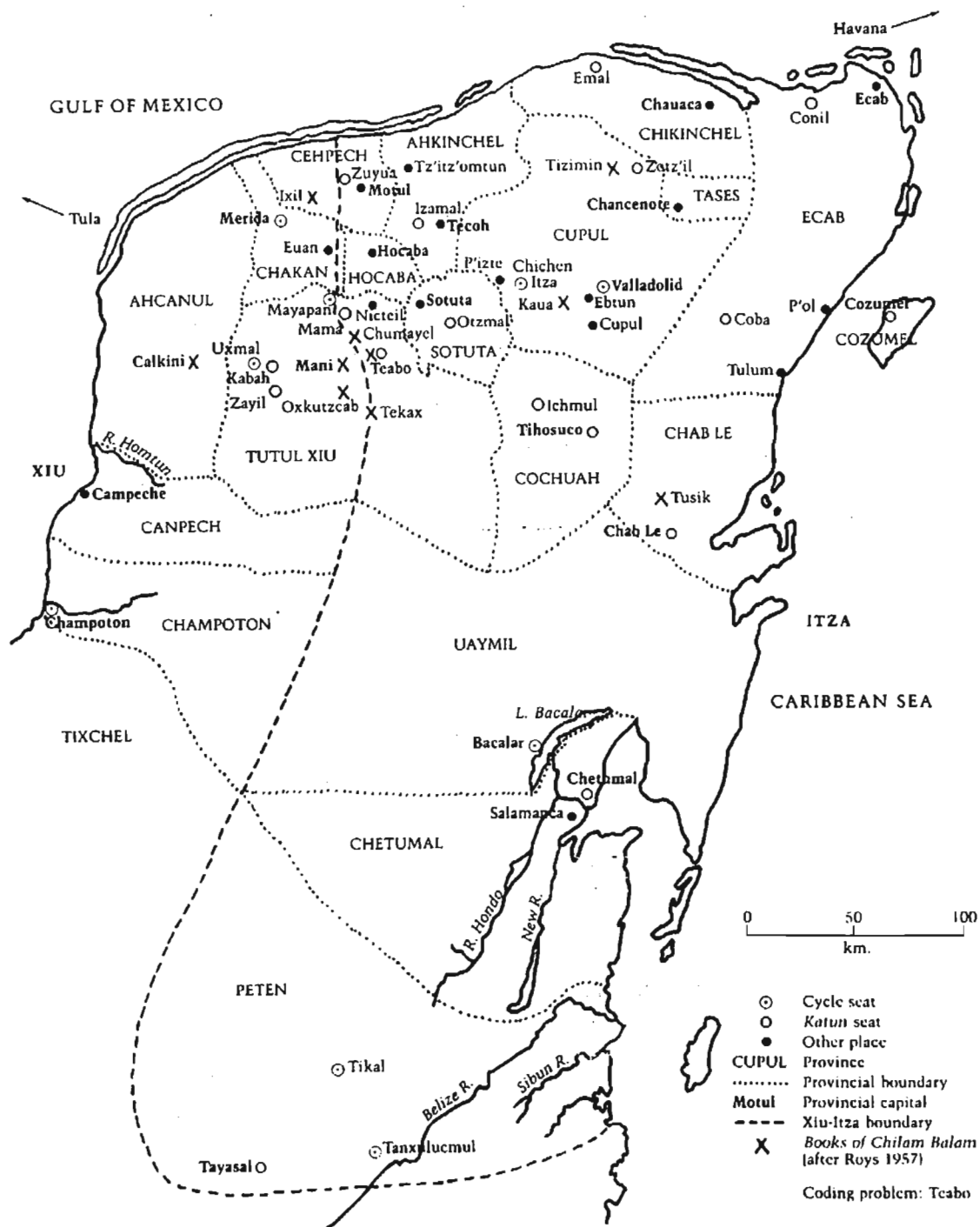
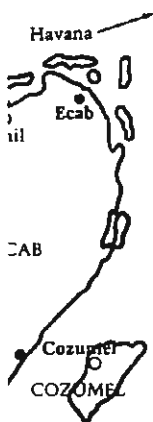

HEAVEN BORN MERIDA AND ITS DESTINY

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The Ordered Country: Mayan Yucatan. After Roys 1943.



HEAVEN BORN MERIDA AND ITS DESTINY

The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel

Translated and annotated by
Munro S. Edmonson

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Harvey M. Bricker has been a good friend and a wise *ah kin* whose patience with my astronomical demands is deeply appreciated.

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Introduction

Manuscripts

The *Books of Chilam Balam* of Yucatan are so called because of the sermon [prophecy] texts that occur in some of them, which are identified as the work of the Spokesman of the Jaguar [Chilam Balam], the official prophet of the *katun* (twenty-year cycle). Conventionally, they are mainly named after the towns in which they were found, and fourteen *Books* have been so titled, even though only five contain the defining sermons [chapters 7, 9, 10, 13, and 21 of the present volume]. These are the Chumayel, Tizimin, Mani, Chan Cah, and Kaua. A sixth, the Tusik, contains "The Language of Zuyua" (chapters 30 and 31) and is therefore germane to this volume. The others are not: the Ixil because it is medicinal in character, the Tekax and Nah (of Teabo) because they are calendrical, and the Hocaba, Nabula, Telchac, Tihosuco, and Tixkokob because they are lost.

Three other documents have sometimes been classified as *Books of Chilam Balam* but should not be: the *Cuaderno de Teabo*, a medical text, and the *Crónica de Oxkutzcab* (or *Crónica de los Xiu*) and *Crónica de Calkiní*, purely historical works. These are certainly useful parts of general Mayan literature, as are the *Ritual of the Bacabs* and the *Títulos de Ebtun*, but they have nothing to do with the Spokesman of the Jaguar. I accept Barrera Vásquez' argument (1948: 39) that the *Teabo* is merely another name for the Tekax, and I accept as well his reclassification of the *Oxkutzcab*.

In addition to the sermons already mentioned, the four central *Books* of the Chilam Balam tradition—the Chumayel, Mani, Tizimin, and Kaua—share a series of *katun* histories, and the first three of them have some chronicles in common. Thanks to the translation of Roys (1967) in English (first edition, 1933) and those of Mediz Bolio (1930) and Barrera (1948) in Spanish, the Chumayel has come to be the best known of all the *Books*, but sections of the texts (especially the chronicles) have been translated by a number of others. A concordance of the various manuscripts and translations will be found in appendix A.

The history of the manuscripts is ably summarized by Barrera (1948: 17ff.), updating previous treatments by Tozzer (1921) and Roys (1933). I do not agree with Barrera and Roys that the manuscript of the Chumayel was compiled as it stands by Juan Josef Hoil in 1782. It shares with the Tizimin and the Mani the tale of Antonio Martínez (chapter 46), which

clearly dates itself to 11 Ahau (1824–1848), and the Mani version of the same text was copied by Juan Pío Pérez at Mani in 1837. The Chumayel must therefore have been written between 1824 and 1837. The original was in the hands of Audumaro Molina and then in those of the bishop of Yucatan, Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona, by 1868. It was in Philadelphia in 1913, in Merida in 1916, in Boston in 1938, and in Durham, N.H., in 1945, was lost when Barrera wrote in 1948, and has only recently resurfaced in the Princeton University Library (Edmonson 1970).

Unless otherwise noted, the documentation for the following assertions is to be found in the present volume or in its predecessor, cited as the Tizimin (Edmonson 1982). References to both works are cited by line or note number, and both books are copiously indexed. On calendrical matters, see also Edmonson 1976.

Language

The language of the Chumayel is Yucatecan Maya, which, as the early Franciscans noted with great relief, was and is a widespread and homogeneous tongue spoken in the Mexican states of Yucatan, Campeche, Quintana Roo, and Chiapas, in the Guatemalan department of Peten, and in Belize (formerly British Honduras). Even the most deviant dialects (the Lacandon of Chiapas and the Mopan and Itza of Belize and Guatemala) offer only minor obstacles to intelligibility. In the peninsula of Yucatan it is possible to differentiate between an eastern and a western dialect, the former being identifiable with the Itza of Chichen (as opposed to those of Peten), the latter with the Toltec Xiu. Following the usage in the Chumayel, I have used Itza throughout to mean the Itza of Chichen unless otherwise specified. The Chichen Itza and the Toltec Xiu were the two principal groups of elite lineages in post-Classic and colonial Yucatan.

The town of Chumayel is close to the political and linguistic boundary between the Itza and the Xiu, but its affiliations are clearly with the latter, and it identifies the Xiu and their language simply as Maya 'people of the cycle'. The Tizimin, which comes from Itza territory, uses the term Itza 'water witches' in a similar fashion and refers to the western Yucatecans as Tutul Xiu (Nahuatl 'Toltec grasses').

To the south of the Chichen Itza were the provinces of Uaymil and Chetumal. It is my guess that they and Belize constituted a dialect area ancestral to Mopan, but the conquest decimated their population, and the original inhabitants were swamped by immigrants from eastern and western Yucatan.

To the southwest of Champoton, in the ancient provinces of Tixchel and Acalan, lay the territory of the Chontal, but, while the ancestors of both the Itza and the Xiu entered Yucatan from that direction, I find no reason to believe that the Chontal had any particular cultural or linguistic influence on either of them, Thompson (1970) notwithstanding. Still farther to the west, in southern Veracruz, was Nahuatl country, speaking the southern dialect of Nahuatl, and there is clear evidence of Nahuatl influ-

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ence on both the Itza and the Xiu, particularly the latter. Many Xiu had Nahuatl names, and there is a thin scattering of Nahuatl place-names: Mayapan, Zaciapan, Tzimentan, Zuyua, Pax Ueuet, P'en Cuyut, and Yucatan itself. It is perhaps surprising that there are not more, as there are in Chiapas and Guatemala. The Xiu were fond of characterizing the Itza as stupid, stuttering foreigners, but this is a political slur rather than a linguistic allegation, and it is clear that the Xiu were the more foreign (that is, Mexicanized) of the two.

The influence of Spanish on the language of the Chumayel is far greater than that of Nahuatl. (And there are nearly three times as many Hispanisms as in the Tizimin.) This corresponds to the fact that the Spanish penetration into Yucatan, like the Nahuatl incursion, was primarily from the west, and the initial conversion and the linguistic as well as religious instruction occurred earlier and were more intensive at Merida and Mani than in the Itza towns. Furthermore, the Xiu saw prompt conversion as a way of making the Spanish their allies against the still pagan Itza, and the Xiu texts constantly exhort the stupid, stuttering Itza to convert and accept "our older brothers" the Spaniards.

It is congruent with this picture that the Chumayel contains a notable infusion of Latin, while the Tizimin contains none at all. To be sure, it isn't very good Latin, but it is clearly identifiable, even if not always easily deciphered. Much of the Latin appears in eighteenth-century texts, but nonetheless it seems to represent a survival of the effects of the intensive Franciscan missionary effort of the sixteenth century, especially at Merida, Mani, and Izamal.

Nearly half of the text of the Chumayel may be considered to be composed in Classical Yucatec (McQuown 1967). The latter half has undergone various degrees of modernization, but even the latest segments differ substantially from modern spoken Yucatec, and all of it presents problems of phonology, syntax, and vocabulary.

The orthography of the text is generally clear, but it is flawed at a number of points. The glottalized consonants (written *pp*, *th*, *ɔ*, *ch*, and *k*) are not always reliably copied, and the glottal stop is not written at all. Vowel length is phonemic in Yucatec but is not always indicated. Vowel tone is also phonemic but is not marked at all. I have transcribed the text as it is written, except for changing *ɔ* to *tz'*, *ch* to *ch'*, *pp* to *p'*, and the abbreviation *y* to *y etel* ('and, together with').

Many of the long-standing problems of Mayan lexicography have been solved by the publication of the *Diccionario Maya Cordemex*, under the direction of Alfredo Barrera Vásquez (1980). Unfortunately, the present translation was completed before this invaluable resource became available. I prepared my own card file dictionary, incorporating Brasseur 1872; Pío Pérez 1866-67; Solís Alcalá 1949; Swadesh, Alvarez, and Bastarrachea 1970; Roys 1931; Blair and Vermont-Salas 1965-67; approximately one-third of the Motul dictionary (Ciudad Real 1600); and my own notes from work with informants, principally Eleuterio Poot Yah of Hocaba and Merida. This general dictionary contained some thirty to forty thousand cards and several times that many entries. I then condensed this into a

root dictionary of about four thousand entries. I have translated primarily from these two instruments, consulting other dictionaries when necessary (see the bibliography in Barrera 1980).

The lexical problems of the *Books of Chilam Balam* are severe, and it would be foolhardy to claim to have solved them all. I am satisfied that I have solved some of them, and I believe that some of these solutions are consequential beyond the minutiae of specific etymologies. Four examples will illustrate this point.

1. *Ix*. In my notes this can be a particle meaning 'she who, little, too, shoo!'; a noun for 'scales', the day name 'jaguar', or something to do with 'chalk'; or a verb for 'spoil' or something like 'lie in'. Previous translators have opted for the first two alternatives, preferring to read *ix* as a feminine marker or, failing that, as a diminutive. I find that the form can much more frequently be sensibly read as 'and'. In the nineteenth-century dictionaries (e.g., Brasseur 1872), it is frequently reduced to *x* and often appears in compounds with sentence-initial elements (*baalx*, *macx*, *hex*, etc.). I read these as 'and what', 'and who', 'and that'.

This form first occurs in the Chumayel text in "The Third Chronicle" (tenth century): *la ix u katunil cimc i* 'and that was the *katun* count of the death' (lines 295–296). Then we read *yx ma pic tz'ul u kaba* 'and For- eigners without Skirts was their name' (line 309). Or again: *buluc ahau u katunil ti ix hop'i xpnoil lae* '11 Ahau was also the *katun* period that began Christianity' (lines 360–362).

Ix is frequently encountered as an element in place-names, earliest (and still pre conquest) at *t ix meuac* (line 910). I assume that the implication here is diminutive: no important town or city is so named.

It may or may not be significant that it is not until after the conquest that we encounter an *ix* that might mean 'she', and even then the usage is extremely rare. Of the seventeen goddesses listed by Barrera (1948: 83), I am prepared to concede one: *Ix Tab*, goddess of the hanged. I believe all the others to be phrases introduced by 'and'. I am also willing to grant the plausibility of *Ix Chel*, goddess of the rainbow, who didn't make Barrera's list for some reason, and there can be no doubt about the acceptability of *ix mehen* 'daughter' or *ix ahau* 'queen'.

2. *May*. This is an even more consequential lexical problem, since it goes to the heart of the whole organization and meaning of the *Books of Chilam Balam*. This noun may signify 'dust, hoof, mild, example, wink', but by far the most frequent implication is 'cycle', specifically the cycle of thirteen *katuns*. Previous translators have passed over the term because it does not seem to have made the dictionaries, but from the contexts in which it appears I believe its meaning to be unmistakable (Chumayel, line 5315; Tizimin, lines 2121, 2914, 2942, 4879, 5067).

Thus at differing dates Mayapan, Merida, Valladolid, and other cities are referred to as *may cu* 'seat of the cycle'. Landa (Tozzer 1941: 27) acknowledges the titles *ahau can may* 'rattlesnake of the cycle' and *ah kin may* 'sun priest of the cycle' as references to the highest priesthood in Yucatan but without understanding their significance. This is the priest more commonly called the Jaguar (*balam*) or the Rattlesnake (*ahau can*), since

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his formal robes included the skins of both animals. He was expected to hold office for a full *katun*, and it was competition for this position of power, prestige, and profit that the *katun* histories are all about. It is the Spokesman (*chilam*) of this priest who provides the name to the *Books of Chilam Balam*.

The importance of the seat of the cycle is underlined by a number of related usages. The city that had this honor was held to be sacred: born of heaven, *ziyan caan*, or, in the case of Merida, *caan zih*. It was regarded as the capital (*tan cah* 'front city' or *tan tun* 'front stone'), and its plaza was the Plaza [*zac lac tun* 'white flat stone'; see Tozzer 1941: 230] and the religious center of the country, along with its ceiba tree (*yax che* 'green or first tree' but by color symbolism 'center tree') and its cenote (*ch'een*). It is this last feature which explains the name Mayapan 'cycle water place', which would translate back into Maya as Chi Ch'een Maya 'well mouth of the (people of the) cycle'. When Valladolid became the seat of the cycle in 1752, it was called both Mayapan and Zaciapan 'well mouth of the white sparrow hawk' as well as 'heaven born'.

The Maya were clearly the people of the cycle in post-Classic and colonial times and had been for a very long time (Edmonson 1979). The 13-*katun* cycle based on the 360-day *tun*, the central and unique feature of the Mayan calendar, appears to have been the basis for dynastic politics in the Classic period. Mayanists have been accustomed to referring to this cycle as *u kahlay katunob* 'the account of the *katuns*', a barbarism popularized by Morley (1946), but that expression properly refers to the *katun* histories. The cycle itself was called the *may*, and it was still going strong in the nineteenth century.

3. *Cangel*. Previous translators have not really known what to do with this expression, and it is curious. It is also spelled *canhel* and in one case *congel*; see also the unusual rebus spelling *2n hel*, line 1366. The use of the letter *g*, which does not occur in Maya, strongly suggests a conscious syncretistic pun. The clear meaning of *can hel* is 'four changers', and the reference is to the yearbearers, both as gods and as priests. But *c angel* in colonial Maya could also mean 'our angels' and probably did mean that to the nativistic sun priests, who were trying to preserve the Mayan religion against the onslaught of "their" angels.

The yearbearers were the 4 days out of the sacred 20 that could begin the 365-day year (the *hab*). As directional gods and priests they were known collectively as *can tzicnal* 'the four honored ones' (pace Landa, who rarely gets his Maya altogether straight and offers this as the name of a single divinity). In the period from 1539 on, these days were Kan, Muluc, Ix, and Cauac in that order, Kan being the senior member of the four. Their directional associations rotated counterclockwise annually, beginning with Kan in the east and repeating after four years.

The days took numeral prefixes from 1 to 13 successively, so the calendar round cycle that began on 1 Kan repeated after 4 times 13 or 52 years. Such a cycle began in 1581. I believe this is the reference of the expression *kin tun y abil* 'day stone year period', which is paired in the Chumayel and Tizimin with *ma ya cimlal* 'no pain death'. Roys (1967: 138)

and Barrera (1948: 65) interpret these expressions as referring to diseases, but from the contexts in which they occur I am convinced that they allude to the calendar round and its sacrifices (see below).

As gods, but again also as priests, the yearbearers are identified as Fathers of the Land (*ba cabob*) and as rain gods (*chacob*), and they may also be identical with the four Stone Giants (*pauah tun*), the four winds (*ikil*), and the four death gods (*tenel ahau*). They are also closely associated with the four Burners (*ah toc*). All these sets of deities, then, are in charge of time, rain, death, the sky, and fire, and they are conceived in various connections as bearing the burden of the sun and holding up the four corners of the sky.

Because of their directional associations, the yearbearer priests also appear to be given color titles: red, white, black, and yellow for east, north, west, and south, respectively. They may all be referred to by the suffixed title *chac* 'rain priest', but the prefixed title *chac* 'red' refers to the East priest. (*Chac* may also mean 'boil, fuzz, appear, trample, big' and is the name of a lineage and a village as well, so it is not always easy to determine which meaning is intended.) In some contexts a fifth priest is added to the basic four, identified with the color *yax* 'blue/green' and the direction of the center. Unlike Roys (1967: 139, notes), I regard this usage as a Mexican aberration.

The rain priests, who apparently wore ceremonial necklaces, are referred to as necklaced rain priests (*yuan chac*). They were also identified by honorific kinship terms (father, mother's mother, and younger brother rain priest). The yearbearer ceremonies of 11 Ahau are described in detail in chapter 15.

4. *Kin tun y abil* 'day stone year period' and *ma ya cimlal* 'no pain death, Maya death'. These two expressions have commonly been interpreted on the basis of colonial dictionaries as 'drought' and 'pestilence', respectively. I believe that this interpretation is usually (though perhaps not always) wrong as a reading of the *Chumayel* text. The phrases occur as a couplet in lines 5039–5040 (and in the Tizimin, lines 319–320, 2615–2616). *Kin tun y abil* occurs alone in lines 1247, 5158, 5224, and 6178; and *ma ya cimlal* occurs in lines 112, 338, 2643, 4922, 5325, and 6283 (also in the Tizimin, lines 675, 722, 2770, 2920, 3646, 3932, 4090, 4537, 4637, 4771, and 5269). I read them as 'calendar round' and 'no pain death', respectively, and I consider the latter expression as a euphemism for sacrifice, perhaps specifically for calendar round sacrifices.

If the calendar round in the Mayapan calendar (see below) began on 1 Kan, as I believe it did, there are eight such beginnings in the twenty *katuns* between 1441 and 1848. If the calendar round began on 1 Ik, as I believe it did in the Tikal calendar (see below), there are eight such beginnings in the same time span, but they land in different *katuns*. Four *katuns* of the twenty do not correspond to the beginning of a calendar round in either system.

Six of the eight calendar round beginnings in the Tikal calendar correspond to *katuns* in which either *kin tun y abil* or *ma ya cimlal* or both are mentioned in the *Chumayel* or the Tizimin. The calendar rounds be-

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ginning in 1710 and 1814 are missed. And six of the eight calendar round beginnings in the Mayapan calendar correspond to *katuns* in which either *kin tun y abil* or *ma ya cimlal* or both are mentioned in the Chumayel or the Tizimin. The calendar rounds beginning in 1477 and 1581 are missed. The texts for the remaining four *katuns* (those without calendar round beginnings in either system) include mention of *ma ya cimlal* once in each book [Chumayel, line 4922 and Tizimin, line 3932], both in relation to the same *katun* (beginning in 1638).

There are twenty-four occurrences of one or the other of the two expressions, separately or together, in the two *Books*, thirteen in the Tizimin and eleven in the Chumayel. In sixteen of the twenty-four cases the contexts are clearly calendrical; in the remaining cases they concern illness, famine, or warfare. I conclude that it is likely that the colonial Maya calculated the calendar round in both the Mayapan and the Tikal calendars and that they used the two expressions under discussion to refer both to the calendar round and its sacrifices and to drought and plague. But the commoner usage seems to have been the former.

Science

Mayan science was highly but differentially developed, and scientific aspects of Mayan culture receive distinctive treatment in the Chumayel. References to biology are numerous [agriculture, animals, plants, food, medicine; see the index], though less full than in other sources, such as the Kaua or the *Ritual of the Bacabs* (Roys 1965). The physical sciences receive very short shrift. Chemistry is largely a matter of cuisine. Physics and geology scarcely appear. Geography is largely ritual, focusing upon meteorology and ceremonially important places (caves, cenotes, the sea, the directions, wells, roads, cities, towns, villages, ports, and Yucatan's meager hills; see the index and appendix B). Psychology is implied here and there by assumptions about perception and motivation.

But the highest development of Mayan science occurred in mathematics and astronomy, and both are correspondingly prominent in the Chumayel, two chapters of which (32 and 39) are entirely concerned with calendrical and astronomical matters. The Maya were extraordinarily fond of measuring and counting things. This is reflected in the language itself, which has several hundred numeral classifiers. They counted things by the pack, by the pile, by the stack, by the mound, heap, bend, pinch, fragment, fold, bunch, bundle, piece, cup, cask, bowl, plate, fistful, handful, armload, netload, and so on and on. They found out that there were 11,200 Itza and 6,050 pyramids in Yucatan. They measured value in cacao beans and quetzal feathers. They measured linear distance by the thumb joint, the thumb, the palm, the span, the foot, the forearm, the pace, the armspan, a man's length, the shot (the distance a man can shoot an arrow, perhaps a hundred meters), the shout (the distance a man's voice carries, perhaps a kilometer), the rest or stop (the distance a man can carry a load before resting, perhaps four kilometers), and the sleep (a day's travel). They used a measuring stick (*p'iz te*) to survey land in "paces" analogous to the

Spanish *vara* (but presumably shorter, as the Maya themselves are). And above all they measured time.

Not all the above units appear in the Chumayel, but a number of them are used metaphorically in relation to the calendar (particularly the fold, cup, bowl, plate, cask, foot, pace, shot, shout, and rest), and all these are frequently mentioned. The fundamental units in the counting of time were the *kin* 'days, suns'.

The Maya had no clocks, and their conceptions of the divisions of day and night were gestural indications of the movements of the sun and stars. They were correspondingly imprecise—nothing like Greek geometry developed in Mayan mathematics. But Mayan arithmetic was sophisticated and precise, and the Mayan calendar was a marvel of both mathematical and astronomical accuracy.

The number series is named in Maya in decimal fashion, with separate roots for each numeral from 1 through 10 and compounds for the numerals from 11 through 19. However, the word for '20' is simply the word for 'man' (*uinic*), and most higher numbers are counted vigesimally in units metaphorically equated with 20 and its multiples (*kal* 'armload' = 20, *bak* 'coil' = 400, *pic* 'knuckle' = 8,000, and *chil* 'occasions' = 3,200,000). Linguistically it was a decimal system, but conceptually it was a vigesimal one.

The Tzol Kin. The basic unit of the calendar was a period of 20 named days, the *uinal* (see appendix C). The names of the days are evocative, archaic, and broadly similar in meaning in the various calendar systems of nuclear Middle America, though many of them cannot be clearly translated, particularly not in Yucatec. The myth of the origin of the *uinal* is given in chapter 20 together with folk etymologies for the meanings of the day names. They are almost always puns. In effect, the *uinal* is a second and sacred number system, and it is entirely vigesimal.

Along with the cycle of the day names was the cycle of the 13 sacred day numbers, the *xoc kin*. These were counted permutatively and concurrently with the day names: 1 Imix, 2 Ik, 3 Akbal, 4 Kan, 5 Chicchan, etc. The number count from 1 to 13 and then from 1 to 7 completes the *uinal*, which the Maya noted tersely: "13 and 7 make 1." Thus the numerals 1 and 7 came to represent the concepts of alpha and omega, the beginning and the end, and the unity of the divine.

If a given *uinal* begins with 1, its successors will follow a 13-*uinal* sequence running 1, 8, 2, 9, 3, 10, 4, 11, 5, 12, 6, 13, 7. It then starts over. Thus in this cycle, too, 1 is the beginning and 7 is the end. The completed cycle of 13 *uinals* constitutes a *tzol kin* or 'count of days'. This cycle of 260 days was the intertribal calendar of Middle America from Costa Rica to Michoacan. Because 20 has the factors 4 and 5, the Maya were impressed with the one-fifth *tzol kin* ($4 \times 13 = 52 \times 5 = 260$ days) and the one-quarter *tzol kin* ($5 \times 13 = 65 \times 4 = 260$ days) and used those cycles in ritual and divination along with the complete *tzol kin* of 260 days.

The Tun. Because the Maya counted vigesimally, it is likely that they originally counted *uinals* by twenties as well as by thirteens (as the Cak-

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chiquel of the seventeenth century still did), thus reaching a cycle of 400 days. However, they became persuaded at an early date that a cycle which more closely approximated the solar year would be more convenient, and they settled on a cycle of 18 *uinals*, or 360 days, which they called the *tun* 'stone'. All the *uinals* of the *tun* began with the day Imix and ended with the day Ahau, and their numeral coefficients followed the same sequence as the *tzol kin*: 1, 8, 2, 9, 3, 10, etc. This cycle is neither named nor exploited in any other Middle American calendar, though it is implicit in the cycle of the 365-day year.

From long before the birth of Christ down to the middle of the eighteenth century, the Maya counted time in *tuns*. As with the *uinals*, they counted them by both thirteens and twenties. The 13-*tun* cycle simply started over, and it seems to have remained unnamed, but the 20-*tun* cycle was numerologically more interesting. Called the *katun* 'pile of stones', it became the basis of the Long Count Mayan calendar. As in the *tun*, all *uinals* within the *katun* began with the day Imix and ended with the day Ahau, at least before 1539—after 1539 they began with Ahau. Whether they are last or first, the numerical coefficients of these 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 and a remainder of 11. Thus the sequence of the coefficients of the Ahau days that ended (or, later, began) the *katun* followed the order 13, 11, 9, 7, 5, 3, 1, 12, 10, 8, 6, 4, 2. This cycle of 13 *katuns* was called the *may*, a cycle of 260 years minus 1,300 days, 160 days short of 256 years of 365 days each. It was the basis of the longest calendar count in general use in post-Classic and colonial times, and it is fundamental to the religion and politics of the Chumayel.

There was continuing disagreement over the correct counting of this cycle. The Xiu and the Peten Itza followed the Classic Mayan cycle and counted the *may* as beginning with 6 Ahau and ending on 8 Ahau. The Chichen Itza counted it as beginning with 11 Ahau and ending on 13 Ahau. (Aberrant cycles beginning with 1, 4, 5, and 13 Ahau also appear to be alluded to in the Chumayel, though these may be late or even non-Mayan speculations.) It is convenient to identify the 6 to 8 cycle as Xiu and the 11 to 13 cycle as [Chichen] Itza.

Like *uinals* and *tuns*, *katuns* were counted by twenties as well as by thirteens, 20 *katuns* making up a *baktun* '400 stones'. The Maya wrote Long Count dates on their Classic monuments and in their books using this unit and a convention of place value enumeration. A bar was 5, a dot was 1, and the symbol for zero was . There were glyphs for the *baktun*, *katun*, *tun*, *uinal*, and *kin*. Thus a typical Long Count date may be transcribed as 11.17.0.0.0 (11 *baktuns*, 17 *katuns*, no *tuns*, no *uinals*, no *kins*). All these units were counted vigesimally from 0 to 19 except for the *uinals*, which were counted from 0 to 17, thus totaling 18. (Zero in Maya is *m ix baal* 'no little thing' or *ma hun* 'not one'.) The Maya stopped carving Long Count dates on their monuments in the *katun* ending 10.6.0.0.0 (948), but they did not stop using them. Contrary to what has usually been supposed, Long Count dates are explicitly mentioned in

the Chumayel; the latest one known is the one cited above, 11.17.0.0.0, corresponding to 1559, the beginning of *katun* 9 Ahau. There is clear evidence that the Maya were still counting them at 12.0.0.0.0 [1618].

The *Hab*. The use of the *tun*, *katun*, and *baktun* was unique to the Yucatecan Maya, but they shared with the other cultures of nuclear Middle America the 260-day *tzol kin* and the 365-day *hab* or "vague year." They reached this cycle by counting 18 *uinals* of 20 days each and adding another *uinal* of 5 days. The *uinals* of the *hab* are different from those of the *tun* because of these extra 5 days, so they were distinguished by being given names, and their days were numbered serially from 0 to 19 (or, in the last *uinal*, from 0 to 4; see appendix C).

Also because of the extra 5 days, the *tzol kin* count operated differently within the *hab* from the way it worked in the *tun*. The first day of the year advanced by 5 day names each year, and, since 5 goes into 20 4 times, only 4 of the 20 sacred days (every fifth one) could begin the year. These were the yearbearers (*ah cuch hab*) or the four changers (*can hel*). The yearbearer that began the first *uinal* of a given year also began all the others.

Different calendars used different yearbearers. The Olmecs, for example, used their equivalents of Type I (Imix, Cimi, Chuen, Cib). The Quiche, Cakchiquel, Ixil, and Classic Maya used Type II (Ik, Manik, Eb, Caban). The Aztecs, Tzotzil, and Tzeltal used Type III (Akbal, Lamat, Ben, Etz'nab). The colonial Maya used Type IV (Kan, Muluc, Ix, Cauac). The Type V set (Chicchan, Oc, Men, Ahau) is the focus of the Yucatecan Burner cycle of fire ceremonies, which is completed once in each quarter *tzol kin* (65 days). Each of the yearbearer sets is ranked; Kan, for example, is the senior yearbearer in the colonial Mayan system (see appendix C).

Since 13 goes into 365 28 times with a remainder of 1, the numeral coefficient of the first day of the year advanced by 1 each year, thus producing a cycle of 13 years, each such cycle being associated with a direction. The cycle beginning with 1 Kan was east, 1 Muluc was north, 1 Ix west, and 1 Cauac south. The same day appeared with the same coefficient only after all four cycles had been completed, producing the *kin tun y abil* or calendar round of 52 years. In the colonial calendar, the calendar round began on 1 Kan in 1581, for example.

The yearbearer for each year was also associated with a direction, the yearbearer for the current year always being seated in the east. At the beginning of the 5 dreaded days of the final *uinal*, Uayeb 'specter steps', the year's end ceremonies were initiated. These 5 were called nameless days (*x ma kaba kin*), although they were numbered and named normally both in the *tzol kin* count and in the *hab* count. The yearbearers were then rotated counterclockwise and the new year ceremonies were held, the yearbearer for the new year taking his seat in the east.

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 a day more than the Venus year of 584 days! They concluded that they were

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On the Classic Mayan monuments, formal dates are recorded in all three of the major cycles that have been described. Such a date is preceded by an initial series glyph to warn of its coming. Then follow the Long Count, *tzol kin*, and *hab* dates, for example, 11.16.0.0.0 13 Ahau 8 Xul, which was November 13, 1539 (Gregorian). This was the last day of the Tikal calendar.

The Tikal Calendar. From the earliest known dates of cycle 7 (353 B.C.) to 1539, the Maya used the classical calendar, first identified at Tikal. From 1539 to 1752 they used the colonial calendar, inaugurated at Mayapan, and from 1752 to 1848 (and perhaps later), they used a second colonial calendar inaugurated at Valladolid. Certain aberrant inscriptions suggest a fourth calendar, largely found in the Usumacinta Valley, but that does not affect the dating of the Chumayel (Edmonson 1976).

The Tikal calendar used Type II yearbearers, numbered the days of the *uinals* of the *hab* from 0 to 19, and counted *katuns* terminally. It used the Xiu cycle (the *may*), ending in 8 Ahau. Its last *katun*, 13 Ahau, ended on 11.16.0.0.0 (1539).

The Mayapan Calendar. In or shortly before 1539, a calendrical congress was held to resolve the Xiu-Itza dispute over the cycle. This resulted in the promulgation of a new calendar which both groups accepted, inaugurated first by the Itza in 1539 at Mayapan and then slightly later in the year at Merida by the Xiu. The Xiu compromised by accepting 11 Ahau as the beginning of a new cycle. The Itza compromised by accepting initial dating of the *katun*. They both compromised by agreeing to disagree: the Itza seated the new cycle at Mayapan, the Xiu at Merida. The date chosen was dictated by calendrical considerations—the conjunction of the cycles was unusually favorable to the change contemplated.

The Mayapan calendar was inaugurated by the Itza on 11 Ahau, 80 days before the end of *katun* 13 Ahau on 11.16.0.0.0. It differed from the calendar of Tikal by adopting Type IV yearbearers, numbering the days of the *uinal* from 1 to 20, and naming the *katuns* from their initial days rather than their final ones. It did not alter the Long Count. The change was literally epochal. As with B.C. and A.D. centuries, Mayan dates for the *may* and the *katun* before 1539 are counted backward from their endings, and those afterward 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 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 1797 (the end of 13 Ahau), figured out that by redesigning the *katun* as a period of 24 *habs* instead of 20 *tuns* the initiation of future *katuns* would always fall on the second day of the year. But, if they also converted the *may* into a cycle of 24 new "katuns" of 24 years each, they (or their descendants) could remain in office until 2088! They therefore inaugurated *katun* 4 Ahau in Valladolid on the 24-*hab* basis, ending it in 1776.

All dates in the Tizimin and Chumayel subsequent to 1752 are given

in the Valladolid calendar. In the Chumayel, however, it occurred to some clever and overzealous copyist to apply the system retroactively, thus making rather a hash of various post-Classic and early colonial dates. Fortunately, it is a hash that can be unscrambled.

During the relevant period, the discrepancies between the Valladolid (V) and Mayapan (M) calendars were as follows.

	V	M	Difference
8 Ahau began	1392	1441	49 years
6 Ahau began	1416	1461	45 years
4 Ahau began	1440	1480	40 years
2 Ahau began	1464	1500	36 years
13 Ahau began	1488	1520	32 years
11 Ahau began	1512	1539	27 years
9 Ahau began	1536	1559	23 years

Thus our scribe refers to 8 Ahau as beginning 151 years before 1543 (line 2722: 49 years off); he dates Francisco de Montejo's landing at Ecab in 1526 to 11 Ahau (line 2676: 32 years off) and Montejo the Nephew's landing at Campeche in 1540 to 1513 (line 2705: 27 years off); and he places the coming of Christianity in 1546 at 1519 (lines 365, 2722: 27 years off). Even his mistakes are systematic. Somehow getting the impression that he was in 9 Ahau and expressing the correct Mayapan date of 1518, he applies the 23-year correction for 9 Ahau but applies it backward—landing 23 years off in 1541 (line 2743)! Well, nobody's perfect.

The Año. The Maya thought it very clever of the Spanish to have their own year. 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 absolutely correct answer: Sunday, July 16. The 365-day cycle was nothing new to them, of course, and they figured out how to handle leap years by reckoning them separately.

Every Christian leap year day fell in a Mayan year with the yearbearer 1x, and the day 1 1x 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 date is pegged to the year 10 1x, 1551. The true Christian date for any one particular year can thus be reached by adding to July 16 one day for each of the intervening 1x years for dates before 1551 or subtracting them for dates thereafter. The Maya did that in their heads, but they simplified matters by clinging permanently to the July 16 correlation of 1551. 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 1x, the middle of the calendar round, but to 1 Kan, its beginning. 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 7 1x years (from 1 1x in 1555 to 12 1x in

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1579 inclusive). All references to the Christian year in the *Books* are tied to the July 16 date for 1 Pop, the first day of the colonial Mayan year. And that was true only for 1548 to 1551.

The sophistication of Mayan chronology and the reliability of their histories can be appraised by a parallel sequence of events, reported by the Chumayel and by Landa [Tozzer 1941: 42] as follows.

Chumayel	Landa
1. 1441 Beginning of 8 Ahau	1. 1441 Fall of Mayapan
2. 1451 Fall of Mayapan (Mani)	
3. 1484 Sacrifices	
4. 1500 Fire	2. 1464 Hurricane and fire
5. 1516 Plague	3. 1480 Plague
6. 1536 Murder of Pot Xiu	4. 1496 War
	5. 1516 Plague
	6. 1566 Landa's <i>Relación</i>

The Chumayel dates events 3, 4, and 5 only to the nearest *k'atun*, though it dates event 6 to the day. Landa dates backward from the year in which he was writing—in Spain in 1566. Thus he estimates event 5 at 50 years earlier than 6, 4 at 20 years before that, 3 another 16, 2 yet another 16, and 1 another 23 years before, totaling 125 years.

Accepting Landa's estimate that a plague occurred 50 years before he wrote, we find confirmation in the Chumayel: there was a plague in 1516 or, at least, in 2 Ahau. Landa's second plague, his event 5, is simply an illusion. The 20-year interval between the 1516 plague and war in 1536 is confirmed by Chumayel event 6, as is the fire 16 years before the plague there, which could have occurred in 1500, the first year of 2 Ahau. The Chumayel doesn't mention the hurricane. Chumayel event 3 has been included because other translators have considered *ma ya cimlal* to be a plague. I don't think so (*vide supra*), and in any case it is out of order. The exact year of Chumayel event 2 actually comes from the Mani. Landa's event 1 can only be construed as an estimate of the beginning of 8 Ahau: right *k'atun*, wrong year for the fall of Mayapan. Landa's total of 125 years is fundamentally correct, and so are most of his intervals, but I conclude that, while Mayan sources are sometimes less precise, they are more credible.

The Julian Calendar. All the European dates in the Chumayel are in the Julian calendar. Despite the promulgation of the Gregorian calendar by the pope in 1582, the *Māya* clung to the Julian one throughout. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Gregorian calendar added 10 days to Julian dates [in the eighteenth it added 11, and in the twentieth 12]. It was only in some late marginal notes of the middle nineteenth century that the *Maya* began using Gregorian dates. Since the Gregorian reform was accepted immediately in the Spanish world (as opposed to the later eighteenth century in the English one), this is an interesting documentation of the autonomy of Mayan calendrical thought.

The *Semana*. The Mayan reaction to the 7-day week merits special comment. They realized promptly that the days of the Spanish week acted as yearbearers, 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 4, and it takes 28 years before any particular 4-year set will be repeated. The numbers 4 and 7 were already important in Mayan numerology, so they comfortably added the weekdays and their planetary associations to the native cosmology and used them for divination.

The Arts

The Chumayel contains numerous direct allusions to dance, music, and architecture (see the index) and indirect references to painting and sculpture. Sometimes these allusions are quite graphic—particular artifacts are named; colors are specified; everyday objects are given metaphorical significance [loincloths, drums, lances, plates, ropes, et al.]. While the primary emphasis is placed on literature, philosophy, and history, which are closely tied to religion, all the Mayan arts are intimately related to the calendar, from poetry to dress and from ideology to cuisine.

Cuisine. Let us begin with the least verbal of the arts: cookery. Modern Yucatecan cuisine is regionally distinctive and delicious. It appears to have been no less so in the seventeenth century. Poultry (turkey, curassow, quail) was baked, steamed, roasted, broiled, and stewed. Various saltwater and freshwater fish, crab, conch, and turtle were cooked. There was plenty of game (deer, agouti, armadillo, peccary, paca, iguana), and it too was well prepared. (Scent glands were a problem with paca, armadillo, and agouti, but properly treated they are delicious fare, and roasted iguana tail was a delicacy.) Sauces, colorful and savory, were oriented to the four directions: red (add red chile or achiote), white (how about *pollo en atole*?), black (stew it with ground charred chile—an acquired taste), yellow (you can do marvelous things with fresh corn, which itself came in several colors), or even green ("greens" attained ceremonial significance on the basis of fresh green chiles and a number of local leafy vegetables). The Mayan dedication to bees and their honey led to a number of sweet sauces. They made underground ovens (*pib*) for true barbecuing, and *pollo pibil* is a standard modern result in the regional restaurants.

Mayan vegetables were a national treasure rather than a mere resource. Honeyed baked yams? Stuffed cabbage? Lima bean soup? Cassava? How do you want your squash—baked, stewed, roasted—or would you prefer fried squash flowers? Or [again this is on modern menus] how about *huevos motuleños*—a tortilla with tomatoes, cooked vegetables, refried beans, cheese, and a fried egg on top? Or *papadzules*—a hard-boiled egg wrapped in a soft tortilla with a delicate tomato sauce flavored with ground amaranth and pumpkin seeds? Baked fresh corn? Bean soup? Stewed pumpkin? And, if you are Aztec enough to want your food spicier, try *x ni pek* 'dog's nose', hot chiles in a fresh tomato sauce.

A variety of native fruits added to the menu: mamey, fig, nance, custard apple, melon. Well, have a cigar and another cup of mead or a gourd of chocolate. Most of these foodstuffs are referred to in the Chumayel, particularly in relation to the ceremonial examination of the lords, which

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took place in conjunction with a feast (see chapters 30 and 31 and the index).

Toponymy. In the welter of titles, gods, metaphors, personal names, puns, riddles, kennings, and ritual in the Chumayel, it is important to be able to identify a real place-name when one occurs. Many of the glamour names that color Mayan religion and literature also adorn the landscape of Yucatan. As in most systems of toponymy, Mayan place-names make use of a number of classifiers emphasizing location and the kinds of locations that are of particular interest. These include at (*chi*, *ti*), in (*ich*), front (*tan*), back (*pach*), right (*noh*), left (*tz'ic*), between (*xol*), inside (*t u y ol*), below (*hom*), above (*ok*), near (*nak*), east (*lakin*), north (*xaman*), west (*chikin*), south (*nohol*), and country (*peten*).

Among the natural features that are emphasized are water (*a*, *ha*), land (*luum*), hole (*hol*), hill (*uitz*, *puuc*), island (*oy*), cenote (*tz'onot*, *ch'een*), cave (*kop*), forest (*kax*), shore (*pay*), sea (*kaknab*), sand (*zuz*), swamp (*putun*), tree (*che*), stone (*tun*), spring (*ak*, *zayab*), and the names of an almost indefinite number of plants (e.g., *nicte* 'flower') and animals (e.g., *balam* 'jaguar'), as well as features of human origin: pyramid (*eb*), house (*na*), mound (*mul*), mask (*koh*), field (*col*), oven (*pib*), painting or writing (*tz'ib*, *bon*), settlement (*cah*), gate (*hol tun*), and wall (*paa*, *tulum*).

A more problematic usage in Yucatec is the incorporation of numerals into place-names: Hunuc Ma, Caucel, Ox Cum, Can Ul, Ti Ho, Uuc y Ab Nal, Uaxac Tun, Bolon Te Uitz, Lahun Chable, Oxlahun Zuyua. This usage seems to be confined to the first thirteen numerals and presumably had calendrical significance, but I don't know what it was. Larger numerals were occasionally used in place-names, apparently as metaphoric status claims (*kal*, *pic*, *bak*). A number of special usages distinguished the rank of cities of real importance, rather in the manner of the Spanish hierarchy (*rancho*, *rancheria*, *cantón*, *paraje*, *congregación*, *pueblo*, *villa*, *villa real*, *ciudad*, *capital*, *metrópoli*, etc.). The Spanish carried this sort of thing pretty far—and so did the Maya. Compare Nuestra muy Noble y muy Leal Ciudad de Santiago de los Caballeros de Antigua de Guatemala and Tan Tun, Tan Cah, ich Caan Ziy Ho, u Hetz' Katun, May Cu, Mayapan, Yax Che, Zac Lac Tun 'the first stone, the first town, in heaven born Five, seat of the *katun*, seat of the cycle, the cycle well, the first tree, the Plaza', which was Merida in Maya, at least for a time.

Names of small villages are commonly introduced by *ix* 'little', and sometimes a certain wry humor surfaces, as in Muxu P'ip' 'bursting at the seams', Zahab Balam 'spooked jaguar', or Tz'ooc 'the end'. There is a general preoccupation with water (*a*, *ha*, *ch'en*, *tz'onot*, *ak*, *zayab*) in the place-names, understandable enough in view of Yucatan's total lack of streams and the natural beauty of its underground water sources. The towns and villages are referred to poetically through their water sources as "the wells and springs," which were considered sacred. Only rarely and coincidentally are calendrical names applied to places. Time was of course on the roads, and places were merely way stations on the journey of the sun.

Yucatan was divided into eighteen provinces at the time of the Spanish

conquest, though only some of them are mentioned in the Chumayel: Chakan, Chikin Ch'el, Cozumel, Ecab, Uaymil, Tutul Xiu, and Chable. It can hardly be coincidental that the number of provinces matches the number of *uinals* in the *tun*, but this fact does not appear to be particularly stressed. The Maya called Yucatan the Ordered Country, the Land of the Ceiba, or the Four-Part Country (the fifth part was the center). The expression Cycle Country (*mayab*), which occurs elsewhere, does not appear in the *Books*, nor does the expression Land of the Deer and Pheasant. If my surmise that there were 13 numeral prefixes for cities is correct, all the major cycles of the calendar (4, 5, 13, and 18) may have been projected onto Mayan geography. It is not clear how 7, 9, and 20 figured in, but they must have been involved somehow terrestrially as they were cosmologically. After all, Yucatan was the Ordered Country (*tzol peten*).

The place-names mentioned in the Chumayel are listed in the index, and a ritual gazetteer of 171 of them will be found in chapter 12 and appendix B.

Onomastics. The Yucatecans do not appear to have used the naming system, based on the *uinal*, that was employed throughout Middle America to name individuals. They knew about it, of course, but the only example in the Chumayel is Nahuat: Five Flower. This appears in both Nahuat and Maya (Macuixuchit, Ho Nicté), but Flower is not a day name in Maya. The naming of persons in Yucatan was almost entirely a matter of lineage.

A proper name in Maya was always binary: it was composed of a maternal patronymic and a paternal one, in that order. Thus Yax Chuen's mother's father was a Yax and his father was a Chuen. Patrilineages were the basic units of Mayan society, and they were rigidly exogamous. If Yax Chuen's wife were Ek Balam, their children would be named Balam Chuen. They would be eligible to marry someone named Yax Ek or Ek Yax, including their first cross-cousins, but they could not marry a Chuen or a Balam. Sometimes the name was preceded by the word Na 'mother', as in Na Tzin Yabun, but that was not mandatory. It may indicate cases in which the maternal patrilineage had higher status.

Having all one's siblings running around with the same name presented obvious problems. These were solved by adding titles, usually prefixed, and nicknames, usually suffixed, as in Ah Kin Na Ahau Pech Chan 'the sun priest (mother) lord tick the younger' (the example is a hypothetical composite) or Uayom Ch'ich' Chich 'sleeping bird the strong' (lines 695–696). Sometimes the order of elements was inverted, as in Kin Ich Kak Mo 'sun face fire macaw' or Kukul Can Ah Nacxit 'quetzal snake priest of Four Leg'. Proper names were sometimes inflected, particularly the maternal patronymic, taking the suffix *-Vl* or *-il*, as in Yaxal Chac, Kukul Can, or Ulil Ahau. This may have been primarily for euphony and clarity of enunciation.

A number of the 150 to 200 recorded lineage names were common to the Xiu and the Itza: Ahau, Amayte, Ay, Chac, Coc, Itzam, Kak, Kau, Mo, Puc, Zac. Others were not. The Xiu frequently had Nahuat names:

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Cacalli, Cinti, Etzti, Huehuet, Ihuit, Nahuat, Panti, Tecome, Temit, Teut, Tlaxti, Tutul, Tzonti, Xiu, Xupan. The Itza did not. A number of the lineage names were calendrical—general: Ahau, Yax, Zac; Itza: Balam, Can, Ceh, Chuen, Hun, Ik, Kin, Lahun, Mac, Tun, Uac, Uuc, Zip; Xiu: Acat, Callan, Cuat, Ho, Itzti, Thul, Xuchit. Animals and plants figure prominently. In addition to those already named, we find Buzzard (*kuch*), Puma (*coh*), Quetzal [*kuk*], Squirrel [*cuc*], Possum [*och*], Snail [*ul*], Corn Ear [*nal*], Yam [*iz*], Annona [*op*], Bird [*ch'ich'*], and many others. Body parts also occur: Ich 'eye', Chi 'mouth', Ol 'heart', Mex 'whisker', Chan 'molar'.

With the Spanish conquest the baptized Indians received Christian names: Antonio, Lorenzo, Martín, etc. Few of these are cited in the Chumayel, which is after all dedicated to the preservation of the Mayan tradition. By the early eighteenth century, the naming system and the associated matrimonial rules of the preconquest Maya had become more or less dead letters. But many, perhaps even most, of the traditional lineage names have survived into modern times.

It is of interest to note that the Maya did not apply their own naming system to the gods. A few gods received binary names—Muzen Cab, Kak Mo, and Itzam Na, and perhaps Tenel Ahau, Kukul Can, Cab Ain, and Ahau Can, and just *maybe* Ix Chel, Ix Tab, and Ah Puch'. The Maya may have been skeptical about the gods' ability to abide by the rules of exogamy, or they may have had other reasons, but they do not appear to have worked out the genealogy of the gods. They knew where they and the gods were in time, and that was enough.

The Maya identified themselves the way they identified everything else: in couplets. A profound dualism is intrinsic to Mayan discourse, both formal and informal, but it becomes coercive in formal speech. A Mayan noble "born and engendered" who knew his ancestry on both sides of the family was eligible to become a *hal ach uinic*, a 'true virile man', a ruler. There is a dialectic to procreation. The Maya felt it keenly, and they expressed this awareness not only in their identification of themselves but in the poetry of their formal speech and writing. Like *all* other expressions of the Mayan soul, the Chumayel is entirely composed in couplets.

Poetry. The couplets of Mayan formal discourse and poetry are primarily semantic. In some cases they are emphasized by syntactic parallelism. A frequently repeated couplet is:

Hulom kuk
Ulom yaxum

Come is the quetzal;
Come is the blue bird. (lines
425-426)

Here the root verbs *huul* and *ul* are synonyms for 'arrive', identically inflected and followed by two nouns of closely similar meaning. This is not, however, a poetic rule:

Çi uinal
Çihci kin u kaba

The month was born
And the day name was born.
(lines 2041-2042)

A perfectly strong couplet may be made without any syntactic parallelism:

Yax coc ay mut
U u ich ti y ahaulil

The center priest Coc Ay the Crier
Was the face in the lordship.
[lines 1769–1770]

Often the scansion of a weak couplet appears to be coerced by surrounding strong ones:

T u nohochil
T u chanchanil
Minan to nohoch can
Ti u hach çatal
Caan
Y etel luum ti ob i

For the great,
For the very small.
There may be no great teacher
Who can really forgive
Heaven
And earth for them. [lines
2541–2546]

As in the last line here, the deictic particles *e* and *i* are phrase or sentence terminals and are often helpful in tracing syntax and hence scansion. That the problematic middle couplet in this passage is correctly scanned is confirmed by the parallelism of *nohoch* 'great' and *hach* 'really, very' (both nouns in Maya), and it may be that there is more of a relationship between 'teach' and 'forgive' than my translation suggests.

The opening lines of "The First Chronicle" present a similar case:

U kahlay
U xocan katunob uchc i
U chictahal u chi ch'een ytza

U chi lae

The account
Of the counted *katuns*
Of the appearance of the Chichen
Itza
Says this. [lines 1–4]

The first couplet is strong and obvious. The second is something of a pun on *chi* 'mouth', which is poetically related to 'face' and hence to appearance. It is thus both formally linked to the 'mouth of the well of the Itza' and semantically aligned with the preceding verb.

There are strong couplets and weak couplets, but I do not believe that any part of the Chumayel is composed in "prose." Scansion problems are often produced by copyists' errors and omissions. I have tried to indicate these and, sometimes, to supply the latter. I remain uncertain about the proper scansion of vocatives ("O Fathers") or direct discourse ("he said"), and I have tried to fit my treatment of them to the context, with resulting inconsistencies. Note also the problem of "Zuyua" in chapter 30.

Scansion of Mayan poetry is totally dependent upon semantics, and, while other linguistic clues may be provided, they do not have to be (see Burns 1980). The linkage between the lines is dependent upon a degree of synonymy or antinomy between two or more key words, but they may even be different parts of speech, provided that they are linked by meaning:

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Thirteen folds of *katuns* they resided
At Champoton. (lines 29–30)

Here a locational verb is keyed to a locational noun. Or again:

They were removed there
At Babylonia. (lines 1417–1418)

The keys are a locational particle and a locational noun.

When the key to a couplet is a pun, it obviously cannot be translated satisfactorily. Couplets of this sort are explained in the notes when I understood them. A similar problem is presented by kennings, more or less esoteric symbolic meanings superimposed on everyday words. A number of these are explained in the two chapters on riddles (30 and 31). Many more can be decoded by context. I have largely kept to a literal translation, so the reader will just have to learn that sun means beginning and moon means end, that monkeys : peasants, older brothers : nobles or Spaniards depending on the context, sprinkle : baptize, stalk : lineage, mat : authority, red : east, green : center, and the bearer of land : its owner. A partial dictionary is provided in the index under "kennings."

Key words of the couplets are frequently kennings, and thus when combined they may imply a third meaning quite different from the literal meaning of the elements. Thus wells and springs means settlements, sticks and stones or rope and cord : war, born and engendered : noble, fatherless and motherless : poor peasants, older and younger brothers : everybody, gourdroot and breadnut : famine, food and water : fate, shot and shout : soon, pants and sandals : religion. A partial list of these is also provided in the index under "couplets."

The Chumayel makes extensive use of all manner of poetical and rhetorical devices, from the metaphor conceiving Yucatan as a bird with one wingtip in Campeche and the other in Valladolid to the humorous riddle likening the church to a leaky cenote because it's always dripping on people. It makes extensive use of puns and riddles [see "pun," "riddle," "metaphor" in the index]. It is fond of euphemisms, referring to sacrifice as "painless death" and to Spaniards by a whole series of circumlocutory expressions: foreigners, bearded ones, conquerors, annona slurpers, older brothers, oppressors, people of the eastern land, sons of the sun, white people, red beards. The Chumayel uses hyperbole: "Indeed the Itza could come here three times over for one occurrence of (Spaniards)" (lines 2899–2900). And it is capable of ironic meiosis, referring to the climactic *katun* 8 Ahau as "tiny little 8 Ahau" (line 1234).

Our text asks rhetorical questions: "Who will be the prophet, who will be the sun priest who will correctly interpret the word of these glyphs?" (lines 625–628; the clearly implied answer is, "I shall"). It uses personification: "Here I am, I, *katun* 3 Ahau, who have seated my city, Heaven Born Merida!" (lines 2951–2954). Many of the tropes are standardized, and some of them descend to being clichés, as in the obligatory reference to "the lying earth," at least in Christianized contexts. Lies and insanity are a standard accusation against enemies.

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There is a strong polarization by rank and favor in these texts. Insults abound—since the text is Xiu, the Itza are often characterized as lying, stupid, stuttering orphans and insane fly-by-night (two-day and three-day) lords, drunken buzzards, monkeys and dogs, oversexed, lustful, and addicted to sodomy. The Itza of course reciprocate in kind. When they are really aroused, the Maya produce slang curses that sound almost like GI Joe: "This asshole boils war!" Correspondingly, the language of deference is considerably elaborated, and there are many standard honorifics: father, older brother, honorable, remote or holy, heaven born, glorious (sun face), great (seventh, ninth, thirteenth), or tremendous (*chac*).

Even more poetic effects are found occasionally, as in the anaphoric repetition and climax of the following:

There appeared the moon;

The moon left.

It returned,

And the moon of the moon occurred. (lines 669–672)

There is sometimes a deft use of chiasmus:

Shaped by the juice of heaven:

By dew of heaven shaped. (lines 1703–1704)

Allegory is also to be found, as in the myth of the origin of the Xiu as a consequence of Hummingbird's sipping the nectar of the flowers, alluded to following line 3324.

Although the entire text of the Chumayel is poetic, it appears to be specifically lyric in only a few passages: "The Song of the Itza" in chapter 42 and the elegant introit to "The Count of the Katuns" in chapter 17. Sections of the myth "The Birth of the Uinal" in chapter 20 attain a similar lyricism. At least the first two of these fully qualify as poems.

Drama. Drama is fundamental to our text. There is a great deal of preoccupation with ritual throughout the work—with the Christian sacraments (baptism, marriage, burial) and rites (absolution, benediction, kneeling, repentance, mourning, sermons, prayer, praise, anointing with oil, the sign of the cross) as well as Mayan ceremonials (of the *uinal*, the *tzol kin*, the *tun*, the *hab*, the *katun*, the *may*, the *baktun*) and ceremonies (sacrifice, divination, curing, examination, request, pacing and seating of land, commemoration). It is curious that there is no specific reference to the eucharist among the Christian rites or to confession, which is prominent in both Catholic and Mayan religions. Perhaps the emphasis on the rite of forgiveness is intended to refer to the latter.

The ceremonials of the Maya are largely tied to the cycles of the calendar. The principal *tzol kin* ceremonies were those of the Burner (*ah toc*) cycle of the quarter *tzol kin*. These were held on certain occurrences of the days Chicchan, Oc, Men, and Ahau, and they survive as the *tup' kak* 'quenching fire' ceremonies described by Villa Rojas (1945: 79, 116). In each quarter *tzol kin* there was a cycle of fire ceremonies; thus on 3 Chicchan the Burner "took his fire," on 10 Chicchan he lit it, on 4 Chicchan his fire "dawned," and on 11 Chicchan it was extinguished. The cycle was

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then repeated for the other Burner days. The Tizimin account is fuller than that of the Chumayel, but neither describes the actual ritual. Since they are pegged to the *tzol kin*, these ceremonies are movable feasts in relation to those of the *hab*.

Uinal ceremonies are not described in the Chumayel, though there are scattered references to the major gods in whose honor such ceremonies were held. By implication, these allusions fairly well blanket the eighteen *uinals* of the *tun* (see table 3 below).

Tun ceremonies are primarily linked to those of the *katun*. They are not described in the Chumayel either, though there are some references to them, particularly to the *ho tun* (quarter *katun*), *lahun tun* (half *katun*), and *ho lahun tun* (three-quarter *katun*) ceremonies. The half *katun* is particularly emphasized. It is identified with 11 Ch'ab Tan, the installation of the Jaguar designate, and the notion of the "remainder" of the *katun*.

All ritual has some elements of the dramatic, but the complex rituals of the *katun*, the *may*, and the *baktun* incorporated numerologically significant ceremonies (thirteen for the *katun* and the *may*, twenty for the *baktun*), and some of these escape the confines of ritual to become true drama. All the *katun* histories (chapters 4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 16, 18, 19, 22, 25, 26, 28, 33, 35, 36, 38, 40, 45) contain allusions to the *katun* ritual, and, despite the fact that their content is historical, the references to music, incense, ceremonial insignia, fire, riddling, penance, masks, costume, and the like make it clear that this is ritual drama.

Four of the chapters of the Chumayel give more or less detailed descriptions of major Mayan ceremonials: the ceremonial of the *may* (chapters 12 and 46), the ceremonial of the *baktun* (chapter 29), and the ceremonial of the *hab* (chapter 15). That these are in fact ceremonials and in spots ceremonial drama is demonstrated by the distinction drawn between the characters portrayed and the actors portraying them [e.g., line 3389], by stage directions and explanations of symbolism [e.g., lines 3120–3121], by details of costuming, paraphernalia, props, masks, music, and sometimes directly quoted dialogue (lines 6391 ff.). There is reference to the impersonation of the gods (line 3150) as well as of historical figures (lines 1179–1180).

The choice of historical and mythological elements was no doubt dictated at least in part by calendrical considerations, but the fact that there was a choice separates many of the Mayan ceremonies from the mechanical repetition of ritual acts. Historical and mythological events were reenacted and comedies were performed.

The ceremonial of the *katun* is mentioned frequently but is nowhere directly described. It appears to have been patterned rather strictly on the ceremonial of the *may* (chapter 12), a drama in thirteen acts, and all of the eighteen *katun* histories refer to anywhere from two to twelve of these acts in more or less recognizable form and always in the same order. For reasons that will become clear below, I prefer to number the acts from 8 to 20 rather than from 1 to 13. They may be reconstructed as follows.

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Act 9. Seating of the *Katun*. This is the main point of the ritual. The new Jaguar Priest, dressed in robes of jaguar and rattlesnake skin and with his face tied (i.e., masked), having been ceremonially designated ten years before, took his place on the throne and mat of the *katun* in the cycle seat (Merida for the Xiu, Mayapan for the Itza).

Act 10. Seating of the Yearbearers. These were local priests; each city had its own set of four, each identified with and by a direction color. They were probably thought to represent not only the years but also the gods of death, wind, sun, rain, and fire. The "high fan" may have been part of their paraphernalia.

Act 11. Pacing of the *Katun*. This was a ceremonial procession of seven priests, the Pacers (*uuc taz cab*), with a surveying stick (*p'iz tel*), who ritually confirmed land-titles. The corresponding references in the *katun* histories are to settling, tying, bearing, dividing, and measuring the land, as well as to payment of tribute.

Act 12. Dawn. This was the moment for the counting (ranking) of the mats (of the lords) and for accepting "requests," that is, applications for future offices. This was in many respects the most political moment of the drama, since what was at stake were not only the priesthoods but also the positions of governor (*hal ach uinic*) and "fathers of the rope" (*ba tabob*) of the subject towns and cities. A declaration of candidacy in this ceremonial context was like the ritual of nomination at a national convention in the United States, and the ceremonial recognition mattered.

Act 13. Sacrifice. In the *katun* histories the references to sacrifice are euphemistic and elliptical. They are a little more explicit elsewhere. The heart sacrifice ("painless death"), the arrow sacrifice, hanging, burning, and drowning were the principal forms, but often the only reference is to the accompanying music: the drum and rattle of the *katun*.

Act 14. Examination. The examination ceremony was always accompanied by a feast at which aspirants to lordship were tested by ritual riddles (chapters 30 and 31). Naturally most of these concerned food, but examinations are also referred to in the *katun* histories in more or less riddle form: the food and water of the *katun*, its speech, judgment, and "face."

Act 15. The Word. The general character and fate of the *katun* are always given in the *katun* histories, usually in a terse riddle, metaphor, kenning, or keyed couplet: shield and arrow, lying and crazy, quetzal and blue bird, gods, sticks and stones, hanging, church, war, full swollen, locust, cord and rope, feast and famine. This was presumably announced by the new Spokesman of the Jaguar.

Act 16. Penance. References in the *katun* prophecies to work, hunger, poverty, sins, burning, need, and lamentation normally follow the imagery of act 15. There is also reference to the gourd, bowl, and cup of the *katun*. I believe that all this refers to the continence, fasting, and bloodletting expected of the lords and that this was the point at which they collected their own blood in bowls and offered it to the gods. The yearbearers were

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certainly involved, but I think the rest of the higher priesthood was, too, including the Jaguar.

Act 17. Commemoration (*natabal*). In Classic times this was certainly the moment for the erection and/or unveiling of a carved stone monument. There are fleeting suggestions that a wooden pole may have been substituted in post-Classic and colonial times. Eventually the substitute was the cross. In the ritual drama, a substantive bit of history was introduced, evoking calendrically significant bits of past history. There are references in the *katun* histories to writing, dating stones, and origin myths at this point.

Act 18. Counting. All the *katun* histories down to 12 Ahau (1658) refer explicitly to the counting of the *katun*. Only two put this reference into what appears to be the correct order of the *katun* ceremony. The others mention it at the outset.

Act 19. Farce. Comic relief was offered in the penultimate act of the ceremonial. This took the form of a morality play focused upon such characters as Desire and Suffering, Thief and Official, Sin and Blame, Lust, or even contemporary characters like those representing the military orders (Fox and Earth Lion). The suggestion is strong from other passages that the humor of these farces was broad. The characters were deformed, with "bent necks"; they drooled; they burlesqued the sins they represented.

Act 20. Sermon. The sermon of the *katun* was normally delivered by a prophet (*ah bobat*), but the official prophet of the *katun* was the Spokesman of the Jaguar. Sermons of the *katun* constitute chapters 7, 9, 10, 13, 21, 34, and 46, and two more are incorporated into chapters 19 and 29. All the *katun* histories from 8 Ahau to 10 Ahau (1441–1677) include at least references to the content of the sermon: war, Christianity, God, etc.

It appears that the acts of the ceremonial of the *katun* did not have equal weight to the Maya and that the most important were act 9 (seating), act 15 (the word), and act 20 (the sermon).

The ceremonial of the *hab*, a ten-day program of activities that began on the first day of Uayeb and extended five days into the new year, is the subject of chapter 15. This is an interesting ritual text clearly organized around the four directions, though it appears to be somewhat garbled here and there. It lists the circuit of the directions counterclockwise six times, associating the directions with (1) a lineage and a lineage head, (2) ten kinds of ritual insignia, (3) a stopping place, (4) four counselors, (5) three more insignia, and (6) a *katun* keeper. Each direction is also associated with a color. The structure of the ritual is given in table 1.

It is of interest to note that the items of insignia total thirteen and that the total number of associations is eighteen. Various symbolic substitutions in them are reminiscent of the ritual riddles. The lists of insignia are apparently both incomplete and out of order, as though this text were being dictated or composed by memory from oral tradition. The whole passage is explicitly dated to 11 Ahau (1539).

The ceremonial of the *kin tun y abil* was held at fifty-two-year intervals to mark the completion and reinauguration of the calendar round. It was

Table 1. The Ceremonial of the *Hab*

Association	East (Red)	North (White)	West (Black)	South (Yellow)
1. Lineage	?	Uaxim	Yaxum	Puch
Lineage head	Can Ul	Culux Chacah	Cau Ich	Kan Tacay
2. Stone	flint	flint	flint	flint
Honey	harvest	harvest		honey water (?)
Arbor	alligator	alligator	alligator	alligator
	ceiba	ceiba	ceiba	ceiba
Tree	bullet tree			bullet tree
Beans			black beans	yellowbacks
Greens	?	lima beans	black-as- nights	corn ear
Turkey	yellow- breast	whitebreast	roadrunner	bullet tree roadrunner
Corn	annona	corn	conch	
Yam			stem yam	bullet tree
Lima beans	sapote		lima beans	
3. Stopping place	P'iz Te	Chac Te	Xiu Tic	Miz Tic
4. Counselors	Noh Uc	Ba Tun	I Ban	Ah Puch
	Tocoy Mo	Ah Puch	Ah Chab	Cau Ich
	Paua Hel	Balam Na	Tuc Uch	Co Uoh
	Ah Mis	Ake	Yam Az	Ah Puc
5. Bees	honeybees	honeybees	honeybees	honeybees
Cup	blossoms	flowers	blossoms	blossoms
Flower	flowers	whiteback buds	laurel flowers	yellowbell flowers
6. <i>Katun</i> keeper	Hul Neb	Cusamil	Ac Chinab	Kak Mo

known as Oc Na 'entering the house', and some version of it may also have been performed to mark the quarter and halfway points (each thirteen years). As with the ceremonial of the *katun*, which appears to have been modeled on that of the *may*, the Oc Na was probably an expanded version of the annual ceremonial of the *hab*. Landa [Tozzer 1941: 161] says in fact that it was held annually, but I believe that to be a mistake. (A half-calendar round ceremony was due in 1555.) In its full form it was supposed to involve the rebuilding of the temple in which it was held, and it is always mentioned in connection with sacrifices. We have no explicit description of it.

It would be logical to present the ceremonial of the *may* next. As a matter of exposition, however, I believe I can make the matter clearer if I move on to the ceremonial of the *baktun* and then return to the *may*.

The ceremonial of the *baktun*, chapter 29 of the Chumayel, is a detailed description of the *katun* ceremonies at Merida at the beginning of 3 Ahau in 1618. But, because eighty days after the beginning of this *katun* was the end of an even *baktun*, 12.0.0.0.0 [the end of 5 Ahau in the Tikal calendar], the occasion was celebrated with a ritual extravaganza: a ceremonial drama in twenty acts. [The *baktun* has twenty *katuns*.] The previous performance of such a drama occurred in 1224; the one before that

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was in 830; the next one is not scheduled until the twenty-first century. The occasion provides us with a kind of ritual key to the whole meaning of the *Books of Chilam Balam* and to the theology and mysticism they reflect and reproduce. The component ceremonies were as follows.

Act 1. Mead. The balche ceremony, involving at least three days for the preparation of the mead, made from cooked and fermented honey and the bark of the balche tree, has been described by Redfield and Villa Rojas (1934) and by Tozzer (1907) among the Lacandon.

Act 2. Tying. The bee god ties the faces of (i.e., masks) the 13 gods. The identity of the impersonators of these gods was supposed to be secret, so this may have been done in private. According to the Tizimin they were named Puzlum Pach 'hunchback', Thuchlum Ich 'squatface', Naclah Muyal 'rising storm', Naclah Uitz 'rising mountain', Chuclum Tz'iitz' 'sooty hoof', Hubul.Hub 'sinking snail', Cotz' y Ol Ch'elem 'rolling agave heart', Etz'el Etz' 'placing fakes', Ox Tz'alab u Nak Yax Che 'three squeezed in the belly of the ceiba', Cuchlahom y Al Max 'carrying baby monkey', Ox Ch'uilah Xotem 'thrice hanged', Pan Tzintzin 'old bugger', and Ban Hob 'many guts'.

Act 3. Cycle Ending. The 9 Gods fight with, conquer, and sacrifice the 13 Gods, thus symbolizing the end of the thirteen-*katun* cycle: night conquers day. The Tizimin gives the names of the 9 Gods: Hau Nab 'slice point', Hutz' Nab 'split point', Kuk Nab 'quetzal point', Oyal Nicté 'island flower', Ninich Cacao 'wormy cacao', Chabi Tok 'digging knife', Ma-cuixochit 'five flower', Hobon y Ol Nicté 'colored flower heart', and Kouol y Ol Nicté 'pouched flower heart'. The Chumayel lists the 9 Gods among the 18 Flower lords under slightly different names.

Act 4. Yearbearer. The 4 Yearbearers appear in the guise of the 4 Burners soot heads'. Some kind of fire ritual may be implied.

Act 5. Bird. Quetzal and Hummingbird appear, representing the ancestry of the Itza and the Xiu, respectively. They bring offerings.

Act 6. Heart. There is a procession, followed by the heart sacrifice on the pyramid. In this instance the sacrifice is symbolic: hearts of plants are substituted for human ones.

Act 7. Rain. The 4 Yearbearers reappear, this time with, or in the guise of, the 4 Chacs. (They are also called Ba Cabs here.) They produce a rain-storm. There may be an implication that this symbolizes baptism, which has conquered the country and is the path of the future.

Act 8. Circuit. There is then a ritual circuit to the four directions, each of the yearbearers carrying an alligator (Imix) tree of the appropriate directional color. This procession is said to symbolize the subjugation of the lands in all directions. A fifth priest, presumably the Center priest, carries his green tree to the center of the plaza. The procession was probably more complex than advertised. It almost certainly included the retiring Jaguar Priest and his Spokesman, the Jaguar designate and his Spokesman, the previously mentioned characters of the drama (the bee god, the 9 Gods, Quetzal, and Hummingbird), and probably other important lords, priests, and officials.

Act 9. Seating of the *Katun*. The retiring Jaguar now divests himself of

his regalia—his mask, robe, staff, crown, fan, cask, cup, bowl, plate, burden, and probably other paraphernalia as well—and the new Jaguar is seated, suitably accoutred, on his mat and throne. (The throne must certainly have been a stone bench, and the mat on it was a necessity for comfort. Quiche lords got pillows, too.) Presumably the Jaguar's Spokesman was similarly invested, but nowhere is there any indication of how he was dressed or equipped.

Act 10. Yearbearer Seating. Since this ceremony was held in 1618, the senior yearbearer was 11 Kan, here identified with the Red Noble. The East and North priests were "leaders of the foot"; those of the west and south were "leaders of the hand," a detail not mentioned elsewhere. The yearbearer-seating ceremony is said to "establish the town," and presumably everybody else could now sit down, but in the strictest order of rank.

Act 11. Pacing. The 7 Pacers (*uuc taz cab*) now parade, their surveying stick (*p'iz te*) borne on the back of the alligator god. The pacers are elsewhere identified as the Surveyor (*ah p'iz te*), the Marker (*ah lub te*), the Scrubber (*ah xuk*, who was the Jaguar himself), the Sweeper (*ah miz*), the Remover (*cit ahau*), the Wakener (*ahel cab*), and the Renewer (*tumte ahau*). At the end of a *katun*, all titles to lands and offices were canceled and renewed. This is the ceremony that did it. The ex officio participation of the Jaguar is thus highly significant. The alligator god, who has the power to destroy the world by earthquakes, demonstrated his beneficence by bringing light, in what must have been an impressive candlelight procession. (Yucatan is outside the earthquake zone in any case.)

Act 12. Dawn. The 9 Gods sacrifice the 7 Pacers and count (and rank) the mats. This had the same significance for titles to office that the preceding act had for titles to land. What was involved was an initial (ceremonial) lineup of the candidates for investiture for the coming *katun*, subject to their satisfactory (ceremonial) demonstration of legitimacy in act 14. No wonder this taxing job was delegated to the impersonators of the gods of the underworld. No wonder either that haggling and trading and envy were involved.

Act 13. Sacrifice. The 4 Yearbearers reappear, this time in the guise of the four death gods. Some [symbolic?] sacrifice was doubtless made, but it is discreetly omitted from the text. Human sacrifice was still going on in Yucatan at this date, but in Merida!?

Act 14. Examination. The examination ceremony was always accompanied by a feast. Chapters 30 and 31 provide a pony for the questions and answers expected in "The Language of Zuyua." Itza or Xiu, every aspirant to nobility had to know the right answers, whatever scandal may have surrounded his birth. The ritual riddles largely concern the feast—and one may well imagine that it was usually memorable, even apart from the spice added by the examination, which must in any case have been largely *pro forma*.

Act 15. The Word. This is also referred to as the news (*mut*) of the *katun*. The 9 Gods announce the fate of the *katun*, phrased as a matter of its food. As usual, the news in this case was bad.

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Act 16. Penance. The yearbearers then perform the bloodletting rite, drawing blood from their tongues, earlobes, or penises. Perhaps other lords did so too, but the text doesn't say so.

Act 17. Commemoration [*natabal*]. This is the point at which in former times a *katun* monument would have been erected or unveiled as a memorial to the ancestors. Elsewhere there are suggestions of the possible erection of wooden poles or crosses, as seems to be suggested here. This was accompanied by a play within a play, a dramatization of mythology or history or both. In this instance the performance was "The Birth of the Flowers," a reenactment of the origin myth of the Xiu (Flower) lineages. The characters include the 4 Yearbearers (here for some reason called the *hoch kom* 'empty pits'), the 13 Gods, and Flower (*nicte*), the mother of the Flowers. Together these make up the 18 Flowers, symbolizing the *uinals* of the *tun*. The nineteenth character is Hummingbird (*tz'unun*), who is thus in the structural position of Uayeb. This completes the symbolization of the year and the calendar round ($4 \times 13 \times 365$) as well as the *tun*. At the same time, the drama reenacts the myth in which Hummingbird engenders the Xiu by descending to suck the nectar of the Flowers. The 9 Gods made up half the Flowers and, together with the 4 Yearbearers, symbolized the 13 Gods.

Act 18. Counting. Flower is then seated and, in the counting ceremony, explicates the calendrical structure just described.

Act 19. Farce. Another play within a play was performed at this juncture, a morality play concerning envy and spite. Lahun Chan acts the part of Envy's wife, and the whole play is one of comic relief: they act crazy, dizzy, furtive, bad, and ignorant. The 9 Gods are also involved.

Act 20. Sermon. The lordship has been passed, and what follows is a sermon by the Spokesman of the Jaguar, prophesying the fate of 3 Ahau. It accuses the Itza of being commoners and predicts that one of these *tuns* they will see the light. God will triumph and, by flood and storm, will bring about redemption through Jesus Christ for all, even the stupid Itza.

The ceremonial of the *may* held in Merida in 1539 is the subject of chapter 12, celebrating the beginning of 11 Ahau. The ritual structure of the ceremonial is entirely parallel in detail to that of the *baktun* drama, except that the first seven acts are omitted. The 9 Gods, the 13 Gods, and the 18 Flowers are missing, but the 4 Yearbearers are here together with the 7 Pacers, the Jaguars and their Spokesmen, and eighteen characters of the time of "The Fall of Mayapan," the historical drama which appears in act 17 in place of "The Birth of the Flowers." Chapter 12 begins, in fact, with a synopsis of this drama. Then follow the thirteen acts of the ceremonial of the *may*.

Act 8. Circuit. The text outlines a double counterclockwise circuit of the geography of Yucatan, listing 171 cities, towns, and villages, starting from P'ool on the east coast and winding up in Merida. If, as I suspect, representatives of a substantial number of these were on hand for the folding of the cycle in 11 Ahau, the seating arrangements must have been a pain even for the rank-happy Maya.

Act 9. Seating of the *Katun*. It appears that seven lords may have been seated: Mutecpul (as Jaguar), Can Ul, Uayom Ch'ich', Nunil, Chable, Hol Tun Balam, and Yaxum. (At least three of these are characters in "The Fall of Mayapan": Can Ul, Uayom Ch'ich', and Chable.)

Act 10. Seating the Yearbearers. Five lords are named: Hol Tun Ake, Zabac Na, Hol Tun Balam, Pochekek Ix Tz'oy (a Xiu from Copo, presumably the Spokesman), and Chac Te. If Pochekek Ix Tz'oy was the Spokesman, the other four were presumably the Ba Cabs.

Act 11. Pacing. The 7 Pacers appear and survey and seat the lands.

Act 12. Dawn. The text doesn't say so, but presumably the mats (lordships) were counted; then tribute was collected.

Act 13. Sacrifice. This is acted out as a scene from "The Fall of Mayapan," the victim being cast as Mex Cuc, who was thrown into the cenote of Chichen Itza by Hunac Ceel in 8 Ahau (1451). Cau Ich apparently replaced Mex Cuc as governor of Mayapan at that time.

Act 14. Examination. No feast is mentioned but presumably there was one. The examination is rather obliquely referred to, and there is reference to another scene from "The Fall of Mayapan," apparently relating to the birth of Mex Cuc.

Act 15. The Word. The word of the *katun* is announced by the impersonator of Mex Cuc, presumably as a Jaguar of 8 Ahau.

Act 16. Penance. There is only a fleeting allusion to suffering, but it comes at the right point and presumably represents the penance of the yearbearers, here played as Mex Cuc, Cau Ich, Hunac Ceel, and the sun priest of Coba, all of them real people of 8 Ahau.

Act 17. Commemoration. What are commemorated are not only the fall of Mayapan but also the beginning of the calendar round in 1529 (which would have been the time for the induction of the Jaguar designate for the 1539 ceremonial being described here) and an eclipse.

Act 18. Counting. The text alludes briefly to the writing of the *katun* history for 13 Ahau, now ended.

Act 19. Farce. In this case the farce is called "Centipedes and Gnats," presumably a burlesque of the pesky military orders.

Act 20. Sermon. The text peters out in the midst of dire predictions of war and bloodshed.

The ceremonial of the *may* in chapter 12 is that for 11 Ahau in 1539. Another version is given in more fragmentary form in chapter 46 for the 11 Ahau of 1824. Five of the thirteen acts are omitted. The circuit (act 8) is probably taken for granted. The seating of the yearbearers (act 10) may be omitted in honor of the impending calendar round celebration, which fell in 1841, later in the same *katun*. (This is referred to in line 6284.) The pacing (act 11) may have been deferred because land titles were still under negotiation (line 6462). The counting (act 18), like the circuit, is often taken for granted. It is possible that the farce (act 19) is referred to, but out of order (line 6287). The remaining eight acts are alluded to in order as indicated in the translation. The commemoration (act 17) enacts the story of Antonio Martínez, a latter-day prophet who identifies himself

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with Jesus Christ and promises the defeat of the French and the king of Havana and the suspension of tribute payments, all this to be achieved in a great sea battle. Aside from the Chumayel, Tizimin, and Mani, Martínez is unknown to history. There are anachronistic references to him in the *katun* histories for 1 Ahau [1638], and his prophecies seem to be based on even Christian centuries rather than on even cycles of Mayan time.

The thirteen-act ceremonials of the *may* and the *katun* seem to provide the model for such fragments of Mayan ritual as have survived into the twentieth century (table 3). These include (8) the *balche* 'mead' ceremony (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934: 129), (9) the *hetz' mek* 'seated embrace' ceremony (Redfield and Villa 1934: 188), (10) the *cuch* 'burden' ceremony (Redfield and Villa 1934: 154), (11) the *uklic* (or *hanlil*) col 'dinner of the cornfield' ceremony (Redfield and Villa 1934: 134), (12) the *kaan* 'hammock' ceremony against the winds (informant), (13) the *cub p'ol* 'seating the head' ceremony (Redfield and Villa 1934: 157), (14) the *hol che* 'finish the young' firstfruits ceremony (Redfield and Villa 1934: 143), (15) the *tup' kak* 'quenching fire' ceremony (Villa 1945: 79, 116), (16) the *x pa' pul* 'little breaking divination' ceremony (informant), (17) the *zip* 'deer' demon (Redfield and Villa 1934: 117), (18) the *xtabay* 'hanging woman' demon (Redfield and Villa 1934: 122), (19) the *ch'a chaac* 'bring rain' ceremony (Redfield and Villa 1934: 138; Andrews 1961: 79-164), and (20) the *ch'uyenil na* 'hanging the house' ceremony (Redfield and Villa 1934: 146).

A number of the modern Catholic rituals parallel the Mayan structure in a somewhat overlapping fashion. These analogies may be suggested: (8) *procesión*, (9) *novena*, (10) *día del santo*, (11) *candelaria*, (12) *velorio*, (13) *viernes santo*, (14) *bautizo*, (15) *amonestaciones*, (16) *cuaresma*, (17) *todos santos*, (18) *navidad*, (19) *carnaval*, and (20) *cruz*.

It is clear that the ceremonial of the *katun* and that of the *may* are abbreviated thirteen-act versions of the twenty-act ceremonial of the *bak-tun*. But it is not quite accurate to say that the former simply omit the first seven acts of the latter. It is more likely that the first seven were assimilated into the next seven. Thus the *balche* ceremony crops up in the circuit (line 803), the tying of masks was presumably incorporated into the *katun*-seating ceremony, cycle ending was probably symbolized in some way in conjunction with the seating of the yearbearers. The offerings of act 4 could be moved to act 11 (line 2946), those of act 5 to act 12 (line 426), those of act 6 to act 13, and those of act 7 to act 14 (line 2254). In the reconstructed *katun* ceremonial there is more than a suggestion that this is in fact what happened.

Narrative. The Chumayel contains no narrative tales comparable to "The Maiden Theodora" of the Kaua and the Mani. Its narrative is therefore confined to myth and history. Two of the chapters are myths (chapters 20 and 41). Seven are chronicles (1, 2, 3, 14, 24, 27, and 37). One is a collection of brief annalistic notes (44). Eighteen are *katun* histories (4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 16, 18, 19, 22, 25, 26, 28, 33, 35, 36, 38, 40, and 45). It is a mistake to call these prophecies (as I have occasionally done myself). They are called *kahlay* 'account, relation' in Maya and *historia* in Spanish, and

that is what they are.

All these materials are profoundly interwoven with the mystique and ritual of the calendar. They are dated by *katuns* and are preoccupied with *katun* ritual, referring frequently to the various acts of the *katun* ceremonial drama as outlined above. All the *katun* histories, for example, mention seating (act 9) and the word of the *katun* (act 15), and most of them give at least a *précis* of the sermon (act 20). All the earlier *katun* histories refer to at least four and as many as eight of the thirteen acts of the ceremonial of the *katun*. This structure disappears rapidly after 1677. None of the histories appears to refer to the first seven acts of the *baktun* ceremonial. In almost all cases, allusions to the ritual follow the order of the acts in the original *may* ceremonial of 11 Ahau in 1539.

The *katun* histories may be precisely characterized, then, as ritual history. They are considerably constrained by the expectation that they will convert the real history of each twenty-year period into the language and ritual order of the *katun* ceremonial. And that they do—often with remarkable economy and elegance. By the same token, this is intentionally esoteric history, and, while the Mayan sun priests had an intensive education in it, we latter-day scribes are forced to educate ourselves, inevitably somewhat imperfectly. Like our Mayan forebears, we worry a lot about philosophy, specifically about the cosmology and theology that shaped, and were shaped by, the mystique of the *katun*, the *may*, and the *baktun*.

Myth. Mayan cosmology formally begins with a characteristic ending: 13.0.0.0 4 Ahau 8 Cumku (August 15, 3115 B.C.). The morning after that date was the beginning of the pseudohistorical Mayan calendar. It was also zero. Nothing existed—not even God, according to some accounts. There is reason to suppose that this date was the end of the third or possibly even the fourth *baktun* cycle of 5,200 *tuns*, implying an even earlier starting date around 20,000 B.C., but even that was merely a moment in a cycle that is bound to repeat itself. The first beginning of everything was time itself.

This mystery is beautifully expressed in the creation myth "The Birth of the Uinal," which constitutes chapter 20 of the Chumayel. This delicate allegory likens the birth of time to the origin of man, a man traveling like the heavenly bodies on the road of days, time, sun, and fate (*kin*), carrying his burden of sin and shame to its inevitable and self-regenerative end.

Did man come before woman? No, it was four female relatives of his who discovered time. So much for the rib of Adam. This may be an exquisite recognition that women counted time more precisely by the moon (*u*), as most American Indians did, for a long time before it could be paced (*oc*) by the sun priest. And for very good reasons: women were naturally more concerned with the approximately lunar cycle of menstruation and with the period of gestation, which seems to have given rise to the [again approximate] cycle of the 260-day *tzol kin*. What the women discovered in the footprints of Time was sex: the footprint of *lah ca oc* '12 Oc, twelve foot, or all of two feet'. After that, men and women traveled together. No

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wonder the cycles were self-regenerative.

From 12 Oc we move by an impossible calendrical leap to 13 Oc, but Time and his four forbidden female relatives matched their footsteps and traveled together, and "the month was born and the day name was born, and the sky was born and the earth, the pyramid of water and land, stone and tree." This act of generation was incestuous but effective. It produced and named the twenty sacred days of the *uinal* and the thirteen sacred numbers to count them with, and on the thirteenth day, 13 Night (Akbal) "took water and moistened the earth and shaped it and made man."

The world pyramid of the Mayan universe had thirteen levels of heaven and nine levels of the underworld. The upper world had six levels going up and six coming down, so the seventh level was the highest. The underworld had four steps going down and four coming back up, so the fifth level was the lowest. After counting thirteen days, our father who is God counted the remaining seven and announced, "13 heaps and 7 heaps make 1." One *uinal* or one *uinic* ('man, twenty'), it comes to the same thing.

As in the *Popol Vuh* and the Bible, the mechanism of creation was the Word. "Everything there was not was then spoken in heaven." And, having invented speech, God endowed man with it. And men took each other by the hand and stood in the middle of the country and divided it into four parts, designating a god for each. And (line 180) Four-Part Country (*can tzucul cab*) was what they named it.

The God of this creation was our father *Dios citbil*, God the remote, the holy. He is clearly here (and is elsewhere called) the creator (*ah ch'ab*). He appears anachronistically under his Spanish name in a number of passages that otherwise seem to antedate the Spanish conquest, so his appearance here in a text that almost surely dates to 9 Ahau (1559) is not surprising. Like the triune god of the Spaniards, he unites all other gods in his person, and hence he is referred to as *hunab ku* 'the unified god'. Religious controversy led to his being called also the True God (*hahal ku*), irrespective of the fact that conceptions of his divinity (*diosil*, *kuil*) are subject to variation even when he is being called true.

The Mayan concept of divinity was clearly plural as well as singular, and one finds explicit references to *kuob* 'gods'. Even in reference to the 13 Gods of heaven and the 9 Gods of the underworld, however, a certain linguistic ambiguity is maintained: *oxlahun ti ku* is literally 'the 13 who are god'.

The basic set of Mayan gods was a set of twenty associated with the twenty days of the *uinal* and seemingly, like them, thought of in year-bearer sets (table 2). One of the gods in each yearbearer set was thought of as quadripartite. These are italicized in the table. Some of the implied associations of the gods with the days are reasonably clear and explicit. Others are pure guesswork. The matter is complicated by the existence of more than one name for a particular god and more than one way of fitting him into the sacred numerology. All the gods listed in the table are at least mentioned in the Chumayel, with the exception of the corn god and Hummingbird.

Table 2. Gods of the *Uinal*

Alligator	Death	Monkey	Rainbow
Wind	Deer	Bee	Buzzard
Sun	Rope	(Corn)	Flower
Rattlesnake	(Hummingbird)	Jaguar	Rain
Fire	Dog	Bird	Lord

1. The alligator god is Itzam Cab Ain, clearly associated with the day Imix and thought of as living in the underworld in the water and causing earthquakes.

2. There were four wind gods, Ikil, clearly associated with the day Ik, with the Type II yearbearers, and with the four directions. This is Kukul Can as Ehecatl.

3. There were four Sun Giants, Pauah Tun, who were thought to hold up the corners of the sky, and there was a sun god, Ku Kin. My relating them to Akbal is a guess, which would associate them with the Type III yearbearers. I believe this is also Kukul Can as Venus.

4. The rattlesnake god, Ahau Can, should perhaps be associated with Chicchan, but I think he got displaced by the fire gods and by his association with rain (Kukul Can as Tlaloc, Mayan Chac). There were four rain gods, Chacob, who were also the yearbearers after 1539; the senior one is identified with the day Kan.

5. There were four fire gods called the Burners, Ah Toc, who were associated with the Type V yearbearers, of which Chicchan is the senior member. The god of this day is Kak Mo 'fire macaw'.

6. The death god, Ah Puch', is mentioned in the Tizimin and is clearly associated with the day Cimi. This is Kukul Can as Mictlantecuhli. In the Chumayel there are four death gods, Tenel Ahau, associated with the four directions and with Type I yearbearers.

7. The deer god, Zuhuy Zip, was probably associated with the day Manik, which corresponds to 'deer' in Nahuatl and Quiche. He was also associated with the third *uinal* of the year, which is also Zip. In modern times he has become a plural set of spirits of the forest, but he is not quadripartite.

8. The rope goddess, Ix Tab, was seemingly the goddess of the hanged. Her association with Lamat is a guess. The similar goddess Ix Q'anil fits here in the Quiche calendar.

9. I do not find a deity for Muluc, but the ceremonial of the *may* clearly places Hummingbird, Tz'unun, here. He is mentioned in the Chumayel only by euphemisms, as Yax Um. Instead of being multiplied by four, he is multiplied by nine to become the 9 Gods of the underworld.

10. The dog god, Pek, was probably associated with Oc, which corresponds to the day 'dog' in Nahuatl and Quiche, but so is Nacxit 'four leg', the fire guise of Kukul Can.

11. The monkey god, Maax, is clearly associated with the day Chuen.

12. The bee god, Muzen Cab, is associated with Eb only by guess.

13. The corn god may belong with Ben, which is the day 'corn' in Quiche. He does not appear as such in the Chumayel or the Tizimin but

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instead is multiplied by thirteen to become the 13 Gods of heaven. This is probably the Yum Kax of modern times.

14. The jaguar god, Balam, is clearly associated with the day Ix.

15. The bird god, Ch'ich', probably belongs with Men, which is the day 'bird' in Quiche and 'eagle' in Nahuatl.

16. The rainbow goddess, Ix Chel, may belong with Cib, but that is a guess. She is also called Ix Kalem 'brilliant lady' in the Tizimin.

17. The buzzard god, Ah Kuch, may be associated with Caban, which corresponds to the day 'buzzard' in Nahuatl and 'owl' in Quiche.

18. The Flower goddess, Nichte, Xuchit, may belong with Etz'nab despite her association with the twentieth day in Nahuatl.

19. There was a rain god, Chac, and four rain gods (see number 4). The association with Cauac and with Type IV yearbearers is clear.

20. There was one lord god, the father of the gods, Itzam Na, associated with the day Ahau.

Twenty gods are a satisfactory roster for a cycle of four hundred days, but, when the *tun* was invented, the twenty gods had to be squeezed somehow into eighteen *uinals*. The Nahuatl solution was to assign two of the *uinals* two gods each. Another solution appears to have been to multiply the Flower goddess by eighteen, producing eighteen Flower gods. Yet another may be to omit two gods, as the Chumayel appears to have done with the hummingbird god and the corn god.

The Tizimin lists the names of the 13 Gods and the 9 Gods, and the Chumayel lists the names for the 7 Gods who are known collectively as the pacers. As has been mentioned, there are five sets of four gods each who are closely related to each other and to the direction gods (*ba cabob*). Finally, there are the 2 Gods. The Yucatecans do not emphasize Mother and Father or Grandmother and Grandfather, nor do they double up the gods of the underworld as the Quiche and Nahua do. Dualism is represented rather by Quetzal and Hummingbird, associated respectively with the Itza and the Xiu and obviously cousins of the Mexican Quetzalcoatl and Huitzilopochtli. They probably also represent the morning and evening stars, and that brings us back to the unity of *hunab ku* and the Ordered Country.

The unity in diversity of the Mayan pantheon is governed, then, by the unity of the calendar. It is obscured by the welter of synonyms for particular deities, but, like the myriad names of the Virgin Mary, these may be regarded as merely aspects of divinity leading back to unity. The blue-green bird, an image which unifies the quetzal and the hummingbird, also refers to the fifth direction: the center, the crossroads of the other four, spatially symbolizing the unity of god. Whether Hummingbird or Quetzal is intended, it would appear that this conception may also have included a five-fold subdivision of Quetzalcoatl: as death god, as wind, as Venus (sun), as rain, and as fire (Nacxit), thus further unifying the five sets of directional gods, the Ba Cabs or Fathers of the Land.

We are now in a position to summarize and synthesize the calendrical, theological, and ceremonial aspects of Mayan religion as the Chumayel describes it during the first century after the Spanish conquest. The syn-

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optic table (table 3) lists the twenty acts of the *baktun* ceremonial—which includes the thirteen acts of the *may* and *katun* ceremonials, beginning at act 8. The days of the *uinal* (and the *tzol kin*) are listed next, aligned with the ceremonies I believe to be related to them. Their associations are also given. Where possible these are translations, but many of the day names cannot be translated. The yearbearers (*can hel*) and Ba Cabs are capitalized in the table, together with the gods multiplied by nine, thirteen, and eighteen. The days are followed in turn by the nineteen "months" of the *hab*, together with their associations, also aligned with

Table 3. Mayan Myth and Ritual

Ceremonies (<i>Baktun</i>)	Days (<i>Uinal</i>)	Months (<i>Hab</i>)	Gods (<i>Tun</i>)	Today (<i>Katun</i>)
1. Mead	Chuen (monkey)	Pop (mat)	Monkey (Maax)	
2. Tying	Eb (step)	Uo (frog)	Bee (Muzen Cab)	
3. Cycle ending	Ben (corn)	Zip (deer)	(CORN) Quetzal	
4. Yearbearer	IX (jaguar)	Zotz' (bat)	Jaguar (Balam)	
5. Bird	Men (bird)	Tzec (skeleton)	Quetzal (Kuk)	
6. Heart	Cib (wax)	Xul (end)	Rainbow (Ix Chel)	
7. Rain	Caban (earth)	Yaxkin (green sun)	Buzzard (Ah Kuch)	
8. Circuit	Etz'nab (flint)	Mol (track)	FLOWER (Nicté)	<i>Balche</i> (mead)
9. <i>Katun</i> seating	CAUAC (rain)	Ch'en (well)	RAIN (Chac)	<i>Hetz' mek</i> (seating)
10. Yearbearer seating	Ahau (lord)	Yax (first)	Lord (Itzam Na)	<i>Cuch</i> (burden)
11. Pacing	Imix (alligator)	Zac (white)	Alligator (Itzam Cab Ain)	<i>Uklic col</i> (field feeding)
12. Dawn	Ik (wind)	Ceh (deer)	WIND (Ikil)	<i>Kaan</i> (hammock)
13. Sacrifice	Akbal (night)	Mac (cover)	SUN (Pauah Tun)	<i>Cub p'ol</i> (head seating)
14. Examination	KAN (yellow)	Kankin (yellow sun)	Rattlesnake (Ahau Can)	<i>Hol che</i> (first fruits)
15. The word	Chicchan (snake)	Muan (macaw)	FIRE (Ah Toc)	<i>Tup' kak</i> (quench fire)
16. Penance	Cimi (death)	Pax (break)	DEATH (Ah Puch')	<i>X pa' pul</i> (breaking)
17. Commemoration	Manik (deer)	Kayab (songs)	Deer (Zuhuy Zip)	<i>Zip</i> (deer demon)
18. Counting	Lamat (flood)	Cumku (dark god)	Rope (Ix Tab)	<i>Xtabay</i> (hanging woman)
19. Farce	MULUC (rainstorm)	Uayeb (specters)	(HUMMINGBIRD) (Tz'unun)	<i>Ch'a chaac</i> (rainmaking)
20. Sermon	Oc (foot)	(Oc Na) (enter house)	Dog (Nacxit)	<i>Ch'uyenil na</i> (housewarming)

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what I perceive to be those of the days and ceremonies. Finally, there are the eighteen gods of the *tun* [plus two to make twenty]. Mayan ceremonies and beliefs that survived into the twentieth century are added in the last column. They appear to be aligned with the *katun*.

Interwoven in the table are the significant cycles of 4, 5, 7, 9, 13, 18, 19, and 20 that are fundamental to Mayan numerology. Note, for example, that the "month" Kankin 'yellow sun' follows Yaxkin 'green sun' by exactly seven months. Note that five of the gods are quadripartite and that thirteen are not. Remember that religiously 13 and 7 make 1, that 18 is construed as 5 and 13, 13 as 6 and 7, and 9 as 4 and 5, and that 19 appears only through mention of the unmentionable Uayeb. Note too that the ninth god is multiplied by nine and the thirteenth god by thirteen. The table is intended to suggest something of the richness and complexity of Mayan religious metaphor. And the associations and interassociations among the categories are ultimately metaphorical, not numerological or calendric.

The preceding synopsis comes about as close as the Chumayel itself to describing the theogony of the period of 9 Ahau (1559), when the myth "The Birth of the *Uinal*" was composed. It was obviously somewhat Spanish-influenced already, but only to a highly limited degree. A number of other Mayan myths are referred to in the text, but without much exposition: "The Birth of the Flowers" and the origin of the Itza as descendants of Itzam Na. A sermon of 11 Ahau [chapter 19] presents a memorable picture of the coming of Jesus to Yucatan:

The man of the cycle city,
Engendering himself all alone,
Is tried
And put in irons.
He is tied up.
When he is tied
Then he is beaten.
Then next he is seated.
Then he speaks
To the ear of his son.
He has his hat on his head
And his sandals on his feet.
He has his sash tied around his waist,
And thus perhaps is his coming. (lines 1977–1990)

Obviously he will have to do better than that to best the blue-green bird.

Eventually he did, and the Chumayel includes a highly syncretistic creation myth, "The Sevenfold Creation" of chapter 41, dating to 2 Ahau (1776). Composed in seven cycles of sevens, this mystical text mingles Mayan cosmology with biblical citations; Spanish and frequently mangled Latin are added to provide the right implication of secret knowledge. The seven cycles of the myth are (I) 7 Creations, (II) 7 Angels, (III) 7 Winds, (IV) 7 Graces, (V) 7 Layers of Heaven, (VI) 7 Saints, and (VII) 7 Names of God. These are indicated by roman numerals in the translation. Furthermore,

there are seven other names of God scattered through the text, and there are at least two cycles of seven names for Christ.

I and II. The 7 Creations and the 7 Angels. We begin with the first age, "the first *katun*," the first creation. Each creation is enumerated and provided with an angel: (1) Dominus, (2) Woman Born Baby, (3) Dawn of the Four Changers, (4) Child Two Knowing, (5) the Egyptian, (6) Child of a Thousand, and (7) Sustaining Grace.

III. The 7 Winds: (1) ?Rolling Moon, (2) Thomas Doubted, (3) Archangel, (4) Herodias, (5) Stained Wrap in Front, (6) Virtue, and (7) Jeremiah.

IV. The 7 Graces: (1) Jerome, (2) Bol Ay, (3) Jesus. The name Jesus does not occur in this text. In this cycle he is called by seven other names: Man (*xib*), Complete the Sky, Great Deeds, Hebron, Medicine Water, Brilliance of Heaven, and Child of Fruit Offering. The cycle of the Graces is then completed by the addition of the four winds, who are equated with the directions, the yearbearers, and the rain giants, thus covering three of the five manifestations of the Ba Cabs. There is also a somewhat confused effort to name them: (4) Corpinus, (5) Orale, (6) ?Trinity, and (7) ?Unity. This 3 plus 4 approach to making 7 is repeated in cycle VII.

V. The 7 Layers of Heaven: (1) Sirius, (2) Thou Wast Buried, (3) Praise Be to God, (4) Bol Ay, (5) Jaguar Cacao, (6) Exhale, and (7) Inhale.

VI. The 7 Saints: (1) Spirit (*Espíritu*), (2) Saint Edendeus, (3) Saint Elisha, (4) Enos, (5) Joseph, (6) Infinite, and (7) Thrice Tripled.

VII. The 7 Names of God: (1) Holy God (*Dios citbil*), (2) Joshua, (3) Jesus. This time he is called Master, Dei, Messiah, Christ, Immanuel, and Jeremiah, and he may also be called Jupiter (perhaps in confusion with Lucifer, whose fall is alluded to). Again the four winds are added. Their associations are (4) red, Saturn, (5) white, Jupiter, (6) black, Mars, and (7) yellow, Venus, Moses.

Running through the whole text is another set of seven names of God. In the order in which they appear, they are (1) Lord (*dominus*), (2) God (*ku*), (3) Sustaining Grace (*sustinal gracia*), (4) Holy God (*Dios citbil*), (5) Unity (*unidad*), (6) God Made Son (*Dios mehenbil*), and (7) God the Holy Ghost (*Dios Espíritu Santo*). He is also referred to as a father (*yum*), but he is not named that in this text, as in God the Father (*Dios yumbil*).

The author has achieved a quite remarkable synthesis of Mayan and Christian religion, incorporating the Trinity and the yearbearers, cosmological space and time, saints, angels, and Mayan (wind) spirits into a single numerologically elegant scheme, focusing on the number that symbolizes the highest level of the Mayan heaven. If his command of Latin and Spanish leaves much to be desired, there is nothing wrong with his mathematics. And you cannot avoid thinking that he had been exposed to Saint John's dream of the seven angels and seven plagues that end the world (Revelation 15).

Between the composition of the myths "The Birth of the *Uinal*" in 1559 and "The Sevenfold Creation" in 1776, there is a gradual accretion of Christian imagery and mythology: the Virgin of Izamal, patron saint of Yucatan, the concepts of the catechism, the commandments of God and the church. To some extent these new elements were numerologically as-

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simulated into the preexisting system. Dualism is underlined by the images of Adam and Eve and the opposition of God and the devil, Kizin 'the Old Fart'. The number 3 attains special status through the introduction of the Trinity. But the seven-day week and other emphases on seven in Christianity had a special appeal to the Maya.

It remains possible that the emphasis on seven in "The Sevenfold Creation" is intended as a reference to the first seven *baktuns* of the Mayan era. The earliest date referred to in the Chumayel is in any case the following *baktun*, 8.0.0.0.0, which is cited as a more or less mythical reference date for the beginning of the building of the pyramids. This was A.D. 41. The next date given is 9.13.0.0.0 (8 Ahau), and it is specified that in a year 4 Muluc (674) Chichen Itza was destroyed. It must be significant that this *katun* brackets the starting date of the Aztec calendar in 682 (Graulich 1981).

In the following *katun* (6 Ahau or 711), the Chichen Itza appeared, claiming to be the divine descendants of the father of the gods, Itzam Na, and of Quetzalcoatl as well. Then 4 Ahau (731) is given as the date of the equally mythical birth of the Sun Giants (*pauah tun*). True to their view of the dating of the *may*, the Itza "ordered the mat" at the end of their thirteenth *katun* in 13 Ahau (771), and at the following 8 Ahau (948) Chichen Itza is said to have been destroyed again.

The arrival of the Xiu is not dated in the Chumayel, but the Tizimin puts it in the last year of 13 Ahau (770). The Mani places it at the end of 8 Ahau (692). They were, or claimed to be, Toltecs (*tutul xiu*) from Tula, the direct descendants of Hummingbird (*tz'unun, uitzitzillin*) and his consort Flower (*nicte, xuchit*). On the other hand, it is not clear just where they arrived at that date. Their chief was the East priest Bi Ton, but it is possible to construe this phrase (*chacnabiton*) in Nahuatl as *chicnahuitan* 'nine country'; if so, their place of entry was probably outside of Yucatan altogether.

History

Tenth Century. Something like real history begins to emerge in the tenth century. After the destruction of Chichen Itza in 948, the "Chontal" took Champoton (in 987), and in 1059 Chichen is reported to have been destroyed again. Were these "Chontal" actually Xiu, who had merely come from Chontal country? In any case, the Itza seized Champoton in 948 and held it off and on against stiff opposition from somebody until 1204.

Thirteenth Century. A restless period followed. Conil is reported destroyed in the extreme northeast of Yucatan in 1224, and there appears to have been a Xiu incursion at Chichen in 1244. The Xiu established themselves at Uxmal in 1264 and thus became identified as Hill Lords (*uitzil*) as well as Flowers.

Fourteenth Century. It was 11.3.0.0.0 13 Ahau (1283) when the Xiu and the Itza settled their differences and established the League of Mayapan, which therefore was programmed to last until 1539. There was an

incursion of naked cannibals (Caribs or Miskitos?) in 1362, and Izamal was reported destroyed, probably by Xiu. Chichen was destroyed again in 1382, Uxmal in 1401.

Fifteenth Century. The League of Mayapan presupposed a Xiu hegemony in western Yucatan, centered at Uxmal, an Itza preeminence in the east, centered at Chichen, and joint rule in the walled city of Mayapan in the center, the seat of the cycle. As the terminal *katun* of the Xiu cycle approached (8 Ahau), tensions mounted. Otzmal had seated the *katun* in 12 Ahau (1401)—in Itza territory. (From this date until 1848, the *Books* chronicle the lordship of the *katuns*. A synopsis of the cities, Jaguars, and Spokesmen is given in appendix D.) Zizal and Coba disputed the seating of the *katun* in 10 Ahau—both also in Itza country. When Kan Cab A and Izamal (also Itza) claimed 8 Ahau (1441–1461), things were ripe for an explosion. The Peten Itza (who then called themselves the Xuluc 'the remnant of the Itza') saw the handwriting on the wall, and in 1448 they migrated south to the heart of the Guatemalan Peten and seated a new cycle and *katun* at Tan Xuluc Mul. They seem to have lived in and near Mayapan and were particularly exposed to the coming storm, which hit in 1451.

The Itza governor of Mayapan at the beginning of 8 Ahau was apparently Mex Cuc. The governor of Uxmal was probably Hunac Ceel. The governor of Izamal was Ul Ahau, the governor of Merida was Tzim Thul, and the governor of Chichen Itza was Xib Chac. Izamal was the primary seat of the *katun*, and the Jaguar of Izamal was ailing. A plot was hatched which involved the dynastic politics of Izamal and a number of other cities, including Champoton, whose governor may have been Kak Mo, closely linked to Izamal, and Chichen, whose Can lineage was also related to the Izamal dynasty.

8 Ahau was the terminal *katun* of the Xiu *may*. In anticipation of the start of a new cycle in 6 Ahau, new officials were supposed to be named at the mid-*katun* ceremonies of 8 Ahau in 1451. Merida got into the act by naming Tzim Thul as Jaguar and Uayom Ch'ich' the Strong as Spokesman, at the same time designating Merida as the new seat of the cycle as well as the *katun*. Can Ul was named counselor to the Jaguar, thus giving Xiu ceremonial backing to his claim to the governorship of Izamal.

When Ul Ahau died, his heirs in Izamal included Ahau Can, Hapay Can, Itzam Can, and Can Ul, all of them relatives of Kukul Can at Chichen, priest of Quetzalcoatl and next in line to the governorship of that city. Ahau Can had the best claim, and the Itza of Chichen were determined to support him. Before they could act, however, Hunac Ceel deposed the Itza governor of Mayapan, replacing him with Cau Ich, naming Chab Le as the Spokesman, and throwing Mex Cuc into the cenote at Chichen.

To counter or perhaps to forestall these moves (the dating of the events is uncertain), the Itza of Chichen sent an embassy to Izamal. It was made up of three of the four Ba Cabs of Chichen Itza: the East priest Xib Chac, the North priest Xib Chac, and the South priest Uoh Puc. Chichen was left in charge of Kukul Can, the priest of Nacxit and apparently West

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priest as well (the "father of the rain priests"). Apparently at the instigation of Hunac Ceel and Can Ul, the delegation was seized at Izamal and sacrificed. This appears to have been more or less simultaneous with the seizure of the walls of Mayapan and the expulsion of the Itza from there. The Chumayel lists the Ba Cabs of Mayapan as Co Uoh, Ah Ek, Zulim Chan, and Nahuat (reading from east to south). Presumably they were all Xiu.

The decision on the Izamal succession then went to Hapay Can, apparently a compromise candidate, but there was a considerable amount of confusion and local opposition. Finally, in 1458, Hapay Can was deposed by Can Ul, whose claim to the lordship of Izamal was almost certainly based on an incestuous union (see the Tizimin) but who was an ally of Hunac Ceel. Hapay Can was sent to Chem Chan, a village dependent on Uxmal, where he was sacrificed. Kukul Can became governor of Chichen Itza, Can Ul became governor of Izamal, and apparently both claimed the Jaguar priesthood. Cau Ich continued as governor of Mayapan, Uxmal Chac [another name for Hunac Ceel?] of Uxmal, Kak Mo of Champoton, and Tzim Thul of Merida, and apparently all of them claimed to seat the *katun*.

The fall of Mayapan definitively ended the religious and political unity of Yucatan. Subsequent prophets from the fifteenth to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries pled for unity, but the basis for it—agreement on the calendar—had been destroyed. Underlying personalities and the calculation of personal advantage was the argument between the Xiu and the Itza about the dating of the *may*. Mayapan fell on Xiu time (8 Ahau rather than 13 Ahau), and the Itza could neither forgive nor forget that fact. The interlude between the two dates, 1461 and 1539, was marked by increasing turmoil and disunion.

The victors of the conspiracy of Mayapan (Can Ul, Hunac Ceel, Cau Ich, and Kak Mo) were not victorious for long: they all disappeared from history in the following *katun*. Hunac Ceel claimed the right to seat 6 Ahau at Uxmal, but the *katun* was also claimed by Hunac Thi and Teabo and just about everybody else. Champoton was put out of business by Izamal. The Chumayel notes that the last (major?) pyramid was built in 1467. It does not say where.

The nobles were having plenty of trouble with each other. There were no less than seven claimants to the seating of 4 Ahau. But by that time they were having trouble with the peasants as well. A resurgent Kukul Can seated the *katun* at Chichen Itza and attacked the Xiu. There were plagues. And the peasantry took to the woods and formed guerrilla bands to defend themselves from the tribute and captive raids of the marauding nobles. Modeled after the military orders of the nobility, these companies were a prominent feature of the disturbances of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. They are first mentioned in the prophecy of Ahau Pech in 4 Ahau: Ants, Many Skunks, Hanging Rabbits, Cowbirds, Magpies, Blackbirds, and Mice.

As sun priest and Spokesman, apparently at Teabo, Ahau Pech predicted the demise of these orders in 4 Ahau, but he must have got his glyphs

shuffled. Atikuhe also seated this *katun*, and heart sacrifices are mentioned for 1485 in connection with the calendar round ceremonies (Oc Na) at Mayapan. Although Mayapan had already fallen, it was not until this *katun* that it was destroyed, according to the Tizimin.

Sixteenth Century. *Katun* 2 Ahau opened in 1500 with a great hurricane and fire, and in 1516 there was a plague. The latter, tersely described as a fever (*kakil*), may have been a consequence of the first contacts with the Spaniards. The celebrated encounter between Columbus and a boatload of Maya on the high seas in the preceding *katun* is not mentioned in any of the *Books*. But Spanish *entradas* began in earnest in 2 Ahau: Aguilar in 1507, Valdivia in 1511, Ponce de León in 1513, Córdoba in 1517, Grijalva in 1518, and Cortés in 1519. The arrival of Ponce de León appears to be recognized and correctly dated in line 140. Other apparent references to dates in this *katun* are, however, erroneous because they are stated in the Valladolid calendar: when corrected they prove to be later. The *katun* was seated at Chacal Na and also at Cozumel. The sermon of the *katun* by its Spokesman, Puc Tun, is brief and vague, but dire.

The final *katun* in the Itza *may*, 13 Ahau, was a turbulent and eventful period. At least four towns (Cozumel, Kin Colah Peten, Euan, and Coba) tried to seat the *katun*, clear enough evidence of the continuing chaos left by the fall of Mayapan. The sermon of the Spokesman, Xopan Nahuat, predicts the imminent arrival of the Spaniards (no great trick, as they had already arrived) and attempts to relate it to the origin myth of the Xiu, "The Birth of the Flowers."

In 1526 Francisco de Montejo landed on the east coast with the intent of initiating the long, hard conquest of Yucatan. Three years later a new calendar round began, coinciding with the mid-*katun* ceremonies and further exacerbating the political troubles, since this was the moment for designating the Jaguar for the next *katun*.

Matters came to a head in 1536. Because of a drought in the province of Tutul Xiu (according to the Mani), the governor of Mani, Pot Xiu, decided to lead a water pilgrimage to Chichen Itza. He was accompanied by his lieutenant, Kin Chi, and eleven other lords from adjacent towns: Iban Can of Tekit, Pa Cab of Oxlutzcab, Kan Caba of Panabchen, Ku Pul of Sacalum, Nahuat of Teabo, Ul Uac Chan of Cauich, Zon Ceh of P'en Cuyut, Ahau Tuyu of Muna, Xulcum Che of Tipikal, Tu Cuch of Mama, and Zit Couat of Chumayel. As a water priest (*pul ha*) and as a pilgrim, Pot Xiu (and his companions) should have been secure enough, and he had been assured of a safe-conduct by Chi Cocom, governor of Otmal. However, when they reached Otmal, the whole party was seized and murdered. This was on February 2, 1536 (Craine and Reindorp 1979: 77, note 60). The Mayan date was a calculated insult. It fell on 9 Imix, the day after 8 Ahau, the traditional end of the Xiu cycle, and hence it was a direct assertion of the Itza intention of seating their own cycle, which they did, three years later.

It must be remembered too that the Spanish had reached Campeche the year before and that Pot Xiu's father, Tutul Xiu, was their first important convert. He had even headed a delegation of most of these same lords to

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meet Chi Cocom at Sotuta to try to persuade him to accept Spanish rule. Mani was all the more incensed at the governor's murder.

On August 27, 1537, another thirteen lords of Mani got together to plan their revenge. According to the Chumayel, they were Ah Mo, Chan Xiu, Ahau Ez, Ah Tz'iu of Chi Nab, Pot Cupul, Pot Che, Batun Itza, E Uan of Cocel, Chan Uc of Tz'ibil Kak, U Can of Ekob, Chi Uc of Kul Koh, Chan Motul, and Ahau Coy. Whether anything came of this planning does not appear, but the battle between the Xiu and the Itza was clearly joined, the Xiu siding with the Spanish against the pagan Itza.

The Xiu were sufficiently moved by the murder of Pot Xiu and his companions that they made heroes of all of them, using their portraits and names as the lords of the thirteen *katuns* in the Mani and Kaua (Craine and Reindorp 1979: 77 ff.).

But the most important event of 13 Ahau was its ending. This was scheduled to fall on 11.16.0.0.0 13 Ahau 8 Xul, November 3, 1539 (Julian), in the Tikal calendar. The Mayan year began on 11 lx 1 Pop (July 21) in the new Mayapan calendar, which was formally inaugurated by the Itza at Mayapan on 11 Ahau 7 Uo (August 16). The Xiu started their ceremonies a month later in Merida on 3 Oc 17 Tzec (September 15), focusing on the terminal date of the old *katun*. In the new calendar this was 13 Ahau 8 Xul (November 3). Their ceremonial program went on until 1 Cimi 13 Ch'en (January 9, 1540), according to the Tizimin. The Xiu ceremonial of the *may* for the inauguration of 11 Ahau has already been described. It included the historical drama "The Fall of Mayapan." We do not possess a description of the Itza ceremonial.

The conquest of the Maya took a long time. In a sense it is still going on. But *katun* 11 Ahau was the *katun* of the conquest par excellence. It was nicknamed the Flower *katun* as a euphemism for the fact that it was a period of war. The Spanish reached Heaven Born Merida (which was now the seat of the *may* as well as of the *katun*) in 1540 and "founded" it as a Spanish city the following year. The founding of the cathedral in Merida is duly noted. Yax Chac was Jaguar at Merida, but Zulim Chan was the Itza Jaguar at Emal, and Colox Peten (Kin Colah Peten?) also claimed to seat the *katun*. The Spokesman at Merida at the beginning of 11 Ahau was Tzin Yabun the Younger, and his sermon (which is garbled and fragmentary in chapter 12) is given clearly in chapter 13: it is ro-tundly pro-Christian and antipagan.

According to the Chumayel, tribute and forced labor were established and the province of Chikin Ch'el was subdued in 1542, and this was confirmed in a treaty (*concierto*) of 1543. Baptisms began in 1544. What the Spanish perceived as the Great Mayan Revolt of 1545 to 1546 passes unnoticed in the Chumayel. Reference is made to the devastating conquest of Uaymil and Chetumal in 1546 and 1547 (line 2431).

The coming of the missionaries (the fathers of our souls) was correctly perceived by the Maya as an important event. The "arrival of Christianity" is usually placed in 1546, the date the Franciscans reached Campeche. They got to Mani in 1548, to Merida, Conkal, and Izamal in 1549 (line 2347), and to Valladolid in 1552. At least in Merida and Mani, the fathers

almost immediately began to instruct the Maya in Spanish, Latin, and alphabetic literacy, and before the end of the *katun* (by 1556 in fact) their students were producing Mayan chronicles in Latin letters (see chapter 14). There can be no question but that hieroglyphic literacy and Long Count dating were still intact as the *katun* ended on 11.17.0.0.0: the text says so (line 2496).

Although the Maya recorded (if incompletely) their early brushes with the Christians in 2 Ahau, the genesis of pro- and anti-Christian polarization in 13 Ahau, and their first encounters with missionaries in 11 Ahau, they generally regarded 9 Ahau as the period of the "coming of Christianity." The *katun* was seated at Merida and Teabo in 1559. The Jaguar at Merida is named as Ul Uac in the Kaua and as Uac Nal in the Tizimin; his Spokesman was Kauil Ch'el, whose sermon (chapter 21) is a lament over Itza factionalism.

The Chumayel references are oblique, but they are almost certainly allusions to the actions of Diego de Landa, whose auto-da-fé in Mani in 1562 (the famous "Burning of the Books") appears to have made a deep impression on the Maya, even though it is not directly described in the Chumayel. The period is remembered as one of sprinklings and hangings (baptisms and inquisitional tortures: the victims were suspended by their armpits or feet to encourage confessions of heresy). When Francisco de Toral arrived as bishop of Yucatan in 1564 and suspended Landa's Inquisition, the Maya had good reason to remember him—and did so.

The coming of the Virgin of Izamal is recorded as July 11, 1568, in the middle of this *katun*. By that time, Landa was back in Spain writing his *Relación* and defending himself from charges of having exceeded his authority. He was exonerated and returned to Yucatan as bishop in 1573. The Chumayel does not record any of this, though it does note his death at the beginning of the following *katun*. An extremely important consequence of Landa's trial was the removal of the Indians from the jurisdiction of the Holy Inquisition.

Yax Chac of Merida seated 7 Ahau for the Xiu, and Chu Uah seated it at Mayapan for the Itza. The calendar round of 1581 passes unremarked. The *katun* was distinguished by the outbreak of the Bech' Kab war, a bitter civil struggle that seems to have dominated the period. No details are given. At some point during the *katun*, Yax Chac was replaced by Amayte Kauil. The peasant military companies were again active, particularly the Strong Skunks, Jaguar Possums, Jaguar Foxes, Deer, and Rabbits, according to the Tizimin. A congress of sages was held in Merida under Amayte Uitz. It was attended by both Xiu and Itza, but it appears to have been unable to bring peace (see the Tizimin).

5 Ahau was seated at Merida January 1, 1599 (Gregorian). Amayte Kauil continued as Jaguar. The Itza seated Puz Hom at Zotz'il, east of Tizimin. (He was later replaced by Kaua Hom.) And the war went on. The military companies (Possums, Foxes, Bedbugs, Suckers, Earth Lions) were active in both eastern and western Yucatan, as peasants and merchants united in their opposition to paying double tribute—to the Spanish and to the Mayan lords.

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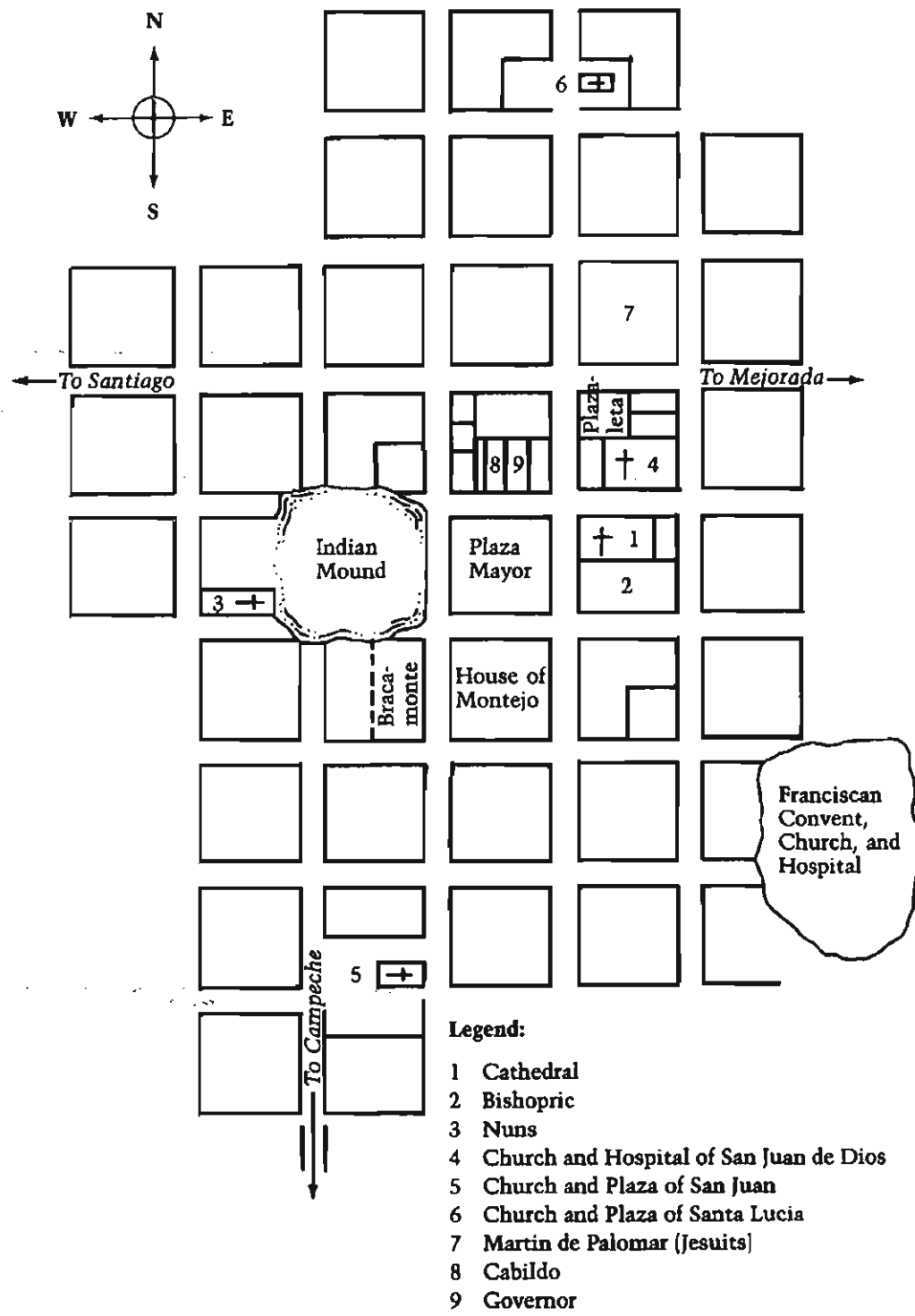
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Merida at the end of the sixteenth century. After Hunt 1974.

The Chumayel reports the completion of the cathedral of Merida in 1598 (line 5208) and takes the occasion to insert a chronicle (chapter 27) reviewing the history of the Spanish conquest and demanding an end to Spanish tribute in accordance with the treaty of 1543. The Spanish are blamed for tribute, hangings, plague, and the destruction of 13 cities—Valladolid, Coba, Chichen Itza, Uxmal, Cib, Kabah, Zayi, Pakam, Hom Tun, Ake, Ake Gate, Emal, and Izamal. The Itza are blamed for continuing to oppose Christianity, thus giving the Spanish a pretext for continuing to punish the innocent Xiu along with the guilty Itza. But, if the Itza are bad, the Spanish are worse: "Indeed the Itza could come here three times over for one occurrence of aliens" (lines 2899–2900).

Seventeenth Century. Toward the end of the *katun* the military companies appear to have been brought under control, possibly by calling in assistance from Uaymil. Hol Och and Xaclam Pat and perhaps other leaders were captured, and there are references to sacrifice. They may actually have been sacrificed: the end of 5 Ahau was a splendid occasion.

The dawn of 3 Ahau in 1618 coincided with an even *baktun*: 12.0.0.0.0. It was therefore ushered in at Merida by the twenty-act ceremonial of the *baktun*, which is described in detail in chapter 29 (and has been summarized above). Competent hieroglyphic writing probably lasted this long (see line 5289), and the Long Count calendar certainly did.

Coc Ay was seated as the Xiu Jaguar in Merida, and another Coc Ay was the Itza Jaguar at Zuyua. The Xiu sermon of the *katun* predicts a flood and the conversion of the Itza, even though the Spokesman who presumably delivered it is identified as an Antichrist. The military companies were still active enough that the leaders of three of them (the Ants, Jaguars, and Locusts) were captured and sacrificed by nine rain priests—identified as Bol Ay, Pat Ay, Thul Caan, Bohol Caan, Ch'uhum Caan, Caan Il, Kuch Caan, Thel En, and Ceh Il—presumably impersonating the 9 Gods. The new calendar round began in 1633 (line 1247), overshadowed perhaps by the *baktun* ceremonial that began the *katun*.

Toward the end of the *katun* (or perhaps at the mid-*katun* ceremonies, as would have been more proper), a colorful character named Caesar Augustus registered his "request," his claim to the Jaguar priesthood of Merida in 1 Ahau, and Ol Zip of Emal announced the same intention for the Itza priesthood. Both encountered opposition.

1 Ahau was seated in 1638 at Merida by Amayte Kauil, according to the Mani, and by Puc Ol at Emal, according to the Chumayel. The Spokesman at Emal was Ual Ac (or Ual Icim in the Tizimin). Later, however, Ol Zip succeeded in becoming Jaguar at Emal—a politically significant development, as he had converted to Christianity in 1611. His Spokesman was apparently Ol Ha.

It was a disturbed *katun*, marked by war, plague (1652), and famine (1654–1658). Early in the period (1644?), Ol Zip was overthrown by Hun Pic, who in turn was replaced (1651?) by Can Ul. The military companies were on the move again [Many Skunks, Hanging Rabbits, Foxes, and Flags], and, again early in the *katun*, Caesar Augustus added to the confusion by seizing the priesthood at Merida and heading what sounds like a

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The curious and anachronistic sermon of the *katun* (chapter 34) brings in the shadowy figures of Antonio Martínez and Saúl (who really belong in the nineteenth century, along with their frigates and the War of Havana that are also mentioned), but its content suggests the message of Caesar Augustus: an all-out drive to Christianize the Itza. Chichen Itza and Zuyua are specifically mentioned. The pressure produced by this movement spurred a counterreaction, apparently begun at Tihosuco, which was called the Chan War and had as its objective the recapture of Valladolid, Emal, and Uaymil from the Christian party. In this it was successful, and the anti-Christians seated the following *katun* at Valladolid.

The career of Caesar Augustus marks the last gasp of the mystique of the *katun* in Merida, and 1 Ahau was the last *katun* that it claimed to seat. However, even though they were slowly being Christianized, the Itza continued the *katun* system for another two hundred years.

Yax Chuen was seated as Jaguar of 12 Ahau at Valladolid in 1658. This is the only *katun* in the history of Yucatan which is frankly admitted to be "good." The military companies were finally brought under control and disappeared from history. (The Foxes, Earth Lions, Hanging Rabbits, Flags, Lions, Weasels, and Turtles are all mentioned as being finished off, either in the Chumayel or in the Tizimin.) There is some indication that Yax Chuen achieved all this through a policy of democratization: the lords and priests made common cause with the curers and other commoners, putting an end to the class warfare that had previously precluded unity. Yax Chuen also sounded a note which will be heard increasingly in the future—to the effect that the Itza are the real Christians. Temporarily the war was over. Uuc Uitz and Chac Ek were designated as Jaguar and Spokesman of the next *katun*, but there is no evidence that they ever took office. A hurricane of 1665 is said to have killed Father Agustín Gómez. It is not clear where.

Mayan nativism, as represented by the tradition of the Itza, moved increasingly eastward, became increasingly Christian, but clung doggedly to the traditional calendar and its rites. *Katun* 10 Ahau was seated in 1677 at Chable (which I believe to have been at or near Felipe Carrillo Puerto), with Uat Hom as Jaguar, according to the Chumayel. (The other *Books* say it was Lahun Chan, presumably an heir of the Chan War of forty years earlier.) Eight years later the calendar round began, and there are suggestions that sacrifices were held, possibly of animals.

Eighteenth Century. 8 Ahau was reseated at Chable in 1697. Amayte Kauil was installed as Jaguar. A plague described as fever rash (*zan kak*) occurred in 1709. The Chumayel contains no *katun* history for this period or for the one that followed. (6 Ahau was seated by Kak Mo at Teabo in 1717, according to the Tizimin.) Sometime during 8 Ahau another summary chronicle was composed (chapter 37), apparently at Tixkokob. It is confused by an anachronistic use of the Valladolid calendar attributable to some later eighteenth-century copyist, who may also have been responsible for copying chapter 27. Indeed, chapter 37 could be regarded as simply an updating of chapter 27.

The longest *katun* in Mayan history was 4 Ahau, seated at Teabo in 1737 and not ended until 1776. The Tizimin tells us that Mac Chahom was seated as Jaguar. The *katun* was also seated at Bacalar in the south and Tan Hom in the west. A courier was sent out from Merida to order the suspension of the Itza tribute collected in the name of Chichen Itza, and things looked bleak for the Itza: it was only two *katuns* to the end of the Itza *may*.

A solution was found: change the calendar! The result was the Valladolid calendar, inaugurated in 1752, five years before 4 Ahau was due to end, but apparently decided upon at the mid-*katun* ceremonies five years before that (line 5330). The beginning of 4 Ahau coincided with the beginning of the calendar round in 1737. That was enough in itself to make this a portentous *katun*, and it is likely that heart sacrifices were made at the ceremonies inaugurating the *katun* (line 5326).

Proposed or at least backed by Pat Ay, the new calendar set up a *may* of twenty-four *katuns* of twenty-four *habs* each, thus putting a definitive end to the Long Count (*baktun*) dating system but also bringing the Mayan calendar into a much closer and equally permanent relationship to the Christian one. Henceforth the Mayan *katun* would always begin (as it did "accidentally" in 1752) on the second day of the Mayan year and (barring leap years) on the same European date. (This is also the last *katun* that gives evidence of glyphic writing.)

So it was ordained that Op Ik would be designated Jaguar at Valladolid for 2 Ahau at the mid-*katun* ceremonies of 1747 [at Teabo?] and that *katun* 4 Ahau would be reinaugurated at the three-quarter *katun* ceremonies of 1752. We know nothing of the later history of this *katun*, but the prominence of this calendar in the Chumayel implies its acceptance by the Xiu. (The noteworthy nativistic movement of Jacinto Canek at Cisteil in 1761 is not registered in any of the *Books*.)

As scheduled, 2 Ahau was seated by Op Ik at Valladolid in 1776, and Valladolid became the seat of the *may* as well as of the *katun*. To underline the importance of the occasion, the Chumayel records the highly syncretistic myth "The Sevenfold Creation" (chapter 41), which is relatively traditionalistic, but then counters this with a final attack on the sins of the Itza (chapter 42) and a completely orthodox (and probably non-Indian) sermon on the Last Judgment (chapter 43). In chapter 44 there is a note of a hurricane on August 18, 1766 (line 6152), and a plague at Chumayel on January 20, 1782 (line 6160).

Nineteenth Century. Chapter 45 provides a *katun* history of 13 Ahau (1800–1824). It is almost entirely *pro forma*, seating the *katun* at Coba under Kin Chil, just as in the preceding 13 Ahau, and referring to Yax Chac, the Jaguar of 11 Ahau (1539), as well as to Itzam Na and Itzam Tzab. Presumably this was the occasion for the last performance of the ceremonial of the *may*, and the anachronistic references may be to that performance. There is insistent reference to a solar eclipse—in 1834, according to the Tizimin, and indeed a partial eclipse would perhaps have been visible in Yucatan on November 30 of that year (see Oppolzer 1887:

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292–293]. The word of the *katun* is a fifty-year famine, which would have covered the first half of the nineteenth century. Perhaps it did.

The sketchy ritual references of chapter 45 do not match the fuller ones of chapter 46, which reports the seating of Onetzihuitl as Jaguar, ostensibly at Tizimin. Possibly two different performances of the ceremonial of the *may* come into play. Eight of the thirteen acts are described, and act 17 gives the historical and commemorative drama of Antonio Martínez in some detail, including dialogue. Unlike the other historical dramas in the Chumayel, this one cannot be pinned down in time—Antonio Martínez remains unidentified. Many of the details, in fact, appear to be entirely contemporary, belonging to *katun* 11 Ahau (1824–1848) and not “historical” at all. The prophet Antonio Martínez identifies himself as Jesus Christ and offers to lead a fleet of frigates against the French and the king of Havana in order to guarantee the Christianization of the Itza and the acceptance of the “six-part bull,” suspending tribute in accordance with the treaty of 1543 (in the previous 11 Ahau, three hundred years earlier). His arrival is predicted for 1838 and the suspension of tribute for 1843, which can hardly be accidental.

The chronology of the passage is further confused by the retroactive insertion of Antonio Martínez, Saúl, their frigates, and the War of Havana into the *katun* history for 1 Ahau (1638), exactly two hundred years earlier. The tale of Antonio Martínez must belong to the earlier part of 11 Ahau, since Pío Pérez transcribed it from the Mani in 1837. The bull suspending tribute may be anything from the Cortes of Cadiz in 1806 to the Revolution for Independence, which ended the *may* as 11 Ahau began in 1824.

The last *katun* mentioned in the Chumayel is 9 Ahau, which began in 1848. Again, it can hardly be coincidence that this marks the outbreak of the Caste War at Tihosuco, Ichmul, Valladolid, and Tizimin—all late Itza centers (Reed 1964). The word *katun* not only meant ‘two dozen years,’ it also meant ‘war’. And there are Maya who are still aware that 1980 was the twelfth year of 12 Ahau. At Xcacal the *Books of Chilam Balam* are still read publicly each year (Burns 1980: 6). It is ominous that both the year 2000 and the next *baktun* and calendar round endings fall in the coming *katun* 8 Ahau.

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THE EIGHTH CENTURY

6 Ahau

1. The First Chronicle

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(74) 9: U kahlay*	The account
U xocan katunob uchc i	Of the counted <i>katuns</i>
U chictahal u chi ch'een ytza	Of the appearance of the Chichen Itza
U chi lae	Says this.
Lay tz'iban	5 This has been written
Ti cab lae*	In this country—
Uchebal	What may have happened,
Y oheltabal	What may be known
T u men hij mac y olah	By anyone who may sense
Y ohelta	10 And may understand
U xocol	The counting
Katun lae.	Of the <i>katun</i> .
9.14.0.0.0 VI. Uac ahau uchc i*	In 6 Ahau occurred
U chictahal u chi ch'een ytza*	The appearance of the Chichen Itza.
IIII. Can ahau lae	15 4 Ahau then,
II. Cabil ahau	2 Ahau,
XIII. Oxlahun ahau tzolc i	And 13 Ahau was the ordering
Pop	Of the mat.

1. For a list of the numerous published translations of this chapter, see the concordance in appendix A. The text is punctuated occasionally, as in this line, by a kind of rubric or paragraph mark resembling nine colon (9:).

6. Roys 1967: 135 has 'for the town', apparently reading *cah* for *cab*.

13. The Mayan text gives the coefficients of the *katuns* in roman numerals. Note the archaic listing of IIII for IV in line 15.

14. Roys 1967: 135 translates *chictahal* as 'discovery'. The form is causative from the root *chic* 'appear', hence the sense is 'the causing to appear'.

The chronology of this chapter has been subject to various interpretations, thus displacing the sketchily related events over many centuries of European time. Because the Maya believed that each *katun* cycle predicted all the others, they often repeated the same cycle with slightly varying details. The present chronicle contains one such repetition [see note 103]. Taking this into account, the first date mentioned would be *katun* 6 Ahau ending on 9.14.0.0.0 (711). Even so, I doubt that any of the events chronicled can be accepted as actually historical before the tenth-century *katun* 8 Ahau ending on 10.6.0.0.0 (948). The present passage remains important as a mythological status claim that the Itza seated the cycle at Chichen Itza in the seventh century. For a description of the ruins of Chichen Itza, see Tozzer 1941: 173ff.

	XI. Buluc ahau		11 Ahau,		Cahan c
	IX. Bolon ahau	20	9 Ahau,		Ti y c
	VII. Uuc ahau		7 Ahau,		Lay li u
	V. Hoo ahau		5 Ahau,		Binci
	III. Ox ahau		3 Ahau,		Y alan cl
	I. Hun ahau		1 Ahau,		Y alai
	XII. Lahca ahau	25	12 Ahau,		Y alan a
	X. Lahun ahau		10 Ahau.		Ti nu
10.6.0.0.0	Uaxac ahau paxc i		8 Ahau it was destroyed,	11.0.0.0.0	VI. Uac
	U chi ch'een ytza uch i*		The Itza's Chichen: so it was.		III. C
	Oxlahun uutz' katun ca cah i		Thirteen folds of <i>katuns</i> they resided		II. Cabil
	Chakan putun*	30	At Champoton,		XIII. C
	Ti y otoch ob		Which was their home		XI. Bulu
	U katunil		In this <i>katun</i> cycle.		IX. B
10.7.0.0.0	VI. Uac ahau		6 Ahau.		VII. Uuc
	III. Can ahau chucc i		4 Ahau and it was conquered,		V. He
	U lumil	35	The land,		III. Ox a
	T u men ob chakan putun*		By those of Champoton.		I. Hui
	II. Cabil ahau		2 Ahau,		XII. Lah
	XIII. Oxlahun ahau		13 Ahau,		X. La
	XI. Buluc ahau		11 Ahau,	11.12.0.0.0	VIII. Uax
	(75) IX. Bolon ahau	40	9 Ahau,		Ah yi
	VII. Uuc ahau		7 Ahau,		Ti y oto
	V. Hoo ahau		5 Ahau,		T u n
	III. Ox ahau		3 Ahau,		Ceel
	I. Hun ahau		1 Ahau,		T u mer
	XII. Lahca ahau	45	12 Ahau,		Y ete
	X. Lahun ahau		10 Ahau.		Oxlahur
10.19.0.0.0	VIII. Uaxac ahau paxc i*		8 Ahau were destroyed		Ca pa
	Chakan putunob		Those of Champoton		Ceel
	T u men ob ah ytza uinicob		By the men of the Itza,		T u mer
	Ca tali ob	50	Who came away	11.0.0.0.0	VI. Uac
	U tzac l e u y otochob*		And cursed their homes		III. C
	T u ca ten		Again.		U luumi
	Oxlahun uutz'		Thirteen folds		Maya
	U katunil		Of the <i>katun</i> cycle		T u mer
					Likul

28. Roys 1967: 136 omits *u*: the text clearly specifies the well mouth (*chi ch'een*) of the Itza. The "destruction" of the cycle seat at the end of the cycle may have been largely ritual.

30. *Chakan putun* 'plain of the Chontal' or 'of the *putun* chiles' is probably the modern Champoton, a likely route of migration for the Itza from the Chontal territories farther west in Tabasco and Chiapas.

36. That is, by the Itza of Champoton.

47. I do not know why Roys 1967: 136 and elsewhere consistently translates *pax* as 'abandon'. The usual meaning is 'break, destroy'. This date brings us to *katun* 8 Ahau on 10.19.0.0.0 (1204).

51. Roys 1967: 136 translates *tzac* as 'seek'. I don't know why.

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Cahan ob chakan putunob
Ti y otoch ob
Lay li u katunil
Binci ob ah ytzaob
Y alan che
Y alan haban
Y alan ak
Ti num ya ob lae
11.0.0.0.0 VI. Uac ahau
III. Can ahau
II. Cabil ahau
XIII. Oxlahun ahau
XI. Buluc ahau
IX. Bolon ahau
VII. Uuc ahau
V. Hoo ahau
III. Ox ahau
I. Hun ahau
XII. Lahca ahau
X. Lahun ahau
11.12.0.0.0 VIII. Uaxac ahau paxc i*
Ah ytza uinicob
Ti y otoch ob t u ca ten
T u men u keban than Hunac
Ceel
T u men u uahal uahob*
Y etel ah ytzmal
Oxlahun uutz' u katunil cahan ob
Ca paxi ob t u men Hunnac
Ceel
T u men u tz'abal
U nat ob ah ytzaob lae*
11.0.0.0.0 VI. Uac ahau
III. Can ahau chucc i
U luumil ich paa
Mayapan
T u men ah ytza uinicob
Likul ob ti y otoch ob

55 The Champotons lived
In their homes.
For that was the *katun* period
When the Itza went away
Under the trees,
60 Under the bushes,
Under the vines,
Which was their suffering here.
6 Ahau,
4 Ahau,
65 2 Ahau,
13 Ahau,
11 Ahau,
9 Ahau,
7 Ahau,
70 5 Ahau,
3 Ahau,
1 Ahau,
12 Ahau,
10 Ahau.
75 8 Ahau were destroyed
The men of the Itza
In their homes again
Because of the sinful words of
Hunac Ceel,
Because of his making tortillas
80 With those of Izamal.
Thirteen folds of the *katun* they
stayed
And were destroyed by Hunac Ceel
Because of his giving up
The understanding with the Itzas.
85 6 Ahau.
4 Ahau it was conquered,
The land inside the walls
Of Mayapan,
Because the Itza men
90 Arose from their homes

75. This brings us to *katun* 8 Ahau ending on 11.12.0.0.0 (1461), the period of the fall of Mayapan.

79. Roys 1967: 136 and Barrera 1948: 63 accept Brinton's translation of *uahal uah* as 'banquet'. I believe it is an idiom for 'conspire' and is thus parallel to the 'sinful words' of the preceding line. According to the Tizimin, Hunac Ceel, who was governor of Uxmal, conspired with a usurping governor of Izamal, Can Ul, to destroy the League of Mayapan.

84. Roys 1967: 137 has 'because of the giving of the questionnaire of the Itzá'. I think the sense is that Hunac Ceel broke the Itza treaty that had been the basis of the joint Xiu-Itza government of Mayapan. The Mani specifies that the plot came to a head in 1451 [Craine and Reindorp 1979: 139].

T u menel ah ytzmalob	Because of the Izamals—	
T u men u keban than Hunnac	Because of the sinful words of	
Ceel lae	Hunac Ceel.	
(76) II. Cabil ahau	2 Ahau,	
XIII. Oxlahun ahau	13 Ahau,	
XI. Buluc ahau	95 11 Ahau,	
IX. Bolon ahau	9 Ahau,	
VII. Uuc ahau	7 Ahau,	
V. Hoo ahau	5 Ahau,	
III. Ox ahau	3 Ahau,	
I. Hun ahau	100 1 Ahau,	
XII. Lahca ahau	12 Ahau,	
X. Lahun ahau	10 Ahau.	
11.12.0.0.0 VIII. Uaxac ahau uchci i *	8 Ahau there occurred	
Puch' tun	The stoning	
Ych paa	105 Inside the fort	
Mayapan	Of Mayapan,	
T u men u pach paa	Because it was behind the ramparts,	
U paah tulum	Behind the walls,	
T u men mul tepal *	Because of crowd rule	
Ych cah mayapan lal lae	110 Inside the city of Mayapan there.	
VI. Uac ahau	6 Ahau.	
IIII. Can ahau uchci ma ya	4 Ahau there occurred painless	
cimlal *	death;	
Uchci oc na	There occurred the Entering of the	
	House,	
Kuchil ych paa *	Appearing in the fort.	
Cabil ahau uchci kakil	115 2 Ahau there occurred the fire	
Noh kakil e *	And the great fever.	
11.16.0.0.0 XIII. Oxlahun ahau cimci ah pul a	13 Ahau the water priest died,	
Uac p'el hab u binel	Six years before there came	

103. The preceding lines (93 through 103) repeat the dates of the preceding cycle, so we come again to 11.12.0.0.0 (1461). Hunac Ceel and seven other lords with Nahuatl names seized the walls of Mayapan and expelled the Itza, who then counterattacked and tore down the walls.

109. Roys 1967: 137 reads *mul tepal* as 'joint government'. I would expect *et tepal* or *et ahaulil* for that, and I think my quite literal translation makes more sense in the context.

112. Roys 1967: 138 reads *maya cimlal* as a reference to pestilence. It could be read as 'Maya death'. Barrera 1948: 65 reads it as 'sudden death'. I believe it to be a reference to sacrifice and have so interpreted it throughout. I believe the reference is to the beginning of the calendar round in 1493 in the Tikal calendar.

114. Roys 1967: 138 and Barrera 1948: 65 have 'the vultures entered the houses' and Roys comments that Mayapan was already destroyed. The Tizimin agrees that Mayapan fell in 8 Ahau but asserts that its destruction was not complete until 4 Ahau. Oc Na 'entering the house' was the name of the calendar round ceremony (Tozzer 1941: 161) and *kuchil* means 'appearance' as well as 'buzzard-kind'.

116. Roys 1967: 138 interprets this as smallpox, which is possible at this date. I think *kakil* may reasonably be read either as 'fever' or as 'conflagration'. See Tozzer 1941: 40, note 1.

U xocol i

Caanil

lakin *

He tun te

Katun

Hun hix c

Ca tac

Bolon yrr

U kinil

Ah pul a

Na po

T u habil

158 ai

XI. Buluc

Kul uir

U yahtal

Ca hul

U yax ch

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C oon

Maya t

T u habil

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9 Imix in

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U xocol haab ti lakín c uchi e

Caanil Kan cumlahci pop ti
lakín*

He tun te na cici pahool*

Katun haab

Hun hix çip*

Ca tac ox p'el i

Bolon ymix hi

U kinil lay cimc i

Ah pul a lae

Na pot xiu

T u habil Do.

158 años

XI. Buluc ahau hulci ob

Kul uinicob ti lakín*

U yahtal*

Ca hul ob

U yax chun

Uay tac luumil

C oon

Maya uinic e

T u habil Do.

1513 años*

The occurrence of the year count in
the east.

120 4 Kan was the seating of Pop in the
east.

Consequently it was a very bad

Year of war,

And 15 Zip

Was nearly the third.

125 9 Imix in fact

Was the time he died,

The water priest

Pot Xiu,

In the year period of our lord

130 Of the year 158.

11 Ahau there arrived

The god people from the east.

Those who came

And arrived

135 Were the first founders

Of these lands

Of us

Mayan people

In the year of our lord

140 1513.

120. This correctly identifies the date of the end of *katun* 13 Ahau in the year 11 Ix (1539), six years before the year 4 Kan (1545). The exact date of the water priest's death is given in line 125, and it is within 13 Ahau.

The manner of expressing this date merits comment. Before 1539 the Maya were using the classical Tikal calendar (Edmonson 1976). After 1539 they used the colonial Mayapan calendar, which changed the yearbearers by two days. To facilitate calculating in the latter calendar, the author advances six years to a convenient Kan year (the senior yearbearer in the new system) and calculates backward. This led him (I can't follow quite how or why) to 9 Imix 3 Ceh, February 2, 1536. Because the Mayapan calendar numbers the days of the *uinal* from 1 through 20 while the Tikal calendar numbers them from 0 through 19 (and uses different yearbearers), the same date would have been 9 Imix 4 Ceh in the Tikal system. But it is explicit that the Mayapan calendar is intended because of the use of the colonial yearbearers. The Tikal yearbearers do not appear as such in any of the Books.

121. Roys omits this and the following line from his translation, though he quotes Martínez: *cesó de llevarse la cuenta del katun de los años* (Roys 1967: 138, note 3). I don't see how Martínez derived this from the text, though *katun* may refer either to twenty *tuns* or to war. Barrera 1948: 65 has *he aquí que yo hago la correlación precisa de los años del katun*.

123. Why he chooses 15 Zip is not clear to me. In 1545 that would be 6 Etz'nab, which is followed by 7 Cauac, 8 Ahau, and 9 Imix. He may have had some mnemonic for going from this to the 1536 yearbearer 8 Cauac and for locating 9 Imix in that year. If so, it is not the same as mine.

132. Roys 1967: 138 has 'mighty men'.

133. Roys 1967: 49, 138, note 4 gives the text as *y ah talzah ul* and follows Brinton and Martínez in reading *yah* as 'disease'.

140. Ponce de León reached northeast Yucatan in 1513.

(77) Bolon ahau hopci X β noil
Uchci ca put çihil e
Lay tal ychil u katunil hulci

Obispo tora ua xan e
Hauc i
Kuy tab e
T u habil Do.
1546 años.*
VII. Uuc ahau cimc i
Obispo de landa*
V. Hoo ahau
III. Ox ahau.

9 Ahau was when Christianity began;
There occurred being twice born.
That came in the *katun* period when
there arrived

Bishop Toral here also.
145 He ended
The hangings
In the year of our lord
1546.
In 7 Ahau there died
150 Bishop Landa.
5 Ahau,
3 Ahau.

148. Bishop Francisco de Toral arrived in 1562, which was in 9 Ahau. I think 1546 is a transposition of 1564, which is also in 9 Ahau. The Maya had good reason to be grateful to Toral for suspending Landa's Inquisition. (See an extensive account of the Landa-Toral feud in Tozzer 1941: 80-84.) The hangings were not a form of execution but rather of torture, though some victims died of them (Tozzer 1941: 79, note 340; 81, note 344).

150. Bishop Diego de Landa died April 29, 1579, in the first year of *katun* 7 Ahau.

4 Ahau

2. The Second Chronicle

9.15.0.0.0 (77) 9: Can ahau
U kaba katun
Uchc i
U çihil ob pauah aen*
C u huy
Ahauoob
9: Ox hun te
Ti katun lic u tepal ob
Lay u kaba ob
Ta muk u tepal ob lae

4 Ahau
Was the name of the *katun*
155 When there occurred
The births of the Giants
And the touring
Of the lords.
It was the thirteenth
160 Which was the *katun* when they
ruled.
That was their name
When they ruled there.

156. I agree with Roys 1967: 139 and Barrera 1948: 68, note 25 that the text here is probably corrupt. Roys reads *pauah emci u yahauob*. I read *pauah tun c u huy ahauob*. Roys footnotes A. T. Willard, who apparently reconstructed *pa ua ha en cah u y ahauob* and translated as 'those who had been destroyed by water . . . '.

10.8.0.0.0 9: Can
U ka

Noh h
Tz'e

9: Oxla
Ti k

Lic u te
Lic t

Tii uala
Oxli

11.1.0.0.0 9: Can
U ka

Uchc i
U ca

ytza
Tij utza

Maci
Can tzi

Can
Likul ti

Bini
Kul xar

Hun
He ix h

Hol
Ti chiki

Hok
Can he

Bolo

11.1.0.0.0 (78) 9:
U ka

166.
tz'e as'

Great I
172.

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Nahua
Chuma

At leas
Atikuh
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10.8.0.0.0 9: Can ahau
U kaba katun emci ob

Noh h emal
Tz'e emal u kaba ob*

9: Oxlahun te
Ti katun

Lic u tepal ob
Lic u kabatic ob

Tii ualac u cut ob
Oxlahun cuthi u cut ob lae*

11.1.0.0.0 9: Can ahau
U katunil

Uhc i
U caxantic ob u chi ch'een
ytza e*

Tij utzcinnab i
Mactzil ti ob t u men u yumoob e
Can tzuc lukci ob

Can tzucul cab u kaba ob*
Likul ti likin kin colah peten
Bini hun tzuc i*
Kul xaman na cocob hok

Hun tzucc i
He ix hoki hun tzuci e
Hol tun çuyua
Ti chikin
Hoki hun tzucci e
Can hek uitz
Bolon te uitz u kaba u luumil lae

11.1.0.0.0 (78) 9: Can ahau
U katunil

4 Ahau
Was the name of the *katun* they
descended.

165 The great descent,
The birth descent was their name.
The thirteenth it was,
Which was the *katun*
When they ruled,
170 When they were named,
Which was to raise their seating.
Thirteen seatings had been seated.

4 Ahau
Was the *katun* period,

175 And there occurred
The overthrow of Chichen of the
Itzas,
Which was achieved
By certain of them for their fathers.
Four Parts they raised:
180 Four-Part Country was their name.
Arising in the east, Kin Colah Peten
Became one part.
Arising in the north, Na Cocob
appeared
As one part.

185 And then there appeared one part
At Hol Tun Zuyua
In the west.

There appeared one part
At Can Hek Uitz:

190 Bolon Te Uitz was the name of that
land.

4 Ahau
Was the *katun* period

166. Roys 1967: 139, note 3 and Barrera 1948: 68 follow Lizana in interpreting *tz'e* as 'little' (normally *tz'etz'*). I have translated it literally. Lizana relates the Great Descent to the west, as more peoples came from there.

172. Literally 'thirteen had been seated of its seats'. Roys 1967: 139 has 'settlements', which is implied but not stated.

176. Roys 1967: 139 and Barrera 1948: 69 read *cax* as 'find'; I read it as 'overthrow'. Either is possible.

180. Unlike Roys 1967: 139, note 5 I believe that dividing by fives was the Nahua aberration. The present passage appears to me to be a western Xiu (e.g., Chumayel) attempt to legitimize a Toltec notion by Mayanizing it. It didn't work. At least three other towns claimed to seat the *katun* besides the four mentioned: Atikuhe, Chichen, and Teabo.

182. What I read as 'part', Roys 1967: 139 reads as 'came forth'. I don't know why. Barrera 1948: 69 reads 'group'.

Uchc i	When there occurred	
U payal ob t u can tzuccilob	Their separating into four parts.	
Can tzuc cul cab u kaba ob	195 The four seats of the land was their name	
Ca emi ob	When they came down,	
Ti yumtal ob	Who were to be made the fathers	
Ca emi ob	When they came down	
T u chi ch'een ytza e	To Chichen of the Itza.	
Ah ytza tun u kaba ob	200 Itza was then their name.	
Oxlahun te	At the thirteenth,	
Ti katun lic u tepal ob i	Which was the <i>katuns</i> they had ruled,	
Ca oc i	Then came	
U keban thanob i	The lies	
T u men Hun nac Ceel i	205 By Hunac Ceel.	
Ca pax i	Then were destroyed	
U cab ob	Their lands.	
Ca bini ob	Then they went	
Tan y oi che	To the heart of the forest,	
Tan xuluc mul u kaba*	210 Tan Xuluc Mul by name.	
11.14.0.0.0 Can ahau	4 Ahau	
U katunil	Was the <i>katun</i> period.	
Uchc i	Then occurred	
Y auat pixan ob i	The crying of their souls:	
Oxlahun te	215 The thirteenth,	
Ti katun	Which was the <i>katuns</i>	
Lic u tepal ob i	When they had ruled	
Y etel u num ya ob i	And suffered.	
10.19.0.0.0 Uaxac ahau	8 Ahau	
U katunil	220 Was the <i>katun</i> period	
Uchc i	It happened	
Y ulel ob	That they came,	
Y ala ob	The remainder	
Ah ytza u kaba ob	Of the Itzas by name.	
Ca ul ob	225 When they arrived,	
Tij ca ualac	That was when they were to raise	
U tepal ob	The reigns	
Chakan putun e*	Of Champoton.	
Oxlahun ahau	13 Ahau	
U katunil*	230 Was the <i>katun</i> period	

210. The implication is that while some of the Itza continued to be associated with Chichen and the eastern part of the peninsula, another group migrated south at the time of the fall of Mayapan to become the Itza of the Peten.

228. That is, it was the intent of the Peten Itza to repeat the cycle of Champoton (ending in 1204), which they proceeded to do.

230. The founding of Mayapan in 11.3.0.0.0 [1283] is not elsewhere noted or refuted.

U hetz
Cah
Mayap
May
11.12.0.0.0 Uaxac
U ca
Ca uec
Ti pe
Uac ka
Paxc
Ca hau
U m
11.17.0.0.0 Buluc a
U ka
U maya
Maya
Christia
T u l
Tzoma
Y ete

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249.

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Champoton

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U hetz'c ob
Cah
Mayapan
Maya uinic u kaba ob
11.12.0.0.0 Uaxac ahau paxc i
U cab ob i
Ca uecchah i
Ti peten t u lacal
Uac katun i
Paxci ob*
Ca hau i
U maya kaba ob
11.17.0.0.0 Buluc ahau u kaba
U katunil hauc i
U maya kaba ob
Maya uinic ob
Christiano u kaba ob
T u lacal u cuch cabal*
Tzoma Sanc Pedro*
Y etel Rey ah tepal e.

That they seated
The city
Of Mayapan.
They were named Mayan people.
235 8 Ahau they were destroyed,
Their lands.
Then they became scattered
Throughout the land.
After six *katuns*
240 They were destroyed.
They were ended,
The Maya by name.
11 Ahau was the name
Of the *katun* period that ended
245 The Maya by name,
The Mayan people.
They were named Christians,
And all the bearing of the lands
Was ordered by Saint Peter
250 And the King Emperor.

240. That is, from the fall of Mayapan until the founding of Spanish Merida.
248. 'Bearing the land' means owning it.
249. I read *tzolmal*.

THE TENTH CENTURY

12 Ahau

3. The Third Chronicle

	(78) U kahlay katunob u tial ah ytzaob Maya katun u kaba lae.	The count of the <i>katuns</i> for the Itzas; The cycle of the <i>katuns</i> is its name.
10.17.0.0.0	Y lahca ahau* Y lahun ahau Y uaxac ahau	12 Ahau, 10 Ahau,
11.0.0.0.0	Y uac ahau* Paxci ob Ah coni(l)* Y can ahau Y cabil ahau	255 8 Ahau. 6 Ahau Were destroyed Those of Conil. 4 Ahau,
	(79) Y oxlahun ahau Y buluc ahau Y bolon ahau Y uuc ahau	260 2 Ahau, 13 Ahau, 11 Ahau,
11.7.0.0.0	Y hoo ahau paxc i U cab y ahau ah ytzamal* Kin ich Kak moo* Y etel pop hol chan T u menel hun nac ceel	9 Ahau, 7 Ahau. 265 5 Ahau there was destroyed The land of the lord of the Izamal, The sun face Kak Mo, And Pop Hol the Younger 270 By Hunac Ceel.
11.9.0.0.0	Y ox ahau Y hun ahau	3 Ahau. 1 Ahau

253. Y could be Spanish 'and' but is more likely *y* for Mayan *y etel* 'and'.
 256. This would be the *katun* ending 11.0.0.0.0 (1224).
 258. Conil is twenty-five miles southwest of Cabo Cotoche.
 266. Roys 1967: 140 reads *cah* 'town' for *cab* 'land'.
 268. Kin Ich Kak Mo 'sun eye/face fire macaw' is interpreted as a god by Roys 1967, Barrera 1948, and a number of other people. The major surviving pyramid of Izamal still bears the name, which is also associated with Champoton and Coba. I believe that it was a prestige name borne by various people, in this case a lord of Izamal in 11.7.0.0.0 (1362). Hunac Ceel in the same sentence is a century too early to have been the author of the conspiracy of Mayapan, which poses a greater problem. The lineage names Kak and Mo appear elsewhere. Hunac and Ceel do not.

Paxc i
Yala
T u y c
Ych
Paxc i
U d
Y lahca
Y la
11.12.0.0.0 Y uaxa
U k
Hetz'c
Cab
Likul y
Y al
Tan xu
Ti li
Ca u h
Luu
Mayap
T u
11.12.0.0.0 Uaxac
U k
10.19.0.0.0 La ix t
Cin
Chaka
T u
Y etel
Y u:
276
Peten l
294
Peten l
Zac La
referru
230: "I
tan, Sa
Bacala
Caan (i
believe
know
299
usually
queror
Nahua
would
sulting
300

	Paxc i	Were destroyed
	Yala ah ytza t u chi ch'een	The remainder of the Itza at Chichen.
	T u y ox piz tun	275 On the third measured <i>tun</i>
	Ychil hun ahau*	In 1 Ahau
	Paxc i	Was the destruction
	U chi ch'een	Of those of Chichen.
	Y lahca ahau	12 Ahau,
	Y lahun ahau	280 10 Ahau.
11.12.0.0.0	Y uaxac ahau	8 Ahau
	U katunil	Was the <i>katun</i> period
	Hetz'c i	Of the seating
	Cab yala ah ytza	Of the land of the remainder of the Itzas,
	Likul y an che	285 Rising under the trees,
	Y alan haban	Under the bushes.
	Tan xuluc mul u kaba	Tan Xuluc Mul was its name,
	Ti likul ob	Which they raised
	Ca u hetz'ah ob	When they seated
	Luum çac lac tun	290 The land of the Plaza
	Mayapan u kaba	Called Cycle City,
	T u uuc piz tun	On the seventh measured <i>tun</i>
11.12.0.0.0	Uaxac ahau	Of 8 Ahau
	U katunil*	In the <i>katun</i> count.
10.19.0.0.0	La ix u katunil	295 And that was the <i>katun</i> count
	Cimc i	Of the death
	Chakan putun	Of Champoton
	T u men Kak u pacal	Because of Kak u Pacal,
	Y etel tecuilo e*	The sodomist.
	Y uac ahau*	300 6 Ahau,

276. The date was 1385. The "remainder" of the Itza appear to have been the Peten Itza, who were at odds with both the Itza of Chichen and the western Xiu.

294. This appears to date the founding of Tan Xuluc Mul as cycle seat of the Peten Itza in 1448, three years before the conspiracy of Mayapan came to a head. Zac Lac Tun 'white flat stone' was an honorific title of cycle seats, presumably referring to their plazas. [Compare Gaspar Antonio Chi, quoted in Tozzer 1941: 230: "Report of some of the customs . . . (of the people of the) province of Yucatan, Saclac(tun Mayapan). . ."] It is elsewhere applied to Mayapan, Valladolid, and Bacalar. Mayapan 'place of the well of the cycle' is similarly used, as are Ziyan Caan (Caan Zih) 'heaven born', Tan Cah 'front town', and Tan Tun 'front stone'. I believe the reference here is to Tan Xuluc Mul throughout, and not to the site we know as Mayapan. (See, however, Barrera 1948: 62, note 10.)

299. Kak u Pacal 'fire his glance' and Tecuilo (Nah. *tecuilonti* 'sodomist') are usually treated as two lords associated with Mayapan and said to be the conquerors of Izamal and Motul as well as Champoton (Roys 1967: 141, note 4). The Nahuatl name makes it unlikely that they were Itza as the *Relaciones de Yucatán* would have it. I know of no instance of an Itza with a Nahuatl name, even an insulting one. Barrera 1948: 72, note 29 relates *tecuilo* to *tecuilli* 'brazier'.

300. The *katun* count now repeats, starting over from 11.0.0.0.0.

for the Itzas;
s is its name.

ed
the Izamal,

'and'.

l by Roys
pyramid of
and Coba.
e a lord
tury
ases
nac and

Y can ahau	4 Ahau,
Y cabil ahau	2 Ahau,
Y oxlahun ahau	13 Ahau,
Y buluc ahau	11 Ahau,
Y bolon ahau	305 9 Ahau,
Y uuc ahau	7 Ahau.
11.7.0.0.0 Y hoo ahau ulc i	5 Ahau there came
Tz'ul chibil uinic	The foreigners who ate people,
Yx (80) ma pic tz'ul u kaba*	And Foreigners without Skirts was
	their name.
Ma paxi peten	310 The country was not conquered
T u menel ob i	By them.
Y ox ahau	3 Ahau.
11.9.0.0.0 Y hun ahau	1 Ahau
Paxc i	Was destroyed
Peten tan cah <i>mayapan</i> u kaba	315 The area of the capital, called Cycle
	City.
T u hun piz tun	On the first measured <i>tun</i>
Ychil hun ahau u katunil e	In 1 Ahau of the <i>katun</i> count
Lukc i	They removed
Halach uinic <i>tutul</i>	The governor Tutul
Y etel u ba tabil ob cab e	320 And his captains of the land
Y etel can tzuc cul cab ob e*	And the four-division seats of the land.
Lay u katunil	That was the <i>katun</i> period
Paxc i	When they destroyed
Uincob tan cah	The people of the capital.
Ca uecchahi ob	325 Then they scattered
U ba tabil ob cab e	Their captains of the land.
11.10.0.0.0 Y lahca ahau te ch'ab i	12 Ahau then got
Otzmal u tunil e*	Otzmal its <i>tun</i> period.
Y lahun ahau te ch'ab i	10 Ahau then got
Çiçal u tinil e	330 Zizal its <i>tun</i> period.
Y uaxac ahau te ch'ab i	8 Ahau then got
Kan caba u tunil e	Kan Cab A its <i>tun</i> period.
Y uac ahau te ch'ab i	6 Ahau then got
Hun nac thi u tunil e	Hunac Thi its <i>tun</i> period.
Y can ahau te ch'ab i	335 4 Ahau then got
A ti kuh e u tuni lae	Atikuhe its <i>tun</i> period.

309. Brinton and Martínez believed these nude cannibals to have been Caribs; Roys 1967: 142, note 1 suggests Mosquito Indians. The raid would have been before 1362.

321. The year was 1382 and the account appears to refer to the destruction of the fields around Mayapan.

328. The following list of the *katun* seats from 1401 to 1559 is difficult to place geographically. Zizal, Kan Cab A, and Hunac Thi are near Valladolid. Roys 1967: 142, note 5 locates Hunac Thi near Mani and Otzmal was the seat of the Cupul near Sotuta. I am unable to locate Atikuhe, Chacal Na, Euan, or Colox Peten.

Lay u
Ma
T u ho
Ych
Y cabil
Cha
11.16.0.0.0 Y oxla
Eua
Y bulu
U y
Col ox
U t
La ix u
Cim
Ah pul
Na
T u hu
Bul
La ix u
Yax
Uay
Tac
T u uu
Bul
U kat
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T u ha
años D
151
Bolon
U t
Lay ka
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Hul i
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338
340
346
fers to
of 153
354
13 Ah
360
68, no
work :
36
370

	Lay u katunil uchc i		That was the <i>katun</i> period when there was
	Ma ya cimlal ³³⁸		Painless death,
	T u ho piz tun		In the fifth measured <i>tun</i>
	Ychil can ahau u katunil lae ³⁴⁰	340	In the 4 Ahau <i>katun</i> period.
	Y cabil ahau te ch'ab i		2 Ahau then got
	Chacal na u tunil e		Chacal Na its <i>tun</i> period.
the people, Skirts was	11.16.0.0.0 Y oxlahun ahau te ch'ab i		13 Ahau then got
	Euan u tunil e		Euan its <i>tun</i> period.
conquered	Y buluc ahau	345	11 Ahau,
	U yax chun kin ³⁴⁴		The new base year,
	Col ox peten chab i		Col Ox Peten got
	U tunil e		Its <i>tun</i> period.
	La ix u katunil		And that was the <i>katun</i> period
called Cycle	Cimc i	350	Of the death
	Ah pul a		Of the water priest,
	Na pot xiu u kaba		Pot Xiu by name.
1 <i>tun</i> count	T u hun pis tun		On the first measured <i>tun</i>
	Buluc ahau ³⁵⁴		Of 11 Ahau.
	La ix u katunil	355	That then was the <i>katun</i> period
	Yax hulci ob españolessob		When the Spaniards first arrived
the land ats of the land. eriod	Uay		Here
	Tac lumil lae		In these lands.
	T u uuc pis tun		On the seventh measured <i>tun</i>
ital.	Buluc ahau ³⁶⁰	360	Of 11 Ahau
	U katunil		Was also the <i>katun</i> period that began
land.	Ti ix hop'i xpnoil lae		Christianity,
	T u habil quinientos dies y nueve años D ^o .		In the year of our lord fifteen nineteen,
	1519. ³⁶⁴		1519 V [1546 M].
	Bolon ahau ma ch'ab i	365	9 Ahau did not get
	U tunil lae		Its <i>tun</i> period.
riod.	Lay katun yax ulc i		That was the <i>katun</i> there first arrived
	Obispo Fray Fran ^{co} toral		Bishop Fray Francisco Toral.
riod.	Hul i		He arrived
d.	T u uac pis tun ³⁷⁰	370	On the sixth measured <i>tun</i>

338. See note 112.

340. 1485. The calendar round began eight years earlier.

346. Roys 1967: 142 has 'on the first day', but my translation is literal and refers to the introduction of the new calendar of Mayapan and the new *katun* cycle of 1539.354. This would be 1539, but the correct date is 1536 and falls in *katun* 13 Ahau.

360. The first Franciscans did indeed reach Merida to stay in 1546 [Tozzer 1941: 68, note 306], though there was an earlier abortive attempt to initiate missionary work at Champoton in 1535 [Tozzer 1941: 67, note 303].

364. The date is in the Valladolid calendar. The correct Mayapan date is 1546.

370. This would be 1565. See note 148.

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icult to
olid. Roys
at of the
r Colox

Ychil ah bolon ahau
 Katun (81) lae
 Y uac ahau ma ch'ab i
 U tunil lae
 Lae u katunil cimc i

Obispo e lanoa lae*
 Ti ix ul i
 U hel obispo xan i

12.0.0.0.0 Y hoo ahau
 Y ox ahau (. . . .)*

In the 9 Ahau
 Katun.
 7 Ahau did not get
 Its tun period.
 375 That was the katun period of the
 death
 Of Bishop de Landa
 And there came
 The new bishop also.
 5 Ahau,
 380 3 Ahau . . .

376. See note 150.

380. Throughout the Mayan text I have tried to fill gaps in the text with either dots or letters within parentheses corresponding in number to the apparent number of letters missing or illegible. If I believe the meaning to be completely rendered in the English I have not indicated breaks. If I consider the construal dubious I put in a (?). If I am unable to provide a translation I have used three dots. Five dots within parentheses indicate a missing line.

THE

8 A

4. I

Quart

11.12.0.0.0 (98) Ua
 U bo
 Ytzmal
 Kin i
 Emom
 Emor
 (. . . .)
 T u p
 Pakom

U tz'
 U tz'oc
 U tz'
 Ti bal c
 U th
 Ban ban
 Bin b
 T u mer
 Nal c

381.
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THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

8 Ahau

4. Izamal and Champoton

Quarto

11.120.0.0 (98) Uaxac ahau katun*
U bolon tz'it katun
Ytzmäl u hetz' katun
Kin ich kak mo
Emom *chimal*
Emom halal
(. . . .)
T u pach y ahaulil cabob
Pakom u pol chakan putunob

U tz'ulil cab
U tz'oc çitz'il
U tz'oc u numçah ya ob
Ti bal cah
U than *Dios* citbil
Ban ban katunyah
Bin beltabac i
T u menel ah otoch
Nal ob e.

Quarto

Katun 8 Ahau
Was the ninth part of the *katun*.
Izamal was the seat of the *katun*
Under the glorious Kak Mo.
385 Descended will be the shield,
Descended the arrows
(Over Champoton)
Because of the lordship of the lands.
Plastered were the heads of the
Champoton,
390 Who were foreigners to the land.
Desire was ended;
Endurance of sufferings was ended
In the world,
Said God the remote.
395 Much waging of war
Was to be produced
On the part
Of the natives.

381. Throughout this series of *katun* histories, secondary marginal notes—arabic numerals, European dates, or Spanish words—suggest various orderings of the *katuns*. In this case the note *quarto* 'fourth' implies a *katun* cycle beginning with 1 Ahau. The illustration (p. 66) bears the numerals 9 and 13 in two different hands and depicts the lord of the *katun* crowned with a cross and surrounded by thirteen glyphs. Eleven of these are Ahau signs and the remaining two may be shield-arrow and flint-knife.

The Itza contention that the cycle ended at the end of *katun* 13 Ahau and the beginning of *katun* 11 Ahau is significantly related to the often quoted statement by Landa that the Mayan year began on 1 Imix, which is the day following 13 Ahau. What Landa should have said (and thereby saved us quite a lot of confusion) was that 1 Imix began the Itza cycle, not the year.

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tely
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hree dots.

Top: Kak Mo, lord of Champoton and Izamal (1441–1461). Bottom: Hunac Ceel, lord of Uxmal (1461–1480). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, The Princeton University Library, The gift of Robert Garrett.



6 Ahau

5. Uxmal

Quinto

11.13.0.0 (98) Uac ahau katun*
U lahun tz'it katun c u xocol

Uxmal u hetz' katun
Oclis t u ba ob

Chic ix u than
Chic ix u u ich ti y ahaulil

Quinto

Katun 6 Ahau
Was the tenth part of the *katun* to
be counted.

Uxmal was the seat of the *katun*.
They were being made to steal from
themselves,
And shameful was the speech,
And shameful was the face in the
lordship.

399. This line is preceded in the manuscript by the Spanish notation *quinto* 'fifth' in another hand, implying a *katun* cycle beginning with 1 Ahau. The accompanying illustration shows the lord of the *katun* wearing a crown bearing a cross, surmounting what may be a sword. A later annotator has added the numerals 10 and 1720.

Bin u tus
U coil
Ca tun e
Xotic
T u men
Tanal
Ca tun c
U pak
Ca yumil
Ti D'
La t u lah
Y etel
He ba hu
Y okc
Bin ococ
Ti chi

4 A

6. C

(99) Pr

11.14.0.0 Can ahau
U bul

Chi ch'e

Ulom

Hulom k
Ulom

421. 7
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decorate
pointed :
423. C
the previ
426. "
these te

426. "Quetzal and blue/green bird" (hummingbird) is a repeated couplet in these texts, referring to the Itza and the Xiu.

Ulom ah kan tenal*
 Ulom xe kik*
 Hulom kukul can*
 T u pach ob t u ca te
 U than D' lae
 Ulom ah ytza.

Come is the spirit of yellow death;
 Come is blood vomit.
 Come is Kukul Can
 430 Afterward for the second time.
 This is the Word of God.
 Come are the Itza.

Top: Kukul Can, lord of Chichen Itza (1480-1500). Bottom: Lord of Cozumel (1500-1520) (see lines 467ff.). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, The Princeton University Library, The gift of Robert Garrett.



427. Roys 1967: 161 interprets Kantenal as a personal name. My translation is literal and is confirmed by the scansion. Jaundice/hepatitis is a likely possibility.

428. Roys 1967: 133, note 11 suggests that 'blood vomit' is yellow fever while acknowledging that there is some doubt that yellow fever occurred in America before the conquest.

429. Kukul Can is the Nahuatl Quetzalcoatl 'quetzal serpent'. In this case I believe it to be a personal name: both Kuk and Can are frequent lineage names. The suffixes -*vi* and -*il* appear to me to be merely euphonic in this connection (cf. Ulil Ahau, Yaxal Chuen). Kukul Can was a prominent lord at Chichen Itza toward the end of *katun* 8 Ahau, and I believe this to be the same man, claiming the Jaguar priesthood for the second time some twenty years later. (The Tizimin makes this his fourth term, implying perhaps that he was active twice during the intervening *katun* but that Chumayel didn't know about it.)

7. T

(105) U
 Gran
 (i) T u t
 Uil u
 Yum e
 Ti y c

Ua lo
 T u c

U comir
 U hal
 Y ok lae
 Ka u
 Yn kube
 Yu (iv)
 Ych ex
 T u t
 Ytza e
 U yu
 (v) Tal t
 Ah k
 T u kini
 Can
 11.14.0.0
 T u hitz
 Bin u
 Yum e
 Sato

433.
 The ser
 [1500].
 numera
 breaks
 of a w
 438
 Either
 440
 katuns
 442
 sun go
 458

low death,

and time.

7. The Sermon of Ahau Pech

(105) U profeciado Nahau Pech*

Gran sacerdote

(i) T u kiní

Uil u uatal kin e

Yum e

Ti y okçah ych ah te(ii)pal*

Ua lo

T u can tz'it u katunil*

U cominal e

U hahal (iii) pul t u kin ku e*

Y ok lae

Ka u ba

Yn kuben

Yu(iv)m e

Ych ex

T u bel au ula

Ytza e

U yum cab cah ulom

(v) Tal t u chi Nahau pech

Ah kin

T u kinil ua

11.14.0.0.0 Can ahau (vi) katun

T u hitz'

Bin u katunil e

Yum e

Satom uil si(vii)nic uinicil*

The prophecy of Ahau Pech,

The great priest.

435 It is time

As the sun is rising,

My fathers,

That the face of the ruler will be lifted,

Perhaps soon,

440 In the fourth part of the *katun* period.

This is his vessel,

The true child of the sun god.

Believe this,

Gather yourselves

445 That I trust in you,

My fathers,

In you

And in the way of your welcome.

O Itza,

450 The father of the land is coming.

Come before Ahau Pech,

The sun priest

At this time,

Katun 4 Ahau,

455 Which will end

When the *katun* period comes,

My fathers.

Destroyed is the moon of the Ant people.

translation is
possibility.
ever while
America be-

his case I be-
names. The
tion [cf. Ulil
toward the
the Jaguar
makes this
intervening

433. N[a] Ahau Pech 'lord tick', a prophet of the end of the fifteenth century. The sermon is the earliest one we have, dating to the end of 4 Ahau, 11.14.0.0.0 (1500). For some reason the manuscript numbers the nine lines of text in arabic numerals (as indicated by lowercase roman numerals in the Mayan text). The line breaks do not appear to be natural or significant, sometimes falling in the middle of a word.

438. Most translators have interpreted *ok* as 'weep'; I read it as 'above, raise'. Either is possible.

440. That is, the prophet predicts correctly that Christianity will arrive in four *katuns* (or 9 Ahau, which began in 1559).

442. As a sun priest, Ahau Pech claims to be the vessel and true child of the sun god. Surprisingly, this is the only mention of such a deity in these *Books*.

458. Bricker reads *uil* as 'hunger' in this and the following lines.

Bin y anac t u pach uijl		It is to be after the moon,
T u men u bobo(viii)chil uijl*	460	Because of the Many Skunks' moon,
U chuyum thulil uijl		The Hanging Rabbits' moon,
Sinic		The Ants,
Tz'iu		Cowbirds,
(ix) Kan		Magpies,
Pich	465	Blackbirds,
X pucil.*		And Mice.

460. Roys 1967: 166 reads *bob* as 'a mysterious animal' and *och* as 'possum', but I believe the word is a reduplicative form of *boch* 'skunk'.

466. The Chumayel version of this prophecy is both the fullest and the most coherent we have. The Mani (Craine and Reindorp 1979: 73–74) has:

When the time is known in which the lord takes pity (has compassion), four Katuns will have passed and the bearer of the True God will arrive. Weep when you remember what I say. Oh Itzá, lords of the land, when your guests arrive receive them with pleasure. Nahau Pech, priest in the days of the Katún 4 Ahau, tells you this at the end of the Katún.

The Tizimin (Edmonson 1982: lines 401–432) has:

The prophecy
Of Ahau Pech
On the sun
And moon,
Of the day of remembrance
Of the fathers
Which removes the face
Of the returned ruler.
Four parts of the *katun* cycle
are done
And returned.

The true cast
On the day of the god
Is removed

And stands up.
Let me be seated then,
Fathers,

Whom you saw
On the road.

Welcome Him, O Itzas,
Fathers of the Land.

When He is come
That will be when you give
up your hearts

And come
Before

Ahau Pech

The sun priest

In the sun

And moon

Of 4 Ahau,

The *katun* returning.

At the end

It will be the return of the
katun cycle.

THE

2 AI

8. C

(99) Sej

11.15.0.0.0 Cabil aha
U lahc
Maya uas
U het:
Tan coch
Tan cc
U than D
Lae
Tan coch
Ti y al
U xul u t
Lae.

467. T
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(chapter 2

469. N
Mayapan
the Nahu
Nahuatl
playing w
water is t
the *katun*
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more. Ru
end of a l
471. R
tan or tai
'deep'. Tl
475. T

on,
Skunks' moon,
moon,

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

2 Ahau

8. Cozumel

s 'possum',

d the most

passion), four
Weep when
ests arrive
Katún 4

(99) *Segundo*

11.15.0.0.0 Cabil ahau katun*
U lahca tz'it katun
Maya uas cuçamil*
U hetz' katun
Tan coch hom u uah*
Tan coch hom y aal
U than Dios
Lae
Tan coch hom u templo*
Ti y ahaulilob
U xul u than Dios
Lae.

(99) *Segundo*

Katun 2 Ahau
Was the twelfth part of the *katun*.
Mayauaz Cozumel
470 Was the seat of the *katun*.
Half down was its food;
Half down was its water.
The Word of God
Is this:
475 Half down is his temple
Who is their lordship.
The end of the Word of God
Is this.

467. The suffix *-il* appears to be added to numerals somewhat capriciously as a matter of euphony, especially when counting day names.

The illustration accompanying this text (see p. 68) shows the lord of the *katun* with a crown and cross over a platform (a pyramid?). It is accompanied by a glyph which might be read as a crescent moon, half black and half striped, possibly referring to the approaching end (moon) of the *katun* cycle and to the half-and-half nature of the *katun*. The glyph is surmounted by an eyelike element. Late marginal notations include the numerals 12 and 1760. *Segundo* implies a *katun* cycle beginning with 4 Ahau. This is the cycle employed by "The Second Chronicle" (chapter 2).

469. *Mayauaz* is hard to fathom and does not occur elsewhere. On the model of Mayapan one might suggest that it is composed of the Mayan root *may* 'cycle' and the Nahuatl *uatza* 'run out of/use up'. But whereas *-apan* is a properly formed Nahuatl locative suffix, *-ua(t)z(a)* is not. I believe the composer of this text was playing word games, in that the whole phrase could be translated as 'the cycle water is used up [at] the seat of expense' or 'Mayauaz Cuzamil' . . . was the seat of the *katun*. Cuzamil as a place-name is usually glossed as 'swallows'. I have opted to treat the whole thing as a place-name here, but I think it originally meant more. Running out of food and water is a frequent metaphor for approaching the end of a *katun*, why not of a cycle?

471. Roys 1967: 162 omits here and in lines 472 and 475 the fact that either *tan* or *tan coch* may mean 'half' and that *coch* and *hom* mean both 'clear' and 'deep'. The author appears to have been punning.

475. The use of the Spanish *templo* is noteworthy.

9. The Sermon of Puc Tun

(104) *La interpretación**

Historias de Yucatan

(i) *Sacerdotesob*

Profeciado Na puc tun

(ii) *Elom ti cab*

Petahom canal

*U uaom kauil**

(iii) *Uaah tan u chamal**

Elom ti cab

*Elom tz'itz' t u ka(iv)tunil**

U chamal

Talom e

U bixan bin ylic

(v) *Bin y al u than*

Bin y okte

U num yail uchmal e.

The interpretation

480 Of the histories of Yucatan,

Of the priests,

And the prophet Puc Tun.

Burned on the earth,

Rounded in the sky.

485 Raised will be the deity,

Raising the ash of his cigar.

Burned on the earth,

Burned the hoof of the *katun* period,

His tobacco

490 That is to come.

His spirit will be seen;

His word will be spoken.

He may cause lamentation

For the sufferings that have occurred.

479. The dating of this prophecy is frankly impressionistic. Aside from the first four lines, which constitute a sort of title and are possibly a late addition, the brief text seems to me to be non-Christian and orthodoxly Mayan. It expresses forebodings but no specific anticipation of the Spanish conquest. And it may have some archaic and glyphic elements. Customary scholarly caution induces me to place it as late as is credible, and that lands me in 2 Ahau. It is more likely to be earlier than later.

485. Roys 1967: 165, note 5 comments that Kauil is a god name, a lineage name, and an obsolete word for 'food'. I believe it is an obsolete word for 'god' too, related to the development of the more current form *kuil* (cf. Quiche *qav*).

486. Roys 1967: 165 and Barrera 1948: 195 read *uchamal* 'in time to come' here and in line 489. I believe that if it were that form it would be *uchmal*, as in line 494, and even then I don't see that it expresses the future. A literal rendering of line 494 would be something like 'its pain, suffering fulfillment'. I believe the god's smoking is intended to explain why the earth is burning. It may also imply that this was nicknamed "the tobacco *katun*" (see Tizimin, note 1860).

488. The hoof may be a glyphic pun. *Tz'itz'* 'hoof' is a synonym for *may* 'hoof, cycle'.

134

10.

(105) *Pr**De Z**Ca u ich**Many*11.16.0.0.0 *Oxlahur**U uil**Ualac ui**Ualac**Yum e***U chi**Hulom i**Etçat**Uchebal**Yum**Uch tz'**Uch i**Ca tal o**Ti pu**Ah kin i**Uinic**Hun aux**Hun**Uil u tal**Au ili*

497. '

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note 2 s:

502. '

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503. '

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chapter,

505. '

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517. '

13 Ahau

10. The Sermon of Xopan Nahuat

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(105) *Profeciado de Chilam Balam*

De Zix coyom

Ca u ich en*

Many

11.16.0.0.0 Oxlahun ahau u hijtz'

U uil katun e

Ualac uil ytza

Ualac (106) uil (iv) tan cah e*

Yum e*

U chicul hunab ku canal

Hulom uaom (v) che*

Etçahan ti bal cah e

Uchebal u sas-hal y okol cab e (vi)

Yum e

Uch tz'uni to moctan ba

Uch tz'uni sauinal (vii)

Ca tal on

Ti pul chicul uchmal e

Ah kin i

Uinic e yum e (viii)

Hun auat

Hun lub i

Uil u tal*

Au ilic ex mut e

495 The prophecy of the Spokesman of the Jaguar

Which was also preached

At the two-eyed well

Of Mani.

13 Ahau was the end:

500 The moon phase of the *katun*,

To return to the moon of the Itza;

To return to the moon of the

capital,

O my fathers.

It was a sign of the Sole God on

high:

505 Come is the standing tree.

It is manifested in the world.

It is to be his radiance over the world,

O my fathers.

Already there has begun tangling with

each other;

510 Already they have begun to be

envious.

Then we came:

He who casts the signs which will

come to pass,

The sun priest—

This man, O my fathers.

515 One shout,

One rest

Is the moon of his coming.

You will see the announcement,

497. The cenote of Mani is called Cabal Ch'en and is so listed in the Tizimin, but as Roys 1967: 166, note 4 points out, it has two openings. Tozzer 1921: 122, note 2 says there is a town named Cau Ich Ch'en near Mani.

502. That is, the end of the *katun* cycle and of the rule of the cycle seat, theoretically still Mayapan.

503. *Yum* 'father' is a courtesy title of respect, comparable to 'sir' or *señor*. Except where God is addressed directly (line 547), I believe its implication in this chapter to be plural.

505. The cross. Barrera 1948: 197, note 119 interprets this as a preconquest use of a ceremonial pole.

517. The implication is that the arrival of Christianity is imminent.

U ti (ix) ppil
Y etel uaom che
Ahom cab hun xaman

Hun chi(x)kin
Ahom Ytzam Na*
Kauil
Talel u cah ca yum
Ytza (xi)
Talel u cah ca çucun
Ah tan tun e*

Kam
Au ula ob
Ah (xii) mexob
Ah likin cabob
Ah pul t u chicul ku e
Yum e (xiii)

Utz ka u than ku
C u talel c icnal e
Talel u cah u kin (xiv)
Ca cuxtal e

Ma a sahtic
Y okol cab e

Yum e
T ech (xv)

Hunac Ku
Ch'abt'ic on

Utz tun ba o*
U than ku e (xvi)

Yum e
Y ah canul ca pixan
He mac bin kam'ic (xvii)
Hach ocan ti y ol e

Ti caan
U bin t u pach
He uac (xviii) u chun
Ca kin uinicil*

The demonstration,
520 And the standing tree.
Roused will be the land now in the
north,

Now in the west;
Roused will be Itzam Na,
The deity,

525 Coming are our fathers,
The Itza.
Coming are our older brothers,
The people of the capital.

Accept
530 And welcome them,
The bearded people,
The people of the eastern land,
The diviners with the sign of God,
O my fathers.

535 Verily good is the Word of God
That is to come to us.
Coming is the day
Of our life.

Have no fear
540 On earth,
O my fathers.
Thou

Who art the Sole God,
Who had us created.

545 It is good then to follow
The Word of God,
O Father
And guardian of our souls,
For someone will receive it

550 Very much within his heart.
To heaven
He will go later.
That may be the beginning
Of the two-day people.

(i) Ca ua
Ca ua

Numteta

U hok
U hel t u
Etçah

La u chic

Lae a
Ca a kuli

Ca a k

Ca kulte

Yum e
Oceztat

Yum e
Tali ti ca

A (viii)
Cuxcin k

A(ix)t

Ti ob
Ocçic

Ychil u y
Yum e

Y ok t u
C en

Ca in tze

Tuçin
Y ub i (x)

Hunar
Tzuc ti e

Yum e
U than t

U yur

523. This identifies the Itza directly with Itzam Na.

528. The prophet, identified in the Tizimin as Xopan Nahuat, is predicting the arrival of the Spanish, the establishment of a new capital (namely Merida) as seat of the *katun* and the cycle, and the triumph of Christianity. This became the political and religious doctrine of the Xiu throughout the following century.

545. Roys 1967: 168 has 'it is sufficient then that the word of God is good', perhaps reading *ba* as *baal*. My translation is textual and literal.

554. "Two-day people" is a frequent reference to fly-by-night lords who are unable to complete their terms in office.

559. Y

563. F

565. F

575. T

lievers in

2. now in the	(i) Ca uacun to u chicul canal Ca uacun to y etel uaom (ii) che	555 Then may be raised the sign of heaven; Then also may be raised the standing tree.
a,	Numtetah u kex a U hokol hel e U hel t u (iii) pach u yax cheel cab* Etçahan hehel ti bal cah e (iv)	Then may it suffer division of the successor, There appearing the changer To succeed behind the Ceiba Land; 560 The succession being manifested to the world.
others, ital.	La u chicul hunab ku canal e Lae a kult ex (v) ah ytza e Ca a kulte hehel u chicul canal e*	That is the sign of the Sole God on high; That then will you worship, O Itza. Then will you worship the changing of the sign on high.
tern land, ign of God,	Ca a kul(vi)te to t u hahil colah Ca kulte hahal ku hele lae*	Then will you worship that in the planting of truth.
of God	Yum e (vii) Oceztá ba u than hunab ku e Yum e Tali ti caan A (viii) u ah than be Cuxcin ka au ol ah ytza e A(ix)hom uil cab	565 Then will you worship the True God of this change, The Father. May it establish itself as the Word of the Sole God, The Father. He is come from heaven, 570 Your speaker of the way, To revive your hearts indeed, O Itza. Wakened will be the moon of the earth For those Who take into their hearts
souls, e it heart.	Ti ob Ocçic ob ti y ol e Ychil u y a(x)nal katun e* Yum e Y ok t u ba yn than (xi) C en Chilam Balam Ca in tzolah u than (xii) hahal ku	575 The existence of the <i>katun</i> , O fathers. May my word raise itself, I who am Spokesman of the Jaguar, When I recount the Word of the True God
ing 2.	Tuçinil e y okol cab e Y ub i (xiii) Hunac Tzuc ti cab e Yum e U than Dios U yumil (xiv)	580 And the lies of this earth. Hear then That it may unite The division in this land, O fathers, 585 The Word of God, The Father

559. Yucatan was the "Land of the [sacred] Ceiba."

563. Roys 1967: 168 reads *helel* as *behelae*.565. Roys 1967: 168 reads *hele lae* as *behelae*.575. The English metaphor would be: the sun is already setting upon the believers in the *katun*.

Caan	Of heaven	
Y etel luum	And earth.	
Hach utz ka u than ti caan (xv)	For very good indeed is the word from heaven,	
Yum e	590 O fathers.	
C okol y ahaulil	Let us glorify the lordship,	
Y okol ix ca pixan (107) hahal	Glorifying also our soul the True	
(xvi) ku	God.	
He uac he ob ti ules lae	These may be just the things which will bring it about,	
Yum e	O fathers,	
Ox al a mukil (xvii)	595 Thrice-born is thy strength	
X cuch lum ytz'inil	And the bearing of the land of the younger brothers.	
Tz'aman y ol	Surrendered is their spirit,	
Cimen ix u puc (xviii) çikal t u	And dead are the hearts of the flowers too:	
nicteob xan	Those who constantly rise to be baptized—	
Ah uaua t u lupooob	600 Those who raise quarrels—	
Ah ua(xix)tan çinoob	Nacxit,	
Nacxit	Xuchit,	
Xuchit	With the rest of the Flowers	
T u nicte u lakob (xx)	Of the two-day lordships,	
Ca ca kin y ahaulilob	605 Who will be crooked there on their thrones,	
Coylac te t u tz'amoob (i)	Who will be crooked there in their Flowers.	
Coylac te t u nicteob	Two-by-two-day people is their word,	
Ca ca kin uinicil u than(ii)n ob	Two by two days their seats,	
Ca ca kin u xec ob	Their gourds,	
U luch ob	610 Their hats.	
U p'ooc ob (iii)	Crazy are their days;	
U co kinn ob	Crazy are the nights	
U co akab	Of the monkeys of the world.	
U maxil ob y okol (iv) cab	Their necks are bent,	
Kuy c u cal	615 Their faces wrinkled,	
Mutz' c u u ich	Their mouths slack	
Putz' c u chi (v)	In the lordship of the lands,	
Ti y ahaulil cabob	O fathers.	
Yum e	Indeed it came about that there was no truth	
He c u talel minan (vi) hah	620 In the words of the foreigners to the place.	
T u than ob u tz'ulilob cah	It will be said	
Bin y al ob (vii)	That they were very troublesome,	
Hach talanil ob		

U meher

Y alot

Yum e n

Mac t

Bin tohc

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Fin

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U mehen uuc tocoy naob (viii)

Y alob uuc tocoy naob e*

Yum e mac to ah (ix) bouat

Mac to ah kin

Bin tohol cantic (x)

U than uooh lae.*

Finis

The engendered sons of the seven
Burned Houses,The born sons of the seven Burned
Houses.

625 O Father, who will be the prophet?

Who will be the sun priest

Who will correctly interpret

The word of these glyphs?

The End

624. Roys 1967: 169, note 10 speculates that this refers to the origins of the Itza from the ruined cities of the Peten; I think it refers to the Itza claim to come from Chichen Itza, which is explicit elsewhere. Barrera 1948: 203 translates as 'severn deserted houses'. Bricker agrees with him.

628. Roys 1967: 169 reads *huun* 'book' for *uooh* 'glyph'.

II. Coba

(100) *Terçero juício*

11.16.0.0.0

Oxlahun ahau*

Katun c u xocol

Kin chil coba u hetz' katun

Y oxlahun tz'it katun

Etlahom utz'ub*

Y ahaulil cabob i

U yuk xot kin ca yumil

Ti Dios

Emom u kikel che

Y etel tunich

Elom caan

Y etel luum

U than Dios citbil

Y etel Dios mehenbil

Y etel D'. *espiritu**Sancto**Santo* xot kin lae*Santo juício*

(The Third Judgment)

13 Ahau

630 Was the *katun* that was counted.Kin Chil of Coba seated the *katun*,The thirteenth part of the *katun*.

Equalized were the folds

Of the lordship of the lands.

635 It was a general judgment of our Father

Who is God.

Descended will be the blood of sticks

And stones.

Burned will be heaven

640 And earth.

The Word of God the remote

And God Made Son

And God the Holy

Ghost

645 Was a sacred judgment then,

A sacred sentence

629. At the head of this text is the Spanish notation *Terçero juício* 'third judgment/argument'. The Spanish annotator was simply wrong about the order of the *katun* cycle. The Mayan text ties in correctly with the Itza cycle.

633. Roys 1967: 162 apparently reads *es* or *ets* for *et*. Again I believe the reference is to the ending of the cycle. Roys reads *u tz'ub* but I think *uutz'ob* is more likely.

*Kin Chil, lord of Coba (1520–1539).
From the Garrett Collection of
Manuscripts in Middle American
Languages. The Princeton University
Library. The gift of Robert Garrett.*



T u menel ca yumil
Ti D'.
Bin minanac u muk caan
Y etel luum
Bin ococ
Ti *christianoil*
Nucuch cahob
U cahal mac nalob

U nohochil cah
Max u kaba bay u cah

T u yukul lay mehen cahob lae

T u yukul lay ca petenil
Maya cu çamil
Maya patan
Licil ca ca kin uinicil
Tucal coil tz'itz' i
Mehenil t u xul ca satmail yilil
Y etel subtalil cux y ol
Ca mehenob
T u nictéob*

By our Father
Who is God.
For there will be no strength in heaven
650 Or on earth.
They will enter
Into Christianity:
The great towns
And the settlements of
householders,
655 The great people of the towns
And the monkeys as they are called
and their towns
And the whole of the descendant
towns;
The whole of this country of ours
Has the expense of the cycle seat
660 And cycle tribute.
Since they were two-by-two-day people
Full of madness and lust,
The young in the end neglected to look
And shamed the living spirit
665 Of our youth
In the flowers.

666. I agree with Roys 1967: 162 that flowers allude to sex here, though there are a number of alternative metaphoric meanings, including war. Barrera 1948: 141 interprets the passage as a reference to infant sacrifice.

Minan y
U chu
Be hoko
T u bi
Tulis i
Uil u

C uchi e
Tulis l
Bay ti ut
Ylabil
U xul u
Bin ta
Ca put s
Santo
U kam c
Ma tz
Tal ti Di
Hach
Ah bal c
T u s
Ah ytza
Y ete
Tz'ocan
Ca .

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690. '
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12.

(3) Ah
Tzin
U mek
Ych



Minan y utz kin t oon lae
 U chun cimil t u lobil kik
 Be hokol u
 T u bin u
 Tulis i
 Uil u uchac

C uchi e
 Tulis kik
 Bay ti utzul planetaob e
 Ylabil y utzil lae
 U xul u than Dios
 Bin tac y oktob y alil*
 Ca put sihil
 Santo pixan
 U kam ob santo olio
 Ma tz'albil u pach ob i
 Tal ti Dios
 Mach manal bin christiano
 Ah bal ob
 T u santo oc olall ob
 Ah ytzaob
 Y etel Balamoob*
 Tz'ocan tun ca satic
 Ca . . .*

There was no good time for us then.
 They began to kill in bad blood.
 There appeared the moon;
 670 The moon left.
 It returned,
 And the moon of the moon
 occurred.
 There occurred
 The return of blood.
 675 Thus in the favor of the planets
 Some good was to be seen.
 It was the end of the Word of God.
 They will stop sprinkling the water
 Of the twice-born,
 680 The Holy Spirit.
 They received holy oil
 Without pressing to return
 And come to God.
 Nearly all will be Christians,
 685 Twisted
 In the holy faith
 (By) the Itza
 And the Jaguars.
 It winds up then that we forget
 690 Our . . .

678. Roys 1967: 162–163 apparently reads *octob* for *oktob* and interprets *tac* as 'so' rather than 'impede'.

688. The Itza Jaguars, priests of the *katun*, remained staunchly pagan until the end of the sixteenth century. The Xiu Jaguar (Tutul Xiu) was converted to Christianity at the time of the invasion of Campeche.

690. The text breaks off incomplete. The following page in the MS bears the notation in a modern hand: *aquí falta una hoja* 'here a page is lacking'.

II Ahau

12. The Ceremonial of the *May*

(3) Ah itz:
 Tzim thul chac:
 U mektann ob:
 Ych can si hoo:

The sorcerer,
 Tzim Thul the rain priest,
 Was their ruler
 In Heaven Born Merida.

ngth in heaven

if

owns
 hey are called

scendant

ntry of ours
 ycle seat

two-day people
 ist,
 jected to look
 3 spirit

gh there
 a 1948: 141

- Uayom ch'ich:*
 Chich i
 Y ah kin ob:
 Ych can si hoo:
 Can ul:
 Yx pop ti balam:
 U ca tul = ah kin chable:*
 U y ahau ob:
 Cabal xiu:
 Y ah kin ob:
 Uxmal chac
 U mektan ob:
 Lay
 Y ah kin cuch i:
 Ca ulsab i: hapai can =
 T u chem chan:
 Lay hal i:
 Ca uchi kikil
 Pak: te
 Uxmal e:
 Tii, ca colab i.
 U cangel.
 Chac xib chac e:
 Sac xib chac: colab i u cangel:
 U cangel ix. ek yuuan chac:*
 Colab i. xan:
 Yx sac bel is:*
 U kaba u chich ob chac:*
 Ek yuuan chac:
 U yum ob:
 Hun yuuan chac:
 U thupil ob
- 695 Uayom Ch'ich'
 The Strong
 Was their sun priest
 In Heaven Born Merida,
 And Can Ul
 700 Was the counselor to the Jaguar.
 There were two sun priests: Chable
 Was their lord (in Mayapan);
 And Cabal Xiu
 Was their sun priest;
 705 Uxmal Chac
 Was their ruler (in Uxmal).
 This
 Was the sun priest office.
 Then Hapay Can was brought
 710 To Chem Chan.
 This was the piercing;
 Then bloodletting occurred
 --- On the walls there
 At Uxmal.
 715 And then were seized
 The yearbearers:
 The East priest Xib Chac
 And the North priest Xib Chac were
 seized as yearbearers,
 And the yearbearer, the West
 necklaced rain priest,
 720 Was also seized.
 And the North priest Bel Iz was the
 name
 Of the mother's mother of the rain
 priests.
 The West necklaced rain priest
 Was their father.
 725 A certain [other] necklaced rain priest
 Was their youngest brother.

695. Unlike Roys 1967: 66 I consider Uayom Ch'ich' to be a personal name. It is followed by a nickname *Chich* 'the strong', which Roys ignores. Such nicknames are not uncommon; compare [Na] Tzin Yabun Chan: Tzin Yabun the Younger.

701. The sign = is employed somewhat irregularly as an approximate equivalent to a comma.

719. *Yuuan* does not appear elsewhere as a lineage name; I believe it to be a title.

721. Roys 1976: 68, note 1 interprets *ix* as a feminine marker but I believe it is simply 'and'.

722. I think 'mother's mother of the rain priests' is a title rather than a reference to a woman; perhaps she corresponds, however, to the *Ix Mol* mentioned by Landa [Tozzer 1941: 159].

Uooh:
 U k
 Lay tz'
 Uo
 Ca tz'
 Uo
 Ca tz'
 T u
 Ca tz'
 Ych
 puc
 Ma ku
 Cha
 9: Ha
 Ca
 Ti Dio
 U k
 T u th
 T u
 Ah kin
 (4)
 Tzulim
 Ti
 Nauat
 U
 Co U
 U
 Ah ek
 He
 Ah ta
 U
 Hunm
 U
 Ca u
 Hu
 Ca u
 Sac
 Ca u
 Ca
 Ca u
 Ya

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 76

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Uooh: puc
U kaba =
Lay tz'ibtab i:
Uooh t u tan u kab:
Ca tz'ibtab i
Uooh. y alan u cal
Ca tz'ibtab i:
T u tan y oc:
Ca tz'ibtab i:
Ychil u p'uc u kab ti ah uooh
pucil:
Ma ku i:
Chaccob: =
9: Ha li li hahal ku
Ca yumil
Ti Dios e:
U kul ob
T u than
T u y itz'atil: *mayapan*:
Ah kin caba:
(4) Ah kin te ych: paa: e.
Tzulim chan:
Ti chikin:
Nauat: y ah (can)il:
U u ol pa ti nohol e:
Co Uoh: y ah canul:
U ol pa til lakin:
Ah ek: u lak:
He y ahauob e.
Ah tapai nok cau ich:
U kaba u hal ach uinic ob:
Hunnac ceel:
U pulbeen: ah mex cuc i:
Ca u katah*
Hun tul is nicte*
Ca u katah:
Sac pop:
Ca u katah:
Ca p'el u tan nok:
Ca u katah
Yax ulum*

Uoh Puc
Was his name.
There it was written
730 As a glyph on the palm of his hand.
Then there was written
A glyph where his neck was.
Then one was written
On the sole of his foot.
735 Then one was written
On the ball of the thumb of Uoh Puc.

They were not gods:
The rain priests were chiefs.
In truth the True God
740 Is our Father
Who is God.
They worshiped him
In the words,
In the wisdom of Mayapan.
745 The sun priest of Coba
Was the priest there in the fort.
Zulim Chan
Was in the west.
Nahuat was the guardian
750 Of the spirit of the fort to the south.
Co Uoh was the guardian
Of the spirit of the fort to the east.
Ah Ek was the other one;
These were their lords.
755 Cau Ich of the Embroidered Mantle
Was the name of their governor.
Hunac Ceel
Was the sacrificer of Mex Cuc.
Then he demanded
760 One yam blossom.
Then he demanded
A white mat.
Then he demanded
Two-faced mantles.
765 Then he demanded
A green turkey.

759. The following lines allude to the holding of the examinations for the priests, performed during the ritual progression of the newly installed lord of the *k'atun* through the towns and villages [see chapters 29 and 30]. The various things asked for are riddles for ceremonial foods.

760. Bricker reads *hun tulis nicte* as 'one complete blossom'.

766. Bricker reads as *yax ulum* 'a gray turkey'.

Ca u katah
Ul e
Ca u katah:
Sac homa ob:

Act 8

Ti likulob*
Ca kuch ob: p'ool e*
Ti p'olh ob:
Y ala ah ytza i:
Ti tun u naaintah ob
Yx p'ol i:
Ca kuch ob: ake:
Ti sih ob: ti x ake i:
Ake: u kaba uaye:
C u than ob:
Ca tun kuch ob: alaa:
Alaa: u kaba uaye: c u than ob

Ca tal ob: kan hol aa.
Ca tal ob: ti x chel:.*
Ti chelhi: u than ob i:
Ti chelhi: u can ob i:
Ca tun kuch ob:
Ninum:
Ti numhi: u than ob i:
Ti numhi: u canob i: ah ytzaob
i =*
Ca tun kuch ob:
Chikin: tz'onot:
Ti chikin tanhi u u ich ob i:.*
Chikin tz'onot u kaba uaye: c u
than ob:
Ca tun kuch ob:
Tzuc oopp:
Ti u tzucah u ba ob i:
Y alan: op i:

Then he demanded
A mottled snail.
Then he demanded
770 White drinking gourds.

Act 8

They rose up;
Then they reached P'ool (1).
To the P'ool people
The Itza spoke.
775 And it was then that they established
P'ool.
Then they arrived at Ake (2);
There they were born at Ake.
Ake was the name then
780 That they called it.
So then they reached Al A (3).
Al A was the name then that they
called it.
Then they came to Kan Hol A (4);
Then they came to Ix Ch'el (5)
785 And prolonged their words
And prolonged their talk.
So then they reached
Ninum (6);
And many were their words,
790 And many were their talks of the
Itzas.
So then they reached
Chikin Tz'onot (7):
To the west were their faces;
Chikin Tz'onot was the name then
that they called it.
795 So then they reached
Tzuc Op (8),
Where they separated themselves
Under the annonas.

Tzuc op:
C u th
Ca tun ku
Tah ca
Ti u huyt:
Ca uki

Ca huylal
Ca y u

Ca kuch i
Ti u ca
Kikil u ka
C u th
Ca kuch i
Ti u pa
Ca tal ob
U cucl
Ca kuch i
Yal sih
Cahlic
Cah =
Ca kuch i
Cah x
Ca tun ku

Ti liki

Ca ix tal

Ca tu

Ca tal ot
U kab
Ti u man
Ti u n
Ti coh
U kab

771. See the introduction for a discussion of this chapter as the ceremonial of the *may*.

772. From here to line 1080 we are supplied with 171 places listed in the order of a double counterclockwise circuit of Yucatan. The places are listed in appendix B and are given numbers there, in the translation, and on figure 44. This will provide approximate locations for those that have not been precisely identified. Except for the very first [P'ool], all the places listed lie in the state of Yucatan.

784. Ix Chel is the goddess of the rainbow. The naming of the town is explained by a pun on *chel* 'prolong'.

790. A pun on *num* 'prickly pear' and '[too] much'.

793. A semi-pun on *chikin* 'west'.

799. I
803. I
806. C
808. I
to dysen
812. I
panah 'i
814. I
is on cu
827. I

	Tzuc op: u kaba uay e:*		Tzuc Op was the name then
	C u than ob:	800	That they called it.
	Ca tun kuch ob:		So then they reached
3.	Tah cab:		Tah Cab [9],
	Ti u huytah cab. ytza i:*		Where the Itza stirred honey.
	Ca uki t u menel x koh takin:		Then it was also drunk by those of Koh Takin [10].
iol (1).	Ca huytab i: ti cab:	805	When it had been stirred for honey,
	Ca y ukuh: cabil neba: u kaba:*		Then it was drunk by Cabil Neba, as he is called.
y established	Ca kuch ob (5) kikil:		Then they reached Kikil [11],
	Ti u canah ob: kik nak i:*		Where they had bloody guts.
	Kikil u kaba uay e:		Kikil was the name then
	C u than ob:	810	That they called it.
	Ca kuch ob: panab haa:		Then they reached Panab Ha [12],
	Ti u panah ob ha i:*		Where they dug for water.
	Ca tal ob: cucuchil: haa:		Then they came to Cucuchil Ha [13],
	U cuch ob: t u tamil haa i:*		They carried them into deep water.
	Ca kuch ob: yal sih on: ---	815	Then they reached Yal Zihon [14].
	Yal sih on u kaba uay e:		Yal Zihon was its name then,
A (3).	Cahlic		And they settled
en that they	Cah =		The town.
	Ca kuch ob: x pitah:		Then they reached Ix P'itah [15],
hol A (4);	Cah xan:	820	Also a town.
Ch'el (5)	Ca tun kuch ob: kan cab: tz'onot:		Then they reached Kan Cab Tz'onot [16],
ds			From there they reached Tz'ul A [17],
ulk.	Ti likul ob: ca kuch ob: tz'ul a:		And then they came to Pib Haal Tz'onot [18],
	Ca ix tal ob: pibhaal tz'onot:		And then they reached Tah AAC [19], as it is called.
	Ca tun kuch ob: tah: aac: u kaba:		Then they came to Cooh [20],
ces;	Ca tal ob: t cooh:	825	As it is called,
ie name then	U kaba:		Where they bought words dear,
	Ti u manah ob: than cooh i:*		Where they bought talk.
	Ti u ma nah ob: can i:		Cooh
mselves	Ti coh		Is its name here.
	U kaba uay e:	830	

monial of

1 the order
n appendix
s will pro-
ified. Ex-
atan.
is explained

799. Modern Sucopo. A pun on *tzuc* 'copse' and *tzuc ba* 'separate oneself'.
803. Pun on *tah cab* 'division of land' and *huytah cab* 'stir honey'.
806. Cabil Neba could also be a place-name.
808. Kikil as a place-name could well relate to 'rubber, sap'; the pun relates it to dysentery: *kik nak* 'bloody guts'.
812. Panab Ha 'dug water' or 'plum water' or 'flag water', here played against *panah* 'dig'.
814. Roys 1967: 70, note 14 reads Cucuchil Haa as 'very full of water'; the pun is on *cuch* 'carry'.
827. Probably a pun on *coh* 'thatch' and *cooh* 'dear'.

Ca kuch ob: ti kal:	Then they reached Kal (21),	
Ti u kalah: u ba ob i:*	Where they closed themselves in;	
Ti kal	Kal	
U kaba uay e:	Was the name of it there.	
Ca tal ob: ti maax:	835 Then they came to Maax (22),	
Ti u maaxtah u ba katunob i:*	Where the warriors crushed themselves.	
Ca kuch ob buc tzotz:	Then they reached Buc Tzotz (23),	
Ti c u bucinah ob u tzotzel u	Where they clothed the hair of their	
poll ob i:*	heads.	
Buc tzotz u kaba uay e	Buc Tzotz was the name there	
C u than ob =	840 That they called it.	
Ca kuch ob: tz'itz'on tun:	Then they reached Tz'itz'on Tun (24),	
Ti hop' ob: chuc lum tz'itz' i:*	Where they began to finish the earth with their nails.	
Tz'i hol tun	Tz'i Hol Tun	
U kaba uay e:	Was its name there.	
Ca kuch ob: yob ain:	845 Then they reached Yob Ain (25),	
Ti u uayintah ob ayin i: t u men	Which the alligators transformed for	
u mam ob i:*	their maternal grandfather,	
Ah yamas i:	Ah Ya Maz,	
9: Y ahaulil t u chi kaknab:	The lord at the seashore.	
Ca kuch ob: sinan che:*	Then they reached Zinan Che (26),	
Ti u uayintah ob cicin	850 Where they transformed devils.	
Sinan che	Zinan Che	
U kaba uay e:	Was the name of it there.	
Ca kuch ob ti cah: chac:*	Then they reached the town of Chac (27);	
Ca kuch ob: tz'e uc:	Then they reached Tz'e Uc (28).	
Pisil ba: u cah ob u lak ob	855 Their neighbors' villages were surveyed;	
Ca kuch ob u mam ob: u lak:	Their other maternal grandfathers arrived.	

832. Possibly a pun on *tikal* 'dryness' and *kal* 'shut in'.

836. Pun on *maax* 'monkey' and *maaxtah* 'mash'.

838. Perhaps a pun on *buc tzotz* 'frayed clothes' and *bucinah tz'otz'el* 'dress hair'.

842. Tz'itz'on Tun could mean 'disputed stone'. The pun relates to *tz'itz'* 'hoof'. Roys 1967: 71, note 4 cites another folk etymology from the *Relaciones de Yucatán*, but it doesn't seem to relate to the name as such. He considers *chuc lum tz'itz'i* "a stock phrase" and translates line 842 as 'where a malevolent man began to seize the land'. I don't follow this. From the following line, the possibility emerges of a sexual pun on *tz'i* 'desire' and *tz'iz* 'copulate'.

846. Possibly a play on (*h*)ob 'five, fifth' and ob 'they, them', but it remains obscure.

849. Roys 1967: 71, note 6 identifies Zinan Che 'scorpion tree' as *Zanthoxylum*.

853. Roys 1967: 71, note 7 suggests that Telchac is intended; he may be right.

Ti mul tz'
Tz'e m
Ca kuch
Y ical

X tz'e uc
Ca ku

Ytzam pe
Y ah u
Ca tun ki
Ti bac

Bac a: ua
C u th
Ca tun k
Y icna

U chun u
Lay ch

Ca tun ki
Ti kah

Ca tal ob
Ca tui
Ca kuch
Ca tui

Ca tal ob
Ca tal
Ca kuch
Ti cee
Cau cel:
C u t
Ca tun k
Ti y a
Ca bin o
Ca ku

858. T
tz'em 'to
866. B
873. T
881. C
886. R
agree: ya
ooh, oof'

11),
 themselves in;
 re.
 [22],
 ushed
 zotz (23),
 ie hair of their
 there
 on Tun (24),
 nish the
 in (25),
 ransformed for
 ther,
 re.
 1 Che (26),
 ed devils.
 re.
 own of Chac
 e Uc (28).
 were
 grandfathers
 el
 z'itz'
 laciones de
 rs chuc lum
 man began
 bility
 emains
 be right.

Ti mul tz'emlah y ol ob i
 Tz'e mul u kaba uay e:*
 Ca kuch ob: kin i:
 Y icnal x kil: ytzam pech
 X tz'e uc: u lak ob
 Ca ku(6)ch ob icnal x kil.
 Ytzam pech:
 Y ah u kini ob:
 Ca tun kuch ob: bac a:
 Ti bacchah i: haa ti ob i:.*
 Bac a: uay e:
 C u than ob:
 Ca tun kuch ob: sabac nail:
 Y icnal u mam ob:
 U chun u uinicil ah na e:
 Lay chel na e: u mam ob:
 Ca tun kuch ob: tebe naa e:.*
 Ti kah i u naa ti ob i:
 Ca tal ob: yxil:
 Ca tun bin ob: chulul:
 Ca kuch ob: chi chicaan:
 Ca tun bin ob hol tun chable:
 Ca tal ob. ytzam na:
 Ca tal ob. chubul na:
 Ca kuch ob: cau cel:.*
 Ti ceelchah ob i:
 Cau cel: uay e
 C u than ob:
 Ca tun kuch ob: ucu:
 Ti y alah ob: ya u cu:.*
 Ca bin ob: hunuc ma:
 Ca kuch ob: kin chil:

They calmed their hearts together.
 Tz'e Mul was its name there.
 Then they reached Kin (29),
 860 The place of the Kil and Itzam Pech
 [30].
 And Tz'e Uc was their other one.
 Then they reached the place of
 the Kil
 And Itzam Pech,
 The lord of the Kin.
 865 So then they reached Bac A (31),
 Where the spring was captured by
 them.
 Bac A there
 They called it.
 So then they reached Zabac Na (32),
 870 The place of their maternal
 grandfather,
 The head of the Na lineage,
 For Ch'el Na was their maternal
 grandfather.
 So then they reached Tebe Na (33),
 Which recalled their mother to
 them.
 875 Then they came to Ixil (34)
 And then they went to Chulul (35);
 Then they reached Chi Chicaan (36)
 And then they went to Hol Tun
 Chable (37).
 They came to Itzam Na (38);
 880 They came to Chubul Na (39);
 They reached Cau Cel (40),
 And they shook with cold.
 Cau Cel there
 It was called.
 885 Then they reached Ucu (41),
 Where they said, "Oh, ah!"
 Then they went to Hunuc Ma (42);
 Then they reached Kin Chil (43);

858. Tz'e Uc, perhaps 'mourning *Bassarica*'; tz'e mul 'mourning mound'; tz'em 'to calm'.

866. Bac A, perhaps 'bird water'; pun on bacchah 'to pour'.

873. Te be na, perhaps 'tree road house'.

881. Cau 'a plant', Cel 'crack [corn], vigor, cold'.

886. Roys 1967: 71, note 12 says, "Probably an expression of sorrow or pain." I agree: ya is 'pain', and ay, aya, and ayano are expressions of it; u is simply 'uh, ooh, oof'; uk is 'ah!'.

Ca bin ob: kan a:		Then they went to Kan A (44);	
Ca kuch ob: t ix peton cah:	890	Then they arrived at Ix Peton Cah (45);	
Ca kuch ob sahab balam:		Then they arrived at Zahab Balam (46);	
Ca kuch ob tah cum chakan:		Then they arrived at Tah Cum Chakan (47);	
Ca kuch ob: t ix bal che:		Then they arrived at Ix Bal Che (48);	
Ca kuch ob: uxmal:		Then they reached Uxmal (49);	
Ti tun likul ob ca kuch ob: t ix y ub ak:	895	When they left there then they went to Ix Yubak (50);	
Ca kuch ob: mun aa:*		Then they went to Muna (51);	
Ti munhi: u than ob:		Where they softened their words,	
Ti munhi u can ob i:		Where they softened their teachings.	
Ca bin ob: ox loch hok:		Then they went to Ox Loch Hok (52);	
Ca bin ob chac akal*	900	Then they went to Chac Akal (53);	
Ca bin ob. xoc ne ceh:		Then they went to Xoc Ne Ceh (54);	
Ceh u uay ob ca kuch ob i:		Deer was their nagual when they arrived.	
Ca bin ob p'us tunich.		Then they went to P'uz Tun Ich (55);	
Ca bin ob puc nal chac:		Then they went to Puc Nal Chac (56);	
Ca bin ob p'en cuyut:	905	Then they went to P'en Cuyut (57);	
Ca bin ob. pax ueuet:*		Then they went to Pax Ueuet (58);	
Ca kuch ob ti xay a:		Then they arrived at Xay A (59);	
Ca kuch ob: tistis: u kaba:		Then they arrived at Tistis (60), as it is called;	
Ca kuch ob t u chican:*		Then they arrived at Chi Can (61);	
Ca kuch ob t ix meuac	910	Then they arrived at Ix Meuac (62);	
(7) Ca kuch ob hunac thi:		Then they arrived at Hunac Thi (63);	
Ca kuch ob u tzal:		Then they arrived at Tzal (64);	
Ca kuch ob: tamus bul na:		Then they arrived at Tamus Bul Na (65);	
Ca kuch ob: t ix can:		Then they arrived at Ix Can (66);	
Ca kuch ob: lop*	915	Then they arrived at Lop (67);	
Ca kuch ob: chee miuan(h): uan		Then they arrived at Che Mi Uan (68);	
Ca kuch ob: ox cah uan ka:		Then they arrived at Ox Cah Uan Ka (69);	
Ca bin ob: sac bacel caan:		Then they arrived at Zac Bacel Caan (70);	

896. Roys 1967: 72, note 1 cites the folk etymology *muan a* 'sparrowhawk well' and the pun on *mun* 'soft'. I believe he is correct.

900. Roys 1967: 72, note 2 suggests that this is the modern Yakal.

906. The juxtaposition of two Nahuatlisms is of interest: *p'en cuyut* 'lusting coyote' and *pax ueuet* 'beat (drum) the drum'. In both cases the first element is Mayan, the second Nahuatl.

909. Roys 1967: 72, note 5 suggests that this is Chichican, footnoting Stephens.

915. Modern Tiholop [Roys 1967: 72, note 8].

Ca kuch c
U kaba
Macalob:⁴
Y etel
Ca utzac

T an u
Ua utz: la
Ua u n:

Tzol pete
T u th:
Ca yumil
Ti Dios
Lay tzol p
Lay sih

La yx tzo
He ob
Kabansah
Kabans:

Kabansah
Kabans:

T u men
Uay: u
Ca kuch
Subin
Kau a:
Cum c
Ti em tur
Em ob

Siçal:
Sac ii:
Ti tz'oox
Ti tz'c

919. R
causeway
921. R
to me.
941. R
geograph:
944. N
946. A
950. P

A (44);
Ix Peton Cah

hab Balam (46);
Tah Cum

Bal Che (48);
Ixmal (49);
then they went

Auna (51),
their words,
their

Loch Hok (52);
Chac Akal (53);
Ne Ceh (54);
al when they

Tun Ich (55);
uc Nal Chac

Cuyut (57);
ax Ueuet (58);
ay A (59);
Tistis (60), as it

hi Can (61);
Ix Meuac (62);
unac Thi (63);
Tzal (64);
imus Bul Na

Ix Can (66);
op (67);
Che Mi Uan

x Cah Uan Ka

Zac Bacel

owhawk

ut 'lusting
element is

ing Stephens.

Ca kuch ob: cetelac:.*
U kaba cah.
Macalob:.*
Y etel u kaba cheenob:
Ca utzac y oheltaual t ux man ob:

T an u ximbaltic ob: y ila ob
Ua utz: lay peten:
Ua u nahma cahtal ob: uay lae:

Tzol peten u kaba
T u than ob
Ca yumil
Ti Dios
Lay tzol peten.
Lay sihes y okol cab. t u lacal

La yx tzol xan:.
He ob la e
Kabansah peten u cah ob:
Kabansah ch'een u cah ob:

Kabansah ca cab u cah ob

Kabansah luum u cah ob:

T u men ma mac kuchuc uay e:
Uay: u cal peten
Ca kuch on. uay la e:.*
Subin che:
Kau a:
Cum can ul:.*
Ti em tun ti:
Em ob ti tun i:.*

Siçal:
Sac ii:
Ti tz'ooc:
Ti tz'ooc u than katun i:.*

Then they arrived at Cetelac (71).
920 These are the names of the towns
Of the dam people
And the names of the wells.
So that it may be known where they
passed,
When they explored to see
925 Whether this country was good,
Whether it was really suitable that
they live here.
The Ordered Country was its name,
They told
Our Father
930 Who is God.
It was he who ordered the country;
It was he who created the whole
earth around,
So he ordered it too,
But really it was they
935 Who named the lands of their towns,
Who named the wells of their
towns,
Who named the villages of their
towns,
Who named the fields of their
towns.
Because no one had come here,
940 Here to the neck of the country,
When we came here:
To Zubin Che (72),
Kau A (73),
Cum Can Ul (74);
945 To Eb Tun (75),
Where they descended on the
stones;
To Zizal (76),
Valladolid (77);
To Tz'ooc (78),
950 Where they finished the word of the
katun;

919. Roys 1967: 72, note 9 locates Cetelac at Yaxuna, the west end of the causeway that leads to Coba.

921. Roys 1967: 72 has 'whatever towns there were', which is mysterious to me.

941. Roys 1967: 72, note 11 infers a temporal break here. I don't think so: the geographic order of the towns listed is smoothly continuous.

944. Now Cuncunul.

946. A pun on *eb* 'stairway' and *em* 'descend'.

950. Possibly a pun on *tz'oc* 'coconut' and *tz'ooc* 'finish'.

Ti mocon popol a:	To Mozon Popol A (79),
Ti hay u pop katun i—*	Where they spread the mat of the <i>katun</i> ;
Ti pixoy:	To Pixoy (80),
Ua yum haa:	Uayum Ha (81),
Sac ba	955 Zac Ba(cel) (82),
Can:*	Can (83);
Ti num	To Num (84),
Ti num chi thantab ob i*	Where many details were told them;
Ti macal popol a:	To Macal Popol A (85),
Ti u tzolah ob u pop: katun i:	960 Where they arranged the mat of the <i>katun</i> ;
T ix macculum:	To Ix Mac Ulum (86),
Ti u ma cah ob than i:	Where they did not settle the word;
Tz'it haas	Dzitas (87),
Bon kauil:	Bon Kauil (88);
T ix mex:	965 To Ix Mex (89),
Kochilla:*	Kochil (90) there;
T ix xocen:	To Ix Xocen (91),
Chun pak:	Chun Pak (92),
Piba hul:	Piba Hul (93),
Tun kaas:	970 Tun Kaaz (94),
Haal tun haa:	Hal Tun Ha (95),
Kuxbil a:	And Kuxbil A (96) there,
Tz'itz'il che:	Tz'itz'il Che (97);
Ti cool:	To Cool (98),
Sitil	975 Zitil (99),
Pech:	Pech (100),
Chalam te:	Chalam Te (101),
Ti chalh i*	Which was to cleanse their hearts;
Y ol ob i:	Itzam (102),
Ytzam thulil:	980 Thulil (103);
Ti pakab:	To Pakab (104),
Ti paklah ob i:*	Which was expecting them;
(8) Ti ya . . .	To Ya (105),
An sah cab:	(C)an Zahcab (106),

952. Possibly a pun on *pop* 'wide' and *pop* 'mat'. See also Roys 1967: 72–73, note 13. The Mayan — is my .

956. Cf. Zac Bacel Caan; line 918.

958. This is a pun on *num* 'thorn' in the place-name and the verb *num-chi* 'notify, explain'.

966. Roys 1967: 73, note 1 locates Kochil just north of the Coba-Yaxuna causeway.

978. Possibly a pun on Chalam Te 'flattened tree' and *chal* 'wash'.

982. Roys 1967: 73 identifies Itzam Thulil as Izamal and Tipakab as "[?Tepakam]." In the latter case there appears to be a pun on *pak* 'plant' and *paklah* 'expect', and Roys finds 'unite' as well.

Tz'itz'om
Yc tun
tz'itiz'.

Tz'itz' hol
T u nol

Ca tal mu
Sac nic

Sotz'il:

Uay

T u mul ti
Mul tur

Mutul e:

Muxup

Ake:

Hoc tu

Ti cumlah

T u chu

Xoc ch'el

Boh e

Sah cab ha

Tzan la

Human

Ti hum

Than y ok

Ti hum

U pectzile

Chalam

Pa cax ua:

U kaba

Te kit:

Ti kit y

Y okol ch

Ppuppu

986. Re
possible b

988. It

993. I k

my own 'c

1004. F

"[Sanahca

1009. F

hum meai

compressi

1011. F

Mani betv

1014. F

1016. F

ie mat of the	Tz'itz'om tun Yc tun u mam ob: ti che choc tz'iitz':*	985 Tz'itz'om Tun (107), At the stone of their maternal grandfathers in Che Choc Tz'iitz' (108);
were told them;	Tz'itz' hol tun: popol a: T u nohol sinan che:*	Tz'itz' Hol Tun Popol A (109), To the south of Zinan Che.
the mat of the	Ca tal muc i: Sac nicte cheen:	Then came Muci (110) 990 And Zac Nicte Ch'cen (111)
ettle the word;	Sotz'il: Uay T u mul tumtah ob katun e.* Mul tumut u kaba: uay Mutul e: Muxup'ip':	And Zotz'il (112). Here They commemorated that <i>katun</i> . Mul Tumut (113) was its name here, 995 And Motul (114), Muxu P'ip' (115),
cre,	Ake: Hoc tun: Ti cumlah ob T u chun tun i: Xoc ch'el Boh e Sah cab haa Tzan lah cat*	Ake (116), Hoc Tun (117), Where they settled 1000 At the base of the stone; Xoc Ch'el (118), Bohe (119), Zahcab Ha (120), Tzanlah Cat (121),
e their hearts;	Human Ti humn i Than y okolob i Ti human i U pectzilob i* Chalam te: Pa cax ua:*	1005 Human (122), Which was strengthened, Said their belief, Which was strong— Their awareness; 1010 Chalam Te (123), Pacax Ua (124);
g them;	U kaba uay e: c u than ob: Te kit: Ti kit y ala ytzaob i:*	"This is its name," they said; Tekit (125), "Which is spread out," the Itzas said;
	Y okol cheen Ppuppul ni huh*	1015 Y Okol Ch'een (126), P'up'ul Ni Huh (127);

986. Roys 1967: 73, note 2 suggests reading *chochoc* as 'loosely tied', which is possible but doesn't seem to go anywhere. I confess that I am stumped.

988. It is.

993. I know of no independent validation for Roys' 1967: 73 'council of war' or my own 'commemoration of the *katun*'. Take your choice.

1004. Roys 1967: 73 queries "[Sancaba?]" and identifies Tzanlah Cat as "[Sanahcat]."

1009. Roys 1967: 73 has 'where there were noisy talks and rumors about them'; *hum* means 'strong, hum', *y okol* 'around, about', and *pectzil* 'awareness, compression'.

1011. Roys 1967: 73, note 3 puts Pacax Ua on the border of the province of Mani between Chumayel and Sotuta (citing Stephens).

1014. Pun on Tekit '(?)' and *ti kit* 'which is strewn'.

1016. Roys 1967: 73 suggests that this may be Huhi.

7: 72-73,

num-chi 'no-

ixuna

is
nt' and

Huh u uay ob	Iguana was their nagual.	
Ca hok ob i:	Then there appeared	
Tz'otz'il e:	The bat people	
Ti ab:	1020 At Teabo (128)	
Bitun ch'een uchc i	And Bitun Ch'een (129);	
Y ocol ob ti pikal	They came from Pikal (130);	
U kaba cheen: uchc i	The well had been named	
U tippilob*	By their constables.	
Ca bin ob poc huh u kaba cheen:	1025 Then they went to Poc Huh (131), the	
	name of the well,	
Uchci u pocicob huh:	And they roasted iguanas.	
Ca bin ob: manii:	Then they went to Mani (132)	
Ti man kah i than ti ob i:*	And purchased pinole, they told	
	them.	
Ca kuch ob ti tz'aan	Then they came to Tz'am (133)	
Ox kin tz'amann ob i:*	1030 And soaked for three days.	
Ca bin ti cul:	Then they went to Ticul (134),	
Sac luum cheen:*	To Zac Luum Ch'een (135),	
Ti x tohil cheen:*	And Ix Tohil Ch'een (136),	
Ti tohci: y ol ob i:	Which straightened then their	
	hearts;	
Ca bin ob balam kin	1035 Then they went to Balam Kin (137),	
U petennil ah kinob:	The country of the sun priests;	
Ch'een ch'omac:	Ch'een Ch'omac (138),	
Sac nicteel tz'onot:	Zac Nicteel Tz'onot (139),	
Ti yax cab:	Yax Cab (140),	
Uman:	1040 Uman (141),	
Ox cum:	Ox Cum (142),	
San hil:*	Zan Hil (143),	
Ych caan si	And Heaven Born	
Hoo:	Merida (144),	
Ti noh naa	1045 Noh Na (145),	
Noh pat:	Noh Pat (146),	
Poy che na:	Poy Che Na (147),	
Chulul:*	Chulul (148);	
Ca kuch ob t u titz luum cum kal:*	Then they appeared at Titz Luum	
	(149) and Cum Kal (150)	
Ti cumlah u titz paten i:	1050 And softened the point of the	
	country;	

1024. Roys 1967: 73 omits this line.

1028. Pun on Mani, possibly 'passing sparrowhawk', and *man* 'purchase'. Roys 1967: 73 has 'where their language was forgotten by them'.1030. Pun on *ti tz'an* 'at the gathering' and *tz'aman* 'soaked'. Roys 1967: 73 identifies the place as Tz'am.

1032. Sacalum, according to Roys 1967: 73.

1033. Xtohil, according to Roys 1967: 73.

1042. Samahil, according to Roys 1967: 73.

1048. Cholul, according to Roys 1967: 73.

1049. Titz Luum 'point of land'. Roys 1967: 73 respells Cum Kal as Conkal.

Sic pach:

Yax ki

(9) Ti x l

Cuc a

Ch (...)

(...)

Ekol

Ekol: t

(...):

Ti x u

Uhumtal

Tal hu

Ti x kani

Ti x >

Yum xul:

U yun

Hol tun :

Acan :

Ti cooh:*

Ti ch:*

Ti chac*

Maya

Y okol h

Ca bir

Nabul a:

Ti x n

Ti x kan

Tz'oyi

Ca kuch

Ti sip

Ti sip u t

Ti sip

1056.

Ch

1064.

1067.

1069.

1071.

1076.

1078.

1082.

rious bu:

L.	Sic pach:	Zic Pach (151),
	Yax kukul:	Yax Kukul (152),
	(9) Ti x kokob:	Ix Kokob (153),
	Cuc a:	Cuc A (154),
al (130);	Ch (.....)	1055 Ch ...
ed	(.....) xan:*	... also,
	Ekol	Ek Ol (155):
Huh (131), the	Ekol: u kaba ch('een)	Ek Ol is the name of the well.
	(.....): ti x ueue:	(Then they reached) Ix Ueue:
anas.	Ti x ueue u kaba ch'een uay e:	1060 Ix Ueue (156) is the name of that well.
ii (132)	Uhumtal	Uhumtal (157)
c, they told	Tal hun hatz i:	Came to one division;
	Ti x kani macal:	To Ix Kani Macal (158),
im (133)	Ti x Xaan*	To Xaan (159),
days.	Yum xul: uchc i	1065 To Yum Xul (160),
il (134),	U yumtic u haan:	For the adoption of sons-in-law;
i (135),	Hol tun ake:*	Hol Tun Ake (161),
6],	Acan queh:	Acan Ceh (162).
then their	Ti cooh:*	Cooh (163),
	Ti ch'ahil.	1070 Ch'ahil (164);
m Kin (137),	Ti chac*	To Chac (165)
un priests;	Mayapan: ych paa:	And Mayapan (166) inside the walls.
	Y okol haa:	Over the water
(139),	Ca bin ob:	Then they went:
	Nabul a:	1075 To Na Bul A (167),
	Ti x mucuy:*	Ix Mucuy (168),
	Ti x kan hub e:	Kan Hub (169),
	Tz'oyil a:*	Tz'oyil A (170).
	Ca kuch ob	Then they appeared
	Ti sip	1080 At Zip (171):
	Ti sip u than ob i:	In sin they spoke;
	Ti sip u can ob i:*	In sin they taught.
Titz Luum		
l]		
nt of the		

'chase'. Roys

s 1967: 73

s Conkal.

1056. Two lines missing. Roys 1967: 18 supplies them from Berendt:

Ch'een Balam,
Bolon Nic xan.

1064. Texan, according to Roys 1967: 73.

1067. Roys 1967: 73 says "[Ake?]."

1069. Tecoh, according to Roys 1967: 73.

1071. Roys 1967: 73 says "[Telchaquillo?]."

1076. Timucuy, according to Roys 1967: 73.

1078. Tz'oyola, according to Roys 1967: 73.

1082. The ceremonial circuit ends here, and an account begins of the more serious business of distributing land titles.

Act 9

Ca hop i:
 U hetz' luumob
 Y ahauob i:
 Ti y anah
 Y ah kin palon cab i:
 Heklay y ah kinob e

Mutecpul u kaba;*
 He ah kin palon cab e: ah may

He ah kin mutecpul e:
 Ah canul:
 Uayyom ch'ich' ix xan
 Nunil i xan:
 Y u ca tun ah chable:
 Ah ych caan si hoo:
 Hol tun balam:
 U mehen:
 Lay u chaah
 Yx yaxum chakan e:
 Ti tun kuch i:
 U lak ahauob i:
 La ob i ahau
 U nup u than ob e
 Ti y ahaulilob
 Ti buluc ahau tun: u kaba c uch i:

Ca u hetz'ah cabob i:
 Ca ix ti hetz' luum nahob i

Act 10

Ca ix cahlah ob i:
 Ych caan si hoo:.*
 Ca em ob
 Ah hol tun ake:
 Ca em ob:
 Ah sabac nailob:

Act 9

Then began
 The seating of the lands
 1085 And the lords
 Who were
 The sun priests of the ceded land.
 This is the account of their sun
 priest
 Named Mutecpul;
 1090 He was the sun priest of the ceded
 land, the cycle priest.
 He was the sun priest Mutecpul
 And Can Ul,
 And Uayom Ch'ich' also,
 And also Nunil,
 1095 On the second *tun* of Chable
 Of Heaven Born Merida.
 Hol Tun Balam
 Was his son.
 This was the cession
 1100 Also of the blue bird to Chakan;
 It then appeared
 And the rest of the lords.
 These are the lords
 Who talked back
 1105 To their lordship
 For the 11 Ahau time as it was
 named.
 Then they seated the lands,
 And then their lands and houses
 were seated.

Act 10

And then they settled
 1110 Heaven Born Merida
 And went down
 To the Hol Tun Ake people.
 Then they went down,
 The Zabac Na people,

1089. Roys 1967: 73 reads this as Motul, but it clearly isn't. I read it as Nah. *motecpilli* 'your noble', here identified as Jaguar or lord of the *katun* (cycle priest), destined to rule in 11 Ahau (1539). Like the other lords mentioned, Mutecpul was a Xiu.

1110. There follows a listing of the towns in which titles to lands and houses have been settled: Merida, Ake, Zabac Na, Copo, Chac Te, and Tabi. All of these are in Xiu territory.

Ca tun
 Y e
 Y et a
 He
 U chu
 Ah
 Ca tun
 Te
 Ti y a
 Ti l
 Ti lic
 Ho
 (10) (.
 (. . .
 (. .
 Lay u
 Co
 (. . .
 lx i
 Chac
 Ch
 ob

Act 1
 Teppa
 Lay
 Lay a
 P'is
 He tu

U l
 Uuc l
 Ah

11:
 moni
 Surve
 11:
 11:
 Balan
 11:
 11:
 11:
 11:
 11:
 11:

ands

ceded land.
of their sunst of the ceded
t.
Mutecpul

so,

Chable
rida.

l to Chakan;

ords.

e as it was

ands,
; and houses

people.

e,

it as Nah.
(cycle priest),
Mutecpuland houses
All of these

Ca tun kuch ob
Y etan
Y et ahaulilob:
He ah sabac nail e:
U chun u unilil:
Ah na:
Ca tun u molah u ba ob
Te ych caan si hoo e:
Ti y an yx pop:
Ti balam.*
Ti lic y ahaulil i:
Hol tun ba tz'am:
(10) (. . . .)*
(. . . .)
(. . . .) ti le y ahaulil

(. . . .) tz'oy*
Lay u chun u uinilil
Copo e:
(. . . .) xiu*
Ix tloual xan:.*
Chac te ahau
Chac te u lumil uchuc y ahaulil
ob

Act II

Teppanquis y ah kin ob:.*
Lay ych tabi lae:.*
Lay ah p'is te
P'is u lumil ob e:
He tun lubte u lumil

U luubob e:
Uuc lub cab:.*
Ah may he tun:

1115 And then they appeared
Together
With their fellow lords.
These were the Zabac Na,
The root of the people
1120 Of the Na lineage.
And then they gathered together
There in Heaven Born Merida,
Which also had the mat
For the Jaguar,
1125 Which was like the lordship,
The Jaguar Spring throne.
(. . . .)
(. . . .)
(Which was the) generation of the
lordship
1130 (Of Pochek Ix) Tz'oy.
He was the head of the people
Of Copo
And was a Xiu
And Spokesman as well.
1135 Chac Te was the lord;
Chac Te's was the land where their
lordship occurred.

Act II

Tep'anquiz was their sun priest
Who was in Tabi then.
He was the surveyor
1140 Who measured the lands.
He then was to be the marker of the
lands:
He marked them
In seven steps of land.
And it was the cycle priest

1124. There follows a listing of the lords important to the *katun* ending ceremonies: the Jaguar (Mutecpul), the Spokesman of the Jaguar (Pochek Ix Tz'oy), Surveyor (Tep'anquiz), Sweeper, and Wakener of the Land.

1127. Two lines missing.

1130. Missing words supplied by Roys 1967: 18 from Berendt to read: *Hol tun Balam ti t u ch'eene tili c y ahaulili Pochekix tz'oy*.

1133. Berendt says Tutul Xiu [Roys 1967: 18].

1134. I read Nah. *tlatoani* 'speaker'.

1137. Nah. *tepanquiz* 'supervisor'.

1138. Roys 1967: 74 reads 'he was looked upon as such'.

1143. Roys 1967: 74 considers a *lub* 'rest stop' as the equivalent of a league.

Accunte u xukil u luumob
 Ah accunte u xukil
 Ah mis miste u luum ob
 Lay mis cit ahau e:

He tun hetz'ci cab
 Ti ob e:

Act 12

Lay ho y ahel cab e:

He tun te y ahal cab ti ob e:
 Tum te ahau:*
 Tum te y ahal cab ti ob o:
 Ca hoppi y ocol patan ti ob e:

T u chi ch'een:.*
 Ti kuch uchc i.
 U kuchul u patan: can tul
 uinicob e:

Buluc ahau u'kaba
 U katunil: c uch i:
 Ti baax lah i patan
 Te. cetelac e:

U pakte:
 U chi y anil e:
 Ca tun em i
 U patan hol tun Suhuy
 Ua te: cetelac e:

Ti cet-hi u thanob i
 Ox lahun ahau
 U katunil c uch i:

Ti u kamah ob patan hal ach unicob i

Ca hop i u tepall ob i:
 Ca hop' i ti (pa) y ahaulil ob i:
 Ca hop' i u tanlabalob:

1145 Who then began to scrub the land,
 Who began the scrubbing.
 And the sweeper was to sweep the land.
 He was the lord Sweeper and
 Remover.

He then seated the lands
 1150 For them.

Act 12

And then the fifth priest was the
 Waker of the Land:

He was to mark the dawn for them
 And as lord Renewer
 Was to renew the dawn for them.

1155 Then began the theft of tribute by
 them

At Chichen,
 Which had come
 To be the collector of tribute of the
 four men.

1160 11 Ahau was the name
 Of the *katun* that was occurring,
 Which drove down the tribute
 There at Cetelac.

And they had expected
 That it would be there.

1165 So then bringing down
 The tribute of Hol Tun Zuyua,
 There at Cetelac,
 They compared their records
 For 13 Ahau,

1170 The *katun* period that was
 occurring.

The governors received their tribute
 there;

Then began their rule.

There began what were their lordships;
 Then began their divisions.

Act 13

Ca hop'

Ca ho:

Ca u y at
 ahaulil i:

Ma hu

Lay Cau

Hun h

Lay cau i

Ti cut

T u hol c

(11) C

Act 14

Ca tun b

Ca tui

Ca hop'

Ca tz

Ca hop'

Ca cu

T u cuch

Ca hc

Ma ahau

Chen

Ca ix ala

Ahau:

cuc =

Coot. bi

Ca bir

T u uitzil

Ca bir

lay ah:

La: ci tur

Ca tui

naa:

Ti (.) ti

Ca ho

1153. I can't trace Roys' 1967: 74 references to 'reason'.

1156. Merida had hoped to be able to collect tribute from the eastern towns for confirming their land titles too, but the Itza beat it to it, collecting tribute at Cetelac in the name of Chichen Itza and its Ba Cabs. It was a particular indignity that it collected tribute from Hol Tun Zuyua, in Xiu territory. Eventually the Itza seated *katun* 11 Ahau at Emal, a fact which the Chumayel ignores [see the Tizimin].

1184.
 form is c
 1194.

ab the land,
 obing.
 sweep the land.
 eper and

Is

it was the
 dawn for them

wn for them.
 f tribute by

f tribute of the

as occurring,
 tribute

re.

un Zuyua,

records

it was

their tribute

e.
 their lordships;
 isions.

ern towns for
 ibute at
 ar indignity
 ally the
 is (see

Act 13

Ca hop' i u kuchul u pulul te ob: 1175

Ca hop' i u pulic ob ych ch'een:

Ca u y abac u than ob t u menel y
 ahaulil i:

Ma hul u than ob

Lay Cau ich

Hun hunah ceel e:

Lay cau ich u kaba u kaba u uinicil e: 1180

Ti cuthical

T u hol ch'een

(11) Cheen ti nohol*

Act 14

Ca tun bin i ch'abil

Ca tun hok i y alab u than:

Ca hop' u ch'abal u than:

Ca tz'uni u than:

Ca hop' i y alabal ahaulil:

Ca culhij:

T u cuchil ahauuob: t u men ob.

Ca hop'iy(.) kubal hal ach uinicil:

Ma ahau c uch ij =

Chen u bel ah mex cuc:*

Ca ix alab i

Ahau(i) u pulben: ah mex
 cuc =

Coot. bin: u naa

Ca bin cax ta ui

T u uitzil:

Ca bin: tz'un i: u ch'abal u than
 lay ahau:

La: ci tun y alabal:

Ca tun hop'i: u nacsabal: canal
 naa:

Ti (.) ti ahaulil.

Ca hop'i: u pakal y ebal:

Act 13

Then began the coming of their
 throwing sacrifice:

Then began their throwing people
 in the well.

Then their words were to be used up
 for the lordship,

But their words were not used:

It was "Cau Ich

And a certain Hunac Ceel."

This Cau Ich was the name of the man

Who was being seated

At the head of the well

To the south.

Act 14

1185 So then he went to create it,

And then he asked to speak his
 word,

And he began the creation of his word.

Then he began to speak it.

Then began the speaking of the
 lordship

1190 When he was seated

In the burden of the lords by them.

Then began the speeches of the
 governors.

But the lord was not seated,

Only the path of Mex Cuc.

1195 And then it was said

That the lordship was the sacrifice
 of Mex Cuc.

Eagle will be his mother;

Then he will be found in disguise

In the hills.

Then this lord began to create his
 word.

1200

Sweet then was the speech.

Then began the erection of the high
 house

For the lordship.

Then began the use of steps.

1184. Roys 1967: 75, note 3 quite rightly points out that the sacrificial platform is on the south side of the cenote at Chichen Itza.

1194. Cau Ich was not seated; Mex Cuc was.

Ca tun culhi
Ti canal na:
Ychil ox lahun ahau
Uac tepal.*

Act 15

Ca tz'uni: u kuchul
U y abil u th(an:) u kin:
U ua ah mex cuc: u kaba
Ca u pulal
Natz'an ba
Ca u kin ah mex cuuc*
Ci: ca yac, cuntab i:
Ca hop'i u yum in taual i:

Ca hop'i u tzicil i:
T u kaba ah mex cuuc:
Ca tun tzic i
Ca tun tanlab i.
Te t u chi ch'een e:
Chi ch'een ytzam. u kaba =*

T u men ti bin ytza
Ca u lukah u tunil cab i:

U tunil uilil*
Cuch itzam:
Luk ca bin ychil haa:*

Act 16

Ca tun hop'i y ocol num ya.

Te chi ch'en ytza e:
Ca tun bin i te likin e:

1205 And then he was seated
In the high house
In 13 Ahau,
The sixth rule.

Act 15

Then he began to come
1210 To speak the word of the day,
The elevation of Mex Cuc by name,
Then his throwing.
And they were close together—
The two days of Mex Cuc.
1215 Truly when he was elevated,
Then began the father of my
pretended return:
Then began the homage
To the name of Mex Cuc.
So then they honor him
1220 And then they face toward
The direction of the well,
The mouth of the well of the Itza by
name.
Because it will be the Itza
Who then remove the stones of the
earth,
1225 The stones of the moon.
The burden of the Itza
Will be removed when he shall be in
the water.

Act 16

So then began the entrance of
suffering
There at the well mouth of the Itza.
1230 And then they will go there to the
east,

1208. That is, they constructed a stepped platform and enthroned Mex Cuc on it. The sixth rule may refer to the fact that there were six claimants to the seat of the *katun* in 13 Ahau. [There were actually more, but not all of them appear in the Chumayel.]

1214. He didn't rule for long.

1222. The MS has Itzam here and in line 1226. Shades of Itzam Na! I think this is left over from some earlier version that was an Itza status claim.

1225. That is, it was time to deface the *katun* monuments, since 13 Ahau ended the Itza cycle.

1227. That is, the rule of the Itza was supposed to end.

Ca ku y
Ah k
Talel u
Chi c
ucho
Ca tun

Ca t(

(. . . .)
(. . .

Act 17

(. . . .)
C(a t
(. . . .)
(. . .
(. . . .)
(12)
Ca ahau
C u t
Ca ti y
He c

C u thal
Ti el
Tz'itz' t
U chi
U kakna
Num
Ciy y al
Cij y
Ca chiib
U cuc
Ca okle
U u i
Ca tup i
U u i
Ca hok
Y olc

1232
nating t
1234
lords fo
Berendt
1237
1241

the day,
uc by name,

ether—
Cuc.
ated,
r of my

Cuc.

ward
ll,
ll of the Itza by

za
stones of the

a
ie shall be in

trance of

of the Itza.
there to the

Mex Cuc on
o the seat of
appear in

I think this

3 Ahau

Ca ku y ical
Ah kin cob(.)^{*}
Talel u cah uaxac ahau katun
Chi chi uaxac ahau u kaba katun:
uchc i ta pa(.)^{*}
Ca tun hoki u hel katun

Ca t(un) hok i (.) hel y ahauob i
(. . . .)^{*}
(. . . .)

Act 17

(. . . .)
C(a tun hok i
(. . . .)^{*}
(. . . .)
(. . . .)
(12) Ti numn i.
Ca ahaulil i:
C u than ob y ah kin ti ob:
Ca ti y ocsah ob kin tu(n) y abil:
He c u talel: kin tun y abil a.

C u than ob:
Ti el i:
Tz'itz' ti el i:
U chi kaknab:
U kaknabil:
Num ya la e:
Cij y alabal canal lae:
Cij y alabal ob:
Ca chiib i:
U cuch kin e:
Ca oklemhij:
U u ich kin e:
Ca tup i
U u ich:
Ca hok i:
Y olob canal:

The two gods together with
The sun priest of Coba,
Coming to begin *katun* 8 Ahau.
Tiny little 8 Ahau was the name of
the make-believe *katun*.

1235 And then appeared the change of the
katun:
And then appeared the change of
the lords.

(. . . .)
(. . . .)

Act 17

(. . . .)
1240 And then appeared
(. . . .)
(. . . .)
(. . . .)
Which was endured
1245 During the lordship,
The sun priests told them
When they ended the calendar round.
This is the coming of this calendar
round,
They say,
1250 Which burns,
It is a cycle which burns
The edge of the sea
And the sea itself:
The suffering is that.
1255 Just the judgment of heaven it was,
Just their judgment.
Then was set down
The burden of the sun.
Then was perhaps the departure
1260 Of the face of the sun.
Then was quenched
Its high face.
Then were strangled
The orbs of heaven,

1232. That is, Cau Ich and Hunac Ceel join the sun priest of Coba in terminating the ceremony, moving to the east to do so.

1234. This ends the drama, which is followed by the inauguration of the new lords for 11 Ahau. Roys 1967: 19 reads *tepal(lob)*, supplying the last syllable from Berendt. I think it is *ta pa* 'false appearance', which is what the MS says.

1237. Three lines missing.

1241. Three lines missing.

Ti el i:
C u than y ah kin ti ob:
Ti tz'oci u than:
Ca ahaulil i:
C u than y ah kin ti ob:

Act 18

Ca hop' i
U tucul tz'ib pach kin:
Ca y ubah
Ca ix y ilah ob:
U:

Act 19

Ca tal ob y ahaulil i:
Boob:
He ix tziu
Nene:
Lay ti oces keban t oon:
U munnal cab:
Ca ti tal i:
Ca bin tz'ococ u than katun:

U tzacil katun:
Ca ti talsab i:

Bi c a than ex
C ex
Y ahaulil ex
Cab ex e:
Ti oc tun u than
U y anal katun:
U tz'oc katun
Talsab i
Yx tziu
Nene:

Act 20

Ca ylab i
U picul katun ti ob:
Ca hop' i
U cimsabal ob:
Ca utzcinab i
U y oyteel:

Which burned,
1265 The sun priests told them.
"That has ended the word
Of our lordship,"
The sun priests told them.

Act 18

1270 Then they began
Thinking of writing the past sun.
Then they listened
And then they saw
The moon.

Act 19

1275 Then came the lordships,
The stalks,
And they were Centipedes
And Gnats.
That was what brought sin to us,
1280 The slavery of the land,
Which is what is coming
When the word of the *katun* shall
be accomplished,
The curse of the *katun*.
Then that is what will be brought
about,
1285 Just as you say:
You,
Your lordships,
And your lands.
So goes then the word,
1290 The nature of the *katun*.
The *katun* is finished
And accomplished.
And the Centipedes
And Gnats.

Act 20

1295 Then were seen:
Thousands of soldiers of them.
Then began
The slaughter of them.
Then was attained
1300 The weakening of them:

U sak ch
U che
Ca hop'i
T u m
Ca hop'i
U pay
Cab oob
Ca bi
U kikel:
Ca ch
T u men
Ca tu
(. . . .)
(. . . .)
U tz'oc l
Ti ob:
(. . . .)
(. . . .)
(. . . .)
Na tz
(. . . .)
(. . . .)
(. . . .)
(. . . .)
(. . . .)

1311.
1312.

13.

(105) U
Na tz
U chi
U tha
Hahal ku
Ti per
Lay a pal
U hol
Y ah kin
Uil bi

l them.	U sak cheil:	The white stick
ord	U chebal u cimil	And clubbing to death.
	Ca hop'i u chulul:	Then began shooting
tem.	T u menel: ox halal chan:	With three-pronged arrowheads.
	Ca hop'i	1305 Then began
	U payal y ahaulil i:	The division of the lordships
	Cab oob:	And their lands.
	Ca bini	Then will be
ie past sun.	U kikel:	Bloodshed
	Ca ch'ab i.	1310 When it is seized
	T u men ah cehob:*	By the deer people.
	Ca tun hak y ol ob*	So then it will strangle their will.
	(. . . .)	(. . . .)
	(. . . .) kin	. . . sun
	U tz'oc katun:	1315 The end of the war
	Ti ob:	For them
ps,	(. . . .)	(. . . .)
edes	(. . . .)	(. . . .)
	(. . . .) tich':	. . . raise
t sin to us,	Na tz'an u	1320 Approaching the
nd,	(. . . .)	(. . . .)
ng	(. . . .)	(. . . .)
ie katun shall	(. . . .)al ka	. . . ness indeed
	(. . . .)	1325 (. . . .)
	(. . . .)	(. . . .)

1311. Roys 1967: 77 translates *ah cehob* as 'archers'.

1312. The next fourteen lines are largely missing.

13. The Sermon of Tzin Yabun

ts of them.	(105) U <i>profeciado</i>	The prophecy
m.	Na tzin yabun chan	Of Tzin Yabun the Younger:
tem:	U chi	His mouth,
	U than (i)	1330 His word.
	Hahal ku	Sole God
	Ti peten	In the country:
	Lay a pak	This is your expectation:
	U hokol e yum e (ii)	The appearance of your Father.
	Y ah kinob	1335 The sun priests
	Uil bin puchc ob uchmal e	May be going to return.

Tz'a
C ex (iii)
Ka a nat t u than
T u tzacil ka e
A pixan ex (iv)
Ca h bin hahal kamic e

Xeth a u ol
T a kul ah (v) ytza e
Tubes a hauay ku
A sat a tay ku
Lo e (vi) t u lacal
Y anil
Ah tepal e
Yum e
Y ah ch'aabul caan (vii)
Y etel luum tucinil
Lay ya t a u ol
Yn u alic t ech o

Maya (viii)
Ah ytza e*
Ma a kat a u uy y anil Dios

Haaha (ix) kul t a than o

Lay u y ocol tun t a u ol
U than (x) yn tzec lae.

Give
Ye
Indeed help in the Word,
1340 And indeed direct
Your souls,
And you will begin to receive the
truth.
Broken is your spirit
In your worship, O Itza.
1345 Forget your finished gods;
Destroy your ended gods.
That is all
That exists:
The ruler
1350 And Father,
Creator of heaven
And the lying earth.
This is the pain in your hearts
That I speak to you then,
1355 O Maya
And Itza.
You did not seek to hear of the
existence of God,
The truth of your God that you
speak of.
This is his entry then into your hearts.
1360 The word of my punishment is this.

1356. The implication is explicit here [but diffuse elsewhere] that the "Maya" were the Xiu or western Maya, while the "Itza" were the eastern Maya. This usage is specific to the Chumayel; the Tizimin refers directly to the "Xiu."

14. The Building of the Pyramids

(15) Ti haab
De mil quinientos quarenta y uno.

181 Tz'uul
A t. 5:
Dik: 9
2n hel e*

In the year
Of 1541.
The midyear of the foreigners
At Merida
1365 Was the ninth of December
Of the yearbearers.

[note 1366 on following page]

9: U kah
Utzcil
hereg.
8.0.0.0.0 Ox kal k
Ca ta

11.15.0.0.0 T u men
Nucu
Ca ix ta

U uni
U kaba i
Y anil
Ti y an c
Ca ul
Sn. Bern
Ti car
Ca cims:
T u n
Hereges
U kat

156 u cu
15 añ

1366.
chapter:
interesti
of rebus
this: 181
Christia
to the Ju
was con
leap year
to Decer
correcte
cember l
year is a
1541 is s
of Merid
There
ho 'five'
expressio
personify
1370.
is that th
five katu
1374.
is certair
1379.
of San Be
1386.

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to receive the

Itza.
ods;
gods.ir hearts
then,

ar of the

od that you

into your hearts.
ishment is this.t the "Maya"
ya. This usage

eigners

nber

following page]

9: U kahlay t in tz'ibtah uche i
Utzcinnabal mul t u men
heregesob

8.0.0.0.0 Ox kal katun utzcinnab i
Ca tac holhun pis katun*

11.15.0.0.0 T u men tah ob
Nucuch uinicob
Ca ix ta bin y ala

U unicolob Cartabona*
U kaba u lumil
Y anil ob hele lae
Ti y an ob i
Ca ul i
Sn. Bernabe*
Ti cambesah
Ca cimsabi ob
T u men uinicob
Heregesob
U kaba u uinicilob.

156 u cuch hele e
15 años*

The account that I have had written
Of the completion of the mounds
by the heretics.

Three score *katuns* were completed;
Then it approached fifteen
measured *katuns*.

Because they did it,
The great peoples.
And then while they were going to
speak,

The peoples of Constantinople,
1375 The name of the land
Where they had moved then,
There they were
When there came
Saint Barnaby.

1380 Who had them instructed.
Then they had him killed
By the people,
The heretics,
As the people were called.

1385 In 1556 the burden changed.
It was fifteen years.

1366. Roys 1967: 79, note 10 comments, "Probably a confused imitation of the chapter-heading in some Spanish history." Actually this is something much more interesting: it is a calendrical correlation and at the same time the only example of rebus writing in the *Books of Chilam Balam* (Edmonson 1976). It works like this: 181 is a reference to the number of days from January 1 to June 30 in the Christian calendar in a non-leap year. The colonial Maya correlated their calendar to the Julian one at the convenient year 1 lx, which began on July 16, 1555. This was convenient because all lx years are leap years. They did not write down the leap year correlation because it could easily be computed mentally. The reference to December 9 is the date of the winter solstice. In 1541 this would have had to be corrected by adding 3 lx (leap) year days, thus giving the correct Julian date, December 12. The whole assertion here is simply that the middle of the Christian year is analogous to the winter solstice, the middle of the Mayan one. The year 1541 is selected for comment because that was the date of the Spanish founding of Merida.

There are three rebus elements in the text: 1. (Sp. *te*) for Mayan *ti* 'at'; 5, Mayan *ho* 'five' (hence *Ti Ho* 'Merida'); and 2, Mayan *ca* 'two', which thus initiates the expression *can hel* 'four changers', the usual expression for 'yearbearers', who here personify the Mayan year count.

1370. Three score *katuns* would be three *baktuns*. I believe the assertion here is that the Maya began building the pyramids in 8.0.0.0.0 (46) and finished seventy-five *katuns* later in 11.15.0.0.0 (1520). A more precise date is given later.

1374. *Cartabona* appears to me to be a garbled reference to Constantinople. It is certainly a foreign word [Maya has no r].

1379. Roys 1967: 80, note 2 says, "Possibly a reference to the battle on the day of San Bernabé at Merida." Saint Barnaby became Merida's patron saint.

1386. It is not clear what burden changed. This would be the seventeenth year

[note continued on following page]

9: Hel e t in tz'ibtah uchc i		In return I have had written
Y utzcinn (16) nabal nucuch		The completion of the great
muullob		mounds
T u men ch'iballo		By the lineages,
Y etel he c en baal u mentah	1390	And that was something the lords
ahauuob		had done.
He x lic u mentic ob mull e		Hence in fact they built these mounds
Ox lahun te katun		In thirteen <i>katuns</i>
11.13.6.0.0 Ca tac uac p'el haab i*		And just about six years.
Lic y utzcinnic ob cuch i		Then they finished the job.
He ix u chun mul	1395	Thus then was the origin of the
		mounds
Y utzcinnah ob e		They completed.
Holhun baak u kaalal u mullil		Some six thousand pyramids were
		walled,
Ca tac lahu y ox kal u much'		And nearly fifty more made the
cuental mul*		total count of the mounds.
Y utzcinnah ob		They finished them
T u yuklah	1400	And they spread all over
Cabil		The land
Peten		And the country.
Bay ti kaknab		Thus it was from the sea
Tac t u chun cab		Nearly to the base of the land.
U patah	1405	They labeled
Ix u kaba ob xan		And also named them,
Y etel u ch'eenil		Together with the wells.
Ca tun utzcinnab i		And then was performed
Mactzil ti ob		A miracle for them
T u men Dios lae	1410	By God there.
Caa el ob		And they were burned
T u men kak		By fire
T u cahal ysrael		In the town of Israel,
Y etel bobil lay a		Together with the stalks there.
U kaahlay katunob	1415	This is the count of the <i>katuns</i>
Y etel haabob		And years

(note continued from preceding page)

of *katun* 11 Ahau, or 1556, and the fifteenth after the Spanish reached Merida. Although early, it is a plausible date for the composition of this text. As noted above (note 1366), the preceding year was 1 lx, initiating the second half of the calendar round.

1393. I believe this is intended as a refinement of the vague date 11.15.0.0.0 cited earlier, hence 11.13.6.0.0 (1467), or shortly after the fall of Mayapan. It is quite possible that major monumental construction was indeed suspended at about that time.

1398. I don't know of anyone who has tried to count the pyramids of Yucatan in modern times, and 6,050 seems like a lot of pyramids. Depending on the area included, it could come to something like five to six pyramids per square mile, or one pyramid for every one hundred or so people. But if small "mounds" are included, the figure might be credible, and it would be just like the Maya to have counted them.

Lukci te
Viroa*
Chac u nes
U ch'ibal

1418. Vi
suppose it t

15. T

(1) U chun
Ah canu
Yx sac (. .
Yx culu
Y ix meher
U pasel
U chu u uir
(. . . .)
9: Y ahau a
U chun t

Ix kan tacay
U chun t

Bolon p'el
Bolon p'
Chac tok t
U tunil =
Ah chac mu
Cab e
Chac ymiix
U tz'ulba
Chacal puc
U cheob

1423. Ro
color of the
1425. Ro
line 1426 fr
1428. Se
1433. Bo
couplet is f
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: katuns

d Merida.
As noted
half of the

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ipan. It is
ended at

of Yucatan
on the area
are mile, or
s" are in-
ya to have

Lukci te
Viroa*
Chac u nescab
U ch'ibal Tutul Xiuob e.

They were removed there
At Babylonia.
They show the relations
1420 And lineage of the Toltec Xiu.

1418. *Viroa* is another garbled foreign name. I reconstruct *(ba)viro(ni)a* and suppose it to be a vague reference to the Babylonian captivity of the Jews.

15. The Ceremonial of the *Hab*

(1) U chun u unicil		The head of the (?) family
Ah canul e		Was Can Ul.
Yx sac (. . . .)*		And the northern [Uaxim]
Yx culux chacah:		(Had) Culux Chacah.
Y ix mehen pa(sel)(. . .)*	1425	And a little (west) hut
U pasel y(ax)um:		Is the hut of the Yaxum,
U chu u uinicil		Whose head of the family
(. . . .)*		Was [Cau Ich],
9: Y ahau ah nohol.		And the lord of the people of the south
U chun u unicil ah noh	1430	Is the head of the family of the
		southerners,
Ix kan tacay u kaba		And Kan Tacay is the name
U chun u uinicil ah puch e:		Of the head of the family of the
		Puch.
Bolon p'el y oc haa u cananma ob:*		Great valleys do they guard;
Bolon p'el uitz u cananma ob:		Great mountains do they guard.
Chac tok tun	1435	Red flint stone
U tunil =		Is the stone;
Ah chac mucen		Red harvest
Cab e		Is the honey;
Chac ymiix (9:) yax che.		Red alligator ceiba
U tz'ulbal: y an ti lakin:	1440	Is the arbor to the east.
Chacal puc te:*		Red bullet trees
U cheob:		Are their trees,

1423. Roys 1967: 15 supplies *uaxim* 'guaje' from Berendt. *Zac* 'white' is the color of the north.

1425. Roys 1967: 15 supplies *ek* 'black, west' and the *ax* of *yaxum* 'blue bird' in line 1426 from Berendt, as well as the *Cau Ich* in line 1428.

1428. See line 1539.

1433. *Bolon* may mean either 'nine' or 'great', and the meaning of this frequent couplet is far from clear. In this context it seems to make sense that the writer intends to assert the greatness of the lords of the four directions.

1441. Identified by Roys 1967: 64, note 7 as a bullet tree [*Bucida*].

Yx chac ya	And red sapotes
Ybillo(b)*	Are their lima beans,
Yx chac*	1445 And red (?)
Akbi lob:	Are their greens.
Chac yx kan tz'ulob	And red yellowbreasts
Yulum oob:	Are their turkeys,
Yx chac op'ool*	And red annonas
Y ixim ob	1450 Are their corn.
Sac tok tun u tunil:	White flint stone is the stone
U tunil ti xaman:	That is their stone to the north.
Sac ymix yax che.	White alligator ceiba
U tz'ulbal:	Is their arbor.
Sac mucen	1455 White harvest
Cab:	Is the honey
Yx sac tan	And whitebreasts
Y ulum ob:	Their turkeys.
Sac yb	White lima beans
Y akbil ob:	1460 Are their greens;
Sac yxim	White corn
Y ixim ob: =	Their corn.
9: Ek tok tun:	Black flint stone
U tunil. ti chikin:	Is their stone to the west.
Ek ymix yax che	1465 Black alligator ceiba
U tz'ulbal:	Is their arbor.
Yx ek hub:*	And black conch
Y ixim ob:	Is their corn,
Yx ek chuch ys:	And black stem yams
Y isil ob:	1470 Are their yams.
Yx ek ucum:	And black roadrunners
Y ulum ob:	Are their turkeys.
Ek akab	Black-as-nights
Chan u nal ob:	Are their corn ears.
Yx ek buul:	1475 And black beans
U buul ob:	Are their beans.
Ek yb:	Black lima beans
Y ibil ob:	Are their lima beans.
Kan tok tun.	Yellow flint stone
U tunil: u nohol	1480 Is the stone of the south.

1444. Roys 1967: 64 omits *ybil(l) ob* 'their lima beans'.

1445. Red what is not specified, but there is no gap in the text, as Roys 1967: 64 implies.

1446. Roys 1967: 64, note 8 sees this as *chac ak* 'red vine' and does not account for *-bil o*.

1449. Roys 1967: 64 reads *op'* as 'toast', which is quite possible. I read it as 'an-nona'. There is, however, no way I can accept *op'ool* as 'toasted'. The inflection is gerundive with verbs. With nouns it may be merely generalizing.

1467. Roys 1967: 64 has 'black speckled corn'. I don't know how he gets there.

Ymix yax
che:
U tz'u
Kanal puc
U che
Yx kan pi
Y isil c
Yx kan pi
Y ulum
Yx kan ka
U nal c
(. .) kan u
U buul
Cabal (. .
(2) Cal
9: Buluc a
U katu
Uc(hc i)
T u pa
Ca hop' t
p'is te:
Y ah p
Ca tun ta
Chac t
Ca tali ua
Xiu tic
Ta muk u
Mis tic

Ta muk u
Ul u lu
Heklay cc
C u p'i
Ca cah i:
U hool
Yx noh: u
U hool
Ox tocoy
U hol u

1500. T
chac te 're
'spread sw
1503. F
ern town
1512. M
ceptions a
1515. C

stone
to the north.

west.

south.

Ymix yax che: — kan ymix yax
che:
U tz'ulbal ob:
Kanal puc te
U che ob:
Yx kan puc te
Y isil ob:
Yx kan puc te ucum
Y ulum ob:
Yx kan kan nal
U nal ob
(. .) kan u uih
U buul ob:
Cabal (.)
(2) Cab ob =
9: Buluc ahau
U katunil
Uc(hc i)
T u pach cuch ob:
Ca hop' talel ah p'is (luum) lay ah
p'is te:
Y ah p'i(s . . .) lub ob.*
Ca tun tali chac te: aban.
Chac tetic u (. .)b ob:
Ca tali uac hab nal hoch*
Xiu tic u lub ob =
Ta muk u talel: mis cit ahau:
Mis tic u lub ob:

Ta muk u talel y ah p'is
Ul u lub ob:
Heklay coch. lub
C u p'isc i:
Ca cah i:
U hool poop:.*
Yx noh: uc:
U hool u poop ah lakin:
Ox tocoy moo*
U hol u poop ti lakin

Alligator ceibas—yellow alligator
ceibas
Are their arbors.
Yellow bullet trees
Are their trees.
1485 And yellow bullet trees
Are their yams.
And yellow bullet tree roadrunners
Are their turkeys.
And bright yellow corn ears
1490 Are their corn ears.
And yellowbacks
Are their beans.
Honey water (?)
Is their honey.
1495 11 Ahau
Was the *katun* count
That occurred
After they gathered.
And the Surveyors began to come there
to P'iz Te
1500 And P'iz Te is their stopping place.
And then came the Red Tree Shrubs
And Chac Te is their stopping place.
Then came the Six-Year Corns
And Xiu Tic is their stopping place.
1505 While there came the Sweeper lords
And Miz Tic was their stopping
place.
While there came the Surveyors
And reached their stopping places.
Open there was a wide stopping place
1510 Which was measured there.
Then came
The counselors:
And Noh Uc,
The counselor of the east people.
1515 The third (priest) Tocoy Mo,
The counselor of the east.

Roys 1967:

is not account

read it as 'an-
inflection is

e gets there.

1500. The "stopping places" are all apparently puns: *p'iz te* 'measuring stick', *chac te* 'red (brazil) tree', *uac y ab nal* 'six-year corn', *xiu tic* 'spread grass', *miz tic* 'spread sweeping/cause to sweep (something)'.
1503. Roys 1967: 65, note 4 suggests that Uuc y Ab Nal is intended: the modern town of Teabo.

1512. Most of the counselors have lineage names documentable elsewhere. Exceptions are Tocoy, Paua, Hel, Ak, E, I, Ban, Tuc, and Uch.

1515. Ox 'three' here and in line 1517 may mean 'third (priest)'.

Ox paua hel
 U hol u pop. ti lakin.
 Ah mis:.*
 U hol u pop. ti lakin. —
 Ba tun
 U hol u pop ti xaman.
 Ah puch
 U hol u pop ti xaman
 Balam na.
 U hol u pop ti xam(an)
 Ake
 U hol pop. ti xaman
 Y ban
 U hol pop. ti chikin
 Ah chab.
 U hol pop ti chikin =
 Ah tu cuch.*
 U hol pop ti chikin.
 Ah yamas
 U hol pop ti nohol.
 Ah puch
 U hol pop ti nohol.
 Cau ich
 U hol pop. ti nohol =
 Ah co uoh
 U hol pop ti nohol.
 Ah puc
 U hol pop ti nohol —
 Chac yx chuuh cabob*
 Ti lakin:
 Chac lol
 U luch ob:
 Chachac nicte:
 U nicte ob:
 Sac yx chuuh cabob.
 Ti xaman
 Sac ix pach tz'au*
 U nicteil ob —

The third (priest) Paua Hel,
 The counselor of the east.
 Ah Mis,
 The counselor of the east.
 1520 Ba Tun,
 The counselor of the north.
 Ah Puch,
 The counselor of the north.
 1525 Balam Na,
 The counselor of the north.
 Ak E,
 The counselor of the north.
 I Ban,
 The counselor of the west.
 1530 Ah Chab,
 The counselor of the west.
 Tuc Uch,
 The counselor of the west.
 1535 Ya Maz,
 The counselor of the west.
 Ah Puch,
 The counselor of the south.
 Cau Ich,
 The counselor of the south.
 1540 Co Uoh,
 The counselor of the south.
 Ah Puc,
 The counselor of the south.
 1545 Little red honeybees
 Are the bees in the east.
 Red blossoms
 Are their cups.
 Bright red flowers
 Are their flowers.
 1550 And white honeybees
 Are in the north.
 And whiteback buds
 Are their flowering plants.

Sac lol
 U luch
 Ek yx chu
 U cab c
 Ek ix lau r
 U nicte
 Ek lol
 U luch
 Kan yx ch
 Ti nohc
 Kan lol*
 U lu(ch
 (Ka)n tzac
 U nicte
 Ca tun y a
 U numt
 Tz'(.) c u :
 Y etel t
 Kin pauah
 Y ah kin
 Lay mekta

Canann
 Ah hul nel
 Tan tun
 Ah yax: ac
 Kin ich

1559. I
 called *lauu*
 black."
 1565. Ic
 1572. A
 Y ete
 U
 1577. A
 note 1519)
 Zamil, anc

1519. Ah 'cane' is sometimes, as here, a lineage name; sometimes (line 1533) it is 'he (whol)' and the usage seems to suggest something like 'Mr.'. The latter usage may be honorific, as it occurs rather randomly.

1533. See note 1519.

1545. The separation of this insignia section from the previous ten insignia (lines 1435 ff.) may be intended to emphasize the role of honey in the ceremony being described. See lines 1570 ff.

1553. I know of no meaning for *tz'au*. Roys 1967: 65, note 7 says, "There is little doubt that here the *pah tz'a* is meant . . ." He identifies it as either *Comelina* or *Callisia*.

lants.

'There is
her Com.

1559. I know of no meaning for *ix lau*. Roys 1967: 65, note 8 says, "The *Ix-laul*, called *laurel* in Spanish, is *Stemmadenia* . . . , the flowers of which are white, not black."

1572. A couplet of the text has been inadvertently omitted:

1577. All four are titled as well as named; hence my interpretation of *ah* (see note 1519). Most of the names are rare, and some of them are unique, viz., Neb, Zamil, and Chinab.

16. Christianity Reaches Merida

11 Ahau
Was the *katur*
That came to the mat,
That came to the throne.

Ti ualaac u than	1585	Which raised its word,	
Ti ualaac y ahaulil i		Which raised the lordship.	
Yax xaal chac		Yaxal Chac	
U u ich ti y ahaulil i:		Was the face in the lordship.	
Emom caanil ual		Descended was the high fan;	
Emom caanil tz'ulub	1590	Descended were the high branch	
Caanil		And the celestial	
Utz'ub		Incense.	
Pecnom u pax		Sounded was his drum;	
Pecnom u soot ah buluc ahau		Sounded was the rattle of the lord of	
		11 Ahau,	
Ti y octe tok y ubte	1595	Who had flint brought to be colored	
Takin yax utz t u ba		And money and fresh turkey for	
		himself.	
T u kin y an sulim chan		At that time there was Zulim Chan;	
T u kin y an chikin putun*		At that time there were western	
		Chontal.	
Uiilnom che		Hungering were the trees;	
Uiilnom tunich	1600	Hungering were the rocks.	
Ah satal uiil		The destroyer hunger	
Ychil ah buluuc ahau katun		Was during the <i>katun</i> of the lord of	
		11 Ahau.	
Buluuc ahau u hop'ol u xocol		11 Ahau was the beginning of the	
Y oklal lay katun y an ca uli		count	
		Because this was the <i>katun</i> when	
tz'ulob		the foreigners arrived.	
Ti u talel ob	1605	When they came,	
Ti likin ca uli ob e		They arrived from the east.	
† Ti ix hop'i <i>christianoil</i> xan i		When Christianity began also,	
Ti lakin u tz'oc than		In the east was its word completed.	
Ych can si hoo		Heaven Born Merida	
U hetz' katun	1610	Was the seat of the <i>katun</i> .	
He u kahlay uchc i		This is the account of what occurred,	
Bal t u mentah ob		Of what they did.	
Manlahci u thanah		The relation is not finished	
Y etel u than ob		With their words.	
He uac manan u nukul t u lalac	1615	It may be there is no meaning to it all:	
He uac hun tatz' manci bay		It may be an error and not true as it	
tz'ibannil e		is written.	
He ca cici nubesabac t u lalac e		If the real meaning is mastered	
		entirely,	
Ma i u il ob e		Why didn't they see it?	
Ma i tun ba hun tz'ibtil ob e		How much may they not have written	
		then?	
Ma ix hach yab tz'iban	1620	Was not much more written,	

1598. Roys 1967: 77 and Barrera 1948: 96 read this as Chakan Putun, which is the way it stands in the Tizimin. This is almost certainly correct; see line 1830.

T u cuch u
T u ba t
Bay u cah
Bay ix a
Ah ake
Bay ah t
Bay ah ych
Bay ah c

Hal ach ya
Ha(14)l
Ma concor

U cibah

He uac ma

Ma ba h
He x oheli
Ca ch'it

Lay tun y c
Ca bin t
Ti tun y ili
Ca tun
Ua bic chu

T u me
Ah kin xu
Ma ix x

Chen t u n
Lay cu a
Ca oci nun
Ca oci c
T u men la
Ti ul i
Y etel hah
Hahal D
He uac u c

T oon
U chun pa
U chun
U chun hc

U chun

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line 1830.

T u cuch u keban than ob

T u ba tan ba ob

Bay u cah y ahau ah ytza ob e

Bay ix ah ytzmal

Ah ake

Bay ah uxmal

Bay ah ych can si hoo

Bay ah citab co uooh xan e

Hal ach yab

Ha(14)l ach uinicob

Ma concon u keban than

U cibah ob t u ba tan ba ob e

He uac ma chican ychil y an uay e

Ma ba hun bin tzoloc i

He x ohelmail talc i

Ca ch'ibal c on maya uinic e

Lay tun y ohel u nucbes

Ca bin u xoc ob y an uay e

Ti tun y ilic

Ca tun u nucbes

Ua bic chucanil u sauin katun

T u men c ah kinob

Ah kin xuluc

Ma ix xuluc u kaba cuchi xan i

Chen t u men lay c u kinil

Lay cu ah kinil

Ca oci num ya

Ca oci *christianoil*

T u men lay hach *christianoob*

Ti ul i

Y etel hahal ku

Hahal D'.

He uac u chun num ya

T oon

U chun patan

U chun *limosna*

U chun hoc mucuuc tza

U chun tz'on bacal tza

Accusing them of conspiring

Against each other?

Thus was the way of the Itzas

As also of the Izamal,

1625 The Ake,

As of the Uxmal,

As of those of Heaven Born Merida,

And as of those of Ci Tab and Co

Uoh as well.

The chiefs were many,

1630 And the governors

Did not buy and sell their

conspiracies;

They came to agreements with one another.

If this is not established in what there is here,

How much more cannot be told!

1635 For in fact the knowledge comes

From the ancestry of us Maya.

This stone knows its meaning,

Which comes from their count that

is here.

One looks at the stone

1640 And divines its meaning.

Whenever the aspirations of the *katun* are found

By our sun priests,

The Xuluc sun priests,

But Not Xuluc was also the name they had.

1645 Only by this was the divination,

And these were the diviners.

When misery came,

When Christianity came

From these many Christians

1650 Who arrived

With the true divinity,

The True God.

For this indeed was the beginning of misery

For us,

1655 The beginning of tribute,

The beginning of tithes,

The beginning of strife over purse snatching,

The beginning of strife with blowguns,

- U chun cumtan tza
 U chun tocluksah 1660
 U chun tz'al pach p'ax
 U chun pak pach p'ax
 U chun caca tza
 U chun numzah ya
 U chun tocluksah 1665
 U chun u meyahtabal
españolesob
 Y etel ah kinob
 U meyahtabal ba tabob
 U meyahtabal camsahob
 U meyahtabal *fiscalob* 1670
 T u men mehen palalob
 U palil cahob
 Ta muk uchac' numsal ti ya
 Ah num yaob
 Lay hach otzilob e
 Lay hach otzilob ma likul ob i 1675
 Ti lic u mentic
 (15) Cij u tz'aal pach
 Lay u *antachristoil*
 Y okol cabob lae 1680
 Uh cab cohil cahob
 U chamacil cahob
 Uh picil cahob
 Y ah tz'utz'il otzil *maseualob* lae
 He uac bini to kuchuc 1685
 T u kin u kuchul
 Y alil u u ichob
 Y icnal ca
 Ca yumil
 Ti D'.
 Emon u *justisia* ca yumil
 Ti D'.
 Hun yuk
 Ti bal cah
 Hach likul ti D'.
 Bin tal bal 1690
 1695

- The beginning of strife over
 promotions,
 The beginning of the creation of
 many factions,
 The beginning of forced seizure for
 debts,
 The beginning of forced
 imprisonment for debts,
 The beginning of village strife,
 The beginning of misery and
 affliction,
 The beginning of forcible separation,
 The beginning of forced labor for
 the Spaniards
 And the sun priests,
 Forced labor for the town chiefs,
 Forced labor for the teachers,
 Forced labor for the public
 prosecutors,
 By the boys,
 The youths of the towns,
 While the force of great suffering
 Afflicted the suffering people.
 These were the very poor,
 These were the very poor who did
 not rebel
 At the oppression
 That was inflicted on them.
 This was the Antichrist
 Here on earth,
 The Earth Lions of the towns,
 The Foxes of the towns,
 The Bedbugs of the towns
 Are the bloodsuckers of the poor
 peasants here.
 For indeed the time is coming soon
 Of the day of the coming
 Of tears to the eyes
 And the presence
 Of our Lord
 Who is God.
 The justice of our Lord
 God will descend
 Everywhere
 In the world.
 God will be very angry
 And something will come

Ah kan tena
 Yx puc y
 U tz'utannil
 Y okol ca

17. T

(71)MS Tza
 Chac tun
 U uayas ba
 Ytz caan
 U uayas ba
 A ch'aab
 U uayas ba
 Kab caan
 Kan lol caar
 U uayas
 In ch'aabta
 Ch'abta
 Ba cit
 Ba cin in

Yn ch'aab e
 Ti cumta
 T a hoyobal

Ah cunic
 T a yam kir
 Ca ti t u
 Tab ech
 T a chac
 Yn ch'ab ec
 Yn cumc
 Yn ch'aic
 U uyic a
 T u menel
 A mucu
 Ti cit
 Ti tun e

1720. Bri

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town chiefs,
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towns,
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Ah kan tenal
Yx puc y ol a
U tz'utannilob
Y okol cab lae.

From Yellow Death
And the Destroying Spirit,
The oppressors
1700 On the face of this earth.

17. The Count of the *Katuns*

(71)MS Tzaay nitic tun
Chac tun
U uayas ba kab caan
Ytz caan u uayas ba
U uayas ba a ch'aabtac kin
A ch'aabtaci ti acab
U uayas ba ytz caan
Kab caan
Kan lol caan
U uayas ba ba c in
In ch'aabtahci a kinil
Ch'abtabci a u il
Ba cit
Ba cin in ch'aabta tunil

Yn ch'aab ech
Ti cumtal
T a hoyobal ak

Ah cunic u kinam
T a yam kin
Ca ti t u tuxchi*
Tab ech
T a chacit ti mucc e
Yn ch'ab ech
Yn cumcinn ech tac helel
Yn ch'aic
U uyic a kinam e
T u menel a yum
A mucut
Ti cit
Ti tun e

A collection of flower stones:
Red stones
Shaped by the juice of heaven:
By dew of heaven shaped,
1705 Shaped by thy creation of day:
Thy creation of night,
Shaped by dew of heaven:
By the hand of heaven,
Yellow blossoms of heaven
1710 Shaped by whatever I am.
I have been created by thy sun,
Created by thy sight.
Whatsoever,
Whatever I have had created of
stone,
1715 I have created you
In darkness.
Thou hast been sprinkled with
moisture
By the curer of wounds.
Thou hast changed the sun
1720 Whenever it was time.
Where wast thou?
Thou hast appeared secretly.
I created thee;
I have transformed thee.
1725 I have arranged
To listen to thy injuries
Because of thy father,
Thy secret,
Who is distant,
1730 Who is stone.

1720. Bricker reads *ca ti t u tuxchi* 'when he sent it'.

In colobta
T a chi e u kan ti tun e

Lay c u bin
U ximbal u tz'olic lae

Lay ahauob
Tzolanob lae

Xic u bin a xoc
Ca a nuete lae

(72) Ti likin uay e*
Buluc ahau

Buluc ahau u hetz' katun
Ich caan ci hoo

Yax haal hop'c i
Christianoil lae

Bolon ahau
Ti uuc y ab nal

U hetz' katun
Ti bolon ahau

Uuc ahau
Ti mayapan

U hetz' katun
Ti uuc ahau

Hoo ahau
Ti çotz'il

U hetz' katun
Ti hoo ahau

Putzhom
Kohom

Uil ti y ahaulil
Ah hoo ahau katun

Ti nohol uay e
Ox ahau

Ti çuyua
U hetz' katun

Ti ox ahau
Katun

I have been separated.
Thou hast shown the yellow in the stone.

This is going to be
The course of this count.

1735 These are the lords
Who have been counted.
Go on and do thy count
When thou canst understand this.

To the east here
1740 In 11 Ahau the
Seat of the *katun*
Was Heaven Born Merida.
Yax Haal began it;
It was Christianity.

1745 In 9 Ahau,
At Teabo
Was the seat of the *katun*
In 9 Ahau.

7 Ahau:
1750 At Mayapan
Was the seat of the *katun*
In 7 Ahau.

In 5 Ahau:
At Zotz'il
1755 Was the seat of the *katun*
In 5 Ahau.

Dust
And drought
May have been in the lordship
1760 Of *katun* 5 Ahau.

To the south here
In 3 Ahau:
At Zuyua
Was the seat of the *katun*

1765 In the 3 Ahau
Katun.

Hay lic u ke
Y etel u
Yax coc ay
U u ich t
Ah ox ahau
Katun
Hun ahau
Emal
U hetz' kat
Ti hun al
Emom tab
Emom çu
T u kin y er
Yx ual ic
Lahca ahau
Ti çac la
U hetz' kat
Ti lahca
Yaxaal chue
U u ich t
Ti chikin ua
Lahun ah
Lahun chabl
U hetz' l
Ti lahun aha
Uaxac al
Ti lahun cha
U hetz' l
Ti uaxac ah
Katun
Uac ahau
Ti uuc y
U hetz' kat
Ti uac al
Katun
Ti xamar
Can ahau
Ti can al
Uuc y ab na
U hetz' l
T u chi ch'e
Cabil aha
Ti cabil aha
Maya cuç
Mayapan
Oxlahun
Oxlahun ah
Katun

1739. The *katuns* are numbered clockwise and the directions counterclockwise on this *katun* wheel. The premise seems to have been that the direction points remain fixed while the wheel is rotated counterclockwise, thus bringing each *katun* in turn to its seating in the east, beginning with 11 Ahau. Roys 1967: 132, note 1 assumes that the *katuns* are named by ending date, which was true in the Tikal calendar (before 1539). In the colonial Mayapan calendar they were named by initial date (Edmonson 1976). The list of *katun* seats that follows is a later interpolation, possibly belonging to 6 Ahau [1717]. The last three seatings disagree with those on other lists. Since I cannot date the passage firmly, I have left it here.

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s 1967: 132,
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is a later in-
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e left it here.

Hay lic u keulel can
Y etel u keulel balam
Yax coc ay mut
U u ich ti y ahaulil i
Ah ox ahau
Katun
Hun ahau
Emal
U hetz' katun
Ti hun ahau
Emom tab
Emom çum
T u kin y emel ix yom
Yx ual icay
Lahca ahau
Ti çac lah tun
U hetz' katun
Ti lahca ahau
Yaxaal chuen
U u ich ti y ahaulil i
Ti chikin uay e
Lahun ahau
Lahun chable
U hetz' katun
Ti lahun ahau
Uaxac ahau
Ti lahun chable
U hetz' katun
Ti uaxac ahau
Katun
Uac ahau
Ti uuc y ab nal
U hetz' katun
Ti uac ahau
Katun
Ti xaman uay e
Can ahau
Ti can ahau
Uuc y ab nal
U hetz' katun
T u chi ch'een ytza
Cabil ahau
Ti cabil ahau
Maya cuçamil
Mayapan
Oxlahun ahau
Oxlahun ahau
Katun

Spread like the skin of the serpent
And the skin of the jaguar.
The center priest Coc Ay the Crier
1770 Was the face in the lordship
In the 3 Ahau
Katun.
In 1 Ahau:
Emal
1775 Was the seat of the *katun*
In 1 Ahau.
Descended will be the rope,
Descended will be the cord
At the time of the descent also of Yom
1780 And Ual Içay.
In 12 Ahau:
At Valladolid
Was the seat of the *katun*
In 12 Ahau.
1785 Yax Chuen
Was the face in the lordship.
To the west here
In 10 Ahau:
10 Chable
1790 Was the seat of the *katun*
In 10 Ahau.
In 8 Ahau:
At 10 Chable
Was the seat of the *katun*
1795 In the 8 Ahau
Katun.
In 6 Ahau:
At Teabo
Was the seat of the *katun*
1800 In the 6 Ahau
Katun.
To the north here
4 Ahau:
In 4 Ahau
1805 At Teabo
Was the seat of the *katun*
At Chichen Itza.
2 Ahau:
In 2 Ahau
1810 Maya Cusamil
Mayapan.
13 Ahau:
In the 13 Ahau
Katun

Kin colah peten
U hetz' katun
Oxlahun ahau
Katun.

1815 Kin Colah Peten
Was the seat of the *katun*
In the 13 Ahau
Katun.

18. Merida Seats the Cycle

Katun wheel (1539). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages. The Princeton University Library. The gift of Robert Garrett.



11.17.0.0.0 (73) Buluc ahau
U hetz' katun
Ych caan qi hoo
Yaaxhaal u u ich*
Emom canal: u al

Emom canal utz'ub

Pecnom u pax
Pecnom u çoot

11 Ahau
1820 Seated the *katun*
At Heaven Born Merida.
Yax Haal was lord.
Descended from heaven will be its
juice;
Descended from heaven will be its
perfume.
1825 Sounded will be its drum;
Sounded will be its rattle,

1822. Yax[al] Chac was the lord of this *katun*. See line 1587.

Ah bolon
T u kin
T u kin y:
T u kin
Uilnoh ch:
Uilnom
Ah çal i
Uil
Ychil ah b
Katun l

1827. B
'tree' or a
Te', 'tree c
1828. Y
1829. Z
he seems i

19.

(87) Capil
Katun
11.17.0.0.0 Primero B
U yax l

Primero B
Katun
U yax chu
U hun
Ych caan c
U hetz'
Ulc i
Tz'ullol
Chac u me

Ah me

Ca uli ob
U tz'u

1844.)
katun cy:
this and t

atun

Ah bolon y oc te*
 T u kin y an yax cutz*
 T u kin y an çulun chan*
 T u kin chakan putun
 Uilnoh che
 Uilnom tunich
 Ah çal i
 Uiil
 Ychil ah buluc ahau
 Katun lae.

That the great one might be installed.
 At the time there was Yax Cutz,
 At the time there was Zulun Chan,
 1830 At the time of Champoton.
 And the famine of sticks,
 And the famine of stones;
 The spirit of drought
 And famine
 1835 In 11 Ahau
 Katun.

1827. *Bolon y oc te* is obscure. *Bolon* is 'nine, great'; *oc* is 'foot, enter'; *te* is 'tree' or a verbal suffix. Possible readings are 'nine-foot rounds', 'the nine priest Oc Te', 'tree of nine-foot (roots)' or 'the great one might be installed'.

1828. Yax Cutz may have been a pretender to the lordship.

1829. Zulim Chan is named by the Tizimin as lord of the *katun* at Emal. Here he seems to be awarded the same office at Champoton, but the text is inexplicit.

19. The New Cycle of Merida

(87) *Capitulo del Año*
 Katun

11.17.0.0.0 *Primero Buluc Ahau*
 U yax hetz' luum tz'ulob lae '

Chapter of the year:
 The *katun*

Of the first 11 Ahau,
 The first seat of the land of the
 foreigners here.

Primero Buluc Ahau
 Katun

U yax chun u xocol katun
 U hun tz'it katun*

Ych caan çì hoo
 U hetz' katun

Ulc i
 Tz'ullob:

Chac u mex u mehen kin

Ah mexob ti lakin u tali ob

Ca uli ob uay tac luumil e
 U tz'ulilob cab

11 Ahau
 Was the *katun*,
 The first base of the count of *katuns*,
 The first part of the *katun*.

1845 Heaven Born Merida
 Was the seat of the *katun*

At the arrival
 Of the foreigners.
 Red were the beards of the sons of the
 sun,

1850 The bearded ones who came from
 the east,
 When they arrived here near this land
 As foreigners to the land:

1844. 11 Ahau was the base of the count in a triple sense: it initiated the Itza *katun* cycle, the colonial era, and also the colonial Mayapan calendar. The lords of this and the three following *katuns* are depicted with ropes around their necks.



i will be its

en will be its

m;
 atle,

Yax Chac, lord of Merida
(1539–1559). From the Garrett Col-
lection of Manuscripts in Middle
American Languages, The Princeton
University Library, The gift of
Robert Garrett.



Çac uinicob
Chac uinicob
U mehen cab
U chun nicte*
Ti petenob
(. . . .)ca ob*
Nigte u ua ti ob
(. . . .)ba ob*
Bee ah ytza e
Cah ch'aab
Talel u cah çac o ych caan

Çac tun lah pal tal ti caan

Çac uaom che bin emebal

Tal ti caan
Hun auat
Hun lub u talel

White people
And red people,
1855 The sons of the land,
The trunk of the flower
In the lands
They . . .
The flower raised by them
1860 They . . . themselves.
Thus were the Itza
At the start of that creation,
Coming to begin the white birds in
heaven,
The white stone of all the children
come from heaven.
1865 The white standing tree will be
lowered
Coming from heaven.
One shout,
One rest and it will come.

1856. Roys 1967: 148, note 2 routinely identifies *nicte* as the *Plumeria* flower, but it means 'flower' in general. It has a number of metaphorical meanings, including sex, war, Xiu, and Spanish. It is also the nickname for *katun* 11 Ahau.

1858. Word missing in MS.

1860. Word missing in MS.

A u ilic ex y
A u ilic e
Bee oktaba

Ulic ob
Hunac ah m
Hunac ah
U çac yb te

Hopom l

Y et mac u
Y etel u
Uchebal
U high' c
Bee ah ytza
He ix a k
Ma bal

U uilal
Lay te hahal
Ti emi la
Hun çipi u t
Hun çipi
Coc ix bin t
Coc ix bi
Mac to uil a
Mac to uil

Ualac
U talel
Tan cah may
T u chi cl
Bee alan ytza

Ti tali
Ychil uuc ah
Katun
T u cal ya
T u cal nu

1897. "Yc also for peas Itza a capita tance from t where. It do logically, no nobility wor in the eighte



A u ilic ex y ahal cab
A u ilic ex mut.
Bee oktabac oon ti tali ob

Ulic ob
Hunac ah mol tunichob
Hunac ah mol cheob
U çac yb te el ob cab

Hopom kak t u ni u kab ob

Y et mac u çaban ob
Y etel u taab ob
Uchebal
U hich' cal u yum ob
Bee ah ytza e
He ix a kul e
Ma bal
U uilal

Lay te hahal ku
Ti emi lae
Hun çipi u than
Hun çipi u can
Coc ix bin u katunil
Coc ix bin u chacilob
Mac to uil ah kin
Mac to uil ah bouat bin natic

Ualac
U talel
Tan cah maya patan
T u chi ch'een ytza e
Bee alan ytz'inil*

Ti tali
Ychil uuc ahau
Katun
T u cal ya
T u cal num ya

You will see the dawn;
1870 You will see the news.
Thus we were made to weep for their coming,
Their arrival,
Uniting the collectors of stones,
Uniting the collectors of sticks.
1875 And the white lima bean trees will burn the land
With fire beginning at the tips of their branches,
And your fellow men will be poisoned
And tied up,
And they will be beaten
1880 And the fathers hanged by the neck.
Thus were the Itza,
And that will be your fate:
Poverty
And need.
1885 That will be the True God
Who descends here.
One blame his word:
One blame his teaching.
And deaf will be the *katun* period,
1890 And deaf will be the rain gods.
Who then may be sun priest,
Who then may be the prophet who will understand?
He should arise,
And come
1895 To the capital city of Mayan tribute,
To Chichen Itza.
Thus was the burden of the younger brothers:
To come in
In the 7 Ahau
1900 *Katun*,
Bringing back pain,
Bringing back suffering,

1897. "Younger brothers" is a metaphor for Maya as opposed to Spaniards, but also for peasants as opposed to nobles. The decision of the Itza to declare Chichen Itza a capital (*tan cah*) and collect tribute in its name produced immediate resistance from the Spanish and the Mayan nobles of the west and the peasantry everywhere. It does not appear that this move was justified calendrically or mythologically, nor is it clear how the accommodation between the Spanish and the Xiu nobility worked. "Chichen Itza" continued to collect tribute (or tried to) until late in the eighteenth century.

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come.

neria flower,
nings, includ-
ahau.

T u patan tac yax cul		Paying tribute as you are first seated,
He x tac pul ex y alan patan		As you bear the burden of tribute.
Çamal cabehe	1905	Day after tomorrow
Ti tali		It will come.
Mehen ex e		You will engender
Ch'a a ba ex		And create
A manç ex u cuch num ya		And will pay the burden of suffering
Lic u talel yam a cahal ex e	1910	As the time has come for you to settle.
He ix katun		And this is the <i>katun</i>
Ti culhi lae		Which is seated then:
U (. . .) (88) katun		The . . . <i>katun</i> ,
U katunil num ya		The <i>katun</i> period of suffering,
U katunil	1915	The <i>katun</i> period
U tza ciçin		Of the devil's due,
Ti culhi ychil buluc ahau		Which was seated in 11 Ahau
Katun		<i>Katun</i> .
Kam ex		Receive them;
Kam ex a u u la ex ob*	1920	Receive and welcome them:
Ah mexob		The bearded people,
Ah pulob		The guayaba people,
T u chicul ku		In the sign of God.
Talel tun u cah ob		Coming then is the settlement
A çucun ex ob	1925	Of your older brothers,
Ah tan tun ob*		The people of the capital.
Lay to bin katic		That then will be the desire
U çian ku		Of the born God
T ex		For you
Y etell ob e	1930	And them.
He ix u kaba		And these are the names
Y ah kin ob e		Of their sun priests:
Ah mis		Ah Mis,
Ni lac		Ni Lac,
Pe coh	1935	Pe Coh,
Antachristo u u ichob		And Antichrist are their faces
T u kinil te u talel		At the time when they come,
U kinil t atan ex e		The time that you are paid.
Bee t u yabal num ya mehen ex e		Thus will be endured suffering, O sons,
Lay u than ca yum	1940	This is the word of our Father.
Elom ti cab		Burnt will be the land—
Çac petahom caanal		And a white circle will be in the sky

1920. This is the Xiu counterattack against the Itza: convert to Christianity and accept Spanish rule, a proposal which must therefore have been reasonably advantageous from the Xiu point of view.

1926. Here the older brothers are the Spanish, but the reference to the capital is a scarcely veiled attempt to make the Xiu nobility senior to the Itza.

T u katunil
Tali t u cl

Ma tusbil th
Bee hach

U cuch katun
Ti culhi y

He ualac
C u talel

P'entacil th
P'entac (

P'entac) tur
P'entac u

Ti talij
Bin ku (.

(. . . .) in a
Talel u ca

He ix hal ac
(C uchi e

Ah ca kin tz
Ah ca kir

Ychil uay ya
Ti u coy l

Ha li li
U xul u t

Buluc pis u l
Mol yam

U u ich
Ti y ahau

Mol tun u c
Mol tun i

Bin ex cimik
Bin ex cu

Me x ca a n

U than cu
Ah maypan

U mehen
U justisail

Lay ti tz'
Lay ti hoksik

Ca u kax

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doctrine in tl
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T u katunil uchmal e
Tali t u chi Dios citbil

Ma tusbil thann i
Bee hach al
U cuch katun
Ti culhi ychil *christianoil*

He ualac
C u talel e
P'entacil than
P'entac (can
P'entac) tun ich
P'entac uinic

Ti talij
Bin ku (. . .)
(. . . .) in a u ilic ex
Talel u cah
He ix hal ach (uinic)
(C uchi e)

Ah ca kin tz'amoob
Ah ca kin popoob
Ychil uay yab haab
Ti u coy kinilob i

Ha li li
U xul u than Dios
Buluc pis u luch*
Mol yam u mut
U u ich

Ti y ahaulil i
Mol tun u can*
Mol tun u than
Bin ex cemic
Bin ex cuxlac
Me x ca a naat ex

U than cuxul uooh lae
Ah maypan e
U mehen u ba t u hunal
U justisail
Lay ti tz'aic ti mas cab
Lay ti hoksic
Ca u kax

In the *katun* period that occurred,
Coming before the face of God the
remote

1945 With no lying words.
Thus very heavy
Is the burden of the *katun*
That was seated in Christianity.

1950 That will arise
And come:
The lusting of words,
Lustful (teaching,
Lustful) faces,
Lustful people

1955 Who come
And will arrive
And then you will see them.
They are coming,
And they will be the governors
1960 Who occur:

Those of the two-day thrones,
Those of the two-day mats,
In these painful years,
In the crooked times.

1965 In truth
It is the end of the Word of God.
The eleventh bundle is his gourd.
The pile of change is the news
Of the face

1970 In the lordship.
Piled stone is his teaching;
Piled stone is his word.
You will die
But you are to live.

1975 And then you will more or less
understand
The word of this living glyph.
The man of the cycle city,
Engendering himself all alone,
Is tried

1980 And put in irons.
He is tied up.
When he is tied

1967. Compare references to the ninth and thirteenth "burdens."

1971. Here to the end of the chapter (line 1990) is a Xiu reading of Christian doctrine in the first generation of the conquest: you will die but you will live when you understand the Word. The Lord is self-born, is tried, imprisoned, tied up, and beaten. Then he is seated (as God) with a crown and insignia of majesty. It is apparent that the Franciscans communicated something.

Ca u hatz'ab*		Then he is beaten.
Ca tun tac ti cutal		Then next he is seated.
Ca y al	1985	Then he speaks
U xicin u mehen		To the ear of his son.
Ti y an u p'oc t u hol e		He has his hat on his head
Y etel u xanab ti y oc e		And his sandals on his feet.
Ti kaxan u taab t u nak e		He has his sash tied around his waist,
He ualac u tafe e.	1990	And thus perhaps is his coming.

1983. Bricker has strenuous objections to my translating this as present passive. She sees some *-ab* constructions as simple future: see also 2007–2008.

9 Ahau

20. The Birth of the *Uinal*

(60) Bay tzolci yax ah miaz		Thus it was read by the first sage,
Merchise		Melchisedek,
Yax ah bouat		And the first prophet,
Na Puc Tun*		Puc Tun,
Sacerdote*	1995	The priest,
Yax ah kin		And the first sun priest.
Lay kay uchci*		This is the sermon of the occurrence
U çihil uinal*		Of the birth of the <i>uinal</i> ,
Ti ma to ahac cab cuchi e		Which was before the awakening of
		the world occurred,
Ca hop'i u ximbal	2000	And it began to run
T u ba		By itself,
T u hunal		Alone.
Ca y alah u chich*		Then said his mother's mother,
Ca y alah u tz'e naa		Then said his mother's sister,

1994. A prophet of the early sixteenth century. See chapter 9.

1995. Melchisedek is identified as a Christian priest and Puc Tun as a Mayan one, the implication being that what follows is universally accepted truth.

1997. *Kay* is 'song'; *kaay* is 'sermon'.

1998. The *uinal* is the sacred cycle of twenty named days that form the base of all the larger cycles of the Mayan calendar. Its birth is the birth of time itself.

2003. Personification and deification of the world, *mundo* in Spanish, is a widespread conception among the colonial Maya. It is not clear why these particular relatives are singled out. They are all women, of course, searching for a male god.

Ca y alah
Ca y al
Bal bin c
Ca bin
C u than
Ta muk
Minan uini
Ca tun
Te
Ti likin
Ca hop'i y
Mac ti
Uay
Lae
He y ocot
Lae
P'iz t a u c
Ci bin c

Ca bin u p

Ti D'. c
Lay u chun
Xoc lah
Lae
Lah ca c
Lay tzolan
T u mer

2006. M
'(?older) br
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2008. Tl
word 'man'
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e first sage,

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inal,
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mother,
er's sister,

as a Mayan
truth.

m the base of
me itself.
ish, is a wide-
c particular
r a male god.

Ca y alah u mim
Ca y alah u muu*
Bal bin c alab
Ca bin c ilab uinic ti be*
C u than ob
Ta muk u ximbal ob cuchi e
Minan uinic cuch i
Ca tun kuchi ob
Te
Ti likin e*
Ca hop'i y alic ob
Mac ti mani
Uay
Lae
He y ocob
Lae
P'iz t a u oc i*
Ci bin u than u colel cab*

Ca bin u p'izah y oc ca yumil

Ti D'. citbil*
Lay u chun y alci
Xoc lah cab oc*
Lae
Lah ca oc
Lay tzolan çihci
T u men oxlahun oc uchci*

2005 Then said his father's mother,
Then said his sister-in-law,
"What is to be said
When a man is seen on the road?"
So they said
2010 Whilst they were going along,
But no man occurred.
And then they arrived
There
At the east.
2015 And they began to say,
"Who is it that passed
By here,
Now?
Here are his tracks,
2020 Right here.
Measure them with your foot
According to the word of the planter
of the world."
Then they were to measure the
footprint of our Father
Who is the holy God.
2025 This was the beginning of saying
The count of the world by footsteps.
This was
12 Oc.
This is the account of his birth.
2030 For 13 Oc occurred,

2006. *Mu* is 'sibling's spouse' but here it would appear to refer specifically to '(?older) brother's wife', possibly reflecting the levirate. The term may also have applied to father's sister, as the scansion suggests.

2008. The answer to all questions is the riddle of the Word, in this instance the word 'man' (*uinic*), which also means 'twenty' and shares its root with *uinal*. The root *uin* by itself means 'model, being'. The road is important too, as the Maya conceived time as a road on which the gods traveled endlessly, carrying by turns the burden of 'fate, time, and the sun'—all of which are meanings of the word *kin*.

2014. All things begin in the east with the rising sun and proceed counterclockwise.

2021. The day name 'foot' (Oc) provides a punning rationale for the 'measurement' [elsewhere 'pacing'] of time. It may also have been selected because it is a member of a set of potential yearbearers (Chicchan, Oc, Men, Ahau) who are the focus of the still extant cult of the Burners. See lines 2161 ff. Perhaps they were the yearbearers in some ancient version of the Mayan calendar.

2022. Roys has 'the mistress of the world'. *Col* is both 'wife' and 'plant'.

2024. This is the Christian god, Sp. *Dios*.

2026. Another pun: *xoc lah cab oc* is 'count 12 Oc'; *xoc lah cab oc* is 'count the whole world (by) paces', as Roys 1967: 116, note 11 points out.

2030. The days 12 Oc and 13 Oc are 40 days apart in the *tzol kin*, or 40 years apart in the calendar round. They would be 120 *tuns* apart in a hypothetical *katun* cycle based on Oc, but there is no evidence that such a cycle ever existed.

U nup tan ba y oc	And they matched each other's paces
Likci ob	And arrived
Te	There
Ti likin e	At the east.
Ca y alah u kaba	2035 They said his name,
Ti minan u kaba kin cuchi e	Since the days had no name then,
Ximbalnahci y etel u chich	And he traveled on with his mother's mother,
Y etel u tz'e naa	And his mother's sister,
Y etel u mim	And his father's mother,
Y etel u muu	2040 And his sister-in-law.
Çi uinal	The month was born
Çihci kin u kaba	And the day name was born,
Çihci caan	And the sky was born
Y etel luum	And the earth,
Eb haa	2045 The pyramid of water
Luum*	And land,
Tunich	Stone
Y etel che	And tree.
Cihci u bal kaknab	There were born the things of sea
Y etel luum	2050 And land.
Hun Chuen u hokçici u ba*	On 1 Monkey [Chuen] he manifested himself
T u kuil	In his divinity
U mentci caan	And created heaven
Y etel luum	And earth.
Ca Eb*	2055 On 2 Peak (Eb)
U mentci yax eb	He made the first pyramid.
Emci	He descended,
Likul	Coming from
Tan y ol caan	There in the heart of heaven,
Tan y ol haa	2060 There in the heart of the water.
Minaan	For there was nothing
Luum	Of earth,
Y etel tunich	Or stone,
Y etel che	Or tree.
Ox Men*	2065 On 3 Ben
U mentci t u lal bal	He made all things,
Hi ba hun bal	Each and every thing,
U bal caanob	The things of the heavens
Y etel u bal kaknab	And the things of the sea
Y etel u bal luum	2070 And the things of the land.

2046. The Maya conceived the cosmos as a pyramid of thirteen levels in the upper world and an inverted pyramid of nine levels in the lower.

2051. Possible pun on *chuen* 'monkey' and *ah chuen* 'artisan', hence creator.

2055. Pun on *eb* 'stairway, pyramid' and *em* 'descend'.

2065. Pun on *ben* '(!corn)' and *men* 'make'.

(61) Can
U nixp
Caan
Y etel
Ho Men u
U mey,
Uac Cib u
U men

Uchci u ç
Ti mina
Uac Caba
Yax çih
Cab

Ti mina
Uaxac Etz
Etz'lahc
U kab

Y etel y
Ca u ch'ic
Y okol

Bolon Ca
Yax tun

Lahun Ah
Uchci u

U lobil uni
Ti metr

T u men C
Ma chici

Bulu Yx*
Uchci u

Tunich
Y etel c

Lay u ment
Ichil kin

Lahcabil Y
Uchci u

Lay u chun
T u men

2071. Pun c

2075. Pun c

2077. Pun c

2081. Pun c

2085. Pun c

2091. There

2093. Ahav

2099. No p

2105. Pun c

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nce creator.

(61) Can *ix uchci**

U *nixpahal*

Caan

Y *etel luum*

Ho *Men uchci**

U *meyah t u lalal*

Uac *Cib uchci**

U *mentci yax cib*

Uchci u *çasilhal*

Ti *minan kin y etel u*

Uac *Caban**

Yax *çihci*

Cab

Ti *minan t oon c uchi*

Uaxac *Etz'nab**

Etz'*lahci*

U *kab*

Y *etel y oc*

Ca u *ch'ich'aah*

Y *okol luum*

Bolon *Cauac**

Yax *tumtabci metnal*

Lahun *Ahau**

Uchci u *bin ob*

U *lobil unicob*

Ti *metnal*

T u *men D' citbil*

Ma *chicanac c uchi e*

Bulu *Yx**

Uchci u *patic*

Tunich

Y *etel che*

Lay u *mentah*

Ichil *kin*

Lahcabil *Yk**

Uchci u *çihci Yk*

Lay u *chun u kabatic Yk*

T u *men minan cimil ichil lae*

On 4 *ix*

There occurred the separation

Of heaven

And earth.

2075 On 5 *Men*

Occurred the working of everything.

On 6 *Cib*

Occurred the making of the first
candle:

There occurred the illumination,

2080 For there was no sun or moon.

On 7 *Caban*

There was first born

The earth,

Which we didn't have before.

2085 On 8 *Etz'nab*

He planted

His hands

And feet

And made birds

2090 Upon the earth.

On 9 *Cauac*

Hell was first tasted.

On 10 *Ahau*

Occurred the going

2095 Of evil men

To hell,

Because the holy God

Had not yet appeared.

On 11 *Imix*

2100 Occurred the shaping

Of stones

And trees.

This was what was done

On this day.

2105 On 12 *Wind (Ik)*

Occurred the birth of breath.

This was the beginning of what is
called breath,

Because there is no death on it.

2071. Pun on *ix* 'jaguar' and *nix* 'separate'.

2075. Pun on *men* 'make' and *mey* 'work'.

2077. Pun on *cib* 'wax, candle'.

2081. Pun on *caban* '{earth}' and *cab* 'earth, honey'.

2085. Pun on *etz'nab* 'flint' and *etz'lah* 'plant'.

2091. There may be a pun on *cauac* but I don't see it.

2093. *Ahau* 'lord' is associated with God and with the Lords of Hell.

2099. No pun on *imix*.

2105. Pun on *ik* 'wind, breath'.

Oxlahun Akal uchci u ch'aic haa*		On 13 Akbal occurred the taking of water.	
Ca y akzah luum	2110	Then he moistened earth	
Ca u patah		And shaped it	
Ca uinic-hi		And made man.	
Hunnil Kan*		On 1 Kan	
U yax mentci		He was first	
U lep'el y ol	2115	Disturbed at heart	
T u menel u lobil u çihçah		By the evil that had been created.	
Ca Chicchan*		On 2 Chicchan	
Uchci u chictahal u lobil hi bal		Occurred the appearance of everything evil,	
Y ilah		And he saw it	
Ychil u u ich cah e	2120	Even within the towns.	
Ox Cimil*		On 3 Death (Cimi)	
U tusci cimil		He invented death.	
Uchci u tusci		It happened that then was invented	
Yax cimil		The first death	
Ca yumil	2125	By our Father	
Ti D'.		Who is God.	
(Can Manik)		(On 4 Manik)	
(. . . .)*		(. . . .)	
Ho Lamat lay u tusci*		On 5 Lamat there was the invention	
Uuc lam chac	2130	Of the seven floods of rain,	
Haal		Water,	
Kaknab		And sea.	
Uac Muluc*		On 6 Muluc	
Uchci u mucchahal		Occurred the burial	
Kopob t u lalac	2135	Of all caves	
Ti ma to ahac cab e		And this was before the awakening of the world.	
Lay uchci		This occurred	
Y ocol u tus thanil		By the commandment	
Ca yumil		Of our Father	
Ti D'.	2140	Who is God.	
T u lalac ti minan		Everything that there was not	
Tun than ti caan		Was then spoken in heaven,	
Ti minan tunich		For there had been no stones	
Y etel che c uchi		And trees.	

2109. Pun on *akbal* 'night' and *aksah* 'moisten'.2113. No obvious pun on *kan*.2117. Pun on *chicchan* 'snake' and *chictahal* 'appearance'.2121. Play on *cimi* 'death'.

2128. The day 4 Manik has been omitted.

2129. Pun on *lamat* '(!?)' and *lam* 'flood'.2133. Pun on *muluc* 'rain' and *muc* 'burial'.

Ca tun bin

Ca y ala

(62) Oxlal

Uuc tu

Lay y alah

Ti mina

Ca katab t

T u mei

Ma ix hepi

Ucheba

Ca bin ob

Ca u mi

ba ob e

Ca tun ual

Tan chu

Heklay ob

Hekla o

Ah Toocot

Can tul

Can Chiccl

Canil O

Ca Men Al

Can Ah

Lay Ahauo

Can tul

Uaxac Mul

Bolon C

Lahun Chu

Buluc El

Lahca Men

Oxlahur

Hun Men

Ca Cib

Ox Caban

Can Etz

2148. Tl
7 to produc2161. Tl
tzol kin int
initiated or
of the same
there was a2169. Rc
year 8 Muli

the taking of	Ca tun bin ob u tum t u ba ob	2145	And then they went and tested each other,
earth	Ca y alah tun bay la (62) Oxlahun tuc Uuc tuc hun*		Then he spoke as follows. "Thirteen heaps And seven heaps make one."
been created.	Lay y alah ca hok u than Ti minan than ti	2150	He said for speech to emerge, For they had no speech.
ance of	Ca katab u chun T u men yax Ahau kin Ma ix hepahac u nukul than ti ob		Its origin was requested By the first lord day, For their organs of speech were not yet opened
'ns.	Uchebal u thanic u ba ob e		So that they could speak to each other.
was invented	Ca bin ob t an y ol caan Ca u machaah u kab t u ba tan ba ob e	2155	They went there to the heart of the sky And took each other by the hand.
the invention of rain,	Ca tun ualah Tan chumuc peten Heklay ob lae Hekla ob i Ah Toocob* Can tul ob lae Can Chicchan Ah Toc Canil Oc Ah Toc Ca Men Ah Toc Can Ahau Ah Toc Lay Ahauob Can tul ob lae	2160	And then they stood there In the middle of the country And divided it up, And they divided The Burners, The four of them. 4 Chicchan the Burner, 4 Oc the Burner,
the awakening	Uaxac Muluc*	2165	4 Men the Burner, And 4 Ahau the Burner.
nt	Bolon Oc Lahun Chuen Buluc Eb Lahca Men Oxlahun Yx Hun Men Ca Cib Ox Caban Can Etz'nab	2170	These are the lords: The four of them. 8 Muluc 9 Oc 10 Chuen 11 Eb 12 Ben 13 Ix
was not heaven, stones		2175	1 Men 2 Cib 3 Caban 4 Etz'nab

2148. This mystical statement justifies the unity of the *uinal* by adding 13 and 7 to produce 20 (*uinic*). This also produces man (*uinic*) and the cycle itself (*uinal*).

2161. The Burners (Ah Toc) were the focus of the fire cult, which divided the *tzol kin* into sixty-five-day quarters, each governed by a Burner. Each cycle was initiated on a day 3, and special ceremonies were held on the following occurrence of the same day with the coefficients 10, 4, and 11, for a total of sixty days. Then there was a five-day break and a new Burner cycle began.

2169. Roys 1967: 118, note 5 observes that this could be the first *uinal* in a year 8 Muluc. I believe he's right and that this dates the text to 1562.

Hoil Cauac	5 Cauac
Uac Ahau	2180 6 Ahau
Uay Imix	7 Imix
Uaxacil Yk	8 Ik
Bolon Akabal	9 Akbal
Lahun Kan	10 Kan
Buluc Chicchan	2185 11 Chicchan
Lahca Cimi	12 Cimi
Oxlahun Manik	13 Manik
Hun Lamat	1 Lamat
Lay çihci uinal	This was the birth of the <i>uinal</i>
Y etel uchci y ahal cab	2190 And the occurrence of the awakening of the world.
Tzolci caan	There was finished heaven
Y etel luum	And earth
Y etel cheob	And trees
Y etel tunich	And stones.
Çihci t u lacal	2195 Everything was born
T u men ca yumil	Through our Father
Ti D' lae	Who is God, then;
Lay citbil.	Who is holy.
(63) Ti minaan caan	For there was no heaven
Y etel luum	2200 Or earth,
Ti bay y anil t u Diosil	So there he was in his divinity,
T u muyalil	In his nebulousness,
T u ba	By himself,
T u hunal	Alone.
Ca u çihcah	2205 And he caused to be born
Bal cah tuçinil	Everything that was invented.
Ca pecnahi t u caanil	And he moved to heaven
T u kuil	In his divinity,
Ti bay noh uchucil	Which was thus a great event,
Y anil ah tepal e	2210 And he was the ruler.
U tzolan kin çançamal	The account of all the days
Licil u xocol u chun	Through which the beginning is counted
Ti likin e	Was in the east,
He bix tzolanil e.	As has been told.

21. 7

(104) U
Ah Ku
(i) C u hi
Yum e
Mex ca a
Ualac (
Mac bin c
T u coi
Yum e (ii
Bin ulu
Holom uil
T u cal
Tali ti xan
Tali ti c
T u kin ol
Uil y ar
Mac (v) te
Mac to
Bin toh ali

11.18.0.0.0 Ychil B
Mex ca a(
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Kahcun

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2230. T
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21. The Sermon of Kauil Ch'el

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|---------------------------------------|---|
| (104) U <i>profeciado</i> | 2215 The prophecy |
| Ah Kuil Chel <i>sacerdote</i> | Of Kauil Ch'el the priest: |
| (i) C u hitz'ibte katun e* | The <i>katun</i> may be ended, |
| Yum e | O father. |
| Mex ca <i>anate</i> * | Poor are our books |
| Ualac (ii) u talel | 2220 To make it come back. |
| Mac bin ca tz'ab* | To whom will it be given |
| T u cotz' pop katun e* | To roll the mat of the <i>katun</i> , |
| Yum e (iii) | O father? |
| Bin uluc | It will return |
| Holom uil | 2225 Spreading want |
| T u cal ya | And the suffering of pain, |
| Tali ti xaman (iv) | Coming to the north, |
| Tali ti chikin e | Coming to the west. |
| T u kin ob | In their sun |
| Uil y an e yum e* | 2230 Will be the moon, father. |
| Mac (v) to ah kin | Who will be the sun priest: |
| Mac to ah bouat | Who will be the prophet |
| Bin toh alic u than (vi) uooh e yum e | Who will correctly speak the word of |
| | the glyph, father, |
| 11.18.0.0.0 Ychil Balam ahau | In 9 Ahau? |
| Mex ca <i>a(vii)naate</i> | 2235 Poor are our books |
| Hunac tzuc ti cab | To unite the parts in the land. |
| Hun tz'al pixan | There is much groaning of the soul |
| (T u me)(viii)nel tzutzuc chac | Because of the factionalism of the |
| | rain priests. |
| Be ci oltzil i | Thus delighted |
| Uil tan tun (105)(ix) tepal c | 2240 May be the ruling capital, |
| uchi e | Really perhaps over the lordship of the |
| Cij uil y okol y ahaulil cabob e (x) | lands: |
| Kahcun a u ol ah ytza e. | Remind your hearts, O Itza. |

2217. The lines are numbered in the MS as indicated by italicized roman numerals in the text.

2219. Bricker reads this as *me(hen e)x ca a nate* 'you sons, you might know', which is possible in context.

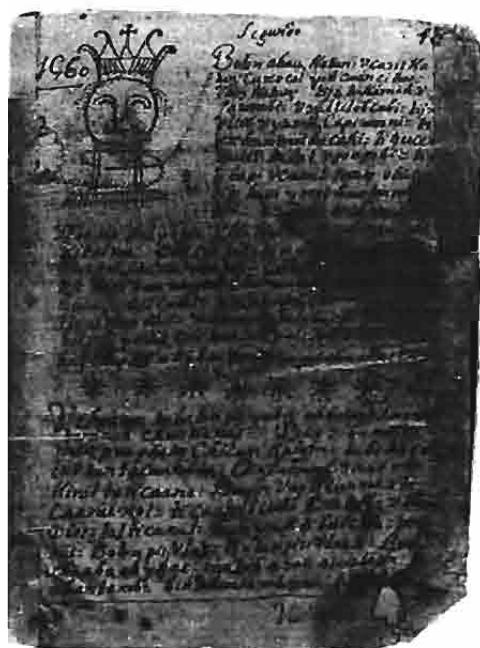
2221. Roys 1967: 165 gets 'believe' out of this line. I don't know whence.

2222. To roll the mat of the *katun* is to end it.

2230. The implication is that when 9 Ahau has moved to the north and to the west the *katun* system will come to an end, i.e., in 5 Ahau. Being a Xiu, Kauil Ch'el blames this impending catastrophe on Itza factionalism. The Xiu seating of the *katun* did end one *katun* later than that according to the Chumayel, two *katuns* later according to the Tizimin. The moon is a metaphor for 'end'.

22. The Cathedral of Merida

Top: *Ul Uac*, lord of Merida (1559–1579). Bottom: *The heavenly bodies* (1559). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, The Princeton University Library, The gift of Robert Garrett.



(89) Segundo

11.18.0.0.0 Bolon ahau katun*

U ca tz'it katun c u xocol

Ych caan çi hoo

U hetz' katun

Ti jx t u kamah u patan ob i

U tz'ullilob cab i

Ti jx uli ob u yumil ca pixann i

Ti jx hun molhi cah i

Ti tzucen tzucil

T u hol u poopob i

Ti yx ti hop'i u canal santo ok olal i

Ti x hop'i y ocol haa tac polob

Ti jx etz'lahi

U chun

(89) Segundo

Katun 9 Ahau

Was the second part of the *katun* to be counted.

2245 Heaven Born Merida

Was the seat of the *katun*.

And it received their tribute

For the foreigners to the land.

And the fathers of our souls came,

2250 And brought together the towns,

Which were divided into factions

Over the headship of the mats.

And it was it that began the elevation of the holy faith.

And it began to bring water to their heads.

2255 And it established

The foundations

2243. The word *segundo* at the head of this text is a late interpolation.

Santa ygl

U kak;

U xiuil

Xitel r

Ti x etz'

U chu

Uuc p'el

Y çate

Ti x hop'

cah

U (.

Ti x u ua

Lic u t

Xanomisi

T u ch

Ti y ulel

Tal ti c

Çuhuy ç

U na u

Uchucma

Ah bo

T u tanin

Christi

Bay tz'ibi

T u m

Balam

T u bolor

Te caa

Oxlahun

Kinil ti

Bay x uaj

Ti luur

Ti caanil :

Ti caar

Emtab u

Tal ti c

2274.

2283.

2288.

possible.

2289.

2290.

Hu

Santa yglesia mayor i
U kakal na Dios i
U xiuil
Xitel na Dios citbil

Ti x etz'lahi
U chun
Uuc p'el sacramento
Y çatebal kebanooob
Ti x hop'i ban meyah chumuc
cah
U (.) num ya bal cah i
Ti x u uatal ca ui (.)
Lic u than ku i
Xanomistali
T u chi Dios citbil
Ti y ulel çac tunlah pal

Tal ti caan
Çuhuy ch'uplal u kaba
*U na uuc p'el chachac ek**
Uchucma t u bolon pis y abil

Ah bolon ahau
T u taninah
Christianoil
Bay tz'ibanil
T u men propheta Chilam
Balam
T u bolon tz'al ab tun
Te caanal e
*Oxlahun etz'nab u ki**
Kinil te ti caan e
Bay x uay
Ti luum e
Ti caanil xol
*Ti caanil u al**
*Emtab u than Dios**
*Tal ti canal**

Of the holy primate church,
 The fiery house of God,
 Erecting
 2260 And decorating the house of God
 the remote.
 And it established
 The foundations
 Of the seven sacraments
 And the forgiveness (of sins?).
 2265 And it began piles of work in the
 middle of town,
 The . . . of the suffering world.
 And it erected our . . .
 According to the Word of God,
 Which has sent for them to come
 2270 Before the face of God the remote.
 That will be the arrival of the white
 stone child
 Come from heaven
 To the Virgin Lady, as she is called,
 The mother of the seven great stars.
 2275 This came about on the ninth measure
 of the years
 In 9 Ahau,
 The confrontation
 Of Christianity.
 Thus it has been written
 2280 By the prophet and Spokesman of
 the Jaguar
 On the ninth giving of the date stone
 There in heaven.
 13 Etz'nab was the day,
 The time there in heaven.
 2285 And as it is here
 On earth,
 In heaven there is grain;
 In heaven there is water.
 The Word of God is brought down,
 2290 Coming from heaven.

2274. This line is followed in the MS by seven eight-pointed stars.

2283. July 11, 1568.

2288. Roys 1967: 150 has 'the heavenly staff, the heavenly fan', which is also possible.

2289. Roys 1967: 150 reads *em tab* as 'the cord descended'.

2290. A couplet of the text has been inadvertently omitted:

Hun y uk

Ti bal cah tuxinil

A drink

For the lying world.

of the *katun* to

katun.

tribute

the land.

souls came,

or the towns,

to factions

of the mats.

in the elevation

g water to their

tion.

Bolon pis u lac
 Bolon pis u luch
 Bee ch'aaba ah ytza e
 Ma tub a tz'aic a u ula ex

Bi a hant ex ob
 Bin ix u hant ex ob xan*
 Ti tali
 Lae.

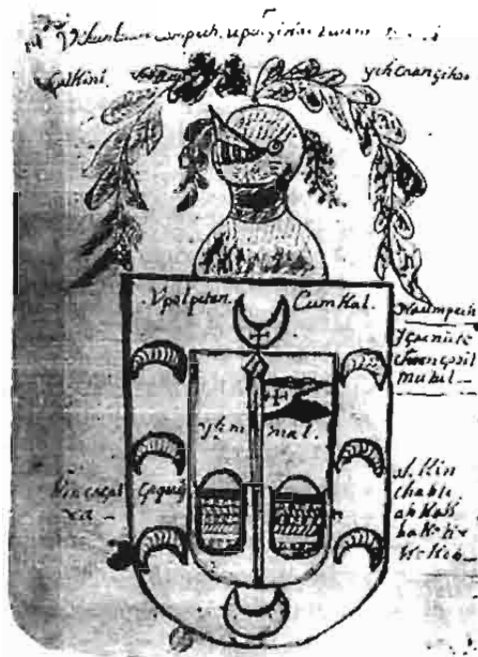
The ninth measure is his bowl;
 The ninth measure is his gourd.
 Thus were the Itza seized:
 Nowhere did you surrender and
 accept it.

2295 You will feed them,
 And they will feed you too,
 When they come
 Here.

2296. The order of the pronouns appears to be confused here. I read it as *u hant ob ex*, as Roys 1967: 151 does.

23. The Shield of Yucatan

Coat of arms of Yucatan (1559).
 From the Garrett Collection of
 Manuscripts in Middle American
 Languages, The Princeton University
 Library. The gift of Robert Garrett.



(25) U chun luum Campech*
 U pucçikal luum Mani
 Calkini
 Ych can çì hoo

2300 The base of the land is Campeche;
 The heart of the land is at Mani,
 Calkini,
 And Heaven Born Merida.

2299. It is of interest that thirteen towns are named.

U pol pet
 Ytzmm
 Kin çaçal
 Çaquij
 Naum per
 ch'een*
 Çotz'il
 Mutul
 Ah kin
 Ah Kok b
 T ix kc

2305. I
 2307. R
 Nicté Ch'

24. 7

The thirteenth
 Garrett Co
 Middle Ar
 Princeton
 gift of Rob

(85) Oxla
 Katun
 Yax hok i
 U chee

is bowl;
s his gourd.
ed:
render and

ou too,

l it as u hant

U pol peten Cumkal
Ytzmmal
Kin çaçal Xa*
Çaquij
Naum pech y etel cac nicte
ch'een*
Çotz'il
Mutul
Ah kin Chable
Ah Kok bak
T ix kokob.

The head of the land is Cum Kal,
Izamal,
2305 Kin Zazal Xa,
Valladolid,
Um Pech at Zac Nichte Ch'een,

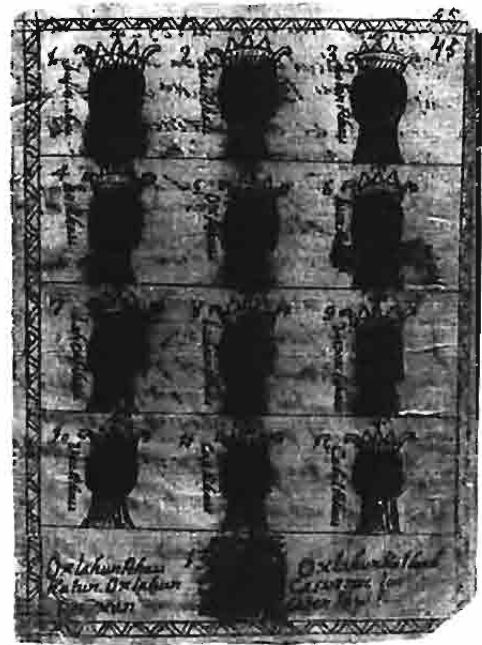
Zotz'il,
Motul,
2310 The sun priest of Chable,
Cooker of the meat
At Tixkokob.

2305. I am unable to locate Kin Zazal Xa.

2307. Roys 1967: 86, note 2 identifies Um Pech as governor of Motul. Zac Nichte Ch'een is five or ten miles from Motul (see line 990).

24. The Inquisition in the East

The thirteen katuns (1579). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, The Princeton University Library, The gift of Robert Garrett.



(85) Oxlahun ahau
Katun
Yax hok i
U cheem tz'ullob Campech

13 Ahau
Was the katun
2315 There first appeared
The ships of the foreigners at
Campeche.

Campeche;
l is at Mani,
erida.

<i>Mil i quinientos y quarenta y uno</i> U kaba hab c uch i	A.D. 1541	Was the name of the year it happened
Ca y ulçah ob U kin y ocol ob	2320	That they brought it— The time of entering
Ti <i>christianoil</i> Maya uinicob		Into Christianity Of the Mayan people.
Hetz'ci cab Tan tun cuçamil		Seated was the land At the capital of Cozumel.
Tan coch hab y an ob i	2325	Halfway through the year they were there
Ca bini ob T u hol haa		When they came To the port
Ti chikin e Ti yx oc u patan		To the west. And that was the coming of tribute
Ah chikin cheellob i*	2330	Of the western Cheel.
Lay hab y an c uch i D°. 1542		This was the year it was: A.D. 1542.
Hetz'ci u petenil ti hoo Ych can çì ho		Seated was the country at Merida, Heaven Born Merida.
Buluc ahau Katun lae'	2335	11 Ahau Was the <i>katun</i> then,
He ix yax hal ach uinic e Dn. Fran ^{co} . Montojo, <i>Adelantado</i>		And this was the first governor: Don Francisco de Montejo, <i>adelantado</i> .
Lay tz'a e U <i>chinam</i>	2340	He it was who gave Their town
Tz'ulob Kul uinicob		To the foreigners, The people of God.
Ychil y abil D°. 1542		In the year A.D. 1542
Oc i Patan	2345	Was the coming Of tribute.
D°. 1549 Hab		A.D. 1549 Was the year
Y an c uchi Ca hul i		Of the settlement
<i>Padreob</i> Can p'el hab huluc tz'ulob c uch i	2350	And arrival Of the fathers.
		Four years after the arrival of the foreigners,
Ti jx hop'i Y ocol haa		Then they sailed Over the water
T u pol uinicob i Ti cahal cah t u men <i>padreob</i>	2355	To the P'ool people. That was the settlement of the city by the fathers.

2330. The "port" may have been Emal, capital of the province of Chikin Chel.

Yax ul ot
Thoxc

Mil i quir
Haab c

Lahu ca t
Ca tac

Paxci cah
T u cl

Paxci
U cah

Ca bak t
Ca ta

Paxci
Cah u

Paxci
U cab

Mil i quin
Ti bol

U kaba t
Uchci

Al
Mehe

Ti canan
Ti cah

Uchebal
Ti ch'

Y oklal c
Lay u

Ah moo
Chan

Na hau c
Ah tz

Chi nab
Na pc

Na pot c
Na ba

Ah kin e
Tal cc

Na chan
Tal ti

Ah kin u
Tal ti

2364.
Uxmal to
2374.
Mani, at

year it	Yax ul ob e Thoxci cah ti ob	First they arrived there, And then the city was sprinkled by them.
	<i>Mil i quinientos quarenta y quatro a'.</i>	A.D. 1544
	Haab e	2360 Was the year,
	Lahu ca bak haab	410 years
	Ca tac holhu can kal haab	And then 75 years (after)
umel.	Paxci cah	They destroyed the town
ear they were	T u chi ch'een ytza*	At Chichen Itza.
	Paxci	2365 They destroyed it
	U cahal ob lae	And its inhabitants;
	Ca bak haab	And it was 800 years
	Ca tac lahu can kal haab	And 70 years (after)
	Paxci	They destroyed
ng of tribute	Cah uxmal lae	2370 The town of Uxmal,
el.	Paxci	And destroyed
s:	U cab ob lae	Their lands.
' at Merida,	<i>Mil i quinientos y treinta y siete a'.</i>	In 1537
t.	Ti bolon cauac*	On 9 Cauac,
	U kaba kin	2375 The name of the day then,
	Uchci u mol tan ba ob	They assembled together
	Al	The born
governor:	Mehenob	And engendered
ontejo,	Ti canancil ob	Who were the responsible authorities
	Ti cah mani	2380 In the town of Mani.
	Uchebal u binel ob	And when they had gone,
	Ti ch'a tz'ul t u cahal	They seized the foreigners in the town
	Y oklal cimçabci hal ach uinic e	Because of the governor's being killed.
	Lay u kaba ob lae	These are their names as follows:
	Ah moo	2385 Ah Mo,
	Chan xiu	Chan Xiu,
	Na hau es	Ahau Ez
	Ah tz'un	Ah Tz'un
	Chi nab	Of Chi Nab,
	Na poot cupul	2390 Poot Cupul,
	Na pot che	Pot Che,
	Na batun ytza	Batun Itza,
arrival of the	Ah kin euan	The sun priest E Uan
	Tal cocel	From Cocel,
	Na chan uc	2395 Chan Uc
	Tal ti tz'ibil kak	Coming from Tz'ibil Kak,
ment of the city	Ah kin ucan	The sun priest U Can
	Tal ti ekob	Coming from Ekob,

2364. This would date the destruction of Chichen Itza to 1059 and that of Uxmal to 674.

2374. August 27, 1537: eight months after the murder of Pot Xiu, governor of Mani, at Otmal.

Na chi uc Ah kul koh Na chan motul Na hau coyi La ob i U nucil uincob ti thani ob Ca bin ch'abil tz'ul T u cahal lae Y oklal u cimçabci U hal ach uinicil cah Ah (tz) xiu* (86) Oztolmal Lahun Kan Ah cuch haab ca man i Ah caxan cah Heklay montejo u kaba		Chi Uc, 2400 Kul Koh, Chan Motul, Ahau Coy. And these Were the important people who said 2405 They were going to seize the foreigners In that town Because of the killing Of the governor of the town And the head of the Xiu 2410 At Oztmal. 10 Kan Was the yearbearer that passed, And the seer of the town Related it to Montejo, as he was called, 2415 And the town scribe. And that was the year that there passed The foreigners to the land, The foreign slursers of annona. And that was the first division of the town. 2420 And that was the arrival Of the foreigners to seize them. And the seizers arrived And grabbed Campeche. Thus their ships appeared, 2425 And then came the born And engendered to surrender their birth. Thirteen of the foreign seizers arrived And came to Heaven Born Merida. 9 Ahau 2430 Was the <i>katun</i> . This is the relation of the count, Of the wisdom of the books, The count of the progression of the <i>katuns</i> . This was their appearance in the lands 2435 Of Ni Tun Tz'ala, Chetumal, Division of Uaymil,	
Ah tz'ib cah Lay ix hab y an ca man i Ah luum tz'ul Ah mak op tz'ul He lay yax thox cah He x ca ul i Tz'ul t u ch'a ob e Y ah ch'a ul e Ti ban ob campech e Ti hoki u chem ob i Ca ix bini ob al Mehenob u tz'aab u cijl ob i Oxlahun tul y ah ch'a ul tz'ulob lae Ca ix tal ob ych caan çi hoo Bolon ahau U katunil c uchi lae U kaylay u tzolan U miaztil u y anahteil U tzolan u ximbal katun Uay c u hokçabal t u lumil Ni tun tz'ala Chactemal Tah Uaymil			

2409. I read Ah Pot Xiu.

Hol tun y
Chichir
Ca utzac
U cuch
U ximbal
Hun hu

Ua utz
Ua lob
Bay tz'iba
T u me
Euangelist
U than
Caan
Y etel
(. . . .)of
Tal can
Lay tz'abi
(. . . .)r
T u chun l
T u chu
(. . . .)h t
T u kul
T u y unil
Repulde
Minan çip
Ti cici
T u tz'alal
Heklay
Can tul cl
Tal ob
Ah kab ca
Ytz ca
U hal ach
Y ahau
Çacaal pu
Hool ti
Hoch' tur
Ah me
Che ychil
He ych

2440. F
lladolid. 7
major trac
2465. F
my transl
seems odc

Hol tun ytza
Chichinila*
Ca utzac y oheltabal
U cuch
U ximbal katun
Hun hun tz'it katun e

Ua utz
Ua lob y an i
Bay tz'ibanil
T u men ah kulen tz'ib

Evangelista
U than u yumil
Caan
Y etel luum

(. . . .)op ich kin
Tal canal

Lay tz'abi ti ob
(. . . .)n ob

T u chun luum
T u chun ca uinicil e

(. . . .)h tohil than
T u kulem tz'ibil

T u y unil
Repuldoryo

Minan çipan i
Ti cici ylabil

T u tz'alal ti y unil*
Heklay t u menel ob

Can tul ch'ibalob
Tal ob ti caan

Ah kab caan
Ytz caanob

U hal ach uinicob
Y ahaulilob cab

Çacaal puc
Hool tun balam

Hoch' tun poot
Ah mex cuc chan

Che ychil
He ychil

The gateway of the Itza,
2440 And Chi Chimila.
Then one will be able to understand
The burden
Of the progression of the *katuns*,
Each and every part of the *katun*
period,

2445 Whether it is good
Or bad.
Thus it is being written
By the sacred scribe,
By the Evangelist

2450 Of the word of the Father
Of heaven
And earth.

. . . the face of the sun
Come from on high
2455 This was given to them
(?) to them
At the founding of the land,
At the founding of our people.
(This is the) right word

2460 In holy writ
In the books
Of the *reportorio*.

There are no errors.
It can be clearly seen
2465 In what is being given in the books,
The account
By the four ancestors
Come from heaven,
The juice of heaven,

2470 Dew of heaven,
The governors
And lords of the land:
Zacaal Puc,
Hool Tun Balam,

2475 Hoch' Tun Poot
And Mex Cuc the Younger.
The tree is in it:
That is in it:

2440. Roys 1967: 146, note 8 locates Chi Chimila a few miles south of Valladolid. The other places named are near Chetumal, which was, as Roys notes, a major trade gateway to Honduras.

2465. Roys 1967: 147 has 'the seal on the book' from *tz'al* 'press'. I think my translation fits the context better even though the inflection of *tz'a* 'give' seems odd.

Uuc kal hab		The 140 years
Ococ <i>christianoil</i> e	2480	Of the coming of Christianity
Ti u hu mul hun ahauob i		To the 21 lords
U chuclum tz'itz' katun i*		In the Chuclum Tz'itiz' <i>katun</i> .
Ti jx u chacanpahal ah miaz i		And the sages will be summoned
Ti yx u kat naat katun i		Along with those who wish to take the <i>katun</i> examination.
Otzilhom u u ich chac	2485	Humbled will be the face of the rain priest
Chuen coy i		Chuen Coy.
Ca bin uluc u yumil kul na		There will arrive the fathers of the god house
Y an chumuc cah ti hoo e		That is in the center of the town of Merida,
Ulom tal ti lakin		Arriving coming from the east,
Tal ti xaman	2490	Coming from the north,
Tal ti chikin		Coming from the west,
Tal ti nohol		Coming from the south,
U y ub u thanil		(And bringing) the words
U <i>christianoil</i>		Of Christianity
11.17.0.0.0 T u uuc lahun	2495	In the seventeenth
Katun e*		<i>Katun</i> ,
Uchebal u naat		Bringing about the knowledge
<i>Christianoil</i>		Of Christianity.
(87) Ulom u <i>padreil</i>		Coming are the fatherhoods;
Ulom u <i>obispoil</i>	2500	Coming are the bishoprics
<i>Sancto ynquicicion</i>		And the Holy Inquisition.
U than <i>Dios</i> bin beltabac i		The Word of God will be established,
Ma mac bin hauçic lae*		And no one will be sacrificed.
Amen.		Amen.

2482. Chuclum Tz'itiz' is the fifth of the 13 Gods (Tizimin, line 585), perhaps lending his name to the *katun* in honor of Merida's seating it (Ti Ho 'at five'). Roys 1967: 147 construes this whole passage quite differently. Beginning with line 2477, he omits *che ychil*, apparently considering it a copyist's error, then reads: 'Behold, within seven score years Christianity will be introduced amid the clamor of the rulers, those who violently seize land (during) the *katun*. Then suddenly appears the wise man; then there is the examination of the *katun*'. The passage is a difficult one, but Roys and I agree that what is involved is the confrontation of the Mayan test of orthodoxy—the examination system—and the Holy Inquisition. Chuen Coy apparently flunked the Mayan exam. I have no idea who the 21 lords were, but I don't think Roys is justified in converting them into a verb.

2496. I believe this to be a direct reference to the Long Count date 11.17.0.0.0 11 Ahau. It is of substantial interest because it indicates that Long Count dates were still being counted terminally even though *katuns* were being counted initially.

2503. I read *hau* as 'slice'; Roys 1967: 147 reads it as 'end'. Either is possible.

7 A

25.

Yax Cha
(1579-1581)
lection c
America
Univers
Robert C

(90) Te

11.19.0.0.0 Uuc aha
Y ox
Yaxal ch
U he
Yaxal ch

Ti y a
U tan pa
U tar
Nicté u
Nicté

2505
this text

7 Ahau

25. The Civil War

Yax Chac, lord of Merida
(1579–1599). From the Garrett Col-
lection of Manuscripts in Middle
American Languages, The Princeton
University Library, The gift of
Robert Garrett.



(90) Tercero

11.19.0.0.0 Uuc ahau katun*
Y ox tz'it katun
Yaxal chac ych caan çì hoo
U hetz' katun
Yaxal chac u u ich ti y ahaulil

Ti y ah miaztil
U tan pax cabal
U tan xot cabal
Nicté uah
Nicté haa y aal

(90) Tercero

2505 Katun 7 Ahau
Was the third part of the *katun*.
Yaxal Chac of Heaven Born Merida
Seated the *katun*.
Yaxal Chac was the face in the
lordship
2510 In the position of the sage.
Half destroyed was the earth;
Half cut up was the earth.
Flower food
And flower water was the juice of
the *katun*.

2505. The notation *tercero* 'third' is a late addition to the MS at the head of
this text.

- Ti u hop'ol u tzuc a chil
 Ah miazob i
 U be bech kab nicte i
 U be bech kab katun i*
 Ti u hop'ol
 U tzintzin loc katun
 Lay bin hun yuk
 Katic bal cah
 (. . .) nicte u buc
 Nicte u u ich
 Nicte u (. . . .)*
 Nicte u xanab
 Nicte u pol
 Nicte u ximbal
 Kuy c u cal
 Kuy c u chi
 Mutz' c u u ich
 Putz' c u tub
 T u xiblalil
 T u ch'uplalil
 T u ba tabil
 T u *justiciail*
 T u chun thanil
 T u *scrivanoil*
 T u h camçahil
 (. . . .)*
 T u nohochil
 T u chanchanil
 Minan to nohoch can
 Ti u hach çatal
 Caan
 Y etel luum ti ob i
 Ti u hach satal subtall i
 Ti u hich'il u cal
 U hal ach uinicil cah i
 Y ahaulil cab i
 U bouatil cahh i
 Y ah kin maya uinicob i
 Satal tun naat
 Satal tun miaz
- 2515 It was the beginning of the division
 Of the sages,
 The road of the Bech' Kab flower,
 The road of the Bech' Kab war.
 It was the beginning
 2520 Of the asshole boils war
 That is going to spread
 All over the world.
 . . . flowers are its clothes,
 Flowers its face,
 2525 Flowers its [hat],
 Flowers its sandals,
 Flowers its head,
 Flowers its gait.
 Bent is its neck,
 2530 Bent is its mouth.
 Wrinkled is its face,
 Dribbling is its spittle:
 For the men,
 For the women,
 2535 For the chiefs,
 For the justices,
 For the law givers,
 For the scribes,
 For the teachers,
 2540 (.)
 For the great,
 For the very small.
 There may be no great teacher
 Who can really forgive
 2545 Heaven
 And earth for them,
 Who can really forgive their shame.
 That is the knotting of the necks
 Of the governors of the towns,
 2550 The lords of the land,
 The prophets of the towns,
 The sun priests of the Mayan
 people,
 Destroying knowledge then,
 Destroying understanding then.

Ch'aaba
 Ah ytz
 A mehen
 To bin
 U hitz'ibt
 U baxa
 Coo u th
 Coo u
 Ti y ahaul
 T u hal
 Chac uen
 (.
 Uuc p'el
 Uuc p'

Ban ban h
 U cuch

2560. T
 a little late
 mirth of th
 2566. L
 2568. T
 7 Ahau.

2518. The name Bech Kab is associated with Coba. I assume there was a rather bloody rebellion in the east at this time. It was apparently a pain in the neck from the standpoint of the author. As often elsewhere, flowers symbolize war.

2525. Word missing from MS; supplied from the Tizimin.

2540. Line missing.

re division

b flower,
Kab war.

ar

s,

:

acher

:

ieir shame.
f the necks
owns,

is,
Mayan

.en,
ling then.

as a rather
: neck from
r.

Ch'aaba
Ah ytza e
A mehen ex ob
To bin ylic
U hitz'ibte katun
U baxal katun*
Coo u than
Coo u u ich
Ti y ahaulil
T u hal ach uinicil
Chac uen co . . .
(. . . .) *
Uuc p'el u lac
Uuc p'el u luch u than Dios*

Ban ban hoch' cal
U cuch katun lae.

2555 Accept it,
O Itza.
It will be your sons
Who will see
The termination of the *katun*,
2560 The smashing of the *katun*.
Crazy is the word,
Crazy is the face
In the lordship,
In the governorship
2565 Of the great nightmare . . .
(. . . .)
Sevenfold is the plate;
Sevenfold is the gourd of the Word
of God.
Many many hangings
2570 Is the burden of this *katun*.

2560. This repeats the prophecy of the ending of the *katun* system in 5 Ahau or a little later. See note 2230. Roys 1967: 151 translates as 'your sons will see the mirth of the *katun*, the jesting of the *katun*'.

2566. Line missing.

2568. That is, the passing of the plate and gourd, ending the *katun*, is on 7 Ahau.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

5 Ahau

26. The Military Orders

Amayte Kauil, lord of Merida
(1599–1618). From the Garrett Col-
lection of Manuscripts in Middle
American Languages, The Princeton
University Library. The gift of
Robert Garrett.



(91) Quarto

12.0.0.0.0 Ho ahau katun*
U can tz'it katun
Ych caan çi hoo
U hetz' katun
Chich u u ich
Chich u mut ti y ahaulil
Chibil al
Chibil mehen ti talij

(91) Quarto

Katun 5 Ahau
Was the fourth part of the *katun*.
Heaven Born Merida
Was the seat of the *katun*.
2575 Strong was the face,
Strong was the news in the lordship.
It was the lineage born
And lineage engendered who came.

2571. The word *quarto* at the head of this text is a late addition to the MS.

Ti u hop
U tza

Ti jx u bi
U u ic
Can cheb
T u ca
Tij u y uc
Tab ti
Ti ix u lil
Cha (

Ti jx u lil
Holil
Con con
Con c
Ti talij
Ti jx (

Ch'abci u
T u ta
Y an bin
Okot
Ox chac
Ni cei
Chac
Xul at
Chac
Uayah
U bal
U çoc
Y ah tz'a
Ul
Ca pucçi
Ychil
T u cal y
T u cæ
Ba tab o
Ba tab

2590.
jaguar pr:
latter int
both seer
Chumaye
2594.
line 2596
2613.
the town

Ti u hop'ol		It was the beginning
U tza ciçin ti bal cah i	2580	Of the removal of the devil from the world.
Ti jx u binel		And it was the coming
U u ich kauil		Of the face of the deity
Can chebil caan		In the four changes of heaven,
T u can hebil hele be		In the four changes of the road.
Tij u y uchul chuy	2585	That was the occurring of hanging
Tab ti bal cah i		And the rope in the world.
Ti ix u likil u cal		And that was the raising of the neck
Cha (.)an ti chibal i		Of the (East priest Ahau Can) by descent;
Ti jx u likil u cal		And it was the raising of the neck
Holil (. . . .) ti chibal i*	2590	Of Holil (Och) by descent.
Con con mehen		It was very few engendered sons,
Con con aal		Very few born children
Ti talij		Who came
Ti jx (.) u hool chamal*		And who (avoided) the tip of the cigar
Ch'abci u yum bal cah	2595	Created by the father of the world.
T u ta (. . . .)		He has (approached then)
Y an bin y ubah		And will have heard
Okot bot bat		The dance of payment of death:
Ox chac		The three rain priests,
Ni cen	2600	Ni Cen,
Chac		The rain priest
Xul ab		Xul Ab,
Chac		And the rain priest
Uayah cab		Uayah Cab,
U bal	2605	Twisting
U çoot		And shaking
Y ah tz'a		As givers
Ul		And receivers
Ca pucçikal		Of our hearts
Ychil patan	2610	In tribute.
T u cal ya		One suffered the pain;
T u cal tza		One suffered the removal
Ba tab och*		Of Chief Possum,
Ba tab ch'amac		Chief Fox,

2590. Ahau Can (line 2588) could be either a personal name or the title of the Jaguar priest of the *katun*. The identification of him as east priest confirms the latter interpretation. Holil Och was presumably his Spokesman, and they were both seemingly hanged for idolatry. Both names are garbled or missing in the Chumayel text and are supplied from the Tizimin.

2594. Word missing, and 'avoided' is just a guess, as is 'approached then' in line 2596.

2613. Here again are the military companies of the countryside harassing the towns.

he *katun*.

in.

the lordship.

who came.

MS.

- Ba tab ah pic
Ah tz'uutz'
U tz'utanil
Cahob
Cum u tal
Xin
Ca yn lahab
X a pax
C ech u itz'in
Çucun
Ah xac lam pat
T ech
U u ichil e
Ex
Tolil och
U katunil
Nitte u kan che
Culic t u tz'am
Ti chaan tan kiuc
Tan pop
Ah ca kin tz'am
Ah ca kin pop
T u tab cah
Cahaan uchi
U balamil cab
T u ca tulil
Ba tab och
Y etel ah xac lam pat
Ma ya cimlal
Bin tz'aic ob
U chun (. .)x ob e*
Tz'etz'ecil c uchi e
T a kabatah tun hele lae
Ah ytza
T u chicchic çoot katun
T u keban than katun
Tan cah maya patan
Chac Xuyua patan
T u lachlam pach balam
Ah cab cob
T u chibal katun
T u chibal haab
Çitz'ob
Ti y ahaulil
Ban ban hoch' cal
U cuch katun
- 2615 Chief of the Bedbugs,
Chief of the Suckers,
The hagglers
Of the towns.
Darkness comes
2620 And goes,
And then it is finished,
And you are beaten,
O younger
And older brothers.
2625 Xaclam Pat
Art thou
In thy person,
And thine
Is the end of the count
2630 Of the *katun* period.
Flower is his bench
Seated on his throne,
Which is seen before the Plaza,
Before the mat
2635 Of the two-day throne people,
The two-day mat people.
He tied the town
And settled
The jaguars of the land
2640 By twos:
Chief Possum
And Xaclam Pat.
Painless death
Will they give
2645 The beginning of their (beating)
And they will be crushed.
And you will name them then anew,
The Itza.
In the full swollen *katun*,
2650 In the sinful words *katun*
Of the primate city of Mayan tribute,
The East priest of the Zuyua tribute
Outlasted the Jaguar
And the Earth Lions
2655 To the completion of the *katun*,
To the completion of the year.
They lusted
After the lordship.
Many many hangings
2660 Were the burden of the *katun*.

2645. Word missing. My 'beating' is a guess.

Ua c u hic
te lae
U xul t

(92) Ti u

Ch'aic

27. 5

(16) U ka
Y etel

Yax

Ch ucc

U petenil

Yucatai

T u mene

Sac uin

Ychil bin l

Katun

U chucic i

Ecab

Ti lakin u

Caa ul

Op

Bin u y

Lay u chu

U kaba

Ah mak o

Ah tz't

He ix bin

U chu i

Nacom

Balam i

He yx yax

Ecab e

2674. S
chapter.

Ua c u hich'il u cal u ba tabil cah
te lae

U xul u num ya maya uinicob

(92) Ti u çebtal u talel ah uaymillob

Ch'aic u toh ti bal cah i.

If they hanged the town chiefs there
then,

It would end the suffering of the
Mayan people.

That was the rapid arrival of the
people of Uaymil

To take the authority in the world.

27. The War Indemnity

(16) U kahlay katunob

Y etel haabboob

Yax

Ch ucci

U petenil

Yucatan

T u menel tz'ulob

Sac uinicob

Ychil bin buluc ahau

Katun uchci*

U chucic ob u hol haa

Ecab

Ti lakin u talel ob

Caa ul ob

Op

Bin u yax kam chitah ob

Lay u chun

U kabatic ob

Ah mak op tz'ulilob

Ah tz'uutz' op tz'ul u kaba ob

He ix bin u kaba ah otochnalob

U chu cah ob i e Ecab e

Nacom

Balam u kaba

He yx yax chucite

Ecab e

2665 The count of the *katuns*

And years

Recently

Completed

In the country

2670 Of Yucatan

By the aliens,

The white men.

Within the coming of 11 Ahau V (13
Ahau M)

Was the *katun* that occurred

2675 Their reaching the port

Of Ecab.

From the east they came

When they arrived.

Custard apple

2680 Was to be the first thing they put in
their mouths.

That was the origin

Of their name:

Foreign custard apple slurpers,

Foreign custard apple suckers is
their name.

2685 That was also the name of the
inhabitants

Of the little houses of Ecab.

The captain

Was named Jaguar.

So thus was the first arrival there

2690 At Ecab

2674. See the introduction for a discussion of the aberrant dating in this chapter.

Plaza,

ople,
e.

eating)
ied.
then anew,

'
:un
ryan tribute,
Zuyua tribute

katun,
he year.

katun.

T u men yax capitan e		By the first captain,	
Dn. Juan		Don Juan	
(17) De Montejo		De Montejo,	
Yax concixador		The first conqueror.	
Uay t u petenil	2695	This was in the country	
Yucatan lae		Of Yucatan here.	
Lay li		It was then	
U katunil uchci		The time of the occurrence	
U kuchul ych caan si hoo		Of the arrival at Heaven Born Merida	
Lae	2700	Here.	
T u y aabil		In the year	
1513 años		1513 V (1540 M)	
Oxlahun ahau		13 Ahau V (11 Ahau M)	
Katun		Katun,	
Uchci u chucic ob Campech	2705	Occurred their reaching Campeche.	
Hun tz'it katun y an ob i		They had one katun (left).	
Ah kin		The sun priest	
Camal likul Campech		Cam Al arose in Campeche	
Oces tz'ulob uay		And received the aliens here	
Ti peten lae	2710	In this country.	
Helel		On the other hand	
En 20 de agosto		On the 20th of August	
Ti y aabil		In the year	
De mil quinientos quarenta y uno		1541 V (1564 M),	
T in chicbesah	2715	I have made a demonstration	
U kaba haabob		Of the names of the years,	
Hop'ic		And there began	
Christianoil lae		Christianity here,	
Mil quinientos dies y nueve años		In 1519 V (1546 M),	
Kuchic uac kal hab	2720	It came to the sixth roll of years	
Ca tac		And approached	
Buluc pis hab i		The eleven count of years.	
Uchci consierto y etel tz'ulob		There was an agreement with the	
		aliens.	
Bay lic ca botic u liksah katun		This was so as to pay for the waging	
tz'ulob		of the war of the aliens	
Y etel u y anal uinicob lae	2725	And for the residence of people	
Uay ti cahob		Here in the villages.	
Lay u capitanil cahob uchi e		Thus the captaincy of the villages	
		occurred then:	
Lay tun ca botic hele lae		It was so as to pay this back.	
Helel		Again	
Tz'ibnah en	2730	As I have written	
Ti y aabil		In the year	
Mil quinientos quarenta y uno		1541 V (1513 M)	
años			
Yax ulci tz'ulob ti lakín		There first arrived the aliens in the east	
Ecab u kaba		At Ecab by name.	

T u y abil
 Uchci u
 T u hol ha
 Ecab
 T u cahal
 Balam
 T u yax cl
 U kinil
 U habil
 (18) U
 Buluc aha
 Katun
 Ca pax ol
 Hoolhu
 U talel
 Y ulel i
 Ca paxi c
 Ca pax
 Ca paxi c
 Ca pax
 T u noho
 Cib u l
 Pax cah S
 Y etel
 Y etel ho
 Ti cah
 Y etel ak
 Hol tu
 Paxi cah i
 Etzem
 Ti em i
 Y ix m
 Hahal ku
 U yum
 Yx ahau
 Yx sub

2751. I
 it is zac l
 seat, in th
 Valladolid
 2752. I
 name of a
 2755. I
 2758. I
 2770. I

T u y abil	2735	In that year
Uchci u kuchul ob		Occurred their arrival
T u hol haa		At the port
Ecab		Of Ecab,
T u cahal Nacom		The town of the captain
Balam	2740	Jaguar.
T u yax chun		At the first beginning
U kinil		Of the time
U habil		Of the years
(18) U katunil		Of the <i>katun</i> period
Buluc ahau	2745	Of <i>katun</i>
Katun		11 Ahau V (13 Ahau M).
Ca pax ob ah ytzaob		When they destroyed the Itzas,
Hoolhun kal haab		It was three hundred years before
U talel		The coming
Y ulel tz'ulob	2750	And arrival of the aliens.
Ca paxi cah sac lah tun*		Destroyed was the town of the Plaza;
Ca paxi cah kin chil coba*		Destroyed was the town of Kin Chil,
		Coba;
Ca paxi cah t u chi ch'en ytzam		Destroyed was the town at Chichen
		Itza;
Ca paxi cah t u xax uxmal		Destroyed was the town at outer
		Uxmal,
T u nohol cah uxmal*	2755	And to the south the towns of Uxmal:
Cib u kaba y etel Kabah		Cib, as they were called, and Kabah.
Pax cah Seye		Destroyed was the town of Zayi,
Y etel Pakam*		And Pakam,
Y etel hom tun		And Hom Tun,
Ti cah t ix calom kin	2760	Which is a town of Tixcalomkin,
Y etel ake		And Ake
Hol tun ake		And Ake Gate.
Paxi cah emal chac		Destroyed was the town of Emal the
		Great,
Etzemal		And Izamal,
Ti em i	2765	Where there descended
Y ix mehen		The daughter
Hahal ku i		Of the True God,
U yumil caan		The Father of heaven:
Yx ahau		The Queen,
Yx suhun*	2770	The Virgin,

2751. Roys 1967: 81 suggests *zacal actun* 'white cave/white building'; I think it is *zac lac tun* 'white flat stone' and believe it refers to the Plaza of the cycle seat, in this case probably Mayapan. Elsewhere it is associated with Merida and Valladolid.

2752. Unlike Roys 1967: 81, note 9, I believe Kin Chil 'sun face' is a personal name of a ruler of Coba who was Jaguar in 2 Ahau.

2755. Cib, Kabah, Zayi, and Xcalumkin are all south of Uxmal.

2758. Roys 1967: 82, note 4 identifies this with Tepakam, northwest of Izamal.

2770. The Virgin of Izamal is the patron saint of Yucatan.

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Born Merida

Campeche.
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ere

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ars,

ll of years

ars.
with the

or the waging
s
people

e villages

back.

ens in the east

Yx mactzil
 Ca y alah ahau
 Emom
 Chim
 Kin ich
 Kak mo*
 Ma paat ti ahaulil uay e
 Uay ti pat i
 Yx mactzil
 Yx tz'a yatzil
 Emom sum
 Emom tab tal ti caan

 Emom u than tal ti caan

 Lay cicuntabi y ahaulil
 T u men u chucan cah ob
 Ca y alah ob
 Ma pat i y ahaulil ob
 Emmal*
 Ca tun bin noh
 Ah ytzaob' lae
 Oxlahun bak
 U bakal u piccill ob
 Ca tac holhun bak
 U bakal u ho kallil i*
 U nucteellob heregesob
 Ah ytzaob
 He tun bini y ah tzenulte ob

 Xan numbilob
 Bin t u pach ob
 Tzentic ob lae
 Ox hun p'is bin y iximal u pol
 U cuentail ob
 Ca tac bolon pis almut
 Ca tac ox oc y iximal ob
 Yab ix mehen cahob
 Bin uh uay

The Holy Person.
 Then the lord said,
 "Descended
 Is the anger
 2775 Of the glorious
 Kak Mo.
 Do not expect the lordship here.
 Here you may expect
 The Holy Person,
 2780 The Giver of Love.
 Descended is the rope,
 Descended is the cord come from
 heaven,
 Descended is the Word come from
 heaven."
 Thus the lordship was announced
 2785 For all of the towns,
 Which were told
 Not to expect the lordship
 Of Emal.
 Then came the great ones,
 2790 The Itzas here.
 5,200
 Was the number of their thousands,
 And nearly 6,000
 The number of their hundreds,
 2795 The great actors and heretics,
 The Itzas.
 So thus sickness was to come to their
 breasts,
 And likewise suffering came
 To their backs
 2800 And breasts then.
 Thirteen measures of corn per head
 Was their bill,
 And then nine *almuds*,
 And then three feet of their corn.
 2805 Many village girls
 Became prostitutes

Tanill ob
 T u pac
 (19) Ma t
 U pakt
 Ma u cristi
 Ma y ol

Ah uayom
 Ah uay.
 Ah uayom
 Ah uay.
 Ox uayah
 Can ba
 U xul u cu
 Ca tac
 Y an ca ta
 Ta xul i
 T u men y
 U p'is k
 Tulis u
 Tulis ha
 Tulis kin
 Tulis ak
 Tulis yk
 C u xin
 Tulis kik x
 T u kuc
 T u poop
 T u tz'z
 P'is u caxa

P'is u c

La t u p'is
 Y ocol
 ahaulil
 T an u p'is
 Y ocol

Utz tun t
 Ca tun
 T u cux ol
 Y an m

2776. Kak Mo was an 8 Ahau lord associated with Izamal, Uxmal, and Champoton.

2788. The previous passage syncretizes several time periods: a legendary destruction of cities in 4 Ahau, the appearance of the Virgin of Izamal and the teaching of Christianity in 9 Ahau, and the prestige figure of Kak Mo from 8 Ahau, all in order to magnify the opposition to the Itza seating of Emal, which took place in 5 Ahau (1599). The reference to Emal is a further confirmation of the date of composition of this text.

2794. 11,200 Itza is a lot of Itza, but then they constituted the aristocracy of thirteen out of the eighteen Mayan provinces.

2817. I
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Ahau, all
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Tanill ob
T u pach ob xan
(19) Ma t y oheltah ob
U pakt ob tz'ulob
Ma u *cristianoil* ob
Ma y oltah ob u bot patan

Ah uayom ch'ich'ob
Ah uayom tunob
Ah uayom sinil tunob
Ah uayom balamob
Ox uayahob*
Can bak hab
U xul u cuxtal ob
Ca tac holhun kal hab
Y an ca tac i*

Ta xul u cuxtal ob
T u men y ohel ob
U p'is kinob t u ba ob

Tulis u
Tulis hab

Tulis kin
Tulis akab

Tulis yk
C u ximbal xan

Tulis kik xan
T u kuchul t u uay ob

T u poop oob
T u tz'am ob

P'is u caxantic ob y utzil *oraob*

P'is u caxantic ob y utzil kin

La t u p'is y ilic ob
Y ocol ob u tzul ekob t u y
ahaulil

T an u p'ix ychtic ob
Y ocol ob y ahaulil u tzul ekob

Utz tun t u lal
Ca tun u takbes y al ob

T u cux olal ob
Y an manan tun keban

Before them
And behind them too.
They did not understand
2810 The expectations of the aliens:
Neither their Christianity,
Nor did they understand the
payment of tribute.

The diviners of birds,
The diviners of stones,
2815 The diviners of flat stones,
The diviners of jaguars
Are weak spirits.

Sixteen hundred years
Is the end of their lives,
2820 And three hundred years
Follow.

And so their lives have ended,
Because they know
The count of days among them.

2825 Returned is the month;
Returned is the year;
Returned is the day;
Returned is the night;
Returned is the wind

2830 And gone again.
Blood is returned also.
It has arrived and divined
On the mats,
On the thrones.

2835 They have measured to learn the best
hours;
They have measured to find the
best day.

There they have measured to see
The arrival of the best stars in
ascendancy.

They have measured to observe
2840 The arrival in ascendancy of the
best stars,

The best *tun* altogether.
And so they form their opinions
In the direction of encouragement.
There is then no sin

2817. I believe the implication is that these are inferior diviners in comparison with calendrical diviners.

2821. Though this is stated in years, I agree with Roys 1967: 83, note 3 that it is a Long Count date, 11.15.0.0.0. Compare line 1370, which counts from 8.0.0.0.0, while this text appears to be counting from 7.0.0.0.0 [334].

- T u santo ok olal ob
Y an u cuxtal ob
Manan tun ch'apahal
Manan tun chibil bac ti ob
Manan tun tz'am chacuil ti ob
Minan tun x pom kakil ti ob
Minan tun elel tzemel ti ob
Minan tun yanakil ti ob
Minan tun tzentzern cimil ti ob
Minan tun ch'ibil pol ti ob
Tzolombil tun
U bin u uinicilob
Ma bay tun u mentah tz'ulob
Ti uli ob lae
Sabtzolil ta (20) sah ob
Ca tal ob
Ca cuxhi y ol nicté
Cuxhi tun y ol t u nictéob
Nacxit
Xuchit
T u nicté
U lak ob
Minan tun y utz kinn ob
Y et sah ob t oon
Lay u chun ca kin xec
Ca kin ahaulil
Lay ix u chun cimil
T oon xan
Manan y utz kin t on xan
Minan cux olal t oon
T u xul ca satmail yilil
Y etel subtalil etlahom t u lacal
Minan nohoch can
Minan y ahau than
Minan ahau can
Ti lay
U hel ahauuob
Ti uli ob lae
Tzuc
Cep
- 2845 In their holy belief.
These are their lives.
There is then no seizure;
There is then no rending of flesh for them.
There is then no groaning fever for them.
2850 There is then no excess burning for them.
There is then no burning chest for them.
There are then no stomach pains for them.
There is then no fatal chest weakness for them.
There are then no torn heads for them.
2855 In sound health then
Will people be.
But not so are the actions of the aliens
Who have come here.
They brought shame
2860 When they came.
For spoiled is the heart of the flower;
Spoiled then is the heart in the flowers:
Four Leg Nacxit,
Flower Xuchit,
2865 In the flowers,
All of them.
There are then no good days
That they have showed us.
This is the beginning of two-day seats,
2870 Two-day lordships.
And this was the beginning of death
For us too.
There are no good days for us either:
There is no life for our spirits.
2875 The forgiveness of evil is over,
And shame will flatten us all.
There is no great teacher;
There is no lord speaker;
There is no learned lord
2880 To be the one who
Changes the lords
Who have arrived here.
Lust
And Sex

Ah kinil
C u tale
U mentab:
T u mei
Ca tun
T u p'at
Y al
U mehe
Uay
Tan cah
Lay tun ka
U num
Uchci u ct
Lay tz'u
He bin ah
Ox ten
tz'ulob
Lay tun
T u mei
Y an t oor
T u luki
T u men u
lay uincob
(21) Ah
Ma t oon
T oon l
He uac co
Y an u
Ca y anac
Y etel
Ua ma e
Bi y ana

2902. T
'we were r
2904. T
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g fever for

s burning for

chest for

nach pains for

est weakness

heads for

s of the aliens

the flower;
rt in the

ays
l us.
wo-day seats,

ng of death

r us either:
spirits.
over,
us all.

or;

Ah kinil
C u talel
U mentabal ti te lae
T u men tz'ulob
Ca tun
T u p'atah ob
Y al
U mehenob
Uay
Tan cah lae
Lay tun kamic ob
U num yail ob
Uchci u chibil
Lay tz'ulob lae
He bin ah ytzaob e
Ox ten hij bin uchic ob
tz'ulob
Lay tun
T u men ox kal haab*
Y an t oon
T u luksic ob ca patan*
T u men uchci u chibil ob t u men
lay uincob
(21) Ah ytzaob lae
Ma t oon t mente i
T oon botic hele lae
He uac *concierto* y anil
Y an u xul
Ca y anac hun oolal t on
Y etel tz'ulob
Ua ma e
Bi y anac t oon noh katun.

2885 Are the sun priests
That are coming
To administer things here
Because of the aliens.
Two years
2890 They have abandoned
The born children
And engendered children
Here
At the capital.
2895 This year they have caught
The plague.
Its bite has come here
From these aliens.
Indeed the Itzas could come here
2900 Three times over for one occurrence
of aliens.
This year,
Because it is the sixtieth,
We must
Have them remove our tribute
2905 Because of the occurrence of the
assault of these men,
These Itza.
It wasn't we who did it,
But we are paying for it.
Whenever an agreement exists,
2910 It has an end:
Then there would be accord between us
And the aliens,
But if that is not so
There will be for us a great war.

2902. That is, 1603, sixty years after the *concierto* of 1543. Roys 1967: 84 has 'we were relieved from paying tribute at the age of sixty'.

2904. That is, it was the Itza who made war but it's the Xiu who are paying the tribute. There was probably some truth to this, at least in 5 Ahau.

3 Ahau

28. Caesar Augustus

Coc Ay, lord of Merida (1618–1638).
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(92) Quinto 1620

Ox ahau katun*
U ho tz'it katun
Ych can çì hoo
U hetz' katun
Ek coc oh mut*
U u ich ti y ahaulil
Ti y ah miaztil Antachristo*
U u ich ti y ahaulil

Fifth: 1620

2915 *Katun 3 Ahau*
Was the fifth part of the *katun*.
Heaven Born Merida
Was the seat of the *katun*.
The West priest Coc Oh the Crier
2920 Was the face in the lordship.
In the office of sage, Antichrist
Was the face in the lordship.

2915. The notation *quinto 1620* at the head of this text is a late addition to the MS.

2919. Elsewhere Coc Ay (line 1769). Roys 1967: 153, note 5 reads Coc Ah and relates it to an idol at Tayasal.

2921. The implication is that either Coc Ay or his Spokesman was pagan. Probably they both were.

Hopom
Kak
T u xulub
Ych caar
Haulahom
Chac bo
Tan kiuic
Pek u m
Çac pat ay

Thul Ca
Bohol Caar
Ch'uhur
Caan il cha
Kuch ca
Thel en ch
Ceh il c
Ti jx y em
U leçil i
Çinic balan
Çakil ha
Ox ch'uyt
Ox cucl

Okom bul
T u can
La u tah he
Auatnor
T u holoba
Numal y

He t en
C en ox
Cumtal yn
Ych can
He t en
C en
Ceçar Agus
Cah yn i
Tan y ol ch
Tan (y c

2925. I f
Cabrones.
(East pries
priests who
Ay was the
2957. A)
2960. Tl

Hopom
Kak
T u xulub yuc*
Ych caan çi hoo
Haulahom u keulel
Chac bol ay
Tan kiuc
Pek u mut
Çac pat ay chacil

Thul Caan chacil
Bohol Caan chacil
Ch'uhum caan chacil
Caan il chacil
Kuch caan chacil
Thel en chacil
Ceh il chacil
Ti jx y emel ox ualah
U leçil il
Çinic balamil
Çakil habil
Ox ch'uytah u xuthen
Ox cuchlahom y al max

Okom bul cum
T u can xay be o
La u tah hob katun
Auatnom u pixan
T u holobal cah
Numal ytza et(. .)talij

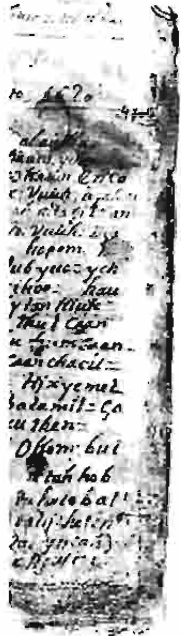
He t en
C en ox ahau katun e
Cumtal yn cah
Ych can çi hoo
He t en
C en
Ceçor Augusto e*
Cah yn kam yn matan
Tan y ol che
Tan (y ol haa) . . .*

There will be ignited
A fire
2925 At the goat horns
In Heaven Born Merida.
Sliced up was the robe
Of the East priest Bol Ay
Before the Plaza.
2930 Dog was its news.
The North priest Pat Ay was a rain
priest;
Thul Caan was a rain priest;
Bohol Caan was a rain priest;
Ch'uhum Caan was a rain priest;
2935 Caan Il was a rain priest;
Kuch Caan was a rain priest;
Thel En was a rain priest;
Ceh Il was a rain priest;
And they brought down three figures
2940 Who were condemned.
Ants and Jaguars
And Locust years.
Three were sentenced to hang;
Three bore the burden of the
monkey children.
2945 Lamented is the bean bowl
At the four divisions of the road.
These are the sections of the *katun*.
Mourning their spirits
At the gates of the city,
2950 The base of the Itza who
accompanied them.
Here I am,
I, *katun* 3 Ahau,
Who have seated my city,
Heaven Born Merida!
2955 Here I am,
I,
Caesar Augustus,
To begin to collect my request
Among the trees—
2960 Among (the wells) . . .

2925. I persist in thinking (Tizimin) that there was a fire at a bar known as *Los Cabrones*. From the present passage I suspect a plot against the reigning Jaguar ('East priest') Bol Ay by his cousin (?) Coc Ay and the committee of eight rain priests who are then named, apparently headed by another cousin (?), Pat Ay. Coc Ay was therefore a usurper. Three of the conspirators were hanged.

2957. And "Caesar Augustus" claimed the lordship of the following *katun*.

2960. The text breaks off incomplete.



ie *katun*.

tun.
the Crier
dship.
ichrist
dship.

ition to
oc Ah and
agan.

29. The Ceremonial of the *Baktun*

(42) Ti hach kabet – u bel*
Y ocsabal ti: ol:*

Lay u tunil
T u patah
Ca yum
Citbil =

Act I

Lay u kam chi
Lay baal che:
Licil ca tzicic:
Uay
C on
Ah tepall i*
Tic ob =
Hach pay bentzil
U kultabal ob =
Hahil ob
Kuob =
La ob i =
Tunob:
Cumlahic
Hahal ku =
Ca yumil
Ti Dios =
U yumil
Caan
Y etel luum:
Hahal ku:
Ba ca cix =
Yax kuob e =
Hauay kuob =
Tz'oc:
U than u kultabal ob =
Kaz pahi ob
T u men u *bendision*:

It is very necessary, the path
That is the introduction to the
heart.

This is the *tun* period
When it was shaped
2965 By our Father
The remote.

Act I

This is the taking of the occasion.
This is the balche ceremony
As we honor him
2970 Here.
We
The rulers
Spread
In many separate parts,
2975 Worship them,
The true
Gods.
There they are
As stones,
2980 The established representation
Of the True God,
Our Father,
Who is God,
The Father
2985 Of heaven
And earth,
The True God.
However,
The first gods
2990 Were leprous gods,
Finished
Is the word of their worship.
They have been done in
By the benediction

2961. See the introduction for an analysis of this chapter.
2962. I agree with Roys 1967: 98 that this refers to faith, but I have translated it literally anyway.
2972. Bricker reads this as *ah tepal incob*, presumably 'the rulers of men'.

U yum
Ca t
U loho
U ca
Hahal l
Hah
Ca u ci
Thar
Caan
Y et
Ti kasp
May
Xeth a
T a l
U kahla
T u l
Lay t u
T u i
T u kin
Lae l
Lay pic
U ti
Maya u
Uay
Bix siha
Etz'li
Uay
Ti pe

Act 2

Ychil bu
Tij c
Ah muc
Kaxi
Oxlahu
Ma y
U kaba
U ci
Y etel u
Y ala

2996. B:
Ca t
C
3015. G

U yumil caan =
 Ca tz'oc i:.*
 U lohol bal cah ca tz'oc i.
 U ca put cuxtal
 Hahal ku
 Hahal D'.
 Ca u cici
 Thantah
 Caan
 Y etel luum =
 Ti kaspah i a kul
 Maya uinic ex e:
 Xeth a u ol
 T a kul ex lae:
 U kahlay cab
 T u kinil =
 Lay t u men tz'iban lae =
 T u men ma kuchuc
 T u kin u meyah
 Lae hun ob
 Lay picilthan ob lae:.*
 U ti al katabal u chi
 Maya uinicob i
 Uay y ohel ob
 Bix sihanil ob
 Etz'lic cab
 Uay
 Ti peten lae.

Act 2

Ychil buluc, ahau,
 Tij ca hok i
 Ah mucen cab;
 Kaxic u u ichob,
 Oxlahun ti ku;
 Ma yx y oheltah ob i:
 U kaba halil i:
 U cic:
 Y etel u mehenob e:
 Y alah ob;

2995 Of the Father of heaven.
 Then it ends.
 The redemption of the world is over,
 The twice-born life
 Of the True God,
 3000 The True *Dios*.
 When they sweetly
 Prayed
 To heaven
 And earth,
 3005 That put an end
 To the gods of you Mayan people.
 Shattered is the belief
 In your gods then,
 This is the account of the land
 3010 At that time.
 That is because it was written there,
 Because it wouldn't have happened
 At the time of the making
 Of these books.
 3015 These are millennial words here
 For the examination
 Of the Mayan people here
 Who may know
 How they were born
 3020 And settled the land
 Here
 In this country.

Act 2

In 11 Ahau
 That was when there began
 3025 The Muzen Cabs
 To tie the faces
 Of the 13 Gods,
 And they did not know
 Their true names.
 3030 For their older sisters
 And their engendered sons,
 Their offspring

2996. Bricker prefers this scansion for lines 2996 through 2998:

Ca tz'oci u lohol bal cah Ended is the redemption of the world,
 Ca tz'oci u ca put cuxtal Ended is the twice-born life.

3015. Gates 1932: 79 has 'these many-leaved volumes'.

*Coc Ay, lord of Merida (1618-1638).
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Ti ma ix chacan
Hij u u ich ti ob xan;
T u chi yx ca tz'oc i*

Act 3

U y ahal cab e:
Ma yx y oheltah ob.
Binil
Ulebal:
Ca yx chuc i*
Oxlahun ti ku:
T u menel bolon ti ku;*
Tij ca emi kak:
Ca emi tab.
Ca emi tunich
Y etel che:
Ca tali u baxal che:
Y etel tunich:

And those who are not grown—
Perhaps even their faces
3035 And their voices are gone.

Act 3

The dawning of the land
They didn't know about either,
The going
And coming,
3040 And then there were finished
The 13 who are Gods
By the 9 who are Gods.
They then brought down fire;
Then they brought down the rope;
3045 Then they brought down stones
And sticks.
Then came beating with sticks
And stones.

3035. The old gods are being forgotten by women and children.

3040. Bricker reads *chuc* as 'capture'.

3042. The 9 Gods presided over the nine levels of the underworld. They are presumably also masked and they reenact the destruction of the 13 Gods as the *katun* cycle ends. This also symbolizes the traditional calendrical disagreement of the Xiu and the Itza, since the ninth *katun* of the Itza cycle is the thirteenth of the Xiu cycle. Thus, this is a symbolic way of finishing off the Itza and relegating them to the underworld.

Ca ix cl
(43)
Y etel c
Ca ix
Ca ix t
Ca ix

Act 4

Ca ix c

Y ete

Act 5

Ca ch'al
Yx y:

Act 6

Y etel c

Y ete
Y etel p
Y ete
U tep'al
Yax t
Ca bin i
T u y
Ca yx t
U ma
Y etel u
U bac
Uay
Y ok
Ca tun t
T u n
Ma ix y
Bin ci

3064.
and prot
I do not
a single
3076.
compan:
plant [pr
and bloc

Ca ix chuc i
 (43) Oxlahun ti ku:
 Y etel ca ix paxi u pol:
 Ca ix lahi u u ich:
 Ca ix tubab i:
 Ca ix cuch pach hi xan:

Act 4

Ca ix colabi u cangel:
 Y etel u hol sabac:

Act 5

Ca ch'abi yx kukil:
 Yx yaxun:

Act 6

Y etel ca ch'ab i ybnel puyem uiil:

Y etel puccikal puyem çicil:
 Y etel puyem topp
 Y etel puyem buul:
 U tep'ah ynah:
 Yax bolon tz'acab:*

Ca bin i
 T u y oxlahun tas caan:
 Ca yx tun culhij:
 U matz'il:
 Y etel u ni
 U bacilil i:
 Uay
 Y okol cab e:
 Ca tun bin u puccikal
 T u menel oxlahun ti ku:
 Ma ix y oltah ob
 Bin ci u puccikal uiil lae:*

And then were finished
 3050 The 13 who are Gods.
 And so then their heads were beaten,
 And then their faces were flattened,
 And then they were forgotten,
 And then they were also carted
 away.

Act 4

3055 And then were planted the four
 changers
 Together with the Soot Heads.

Act 5

Then was created also the quetzal
 And the blue bird.

Act 6

And then was created the placenta of
 breast plants,
 3060 And the heart of breast squash,
 And breast pumpkin
 And breast beans,
 The wrapping of the seed
 Of the first nine steps.

3065 Then they went
 To the thirteenth level of heaven,
 And so then were established
 His membranes,
 And his nose,
 3070 His skeleton
 Here
 In the world.
 So then went his heart
 Because of the 13 who are Gods.
 3075 But they didn't know
 His heart was to be a plant.

3064. The various plants in the preceding lines suggest the riddles of Zuyua and probably refer to a ritual meal and/or procession relating to the Lords of Hell. I do not accept the misconception, originating with Landa, that Bolon Tz'acab was a single deity. Landa's Maya left much to be desired. [Cf. Roys 1967: 99, note 10.]

3076. Then there is another procession in honor of the thirteen heavens, accompanied by bloodletting and ending with a heart sacrifice, except that here a plant (presumably rubber) is substituted for a real heart. Maya *kik* is 'rubber, sap, and blood'.

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 es
 2.
 nd
 either,
 inished
 s.
 i fire;
 wn the rope;
 i stones
 sticks

they are pre-
 as the
 greement of
 teenth of
 relegating

Act 7

Ca ix hul lahi
 Yx ma yumob
 Y etel ah num yaob:
 Yx ma ychamob:
 Cuxanob
 Ix ti minan u pucçikalob:
 Ca yx mucchahij:
 T u men:
 U yam çuc
 T u yam kaknab:
 Hun uatz' hail:
 Hulom haail:
 Tij: ca uchic ol*
 Cangelil i:
 Ti homocnac canal:
 Homocnac ix ti cab:
 U alic can tul ti ku:
 Can tul ti ba cab:
 Lay ha y eçob:
 T u chij: -
 Tun ca tz'oc i
 Hay cabil =
 Lay cahcunah =
 U chebal ca tzolic*

Act 8

Kan xib yui: *
 Ca u alhi
 Çac ymix che:
 Ti xaman:
 Ca yx u alhi
 Y oc mal caan:

Act 7

And then they all arrived,
 Even the fatherless
 And the suffering poor,
 3080 And the widows,
 The living,
 And those without hearts.
 And they began to wait
 For it:
 3085 The direction of thatch grass,
 The direction of the sea.
 A deluge of water,
 A storm of water
 Then reached the hearts
 3090 Of the four changers,
 Who radiated in heaven
 And radiated also on the land.
 Said the 4 who are Gods,
 The 4 who are Fathers of the Land,
 3095 "This water shows them
 To their faces.
 Then let us finish
 The flattening of the lands.
 This is the initiation
 3100 Of the future of our count."

Act 8

The South priest Xib Yuy
 Then bore
 The north alligator tree
 In the north.
 3105 And then he bore
 The entrance to heaven,

3089. Bricker reads *ca uchi col* 'then occurred the theft'.

3100. The whole ceremony up to here has been oriented to the east, always the Mayan starting point. It now shifts to the north (always counterclockwise). You can get to the sea from Merida in any of three cardinal directions, but north is the closest. The general public—orphans, the poor, widows, even witches—is summoned and a deluge of water is released. This symbolizes both the power of the rain gods, who are equated with the yearbearers, and the power of baptism. The yearbearers announce that baptism will subjugate Yucatan and justify the calendrical mystique.

3101. It is time for another procession. It begins in the north, confirming the implication in the preceding note, and moves to the west and south and back to the center. The South priest Xib Yuy [personal name] carries the sacred tree to the north, west, and south. The latter two are symbolized by appropriately colored birds. Another South priest, Oyal Mut, then carries the "alligator tree" to the center of the Plaza. I'd bet it was a blue-green cross!

U chic
 Lay
 U alic
 Ca
 Ek ym
 Cu

Ca yx
 Kan
 U chic
 Cul

Cumli

Yx
 Ca ix
 Yax

U kahl
 Cul

Act 9

U atal:
 Cur
 U: lac:
 Car

Act 1

Ah pa:
 Ah

Cumta:
 Cha

Ah pa:
 T u
 Cumta:
 Çac

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he cal-

ming the
l back to
tree to the
colored
to the cen-

U chicul hay cabal:
Lay çac ymix che:
U alic cuchic:
Ca yx u alhij
Ek ymix che:
Cu ektan pitz'oy =

Ca yx u alhi
Kan ymix che:
U chicul hay cabal:
Culic kan tan pitz'oy:

Cumlic ix kan xib yui:

Yx kan oyal mut:
Ca ix u alhij
Yax ymix che: t u chumuc

U kahlay hay cabil =
Culic:

Act 9

U atal:
Cumtal u cah:
U: lac:
Canah ual katun:*

Act 10

Ah pay kab*
Ah pai oc: t u yum:
Cumtal u cah
Chac piltec = t u lakin cab:

Ah pay oc
T u yum:
Cumtal u cah:
Çac pilte t u xaman cab:

The sign of the flattening of the lands.
That is the north alligator tree,
Said to be carried.

3110 And then he bore
The west alligator tree
To seat the black-breasted weaver
bird.

And then he bore
The south alligator tree,
3115 The sign of the flattening of the lands
To seat the yellow-breasted weaver
bird,

And was seated the South priest Xib
Yuy,

And the South priest Oyal Mut.

And then he bore
3120 The center alligator tree to the
middle,
Signifying the flattening of the land.
It is seated.

Act 9

Its being raised
Establishes the town,
3125 And the same
When the return of the *katun* is
fulfilled.

Act 10

The leaders of the hand
[And] the leaders of the foot as its
fathers:
Establishing the town
3130 Of the red noble in the eastern
lands,
The leader of the foot
As its father,
Establishing the town
Of the white noble in the northern
lands,

3126. At this point the symbolic seating of *katun* 11 Ahau is accomplished.

3127. I believe these are the yearbearers again. As the text explains, there were two leaders of the foot (east and north) and two of the hand (west and south). They are honorifically named in this couplet in reverse order because the south is "the heart of the lands" in this ceremony. That may explain the two South priests mentioned in note 3101. However, it was the West priest [Coc Ay] who was seated at the beginning of 3 Ahau [line 2919].

(44) Ah pay oc
 T u yum =
 Cumtal u cah
 Lahun chan: *
 Ah pay kab.
 T u yum:
 Cumtal u cah
 Kan piltec:
 Ah pay kab
 T u yum:
 He x u u ol cab
 U alic*

Act 11

Ah uuc chekna! e: tal i
 T u uuc tas cab:
 Ca emi u chekeb te:
 U pach: ytzam kab ain =
 Tij ca emi
 T u muk u xuk
 Luum:
 Caan:
 Ximbal
 U cah ob.
 T u can cib:
 T u can tatz:
 Ti ek:
 Ma sasil cab:

Act 12

Ti hun minan kin:
 Ti hun minan akab:
 Ti hun minan: u:
 Ah ubah ob
 Ti yx tan u y ahal cab =
 Ca tun ah icab:
 Ua la ci to:
 Y ahal cab:

3135 The leader of the foot
 As its father;
 Establishing the town
 Of Lahun Chan,
 The leader of the hand
 3140 As its father;
 Establishing the town
 Of the yellow noble,
 The leader of the hand
 As its father.
 3145 And that is the heart of the lands
 It is said.

Act 11

The 7 Pacers have come
 To the seven levels of the land.
 Then comes down the pacing pole
 3150 On the back of Itzam Cab Ain.
 He then descended
 With the strength to bury
 Earth
 And heaven,
 3155 Walking
 Through the villages
 To light candles,
 To light lamps
 In the dark,
 3160 Obscure lands.

Act 12

To one who has no day,
 To one who has no night,
 To one who has no moon,
 He is their painter;
 3165 And he has the dawn;
 So then it dawned,
 If that is indeed he,
 The dawn.

3138. Lahun Chan was lord of Emal in 11 Ahau (Tizimin). The expectable reference to the west is missing. Roys 1967: 101, note 2 identifies Lahun Chan as a god.

3146. Neither of these ceremonial circuits is explicit and complete. It appears that the Xiu operated on a five-point directional circuit [east, north, west, south, center] as did the Nahua. The "heart of the land" suggests the missing Center priest.

Oxlahu
 T u t
 U xoc
 Y ah
 Ca tun
 Ci u
 Ca kin t
 Ox k
 Ca yx h
 Y ok
 Okol u
 Ti y
 Chacab
 Chac
 Chac ac
 U ya
 Chacan
 T u n
 Uuc y o
 Ma ix
 Lay lic y
 Bolor
 Tij ca tal
 U tzc
 Chacc ix
 Culic
 Tz'ut pc
 Ti cul
 T u ca e
 Tali t
 Lay u çit
 U çit

3172.
 refers to
 you add
 date land
 3177.
 An

Th
 3190.
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 since it is
 the 9 Goc

the lands

the land.
the pole
the Ain.

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table ref-
hant appears
n,
issing

Oxlahun pic tz'ac	Thirteen thousand steps
T u uuc	3170 And seven
U xocan	Is the count
Y ahal cab:*	Of the dawn.
Ca tun ah cab. ti ob:	So then the landowners among them
Ci u ba:	Say to themselves,
Ca kin tz'am:	3175 "Two-day thrones;
Ox kin tz'am:	Three-day thrones."
Ca yx hop' i*	And then they begin to be
Y okol ox lahun ti ku:	Over the 13 who are Gods,
Okol u cahob	Over the towns
Ti y ahaulil:	3180 In the lordship,
Chacab tun tepal:	Reddening the stone of rule,
Chac h ix pop:	And reddening the mat,
Chac acan	Reddening the lamentation
U yax chel cab:	Of the Ceiba Land.
Chacan u numteil cab	3185 Reddened is the oppressed land
T u menel ob:	Because of them.
Uuc y ol cip:	The seven priest Ol Zip (appeared),
Ma ix t u kin u tepal:	But it was not time for his rule—
Lay lic y oktic ob:	That is when they raised up
Bolon ti ku lae:*	3190 The 9 who are Gods there.
Tij ca tal i	What then came
U tzolol pop:	Was the counting of mats,
Chacc ix pop.	And it reddened the mats
Culic bolon ti ku:	To seat the 9 who are Gods.
Tz'ut polbil ix y it.	3195 And haggling and trading was the ass
Ti culic tu pop:	That sat upon the mat
T u ca emi çitz'	That then brought down envy,
Tali tan y ol caan =	Coming from the center of heaven,
Lay u çitz'il tepal	That was the envy of the ruler,
U çitz'il ahaulil =	3200 The envy of the lordship.

3172. Martinez 1912: 15, note 1 speculates brilliantly that *ox lahun pic tz'ac* refers to 13 *baktuns*: 13.0.0.0.0 4 Ahau 8 Cumku. I agree, but note that when you add the other seven you reach the mythological date of 20.0.0.0.0. Martinez' date lands us in 2214, mine in 4954.

3177. Bricker suggests this scansion for lines 3177 through 3180:

And then they began to cry,
The 13 who are Gods;
They began to cry
In their lordship . . .

3190. The 7 Pacers triumph over the 13 Gods and sacrifice them. They are apparently headed by Ol Zip, an Itza lord of Emal who became Jaguar in 1 Ahau. But since it is not yet 1 Ahau, the 7 Pacers are in turn displaced (and sacrificed?) by the 9 Gods, who are rather nasty characters.

Act 13

Ca ix cumlahij chac etz':*

Ca cumlahi çac y etz'ebil ahaulil:

Etz': ca cumlahij: ek:

Etz'. ca cumlahij: kan.

Etz' ca cumlahij.

Chac tenel ahau:

Ah ten pop:

Ah ten tz'am.*

Ca cumlahij:

Ek tenel ahau:

Ah ten pop.

Ah ten tz'am:

Ca cumlahij

Kan tenel ahau.

Ah ten pop

Ah ten tz'am:

Ti ku ix t u than:

Ti ua ix: ma ix ku i =

Act 14

Ti minan ix u uah.*

Ti minan ix y aal:

Act 13

And then were established the red-placed—

Then were established the white-placed lords;

The place then established was black;

The place then established was yellow.

3205 The place then established
Was the Red Death Lord

As lord of the death mat,

Lord of the death throne.

Then was established

3210 The Black Death Lord

As lord of the death mat,

Lord of the death throne.

Then was established

The Yellow Death Lord

3215 As lord of the death mat,

Lord of the death throne.

And he was a god, he said,

And it may be too he was not a god.

Act 14

And he had no food,

3220 And he had no water.

3201. Another ceremonial circuit follows, seating the Ba Cabs as Death Lords, and again it is incomplete. This time it is the Death Lord of the north who is omitted [around line 3208]. Bricker scans lines 3201 through 3206 differently:

Ca ix cumlahij chac etz':

Ca cumlahi çac y etz'ebil

Ahaulil etz'

Ca cumlahij: ek etz'

Ca cumlahij: kan etz'

Ca cumlahij chac tenel
ahau:

3208. Two couplets have been inadvertently omitted from the text:

Ca culhi

Sac temal

Ah ten pop

Ah ten tz'am

Correct calendrical order would have required these lines after line 3212, but the order already given (lines 3201 ff.) is the same. Perhaps the death gods were expected to be aberrant.

3219. A ritual banquet ensues that symbolizes the food and drink (i.e., the fate) of *katun* 3 Ahau and commemorates [line 3284] the inauguration of 11 Ahau. It also involves [line 3244] the ritual riddles legitimizing the lords.

And then were established the red placed;

Then were established the white placed;

The lordly placed;

Then were established the black placed;

Then were established the yellow placed;

Then was established the Red Death Lord . . .

Then was seated

The White Death Lord

As lord of the death mat,

The lord of the death throne.

Hun x.
(45)

Ma ix
Lic

Caal:

Un

Cal kir

Caa

Ti tal i

Ta r

Ca kux

Ti c

(7) To

Hoç

Colop

Kin:

Tocan

Lay

Lay u c

Licil

T u kir

Nur

T u kir

Aha

Can u

Mol

Çatay

Bab:

Can u

Ah i

T u ho

T u

Okom

Cun

Momol

Pep:

Ti tal i

Cha

Lic u t

U ki

Ox aha

Ox

Lay bin

Ychi

d the red-

the white-

d was black;
hed was

d
d

ie.

ie.

ie.

'as not a god.

ith Lords,
ho is
ently:
ie red

e white

s black

ellow

Red

me.
212, but
ls were

., the fate)
Ahau. It

Hun xel i:
(45) Lic u alic u mul u i t ic.

Ma ix tab u tal u y abal:
Lic u yancuntic:

Caal:
U mut ti culic:

Cal kin
Caal num ya

Ti tal i:
Ta muk y ahaulil;

Ca kuch i:
Ti culic t u pop:

(7) Top canal:
Hopan u kak:

Colop u u ich:
Kin:

Tocan ti cab =
Lay u buuc: ti y ahaulil =

Lay u chun
Licil y oktic u tepal:

T u kin = numen: chuc:
Numen celem:

T u kin = u natal naat:
Ahauob =

Can u alic: u ch'ic che:
Mol t u kin:

Çatay
Babalil i:

Can u alic: u che:
Ah muuc =

T u ho can be:
T u ho can heleb:

Okom bul
Cum t u kinil:

Momolij =
Pepen =

Ti tal i
Chac mitan nun ya =

Lic u talel ox uin keech
U kin

Ox ahau katun
Ox tuc ti hab:

Lay bin nup'uc:
Ychil ah ox ahau katun:

One fragment,
When he ordered a pile of shoots
spread out;
There was nowhere to get his fruit
As he liked it.

3225 Harsh
Was the news that was seated.

Harsh times,
Harsh suffering

Were what came

3230 During the lordship
When he arrived

To sit upon the mat:
Fornication on high,
Fires being set,

3235 Snatched away was the face
Of the sun,
Burned on the land,
That was the judgment on the
lordship.

That was its foundation

3240 As his rule became known.
It was a time to suffer fists,
To suffer shoulders.

It was a time for the riddles
Of the lords,

3245 Teaching him to say wooden lance
(For) the track to the sun:
He is forgetting
Everything.

Teaching him to say the tree

3250 For the crier
At the four crossroads,
For the four changers.
Come is the bowl—

Seated in the time

3255 Of the swarming
Of butterflies.

What is coming
Is a great plague of suffering,
Since there came three kinds of folds

3260 In the time
Of *katun* 3 Ahau,
Threefold in a year.
That will be the closing up
Of *katun* 3 Ahau.

Act 15

Ca bin cumlac
 U y anal katun
 Ox u uah
 Ox y aal
 Cup: u uah:
 Cup: y aal:
 La c u hantic:
 La c u y ukic =
 X ba tun =
 Ch'ich'im chay: c u hantic =
 Lay culhi: uay
 T u cahal num ya e yum e:

Ychil u bolon tun =*
 T u kin y an: tz'util i =
 Katal u cah
 U cuch katun:
 T u lah y abil =
 Ah ox lahun ahau =
 Tij ca ca u hekäh y oc =
 Ah buluc ahau =
 Tij ca emi u than bolon tz'acab:

U ni y ak = ca emi:

Katal: u cah
 U cuch katun:
 Katun
 Bolon te u cuch:*

Act 16

Ca emi:.*
 Ti caanil =
 Kan ix u kinil:
 Kaxc i = u cuch:
 Tij ca emi haa:
 Tali tan y ol caan =
 U chebal
 U ca put çihil:

Act 15

3265 Then will be established
 The nature of the *katun*.
 Gourdroot is its food,
 Gourdroot is its water.
 Breadnut is its food,
 3270 Breadnut is its water.
 That he will eat;
 That he will drink.
 And what then?
 Scrounged cabbage for him to eat,
 3275 Who is seated here
 In the city that was to suffer the
 fathers.
 In the ninth *tun*,
 At that time there was haggling
 Over wanting to settle
 3280 The burden of the *katun*
 For the whole period
 Of 13 Ahau.
 Which (two by two) broke up the entry
 Of 11 Ahau.
 3285 That then brought down the word of
 the nine steps.
 The tip of his tongue then came
 down,
 Wanting to settle
 The burden of the *katun*,
 A *katun*
 3290 Which was his ninth burden.

Act 16

Then he came down
 From heaven,
 And Kan was the day
 He tied his burden,
 3295 Which then brought water
 Coming from the heart of heaven,
 Ordaining
 Second birth,

3277. Probably a retrospective reference to the middle of 13 Ahau.

3290. The 9 Gods declare the fate of the *katun*. The symbolism of 9 reiterates the Xiu-Itza calendrical standoff.

3291. The four Ba Cabs appear, headed by the senior day, Kan (the year 1618 was 11 Kan) and symbolizing rain and baptism. Sacrifice is implied, possibly bloodletting.

Bolon h:
 Y otc
 Y et em
 Ch'ah
 U ni y a
 Hi u
 Ti ca en
 Uaya:

Act 17

Caat lae
 Lay u
 (46) Lae
 kom:
 Ti: y .

Ti: y ete
 Y ete
 Y etel y
 Y ete
 Y et hol
 Yx hc
 Y etel y
 Y ete
 Y etel y
 Y ete
 Y etel y
 Yx hc
 Y etel y
 Y ete
 Lay hok

La o l

Lay u na
 Ca hc
 Y utz'ub
 Y utz

3308.
 teen of t
 Xiu origi
 hence st:
 They per
 3321.
 Flower' i

Bolon haaban:

Y otoch:

Y et emcij: bolon mayal

Ch'ahuc: u chi =

U ni y ak = ch'ahuc:

Hi u tz'omel:

Ti ca emi: can tul: chaac =

Uaya:

The nine bowers

3300 And homes,

And bringing down the nine cycle

Dripping at the mouth.

The tip of his tongue dripping,

Perhaps his brains.

3305 Then there descended the four rain gods,

The *naguals*.

Act 17

Caat lae:

Lay u cabil ob nicte:*

(46) Lae tij ca hok ij: yx chac hoch kom:

Ti: y etel yx çac hoch kom:

Ti: y etel yx ek hoch kom:

Y etel yx kan hoch kom:

Y etel yx haunal:

Y etel yx huk nab =

Y et hokci tun:

Yx hoyal nicte:

Y etel yx ho nixte:

Y etel yx nin ich': cacau:

Y etel yx chacuil tok:

Y etel yx bac nicte:

Y etel yx macuil xuchit e = *

Yx hobon y ol nicte =

Y etel yx laul nicte:

Y etel kouol y octah nicte:

Lay hokob nicte:

La o b ix ah co mayelob:

Lay u naa: nicte:

Ca hoki ob:

Y utz'ub ah kin:

Y utz'ub ahau:

Act 17

It was clear

Those were the lands of Flowers.

He who then appeared also was Red Hoch Kom,

3310 Who was also with White Hoch Kom,

Who was also with Black Hoch Kom,

And with Yellow Hoch Kom,

And with Hau Nal,

And with Huk Nab.

3315 There also appeared Ci Tun,

And Oyal Nicte,

And with Ho Nicte,

And with Ninich' Cacau,

And with Chac Uil Tok,

3320 And with Bac Nicte,

And with Macuilxuchit,

And Hobon y Ol Nicte,

And with Laul Nicte,

And Kou Ol Nicte and Octah Nicte.

3325 These are the appearances of the Flowers,

And they are the madmen of the cycles.

This is their mother: Nicte,

When they appeared.

The scent of the sun priest,

3330 The scent of the lord,

3308. They are followed by the Flower Lords, who are named. There are eighteen of them, led by their mother, Flower (Nikte, Xochit), and they reenact the Xiu origin myth. Apparently they symbolize the *tun* (each being one *unal*) and hence stand outside the conflict between 13 and 9, heaven and hell (line 3346). They perform flower sacrifices.

3321. Nah. *macuilxochitl* 'Five Flower' is the same as Maya Ho Nicte 'Five Flower' in line 3317.

Y utz'ub hol can: Lay u cuch nicte ahau =		The scent of the commander, That is the burden of the Flower lords.	
Ca emi: Minan ix u y anal: Lay uil e: C u than = Ma ix uah u cuchma = Tij tun ca hoki Yx haulah nicte: Ocgic u keban: bolon ti ku:		When they came down And had no existence, 3335 This was the end They said. But they bore no food then When they appeared, And they sacrificed flowers, 3340 Entering into the sin of the 9 who are Gods, And three times in a year Was the day when they bore the burden. But they did not come To create the rise 3345 Of God Or hell. There were nine steps when they descended To the founding of the Flowers. P'izlim Te, 3350 The Green Bird, Hummingbird Were the spirit seeds that descended. Then they sucked the nectar Of the nine children of Flowers, 3355 And in just that way they got mates And little Flowers. So then appeared the heart of the Flower Moving itself along, And with four branches. 3360 That was the Flower then.	
Ox te ix ti hab: U kin ca y alah: cuchij:			
Ma ix kuchi Ch'ab: naci: Ku: Mitnal i = Bolon tz'acab ca emi T u chun nícte: P'islim te. Yax bac: Tz'unun ix U uayinah ca emi = Ca u tz'utz'ah u cabil = Bolon y al nicte: Lic ychil bix ca ch'a ycham nij Yx hoyal nicte:*			
Ca tun hoki u pucgikal nicte: U ximbante u ba: Can hek ix Lae nicte: lae =			

Act 18

Ti yx culan ah kin:
Xocbil tun chumuc:*

Act 18

And she was seated as sun priest,
Counting the *tuns* in the middle,

Tij ca uc

Oxla
Ma yx y
u pop:
Ti ku
Nigte y
Nigte y

Act 19

Çauin
Çauin u
Çauin
Çauin u
Çauin
Çauin u
Çauin
Çauin u
Cool
T u kin t
T u ki
T u xay i
Lic u l
T u pach
Lic u i
Ma che e
Et ma
Chac
U coc
Y an ti la
Ti culi
Çip u thi
Çip u
Çip u na
Çip u
Kaxan u
(47) C
muk y

3356. The Flower lineages were the Xiu. Their origin myth made them descendants of Hummingbird (elsewhere blue/green bird), who came down to suck the nectar of nine flowers and thus begot the Xiu.

3362. Roys 1967: 105, note 4 identifies Xocbiltun as a god and as another name for Pizlimtec, citing López de Cogolludo.

3364.
counted
stood in
3370.
and Spite
3389), an
dizzy (lin

nder,
the Flower

en

ers,
of the 9 who

y bore the

hen they
Flowers.

hat

ctar
f Flowers,
y got mates

rt of the

hen.

in priest,
the middle,

em descen-
suck the

other name

Tij ca uchi u huhu y ol

Oxlahun ti ku: *
Ma yx y oheltah y emel u keban
u pop:
Ti ku ix t a than c uchi e
Nichte yx u pop:
Nichte yx u kan che:
Nichte y em a:

Act 19

Çauin culic.*
Çauin u ximbal
Çauin u lac
Çauin u luch
Çauin u puccikal.
Çauin u nat.
Çauin u tucul
Çauin u chi.
Cool u than ti y ahaulil i.
T u kin uat uil =
T u kin uat. ukul.
T u xay uch i
Lic u hanal
T u pach u xau
Lic u uil uchijc
Ma che e =
Et ma tunich.
Chac
U cool
Y an ti lahun chan u u ich
Ti culic çip u u ich
Çip u than
Çip u can
Çip u naat
Çip u ximbal
Kaxan u u ich ti culic
(47) Chac cah u pop culic ta
muk y ahaulil

Which she did for each of the middle
ones

Of the 13 who are Gods.
But she didn't know the origin of the
sin of the mat,
And she is the god you have spoken
of.
And Flower is her mat,
And Flower is her bench,
Flower her descent.

Act 19

3370 Envy was seated:
Envy his walk,
Envy his bowl,
Envy his gourd,
Envy his heart,
3375 Envy his mind,
Envy his thought,
Envy his mouth,
Crazy was his word in the lordship.
In his time was the voice of hunger,
3380 In his time was the voice of thirst.
It was divided,
Like his eating
After he got dizzy,
As the need occurred.
3385 No sticks
And no stones.
The rain priest
Was his wife
In the person of Lahun Chan,
3390 Who seated the person of Spite.
Spite was his word,
Spite was his teaching,
Spite was his knowledge,
Spite was his gait.
3395 Tied was the face which was seated;
A big city was the mat to be seated
during the lordship.

3364. I get out of this that the head (mother) of the Flowers was seated and counted off the calendrical implications of the 18 *uinals* and the 13 Gods as they stood in the middle of the Plaza.

3370. What follows seems to be a kind of Mayan morality play in which Envy and Spite are personified. Lahun Chan plays the part of the wife of Envy (line 3389), and the whole episode is one of comic relief. They act crazy (line 3378), dizzy (line 3383), furtive (line 3408), bad (line 3412), and ignorant (line 3416).

T u ban u yum
 T u ban u naa =
 Ma ix y ohelma u naa:
 Alintee
 Thaban u pucçikal
 T u hunal.
 Ychil yx ma yumil
 Ah poch' yum:
 Ychil yx ma nail
 Bin ximbalnac
 Calan u mut.
 Çatal u naat
 Y icnal u yum
 Y icnal u naa:
 Minan tibil ti.
 Minan utz t u pucçikal.
 Halili y an t u ni
 Y ak tz'etz'ec lo e
 Ma y ohel bix bin tz'oc cebal

Ma yx y ohel bal y an
 T u tz'oc y ahaulil i
 Lay ca bin tz'ocnac
 U kinil
 U tepal e = _____*
 He bolon ti ku
 Lae bolon chan u ich
 Ahauuil
 Uinicob
 Ah ca kin pop
 Ah ca kin tz'am:
 Lay tal i
 Ychil ox ahau katun
 Ti yx bin y anac
 U y anal u yumil peten
 Y ah culcinnah ul u than
 U y anal katun

Act 20

Ca bin tz'ococ u than
 Ah ox ahau katun
 T u kinil u con con mehen
 Lay bin y anac y okol u nunil ah
 ytza.

His father was dropped,
 His mother was dropped,
 And his mother didn't know
 3400 What she was to have borne,
 Her heart burning
 By itself.
 And in being fatherless
 The Death Lord was his father;
 3405 And in being motherless
 He will be a vagabond.
 Hardened was his message,
 Furtive was his mind
 Through his father,
 3410 Through his mother.
 He had no fear;
 There was no good in his heart.
 Truly it is stone,
 And his tongue is plaster.
 3415 He doesn't know whatever will end his
 sins,
 And he doesn't know he has them.
 The lordship is over,
 That is what will terminate
 His time
 3420 And his rule.
 These are the 9 who are Gods,
 These are the nine little faces
 Of the lordship:
 Commoners,
 3425 Those of the two-day mat,
 Those of the two-day throne.
 This comes
 In *katun* 3 Ahau.
 And it will be his nature,
 3430 The nature of the fatherhood of the
 country,
 The incumbent receiver of the word,
 The nature of the *katun*.

Act 20

Then will be finished the word
 Of *katun* 3 Ahau.
 3435 At a time of very few sons,
 This will be the lamentation of the
 stupid Itza.

Hun ua cl
 Hun u:
 Hun tz'it
 U kex
 U nunil al
 Lay bo
 Lay bin tz
 Ah ox
 Ti yx u n:
 Y ahau
 Tz'ocebal

Ti x u
 U ch'ibal
 Meher
 Ba tabob
 Y etel
 Y etel u
 Lay mi

T u u ich
 Ca ma
 T u men
 U co k
 U mehen
 Y al x
 Lay çihot

Ychil a
 Bay bin t

Ah ca
 Ti ca yun
 Ti Dio
 He x ca l
 U thar
 Ca tun u
 Y uchu

Lay hay c
 Lay tu
 Ca tun e
 Ti jes
 Y okol (i
 Josapa

3420. The lordship has been passed and what follows is a sermon, presumably by the Spokesman of the Jaguar, prophesying the fate of 3 Ahau.

oped,
know
borne,

his father,
is
d.
age,

his heart.
ster.
ver will end his
he has them.
ninate

Gods;
tle faces

at,
throne.

erhood of the
of the word,
un.

e word
ns,
ntation of the

resumably

Hun ua chuen
Hun ua celem
Hun tz'it tunil
U kex u keban
U nunil ah ytza.
Lay bolon ti ku:
Lay bin tz'ocebal u than
Ah ox ahau katun
Ti yx u natal nat
Y ahaulil cabob i:
Tz'ocebal u than katun

Ti x u chucanhal
U ch'ibal al
Mehenob
Ba tabob
Y etel u y anal ah cux olalob
Y etel u ch'ibal ba tabob
Lay muc chektabi lum

T u u ichob e.
Ca ma balhi ob
T u men u co kin
U co katun
U mehen kas
Y al x buyuk.
Lay çihob ca ah icab*

Ychil ah ox ahau katun
Bay bin tz'ocebal u tepalob

Ah ca p'el ychob
Ti ca yumil
Ti Dios
He x ca bin tz'ocnac
U than katun lae
Ca tun u tz'ab D'.
Y uchul hun y eciil t u ca ten

Lay hay cabil e:
Lay tun c u tz'ocol e
Ca tun emec ca yumil
Ti jesuchristo
Y okol (u) komil*
Josapat.

If one is clever,
If one is strong,
One part of a *tun*
3440 Will change the sin,
The stupidity of the Itza;
That is, the 9 who are Gods.
That will be the ending of the word
Of *katun* 3 Ahau.
3445 And that is the riddle
Of the lordship of the lands,
The termination of the word of the
katun;
And that is the manifestation
Of the descent of born
3450 And engendered children
And chiefs,
And the existence of living souls,
And the lineage of the chiefs.
That is the secret pacing of the
lands
3455 In the sight
Of our poor,
Because of the madness of the time,
The madness of the *katun*.
The wicked son,
3460 The stupid child.
That is their birth when they are
awakened
In *katun* 3 Ahau.
Thus will be the termination of the
rulers,
The two-faced people
3465 By our Father
Who is God.
And he then will bring about the end
Of the word of this *katun*.
So then God will be given
3470 The achievement of a flood for the
second time.
That will flood the lands,
That then will finish it.
So then will descend Our Father
Who is Jesus Christ
3475 Over the pit
Of Jehoshaphat

3461. I read *ahzab* 'be awakened'.

3475. Gates 1932: 92 reads 'over the valley'.

T u xax cah		Beside the city	
(48) <i>Jerusalem</i>		Of Jerusalem,	
U chic u lohic oon		Succeeding in redeeming us	
T u cilich kikel.	3480	With his holy blood.	
La ix bin emec		And that will be the descent	
Ti noh muyal		In a great storm,	
U tz'ab u tohol		Being given the right	
Canil hah		To heavenly truth.	
U mançah ti çinan	3485	He will be made to pass in subjection	
Ti <i>crus</i> che: c uchi e.		To the wooden cross he bore,	
Tij tun y emel ti noh u chucil		Which then is the descent to the great event,	
		And to the great rule also	
Ti noh ix u tepal xan		Of the True <i>Dios</i> ,	
Hahal <i>Dios</i>	3490	That is, the True God.	
Lay hahal ku.		That will bring to birth heaven	
Lay çihes caan		And earth	
Y etel luum		And the world	
Y etel y okol cab		Entire.	
T u lacal.	3495	And that will be the descent that flattens	
La yx bin emec taxcuntic		The surface of the earth too,	
		For good	
Y okol cab xan		Or evil,	
T u y utzil		Sheltering the weak and frightened	
Y etel lob	3500	And the stupid.	
Ta cil y ah tz'oy sahu ob			
Ah nunob = ———			

30. The Language of Zuyua

(28) <i>Suyuaa</i> than*	Zuyua language
Y etel naat	And explanation
U ti al ca yum	For our father
Sr. Gov ^r . <i>Mariscal</i> *	Sr. Governor Marshall,

3501. Zuyua [Nah. 'bloody water'] is another name for Tula. It is used here to draw the mantle of the Toltecs over the ritual language of the Mayan examination system. Perhaps a better analogy than examination would be the secret ritual of the Masonic order and other kindred groups. A Mayan priest aspiring to high office was supposed to be noble on both sides of his family and also well educated, particularly in genealogy and religion. The riddles of Zuyua were a ritual test of this. Presumably they were not taught to the plebs, or "younger brothers," as the Maya would put it. They were a standard part of the ceremonies inaugurating a *katun*. The riddles of this and the following chapter have been numbered in the translation for easy reference. There are 77. (See "riddle" in the index.)

3504. Our Father the Lord Governor Marshall is not identified. Roys 1967: 88,

Lay uchic
T u la
Ti y an lu
U y ar
Y etel u
Uchic
Bin ix ku
U hok
Xan tale

Chac t
Chac c ix
He le
Lay bin u
Lay bi
U hal act
Cah la

Top: Yax
1559). M
ida (1555
lord of M
the Garra
scripts in
guages, 7
Library,

(note con
note 2 c
govern
ever, de
Tzuc U
text cor
tiremer:
3515

- Lay uchic u cahtal tzuc uaxim lae 3505 Who has settled here at Tzuc Uaxim
 T u lakin ych caan çì hoo
 Ti y an luum uchic
 U y antal u pakal i
 Y etel u solar
 Uchic u cahtal lae 3510 And settled here.
 Bin ix kuchuc t u kin
 U holol u bel
 Xan talel u than u hal ach uinicil
 Chac u than ca bin uluc
 Chac c ix u buc xan* 3515 And rather strong is his judgment too.
 He le ac t u suyua than
 Lay bin u than
 Lay bin u kat
 U hal ach uinicil
 Cah lae 3520 Of this town

Top: Yax Chac, lord of Merida (1539–1559). Middle: Ul Uac, lord of Merida (1559–1579). Bottom: Yax Chac, lord of Merida (1579–1599). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, The Princeton University Library, The gift of Robert Garrett.



[note continued from preceding page]

note 2 opts for Don Carlos de Luna y Arellano, but admits that his incumbency as governor of Yucatan (1604–1612) is a *katun* too early. The subsequent lines, however, do suggest that he had retired to his hacienda east of Merida. I cannot locate Tzuc Uaxim. The hypothetical tone of the text (line 3546) suggests that it was a text composed in the first half of 3 Ahau [ante 1628] and after the governor's retirement (post 1612). I would bet it was before 1618.

3515. I read *chac c(i) ix*.

ed here to
 xamination
 t ritual of
 o high
 ll educated,
 ial test of
 rs," as the
 arating a
 ed in the

, 1967: 88,

- Ca bin kuchuc t u kin
 U tz'ocol u than
 Ah ox ahau
 Katun
 Ca bin culac
 U y anal katun
 Ah hun ahau
 Katun
 Bay alanil lae
 He x katun hele lae
 Ox ahau
 Katun
 Tz'oc ix u kuchul
 T u kinil
 U tz'ocol y ahaulil
 Y etel u tepal
 Ha li li be
 Mahan ix u y anal
 He x hun ahau
 Katun culan
 Ychil y otech ah ox ahau
 Katun laé
 Y ula te
 T an u tz'abal u chaan
 T u menel ah ox ahau
 Katun lae
 Subtzil bin
 Bin balob t u cahal ob
- (29) Kat
 Naat
 C u talel ychil u katunil
 Licil u tz'ocol hele lae
 Ti kuchi t u kinil u katabal
 U naat ob u ba tabil cahob
 U y ohel ob uchic
 U talel ob
 U uinicil ob
 Y ahaulil ob
 Ua tzolan u talel u ba tabil ob
- U hal ach uinicil ob
 Ua u ch'ibal ob ahauob
 Ua ba tab u ch'ibal ob
 Ti u hahcuntic ob*
 He ix u yax chun than*
- When the time comes
 To finish the speech
 Of 3 Ahau
 Katun
 3525 And we arrive
 At the *katun* period
 Of the 1 Ahau
 Katun.
 Thus is the saying then,
 3530 For indeed the *katun* changes then,
 The 3 Ahau
 Katun.
 For it is come
 To the time
 3535 Of the end of its lordship
 And glory,
 And therefore
 Its period ceases.
 For indeed 1 Ahau
 3540 Katun is seated
 In the house of 3 Ahau
 Katun then.
 He arrives there
 And is given leave
 3545 By 3 Ahau
 Katun then.
 He will be shamed,
 And his things will go to the
 villagers.
 The questions
 3550 And answers
 Come into the *katun*,
 As it has changed then.
 This comes at the time of questions
 And answers of the village officials:
 3555 Whether they know
 How they came,
 The people
 And the lords;
 Whether they recount the coming of
 the officials
 3560 And the governors;
 Whether the lineages of the lords
 Or the officials of the lineages
 Are cited correctly.
 (1.) So this is the first basic phrase

[notes 3563 and 3564 on following page]

Top: *Amc*
 (1599-16.
 of Merida
 Amayte k
 1658). Fro
 of Manus
 Language.
 Library, T

Bin katab
 Bin u k
 Taleç kin
 (.
 Ci bin u t

Bay bir

Tal ex kin
 Mehen
 Ca a lath
 T in ph
 Ti ch'icaa
 Caanil
 T an chun
 U pucs

3563. C
 an effectiv
 cultures.
 3564. R
 blood? Rec
 3568. L
 3569. A
 they were

Top: Amayte Kauil, lord of Merida (1599-1618). Middle: Coe Ay, lord of Merida (1618-1638). Bottom: Amayte Kauil, lord of Merida (1638-1658). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, The Princeton University Library, The gift of Robert Garrett.



Bin katabac ti ob e	3565	That is to be asked of them then:
Bin u kat ob u hanal		They will ask them for food.
Taleç kin		"Bring the sun,"
(. . . .)*		(. . . .)
Ci bin u than hal ach uinic ti ob*		So goes the word of the governor to them;
Bay bin alabac ti ba tabob e	3570	Thus should it be spoken by the officials then.
Tal ex kin		"Bring the sun,
Mehen e		My son, then,
Ca a lathab		And stack it
T in plato		On my plate,
Ti ch'icaan lanza	3575	Which is pierced by the lance
Caanil cruz		Of the high cross
T an chumuc		That is in the middle
U pucsikäl		Of its heart,

3563. Genealogy is nowhere emphasized in the Books, but it must have been an effective control on upward mobility for the Maya as in other hierarchical cultures.

3564. Riddle. Sun? Egg. Cross? Benediction. Green jaguar? Green chile. Jaguar blood? Red chile.

3568. Line missing.

3569. Apparently the examinations were conducted by the local governors, but they were under the supervision of the Spokesman of the Jaguar (Chilam Balam).

Ti yx culan yax balam y okol kin		And with a green jaguar seated over the sun
Ukic u kikel e	3580	Drinking its blood there."
Suyua		Zuyua
U naataal		Is the meaning.
He x kin bin katabac ti ob lae		And so the sun they will be asked for
Y ahau tzahbilhee		Is the lord's fried egg.
He x lanza y etel caanil cruz	3585	And so the lance with the high cross
Ch'icaan t u pucsikal e		Piercing its heart,
Lay lic y alic e		That is just like saying
Lay cici than e		These are the holy words.
He x yaax balam cumcabal y okol		And so the green jaguar piled over it
Ukic u kikel e	3590	Drinking its blood then,
Lay yaax yc		That is green chile,
Balam y an i e		The jaguar that is there.
Suyua		Zuyua
U than lae		Is this language.
He x u ca ch'ic than*	3595	(2.) And so the second secret word
Bin katabac ti ob e		That is to be asked of them
Ca xic ob u ch'a ob u tz'omel caan		Is that they go get the brains of heaven
Y ilab hal ach uinic ua ba hun u		To be seen by the headman
cah		wherever he lives.
Y an u ol u ilab		"I wish it to be seen;
Uchi u ilab	3600	Let it be seen,"
Cii uil		Thus perhaps
Y alabal ob e		They will be told then.
He x u tz'omel caan e		For these brains of heaven,
Lay pom e Suyua		That is incense [in] Zuyua.
(30) He x u y ox ch'ic than*	3605	(3.) And so the third secret word
Ben katabac ti ob e		That is to be asked of them
Ca u kax ob		Is that they tie together
Nohoch na lae		A great house
Uac thil u uaan		Six rows high
Hun tz'it ti li y ocma	3610	And one jump wide.
He ix nohoch na		For the great house is this:
Lay y ahau p'oc tz'oç lae		It is the lord's hat and hair then.
Bin alabac ti ca nacac		He should be told to mount
Y okol y ahau sasac tzimin		On the lord's all-white horse.
Sasac u nok	3615	All white are his clothes
Y etel suyem		And appearance,
Y etel sasac çoot u machma t u kab		And all white is the rope held in his hand
Ta muk u soottic u tzimin		While he is roping the horse,

3595. Riddle. Brains of heaven? Incense.

3605. Riddle. House six rows high and one jump wide? Hat and hair. White horse? Sandal sole. White rope? Flowering branch. Ball of rubber? Money.

Top: Yax C
(1658-167
lord of Chi
the Garret
scripts in
guages, Th
Library, Th

Ti y an ok
T u lol
Ti uil
U lukul
He yx saç
Lay y o

He ix sasa

Lay sas
Lay nicte

He ix c
U lol soot

Lay tak

Y oklal kil
T u kik
Yx ma na
Yx ma
He ix u c
Bin kat

3635. R
our blesse

seated over
here."

will be asked for
the high cross

words.
piled over it
then,

ere.

secret word
of them
brains of heaven
adman

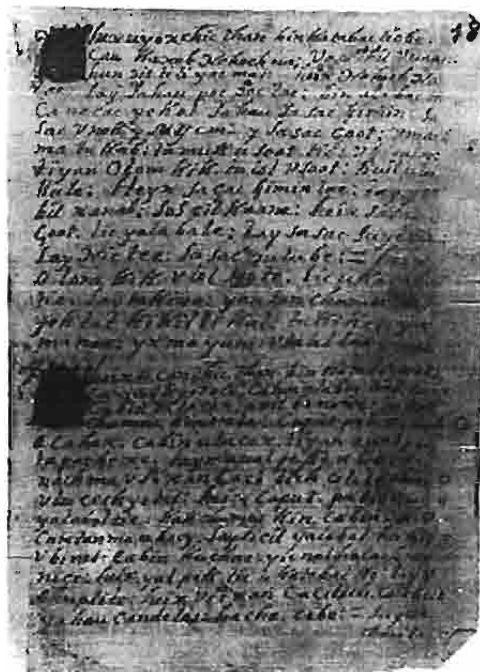
en.
en,
Zuyua.
cret word
of them
r

his:
d hair then.
ount
te horse.
as

be held in his
e horse,

White
ney.

Top: Yax Chuen, lord of Valladolid
(1658–1677). Bottom: Lahun Chan,
lord of Chable (1677–1697). From
the Garrett Collection of Manu-
scripts in Middle American Lan-
guages, The Princeton University
Library, The gift of Robert Garrett.



Ti y an olom kik
T u lol u soot
Ti uil
U lukul e
He yx saçac tzimin lae
Lay y ocbil xanab soscil kaan e

He ix sasac çoot lic y alabal e
Lay sasac suyem e
Lay nicte e sasac tz'ulub e

He ix olom kik
U lol soot e lic u katabal ti e

Lay takin e y an tan chumuc e
Y oklal kikil likul
T u kikel
Yx ma naa
Yx ma yum u talel lae
He ix u can ch'ic than*
Bin katabac ti ob e

Which has a ball of rubber
3620 On the blossom of the rope
Which bounces
When it is moved.
And so the white horse is this:
It is the sole of a maguey fiber
sandal.
3625 And so the all-white rope as it is said
then,
That is its all-white appearance,
That is the flower of the white branch
then.
And so the ball of rubber
On the blossom of the rope that he is
asked for then,
3630 That is money that is in the middle
there,
Because of pain arising
From the blood,
And the motherless
And fatherless who come there.
3635 (4.) And so the fourth secret word
Is to be asked of them:

3635. Riddle. Noon double? Invisible shadow? Punny? Wife. Commandment of
our blessed lady? Wax candles.

Ca xic ob ti y otoch		They go to the house,
Ca tun alabac ti ob		And then they are to be told,
He ix ca bin talac ex		"When you have come
A u ilben ex e	3640	You should be seen
T u kak		In the fire
Chumuc kin ual e		Of high noon then.
Ca put pal ex		Appear double,
Huk a cah ex		Proceeding jointly,
Ca bin uluc ex	3645	And when you arrive
Ti y an a u al pek t a pach ex e		Have your puppy behind you.
He yx a u al pek ex lo e		And so your puppy may then
U nachma u pixan ca cilich colel		Be burning the commandment of
		our blessed lady
Ca bin uluc ech y etel		Which he shall bring with him."
He ix ca put palil lic y alabal ti e	3650	And the double appearance that is
Kak chumuc kin ca bin xic u		mentioned to him
cumtan		Is that exactly at noon he will clear his
Ma u booy		darkness:
Lay licil y alabal huki u binel		He will have no shadow,
Ca bin kuchuc y icnal hal ach		Which is like saying going jointly.
uinic e		Then he arrives at the governor.
He ix y al pek lic u katabal ti e	3655	And so the puppy that he is asked for,
Lay u ch'uplil e		That is his wife,
He ix u pixan ca cilich colebil e		And the commandment of our blessed
		lady
Y ahau candelas hacha cib e		Is the lord's candles of sweet wax
		then.
Suyua		Zuyua
Than lae	3660	Is this language.
(31) He ix u ho ch'ic than*		(5.) And so the fifth secret word
Bin katabac ti ob e.		Is to be asked of them.
Bin alabac e ti ob		They are to be told
Ca xic ob u ch'a ob u picsikal		To go get the heart
Ku citbil	3665	Of the blessed God
Ti caan		In heaven.
He ix ca bin a tales t en e		"Go then and bring me here
Oxlahun yal u tas		Thirteen folds covered
Tij tep'an a pach i		Which are wrapped behind you
Y etel çac potz	3670	With white cord."
He ix lay u pucsikal ku citbil lic y		And so this is the heart of God the
alabal ti ob lae		blessed, as they are told then:
Lay kan e		It is cordage.
He ix u tas lay oxlahun y al lic y		And so the cover and the thirteen folds
alabal e		as they are told then,
Lay y ahau uah e		They are the lord's tortillas there,

3661. Riddle. God's heart? Cordage. Thirteen folds? Tortillas and beans. White cord? Tortilla cloth.

Top: Amayt
(1697-1717,
of Teabo (17
Chahom, lo
From the Gc
scripts in M
guages, The
Library, The

Oxlahun y
Buul y an
He ix sasac
Lay sasac
Lay bin kata
U naatul
He ix u uac
Bin katab
U binel u ch
Y etel ox
Y etel cuxu
Lay bin u
Yn hanal sar
Y an u ol
Ma y uill ob
U kuxul
alabal ob
He ix u chu
Lay chop
He ix oxbal
Lay u ne

3681. Rid.
vine? Pig int

Top: Amayte Kauil, lord of Chable (1697-1717). Middle: Kak Mo, lord of Teabo (1717-1737). Bottom: Mac Chahom, lord of Teabo (1737-1776). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, The Princeton University Library. The gift of Robert Garrett.



Oxlahun y al
 Buul y an ychil e
 He ix sasac potz e
 Lay sasac nok e
 Lay bin katabac ti ob
 U naatul suyua
 He ix u uac ch'ic than*
 Bin katabac ti ob e
 U binel u ch'a ob u kab choo
 Y etel ox bal hax
 Y etel cuxul ak
 Lay bin u ciilte
 Yn hanal samal
 Y an u ol yn hantante
 Ma y uill ob
 U kuxul u chun cho e cij y
 alabal ob
 He ix u chun cho e
 Lay chop e
 He ix oxbal hax e
 Lay u ne huh e

3675 With thirteen "folds"
 Of beans in it.
 And the all-white cord
 That is an all-white cloth then.
 This is what is to be asked them
 3680 And the answer, in Zuyua.
 (6.) And so the sixth secret word
 Is to be asked of them then:
 To go get the ceiba branch,
 And twisted bamboo
 3685 And living vine.
 This will be said:
 "I eat tomorrow;
 I wish to be fed then.
 It is not necessary
 3690 That this ceiba root be chewed," so
 they are told.
 And so the ceiba branch—
 That is a chuckawalla.
 And so the twisted bamboo—
 That is iguana tail then.

3681. Riddle. Ceiba branch? Chuckawalla. Twisted bamboo? Iguana tail. Living vine? Pig intestines. Ceiba root? Chuckawalla tail.

se told,
 nd you.
 then
 andment of
 h him."
 rance that is
 e will clear his
 w,
 ig jointly.
 governor.
 e is asked for,
 of our blessed
 sweet wax
 t word
 ere
 id you
 if God the
 hen:
 thirteen folds
 illas there,
 ns. White

- He ix cuxul ak e
Lay u chochel keken e
He ix u chun cho e
U chun u ne chop
- Suyua
Than
He ix u uuc ch'ic than*
Bin katabac ti ob e
Bin alabac ti ob
Xen mol t en u mac y it tz'onot
- Ca p'el sasac i
Ca p'el kankan i
Y an u ol yn hante
He ix u mac y it tz'onot lic u
katabal ti ob e
Lay sasac *chicam* e
Ca p'el kankan i
U natul u chuc
U chucul u ba tabil cah
- Ca pul t u tan ahau
Yax hal ach uinic lae
(32) He than ob lae
Ua ma t an u natabal t u men u
ba tabil cahob e
Okom moltzil ek
Taplay hom akab*
Ch'a kax
Thantzil y otoch
Okom moltzil hom
Okom bul cum*
T an chumuc tan cab
- Y icnal ah al mehenilob
Ah cimil ma u naatic ob
Ah cuxtal bin u naatab
Lay bin y anac y okol u ba tabil
cahob
Lay y et p'isan u hochbilan
Oheltabal yail
Bin tz'occebal ahaulil lae
- 3695 And the living vine there—
That is a pig's intestines.
And so the ceiba root—
That is the root of a chuckawalla
tail:
Zuyua
3700 Language.
(7.) And so the seventh secret word
Is to be asked of them then:
They are to be told,
"Go gather me the man of the well
bottom,
3705 Two bright white
And two bright yellow.
I want to eat then."
And so the man of the well bottom
that is asked of them,
That is bright white gourdroot
3710 And two bright yellow ones.
The explanation is completed:
The village official completes the
explanation,
Then throws it before the lord,
The new governor there.
3715 These are the words then.
If they have not been understood by
the officials of the village then
Gone are the myriad stars
Adorning the abyss of night,
Seizing the forest
3720 And the sanctity of home.
Gone are the myriads of the deep,
Gone the dark whales
Which are in the middle of the half
earth
Among the nobles.
3725 The dead do not understand;
The living will.
This is to be placed above the officials
of the villages.
This examination will be concerted
And precise knowledge
3730 Will finally unite the lordship here.

Lay kaxan
yuma che
Ch'a pa
Binsabal u

Yax hal
Lay u tz'oc

Lay bin
Y okol u c
U co ka
Bin y ub o
Ca bin i
U ball ob
U ba tal
Lay bin y a
Hijtz'eb

Ca bin tz'c
Ah ox z
Chucum u
T u mei

(33) Bay b
C u chu
Kahlay
Ucheba
U tz'aic ot
uunicob
Ca bin i
Hich'om u
Xotom
Colom u u
T u kini
He x ch'ib
Ti ix u l
T u tan u y
Ti cacla
Uchebal y
Y anil u
Ti yx u ku
Y etel u

3701. Riddle. Man of the well bottom? Gourdroot.

3718. Metaphor. Stars go out: the end.

3722. Pun? *Bul cum* 'black beans' or 'dark whales'.

3732. A
3746. T
3757. Bl
3762. K:
tested in C

are—
ines.
—
chuckawalla

secret word
m then:

nan of the well

ow.

he well bottom
n,
ourdroot
ow ones.
npleted:
ompletes the

the lord,
here.
ten.
n understood by
illage then
tars
of night,

home.
of the deep,
les
lle of the half

stand;

ove the officials

will be concerted
e
ie lordship here.

Lay kaxan u kab t u tan y etel
yuma che
Ch'a payan u sumil*
Binsabal u cah y icnal ahau

Yax hal ach uinic
Lay u tz'oc ba tabil

Lay bin y anac
Y okol u co kin
U co katun
Bin y ub ob ya
Ca bin tz'ococ
U ball ob
U ba tabil cahob
Lay bin y anac t u kin lae
Hijtz'ebal u than katun

Ca bin tz'ococ
Ah ox ahau katun*
Chucum u ba tabil cahob
T u men minanil u naat ob lae

(33) Bay bin uch
C u chucul u ba tabil cah lae
Kahlay
Uchebal
U tz'aic ob u hanal yax hal ach
uinicob
Ca bin u kat ob u hanal ob
Hich'om u cal ob
Xotom u ni y ak ob
Colom u u ich ob*
T u kinil lay bin tz'ocebal lae
He x ch'ibal e
Ti ix u hoksic u ba
T u tan u yum
Ti caclam pix*
Uchebal y oheltabal
Y anil u cux olal ob
Ti yx u kubul u poop
Y etel u tz'am ti ob xan i

Then, tying their hands before them
with a swaying log

And taking the rope separately,
They will be brought to the village
before the lord,

The new governor.

3735 This was the end of the village
chieftainship.

It is to be done

On the mad day,

The mad *katun*.

They will come to hear exactly

3740 When it will be the end

Of the property,

Of the officials of the villages.

This is to be done on that day,

The ending of the word of the
katun.

3745 Then it will be over,

The 3 Ahau *katun*,

Ending the office of the villages

Because of their lack of
understanding.

Thus will occur

3750 The completion of the village
offices.

This is the record

Of what occurs.

They give food to the new governor;

Then they will ask for their dinners.

3755 Knotting their necks,

Cutting off the tips of their tongues,

Ripping out their eyes,

That very day will be the end then.

And so the lineages there

3760 Which just present themselves

Before the father

And kneel

Will achieve knowledge

And be encouraged

3765 While he is seated on his mat

And throne by them also.

3732. A graphic enough portrayal of how prisoners were transported.

3746. This dates the passage to 3 Ahau [1618].

3757. Bloodletting was part of the ritual.

3762. Kneeling was an act of submission for the Maya as elsewhere. It is attested in Classic Mayan art.

Seizure of the chiefs, possibly Pat Ay and Op Ik of Valladolid (1776-1800). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, The Princeton University Library. The gift of Robert Garrett.



Coc Ay. lo.
lord of Col
Garrett Co.
Middle An
Princeton.
gift of Rob

Lay y et p'isan y ilabal
U hochbilan ci otzil y ilabal

U ch'ibal
Hal ach uinic

Ti luum

Uay e

Lay bin cuxlac t u kinil

Lay ix bin kamic'yax Bara xan*

Bay tun bin hetz' luum

Nahbal

U ch'ibal

Maya uinicob

Uay

T u cahal yucatan

T u ca sut lae

Dios pay be tz'ocebal

Uay

Y okol cab lae

Lay u hahil ahau

Bin tac u kat t oon

This is the convocation and review,
The examination and correct review
Of the lineages

3770 Of the governors

In the land

Here.

This is to be the experience of the time.

This also then is to be the taking of
new staffs.

3775 Thus then will be the seating of lands

And houses

Of the lineages

Of the Mayan people

Here

3780 In the region of Yucatan.

And so again here

God divides and ends

This

Our world.

3785 He is the true lord

Who is to receive what he wants
of us.

Lay ca tep

Lay ca l

Tun ob

Kan ob

Y etel bin

Bal che

He mac rr

Cimsab

He max b

Diosil u

Mai uil y c

Y uchul

ob lae

(34) Bay >

U ch'ib

Y ohelma

U uinic

Y etel y a

U tepal

Ci otzil y

U cux

U mek tai

U tzicil

3774. Ceremonial staffs are a frequent iconographic emblem of rule in Classic Mayan art.

Coc Ay, lord of Merida, or Kin Chil,
lord of Coba (1800–1824). From the
Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in
Middle American Languages, The
Princeton University Library, The
gift of Robert Garrett.



id review,
orrect review

ce of the time
the taking of

ating of lands

811.

he wants

in Classic

Lay ca tepalilob
Lay ca kulob lae
Tun ob
Kan ob
Y etel bin katic pakal cij
Bal che
He mac minan ti e
Cimsabil
He max bin tzicic e
Diosil u cah t u than a
Mai uil y oltic D'
Y uchul t u lacal bal tz'iban
ob lae
(34) Bay xan he ix al mehenob
U ch'ibal ba tabob
Y ohelma bix talic ob
U uiniciob
Y etel y ahaulilob
U tepalob
Ci otzil y ilabal
U cux olalob
U mek tanma
U tziciltell ob

These are our lords.
These are our gods then,
Their stones
And their harvest.
And he asks for the expected wine
And mead
For no one of them
Is to be killed.
Who would then honor
God in heaven in prayer?
Is it not the will of God
That causes everything to be
written then?
So likewise it is with the nobles,
The lineages of the officials
Who know what will come
To mankind
And to the lordships
And the rulers.
Joyful is the sight
And encouragement
Of the government
And the rites.

Bin ix cici		So it will be correct	
Kubuc	3810	To entrust	
U pop ti ob		Their mats to them	
Y etel u tz'am ti ob		And their thrones to them	
T u menel ca yum		Through our father	
Yax hal ach uinic		The new governor.	
Lay u pop	3815	That is his mat	
Y etel u tz'am		And his throne.	
Bax tabi u u ich popok*		Mocked then is the face of the bush;	
Chektabi t u u ich luum		Paced off is the face of the land.	
Bibil y ab i		Twisted is the year,	
T u chocho pay	3820	And dragged apart	
U co kin		Is the mad time,	
U co katun		The mad <i>katun</i> ,	
Y al x buyuk		The child of the stupid woman,	
Y al co		The child of the mad woman,	
U mehen kas	3825	The son of the evil man,	
(. . . .)*		[. . . .]	
Ah ca kin pop		He of the two-day mat,	
Ah ca kin tz'am		He of the two-day throne,	
U maxil ahaulil		The monkey lordship,	
U maax katun	3830	The monkey <i>katun</i> .	
Lay ximbal		This was their approach	
Nah ob		And settlement	
Ychil ah ox ahau		On the 3 Ahau	
Katun		<i>Katun</i> .	
He than bolon buth	3835	These words were rolled and stuffed	
Ychil u pucçikal		Into the hearts	
U ch'ibal al mehenob		Of the nobles' lineages,	
Ahaulil uinicob		The ruling people.	
Lic i tac y alabal ti		And they were told	
U binel u ch'ab u ba tabil cahob e	3840	To go get the officials of the villages	
		then,	
Ca xic		So they went	
U ch'ab		And got them.	
Mehen e xen ch'a*		(8.) "Son, go get	
U loi akab t en uay e		The flower of night for me here,"	
Cij uil y alabal	3845	Might just be said.	
Ca tun xic ti caclam pix		So then he went and knelt	

3817. Three lines were omitted, suggesting a different scansion and a different translation:

Baxtabi

Mocked

Mucluum tabi

And canceled are the lands

U u ich popok

Of the wetfaces (?Christians) . . .

3826. Line missing.

3843. Riddle. Night flower? Star. Evil of night? Moon. Tender wasting vine?
(Unclear.) Fig branch? (Unclear.) Big man with nine sons? Big toe. Fat woman with
nine children? Thumb. Stones of clearings? Quail.

T u tan ha
Katic ti
Yum e he

Lic a ka
U et talic :

Tij y an
Cij u than
Ba la m
Ua ti y an
Ti ua y
Yax ix tz'

Y etel i
Yum e ti y
U et ul
Ba la meh

Xen pa

Lay hun tu
Bolon i
Y etel hui
Bolon i
Yum e cij
Ca bin
U et ulic
Ua y ar
Payan be
Ca t ul
Ba la meh
Ua y ar
Xen molc

Y etel
U lotma
C u tal
Ua hal ad
Ua t e
Uay

Ti luur

Suyua

Than

He yx u l

Lic u k

Ek

Ti caar

hem

of the bush;
the land.oman,
oman,

ne,

and stuffed

of the villages

me here,"

nelt

different

ds
s)...g vine?
oman with

T u tan hal ach uinic
Katic ti e
Yum e he yx u lol akab

Lic a katic t en e
U et talic y etel u kaz akab e

Tij y an u icnal e
Cij u than
Ba la mehen e
Ua ti y an a u (35) icnal e
Ti ua y an
Yax ix tz'oy t a pach e

Y etel noh copo e
Yum e ti y an u icnal e
U et ulic
Ba la mehen e ua a u et ulic e

Xen payal a'kob t en

Lay hun tul noh xib e
Bolon tul u mehen e
Y etel hun tul yx nuc
Bolon tul y al e
Yum e cij u than
Ca bin u nucub
U et ulic
Ua y an t in pach e
Payan be u tal ob t en
Ca t ul en yn u il ech
Ba la mehen e
Ua y an t a pach e
Xen molob t en u tunichil chakan

Y etel ob ca tac ech
U lotma ob t u tzem
C u talel
Ua hal ach uinic c ech ib e
Ua t ech u ch'ibal ahau

Uay
Ti luum be

Suyua
Than

He yx u lol akab
Lic u katabal ti e

Ek
Ti caan

Before the governor
Who asked him.
"Father, here then is the flower of
night

3850 As you have asked of me.
It comes together with the evil of
night here

Which is with it."

He just says,

"What's that, son!

3855 If you have it with you,

If you do have it,

It is the tender wasting vine on your
back

And a large fig branch, then."

"Father, they are with me;

3860 They came together."

"What's that, son! If you came together
then,

Go separate your companions for
me.

There is one big man there

With nine sons there,

3865 And one fat woman

With nine children there."

"Father," he just says,

"Then it will mean

It just came together.

3870 It should be on my back then.

They came separately to me,

Then I came to see you."

"What's that, son!

If it is here on your back

3875 Go gather for me the stones of the
clearings,

And with them then come near.

He squeezes them to his breast

As he comes.

Either you are governors

3880 Or you are of the lord's lineage

Here

On the road of the land."

Zuyua

Language.

3885 And so the night flower

That he is asked for then

Is a star

In the sky.

He x u kaz akab e
Lay u e
He x yax ix tz'oy e
Y etel noh copo e
Lay ah cuch cab e
Otlom cabal u kaba e

He x hun tul noh xib
Lic u katabal ti e
Lay bolon tul u mehen e
Lay u naa y occ e
He ix hun tul yx nuc
Lic u katabal ti e
Lay u naa u kab e
He x u tunchil chakan
Lic u katabal ti e
Y etel u lotma u mehe
Lay u beche e
Bay xan mehen e*
C ex a yax haan alab i t ech

Ma alan a.pac te u u ich e
Ua y an
T in pach e
Yum e
Ba la mehen e
Xen ch'a t en
Y ibnel caan uay e
Ti a talel ti lakin
Ca bin tac ech e
Cuch pach
U tal t ech
Cay baac be yum e
Cij u than
He x u yax haan
Ti y an t u pach
Ca ti kuchi e
Lay u pach caa e
He x u y ibnel caan e
Lic u katabal ti e
Lay patbil pom e
Oxlahun ual u patal
He ix licil y alabal ti e
Cuch pachil u talel ti e

And so the evil of night—
3890 That is the moon then.
And the tender wasting vine
And the large fig branch,
That is the bearer of the earth,
The filling of the earth, as it is
called then.
3895 And so the big man
That he is asked for
Who has nine sons then—
That is the big toe there.
And so the fat woman
3900 That he is asked for,
That is the thumb.
And so the stones of the clearings
As he is asked
With children squeezed together—
3905 That is quail.
(9.) "So then too, sons,
Hold out your first food to be born
to you.
Unborn you see its face."
"It is here
3910 On my back,
Father."
"What's that, son!
Go bring me
Here the placenta of heaven.
3915 When you come to the east,
When you are nearly there,
Put it behind you
And bring it."
"Wherefore even so, father,"
3920 So he says.
And so the first food
Which is on his back
When he arrives there—
That is squash rind.
3925 And so the placenta of heaven then
Which is asked of him,
That is shaped incense,
Thirteen pieces to the pack.
And then as he is told
3930 To put it behind him and bring it:

3906. Riddle. First food? Squash rind. Placenta of heaven? Incense. Bring it behind you, close behind the sun? Shadow at noon.

Te y an u l
Tzelep
Mahen e h
Ah tepa
Xen tun
Ch'a t e
A yax cue
Licil a p
He x u ya
Lic u ka
Lay kan e
Ca tun
Ti tun ua
Yum e
T u hun t
Y etel
chij
Bal x kinil
Licil a
Yum e t u
Y etel
Bolon ti l
Y etel
Lay licil y
Yn cue
Mehen e
Xen cl
Yn uui u
Y etel
U booc y
U boc
U booc y
Pay ni
T u tz'u
Y etel
Y etel yi
Y an t
Ua hal a
Be
Yum e b
Cij u
He x u l
Lic u

3933
3955
with th

Te y an u boy t u pach e
 Tzelep kin cohom
 Mahen e hal ach uinic ech*
 Ah tepal ech i xan
 Xen tun
 Ch'a t en
 A yax cuentex e
 Licil a pa(36)yal chi e
 He x u yax cuentex e
 Lic u katabal ti e
 Lay kan e
 Ca tun katabac
 Ti tun ua ba hun kin c u payal chi
 Yum e c u than
 T u hun te kin c in payal chij
 Y etel t u lahun kin c in payal
 chij
 Bal x kinil
 Licil a nacsic a payal chij
 Yum e t u bolon kin
 Y etel t u y oxlahun kin
 Bolon ti ku
 Y etel oxlahun ti citbil
 Lay licil yn xocic
 Yn cuentex e lo e
 Mehen e*
 Xen ch'a t en a u ex
 Yn uui u booc uay e
 Y etel nach u boocc e
 U booc yn u ex e
 U booc yn nok e
 U booc yn y ub ak e
 Pay num u boc
 T u tz'u caan e
 Y etel t u tz'u muyall e
 Y etel yn yax pakab ché e
 Y an ti çac hoth e
 Ua hal ach uinic ech i
 Be
 Yum e bin yn tales
 Cij u than
 He x u boc y ex
 Lic u katic e

There is his shadow behind him,
 To be clearly close beside the sun.
 (10.) "Son, you are a governor
 And you are a ruler as well.
 3935 Go then
 And bring me
 Your green beads,
 As you are praying."
 And so the green beads
 3940 Asked of him,
 That is a hammock.
 So then he is to be asked
 How many days he prays.
 "Father," he says,
 3945 "I pray for one day
 And I pray for ten days."
 "What then are the days
 When you raise your prayer?"
 "Father, the ninth day
 3950 And the thirteenth day,
 To the nine gods
 And the thirteen spirits.
 That is when I count
 My beads perhaps."
 3955 (11.) "Son,
 Go bring me your pants
 That I might smell their scent here,
 And the burning of their scent,
 The scent of my pants,
 3960 The scent of my clothes,
 The scent of my incense vine,
 The great scent
 At the center of heaven,
 At the center of the clouds.
 3965 And my green nance plants
 Which have white seeds.
 If you are a governor
 So be it."
 "Father, I shall bring it,"
 3970 So he says.
 And so the scent of pants
 That he is asked for,

3933. Riddle. Green beads? Hammock. Days of prayer? 9 and 13.

3955. Riddle. Scent of pants? Incense. (Incense was kept burning by fanning it with the flap of one's kilt.) Green nance seeds? Ground cacao.

Lay pay num		That is the great scent	
T u tz'u caan e		At the center of heaven:	
Lay pom e thabbil	3975	It is incense there in the fire	
Elel u cah		Beginning to burn.	
He x yax pakab chi		And so the green nance plants	
Lic u katic e		Requested:	
Lay muxbil cacau		That is ground cacao	
Cho u ua e	3980	In cocoa then.	
Ba la mehen e*		[12.] "What's this, son!	
Xen tales t en		Go bring me	
U yax kikel yn u ix mehen e		The fresh blood of my daughter,	
Y etel u pol e		And her head,	
Y etel u hom tanil e	3985	And her entrails,	
Y etel u chac bachel e		And her thigh,	
Y etel u kab e		And her arm,	
Y etel lay ualah a ma cab		And there lay out your persons	
Ti suhuy cat e		Who are virgin descendants.	
Y etel u yax kan che e u ix	3990	And the new throne of my	
mehen e		daughter—	
Et es t en		Show them to me together:	
Y an u ol u ilab		I want to see them.	
Uch yn tz'ab		As I have been given it	
T ech		By you	
Lic i uil y acal t in tan e	3995	While you stood before me	
Lic i uil u u akal u okol e		As I cursed and wept."	
Cay bacac be yum e		"Wherefore even so, father."	
Y et tal u tz'iic u xicin ah bol		"And bring with it the left ear of a	
		wild bee,	
Ca beh y etel ca tun xic tun		The next day, and when it is clear."	
He x u yax kikel y ix mehen	4000	And so the fresh blood of his	
		daughter,	
Lic u katic lo e		Which he may ask for—	
Lay maya cij e		That is Mayan wine.	
He x u hom tanil (37) y ix mehen e		And so his daughter's entrails,	
Lay u hobonil cab e		That is the honeycomb.	
He x u pol y ix mehen e	4005	And so the head of his daughter,	
Lay u suhuy cat e tz'amlic cij e		That is a virgin jar to steep the wine.	
He yx u yax kan che y ix mehen e		And his daughter's new throne,	
Lay u co uoh tun cab e		That is the contained glyph stone of	
		the land.	
He x u tz'ic u xicin ah bol e		And the left ear of the wild bee	
Lay u sulil cij e	4010	Is the dregs of the wine.	

3981. Riddle. Daughter's blood? Balche. Daughter's entrails? Honeycomb. Daughter's head? Wine jar. Daughter's throne? Glyph stone. Left ear of the wild bee? Dregs of the wine. Daughter's bone? Last of the mead. Daughter's thigh? Balche tree. Daughter's arm? Balche branch. Cry? Speak hoarsely.

He x u l
Lay u
He x u
Lay u
He x u l
Lay u
He yx li
Calha
Ca tun

T en
Ch'u u t
Tescu

Yum e h
A tz'
C ech y
C ech
Cij tun
Bee n
U et hal
U et
Kahaan t
A u o
Cij u tha
Lay tu
Lic yn ka
Oxlah

U manel
tan tun
Y oko
tan ca
Hij ci
Tun y
Ta muk
Lic ta
Bee meh
Cij tun
Hal ach
Bee n
Bee u et
Bin tu
Y etel a
Y etel
A ti al te
A ti al
meher

on:
 fire
 plants
 daughter,
 four persons
 intentions.
 of my
 father:
 one
 "father."
 the left ear of a
 it is clear."
 of his
 trails,
 daughter,
 steep the wine.
 throne,
 glyph stone of
 wild-bee
 ie.
 comb.
 the wild
 at high?

He x u bachel y ix mehen e
 Lay u holil bal che e
 He x u chach bachel lic y alic e
 Lay u cheel bal che e
 He x u kab y ix mehen e
 Lay u kab bal che e
 He yx licil y alic y okol e
 Calhal u than
 Ca tun xic u tz'ab ti
 Ten cul u ba
 Ch'u u than
 Tescun u than ca bin kuchuc
 Yum e he lay a u ix mehen a
 A tz'ah yn canante lic a u alic
 C ech yum e
 C ech ah tepal e
 Cij tun u than u mehen ti e
 Bee mehen e
 U et hal ach uinicil e
 U et ah tepalil e
 Kahaan baca t ech
 A u ohel baca
 Cij u than
 Lay tun u kikel u ix mehen
 Lic yn katic t ech lae
 Oxlahun num tun
 U manel u kikel y ix mehen u
 tan tun
 Y okol y ix mehen ti che lic t u
 tan cabal
 Hijj ci
 Tun y okol
 Ta muk y ilic t ichin
 Lic ta muk u than
 Bee mehen e
 Cij tun u than ta muk y okol
 Hal ach uinic ech e
 Bee mehen e ah tepal chi xan
 Bee u et hal ach uinicil e
 Bin tun yn kub a pop
 Y etel a tz'am
 Y etel a u ahaulil c ech mehen e
 A ti al tepal
 A ti al ix ahaulil xan c ech
 mehen e

And the bone of his daughter,
 That is the last of the mead.
 And the thigh that is mentioned
 Is the balche tree.
 4015 And the arm of his daughter,
 That is a branch of balche.
 And as he is told to cry,
 His speech is hoarse.
 Then when it is going to be given to
 him
 4020 He has seated himself.
 Sweet is his speech.
 Welcomed is his speech when it
 comes.
 "Father, here indeed is that daughter
 You gave me to protect, as you said,
 4025 O father,
 O ruler."
 So speaks the son to him.
 "Yes, son,
 Fellow governor,
 4030 Fellow ruler,
 Remember you are a child.
 You know the child."
 So he says,
 "Here then is my daughter's blood
 4035 As I asked you."
 Thirteen minutes then
 The daughter's blood is passed before
 the stone,
 Over the daughter in the log as
 before the earth,
 The jar of wine
 4040 With the stone over it.
 While he looks inside it
 As he speaks.
 "Yes, son."
 So he says then while he is over it,
 4045 "You are a governor then.
 Yes, son, you are a ruler now also.
 So we are fellow governors.
 Then I shall confer your mat
 And your throne
 And your lordship upon you, son.
 Yours is the rule;
 Yours is the lordship also, son."

Bay tun bin tz'ocebal U thanal u ba tabil cahob		Thus then will be the completion Of the speech of the officials of the villages,	
Ca bin lukucc ob Y icnal yax hal ach (38) uinic Te T u pol peten e Ca tun xic ob ti y otoch Tij tun y an ti y otoch ob T an u tz'aic u hanal ob hal ach uinic T an ix u katic u hanal ti ob xan	4055	When they are to be removed Together with the new governor There At the head of the land. So then they go home. Then when they are in their homes There is the giving of their food to the governors, And there is the request of food from them also.	
Bay binebal U tzolic lae Mehen e ca a tales t en* Can cot Chac tz'itz'ib Y an tu hol ac tun e	4065	(13.) "Son, go bring me The four eagles And the red cardinal That are in the bottom of the spring. I shall put them Over my green tonsils. Boil up the moon And stand a pile of it Over my green tonsils. It is to be brought Before me." "Then it will be so served, father." And what it is he is asking for Is red food coloring. And the pile that he mentions Is chocolate foam. And his green tonsils Are cacao that has been ground. Zuyua. (14.) "Son, go bring me The birds of night And spoons of night And let there come with it The brains of heaven. I have a great desire That they be seen here."	
T in uatal Y okol yn yax pakab chi Chacnicen i uil Ualic u p'ut Y okol yn yax pakab chi e Ca bin kuchuc T in tan e Cay bacac be yum e He ix lic u katic e Lay ciui e He x u put lic u y alic e Lay y om chuc u ua e He x u yax pakab chi e Cacau tz'ocan u huch'ul Suyua Mehen e ca a tales t en* U ch'ich'il akab Y etel u hoch'il akab Y et tal U tz'omel caan Hach y an u ol U ilab uay e	4070 4075 4080 4085 4090		

4065. Riddle. Four eagles? [Unclear.] Cardinal? Red food coloring. Pile of boiled moon? Chocolate foam. Green tonsils? Ground cacao.

4084. Riddle. Night birds? Burning incense. Night spoons? Cordage. Brains of heaven? Incense.

Cay ba
He
Lay ho
Licil
He x u
Lay
He x u
Lay
Suyua
Thar
Mehen
U ba
Lay a r
Haci
U ilab
Cay
He x li
Lay
Ca xic
Ti ha
Mehen
Hun
Lay ma
U ha
Hom
Toch
Cay ba
He x
Lay yba
Yx u
Mehen
Ox t
Y an u
Cay
(39) He
Lic u
Thohob
Lay c
Suyua t
Bin k
Mehen
U cu

4101
4111
Scent g
4121
4131

completion
officials of the

oved
v governor

d.
n their homes
eir food to the

st of food

n of the

ved, father."
ng for

tions

n ground.

it

."

le of boiled

Brains of

Cay bacac yum e
He x lic u katic e
Lay hoyob e
Licil u tocabal pom e
He x u hoch'il akab lic u katic e
Lay kan e
He x u tz'omel caan e
Lay pom e
Suyua
Than
Mehen e ca a tales t en*
U bacel a yum
Lay a mucah ox p'el hab hi e
Hach y an u ol
U ilab
Cay bacac yum e
He x lic u katic e
Lay tz'ijn e pibbil
Ca xic tz'abil
Ti hal ach uinic
Mehen e ca a tales t en*
Hun tul noh xib
Lay ma kalan u bo tonil
U ha bon e
Hom
Tochac u kaba e
Cay bacac be yum e
He x lic u katic e
Lay ybach e
Yx uech e
Mehen e ca a tales t en*
Ox buh caan
Y an u ol yn hantante
Cay bacac be yum e
(39) He x
Lic u katic e
Thohob çac a e
Lay om çac a e
Suyua thanil
Bin katabal t u lalac
Mehen e ca a tales t en u chun cij*
U cucutil cij

"Then it will be so served, father."
And what it is that he requests
Is sprinkling
And burning incense.
4095 And the spoons of night he asks for
Is cordage.
And the brains of heaven
Is incense.
Zuyua
4100 Language.
(15.) "Son, go bring me
The bones of your father
That you buried three years ago.
I have a great desire
4105 That they be seen."
"Then it will be so served, father."
And what he is asking for
Is manioc, baked.
Then it will be served
4110 To the governor.
(16.) "Son, go bring me
A grown man
Without grabbing his high balls,
His water sac;
4115 Sunk
And impotent is his name."
"Then it will be so served, father."
And what he is asking for
Is armadillo
4120 And armadillo meat.
(17.) "Son, go bring me
Three slices of heaven.
I have a desire to eat it."
"Then it will be so served, father."
4125 And what it is
That he is asking for
Is bowls of corn gruel—
That is corn gruel foam.
In Zuyua language
4130 Everything is requested.
(18.) "Son, go bring me maguey root,
The bottom of the maguey

4101. Riddle. Father's bones? Manioc. Buried? Baked.

4111. Riddle. Grown man? Armadillo. High balls? Scent glands. Water sac?
Scent glands. Sunk and impotent? Converted into cooked meat.

4121. Riddle. Slice of heaven? Bowl of corn gruel.

4131. Riddle. Maguey root? Boar's head. Heart? Tongue.

- Minan u kab i
Ma a luksic y oll i
Y et tal ox thothol
Y oc tzitzil
Cay bacac yum e
He ix lic u katic e
U pol keken
Pibbil
Ca bin xic tz'abil ti e
He x y ol lic y alic e
Lay y ak e
T u men he y akbal e u y ol
- Suyua
Mehen e ca a tales t en*
U cosil akab
Yn hantante
Cay ba ac yum e
He ix lic u katic e
Pollos
Ah thel
Suyua
Mehen e ca a u al*
Ti yax yx tz'oi
Otlom cabal u kaba e
Ca u tales t en
Hun xuxac pich'um
Ti u chucul y alan noh copo e
Ti banan t u boy copo e
- Cay bacac yum e
He x lic u katic e
Eek buul
Ti y an ti y otoch ah cuch cab e
- Lay yax tz'oy e
Y etel otlom cabal e
Lic y alic e
Suy.
Mehen e ca xic chucbil*
U balamil ac tun
T a menel u ciilte yn hanal
Y an u ol yn hantante balam
- That has no hands.
Don't remove its heart.
4135 And also bring line-paw,
Sliced-foot."
"Then it shall be so served, father."
And what it is that he is asking for
Is a boar's head,
4140 Baked.
Then he will go and bring it to him.
And the heart, as he calls it,
That is the tongue,
Because that is a symbol for his
heart.
4145 Zuyua.
(19.) "Son, go bring me
Hawks of the night
For me to eat."
"Then it will be served, father."
4150 And what it is that he is asking for
Is chickens,
Cocks.
Zuyua.
(20.) "Son, go speak
4155 To the first little old lady
Named Fallen to the Ground
That she might bring me
A large basket of blackbirds
Which are all under the big fig tree,
4160 Which are piled up in the shadow of
the fig tree."
"It will be served, father."
And what it is that he is asking for
Is black beans
That are in the house of the owner
of the lands:
4165 That is the first little old lady,
And Fallen to the Ground
That he mentions—
Zuyua language.
(21.) "Son, go and get
4170 The jaguars of the spring
So that you can sweeten my food.
I have a desire to eat jaguar."

4146. Riddle. Night hawks? Roosters.

4154. Riddle. First little old lady? The landowner's wife. Large basket of black-birds? Black beans. Fig tree? (Perhaps ceiba tree.)

4169. Riddle. Jaguar of the spring? Agouti.

Cay ba
He
Lic u k
Lay
Suyua
Meh
Uuc y
Yx
Y an u
Yn
T u kin
Uil
Cay ba
He
Lay tz'
Cha
Mehen
Yax
Ca tac
Yn
Y et t
Y e
Y etel
Y e
Lay yn
Cay
He x
Ah
He x
U k
He x
U p
He x
U n
He x
U c
Suyua
Meh
U caz
Y a
Cay ba
He

417

418

key cr

421

is imp

ed, father."
is asking for

g it to him.
alls it,

ol for his

ather."
is asking for

round

birds
ig fig tree,
he shadow of

is asking for

if the owner

lady,
nd

ig
ny food.
guar."

t of black-

Cay bacac be yum e
He x balam
Lic u katic e
Lay haleuu e
Suyua than
Mehen e ca a tales t en*
Uuc y al u pix
Yx ma yum
Y an u ol
Yn hantante
T u kin i
Uil u hantabal e
Cay bacac yum e
He x lic u katic e
Lay tz'otob
Chay e
Mehen e ca a tales t en*
Yax tzublabob uay e
Ca tac ob ti okot
Yn chaante
Y et tal ob u pax
Y etel çoot
Y etel u ual
Y etel u kab u pax
Lay yn pakob
Cay bacac yum e
He x lic u katic e
Ah tzo
He x u pax e
U koo
He x u çoot e
U pol
He x u ual e
U ne
He x u kab u pax e
U chac bacel
Suyua than
Mehen e ca a tales t en*
U caz peten
Y an u ol yn han(40)tante
Cay bacac yum e
He x lic u katic e

"It shall be so served, father."
And the jaguar
4175 That he asks for,
That is agouti.
Zuyua language.
(22.) "Son, go bring me
Seven knee babies
4180 And orphans.
I have a desire
To eat them
At the beginning
And end of my dinner."
4185 "It shall be served, father."
And what it is that he is asking for
Is stuffed leaves
Of cabbage.
(23.) "Son, go bring me
4190 Green dandies here.
Let them come dancing
So I can watch it.
And bring with them drums
And rattles
4195 And fans
And drumsticks.
These are my expectations."
"It shall be served, father."
And what it is that he is asking for
4200 Is turkeys,
And their drums
Are their pouches,
And their rattles
Are their crests,
4205 And their fans
Are their tails,
And their drumsticks
Are their thighs.
Zuyua language.
4210 (24.) "Son, go bring me
The stink of the country.
I want to eat it."
"It shall be served, father."
And what it is that he is asking for

4178. Riddle. Knee babies and orphans? Stuffed cabbage leaves.

4189. Riddle. Green dandies? Turkeys. Dancing? Turkey strutting. Drum? Turkey
craw. Rattles? Turkey crests. Fans? Turkey tails. Drumsticks? Turkey thighs.

4210. Riddle. Stink of the country? Honey. Possibly a pun on *cab* 'honey, land'
is implied and there is also a pun with *kab* 'juice'.

U kabil
 Cab
Suyua
 Mehen e ca a tales t en*
 U tun chil chuh cab
 Lay elel e
 Y et talel y alil i
 U chebal
 Yn tucip uay
 Ix u xicil t in tan e
 He x
 Lic u katic e
 Pibil
 Maçal
 He x y alil e
 U ti al u tucip e
 Lay u kabil
 Cab e
Suyua than
 Mehen e ca a tales t en*
 Akab coc ay lay hun xaman

 Hun chikin u man u booc
 Y et talel u letz
 Ak balam
 Cay bacac yum e
 He x lic u katic e
 Chamal
 He x u letz
 Ak balam lic u katic e

 Lay kak e
 Mehen e ca a tales t en*
 A u ix mehen yn u ilab
 Lay hach çac hatz'en u u ich e
 Hach cich pam e
 Çaçac u booch'
 Y etel u kax i
 Hach y an u ol ti
 Cay bacac yum e
 He x lic u katic e
 Sac luch y etel tzun e
 Çac a e
Suyua

4215 Is the juice
 Of honey:
Zuyua.
 (25.) "Son, go bring me
 The stone in burning hot honey.
 4220 It is to be burning.
 And bring with it the juice
 Of its tree
 So I can extinguish it here,
 And take it apart before me."
 4225 And what it is
 That he is asking for
 Is oven-baked
 Yams.
 And the juice
 4230 To put it out
 Is the juice
 Of honey.
Zuyua language.
 (26.) "Son, go bring me
 4235 The night firefly that is far to the
 north.
 Far to the west passes its odor.
 And bring with it the signal
 Of the tongue of the jaguar."
 "It shall be served, father."
 4240 And what it is that he is asking for
 Is tobacco,
 And the signal
 Of the tongue of the jaguar that he
 asks for
 Is fire.
 4245 (27.) "Son, go bring me
 Your daughter for me to see.
 Have her face wrapped all in white.
 She is very beautiful.
 Brilliant white is her shawl
 4250 And her sash.
 I very much want some."
 "It shall be served, father."
 And what it is that he is asking for
 Is a white bowl with chicken
 4255 In corn gruel.
Zuyua.

Mehen
 Sa b
 Lay san
 Cay
 He x li
 Lay
 Mehen
 Yax
 Yayax
 Y an
 Cay ba
 He x
 U cal al
Suyua
 Mehen
 Hun
 Uouol
 Uay
 T u p'u
 Cay
 He x li
 Chic
 He x u
 U tz
 Mehen
 Hun
 Hach ç
 Hach
 Uay yn
 Y et
 Cay ba
 He x
 Hun cc
 Yx t
 He x u
 (41)
 Lay u t
 U ki
 Ca tun
 U ti
Suyua t
 Meh

4218. Riddle. Stone? Yam. Burning? Baked. Juice (to put it out)? Honey.

4234. Riddle. Night firefly? Cigar. Jaguar tongue? Fire.

4245. Riddle. Daughter? Chicken. White dress? Corn gruel.

4257
 4263
 4271
 4281
 4298

Mehen e ca a tales t en*

Sa bel u kaba e

Lay samacnac u booc e

Cay bacac be yum e

He x lic u katic e

Lay *milon* e

Mehen e ca a tales t en*

Yax yx lochen cal

Yayax u pach

Y an u ol yn hantante

Cay bacac yum e

He x lic u katic e

U cal ah tzoo

Suyua

Mehen e ca a tales t en*

Hun tul ch'uplal hach çac

Uouol u p'ul y oc

Uay yn silic u pic

T u p'ul y oc e

Cay bacac be yum e

He x lic u katic e

Chicam

He x u silic u pic e

U tz'ilic u pach

Mehen e ca a tales t en*

Hun tul ch'uplal hach cich pam

Hach çac u u ich

Hach y an u ol tij

Uay yn pulic u pic

Y etel y ipil t in tan e

Cay bacac be yum e

He x lic u katic e

Hun cot

Yx tux ulum u hantante

He x u pulic u pic o

(41) Y etel y ipil e

Lay u thocol

U kuk mel e

Ca tun kaktabac

U ti al hanal

Suyua than

Mehen e ca a tales t en*

[28.] "Son, go bring me

A swollen bald, as it is called,

And it should be redolent in odor."

4260 "It shall be served, father."

And what it is that he is asking for
Is a melon.

[29.] "Son, go bring me

A green and curve its neck—

4265 Very green on the back.

I want to eat it."

"It shall be served, father."

And what it is that he is asking for
Is the neck of a turkey.

4270 *Zuyua*.

[30.] "Son, go bring me

A woman with very white

Well-rounded knees.

Here I'll roll up her petticoat

4275 To her knees."

"It shall be served thus, father."

And what it is that he is asking for
Is gourdroot.

And what it is to roll up her petticoat

4280 Is to peel its rind.

[31.] "Son, go bring me

A woman who is very pretty

With a very white face.

I very much want one.

4285 Here I'll throw down her petticoat

And blouse in front of me."

"It shall be served so, father."

And what it is that he is asking for
Is a hen

4290 And a hen turkey to eat.

What it is to throw down her petticoat

And blouse—

That is the plucking

Of its pin feathers,

4295 And then the meat is cooked

For eating.

Zuyua language.

[32.] "Son, go bring me

4257. Riddle. Swollen bald? Melon.

4263. Riddle. A green? Turkey neck.

4271. Riddle. Plump woman? Gourdroot. Roll up her petticoat? Peel it.

4281. Riddle. Pretty woman? Turkey hen. Undress her? Pluck her.

4298. Riddle. Guardian of fields? Yam.

- Hun tul ah canan col
 Noh xib uay e
 Y an u ol u ilab u u ich
 Cay bacac be yum e
 He x lic u katic e
 U cucutil macal u hantante
 Tz'a nat
 Mehen e ca a tales t en*
 Yx canan col
 Yx nuc ek
 Tun lah u uinicil e
 Uuc nab u tan y it te
 Y an u ol u ilab
 He x lic u katic e
 Lay u yax ych
 Tz'ol e
 Suyua
 Than
 Bin kuchuc u kin
 Hele ti kin
 T u pochektah ca yum
 Yax hal ach uinic lae
 Lic i tac y ulel uay
 Ti luum
 T u lumil
 Yucal peten lae
 C u payic ba tabob
 Ca bin tac ba tabob
 Payal u cahob t u men ca yum
 Hal ach uinic
 T ex*
 Ua ba tab e
 T on i be
 Yum e
 Ci uil
 U than ob lae
 Mehen ex e
 Ua t ex hal ach uinic
 Uay
 Ti luum
 Lac ci uil
 Y alabal ob lae
- 4300 A guardian of the fields,
 A grown man here.
 I want his face to be seen."
 "It shall be served so, father."
 And what it is that he is asking for
 Is the body of a yam to eat,
 4305 Giving the explanation.
 (33.) "Son, go bring me
 Also a keeper of fields,
 A black old lady—
 Then all her people,
 4310 Seven palms across the bottom.
 I want it to be seen."
 And what he is asking for
 Is the green fruit
 Of the squash.
 4315 Zuyua
 Language.
 The day is to arrive.
 That then is the day
 For the imposition of our father
 4320 The new governor then,
 Just as he is about to arrive here
 In the land
 In the territory
 Of the Neck of the Country.
 4325 And he separates the officials;
 Then he will change the officials,
 Dividing up the towns by our father
 The governor.
 (34.) "And you,
 4330 Are you officials?"
 "We are,
 Yes, father."
 Right at the moon
 These are their words.
 4335 "You, sons,
 Are you the governors
 Here
 In this land?"
 Right at the moon
 4340 These things are said.

4306. Black old lady, guardian of fields? Green squash.

4329. Riddle. Jaguar? Horse. Jaguar's wing? Horse's chest. Jaguar's necklace?
 Rattles. Piles? Saddle blanket.

Xen e

Ca

Cicij t

Cic

Ca tac

Y e

hel

Y tac

Hac

C ex i

C e

He ob

Ot

U tuc

Y e

Be ma

He

Cil m:

Ca

Ca tu

Y i

T ech

T i

T ech

T i

C ex

Yu

U xai

Mi

Ca tu

He

Lay b

U

ha

Lay t

He

Lay c

He

Lay c

Ci

Y ete

Y

Suyuc

Th

Xen ex ch'a xiknal balam

Ca tac ex a tz'ab ex yn hante

Cicij tz'a ex y u ob

Cicij tz'a ex u p'ut oob

Ca tac ex a tz'a ex yn hante

Y etel xen ex tac t u sebal hach
hel e

Y tac a tal ex e mehen ex e

Hach y an yn u ol yn hante

C ex mehen ex e

C ex hal ach uinic ex e

He ob x ma y ohel e

Otzilhom

U tucul

Y etel u pacat

Be ma bal bin y alab

He yx y ohel ob e

Cil mac y ol

Ca bin xic u ch'ab xiknal balam

Ca tun tac

Y etel

T ech ua mehen e

T en i be yum e

T ech ua ch'ibal e mehen e

T en i be yum e

C ex a lak ob e mehen e

Yum e ti y an ob ti kax e

U xachet ob balam e

Minan balam t u than (42) ob

Ca tun u manes t u tan

He x lic u katic e

Lay balam e

U tzimin ah ba tabil u kat u
hante

Lay tzembil tzimin e

He x y u e

Lay cascabeles e

He x u p'ut e

Lay chachac kuch e

Cici tz'abil

Y etel u silla

Y etel u freno

Suyua

Than.

"Come on and take the wingspread of
the jaguar.

Approach and accept my food.

Kindly give the necklaces.

Kindly give the piles.

4345 Approach and give it to me to eat.

And go so as to hasten the great
change.

And so come, you sons,

I have a great desire to eat.

O you sons,

4350 O you governors.

And they who know

No poverty

Think

And watch.

4355 Thus nothing will be said

And indeed they will know.

Gladly

They will go to take the jaguar's
wing,

So then they approach

4360 Together."

"Is that you, son?"

"It is I, yes, father."

"Are you of the lineage, son?"

"I am, yes, father."

4365 "Do you have your companions, son?"

"Father, they are in the wild

Searching for jaguars.

'There is no jaguar,' they said."

And then it is brought before him

4370 And what it is that he is asking for,

That jaguar

Is a horse that the official asks
to eat.

That is the chest of a horse.

And the necklace

4375 Is rattles,

And the piles

Are bright red cloths,

Sweetly given

With its saddle

4380 And bridle.

Zuyua

Language.

ather."
asking for
eat,

bottom.

for

father

here

untry.
cials;
he officials,
our father

klace?

31. Additional Riddles

- (67) Oxlahun etz'nab uchc i*
 U hetz' cab
 Oxlahun chen eb uchc i
 U chektabal ygleçia mayor
 Ti can akab naa
 Yglesia mayor ti caan
 Bay ca chektabi
 Uay xan e
 Oxlahun te katun
 U cuch lahun chekbij
 Caan can chek lukci i
 Bolon chekeb tun u cuch c u
 binel canal e*
 He ix ca ca put chektabi
 Likul t u u ich luum e
 Can chekeb
 Ca hek t u u ich luum i*
- On 13 Etz'nab there occurred
 The seating of the land.
 4385 On 13 Ch'en (13) Eb there occurred
 The pacing of the great church
 In the 4 Akab house,
 The great church in heaven.
 Thus it was paced off
 4390 Here also.
 The thirteenth *katun*
 Had the burden of ten paces.
 On high four paces had gone by,
 Nine paces were then the burden to
 come on high,
 4395 And that is the two-by-two pacing
 Rising from the face of the earth:
 Four paces
 Then branch off from the face of the
 earth.

4383. The pattern of dates that follows does not have a definitive solution and appears to contain at least two errors. The day Eb can never fall on a day 13 Ch'en (line 4385). And I believe line 4392 should read *ox lahun* '13' rather than *lahun* '10'. Even without this second correction, however, lines 4393 and 4394 clearly place us in *katun* 3 Ahau (1618). I have searched in that *katun* for a point at which these dates might make some sense. I find it in 1620. In that year 13 Etz'nab 5 Uayeb was the day before the beginning of the Mayan year on 1 Cauac 1 Pop. The first occurrence of a day Eb would be thirteen days after that, on 1 Eb 14 Pop. The only occurrence of the day Eb in the month of Ch'en would be on 5 Eb 14 Ch'en and the next day would be 6 Ben 15 Ch'en. Perhaps this is the date intended in line 4385, but its significance is not obvious. The Julian date would be December 21, which was considered the midpoint of the Mayan year (see line 1365). Thus the dates 13 Etz'nab and 13 Ch'en may refer to the beginning and the middle of the year 1620. (Parenthetically it may be noted that if we correct this date to the Gregorian calendar we reach December 31. There is no evidence that the Maya used the Gregorian count before the nineteenth century.) A final consideration relates to the assertion that the seating of the land occurred on 13 Etz'nab. It should have occurred at the seating of the *katun* in 1618. It may be significant that Akbal is the fourth day after the beginning of the months in 1620, while Eb is nine days after that. However, the only occurrence of 4 Akbal in that Mayan year falls on 4 Akbal 5 Ceh, or January 22, 1621, the eve of Candlemas.

This text is identified in line 4547 as having been composed in Mani. It may indicate that the Mani sun priests of the 1620s were not what they had been.

4394. I read this as a *katun* date: 3 Ahau was the fourth *katun* in the cycle that began with 11 Ahau, leaving nine *katuns* to go to complete the cycle.

4398. I believe the two-by-two pacing refers to the seating of the direction priests, two of the foot and two of the hand (note 3127).

Map of Y
 Garrett C
 Middle A
 Princeton
 gift of Ro

He Mani
 Chun
 Camped
 U ni
 Calkini
 U chu

Ytzmal
 U chu

Çaci
 U ni
 Conkal
 U pol
 Chumuc
 Ti ho
 Yglesia n
 U kak
 U uitzil
 Akab
 U uil u
 Dios y

4400.
 accurate

Map of Yucatan (1618). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, The Princeton University Library. The gift of Robert Garrett.



He Manii e
 Chun peten*
 Campeche
 U ni xik peten
 Calkini
 U chun u xik peten
 Ytzmäl
 U chumuc u xik peten
 Çaci
 U ni xik peten
 Conkal
 U pol peten
 Chumuc cah
 Ti hoo
 Yglesia mayor
 U kakal na
 U uitzil na
 Akab na
 U uil u
 Dins yumbil

This is Mani,
 4400 The base of the country.
 Campeche
 Is the wingtip of the country.
 Calkini
 Is the base of the wing of the country.
 4405 Izamal
 Is the middle of the wing of the country.
 Valladolid
 Is the wingtip of the country.
 Conkal
 4410 Is the head of the country.
 The middle city
 Of Merida
 Is the primate church,
 The fiery house,
 4415 The mountain house,
 The night house,
 The moonphase of the moon
 Of God Made Father,

4490. The metaphor of the geography of Yucatan as a great bird is reasonably accurately applied.

<i>Dios mehenbil</i>		God Made Son,	
<i>Dios espiritu santo</i>	4420	And God the Holy Ghost.	
<i>Mac x oc t u nail Dios e*</i>		(35.) "And who entered into the house of God?"	
<i>Yum e lay ix kalem u kaba e</i>		"Father, that was the Radiant Lady by name."	
<i>Bax u kinil takc i*</i>		(36.) "What was the time of bearing From the womb of the Virgin Girl?"	
<i>T u nak suhui ch'uplal e</i>			
<i>Yum e canil oc takci</i>	4425	"Father, 4 Oc was the bearing Of her womb."	
<i>T u nak</i>			
<i>Mehen e bal x kinil hokc i*</i>		(37.) "Son, and what was the time he appeared?"	
<i>Oxil oc hokc i</i>		"3 Oc he appeared."	
<i>Bal kinil cimc i*</i>		(38.) "Which day did he die?"	
<i>Hun cimil cimc i</i>	4430	"1 Cimi he died.	
<i>Be ti ix oc i</i>		And thus it was	
<i>T u mucnal ti hun cimi e</i>		He was buried on 1 Cimi."	
<i>Bax oc t u mucnal*</i>		(39.) "What came to the burial?"	
<i>Yum e maben tun oc t u mucnal</i>		"Father, a stone coffer came to the burial."	
<i>Bax oc t u chac bacel*</i>	4435	(40.) "What entered into his thigh?"	
<i>Yum e lay chac haal tun e</i>		"Father, that was a large arrowhead	
<i>Lay oc t u tunil cab</i>		That entered into the stone sent down	
<i>Te ti caan e</i>		From heaven."	
<i>Cun x u kab e</i>		"And whence is its name?"	
<i>Yum e halal tun</i>	4440	"Father, the arrowhead.	
<i>Lay ix lic u kinbeçabal</i>		It is like the sunrise.	
<i>Xan</i>		Also	
<i>Lay oc ti chac cui tunil</i>		That enters into the red hard stone;	
<i>Bin ti lakin</i>		It went to the east.	
<i>(68) Ca tali te ti xaman e</i>	4445	Then it went to the north;	
<i>Lay oc ti çac cui tunil</i>		That enters into the white hard stone.	
<i>Lay ix ti oc ti ek cui tunil</i>		And that enters into the black hard stone	
<i>Ti chikin</i>		In the west,	
<i>Bay ix ti kan cui tunil</i>		And thus into the yellow hard stone	
<i>Ti nohol</i>	4450	In the south."	

4421. Riddle. Who entered the church? The Virgin Mary.
 4423. Riddle. When did the Virgin Mary conceive? 4 Oc. (This is the center of the first of the four Burner cycles.)
 4427. Riddle. When was Christ born? 3 Oc. (This is 220 days after 4 Oc.)
 4429. Riddle. When did Christ die? 1 Cimi ('death').
 4433. Riddle. What came to Christ's burial? A stone coffer.
 4435. Riddle. What entered Christ's thigh? An arrowhead. What was the name of the arrow? The sunrise, which pierces hard stone to the east, north, west, and south.

Mehen e
Lay li

Mehen e
Lah t
Minan u
Ti tac
T u hol
Lay k
Mehen e
e*
Lub u

Y etel is
U chi
T u mer
Y ete
T u mer
Lay u
Mehen e
tun e*
Ca p'
Ti uaan

U u ik
Mehen e
haob e*
Y anil
Y an y u
Y an
Lay peet
Y ete
Mehen e

Y ete
Tz'oc yt
Y ete

4451.
4453.
water.]
4459.
4467.
4471.
ribbon?]
4477.
puckered

ost.
to the house

Radiant Lady

of bearing
Virgin Girl?"
aring

the time he

die?"

imi."
burial?"
came to the

his thigh?"
ge arrowhead
one sent down

g?"
d.

hard stone;

h;
white hard

Black hard

hard stone

Mehen e hai p'el kom okop*
Lay licil y auat chul chultah e

Mehen e tab y an tz'onot*
Lah tz'am y alil e
Minan u chichil y it e
Ti tacan chulul
T u hol e
Lay ku na e
Mehen e c ex yax *casamientosob*
e*

Lub u muk rey t u men ob e

Y etel ix lubci u muk
U chi y anil hal ach uinicob e
T u menel ob e
Y etel lay ob ix in muk
T u men ob xan
Lay uah e
Mehen e t a u ilah ua yaxal haal
tun e*
Ca p'ell ob e
Ti uaan *crus* chumucc e

U u ich uinic
Mehen e tub x y an ob ah yax oc
haob e*
Y anil hun tul yx ma na
Y an y u e
Y an ix u tzitz moc xan
Lay peeu e
Y etel x ma yum e
Mehen e c ex x top'lah kauil e*

Y etel u tz'omel cootz'
Tz'oc yt peeh e
Y etel kulim pak i

[41.] "Son, how many pits in a ditch?"
"That is like the sounds of a flute
being played."

[42.] "Son, where is the cenote
Completely drenched in water;
4455 It has no stopper in the bottom
To keep it from leaking
On one's head?"

"That is the god's house."
[43.] "Son, and even first marriages?

4460 Rested is the strength of the king by
them

And also rested is the strength
Of the time of the governors
By them;

And they are my strength too,
4465 Also because of them."
"That is food."

[44.] "Son, have you seen whether the
waterholes are green?

There are two of them.
There stands a cross in the middle of
them."

4470 "Men's eyes."

[45.] "Son, and where are the first
baptized?

There is one and she has no mother.
She has a necklace
And she has a speckled ribbon too."

4475 "That is dwarf corn,
And she has no father either."

[46.] "Son, and even the sprout of the
deity

With his brains rolled?
It has the bottom puckered
4480 And is a bitter plant."

center of

Occ.)

the name
west, and

4451. Riddle. How many pits in a ditch? As many as notes on a flute.
4453. Riddle. What is a cenote with no plug? The church. (Because it drips
water.)

4459. Riddle. What are the first marriages that refresh everyone? Food.

4467. Riddle. What are two green waterholes with a cross between them? Eyes.

4471. Riddle. What is the first baptized orphan with a necklace and a speckled
ribbon? Dwarf corn.

4477. Riddle. What is God's sprout that's bitter and has rolled brains and a
puckered bottom? A turkey gizzard.

U tuchil ulum		"It is a turkey gizzard."	
Mehen ex e taleç ex t en*		[47.] "You, son, bring me	
Hokbah caan		The ties of heaven	
Y etel hokob co e		And the ties of teeth."	
Ceh	4485	"Deer	
Y etel ba		And gopher."	
Mehen e cex ix nuc*		[48.] "Son, and even a fat old lady	
Uuc nab u tan y it e		With a seven-palm rear	
X ek tunlah ch'uplal e		And a dark-skinned girl?"	
Lay tz'ol e	4490	"That is flat squash."	
Mehen e yl ex t en çaclah ch'uplal*		[49.] "Son, find me a light girl	
Ueuel uak u pic i		Dressed in a full skirt	
Lic u conic çac tok e		As though she were selling white	
		knives."	
Lay ca e		"That is grindstone squash."	
Mehen e taleç ex t en ca cot ix	4495	[50.] "Son, bring me two eagles, yellow	
kan*		ones,	
Hun cot chochacbil i		And one eagle bright red;	
Hun cot ti x bin xotoc u cal i		One eagle which is to have its throat	
		cut	
Bin ix uuk ich u kikel xan		And its blood is to be drunk too."	
Yx kaan ceh		And it is a grown deer	
Y etel yax luch	4500	And a fresh gourd	
Y anil chuc ua		Of chocolate.	
Mehen ex e uleç ex t en*		[51.] "You, son, have me brought	
		here	
Hun kal ah kochcinil tunob uay e		A score of bearers of flat stones	
Y etel ca tul casadosob e		And two married people."	
Bech'	4505	Quail	
Y etel mucui		And doves.	
Mehen e tales t en çum*		[52.] "Son, bring me a rope	
Ox bal u haxal		Three strands wide.	
Yn kat in u ila e		I want to see it."	
Lay huh e	4510	That is iguana tail.	
Mehen e tac (. . .)ci*		[53.] "Son, [bring something?]	
Paac tanal		Folded in half,	
U ilab uay e		To be seen here."	
Lay ci e		That is henequen.	

4482. Riddle. Ties of heaven? Deer. Ties of (i.e., many) teeth? Gopher.
 4487. Riddle. Fat old lady with a seven-palm rear? Flat squash. Dark-skinned girl? Flat squash.
 4491. Riddle. Light girl in a full skirt selling white knives? Grindstone squash.
 4495. Riddle. Two yellow eagles? Grown deer. Red eagle with its throat cut and we drink its blood? A fresh gourd of chocolate.
 4502. Riddle. Bearers of flat stones? Quail. Two married people? Doves.
 4507. Riddle. Three-strand rope? Iguana tail.
 4511. Riddle. Something folded in half? Henequen.

Mehen e
hol caan
Y ete
Bolon ta

Noh i
Mehen e
Ah nc
Noh xib
Hach
Hoctan i

Lay al
Mehen e
colob*

Noh
Hun tucl
Y etel
T ix mur
Täl e
Y etell i

Bin çä
T en ix l

Ca tul
Lay chicc
(69) M
Noh tzul
Ma u i
Ca bin in
Lay al
Mehen e

Pul nx
Y etel pi
Y ete

4515.
tamale.
4519.
Turkey c
4525.
Men with
Lift up th
4536.
4541.
clothes.]

me	Mehen e bin a taleç ex u mac u hol caan*	4515	(54.) "Son, go and bring me the man who pierces the sky And the fog here, And the nine layers of the whole earth."
"	Y etel yebal uay e Bolon tas lah cab		It is a large tamale.
et old lady	Noh uah		(55.) "Son, have you seen
ear	Mehen e t a u ilah ua*	4520	The raiser of the griddle, The grown man?
!"	Ah noc xamach		He has a very large pouch And sitting down he comes along the ground."
"	Noh xib e		That is a turkey cock.
ght girl	Hach noh u ko e		(56.) "Son, bring me the guardians of fields, The grown men Whose craws come to their crotches And their wives Are cheery and big. Bring them here And also the guardians of fields of girls. It will cheer up the girls That I shall raise their skirts up over them And then I'll eat (them)."
rt	Hoctan u tal ti luum e		That is gourdroot.
ling white	Lay ah tzo e		(57.) "Son, bring me A great dandy for me to look at. I haven't seen them dance, And I am going to have them seen."
squash."	Mehen e tales t en ah canan	4525	That is a turkey cock.
o eagles, yellow	colob*		(58.) "Son, and even the first collector?"
red;	Noh xibob		Throw off your clothes And throw off your shirt And cape
ave its throat	Hun tuch u tal u choon e		
e drunk too."	Y etel y atan e	4530	
	T ix mumil chac		
	Tal e cex uay e		
	Y etell ix ah canan col ch'upllob e		
	Bin çaclah ch'upllob e		
me brought	T en ix bin luksic u picob y okol e		
t stones	Ca tun in hante		
pie."	Lay chicam e	4535	
	(69) Mehen e tales t en*		
ope	Noh tzublal yn chaante		
	Ma u ill ob y okot ob		
	Ca bin in u ilab e		
	Lay ah tzo e	4540	
	Mehen e c ex yax ah mol'e*		
hing?)	Pul nok		
	Y etel pul camissa e		
	Y etel çuyem		

er.
k-skinned
one squash.
roast cut and
ves.

4515. Riddle. Man who pierces the sky, the fog, and the underworld? Large tamale.
4519. Riddle. Raiser of the griddle? Turkey cock. Grown man with large pouch? Turkey cock. Who walks sitting down? A strutting turkey cock.
4525. Riddle. Guardians of fields with their craws to their crotches? Gourdroot. Men with big cheery wives? Gourdroot. Guardians of fields of girls? Gourdroot. Lift up their skirts? Peel them.
4536. Riddle. Great dandy? Turkey cock. Great dancer? Turkey cock.
4541. Riddle. Who was the first collector? Man. (Demonstrated by shedding clothes.)

Y etel p'oc	4545 And hat
Y etel xanab e	And sandals.
Mehen e tab ech ti mani*	(59.) "Son, where are you in Mani?
Ti ua ti man ech	Which of you is it who passes
Ti canal buk tun e	By the high year stone
Nixbebal	4550 With some kind of grapes
U hol caan e	As doorman
Y anil u hol paa e	And having a hole in the wall?
He ca ti man e chi e	When it is that you have passed by it
T a u ilah ua uinicob	You may see people
Tzayan ob	4555 Looking for something
U talel ob t a tan e	Passing in front of you.
Ti y an bolon	Who is there is great
Chaan	And small
Y etel yax	And young
Ah kulul e	4560 And official."
U kulil ych	The socket of the eye
Y etel u uabal tz'amil ich	And a pair of eyeballs.
Mehen e t-a u ilah ua*	(60.) "Son, have you seen
U kaxal y aal ku e	The dropping of the water of God?
Ti mani y alan u uitzil ku e	4565 That passes under the mountain
	of God
Tij x ti oc y alan u uitzil ku e	And that is what enters under the
	mountain of God
Ti y an cruz i	Which has a cross
Ti chakan i	On the flat part.
Coop nebal caan tii	Curled and pointed is the top of it,
Ti mani y aal ku i	4570 Which passes the water of God.
Mehen e tab x c u manel y aal ku e	Son, and where will the water of God
	pass
Te c u hokol cui tun e	Where the hard stone appears?"
Yum e u hool uinic	"Father, the man's head
Y etel yukul co uinic t u manel	And all the man's teeth will it pass
T u u ol u cal uinic	4575 To the middle of the man's throat
T u hokol t u chun e	And appears at the bottom."
Mehen e max t a u ilah ti be	(61.) "Son, whom did you see on the
cam e*	road awhile ago?"
(. . . .)*	(. . . .)

4547. Pun. Mani [town name]: *man* 'pass'. Riddle. What is it that is near the high stone with grapes for doormen in the hole in the wall that sees everybody? Eye sockets and eyeballs.

4563. Riddle. God's water goes under a mountain over a hard stone: what are they? Head and teeth. (The question is incomplete.)

4577. Riddle incomplete.

4578. Line missing.

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oc haa

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Ti yx

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Meher

Kaa

Ch'aca

Yun

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Mehen e tab x t a mançah a lakob*

Tzayan u talel ob t a pach ob e 4580
He in lakob lae
Ma t an in patab
Lay in mucut u xot kin Dios e

Ca bin cimic en e
He lay 4585
U booi uinic e
Mehe mac x t a u ilah ti be*

T a u ilah ua noh xibob y an palal
t u pach ob e
Yum e he noh xibob
T in u ilah ti be e 4590
Ti y an ob t in pach
Ma ix t an u p'atben ob e
Heklay u naa oc
Y etel y alob e
Mehen e tab x t a u ilah ix nucob* 4595

Y an u mek u çacal ob
Y etel u lak palal ob e
Yum e he x lae
Tii to y an t in pach licil yn hanal
Ma y to uchac yn p'atic 4600

U naa yn kab
Y etel y alob
Mehen e tab x ti man ech y anil y
oc haa e*
Yum e he y oc haa e
Ti yx y an te u icnal e 4605
Heklay u bel yn pach e
Mehen e tab x t a u ilah noh xib*

Kaan y okol tzimin e
Ch'acat nebal y oc haa e
Yum e he x noh xib lae 4610

[62.] "Son, and where did you send
your neighbors
Who were coming right behind you?
These were my companions;
I wasn't being waited upon.
That is my anticipation of the
judgment of God
When I shall die."

And those
Are a man's shadows.
[63.] "Son, and whom did you see on
the road?

Did you see grown men with
children on their backs?"
"Father, these were the grown men
I saw on the road.
They are here behind me
And they have not abandoned me."
Meaning the big toe
And the little ones.

[64.] "Son, and where did you see
grown ladies
Having embraced their stepchildren
With their other children?"
"Father, that is this:
What it is I have in my grasp as I eat,
And that is not something I could
abandon:

My thumb
And its little ones."
[65.] "Son, and where is it you went to
have a water ditch?"

"Father, this is the water ditch
And it is here on me.
It means the spine of my back."

[66.] "Son, and where did you see a
grown man
Mounted on a horse
Across the point of a water ditch?"
"Father, this is the grown man here.

4579. Riddle. Where did you send your neighbors? To the judgment of God.
Who are the companions behind you? Our shadows.

4587. Riddle. Grown men with children on their backs? Big toes and little ones.

4595. Riddle. Grown ladies with children? Thumb and fingers. (What I'm eating
with.)

4603. Riddle. Where is your water ditch? My spine.

4607. Riddle. Man on a horse at the head of a ditch? My back: it holds a
grown man.

- Tiy to y an u icnal e
 Heklay u tzimin yn pach e
 (70) Lic a u alic
 Kalic noh xib e
 Mehen e he x noh xib
 Y an t a pach
 Lic a u alic
 Be chican
 Hahil
 Y etel tohil
 Mehen e xen ch'a u pucçikal
 tunich*
 Y etel u tamnel luum
 Te uil
 Kin c ilic çamal e
 He ix u ilah hun p'elli e hauaan
 He ix hun p'eli e nocaan
 Bay u binel
 Ychil *mitnal* e
 Heklay haleu e
 Y etel tzub e
 Y etel yax b'a tab
 Y etel yax ah kulel e
 He x u ti al u pucçikal tunich e
- Heklay u ni cob
 Y etel u mac u u ol
 U cal *mitnal* e
 Heklay is
 Y etel *chicam* e
 Mehen e ca xic ech a ch'ab ix hal is
 co uay e*
- Hun cuy ual u pol e
 Hach cich pam ix lok bayan
 T en i
 Bin lukçic u pic
 Y etel u bucc e
 Çamacnac uil u boc
- Ca bin yn lukes u bucc e
- What it is I have on me.
 It means the horse is my back.
 As you say,
 It holds up a grown man."
 4615 "Son, and that grown man
 Who is on your back
 As you say,
 Has thus manifested
 Truth
 4620 And right."
 (67.) "Son, go get the heart of a stone
 And the liver of the earth.
 There is the moon phase
 (And the) sun they will see
 tomorrow.
 4625 I see one face up
 And one face down.
 Thus he will go
 Into hell."
 Meaning a paca
 4630 And an agouti,
 And a new official
 And a new assistant,
 And that is because the heart of a
 stone
 Means the crowns of the teeth
 4635 And the man of the middle
 And the throat of hell
 Means sweet potatoes
 And gourdroot.
 (68.) "Son, go then and get a real sweet
 potato tooth here
 4640 With a soft fan on its head,
 A very beautiful young girl.
 And I myself
 Am going to remove her skirt
 And clothes.
 4645 One should only perhaps smell her
 fragrance,
 Then I'll take off her clothes.

4621. Riddle. Heart of a stone? Teeth. Liver of the earth? Paca. Moon phase? New assistant. Tomorrow's sun? New official. One sliced and one sprinkled? (Possibly agouti.) Man of the middle? Sweet potato. Throat of hell? Gourdroot. This riddle is garbled and incomplete.

4639. Riddle. What is a beautiful young girl with sweet potato teeth, a fan on her head, and I'm going to take off her clothes? Baked green corn.

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 Heklay
 Y et
 Y etel
 Y et
 Mehen
 chac ba
 Lay
 Mehen
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Hach cilmac yn u ol yn ca bin u ilab

Çamacnacil u bocc e

Y etel hun çuyil u pol e

Heklay pibil nal e

Mehen e ca tun xic ech a chab
noh xib*

Y etel u xiuil tanil kaknab e

He x noh xib lae ac

Y etel ix bau

Mehen e ca tun xic ech a ch'aab
u tunichil y it kax ek e*

Lay ah tzatzac e

Mehen e ca tun xic ech a ch'aab u
tunichil chakan uay e*

Lay bech' e

Y etel yax ah menob e*

Ca tul ob t u ba

Heklay baa

Y etel tzub

Y etel haleu

Y etel citan e

Mehen e ca xic ech a ch'ab u
chac bacel luum*

Lay tz'in e

Mehen e ca xic ech a ch'aab yax
tzuublal uay e*

Y etel yax kayomob e

Cutz

Y etel h tzoo

Mehen e bin a u ules a u ix
mehen e*

Te y an kin çamal u ilab e

Payan be bin talebal u tz'etz'il e

Pach hebal bin talebal u nohol e

I am delighted that I shall see her

And with the fragrance of her scent
And a tuft on her head."

4650 Meaning baked green corn.

(69.) "Son, go then and get a grown man

And the grass of the seashore."

And that grown man is a turtle
With a crab.4655 (70.) "Son, go then and get the rocks of
the bottom of a dyewood tree."

That is sardines.

(71.) "Son, go then and get the rocks of
the meadow here."

That is quail.

(72.) "And the first shamans

4660 Who shelter themselves?"

Meaning gopher,

Agouti,

Paca,

And wild pig.

4665 (73.) "Son, go get the thigh of the
earth."

It is cassava.

(74.) "Son, go get the green dandy here

With the green singers."

Curassow

4670 And turkey cock.

(75.) "Son, you will have your daughter
brought here.There is time tomorrow for her to
be seen.First off shall be brought the little one,
After that shall be brought the
big one.

4651. Riddle. Grown man of the seashore? Turtle. Grass of the seashore? Crab.
4655. Riddle. Rocks of the bottom of a dyewood tree? Sardines. [Presumably re-
fers to a cenote fish.]

4657. Riddle. Rocks of the meadow? Quail.

4659. Riddle. First shamans who shelter themselves? Gopher, agouti, paca, and
wild pig.

4665. Riddle. Thigh of the earth? Cassava.

4667. Riddle. Green dandy? Turkey cock. Green singers? Curassow. (See line
4536.)

4671. Riddle. No answer given.

Ca ix cici kaxac u kax pol e	4675	And then her head should be nicely tied up
Ti kukmil kax		With a [quetzal] feather tie.
Ti y an uil u boch' e		She may perhaps have a shawl.
T en i to uil bin luksic u boch' e		It may perhaps be I who remove her shawl,
Y etel ti y an ah kulel t u pach e		And she has an official behind her."
(. . . .)*	4680	(. . . .)
(71) Mehen e ca tun xic ech a ch'ab*		[76.] "Son, go then and get
Un crus nictē		A cross of flowers
Kutz' ben e		All dressed up at the moon
Te uil kin çamal e		Of the sun tomorrow."
Kelbil yxim	4685	Toasted corn
Y etel cab		And honey.
Mehen e uay t in cucyah a pectzil e*		[77.] "Son, here have I rolled, you are aware,
Yan yan cootz'		Many many rolls
Ti ac tun y an a u icnal e		In the stone holder you have on you.
Ca ix a cucles c ilab uay	4690	And when you have rolled it for us to see here
T u kin tzil hānal e		It may be cooked and cracked to eat."
Tzabbil hee.		An opened egg.

4680. Line missing.

4681. Riddle. Cross of flowers all dressed up by sundown? Toasted corn and honey.

4687. Riddle. What is it that is rolled in a stone holder that you have on you and that you cook and crack to eat? An egg.

32. Astronomical Notes

(26) He ca bin kuchuc lay kin*		This is when it shall be arriving, this day:
T u buluc pis Junio e		On the eleventh measure of June
U cha	4695	Is exactly
Ucil kin		The longest day.

4693. As Roys 1967: 86, note 3 observes, this text is preceded by a small cross, perhaps indicating that the content is Christian, which it is. Dating the chapter is problematic: it contains no direct hints. The author had assimilated Spanish astronomy and had also played cards with a Spanish deck (line 4740), but uses few Spanish words. Placing it in 3 Ahau is frankly impressionistic. Its dating of the solstice in the Julian calendar is *post* 1600.

*The course
the Garre
scripts in
guages, T
Library, 1*

He ca bin

La t u

Hach lah

C et

Lay kin

Y etel

He ca bin

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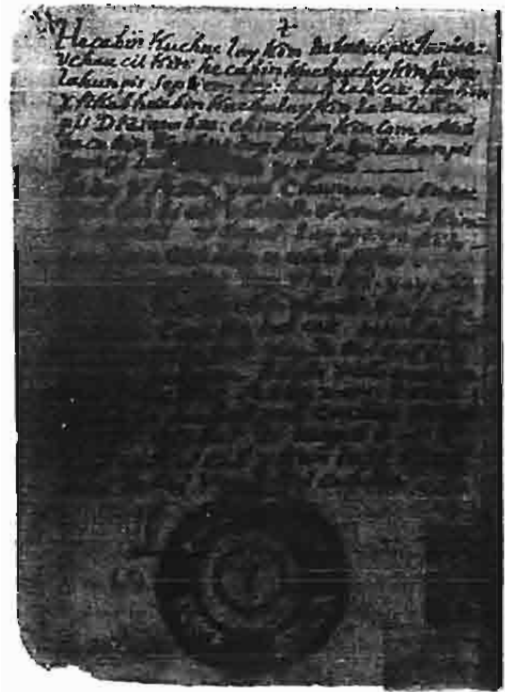
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small cross,
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The course of the sun (1618). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, The Princeton University Library, The gift of Robert Garrett.



He ca bin kuchuc lay kin

La t u y oxlahun pis Septiembre

Hach lah

C et

Lay kin

Y etel akab

He ca bin kuchu lay kin

La t u lahca pis Diziembre

Chiic chan kin

Com akab*

He ca bin kuchuc lay kin

La t u lahun pis Março

Lah

C et

Kin

Y etel akab

This is when it shall be arriving, this day:

On the thirteenth measure of September

Very full

4700 And equal

Are the day

And the night.

This is when it shall be arriving, this day:

Then on the twelfth measure of December

4705 Appears the small day

And short night.

This is when it shall be arriving, this day:

That is on the tenth measure of March.

Full

4710 And equal

Are the day

And the night.

4706. Roys 1967: 87 has '(but) the night [begins to] shorten', which is correct, but that's not what the text says.

He lay u petel		There is here a circle	
Y an chumuc		That is in the middle.	
Ca sasac	4715	It is all white,	
U nukul		Meaning	
Licil u binel		That during the coming	
U ximbal kin		And going of the sun	
T u ca p'elil u copol		On its second loop,	
Lay y eyekil o	4720	That is its darkening.	
Lay u nukul		That is the explanation.	
Lay u u ich kin o		That is the nature of the sun.	
T u binel y okol		It goes around	
Lay u nohol y eyekil o		And the south darkens it.	
T u y emel	4725	It descends.	
T u chinchaniil u copol y eyekil o		It appears smaller on the loop of darkness.	
Layi lic lah		And this is how it gets full	
C et		And equal.	
T an u binel		It goes	
Y etel lay u ximbal	4730	And then it comes:	
Uay y okol cab li		That is just around the earth here	
Li xan e ti luum		And just also the land.	
Bay ix u chacaanpahal		And so it is made to appear	
T u yukul peten xan		Over the whole of the country too.	
U ximbal kin	4735	The path of the sun	
Hahal noh*		Is really south.	
C u ch'aic u ximbalte		It goes	
Ocebal		And it comes	
Ti		There	
T u noh oro*	4740	To the Gold south,	
Uchil y okol cab		Occurring around the world	
U kahlail kin		As the account of the sun	
Oheltabal uay		As it has been made known here	
Y okol cab lae		On this earth.	
(27) Eclipse del sol*	4745	Eclipse of the sun:	
U chibil kin		The eating of the sun.	
(Medio mundo)		Half world:	
(Tan buh y okol cab)		Half division of the world.	
Ti xiblabob t u xaxob		For men at the sides	
Y an lay hun buh a	4750	There is this one section;	

4736. Roys 1967: 87 has 'is truly great', which is possible, though from the Yucatecan perspective it moves a good deal farther south than it does north.

4740. I agree with Roys 1967: 87, note 1 that the reference is to the Gold suit in a Spanish deck of cards. But yellow is the Mayan color of the south, and I think that's the connection.

4745. Lines 4745 and 4747 are in Spanish; the alternate lines are the Mayan translation. The Spanish appears in the accompanying illustration.

Top: *Solc*
Solar and
From the
Manuscr.
Language
Library,

U uinbai
Ma ch
He tun
Lay c
Nup' tar
Y ete
Ximbal
Ti ma
Kuchul
U xir
Hun p'e
Tun
U chibil
Y ete
Ti mai li
Chun
U hucul
U ti a

Bal c u y
Y ete

U chibil
Ma ch

4771.

Top: Solar eclipse (1618). Bottom:
Solar and lunar eclipses (1618).
From the Garrett Collection of
Manuscripts in Middle American
Languages, The Princeton University
Library, The gift of Robert Garrett.



U uinbail
Ma chibil u cah kin i
He tun y an chumuc o
Lay c u chibil
Nup' tam ba cah
Y etel u t u chibil
Ximbal u cah payan be
Ti mai li chibic
Kuchul u cah
U ximbal ti xaman nohoch
Hun p'elil i
Tun
U chibil ob kin
Y etel u
Ti mai li kuchuc
Chum kin e
U hucul
U ti al y oheltic maya uinicob

Bal c u y uchul ti kin
Y etel ti u lae.

U chibil u*
Ma chibil u cah i

As in the drawing
The place of the sun is not eaten.
But when one is in the middle
Then it is eaten.

4755 Opposing each other the earth place
And the moon, it is eaten.
Moving position somewhere else
Then it is just not eaten.

It arrives in place
4760 And goes north big
One time
Each tun.

Eclipses of the sun
And moon

4765 May not occur
At noon.

It is explained
So that the Mayan people may
understand

What happens to the sun
4770 And the moon.

The eclipse of the moon:
Its place is not eaten.

4771. The remaining text appears on the illustration.

Cah tzam ych	The earth consumes its face,
Tal u cah u	Coming to the place of the moon,
Y etel kin	4775 And the sun
T u tzel peten	Is at the (other) side of the land.
U chibil kin	The eclipse of the sun:
Ma chibil u cah i	Its place is not eaten.
Cah am ych	The earth consumes its face,
Tal u cah kin	4780 Coming to the place of the sun,
Y etel u	And the moon
T u tzel peten	Is at the (other) side of the land,
Chicul	Demonstrating
T u men D'.	By God
Licil u lah	4785 When it is exactly
C et hal	Equal.
He uac	However,
Ma chibil u cah i.*	The earth is not eaten.

4788. Roys 1967: 88 translates lines 4783–4788 as 'a sign from God that they are in conjunction but are not eaten'.

I Ahau

33. Caesar Augustus and the Chan War

(93) *Primero*

Hun ahau katun*
U uuc tz'it katun
Emal
U hetz' katun

(93) *Primero*

Katun 1 Ahau
4790 Was the seventh part of the *katun*.
Emal
Was the seat of the *katun*.

4789. This text is preceded by the notation *primero* and the accompanying illustration says 1640. These are late and erroneous additions. But the text itself is also wrong: this is the sixth *katun*, and it began in 1638. This was the last *katun* in which Merida attempted to claim the lordship. The Tizimin lists Puc Ha, Ol Ha, Ual Icim, Amayte Kauil, Hun Pic, and Can Ul among the claimants to power. The Chumayel gives Puc Ol, Ox Ual Ac, Hun Pic, and Caesar Augustus. How many of these actually claimed to seat the *katun* is not clear, and the guerrilla military companies were also active. Both versions mention the Chan War, centered in Tihosuco. The Mani version, much abbreviated, omits that and the names of the leaders but agrees that both Merida and Emal seated the *katun* (Craine and Reindorp 1979: 81–82). The illustration shows a crowned and bearded lord of the *katun*, a cross, a dog, a flag, and a forceps holding an extracted tooth.

Amayte l
(1638–16
lection of
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Robert G

T u kinil
Y etel
Emom q
Emom
Tal ti caa
Ma tu
C u talel
U thar
than i
Pek u m
Ah ku
Pan u ca

Och u

Ox kasap
Y etel
Ox kasap
Ox ka

4802. l
former an
with carr
4804. l
nobility.

Amayte Kauil, lord of Merida
(1638–1658). From the Garrett Col-
lection of Manuscripts in Middle
American Languages, The Princeton
University Library, The gift of
Robert Garrett.



T u kinil y ulel yx puc y ol a
Y etel ox ualacij
Emom çuum
Emom tab
Tal ti caan u thanil
Ma tusbil be
C u talel u beltabal i
U than u yumil caan ma tusbil
than i
Pek u mut
Ah kuch u mut*
Pan u ca tz'ic u uinicil

Och u u ich ti y ahaulili*

Ox kasap u tucul
Y etel u than
Ox kaçap y etel u toon
Ox kaçap u tok

And at that time came Puc Ol
And the third priest Ual Ac.

4795 Descended was the cord,
Descended was the rope.
Come from heaven was the word
Of the undeviating path
Which is coming to be fulfilled,
4800 The word of the Father of Heaven is
not false.
Dog is its news;
Buzzard is its news.
Flags were the second part of the
people.

A Possum was the face in the
lordship.

4805 Three divisions were its thought
And its word.
Three divisions with its secret;
Three divisions were the knives

4802. Dogs and buzzards are about equally obnoxious in the Mayan view. The former are associated with fornication and the eating of excrement and the latter with carrion.

4804. Flags and Possums were among the military companies opposing the nobility.

ace,
the moon,
the land.

ace,
the sun,
the land,

that they

Nar

of the katun.
tun.

many il-
xt itself is
last katun
ic Ha, Ol
s to power.
s. How
guerrilla
War, cen-
d the names
Craine and
last of the

Ti y ahaulil i		In the lordship,	
Ti y ah miazil i	4810	In the sage's office.	
Ti ix y ulel		And that was the coming	
Hun pic ti ax ti chibal i*		Of Hun Pic of Ax by descent,	
Balam		(As) jaguar,	
Y etel can ul ti chibal i		And Can Ul by descent,	
Y ah chi ul uijl	4815	Biting spirits of the coming need,	
Y ah çat ul kauil		Destroying spirits of the coming deity,	
U bobochil uijl*		The Many Skunks of need,	
Y ah çatul hanal		The destroying spirits of the coming food.	
Uuc p'el hab u chibal hun ti ax		Seven years was the term of Hun Pic of Ax;	
Uuc p'el hab u chibal can ul	4820	Seven years was the term of Can Ul.	
Ca bin emec		Then will descend.	
U justisia		The justice	
Ca yumil		Of our Father	
Ti Dios		Who is God	
Y okol nicte	4825	Over the flowers,	
Y okol u çat yb teel cah*		Over the white lima bean town,	
Y okol chac uen co		Over the red nightmare	
U maxil katun*		Of the monkey <i>katun</i> .	
Ti yx y ulel u y anal than i		And that will be the arrival of the existing word,	
U y anal can i	4830	The existing teaching.	
Ma ix tan y ocç ob		But they will not half enter	
Ti y ol maya uinicob i		Into the hearts of the Mayan people.	
Bin kayac		There will be preached	
Ychil ob		To them	
U than Dios	4835	The Word of God	
U yumbil caan		The Father of Heaven,	
Ca u tohcint u bel ob		When they are made right in their ways,	
Ca u pachint t u lobil u bel ob*		When they return to the evil of their ways,	
U nucil i		Meaning	
Ti maya uinicob	4840	That the Mayan people	

4812. I am unable to locate (Ti) Ax, but it appears to be a place-name.

4817. The Many Skunks were another military company.

4826. Zac lb Teel cah 'white lima bean trees town' is unidentified.

4828. Roys 1967: 155 reads *chac uen co* as 'lewd rogue' and *maxil katun* as 'rascal'. I think the reference is to a *katun* of bloodshed and peasant warfare. *Katun* also means 'war'.

4838. Roys 1967: 155 has 'turn their backs upon their evil ways', but *pach* 'back' is an intransitive verb in itself.

Ma u kat
U thar
E na yum
Ah xo
Bin ix ok
U hal a
Tz'etz'ec

Ma ix

Ba la t a
Hun lu
Ah cici o
U bala
Haxom k
T u ch
Hunnab l
T u çu

Ti y auat
La u y
U than u
U yurr
Bin ix ok

Tuçinil
Pecnom i

Pecnoi

Ti tali u l
Ti jx y
Ah ben t

U thar

Ox muc

Ca yur
Ti jx y er

Y oko

4850. l

4852. l

4867. l

who prea
4872. l

Ma u kat (94) y ub ob
 U than *Dios* e
 E na yumbil ob
 Ah xot kinn ob e
 Bin ix okomac y ol ob
 U hal ach uinicil bal cah
 Tz'etz'ec ocan ti y ol

Ma ix ocan ti y ol xan i e

Ba la t a than e
 Hun lukul*
 Ah cici olal
 U balamil cab e*
 Haxom kaak
 T u chicul maya çuhuy e
 Hunnab ku
 T u çuhuyil hunab *yglesia*

Ti y auat i
 La u y ub
 U than u yumil caan
 U yumil y okol cab
 Bin ix okomac y ol bal cah

Tuçinil ti tali e
 Pecnom u xik cab

Pecnom chumuc cab

Ti tali u kinil
 Ti jx y emel u tzicil ob
 Ah ben tana tz'ulob i*

U than *Dios*

Ox muc bin emebal u *justicia*

Ca yumil ti y okol bal cah i
 Ti jx y emel noh katun

Y okol u çac yb teel cah i*

Did not want to listen
 To the Word of God,
 Their mothers and fathers
 And judges.
 4845 And it will depart from the hearts
 Of the governors of the world.
 A little bit has entered into their
 hearts,
 But it hasn't entered into their
 hearts too.
 Whatever was said
 4850 Something turned
 The believers
 Into animals.
 Fire was twisted
 Into a sign of the Mayan Virgin,
 4855 The Sole God
 Into the virginity of the Sole
 Church.
 It was argued
 That what was heard
 Was the Word of the Father of Heaven,
 4860 The Father of the World.
 And it will depart from the hearts of
 the world
 And falsehood will enter.
 Informed will be the wings of the
 land—
 Informed will be the middle of the
 land
 4865 That coming
 Is the time.
 And that would be the descent of their
 reverences
 The missionary foreigners of the
 Word of God.
 Three times will be the descent of the
 justice
 4870 Of our Father over the world.
 And that will be the descent of a great
 war
 Over the white lima bean town,

4850. Literally '[was] one separation (of)'.

4852. Or 'into jaguars of the land', i.e., partisans of the lords of the *katun*.

4867. I read *ah ben tan a* 'those who go before the water', meaning catechists who preach before baptism.

4872. See note 4826.

Oheltabal ua hal ach		Making known whether the governors	
Chich y oc olalob i		Were strong believers.	
Ti jx y emel ah mek tan	4875	And that will be the descent of the	
		tumpline chiefs,	
U sih hoyic u u ich		The birth of sprinkling the faces	
U cuyil cab		Of the bewitched lands	
U maxil katun		Of the monkey <i>katun</i> ,	
U ch'uyum thulil cah*		The Hanging Rabbit towns,	
U ch'amacil cah	4880	The Fox towns.	
Ti ix y ulel		And that will be the arrival	
U ma xul ahau i		Of the permanent lords,	
U xot u tabil u cuch num ya lae		The cutting of the ties of the burden of	
		suffering	
Xotom ahau		And cut lords.	
Ti x y emel u koch t u lalac tal	4885	And that will be the descent of the tax	
ti caan		on everything coming from heaven,	
U koch bal cah tusinil		The tax on the lying world.	
Kin tun y aabil		The calendar round	
T u pach		Was later.	
Y an to t u kin		There will be one then	
Hunnac tzuc ti cab	4890	To unite the parts in the land,	
Hun kal hom y ala ah canan çus		One to embrace the waters of the	
		guardian of sand,	
Ah canan kaknab		The guardian of the sea,	
Ah uaymil		The Uaymil	
Bay ah emal		And the Emal alike.	
Ox much hom y ala	4895	Three waterspouts	
T an kaknab u tz'oc katun		Were on the sea at the end of the	
		<i>katun</i> .	
Bay y ili u beltabal		Thus is seen the achievement	
T u kuchul u uetz' katun e		Of the coming of the fold of the	
		<i>katun</i> .	
Ti x u cham ua pan i		And that was the deed of the Flags.	
Ti jx u hitz'	4900	And that was the end	
U tza ciçin i		Of the removal of the devil,	
Antacristo i*		The Antichrist.	
Lom		Stabbing	
Tok tza		And knives were removed.	
Hoc	4905	Uprooting	
Mucuc tza		And burial were removed.	
Tz'on		Shot	
Bacal tza		And shells were removed.	

4879. Hanging Rabbits and Foxes were other peasant guerrilla companies. They were to be cured by baptism, which the lords of the Xiu found very advantageous. It is not accidental that we move on to a mention of taxation (line 4885).

4902. For the devil and Antichrist, read Itza.

Cum
 Tan t
 Puch'
 Tun t
 U hitz'it
 Tan y
 U kamic
 Çeçar
 Che
 (95)
 Cimil
 T u n
 Ocnak u
 Ma ya
 Okom b
 Y ete
 T u ho c
 T u h
 Alan y it
 Tz'itz
 Tali
 Ti bal
 Ti ix y u
 Ti naa
 Nacom i
 U me
 Ti jx y u

 Santo
 Y etel S
 Y ete
 U tz'o ç
 U tz'
 He ix bil

 Noh l
 Likom d
 Y ete
 Ti batee
 U cha
 Hun aha
 Katun
 Kakal
 Moço

4944.
 sion but
 the provi

the governors
 ent of the
 ; the faces
 is,
 al
 s,
 the burden of
 ent of the tax
 m heaven,
 orld.
 le land,
 rs of the
 a,
 end of the
 nent
 old of the
 the Flags.
 ril,
 ved.
 ed.
 ed.
 nies. They
 ageous.

Cum
 Tan tza
 Puch'
 Tun tza
 U hitz'ibte katun lae
 Tan y ol che
 U kamic u matan
 Çeçar Augusto
 Che
 (95) Tun
 Cimil
 T u men uih
 Ocnak u chil
 Ma ya cimlal
 Okom bul cum
 Y etel y ax cach
 T u ho can be
 T u ho can heleb
 Alan y itz'inil
 Tz'itz'i mehen
 Tali
 Ti bal cah ij
 Ti ix y ulel ahau
 Ti naatal nat ti
 Nacom u u ich
 U mehen ku
 Ti jx y ulel obispo i
 Santo quigüion u kaba
 Y etel Saul u kat ok olal
 Y etel christianoil
 U tz'o çitz'il
 U tz'oc numçah ya ti bal cah
 He ix bin tz'occebal u thanil e
 Noh katun
 Likom chan
 Y etel ho tzuc chakan*
 Ti bateel
 U chan katun
 Hun ahau
 Katun
 Kakal
 Moçon' chac u cuch katun

Darkness
 4910 And ashes were removed.
 Mashing
 And stoning were removed.
 The *katun* was to be ended.
 And among the trees
 4915 There took his request
 Caesar Augustus.
 Sticks
 And stones,
 Death
 4920 From hunger,
 Rape occurring,
 And painless death.
 Departed is the bean gourd
 And the green fly
 4925 From the gate of the four crossroads,
 From the gate of the four changers.
 Born are the younger brothers.
 The lusting heirs
 Are come
 4930 Into the world,
 And that will be the arrival of the lord
 Who will riddle him,
 A captain person,
 A son of God.
 4935 And that will be the arrival of the
 bishop,
 The Holy Inquisition by name.
 And Saül, who wants religion
 And Christianity.
 He ends lust
 4940 And ends the suffering of pain on
 earth.
 And that will be the ending of words:
 The great war.
 Risen will be the Chan
 And the Tihosuco plain,
 4945 Who will fight
 The Chan War
 Of the 1 Ahau
Katun.
 Fires
 4950 And hurricane rains are the burden
 of the *katun*.

4944. Roys 1967: 157, note 9 imports five divisions from Merida for the occasion but I believe [Ti] Ho Tzuc 'in five divisions' is Tihosuco. Chakan is indeed the province of Merida, but it is also 'plain' in general.

Tzolen chaccil		Count the rain priests	
Thul		And Rabbits.	
Caan chaccil		The four rain priests	
U lobil katun*		Are the evil of the <i>katun</i> .	
Hun ch'ic	4955	A silence	
Xulil y ocçah		Finally fell.	
Ti jx y emel u cuch tza i		And that brought down the burden of removal,	
		Which was the descent of tribute.	
Ti y emel patan i		And that was the demand	
Ti jx u katabal		For titles,	
Prouar i	4960	And the seven armspans of the navel of the earth,	
Y etel uuc çap y ibnel cab*		Which greatly fortified the <i>Dios</i> party.	
Ti u hach chichtal u tanlabal		It wound up that he got his money,	
Dios i		The Antichrist.	
U tz'oc u kamic u takin		He didn't come,	
Antachristo		The Antichrist:	
Ma tal i	4965	It was not desired by our Father	
Antacrsto		Who is God.	
Ma u kat ca yumil		That war was not forgiven here	
Ti Dios i	4970	In this country,	
Ma u satal katun lae		Because we are native born	
Uay tac petenil		To this country.	
T u men ca sihnalil*		That is the origin of this	
Lay peten lae		Antichristianity:	
He u chun lay antachristoil lae		Avarice.	
		And that is (because) people are not	
Tz'utul tz'uttil	4975	nearly gods:	
He ix ma tac kul uinicob e		They are not free to leave.	
		There is no desire	
Minan toc lukçah		Or design for the blood of fellow	
Minan çitz'il		humans	
Y etel pachil t u kikel u lak uinic		To force suffering,	
T u muk ah num ya		To force us to eat each other.	
T u muk c u hanal hun hun tul	4980	Oh, that will happen	
He c u talel e		The five maskers	
Ho p'el u ich che			

4954. That is, the "orthodox" Xiu confronted the double threat of the Itza rain priests and the peasant Rabbit company. They were not so Christian that they had ceased to fear the power of the Chacs to bring down fire storms.

4961. The Spanish tribute was the mainstay of the Christianized Maya, especially when it was based on land surveys. I think the *uuc çap y ibnel cab* are 'the seven armspans of the navel of the earth': seven measures of the productive land, measured for tax purposes.

4971. Presumably the pagan Maya accused the Christianized ones of being foreign born.

Ti u han
Ah be
Be la tur
T u y
Ix pom
Kak u

Likom k
Oxlah

4983.
Earth Lic
4984.
4990.
late eight
(line 506:
See notes

34.

(103) He

Alabe
Yx ma y
Yx m
He ix lay

Bay u
Ah kan t
Ti tun
Licil-u ta
Y oco
Tan cah
Mayaj
Ualac uil
Ualac
Ahom c
Hun x
Hun chil
Hun r

4994.
4998.

Ti u hannah cab coh i*

Ah ben tena*

Be la tun ya

T u y ol u yumil caan

lx pom

Kak u tz'oc u than katun

Likom katun *Habana*

Oxlahun bak chem lae.*

Who ate the Earth Lions:

The missionaries.

4985 Wherefore it is pain

To the heart of the Father of Heaven,

And incense

And fire that end the word of the

katun.

Raised is the War of Havana,

4990 Of the thirteen-sail ships.

4983. Seemingly a reference to a specific attack on the Kinkajous or Pottos (the Earth Lions) by five masked Itza.

4984. See note 4867.

4990. So far as I can determine, ships of thirteen sails were not built before the late eighteenth-century frigates. I believe this reference, the War of Havana, Saúl (line 5063), and Antonio Martínez (line 5064) are anachronisms in this passage. See notes 6323, 6370, and Ward 1973.

34. Antonio Martínez

(103) He thanob ti utzcinnahan lae

Alabebal u xicinn ob

Yx ma yumob

Yx ma nailob lae*

He ix lay than lae bin tacuntabac

Bay u tacuntabal

Ah kan thixal

Ti tun e*

Licil u talel

Y ocol *christianoil*

Tan cah

Mayapan t u chi ch'een ytza

Ualac uil *suyua*

Ualac uil ytza

Ahom cab hun lakin

Hun xaman

Hun chikin

Hun nohol

These are the words that have been perfected

To be carried to the ears

Of both the fatherless

And the motherless.

4995 And these are the words that will become secret.

Thus will be made secret

Him of the yellow pectoral

At this time.

Since he is coming

5000 To bring in Christianity

To the capital

And cycle city at Chichen Itza,

To raise perhaps the Zuyua,

To raise perhaps the Itza.

5005 Wakened is the earth of one east,

One north,

One west,

One south.

4994. That is, this text is addressed to the peasants.

4998. Announcing an underground lord.

Tali	Come	
T u chi D'. citbil	5010 Before the face of God the remote.	
Lay c u tzolic ob	There they will be placed in order,	
Ho tul ah kinob	The five sun priests	
Ah kulem	By the officials,	
Ah kinob	The sun priests	
Kuchi ob	5015 Who appear	
T u tan D'.	Before God.	
Lay tzol ob u cuch num ya	These are their counts of the burden of suffering	
Ca tal y ocol <i>christianoil</i> lae	When they came to enter Christianity.	
Heklay u kaba ob	The account of their names	
Tz'iban ob lae	5020 That are written is:	
Chilam Balam*	(i) Spokesman of the Jaguar,	
Noh saçerdote	The great priest,	
Na puc tun	(ii) Puc Tun,	
Noh saçerdote	The great priest,	
N ahau pech	5025 (iii)-Ahau Pech,	
Noh saçerdote	The great priest,	
Ah kuil chel	(iv) Kauil Ch'el,	
Noh saçerdote	The great priest,	
Na tzin yabun chan	(v) Tzin Yabun the Younger,	
Noh saçerdote	5030 The great priest.	
U chinam <i>Dios</i> cotz'lic u pach	The city of God will roll on its back	
Tan suhuy luum	Before the virgin land	
Lay tzoli ob	That they count	
U cuch num ya	As the burden of suffering	
T u tan ca yumil	5035 Before our Father	
Ti D'.	Who is God.	
Talel tun u cah y ocol <i>christianoil</i> lae	Coming then is the beginning of Christianization,	
Xe kik	Blood vomit,	
Ma ya cimlal	Painless death,	
Kin tun y aabil	5040 Calendar round,	
Sakil haabil	Locust years,	
(104) Yx pom kakil	And incense fever,	
U cuch num ya	The burden of suffering,	
U tza ciçin	The removal of the devil.	
Sac petahom canal	5045 White circled will be the heavens,	
Elom ti cab	Burned will be the land	
Ychil ox ahau katun	In <i>katun</i> 3 Ahau,	
Hun ahau katun	And <i>katun</i> 1 Ahau,	
U lobil ox tz'it	The evil third part	
Katun*	5050 Of the <i>katun</i> .	

5021. The prophets are numbered in the MS. Xopan Nahuat is omitted.

5050. A redundant reference to 3 Ahau.

Bay tz'

Y et

Tali

T u

Caan

Y et

Ca t u

Tz'il

T u kin

Noh

Lahun

Ych

Ti ca b

Y et

U ch'at

U m

Ahan

Tun

Bay tz'

T u

Noh ah

Prop

Chilam

Y et

Amen

Jesus

5061

the one

12

35.

(95) L

(96) S

Lahcabi

U ua

Bay tz'ibanil t u menel *euangelistas*

Y etel *propeta* balam

Tali

T u chi u yumil

Caan

Y etel luum

Ca t u kulem

Tz'ibtah ob ah kinob

T u kinil

Noh kin tun y aabil

Lahun chable*

Ych *christianoil*

Ti ca bin uluc *Saul*

Y etel *Dn. Ando martines*

U ch'ab u toh y al

U mehen ob

Ahan

Tun cab e

Bay tz'ibanil

T u y almah thanil

Noh ah kin

Propeta

Chilam Balam

Y etel ti cal man ben

Amen

Jesus.

Thus it has been written by the
Evangelists

And the prophet Jaguar,

Who has come

Before the Father

5055 Of heaven

And earth.

Then will be the lamentation

That the sun priests have written

At the time

5060 Of the great calendar round

Of Lahun Chable

In Christianity.

Who then will be arriving is Saúl

And Don Antonio Martínez

5065 To create the rights of the born

And engendered children.

Awakened

Is the *tun* of the land.

Thus it is written

5070 In the commandments

Of the great sun priest

And prophet

Spokesman of the Jaguar,

And he is the voice that will come

to pass.

5075 Amen.

Jesus.

5061. Chable seated 10 Ahau in 1677. The calendar round referred to here is the one beginning in 1685.

12 Ahau

35. Valladolid Resurgent

(95) *Lahca ahau*

(96) *Segundo*

Lahcabil ahau katun

U uaxac tz'it katun c u xocol*

(95) 12 Ahau

(96) *Segundo*

Katun 12 Ahau

Was the eighth part of the *katun* to
be counted.

(note 5078 on following page)

Yax Chuen, lord of Valladolid (1658–1677). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, The Princeton University Library. The gift of Robert Garrett.



Sac lah tun*

U hetz' katun

Yaxal chuen u u ich buleu caan*

Chac u u ich ti y ahaulil hokon

Y an t u caanil kin

Y an t u caannil akab

Hunnac ah mennil

Hunnac ah ytz'atil

Y ani cici hal ach uinicil

Cici ba tabil

Y anni cici olal

U than bal cah tuçinil i

Bin ayikalac

Ah num ya uinic i

Uahal uah

U than katun i

Valladolid

5080 Was the seat of the *katun*.

Yaxal Chuen was the face of the Great Serpent.

The rain priest was the face in the lordship that appeared.

There was a day on high,

There was a night on high

5085 To unite the shamans,

To unite the sorcerers.

There were righteous governors, Righteous chiefs.

There was righteousness

5090 In the speech of the sinful world.

They will be enriched,

The suffering people.

Food and more food

Is the word of the *katun*:

5078. A late note preceding the text says *segundo*. Both it and the text are wrong: this is the seventh *katun*. The illustration bears the late notations 7 and 1660. The *katun* began in 1658.

5079. Literally 'white flat stone': the Plaza or capital, but in this case I believe it does refer to Valladolid rather than to Mayapan or Merida.

5081. I read Bolon Can 'great snake' and believe it to be a synonym for Ahau Can, an alternative title of the Jaguar Priest.

Ayikal i

Bal t

Y utzil

Y ut

Bin me

Y ich

Ych luu

Tuni

Ti chris

Y et

Minan t

Y et

Ti tun t

Ti y

Y etel t

Y et

Ti can k

Ti jx

Ua la lic

Hekl

He lay t

Hele

He ix b

Conl

Ufel u t

Tij c

Uuc uit

Chac

Y etel t

Pa ho

T u uuc

(...

5106

"good."

1654 th

guerrill:

civil ma

5122

5126

Ayikal hab
 Bal bahal i xan
 Y utzil katun
 Y utzil ix chaccob
 Bin meyahnac ob i
 Y ich ti jx u hokol
 Ych luumil
 Tunich
 Ti *christianoil* i
 Y et tal *Dios* i
 Minan tun ch'amac
 Y etel ah cab coh ti chibal i*
 Ti tun u katal ok olal
 Ti y ah belnalil cahhob i
 Y etel u *puertail* takin
 Y etel u *cassamientoil* cah

 Ti can kas na
 Ti jx u katabal ca xanab
 Ua la licil ca *christianoil*
 Heklay ti ahi cab tac menel
 He lay ca ualic
 Hele lae
 He ix bin tz'ocbal nicte katun lae

 Conbil bin tz'ocbal
 Ulel u than y ahaulil i
 Tij ca bin uluc
 Uuc uitzil
 Chac ek*
 Y etel tupem caan e
 Pa hool chacc e
 T u uuc lahun tunn e:
 (. . . .)*

5095 Rich years
 And propertied also.
 A good *katun*
 And good rain priests.
 They will be industrious
 5100 And fruit will appear
 In the lands
 And rocks
 In Christianity
 With the coming of God.
 5105 There are then no Foxes
 And Earth Lions in office.
 Then he will ask for religion
 In the officials of the towns,
 And their doors will be golden,
 5110 And the marriage registry of the
 town
 Will be in the fourfold house.
 And he will ask for our sandals
 If that is like our Christianity.
 Relating that it has dawned for us—
 5115 That is our rise
 Today.
 And that will be the end of the Flower
katun:
 Selling will be ended.
 Come is the word of the lordship.
 5120 Who are coming then
 Are Uuc Uitzil
 And Chac Ek.
 And in the full sky
 Appear the chief rain gods
 5125 On the seventeenth *tun*
 (Of the *katun*) . . .

5106. This is the only *katun* in the series that is bluntly admitted to be "good." As Roys 1967: 158, note 14 observes, the end of the five-year famine of 1654 through 1658 had something to do with this, but the temporary ending of guerrilla warfare was part of it too. Christianity is reimposed and Christian and civil marriages are reinstituted, along with the sumptuary laws.

5122. Presumably these are the designated lords of the following *katun*.

5126. Line missing.

10 Ahau

36. Chable

Lahun Chan, lord of Chable
(1677–1697). From the Garrett Col-
lection of Manuscripts in Middle
American Languages, The Princeton
University Library. The gift of
Robert Garrett.



(97) Tercero

Lahun ahau katun*
Chable u hetz' katun
Ti y ulel u cahalob

Can uat hom
U kax e cheob
Y okol ob y ahaulil cabb ob
Elom tz'itz'
Elom çus chi kak

Elom u ku ch'ich
Uakom chal tun*

(97) Tercero

In katun 10 Ahau
Chable was the seat of the katun.
That will be the arrival of their
resident,
5130 The four priest Uat Hom,
To tie the sticks
Over the lordships of the lands.
Burned will be the hoof,
Burned will be the sand at the edge
of the sea,
5135 Burned will be the god of birds.
Burst will be the cistern.

5127. The text is preceded by the notation *tercero* and the illustration bears
late notes 8 and 1680. This was the eighth *katun* but it began in 1677.

5136. I agree with Roys 1967: 159, note 11 that this is a reference to drought.

Kin tul
U ci
U than
Ti L
Y etel
U y
Ma ma
Ca y
Ti D'
D' i
U yum
Y ei
Ma ma
Bin
Ti bal
Bin
Christie
Pulic
Ca u u
T u
Ma ma
Lay

Chabil
kinob l
U ti

5138
Kan), 1
5150

8 A

37.

(63) La
Ulci
De mil
Bay
Lay u t
Ca t

Kin tun y abil	The calendar round
U cuch katunn i*	Is the burden of the <i>katun</i> .
U than ca yumil	The Word of our Father
Ti Dios citbil	5140 Who is God the remote,
Y etel u colel caan	And the wife of heaven
U ye katun	Is the point of the <i>katun</i> .
Ma mac bin hausic u than	No one will terminate the Word
Ca yumil	Of our Father
Ti D'.	5145 Who is God the remote,
D'. mehenbil	God Made Son,
U yumil caan	The Father of heaven
Y etel luum lae	And earth.
Ma manom i	It will not be passed;
Bin uchuc t u cal	5150 It will be thought about
Ti bal cahil tuçinil	In the world of sin.
Bin uluc santoil	There will arrive
Christiano	A Christian saint
Pulic u kin	To bear his day,
Ca u uas kes u ba ob ah nunob	5155 While the stutterers return each other
T u lobil u bel ob*	To the evil of their ways.
Ma mac bin hausic	No one will end it.
Lay tun kin tun y aabil	This is the <i>tun</i> of the calendar
	round,
Chabil u than y okol ob maya ah	Fulfilling its word over the Mayan sun
kinob lae	priests.
U than Dios.	5160 This is the Word of God.

5138. A new calendar round began in the eighth year of this *katun*, in 1685 (1 Kan). The "word of the *katun*" is nonetheless pro-Christian.

5156. The Itza return to paganism. Roys 1967: 160 has them turning from it.

8 Ahau

37. The Annals of Tixkokob

(63) Lay u kaba	This is the name of the year
Ulci tz'ulob lae	When the foreigners arrived:
De mil cinnientos i dies y nueve años	Fifteen nineteen,
Bay lae 1519	Hence it was 1519 V (1546 M).
Lay u habil y an	5165 That was the year it was
Ca uli tz'uiob	When the foreigners arrived

f the *katun*.
of their
om,
the lands.
nd at the edge
of birds.
ern.
on bears
drought.

Uay	Here	
Tac cahal	Near the towns	
C oon	Of us	
Ah ytza	5170 Itza,	
Uay	Here	
Ti luum	In the land	
Yucal peten	Of the Neck Country,	
Yucatan	Yucatan	
T u than maya	5175 In the Mayan language	
Ah ytzaob lae	Of the Itzas.	
Bay y alci yax adelantado	So, it is said, the first <i>adelantado</i> ,	
Dn. Juan de Montejo y oklal	Don Juan de Montejo, believed.	
Bay alabci ti	This was said of him	
T u men Dn. lorenzo chable	5180 By Don Lorenzo Chable,	
U y ube lay concixtador t ix	Who may have heard this conqueror in	
kokob e	Tixkokob.	
U kaman ix tz'ulob	And he received the foreigners	
T u u olol	Into his heart	
U pucçikal	Of hearts.	
He u chun u kabatic	5185 That was the start of his being named	
Dn. lorenzo chableil e	Don Lorenzo Chable,	
Y oklal u tz'aci kakbil bak	Since he prepared roast meat	
U hante	To serve	
Tz'ulob	To the foreigners	
Y etel capitan ob t u lacal	5190 And all the captains.	
Y an ix u mehen	And he had a son:	
Dn. Martin Chable u kaba xan	Don Martin Chable is his name too.	
He u habil c u ximbal	This was the year that was current	
Ca hop'i	When it began.	
U ch'aic u ba tz'ulob	5195 The foreigners (then) thinned	
	(themselves) out	
U ti al u chucic ob	Because they were through	
Uay	Here	
Yucal peten lae	In the Neck Country.	
U y oheltah ix ah kin	And the sun priest was informed,	
Ah bouat	5200 The prophet	
Ah xupan	Xopan (Nahuatl)	
U kaba	By name.	
Occi	Then came	
Christianoil t oon D°. 1519 a'.	Christianity to us in 1519 V (1546 M).	
Etz'lahci	5205 Founded	
Ku na ti hoo D°. 1540 a'.	Was the god house in Merida in	
	1540 V (1563 M).	

Ca tz'o
Ku n

Uchci
Xe k
Hop'ci
Cimi
(64) U
Ho p

D°. 165
D°. 1

D°. 165
D°. 1

Ca tz'o
Uiih

Chac yk
Padre
años

Uchci
Kin t

Uchci
X u s

5224.
gan on t

5206. The cathedral was begun in 1542-43 [Mediz Bolio 1930: 37, note 72] and was completed in 1598 (Hunt 1974: 240).

delantado,
y believed.

ble,
is conqueror in

foreigners

s being named
,
meat

s his name too.
was current

inned

rough

informed,

1519 V (1546

Merida in

note 72] and

Ca tz'oc i
Ku na ti hoo D°. 1599 a'.

Uchci
Xe kik
Hop'ci
Cimil t oon D°. 1648 años
(64) U uihi cimil
Ho p'el hab D°. 1650 años

D°. 1651 a'.
D°. 1652 a'.
D°. 1653 a'.
D°. 1654 a'.
Ca tz'oci
Uiih lae
Chac ykal ti cimi
Padre Agustin Gomes D°. 1661
años

Uchci
Kin tun y abil D°. 1669 años*

Uchci
X u san kak D°. 1692 años.

Completed
Was the god house in Merida in
1599 V (1604 M).

5210 There occurred
Blood vomit
And there began
Death for us in 1648 V (1652 M).
Famine
Killed for five years: 1650 V (1654
M).

5215 1651 V (1655 M),
1652 V (1656 M),
1653 V (1657 M),
1654 V (1658 M).

Then ended
5220 The famine.
It was a hurricane that killed
Father Agustín Gómez in 1661 V
(1665 M).

There occurred
The calendar round in 1669 V (1677
M).

5225 There occurred
Fever rash in 1692 V (1709 M).

5224. As above, this should be corrected to 1677, but it was the *katun* that began on that date; the calendar round began in 1685.

6 Ahau

4 Ahau

38. The Ending of Tribute at Chichen Itza

(73) Uuc y ab nal u hetz' katun*	Teabo was seat of the <i>katun</i>
Ti can ahau katun	In <i>katun</i> 4 Ahau.
T u chi ch'een	At Chichen
Uuc y ab nal u hetz'	5230 Teabo was its seat;
Ti nohol	In the south
Ah ba cocol	It was the lord of Bacalar.
Macan u u ich	Covered was its face;
Ci man u u ich	Death was its face,
Y okol y aal	5235 Over the water,
Y okol uaah	Over the food.
Chac kitan	Chac Kitan
Na hom	And Tan Hom
U pop	Were its mat,
Y etel u tz'aam	5240 Its throne.
Xe kik	Blood vomit
U cuch	Was its burden.
T u kin y an çaçac uil u y ex	At the time bright white moon was its pants;
Çaçac uil u nak	Bright white moon was its clothes.
Ix ma chan men uah	5245 And seized work food
U uah katun	Was the food of the <i>katun</i> .
Hulom kuk	Come will be the quetzal;
Hulom yaxum	Come will be the blue bird;
Hulom kaxte	Come will be the tying;
Hulom mut e	5250 Come will be the news;
Hulom tzimin	Come will be the horse
Mucuc	To suppress
Patan	The tribute
Ti chi ch'een lae.	At Chichen.

5227. There being no text for 6 Ahau in the Chumayel, we move on to 4 Ahau, which was seated at Teabo, Bacalar, Chac Kitan, and Tan Hom, according to this text. There was a plague (line 5241); the sumptuary laws were enforced (line 5244); there was forced labor (line 5245); and the tribute of Chichen Itza was suppressed (line 5252).

(21) Ka
T u y
D°. 151:
A:
Tz'oci
Lay l:
Hopci
Hooi
D°. 151:
A:
Sn. Fran
Etz'la
Sn. tiage
Ti He
D°. 151:
Etz'la
Chumuc
Ygles.
T u hab.
D°. 1.
U ychil l
U tzc
365
U tzolar
U tzc
haab
Ca tac h
U tzc
haab
U tzolar
T u y
(22) U t
T u c
hab L
He yx k
Uuc p
semai

5274.
Merida,
the cath

39. Calendrical Notes

- (21) Katun
 T u yax chun buluc ahau
 D°. 1513
 A°. 1
 Tz'oci
 Lay lae
 Hopci
 Hooil
 D°. 1519
 A°. 1
Sn. Fran.^{co}
 Etz'layci
Sn. tiago
 Ti Hoo
 D°. 1519
 Etz'lahci
 Chumuc ca hoo
Yglesia mayor
 T u habil
 D°. 1540*
 U ychil haab dose 12
 U tzol kin ychil hun p'el hab D°. 365
 U tzolan akab hun p'el hab D°. 365
 U tzolan semana ychil hun p'el haab D°. 52
 Ca tac hun p'el kin
 U tzolan Domingo ychil hun p'el haab D°. 53
 U tzolan kin ychil uac p'el u
 T u yax chun D°. 181
 (22) U tzolan kin ychil uac p'el u
 T u catz'ic t u tulistal hun p'el hab D°. 184
 He yx kin c u xocic semana lae
 Uuc p'el kin ychil hun p'el semana
- 5255 The *katun*
 First began on 11 Ahau
 A.D. 1513 V (1540 M)
 Years.
 It ended
 5260 And that was that.
 It began
 At Merida.
 A.D. 1519 V (1546 M)
 Years:
 5265 Saint Francis
 Was established
 At Saint James
 In Merida
 A.D. 1519 V (1546 M).
 5270 There was established
 In the middle of the city of Merida
 The main church
 In the year
 A.D. 1540 V (1563 M).
 5275 Months in the year: twelve (12).
 The count of days in a year: 365.
 The count of nights in a year: 365.
 The count of weeks in a year: 52.
 Then follows one day.
 5280 The count of Sundays in a year: 53.
 The count of days in six months
 From the very beginning: 181.
 The count of days in the six months
 That are left to count to return to
 one year: 184.
 5285 And these are the days counted in one
 week:
 Seven days in one week.

5274. The founding of the convent of Saint Francis in Santiago, a section of Merida, may in fact date to 1546 and the corrected date of 1563 for the founding of the cathedral is probably valid.

n Itza

un

.ar.

moon was its

s its clothes.

tun.

bird;

s;

to 4 Ahau,
 ig to this
 (line
 a was sup-

U cuentail lay xoc lae
 (23) U tzol uinal ychil hun p'el
 hab lae
 Poop—16 julio*
 Uoo—5 agosto
 Sip—25 agosto
 Çotz'—14 septiembre
 Çec—4 octubre
 Xul—24 octubre
 Ti lic y alancal cay i
 Tze' yax kin—13 nob.
 Ti c u uatz'al nal i
 Mol—3 diziembre
 Ch'een—23 diziembre
 Yaax—12 henero
 U kin hoch utz
 Sac—1 febrero
 Licil u lolancal çacob
 Ceeh—21 febrero
 Mac—13 marzo
 Licil y alancal aac
 Kan kin—2 abril
 Muan—22 abril

Glyphs for the Mayan months
 (1737). From the Garrett Collection
 of Manuscripts in Middle American
 Languages, The Princeton University
 Library. The gift of Robert Garrett.

The count of one cycle is this,
 The count of uinals in one year is
 this:
 Pop—16 July,
 5290 Uo—5 August,
 Zip—25 August,
 Zetz'—14 September,
 Tzec—4 October,
 Xul—24 October,
 5295 Which is when the fish are spawning.
 Little Yaxkin—13 November,
 Which is the bending of the corn ears.
 Mol—3 December,
 Ch'en—23 December,
 5300 Yax—12 January,
 The time the harvest is good.
 Zac—1 February,
 Since it is the blooming of the whites.
 Ceh—21 February,
 5305 Mac—13 March,
 As it is the mating of turtles.
 Kankin—2 April,
 Muan—22 April,



5289. The list of the uinals is accompanied by crudely drawn glyphs.

Lic u n
 U c:
 Paax—
 Kay
 Cumk:
 U u:

24

40.

(73) M
 Zaci
 Maya f
 U h
 Ti cabi
 Kati
 Oclis t
 Kati
 Emom
 Emc
 Ma ya
 Ox

Çac pe

Ca t
 Kaxan
 Bulu

531:
 ayijad
 Micael
 531:
 531:
 531:
 Vallad
 calend
 531:
 532:
 tz'eki!
 533:
 ciated

this,
one year is

Lic u mumtal u nak
U caanil kin i
Paax—12 *mayo*
Kayab—1 *junio*
Cumku—21 *junio*
U uayayab ho p'el kin.*

As it is the rainy period,
5310 The time of hiding the sky.
Pax—12 May,
Kayab—1 June,
Cumku—21 June,
The month of the *Uayeb*s five days.

ire spawning.
ember,
the corn ears.

2 Ahau

40. Valladolid

good.

of the whites.

turtles.

(73) May lu*
Zaci*
Maya patan*
U hetz' katun*
Ti cabil ahau
Katun
Oclis t u ba
Katun
Emom çum
Emom çaban
Ma ya cimlal
Ox mul tun tzekil*

Çac pet ay uinicil

Ca tali
Kaxan u cuch
Buluc ch'aab tan*

5315 The cycle seat
Was Valladolid,
And the seat of tribute
Was the seat of the *katun*
In the 2 Ahau
5320 *Katun*.
They were interpenetrated,
The *katuns*.
Descended will be the rope,
Descended will be poison,
5325 And painless death
At the three stone mounds of
sacrifice.
The North priest was of Pat Ay's
people,
When they came
Tied was the burden
5330 Of 11 Ch'ab Tan.

5314. The following page of the MS bears the notation *Chumayel 28 zihic ayijada Micaela Castañeda* 'Chumayel, the 28th was born the goddaughter, Micaela Castañeda'. This is in a different hand and is obviously late.

5315. I read *may cu* as 'cycle seat'.

5316. Zac I 'white sparrow hawk' is Valladolid.

5317. *Maya patan* 'cycle water (of) tribute' is obviously here used as a title for Valladolid, which is now seat of the cycle by virtue of its introduction of the new calendar of twenty-four-year *katuns* in 1752.

5318. And Valladolid seated the *katun* too.

5326. Roys 1967: 134, note 2 reads this as 'three piles of skulls'. I read it as *tz'ekil* 'massacre'. It could also be *tz'ecil* 'plastering'.

5330. Buluc Ch'ab Tan '11 grabs half' appears to have been a priestly title associated with the *lah'in tun* or mid-*katun* ceremonies.



Kan	The South priest
Y opol yk	Was Op Ik.
Oxil uah	Bamboo food
U uah cabil ahau	Was the food of 2 Ahau.
Tan coxhom uiih i	5335 It was halfway famine;
Tan coxhom uah i	It was halfway feast.
Lay u cuch	That was the burden
Ah cabil ahau katun lae.	Of <i>katun</i> 2 Ahau.

41. The Sevenfold Creation

I and II

(48) *Dominus**
Vobiscum
 U lahci u than ob
 U kail
 Ti minan caan
 Y etel luum
 Tij ca çih
 T an homlah cabil
 Ti minan caan
 Y etel luum
 Ox amay tun *grasia uchci**

 U patc i
 U kuil
 Ah tepal e
 Ti minan caan c uchi e
 Ti ca çih i
 Uuc te tun
 Uuc p'el katun
 Ch'uyan t u y ol yk uuc te tete

 Ci bin ca pecn i
 Uuc p'el ix u *grasiail xan*
 Uuc tul ix u *santoil xan**
 A max y ic lo uchc i
 U çihil

I and II

"The Lord
 5340 Be with you,"
 Was the ending of the words
 Of the sermon
 When there was no heaven
 And earth.
 5345 Then when it was born,
 The earth came down,
 When there was no heaven
 And earth.
 The three square stones of grace came
 about
 5350 And there was shaped
 The deity
 And ruler,
 For no heaven had been made.
 Then when there was born
 5355 The seventh *tun*
 Of the seventh *katun*,
 It was hung on the spirit of breath, the
 seventh choice.
 When we shall just be aware of it.
 Seven also are its graces as well.
 5360 And seven are its saints also.
 Then it may not be going to happen,
 His birth,

5339. See the introduction for an analysis of this chapter.

5349. Presumably the Trinity, equated with three stone pyramids.

5360. The Maya were mightily impressed with the Spanish seven-day week, which they interpreted as a set of yearbearers associated with the planets, the sun, and the moon. No real date is implied here, but rather a mystic moment in time.

Ti hun ti
 Hun p
 Uche i
 U pic
 Ti minan
 C uch
 May to
 U D's
 Tij li y ar
 T u hi
 Ti minan
 Y ete
 Ca buk i
 T u tz
 Ti ma uc
 Ti hur
 Y an ij
 U t uy
 Adeu
 Ti par
 Uchci u
 Ca cal
 Ca ix xit
 T u ca

 Ca kuch
 T u ca
 Al pilcon
 U ang
 Lukul t u

 T u ca
 Ti ma m
 Y ana
 Ca u kan
 T u hi
 (49) Ca
 U luki

5375.
 mains op
 5382.
 and refer
 altogethe
 could als
 the First
 5389.

Ti hun tun g°.
 Hun picib g°.e
 Uchc i
 U picil akab
 Ti minan D'.
 C uchi e
 May to u kamab
 U D'.sil c uchi e
 Tij li y an ychil g°. t u ba
 T u hunal ychil akbil
 Ti minan caan
 Y etel luum
 Ca buk i*
 T u tz'oc katun
 Ti ma uchuc çihil
 Ti hun te katun
 Y an ij
 U t uy ij
 Adeu
 Ti para mij*
 Uchci u kuil
 Ca cal u kij
 Ca ix xibn i
 T u ca picib tun g°.

Ca kuch i
 T u ca p'el katun
 Al pilcon u kaba*
 U angelil çihc i
 Lukul t u cibah u ca p'el g°.

T u ca p'el u picil akab
 Ti ma mac
 Y anac c uchi e
 Ca u kamah u kuil t u ba
 T u hunal
 (49) Ca tali
 U lukul

In one *tun* of grace
 Or a thousand graces.
 5365 There were
 Thousands of nights
 That no God
 Occurred.
 For that cycle it was just canceled,
 5370 The occurrence of godhood.
 There he was in grace by himself,
 Alone in the darkness,
 For there was no heaven
 And earth.
 5375 Two years
 To the end of the *katun*,
 For the birth was not to occur
 In the first *katun*.
 He was there
 5380 And listened.
 "Farewell to you
 From me"
 Occurred,
 And the deity then departed.
 5385 And then he was made man,
 In the second thousand *tuns* of
 grace.
 Then he appeared
 In the second *katun*.
 Woman Born Baby was the name
 5390 Of the angel spirit that was born.
 Departing, he wanted a second grace
 period,
 A second thousand nights,
 Because there was no one
 Who was to be there.
 5395 Then he took his divinity to himself
 Alone
 When he came
 And departed.

5375. Roys 1967: 107, note 10 saw this as *buki* but translates it as *luki*. It remains opaque.

5382. Roys 1967: 107, note 11 reads *u tuy ij* (line 5380) as 'long locks of hair' and refers it to cornsilk. He leaves *adeu ti paramii* untranslated, for which I can't altogether blame him. I read Sp. *adiós (a) tí para mí*, though the first element could also be Lat. *a deo* 'from God'. The passage is reminiscent of the farewell of the First Fathers in the Popol Vuh (Edmonson 1971: lines 707-1 ff.).

5389. Maya *al* 'woman's-child' plus Nah. *pil(li) con(etl)* 'noble child'.

O *firmar**
 Ci jx u than
 Ca u kamah u kuil t u ba
 T u hunal
 Ca lukij
 Ca bin i
 T u y ox picib tun g°.
*Alba congel**
 U kaba y *angelil* i
 Lay u y ox p'el g°.
 Xic en t u can picib tun g°.

 U can p'el uil akab
 Atea Ohe*
 Lay u kaba y *angelil* i
 Çihil u cibah u can p'el g°.
 Ca hop'i
 U thanic u ba
 T u hunal
 Bee ku e
 Ah tepal e
 Ma ba ca mac en
 T in hunal i ba ca
 C u than t u balanil
 T u kuil ychil g°.
 Xic en to
 Ci u than
 Ca bini t u ho picib tun g°.

 T u ho picib akab
 Çihil u cibah u ho p'el g°.
 T u ho p'el katun
 Caa ualhi
 U thanob u kuil
 Ca çih i
 Y *angelil* i
Degipto
 U kaba y *angelil* i ca ualhi

 Xic en it ba ca
 Mac en uil e
 Ku en ba ca
 Ah tepal en i ba ca

"Oh, agree!"
 5400 Said his word too,
 When he took his divinity to himself
 Alone.
 Then he departed.
 Then he went,
 5405 On the third thousand *tuns* of grace,
 Dawn of the four changers
 Was the name of the angel spirit.
 This was the third grace.
 Let me go to the fourth thousand *tuns*
 of grace,
 5410 The fourth moonlit night.
 Child Two Knowing:
 That is the name of the angel spirit.
 Being born he wanted the fourth grace,
 So he began
 5415 To speak to himself
 Alone.
 "Come then, God!
 Ruler!
 There is no one for me:
 5420 I am still alone,"
 He said inwardly
 To the deity in grace.
 "Let me go to that,"
 Said his word.
 5425 Then it came to the fifth thousand
tuns of grace,
 To the fifth thousand nights.
 Being born he wanted the fifth grace
 In the fifth *katun*.
 Then there returned
 5430 The words of the deity.
 Then was born
 The angel spirit.
 The Egyptian
 Was the name of the angel spirit
 that returned.
 5435 "Let me go (?) somewhere,
 Am I someone perhaps?
 Am I a god someplace?
 Am I a ruler someplace?"

Ca ix u tha
 T u hunal
 An inite dei

C u thar
 Ca u kamal
 T u hunal
 Ca bin i
 T u uac
 T u uac p'e
 T u uac
 Ku ex
 Ah tepa
 Nuc ex
 Yn than
 Ma ba ca n
 Y an ti l
 Çihil u ciba

Con la i

U kaba y
 T en ku
 Ku t ex
 Ku ex
 Nuc ex
 Yn thar
 Ma ba ca

Ma mac
 Ci uil u th
 Ti u ali
 Ta muk u
 Uuc te
 Cilmac ti
 Uuc te
 Uuc p'el
 Uuc p'
 U p'isil al
 Uuc pi
 A biento*
 Boca y

5399. Sp. *o afirmad* 'O, affirm ye'.

5406. Sp. *alba* 'dawn' plus Maya *can hel* 'four changers, yearbearers'.

5411. Maya *al ca ohel* 'child two knowing'.

5441. I

5456. I

5475. I

Ca ix u than u kuil t u ba
T u hunal
*An inite deis in**

C u than
Ca u kamah u kuil t u ba
T u hunal
Ca bin i
T u uac picib tun g°.
T u uac p'el u p'isil akab
T u uac te katun
Ku ex
Ah tepal ex e
Nuc ex
Yn than
Ma ba ca mac
Y an ti hunal i ba ca
Çihil u cibah uuc p'el g°.

*Con la mil**

U kaba y angelil
T en kul u ba
Ku t ex
Ku ex e
Nuc ex
Yn than
Ma ba ca mac y an

Ma mac nucic yn than
Ci uil u than
Ti u alic
Ta muk u sihgic
Uuc te g°.
Cilmac ti y ol çihic i
Uuc te katun
Uuc p'el çağil
Uuc p'el ix
U p'isil akab
Uuc picib
*A biento**
Boca yento

And so spoke the deity to himself
5440 Alone.
"But what if you are coming from the
gods?"
He said.
Then he took his divinity to himself
Alone.
5445 Then he went
In the sixth thousand *tuns* of grace,
In the sixth measure of nights,
In the sixth *katun*.
"You are a god!
5450 You are a ruler!
Believe
In my word!
Nowhere is there anyone
Who is still alone!"
5455 Being born he wanted the seventh
grace.
Child of a Thousand is the name of
the angel spirit.
"Me,
I am the deity himself.
God to you,
5460 Your God:
Believe
In my word.
Nowhere is there anyone,
No one at all, to believe in my
word,"
5465 Was just the sound of the word
That he spoke
While he was being born,
The seventh grace.
Happy in spirit was he born,
5470 The seventh *katun*,
The seventh illumination,
And the seventh
Of the measures of nights,
The seven thousands,
5475 By wind
And breath (of mouth).

5441. Maya (u)a 'if' and n(a) 'yet', Lat. *inite deis*, Maya in 'I'.

5456. Nah. *con(etl)* 'child', Sp. *la* 'the', *mil* 'thousand'.

5475. Sp. *a viento, boca viento, de la*.

De la çipil na*	"From the house of blame	
Defentenote*	(I am) defending thee.	
Sustina g*.*	Sustain Grace	
Trese mil i	5480 For thirteen thousand	
Y no cargo bende	And some twenty burdens."	
Yx hun tic	And one spread,	
Ca tic	Two spreads,	
Ox hun tic	Three and one spreads,	
Ox hun bacam u katunil	5485 Three and one assimilated was the	
	katun period,	
Ox uuc pic	Three times seven thousand,	
Ca ti ah cab	Then he was lord of the earth.	
Ti D'. citbil	He was the Holy God	
T u ba	By himself	
T u hunal	5490 Alone.	
(50) T u tunil	In the tun period	
Ox amay tun g*.	Of three square stones of grace	
Ah ci cab	The spokesman of the earth,	
Ti D'. citbil	The Holy God,	
U kaba	5495 Was the name	
U pectzil	Of his consciousness.	
Unidad	Unity	
Y etel D'. citbil	And Holy God—	
Lay	These	
U kaba	5500 Are his names.	
Hen abil ex	You are the divisions of the years;	
U katunil ex	You are the katun period.	
Ox tz'acab hun y aban	Three steps of one bush	
Uaan ca tal i	Stood when he came.	
Uuc pis tz'acab	5505 And seven measures of steps	
Ix t u camge	In the four changers.	
Can ten hi ix	And four times perhaps	
U yax than	Were his first words.	
Hun tz'alab ti akab	One step at night;	
Hun tz'alab ti canal	5510 One step in heaven.	
T en i	"I then	
U chun e	Am its beginning;	
T en i	I then	
Uil bin tz'ocebal e*	May be its ending."	
He x tun u can	5515 And this then is the teaching,	
Muc-hi u than e	Hidden perhaps in his word.	

5477. Maya *zipil na* 'house of blame'.5478. Sp. *defendiéndote*.5479–81. Lat. *sustina*, Sp. *gracia*, *trece mil y un cargo* (*veinte*). The last two words are conceptually Mayan: a load (*kal*) is twenty (*uinic*).

5514. Compare Revelation 21:6: "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end."

Datate
Ti k
T en i
Unic
T en ix
Unit
T en ix
T er
Anun i
Tale

III

Nil u*
U k
Lay u y
Lay i
Ti ma
U tu
T u ba
T u l
Ychil al
E tor
U kaba
Hun
O tah
O ca
Aucang
U ka
Heronia
U ka
Xic lu t
U ka
Virtutus
U ka
Joramis
U ka

5517
5527
darknes
5536
5540
5543
'H(ilero
5545
'at its f
5547
oblique

*Datate uay i**
 Ti kaman cah e
 T en i
Unidate
 T en ix
Unitata
 T en ix u cam e
 T en ix *Unitata*
 Anun i
 Talel u cah *unidad*

"Surrender here
 In the captured city.
 I am here:
 5520 Unite!
 I am also
 United.
 I am also within;
 I am also united.
 5525 Hurry!
 Come to the city of unity."

III

Nil u*
 U kaba akab
 Lay u yax than ku lae
 Lay u yax than citbil lae
 Ti ma xix tun
 U tunil
 T u ba
 T u hunal
 Ychil akbillil e
 E *tomas* çipan cas*
 U kaba yk
 Hun katun u yum
 O tah
 O canil*
Aucangel
 U kaba yk
*Heronix**
 U kaba yk
 Xic lu to t u tanil*
 U kaba yk lae
*Virtutus**
 U kaba yk
Joramis
 U kaba yk

III

Rolling Moon
 Was the name of the night.
 That was the new Word of God then.
 5530 That was the new holy Word then,
 Which was not the dregs of the *tun*
 Of his *tun* period
 By himself,
 Alone in the nighttime.
 5535 And Thomas
 Doubted
 Is the name of the wind.
 1 *katun* is his father.
 Five relations,
 5540 Five teachings,
 Archangel
 Is the name of the wind.
 Herodias
 Is the name of the wind.
 5545 Stained Wrap in Front
 Is the name of the wind then.
 Virtue
 Is the name of the wind.
 Jeremiah
 5550 Is the name of the wind

5517. *Datate* is probably distorted Latin for 'give (thyself)'.

5527. Roys 1967: 109, note 4 says, "Possibly a reference to 'Egyptian darkness'." I read it as *Maya nil u*.

5536. Lat. *et (Th)omas*, *Maya zipan kas* 'let (himself) be divided'.

5540. *Maya ho tah ho canil*.

5543. Because of the *r*, this has to be a foreign name. Roys 1967: 109 has 'H(i)eron'.

5545. Untranslated by Roys. I read *Maya xic(u)l* 'staining', to 'wrap', *t u tanil* 'at its frontside'.

5547. I read Lat. *virtus* and suppose that the author was confused by the oblique declensions.

T u ca tz'it katun
 He tun c u than
 Ca t helpah tun e
 Jax yon lacal pa*
 U ma cah u kaba u cilich caanil
 U alic ca cilich yum citbil

IV

Bol ay u kaba u canil
 U ca tz'it caan
 He ix t u tos y oc
 Sustina g°. u kaba*
 Ti yx
 Ti utzhi
 Lonmias*
 Lom tun
 U tunil ychil akbil
 Çih on tun
 U tunil
 Etz'lic lay tunob
 T u y ox ten hi
 U cutal t u y oc
 Sustina g°. Lay tun ob
 Çih ob
 Y an y alan hun uil tun
 Ychac ye tun
 Ocon tun
 Chac ye napal tun
 Chacci ob tun t u lacal
 Ti hunac
 Tzuc ti cabob
 Yax ahau
 (51) Dios citbil lae
 Hun tic katun
 Lay çihci u oclal mehen D'. lae

Ca tic katun
 Citbil
 Ox tic katun
 Expleo u caan u kaba chih e*

In the second part of the *katun*.
 This then he said
 When he changed the *tun*,
 "However are we here all broken?"
 5555 He denies the name of the blessed
 heaven,
 Referring to our blessed holy Father.

IV

Bol Ay is the name of the serpent
 Of the second part of the sky,
 And he was in the dust at the feet
 5560 Of Sustaining Grace, as he is called.
 And it was he
 Who succeeded
 Jerome,
 Stabbing stone
 5565 Of the *tun* period in the night.
 We were born then
 In the *tun* period
 And placed these stones
 For the third time perhaps,
 5570 Sitting at the feet
 Of Sustaining Grace.
 These are their stones,
 Their birth.
 They are under one month stone
 5575 And red pointed stone,
 The stolen stone,
 The red-pointed biting stone.
 They redden the stone altogether,
 Which united
 5580 The divisions of the lands
 Of the new lord,
 This Holy God.
 One spread of the *katun*,
 Then was born the proper son of
 this God.
 5585 The second spread of the *katun*
 Is holy.
 The third spread of the *katun*,
 Complete the Sky was his best
 name,

Chac opi
 Enpile

Expleo u
 Ychil
 Hebones
 U p'el
 Nen bin
 Ti hec
 T u celer
 T u tu
 Ca bin x
 U coo
 Heklay h
 Hun p
 Zihan tun
 Tixitat
 U çasilil
 Caanil
 Sustinal t
 U çaçi
 Ac pa u r

Çasil)
 Al pa u r
 Xulci
 Cangeles
 U alic
 Ta muk u
 Ma çai
 Minan ca
 Y etel
 Chac pau
 Çac pa
 Ek pauah
 Kan pa
 He yax c
 U alic

5589. I
 5590. I
 peat of lir
 5604. I
 5609. I
 5611. I
 5613. I
 of the dir
 citing Bae

5554. Maya ha(a)x y (an) on (t u) lacal pa.
 5560. Lat. *sustin(eo)*, Maya -al, Sp. *gracia*.
 5563. I follow Roys 1967: 109, note 9 on this.
 5588. I follow Roys 1967: 109, note 12 in reading Lat. *expleo* 'I complete' plus
 Maya u caan 'his sky'.

katun.
 "all broken?"
 blessed
 holy Father.

serpent
 the sky,
 the feet
 as he is called.

night.

as
 s,

month stone

one.
 altogether,

ands

oper son of

katun

katun,
 his best

plus

Chac *opilla* u kaba u alic u caanil*

Enpileo caan u kaba lae*

Expleo u kaba
 Ychil yax le *Dios* lae
Hebones
 U p'elel mehen D'

Nen bin
 Ti heclie
 T u celembal u yum
 T u tunil yum e
 Ca bin x çihçah
 U coo caanil caan
 Heklay hun p'el *gracia*
 Hun p'el tun
 Zihan tun kak

Tixitate u kaba*
 U çasilil
 Caanil
Sustinal bin u çahal
 U çaçil caanil
 Ac pa u men katun çihci*

Çasil ych caanil
 Al pa u *manga* u kaba*
 Xulci lae
Cangeles yk*
 U alic
 Ta muk u ch'abt'ek
 Ma çaçac cab
 Minan caan
 Y etel luum
 Chac pauh tun
 Çac pauah tun
 Ek pauah tun
 Kan pauah tun
 He yax caan
 U alic *Dios* citbil e

Great Deeds was his name spoken on high.

5590 Complete the Sky was his name then,
 Complete was his name
 In the new generation of this God.
 Hebron

Was the proper son of God,
 5595 Reflected
 As is fitting
 In the strength of the Father,
 In the stoniness of the Father.

Then too will be made to appear
 5600 The dizzy heights of heaven
 Relating one (more) grace,
 One (more) *tun*.

Born is the *tun* of fire.
 Medicine Water is his name,

5605 The Brilliance
 Of Heaven;
 Sustaining will be the lighting,
 The shining of heaven.

The little fruit-offering *katun* was born,

5610 The light of heaven.
 Child of Fruit Offering was his name
 In the end.

The yearbearer winds
 Spoke

5615 While the stars were created,
 And the earth was not very light.
 There was no heaven
 And earth.

"Red Giant of the *tun*,
 5620 White Giant of the *tun*,
 Black Giant of the *tun*,
 Yellow Giant of the *tun*,
 This is the new heaven,"
 Said the holy God,

5589. Maya *chac* 'great', Lat. *opera* 'deeds'.

5590. Roys 1967: 109, note 13 suggests *cielo empireo*, but I think this is a repeat of line 5588, as in the next line following.

5604. Nah. *texiutl* 'small medicinal tree', *atl* 'water'.

5609. Maya *ac* 'small', *pa* 'guayabo'.

5611. Sp. *mango* 'mango'.

5613. *C angeles* 'our angels' from Sp. *angeles* is also possible, but the mention of the directional giants makes this unlikely. Roys 1967: 110, note 4 cites Brinton citing Baeza that the Pau Ah Tun are the four winds.

U machma u tunil
 U machma u *cangel*
 U machma u *kabatil**
 Ti ch'uyan t u *cangeles* yk

Cerpinus u kaba*
 He tun y alan e
*Orale**
 U p'is luum
 Ox tul *personaob*
 Lay *Dios* citbil
Dios mehenbil
Dios *espiritu sancto*

U alic
Planetas

Santurnio
Jupiter

Marte
Venus

Lic y alic
 U machma ku i

Caanil uchi e
 U ch'ab

He u kaba *caan* e
*Christalino**

He *angelob* lae
Corpinus u kaba

(52) U *lathma* u *cici thanbilil*

Yumbil
 Ti minan *caan*
 Y etel luum

V

Inpicco u kaba *uchic**
 U *tzitzatabal* *angelesob* t u *lcal*
Baloyo u kaba
 Ca ca *uecan*

5625 Seizing upon the *tun* periods,
 Seizing upon the four changers,
 Seizing upon the naming
 To be attached to the four changing
 winds.

Cerpinus by name
 5630 Is the one underneath;

Orale
 Measures the land.
 There are three persons.
 They are Holy God,

5635 God the Son,
 And God the Holy Ghost.

He returns
 The planets:

Saturn,
 5640 *Jupiter*,

Mars,
Venus,

As he says,
 Seizing upon the gods.

5645 In heaven
 Their creation occurred.

This is the name of heaven:
Crystalline.

These are the angels,
 5650 *Corpinus* is their name,
 Who have compiled the blessed
 sayings

Of the fathers
 When there was no heaven
 And earth.

V

5655 Infinite were the names given
 At the baptism of all the angels.
 Everything was named
 When we were sprinkled.

Seros u
 Et si
Laus de
Cabi
Bol ay l
 Y et
Esperas
Uac
Ysperas
Uuc
Ca çih
 Y ok
 T u me
 Ah t
 T u uuc
 Çihic

VI

Espiritu
Sto. l
Sto. Elu
Sant
 Lay ti y l

U lar
 Se *repit*
Entri
Cii u th
 Ca t
 U lama
 U lar
Tronas
Alese

5659
 5660
 5661
 the ope
 5665
 5667
 5675
 5676
 5677
 5680
 be reach
 'who sa
 night'. I
 5681
 5682
 5688.

5627. Roys 1967: 110, note 5 reads *kabalil* as 'potter's wheel'.
 5629. *Cerpinus* suggests Lat. *corporis* 'of the body' or possibly even Cerberus, the hound of hell. Neither has much to do with surveying.
 5631. Roys 1967: 110 reads *Orale*. Neither Lat. *orale* 'pope's cape' nor Sp. slang (ah)*orale* 'come on, you' seems to help much.
 5648. Roys 1967: 110, note 7 points out that the *lxil* and *Kaua* have a diagram showing *Christalino* as one of the eleven heavens, along with the sun, moon, six planets, firmament, and *Cielo Empireo*.
 5655. Sp. *infinito*.

ods,
hangers,
our changing

ost.

d.
n:

essed

n

iven
e angels.

ed.

Cerberus,

or Sp. slang

agram
moon, six

Seros u kaba*
Et sepeuas*
Laus deo*
Cabal chac
Bol ay balam
Y etel cacau balam te
Esperas u kaba*
Uac tas caan
Ysperas u kaba*
Uuc tas caan
Ca çihî
Y okol cab
T u men D'.
Ah tepal e
T u uuc te katun
Çihic ychil akbil

VI

Espiritu u kaba*
Sto. Edendeus*
Sto. Eluçeo*
Santoob
Lay ti yla u çihil u lamay tun

U lamay akab*
Se repite eli tun*
Entri de noche*
Cii u than
Ca t u thanah
U lamay tun
U lamay akab
Tronas
Aleseyo*

Sirius was named,
5660 And Thou Wast Buried,
And Praise Be to God.
The second rain priest
Was Bol Ay the Jaguar
And Jaguar Cacao Plant.
5665 Exhale was the name
Of the sixth layer of heaven.
Inhale was the name
Of the seventh layer of heaven
When it was born
5670 Above the earth
Through God
The ruler
In the seventh tun,
Being born in the night.

VI

5675 Spirit was its name.
Saint Edendeus
And Saint Elisha
Were the saints
Who saw the birth of the descending
tun,
5680 The descending night.
"Repeat the tun burns;
It comes at night."
Sweet are the words
He spoke
5685 For the descending tun,
The descending night.
"Thunder,
Elisha,

-
5659. Sp. *sirios*.
5660. Lat. *et sepultatis*.
5661. Lat. *laus deo*. This is the first Latinism the author has gotten right since the opening line of the text.
5665. Lat. *expiras*.
5667. Lat. *inspiras*.
5675. Sp. *espiritu*.
5676. Sp. *santo* 'saint', Lat. *Edendeus* 'god of Eden'.
5677. Sp. *Santo Eliseo*.
5680. Roys 1967: 111, note 5 has a preference for *amay tun*. Perhaps this could be reached by reading *ul amay tun*, *ul amay akab*. The couplet would then read: 'who saw the birth and arrival of the square(d) stone, the arrival of the squared night'. Does that help?
5681. Sp. *se repite* 'it is repeated'.
5682. Sp. *entra de noche*.
5688. Sp. *tronas Eliseo* 'thou thunderest Elisha'.

De mundo	For the world—
De graça*	5690 For grace.
Ena pediate	Enos, I asked you;
Joçi pidiatē*	Joseph, I asked you
En pieted	In piety
Graça*	And grace.
St. Esuleptun*	5695 Saint Aesculepius then,
Jaam estum*	Let me be.
Est gra.*	There is grace
Suplilis*	In suffering,
Et timeo*	And I fear
Me firme*	5700 And consent.
Ab infinitis*	From the Infinite
Gra.*	[Comes] grace
Y metis absolubtum*	And you give absolution,
Ti metis de graça*	Which you give of grace;
Ab egintis gra.*	5705 From what must be done, grace;
Edendeo gra.*	From the God of paradise, grace;
Defentis de graça*	Protected by grace;
Fenoplis tun gra.*	Full then of a measure of grace;
Locomdary me gra.*	Accustom me to grace;
Tretrisumis gra.*	5710 Thrice Tripled grace;
No çi luçi de graça*	You don't make a show of grace;
Inprijio de gra.*	Or of the price of grace."
Trese mil i uno de cargo*	Thirteen thousand and one burdens,
Le on te*	And here we are.

5690. Lat. *de mundo de gratia* 'out of the world, out of grace'.
 5692. Sp. *Enos pedía te*, José *pedía te*.
 5694. Sp. *en piedad (y) gracia*.
 5695. Sp. *santo*, Lat. *Esculep(ius)*, Maya *tun*.
 5696. Lat. *jam estum* 'let me be already'.
 5697. Lat. *est* '[there] is', Sp. *gracia*.
 5698. Lat. *supliciis*.
 5699. Lat. *et timeo*.
 5700. Sp. *me afirmo*.
 5701. Lat. *ab infinitis*.
 5702. Sp. *gracia*.
 5703. Sp. *y metes*, Lat. *absolutum* for *absolutionem*.
 5704. Maya *ti* 'which', Sp. *metes de gracia* 'you throw in out of grace'.
 5705. Lat. *ab agendis*, Sp. *gracia*.
 5706. Lat. *Eden deo*, Sp. *gracia*.
 5707. Lat. *defensis*, Sp. *de gracia*.
 5708. Lat. *pleno*, Maya *p'iz tun*, Sp. *gracia*.
 5709. Sp. *(a)l acomodarme (a) gracia*.
 5710. Lat. *tretrisumis* 'thrice thrice summed', Sp. *gracia*.
 5711. Sp. *no se luce de gracia* 'you don't dress yourself in grace'.
 5712. Sp. *ni (del) precio de gracia*.
 5713. Sp. *trece mil y uno de cargo* 'thirteen thousand and one of burden'. I should say so!
 5714. Maya *le on te* 'that is we there'.

Hun
Ca
Ox h
Hu
Oxhu
U
Ox u
Pis
U y al
Ca
U lam
U l
Ti mir
Y e
Ca th
Tu
(53) T
Tu
Ti ox
Ox
Lay
U y
Ti min
Y e
Ca ti h
Ti h
Tu ca
Ti b
U pata
Ca j
Hun tic

Cu

Hun pil
Op l
Tu pac
Mac
Ca emi
Ca y
Tech
Au

5715
rare nu
ology—
etc.—h
Three a

- Hun tic*
 Ca tic
 Ox hun tic
 Hun tuuc
 Oxhun bakam
 U katunil
 Ox uuc
 Pis
 U y ahal cab
 Ca çihî
 U lamay tun
 U lamay akab
 Ti minan caan
 Y etel luum
 Ca than
 T u men D'. citbil
 (53) T u ba
 T u hunal
 Ti ox cōc
 Ox akab c uchi e
 Lay
 U yax than ku
 Ti minan caan
 Y etel luum
 Ca ti luth t u tunil
 Ti lubi
 T u ca pis tun
 Ti ix tun
 U patah u kuil
 Ca picnahi
 Hun tic pic katun

 C u than hun pis ti tun de graça

 Hun pilis tun de gra.
 Op hach kintah
 T u pach acan tun
 Mac ti çihî
 Ca emi
 Ca yum
 Tech
 A u ohel
- 5715 One spread,
 Two spreads,
 Thirteen spreads,
 One division,
 5,200,
 5720 A *katun* period,
 Three sevens,
 8,000
 Is the dawn.
 Then is born
 5725 The descending *tun*,
 The descending night
 When there was no heaven
 And earth.
 Then it was spoken
 5730 By Holy God,
 By himself
 Alone
 For three needs,
 Three nights to occur.
 5735 This
 Was the new Word of God
 When there was no heaven
 And earth.
 Then he departed on the *tun* period,
 5740 Which was posted
 In the second *tun*.
 And it was then
 That the deity was expected.
 Then it was known:
 5745 "One spread of eight thousand
katuns,"
 He said, "is one measure in the *tun*
 of grace.
 One winding of *tuns* of grace."
 The macaws grew very numerous
 Behind the standing stone.
 5750 Who was it who was born
 When there descended
 Our Father?
 As for you,
 You know.

5715. The following passage is rendered obscure by the use of some relatively rare numeral classifiers—*tic*, *tuc*, *bak*, and *pic*—and a rather arbitrary numerology—13, 1, 2, 7, 20, and 3. These and their multiples—21, 8,000, 5,200, 13,000, etc.—have in any case only symbolic significance rather than numerical meaning. Three and seven appear for Christian reasons, thirteen and twenty for Mayan ones.

Çihil U cah u yax batan op Hoch' Ch'intah t u pach acan tun	5755 Being born He began the first axed macaws, Drilling them And slinging them behind the standing stone. What was it that was born, madness?	U thanal Gerup Ca tz'ab Ti oja U u ich l U cuc
Bal ti çihî co e Bal ua yum e T ech A u ohel Çihil U cah ah mun ti caan	5760 What was it, father? As for you, You know. Being born Was the beginning of slaves in heaven:	Ual kaho Nocpi
Ciripacte* Horca mundo* Nimompanpan* Est noche* Amanena* Omonena* Apa* Opa* Hokci yk Ti ca lam tun gra. Çipionested coruna* Pater profecido* Ci bin u than Ca kuch i T u uuc p'el capa* U çuhuy tun gra. Bal te piones orteciopore* Çiquenta noche* Hun ebriate* Hun cut e Profeciado* Uhc i	5765 Alligator, The gallows of the world. My place of stone banners Tonight. Look ye 5770 And you looked. Be here And you were here. There appeared Wind in the excessive tun of grace. 5775 "They received this crown The fathers prophecied" Would be his word When he appeared In the seventh stage 5780 Of the virgin tun of grace. "What then will he expect On the fiftieth night? A drunken celebration, And the seating 5785 Prophecied Occurred."	Çatai uin Çatay Ho p'el l Chian Ca bin p: U taah Chicul U tz'a Uchuc u (54) L Bay ix ca Lay ya Ca tali Y ocol Uay Ti peti Bay ix bir Chicul Ca yumil Ti D'. Ca bin ta Y oklal

5765. Nah. *cipactli*.5766. Sp. *horca (del) mundo*.5767. Nah. *nimomopanpan*.5768. Sp. *esta noche*.5769. Nah. *amanena*.5770. Nah. *omanena*.5771. Nah. *apan*.5772. Nah. *opan*.5775. Lat. *accipient*, Sp. *esta/(?usted) corona*.5776. Lat. *pater*, Sp. *profeciado*.5779. Sp. *capa*.5781. Maya *bal te*, Sp. *anticipare*.5782. Sp. *cincuenta noche*.5783. Maya *hun*, Sp. *ebriedad*.5785. Sp. *profeciado*.

5787. S

5788. S

5789. A

5790. S

5792. I

days (line

macaws,	U thanal <i>angel</i> *		The words of the angel
	Gerupite*		Jupiter.
nd the	Ca tz'ab caan <i>corporales</i> *		Then heaven was given bodies
	Ti ojales t u menel yax papa*	5790	In branches by the first pope,
l, madness?	U u ich katun		The face of the <i>katun</i> ,
	U cuch katun ti oxlahun ahau*		The burden of the <i>katun</i> which was
			13 Ahau.
	Ual kahom u u ich kin		Embittered enemies of the face of the
			sun!
laves in	Nocpahom y okol ualac y ahaulil		Bitter rivals lamenting the lordship
			to be set up!
	Çatai uinicil	5795	Needy the people,
	Çatay ahaulil		Needy the lords.
ld.	Ho p'el kin		The five days,
s	Chian kin		The extra days
	Ca bin pacatnac		Then will be seen:
	U taahte oxlahun ahau	5800	The division of 13 Ahau,
	Chicul		The fulfillment
	U tz'ah D'.		Of the city of God,
	Uchuc u cimil y ahaulil		Occasioning the death of the lordship
	(54) Lay lumooob lae		Of these lands here.
tun of grace.	Bay ix ca bin tac	5805	And thus it will ensue
n	Lay yax ahauoob u paah u ba ob		That these first lords break
l"			themselves.
	Ca tali		Then came
	Y ocol <i>christianoil</i>		The arrival of Christianity
	Uay		Here
ice.	Ti peten lae	5810	In this country.
it	Bay ix bin u tz'aic		And thus he will give
	Chicul		The manifestation
	Ca yumil		Of our Father
	Ti D'.		Who is God.
	Ca bin tac ob	5815	Then they will approach
	Y oklal minan hun olal		Lamenting that there is no
			agreement,
	Hach man u than		And his word will be everywhere
	Numçah ya		And inflict pain
	Ti y al		On the born
	U mehenob	5820	And engendered children,
	U <i>christianoma</i> on		Christianizing us
	Tan tun u mansic oon bay bal		And then treating us like animals.
	cheob e		

5787. Sp. *ángel*.5788. Sp. *júpiter*.5789. Maya *ca tz'ab caan*, Sp. *corporales*.5790. Sp. *hojales*, *papa*.

5792. 13 Ahau is a symbolic reference to the end of a cycle, just as the Uayeb days (line 5798) symbolize the end of the year.

Lay ya t u y ol Dios
 Ti ah tz'utz'ob lo e
Mil i cinientos treinta y nueve años 5825 1,539 years,
 Bay la 1539 años*
 Likin bail u hol y otoch
 Dn. Juan Montejo
 Oces christianoil uay
 Ti peten lae
 Yucal peten
 Yucatan lae.*

That is the pain in the heart of God:
 It is these "suckers."
 Hence the year 1539
 Was the erection of the door of the
 house
 Of Don Juan Montejo
 To bring Christianity here
 To this country,
 The plantation country
 Of Yucatan.

VII

(56) He ix u ca kaba
 Dios citbil
 Ca tali
 U y anhal
 T u personaç e
 Çihanil i
 Bal cah
 Y etel luum e
 Lay tun u kaba lae
 Sosue*
 U ca tz'ic e
 T u y ox tz'ic e
 U ca kaba e ox uch
 Ox ten hi lae
 Mesister latin*
 Tun Dei romance*
 Chac pauah tun
 Ut corusis*
 Çac pauah tun
 Coracalbo*
 Ek pauah tun
 Colrusi pro vento*
 Kan pauah tun
 Moses*
 No vis*
 No va*

VII

And this is the second name
 Of the Holy God
 5835 Who came
 To exist,
 To become a person,
 And to bring to birth
 The world
 5840 And the land.
 This then is his name:
 It is Joshua,
 His second person.
 In his third person
 5845 His other name, the third to occur
 On the third time,
 Was Master in Latin,
 But Dei in Romance.
 The Red Stone Giant
 5850 Was as the numbing Northwest
 Wind.
 The White Stone Giant
 Was the Bald Northwest Wind.
 The Black Stone Giant
 Was the numbing Northwest Wind
 as a wind.
 5855 The Yellow Stone Giant
 Was Moses.
 You don't see;
 It won't go.

5826. This dates correctly the beginning of 11 Ahau, and that is the *katun*,
 albeit not the year, of the building of Montejo's house.

(notes continued on following page)

Stole of t
 Garrett c
 Middle /
 Princeto
 gift of Ro

5832.
 the Jagua
 Bay hele
 good day,
 tion appe
 to read.
 Ept S:
 S k l
 bi pilil 2
 M N R
 M H
 B III
 cu h 3
 bs
 The il
 that this
 quadripa
 64-65 fo
 5842..
 5847..
 5848..
 5850..
 5852..
 5854..
 5856..
 5857..
 5858..

rt of God:

r of the

re

Stole of the Trinity (1776). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, The Princeton University Library, The gift of Robert Garrett.



lio occur:

orthwest

at Wind.

hwest Wind

5832. In another hand on MS page [55]: *chilam balam profeta* 'Spokesman of the Jaguar, Prophet'. And on the following page, MS page [56], in yet another hand. *Bay hele lae malob kin tun ciento ycil u y* ... 'thus on the other hand this is a good day, then a hundred in the month of ...'. On the same MS page an illustration appears with the legend [partly in rebus] which I here transcribe and attempt to read.

Ept S:	<i>espíritu santo</i>	The Holy Ghost
S k l	<i>santo ik hun</i>	Is holy spirit one;
bi pilil 2	<i>bi pilil ca</i>	As spirit two
M N R	<i>i n i r (INRI)</i>	Is Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews:
M H	<i>manuel jeremías</i>	The messiah Jeremiah
B III	<i>verbum tris</i>	Is word three,
cu h 3	<i>cu (a)h ox</i>	The three of them being seated
bs	<i>ds</i>	As God.

The illustration looks to me like a depiction of a priestly stole. It is of interest that this late eighteenth-century assimilation of the Trinity is still depicted as a quadripartite design with nine crosses on it! (I am indebted to Mediz Bolio 1930: 64-65 for the courage to attack this passage.)

5842. Sp. *Josué*.

5847. Lat. *magister*, Sp. *latin*.

5848. Lat. *dei*, Sp. *romance*.

5850. Lat. *ut corus*, Maya *ziz*.

5852. Lat. *corus*, Sp. *calvo*.

5854. Lat. *corus*, Maya *ziz*, Lat. *pro vento*.

5856. Lat. *Moses*.

5857. Sp. *no viste*.

5858. Sp. *no va*.

batun,

following page]

*Meçias**

U kaba Dios
Ti ma çihic caan
Y etel luum
Lay *Mexias**
Xpto. u kaba*
Ca tun u çihçah *angelob**
He uac chacannil i
Ti Dios binil i
Çipic *angelob e*
T an has
Tze
U ca tz'ic u kaba Dios
Lay *Manuel**
U tz'aci u kaba
T u y ox tz'ic u kaba e
Lay tun *Heremias**
U kaba
Ti minan caan
Y etel luum e.

Death (1776). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, The Princeton University Library, The gift of Robert Garrett.

Messiah

5860 Is the name of God
Who did not create heaven
And earth.
That is the Messiah.
His name was Christ,
5865 And then he created angels.
However, it appeared
That God came
To blame the angels,
Who suffered
5870 And wept (?).
The other person and name of God
Was Savior,
The other one of his names,
The third person's name.
5875 He then was Jeremiah
By name
When there was no heaven
And earth.



5859. Sp. *mesías*.
5863. Sp. *mesías*.
5864. Sp. *Christo*, modern *Cristo*.
5865. Sp. *ángel*.
5872. Heb. *Emanuel*.
5875. Sp. *Jeremias*.

42.

(58) D.
U ka

Ca yax
He i
Lay u y
Ada
Ca oci
Ca u
Çihanil
Tun
Ca çih
Ti e
Yax ch'
U na
Chun t!

Hun
Ca çihij
Ti m
He tun
Çihij
T u ba
T u
He tun
Hun
He tun
Lay
Lay ix
Uch

Lay tac
Lay

B la he
Ca |

587
produc
Itza''; i
588
588
589

42. The Sins of the Itza

(58) *Damaçeno**

U kaba chakan patc i

Ca yax yum ti *Adan* t u menel *D'*.*

He ix u kaba e

Lay u yax kaba lae

Adan

Ca oci u pixan

Ca u acunabi *parayso* e*

Çihanil i

Tun *Adan*

Ca çihî ca yax naa

Ti *eua* e*

Yax ch'uplal

U naa bal cah tuçinil

Chun thah biin tun

Hun thah bin haban

Ca çihij

Ti minan caan c uchi e

He tun citbil e

Çihij

T u ba

T u hunal ychil akbil

He tun ob e

Hun pai çihci ob

He tun acan tun e

Lay luum lae

Lay ix ch'ab i

Uchci u patal *Adan* xan e

Lay tac u mehen

Lay ocantac ob y icnal acan ob e

B la he x u kabatah ob

Ca patlah ob e

Damascene

5880 Was the name of the plain where he was shaped,

Our first father Adam by God.

And that was his name;

That was his first name:

It was Adam.

5885 Then came his soul.

Then was established Paradise.

That was the birth

Then of Adam.

Then was born our first mother

5890 Who was Eve,

The first woman,

Mother of the world of sin.

The original drops will have been stones,

Some drops will have been bushes.

5895 Then he was born,

For there was no heaven existing.

And so the Most High

Was born

Of himself,

5900 Alone in the night.

So there they were:

The sole precursors were born.

And then there was the covered stone

That was the earth,

5905 And it was created,

And the shaping of Adam occurred also.

This then was his seed;

Thus were they introduced into their shapes

And so thus were they named

5910 When they had been shaped.

5879. The text is preceded by the word *kay* 'song', but only a slight change produces *kaay* 'preaching'. Roys 1967: 114 gives this the title "A Song of the Itza"; it is about as anti-Itza as you can get. Sp. *damaceno* 'Damascenē'.

5881. Sp. *Adán*.

5886. Sp. *paraíso*.

5890. Sp. *Eva*.

ne of God

ies,
ie.

.11



Lay i tac	This then
U yax chun u uinicil	Was the first origin of the people
Dios citbil	Of the Holy God,
Dios mehenbil	God Made Son,
Y etel Dios espiri santo	5915 And God the Holy Ghost.
Lay molcab D ⁱ . lae	That is the collectivity of God then.
Lay çih ob	This was their birth
T u tunil	In the time
Chac hilib tun	Of the red-striped stone
Y etel u y ub tun graçia	5920 And the colored stone of grace.
Lay berbe u kaba e*	That was the Word by name,
Josus tin graçia*	The grace of the blessed Jesus.
He tun y ix hun y eta e	And that was the sole companion
Çihi	Who was born
T u tunil ek oyob tun	5925 In the time of the black island stone.
Lay berbum tuorum u kaba e*	That was Your Word by name,
T ix co al tun	And the eternal son of stone,
Ix co aal cab	And the eternal son of earth,
Ti u ch'aah	Who obtained
U colel cabil i	5930 The wife of the world.
Ca bin ti cutal ox coc ox caan	Then he will come to seat 3 Turtle and 3 Snake
U coc oxxil caan c uchi e	3 Turtle and 3 Snake will be there
Sac	To brighten
Homen	And clarify
Culic tac cabal	5935 His seat in all the earth
Ti y ol sustinal graçia	In the spirit of sustaining grace.
Oxlahun pic u katunil	Thirteen thousands of <i>katuns</i>
Chelan t u tunil	Are laid to this time.
Ca pecnahi	Then will be made known
U uilim hunac ceel ahau	5940 The need of the Lord Hunac Ceel.
(Kay:)	(Song:)
Ge*	Hey!
Ma et kin on	Are we not of the same sun
Ti x kan thixal	And of the yellow breastplate
Ti tun	Of stone?
E	5945 Hey!
Mac u cobol y utztacil uinic*	Who is the polisher of the
Yn nok	whiteness people?
Yn uex	My clothes!
Y alah o	My loincloth!
Ua ku e	5950 For he is born,
	Perhaps as God.

5921. Lat. *verbum*.5922. Sp. *Jesús*, Maya *t'in*, Sp. *gracia*.5926. Lat. *verbum tuum* or *verborum tuorum*?

5941. From here on it is a song.

5946. Nah. *iztac* 'white', Maya *-il*.

Ba la ca u
 Yx ci j
 U munal
 U chii
 Ti uli o
 Chuc l
 U tah kat
 A ya
 (59) T u
 Antan
 Ya o
 Y ulu
 Ua yan ox
 E
 Ti hun im
 U kijni
 Bin ahau
 T u chi
 E
 Tab a e
 Ku e
 E
 Tun hun y
 U kin y
 T u chi ch
 Anta h
 Ya o
 Y ulu u
 Muclam
 Muclam
 Ci jx
 Yaua tc
 Muclam
 Muclam
 Ci xan y c
 Ci y au
 Ci xan y a
 T u hu
 Chichil ki
 Ca te
 Ti tali o
 Ayano
 Ayano
 Ayano

5960. S

5976. S

the people

t.
y of God then.

of grace.
me,
ed Jesus.
mpanion

island stone.
y name,
one,
f earth,

it 3 Turtle and

will be there

ing grace.
atuns

vn
Hunac Ceel.

re sun
plate

f the

Ba la ca u oktic i
Yx ci jx ma mac e
U munal en
U chii ch'een c en
Ti uli o
Chuc lum tz'itz'
U tah katun
A ya
(59) T u chi ch'een ytza o
Antan he*
Ya o
Y ulu
Ua yan oo
E
Ti hun imix
U kijnil chuccaan
Bin ahau
T u chikin ch'een e
E
Tab a ech y an e
Ku e
E
Tun hun ymix
U kin y alah
T u chi ch'een ytza o
Anta here*
Ya o
Y ulu ua yan o
Muclam
Muclam
Ci jx
Yaua to
Muclam
Muclam
Ci xan y ohel ob thun
Ci y au e
Ci xan y auat o
T u hun te yax kin e
Chichil kin ij
Ca te ak yabil
Ti tali o
Ayano
Ayano
Ayano

So then shall I also dance,
And everyone, gladly?
I am his slave;
I am from Chichen,
5955 Who come here
Through the whole land
To argue the division of the *katun*.
Ah woe! Woe!
The Itza of Chichen
5960 Are aided by heretics!
Alas!
Alas!
O woe!
Hey!
5965 On 1 Imix
The time is completed,
And the Lord will be
At Western Well.
Hey!
5970 Where have you been then
O gods?
Hey!
For 1 Imix
Is the day of birth!
5975 For those of Chichen Itza
Are aided by heretics.
O woe!
Alas!
Ruin!
5980 Ruin!
And again
Woe!
Ruin!
Ruin!
5985 And they just knew how to shed tears
And cry.
And it was also just woe!
On the first of that Yaxkin,
That was the hard time.
5990 Then there was the new illness
That came there.
Alas!
Alas!
Alas!

5960. Sp. *herejes*.

5976. Sp. *herejes*.

- Y ulu
U ayano
Y an xin mac
Xin ahan ual e
Chichil ni
Ca te ayano
Ox tun c acan u kin e
Ku e
C ah ualob
C ah ualob uuiyao
Ma xan ulom t u chi ch'een
ytzao a
Anta hereya e*
Y ulu
Ua yan o
Ox te caan
U kin
He mac en ua t u than tan y ol
uinic e
C en u mac le e e ya
Ma c en ua t u than tan y ol putun
Men a hate o e yan
Ch'ab en
Akab en
C oon ua çihij o
Eya
Alak on mis cit ahau*
Ho atal ux
Ulu max
Elab in yn kacuntah
T in kay be
Antan hereya o
Y ulu ua yan o
Eya
Cimil en y alah
T u men u kin cah o eya
Ca tac en y alah e
T u men u çat cah o
U ti u lah ti y ol
U tuc lah t u puccikal e
Men u çat cah o
Ualik a cun t an in kay o
- 5995 Woe!
And alas!
Could there have been someone,
Even a lord perhaps?
A hard time (?)
6000 And then, alas!
Three times the sun will be covered:
The gods
Of our enemies—
Our enemies: O pain!
6005 Who else has come to Chichen Itza
Aided by heretics?
Woe!
And alas!
There were three heavens
6010 On their day.
Indeed, who am I to speak among
men?
I am a person of lineage, hey!
Who am I to speak among the Chontal
And make you understand this, hey?
6015 I am the creation.
I am the night.
Are we born here?
Hey!
We are the serfs of the Sweeper lord.
6020 Indeed we are come in any case.
We have arrived in any case.
There now will I shape my song
And have sung thus:
Aided are the heretics!
6025 Woe!
And alas, hey!
I die, it says,
Because his day has begun, hey!
Then hide, it says,
6030 Because the destruction has begun
Of the one who comes in spirit,
Who thinks in his heart.
Have his destruction begin.
If I may sing my song:

6006. Sp. *herejes*.6019. The Sweeper and Remover (Miz Cit) officiate at the ceremonies confirming land titles at the beginning of the *katun*. Thompson 1970: 31 asserts that placing Ahau 'lord' after a name is a Chontal practice. I am not persuaded to that (see line 1149).

Antan
Aya
Y uluu
Aya
(60) L:
U t
Dio:

43.

(102))
T u
C on e
U ic
C ex
U ci
Ca a na
Hun
Mental
T u
Hop'c
Bal c
A tacur
A u
Ca sip
T en
Ba la c
Ti ca
Ca tun
U pa
Ti ah k
Ti le

6041
"The L
quotatio
panicist
differen
teenth.
the title
6043
Father,

Antan hereya o

Ayano

Y uluu

Ayano

(60) Lay kay t u lacal lae

U tz'oc lukanil y anumal ahau

Dios lae.

6035 Aided are the heretics!

Alas!

Woe!

And alas!

This song is all then;

6040 Ended is the praise of the Lord God!

43. The Sheep and the Goats

(102) Xot kin ti D'.

T u tibilil uinicob e

C on ex*

U icnal

C ex

U cici than uinicil yn yum e

Ca a nahalt ex

Hun kul *gloria*

Mentahan

T u men yn yum e c ex

Hop'c i

Bal cahil e

A tacuntah ex u almah thanil

A u utzcinah ex *penitensia*

Ca sip ex

T en uchi e

Ba la c on ex

Ti caan

Ca tun u sutbes

U pacat

Ti ah kebanob

Ti lep'an y ol ti ob e

The judgment from God

On defiant men.

*"Let us go**Together*

6045 Ye,

*Blessed People of my Father.**Then ye shall fulfill**A divine glory**Prepared*6050 *By my Father for you**When he began**The world.*

Ye have confused the commandments.

Ye have perfected repentance

6055 When ye have sinned

Against me.

Wherefore let us go

To heaven."

So then he turns back

6060 His sight

On the sinners.

He has been angered by them:

6041. I agree with Roys 1967: 163, note 3 that this chapter, which he titles "The Last Judgment," was probably composed by a missionary priest. The biblical quotations are verbatim. The orthodoxy of the text and the limited number of Hispanicisms also argue for Spanish authorship: a Maya would have used more and different ones. Roys dates it to the seventeenth century; I date it to the eighteenth. I gather that both dates are impressionistic. The first couplet appears to be the title of the sermon, which is taken from Matthew 25.

6043. Matthew 25:34. Direct quotation italicized: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

Nachhen ex*
 U icnal
 C ex lolob thanbil
 T u men yn yum e
 X en ex
 T u kakil metnal
 Ma xulumte
 Lay menan
 Ti ciçin
 T u men yn yum e
 A poch'ah en ex
 (.)*
 C en a yum ex e
 C en a u ah lohil ex e
 A poch'ah ex yn than
 T u men u than ciçin e
 Be
 Ba la xen ex
 T u pach
 Ti hun lukul num ya
 Ca tun xic ob ti metnal
 U lobil uinicob e
 He ix y utzil uinicob e
 Bin xic ob ti caan
 T u pach ca yumil
 Ti D'.
 Ti hun lukul gloria
 Y et p'isan gloria
 Yosapat*
 Y an ox tul uinicob
 U hach palilob Dios
 Hach yabilob t u men Dios
 Elias
 Y etel matusalem
 Y etel enoc
 U kaba ob
 Cuxan ob tac
 Hele lae
 Ti c ulcinan ob
 T u men Dios u canant ob
 U xecil
 U sillasil

Depart ye
 From me,
 6065 Ye who are cursed
 By my Father.
 Go ye
 Into the fire of hell.
 There will not end
 6070 That which is prepared
 For the devil
 By my Father.
 Ye have scorned me!
 (.)
 6075 I who am your Father,
 I who am your Savior!
 Ye have scorned my word
 Because of the word of the devil.
 So be it!
 6080 Wherefore go ye
 After him
 For a period of punishment.
 So then they go to hell,
 The evil people.
 6085 And those who are good people
 Will go to heaven
 After our Father
 Who is God,
 For a period of glory
 6090 Equal to the glory
 Of Jehoshaphat.
 There are three men
 Who are the true children of God,
 Truly beloved by God.
 6095 Elisha
 And Methuselah
 And Enoch
 Are their names.
 And they lived
 6100 Nearly till now.
 They were fulfilled
 Because God had them guarded,
 Their seats,
 Their chairs.

6063. Matthew 25:41. Direct quotation italicized: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels."

6074. Line missing.

6091. Jehoshaphat, Elisha, Methuselah, and Enoch have no obvious association with each other or with this context.

Bin u
 Ti
 Ti hur
 Hur
 Tij tur
 Y c
 Bin ix
 T u
 Çayhc
 Bin
 Çayhc
 Bin
 Bin y
 U l
 Ah ma
 Ti)

Ti tun
 Ti l
 U nun
 T u
 Alanil
 T u
 He tun
 Ah
 Lay y
 Ah
 Dio
 C on
 C e
 U cici
 Uin
 Pach e
 Mei
 Hopci
 Bal
 Bey ti
 Nol

610
 shall c
 the th
 separa
 And h
 shall t
 directl
 612
 everla:
 613

Bin u mentic <i>cuenta</i> ca yumil	6105	He will make a count, our Father
Ti D'.		Who is God,
Ti hun p'el kom luum		In a pit of earth,
Hun p'el noh chakan		A great plain.
Tij tun u cutal*		<i>Then he will sit</i>
Y okol u xecil u tepal	6110	<i>In his seat of majesty</i>
Bin ix moloc ob		<i>And there will be assembled</i>
T u lacal bal cah tuçinil		<i>All the world of sin.</i>
Çayhom tanamob		<i>Winnowed will be the sheep,</i>
Bin y anac ob t u noh		<i>Who will be on his right;</i>
Çayhom yucob	6115	<i>Winnowed will be the goats,</i>
Bin y anac ob t u tz'ic		<i>Who will be on his left:</i>
Bin y anac t u tz'ic lae		Who will be on his left then
U lobil uinicob		Are the evil people,
Ah ma tz'ocsah ob		Those who did not fulfill
Ti y almah thanil D'. t u lacal	6120	The commandments of God
		altogether.
Ti tun u bin ob*		<i>They then will go</i>
Ti hun lukul		<i>For a period</i>
U num yail <i>mitnal</i>		<i>To suffer in hell</i>
T u lamay cab		<i>Below the earth,</i>
Alanil	6125	Burdened
T u men ca yax yumob e		Because of our first fathers.
He tun bin y anac t u noh		Then there will be on the right
Ahau Dios		Of the Lord God
Lay y utzilob uinic		The good people
Ah tz'ocçahob ti y almah than	6130	Who fulfilled the commandments of
Dios		God.
C on ex*		<i>Let us go,</i>
C ex		<i>Ye,</i>
U cici than		<i>Blessed</i>
Uinicil yn yum e		<i>People of my Father,</i>
Pach ex ahaulil	6135	<i>Follow ye the lordship</i>
Menant ex		<i>Prepared for you</i>
Hopci		<i>At the beginning</i>
Bal cahil e		<i>Of the world.</i>
Bey ti tun u takal		Then there will be engendered
Noh muyal e	6140	A great storm.

6109. Matthew 25:31-33. Direct quotation italicized: "When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory: And before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand," (the quote in note 6043 follows directly).

6121. Matthew 25:46. Direct quotation italicized: "And these shall go into everlasting punishment: but the righteous into life eternal."

6131. Repeat of the quotation in note 6043.

Ek t u nak caan		It will be black in the belly of the sky
(103) Tac t u u ich luum		And on the face of the earth.
Bay hom iuil ci oltzil*		Like a trumpet may be the joy
U kay angelesob		Of the song of the angels.
Minan y et pisan ci oltzilil	6145	It is incomparably joyful.
Bin nacabal		There will arise
Hahal ku		The True God,
U yumil		The Father
Caan		Of heaven
Y etel luum lae.	6150	And earth.

6143. Revelation 11:15: "And the seventh angel sounded (his trumpet), and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever."

44. Notes from Chumayel

(81) Helel en 18 de agosto*		Today on August 18
De 1766 años lae		Of 1766
Ca uch i		Then there was
Chac ykal lae		A hurricane.
U kahlayil c in tz'ibtic	6155	The account I am writing
Ca utzac y ilic		Will make it possible to see
Ba hun hab		How many years
Ca bin uchuc u lak lae		It will be before another like one occurs.
Helel en 20 de henero		Changing to January 20
De 1782 años	6160	Of 1782
Ca cheket-hi		Then stalked the bloated
Chupil		Swelling
Uay		Here
Ti cah chumayel lae		In the town of Chumayel.
T u cal uinic c u chupul	6165	In the neck people would swell up
Ca ix emec cabal xan		And then it might go lower down too,
Tac ti chin chan		As to young
Tac ti nohoch		And old alike

6151. The following text has usually been used to date the MS as a whole. It occurs relatively early (folio page 81) but dates itself to 1782. It is obviously late and irrelevant to the rest of the MS, but it is not the latest segment of the work. See the introduction.

P'is u t
Ca l
He u t
Lae
Pah tar
Y et
Ua ix t
Mel
Tac t u
Ti b
abil
Ol ma
Ellat
Cimlah
Kax
Lay u l
C in
C en
Dn.

6178
6180
dating

1.
(84) Mi
Helel e
De 183
Abrilil
Uchic i
U kaba
Hija de
Y M. J.
Domin;
Helel e
De 183
Uchic i
U kaba
Hijo de
Maria J
Padrinc
Jose M.
Madrin
Manla
Cura
(Ju)an C
Justo B.
Gr. cac

lly of the sky
e earth.
he joy
els.

et); and
are become
r and ever."

P'is u mistic hun p'el na
Ca bin occoc i
He u tz'acal
Lae
Pah taan
Y etel *limones*
Ua ix sisal xiu
Mehentac e
Tac t u habil 81 años chumpah i
Ti ix u tz'aah nohoh kin tun y
abil xan i*
Ol ma oc chac i
Ellah kax t u lacal
Cimlah ix
Kaxob xan
Lay u kahlay
C in tz'ibtic
C en
Dn. Juan Josef Hoil lae. (Rubric)*

It swept through each house
6170 When it entered.
This was the cure
Here:
Dye-tree ash
With lemons,
6175 Or else numbing grass
And seed mixed in it.
Around the year 1781 it got started,
Which gave it a great cycle too.

Rather there was no rain.
6180 The whole forest was being burned,
And it killed off
The forests too.
This is the account
I am writing,
6185 I,
Juan Josef Hoil. (Rubric)

6178. The new calendar round began in 1789.

6186. The following two pages contain marginal notes that belong to 11 Ahau, dating to the 1830s. They are reproduced here in chronological order.

I. Justo Balam (1833)

(84) *Miercoles*
Helel en 4
De 1833
Abrilil
Uchic in chicultic
U kaba M^a. Ysidora
Hija de Andres Balam
Y M^a. Juana Xicum
Domingo
Helel en 22 de diciembre
De 1833
Uchic in chicultic
U kaba Tomas
Hijo de Andres Balam
Maria Juana Xicum
Padrinos
Jose M^a. Castañeda
Madrina
Manla Marin
Cura
(Ju)an Que . . .
Justo Balam
Gr. cac cura

Wednesday
Today on the 4th
Of 1833
Apriltime
Occurred my witnessing
The name of María Isidora
Daughter of Andrés Balam
And María Juana Xicum.
Sunday,
Today, on the 22nd of December
Of 1833,
There occurred my witnessing
The name of Tomás,
Son of Andrés Balam
And María Juana Xicum.
Godfather
José María Castañeda.
Godmother
Manuela Martin.
Curate
[Ju]an Que[vedo].
Justo Balam,
Curate's assistant.

(note continued on following page)

ng
to see
her like one

ayel.
ld swell up
lower down

whole. It
is late
the work.

(note continued from preceding page)

II. Pedro Briceño

[83] Chumayel
Y junio 28 de 1838
 Y uchic in majan
 Ti Chinuh Balam
 T en
Pedro Briceño [Rubric]

Chumayel
 And June 28, 1838,
 My loan was made
 To Chinuh Balam.
 I,
 Pedro Briceño.

III. Pedro de Alcantara Briceño (1838)

[84] He u kinil uch i
 N manic lae *libro*
1 de julio
De 1838
 He u toholma ti t en e
 Hun ppel *peso* ichil otzilil
 He toholma ti yum *padre*
Peso
 Lay u habil uch i
 Manic lae . . .
 C in chicultic
 Y oklal u y oheltabal
 He x kinil
 Manic t in kab
 T en
 C en
Pedro de Alcantara Briceño
Cahnalal San Ant^o.

This was the time it happened
 That I bought this book:
 July 1st
 Of 1838.
 This was made good by me
 For one peso in poverty.
 This was made good to the lord Father
 (For one) peso.
 This is the year of the occurrence
 Of purchasing this (book).
 I am witnessing it
 So that it will be known,
 And that this is when
 It was bought by my hand.
 I
 Myself,
 Pedro de Alcántara Briceño,
 Resident of San Antonio.

THE

13

45.

(73) Kir
 U he
 Maya cu
 Oxlal
 Ytzam r
 Ytzar
 U u ich
 Ti y a
 Bin uilbi

Ox tr
 Ca kal a
 Lahur
 Et bom
 Et bo
 Yaxal ch
 U cuc
 lx ma ch
 U ual
 Katun
 Ti ox

6187.
 vention
 6189.
 the colla
 the cycle
 write his
 6192.
 Jaguar ar
 their falt
 6198.
 6201.
 This, toc
 (line 159

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

13 Ahau

45. Coba

(73) Kin chil coba*

U hetz' katun

Maya cu*

Oxlahun ahau katun

Ytzam na

Ytzam zab*

U u ich

Ti y ahaulil

Bin uilbic ox i

Ox te ti hab

Ca kal abil

Lahun tz'acab*

Et bom u al

Et bom u tz'ub

Yaxal chac*

U cuch t u caanil

Ix ma chac bin uah

U uah

Katun

Ti oxlahun ahau

Kin Chil of Coba

Seated the *katun*,

The cycle seat

6190 Of *katun* 13 Ahau.

Itzam Na

And Itzam Tzab

Were the faces

In the lordship.

6195 There will be the starvation of
gourdroot,

Gourdroot tree years,

For forty years

And ten steps.

Like-colored is the water,

6200 And like-colored is the odor.

Yaxal Chac

Bore it on high,

And unboiled food

Will be the food

6205 Of the *katun*,

Which is 13 Ahau.

6187. The association of this *katun* with Kin Chil and with Coba is pure convention (see line 631).

6189. Identifying Coba as the seat of the cycle as well as of the *katun* implies the collapse of the whole cycle system, an appropriate event for this final *katun* of the cycle and of Mayan history. While the Maya continued to count *katuns* and to write history, they wrote no more *katun* prophecies.

6192. Roys 1967: 134, note 7 implies that these are god names. I believe the Jaguar and his Spokesman either had or took on high prestige names to bolster their faltering claims to authority.

6198. The implication is a fifty-year famine.

6201. I believe the assertion is that Yax Chac was to seat the following *katun*. This, too, is pure convention: Yax Chac seated *katun* 11 Ahau at Merida in 1539 (line 1597).

Chiban kin i	Eaten is the sun.	
(74) Ca pic u cuch katun	Two thousand are the burdens of the katun.	
Çatay uinicil	Needy people,	
Çatay ahaulil	6210 Needy lords.	
Ho p'el kin uil	Five days perhaps	
Chian kin	The sun has been eaten;	
Ca bin pacatnac*	Then it will have been seen.	
Lay u cuch	That is the burden	
Ah oxlahun ahau	6215 Of 13 Ahau	
Katun lae.	Katun.	

6213. A solar eclipse of exactly five days is a suitably apocalyptic image for the final termination of the *katun* cycle.

11 Ahau

46. Tizimin

Act 9

(64) (.) ti culhi
Lahun pis katun*
Ti culhi
Nichte katun*

Act 12

Ox te uu
Culan
Yum a
Unetzihuit*
Kuk
Yaxun
Ti pual y anac may chiich*

Act 9

(That was) the seating
Of the tenth part of the *katun*.
It was the seating
6220 Of the Flower *katun*.

Act 12

The third moon
Was the seating
Of a certain father
Onetzihuit,
6225 The quetzal,
Blue bird.
In that month was the cycle of birds.

6218. The reference may be to *katun* 10 Ahau. See note 6323.

6220. This dates the chapter as belonging to 11 Ahau (the Flower *katun*) even if it is erroneously identified as the tenth *katun*.

6224. Onetzihuitl is clearly Nahuatl, probably *ome itzihuitl* 'two flint', a curious anachronism in this context.

6227. Craine and Reindorp 1979: 67, note 9 give *ti ual yan u may dchidch* 'which would have been the cycle of birds' from the Mani.

Act 13

Ti uz

Yum a

Unet

Kuk

Yaxu

Act 14

Mac bin

Kint

T u lahe

Ti y

Act 15

Lay uil

Balar

U pol

Uaan

Tz'utz't

Pek

Man ch'

Act 16

Ya t

Ci jx u

Ci jx

(.)

Ma la

Bin ix u

Coil

6228.

6232.

6233.

now pla

6240.

prophet.

121, not

6247.

6248.

produce

6250.

burdens of the

day
sen.

nage for the

ne katun.

ycle of birds.

atun) even if

inč, a tri-

chidčr

Act 13

Ti ual y an bolon teuitz*

Yum a
Unetziuit
Kuk
Yaxun*

Act 14

Mac bin naatic ob ch'abtan*

Kintan ob ti y ahaulil i
T u lahca pis tun
Ti y alah u kaba

Act 15

Lay uil e
Balam
U pol
Uaan u coo*
Tz'utz'ul uinčil
Pek u uincil
Man ch'acat han

Act 16

Ya t u pucçikal
Ci jx u hanal
Ci jx y ukul
(. . . .)*
Ma la bin y ub e*
Bin ix u tus
Coil u than*

Act 13

In that month was the great sharp
stone
Of this father
6230 Onetzihuit,
The quetzal,
Blue bird.

Act 14

Which of them will understand the
"halfway seizure,"
The time of the half in the lordship
6235 On the twelfth measured tun
That speaks its name?

Act 15

There is seen
A jaguar,
His head
6240 Standing on his snout
Sucking people.
Dogs are the people,
Going across to eat.

Act 16

Pain is in his heart.
6245 Thorns are his food,
Thorns his drink.
[. . . .]
He will hear nothing,
And lies
6250 And madness will be his word,

6228. I read Nah. *tehuitz(tli)* 'sharp stone'.

6232. Another allusion to the confrontation of the Xiu and the Itza in 1539.

6233. See note 5330. Formerly in the eleventh *tun*, the mid-*katun* ceremony is now placed in the twelfth year. The date would be 1836.

6240. The Tizimin presents this colorful imagery as part of a vision of the prophet. The various scribes did not understand this the same way (Roys 1967: 121, note 9).

6247. Line missing.

6248. The Tizimin makes it clear that the prophet went into a trance to produce this vision. Apparently it involved fasting and penance.

6250. That is, the nobility continued to claim title to the land of the peasants.

Ma tub u tz'aic u ba
Yx cuch lum ytz'inil

Bin li u kebal uay
Ti peten e

Bin bayac ob
X cuch lum ytz'inil

Ti y al ob y ix mehenob
Yx lolok bayan palalob

Samal

Cabeh e

Tz'a ex a ba

C ex

U itz'in

Çucun ex e

Maneç ex u cuch katun

Lic u talel e*

Ua mīatan ā maneç ex e

Ti u motzhal t a u oc ex e

T e x i

Bin u helinte

Ua ma a mançic ex e

T e x i

Bin kuxic u chun che

Y etel xiu

Ua ma a mançic ex e

Bay çinic cehil bin uchebal*

U hokol t a cahal ex

Act 17

Ti jx u hokol ahau

Bin manac

U suc ychil a cahal ex e

Ti ma u cuchil i e

Y etel oc na kuchil e*

And nowhere does he surrender
The burden of the land of the
younger brothers.

He will be removed here
In this country.

6255 They will capture him
And the burden of the land of the
younger brothers,

Who are the sons and daughters
And captive adolescent children
Of tomorrow

6260 And the day after.

Surrender yourselves,

O ye

Younger brothers

And older brothers,

6265 And pass the burden of the *katun*
As it came,

If you have not already passed it.

That will be taking root at your
feet,

And you

6270 Will be changed.

But if you don't pass it,

It is you

Who will be gnawing at the trunks of
trees

And grasses.

6275 But if you don't pass it

Thus Ants and Deer will come
about

And appear in your towns.

Act 17

And that will be the appearance of
the lord.

He will pass

6280 And return to your towns,

Which is not his burden,

He arrives at Entering the House,

U kin u

Baal

Tij culh

T u j

Hun çip

Hun

Lay u ç

Ox t

Lay ti c

Oxla

Ah cala

Ah c

Ti jx u

Uac

Ox ten

Ca b

Ua ah'x

Ua ix

xan (

He çac

Ti y

Likul ti

Nace

T u u id

Ti tul

Caan

Y ete

Ya ix blr

Nicte

Ma uil r

Bin k

Ca bin c

Polcir

U teel

Chaci

6284.

ant to th

ifying an

6298.

ing tribu

possibly

5281.

6302.

pectation

6266. A plea for general acceptance of the ceremonies renewing the *katun* cycle.

6276. The Tizimin and Mani have *cim cehil* 'death of the Deer'. The Chumayel is threatening military action.

6282. Sound play: *cuch* 'burden', *kuch* 'arrive'.

surrender and of the	U kin u ma ya cimlal Baal cheob*	A time of the painless death Of animals.
e	Tij culhi T u pop	6285 He who is seated On the mat,
e land of the	Hun çip u than Hun çip u can	1 Spite is his word, 1 Spite is his teaching.
ughters nt children	Lay u çip katun Ox tzuc u uah nicte katun	That is the Spite <i>katun</i> . 6290 Three divisions are the food of the Flower <i>katun</i> .
	Lay ti culhij Oxlahun y al u pop	He who is seated Has thirteen bastard children of his mat—
	Ah calam chuuch Ah cal pach keban	Mad coral snakes And asshole sinners.
the <i>katun</i>	Ti jx u talel <i>Bula</i> Uac tzuc t u ba	6295 And that is the coming of the bull With six parts to it.
passed it. oot at your	Ox ten bin manbal <i>Bula</i> Ca bin uluc u jueçil <i>Bula</i> lae* Ua ah xolte t u kin bin u juesilte	Three times the bull will be brought. Then will arrive the judge's bull. Either the collector of money will be judged
	Ua ix çac cib bin u kexinte xan (65) e	6300 Or else white candles will also be exchanged.
	He çac cib lae Ti y emel <i>justicia</i> *	Those are the white candles That bring down justice,
the trunks of	Likul ti caan Nacebal <i>christianoil</i> ulnic	Rising to heaven To glorify the people of Christianity
	T u u ich u <i>justicia</i> il Ti tun u mentic u pec	6305 Before the face of his justice, Who will then bring about understanding
will come	Caan Y etel luum	In heaven And earth.
as.	Ya ix bin tz'ocebal Nikte katun	And the pain will be ended 6310 Of the Flower <i>katun</i> .
appearance of	Ma uil mac Bin kuchuc u thani e	There may be no one Whose word will arrive.
	Ca bin chin chin Polcintabac	We shall load up And shall have carved
wns,	U teel Chacil che e	6315 The tree, The very red tree

6284. From the following lines it would appear that there was a lowborn claimant to the throne of the *katun*. This text presents the pro-Christian claim, specifying animal sacrifices and Christian ideology.

6298. The six-part bull (Sp. *bula*) apparently refers to the proclamation abolishing tribute, possibly with the success of the Revolution for Independence in 1824, possibly as early as the Cortes of Cadiz in 1806. See the Tizimin, notes 5155, 5281.

6302. Tribute was collected in money and in beeswax candles. The Mayan expectation was that it would be paid back the same way.

katun

e Chumayel

Ti tun u y uk ba peten		That then will be spread
T u lal e		Throughout the country.
Conbil bin tz'ocbal u than		Selling will be the end of the word
Nicte katun e	6320	Of the Flower <i>katun</i> .
Minan i uil		There is no need
Ua u ilal a tz'aic a pol ex		For you to have to surrender your heads
Ti Arzo Obispo e*		To the archbishop.
Ca bin emec e		When he comes down
Bin xic ex	6325	You will go
A bal a ba ex ti kax		With your property into the wild.
Ua bin a tz'a a ba ex i e		But if you are going to surrender,
Ti binan ex		Then go,
luil t u pach Xpo.		But follow Christ.
Ti y an ob cochomi e	6330	They have been cleared.
Tij tun ca bin tz'ococ		That then will be the end
U uicita e		Of his visitation.
Talel bin u cib		Coming will be the candle
U lilil nicte		Of the trembling flower,
Tijx ca bin a nat ex e	6335	And that then will be your understanding.
		Then will be spread the awareness of heaven.
Ca bin ticin pecnac caan e		
Tij to ca bin thanac		That is what will then be said.
U tz'ibte u nak pak e		It will be written to expect it soon,
Ti yx a u alic ex kuil xan i e		And that is also what the gods have told you.
Lay bin a u ocqic t a u ol	6340	That will be the entry of the gods
ex kuil		into your hearts.
Hii u il to mac ah miaz y an a u		Perhaps that will be someone who is a
ichil ex		sage among you,
Bin natic e		Who will understand.
Tij tun u binel ti kax		He will then go into the wild
U tan le u <i>christianoil</i> e		To lead Christianity.

6323. Much of the structure of this text appears to repeat the prophecy not only of 11 Ahau, thirteen *katuns* earlier, but also of 1 Ahau, eight *katuns* earlier. The reason may be that the author may have been reckoning as much in calendar rounds or Christian centuries as in *katuns*. There was a calendar round beginning in 10 Ahau in 1685, which is referred to in the 1 Ahau prophecy (line 5060). Three calendar rounds later we come to another in 11 Ahau in 1841, which may be alluded to in the present text (line 6483). Whatever the reason, the 1 Ahau prophecy refers (1) to a certain Saúl (2) who aided the bishop in imposing the Inquisition (line 4937) and who was joined by (3) Don Antonio Martínez (line 5064) to support the rights of the Christianized nobility in 1 Ahau (1638). This was the *katun* of the Chan War of Tihosuco (line 4944), but there is also mention of (4) the War of Havana and (5) thirteen-sail ships (line 4990). All of the numbered details are repeated in the present text, except that here the bishop becomes the archbishop. It is asserted that the rigors of the Inquisition are not to be repeated. People are advised to retreat to the woods to avoid the archbishop but to remain Christian.

Mac bin
Ha li l
Lahu can
U ba
Ca bin h
Uluc
Lay Dⁿ. /
Y ete
Lay u kal

Ca lul
Ti jx
Ti bin
Tziment
Ti y a
Ti ix
Ti y al
icham
Uuc te i
Ti haa
U kamic
Ca ti l
U puerta
Ti can
Et sabi ti
Ca ix
Chem
Oxlah
Ca ix t u
Hauar.

6347.
of Santia
6352.
6357.
Nahuat, l
Yucatan,
when it b
tzimin 'h
6360. l
obscure t
6370. l
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pers of th
British sh
(Ward 19)
6372.
cult to ex
two centu

Mac bin natic lae	6345	Who will understand that?
Ha li li lo		Truly!
Lahu can p'el haab*		After fourteen years
U ba tabil		Of his office,
Ca bin hun kul		There will be a god
Uluc mehenbil	6350	To arrive as Son.
Lay D ^o . Antonio Martinez		That is Don Antonio Martínez
Y etel Saul*		And Saúl.
Lay u kaba ob		These were his names when he
		departed
Ca luki ti caan		From heaven.
Ti jx	6355	And it was he
Ti bin i		Who came
Tzimentan e*		To Tizimin.
Ti y an tzimentan		He was in Tizimin,
Ti ix		And it was he
Ti y alah hun tul yx ahau u y	6360	Who asked a queen to marry him.
ichamte*		
Uuc te ix		And it was the seventh:
Ti haab		That was the year
U kamic u casamintoil		That he seized the marriage registry.
Ca ti heb i		Then he opened
U puertail takin	6365	The money doors
Ti can kas na		In the four-room house.
Et sabi ti		It was shown to him,
Ca ix u tus çihçah		And then he set out to build
Chem		Ships
Oxlahun baak*	6370	Of thirteen sails.
Ca ix t u likçah katun		And then he raised a war
Hauana u lumil*		With the land of Havana.

6347. The date implied is 1838. Martínez' story is strongly reminiscent of that of Santiago Iman, who was imprisoned in Tizimin in 1838 (Reed 1964).

6352. Nothing is known of Antonio Martínez or Saúl from Spanish sources.

6357. As with all other Nahuatlisms in these *Books*, it is the southern dialect, Nahuat, that is employed, hence *-tan* for *-tlan*. Now the second largest city of Yucatan, Tizimin is not mentioned in the *Books* before the nineteenth century, when it became important as a livestock center. I derive the name from *ti* 'at' *tzimin* 'horse' and Nahuat *-tan* 'place'.

6360. I believe the date 1831 is implied. The queen is a picturesque and totally obscure touch.

6370. Ships have slowly added sails throughout history, but it is not until the frigates of the late eighteenth century that they attain thirteen or more. The clippers of the early nineteenth century had three times that number or more. Even British ships-of-the-line in the Napoleonic Wars had fewer than thirteen sails (Ward 1973).

6372. The Havana connection and the French connection (line 6426) are difficult to explain, the more so since the former is explicitly mentioned in a text of two centuries earlier (note 6323). Roys 1967: 123, note 12 may be right in suggest-

(note continued on following page)

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in (Reed 1964).
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r the *katun*. To
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Martínez' jailor
e town to
es with his scr-

Ta muk tun in talel
T in i
Bin lukçic ech ti mascab
T ex
C ex *capitan* e
Cabilil i
Bin y anac t in pach i
C u than
Nacçahac bolon çian
Y etel titz' u illan tz'on e
Bin ix elec kaknab
Bin in likebal i
Ti culan
Kak u pacat ti
Bin ix likic ex
Y etel yom haay
Bin ix tupuc u u ich kin
T u men chac lubuc y ikal e
Ti tun u cenic u ba *capitan* e
Bin ix hu tuc t u u ich luum
T u men ykal xan

Lic tun yn cumtal
T in kan che tunn e

Lic tun u talel ox bak chem e

B ix tun u cenic u ba
Rey xan i
Ch'aa ba yumil e
Te u talel *frances*
Ci jx u than
T en
Bin cemic oon
T u men uinic e
Bal x a u il u lubul a muk e

T u men a u et unilic e lic ech i

To ex ican t in tz'ab u tohol chem
Tan chumuc
U et lik
Ci jx in u ikal xan
El ix
El ix kaknab
In bin ci jx noo
Ci jx u u ich caan

Meanwhile I was coming.

6400 As for me,
I shall remove you from irons."

"As for you,

You captains,
Both of you,

6405 You must follow me,"
(Martínez) said.

"Have nine chairs brought up
And let us sit down,

And the sea will burn

6410 And I shall be exalted."

(Martínez) sat down

With fire in his glance:

"And it will raise sand

And foam on the water,

6415 And it will put out the eye of the sun
Because of the rain-filled winds."

Then he dressed himself,

The captain (Martínez, and said,)

"And it will be leveled to the face of
the earth

6420 Because of the wind too.

As soon as I am settled on my stone
bench

The thirteen-sail ships will be
coming."

And then he dressed himself,

The king('s man) too, (and said,)

6425 "Get ahold of yourself, sir!

There come the French!"

So spoke

His word to me.

(Martínez:) "We are going to die

6430 Because we are men!

And what do you see to rest your
strength?

Because your fellow men are like
you!

I am going to be given the guide ship
In the middle,

6435 And I will help propel it

With my breath too,

And burn,

And burn up the sea,

And I am going to tie on

6440 The face of heaven too,

He tun ca em en e
Tak licil u u ich ca cat chem*

Mac uinicil a
C u than t en
T en ix ix ma ok olal e
T en ix a chaalte e
T en i bin a ca put çiheç e
Bin ix in tumte in kaba
Lay martines
Dios citbil
Dios mehenbil
Dios espiritu santo in kaba

Ca ix in hoksah uuc tz'acab liblo

In xoc ob
Ca ix ti tz'oc i
Ti ox p'el u
Hi x u mançic u ba ob
Ah belnalob e
Ti tun i alah u tz'ab u cahal t en

Tan coch uinic e
Tab i an a cahal
In cahal t u lacal

Ti a botic in cahal
C en yax ul e
Lic tun in u alic
Ti emi*

Act 20

Justiçia uchebal
U nacal *christianoil*
Bolon pixanil
Bin tz'ocebal
Ti jx u katabal
U probail ti ob
Ti y ahaulil cah e
Ua ma y ohelob e

And then I shall descend
And be stuck up as the face that
destroys ships."

"Who is this man?"

(The captain) says to me.

6445 (Martínez:) "And I am an infidel.

And I am your purifier,
And I shall be your twice-bearer
And I shall renew my name,
Which is Martínez.

6450 God the remote,
God Made Son,
And God the Holy Ghost is my
name.

And then I shall manifest the seven-
step books

And read them,
6455 And then it will end

In three months,
And they will buy each other,
The officials."

Then (the captain) said his town would
be surrendered to me

6460 And half the people:
"Where is your town?"

(Martínez:) "My town is the whole
thing.

So you will pay for my town:
I was the first to arrive."

6465 As soon as I spoke to him
He came down.

Act 20

Justice will be achieved,
The elevation of Christianity.
The nine spirits
6470 Will be ended,
And that will be the demand
For titles from them,
From the lordship towns
Or the ignorant.

6442. The sense of this is that Martínez is going to put on the mask of God to destroy the enemy. This is made explicit in line 6452, where he claims to be God.

6466. Having persuaded the captain that he understood the prophetic books, Martínez claims title to the whole town for purposes of tribute, and the captain "came down," i.e., acceded.

Ti ix u

Y e

Ti uini

Ti t

Minan

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Ma ix :

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the books,
the captain

Ti ix u hokol ich luumil tunich
Y etel ich luumil che
Ti uinic chahal
Ti tun i etz'tal cah i
Minan tun ch'amac
Bin chibalnac i*
Lay to ah bolon ahau
Katun
Ho p'el haabil u binel
Lay t u lah pach in than lae*

Ti kuch i
T u kinil y emel patan

Ti tz'oc i
U botic ob u likçah katunob ca
yumooob
Ma ix a u alic a uah
U alilil ex katun c u talel k
icnal lae
(67) C ah lohil ti jesuchristo

Y ah canul ca pixan
Bay uay
Y okol cab e
Bay ca bin u ch'a ca pixan
T u cilich caanil xan
Mehen ex e hahal Dios
Amen.

6475 And that will be the demand in the
lands of stone
And in the lands of wood,
From wounded men,
From thus established towns.
Then there will be no Foxes
6480 Who will bite.
That then will be the 9 Ahau
Katun.
Five years will go by
When they completely follow my
word,
6485 Which will come
To the time of the lowering of
tribute.
It will end,
The payments for the raising of the
wars of our fathers,
And you will not say that your food
6490 And water of the *katun* is to come
from us
(But from) our savior who is Jesus
Christ,
The guardian of our souls.
As it is here
On earth,
6495 So our souls will be taken
To the holy heaven also,
O sons of the True God.
Amen.

6480. Martínez predicts the end of paganism ("the nine spirits") and the military companies by 9 Ahau (1848), when tribute (the indemnity for the War of the Conquest) will end.

6484. Either this refers to five years after his captivity in 1838 or five years before the end of the *katun* in 1848. In either case the date reached would be 1843.

App

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- 20.⁸
- 21.⁶
- 22.
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Appendix A. Concordance

The following table lists the order of the chapters (C) in the present translation and the line numbers (L) at which they begin. This is followed by the numbers of the folio pages at which the same passages begin in the original manuscript (MS) and in George Gordon's (1913) facsimile edition (GG), the corresponding pages in Ralph Roys' (1967) translation (RR), Barrera Vásquez' (1948) combined translation of cognate passages from all the *Books* (BV), and Mediz Bolio's (1930) translation (MB). After that I have listed initial line numbers of corresponding passages in my translation of the Tizimin (ME) and page numbers in Craine and Reindorp's (1979) translation of the Mani (according to Pío Pérez and Solís Alcalá in Spanish), listed as (CR). Additional references to the Kaua, Oxlutzcab, and Tusik and to other published versions will be found in the notes.

C	L	MS ¹	GG	RR	BV	MB	ME ²	CR
1. ³	1	40	74	135	57	87	1	138
2. ⁴	153	42	77	139	68	91		
3. ⁵	251	42	78	140	71	93		
4.	381	53	98	160	140	110	347	
5.	399	53	98	161	140	110	367	
6.	421	54	99	161	140	111	387	
7. ⁶	433	57	105	166	196	116	401	73
8.	467	54	99	161	141	111		
9. ⁶	479	57	104	164	195	115		72
10. ⁶	495	57	105	167	197	117	3951	74
11.	629	53	100	162	141	111	433	
12.	691	3	3	66		19		
13. ^{6,7}	1327	57	105	167	196	116	1207	73
14.	1361	9	15	79		32		
15.	1421	2	1	63		17		
16.	1581	8	13	77	96	29	777	77
17.	1701	38	71	131		30		
18.	1819	40	73	133	95	85		
19.	1837	47	87	147	124	100	1165	
20. ⁸	1991	33	60	116		70		
21. ⁶	2215	57	104	165	196	115	1239	73
22.	2243	48	89	149	126	102	1307	
23.	2299	14	25	86				
24.	2313	46	85	145		97		
25.	2505	48	90	151	128	103	1435	

C	L	MS ¹	GG	RR	BV	MB	ME ²	CR
26.	2571	49	91	152	129	104	1475	
27.	2665	9	16	80		33		
28.	2915	49	92	153	131	105	2981	
29. ^v	2961	24	42	98	153	53		
30. ¹⁰	3501	17	28	88	204	40		
31.	4383	36	67	125		80		
32.	4693	15	26	86		38		
33.	4789	51	93	155	133	106	3875	
34.	4991	56	103	164		114		
35.	5077	52	96	158	137	109	4117	
36.	5127	53	97	159	139	109	4263	
37.	5161	34	63	120		73		
38. ^a	5227	40	73	133	118	86	4603	85
39.	5255	12	21	84		37		
40.	5315	40	73	134	119	86	4817	86
41.	5339	27	48	107		61		
42.	5879	32	58	114		67		
43. ^v	6041	56	102	163				
44.	6151	44	81	143		95		
45.	6187	40	73	134	121	86	5061	86
46.	6217	35	64	120	158, 220	74	5155	65

1. The original of the Chumayel is in the Princeton University Library. An early copy by Carl Hermann Berendt (1868) is in the Berendt Linguistic Collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum. A photographic copy made by Theobert Maler in 1887 was once in the William Gates Collection. Its present whereabouts are unknown to me. The entire Chumayel has been published in Spanish by Mediz Bolio 1930, 1935 in a loose poetic translation.

2. The Tizimin has also been published in a rather experimental English translation by Makemson 1951; my citations are to Edmonson 1982.

3. This chapter of the Chumayel has been published by Brinton 1882; Martínez 1927, 1940. The corresponding part of the Mani has been published by Stephens 1843; Valentini 1880; Brasseur 1864; Charencey 1874; Thomas 1882; Brinton 1882; Palma y Palma 1901; Martínez 1909, 1926, 1927, 1940; Escalona 1933; Jakeman 1945. The Tizimin version has been published by Brinton 1882; Martínez 1927, 1940.

4. See Brinton 1882; Lizana 1893; Martínez 1910; Tozzer 1921; Mediz Bolio 1935.

5. See Brinton 1882; Martínez 1927, 1940.

6. Chapters 7, 9, 10, 13, and 21 have been published by Lizana 1633, 1893; López de Cogolludo 1688; Brasseur 1857-59, 1869-70; Castillo 1866; Carrillo 1870, 1872, 1883; Brinton 1868, 1882; Charencey 1873; De Rosny 1875, 1904; Orozco 1880; Paso y Troncoso 1883; Tozzer 1921.

7. See Tozzer 1921.

8. Brotherston 1979.

9. See Martínez 1912, 1913, 1927, 1928.

10. This chapter appears in the Kaua and the Tusik.

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Ake, 2, 11
Tun Ak
Al A, 3
Bac A, 31
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Appendix B. A Ceremonial Circuit

Lines 771 through 1080 in chapter 12 (one of the longest texts in the Chumayel) record a ceremonial circuit of *katun* 11 Ahau (1539). The circuit is generally counterclockwise and except for its starting point at P'ool on the east coast it is confined to the area of the modern state of Yucatan, moving along the north coast past Merida, then making a southern sweep through Uxmal to Valladolid. The circuit then ceases to be a ritual counterclockwise definition of boundaries. It wanders through Izamal and vicinity, then heads south to Mani, north to Merida, south again to Mayapan, and back to Merida. Of the 171 place-names mentioned, about half can be located [see figure 44]. The remainder, being named in approximate geographical order, may be located more or less accurately by the use of the accompanying map and the index. The reference numbers give the order of appearance of each place in the text. It is reasonable to suppose, for example, that Tah Aac (number 19) was located someplace between Tz'ul A (number 17) and Cooh (number 20), perhaps closer to the latter, while Pib Haal Tz'onot (number 18) may be closer to the former (see lines 822-825).

Approximately forty-one of the places named lie within twenty miles of Merida and about thirty within an equal distance of Mayapan, whereas only eighteen are that close to Izamal and only fifteen to Valladolid. The western bias of the text (which almost certainly comes from Merida) seems obvious. A confirming datum is the surprising omission of Chichen Itza from the list, since Mayapan and Uxmal are included and Chichen Itza is mentioned elsewhere in the text.

It is significant that the Xiu identify themselves with an eastern origin point when the Itza don't. The Xiu allied themselves with the Spaniards (who came from the east), something the Itza refused to do.

Acan Ceh, 162	Bon Kauil, 88	Chac, 165
Ake, 2, 116. <i>See also</i> Hol	Buc Tzotz, 23	Chac Akal, 53
Tun Ake	Cah Chac, 27	Ch'ahil, 164
Al A, 3	Can, 83. <i>See also</i> Ix Can	Chalam Te, 101, 123
Bac A, 31	Can Zahcab, 106	Che Choc Tz'itiz', 108
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Balam Kin, 137	Cetelac, 71	Ch'een Ch'omac, 138
Bitun Ch'een, 129	Chable. <i>See</i> Hol Tun	Ch'el. <i>See</i> Ix Ch'el
Bohe, 119	Chable	Chi Can, 61

The ceremonial circuit. After Roys 1933. (1 in. = 18.6 mi.) 62

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 Chikin Tz'onot, 7
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 Chulul, 35, 148
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 Cucuchil Ha, 13
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 Cum Kal, 150
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 Hol Tun Ake, 161
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 Hunuc Ma, 42
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 Ix Kil Itzam Pech, 30
 Ix Koh Takin, 10
 Ix Kokob, 153
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 Ix Meuac, 62
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 Ix Mucuy, 168
 Ix Peton Cah, 45
 Ix P'itah, 15
 Ix Tohil Ch'een, 136
 Ix Ueue, 156
 Ix Xocen, 91
 Ix Yubak, 50
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 Kan Cab Tz'onot, 16
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 Kan Hub, 169
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 Kikil, 11
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 Kin Chil, 43
 Kochil, 90
 Koh Takin. See Ix Koh Takin
 Kokob. See Ix Kokob
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 Lop, 67
 Maax, 22
 Mac Ulum. See Ix Mac Ulum
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 Mani, 132
 Mayapan, 166
 Merida, 144
 Meuac. See Ix Meuac
 Mex. See Ix Mex
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 Muci, 110
 Mul Tumut, 113
 Muna, 51
 Muxu P'ip', 115
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 Ninum, 6
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 Noh Pat, 146
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 Ox Cum, 142
 Ox Loch Hok, 52
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 Pakab, 104
 Panab Ha, 12
 Pax Ueuet, 58
 Pech, 100
 P'en Cuyut, 57
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 Piba Hul, 93
 Pikal, 130
 P'itah. See Ix P'itah
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 Poc Huh, 131
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 Tah Cab, 9
 Tah Cum Chakan, 47
 Tamus Bul Na, 65
 Teabo, 128
 Tebe Na, 33
 Tecoh. See Cooh
 Tekit, 125
 Thulil, 103
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 Tich'ahil. See Ch'ahil
 Tichac. See Chac
 Ticooh. See Cooh
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 Tikal. See Kal
 Timaax. See Maax
 Timacal. See Macal Popol A
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 Tinoh Naa. See Noh Na
 Tinum. See Num
 Tipakab. See Pakab
 Tipikal. See Pikal
 Tipixoy. See Pixoy
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 Titzal. See Tzal
 Titz Luum, 149
 Titz'ooc. See Tz'ooc
 Tixaan. See Xaan
 Tixaan. See Xaan
 Tixaya. See Xay A
 Tixbalche. See Ix Bal Che
 Tixcan. See Ix Can
 Tixch'el. See Ix Ch'el
 Tixkanimacal. See Ix Kani Macal
 Tixkohtakin. See Ix Koh Takin
 Tixmaculum. See Ix Mac Ulum
 Tixmeuac. See Ix Meuac
 Tixmex. See Ix Mex
 Tixmucuy. See Ix Mucuy
 Tixpetoncah. See Ix Peton Cah
 Tixtohil Ch'een. See Ix Tohil Ch'een
 Tixxocen. See Ix Xocen
 Tixueue. See Ix Ueue
 Tixyubak. See Ix Yubak
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Xaan, 159	Zac Bacel Caan, 70	Zubin Che, 72
Xay A, 59	Zac Luum Ch'een, 135	

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Appendix C. The Mayan Calendar

Yearbearer Type	Days (<i>Kin</i>)			
I	Imix	Cimi	Chuen	Cib
II	Ik	Manik	Eb	Caban
III	Akbal	Lamat	Ben	Etz'nab
IV	Kan	Muluc	Ix	Cauac
V	Chicchan	Oc	Men	Ahau

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

Months (<i>Uinals</i>)			
Pop	Xul	Zac	Pax
Uo	Yaxkin	Ceh	Kayab
Zip	Mol	Mac	Cumku
Zotz'	Ch'en	Kankin	Uayeb
Tzec	Yax	Muan	

Note: These are counted serially from 1 to 20: 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 (1 Kan equals:)
1 Kan	13 Ahau	1529
8 Kan	11 Ahau	1581
2 Kan	9 Ahau	1633
9 Kan	7 Ahau	1685
3 Kan	5 Ahau	1737
10 Kan	3 Ahau	1789
4 Kan	1 Ahau	1841
11 Kan	12 Ahau	
5 Kan	10 Ahau	
12 Kan	8 Ahau	
6 Kan	6 Ahau	
13 Kan	4 Ahau	
7 Kan	2 Ahau	

Katun Ending Dates					Katun Initial 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		1599	
3 Ahau	869	1125	1382		1618	
1 Ahau	889	1145	1401		1638	
12 Ahau	909	1165	1421		1658	
10 Ahau	928	1185	1441		1677	

May Ending Dates

Xiu			Itza		
8 Ahau	9.13.0.0.0	692	13 Ahau	9.17.0.0.0	771
8 Ahau	10. 6.0.0.0	948	13 Ahau	10.10.0.0.0	1027
8 Ahau	10.19.0.0.0	1204	13 Ahau	11. 3.0.0.0	1283
8 Ahau	11.12.0.0.0	1461	13 Ahau	11.16.0.0.0	1539
8 Ahau	12. 5.0.0.0	1717			
(The last katun: 6 Ahau 12.6.0.0.0 1737)					

Baktun Ending Dates

10 Ahau	7.0.0.0.0	347 B.C.
9 Ahau	8.0.0.0.0	46
8 Ahau	9.0.0.0.0	440
7 Ahau	10.0.0.0.0	832
6 Ahau	11.0.0.0.0	1224
5 Ahau	12.0.0.0.0	1618

Numerals

Written	Value	Maya	Nahuatl
	zero	mix baal	
	one	hun	ce
	two	ca	ome
	three	ox	yey
	four	can	naui
	five	ho	macuilli
	six	uac	chicuace
	seven	uuc	chicome
	eight	uaxac	chicuey
	nine	bolon	chicunau
	ten	lahun	matlactli
	eleven	buluc	matlactlionce
	twenty	uinic	cempoualli

Appe

There is
lordship
Kaua as I

Date

12 Ahau
(1421)10 Ahau
(1441)8 Ahau
(1461)6 Ahau
(1480)4 Ahau
(1500)2 Ahau
(1520)13 Ahau
(1539)

Appendix D. Seats and Lords of the *Katun*

1776
1800
1824
1848

771
1027
1283
1539

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There is considerable agreement among the *Books* on the seating and lordship of the *katun*. In this list Chumayel is coded as C, Mani as M, Kaua as K, and Tizimin as T.

Date	Seat	Lord	Spokesman
12 Ahau [1421]	Otzmal (CT)		
10 Ahau [1441]	Coba (C) Tan Xuluc Mul (C) Zizal (C)		
8 Ahau [1461]	Chichen Itza (CT) Izamal (CMT)	Xib Chac (CMT) Kuk Can (CMT) Ul Ahau (MT) Hapay Can (CT) Can Ul (CT)	
	Kan Cab A (C) Tan Xuluc Mul (CT)		
6 Ahau [1480]	Hunac Thi (C) Merida (C) Teabo (C) Uxmal (CKMT)	Tzim Thul (C) Kak Mo (M) Kak Mo (KMT) Uxmal Chac (C)	Uayom Ch'ich' (C) Cab Xiu (C)
4 Ahau [1500]	Atikuhe (C) Bolon Te Uitz (C) Chichen Itza (CT) Hol Tun Zuyua (C) Kin Colah Peten (C) Na Cocob (C) Teabo (CK)	Kuk Can (CT)	Ahau Pech (CKMT) Puc Tun (CKMT)
2 Ahau [1520]	Chacal Na (C) Cozumel (C) Tihosuco (T)		
13 Ahau [1539]	Coba (CT) Cozumel (C) Kin Colah Peten (C) Mayapan (C) Merida (C)	Kin Chil (CT) Mutecpul (C)	Xopan Nahuat (CKMT)

Date	Seat	Lord	Spokesman
Mayapan Calendar			
11 Ahau (1539)	Colox Peten (C) Emal (CT) Merida (CKMT)	Zulim Chan (T) Yax Chac (CKMT)	Tzin Yabun (CKMT)
9 Ahau (1559)	Merida (CT) Teabo (CKMT)	Ul Uac Chan (K) Uac Nal (T)	Kauil Ch'el (CKMT)
7 Ahau (1579)	Mayapan (CKMT) Merida (CT)	Chu Uah (KMT) Yax Chac (CT) Amayte Kauil (T)	
5 Ahau (1598)	Mayapan (M) Merida (T) Zotz'il (CKMT)	Ahau Can (T) Amayte Kauil (T) Puz Hom (KT)	Hol Och (T)
3 Ahau (1618)	Merida (CT) Zuyua (CMT)	Coc Ay (CT) Coc Ay (CMT)	Antichrist (C)
1 Ahau (1638)	Emal (CMT)	Puc Ol (C) Ol Zip (T)	Ual Ac (C) Ual Icim (T) Ol Ha (T) Can Ul (CT)
	Merida (CT)	Hun Pic (CT) Amayte Kauil (M) Caesar Augustus (C)	
12 Ahau (1658)	Valladolid (CKMT)	Yax Chuen (CKMT) Pat Ay (T)	
10 Ahau (1677)	Chable (CKMT) Valladolid (T)	Lahun Chan (KMT) Pat Ay (T)	
8 Ahau (1697)	Chable (CKMT)	Amayte Kauil (KMT)	
6 Ahau (1717)	Teabo (CMT)	Kak Mo (MT)	
4 Ahau (1737)	Bacalar (C) Tan Hom (C) Teabo (CMT)	Mac Chahom (T)	
Valladolid Calendar			
2 Ahau (1776)	Valladolid (CKMT)	Pat Ay (C) Op Ik (CT)	
13 Ahau (1800)	Coba (CKMT)	Kin Chil (CMT)	
11 Ahau (1824)		Onetzihuit (C)	Antonio Martínez (CMT)

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