

Gods at War: Of War Protectors, Effigy Idols and Battle Banners among the Classic Maya

GENEVIÈVE LE FORT

Brussels' University (ULB), Belgium

The study of warfare among the Classic Maya has become a major focus of interest in recent years. The decipherment of the war verbs, and the growing understanding of Classic Maya History has allowed scholars to reconstruct an extremely complex set of conflicts and alliances, of power and subordination, involving most Maya sites (Schele and Grube 1994, 1995; Martin and Grube 1995). Recent findings in epigraphy and iconography have also started to reveal a new side of the issue, that of the existence of protective war gods. The interest in the sacred aspect of warfare increases and the hypothesis abound. Before we all start talking about war gods and sacred battle banners, however, I wish to bring in the debate my own part of questioning. The Classic Maya material is fragmentary and does not seem to allow yet a definite identification of war gods and patron gods involved in warfare. As for battle banners, we know very little about them. The Aztec material may be used as a model to help understand many aspects of Classic Maya civilization, but it does not suggest that battle standards embodied sacred power. I do not pretend to bring new answers to this complex issue, but I will have reached my goal if I bring the reader to agree that the debate is still open.

War is probably one of the most ancient human activity, and may be defined as «organized and coherent violence conducted between established and internally cohesive rival groups» (Lincoln 1991: 138). Most Classic Maya conflicts we know of are what Otterbein (1970) calls «internal war», or conflict between culturally similar groups, as opposed to «external war», which confronts culturally dissimilar groups. War deals with feelings as deep as fear, threat, rage, hate, and so forth, and more than any other human activity, it may require some kind of supernatural protection. The concept is quite simple, but it can take on various forms. It may be present at different levels, collective or individual. In the first case, all members of the group recognize the protective power over warfare of a specific sacred being. This protection may be given by a war god, or by another sacred being, most often the protector god of the group, the patron god of the city. Individual protection, on the other hand, may be a matter of personal choice, and therefore be manifested in an unlimited variety of ways.

At the collective level, a distinction is to be made between war gods, sacred beings specifically attached to warfare; and patron gods, which may play a protective role in battle. Most war gods are themselves warriors. Huitzilopochtli for example, the war god of the Mexicas, was born fully armed in Coatepec. They may also be deified ancestors, as in most Central African tribes for example, where the bravest ancestors become war protectors and are worshipped before the battle (Davie 1931: 175). Many protectors of war are ferocious and frightening, and when not warriors, they may embody some fearful natural element, such as lightning, thunder, and so forth. They may be considered as the major god by the group, such as Huitzilopochtli for the Mexicas, but it is not always so. Kazoba, the war god of the African Bahimas for example, is only worshipped in times of war; he is never mentioned otherwise, as if he did not exist at all in times of peace (Davie 1931: 177). So the status of the war god may vary according to the group considered.

On the other hand, the patron god of the group may protect the warriors and be present on the battle field. However, it does not make it a war god. When Cortés fought against the Mexicas, he did so under the protection of the Holy Spirit (Fig. 1), the Virgin, or Santiago. Mexican History is full of examples of battles carried on under the protection of the Virgin; the best case being probably the role played by the Virgin of Guadalupe in the fight for independence (see Lafaye 1976). The Virgin, we would all agree, because we know Christian mythology, is not a war goddess even if, at times, she may be worshipped in a war context. In any case, warriors search for supernatural protection, being from a war god or from the protector god of the group. This distinction may not seem essential to all of us, but it eventually becomes critical when it comes to define as accurately as possible the characteristics of each god and its possible role in warfare.

WAR PROTECTORS AMONG THE CLASSIC MAYA

The Classic Maya also had their patron gods and protectors of war. Recent work in epigraphy and ico-



Figure 1. Cortés' battle banner. Drawing by G. Le Fort after Codex Azcatitlan, Pl. 23.

nography has brought up some important data on gods and warfare. Deities associated with war, in one way or another, are known in many sites, but we know very little on the real identity and status of those protectors of battle, neither do we fully understand the exact nature of their relationship with warfare. It is not always an easy task to distinguish war gods from patron gods involved in battle; or even to label as god or supernatural being some of the creatures associated with warfare. We have to keep in mind that what we know about Classic Maya mythology is drawn from reconstruction work based on fragmentary and highly selective material. I have no intention here to review all beings associated with war, even less to discuss the possible identity of each one in length. But if we consider a very important one of those, G'ill of the Palenque Triad, which appears in war-related iconography in various sites, we can see that his identity and the nature of his relationship with warfare are far to be definitely understood.

David Kelley (1965) proposed long ago that the Temple of the Sun at Palenque was dedicated to the war god. Indeed, G'ill is depicted on a shield, along

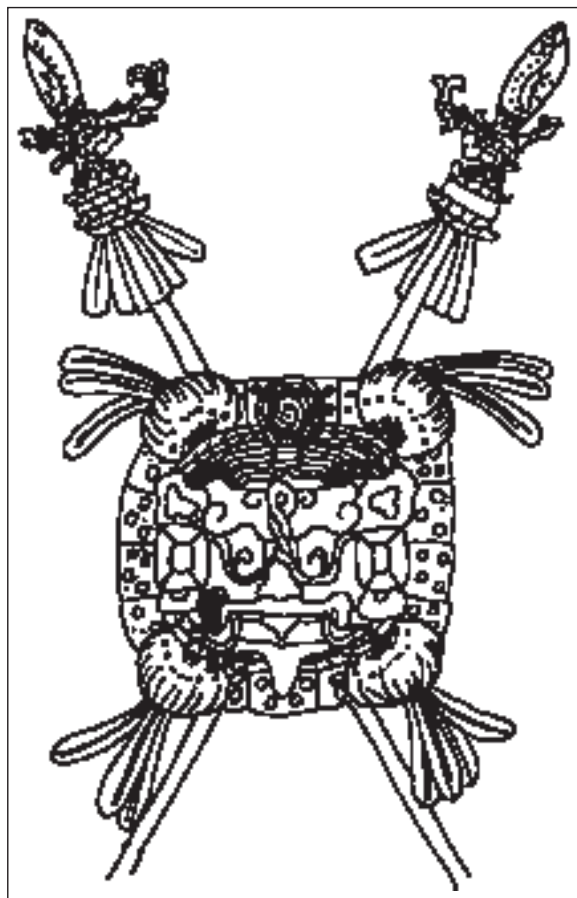


Figure 2. Palenque Temple of the Sun, central panel, detail. Drawing by G. Le Fort after Greene Robertson 1991, fig. 95.

with lances, on the central panel of the temple (Fig. 2), and his birth date, *Oxlahun Kimi*, or Thirteen Death, as well as his jaguar features, would make him a good candidate for a war god associated with death and the underworld. He is also a fire god, the sun, and an aspect of Venus (Grube pers. com. 1996).

His presence on the shield is an important iconographic element; it certainly suggests that the deity was a protector of some sort. Indeed, G'ill is very often depicted on shields, in various Classic Maya sites. Shields, around the world, are essential in the warrior's costume, both as a physical and as a symbolic protective device, but their iconography may have va-

rious meanings. The image may be that of a war protector god. But the best protecting image is often the one also able to frighten the enemy. That is why shields often depict fearful creatures, night animals, death or underworld symbols, etc, not all necessarily bearing the status of war protector gods. We have to keep in mind that an important function of war costuming is indeed to frighten the enemy. Most Classic Maya shields show images of GIII, the owl/Tlaloc image complex, and the flayed face. The first two belong to the underworld and the night realm. The flayed face is a dreadful reference to the possible outcome of captives.

But shields do not necessarily depict protective figures. They may also display an image symbolizing the concept of victory. The shield of Montezuma and his ancestors, for example, depicted an eagle swooping down a jaguar (López de Gómara 1965-66, II: 140). Images on shields may also recall the belonging to a group, refer to rank, and show blazons or various kinds of figurative or abstract designs. Finally, warriors may decorate their shields according to their own choice of individual protection. Shield iconography, thus, may have various meanings. By itself, even if it has a protective role, the presence of a (sacred) being on a shield does not make it a war god, and even less provides information on the exact nature of its relationship with warfare. I believe, thus, that a careful study of Classic Maya shield iconography will lead to a better understanding of the meaning of those images in the context of war, and the nature of supernatural protection involved in warfare.

GIII is also impersonated by rulers portrayed as warriors on various monuments, especially at Naranjo (Fig. 3). Impersonation is an important aspect of the relationship between sacred beings and individuals. Among the Classic Maya, it may be found in the iconography, where an individual, usually the ruler, appears with the features of a deity; and in the inscriptions, with the expression *u ba-an(ul)*, meaning «going as the image of» (Houston and Stuart 1996). Classic Maya war iconography suggests that the practice took place in ritual events rather than on the battle field. These rituals could be planned anytime before or after the battle and impersonation does not necessarily coincide with the times of war.

Warfare, no doubt about it, was an important aspect of Classic Maya life. As such, it probably played a significant role in the definition of Maya kingship. This concept could be no better materialized than by the generic image of the king-warrior. We might thus also

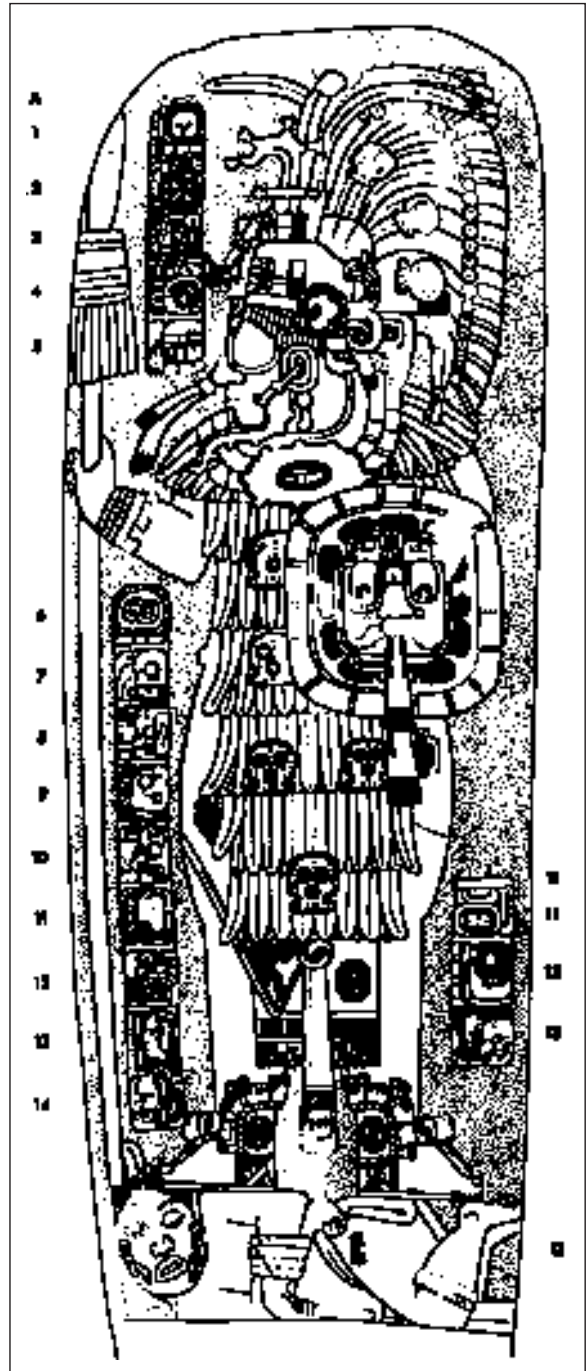


Figure 3. Naranjo Stela 21. Drawing by I. Graham and E. Von Euw (1975 fig. 2: 53).

consider that the attributes, the shield and lance, that define the king-warrior on one hand, and the supernatural impersonation on the other, may in some cases be two distinct entities. Would that be the case, the connection between the deity impersonated and warfare would not be as evident or clear as we may think, as one might not necessarily be explained in relation to the other. In other words, assuming that GIII is a war god because it is impersonated by the king-warrior is a good hypothesis, but reality may be much more complex than this simple association.

A definite identification of GIII of the Palenque Triad, thus, as well as a full understanding of the nature of his relationship with warfare is yet to come. The general iconographic context in which the deity appears may suggest that he is a war protector god, but shield iconography and impersonation, despite what we may think, do not allow any definite conclusion on his identity. The study of the exact nature of the implication of gods in warfare, the issue of the distinction between war gods and protector gods involved in battle are, I believe, still open to debate. It makes no doubt, however, and that is what really matters here at the moment, that deities played a protective role of some sort in warfare. The relationship between gods and warfare is well attested in Classic Maya iconography. And the direct implication of deities in combat, whatever its nature is, may be found in the inscriptions in passages such as those found on the Naranjo and Tamarandito Hieroglyphic Stairways, where we read that an attack was conducted *u kahi*, «by the doing of» (Grube in Schele and Grube 1994: 17a-18), or *u chabi*, «under the supervision of» (Schele pers. com. 1996), gods (Fig. 4).

GODS AT WAR: EFFIGY IDOLS AND BATTLE STANDARDS

Gods were taken to battle as various kinds of effigy idols. When the Aztec went out fighting, a group of priests was walking a day ahead, carrying on their backs the images of the gods (Fig. 5) (Sahagún 1979: bk 8, chap. 17). The Maya did the same. Villagutierre Soto Mayor (1985: 540) writes about the Itza that:

«tenían otros dos ídolos que adoraban por dioses de las batallas; al uno llamaban Pakoc y al otro Hexchunchán. Estos llevaban cuando iban a pelear con los cinamitas, sus fronterizos y mortales enemigos (...).»

In this case, the author specifies that the gods taken on the battle field were war gods, but we can not be sure that it was always the case.

Warriors also bring along battle banners. Their main purpose was to signal the chief warriors and the position of the troops. Among the Aztec, each unit in the army was designated by such a banner (Hassig 1988: 57). Landa (Tozzer 1941: 123) mentions them also and writes about the Maya that:

«Guided by tall banners they went out in great silence from the towns and thus they marched to attack their enemies, with loud cries and with great cruelties, when they fell upon them unprepared.»

Recently, David Freidel and Linda Schele (Freidel *et al.* 1993: 294ff) have proposed that, among the Classic Maya, the iconography associated with battle banners and flint-shields, or *tok' pakal*, functioned as a metaphor for war, and that the objects were the emblems of



Figure 4. (a) Naranjo and (b) Tamarandito Hieroglyphic Stairways, details. Drawings by G. Le Fort after I. Graham (1978 fig. 2: 107, 2:108) and S. Houston (1993, fig. 4-21).



Figure 5. Priests and warriors en route to war, detail. Drawing by G. Le Fort after Sahagun (1979 Vol. II, Book 8, Chap. 17).

war *par excellence*. The *tok' pakal* was the main war symbol and referred to the actual weaponry worn by the warrior, but it was also a ritual and emblematic object.

Actually, those objects do not always display an image, but at times, they are associated, within the inscriptions, or in the iconography, with a sacred being, a protector of war. A stone replica of a battle standard, found in Group 6C-XVI at Tikal, is the exam-

ple provided by Freidel and Schele. Its text mentions the calling forth of the War Serpent, *Waxaklahun-Ubah-Kan*, at the city of Waxaktun on the day of the battle opposing the two sites. It then says that it was called again thirty-six years later, for the dedication of the object itself. But it does not say or mean that the object embodied the sacred being. David Freidel and Linda Schele (Freidel *et al.* 1993: 195), however, say about the people of ancient Mesoamerica that «they saw their great standards of war not only as the representation of the state, but as an embodiment of a potent spiritual being whose presence and performance were critical to their success». Gods were indeed involved in warfare, and warriors have always counted on some kind of supernatural protection. But saying that the supernatural power was embodied in battle standards and flint-shields may be quite a hasty conclusion. We know that those objects could be, in some cases, emblems and metaphors for war. But making them the receptacle of sacred power, and as such, putting them at a level similar to that of the effigy idols, is an important step that, so far, I wouldn't take.

THE CAPTURE OF THE GODS

Gods could be captured by the rival group at the issue of battle. What signified total victory for the Mexica was the burning or the destruction of the enemy temple. A burning temple was the pictogram used in the codices to signify the victory over the rival group. The temple was an important target because, as Haggis (1988: 105) notes, it was usually the best fortified structure within a city, and its precincts contained the war supplies. So from a strategic point of view, the destruction of the temple marked the end of resistance and the deprivation of defense means. But, as important, the destruction of the temple also means the defeat of the gods kept in it. Those could be destroyed or removed and brought to the victorious city.

A similar practice is known for the Classic Maya. The most explicit cases come from the site of Tikal, where, as Simon Martin (1996; n.d.) has shown recently, at least two lintels depict the Tikal ruler seated on a palanquin that once belonged to a rival city. Lintel 2, Temple IV, depicts GIII as a giant protector standing on the Naranjo palanquin captured by Tikal. The text says that the palanquin was taken from Naranjo the day of the battle (Fig. 6). Lintel 3 of the same temple shows Ruler B on a palanquin, dressed as God A',

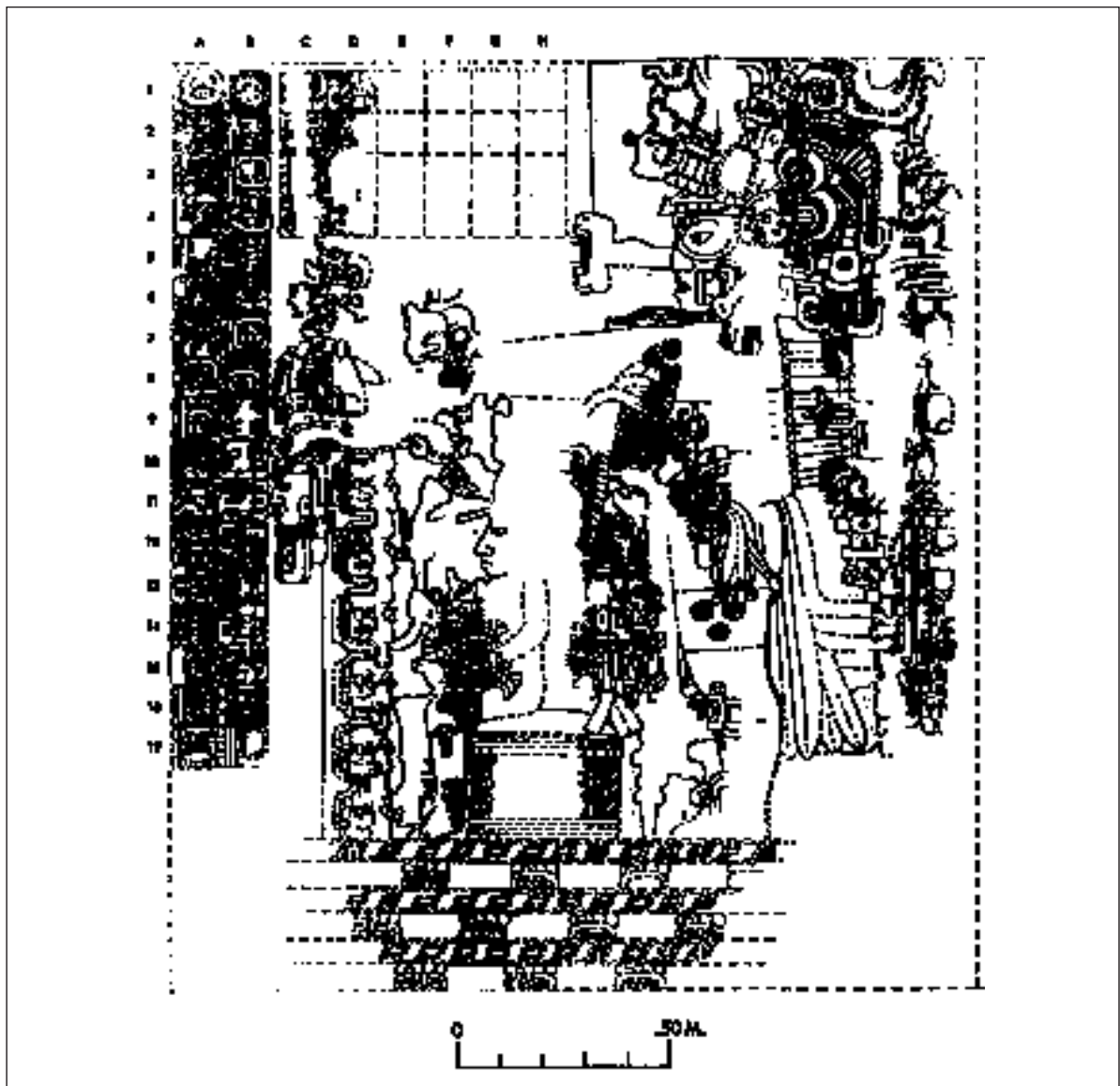


Figure 6. Tikal Temple IV, Lintel 2. Drawing by W.R.Coe. After Jones and Satterthwaite (1982, fig. 73).

a god of El Peru. The inscription specifies that the god was captured the day of the attack, and that it arrived at Tikal the day after. In Palenque, the gods of the Triad were thrown down (*yaleh*) when the site was attacked by Calakmul (Fig. 7). And in Quirigua, Butz' Tiliw pierced or captured what may have been the

wooden effigy of *chan ahaw*, *k'uy nik ahaw*, protector gods of Copán and its ruler 18 Rabbit. The Palenque example shows that, more than neutralizing a war protector, what counts is to put down the important gods of the city, whatever their function. We know very little of the circumstances of those captures



Figure 7. Palenque Hieroglyphic Stairway, detail. Drawing courtesy Linda Schele.

among the Classic Maya. We can only assume that they were part of a final action meant to signify total victory, as for the Aztec.

Moreover, the impact of the capture of effigy idols on the battlefield is not very clear. That the effigies were brought out to combat is well attested by Aztec and Maya ethnohistorical sources, but can only be assumed for the Classic Maya. And that their capture was part of a strategic move to paralyze the enemy is not certain. We have to keep in mind that they are probably only symbols of the supernatural protection. The effigies are important, but not irreplaceable. I do not imagine the Aztec letting the priests walking a day ahead, without any kind of protection, if the capture of the idols signified the defeat of the army. Instead, the real dwelling of the idols is the temple. Gods are protected rather than exposed to all dangers in the battlefield. More important than idols and effigies taken to combat are those held in the sacred bundles kept in a safe place and watched over by guardians. During the Conquest, those were taken out of Tenochtitlán to avoid their destruction by the Spaniards (Greenleaf 1962). Whatever, thus, were the sacred objects brought to the battlefield by the Classic Maya, their capture by the rival group might not have been the most significant act in combat. The implication of religion is certainly important, but the practical side of warfare, its mechanism of protection, defense, strategy, etc. should not be disregarded.

Battle standards pointed out chiefs and great warriors. As such, they were a target for the enemy. The

king of Huexotzinco, before a battle against Tezcoco, inquired about the insignia carried by its ruler Nezahualcoyotl in order to charge directly at him and kill him. But Nezahualcoyotl exchanged arms with a captain of his army, and thus avoided to be killed (Torquemada 1975-83, I: 253-54).

The effect of the capture of battle banners during combat is illustrated in the battle of Otumba, Central Mexico. The interpretation of what happened there is critical because it is sometimes used as a model for Classic Maya warfare, for which we know so little. Freidel (Freidel *et al.* 1993: 293ff) writes that «The Mexica defeat began, according to all accounts, when Cortés charged on horseback out of his encircled troops, struck down the commanding officer of the Mexica army, and triumphantly raised the captured Imperial battle standard». The Spaniards were in very bad condition, and the author believes that they won because «it was not only the slaying of the Mexica leader that was critical, but also the capture of the Imperial battle standard *and its god*» (emphasis mine).

A careful examination at the sources show a picture quite different. The Spaniards were indeed exhausted, weakened, and many were wounded. They suffered a great loss in the uprising of the Mexica at Tenochtitlán during the *Noche Triste*, and barely managed to flee the city. The encounter at Otumba occurred seven days later, on July 7, 1520, when they were on their way to meet with their Tlaxcalan allies. The Indians were many (Cortés 1963: 100; Durán in Baudot and Todorov 1983: 338; Fernández de Oviedo 1959, IV: 231), and when the Spaniards got in the fight, it was with the feeling that their last day had come. The combat lasted for hours, most of the day says Cortés (1963: 101), and the Spanish resistance was great. Many Indians died (Muñoz Camargo 1988: 223), as well as many «*personas muy principales y señaladas*» (Cortés 1963: 101). No mention of any victims on the Spanish side.

But Cortés did the right move that led his troops to win the battle. Each account gives a variant of the event and Cortés himself (1963: 101) relates that they fought «until God wanted that died a person so important to them that his death marked the end of combat» (see also Fernández de Oviedo 1959, IV: 331; Vázquez de Tapia 1988: 147; Aguilar 1988: 194 and López de Gómara 1965-66, IV: 210). The battle standard of the Indian chief and its capture are mentioned in later accounts. López de Gómara (1965-66, IV: 210) writes that:

«En cayendo el hombre y el pendón, abatieron las banderas en tierra, y no quedó indio con indio, sino que en seguida se desparramaron cada uno por donde mejor pudo, y huyeron, que tal costumbre tienen en guerra, muerto su general y abatido el pendón.»

Durán (in Baudot and Todorov 1983: 338) says that Cortés looked toward a mound and saw there the chief of the Indians, designated by insignias, banner and outfit. He then decided to charge at him with a lance and killed him. As soon as they saw their captain collapse, the Indians scattered and fled running off the field. Muñoz Camargo (1988: 223-24) provides more details on the banner. Cortés reached the Indian chief, *«el general de todo el campo»*, and killed him. The text also says that:

«quitó la divisa que traía, la cual los naturales llamaban Tlahuizuntlazopilli, que era de oro y de muy rica plumería. La cual presa mandó guardar y tener por una de las más estimadas empresas que había ganado, la cual dio después y presentó a Maxixcatzin, su amigo, señor de Tlaxcalla, de la cabecera de Ocotelulco, porque como cosa que había ganado por su lanza, le servía con ella. (...) Finalmente, se desbarató el campo enemigo, desmayaron sus gentes, de suerte que en poco rato no quedó ninguno que les impidiera su camino, quedando los nuestros vencedores.»

According to Bernal Díaz (Díaz del Castillo 1992: 405-6), Cortés, accompanied by his captains, went towards the Indian chief designated by his battle standard. The banner was decorated *«con ricas armas de oro y grandes penachos de argentería»*. Many other Indians were holding such banners. But it was Juan de Salamanca who actually killed the Mexica chief, took his banner and offered it to Cortés. The arms captured were later given by the King to Salamanca, and transmitted to his descent.

The Otumba battle was important. The Indians probably hoped to get rid of the Spaniards once and for all. But the event should not be given too much weight in the History of Conquest. The battle was part of the many events that made the final conquest of Tenochtitlán possible, and not every specialist of Aztec warfare and Conquest would agree with Freidel (Freidel *et al.* 1993: 294) that the defeat at Otumba was the crucial turn leading the Mexica into final defeat. If we want to find a pivotal episode in the History of Conquest, the escape of the Spaniards after the *Noche Triste* is probably a better candidate. There, the Mexica were at their advantage and a victory would have been extremely significant. Once the Spaniards left the city, they

found themselves in the plains again, where they had always won, even without fire arms. The Indians were numerous at Otumba but maybe not so well organized. Cortés (1963: 100) writes that they were so many that they were hampering one another, not being able to fight or flee. Thomas (1995: 426) might not be far from the truth when he says about the Mexica that *«they were incapable of dealing with an attack in open country by mounted men, however weary»*.

In any case, the Spaniards won the battle and the decisive event was the killing of the Indian chief. His battle standard, at the same time, was put down. Banners were firmly mounted on the wearer's back and apparently, it was so tightly attached, that it was almost impossible to remove it without killing the warrior first (Fuentes 1963: 168). The banner down, the rest of the troops knew right away that their chief had been seriously wounded, if not killed, a reason good enough to disorganize an army. The captain and the main warriors were signaled by their standards, but we do not really know if Cortés' main idea was to capture the object. Actually, it does not seem to be the case, even if the practice was known in the strategy of the Mexica. Only two sources, Muñoz Camargo (1988: 224) and Bernal Díaz (Díaz del Castillo 1992: 405), mention the capture of the battle standard, and the first one says that Cortés gave the object to his friend *Maxixcatzin* of Tlaxcala, while in the second, we learn that the standard was taken by Juan de Salamanca, who gave it to Cortés, but Salamanca is finally the one who received from the hands of the King some years later.

The object was very precious and made of gold and rich feather work (Muñoz Camargo 1988: 224). We might actually have a depiction of it in the Lienzo de Tlaxcala (Fig. 8). It was called *Tlahuizuntlazopilli*, which means *«insignia of the prince, of the noble»*. Muñoz Camargo (1988: 224) also writes that the vanquished captain was named *maxatlopille* *«por la divisa que traía»*. If the battle banner was the *«divisa»* in question, which is most probable, it means that whatever the design decorating the standard, it was actually identifying the warrior. Although this battle standard, it seems, was not adorned with any representation of a sacred being, banners could refer to deities, and gods were associated with specific banners (Sahagún 1979: bk 1, chap. I and V, bk 8, chap. XII). However, this does not mean that the object itself was embodying the god. When Cortés carries around a banner decorated with a symbol of the Holy Spirit, he only shows where his protection comes from; he does not walk around with the embodiment of the sacred.



Figure 8. Cortés and the Mexican battle banner, detail. Drawing by G. Le Fort after Lienzo de Tlaxcala (1978, Plate 25).

The Otumba banner was also precious because it was an important symbol. Muñoz Camargo (1988: 224) again, considers the object as «una de las más estimadas empresas que había ganado». It is an insignia. It serves to indicate the position of the chief warriors and may be some symbol of unity, of rally. And its loss may be felt as an attack on the community's integrity and cause the defeat. But nothing, really, indicates that the battle standard embodied any kind of supernatural protection. The object, when captured, is an important symbol because it recalls a victory that each and everyone wants to see glorious. Incorporating the vanquished arms in one's own is another way to evoke a victorious deed in the past and is widely spread around the world.

Religion is involved in warfare, and gods were certainly not absent from the Otumba battle. The Indians probably brought their effigy idols along, and the Spaniards fought under the protection of Jesus, the Virgin, and Santiago. Nothing, however, indicates that the Indians were vanquished *because* of the loss of supernatural power. And this, precisely, accounts against the hypothesis of a banner embodying sacred power.

As for the idols, even if they got lost or captured in the mêlée, which is possible, although not mentioned in the sources, the effect was probably not very significant. As mentioned above, effigy idols brought to combat were probably only symbols of the more precious idols kept safe in the temples. It should also be noted that Cortés had already destroyed some of the idols of the Great Temple of Tenochtitlán. Those were replaced by Montezuma, but the Spaniards, before the battle of the *Noche Triste*, had taken the temple and burned it. Even that did not stop the Aztec from fighting.

We know very little on battle banners and their use among the Classic Maya. Some were decorated with faces possibly referring to a supernatural being, others were made of feathers and other precious material (Fig. 9). They were probably numerous and of various types. Their function was possibly similar to that of the Aztec. Their design may have referred to many

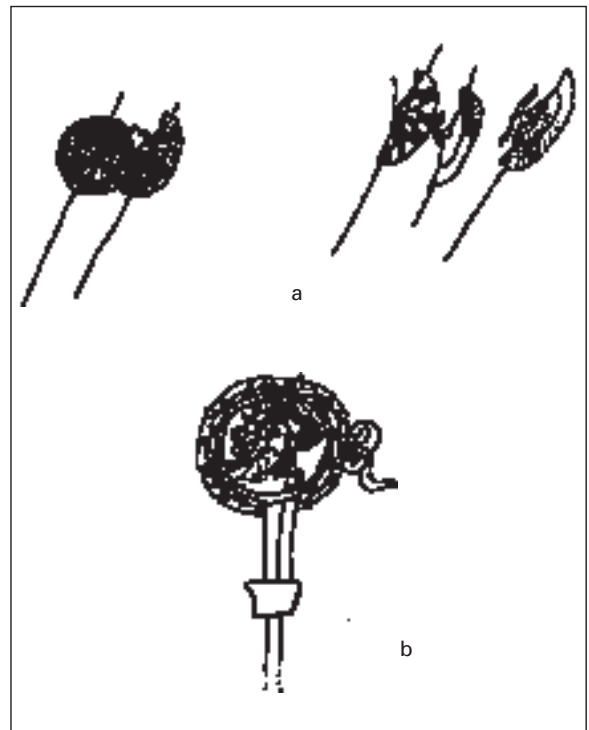


Figure 9. Maya battle banners. (a) Bonampak' Room 1 and 2 details. (b) Chich'en Itza Temple of the Jaguars, detail. Drawings by G. Le Fort after Linda Schele.

things: lineage, state, military order, status, etc., and also of course, supernatural protection. But we can not be certain that they embodied any supernatural power. As for the flint-shields, *tok' pakal*, we know from the inscriptions that they were *hubuy*, put down (Grube in Schele and Grube 1994: 18-21). They were emblems of war and no evidence internal to the Classic Maya, so far, indicates that the *hubuy* event performed against them means something else than the falling down of the actual weaponry, or a metaphor for victory. With so little data to explain the progression of a Classic Maya battle in general, and the impact of the capture of battle standards in particular, we are left with the ethnohistorical material to create models. The battle of Otumba has been used as such a model to explain this specific aspect of Classic Maya warfare. I have discussed it in length to show that it does not deal with the capture of the symbol of supernatural protection, and that nothing in the Aztec sources indi-

cates that battle standards embodied sacred power. What happened at Otumba can not be used to interpret any ritual aspect of Classic Maya warfare.

Warfare is a very complex issue. Our understanding of Classic Maya civilization is in constant progress. But epigraphy and iconography only give us part of the story. It has started to open the way to new and exciting discoveries on the ritual aspect of warfare but many questions remain unanswered. We know that gods were involved in warfare, but the nature of their relationship with battle is still not clear. We know that they could be captured at the issue of combat, but we do not quite know yet how religion was present on the battle field. Religion certainly played an important role in warfare but it does not explain it all. When we deal with fragmentary material such as that available for the Classic Maya, caution is necessary if we do not want to contribute to the «mystique» of the Maya.

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