

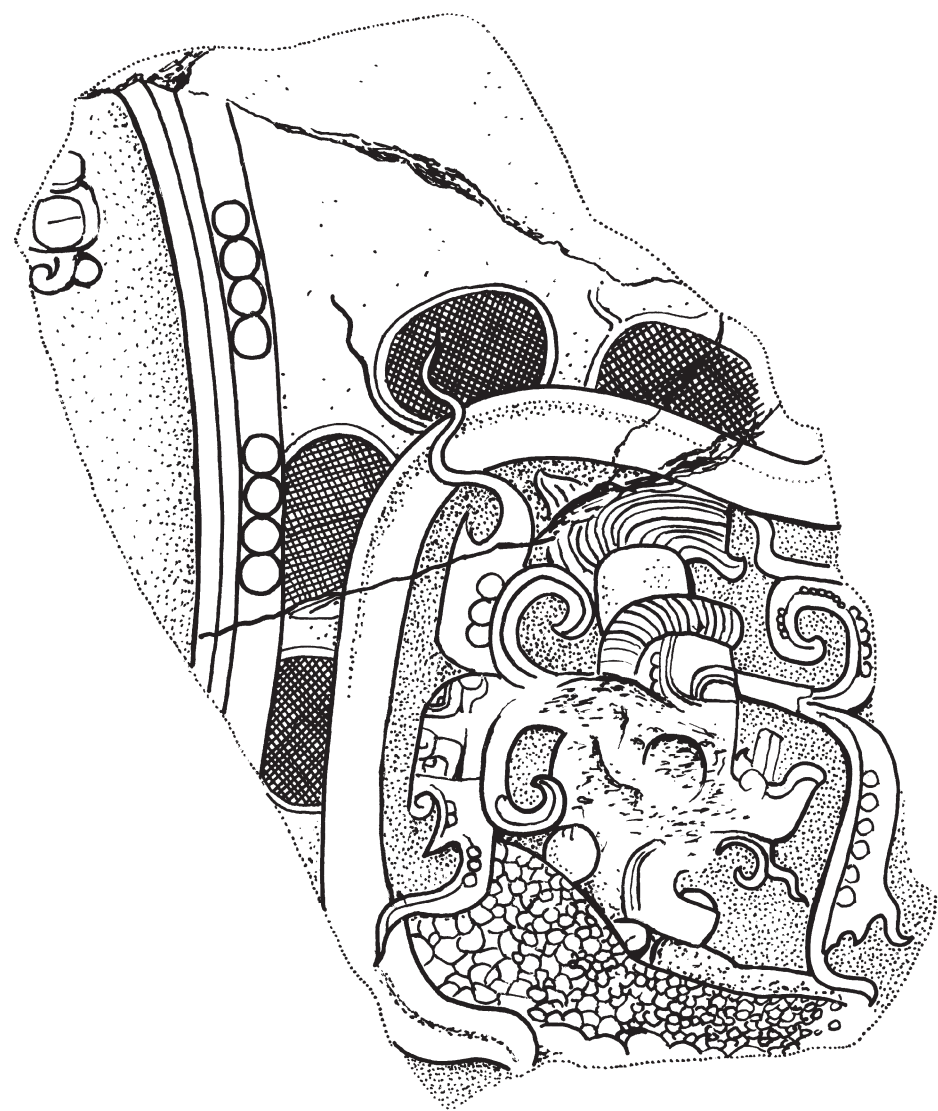
A Prehispanic Maya Katun Wheel

From the beginnings of the Classic period to the mid-eighteenth century, a span of some twelve hundred years, the Katun has been one of the basic time units of the Maya. Composed of twenty Tuns of 360 days, the Katun is almost twenty years, to be precise, 7,200 days. In Classic period inscriptions it is but the fourth of five time units composing a continual count of days from a mythical event in 3114 BC. But the Katun is a great deal more than a dull cog of Maya calendrics; it constitutes an essential element of traditional Maya history and religion. The great majority of Classic Maya monuments commemorate the ending of the Katun period. Classic Maya lords proclaimed the number of Katun endings experienced during their lifetimes as a sort of title. In Postclassic and colonial Yucatan, invasions, droughts, and even the creation and destruction of the world were recorded and foretold in terms of the Katun cycle. But although the progress and completion of the Katun is expressed repeatedly in prehispanic and colonial Maya accounts, we have little understanding about how the passage of the Katun periods was actually perceived. The focus of this study is upon the succession of Katuns of Postclassic and colonial Yucatan. I will demonstrate that the turtle was an important means of describing the Katun cycle. In both the Classic and Postclassic periods, this creature was explicitly identified with period ending dates. Moreover, the Postclassic data provide strong evidence for the importance of penitential bloodletting at period ending ceremonies. Finally, I will argue that, among the Classic and Postclassic Maya, the turtle served as a model of the circular world.¹

The Katun Round of Postclassic Yucatan

The end of the Classic period (AD 300–900) ushered in an abrupt change in Maya calendrical ceremonialism. Not only were monuments with Long Count dates no longer fashioned, but, among the Postclassic Quiché, Tzotzil, and other Mayan groups of the southern highlands, the passage of the Katun was no longer observed, much less celebrated. This was not the case for the Yucatecan-speaking peoples of the northern Maya lowlands, who continued to erect monuments in commemoration of the Katun (see Morley 1920:574–577). However, the Postclassic Yucatecan method of recording Katun dates was different from the Classic Long Count. The count of the Katun, or *u kahlay katunoob*, was a continuous succession of thirteen Katuns covering a span of slightly over 256 years. Each of the thirteen Katuns was named by the 260-day Tzolkin calendar, more specifically, by the Tzolkin day sign and coefficient with which the Katun ends. Because the 7,200 days constituting a Katun are evenly divisible by twenty (the number of day signs), the Katun was always named Ahau. However, the number of coefficients accompanying the day names does not evenly divide a Katun, as 7,200 divided by thirteen leaves a remainder of eleven. Thus each Katun is two coefficients less than the previous one. Beginning with 11 Ahau, the numbered sequence runs as follows: 11, 9, 7, 5, 3,

¹ This paper was originally presented at the 1987 Annual Meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory, Oakland, California, November 6, 1987.



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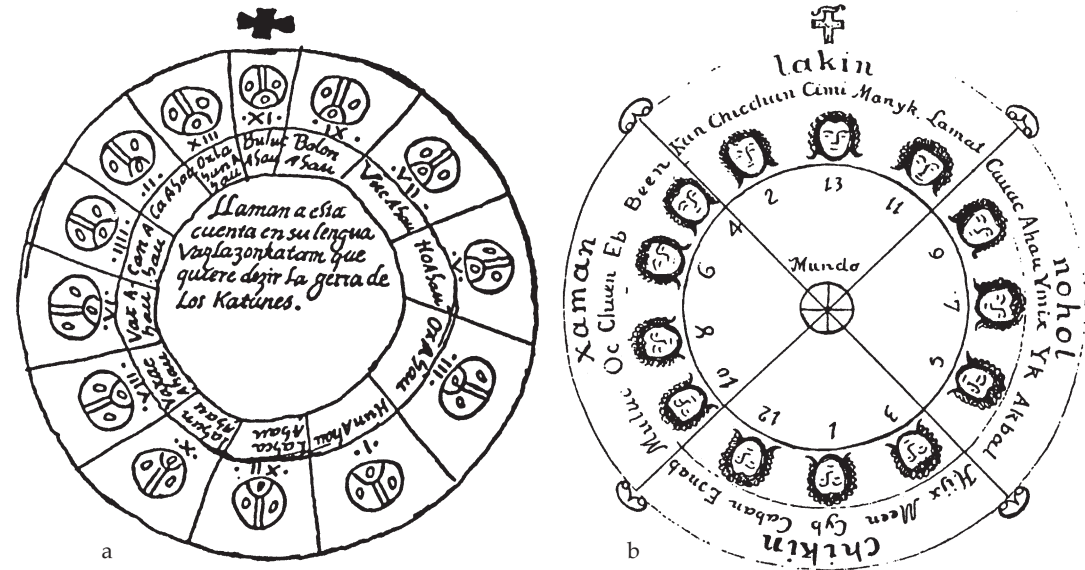


Figure 1. Examples of colonial Yucatec Katun wheels: (a) sixteenth-century Katun wheel provided by Landa (from Tozzer 1941:167); (b) Katun wheel from the *Chilam Balam of Kaua*, the thirteen Katuns and twenty day names are oriented to the four directions at edge of wheel (from Bowditch 1910:Fig. 64).

1, 12, 10, 8, 6, 4, 2, and 13, with 13 Ahau being the final Katun of the round.

The circular Katun wheel is an elegant means of expressing the *u kahlay katunoob*, or cycle of thirteen Katuns (Figure 1). The sixteenth-century work of Diego de Landa, the *Relación de las cosas de Yucatan*, contains the earliest of the seven calendar wheels known for the colonial Yucatec (Glass 1975:77).² Although Landa (Tozzer 1941:168) states that the prehispanic Yucatec used such circular diagrams for computations, all other cited examples derive from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents. Pages 2–12 of the damaged prehispanic Paris Codex represent eleven of the thirteen Katuns constituting a Katun round. However, in this page-by-page sequence, no hint is given of a circular system of organization.³ Pages 75 and 76 of the Codex Madrid offer some indication of a circular plan, although the diagram most closely resembles the strongly quadrangular organization appearing on page 1 of the Mexican Fejervary-Mayer. Moreover, the Codex Madrid is entirely concerned with orienting the Tzolkin to the four directions and has no direct bearing on the succession of Katuns. Writing some fifty years ago, Ralph Roys (cited in Tozzer 1941:167, n. 878) states that “no known pre-Spanish representation of a katun wheel or any other circular chronological diagram has yet been found.” This statement would still hold true today, were it not for the discovery of a small and superficially insignificant carving in the ruins of Mayapan.

² Colonial Yucatec calendar wheels concern not only the Katun cycle because year bearers and the twenty days are also represented. Wheels dealing exclusively with the Katun are to be found in Landa’s *Relación* (Tozzer 1941:167) and the *Chilam Balam of Chumayel* (Bowditch 1910:Fig. 63; Roys 1933:132).

³ In the colonial Chilam Balam books, one period ending term, *wudz*, appears only with the completion of Katuns (J.E.S. Thompson 1950:189). In Yucatec, *wudz* specifically means “to fold.” Thompson notes that the entire Katun round is at times referred to as *oxlahun wudz katun*, which he translates as “thirteen foldings of the Katun.” I suspect that rather than referring to the Katun wheel, the literary term *wudz* derives from the page-by-page sequencing of the prehispanic Katun pages, such as appears in the Paris Codex. Each Katun page corresponds to a fold (*wudz*) in the prehispanic screenfold.

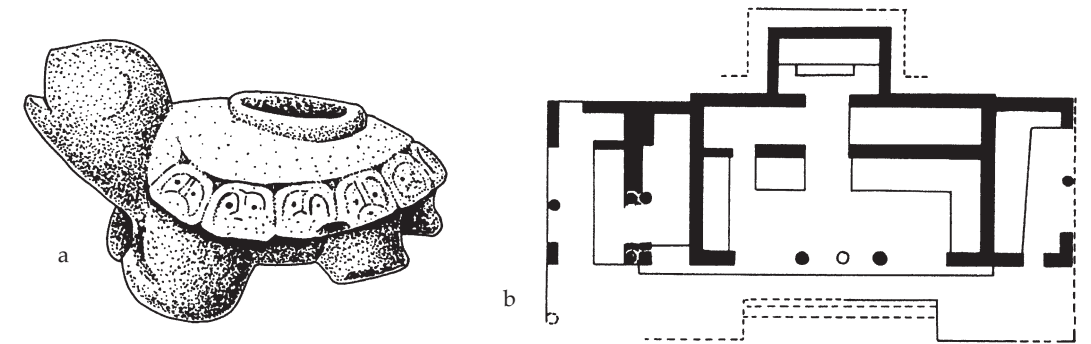


Figure 2. The stone turtle of Structure Q-244b: (a) profile of stone turtle, showing six of thirteen Ahau carved on carapace rim (after Proskouriakoff 1962b:Fig. 1g); (b) plan of Structure Q-244b, turtle was discovered in central shrine room at back of building (after Smith and Ruppert 1956:Fig. 3).

During the Late Postclassic period, Mayapan was the center of a vast hegemony extending over much of northern Yucatan. According to the chronicles, Mayapan was founded in a Katun 13 Ahau and destroyed in Katun 8 Ahau (Roys 1962). It is widely believed that these dates correspond to the later part of the thirteenth century and the middle of the fifteenth century. Under the directorship of Harry D. Pollock, the Carnegie Institution of Washington undertook extensive excavations at Mayapan from 1951 to 1955. Among the more common sculptures uncovered by the Carnegie excavations were small, simply carved stone turtles. At least twenty whole or fragmentary examples were discovered, ranging from 12.5 to 42 cm in length.⁴ At times the turtles are anthropomorphic, bearing the face of a wizened old man. In her analysis of the Mayapan sculptures, Proskouriakoff (1962b:331) identifies the anthropomorphic figures as God D. However, the figures are clearly God N, or Pauahtun, who is frequently found wearing a turtle carapace in Classic and Postclassic Maya art. In Mayapan Structure H-17, four God N turtle sculptures were found, recalling the strongly quadripartite aspect of God N (D.E. Thompson 1955:282). Parenthetically, it is possible that the pair of Early Classic God N sculptures formerly in the collection of Jay C. Leff constituted part of a similar set of four God N figures (see Easby 1966:Pls. 446-447).

The great majority of Mayapan stone turtles were found in close association with the interior shrine altars of either ceremonial structures or large houses near the center of Mayapan (Proskouriakoff 1962b:331). For example, an especially large sculpture was found in Structure Q-81, a colonnaded hall located in the ceremonial center of Mayapan. Also found in the area of this shrine were a great many incensario figures, among the finest examples known for Mayapan (Winters 1955). Structure Q-244b, on the other hand, was not a public building but a residence located on the south side of a patio courtyard (Smith and Ruppert 1956). Excavated in 1955, Q-244b was an unusually elaborate household structure containing six rooms (Figure 2b). The shrine, Room 3, is located on the central axis, furthest back from

⁴ Diane Chase (1985:228) mentions that three stone turtles were excavated at Santa Rita in association with Structures 8, 25, and 77. Gann (1928:132) describes three fragmentary stucco-modeled turtle sculptures in a small shrine south of Tulum. Another limestone turtle, almost identical to examples from Mayapan, was exhibited at the Dallas Museum of Fine Arts (Stendahl 1950).

In-the-round turtle sculptures are also known for prehispanic highland Mexico. Piña-Chan (1960:Photo 11) illustrates a stone turtle from the Late Classic site of Piedra Labrada, Guerrero. Still another example was discovered in an Aztec cache of sculptures excavated in Mexico City (Moedano Köer 1951:Photograph 5).

the main room and entrance. Among the items found in the shrine room were broken censers, a crouching anthropomorphic sculpture, another fragmentary figure, and a stone turtle.

Carved of limestone, the turtle is of average size, being approximately 23 cm in length (Figure 2a). In the center of the back is carved a vertical pit or chamber, a feature found on four other Mayapan turtles (Proskouriakoff 1962b:333). The most interesting trait of this particular sculpture is the series of Ahau glyphs lightly incised around the rim of the carapace. Proskouriakoff (1962b:Fig. 1g, legend) states that thirteen Ahau signs are carved on the shell, but makes no mention of the importance of this number. Of course, thirteen is a highly significant number, as the thirteen Ahaus ringing the shell constitute a Katun wheel, a complete round of thirteen Katun Ahaus, although here without the coefficients. Viewed in this light, the Katun wheels illustrated by Landa and other sources bear a striking resemblance to a turtle carapace. The identification of the Katun round with the turtle may be based on an actual biological trait. Bruce Love (personal communication) recently mentioned to me that, according to one Yucatec informant, a turtle shell is divided into thirteen parts. Although not all turtles have thirteen principal carapace shields, an especially common pattern is composed of five vertebral shields and eight flanking carapace shields, making a total of thirteen (see Stebbins 1954). In Yucatan, both the marine green turtle (*Chelonia mydas*) and the terrestrial Mexican box turtle (*Terrapene mexicana*) have the pattern of thirteen principal plates. This pattern is plainly visible on an almost intact Mexican box turtle shell excavated at Mayapan; the thirteen scutes form the central dome of the shell (Proskouriakoff 1962b:Fig. 41s).

Although the turtle sculpture from Structure Q-244b is the only Mayapan example that has a series of thirteen Ahau signs, it is possible that a similar tortoise from Structure R-87 was originally supplied with a Katun round, either painted or modeled in stucco over the series of shell disks (see Proskouriakoff 1962b:Fig. 1d). Like Structure Q-244b, Structure R-87 was an impressive and complex residential unit. The turtle was discovered carefully placed above a looted hole at the base of the central raised altar (Proskouriakoff and Temple 1955:300). Unfortunately, neither the excavation report nor the discussion of Mayapan sculpture by Proskouriakoff (1962b) mentions the specific number of medallions on the carapace rim. Fragments of another stone turtle were found in the debris overlying Structure R-87. This example bears on its back a coefficient of ten followed by a clear date of 8 Ahau (Figure 3a). The original inscription may have been 10 Ahau, 8 Ahau, that is, Katun 10 Ahau with the immediately following Katun 8 Ahau, or possibly the date Tun 10 in Katun 8 Ahau (Proskouriakoff and Temple 1955:298). Yet another Mayapan turtle, found in association with the round temple H-18, bears a hieroglyphic text upon the rim (Chowning 1956:450, Fig. 2i). Although the text is highly eroded, Proskouriakoff (1962b:332) suggests that the initial sign may be an Ahau glyph with a high coefficient.

The identification of turtles with Ahau period ending dates is by no means limited to Late Postclassic Mayapan. At the Usumacinta site of Piedras Negras, a massive cliff carving bears a Late Classic representation of a tortoise shell emblazoned by an Ahau with a coefficient of five or possibly seven (Figure 3b). Deity heads project from both openings of the shell, a common Classic convention. Whereas the right head is clearly God K, the crosshatching occurring with the left figure suggests the aforementioned God N, who often wears a crosshatched headdress. Itsimte Altar 1 is another Late Classic tortoise with a central day sign cartouche (Figure 4). Although damaged, the sign is probably Ahau, as this is the

only giant day sign appearing on Classic altars. Standing on four leglike supports, Machaquila Altar A presents an almost in-the-round view of the tortoise shell (Figure 5). The openings of both carapace ends are plainly visible on the altar sides. Viewed from above, one can discern two figures filling both openings and the central, almost circular shell. As with the Piedras Negras carving and Itsimte Altar 1, the right figure is clearly God K. The opposing entity is probably the Uinal Toad, here with a bound waterlily pad headdress. Instead of an Ahau sign, the center of the carapace contains a seated lord accompanied by a hieroglyphic text. Like Mayapan examples, a ring of glyphs like radiating skuttes covers the carapace rim. Because of extensive surface erosion, neither these glyphs nor the extensive texts on the sides can be readily interpreted.

The recently discovered cave of Dzibih Actun, in northern Yucatan, contains a remarkable series of paintings extending from the Late Postclassic period to the twentieth century.⁵ In one portion of the cave is an unusual series of pinwheel-like figures (Figure 6a). Andrea Stone (personal communication 1986) has noted that the central portion of these figures closely resembles the rectangular version of the Ahau sign found in colonial Yucatec manuscripts. However, the strange appendages remain to be explained. The figure farthest to the viewer's left is supplied with a curious birdlike head. In prehispanic Maya art, sea turtles are depicted with similar beaked faces (Figures 6b, 6c). The Dzibih Actun figures may thus be representations of Katun turtles swimming with outstretched fins.

⁵ In the fall of 1983, residents of the Yucatec community of San Juan de Dios, Quintana Roo, informed me of a painted cave near their former town of Yalcoba, located in northeast Yucatan. Known as Dzibih Actun, the cave was said to contain figures engaged in various activities, such as hunting and playing instruments. In the spring of 1986, I told Andrea Stone what I had heard concerning the cave. During the summer of 1986, Stone located and mapped the site, recording with photographs and drawings the many figures appearing upon the walls.

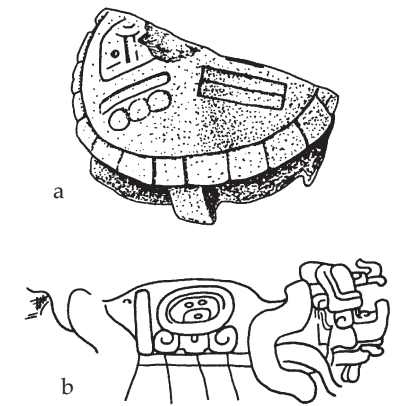


Figure 3. Postclassic and Classic examples of Ahau dates on turtle sculptures: (a) fragment of turtle sculpture from Mayapan Structure R-87, text inverted; intact date was probably Katun 10 Ahau, Katun 8 Ahau, or, possibly, Tun 10 of Katun 8 Ahau (after Proskouriakoff 1962b:Fig. 1f); (b) Classic period rock sculpture from cliff face at Piedras Negras, Guatemala; Ahau sign with coefficient in center of shell, right figure God K, left figure probably God N (after photographs courtesy of Mary E. Miller and Flora Clancy).

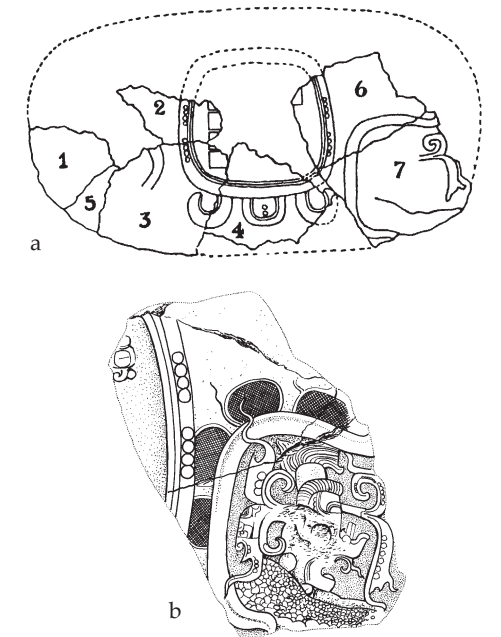


Figure 4. Itsimte Altar 1, a Late Classic turtle altar: (a) drawing by Morley showing day sign cartouche in center of shell (from Morley 1937-1938:5:Pl. 43g); (b) detail of right half of shell showing God K in opening, note Caban curls on carapace rim (after Morley 1937-1938:5:Pl. 156b).

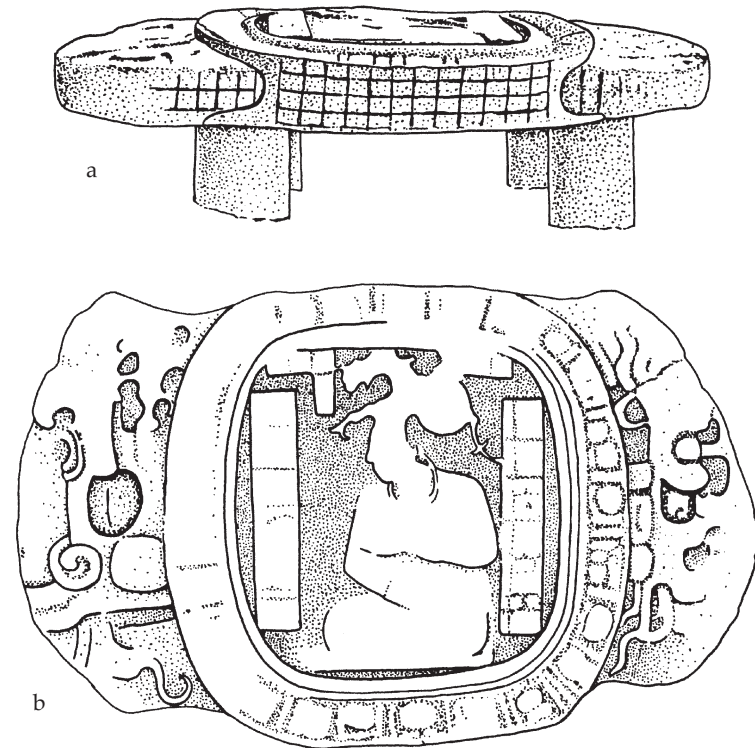


Figure 5. Machaquila Altar A: (a) profile view of altar, showing carapace openings and placement of hieroglyphic text (after Graham 1967:Fig. 71); (b) top of Altar A, note Uinal Toad and God K figures at either end of round carapace (after Graham 1967:Fig 73).

Although the Dzibih Actun turtles may well be Late Postclassic in date, it is also possible that they are early post-Conquest paintings.

The Turtle as Locus for Blood Offerings

In a recent study, David Stuart (1988) has established that Classic period endings were often commemorated with penitential bloodletting. Stuart notes that a sign frequently appearing with Classic period ending events, the hand scattering glyph, denotes the act of offering blood. Curiously, there has been little evidence for bloodletting in Postclassic Katun ending celebrations. However, given the strong identification of the Katun with the tortoise altars at Mayapan, a reasonable case can now be made. Along with the Katun wheel turtle, the shrine of Structure Q-244b also contained two flint nodules, three flint chips, and an obsidian blade (Smith and Ruppert 1956:500). Either as worked blades or sharp flakes, flint and obsidian commonly served as bloodletting lancets. In fact, in Yucatec *tok* signifies both “flint” and “to let blood” (Barrera Vásquez 1980:805). The receptacle carved in the back of the Katun wheel tortoise may have contained bloodletting instruments, if not blood itself. A similar chamber appears on a large tortoise uncovered at the altar of Structure Q-151, a major colonnaded hall near the center of the site. At the time of discovery, the pit was capped with a stone disk sealed with plaster. When opened, it was found to contain fragments of stingray spines, the

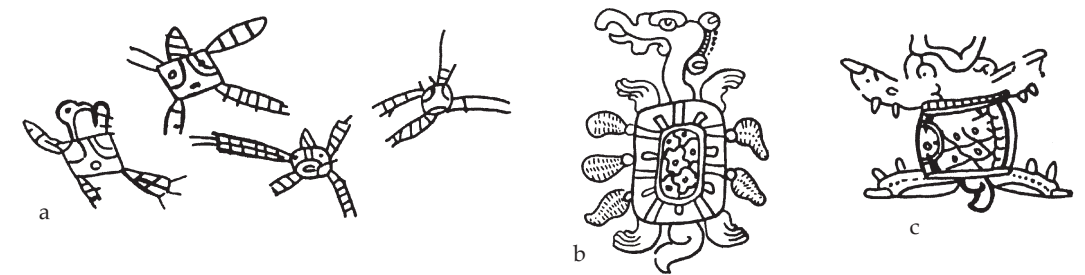


Figure 6. Late representations of Katun Ahau turtles from northeastern Yucatan: (a) Katun Ahau turtles painted on cave wall at Dzibih Actun, Yucatan (drawn from photograph courtesy of Andrea Stone); (b) sea turtle with long birdlike beak and neck, compare with far left Dzibih Actun turtle in *a* (after Codex Madrid, p. 72b); (c) sea turtle from Paris Codex, note claws on extended flippers (after Paris Codex, p. 24).

Maya lancet *par excellence*, and two obsidian flake blades (Shook and Irving 1955:144). In addition, a number of the ceramic turtle effigy vessels found at Mayapan contained bloodletting instruments.⁶ A single large obsidian flake blade was found in both of the two turtle effigy vessels cached in association with Structure R90, a small shrine located in a residential compound (Proskouriakoff and Temple 1955:329).

In addition to the material remains at Mayapan, Postclassic Maya iconography provides explicit evidence for the identification of turtles with self-inflicted bloodletting. On page 81 of the Codex Madrid, a seated figure wields a stingray spine directly above a turtle (Figure 7b). On page 19 of the same codex is an even clearer portrayal, with no less than five gods strung together by a rope passing through their penises (Figure 7c). In the upper center of the scene, the presiding deity, God D, sits upon a turtle. A recently discovered Postclassic cache from Structure 213 at Santa Rita contained twenty-five ceramic figurines. Four of the figurines are of aged men engaged in penis perforation (Chase and Chase 1986). Of special interest is that all four men stand upon turtles (Figure 7a). The scenes provided in the Postclassic imagery are idealized portrayals of the bloodletting act, offerings performed by live gods and, possibly, upon real turtles. However, in the actual rites of Postclassic Yucatan, turtles of stone and stucco were the locus of the bloodletting act. The imagery suggests that the participants situated themselves over the turtles so as to let blood directly upon the carapace. The blood may have been contained or burned within the receptacle frequently occurring in the center of the shell.

The Round World

The significance of the Mayapan turtles remains to be discussed. Proskouriakoff (1962b:331-332) tentatively suggests that the turtles represent an important Mayapan totem, with the aged deity being a form of idealized ancestor. However, no evidence exists in prehispanic, colonial, or contemporary Maya belief that the turtle is a totemic ancestor. It will be recalled

⁶ A small ceramic turtle effigy vessel was found at Tancah on the surface directly in front of Structure 44 (Miller 1982:6-7, Fig. 6). Miller states that the vessel is a form of censer, although it is very similar to the effigy vessels found at Mayapan.

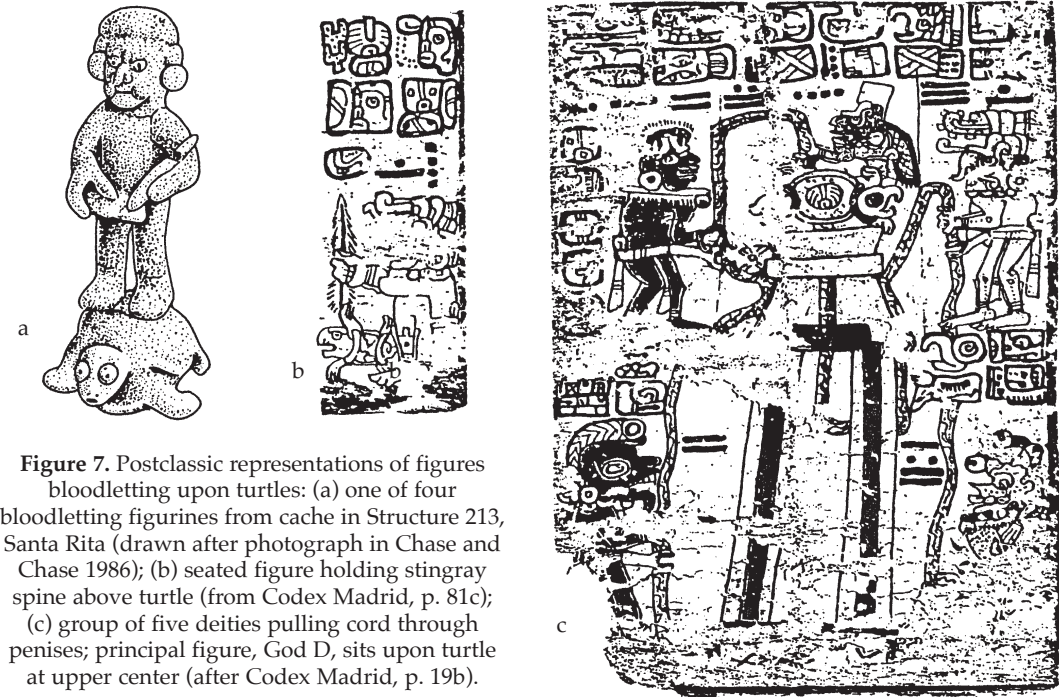


Figure 7. Postclassic representations of figures bloodletting upon turtles: (a) one of four bloodletting figurines from cache in Structure 213, Santa Rita (drawn after photograph in Chase and Chase 1986); (b) seated figure holding stingray spine above turtle (from Codex Madrid, p. 81c); (c) group of five deities pulling cord through penises; principal figure, God D, sits upon turtle at upper center (after Codex Madrid, p. 19b).

that, in Postclassic iconography, turtles frequently serve as supports for the bloodletting act.⁷ Caves in the vicinity of Palenque have yielded terminal Classic incensario supports representing full figures standing upon turtles (Rands et al. 1979:Figs. 3-5). Like the Classic turtles serving as supporting platforms for individuals, the Mayapan sculptures are usually placed at the foot of altars, occupying the base or foundation of the ritual space. Scenes in Classic Maya iconography provide graphic evidence that the turtle served as a symbol of the earth. A common iconographic theme is the youthful male rising out of a turtle carapace (Figure 8b). I have identified this young male as the Tonsured Maize God, a Classic prototype of Hun Hunahpu of the Quichean *Popol Vuh*; the cleft carapace scenes depict maize rising out of the earth (Taube 1985, 1986).⁸ The columns in the Lower Temple of the Jaguars at Chichen Itza contain an interesting variant of this scene; here the maize god rises out of a monstrous head, an apparent blend of Cauac Monster and tortoise (Figure 8a). The aforementioned Itsimte Altar 1 presents explicit evidence that the carapace symbolized the earth, as the shell is marked with Caban curls that clearly denote it as the earth (see Figure 4b).

⁷ The striking similarity of the Mayapan turtles to Machaquila Altar A and Itsimte Altar 1 suggests that these Classic Peten sculptures may have served as platforms or supports for individuals engaged in bloodletting. Clancy (1974) advocates that Maya altars should actually be considered as pedestal stones, as they correlate closely with the basal register of Classic stelae, that is, the ground or platform upon which the ruler stands.

⁸ A fragmentary jade from the Sacred Cenote of Chichen Itza represents the Tonsured Maize God with a turtle carapace on his back (see Proskouriakoff 1974:103, Pl. 58b1). Although Proskouriakoff suggests that the shell and human figure are unrelated and were possibly carved at separate times, the scenes in Classic iconography strongly suggest that the shell and figure do constitute a single scene, a representation of the Tonsured Maize God and the earth. Three other Cenote jades contain representations of turtle shells, two in the round and one in relief (see Proskouriakoff 1974:Pls. 50b3-4, 65a2).

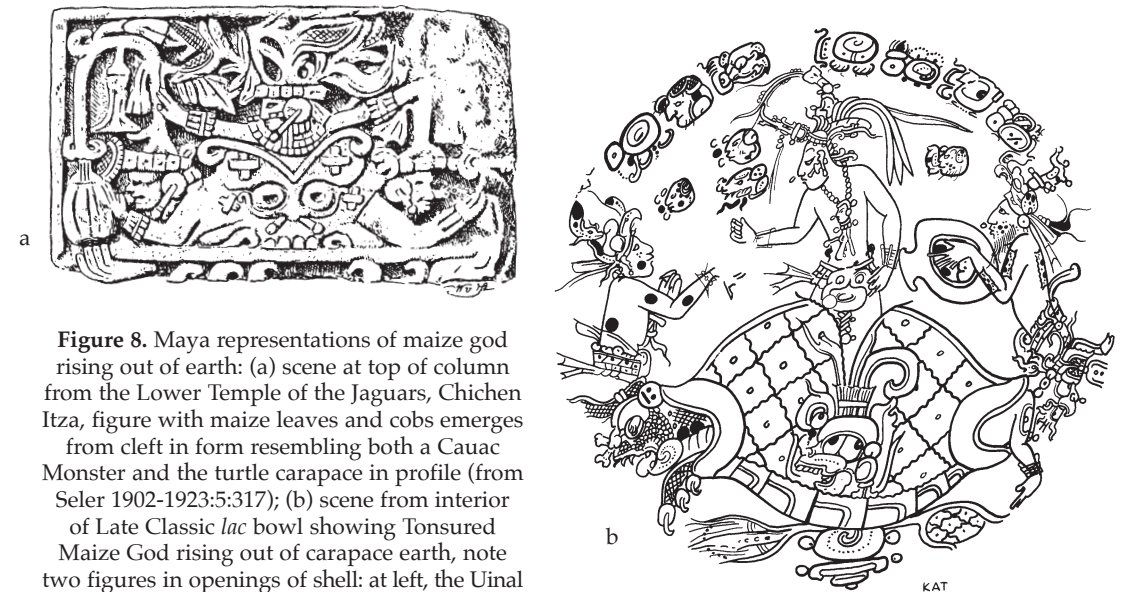


Figure 8. Maya representations of maize god rising out of earth: (a) scene at top of column from the Lower Temple of the Jaguars, Chichen Itza, figure with maize leaves and cobs emerges from cleft in form resembling both a Cauac Monster and the turtle carapace in profile (from Seler 1902-1923:5:317); (b) scene from interior of Late Classic lac bowl showing Tonsured Maize God rising out of carapace earth, note two figures in openings of shell: at left, the Uinal Toad; at right, the God of the Number 13 (after Robicsek and Hales 1981:Vessel 117).

The concept of the earth as a rounded carapace is in striking contrast to the usual cosmological model presented for the Maya. According to J. Eric S. Thompson (1970b:195-196), one of the great deans of ancient Maya thought, the Maya regarded the world “as a flat square block with skies above and underworlds beneath.” Contemporary, colonial, and prehispanic Maya lore provides widespread evidence of the square model, often with the world metaphorically expressed as a rectangular house or milpa. However, there is no reason why only one model of the world should have existed. In prehispanic Central Mexico, the earth could be conceived as a monstrous caiman, a quadrangular surface, or a great disk surrounded by water (Seler 1902-1923:4:3-16; Nicholson 1971:403-404). The protohistoric Yucatec had at least these same three models for perceiving the world. But although the earth crocodile (Itzam Cab Ain) and the quadrangular world are well known, the circular model has been generally ignored.

Colonial Yucatec manuscripts provide explicit evidence that the world was considered as a round mass. On page 26 of the *Chilam Balam of Chumayel*, a circular diagram depicts the passage of the sun. In the center of this device lies a smaller circle labeled “tierra,” in other words, the earth (Figure 9c). The accompanying Yucatec text describes this disk as a *petel*, translated as “annulus” by Roys (1933:87). In Yucatec, *pet* means “circular” or “round.” In the early colonial dictionaries, forms of the phrase *u pepetecil cah* are glossed as “roundness of the world” or “roundness of the community” (Barrera Vásquez 1980:648). And then there is the term *peten*. In the colonial dictionaries, it is translated as “island,” “district,” “region,” or “province” (Barrera Vásquez 1980:648). The word derives from the term for round (*pet*), as *peten che* signifies wooden wheel. The colonial circular maps of Mani and Sotuta are surely related to the circular conception of a region or district (see, e.g., Roys 1943:Fig. 18). In colonial Yucatec, such circular maps were known as *pepet dzibil* (Barrera Vásquez 1980:184). The *Chilam Balam of Chumayel* contains an extremely schematic form of a circular map crossed

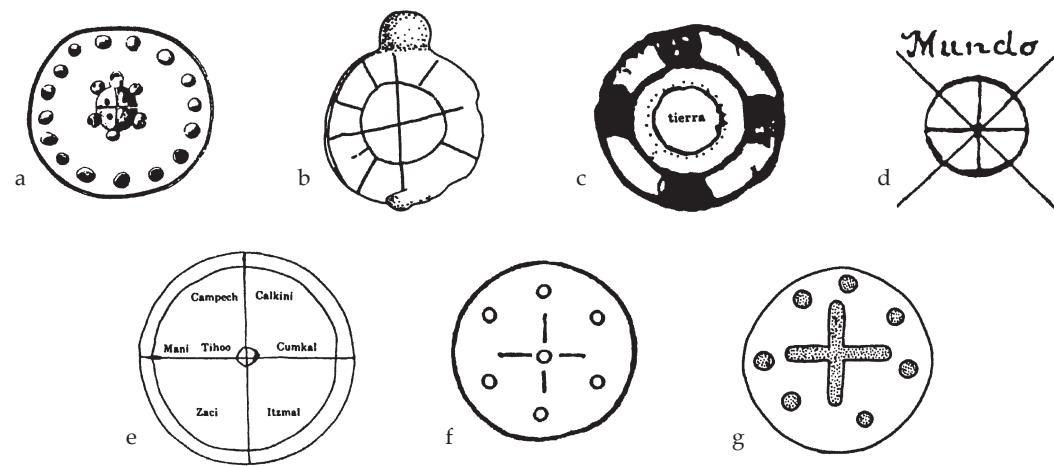


Figure 9. Representations of turtles and the circular world: (a) one of three medallions containing turtles, on Early Classic vessel, Kaminaljuyu (from Kidder et al. 1946:Fig. 71a); (b) stone turtle marked with cross, Mayapan Structure H-15 (after Proskouriakoff 1962b:Fig. 1b); (c) *Chilam Balam of Chumayel* diagram of the passage of the sun, note earth disk in center (from Roys 1933:Fig. 7); (d) center of *Chilam Balam of Kaua* Katun wheel (detail from Bowditch 1910:Fig. 64); (e) schematic circular map from *Chilam Balam of Chumayel* (from Roys 1933:Fig. 27); (f) diagram of Chorti sacred copal ball, Chiquimula (from Girard 1966:136); (g) diagram of contemporary Yucatec *noh wah* tamale (drawing from photograph by author).

by directional lines (Figure 9e). The Yucatec text describes the disk, encompassing much of northern Yucatan, as *peten*, translated by Roys (1933:125) as “the land.”⁹ In the colonial Yucatec documents, *peten* often refers to something more than a regional polity; in many cases it signifies the world. Thus the *Chilam Balam of Kaua* account of Katun 1 Ahau contains the couplet *pecnom can, pecnom peten*, which Gates (1931:14) translates as “[t]here shall shake the heavens, there shall shake the earth-circle.” Like the circular maps, the colonial Katun wheels are representations of the circular world. The center of the *Chilam Balam of Kaua* Katun wheel contains a disk crossed by lines oriented to the cardinal points, as well as longer intercardinal lines radiating out to the edges of the Katun wheel (Figure 9d). The central disk is clearly glossed as “Mundo,” or world, but it appears that the entire wheel is a representation of the world, with the Katuns oriented to the cardinal points. Both the Kaua and Chumayel Katun wheels have the cardinal points placed at the edges of the circular diagrams. One passage in the Chumayel provides a list of towns at which particular Katuns were celebrated in successive order (Roys 1933:142-143). The Fray Andrés de Avendaño account of the late seventeenth-century Itza contains an important description of the Katun cycle:

⁹ The Maya text accompanying the Chumayel map describes the disk as a type of animal: “Mani is at the base of the land. Campeche is the tip of the wing of the land. Itzmal is the middle of the wing of the land. Zaci is the tip of the wing of the land. Conkal is the head of the land” (Roys 1933:126). Given this translation, the disk appears to be considered as a sort of bird, although it is not remotely avian in appearance. However, *xik* not only means wing, but also a fin for swimming. In the *Vienna Dictionary*, *xik* is glossed as “ala con que vuela el ave o nada el peje” (Barrera Vásquez 1980:94). It is thus possible that the Chumayel is not referring to a bird, but a sea turtle. However, nothing in the Mayan account explicitly identifies the land as a turtle.

These ages are thirteen in number; each has its separate idol and its priest, with a separate prophecy of its events. These thirteen ages are divided into thirteen parts which divide this kingdom of Yucathan and each age, with its idol, priest, and prophecy, rules in one of these thirteen parts of the land, according as they have divided it. (Means 1917:141)

In view of this account, it is clear that the Katun wheel is actually a form of map placing the Katuns in the circular Yucalpeten, the world of the Katun.

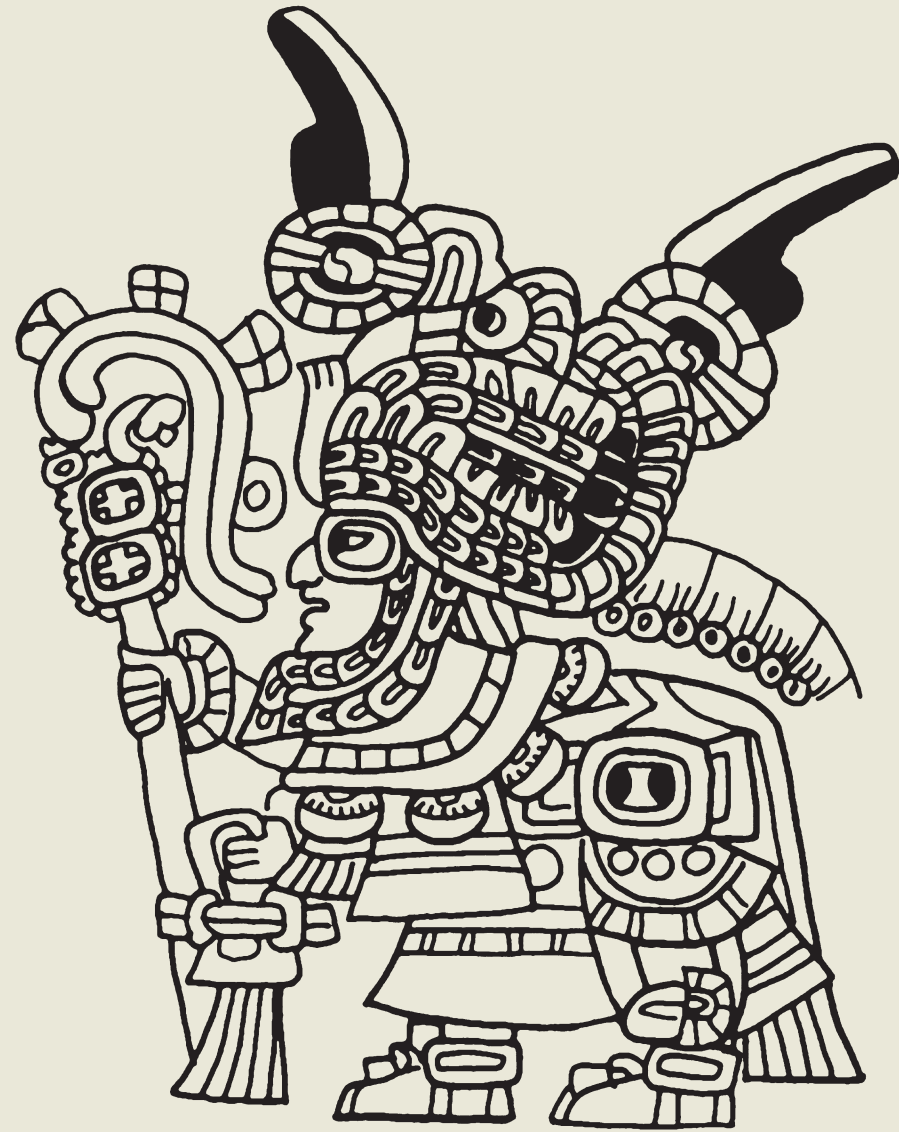
In the colonial Yucatec circular diagrams, the earth is presented as a flat disk. Although the world may have been conceived in this sense, like a flat mirror, indications exist that it was also perceived as a rounded domelike form. In contemporary and colonial Maya lore, the world is represented at times as a circular semirounded mass. Girard (1966:136) illustrates a sacred ball of copal marked with seven dots and four lines constituting a cross (Figure 9f). According to the contemporary Chorti residents of Chiquimula, this ball represents the earth (Girard 1966:138). In the question and answer section of the colonial Yucatec *Chilam Balam of Chumayel*, the earth is twice referred to as a large layered tamale, or *noh uah*. The following is from one of the Chumayel passages: “that which stops the hole in the sky and the dew, the nine layers of the whole earth. It is a very large maize tamale” (Roys 1933:128). In contemporary Yucatec ceremonies, the rounded ceremonial tamales, *noh wah*, are marked with a cross, probably denoting the four directions (Figure 9g). The entire design is strikingly similar to the Chorti copal ball. The modern Lacandon, closely akin to the Yucatec Maya, consider the world to be like a rounded mass of ground maize: “Nohochakyum made a round ball like masa for making tortillas. That is our world and the house of Sukukyum, who lives in the middle of it” (Cline 1944:108). In another Lacandon account, the earth is described as an inverted gourd bowl: “Nobody knows how long it took to make this world. This one is like a jícara [gourd cup] which has been turned over, so it is round on top where we are” (Cline 1944:110). Balls of copal or ground maize and an overturned jícara, these are forms resembling the rounded dome of a turtle carapace. The identification of the rounded earth with the earth turtle possibly extends back to the Early Classic Esperanza phase of Kaminaljuyu. A burnished cream bowl from Tomb A-VI bears three medallions with modeled turtles as the central motif (Kidder et al. 1946:185). Like contemporary and colonial representations of the circular world, the round carapace is marked with a cross or axis, thereby dividing the round shell into quarters (Figure 9a). At Mayapan, a stone turtle from Structure H-15 is similarly divided into four quadrants by a central cross (Figure 9b). Although the Mayapan and Kaminaljuyu examples are schematic, with no indication of directional glyphs, both may refer to the world and the four quarters.

Conclusions

Stone images of turtles were an important component in period ending celebrations at Late Postclassic Mayapan. Along with several Classic examples, a number of the turtles bear the Ahau glyph, the specific day sign of Uinal, Tun, and Katun period endings. One sculpture in particular, that discovered in Structure Q-244b, contains a series of thirteen Ahau signs, thus constituting a prehispanic form of the Katun wheel. The turtle from Structure R-87 may be yet another example, although this requires further verification. The identification of one or both of these sculptures as Katun wheels is no small matter, because, at the present time,

these constitute the only material evidence that the prehispanic Maya conceived of calendrical cycles as circular wheels.¹⁰ When discovered in their original context, the Mayapan turtles were at the base of altars in the interior shrines of ceremonial structures and residences. Postclassic representations and the actual remains of lancets indicate that these turtles were the locus of self-inflicted bloodletting, frequently through the penis. The turtles found in Structure Q-244b, Structure R-87, and other residential buildings indicate that period ending ceremonies were performed not only in the ceremonial center, but also in the houses of the Mayapan elite. The placement of the shrines in the farthest rear portions of ceremonial and residential buildings indicates that these particular bloodletting events were fairly private affairs, by no means public festivals. The blood was evidently deposited on the surface of the stone turtle, which served as a symbol of the circular earth. It is possible that the receptacle in the center of the shell constituted a sort of cave similar to the Pueblo *sipapu*, a means of offering blood to the underworld. Like the Mayapan example, the colonial Katun wheels are representations of the circular earth, a form apparently conceptualized as a great turtle surrounded by the sustaining sea.

¹⁰ However, the Mayapan sculpture is not the only prehispanic calendar wheel known for prehispanic Mesoamerica. The famous Aztec Calendar Stone is another example. It is noteworthy that in both Central Mexico and the Maya region, the prehispanic calendar wheels are only known in stone sculpture, not in painted manuscripts.



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