 13 Kan	
6. 1 Chicchan	good
7. 2 Cimi	good
8. 3 Manik	good
9. 4 Lamat	good
10. 5 Muluc	bad
11. 6 Oc	bad
12. 7 Chuen	bad
13. 8 Eb	good
14. 9 Ben	good
15. 10 Ix	good
16. 11 Men	good
17. 12 Cib	good
18. 13 Caban	good
19. 1 Etz'nab	bad
20. 2 Cauac	bad
21. 3 Ahau	
22. 4 Imix	bad
23. 5 Ik	bad
24. 6 Akbal	bad
25. 7 Kan	bad
26. 8 Chicchan	bad
27. 9 Cimi	good
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 l 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 *juesob*  
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\*

### May (31)

3255 1. 13 Oc good  
2. 1 Chuen bad  
3. 2 Eb bad  
4. 3 Ben bad  
5. 4 Ix  
3260 6. 5 Men bad  
7. 6 Cib bad  
8. 7 Caban bad  
9. 8 Etz'nab bad

3234. *U ua be hun ch'ab tan; ox ppe! 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 uiil i* '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)****June (30)**

1. ho Ymix	lob*		1. 5 Imix	bad
2. uacil Ik	lob		2. 6 Ik	bad
3. uuc Akbal	lob		3. 7 Akbal	bad
4. uaxacil Kan	lob		4. 8 Kan	bad
5. bolon Chicchan	utz	3290	5. 9 Chicchan	good
6. lahun Cimi	utz		6. 10 Cimi	good
7. buluc Manik	lob		7. 11 Manik	bad
8. lahca Lamat	lob		8. 12 Lamat	bad
9. oxlahun Muluc	utz		9. 13 Muluc	good
10. hunil Oc	utz*	3295	10. 1 Oc	good
11. can Men	lob*		11. 2 Men	bad
12. ox Eb	lob		12. 3 Eb	bad
13. can Been	lob		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	3300	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)****July (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

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	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	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*	30. 12 Ahau	good
31. oxlahun Imix	utz	31. 13 Imix	good

**(25v) Agosto (31)****August (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*	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	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

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 *uinals* 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 miazob* '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 Uo'.

3352. *Trasfigurasion* '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)****September (30)**

1. uac Ben	lob		1. 6 Ben	bad
2. uuc Hix	lob		2. 7 Ix	bad
3. uaxac Men	lob	3380	3. 8 Men	bad
4. bolon Cib	utz		4. 9 Cib	good
5. lahun Caban	*		5. 10 Caban	
6. buluc Etz'nab	utz		6. 11 Etz'nab	good
7. lahcahil Cauac	utz		7. 12 Cauac	good
8. oxlahun Ahau	utz*	3385	8. 13 Ahau	good
9. hun Imix	utz		9. 1 Imix	good
10. cabil Ik	utz		10. 2 Ik	good
11. ox Akbal	utz*		11. 3 Akbal	good
12. canil Kan	utz*		12. 4 Kan	good
13. ho Chicchan	utz	3390	13. 5 Chicchan	good

3360. *Ti ulah che tun cimil i* 'which brought stick and stone death'.

3361. *Asumpsion* '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 ahauob* '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)****October (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

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 ahauob, 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)****December (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 cutal Mol* 'the seating of Mol'.

3476. *Consepsion* '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	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	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. *Natibidad* '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*			For the usage of corn		
Ba ix maxan.			And likewise cornmeal:		
Domingo	Sol	tz'oc lukan	Sunday	Sun	gulped
Lunes	Luna	tan coch	Monday	Moon	halfway
Martes	Marte	uiih	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	Monday	Moon	halfway

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	Monday	Moon	halfway
Martes	Marte	uiih	Tuesday	Mars	hungry
Miercoles	Mercurio	tan coch	Wednesday	Mercury	halfway
Juebes	Jupiter	tz'oc lukan	Thursday	Jupiter	gulped
Sabado	Saturno	uiih	Saturday	Saturn	hungry
Domingo	Sol	tz'oc lukan	Sunday	Sun	gulped
Lunes	Luna	tan coch	Monday	Moon	halfway
Martes	Marte	uiih	Tuesday	Mars	hungry
Juebes	Jupiter	tz'oc lukan	Thursday	Jupiter	gulped
Viernes	Venus	tz'oc lukan	Friday	Venus	gulped
Sabado	Saturno	uiih	Saturday	Saturn	hungry
Domingo	Sol	tz'oc lukan	Sunday	Sun	gulped
Martes	Marte	uiih	Tuesday	Mars	hungry
Miercoles	Mercurio	tan coch	Wednesday	Mercury	halfway
Juebes	Jupiter	tz'oc lukan	Thursday	Jupiter	gulped
Viernes	Benus	tz'oc lukan	Friday	Venus	gulped

### (Note 1)

Hun kal  
Ca tac uaxac pel hab  
Y an ichil  
Lei hun canal la e  
He ix ca bin tz'aloc 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 2)

1628 años  
Lei hab

### Note 1

One twenty  
And then eight years  
Are in  
This one sky  
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  
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  
Of that many years  
That is where Sunday is:  
That it measures  
The amount of land.

### Note 2

1628.  
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.

### (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 4)

He le en 19 de Abril  
 De 1629 años ul i  
 U y anal sak  
 Chac nican u pach ob  
 Sati kax  
 T u hanal ob  
 T u hach hitz' yax kin  
 Chac sak\*  
 Ti ul i  
 Bai chachacil ti.

### (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

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.  
 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

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.

### 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.

### 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.

### 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  
 uinicob i  
 Bin ix y anac ch'uhuc ob i  
 U u ich  
 Cheob i

There will be  
 Someone  
 To help them gather it.  
 All the towns  
 3595 Will have a turn.  
 There will be the expected corn.

### 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.

### 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 laca l ocsah ob e i  
 T u laca l ocsah ob e  
 Bin hauac  
 Bin cimlahac y ikil cabob i.

### **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 yeeb  
 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.

### **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'uhucob 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 cemic ob i  
 Cimlahac  
 Tatan  
 Celemob i

They will sow everything . . .  
 3630 Everything they sow  
 Will be finished:  
 Will be killed by the winds of the  
 lands.

### **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.

### **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,



lx 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.

### ***Domingo***

He t u lubul *Enero*  
     Ti *Domingo* e  
 Lic u y antal kin tun y abil i  
     Ca hatz u cah *Dios* i  
 lx ma can tan coch i  
     Kin tan coch i  
 He x canaltac ob e  
     Bin cabalac t u lalac  
 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

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.

### ***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	It will be very numbing to the earth.
Bin y anac u nohol	It will have the south
Chapahal i	Taken.
Oox e	Three then
U cuch	3715 Are its burdens,
Bin ix hokoc	And there must arrive
Ah chalamat	The possibly evil people,
Lai u tus ci uchc i	That is who have lied—
U ch'a haal	The taking of water
Kaknab	3720 From the sea.
Ma t u ci ci pat-hal yxim i	Not the best expectation of corn,
Tan cochil i.	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 return of the constellation Nok, the Center priest Coc Ay the Crier was lord. (3738)*

(14r) Ox lahun Suiua	13 Zuyua
U hetz'	Was the seat
Katun	3725 Of the <i>katun</i>
Ti ox Ahau	In 3 Ahau.
Lic u than	Like its word,
U bel	Its road,
Suiua	Zuyua
U hetz' y ahaulil.	3730 Was the seat of the lordship.
Hau lic u keulel Ahau Can	Divided like the skin of the
	Rattlesnake,
Bai lic u keulel Balam*	Just like the skin of the Jaguar
Ich Can Si Ho	In Heaven Born Merida.
Ti ox kin	In three days
U sut ekel	3735 Was the return of the stars
Nok canal.*	Of Nok on high.
Yax Coc Ai Mut u u ich*	The Center priest Coc Ay Mut was
	the person
Y ahaulil.	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 ka-tun. (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 north-east 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  
Patai habil  
Chen ik  
Bin ma nanac i  
Pacatnom  
T u canil  
T u tzicil  
T u tepal Buluc Ch'ab Tan  
  
Paaxlahom  
Y ahaulil cab  
T u pop  
T u tz'am  
Xotom  
U cal  
Ah tem pop  
Ah tem tz'am  
U balmil cab\*  
Chac Bol Ai  
Chac bob  
Sac bob  
Num y ol ualac  
Y acan  
T u pach y ahaulil cab  
Otzilhom ob  
Chac uen co  
Sac uen co  
Ah chin coot\*  
Ah chin pacat\*  
Ah mab yum  
Ah mab na  
Uchom u tz'oc sitz'il  
Uchom mac tzil  
Ti caan  
Hunab Ku y ohel uchom  
Ich Can Si Ho  
Yuklah bal cah  
Bin uchbal  
Ppuluxhal  
Uesahom cab  
Uecsahom peten  
Chochpahom u u ich  
Chochpahom u kab  
Chochpahom y oc  
Ua Pa Cabal

Bright  
3740 Clear years;  
Only the wind  
Will be unusual.  
They searched  
In the sky  
3745 For the glory  
For the rule of the 11 priest Ch'ab Tan.  
Destroyed  
Was the lordship of the land.  
On the mat  
3750 On the throne.  
Cut  
Was the throat  
Of the step mat lord,  
The step throne lord  
3755 By the Honeybees  
And the East priest Bol Ay  
The red stalks  
And white stalks.  
Sadness will arise  
3760 And be covered up  
After the lords of the land  
Are impoverished.  
Red nightmare,  
White nightmare  
3765 Eagle porters  
And lookout porters  
The fatherless  
And motherless.  
Ended is envy;  
3770 Come are the brave.  
In heaven  
The Sole God knew.  
Merida  
And the whole world  
3775 Underwent  
Puffing up.  
Spread over the land,  
Spread over the jungle  
Flattened was the face,  
3780 Flattened was the hand,  
Flattened was the foot  
Whether of the Fort of the Lands,

3755. See note 2999.

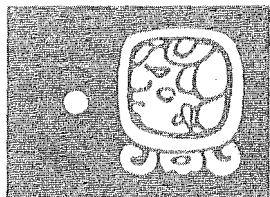
3765. *Ah chin coot* 'bearer eagles': the porters of the Eagles, a military order.

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, abandon-  
ing his office, capital, and  
throne to the peasants. And  
lesser nobles took over. (3804)*

Ua ma ya cimlal  
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

## 27. The Last Jaguar of Merida

*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 ahauob 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  
 T u pol peten\*  
 Ich Can Si Ho  
 Ti y an y okol  
 Ah cotz matan i  
 Ah mahan koh  
 Ah mahan tz'am  
 Ah mahan pop  
 Ti y ahaulil  
 Cuch lum tam ba\*  
 Bin tz'ocebal  
 Ah sitz'bic ahaulil\*  
 U mehen ah kin  
 Y al ti ti be  
 Okom yax cach  
 Okom bul cum\*  
 Coopahom bal cah i  
 Bin u co co u Ba Cab i  
 Ah taxtal  
 Ah actal  
 Ca bin tz'em  
 Actum e  
 Y ua ua than katun  
 U hun kin tepal  
 Ah tem pop  
 Ah ten tz'am  
 Ti u pul  
 Than  
 Chac uen co  
 Sac uen co  
 Bi ba o  
 Bi uil  
 Much\*  
 Coc-hom e  
 Ox y al  
 Ah toc\*  
 U tz'oc sitz'il  
 Ti hun Ahau ual e

3825 The center of the land informed  
 At the head of the country  
 In Heaven Born Merida,  
 That he is over  
 The office seekers  
 3830 As the announced mask lord,  
 The announced throne lord,  
 The announced mat lord  
 In the lordship.  
 Bearing the land for each other.  
 3835 That will be the termination  
 Of the coveter of the lordship,  
 Son of a sun priest  
 And born of a whore.  
 Departed are the green flies;  
 3840 Departed are the bean gourds.  
 The world has been driven mad;  
 The land will go mad.  
 The flattener  
 The diminisher  
 3845 Will be calm  
 And small anew  
 Is the agonizing word of the *katun*  
 Of one-day rule,  
 Lord of the step mat,  
 3850 Lord of the step throne.  
 That will be the casting  
 Of the word  
 Of red nightmare,  
 White nightmare.  
 3855 Thus it follows;  
 Thus is its moon.  
 It was twisted  
 And cleared.  
 Three loads  
 3860 Of the Burners  
 Ended the covetousness  
 In 1 Ahau again.

3826. *T u 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 *tzol kin*. 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  
Katun  
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 miazil 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 jus-  
tice, 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  
  
Pecnom chumuc luum i  
  
Ti y emel *justisia*  
Likul tí can i  
U than hahal ku  
U koch bal cah  
Ti y ulel Hun Pic ti Ax\*  
  
Ti y emel Can Ul ti chibal i  
  
Uuc ppel hab u chibal Can Ul  
  
Uuc ppel hab u chibal Hum Pic  
ti Ax i  
Ti tal i  
Y emel  
U koch Chakan i  
Ti u likil Chan\*  
Ti bateel i  
U Chanal katun  
Ti y emel u tzicil  
Ah ben tenal tz'ul i  
Ox much' hom  
Yala  
Ah canan sus  
Ah canan kaknab ti y emel  
  
Ma xul ahau i  
Xotom ahau

Who was in the lordship,  
The bringer  
Of the existing word,  
The existing teaching  
3895 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.  
That is the descent of justice  
3900 Rising up to heaven  
The word of the True God,  
The taxation of the world.  
That will be the coming of Hun Pic  
from Ax;  
That will be the descent of Can Ul  
by succession.  
3905 Seven years will be the succession of  
Can Ul;  
Seven years will be the succession  
of Hun Pic from Ax.  
Then came  
The descent  
Of the tax on fields  
3910 Which was the rising of the Chans  
In arms,  
The war of the Chans.  
That was the descent of their worships,  
The foreign people who go to die:  
3915 Three piles of darts  
It says here.  
It was the guardians of the sands,  
The guardians of the sea who  
descended.  
It was not the end of the lords.  
3920 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 Kauil 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  
Ca sih i  
Hoyic u u ich  
U maxil katun\*  
Xotic y ich'ac Ch'uyum Thul\*

Ah Cab Coh  
Ti y emel u cuch patan i  
Ti tali xptianoil i  
Ti y emel sum  
Tal canal i  
Ti tali chac sitz'il  
Ma ya cimlal  
Xe kik  
Chac mitan uih  
U cuch  
Hun Ahau katun  
Ocnal  
Kuchil  
Okom yax cah  
Okom bul cum  
T u ho can be  
T u ho can heleb  
T ix u mucul nicte i  
C u xul muc u cuch katun

Ti u tz'oc sitz'il  
U tz'oc cotz  
Ti ah tz'utul  
Tz'utob  
T u kin  
T u katunil ual e.

And were embraced  
When they were born.  
Sprinkling the face  
Of the shields of war,  
3925 Cutting the nails of the Hanging Rabbits,  
The Earth Lions.  
Then came the burden of tribute;  
Then came Christianity.  
Then descended the rope  
3930 Coming from the sky.  
Then came red desire,  
Painless death,  
Blood vomit,  
Great hunger plague,  
3935 The burdens  
Of *katun* 1 Ahau.  
The progression  
And arrival  
Of the departed green flies,  
3940 Of the departed gourd bowl  
At the four crossroads  
At the four rest stops  
Where the flowers are to be hidden  
And the burden of the *katun* is hidden  
3945 Which is the end of the desire,  
The end of the plucking  
Of those who  
Are the most needy:  
At that time  
3950 In this *katun* 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, forgiv-  
ing 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
Ulom 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'.

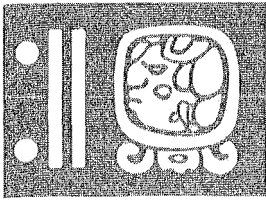
3968. Tz'uni 'needles', apparently a lineage. If we read Tz'unun 'hummingbird' the reference would be to the Xiu.

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 tael k ical e  
 Tael u cah u thanl  
 U kin ca cuxtal e  
 Ma a sahtic y okol cab e yum  
 T ech hunab ku ch'abt'ic 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 I 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) Sac! Ac Tun\*  
 U hetz'  
 Katun  
 Ti lah ca Ahau.  
 Yaxal Chuen u u ich\*  
 U y ahaulil  
 Ti uchom  
 Hunac ah menil\*  
 Hunac ah itz'atil  
 Hunac ah esil  
 Hokom  
 Y an ti can  
 Ah kin  
 Cumlahom  
 T u tz'am  
 T u pop  
 Ti balam  
 Kokob\*  
 Uac tz'ac  
 U tepal uchom\*  
 Ci ci ba tabil i  
 Ci ci ahaulil i

Valladolid  
 4040 Was the seat  
 Of the *katun*  
 In 12 Ahau.  
 Yax Chuen was the person  
 In the lordship  
 4045 Who achieved  
 Unifying the curers,  
 Unifying the seers,  
 Unifying the sorcerers.  
 Seated  
 4050 He is on high,  
 A sun priest  
 Seated  
 On the throne,  
 On the mat  
 4055 In the jaguar robe  
 And rattles.  
 Six steps  
 His rule lasted.  
 Righteous were the chiefs;  
 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  
Ci ci al mehenil  
Yuklahom  
Ti cab  
Cuch  
Pach-hom  
Ah holil  
Och i  
Bin u ppat u mahan pop

U mahan tz'am\*  
Ca xic nak  
Tan cab nak  
Poc  
Che  
Ci otzilhom uinicil  
Utzhom cah i  
Manan Cab Coh i  
Manan Ch'amacob  
Manan Hom Sabin i  
Manan Ah Coc ahaulil i  
Manan Ah Coc tepal i  
Manan hom al letz' ahaulil\*  
Ma uchom ah mahan koh i  
Lai u cuch lah ca Ahau katun  
Y an u tepal  
Y an y ahaulil  
Y anahom u tzic  
He uac manahom u uah  
Pa Cabal u tz'oc  
Ua ma ya cimlal\*  
T u tz'oc  
U y anhal  
U max kin  
U max katun  
Ah Puch'\*  
Tun  
Uac te ti hab utz i  
Uac te ti hab lob i  
Ca utzac t u ca ten  
Yambil tam\*

Righteous were the people;  
Righteous were the nobles  
Everywhere  
In the land.  
4065 Burden  
On his back,  
The ender  
Of the count  
Will await the announcement of his  
mat,  
4070 The announcement of his throne,  
Then go nearby  
Before the nearby land,  
The thickets  
And trees,  
4075 Telling the impoverished people  
That the town has been improved.  
There are no Earth Lions,  
There are no Foxes,  
There are no Dart Weasels,  
4080 There are no Turtle Lords,  
There are no Turtle Rulers;  
There are no darts of the lord lickers.  
The mask announcer has not come.  
That is the burden of *katun* 12 Ahau.  
4085 He had his rule;  
He had his lordship;  
He had his honor,  
Whether in fact he finished his food  
And ended at Mayapan  
4090 Or in painless death.  
That completed  
The existence  
Of the monkey time,  
The monkey *katun*:  
4095 The Death God  
Idol.  
Six of the years were good;  
Six of the years were bad.  
Then it was possible again  
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  
 Xot eb katun  
 Bin tohcintic  
 Bin chaanac  
 U than hun kul ahau i  
 Bin utzac cah i  
 Manan hom u Ch'amacil  
 Manan Coh i  
 Manan Sabin i  
 Manan hom Ah Chibal i  
 Hotz'om  
 Ych'ac Coh i  
 Cuxlahom cab  
 Cuxlahom peten  
 Ti y ox lahun uutz'  
 Ah lah ca Ahau ual e.

The danger step,  
 Cut step *katun*.  
 There will be sought;  
 There will be found  
 4105 The word of one divine lord  
 To improve the town.  
 There will be no darts of Foxes;  
 There will be no Lions;  
 There will be no Weasels;  
 4110 There will be no darts of the nobility.  
 Pulled  
 Are the claws of the Lions  
 Who lived on the land,  
 Who lived in the country.  
 4115 This was the thirteenth fold  
 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  
 Sac! 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 *katuns*  
 4120 To be counted.  
 Valladolid  
 Was the seat of the *katun*.  
 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  
 The ending  
 4130 Of the count.  
 That was the descent of the red stone,  
 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 pucikal  
 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  
 Katun  
 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\*  
 La t u lah  
 Lah ca tz'acab katun  
 Ti u katal  
 Okolal  
 Ti y ah belnalilob cab i  
 Tu u katal  
 Uuc tz'acab  
 Y ibnel cab 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 *katun*:  
 4140 The *katun* of rule;  
 The *katun* of lordship;  
 The *katun* of the word;  
 The *katun* of eating;  
 The *katun* of drinking;  
 4145 The *katun* of walking;  
 The *katun* of traveling;  
 The *katun* of husbands;  
 The *katun* of wives;  
 The *katun* of children;  
 4150 (. . . .)  
 The *katun* of warriors;  
 The *katun* 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 *katun*,  
 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 *katun*.  
 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\*  
Ti y ah belnalil cabob i  
U than ku lic u talel  
Kam  
A u ula ex  
Hun lub  
Hun auat u tal  
Hum Pic ti Ax\*  
U cuch katun  
Ox kasap y ol  
Ox kasap u than  
Bin u tza u yum  
Y etel u na t u saual katun  
Kekex yum  
Kekex na  
Hunab ku  
C u tza i  
Okol kan che u cah  
T u pop  
(17v) Lah cabil Ahau  
Ayikal katun  
Bay hol i  
Xan punob cal  
Punob peten  
Punob tan chumuc cab\*  
Sutnom halal  
Tan chumuc peten  
Ti tali u y anhal  
Y ahauil bal cah i  
Ti y uchul ban meyah i  
Ti u baxtabal y ah belnalil  
cahob i  
Ti culh i  
Al cab katun  
Hul katun  
Tz'on katun  
Bin y anac  
U tz'on  
Co co al  
Co co mehen  
T u tza katun  
Satnom y al  
Ix ti ti be\*  
Ti tali patanhal i

Which is the desire  
Of the books of the place.  
That is the travelers of the earth;  
4180 The word of God as it is coming.  
Receive  
And welcome it.  
In one rest,  
One shout it is coming.  
4185 Hun Pic from Ax  
Was the bearer of the *katun*.  
Thrice blocked its heart;  
Thrice blocked its word.  
He will demand a father  
4190 And a mother for the envy *katun*:  
A substitute father,  
A substitute mother.  
The Sole God  
Is installed  
4195 On the throne of his place,  
On the mat  
Of 12 Ahau,  
The rich *katun*.  
Thus it is finished,  
4200 As well as ending the Flags:  
The Flags of the country,  
The Flags in the middle of the land.  
Returned are the arrows  
In the middle of the country.  
4205 Then came the realization  
Of the lordship of the world.  
Then were occurring piles of work.  
Then was the beating down of the  
travelers of the towns.  
Then was seated  
4210 The dawn of the *katun*,  
The pierced *katun*,  
The shot *katun*.  
It is going  
To be the end  
4215 Of the insane born  
And insane engendered children.  
The *katun* was removed.  
Destroyed were the born children  
Of the street mother.  
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 ppe l u pol i

Baxtic y ah belnalil cabob i  
Ek Pat Ai u u ich\*

T u 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  
T u chi kaknab  
U ch'ac 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

T u kin  
T u 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.

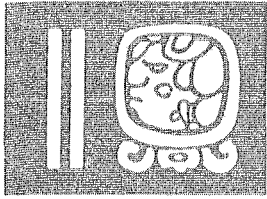
There was neither then suffering  
4260 Nor rejoicing  
On that day,  
On that *katun* period again.

(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 face in heaven,
Cit bolon		Or the Remote Nine
Ua u u kin*		Were the moon of the sun
U kax eb		Of the forests
Cheob		And trees.
Can lot*	4295	The four twins
Pat-hom be		Awaited their road
Te		There
Ti caan e		In heaven.
Satai habil y an i		Needy years they were;
Manan hom uah	4300	Gone was the bright food.
Ox		Breadnut
Y etel cup*		And gourdroot
U uah		Were its food
Y etel y aal		And drink.
(15r) Kaxan u u ich	4305	Tied was its face;
Kaxan y ahaulil		Tied the lordship.
Satan hal ach unicob i		Destroyed were the governors
Y etel u cucteelob*		And officials.
Uiih u cuch		Hunger was the burden.
Y oklal u keban bal cah i	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 (*Pachyrrhizos* 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 re-  
demption. 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.

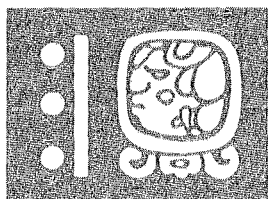
4322. *Xihul* 'stain' refers to the "sins of the world"; see also line 4310.



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## 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 dis-  
possessed and taxed by the  
Death God, by power seekers.*

Bin tzaclabac  
T u men t u lacal  
Manan u y aal chakan i  
Manahom ix y alil uitz i  
Yuklah ti cab  
Yuklah peten  
T u sinil  
Y an Ba Cab i  
Ti emom  
Kin Ich  
Kak Mo  
T u tepal i  
Ti emom ix  
U y anal cab  
Ti y uchul cha  
Toh  
T u men ah chin cot  
Ah chin pacat  
T u 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  
Cochom 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\*  
T u 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)*

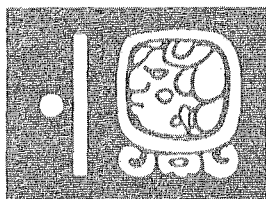
*Seizing Mayapan, Kak Mo came and divided the priest-hoods and raised the peasants. The priesthoods were divided and village governors were exalted. The real lords were captured or in hiding and dispossessed by the ruler. The peasants were raised, and the indigent seized property. So they abandoned the 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 lum  
 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 lum 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  
 Uhc 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 acuntic 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  
 Uiilnom che  
 Uiilnom 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, per-  
manently, 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 rules  
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 installa-  
tion. 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 lum 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 𐀀  
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

T u men uitzil

Tz'ul\*

Lahun kal hab

Ca tac can kal hab i\*

Uac Ahau

Can Ahau uchc i

Ma ya cimlal 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

T u ho lhun 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 Chris-  
tianity 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\*  
U kinil cimc i  
Ah Pul Ha  
Lei tun hab /536 c uch i\*  
Buluc Ahau  
Ulc i  
Tz'ulob  
Kul uincob\*  
Ti lakin u tal ob  
Ca ul ob  
Uai  
Tac lumil e  
Bolon Ahau  
Hoppc i  
Xptianoil uhc i  
Ca put si  
Lai li ichil u katunil  
Ulc i  
Yax obispo  
Toral\*  
He ix hab c u ximbal c uchi e  
1544  
Uuc Ahau cimc i  
Obispo Landa ychil u katunil\*  
Hoo Ahau ca yum cah i  
Padre Mani\*  
Lai hab c u ximbal c uch i  
La 1550  
Lai hab c u ximbal  
Ca cahi ob  
Y ok ha\*  
1552 c uch i

9 Imix  
Was the time of death  
4555 Of Water Thrower.  
That was then the year 1536.  
11 Ahau  
Was the arrival  
Of the foreigners,  
4560 The people of the gods.  
From the east they came  
When they arrived  
Right here  
In this land.  
4565 9 Ahau  
It began:  
Christianity occurred,  
Second birth.  
It was just in this *katun* period  
4570 That there arrived  
The first bishop,  
Toral.  
And this was the year he came:  
1544.  
4575 7 Ahau there died  
Bishop Landa on the *katun* date.  
5 Ahau the Father of our town,  
The priest of Mani.  
This was the year he came:  
4580 It was 1550.  
This was the year they came  
And settled our town  
Above the water:  
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  
 Oydor ca pak ispital\*  
 1560 u habil ca ul i  
 Doctor  
 Quijada  
 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  
  
 T u mene jues . . .\*

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).

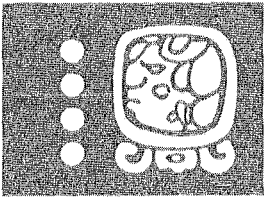
4594. Hangings were instituted by Landa as punishment for heresy in 1562 (Barrera 1948: 65).

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
		<i>katun</i>
T u kin y anhom		Of the time there was.
A u ex		(White) your pants,
Sac a nok i		White your clothes.
Ix chamben uah	4645	And reduced food
U uah		The food.
Ulom kuk		Come is the quetzal,
Ulom yaxum		Come the blue bird
T u kab		In the branches
Kax te	4650	Of the wild tree.
Ulom ah kayom mut		Come is the news crier,
Ulom ah tzimi tepoi*		Come is the official horseman,
Ulom ah tzimin		Come is the rider
Mucuc patan t u Chi Ch'en		To suppress the tribute at Chichen.
Tan coch katun utz i	4655	Half the <i>katun</i> is good;
Tan coch ix ma utz i		And half is not good.
Lai bin tepalnac		It will be ruled
Ah <i>Chicum Ek</i> t u canil*		By the Seven Stars in heaven,
Yax lam*		The Turtle,
Yax Ah	4660	The Green Cane,
Coc Ai Mut e*		The firefly Announcer,
Ah Ahsa*		The Waker.
Ma ix mac ahom		And there is no one awake
T u men mut e		For the vigil:
Ch'en ch'en	4665	Totally at rest
U xicin		Were the ears
Ti babal		Of each
T u lacal		And every one.
Te		There
T u u ich	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  
Ma ya cimlal ocnal  
Kuchil  
Bai bin uch  
Pahbal  
T u uutz'  
T u ca ten\*  
Ti cutal  
T u cuch habil  
Bay y alc i  
Ah kin Chilam\*  
T u cuch katun  
Can Ahau ual e.  
(16r) Can Ahau  
U kinil t u Chi Chen Ytza  
Can Ahau  
U katunil xan  
U kahlai  
U miaz  
Natil  
Ychil u *anahteil*  
Uai c u hoksabal  
Ti y unil  
Ni Tun Tz'ala  
Chac Temal  
Tah  
Uaimil  
Hol Tun  
Ytza  
Ti ci ci ilab i xan  
T u tohil than  
T u y un i  
*Reportorio*\*  
Manan sipan i  
Ca utzac y oheltabel  
Ca bin kuchuc  
T u kinil u cumtal  
Hun hun tz'it katun  
U cuch katunob  
Licil u natabal  
Uabal

Of the returned 4 Ahau  
There occurred  
Painless death, coming  
And arriving.  
4675 Thus will occur  
The possibility  
That it fold  
A second time  
At the seating  
4680 In the burden of the year.  
Thus it is said  
By the sun priest Spokesman  
In the burden of the *katun*  
Of the return of 4 Ahau.  
4685 4 Ahau  
Was the time at Chichen Itza.  
4 Ahau  
Was also the *katun* period:  
The account  
4690 Of the wisdom  
And knowledge  
In the manuscripts.  
This is the explanation  
In the books  
4695 Of Ni Tun Tz'ala,  
Chetumal,  
The division of  
Uaymil,  
Hol Tun,  
4700 And Itza,  
Which are also perfectly visible  
In true language.  
One book,  
The *Reportorio*,  
4705 Has no errors.  
Then knowledge can be perfected.  
Then one can arrive  
At the time of seating  
Every single part of the *katun*,  
4710 The burdens of the *katuns*,  
As well as the memorials  
Erected.

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 tael ti kin  
Licil u binil tz'acab kin  
C u tael 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 ppele i e  
Ix ma kaba  
Licil u baxal ho ppele 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*,  
Kaan

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 *habs* 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  
Y etel u than t u lacal  
Lei ho ppel kin  
Ix ma kaba  
Amal hab e  
Ba ix amal  
T u hitz'il  
Katun ual e  
Ho ppel hab u baxal  
U mol box katun\*  
He x tun u tzolan  
U u ich katunob la e  
Can tzolob  
He u yax chun u tzolol e  
Lai  
Y abil u sian  
C ah loh i  
Ti Jesu X̃p̃to e\*  
U hach tohil xoc  
Y okol t u lacal xocob  
La ix lic u tzulabal u pach  
T u men u uchben Maya xok i  
La cab ob  
He u ca tzol e  
Lei ah cuch habob e  
T u can tukil  
Can ob e  
He y ox tzol e  
Lei katunob  
Licil u natabal  
U lamay tun  
U yail haab  
Licil y uchul ma ya ciml ob  
Pec otzil t u than ob  
He uac ma ocsah ben ti ol  
Hel e  
Lae  
Ba ba hunil i  
Uchac u ch'abal i e  
Heklai sansamal kin xoc  
Y an ichil uinal  
Hun kal kin e  
Bi lah ca cancun e\*  
U nah y ilabalob i e

As its name says  
4740 And its whole word.  
These five days  
Without names  
Square the year,  
And so squaring  
4745 At the end  
Of the *katun* again.  
Five years it plays  
And collects the cask of the *katun*,  
And that then is counted  
4750 As the faces of the *katuns*.  
These are the four counts  
That are the new base for counting,  
Namely:  
(1) The year of birth  
4755 Of our Savior  
Who is Jesus Christ,  
The quite correct count  
Over all counts.  
(2) And this is like the ordering before  
By the ancient Maya count. 4760  
This is their land,  
That is the second count.  
(3) These are the yearbearers  
In the four corners  
4765 Of the sky;  
That is the third count.  
(4) There are the *katuns*,  
As a reminder  
Of the *tuns* to be removed,  
4770 Of the pains of the years,  
Like the painless deaths  
And grinding poverty they told.  
However it may be introduced,  
This change,  
4775 That is,  
Insofar as  
It is to be accepted  
For breaking off future day counts,  
It is in *uinals*  
4780 Of twenty days.  
So twelve are to be kept  
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

Oheltabal y oc uuil

U kin col

Y oc buul

Y oc ib

Y oc ic

Y oc *chicam*

He cen c u pakal ti colob e

He tun u uac tzol e

Lai uabal ti uinalil

Y an ichil lubantac ti kinbesabal

He tun u chayan kuyahma

Y etel nahma

Tz'ibtabal

Y ub e

Ua mac y an y ol

Y ohelte

Ma hun ppele tub a

Uchac u tz'ibtabal t lob i e

Ti lic u tz'abal ti can ban tul

Ti ahauob cuchic hun tz'it  
katunob\*

Ti ci alabal can kal habil

Ca tac (18v) uac lahum pis

Y etel ix ma kaba katun amal u  
uatal

Ua ix ma tub u chacanpahale

Y an u man u uutz' katun

Ti ma u caxantal

T u men t u tz'oc tun e\*

Mol cab

To inform us of the coming of the moon phases,

The time of planting,

4785 The coming of beans,

The coming of lima beans,

The coming of chile,

The coming of gourdroot,

Who is planting in their fields

4790 And where the count is supervised.

That is the position that the *uinal* count is in,

And so measuring in the passing of time

Where is the adding of the bending

And the completion

4795 Of the writing

In color.

If someone has the wit

He will know

Without forgetting one

4800 The occurrence of the writing that is evil,

Which is like being given four at a time

Who are the lords of one section of the *katuns*—

Which is just said "four rolls of years."

Then when it is the sixteenth measure

4805 And it is the nameless *katun* that is brought together,

And if one doesn't forget what is being manifested,

It will be the passing of the fold of the *katun*.

Which will not be found

Because the *tun* has ended.

4810 It is collected.

(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  
Hebal  
Ca bin y anac  
U tunil  
Ua can tz'it  
Ua ox tz'it.\*

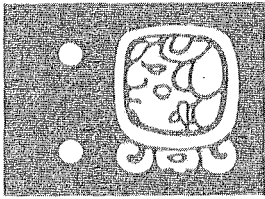
It is going to return,  
Turning  
When it may be  
The time of the *tun*,  
4815 Either four counts,  
Or three counts . . .

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*(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
Katun	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.
<i>Saciapan</i>	Valladolid
U hetz'	4875 Is the seat
Katun	Of the <i>katun</i>
Ti cabil Ahau	Which is 2 Ahau.
Sacl Ac Tun	Valladolid
Amay cu*	Is the seat of the cycle,
<i>Mayapan</i>	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
	the rope,
Emom saban	The descent of venom,
Emom ya	The descent of pain,
Ma ya cimlal	4885 Painless death,
Ox mul tun tzekil	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  
Katun  
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 nicté\*  
Un crus nicté

That is the burden,  
That is the appearance  
Of the *katun*  
4890 That is 2 Ahau.  
Tied is the burden  
Of the 11 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;

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 nictail		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 Hiix		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 Hiix		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	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.

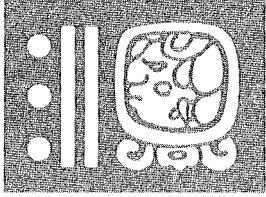
4952. The manuscript has Muluc for Ix.



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## 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*			The names of the days			
Amal y ahal cab ich uinal.			Squared with the dawn in the <i>uinal</i> .			
hunil Kan	16 Julio	Pop*	4975	1 Kan	16 July	Pop
ca Chicchan	5 Agosto	Uo*		2 Chicchan	5 Aug.	Uo
ox Cimi	25 Agosto	Sotz'*		3 Cimi	25 Aug.	Zip
can Manik	11 Septi°	Cip		4 Manik	11 Sept.	Zotz'
ho Lamat	04 Octubre	Zec*		5 Lamat	4 Oct.	Tzec
uac Muluc	24 Octubre	Xul	4980	6 Muluc	24 Oct.	Xul
uucil Oc	13 Nobi°	Tz'e		7 Oc	13 Nov.	Tz'e
		Yaxkin*				Yax Kin
uaxac Chuen	03 Deci°	Mol		8 Chuen	3 Dec.	Mol
bolon Eb	23 Deci°	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 Marzo	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 Juño	Paax		4 Ahau	1 June	Kayab
ho Imix	21 Juño	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 (*uinal*s)—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 (Pauhtunob), the rain giants (Chacob), and others.

uacil lk	00 U tich kin	—5—*	6 lk	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*			These are their names.		
U kahlai		5000	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,		
			The bearer of the <i>uinal</i> in the east.		
Ah cuch uinal ti lakin			There is 4 Oc,		
He ah canil. Oc e		5010	And 10 Oc who gets the fire,		
Lahunil Oc u ch'a kak			And 11 Oc who quenches the fire,		
Bulucil Oc u tupic u kak			The bearer of the <i>uinal</i> in the north.		
Ah cuch uinal ti xaman			There is 4 Men,		
He can Men e			And 10 Men who gets the fire,		
Lahun Men u ch'a kak		5015	And 11 Men who quenches the fire,		
Buluc Men u tupic u kak			The bearer of the <i>uinal</i> in the west.		
Ah cuch uinal ti chikin			There is 4 Ahau,		
He Ah canil Ahau e			And 10 Ahau who gets the fire,		
Lahun Ahau u ch'a kak			And 11 Ahau who quenches the fire,		
Buluc Ahau u tupic u kak		5020	The bearer of the <i>uinal</i> in the south.		
Ah cuch uinal ti nohol			These then are the Burners.		
He lai Ah Tocob la e			It is they who are seated at the base		
Ti culan ob t u chun uinal e			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 Uo.		
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 katon that began with the nineteenth century (line 5055) is noteworthy.*

Ma t ech		And never
U (2lr) mahal		Will you stop.
Cux olal hach kabeet		Good judgment is very necessary
U bilal ti ah colob*		To helping those who are planters.
Ca y oltah ob u ti al ca utzac	5035	When they desire for it to be good,
U ci ci hokol u nal ob uchebal		Politely requesting the filling in of
		the corn ears,
U ci ci y antal u nalil		The ears will come out sweet.
Bin a u ila ti an ua tub u tich		You will see they are whenever
kin e		there are enough days.
Ua tumbul hokol		Either the request is fulfilled
Ua ti an ti lakin ca bin	5040	Or it is to the east that you must
ocsahnac ech e		sow.
Bin ban ban hatz'abac		It will be piles and piles to be bundled
		up
T u menel ch'ich'		Because of the birds.
Y etel i xan c au u ila		And also you will see
Ua ti an u		Whether there was a moon
T u signo	5045	In the signs
Tauro		Taurus,
Cancro		Cancer,
Virgo		Virgo,
Libra		Libra,
Capricornio	5050	Or Capricorn.
T u lacal lai signos la e		All of these signs
Ma lob u ti al ocsah		Are not bad for sowing.
Bin ci ci patac hi bal		It will be pleasant to use something
Bin a tz'ab ichil col e		That you will plant in the field.
Ti bin a u ila ichil u uohil	5055	That you will see in the glyph writing
Sansamal kin xoc		Of future day counts.
Y oc ti cin muc e		Go into what is hidden:
Bai bin a u ilic		Thus you will see,
C ech		You
Ah col e.	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 uih 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

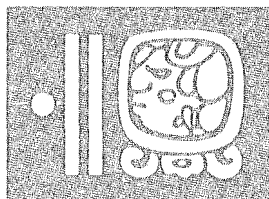
(note continued from preceding page)

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 otoh  
 T u men te  
 Bin c u hecel  
 Y okol u nail  
 Y otoh  
 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  
 Nicte 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 sacrific-  
ing 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 ani-  
mals. 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 tale 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 ocna  
Kuchil  
U kin ma ya cimlal 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  
Nichte 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 *uinals* 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

Nacebal *christianoil* ual e\*

Uenel u u ic *justisia*

Ti u natic cochom

Ca bin ticin

Pecnac

Caan

Y etel luum

Hach ya ix

Bin tz'ocebal nicte katun e

Ma u uil

Mac bin kuchuc t u than i

Ca bin chin chin polcinabac

U tel chacil che

Ti tun u y uk ba peten

T u lacal conolbil

Ua bin tz'ocbal

U than nicte katun e

Ma uil bal u bel

A tz'aic a pol ex ti *arsobispo* e\*

Ca bim emec e

Bin ix uil xic es

A bal a ba ex ti kax e

Ua bin a tz'a ba ex i e

Bin ex

Xic ex

T u pach hahal ku tal i

Ti X̄pto

Bin u kabat e

Ti y anom cochom e

Ti tun ca bin tz'ococ

U thibah a u ichil ex

Talel bin u cib

U lil nicte\*

Lai atan

Bin u kabate\*

To the descending justices raising on high

5290 The elevation of this Christianity again.

Sleeping is the eye of the justice Who understands it clearly.

Then will be spread

The awareness

5295 Of heaven

And earth.

Great pain too

Will be the end of the Flower *katun*.

One can't see

5300 Who will arrive and speak.

Then will be loaded up to be carved out

The fake rain tree

Which has spread itself to the country,

To all the markets,

5305 As though it will be the ending

Of the word of the Flower *katun*.

If you don't follow the road

You'll give your heads to the

Archbishop

Who may be coming down,

5310 And if you are to come,

You will route yourselves to the forest.

If you are going to be taken there

then,

You go

And come

5315 Behind the True God who has come,

Who is called Christ,

Who may be called upon

To be merciful,

And then will have to finish

5320 His appearance within you.

There will be coming his candles,

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  
Ca bin ticin pecnac can e  
Hach ya bin tz'ocebal  
Nigte uinicil  
Ti to ca bin thanac  
U tz'ib t u nak pak e  
Ti x a u alc ex kuil xan  
Lei bin a u ocsic ex t a u ol kuil  
Hi uil mac ah miatz  
Y an a u ichil ex  
Bin natic  
T an hitz'il  
U tamliil xptianoil  
Bin natice halilil o  
Lahu cam ppel katun c u ba tabil  
Ca tun batabac och e\*  
Ca bin uluc  
Al mehenil e  
Dn Antonio Maltines  
Y (etel) Xaul\*  
Lai  
U kaba  
Ca luki  
Ti caan  
Ti x bin i  
Tzimentan e\*  
Ti x y ilah hun tul ix ahau  
Ca ix cimi hun tul nacom  
Ca ix y alah ix ahau  
Y ichamte  
Uuc te  
Ti hab  
U kamic (u ca e)\*  
Ca heb i  
U hol nail takin  
Ti can kas na  
Etsab i  
Ti  
Ca t u liksah u chem  
Ox lahun bak

5325 And when you understand  
Then will be spread the awareness  
of heaven.  
Great pain will be the ending  
Of the Flower people,  
For soon he will speak  
5330 His writing near the wall  
Where you also call upon the deity;  
That will bring the deity into you.  
Should there be someone  
Who is a sage among you,  
5335 Then he will understand  
That was the end,  
The profundity, of Christianity.  
He will understand this truth.  
For fourteen *katuns* he will rule:  
5340 And then will rule the shadows.  
Then will be the arrival  
Of the nobility:  
Don Antonio Martínez  
Y Saúl.  
5345 These  
Are their names:  
Who ascended  
Into heaven  
And who went  
5350 To Tizimin.  
And who saw a queen  
And then killed a captain,  
And the queen said  
To her husband,  
5355 "Seven rounds  
In the year  
He gets married  
Then we divide up  
The house door money  
5360 Of the four-room house.  
And it is placed  
In them."  
Then his fleet is raised:  
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  
  
 T u 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 tūpuc u u ich kin  
 T u men chac bul ikil e  
  
 Ti tun u  
 U cenic u ba nacom i  
 Bin hu . . . lalac 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.

*tain 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 a ba yumil ex e  
Te u talel *Flanses* 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 *Maltines* in kaba  
Ca ix t u hoksah uuc tz'acab  
*libro*\*  
U xocob ah kinob  
Ti ox ppele u mansic u ba ah kinob  
  
Ah *Xupan*  
Y etel ah kin Ch'en  
Na Puc Tun  
Ti x ohelan uuc tz'acab *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."

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'acab libro* 'seven-step book' may well have been a glyphic 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.

stories 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 lalal  
C u than  
Ti t a botic in cahal c en  
  
Xaul e  
Lic u alic t ech  
Ti emi justisia  
Uchebal u nacal x̃ptianoil  
  
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  
Flanses 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 hahal 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 *uinals* 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  $4 \times 13$ , or 52, and  $5 \times 13$ , 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 *uinals* 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 *uinals*, 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 *tzol kins* equaled 52 *habs* ( $52 \times 365 = 73 \times 260$ ). They knew that 72 *habs* 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 *habs* 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>compohualtonalli</i>
<i>u</i>	lunar month	<i>metztli</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- <i>tun</i> cycle	
<i>kin tun y abil</i>	52-year cycle	<i>xihuitl molpia</i>
<i>may</i>	13- <i>katun</i> cycle	
<i>baktun</i>	20- <i>katun</i> 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> )				Months ( <i>Uinals</i> )			
I	Imix	Cimi	Chuen	Cib	Pop	Xul	Zac	Pax
II	Ik	Manik	Eb	Caban	Uo	Yaxkin	Ceh	Kayab
III	Akbal	Lamat	Ben	Etz'nab	Zip	Mol	Mac	Cumhu
IV	Kan	Muluc	Ix	Cauac	Zotz'	Ch'en	Kankin	Uayeb
V	Chicchan	Oc	Men	Ahau	Tzec	Yax	Muan	

Note: These are counted permutatively: 12 Imix, 13 Ik, 1 Akbal, 2 Kan, etc.

Note: These are counted serially, as with our months: 19 Pop, 20 Pop, 1 Uo, 2 Uo, etc.

Sequence of <i>Uinals</i> (For a year 1 Kan)	Sequence of <i>Katuns</i>	Calendar Round Yearbearer Dates (1 Kan equals:)	Long Count Dates	
1 Kan	13 Ahau		8 Ahau	9.13.0.0.0 692
8 Kan	11 Ahau	1529	13 Ahau	9.17.0.0.0 771
2 Kan	9 Ahau	1581	8 Ahau	10. 6.0.0.0 948
9 Kan	7 Ahau	1633	13 Ahau	10.10.0.0.0 1027
3 Kan	5 Ahau	1685	8 Ahau	10.19.0.0.0 1204
10 Kan	3 Ahau	1737	13 Ahau	11. 3.0.0.0 1283
4 Kan	1 Ahau	1789	8 Ahau	11.12.0.0.0 1461
11 Kan	12 Ahau	1841	13 Ahau	11.16.0.0.0 1539
5 Kan	10 Ahau			
12 Kan	8 Ahau			
6 Kan	6 Ahau			
13 Kan	4 Ahau			
7 Kan	2 Ahau			

<i>Katun</i> 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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# Index

*Entries in the index are primarily to the notes and are cited by line number. Included are (1) all Spanish and Nahuatl words occurring in the text, (2) all proper names, calendrical references, dates, and social statuses, (3) unusual expressions and rhetorical forms (metaphors, kennings), (4) all plants and animals, and (5) a topical, analytical, and primarily ethnographical cross-referenced listing of the contents of the notes, which may also serve to indicate the location of particular topics in the text. Abbreviations are Lat., Latin; Nah., Nahuatl; and Sp., Spanish.*

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 —, bird: *Accipiter* (hawk); *Agriocharis* (curassow, partridge, pheasant); *Amazilia* (blue bird, hummingbird); *Anthracothonax* (blue bird, hummingbird); *Ara* (parrot); *Archilochus* (blue bird, hummingbird); *Attila* (dove); *Aves* (bird); *Bubo* (horned owl); *Busarellus* (hawk); *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)
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