



Obras de Karl Taube

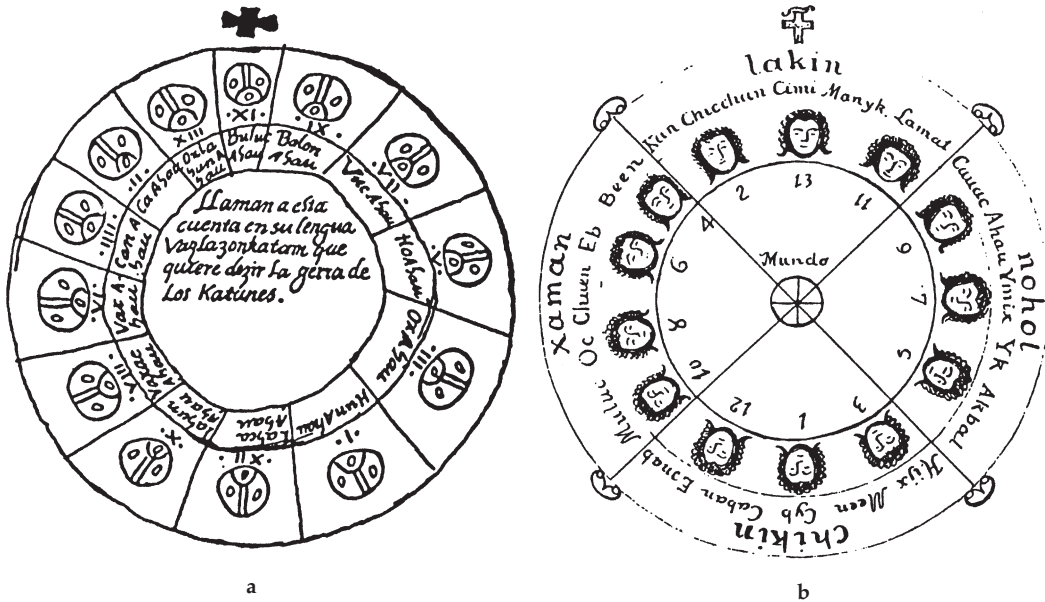
# Una rueda maya de los katunes de época prehispánica

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Desde inicios del período Clásico hasta el siglo dieciocho, un lapso que abarca unos mil doscientos años, el katún ha sido una de las unidades básicas de medición del tiempo entre los mayas. Compuesto de veinte tunes de 360 días cada uno, el katún tiene una duración de casi veinte años: 7,200 días para ser exactos. En las inscripciones del período Clásico, el katún es la cuarta de cinco unidades temporales que componían una cuenta continua de días, que inicia en un acontecimiento mítico, ocurrido en el año 3114 antes de nuestra era. Pero el katún es mucho más que un engrane en el sistema calendárico de los mayas; constituye un elemento esencial de la historia y la religión tradicionales de los mayas. La gran mayoría de los monumentos mayas del período Clásico conmemora el final de algún período katún. Los señores mayas del período Clásico proclamaban el número de fines de katún que presenciaron en el curso de sus vidas y lo usaban como suerte de título. En el Yucatán del período Postclásico y colonial, invasiones, sequías e incluso la creación y la destrucción del mundo se registraron y predijeron en términos del ciclo de los katunes. Pero, aunque el curso y la finalización de los katunes se expresa de manera reiterada en los relatos prehispánicos y coloniales de los mayas, nuestra comprensión de la manera en que se percibía el paso de los katunes no es muy buena. El presente estudio se centra en la sucesión de los katunes en el Yucatán del período Postclásico y colonial. Me propongo demostrar que la tortuga era un medio importante para describir el ciclo de los katunes. Tanto durante el período Clásico como durante el Postclásico, esta criatura se identificaba de manera explícita con las fechas en las que finalizaban los períodos. Además, los datos de que se dispone en relación con el período Postclásico aportan una importante evidencia de que el sangrado penitencial que se llevaba a cabo en las ceremonias de final de período tenía una gran relevancia. Finalmente, procuraré demostrar que, entre los mayas de los períodos Clásico y Postclásico, la tortuga servía como modelo del mundo circular.

## La rueda de los katunes en el Yucatán del período Postclásico

El final del período Clásico (años 300 a 900) trajo consigo un abrupto cambio en el ceremonialismo calendárico maya. No sólo dejaron de hacerse monumentos con fechas que empleaban la Cuenta Larga sino que, entre los quichés, tzotziles y otros grupos mayas del período Postclásico en las tierras altas del sur, dejó de observarse y de celebrarse el paso de los katunes. Este no fue el caso de los pueblos hablantes de maya yucateco en las tierras



**Figura 1.** Ejemplos de ruedas de katunes yucatecas del período colonial: (a) rueda de los katunes del siglo XVI, ilustrada por Landa (tomada de Tozzer, 1941: 167); (b) rueda de los katunes del Chilam Balam de Kaua; los trece katunes y los veinte nombres de los días se orientan hacia los cuatro rumbos al borde de la rueda (tomado de Bowditch, 1910: fig. 64).

bajas del norte, quienes continuaron erigiendo monumentos en conmemoración del paso de los katunes (ver Morley, 1920: 574-77). Sin embargo, el método yucateco durante el período Postclásico de registrar las fechas de fin de katún era diferente del empleado en la Cuenta Larga durante el período Clásico. La cuenta de los katunes, conocida como *u kahlay katunoob*, era una sucesión ininterrumpida de trece katunes, que cubría un período que duraba un poco más de 256 años. Cada uno de los trece katunes recibía un nombre tomado del calendario tzolkin de 260 días; de manera específica, cada katún recibía el nombre del signo y el coeficiente del día en que concluía dicho katún. Dado que los 7,200 días que constituyen un katún pueden dividirse sin residuo entre veinte (el número de signos de los días), los katunes siempre recibían el nombre del día Ahau. No obstante, el número de coeficientes que acompañan a los nombres de los días no puede usarse para dividir la duración de un katún sin dejar residuos, pues 7,200 dividido entre trece tiene un residuo de once. Por esta razón, a cada katún que pasaba le correspondía un coeficiente que disminuía por dos en relación con el anterior. Comenzando con 11 Ahau, la secuencia numerada procede de la manera siguiente: 11, 9, 7, 5, 3, 1, 12, 10, 8, 6, 4, 2, y 13, siendo 13 Ahau el katún final de la rueda.

La rueda circular de los katunes es un método elegante de expresar el *u kahlay katunoob* o ciclo de trece katunes (figura 1). La *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán*, escrita en el siglo dieciséis por Diego de Landa, contiene la primera de las siete ruedas calendáricas que se conocen para el período colonial yucateco (Glass, 1975: 77).<sup>1</sup> Si bien Landa (Tozzer, 1941: 168) manifiesta que los yucatecos prehispánicos utilizaron esos diagramas circulares para efectuar sus cálculos,

<sup>1</sup> Las ruedas calendáricas yucatecas de la época colonial tienen que ver no sólo con el ciclo de los katunes, pues en ellas se representaban también los cargadores de año y los veinte días. En la *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán* de Landa (Tozzer, 1941: 167) y en el Chilam Balam de Chumayel (Bowditch, 1910: fig. 63; Roys, 1933: 132) pueden hallarse ruedas que tienen que ver sólo con los katunes.

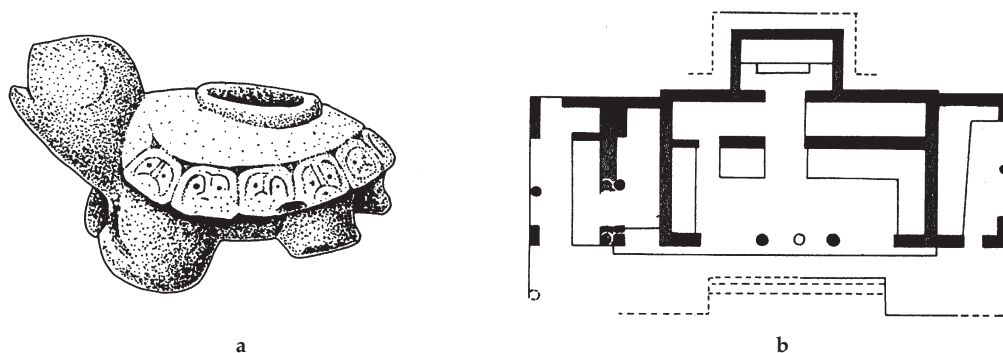
todos los otros ejemplos citados se derivan de documentos de los siglos diecisiete y dieciocho. En las páginas 2 a 12 del dañado Códice prehispánico de París hay una representación de once de los trece katunes que constituían una rueda completa de los katunes. Sin embargo en esta secuencia, que avanza página por página, no hay señal alguna de que se tratara de un sistema circular de organización.<sup>2</sup> Las páginas 75 y 76 del Códice de Madrid presentan cierta indicación de que se trataba de un concepto circular, si bien el diagrama se asemeja más a la organización marcadamente cuadrangular de la página 1 del código Fejérváry-Mayer del centro de México. Adicionalmente, el Códice de Madrid se ocupa enteramente de orientar el tzolkín a los cuatro rumbos cardinales y no tiene efecto alguno en relación con la sucesión de los katunes. Hace cincuenta años, Ralph Roys (citado en Tozzer, 1941: 167, n. 878) manifestó que “no se había hallado ninguna representación prehispánica de una rueda de los katunes o de ningún otro diagrama cronológico circular.” Esta aseveración seguiría siendo válida, si no fuera por el descubrimiento de una talla pequeña y superficialmente insignificante que tuvo lugar en las ruinas de Mayapán.

Durante el período Postclásico tardío, Mayapán fue el centro de una vasta hegemonía, que cubría gran parte del norte de Yucatán. Según las crónicas, Mayapán fue fundada en el katún 13 Ahau y destruida en el katún 8 Ahau (Roys, 1962). Es muy extendida la creencia de que esas fechas corresponden a la parte final del siglo trece y a mediados del siglo quince. Bajo la dirección de Harry D. Pollock, la Institución Carnegie de Washington llevó a cabo grandes excavaciones en Mayapán entre los años 1951 y 1955. Entre las esculturas más comunes descubiertas en el curso de las excavaciones de la Carnegie se cuentan las de pequeñas tortugas, talladas de manera muy sencilla. Se descubrieron al menos veinte de éstas, enteras o fragmentadas, que oscilaban entre los 12.5 y los 42 cm. de longitud.<sup>3</sup> A veces, las tortugas son antropomorfas y ostentan el rostro marchito de un viejo. En su análisis de las esculturas halladas en Mayapán, Proskouriakoff (1962: 331) identificó a estas figuras antropomorfas como representaciones del Dios D. Sin embargo, está claro que estos personajes son representaciones del Dios N o Pauhtún, quien con frecuencia lleva el caparazón de una tortuga en el arte maya de los períodos Clásico y Postclásico. En la Estructura H-17 de Mayapán, se hallaron cuatro esculturas del Dios N como tortuga, lo que hace pensar en el aspecto fuertemente cuadripartita del Dios N (Thompson, 1955: 282). Hago aquí una digresión para expresar que es posible que el par de esculturas del Dios N, que datan del período Clásico temprano y que se hallaban anteriormente en la colección de Jay C. Leff,

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<sup>2</sup> En los libros de Chilam Balam de la época colonial, el término *wudz*, relativo a los finales de período, aparece sólo en asociación con el fin de los katunes (Thompson, 1950: 189). En maya yucateco, *wudz* significa específicamente “doblar.” Thompson nota que a veces se alude a la rueda entera de los katunes con el término *oxlahun wudz katun*, expresión que él traduce como “trece dobleces del katún.” Sospecho que, más que referirse a la rueda de los katunes, el término literario *wudz* se deriva de la secuencia página por página de las hojas prehispánicas de los katunes, como puede verse en el Códice de París. Cada página de katún corresponde a un doblez (*wudz*) en el libro prehispánico.

<sup>3</sup> Diane Chase (1985: 228) menciona que se excavaron tres tortugas de piedra en Santa Rita, asociadas con las Estructuras 8, 25 y 77. Gann (1928: 132) describe tres esculturas fragmentadas de estuco en forma de tortuga, halladas en un pequeño santuario al sur de Tulum. Otra tortuga de piedra caliza, casi idéntica a los ejemplos provenientes de Mayapán, se exhibió en el Museo de Bellas Artes de Dallas (Stendahl, 1950). También se han hallado esculturas de bulto de tortugas prehispánicas en las tierras altas del México central. Piña-Chan (1960: foto 11) ilustra una tortuga de piedra del sitio Clásico tardío de Piedra Labrada, Guerrero. Se halló un ejemplo adicional en un pozo lleno de esculturas que se excavó en la Ciudad de México (Moedano Köer, 1951: foto 5).



**Figura 2.** Tortuga de piedra de la Estructura Q-244b: (a) perfil de tortuga de piedra, que muestra seis de trece Ahau tallados en el borde del caparazón (tomado de Proskouriakoff, 1962: fig. 1g); (b) plano de la Estructura Q-244b; la tortuga se descubrió en el cuarto-santuario central en la parte posterior del edificio (tomado de Smith y Ruppert, 1956: fig. 3).

hubieran podido formar parte de un juego similar de cuatro representaciones del Dios N (ver Easby, 1966: láms. 446-447).

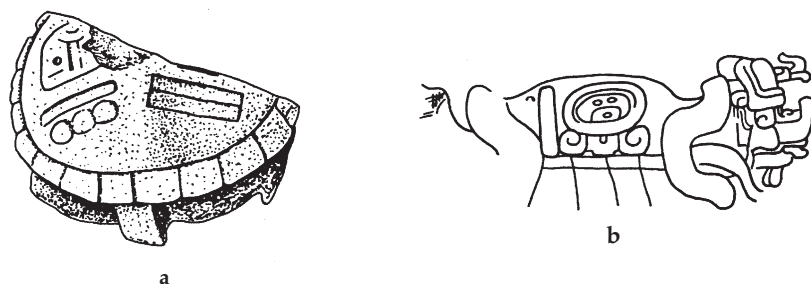
La enorme mayoría de tortugas de piedra en Mayapán se hallaron asociadas estrechamente con altares ubicados en santuarios interiores de estructuras ceremoniales o de casas grandes próximas al centro de Mayapán (Proskouriakoff, 1962: 331). Por ejemplo, se halló una escultura especialmente grande en la Estructura Q-81, una sala con columnas ubicada en el centro ceremonial de Mayapán. En la vecindad de este santuario se halló también un gran número de figuras-incensario, que se cuentan entre los mejores ejemplos que se conocen para Mayapán (Winters, 1955). Por otra parte, la Estructura Q-244b no era un edificio público, sino una residencia ubicada en el lado sur de un patio (Smith y Ruppert, 1956). Excavada en 1955, la Q-244b era una estructura doméstica inusualmente compleja, compuesta por seis cuartos (figura 2b). El santuario, que es el Cuarto 3, se ubica en el eje central, en la parte más retirada del cuarto principal y de la entrada. Entre los objetos que se hallaron en el cuarto del santuario se hallaban incensarios rotos, una escultura antropomorfa en cuclillas, otra figura fragmentada y una tortuga de piedra.

Tallada en piedra caliza, la tortuga es de tamaño promedio, de unos 23 cm. de longitud (figura 2a). En el centro de la espalda se le practicó una perforación o cámara vertical, característica que también se halló en otras cuatro tortugas de Mayapán (Proskouriakoff, 1962: 333). La característica más interesante de esta escultura en particular es la serie de glifos Ahau incisos sin mucha profundidad alrededor del borde del caparazón. Proskouriakoff (1962: fig. 1g, leyenda) manifiesta que se hallaron trece signos Ahau incisos en el caparazón, pero no hace mención de la importancia de este número. Ciertamente, trece es un número de gran importancia, pues los trece signos Ahau que rodean el caparazón constituyen una rueda de los katunes, un ciclo completo de trece katunes Ahau, si bien aquí están ausentes los coeficientes. Consideradas desde esta perspectiva, las ruedas de los katunes que Landa y otras fuentes ilustraron presentan un enorme parecido con el caparazón de la tortuga que aquí nos ocupa. La identificación de la rueda de los katunes con la tortuga podría tener base en una característica biológica real. Bruce Love (comunicación personal) recientemente me mencionó que, según un informante yucateco, el caparazón de una tortuga se divide en trece partes. Si bien no todas las tortugas tienen trece placas principales en sus caparazones, un patrón especialmente común se compone de cinco placas vertebrales y ocho placas de

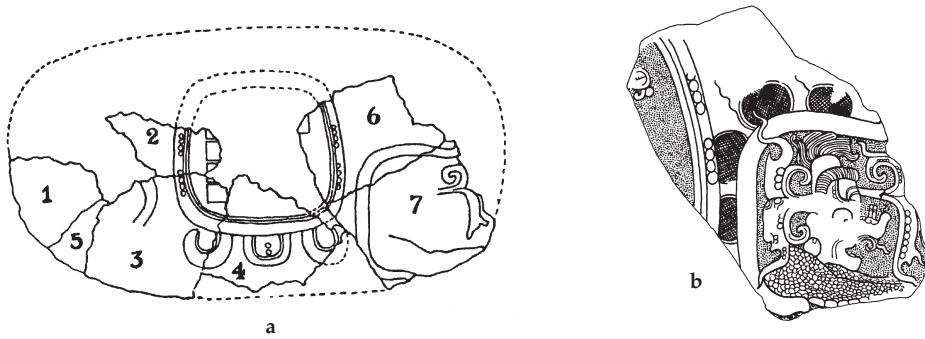
flanco, lo que da un total de trece (ver Stebbins, 1954). En Yucatán, tanto la tortuga marina verde (*Chelonia mydas*) como la tortuga terrestre mexicana (*Terrapene mexicana*) presentan el patrón de trece placas principales. Este patrón puede verse con claridad en el caparazón casi intacto de una tortuga terrestre mexicana excavado en Mayapán; trece placas forman el domo central del mismo (Proskouriakoff, 1962: fig. 41s).

Si bien la escultura de tortuga hallada en la Estructura Q-244b es el único ejemplo hallado en Mayapán que presenta una serie de trece signos Ahau, es posible que una tortuga similar, hallada en la Estructura R-87, originalmente llevara una rueda de los katunes, ya fuera pintada o modelada en estuco sobre la serie de discos de su caparazón (ver Proskouriakoff, 1962: fig. 1d). Al igual que la Estructura Q-244b, la Estructura R-87 fue una unidad residencial impresionante y compleja. La tortuga se descubrió colocada cuidadosamente sobre un orificio saqueado, en la base del altar levantado que ocupa una posición central (Proskouriakoff y Temple, 1955: 300). Desafortunadamente, ni el informe de la excavación ni el ensayo sobre la escultura de Mayapán que hace Proskouriakoff (1962) mencionan el número específico de medallones en el borde del caparazón. Se hallaron los fragmentos de otra tortuga de piedra en el escombro que cubría la Estructura R-87. Este ejemplo lleva en su espalda un coeficiente diez, seguido de una fecha muy clara de 8 Ahau (figura 3a). La inscripción original pudo haber sido 10 Ahau, 8 Ahau; es decir, una mención del Katún 10 Ahau, seguida del Katún 8 Ahau que le siguió inmediatamente o, posiblemente, la fecha del 10° tun en el Katún 8 Ahau (Proskouriakoff y Temple, 1955: 298). Otra tortuga hallada en Mayapán, asociada con el templo redondo H-18, lleva un texto jeroglífico en el borde de su caparazón (Chowning, 1956: 450, fig. 2i). Aunque el texto está muy erosionado, Proskouriakoff (1962: 332) sugiere que el signo inicial pudo ser un glifo Ahau con un coeficiente alto.

La identificación de la tortuga con las fechas de fin de katún de ninguna manera se limita al Mayapán del período Postclásico. En el sitio de Piedras Negras, a orillas del Usumacinta, una gran talla practicada en la cara de un risco es la representación, realizada en el período Clásico tardío, del caparazón de una tortuga, marcado con un signo Ahau y un coeficiente de cinco o, quizás, siete (figura 3b). De ambas aberturas del caparazón surgen sendas cabezas de deidades, lo que fue una convención común en el período Clásico. En tanto que la cabeza del lado derecho es claramente la del Dios K, el hachurado presente en el personaje de la izquierda sugiere que se trataba del mencionado Dios N, que a menudo lleva un tocado hachurado. El Altar 1 de Itsimté es la representación, hecha en el período Clásico



**Figura 3.** Ejemplos de fechas Ahau que aparecen en esculturas de tortugas de los períodos Postclásico y Clásico: (a) fragmento de escultura de tortuga de la Estructura R-87 de Mayapán, texto invertido; la fecha intacta probablemente fue Katún 10 Ahau, Katún 8 Ahau o, posiblemente, Tun 10 del Katún 8 Ahau (tomado de Proskouriakoff, 1962: fig. 1f); (b) escultura en piedra del período Clásico, hecha sobre la cara de un risco en Piedras Negras, Guatemala; signo Ahau con coeficiente en el centro del caparazón; la figura de la derecha es el Dios K y la de la izquierda probablemente sea el Dios N (conforme a fotografías cortesía de Mary E. Miller y Flora Clancy).

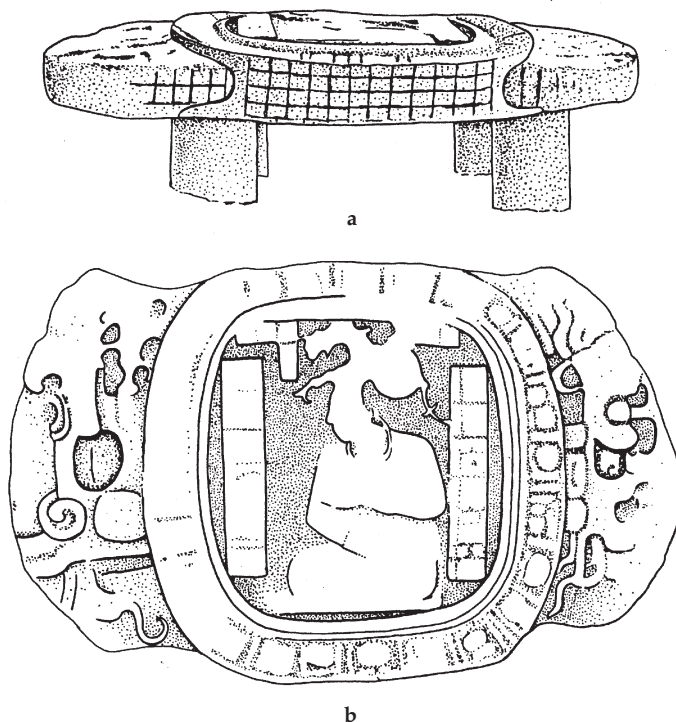


**Figura 4.** Altar 1 de Itsimté, un altar en forma de tortuga del período Clásico tardío: (a) dibujo de Morley que muestra el cartucho del signo del día en el centro del caparazón (tomado de Morley, 1937-1938: lám. 43g); (b) detalle de la mitad derecha del caparazón, que muestra al Dios K en la abertura; nótese los rizos Cabán en el borde del caparazón (tomado de Morley, 1937-1938: lám. 156b).

tardío, de otra tortuga que lleva un cartucho de signo de día en el centro (figura 4). Aunque se halla dañado, el signo probablemente sea Ahau, pues es éste el único signo de día que se talló en grandes proporciones en los altares del período Clásico. El Altar A de Machaquilá descansa sobre cuatro soportes semejantes a patas y constituye una representación casi de bulto del caparazón de una tortuga (figura 5). En los lados del altar pueden verse con claridad las aberturas de ambos extremos del caparazón. Viéndolo desde arriba, es posible ver dos personajes que llenan ambas aberturas, así como el caparazón central, casi circular. Al igual que en la talla de Piedras Negras y en el Altar 1 de Itsimté, la figura de la derecha es claramente el Dios K. El personaje del otro lado probablemente es el Sapo de los Uinales, que aquí lleva un tocado hecho con hojas de lirio acuático. En lugar del signo Ahau, en el centro del caparazón aparece un señor sentado, acompañado de un texto jeroglífico. Al igual que en los ejemplos recuperados en Mayapán, un anillo de glifos, semejantes a placas radiales de caparazón, cubren el borde de éste. Por la gran erosión de su superficie, ni estos glifos ni los largos textos de los lados pueden interpretarse.

La cueva de Dzibih Actun, recientemente descubierta en el norte de Yucatán, contiene una serie notable de pinturas que datan desde el período Postclásico tardío hasta el siglo veinte.<sup>4</sup> Una porción de la cueva presenta una serie inusual de figuras que hacen pensar en un rehilete (figura 6a). Andrea Stone (comunicación personal, 1986) ha señalado que la porción central de estas figuras se asemeja mucho a la versión rectangular del signo Ahau hallado en los manuscritos yucatecos coloniales. No obstante, no hay aún explicación alguna de los extraños apéndices que presentan. La figura de la extrema izquierda presenta una cabeza muy peculiar, semejante a la de un ave. En el arte maya prehispánico, las tortugas marinas se representaron con rostros similares, dotados de pico (figuras 6b, 6c). Las figuras de Dzibih Actun podrían ser representaciones de tortugas de los katunes, nadando con sus aletas extendidas. Si bien las tortugas de Dzibih Actun podrían datar del período Postclásico

<sup>4</sup> En el otoño de 1983, residentes de la comunidad yucateca de San Juan de Dios, Quintana Roo, me informaron de una cueva pintada cerca de su antiguo pueblo de Yalcobá, en el noreste de Yucatán. Conocida como Dzibih Actun, se decía que la cueva contenía pinturas de personajes en diferentes actividades como, por ejemplo, cazando o tocando instrumentos musicales. En la primavera de 1986, le conté a Andrea Stone lo que había escuchado en relación con la cueva. Durante el verano de 1986, Stone localizó y mapeó el sitio, registrando mediante fotografías y dibujos muchos personajes pintados en las paredes.

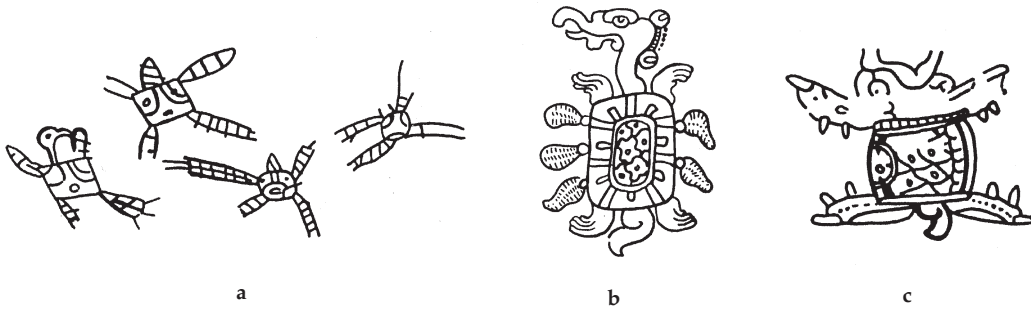


**Figura 5.** Altar A de Machaquilá: (a) vista de perfil del altar, mostrando las aberturas del caparazón y la colocación del texto jeroglífico (tomado de Graham, 1967: fig 71); (b) parte superior del Altar A; nótese el Sapo de los Uinales y el Dios K en cada uno de los extremos del caparazón redondo (tomado de Graham, 1967: fig. 73).

tardío, también es posible que sean del período temprano posterior a la Conquista.

### La tortuga como lugar para efectuar ofrendas de sangre

En un estudio reciente, David Stuart (1988) estableció que los finales de período durante el período Clásico solían conmemorarse con frecuencia mediante sangrados rituales. Stuart señala que un signo, que aparece frecuentemente asociado con los acontecimientos de final de período durante el período Clásico y que se conoce como la mano que esparce, denota el acto de ofrendar sangre. Resulta curioso que se haya encontrado poca evidencia de sangrado ritual en las celebraciones de final de katún del período Postclásico. No obstante, dada la fuerte identificación del katún con los altares de tortuga en Mayapán, puede sugerirse esto de manera razonable. Además de la tortuga con la rueda de los katunes, el santuario de la Estructura Q-244b también contenía dos nódulos de pedernal, tres lascas de este mismo material y una navaja de obsidiana (Smith y Ruppert, 1956: 500). Ya fuera como navaja o como lascas afiladas, tanto el pedernal como la obsidiana se utilizaban muy comúnmente como lancetas para el sangrado. De hecho, el vocablo yucateco *tok* significa tanto “pedernal” como “practicar el sangrado” (Barrera Vásquez, 1980: 805). El receptáculo tallado en la espalda de la tortuga con la rueda de los katunes bien pudo contener los instrumentos para efectuar el sangrado ritual, si es que no era para recibir la sangre misma. Una gran tortuga tallada presenta una cámara similar; fue hallada en el altar de la Estructura Q-151, una gran sala con columnas que se halla cerca del centro del sitio. Cuando se descubrió, la perforación se



**Figura 6.** Representaciones tardías de tortugas de katunes Ahau del noreste de Yucatán: (a) tortugas de katún Ahau pintadas en la pared de la cueva de Dzibih Actun, Yucatán (dibujo a partir de una fotografía cortesía de Andrea Stone); (b) tortuga marina con un largo pico parecido al de un ave y un largo cuello; compárese con la tortuga de Dzibih Actun del extremo izquierdo que aparece en *a* (conforme al Códice de Madrid, p. 72b); (c) tortuga marina del Códice de París; nótese las garras en las aletas extendidas (tomado del Códice de París, p. 24).

hallaba tapada con un disco de piedra y sellada con mortero. Al abrirlo, en él se hallaron fragmentos de espinas de mantarraya, la lanceta preferida por los mayas, así como dos navajas de obsidiana (Shook e Irving, 1955: 144). Adicionalmente, varias vasijas de cerámica en forma de tortuga, halladas en Mayapán, contenían instrumentos para el sangrado.<sup>5</sup> Las dos vasijas con forma de tortuga que se hallaron en una ofrenda de escondite asociada con la Estructura R90, un pequeño santuario ubicado en un complejo residencial, contenían cada una una gran navaja de obsidiana (Proskouriakoff y Temple, 1955: 329).

Además de los restos materiales hallados en Mayapán, la iconografía maya del período Postclásico da evidencia explícita que identifica a las tortugas con el autosangrado. En la página 81 del Códice de Madrid, una figura sedente manipula una espina de mantarraya directamente por encima de una tortuga (figura 7b). La página 19 del mismo código muestra una representación aún más clara, en la que no menos de cinco dioses se hallan unidos por una cuerda que pasa a través de sus respectivos penes (figura 7c). El Dios D preside la escena en la parte central superior, sentado sobre una tortuga. Recientemente, se halló en la Estructura 213 de Santa Rita una ofrenda de escondite, que data del período Postclásico y que contenía veinticinco figurillas de cerámica. Cuatro de estas figuras son representaciones de viejos que perforan sus penes (Chase y Chase, 1986). Es de especial interés señalar que los cuatro personajes están parados sobre tortugas (figura 7a). Las imágenes del período Postclásico son representaciones idealizadas del acto de autosangrarse, de ofrendas hechas por los mismos dioses, posiblemente llevadas a cabo sobre tortugas verdaderas. Sin embargo, en los ritos de autosangrado que se llevaban a cabo en el Yucatán del período Postclásico, se utilizaban tortugas de piedra y de estuco. Las imágenes sugieren que los participantes se colocaban sobre las tortugas, de tal forma que su sangre caía directamente sobre el caparazón. La sangre bien pudo juntarse o quemarse en el receptáculo que con frecuencia se practicaba en el centro del caparazón.

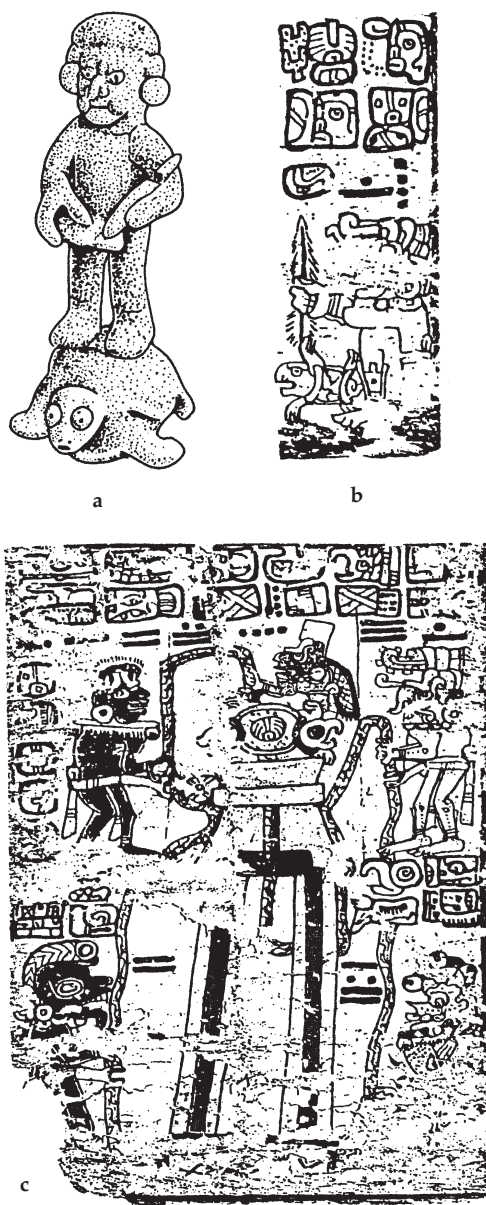
<sup>5</sup> En la superficie que se halla directamente frente a la Estructura 44 (Miller, 1982: 6-7, fig. 6) de Tanchah, se halló un pequeño recipiente de cerámica en forma de tortuga. Miller sostiene que la vasija es un tipo de incensario, si bien es muy similar a las vasijas-efigie halladas en Mayapán.



## El mundo redondo

Aún no hemos hablado sobre el significado de las tortugas de Mayapán. Proskouriakoff (1962: 331-332) sugiere, de manera tentativa, que las tortugas representaban un tótem importante en Mayapán y que la deidad anciana era una forma de ancestro idealizado. Sin embargo, no existe evidencia alguna en las creencias mayas prehispánicas, coloniales o contemporáneas en el sentido de que la tortuga sea un ancestro totémico. Debe recordarse que, en la iconografía del período Postclásico, las tortugas con frecuencia sirven como soportes para llevar a cabo el acto del autosangrado.<sup>6</sup> En diversas cuevas de las cercanías de Palenque se han hallado portaincensarios del período Clásico terminal que son representaciones de personajes de cuerpo completo de pie sobre tortugas (Rands *et al.*, 1979: figs. 3-5). Al igual que las tortugas del período Clásico que funcionan como plataformas sobre las que se ponen de pie diversos individuos, las esculturas de Mayapán generalmente se colocaron al pie de altares, ocupando la base del espacio ritual. Muchas escenas de la iconografía maya del período Clásico brindan evidencia gráfica de que la tortuga fungía como símbolo de la tierra. Un tema iconográfico común es el de un joven de sexo masculino que surge de un caparazón de tortuga (figura 8b). Este autor ha identificado a este joven como el Dios Tonsurado del Maíz, un prototipo del período Clásico del personaje

<sup>6</sup> La enorme similitud de las tortugas de Mayapán con el Altar A de Machaquilá y con el Altar 1 de Itsimté sugiere que estas esculturas del Petén del período Clásico bien pudieron haber servido como plataformas sobre las que se paraban personajes en el acto de autosangrarse. Clancy (1974) sostiene que los llamados altares mayas deberían en realidad considerarse pedestales de piedra, pues se relacionan estrechamente con el registro basal de las estelas del período Clásico; es decir, la tierra o plataforma sobre la que aparece de pie el gobernante.



**Figura 7.** Representaciones del período Postclásico de personajes que vierten sangre sobre tortugas: (a) una de las cuatro figurillas que se autosangran, halladas en una ofrenda de escondite en la Estructura 213 de Santa Rita (dibujado conforme una fotografía en Chase y Chase, 1986); (b) personaje sentado que sostiene una espina de mantarraya sobre una tortuga (tomado del Códice de Madrid, p. 81c); (c) grupo de cinco deidades que tiran de una cuerda a través de sus respectivos penes; el personaje principal, el Dios D, aparece sentado sobre una tortuga en la parte central superior (tomado del Códice de Madrid, p. 19b).



a

**Figura 8.** Representaciones mayas del Dios del Maíz surgiendo de la tierra: (a) escena en la parte superior de una columna del Templo Inferior de los Jaguares, en Chichén Itzá; personaje con hojas y mazorcas de maíz que emerge de una hendidura que aparece en una criatura que parece incorporar elementos del Monstruo Cauac y de un caparazón de tortuga visto de perfil (tomado de Selser, 1902-1923, 5: 317); (b) escena pintada en el interior de un tazón *lac* del período Clásico tardío, que muestra a un Dios Tonsurado del Maíz surgiendo del caparazón de la tierra; nótese los dos personajes en las aberturas del caparazón: a la izquierda se ve al Sapo de los Uinales y a la derecha al Dios del Número 13 (tomado de Robicsek y Hales, 1981: vasija 117).

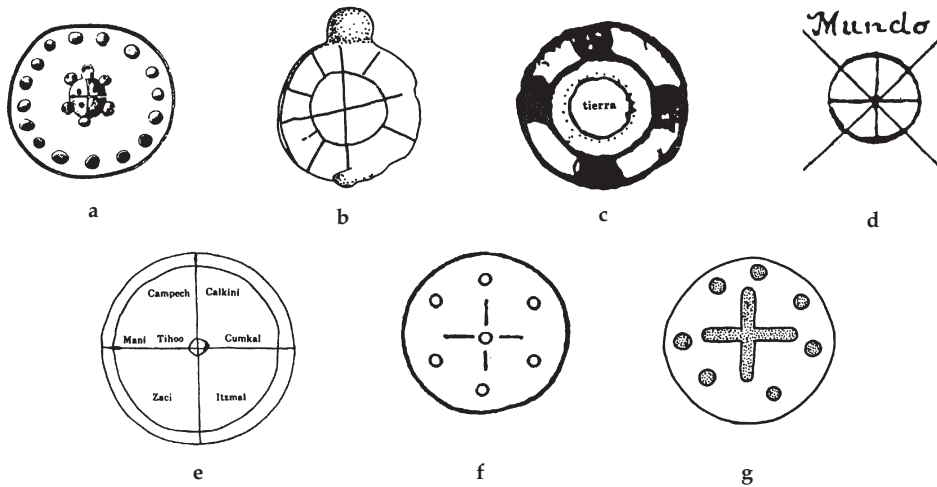


b

de Hun Hunahpú en el Popol Vuh de los mayas quichés; las representaciones del caparazón hendido muestran al maíz surgiendo de la tierra (Taube, 1985, 1986).<sup>7</sup> Las columnas del Templo Inferior de los Jaguares en el sitio de Chichén Itzá muestran una variante interesante de este tipo de escena; aquí, el dios del maíz surge de una cabeza monstruosa, que parece ser una mezcla de Monstruo Cauac y tortuga (figura 8a). El Altar 1 de Itsimté, ya mencionado, presenta evidencia explícita de que el caparazón simbolizaba la tierra, pues está marcado con los llamados “rizos Cabán” que denotan con claridad que se trata de la tierra (ver figura 4b).

El concepto de la tierra como caparazón redondo se encuentra en fuerte contraste con el modelo cosmológico que habitualmente se cita en el caso de los mayas. Según J. Eric S. Thompson (1970: 195-196), uno de los grandes conocedores del pensamiento de los mayas antiguos, éstos consideraban que el mundo era un “bloque cuadrado y plano sobre el cual se hallaba el cielo y bajo el cual se hallaban los inframundos.” El pensamiento de los mayas contemporáneos, de la época colonial y de los prehispánicos ofrece abundante evidencia del modelo de una tierra cuadrada, en el que a menudo el mundo se expresa metafóricamente como una casa o milpa rectangular. No obstante lo anterior, no existe razón alguna por la

<sup>7</sup> Un fragmento de jade hallado en el Cenote Sagrado de Chichén Itzá representa al Dios Tonsurado del Maíz con un caparazón de tortuga sobre la espalda (ver Proskouriakoff, 1974: 103, lám. 58b1). Si bien Proskouriakoff sugiere que el caparazón y el personaje no están relacionados y que quizás se tallaron en momentos diferentes, las escenas de la iconografía del período Clásico sugieren con fuerza que el caparazón y el personaje ciertamente constituyen una misma escena: una representación del Dios Tonsurado del Maíz y la tierra. Otros tres artefactos de jade hallados en el Cenote Sagrado incluyen representaciones de caparazones de tortuga: dos de bulto y uno en relieve (ver Proskouriakoff, 1974: láms. 50b3-4, 65a2).



**Figura 9.** Representaciones de tortugas y del mundo circular: (a) uno de tres medallones que contienen tortugas; vasija del período Clásico Temprano, Kaminaljuyú (tomado de Kidder *et al.*, 1946: fig. 71a); (b) tortuga de piedra marcada con una cruz; Estructura H-15 de Mayapán (tomada de Proskouriakoff, 1962: fig. 1b); (c) diagrama del paso del sol que aparece en el Chilam Balam de Chumayel; nótese el disco de la tierra en el centro (tomado de Roys, 1933: fig. 7); (d) centro de la rueda de los katunes del Chilam Balam de Kaua (detalle tomado de Bowditch, 1910: fig. 64); (e) mapa circular esquemático que aparece en el Chilam Balam de Chumayel (tomado de Roys, 1933: fig. 27); (f) diagrama de una pelota sagrada de copal de los chortís, Chiquimula (tomado de Girard, 1966: 136); (g) diagrama de tamal yucateco contemporáneo *noh wah* (dibujo a partir de una fotografía del autor).

que sólo hubiera debido existir un solo modelo del mundo. En el México central de la época prehispánica, la tierra se concebía como un caimán monstruoso, pero también como una superficie cuadrangular o un gran disco rodeado de agua (Seler, 1902-23, 4: 3-16; Nicholson, 1971: 403-404). Los yucatecos protohistóricos tenían al menos estos mismos tres modelos como forma de percibir el mundo. Pero aunque el cocodrilo terrestre (Itzam Cab Ain) y el mundo cuadrangular son bien conocidos, el modelo circular por lo general se ha ignorado.

Los manuscritos yucatecos del período colonial brindan evidencia explícita de que el mundo se consideraba una masa redonda. En la página 26 del Chilam Balam de Chumayel, hay un diagrama circular que ilustra el paso del sol. En el centro de esta representación se halla un círculo más pequeño marcado "tierra"; en otras palabras, la tierra (figura 9c). El texto que acompaña a este diagrama, escrito en maya yucateco, describe este disco como *petel*, que Roys (1933: 87) traduce como "annulus." En maya yucateco, *pet* significa "circular" o "redondo." En los diccionarios de la época colonial temprana, algunas formas de la frase *u pepetecil cah* se glosan como "redondez del mundo" o "redondez de la comunidad" (Barrera Vásquez, 1980: 648). También existe el término *peten*. En los diccionarios coloniales, se traduce como "isla," "distrito," "región" o "provincia" (Barrera Vásquez, 1980: 648). La palabra se deriva del término usado para denotar redondo (*pet*), pues *peten che* significa rueda de madera. Los mapas circulares de Maní y Sotuta, de la época colonial, seguramente se relacionan con la concepción circular de una región o distrito (ver, por ejemplo, Roys, 1943: fig. 18). En maya yucateco de la época colonial, a los mapas circulares se les conocía como *pepet dzibil* (Barrera Vásquez, 1980: 184). El Chilam Balam de Chumayel contiene una forma extremadamente esquematizada de un mapa circular cruzado por líneas direccionales (figura 9e). El texto, escrito en maya yucateco, describe a este disco, que abarca gran parte del norte de Yucatán,

como *peten*, que Roys (1933: 125) traduce como “la tierra.”<sup>8</sup> En los documentos coloniales yucatecos, *peten* a menudo alude a algo más que a una entidad regional; en muchos casos significa “el mundo.” Así pues, el recuento que del Katún 1 Ahau se hace en el Chilam Balam de Kaua contiene la copla *pecnom can, pecnom peten*, que Gates (1931: 14) traduce como “se sacudirán los cielos, se sacudirá el círculo de la tierra.” Al igual que los mapas circulares, las ruedas de los katunes de la época colonial son representaciones del mundo circular. El centro de la rueda de los katunes que aparece en el Chilam Balam de Kaua contiene un disco cruzado por líneas orientadas hacia los puntos cardinales, así como líneas intercardinales más largas que se extienden hasta los bordes de la rueda de los katunes (figura 9d). El disco central se identifica con claridad como “Mundo,” pero pareciera que toda la rueda es una representación del mundo, con los katunes orientados hacia los puntos cardinales. Tanto la rueda de los katunes del Chilam Balam de Kaua como del de Chumayel muestran los puntos cardinales en los bordes de los diagramas circulares. Un pasaje del Chilam Balam de Chumayel ofrece una lista de pueblos en los que se celebraron ciertos katunes específicos en orden sucesivo (Roys, 1933: 142-143). El recuento que hace Fray Andrés de Avendaño de los itzáes de finales del siglo diecisiete contiene una importante descripción del ciclo de los katunes:

Las eras son trece en número; cada una de ellas tiene su propio ídolo y su sacerdote, con una profecía específica de los acontecimientos asociados con ella. Las trece edades se dividen en trece partes, que dividen este reino de Yucatán, y cada edad, con su ídolo, sacerdote y profecía, gobierna en una de estas trece partes de la tierra, según la han dividido. (Means, 1917: 141)

Según este relato, está claro que la rueda de los katunes es, en realidad, una forma de mapa que coloca a los katunes en el Yucalpetén circular, el mundo del katún.

En los diagramas circulares yucatecos del período colonial, la tierra se representa como un disco plano. Si bien el mundo pudo concebirse de esta manera, como un espejo plano, existen indicaciones de que también se le percibía como una forma redondeada, en forma de domo. Entre los mayas del período contemporáneo, así como entre los mayas del período colonial, al mundo se le representa en ocasiones como una masa circular semirredonda. Girard (1966: 136) ilustra una bola sagrada de copal marcada con siete puntos y cuatro líneas que constituyen una cruz (figura 9f). Según los chortís contemporáneos que residen en Chiquimula, esta bola representa a la Tierra (Girard, 1966: 138). En la sección de preguntas y respuestas del Chilam Balam yucateco de Chumayel, se alude a la tierra en dos ocasiones como un gran tamal, *noh uah*, con diferentes niveles. Lo que sigue es uno de los pasajes del Chilam Balam de Chumayel: “lo que tapa el hoyo del cielo y el rocío, las nueve capas de toda la Tierra. Es un gran tamal de maíz” (Roys, 1933: 128). En las ceremonias yucatecas

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<sup>8</sup> El texto en maya que acompaña al mapa de Chumayel describe al disco como un tipo de animal: “Maní se halla en la base de la tierra. Campeche es la punta del ala de la tierra. Itzmal es la mitad del ala de la tierra. Zací es la punta del ala de la tierra. Conkal es la cabeza de la tierra” (Roys, 1933: 126). Dada esta traducción, el disco parece considerarse como una suerte de ave, si bien no es ni remotamente parecido a un ave. Sin embargo, *xik* no quiere decir únicamente ala, sino que también puede aludir a una aleta para nadar. En el diccionario de Viena, *xik* se define como “ala con que vuela el ave o nada el peje” (Barrera Vásquez, 1980: 94). Por esta razón, es posible que el Chilam Balam de Chumayel no haga referencia a un ave, sino a una tortuga marina. No obstante, nada de lo que aparece en este relato maya identifica a la tierra como una tortuga de manera explícita.

contemporáneas, los tamales ceremoniales redondos, *noh wah*, se marcan con una cruz, que probablemente denote los cuatro rumbos (figura 9g). Todo este diseño resulta impresionantemente similar a la bola de copal de los chortís. Los lacandones modernos, que están estrechamente relacionados con los mayas yucatecos, consideran que el mundo es una masa redonda de maíz molido: “Nohochakyum hizo una bola redonda como de masa para hacer tortillas. Este es nuestro mundo y la casa de Sukukyum, quien vive en medio de él” (Cline, 1944: 108). En otro relato lacandón, a la tierra se le describe como un tazón de guaje en posición invertida: “Nadie sabe cuánto tiempo tomó hacer este mundo. Es éste como una jícara [un tazón hecho con un guaje] boca abajo, por lo que es redondo en su parte superior, donde estamos nosotros” (Cline, 1944: 110). Tanto las bolas de copal o de maíz molido como una jícara boca abajo son formas que se asemejan al domo redondeado de la parte superior de un caparazón de tortuga. La identificación de la tierra redonda con la tortuga de la tierra probablemente date de la fase Esperanza, del período Clásico Temprano, en Kaminaljuyú. Un tazón bruñido de color crema, hallado en la Tumba A-VI de ese sitio, exhibe tres medallones con tortugas modeladas como motivo central (Kidder *et al.*, 1946: 185). Al igual que las representaciones contemporáneas y coloniales del mundo circular, el caparazón redondo está marcado con una cruz o eje, dividiendo así el caparazón redondo en cuartos (figura 9a). En Mayapán, una de las tortugas de piedra halladas en la Estructura H-15 está dividida de forma similar en cuatro cuadrantes, mediante el empleo de una cruz central (figura 9b). Si bien los ejemplos de Mayapán y Kaminaljuyú son esquemáticos y no tienen indicación de glifo direccional alguno, ambos podrían referirse al mundo y a los cuatro cuadrantes.

## Conclusiones

Las imágenes de piedra de las tortugas eran un componente importante de las celebraciones de final de período en el Mayapán de finales del período Postclásico. Junto con varios ejemplos del período Clásico, varias de las tortugas llevan el glifo Ahau, que es el signo de día específico en el que concluyen los Uinales, los Tunes y los Katunes. Una escultura específica, descubierta en la Estructura Q-244b, contiene trece signos Ahau, lo que constituye una forma prehispánica de rueda de los katunes. La tortuga hallada en la Estructura R-87 podría ser otro ejemplo, pero se requiere ulterior verificación. La identificación de una o ambas esculturas como representaciones de la rueda de los katunes no es trivial pues, hasta el momento, constituyen la única evidencia material de que los mayas del período prehispánico concebían los ciclos calendáricos como ruedas circulares.<sup>9</sup> Cuando se les descubrió en sus contextos originales, las tortugas de Mayapán se hallaban en la base de altares en santuarios internos de estructuras ceremoniales y de residencias. Tanto las representaciones del período Postclásico como los restos físicos de lancetas indican que estas tortugas eran el sitio en el que se practicaba el autosangrado que, con frecuencia, se hacía a través del pene. Las tortugas halladas en la Estructura Q-244b, en la Estructura R-87 y en otros edificios residenciales indican que las ceremonias de final de período se llevaban a cabo no sólo en los centros ceremoniales, sino también en las casas de la élite de Mayapán. La ubicación de los

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<sup>9</sup> Sin embargo, la escultura de Mayapán no es la única rueda calendárica prehispánica que se conoce en Mesoamérica. La famosa Piedra del Sol azteca es otro ejemplo. Es de notar que tanto en el centro de México como en la región maya, las ruedas calendáricas prehispánicas se conocen sólo en representaciones llevadas a cabo como esculturas de piedra y no en manuscritos pintados.

santuarios en las porciones más retiradas del frente de los edificios ceremoniales y residenciales indica que estos acontecimientos de sangrado específicos eran sumamente privados y de ninguna manera se trataba de festivales públicos. Es evidente que la sangre se vertía en la superficie de la tortuga de piedra, que servía como símbolo de la tierra circular. Es posible que el receptáculo del centro del caparazón constituyera una suerte de cueva similar a los *sipapu* de los indios pueblo: un medio de ofrecer sangre al inframundo. Como en el ejemplo de Mayapán, las ruedas de los katunes de la época colonial son representaciones de la tierra circular, forma aparentemente conceptualizada como una gran tortuga rodeada por el mar que la sustentaba.

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