

# THE DOS PILAS-TIKAL WARS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF DOS PILAS HIEROGLYPHIC STAIRWAY 4

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*October 13, 2002*

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## **Introduction**

Hieroglyphic Stairway 4 has survived in nearly pristine condition. Of the original 140 carved glyph blocks only nine have suffered too much erosion to be properly transcribed or are simply broken off. Hieroglyphic Stair 4 has five steps and each step has 28 glyph blocks. In contrast to previous monument designation and numeration (cf. Houston 1993), in this essay the top step of Hieroglyphic Stairway 4 is referred to as Step V while the bottom step is referred to as Step I. This new numeration follows the one established for Hieroglyphic Stairway 2 (cf. Boot 2002; Fahsen 2002). Like Hieroglyphic Stairway 2, each step of this stairway also contains an independent clause; as such the collocations on each step are referred to as A1 to N2 (cf. Houston 1993).

For each step a full transcription and transliteration into Classic Maya is offered, followed by a calendrical calculation and a free translation followed by a section with comments. At the end of this essay, a chronological overview of the events recorded on this stairway is presented as well as some concluding remarks.

All Classic Maya dates are converted to Christian dates (Julian calendar) using the correlation constant 584,285 (Lounsbury 1982: 166). In this essay no provisional complex vowels or /h-j/ distinction are indicated. Month and day names follow Landa's 1566 list, although it is clear that during the Classic period most months had another name (e.g. Pop was known as either K'anhalab' or K'anhalaw), which may also be the case with the majority of the day names (e.g. the 15th day, Men in the Yucatec calendar vs. Tz'ikin in the Classic Maya calendar). Classic Maya numerals are written alphabetically following my current provisional reconstructions.

## **Abbreviations and Symbols used**

CR	Calendar Round
DN	Distance Number
HS	Hieroglyphic Stairway
LC	Long Count
SLS	Supplementary/Lunar Series
*	reconstruction

## Step V

(Demarest 1997: Fig. 3; Houston 1993: Fig. 4-11)

A1	<b>tzi-ka-HAB'</b> -[PATRON.OF.MUWAN]	<i>tzik-a(h) hab'</i> [patron of <i>muwan</i> ]
B1	<b>9-PERIOD.B'AK'TUN-na?</b>	<i>b'alun chan</i>
A2	<b>12-PERIOD.K'ATUN</b>	<i>lahcha' winikhab'</i>
B2	<b>12-PERIOD.TUN-b'a?</b>	<i>lahcha' hab'</i>
C1	<b>11-PERIOD.WINAL-la</b>	<i>b'uluch winal</i>
D1	<b>2-PERIOD.K'IN-ni</b>	<i>cha' k'in</i>
C2	<b>2-DAY.'IK'</b>	<i>cha' ik'</i>
D2	<b>9-?- 'e-?</b>	<i>b'alun</i> [?]
E1	<b>?-HUN?-?</b>	[?]
F1	<b>20-hu-li-ya</b>	<i>winik hul-iy-Ø</i>
E2	<b>5-K'AL-ja-?</b>	<i>hob' k'al-ah</i> [?]
F2	<b>SAK-'o-?</b>	<i>sak</i> [?]
G1	<b>'u-[CH'OK-ko]K'AB'A'</b>	<i>u-ch'ok-k'ab'a'</i>
H1	<b>20-10</b>	<i>winik lahun</i>
G2	<b>10-MONTH.MUWAN</b>	<i>lahun muwan</i>
H2	<b>TZUTZ-yi</b>	<i>tzutz-uy</i>
I1	<b>'u-3-TAL-la</b>	<i>u-hux-tal</i>
J1	<b>'u-PERIOD.K'ATUN</b>	<i>u-winikhab'</i>
I2	<b>'i-'AK'T-TAH-ha</b>	<i>i-ak't-ah</i>
J2	<b>ti-3-'a</b>	<i>ti hux</i>
K1	<b>he?-na</b>	<i>ahen(?)</i>
L1	<b>CAVE?-na</b>	<i>ch'en</i>
K2	<b>BENT.LEGS-NAL-la</b>	[?] <i>nal</i>
L2	<b>'u-NAB'-NAL-[K'IN]chi</b>	<i>unab'nal k'inich</i>
M1	<b>'a-BIRD?-ya?-AX?-STONE</b>	<i>ah</i> [?]
N1	<b>b'a-la-ha</b>	<i>b'alah</i>
M2	<b>SKY-na-K'AWIL</b>	<i>chan k'awil</i>
N2	<b>K'UH-MUT-'AHAW</b>	<i>k'uhul mutal ahaw</i>

### Calculation

LC recorded with SLS and CR

09.12.12.11.02

2 Ik' 10 Muwan

December 4 A.D. 684

### Translation

“revered was the year-count with the patron of Muwan. (On) 9.12.12.11.2, 2 Ik' 10 Muwan, completed was the 3rd ordinal count of his *k'atun*. Then he danced with (the) Hux Ahen(?) Ch'en, [?] Nal, Unab'nal K'inich, Ah [?], B'alah Chan K'awil, God-like lord of Mutal”

### Comments

Step V opens with a LC with an extended SLS between the CR. On this day, 2 Ik' 10 Muwan in A.D. 684, the third *k'atun* is completed. This is exactly the 3.0.0.0 anniversary of B'alah Chan K'awil's birth, now known to have been on \*9.9.12.11.2, 2 Ik' 5 \*Keh, or October 15, A.D. 625, as recorded on Step VI of the central section of Hieroglyphic Stairway 2 (cf. Boot 2002; Fahren 2002).

On the occasion of his three *k'atun* anniversary, B'alah Chan K'awil performed a dance probably with some kind of god-statuettes (of Hux Ahen Ch'en). In his title sequence occurs the title Unab'nal K'inich, a title known from Mutal (Tikal) and intricately associated with the rulers of that site. Here B'alah Chan K'awil identifies himself as Unab'nal K'inich and thus identifies himself as a true Mutal (Dos Pilas) lord. A possible title of origin occurs in this title sequence too, but most of the signs are difficult to identify. The title sequence ends with K'uhul Mutal Ahaw, God-like lord of Mutal (Dos Pilas).

#### Step IV

(Demarest 1997: Fig. 3; Houston 1993: Fig. 4-11)

A1	<b>tzi-ka-HAB'</b> -[PATRON.OF.SOTZ']	<i>tzik-a(h) hab'</i> [patron of <i>sotz'</i> ]
B1	<b>9-PERIOD.B'AK'TUN</b>	<i>b'alun pi(k)</i>
A2	<b>12-PERIOD.K'ATUN</b>	<i>lahcha' winikhab'</i>
B2	<b>10-PERIOD.TUN-b'a?</b>	<i>lahun hab'</i>
C1	<b>0-PERIOD.WINAL-la</b>	<i>mih winal</i>
D1	<b>0-PERIOD.K'IN-ni</b>	<i>mih k'in</i>
C2	<b>9-DAY.'AHAW</b>	<i>b'alun ahaw</i>
D2	<b>?-[K'IN?]-TI'-HUN</b>	[?] <i>ti' hun</i>
E1	<b>2-'e-wa-20-ya</b>	<i>cha' e'ew winik-h-iy</i>
F1	<b>HUL-li</b>	<i>hul-i</i>
E2	<b>3-K'AL-ha-?</b>	<i>hux k'al-ah</i> [?]
F2	<b>TE'-?</b>	<i>te'</i> [?]
G1	<b>'u-[ch'o]K'AB'A'</b>	<i>u-ch'o(k)-k'ab'a'</i>
H1	<b>20-10</b>	<i>winik lahun</i>
G2	<b>18-MONTH.SOTZ'</b>	<i>waxaklahun sotz'</i>
H2	<b>'u-ti</b>	<i>ut</i>
I1	<b>[TAN]LAM</b>	<i>tanlam</i>
J1	<b>PAT-la-ha</b>	<i>pat-l-ah</i>
I2	<b>K'AN-na-TUN-ni</b>	<i>k'antun</i>
J2	<b>STAIRWAY</b>	<i>eb'</i>
K1	[destroyed]	[?]
L1	[destroyed]	[?]
K2	<b>ye-b'a</b>	<i>y-eb'-a(l)</i>
L2	<b>?-?-NAL?</b>	[?] <i>nal(?)</i>
M1	[destroyed]	[* <i>b'ahte'</i> ]
N1	[destroyed]	[* <i>pitzal</i> ]
M2	[destroyed]	[* <i>b'alah chan k'awil</i> ]
N2	[destroyed]	[* <i>k'uhul mutal ahaw</i> ]

Calculation

LC recorded with SLS and CR

09.12.10.00.00

9 Ahaw 18 Sotz'

May 7

A.D. 682

## Translation

“revered was the year-count with the patron of Sotz’. (On) 9.12.10.0.0, 9 Ahaw 18 Sotz’, came to pass the half-period, constructed was the *k’antun eb’* “bench-stone stairway,” [...], the stairway of [?] Nal, [B’ahte’, Pitzal, B’alah Chan K’awil, God-like lord of Mutal]”

## Comments

Step IV also opens with a LC and an extended SLS between the CR date. On this half-period date the construction was completed of the *k’antun eb’*, the “bench-stone stairway,” a direct reference to the actual stairway itself. Unfortunately, the actual proper name of the stairway is destroyed (at K1-L1), but the stairway itself is identified as belonging to a person (*y-eb’-a(l)* “it is the stairway of ...”). The vestiges of the collocation at position L2 may provide the surviving outlines of a collocation also to be found at HS 4, Step II: J2 and HS 4, Step I: L2 (see below), a personal name or title of B’alah Chan K’awil. If correct, the destroyed glyph blocks may have revealed the nominal and titles for B’alah Chan K’awil and this text would have identified him as the patron or owner of the stairway.

## Step III

(Demarest 1997: Fig. 3; Houston 1993: Fig. 4-11)

A1	<b>4-DAY.’AK’B’AL</b>	<i>chan ak’b’al</i>
B1	<b>11-MONTH.MUWAN</b>	<i>b’uluch muwan</i>
A2	<b>WAR[EARTH]</b>	[war](-Vy) <i>chab’</i>
B2	<b>B’ALAH-SKY-na</b>	<i>b’alah chan</i>
C1	<b>K’AWIL-la</b>	<i>k’awil</i>
D1	<b>’u-EARTH-hi-ya</b>	<i>u-chab’-h-iy-Ø</i>
C2	<b>NUN[’u]HOL</b>	<i>nun uhol</i>
D2	<b>CHAK-ki</b>	<i>chak</i>
E1	<b>MUT-la-NAL-li</b>	<i>mutalnal</i>
F1	<b>13-tzu[ku]</b>	<i>huxlahun tzuk</i>
E2	<b>9-DAY.’IMIX</b>	<i>b’alun imix</i>
F2	<b>4-MONTH.PAX</b>	<i>chan pax</i>
G1	<b>WAR[EARTH]</b>	[war](-Vy) <i>chab’</i>
H1	<b>pu-lu-li</b>	<i>pulil</i>
G2	<b>’u-EARTH-hi-ya</b>	<i>u-chab’-h-iy-Ø</i>
H2	<b>yu-[ku]no?-ma</b>	<i>yuknom</i>
I1	<b>CAVE?-na</b>	<i>ch’en</i>
J1	<b>LOK’-yi</b>	<i>lok’-oy</i>
I2	<b>NUN-’u-HOL[CHAK]</b>	<i>nun uhol chak</i>
J2	<b>18-’e-wa</b>	<i>waxaklahun e’ew</i>
K1	<b>1-PERIOD.WINAL-hi-ya</b>	<i>hun winal-h-iy</i>
L1	<b>5-PERIOD.TUN-ya</b>	<i>hob’ hab’(-h-i)y</i>
K2	<b>XAN?-ya</b>	<i>xan(-i)y</i>
L2	<b>B’ALAH-SKY-na</b>	<i>b’alah chan</i>
M1	<b>K’AWIL-[eroded]</b>	<i>k’awil [k’uhul mutal ahaw]</i>
N1	[eroded]	[ <i>ut-iy-Ø</i> ]
M2	<b>DRAGON-HA’</b>	“dragon” <i>ha’</i>
N2	[eroded]-WATER.SCROLL	[?] [tamarindito-arroyo de piedra?]

Calculation

CR	09.12.00.08.03	4 Ak'b'al 11 Muwan	December 8	A.D. 672
CR	09.12.05.10.01	9 Imix 4 Pax	December 20	A.D. 677
DN	<u>00.00.05.01.18</u> -			
new CR	09.12.00.08.03	*4 *Ak'b'al *11 *Muwan	December 8,	A.D. 672

Translation

“(On) \*9.12.0.8.3, 4 Ak'b'al 11 Muwan, war descended upon the land of B'alah Chan K'awil; he supervised it, Nun Uhol Chak Mutal person, Huxlahun Tzuk “(He of) Thirteen Provinces.” (On) \*9.12.5.10.11, 9 Imix 4 Pax, war descended upon the land of Pulil; he supervised it, Yuknom Ch'en, escaped Nun Uhol Chak. 18 days, 1 winal, and 5 years (earlier) (on \*9.12.0.8.3, \*4 \*Ak'b'al \*11 \*Muwan), went away B'alah Chan K'awil [...] Dragon Water [...] [Tamarindito-Arroyo de Piedra]”

Comments

Step III opens with the war which in A.D. 672 descended upon the land of B'alah Chan K'awil, a war supervised by Nun Uhol Chak, God-like lord of Mutal (Tikal), but here only referred to as a Mutal person (*nal*, an agentivizing suffix, “person, member”). Some five years later, in A.D. 677, war descended upon the land of Pulil (actually a site), a war supervised by Yuknom Ch'en of Kanal (Calakmul). As the text indicates, Nun Uhol Chak escaped. The site of Pulil is also mentioned in connection to the same war in A.D. 677 in the text of Dos Pilas HS 2 (West, Step IV: C1b), but there it is spelled [PUL]li.

A DN takes the historical information back to the opening date and informs us that on the day war descended upon the land of B'alah Chan K'awil, he went away (*xan* “to go; to walk”). Although the very last collocation is partially destroyed, the vestiges of the remaining glyph sign may indicate that B'alah Chan K'awil went to Tamarindito or Arroyo de Piedra (the toponyms of these particular sites contain a water scroll as a main sign, cf. Houston 1993: Figure 4-2f).

**Step II**

(Demarest 1997: Fig. 3; Houston 1993: Fig. 4-11)

A1	<b>9-'e-wa</b>	<i>b'alun e'ew</i>
B1	<b>4-PERIOD.WINAL-hi-ya</b>	<i>chan winal-h-iy</i>
A2	<b>'u-ti-ya</b>	<i>ut-iy</i>
B2	<b>6-DAY-'AHAW</b>	<i>wak ahaw</i>
C1	<b>13-ma-ka</b>	<i>huxlahun mak</i>
D1	<b>wi-5-TUN</b>	<i>wi(l) hob' tun</i>
C2	<b>'i-'u-ti</b>	<i>i-ut</i>
D2	<b>4-DAY.MULUK</b>	<i>chan muluk</i>
E1	<b>2-MONTH.KUMK'UH</b>	<i>cha' kumk'uh</i>
F1	<b>hu-b'u-yi</b>	<i>hub'-uy</i>
E2	<b>'u-to-k'a</b>	<i>u-tok'</i>
F2	<b>'u-PAKAL-la</b>	<i>u-pakal</i>
G1	<b>la-ma</b>	<i>lam</i>

H1	<b>na-hi?</b>	<i>nah</i>
G2	<b>K'AWIL-la</b>	<i>k'awil</i>
H2	<b>'u-EARTH-hi-ya</b>	<i>u-chab'-h-iy-Ø</i>
I1	<b>b'a-la-ha</b>	<i>b'alah</i>
J1	<b>SKY.BIRD-na</b>	<i>chan</i>
I2	<b>K'AWIL-la</b>	<i>k'awil</i>
J2	<b>?-?-NAL</b>	<i>[?] nal</i>
K1	<b>B'AH-TE'</b>	<i>b'ahte'</i>
L1	<b>pi-tzi</b>	<i>pitzal</i>
K2	<b>'u-NAB'-NAL-[K'IN]chi</b>	<i>unab'nal k'inich</i>
L2	<b>K'UH-MUT-'AHAW</b>	<i>k'uhul mutal ahaw</i>
M1	<b>ya-'AHAW-wa</b>	<i>y-ahaw</i>
N1	<b>yu-ku-ma</b>	<i>yuk(no)m</i>
M2	<b>CAVE.BIRD?</b>	<i>ch'en</i>
N2	<b>K'UH-ka-SERPENT-'AHAW</b>	<i>k'uhul kanal ahaw</i>

#### Calculation

DN	00.00.00.04.09 +				
CR	<u>09.10.15.00.00</u>	6 Ahaw 13 Mak	November 7	A.D. 647	
new CR	09.10.15.04.09	4 Muluk 2 Kumk'uh	February 4	A.D. 648	

#### Translation

“9 days and 4 months (since) came to pass \*9.10.15.0.0, 6 Ahaw 13 Mak, the last 5-tun, then came to pass \*9.10.15.4.9, 4 Muluk 2 Kumk'uh, brought down (were) the flint(s) and the shield(s) of Lam Nah K'awil, he supervised it, B'alah Chan K'awil, [?] Nal, B'ahte', Pitzal, Unab'nal K'inich, God-like lord of Mutal, (he is) the (vassal) lord of Yuknom Ch'en, God-like lord of Kanal”

#### Comments

The DN is a perfect match between the two CR dates. The first CR is simply the last 5-tun ending in A.D. 647 and the DN takes the chronology to a date in A.D. 648. On the date 4 Muluk 2 Kumk'uh the flint(s) and shield(s) of Lam Nah K'awil are brought down, supervised by B'alah Chan K'awil. The date 4 Muluk 2 Kumk'uh also occurs on HS 2, East, Step VI, associated with the death (*cham-i*) of a person named [?] Nah K'awil and entitled Mutal lord. The spelling **la-ma-na-hi?-K'AWIL-la** actually may be a syllabic spelling of the nominal as recorded on HS 2. If correct, this would mean that not only the flint(s) and shield(s) of Lam Nah K'awil were brought down (i.e. his army was defeated), but that Lam Nah K'awil also died on this day. This would further mean that Tikal suffered a severe defeat prior to the war of A.D. 679 (HS 4, Step I & HS 2, West, Step III), as Lam Nah K'awil is clearly identified as a Mutal (thus probably Tikal) lord.

The text on this step ends in a title sequence, again identifying B'alah Chan K'awil with the Tikal supreme dynastic title, Unab'nal K'inich, but at the same time also as the (vassal) lord of Yuknom Ch'en of Kanal (Calakmul). The vassalship of B'alah Chan K'awil to Kanal (Calakmul) apparently was forged after the war on Dragon Water, as supervised by Yuknom Ch'en in A.D. 658 (HS 2, East, Step V).

**Step I**

(Demarest 1997: Fig. 3; Houston 1993: Fig. 4-11)

A1	<b>1-wi</b> -PERIOD.K'ATUN	<i>hun winikhab'</i>
B1	<b>11</b> -PERIOD.TUN	<i>b'uluch hab'</i>
A2	<b>8-12</b> -PERIOD.WINAL	<i>waxak [k'in] lahcha' winal</i>
B2	<b>'u-ti-ya</b>	<i>ut-iy</i>
C1	<b>4</b> -DAY.MULUK	<i>chan muluk</i>
D1	<b>'i-'u-ti</b>	<i>i-ut</i>
C2	<b>11</b> -DAY.KAB'AN	<i>b'uluch kab'an</i>
D2	<b>10</b> -MONTH.SOTZ'	<i>lahun sotz'</i>
E1	<b>hu-b'u-yi</b>	<i>hub'-uy</i>
F1	<b>'u-to-k'a</b>	<i>u-tok'</i>
E2	<b>'u-pa-ka-la</b>	<i>u-pakal</i>
F2	<b>nu-na</b>	<i>nun</i>
G1	<b>[u]</b> HOL	<i>uhol</i>
H1	<b>CHAK</b> -ki	<i>chak</i>
G2	<b>'u-EARTH</b> -hi-ya	<i>u-chab'-h-iy-Ø</i>
H2	<b>b'a-la-ha</b>	<i>b'alah</i>
I1	SKY.BIRD- <b>na</b>	<i>chan</i>
J1	<b>K'AWIL</b> -la	<i>k'awil</i>
I2	<b>'u-SERPENT</b> -nu	<i>u-chan</i>
J2	<b>TAH-MO'</b> -o	<i>tahal mo'</i>
K1	<b>'u-B'AH</b> ['AN]-hi	<i>u-b'ah-il an</i>
L1	<b>'EK'</b> -?	<i>ek' [?]</i>
K2	<b>?-HUN</b> -?	<i>[?] hun [?]</i>
L2	<b>?-?-NAL</b>	<i>[?] nal</i>
M1	<b>3-wi</b> -PERIOD.K'ATUN	<i>hux winikhab'</i>
N1	<b>'AHAW</b> -wa	<i>ahaw</i>
M2	<b>B'AH-TE'</b>	<i>b'ahte'</i>
N2	<b>pi-tzi-la</b>	<i>pitzal</i>

Calculation

DN	00.01.11.12.08 +			
CR	<u>09.10.15.04.09</u>	4 Muluk *2 *Kumk'uh	February 4	A.D. 648
new CR	09.12.06.16.17	11 Kab'an 10 Sotz'	April 30	A.D. 679

Translation

"1 *k'atun*, 11 years, 8 days, and 12 months (since) came to pass \*9.10.15.4.9, 4 Muluk (2 Kumk'uh), then came to pass \*9.12.6.16.17, 11 Kab'an 10 Sotz', brought down were the flint(s) and the shield(s) of Nun Uhol Chak; he supervised it, B'alah Chan K'awil, the guardian of Tahal Mo', (he is) the image being like Ek' [?] [?] Hun [?] [?] Nal, Three K'atun Lord, B'ahte' Pitzal"

Comments

A long DN covering more than 31 years connects the CR 4 Muluk (2 Kumk'uh), the date of the defeat (and death) of the army of Lam Nah K'awil of Mutal (Tikal), with the CR 11

Kab'an 10 Sotz', the date of the ultimate defeat (and death) of the army of Nun Uhol Chak of Mutal (Tikal). The war reference is simple, as it refers to the bringing down of the flint(s) and shield(s) of Nun Uhol Chak. HS 2, West, Step III, refers to the same event, but on that particular step the defeat of the Tikal army is further stressed by the sentence *nab'-ah u-k'ik'-el witz-ah u-hol-il* "made into a pool was the blood, made into a pile like a mountain were the heads" (cf. Boot 2002; Fahsen 2002).

The text on this step ends in the nominal of B'alah Chan K'awil, entitled "Guardian of Tahal Mo'," his most important prisoner. After this statement follows a formulaic expression *u-b'ah-il an* which is related to the actual impersonation of deities (cf. Houston and Stuart 1996; if a picture would have accompanied this phrase, B'alah Chan K'awil would have been dressed as this deity). Unfortunately, a large part of the name of the deity cannot be deciphered at this moment. The last five collocations provide titles intimately associated with the now 59 year old B'alah Chan K'awil, like Hux Winikhab' Ahaw ("Three K'atun Lord"), B'ahte' ("First or Head Tree"), and Pitzal ("Ballplayer").

### A Chronology of Events: Hieroglyphic Stairway 4

The five steps of HS 4 contain seven important dates. In chronological order, these are the dates and their associated events:

<i>Date</i>	<i>LC and CR</i>	<i>Event(s)</i>
November 7, A.D. 647	09.10.15.00.00, 6 Ahaw 13 Mak	last 5-tun
February 4, A.D. 648	09.10.15.04.09, 4 Muluk 2 Kumk'uh	bringing down of <i>tok' pakal</i> of Lam Nah K'awil (of Mutal), supervised by B'alah Chan K'awil, vassal lord of Yuknom Ch'en of Kanal (Calakmul)
December 8, A.D. 672	09.12.00.08.03, 4 Ak'b'al 11 Muwan	war descended upon the land of B'alah Chan K'awil, supervised by Nun Uhol Chak of Mutal (Tikal); B'alah Chan K'awil went away
December 20, A.D. 677	09.12.05.10.01, 9 Imix 4 Pax	war descended upon the land of Pulil, supervised by B'alah Chan K'awil; Nun Uhol Chak escaped
April 30, A.D. 679	09.12.06.16.17, 11 Kab'an 10 Sotz'	bringing down of <i>tok' pakal</i> of Nun Uhol Chak of Mutal (Tikal), supervised by B'alah Chan K'awil
May 7, A.D. 682	09.12.10.00.00, 9 Ahaw 18 Sotz'	half-period; constructed was the stairway (of B'alah Chan K'awil)
December 4, A.D. 684	09.12.12.11.02, 2 Ik' 10 Muwan	completion of third <i>k'atun</i> of B'alah Chan K'awil; B'alah Chan K'awil performed a dance ceremony

Dos Pilas HS 2 and HS 4 provide some of the most vivid descriptions of internecine events between A.D. 625 and A.D. 684. The discovery of the new steps of HS 2 puts the events portrayed on HS 4 in a new perspective. The vassalship of B'alah Chan K'awil to Yuknom Ch'en of Kanal (Calakmul) was already known, but that Kanal (Calakmul) first waged war on "Dragon Water" (Dos Pilas) before B'alah Chan K'awil pledged his allegiance was something



previously unknown and actually unexpected. The chronology of HS 4 ends in A.D. 684. As Dos Pilas Panel 7 informs (cf. Houston 1993: Fig. 5-11), in A.D. 686, B'alah Chan K'awil witnessed the accession of Yuknom Yich'ak K'ak' at Nab'tunich (**NAB'-[TUN]chi**, formerly Chiknab'), one of the main Calakmul toponyms. The vassalship to Calakmul he proclaimed on HS 4, Step II, thus was continued during the reign of the next Calakmul *ahaw* or lord.

The bloody defeat and death of Nun Uhol Chak of Mutal (Tikal) at the hands of B'alah Chan K'awil of Mutal (Dos Pilas) and Yuknom Ch'en of Kanal (Calakmul) was to be avenged at a later time. In A.D. 695, Mutal (Tikal) ruler Hasaw Chan K'awil brought down the *tok' pakal* of Yuknom Yich'ak K'ak' of Kanal (Calakmul), son of Yuknom Ch'en, as recorded in the text on Lintel 3 of Temple I (Structure 5D-1-1st). Hasaw Chan K'awil was the son of Nun Uhol Chak (Burial 116, MT 44 [bone needle]; Temple I, Lintel 3). In A.D. 711, some 32 years after the defeat of Nun Uhol Chak of Mutal (Tikal) and 16 years after his defeat of Yuknom Yich'ak K'ak' of Kanal (Calakmul), on Stela 16 Hasaw Chan K'awil proudly boasted the Tikal dynastic title (U)nab'nal K'inich. In the text on this stela he also was entitled K'uhul Mutal Ahaw "God-like lord of Mutal (Tikal)" and additionally he carried the title Hux Winikhab' Kalomte' "Three K'atun Kalomte'," with *kalomte'* (or *chakte'*, a title related to GI) one of the most prestigious and ancient titles linked to ultimate and supreme dynastic power. After a dark period of some 135 years (as it probably started in A.D. 562, with the Tikal defeat at the hands of Caracol, supervised by Calakmul), Tikal was back in the business of controlling trade routes, accumulating external wealth, and building or forging political alliances. But that is another story.

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**First version: October 4, 2002**

**Revised & additions: October 5-6, 2002**

**Latest revision & additions: October 13, 2002**