Yearbearers in the Paris Codex: A Description of Iconographic and Calendrical Elements¹

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In this paper, the author describes basic iconographic elements of two pages from Paris Codex, known as Yearbearer pages. Paper shown comparison of examples from Paris with other two Maya codices, Madrid and Dresden and also with colonial sources, mainly Landa’s Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán. Although, huge part of codex is destroyed, or missing, author will provide summary of previous observations with new ideas and hypothesis.

Keywords: the Paris Codex, yearbearer, codices, Maya calendar, New Year ceremonies

The Paris Codex can be described as a manual for Maya priests. We can only assume what was the content of tens or even hundreds of codices that were destroyed during the Spanish conquest. We should take into consideration the fact that the route information and the content is specific to the place or the material where it is shown. This means that the texts of the Classic period (around 250 A.D. – 900 A.D.), which are depicted on stone monuments (e.g., stelas), are specific and austere, and give only the most basic dynastic information. Hieroglyphic text, which can be found on pottery, are much freer and less formal than the one on monumental inscriptions. Maya codices, according to their specific type of material, were also used as a medium for the submission of certain types of information.

Description of the Paris Codex
The Paris Codex, also called Codex Peresianus, was once part of a much longer book. It consists of eleven leaves that are painted on both sides, hence a total of twenty-two pages. The entire codex can be divided into six thematic units. In comparison, the Dresden Codex is divided into twelve sections. The first and dominant part of the Paris Codex is called the K’atun pages². It comprises pages 2-12 (hypothetically, also the completely eroded first page). The second part is called the God C pages, comprising 15 to 18. The third part is the Yearbearer pages, comprising 19 – 20. The fourth part is called the Day-Sign Tables, on page 21. On page 22 is a representation of the Spirit world. The last two pages contain the sixth section entitled the Constellation pages (Love, 1993: v-vii).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K’atun pages</td>
<td>2 – 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God C pages</td>
<td>15 – 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yearbearer pages</td>
<td>19 – 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day-Sign Tables</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirit world</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constellation pages</td>
<td>23 - 24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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² For more information, see Špoták, 2012.
The K’atun pages form a major proportion of the codex. We consider them an important tool for understanding the Maya calendar. This means that the tun-awnal sections, which are above the K’atun part, precisely define the prophecy for smaller periods within each awnal, tun or K’atun. A further supplement to the prophetic calendar system was the so-called Yearbearers. It is found in the Dresden Codex, and also in the Madrid Codex, and a similar system is also mentioned in the Paris Codex, but in a rather different form.

**Maya yearbearers**

A permutation of two calendars, tzolk’in and haab’, resulted in an 18,960 day period, which corresponds to 52 years. Because of the inequality in the number of days of these two calendars, we get to a specific day in the haab with four possible characters of tzolk’in. This means that the first day of the Maya year, 0 Pop, can be combined with only four specific days of tzolk’in. The names of these days we use for naming the yearbearers.

During the Classic period these days was Ik’, Manik’, Eb’, and Kab’an. In classic hieroglyphic texts, with few exceptions, such records are missing. Bowditch considered that yearbearers in the Classic period simply did not exist (Bowditch, 1910: 81). Thompson noted, however, that if they did, they did not have to necessarily be mentioned in monumental inscriptions (Thompson, 1950: 128). David Stuart associated the hieroglyphic inscriptions on stela 18 from Naranjo with a pile of stones, which reports Landa, and which are also shown on pages in the Dresden Codex. In the Dresden Codex. We can see other illustrations of yearbearers in Classic inscriptions at Copán on altar U, or even on lintel 2 at Tikal temple 4. The gods which are mentioned in these texts are named as “four young men” or “four lords”. This is most likely the Pawahtuns (Stuart, 2004: 2-4). Alternative days were Ak’bal, Lamat, B’en and Etz’ nab, used in the western part of the Maya area. It was made by shifting one day in tzolk’in forward, but not in haab.

A third alternative were the days K’an, Muluk, Ix and Kawak, which were the result of a shift of one day in tzolk’in and also in haab. This group was used in the north of the Yucatan in the Post-classic period (Bricker, Bricker, 2011: 69-70). In codices these days are part of the rituals, which we call Haab rituals, since they are linked to the haab calendar system. Diego de Landa describes these rituals in his Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán. Besides these yearbearers, we count among these rituals and ceremonies the hunter’s ceremony, making and dressing the wooden statues, and so on. There are also several almanacs that may be linked with the iconography rituals of yearbearers, such as the seated figure in a house, which is surrounded by food and sacrifices. (Vail, Aveni, 2009: 216).

**Yearbearers at Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán**

What does Diego de Landa say about yearbearers? First he describes the Maya calendar as 360 days long, divided by twenty letters or characters, thus months. The remaining five days apparently could not be named because they were considered unfortunate and bad. These days as a whole were called xma kaba k’in (nameless days). He describes the gods “which they specifically honor” and calls them Bacabs. They were four brothers whom God appointed to the four cardinal points, which supported the sky (Kováč, 2010: 202-203). The word bacab can be translated as “the first on earth.” The word is also used as a title of rulers in the Classic period. Very interesting is its absence in the codices, where it occurs in only one place, on page 74 in the Dresden Codex (Vail, Hernández, 2013: 71). It is the famous scene of the “flood of the world”. In the hieroglyphic texts we can see the word BAH-ka-bi. According to Karl Taube, Bacabs are epithets of Pawahtuns (Vail, Hernández, 2013: 71). Among the contemporary Yucatec Maya, the Pawahtuns are linked with the Chaaks, and they can be specifically identified as the wind gods. Pawahtuns with Bacabs and Mams represent different aspects of the same deity (Vail, Hernández, 2013: 81 – 82).

In Chapter XXXIV. of Landa’s Relación de las Cosas
de Yucatán, he describes how the Mayas chose from the day signs, of which there were twenty, selecting the first four from a group of five. Each of them served as a dominical letter. He describes the already mentioned Bacabs, which were specific signs of the years. They carried with them the signs of bad and good periods, which in that year had to occur. It was necessary to identify ways of worship and sacrifice to protect the Mayas from harm. As I mentioned above, “Landa’s” yearbearers were the days K’än13, which were associated with the south. The second character was Muluk14, marking the east. The third was the sign Ix15 associated with the north and lastly was the sign Kawak16, associated with the west. They were associated with ceremonies in honor of these gods, which included casting out “demons” in prayer and blessing, and were made exactly for this purpose. The ceremony took place just before the New Year (0 Pop), during the five unlucky days, Wayeb month. Along with the individual Bacabs were mentioned gods with the names Kanuyhayab17, Chacuuyayab, Zacuuyayab and Ekuyuyayab (Kováč, 2010: 203-205). He also mentions the position of piles of stones at the cardinal points, which represented an improvised altar, where statues of gods were placed during the ceremony.

Using the same yearbearers is also mentioned, for example, in the colonial manuscript The Chronicle of Oxtutzcab. There are permutations for the completing of tun18 and also a record of the particular yearbearer (Bricker, Bricker, 2011: 79).

...paxi cah... the town was abandoned
tu men maya cinlal lac
[y]chil hab 1534 anos..hu
he tu tu yaxacuhun yaxkine

...Because of this high mortality
In the year 1534 years..
Here is the tun on the 18th
of Yaxkin
5 Kan was the yearbearer.
On the first of Pop (Bricker, Bricker, 2011: 79).

The text then goes on, but always after informing the reader of the year and the tun, the author emphasizes which yearbearer is actual.

**Yearbearer pages in the Dresden Codex (D.25 – D.28)**

The link between the “wayeb ceremonies”, which were described by Diego de Landa, and their representations in the Maya books, is most noticeable in the Dresden Codex on pages D.25 - D.28. There are illustrations of gods who are in the position of priests and perform offerings. In the hieroglyphic text in register C on page D.25 appears the glyph kin-tun-Haab, which means drought. This glyph is preceded by the collocation yah Nal19, representing misfortune for maize, meaning the Maize god (God E). It is therefore clearly an expression of misery for the harvest on the following year, which is associated with a specific yearbearer, in this case the year B’en. On the next page appear ceremonies beginning with the sign El’z’ nab, can be seen in the text20 to be a positive prediction for maize (Bricker, Bricker, 2011: 124-131). In general, pages 25-28 in the Dresden Codex comprise three registers, but compared to those in the Paris Codex they are different. (For more information, see Chapter 4 in Vail, Hernández, 2013).

**Yearbearer pages in the Madrid Codex (M.34 – M.37)**

On the other hand, Landa’s description of the new year celebration also agrees with the image in the Madrid Codex on pages 34 to 37, which was also known as the “New Year Almanac.” Furthermore, Landa’s description also agrees with the grouping of yearbearers, thus K’an, Muluk, Ix and Kawak and they are also linked to the cardinal points21. The Brickers indicated in their study that these days most likely do not represent wayeb ceremonies, or the first day of the New Year, but are more likely a kind of “chronicle”, which records several events during the year (Bricker, Bricker, 2011: 138-139). As we shall see below, this kind of representation corresponds with the yearbearer pages in the Paris Codex.

The pages with the yearbearers in the Madrid Codex include several drawings of rituals associated with the celebration of the New Year, but also other events that are associated with the corresponding year. On page M.37b is K’inich Ajaw, the Sun god who sits facing the Maize god. He is pictured with Kimi
(death) eye, which symbolizes that he is dead. Both are sitting on the tun symbol, which means that they represent fate, or prediction for the next year. The total prediction therefore means that the Sun god will bring severe drought, which will lead to the death of the Maize god and destruction of maize (Vail, Aveni, 2009: 224; Vail, Hernández, 2013: 360).

**Yearbearer pages in the Paris Codex (P.19 – P.20)**

As I mentioned above, a third of the surviving codices also contain a record of yearbearers, which can be found on pages 19 and 20. From a technical point of view, both pages are divided into four parts separated by vertical columns of tzolk’in signs. Unlike other pages, in the Paris Codex the yearbearers are clearly defined scenes, separated by colors. Alternately it is red and black, which form the background. On page 19, the left section (p.19a) has a red background and the right side (P.19b) black. Similarly, it also appears on page 20 (p.20a, P.20b). Therefore there is a sequence of red-black-red-black, which distinguishes the individual yearbearers. A significant part of the limestone surface is already permanently destroyed. There is about 50% destruction on each side, where the “erosion” progressed from the corners and edges toward the center. Therefore, it is only the central portion of the oval shape which is preserved. As noted by Bruce Love in his book, the Mayan priest, when creating the codex, most likely entered at the tops of the yearbearer pages only the upcoming or next year. As we shall see below, the yearbearer pages begin on the date 5 Lamat, which, as the beginning of a 52-year cycle, could correspond to the year 1482 in our calendar and could last until 1534 (Love 1994: 70-75).

**Page 19**

Page 19 consists of two parts separated by vertical calendrical data, as noted above. From the context it is evident that the left edge of the letter is a vertical strip of the same calendar sign, which is preserved in the middle of the page. It is indicated by a very small remnant of painted limestone substrate on an otherwise completely eroded section. It is clear that this is a character representing the calendar day tzolk’in, which, based on reliable calculations, can be identified as Lamat. The reconstruction, which is shown in Table 2, is therefore not complicated, and with the help of secondary dates can be based both forward and backward.

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22 It is based on the same group of yearbearers as in the Dresden Codex – Lamat, B’en, Etz’nab and Ak’bal.
23 For example, in the middle calendar column on page 19 there is the specific date 8 Ben. In the same column above it is 4 Ben and below it 12 Ben. The difference between these dates is the number 4, which means four years. The year before 8 Ben is therefore 7 Lamat.

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**Figure 1. Page 37c from Madrid Codex. Sun god sitting on glyph tun (right side) and facing death Maize god. (After Villacorta, Villacorta, 1930).**

**Lamat Years**

On a red background in section 19a, which can be considered part of Lamat24, there are several characters, namely graphic elements that I have redistributed into four separate elements. Due to erosion, unfortunately we cannot identify the other parts of this (and other) scenes.

**Table 2. Lamat Yearbearer daysigns.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>19a_ICON_01</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lamat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first place we can see a seated figure, probably on a roof23, and part of this is the so-called skyband (for more information, see Špoták, 2011). An element which forms the headdress of the Maize god is sticking out from the bottom of the roof. As noted by Bruce Love, the seated figure is the Skeletal death god, with a typical bare skeleton and even its lower skeletal jaw is visible (Love, 1994: 74). The dead god is depicted with a blanket or jacket, similarly to the
yearbearer gods from the Dresden codex (D.25c), or even from other pages of the same codex (D.41b). It is interesting, however, that the figure sitting on the roof appears in the Paris Codex only twice (on the next page in a similar position – p.20a; 20a_ICON_01). In the other two codices it is a great rarity, and it is not almost there at all, except for a few examples. On page 35 in the Dresden Codex, we see the god Chaak located on a roof, below which is God C. We can consider the “throne” on page D.48 as a similar roof. The representation of God C sitting on a roof in the Madrid Codex, M.10c, is very interesting. Because of the lack of comparative material, we do not know exactly what the god in Paris Codex is doing. I believe, however, that a similar god sitting on a roof or throne is also on the other side of page 19 in a similar position. It is, however, destroyed on the right sides of both pages. If I am correct, then the deity in this po-

25 Or some kind of throne.
26 Similar to the Skeletal death god on page D.13b.
situation would be a sort of main god / sign for the year, which also has an impact on the other prophecies. This would be the same as Diego de Landa’s God being a sign for that year.

19a_ICON_02
The second figure in this part is a bird. Specifically, it is a kind of vulture, named k’uch in Maya languages. Its representation is similar to many depictions of vultures in the codices, such as page D.8a, D.13c, M.22c, ai. Even in the Paris Codex on page 8 it is depicted as an anthropomorphic vulture, the incoming lord of k’atun. It is, however, probably a specific bird / vulture deity. This depicted bird is shown with black feathers and a brown head with the typical hallmark of the syllable ti over his beak. The vulture was often depicted as an evil, unfortunate sign. Probably even in this case it is nothing more than a bad omen for the
year. A similar representation in the Paris Codex is found on page 16, in the almanac. Despite considerable erosion in this case, we can identify this particular vulture as a torch bearer and thus it represents drought for the specific period.

**19a_ICON_03**

A third iconographic element in this section shows us an anthropomorphic figure, which we can easily identify as the maize god. As we find out later, generally on both yearbearer pages, we can see that the maize god is depicted a minimum of nine times. In this case headdress unusually drawn, as Bruce Love also noted (Love, 1994: 74). Approximately half of the figure is significantly eroded, but we can clearly note that the maize god is sitting on a *tun/haab* glyph. This means that God E is a sign of the year (Haab). We see a similar element represented in the yearbearer pages in the Madrid Codex. However, we do not have more information, but we can consider two options. The first option is that the over-decorated headdress of maize god is a positive sign for the year Lamat and the second option is that it is a great decoration of old, blooming maize which is ready for harvest. For a detailed review, we can see the senile open mouth of this character, which is unusual for a maize god. However, to determine the age of the maize gods depicted in the Paris Codex is fairly complex. Although on page P.5a we can see the prototype of a young maize god, so there are differences in the ages of the maize gods.

**19a_ICON_04**

The fourth iconographic element is a jaguar, which apparently eats humans. The human here depicted is almost complete eroded, but we can identify that it is a dead man, because of the closed eyes. The jaguar is also shown on page D.26 in the Dresden Codex as cargo. On pages M.35 – M.37 we can see that the jaguar is part of the yearbearer pages. In the Paris Codex, it may be implied that the jaguar is a bad sign for humans, because it eats them. Therefore, it could be the iconographic representation of a poor prediction for the people, such as those found on page 2 of the hieroglyphic text above the k’atun scene.

**B’en Years**

On the right side of page 19, on a black background, the years with the symbol B’en are shown. Unlike the Lamat calendar column, the order of the B’en yearbearer signs is well preserved. Some signs are missing at the beginning and end of this part.

**Table 3. B’en Yearbearer daysigns.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B’en</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**19b_ICON_02**

Although approximately 95% of the image is completely eroded, we can formulate a hypothesis. There part of a leg is preserved. Taking into account that, in a similar area of page 19a (Figure 19a_ICON_01) and (as we shall see below) on page 20 (20a_ICON_02), characters are sitting on a roof, we can think of the same elements being in these parts, but we cannot see anything due to erosion. If it is located in a similar position as the seated figure on the roof, or a similar throne, we can consider the possibility that this is the

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27 For example on page M.34c.

symbol for the current year. As Diego de Landa recorded in *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán*, every year was marked by a certain god that affected it. Unfortunately, the hieroglyphic text on these pages is missing and therefore the names of these gods cannot be identified nor deduced.

**19b_ICON_03**

Unlike other figures, this representation survived quite complete. We can clearly identify him as the maize god, which, however, is naked and dead, indicated by his closed eye. Two “ropes” comes out from his body. Bruce Love says that it is his entrails that are coming out from his anus and a gash in his abdomen (Love, 1994: 74).

It may also be a rope with obsidian spines, which is passing through his body. Like the figure from the Classic period lintel 24 from Yaxchilan, it is dated to the year 709, and in it *Ix K’abal Xook* is stretching a rope through her tongue (Martin, Grube, 2008: 125). Anyhow, the implication of this representation is quite clear: a poor, almost catastrophic year for the maize god, and therefore for maize in general.

**19b_ICON_04**

Here a black bird is depicted, just as in the section 19. In this case it is probably a different kind, although it is often referred to as a vulture. To review in detail, we can notice that this bird is holding something in his beak. A comparison of colors can lead to the hypothesis that it is like a rope (or entrails), which is based on the rope/entrails of the maize god shown above (19b_ICON_03).

We can see a similar scene in a few places in the codices, such as in the Madrid Codex, M.40a, M.42a, M.86a – 87a, etc. In the Dresden Codex this vulture pulls out intestines and other offal. This occurs, for example, on page D.3a, and it is very similar to the bird in the Paris Codex yearbearers.

**19b_ICON_05**

Like the images in 19a_ICON_03 and 19b_ICON_03, in this case we are dealing with the maize god. Unfortunately, erosion has destroyed almost the whole image, so we cannot determine its exact function.

**19b_ICON_06**

The last recognizable iconographic element at the “b” section, and basically all of page 19, is a kind of pedestal (Love, 1994: 74) with a decoration, which forms the maize god headdress. It is quite possible that it is not a pedestal, but some kind of insignia. The goddess *Ix Kab’* holds a similar insignia in her hands. A similar insignia is shown on page M.72a,
where god R (Kab?)30 holds it. However, figure 19b_ICON_05 stands facing away from this figure, and in this case they do not cooperate.

**Page 20**
The next page, which contains the so-called yearbearers, is very similar to the previous page. It is divided by a calendar column, and the colors continue from the previous page as red – brown. The condition of this page is similar to the previous one, and a considerable amount of information is missing.

**Etz’nab years**
Because the calendar column of this part is right on the edge of the part, all dates, except for a few small fragments, are completely destroyed. Since we know what kind of yearbearers are shown in the Paris Codex (on the assumption that the preserved dates are B’en and Ak’bal), the calendar symbol on page 20 has to be Etz’nab31.

**Table 4. Etz’nab Yearbearer daysigns.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Etz’nab</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**20a_ICON_02**
The first preserved iconographic element is very similar to that on page 19 (19a_ICON_01). In this case, however, the god32 is almost whole destroyed. We know, however, that he sits on the throne / roof that

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32 Based on the fact that on these pages only gods are shown, except for the human being eaten by the jaguar.
does not have a skyband. Based on the hypothesis which was raised above, this is the main symbol of
god of the Etz’nab year. We cannot identify the name
or function of this god.

20a_ICON_03
One of the few completely preserved figures is the
maize god sitting on the tun / haab glyph, and thus it
is a symbol for the fate of the year, like 19a_ICON_03.
In this case, however, the headdress of the maize god
is less ornate. The position of his hand indicates his
impending death. Bruce Love talks about an im-
pending disaster (Love, 1994: 74). Anyway, this rep-
resentation is of a bad year for maize.

20a_ICON_04
The figure in this position is very interesting and spe-
cific. Bruce Love considers this figure to be some kind
of straw effigy, carrying maize and holding a planting
stick, while her left hand is in the position of a sow
(Love, 1994: 74). A very viable hypothesis is from
a webpage by Gabrielle Vail and others (The Maya
Hieroglyphic Codices), where this figure is associated
with the Mexican deity Itztliacoatl, which is de-
picted in the Mexican codices with a covered face, as
in the Paris Codex. It is associated with the cold and
the north, which would correspond to the cardinal
point connected with the carrier Etz’nab. Due to in-
accurate identification, it is difficult to determine the
significance of this figure over the displayed date.

20a_ICON_05 & 20a_ICON_06
These two iconographic elements are characterized
in the very same way. In one case, it is clearly the
maize god, because we can see part of his face. Bruce
Love describes these two elements as two maize gods,
which are facing each other (Love, 1994: 74). Appar-
etly, however, these two figures are represented in-
dependently. They seem to be sitting on the glyph tun
/ haab, which would represent the fate of that year.

Ak’bal Years
A series of day-signs with the sign on Ak’bal is the
last of the four yearbearers. As on the previous page,
there is a black background color. Therefore the pos-
sibility that the background color had a function
other than clear dividing the individual yearbearers
can be ruled out. Here the calendar data is preserved
best of all. Therefore, the individual coefficients are
easily understandable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ak’bal</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

20b_ICON_01
A significant part of this figure is missing, while around
the figure is sufficient space for another character which
has been permanently de-

20b_ICON_02
This is a representation of the maize god with a bright neck-
lace. Apparently he is depicted as naked. It is possible that
this god expects impending death. The details are not
clear. A similar gesture of hands can also be seen in fig-
ures 20a_ICON_03 and 20b_ICON_04.

Table 5. Ak’bal Yearbearer daysigns.

Figure 11. B’en Year-
bearer dates on page
P.19b. Ak’bal Yearbear-
ears dates on page P.20b.
(After Villacorta, Villa-
corta, 1930).
20b_ICON_03
The third figure on page 20b is clearly a seated animal. Bruce Love correctly assumed that it is not necessarily a jaguar, because the paws are very similar to those of dogs sitting on the side of the New Year in the Madrid Codex (Love, 1994: 74). Similarly, the highlighted hair is significantly different from the jaguars on page 19 (19a_ICON_04). However, it is clear that it does not sit on the glyph tun / haab, and thus it is unrelated to the main sign of the year.

On page M.66b there are two seated animals, identified as peccaries, because one of them has clearly visible hooves. However, these animals are missing from the Paris Codex. The final interpretation is therefore difficult.

20b_ICON_04
As the last figure in 20b, we can clearly see the maize deity with the same hand gesture as figures 20a_ICON_03 and 20b_ICON_02. As in those cases, so here, impending death is implied. Unfortunately, we do not have more information than this; due to the great erosion, more iconographic elements of this character cannot be known. But it is very likely that it is a similar figure as 20b_ICON_02. Bruce Love also notes that the headress, namely the forehead, is based on the jaguar’s paw (Love, 1994: 74).

Use and interpretation of the yearbearers’ pages of the Paris Codex
The whole double-page represents a full 52-year cycle, built on the basis of predictions. From a technical point of view, for example, the date Lamat is repeated every four years. The Maya priest who read these pages could therefore, at the beginning of their New Year, look for predictions. It is also assumes that these prediction were used together with other special predictions and almanacs for specific information. Bruce Love (Love, 1994: 74-75) already noted that God E, the maize god, plays a major role in these pages. Their representations, whether good or bad, made a direct impact on the lives of Maya society, because maize held a dominant position in the religious, cultural, and practical life of the Mayas.

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