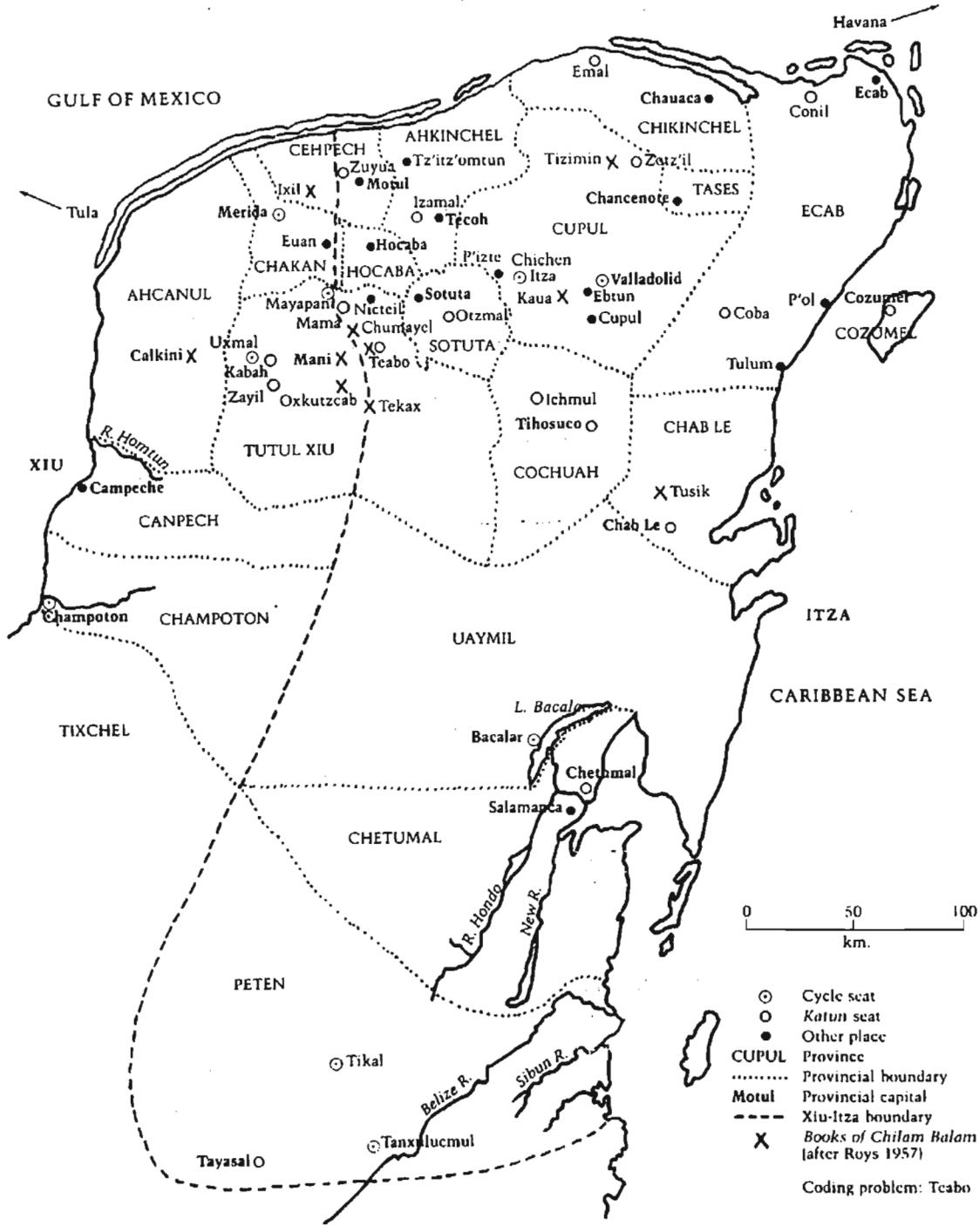
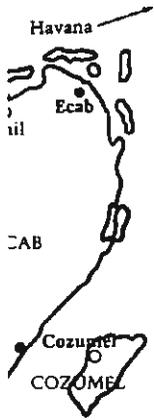

HEAVEN BORN MERIDA AND ITS DESTINY



The Ordered Country: Mayan Yucatan. After Roys 1943.



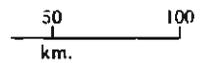
HEAVEN BORN MERIDA AND ITS DESTINY

The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel

Translated and annotated by
Munro S. Edmonson

YAZA

CARIBBEAN SEA



● city seat
 ○ town seat
 ○ other place
 ○ province
 — provincial boundary
 — provincial capital
 — u-Itza boundary
 — books of Chilam Balam
 (after Roys 1957)
 X missing problem: Teabo



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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.

Intro

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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 *γ* 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., Basseur 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 preconquest) 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 (*yuuan 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 Ix, and the day 1 Ix initiated the second half of the calendar round in 1555. In the only really direct correlational statement in the Chumayel, written in 1556, it is clear that the July 16 date is pegged to the year 10 Ix, 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 Ix 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 Ix, 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 Ix years (from 1 Ix in 1555 to 12 Ix 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 *katun*, 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 *katun*, 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

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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., *nicté* '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 (Macuilxuchit, 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	Come is the quetzal;
Ulom yaxum	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	The month was born
Çihci kin u kaba	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)
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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)
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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 uhc i U chictahal u chi ch'een ytza U chi lae	The account Of the counted <i>katuns</i> Of the appearance of the Chichen Itza Says this. (lines 1–4)
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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 antonymy 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, anmona 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.

Act 8. Ceremonial Circuit. This seems to be implied in various other

passages but is not mentioned in the *katun* histories. It may have ended in a *balche* ceremony.

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 te*), 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 ceiba	alligator ceiba	alligator ceiba	alligator 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 Nichte 'island flower', Ninich Cacao 'wormy cacao', Chabi Tok 'digging knife', Ma-cuilxochit 'five flower', Hobon y Ol Nichte 'colored flower heart', and Kouol y Ol Nichte '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 (*nictel*), 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, Pochek Ix Tz'oy (a Xiu from Copo, presumably the Spokesman), and Chac Te. If Pochek 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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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.

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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 Mictlantecuhtli. 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 (*Espiritu*), (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 Espiritu 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 Oxkutzcab, 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 Ix 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-undly 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 Kauh 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 Kauh 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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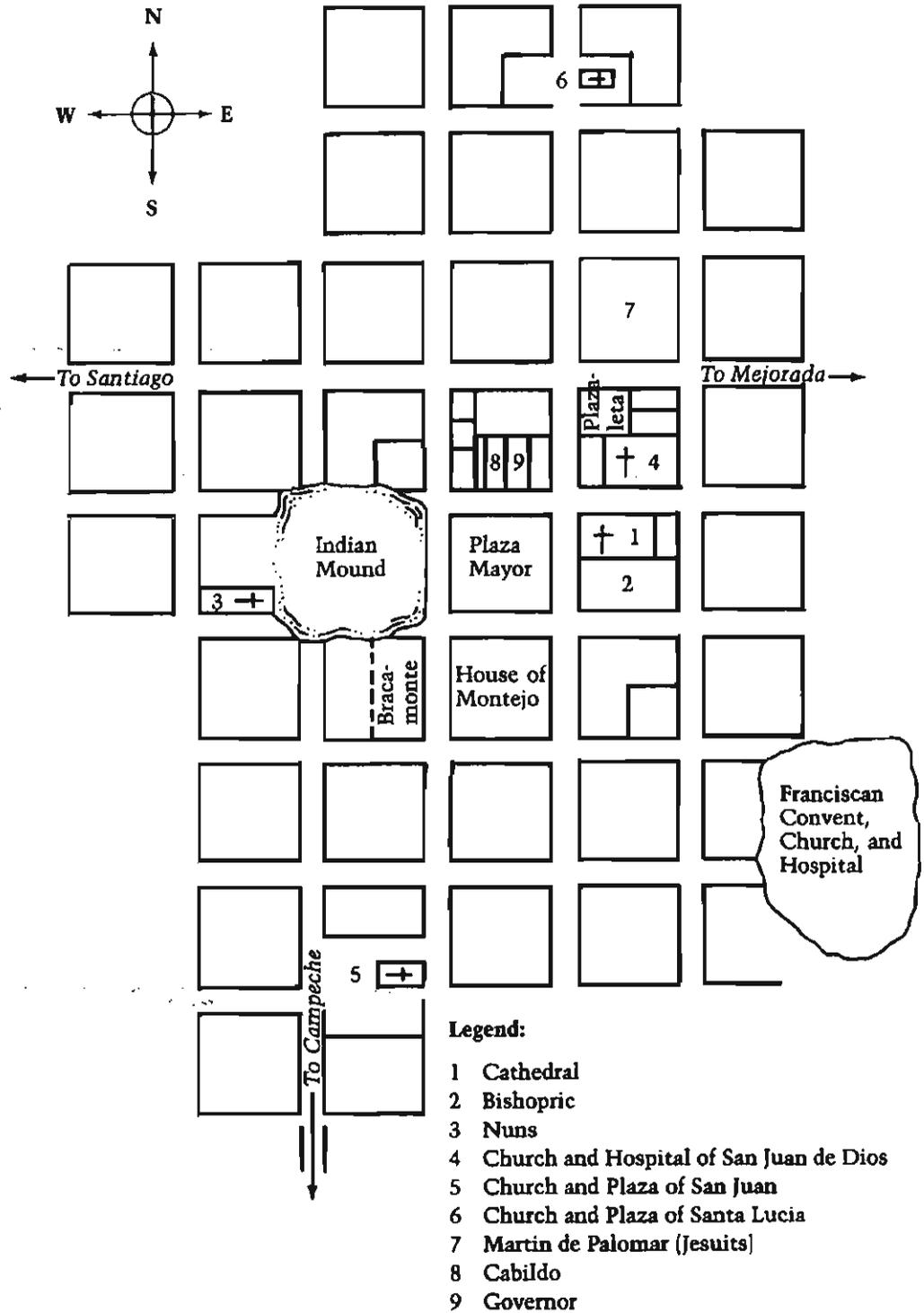
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Merida at the end of the sixteenth century. After Hunt 1974.

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.

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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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HEAVEN BORN MERIDA AND ITS DESTINY

Q.: What is a man on a road?
 A.: Time.
 —Mayan riddle

(74) 9: U
 U xoc
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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 ala
	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
			VII. Uuc
10.7.0.0.0	VI. Uac ahau	6 Ahau.	V. He
	III. Can ahau chucc i	4 Ahau and it was conquered,	III. Ox a
	U lumil	35 The land,	I. Hun
	T u men ob chakan putun*	By those of Champoton.	XII. Lah
	II. Cabil ahau	2 Ahau,	X. La
	XIII. Oxlahun ahau	13 Ahau,	11.12.0.0.0 VIII. Uax
	XI. Buluc ahau	11 Ahau,	Ah yi
	(75) IX. Bolon ahau	40 9 Ahau,	Ti y oto
	VII. Uuc ahau	7 Ahau,	T u n
	V. Hoo ahau	5 Ahau,	Ceel
	III. Ox ahau	3 Ahau,	T u mer
	I. Hun ahau	1 Ahau,	Y ete
	XII. Lahca ahau	45 12 Ahau,	Oxlahur
	X. Lahun ahau	10 Ahau.	Ca pa
10.19.0.0.0	VIII. Uaxac ahau paxc i*	8 Ahau were destroyed	Ceel
	Chakan putunob	Those of Champoton	T u mer
	T u men ob ah ytza uinicob	By the men of the Itza,	U nat
	Ca tali ob	50 Who came away	11.0.0.0.0 VI. Uac
	U tzac le 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	55	The Champotons lived
	Ti y otoch ob		In their homes.
	Lay li u katunil		For that was the <i>katun</i> period
	Binci ob ah ytzaob		When the Itza went away
	Y alan che		Under the trees,
	Y alan haban	60	Under the bushes,
	Y alan ak		Under the vines,
	Ti num ya ob lae		Which was their suffering here.
11.0.0.0.0	VI. Uac ahau	6	Ahau,
	III. Can ahau	4	Ahau,
	II. Cabil ahau	65	2 Ahau,
	XIII. Oxlahun ahau	13	Ahau,
	XI. Buluc ahau	11	Ahau,
	IX. Bolon ahau	9	Ahau,
	VII. Uuc ahau	7	Ahau,
	V. Hoo ahau	70	5 Ahau,
	III. Ox ahau	3	Ahau,
	I. Hun ahau	1	Ahau,
	XII. Lahca ahau	12	Ahau,
	X. Lahun ahau	10	Ahau.
11.12.0.0.0	VIII. Uaxac ahau paxc i *	75	8 Ahau were destroyed
	Ah ytza uinicob		The men of the Itza
	Ti y otoch ob t u ca ten		In their homes again
	T u men u keban than Hunac		Because of the sinful words of
	Ceel		Hunac Ceel,
	T u men u uahal uahob *		Because of his making tortillas
	Y etel ah ytzmal	80	With those of Izamal.
	Oxlahun uutz' u katunil cahan ob		Thirteen folds of the <i>katun</i> they
	Ca paxi ob t u men Hunnac		stayed
	Ceel		And were destroyed by Hunac Ceel
	T u men u tz'abal		Because of his giving up
	U nat ob ah ytzaob lae *		The understanding with the Itzas.
11.0.0.0.0	VI. Uac ahau	85	6 Ahau.
	III. Can ahau chucc i	4	Ahau it was conquered,
	U luumil ich paa		The land inside the walls
	Mayapan		Of Mayapan,
	T u men ah ytza uinicob		Because the Itza men
	Likul ob ti y otoch ob	90	Arose from their homes

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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 uchc 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
KatunHun hix c
Ca tacBolon yrr
U kinilAh pul a
Na poT u habil
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U xocol haab ti lakin c uchi e		The occurrence of the year count in the east.
Caanil Kan cumlahci pop ti lakin*	120	4 Kan was the seating of Pop in the east.
He tun te na cici pahool*		Consequently it was a very bad
Katun haab		Year of war,
Hun hix çip*		And 15 Zip
Ca tac ox p'el i		Was nearly the third.
Bolon ymix hi	125	9 Imix in fact
U kinil lay cimc i		Was the time he died,
Ah pul a lae		The water priest
Na pot xiu		Pot Xiu,
T u habil Do.		In the year period of our lord
158 años	130	Of the year 158.
XI. Buluc ahau hulci ob		11 Ahau there arrived
Kul uinicob ti lakin*		The god people from the east.
U yahtal*		Those who came
Ca hul ob		And arrived
U yax chun	135	Were the first founders
Uay tac luumil		Of these lands
C oon		Of us
Maya uinic e		Mayan people
T u habil Do.		In the year of our lord
1513 años*	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 t
Lic t
Tii uala
Oxli
11.1.0.0.0 9: Can
U ka
Uchc i
U ca
ytza
Tij utz
Mac
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:
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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 kat
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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	U hetz'c ob	That they seated
	Cah	The city
	Mayapan	Of Mayapan.
	Maya uinic u kaba ob	They were named Mayan people.
11.12.0.0.0	Uaxac ahau paxc i	235 8 Ahau they were destroyed,
	U cab ob i	Their lands.
	Ca uecchah i	Then they became scattered
	Ti peten t u lacal	Throughout the land.
	Uac katun i	After six <i>katuns</i>
	Paxci ob*	240 They were destroyed.
	Ca hau i	They were ended,
	U maya kaba ob	The Maya by name.
11.17.0.0.0	Buluc ahau u kaba	11 Ahau was the name
	U katunil hauc i	Of the <i>katun</i> period that ended
	U maya kaba ob	245 The Maya by name,
	Maya uinic ob	The Mayan people.
	Christiano u kaba ob	They were named Christians,
	T u lacal u cuch cabal*	And all the bearing of the lands
	Tzoma <i>Sanc Pedro</i> *	Was ordered by Saint Peter
	Y etel <i>Rey ah tepal e.</i>	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	12 Ahau, 10 Ahau,
	Y uaxac ahau	255 8 Ahau.
11.0.0.0.0	Y uac ahau* Paxci ob Ah conil(l)* Y can ahau Y cabil ahau	6 Ahau Were destroyed Those of Conil. 4 Ahau, 260 2 Ahau,
	(79) Y oxlahun ahau Y buluc ahau Y bolon ahau Y uuc ahau	13 Ahau, 11 Ahau, 9 Ahau, 7 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	265 5 Ahau there was destroyed The land of the lord of the Izamal, The sun face Kak Mo, And Pop Hol the Younger
	Y ox ahau	270 By Hunac Ceel.
11.9.0.0.0	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
Cirr
Chaka
T u
Y etel
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	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 tecuilu 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.

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	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 i
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
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	Lay u katunil uhc i		That was the <i>katun</i> period when there was
	Ma ya cimlal ^h		Painless death,
	T u ho piz tun		In the fifth measured <i>tun</i>
	Ychil can ahau u katunil lae ^h	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 ^h		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 ^h		Of 11 Ahau.
	La ix u katunil	355	That then was the <i>katun</i> period
the land parts of the land. period	Yax hulci ob españolessob		When the Spaniards first arrived
	Uay		Here
	Tac lumil lae		In these lands.
	T u uuc pis tun		On the seventh measured <i>tun</i>
ital.	Buluc ahau ^h	360	Of 11 Ahau
land.	U katunil		Was also the <i>katun</i> period that began
	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.*		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 ^o toral		Bishop Fray Francisco Toral.
riod.	Hul i		He arrived
d.	T u uac pis tun ^h	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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Ychil ah bolon ahau Katun (81) lae Y uac ahau ma ch'ab i U tunil lae Lae u katunil cimc i	In the 9 Ahau Katun. 7 Ahau did not get Its <i>tun</i> period.
Obispo e lanoa lae* Ti ix ul i U hel obispo xan i	375 That was the <i>katun</i> period of the death Of Bishop de Landa And there came The new bishop also.
12.0.0.0 Y hoo ahau Y ox ahau (. . . .)*	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

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Ytzmal
Kin i
Emom c
Emor
(. . . .)
T u p
Pakom i

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

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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
Ytzmal u hetz' katun
Kin ich kak mo
Emom *chimal*
Emom halal
(. . . .)
T u pach y ahauil 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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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

<p>Quinto</p> <p>11.13.0.0 (98) Uac ahau katun* U lahun tz'it katun c u xocol</p> <p>Uxmal u hetz' katun Oclis t u ba ob</p> <p>Chic ix u than Chic ix u u ich ti y ahaulil</p>	<p>400</p>	<p>Quinto</p> <p>Katun 6 Ahau Was the tenth part of the <i>katun</i> to be counted. Uxmal was the seat of the <i>katun</i>. They were being made to steal from themselves, And shameful was the speech, And shameful was the face in the lordship.</p>
--	------------	---

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 chr

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6. C

(99) Pr

11.14.0.0 Can ahau
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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 comi
 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
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Either
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katuns
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and time.

7. The Sermon of Ahau Pech

(105) U profeciado Nahau Pech*		The prophecy of Ahau Pech,
Gran sacerdote		The great priest.
(i) T u kini	435	It is time
Uil u uatal kin e		As the sun is rising,
Yum e		My fathers,
Ti y okçah ych ah te(ii)pal*		That the face of the ruler will be lifted,
Ua lo		Perhaps soon,
T u can tz'it u katunil*	440	In the fourth part of the <i>katun</i> period.
U cominal e		This is his vessel,
U hahal (iii) pul t u kin ku e*		The true child of the sun god.
Y ok lae		Believe this,
Ka u ba		Gather yourselves
Yn kuben	445	That I trust in you,
Yu(iv)m e		My fathers,
Ych ex		In you
T u bel au ula		And in the way of your welcome.
Ytza e		O Itza,
U yum cab cah ulom	450	The father of the land is coming.
(v) Tal t u chi Nahau pech		Come before Ahau Pech,
Ah kin		The sun priest
T u kinil ua		At this time,
11.14.0.0.0 Can ahau (vi) katun		<i>Katun 4 Ahau,</i>
T u hitz'	455	Which will end
Bin u katunil e		When the <i>katun</i> period comes,
Yum e		My fathers.
Satom uil si(vii)nic uinicil*		Destroyed is the moon of the Ant people.

translation is
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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'u		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) hās:

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

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8. C

(99) Sej

11.15.0.0 Cabil aha
U lahc
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THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

2 Ahau

8. Cozumel

(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) <i>La interpretación*</i> <i>Historias de Yucatan</i>		The interpretation
(i) <i>Sacerdotesob</i> <i>Profeciado Na puc tun</i>	480	Of the histories of Yucatan, Of the priests, And the prophet Puc Tun.
(ii) <i>Elom ti cab</i> <i>Petahom canal</i>		Burned on the earth, Rounded in the sky.
<i>U uaom kauil*</i>	485	Raised will be the deity, Raising the ash of his cigar.
(iii) <i>Uaah tan u chamal*</i> <i>Elom ti cab</i> <i>Elom tz'itz' t u ka(iv)tunil*</i>		Burned on the earth, Burned the hoof of the <i>katun</i> period, His tobacco
<i>U chamal</i> <i>Talom e</i>	490	That is to come.
<i>U bixan bin ylic</i> (v) <i>Bin y al u than</i>		His spirit will be seen; His word will be spoken.
<i>Bin y okte</i> <i>U num yail uchmal e.</i>		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

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11.16.0.0 Oxlahur

U uil

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Ualac

Yum e*

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Uch tz'

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13 Ahau

10. The Sermon of Xopan Nahuat

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	(105) <i>Profeciado de Chilam Balam</i>	495	The prophecy of the Spokesman of the Jaguar
	De Zix coyom		Which was also preached
	Ca u ich en*		At the two-eyed well
	Many		Of Mani.
11.16.0.0.0	Oxlahun ahau u hijtz'	13	Ahau was the end:
	U uil katun e	500	The moon phase of the <i>katun</i> ,
	Ualac uil ytza		To return to the moon of the Itza;
	Ualac (106) uil (iv) tan cah e*		To return to the moon of the capital,
	Yum e*		O my fathers.
	U chicul hunab ku canal		It was a sign of the Sole God on high:
	Hulom uaom (v) che*	505	Come is the standing tree.
	Etçahan ti bal cah e		It is manifested in the world.
	Uchebal u sas-hal y okol cab e (vi)		It is to be his radiance over the world,
	Yum e		O my fathers.
	Uch tz'uni to moctan ba		Already there has begun tangling with each other;
	Uch tz'uni sauin al (vii)	510	Already they have begun to be envious.
	Ca tal on		Then we came:
	Ti pul chicul uchmal e		He who casts the signs which will come to pass,
	Ah kin i		The sun priest—
	Uinic e yum e (viii)		This man, O my fathers.
	Hun auat	515	One shout,
	Hun lub i		One rest
	Uil u tal*		Is the moon of his coming.
	Au ilic ex mut e		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		The demonstration,	(i) Ca ua
Y etel uaom che	520	And the standing tree.	Ca ua
Ahom cab hun xaman		Roused will be the land now in the north,	Numteta
Hun chi(x)kin		Now in the west;	U hok
Ahom Ytzam Na*		Roused will be Itzam Na,	U hel t u
Kauil		The deity,	Etçah:
Talel u cah ca yum	525	Coming are our fathers,	La u chic
Ytza (xi)		The Itza.	Lae a
Talel u cah ca çucun		Coming are our older brothers,	Ca a kul
Ah tan tun e*		The people of the capital.	Ca a k
Kam		Accept	Ca kulte
Au ula ob	530	And welcome them,	Yum e
Ah (xii) mexob		The bearded people,	Oczta t
Ah likin cabob		The people of the eastern land,	Yum e
Ah pul t u chicul ku e		The diviners with the sign of God,	Tali ti ca:
Yum e (xiii)		O my fathers.	A (viii)
Utz ka u than ku	535	Verily good is the Word of God	Cuxcin k
C u talel c icnal e		That is to come to us.	A(ix)t
Talel u cah u kin (xiv)		Coming is the day	Ti ob
Ca cuxtal e		Of our life.	Oççic
Ma a sahtic		Have no fear	Ychil u y
Y okol cab e	540	On earth,	Yum i
Yum e		O my fathers.	Y ok t u
T ech (xv)		Thou	C en
Hunac Ku		Who art the Sole God,	Ca in tzc
Ch'abtic on		Who had us created.	Tuçin
Utz tun ba o*	545	It is good then to follow	Y ub i (x
U than ku e (xvi)		The Word of God,	Hunar
Yum e		O Father	Tzuc ti c
Y ah canul ca pixan		And guardian of our souls,	Yum i
He mac bin kamic (xvii)		For someone will receive it	U than l
Hach ocan ti y ol e	550	Very much within his heart.	U yur
Ti caan		To heaven	559. Y
U bin t u pach		He will go later.	563. F
He uac (xviii) u chun		That may be the beginning	565. F
Ca kin uinicil*		Of the two-day people.	575. T

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.

<p>now in the</p> <p>a,</p> <p>others, ital.</p> <p>tern land, ign of God,</p> <p>of God</p> <p>ouls, e it s heart.</p> <p>ing e.</p> <p>redicting the ida] as seat me the po- ary. s good', per- who are un-</p>	<p>(i) Ca uacun to u chicul canal Ca uacun to y etel uaom (ii) che</p> <p>Numtetah u kex a</p> <p>U hokol hel e U hel t u (iii) pach u yax cheel cab* Etçahan helel ti bal cah e (iv)</p> <p>La u chicul hunab ku canal e</p> <p>Lae a kult ex (v) ah ytza e Ca a kulte helel u chicul canal e*</p> <p>Ca a kul(vi)te to t u hahil colah</p> <p>Ca kulte hahal ku hele lae*</p> <p>Yum e (vii) Ocezta ba u than hunab ku e</p> <p>Yum e Tali ti caan A (viii) u ah than be Cuxcin ka au ol ah ytza e A(ix)hom uil cab</p> <p>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</p> <p>Tuçinil e y okol cab e Y ub i (xiii) Hunac Tzuc ti cab e Yum e U than Dios U yumil (xiv)</p>	<p>555 Then may be raised the sign of heaven; Then also may be raised the standing tree. 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. 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. Then will you worship that in the planting of truth. 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 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 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</p>
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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 be-
lievers in the *katun*.

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

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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 juicio*

11.16.0.00 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 juicio

(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 juicio* '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 *utz'ob* is more likely.

*Kin Chil, lord of Coba (1520–1539).
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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 yllil
Y etel subtalil cux y ol
Ca mehenob
T u nictteob*

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
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Minan y utz kin t oon lae		There was no good time for us then.
U chun cimil t u lobil kik		They began to kill in bad blood.
Be hokol u		There appeared the moon;
T u bin u	670	The moon left.
Tulis i		It returned,
Uil u uchac		And the moon of the moon occurred.
C uchi e		There occurred
Tulis kik		The return of blood.
Bay ti utzul planetaob e	675	Thus in the favor of the planets
Ylabil y utzil lae		Some good was to be seen.
U xul u than Dios		It was the end of the Word of God.
Bin tac y oktob y alil*		They will stop sprinkling the water
Ca put sihil		Of the twice-born,
Santo pixan	680	The Holy Spirit.
U kam ob santo olio		They received holy oil
Ma tz'albil u pach ob i		Without pressing to return
Tal ti Dios		And come to God.
Hach manal bin christiano		Nearly all will be Christians,
Ah bal ob	685	Twisted
T u santo oc olall ob		In the holy faith
Ah ytzaob		(By) the Itza
Y etel Balamoob*		And the Jaguars.
Tz'ocan tun ca satic		It winds up then that we forget
Ca . . .*	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.

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

75
priest
katu:
asked
76
76

a,
 he Jaguar.
 sts: Chable
 apan);
 mal).
 ce.
 ough
 urred
 :
 Kib Chac were
 Vest
 Iz was the
 er of the rain
 priest
 ed rain priest
 ther.
 d name. It
 h nick-
 the
 e equiva-
 t to be
 elieve it is
 n a refer-
 tioned by

Uooh: puc		Uoh Puc	
U kaba =		Was his name.	
Lay tz'ibtab i:		There it was written	
Uooh t u tan u kab:	730	As a glyph on the palm of his hand.	
Ca tz'ibtab i		Then there was written	
Uooh. y alan u cal		A glyph where his neck was.	
Ca tz'ibtab i:		Then one was written	
T u tan y oc:		On the sole of his foot.	
Ca tz'ibtab i:	735	Then one was written	
Ychil u p'uc u kab ti ah uooh		On the ball of the thumb of Uoh Puc.	
pucil:			
Ma ku i:		They were not gods:	
Chaccob: =		The rain priests were chiefs.	
9: Ha li li hahal ku		In truth the True God	
Ca yumil	740	Is our Father	
Ti Dios e:		Who is God.	
U kul ob		They worshiped him	
T u than		In the words,	
T u y itz'atil: <i>māyapan</i> :		In the wisdom of Mayapan.	
Ah kin coba:	745	The sun priest of Coba	
(4) Ah kin te ych: paa: e.		Was the priest there in the fort.	
Tzulim chan:		Zulim Chan	
Ti chikin:		Was in the west.	
<i>Nauat</i> : y ah (can)il:		Nahuat was the guardian	
U u ol pa ti nohol e:	750	Of the spirit of the fort to the south.	
Co Uoh: y ah canul:		Co Uoh was the guardian	
U ol pa til lakin:		Of the spirit of the fort to the east.	
Ah ek: u lak:		Ah Ek was the other one;	
He y ahauob e.		These were their lords.	
Ah tapai nok cau ich:	755	Cau Ich of the Embroidered Mantle	
U kaba u hal ach uinic ob:		Was the name of their governor.	
Hunnac ceel:		Hunac Ceel	
U pulbeen: ah mex cuc i:		Was the sacrificer of Mex Cuc.	
Ca u katah*		Then he demanded	
Hun tul is nictē:*	760	One yam blossom.	
Ca u katah:		Then he demanded	
Sac pop:		A white mat.	
Ca u katah:		Then he demanded	
Ca p'el u tan nok:		Two-faced mantles.	
Ca u katah	765	Then he demanded	
Yax ulum*		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 *katun* 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 nictē* 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 k
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 k

Ti liki

Ca ix tal

Ca tu

Ca tal ob
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.]
803.]
806.]
808.]
to dysen
812.]
panah '
814.]
is on *cu*
827.]

	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).
col (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,
	Cahlic		And they settled
	Cah =		The town.
	Ca kuch ob: x pitah:		Then they reached Ix P'itah (15),
	Cah xan:	820	Also a town.
	Ca tun kuch ob: kan cab: tz'onot:		Then they reached Kan Cab Tz'onot (16);
	Ti likul ob: ca kuch ob: tz'ul a:		From there they reached Tz'ul A (17);
	Ca ix tal ob: pibhaal tz'onot:		And then they came to Pib Haal Tz'onot (18);
	Ca tun kuch ob: tah: aac: u kaba:		And then they reached Tah Aac (19), as it is called.
	Ca tal ob: t cooh:	825	Then they came to Cooh (20),
	U kaba:		As it is called,
	Ti u manah ob: than cooh i:*		Where they bought words dear,
	Ti u ma nah ob: can i:		Where they bought talk.
	Ti coh		Cooh
	U kaba uay e:	830	Is its name here.

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'.

monial of

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

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

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 tu
Ca kuch
Ca tu

Ca tal ob
Ca tal
Ca kuch
Ti cee

Cau cel:
C u d
Ca tun k
Ti y a
Ca bln o
Ca ku

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

1),
 themselves in;
 re.
 [22],
 ushed
 zotz (23),
 the hair of their
 there
 on Tun (24),
 finish the
 in (25),
 transformed for
 other,
 re.
 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 c
Ca kuch ob: t ix peton cah:	890	Then they arrived at Ix Peton Cah (45);	U kaba
Ca kuch ob sahab balam:		Then they arrived at Zahab Balam (46);	Macalob: ¹
Ca kuch ob tah cum chakan:		Then they arrived at Tah Cum Chakan (47);	Y etel
Ca kuch ob: t ix bal che:		Then they arrived at Ix Bal Che (48);	Ca utzac
Ca kuch ob: uxmal:		Then they reached Uxmal (49);	T an u
Ti tun likul ob ca kuch ob: t ix y ub ak:	895	When they left there then they went to Ix Yubak (50);	Ua utz: la
Ca kuch ob: mun aa:*		Then they went to Muna (51),	Ua u n:
Ti munhi: u than ob:		Where they softened their words,	Tzol pete
Ti munhi u can ob i:		Where they softened their teachings.	T u th:
Ca bin ob: ox loch hok:		Then they went to Ox Loch Hok (52);	Ca yumil
Ca bin ob chac akal*	900	Then they went to Chac Akal (53);	Ti Dios
Ca bin ob. xoc ne ceh:		Then they went to Xoc Ne Ceh (54);	Lay tzol p
Ceh u uay ob ca kuch ob i:		Deer was their nagual when they arrived.	Lay sih
Ca bin ob p'us tunich.		Then they went to P'uz Tun Ich (55);	La yx tzo
Ca bin ob puc nal chac:		Then they went to Puc Nal Chac (56);	He ob
Ca bin ob p'en cuyut:	905	Then they went to P'en Cuyut (57);	Kabansah
Ca bin ob. pax ueuet:*		Then they went to Pax Ueuet (58);	Kabans:
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;	Kabans:
Ca kuch ob t u chican:*		Then they arrived at Chi Can (61);	T u men
Ca kuch ob t ix meuac	910	Then they arrived at Ix Meuac (62);	Uay: u
(7) Ca kuch ob hunac thi:		Then they arrived at Hunac Thi (63);	Ca kuch
Ca kuch ob u tzal:		Then they arrived at Tzal (64);	Subin
Ca kuch ob: tamus bul na:		Then they arrived at Tamus Bul Na (65);	Kau a:
Ca kuch ob: t ix can:		Then they arrived at Ix Can (66);	Cum c
Ca kuch ob: lop*	915	Then they arrived at Lop (67);	Ti em tu
Ca kuch ob: chee miuan(h): uan		Then they arrived at Che Mi Uan (68);	Em ob
Ca kuch ob: ox cah uan ka:		Then they arrived at Ox Cah Uan Ka (69);	Siçal:
Ca bin ob: sac bacel caan:		Then they arrived at Zac Bacel Caan (70);	Sac ii:

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).

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);
 Jxmal (49);
 en they went

 tuna (51),
 eir 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

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 lalal

 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'.

owhawk

ut 'lusting
element is

ing Stephens.

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

Tz'itz' hol
T u nol

Ca tal mu
Sac nic

Sotz'il:
Uay

T u mul tu
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 pectzilc
Chalam

Pa cax ua:
U kaba

Te kit:
Ti kit y

Y okol ch
Ppuppu

986. R
possible b

988. It

993. I k

my own 'c
1004. F

"[Sanahca
1009. F

hum mea
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	And Zotz'il (112). Here They commemorated that <i>katun</i> . Mul Tumut (113) was its name here,
	Mutul e: Muxup'ip': Ake: Hoc tun: Ti cumlah ob T u chun tun i:	995 And Motul (114), Muxu P'ip' (115), Ake (116), Hoc Tun (117), Where they settled
	Xoc ch'el Boh e Sah cab haa Tzan lah cat*	1000 At the base of the stone; Xoc Ch'el (118), Bohe (119), Zahcab Ha (120), Tzanlah Cat (121),
ere,	Human Ti humn i Than y okolob i Ti human i U pectzilob i* Chalam te:	1005 Human (122), Which was strengthened, Said their belief, Which was strong— Their awareness;
e their hearts;	Pa cax ua:* U kaba uay e: c u than ob: Te kit: Ti kit y ala ytzaob i:*	1010 Chalam Te (123), Pacax Ua (124); "This is its name," they said; Tekit (125), "Which is spread out," the Itzas said;
; them;	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); ed	Ch (.)	1055 Ch . . .
	(.) 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:
	Ti x ueue u kaba ch'een uay e:	1060 Ix Ueue (156) is the name of that well.
anas.	Uhumtal	Uhumtal (157)
ui (132)	Tal hun hatz i:	Came to one division;
e, they told	Ti x kani macal:	To Ix Kani Macal (158),
	Ti x Xaan*	To Xaan (159),
im (133)	Yum xul: uchc i	1065 To Yum Xul (160),
days.	U yumtic u haan:	For the adoption of sons-in-law;
il (134),	Hol tun ake:*	Hol Tun Ake (161),
i (135),	Acan queh:	Acan Ceh (162).
66],	Ti cooh:*	Cooh (163),
then their	Ti ch'ahil.	1070 Ch'ahil (164);
	Ti chac*	To Chac (165)
m Kin (137),	Mayapan: ych paa:	And Mayapan (166) inside the walls.
un priests;	Y okol haa:	Over the water
	Ca bin ob:	Then they went:
(139),	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 tu
 Y e
 Y et a
 He
 U chu
 Ah
 Ca tu
 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:
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 11:
 11:
 Balan
 11:
 11:
 11:
 11:
 11:
 11:

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ceded land.
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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 unicil:
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 uinicil
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 yocol 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
 Wakener 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 tun

Ca hop'

Ca tz

Ca hop'

Ca cu

T u cuch

Ca hc

Ma ahau

Chen

Ca ix ala

Ahau:

cuc =

Coot. bir

Ca bir

T u uitzil

Ca bir

lay ah:

La: ci tur

Ca tun

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.
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 1194.

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

ls

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.

rn towns for
 ibute at
 ar indignity
 ally the
 s (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:

1180

Lay cau ich u kaba u kaba u uinicil e:

Ti cuthical

T u hol ch'een

(11) Cheen ti nohol*

Act 14

Ca tun bin i ch'abil

1185

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:

1190

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

1195

Ahauil(1) 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:

1200

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

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

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.

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.

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 uuil*
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
uchc
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 cu
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

1 of the Itza.
2 there to the

Mex Cuc on
o the seat of
appear in

3 I think this

3 Ahau

Ca ku y icnal
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 1235
Ca t(un) hok i (.) hel y ahauob i
(. . . .)^{*}
(. . . .)

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*.
And then appeared the change of the
katun:
And then appeared the change of
the lords.
{ }
{ }

Act 17

(. . . .)
C(a tun hok i
(. . . .)^{*}
(. . . .)
(. . . .)
(12) Ti numn i.
Ca ahauil 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:
Ciy 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:

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:

1265 Which burned,
 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 kt
 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
	T u menel: ox halal chan:	With three-pronged arrowheads.
em.	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
	U kikel:	Bloodshed
te past sun.	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 katum:	1315 The end of the war
	Ti ob:	For them
ps,	(. . . .)	(. . . .)
	(. . . .)	(. . . .)
edes	(. . . .) tich':	. . . raise
	Na tz'an u	1320 Approaching the
t sin to us,	(. . . .)	(. . . .)
nd,	(. . . .)	(. . . .)
ng	(. . . .)	(. . . .)
te <i>katun</i> 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

	(105) U <i>profeciado</i>	The prophecy
	Na tzin yabun chan	Of Tzin Yabun the Younger:
	U chi	His mouth,
	U than (i)	1330 His word.
rs of them.	Hahal ku	Sole God
	Ti peten	In the country:
	Lay a pak	This is your expectation:
m.	U hokol e yum e (ii)	The appearance of your Father.
em:	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		Give Ye Indeed help in the Word, And indeed direct Your souls, And you will begin to receive the truth. Broken is your spirit In your worship, O Itza.	
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 lalac Y anil Ah tepal e Yum e Y ah ch'aabul caan (vii) Y etel luum tuçinil 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	1340 1345 1350	1345 1350 1355	Forget your finished gods; Destroy your ended gods. That is all That exists: The ruler And Father, Creator of heaven And the lying earth. This is the pain in your hearts That I speak to you then, 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. The word of my punishment is this.
Haaha (ix) kul t a than o Lay u y ocol tun t a u ol U than (x) yn tzec lae.		1360	

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.	In the year Of 1541.
181 Tz'uul A t. 5: Dik: 9 2n hel e*	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 r
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'
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personif)
1370.
is that th
five katu
1374.
is certair
1379.
of San Be
1386.

rd,	9: U kahlay t in tz'ibtah uche i Utzcinnabal mul t u men heregesob	The account that I have had written Of the completion of the mounds by the heretics.
to receive the	8.0.0.0 Ox kal katun utzcinnab i Ca tac holhun pis katun*	1370 Three score <i>katuns</i> were completed; Then it approached fifteen measured <i>katuns</i> .
Itza. ods; gods.	11.15.0.0 T u men tah ob Nucuch uinicob Ca ix ta bin y ala U unicolob <i>Cartabona</i> * U kaba u lumil Y anil ob hele lae Ti y an ob i Ca ul i Sn. <i>Bernabe</i> * Ti cambesah	1375 Because they did it, The great peoples. And then while they were going to speak, The peoples of Constantinople, The name of the land Where they had moved then, There they were When there came Saint Barnaby. 1380 Who had them instructed.
ir hearts then,	Ca cimsabi ob T u men uinicob <i>Heregesob</i> U kaba u unicolob.	1380 Then they had him killed By the people, The heretics, As the people were called.
ar of the	156 u cuch hele e 15 años*	1385 In 1556 the burden changed. It was fifteen years.

into your hearts.
ishment is this.

t the "Maya"
ya. This usage

eigners

nber

[following page]

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 Ix, which began on July 16, 1555. This was convenient because all Ix 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 Ix (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 (46) and finished seventy-five *katuns* later in 11.15.0.0 (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 Y utzcin (16) nabal nucuch muullob T u men ch'iballob Y etel he c en baal u mentah ahauuob He x lic u mentic ob mull e Ox lahun te katun 11.13.6.0.0 Ca tac uac p'el haab i* Lic y utzcinnic ob cuch i He ix u chun mul Y utzcinnah ob e Holhun baak u kaalal u mullil Ca tac lahu y ox kal u much' cuentail mul* Y utzcinnah ob T u yuklah Cabil Peten Bay ti kaknab Tac t u chun cab U patah Ix u kaba ob xan Y etel u ch'eenil Ca tun utzcinnab i Mactzil ti ob T u men Dios lae Caa el ob T u men kak T u cahal ysrael Y etel bobil lay a U kaahlay katunob Y etel haabob	1390 1395 1400 1405 1410 1415	In return I have had written The completion of the great mounds By the lineages, And that was something the lords had done. Hence in fact they built these mounds In thirteen <i>katuns</i> And just about six years. Then they finished the job. Thus then was the origin of the mounds They completed. Some six thousand pyramids were walled, And nearly fifty more made the total count of the mounds. They finished them And they spread all over The land And the country. Thus it was from the sea Nearly to the base of the land. They labeled And also named them, Together with the wells. And then was performed A miracle for them By God there. And they were burned By fire In the town of Israel, Together with the stalks there. This is the count of the <i>katuns</i> 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'iba

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 fa
intends to a
1441. Ide

itten
ie great

ing the lords

t these mounds

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he job.
in of the

amids were

e made the
ounds.

ver

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the land.

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i.
med

alks there.
: *katuns*

d Merida.
As noted
half of the

l. 15.0.0.0
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. 1420

They were removed there
At Babylonia.
They show the relations
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
Ah canul e
Yx sac (. . . .)*
Yx culux chacah:
Y ix mehen pa(sel)(. . .)* 1425
U pasel y(ax)um:
U chu u uinicil
(. . . .)*
9: Y ahau ah nohol.
U chun u unicil ah noh 1430

Ix kan tacay u kaba
U chun u uinicil ah puch e:

Bolon p'el y oc haa u cananma ob:*
Bolon p'el uitz u cananma ob:
Chac tok tun 1435
U tunil =
Ah chac mucen
Cab e
Chac ymiix (9:) yax che.
U tz'ulbal: y an ti lakin: 1440
Chacal puc te:*
U cheob:

The head of the (?) family
Was Can Ul.
And the northern [Uaxim]
(Had) Culux Chacah.
And a little (west) hut
Is the hut of the Yaxum,
Whose head of the family
Was [Cau Ich],
And the lord of the people of the south
Is the head of the family of the
southerners,
And Kan Tacay is the name
Of the head of the family of the
Puch.
Great valleys do they guard;
Great mountains do they guard.
Red flint stone
Is the stone;
Red harvest
Is the honey;
Red alligator ceiba
Is the arbor to the east.
Red bullet trees
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		Ymix yax
Ybillo(b)*		Are their lima beans,		che:
Yx chac*	1445	And red (?)		U tz'u
Akbilob:*		Are their greens.		Kanal pu
Chac yx kan tz'ulob		And red yellowbreasts		U che
Yulum oob:		Are their turkeys,		Yx kan pi
Yx chac op'ool*		And red annonas		Y isil c
Y ixim ob	1450	Are their corn.		Yx kan pi
Sac tok tun u tunil:		White flint stone is the stone		Y ulurr
U tunil ti xaman:		That is their stone to the north.		Yx kan ka
Sac ymix yax che.		White alligator ceiba		U nal c
U tz'ulbal:		Is their arbor.		(. .) kan u
Sac mucen	1455	White harvest		U buul
Cab:		Is the honey		Cabal (. .
Yx sac tan		And whitebreasts		(2) Cal
Y ulum ob:		Their turkeys.		9: Buluc a
Sac yb		White lima beans		U katu
Y akbil ob:	1460	Are their greens;		Uc(hc i)
Sac yxim		White corn		T u pa
Y ixim ob: =		Their corn.		Ca hop' t
9: Ek tok tun:		Black flint stone		p'is te:
U tunil. ti chikin:		Is their stone to the west.		Y ah p
Ek ymix yax che	1465	Black alligator ceiba		Ca tun ta
U tz'ulbal:		Is their arbor.		Chac t:
Yx ek hub:*		And black conch		Ca tali ua
Y ixim ob:		Is their corn,		Xiu tic
Yx ek chuch ys:		And black stem yams		Ta muk u
Y isil ob:	1470	Are their yams.		Mis tic
Yx ek ucum:		And black roadrunners		Ta muk u
Y ulum ob:		Are their turkeys.		Ul u lu
Ek akab		Black-as-nights		Heklay cc
Chan u nal ob:		Are their corn ears.		C u p'i
Yx ek buul:	1475	And black beans		Ca cah i:
U buul ob:		Are their beans.		U hool
Ek yb:		Black lima beans		Yx noh: u
Y ibil ob:		Are their lima beans.		U hool
Kan tok tun.		Yellow flint stone		Ox tocoy
U tunil: u nohol	1480	Is the stone of the south.		U hol u

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 'anona'. 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.

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:	Alligator ceibas—yellow alligator ceibas
U tz'ulbal ob:	Are their arbors.
Kanal puc te	Yellow bullet trees
U che ob:	Are their trees.
Yx kan puc te	1485 And yellow bullet trees
Y isil ob:	Are their yams.
Yx kan puc te ucum	And yellow bullet tree roadrunners
Y ulum ob:	Are their turkeys.
Yx kan kan nal	And bright yellow corn ears
U nal ob	1490 Are their corn ears.
(. .) kan u uih	And yellowbacks
U buul ob:	Are their beans.
Cabal (.)	Honey water (?)
(2) Cab ob =	Is their honey.
9: Buluc ahau	1495 11 Ahau
U katunil	Was the <i>katun</i> count
Uc(hc i)	That occurred
T u pach cuch ob:	After they gathered.
Ca hop' tael ah p'is (luum) lay ah p'is te:	And the Surveyors began to come there to P'iz Te
Y ah p'i(s . . .) lub ob.*	1500 And P'iz Te is their stopping place.
Ca tun tali chac te: aban.	And then came the Red Tree Shrubs
Chac tetic u (. .)b ob:	And Chac Te is their stopping place.
Ca tali uac hab nal hoch*	Then came the Six-Year Corns
Xiu tic u lub ob =	And Xiu Tic is their stopping place.
Ta muk u tael: mis cit ahau:	1505 While there came the Sweeper lords
Mis tic u lub ob:	And Miz Tic was their stopping place.
Ta muk u tael y ah p'is	While there came the Surveyors
Ul u lub ob:	And reached their stopping places.
Heklay coch. lub	Open there was a wide stopping place
C u p'isc i:	1510 Which was measured there.
Ca cah i:	Then came
U hool poop:*	The counselors:
Yx noh: uc:	And Noh Uc,
U hool u poop ah lakin:	The counselor of the east people.
Ox tocoy moo*	1515 The third (priest) Tocoy Mo,
U hol u poop ti lakin	The counselor of the east.

Roys 1967:

is not account

read it as 'an-
inflection is

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		The third (priest) Paua Hel,
U hol u pop. ti lakin.		The counselor of the east.
Ah mis:*		Ah Mis,
U hol u pop. ti lakin. —	1520	The counselor of the east.
Ba tun		Ba Tun,
U hol u pop ti xaman.		The counselor of the north.
Ah puch		Ah Puch,
U hol u pop ti xaman		The counselor of the north.
Balam na.	1525	Balam Na,
U hol u pop ti xam(an)		The counselor of the north.
Ake		Ak E,
U hol pop. ti xaman		The counselor of the north.
Y ban		I Ban,
U hol pop. ti chikin	1530	The counselor of the west.
Ah chab.		Ah Chab,
U hol pop ti chikin =		The counselor of the west.
Ah tu cuch.*		Tuc Uch,
U hol pop ti chikin.		The counselor of the west.
Ah yamas	1535	Ya Maz,
U hol pop ti nohol.		The counselor of the west.
Ah puch		Ah Puch,
U hol pop ti nohol.		The counselor of the south.
Cau ich		Cau Ich,
U hol pop. ti nohol =	1540	The counselor of the south.
Ah co uoh		Co Uoh,
U hol pop ti nohol.		The counselor of the south.
Ah puc		Ah Puc,
U hol pop ti nohol —		The counselor of the south.
Chac yx chuuah cabob*	1545	Little red honeybees
Ti lakin:		Are the bees in the east.
Chac lol		Red blossoms
U luch ob:		Are their cups.
Chachac nicte:		Bright red flowers
U nicte ob:	1550	Are their flowers.
Sac yx chuuah cabob.		And white honeybees
Ti xaman		Are in the north.
Sac ix pach tz'au*		And whiteback buds
U nicteil ob —		Are their flowering plants.

1519. *Ah* 'cane' is sometimes, as here, a lineage name; sometimes (line 1533) it is 'he (who)' 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*.

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 kii
Lay mekta

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

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

16. C

11.17.0.0.0 (13) Buluc
Katun
C u maan
C u ma

iel,	Sac lol	1555	White flowers
east.	U luch ob: —		Are their cups.
	Ek yx chuuah cab		And black honeybees
east.	U cab ob ti lakin.		Are their bees in the west.
	Ek ix lau nicté*		And black laurel flowers
north.	U nictéil ob:	1560	Are their flowering plants.
	Ek lol		Black blossoms
north.	U luch ob —		Are their cups.
	Kan yx chuuah cab ob		And yellow honeybees
north.	Ti nohol.		Are to the south.
	Kan lol*	1565	Yellow blossoms
north.	U lu(chob)(. . .)		Are their cups.
	(Ka)n tzac nicté.		Bright yellowbell flowers
west.	U nictéil ob =		Are their flowering plants.
	Ca tun y anh iy		So when there is
west.	U numte aal cab	1570	A run of suffering for honey,
	Tz'(.) c u samil. u (aal)cab		They provide their honey
west.	Y etel u luch cab:*		And their honey cup.
	Kin pauah tun		The Sun Giants
west.	Y ah kin ob: =		Are their sun priests.
	Lay mektanmail: u picul katun.	1575	These are the supervisors of the <i>katun</i>
south.			cycle,
	Cananmail		The <i>katun</i> keepers:
south.	Ah hul neb.*		Sire Hul Neb,
	Tan tun. cusamil. =		The capital, Cusamil,
south.	Ah yax: ac: chi nab:		The new one, Chi Nab,
	Kin ich kak mo = —	1580	And the glorious Kak Mo.

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."

1565. Identified by Roys 1967: 65, note 9 as *Tecoma*.

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

Y etel u yax cheel cab And their green tree honey,
U chululil cab Their dripping honey.

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.

lants.

(line 1533) it
: latter usage

insignia
ceremony

There is
her Com.

16. Christianity Reaches Merida

11.17.0.0 (13) Buluc ahau

Katun

C u maan ti pop

C u maan ti tz'aam

11 Ahau

Was the *katun*

That came to the mat,

That came to the throne,

Ti ualaac u than Ti ualaac y ahaulil i Yax xaal chac U u ich ti y ahaulil i: Emom caanil ual Emom caanil tz'ulub Caanil Utz'ub Pecnom u pax Pecnom u soot ah buluc ahau	1585	Which raised its word, Which raised the lordship. Yaxal Chac Was the face in the lordship. Descended was the high fan; 1590 Descended were the high branch And the celestial Incense. Sounded was his drum; Sounded was the rattle of the lord of 11 Ahau,	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
Ti y octe tok y ubte Takin yax utz t u ba	1595	Who had flint brought to be colored And money and fresh turkey for himself. At that time there was Zulim Chan; At that time there were western Chontal.	Hal ach ya Ha(14)l Ma concor U cibah
T u kin y an sulim chan T u kin y an chikin putun*			He uac ma
Uiilnom che Uiilnom tunich Ah satal uiil Ychil ah buluuc ahau katun	1600	Hungering were the trees; Hungering were the rocks. The destroyer hunger Was during the <i>katun</i> of the lord of 11 Ahau.	Ma ba h He x oheli Ca ch'it
Buluuc ahau u hop'ol u xocol Y oklal lay katun y an ca uli tz'ulob		11 Ahau was the beginning of the count Because this was the <i>katun</i> when the foreigners arrived.	Lay tun y c Ca bin u Ti tun y ili Ca tun Ua bic chu
Ti u talel ob Ti likin ca uli ob e ‡ Ti ix hop'i <i>christianoil</i> xan i Ti lakin u tz'oc than Ych can si hoo U hetz' katun	1605	When they came, They arrived from the east. When Christianity began also, In the east was its word completed. Heaven Born Merida 1610 Was the seat of the <i>katun</i> .	T u me Ah kin xu Ma ix x
He u kahlay uhc i Bal t u mentah ob Manlahci u thanah Y etel u than ob		This is the account of what occurred, Of what they did. The relation is not finished With their words.	Chen t u n Lay cu a Ca oci nun Ca oci c
He uac manan u nucul t u lalac He uac hun tatz' manci bay tz'ibannil e He ca cici nucbesabac t u lalac e	1615	It may be there is no meaning to it all: It may be an error and not true as it is written. If the real meaning is mastered entirely, Why didn't they see it?	T u men la Ti ul i Y etel hah Hahal D He uac u c
Ma i u il ob e Ma i tun ba hun tz'ibtil ob e Ma ix hach yab tz'iban	1620	How much may they not have written then? Was not much more written,	T oon U chun pa U chun U chun hc U chun

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.

lship.	T u cuch u keban than ob T u ba tan ba ob	1625	Accusing them of conspiring Against each other?
rdship.	Bay u cah y ahau ah ytza ob e Bay ix ah ytzmal		Thus was the way of the Itzas As also of the Izamal,
fan; high branch	Ah ake Bay ah uxmal	1625	The Ake, As of the Uxmal,
	Bay ah ych can si hoo Bay ah citab co uooh xan e		As of those of Heaven Born Merida, And as of those of Ci Tab and Co Uoh as well.
lc of the lord of	Hal ach yab Ha(14)l ach uinicob	1630	The chiefs were many, And the governors
o be colored turkey for	Ma concon u keban than U cibah ob t u ba tan ba ob e		Did not buy and sell their conspiracies; They came to agreements with one another.
Zulim Chan; re western	He uac ma chicaan ychil y an uay e Ma ba hun bin tzoloc i		If this is not established in what there is here, How much more cannot be told!
es; ocks.	He x ohelmail talc i Ca ch'ibal c on maya uinic e	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.
r of the lord of	Lay tun y ohel u nucbes Ca bin u xoc ob y an uay e		One looks at the stone And divines its meaning.
ing of the	Ti tun y ilic Ca tun u nucbes	1640	Whenever the aspirations of the <i>katun</i> are found By our sun priests, The Xuluc sun priests, But Not Xuluc was also the name they had.
<i>katun</i> when l.	Ua bic chucanil u sauin katun T u men c ah kinob Ah kin xuluc		
e east. in also, ord completed.	Ma ix xuluc u kaba cuchi xan i Chen t u men lay c u kinil Lay cu ah kinil	1645	Only by this was the divination, And these were the diviners. When misery came, When Christianity came From these many Christians Who arrived
<i>katun</i> . what occurred,	Ca oci num ya Ca oci <i>christianoil</i>		
hed	T u men lay hach <i>christianoob</i> Ti ul i	1650	With the true divinity, The True God. For this indeed was the beginning of misery For us,
aning to it all: d not true as it	Y etel hahal ku Hahal D'.		
astered	He uac u chun num ya T oon U chun patan	1655	The beginning of tribute, The beginning of tithes, The beginning of strife over purse snatching, The beginning of strife with blowguns,
it? ot have written	U chun <i>limosna</i> U chun hoc mucuuc tza U chun tz'on bacal tza		
written,			
n, which is line 1830.			

U chun cumtan tza		The beginning of strife over promotions,	Ah kan tena Yx puc y
U chun tocluksah	1660	The beginning of the creation of many factions,	U tz'utannil Y okol ca
U chun tz'al pach p'ax		The beginning of forced seizure for debts,	
U chun pak pach p'ax		The beginning of forced imprisonment for debts,	
U chun caca tza		The beginning of village strife,	
U chun numсах ya		The beginning of misery and affliction,	
U chun tocluksah	1665	The beginning of forcible separation,	
U chun u meyahtabal <i>españolesob</i>		The beginning of forced labor for the Spaniards	
Y etel ah kinob		And the sun priests,	
U meyahtabal ba tabob		Forced labor for the town chiefs,	
U meyahtabal camsahob		Forced labor for the teachers,	
U meyahtabal <i>fiscalob</i>	1670	Forced labor for the public prosecutors,	
T u men mehen palalob		By the boys,	
U palil cahob		The youths of the towns,	
Ta muk uchac numсabal ti ya		While the force of great suffering	
Ah num yaob		Afflicted the suffering people.	
Lay hach otzilob e	1675	These were the very poor,	
Lay hach otzilob ma likul ob i		These were the very poor who did not rebel	
Ti lic u mentic		At the oppression	
(15) Cij u tz'aal pach		That was inflicted on them.	
Lay u <i>antachristoil</i>		This was the Antichrist	
Y okol cabob lae	1680	Here on earth,	
Uh cab cohil cahob		The Earth Lions of the towns,	
U chamacil cahob		The Foxes of the towns,	
Uh picil cahob		The Bedbugs of the towns	
Y ah tz'utz'il otzil <i>maseualob</i> lae		Are the bloodsuckers of the poor peasants here.	
He uac bini to kuchuc	1685	For indeed the time is coming soon	
T u kin u kuchul		Of the day of the coming	
Y alil u u ichob		Of tears to the eyes	
Y icnal ca		And the presence	
Ca yumil		Of our Lord	
Ti D'.	1690	Who is God.	
Emon u <i>justisia</i> ca yumil		The justice of our Lord	
Ti D'.		God will descend	
Hun yuk		Everywhere	
Ti bal cah		In the world.	
Hach likul ti D'.	1695	God will be very angry	
Bin tal bal		And something will come	

17. T]

(71)MS Tza
Chac tun
U uayas ba l
Ytz caan
U uays ba a
A ch'aabr
U uayas ba
Kab caan
Kan lol caar
U uayas l
In ch'aabtaf
Ch'abtab
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 mucur
Ti cit
Ti tun e

1720. Bri

e over
 ic creation of
 ad seizure for

urced
 ebts,
 ge strife,
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ble separation,
 rced labor for

own chiefs,
 achers,
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owns,
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 oor,
 y poor who did

on them.
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towns,
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 rs of the poor

coming soon
 ming

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y
 come

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 uays 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		I have been separated.
T a chi e u kan ti tun e		Thou hast shown the yellow in the stone.
Lay c u bin		This is going to be
U ximbal u tz'olic lae		The course of this count.
Lay ahauob	1735	These are the lords
Tzolanob lae		Who have been counted.
Xic u bin a xoc		Go on and do thy count
Ca a nucte lae		When thou canst understand this.
(72) Ti likin uay e*		To the east here
Buluc ahau	1740	In 11 Ahau the
Buluc ahau u hetz' katun		Seat of the <i>katun</i>
Ich caan ci hoo		Was Heaven Born Merida.
Yax haal hop'c i		Yax Haal began it;
Christianoil lae		It was Christianity.
Bolon ahau	1745	In 9 Ahau,
Ti uuc y ab nal		At Teabo
U hetz' katun		Was the seat of the <i>katun</i>
Ti bolon ahau		In 9 Ahau.
Uuc ahau		7 Ahau:
Ti mayapan	1750	At Mayapan
U hetz' katun		Was the seat of the <i>katun</i>
Ti uuc ahau		In 7 Ahau.
Hoo ahau		In 5 Ahau:
Ti çotz'il		At Zotz'il
U hetz' katun	1755	Was the seat of the <i>katun</i>
Ti hoo ahau		In 5 Ahau.
Putzhom		Dust
Kohom		And drought
Uil ti y ahaulil		May have been in the lordship
Ah hoo ahau katun	1760	Of <i>katun</i> 5 Ahau.
Ti nohol uay e		To the south here
Ox ahau		In 3 Ahau:
Ti çuyua		At Zuyua
U hetz' katun		Was the seat of the <i>katun</i>
Ti ox ahau	1765	In the 3 Ahau
Katun		<i>Katun</i> .

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.

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 af
 Emom tab
 Emom çu
 T u kin y er
 Yx ual ic:
 Lahca ahau
 Ti çac laf
 U hetz' kat
 Ti lahca ç
 Yaxaal chue
 U u ich t
 Ti chikin ua
 Lahun ah
 Lahun chabl
 U hetz' l
 Ti lahun aha
 Uaxac af
 Ti lahun cha
 U hetz' l
 Ti uaxac ah
 Katun
 Uac ahau
 Ti uuc y
 U hetz' kat
 Ti uac af
 Katun
 Ti xamar
 Can ahau
 Ti can af
 Uuc y ab na
 U hetz' l
 T u chi ch'e
 Cabil aha
 Ti cabil aha
 Maya cuç
 Mayapan
 Oxlahun
 Oxlahun ah
 Katun

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s 1967: 132,
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is a later in-
ngs disagree
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 Icay.
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 çì 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 l

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 cyr
this and t

katun

Ah bolon y oc te*		That the great one might be installed.
T u kin y an yax cutz*		At the time there was Yax Cutz,
T u kin y an çulun chan*		At the time there was Zulun Chan,
T u kin chakan putun	1830	At the time of Champoton.
Uilnoh che		And the famine of sticks,
Uilnom tunich		And the famine of stones;
Ah çal i		The spirit of drought
Uiil		And famine
Ychil ah buluc ahau	1835	In 11 Ahau
Katun lae.		<i>Katun.</i>

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) <i>Capitulo del Año</i>		Chapter of the year:
Katun		The <i>katun</i>
11.17.0.0.0 <i>Primero Buluc Ahau</i>		Of the first 11 Ahau,
U yax hetz' luum tz'ulob lae '	1840	The first seat of the land of the foreigners here.
<i>Primero Buluc Ahau</i>		11 Ahau
Katun		Was the <i>katun</i> ,
U yax chun u xocol katun		The first base of the count of <i>katuns</i> ,
U hun tz'it katun*		The first part of the <i>katun</i> .
Ych caan çì hoo	1845	Heaven Born Merida
U hetz' katun		Was the seat of the <i>katun</i>
Ulc i		At the arrival
Tz'ullob:		Of the foreigners.
Chac u mex u mehen kin		Red were the beards of the sons of the sun,
Ah mexob ti lakin u tali ob	1850	The bearded ones who came from the east,
Ca uli ob uay tac luumil e		When they arrived here near this land
U tz'ulilob cab		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.

39



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ren will be its

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attle,

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 nicté*
Ti petenob
(. . . .)ca ob*
Nicté 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 *nicté* 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 hich' 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 ytz

Ti tali
Ychil uuc ah
Katun
T u cal ya
T u cal nu

1897. "Ye
also for peas
Itza a capita
tance from t
where. It do
logically, no
nobility wor
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reation,
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come.

neria flower,
nings, includ-
ahau.

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.

T u patan tac yax cul He x tac pul ex y alan patan Çamal cabehe Ti tali Mehen ex e Ch'a a ba ex A manç ex u cuch num ya Lic u talel yam a cahal ex e		Paying tribute as you are first seated, As you bear the burden of tribute. 1905 Day after tomorrow It will come. You will engender And create 1910 And will pay the burden of suffering As the time has come for you to settle. And this is the <i>katun</i> Which is seated then: The . . . <i>katun</i> , The <i>katun</i> period of suffering, 1915 The <i>katun</i> period Of the devil's due, Which was seated in 11 Ahau <i>Katun</i> . Receive them; 1920 Receive and welcome them: The bearded people, The guayaba people, In the sign of God. Coming then is the settlement 1925 Of your older brothers, The people of the capital. That then will be the desire Of the born God For you 1930 And them. And these are the names Of their sun priests: Ah Mis, Ni Lac, 1935 Pe Coh, And Antichrist are their faces At the time when they come, The time that you are paid. Thus will be endured suffering, O sons, 1940 This is the word of our Father. Burnt will be the land— And a white circle will be in the sky
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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 cimic
Bin ex cu
Me x ca a n:

U than cu
Ah maypan
U mehen
U justisiall
Lay ti tz':
Lay ti hoksic
Ca u kax

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.

1967. Con
1971. Her
doctrine in tl
when you un
up, and beate
is apparent tl

re first seated, ben of tribute.	T u katunil uchmal e Tali t u chi Dios citbil	In the <i>katun</i> period that occurred, Coming before the face of God the remote
	Ma tusbil thann i Bee hach al	1945 With no lying words. Thus very heavy
on of suffering ic for you to	U cuch katun Ti culhi ychil <i>christianoil</i>	Is the burden of the <i>katun</i> That was seated in Christianity.
	He ualac C u talel e	1950 That will arise And come:
n:	P'entacil than P'entac (can P'entac) tun ich P'entac uinic	The lusting of words, Lustful (teaching, Lustful) faces, Lustful people
f suffering,	Ti talij Bin ku (. .) (. . . .) in a u ilic ex Talel u cah	1955 Who come And will arrive And then you will see them. They are coming, And they will be the governors
I Ahau	He ix hal ach (uinic) (C uchi e)	1960 Who occur: Those of the two-day thrones, Those of the two-day mats, In these painful years, In the crooked times.
e them:	Ah ca kin tz'amoob Ah ca kin popoob Ychil uay yab haab Ti u coy kinilob i	
settlement	Ha li li U xul u than Dios	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
ipital. desire	Buluc pis u luch* Mol yam u mut U u ich Ti y ahaulil i	1970 In the lordship. Piled stone is his teaching, Piled stone is his word. You will die But you are to live.
es	Mol tun u can* Mol tun u than Bin ex cemic Bin ex cuxlac	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
their faces come, re paid. uffering, O sons, our Father. — will be in the	Me x ca a naat ex U than cuxul uooh lae Ah <i>maypan</i> e U mehen u ba t u hunal U <i>justisail</i> Lay ti tz'aic ti mas cab Lay ti hoksic Ca u kax	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.

Christianity
reasonably ad-

the capital is

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 talel 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 miatz		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 c
Ta muk
Minan uini
Ca tun
Te
Ti likin
Ca hop'i y
Mac ti r
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
applied to l
2008. Tl
word 'man'
root *uin* by
conceived t
the burden
2014. Al
counterclo
2021. Tl
ment' [else
member of
focus of th
the yearbea
2022. Rc
2024. Tl
2026. As
the whole
2030. Tl
apart in th
katun cycl

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cad
his feet.
ound his waist,
his coming.

resent pas-
-2008.

e first sage,

iest.
he occurrence
uinal,
awakening of

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	2005	Then said his father's mother,
Ca y alah u muu*		Then said his sister-in-law,
Bal bin c alab		"What is to be said
Ca bin c ilab uinic ti be*		When a man is seen on the road?"
C u than ob		So they said
Ta muk u ximbal ob cuch i	2010	Whilst they were going along,
Minan uinic cuch i		But no man occurred.
Ca tun kuch i ob		And then they arrived
Te		There
Ti likin e*		At the east.
Ca hop'i y alic ob	2015	And they began to say,
Mac ti mani		"Who is it that passed
Uay		By here,
Lae		Now?
He y ocob		Here are his tracks,
Lae	2020	Right here.
P'iz t a u oc i*		Measure them with your foot
Ci bin u than u colel cab*		According to the word of the planter
		of the world."
Ca bin u p'izah y oc ca yumil		Then they were to measure the
		footprint of our Father
Ti D'. citbil*		Who is the holy God.
Lay u chun y alci	2025	This was the beginning of saying
Xoc lah cab oc*		The count of the world by footsteps.
Lae		This was
Lah ca oc		12 Oc.
Lay tzolan çihci		This is the account of his birth.
T u men oxlahun oc uchci*	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 Likci ob Te Ti likin e Ca y alah u kaba Ti minan u kaba kin cuchi e Ximbalnahci y etel u chich Y etel u tz'e naa Y etel u mim Y etel u muu Çi uinal Çihci kin u kaba Çihci caan Y etel luum Eb haa Luum* Tunich Y etel che Cihci u bal kaknab Y etel luum Hun Chuen u hokçici u ba*		And they matched each other's paces And arrived There At the east. 2035 They said his name, Since the days had no name then, And he traveled on with his mother's mother, And his mother's sister, And his father's mother, 2040 And his sister-in-law. The month was born And the day name was born, And the sky was born And the earth, 2045 The pyramid of water And land, Stone And tree. There were born the things of sea 2050 And land. On 1 Monkey (Chuen) he manifested himself In his divinity And created heaven And earth. 2055 On 2 Peak (Eb) He made the first pyramid. He descended, Coming from There in the heart of heaven, 2060 There in the heart of the water. For there was nothing Of earth, Or stone, Or tree. 2065 On 3 Ben He made all things, Each and every thing, The things of the heavens And the things of the sea 2070 And the things of the land.
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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 chic
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

other's paces	(61) Can Ix uchci* U nixpahal Caan Y etel luum	On 4 Ix There occurred the separation Of heaven And earth.
o name then, h his mother's	Ho Men uchci* U meyah t u lacal Uac Cib uchci* U mentci yax cib	2075 On 5 Men Occurred the working of everything. On 6 Cib Occurred the making of the first candle:
ter, r, t.	Uchci u çasilhal Ti minan kin y etel u Uac Caban* Yax çihci Cab Ti minan t oon c uchi	2080 On 7 Caban There occurred the illumination, For there was no sun or moon. On 7 Caban There was first born The earth, Which we didn't have before.
as born,	Uaxac Etz'nab* Etz'lahci U kab Y etel y oc Ca u ch'ich'aah Y okol luum	2085 On 8 Etz'nab He planted His hands And feet And made birds Upon the earth.
ings of sea	Bolon Cauac* Yax tumtabci metnal Lahun Ahau* Uchci u bin ob U lobil unicob Ti metnal	On 9 Cauac Hell was first tasted. On 10 Ahau Occurred the going Of evil men To hell,
he manifested	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	Because the holy God Had not yet appeared. On 11 Imix Occurred the shaping Of stones And trees. This was what was done On this day.
ramid.		2095 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.
even, f the water.	T u men minan cimil ichil lae	
avens sea ie land.		

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'.

vels in the

nce creator.

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 hep:

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

Oxlatur

Hun Men

Ca Cib

Ox Caban

Can Etz

2148. Tl
7 to produc2161. Tl
tzol kin intinitiated or
of the same
there was a2169. Rc
year 8 Mul

the taking of earth	Ca tun bin ob u tum t u ba ob Ca y alah tun bay la (62) Oxlahun tuc Uuc tuc hun* Lay y alah ca hok u than Ti minan than ti Ca katab u chun T u men yax Ahau kin Ma ix hepahac u nucul than ti ob Uchebal u thanic u ba ob e	2145	And then they went and tested each other, Then he spoke as follows. "Thirteen heaps And seven heaps make one." He said for speech to emerge, For they had no speech.
been created. ance of		2150	Its origin was requested By the first lord day, For their organs of speech were not yet opened So that they could speak to each other.
'ns.	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.
was invented	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.
the invention of rain,		2165	4 Chicchan the Burner, 4 Oc the Burner, 4 Men the Burner, And 4 Ahau the Burner. These are the lords: The four of them.
the awakening	Uaxac Muluc* Bolon Oc Lahun Chuen Buluc Eb Lahca Men Oxlahun Yx Hun Men Ca Cib Ox Caban Can Etz'nab	2170	8 Muluc 9 Oc 10 Chuen 11 Eb 12 Ben 13 Ix
nt		2175	1 Men 2 Cib 3 Caban 4 Etz'nab
was not heaven, stones			

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. There was finished heaven And earth And trees And stones.
Tzolci caan	
Y etel luum	
Y etel cheob	
Y etel tunich	
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 p
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) tc
Mac to
Bin toh ali

11.18.0.0.0 Ychil B
Mex ca a(
Hunac
Hun tz'al
(T u me

Be ci oltzi
Uil tan
uchi e
Cij uil y ol
Kahcun

2217. T
merals in t
2219. B
which is p
2221. R
2222. T
2230. T
west the k
Ch'el blam
of the kat
katuns late

21. The Sermon of Kauil Ch'el

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beginning is

- | | |
|---|--|
| (104) U <i>profeciado</i>
Ah Kuil Chel <i>sacerdote</i>
(i) C u hitz'ibte katun e*
Yum e
Mex ca <i>anate</i> *
Ualac (ii) u talel
Mac bin ca tz'ab*
T u cotz' pop katun e*
Yum e (iii)
Bin uluc
Holom uil
T u cal ya
Tali ti xaman (iv)
Tali ti chikin e
T u kin ob
Uil y an e yum e*
Mac (v) to ah kin
Mac to ah bouat
Bin toh alic u than (vi) uoch e yum e | 2215 The prophecy
Of Kauil Ch'el the priest:
The <i>katun</i> may be ended,
O father.
Poor are our books
2220 To make it come back.
To whom will it be given
To roll the mat of the <i>katun</i> ,
O father?
It will return
2225 Spreading want
And the suffering of pain,
Coming to the north,
Coming to the west.
In their sun
2230 Will be the moon, father.
Who will be the sun priest:
Who will be the prophet
Who will correctly speak the word of
the glyph, father,
In 9 Ahau? |
| 11.18.0.0 Ychil Balam ahau
Mex ca <i>a(vii)naate</i>
Hunac tzuc ti cab
Hun tz'al pixon
(T u me)(viii)nel tzutzuc chac | 2235 Poor are our books
To unite the parts in the land.
There is much groaning of the soul
Because of the factionalism of the
rain priests.
Thus delighted
2240 May be the ruling capital,
Really perhaps over the lordship of the
lands:
Remind your hearts, O Itza. |
| Be ci oltzil i
Uil tan tun (105)(ix) tepal c
uchi e
Cij uil y okol y ahaulil cabob e (x)
Kahcun a u ol ah ytza e. | |

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.

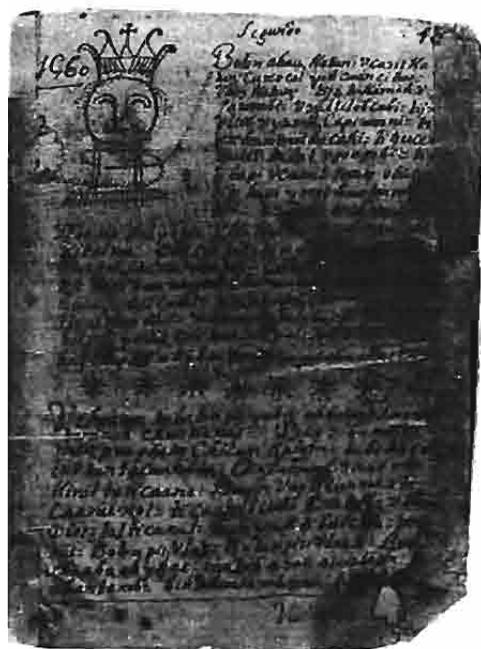
2221. Roys 1967: 165 gets 'believe' out of this line. I don't know whence.

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 çì hoo
 U hetz' katun
- Ti jx t u kamah u patan ob i
 U tz'uullilob 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 ygh
 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 c

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 t
 Bay x uaj
 Ti luur
 Ti caanil :
 Ti caar
 Emtab u
 Tal ti c

2274.
 2283.
 2288.)
 possible.
 2289.)
 2290.
 Hu

<i>Santa yglesia mayor i</i>		Of the holy primate church,
U kakal na Dios i		The fiery house of God,
U xiuil		Erecting
Xitel na Dios citbil	2260	And decorating the house of God the remote.
Ti x etz'lahi		And it established
U chun		The foundations
Uuc p'el sacramento		Of the seven sacraments
Y çatebal kebanooob		And the forgiveness (of sins?).
Ti x hop'i ban meyah chumuc cah	2265	And it began piles of work in the middle of town,
U (.) num ya bal cah i		The . . . of the suffering world.
Ti x u uatal ca ui (.)		And it erected our . . .
Lic u than ku i		According to the Word of God,
Xanomistali		Which has sent for them to come
T u chi Dios citbil	2270	Before the face of God the remote.
Ti y ulel çac tunlah pal		That will be the arrival of the white stone child
Tal ti caan		Come from heaven
Çuhuy ch'uplal u kaba		To the Virgin Lady, as she is called,
U na uuc p'el chachac ek*		The mother of the seven great stars.
Uchucma t u bolon pis y abil	2275	This came about on the ninth measure of the years
Ah bolon ahau		In 9 Ahau,
T u taninah		The confrontation
Christianoil		Of Christianity.
Bay tz'ibanil		Thus it has been written
T u men propheta Chilam Balam	2280	By the prophet and Spokesman of the Jaguar
T u bolon tz'al ab tun		On the ninth giving of the date stone
Te caanal e		There in heaven.
Oxlahun etz'nab u ki*		13 Etz'nab was the day,
Kinil te ti caan e		The time there in heaven.
Bay x uay	2285	And as it is here
Ti luum e		On earth,
Ti caanil xol		In heaven there is grain;
Ti caanil u al*		In heaven there is water.
Emtab u than Dios*		The Word of God is brought down,
Tal ti canal*	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

A drink

Ti bal cah tuxinil

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.

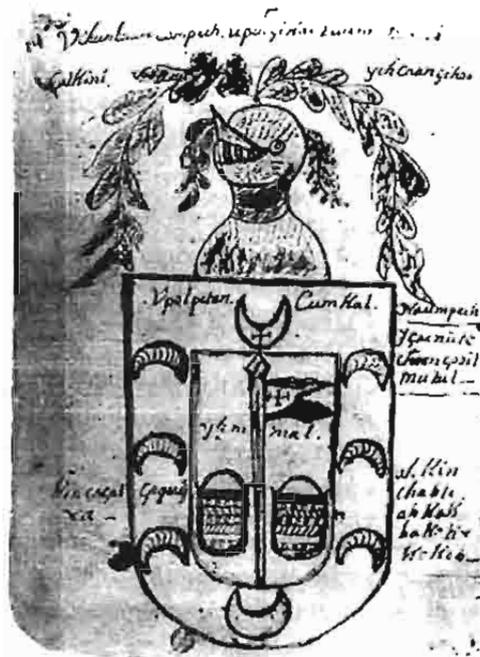
The ninth measure is his bowl;
 The ninth measure is his gourd.
 Thus were the Itza seized:
 Nowhere did you surrender and
 accept it.

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 puçikal 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
 Ytzmrr
 Kin çaçal
 Çaquij
 Naum per
 ch'een*
 Çotz'il
 Mutul
 Ah kin
 Ah Kok b
 T ix kc

2305. I
 2307. R
 Nictè Ch'

24. 7

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 gift of Rob

(85) Oxla
 Katun
 Yax hok i
 U chee

is bowl;
s his gourd.
ed:
render and

ou too,

lit as u hant

U pol peten Cumkal
Ytzmmal
Kin çaçal Xa*
Çaquij
Naum pech y etel cac nictē
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 Nictē Ch'een,

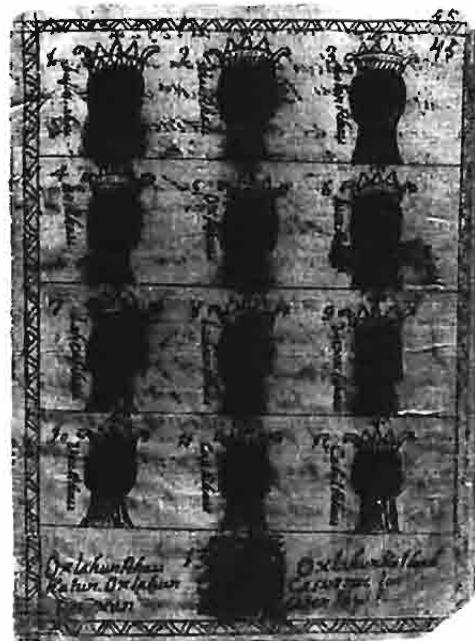
Zotz'il,
Motul,
2310 The sun priest of Chable,
Cooker of the meat
At Tixkokob.

2305. I am unable to locate Kin Zazal Xa.

2307. Roys 1967: 86, note 2 identifies Um Pech as governor of Motul. Zac Nictē 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.



Campeche;
l is at Mani,
erida.

(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.

<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		To the west.
Ti yx oc u patan Ah chikin cheellob i*	2330	And that was the coming of tribute 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	Il 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	2350	Of the settlement And arrival
<i>Padreob</i> Can p'el hab huluc tz'ulob c uch i		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 ob
Thoxc

Mil i quir
Haab

Lahu ca b

Ca tac

Paxci cah

T u cl

Paxci

U cah

Ca bak t

Ca ta

Paxci

Cah u

Paxci

U cab

Mil i quir

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 t

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)
sumel.	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,
	Ah kin ucan		The sun priest U Can
ment of the city	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		Chi Uc,		Hol tun y
Ah kul koh		2400 Kul Koh,		Chichir
Na chan motul		Chan Motul,		Ca utzac)
Na hau coyi		Ahau Coy.		U cuch
La ob i		And these		U ximbal
U nucil uincob ti thani ob		Were the important people who said		Hun hu
Ca bin ch'abil tz'ul		2405 They were going to seize the foreigners		Ua utz
T u cahal lae		In that town		Ua lob
Y oklal u cimçabci		Because of the killing		Bay tz'iba
U hal ach uinicil cah		Of the governor of the town		T u me
Ah (tz) xiu*		And the head of the Xiu		<i>Euangelist</i>
(86) Otzolmal	2410	At Otzmal.		U than
Lahun Kan		10 Kan		Caan
Ah cuch haab ca man i		Was the yearbearer that passed,		Y etel
Ah caxan cah		And the seer of the town		(. . . .)of
Heklay montejo u kaba		Related it to Montejo, as he was called,		Tal can:
Ah tz'ib cah	2415	And the town scribe.		Lay tz'abi
Lay ix hab y an ca man i		And that was the year that there passed		(. . . .)r
Ah luum tz'ul		The foreigners to the land,		T u chun l
Ah mak op tz'ul		The foreign slurpers of annona.		T u chu
He lay yax thox cah		And that was the first division of the town.		(. . . .)h t
He x ca u i	2420	And that was the arrival		T u kul
Tz'ul t u ch'a ob e		Of the foreigners to seize them.		T u y unil
Y ah ch'a ul e		And the seizers arrived		<i>Repulde</i>
Ti ban ob campech e		And grabbed Campeche.		Minan çip:
Ti hoki u chem ob i		Thus their ships appeared,		Ti cici :
Ca ix bini ob al	2425	And then came the born		T u tz'alal
Mehenob u tz'aab u cijl ob i		And engendered to surrender their birth.		Heklay
Oxlahun tul y ah ch'a ul tz'ulob lae		Thirteen of the foreign seizers arrived		Can tul cl
Ca ix tal ob ych caan çì hoo		And came to Heaven Born Merida.		Tal ob :
Bolon ahau		9 Ahau		Ah kab ca
U katunil c uchi lae	2430	Was the <i>katun</i> .		Ytz ca:
U kaylay u tzolan		This is the relation of the count,		U hal ach
U miatzil u y anahteil		Of the wisdom of the books,		Y ahau
U tzolan u ximbal katun		The count of the progression of the <i>katuns</i> .		Çacaal pu
Uay c u hokçabal t u lumil		This was their appearance in the lands		Hool t
Ni tun tz'ala	2435	Of Ni Tun Tz'ala,		Hoch' tur
Chactemal		Chetumal,		Ah me:
Tah		Division of		Che ychil
Uaymil		Uaymil,		He yct

2409. I read Ah Pot Xiu.

2440. F
lladolid. T
major trac
2465. F
my transl
seems odc

	Hol tun ytza Chichinila*	2440	The gateway of the Itza, And Chi Chimila.
	Ca utzac y oheltabal U cuch		Then one will be able to understand The burden
people who said to the foreigners	U ximbal katun Hun hun tz'it katun e		Of the progression of the <i>katuns</i> , Each and every part of the <i>katun</i> period,
	Ua utz Ua lob y an i	2445	Whether it is good Or bad.
to town	Bay tz'ibanil T u men ah kulen tz'ib		Thus it is being written By the sacred scribe, By the Evangelist
	<i>Euangelista</i> U than u yumil	2450	Of the word of the Father Of heaven And earth.
that passed, as he was	Caan Y etel luum (. . . .)op ich kin Tal canal		. . . the face of the sun Come from on high
	Lay tz'abi ti ob (. . .)n ob	2455	This was given to them (?) to them
and, of annona, vision of the	T u chun luum T u chun ca uinicil e (. . .)h tohil than T u kulem tz'ibil		At the founding of the land, At the founding of our people. (This is the) right word
	T u y unil <i>Repuldoryo</i>	2460	In holy writ In the books Of the <i>reportorio</i> .
val to them. d	Minan çipan i Ti cici ylabil		There are no errors. It can be clearly seen
ared,	T u tz'alal ti y unil*	2465	In what is being given in the books, The account
render their	Heklay t u menel ob Can tul ch'ibalob Tal ob ti caan		By the four ancestors Come from heaven, The juice of heaven,
seizers arrived Born Merida.	Ah kab caan Ytz caanob	2470	Dew of heaven, The governors And lords of the land:
	U hal ach uinicob Y ahaulilob cab		Zacaal Puc, Hool Tun Balam,
to count, books, vision of the	Çacaal puc Hool tun balam Hoch' tun poot	2475	Hoch' Tun Poot And Mex Cuc the Younger.
ance in the	Ah mex cuc chan Che ychil He ychil		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'iitz' <i>katun</i> .
Ti jx u chacanpahal ah miatz 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 ynquiçion</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'itz' 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.

7A

25.

Yax Cha
(1579-1.
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
Nictu u
Nictu

2505
this text

7 Ahau

25. The Civil War

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.



(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 miatzil
 U tan pax cabal
 U tan xot cabal
 Nichte uah
 Nichte 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	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.
U be bech kab nicte i U be bech kab katun i*		It was the beginning
Ti u hop'ol U tzintzin loc katun	2520	Of the asshole boils war That is going to spread All over the world. . . . flowers are its clothes, Flowers its face,
Lay bin hun yuk Katic bal cah (. . .) nicte u buc Nigte u u ich Nigte u (. . . .)* Nigte u xanab Nigte u pol Nigte u ximbal	2525	Flowers its [hat], Flowers its sandals, Flowers its head, Flowers its gait. Bent is its neck,
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 <i>justiciail</i> T u chun thanil T u <i>scrivanoil</i> 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	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
Satal tun naat Satal tun miaz	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 thi
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

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Kab war.

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Ch'aaba	2555	Accept it,
Ah ytza e		O Itza.
A mehen ex ob		It will be your sons
To bin ylic		Who will see
U hitz'ibte katun		The termination of the <i>katun</i> ,
U baxal katun*	2560	The smashing of the <i>katun</i> .
Coo u than		Crazy is the word,
Coo u u ich		Crazy is the face
Ti y ahaulil		In the lordship,
T u hal ach uinicil		In the governorship
Chac uen co . . .	2565	Of the great nightmare . . .
(. . . .)*		(. . . .)
Uuc p'el u lac		Sevenfold is the plate;
Uuc p'el u luch u than Dios*		Sevenfold is the gourd of the Word of God.
Ban ban hoch' cal		Many many hangings
U cuch katun lae.	2570	Is the burden of this <i>katun</i> .

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.

5 Ahau

26. The Military Orders

Amayte Kaul, lord of Merida (1599-1618). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, The Princeton University Library. The gift of Robert Garrett.



(91) Quarto

12.0.0.0 Ho ahau katun*
 U can tz'ic katun
 Ych caan çì 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 ce

Chac
 Xul at

Chac
 Uayah

U bal
 U çoc

Y ah tz'a
 Ul

Ca pucçi
 Ychil

T u cal y
 T u ca

Ba tab o
 Ba tab

2590.
 jaguar pr:
 latter int
 both seer
 Chumaye
 2594.
 line 2596
 2613.
 the town

Ti u hop'ol U tza ciçin ti bal cah i		It was the beginning Of the removal of the devil from the world.
Ti jx u binel U u ich kauil Can chebil caan T u can hebil hele be		And it was the coming Of the face of the deity In the four changes of heaven, In the four changes of the road.
Tij u y uchul chuy Tab ti bal cah i	2585	That was the occurring of hanging And the rope in the world.
Ti ix u likil u cal Cha (.)an ti chibal i		And that was the raising of the neck Of the (East priest Ahau Can) by descent;
Ti jx u likil u cal Holil (. . . .) ti chibal i*	2590	And it was the raising of the neck Of Holil (Och) by descent.
Con con mehen Con con aal Ti talij Ti jx (.) u hool chamal*		It was very few engendered sons, Very few born children Who came And who (avoided) the tip of the cigar
Ch'abci u yum bal cah T u ta (. . . .)	2595	Created by the father of the world. He has (approached then)
Y an bin y ubah Okot bot bat Ox chac Ni cen		And will have heard The dance of payment of death: The three rain priests,
Chac Xul ab Chac Uayah cab	2600	Ni Cen, The rain priest Xul Ab, And the rain priest Uayah Cab,
U bal U çoot Y ah tz'a Ul	2605	Twisting And shaking As givers And receivers
Ca pucçikal Ychil patan T u cal ya T u cal tza Ba tab och* Ba tab ch'amac	2610	Of our hearts In tribute. One suffered the pain; One suffered the removal Of Chief Possum, 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'utani 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 Nictu 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 hich' cal U cuch katun	2615 2620 2625 2630 2635 2640 2645 2650 2655 2660	Chief of the Bedbugs, Chief of the Suckers, The hagglers Of the towns. Darkness comes And goes, And then it is finished, And you are beaten, O younger And older brothers. Xaclam Pat Art thou In thy person, And thine Is the end of the count Of the <i>katun</i> period. Flower is his bench Seated on his throne, Which is seen before the Plaza, Before the mat Of the two-day throne people, The two-day mat people. He tied the town And settled The Jaguars of the land By twos: Chief Possum And Xaclam Pat. Painless death Will they give The beginning of their (beating) And they will be crushed. And you will name them then anew, The Itza. In the full swollen <i>katun</i> , In the sinful words <i>katun</i> Of the primate city of Mayan tribute, The East priest of the Zuyua tribute Outlasted the Jaguar And the Earth Lions To the completion of the <i>katun</i> , To the completion of the year. They lusted After the lordship. Many many hangings Were the burden of the <i>katun</i> .
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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

Yucata

T u mene

Sac uin

Ychil bin l

Katun

U chucic

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

Nacom

Balam

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	If they hanged the town chiefs there then, It would end the suffering of the Mayan people.
(92) Ti u çebtal u talel ah uaymillob Ch'aic u toh ti bal cah i.	That was the rapid arrival of the people of Uaymil To take the authority in the world.

27. The War Indemnity

Plaza,

ople,
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ied.
then anew,'
:un
ryan tribute,
Zuyua tributekatun,
he year.

katun.

(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 <i>katuns</i> 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 <i>katun</i> 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
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2674. See the introduction for a discussion of the aberrant dating in this chapter.

T u men yax capitan e Dn. Juan (17) De Montejo Yax concixador		By the first captain, Don Juan De Montejo, The first conqueror.	T u y abil Uchci t 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
Uay t u petenil Yucatan lae Lay li U katunil uchci U kuchul ych caan si hoo Lae	2695	This was in the country Of Yucatan here. It was then The time of the occurrence Of the arrival at Heaven Born Merida Here.	Ca paxi c Ca pax
T u y aabil 1513 años Oxlahun ahau Katun	2700	In the year 1513 V (1540 M) 13 Ahau V (11 Ahau M) Katun,	Ca paxi c Ca pax
Uchci u chucic ob Campech Hun tz'it katun y an ob i Ah kin Camal likul Campech Oces tz'ulob uay Ti peten lae Helel En 20 de agosto Ti y aabil De mil quinientos quarenta y uno	2705	Occurred their reaching Campeche. They had one <i>katun</i> (left). The sun priest Cam Al arose in Campeche And received the aliens here In this country. On the other hand On the 20th of August In the year 1541 V (1564 M),	Ca paxi c Ca pax
T in chicbesah U kaba haabob Hop'ic Christianoil lae Mil quinientos dies y nueve años Kuchic uac kal hab Ca tac Buluc pis hab i Uchci consierto y etel tz'ulob Bay lic ca botic u liksah katun tz'ulob Y etel u y anal uinicob lae Uay ti cahob Lay u capitaniil cahob uchi e Lay tun ca botic hele lae Helel Tz'ibnah en Ti y aabil Mil quinientos quarenta y uno años Yax ulci tz'ulob ti lakin Ecab u kaba	2715 2720	I have made a demonstration Of the names of the years, And there began Christianity here, In 1519 V (1546 M), It came to the sixth roll of years And approached The eleven count of years. There was an agreement with the aliens. This was so as to pay for the waging of the war of the aliens And for the residence of people Here in the villages. Thus the captaincy of the villages occurred then: It was so as to pay this back. Again As I have written In the year 1541 V (1513 M)	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
	2730	There first arrived the aliens in the east At Ecab by name.	2751. I it is zac l. seat, in th Valladolic 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 *zagal 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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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.

2815 The diviners of birds,
The diviners of stones,
The diviners of flat stones,
The diviners of jaguars
Are weak spirits.

2820 Sixteen hundred years
Is the end of their lives,
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.

2840 They have measured to observe
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 <i>santo</i> ok olal ob Y an u cuxtal ob Manan tun ch'apahal Manan tun chibil bac ti ob	2845	In their holy belief. These are their lives. There is then no seizure; There is then no rending of flesh for them.
Manan tun tz'am chacuil ti ob Minan tun x pom kakil ti ob	2850	There is then no groaning fever for them. There is then no excess burning for them.
Minan tun elel tzemel ti ob Minan tun yanakil ti ob		There is then no burning chest for them. There are then no stomach pains for them.
Minan tun tzentzern cimil ti ob Minan tun ch'ibil pol ti ob		There is then no fatal chest weakness for them. There are then no torn heads for them.
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	2855	In sound health then Will people be. But not so are the actions of the aliens Who have come here.
Ca cuxhi y ol nicté Cuxhi tun y ol t u nictéob	2860	They brought shame When they came. For spoiled is the heart of the flower; Spoiled then is the heart in the flowers:
<i>Nacxit</i> <i>Xuchit</i> T u nicté U lak ob	2865	Four Leg <i>Nacxit</i> , Flower <i>Xuchit</i> , In the flowers, All of them.
Minan tun y utz kinn ob Y et sah ob t oon Lay u chun ca kin xec Ca kin ahauilil	2870	There are then no good days That they have showed us. This is the beginning of two-day seats, Two-day lordships.
Lay ix u chun cimil T oon xan Manan y utz kin t on xan Minan cux olal t oon		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.
T u xul ca satmail yilil Y etel subtalil etlahom t u lacal	2875	The forgiveness of evil is over, And shame will flatten us all.
Minan nohoch can Minan y ahau than Minan ahau can Ti lay	2880	There is no great teacher; There is no lord speaker; There is no learned lord To be the one who
U hel ahauuob Ti uli ob lae Tzuc Cep		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) At
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
tribute. Th

	Ah kinil	2885	Are the sun priests
	C u talel		That are coming
	U mentabal ti te lae		To administer things here
ng of flesh for	T u men tz'ulob		Because of the aliens.
	Ca tun		Two years
g fever for	T u p'atah ob	2890	They have abandoned
	Y al		The born children
s burning for	U mehenob		And engendered children
	Uay		Here
chest for	Tan cah lae		At the capital.
	Lay tun kamic ob	2895	This year they have caught
nach pains for	U num yail ob		The plague.
	Uchci u chibil		Its bite has come here
est weakness	Lay tz'ulob lae		From these aliens.
	He bin ah ytzaob e		Indeed the Itzas could come here
heads for	Ox ten hij bin uchic ob	2900	Three times over for one occurrence
	tz'ulob		of aliens.
	Lay tun		This year,
	T u men ox kal haab*		Because it is the sixtieth,
s of the aliens	Y an t oon		We must
	T u luksic ob ca patan*		Have them remove our tribute
	T u men uchci u chibil ob t u men	2905	Because of the occurrence of the
	lay uincob		assault of these men,
	(21) Ah ytzaob lae		These Itza.
the flower;	Ma t oon t mente i		It wasn't we who did it,
rt in the	T oon botic hele lae		But we are paying for it.
	He uac <i>consierto</i> y anil		Whenever an agreement exists,
	Y an u xul	2910	It has an end:
	Ca y anac hun oolal t on		Then there would be accord between us
	Y etel tz'ulob		And the aliens,
ays	Ua ma e		But if that is not so
l us.	Bi y anac t oon noh katun.		There will be for us a great war.
wo-day seats,			

ng of death

r us either:
spirits.
over,
us all.

or;

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).
From the Garrett Collection of
Manuscripts in Middle American
Languages, The Princeton University
Library, The gift of Robert Garrett.



(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 y
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 emc
U leçil i
Çinic balan
Çakil ha
Ox ch'uytz
Ox cucl

Okom bul
T u can
La u tah hc
Auatnor
T u holoba
Numal y

He t en
C en ox
Cumtal yn
Ych can
He t en
C en
Çeçar Agus
Cah yn i
Tan y ol ch
Tan (y c

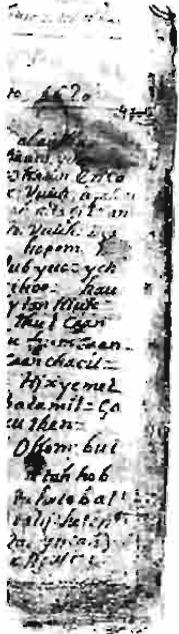
2925. Iç
Cabrones.
(East pries
priests whc
Ay was the
2957. A)
2960. TI

Hopom	There will be ignited
Kak	A fire
T u xulub yuc*	2925 At the goat horns
Ych caan çï hoo	In Heaven Born Merida.
Haulahom u keulel	Sliced up was the robe
Chac bol ay	Of the East priest Bol Ay
Tan kiuc	Before the Plaza.
Pek u mut	2930 Dog was its news.
Çac pat ay chacil	The North priest Pat Ay was a rain priest;
Thul Caan chacil	Thul Caan was a rain priest;
Bohol Caan chacil	Bohol Caan was a rain priest;
Ch'uhum caan chacil	Ch'uhum Caan was a rain priest;
Caan il chacil	2935 Caan Il was a rain priest;
Kuch caan chacil	Kuch Caan was a rain priest;
Thel en chacil	Thel En was a rain priest;
Ceh il chacil	Ceh Il was a rain priest;
Ti jx y emel ox ualah	And they brought down three figures
U leçil il	2940 Who were condemned.
Çinic balamil	Ants and Jaguars
Çakil habil	And Locust years.
Ox ch'uytah u xuthen	Three were sentenced to hang;
Ox cuchlahom y al max	Three bore the burden of the monkey children.
Okom bul cum	2945 Lamented is the bean bowl
T u can xay be o	At the four divisions of the road.
La u tah hob katun	These are the sections of the <i>katun</i> .
Auatnom u pixan	Mourning their spirits
T u holobal cah	At the gates of the city,
Numal ytza et(. .)talij	2950 The base of the Itza who accompanied them.
He t en	Here I am,
C en ox ahau katun e	I, <i>katun</i> 3 Ahau,
Cumtal yn cah	Who have seated my city,
Ych can çï hoo	Heaven Born Merida!
He t en	2955 Here I am,
C en	I,
Çeçor Augusto e*	Caesar Augustus,
Cah yn kam yn matan	To begin to collect my request
Tan y ol che	Among the trees—
Tan (y ol haa) . . .*	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*.

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the Crier
dship.
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dship.

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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 *bendison*:

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

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rship.

ranslated it
men'.

U yumil caan = Ca tz'oc i:*	2995	Of the Father of heaven. Then it ends.
U lohol bal cah ca tz'oc i. U ca put cuxtal		The redemption of the world is over, The twice-born life
Hahal ku Hahal D'.	3000	Of the True God, The True <i>Dios</i> .
Ca u cici Thantah		When they sweetly Prayed
Caan Y etel luum =		To heaven And earth,
Ti kaspah i a kul Maya uinic ex e:	3005	That put an end To the gods of you Mayan people.
Xeth a u ol T a kul ex lae:		Shattered is the belief In your gods then,
U kahlay cab T u kinil =	3010	This is the account of the land At that time.
Lay t u men tz'iban lae = T u men ma kuchuc		That is because it was written there, Because it wouldn't have happened
T u kin u meyah Lae hun ob		At the time of the making Of these books.
Lay picilthan ob lae:*	3015	These are millennial words here For the examination
U ti al katabal u chi Maya uinicob i		Of the Mayan people here Who may know
Uay y ohel ob Bix sihanil ob		How they were born And settled the land
Etz'lic cab Uay	3020	Here In this country.
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;

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).
From the Garrett Collection of
Manuscripts in Middle American
Languages. The Princeton University
Library. The gift of Robert Garrett.*



Ti ma ix chacan
Hij u u ich ti ob xan;
T u chi yx ca tz'oc i*³⁰³⁵

Act 3

U y ahal cab e:
Ma yx y oheltah ob.
Binil
Ulebal:
Ca yx chuc i*³⁰⁴⁰
Oxlahun ti ku:
T u menel bolon ti ku;*³⁰⁴²
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
And their voices are gone.

Act 3

The dawning of the land
They didn't know about either,
The going
And coming,
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 cc
Y etc

Act 5

Ca ch'al
Yx y:

Act 6

Y etel c

Y etc
Y etel p
Y etc
U tep'al
Yax t
Ca bin i
T u y
Ca yx t
U ma
Y etel u
U bac
Uay
Y okc
Ca tun t
T u n
Ma ix y
Bin ci

3064.
and prot
I do not
a single
3076.
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and bloc



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either,

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s.
i fire;
wn the rope;
i stones

sticks

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:

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

Ca ix colabi u cangel:
Y etel u hol sabac:

Act 4

3055 And then were planted the four
changers
Together with the Soot Heads.

Act 5

Ca ch'abi yx kukil:
Yx yaxun:

Act 5

Then was created also the quetzal
And the blue bird.

Act 6

Y etel ca ch'ab i ybnel puyem uuil:

Act 6

And then was created the placenta of
breast plants,

Y etel puccikal puyem çicil: 3060

And the heart of breast squash,

Y etel puyem topp

And breast pumpkin

Y etel puyem buul:

And breast beans,

U tep'ah ynah:

The wrapping of the seed

Yax bolon tz'acab:*

Of the first nine steps.

Ca bin i

3065 Then they went

T u y oxlahun tas caan:

To the thirteenth level of heaven,

Ca yx tun culhij:

And so then were established

U matz'il:

His membranes,

Y etel u ni

And his nose,

U bacilil i:

3070 His skeleton

Uay

Here

Y okol cab e:

In the world.

Ca tun bin u puccikal

So then went his heart

T u menel oxlahun ti ku:

Because of the 13 who are Gods.

Ma ix y oltah ob

3075 But they didn't know

Bin ci u puccikal uuil lae:*

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'.

They are pre-
as the
gremment 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

312
 312
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 the beç

d,	U chicul hay cabal: Lay çac ymix che: U alic cuchic: Ca yx u alhij Ek ymix che: Cu ektan pitz'oy =	3110	The sign of the flattening of the lands. That is the north alligator tree, Said to be carried. And then he bore The west alligator tree To seat the black-breasted weaver bird.
arts.	Ca yx u alhi Kan ymix che: U chicul hay cabal: Culic kan tan pitz'oy:	3115	And then he bore The south alligator tree, The sign of the flattening of the lands To seat the yellow-breasted weaver bird,
grass, ea.	Cumlic ix kan xib yui: Yx kan oyal mut: Ca ix u alhij Yax ymix che: t u chumuc	3120	And was seated the South priest Xib Yuy, And the South priest Oyal Mut. And then he bore The center alligator tree to the middle, Signifying the flattening of the land. It is seated.
he land. of the Land,	U kahlay hay cabil = Culic:		
ands.	Act 9 U atal: Cumtal u cah: U: lac: Canah ual katun:*	3125	Act 9 Its being raised Establishes the town, And the same When the return of the <i>katun</i> is fulfilled.
unt."			
y	Act 10 Ah pay kab* Ah pai oc: t u yum: Cumtal u cah Chac <i>piltec</i> = t u lakin cab:	3130	Act 10 The leaders of the hand [And] the leaders of the foot as its fathers: Establishing the town Of the red noble in the eastern lands,
n,	Ah pay oc T u yum: Cumtal u cah: Çac <i>pilte</i> t u xaman cab:		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].

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ise]. You
orth is the
-is sum-
of the
sm. The
he cal-

ming the
l back to
tree to the
colored
to the cen-

(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 l 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 Nahuatl. 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 pe
 Ti cul
 T u ca e
 Tali t
 Lay u çit
 U çit

3172.
 refers to
 you add
 date land
 3177.

An

Th

3190.
 parently
 since it is
 the 9 God

the lands

the land.
the king pole
the Ab Ain.

ary

ht,

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 çip:		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.

table ref-
hant appears
n,
issing

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':

And then were established the red placed;

Ca cumlahi çac y etz'ebil

Then were established the white placed,

Ahaulil etz'

The lordly placed;

Ca cumlahij: ek etz'

Then were established the black placed;

Ca cumlahij: kan etz'

Then were established the yellow placed;

Ca cumlahij chac tenel
ahau:

Then was established the Red
Death Lord . . .

3208. Two couplets have been inadvertently omitted from the text:

Ca culhi

Then was seated

Sac temal

The White Death Lord

Ah ten pop

As lord of the death mat,

Ah ten tz'am

The lord of the death throne.

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.

Hun x.
(45)

Ma ix.
Lic

Caal:
U n

Cal kir
Caa

Ti tal i
Ta r

Ca kuk
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-	Hun xel i: (45) Lic u alic u mul u i t i c.	One fragment, When he ordered a pile of shoots spread out;
the white-	Ma ix tab u tal u y abal: Lic u yancuntic:	There was nowhere to get his fruit As he liked it.
d was black; hed was	Caal: U mut ti culic:	3225 Harsh Was the news that was seated.
d d	Cal kin Caal num ya	Harsh times, Harsh suffering
e.	Ti tal i: Ta muk y ahaulil;	Were what came 3230 During the lordship
e.	Ca kuch i: Ti culic t u pop:	When he arrived. To sit upon the mat:
e.	(7) Top canal: Hopan u kak:	Fornication on high, Fires being set,
e.	Colop u u ich: Kin:	3235 Snatched away was the face Of the sun;
e.	Tocan ti cab = Lay u buuc: ti y ahaulil =	Burned on the land, That was the judgment on the lordship.
'as not a god.	Lay u chun Licil y oktic u tepal:	That was its foundation 3240 As his rule became known.
	T u kin = numen: chuc: Numen celem:	It was a time to suffer fists, To suffer shoulders.
	T u kin = u natal naat: Ahauob =	It was a time for the riddles Of the lords,
	Can u alic: u ch'ic che: Mol t u kin:	3245 Teaching him to say wooden lance (For) the track to the sun:
	Çatay Babalil i:	He is forgetting Everything.
	Can u alic: u che: Ah muuc =	Teaching him to say the tree 3250 For the crier
	T u ho can be: T u ho can heleb:	At the four crossroads, For the four changers.
	Okom bul Cum t u kinil:	Come is the bowl— Seated in the time
	Momolij = Pepen =	3255 Of the swarming Of butterflies.
	Ti tal i Chac mitan nun ya =	What is coming Is a great plague of suffering,
	Lic u talel ox uin keech U kin	3260 In the time Of <i>katun</i> 3 Ahau, Threefold in a year.
	Ox ahau katun Ox tuc ti hab:	That will be the closing up Of <i>katun</i> 3 Ahau.
	Lay bin nup'uc: Ychil ah ox ahau katun:	
me. 212, but ls were		
., the fate) Ahau. It		

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:*\br/>
 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 al
 Hi u
 Ti ca em
 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 t

Lay u na
 Ca hc
 Y utz'ub
 Y utz

3308.
 teen of t
 Xiu origi
 hence st:
 They per
 3321.
 Flower' i

m.

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*.

him to eat,

suffer the

haggling

un

e up the entry

the word of

hen came

un,

urden.

Act 17

Caat lae:
 Lay u cabil ob nicté:*
 (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 nicté:

Y etel yx ho nixte:

Y etel yx nin ich': cacau:

Y etel yx chacuil tok:

Y etel yx bac nicté:

Y etel yx *macuil xuchit e* = *

Yx hobon y ol nicté =

Y etel yx laul nicté:

Y etel kouol y octah nicté:

Lay hokob nicté:

La o b ix ah co mayelob:

Lay u naa: nicté:

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 Nicté,

And with Ho Nicté,

And with Ninich' Cacau,

And with Chac Uil Tok,

3320 And with Bac Nicté,

And with Macuilxuchit,

And Hobon y Ol Nicté,

And with Laul Nicté,

And Kou Ol Nicté and Octah Nicté.

3325 These are the appearances of the
 Flowers,

And they are the madmen of the
 cycles.

This is their mother: Nicté,

When they appeared.

The scent of the sun priest,

3330 The scent of the lord,

reiterates

ur 1618

sibly

3308. They are followed by the Flower Lords, who are named. There are eighteen of them, led by their mother, Flower (Nicté, Xochit), and they reenact the Xiu origin myth. Apparently they symbolize the *tun* (each being one *uinal*) 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 Nicté 'Five Flower' in line 3317.

Y utz'ub hol can: Lay u cuch nicté 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 =		When they came down And had no existence, 3335 This was the end They said.	
Ma ix uah u cuchma = Tij tun ca hoki Yx haulah nicté: Ocçic u keban: bolon ti ku:	3340	But they bore no food then When they appeared, And they sacrificed flowers, Entering into the sin of the 9 who are Gods,	
Ox te ix ti hab: U kin ca y alah: cuchij:		And three times in a year Was the day when they bore the burden.	
Ma ix kuchi Ch'ab: naci: Ku: Mitnal i =	3345	But they did not come To create the rise Of God Or hell.	
Bolon tz'acab ca emi T u chun nicté: P'islim te. Yax bac: Tz'unun ix U uayinah ca emi =	3350	There were nine steps when they descended To the founding of the Flowers. P'izlim Te, The Green Bird, Hummingbird Were the spirit seeds that descended.	
Ca u tz'utz'ah u cabil = Bolon y al nicté: Lic ychil bix ca ch'a ycham nij Yx hoyal nicté:*	3355	Then they sucked the nectar Of the nine children of Flowers, And in just that way they got mates And little Flowers.	
Ca tun hoki u pucçikal nicté: U ximbante u ba: Can hek ix Lae nicté: lae =	3360	So then appeared the heart of the Flower Moving itself along, And with four branches. That was the Flower then.	

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,

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.

Tij ca uc

Oxlat
Ma yx y
u pop:
Ti ku
Nicté y
Nicté y

Act 19

Çauin
Çauin u
Çauin
Çauin u
Çauin
Çauin u
Çauin
Cool
T u kin t
T u ki
T u xay t
Lic u l
T u pach
Lic u t
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
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and Spite
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Flowers.

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other name

Tij ca uchi u huhu y ol

Oxlahun ti ku:*
Ma yx y oheltah y emel u keban 3365
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 uaat. 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 ua
 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 jest
 Y okol (i
 Josapa

3420. The lordship has been passed and what follows is a sermon, presumably by the Spokesman of the Jaguar, prophecying the fate of 3 Ahau.

oped, snow borne,	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	3440	If one is clever, If one is strong, One part of a <i>tun</i> 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 <i>katun</i> 3 Ahau.
his father, is d. age,	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	3445	And that is the riddle Of the lordship of the lands, The termination of the word of the <i>katun</i> ; And that is the manifestation Of the descent of born 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
his heart.	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*	3455	In the sight Of our poor, Because of the madness of the time, The madness of the <i>katun</i> . The wicked son, The stupid child. That is their birth when they are awakened
ster. ver will end his	Ychil ah ox ahau katun Bay bin tz'ocebal u tepalob	3460	In <i>katun</i> 3 Ahau. Thus will be the termination of the rulers, The two-faced people
he has them.	'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	3465	By our Father Who is God. And he then will bring about the end Of the word of this <i>katun</i> . So then God will be given The achievement of a flood for the second time.
ninate	Lay hay cabil e: Lay tun c u tz'ocol e Ca tun emec ca yumil Ti <i>jesuchristo</i> Y okol (u) komil* Josapat.	3470	That will flood the lands, That then will finish it. So then will descend Our Father Who is Jesus Christ Over the pit Of Jehoshaphat
Gods; tle faces			
at, throne.			
erhood of the			
of the word, un.			
e word			
ns, ntation of the			

3461. I read *ahzab* 'be awakened'.

3475. Gates 1932: 92 reads 'over the valley'.

T u xax cah (48) <i>Jerusalen</i>		Beside the city Of Jerusalem,
U chic u lohic oon T u cilich kikel.	3480	Succeeding in redeeming us With his holy blood.
La ix bin emec Ti noh muyal		And that will be the descent In a great storm,
U tz'ab u tohol Canil hah		Being given the right To heavenly truth.
U mançah ti çinan Ti <i>crus che: c uchi e.</i>	3485	He will be made to pass in subjection To the wooden cross he bore,
Tij tun y emel ti noh u chucil Ti noh ix u tepal xan Hahal <i>Dios</i>		Which then is the descent to the great event, And to the great rule also Of the True <i>Dios</i> ,
Lay hahal ku. Lay çihes caan Y etel luum	3490	That is, the True God. That will bring to birth heaven And earth
Y etel y okol cab T u lacal.		And the world Entire.
La yx bin emec taxcuntic Y okol cab xan T u y utzil Y etel lob	3495	And that will be the descent that flattens The surface of the earth too, For good Or evil,
Ta cil y ah tz'oy sahum ob Ah nunob = _____	3500	Sheltering the weak and frightened And the stupid.

30. The Language of Zuyua

(28) <i>Suyuaa than*</i> Y etel naat U ti al ca yum Sr. Gov ^r . <i>Mariscal*</i>	Zuyua language And explanation For our father Sr. Governor Marshall,
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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 laf
Ti y an lu
U y ar
Y etel u
Uchic
Bin ix ku
U hok
Xan talef

Chac t
Chac c ix
He le
Lay bin u
Lay bi
U hal act
Cah la

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Tzuc U
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tiremer:
3515

Lay uchic u cahtal tzuc uaxim lae	3505	Who has settled here at Tzuc Uaxim
T u lakin ych caan çì hoo		To the east of Heaven Born Merida,
Ti y an luum uchic		Where he has land
U y antal u pakal i		And has located his orchard
Y etel u solar		And garden
Uchic u cahtal lae	3510	And settled here.
Bin ix kuchuc t u kin		For when there arrives the time
U holol u bel		Of the beginning of his road
Xan talel u than u hal ach uinicil		There also comes the word of the
		Mayan governor.
Chac u than ca bin uluc		Strong is his word when it arrives,
Chac c ix u buc xan [†]	3515	And rather strong is his judgment too.
He le ac t u suyua than		Indeed this is in Zuyua language!
Lay bin u than		This will be the language,
Lay bin u kat		These will be the questions
U hal ach uinicil		Of the governing people
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*.

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s 1967: 88,

Ca bin kuchuc t u kin U tz'ocol u than Ah ox ahau Katun		When the time comes To finish the speech Of 3 Ahau <i>Katun</i>
Ca bin culac U y anal katun Ah hun ahau Katun	3525	And we arrive At the <i>katun</i> period Of the 1 Ahau <i>Katun.</i>
Bay alanil lae He x katun hele lae Ox ahau Katun	3530	Thus is the saying then, For indeed the <i>katun</i> changes then, The 3 Ahau <i>Katun.</i>
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	3535	For it is come To the time Of the end of its lordship And glory, And therefore Its period ceases. For indeed 1 Ahau 3540 <i>Katun</i> is seated
Ychil y otoch 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	3540	In the house of 3 Ahau <i>Katun</i> then. He arrives there And is given leave 3545 By 3 Ahau <i>Katun</i> then. He will be shamed, And his things will go to the villagers.
(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	3550	The questions And answers Come into the <i>katun</i> , 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
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*	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*
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of Merida
Amayte k
1658). *Fro*
of Manus
Language.
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Bin katab
Bin u k
Taleç kin
(. . . .
Ci bin u t

Bay bir

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Ca a lath
T in pl
Ti ch'icaa
Caanil
T an chun
U pucs

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3564. R
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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 Bin u kat ob u hanal Taleç kin (. . . .)* Ci bin u than hal ach uinic ti ob*	3565 That is to be asked of them then: They will ask them for food. "Bring the sun," (. . . .) 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. "Bring the sun, My son, then, And stack it On my plate,
Tal ex kin Mehen e Ca a lathab T in plato Ti ch'icaan lanza Caanil cruz T an chumuc U pucsikal	3575 Which is pierced by the lance Of the high cross That is in the middle 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 head? 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).

anges then,

to the

questions
age officials:

coming of

lords
pages

ic phrase

wing page]

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 pucsikak 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 cah		To be seen by the headman 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 I
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.
r piled over it
hen,
ere.

secret word
of them
brains of heaven
adman

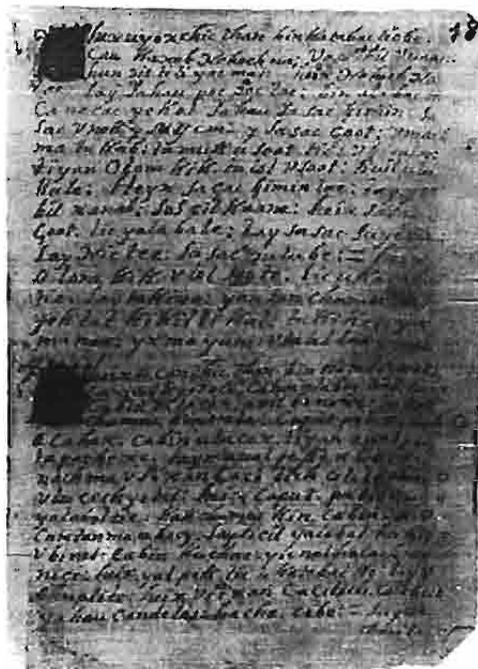
en.
ren,
Zuyua.
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of them
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his:
d hair then.
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be held in his
te horse,

White
ney.

Top: Yax Chuen, lord of Valladolid (1658-1677). Bottom: Lahun Chan, lord of Chable (1677-1697). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, 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

3620 Which has a ball of rubber
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? Invisi^hle shadow: Punry? 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 <i>candelas hacha</i> 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 :
Buil 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 i
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.

re told,
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 then
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 h him."
 rance that is
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 w,
 ig jointly.
 governor.
 e is asked for,

of our blessed

sweet wax

t word

ere

id you

if God the
 hen:

thirteen folds

illias there,

ns. White

He ix cuxul ak e Lay u chochel keken e He ix u chun cho e U chun u ne chop	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:
<i>Suyua</i> Than	3700	Zuyua Language.
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	(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,
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 <i>chicam</i> e Ca p'el kankan i U natul u chuc U chucul u ba tabil cah	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
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	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.
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	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
	3725	Among the nobles. 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.

3701. Riddle. Man of the well bottom? Gourdroot.

3718. Metaphor. Stars go out: the end.

3722. Pun? *Bul cum* 'black beans' or 'dark whales'.Lay kaxan
yuma che
Ch'a pa
Binsabal uYax hal
Lay u tz'ocLay bin
Y okol u c
U co ka
Bin y ub o
Ca bin t
U ball ob
U ba tal
Lay bin y a
Hijtz'ebCa bin tz'c
Ah ox z
Chucum u
T u mei(33) Bay b
C u chu
Kahlay
Ucheba
U tz'aic ob
uinicobCa bin t
Hich'om u
Xotom
Colom u t
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 t

3732. A

3746. T

3757. Bl

3762. K.

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—
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here.
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of the deep,
les
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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*.

3740 They will come to hear exactly
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.

3760 And so the lineages there
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 at-
tested 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		This is the convocation and review,	
U hochbilan ci otzil y ilabal		The examination and correct review	
U ch'ibal		Of the lineages	
Hal ach uinic	3770	Of the governors	
Ti luum		In the land	
Uay e		Here.	
Lay bin cuxlac t u kinil		This is to be the experience of the time.	
Lay ix bin kamic yax Bara xan*		This also then is to be the taking of	
		new staffs.	
Bay tun bin hetz' luum	3775	Thus then will be the seating of lands	
Nahbal		And houses	
U ch'ibal		Of the lineages	
Maya uinicob		Of the Mayan people	
Uay		Here	
T u cahal yucatan	3780	In the region of Yucatan.	
T u ca sut lae		And so again here	
Dios pay be tz'ocebal		God divides and ends	
Uay		This	
Y okol cab lae		Our world.	
Lay u hahil ahau	3785	He is the true lord	
Bin tac u kat t oon		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.



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 uinicilob
Y etel y ahaulilob
U tepalob
Ci otzil y ilabal
U cux olalob
U mek tanma
U tzicilteil ob

These are our lords.
These are our gods then,
Their stones
3790 And their harvest.
And he asks for the expected wine
And mead
For no one of them
Is to be killed.
3795 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,
3800 The lineages of the officials
Who know what will come
To mankind
And to the lordships
And the rulers.
3805 Joyful is the sight
And encouragement
Of the government
And the rites.

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the taking of

ating of lands

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in Classic

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 lol 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 t

Y etel hu
Bolon t

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

Suyuo
Than

He yx u l
Lic u k

Ek
Ti caar

hem

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

of the bush;
the land.

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

oman,
oman,

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

me,

Xen payal a kob t en

and stuffed

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

of the villages

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

me here,"

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

nelt

different

Uay
Ti luum be
Suyua
Than
He yx u lol akab
Lic u katabal ti e

is
s) . . .g vine?
oman with

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 y
Y an t
Ua hal a
Be
Yum e b
Cij u
He x u l
Lic u

vine
earth,
h, as it is

ere.

the clearings
ed together—

i,
to be born

ce."

heaven.
ast,
there,

er,"

caven then
),

pack.

nd bring it:

bring it be-

Te y an u boy t u pach e
Tzelep kin cochom
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
El el 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 bacel 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 mehen e	3990	And the new throne of my 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 l
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 ect
Cij tun t
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
Hijj ci
Tun y
Ta muk y
Lic ta
Bee meh
Cij tun
Hal ach t
Bee n
Bee u et
Bin tu
Y etel a
Y etel
A ti al te
A ti al
meher

en:	He x u bachel y ix mehen e	And the bone of his daughter,
fire	Lay u holil bal che e	That is the last of the mead.
plants	He x u chac bachel lic y alic e	And the thigh that is mentioned
	Lay u cheel bal che e	Is the balche tree.
	He x u kab y ix mehen e	4015 And the arm of his daughter,
	Lay u kab bal che e	That is a branch of balche.
	He yx licil y alic y okol e	And as he is told to cry,
	Calhal u than	His speech is hoarse.
	Ca tun xic u tz'ab ti	Then when it is going to be given to
daughter,	T en cul u ba	him
	Ch'u u than	4020 He has seated himself.
	Tescun u than ca bin kuchuc	Sweet is his speech.
		Welcomed is his speech when it
		comes.
ir persons	Yum e he lay a u ix mehen a	"Father, here indeed is that daughter
ints.	A tz'ah yn canante lic a u alic	You gave me to protect, as you said,
of my	C ech yum e	4025 O father,
	C ech ah tepal e	O ruler."
er:	Cij tun u than u mehen ti e	So speaks the son to him.
	Bee mehen e	"Yes, son,
	U et hal ach uinicil e	Fellow governor,
	U et ah tepalil e	4030 Fellow ruler,
	Kahaan baca t ech	Remember you are a child.
	A u ohel baca	You know the child."
ne	Cij u than	So he says,
'	Lay tun u kikel u ix mehen	"Here then is my daughter's blood
er."	Lic yn katic t ech lae	4035 As I asked you."
e left ear of a	Oxlahun num tun	Thirteen minutes then
	U manel u kikel y ix mehen u	The daughter's blood is passed before
it is clear."	tan tun	the stone,
d of his	Y okol y ix mehen ti che lic t u	Over the daughter in the log as
	tan cabal	before the earth,
	Hijj ci	The jar of wine
trails,	Tun y okol	4040 With the stone over it.
ib:	Ta muk y ilic t ichin	While he looks inside it
daughter,	Lic ta muk u than	As he speaks.
steep the wine.	Bee mehen e	"Yes, son."
throne,	Cij tun u than ta muk y okol	So he says then while he is over it,
glyph stone of	Hal ach uinic ech e	4045 "You are a governor then.
	Bee mehen e ah tepal chi xan	Yes, son, you are a ruler now also.
ild-bee	Bee u et hal ach uinicil e	So we are fellow governors.
ie.	Bin tun yn kub a pop	Then I shall confer your mat
	Y etel a tz'am	And your throne
	Y etel a u ahaulil c ech mehen e	4050 And your lordship upon you, son.
	A ti al tepal	Yours is the rule;
	A ti al ix ahaulil xan c ech	Yours is the lordship also, son."
	mehen e	

comb.
the wild
at high?

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.
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	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."

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 lic
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

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Scent g
4121
4131

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governor

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Cay bacac yum e		"Then it will be so served, father."
He x lic u katic e		And what it is that he requests
Lay hoyob e		Is sprinkling
Licil u tocabal pom e		And burning incense.
He x u hoch'il akab lic u katic e	4095	And the spoons of night he asks for
Lay kan e		Is cordage.
He x u tz'omel caan e		And the brains of heaven
Lay pom e		Is incense.
Suyua		Zuyua
Than	4100	Language.
Mehen e ca a tales t en*		(15.) "Son, go bring me
U bachel a yum		The bones of your father
Lay a mucah ox p'el hab hi e		That you buried three years ago.
Hach y an u ol		I have a great desire
U ilab	4105	That they be seen."
Cay bacac yum e		"Then it will be so served, father."
He x lic u katic e		And what he is asking for
Lay tz'ijn e pibbil		Is manioc, baked.
Ca xic tz'abil		Then it will be served
Ti hal ach uinic	4110	To the governor.
Mehen e ca a tales t en*		(16.) "Son, go bring me
Hun tul noh xib		A grown man
Lay ma kalan u bo tonil		Without grabbing his high balls,
U ha bon e		His water sac;
Hom	4115	Sunk
Tochac u kaba e		And impotent is his name."
Cay bacac be yum e		"Then it will be so served, father."
He x lic u katic e		And what he is asking for
Lay ybach e		Is armadillo
Yx uech e	4120	And armadillo meat.
Mehen e ca a tales t en*		(17.) "Son, go bring me
Ox buh caan		Three slices of heaven.
Y an u ol yn hantante		I have a desire to eat it."
Cay bacac be yum e		"Then it will be so served, father."
(39) He x	4125	And what it is
Lic u katic e		That he is asking for
Thohob çac a e		Is bowls of corn gruel—
Lay om çac a e		That is corn gruel foam.
Suyua thanil		In Zuyua language
Bin katabal t u lalac	4130	Everything is requested.
Mehen e ca a tales t en u chun cij*		(18.) "Son, go bring me maguey root,
U cucutil cij		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 ciillte 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.
4155 (20.) "Son, go speak
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 ta
Y e
Y etel
Y e
Lay yn
Cay
He x
Ah
He x u
U k
He x u
U p
He x u
U n
He x u
U c
Suyua
Meh
U caz
Y a
Cay ba
He

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	Cay bacac be yum e		"It shall be so served, father."
	He x balam		And the jaguar
	Lic u katic e	4175	That he asks for,
	Lay haleuu e		That is agouti.
ed, father."	Suyua than		Zuyua language.
is asking for	Mehen e ca a tales t en*		(22.) "Son, go bring me
	Uuc y al u pix		Seven knee babies
	Yx ma yum	4180	And orphans.
g it to him.	Y an u ol		I have a desire
ills it,	Yn hantante		To eat them
	T u kin i		At the beginning
ol for his	Uil u hantabal e		And end of my dinner."
	Cay bacac yum e	4185	"It shall be served, father."
	He x lic u katic e		And what it is that he is asking for
	Lay tz'otob		Is stuffed leaves
	Chay e		Of cabbage.
	Mehen e ca a tales t en*		(23.) "Son, go bring me
ather."	Yax tzublalob uay e	4190	Green dandies here.
is asking for	Ca tac ob ti okot		Let them come dancing
	Yn chaante		So I can watch it.
	Y et tal ob u pax		And bring with them drums
	Y etel çoot		And rattles
	Y etel u ual	4195	And fans
	Y etel u kab u pax		And drumsticks.
round	Lay yn pakob		These are my expectations."
	Cay bacac yum e		"It shall be served, father."
birds	He x lic u katic e		And what it is that he is asking for
ig fig tree,	Ah tzo	4200	Is turkeys,
he shadow of	He x u pax e		And their drums
	U koo		Are their pouches,
	He x u çoot e		And their rattles
is asking for	U pol		Are their crests,
	He x u ual e	4205	And their fans
if the owner	U ne		Are their tails,
	He x u kab u pax e		And their drumsticks
lady,	U chac bacel		Are their thighs.
nd	Suyua than		Zuyua language.
	Mehen e ca a tales t en*	4210	(24.) "Son, go bring me
	U caz peten		The stink of the country.
	Y an u ol yn han(40)tante		I want to eat it."
ig	Cay bacac yum e		"It shall be served, father."
ny food.	He x lic u katic e		And what it is that he is asking for
guar."			

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	4215	Is the juice	Mehen
Cab		Of honey:	Sa b
Suyua		Zuyua.	Lay san
Mehen e ca a tales t en*		(25.) "Son, go bring me	Cay
U tun chil chuh cab		The stone in burning hot honey.	He x li
Lay elel e	4220	It is to be burning.	Lay
Y et talel y alil i		And bring with it the juice	Mehen
U chebal		Of its tree	Yax
Yn tupic uay		So I can extinguish it here,	Yayax t
Ix u xicil t in tan e		And take it apart before me."	Y an
He x	4225	And what it is	Cay ba
Lic u katic e		That he is asking for	He >
Pibil		Is oven-baked	U cal al
Maçal		Yams.	Suyu
He x y alil e		And the juice	Mehen
U ti al u tupic e	4230	To put it out	Hun
Lay u kabil		Is the juice	Uouol
Cab e		Of honey.	Uay
Suyua than		Zuyua language.	T u p'u
Mehen e ca a tales t en*		(26.) "Son, go bring me	Cay
Akab coc ay lay hun xaman	4235	The night firefly that is far to the	He x li
		north.	Chic
Hun chikin u man u booc		Far to the west passes its odor.	He x u
Y et talel u letz		And bring with it the signal	U tz
Ak balam		Of the tongue of the jaguar."	Mehen
Cay bacac yum e		"It shall be served, father."	Hun
He x lic u katic e	4240	And what it is that he is asking for	Hach ç
Chamal		Is tobacco,	Hacl
He x u letz		And the signal	Uay yn
Ak balam lic u katic e		Of the tongue of the jaguar that he	Y et
		asks for	Cay ba
Lay kak e		Is fire.	He >
Mehen e ca a tales t en*	4245	(27.) "Son, go bring me	Hun cc
A u ix mehen yn u ilab		Your daughter for me to see.	Yx t
Lay hach çac hatz'en u u ich e		Have her face wrapped all in white.	He x u
Hach cich pam e		She is very beautiful.	(41)
Çaçac u booch'		Brilliant white is her shawl	Lay u t
Y etel u kax i	4250	And her sash.	U ki
Hach y an u ol ti		I very much want some."	Ca tun
Cay bacac yum e		"It shall be served, father."	U ti
He x lic u katic e		And what it is that he is asking for	Suyua t
Sac luch y etel tzun e		Is a white bowl with chicken	Meh
Çac a e	4255	In corn gruel.	
Suyua		Zuyua.	

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.

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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.

ay.

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 4305 4310 4315 4320 4325 4330 4335 4340	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, Giving the explanation. (33.) "Son, go bring me Also a keeper of fields, A black old lady— Then all her people, Seven palms across the bottom. I want it to be seen." And what he is asking for Is the green fruit Of the squash. Zuyua Language. The day is to arrive. That then is the day For the imposition of our father The new governor then, Just as he is about to arrive here In the land In the territory Of the Neck of the Country. And he separates the officials; Then he will change the officials, Dividing up the towns by our father The governor. (34.) "And you, Are you officials?" "We are, Yes, father." Right at the moon . These are their words. "You, sons, Are you the governors Here In this land?" Right at the moon These things are said.
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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.

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Xen ex ch'a xiknal balam		"Come on and take the wingspread of the jaguar.
Ca tac ex a tz'ab ex yn hante		Approach and accept my food.
Cicij tz'a ex y u ob		Kindly give the necklaces.
Cicij tz'a ex u p'ut oob		Kindly give the piles.
Ca tac ex a tz'a ex yn hante	4345	Approach and give it to me to eat.
Y etel xen ex tac t u sebal hach		And go so as to hasten the great change.
hel e		
Y tac a tal ex e mehen ex e		And so come, you sons,
Hach y an yn u ol yn hante		I have a great desire to eat.
C ex mehen ex e		O you sons,
C ex hal ach uinic ex e	4350	O you governors.
He ob x ma y ohel e		And they who know
Otzilhom		No poverty
U tucul		Think
Y etel u pacat		And watch.
Be ma bal bin y alab	4355	Thus nothing will be said
He yx y ohel ob e		And indeed they will know.
Cil mac y ol		Gladly
Ca bin xic u ch'ab xiknal balam		They will go to take the jaguar's wing,
Ca tun tac		So then they approach
Y etel	4360	Together."
T ech ua mehen e		"Is that you, son?"
T en i be yum e		"It is I, yes, father."
T ech ua ch'ibal e mehen e		"Are you of the lineage, son?"
T en i be yum e		"I am, yes, father."
C ex a lak ob e mehen e	4365	"Do you have your companions, son?"
Yum e ti y an ob ti kax e		"Father, they are in the wild
U xachet ob balam e		Searching for jaguars.
Minan balam t u than (42) ob		'There is no jaguar,' they said."
Ca tun u manes t u tan		And then it is brought before him
He x lic u katic e	4370	And what it is that he is asking for,
Lay balam e		That jaguar
U tzimin ah ba tabil u kat u		Is a horse that the official asks
hante		to eat.
Lay tzembil tzimin e		That is the chest of a horse.
He x y u e		And the necklace
Lay cascabeles e	4375	Is rattles,
He x u p'ut e		And the piles
Lay chachac kuch e		Are bright red cloths,
Cici tz'abil		Sweetly given
Y etel u silla		With its saddle
Y etel u freno.	4380	And bridle.
Suyua		Zuyua
Than.		Language.

31. Additional Riddles

- | | | |
|------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------|
| (67) Oxlahun etz'nab uchc i* | | On 13 Etz'nab there occurred |
| U hetz' cab | | The seating of the land. |
| Oxlahun chen eb uchc i | 4385 | On 13 Ch'en (13) Eb there occurred |
| U chektabal ygleçia mayor | | The pacing of the great church |
| Ti can akab naa | | In the 4 Akab house, |
| Yglesia mayor ti caan | | The great church in heaven. |
| Bay ca chektabi | | Thus it was paced off |
| Uay xan e | 4390 | Here also. |
| Oxlahun te katun | | The thirteenth <i>katun</i> |
| U cuch lahun chekbij | | Had the burden of ten paces. |
| Caan can chek lukci i | | On high four paces had gone by, |
| Bolon chekeb tun u cuch c u | | Nine paces were then the burden to |
| binel canal e* | | come on high, |
| He ix ca ca put chektabi | 4395 | And that is the two-by-two pacing |
| Likul t u u ich luum e | | Rising from the face of the earth: |
| Can chekeb | | Four paces |
| Ca hek t u ú ich luum i* | | 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].

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Map of Yucatan (1618). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, The Princeton University Library. The gift of Robert Garrett.



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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.	
Mac x oc t u nail <i>Dios e*</i>		(35.) "And who entered into the house of God?"	
Yum e lay ix kalem u kaba e		"Father, that was the Radiant Lady by name."	
Bax u kinil takc i*		(36.) "What was the time of bearing From the womb of the Virgin Girl?"	
T u nak suhui ch'uplal e			
Yum e canil oc takci	4425	"Father, 4 Oc was the bearing Of her womb."	
T u nak			
Mehen e bal x kinil hokc i*		(37.) "Son, and what was the time he appeared?"	
Oxil oc hokc i		"3 Oc he appeared."	
Bal kinil cimc i*		(38.) "Which day did he die?"	
Hun cimil cimc i	4430	"1 Cimi he died.	
Be ti ix oc i		And thus it was	
T u mucnal ti hun cimi e		He was buried on 1 Cimi."	
Bax oc t u mucnal*		(39.) "What came to the burial?"	
Yum e maben tun oc t u mucnal		"Father, a stone coffer came to the burial."	
Bax oc t u chac bacel*	4435	(40.) "What entered into his thigh?"	
Yum e lay chac haal tun e		"Father, that was a large arrowhead	
Lay oc t u tunil cab		That entered into the stone sent down	
Te ti caan e		From heaven."	
Cun x u kab e		"And whence is its name?"	
Yum e halal tun	4440	"Father, the arrowhead.	
Lay ix lic u kinbeçabal		It is like the sunrise.	
Xan		Also	
Lay oc ti chac cui tunil		That enters into the red hard stone;	
Bin ti lakin		It went to the east.	
(68) Ca tali te ti xaman e	4445	Then it went to the north;	
Lay oc ti çac cui tunil		That enters into the white hard stone.	
Lay ix ti oc ti ek cui tunil		And that enters into the black hard stone	
Ti chikin		In the west,	
Bay ix ti kan cui tunil		And thus into the yellow hard stone	
Ti nohol	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
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Minan u
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T u hol
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Mehen e
e*
Lub u

Y etel i
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T u mer
Y ete
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Lay u
Mehen e
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Ca p'
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Radiant Lady

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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."

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	Mehen e
Hokbah caan		The ties of heaven	hol caan
Y etel hokob co e		And the ties of teeth."	Y ete
Ceh	4485	"Deer	Bolon ta
Y etel ba		And gopher."	
Mehen e cex ix nuc*		(48.) "Son, and even a fat old lady	Noh i
Uuc nab u tan y it e		With a seven-palm rear	Mehen e
X ek tunlah ch'uplal e		And a dark-skinned girl?"	Ah nc
Lay tz'ol e	4490	"That is flat squash."	Noh xib
Mehen e yl ex t en çaclah ch'uplal*		(49.) "Son, find me a light girl	Hach
Ueuel uak u pic i		Dressed in a full skirt	Hoctan i
Lic u conic çac tok e		As though she were selling white	
		knives."	Lay al
Lay ca e		"That is grindstone squash."	Mehen e
Mehen e taleç ex t en ca cot ix	4495	(50.) "Son, bring me two eagles, yellow	colob*
kan*		ones,	Noh i
Hun cot chochacbil i		And one eagle bright red,	Hun tucl
Hun cot ti x bin xotoc u cal i		One eagle which is to have its throat	Y etel
		cut	T ix mur
Bin ix uuk ich u kikel xan		And its blood is to be drunk too."	Täl e
Yx kaan ceh		And it is a grown deer	Y etell i
Y etel yax luch	4500	And a fresh gourd	
Y anil chuc ua		Of chocolate.	Bin ç
Mehen ex e uleç ex t en*		(51.) "You, son, have me brought	T en ix l
		here	
Hun kal ah kochcinil tunob uay e		A score of bearers of flat stones	Ca tu
Y etel ca tul casadosob e		And two married people."	Lay chicc
Bech'	4505	Quail	(69) M
Y etel mucui		And doves.	Noh tzul
Mehen e tales t en çum*		(52.) "Son, bring me a rope	Ma u i
Ox bal u haxal		Three strands wide.	Ca bin in
Yn kat in u ila e		I want to see it."	Lay al
Lay huh e	4510	That is iguana tail.	Mehen e
Mehen e tac (. . .)ci*		(53.) "Son, [bring something?]	
Paac tanal		Folded in half,	Pul nx
U ilab uay e		To be seen here."	Y etel pi
Lay ci e		That is henequen.	Y ete

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.

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 Mehen e t a u ilah ua*	4520	(55.) "Son, have you seen The raiser of the griddle, The grown man? He has a very large pouch And sitting down he comes along the ground."
ear	Ah noc xamach		That is a turkey cock.
!"	Noh xib 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.
"	Hach noh u ko e		Bring them here
ght girl	Hoctan u tal ti luum e		And also the guardians of fields of girls. It will cheer up the girls That I shall raise their skirts up over them
rt	Lay ah tzo e		And then I'll eat (them)."
ling white	Mehen e tales t en ah canan colob*	4525	That is gourdroot.
squash."	Noh xibob		(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."
o eagles, yellow	Hun tuch u tal u choon e		That is a turkey cock.
red;	Y etel y atan e		(58.) "Son, and even the first collector?"
ave its throat	T ix mumil chac	4530	Throw off your clothes And throw off your shirt And cape
e drunk too."	Tal e cex uay e		
	Y etell ix ah canan col ch'upllob e		
	Bin çacalah 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		

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.)

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one squash.
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ves.

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 kulel 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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Mehen e tab x t a mançah a lakob*		[62.] "Son, and where did you send your neighbors
Tzayan u talel ob t a pach ob e	4580	Who were coming right behind you?
He in lakob lae		These were my companions;
Ma t an in patab		I wasn't being waited upon.
Lay in mucut u xot kin Dios e		That is my anticipation of the judgment of God
Ca bin cimic en e		When I shall die."
He lay	4585	And those
U booi uinic e		Are a man's shadows.
Mehe mac x t a u ilah ti be*		[63.] "Son, and whom did you see on the road?
T a u ilah ua noh xibob y an palal		Did you see grown men with children on their backs?"
t u pach ob e		"Father, these were the grown men
Yum e he noh xibob		I saw on the road.
T in u ilah ti be e	4590	They are here behind me
Ti y an ob t in pach		And they have not abandoned me."
Ma ix t an u p'atben ob e		Meaning the big toe
Heklay u naa oc		And the little ones.
Y etel y alob e		[64.] "Son, and where did you see grown ladies
Mehen e tab x t a u ilah ix nucob*	4595	Having embraced their stepchildren
Y an u mek u çacal ob		With their other children?"
Y etel u lak palal ob e		"Father, that is this:
Yum e he x lae		What it is I have in my grasp as I eat,
Tii to y an t in pach licil yn hanal		And that is not something I could abandon:
Ma y to uchac yn p'atic	4600	My thumb
U naa yn kab		And its little ones."
Y etel y alob		[65.] "Son, and where is it you went to have a water ditch?"
Mehen e tab x ti man ech y anil y oc haa e*		"Father, this is the water ditch
Yum e he y oc haa e		And it is here on me.
Ti yx an te u icnal e	4605	It means the spine of my back."
Heklay u bel yn pach e		[66.] "Son, and where did you see a grown man
Mehen e tab x t a u ilah noh xib*		Mounted on a horse
Kaan y okol tzimin e		Across the point of a water ditch?"
Ch'acat nebal y oc haa e		"Father, this is the grown man here.
Yum e he x noh xib lae	4610	

near the
 everybody?

what are

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 <i>mitnal</i> 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 <i>mitnal</i> e Heklay is Y etel <i>chicam</i> 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	4615 4620 4625 4630 4635 4640 4645	What it is I have on me. It means the horse is my back. As you say, It holds up a grown man." "Son, and that grown man Who is on your back As you say, Has thus manifested Truth 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. I see one face up And one face down. Thus he will go Into hell." Meaning a paca 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 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 With a soft fan on its head, A very beautiful young girl. And I myself Am going to remove her skirt And clothes. 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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Hach cilmac yn u ol yn ca bin u ilab		I am delighted that I shall see her
Çamacnacil u bocc e		And with the fragrance of her scent
Y etel hun çuyil u pol e		And a tuft on her head."
Heklay pibil nal e	4650	Meaning baked green corn.
Mehen e ca tun xic ech a chab		(69.) "Son, go then and get a grown man
noh xib*		
Y etel u xiuil tanil kaknab e		And the grass of the seashore."
He x noh xib lae ac		And that grown man is a turtle
Y etel ix bau		With a crab.
Mehen e ca tun xic ech a ch'aab	4655	(70.) "Son, go then and get the rocks of
u tunichil y it kax ek e*		the bottom of a dyewood tree."
Lay ah tzatzac e		That is sardines.
Mehen e ca tun xic ech a ch'aab u		(71.) "Son, go then and get the rocks of
tunichil chakan uay e*		the meadow here."
Lay bech' e		That is quail.
Y etel yax ah menob e*		(72.) "And the first shamans
Ca tul ob t u ba	4660	Who shelter themselves?"
Heklay baa		Meaning gopher,
Y etel tzub		Agouti,
Y etel haleu		Paca,
Y etel citan e		And wild pig.
Mehen e ca xic ech a ch'ab u	4665	(73.) "Son, go get the thigh of the
chac bacel luum*		earth."
Lay tz'in e		It is cassava.
Mehen e ca xic ech a ch'aab yax		(74.) "Son, go get the green dandy here
tzublal uay e*		
Y etel yax kayomob e		With the green singers."
Cutz		Curassow
Y etel h tzoo	4670	And turkey cock.
Mehen e bin a u ules a u ix		(75.) "Son, you will have your daughter
mehen e*		brought here.
Te y an kin çamal u ilab e		There is time tomorrow for her to
		be seen.
Payan be bin talebal u tz'etz'il e		First off shall be brought the little one,
Pach hebal bin talebal u nohol e		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 refers 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.

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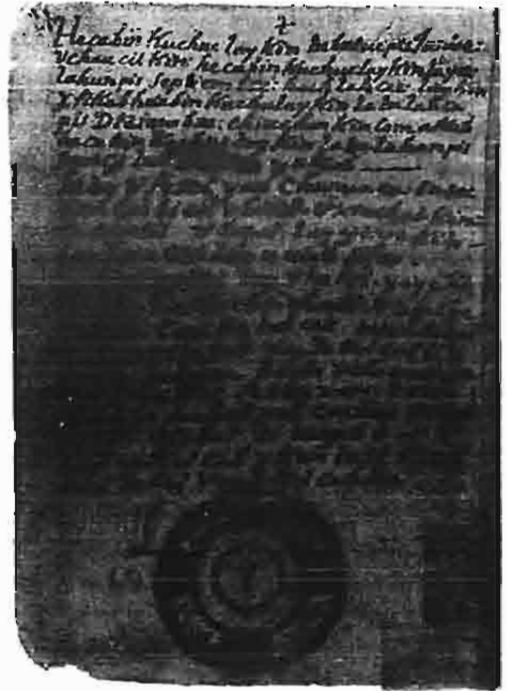
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The course of the sun (1618). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, The Princeton University Library, The gift of Robert Garrett.



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 Y an chumuc Ca sasac U nucul Licil u binel U ximbal kin T u ca p'elil u copol Lay y eyekil o Lay u nucul Lay u u ich kin o T u binel y okol Lay u nohol y eyekil o T u y emel T u chinchaniil u copol y eyekil o		There is here a circle That is in the middle. 4715 It is all white, Meaning That during the coming And going of the sun On its second loop, 4720 That is its darkening. That is the explanation. That is the nature of the sun. It goes around And the south darkens it. 4725 It descends. It appears smaller on the loop of darkness. And this is how it gets full And equal. It goes 4730 And then it comes: That is just around the earth here And just also the land. And so it is made to appear Over the whole of the country too. 4735 The path of the sun Is really south. It goes And it comes There 4740 To the Gold south, Occurring around the world As the account of the sun As it has been made known here On this earth. 4745 Eclipse of the sun: The eating of the sun. Half world: Half division of the world.	
Layi lic lah C et T an u binel Y etel lay u ximbal Uay y okol cab li Li xan e ti lum Bay ix u chacaanpahal T u yukul peten xan U ximbal kin Hahal noh* C u ch'aic u ximbalte Ocebal Ti T u noh oro* Uchil y okol cab U kahlail kin Oheltabal uay Y okol cab lae (27) <i>Eclipse del sol*</i> U chibil kin (Medio mundo) (Tan buh y okol cab)		For men at the sides 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*
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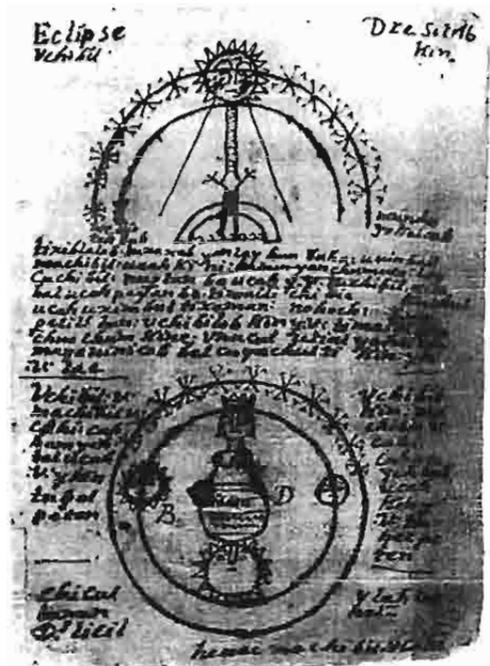
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Y ete
Ti mai li
Chun
U hucul
U ti a

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
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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 I 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 I
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T u kinil
Y etel
Emom çt
Emom
Tal ti caa
Ma tu
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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.



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.

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Ti y ahaulil i		In the lordship,
Ti y ah miatzil 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 uuil*		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 nicté	4825	Over the flowers,
Y okol u çac 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 oçç 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

Pecno

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

present,	Ma u kat (94) y ub ob	Did not want to listen
	U than <i>Dios</i> e	To the Word of God,
	E na yumbil ob	Their mothers and fathers
	Ah xot kinn ob e	And judges.
	Bin ix okomac y ol ob	4845 And it will depart from the hearts
	U hal ach uinicil bal cah	Of the governors of the world.
	Tz'etz'ec ocan ti y ol	A little bit has entered into their
		hearts,
	Ma ix ocan ti y ol xan i e	But it hasn't entered into their
		hearts too.
	Ba la t a than e	Whatever was said
	Hun lukul*	4850 Something turned
	Ah cici olal	The believers
	U balamil cab e*	Into animals.
	Haxom kaak	Fire was twisted
	T u chicul maya çuhuy e	Into a sign of the Mayan Virgin,
	Hunnab ku	4855 The Sole God
	T u çuhuyil hunab <i>yglesia</i>	Into the virginity of the Sole
		Church.
	Ti y auat i	It was argued
	La u y ub	That what was heard
	U than u yumil caan	Was the Word of the Father of Heaven,
	U yumil y okol cab	4860 The Father of the World.
	Bin ix okomac y ol bal cah	And it will depart from the hearts of
		the world
	Tuçinil ti tali e	And falsehood will enter.
	Pecnom u xik cab	Informed will be the wings of the
		land—
	Pecnom chumuc cab	Informed will be the middle of the
		land
	Ti tali u kinil	4865 That coming
	Ti jx y emel u tzicil ob	Is the time.
	Ah ben tana tz'ulob i*	And that would be the descent of their
		reverences
	U than <i>Dios</i>	The missionary foreigners of the
		Word of God.
	Ox muc bin emebal u <i>justiça</i>	Three times will be the descent of the
		justice
	Ca yumil ti y okol bal cah i	4870 Of our Father over the world.
	Ti jx y emel noh katun	And that will be the descent of a great
		war
	Y okol u çac yb teel cah i*	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 Chich y oc olalob i Ti jx y emel ah mek tan		Making known whether the governors Were strong believers.
U sih hoyic u u ich U cuyil cab U maxil katun U ch'uyum thulil cah* U ch'amacil cah Ti ix y ulel U ma xul ahau i U xot u tabil u cuch num ya lae	4875	And that will be the descent of the tumpline chiefs, The birth of sprinkling the faces Of the bewitched lands Of the monkey <i>katun</i> , The Hanging Rabbit towns, The Fox towns.
Xotom ahau Ti x y emel u koch t u lacal tal ti caan U koch bal cah tusinil Kin tun y aabil T u pach Y an to t u kin Hunnac tzuc ti cab Hun kal hom y ala ah canan çus	4880	And that will be the arrival Of the permanent lords, The cutting of the ties of the burden of suffering And cut lords.
Ah canan kaknab Ah uaymil Bay ah emal Ox much hom y ala T an kaknab u tz'oc katun	4885	And that will be the descent of the tax on everything coming from heaven, The tax on the lying world. The calendar round Was later. There will be one then
Bay y ili u beltabal T u kuchul u uetz' katun e	4890	To unite the parts in the land, One to embrace the waters of the guardian of sand, The guardian of the sea, The Uaymil And the Emal alike.
Ti x u cham ua pan i Ti jx u hitz' U tza ciçin i Antacristo i* Lom Tok tza Hoc Mucuc tza Tz'on Bacal tza	4895	Three waterspouts Were on the sea at the end of the <i>katun</i> . Thus is seen the achievement Of the coming of the fold of the <i>katun</i> . And that was the deed of the Flags.
	4900	And that was the end Of the removal of the devil, The Antichrist. Stabbing And knives were removed.
	4905	Uprooting And burial were removed. Shot 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	Cum	Darkness
ent of the	Tan tza	4910 And ashes were removed.
; the faces	Puch'	Mashing
is,	Tun tza	And stoning were removed.
al	U hitz'ibte katun lae	The <i>katun</i> was to be ended.
s,	Tan y ol che	And among the trees
the burden of	U kamic u matan	4915 There took his request
	Çeçar Augusto	Caesar Augustus.
	Che	Sticks
	(95) Tun	And stones,
	Cimil	Death
	T u men uiih	4920 From hunger,
	Ocnak u chil	Rape occurring,
	Ma ya cimlal	And painless death.
ent of the tax	Okom bul cum	Departed is the bean gourd
m heaven,	Y etel y ax cach	And the green fly
orld.	T u ho can be	4925 From the gate of the four crossroads,
	T u ho can heleb	From the gate of the four changers.
	Alan y itz'inil	Born are the younger brothers.
	Tz'itz'i mehen	The lusting heirs
ie land,	Tali	Are come
rs of the	Ti bal cah ij	4930 Into the world,
a,	Ti ix y ulel ahau	And that will be the arrival of the lord
	Ti naatal nat ti	Who will riddle him,
	Nacom u u ich	A captain person,
	U mehen ku	A son of God.
	Ti jx y ulel obispo i	4935 And that will be the arrival of the
end of the		bishop,
ment	Santo quiçion u kaba	The Holy Inquisition by name.
old of the	Y etel Saul u kat ok olal	And Saúl, who wants religion
	Y etel <i>christianoil</i>	And Christianity.
the Flags.	U tz'o çitz'il	He ends lust
ril,	U tz'oc numçah ya ti bal cah	4940 And ends the suffering of pain on
	He ix bin tz'occebal u thanil e	earth.
		And that will be the ending of words:
	Noh katun	The great war.
ved.	Likom chan	Risen will be the Chan
	Y etel ho tzuc chakan*	And the Tihosuco plain,
ed.	Ti bateel	4945 Who will fight
	U chan katun	The Chan War
ed.	Hun ahau	Of the I Ahau
	Katun	<i>Katun</i> .
	Kakal	Fires
	Moçon' chac u cuch katun	4950 And hurricane rains are the burden
		of the <i>katun</i> .

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 'pain' in general.

Tzolen chaccil		Count the rain priests		Ti u han
Thul		And Rabbits.		Ah be
Caan chaccil		The four rain priests		Be la tur
U lobil katun*		Are the evil of the <i>katun</i> .		T u y
Hun ch'ic	4955	A silence		lx pom
Xulil y ocçah		Finally fell.		Kak u
Ti jx y emel u cuch tza i		And that brought down the burden of removal,		Likom k
Ti y emel patan i		Which was the descent of tribute.		Oxlah
Ti jx u katabal		And that was the demand		
Prouar i	4960	For titles,		
Y etel uuc çap y ibnel cab*		And the seven armspans of the navel of the earth,		4983.
Ti u hach chichtal u tanlabal		Which greatly fortified the <i>Dios</i> party.		Earth Lic
Dios i				4984.
				4990.
U tz'oc u kamic u takin		It wound up that he got his money,		late eight
Antachristo		The Antichrist.		(line 506:
Ma tal i	4965	He didn't come,		See notes
Antacrismo		The Antichrist:		
Ma u kat ca yumil		It was not desired by our Father		
Ti Dios i		Who is God.		
Ma u satal katun lae		That war was not forgiven here		
Uay tac petenil	4970	In this country,		
T u men ca sihnalil*		Because we are native born		
Lay peten lae		To this country.		
He u chun lay antachristoil lae		That is the origin of this Antichristianity:		
		Avarice.		
Tz'utul tz'uttil		And that is (because) people are not		
He ix ma tac kul uinicob e	4975	nearly gods:		
		They are not free to leave.		
Minan toc lukçah		There is no desire		
Minan çitz'il		Or design for the blood of fellow		
Y etel pachil t u kikel u lak uinic		humans		
		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 hanna <i>l</i> cab coh i*	Who ate the Earth Lions:
	Ah ben tena*	The missionaries.
un.	Be la tun ya	4985 Wherefore it is pain
	T u y ol u yumil caan	To the heart of the Father of Heaven,
he burden of	lx pom	And incense
	Kak u tz'oc u than katun	And fire that end the word of the
t of tribute.	Likom katun <i>Habana</i>	<i>katun</i> .
l	Oxlahun bak chem lae.*	4990 Raised is the War of Havana,
		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	These are the words that have been perfected
Alabebal u xicinn ob	To be carried to the ears
Yx ma yumob	Of both the fatherless
Yx ma nailob lae*	And the motherless.
He ix lay than lae bin tacuntabac	4995 And these are the words that will become secret.
Bay u tacuntabal	Thus will be made secret
Ah kan thixal	Him of the yellow pectoral
Ti tun e*	At this time.
Licil u talel	Since he is coming
Y ocol <i>christianoil</i>	5000 To bring in Christianity
Tan cah	To the capital
<i>Mayapan</i> t u chi ch'een ytza	And cycle city at Chichen Itza,
Ualac uil <i>suyua</i>	To raise perhaps the Zuyua,
Ualac uil ytza	To raise perhaps the Itza.
Ahom cab hun lakin	5005 Wakened is the earth of one east,
Hun xaman	One north,
Hun chikin	One west,
Hun nohol	One south.

4994. That is, this text is addressed to the peasants.

4998. Announcing an underground lord.

un.

he burden of

t of tribute.

l

of the navel of

l the *Dios*

is money,

Father

n here

m

ple are not

ave.

l of fellow

other.

ic Itza rain
at they hadya, espe-
zb are 'the
ctive land,

f being for-

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

the remote.
in order,

of the burden of

after

ness

war,

ger,

on its back

ring

uning of

vil.
heavens,
id

ted.

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*		Valladolid
U hetz' katun	5080	Was the seat of the <i>katun</i> .
Yaxal chuen u u ich buleu caan*		Yaxal Chuen was the face of the Great Serpent.
Chac u u ich ti y ahaulil hokon		The rain priest was the face in the lordship that appeared.
Y an t u caanil kin		There was a day on high,
Y an t u caannil akab		There was a night on high
Hunnac ah mennil	5085	To unite the shamans,
Hunnac ah ytz'atil		To unite the sorcerers.
Y ani cici hal ach uinicil		There were righteous governors,
Cici ba tabil		Righteous chiefs.
Y anni cici olal		There was righteousness
U than bal caḥ tuḥinil i	5090	In the speech of the sinful world.
Bin ayikalac		They will be enriched,
Ah num ya uinic i		The suffering people.
Uahal uah		Food and more food
U than katun i		Is the word of the <i>katun</i> :

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
Bal t
Y utzil
Y ut
Bin me
Y ich
Ych luu
Tuni
Ti chris
Y et
Minan t
Y et
Ti tun u
Ti y
Y etel t
Y et

Ti can k
Ti jx
Ua la lic
Hekl
He lay c
Hele
He ix b

Conl
Ufel u t
Tij c
Uuc uit
Chac
Y etel t
Pa he
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 reinstated, along with the sumptuary laws.

5122. Presumably these are the designated lords of the following *katun*.

5126. Line missing.

tun.
e of the Great

e face in the
l.

high

governors,

eful world.

in:

xt are
s 7 and

e I believe

for Ahau

10 Ahau

36. Chable

Lahun Chan, lord of Chable
(1677–1697). From the Garrett Collection 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 a
U than
Ti l
Y etel
U y
Ma ma
Ca
Ti D'
D' i
U yum
Y et
Ma ma
Bin
Ti bal
Bin
Christie
Pulic
Ca u u
T u
Ma ma
Lay
Chabil
kinob l
U ti

5138
Kan), T
5150

8 A

37.

(63) La
Ulci
De mil
Bay
Lay u t
Ca t

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. Iorenzo 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. Iorenzo 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 (Nahuat)	
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).	

5206. The cathedral was begun in 1542-43 (Mediz Bolio 1930: 37, note 72) and was completed in 1598 (Hunt 1974: 240).

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

	Ca tz'oc i		Completed
	Ku na ti hoo D°. 1599 a'.		Was the god house in Merida in 1599 V (1604 M).
	Uchci		There occurred
	Xe kik	5210	Blood vomit
	Hop'ci		And there began
	Cimil t oon D°. 1648 años		Death for us in 1648 V (1652 M).
	(64) U uih'i cimil		Famine
	Ho p'el hab D°. 1650 años		Killed for five years: 1650 V (1654 M).
delantado,	D°. 1651 a'.	5215	1651 V (1655 M),
believed.	D°. 1652 a'.		1652 V (1656 M),
	D°. 1653 a'.		1653 V (1657 M),
ble,	D°. 1654 a'.		1654 V (1658 M).
is conqueror in	Ca tz'oci		Then ended
	Uih lae	5220	The famine.
foreigners	Chac ykal ti cimi		It was a hurricane that killed
	Padre Agustin Gomes D°. 1661 años		Father Agustín Gómez in 1661 V (1665 M).
s being named	Uchci		There occurred
meat	Kin tun y abil D°. 1669 años*		The calendar round in 1669 V (1677 M).
	Uchci	5225	There occurred
	X u san kak D°. 1692 años.		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.

inned

rough

informed,

1519 V (1546

Merida in

note 72] and

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 t
U tzc
haab
U tzolar
T u y
(22) U t
T u c
hab E
He yx k
Uuc p
semai

39. Calendrical Notes

- (21) Katun
 T u yax chun buluc ahau
 D°. 1513
 A:
 Tz'oci
 Lay lae
 Hopci
 Hooil
 D°. 1519
 A:
 Sn. Fran.^o
 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 *cuental* 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 diciembre
 Ch'een—23 diciembre
 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,
 Zotz'—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 *Uayebts* five days.

are 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 coxhohm uiih i	5335 It was halfway famine;
Tan coxhohm 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
 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 tu
 Hun p
 Uchc 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 l
 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
 altogether
 could als
 the First
 5389.

u.

ords

en

en

of grace came

nade.
born

of breath, the

aware of it.
as well.
ts also.
; to happen,y week,
as, the sun,
it is time.

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 lum
 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 <i>firmar</i> *		"Oh, agree!"	
Ci jx u than	5400	Said his word too,	
Ca u kamah u kuil t u ba		When he took his divinity to himself	
T u hunal		Alone.	
Ca lukij		Then he departed.	
Ca bin i		Then he went,	
T u y ox picib tun g°.	5405	On the third thousand <i>tuns</i> of grace,	
Alba <i>congel</i> *		Dawn of the four changers	
U kaba y <i>angelil</i> i		Was the name of the angel spirit.	
Lay u y ox p'el g°.		This was the third grace.	
Xic en t u can picib tun g°.		Let me go to the fourth thousand <i>tuns</i>	
		of grace,	
U can p'el uil akab	5410	The fourth moonlit night.	
Atea Ohe*		Child Two Knowing:	
Lay u kaba y <i>angelil</i> i		That is the name of the angel spirit.	
Çihil u ciba h u can p'el g°.		Being born he wanted the fourth grace,	
Ca hop'i		So he began	
U thanic u ba	5415	To speak to himself	
T u hunal		Alone.	
Bee ku e		"Come then, God!	
Ah tepal e		Ruler!	
Ma ba ca maç en		There is no one for me:	
T in hunal i ba ca	5420	I am still alone,"	
C u than t u balanil		He said inwardly	
T u kuil ychil g°.		To the deity in grace.	
Xic en to		"Let me go to that,"	
Ci u than		Said his word.	
Ca bini t u ho picib tun g°.	5425	Then it came to the fifth thousand	
		<i>tuns</i> of grace,	
T u ho picib akab		To the fifth thousand nights.	
Çihil u ciba h u ho p'el g°.		Being born he wanted the fifth grace	
T u ho p'el katun		In the fifth <i>katun</i> .	
Caa ualhi		Then there returned	
U thanob u kuil	5430	The words of the deity.	
Ca çih i		Then was born	
Y <i>angelil</i> i		The angel spirit.	
Degipto		The Egyptian	
U kaba y <i>angelil</i> i ca ualhi		Was the name of the angel spirit	
		that returned.	
Xic en it ba ca	5435	"Let me go (?) somewhere,	
Mac en uil e		Am I someone perhaps?	
Ku en ba ca		Am I a god someplace?	
Ah tepal en i ba ca		Am I a ruler someplace?"	

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'.

Ca ix u tha
T u hun
An inite dei

C u thar
Ca u kamal
T u hun
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 c
T en ku
Ku t ex
Ku ex e
Nuc ex
Yn thar
Ma ba ca r

Ma mac
Ci uil u th
Ti u ali
Ta muk u
Uuc te
Cilmac ti
Uuc te
Uuc p'el c
Uuc p'
U p'isil ab
Uuc pi
A biento*
Boca y

5441. l

5456. l

5475. l

to himself

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 sihçic
Uuc te g°.
Cilmac ti y ol çihic i
Uuc te katun
Uuc p'el çaçil
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].

ms of grace,
ngers
el spirit.
ace.
housand *tuns*

ight.

he angel spirit.
ie fourth grace,

a thousand

nights.
ie fifth grace

y.

angel spirit

re,
s?

ce?"

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 to
U kaba
Hun
O tah
O ca
Aucang
U ka
Heronix
U ka
Xic lu t
U ka
Virtutus
U ka
Joramis
U ka

5517
5527
darknes
5536
5540
5543
'H(i)lero
5545
'at its f
5547
oblique

e

is."

d was the

usand,
arth.of grace
rth,he years;
od.

eps

hing,
word.

last two

ing and

*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*

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

"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

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.

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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		In the second part of the <i>katun</i> . This then he said When he changed the <i>tun</i> , "However are we here all broken?" 5555 He denies the name of the blessed heaven, Referring to our blessed holy Father.
IV		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 oclel mehen D'. lae Ca tic katun Citbil Ox tic katun Expleo u caan u kaba chih e*	5556	Bol Ay is the name of the serpent Of the second part of the sky, And he was in the dust at the feet Of Sustaining Grace, as he is called. And it was he Who succeeded Jerome, Stabbing stone 5565 Of the <i>tun</i> period in the night. We were born then In the <i>tun</i> 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 <i>katun</i> , Then was born the proper son of this God. 5585 The second spread of the <i>katun</i> Is holy. The third spread of the <i>katun</i> , Complete the Sky was his best name,

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'.

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 y

Al pa u r

Xulci

Cangeles

U alic

Ta muk u

Ma çaçi

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

katun.	Chac <i>opilla</i> u kaba u alic u caanil*	Great Deeds was his name spoken on high.
"all broken?" blessed	Enpileo caan u kaba lae*	5590 Complete the Sky was his name then, Complete was his name
holy Father.	Expleo u kaba Ychil yax le Dios lae Hebones U p'elel mehen D' Nen bin Ti heclit T u celembal u yum T u tunil yum e Ca bin x çihçah U coo caanil caan Heklay hun p'el <i>gracia</i> 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*	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) <i>tun</i> . Born is the <i>tun</i> 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 <i>katun</i> 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 <i>tun</i> , 5620 White Giant of the <i>tun</i> , Black Giant of the <i>tun</i> , Yellow Giant of the <i>tun</i> , This is the new heaven," Said the holy God,
serpent he sky, t the feet s he is called.		
night.		
es ,		
onth stone		
one. altogether,		
nds		
per son of		
katun		

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. *ángeles* 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 <i>cangel</i> U machma u <i>kabatil</i> * Ti ch'uyan t u <i>cangeles</i> yk	5625	Seizing upon the <i>tun</i> periods, Seizing upon the four changers, Seizing upon the naming To be attached to the four changing winds.
<i>Cerpinus</i> u kaba* He tun y alan e <i>Orale</i> * U p'is luum Ox tul <i>personaob</i> Lay <i>Dios</i> citbil <i>Dios</i> mehenbil <i>Dios</i> <i>espiritu sancto</i> U alic <i>Planetas</i> <i>Santurnio</i> <i>Jupiter</i> <i>Marte</i> <i>Venus</i> Lic y alic U machma ku i Caanil uchi e U ch'ab He u kaba caan e <i>Christalino</i> * He <i>angelob</i> lae <i>Corpinus</i> u kaba (52) U lathma u cici thanbilil Yumbil Ti minan caan Y etel luum	5630 5635 5640	<i>Cerpinus</i> by name Is the one underneath; <i>Orale</i> Measures the land. There are three persons. They are Holy God, God the Son, And God the Holy Ghost. He returns The planets: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, As he says, Seizing upon the gods. In heaven Their creation occurred. This is the name of heaven: Crystalline. These are the angels, <i>Corpinus</i> is their name, Who have compiled the blessed sayings Of the fathers When there was no heaven And earth.
V <i>Inpicco</i> u kaba uchic* U tzitzatabal <i>angesob</i> t u lalal <i>Baloyo</i> u kaba Ca ca uecan	5655	Infinite were the names given At the baptism of all the angels. Everything was named When we were sprinkled.

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 Ixil and K'aua 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*.

Seros u
Et si
Laus de
Cab;
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. I
Sto. Elu
Sante
Lay ti yl

U lar
Se repit
Entri
Cii u th
Ca t
U lamay
U lar
Tronas
Alese

5659
5660
5661
the opei
5665
5667.
5675.
5676.
5677.
5680.
be reach
'who say
night'. I
5681.
5682.
5688.

ods,
hangers,
our changing

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 çih
Y okol cab
T u men D'.
Ah tepal e
T u uuc te katun
Çihic ychil akbil

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

Espiritu u kaba*
Sto. Edendeus*
Sto. Eluçeo*
Santoob
Lay ti yla u çihil u lamay tun

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,

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*

ost.

d.
n:d.
blessed

n

iven
e angels.

ed.

Cerberus,

or Sp. slang

agram
moon, six

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. *exspiras*.
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 graçia*	5690	For grace.
Ena pediate		Enos, I asked you;
Joçi pidiate*		Joseph, I asked you
En pieted		In piety
Graçia*		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 graçia*		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 graçia*		Protected by grace;
Fenoplis tun gra.*		Full then of a measure of grace;
Locomdary me gra.*		Accustom me to grace;
Tretrisurnis gra.*	5710	Thrice Tripled grace;
No çi luçi de graçia*		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. *supliciiis.*

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 ur

Pis

U y al

Ca

U lam

U l

Ti mir

Y e

Ca th

T u

(53) T

T u

Ti ox

Ox

Lay

U y

Ti min

Y e

Ca ti li

Ti li

T u ca

Ti b

U pata

Ca j

Hun tic

C u

Hun pil

Op l

T u pac

Mac

Ca emi

Ca y

Tech

A u

5715

rare nu

ology—

etc.—h

Three a

Hun tic*	5715	One spread,
Ca tic		Two spreads,
Ox hun tic		Thirteen spreads,
Hun tuuc		One division,
Oxhun bakam		5,200,
U katunil	5720	A <i>katun</i> period,
Ox uuc		Three sevens,
Pis		8,000
U y ahal cab		Is the dawn.
Ca çihî		Then is born
U lamay tun	5725	The descending <i>tun</i> ,
U lamay akab		The descending night
Ti minan caan		When there was no heaven
Y etel luum		And earth.
Ca than		Then it was spoken
T u men D' citbil	5730	By Holy God,
(53) T u ba		By himself
T u hunal		Alone
Ti ox cōc		For three needs,
Ox akab c uchi e		Three nights to occur.
Lay	5735	This
U yax than ku		Was the new Word of God
Ti minan caan		When there was no heaven
Y etel luum		And earth.
Ca ti luth t u tunil		Then he departed on the <i>tun</i> period,
Ti lubi	5740	Which was posted
T u ca pis tun		In the second <i>tun</i> .
Ti ix tun		And it was then
U patah u kuil		That the deity was expected.
Ca picnahi		Then it was known:
Hun tic pic katun	5745	"One spread of eight thousand <i>katuns</i> ,"
		He said, "is one measure in the <i>tun</i> of grace.
C u than hun pis ti tun de graçia		One winding of <i>tuns</i> of grace."
Hun pilis tun de gra.		The macaws grew very numerous
Op hach kintah		Behind the standing stone.
T u pach acan tun		Who was it who was born
Mac ti çihî	5750	When there descended
Ca emi		Our Father?
Ca yum		As for you,
T ech		You know.
A u ohel		

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.

ce;
; grace;
ise, grace;

of grace;

f grace;
z."
ne burdens,

e'.

zien'. I

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.	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 that was born, madness? 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 orteciopire* Çiquenta noche* Hun ebriate* Hun cut e Profecido* 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 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. *profecido*.
5779. Sp. *capa*.
5781. Maya *bal te*, Sp. *anticipare*.
5782. Sp. *cincuenta noche*.
5783. Maya *hun*, Sp. *ebriedad*.
5785. Sp. *profecido*.

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 <i>papa</i> *	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!
aves 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 themselves.
l'	Ca tali		Then came
	Y ocol <i>christianoil</i>		The arrival of Christianity
	Uay		Here
ice.	Ti peten lae	5810	In this country.
æ	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 cheob e		And then treating us like animals.

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		That is the pain in the heart of God:
Ti ah tz'utz'ob lo e		It is these "suckers."
Mil i cinientos treinta y nueve años	5825	1,539 years,
Bay la 1539 años*		Hence the year 1539
Likin bail u hol y otoch		Was the erection of the door of the house
<i>Dn. Juan Montejo</i>		Of Don Juan Montejo
Oces christianoil uay		To bring Christianity here
Ti peten lae	5830	To this country,
Yucal peten		The plantation country
Yucatan lae.*		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)

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5832.
 the Jagua
 Bay hele
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 to read.
 Ept S:
 S k I
 bi pilil 2
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 B III
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Stole of the Trinity (1776). From the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts in Middle American Languages, The Princeton University Library, The gift of Robert Garrett.



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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 jeremias</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. *iosué*.

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,

rawing 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. *mesias*.
 5863. Sp. *mesias*.
 5864. Sp. *Christo*, modern *Cristo*.
 5865. Sp. *ángel*.
 5872. Heb. *Emanuel*.
 5875. Sp. *Jeremias*.

(58) D.
 U ka
 Ca yax
 He i
 Lay u y
 Adar
 Ca oci
 Ca u
 Çihanic
 Tun
 Ca çihic
 Ti et
 Yax ch'
 U na
 Chun t!

Hun
 Ca çihic
 Ti m
 He tun
 Çihic
 T u ba
 T u i
 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) <i>Damaçeno</i> *		Damascene
U kaba chakan patc i	5880	Was the name of the plain where he was shaped,
Ca yax yum ti <i>Adan</i> t u menel <i>D'</i> .*		Our first father Adam by God.
He ix u kaba e		And that was his name;
Lay u yax kaba lae		That was his first name:
<i>Adan</i>		It was Adam.
Ca oci u pixan	5885	Then came his soul.
Ca u acunabi <i>parayso</i> e*		Then was established Paradise.
Çihanil i		That was the birth
Tun <i>Adan</i>		Then of Adam.
Ca çihî ca yax naa		Then was born our first mother
Ti <i>eva</i> e*	5890	Who was Eve,
Yax ch'uplal		The first woman,
U naa bal cah tuçinil		Mother of the world of sin.
Chun thah biin tun		The original drops will have been stones,
		Some drops will have been bushes.
Hun thah bin haban		
Ca çihij	5895	Then he was born,
Ti minan caan c uchi e		For there was no heaven existing.
He tun citbil e		And so the Most High
Çihij		Was born
T u ba		Of himself,
T u hunal ychil akbil	5900	Alone in the night.
He tun ob e		So there they were:
Hun pai çihci ob		The sole precursors were born.
He tun acan tun e		And then there was the covered stone
Lay luum lae		That was the earth,
Lay ix ch'ab i	5905	And it was created,
Uchci u patal <i>Adan</i> xan e		And the shaping of Adam occurred also.
Lay tac u mehen		This then was his seed;
Lay ocantac ob y icnal acan ob e		Thus were they introduced into their shapes
B la he x u kabatah ob		And so thus were they named
Ca patlah ob e	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* 'Damascenè'.

5881. Sp. *Adán*.

5886. Sp. *paraíso*.

5890. Sp. *Eva*.



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 <i>Dios espiri santo</i>	5915 And God the Holy Ghost.
Lay molcab D'. 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 <i>graçia</i>	5920 And the colored stone of grace.
Lay berbe u kaba e*	That was the Word by name,
<i>Josus tin graçia*</i>	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 <i>berbum tuorum</i> u kaba e*	That was Your Word by name,
T ix co al tun	And the eternal son of stone,
lx co aal cab	And the eternal son of earth,
Ti u ch'aah	Who obtained
U coel 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 <i>sustinal graçia</i>	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 <i>utztacil uinic*</i>	Who is the polisher of the whiteness people?
Yn nok	My clothes!
Yn uex	My loincloth!
Y alah o	For he is born,
Ua ku e	5950 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 c
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 hul
Chichil ki
Ca te a
Ti tall o
Ayano
Ayano
Ayano

5960. S

5976. S

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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.
tuns

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 ytzao a
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	5995	Woe!
U ayano		And alas!
Y an xin mac		Could there have been someone,
Xin ahan ual e		Even a lord perhaps?
Chichil ni		A hard time [?]
Ca te ayano	6000	And then, alas!
Ox tun c acan u kin e		Three times the sun will be covered:
Ku e		The gods
C ah ualob		Of our enemies—
C ah ualob uuiyao		Our enemies: O pain!
Ma xan ulom t u chi ch'een	6005	Who else has come to Chichen Itza
ytzao a		
Anta hereya e*		Aided by heretics?
Y ulu		Woe!
Ua yan o		And alas!
Ox te caan		There were three heavens
U kin	6010	On their day.
He mac en ua t u than tan y ol		Indeed, who am I to speak among
uinic e		men?
C en u mac le e e ya		I am a person of lineage, hey!
Ma c en ua t u than tan y ol putun		Who am I to speak among the Chontal
Men a hate o e yan		And make you understand this, hey?
Ch'ab en	6015	I am the creation.
Akab en		I am the night.
C oon ua çihij o		Are we born here?
Eya		Hey!
Alak on mis cit ahau*		We are the serfs of the Sweeper lord.
Ho atal ux	6020	Indeed we are come in any case.
Ulu max		We have arrived in any case.
Elab in yn kacuntah		There now will I shape my song
T in kay be		And have sung thus:
Antan hereya o		Aided are the heretics!
Y ulu ua yan o	6025	Woe!
Eya		And alas, hey!
Cimil en y alah		I die, it says,
T u men u kin cah o eya		Because his day has begun, hey!
Ca tac en y alah e		Then hide, it says,
T u men u çat cah o	6030	Because the destruction has begun
U ti u lah ti y ol		Of the one who comes in spirit,
U tuclah t u puccikal e		Who thinks in his heart.
Men u çat cah o		Have his destruction begin.
Ualik a cun t an in kay o		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 i
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 La
quotatic
panicist
differen
teenth.
the title
6043
Father,

Antan hereya o	6035	Aided are the heretics!
Ayano		Alas!
Y uluu		Woe!
Ayano		And alas!
(60) Lay kay t u lacal lae		This song is all then;
U tz'oc lukanil y anumal ahau	6040	Ended is the praise of the Lord God!
Dios lae.		

43. The Sheep and the Goats

(102) Xot kin ti D'.*		The judgment from God
T u tiblil uinicob e		On defiant men.
C on ex*		<i>"Let us go</i>
U icnal		<i>Together</i>
C ex	6045	<i>Ye,</i>
U cici than uinicil yn yum e		<i>Blessed People of my Father.</i>
Ca a nahalt ex		<i>Then ye shall fulfill</i>
Hun kul gloria		<i>A divine glory</i>
Mentahan		<i>Prepared</i>
T u men yn yum e c ex	6050	<i>By my Father for you</i>
Hop'c i		<i>When he began</i>
Bal cahil e		<i>The world.</i>
A tacuntah ex u almah thanil		Ye have confused the commandments.
A u utzcinah ex penitensia		Ye have perfected repentance
Ca sip ex	6055	When ye have sinned
T en uchi e		Against me.
Ba la c on ex		Wherefore let us go
Ti caan		To heaven."
Ca tun u sutbes		So then he turns back
U pacat	6060	His sight
Ti ah kebanob		On the sinners.
Ti lep'an y ol ti ob e		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*		<i>Depart ye</i>	
U icnal		<i>From me,</i>	
C ex lolob thanbil	6065	<i>Ye who are cursed</i>	
T u men yn yum e		<i>By my Father.</i>	
X en ex		<i>Go ye</i>	
T u kakil metnal		<i>Into the fire of hell.</i>	
Ma xulumte		<i>There will not end</i>	
Lay menan	6070	<i>That which is prepared</i>	
Ti ciçin		<i>For the devil</i>	
T u men yn yum e		<i>By my Father.</i>	
A poch'ah en ex		<i>Ye have scorned me!</i>	
(. . . .)*		(. . . .)	
C en a yum ex e	6075	<i>I who am your Father,</i>	
C en a u ah lohil ex e		<i>I who am your Savior!</i>	
A poch'ah ex yn than		<i>Ye have scorned my word</i>	
T u men u than ciçin e		<i>Because of the word of the devil.</i>	
Be		<i>So be it!</i>	
Ba la xen ex	6080	<i>Wherefore go ye</i>	
T u pach		<i>After him</i>	
Ti hun lukul num ya		<i>For a period of punishment.</i>	
Ca tun xic ob ti metnal		<i>So then they go to hell,</i>	
U lobil uinicob e		<i>The evil people.</i>	
He ix y utzil uinicob e	6085	<i>And those who are good people</i>	
Bin xic ob ti caan		<i>Will go to heaven</i>	
T u pach ca yumil		<i>After our Father</i>	
Ti D'.		<i>Who is God,</i>	
Ti hun lukul gloria		<i>For a period of glory</i>	
Y et p'isan gloria	6090	<i>Equal to the glory</i>	
Yosapat*		<i>Of Jehoshaphat.</i>	
Y an ox tul uinicob		<i>There are three men</i>	
U hach palilob Dios		<i>Who are the true children of God,</i>	
Hach yabilob t u men Dios		<i>Truly beloved by God.</i>	
Elias	6095	<i>Elisha</i>	
Y etel matusalem		<i>And Methuselah</i>	
Y etel enoc		<i>And Enoch</i>	
U kaba ob		<i>Are their names.</i>	
Cuxan ob tac		<i>And they lived</i>	
Hele lae	6100	<i>Nearly till now.</i>	
Ti c ulcinan ob		<i>They were fulfilled</i>	
T u men Dios u canant ob		<i>Because God had them guarded,</i>	
U xecil		<i>Their seats,</i>	
U sillasil		<i>Their chairs.</i>	

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
Hu
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 tur
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 cuenta ca yumil Ti D'.	6105	He will make a count, our Father Who is God,
Ti hun p'el kom luum Hun p'el noh chakan		In a pit of earth, 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 mitnal		<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 (103) Tac t u u ich luum Bay hom iuil ci oltzil* U kay angelesob Minan y et pisan ci oltzilil Bin nacabal Hahal ku U yumil Caan Y etel luum lae.	6145	It will be black in the belly of the sky And on the face of the earth. Like a trumpet may be the joy Of the song of the angels. It is incomparably joyful. There will arise The True God, The Father Of heaven And earth.
	6150	

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

(B1) Helel en 18 de agosto* De 1766 años lae Ca uch i Chac ykal lae U kahlayil c in tz'ibtic Ca utzac y ilic Ba hun hab Ca bin uchuc u lak lae	6155	Today on August 18 Of 1766 Then there was A hurricane. The account I am writing Will make it possible to see How many years It will be before another like one occurs.
Helel en 20 de henero De 1782 años Ca cheket-hi Chupil Uay Ti cah chumayel lae T u cal uinic c u chupul Ca ix emec cabal xan	6160	Changing to January 20 Of 1782 Then stalked the bloated Swelling Here In the town of Chumayel.
Tac ti chin chan Tac ti nohoch	6165	In the neck people would swell up And then it might go lower down too, As to young 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 i b
abil
Ol ma
Ellat
Cimlah
Kax
Lay u t
C in
C en
Dn.

6178
6180
dating

I.
(84) Mi
Helel e
De 183
Abrilil
Uchic i
U kaba
Hija de
Y M^c. Ju
Domin;
Helel e
De 183
Uchic i
U kaba
Hijo de
Maria J
Padrinc
Jose M^c.
Madrin
Manla
Cura
(Ju)an C
Justo B
Gr. cac

lly of the sky
e earth.
he joy
rels.

et); and
are become
r and ever."

ng
to see
her like one

ayel.
ld swell up
lower down

whole. It
is late
the work.

P'is u mistic hun p'el na		It swept through each house
Ca bin occoc i	6170	When it entered.
He u tz'acal		This was the cure
Lae		Here:
Pah taan		Dye-tree ash
Y etel <i>limones</i>		With lemons,
Ua ix sisal xiu	6175	Or else numbing grass
Mehentac e		And seed mixed in it.
Tac t u habil 81 años chumpah i		Around the year 1781 it got started,
Ti ix u tz'aah nohoh kin tun y		Which gave it a great cycle too.
abil xan i*		
Ol ma oc chac i		Rather there was no rain.
Ellah kax t u lacal	6180	The whole forest was being burned,
Cimlah ix		And it killed off
Kaxob xan		The forests too.
Lay u kahlay		This is the account
C in tz'ibtic		I am writing,
C en	6185 I,	
Dn. Juan Josef Hoil lae. (Rubric)*		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) <i>Miercoles</i>	Wednesday
Helel en 4	Today on the 4th
De 1833	Of 1833
Abrilil	Apriltime
Uchic in chicultic	Occurred my witnessing
U kaba M ^a . Ysidora	The name of María Isidora
Hija de Andres Balam	Daughter of Andrés Balam
Y M ^a . Juana Xicum	And María Juana Xicum.
Domingo	Sunday,
Helel en 22 de diciembre	Today, on the 22nd of December
De 1833	Of 1833,
Uchic in chicultic	There occurred my witnessing
U kaba Tomas	The name of Tomás,
Hijo de Andres Balam	Son of Andrés Balam
María Juana Xicum	And María Juana Xicum.
Padrinos	Godfather
Jose M ^a . Castañeda	José María Castañeda.
Madrina	Godmother
Manla Marin	Manuela Martin.
Cura	Curate
(Juan Que . . .	(Juan Que(vedo).
Justo Balam	Justo Balam,
Gr. cac cura	Curate's assistant.

(note continued on following page)

(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".

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
 Ix ma ch
 U uaf
 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*	Kin Chil of Coba
U hetz' katun	Seated the <i>katun</i> ,
Maya cu*	The cycle seat
Oxlahun ahau katun	6190 Of <i>katun</i> 13 Ahau.
Ytzam na	Itzam Na
Ytzam zab*	And Itzam Tzab
U u ich	Were the faces
Ti y ahaulil	In the lordship.
Bin uibic ox i	6195 There will be the starvation of
	gourdroot,
Ox te ti hab	Gourdroot tree years,
Ca kal abil	For forty years
Lahun tz'acab*	And ten steps.
Et bom u al	Like-colored is the water,
Et bom u tz'ub	6200 And like-colored is the odor.
Yaxal chac*	Yaxal Chac
U cuch t u caanil	Bore it on high,
Ix ma chac bin uah	And unboiled food
U uah	Will be the food
Katun	6205 Of the <i>katun</i> ,
Ti oxlahun ahau	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 (74) Ca pic u cuch katun		Eaten is the sun. Two thousand are the burdens of the <i>katun</i> .
Çatay uinicil Çatay ahaulil Ho p'el kin uil Chian kin Ca bin pacatnac* Lay u cuch Ah oxlahun ahau Katun lae.	6210	Needy people, Needy lords. Five days perhaps The sun has been eaten; Then it will have been seen. That is the burden Of 13 Ahau <i>Katun</i> .

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
Nicte katun*

Act 12

Ox te uu
Culan
Yum a
*Unetziuit**
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

Act 13

Ti ual y an bolon teuitz*

Yum a
Unetziuit
Kuk
Yaxun***Act 13**In that month was the great sharp
stone6230 Of this father
Onetzihuit,
The quetzal,
Blue bird.by
sen.**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 14**Which of them will understand the
"halfway seizure,"6235 The time of the half in the lordship
On the twelfth measured tun
That speaks its name?

page for the

Act 15Lay uil e
Balam
U pol
Uaan u coo*
Tz'utz'ul uinivil
Pek u uinivil
Man ch'acat han**Act 15**There is seen
A jaguar,
His head6240 Standing on his snout
Sucking people.
Dogs are the people,
Going across to eat.

ne katun.

Act 16Ya 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 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,

ycle of birds.

atun) even if

inç, a çri-

chidçh

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 tale e*

Ua mätan ä 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 kuchil 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 çij
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 bir
Nicte

Ma uil r
Bin ki

Ca bin c
Polcir

U teel
Chaci

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'.

6284.
ant to th

ifying an
6298.

ing tribu
possibly
5281.

6302.
pectatio

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	6290	That is the Spite <i>katun</i> . 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>justiçia</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>justiçia</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 Nicte katun	6310	And the pain will be ended Of the Flower <i>katun</i> .
pppearance 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 T u lacal e Conbil bin tz'ocbal u than Nicte katun e Minan i uil Ua u ilal a tz'aic a pol ex		That then will be spread Throughout the country. Selling will be the end of the word Of the Flower <i>katun</i> . There is no need For you to have to surrender your heads To the archbishop. When he comes down	
Ti Arzo Obispo e* Ca bin emec e Bin xic ex A bal a ba ex ti kax Ua bin a tz'a a ba ex i e Ti binan ex luil t u pach Xpo. Ti y an ob cochomi e Tij tun ca bin tz'ococ U uicita e Talel bin u cib U lilib nicte Tijx ca bin a nat ex e Ca bin ticin pecnac caan e	6320 6325 6330 6335	You will go With your property into the wild. But if you are going to surrender, Then go, But follow Christ. They have been cleared. That then will be the end Of his visitation. Coming will be the candle Of the trembling flower, And that then will be your understanding. Then will be spread the awareness of heaven. That is what will then be said. It will be written to expect it soon, And that is also what the gods have told you. That will be the entry of the gods into your hearts. Perhaps that will be someone who is a sage among you, Who will understand. He will then go into the wild To lead Christianity.	
Tij to ca bin thanac U tz'ibte u nak pak e Ti yx a u alic ex kuil xan i e Lay bin a u ocqic t a u ol ex kuil Hii u il to mac ah miaz y an a u ichil ex Bin natic e Tij tun u binel ti kax U tan le u <i>christianoil</i> e	6340		

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 D' /
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
Hauan

6347.
of Santia
6352.
6357.
Nahuat, l
Yucatan,
when it b
tzimin 'h
6360. l
obscure t
6370. l
frigates o
pers of th
British sh
(Ward 19)
6372.
cult to ex
two centu

try.
the word
render your
to the wild.
surrender,
ed.
nd
dle
ver,
our
he awareness
e said.
expect it soon,
e gods have
y of the gods
neone who is a
wild

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tuns earlier.
in calendar
id beginning
5060]. Three
may be al-
au prophecy
quisition
4) to support
katun of
the War of
els ac re-
chbishop. It
e arc ad-
ristian.

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 ichamte*	6360	Who asked a queen to marry him.
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 clipper ships 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)

Ti jx y an u nup u than Rey hauana Ca alab u xicin Rey		And he opposed the word Of the king of Havana.
	6375	Then it was borne to the ears of the king
T u men u nup u than Ti ix y an y ah tocul u hool t u pach Ca ti bin i Ti y ubah ix U chucul xan i Ti tun likul ca bin i Te tzimentan Ti ix tun ti chuc i Ox p'el u lukuc y ah chucil Ca kuchi tzimetann e Ti tun chuc i Ti jx tun (66) ti ix u xotah u than ti chucil Ka kuch i Tzimentan e Ca ix y alah Xen uinic e* C u than ti O u yn kuchul i C u than Ox p'el u lukc ech hele lae		That he opposed his word. And he had the commandant of the port after him. So he left, And he heard That he was to be seized too. He then arose and went there, There to Tizimin. And then he was seized. Three months ago his captors left.
	6385	When he reached Tizimin, Then he was seized.
		He was ordered seized, Just as he arrived
	6390	At Tizimin. And (Martínez) said, "Go on, man," He said to him. "It is three months since I arrived," (Martínez) said.
	6395	"It is three months since you left, on the other hand." (Captain:) "It is three months since you came. As soon as you came You were clapped in irons.
Lic tun a kuchul e Lic tun a kalal ti mascab		

[note continued from preceding page]

ing that piracy was involved. War with the French may echo the Napoleonic Wars of the previous *katun* (ca. 1806). Cuba was a hotbed of Yucatecan politics during and after the Revolution for Independence (1821) and at least one episode involved Tizimin at about the right date (ending in 1838; see note 6347). In an uncanny way, Martínez' prophecy [below] also foreshadows the outbreak of the War of the Castes at the end of this *katun* (1848) and that, too, involved Tizimin (Reed 1964).

6391. The rest of the text is hard to follow because it starts out in third-person narrative quoting a conversation between Martínez and his jailors—two captains—whom he enlists in his cause. At line 6425, however, it shifts to first person and Martínez himself is speaking, quoting a conversation between himself and the "king" and giving his prophecy for the coming battle and for the *katun*. To clarify the matter I have added indications of who is speaking. The king is identified as *rey* in the Chumayel but as *nacom* 'captain' in the Tizimin. The latter makes more sense. No doubt he was a "king's man," since he was Martínez' jailor at the outset, but he underwent a change of heart and turned over the town to Martínez. Direct discourse ends at line 6466, and Martínez continues with his sermon, addressing the reader and the general public.

Ta muk tu
T in i
Bin lukçic
T ex
C ex capi
Cabilil
Bin y anac
C u thi
Nacçahac
Y etel
Bin ix ele
Bin in l
Ti culan
Kak u j
Bin ix liki
Y etel
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Ta muk tun in talel
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Cabilil i
Bin y anac t in pach i
C u than
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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 *françes*
Ci jx u than
T en
Bin cimic oon
T u men uinic e
Bal x a u il u lubul a muk e

T u men a u et unicil 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*	And then I shall descend And be stuck up as the face that destroys ships." "Who is this man?" (The captain) says to me.	
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	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.	
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 local Ti a botic in cahal C en yax ul e Lic tun in u alic Ti emi*	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

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

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

Ye

Ti uini

Ti t

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Ho p'e

Lay

Ti kuc

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Ti tz'c

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Ghost is my

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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.

6480 Then there will be no Foxes
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,

6490 And you will not say that your food
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.

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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, Oxkutzcab, 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. ⁿ	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,	74	5155	65
					220			

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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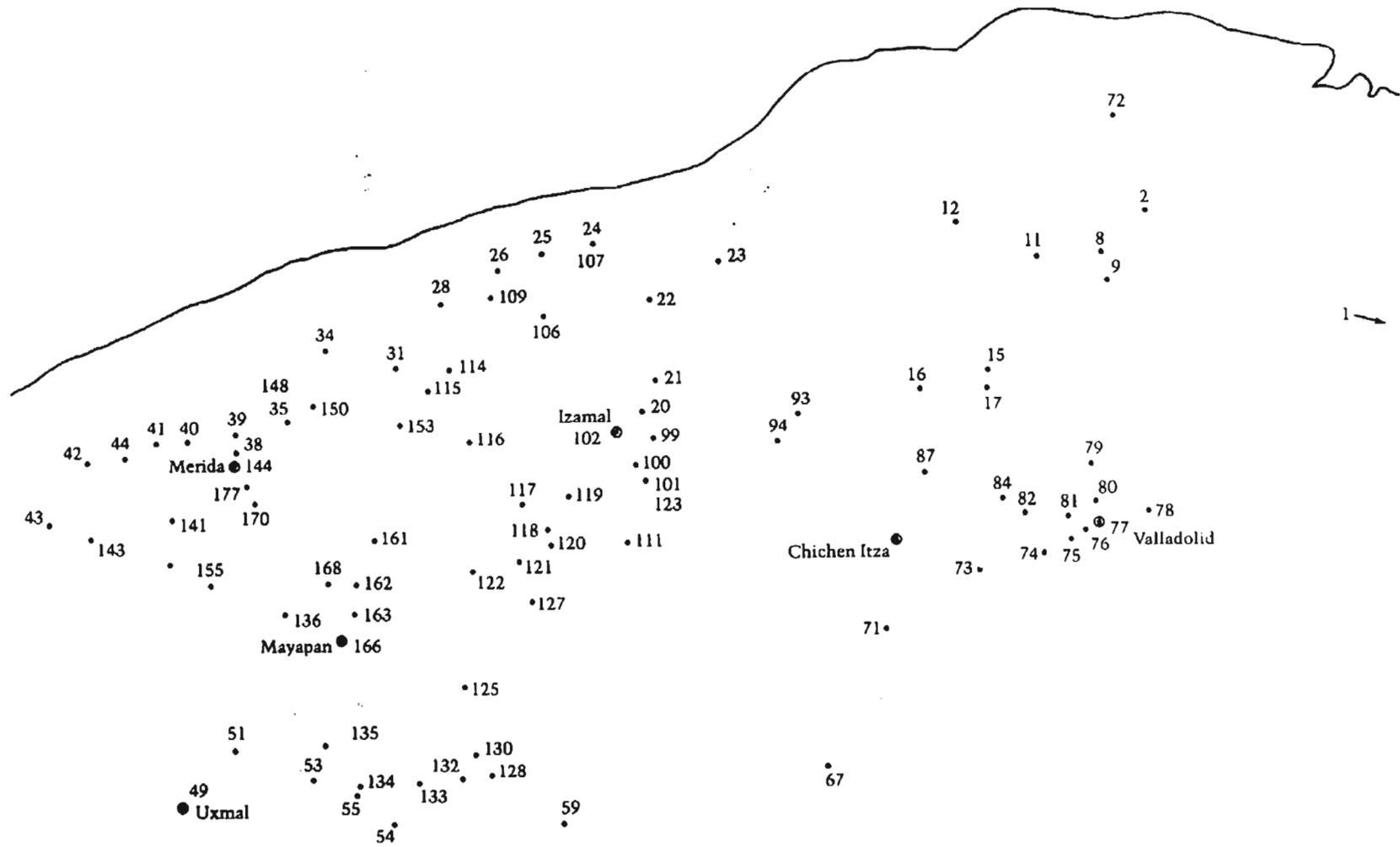
Appendix B. A Ceremonial Circuit

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.

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|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 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 |
| Bal Che. <i>See</i> Ix Bal Che | Cau Cel, 40 | Che Mi Uan, 68 |
| 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

Chi Chi
Chikin
Chubul
Chulul
Chun P.
Cooh, 5
Cool, 5
Cuc A.
Cucuc
Cul, 5
Cun C
Cun f
Dzitas
Eb Tur
Ek Ol,
Hal Tu
Ho, See
Hoc Tu
Hol Tur
Hol Tur
Humanc
Humanc
Ichcaant
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Ixamal N
Ixamal, 1
Ix Bal C
Ix Can,
Ix Ch'el
Ix Kani
Ix Kil It
Ix Koh T
Ix Koko
Ix Mac 1
Ix Meua
Ix Mex,
Ix Mucuc
Ix Peton
Ix P'tah
Ix Tohil
Ix Ueue
Ix Xocce
Ix Yuba
Ixil, 34
Kal, 21
Kan A,
Kan Cab
Kan Hol
Kan Hu
Kani M
Maca:
Kau A,
Kikal, 1
Kil Itza
Kin, 29
Kin Ch:

- Chi Chicaan, 36
 Chikin Tz'onot, 7
 Chubul Na, 39
 Chulul, 35, 148
 Chun Pak, 92
 Cooh, 20, 163
 Cool, 98
 Cuc A, 154
 Cucuchil Ha, 13
 Cul. *See* Ticul
 Cum Can Ul, 74
 Cum Kal, 150
 Dzitas, 87
 Eb Tun, 75
 Ek Ol, 155
 Hal Tun Ha, 95
 Ho. *See* Merida
 Hoc Tun, 117
 Hol Tun Ake, 161
 Hol Tun Chable, 37
 Human, 122
 Hunac Thi, 63
 Hunuc Ma, 42
 Ichcaansihoo. *See*
 Merida
 Itzam Na, 38
 Itzam, 102
 Ix Bal Che, 48
 Ix Can, 66
 Ix Ch'el, 5
 Ix Kani Macal, 158
 Ix Kil Itzam Pech, 30
 Ix Koh Takin, 10
 Ix Kokob, 153
 Ix Mac Ulum, 86
 Ix Meuac, 62
 Ix Mex, 89
 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
 Ixil, 34
 Kal, 21
 Kan A, 44
 Kan Cab Tz'onot, 16
 Kan Hol A, 4
 Kan Hub, 169
 Kani Macal. *See* Ix Kani
 Macal
 Kau A, 73
 Kikil, 11
 Kil Itzam Pech. *See* Ix
 Kil Itzam Pech
 Kin, 29
 Kin Chil, 43
 Kochil, 90
 Koh Takin. *See* Ix Koh
 Takin
 Kokob. *See* Ix Kokob
 Kuxbil A, 96
 Lop, 67
 Maax, 22
 Mac Ulum. *See* Ix Mac
 Ulum
 Macal Popol A, 85
 Mani, 132
 Mayapan, 166
 Merida, 144
 Meuac. *See* Ix Meuac
 Mex. *See* Ix Mex
 Motul, 114
 Mozon Popol A, 79
 Muci, 110
 Mul Tumut, 113
 Muna, 51
 Muxu P'ip', 115
 Na Bul A, 167
 Ninum, 6
 Noh Na, 145
 Noh Pat, 146
 Num, 84
 Ox Cah Uan Ka, 69
 Ox Cum, 142
 Ox Loch Hok, 52
 Pacax Ua, 124
 Pakab, 104
 Panab Ha, 12
 Pax Ueuet, 58
 Pech, 100
 P'en Cuyut, 57
 Peton Cah. *See* Ix Peton
 Cah
 Pib Haal Tz'onot, 18
 Piba Hul, 93
 Pikal, 130
 P'itah. *See* Ix P'itah
 Pixoy, 80
 Poc Huh, 131
 P'ool, 1
 Poy Che Na, 147
 Puc Nal Chac, 56
 P'up'ul Ni Huh, 127
 P'uz Tun Ich, 55
 Tah Aac, 19
 Tah Cab, 9
 Tah Cum Chakan, 47
 Tamus Bul Na, 65
 Teabo, 128
 Tebe Na, 33
 Tecoh. *See* Cooh
 Tekit, 125
 Thulil, 103
 Tiab. *See* Teabo
 Ticahchac. *See* Cah
 Chac
 Tich'ahil. *See* Ch'ahil
 Tichac. *See* Chac
 Ticooh. *See* Cooh
 Ticool. *See* Cool
 Ticul, 134
 Tiemtun. *See* Eb Tun
 Tikal. *See* Kal
 Timaax. *See* Maax
 Timacal. *See* Macal
 Popol A
 Timozon. *See* Mozon
 Popol A
 Tinoh Naa. *See* Noh Na
 Tinum. *See* Num
 Tipakab. *See* Pakab
 Tipikal. *See* Pikal
 Tipixoy. *See* Pixoy
 Tistis, 60
 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 Pe-
 ton Cah
 Tixtohil Ch'een. *See* Ix
 Tohil Ch'een
 Tixxocen. *See* Ix Xocen
 Tixueue. *See* Ix Ueue
 Tixyubak. *See* Ix Yubak
 Tizip. *See* Zip
 Tohil Ch'een. *See* Ix
 Tohil Ch'een
 Tun Kaaz, 94
 Tzal, 64
 Tz'am, 133
 Tzanlah Cat, 121
 Tz'e Mul, 28
 Tz'e Uc. *See* Tz'e Mul
 Tz'itz' Hol Tun Popol A,
 109
 Tz'itz'il Che, 97

The ceremonial circuit. After Roys 1933. (1 in. = 18.6 mi.) 62

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134

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Uxmal

54

Tz'itz'om Tun, 107	Xoc Ch'el, 118	Zac Nichte Ch'een, 111
Tz'itz'on Tun, 24	Xoc Ne Ceh, 54	Zac Nichteel Tz'onot, 139
Tz'ooc, 78	Y Okol Ch'een, 126	Zaci. <i>See</i> Valladolid
Tz'oyil A, 170	Ya, 105	Zahab Balam, 46
Tzuc Op, 8	Yal Zihon, 14	Zahcab Ha, 120
Tz'ul A, 17	Yax Cab, 140	Zan Hil, 143
Uayum Ha, 81	Yax Kukul, 152	Zic Pach, 151
Ucu, 41	Yob Ain, 25	Zinan Che, 26
Uhumtal, 157	Yubak. <i>See</i> Ix Yubak	Zip, 171
Uman, 141	Yum Xul, 160	Zitil, 99
Uxmal, 49	Zabac Na, 32	Zizal, 76
Valladolid, 77	Zac Bacel, 82	Zotz'il, 112
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	

	<i>Katun Ending Dates</i>				<i>Katun Initial Dates</i>	
	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 <i>katun</i> : 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	nau
	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

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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)

tes

Valladolid

1776
1800
1824
1848771
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Appendix D. Seats and Lords of the *Katun*

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) Kan Cab A (C) Tan Xuluc Mul (CT)	Xib Chac (CMT) Kuk Can (CMT) Ul Ahau (MT) Hapay Can (CT) Can Ul (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) Merida (CT)	Puc Ol (C) Ol Zip (T) Hun Pic (CT) Amayte Kauil (M) Caesar Augustus (C)	Ual Ac (C) Ual Icim (T) Ol Ha (T) Can Ul (CT)
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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