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**Rescuing the Origins of Dos Pilas Dynasty:
A Salvage of Hieroglyphic Stairway #2, Structure L5-49**

Interim Report

Date Posted: September 10, 2002



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Abstract

The discovery of ten new steps in the Hieroglyphic Stairway Two of Dos Pilas, Petén, Guatemala confirms and adds new information to the often violent episodes of that site's history.

The founding date of the city either in 629 A.D. or near that date and the birth of the man who was to become Ruler I of the dynasty are found in the first two steps of the Central Section. The following four steps recall the ceremonies of his youth. Steps V and VI of the East Section give the surprising information concerning the attack on Dos Pilas by Calakmul in this powerful kingdom's strategy to control the river trade routes between the Maya Lowlands and the Highlands of Guatemala in the Southwestern Petén and the resulting Dos Pilas' acceptance of a subservient role in this affair.

Steps V and VI in the West Section begin with the war between the Tikal and Dos Pilas rulers who were brothers and the resulting defeat and sacrifice of the former site's ruler in 675 A.D.



Figure 1. Location of Dos Pilas.

Introduction

During the month of August 2001 a new hieroglyphic stairway in the site of Dos Pilas, Petén, Guatemala was discovered by the caretakers and then later excavated by a team from the Cancuén Archaeological Project of Vanderbilt University and Universidad del Valle de Guatemala. This new monument located in the central axis of Structure L5-49, the largest in the site, presents new information and confirms events previously known.

A month later two new steps from Stairway 2, East, from the same structure also came to light in an excavation done by archaeologists from the Instituto de Antropología e Historia (IDAEH) of Guatemala. These two new monuments add information previously unknown and coupled with the new stairway hereafter labeled 2, Central Section span some thirty-five years of historical events in the site. (Vinson, 1960; Graham, 1967). In addition and coupled with the information from Stairway 2, West and that of Stairway 4 the information spans some sixty years from the birth of Ruler 1, ba-la-ja CHAN K'AWIIL, to the third Katun anniversary of this birth date. Other scholars (Houston and Mathews, 1985; Houston, 1993) have indicated that Ruler 1 must have died around 684 A.D. Therefore the Stairways cover practically his whole life and the origins of the Dos Pilas polity. In this article the dates are given in the Julian Calendar following the GMT correlation.

Because the Central Stairway has six steps ranging from the earliest date at the top (Step 6) to the latest (Step 1) and similarly because the information from Stairway 2, East, is also now read in descending order of dates from the top (Step 6) to the first one on ground level it is obvious that Stairway 2, West, should also have six steps and that the two missing ones had to be excavated. This was done between the second and the fourth of January 2002. Further proof came from the fact that while almost all dates from the steps progress with intervals of no more than five years between events, the interval between the last date on Stairway 2, East and the earliest in Stairway 2, West is 13 years. If the normal pattern were to be followed it would allow for at least two to four additional dates. These were in the steps that were missing and excavated in January 2002. ([ANNEX 1](#))

As a result of these new discoveries there is a need to label the steps in descending order of dates from the topmost (Step 6) to the one in ground level (Step 1) on all of three Stairways. This article then will present the information in such a way.

For the new steps a generous donation by The Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc. (FAMSI) allowed for this excavation. The Dos Pilas - FAMSI project produced a set of drawings done by Luis Fernando Luin. For the existing eight steps on the East and West sections the project used the very accurate drawings done by Ian Graham of the Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscription.

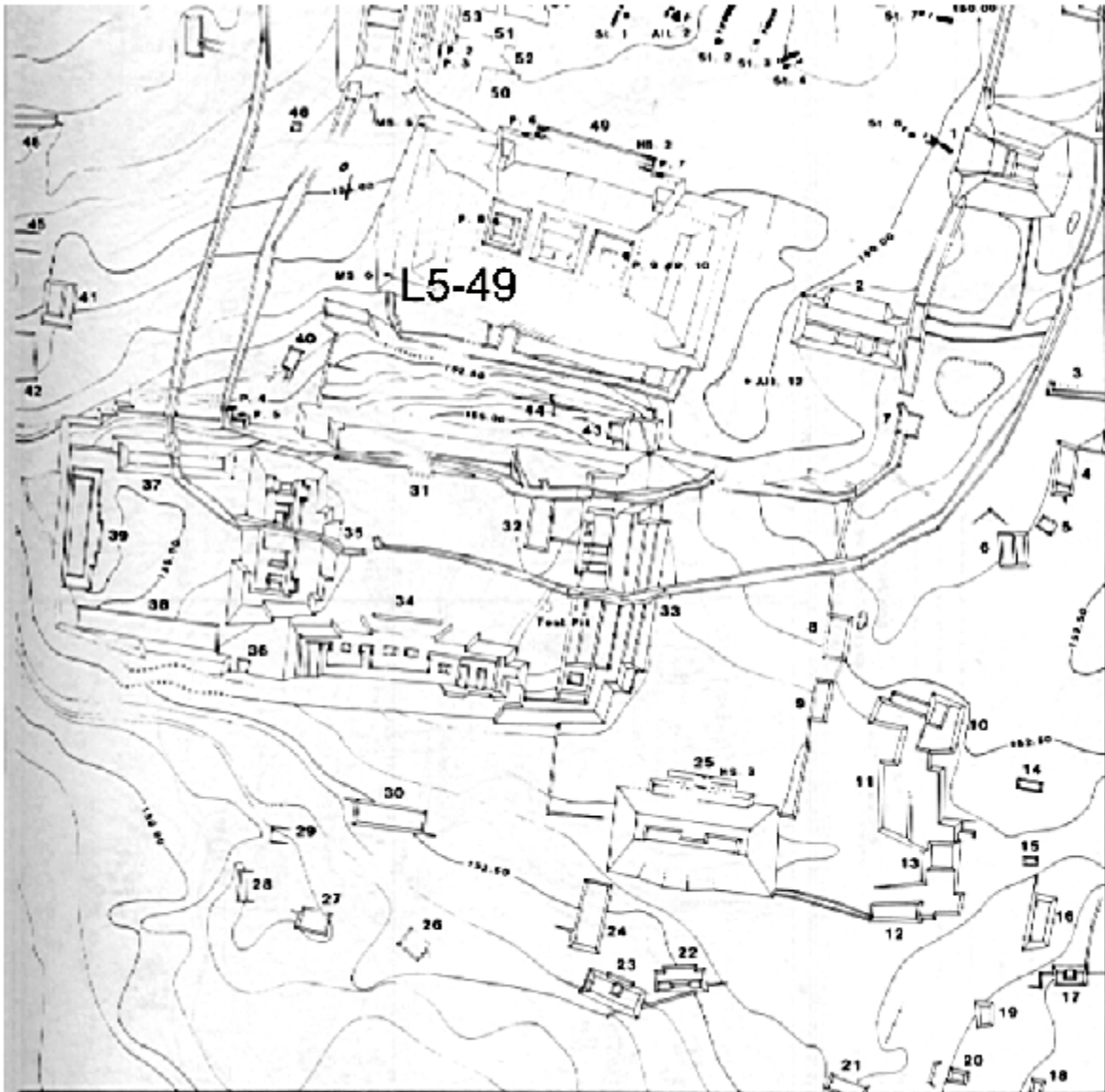


Figure 2. Location of Structure L5-49.

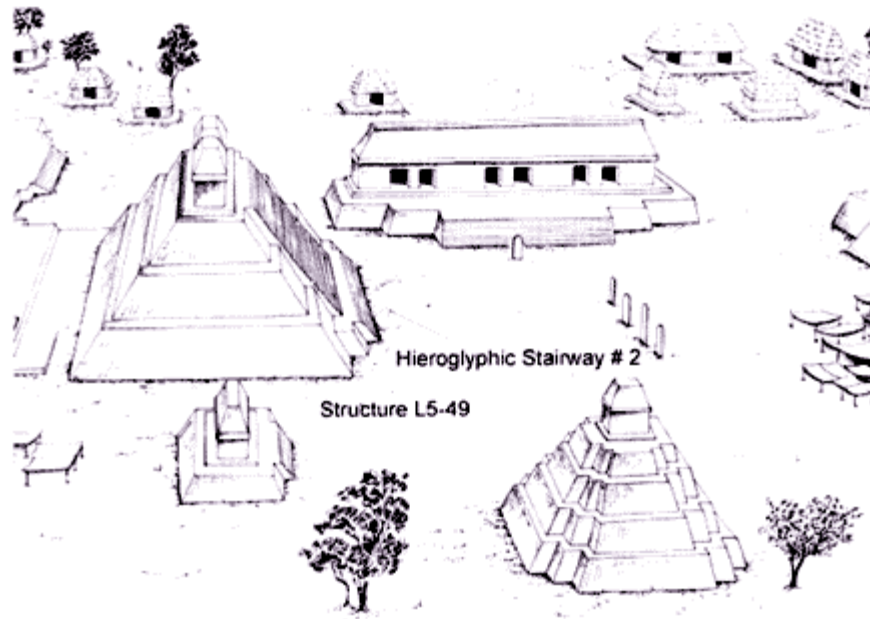


Figure 3. Reconstruction of Structure L5-49.

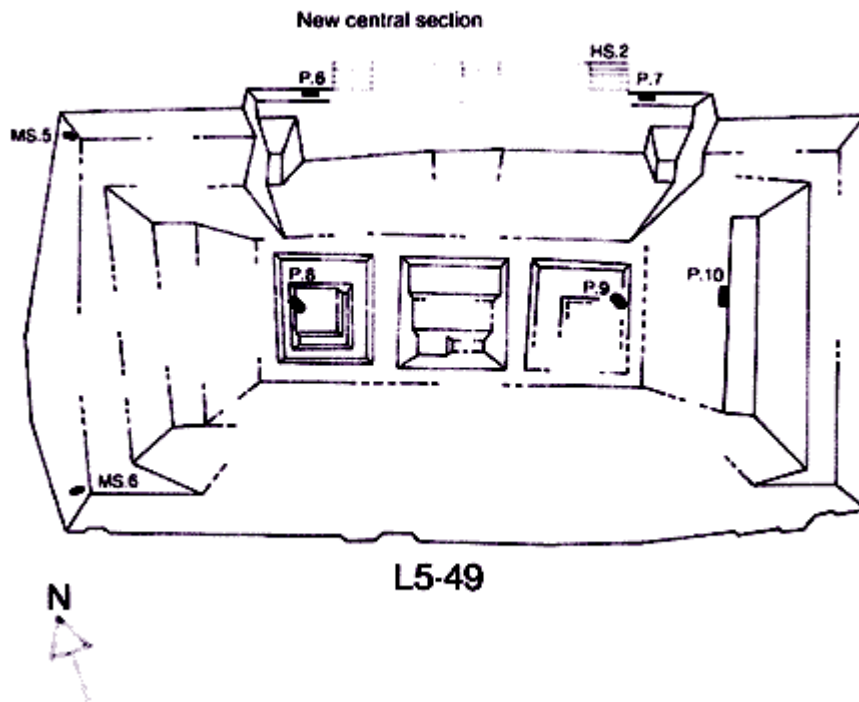


Figure 4. Location of new carved steps in Structure L5-49.

Structure of the Information

The earliest dates and events of the three Stairways are in the Central Section. Therefore the readings begin in this section followed by Stairway 2, East and ending with Step 1 of Stairway 2, West.

Each step is divided into 12 glyph blocks with a minimum of two individual glyphs each including numerals in some cases. The reading order is A1, A2, B1, B2 and so on. Because each block has a minimum of two glyphs, including numerals, the total number of glyphs in the three Stairways can be as many as 912 signs or so making it one of the longest inscriptions in the Maya area and certainly in the Petexbatún region.

Each step in all three Stairways begins with a distance number (DN) which does not come from another date but which is always followed by an anchor date and the date in which the event subject of the steps occurs. The expressions following the DN are u-ti-yi equivalent to "from or ago" or u-to-ma equivalent to "will happen" or "it was to be". At times the DN leads to a "period ending or half period ending" expression followed by the expression "u-ti" equivalent to "then it happens" or "it came to pass".

These expressions of time serve to open the statements in the steps and to anchor the date of the historical event which is the main subject of the step. On almost all of the steps the last glyphs are the name and titles of Ruler 1.

It is not known, however, why the distance numbers which are mostly Winal and K'in or in other words minimal amounts of time, begin each step with no apparent connection to the previous message. If further research does not find a reasonable clue to this phenomenon the hieroglyphic Stairways will be an exception to other Maya inscriptions of the Classic Period.

As a result of the word order of the sentences, the texts show fronted temporal phrases and coupled expressions. Some verbal expressions include passive constructions but others use various forms with no apparent reasons for the change from step to step.

Because of this and the subtle difference in the work of the sculptures it could conceivably be that the Stairways were carved and placed on different occasions or certainly done by different artists.

Nature of the Information

Maya inscriptions on the whole deal with dynastic history and the exploits of rulers including wars, alliances, ceremonies and familial events (Houston, 1993; Coe, 1992; Harrison, 1995; Martin and Grube, 2000; Fahsen and Jackson, 2001). In their seminal book on Maya history "A Forest of Kings" (1990), Linda Schele and David Freidel recount the many historical figures involved in dynastic events throughout the region

and over at least fifteen hundred years. This long history competes with the history of cultures of ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt and the later splendor of Greece and Rome. And like these empires and states ruled by kings and warriors the Maya polities were subject to human actions and frailties.

Dos Pilas in particular is a prime example of a militaristic state whose history lasts no more than 130 years. Where warrior kings tried by several means to maintain their rule in practically continuous combats with their neighbors and who were forced to give them their daughters as wives to cement alliances in which they played the subservient part. Martin and Grube (2001) point to an "over reach" after a century of expansion and the archaeological evidence points out to a spectacular and violent downfall of the site and the last ruler (Demarest, 1993; 1997; Houston, 1987b; 1993; Houston *et al.*, 1992; Inomata, 1997; Martin and Grube, 1995).

The hieroglyphic Stairways and the other monuments of Dos Pilas are a vivid testimony of this violent history but the inscription in the Stairway of neighboring Tamarindito serves to remind the reader that strife also has its end since after that date (761) Dos Pilas is not heard of any more.

The Dos Pilas Stairways numbered 2 and 4 refer to the life and the events performed by Ruler 1, whose nominal is ba-la-ja CHAN K'AWIIL better known as BALAJ CHAN K'AWIIL. Ruler 2 is commemorated in Stairway 1 and Ruler 4 in Stairway 3 (Houston, 1993; Martin and Grube, 2000). The reign of the so called Ruler 2 and the short reign of about six years of another apparent previous ruler pose a difficult question on royal succession as it is thought that they were brothers. However ITZAMNAAJ B'ALAM known as the son of Ruler 1 appears in Stairway 2, West at Step 1 in a very prominent position as if he were the heir. This reign lasted only six years and he could have died an early death or been removed from office by his brothers.

The Decipherment of the Stairways

As stated before, the new discoveries have resulted in a numbering of the steps which for the purpose of this article will be thus: Stairway 2, Central Section, Steps 6 to 1 in descending order of dates; Stairway 2, East, Steps 6 to 1 in descending order of dates and similarly Stairway 2, West, Steps 6 to 1. This new way of referring to the stairways is different from previous ways of numbering the steps although there were differences earlier also—for example: in the Informe Preliminar 2, Segunda Temporada 1990 de Proyecto Arqueológico Regional Petexbatún (1990) page 256 there are three drawings of the same steps of Stairway 2 and they are numbered as 6, 7 and 8 even though at the time only four in each side were known. Similarly the Hieroglyphic Workbook from the XXVIII Texas Workshop by Linda Schele and Nikolai Grube number one of those Steps as 3, West and 7 and 8 on the same western side from the Petexbatún report as Steps 2 and 1 respectively.

Not wanting to add more confusion but in light of the new discoveries and recognizing the right to name and number new monuments by the excavators it becomes necessary to insist on the proposed new system which allows for a better understanding of the information.

All three of the steps of the Stairway have some information which can be also read on Stairway 4 of Structure L5-35. However as Houston (1993) states it is possible that Stairway 2 and 3 as well as 4 might have been disturbed and some of the steps replaced in a different order.

On the other hand the system of including anchor dates and then Calendar Round dates followed by a verbal phrase shows a specific interest in emphasizing the importance of the event without pretending that there be a connection between each step. In other words the texts go from step to step without the usual tie by distance numbers.



Photo 1. Excavating steps of Central Section.



Photo 2. Steps of Central Section.



Photo 3. Steps of Central Section.

Central Section

As stated before the Central Section has six steps labeled from six (6 the upper most) to one (1 at plaza level). The average length of the stone blocks of each step is 2.60cm with an average height of .42cm. The width varies from .91cm in Step 2 to .34cm in Step 4 (Castellanos *et al.*, 2001). Only Step 1 shows a different length because the block is fractured with a partial length of 1.51cm; a second uncarved rectangular stone and three smaller but finely quarried blocks fill in the space which replaces the piece that was removed in ancient times.

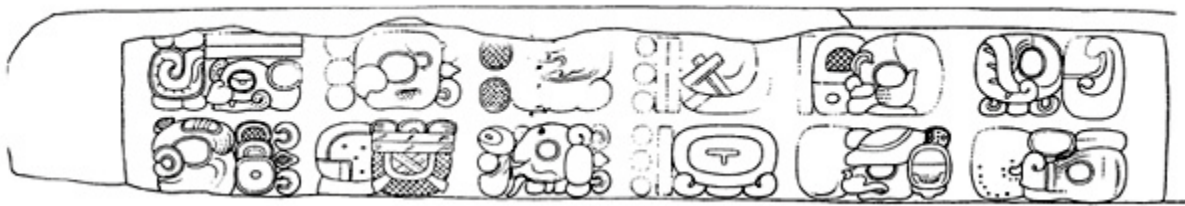


Figure 5. Step 6, Central Section.

Step 6 ([Figure 5](#))

The uppermost step with a glyphic text begins the inscription with a distance number of 2 k'in, 7 winal (?) and 2 tun. This last glyph has the "ya" postfix indicating that these time periods should be counted before the expression which follows: "u-ti-ya" and the "TAL-na LAM" or half period sign. The date that follows sure enough is 2 AJAW 13 POP (9.9.10.0.0).

The next glyph is the initial sign used in ceramic inscriptions and is related to the 8 IK' 5 KEH date of 9.9.12.11.2 which Houston (1993) and Martin and Grube (2000) had intuitively given as the birth date of Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas because of the references to a third katun anniversary which appears in Stairway 4, Step 1 at block J1 and the "ox-wi KATUN AJAW" in Step 5 at M1 of the same Stairway as well as at F6 of Step 2, Stairway 2, West. The use of the initial AY-(a) word gives special emphasis to the birth date of the ruler.

Step six of this newly discovered section of Stairway 2 confirms the birth date with the use of the "SIH-ya-ja" for the word "was born", followed by the nominal ba-la-ja CHAN K'AWIIL. In this manner the stairway proves conclusively that the ruler's birth was on the 15th of October 625. Further evidence comes from Aguateca Stela 5 which reads that on 692 the ruler was a 4 Katun Ajaw. Houston (1993) however, cautioned that texts from Naranjo, where Ruler 1 sent his daughter have different calculations regarding his birth. The new step from Dos Pilas now proves the correct date.

Ruler 1, then, lives close to 70 years or a little more. His birth happens three years before the death of the Tikal Ruler named K'INCH WAAW according to Guenter (personal communication) or K'INICH-?-te' by Martin and Grube (2000) or Animal Skull as he is known by other authors (Harrison, 1995; Schele and Freidel, 1990; Schele and Grube, 1994; Schele and Mathews, 1998; Jones and Satterhwaite, 1982). Recently Marc Zender has suggested that the name of his son is K'INICH MUWAAHN JOL II (e-mails: Martin, 2002; Guenter, 2002). This ruler is known to be the 24th in the line of succession and could have been the father of ba-la-ja CHAN K'AWIIL as seen in Dos Pilas Panel 6. This would make BALAK CHAN K'AWIIL also brother of NUUN U JOL CHAK of Tikal known as the 25th ruler.

The events at that period are still the subject of much speculation. Very little is known of Tikal Rulers 23rd and 24th whose reigns would have been between 628 and 657. But it is during that period that some dynastic crisis could have occurred since part of the royal family and of the elite migrates to Dos Pilas some 115 kilometers to the southwest eventually becoming a source of irritation, danger and eventually even war against Tikal. The possibility that the Dos Pilas polity was deliberately founded as a safe haven for the Tikal royal lineage since the defeat of 562 or because the family need to secure a southern flank in the region is very strong since Tikal's interest in the southwest of Petén was strong during that time.

There is still no knowledge if the age of ba-la-ja CHAN K'AWIIL was the reason for his migration and the denial of his rights in Tikal if any or if it was for other reasons. Stanley Guenter (e-mail 1/11/2002) believes he was a second son of the Tikal ruler, but Nikolai Grube (e-mail 12/28/2001) cautions that he could have been from Dos Pilas. What is true is that a great part of his life is spent in continuous warfare trying to establish his power against unhappy neighbors and which since the mid-seventh century to the end of his days includes wars against Tikal and the capture and possible sacrifice of his brother NUUN (u) JOL CHAAK, the twenty-fifth ruler of that site, or of an important subordinate of his (Martin and Grube, 2000).

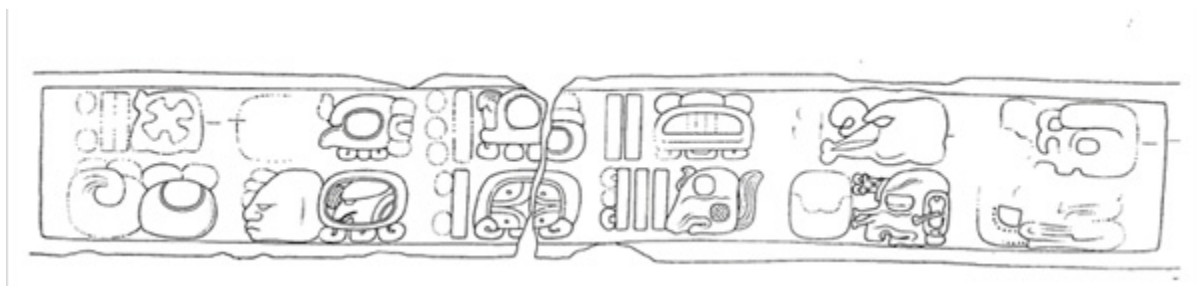


Figure 6. Step 5, Central Section.



Photo 4. Central Stairway. Step 6 (bottom), 5, 4, 3, 2. Step 1 not excavated yet.

Step 5 ([Figure 6](#))

The text of this step begins with a very eroded distance number but shows the "K'IN" sign as a head variant with two crossed bones in place of an eye which is also the way it is carved in Step 4. The day arrived at is 1 AJAW 8 K'AYAB which corresponds to the Mayan date 9.10.0.0.0 (633). This is used as an anchor date. The next glyph merely reiterates this date since it is the number 10 and the katun sign.

Immediately after and without a new distance number the date 7 BEN 16 XUL (629) indicates although eroded the arrival (HULI) of Ruler 1 at Dos Pilas. The event happened four years earlier than the anchor date and that moment he was but a child of four years. He must have traveled with a group of loyal court members who took care of him during the dangerous trip since they considered him a potential legitimate heir of the throne given that Calakmul was beginning to show interest in the area and thus becoming a threat to Tikal's interests.

The inscription is quite clear with the verb "HULI", translated as "arrival" and the date when the event occurs. Several other steps in the Dos Pilas stairways show this expression as well as the expressions LOK' and XANI which in some sense refer to actions involving movement to and from sites. In the case of Step 5 the pertinent situation for the reader was to make sure that the arrival event took place when the ruler was only four years old.

Universal history is full of examples of quarrels, indeed civil wars, between ruling houses. This is particularly true when a potential heir to a throne happens to be a younger brother such as this case of a four year old child. Tikal's Ruler 21st, known as WAK CHAN K'AWIIL or Double Bird, was himself probably a victim of earlier palace intrigues which in some way must have weakened the power of the city. In fact in 562 this ruler, or perhaps even the city, could have been overrun in a "star war" attack (Martin and Grube, 2000; Guenter, e-mail 1/14/2002). The successor, the 22nd Ruler may not have been from the old royal house although his mother appears prominently in the ceramic inscriptions that form his historical data. At any rate Animal Skull or K'INICH WAAW probably died around 628 as seen in an inscription in Altar de Sacrificios which Houston has pointed out (Schele, 1994). This probable date could be but a few years after the birth of ba-la-ja CHAN K'AWIIL of Dos Pilas and coupled with the 21th successor's problems made Tikal ripe for uncertainty and strife.



Figure 7. Step 4, Central Section.

Step 4 ([Figure 7](#))

Step 4 begins with a distance number 17 k'in and 7 winal followed by the sign "u-ti-yi" and the date 2 AJAW 13 PAX equivalent to the year 636 and acting as the anchor date for the events to follows.

On the date 2 AJAW which marked the end of the three tuns after 9.10.0.0.0 an expression that can be transcribed as T16.44: 528.528 appears next. This is part of an end of 3 tun ceremony. The expression "yax tzi-pi" appears also on Lintel 3 of Tikal's Temple 1 before an event that happens 158 days later when the TOK-PAKAL of the ruler of Calakmul is brought down. In Dos Pilas exactly 162 days later on 7 CABAN 10 XUL the placing of the royal band on the forehead, "YAX TZUK-ja" occurs. This is the ruler's enthronement at the age of eleven years old. However the expression can also be read as "YAX K'AL-ja" which can mean a first burning ceremony and which could be consistent also with an accession ceremony.

Before the nominal of Ruler 1 ends the inscription, there is glyph that appears twice on Stairway 4, steps four and five at J2 and L2 as part of his titles. It consists of the prefix "li" followed by a head which has a hand instead of the eye and a "NAL" sign as a superfix. The "NAL" sign is associated with place names so it can mean that this is a toponym related to his name.

The interesting aspect that ends the inscription is that following the nominal of the ruler, the place where all the activities in this step take place, is a clear MUTUL sign preceded by the sign "ut". In all the other steps the Dos Pilas emblem glyph used is the T716 variant with the face of an animal bound by two cords or bands. Therefore it seems that the intent expressed in this particular step is to make reference to Mutul (Tikal) and to a legitimation of the line of rulership. If Ruler 1 was sent from Tikal to establish a new state to be a safe place, given Calakmul's aggressiveness in 562, then the enthronement ceremony could indeed have taken place in Tikal under a Tikal ruler which is not mentioned but which must have been K'INICH MUWAAHN JOL IX.



Figure 8. Step 3, Central Section.

Step 3 ([Figure 8](#))

This step seems to break the time sequence that had been used since the events portrayed occur two years before those of Step 4. This leads to a potential problem in the order of the discourse which also happens in relation to Steps 2 and 1 in this same stairway. One possible explanation is that the steps were removed, at the time of the construction of the defensive walls around the center of the city, and then replaced back but in different order because those responsible were not interested in the exact order but just to rebuild the stairway.

Another possible explanation is that each step refers to specific events not necessarily related in a time sequence. This, of course, is not customary in Maya inscriptions particularly when the reading order would be so visible as the reader walked up the steps.

At any rate Step 3 begins again with a distance number of 19 k'in, 2 winal and 2 tun, which if it were to be counted back from the date 9.10.0.0.0 would reach a date of 9.9.17.15.1, which has no connection to any other known date in Dos Pilas.

The Period Ending date of 9.10.0.0.0 1 AJAW 8 K'AYAB (623) appears as the anchor date just as it was used on Step 5. This time however the event that follows happens one year later, in 634, on the day 11 KAWAK 17 WO and it involves the LOK' verb (Grube, 1991; La Cadena, 1993) meaning "to escape, to leave". This verb is used several times in Stairway 2, East and West and in Stairway 4, Step III. It is mostly associated with war events both by and against Tikal and Dos Pilas. The last time the expression occurs in the Petexbatún area is on Tamarindito Stairway 2 where Dos Pilas Ruler 4 seems to have been forced to leave and probably killed in 761 (Houston, 1993; Schele and Grube, 1994).

The passage does not include the war expression common in these types of events as stated earlier nor the "u KAHl" glyphs so it is possible that this was a skirmish with one of the surrounding neighbors that resented the establishing of this new polity in their midst and not a full scale war.

The glyph that should inform the reader where the ruler goes to is however unfortunately eroded and therefore cannot be read. The inscription ends as usual with the name of Ruler 1 and the Dos Pilas emblem glyph.

Thus the fact that this step refers to an event that happens before the formal accession of Ruler 1 as expressed in Step 4 has the implication that uncertainty was still the case for Dos Pilas at that point probably because the ruler was still only nine years old and insecure in this new domain.

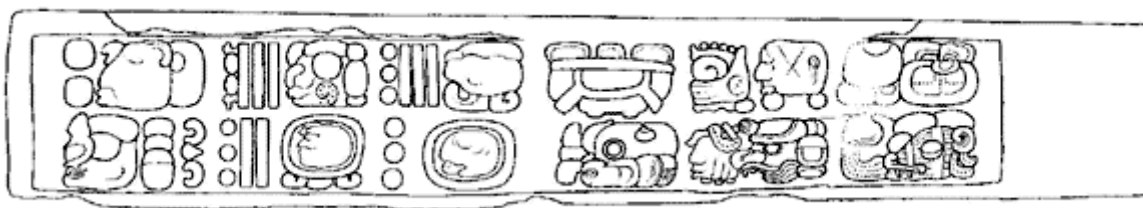


Figure 9. Step 2, Central Section.

Step 2 ([Figure 9](#))

This step takes the reader seven years later after the flight of Ruler 1 from Dos Pilas and five years after his accession. The step begins with the usual distance number 2 k'in and 17 winal leading to the anchor date 13 AJAW 18 KANK'IN (9.10.10.0.0) with the half period glyph emphasizing the date. These forms of expressing the anchor dates are common on both the East and West sections of Stairway 2 and in Stairway 4 and leave

no doubt of the intention of the sculptors as to securing a moment from which to recount the main events in the steps.

The inscription continues with the date 4 IK' 15 MAC equivalent to 9.10.10.17.3 or 643, followed by the CH'AM K'AWIIL verb. This is a ceremony that is related to displaying the royal scepter although the verb is really to "receive". Probably on certain occasions this event involved receiving the god image from a high ranking courtier or priest and then publicly displaying it in front of the population of the site.

The glyphs following are two titles "ba-t(e)" and "pi-tzi-li" that Ruler 1 uses, also on Stairway 4, Steps 4 and 5, and which relate to being a warrior and a ball player. The ruler was only 16 years old but it appears that the use of these titles made clear his life long desire to make a mark on his people and his neighbors as to what his role was to be.

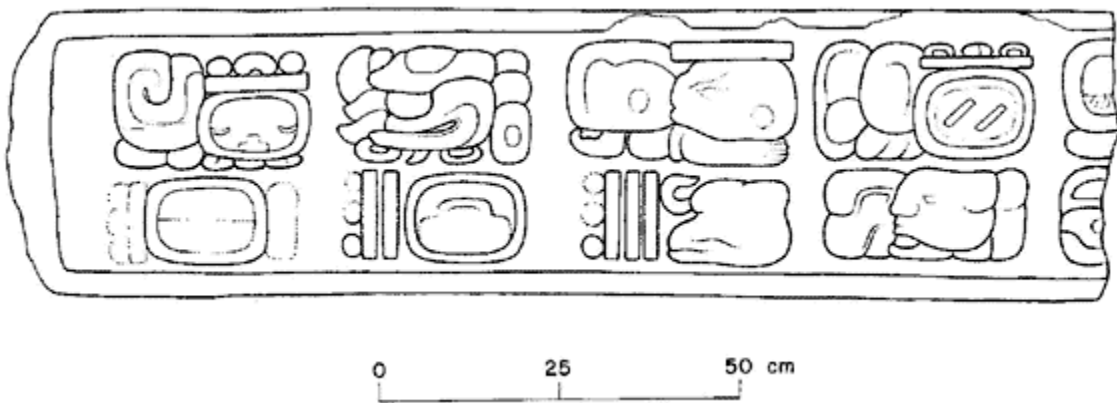


Figure 10. Step 1, Central Section.

Step 1 ([Figure 10](#))

The final Step of the Central section of the stairway is unfortunately broken in half and the western part of the step was replaced with an un-carved block that is also very eroded so that the verbal part of the message is practically impossible to read.

The step begins with the number 5 k'in 7 winal and the expression "u-ti-yi" and the new date 6 AJAW 13 MAK which was the half period 9.10.15.0.0 equivalent to 647 A.D. The next two glyphs confirm this date since it states that a HOTUN is lacking. The next date

is problematic since the month glyph is eroded but seems to be 18 PAX. However the day is clearly 6 CHICCHAN which would be coherent followed by the verbal phrase that begins with a prefix probably "yo" which then has a head with the superfix "wa", probably therefore AJAW – wa and an eroded post-fix. The rest of the expression is destroyed but if it were to follow the way of the other steps and the last block, it should have had the Dos Pilas emblem glyph and the nominal of Ruler 1 and perhaps part of the verbal expression and or other titles.

Commentary

The newly discovered Central Section of Stairway 2 of Structure L5-49 recounts the early life of ba-la-ja CHAN K'AWIIL commonly known as Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas. As will be seen in the following sections of the stairways, the events in them continue the history of Dos Pilas up to 689 A.D. with the third Katun anniversary of the Ruler's birth which is now known for certain as having happened on 9.9.12.11.2 8 IK 5 KEH or October 15th 625. His life span therefore reached as many as 61 years of age or even slightly more.

Because ITZAMNAAJ K'AWIIL, known mistakenly as Ruler 2, acceded to the throne in 698 A.D. there is a gap of some 12 years between the last mention of Ruler 1 on Dos Pilas Panel 7 (686) and the next accession event on Stela 8. This period surely involved ITZAMNAAJ B'ALAM whose name is on Stairway 2, West, Step 1. He is the ruler that followed, for a brief time, ba-la-ja CHAN K'AWIIL. As such, the steps mention two Dos Pilas rulers and the wife of one and mother of another.

The importance of the new discovery resides in the fact that now there is information that confirms previous suppositions and deductions or adds new events such as the arrival in Dos Pilas and accession of Ruler 1.



Photo 7. Step 1. Central Section. Stairway 2, Dos Pilas.

Stairway 2, East Section

Up to the recent discovery and excavation of the Central Section of Stairway 2, Stairways East and West were the only sections known in Structure L5-49. From them certain periods of the history of Dos Pilas were either known or inferred. The dates in the sections excavated before went from 9.11.0.0.0 (652) to 9.11.11.9.17 (664) in the East Section and 9.12.5.9.14 (677) to 9.12.12.11.2 (684) in the western Section.

Besides the Central Section, four new steps have been discovered and excavated, two in the Eastern Section numbered by IDAEH excavators as Steps 6 and 5 (see Introduction for new numbers) and having dates between 647 to 660 and two more in the Western Section with dates between 661 and 673. All steps follow similar patterns to those discussed in the Central Section, that is starting with Distance Numbers to reach an anchor date and then dates for the events following.



Figure 11. Step 6, East Section.

Step 6 ([Figure 11](#))

The uppermost top most step, now labeled Step 6, starts with an unknown number of K'in and perhaps 2 winal leading to the date 6 AJAW 13 MAK which was the same anchor date in Step 1, the last step of the Central Section. The following glyphs refer to the same HOTUN lacking expression to the full period ending of 9.11.0.0 and the next glyph is the "i-u-ti" or "it came to pass" expression leading to the date 4 MULUC 2 KUMK'U (648).

What follows is hard to understand: a skull with a closed eye and the subfix "mi" clearly pointing out the word for death known as "KIMI-(mi)". However the next glyph which could be part of the death verb is a combination of T4:?:517:23 as yet undeciphered. After this the next glyph is K'AWIIL MUTUL (a) AJAW. So the person who died is named with the God K nominal and identified as from Tikal. His death happened at SAK-ba-la and is followed by the glyphs "ta-ba" and a T532 which is the capture sign with kawak decorations. The "ta-ba" sign is also present in Step 2 in another death expression although there it is part of a nominal. The Cordemex Dictionary has an entry for the word "TAB" which is "gallows", "horca". Other entries are related to rope and cords. Perhaps the person was tied or hanged. The next glyph is "AJ-TUN" head biting a black sign for "pa" which appears also in the Western Section on Step 4 cb2 in reference to NUUN (u) JOL CHAK of Tikal and his flight after the war events of 677. The place can thus be read as "pa TUUN" and the person captured as AJ pa-TUN. The text ends with the "u-ka-hi" expression and Ruler One's nominal.

This difficult passage then refers to the death of a K'AWIIL person from Tikal and its happening at a specific place. The glyphs that are part of this event are used in connection with other violent acts later but are as yet undeciphered and probably refer to things done to the person from Tikal. Since this event happens on (648) when NUUN (u) JOL CHAK, the 25th ruler of Tikal is still ruling, the K'AWIIL from Tikal in this step is probably a subordinate who was killed. Since the death part of the text is not followed by the "u-kahi" glyph, it is not known who was responsible for this action but it is clear that the capture of the "pap TUUN" person was done by ba-la-ja CHAN K'AWIIL. If this event was done against Tikal by Ruler 1 it would mean that there is a parting of the

ways between Dos Pilas and Tikal. It could also mean that Ruler 1 felt free from the Tikal over-kingship and acted in accordance to his own interests. Step 4 of Stairway 4 mentions the "hubuy u tol pacal" of LAMANA K'AWIIL on the same date and the action is clearly done by BALAJ CHAN K'AWIIL who was then 23 years old. The fact that the capture of AJ PATUUN happens concurrently points out to the first dispute between the two brothers.

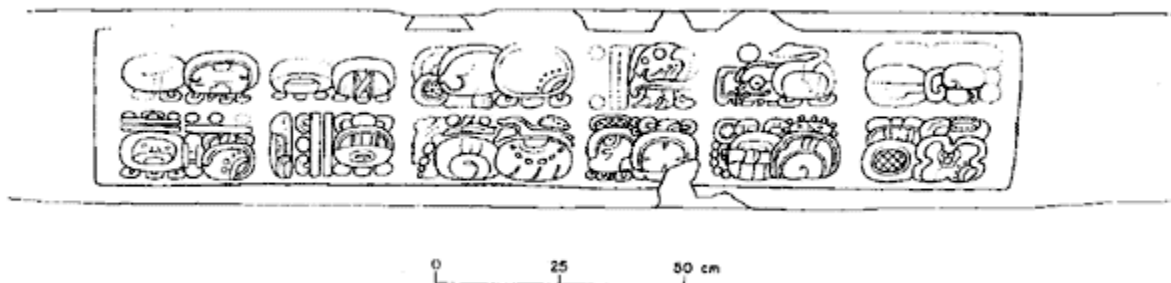


Figure 12. Step 5, East Section.

Step 5 ([Figure 12](#))

This next step has another episode that needs to be the subject of further study as it relates to war and its results on the losing side. The step begins with an unknown distance number and the sign "u-to-ma" meaning it "will come to pass" and the date 12 AJAW 8 KEH, the anchor date of the 11 katun ending (652).

The text continues with the "iwal" glyph to a new date of 9 KAWAK 17 MUWAAN 9.11.6.4.19 (equivalent to 658). This date is several days before the date in Step 6 of 4 MULUC 2 KUMK'U and therefore refers to an event that happens after the apparent death of the K'AWIIL of Tikal, which the previous step wanted to emphasize.

The date in Step 5 refers to a star war or attack against Dos Pilas in 658 under the auspices or done by YUKNOOM of Calakmul who ruled between 636 and 686 A.D. and was a bitter enemy of Tikal. This ruler makes this first appearance in the Dos Pilas inscriptions on the date of 658 after having been already involved in a war against Tikal's NUUN (u) JOL CHAK with whom he kept a long standing rivalry. According to Martin and Grube (2000) he was born in 600 and ascended the throne thirty-six years later. His name yu-ku-ma CH'EEN-na was adopted by him from a namesake from the early Classic history of Calakmul, probably one of the founders on the site.

Step 5 goes on to relate the LOK' of ba-la-ja CHAN K'AWIIL to a place which appears also on Step 4 and others in the western Section following a LOK' event of a similar

nature except that there this is done to Tikal's ruler. If this sign happens to two different rulers of different places it must not be a locative but part of a verbal phrase. It is then followed by the name of the place K'INICH ? a-WITZ which Grube (personal communication, e-mail 12/2001) thinks it may be Aguateca. The "TABAY" sign means "to climb", which would be appropriate if he went up to the sister capital.

This whole episode, coupled with the dates on Step 6 and as will be seen, on Step 4, emphasizes the conflicts waged by Calakmul as it takes control of the areas surrounding Tikal with a pincer like strategy of war.

But this brilliant strategy is further seen by the fact that YUKNOOM CH'EEN does not sacrifice the Ruler of Dos Pilas but makes him an ally of Calakmul, until their respective deaths many years later, and uses him to harrass Tikal's southern flank. Many Maya inscription concerning war relate the capture and ritual sacrifice of Kings and vassals of the loosing sites among them: K'an Joy Chitam II of Palanque, Waxaklajuun Ub'aah K'awiil of Copán, Nuun u Jol Chak of Tikal and probably the Yuknoom's successor Yuknoom Yich'aak K'ak. But Step 5 tells the reader that Ruler 1 was pardoned (?) and became an obviously willing ally signifying by this an understanding of human nature by the ruler of Calakmul who used the desire for independence from the elder brother by Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas.

Step 4

This step is one of the four that had been excavated before. Placed in the general context of the Central Section and the two new steps from this East Section, it relates episodes from 652 to 656 A.D. and therefore goes back to earlier events than those of Steps 5 and 6. Thereafter all the steps follow a sequential order of dates.

Step 4 begins with the usual distance number of 14 k'in 5 winal leading to the 11th katun time period. This, like in all the other steps, is the date from which the next date is counted. Four tun later on the day 6 IX 2 KAYAB (657) a star war against Tikal is prominently mentioned with the YUKNOOM CH'EEN as the head of the attack and the consequent LOK' or flight of NUUN (u) JOL CHAK. The following glyphs after his nominal are the glyph that follow the nominal of ba-la-ja CHAN K'AWIIL of Dos Pilas in Step 5 above and which is a verbal phrase denoting the way (tabay or climb) the loser fled and then the place where he goes. This is expressed by "ti-pa-?-na" perhaps a specific place. The last two glyphs are composed of a verb which according to Werner Nahm and David Stuart is deciphered with a "nu" syllable (Schele and Grube, 1994). Accordingly Schele believes that it is an act which is done to the Mutul Tzuk Ajaw or to the lords of Tikal. Stuart (2000) believes that the last glyph is an expression (tak) giving a plural sense to the word which in the case is "lord" and therefore should be lords (Stuart, personal communication).

The dates in Steps 6, 5 and 4 follow some what of a disorderly sequence. If the reader were to follow the traditional reading order Step 4 should come first, since the main

event happens in 657, followed by Step 5. This would mean that the Tikal war comes first and then Step 5 with the war against Dos Pilas and finally Step 6 with the death of K'AWIIL of Tikal tells of an event that happens in 648 much before the dates of steps 5 and 4. Whether the steps were removed and then placed in a different order will probably never be found for certain. What follows however is read in typical fashion.

Step 3

Unfortunately this step is destroyed and eroded on the left side so there are only six glyph blocks remaining and the expressions "ut" where the dates should be. What the rest of the signs tell the reader is some unknown action done by Calakmul's ruler to of the Dos Pilas Ruler 1 and NUUN (u) JOL CHAK of Tikal at a place called YAX HA. Whether this is the site presently known by that name or another to west of Tikal close to El Perú as identified by Simon Martin and mentioned the XVIII Maya Hieroglyphic Work book by Schele and Grube is in doubt. According to several authors (Guenter, e-mail 1-11-2001; Martin, e-mail 12/28/2001) this event could be a joint submission by both rulers to the Calakmul king and proves to be the reason for the "volte face" of Ruler 1 against Tikal later on. Because the step has no date there is no possibility of knowing if this is the case and when it happened, since the only clue comes from the glyph "ti-ba-ja" unfortunately with no following statement. However the time sequence allows for a date close to 661.

Step 2

Here the text follows the tradition of this whole series of steps with the distance number 2 k'in and 2 winal and the expression "u-to-ma". The date that will happen is 11 AJAW 18 CH'EN or the half period of 9.15.10.0.0. Immediately following there is a new date, 9 KAWAK 17 YAXK'IN (661), and the main event which is an attack and its consequences to "ta-ba JOLOOM" the ko-ba-na AJAW.

The attack is done by Ruler 1 again but this time with the assistance of ya-x(i)?-na ka-la-wa B'ALAM AJAW probably a friendly vassal or neighbor. The action occurs at a place, which for a lack of a better reading is called the "knot place", which according to Stuart and Houston (1994) could be somewhere between El Chorro and Lacanhá. This action is proof of an expansion to the north of the Dos Pilas polity, probably with the support and even direction of Calakmul, which having defeated Tikal was encroaching on the Pasión basin.

There are many places in the inscriptions of Dos Pilas where violent events happen and so many individuals against which the violent acts are done that the reader must wonder whether they are real wars or just raids resulting in captures and deaths. The so called "star war" glyph happens on relatively few steps but conversely captures and deaths are used more. What is evident is the continuous warfare in which Ruler 1 was

involved and which may have originated the instability which a hundred years later proved the downfall of the dynasty and helped in the process of Maya collapse.

Step 1

The pattern in this step follows the other ones in that there is a distance number totally eroded followed by the "u-ti-y" expression and leading to 11 AJAW 18 CHEN which began the previous sequence on Step 2. The next date is preceded by IWAL sign and "u-t(i)" leading to 9 KABAN 5 POP.

At this date Ruler 1 captures "ta-mo", otherwise known as Torch Macaw, who is a ruler or an AJAW of secondary rank of Machaquilá and who is described following his nominal as "u-BAK" or "his prisoner". Following a custom of many Maya rulers, the expression "u" or the "guardian of" and the nominal of the captive becomes part of the titles used throughout the life of the captor. Ruler 1 will use the Torch Macaw nominal in several other texts.

Simon Martin (personal communication, e-mail 12-2001) believes "tah-mo" is from Machaquilá indicating that Dos Pilas expanded eastward as well as around its own area. Ruler one uses the title K'UHUL MUTUL (a) AJAW BACAB perhaps in reference to this important capture event. Since he is already at odds with his brother the use of the Tikal emblem glyph and the K' UHUL title is indicative of a quarrel over legitimate rights to the throne. The date when this happens is 663 A.D. when Ruler 1 was approaching his middle age but still had another twenty years left to battle, the most important of which occurred from 672 to 679 against his Tikal rival.

Commentary

The discovery and excavation of the two uppermost steps of Stairway 2, East, adds surprising new information in the general context of the Dos Pilas inscriptions. Step 6 tells the reader that an important person named ? K'AWIIL AJAW of MUTUL suffers a violent death in 648.

In 659, Dos Pilas had been invaded by YUKNOOM CH'EEN of Calakmul and either willingly or forced to become an ally against future wars against Tikal. Two tun and sixteen winal earlier (657) Calakmul had attacked Tikal itself and forced the flight of its ruler.

The sequence of these two new steps and the following Step 4 does not seem to be in the order that Maya texts are read. In reality Step 6 should be the first read and then Steps 4 and 5 after. This is similar to the situation of the Central Section steps where Step 3 should follow Step 4 if the nominal order of the events were to be followed. Since Dos Pilas was under attack at the end of its history and a series of buildings were demolished to obtain stones for a series of defensive walls, it is possible that the

stairways suffered some disturbance and that when replaced the order and sequence was not followed by the re-builders. This is the only logical explanation to this anomalous situation.

In the meantime other events relating to these dates are happening in Cancuén to the south of Dos Pilas just where the highland mountains of Alta Verapaz descend into the lowlands of Petén and the Pasión river becomes navigable thus assuming control of this highland-lowland trade route of great importance.

In 653, a person named K'INICH K'ANE AJK, not yet known as a ruler from Cancuén, dies in Calakmul. However, he is related to YUKNOOM CH'EEN and appears in the famous Cancuén panel as the first person of importance in the text. The panel is incomplete in the first part of the message and therefore it is not known who and where this person is from except that he is "y-chinal", or "in the company of" the ruler of Calakmul. What is known is that in 656, just before the war against Tikal (657), a ruler is installed in Cancuén by YUKNOOM CH'EEN. Later in 657 K'IIB AJAW arrives in Cancuén just when NUUN (u) BAK CHAK of Tikal is exiled from his city (Fahsen, 2000a; 2000b; 2001; Fahsen and Jackson, 2001; Martin and Grube, 1995; 2000; Schele and Mathews, 1998). After that at least one more ruler of Cancuén is installed under the patronage of YUKNOOM CH'EEN. These events clearly point out to the expansion of the Calakmul interests on the south western Petén and up to the headwaters of the Pasión river where the profitable trade routes from the highlands end.

The events in the steps of the East Section reach to 664 when TAH mo' a ruler of Machaquilá, a neighboring site, is captured by Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas. This is therefore a second crucial period of the history of Dos Pilas (see [Central Section](#)) where the skirmishes against the small sites in the Petexbatún lead the way toward a third and final period where formal war against Tikal, a Maya-world war, lasts for another thirty years.

The analysis of these steps and the opinion of some authors possibly changes the up to the now spoused theory of continuous warfare and enmity between Dos Pilas and Tikal or at least points out to the need for further research in their relationship. In 648 Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas attacks a LAM NAH K'AWIIL which may have been an elder Tikal brother according to Guenter (personal communication) but maintains friendship with another brother NUUN (u) JOL CHAK until at least 660 or so when Calakmul forces an about face poisoning their friendship forever. However the arrival of Ruler 1 in Dos Pilas at the age of four years, when he is obviously too young to rule, still needs to be explained.

Stairway 2, West Section

Step 6 ([Figure 13](#))

The uppermost step of Stairway 2, West was apparently damaged in ancient times and when the stairway was rebuilt part of the glyphic text was not re-carved. As a result there are only four blocks instead of the normal six. The inscription, therefore, begins with only the bottom part of a MUWAAHN glyph which must have been part of a date. In order to try to reconstruct the date it is necessary to continue reading the text and to research similar possible dates in other Dos Pilas texts.

The next glyph after the MUWAAHN is a war against Dos Pilas done by NUUN (u) JOL CHAK and the subsequent flight of Ruler 1 to a site identified by a god "CHAK-na" glyph. This place is still unknown but again must be in the vicinity of the Petexbatún basin. The use of "serpent superfix" over the "ha" glyph for Dos Pilas appears for the first time in this part of the text and gives way to the use of the zoomorphic Tikal-like emblem glyph used in the other two sections, although this serpentine glyph as a place name (Stuart and Houston, 1994) is used after this, the ruler uses the K'UHUL MUTUL (a) AJAW glyph, at the end of each of the following steps, in its normal form.

Dos Pilas Stairway 4, Step 3 has a date of 4 AK'BAL 11 MUWAAHN (9.12.1.0.3 or 672) which fits nicely in the sequence of dates in this section of Stairway 2 and relates the same star war against Dos Pilas by Tikal's ruler. Therefore the date in Step 6, Stairway 2, West must be the same as that of Stairway 4. Unfortunately this is the only information that can be obtained given the damage that the step suffered.

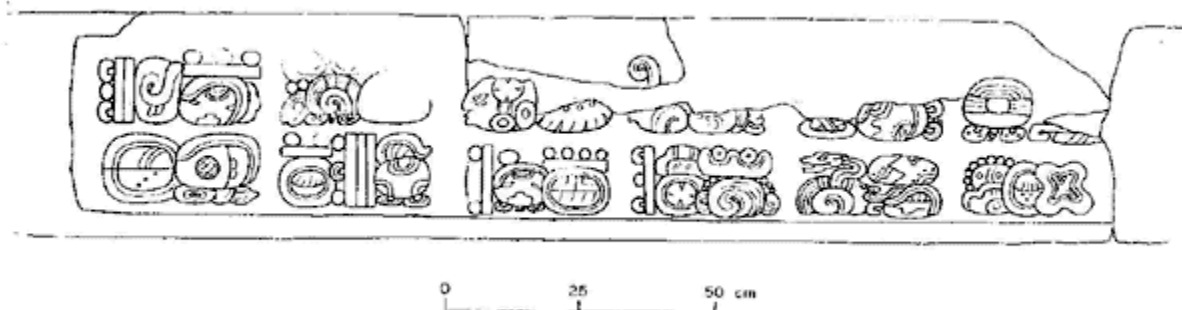


Figure 13. Step 6, West Section.

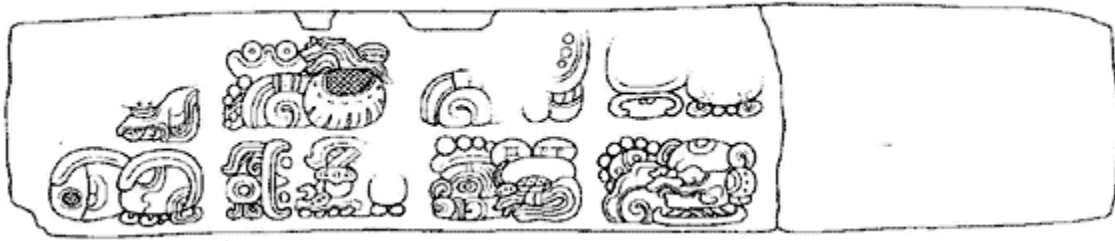


Figure 14. Step 5, West Section.

Step 5 ([Figure 14](#))

This step has the usual six glyph blocks although the upper right part of the text is also destroyed and therefore some parts of the text are missing and difficult to decipher. The inscription begins with the usual distance number of eleven k'in and seven winal followed by what seems to be a star war against a site whose name glyph was totally effaced. Given comparisons with broken sections of other parts of the text this seems to have been done deliberately. Perhaps the idea behind this effacement was to erase the name of the site which had suffered the attack. The next event happens in 661 (9.11.8.13.14, 7 IX 17 ZEK) eleven years before the previous date on Step 6 so it is a remembrance of some action done close to the time when the K'AWIIL of Tikal mentioned in Step 6, East was killed and also when the attack on KOBAN AJAW occurred. The event that happened at this time is a "PULUY" act which means "burning" and although the next glyph is half destroyed it is possible to read an IMIX sign which clearly can be the main sign of the Dos Pilas toponym. Burning of sites apparently happens during these wars and in the case of Steps 6 and 5 there is some evidence of destruction by this method so that glyphic texts and reality can be compared.

The text moves forward in time with a nonfunctional distance number of 7 k'in and 2 winal to the date 9 AK'BAL 6 YAXK'IN in 9.12.1.0.3 or ten winal after the flight of Ruler 1 in Step 6 to the "CHAK-na" place. As stated earlier Step 3 of Stairway 4 mentions the star war against Ruler 1 by NUUN (u) JOL CHAK of Tikal and therefore these events happening a few months later are part of the same prolonged war. Because of the destruction of the step the attack this time is to a site identified only by the suffix T4, "nah" which must be the place where Ruler 1 had fled according to the text in Step 6. The action was done by a Tikal AJAW and Ruler 1 is forced to flee again this time to the IX WITZ place. The expression of this episode is "LOK'I ba-la-ja CHAN K'AWIIL TABAY IX WITZ".

It took five years for Ruler 1 to come back from this exile and to defeat his Tikal enemy who had occupied Dos Pilas and taken over the important Petexbatún basin.

Step 4

This step begins with the usual distance number of twelve k'in, one winal and five tun since a war against Dos Pilas. The date refers to the star war against Dos Pilas that happened five tun earlier.

The next sentence begins with the date 3 IX 16 MUAN and another star war this time against the Tikal king who was encamped in Dos Pilas and which, after a burning expression, is forced to leave as stated by the LOK'I verb. The glyphs following NUUN-(u) JOL CHAK's name appear on Steps 6 and 5 of Stairway 2, East also after a war situation and so can be read as TABAY pa-TUUN or "he climbed to the Paptun place".

Seven days later and using the word "ta-la" to express this span of time Ruler 1 returns (hu-li) to Dos Pilas using the title "u-CHAN ta (h)-mo'" to reinforce the triumphant warrior category among his rivals and neighbors.

Step 4 uses a series of as yet difficult glyphs to decipher fully. However, it is very clear in the text that Ruler 1 arrives in Dos Pilas seven days after the flight of the Tikal king meaning that he was not attacking the site itself but some distance away and that the burning event was not in Dos Pilas but somewhere else. The place to where the ruler of Tikal goes is written as "pap' TUUN", a site of which there is no further information at present but Step 6, East, has a person from this unknown place which must have been in the general area east of the Petexbatún.

Step 3

Among the steps of Stairway 2 this is the one that proclaims the final triumph of Calakmul and Dos Pilas over Tikal. In a sense it is the equivalent to a glory obelisk since it gives a date for the battle and its consequences.

The anchor date is 9.12.7.0.0, 8 AJAW 13 TZEK and is followed by "his 7th tun". After that the reader is told that on 11 CABAN 10 ZOTZ, or one tun before "hu-bu-yi u-TOK-PAKAL NUUN-U JOL CHAK". This is the moment of the defeat on Tikal's ruler and probable sacrifice since he is not mentioned in any Maya inscriptions again. But further information on the text of Step 3 goes on to say that "na-jal u' ch'ich'wa "WITZ-aj u-BAK-(ki) OXLAHUN TAK-(ku) MUTUL (la) NAL". This long sentence seems to indicate that blood pooled and the bones of the peoples of the central place were piled up.

This as yet not fully understood information must refer to a massacre of the population and high ranking individuals of the court of Tikal and perhaps sacrifice of peoples of the allied areas of the center of the Petén areas.

Dos Pilas Ruler 1 again uses the "ba-ca-ba" warrior title and further does not acknowledge NUUN(u) JOL CHAK with a royal kingly title but calls the victims "from the Tikal place" thereby maintaining his claims to rulership and legitimacy.

Step 2

This step has already been deciphered by Linda Schele and Nikolai Grube (1994). There are two main events that paralleled messages from Stairway 4, Steps 1 and 5. The first event is a celebration with a dance "ak'ot-(ta)" on 9.12.10.0.0 or 682. This happens in the company of YUKNOOM CH'EEN of Calakmul. Dos Pilas Stela 9 shows BALAJ CHAN K' AWIIL with the Tikal Maiz god dress in the dance referred to here. His shield has the "u naahk' nal K' INICH" Tikal royal title.

Although Dos Pilas Panel 7 relates that ba-la-ja CHAN K'AWIIL "witnessed" or "saw" the accession ceremony of a Calakmul ruler, presumably as a guest in that site in 686, there is no evidence that he went to Calakmul four tun earlier again. The reference may be a metaphorical one since traveling long distances for a man almost sixty years old must have been at best strenuous. The 682 date was also celebrated by a long series of ceremonies in Cancuén performed by the ruler of that site who was also an ally of the Calakmul king, and on Stela 6 at Copán and on Stela 38 at Piedras Negras among other sites.

The next event happens on the date 2 IK' 10 MUAN or two years later with the celebration of the "OX TAL-ya u-KATUN" anniversary the birth of Ruler 1. This latter date is on 9.12.12.11.2 or 684 when the king was 59 years old. This important event is also celebrated on Stairway 4, Step 1 with the same u-TAL sign and this time the reader is told that an "AK'OT-ja tu-OX-a he-ne" dance was performed to mark the birthday in a special dance platform. This would have happened on the main plaza or in the royal residence patio where Stairway 4 was placed.

The anniversary was so important that Step 5 which has an Initial Series and is placed just above Step 4 also with an Initial Series, may have been carved just for the occasion since two Initial Series expressions one above the other is not a common occurrence.

Step 1

The information on this step would have been crucial to the knowledge of the succession but unfortunately the left half is broken and therefore lacks at least four glyph blocks which contained the dates as is usual in all the other steps.

The remaining blocks can be read starting with the name of ITZAMNAAJ B'ALAM followed by the name of his mother the Lady of Itzan. Because he is the only nominal in the stairways that refers to a descendent of Ruler 1 and his wife he must be the next in the line of succession. However Houston (1993) ignores his status and calls ITZAMNAAJ K'AWIIL Ruler 2. Martin and Grube believe however, as we do, that ITZAMNAAJ B'ALAM was, albeit a short rule, the next in line after Ruler 1.

Because there is very little information on this older brother, ITZAMNAAJ B'ALAM, must have died young since his birth probably occurred between 677 or 679 and 684. He therefore ascended the throne no older than 13 years old perhaps creating a dynastic crisis when he died in 698.

The birth date of the younger brother was at 673 (9.12.0.10.11) although Stela 8 shows a manipulated long count of 7 tun later because as Werner Nahm believes (Schele and Grube, 1954) his father was in exile and Dos Pilas occupied by Tikal troops.

The information that Step 2 gives the reader is important even though there is no possible confirmation on the role of the two brothers and their ways of acceding to the throne. Mayanists are prone to read violent acts in the accession to rulership, when no clear signs can be read. However one must not forget disease and death as a possible reason for succession at an early age between brothers.

Commentary

As befits a final historical document, Stairway 2, West recounts the final triumphal events of Ruler 1 and his heroic deeds. The last four steps tell the reader of this final defeat of Tikal and possible sacrifice of this life long enemy, the birth of his son, and the strength of his alliance with the most powerful state and ruler at the time namely Calakmul.

Calakmul plays an important part of the history of Dos Pilas as it does in other sites and the rulers of these polities make sure that the general public is aware of this. The nature of the information in all the stairways is to praise Ruler 1 and thus even when negative events happen to Dos Pilas they only serve to magnify the eventual return of the ruler and his defeat of the enemy much as in the case of Step 4 where the text informs the reader of a defeat by Tikal and of the banishment of the ruler only make sure it is known that in Step 3 there is a reversal of fortunes and Dos Pilas gets the final say.

By placing the birth of his son in one of the steps (Step 2) ba-la-ja CHAN K'AWIL makes sure that the succession is known and accepted by all to avoid whatever unknown event forced him into exile and displaced him from the Tikal throne. Demarest and others (1987; 1988; 1989; 1986; Sharer, 1988a; 1989b; Sablah, 1986) has argued about the need for charismatic, powerful qualities in order to rule in the theater like galactic polities and thus the need to announce successors in a very public way and at an early stage of their lives. The theory of peer polities also needs orderly successions to guarantee the security of states and their inhabitants. Whichever theoretical model are presented and understood, strong rulers and strong and accepted heirs are vital to the success of states.



Photo 8. Two of the steps discovered by IDAEH workers.



Photo 9. Provisional palm leaf structure to protect steps.

ANNEX 1:

DOS PILAS HIEROGLYPHIC STAIRWAYS 2			
9.9.10.0.0	2 AHAW 13 POP	CENTER STAIRWAY STEP 6	623
9.9.12.11.2	8 IK 5 CEH	CENTER STAIRWAY STEP 6	625
9.9.16.6.13	7 BEN 16 XUL	CENTER STAIRWAY STEP 5	629
9.10.0.0.0	1 AHAW 8 KAYAB	CENTER STAIRWAY STEP 5	633
9.10.0.0.0	1 AHAW 8 KAYAB	CENTER STAIRWAY STEP 3	633
9.10.1.3.19	11 KAWAK 17 WO	CENTER STAIRWAY STEP 3	634
9.10.2.17.7	7 CABAN 10 XUL	CENTER STAIRWAY STEP 4	635
9.10.3.0.0	3 AHAW 13 PAX	CENTER STAIRWAY STEP 4	636
9.10.8.16.0	3 AHAW 3 MAC	CENTER STAIRWAY STEP 2	641
9.10.10.0.0	13 AHAW 18 KANKIN	CENTER STAIRWAY STEP 2	642
9.10.15.0.0	6 AHAW 13 MAC	CENTER STAIRWAY STEP 1	647
9.10.15.3.5	6 CHICCHAN 18 PAX	CENTER STAIRWAY STEP 1	648
9.10.15.0.0	6 AHAW 13 MAC	STAIRWAY 2 EAST STEP 6	647
9.10.15.4.9	4 MULUC 2 KUMKU	STAIRWAY 2 EAST STEP 6	648
9.11.0.0.0	12 AHAW 8 CEH	STAIRWAY 2 EAST STEP 4	652
9.11.0.0.0	12 AHAW 8 CEH	STAIRWAY 2 EAST STEP 5	652
9.11.4.5.14	6 IX 2 KAYAB	STAIRWAY 2 EAST STEP 4	657
9.11.6.4.19	9 CAUAC 17 MUAN	STAIRWAY 2 EAST STEP 5	658
9.11.8.13.14	7 IX 17 TZEC	STAIRWAY 2 WEST STEP 5	661
9.11.9.15.19	9 CAUAC 17 YAXKIN	STAIRWAY 2 EAST STEP 2	662
9.11.10.0.0	11 AHAW 18 CHEN	STAIRWAY 2 EAST STEP 1	662
9.11.11.9.17	9 KABAN 5 POP	STAIRWAY 2 EAST STEP 1	664
9.12.0.8.3	4 AKBAL 11 MUAN	STAIRWAY 2 WEST STEP 6	672
9.12.1.0.3	9 AKBAL 6 YAXKIN	STAIRWAY 2 WEST STEP 5	673
9.12.5.9.14	2 IX 17 MUAN	STAIRWAY 2 WEST STEP 4	677
9.12.5.10.1	9 IMIX 4 PAX	STAIRWAY 2 WEST STEP 4	677
9.12.6.16.17	11 CABAN 10 ZOTZ	STAIRWAY 2 WEST STEP 3	679
9.12.7.0.0	8 AHAW 13 ZEC	STAIRWAY 2 WEST STEP 3	679
9.12.10.0.0	9 AHAW 18 ZOTZ	STAIRWAY 2 WEST STEP 2	682
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Photo 6. Central Stairway. Step 6 (bottom), 5, 4, 3, 2. Step 1 not excavated yet.