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# **The Dynastic Sequence of Dos Pilas, Guatemala**

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## The Dynastic Sequence Of Dos Pilas, Guatemala

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To the west of Lake Petexbatun, Peten, Guatemala, lies a region in which no fewer than five sites occur within an area of 45 square kilometers (Figure 1). The largest of these sites, and the one with the greatest number of known monuments, is Dos Pilas (Figure 2). This paper reconstructs the dynastic sequence of Dos Pilas, documenting five rulers, and traces the historical connections between Dos Pilas, neighboring centers near Lake Petexbatun, and relevant sites along the Pasión River and in northeastern Peten.<sup>1</sup>

The Emblem Glyph of Dos Pilas and environs was first detected by Heinrich Berlin (1960:26-27), who called it the "Laguna Petexbatun" Emblem Glyph and who noted its resemblance to the Emblem Glyph of Tikal. Berlin nonetheless believed that the

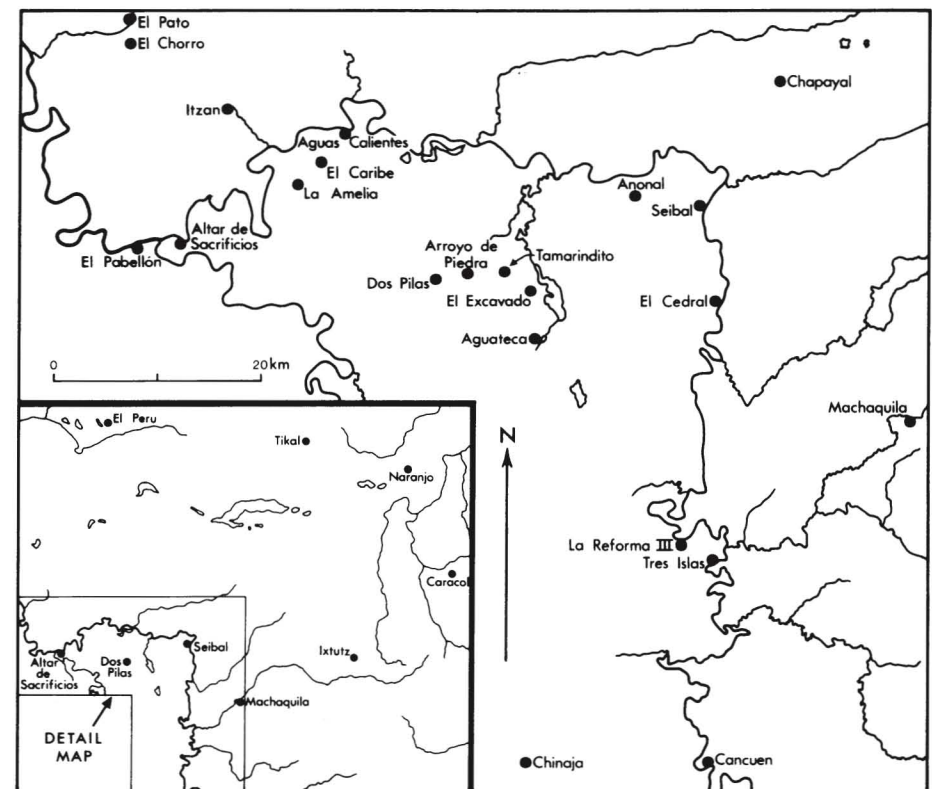


Fig. 1 Map showing the location of Dos Pilas and neighboring sites. (Map by Peter Mathews.)

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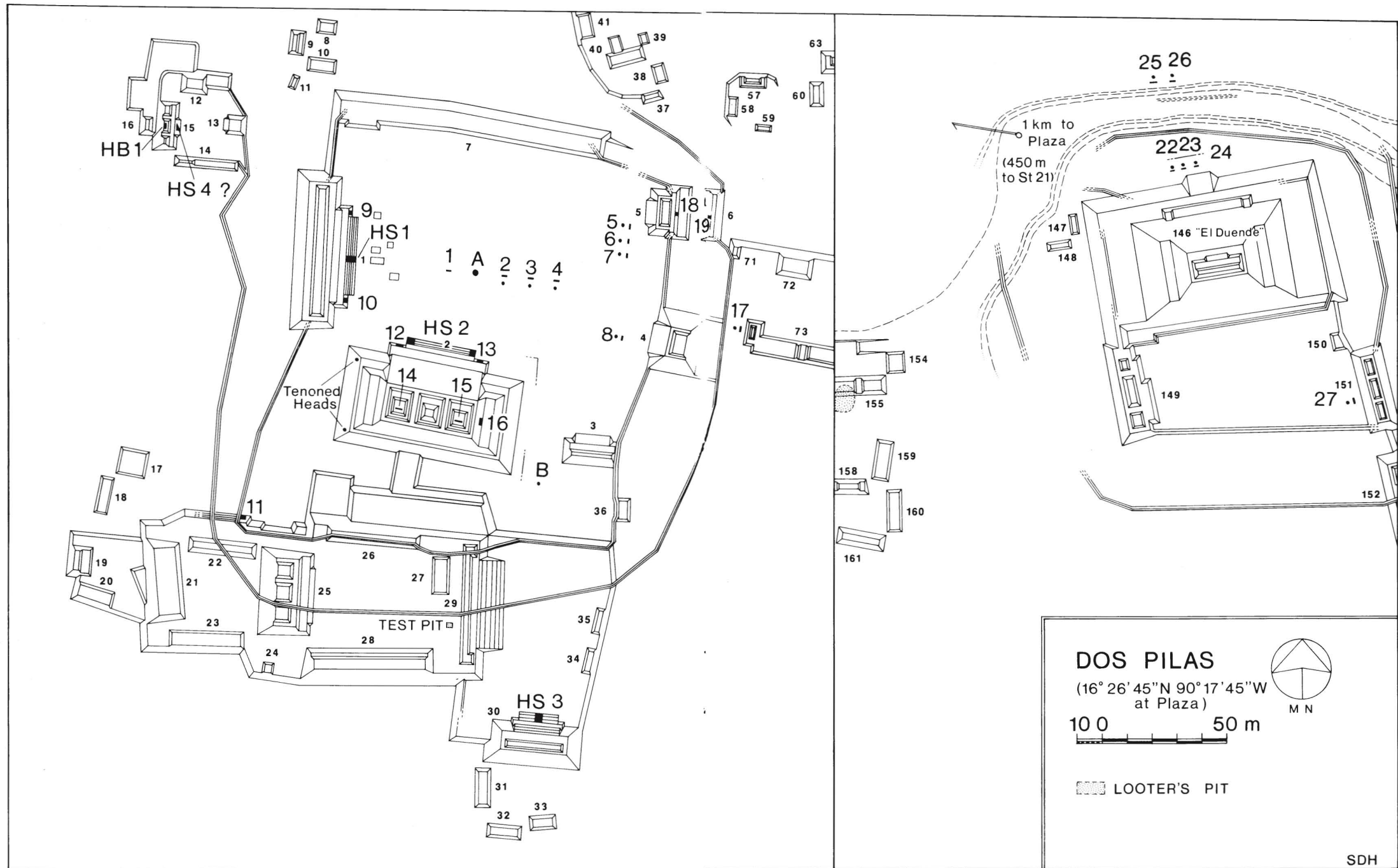


Fig. 2 Plan of Dos Pilas (Main Plaza and "El Duende" groups), showing the location of the monuments. (Plan by Stephen D. Houston.)

two Emblem Glyphs were distinct in form (Berlin 1977:90), and other writers, among them Joyce Marcus (1976:63), have followed him in this assertion. Yet it can be seen in Figure 3a-f, a compilation of variant forms of the Tikal and Dos Pilas Emblem Glyphs, that the two Emblems display the same features and the same range of variation. Moreover, two rulers of Dos Pilas (Rulers 3 and 4), whose names and biographies will be discussed below, use both T569 (Figure 3a) – the glyph conventionally regarded as the Tikal Emblem Glyph – and T716b – the most common variant of the Dos Pilas Emblem Glyph (Figure 3c). These two facts make it apparent that

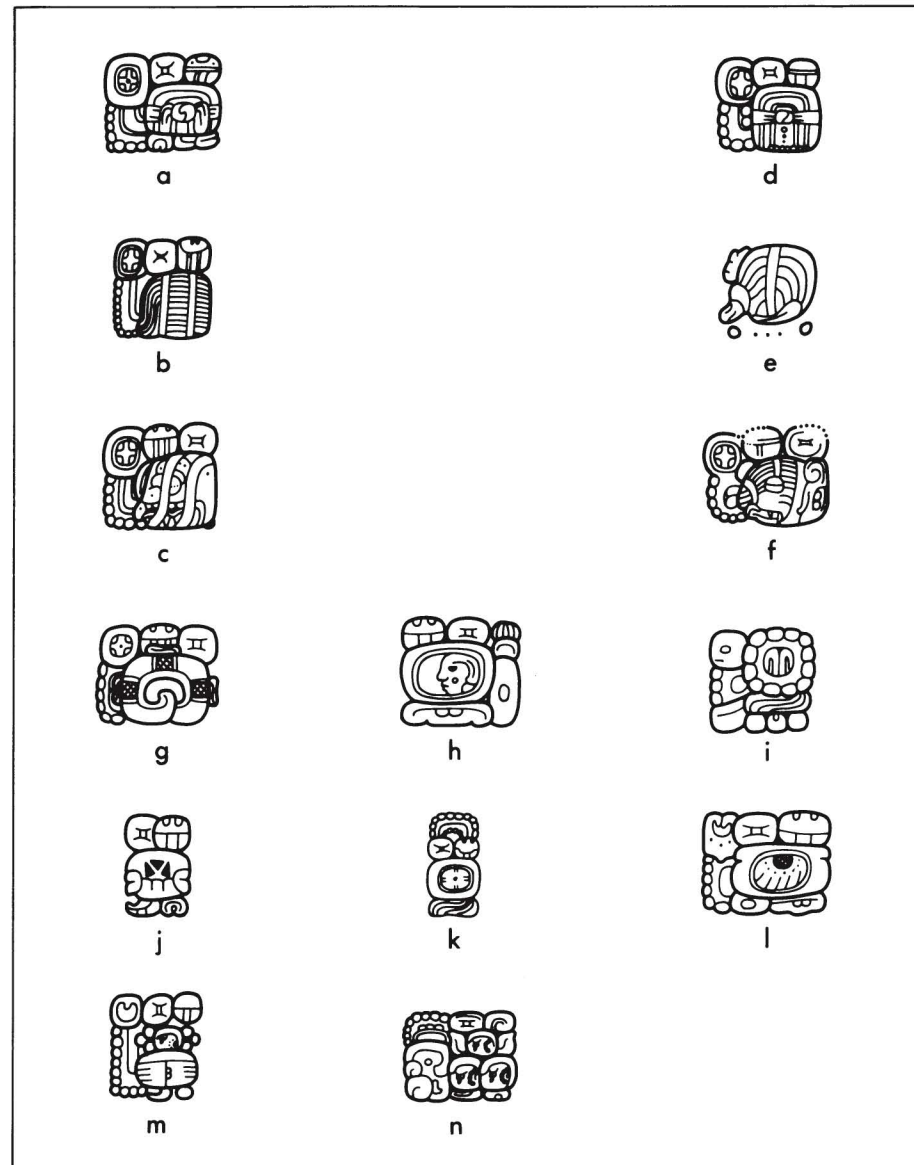


Fig. 3 Emblem Glyphs from the Pasión area (and Tikal). (Drawings by Peter Mathews.) (a) Dos Pilas/Aguateca; (b) Dos Pilas/Aguateca; (c) Dos Pilas/Aguateca; (d) Tikal; (e) Tikal; (f) Tikal; (g) Tamarandito; (h) Altar de Sacrificios; (i) El Pato; (j) Cancuen; (k) Anonal; (l) Itzan; (m) Machaquila; (n) Seibal.

both Dos Pilas and Tikal used the same Emblem Glyph forms. A possible implication of this is that the lords of Dos Pilas and those of Tikal were related. Consequently, much care must be exercised in separating the dynastic sequences of the two sites. For the sake of completeness, and to provide background information for the discussion which follows, Figure 3 also includes examples of Emblem Glyphs from sites close to Dos Pilas. Some of these Emblem Glyphs have been identified elsewhere (Seibal in Berlin 1958:112,118; Machaquila in Graham 1967:51-99; Itzan in Riese 1975:55-56), but most are presented here for the first time. A more complete study of Emblem Glyphs, currently in preparation by Mathews, will discuss these and other Emblem Glyphs in more detail.

Berlin's treatment of the Dos Pilas Emblem Glyph was an important contribution, but to date neither he nor any other researcher has reconstructed the dynastic history of Dos Pilas in detail. Using unpublished drawings and photographs by Houston and by Ian Graham, as well as a number of published sources (Vinson 1960; Grieder 1960; Navarrete and Luján 1963; Graham 1967; Greene, Rands and Graham 1972), we have researched the dynastic history of Dos Pilas from 9.10.12.11.2 to 9.18.10.0.0 (A.D. 645-800). Figure 4 shows in summary form the result of our researches, with information regarding the names of the rulers and their relationships to each other, and to their immediate families. Table 1 is intended to supplement Figure 4 with a complete collection of dates from Dos Pilas and pertinent calendrical information from nearby sites.

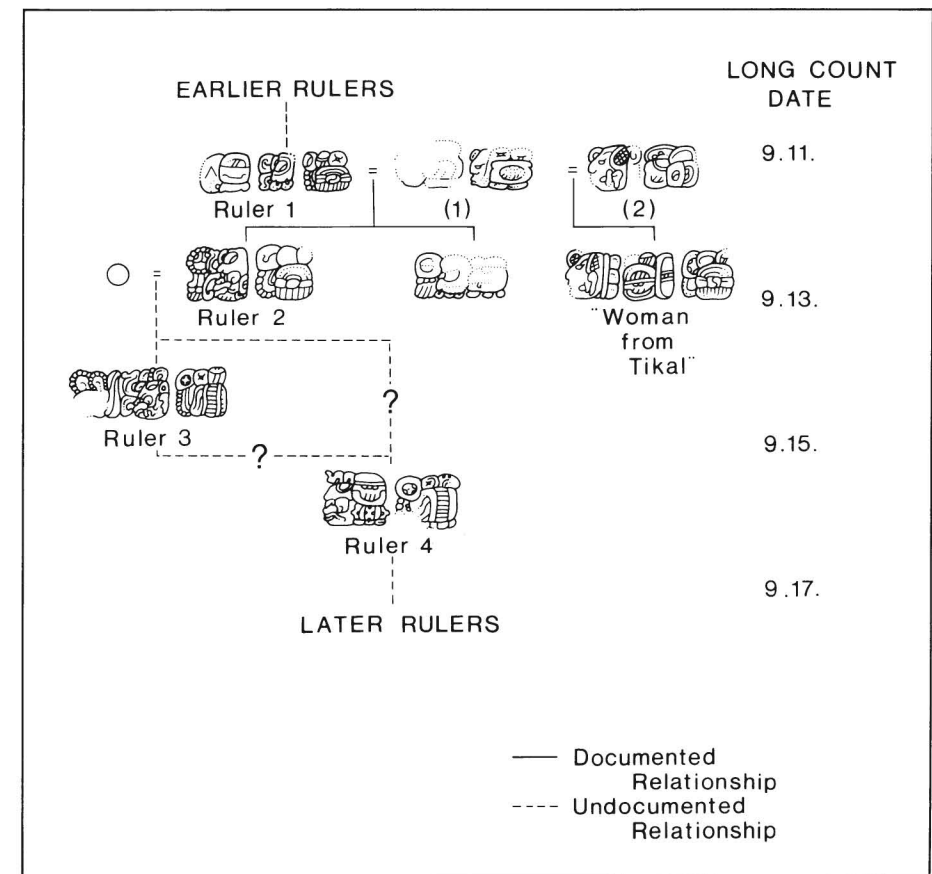


Fig. 4 The Dynasty of Dos Pilas. (Drawing by Stephen D. Houston.)

**Table 1 Dates concerning rulers in the Dos Pilas dynastic sequence.**

A.D.	Date	Monument(s)	Event
<i>Ruler 1</i>			
	(9.10.12.11. 2	6 Ik 5 Yaxkin)	H.S. 2W,2 accession (implied)
	9.11. 9.15.19	9 Cauac 17 Yaxkin	H.S. 2E,2 ?
	9.11.10. 0. 0	11 Ahau 18 Ch'en	H.S. 2E,1; H.S. 2E,2 PE
	9.11.11. 9.17	9 Caban 5 Pop	H.S. 2E,1 capture of <i>tah-mo</i> ?
672	9.12. 0. 0. 0	10 Ahau 8 Yaxkin	H.S. 2E,4 PE
	9.12. 0. 8. 3	4 Akbal 11 Muan	H.S. 2W,4 war
	9.12.*0.*10.11	13 Chuen 19 Kayab	St. 8 (birth of Ruler 3)
	9.12. 5. 9.14	*2 Ix *17 Muan	H.S. 2W,4 war
	9.12. 5.10. 1	9 Imix 4 Pax	H.S. 2W,4 war
	9.12. 6.16.17	11 Caban 10 Zotz'	H.S. 2W,3 ?
	9.12. 7. 0. 0	8 Ahau 13 Tzec	H.S. 2W,3 PE
	9.12.10. 0. 0	9 Ahau 18 Zotz'	St. 17; H.S. 2W,2 PE
	9.12.10.12. 4	6 Ix 2 Kayab	H.S. 2E,4 war
	9.12.12.11. 2	2 Ik 10 Muan	H.S. 2W,2 anniversary of accession
	9.12.13.17. 7	6 Manik 5 Zip	St. 13 accession of foreigner
692	9.13. 0. 0. 0	8 Ahau 8 Uo	AGT St. 5 PE
<i>Ruler 2</i>			
	9.12.*0.*10.11	13 Chuen 19 Kayab	St. 8 birth
	9.13. 6. 2. 0	11 Ahau 18 Uo	St. 8 accession
	9.13.10.11.12	5 Eb 10 Zac	St. 8 (concerns foreigner)
	9.13.13. 8. 2	1 Ik 5 Yaxkin	St. 1 ?
	9.13.15. 0. 0	13 Ahau 18 Pax	St. 1 PE
711	9.14. 0. 0. 0	6 Ahau 13 Muan	St. 8; St. 25; ARP St. 7 PE
	9.14. 5. 0. 0	12 Ahau 8 Kankin	St. 22; H.S. 1,3 PE
	9.14. 5. 3.14	8 Ix 2 Cumku	St. 25 war
	9.14. 6. 2. 0	9 Ahau 3 Pax	? H.S. 1,1 anniversary of accession
	9.14. 6. 6. 0	11 Ahau 18 Pop	? St. 27 ?
	9.14. 6.10. 2	2 Ik 0 Xul	? St. 27 ?
	9.14. 9.10.13	1 Ben 16 Tzec	St. 26 war
	9.14.10. 0. 0	5 Ahau 3 Mac	St. 26 PE
	9.14.10. 4. 0	7 Ahau 3 Kayab	? St. 26 PE
	9.14.11. 4.14	4 Ix 12 Kayab	H.S. 1,1 scepter
	9.14.11. 4.15	5 Men 13 Kayab	H.S. 1,3 ?
	9.14.13. 0. 0	6 Ahau 8 Ceh	H.S. 1,1 PE
	9.14.15. 1.19	11 Cauac 17 Mac	St. 8 death
	9.14.15. 2. 3	3 Kan 1 Kankin	St. 8 burial
731	9.15. 0. 0. 0	4 Ahau 13 Yax	ARP St. 2 (posthumous reference)
<i>Ruler 3</i>			
	9.14.15. 5.15	9 Men 13 Kayab	St. 8 accession
731	9.15. 0. 0. 0	4 Ahau 13 Yax	AGT St. 3 PE
	9.15. 4. 6. 4	8 Kan 17 Muan	St. 2; AGT St. 2 war
	9.15. 4. 6. 5	9 Chicchan 18 Muan	St. 2; AGT St. 2 capture
	9.15. 4. 6.11	2 Chuen 4 Pax	St. 2; AGT St. 2 sacrifice
	9.15. 5. 0. 0	10 Ahau 8 Ch'en	H.B. 1; AGT St. 2 PE
	9.15. 9. 9. 0	5 Ahau 8 Kayab	H.B. 1; AGT St. 1 PE
	9.15. 9.16.11	13 Chuen 14 Xul	AGT St. 1 death
<i>Ruler 4</i>			
	9.15. 9.16.15	4 Men 18 Xul	AGT St. 1 preaccession rite?
	9.15. 9.17.17	13 Caban 20 Yaxkin	AGT St. 1 accession
741	9.15.10. 0. 0	3 Ahau 3 Mol	AGT St. 1 PE
	9.15.10.13. 0	3 Ahau 18 Uo	? St. 4 ?
	9.15.14.17.18	7 Etz'nab 16 Xul	SBL H.S.
	9.15.15. 0. 0	9 Ahau 18 Xul	SBL H.S. PE
	9.16. 9.15. 3	9 Akbal 11 Cumku	TAM H.S. 2,3 war

**Table 1 cont.**

A.D.	Date	Monument(s)	Event
<i>Ruler 5</i>			
	9.15.19. 0. 4	10 Kan 2 Xul	AML H.S.,2
	9.16.13. 3.13	10 Ben 1 Xul	AML H.S.,2
771	9.17. 0. 0. 0	13 Ahau 18 Cumku	SBL St. 6; SBL St. 7 accession
	9.17.10. 0. 0	12 Ahau 8 Pax	? SBL St. 5 PE
790	9.18. 0. 0. 0	11 Ahau 18 Mac	AGT St. 7 PE
800	9.18.10. 0. 0	10 Ahau 8 Zac	SBL St. 7 PE

*Abbreviations and Legend*

( )	implied date
*	reconstructed
AGT	Aguateca
AML	La Amelia
ARP	Arroyo de Piedra
SBL	Seibal
TAM	Tamarindito
St.	Stela
H.B.	Hieroglyphic Bench
H.S.	Hieroglyphic Stairway: the number immediately following is the number of the stairway; the number following the comma is the number of the step.
E	East
W	West
PE	Period-Ending

It is apparent from Table 1 and Figure 4 that the sequence is complete within a rather narrow range of time, for it spans only the middle part of the Late Classic period. Explanations for this are at present speculative, although two possibilities come to mind: (1) the apparent absence of monuments in later times stems from the presence of a revitalized dynasty at nearby Seibal, which might have enlarged its sphere of influence at the expense of Dos Pilas; and (2) the apparent poverty of Early Classic ceramics in the lower Pasión area (Adams 1971:158; Sabloff 1975:232), which contrasts with the abundance of Late Formative and Late Classic ceramics in the same area, suggests a substantially diminished population and, possibly, the weakening or extinction of local dynasties. According to this view, the lords of Dos Pilas were a comparatively late introduction to the Pasión area, perhaps having emigrated from Tikal to this politically debilitated region, and probably late in the first half of Cycle 9. Such an explanation seems possible but unverifiable until such time as epigraphic evidence can be found establishing the precise relationship between the Tikal and Dos Pilas dynasties. Moreover, Ian Graham and Houston have found Early Classic monuments at Arroyo de Piedra (one "hiatus" period stela and one terminal Early Classic stela) and at Tamarindito (one Early Classic and one "hiatus" period stela); this suggests a rather more complicated picture of the political situation in the Petexbatun area during the early Late Classic period.

**The Lords Of Dos Pilas**

*Ruler 1*

Although earlier rulers might yet be documented, the first known lord of Dos Pilas has been designated "Ruler 1" as a label of convenience. Ruler 1 appears to have had two names. One version of his name (Figure 5a) consists of: (1) T257v (similar

markings can be found on Classic depictions of axe blades [Coe 1967:88]; (2) T561, the “sky” sign; and (3) the forehead of God K. In the other version of Ruler 1’s name (Figure 5b), the “sky” sign appears to be optional, and the prefix T257v is replaced by a phonetic compound T556:178.181, *ba-la-h(a)* (or, just possibly, *malah*).

There is virtually no doubt that these two names refer to the same ruler. First, Dos Pilas Stela 17 records both forms of the name, in apparent couplet structure; this would imply that they allude to the individual portrayed on the front of the stela. Second, Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 2, Step 1, C1-F2, mentions the capture by “*Balah*” (or “*Malah*”) of one “Torch Macaw”, who is named on Step 4 of the same stairway as the captive of “T257v.561” (Figure 6). (“Torch Macaw” may possibly be a generic epithet of captives; the glyph at D2a is also a part of this captive’s personal name.) Third and most important, relationship glyphs connect each version of Ruler 1’s name with the same wife.

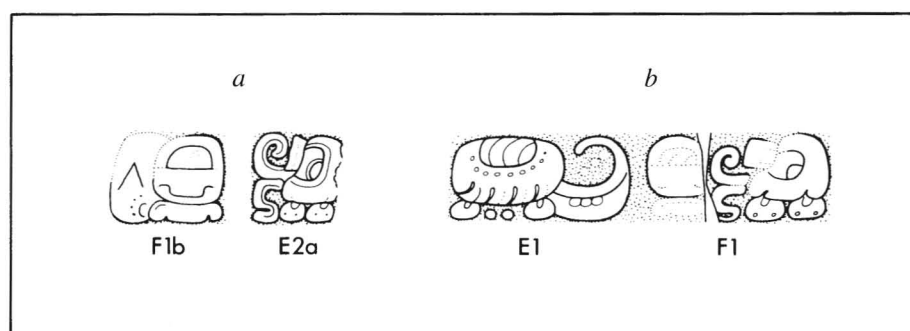


Fig. 5 Name Glyphs of Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas. (a) Dos Pilas H.S. 2W, Step 4, F1b-E2a; (b) Dos Pilas H.S. 2E, Step 1, E1-F1. (Drawings by Ian Graham.)

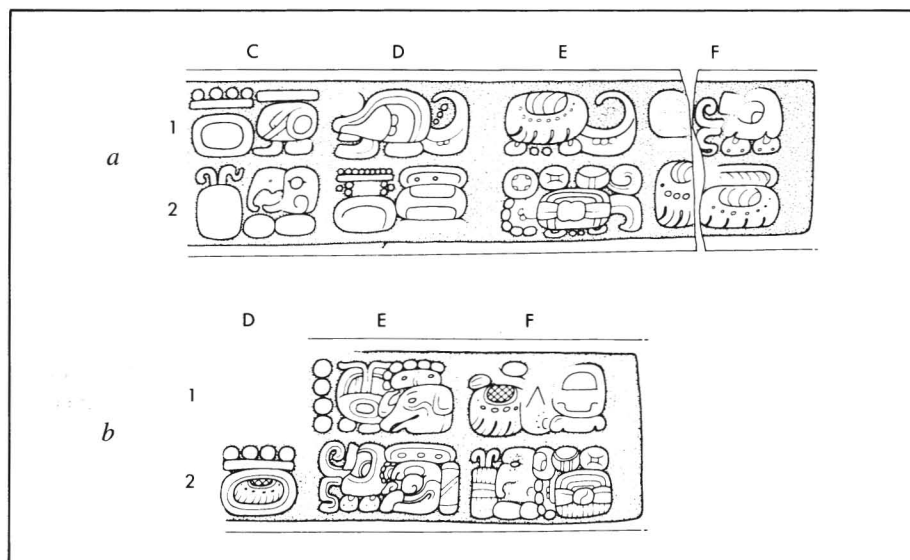


Fig. 6 The capture of “Torch-Macaw” by Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas. (a) Dos Pilas H.S. 2E, Step 1, C1-F2 (9.11.11.9.17); (b) Dos Pilas H.S. 2W, Step 4 D26-F2 (9.12.5.10.1). (Drawings by Ian Graham.)

Although several monuments were erected by Ruler 1 (Dos Pilas Stelae 13 and 17 and Hieroglyphic Stairway 2), his dates of birth and death are not known. On Aguateca Stela 5, he celebrates the Period Ending date 9.13.0.0.0. Since his successor, Ruler 2, accedes to the throne at 9.13.6.2.0, a scant six years later, presumably Ruler 1 died some time between these two dates.

Ruler 1’s accession date can be determined with far greater precision. Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 1, Step 1 contains a passage which refers explicitly to an accession anniversary (Figure 7c): it includes (1) a Calendar Round date, (2) a compound with a human hand signifying completion (cf. Thompson 1950, Figure 32), (3) a *hel* glyph with preposed numerical coefficient and third person marker, (4) a katun glyph with preposed third person marker, (5) the “affix cluster”, which refers to royal office (Proskouriakoff 1960:469), and finally (6) a lord’s name, in this case Ruler 1’s successor. The passage closely resembles a calendrical expression at Tonina recording the “completion” of a “change” (*hel*) to a new month (Figure 7a; Mathews 1982). This suggests that the Dos Pilas text can be interpreted in much the same way: “on day X occurred the completion of the second change of Ruler 2’s katun in office,” or, rephrased slightly, “on day X occurred the completion of Ruler 2’s first katun in office.” Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 2 contains a similar passage referring to “the completion of Ruler 1’s second katun [in office]” (Figure 7b). Although the passage lacks the “affix cluster”, it almost certainly commemorates Ruler 1’s accession, which then must have taken place on 9.10.12.11.2.

The name of Ruler 1’s wives and children can be reconstructed from statements of parentage (Figure 8; Jones 1977:41; Schele, Mathews and Lounsbury 1977). One wife, whose name is recorded on Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairways 1 and 2 (Figure 8a,b), came from the site of Itzan, some 25 kilometers to the northwest of Dos Pilas. She had two sons by Ruler 1, one being “Ruler 2” of Dos Pilas (Figure 8a), the other a “Shield-Jaguar” (Figure 8b), who seems never to have ruled at the

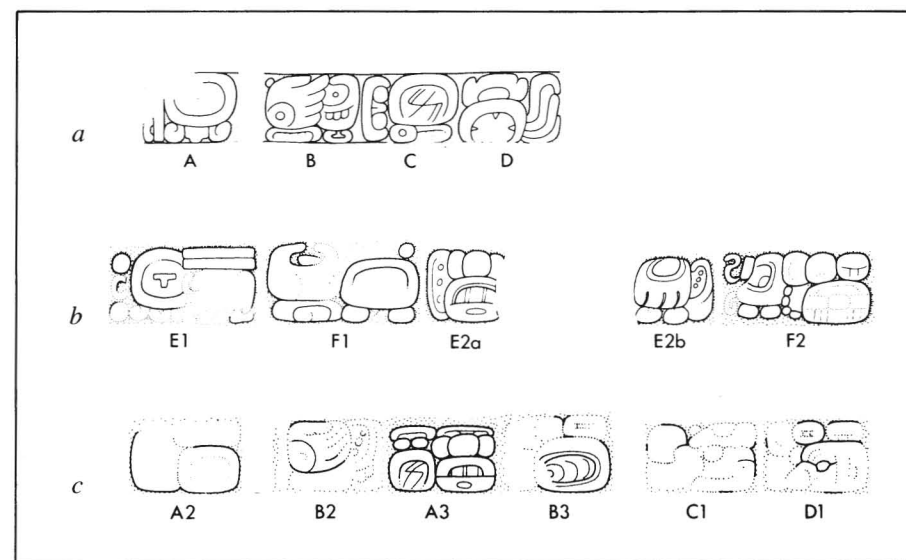


Fig. 7 “Hel” phrases. (a) Tonina Fragment 35, A-D; (b) Dos Pilas H.S. 2W, Step 2, E1-F2; (c) Dos Pilas H.S. 1, Step 1, A2-D1. (Drawings by Ian Graham [a,b] and Peter Mathews [c]).

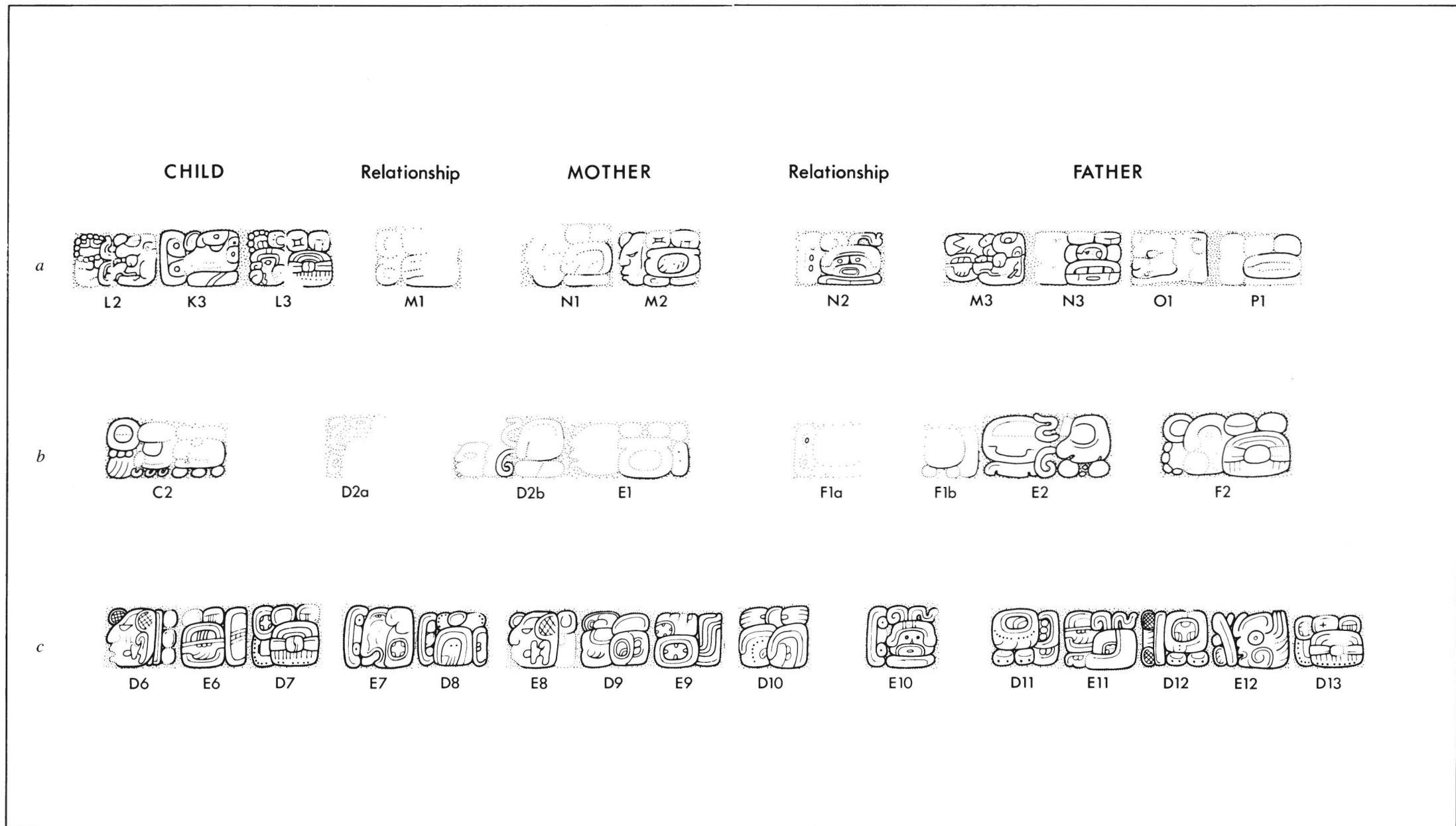


Fig. 8 Parentage expressions concerning the Dos Pilas dynasty. (a) Dos Pilas H.S. 1, Step 1, L2-P1; (b) Dos Pilas H.S. 2W, Step 1 C2-F2; (c) Naranjo Stela 24, D6-D13. (Drawings by Peter Mathews [a] and Ian Graham [b,c].) Note that there is another badly weathered parentage expression on H.S. 1, Step 2.

site. The name “Shield-Jaguar” occurs only this once at Dos Pilas, but the form of his name is an interesting one: the “shield” part of his name is in head variant form, which appears to be a Classic version of the name glyph of God D. Ruler 1’s other wife was perhaps a local woman, as she did not use a foreign Emblem Glyph. She and Ruler 1 were the parents of the so-called “Woman of Tikal” at Naranjo (Figure 8c), a personage discussed at length by Marcus, who attributes the woman to Tikal rather than to Dos Pilas (Marcus 1976:58-60). (The name of this woman’s father is unmistakably the same as the name of Ruler 1 of Dos Pilas, and, but for a slight discrepancy in Ruler 1’s age notation on Naranjo Stela 18, the chronological fit is good.)

Epigraphic information from El Pato, a site close to Itzan, and Dos Pilas indicates that Ruler 1 had connections not only with Itzan and Naranjo, but with other sites as well. El Pato Altar 6 displays a parentage statement in which a local ruler records as his mother a woman who was probably from Dos Pilas (but who conceivably was from Tikal; Figure 9 – note the substitution [Glyph E] of T126 for a jawless head, a feature also present in an anterior date indicator on Yaxchilan Hieroglyphic Stairway 3, Step I, C5). Since the probable date of the monument is 9.13.0.0.0, this woman must have married into the El Pato dynasty some time during, or perhaps slightly before, Ruler 1’s reign.

Ruler 1 also had connections with the important “Site Q” (Mathews 1979), a center of unknown location which seems to have been the point of origin of many unprovenanced monuments. Dos Pilas Stela 13 records the accession date of a Site Q ruler, “Jaguar Paw-Smoke” (see Miller 1974, Figure 5), who is pictured on a looted vessel as the subordinate of an unidentified Dos Pilas or Tikal lord (Figure 10). We should note here that Marcus (1976:9) identified the Emblem Glyph of the unknown site as Calakmul’s; her view was accepted tentatively by Jeffrey Miller (1974:149), who published a paper on two stelae which he argued probably came from Calakmul. More recently, Ian Graham has discovered at El Peru – a large site some 80 kilometers

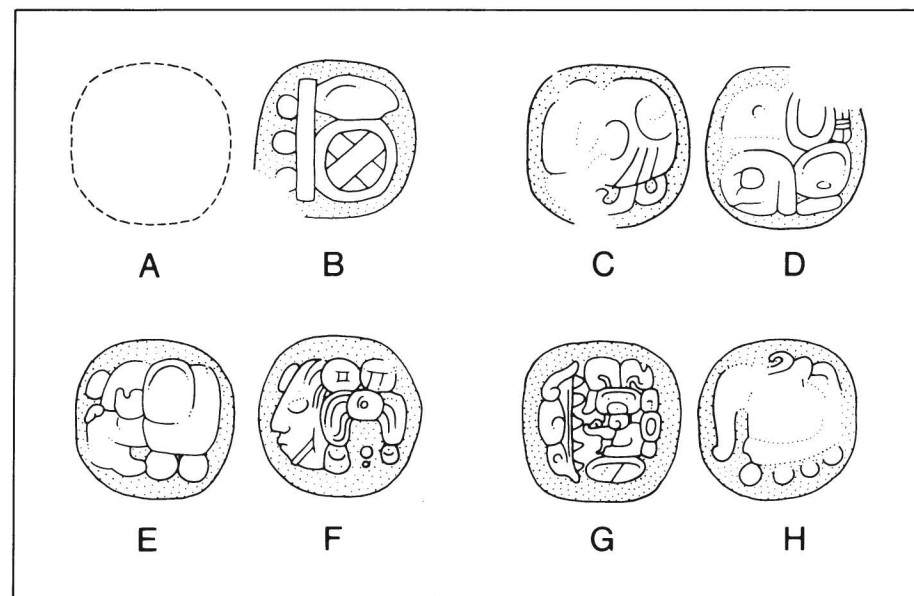


Fig. 9 El Pato Altar 6. (Drawing by Stephen D. Houston.)

west of Tikal – the sawn-off remnants of the monuments analysed by Miller. This might seem to secure El Peru as “Site Q” – but for the fact that an additional Emblem Glyph is recorded on several monuments at El Peru, and it is unclear which of the two Emblem Glyphs refers to El Peru. In addition, Calakmul Stela 9 records the birth date of “Jaguar Paw-Smoke”. At present, the problem of Site Q’s location admits of no simple solution.

#### Ruler 2

As mentioned above, Ruler 2 was the child of Ruler 1 and a woman from Itzan. His name comprises two elements which have been discussed above: the “shield” or head ornament of God D, and the head of God K.

The biography of Ruler 2 is fairly well documented, with known dates of birth, accession, death, and burial (Mathews 1977). However, one peculiarity of his reign is the record of his death and probably his burial date on a bone text from the burial of “Ruler A” of Tikal (Proskouriakoff 1973:170; Jones 1977:35). At the moment, we cannot explain the significance of this record.

Another peculiarity of Ruler 2 is the occurrence of his name at nearby Tamarindito and Arroyo de Piedra: these (with the exception of the problematical Aguateca Stela 5) are the first monumental records of a Dos Pilas lord by other sites. A hieroglyphic stairway recently found by Houston at Tamarindito mentions Ruler 2 of Dos Pilas in some relationship to a local Tamarindito ruler. On Arroyo de Piedra Stela 2 (Figure

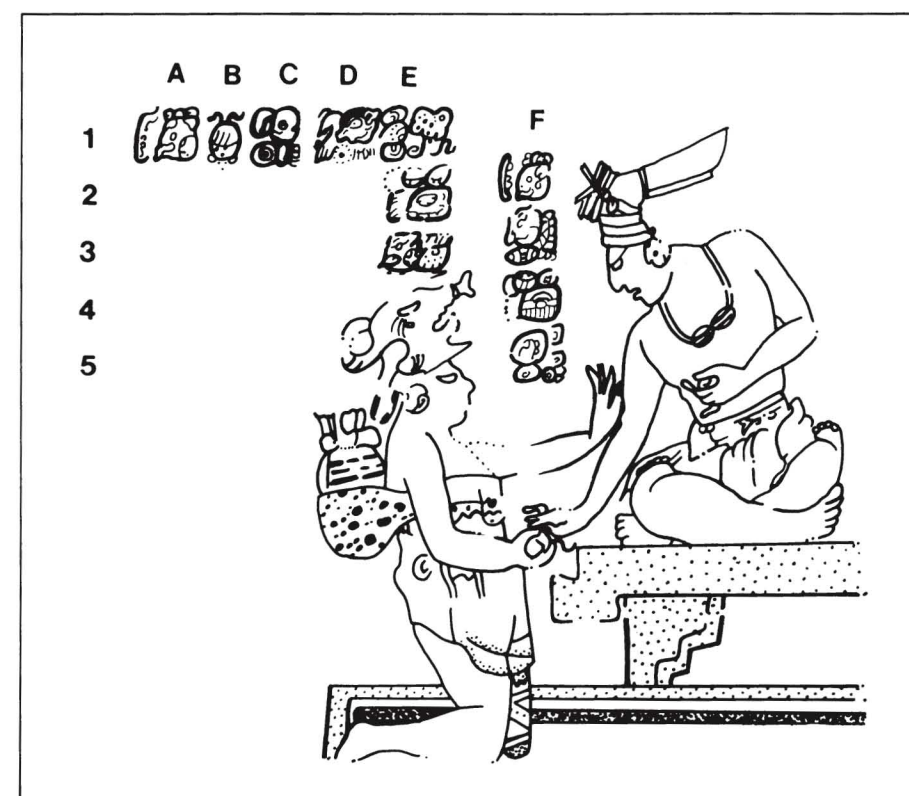


Fig. 10 “Jaguar Paw-Smoke” as subordinate of Dos Pilas or Tikal lord. Detail from a vase in a private collection. (Drawing by Stephen D. Houston.)



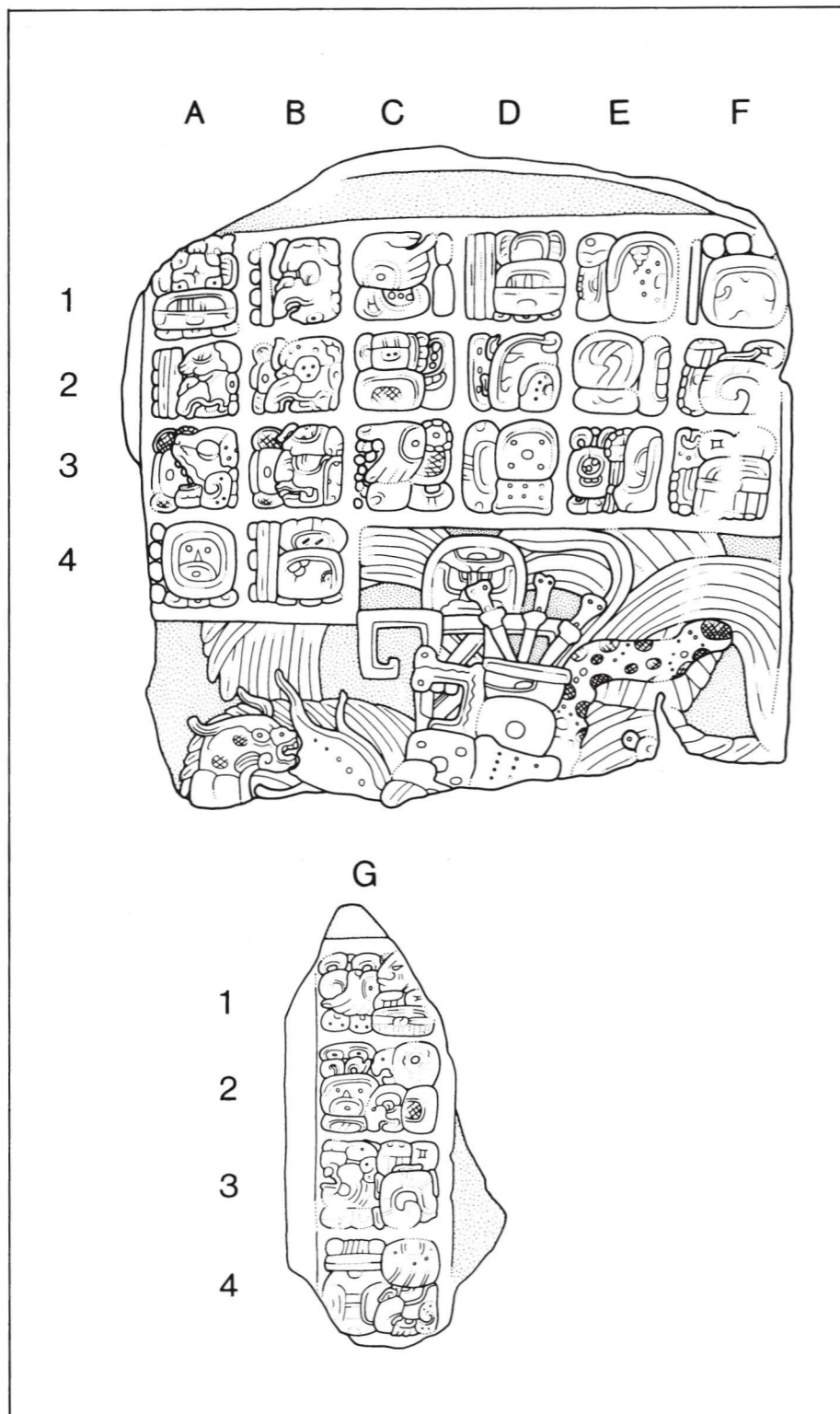


Fig. 11 Arroyo de Piedra Stela 2. (Drawing by Stephen D. Houston.)

11), Ruler 2 of Dos Pilas seems to have been associated, posthumously, with a Period Ending celebration by a local ruler, whose name and Emblem Glyph are illustrated in Figure 12a. Beneath, at positions F1-F4 on Stela 2, occurs a parentage statement in which the local lord's mother is said to be from Dos Pilas, and his father from Arroyo de Piedra (or of Tamarindito, since the Emblem Glyphs of the two sites are the same). Thus, the Dos Pilas dynasty intermarried not only with the rulers of Itzan and El Pato, but also with lords of Arroyo de Piedra or Tamarindito.<sup>2</sup>

*Ruler 3*

Dos Pilas Stela 8 shows that Ruler 3 succeeded to the throne shortly after the death of Ruler 2. The relationship between the two lords is unknown, as there are no surviving parentage statements at Dos Pilas (or elsewhere in the Petexbatun area) after 9.14.11.4.15 (Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 1 – Figure 8a). Ruler 3's personal name is a youthful head with dotted scroll superfix, although his name phrase shares one element with Ruler 2: the phrase "captor of *k'in balam*." It is possible that "*k'in balam*" is a generic epithet of captives which functions in the same way as "torch macaw" – since presumably the two "*k'in balams*" were not the same individual. Against this interpretation, perhaps, is the record of "*k'in balam*" apparently naming the captive portrayed on Dos Pilas "Stela" 10.

Much like his predecessors, Ruler 3 engaged in contact with other centers in the Pasión area. Some of this contact was bellicose, as in the case of his war with Seibal, where Ruler 3 battled, captured, and sacrificed a Seibal lord, *Mo'l balam* (Figure 13). He and his successors apparently controlled Seibal for approximately sixty years (Lounsbury 1982:154,165). Other contacts may have been more peaceful, involving instead the political absorption by Dos Pilas of neighboring centers, such as Aguateca, perhaps by 9.13.0.0.0. Ruler 3 continued this tradition by commissioning two stelae at Aguateca, one in commemoration of the victory over Seibal (Stela 2), and the other in celebration of a hotun-ending (Stela 3).

Ruler 3 also presided over a form of Period Ending celebration rare in the corpus of hieroglyphic inscriptions. Both Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Bench 1 (found by Houston in 1984 – Figure 14) and Aguateca Stela 1 (Graham 1967, Figure 3) associate the date 9.15.9.9.0 with a "hand-scattering" event, a rite which normally takes place only at tun or katun endings. The date on Stela 1 is a form of "half-period" (9 uinals = 1/2 tun) which is documented also at Tonina and Palenque. Stela 1 presumably records this unusual Period Ending celebration specifically because it was among Ruler 3's last important acts; he died 140 days later.

*Ruler 4*

Ruler 4's name phrase includes a God K head, T561 (an optional element) a postfixed *mah k'ina* title, and a phrase "captor of 'Turtleshell ahau'". Ruler 4's reign is fairly well defined; he acceded to rule shortly after the demise of his predecessor, Ruler 3, and disappeared from the epigraphic record at 9.16.9.15.3, only a short time before the probable accession date of his successor. His accession rite (9.15.9.17.17), which is inscribed on Aguateca Stela 1, follows by twenty-two days a "seating" event that apparently represents an investiture of the ruler with some other title (Figure 15b). The same sequence of pre-accession and accession rites occurs on Naranjo Stela 32 in association with the last documented ruler of that site, "18 Jog" (Figure 15a).

The most striking feature of Ruler 4's monuments is their widespread distribution. To the south, allegedly near the site of Cancuen, although this is by no means certain (Rafael Morales, personal communication 1984), hieroglyphic blocks have been recovered apparently inscribed with Ruler 4's name. Since the Emblem Glyph of the Cancuen area was possibly one with "turtleshell" as main sign (Figure 3j), it seems possible that Ruler 4 captured a lord of Cancuen. To the east, Hieroglyphic Stairway 1 of Seibal contains numerous references to Ruler 4 and his predecessor's captive, *Mo'l balam*. At Aguateca, Ruler 4's accession is recorded on Stela 1. This widespread distribution of monuments referring to Ruler 4 could imply that he was more successful in war and diplomacy than his predecessors, or it could indicate simply that he was controlling territory which had already been conquered by earlier lords of Dos Pilas.

Ruler 4 seems not to have lived a peaceful life. Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairway 3 records several captures of foreign lords, including one who seems to be from El Pato (Figure 16), a site which presumably enjoyed amicable relations with Dos Pilas during the reign of Ruler 2. Moreover, a war reference on Tamarindito Hieroglyphic Stairway 2 (Figure 17) indicates that the Arroyo de Piedra or Tamarindito dynasty apparently warred against Dos Pilas and presumably killed its ruler; at least, there are no later references to Dos Pilas Ruler 4. These two pieces of evidence suggest radical shifts in foreign relations during Ruler 4's reign, indicating the dissolution of some of Dos Pilas' old alliances.

#### Later Rulers















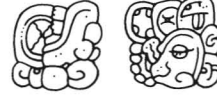


Ruler 4 is the last ruler known from the monuments of Dos Pilas, which apparently reached the height of its power under Rulers 3 and 4. The dearth of later monuments

at Dos Pilas may be significant, but it may also result from an incomplete sample of stelae (or some of the many now-eroded stelae at Dos Pilas may postdate Ruler 4). At any rate, it would appear that Dos Pilas was beginning its decline. To be sure, at this time lords of the Dos Pilas dynasty are mentioned at La Amelia, Chapayal and Seibal as well as at Aguateca, perhaps indicating an even wider Dos Pilas sphere of influence than ever before. However this wider sphere of influence is short-lived, and the dynastic picture is not at all clear.

Aguateca Stela 6 has a weathered text which apparently records the Initial Series date 9.15.16.12.1 (Graham 1967:22). The event was the birth of a future ruler, who apparently acceded to the throne sometime near 9.16.19.0.0 (the middle dates of Stela 6 are somewhat unclear) and who celebrated the katun-ending date 9.17.0.0.0.

Aguateca Stela 7 records the katun-ending date 9.18.0.0.0. The ruler is named, but it is unclear whether he is the same as the ruler on Stela 6. It is quite likely that they are one-and-the-same: the "3 katun *ahau*" title of the ruler on Stela 7 is consistent with the 9.15.16.12.1 birth date on Stela 6.

The Dos Pilas lord who is mentioned on monuments from La Amelia, Chapayal, and Seibal consistently uses a name different from the name on Aguateca Stela 7. The La Amelia/Chapayal/Seibal name (see Figure 18a, A3, and Figure 18b, A3) consists of T229, *ah*; T168 (see Lounsbury 1973), *ahau*; T44, read *to* in other contexts (Houston 1983); and a probable variant of the T570 'bone' sign. The Aguateca Stela 7 name (Figure 18c, A5) consists of several signs which, except for the T168 superfix, are without Thompson numbers; the *mah k'ina* title is the final part of the name. In view of the fact that the Seibal name occurs with dates both before and after 9.18.0.0.0 (the date of Aguateca Stela 7), there are two plausible interpretations of these names:

	<u>RULER</u>	<u>R.</u>	<u>OVERLORD?</u>	<u>R.</u>	<u>FATHER</u>	<u>R.</u>	<u>MOTHER</u>
A							
B							
C							

R. = Relationship Glyph

Fig. 12 Comparison of statements of relationship. (a) Arroyo de Piedra Stela 2, D3-G3 (9.15.0.0.0); (b) Lacanha Lintel 1, D1-J4 (9.15.15.0.0); (c) Column Altar (provenance unknown), D2-D4 (9.14.3.8.4). (Drawings by Stephen D. Houston.)

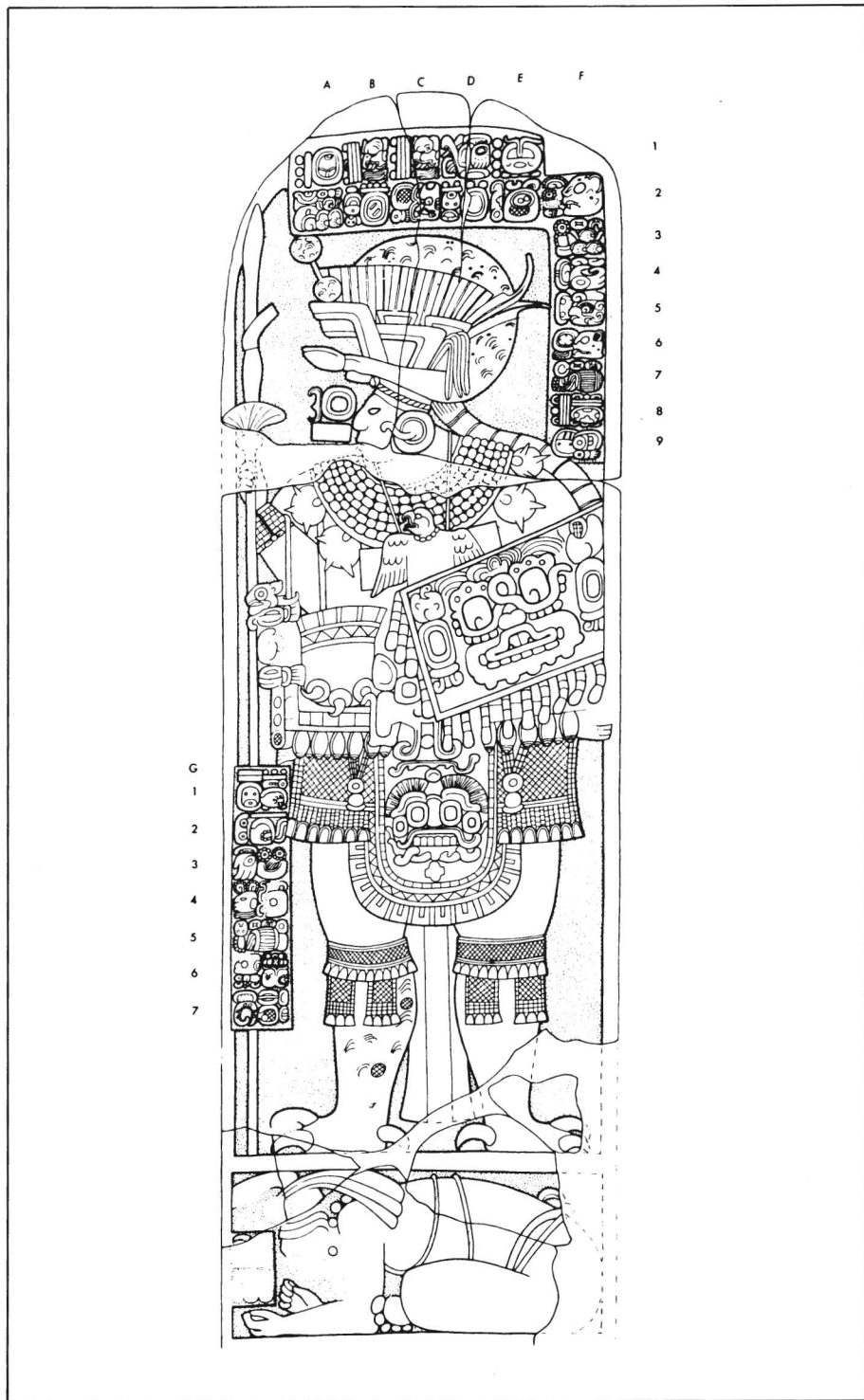


Fig. 13 Aguateca Stela 2. (Drawing by Ian Graham.) The same scene and text are carved on Dos Pilas Stela 2, which clearly names the captive portrayed below Ruler 3 as M'ol Balam, lord of Seibal.

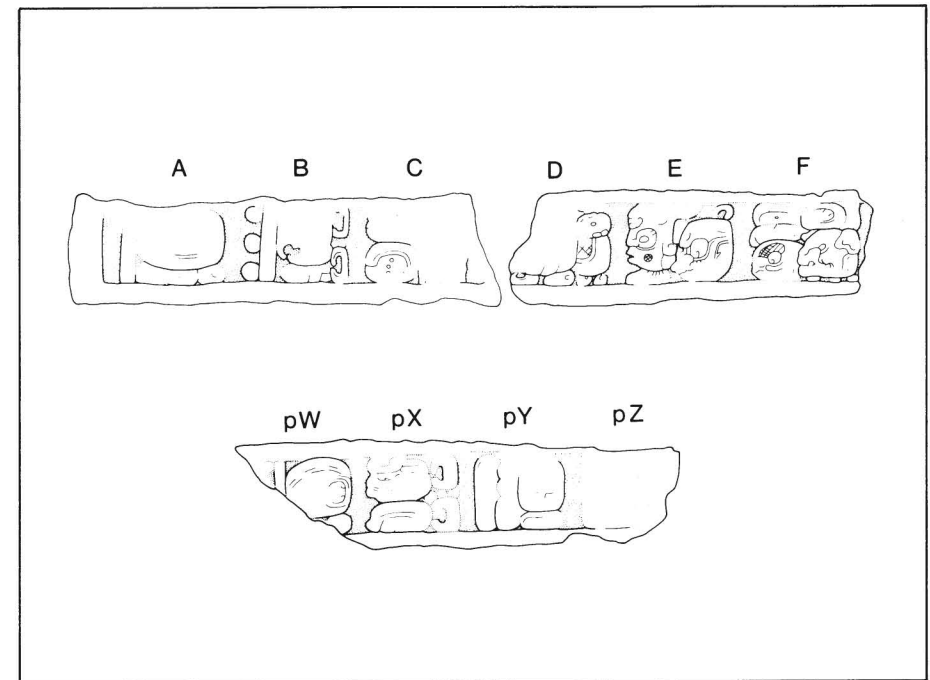


Fig. 14 Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Bench 1. (Drawing by Stephen D. Houston.)

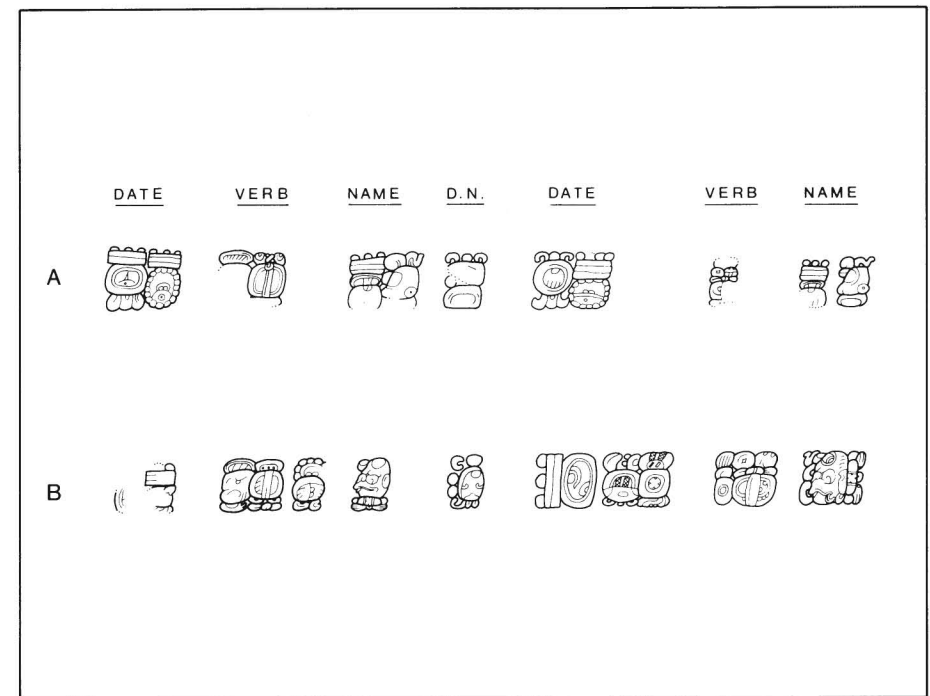


Fig. 15 Pre-accession and accession ceremonies at Naranjo and Aguateca. (a) Naranjo Stela 32, O1-Q4; (b) Aguateca Stela 1, B6-A13. (Drawings by Stephen D. Houston.)

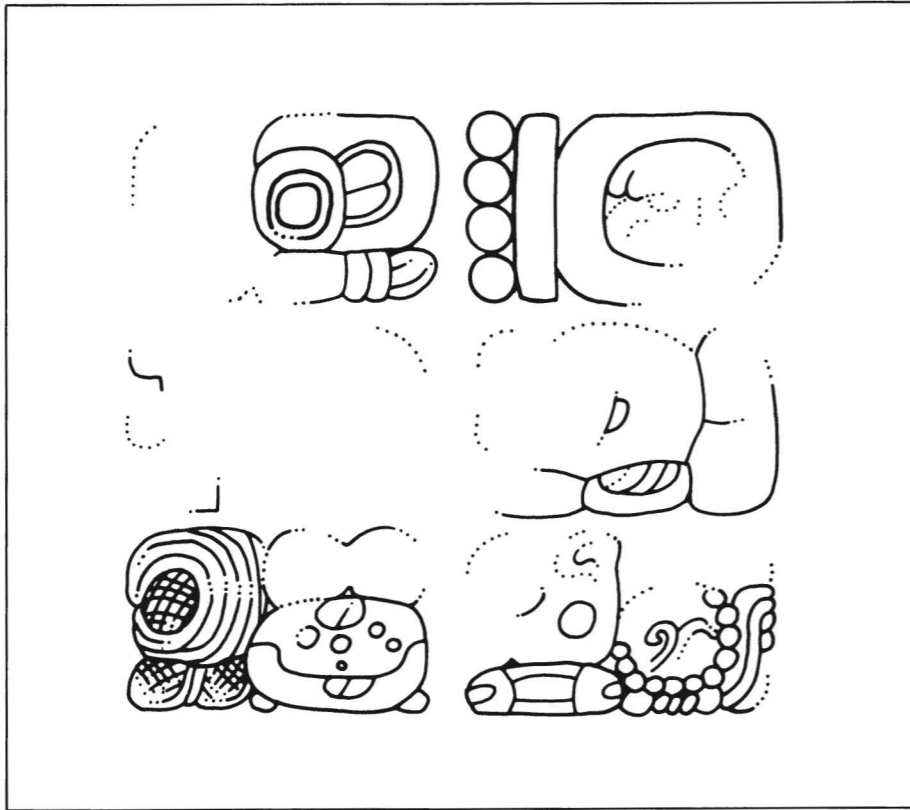


Fig. 16 Capture of El Pato lord (by Ruler 4 of Dos Pilas). Dos Pilas H.S. 3, Step 1 D1-D3. (Drawing by Stephen D. Houston.)

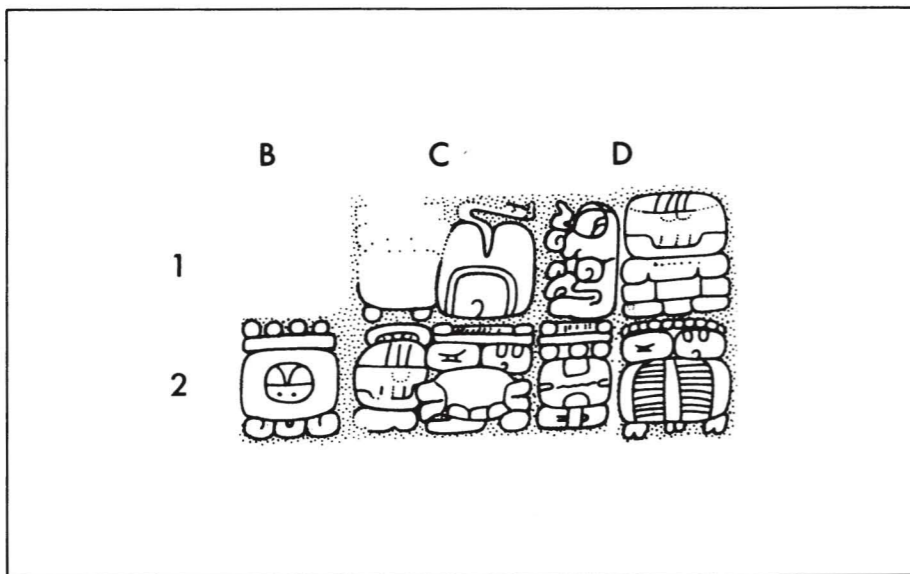


Fig. 17 War reference on Tamarandito H.S. 2, Step 3, B2b-D2. (Drawing by Peter Mathews.)

(1) both names refer to the same individual, who uses two different names; or (2) there are two lords from the Dos Pilas dynasty who are ruling at different sites apparently at the same time. We favor the latter interpretation, and see it as a further indication of the break-up of Dos Pilas' power towards the end of Cycle 9.

One problem with the ruler recorded at La Amelia, Chapayal, and Seibal lies in his association with two accession dates. The first occurs on La Amelia Hieroglyphic Stairway 1 (Figure 18a), the second on Seibal Stela 7 (Figure 18b). It may be that (1) the first event is an heir-designation rite and the second an accession, or (2) both events are accessions, but this ruler acceded at different dates at the various sites. Present evidence does not permit a choice between these possibilities.

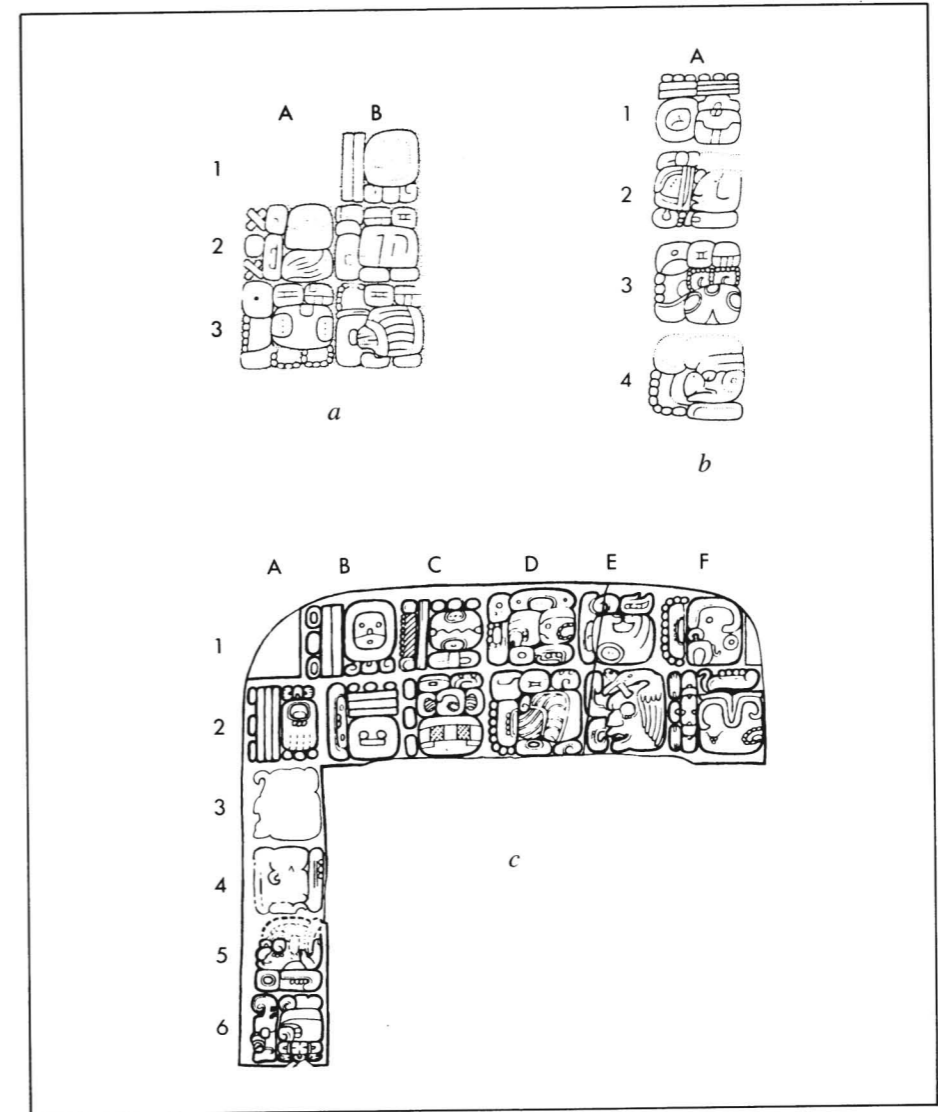


Fig. 18 Late rulers of the Dos Pilas dynasty. (a) La Amelia H.S. 1, Block 2, B1-B3 (9.15.19.0.4 ?); (b) Seibal Stela 7, A1-A4 (9.17.0.0.0); (c) Aguateca Stela 7, B1/A2-F2 (9.18.0.0.0). (Drawings by Peter Mathews [a,b] and Ian Graham [c].)

The La Amelia/Chapayal/Seibal ruler is chiefly of interest because his presence at Seibal testifies to the tenacious hold of the Dos Pilas dynasty on that site, a hold soon to be relinquished to lords using the native Seibal Emblem Glyph. Indeed, the recording of this Dos Pilas lord on Seibal Stela 7, at 9.18.10.0.0, is the latest surviving reference to a Dos Pilas lord; shortly after this date local rulers are back in power at Seibal. Dos Pilas' star, which had shone so brightly for over 150 years, was eclipsed.<sup>3</sup>

*Aguateca Stela 5: a problematical monument*

Before concluding this paper, it is necessary to discuss Aguateca Stela 5, a monument which is difficult to fit into our scheme (Figure 19). The text, although somewhat broken, seems perfectly clear. The scene corresponds to the latest date on the monument, 9.13.0.0.0, where a Maya ruler is performing a "hand-scattering" ceremony. The date is within Ruler 1's reign, and the person named in the text as performing the ceremony is quite clearly Ruler 1.

The problem lies in the fact that the opening date of Stela 5 is some fifteen years earlier than 9.13.0.0.0, and the event is fairly clearly the accession of a ruler with the same name as Ruler 4. Moreover, the style of the monument is closest to Aguateca Stela 1 – a Ruler 4 monument. There are two possible interpretations of all this: (1) Stela 5 mentions an earlier ruler with the same names and titles as Ruler 4. This would mean that the Aguateca ruler and Dos Pilas Ruler 1 were contemporaries, each ruling over his own site (although the presence also of Dos Pilas Ruler 1 on the Aguateca monument would perhaps imply that he was the overlord); or (2) that Ruler 4 is being referred to, and that he is recalling the name of his illustrious ancestor Ruler 1, but that the dates are working in some way we don't understand. The problem with the latter interpretation is that Ruler 4's accession date is clearly recorded on Aguateca Stela 1; the Stela 5 date is quite different.

We therefore favor the first interpretation, and would suggest that Aguateca Stela 5 was perhaps erected by Ruler 4 (which would account for its rather late style) to memorialize two of his predecessors in the Dos Pilas dynasty: he was the descendant (probably) of both of them, and the namesake of one of them.<sup>4</sup>

**Conclusions**

In conclusion, five rulers of the Dos Pilas dynasty have been documented. With the exception of some problems of interpretation concerning the dates 9.13.0.0.0 and after 9.16.9.15.3, the sequence is with few gaps in the 155 year span from 9.10.12.11.2 to 9.18.10.0.0. It represents – in epigraphic terms at least – an enviably complete account of Classic history in the greater Pasión area, and it should prove useful to future archaeological investigations at Dos Pilas and other Petexbatun sites. In order to facilitate such exploration, especially as regards the dating of some of the structures at Dos Pilas, Table 2 lists some correlations at Dos Pilas between structures and rulers. Note particularly Ruler 2's association with the "El Duende" pyramid, located about 1 kilometer east of the central plaza at Dos Pilas. All legible monuments in the "El Duende" group refer to war events, suggesting perhaps a specialized function for the pyramid and the range-type structures situated just south of it.

Aside from its completeness, the Dos Pilas sequence is of interest because it identifies the rulers of an aggressive dynasty which first prospered through military success and marriage alliances, and then weakened through the capture of its lord. In our view, this is the best-documented example from the Classic period of a dynasty intent on systematic territorial expansion.

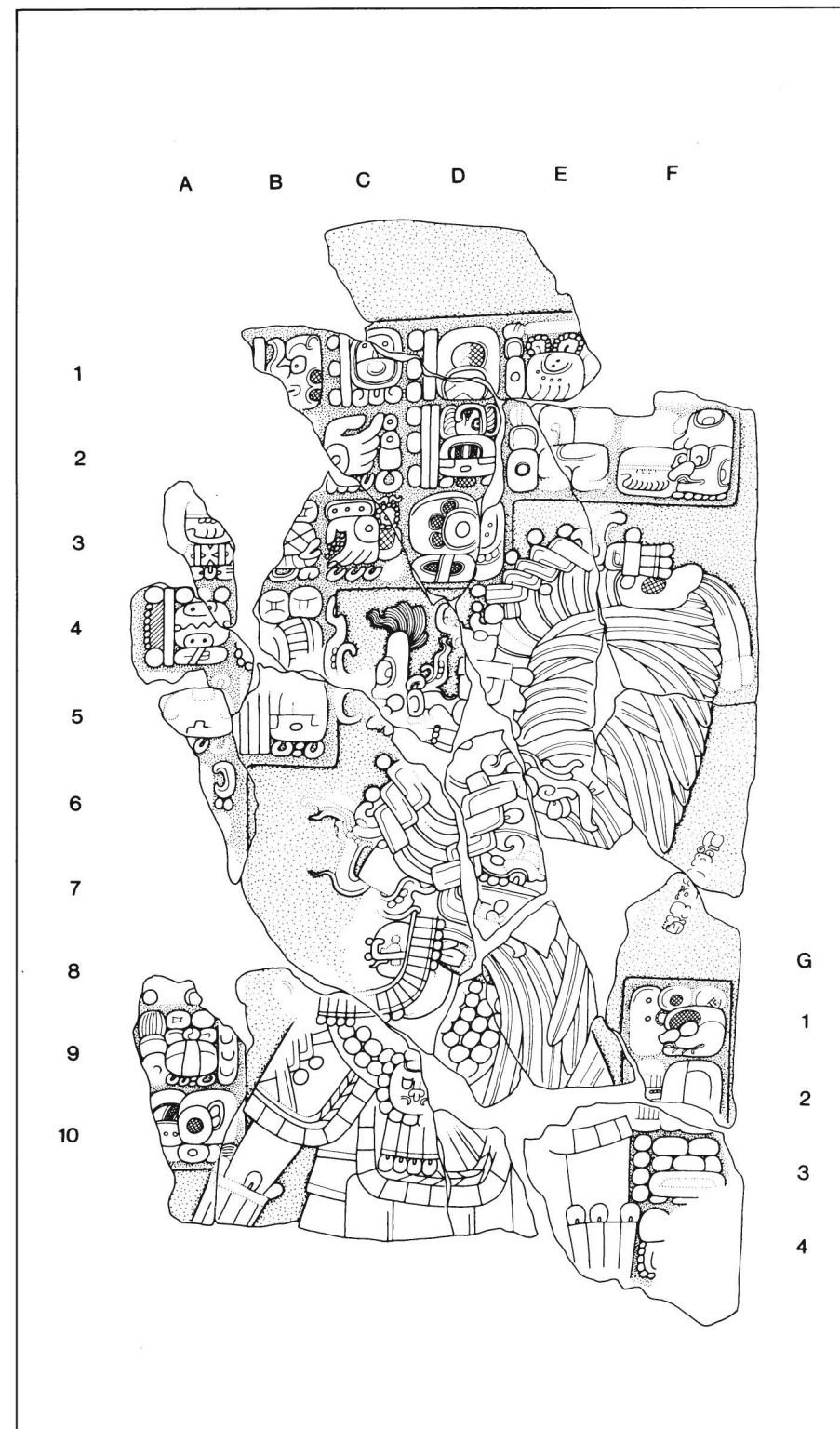


Fig. 19 Aguateca Stela 5. (Drawing by Ian Graham.)

**Table 2 Dos Pilas. Correlation of Monument, Ruler, and Structure.**

Monument	Latest Date	Ruler	Structure	
Stela 1	9.13.15. 0. 0	2	Plaza	— (various rulers)
Stela 2	9.15. 5. 0. 0?	3	Plaza	
Stela 3	—		Plaza	
Stela 4	9.15.10.13. 0?	4	Plaza	
Stela 5	9.15. 0. 0. 0	3	Plaza, near Str. 5	— Ruler 3
Stela 6	—	*3	Plaza, near Str. 5	
Stela 7	—	*3	Plaza, near Str. 5	
Stela 9	—		Str. 1	— Ruler 2?
Stela 10	—	*2	Str. 1	
H.S. 1	9.14.13. 0. 0	2	Str. 1	
Stela 11	(Plain Panel)		Near Str. 22	
Stela 12	—	1	Str. 2	— Ruler 1
Stela 13	9.12.13.17. 7	1	Str. 2	
Stela 14	—	*1	Str. 2	
Stela 15	—	*1	Str. 2	
Stela 16	—	*1	Str. 2	
H.S. 2	9.12.12.11. 2	1	Str. 2	
Stela 17	9.12.10. 0. 0	1	Str. 73	
Altar 8	—	*1	Str. 73	
Stela 18	—	*4	Str. 5	— Ruler 4
Stela 19	—	*4	Str. 6	
Stela 20	(probably not stela)		In quarry, in area of Str. 69 (not found in '84 field season)	
Stela 21	—		Between Str. 117 and 118	
Stela 22	9.14. 5. 0. 0	2	Str. 146, upper terrace	— Ruler 2
Stela 23	—	*2	Str. 146, upper terrace	
Stela 24	—		Str. 146, upper terrace	
Stela 25	9.14. 5. 3.14	2	Str. 146, lower terrace	
Stela 26	9.14.10. 0. 0	2	Str. 146, lower terrace	
H.S. 3	?	4	Str. 30	— Ruler 4
H.B. 1	9.15. 9. 9. 0	3	Str. 15	— Ruler 3
H.S. 4?	—	*3	Str. 15	

— no date survives

\* attribution by style of glyphic clue

Notes: St. 18, 19, and 21 are probably reset. H.S. 1 and perhaps H.S. 2 were never finished.

**Footnotes**

1. We would like to thank Ian Graham for the use of his excellent field sketches; also for permission to publish some of his drawings. Houston also wishes to acknowledge support from the Doherty Foundation, Sigma Xi, and Yale University, for his fieldwork at Arroyo de Piedra, Dos Pilas, La Amelia, and Tamarindito. This work was done under a permit kindly granted by Lic. Edna Nuñez de Rodas, Director of the Institute of Anthropology and History of Guatemala. We would also like to draw the reader's attention to two other papers on the subject of Dos Pilas and Aguateca (Perry 1981; Johnston 1985).

It should be noted that the designations of the Dos Pilas monuments will very likely be changed in the future, in publications of Ian Graham.

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Quinta Mesa Redonda de Palenque, Chiapas, Mexico, in June of 1983.

2. It should be noted that the structure of the Stela 2 text is somewhat unusual, in that Ruler 2's name appears between the local lord's glyphic titles and his parentage statement. A parallel construction to this is on Lacanha Lintel 1 (Figure 12b; Coe and Benson 1966, Figure 12), where a local lord, "Ah-zac-'muluc'-le-chuen" (see Mathews 1980:69-71), mentions his overlord, "Knotted-eye Jaguar" of Bonampak, before recording his own parentage. The relationship glyph between Ruler 2 and the local lord on Arroyo de Piedra Stela 2, *ih-ah-wa (ih-ahaw, "his lord")*, also separates the names of lords from Bonampak and Tonina on an unprovenanced column altar (Figure 12c; Liman and Durbin 1975; John Justeson, personal communication 1984 for the reading *ih*). The reference to Dos Pilas Ruler 2 on Arroyo de Piedra Stela 2 is a posthumous one; there is a possibility that the Tonina lord on the column altar was also dead at the time of carving of that monument – certainly he was in his sixties.

3. There is some evidence at Dos Pilas for the resetting and alteration of carved stone monuments during the final years of the Classic period (cf. Satterthwaite's discussion of similar evidence at Tikal [Satterthwaite 1958]). Among the clearest examples of this are Dos Pilas Stelae 18 and 19. Apparently these were once free-standing stelae that were later trimmed of their backs and of the upper portions of their hieroglyphic texts; the stelae were subsequently positioned as wall panels on opposing sides of the Dos Pilas ballcourt (Structures 5 and 6). The late form of the Emblem Glyph on Stelae 18 and 19 (little else is recognizable in the inscriptions) indicates a relatively late date for the resetting, perhaps as late as the Terminal Classic.

Another example of alteration is Dos Pilas Stela 21 and its associate, Altar 9. Stela 21 has no butt, or has been dispossessed of one, and seems to rest directly on a layer of humus, evidently without firm footing in subsoil. Altar 9 shares with Stela 21 a curious history of use. It was engraved with concentric, spoked circles, vaguely reminiscent of abstract carvings on Terminal Classic altars at Seibal. The altar later received two animal figures, most likely representing a jaguar and a spider monkey (the sequence of carving is implied by the partial obliteration of the circles in preparation for the figures). The placement of Stela 21 and possibly the recarving of Altar 9 appear to be late as well – not only because of the parallels with Seibal, but also because of the careless treatment of these monuments. All other Dos Pilas carvings display fine finish and careful positioning.

The proposed late date of such alterations is consistent with other evidence of late occupation at Dos Pilas, most notably, poorly fashioned stone walls circle both Dos Pilas' plaza and the "El Duende" pyramid (Structure 146), apparently in disregard of established configurations of mound groups. If the cavalier treatment of the Stelae 18 and 19 inscriptions is any indication, perhaps the builders of these walls were no longer ruled by members of the Dos Pilas dynasty. Of course, this is impossible to prove in the absence of glyphic records at Dos Pilas from the Terminal Classic period.

4. Dos Pilas Stela 4 may also refer to the early ruler with Ruler 4's names and titles. The text of Stela 4 records both Ruler 4's (or his predecessor's) name and a date 3 Ahau 18 Uo, which may be placed at either 9.12.18.0.0 or 9.15.10.13.0 in the Long Count. The first date accords with the reign of Ruler 4's putative predecessor; the second fits within Ruler 4's reign. The text of Stela 4 is poorly preserved, and therefore difficult to decipher with any precision, but some support for the second of these date possibilities lies in the presence of a possible "half-period" sign below the Initial Series. This sign may indicate an Aguatic date of 9.15.10.13.0. In any case, more fragments of Dos Pilas Stela 4 and Aguateca Stela 5 need to be recovered in order to solve this difficult epigraphic problem (there are indications of long texts on the lower right side of both monuments).

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