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THE GODS XOLOTL AND TLALOC WITH SACRIFICIAL AND FIRE-MAKING SYMBOLS.
WHEN the rainbow-coloured records of aboriginal America were given to that fire which was no brighter than themselves, when the flame-like manuscripts of Mexico and Guatemala dissolved in living flame, an art and tradition fantastically and remotely beautiful were consumed on the pyre of human superstition and intolerance. No mystical secrets, no occult wisdom, expired in the smoke of that holocaust, but a delicate and elfin graciousness, a rich and grotesque imagery, a kaleidoscopic page of history, were deliberately torn out of human record and almost irretrievably lost. Fantasy was conquered by fanaticism, the bizarre by bigotry, for the glowing chronicles in which the Aztec and the Maya had for generations taken a strange and mystical delight were to the conquering Spaniards only "the picture-books of the devil."

But a civilisation so brilliant and complex as that of Tropical America was not without its resources, and as displaying a salient and peculiar phase of human development its literature might not so easily be quenched. When Archbishop Zumarraga decreed the wholesale destruction of its chronicles and sacred writings he could, of course, apply his ukase only to the royal libraries and to such collections as his agents were able to seize upon. Many examples of Aztec literary art survived. But for generations these were carefully concealed by their pious owners, or else discovered and collected by more enlightened Europeans who carried them westward to enrich the libraries of the Old World. Of these poor waifs and strays some forty odd survive, lying like dead flowers on the borders of the world’s garden of literature, unheeded, save by eyes sympathetic to their inanimate and plaintive loveliness.
The history and adventures of many of these strange books, whose writers were also painters, are among the greatest romances of literature. It was frequently their fate to fall into the hands of those who, utterly ignorant of their origin and significance, took them for nursery books, the painted fables of fairy-tale. Others rotted in Continental libraries until, through the action of damp or the attacks of vermin, only their broadest details might be descried unless by the most painstaking scholarship. But, little by little, and after centuries of application almost unexampled in the records of research, their ultimate secrets have been probed and they are no longer regarded as meaningless daubs of barbaric eccentricity, but have come into their own as among the most precious and significant of those documents which illustrate the development of literary processes.

In general appearance these Aztec manuscripts are far removed from the European idea of the book, or even from that of the Oriental manuscript. They consist of symbolic paintings executed upon agave paper, leather or cotton, and are usually folded in "pages" which open out on the principle of a screen. Taking that which is perhaps most typical of all as a general example, the Codex Fejèrvàry-Mayer, we find its length to be about sixteen feet and its breadth about seven inches. The general effect is that of a dwarf fire-screen, somewhat extended perhaps, painted in the brilliant colours of the setting sun, as behooves a manuscript of the West, and displaying a seemingly inextricable symbolism. At first sight the pages present such a riot of coloured confusion that it is only after considerable practice and acquaintance that the emblems which they contain can be separated visually and reduced to individual coherence.

The Mexican manuscripts, or "papyri," as some writers have named them, although the words pintura and lienza are more frequently used by experts to describe them, I have divided into two classes: those which deal with the mythological and calendrical matters, and those which represent either historical narratives or fictional writings. The first class I have again sub-divided into "Interpretative" Codices, the "Codex Borgia" group, and a third group which I have labelled "Unclassified." The "Interpretative" Codices are those which were painted either by native scribes under

---

1 See the writer's catalogue of them in The Gods of Mexico, London, 1923.
the superintendence of Spanish priests of experience in Mexican affairs, or by such priests themselves, who appended to them the lengthy interpretations from which they take their name. The "Borgia" group is composed of a number of codices painted by native scribes, which obviously possessed a common area of origin. The Unclassified Codices hail from various Mexican areas and their contents differ considerably from those of the other groups.

The manner in which these manuscripts reached Europe is obscure, but some of them have passed through extraordinary vicissitudes since their arrival in the Old World. None of them, perhaps, has survived circumstances of such imminent peril as the Codex Borgia, by far the most important of all. It was bequeathed by the
nephew of Cardinal Borgia to the Library of the Congregation of Propaganda at Rome, in the Ethnographical Section of which it is still preserved. Formerly it belonged to the Giustiniani family of Venice, to whom, probably, it was handed down by some seafaring ancestor. But it was so greatly neglected that it fell into the hands of the children of some of their household servants, who, as children will, after deriving all the amusement they could out of it as a nursery book, made several attempts to burn it. But the tough deer-skin on which it is painted withstood the fire, the marks of which, however, remain on its edges. It was rescued by someone who seems to have had an inkling of its value, and soon afterwards passed into the possession of the Borgias, who, as literary cognoscenti, would naturally appreciate its true significance.

The Codex Telleriano-Remensis, one of the "Interpretative" books, fell into the hands of Tellier, Archbishop of Rheims, and is now housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It is perhaps the finest of the three "Interpretative" manuscripts from the point of view of colour, but is certainly not so important from a strictly scientific aspect as the Codex Vaticanus A., sometimes called the Codex Rios, one of the treasures of the Vatican library. It is alluded to in a Vatican catalogue dating from the last years of the sixteenth century, and is generally believed to have been copied or painted in Mexico by Pedro de Rios, a missionary friar, at some time about 1566. The paintings appear to me to be the work of Europeans, and the explanatory matter is in Italian. Three separate handwritings are noticeable in the European script which accompanies it. Probably it was sent to the Vatican direct from Mexico.

Still more interesting by reason of its history, is the Codex Vienna, which is to be seen in the State Library there, and is almost certainly one of the two books sent as a present by the hapless Mexican Emperor Montezuma to Cortés when first the Spanish conquistador reached the shores of Mexico in 1519. Montezuma believed Cortés to be the Mexican god Quetzalcoatl, who had returned after many centuries, and accordingly sent him the books and costumes appropriate to his sacred status. The Latin inscription on the Codex states that it was sent by King Emmanuel of Portugal to Pope Clement VII and that thereafter it was in the possession of Cardinals Hippolytus di’ Medici and Capuanus. But as Emmanuel
died in 1521 and Clement became Pope only in 1523, the gloss is obviously erroneous. It is almost certainly the product of a school of native painters located in Mexico City, as is plain enough from the resemblance of its symbols to those of the Calendar Stone which once stood on the summit of the principal pyramid at Mexico, and which is now in the Museum there. Cortés sent this MS to the Emperor Charles V, which accounts for its survival in Vienna. As once the personal property of Montezuma, who must have regarded it as of peculiar sanctity, it should have for us a sentimental interest at least as profound as its historical value.

Other Aztec MSS. were widely scattered. At least three found their way to England, the Codex Laud, which once belonged to William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and which is housed today in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the Codex Fejèrváry-Mayer, the origin of which is unknown, and which is the property of the Liverpool Public Museums, to which it was bequeathed by a Mr. Joseph Mayer in 1867, and the Codex Nuttall or Zouche, which formerly belonged to the library of the monastery of San Marco in Florence, and, after a period of political disturbance, was presented to the Hon. Robert Curzon, fourteenth Baron Zouche, by the resident monks, who feared that it might be destroyed. It is probably the second of the books presented by Montezuma to Cortés, and still remains in the possession of the Curzon family. Several of these manuscripts are alluded to by Hakluyt in his "Voyages."

The manuscripts were painted by a separate caste of priests known as amamatini, and all of them have been reproduced at various times and under various auspices, some, indeed, on several occasions. The greater number were included in the vast work of Lord Kingsborough, *Mexican Antiquities* (1830-1848), a princely publication, the expense of which ruined its noble editor, but the majority have also been reproduced in photogravure and in their appropriate colours during more recent years.² They constitute our most precise authority on the appearance, costume and symbolic attributes of the gods of Mexico, a pantheon far more populous than that of Olympus or even of Egypt, of absorbing interest to the student of myth and comparative religion, and supply the most

² See the writer's *Gods of Mexico*, bibliography, giving full details of the place and date of these publications.
elaborate details of the calendar system of the Aztecs, which was, indeed, the keystone to that religion.

If we glance first at one of the "Interpretative" Codices and later at one of those painted solely by native scribes, we will gather a fair general idea of the contents of the mythological "books" as a whole. Among the "Interpretative" MSS. none is calculated to give the uninitiated a better insight into the devious paths of Mexican mythology and ritual than the Codex Magliabecchiano, which is preserved in the National Library at Florence, and which is labelled in Spanish: The Book of the Life of the Ancient Indians and of the Superstitions and Evil Rites which they Preserved and Guarded.

And here is curious lore enow for those who can comprehend it, while even to him who can not a sentiment of peculiar remoteness is vouchsafed. The first eight folios of this strange work, which was reproduced by the Duc de Loubat in 1904, are filled with representations of the various kinds of feather mantles worn by the Aztec priests and dignitaries on festal or ritual occasions, or which were placed by them on the idols of the gods. The next few pages are occupied with the table of the tonalamatl, or Mexican calendar of the feast-days, movable and seasonal, a time-system so involved that it is understood in its entirety only by a handful of experts to-day, and which, it is said, required at least twenty years of study for its comprehension by the Mexican priests. "Small wonder!" the amateur will exclaim, as he gazes at the inextricable mass of symbols with dazzled eyes. We next encounter a series of pictures of the Octli or drink-gods, the patrons of the sacred pulque liquor, and of several of the greater deities of Mexico, the mighty culture-hero Quetzalcoatl, and other Olympians. This is followed by three pages representing the mortuary or funerary customs of the Aztecs, which clearly show that a species of mummification was in use among them, by no means dissimilar from that in vogue in Egypt, notwithstanding that the dead are bundled up in a sitting position in what look like decorated sacks with false human heads and faces.

Some rather gruesome illustrations of human sacrifice and ritual cannibalism ensue. In fact the stark realism of these highly coloured vignettes might challenge in their sheer dread and horror the canvases of Wierz or Doré. More intriguing are the pictures which illustrate the magical operations of the sorcerers, the ritual
of the steam-bath, the orgies connected with the worship of the drink-gods and the intricate group of the guardians of the four quarters of the heavens, in which we probably have a representation of the four dresses of the god Quetzalcoatl sent to Cortés by Montezuma.

If we now examine the magnificent Codex Borgia, by far the finest example of purely Aztec native work extant, we discover not only a different artistic technique, but a slightly different arrange-

![Image of the Goddess Chantico](image)

**THE GODDESS CHANTICO.**
*From Codex Telleriano-Remensis.*

ment of the mythological and ritual material. The first few sheets contain the calendar, divided into groups of days by the simple device of using the symbol of a black footprint as a point or colon. The various days are represented by such symbols as a monkey’s head, a jaguar, a flower, and so forth. Of these there are twenty, for the Aztec ritual month consisted of twenty days, the period betwixt the waxing and waning of the moon. These signs were repeated thirteen times, to make up the content of the 260 days of the calendar, and were again subdivided into “weeks” of thirteen days each. Some of the signs were auspicious, others were distinctly unlucky, and the calendar was thus capable of being used as a book of astrology and fate, from which the fortunes of a person born on any given day, or the success of an act performed on that date might be augured.
But the Codex Borgia is principally concerned with the gods, their attributes, costume and significance. In its pages we encounter the terrible Tezcatlipoca, the deity of sacrifice and justice, the dread recorder and chastiser of sin, the beautiful sun-god Tonatiuh, with the painted myth of his passage through the heavens from morning to night, the pious artificer and priest Quetzalcoatl, the fertile maize-goddess, and the myth of the planet Venus, which occupies seventeen vignettes, and illustrates the dangers to which both kings and commonalty are liable at the hands of this vindictive genius, who in Mexican mythology is a male. Four folios are devoted to the loves of the luxurious goddess Xochiquetzal, or "Flower Feather," the Mexican Venus, and the "book" concludes with pages dedicated to the gods of pleasure and procreation and the hovering and ever-watchful deities of death and sacrifice.

In many cases it has been only after long consideration and comparison with native written accounts and by dint of the most ingenious and involved reasoning that the weird and uncanny gestures and actions of the deities represented have been duly explained, and the intricate symbolism which surrounds them unriddled. Indeed this task alone has certainly equalled in difficulty and perplexity that presented by the solution of the hieroglyphic systems of Egypt. But whereas Egyptology had its Rosetta Stone, Mexican scholars were without such an aid to enlightenment, so far as these manuscripts were concerned. And are they accompanied by anything in the nature of actual script? They are. Here and there are to be found in their pages symbols which, when read together in the manner of a rebus, supply us with names. But these are more frequently encountered in such of the paintings as deal with tribute or legal conveyances of land. The name of King Ixcoatl, for example, is represented by the picture of a serpent (coatl), pierced by flint knives (iztli) and that of Motequauhzoma (Montezuma) by a mouse-trap (montli) an eagle (quauhtli) a lancet, (zo) and a hand (maitl). The phonetic values employed by the scribes varied exceedingly and they certainly conveyed their ideas more by sketch than by sound.

Those manuscripts which do not possess so much a mythological as a fictional or historical interest are few. The Codex Nuttall illustrates the fictional story of a popular hero named "Eight Deer," a kind of Mexican Arthur, and his comrade "Twelve Ollin," the
names, as was common in ancient Mexico, being the equivalents of dates in the calendar. It is, indeed, an example, and the only surviving one, of the Aztec novel or romance. Eight Deer evidently began life as a priest, and after advancing from strength to strength in chieftainship, conquered many towns, and received the homage of a hundred petty rulers. The pages which describe his saga display a bewildering variety of tribal or individual costume, coiffure, body-painting and insignia, sacrifice and rite. "The Codex," says Mrs. Nuttall, the Americanist from which it takes name, "does not contain what might be termed a consecutive written text, but merely consists of the pictorial representation of events, accompanied by such hieroglyphic names as were necessary in order to preserve them exactly, and fix them in the memories of the native bards," who "acquired by oral transmission the history of the native heroes whose deeds are pictured."

The death and funeral rites of Twelve Ollin are elaborately illustrated. Elsewhere Eight Deer is shown in company with a woman called "Twelve Serpent." Indeed, the Codex contains no less than 176 representations of women of the upper ranks, illustrating their life and costume, and providing most valuable data upon this rather obscure subject.

Another story illustrated by the codex is that of the Lady "Three-Flint," and the lord "Five-Flower," which strikingly exemplifies the life-tale of a Mexican woman of the upper classes and the several rites that she had to undergo at various times in her existence. It is, indeed, chiefly by reason of its ample illustration of rite and ceremony that the Codex Nuttall is of value to the student of Mexican religion, who will be better able to estimate our comparative ignorance of the subject from the bewildering richness and variety of its brilliant pages.

Several of the Mexican manuscripts remaining to us were rescued from oblivion by the unremitting toil and personal sacrifice of enlightened men whose labours well deserve to be remembered. A French Franciscan friar, Jacques Testera, who arrived in Mexico in 1530 to instruct the Indians in the Christian faith, conscious of a lack of knowledge regarding native custom which might assist him in his work, surrounded himself with skilled interpreters, and had the mysteries of the Christian religion painted by them on maguey paper, thus reviving to some extent the art of the Mexican
pinturas. But the ecclesiastical authorities intervened, and put an end to the interesting experiment. Sahagun and Motolinia, both Spanish friars, collected numerous manuscripts, and encouraged the fictile art of the natives by every means in their power.

The most valuable compendium is that of Father Bernardino Sahagun, entitled *A General History of the Affairs of New Spain*, which was published from manuscript only in the middle of last century, though written in the first half of the sixteenth century. Sahagun arrived in Mexico eight years after the country had been reduced by the Spaniards to a condition of servitude. He obtained a thorough mastery of the Nahuatl tongue, and conceived a warm admiration for the native mind and a deep interest in the antiquities of the conquered people. His method of collecting facts concerning their mythology and history was as effective as it was ingenious. He held daily conferences with reliable Indians, and placed questions before them, to which they replied by symbolical paintings detailing the answers which he required. These he submitted to scholars who had been trained under his own supervision, and who, after consulting among themselves, rendered him a criticism in Nahuatl of the hieroglyphical paintings he had placed at their disposal. Not content with this process, he subjected these replies to the criticism of a third body, after which the matter was included in his work. But ecclesiastical intolerance was destined to keep the result from publication for three centuries. Afraid that such a volume would be successful in keeping alight the smouldering embers of paganism in Mexico, Sahagun's brethren refused him the assistance he required for its publication. But on his appealing to the Council of the Indies in Spain he was met with encouragement, and was ordered to translate his great work into Spanish, a task he undertook when over eighty years of age. He transmitted the work to Spain, and for three hundred years nothing more was heard of it.

For generations antiquarians interested in the lore of ancient Mexico bemoaned its loss, until at length one Muñoz, more indefatigable than the rest, chanced to visit the crumbling library of the ancient convent of Tolosí, in Navarre. There, among time-worn manuscripts and tomes relating to the early fathers and the intricacies of canon law, he discovered the lost Sahagun! It was printed separately by Bustamante at Mexico and by Lord Kingsborough in
his collection in 1830, and has been translated into French by M. Jourdanet. Thus the manuscript commenced in or after 1530 was given to the public after a lapse of no less than three hundred years!

But even more romantic are the adventures of the Chevalier Boturini Benaducci. Towards the end of the seventeenth century this Italian nobleman conceived the notion of rescuing such remains of the native Mexican literature as might still be obtainable in the remoter parts of the country. He went to Mexico, and after unparalleled difficulties, succeeded in collecting a very considerable number of paintings and documents in places often the most unlikely. His adventures in tracing these, if fully known, would certainly compose one of the greatest romances of literary exploration, and such of them as we are conversant with equal the romantic wanderings of Borrow or Leland. But he was not to reap the benefit of his toil, for the Mexican Inquisition seized upon his collection,
and after keeping his precious manuscripts in a damp cellar for many years, disposed of many of them in 1720. This notwithstanding, several of his discoveries found their way into the cabinets of bibliophiles, notably into that of the late M. Aubin of Paris. The great Humboldt also gathered a number of valuable Aztec MSS, chiefly dealing with tribute, but some of which appear to be identical with those painted for Testera, and in our own day Seler and others have recovered a handful of native writings of lesser value.

The similar manuscripts of the Maya Indians of Guatemala and Yucatan, whose architectural antiquities have recently been the subject of an expedition under the auspices of the British Museum, are considerably more advanced both in the scale of artistic expression and in the hieroglyphic writing which accompanies them. Only three of any note have been preserved, the remainder perishing, like those of the Aztecs, in the smoke of the auto da fé. These are the Codex Perezianus, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, that in the Library at Dresden, and the Troano, discovered at Madrid in 1865. All three deal exclusively with Maya mythology. So far, the gods represented in the pictures they contain have been designated by Maya scholars by the letters of the alphabet, as they could not readily be identified with the divine beings alluded to in the writings of the early Spanish colonists in Guatemala and Yucatan. Nevertheless, continuous effort has succeeded in the identification of a number of these divinities. As regards the hieroglyphs which accompany them, these are still undecipherable, although the calendric and arithmetical system of the Maya have now been unriddled through the joint labours of American and German scholars.

But even more interesting than these Mayan pinturas are the books of the Maya native scribes which have weathered the centuries and whose pages have done more perhaps than any of the remnants of the American past to cast light on its mysteries. The most remarkable of these, perhaps, is the Popol Vuh, a volume in which a little real history is mingled with much mythology. It was composed in the form in which we now possess it by a Christianised native of Guatemala in the seventeenth century, and copied in Quiche, in which it was originally written, by one Francisco Ximenes, a monk, who also added to it a Spanish translation.

3 See the author's article on "The Gods of the Maya," in The Open Court magazine, for February, 1926.
For generations antiquarians interested in this wonderful compilation were aware that it existed somewhere in Guatemala, and many were the regrets expressed regarding their inability to unearth it. A certain Don Felix Cabrera had made use of it early in the nineteenth century, but the whereabouts of the copy he had seen could not be discovered. But Dr. C. Scherzer, an Austrian Americanist, resolved if possible to recover it, and in 1854 paid a visit to Guatemala for the purpose. After a most exciting search, he succeeded in locating the lost manuscript in the University of San Carlos, in the city of Guatemala. Ximenes, the copyist, had placed it in the library of the convent of Chichicastenango, whence it passed to the San Carlos Library in 1830. It is of the same class as the Chinese history in the *Five Books*, or the Japanese Nihongi, a chronicle of distinctly mythological character, interspersed with pseudo-history, and written in the Quiche language of the Indians of Guatemala. It relates the deeds of the hero-gods of the Maya, the creation of the world, the fall of the giants, and later shades into actual Maya chronicle.\(^4\)

Equally interesting are “The Books of Chilan Balam” or “The Tiger Priesthood,” native annals from the neighbourhood of several of the ruined Maya cities of Yucatan, written in hieroglyphs, and glossed here and there by Spanish phrases engrossed on their margins by native Maya chroniclers after the advent of the Conquistadores. It was through the agency of these manuscripts that the chronological system of the Maya was discovered, the dates given in Spanish equating with certain Maya symbols, so that in a measure The Books of Chilan Balam may be described as the Maya equivalent of the Egyptian Rosetta Stone.

A great mystery hangs about the writings of Xuñez de la Vega, Bishop of Chiapas, who made a holocaust of the sacred books of the Maya at Huehuetlan in 1691. Among other manuscripts then destroyed was a curious book in the Quiche tongue, said to have been written by the god Votan. Inspired by its curious details, de la Vega incorporated portions of it in his *Constituciones Diocesianus de Chiapas*, but nevertheless in his pitiless zeal committed it to the flames. A certain Ordoñez de Aguilar had, however, made a copy of it before its destruction, and included this in his “Historia de Cielo” MS. It tells of the wanderings of Votan through the world.

and contains a passage which has an extraordinary resemblance to that in Genesis recounting the fall of the Tower of Babel. Returning to Palenque after his wanderings, Votan built a temple by the Huehuetan River, known from its subterranean chambers as "The House of Darkness." Here he deposited the Maya Records under the change of certain old men and priestesses. Says Nuñez, writing of Votan and his temple: "It is related that he tarried in Huehuetan (which is a city in Soconusco), and that there he placed a tapir and a great treasure in a slippery (damp, dark subterranean) house, which he built by the breath of his nostrils, and he appointed a woman as chieftain, with tapianes (that is, Mexican tlapiani, "keepers") to guard her. This treasure consisted of jars, which were closed with covers of the same clay, and of a room in which the picture of the ancient heathens who are in the calendar were engraved in stone, together with chalchinites (which are small, heavy, green stones) and other superstitious images; and the chieftainness herself and the tapianes, her guardians, surrendered all these things, which were publicly burned in the market place of Huehuetan when we inspected the aforesaid province in 1691. All the Indians greatly revere this Votan, and in a certain province they call him 'heart of the cities'."

Did Bishop Nuñez actually take the relics of which he speaks, the "superstitious" images and the jars of treasure, from a subterranean place in Huehuetan, and did he encounter living human guardians in that retreat? We have only his word for it. But if he did so, then he must have put a period to a hierarchy which had survived during some fifteen centuries.

It will thus be seen that the native writings of Isthmian America occupy a position between the time-counts and wholly pictorial manuscripts of the Red Man of the Prairies and the hieroglyphic systems of such races as the Egyptian and Babylonians. The Maya hieroglyphs, known as "calculiform," because of their similarity to pebble shape, have yielded a small part of their secret to European inquiry, some twenty of their signs having been equated with Maya words. But although it is known that the system on which they are based is "ikonomatic," or resembling rebus-writing, like that of the Aztecs, we are as far as ever from being able to decipher their contents as a whole or to probe the mystery they enshrine. To decipher cuneiform writing or Egyptian hieroglyphics was a simple matter
compared with the elucidation of these stubborn little ovals, as interpretative aids were at hand. But European scholarship knows no defeat, and one day they must yield their secret, which will almost certainly be of a calendric nature so far as the manuscripts are concerned, although this may perhaps be augmented by historical data from the stone monuments of Yucatan and Guatemala. But we shall at least learn the names of the pictured gods over which we have puzzled for so long, and perhaps more about their worship than we know at present.

It is strange indeed that the riddle of the West has, until comparatively recent years aroused so little interest in Great Britain. Perhaps we feel that America should be permitted to unveil its own mysteries. The Continent and the United States have lavished much effort and treasure on this strange quest. But now that we have set our hands to the task, let us not, for very national pride, hold back any longer. Let us remember the achievements of Layard and Rawlinson, and that our island once stood supreme in Europe for the inductive and imaginative interpretation of the past. For inspiration is as much an asset to the archaeologist, whatever those who decry its aid may say, as that capacity for sustained logical reasoning on which the scientific method of the present-day is so ruthlessly founded.