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THE "CANEK MANUSCRIPT" AND OTHER FAKED DOCUMENTS

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Abstract

During the last two decades, four manuscripts have surfaced, all purportedly of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century origin and each describing historical episodes of the contact between the Maya and Spaniards. Although some of them received scholarly attention and have been used as authentic sources of Maya history and culture, their identification as modern fakes can be established beyond a reasonable doubt. The texts show characteristics identical to the Spanish translation of Sylvanus G. Morley's *The Ancient Maya* (1947), and they possess specific information and illustrative material (i.e., Mayan hieroglyphs) that were drawn from this work, indicating that these manuscripts were created between 1950 and 1965.

Every historian is familiar with documents of questionable nature as well as numbers of certainly false ones. Such falsifications are not restricted to a certain time or place. Historically, legal documents were frequently faked to substantiate claims, for example, on land and other properties, and narrative documents have often been prepared to make historical documentation correspond to prevailing ideological currents or particular interests. Characteristically, the former documents tend to come from times that are closer to the supposed date of creation than the latter. There are also faked historical documents that have been fabricated in order to sell them and make money. These are, typically, the most recent ones.

Faked objects and documents have in common the fact that they are not authentic, not constructed by the person to whom they are expressly or implicitly attributed, and not constructed at the time at which they are dated. That is, they are not what they claim to be. The anthropologist usually expects to be confronted with faked objects of native art rather than with false written documents. This may be the reason why such documents sometimes pass unrecognized and may even be accepted and used by scholars.

For Mesoamerica there is a checklist of faked pictorial manuscripts, which contains about 60 items, not including the so-called *Techialoyan* codices (Glass 1975). The actual number of falsifications in reality, however, is much higher due to the fact that scholars do not pay even minimal attention to the numerous poorly made specimens.

Faked narrative Colonial texts have thus far not received significant attention, despite the considerable number in existence. This may be because they usually have been considered of minor importance, except in cases where they appear to be quite extraordinary. To this category belongs a family of faked historical narratives which have come to light during the last 20 years, and of which I became aware only a few years ago. This family includes four members so far: I believe that there may be other such faked documents, still unrecognized as such, that may have already found their way into libraries or private collections. The known members of this family show so many obvious common traits that other members could be recognized without major difficulty.

The known members comprise the following texts:

1. The "Las Memorias de [Gonzalo] Guerrero" (cited here as "Memorias") narrative claims to have been written by Gonzalo de Guerrero before 1535, edited by Mario Aguirre Rojas (1975). The original manuscript, of perhaps 50 folios, is said to be housed in a private collection belonging to a person whose name is given by Aguirre Rojas (1975) as José López Pérez in Mexico City.[1]
2. "Historias de la Conquista del Mayab, por fray Joseph de San Buenaventura" (cited here as "Buenaventura") claims in the text to have been written in 1725. Gabriela Solís Robleda and Pedro Bracamonte y Sosa (1994) published the text with commentaries. The manuscript belongs to the Archivo de Historia de México Condumex (AHMC) in Mexico City.[2]
3. The "Historia de la pazificazion de las tierras de los indios itzaes y las ganzias de el tayasal y de todos los poeblos de la alaguna en el año 1697" manuscript by fray Joseph Antonio María Roldán bears the date

[1] Salvador Rueda Smithers (personal communication 1996) suggested to me that a person with such a common name, who cannot be pinpointed in a large city, may well be fictitious.

[2] The editors of "Buenaventura" (Solís Robleda and Bracamonte y Sosa 1994:xi) stated that they only had a photocopy at their disposal and do not know the whereabouts of the original. Solís Robleda (1996) stated that the original belongs to the same archive. The original, with the call number "Fondos DCCCLXVIII, fecha 1724–1725," and the photocopy, "Fondos LXXVIII," were inspected by the present author in 1997. According to information provided by the director of the Archive, Dr. Manuel Ramos Medina, the manuscript, which now is regarded definitely to be a fake by the Archive, may have been acquired in about 1970 but there is absolutely no information about its provenience. The photocopy, judged by some technical characteristics, was made on a copier produced not long after 1970.

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of 1698. The manuscript, of 30 numbered pages, is unpublished and kept by the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island.[3]

4. An anonymous manuscript (or fragment of a manuscript) called the "Canek Manuscript," or "Manuscrito Canek," of which four numbered pages are extant, was published by Grant D. Jones (1992, 1994). The text was published again without scholarly apparatus in *Arqueología Mexicana* ("El manuscrito Can Ek" 1994). The National Geographic Society transferred the manuscript in 1990 to the Mexican Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, where it is now kept in the manuscript collection. The former history of the manuscript is summarized by Jones (1992:243).

Three of these manuscripts are homogeneous narratives, but "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) consists of a collection of various independent narratives, purportedly assembled by its author in part from earlier sources, in part being an eyewitness himself.

The first two manuscripts contain the story of the famous Spanish sailor Gonzalo de Guerrero, narrated by himself. Roldán's manuscript, the "Canek Manuscript," and part of "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) concern the history of Maya groups that resided in the inaccessible region of the Yucatan Peninsula on the shores of Lake Peten Itza. They described, from the perspective of Franciscan missionaries with vested interests in extending Colonial domination over the Itza Maya, the final moments of Maya independence that was finalized by their military conquest in 1697.

The "Memorias" (Aguirre Rojas 1975) manuscript is supposedly written on contemporary paper that was handed to Guerrero by some Spaniards, with the exception of the first part (30 folios), which, according to Aguirre Rojas (1975:21), is written on what he calls "papel [sic] de cuero de venado" ("deerskin paper") and "piel de venado" ("deerskin"). The "Buenaventura" manuscript (in the Archivo de Historia de México Condumex, Mexico City) is written on modern paper dating, at the earliest, from the nineteenth century.[4] The "Canek Manuscript" (in the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City) is written on a strange soft paper, which certainly is not the material used in manuscripts from the eighteenth century. The lengths of the manuscripts range from 4 pages (the existing part of the "Canek Manuscript" [INAH, Mexico]) to 150 pages ("Buenaventura" [AHMC, Mexico]). The ink of the "Canek Manuscript" has nearly completely faded away; only some dark brown blotches show the ink's presumably original color. The same can be seen in the first pages of the "Buenaventura" manuscript, although the writing has not completely disappeared. The writing was still visible a few years ago.

With the exception of the Roldán manuscript, all have been published, although in varying quality, and as of yet only the "Canek Manuscript" has received extensive academic attention. In none of the publications has the authenticity of the respective manuscripts been questioned, and with respect to the "Memorias," Aguirre Rojas (1975:14), felt it necessary to express that "no one dares say that it is false" (*nadie se atreve a decir que es falso*).

I now dare to say so. My line of reasoning follows three lines of evidence: the interdependence of the documents, which allows for the extension of judgment on one document to the others; the existence of anachronistic information in the manuscripts; and the models upon which the faker depended.

THE "MEMORIAS" AND "BUENAVENTURA" MANUSCRIPTS

I begin with a sketch of the contents of the "Memorias" (Aguirre Rojas 1975) and "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) manuscripts from the perspective of the texts themselves. In his "Memorias," (Aguirre Rojas 1975) Gonzalo de Guerrero, a famous shipwreck survivor, describes, by his own hand, his unique story. He recounts having departed from Darién (western part of present-day Columbia) in 1511, together with 54 companions, for the island of Española (Hispaniola). The ship capsized in a terrible storm, and 22 persons, among them Gonzalo de Guerrero and Jerónimo de Aguilar, were saved in a small boat, and they later arrived on the coast of Yucatan. The Mayas captured them and sacrificed some of them. The rest, including Aguilar and Guerrero, managed to escape. These two separated, and Guerrero arrived at Chetumal (present-day Mexico), where he married Ixpilotzama, daughter of the local *cacique*. There they lived undisturbed until 1519, when Aguilar received news of the arrival of Cortés at Cozumel (present-day Mexico) and, finally, joined Cortés' expedition. Guerrero, despite a written invitation from Cortés, however, voluntarily remained in Chetumal and, with tears, watched the departure of the ships from the beach. There follows a surprisingly detailed description of the conquest of Tenochtitlan in the "Memorias" (Aguirre Rojas 1975), many descriptions of Maya daily life, and the events of Guerrero's private life among the Mayas. In the final part of his story, Guerrero relates the events surrounding the death of Cuauhtemoc around Itzamcanac, and he tells about his meeting with Francisco de Montejo in Chetumal, completing his writing on July 14, 1528.

The supposed author of "Las Historias de la Conquista del Mayab," Fray Joseph de la Buena Ventura (1994), as he calls himself, stated that he found an ancient manuscript in a monastery written by the hand of Gonzalo de Guerrero. The otherwise unknown seventeenth-century friar proceeded, as he claimed, to copy precisely this text of Guerrero, inserting only a few commentaries. The contents of the account are similar to that of the "Memorias" (Aguirre Rojas 1975), but by no means identical. The details differ a great extent, and there are no parts where the texts coincide. Where information in independent sources exists, these often do not conform to those of the accounts by Guerrero in "Memorias" and "Buenaventura."

One example of the correspondences and discrepancies in the contents of Buenaventura's (1994) manuscript and "Memorias" (Aguirre Rojas 1975) is that in Buenaventura's text, the names of Guerrero's shipwrecked companions are similar to those in the "Memorias," although with slight differences that seem to be orthographic. The identities of the individuals extend to the unique occasions of their deaths; for example, in both manuscripts, a certain Angel de Santa Cruz falls into the sea while defecating during the shipwreck. Despite the correspondences, the causes of death of other persons differ: some, who are mentioned as victims of sacrifice, died in the other manuscript on the ship or in another way and vice versa (see Table 1). The total number of persons who died by one means or another, however, is the same as that referred to by Cervantes de Salazar (1971:189) and modern works using Cervantes de Salazar (1971) as a source (e.g., Morley 1946).

[3] The call number is Codex/Span/34/1-size, accession number 69-419. According to information provided by the John Carter Brown Library, the manuscript was purchased in December 1968 for $5,000 despite doubts about its authenticity from a known vendor.

[4] The paper was damaged prior to the writing of the text as can be seen on page 3, lower left, and the corresponding part of page 4, where the letters avoid the missing part. The writer inadvertently left the back of page 135 blank and without numeration which makes clear that he worked on single pages and not on bundles of sheets, as was usually done.

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Table I. Comparison of shipwrecked companions (in parentheses) according to Guerrero and Buenaventura

Guerrero's "Memorias" (Aguirre Rojas 1975)	Buenaventura (1994)
Victims of human sacrifice	
Alvarez de Amesquita, Joseph (Aguirre Rojas 1975:23, 38)	Alvarez de Amezcua, Joseph (Buenaventura 1994:21–22)
Arrolave, Francisco de (Aguirre Rojas 1975:38)	Arroyo, Francisco de (Buenaventura 1994:21, dies leaving the boat)
Bostamante, Rodrigo de (Aguirre Rojas 1975:38)	Bustamante, Rodrigo de (Buenaventura 1994:19, dies on the boat)
Qezada, Juan de (Aguirre Rojas 1975:38)	Quezada, Juan de (Buenaventura 1994:21)
Valdivia, Juan (Aguirre Rojas 1975:38)	Valdivia, Juan (Buenaventura 1994:1, 12)
Perez de la Palma, Diego (Aguirre Rojas 1975:44, dies during fight)	Perez de la Palma, Diego (Buenaventura 1994:11, 14, 16, 19, 21)
Die on the boat	
Arias, Juan de (Aguirre Rojas 1975:33, dies on shore)	
Bastida, Albaro de la (Aguirre Rojas 1975:28)	
Díaz de la Roeda, Baltasar (Aguirre Rojas 1975:28)	Díaz de la Roda, Baltasar (Buenaventura 1994:17)
García Roiz, Joseph (Aguirre Rojas 1975:31)	Garcia Ruiz, Joseph (Buenaventura 1994:21, dies leaving the boat)
Qezada, Hernando de (Aguirre Rojas 1975:32)	
Sánchez de Albornos, Juan (Aguirre Rojas 1975:27)	Sánchez de Albornoz, Juan (Buenaventura 1994:15)
Santa Cruz, Ange de (Aguirre Rojas 1975:26)	Santa Cruz, Angel de (Buenaventura 1994:14)
	Zepeda, Juan (Buenaventura 1994:14, at shipwreck)
Die later or undetermined	
Alcopero, Anselmo	
Castillo, Damian de (Aguirre Rojas 1975:44, sickness)	
Pedroza, Jocobo (Aguirre Rojas 1975:44, flight)	
Perez de la Fuente, Rodrigo (Aguirre Rojas 1975:40)	
Solis, Sebastian (Aguirre Rojas 1975:44)	
Ugantechea, Demetrio (Aguirre Rojas 1975:40)	

The same pattern of correspondences and discrepancies appears also with descriptions of persons intimately linked with Guerrero. In the Buenaventura's (1994) manuscript and "Memorias" (Aguirre Rojas 1975), Guerrero marries Ixpilotzama, the daughter of the *cacique* of Chetumal. The names of their older children are the same in the two texts: Gonzalo, Juan, and Maria Rosario or simply Rosario (Aguirre Rojas 1975:49; Buenaventura 1994:43–44). But there are also major differences: the names of Guerrero's parents do not agree, he called them Manrique and Mariana in "Memorias" (Aguirre Rojas 1975:52) and Juan and Rosario in the text copied by Buenaventura (1994:32). The two manuscripts affirm the Guerrero was born in Badajoz, but in a different year: 1480 and 1479 (Aguirre Rojas 1975:49, 52; Buenaventura 1994:85), respectively. Recognized sources give another birthplace: Díaz del Castillo (1960:98) mentions the port of Palos as Guerrero's birthplace, and Fernández de Oviedo (1959:3:404) cites Niebla, a town located a short distance from this port, as his birthplace.

Cortés's letter to Guerrero was inserted in the manuscript of Buenaventura (1994), which Buenaventura states had been copied from the Guerrero's original manuscript. This letter constitutes one of the principal discrepancies between the two manuscripts. It is well known that Cortés wrote such a letter to the shipwrecked Spaniards in Yucatan as an invitation to join his forces. His letter, or actually an extract of it, also appears inserted in López de Gómara (1966:2:28–29), and a different version appears in Díaz del Castillo (1960:98). The version from Díaz del Castillo cannot be referred to as authentic, considering, among other things, the many years that separated his writing from the actual events. Both versions, however, may serve to show the authentic style of such letters.

Cortés's letter in López de Gómara (1966:2:28–29):

> Nobles señores, yo partí de Cuba con once navíos de armada y quinientos cincuenta españoles, y llegue aquí a Acuzamil, desde donde os escribo esta carta. Los de esta isla me han certificado que hay en esa tierra cinco o seis hombres barbudos, y en todo a nosotros muy semejantes. No me saben dar ni decir otras señas; mas por estas conjeturo y tengo por cierto que sois españoles. Yo y estos hidalgos que conmigo vienen a descubrir y poblar éstas tierras, os rogamos mucho que dentro de seis días que recibiréis ésta, os vengáis para nosotros, sin poner otra dilación ni excusa. Si vinieseis todos, tendremos en cuenta y gratificaremos la buena obra que de vosotros recibirá está armada. Un bergantín envío para que vengáis en él, y dos naos para seguridad. Hernán Cortés.

Cortés's letter in Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1960:98):

> Señores y hermanos: Aquí, en Cozumel, he sabido que estáis en poder de un cacique detenidos, y os pido por merced que luego os vengáis aquí, a Cozumel, que para ello envío un navío con soldados, si los hubiésedes menester, y rescate para dar a esos indios con quien estáis; y lleva el navío de plazo ocho días para os aguardar; venío con toda brevedad; de mí seréis bien mirados y aprovechados. Yo quedo en esta isla con quinientos soldados y once navíos; en ellos voy, mediante Dios, la vía de un pueblo que se dice Tabasco o Potonchan.

Cortés's letter in Buenaventura's (1994:58) manuscript (page 69):

> En bordo de la nao San Santiago capitana de la nuestra expedición, en el día de hoy, sábado día de San Cirilo Mártir 18 del mes de abril de este año de gracia de Dios y de su majestad el rey nuestro señor os escribo estas letras a vos Gonzalo de Guerrero, que así os mostráis y dáis en desacato y rebeldía al llamado que os hago yo a que vengáis y toméis armas en la esta empresa encomendada a mí por fuero del señor capitán, gobernador de la isla de Carenas don Diego de Velázquez. Y pues yo os conmino, ordeno y os mando que viniereis pues de vuestro

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> buen grado y complacencia para que del vuestro esforzado denuedo y valor prestéis que quizás habremos en el nuestro peregrinas por las estas tierras y con las estas gentes non amigas, pero que les traemos la fe y el bien de la nuestra santa religión y así dejen las sus prácticas innobles y malas artes y peores costumbres, y sean cristianos y aprendan el buen vivir, que de su buen grado plugiere al cielo fuere aquesto. Y que si así no fuere yo doyme por desdichado en que tenga yo que derramar la su sangre junto con la nuestra sangre que en nada quiérolo yo. Y es por esto que así se precisa de la vuestra ayuda, pues que les conocéis bien y bien sabedes vos los sus usos y sus costumbres como yo lo tengo oído de palabras del vuestro compañero de infortunio don Jerónimo de Aguilar que ya nos es de grande ayuda y así sabedes vos la aquesta lengua de ellos, que ayuda de Dios no nos ha de faltar pues que fuerza de armas bien la tenemos sobrada.

Comparing the three versions, only the one by López de Gómara (1966:2:28–29) corresponds to the story as recounted by Cortés (1963:13), where it is said that he wrote in a second letter that he had three ships sent to the shore to pick up the Spaniards. Although Cortés knew of about six shipwrecked Spaniards in Yucatan (whose redemption was mentioned as one of his tasks in the Capitulación with Diego Velázquez, signed on October 23, 1518), he did not know their names and could not address any one of them personally. There are more strange elements in the letter as quoted by Buenaventura (1994): Cortés did not hold the title "capitán general" until May 1519 and was never "capitán general de Castilla" because this title did not exist in the Americas. As the latter title would have been conferred to him by the king, he therefore would not have said "by the grace of God," which was a prerogative of the king. Finally, Cortés never signed as Hernando *de* Cortés.

The dates of the letter are also contradictory. In the publication of the supposed original "Memorias" by Guerrero, the entire text of the letter does not appear but rather is mentioned only briefly (Aguirre Rojas 1975:70). The date of the arrival of the letter is given as Friday, March 18 (Aguirre Rojas 1975:91), and the departure of the Spanish ships is mentioned as March 19 (Aguirre Rojas 1975:74), the day of San José. In "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994), Cortés's letter to Guerrero is dated Saturday, April 18, 1519, the day of Santo Cirilo Martir. This date is completely confused, as in actuality April 18, 1519 was Monday, and during the sixteenth century this day was celebrated as the feast of Santo Eleuterio Episcopo (Reportorio 1529:diii verso). Perhaps the author erred in the month, because the feast of San Cirilo in modern times is celebrated on March 18 (Calendario 1996:54 [1711]), but not in the sixteenth century, when this day was the feast of Arcangel Gabriel (Reportorio 1529:dii verso). Both the dates of April 18 (in Buenaventura 1994:58) as well as that of March 18 (in the "Memorias" [Aguirre Rojas 1975:91]) for Cortés's letter to Guerrero, who lived near Chetumal, turn out to be impossible. Cortés's forces had departed much earlier from the east coast of Yucatan, arriving by March 12 already in the vicinity of Río Grijalva in Tabasco (Díaz del Castillo 1960:107).

First conclusion: The "Memorias" (Aguirre Rojas 1975) characteristic physical format—written in part on deerskin—could alone qualify the manuscript as the Guerrero autograph. In addition, Buenaventura (1994:58) states that he copied from an autograph of the same appearance. Despite the identical description of the autographs in both texts, the texts are different to such a degree that they cannot be copy and original, respectively. Besides, the "copy" contains elements, such as the text of Cortés's letter, that are missing in the "original." This signifies that the author of the "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) manuscript must have used a different autograph of Guerrero with the same physical characteristics (i.e., on deerskin), an improbable supposition. It is hard to imagine that Guerrero wrote two manuscripts identical in appearance and general contents that differ in details he must have known precisely (e.g., the names of his parents). On the other hand, the various detailed similarities between the two texts make their independence highly unlikely and signify that the two texts (notwithstanding their many obvious contradictions) were constructed on a common model or outline.

The two versions of Guerrero's memoirs address, in sometimes detailed fashion, events that happened far away. They contain information about the conquest of the Aztec capital Tenochtitlan by Cortés (Aguirre Rojas 1975:93; Buenaventura 1994:59–60). Buenaventura's (1994) text goes beyond the brief information contained in the "Memorias" (Aguirre Rojas 1975) and provides the names of the captains of Cortés's army that entered the Aztec capital. Guerrero must have received this information via a long chain of native informants extending from Mexico City to Chetumal, which makes it hard to imagine that the names arrived in uncorrupted form. The list is mistaken, however, and corresponds only in part to the names of the 10 captains given by López de Gómara (1966:1:23). Surprisingly the same names appear, even in identical order, in Morley's (1946:102) modern book on the Maya where the officers are described as "a number of other captains all of whom were destined to win imperishable fame in the conquest of Mexico." Morley (1946) included in this list not only the military leaders but other participants of the expedition, such as Bernal Díaz, who are famous for other reasons. The list refers to February 1518, when Cortés' armada started in Cuba, and thus includes Francisco de Montejo, who left for Spain on July 16, 1519, long before the army reached Tenochtitlan (Cortés 1963:33). This signifies that Montejo did not participate in the conquest of Tenochtitlan and that the information in "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) cannot be original. The exact correspondence to Morley's book (1947) points to the source from where the list was taken without considering its historical situation.

In conclusion, Guerrero, in both texts, described events he could have hardly known about while living in Chetumal. What seriously questions the authenticity of the two texts is that they gave details identical to those found in Morley's (1946) book, which also included erroneous details. It should be kept in mind that Morley's historical account is a summary of the writings of Colonial chroniclers, data taken from modern publications of documentary material not accessible in earlier times, and secondary works that reflect the knowledge of the time of their composition.

THE "BUENAVENTURA" MANUSCRIPT

The "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) manuscript also includes sections dedicated to the history of the conquest of Yucatan. It begins with a brief account of the evangelization of the Chontals (Buenaventura 1994:105–106), which corresponds closely to a paragraph in Morley's (1946:122) book. The account of the 1618 expedition of the Franciscans Fuensalida and Orbita to Tipu and the Itza capital (Buenaventura 1994:107–131) also closely follows a subsequent passage in Morley's book (1946:122–124, 1947:145–146) as does the story of the Mirones expedition and the murder of Fray Delgado (Buenaventura 1994:133–136; Morley 1946:124–125, 1947:144). Here, one of the few instances of

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close textual correspondence can be found: Morley (1946:125) wrote that after the Delgado massacre "the faithful Tipu Indians began to apostatize, returning to their former idolatry." This passage is translated in the Spanish editions prior to 1972 as "los fieles indios tipúes comenzaron a apostatar, volviendo a sus antiguas prácticas idolátricas" (e.g., Morley 1953:145), which reads almost identically in "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994:135): "los fieles indios tipues comenzaron a apostatar y así volvieron a sus malas mañas pasadas." Buenaventura (1994) then narrates the history of the conquest of Peten Itza from the early seventeenth century up to the final conquest in 1697, with which he ends the text. This account also corresponds with that of Morley's (1946:126–136) account.

In order to definitively refute the authenticity of the Buenaventura's (1994) manuscript, it is unnecessary to discuss the text and its context in great detail. Instead it is better to focus on certain decisive points: Buenaventura (1994) states that he had copied the account of Fray Bartolomé de Fuensalida, who in 1618 visited Tayasal, the capital of the Itza Mayas, located on an island in Lago Peten Itza. Buenaventura's (1994) text is similar to the historical account given by Morley (1953:145):

Account in Buenaventura

> en el año de 1617 en que dos misioneros los beatos padres fray Bartolomé de Fuensalida y fray Juan Joseph de Orbita habiendo tenido permiso de padre provincial y de su paternidad el superior y del señor gobernador de Yucatán para ir a visitar los itzaes fueronse de aquí de la esta ciudad de Mérida en el mes de marzo del ese año, el de 1617. Y fueron con el rumbo del austro y los padres llevaron a 30 indios conversos y bautizados todos, que eran cantores y sacristanes [Buenaventura 1994:108].

Account in the Spanish Edition by Morley

> En 1618 dos franciscanos, los padres Bartolomé de Fuensalida y Juan de Orbita, consiguieron permiso del Gobernador de Yucatán y del Provincial de su Orden para emprender la conversión pacífica de los itzaes al cristianismo y en consecuencia salieron de Mérida con el destino a Tayasal, en la primavera de aquel año. Tomaron el rumbo del Lago Bacalar en el sudeste y los acompañaron el Alcalde Mayor de Bacalar y cierto número de indios conversos, sacristanes y coristas [Morley 1953:142].

Buenaventura (1994:124) claimed to have taken the information from Fuensalida's report, which is known to have existed but is not preserved. Morley's description is a short digest of the narration in López de Cogolludo's (1957:477–496) chronicle. There is an interesting point in the description of the return of Fuensalida and Orbita after their second visit to Tayasal. Morley stated only briefly that they had to flee back to Tipu. He did not mention that it took them four days, as stated by López de Cogolludo (1957:496), who defines the distance covered. According to Buenaventura (1994:124) the friars took the following, much longer and implausible route: after passing by a "large town" called Tikal, where the inhabitants received them, they went to another small town called, by its inhabitants, Uaxactun and then to Xultun and Nahaxtun, all of which were then occupied. Continuing through "los pueblos chicos y grandes," they finally arrived at the town of Tipu (Figure 1).

Evidently no seventeenth-century person could have found these Classic Maya settlements occupied, as the editors admitted by hypothesizing that the mentioned towns preserved or took on the

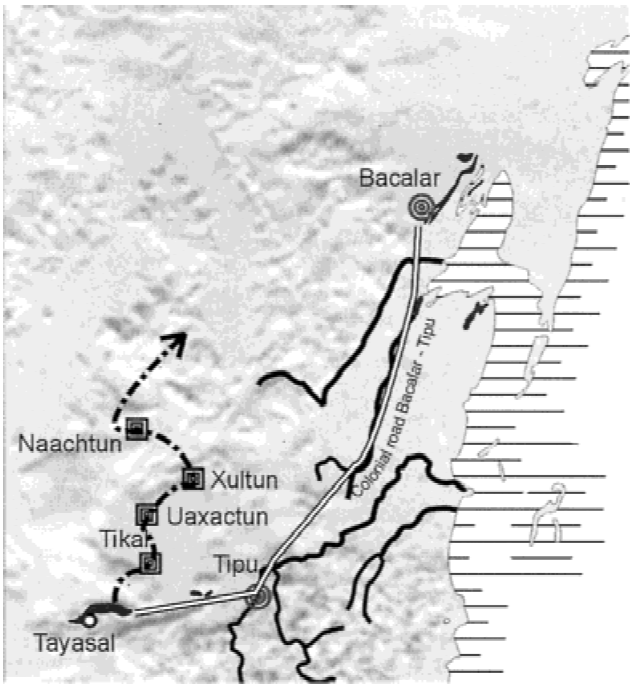


Figure 1. Map of the eastern Peten with the alleged route of Fuensalida. Drawn by Hanns J. Prem.

names of ancient places (Buenaventura 1994:174, Notes 148–149). The editors did not consider that during the seventeenth century no one could have known the actual names of these places, because their names were bestowed on them during the first decades of the twentieth century by Morley. Concerning Uaxactun, Morley (1937–1938:1:138) explained that, "The name of Uaxactun was given to this site to commemorate the fact that the first monument dating from Baktun 8 was found here. The name in Maya means 'Stone 8'" (Morley 1937–1938:1:138). Naachtun was also christened by Morley, who explained the reasons: "The name of Naachtun means in Maya 'distant stone' . . . the site being so called because of its extreme inaccessibility. . . . It is, in fact, one of the most inaccessible site in the Maya area" (Morley 1937–1938:3:315). The name of Xultun is also modern. Morley wrote, "G. E. Guthe and the writer gave the name Xultun to this group because of their discovery here of the latest dated monument in the Old Empire region. . . . In Maya, xultun would signify 'end stone' or 'closing stone' (1937–1938:1:383).

The question remains: why would the friars have taken this very long route to Tipu. Tipu has only in recent years been located along the upper Belize River (Jones et al. 1986), and it is located there on the map in Buenaventura's (1994) edition and so described in the annotations (Buenaventura 1994:Note 48). On the other hand, Morley (1946:123), following the knowledge of his period, repeatedly located Tipu "near lake Bacalar." The route of the friars in Buenaventura's (1994) description follows roughly a straight line from Tayasal to Bacalar. This route, however, would not have passed via Tipu, and, according to all known reports, there never existed a direct road. Most probably the names mentioned in Buenaventura's (1994) manuscript have been taken from the map of archaeological sites in Morley's work (1946:Plate 19). In this context, it is also worth mentioning that the account of Guerrero

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Table 2. Discrepancies among the accounts of Avendaño's journey

	Avendaño y Loyola (1996)	Morley	Buenaventura (1994)	Roldán (JCBL 1698)
First journey				
Departure	June 2, 1695	June 1695	June 10, 1695, day of San Primitivo	June 5, 1695, day of Santa Filomena
Travelers	Fray Andrés de Avendaño y Loyola (author) Fray Antonio Pérez de San Román Hermano Donado Alonso Vargas	3 Franciscans headed by Father Andrés de Avendaño	Andrés de Avendaño Joseph de la Buenaventura (author) Francisco de Izaguirre	Andrés de Avendaño Joseph Antonio María Roldán (author) Juan Ignacio Martínez de Sigüenza
Return	September 5, 1695 (Hopelchen)		September 20, 1695 (Mérida), day of San Eustaquio	September 20, 1695 (Mérida), day of San Eustaquio
Second journey				
Departure	December 13, 1695	December 15, 1695	December 15, 1695, day of San Arturo Mártir	December 15, 1695
Travelers	Fray Andrés de Avendaño y Loyola (author) Fray Antonio Pérez de San Román Fray Joseph de Jesús María Fray Diego de Echabarría	Avendaño accompanied by two other Franciscans	Andrés de Avendaño Joseph de la Buenaventura (author) Francisco de Izaguirre	Andrés de Avendaño Joseph Antonio Maria Roldán (author) Faustino Estrada Monzón
Arrival at lake	January 13, 1696, vespers of Jesus's name	January 13, 1696	January 13, 1696, day of San Gumercindo	January 13, 1696, day of San Gumaro
Departure from Tayasal	January 17, 1696 (indirect)	January 17, 1696	January 17, 1696	January 17, 1696
Arrival at Chuntuqui (spelling)	February 19, 1696, Sunday of Septuagésima (Chuntucí)	February 19, 1696 (Chuntuqui)	February 19, 1696 (Chontuki)	February 19, 1696 (Chuntoqe)
Return to Mérida	April 6, 1696		April 12, 1696, day of San Damián	

Note: Saints Primitivo, Eustaquio, Gumersindo, and Damian in Calendario (1936); Filomena in Calendario for July 5 (Calendario 1936:88); for Arturo see text.

as contained in Buenaventura's (1994:44–45) manuscript mentions Uaxactun, as "pueblo grande," and even Tipu.

Conclusion: The author of the "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) manuscript could not have taken this information from the lost account by Fuensalida. Rather he made use of the description, in part erroneous, by Morley in *La civilización maya*.

Having proceeded thus far we must look for additional corroboration. There are many such examples, yet I shall mention only Fray Buenaventura's (1994) account of the Franciscan journey to Tayasal in 1695 (Table 2). Fray Buenaventura (1994) manuscript states that he had participated in the journey along with two other professed Franciscans, Fray Andrés de Avendaño and Francisco de Izaguirre, making a total of three. This corresponds to Morley's (1956:120) statement that the expedition consisted of "three Franciscans headed by Father Andres de Avendaño" which is not altogether clear (does the number include or exclude Avendaño?). Morley's statement was obviously based on a partial translation of Avendaño's report, and he was probably confused by the listing of the participants on the title page of the manuscript, which does not distinguish clearly between the first and the second journey. A reliable transcription of Avendaño's (Avendaño y Loyola 1996) report was published only recently. The original text by Avendaño y Loyola (1996:2) stated that on the first journey only two friars traveled: Avendaño y Loyola and, as an apostolic notary, Fray Antonio Pérez de San Román, along with the lay brother Alonso Vargas. Before reaching Tayasal, they returned and made another attempt a short time later.

In the second journey, according to Avendaño y Loyola's (1996:2–3,26) report, three Franciscans participated under his direction, making a total of four, together with an unnamed lay brother. Morley, again confused, said only two, and this corresponds with the "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) text where the names of only two friars were recorded. In both cases, none of the names of the other participants correspond to the names recorded by Avendaño y Loyola in his account, witnessed on various occasions by the apostolic notary who accompanied him. The names mentioned in Buenaventura's (1994) text are basically invented names, as there were no names to be used in Morley's book (1947:146).[5]

[5] To the contrary of what is alluded to in "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994:176, Notes 171 and 172), Avendaño y Loyola's (1996) account does not mention Joseph de la Buena Ventura as a participant but refers only once to another group of missionaries in which, among others, a Franciscan friar named Juan de San Buenaventura participated. Solís Robleda and Bracamonte y Sosa (1994:Notes 171–172) are aware of the discrepancies between "Buenaventura" and the information given by Avendaño y Loyola (1996) but failed to draw such conclusions. By changing the name of their author from "de la Buena Ventura" as it is given in the manuscript (see Figure 5) to "San Buenaventura" in the publication, they intentionally obscured the situation.

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The dates provided in "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) for the times when the party stopped at various places during the two trips correspond to those in Avendaño y Loyola's report only when Morley provides them; otherwise, they are different. A most telling case is the date of the departure for the second expedition. Avendaño y Loyola states "December 13" (title page:in numbers; folio 22r: in words, 1996:1,26), whereas Morley must have misread a note he, or someone else, had made in numbers as "December 15." And this mistaken date published in Morley's book appears in Buenaventura's (1994) account. Buenaventura (1994) adds another anachronism to his account that mentions San Arturo as the patron of the day of one of the stops. In fact, modern calendars give the name San Arturo, who was actually Arthur Bell, an Englishman who died in 1643, but he was not canonized until the twentieth century (Calendario 1996:144 [1711]).

Conclusion: The author of the "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) text took the information from Morley's work (1947:146), including its errors. When information, including names, is lacking in Morley's book, the author of the "Buenaventura" manuscript invented liberally.

In her response to my critique in *Arqueología Mexicana*, Solís Robleda (1996), one of the editors of the "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) manuscript, maintained that the author made mention "of the soldier who set off the Tayasal war without permission, a fact that we have found only in Legajo no. 151, Audiencia de Guatemala, AGI" [i.e., General Archive of the Indies, Seville; translation by the author]. If the "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) manuscript contains confirmed information that is not available in print, this should in fact be considered a highly valid argument in favor of the manuscript's authenticity. But this is not the case. Elsewhere in Morley's book—which the editors cite in its most recent Spanish edition but obviously had not consulted thoroughly—he does provide this information. I cite it in full from the first edition, noting that subsequent editions retain the account in briefer form:

> Notwithstanding the congestion on the galley, only two Spaniards were wounded—sergeant Juan González with an arrow wound in his arm, and a soldier named Bartolomé Durán. The latter, infuriated and beside himself with pain, forgot Ursúa's repeated orders not to begin fighting and discharged his arquebus at the Itza, whereupon others followed his example until firing from the galley became general [Morley 1946:134, 1947:154, Spanish translation].

Morley appears not to have taken this information from documents in the Archive of the Indies, but this was unnecessary because the information was available from published and accessible sources. Morley's wording leaves no doubt that he took the information from the *Historia de la conquista de la provincia de el Ytza* by Francisco de Elorza y Rada, printed in 1714 (facsimile 1930:cap. Xix), where the incident is amply described: "[Los indios] respondian con excesibo numero de saetas, que casi llegaban a la Galeota, y una le entró en un brazo al Sargento Juan Gonçalez, y la otra tocó a Bartolomé Duran soldado." The respective account in Buenaventura's (1994) text does not provide any information not found in Morley's book: "en habiendo llegado la galeota a 5 varas de la villa de la laguna, vinose una grande andanada de flechas y que hirieron a unos y uno de los soldados heridos que el su nombre es el de Bartolomé Díaz Durán . . . disparó su arcabuz y todos rompieron la guerra" (Buenaventura 1994:49).

Conclusion: Solís Robleda's (1996) argument is invalid and reinforces my critique, i.e., that Morley's work serves as a model here as well.

Mayan hieroglyphs are repeatedly found in the "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) manuscript, both in the section containing Guerrero's account and in the description of the conquest of the Itzas. They are also in the "Memorias" (Aguirre Rojas 1975) manuscript, but because these have not been published in facsimile form they cannot be discussed. The "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) manuscript contains five examples of Maya long count dates. I leave aside the argument that the long count dating system ceased to be used at the end of the Maya Classic period, 600 years before the arrival of Spaniards. I do not make issue of the fact that the arrangement of glyphs in horizontal lines or a single vertical column is most uncommon, because it could be argued that as the hieroglyphs date several centuries later than the Classic period they had very likely undergone certain changes and modifications. For this reason I also do not argue that all of the dates are incorrectly calculated internally in accordance with Classic-period rules, with some actually being systematically impossible, because one could offer a similar argument in response. But anticipating these possible counter arguments, one would expect that the forms of the hieroglyphs would also be different from Classic Maya forms. But, surprisingly, the hieroglyphs of the "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) manuscript are identical to the stone inscriptions (see Table 3, Figures 2 and 3).

They are identical to those found as published paradigmatic models—again in Morley's popular book (as also observed by the "Buenaventura" editors [Solís Robleda and Bracamonte y Sosa 1994:157, Note 39]). Furthermore, no glyphs other than those published in Morley's two panels appear in Buenaventura's (1994) manuscript.

Comparing the hieroglyphic Maya dates from Buenaventura's (1994) manuscript—both Guerrero's ("Memorias" JCBL 1698) section and that of Buenaventura's account—with Morley's panel of cycle glyphs, the following becomes clear:

Table 3. Long count dates in Buenaventura's (1994) manuscript

Page	Long Count	Tzolkin	Recte	Remark
37	11.14.10.0.0	3 ahau 6 xul	18 mac	Day position within given month impossible ⟨katun 4 ahau⟩
45	11.15.0.0.0	2 ahau 8 kankin	8 zac	Gives 1515 or 1516, should be February 17, 1520
61	10.8.10.0.0	8 ahau 8 kankin	3 ahau 3 pax	Hieroglyph reads: 13 mol
64	9.13.0.0.0	8 ahau 4 cumku	8 uo	Day position within given month is impossible
132	12.5.0.0.0	8 ahau 13 muan	3 pax	Said to correspond to September 1717; should be April 14, 1717 in Gregorian calendar

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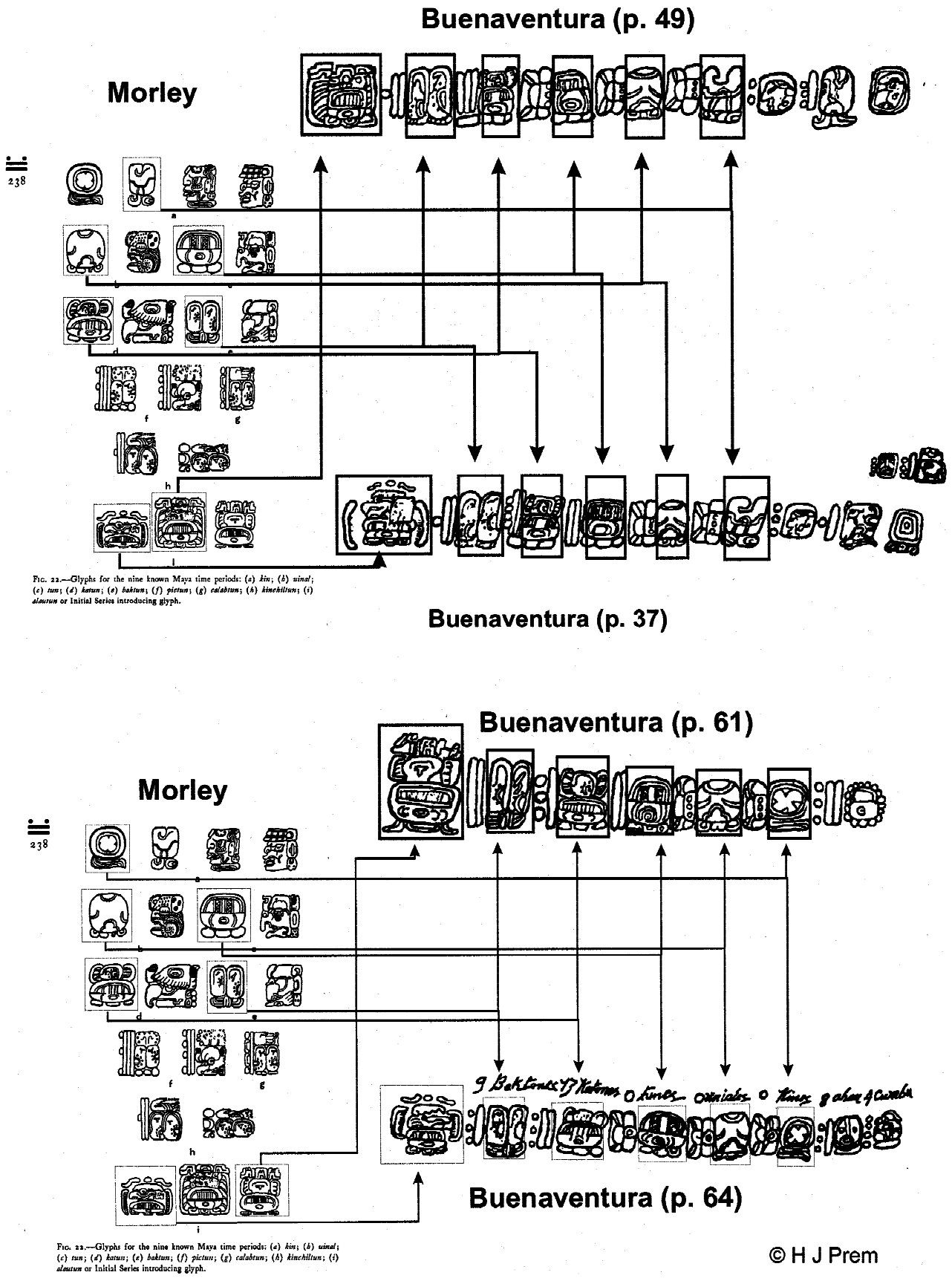


Figure 2. Long count dates in "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) compared to Morley's (1956) panel. Drawing by Hanns J. Prem.

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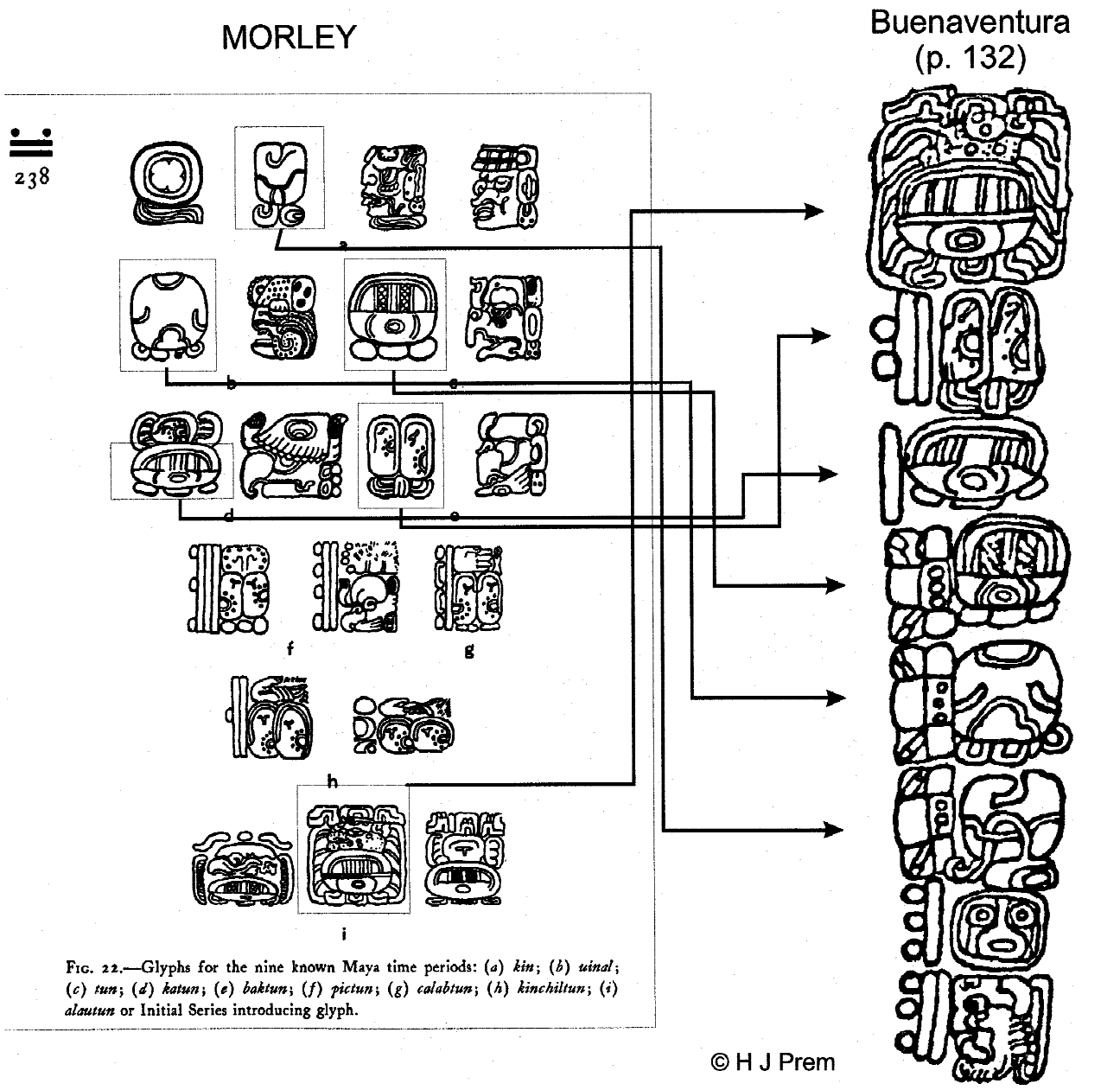


FIG. 22.—Glyphs for the nine known Maya time periods: (*a*) *kin*; (*b*) *uinal*; (*c*) *tun*; (*d*) *katun*; (*e*) *baktun*; (*f*) *pictun*; (*g*) *calabtun*; (*h*) *kinchiltun*; (*i*) *alautun* or Initial Series introducing glyph.

Figure 3. Long count date in "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) compared to Morley's (1956) panel. Drawing by Hanns J. Prem.

1. All of the glyphs used by Buenaventura (1994) appear in Morley's panel.
2. The simplest forms that can easily be copied are always used.
3. Variable elements of the introductory glyph are not respected.
4. Forms of the "kin" glyph are used, which are not found in Classic Maya introductory series (which Morley did not mark in his panel).
5. The cursive forms used in the codices and on pottery vessels, which would be expected in a manuscript, are not used in the long count dates.

It must be remembered that Morley assembled the examples in his panel from the entire Maya area and the entire Classic period. They, therefore, make up a highly heterogeneous selection, chosen to demonstrate the variability and not to offer standardized forms. For that reason it is impossible to find them together in the same inscription.

It could be argued, in opposition to my opinion about the monumental forms, that possibly only these forms survived until the time when the manuscripts were written. But the same "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) manuscript contradicts this argument as it also contains cursive glyphs of the codex type, but only and always when these are provided by Morley. The supreme example is the names of the cardinal directions with their color associations, which in the early editions of Morley's book appear in the frontispiece. They are completely identical in the Buenaventura (1994) manuscript (which the "Buenaventura" editors also observed [Solís Robleda and Bracamonte y Sosa 1994:160, Note 59] but remained unsuspicious regarding this point; Figure 4).

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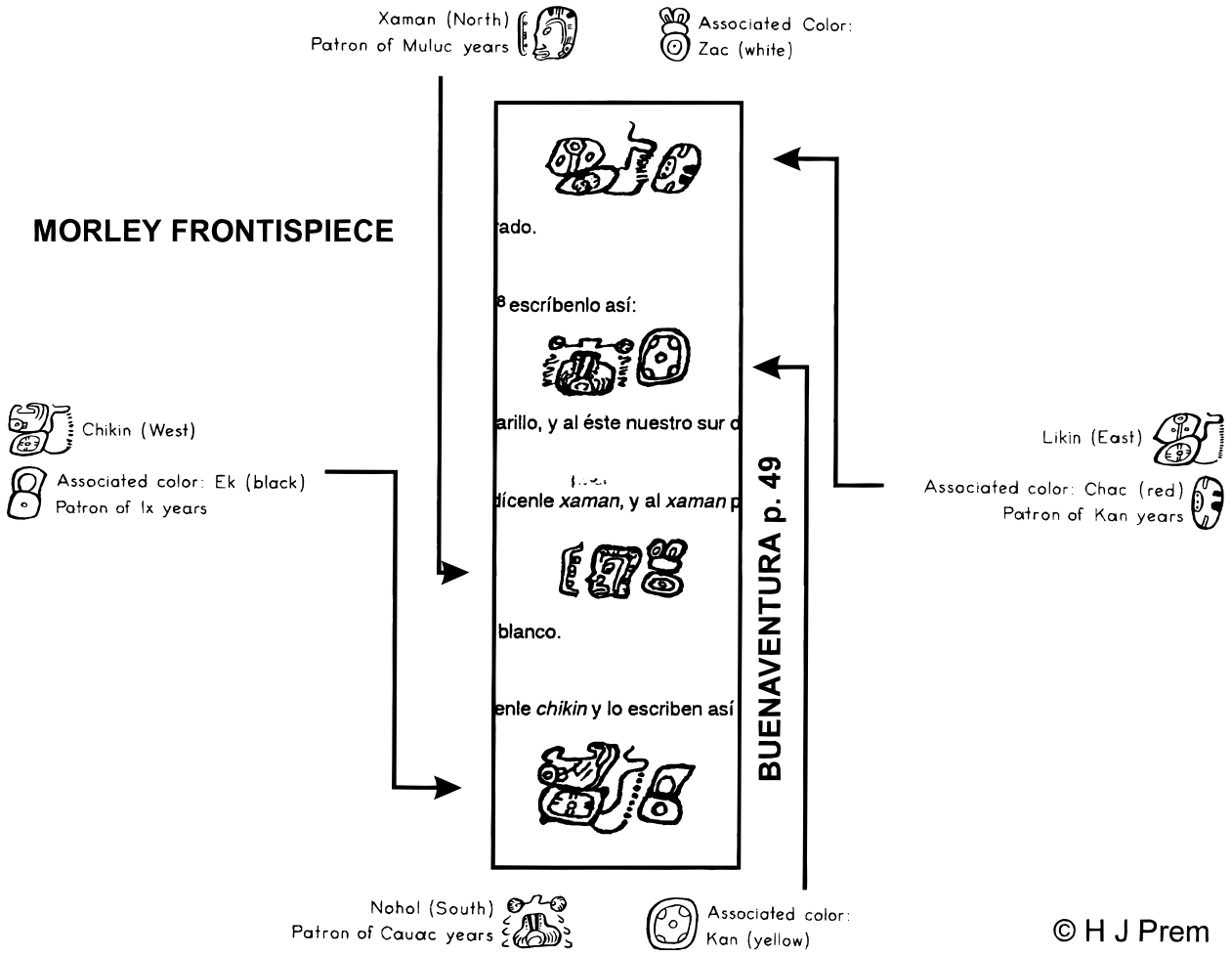


Figure 4. Glyphs for the cardinal direction in "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) compared to Morley's (1956) frontispiece. Drawing by Hanns J. Prem.

Conclusion: The Mayan hieroglyphs in the "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) manuscript were taken from Morley's book without differentiating between cursive forms and those of the inscriptions and without respecting established rules of the writing system and calendar.

THE ROLDÁN MANUSCRIPT

At this point it is appropriate to discuss the third document, that of fray Joseph Antonio María Roldán. Roldán (JCBL 1698) also described Avendaño's trips to Tayasal. The correspondences between the texts of Buenaventura (1994) and Roldán (JCBL 1698) are shocking, including even a marked similarity in the authors' signatures (Figure 5).

In the Roldán (JCBL 1698) manuscript we also find glyphs copied from Morley, in this case those of months and days as well as the cardinal directions (but without the color association glyphs), and some called "astral" glyphs taken from reproductions of codices in Morley's (1946:215, 300) book; the latter also appear in the "Buenaventura" (1994:61) manuscript.

The explanation of the Maya calendar in each of the three manuscripts is similar, and all mention the names of the calendrical periods. Apart from the lower-level time units whose original names are well documented, the "Buenaventura" (1994:35) manuscript mentioned the *baktuns*; Guerrero's "Memorias" (Aguirre Rojas 1975:84) cited *Batum* and *Peitum*, or *Pitum*; and Roldán (JCBL 1698:7) used even *bactun*, *pitun*, and *kalabtun*. These names, also in Morley's book, are, however, not original but rather, as Eric Thompson (1950:147) noted, created by recent investigators. Only for the reconstruction of the word *baktun*, some historic justification exists; however, Thompson had reasons to call it "pseudo-maya."

Conclusion: The description of the Maya calendar in these manuscripts is based directly or indirectly on Morley's book.

We return to the story recounted in Roldán's (JCBL 1698) manuscript. Once again it is the stories of the Franciscan visits to Tayasal and final conquest that Buenaventura's (1994) account also narrates. There are many other coincidences between the "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) and Roldán's (JCBL 1698) texts, for example, the coincidence regarding the soldier mentioned who initiated the battle of the conquest of Tayasal, whose name was mentioned by Morley and who also appears in Buenaventura's (1994) text. Roldán (JCBL 1698:27) stated " alcanzo otra flecha un soldado en una rodilla que daba gritos de dolor y asi alcanzo por la

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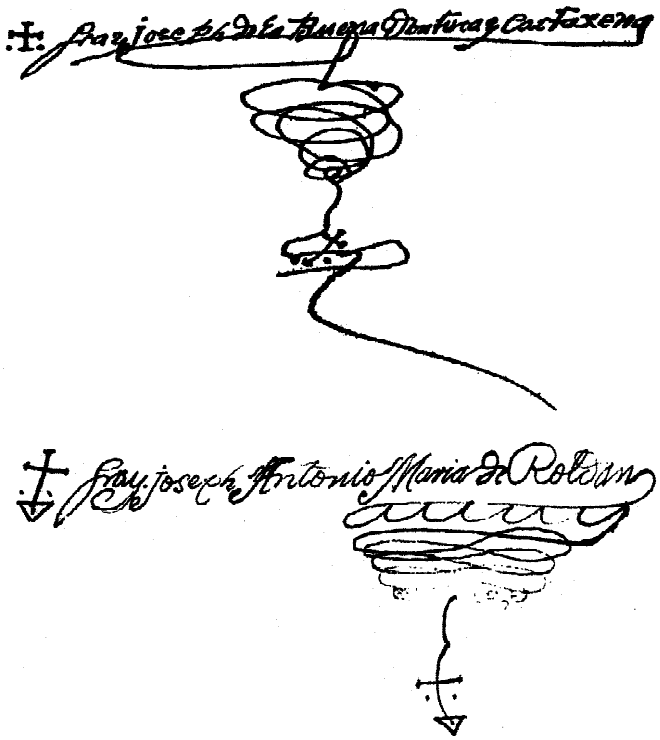


Figure 5. Signatures of Buenaventura and Roldán.

espalda y por debajo de las costillas otra flecha al corchete Bartolome Duran y arrancaron la flecha con grande dolor y monto mucho su colera y disparo su arcabuz y soltose la guerra."

Conclusion: The "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) and Roldán (JCBL 1698) texts are intimately linked although by no means identical. This correspondence is the same as in the case of the "Memorias" (Aguirre Rojas 1975) and "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994).

We have already noted that the discrepancies between Avendaño y Loyola's authentic document and Buenaventura's (1994) text always appear when precise information is lacking in Morley's book. We see similar differences also between the Avendaño y Loyola document and the Roldán (JCBL 1698) manuscript. Strangely enough, the Buenaventura (1994) and Roldán (JCBL 1698) texts contain differences, especially with regard to the participants of the journeys, except the presence of Avendaño y Loyola. Thus, the Buenaventura (1994) text does not mention Roldán (JCBL 1698) and vice versa (Table 2). As both declared to write as eyewitnesses, the texts are mutually exclusive. They also both depend on Morley even when he is not correct, for example providing the mistaken date of December 15.

Conclusion: The enunciations of Roldán (JCBL 1698) and Buenaventura (1994) contradict each other on central points. Although the two are in accordance on the participation of Andrés de Avendaño—and they always omit the second part of his name, "y Loyola," which Morley does not mention. Because Avendaño, who is recognized in both manuscripts, mentions neither Roldán nor Buenaventura in his own undoubtedly authentic account, neither of the latter two authors should be considered eyewitnesses nor their works authentic. Their obvious interrelation as well as their discrepancies shows that they were made by a single person who made efforts to dissimulate their nature.

THE "CANEK MANUSCRIPT"

Now we know that we are facing a faker of documents with an inclination for the Mayas, especially the conquest of the Itzas and their kings. The document that received the name of one of these kings, the "Canek Manuscript," concerns the same topic and must also be considered. Unfortunately, the "Canek Manuscript" is a very short fragment, consisting of only four pages, or, better said, of four folios, each of which is written on one side only. The short length of the manuscript considerably limits the possibility of encountering inconsistencies such as those that have been used in previous arguments.

The "Canek Manuscript" recounts the arrival of three Franciscan friars to Tayasal and their meeting with Canek. The friars are Andrés de Avendaño, Fray Antonio, whose surname is not given, and the anonymous author of the text. According to Avendaño y Loyola's statements in his report, two friars and a lay brother participated in the first trip, and in the second there were four monks, of whom one remained in the village of Chuntuqui. The only one with the name Antonio was Antonio Pérez de San Román, the one who did not go on to Tayasal. In order to resolve this contradiction, Jones (1992:250) proposed that there was an earlier trip. But Avendaño y Loyola stated explicitly that he made only two trips. In order to support this hypothesis, which is the only possible solution, it would be necessary to explain why Avendaño y Loyola hid this trip, which would never have been executed without the permission of his superiors.

We return to our subject-matter. It is first necessary to establish the connection between the "Canek Manuscript" and the three others discussed earlier. Judging from the unusual handwriting, I am convinced that the three manuscripts (except for "Memorias," of which no original photographic copy has been published) are written by the same individual. Although this individual made great efforts to change the appearance of certain letters in the different manuscripts, sufficient identical strokes remain. For example, the sign for "s" is very strange but characteristic, consisting of a long "s" with a small appendage to the side, which Jones (1992) frequently transcribed as "ss." But it is not possible nor necessary to discuss all of these forms at this time.

There exist similar stylistic characteristics, lexicon, and shared orthographies between the "Canek Manuscript" and the three others. All use the same words in the same context. To mention only a few examples: they speak of a musical instrument, *xorombo*, which appears to be a marimba (contrary to the opinion of Pendergast and Jones [1992]), and consistently use the Mayan words *chim*[6] (maize) and *buhul* (beans)—although at times confused—and sometimes also *atol*. The many "Maya" words sprinkled throughout the texts of the manuscripts (except the "Canek") are found in no Yucatec dictionaries and make no sense in the Mayan language. Some of them are Quiche, for example *cumatz* (correct for snake, "Memorias" [Aguirre Rojas 1975:81], "Buenaventura" [Buenaventura 1994:44]), *jolom* (but with no or different meaning given in "Memorias" [Aguirre Rojas 1975:45, 50]; "Buenaventura" [Buenaventura 1994:53]; Roldán JCBL 1698: 7) and the numbers for one and three in a list of the first five numbers in Roldán (JCBL 1698:7): *jum*, *kiejep*, *oxip*, *xixlum*, *xaktum*; in "Buenaven-

[6] It is unnecessary to seek a derivation for the word *zim* (Jones 1992:259, his transcription [1992:266] is erroneous; line 76 should read: "qe dizenle zim i friyol negro qe dizenle buhules" as published in Jones 1994:27) or *chim*. This word and the other two are also found in Morley's book (25, 141, 156, 200).

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tura" (Buenaventura 1994:111): *xum*, *qiexep*, *oxip*, *xixtun*), the others are neither Quiche nor Yucatec. Buenaventura (1994:133) provided for the Maya long count the word *xtabentun*, which is known as a Yucatec liquor.

In addition, certain personal names and toponyms are the same in most of these manuscripts. The personal name Zinac, which appears once in the "Canek Manuscript," also appears in Guerrero's "Memorias" (Aguirre Rojas 1975:52, 59) as Xinax Xiu, in Buenaventura (1994:30–31) as Ah Zinac Xiuu, and in Roldán (JCBL 1698:5) as Antonio Sinac. A possible source for this name is a Guatemalan *cacique* cited in the introduction to the Recinos et al. (1953:22) edition of the *Anales de los Cakchiqueles* and in the *Popol Vuh* (Recinos 1950). The "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) manuscript has taken a large number of personal names from both works as well as a narrative of the history of the Quiches from this edition of the *Popol Vuh*.

The translation given for the name Canek is problematical. It appears in Buenaventura's (1994:109) text as "estrella serpiente" and in the "Canek Manuscript" as "estrella veinte serpiente," which is unjustified. The hieroglyphic versions of the name Canek in Mayan inscriptions, other than the latter manuscript, are not homogeneous (Wagner 1995). The elements for "sky" or "serpent" or the number "four" are used to express "can," and the symbol for "black" is used for "ek." Neither the transcription nor the glyphs in the "Canek Manuscript" are exact, nor do they correspond to that reading (cf. Jones 1992:256, Note 6).

These same orthographic and stylistic characteristics appear in the manuscripts, although to differing degrees. Hanks (1992:276) noted specific peculiarities that made him conclude that "the author seems to have purposely chosen nontypical phrasings in a variety of contexts" and "that his language style is the product of rhetorical choice, not mechanical interference." Although Hank's (1992:276) study, based exclusively on the "Canek Manuscript," does not infer that this form of language may have been used by a modern author to give the text the appearance of an older one, his analysis does not contradict this interpretation.

The most unusual of all of the textual forms discussed here are the phrases that Hanks (1992:272) called "anomalous noun phrases," in which a definite article appears next to a possessive pronoun or a demonstrative article, as in "en la esta cibda" or "la nostra llegada." These expressions appear rarely in authentic documents of the Colonial period, and when they do, they can probably be considered as errors. Hanks (1992:172–173) attributed this grammatical form to Maya influence, but emphasizes that it more likely was "a conscious choice" and "a rhetorical strategy."

The orthography, which corresponds to no known usage in the Colonial period, is the same in the four texts. I mention the most striking examples: after the letter "q" the "u" is almost always missing, even in "qe" and "aqi." The same applies in many cases to "u" after "g" as in the names of Gerrero and Agilar (in "Memorias" [Aguirre Rojas 1975] and "Buenaventura" [Buenaventura 1994]), and in even stranger instances. The final "d" is almost always missing ("cibda"); "o" and "oe" almost always substitute for "u" and "ue"; and an "a" consistently precedes a few words, as in "alaguna" and "alancha." (See Table 4.) On the other side, all of the common abbreviations of the seventeenth century are completely missing in the manuscripts, such as "q̃" ("q" with tilde) for "que" or "dho" for "dicho," both highly common abbreviations in Colonial texts that are not found one single time in the "Canek Manuscript." Nor is the very common letter "ç" used in the manuscripts. These characteristics do not correspond to usages of that period but rather should be considered as an artificial language and method of writing, as Hanks (1992:270) also noted, a style adopted by the faker in order to disguise his own language and modern orthography.

Also odd is the delimiting of corrupt Latin phrases with a sign of the cross. Latin citations are repeatedly found in texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but usually these quotations are taken from the Bible or ecclesiastical (and classical) writers and never from the responses of the Mass as in these four manuscripts (including the texts in the "Memorias" and portions of the "Beunaventura" attributed to Guerrero, an untaught sailor, where they are even less appropriate).

To conclude this discussion I compare the description of King Canek as it appears in the "Canek Manuscript" with the description by Guerrero of the *cacique* of Chetumal, allegedly copied in the "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) manuscript, a description supposedly written nearly 200 years earlier in another region and by another person, and referring to a different cultural context. The descriptions follow a similar pattern and even include many identical words, thus leaving no possibility that these are independent texts (Table 5).

The description of Canek's gold already raised the skepticism of Pendergast and Jones (1992:284), as did other elements of his clothing. But this is one of the elements that according to the faker pertains to a Maya chief, because Buenaventura's (1994:141) description of Canek is similar: " y tiene la corona de oro puesta en la su cabeza y adornan sus orejas los zarcillos de oro y brazales de oro en los brazos." The similarities between Roldán's (JCBL 1698) manuscript, "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994), and the "Canek Manuscript" also include that Canek is described as of lighter complexion than his followers: "la su piel es clara" (Buenaventura 1994:141); "era más claro el su color" (Roldán JCBL 1698:12); and "que la color de su cara es mas claro" ("Canek Manuscript" Line 72).

Considering that the first three manuscripts are not authentic and share many features in common with the fourth, one necessarily comes to the same conclusion with respect to the "Canek Manuscript." It is theoretically possible that the faker of the three manuscripts knew the "Canek Manuscript," having analyzed it thoroughly and constructing fabrications based on this model. Although this is quite unlikely, the hypothesis should not be discounted without evaluating it. To base the project of constructing a whole line of falsifications on the "Canek Manuscript" would have required enormous intellectual investment on the part of the faker, both in an analysis of the "Canek Manuscript" and in following this textual standard in the execution of the other manuscripts, while at the same time taking the necessary information from the work of Morley. This hypothesis appears even more unlikely given that the skeletal events that are narrated in the "Canek Manuscript" correspond to what Morley (1946:126) recounts of Avendaño's second visit (see Table 6).

But the fact that various details such as Mayan words used conjointly for food and personal names and toponyms appear in identical form in Morley's book makes it difficult to accept the counter hypothesis. It would be necessary to explain these similarities as mere coincidence. As I have already demonstrated, the first three manuscripts took nearly all of their information from Morley's book. It is more likely that these details in the "Canek Manuscript" also originate in Morley's book, where they also appear.

The final decisive point rests upon a Christian calendrical date. The sections of the three manuscripts, "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994), Roldán (JCBL 1698), and the "Canek Manuscript" that deal with the conquest of the Itzas refer to the death of Fray Diego

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Table 4. Comparison of characteristic language elements in the faked documents

Language Element	"Memorias" (Aguirre Rojas 1975)	Buenaventura (1994)	Roldán (JCBL 1698)	"Canek Manuscript" (Jones 1992)
Words for musical instruments and other things				
planta *chirimui*, *flauta	Aguirre Rojas 1975:*52	Buenaventura 1994:114		
tambor *tuntun*	Aguirre Rojas 1975:52	Buenaventura 1994:114		
tiras de madera *xorombo* [marimba]/palos/ *tablas de madera	Aguirre Rojas 1975:81, *52	Buenaventura 1994:114		Jones 1992:24, 169
camas hechas de juncos/*de varas	Aguirre Rojas 1975:39	Buenaventura 1994:*30	Jones 1992:*163	
comida: *buhul, chim, *atol/**etibacan*	Aguirre Rojas 1975:*58, 81	Buenaventura 1994:28, 98	JCBL 1698:*1, **11	Jones 1992:75–76
Names				
Zinak	Aguirre Rojas 1975:47–76	Buenaventura 1994:30–55	JCBL 1698:5	Jones 1992:115
Canek = estrella (*veinte) serpiente	Aguirre Rojas 1975:109		JCBL 1698:*18	
Tayasal		+	+	+
Chakan/*Chalam		Buenaventura 1994:140	JCBL 1698:*11	Jones 1992:133 ff.
Stylistic and orthographic peculiarities				
Abundance of "de" like Diego de Delgado	+	+	+	+
Latin phrases between + and +	?	+	JCBL 1698:only p. 4	+
noestro [nuestro]/nostro		+	+	+
tobimos [tuvimos]		?	+	+
q[u]e, aq[u]ello, q[u]eda, etc.		+	+	+
q[u]i, etc.	+	+	+	+
a[u]nq[e]			+	+
Ag[u]ilar	Aguirre Rojas 1975:71	Buenaventura AHMC:7		
G[u]errero	Aguirre Rojas 1975:59	Buenaventura AHMC:7		
cibda[d], bolunta[d], liberta[d]		+	+	+
i [as conjunction instead of y]			+	+
alancha, alaguna	+	+	+	+
en la esta tierra, los mis ijos, etc.	+	+	+	+

Note: Reference numbers in Buenaventura (1994) indicate the page of publication except where otherwise indicated. Page numbers for Roldán (JCBL 1698) indicate the page in the manuscript. Page numbers for the "Canek Manuscript" indicate the page in Jones (1992). Missing letters in square brackets. +, abundantly attested; ?, cannot be verified.

Delgado at Tayasal, which fell in early 1623. No authentic source gives the precise date, which is understandable because no one escaped to report it. Buenaventura (1994:134) mentioned the event without providing a date, following Morley (1946:125), who gives July 1623 (following López de Cogolludo [1957] who remarks "no he hallado certidumbre del dia"). Roldán (JCBL 1698) is more specific and provided the date July 23, 1623. The "Canek Manuscript" reported the death as falling on July 8, 1623 and, in conforming with a habit of this group of manuscripts, also reported the name of the patron saint of the day, Santa Isabel. The date corresponds to the calendar dates of modern saints. However, only 2 years later this Santa Isabel, queen of Portugal, was canonized by Pope Urban VIII. It could be argued that the mention of this date in the document is retrospective, from the time when the author wrote, supposedly in 1695. But this fails to explain the date, because when Santa Isabel was canonized, the feast was assigned the day of her death in 1336, that is, July 4. Only in 1695, by a decree signed on January 9, Pope Innocent XII had changed the date to July 8, prescribing it for the entire church. Prior to this date, it had been an *ad libitum* (optional) feast. A friar writing in Yucatan could not have been able to take into account a change made simultaneously in Rome, given that the new date appears for the first time in Volume 2 of the Martyrologium Romanum, printed in 1701, but still together with the old date. Even in a later Martyrology published 1709 in Paris the change is still not mentioned (Bollandus et al. 1643–1925:2:171–172). It may be inferred that it

Table 5. Comparison of accounts of rulers in "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) and the "Canek Manuscript."

Account of Guerrero in Buenaventura (1994:27)	Account of Anonymous Author of the "Canek Manuscript"
vino un cacique o rey [de Chetumal]	Teniase el rey Canek
y con muchos adornos	muy bien adornado
y tenía en su cabeza una corona alta de oro puro	de su cabeza oronosa grande corona de oro puro
y en las orejas traía sarcillos de oro	y traiba las orejas tapadas con discos de oro . . .
y su vestido era una túnica blanca muy limpia	y se veste con un túnico de color blanco puro
y sus sandalias eran de hilo muy tejido y fuerte azul	y las sandalias son unas muy finas sandalias como hechos de hilo
Y hablo el rey y señaló para mí con un cetro largo de piedra del color verde adornado con plumas en las puntas	Que Canek alzó la mano con el cañuto de piedra que tiene en la diestra pero que tiene muchas adornos de plumas

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Table 6. Comparison of accounts of Avendaño's visit to the Itzas by Morley and the anonymous author of the "Canek Manuscript" (Jones 1992:263).

Morley's account	Account in "Canek Manuscript" (Jones 1992:263)
They reached the lake at its western extremity on January 13, 1696, and were given a boisterous reception by the Chakan Itza	[Description of fear and sleeplessness at Chacan.]
The next day Canek met them at the village of Chakan Itza, having crossed from Tayasal with an escort of eighty canoes.	And looking up we saw there came from the direction of the rising sun a great wedge of canoes. And seated in one was the king of the Itzas, who is the Lord Canek
When the party reached the Itza capital, the fathers were taken to a house	At the end of two hours we touched the land of the peninsula of Tayasal So the Cacique Canek ordered that they provide us lodging in a very large house
The fathers remained at Tayasal for three and a half days, during which time they baptized more than three hundred Indian children.	We gave the holy sacrament to one hundred and seventy persons, most of whom were children [see note below].
Father Avendaño urged Canek and his councilors surrender to the Crown of Spain and accept Christianity. The Itza council took this proposal under consideration.	Lord Canek said that whenever we might come on another occasion he would give us the answer as to whether his family and he might cleave and embrace the holy Christian faith.

Note: Jones's (1992:267) reading is incorrect in line 99: "a cen los zetenta personas" should read "a cento i zetenta personas."

took even more time before people in remote areas, such as Yucatan, noticed the change. Popular calendars in Mexico before the reforms of the Second Vatican Council gave this saint together with San Procopio for July 8 (Calendario 1936:57).

With this argument, I arrive at my final conclusion: The four manuscripts discussed here, including the "Canek Manuscript," cannot be considered authentic. They were created in central Mexico by the same faker between about 1950 and 1960.[7]

The faker may be characterized as a person with definite literary qualities (the analysis of Hanks [1992] continues to be valid in this respect) and most probably an experienced writer, but possessing poor historical background. The faker committed endless serious errors throughout these texts. Thanks to these errors it was possible to recognize the works as fakes. That is, they are not what they claim to be. And it is even possible to describe the faker more precisely: His or her knowledge of the indigenous people of Mexico comes from the highlands of Mexico, because the faker describes details only to be seen there (for example, women doing their laundry in the *barrancas* [Buenaventura 1994; Aguirre Rojas 1975:46], houses constructed with adobe [Aguirre Rojas 1975:44], wooden doors and windows [1994:29, 32, 110, 141]) and has taken his or her information from this area. This explains some words of Nahuatl origin: *chichipate*, *tizate*, *tacomate*, *ahuixotl* (Buenaventura 1994:9, 106, 114, 118), the town Huizqilacam, and *acal* (both in Roldán JCBL 1698:l, 11). His or her Maya information has been drawn largely from the Spanish translation Morley's book.

The creation of the first manuscript, which seems to be the "Memorias," must be dated not too long after the first Spanish translation of Morley (1947) (because later editions are abridged and do not provide all the details) and the Spanish translation of the *Popol Vuh* by Recinos (1947). The last known manuscript may have been concluded by about 1965, because the Roldán (JCBL 1698) manuscript arrived in Providence in 1968, the "Buenaventura" (Buenaventura 1994) manuscript reached the Condumex archive shortly after 1970 and "Memorias" (Aguirre Rojas 1975) was published in 1975, and the first Spanish edition of Morley's book was superseded by the revised version in 1972. This dating concurs with the statement in the publication of the "Memorias" that it was in the possession of its owner since about 1961 (Aguirre Rojas 1975:65). The faker made use of the popular Mexican calendar "Antiguo Galván" (Calendario 1936) published annually since 1826, or a similar publication, but frequently shifted the month. The faker probably first wrote a scratch version of the text which he or she kept after a manuscript was prepared and sold and which served the faker in the construction of the next one. This would explain the correspondences between several texts. The faker designed the fabrications to impress private collectors with only a limited understanding of the subject matter and apparently did not anticipate that the manuscripts might end up on public repositories, attract scholarly attraction, or become published, which would reveal their nature.

It is truly amazing that the persons visible through the texts of the faked manuscripts exhibit unusual modern features. This has made them most attractive even to modern researchers (e.g., Aguirre Solis 1975, Solis Robleda 1996) but rather should have raised suspicions. The more thrilling a new document seems to be, the more reserve and historical critiques are requested.

[7] The handwriting of the three manuscripts inspected in original or in microfilm form seems identical despite considerable efforts to introduce differences in certain letters. Most characteristic is the letter "s" within a word which in all three manuscripts is written in a very characteristic way already mentioned. The same applies to a capital "A," which is frequently used in the name Avendaño.

RESUMEN

Durante las últimas dos décadas aparecieron cuatro documentos que reclaman haber sido escrito en los siglos XVI, XVII, y XVIII y que describen episodios históricos del encuentro entre los mayas y los españoles. Varios de estos documentos recibieron atención académica y se consideraban fuentes auténticas para la historia y la cultura maya. Sin embargo, hay que constatar que sin duda alguno su carácter es apócrifo, es decir, están de

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confección reciente. Los cuatro textos presentan idénticas características y tanto las informaciones específicas como los glifos mayas insertados en ellos se tomaron de la versión española del libro "La civilización maya" por Sylvanus G. Morley; esto establece su elaboración entre 1950 y 1965.

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