

THE BOOK OF CHILAM BALAM OF CHUMAYEL

BY RALPH L. ROYS
Washington D.C.; Carnegie Institution

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Footnotes excluded

PREFACE

Among the various avenues of approach to the investigation of Maya civilization, the study of the native literature of Yucatan is, next to the actual archæological exploration of the remains, one of the most promising, for it contains much of what the Indians remembered of their old culture after the Spanish Conquest. The Books of Chilam Balam form the most important part of this native Maya literature. Written in the Maya language, they reflect more closely the thought of these Indians than any other records that have come down to us. Not only do they contain a wealth of historical and ethnological information invaluable to the student of the pre-Columbian career of the Maya, but they also furnish a record of the reactions of the native mind to the European culture and of the manner in which the latter was adapted to suit its new environment. It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the value of these old texts to the linguistic student.

The translation of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel depends primarily upon the reading given to the badly punctuated and often misspelled Maya text, and such a reading is based upon an extensive comparison with other similar texts. The difficulties of translation are not to be underestimated, but they can be greatly lessened by such a comparison. That I have been able to avail myself of the assistance afforded by the manuscripts of the Berendt Linguistic Collection, so often referred to in these pages, is due to the collaboration of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and to the kindness of Dr. Horace H. F. Jayne, Director, who has supplied me with the necessary photostats. Professor Alfred M. Tozzer, whose previous extensive survey of Maya literature was the indispensable preliminary to the present work, has given cordial assistance; both he and the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology have cooperated generously with the loan of material necessary to the work. Mr. Frans Blom, Director, and the Department of Middle American Research of the Tulane University of Louisiana have kindly loaned photographs of Sixteenth Century Maya documents in their collection, which have proved most valuable in the study of the present text.

Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley has spent much time and thought in going over my manuscript and has offered many valuable suggestions as well as searching out and obtaining related material in Mexico and Yucatan. Mr. Thomas R. Johnson has undertaken the tedious task of copying the drawings in the Chumayel manuscript. Mr. Juan Martínez Hernández has again, as in the past, come to my aid in the elucidation of obscure phrases and badly written passages in the Maya text. Linguistic data furnished by Dr. Manuel J. Andrade and ethnological analogies suggested by Dr. Robert Redfield will be found acknowledged elsewhere in this book. The manner of editing the Maya text is that suggested by Professor Otis J. Todd, who has assisted me in adapting the methods of classical scholars to this newer field of endeavor. For a number of the text-figures, Alice P. Roys has made copies from photographs and other reproductions. To Librarian John Ridington and Assistant Librarian Dorothy Jefferd, I am indebted for the many facilities afforded by the Library of the University of British Columbia. Throughout the preparation of this work, Dr. Alfred V. Kidder has given generously of his time and attention to the practical problems involved in the task. To all these I wish to make grateful acknowledgment at this time.

RALPH L. ROYS

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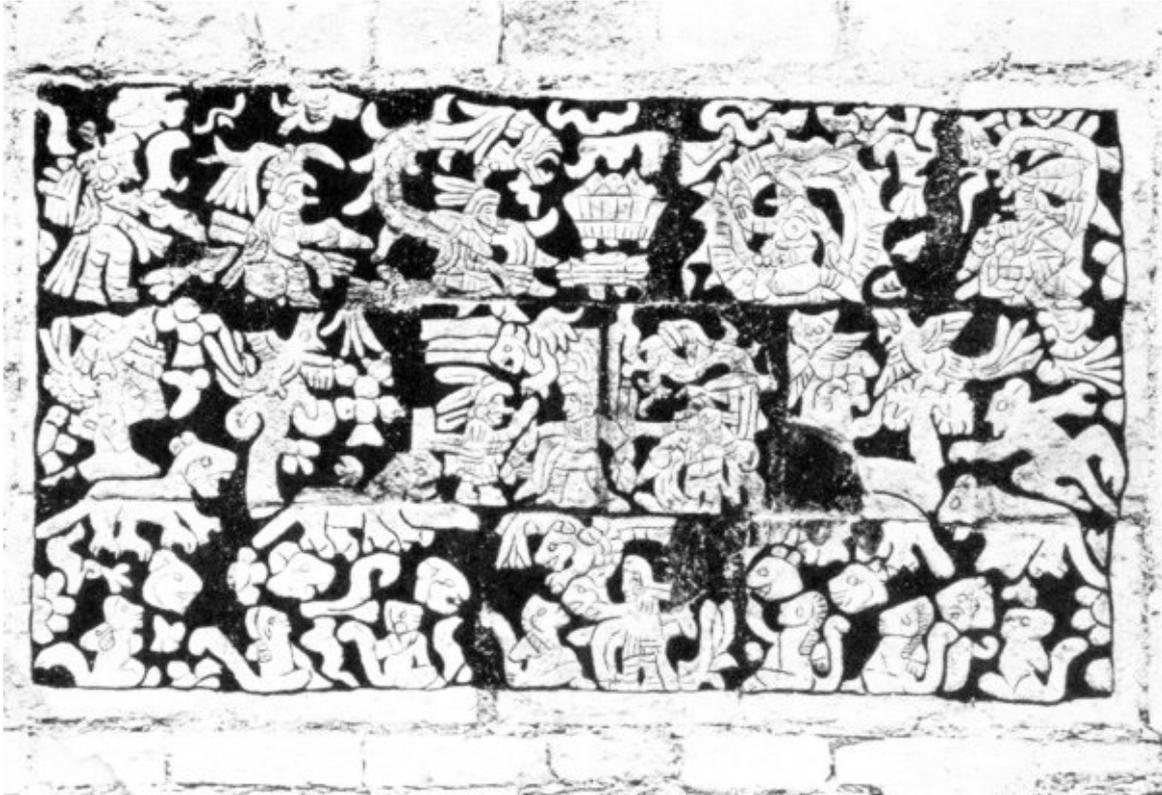
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INTRODUCTION

The Books of Chilam Balam are the sacred books of the Maya of Yucatan and were named after their last and greatest prophet. *Chilam*, or *chilan*, was his title which means that he was the mouth-piece or interpreter of the gods. Balam means jaguar, but it is also a common family name in Yucatan, so the title of the present work could well be translated as the Book of the Prophet Balam.

During a large part of the colonial period, and even down into the Nineteenth Century, many of the towns and villages of northern Yucatan possessed Books of Chilam Balam, and this designation was supplemented by the name of the town to which the book belonged. Thus the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel is named for a village in the District of Tekax, a short distance northwest of the well-known town of Teabo.

This Prophet Balam lived during the last decades of the Fifteenth Century and probably the first of the Sixteenth Century and foretold the coming of strangers from the east who would establish a new religion. The prompt fulfilment of this prediction so enhanced his reputation as a seer that in later times he was considered the authority for many other prophecies which had been uttered long before his time. Inasmuch as prophecies were the most prominent feature of many of the older books of this sort, it was natural to name them after the famous soothsayer.

The Books of Chilam Balam were written in the Maya language but in the European script which the early missionaries adapted to express such sounds as were not found in Spanish. Each book is a small library in itself and contains a considerable variety of subject material. Besides the prophecies we find brief chronicles, fragmentary historical narratives, rituals, native catechisms, mythological accounts of the creation of the world, almanacs and medical treatises. Many such passages were no doubt originally transcribed from older hieroglyphic manuscripts, some of which were still in existence in northern Yucatan as late as the close of the Seventeenth Century. As time went on, more and more European material was added to the native Maya lore. In some of the books not only do we find the ritual of a religion which is a mixture of the old faith with Christianity, but there are also translations into Maya of Spanish religious tracts and astrological treatises, as well as notes of events which occurred during the colonial period. In two of these books we even find part of a Spanish romance translated into Maya.

The ability of the Maya to write their own language in European script was due to the educational policy of the Spanish missionaries. Although at first they rather admired the Maya for having a graphic system of their own, they were determined to destroy the old manuscripts and eradicate all knowledge of the glyphs from the minds of their converts. The Indians had a great reverence for their hieroglyphic writing which was permeated with the symbols of their old religion, and the friars felt that if they could wipe out this knowledge and substitute for it the European system of writing, it would be an effective means for the complete Christianization of the native population. This should be the easier, since the knowledge of hieroglyphic writing was confined to the priesthood and certain members of the nobility. Diego de Landa, afterward bishop of Yucatan, burned twenty-seven hieroglyphic manuscripts at the famous *auto de fe* in Mani in 1562, and although many of the Spaniards severely criticized him for this, there is little doubt that other missionaries followed his example whenever they had the opportunity.

The chiefs and former priests were ordered to send their sons to the schools established by the Franciscan friars, where they were taught to read and write their own language in European letters. Although some of the more promising pupils were taught Spanish, there does not seem to have been any general policy of attempting to impose the language of the conquerors upon the Indians. In the first place such a scheme was plainly impracticable owing to the comparatively small number of Spaniards in Yucatan and, besides, many of the missionaries frankly admitted that they preferred the local officials of the villages in their charge not to know Spanish. This was probably in order that the latter should not complain too frequently of ecclesiastical discipline to the lay officials, who were sometimes at odds with the Franciscans. From a purely educational point of view the schools were a success, for after a time every village had its town clerk who could read and write, as well as many members of the more important native families; but the Spanish settlers complained in the latter part of the Sixteenth Century that many native schoolmasters and choir-masters were still practising idolatry in secret and that idols had even been found in the school-houses.

If such persons as these were not completely reformed, it is hardly surprising to find the successors of the former prophets and priests, the herb-doctors and sorcerers of colonial times, making use of this new and more convenient graphic system of the white man in the pursuit of their ancient

professions. After Landa's famous bonfire at Mani, it is needless to say that the surviving hieroglyphic manuscripts were kept concealed, although now and then one of them came to the notice of the Franciscans. Seventy years after the Conquest, Aguilar wrote that "in these they painted in colors the count of their years, the wars, epidemics, hurricanes inundations, famines and other events." It is remarkable that not a single one of these books is known to have survived in Yucatan at the present time, for as late as the close of the Seventeenth Century Avendaño was quite familiar with them. In his account of the visit he made to the heathen Itzá at Tayasal he writes: "At the instant that we landed and I saw the said column and mask, I came to recognize it since I had already read about it in their old papers and had seen it in their *Anahtés*, which they use, which are books of barks of trees, polished and covered with lime, in which by painted figures and characters they have foretold their future events." This was Avendaño's first visit to any of the heathen Maya, and he could only have seen such hieroglyphic books as still survived in northern Yucatan.

A comparison of these descriptions with the existing Books of Chilam Balam shows plainly that many portions of the latter are simply transcriptions of the old hieroglyphic manuscripts into European script. Aguilar mentions one of these early transcriptions which was written in a copy-book and contained an account of the creation of the world. He confiscated this book from a choir-master of the town of Sucopo. As time went on, the transcriptions gradually took the place of the older hieroglyphic books. Fewer people were now able to read the glyphs, and much as the clergy condemned the Books of Chilam Balam, they were not considered such *prima facie* evidence of the crime of idolatry as was anything written in hieroglyphics. Aguilar also tells us how in their assemblies the Indians read the fables and histories contained in the books. Some of the contents were chanted to the accompaniment of a drum; old songs were sung; and the dramatic representations, the names of which we find listed in the Motul dictionary, were enacted. Cogolludo later wrote of such meetings that "God knows what goes on there, and at the very least many of them end up in drunkenness."

None of the Books of Chilam Balam that have come down to us were compiled earlier than the last part of the Seventeenth Century, and most of them date from the Eighteenth Century. The older ones were probably worn out by constant use. Nevertheless we have Maya legal documents covering almost every decade from the year 1557 down to the present time, and a comparison of the language of these with that of the Books of Chilam Balam shows that many passages of the latter were copied verbatim from Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Century originals.

At the present time we have photographic reproductions of the Books of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, Tizimin, Kaua, Ixil, Tekax and Nah as well as copious extracts copied from the Mani and Oxkutzcab manuscripts. The latter were made by Dr. Hermann Berendt and are now in the Berendt Linguistic Collection of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. This scholar also made copies of the Chumayel and Tizimin manuscripts about sixty years ago, when they were in better condition than when the present photographs were made. Consequently a complete transcription and translation of the texts can only be made with the aid of these copies. Tozzer gives the names of four others known by reputation only: the Books of Chilam Balam of Nabula, Tihosuco, Tixcocob and Hocabá. Genet and Chelbatz give a brief description of a Book of Chilam Balam of Telchac.

Of these books the Chumayel, Tizimin and Mani manuscripts have the greatest value for the study of Maya civilization, although the others are not lacking in interest. The Chumayel was a small quarto volume which appears to have originally consisted of fifty-eight numbered leaves. There are only 107 written pages in the University of Pennsylvania reproduction. Three leaves, numbers 1, 50 and 55, are missing, and there are breaks in the text at these places. The other pages seem to have been blank. The writer has seen only the leather cover, in which a hole had been burned; the book itself had disappeared. A number of the leaves are either torn or have crumbled away along the edges, and some of the pages are badly water-stained in places. Nevertheless the manuscript is very legible on the whole. Although it dates only from the year 1782, the language suggests the Seventeenth Century much more than it does the Eighteenth. The book contains comparatively little of the intrusive European material which predominates in other Books of Chilam Balam written at so late a date. The drawings which illustrate the volume are quite European in character, although many of the ideas which they represent are purely Maya.

Brinton was the first to make a translation of any considerable portion of the Chumayel. Using the Berendt copy of the text, he translated the three chronicles found in Chapters XIX, XX and XXI of the present work. Martinez Hernandez has published his own Spanish translations of these chronicles, also the story of the Last Judgment in Chapter XXIII and the first part of the creation narrative in Chapter X. Tozzer has translated the prophecy of Chilam Balam in Chapter XXIV and the chronicle in Chapter XX. The writer has published translations of Chapters II, IX and XIII, and the entire manuscript has been freely rendered into Spanish poetical prose by Mediz Bolio.

We know from internal evidence that the Chilam Balam of Chumayel was compiled by Don Juan Josef Hoil of that town, as we find his name signed to a notation written in the same hand as the rest of the book and dated 1782. Only a few interpolations added at later dates are written in different hands. Subsequently the book passed into the possession either of a certain unnamed priest or of his secretary, Justo Balam, who

inscribed two baptismal records on one of the blank pages in 1832 and 1833. In 1838 Pedro de Alcantara Briceño of San Antonio made a record on the same page that he had purchased the book "in his poverty" for the price of one peso, probably from a priest, although the writing is very indistinct. It is possible that the priest was Don Diego Hoil, the son of the writer. On another blank page the same Pedro Briceño noted that he made a loan of the book. The date here is badly written, but it is probably 1858. Some time during the next ten years it was acquired by Don Audomaro Molina, how or where, we do not know; but the latter stated to Sr. Martinez Hernandez in 1910 that he had given it to Bishop Crescencio Carrillo y Ancona. It was already in the Bishop's possession when Dr. Berendt copied it in 1868, and he permitted Teobert Maler to make the first photographs of it in 1887. When Bishop Carrillo died in 1897, the book passed into the hands of Don Ricardo Figueroa, and through the efforts of Sr. Molina it was loaned in 1910 to George B. Gordon, Director of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, who photographed it the same year. In 1913 the Museum published a handsome facsimile reproduction from which the present translation is made. The original was returned to Figueroa, in whose house Dr. S. G. Morley saw it in 1913. After Figueroa's death the manuscript was removed in 1915 to the Cepeda Library in Merida, but when Dr. Morley visited the Library in 1918 it had disappeared and its whereabouts is still unknown. As Dr. Morley has already noted, "In view of its doubtful fate, it is nothing short of providential that two photographic copies of it exist, the one made by Maler in 1887, a copy of which is in the Gates collection, and the other made by Gordon in 1910."

The attempt has been made to learn something about Don Juan Josef Hoil, the compiler of the manuscript, from the surviving members of the Hoil family of Chumayel, and although he has not been completely identified, the results of the inquiry are not without interest. The writer is indebted to Sr. Martinez Hernandez of Merida for the following information.

There appears to have been but one Hoil family in Chumayel. The present generation consists of Miguel, care-taker at Uxmal; Alejandro, a brakeman on the Ferrocarriles Unidos de Yucatan; Transito and Valentina, all of whom were born at the village of Xul. After much consultation with the various members of the family, Miguel Hoil reported on February 28, 1928, that their father was Epitacio Hoil, who married Cristina Parra and had a brother, Maximo. The grandfather was Juan José Hoil, married to Felipa Mendoza. He could hardly be the Don Juan Josef Hoil who signed the manuscript in 1782, however. The great-grandfather was Damaso Hoil, the natural son of a Doña Guadalupe Hoil, and married to Narcisa Guemes. From his time down to that of Epitacio the family seems to have lived at Tekax. Doña Guadalupe was the sister of Don Diego Hoil, curate of San Cristóbal. This is a suburb of Merida and was an important Indian parish, which indicates that Don Diego was a man of some learning and considerable importance. This would take us back to about the time when the manuscript was written, but unfortunately our information ceases at this point. It seems likely that the Don Juan Josef Hoil who wrote the Chilam Balam of Chumayel was the father of Don Diego, the curate, and of Doña Guadalupe. A search of the records of the parish of San Cristóbal might be rewarded with the confirmation of Don Diego's parentage. If Doña Guadalupe's natural son, Damaso, was brought up in her father's home at Chumayel, it would be most natural that Damaso should give his own son the name of his maternal grandfather.

As to the manuscript itself, the most probable conclusion from the information which we have is that after Don Juan Josef Hoil's death it passed into the hands of Don Diego and that he was the priest who sold the book to Diego Briceño in 1838.

Needless to say, the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel is difficult to translate, although the spelling is better on the whole than that of some of the other manuscripts. As Professor Tozzer has noted, many words are separated arbitrarily into syllables, the same word sometimes being divided in several different ways on the same page. Some passages are logically arranged in paragraphs, which is a great help, but many are not. There is little division of the text into sentences, and a capital letter rarely begins either a sentence or a proper name. Consequently it is necessary to establish a critical text before attempting a formal translation.

The greatest difficulty of all is found in the numerous obsolete words and phrases which occur. It has already been noted that the Chumayel is a compilation made from various earlier works, many of which were probably copied from still older books. This would account for an occasional corrupt text, which can often be rectified from parallel passages or similar stereotyped phrases occurring in the other writings. The meaning of obsolete words and phrases can be learned in three ways. They may be found in the older dictionaries which were written at a time when they were still in use; a more modern Maya expression or even a Spanish word is sometimes substituted in a parallel passage in another manuscript; and when other means fail, the use of the same word or expression in a number of different contexts will cast considerable light upon the meaning. Sometimes the Maya writer of a manuscript will even explain the significance of an obscure term which he thinks his readers might not understand. For an explanation of the many proper names found in the Chumayel, especially those of deities, we are obliged to rely largely on the Spanish source material such as Landa, the *Relaciones de Yucatan*, Cogolludo, Aguilar and Lizana. This information may be supplemented by the reports of such modern ethnological investigators as Tozzer, Redfield, Thompson and Gann. Many unfamiliar words not found in any Maya dictionary have turned out to be plant-names. These will be found in the Maya medical literature, and a great many of them have been identified by the botanists.

It has been suggested that a modern Maya Indian should be of great assistance in translating these old books, but none of the few efforts which have been made along this line of inquiry have had much success. The vocabulary of the average Indian is limited. Many words are now used with a changed meaning, and he is entirely too ready to resort to a typical *Volksetymologie* to explain any word which has now passed out of current use. This is evident from the explanations made by natives to the botanists in the case of plant-names composed of obsolete words. The errors of such native derivations are amply demonstrated by the Sixteenth Century Motul dictionary, in which many of these old words are found. Up to the present a little has been done in this respect with the native Maya priests, or *h-menob*, some of whom can still recite a number of the old incantations. Such men would be likely to rely more on tradition than on their own improvised etymology. Dr. Redfield's elucidation of the puzzling name of Ah Muzencab, the bee-god, from the explanation of one of these native sorcerers is an example of the results which may be looked for from this line of inquiry. Needless to say, it is difficult to persuade these native priests to explain their rituals.

Doubts have been expressed in the past as to whether it was possible to translate some of the passages in the Book of Chilam Balam, of Chumayel. Such scepticism was not unreasonable in view of the limited amount of related material accessible to the student at the time. In more recent years, however, additional manuscripts have been collected, and photographs or photostats have been made of nearly all the Maya writings known to be in existence. The archaeological evidence uncovered in the course of the past few years and the reports of modern ethnologists have furnished explanations for a number of the obscure statements found in the Books of Chilam Balam. In view of these facts a translation of these books seems feasible at the present time; but there is little doubt that further search among the archives of Spain will bring to light additional reports on the natives of Yucatan, possibly some of the lost source material known to have been written by the early Spanish missionaries. Also the discovery of more Maya manuscripts and the results of further archaeological and ethnological investigations should furnish an answer to many of the problems as yet unsolved. Another source of information should be the thorough study of the more closely related languages of the Maya stock. It seems likely that at least some of the obsolete words in the Books of Chilam Balam will be more fully explained by similar terms which have survived in the other languages.

PREFATORY NOTE TO THE MAYA TEXT

Like the other Books of Chilam Balam, the Chumayel manuscript is written in the European script which the Sixteenth Century Spanish missionaries adapted to the Maya language of Yucatan. It differs only in a few particulars from ordinary Spanish script. The letters d, f, g, q and r are not employed in writing Maya words, as the sounds which they represent do not occur in Maya. Some Maya writers substituted ij for ii, but neither the Spanish nor the English sound of j appears to be indicated. C is pronounced somewhat like the English k. The other letters have approximately the same sound as in Spanish except for the following, which represent sounds which do not occur in Spanish, viz. pp, th, ch and k. The writer is indebted to Dr. M. J. Andrade for the following description:

"These sounds are very familiar to those who have studied the Indian languages of North America, where they are at present represented respectively by the phonetic symbols p', t', ts', tc' and k'. They are the so-called glottalized or fortis sounds. It is difficult to convey an idea of the acoustic effect of these sounds to those who have never heard them. Roughly speaking, it may be said that Maya pp and th are emphatic articulations of Maya p and t, and that a similar correspondence exists between the series, ch, k, and tz, ch, c. A careful enunciation of the k-sound, however, does not affect our ears as a mere emphatic articulation of the Maya c, but that is also the case in other Indian languages in which this sound occurs. In Maya these fortis sounds are not articulated as energetically as in many North American languages, particularly in those of the Pacific coast. On the whole they may best be compared with the corresponding sounds of the Dakota Sioux, although with many Maya speakers they are so weak that the untrained ear can not distinguish them from the unemphatic sounds."

In writing the double vowels, Maya writers are frequently inconsistent, although the compiler of the Chumayel is less so than most of them. They sometimes write them with a single vowel. Of these Dr. Andrade states that the sound is--"two moras long with a fall in pitch on the second half if it is a double vowel. In current usage there is no articulation of two separate vowels, but a continuous vocalic sound. This throws light, I think, on the discrepancy found in the manuscripts. If this phoneme was even in earlier times a single vocalic sound with double quantity, we can readily see that the use of two letters for its orthography was somewhat artificial, and in this, as in all artificial spelling, individuals are more likely to make mistakes."

We find in the use of certain letters an inconsistency that is somewhat similar to that found in many of the Spanish manuscripts of the colonial period. Since a consistent notation is desirable in the present edition of the Maya text, the writer has followed that of Pio Perez for which there is precedent among both Maya writers and the Spanish authors of Maya grammars, vocabularies and dictionaries. It is the notation of Beltran, except that he writes p for pp, and of the Motul dictionary, except for the latter's frequent use of ç instead of z. The following tabulation will explain the present writer's method of avoiding the inconsistencies which occur in most Maya manuscripts.

Present edition	Variants occurring in Maya MSS.
i (vowel)	i, y
ii (double vowel)	ii, ij
y (semivowel)	t, i, ll (rare)
u (vowel and semivowel)	u, v
c	c, qu (before e and i, rare)
z	z, ç, s
pp	pp, p

Only one abbreviation is generally used in the Maya manuscripts: this is the character y, which stands for *yetel*, a word having the double meaning of "with" and "and." A few manuscripts, chiefly legal documents, substitute for this another abbreviation, yt, and only rarely is the word *yetel* written out in full. In the present rendition of the Maya text the writer has followed Brinton's example and transcribed this abbreviation just as it is found in the Chumayel manuscript instead of writing out the word in full.

The text of the Books of Chilam Balam is not divided into sentences, and many portions are not separated into paragraphs. Words are frequently wrongly divided into syllables, and proper names rarely begin with capital letters. Inasmuch as an excellent photographic reproduction of the original manuscript of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel has been published by the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and is accessible to the student, it has been considered advisable in the present edition to divide the Maya text into such chapters, paragraphs, sentences and words as are called for by the meaning of the subject-matter, and to begin sentences and proper names with capital letters. The method of determining which words are proper names has been discussed elsewhere. The text is often divided into short phrases by colons or dashes. Such punctuation is sometimes inconsistent and even occurs in the middle of a proper name, but it frequently corresponds somewhat to the meaning of the text. For this peculiar system of punctuation, the Maya student is referred to the published reproduction of the manuscript.

We now come to the mistakes found in the manuscript. Juan Josef Hoil was on the whole an unusually careful copyist, and the writer is inclined to ascribe most of the errors to his sources. As Professor Tozzer has already noted, these texts are probably copies of copies and have been garbled somewhat in passing from hand to hand. In the Chumayel manuscript a garbled phrase is often accompanied by a vacant space, indicating that the copyist was not able to read all the words of his source at that point. In these cases it is often possible to correct the text from a parallel passage in another manuscript. In the case of such a correction, however, the reader is referred to a footnote in which the corrected word or phrase is given as it is actually written in the manuscript. Sometimes a passage is obscure because of the omission of a word or

phrase. When the latter is supplied from another source, it is enclosed in diamond brackets and its source indicated in a foot-note. In some cases where a parallel passage radically alters the meaning of the text, the alternative reading is given in a foot-note.

In transcribing the photographic reproduction of this lost manuscript, the Berendt copy of the original has been used constantly for comparison. This has been especially helpful in deciphering badly written and faded portions of the text, and is indispensable where the edge of a page has crumbled away after the Berendt copy was made. Missing words supplied from this copy are placed in diamond brackets, and the source is indicated in a foot-note.

Misspelled words constitute another difficulty. Many errors are due to a habit of the Maya writer who often employs the letter ç for z and then occasionally omits the cedilla. Such an omission may completely change the meaning of the word. Another error sometimes found is when the Maya writer has omitted the bar from the p (pp) and ch. Often these mistakes in orthography can be corrected from a parallel passage, but occasionally the meaning of the context must be depended upon in the case of an obvious mistake or a slip of the pen. Corrections of orthography are referred to a foot-note in which the word is given as it stands in the manuscript.

It is needless to say that a critical text can be established with much more assurance for those portions of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel for which parallel passages can be found in other manuscripts. Such corresponding passages are not absolutely the same. The phraseology differs slightly. Some contain a certain amount of material omitted by others, and an archaic word or phrase in one may be replaced in another by a more modern expression or sometimes even by a Spanish word. Nevertheless the language is sufficiently similar to indicate that they are drawn from a single original source.

Where the Chumayel narrative is not duplicated elsewhere, we are frequently aided by comparison with other texts of the same general character. This is because the Books of Chilam Balam abound in certain stereotyped phrases often employed in similar contexts. When a portion of such a phrase appears to be garbled and we find the same phrase occurring elsewhere in much the same context, we can make the correction with a fair degree of certainty. In any case the garbled phrase will be found in the foot-note, and the reader is at liberty to draw his own conclusions.

As previously stated, all supplied material is enclosed in diamond brackets < >. Any words or letters believed by the writer to be intrusive are enclosed in square brackets [].

Certain abbreviations have been employed in the notes to the Maya text. These are to be explained as follows:

Ber. = Copy of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel by Dr. Hermann Berendt.

C = Photographic reproduction of the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel.

K = Book of Chilam Balam of Kaua. (Gates photostat.)

M = Book of Chilam of Mani. (Berendt copy.)

O = Book of Chilam Balam of Oxkutzcab. (Berendt copy.)

T =Book of Chilam Balam Tizimin. (Morley photostat; Maler photograph; Gates photostat.)

Suppl. = Supplied from

In the present rendition of the Maya text it will be seen that marginal notations have been made showing the corresponding page numbers of the University of Pennsylvania Museum reproduction of the manuscript. Inasmuch as some of the earlier commentaries on the Book of Chilam. Balam of Chumayel make references to the actual folio numbers of the manuscript, a correlation of these with the page numbers of the reproduction will be useful. Some of the folio numbers have disappeared, owing to the crumbling away of the corner of the sheet, but the sequence of the text enables us to apply them in the following table.

Manuscript	U. of Penn. reproduction	Manuscript	U. of Penn. reproduction	Manuscript	U. of Penn. reproduction
Folio <1>	missing	Folio 21	pp. 36-37	Folio 41	pp. 75-76
<2>	pp. 1-2	22	38-39	42	77-78
3	3-4	23	40-41	43	79-80
4	5-6	24	42-43	44	81-82
5	7-8	25	44-45	<45>	83-84
<6>	9-10	26	46-47	46	85-86
<7>	11-12	27	48-49	47	87-88
8	13-14	28	50-51	48	89-90
9	15-16	29	52-53	49	91-92
10	17-18	302	54-55	<50>	missing
11	19-20	31	56-57	51	pp. 93-94
12	21-22	32	58-59	52	95-96
13	23	33	60-61	53	97-98
14	24-25	34	62-63	54	99-100
<15>	26	35	64-65	<55>	missing
16	27	36	66-67	Unnumbered	p. 101
17	28-29	37	68-69	56	pp. 102-103
18	30-31	38	70-71	57	104-105
19	32-33	39	72	58	106-107
20	34-35	40	73-74		

I
(THE RITUAL OF THE FOUR WORLD-QUARTERS)

The first man of the Canul family. The white *guaje*, the *ixculun* <and> the gumbo-limbo are his little hut,... The logwood tree is the hut of Yaxum, the first of the men of the Cauich family.

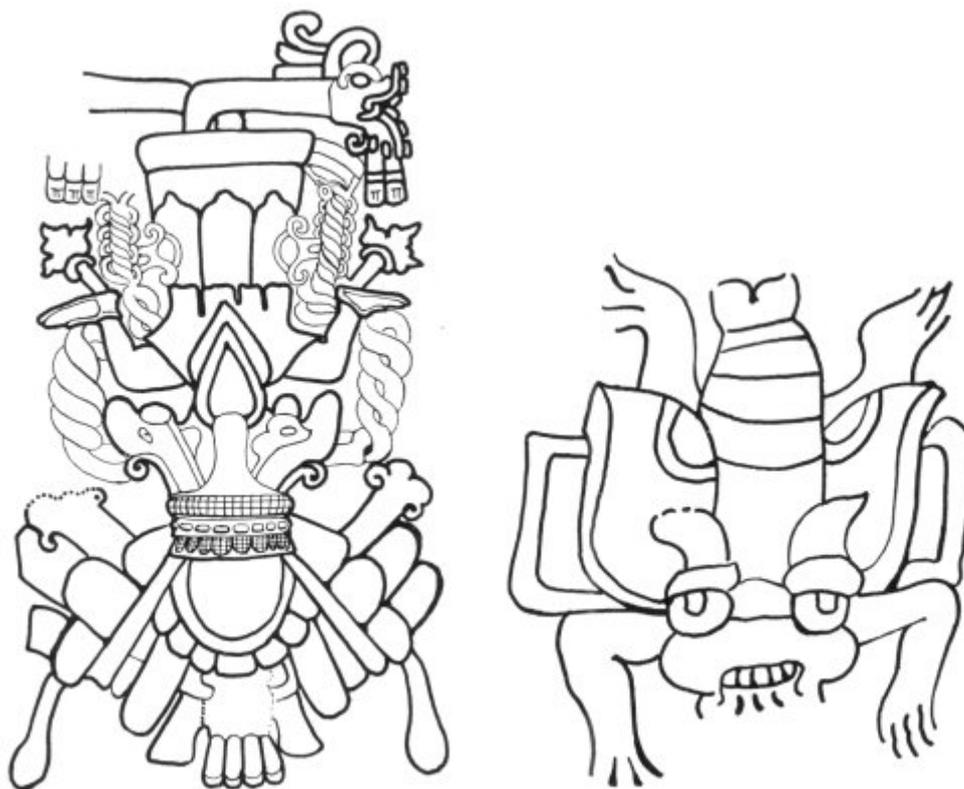


FIG. 1 a--Ah Muzencab, the Maya bee god. (After Lothrop.) b, A bee.
(Codex Tro-Cortesianus, p. 83.)

The lord of the people of the south is the first of the men of the Noh family. Ix-Kan-tacay is the name of the first of the men of the Puch family. They guard nine rivers; they guard nine mountains

The red flint stone is the stone of the red Mucencab. The red ceiba tree of abundance is his arbor which is set in the east. The red bullet-tree is their tree. The red zapote . . . The red-vine . . . Reddish are their yellow turkeys. Red toasted <corn> is their corn.

The white flint stone is their stone in the north. The white ceiba tree of abundance is the arbor of the white Mucencab. White-breasted are their turkeys. White Lima-beans are their Lima-beans. White corn is their corn.

The black flint stone is their stone in the west. The black ceiba tree of abundance is their arbor. Black speckled corn is their corn. Black tipped camotes are their camotes. Black wild pigeons are their turkeys. Black *akab-chan* is their green corn. Black beans are their beans. Black Lima-beans are their Lima-beans.

The yellow flint stone is the stone of the south. The ceiba tree of abundance, the yellow ceiba tree of abundance, is their arbor. The yellow bullet-tree is their tree. <Colored like> the yellow bullet-tree are their camotes. <Colored like> the yellow bullet-tree are the wild pigeons which are their turkeys. Yellow green corn is their green corn. Yellow-backed are their beans . . . 11 Ahau was the katun when they carried <burdens> on their backs. Then the land-surveyor first came; this was Ah Ppizte who measured the leagues. Then there came the *chacté* shrub for marking the leagues with their walking sticks. Then he came<to> Uac-hab-nal} to pull the weeds along the leagues, when Mizcit Ahau came to sweep clean the leagues, when the land-surveyor came. These were long leagues that he measured.

Then a spokesman was established at the head of the mat.

Ix Noh Uc presides to the east. Ox Tocoymoo presides to the east. Ox Pauah Ek presides to the east. Ah Miz presides to the east.

Batun presides to the north. Ah Puch presides to the north. Balam-na presides to the north. Ake presides to the north.

Iban presides to the west. Ah Chab presides to the west. Ah Tucuch preside to the west.

Ah Yamas presides to the south. Ah Puch presides to the south. Cauich presides to the south. Ah Couh presides to the south. Ah Puc presides to the south.

The red wild bees are in the east. A large red blossom is their cup. The red Plumeria is their flower.

The white wild bees are in the north. The white pachça is their flower. A large white blossom is their cup.

The black wild bees are in the west. The black laurel flower is their flower. A large black blossom is their cup.

The yellow wild bees are in the south. A large yellow blossom is their cup . . .is their flower.

Then they swarmed at *gucuzamil* in great numbers among the magueys of the land, the calabash trees of the land, the ceiba trees of the land and the *chulul* trees of the land. Kin Pauahtun was their priest. He commanded the numerous army which guarded Ah Hulneb at Tantun in Cozumel, <also> Ah Yax-ac, Chinab, and Kinich Kakmo.

II. (THE RISE OF HUNAC CEEL TO POWER)

Ah Itzimthul Chac was their commander at Ichcanzihoo. Uayom-chic̄ was their priest at Ichcanzihoo. Canul <occupied> the jaguar-mat. The second Priest Chable was their ruler. Cabal Xiu was their priest. Uxmal Chac was their commander; formerly he was their priest.

Then Hapay Can was brought to Chemchan. He was pierced <by an arrow> when he arrived at the bloody wall there at Uxmal.

Then Chac-xib-chac was despoiled of his insignia. Zac-xib-chac and Ek Yuuan Chac were also despoiled of their insignia. Ix Zabeliz was the name of the maternal grandmother of the Chacs. Ek Yuuan Chac was their father. Hun Yuuan Chac was their youngest brother; Uooh-puc was his name. There was a glyph (*uoh*) written on the palm of his hand. Then a glyph was written

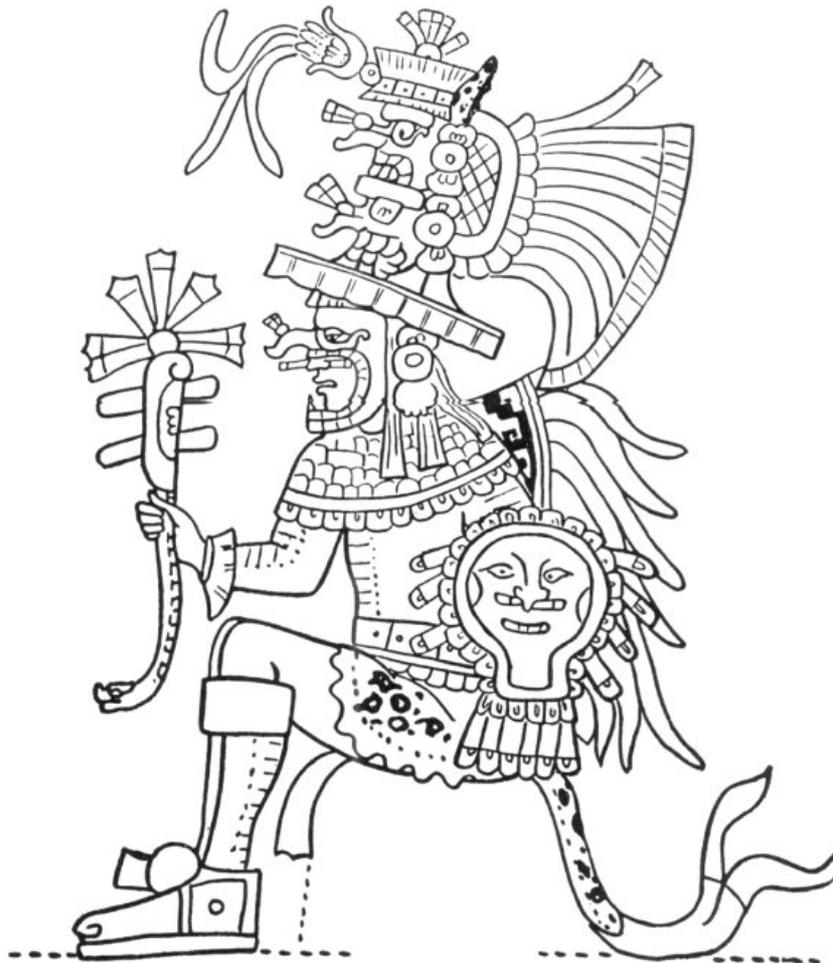


FIG. 2--Chac-xib-chac, the God Impersonator at Chichen Itzá. Fresco, Temple of the Warriors. Drawing by Ann Axtell Morris.

below his throat, was also written on the sole of his foot and written within the ball of the thumb of Ah Uooh-puc. The Chacs were not gods. The only true God is our Lord Dios; they worshipped him according to the word and the wisdom of Mayapan.

Ah Kin Coba was their priest there in the fortress <of Mayapan>. Zulim Chan was at the west <gate>. Nauat was the guardian of the



FIG. 3--Mexican warrior occupying the jaguar-seat. Fresco, Temple of the Warriors, Chichen Itzá. (After Ann Axtell Morris.)

The translator believes that this figure is also representative of the guardians of the gates at Mayapan mentioned in the Chumayel.

south gate. Couoh was the guardian of the east gate. Ah Ek was his companion. This was their ruler: Ah Tapay Nok Cauich was the name of their head-chief; Hunac Ceel was the representative of Ah Mex Cuc. Then he demanded one complete Plumeria flower. Then he demanded a white mat. Then he demanded a mantle faced on two sides.

Then he demanded a green turkey. Then he demanded a mottled snail. Then he demanded the gourds called *homa*.

Whereupon they departed and arrived at Ppoole, where the remainder of the Itzá were increased in number; they took the women of Ppole as their mothers. Then they arrived at Ake; there they were born at Ake. Ake it was called here, as they said. Then they arrived at Alaa; Alaa was its name here, they said. Then they came to Tixchel, where their words and discourse were prolonged. Then they arrived at Ninum, where their words and conversations were many. Then they arrived at Chikin-çonot, where their faces were turned to the west. Chikin-çonot was its name here, so they said. Then they arrived at Tzuc-oop, where they remained apart under the Anona tree. Tzuc-op was its name here, so they said. Then they arrived at Tah-cab (Tahcabo), where the Itzas stirred the honey. Then it was drunk by X-koh-takin.

When the honey was stirred, she drank it at Cabilneba, as it was called. Then they arrived/at Kikil, where they contracted dysentery. Kikil was its name here, so they said. Then they arrived at Panabhaa, where they dug for water. Then they came to Cucuchilhaa; they settled at the deep water. Then they arrived at Yalzihon; Yalzihon was its name here, where they settled the town. Then they arrived at Xppitah (Espita), also a town. Then they arrived at Kancabçonot. They departed and arrived at çula. Then they came to Pibhaalçonot. Then they arrived at Tahaac, as it was called. Then they came to Ticooh, where they haggled for that which was dear. Ticoh was its name here. Then they arrived at Tikal, where they shut themselves in. Tikal was its name here. Then they came to Timaax, where they made complete rogues of themselves. Then they arrived at Buctzotz, where they covered the hair of their heads with a garment. Buctzotz was its name here, so they said. Then they arrived at çicontun, where a malevolent man began to seize the land. It was called çiholtun here. Then they arrived at Yobain, where the crocodile bewitched them through their maternal grandfather, Ah Yamazi, their ruler at the seashore. Then they arrived at Zinanche, where the devil bewitched them. Zinanche was its name here. Then they arrived at the town of Chac. Then they arrived at çeuc; their companions contended with one another. Then the maternal grandfather of their companions arrived to reconcile them at çemul, as it was called here. Then they arrived at Kini at the home of Xkil Itzam Pech. Their companions were at Xçeuc when they arrived at the home of Xkil Itzam Pech, the ruler of the people of Kini. Then they arrived at Baca, where water was poured out for them. It was Baca here, so they said. Then they arrived at Zabacnail, the home of their maternal grandfather, the first of the men of the Na <family>; this was Chel Na, their maternal grandfather. Then they arrived at Tebenaa, where they remembered their mother. Then they went to Ixil. Then they went to Chulul. Then they went to Holtun-chable. Then they came to Itzamna (Itzimná). Then they came to Chubulna. Then they arrived at Caucel, where they all shivered with cold. It was Caucel here, so they said. Then they arrived at Ucu, where they said: "*ya ucu*." Then they went to Hunucma. Then they arrived at Kinchil. Then they went to <Can>kana. Then they arrived at Tixpetoncah. Then they arrived at Zahab-balam. Then they arrived at Tahcum-chakan. Then they arrived at Tixbalche. Then they arrived at Uxmal. Then they departed and arrived at Tixyubak. Then they arrived at Munaa, where their words were soft. Then they went to Oxlochhok. Then they went to Chac-akal. Then they went to Xocneceh; the deer was their familiar spirit when they arrived. Then they went to Ppuztunich. Then they went to Pucnalchac. Then they went to Ppencuyut. Then they went to Paxueuet. Then they arrived at Tixaya (Xaya). Then

they arrived at Tiztiz, as it is called. Then they arrived at Chican. Then they arrived at Tixmeuac.

Then they arrived at Hunacthi. Then they arrived at Titzal. Then they arrived at Tamuzbulna. Then they arrived at Tixcan. Then they arrived at Lop. Then they arrived at Cheemiuán. Then they arrived at Oxcauanka. Then they went to Zacbacelcan. Then they arrived at Cetelac.

These are the names of whatever towns there were and the names of the wells, in order that it may be known where they passed in their march to see whether this district was good, whether it was suitable for settlement here. They set in order the names of the district according to the command of our Lord God. He it was who set the land in order. He created everything on earth. He set it in order also. But these were the people who named the district, who named the wells, who named the villages, who named the land because no one had arrived here in this neck of the land when we arrived here.

Zubinche, Kaua, Cumcanul (Cuncunul), Tiemtun (Ebtun), where the precious stones descended, Zizal, Zacii (Valladolid), Tiçooç (Tesoco), where the law of the katun was fulfilled, Timozon, Popola, where the mat of the katun was spread, Tipixoy (Pixoy), Uayumhaa (Uayma), Zacbacelean, Tinum where little was said to them, Timacal, Popola where they counted the mat of the katun in its order, Tixmaculum where they interrupted with words, çithaaz (çitas), Bon-kauil, Tixmex, Kochila, Tix-xocen (Xocen), Chunpak, Pibahul, Tunkaaz (Tunkas), Haltunhaa, Kuxbila, çičilche, Zitilpech, Chalamte where their anger was appeased, Itzamthulil (Izamal), Tipakab (Tepakam?) where they were united,

Tiya (Teya), Caanzahcab, çičomtun, together with their maternal grandfather ... çicholtun, Popola to the south of Zinanche. Then they came to Muci, Zacnicte-çeen, Zoçil; here they had a council of war at Multumut, as it was called here, Mutul. Muxuppipp, Ake, Hoctun, where they settled at the base of the stone, Xoc-çhel, Bohe, Zahcabhaa (Sancaba?), Tzanlahcat (Sanahcat), Human where there were noisy talk and rumors about them. Chalamte, Pacaxua was its name here they said. Tekit where the remainder of the Itzá were dispersed, Yokolçeen, Ppuuppulni-huh (Huhi?) the iguana was their familiar spirit when they came forth. çoçil, Tiab (Teabo), Bitun-çeen. Then they entered Tipikal, as the well was called, after which they came up out of it. Then they went to Poc-huh, as the well was named, where they roasted the iguana. Then they went to Mani, where their language was forgotten by them. Then they arrived at Tiçaan (çam); three days they were submerged. Then they went to Ticul, Zacluum-çeen (Sacalum), Tixtohil-çeen (Xtohil), where they recovered their health. Then they went to Balam-kin, the district of the priests. Çeençhomac, Zacnicteelçonot (Sacnicte), Tiyaxcab (Yaxcaba?), Uman, Oxcum, Zanhil (Samahil), Ichcanzihoo (Mérida), Ti-nohnaa, Nohpat, Poychena, Chulul (Cholul). Then they arrived at the corner of the land, Cumkal (Conkal), where the corner of the district was set. Zicpach, Yaxkukul,

Tixkokob, Cuca, Çeen-balam, Bolon-nic-xan, Ekol, Ekol was the name of the well here. Tixueue, Tixueue was the name of the well here. Uhumtal, <where> one part came. Tixkanimacal, Tixaan (Texan), Yumxul, where they took their father-in-law as their lord. Holtun-ake (Ake?), Acanceh, Ticooh (Tecoh), Tichahil, Tichac (Telchaquillo?), Mayapan the fortress, Yokol-haa. Then they went to Nabula, Tixmucuy

(Timucuy), Tixkanhube, goyila (goyola). Then they arrived at Tizip, where their words and conversation were sinful.

Then the rulers began to establish the country. There was the priest at Paloncab; there was the priest at Mutupul (Mutul), as it was called. The priest at Paloncab was Ah May; The priest at Mutul was Ah Canul, also <entitled> Uayom Chich, who spoke brokenly also; also the second Chable man, the man of Ichcanziho, Holtun Balam, his son. Then <the province of> Chakan received the quetzal. Then their associate rulers arrived. These rulers were the intimate associates of the rulers in Tun 11 Ahau. Then they established the land; then they established the country. Then they settled at Ichcanziho. Then came the people of Holtun-Ake; then came the people of Zabacna. Then the rulers came, all together. The man of Zabacna was the first of the men of the Na family. Then they assembled at Ichcanziho, where the official mat was, during the reign of Holtun Balam, there at the well, during the reign of Pochek-ix-çoy. He was the first of the men of Copo; Tutul Xiu might have been there also. Chacte was the ruler, Chacte was the land where their rulers arrived. Teppanciz was their priest, he was looked upon as such. It was Ah Ppizte who measured their land. But Lubte was the land where they rested, there were seven leagues of land. Ah May it was who fixed the corners of the land, he who set the corners in their places; the sweeper who swept the land was Mizcit Ahau. But the land which was established for them was Hoyahelcab; there they came to the use of their reason. They proved their ruler, they proved their reason.

Then began the introduction of tribute to them at Chik~~en~~. At Tikuch arrived the tribute of the four men. 11 Ahau was the name of the katun when the tribute was handled. There at Cetelac it was assembled; there it was. Then came the tribute of Holtun Zuiua, there at Cetelac, where they agreed in their opinions. 13 Ahau was the name of the katun when the head-chiefs received the tribute.

Then began their reign; then began their rule. Then they began to be served; then those who were to be thrown (into the cenote) arrived; then they began to throw them into the well that their prophecy might be heard by their rulers. Their prophecy did not come. It was Cauich, Hunac Ceel, Cauich was the name of the man there, who put out his head at the opening of the well on the south side. Then he went to take it. Then he came forth to declare the prophecy. Then began the taking of the prophecy. Then began his prophecy. Then they began to declare him ruler. Then he was set in the seat of the rulers by them. Then they began to declare him head-chief. He was not the ruler formerly; that was only the office of Ah Mex Cuc. Now the representative of Ah Mex Cuc was declared ruler. The eagle, they say, was his mother. Then, they say, he was sought on his hill. Then they began to take the prophecy of this ruler after it was declared. Then they began to set aloft the house on high for the ruler. Then began the construction of the stairway. Then he was set in the house on high in 13 Ahau, the sixth reign. Then began the hearing of the prophecy, of the news, of the setting up of Ah Mex Cuc, as he was called. Then he carried nearly to Baca the news of Ah Mex Cuc. He was placed there. Then he began to be treated as a lord; then obedience to the name of Ah Mex Cuc began. Then he was obeyed; then he was served there at the mouth of the well. Chik~~en~~ Itzam was its name because the Itza went there. Then he removed the stones of the land, the stones of the sowed land, the place of Itzam, and they went into the water. Then began the introduction of misery there at Chik~~en~~ Itzá. Then he went to the east and arrived at the home of Ah Kin Coba.

Katun 8 Ahau came. 8 Ahau was the name of the katun when their government occurred. Then there was a change of the katun, then there was a change of rulers.

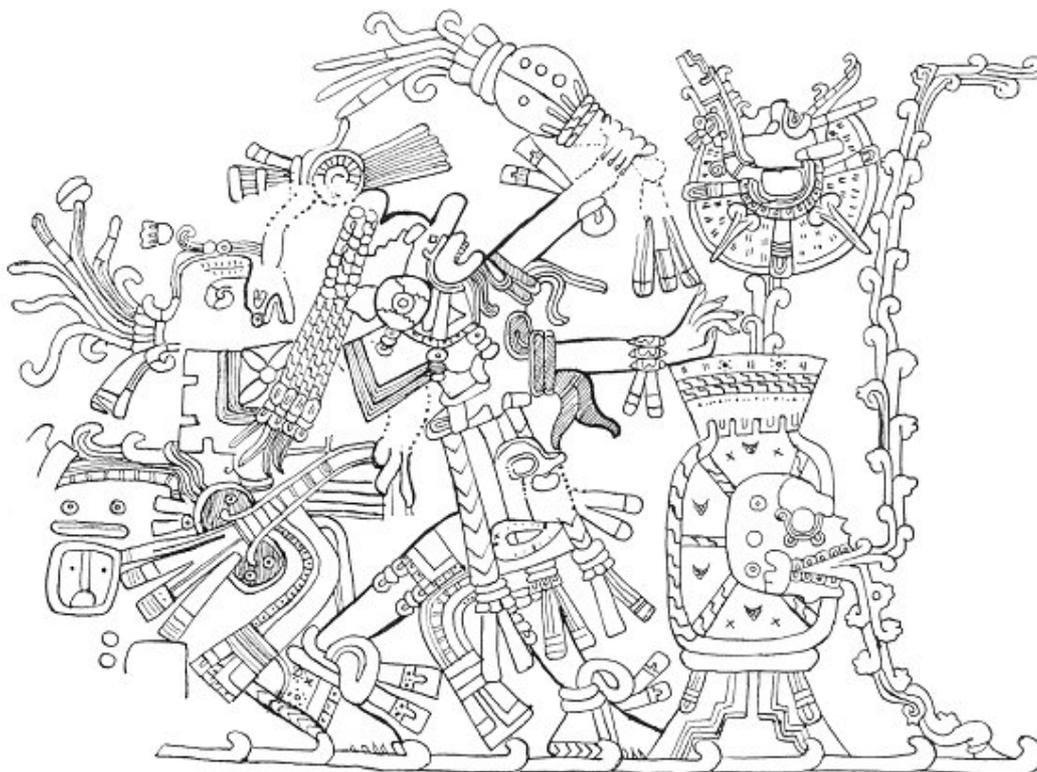
. . . when our rulers increased in numbers, according to the words of their priest to them. Then they introduced the drought. That which came was a drought, according to their words, when the hoofs <of the animals> burned, when the seashore burned, a sea of misery. So it was said on high, so it was said. Then the face of the sun was eaten; then the face of the sun was darkened; then its face was extinguished. They were terrified on high, when it burned at the word of their priest to them, when the word of our ruler was fulfilled at the word of their priest to them. Then began the idea of painting the exterior of the sun. When they heard of that, they saw the moon. Then came the rulers of the land. It was Ix-Tziu-nene who introduced sin to us, the slaves of the land, when he came. Then the law of the katun, the divination of the katun shall be fulfilled. When he was brought, what was your command, you, the rulers of the land? Then the law of another katun was introduced, at the end of the katun when Ix-Tziu-nene was brought. Whereupon a numerous army was seen, and they began to be killed. Then a thing of terror was constructed, a gallows for their death. Now began the archery of Ox-halal Chan. Then the rulers of the land were called. Their blood flowed, and it was taken by the archers. They were terrified . . . the time when the katun ended for them . . .

III (A PROPHECY FOR KATUN 11 AHOU)

Katun 11 Ahau is set upon the mat, set upon the throne, when their ruler is set up. Yaxal Chac is its face to their ruler. The heavenly fan, the heavenly wreath and the heavenly bouquet shall descend. The drum and rattle of the lord of 11 Ahau shall resound, when flint knives are set into his mantle. At that time there shall be the green turkey; at that time there shall be Zulim Chan; at that time there shall be Chakanputun. They shall find their food among the trees; they shall find their food among the rocks, those who have lost their <usual> food in katun 11 Ahau.

11 Ahau is the beginning of the count, because this was the katun when the foreigners arrived. They came from the east when they arrived. Then Christianity also began. The fulfilment of its prophecy is <ascribed> to the east. The katun is established at Ichcaanzihoo.

This is a record of the things which they did. After it had all passed, they told of it in their <own> words, but its meaning is not plain. Still the course of events was as it is written. But even when everything shall be thoroughly



*FIG. 4--The drum and rattle of the katun resound. Fresco at Santa Rita, British Honduras.
(After Gann, 1900, Plate 31. Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution.)*

explained, perhaps not so much is written about it, nor has very much been written of the guilt of their conspiracies with one another. So it was with the ruler of the Itzá, with

the men <who were rulers> of Izamal, Ake, Uxmal, Ichcanziho <and> Citab Couoh also. Very many were the head-chiefs and many a conspiracy they made with one another. But they are not made known in what is <written> here; not so much will be related. Still he who comes of our lineage will know it, one of us who are Maya men. He will know how to explain these things when he reads what is here. When he sees it, then he will explain the adjustment of the intricacy of the katun by our priest, Ah Kin Xuluc; but Xuluc was not his name formerly. It was only because these priests of ours were to come to an end when misery was introduced, when Christianity was introduced by the real Christians. Then with the true God, the true *Dios*, came the beginning of our misery. It was the beginning of tribute, the beginning of church dues, the beginning of strife with purse-snatching, the beginning of strife with blow-guns, the beginning of strife by trampling on people, the beginning of robbery with violence, the beginning of forced debts, the beginning of debts enforced by false testimony, the beginning of individual strife, a beginning of vexation, a beginning of robbery with violence. This was the origin of service to the Spaniards and priests, of service to the local chiefs, of service to the teachers, of service to the public prosecutors by the boys, the youths of the town, while the poor people were harassed. These were the very poor people who did not depart when oppression was put upon them. It was by Antichrist on earth, the kinkajous of the towns, the foxes of the towns, the blood-sucking insects of the town, those who drained the poverty of the working people. But it shall still come to pass that tears shall come to the eyes of our Lord God. The justice of our Lord God shall descend upon every part of the world, straight from God upon Ah Kantenal, Ix Pucyola, the avaricious hagglers of the world.

IV (THE BUILDING OF THE MOUNDS)

In the year 1541.

181 guul. at. 5 Dik: 92 nhele

The history which I have written of how the mounds came to be constructed by the heathen. During three score and fifteen katuns they were constructed. The great men made them. Then the remainder of the men went to Cartabona, as the land where they were is called today. There they were when San Bernabé came to teach them. Then they were killed by the men; the men were called heathen. 1<5>56 is the total count today <after> fifteen years. On this day I have written how the great mounds came to be built by the lineages and all the things which the rulers did. They were the ones who built the mounds. <It took> thirteen katuns and six years for them to construct them. The following was the beginning of the mounds they built. Fifteen four-hundreds were the scores of their mounds, and fifty <more> <made> the total count of the mounds they constructed all over the land. From the sea to the base of the land they created names for them as well as for the wells. Then a miracle was performed for them by God. Then they were burned by fire among the people of Israel. <This is> the record of the katuns and years since Chac-unezcab of the lineage of the Tutul Xius departed from Viroa.

V

(MEMORANDA CONCERNING THE HISTORY OF YUCATAN)

A record of the katuns and years when the Province of Yucatan was first seized by the foreigners, the white men. It was, they say, in Katun 11 Ahau that they seized the port of Ecab. They came from the east when they arrived. They say they were the first to eat the pond-apple for breakfast, this was the reason they called them the foreigners who ate pond-apples; foreigners who sucked pond-apples, they were called. This is the name of the householder whom they seized at Ecab, Nacom Balam was his name. He was the first to be seized at Ecab by the first <Spanish> captain, Don Juan de Montejo, the first conqueror. It was still the same katun when they arrived at Ichcanziho (Merida).

It was the year 1513 in Katun 13 Ahau that they seized Campeche. They were there one katun. Ah Kin Camal from Campeche introduced the foreigners into the province here.

It was on August 20th in the year 1541, I have made known the name of the year when Christianity began.

In the year 1519, after seven score and eleven years, occurred the agreement with the foreigners, according to which we paid for the war between the foreigners and the other men here in the towns. It was the captains of the towns <who made war>. It is we who pay for it today.

Today I have written down that in the year 1541 the foreigners first arrived from the east at Ecab, as it was called. In that year occurred their arrival at the port of Ecab, at the village of Nacom Balam, on the first day of the year in which Katun 11 Ahau <fell>. After the Itzá were dispersed, it was fifteen score years when the foreigners arrived. <It was> after the town of Zaclahtun was depopulated, after the town of Kinchil Coba was depopulated, after the town of Chichen Itzá was depopulated, after the town on the Uxmal side <of the range of hills>, the great town of Uxmal as it is called, was depopulated, as well as Kabah. It was after the towns of Zeye, Pakam, Homtun, at the town of Tix-calom-kin, and Ake, Holtun Ake, were depopulated.

It was after the town of Emal Chac was depopulated, Izamal, where the daughter of the true God, Lord of Heaven, descended, the Queen, the Virgin, the miraculous One. When the ruler said: "The shield of Kinich Kakmo shall descend," he was not declared ruler here. It was she, the miraculous one, the merciful one, who was so declared here. "The rope shall descend, the cord shall descend from heaven. The word shall descend from heaven." There was rejoicing over his reign by the other towns when they said this, but he was not declared their ruler at Emal (Izamal?).

Then the great Itzá went <away>. Thirteen four-hundreds were the four-hundreds of their thousands, and fifteen four-hundreds, the four-hundreds of their hundreds, the leading men among them, the heathen Itzá. But many supporters went with them to feed them. Thirteen measures of corn per head was their quota, and nine measures and three handful of grain. From many small towns the magicians went with them also.

They did not wish to join with the foreigners; they did not desire Christianity. They did not wish to pay tribute, did those whose emblems were the bird, the precious stone, the flat precious stone and the jaguar, those with the three magic <emblems>. Four four-

hundreds of years and fifteen score years was the end of their lives; then came the end of their lives, because they knew the measure of their days. Complete was the month; complete, the year; complete, the day; complete, the night; complete, the breath of life as it passed also; complete, the blood, when they arrived at their beds, their mats, their thrones. In due measure did they recite the good prayers; in due measure they sought the lucky days, until they saw the good stars enter into their reign; then they kept watch while the reign of the good stars began. Then everything was good.

Then they adhered to <the dictates of> their reason. There was no sin; in the holy faith their lives <were passed>. There was then no sickness; they had then no aching bones; they had then no high fever; they had then no smallpox; they had then no burning chest; they had then no abdominal pains; they had then no consumption; they had then no headache. At that time the course of humanity was orderly. The foreigners made it otherwise when they arrived here. They brought shameful things when they came. They lost their innocence in carnal sin; they lost their innocence in the carnal sin of Nacxit Xuchit, in the carnal sin of his companions. No lucky days were then displayed to us. This was the origin of the two-day chair (or throne), of the two-day reign; this was the cause of our sickness also. There were no more lucky days for us; we had no sound judgment. At the end of our loss of vision, and of our shame, everything shall be revealed. There was no great teacher, no great speaker, no supreme priest, when the change of rulers occurred at their arrival. Lewd were the priests, when they came to be established here by the foreigners. Furthermore they left their descendants here at Tancah (Mayapan). These then received the misfortunes, after the affliction of these foreigners. These, they say, were the Itzá. Three times it was, they say, that the foreigners arrived. It was because of this that we were relieved from paying tribute at the age of sixty, because of the affliction by these men, the Itzá. It was not we who did it; it is we who pay for it today. However there is at last an agreement so that there may be peace between us and the foreigners. Otherwise there will be a great war.

VI (NOTES ON THE CALENDAR)

The beginning of Katun 11 Ahau was in the year 1513

Then it ended.

Tihoo (Merida) was begun in the year 1519

(The convent of) San Francisco was founded at Santiago in Tihoo 1519

The principal church was founded in the center of the town of <Ti>hoo in the year 1540

The months in a year are twelve 12

The count of the days in one year 365

The count of the nights in one year 365

The count of weeks in one year 52

The number of Sundays in one year 53

The count of the days in the first six months (of the year) 181

The count of days in the second six months which complete the year 184

This is the count of days in a week: seven days in one week is the total of this count.

The count of the uinals in one year.

Chumayel, 28, is born the god-daughter, Micaela Castañeda



Poop--July 16th.



Yaax--January 12th. The time is good for gathering the ears of corn.



Uoo--August 5th.



Zac.--February 1st, when the white <flowers> bloom.



Zip--August 25th.



Ceeh--February 21st.



Zoç--September 14th.



Mac--March 13th when the turtles lay their eggs.



Zec--October 4th.



Kankin--April 2d.



Xul--October 24th, when the fish spawn.



Muan--April 22nd, when there is a ring around the sun in the sky.



ceyaxkin --November 13th. The corn-stalks are bent double.



Paax--May 12th.



Mol--December 3rd.



Kayab--June 1st.



Cheen--December 23rd.



Cumku--June 21st. The five days<called>Uayabhaab.

*FIG. 5--The Maya months, or uinals.
(Chumayel MS.)*

VII
 (THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF YUCATAN)

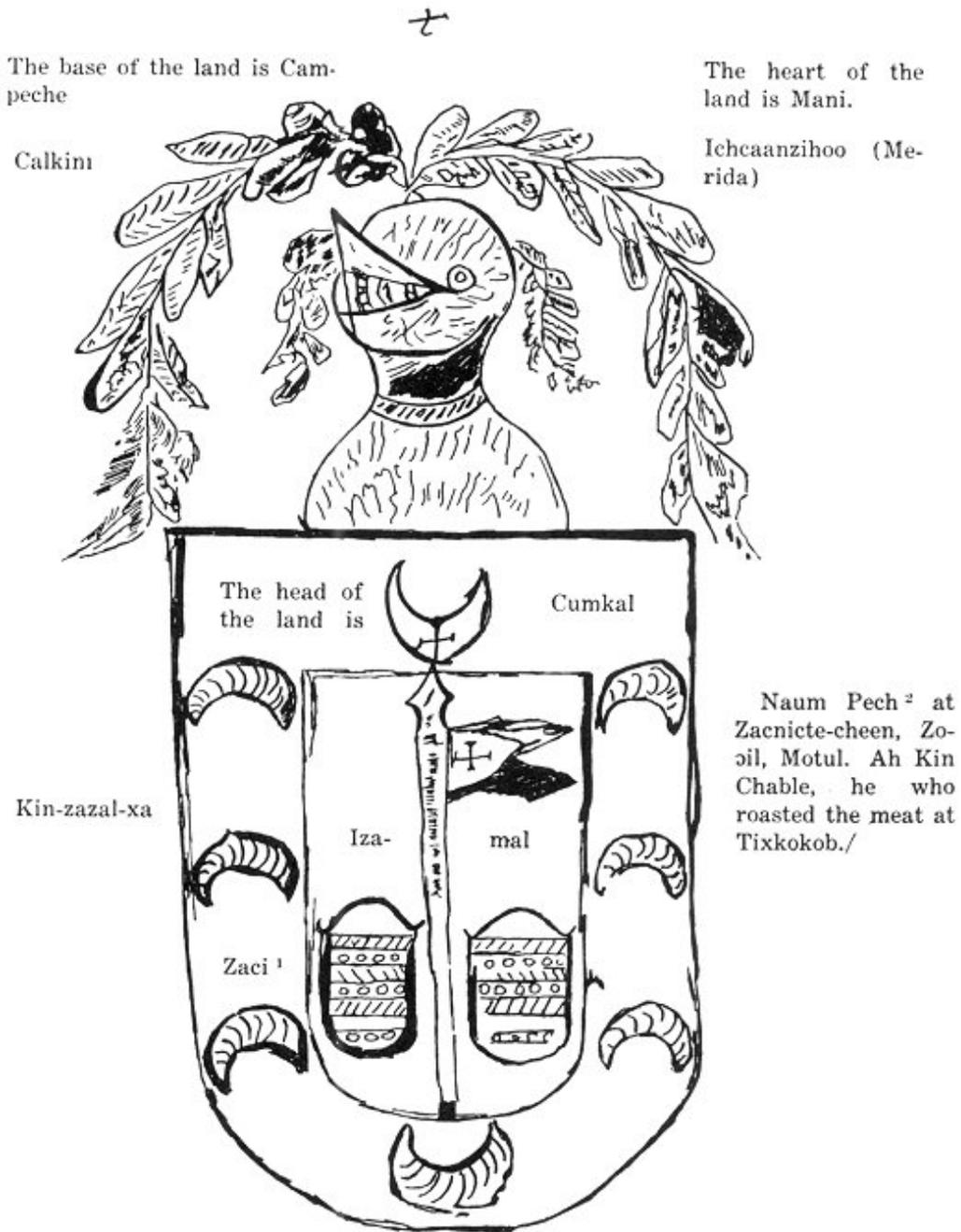


FIG. 6--The armorial bearings of Yucatan.
 (Chumayel MS.)

VIII (NOTES ON ASTRONOMY)

(Small picture of a cross.)

When the eleventh day of June shall come, it will be the longest day. When the thirteenth day of September comes, this day and night are precisely the same <in length>. When the twelfth day of December shall come the day is short, <but> the night <begins to> shorten. When the tenth day of March comes, the day and night will be equal <in length.>



FIG. 7.--Diagram showing the course of the sun in the heavens (Chumayel MS.).

This annulus in the center of the disk is white and indicates the course of the sun. Between the two rings the black spots indicate the face of the sun, which goes over the large black one and descends to the small black one. Thus its movement is uniform, and this is its course here on earth also. On the ground it is thus manifested plainly all over the earth also. The progress of the sun is truly great as it takes its course to enter into the great *Oro* extended over the world. <This is> the record <of the motion> of the sun as it is known here on earth.

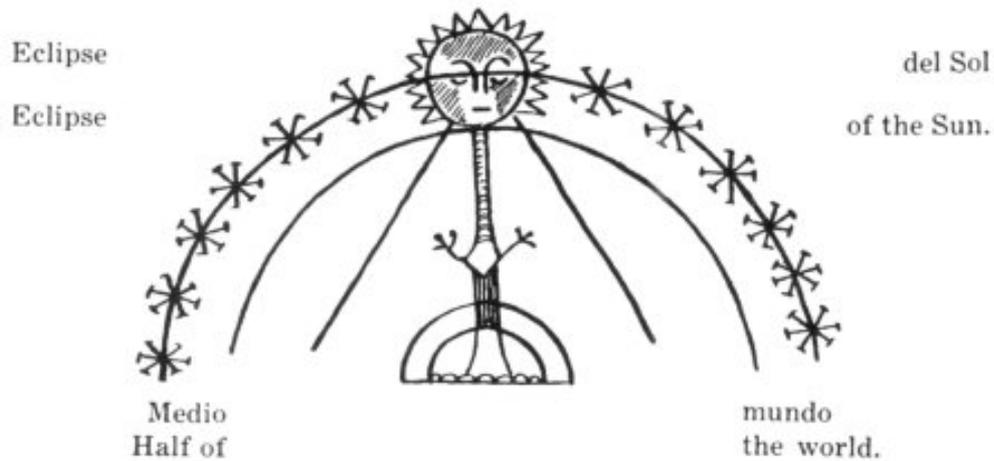


FIG. 8--Diagram representing an eclipse of the sun (Chumayel MS.).

To the people on the sides of this half-section as pictured, the sun is not eclipsed; but for anyone who is in the middle it is eclipsed. It is in conjunction with the moon when it is eclipsed. It travels in its course before it is eclipsed. It arrives in its course to the north, very great. It is all the same with eclipses of the sun and moon before it arrives opposite to the sun. <This is> the explanation so that Maya people may know what happens to the sun and to the Moon.

In an eclipse of the moon, it is not eaten. It falsely appears so, with sun and moon on the <opposite> sides of the earth.

In an eclipse of the sun, it is not eaten. It falsely appears so, with sun and moon on the <same> side of the earth.

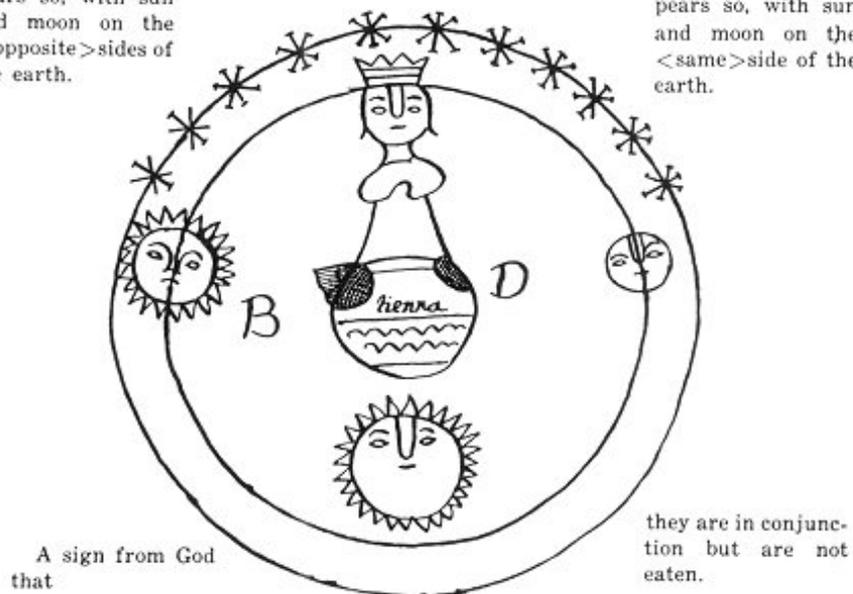


FIG. 9--Diagram explaining the cause of solar and lunar eclipses (Chumayel MS.).

IX (THE INTERROGATION OF THE CHIEFS)

This is the language of Zuyua and the understanding for our lord, Señor Governor Mariscal, who has settled at Tzuc-uaxim to the east of Ichcanziho (Merida). This is the land where his garden and homestead were, where he settled. Then the day will come when his period of office shall end also. The command of the head-chief comes. Vigorous is his command, when he arrives, and red is his garment also.



FIG. 10--The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

On this day, in the language of Zuyua, this is the question asked by the head-chief of the town; then the day shall arrive when the law of Katun 3 Ahau shall end, when another katun shall be set <in its place>, Katun 1 Ahau, as stated below.



FIG. 11--The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

This katun today is Katun 3 Ahau. The time has come for the end of its rule and reign. It is finished. Another one <takes its place> for a time.



FIG. 12--The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).

This is Katun 1 Ahau, which is set within the house of Katun 3 Ahau. There it is its guest, while it is given its power by Katun 3 Ahau. Things are shameful, they say, <in [the](#) place> where they dwell.



FIG. 13--The lord of the katun
(Chumayel MS.).

This is the examination which takes place in the katun which ends today. The time has arrived for examining the knowledge of the chiefs of the towns, <to see> whether they know how the ruling men came, whether they have explained the coming of the chiefs, of the head-chiefs, whether they are of the lineage of rulers, whether they are of the lineage of chiefs, that they may prove it.



FIG. 14--The lord of the katun
(Chumayel MS.).

This is the first question which will be asked of them: he shall ask them for his food "Bring the sun." This is the word of the head-chief to them; thus it is said to the chiefs. "Bring the sun, <my> son, bear it on the palm of your hand to my plate. A lance is planted, a lofty cross, in the middle of its heart. A green jaguar is seated over the sun to drink its blood." Of Zuyua is the wisdom. This is what the sun is which is demanded of them: a very large fried egg. This is the lance and the lofty cross planted in its heart of which he speaks: it is the benediction. This is what the green jaguar is which is set over it to drink its blood: it is a green chile-pepper, is the jaguar. This is the language of Zuyua.



FIG. 15--The lord of the katun
(Chumayel MS.).

This is the second question that will be asked of them: let them go and get the brains of the sky, so the head-chief may see how large they are. "It is my desire to see them; let me see them." This is what he would say to them. This is what the brains of the sky are: it is copal gum. Zuyua <language>.



FIG. 16--The lord of the katun
(Chumayel MS.).

This is the third question which will be asked of them: let them construct a large house. Six *thils* is its length., one such <measure> is that of its upright timbers. This is what the large house is: it is a very large hat set on the floor. He shall be told to mount a very large white horse. White shall be his mantle and his cape, and he shall grasp a white rattle in his hand, while he rattles it at his horse. There is coagulated blood on the rosette of his rattle, which comes out of it. This is what the white horse is: it is a stirrup of henequen fiber. This is the white rattle mentioned, and the white cape: they are a Plumeria flower <and> a white wreath. This is the coagulated blood on the rosette of the rattle, which is demanded of them: it is the gold in the middle, because it is blood which comes from the veins of the fatherless and motherless orphan.



FIG. 17--The lord of the katun
(Chumayel M.S.).

come to the house of the head-chief. This is what his little dog is which is demanded of him: it is his wife. This is what the soul of our holy mistress is: it is an enormous thick wax candle. <This is> the language of Zuyua.

This is the fourth question which will be asked of them: Let them go to his house and then they shall be told: "When you come, you shall be visible at midday. You shall be children again, you shall creep <again>. When you arrive, your little dog shall be just behind you. This little dog of yours carries with its teeth the soul of our holy mistress, when you come with it."

This is what the second childhood at midday is, which is mentioned to him. He shall go where he casts a shadow, this is what is called creeping. Then he shall



FIG. 18--The lord of the katun
(Chumayel MS.).

This is the fifth question which will be asked of them. They shall be told to go and get the heart of God the Father in heaven. "Then you shall bring me thirteen layers wrapped up in a coarse white fabric." This is the heart of God the Father, of which they are told: it is a bead of precious stone. This is what the covering of thirteen layers is, which is mentioned. It is an enormous tortilla. Thirteen layers of beans are in it. This is what the coarse white fabric is, it is a white mantle. This shall be demanded of them, as signified <in the language> of Zuyua.



FIG. 19--The lord of the katun
(Chumayel MS.).

This is the sixth question which will be asked of them: to go and get the branch of the *pochote* tree, and a cord of three strands, and a living liana. This he will relish. "My food for tomorrow. It is my desire to eat it." It is not bad to gnaw the trunk of the *pochote* tree, so they are told. This is what the trunk of the *pochote* tree is: it is a lizard. This is the cord of three strands, the tail of an iguana. This is the living liana, it is the entrails of a pig. This is the trunk of the *pochote* tree, the base of the tail of a lizard. The language of Zuyua.



FIG. 20--*The lord of the katun (Chumayel MS.).*

This is the seventh question which will be asked of them. They shall be told: "Go and gather for me those things which plug the bottom of the cenote, two white ones, two yellow ones. I desire to eat them." These are the things which plug the bottom of the cenote, which are demanded of them. They are <two> white and two yellow jícamas. These are the things to be understood in order to become chiefs of the town, when they are brought before the ruler, the first head-chief.

These are the words. If they are not understood by the chiefs of the towns, ill-omened is the star adorning the night. Frightful is its house. Sad is the havoc in the courtyards of the nobles. Those who die are those who do not understand; those who live will understand it. This competitive test shall hang over the chiefs of the towns; it has been copied so that the severity may be known in which the reign is to end. Their hands are bound before them to a wooden collar. They are pulled along with the cord. They are taken to the house of the ruler, the first head-chief. This is the end of the chiefs. This shall hang over the unrestrained lewd ones of the day and of the katun. They shall feel anguish when the affairs of the chiefs of the towns shall come to an end. This shall occur on the day when the law of the katun shall come to an end, when Katun 3 Ahau shall terminate. The chiefs of the towns shall be seized because they are lacking in understanding.



FIG. 21--*"The chiefs of the towns shall be seized because they are lacking in understanding" (Chumayel MS.).*

Thus shall occur the seizure of the chiefs of the towns. This is the memorandum so that they may give the first head-chief his food, when he demands his food of them. They shall be hung by the neck; the tips of their tongues shall be cut off; their eyes shall be torn out. On this day the end shall come.

But those who are of the lineage shall come forth before their lord on bended knees in order that their wisdom may be made known. Then their mat is delivered to them and their throne as well. The test is to be seen as it is copied here. Those of the lineage of the first head-chief here in the land are viewed with favor. They shall live on that day, and they shall also receive their first wand of office. Thus are those of the lineage of Maya men established again in the Province of Yucatan. God shall be first, when all things are accomplished here on earth. He is the true ruler, he shall come to demand of us our government, those things which we hold sacred, precious stones, precious beads; and he shall demand the planted wine, the *balché*. He who has none shall be killed. He who obeys, godly is his action according to the law. But perhaps God will not desire all the things which have been written to come to pass.

So, also, these are the nobility, the lineage of the chiefs, who know whence come the men and the rulers of their government. The discretion with which they govern their subjects shall be viewed with favor. Their mat and



FIG. 22--The examining head-chief, or halach-uinic (Chumayel MS.).

their throne shall be delivered to them by our lord, the first head-chief. This is their mat and their throne. <But> the unrestrained upstart of the day and katun, the offspring of the mad woman, the offspring of the harlot, the son of evil, the two-day occupant of the mat, the two-day occupant of the throne, the rogue of the reign, the rogue of the katun, he shall be roughly handled, his face covered with earth, trampled into the ground, and befouled, as he is dragged along. <On the other hand>, the ruling men of noble lineage have walked abroad in Katun 3 Ahau; <they are> placated in the fullness of their hearts when they are told to go and take the chiefs of the towns. Then let them go and take them.

"Son, go and bring the flower of the night to me here." This is what will be said. Then let him go on his knees before the head-chief who demands this of him. "Father, here is the flower of the night for which you ask me; I come with it and with the vile thing of the night. There it is with me." These are his words.

"Then, <my> son, if it is with you, have you with you the first captive and the great álamó tree?" "Father, they are with me. I have come with them."

"Then, <my> son, if you have come with them, go and call your companions to me. These are an old man with nine sons and an old woman with nine children." "Father," he says when he replies, "I have come with them. Here they are with me. First they came to me, and then I came to see you."

"Then, <my> son, if they are here with you, go and gather for me stones of the savannah and come with them." He gathers them to his breast when he comes. "Are you a head-chief? Are you of the lineage of the ruler here in the land?" The language of Zuyua.

This is the flower of the night which is demanded of him: a star in the sky. This is the vile thing of the night: it is the moon. This is the first woman captive and the great álamó tree: it is the town official, named "he who falls to the ground." This is the old man with nine sons who is demanded of him: it is his great toe. This is the old woman

demanded of him: it is his thumb. These are the stones of the savannah which are sought for and which his son is to gather to his breast: they are quails.

"Also, <my> son, where is the smooth green thing of which you were told? You were not told to look at its face." Here it is with me, father." "Then, <my> son, go and bring to me here the placenta of the sky. When you come from the east, you shall come with something close behind you." "So be it, father," he says.

This is what the smooth green thing is, which is with him when he arrives: it is the rind of a squash. This is the placenta of the sky which is demanded of him: it is moulded copal-gum shaped into thirteen layers. This is what is said to come close behind him: it is the shadow at his back early in the afternoon.

"<My> son, you are a head-chief; you are a ruler also. Go and get me the green beads with which you pray."

These are the green beads which are demanded of him: it is a bead of precious stone. Then he shall be asked how many days he prays. "Father," he says, "for one day I pray, and for ten days I pray." "On what day does your prayer arise?" "Father, on the ninth day and on the thirteenth day. It is to Bolon-ti-ku and Oxlahun-ti-citbil that I count my beads."

"<My> son, go and get me your loin-cloth that I may perceive its odor here with the wide spread odor of my loin-cloth, the odor of my mantle, the odor of my censer, the supreme odor at the center of the sky, at the center of the clouds, <also> that which glues together my mouth, it is in a white carved <cup>. <Do this> if you are a head-chief." "Father, I will bring them," he says.

This is the odor of the loin-cloth which he asks for, this is the supreme odor at the center of the sky: it is copal gum set on fire <so that> it burns. This is what first glues together his mouth: it is ground cacao, chocolate.

"Then, <my> son, go bring me the green blood of my daughter, also her head, her entrails, her thigh, and her arm; also that which I told you to enclose in an unused jar, as well as the green stool of my daughter. Show them to me. It is my desire to see them. I have commissioned you to set them before me, that I may burst into weeping." "So be it, father." He <is to> come with the left ear of a wild bee. Then let him go.

This is the green blood of his daughter for which he asks: it is Maya wine. These are the entrails of his daughter: it is an empty bee-hive. This is his daughter's head: it is an unused jar for steeping wine. This is what his daughter's green stool is: it is the stone pestle for <pounding> honey. This is what the left ear of the wild bee is: it is <a drop of> the moisture of the wine. This is what the bone of his daughter is: it is the flexible bark of the *balché*. This is the thigh of which he speaks: it is the trunk of the *balché* tree. This is what the arm of his daughter is: it is the branch of the *balché*. This is what he calls weeping: it is a drunken speech. Then let him go and give these <things> to him. Let him seat himself tranquilly; let him wait for him to speak; let him salute him as his lord when he arrives.

"Father, here is your daughter whom you put in my care. of whom you speak. You are the father, you are the ruler." This is what his son says to him.

"Oh son, my fellow head-chief, my fellow ruler! You have remembered; it is sufficient. You know; it is sufficient," he says. "This, then, is the blood of my daughter for which I ask you." Thirteen times the blood of his daughter flows, while he weeps for his daughter, lying there in the courtyard. Perchance, then he weeps, while he looks at her, bowed down, while he says: "Oh son!" he says while he weeps, "you are a head-chief. Oh son, you are a ruler also. Oh my fellow head-chief, I will deliver your mat and your throne and your authority to you, son; yours is the government, yours is the authority also, <my> son."

Thus, then, the chiefs of the towns are to obey him when they depart with the first/head-chief, there at the head of the province. Then let them go to his house. There they are at his house, when they give his food to the head-chief, and when he asks them for his food, as he shall specify in its order.

"Son, bring me four cardinals which are at the mouth of the cave. They are to be set over the first thing which glues together my mouth. It is to be red, that which I call the crest over the first thing which glues together my mouth, when it shall be brought before me." "It is well, father." What he asks for are little cakes of achiote. This is the crest of which he speaks: it is the froth on the chocolate. This is what first glues together his mouth: it is cacao which has been ground. <The language of> Zuyua.

"Son, bring me the bird of the night and the drilled <stone> of the night, and with them the brains of the sky. Great is my desire to see them here." "It is well, father." What he wants is a stick used to scrape copal gum <from the tree>. This the drilled <stone> of the night for which he asks, a bead of precious stone. The brains of the sky are copal gum. Language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me the bone of your father whom you buried three years ago. Great is my desire to see it." "It is well, father." This is what he wants, it is cassava baked in a pit. Then let him go and give it to the head-chief.

"Son, bring me an old man whose coat is not buttoned, Homtochac is his name." "It is well, father." What he asks for is a nine-banded armadillo, a female armadillo.

"Son, bring me three segments split from the sky. I desire to eat them." "Even so, father."

This is what he demands, it is *atole* shaken to a froth, the froth of *atole* (maize gruel). Everything is asked in the language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me a stock of maguey, the thick stalk of the maguey without branches. Do not remove its tip. Also bring with it three strands of ravelled cord." "It is well, father." This is what he asks for, a hog's head baked in a pit. Then he shall go and give it to him. The tip of which he speaks is its tongue, because its tip is fresh and tender.

"Son, bring me the hawks of the night for me to eat." It is well, father." What he asks for are chickens, cocks.

"Son, say to the first female captive, called Otlom-cabal, to bring me a basket of blackbirds caught beneath the great álamo tree, heaped up there in the shadow of the álamo." "Even so, father." What he asks for are some black beans that are in the house of the town official, that is, the so-called first female captive and the thing which falls limply to the ground of which he speaks. Language of Zuyua.

"Son, go and catch the jaguar of the cave, so that by means of you it may give savour to my food. I desire to eat the jaguar." "It is well, father." This is the jaguar for which he asks, it is an agouti. The language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me seven coverings of the fatherless <orphan>. It is my desire to eat them at the time when they should be eaten." "Even so, father." This is what he asks for, it is the pressed <leaves of the> chaya.

"Son, bring me the green gallants here. Let them come and dance, that I may look on with pleasure. Let them come with drum and rattle, fan and drum-stick. I am expecting them." "Even so, father." What he asks for is a turkey-cock. The drum is its crop. The rattle is its head. The fan is its tail. The drum-stick is its leg. The language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me the fanciful desire of the district. I desire to eat it." What he asks for is clarified honey. <The language of> Zuyua.

"Son, bring me a stone from burned over land, it is burning hot. Bring with it the liquor for me to extinguish it, so it will crack here before me." What he wants is a *macal* baked in a pit. The liquor to extinguish it is clarified honey. The language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me the firefly of the night. Its odor shall pass to the north and to the west. Bring with it the beckoning tongue of the jaguar." "It is well, father." What he asks for is a smoking tube filled with tobacco. The beckoning tongue of the jaguar for which he asks is fire.

"Son, bring me your daughter that I may see her. Pale is her face and very beautiful. White are her head-covering and her sash. I greatly desire her." "It is well, father." What he asks for is a white calabash cup <filled> with atole. The language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring me the thing called *zabel*. Fragrant is its odor." "Even so, father." This is what he asks for, it is a melon.

"Son, bring me the green curved neck, it is bright green along the back. I desire to eat it." "It is well, father." What he asks for is the neck of a turkey-cock. <Language of> Zuyua.

"Son, bring me a woman with a very white and well rounded calf. Here will I tuck back the skirt from her calf." "It is well, father." He wants a *jícama*. This is what tucking back the skirt is: it is peeling the skin.

"Son, bring me a very beautiful woman with a very white countenance. I greatly desire her. I will cast down her skirt and her loose dress before me." "It is well, father." This is what he asks for, it is a turkey-hen for him to eat. Casting down her skirt and loose dress means plucking its feathers. Then let it be roasted for eating. The language of Zuyua.

"Son, bring to me here a farmer, an old man. I wish to see his face." "Even so, father." What he asks for is a *cucut-macal* to eat. <This is> the questionnaire.

"Son, bring me a farmer's wife, an old woman, a dark colored person. She is seven palms across the hips. It is my desire to see her." What he wants is the green fruit of a squash-vine. The language of Zuyua.

The day shall come.

On this day our lord, the first head-chief, trampled them under foot, when he arrived here in the land, in the land of Yucalpeten. He calls the chiefs, and the chiefs shall come. They are called by our lord, the first head-chief. "Are you chieftains?" "We are, <my> lord." These are their words.

"Sons, if you are head-chiefs here in the land," they shall be told, "go and get the winged jaguar, and then come and give it to me to eat. Put his bead collar on him properly, put on his crest properly, and come and give him to me to eat. Go immediately today, and come soon. Sons, I greatly desire to eat him. You are <my> sons, you are head-chiefs." Those who are ignorant shall be sad at heart and in countenance. They shall say nothing. But those who know shall be cheerful when they go to get the winged jaguar. Then he shall come with it. "Is it you, son?" "It is I, father." "Are you of the lineage, son?" "Indeed I am, father." "Where are your companions, son?" "Father, they are in the forest seeking the jaguar." The jaguar, as they call it, does not exist, but let him bring it before him. This jaguar for which he asks is the chief's horse which he wishes to eat. It is a horse raised about the house. This is the bead collar: it is its little bells. This is its crest: it is a red thread. It is to be completely saddled and bridled. The language of Zuyua.

X (THE CREATION OF THE WORLD)

It is most necessary to believe this. These are the precious stones which our Lord, the Father, has abandoned. This was his first repast, this *balché*, with which we, the ruling men revere him here. Very rightly they worshipped as true gods these precious stones, when the true God was established, our Lord God, the Lord of heaven and earth, the true God. Nevertheless, the first gods were perishable gods. Their worship came to its inevitable end. They lost their efficacy by the benediction of the Lord of Heaven, after the redemption of the world was accomplished, after the resurrection of the true God, the true Dios, when he blessed heaven and earth. Then was your worship abolished, Maya men. Turn away your hearts from your <old> religion.

<This is> the history of the world in those times, because it has been written down, because the time has not yet ended for making these books, these many explanations, so that Maya men may be asked if they know how they were born here in this country, when the land was founded.



FIG. 23-- The lord of the *katun*
(*Chumayel MS.*).

The face is darkened or blurred.

It was <Katun> 11 Ahau when the *Ah Mucenca* came forth to blindfold the faces of the Oxlahun-ti-ku; but they did not know his name, except for his older sister and his sons. They said his face had not yet been shown to them also. This was after the creation of the world had been completed, but they did not know it was about to occur. Then Oxlahun-ti-ku was seized by Bolon-ti-ku. Then it was that fire descended, then the rope descended, then rocks and trees descended. Then came the beating of <things> with wood and stone.

Then Oxlahun-ti-ku was seized, his head was wounded, his face was buffeted, he was spit upon, and he was <thrown> on his back as well. After that he was despoiled of his insignia and his smut. Then shoots of the yaxum tree were taken. Also Lima beans were taken with crumbled tubercles, hearts of small squash-seeds, large squash-seeds and beans, all crushed. He wrapped up the seeds <composing> this first Bolon *çacab*, and went to the thirteenth heaven. Then a mass of maize-dough with the tips of corn-cobs remained here on earth. Then its heart departed because of Oxlahun-ti-ku, but they did not know the heart of the tubercle was gone. After that the fatherless ones, the miserable ones, and those without husbands were all pierced through; they were alive though they had no hearts. Then they were buried in the sands, in the sea.

There would be a sudden rush of water when the theft of the insignia <of Oxlahun-ti-ku> occurred. Then the sky would fall, it would fall down upon the earth, when the four gods, the four Bacabs, were set up, who brought about the destruction of the world. Then, after the destruction of the world was completed, they placed <a tree > to set up in its order the yellow cock oriole. Then the white tree of abundance was set up. A pillar of the sky was set up, a sign of the destruction of the world; that was the white tree of abundance in the north. Then the black tree of abundance was set up <in the west> for the black-breasted *piçoy* to sit upon. Then the yellow tree of abundance was set up <in the south>, as a symbol of the destruction of the world, for the yellow-breasted *piçoy* to sit upon, for the yellow cock oriole to sit upon, the yellow timid *mut*. Then the green

tree of abundance was set up in the center <of the world> as a record of the destruction of the world.



FIG. 24--Lahun Chaan, associated with the planet Venus (Dresden Codex, p. 47).

The plate of another katun was set up and fixed in its place by the messengers of their lord. The red Piltec was set at the east of the world to conduct people to his lord. The white Piltec was set at the north of the world to conduct people to his lord. Lahun Chaan was set <at the west> to bring things to his lord. The yellow Piltec was set <at the south> to bring things to his lord. But it was <over> the whole world that Ah Uuc Cheknal was set up. He came from the seventh stratum of the earth, when he came to fecundate Itzam-kab-ain, when he came with the vitality of the angle between earth <and> heaven. They moved among the four lights, among the four layers of the stars. The world was not lighted; there was neither day nor night nor moon. Then they perceived that the world was being created. Then creation dawned upon the world. During the creation thirteen infinite series <added> to seven was the count of the creation of the world. Then a new world dawned for them.

The two-day throne was declared, the three-day throne. Then began the weeping of Oxlahun-ti-ku. They wept in this reign. The reign became red; the mat became red; the first tree of the world was rooted fast. The entire world was proclaimed by Uuc-yol-zip; but it was not at the time of this reign that Bolon-ti-ku wept. Then came the counting of the mat in its order. Red was the mat on which Bolon-ti-ku sat. His buttock is sharply

rounded, as he sits on his mat. Then descended greed from the heart of the sky, greed for power, greed for rule.

Then the red foundation was established; the white foundation of the ruler was established; the black foundation was established; the yellow foundation was established. Then the Red Ruler was set up, he who was raised upon the mat, raised upon the throne. The White Ruler was set up, he who was raised upon the mat, raised upon the throne. The Black Ruler was set up, he who was raised upon the mat, raised upon the throne. The Yellow Ruler was set up, he who was raised upon the mat, raised upon the throne. As a god, it is said; whether or not gods, their bread is lacking, their water is lacking.

There was only a portion <of what was needed> for them to eat together... but there was nowhere from which the quantity needed for existence could come. Compulsion and force were the tidings, when he was seated <in authority>; compulsion was the tidings, compulsion by misery; it came during his reign, when he arrived to sit upon the mat ... Suddenly on high fire flamed up. The face of the sun was snatched away, taken from earth. This was his garment in his reign. This was the reason for mourning his power, at that time there was too much vigor. At that time there was the riddle for the rulers. The planted timber was set up. Perishable things are assembled at that time. The timber of the grave-digger is set up at the crossroads, at the four resting places. Sad is the general havoc, at that time the butterflies swarmed. Then there came great misery, when it came about that the sun in Katun 3 Ahau was moved from its place for three months. After three years it will come back into place in Katun 3 Ahau. Then another katun will beset <in its place>. The *ramon* fruit is their bread, the *ramon* fruit is their drink; the *jícama cimarrona* is their bread, the *jícama cimarrona* is their drink; what they eat and what they drink. The *ix-batun*, the *chimchim-chay*, are what they eat. These things were present here when misery settled, father, in Tun 9. At that time there were the foreigners. The charge <of misery> was sought for all the years of <Katun> 13 Ahau.

Then it was that the lord of <Katun> 11 Ahau spread his feet apart. Then it was that the word of Bolon *ꜥacab* descended to the tip of his tongue. Then the charge of the katun was sought; nine was its charge when it descended from heaven. Kan was the day when its burden was bound to it. Then the water descended, it came from the heart of the sky for the baptism of the House of Nine Bushes. With it descended Bolon Mayel; sweet was his mouth and the tip of his tongue. Sweet were his brains. Then descended the four mighty supernatural jars, this was the honey of the flowers.

Then there grew up for it the red unfolded calyx, the white unfolded calyx, the black unfolded calyx and the yellow unfolded calyx, those which were half a palm <broad> and those which were a whole palm <in breadth>. Then there sprang up the five-leafed flower, the five drooping <petals>, the cacao <with grains like> a row of teeth, the *ix-chabil-tok*, the little flower, Ix Macuil Xuchit, the flower with the brightly colored tip, the *laurel* flower, and the limping flower. After these flowers sprang up, there were the vendors of fragrant odors, there was the mother of the flowers. Then there sprang up the bouquet of the priest, the bouquet of the ruler, the bouquet of the captain; this was what the flower-king bore when he descended and nothing else, so they say. It was not bread that he bore. Then it was that the flower sprang up, wide open, to introduce the sin of Bolon-ti-ku. <After> three years was the time when he said he did not come to create Bolon *ꜥacab* as the god in hell. Then descended Ppizlimtec to take the flower; he took

the figure of a humming-bird with green plumage on its breast, when he descended. Then he sucked the honey from the flower with nine petals. Then the five-petaled flower took him for her husband, Thereupon the heart of the flower came forth to set itself in motion. Four-fold was the plate of the flower, and Ah Kin Xocbiltun was set in the center. At this time Oxlahun-ti-ku came forth, but he did not know of the descent of the sin of the mat, when he came into his power. The flower was his mat, the flower was his chair. He sat in envy, he walked in envy. Envy was his plate, envy was his cup. There was envy in his heart, in his understanding, in his thought and in his speech. Ribald and insolent was his speech during his reign. At that time his food cries out, his drink cries out, from the corner of his mouth when he eats, from the back of his claw when he bites his food. He holds in his hand a piece of wood, he holds in his hand a stone. Mighty are his teeth; his face is that of Lahun Chan, as he sits. Sin is <in> his face, in his speech, in his talk, in his understanding <and in> his walk. His eyes are blindfolded. He seizes, he demands as his right, the mat on which he sits during his reign. Forgotten is his father, forgotten is his mother, nor does his mother know her offspring. The heart is on fire alone in the fatherless one who despises his father, in the motherless one. He shall walk abroad giving the appearance of one drunk, without understanding, in company with his father, in company with his mother. There is no virtue in him, there is no goodness in his heart, only a little on the tip of his tongue. He does not know in what manner his end is to come; nor does he know what will be the end of his reign, when the period of his power shall terminate.

This is Bolon-ti-ku. <Like that of> Bolon Chan is the face of the ruler of men, the two day occupant of the mat and throne. He came in Katun 3 Ahau. After that there will be another lord of the land who will establish the law of another katun, after the law of the lord of Katun 3 Ahau shall have run its course. At that time there shall be few children; then there shall be mourning among the Itza who speak our language brokenly. Industry <and> vigor finally take the place, in the first tun <of the new katun>, of the sin of the Itzá who speak our language brokenly. It is Bolon-ti-ku who shall come to his end <with> the law of the lord of Katun 3 Ahau. Then the riddle of the rulers of the land shall end the law of the katun. Then those of the lineage of the noble chiefs shall come into their own, with the other men of discretion and with those of the lineage of the chiefs. Their faces had been trampled on the ground, and they had been overthrown by the unrestrained upstarts of the day and of the katun, the son of evil and the offspring of the harlot, who were born when their day dawned in Katun 3 Ahau. Thus shall end the power of those who are two-faced toward our Lord God.

But when the law of the katun shall have run its course, then God will bring about a great deluge again which will be the end of the world. When this is over, then our Lord Jesus Christ shall descend over the valley of Jehoshaphat beside the town of Jerusalem where he redeemed us with his holy blood. He shall descend on a great cloud to bear true testimony that he was once obliged to suffer, stretched out on a cross of wood. Then shall descend in his great power and glory the true God who created heaven and earth and everything on earth. He shall descend to level off the world for the good and the bad, the conquerors <and> the captives.

XI (THE RITUAL OF THE ANGELS)

Dominus vobiscum ended the words of their song when there was neither heaven nor earth. When the world was submerged, when there was neither heaven nor earth, the three-cornered precious stone of grace was born, after the divinity of the ruler was created, when there was no heaven. Then there were born seven katuns, seven katuns, hanging in the heart of the wind, the seven chosen ones. Then, they say, their seven graces stirred also. Seven also were their holy images. While they were still untarnished, occurred the birth of the first precious stone of grace, the first infinite grace, when there was infinite night, when there was no God. Not yet had he received his Godhead. Then he remained alone within the grace, within the night, when there was neither heaven nor earth. Then he departed at the end of the katun, as he could not be born in the first katun. There were his long locks of hair, *adeu ti paramii*; his divinity came to him when he departed.

Thereupon he became man in the second infinite precious stone of grace. Then there arrived in the second katun Alpilcon, as the angel was named when he was born. The second grace was permitted to depart in the second infinite night, when no one was present. Then he received his divinity, alone and through his own effort, when he came to depart. "*O firmar*" he said, when he received his divinity by himself and through his own effort.

Thereupon he departed and went to the third infinite precious stone of grace. Alba Congel was the name of its angel. This was the third grace.

Let me proceed to the fourth infinite precious stone of grace, to the fourth night. Atea Ohe was the name of its angel. The fourth grace was born and began to speak, alone and through his own effort. "Oh god, the ruler! I am after all nothing in myself." These were his words in his concealment, in his divinity within the grace. "Let me still proceed," he said.

Then he went to the fifth infinite precious stone of grace, to the fifth infinite night. The fifth grace was born in the fifth katun. Thereupon he was set up to declare his divinity. Then his angel was born; Decipto was the name of his angel when he was set up. "Since it is so, let me go. Who might I be? I am a god, a ruler, after all," and he declared his divinity all alone. "*A ninite dei sin*," he said when he received his divinity all by himself.

Then he went to the sixth infinite precious stone of grace, to the sixth measured night, to the sixth katun: "Ye gods, ye rulers! Make answer to my words. After all, I am nothing in myself alone."

The seventh grace was born. Conlamil was the name of his angel. "I deliver the things of god to you who are gods. Answer my words. After all, there is no one; no one replies to my words." Thus he spoke as he caused the seventh grace to be born. And there was joy in his heart at the birth of the seventh katun, the seven lights, the seventh measured night <and> the seven infinite <things>.

Abiento bocayento de la zipil na de fente note. Sustina gracia, trece mili, uno cargo bende. The first, the second, the thirteenth unfolding; thirteen banners of the katuns; three, seven, eight thousand. Then God the Father awoke to consciousness alone in person; in the three-cornered precious stone of grace he awoke to consciousness, God the Father, as his name was known to be. *Unidad* and God the Father, these were his names, cleft from the katun for you. There were three generations suddenly augmented in stature when he came. Seven were the generations of his angels. Four times did he first speak. There was one seal in the darkness, one seal on high. "I am the beginning and I shall be the end." Here are his words in their mighty entirety. "*Datate* here to that which has been received. I am *Unidate*, I am also *Unitata*, I am the Dove, I am *Unitata Anuni*. *Unidad* cometh."

Nilu was the name of the night. This was the first speech of God; this was the first speech of the Father. Of cleansed stone was his precious stone alone in the night. *Etomas*, *Çipancas* was the name of the wind. Hun Katun was his father. *Otahocanil Aucangel* was the name of the wind. *H<i>eron* was the name of the Wind. *Xicluto-tutanil* was the name of the wind. *Virtutus* was the name of the wind. *Joramis* was the name of the wind in the second katun. This was what he said when he changed the stone: "*Jaxyonlactalpa*." He covered the name of the holy heaven which our holy Lord, the Father raised up. *Bolay* was the name of the serpent of the second heaven. He was in the dust at the feet of *Sustinal Gracia*, as he was called. Then *Lonmias* was formed. The sharp stone was his stone within the night. *Zihontun* was his stone, when these stones were fixed in their places. Three times they were set at the foot of *Sustinal Gracia*. These stones were born, they were beneath the one stone, the mighty pointed stone, the stone column, the mighty pointed clashing stone. They were manifested all over the world <by> God the Father, the first ruler. In the first katun was born the only son of God; in the second katun, the Father. In the third katun was *Expleo-ucaan*, as he was called, who chastised him named *Chac Opilla* when he set up the heavens. *Enpileo-ucaan* was his name. *Expleo* was his name within the first noose of God. *Hebones* was the only son of God. <Like>a mirror he was borne astride on the shoulder of his father, on the stone of his father.

Then, it is said, the boldness of the heaven on high was created. This was one grace, one stone; then fire was created, *Tixitate* was his name, the light of the heavens. *Sustinal*, they say, was the light from that which lighted the heaven. *Acpa*, it was, who made the katun after the light originated in the heavens. *Alpa-u-manga* was his name after it ended.

<These are> the angels of the winds which were set up while he created the star, when the world was not yet lighted, when there was neither heaven nor earth: the Red *Pauhtun*, the White *Pauhtun*, the Black *Pauhtun*, the Yellow *Pauhtun*.

Here was the first heaven where God the Father was set up, grasping in his hand his stone, grasping his *cangel*, grasping his wheel on which are hung the four angels of the winds. *Cerpinus* was the name of him who, under *Orele*, measured the land. They were three persons, God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit. He set up the planets, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, which he said were held in the grasp of the god in heaven when he created them. This was the name of the heaven, *cristalino*. Here were the Angels. *Corpinus* was the name of him who held aloft on the palm of his hand the Blessed Father when there was neither heaven nor earth. *Inpicco* was his name when all

the angels were asperged. Baloyo was his name when <the water> was sprinkled. Seros was his name, *Et sepeuas. Laus Deo.*

Below were Chac Bolay Balam and the cacao called *balamté*. Esperas was the name of the sixth heaven; Isperas was the name of the seventh heaven. Then the world was created by God the ruler in the seventh katun, created in the darkness named Espiritu. St. Edendeus <and> St. Eluceo were the saints who witnessed the birth of him who was hidden within the stone, hidden within the night. *Se repite elitun entri de noche*. These were the words said by him who was hidden within the stone, hidden within the night: *Tronas Aleseyo de mundo de gracia. En apedia tejo çipi dia te en pieted gracia. Santo Esuleptun jam estum est gracia. Suplilis el timeo me firme abin finitis gracia, y metis absolutum ti metis de gracia. Abegintis gracia, Edendeo gracia, de fentis de gracia, fenoplis tun gracia. Locom dar yme gracia, tretris u mis gracia. Noçi luçi de gracia, in pricio de gracia, trese mili uno de cargo, leonte."*

One, two, thirteen, one division, thirteen *bakam* of katuns. Three, seven, eight thousand was the creation of the world, when he who was hidden within the stone, hidden within the night, was born, when there was neither heaven nor earth. Then God the Father spoke alone, by his own efforts, in the darkness that clung like a thrice withered fruit <to the tree>. This was the first word of God, when there was neither heaven nor earth, when he came out of the stone and fell into the second stone. Then it was that he declared his divinity. Then resounded eight thousand katuns at the word of the first stone of grace, the first ornamented stone of grace. It was the macaw that warmed it well behind the *acantun*.

Who was born when our father descended?

Thou knowest. There was born the first macaw who cast the stones behind the *acantun*.

How was the grain of maize born? How, indeed, father?

Thou knowest. The tender green <shoot> was born in heaven.

"*Ciripacte, horca mundo. Ni mompan est noche. Amanena, omonena, apa opa,*" <was said> when the wind emerged from the great stone of grace. "*Cipiones ted corona, pater profecido,*" were his words when he arrived at the seventh stratum of the solid rock of grace. "*Bal te piones, ortecipio, reçi quenta noche. Hun ebrietate, hun cute profeciado,*" were the words of the Angel, Jerupiter. Then the sky was put in its place, *Corporales ti ojales*, by the first pope, the face of the katun, the burden of the Katun 13 Ahau. The face of the sun shall be turned from its course, it shall be turned face down during the reign of the perishable men, the perishable rulers. Five days the sun is eclipsed, and then shall be seen the torch of <Katun> 13 Ahau, a sign given by God that death shall come to the rulers/of this land. Thus it shall come about that the first rulers are driven from their towns. Then Christianity <shall> have come here to the land.

Thus it is that God, our Father, gives a sign when they shall come, because there is no agreement. The descendants <of the former rulers> are dishonored and brought to misery; we are christianized, while they treat us like animals. There is sorrow in the heart of God because of these "suckers."

In the year Fifteen hundred and thirty-nine, 1539, to the east was the door of the House of Don Juan Montejo, to introduce Christianity here to the land of Yucalpeten, Yucatan.

Chilam Balam, the prophet.

Thus today is not an unlucky day. . .

This was his name,
God the Father,
when he came to
exist in person,
after the creation of
the world and the
earth. This was
then his name.

Joshua was his
second name. In
his third person, his
name for the third
time was Mesister
in Latin, Dei in the
vernacular.

Messiah was the
name of God
before the heavens
and the earth were
created. Messiah
the Christ, was his
name. Then he
created the Angels.
But it was
manifested to God
that half of the
Angels were
destined to sin.



The Red Pauhtun was
Utorcusis.

The White Pauhtun
was Corocalbo.

The Black Pauhtun
was Corusi-provento.

The Yellow Pauhtun
was Moses.

No vis.

No va.

The second name of
God was Emanuel. To
this was added his third
name; this then was
Jeremiah, his name
when there was neither
heaven nor earth.

FIG. 25--The name and symbols of
God. (Chumayel MS.).

The misspelled Latin and Spanish names may have been taken from some Spanish treatise on astrology or magic. The decoration here is evidently borrowed from some Spanish religious book.

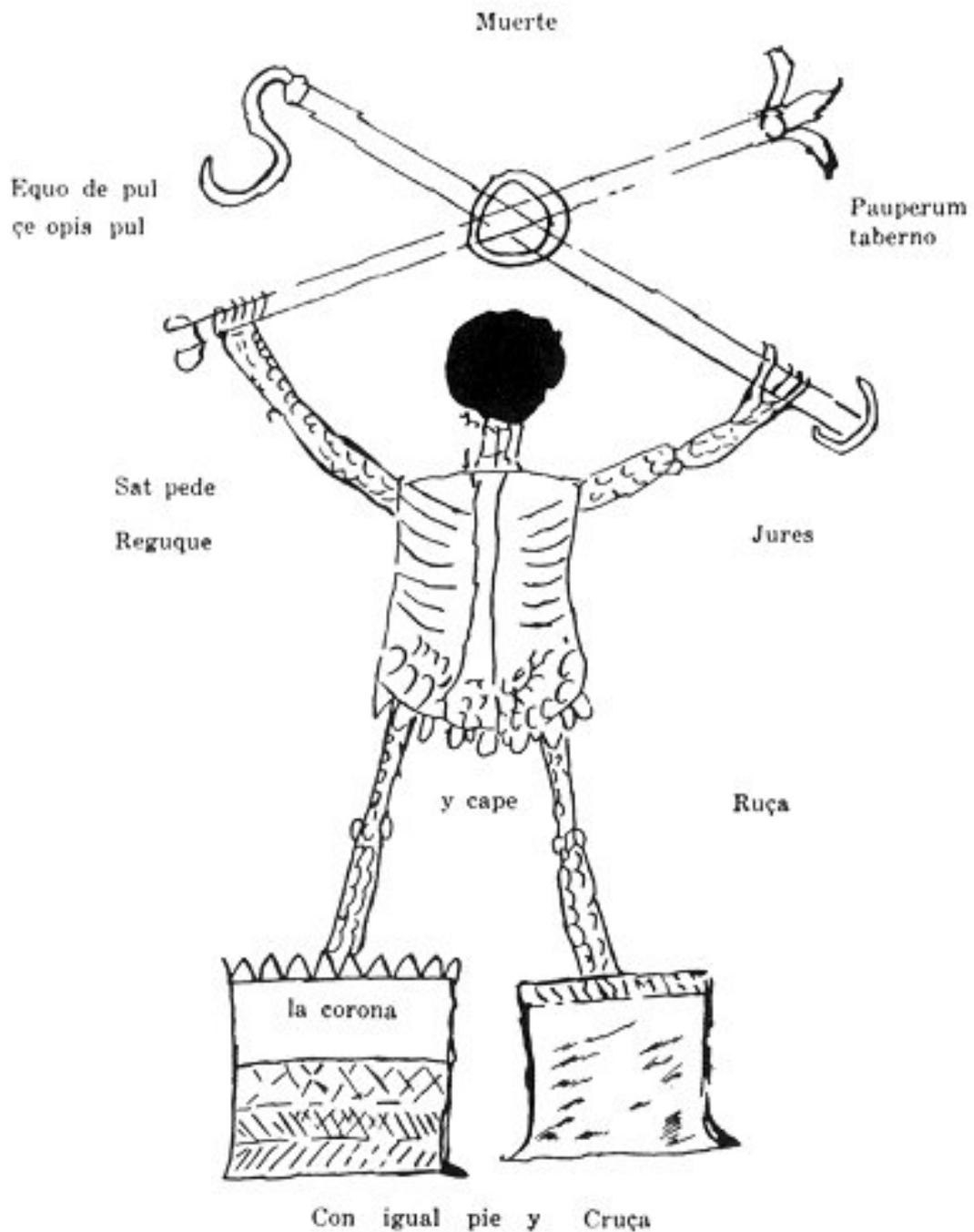


FIG. 26--Death is ruler over all. (Chumayel MS.)

This picture is probably taken bodily from some Spanish almanac.

XII (A SONG OF THE ITZÁ)

Damascus was the name of the plain where our first father, Adam, was created by God. This was his name, his first name was Adam, after his soul entered <into him>, after Paradise was set up. After Adam had then been created, then was created our first mother, Eve, the first woman, the mother of the whole world. Drops of moisture formed on the stones and bushes for the first time, they say, created when there was no sky.

But <God> the Father was created alone and by his own effort in the darkness. But the stones were created separately. This was the land of Acantun. This was created after Adam was formed also. They were put in the place where the Acans are. Thus it was that he named them when he created them all. These were the first people.

God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit, these are the joint <names> of God. They were created in the stone, the red slender stone and the worn stone of grace. His name is the Word, Josustin Graçia.

However, at the same time there was born in the stone, the black stone of terror, the one named Verbum-tuorum, Ix-coal-tun, Ix-coal-cab, taken by the mistress of the world. Then there was set in its place the thrice seasoned heaven, the seasoned heaven. White and clean, it lay guarded in the heart of *Sustinal Gracia*. Thirteen orders of katuns lay prostrate in the stone. Then the ruler, Hunac Ceel, stirred into motion.

The song: Ho! What is so precious as we are? It is the precious jewel <worn on the breast.> Ho! What is the distinction of righteous men? It is my mantle, my loin-cloth. So spoke the god. Then do you mourn for anyone? No one. A tender boy was I at Chichēn, when the evil man, the master of the army, came to seize the land. Woe!

At Chichēn Itzá heresy was favored! *Yulu uayano!* Ho! 1 Imix was the day when the ruler was seized at Chikin-chēn. Ho! Where thou art, there is the god. Ho! 1 Imix was the day he said this. At Chichēn Itzá heresy was favored! *Yulu uayano!* Buried, buried! This was their cry. Buried, buried! This they also knew . . . This also was their cry on that first day of Yaxkin, that mighty day, 2 Akbal, they came. Woe! Woe! Woe! *Yulu uayano!* Is there perhaps anyone who by chance has awakened? Force was brought to bear for the second time. Woe! For the third time was established the religious festival of our enemies, our enemies. *Uuiyao!* Soon it will come to Chichēn Itzá, <where> heresy was favored. *Yulu uayano!* <In> the third heaven is the sun. Behold! Who am I said to be among men? I am a leafy covering. *Eya!* Who am I among the people of Putun? You do not understand me. *Eya!* I was created in the night. What were we born? *Eya!* We were <like> tame animals <to> Mizcit Ahau. <But> an end comes to his roguery. Behold, so I remember my song. Heresy was favored. *Yulu uayano!* *Eya!* I die, he said, because of the town festival. *Eya!* I shall come, he said, because of the destruction of the town. This is the end <of what is> in his mind, of what he thought in his heart. Me, he did not destroy. I tell what I have remembered in my song. Heresy was favored. *Yulu uayano!* This is all of the song, the completion of the message of the Lord God.

XIII (THE CREATION OF THE UINAL)

Thus it was recorded <by> the first sage, Melchise<dek>, the first prophet, Napuc Tun, the priest, the first priest. This is a song of how the *uinal* came to be created before the creation of the world. Then he began to march by his own effort alone. Then said his maternal grandmother, then said his maternal aunt, then said his paternal grandmother, then said his sister-in-law: "What shall we say when we see man on the road?" These were their words as they marched along, when there was no man <as yet>. Then they arrived there in the east and began to speak. "Who has passed here? Here are footprints. Measure it off with your foot." So spoke the mistress of the world. Then he measured the footstep of our Lord, God the Father. This was the reason it was called counting off the whole earth, *lahca* (12) Oc. This was the count, after it had been created by <the day> 13 Oc, after his feet were joined evenly, after they had departed there in the east. Then he spoke its name when the day had no name, after he had marched along with his maternal grandmother, his maternal aunt, his paternal grandmother and his sister-in-law. The uinal was created, the day, as it was called, was created, heaven and earth were created, the stairway of water, the earth, rocks and trees; the things of the sea and the things of the land were created.

On 1 Chuen he raised himself to his divinity, after he had made heaven and earth.

On 2 Eb he made the first stairway. It descended from the midst of the heavens, in the midst of the water, when there were neither earth, rocks nor trees.

On 3 Ben he made all things, as many as there are, the things of the heavens, the things of the sea and the things of the earth.

On 4 Ix sky and earth were tilted.

On 5 Men he made everything.

On 6 Cib the first candle was made; it became light when there was neither sun nor moon.

On 7 Caban honey was first created, when we had none.

On 8 Eϕnab his hand and foot were firmly set, then he picked up small things on the ground.

On 9 Cauac hell was first considered.

On 10 Ahau wicked men went to hell because of God the Father, that they might not be noticed.

On 11 Imix rocks and trees were formed; this he did within the day.

On 12 Ik the breath of life was created. The reason it was called Ik was because there was no death in it.

On 13 Akbal he took water and watered the ground. Then he shaped it and it became man.

On 1 Kan he first created anger because of the evil he had created.

On 2 Chicchan occurred the discovery of whatever evil he saw within the town.

On 3 Cimi he invented death; it happened that our Lord God invented the first death.

On 5 Lamat he established the seven great waters of the sea.

On 6 Muluc all valleys were submerged, when the world was not yet created. Then occurred the invention of the word of our Lord God, when there was no word in heaven, when there were neither rocks nor trees.

Then they went to consider <what they were>, and <the voice> spoke as follows: "Thirteen entities, seven entities, one." So it spoke when the word came forth, at the time when there was no word. Then the reason was sought by the first ruling day (the first day Ahau) why the meaning of the word to them was not revealed so that they could declare themselves. Then they went to the center of heaven and joined hands. Then the following were set up in the middle of the land: the Burners, four of them:

4 Chicchan, the Burner.

4 Oc, the Burner.

4 Men, the Burner.

4 Ahau, the Burner.

These are the four Rulers.

8 Muluc		5 Cauac
9 Oc		6 Ahau
10 Chuen	2	7 Imix
11 Eb		8 Ik
12 Ben	4	9 Akbal
13 Ix	5	10 Kan
1 Men	6	11 Chicchen
2 Cib		12 Cimi
3 Caban	7	13 Manik
4 Eϕnab		1 Lamat

The day-name Oc is a homonym for the word meaning foot. Ix has a slight resemblance to the root of nixpahal meaning to tilt. Men means to make or to do something. The syllable eϕ of Eϕnab means to set something firmly on the ground. Nevertheless the Maya were not unaware of the relation between this day and the flint knife pictured by its glyph, for in another manuscript we find it associated with a flint, as well as with the blood-letter and the warrior, both of whom employed this implement (Kaua, p. 21).

The association of the day Ahau with hell (metnal) may be because of its resemblance to that of Cumhau (or Hun Ahau,) one of the names of the god of the underworld and whom the author of the Motul Dictionary identifies as "Lucifer, the prince of the devils." Akbal is associated with the verb akzah, which means to water the ground. Chicchan resembles chictahal which means to find. The day-name Cimi and the Maya word meaning death are homonyms. Muluc resembles the verb mucchahal meaning to be buried or submerged.}

The uinal was created, the earth was created; sky, earth, trees and rocks were set in order; all things were created by our Lord God, the Father.

Thus he was there in his divinity, in the clouds, alone and by his own effort, when he created the entire world, when he moved in the heavens in his divinity. Thus he ruled in his great power. Every day is set in order according to the count, beginning in the east, as it is arranged.

XIV (A HISTORY OF THE SPANISH CONQUEST)

This is the name of the year when the foreigners arrived, the year One thousand five hundred and nineteen. This was the year when the foreigners arrived here at our town, <the town> of us, the Itzá, here in the land of Yucalpeten, Yucatan, in the speech of the Maya Itzá.

So said the first Adelantado; Don Juan de Montejo, because he was thus informed by Don Lorenzo Chable when he listened to this conqueror at Tixkokob. He received the foreigners with all his heart. This was the reason they named him Don Lorenzo Chable, because he gave well-roasted meat to the foreigners and all the captains. He had a son also named Don Martin Chable.

This is the year which was current when the foreigners prepared to seize *Yucalpeten* here. It was known by the priest, the prophet, Ah Xupan, as he was called. Christianity was introduced to us in the year 1519. The church at Merida was founded in the year 1540. In the year 1599 the church at Merida was completed. In the year 1648 yellow fever occurred and the sickness began <to afflict> us.

There was death by famine for five years, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653 and 1654. Then the famine ended. There was a hurricane which killed Father Agustin Gomes in the year 1661. There was a drought in the year 1669. <The disease called> *uzankak* occurred in 1692.

XV
**(THE PROPHECY OF CHILAM BALAM AND THE STORY OF
ANTONIO MARTINEZ)**

<Let it be known that the day then arrived> when the tenth katun was established, when the katun of the Plumeria flower was established. For three moons had been established Yuma-une-tziuit, the quetzal, the green bird. Then there shall be present the forceful one, there would be Nine Mountains, Yuma-une-tziuit, the quetzal, the green bird. No one understands the penance among the rulers in the twelfth tun when he declared his name. <Like> a jaguar is his head, long is his tooth, withered is his body, <like> a dog is his body. His heart is pierced with sorrow. Sweet is his food, sweet is his drink. Perchance he does not speak, perchance he will not hear. They say his speech is false and mad. Nowhere do the younger sisters, native to the land, surrender themselves. They shall be taken away from the land here. So it shall always be with the maidens, the daughters whom they shall bear tomorrow and day after tomorrow. Give yourselves up, my younger brothers, my older brothers, submit to the unhappy destiny of the katun which is to come. If you do not submit, you shall be moved from where your feet are rooted. If you do not submit, you shall gnaw the trunks of trees and herbs. If you do not submit, it shall be as when the deer die, so that they go forth from your settlement. Then <even> when the ruler <himself > goes forth, he shall return within your settlement bearing nothing. Also there shall come <such a pestilence that> the vultures enter the houses, a time of great death among the wild animals. There shall be three kinds of bread, <the bread-nut shall be their bread> in the katun of the Plumeria flower. Then <comes the time> when thirteen layers of mats are laid down for the very mad one, for the adulterer. Then comes the <papal> bull of six divisions. Three times the bull shall be announced. Then the judge of the bull shall come, when he <who bears> the gold staff shall judge, when white wax <candles> shall be exchanged.

It is to be white wax, when justice shall descend from Heaven, for Christian men to come up before the eye of justice. Then it shall shake heaven and earth. In sorrow shall end the katun of the Plumeria flower. No one shall fulfil his promises. The prop-roots of the trees shall be bent over. There shall be an earthquake all over the land. The fulfilment of the prophecy of the katun of the Plumeria flower shall be for sale. There is no reason or necessity for you to submit to the Archbishop. When he comes, you shall go and hide yourselves in the forest. If you surrender yourselves, you shall follow Christ, when he shall come. Then his visitation shall end. Then shall come to pass the shaking of the Plumeria flower. Then you shall understand. Then it shall thunder from a dry sky. Then shall be spoken that which is written on the wall. Then you shall set up God, that is, you shall admit his divinity to your hearts. I hardly know what wise man among you will understand. He who understands will go into the forest to serve Christianity. Who will understand it?

After only fourteen years of chieftainship, permanently the Son shall arrive, Don Antonio Martínez and Saul. These were his names when he departed from heaven. At that time he went to Tzimentan, and when he was at Tzimentan a certain queen said she would marry him. For seven years he was married, when the golden doors of the house of four apartments were opened. <Here>he was shown how, and he equipped a fleet of thirteen ships. Then he began a war with the land of Havana. The King had a friend at Havana, and the King was advised by his friend. The public prosecutor was there with him. Then he went and heard that <the man> was to be seized. Whereupon he departed

and went to Tzimentan. It was three months after he was seized that the man who took him departed. Then he arrived at Tzimentan. When <the man> was seized, he cut short the words of him who took him when he arrived at Tzimentan, and he said: "Go, man." These were his words to him. "It is three months <since> I arrived," he said. "It is three months, now, <since> you departed. It was three months <ago> that you arrived, since you arrived, since you are shut up in the prison; in the meantime I come. I will take you out of prison. You two captains shall follow me." he said.

"Let nine chairs be raised up for us to sit on. The sea shall burn. I shall be raised up." There was fire in his eye. Sand and spray shall be raised aloft. The face of the sun shall be darkened by the great tempest. Whereupon the captain accoutered himself. <Everything> shall be blown to the ground by the wind. In the meantime I sit on my chair; in the meantime the fleet of thirteen ships comes. Then the King accouters himself also. "Prepare yourself, my lord! There come the French." These were his words to me. "We shall be killed by <these> men. For what reason does your strength fail because of your compatriots? Let me go and direct the ship from the middle." My own spirits are raised also. The sea upon which I go burns. The face of the heavens is tilted. But when I came down into his presence, the ship was lost. "What man are you?" he said to me. "I am without compunction. It is I whom you have aided, I am he whom you have caused to live again." <Then he said:> "I shall put my name to the test, it is Martinez. God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit is my name." <These were his words.> Then I brought out the book of seven generations to read. In three months it was finished.

Now the town officials went elsewhere. Whereupon he said he would give his town, half of the men <in it>, to me. "Where is your town? It is all my town," <he said>. "You shall pay for my town, I was the first to arrive."

Then, I tell you, justice shall descend to the end that Christianity and salvation may arise. Thus shall end the men of the Plumeria flower. Then the rulers of the towns shall be asked for their proofs and titles of ownership, if they know of them. Then they shall come forth from the forests and from among the rocks and live like men; then towns shall be established <again>. There shall be no fox to bite them. This shall be in Katun 9 Ahau. Five years shall run until the end of my prophecy, and then shall come the time for the tribute to come down. Then there shall be an end to the paying for the wars which our fathers raised <against the Spaniards>. You shall not call the katun which is to come a hostile one, when Jesus Christ, the guardian of our souls, shall come. Just as <we are saved> here on earth, so shall he bear our souls to his holy heaven also. You are sons of the true God. Amen.

XVI
(A CHAPTER OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

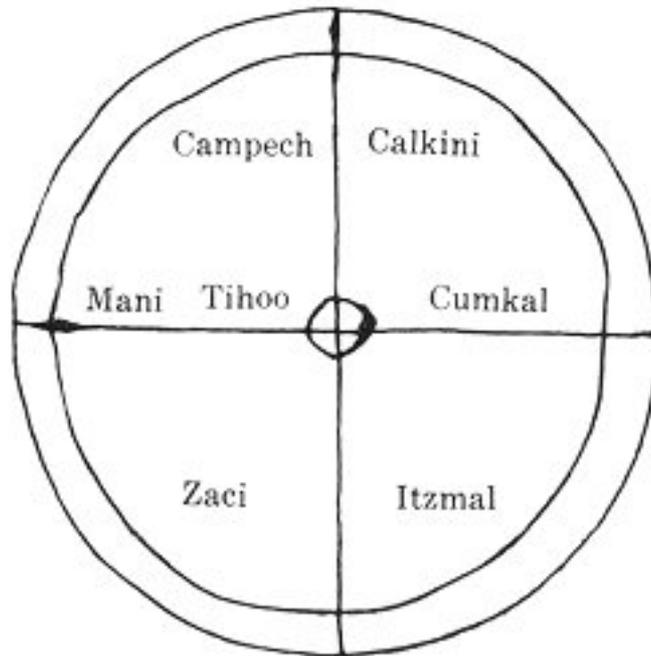


FIG. 27--A map of northern Yucatan. (Chumayel MS.).

13 Eϕnab <was the day> when the land was established. 13 Cheneb was when they measured off by paces the cathedral, the dark house of instruction, the cathedral in heaven. Thus it was also measured off by paces here <on earth>. Thirteen katuns was the total count, <that is, thir>teen feet in heaven. Four feet, and from there nine feet, the total count of its extent in heaven. Then it is again measured off by feet from the face of the earth. Four feet separate it from the face of the earth.

Mani is the base of the land. Campeche is the tip of the wing of the land. Calkini is the base of the wing of the land. Itzmal is the middle of the wing of the land. Zaci is the tip of the wing of the land. Conkal is the head of the land.

In the middle of the town of Tihoo is the cathedral, the fiery house, the mountainous house, the dark house, for the benefit of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit.

Who enters into the house of God? Father, it is the one named Ix-Kalem.

What day did the Virgin conceive? Father, 4 Oc <was the day> when she conceived.

What day did he come forth <from her womb>? On 3 Oc he came forth.

What day did he die? On 1 Cimi he died. Then he entered the tomb on 1 Cimi.

What entered his tomb? Father, a coffer of stone entered his tomb.

What entered in into his thigh? Father, it was the red arrow-stone. It entered into the precious stone of the world, there in heaven.

And his arm? Father, the arrow-stone; and that it might be commemorated, it entered into the red living rock in the east. Then it came to the north and entered into the white living rock. After that it entered the black living rock in the west. Thus also <it entered> the yellow living rock in the south.

Son, how many deep hollows <are there>? These <are the holes> for playing the flute.

Son, where is the cenote? All are drenched <with> its water. There is no gravel on its bottom; a bow is inserted over its entrance. <It is> the church. Son, where are the first marriages? The strength of the King and the strength of the other head-chiefs fail because of them, and my strength because of them also. It is bread.

Son, have you seen the green water-holes in the rock? There are two of them; a cross is raised between them. They are a man's eyes.

Son, where are the first baptised ones? One has no mother, but has a bead collar and little bells. It is *peeu*.

Son, where is the food which bursts forth, and the fold of the brain <and> the lower end of that which is inflated, and the dried fruit? It is the gizzard of a turkey.

Son bring me that which hooks the sky and the hooked tooth. They are a deer and a gopher.

Son, where is the old woman with buttocks seven palms wide, the woman with a dark complexion? It is <the squash called> *col*.

Son, show me the light complexioned woman with her skirt bound up who sells white flints. It is <the squash called> *ca*.

Son, bring me two yellow animals, one to be well boiled, and one shall have its throat cut. I shall drink its blood also. It is a yellow deer and a green calabash full of chocolate.

<My> sons, bring me here a score of those who bear flat stones and two married ones. They are a quail and a dove.

Son, bring me a cord of three strands, I wish to see it. It is an iguana.

Son, bring a mutual confession of sin that I may see it here. It is the maguey.

Son, bring me here that which stops the hole in the sky and the dew, the nine layers of the whole earth. It is a very large maize tortilla.

Son, have you seen the old man <who is like> an overturned *comal*? He has a large double chin which reaches the ground. It is a turkey cock.

Son, bring me the old farmers, their beards come to their navels, also their wives. It is a muddy arrowroot.

Bring to me here with them the women who guard the fields, white complexioned women. I will remove their skirts and eat them. It is a jícama.

Son, bring me the great gallants that I may view them. Perhaps they will not dance badly when I see them. It is a turkey-cock. Son, where is the first collector? <The answer is> to undress, to take off one's shirt, cape, hat and shoes.

Son, where was it that you passed? Did you pass, perchance, to the high rocky knoll which slopes down to the door of heaven, where there is a gate in the wall? Did you see men in front of you, coming side by side? Bolon Cħaan and the first *Ah-kulel* are there. It is the pupils of the eyes and any pair of eyes.

Son, have you seen the rain of God? It passed beneath the mountains of God; it entered beneath the mountains of God, where there is a cross on the savannah. There will be a ring in the sky where the water of God has passed.

Son, where has the water of God passed when it comes forth from the living rock? Father, <from> a man's head and all a man's teeth, it passes through the opening in his throat and comes forth beneath.

Son, whom did you see on the road just now?

Son, what did you do with your companions who were coming close behind you? Here are my companions. I have not left them. I await the judgment of God when I shall come to die. This is a man's shadow.

Son, whom did you see on the road? Did you see perchance <some> old men accompanied by <their> boys? Father, here are the old men I saw on the road. They are with me; they do not leave me. This is his great toe with the little <toes>.

Son, where did you see the old women carrying their step-children and their other boys. Father, here they are. They are still with me so that I can eat. I can not leave them yet. It is my thumb and the other fingers.

Son, where did you pass by a water-gutter? Father, here is the water-gutter; it is right with me. This is my dorsal furrow.

Son, where did you see an old man astride a horse across a water-gutter? Father, here is the old man. He is still with me. My shoulders are the horse on which you say the old man sits astride.

Son, this is the old man with you of which you spoke: it is manifest truth and justice.

Son, go get the heart of the stone and the liver of the earth. . . . I have seen one of them lying on its back, and one lying on its face as though it were going into hell. They are a Mexican Agouti and a Spotted Agouti, also the first local chief and the first Ah-

kulel. As for the heart of the stone, it is the tips of the teeth; and that which covers the opening in the neck of hell is a camote and a jícama.

Son, go and bring me here <the girl> with the watery teeth. Her hair is twisted into a tuft; she is a very beautiful maiden. Fragrant shall be her odor when I remove her skirt and her <other> garment. It will give me pleasure to see her. Fragrant is her odor and her hair is twisted into a tuft. It is an ear of green corn cooked in a pit.

Son, then you shall go and get an old man and the herb that is by the sea. The old man is the *ac*, and <the herb is> a crab.

Son, then you shall go and get the stones from the bottom of a forest pond. It is the *tzac*.

Son, then you shall bring here the stones of the savannah. It is a quail.

Also <bring> the first sorcerers, there are four of them. They are the gopher, the Spotted Agouti, the Mexican Agouti and the peccary.

Son, then go and get the thigh of the earth. It is the cassava.

Son, go and bring here the green gallant and the green singer. It is a wild turkey <hen> and cock.

Son, you shall bring your daughter that I may see her in the sun tomorrow. First the smaller one shall be brought and behind her shall come the larger one. Her hair shall be bound with a feathered band; she shall wear a head-scarf. I will take off her head-scarf. Also the Ah-kulel is behind her.

Son, then go and get a cluster of Plumeria flowers widely separated. <They should be> there where the sun is tomorrow. <What is meant is> roasted corn and honey.

Here I have rolled that which you have which is flat and round. There are many rolls of it in the cave where you live. Then you shall roll it here that we may see it, when it is time to eat. <It is> a fried egg.

XVII
(AN INCANTATION)

Strung end to end are the precious stones, the red precious stones, representing the substance of heaven, the moisture of heaven.

The form in which you created the sun, <in which> you created the earth! The form of the moisture of heaven, the substance of heaven, the yellow blossom of heaven! How did I create your sun? <How did I> create your moon? How did I create your precious stones? I created you. When you were sprinkled with water, you remembered the force of the sun. Then when the message was sent to you ... Under cover I created you, I set you <where you are>. From time to time I take <you>, I perceive your vigor because of your father. You await ... that I may take away ... from your mouth. They are the yellow precious stones. So runs its course as he records it. These are the rulers which have been set in order. Go and read it and you will understand it.

XVIII
(A SERIES OF KATUN-PROPHECIES)

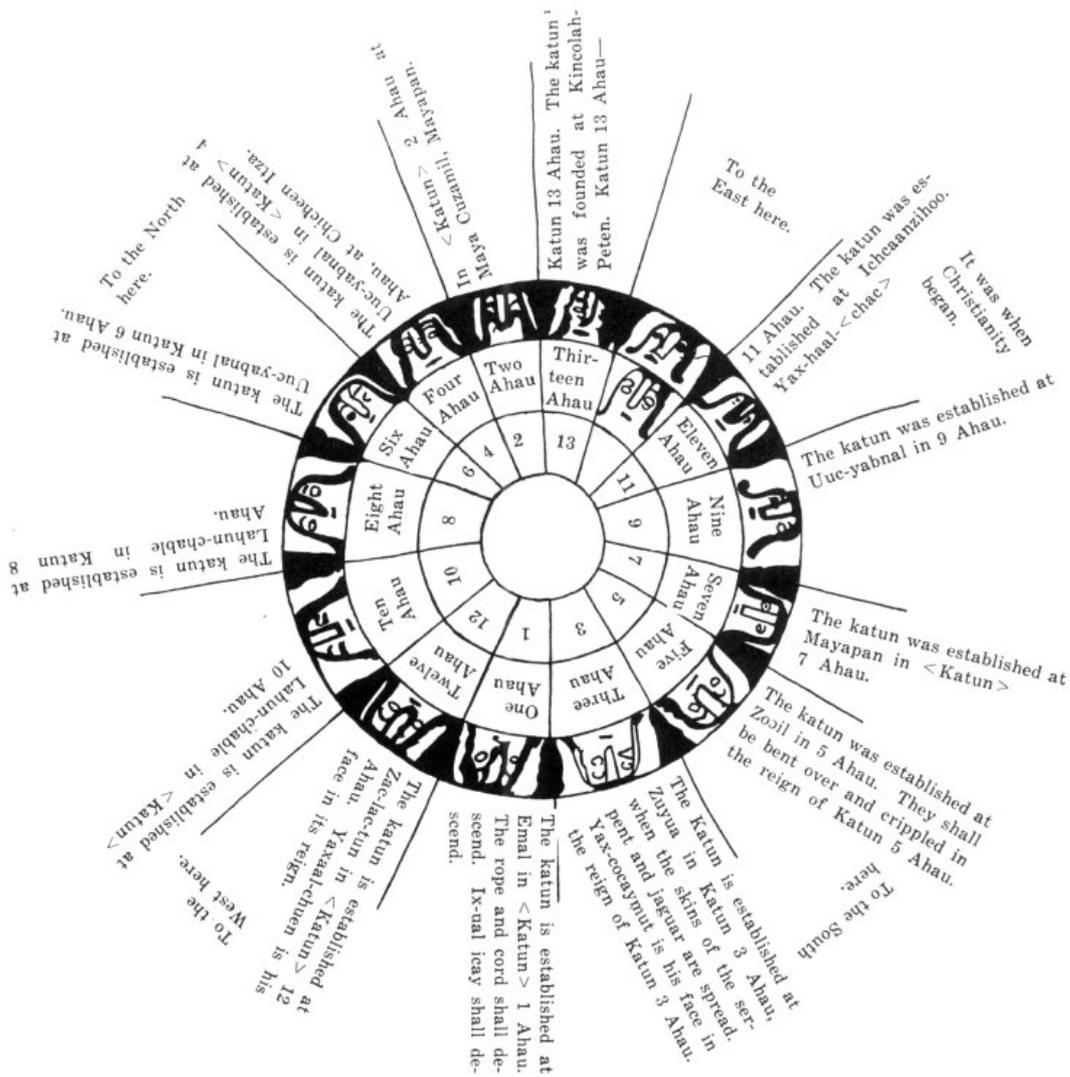


FIG. 28. The katun wheel. (Chumayel MS.)

Katun 11 Ahau is established at Ichcaanzihoo. Yax-haal Chac is its face. The heavenly fan, the heavenly bouquet shall descend. The drum and rattle of Ah Bolon-yocte shall resound. At that time there shall be the green turkey; at that time there shall be Zulim Chan; at that time there shall be Chakanputun. They shall find their food among the trees; they shall find their food among the rocks, those who have lost their crops in Katun 11 Ahau.

The katun is established at Uuc-yab-nal in Katun 4 Ahau. At the mouth of the well, Uuc-yab-nal, it is established ... It shall dawn in the south. The face of <the lord of the katun> is covered; his face is dead. There is mourning for water; there is mourning for bread. His mat and his throne shall face the west. Blood-vomit is the charge <of the katun>. At that time his loin-cloth and his mantle shall be white. Unattainable shall be the bread of the katun. The quetzal shall come; the green bird shall come. The *kax* tree

shall come; the bird shall come. The tapir shall come. The tribute shall be hidden at the mouth of the well.

The katun is established at Maylu, Zaci, Mayapan in Katun 2 Ahau. The katun <stone> is on its own base. The rope shall descend; the poison of the serpent shall descend, pestilence <and> three piles of skulls. The men are of little use. Then the burden was bound on Buluc-~~ch~~abtan. <Then there came up> a dry wind. The ramon is the bread of <Katun> 2 Ahau. It shall be half famine and half abundance. This is the charge of Katun 2 Ahau.

The Katun is established at Kinchil Coba, Maya Cuzamil, in Katun 13 Ahau. Itzamna, Itzam-tzab, is his face during its reign. The ramon shall be eaten. Three years shall be locust years, ten generations <of locusts>. The fan shall be displayed; the bouquet shall be displayed, borne by Yaxaal Chac in the heavens. Unattainable is the bread of the katun in 13 Ahau. The sun shall be eclipsed. Double is the charge of the katun: men without offspring, chiefs without successors. For five days the sun shall be eclipsed, then it shall be seen <again>. This is the charge of Katun 13 Ahau.

XIX (THE FIRST CHRONICLE)

A record of the count of the katuns since the discovery of Chichen Itzá occurred. It is written for the town in order that it may be known by anyone who wishes to be informed of the count of the katuns.

6 Ahau was when the discovery of Chichen Itzá occurred.

4 Ahau.

2 Ahau.

13 Ahau was when the mat <of the katun> was counted in order.

11 Ahau.

9 Ahau.

7 Ahau.

5 Ahau.

3 Ahau.

1 Ahau.

12 Ahau.

10 Ahau.

8 Ahau was when Chichen Itzá was abandoned. There were thirteen folds of katuns when they established their houses at Chakanputun.

6 Ahau.

4 Ahau was when the land was seized by them at Chakanputun.

2 Ahau.

13 Ahau.

11 Ahau.

9 Ahau.

7 Ahau.

5 Ahau.

3 Ahau.

1 Ahau.

12 Ahau.

10 Ahau.

8 Ahau was when Chakanputun was abandoned by the Itzá men. Then they came to seek homes again. For thirteen folds of katuns had they dwelt in their houses at Chakanputun. This was always the katun when the Itzá went beneath the trees, beneath the bushes, beneath the vines, to their misfortune.

6 Ahau.

4 Ahau.

2 Ahau.

13 Ahau.

11 Ahau.

9 Ahau.

7 Ahau.

5 Ahau.

3 Ahau.

1 Ahau.

12 Ahau.

10 Ahau.

8 Ahau was when the Itzá men again abandoned their homes because of the treachery of Hunac Ceel, because of the banquet with the people of Izamal. For thirteen folds of katuns they had dwelt there, when they were driven out by Hunac Ceel because of the giving of the questionnaire of the Itzá.

6 Ahau.

4 Ahau was when the land of Ich-paa Mayapan was seized by the Itzá men who had been separated from their homes because of the people of Izamal and because of the treachery of Hunac Ceel.

2 Ahau.

13 Ahau.

11 Ahau.

9 Ahau.

7 Ahau.

5 Ahau.

3 Ahau.

1 Ahau.

12 Ahau.

10 Ahau.

8 Ahau was when there was fighting with stones at Ich-paa Mayapan because of the seizure of the fortress. They broke down the city wall because of the joint government in the city of Mayapan.

6 Ahau.

4 Ahau was when the pestilence occurred; it was when the vultures entered the houses within the fortress.

2 Ahau was when the eruption of pustules occurred. It was smallpox.

13 Ahau was when the rain-bringer died. It was the sixth year. The year-count was to the east. It was <the year> 4 Kan. Pop was set to the east. . . . It was the <fif>teenth <day of the month> Zip. 9 Imix was the day when the rain-bringer, Napot Xiu, died. It was the year of our Lord 158.

11 Ahau was when the mighty men arrived from the East. They were the ones who first brought <disease> here to our land, <the land of > us who are Maya, in the year 1513.

9 Ahau was when Christianity began, when baptism occurred. It was in this katun that Bishop Toral arrived here also. It was when the hangings ceased in the year of our Lord 1546.

7 Ahau was when Bishop de Landa died.

5 Ahau.

3 Ahau.

XX (THE SECOND CHRONICLE)

4 Ahau was the name of the katun when occurred the birth of Pauahs, when the rulers descended.

Thirteen katuns they reigned; thus they were named while they ruled.

4 Ahau was the name of the katun when they descended; the great descent and the little descent they were called.

Thirteen katuns they reigned. So they were called. While they were settled, thirteen were their settlements.

4 Ahau was the katun when they sought and discovered Chichen Itzá. There it was that miraculous things were performed for them by their lords. Four divisions they were, when the four divisions of the nation, as they were called, went forth. From Kincolahpeten in the east one division went forth. From Nacocob in the north one division came forth. But one division came forth from Holtun Zuyua in the west. One division came forth from Four-peaked Mountain, Nine Mountains is the name of the land.

4 Ahau was the katun when the four divisions were called <together>. The four divisions of the nation, they were called, when they descended. They became lords when they descended upon Chichen Itzá. The Itzá were they then called.

Thirteen katuns they ruled, and then came the treachery by Hunac Ceel. Their town was abandoned and they went into the heart of the forest to Tan-xuluc-mul, as it is called.

4 Ahau was the katun when their souls cried out!

Thirteen katuns they ruled in their misery!

8 Ahau was the katun when occurred the arrival of the remainder of the Itzá, as they were called. They arrived, and there their reign endured in Chakanputun.

13 Ahau was the katun when they founded the town of Mayapan, the Maya men, as they were called.

8 Ahau was when their town was abandoned and they were scattered throughout the entire district. In the sixth katun after they were dispersed, then they ceased to be called Maya.

11 Ahau was the name of the katun when the Maya men ceased to be called Maya. They were called Christians; their entire province <became subject> to St. Peter and the reigning King <of Spain>.

XXI (THE THIRD CHRONICLE)

A record of the katuns for the Itzá, called the Maya katuns.

12 Ahau.

10 Ahau.

8 Ahau.

6 Ahau was when the people of Conil were dispersed.

4 Ahau.

2 Ahau.

13 Ahau.

11 Ahau.

9 Ahau.

7 Ahau.

5 Ahau was when the town of the ruler of Izamal, Kinich Kakmoo as well as Pop-hol Chan was destroyed by Hunac Ceel.

3 Ahau.

1 Ahau was when the remainder of the Itzá were driven out of Chichen. It was the third tun of <Katun> 1 Ahau when Chichen was depopulated.

12 Ahau.

10 Ahau.

8 Ahau was the katun when the remainder of the Itzá founded their town, coming forth from beneath the trees and bushes at Tan-Xuluc-Mul, as it was called. They came out and established the land of Zaclactun Mayapan, as it was called. In the seventh tun of Katun 8 Ahau, this was the katun when Chakanputun perished at the hands of Kak-upacal and Tee Uilu.

6 Ahau.

4 Ahau.

2 Ahau.

13 Ahau.

11 Ahau.

9 Ahau.

7 Ahau.

5 Ahau was when foreigners arrived to eat men.

They were called foreigners without skirts. The land was not depopulated by them.

3 Ahau.

1 Ahau was when the district of Tancha Mayapan, as it was called, was depopulated. It was in the first tun of Katun I Ahau that the head-chief Tutul <Xiu> departed with the chiefs of the town and the four divisions of the town. This was the katun when the men of Tancha were dispersed and the chiefs of the town were scattered.

12 Ahau. The stone was taken at Otmal.

10 Ahau. The stone was taken at Zizal.

8 Ahau. The stone was taken at Kancaba.

6 Ahau. The stone was taken at Hunacthi.

4 Ahau. The stone was taken at Atikuh. This was the katun when the pestilence occurred. It was in the fifth tun of Katun 4 Ahau.

2 Ahau. The stone was taken at Chacalna.

13 Ahau. The stone was taken at Euan.

11 Ahau. On the first day the stone was taken at Colox-peten.

This was the katun when the rain-bringer died; his name was Napot Xiu. It was in the first tun of 11 Ahau, that was the katun, when the

Spaniards first arrived here in our land. It was in the seventh tun of Katun 11 Ahau that Christianity then began; it was in the year A. D. 15 19.

9 Ahau. No stone was taken. This was the katun when Bishop Francisco Toral first arrived. He arrived in the sixth tun of Katun 9 Ahau.

7 Ahau. No stone was taken. This was the katun when Bishop de Landa died. Then another bishop also arrived.

5 Ahau.

3 Ahau.

On this 18th day of August, 1766, occurred a hurricane. I have made a record of it in order that it may be seen how many years it will be before another one will occur.

On this 20th day of January, 1782, there was an epidemic of inflammation here in the town of Chumayel. The swelling began at the neck and then descended. <It spread> from the little ones to the adults, until it swept the entire house, once it was introduced. The remedy was sour ashes and lemons or the young *Siempre vive*. It was the year of '81 when it began. After that there was a great drought also. There was scarcely any rain. The entire forest was burned <with the heat>, and the forest <trees> died This is the record which I have written down, I, Don Juan Josef Hoil. (Rubrica.)

Chumayel, June 28th, 1858, was when I made a loan to Chinuh Balam. 1, Pedro Briceño. (Rubrica.)

XXII
(A BOOK OF KATUN-PROPHECIES)

(1. Frontispiece.)

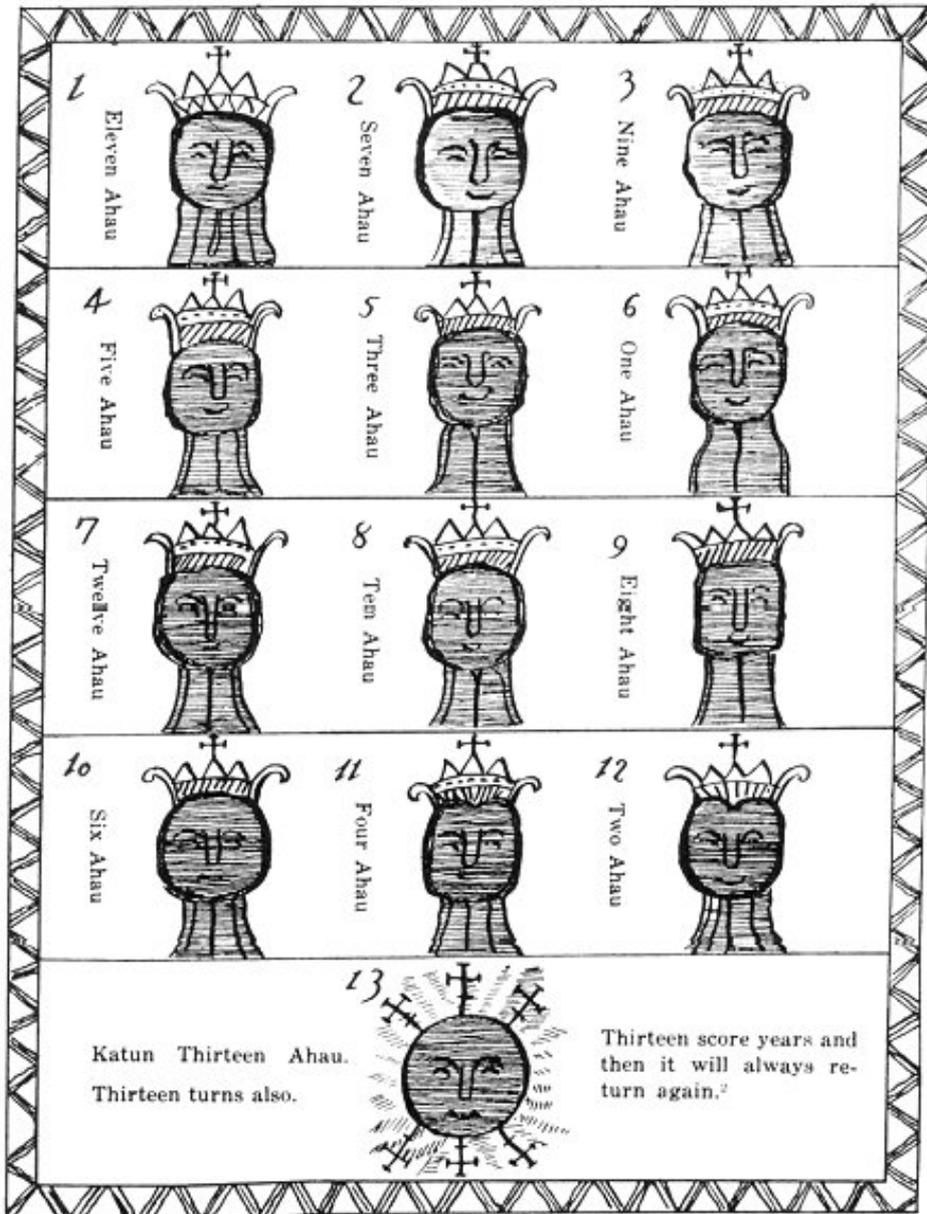


FIG. 29--The lords of the thirteen katuns. (Chumayel MS.).

We have here a picture of the thirteen Lords of the Katuns. The blurred faces may signify that they are blindfolded. The crowns, crosses and manner of drawing are purely European, but they doubtless represent the idols set up in honor of each katun. Unfortunately no pre-Conquest representation of these figures has come down to us. Cf. Landa 1929, PP. 94-Too, also Appendix D. After thirteen Katuns the same series will always recur.

Today, Wednesday, April 4th, 1832, I have recorded the name of Maria Isidora, daughter of Andres Balam and Maria Juana Xicum

Today, Sunday, December 22d, 1833, I have recorded the name of Tomas, son of Andres Balam and Maria Xicum. God-father: José Maria Castañeda. God-mother: Manuela Marin.

Cura

. . . Justo Balam, Secretary. (Rubrica)

This is the day on which I purchased the book: July 1st, 1838. It cost me one peso in <my> poverty. This was the price <I paid> to the Señor Padre: <one> peso. This is the year of the purchase ... I have recorded it in order that it might be known that at this time it passed into my hands by purchase.

I, Pedro de Alcantara Briceño, resident of San Antonio.

(2. *Historical introduction to the katun-prophecies.*)

In Katun 13 Ahau the ship of the foreigners first appeared at Campeche. 1541 was the name of the year when they brought the news that the Maya men were to enter into Christianity, when the land of Tantun Cuzamil was established. They were there for half a year. Then they went to the seaport to the west and the people of Chikin-Chel were put under tribute. It was the year 1542 when the district of Tihoo, Ichcanziho, was established, in Katun 11 Ahau. The first governor was the Adelantado Don Francisco Montejo who was to appoint subjects for the foreigners, mighty men. In the year 1542 tribute was introduced. A. D. 1545 was the year when the Padres arrived, four years after the arrival of the foreigners. Then it was that men were baptised from town to town by <the Padres>. When they first arrived the towns were distributed among them.

1544 was the year . . . six hundred years and seventy-five years after the town of Chichen Itzá was depopulated, after its settlements were depopulated. <It was> eight hundred years and seventy years after the town of Uxmal was depopulated, after the people were driven out of its towns.

In the year 1537, on a day named 9 Cauac, was when the nobles gathered at the town of Mani to discuss fully whether they should go and bring the foreigners to their settlements because the head-chief had been killed. These were their names: Ah Moochan Xiu, Nahau Ez, Ah gun Chinab, Napoot Cupul, Napot Che, Nabatun Itza, Ah-kin Euan from Caucel, Nachan Uc from gibilikal Ah-kin Ucan from Ekob, Nachi Uc, Ah-kul Koh, Nachan Motul, Nahau Coyi. These were the men of importance who talked of bringing the foreigners to their town, because the head-chief of the town, Ah <gun> Xiu was killed at Otmal.

10 Kan was the year-bearer when the seeker for a town passed. He was called Montejo, he who wrote down the towns. This was the year when the strangers in the land, the foreigners who ate annonas, passed. They were the first to distribute the towns. It was when the foreigners arrived that the "receivers" received them. When they assembled at Campeche, when their ships came forth, then the nobles went to give gifts to them.

There were thirteen "receivers of the foreigners." After that they came to Ichcaanziho. 9 Ahau was the katun.

<This is> a record of the wisdom of the book in which is set down the course of the katun. Here it is published in the land of Nitunçala, Chactemal, Tahuaymil, Holtun Itzá, Chichinila, in order that the charge of the course of the katun may be known, of each katun, whether it is good or bad. Thus it is written by the Holy Writer, the Evangelist, it is the word of the Lord of heaven and earth . . . it comes from on high. This was given to them ... at the beginning of the land, at the beginning of our humanity ... the true word in Holy Writ, in the book, the *Reportorio*. It has no error; the seal on the book was carefully surveyed by them. These were the four lineages from heaven, the substance of heaven, the moisture of heaven, the head-chiefs, the rulers of the land: Zacaal Puc, Hooltun Balam, Hochtun Poot, Ah Mex-Cue Chan.

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. Miserable is the face of Chac Chuen Coyi. Then the Lord of the Church shall come. It is in the middle of the town of Tihoo. It shall come from the East, from the North, from the West, from the South; the word of Christianity shall be heard in the 17th tun in order that Christianity may truly arise.

The Padres shall arrive; the Bishop shall arrive, the Holy Inquisition, the word of God. <These things> shall be accomplished. No one shall cause them to cease. Amen.

(3. *The katun-prophecies.*)

The Chapter of the year, the katun.

First: 11 Ahau, when the foreigners first established the country.

The first: Katun 11 Ahau was the beginning of the katun-count, the first katun. The katun was established at Ichcaanzihoo when the foreigners arrived. Red were the beards of the children of the sun, the bearded ones from the east, when they arrived here in our land. The strangers to the land are white men, red men, . . . a beginning of carnal sin . . . Oh Itzá! . . . make ready. There cometh a white circle in the sky, the fair-skinned boy from



FIG. 30--The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.).

Each prophecy of this series is headed by an illustration similar to this one. It consists of a crowned head, and the crown is surmounted by a cross. It evidently represents a so-called "ruler" mentioned in a number of the prophecies, but there is some uncertainty as to the function of his personage in connection with each new katun. In the *Tizimin* (p. 22) and *Mani* (Code. Perez, p. 120) manuscripts we read of a certain Katun 8 Ahau that "the ruler of the people of Uxmal was painted." It is possible that this means that a picture of this ruler headed the prophecy for the katun: but Katun 8 Ahau "was established" at Izamal and not Uxmal according to the present series of katun-prophecies.

heaven, the white wooden standard that shall descend from heaven. A quarter of a league, a league away, it approaches. You shall see the dawn of a new day, you shall see the *mut*-bird. Oh! how there shall be intercession for us when they come. There shall come multitudes who gather stone and wood, the worthless rabble of the town. Fire shall flame up at the tips of their hands. There shall be sufficient poison and also ropes to hang their lords. Oh Itzá! Your worship is of no avail with the true God who has descended. It is false in word and teaching. Niggard is the katun; scanty are its rains. Who would be the priest, who would be the prophet who would understand it when he came to Tancah Mayapan <or> to Chichen Itzá? Alas! The <burden> laid upon the younger brothers; it came in Katun 7 Ahau through necessity, through misery, from the tribute, from the time it was first imposed upon you down to the tribute which you shall bear tomorrow and day after tomorrow in your children's time. Prepare yourselves to endure the burden of misery which is to come among your villages. This katun which has been established is, a katun of misery, a katun of the importunity of the devil, when it is established in Katun 11 Ahau. Receive your guests, the bearded men, the bearers of the sign of God. Your elder brothers, the men of Tantun, come. They shall ask of you an offering to God with them. Their priest was named Ah Miznilacpe. Their faces were <like> the puma, <like> Antichrist, on that day which is to come, on that day which confronts you, alas, in much misery, <my> sons. This is the word of our Lord: "It shall burn on earth, there shall be a white circle in the sky, in that katun in time to come." It is the true word from the mouth of God the Father. Alas, very heavy is the burden of the katun that shall be established in Christianity. When it comes there shall be slavish talk,

slavish ... servile men. When it comes, there shall be . . . you shall see. There shall come the head-chiefs ... the two day occupants of the thrones and mats ... in the <five> unlucky days at the end of the year, in the days of penance. This only is the end of the word of God. 11 is the cup <of the katun>. The news <regarding> the aspect of its reign is gathered, all its teachings, all its words. You shall die; you shall live; but you may not understand the word of the living book. Ah Maypan was his only son, his justice. He was put in prison, he was taken out, then he was bound and whipped. After that, when he was seated, the son was admonished. There was a hat on his head and sandals on his feet. A cord was tied about his waist when he came.

The second <katun>.

Katun 9 Ahau is the second katun of the count. The katun was established at Ichcaanzihoo. Then it was that the foreigners to the land received their tribute. Then it was that the fathers of our souls arrived. The scattered

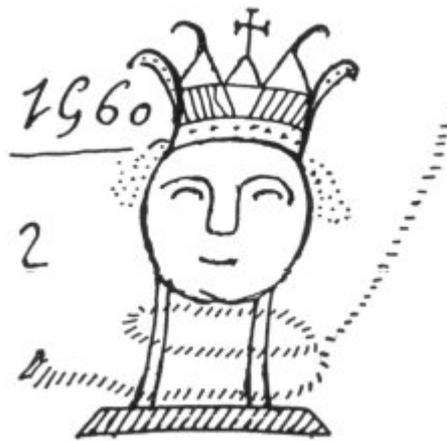


FIG. 31--The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.).

divisions of the towns under their local chieftains were gathered together. They began to teach the holy faith and baptise us. The foundations of the holy Cathedral were laid, the public house of God, the widely extended house of God the Father. Then the seven sacraments were established to take away <our sins> . . . There began to be much labor in the center of the town . . . the misery of the world. Then there was set up . . . the word of God, which shall also come from the mouth of God the Father. Then the fair complexioned boy arrives, he comes from heaven. The Virgin, as she is called, is the mother of the seven planets.



FIG. 32--The seven planets. (Chumayel MS.).

It was in the ninth year of <Katun> 9 Ahau that they served Christianity, just as it was written by the prophet Chilam Balam on the stone of nine seals in heaven. 13 Eϕnab was the day there in heaven as well as here on earth. <There was> the heavenly staff,

the heavenly fan. The cord descended, the word of God which came from on high all over the entire world. Nine was its plate, nine was its cup. Oh make ready, Itzá. Nowhere shall you offer <provocation> to your guests. You shall give them food to eat, and they shall also give you food to eat when they come.

The third <katun>.

Katun 7 Ahau is the third katun. The katun is established at Ichcaanzihoo. Yaxal Chac is the face <of the katun in the heavens> to its ruler, to its wise man, while the drum <resounds> below and the rattle <resounds> above. The Plumeria is its bread, the Plumeria is its water, the burden <of the katun>. Then begins the lewdness of the wise men, the beckoning of carnal sin, the beckoning of the katun. The katun begins to limp; it is all over the world. <Carnal sin> is its garment, carnal sin is its face, carnal sin is its ... carnal sin is its sandal, carnal sin is its head, carnal sin is its gait. They twist their necks, they twist their mouths, they wink the eye, they slaver at the mouth, at men, women, chiefs, justices, presiding officers, clerks, choir-masters, <everybody both> great and small. There is no great teaching. Heaven and earth are truly lost to them; they have lost all shame. Then the head-chiefs of the towns, the rulers of the towns, the prophets of the towns, the priests of the Maya men are hanged. Understanding is lost; wisdom is lost. Prepare yourselves, oh Itzá! Your sons shall see the mirth of the katun, the jesting of the katun. Dissolute is the speech, dissolute the face of the rogue to the rulers, to the head-chiefs. Seven is the plate, seven the cup <of the katun>, it is the word of God. Much hanging <of men> is the charge of the katun.



FIG. 33--The lord of the katun.
(Chumayel MS.)



FIG. 34--The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

the *holil-och* raises its head <to bite>. Men and women have few children. Then came ... the end of the cigar, after the lord of the world was created ... he heard the dance... There is the red flowered thing, the red *xulab*, the red *uayah-cab*, the accessory of the rattle of the giver of our hearts in tribute through misery and vexation. It is the opossum chieftain, the fox chieftain, the *ah-pic* chieftain, the <blood->sucking chieftain, the avaricious ones of the town. He is set up perchance, and then it is that your drum is beaten, my younger brother <my> elder brother. He who lies in wait for you on all fours is among you, the *tolil-och*. <It is> his katun. The Plumeria flower is his chair, as he sits on his throne. He is publicly seen in the market-place on his mat, the two-day occupant of the throne, the two-day occupant of the mat.

The fourth <katun>.

Katun 5 Ahau is the fourth katun. The katun is established at Ichcaanzihoo. Harsh is its face, harsh its tidings, to the ruler. There is affliction of the offspring of woman and man, when it comes. Then begins the vexation by the devil in the world. Then <came> the blinding of <the face of the god>, the face of Kauil, in the four changing heavens, the four changing roads. Then hanging comes to the world. The red <rattlesnake> raises its head to bite;



FIG. 35--The lord of the katun. (Chumayel M.S.)

They deceive the town, the two town officials, the chieftain opossum and he who lies in wait on all fours. They bring the pestilence, <they are> the cause of ...; there was little of it formerly. You then called them the Itzá. The rattle of the katun is shaken; there is the treachery of the katun at Tancab Mayapan. There is the great tribute of Zuyua. The kinkajou claws the back of the jaguar amid the affliction of the katun, amid the affliction of the year; they are greedy for dominion. Many hangings are the charge of the katun, when the chiefs of the town are hung there. There is an end to the misery of the Maya men when suddenly the men of Uaymil come to take vengeance on the world.

The fifth katun. 1620.

Katun 3 Ahau was the fifth katun. The katun was established at Ichcaanzihoo. Ek-Cocah-mut was its face to the rulers, to the wise men. Antichrist was its face to the rulers. Fire shall flame up at the horn of the brockett at Ichcaanzihoo. The skin of the jaguar shall be spread out in the marketplace. The water-tank is its tidings. There are rains of little profit, rains from a rabbit sky, rains from a parched sky, rains from a woodpecker sky, high rains, rains from a vulture sky, crested rains, deer rains. Then descends the thrice raised leaf of the *zil*-palm. There is fighting; there is a year of locusts. The diminished remainder <of the population> is hanged. They are defeated in war. Sad shall be the havoc at the cross-roads. There are the lords of the army; their souls cry out at the opening up of the town ...

Behold, I am Katun 3 Ahau. My town of Ichcaanzihoo is founded. Behold, I am Caesar Augustus. . . . I receive my donation in the heart of the forest



The first <katun>.

Katun I Ahau is the seventh katun. The katun is established at Emal. At that time Ix Puc-yola and Ox Ualacii shall come. The rope shall descend, the cord shall descend. There comes from heaven the word of the true path. Through it will come the fulfilment of the word of the Lord of heaven, the true word.

FIG. 36--The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

The dog is its tidings; the vulture is its tidings. The flag is the second of the figures <drawn above>. The opossum is its face to the rulers. Thrice impeded are their thought and speech, thrice impeded their manhood, thrice impeded their flint knife among the rulers, among the wise men. Then came Hunpic-ti-ax as an affliction, the jaguar and Canul for an affliction. These were the eaters of their food, the destroyers of their crops, the *boboch* the destroyer of food. For seven years there is the affliction of Hunpic-ti-ax; for seven years there is the affliction of Canul. Then the justice of our Lord, God, shall descend upon carnal sin, upon the worthless rabble of the town, upon the lewd rogue, the rascal. After that there shall come another word, another teaching, but the Maya men shall not admit it to their hearts. The word of God, the Father of Heaven, shall be sung among them that they may correct their ways, that they may turn their backs upon their evil ways, the usages among Maya men; but they will not wish to listen to the word of God, when they should rather respect the judges as their fathers. The hearts of the head-chiefs of the world shall be sad. They believe little, nor do they even believe that. So you say. The blessed among those in authority are set apart. Fire shall be kindled with a fire-drill as a sign of the Maya Virgin. Hunab-ku is in his only virgin Church, where he cries out. There is heard the word of the Lord of Heaven, the Lord on earth. The entire world shall be sad when he comes. The wing of the land shall shake, the center of the land shall shake when he comes in his time. Then there shall occur the obedience of the

foreigners of Bentana <to> the word of God. Thrice shall the justice of our Lord descend to the world. Then a great army shall descend upon the worthless rabble of the town, that it may be known whether their faith is truly firm. Then descended the governor. There shall begin the tearing out of the eyes: of the rogue who incites riot, of the great rascal, of the great hawk of the town, of the fox of the town. Then the eternal ruler shall come to cut the cord from the burden of misery, the ruler who appraises. Then sickness, the result of guilt, shall descend, the punishment of all the world shall come from heaven, with it the drought. At that time it shall be all over the world. The remainder of the guardians of the sands, the guardians of the sea, shall be detained together such as the people of Uaymil, such as the people of Emal. The rest of them shall be assembled in great numbers by the sea at the end of the katun. Thus it is seen that the fold of the katun is brought about. Then the flag shall be raised. Then there is an end to the importunity of the devil, of Antichrist. <There is> knife-thrusting strife, purse-snatching strife, strife with the blow-gun, strife by trampling on people, stonethrowing strife. The fighting ends in the heart of the forest where Cæsar Augustus receives his donation. <There is> sudden death with hunger; the vultures enter, the houses <because> of the pestilence. There is sad havoc with flies <swarming> at the cross-roads, and at the four resting places <at the four corners>. There is oppression of the younger brothers, flaying of the sons; it comes to the world. Then arrives the ruler to propound the riddle to them. His face is that of a war-captain, of the son of God. After that there is the arrival of the Bishop, the Holy Inquisition as it is called, and Saul. They ask for penitence and Christianity. There is an end to greed, an end to vexation in the world. This shall be the end of its prophecy: there is a great war. The Chan<s> shall rise up in war with the five divisions of Chakan, an army of Chan<s> in Katun I Ahau. A parching whirlwind storm is the charge of the katun. There is a series of rains, rain from a rabbit-sky <during> the evil katun. There is a sudden end to planting. Then the burden of legal summons descends; tribute descends; the proof is sought, with seven fathoms . . ., when the serving of God is strongly urged. It is the end of receiving the money of Antichrist. Antichrist does not come, our Lord God does not desire it. The katun is not ruined here in our land by the natives of our land. This was the origin of Antichrist, it was avarice; but before the coming of the mighty men there was no robbery by violence, there was no greed and striking down one's fellow man in his blood, at the cost of the poor man, at the expense of the food of each and every one. In time to come there shall be five fruits of the tree for the food of the kinkajou, the man of Bentana. Alas, there is sorrow in the heart of the Lord of Heaven. Smallpox is the end of the prophecy of the katun. An army shall come forth from Havana <with> a fleet of thirteen ships.

The second <katun>.



FIG. 37--The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

Katun 12 Ahau is the eighth katun of the count. The katun is established at Zaclahtun. Yaxal Chuen is his face, Buleu-caan-chac is his face to the rulers. He shall manifest himself. He is in the sky by day; he is in the sky by night. The great artisan, the wise man <shall come>. There are kind head-chiefs, kind chiefs; kindness and joy is the law of the entire world. Poor men become rich. Abundance of bread is the word of the katun. It is a rich year; there is an accumulation of wealth also. The katun is good. The rains are good ones; the fruit will form. Then they come forth from among the rocks to Christianity, where God is. There shall be neither the fox nor the kinkajou that will bite. Then penitence is sought of the town officials, <with the opening of> the golden gates and the town marriages in the official building.



FIG. 38--The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

Then our sandals are sought for, in the time of our Christianity. This is a new day which dawns for us; this is what you tell of today. This shall be the end of the katun of carnal sin. Soon shall it end. The law of the ruler comes. Then there shall come the Seven Mountains, the Red Star, and in the wind-swollen sky <there shall be> the House of Storms, in the 17th tun.

The third <katun>.

Katun 10 Ahau, the katun is established at Chable. The ladder is set up over the rulers of the land. The hoof shall burn; the sand by the seashore shall burn; the bird's nest shall burn. The rocks shall crack <with the heat>; drought is the charge of the katun. It is the word of our Lord God the Father and of the Mistress of Heaven, the portent of the katun. No one shall arrest the word of our Lord God, God the Son, the Lord of Heaven and earth. There shall not be lacking that which shall, through his power, come to pass all over the world. Holy Christianity shall come bringing with it the time when the stupid ones who speak our language badly shall turn from their evil ways. No one shall prevent it; this then is the drought. Sufficient is the word for the Maya priests, the word of God.

8 Ahau is the <next> fold, the fourth <katun>.

The fourth <katun>.



FIG. 39--The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.).

Katun 8 Ahau is the ninth katun. The katun is established at Izamal. There is Kinich Kakmo. The shield shall descend, the arrow shall descend <upon Chakanputun> together with the rulers of the land. The heads of the foreigners to the land were cemented <into the wall> at Chakanputun. There is an end of greed; there is an end to causing vexation in the world. It is the word of God the Father. Much fighting shall be done by the natives of the land.

The fifth <katun>.

Katun 6 Ahau is the tenth katun according to the count. The katun is established at Uxmal. <The katun monuments> are set up on their own bases. Shameless is his speech, shameless his face to the rulers. They shall be the inventors of lewd speech, and then God the Father shall descend to cut their throats because of their sins. Then they shall be regenerated; the judgment of our Lord God shall unite them until they enter into Christianity with their families. As many as are born here on earth shall enter into Christianity.



FIG. 40--The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

The first <katun>.

Katun 4 Ahau is the eleventh katun according to the count. The katun is established at Chichen Itzá. The settlement of the Itzá shall take place <there>. The quetzal shall come, the green bird shall come. Ah Kantenal shall come. Blood-vomit shall come. Kukulcan shall come with them for the second time. <It is> the word of God. The Itzá shall come.



FIG. 41--The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)



FIG. 42--The lord of the katun. (Chumayel MS.)

The second <katun>.

Katun 2 Ahau is the twelfth katun. At Maya [uaz] Cuzamil the katun is established. For half <the katun> there will be bread; for half <the katun> there will be water. <It is> the word of God. For half of it there will be a temple for the rulers. <It is> the end of the word of God.

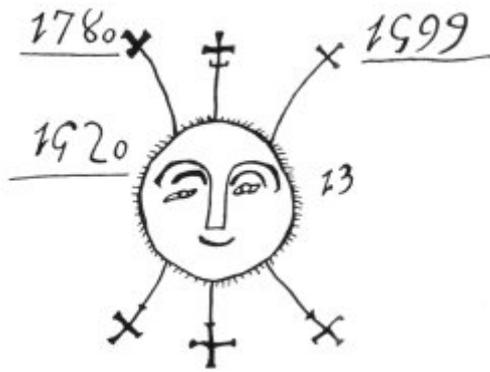


FIG. 43--The lord of the katun.
(Chumayel MS.)

The third <katun>.

The judgment.

It is Katun 13 Ahau according to the count. The katun is established at Kinchil Coba, the thirteenth katun. The bouquet of the rulers of the world shall be displayed. There is the universal judgment of our Lord God. Blood shall descend from the tree and stone. Heaven and earth shall burn. It is the word of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit. It is the holy judgment, the holy judgment of our Lord God. There shall be no strength in heaven

and earth. Great cities shall enter into Christianity, any settlements of people whatever, the great towns, whatever their names are as well as the little towns, all over our land of Maya Cuzamil Mayapan. <It shall be> for our two-day men, because of lewdness . . . the sons of malevolence. At the end of our blindness and shame our sons shall be regenerated from carnal sin. There is no lucky day for us. It is the cause of death from bad blood, when the moon rises, when the moon sets, the entire moon, <this was> its power; <it was> all blood. So it was with the good planets <which were> looked upon as good. It is the end of the word of God. The waters of baptism shall come over them, the Holy Spirit. They receive the holy oil without compulsion; it comes from God. There are too many Christians who go to those who deny the holy faith, . . . <to> the Itzá and the *balams*. There is then an end to our losing. . .

(Page 101 is left blank in the Chilam Balam of Chumayel. It contains a note in a modern hand stating that a page of the book is missing here.)

XXIII (THE LAST JUDGMENT)

The judgment of God for the righteous: "Come unto me ye blessed of my Father, inherit the eternal glory prepared by my Father for you since the beginning of the world. You have kept my commandments; you have done penance when you sinned against me. Therefore come ye to heaven." Then he turns his gaze upon the sinners with whom he is angered. "Depart from me ye accursed of my Father into the eternal fire of hell which is prepared for the Devil by my Father. You have despised me, your Father, me, your Redeemer. You have despised my commandments with the commandment of the Devil. Go ye therefore with him to eternal misery." Then the wicked men shall go to hell, but the good men shall go to Heaven with our Father, God, to eternal glory comparable to the glory of Jehoshaphat. There are three men, the true servants of God, well beloved of God. Elias, and Methuselah and Enoch are their names; they are living to this day. They are ordained by God to guard his seats. Our Lord God shall call a reckoning in a valley in the land, a great open savannah. There he shall sit upon his throne. The entire world shall assemble <there>. The sheep shall be set apart; they shall be on his right hand. The goats shall be set apart; they shall be on his left hand. On his left shall be the wicked men; those who have not fulfilled all the commandments of God shall then go to the eternal misery of hell, sunk in the earth, oppressed by <the Sins> of our first parents. But the good men who have fulfilled the commandments of God shall be at the right hand of the great Lord God. "Come, ye men blessed of my Father and take the kingdom prepared for you since the beginning of the world." Then a great cloud shall gather, black in the sky, down to the face of the earth. Like a trumpet is the joyful song of the Angels. It is beautiful beyond comparison. The true God shall arise, the Lord of heaven and earth.

XXIV (PROPHECIES OF A NEW RELIGION)

These are the words which were composed to admonish the fatherless ones, the motherless ones. These words are to be treasured as a precious jewel is treasured. They are concerning the coming introduction of Christianity, <and were spoken> at Tancah Mayapan <and> at Chichen Itzá in the time of the Zuyua people, in the time of the Itzá. A new wisdom shall dawn upon the world universally, in the east, north, west and south. It shall come from the mouth of God the Father. Those who recorded it were the five priests, the holy priests who came into the presence of God. They recorded the charge of misfortune when the introduction of Christianity came.

Here are their names written down:

1. Chilam Balam, the great priest.
2. Napuctun, the great priest.
3. Nahau Pech, the great priest.
4. Ah Kuil Chel, the great priest.
5. Natzin Yabun Chan, the great priest.

<Like> a servant of God who bends his back over virgin soil, they recorded the charge of misery in the presence of our Lord God: the introduction of Christianity occurs; blood-vomit, pestilence, drought, a year of locusts, smallpox are the charge of misery, <also> the importunity of the devil. There shall be a white circle in the sky. It shall burn on earth in Katun 3 Ahau, in Katun 1 Ahau, the worst of three katuns. Just as it was written by the Evangelists and the prophet Balam, it came from the mouth of the Lord of heaven and earth. Then the priests set it down in holy writ at the time of the great drought at Lahun Chable in <the time of> Christianity. Then Saul and Don Antonio Martínez shall come to avenge their descendants. The day has dawned. So it is written in the command of the great priest, the prophet of Chilam Balam and in the chest of manuscripts. Amen Jesus.

The Interpretation <of> the histories of Yucatan.

The priests, the prophecy <of> Napuctun.

It shall burn on earth; there shall be a circle in the sky. Kauil shall be set up; he shall be set up in front in time to come. It shall burn on earth; the <very> hoof shall burn in that katun, in the time which is to come. Fortunate is he who shall see it when the prophecy is declared, who shall weep over his misfortunes in time to come.

The prophecy of Ah Kuil Chel, the priest.

When the end of the katun shall come, lord, ye shall not understand when it comes. Who shall believe it at the rolling up of the mat of the katun? The end shall come because of misery. It comes from the north, it comes from the west at that time when it shall be, lord. Who then shall be the priest, who then <shall be> the prophet who will declare truly the word of the book, lord, in <Katun> 9 Ahau? Ye shall not understand, <ye people> in every part of the world . . . shall be cleansed of shame. Oh <there was>

joy among the rulers, pleasure among the rulers of the land. Acknowledge it in your hearts, ye Itzá.

The prophecy of Nahau Pech the great priest.

At that time when the sun shall stand high <in the heavens>, lord, when the ruler has had compassion, in the fourth katun it shall come to pass, the tidings of God are truly brought. They ask perchance what I recommend, lord. You see your guests upon the road, oh Itzá! It is the fathers of the land who will arrive. <This prophecy> comes from the mouth of Nahau Pech, the priest in the time of Katun 4 Ahau at the end of the katun, lord.

The food of the ant<-like> men shall be destroyed. They shall be at the end of their food <-supply> because of the *bobocho* <which takes their> food, the great hawk <which takes their> food, the ant, the cowbird, the grackle, the blackbird, the mouse.

The prophecy of Natzin Yabun Chan.

There was the word of the true God in the land. You shall await the coming forth, lord, of his priests who will bring it in time to come. Give your understanding to his word, to his admonition. Fortunate are you who truly receive it. Forsake those things which you have held sacred, oh Itzá; forget your perishable gods, your transitory gods. Of all things he is the ruler, lord, the creator of all heaven and earth. It is to your hearts that I speak, oh Maya Itzá. You shall not desire another God <than> the true God according to your <own> words. You shall take to heart the word of my admonition.

The prophecy of Chilam Balam, the singer, of Cabal-chen, Mani.

On <the day> 13 Ahau the katun will end in the time of the Itzá, in the time of Tanchah <Mayapan>, lord. There is the sign of Hunab-ku on high. The raised wooden standard shall come. It shall be displayed to the world, that the world may be enlightened, lord. There has been a beginning of strife, there has been a beginning of rivalry, when the priestly man shall come to bring the sign <of God> in time to come, lord. A quarter of a league, a league <away> he comes. You see the *mut*-bird surmounting the raised wooden standard. A new day shall dawn in the north, in the west.

Itzamná Kauil shall rise. Our lord comes, Itzá. Our elder brother comes, <oh> men of Tantun. Receive your guests, the bearded men, the men of the east, the bearers of the sign of God, lord. Good indeed is the word of God that comes to us. The day of our regeneration comes. You do not fear the world, Lord, you are the only God who created us. It is sufficient, then, that the word of God is good, lord. <He is> the guardian of our souls. He who receives him, who has truly believed, he will go to heaven with him. Nevertheless <at> the beginning were the two-day men.

Let us exalt his sign on high, let us exalt it <that we may gaze upon it today> with the raised standard. Great is the discord that arises today. The First Tree of the World is restored; it is displayed to the world. This is the sign of Hunab-ku on high. Worship it, Itzá. You shall worship today his sign on high. You shall worship it furthermore with true good will, and you shall worship the true God today, lord. You shall be converted to the word of Hunab-ku, lord; it came from heaven. Oh it is he who speaks to you! Be

admonished indeed, Itzá. They will correct their ways who receive him in their hearts in another katun, lord.

Believe in my word itself, I am Chilam Balam, and I have interpreted the entire message of the true God <of> the world; it is heard in every part of the world, lord, the word of God, the Lord of heaven and earth. Very good indeed is his word in heaven, lord.

He is ruler over us; he is the true God over our souls.

But those to whom <the word> is brought, lord: thrice weighed down is their strength, the younger brothers native to the land. Their hearts are submerged <in sin>. Their hearts are dead in their carnal sins. They are frequent backsliders, the principal ones who spread <sin>, Nacxit Xuchit in the carnal sin of his companions, the two-day rulers. <They sit> crookedly on their thrones; crookedly in carnal sin. Two-day men they call them. For two days <endure> their seats, their cups, their hats. They are the unrestrained lewd ones of the day, the unrestrained lewd ones of the night, the rogues of the world. They twist their necks, they wink their eyes, they slaver at the mouth, at the rulers of the land, lord. Behold, when they come, there is no truth in the words of the foreigners to the land. They tell very solemn and mysterious things, the sons of the men of Seven-deserted-buildings, the offspring of the women of Seven-deserted-buildings, lord.

Who will be the prophet, who will be the priest who shall interpret truly the word of the book?

APPENDIX A THE FOUR WORLD-QUARTERS

Few religious ideas were more widely spread among the aboriginal peoples of America than that of the sacred character of the four cardinal points. The Plains Indians of North America are said to ascribe the origin of this conception to the apparent motions of the sun to the east, north, west and south, and the same explanation would appear to hold good for the peoples of Central America. The Maya connected the idea with a system of color symbolism: red with the east, white with the north, black with the west and yellow with the south. In the Dresden Codex we frequently find the glyphs for these directions associated with those representing the four colors in the order named. Each successive year followed the same rotation according to the day with which it began. The Kan years were ascribed to the east, the Muluc years to the north, the Ix years to the west and the Cauac years to the south, as shown by the calendar wheel of the Book of Chilam Balam of Ixil. The same system governed the katun-wheel, only here we find whole groups of katuns associated with each of the cardinal points, as we see from the wheel on page of the present work. On pages 41 and 42 of the Maya Codex Cortesianus there is a picture of the four world-quarters, each marked with its appropriate glyph, and in the Mexican Codex Fejérváry-Mayer is a similar picture showing the trees and birds mentioned in Chapter X of the Chumayel. It is evident that the Mexican and Maya myths relating to this subject were very similar in some respects.

In Chapter X we have seen how the gods set up the four Trees of Abundance at the cardinal points to commemorate the previous destruction of the world. Like the conventionalized trees of the Palenque reliefs, the so-called crosses, these trees were surmounted by birds of mythological significance. From the four world-quarters came the winds, and here in all probability were the four great jars of water which supplied the rains. According to the Mexican version of this myth the rain was favorable or unfavorable to the crops depending on the cardinal point from which it came.

From Landa we learn that "among the multitude of gods worshipped by these people they adored four, each of whom was called Bacab. These, they said, were four brothers whom God, when he created the world, placed at its four quarters to hold up the sky, so that it should not fall. They also state that these Bacabs were saved when the world was destroyed by a deluge. Other names are <also> given to each of these, and with them they designate the world quarter where God set them to hold up the sky." The same writer goes on to tell us their names. In the east was Chacal Bacab, literally the Red Bacab, whose name was Cantzicnal, and Landa also ascribes to him the names Chac Pauhtun and Chac-xib-chac. In the north was Zac-cimi, as Zacal Bacab, or the White Bacab, was named, and he is also called Zac Pauhtun and Zac-xib-chac. In the west was Hozan-ek, or Ekel Bacab, the Black Bacab, also called Ek Pauhtun and Ek-xib-chac. In the south was Hobnil, or Kanal Bacab, the Yellow Bacab, to whom Landa also gives the names, Kan Pauhtun and Kan-xib-chac. Connected with the worship of these Bacabs were four stones, the Red, White, Black and Yellow Acantuns, which were anointed with the blood of the worshippers. Acantun might be translated as stone stela, and each of these probably had its mythological counterpart at one of the four cardinal points.

In the Motul Dictionary the word *bacab* is defined as "*representante*," possibly indicating that the Bacabs were the representatives of the gods. They were the advocates

or patrons of the bee-keepers, and it has been thought that their name was in some way connected with bees or honey, as *cab* can mean honey and bee-hive as well as earth and land. In the ritual in Chapter I we have noted that there were red, white, black and yellow bees, each sort ascribed to the world-quarter corresponding to their color. Of the individual names of the Bacabs, Cantzicnal and Hozan-ek mean little to the writer. *Zac-cimi* means a swoon, and *Hobnil*, which primarily means something hollow, is a term applied to a bee-hive, probably because it is made of the hollow section of a tree-trunk.

It seems likely that the four Pauahtuns were not quite the same as the Bacabs. Brinton gives an account of the *misa milpera*, or cornfield mass, as described by Baeza in a report written in 1813. Here it is stated that "they are identical with the winds, and the four cardinal points from which they blow," and we find this confirmed in Chapter XI of the Chumayel which contains the Ritual of the Angels. In the modern ceremonies the red, white and black wind-spirits are identified with St. Dominic, St. Gabriel, and St. James; only the Yellow Pauahtun has the name of a Maya deity. This is *Ix-Kan-le-ox*, the goddess named for the yellow ramon leaf. The word, *Pauahtun*, is difficult to translate. The last two syllables, *Uah* and *tun*, suggest a stone or a pillar set up or erected; but they are evidently personages, and the writer is inclined to identify them with the "angels" described by Landa in his account of the ceremonies preceding the New Year. We have already seen in Chapter XI that the four Pauahtuns were set up before the world was created and were either identical or closely associated with the wind-spirits. Possibly they occupied the same position in the heavens that the Bacabs did on the earthly plane.

Landa has also ascribed to the four Bacabs the names, *Chac-xib-chac*, *Zac-xib-chac*, *Ek-xib-chac* and *Kan-xib-chac*. These appear to be the rain-gods who were four in number and were set at the four cardinal points. The author of the Motul Dictionary considers them to be one person and states that *Chaac* "was a gigantic man who taught agriculture and whom they later considered the god of bread, water, thunder and lightning." The names given by Landa could be translated as the Red, White, Black and Yellow male Chacs, or rain-gods.

We find in Landa a detailed description of the ceremonies performed on the five unlucky days which concluded the year. Although they have been considered New Year's ceremonies, in each case the Bacabs and other personages belong to the year which is ending, and not to the coming year for which they are said to be the augury. On pages 25 to 28 of the Dresden Codex is the portrayal of some very similar ceremonies which Selser has analysed and compared with the Landa account.

APPENDIX B

THE SACRIFICIAL CENOTE AT CHICHEN ITZA

Chichen Itzá was at one time not only the greatest and most powerful city in Yucatan, but it was a sacred city as well, a center of pilgrimage to which people flocked from every part of the peninsula and from foreign countries also to make offerings of gold, incense, copper, precious stones and human victims. The city owed its reputation for sanctity to its cenote, or natural well, which was believed to be inhabited by the gods and the spirits of the illustrious dead. It is a great cup-shaped depression in the earth with perpendicular walls, about seventy feet down to the surface of the water and about one hundred and seventy feet across. The sacred well served no utilitarian purpose; the city obtained its water from another more convenient cenote and several artificial wells.

We first hear of the Sacrificial Cenote from Bishop Landa who mentions it several times in his report on the natives of Yucatan. He gives an account of human sacrifice and adds: "Besides killing people in their towns, they had two infamous sanctuaries at Chichen Itzá and Cozumel, where they sent an infinite number of wretched people to be sacrificed. At the former they were flung headlong down a precipice, and at the latter they tore out their hearts." "From the court facing these theaters (two stone platforms in front of the main temple) a broad and handsome causeway led to a well about twice a stone's throw distant. Into this well it was their custom to cast living men as a sacrifice to the Gods in times of drought; and it was their belief that they did not die, although they never saw them any more. They also threw in many other things of precious stone and articles which they highly prized. Thus if this land had contained gold, this well would hold the largest part of it, so devoted were the Indians to it. It is a well with a depth of seven times a man's height down to the water and a breadth of more than one hundred feet. It is round with a sheer precipice down to the water which is extraordinary. The water appears to be very green, and I believe that this is caused by the thicket of trees with which it is surrounded. It is also very deep. Above, close to its mouth, is a small structure where I found idols made in honor of all the principal edifices of the country, almost like the Pantheon at Rome. I do not know whether this was a device of the ancients or of the moderns in order to encounter their idols when they came to this well with offerings. I found pumas carved in the round, (stone) jars and other things such that I do not know how anyone can say that these people did not have steel tools. I also found two men of great stature each carved from a single block of stone, naked but their modesty preserved by the coverings the Indians formerly used. They had separate heads with ear-rings in the ears such as the Indians used to wear. There was a tenon at the back of the neck which fitted into a deep hole made for it which was also in the neck. When fitted together it made a complete figure." Landa also tells us "that they held Cozumel and the well at Chichen Itzá in as great veneration as we do the pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome."

A report by the municipality of Valladolid written in 1579 covers a number of details omitted by Landa. Here we read: "This pyramid (the principal temple of the city) lies between two cenotes of very deep water. One of these is called the Sacrificial Cenote. Chichen Itzá was named for an Indian who lived beside the Sacrificial Cenote and who was called Ah Kin Itzá. It was the custom of the lords and nobles of all these provinces of Valladolid to fast for sixty days without raising their eyes during this time even to look at their wives or those who brought them their food. And this they did in order, when they should arrive at the mouth of that cenote, to cast into it at break of day some

Indian women of each of these lords. They had told them that they should ask for an abundant year <and> all those things which occurred to them. Thus when these Indian women were thrown in without being bound but flung down as from a cliff, they fell into the water striking it with great force. Precisely at mid-day the one who was to come forth made a great outcry for them to let down a rope to draw her out. When she came up half dead, they built large fires about her perfuming her with copal incense. After she recovered consciousness, she said that down below there were many of her nation, both men and women, and that they received her; but when she raised her head to look at any of them, they struck her with heavy blows on the back of the neck so that she should keep her head bowed. This was all within the water, below which there were believed to be many hollows and pits. And they replied to her whether there would be an abundant year or a bad one according to the questions which the Indian woman asked of them. And if the devil was angered with any of the lords who threw in the Indian women, when none asked to be drawn out at precisely noon, they knew that he was angry with them and that she would never more come forth. In this it rather resembles what occurred at the cave of Salamanca. Then when it was seen that she was not coming out, that lord and all of his <men> threw great stones into the water and fled precipitately from the place making a great outcry."

We have seen in the Chumayel, however, that one man at least did not flee in terror from the cenote when none of the messengers to the gods returned. This was Hunac Ceel, later the head-chief of Mayapan who conquered Chichen Itzá and drove out its inhabitants. He was evidently of the stuff of which rulers are made, a man with sufficient courage and force of character to shape his own destiny. When no one appeared on the surface of the water crying to be drawn out, he realized that the prophecy must be obtained at any cost. "It was Cauich, Hunac Ceel, Cauich, was the name of the man there who put out his head over the mouth of the well on the south side. Then he went to get it. Then he came forth to declare the prophecy." There can be but one interpretation of this terse statement: Hunac Ceel cast himself into the cenote and returned from its depths bringing the desired prophecy.

In his account of the visit of Father Alonso Ponce to Yucatan in the summer of 1588, Antonio de Ciudad Real, the reputed author of the Motul Dictionary, tells of the Sacrificial Cenote at Chichen Itzá and adds the detail that "they even say that in the wall of this well or *zonote* there is a cave which enters a considerable distance within <the cliff>." In his description of the ruins of Mayapan the same writer describes the principal pyramid and states: "Near the foot of this *mul* (pyramid) there is a very deep *zonote* with a very flat stone at the edge of its mouth from which (as they say) they flung down those whom they sacrificed to their gods." Stephens found a cenote at Mayapan near the base of one of the larger pyramids there but states that it was in a cave. "The entrance was by a broken, yawning mouth, steep, and requiring some care in the descent."

Long after Chichen Itzá ceased to be of political importance, its sacred cenote continued to draw pilgrims. The last pilgrimage of which we have any knowledge was in 1536, and although its members never reached the holy spot, the event had considerable influence on the history of the country. "The Spaniards having gone forth from Yucatan (1535), there was a scarcity of water in the land, and as they had used their maize recklessly in the wars with the Spaniards, there came upon them a great hunger, so great that they were even brought to eat the bark of trees, especially one which they called

cumche, which is soft and tender inside. On account of this famine the Xiu who are Lords of Mani resolved to make a solemn sacrifice to the idols, bearing certain slaves, both men and maidens, to be thrown into the well of Chichen Itzá, and to reach which they have to pass by the town of the Lords Cocomes, their principal enemies, and so thinking that at such a time ancient passions would not be renewed in this land, they (the Xiu) sent to them (the Cocom) asking them to let them (the Xiu) pass through their land. And the Cocomes deceived them with a fair reply, and giving them shelter all together in one great house they set fire to it and slew those who escaped, and for this reason there were great wars." Here we have the complete story of the murder of Napot Xiu mentioned on pages [138](#), [142](#) and [146](#) of the present work. From this it would appear that the rain-god was one of the divinities who dwelt in the Sacrificial Cenote.

In a report written in 1581 by one of the early Spanish settlers who tells us that he received much of his information from Gaspar Antonio Chi, we read: "At one time all this land was under the dominion of a lord who dwelt at the ancient city of Chichen Itzá and to whom all the lords of this province were tributaries. And even from without the province, from Mexico, Guatemala, Chiapas and other provinces they sent them presents in token of peace and friendship." [3](#) We can not but believe that these foreign embassies, which must have traveled for weeks through tropical forests, swamps and waterless wastes to reach a far-off city in northeastern Yucatan, were motivated more by the religious veneration which its famous sanctuary enjoyed than by the political prestige which its rulers enjoyed in such a distant country.

APPENDIX C

THE HUNAC CEEL EPISODE

The conquest of Chichen Itzá by Hunac Ceel and his allies is without doubt one of the most interesting and puzzling episodes in Maya history. It might well be called the Trojan War of Yucatan, for tradition ascribes as its cause the theft of the wife of a powerful ruler by the chieftain of another great and famous city. As in the case of its classical counterpart, the immediate cause of the trouble may have been the abduction of the wife, but the struggle doubtless originated in political jealousies of long standing and the desire of one city to obtain control of economic resources previously enjoyed by another.

From about the year 1000 A.D. the three cities of Chichen Itzá, Mayapan and Uxmal had ruled over the rest of northern Yucatan, and there is evidence that the most powerful of them was Chichen Itzá. Then late in the Twelfth Century, Hunac Ceel, the ruler of Mayapan, organized a conspiracy against Chichen Itzá, as the result of which he conquered the latter city aided by seven foreign Mexican captains and probably also by the people of Izamal. The consequences were far-reaching. Not only was there a permanent readjustment of the political forces of northern Yucatan by which the country was governed solely from Mayapan for the next two centuries and a half, but also it resulted in the migration of a considerable portion of the Itzá nation to the distant region of Lake Peten in what is now the Republic of Guatemala.

The [outstanding](#) personality of the episode was Hunac Ceel. Although we do not know the details of his conspiracy, it is evident that he played a sinister part in the affair. Incomplete accounts of the event occur in the formal chronicles of the Books of Chilam Balam, and confused details are also contributed by the fragmentary historical narratives which are to be found in these manuscripts. The episode still remains a puzzle, because these details are given in a more or less incoherent form and it is difficult to determine the order in which they occurred.

We have seen a number of references to the event in the present work, but the most complete account is to be found in the chronicle of the Book of Chilam Balam of Mani which is as follows: "In <Katun> 8 Ahau the *halach-uinic*, or head-chief, of Chichen Itzá was driven out because of the treachery of Hunac Ceel; and this happened to Chac-xib-chac of Chichen Itzá because of the treachery of Hunac Ceel, the head-chief of Mayapan, the fortress. Four score years and ten years; it was in Tun 10 of <Katun> 8 Ahau. That was the year when <Chichen Itzá> was depopulated by Ah Zinteyut Chan, Tzuntecum, Taxcal, Pantemit, Xucheueut, Itzcuat and Kakaltecat. It was in this same Katun 8 Ahau that they went to drive out Ah Ulmil, the ruler, because of the banquet with Ulil, the ruler of Itzmal. It was thirteen folds of katuns when they were driven out by Hunac Ceel because of the giving of the questionnaire."

So far as we can tell from our present knowledge of Maya history, this appears to have been a struggle between two branches of the Itzá nation, one of which was at Chichen Itzá and the other at Mayapan. The Itzá occupation of Chichen Itzá in the Tenth Century is well known, and we learn from the *Relaciones de Yucatan* that "Izamal was conquered by Kak-u-pacal and Uilo, valorous captains of the Itzá who were the people who founded Mayapan." Moreover this was not the first conflict between these two Itzá factions, for we have already seen in the third Chumayel chronicle that Chakanputun,

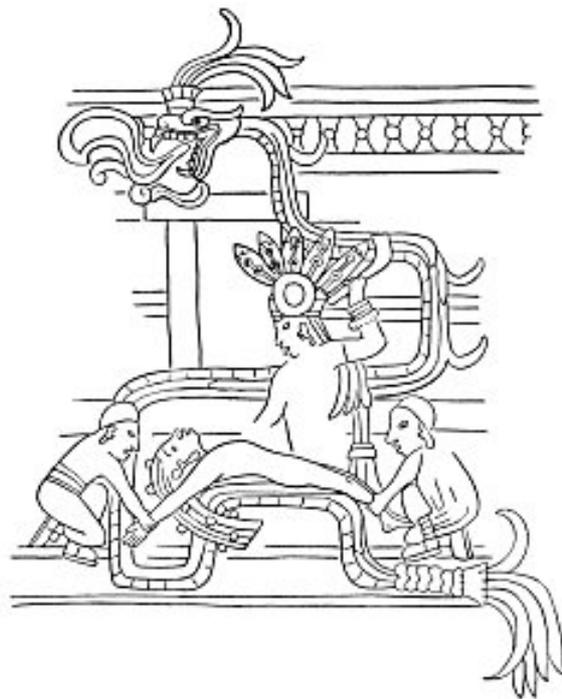
the former home of the inhabitants of Chichen Itzá, was depopulated by the same Kaku-pacal and Uilo (or Uilu) in the Tenth Century A.D. It has never been satisfactorily explained just who the Itzá were. Although their connection with the history of Yucatan began at a very early period, the native literature always refers to them as a people apart. They were feared and hated, but at the same time regarded as holy men. They spoke the Maya language, but are called *ah-nunob* which means "those who speak our language brokenly." Their customs were certainly different from those of the rest of the people of northern Yucatan, for they are called rogues, people without fathers or mothers and people who are disobedient to their fathers and mothers. Indeed this last epithet was a very mild statement of the facts in the case, for Avendaño tells us that they had the custom of beheading the older men when they passed the age of fifty, "so that they shall not learn to be wizards and to kill; except the priests of their idols, for whom they have great respect."

Of special interest is the part taken in the conquest of Chichen Itzá by the seven men of Mayapan. Brinton has noted that their names have a Nahuatl appearance, which seems to confirm the statements of Landa and Herrera that at one time the rulers of Mayapan brought in Mexican warriors from the province of Tabasco to assist them in controlling the Maya inhabitants of northern Yucatan. These were the people called Ah Canul who later settled in the province of that name in western Yucatan after the fall of Mayapan.

In the second Chumayel chronicle we read: "then came the treachery of Hunac Ceel. Their town (Chichen Itzá) was abandoned, and they went into the heart of the forest to Tan-xuluc-mul, as it is called." This is important, for Avendaño locates this place near Lake Peten, around which the Itzá were living at the time of the Spanish Conquest of Mexico and northern Yucatan. Here they maintained their independence until the close of the Seventeenth Century. They told Father Fuensalida, a Spanish missionary who visited them in 1618, that they had come there from Chichen Itzá. According to their story, in a certain Katun 8 Ahau one of their rulers at Chichen Itzá stole the bride of another more powerful chieftain during the wedding festivities. Fearing the consequences of the act, the offender and his subjects abandoned their city and retired to Lake Peten. The connection of this event with the Hunac Ceel episode is further confirmed by the historical fragment in the Book of Chilam Balam of Mani which tells of the same affair. Here it is stated that an unspecified person "sinned against Ah Ulil, the ruler <of Izamal>, against the wife of his fellow-ruler." We conclude that it was the ruler of Izamal whose bride was stolen. Why it was Hunac Ceel and his Mexican captains who avenged the offense by the sack of Chichen Itzá, and why the Maya chronicles ascribe the trouble to the treachery of Hunac Ceel, is a problem which the writer is unable to solve.

It appears that the city of Izamal had another grievance against Chichen Itzá, but the precise nature of it is uncertain. In the obscurely written historical fragment already cited we read that the son (or possibly the sons) of "holy Izamal" was given in tribute (or perhaps put under tribute) to feed and nourish Hapay Can. We have seen in Chapter II of the present work that after the fall of Chichen Itzá and the degradation of Chac-xib-chac Hapay Can was taken to Uxmal, where he was pierced by an arrow. Unfortunately we are nowhere told who or what Hapay Can was. The translation of the name is Sucking-snake. The Lacandons still believe in an evil spirit of this name who drew people to him with his breath and killed them. At the end of the world the chief god of the Lacandons will wear the body of Hapay Can around his waist as a belt. The

historical fragment cited above would imply that this fabulous serpent actually ate the son of the ruler of Izamal, but the writer would suggest the two following interpretations of the statement. Either Hapay Can was an idol at Chichen Itzá to which the people of Izamal were sacrificed, or else it was the title of an important personage, perhaps a God Impersonator, at Chichen Itzá who was maintained in state by tribute from Izamal. The latter alternative is favored by the statement that he was pierced by an arrow at Uxmal, which suggests a person, while the former is supported by the mural fresco in the Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itzá, where we see the sacrifice of a human victim who lies stretched across one of the coils of a huge plumed serpent. We can find no confirmation for the possibility that there was a sacred serpent at Chichen Itzá which was actually fed with human victims.



*FIG. 44--Human sacrifice scene. Temple of the Warriors, Chichen Itzá.
(Restored by Ann Axtell Morris.)*

In any case Chichen Itzá was depopulated at this time, and the inhabitants fled to Tanxuluc-mul in the region of Lake Peten. Evidently a considerable number of them did not remain permanently in the south, although no doubt many of them did. We have seen in the first Chumayel chronicle that about forty years later, it was in Katun "4 Ahau, when the land of Ich-paa Mayapan was seized by the Itzá men who had been separated from their homes because of the people of Izamal and because of the treachery of Hunac Ceel." This indicates that the inhabitants of Izamal also had a hand in driving out the people of Chichen Itzá. After their return these Itzá appear to have joined forces with their conquered enemies of Mayapan, for from that time down to the fall of the latter city in the middle of the Fifteenth Century we find Mayapan enjoying the hegemony of all northern Yucatan.

After the end of the Twelfth Century we hear nothing more of Chichen Itzá as an important political power, but its sacred cenote continued to be a center of pilgrimage down to the time of the Spanish Conquest.



FIG. 45--Typical Itzá priest. Temple of the Warriors, Chichen Itzá. Drawing by Ann Axtell Morris.

APPENDIX D

THE MAYA PROPHECIES

Prophecy played an important part in the lives of the Maya and occupied a prominent position in their literature. Nor was the Maya prophet without honor in his own country. Foretelling the future was the profession of a special branch of the priesthood, the members of which were called *chilans*. The word means mouthpiece, spokesman or interpreter, and it was the *chilans* who delivered to the people the responses of the gods. They were held in such high esteem that they were carried on men's shoulders when they went abroad. In the Tizimin manuscript we find an account of the manner in which Chilam Balam gave his prophecy, and it is likely that it was the customary method with this class of priests. He retired to a room in his home where he lay prostrate in a trance while the god or spirit, perched on the ridgepole of the house, spoke to the unconscious *chilan* below. Then the other priests assembled, probably in the reception hall of the house, and listened to the revelation with their faces bowed down to the floor.

Broadly speaking, Maya prophecies fall into four classes: day-prophecies, year-prophecies, katun-prophecies and special prophecies of the return of Quetzalcoatl, or Kukulcan as he was called by the Maya.

What we have termed the day-prophecy is more properly a prognostic, probably the business of the *ah-kinyah*, or diviner, rather than that of the *chilan*. Every one of the 260 days of the *tzolkin*, or tonalamatl, is specified as being lucky or unlucky, and many of them are followed by further prognostications telling whether the day is suitable for certain undertakings, lucky for certain professions and trades, auspicious for sowing certain crops, etc. These divinations are probably the scanty remnant of an extensive hieroglyphic literature exemplified by the numerous *tzolkin* series found in the Maya picture manuscripts. Although these almanacs are perhaps the most constant feature of the various Books of Chilam Balam, no series of this sort occurs in the Chumayel.

The predictions for the years, however, fall definitely in the field of genuine prophecy. Two versions of the series of prophecies for the twenty years of a certain Katun 5 Ahau have come down to us in the books of Tizimin and Mani. The one in the latter manuscript is entitled "*Cuceb*," which means squirrel, for some unknown reason. It seems likely that these were originally the predictions corresponding to the twenty tuns of this katun, but the versions which we have, ascribed them to the Maya year, or *haab*, of 365 days, giving the name of the first day of each such year. As in the words of the minor Hebrew prophets, a surprisingly large proportion of the predictions are unfavorable. Drought, famine, pestilence are freely foretold, to say nothing of war, political upheavals, the sacking of towns and the captivity of the inhabitants. Many misfortunes are symbolized by the name of the deity which



FIG. 46--Typical Itzá sorcerer. Temple of the Warriors, Chichen Itzá. Drawing by Ann Axtell Morris.

Taken from the colored fresco reproduced in Morris, Charlott and Morris 193T, Plate 156 c. This personage undoubtedly belongs to the highest priestly class, as he wears not only the hat with green plumes, but also the white robe of the priests of Kukulcan mentioned in the prophecies. For these reasons we are inclined to identify him with the chilán.

brought them, and there are valuable references to religious ceremonies. The latter, coming as they do from a purely native source, are of especial importance, since practically all our knowledge of the Maya religion comes from the accounts of the Spanish missionaries who were obviously prejudiced.

Of all the prophecies, those of the katuns possess the greatest historical interest. As the Maya commentator himself tells us on page 78 of the Chumayel, they are essentially historical in character. This appears to be because whatever has occurred in the past during a certain katun is expected to recur in the future during another katun of the same name. The katun was named for the day Ahau with its numerical coefficient on which the period ended. A katun of the same name recurred after approximately 256 years, consequently at the end of that time history was expected to repeat itself. The events recounted in the Maya Chronicles found in the Mani, Tizimin and Chumayel manuscripts offer excellent grounds for believing that this belief was so strong at times as to actually influence the course of history. A surprisingly large proportion of the important upheavals in Maya history appear to have occurred in some katun named either 4 Ahau or 8 Ahau.

That the katun-prophecies written in European script in the Books of Chilam Balam correspond closely to their original form, is confirmed by the account of Father Avendaño who drew his information from the actual hieroglyphic manuscripts of the independent Itzá. The missionary's familiarity with such books and his ability to read and expound them to the Indians indicate that similar hieroglyphic manuscripts were still available for study in northern Yucatan during the last part of the Seventeenth Century, for the few days he spent at Tayasal certainly did not allow sufficient time to acquire the knowledge.

Avendaño's account explains so well the prophecies in the Books of Chilam Balam that it deserves to be given in full. It is as follows:

"I told them that I wished to speak to them of the old manner of reckoning which they use, both of days, months and years and of the ages, and to find out what age the present one might be (since for them one age consists only of twenty years) and what prophecy there was about the said year and age; for it is all recorded in certain books of a quarter of a yard high and about five fingers broad, made of the bark of trees, folded from one side to the other like screens; each leaf of the thickness of a Mexican *Real* of eight. These are painted on both sides with a variety of figures and characters (of the same kind as the Mexican Indians also used in their old times), which shows not only the count of the said days, months and years, but also the ages and prophecies which their idols and images announced to them, or, to speak more accurately, the devil by means of the worship which they pay to him in the form of some stones. These ages are thirteen in number; each age has its separate idol and its priest, with a separate prophecy of its events. These thirteen ages are divided into thirteen parts, which divide this kingdom of Yucathan and each age, with its idol, priest and prophecy, rules in one of these thirteen parts of this land, according as they have divided it; I do not give the names of the idols, priests or parts of the land, so as not to cause trouble, although I have made a treatise on these old counts with all their differences and explanations, so that they may be evident to all, and the curious may learn them, for if we do not know them, I affirm that the Indians can betray us face to face."

We could hardly ask for a more accurate description of the katun-prophecies as we find them in the Books of Chilam Balam. About the only difference is that they are not written in hieroglyphics. All of them give the name of the katun, the place where it is "established" and a deity who is called "the face of the katun." The last named, however, is not described as an idol, but is said to be in the sky, or heavens. In the

Chumayel and Tizimin manuscripts the prophecy is not accompanied by the name of its corresponding priest, but we find the names of these priests in the Books of Chilam Balam of Mani and Kaua. Of the prophecies themselves, more of them are unfavorable than favorable, but we do not find the complete pessimism which prevails in the year-prophecies.

In the Books of Chilam Balam we find two different series of katun-prophecies, both covering the thirteen katuns which make up the "*u kahlay katunob*," i.e. the record of the katuns. They begin with Katun 11 Ahau, which is called the first katun because it commences with the day 1 Imix, the first day of the *tzol-kin*, or tonalamatl, and ends with Katun 13 Ahau. This period of thirteen katuns is the least common denominator of the 260 day *tzol-kin* and the katun which consists of 7200 days.

The first of these two series is evidently the older, as it takes little account of the events which occurred after the Spanish Conquest, although it does mention the actual conquest. Also its language is somewhat more symbolic than that of the other. The second series of prophecies was probably compiled at some time later than the second decade of the Seventeenth Century, judging from some of the historical allusions which it contains. Most of these allusions, however, date from before the discovery of America.

The second and later series of prophecies is completely recorded in the Chumayel, but of the first, only abbreviated versions of the prophecies for Katuns 11, 4, 2 and 13 Ahau occur. The second series is complete in the Tizimin manuscript, which also contains the prophecies of the first series. In the Books of Chilam Balam of Mani, Oxcutzcab and Kaua only the thirteen prophecies of the first series are to be found.

In both of these series of katun-prophecies the more ancient allusions are to the history of the Itzá, so far as we are able to identify them.

If Avendaño was the only Spanish writer to concern himself with the katun-prophecies, such was not the case with the special prophecies which deal with the return of Quetzalcoatl. These aroused the interest of most of the early missionaries, since they were believed to foretell the coming of the Spaniards and the conversion of the Maya to Christianity. Lizana, Cogolludo and Villagutierre all published Spanish translations of five of these, and Lizana even went so far as to quote the Maya text. To anyone who knew them only through these Spanish translations, they would appear to be inspired by missionary propaganda; but an examination of the Maya text leads to a conviction of their genuine character, in spite of the fact that any mention of the name of Quetzalcoatl has been carefully deleted. This personage is, however, mentioned in the most obscure and guarded terms in a sixth prophecy by Chilam Balam found in the Chumayel, Tizimin and Mani manuscripts. A seventh prophecy, also ascribed to Chilam Balam, is thoroughly pagan in character, but confines its statements to predicting misfortunes of a general character in Katun 13 Ahau. Its language is archaic, and it approaches more closely the European idea of poetry than anything else found in Maya literature. Only in an eighth prophecy, ascribed to Ah Xupan Nauat, do we find a statement obviously inspired by the event itself. Here the arrival of the white men is foretold as occurring in the eighth year of Katun 13 Ahau. If Katun 13 Ahau began in 1519, this is altogether too accurate a prediction of Montejo's landing on the east coast of Yucatan in 1527 to be

credited to a man said to have lived under Hun Uitzil Chac at Uxmal about the Eleventh Century A.D.

The five Maya prophets quoted by Lizana, Cogolludo and Villagutierre were Ah Kauil Chel, Napuctun, Natzin Yabun Chan, Nahau Pech and Chilam Balam. It is possible that the first two were contemporaries of Ah Xupan Nauat, as the three names appear to be associated. Nothing is known of Natzin Yabun Chan to the translator. Nahau Pech is believed to have lived about four katuns, or eighty years, before the coming of the whites, which would be about the time of the fall of Mayapan. He was probably a member of the powerful Pech family which governed the Province of Ceh Pech at the time of the Conquest. The last and greatest of the Maya prophets was Chilam Balam. Balam in this case was probably the man's family name, and as among ourselves the name of his profession was prefixed to it as a title.

Chilam Balam lived at Mani during the reign of Mochan Xiu. In Katun 2 Ahau he predicted that in the Katun 13 Ahau following, bearded men would come from the east and introduce a new religion. His prophecy was somewhat more definite than those of his predecessors, except for the suspicious case already mentioned. This can be accounted for by rumors of the arrival of the Spaniards in the West Indies, for we know that fishing canoes were occasionally driven across to Yucatan by storms. What Chilam Balam had in mind was the return of Quetzalcoatl and his white-robed priests, but after the Spaniards landed in Yucatan in Katun 13 Ahau according to schedule, he never ceased to be regarded as the most famous of the Maya prophets.

We have associated five of these six prophets with the provinces governed by the Xiu, Pech and Chel families. It is worthy of note that Montejo and his soldiers received a more friendly reception in these three provinces than in any other part of Yucatan.

The following table will be useful to the student who wishes to make a comparison of the various versions of the prophecies found in the Books of Chilam Balam.

	Chumayel reproduction	Mani (in Codex Perez)	Oxkutzcab (in Codex Perez)	Tizimin
	<i>pp.</i>	<i>pp.</i>	<i>pp.</i>	<i>pp.</i>
Year-prophecies		101-114		1-13
Katun-prophecies, 1st series	13, 72-74	75-90	153-165	20, 23-29, 36
Katun-prophecies, 2d series	83-100			29-33
Special prophecies of the return of Kukulcan and of a new religion	103-107	70-75	166-170	17-18
Special prophecy of Chilam Balam in which the Antonio Martinez story is interpolated	64-67	65-69		13-16

APPENDIX E

TRADITIONS OF CASTE AND CHIEFTAINSHIP AMONG THE MAYA

Although chieftainship in Yucatan was not always hereditary in the strictest sense of the word, it was only considered legitimate when confined to certain families, and a proper rank was most essential. Apparently it was not necessary to have established this social position in the particular locality in question, for after the fall of Mayapan about the middle of the Fifteenth Century when the Ah Canuls, the so-called Mexican mercenaries at the capital, were allowed to settle in western Yucatan, they were promptly accepted as chiefs by the people living in that region. As we are told in the Calkini chronicle, "they were not pretenders to chieftainship nor were they provokers of discord." They were legitimate chiefs, even though they had been driven by revolution from the capital which had been their home for centuries. So "they began to love the towns and the local chiefs, and they were also loved by the towns there where my great ancestor governed men."

Maya society, broadly speaking, was divided into two classes, nobles and commoners. The former were called *almehen*, and the latter, *mazeual*. *Al* designates the son of a woman and *mehen* a man's son. Consequently the word *almehen* means one who had a father and a mother, both presumably persons of distinction. Oddly enough, the term parallels its Spanish equivalent, *hidalgo*, which is the abbreviation of *hijo de algo*, the son of somebody. *Mazeual* was a foreign word borrowed from the Toltec intruders into Yucatan. In the Nahuatl language as well as in Maya it meant the ordinary agricultural laborer who was not eligible to political office. The Maya language itself bears frequent evidence of static social conditions in spite of wars and political revolutions. For example, *pic-çacab* (literally innumerable generations) is defined in the Sixteenth Century Motul Dictionary as: "by inheritance from one's ancestors, by caste, by lineage, by family or from far back." An example is given which is translated: "By caste, by lineage, by inheritance from his ancestors or from far back, the chieftainship comes to Juan, or he comes to be a farmer," etc. So in spite of certain communistic aspects of Maya society, it was anything but democratic.

From the time of the fall of Mayapan down to the Spanish Conquest we find two classes of chieftains in Yucatan, the *halach-uinic* and the *batab*. The former, literally the real man, was the governor, or head-chief, of a district, and the latter was the local municipal executive officer. Halach-uinic has usually been translated as governor and *batab* as cacique or chief. The objection to calling the former a governor is that in Spanish colonial times the local *batab* was given the title of Gobernador and frequently appears as such in official documents. After the Conquest of course the native office of *halach-uinic* disappeared. Consequently in the present work *batab* has been rendered as "chief" and *halach-uinic*, as "head-chief." There was probably also a religious aspect to the office of *halach-uinic* judging by the definition of the term given by the Motul Dictionary: "*Obispo, oydor, gobernador, o comissario; es nombre para estas dignidades y otras semejantes.*" Another term, *ahau*, was applied to some of the head-chiefs of the various territorial divisions of Yucatan. In the present work this has been translated as "ruler," although we can not be certain as to just what it implied. The Motul Dictionary defines *ahau* as "king, emperor, monarch, prince or great lord," and in colonial times it was the Maya title of the King of Spain. We know that before the Conquest the head-chiefs of three of the so-called provinces were called Ahau Pech,

Ahau Chel and Ahau Cocom. Strangely enough we nowhere find the title, Ahau, given to any of the Xiu rulers, the *halach-uinics* of the Province of Mani, although they seem to have been the most powerful in Yucatan at the time of the Spanish Conquest. In some provinces there may have been more than one head-chief, while in others we find only a loose confederation of local *batabs*.

Landa would have us believe that the office of head-chief was hereditary. "If when the lord died there were no sons <old enough> to rule and if he had brothers, the eldest of the brothers governed or else the one who was most at liberty <to do so>. These instructed the heir in their usages and festivals in view of the time when he should become a man; and even when the heir was <old enough> to govern, these brothers continued in command all during their lives. If there were no brothers, the priests and leading people chose a man who was capable." It is difficult to reconcile this account with what we find to have been the actual practise. In that unique document, the Xiu family tree, which covers the period from the destruction of Mayapan down to the Spanish Conquest, we find that during the last two generations the office of *halach-uinic* passed through two different branches of the Xiu family, and not from father to son nor even from brother to brother. We know that the grandfather of the famous interpreter, Gaspar Antonio Chi, was the Xiu *halach-uinic* who was murdered at Otmal by Nachi Cocom; and he appears in the Xiu family tree as Ah *ꞑ*ulub Xiu, although he was also known as Ah *ꞑ*un Xiu. He had two sons and two younger brothers, one of whom survived him, but his successor, christened Francisco de Montejo Xiu, was the second son of his second cousin, Ah Ziyah Xiu, who also met his death at Otmal.

The head-chief of the Province of Ceh Pech always belonged to the Pech family, and in Ah Kin Chel the Chel family governed. In Zotuta the Cocom family was supreme, while in the Provinces of the Cupuls and of Cochuah we find members of the Cupul and Cochuah families in power. In addition to being noble, such families enjoyed the further distinction of being called "the first lineage" in the provinces in which they were supreme. In Ceh Pech, for example, Nakuk Pech referred to himself and his relatives as belonging to the "first lineage," and the families of the head-chiefs of other provinces probably enjoyed a similar distinction. We can not be certain of the method employed for determining the succession among the various members of the family when the *halach-uinic* died. It may have been hereditary, as explained by Landa, in some families, while in others it was probably a matter of personal prestige.

So far as we can learn, the powers of the *halach-uinic* appear to have been very broad. Certainly he took the lead in formulating both foreign and domestic policy, but we get the general impression that he had an advisory council composed of the more important *batabs* and priests. The towns of his territory paid him tribute in the form of grain, fowls, honey, game, cotton cloth, precious stones and sometimes even slaves. We find no mention of gold in this connection, probably because gold was not produced in Yucatan. The tribute does not seem to have been onerous, and under the Xius of Mani it is said to have been very light, little more than a matter of form in fact. In time of war it was obligatory for each town to furnish the quota of fighting men demanded by the head-chief. The maritime provinces often fought to prevent outsiders from fishing or gathering salt on their coasts, and there were many petty wars over boundary disputes.

"The lords were absolute in command, and what they ordered was carried out without fail. They had in the towns caciques <*batabs*> or a person of rank to listen to lawsuits

and public demands. He received the litigants or negotiators, and when the case was heard, if the matter was a serious one, he discussed it with the lord. To settle it, other officials were appointed who were like lawyers and alguaciles, and they always took part in the presence of the judges. The latter and the lords could receive gratuities from both parties."

In some cases the *halach-uinic* himself acted as judge.

The *batab*, or local chief, was appointed by the *halach-uinic*, who frequently gave the position to one of his own family connections. Other noble families were by no means excluded, but we find a considerable proportion of the local chiefs belonging to the "first lineage" in the Provinces of Ceh Pech, Zotuta and Cupul. Landa tells us that at the death of the *batab* his son was appointed in his place by the head-chief, if he was found suitable for the position. Nevertheless we also find the capable sons of local chiefs appointed to govern other towns during their fathers' lifetime.

The *batab* was the local magistrate and executive. He took an important part in the conduct of war, although there was also a war-chief called the *nacom*. The *batab's* power could hardly have been arbitrary, for he was subject to influence and probably even pressure at times from three different quarters. Certainly he had to carry out the orders of the *halach-uinic* who had appointed him. Then he was obliged to cooperate with the local priest, who was the diviner and prophet and "whom they (the people) obeyed, though not so much as they did the *batabs*." Furthermore we learn that he had two or three advisers called *ah-cuch-cab* who could veto his decisions in the village council. It is probable that these last represented the interests of the wealthier members of the community. As a matter of practise these things did not always work out according to rule. Sometimes the *batab* was in a position where he could afford to pay little attention to the *halach-uinic*, as in some parts of the Province of the Cupuls, and in other cases he was able to override the objections of the town-council. His government was decidedly of a paternal character. Besides presiding at the local council and holding court, he also gave directions for repairing the houses of individual citizens as well as the municipal buildings, preparing the fields for cultivation and planting crops at such times as the priest declared proper.

As to the remuneration of the *batabs*, we are told that "they did not pay them any tribute; they only supported them from what they manufactured and sowed." This information is supplemented by the decrees of the Spanish governors of Yucatan in confirmation of certain old rights and privileges granted in perpetuity to a number of native families whose members had aided in the Conquest and reorganization of the country. Adjoining the town of Oxkutzcab was a village called Yaxa, the chief of which was favored by such a grant. In the year 1608 we find the official Protector of the Indians petitioning the Governor to confirm the rights of Don Pedro Xiu, a descendant of the original grantee. The grant compelled local *gobernador* and *alcaldes* of Yaxa to see to it that the village cultivated each year a cornfield for the support of Don Pedro Xiu and his wife, supplied each week a man and a woman for domestic service, and repaired the buildings comprising the Xiu residence as often as it might be needed. The measure was a wise one on the part of the Spanish government, calculated to preserve the loyalty of the more influential Maya families, and it continued in force down to the end of the colonial period.

New light is cast on the traditions of caste and chieftainship among the Maya by the chapter in the Chumayel which the translator has entitled "The Interrogation of the Chiefs." This formality took place at the beginning of each katun and was a sort of civil service examination conducted by the *halach-uinic* with the object of weeding out from the ranks of legitimate chieftainship the upstarts, pretenders and those who had obtained office under false pretenses. Many of the prescribed questions and answers are trivial, and the questionnaire which has come down to us contains references to horses, which shows us that it had been altered a little to correspond to the new conditions since the Spanish Conquest. Nevertheless three important facts are brought out in this chapter. The first is that there was a firmly established tradition of such an examination; the second, that the proof of legitimacy was considered to be certain knowledge supposed to have been handed down from father to son in families eligible to chieftainship; the third, that this occult knowledge was known as the "language of Zuyua."

The name Zuyua is inseparably connected with the Toltec penetration of Yucatan, which left a number of Nahuatl words in the Maya language. Many such words are those associated with ideas of political power and social standing. The Xius believed that they had come from a place called West Zuyua, and Brinton has identified Zuyua with the Mexican Zuiven, "the name of the uppermost heaven, the abode of the Creator, Hometecutli, the father of Quetzalcoatl, and the place of his first birth as a divinity."

The foregoing indicates that only members of those families in which certain Toltec traditions had been handed down were eligible to chieftainship. It is uncertain whether such families were actually of Mexican descent, but confirmation of the long-standing Nahua affiliations of the ruling families is found in Landa's account of the annual festival in honor of Kukulcan, or Quetzalcoatl, at Mani, the capital of the Province of the Xius. This festival had been celebrated at Mayapan until the destruction of that city, and it was peculiarly the affair of the chiefs and priests who had assembled from the various parts of the country. The other provinces contributed each year in turn four or five feather banners which played an important part in the ceremonies, and the various *halach-uinics*, so frequently at war with one another, appear for the time being to have forgotten their feuds and enmities. During the last five days of the month of Xul everything was as it had been when the entire country was united under the rule of Mayapan.

To account for these Toltec traditions among the ruling families we must go back to the time of the introduction of the worship of Kukulcan into Yucatan. The identity of the Maya Kukulcan with the Mexican Quetzalcoatl and the Mexican origin of the worship of this culture-hero have been well established.

If a foreign religion was introduced into the country from Mexico, we should first look for the families of the descendants of the people who introduced it, although, of course, it does not necessarily follow that any of them survived. In this connection our attention is drawn first to the Xiu family in whose capital we have seen the festival for Kukulcan still being celebrated down to the time of the Spanish Conquest. We have already noted that they themselves believed that they had come from a place called West Zuyua, a name derived from Mexican mythology. Landa tells us that when they arrived in Yucatan, their only weapon was the dart and throwing-stick, or *atlatl*, which points strongly to a Nahua origin. Elsewhere we read of the town of Mama near Mani that "they were subject to a lord whom they called Tutul Xiu, a Mexican name, who, they

say, was a foreigner. He came from the west, and having come to this province the leading people raised him with common consent to be their king." If further confirmation of the Mexican origin of this family were needed, we might cite the Xiu family tree, according to which two members of the family have the name or title of Ah Cuat Xiu. *Cuat* is simply another form of the Nahuatl *coatl* which means serpent.

If we search for Nahuatl names or titles among the other leading families of Yucatan, we find mention three times in the Chronicle of Nakuk Pech of the name, Ah Cuat Cocom, he may have been related to Nachi Cocom who was the *halach-uinic* at Zotuta. The Cocom family was at one time the most powerful in Yucatan, and even after the destruction of Mayapan they continued to play an important part in the history of the country. Their history goes back to the founding of Mayapan in the Tenth Century A.D. Of this city Landa tells us that after settling Chichen Itzá--

"Kukulcan again founded another city by arrangement with the native lords of the land, in which he and they should live and where all the affairs and business should be conducted ... and they surrounded it with a very broad wall of dry stone of about half a quarter of a league, leaving only two narrow gates. The wall was not very high. Within this they constructed their temples ... and the houses for the lords, among whom he divided the entire country, giving towns to each according to the antiquity of his lineage and his personal importance. Kukulcan ... called it Mayapan, which means the standard of the Maya . . .

"This Kukulcan lived with the lords for some years in that city, and leaving them in all peace and friendship he returned by the same road to Mexico ... After the departure of Kukulcan the lords agreed in order to perpetuate the government that the house of the Cocom should have the chief command, either because it was the oldest or richest, or because its head was at that time the most valorous man."

In one of the Mexican sources we read that--

"The people of Yucatan venerated and revered this God, Quetzalcoatl, and called him Kukulcan, and said he arrived there from the west ... They said of him that from him descended the Kings of Yucatan whom they call Cocom, which means *Oidores*."

Descent from a Nahua culture-hero would be ascribed to a Mexican family rather than to one of Maya origin.

A third important Toltec family, probably a later arrival than the Xius and Cocom, was that of the Ah Canuls, the so-called Mexican mercenaries whom we have already discussed.

Consequently the joint government at Mayapan appears to have consisted of two rival Mexican factions, Cocom and Xius, the former being supported by a third element of similar origin, the Ah Canuls. By the time of the fall of Mayapan, however, they were probably Mexican only by tradition, for the Spanish [conquerors](#) found them speaking only Maya some sixty years later.

A question arises as to the origin of the other ruling families of the various provinces, such as the Pechs, Chels, Cupuls and Cochuahs, to mention only those of whose

hereditary standing we have some information. At some unspecified time, probably after the destruction of Mayapan, a certain Noh-cabal

Pech established his capital at Motul, and we are told that he was "a near relative of the great lord at Mayapan." The Chel family was descended from Mo-Chel, the noble son-in-law of one of the principal priests at Mayapan. He is said to have foreseen the destruction of the capital, and he fled with some followers to Tecoh near Izamal, where he established an independent state, taking the title of Ah Kin (the priest) Chel. We know little of the history of the others, but their status as independent rulers dated only from the fall of Mayapan about the middle of the Fifteenth Century. No doubt most of those who were not of Toltec origin were descended from the old Yucatecan ruling class, of whom we have practically no knowledge. There were, however, other intruders into the country besides the Toltecs. Both in the proper names and in the vocabulary of Yucatan we find distinct traces of people from the south who spoke a language very similar to what we know of the Chol. This is one of the other languages of the great Maya stock, and while it much resembles the Maya of Yucatan in some respects, it has a different consonantal system. At least two Maya families had such foreign names, and there were probably others.

During the hegemony of Mayapan these "lords" lived at the capital and each governed his own district from there. Their residences were within the walled enclosure, but outside the walls each head-chief had a house where petitioners from his own district were received when they came to the capital. This house was in charge of a personal representative called the *caluac* who made requisitions on the towns of the district for food, clothing and anything else needed for the maintenance of the household of his master.

A comparison of the Maya sources cited in this paper with Zurita's account of the political institutions of Mexico leads to the conclusion that the central government at Mayapan corresponded in many respects to the Nahuatl pattern. At the time of the revolution which destroyed the city we are told that "the halach-uinic Tutul <Xiu> departed with the chiefs of the town and of the four districts or divisions of the town," and we are reminded of the four main divisions of the Aztec and Tlaxcalan states. The four chiefs of these divisions were especially concerned with the distribution of tribute from subject peoples, and we find an echo of this function in the present work when we read: "At Tikuch arrived the tribute of the four men." The resemblance is less apparent in the local government of the Yucatecan towns and villages. Here the administration of the *batab*, assisted by the *ah-cuch-cags* and *ah-kulels* probably followed the ancient traditions of Yucatan.

APPENDIX F

TOLTEC MILITARY ORDERS IN YUCATAN

In the prophetic literature of the Maya we find the names of certain animals mentioned in such manner as to suggest that they stand as the symbols for something else and that the reference is not to the actual animals. For example, we read: "There shall be no fox to bite them," "there shall be neither fox nor kinkajou that will bite," "there shall be neither fox, puma nor weasel: there shall be none that bite. The claws of the puma shall be drawn; the claws of the jaguar shall be drawn." "The time shall come when the burrowing opossum and the jaguar shall bite one another." At first sight it seems strange

to find the comparatively harmless fox, kinkajou, weasel and opossum classed with the jaguar and puma.

We can not but suspect that these fauna-names are referable to certain persons and that the prophecies tell of a time when the people will be freed of the presence of these unwelcome individuals. Indeed, a further examination of the related material confirms this conjecture. In the Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin we read: "At the time <of the year> 3 Kan the spots shall be removed from the red jaguars, the white jaguars. The claws and teeth shall be drawn from the jaguars of the Itzá."

We find further indications of the significance of these names of animals in the following passages: "There is no kinkajou, there is no fox, there is no weasel to suck men's blood; there are no pernicious rulers." "The rulers shall be cut off, when the claws of the eagle are cut, when the backs of the kinkajou and the fox are clawed and torn" "Then the burrowing opossums who are greedy for dominion shall bite one another." For Katun 12 Ahau, a period of good fortune, the prophecy states: "The burrowing opossum shall flee. He shall give up his delegated mat and throne, and he shall go out into the wilderness. Men shall be happy; things shall go well in the towns." From this we infer that these animals represent certain persons in authority, and such a conclusion is amply confirmed by the following passage: "In the ninth year of Katun 6 Ahau the puma (*coh*) and the jaguar (*balam*) claw one another's backs. The puma (*coh*) is a *leon*. These are the head-chiefs (*halach-uinicob*)."

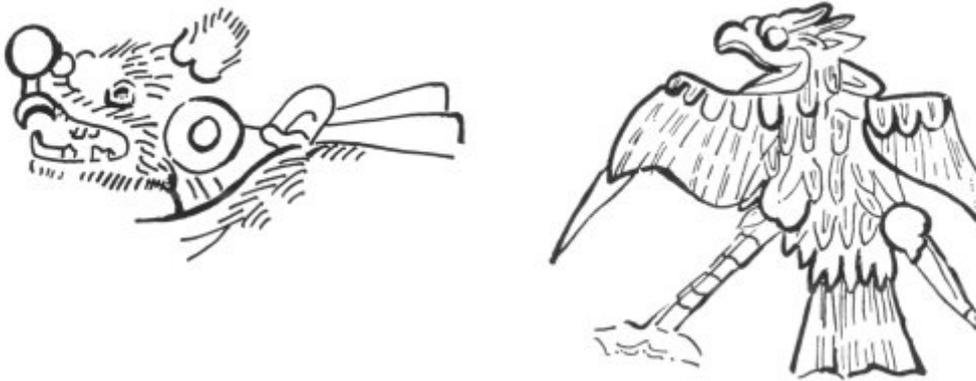
We have already seen how the central organization at Mayapan may be traced to a Toltec origin and followed to a certain extent the example of the Nahua institutions of the highlands of Mexico. It has also been noted that this foreign political structure was superimposed upon a form of local government that was probably indigenous. We may therefore turn to the history of the Nahua peoples of Mexico for an explanation of some symbols connected with the higher ranks of the rulers in Yucatan.

Landa has given us to understand that with the exception of the Cocom and Xius who ruled at Mayapan, the so-called "lords" possessed delegated powers only, and that it was only after the fall of that city that these *halach-uinics* became the real rulers of the various independent states into which the Spaniards found the country divided at the time of their arrival. We have also noted in one of the prophecies just quoted that the "burrowing opossum" is to "give up his delegated mat and throne," or in other words, his authority. Consequently it seems permissible to draw an analogy between the *halach-uinics* symbolized by these animals and the *tecuhtli*, or so-called "lords," of the Nahua peoples of Mexico.

Seler has convincingly shown that the Mexican "king" delegated many of his functions to these men, and that the institution reached its highest development when the latter were set to supervising the collection of tribute and enforcing other rights which their own state had acquired over a conquered people. Such would also be the case in Yucatan where the Toltec conquerors appear to have actually settled in the country and maintained their power for a long time in spite of the fact that they could never have formed more than a very small proportion of the population.

Seler goes on to quote from the unpublished Sahagun manuscript a list of mantles worn by persons of high rank in Mexico. A number of these are described as representing the

skins of animals which we have seen mentioned in the Maya prophecies, such as the jaguar, kinkajou, puma, wild-cat and coyote. From the same source and from the Mexican picture-manuscripts he gives descriptions and illustrations of warrior-costumes representing coyotes and jaguars. He believes that what he calls "royal rank" among the Mexicans went back in the first instance to Quetzalcoatl and the Toltec dynasty, and we have already seen how Landa traces the authority of the "lords" of Yucatan back to the same source.



*FIG. 47--Temple of the Warriors frescos: a, coyote-fox; b, eagle.
(After Ann Axtell Morris.)*

If we are right in ascribing a Mexican origin to a large part of the symbolism discussed here, it is to the architectural remains of the Toltec occupation of Yucatan that we should look for archaeological confirmation. The jaguar, it is true, appears frequently in the older Maya art, indeed it goes back to some of the earliest monuments; but before the appearance of an intrusive Nahua culture in Yucatan this animal is always connected with the priesthood. Only in the Toltec temples do we begin to find it a symbol of the warrior class, as in the reliefs of the Temple of the Tigers and the platform just to the east of it at Chichen Itzá. It is in the reliefs and frescos of that masterpiece of Maya-Toltec architecture, the Temple of the Warriors, that we find the most striking illustration of the animals symbolizing the Nahua warrior-chieftains who once ruled over Yucatan. Many of them bear human hearts in their claws, suggesting that the warriors whom they represent captured victims for human sacrifice. Here we see the puma, the jaguar, the coyote or fox and the eagle.

Although we have but little data on which to base an estimate of the age of the Toltec remains at Chichen Itzá, it seems probable that the political hegemony of this city preceded that of Mayapan. Consequently we can hardly expect too close a correspondence between the references in the Books of Chilam Balam and the sculptures at Chichen Itzá. The Maya writers of the Spanish colonial period would have a much more vivid recollection of the hegemony of Mayapan which ended about the middle of the Fifteenth Century.

Among the Mexicans the jaguar was the strong and brave animal par excellence, the companion of the eagle. Indeed "Eagle and Jaguar" was the conventional designation of brave warriors. The coyote was regarded in a two-fold aspect. He was the god of singing and dancing, but as a beast of prey he was also a symbol of the warrior. Certain

outstanding warriors appeared both at dances and in battle clothed in a garment representing the coyote. If it seems a little strange to find the coyote serving as a symbol of bravery, we can not but feel that a considerable stretch of the imagination was required to consider the kinkajou in the same light. And yet such was the case. Whether alone, or associated with the hawk, the kinkajou was, next to the eagle and jaguar, regarded as one of the bravest and strongest animals and the symbol of the bold warrior. "Hawk and Kinkajou" are often mentioned in the Mexican myths and stories along with the "Eagle and Jaguar."

The weasel (Maya *zabin* or *sabim*) seems a more appropriate animal in this connection than either the coyote or kinkajou. Its association with ideas pertaining to military affairs is shown by certain expressions found in the Motul dictionary. "*Zabim-be, ah-zabim-be*: a look-out, sentinel and spy, when no battle-line has been formed; also to keep a look-out." "*Zabin-katun*: look-out or sentinel, when the battle-line has been formed, and to keep a look-out in this manner." Literally, *zabim-be* means the weasel of the road and *zabin-katun*, the weasel of the army. No portrayal of this animal has yet been found and identified.

This leaves the so-called "burrowing opossum" to be accounted for. It must be confessed that neither in Maya nor Mexican art have we found the opossum playing the rôle assigned to him in the Books of Chilam Balam. Frequently depicted in the Mexican picture-manuscripts, the animal appears as



FIG. 48--Jaguar. Relief-carving at Chichen Itzá.

lord of the lower regions or as the associate of certain gods. In the Maya Dresden Codex he is dressed as a dancer and brings on his back the Regent of the New Year. Nowhere do we find him associated with either war or chieftainship except in the Books of Chilam Balam.

The frequent mention of these various animals in the Books of Chilam. Balam is therefore of unusual interest. Although the meaning of the jaguars and eagles at Chichen Itzá has long been known, we should be tempted to ascribe a religious or mythological significance to the other animals found in the reliefs and frescos of that city, if it were not for the information contained in these manuscripts. As it is, they take on the character of historical and political figures.

APPENDIX G

THE AMERICANIZATION OF CHRISTIANITY

According to the early Spanish writers a considerable proportion of the Maya of northern Yucatan embraced Christianity quite willingly after the Spanish occupation of the country. Whether or not this was true, the Books of Chilam Balam convince us that their faith was genuine, once they were converted. Even in those books which were frowned upon by the missionaries, we note an unmistakable spontaneity in the pious phrases with which the Spanish *Dios*, the Trinity and the Holy Virgin are frequently invoked. At first sight it is difficult to reconcile this apparently sincere belief in the new religion with the lapses into idolatry which continued to recur during a large part of the colonial period.

The fact of the matter was that their Christianity, however sincere it may have been, was something quite different from that of their European conquerors. They simply superimposed it upon their old religion, just as they had previously superimposed the Quetzalcoatl cult of the Nahua invaders upon the original Maya faith. They sometimes called their old deities perishable gods (*hauay kuob*), but they continued to worship them surreptitiously.

Even in their Christian worship we find among the Maya an unconscious tendency to adapt the new religion to their own psychology, as we have seen in Chapters XI and XII of the present work. There is further evidence of this in the katun prophecies, where the Spanish God is cited as authority for prognostications made by their own prophets before the coming of the white man.

The Spanish missionaries did their best to prevent this Americanization of Christianity. The historian Cogolludo bitterly deploras the lapses of the Indians into idolatry, but he appears to be still more horrified at their attempts to combine the new religion with the old. Probably this tendency was already anticipated by the statutes of Tomás López little more than a decade after the country was pacified. In one of these we find the Indians forbidden to found or conduct schools for the teaching of Christian doctrine except by the express authority of the prelate of the province.

We do not know just when the Indians of Yucatan began to combine some form of Christian worship with their old idolatrous practises, but we learn of an Indian of rank at Zotuta by the name of Don Andres Cocom who, about the year 1585, was "convicted, not only of idolatry, but also as a perverse dogmatizer and the inventor of new abominations among the Indians." Condemned to exile and imprisonment, he escaped and attempted to instigate a native rebellion before he was finally captured and punished.

In 1597 Andres Chi, also of Zotuta, "incited the Indians of that territory to go into the forests to practise idolatry. Falsely pretending and saying that he was another Moses he deceived the people of his town, persuading them that what he did was revealed to him by the Holy Spirit. For this purpose he hid a boy in his house to speak to him at night and say what he wished him to. When the Indians heard this, as they were ignorant of the fraud, they blindly allowed themselves to be deceived." Chi was convicted and condemned to death for this offense.

A similar case occurred in 1610. "There were two Indians, one named Alonso Chablé and the other Francisco Canul. The former pretended to be the Pope and supreme pontiff and the latter, a bishop, and they announced themselves to be such among the Indians. Also they caused themselves to be venerated, deceiving the wretched Catholic Indians with their infernal doctrine. They said mass at night dressed in the sacred vestments of the church which no doubt the sacristans had given them. They profaned the holy chalices and consecrated oils, baptized boys, confessed adults and gave them communion, while they worshipped the idols which they placed on the altar. They ordained priests for service, anointing their hands with the oil and the holy chrism, and when they ordained them they put on a miter and took a crozier in their hands. They commanded the Indians to give them offerings and openly taught other deadly heresies."

In addition to all this they were said to have practised witchcraft.

In the year 1636 there was a general uprising of the Indians in the district of Bacalar in southeastern Yucatan. They relapsed into idolatry, and many of them fled to Tipu, the southernmost of the towns which had been christianized up to this time. This place continued to be the center of the insurrection, and finally in 1641 Fr. Bartolomé Fuensalida and Fr. Juan de Estrada determined to go there and try to conciliate the inhabitants. The expedition was a failure and they did not quite reach Tipu. At the neighboring village of Hubelná the Indian companions of the priests witnessed a religious ceremony performed by the rebels in which "one of those apostates was the idolatrous priest of the others. He said mass to them, and with the mass his food was tortillas and his drink, maize gruel. The other idolatrous Indians said to them: 'This is indeed a mass which your companion (one of the two Spanish priests) does not say.' " It was years before these Indians were again reconciled with the Church, and during this period the people of the district doubtless had an excellent opportunity to develop a form of Christianity suited to their own psychology.

We find the tendencies already outlined cropping out in every part of the Maya-speaking area where the Spanish authorities and missionaries were not in a position to exercise strict control over the natives. In 1646 two monks were sent from Yucatan to the Usumacinta region to take charge of the spiritual welfare of some Maya-speaking Indians at a town called Nohaa situated on the shore of a large lake in the forests beyond Tenosique. A church had been built and the people somewhat perfunctorily converted by a Dominican friar who had gone away. The founder of the town, Don Diego de Vera Ordoñez, had left the place in charge of a mestizo captain named Juan de Bilbao. When they arrived, the friars found that this man was not only exploiting the Indians, but also that he had a wooden idol which he, his native wife and the villagers worshipped together. "They became drunk in front of it with a drink called balché. Also they said that on Ash Wednesday he put on a stole, blessed it and gave it to the Indians. On Palm Sunday he blessed palms and distributed them. During Holy Week he made a *monumento* and placed on it the idol of his Indian woman; and on Holy Saturday he blessed the baptismal font. All these things and others which are unspeakable were done by this insolent fellow, who possessed an entire set of sacred vestments and a chalice. He only refrained from saying mass."

The incidents related here are sufficient to account for the mixture of Christianity and paganism which we find in the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel. This tendency has continued to be effective down to the present time and its modern manifestations would

fill an entire volume. Not only have the names of saints replaced in many cases those of the Maya deities in the old native ceremonies which survive, but in parts of Yucatan, particularly in the Territory of Quintana Roo, many nominal Catholics are at heart polytheists. "The Christian god is the Zeus of the Pantheon. The Virgin Mary, the Saints of the Catholic Church, and such of the old gods as have survived, form a less powerful, but more friendly group of divinities." The present psychology of the Maya Indian is the result of centuries of conflict between European and native religious concepts. During this time each reacted upon the other unceasingly, and the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel is perhaps one of the most illuminating documents we have to illustrate the history of the process.

APPENDIX H CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Katun 8 Ahau	A. D. 433	(Chichen Itzá and Ziancan discovered.)
6	452	Chichen Itzá discovered.
4	472	(Bakhalal occupied.)
2	492	
13	511	The "mat" of the katun is counted in its order.
11	531	(Chichen Itzá occupied.)
9	551	
7	571	
5	590	
3	610	
1	630	
12	649	
10	669	
8	689	Chichen Itzá abandoned. Chakanputun settled.
6	709	
4	728	The land of Chakanputun is seized.
2	748	
13	768	
11	787	
9	807	
7	827	
5	847	

3	866	
1	886	
12	906	
10	925	
8	945	Chakanputun abandoned.
6	965	
4	985	Occupation of Chichen Itzá by Kukulcan and the Itzá.
2	1004	(The Xiu found Uxmal. League of Mayapan begins.)
13	1024	
11	1044	
9	1063	
7	1083	
5	1103	
3	1123	
1	1142	
12	1162	
10	1182	
8	1201	Conquest of Chichen Itzá by Hunac Ceel.
6	1221	
4	1241	Seizure of Mayapan by the Itzá.
2	1261	
13	1280	
11	1300	

9	1320	
7	1339	
5	1359	
3	1379	
1	1398	
12	1418	
10	1438	
8	1458	Destruction of Mayapan.
6	1477	
4	1497	The "Maya pestilence," called blood-vomit.
2	1517	The small-pox. (The Spaniards first seen.)
13	1536	Arrival of Montejo. Death of the "rain-bringer" (Napot) Xiu.
11	1556	The Spanish Conquest. Merida founded. Tribute exacted. Missionaries arrive.
9	1576	Bishop Toral arrives. General conversion of the natives to Christianity.
7	1596	Bishop Landa dies.
5	1615	
3	1635	

In the above table it is the end of the katun that is dated, as the katun is named for the day on which it ends. The Christian dates are taken from a similar table compiled by Dr. Morley and are in accordance with the well-known Morley-Spinden correlation of Maya and Christian chronology. According to the Goodman-Martinez-Thompson correlation each of the Christian dates given above should be three years later.

Although there is only a variation of about three years between the two correlations so far as the katun count of the Books of Chilam Balam is concerned, they differ by about 259 years in their interpretations of the Initial Series dates of the monuments in terms of European chronology. According to the former correlation, the end of the last Katun 13 Ahau before the Spanish Conquest fell on 12. 9. 0. 0. 0. 13 Ahau 8 Kankin, in the year

1536. The latter correlation, however, places the end of the same Katun 13 Ahau on 11. 16. 0. 0. 0. 13 Ahau 8 Xul, in the year 1539.

The only two possible references to the Long Count known to the writer are those which we have seen on pages 79 and 83 of the present work, and these unfortunately are somewhat vague. In the former it is stated that the mounds in Yucatan were constructed during a period of "three score and fifteen katuns." Evidently referring to the Maya, the latter passage tells us: "Four four-hundreds of years and fifteen score years was the end of their lives." In the Books of Chilam Balam we find occasional references to the *haab*, or 365 day year, when the *tun* of 360 days is plainly meant. Consequently in terms of the Long Count we have on page 79 a mention of a period which would be recorded on the monuments as 3. 15. 0. 0. 0.; and on page 83 the period referred to would be 4. 15. 0. 0. 0. These two statements are indefinite in several important respects. No date in the Long Count is given as a starting point. No current Maya day, month, year or katun is given as the end of either of these periods. Although the implication is that Maya civilization came to an end at the close of these periods, native writers differ somewhat as to just when the end came. Some of them considered that it ended early in Katun 13 Ahau, as predicted by the prophet Chilam Balam, while many others very logically put the end either at the close of Katun 13 Ahau or at the foundation of Merida in 1542. If we make the assumption that these three score katuns and "four four-hundreds of years" refer to the even baktuns of the Long Count and then add fifteen katuns, it is of interest to note that the date 11. 15. 0. 0. 0. falls on a day 2 Ahau, which is also the name of the last day of the katun immediately preceding the Spanish invasion of Yucatan.

According to the 1539 correlation Katun 2 Ahau, the last katun prior to the Spanish invasion, ended in 1519, and its position in the Long Count was 11. 15. 0. 0. 0. 2 Ahau 8 Zac. Subtracting 3. 15. 0. 0. 0. from this we reach the date 8. 0. 0. 0. 0., or very near the time when the Maya must have begun to record their chronology on imperishable media. The oldest contemporaneous date is 8. 6. 4. 2. 17. which is recorded on the Tuxtla Statuette. If we subtract from 11. 15. 0. 0. 0. the other period mentioned in the Chumayel, 4. 15. 0. 0. 0., the count will be carried back to 7. 0. 0. 0. 0. which is believed to be the general period when Maya Chronology was first developed. ¹ In other words, either of the totals given in the Chumayel Manuscript, counted backward from 11. 15. 0. 0. 0., will reach an Initial Series value which we now believe is about the time that Maya chronology, in the first case, was actually inaugurated and, in the other case, was first committed to stone. No such interesting conditions will arise, however, if the 12. 9. 0. 0. 0. correlation is used. To this extent the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel tends to support the former correlation against the latter. We also have here an indication that the Maya calendar continued unbroken, except for the shift of a single day in the Year Bearer, from the time of the inscriptions down to that of the Spanish occupation of Yucatan.

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