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Part 1.

Assemblage of the many fragments of creation myths recorded within the Maya area can be of value not only for the insight they allow into pagan thought but also because of the information they can supply on relations both between Maya highlands and lowlands and also between each of those areas and other parts of Mexico. The material is widely scattered and in some cases difficult of access, and clearly what has been recovered represents but a small fragment of the lore on the subject current in Middle American when Cortés stepped ashore on Good Friday of 1519. Chance has largely decided what should or should not be preserved. It is a sad thought that perhaps only one European was sufficiently interested to collect and set down in detail such legends as the lowland Maya told their families in their homes or recited to strangers around the campfires of some group of itinerant merchants. The possible exception is Fray Andrés de Avendaño y Loyola, but his treatise on the priests and prophecies, idols and calendar of the Yucatec is lost.

The effect of time and degree of European contact on rate of loss of pagan detail to European elements in myths is a matter of some interest. Old World influence is apparent in Mexican myth very soon, for the story of people with ears so long that they wrap themselves up in them when they go to sleep appears in a native source, *Histoyre du Mechique*, probably composed in 1543, two decades after the Spanish conquest. Naturally, myths were never frozen into immutable patterns of words and incidents in pre-Columbian times, but some present-day creation myths show complete mestization.

Other problems raised concern center of diffusion of the concept of multiple creations and destructions of the world and the period or periods when specific incidents came to be shared by peoples of the Mexican plateau and the lowland Maya.

Because they are the most detailed, legends of the various creations from the Valley of Mexico and its environs are first presented for points of comparison with Maya myths.

Valley of Mexico

The reason for the fullness of data from this region probably lies in the fact that there were persons interested in putting the different versions in writing soon after the Spanish conquest, before the attrition which all paganism had to face had become serious.

There are five main nahuatl sources: written in the Codex Chimalpopoca (two versions) and the *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas;* painted in Codex Vatican A with commentary; and sculptured on the famous Aztec calendar stone and other stone objects (Beyer, 1921).

Codex Chimalpopoca comprises three distinct manuscripts, the first being the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* and the last *Leyenda de los soles.* Both, written in nahuatl, derive from independent sources. The *Anales,* by an unidentified author, dates from about 1570; the *Leyenda* is dated 1558; the *Historia. . . por sus pinturas* survives in a Spanish version of 1547, a copy of a lost original. Codex Vatican A, a pictorial and hieroglyphic book, derives from a lost original of about 1550. All, accordingly, are largely uncontaminated by European ideas.

Minor variations, notably in the succession of world creations and destructions will not be discussed in view of the fact that the Valley of Mexico material is presented primarily for comparative purposes. The scheme here followed seems most likely to be the original. but the variants may well have been current before the Spanish conquest. All are essentially uniform. Each creation is known as a sun. In outline they are:

First Creation. 4 Ocelotl (jaguar) was its name. Tezcatlipoca was the sun. The world was inhabited by giants. After 13 x 52 years it was ended by jaguars devouring the giants.

Second Creation. 4 Eecatl (wind) was its name. Quetzalcoatl was the sun. After 7 x 52 years it was ended by terrible winds which swept away houses, trees, and people. The few survivors were turned into monkeys.

Third Creation. 4 Quiauitl (rain) was its name. Tlaloc was the sun. After 6 x 52 yeas it was ended by fire raining down from the sky and the forming of lava (volcanic eruptions). The sun burned all the houses. The people were children. The survivors were turned into birds.

Fourth Creation. 4 Atl (water) was its name. Chalchihuitlicue was the sun. After 13 x 52 years it was ended by floods. The mountains disappeared and the people were turned into fishes. According to one version two persons survived because Tezcatlipoca ordered them to bore a hole in the trunk of a very large ahuehuetl tree, and to crawl inside when the skies fell. The pair entered and survived the floods. Later, they annoyed Tezcatlipoca who changed them into dogs by cutting off their heads and sticking them on their buttocks.

Fifth Creation. 4 Ollin (movement) was its name. Tonatiuh, the sun god, was its sun. Eventually an earthquake will bring it to an end. Men were created from bones rescued from the underworld realm of the death god by Quetzalcoatl. Blood which he drew from his penis dripped on the bones, bringing them to life.

The gods created four men and Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl turned themselves into great trees. "With the men and trees and gods they raised the sky with its stars as it now is. When the sky was raised Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl walked across it, and made the road which appears in the sky, and they were there and ever after are there with their abode there".

In the sixth year after the flood, Centeotl, the maize god, was born; two years later the gods created men; in the fourteenth year the gods decided to make the sun because the world was still in darkness, but this did not happen till the twenty-sixth year after the flood.

Deities supporting the heavens and trees set at the (four) points of the compass appear in Codices Borgia and Vatican B, and world directional trees are a conspicuous feature of Codex Fejervary-Mayer. All three codices are pre-Columbian

and certainly originated outside the Valley of Mexico, probably somewhere in the area embracing Puebla, northern Oaxaca and southern Veracruz, so those two elements clearly had a far wider distribution than the Valley of Mexico.

So much for Central Mexico.

Quiche

A large part of the Popol Vuh recounts the adventures of the sun and his brother on earth before the former took up his duties as the present sun; a smaller part tells of the creations and destructions of the world (Recinos, 1950). The book was written in Quiché employing European script in the second half of the sixteenth century and so is somewhat later in date than the Valley of Mexico sources. On the other hand, the more isolated Quiché were presumably less exposed to Spanish influence than the natives of the Valley of Mexico. Certainly the Popol Vuh is easily the best source for highland Maya mythology. The creations according to this sources are:

First Creation. Man was made of mud. Consequently the figure "melted away, it was soft, did not move, had no strength; it fell down, it was limp, it could not move its head; its face fell to one side, its sight was blurred, it could not look behind. At first it spoke, but it had no mind. Quickly it soaked in the water and could not stand". The gods were so dissatisfied that "they broke up and destroyed their work and their creation". It is not clear whether the whole world was destroyed at that time, but man was created afresh.

Second Creation. Men were made of wood of the pito tree, women of reed, after divination by the old pair of gods of divination had shown pito wood, the beans of which like maize grain were used in divination, a better substance than maize. The people looked, talked and multiplied like men, but they lacked souls and minds, their faces were without expression and their flesh yellow. They did not remember their lord and creator, and for that reason they were destroyed.

A heavy resin fell from the sky; the face of the earth was darkened and a black rain fell day and night. Animal demons killed the people, breaking and devouring their flesh. The

domestic animals and the utensils attacked their owners. The dogs asked them why they had not fed them, but, instead, always had a stick handy to beat them. The turkeys and the dogs kept for eating said "you ate us, now we shall kill you". The metates complained of how they had suffered when the maize was ground on them, but now it was their turn they said. The pots and griddles accused man of burning them and clamored for revenge. The stones of the hearth did likewise. When the wooden men tried to escape to the roof crests, the houses collapsed; the trees and the caves refused them shelter. The race was annihilated; from the survivors descend the monkeys.

Third Creation. Next, the ancestors of the present race were made of dough of yellow maize and of white maize, first four men and then four women. They pleased their creators by thanking them for their creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life. They were too wise; there was danger that they would equal the gods in wisdom. Consequently, Heart of Heaven blew mist into their eyes, diminishing their knowledge and wisdom. The world was still in darkness. Finally, the morning star rose before the assembled people. The priests burned copal and then the sun appeared. Even the animals turned to face the rising sun. It rose with unbearable heat, drying the muddy surface of the earth. Certain gods and deified animals and hobgoblins (*Zaqui coxol*, little men of the forest) were turned to stone.

That the present world would end in destruction is not indicated in the Popol Vuh, but there is an extraordinary reference to that event in testimony give in 1563 by the Mercedarian Friar Luis Carrillo de San Vicente. The area to which this relates is not specified, but it is definitely in the highlands of Guatemala, and quite probably that part occupied by the Quiché. According to this friar, old Indians on the point of death pass their idols on to others, bidding the recipients guard, honor and venerate them because those who follow their law and custom will prevail, whereas the Spaniards who were upstarts must come to an end, and "when they were dead, these gods must send another new sun which would give light to him who followed them, and the people would recover in their generation and would possess their land in peace and tranquility." (Scholes and Adams, 1938, Document 46).

Thus, for the Quiché we have three races of man created, two destructions of man in the past with a third destruction and a fourth creation promised for the future. In connection with the divination of the old pair (Xpiyacoc and Xmucane) to decide whether man should be of pito wood or of maize, it should be noted that the equivalent pair in the Nahua pantheon, Oxomoco and Cipactonal, made a divination to find out who should break open the mountain to obtain maize (Part 2).

Cakchiquel

In the Annals of the Cakchiquels (Recinos, 1953: 46-67), neighbors but enemies of the Quiché, there are very brief references to this same series of traditions. One race of man was made of earth, but was useless. He was fed with wood and leaves (confused recollection of the creation of men of wood?), but neither walked nor talked; he had neither blood nor flesh. Subsequently man was made of maize dough mixed with blood of tapir and serpent. Thirteen men, but fourteen women were created. "Then they talked. They had blood, they had flesh. They married and multiplied."

Mam

The Mam Maya of Santiago Chimaltenango in the western highlands of Guatemala retain memories of three creations, a mixture of Maya and Christian themes (Wagley, 1949: 51).

First Creation. People said to have been monkeys. They were destroyed by a flood of burning pitch.

Second Creation. Some say the second race comprised moles. A flood destroyed it.

Third Creation. The first people were St. Joseph and the Blessed Virgin Mary. St. Joseph made the earth. It was perfectly flat. As it was always dark, St. Joseph made the sun and, later, the moon. Jesus was born and in four days grew to full size. He said to his father "Do not be troubled, father for I am going to make another world and you will be able to help me.

Then Jesus began to make the mountains and valleys and canyons for the rivers. He made the moon less bright than the sun so that people could sleep at night.

In the Mam town of San Miguel Acatán a cycle of stories, some of which refer to the creation, also attach to Jesus (Siegel, 1943: 125). The Jews caught and crucified God, but He set a ladder on the cross and climbed to heaven. The cock crew and the world became clear. In the last sentence it seems possible that the author's use of the word "clear" rises from a misunderstanding of the Spanish *se aclaró*, became bright. Clearly, the ladder as a symbol of the Passion, the denial of St. Peter and the darkness at noon have modified this version of the coming of light to the world, a favorite motif in all these Middle American creation stories.

Jacalteca

The Jacalteca recount (La Farge and Byers, 1931: 113) that the world was once in darkness. When the sun (apparently Jesus) rose, the Spaniards hid in caves and under the water, but were killed. Perhaps we may presume that those under the water were drowned. We are reminded of the belief recorded by Fray Luis Carrillo de San Vicente that the present world would end with the destruction of the Spaniards.

Kekchi

Almost the same stories of the creation as are given below for the Mopan, Maya are current among the Kekchi (Gordon, 1915; Burkitt, 1920; Dieseldorff, 1926-33, vol. 1, pp. 4-5). Burkitt was the author, whose name was withheld, of the myths published by Gordon. Dieseldorff obtained his version from the German Paul Wirsing who lived among the Kekchi for very many years. There are some grounds for thinking that the Kekchi borrowed these stories from the Manché Chol, a large part of whom they absorbed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The late Mrs Elsie McDougall passed on to me information of Señor Viaux, resident in Alta Vera Paz, that an old Kekchi

woman attributed skulls in a cave near Coban to people living before the creation of the sun. When the sun appeared they stayed in caves for the light was so bright they could not see. By day they made pots; at night they came to the surface.

Zutuhil

The Zutuhil conserve memory of a flood, at wihch time men were turned into animals (Rosales, 1949:801).

Maya lowlands. Precolumbian

Archaeological evidence for the cosmological beliefs of the Maya is not plentiful but does point to world directional trees and Atlantean figures upholding the sky as ideas current during the Classic period.

The so-called crosses of the Tablet of the Cross and of the Foliated Cross at Palenque have long been regarded as probable word directional trees. Dating from around A.D. 700, both have been published many times. To these should be added the scene on the lid of the sarcophagus of the burial of the Temple of the Inscriptions at the same site (Ruz, 1954, fig. 8). A conventionalized tree rises from immediately behind a person in an awkward half-reclining position. Beneath, and probably serving as base of the tree is a mask combining death symbols with the sun glyph; perched on the tree is a bird.

In Codices Borgia (pp. 49-53) and Vatican B (pp. 17-18) the world directional trees similarly rise from immediately behind figures reclining in similar awkward positions and also have birds perched on them. The figures are gods or god impersonators. With the group must belong the scene on Dresden codex p.3 of a tree rising from behind a sacrificial victim with gaping incision for the removal of his heart. On the tree perches a vulture who apparently has removed one eye of the victim, reminding us of the Maya expression *colop u ich*, pulling out of the eye, which occurs so frequently in the Ritual of the Bacabs, frequently as the title of a god (Roys, 1965).

Possibly scenes on the reliefs of the Temple of the Panels, Chichen Itza (Ruppert, 1931, pl. 11) treat of directional trees

for there are four of them in the south panel with a bird perched on each one. At the bottom of the panel there is a line of monkeys.

Yucatec. Colonial Period.

Material on creations and destructions of the world are found in the Books of Chilam Balam of Chumayel (Roys, 1933: 99). Maní and Tizimín (Barrera Vásquez and Rendón, 1948: 153), reduced to writing in the colonial period.

First Creation. This took place in a katun 11 Ahau, which is the first in the round of thirteen katuns (20-year periods) which together form the Maya ritualistic cycle of two hundred and sixty years of 360 days, the framework of all Maya mythology, history and prophecy.

The principal actors are Oxlahun-ti-ku (Thirteen god or Thirteen gods) and Bolon-ti-ku (Nine god or Nine gods). The former apparently is a collective term for a group of sky gods, the latter for a group of gods of the underworld, night and darkness. It would seem that like the Chacs each group can be regarded as a single deity or number of gods with similar functions. In a struggle between the two Nine god emerged victorious; Thirteen god "was seized, his head was wounded, his face was buffeted, he was spit upon and he was turned round and was robbed of his *canhel* (symbol of the four world directions?) and of his black facial painting."

This passage is not clear, but in the Lacandon account of the creation given below the creator god is killed and buried by Cizin, lord of the underworld, and his two sons, perhaps a parallel to the defeat of the sky god by the underworld god in the Books of Chilam Balam. Ah Muzencab, bee gods, who seem to be the same as the Bacabs mentioned below, are also involved in the struggle, apparently on the side of Nine god. There is also an occult passage treating of agricultural products, some of which were carried to the thirteenth heaven while others remained on earth.

There follows the only reference to a human (?) race of this creation: "After that the fatherless ones and those without husbands disintegrated. They were alive, but they had no judgement. Then they were smothered by the sand in the midst

of the sea. There would be a coming and going of water. The water will come when the *canhel* is robbed. The sky will fall, it will fall upon the earth when the four gods, the four Bacabs, were set up who brought about the destruction of the world."[1]

The above account clearly shares features with the version in the Popol Vuh of the first creation and destruction in which the men of mud, without intelligence or judgement, disintegrated. In the Yucatec version we are not told that they were of mud, but they were without judgement, and they dis integrated.

Bishop Landa, the great sixteenth-century source on the Yucatec Maya, tells us concerning the Bacabs "These, they said, were four brothers whom God, when he created the world, placed at its four parts holding up the sky so that it should not fall. They said also of these Bacabs that they escaped when the world was destroyed by the flood. To each they gave other names thereby designating the part of the world in which God has set each one holding up the sky."

Second Creation. Immediately following the statement about the setting up of the Bacabs, the narrative continues:

Then after the destruction of the world was completed, they set up the red tree of abundance [to the east], pillar of the sky, sign of the dawn of the world, tree of the Bacab, for the yellow cock oriole to perch on.

Then the white tree of abundance was set up to the north for the white bunting to perch on. Support of the sky, sign of destruction was the white tree of abundance.

Then the black tree of abundance was set up to the west of the flat land, as a memorial of the destruction of the world, for the black-breasted pidz'oy bird to perch on.

Then the yellow tree of abundance was set up to the south of the flat land, a memorial of the destruction of the world,

[1] The above translation is mainly based on that of Roys, but it differs from others published in two important points. The Maní and Tizimín versions have *hutlahi*, 'disintegrated,' the Chumayel version has *hullahi*, 'pierced.' In view of the disintegration ascribed in the Popol Vuh to the men of mud, the former seems more logical. *Puczikal* is heart and, by extension, judgement. The latter fits better in view of other sources which speak of the first creatures without judgement. *Mucchahi tumen u yam zuz*, 'smothered by the sand.' Other translations render this 'buried in the sands,' but *mucchahal* is 'choked, smothered, drowned,' and *tumen is* instrumental.

for the yellow-breasted pidz'oy bird to perch on, for the yellow cock oriole to perch on, the timid yellow bird.

Then the green tree of abundance was set up in the center of the land, a memorial of the destruction of the world."

Following this the plate of another katun was erected and the red, white, black and yellow Piltec were placed respectively to the east, north, west and south of the world. The account continues:

"However, Ah Uuc Cheknal was set up for all the earth. He came to [or from] the seventh layer of the earth. Then he descended to fecundate [or trample on the back of] Itzam-Kab-ain (Lizard with alligator paws). Then he descended to the abutment of the angle between heaven and earth. They traveled to the four waxes [?], to the four layers of stars. There was no light in the world; there was no sun; there was no night; there was no moon. Then they saw that the dawn was coming. Then the dawn came. During the dawn thirteen infinite series and seven was the count of the creation of the world. And then it dawned for them."

Itzam-Kab-Ain probably is to be identified with the celestial dragons, which are in my opinion the Itzamna, rain-sending dragons which are so prominent in the art of the Classic period and in the codices (Thompson, 1943). Ah Uuc Cheknal is unknown outside this context. His name means something like seven times stud animal owner or he who fertilizes the young growing maize seven times, but to have the latter meaning the growing maize must be regarded as an animal or bird. It is in this sense that Ah Uuc Cheknal copulates with Itzam-Kab-Ain, mounting on his back. Creation as a result of pairing of a celestial deity of light with a terrestrial goddess of darkness, with frequent references to "the lust" of creation, is narrated in passages in the *Ritual of the Bacabs* (Roys, 1965) and a similar pairing of the sun god with the moon goddess, who is also a deity of the soil and the crops, is a feature of the Mopan myth of the creation outlined below.

A sixteenth century source (Relaciones de Yucatán, 1:51) says the Maya knew of the flood and the fall of Lucifer (the downfall of Oxlahun ti Ku ?) and that the present world would end with fire.

In support of the suggestion made above that the men of the first creation according to the Books of Chilam Balam were

of clay because they disintegrated, another sixteenth-century source (Relaciones de Yucatán, 1:79) informs us that God made the first man of earth, and he was called Anon, and in confirmation of this the Motul dictionary has the entry "Anom, the first man, Adam." However, the Ritual of the Bacabs (Roys, 1965) has Anom in the plural, indicating that the creation was not of a single man, and that is in agreement with most pre-Columbian myths.

Another source (López de Cogolludo, 1867, bk. 4, ch. 7) says that the flesh and bones of the first man were of earth mixed with dry grass and his hair was of the same dry grass.

Yucatec. Present Day

From material collected by Tozzer (1907:153-54) and Redfield and Villa (1934: 330-31) a Yucatec series of four creations and three destructions of the world may be reconstructed:

First Creation. The *Sayamuincob* built the now ruined archaeological sites and the great stone roads while the world was still in darkness, before the sun was created. They were dwarfs but they could carry great loads on their backs. They were also called *P'uz*, hunchback or bent in Yucatec, but in other Maya languages, *e. g.* Tzotzil, the word signifies dwarf. They had magical powers and needed only to whistle to bring together stones in their correct positions in buildings or to bring firewood from the bush to the hearth by itself. The people became wicked and it was announced that there would be a flood. The little people built great stone tanks like the underground storage reservoirs as boats, but as they did not float the people were drowned. According to the version recorded by Tozzer there was then a great road suspended in the sky stretching from Tulúm and Cobá to Chichén Itzá and Uxmal, a detail remininiscent of the great Cobá-Yaxuná road. When the sun appeared the dwarfs were turned to stone. Their images are to be seen today in many of the ruins. Tozzer illustrates one of these. It is an Atlantean figure from Chichén Itzá and is of short stature.

The story of the P'uz is told also in Socotz, British Honduras (Thompson, 1930: 166). On old village sites in the

forest one comes upon old metates worn by use to trough-like pilas. These are the boats of the P'uz, the tiny folk. They forgot to worship God and He told them he would send a flood to destroy them. They decided not to make boats of wood as those might rot before they were needed, so they made them of stone. When the flood came the P'uz got in their stone boats, but as these did not float all the little folk were drowned.

Zayanuincob is translated as "the adjusters" by Tozzer, but I suspect that was due to his misunderstanding the word *ajustar* given in the Pío Pérez dictionary for *zay*. *Zayanuincob* [*sic*] can be translated as "the twisted men" or "the disjointed men", suggesting a connection with hunchback. The word may also be connected with *zay*, '*ant*', for there is also a Yucatec tradition of an ancient race called *chac zay uincob*, red ant men. They were industrious like the ants which takes out the red earth and make straight roads through the forest. The old people also spoke of those people as *yichobe bei yichob colelcab*, those with eyes like of bees, or *canal ubaacilob*, the meaning of which is uncertain, although *canal* would be 'on high.' The flood which ended this creation was *haiyokocab*, water over the earth, comparable to the terms *haycabal* and *haycabil* used in the books of Chilam Balam.

The belief that people were turned to stone when the sun rose presents an interesting parallel to the events narrated in the Popol Vuh in connection with the rising of the sun.

Second Creation. Next there lived the *dz'olob*, a term Tozzer renders as "the offenders', but I have not succeeded in finding that meaning. A flood also ended this age.

Third Creation. The *macehuals* came into being. The age ended with yet another flood, this one called *hunyecil* or *bulcabal*. *Macehual*, a nahua loan word, means the common people, and here probably indicates that the people were the same as the present-day Maya. The Motul dictionary, a sixteenth-century source, says of *hunyecil* "general flood, in which, the Indians used to say, only a maguey [henequen] point separated the water from the sky." In fact *hunyeci* means one point of a henequen (leaf).

Fourth Creation. This is the present world in which we live. It contains a mixture of all previous peoples to inhabit Yucatán.

Bacabs and Bees

The moment is opportune to note some links between the Bacabs and other creatures of these creation myths. In the material just given it was remarked that the dwarfs of the first creation were also known as the people with eyes like those of bees. In a Quiché creation story from Chichicastenango recorded by Tax (1949: 129) it is said that before the flood the people decided to go underground to save themselves. God in disapproval changed them into bees. Moreover, among deities associated with the creation in the books of Chilam Balam, as noted are the Ah Muzencab, who are the patron deities of the bees and have the bodies of bees (Redfield and Villa, 1934: 117). Landa informs us that beekeepers regarded the Bacabs and especially the Bacab called Hobnil as their special advocates. *Hobnil* is a name for the hollow logs the Maya use as beehives.

The Atlantean figures so common at Chichén Itzá wear loincloths which terminate in unusual elongated oval tassels, the interiors of which are cross-hatched or, rarely, decorated with patterns. There are grounds for identifying these as bees wings. In a much illustrated vase in the British Museum from Isla de Sacrificios (Joyce, 1914, pl. XVIII, nº 10; Seler, 1902-23, 5:323) an anthropomorphized bee has wings of the same type, and one can see that this is the common way of illustrating insect wings other than those of the butterfly on the Mexican plateau.

This peculiar ornament is found in the Maya Classic period. The reliefs in Temple 22, Copan, depict two individuals who hold up a celestial dragon, and as the dragon represents the sky, they are, in fact, skybearers. Both have knotted cloths with cross-hatched areas in their headdresses (Thompson, 1966).

Mopan

The Mopan Maya of southern British Honduras have a long story of the life of the sun and moon on earth, in which there are references to the creation of the world. As noted, the Kekchi have the same cycle of legends and they may have obtained these from the Manche Chol (p. 19).

According to the Mopan version (Thompson, 1930:119-40) the son of Adam and Eve was placed in heaven and wore the sun's crown, but it was too hot for him. At the end of seven years he caused a flood into which he plunged to cool off. Once more cool, he resumed his solar duties. The people complained to Adam that many had been drowned and they feared the same thing would happen again. Adam suggested that one of three brothers living with their grandmother Xkitza might take on the job. The second son was agreeable, and was sent to travel across the sky to see how he liked it. He did not like it at all, for he found the landscape very monotonous; it was a dull, flat plain without hills or valleys, seas or rivers. Were the world more interesting, he said, he would be happy to be the sun for ever. The messenger reported this.

The world became dark for a short while; the hills and valleys, the rivers and seas were made. The boy tried again and at journey's end he was enthusiastic. "Now the world is beautiful. I will be the sun for ever; I will never grow old, but will always be strong and do my work. "The messenger told him the time had not yet come; for the present the first sun would continue to do his work.

Sun wooed the girl who was to become the moon. They were the first people to have sexual intercourse, and for that reason the moon is mother of mankind, goddess of love and of childbirth. After many adventures on earth, sun and his wife and his brothers ascended to the sky to take up their duties, the two brothers becoming morning and evening stars. However, in contradiction to this, we are also told that the younger brother was turned into a monkey, an incident in the creation stories which will be discussed in Part 2.

Another story of the Mopan (Thompson, 1930:150) narrates that jaguars existed before man was made. The creator, taking some mud, started to fashion men. The jaguar was watching, but the creator did not wish him to observe the process. He gave the jaguar a jar and a calabash full of holes, and sent him to fetch water from the river, hoping to finish the creation while the jaguar tried to fill the jar with water scooped up with the leaking calabash. The jaguar was unsuccessful in filling the jar till the frog called to him "*Chohac, chohac, chohac*. Smear mud over the holes." By the time he had thus filled the jar, the creator had made thirteen men and

twelve guns. The jaguar learned after being shot twice in the paw that man was to be the master.

The incident of the leaking calabash has a parallel in the Popol Vuh: the twins send their grandmother with a leaking jar to fetch water while they search for the ball-game equipment.

Lacandon

Creation myths of the Lacandon have been recorded by Bauer and Bauer (1952:233-36). The gods once lived on earth and built the great buildings now in ruins.

As for the first creation, Hachacyum, the creator, made the Lacandon men, his wife made the women; Ah Metsabac, collector of black dye to form the rain clouds, made the Tzeltal Maya, the Mexicans and the Guatemalans; Acyanto, 'our helper,' created the Americans. These people were of clay. Hachacyum made the people of each totem of a different clay. The figures had red eyebrows and green beards, and were dressed like the gods. Cisin, god of the underworld, in mischief made their eyebrows and beards black. He also made figures in imitation of those of Hachacyum. Hachacyum passed a palm leaf over the fire and waved it over the clay figures. Thereupon all came to life, but those Cisin had made turned into the totemic animals of the Lacandon.

The world was then flat. Cisin and his two sons killed Hachacyum and buried him, but Hachacyum came to life and created the underworld with the aid of two other gods. One of them, Acanchop, made secure the foundations of the earth (*acan* means founded) with huge rocks and cross beams. When the underworld was completed Hachacyum burst open the ground beneath Cisin so that as the former ascended to make the heavens the latter fell through into the underworld.

Ah T'up, Hachacyum's youngest son, also made some clay figurines which came to life. His brothers were provoked and shot and killed them, but they came alive again. After this had happened about five times, the brothers beheaded them, whereupon they stayed dead. When Ah T'up saw the people he had created they had become palm trees, *xaan (Sabal mexicana)*. The father said the trees would remain on earth and grow here. One informant said there were four such trees in heaven.

The present world will be ender after the last Lacandon dies by the jaguars of Cisin eating the sun and moon (Cline, 1944). According to another version (Baer & Baer, 1949) at the end of the world all the Lancandon will gather at Yaxchilan. The gods will behead all single men, hang them by their heels, and gather their blood in bowls to paint their house. The final resting place of souls when the world ends will be in the highest of the four heavens, that of Chembekur, which is in complete darkness (Baer & Baer, 1952).

The mention of trees and the other informant's mention of four trees in heaven makes it reasonably certain that this is a broken down memory of the world directional trees which in Maya thought were ceiba trees.

According to Cline (1944) Hachacyum was buried by his brother-in-law. On the fourth day the body had so swollen that it split the earth, forming a big crevasse, by which Hachacyum, who was not really dead, climbed out. He was now more powerful than Cisin whom he banished to the middle of the earth. As noted (p. 21), these details supply an interesting commentary on, perhaps an amplification of, the fight between Oxlahun-ti-ku and Bolon-ti-ku. One is also reminded of the incident in the Popol Vuh in which Zipacna, believed to lie dead at the bottom of a deep pit, frees himself after three days and kills his opponents (Recinos, 1950:101).

Palencano Chol

A fragment of a Chol creation myth has been recorded by Arabella Anderson (1952). God wanted to destroy men and replace them with a new race. Therefore, he made darkness. The jaguars would go forth to kill all men; they would not sleep because it was always night and thus they would kill all men. One man closed his house very carefully with thick wall boards and went up to the ridge of the house. When the god found him there alive, he tore off the man's head and stuck it on his anus, and the man was changed into a spider monkey, perhaps the Spaniards were changed into howler monkeys. There follows the incident of Pandora's box to be discussed later. Destruction of all men by jaguars we have noted in Nahuatl creation myths and, set in the future, among the Lacandon. The beheading and sticking of the head on the rump

to form a new being we found in the *Leyenda de los soles* version of the fourth creation.

Tzotzil

The Tzotzil Maya of Larrainzar retain a myth recording three creations of the world (Holland, 1963:71-72).

First Creation. The world was completely flat; there was no sun, only a feeble light. The people were imperfect; they did not die. This angered the gods who sent a flood to end the world. Only the priests escaped death because they were monkeys, both spider and howler monkeys, and so were able to save themselves by climbing the tallest trees.

Second Creation. People were again imperfect because they did not remain dead; after three days they came to life again and lived for ever. This also displeased God who determined to destroy the world with a torrent of hot water. When the water began to fall some people took refuge in caves, but all died. The human bones often found in caves are remains of those refugees.

Third Creation. God decided to try again, and sent his son, Jesus Christ, to earth to create the third world. The first inhabitants were three ladino couples. They were wealthy and occupied themselves in reading and writing. God then created the Indians to do the hard work.

The Tzotzil of San Andrés Larrainzar retain belief in four gods who sustain the world on their shoulders. Known as *Kuch* [*cuch*] *Uinahel Balumil*, 'sky [and] earth bearers,' they are set at the corners of the world. Their slightest movement produces an earth tremor or even an earthquake. The gods of the four cardinal points occupy positions intermediate between those of the *Cuch Uinahel Balumil*. They are associated with world directional colors, but not in the arrangement of those in Yucatán and the Maya codices (Holland, 1963:92).

Material from another Tzotzil village, San Pedro Chenalhó amplify the above material (Guiteras Holmes, 1961:156-57, 176,182,186-87, 194,253-54, 282,287).

First Creation. The world was once overrun with jaguars; it belonged to them, that is why God the father had to kill them.

[This seems to have been before man was first created.] The first men were of mud. They could not stand erect and at first they could not talk. Someone, seemingly a Jew, came to teach them, but he taught them to sin. The people died from a flood but some escaped in a box floating on the water. They turned into monkeys because they ate charcoal when their food gave out.

Second Creation. People of this [?] creation stayed dead only three days.

Third Creation. God made Adam and Eve of clay. There are ladinos in the world because the woman sinned with a white dog, and Indians because she sinned with a yellow dog and gave birth to Indians. Long ago [this creation?] there was another sun, Lucibel [lucifer?]. He gave little heat; soil and vegetation did not dry so man could not burn the felled land to make milpa. The child Jesus offered to be the sun, promising to give more heat. He and his mother ascended to heaven, he to be the sun, she the moon.

The earth is square and surrounded by sea. The sky rests on four posts. Beneath is another square on which the dwarf people, the *yohob*, live. The sun is drawn in his cart across the sky by [dead?] human beings. They hand it over at sunset to the dwarfs underneath. The sun continues his journey below the earth but just above the dwarfs, and the latter protect themselves from his heat by covering their heads with mud.

Tzeltal

Information from the Tzeltal-Maya village of Oxchuc (Villa, 1946:570) closely parallels the above Tzotzil world view. In Oxchuc belief the flat earth is supported by four thick columns, at the bases of which live dwarfs only a foot tall and black because the sun passes so close to them [in his journey through the underworld]. Four more columns, set on the earth, hold up the heavens. There is some doubt as to whether these are at the cardinal points or at the N.W., N.E., S.W. and S.E. "corners" of the earth.

From Tenejapa, another Tzeltal town, a fragmentary creation legend has been recovered by Barbachano (1946:34). The first men were without clothes and, not knowing how to make

fire, they were cold. They could not talk. The creator ordered Mam to make a flood. God [in a subsequent creation] made fruit trees so that man could have food and he took maize from the ants who took it out of hills. When man began to eat, he began to talk.

The above covers published material on creations of the world to the best of my knowledge. Before discussing the various sources, certain myths attached to them will be noted, the first of which deals with the discovery of maize.