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## The History of a Falsified Mesoamerican Pictorial Manuscript: the *Codex Moguntiacus*

**Resumen:** Manuscritos pictográficos falsificados de Mesoamérica generalmente no atraen mucha atención científica, con la notable excepción del catálogo publicado por Glass (1975). El *Códice Moguntiacus* o *Códice Maguncia*, nombrado así por el nombre de la ciudad alemana donde reapareció a principios de la década de 1950, ha sido reconocido desde hace tiempo como un manuscrito falsificado copiado de varias páginas de dos manuscritos pictográficos: el *Códice Colombino* de la época prehispánica y el *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* de la época colonial temprana. Cuando Caso (1966) denunció las páginas en estilo mixteco del *Códice Moguntiacus* como falsificaciones, su relación con otras versiones falsificadas y copias del *Códice Colombino* y del *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, no estaba de todo claro y había poca información disponible sobre la historia y procedencia de este manuscrito. Nuevos materiales archivísticos, así como literatura publicada pero poco conocida, permiten aclarar mucho de la historia y procedencia del *Códice Moguntiacus*.

**Palabras clave:** Códices falsificados; Mixteca; México; Alemania; Siglos XIX-XX.

**Abstract:** Falsified pictorial manuscripts from Mesoamerica generally do not attract much scholarly attention, with the notable exception of the catalog published by Glass (1975). The *Codex Moguntiacus* or *Codex Mainz*, so named after the German city where it surfaced in the early 1950s, has long been recognized as a falsified manuscript copied from different pages of two original pictorial manuscripts: the pre-Hispanic *Codex Colombino* and the early-Colonial *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*. When Caso (1966) denounced the Mixtec-style pages of the *Codex Moguntiacus* as falsifications, its relationship to other existing falsified versions and copies of the *Codex Colombino* and the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* was not clear, and there was little information available on the manuscript's history and provenience. New archival materials, along with published but poorly known literature, help clarify much of the history and provenience of the *Codex Moguntiacus*.

**Keywords:** Falsified Codices; Mixtec; Mexico; Germany; 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Centuries.

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### 1. Copies and falsifications of Mesoamerican pictorial manuscripts

Copying pictorial manuscripts was probably already common practice during much of the pre-Hispanic period in Middle America. It is safe to assume that native scribes made copies of existing manuscripts, on behalf of ruler families and priests, either to replace damaged manuscripts or to manufacture duplicates. There are also strong indications that native scribes sometimes copied scenes from already existing pictorial manuscripts to incorporate them into new ones (Jansen 1998: 36-38).

With the growing scientific interest in the tradition of Mesoamerican pictorial writing during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, researchers also started to produce copies of manuscripts to enhance their diffusion among a broader circle of scholars and make them available for further study. Some manuscripts were difficult to access because they were still in the possession of community authorities, formed part of private collections, or were housed at specialized scientific institutions and libraries. The diffusion of Mesoamerican pictorial manuscripts received a strong boost when, between 1831 and 1848, Edward King (often referred to by his title of Lord Kingsborough), sponsored the publication of nine volumes containing lithographic color reproductions of pictorial manuscripts that were kept at different European libraries (Kingsborough 1831-1848).

We are fortunate that copies of Middle American pictorial manuscripts were made at all because some of the original documents on which they are based were destroyed (Glass 1975). Some copies of pictorial manuscripts can be clearly identified as such because the original manuscripts on which they were based did manage to survive (Smith 1973: Figs. 111, 112).

The growing interest in Mesoamerican pictorial manuscripts also brought about the manufacturing of falsified manuscripts. Falsifications can be rather difficult to detect, especially when the original manuscripts no longer exist or their contents are so unique that no direct visual parallel is known. A good example is the so-called *Codex Grolier*: a supposedly original pre-Hispanic Mayan codex which surfaced in 1965 in Mexico but whose authenticity has been questioned by Maya scholars (Coe 1973; Baudez 2002). Some falsifications, however, are easier to identify because the falsifiers used awkward materials to manufacture their manuscripts, copied existing pictorial elements from one or more known original manuscripts, or made mistakes when copying iconographic elements they did not understand.<sup>1</sup>

When pictorial manuscripts started to attract more scholarly and public attention, their monetary value also rapidly increased. As a consequence, falsifiers became more interested in them and began manufacturing counterfeits (Batres 1910). Toward the

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1 For examples of scholars who have studied falsified pictorial manuscripts from Mesoamerica see Batalla Rosado (1994; 2006), Baudez (2002), Schávelzon (1991).

end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries falsifiers could count on a growing demand for such pictorial manuscripts. As a result the census of falsified Middle American pictorial manuscripts compiled by John B. Glass contains no less than 63 such documents (Glass 1975) and more have appeared over the last decades.

## 2. The rediscovery of the *Codex Moguntiacus* or *Codex Mainz*

A relatively small number of original pre-Hispanic pictorial manuscripts managed to survive the ravages of time and the zealous nature of Spanish missionaries. Some of these codices and *lienzos* are now located at different libraries and museums in Europe, Canada, and the United States where they were deposited from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onward (Glass 1975).

A rare exception is the *Codex Colombino*: the only pre-Hispanic pictorial manuscript that never left Mexico.<sup>2</sup> In 1891 the Mexican government purchased it from its proprietor Josef Anton Dorenberg, a German businessman and collector who resided for many years in the city of Puebla (Van Meer 2010). To this day the *Codex Colombino* is the only pre-Hispanic manuscript that forms part of the famous collection of pictorial manuscripts or codices housed at the National Library of Anthropology and History in Mexico City (Glass 1975: 111).

Within this context, the announcement of the discovery in the city of Mainz, Germany, of a theretofore unknown pre-Hispanic pictorial manuscript during the XXII<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Americanists (Copenhagen, 1956), sounded particularly promising. It could, at least in theory, add one precious pre-Hispanic codex to the small group of original pictorial manuscripts.

Professor Ernst Mengin,<sup>3</sup> a lecturer at the University of Copenhagen, first learned about the existence of the *Codex Moguntiacus*<sup>4</sup> in March 1954 when Professor Herbert Kühn from the University of Mainz<sup>5</sup> asked him if he would be interested in examining a recently discovered Mexican pictorial manuscript (Fig. 1).

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2 Two fragments of a pre-Hispanic ritual codex can now be added to the list, found in the church of the Zapotec community of San Bartolo Yautepec, Oaxaca (Javier Urcid, personal communication, February 2009).

3 Ernst Mengin (1893-1973) was a German Mesoamericanist. In 1934 he moved to Denmark where he became a lecturer at the University of Copenhagen. Mengin was a specialist in Nahuatl textual and pictorial documents from Central Mexico.

4 So named after the Latin name of the city of Mainz in Germany where the codex first surfaced.

5 Herbert Kühn (1895-1980) was a German prehistorian, art historian and philosopher renowned for his research on cave paintings and his knowledge of artistic expressions from the last ice age.

Figure 1: Four pages of the *Codex Moguntiacus* (after Bangel 1911: Tafel VI)

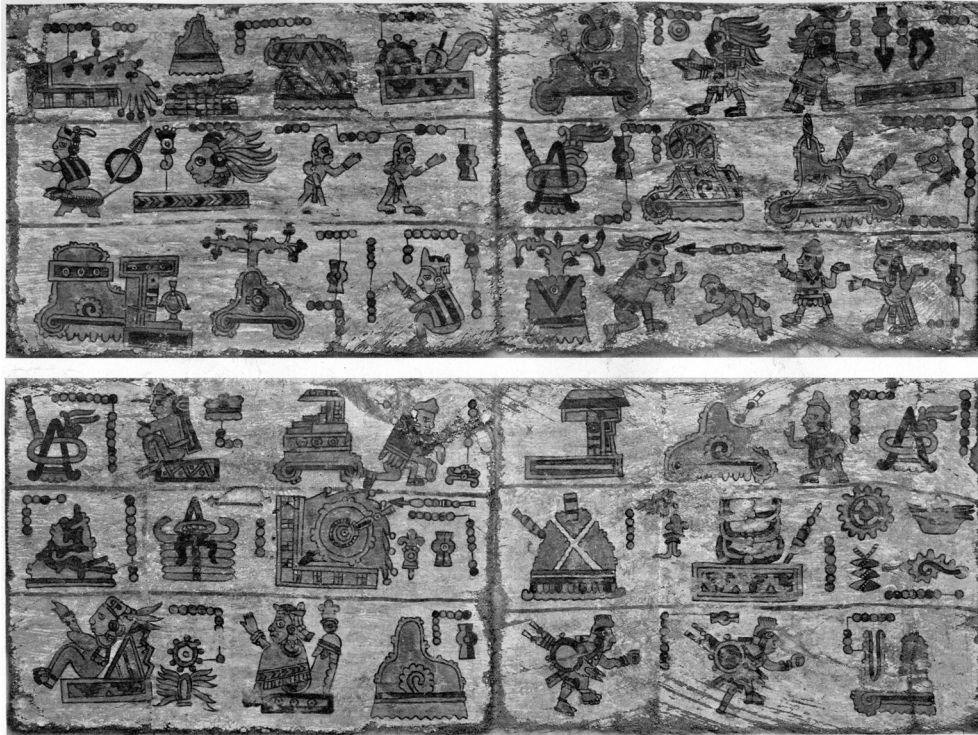


Illustration after Bangel 1911: Tafel VI.

In his first letter to Mengin, Kühn announced its discovery as follows:<sup>6</sup>

Don't be alarmed, for I have to tell you something astonishing: I have seen a Mexican codex that is unpublished and unknown. For decades it has been in private hands, with some people in Mainz who are unaware of its significance, and who brought the piece from Mexico. An acquaintance of this family made me aware of the codex' existence.<sup>7</sup>

6 Kühn to Mengin, 9 March 1954 (KU/MP).

7 "Erschrecken Sie nicht, wenn ich Ihnen etwas überraschendes mitteile: ich habe einen mexikanischen Codex gesehen, der nicht veröffentlicht und nicht bekannt ist. Er befindet sich seit Jahrzehnten in Privathänden bei Leuten in Mainz, die seine Bedeutung nicht kannten, und die das Stück einmal aus Mexiko mitgebracht haben. Mich hat ein Bekannter dieser Familie auf den Codex aufmerksam gemacht." All translations by the author, unless indicated otherwise.

Kühn also wrote that he had first approached Walter Krickeberg<sup>8</sup> to ask his expert opinion about the manuscript, but his answer left Kühn unsatisfied. Eventually it was Hermann Trimborn<sup>9</sup> who suggested that Kühn might contact Mengin. There was little doubt in Kühn's mind that the codex was indeed an authentic pre-Hispanic pictorial manuscript. Mengin, on the other hand, without yet having seen any pictures of the codex, told Kühn that it could very well be a falsification, arguing that the discovery of unknown, genuine pre-Hispanic pictorial manuscripts as late as the 1950s was uncommon.<sup>10</sup> But Kühn was fully convinced of the manuscript's authenticity and reiterated his earlier opinion.<sup>11</sup>

Of course you are correct to be cautious and skeptical, but as soon as you see the pictures, you will recognize what it is about. I hereby also send you a part of the original piece so that you can form an impression of the genuine object.<sup>12</sup>

The whole manuscript was photographed and the resulting black and white pictures, together with a small strip of the actual manuscript, were mailed to Mengin in Copenhagen for further examination. More than a year later, in December 1955, Kühn had still not received any word from Mengin on the outcome of his examination of the small fragment of the original manuscript and the photos. Apparently the owner of the codex in Mainz became impatient and repeatedly asked Kühn about the results of Mengin's studies. Kühn then urged Mengin to quickly prepare a short appraisal report so that he could share this with the owner of the codex as soon as possible.<sup>13</sup>

It is really not necessary to make a complete study, just an appraisal in the length of one typewritten page would do.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, at the end of 1955, Mengin wrote a detailed reply to Kühn sharing his preliminary findings about the codex. In it Mengin explained that after a cursory examination of the codex, his first impression was that it could indeed be an original pictorial manuscript. But at the same time he also felt more detailed investigations were necessary before he felt able to state a definite opinion as to the manuscript's

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8 Walter Krickeberg (1885-1962) was a German Americanist and ethnologist. From 1939 until 1954 he was director of the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin.

9 Hermann Trimborn (1901-1986) was an Americanist affiliated with the University of Bonn who specialized in indigenous cultures from South America.

10 Mengin to Kühn, 22 December 1955 (KU/MP).

11 Kühn to Mengin, 1 April 1954 (KU/MP).

12 "Selbstverständlich haben Sie recht, Vorsicht und Skepsis walten zu lassen, aber sowie Sie die Photos sehen werden, werden Sie erkennen um was es sich handelt. Ich sende Ihnen auch ein Originalstück mit, damit Sie gleich einen authentischen Eindruck haben."

13 Kühn to Mengin, 4 December 1955 (KU/MP).

14 "Es ist ja nicht nötig, dass eine ganze Arbeit vorliegt, es wäre ja nur ein Gutachten mit einer Schreibmaschinenseite nötig [...]."

authenticity. He remembered that in the recent past both the museums of Gothenburg and Hamburg had purchased what they thought were authentic pictorial manuscripts, only later to find out that they were falsifications.<sup>15</sup>

The presence of several pages of the codex showing the arrival of the Spaniards as well as some battle scenes between Spaniards and native groups led Mengin to conclude that the codex could not have been manufactured in pre-Hispanic times. He also observed some problems with a number of several indigenous year dates that were present on some of the Mixtec-style pages of the codex. Mengin pointed out that before being able to state his final judgment it would be of the utmost importance to obtain as much information as possible on the exact purchase and provenience of the codex in Mexico from the present owners. But from the existing correspondence it becomes clear that Mengin never received any additional information. Finally, he promised Kühn that he would examine the codex in more detail during the winter and prepare a thorough report. In February 1956, Mengin communicated his final conclusions to Kühn.<sup>16</sup>

Summarizing, we can say that the codex from Mainz is a bad copy of a) the pre-Columbian “Códice Colombino”, and of b) the post-Columbian “Lienzo de Tlaxcala”, painted on the same bast fiber material that the Indians are accustomed to use as horse-blankets. To what extent it is a deliberate falsification, manufactured for reasons of disdainful profit, or the work of a man who made these copies for personal study reasons, is difficult to decide from today’s perspective. Nonetheless, the faking of an original through the use of bast fiber meshwork with a stucco coating points in this direction.<sup>17</sup>

Mengin also made inquiries about the possibility of having the actual falsification sent over to him so that he could present it during a talk he was planning to deliver at the XXII<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Americanists later that year in Copenhagen. At the time, Mengin was planning to prepare a presentation on falsified pictorial manuscripts entitled: “Mittel und Wege, um Fälschungen altmexikanischer Bilderhandschriften

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15 Mengin to Kühn, 22 December 1955 (KU/MP). Mengin was referring to the so-called Forged Maya Codex on Parchment (Ethnografiska Museet, Göteborg) and the *Codex Hammaburgensis* (Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg). For short descriptions of these falsified pictorial manuscripts see Glass (1975: 305, census numbers 910 and 912).

16 Mengin to Kühn, 24 February 1956 (KU/MP).

17 “Zusammenfassend kann daher gesagt werden, dass es sich bei dem Mainzer Codex um eine schlechte Kopie a) des vorkolumbischen “Códice Colombino”, b) des postkolumbischen “Lienzo de Tlaxcala” handelt, ausgeführt auf Bastmaterial, wie es die Indianer zu Pferddecken zu verwenden pflegen. Inwieweit es sich bei dem Mainzer Codex um eine absichtliche Fälschung handelt, hergestellt um schnöden Gewinnes willen, oder um die Arbeit eines Mannes, der sich zu persönlichen Studienzwecken diese Kopien anfertigte, ist heute schwer zu entscheiden, doch deutet die Vortäuschung eines Originals durch Verwendung von Bastgeflecht mit Kalkschicht in diese Richtung.”

aufzudecken”.<sup>18</sup> Although the original idea was to include a discussion of two modern, falsified codices housed at collections in Gothenburg and Hamburg in his presentation, this plan never materialized. So at the congress Mengin delivered a paper that was focused exclusively on *Codex Moguntiacus* without mentioning the other two falsified pictorial manuscripts (1958a; 1958b).

### 3. The Mixtec-style pages of the codex: copies, omissions and additions

A detailed comparison between the Mixtec-style pages of the *Codex Moguntiacus* and pages from the original *Codex Colombino* led Mengin to conclude that the painter of the *Codex Moguntiacus* had produced many errors while copying the pages from the *Codex Colombino*. A detailed comparison between both documents shows that the copyist/forgery was not a very skilful artist and that he was unfamiliar with basic pictorial conventions.<sup>19</sup>

If we compare for example page XIII of the original *Codex Colombino* (Fig. 2) with the corresponding page from the *Codex Moguntiacus* (Page F' of the Velasco copy (Velasco 1916), Fig. 3) it becomes clear that the artist misunderstood important details and even left out one very crucial element.<sup>20</sup> The central scene on this page, representing a so-called nose-piercing ceremony, occurs at a place depicted as a large platform at the base of which several cattail plants are visible. On top of the platform there is a temple. In front of the building we see a male figure leaning backwards while another man, standing directly behind him, is shown perforating his nasal septum. Finally, a third man can be seen approaching from the right. He carries a triangular object in his hands which from other sources we know represents a turquoise nose-jewel. Above the central scene there is a large sign that signals the day “1 Wind” according to the pre-Hispanic Mixtec calendar. Depicted at the top right corner of this page are two men who face each other while making an offering. Directly below this scene a fully armored male figure appears as if moving to the left while holding a lance in his right hand. From the left side he is being approached by two men who go unarmed. Finally, at the bottom left corner there is another male figure who is carrying a lance while with his left hand he subjugates a

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18 “Means and ways to detect falsifications of ancient Mexican pictorial manuscripts.”

19 Since a picture of this specific page of the *Codex Moguntiacus* is unavailable, I have used the corresponding page from the copy of Velasco (1966). Comparing the published photos of the pages from *Codex Moguntiacus* with the copy of Velasco shows that the latter is a very faithful copy of the former.

20 The following description of the different scenes depicted on this page does not follow the original reading order of this and other pages. For an explanation of the correct reading order of the pages of the *Codex Colombino* see Caso (1966) and Smith (1973: 20-22, 217).

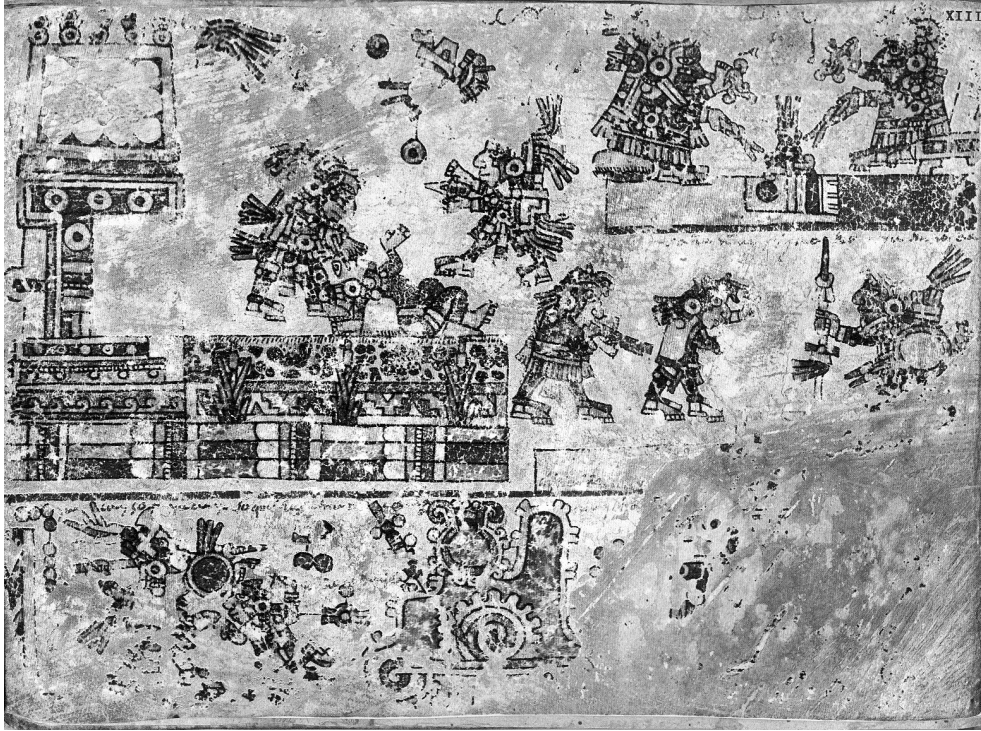
Figure 2: Page XIII of *Codex Colombi no*

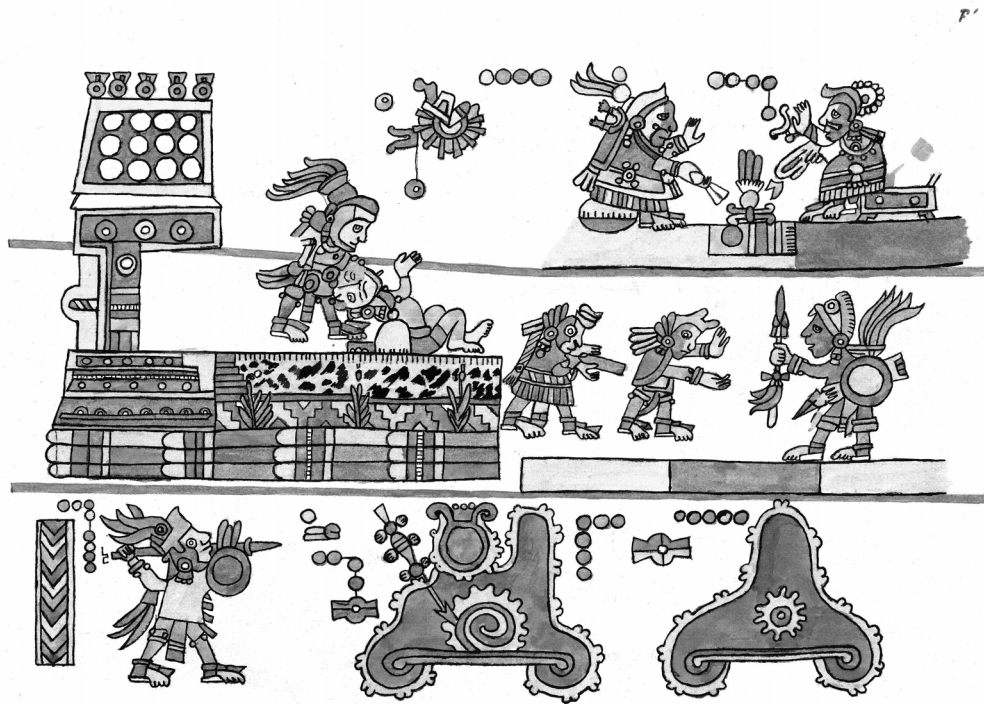
Illustration after Caso 1966.

captive, taking him by the hair. The calendar name of this captive is “1 Movement”. This scene is followed by the representation of a place glyph; a hill with a shell design at the base and a blue circled object at the top. Other scenes once visible in the lower right corner of this page were erased in antiquity.

If we compare this pictorial sequence with the corresponding one from *Codex Moguntiacus*, it is obvious that the copyist was not a very skilled artist. He committed various mistakes when copying the scenes. Although he divided the codex page into three horizontal registers or bands, the copyist did not have a good understanding of how reading patterns proceed in Mixtec pre-Hispanic pictorial manuscripts. On the scene where, in *Codex Colombino*, two men are shown making an offering, the red guideline stops at the left end. However, in the *Codex Moguntiacus*, the guideline continues and runs until the border of the page. As a result it cuts the temple into two halves. This clearly demonstrates that the copyist ignored the correct use of guidelines in pre-Hispanic Mixtec pictorial manuscripts. Finally, some



**Figure 3: Page F' from the copy of the *Codex Moguntiacus* according to Velasco (1916)**



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glosses in the Mixtec language were later added to some of the pages of the original *Codex Colombino*, visible just below the two guidelines on the original page (Fig. 2). The copyist, however, made no attempt whatsoever to copy these glosses or to indicate their presence.

If we compare the scenes from this particular page in more detail, a lot of other differences stand out. For some reason the copyist decided to change the position of the face of the man who is depicted leaning backward in the central scene; the copyist totally failed in his attempt to depict the face of the man in frontal view. The third male figure, who in the *Codex Colombino* can be seen approaching the nose-piercing ceremony with the nose-jewel, does not appear at all in the parallel scene from the *Codex Moguntiacus*!

In the lower right corner the copyist added a place glyph in the form of a mountain with a spiral-shaped object at the base. He further added the day name “5 Movement”, which can be seen to the left of the place glyph. But on the original

codex, scenes from this section were no longer visible. Finally, although the warrior represented in the lower left corner is copied more or less correctly, the captive he is taking is not shown.

Summarizing, as this example demonstrates, it is evident that the copyist made many mistakes; he misinterpreted important details, left out several figures and even created new ones.

#### 4. The creation of new codex pages

In his studies on the *Codex Moguntiacus* Mengin added an important observation. He had noticed that nine pages of the *Codex Moguntiacus* were not to be found at all in the original *Codex Colombino*.<sup>21</sup> He therefore advanced the hypothesis that these pages could very well represent missing pages from the original *Codex Colombino*, or possibly another unknown pre-Hispanic Mixtec pictorial manuscript. Both Lehmann (ms. 1910) and Caso (1966) made detailed comparisons of the pages of the *Codex Moguntiacus* and the pages from the *Codex Colombino*. They show how in several instances these missing pages were simply made up by copying scenes or glyphs from existing pages in the *Codex Colombino* or by creating new drawings based on examples to be found there.

It is relatively easy to identify the particular scenes and pages used by the copyist for these pages for which there exist no direct parallels in the *Codex Colombino*. On one particular page from the *Codex Moguntiacus* (Fig. 4) we first see two guidelines that divide the page into three horizontal registers or bands. In the upper register (reading from left to right) appears a place glyph (hill), a glyph accompanied by eight dots, a man walking to the left holding a triangular nose-jewel in his hands, a man looking to the right, standing before a base-like structure, accompanied by three dots, an arrow, more dots and a flower-like symbol. In the middle register we find representations of a year date 13 Movement, a place glyph (curved mountain with spiral-like symbol at the base), a second place glyph (hill with three pointed objects inserted in it and the depiction of a bird of prey) and a face of an animal accompanied by nineteen dots. Finally, in the lower register there is a place glyph (hill with flowering tree on top), a male figure gesturing with both hands, a fallen figure and an arrow or lance depicted horizontally. The last two scenes represent two male figures, the last of whom is accompanied by his calendar name "9 Movement".

The copyist used a non-existent reading pattern. Although the page is correctly divided into three horizontal registers, all three guidelines cross over the total

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21 Of the 28 pages of the *Codex Moguntiacus*, 22 have direct cognates in the *Codex Colombino*. As a result only six pages, not nine as mentioned by Mengin, are unattested in the original codex.

width of the page, something that cannot occur in Mixtec pictorial manuscripts (Smith 1973: 217). Three of the four place glyphs are straightforward copies of place glyphs that appear on pages XIII and IV of the *Codex Colombino* (see Figs. 2 and 5). The place glyph in the form of a curved mountain was copied from a place glyph on page XXIV of *Codex Colombino*. For the last place glyph, the copyist apparently conflated two place glyphs from pages I and II of *Codex Colombino*. This resulted in the representation of an irregular-shaped mountain with three oval shaped objects protruding from the hill (*Codex Colombino* I) and with a bird of prey sitting at the base of the mountain (*Codex Colombino* II). The two male figures in the top register of the page appear on page XIII of *Codex Colombino* (see also Fig. 2).

In Mixtec pictorial manuscripts, year dates normally consist of an interlaced A-O symbol that acts as year sign accompanied by a so-called year bearer and a numeral coefficient from 1 to 13 (Smith 1973: 22-23). The four year bearer signs used by the Mixtecs are: House, Rabbit, Reed, and Flint. Although the year date depicted on this page (Reed) is correct, the corresponding numeral coefficient is lacking. In the middle register, at the extreme right-hand side, there is an animal head accompanied by nineteen dots. This glyph and its associated dots supposedly should render a day or calendar name. However, in the pre-Hispanic Mixtec calendar system, day names could only appear with numerals one through thirteen.<sup>22</sup> The two male figures in the lower register were copied from page I of *Codex Colombino*. The other two human figures visible to the right and some smaller pictorial elements on this page have no direct parallel in the *Codex Colombino* and were created by the copyist.

### 5. The pages from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

Mengin quickly realized that some pages of the *Codex Moguntiacus* were copied from the early-Colonial *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*. He managed to identify all but two or three of these pages, due to their damaged state. According to Mengin they were copied from the following pages of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*: 3, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21 and 26 (Chavero 1892) (Fig. 6). He further noticed that in some cases the pictorial scenes had been reversed, left and right.

The original *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, or a mural similar to it, was painted in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Tlaxcala (Gibson 1952: 247-253). According to one source, three

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22 In Mixtec codices, calendar days and personal names are expressed by a combination of twenty different day-signs with a numeral coefficient from one through thirteen. So in all there are 260 different possible combinations. However, the highest possible numeral coefficient is thirteen (Smith 1973: 22-29).

Figure 4: Page from the *Codex Moguntiacus*

Illustration after Bangel 1911: Tafel VI.

“originals” were made at the order of Viceroy Velasco but none of these have survived. Instead no less than 11 copies of this *lienzo* have been documented and listed in the census of Middle American pictorial manuscripts (Glass 1975: 214-217). The *lienzo* consists of a large single sheet with one big central scene and 87 smaller scenes (Chavero 1892: plate F). The main scene shows a European-style coat of arms, the lords representing the four quarters of the Indian town of Tlaxcala, Spanish and native nobles, and the erection of the Christian cross (Glass 1975: 214). Most of the smaller scenes depict battles between Spanish soldiers and native warriors. The Spanish conquistadors are shown conquering different places which are depicted by their corresponding place glyph. More detailed analyses of the three original manuscripts, the many copies known to exist, and the relationship between the extant copies of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* are still lacking and further research is required (Glass 1975: 217). Interestingly enough, two other falsifications of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* are known to exist in Spain, both of which were also painted on a layer of sized coconut fiber, covered with a coarse layer of stucco (Batalla Rosado 2006: 367,

375). Possibly there exists some relationship between these two falsifications and the *Codex Moguntiacus*. But one of these manuscripts, the so-called *Códice de Comillas*, lacks one conspicuous detail that seems typical for the *Codex Moguntiacus*: the reversal of some scenes.

Figure 5: Page IV of *Codex Colombino*

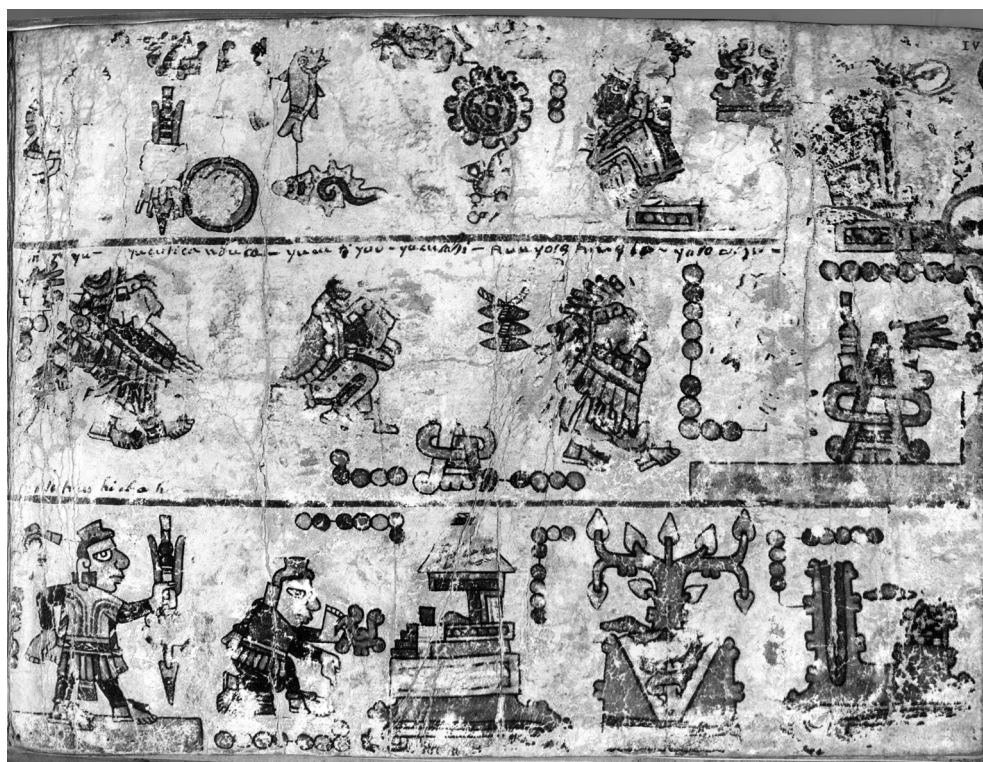


Illustration after Caso 1966.

## 6. The *Codex Moguntiacus* in Mexico

Where did the *Codex Moguntiacus* originally come from and in what year did it arrive in Germany? I have already mentioned that the codex was brought to Germany by a family living in Mainz, sometime at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Fortunately, I have been able to locate additional written documentation that permits me to present a more detailed and accurate reconstruction of the manuscript's history before it left Mexico.

Figure 6: Six pages from *lienzo* No. 225 of the Dorenberg collection

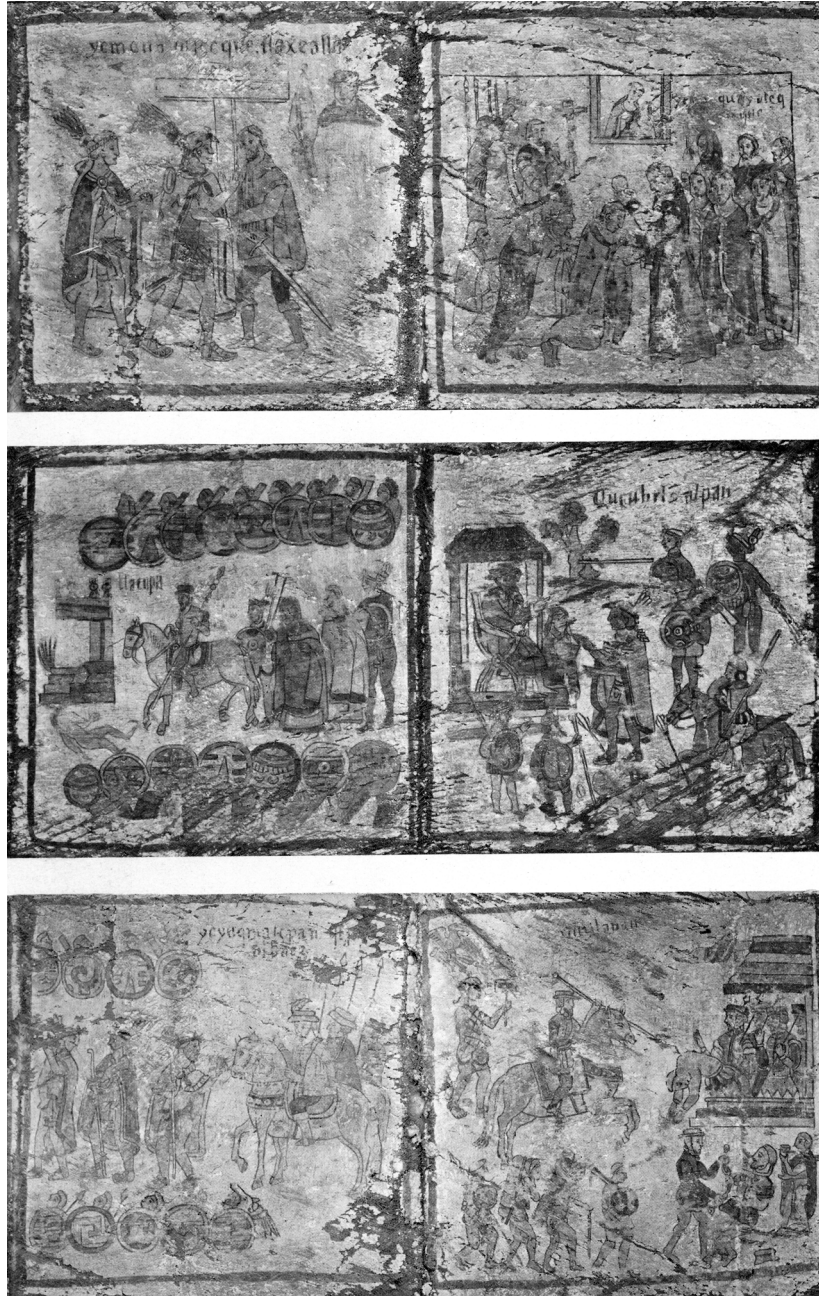


Illustration after Bangel 1911: Tafel VII.

At the end of 1910, after having resided for more than 40 years in the city of Puebla, Mexico, Joseph Anton Dorenberg and his family decided to return to Germany once and for all (Van Meer 2010). Many years before, in January 1865, Dorenberg had arrived in Mexico as a volunteer of the *Régiment de l'Impératrice Charlotte* (Dorenberg 1927). After having completed two years of military service he decided to stay behind in Puebla. In this city he eventually became a successful businessman and the owner of a department store (Southworth 1901: 59). Besides spending time attending to his business activities and acting as Belgian consul for the states of Puebla, Tlaxcala and Hidalgo, Dorenberg was also a passionate collector of Mexican antiquities and other objects of art. Interestingly enough, it was Dorenberg who years before had been the proud owner of the original *Codex Colombino* (Caso 1966: 113), but in 1891 he had been forced to sell it to the Mexican government, along with his extensive collection of Mexican antiquities.<sup>23</sup>

Shortly after his final return to Germany, in November 1910, Dorenberg contacted Walter Lehmann<sup>24</sup> in Munich and asked him for his expert opinion on several Mexican pictorial manuscripts he had acquired during his last stay in Mexico. Lehmann carefully examined each of these pictorial manuscripts. Of the five Mexican pictorial manuscripts that Dorenberg had submitted, Lehmann concluded that two were falsifications. He informed Dorenberg about his findings, first in writing, and later during a personal visit to his home in Freiburg im Breisgau. On that occasion he also learned that Dorenberg was very eager to sell his collection of Mexican pictorial manuscripts because he was in desperate need of money (Lehmann ms. 1910: F. 1r).<sup>25</sup>

Dorenberg, who earlier had collected very well and who owned several originals, has been out of his calculations by speculation, particularly through buying valueless ancient paintings in Mexico. He is, so he told me, in desperate need of money and therefore wants to sell the above mentioned manuscripts.

One of the pictorial manuscripts identified by Lehmann as being a falsification was a manuscript that is a perfect match with the Mixtec-style fragment of the *Codex Moguntiacus*. Lehmann made a detailed study of this manuscript which he called

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23 “Not being able to obtain the right to export my collection to Germany, notwithstanding the generous friendship with Mr. President Porfirio Diaz, because the export of antiquities was prohibited, my complete collection went to the National Museum of Mexico at my own expense” (AHMNA, Vol. 91 (1934), Exp. 30, f.188v).

24 Walter Lehmann (1878-1938) was a German Mesoamericanist who specialized in indigenous languages, archaeology, ethnology, folklore and mythology of Mexico and Middle America. At the beginning of the XX<sup>th</sup> century he published one of the first systematic surveys of ancient pictorial manuscripts from Mexico (Lehmann 1905).

25 We are unaware of the reasons why Dorenberg found himself in such a difficult financial situation at this time. Maybe it was related to the upheaval caused by the Mexican Revolution, started in 1910, which may have seriously affected his business operations in the city of Puebla.

“Codex Mixtekischen Stiles” (Mixtec-style codex) and compared it with the *Codex Colombino*. At the end of his detailed examination he concluded (Lehmann ms. 1910: F.16r.):

5. Mixtec-style codex, very similar to the Codex Colombinus of the National Museum of Mexico. Painted on (Agave) cocos paper (brown and coarse-fibrous) painted on a stucco coating. With red dividing lines. Reasons concerning the content, after close comparison with the Codex Colombinus, result in so much doubt, that I feel myself forced to consider this illuminated manuscript as a sophisticated falsification, since it cannot be an ancient copy.

Lehmann also included a detailed description of this Mixtec-style manuscript. He stated that each page of this manuscript measured 27.8 cm. long and 20 cm. high. He then made a detailed page-by-page comparison of this forgery and the original *Codex Colombino*, pointing out that the forger had misunderstood many iconographic details or had copied them inaccurately.

From Lehmann’s research notes (see Appendix I) we learn that the Mixtec-style manuscript contained a total of 28 leaves (14 pages painted on both sides) and that its total length was around 3.892 m. This comparison shows that the *Codex Moguntiacus* contained six pages that did not form part of the original *Codex Colombino*.

Lehmann (ms. 1910: F.15r) also examined another pictorial manuscript in Dorenberg’s collection, which he described as: “Codex from Spanish times, copy of a part of the *Lienzo of Tlaxcala*.” Each page of this manuscript measured 21 by 21 cm. and its total length therefore was approximately 1.89 m. He identified the corresponding pages from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* as being pages 1, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, and 32.

Although Dorenberg had already learned from Lehmann that his Mixtec-style pictorial manuscript was not an original one, nor was his manuscript with copied pages from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, apparently this did not stop him from preparing a public sale of his collection of pictorial manuscripts, along with some Mexican antiquities and other Mexican works of art. For this reason Dorenberg established contact with the well-respected auction firm of Rudolf Bangel in Frankfurt am Main where the auction was held on the 14 and 15 of February, 1911 (Bangel 1911). The catalog descriptions for these two pictorial manuscripts state (Bangel 1911: 20-21):

224. Codex (Lienzo) of 14 sheets, painted on both sides, total length 385, height 20 cm, each page 20 x 27.5 cm. Pre-Columbian. This newly found Codex is painted on Maguey-paper and contains 28 scenes, 24 of which are very similar (with few differences) to the 24 single-side painted scenes from the Codex Dorenberg, that in the year 1892, on the occasion of the Celebration of the 400 years since the Discovery of America, was named Codex Columbinus, while the remaining four scenes are so far totally unknown. The pictures in this catalog show this (see pictures Plate VI).



225. Codex (Lienzo) of 10 sheets, painted on both sides, total length 210, height 21 cm, 21 cm wide. Post-Columbian [...] In November last year Dr. Seler wrote from Mexico, where the photographs, shown in Plate VII, reached him, to the current owner: “Would it really be possible that you have found the long lost original of the Lienzo de Tlaxallan [sic]?”<sup>26</sup>

From these entries, as well as by examining the black and white photographs published in the catalog, it is evident that we are dealing with the *Codex Moguntiacus* at the point when the two pictorial manuscripts had not yet been joined together (Bangel 1911: 20-21, Tafel V and Tafel VI).

Based on the measurements given for each manuscript in the auction catalog and Lehmann’s detailed description (see Appendix I), we can conclude that between 1911 and 1954 the manuscript suffered some damage that affected several pages containing the copy of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*. At some point in time, both manuscripts were joined together resulting in a manuscript with a total length of approximately 5 m.

According to Mengin (1958a) the copyist/forgery had copied the complete *Codex Colombino* plus 6 unattested pages (28 pages) and some 15 pages from the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* although two or three were already heavily damaged. At the time of the auction sale in 1911 the combined length of both manuscripts therefore was 5.95 m. This indicates that after the auction sale 95 cm of the copied pages of *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* were eventually severely damaged or lost.

## 7. The Städtisches Museum für Natur- und Völkerkunde in Freiburg im Breisgau

A few days before the auction sale took place, Dr. Hugo Ficke, the then director of the *Städtisches Museum für Natur- und Völkerkunde* in Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany, was very eager to come into possession of one or more of the five Mexican pictorial manuscripts offered for sale. Ficke realized that this would present the

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26 “224. Codex (Lienzo) von 14 Blatt, doppelseitig bemalt, ganze Länge 385, Höhe 20 cm, jedes Blatt 20 x 27,5 cm. Praecolumbisch. Dieser neu aufgefundene Codex ist auf Maguey-Papier gemalt und hat von seinen 28 Darstellungen 24 ganz gleiche Bilder (mit geringen Abweichungen) wie die 24 einseitig gemalten Bilder des Codex Dorenberg, der gelegentlich der Feier der 400 jährigen Entdeckung Amerikas im Jahre 1892 Codex Columbinus genannt wurde, während die übrigen vier Bilder bisher ganz unbekannt sind. Diese weisen die Abbildungen in diesem Katalog (siehe Abbildung Tafel VI) [sic].

225. Codex (Lienzo) von 10 Blatt, doppelseitig bemalt, ganze Länge 210, Höhe 21 cm bei 21 cm Breite. Post-columbisch.

[...]. Dr. Seler schreibt im November v. J. von Mexiko aus, wo ihn die Photographien, die auf Tafel VII abgebildet sind, erreichten, an den jetzigen Besitzer: ‘Sollten Sie wirklich das lange vermisste Original des Lienzo de Tlaxallan [sic] aufgefunden haben?’.”

museum with the unique opportunity to acquire one or more Mexican pictorial manuscripts for its collection, items that were very rare and hardly ever available on the market. In a letter to the Lord Mayor of Freiburg im Breisgau, Ficke stressed the unique opportunity to acquire such an ancient Mexican pictorial manuscript, which would be a very welcome addition to the museum's collection.<sup>27</sup>

With regard to the booklet I handed over to you this morning, "Collection Consul J.D. [Josef Dorenberg] in F. [Freiburg]", perhaps you will allow me to explain further: the material in question is 2 or 3 fragments of Aztec pictorial writing, which has quite a lot in common with the Egyptian pictorial writing. To my knowledge, there are only very few of these still in existence. The paper on which the Codices are written was made from the Aloe (Maguey) plant.<sup>28</sup>

At the auction sale Ficke managed to purchase codex number 224, along with 22 other items, for 1,910 German marks (Gerlach 1995: 156). Shortly before the auction sale, Ficke, not being an expert in Mexican art and archaeology, contacted several experts to ask them their opinion about this particular manuscript (Platz 1995). He received some background information on the manuscript from the owner (Dorenberg) and from Consul Francis Sarg, the director of the America department of the *Museum für Völkerkunde* in Munich. Sarg was convinced of the authenticity of the manuscript, although he based his judgment entirely on the personal opinion expressed by a certain Morseley from London.<sup>29</sup>

I have contacted Mr. Morseley in London, the best connoisseur of Mexican antiquities, about the Codex No. 224 that will be sold at the auction, and as a result I can only tell you that I consider this manuscript to be undoubtedly a sound and very valuable piece.<sup>30</sup>

Professor Konrad Theodor Preuss of the *Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde* in Berlin was more cautious and informed Ficke that in his opinion this pictorial manuscript probably had a mythological content although he refrained from expres-

27 Ficke to the *Oberbürgermeister*, 1 February 1911 (StFr).

28 "In Bezug auf das Ihnen heute Morgen übergebene Heft: 'Sammlung Consul J. D. in F.': gestatten Sie mir vielleicht noch einige Erläuterungen: Es handelt sich hier um 2 oder 3 Überbleibsel der aztekischen Bilderschrift, die manches Verwandte mit der ägyptischen Bilderschrift hat. Es existieren meines Wissens nur noch ganz wenige davon. Das Papier, auf dem die Codices geschrieben sind, ist aus der Aloe (Maguey)-Pflanze hergestellt."

29 Morseley is probably a misspelling of Maudslay. Alfred Percival Maudslay (1850-1931) was a British diplomat, explorer and archaeologist. He was considered one of the foremost authorities on Mexican antiquities in London around that time (Graham 2002). I would like to thank Adam Sellen for this suggestion (personal communication, May 2009).

30 "Ich habe mich mit Herrn Morseley in London, dem besten Kenner mexikanischer Altertümer, über den zur Versteigerung gelangenden Codex No. 224 in Verbindung gesetzt und kann Ihnen infolge dessen nur sagen, dass ich diese Handschrift für ein zweifelloses rechtes und gutes, höchst wertvolles Stück halte."

sing a clear opinion concerning its authenticity.<sup>31</sup> For the time being it seemed that Ficke felt he could rest assured.

After the auction the newly acquired pictorial manuscript was quickly put on display at the museum for the public to see and admire. In one of the local newspapers the valuable acquisition of this pre-Hispanic pictorial manuscript was announced (*Freiburger Tagblatt*, 4. März 1911, 52, I):

(*Städt. Museum für Natur und Völkerkunde*): the American department of our institute has just been enriched by a very interesting acquisition: an ancient American, pre-Columbian, pictorial manuscript. It is written in bright colors on wrappings made out of Agave (=Maguey) leaves that have been covered with lime.<sup>32</sup>

But sometime after the auction Lehmann (ms. 1910: F. 1r.) informed Ficke that in his opinion this pictorial manuscript was a fake:

Mr. Ficke, the Director of the Museum of Freiburg, acquired the Codex Dorenberg No. 5 for his museum for approximately 2,000 marks, but when he heard from me that this was a outright falsification, Alderman Ficke immediately undid the purchase.<sup>33</sup>

As a result the manuscript was quickly removed from public display and Ficke immediately contacted Dorenberg telling him that if the manuscript turned out to be a falsification, he was bound to take the manuscript back. Seler was invited to visit the museum in Freiburg im Breisgau to examine the codex in October 1911. Apparently, he concurred with Lehmann's earlier judgment. As a result Dorenberg was ordered to pay back 1,910 marks to the City Council of Freiburg im Breisgau, which had put up the funds for the acquisition of the codex. On October 30, 1911, the City Council informed Ficke that the codex had been returned to Dorenberg who, as promised, had reimbursed the money. Dorenberg agreed to take the codex back and apparently did not question the decision. This could mean that he was well aware of Lehmann's opinion communicated to him a few months before. What exactly happened with the codex after October 1911 is unclear. Possibly it remained in the private collection at Dorenberg's home in Freiburg im Breisgau.

Then, suddenly, in January 1916, when paying a visit to the antiquarian bookshop of Karl Wilhelm Hiersemann in Leipzig, Lehmann saw the codex again (Lehmann ms. 1910: F. 1r). The bookseller Hiersemann had personally attended the auction

31 Preuss to Ficke, 25 March 1911 (StFr: D. Sm 3416).

32 "(Städt. Museum für Natur und Völkerkunde). Die amerikanische Abteilung unseres Instituts ist in diesen Tagen um eine hochinteressante Erwerbung bereichert worden: eine altamerikanische, praecolumbische Bilderschrift. Dieselbe ist auf Umhüllungen von Agave =(Maguey)= Blättern, die mit Kalk überzogen sind, in bunten Farben geschrieben."

33 "Herr Ficke, der Direktor des Freiburger Mus. erwarb den Codex Dorenberg No.5) für sein Mus. um 2000 Mark. Als er von mir hörte, dass sie doch eine glatte Fälschung sei, machte Stadtrat Ficke den Kauf schleunigst nichtgängig."

sale of Dorenberg's collection in Frankfurt am Main. Although he did purchase some interesting and genuine items at the sale, Hiersemann knew that some of the Mexican pictorial manuscripts were falsifications. In a letter written to the president of the Hispanic Society of America in New York a few days after the auction had finished, Hiersemann informed him:<sup>34</sup>

As to the two Mexican codices referred to in my letter of February 9<sup>th</sup> and which were for sale by auction in the collection of the Consul Dorenberg of Leipzig and Mexico (under Nos. 224 and 225), I went to see them in Frankfort [sic] on the Main, where the sale took place, and found that they were no originals, but falsifications, in the same style as the one I had here in Leipzig last year, sent from Mexico via Philadelphia, and which Professor Seler likewise said it to be a falsification. So I did not buy them.

We know that Hiersemann eventually came into possession of three of the five Mexican pictorial manuscripts that appeared at the auction for sale in February 1911. He sold two of them (numbers 226 and 227) as fake pictorial manuscripts to the Hispanic Society of America in New York. The other one, number 227a, was the only authentic pictorial manuscript.<sup>35</sup> Hiersemann must have sold these manuscripts sometime between 1911 and 1913. Why *Codex Moguntiacus* was not included in this sale to the Hispanic Society of America remains unclear.

Eventually the codex ended up in the city of Mainz where it was rediscovered in March 1954. However, from the description of the manuscript by Mengin we know that manuscripts 224 and 225 from Dorenberg's collection were bound together at that time, resulting in a hybrid-style Mexican pictorial manuscript (Mengin 1958a: 587) with scenes copied from pages from both the pre-Hispanic *Codex Colombino* and the early Colonial *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*.

Based on what we have learned so far with regard to the history of the *Codex Moguntiacus*, the codex never existed as such in Mexico because it was composed of two separate pictorial manuscripts that were not joined together until later. What do we know about how these manuscripts came into the possession of Dorenberg in Mexico?

In a letter to the British Museum, London, dated August 12, 1910, Dorenberg mentioned that he was the proud owner of "1 Codex Tlaxcala – Civilization 3 Photographs which show six Pictures of the 20 pictures together".<sup>36</sup> This description corresponds exactly with item number 225 of the auction catalog (Fig. 6). Dorenberg further added that he was busy trying to obtain another, even more interesting pictorial manuscript than the *Codex Colombino* he had purchased in 1887.<sup>37</sup>

34 Hiersemann to Archer M. Huntington, 20 Feb. 1911 (HSA: Hiersemann correspondence).

35 The so-called painting of the *Genealogía de la Familia Mendoza Moctezuma* (Glass 1975: 161-162).

36 Dorenberg to the British Museum, 12 August 1910 (BM/CA).

37 Dorenberg to the British Museum, 12 August 1910 (BM/CA).

Besides these documents I have the hope to acquire another codex of perhaps more interest, as my codex discovered 1887 or 1888, named before, because it is some 4 meters long, on Maguey paper; and containing many, many signs of years and seems to me painted before the conquest. In case I can buy it, you will have a photograph for your file.

Although the description of the above mentioned pictorial manuscript is not very detailed, we can conclude that it concerns the same manuscript offered as number 224 in the auction catalog. The main characteristics of this particular manuscript described by Dorenberg are: “some 4 meters long”, painted “on Maguey paper”, “containing many year signs” and finally, “painted before the conquest”. The Mixtec-style pages of the *Codex Moguntiacus* (number 224 in the auction catalog) indeed fulfill all these specifications. So this demonstrates that Dorenberg eventually managed to purchase codex number 224 in Mexico somewhere between August and November 1910, shortly before he decided to return to Germany.

### 8. The copy of the Mixtec-style pages

In his commentary accompanying the first facsimile reproduction of the *Codex Colombino*, Caso (1966) included a discussion of all known copies and falsifications of this important pre-Hispanic Mixtec codex. Apart from denouncing the *Codex Moguntiacus* as a forgery, he made reference to a copy held by the Peabody Museum Library at Harvard University (the copy completed by Velasco (1916)). The original codex, which was copied by the Mexican artist Manuel de Velasco, consisted of a strip of amate paper measuring 19.5 x 392 cm. and contained a total of 14 leaves or 28 pages. Furthermore, four of the six pages in this copy that do not appear in the original *Codex Colombino* correspond to the four pages of the *Codex Moguntiacus* published by Mengin (1958a and b). On the last page of the typewritten commentary that accompanies this copy Velasco wrote:<sup>38</sup>

When in 1912 I had the original of the present codex in my possession, the person who lent it to me to make a tracing told me that it was the property of a priest of the Archdiocese of Oaxaca, in the Mixteca; that it was known to its owner by the name of “Codex of the Mixteca” and that he had offered it for sale to the National Museum, who declined to buy it. Afterwards I learned that it had been sold to a foreigner and that it had been taken out of the country to Europe in 1913. I never learned the names of the proprietor or the buyer.<sup>39</sup>

38 Velasco (1916). This material (typescript and watercolor paintings) was presented as a gift to the library by Elsie McDougall on June 2, 1937.

39 “Cuando el año de 1912 tuve en mi poder el original del presente Códice, me dijo la persona que me lo prestó para tomar un calco de él, que era propiedad de un Cura de la Arquidiócesis de Oaxaca, en la Mixteca; que su dueño lo conocía con el nombre de ‘Códice de la Mixteca’ y que lo había ofrecido en venta al Museo Nacional, el cual no había querido comprarlo. Posteriormente supe que

Apparently Velasco mixed up the dates. In my opinion he must have had access to the “original manuscript” before November 1910. And it seems very likely that the foreigner to whom this manuscript was eventually sold and who later took it to Europe, was no other than Dorenberg.

### **9. The production of faked pre-Hispanic antiquities in Mexico**

During the regime of President Porfirio Díaz,<sup>40</sup> Mexico went through a period of relative political stability and rapid economic growth. Foreign businessmen and bankers were invited to invest in the country and to contribute to the modernization project of the Mexican state; railroads were being constructed, the mining sector was booming and large landed estates thrived on export trade. Although Mexico’s foreign trade grew spectacularly, internal economic differences also widened. As a result the gap between rich and poor citizens increased. While Mexican elites and foreign businessmen lived luxurious lives in the city, the countryside was populated by poor landless peasants and agricultural workers. Contemporary indigenous populations were considered to be backward and to be a serious hindrance to the modernization project (Gutiérrez Ruvalcaba 2008: 55-86).

Wealthy Mexican elites, wanting to emulate the European way of life, rapidly began to cultivate a general interest in the arts and to express their economic well-being and cultural interest by surrounding themselves with large art collections, including pre-Hispanic artifacts. There was an ever-increasing interest in the national indigenous past, particularly in the Aztec empire and its cultural manifestations (Keen 1990).

The Mexican government, including Porfirio Díaz himself, actively began to promote scientific research into the cultures of ancient Mexico. Increased commercial and diplomatic contacts with various foreign nations had already caused a great influx of immigrants, travel writers, naturalists and other scientists who started to visit Mexico on a more regular basis. The growing interest in pre-Hispanic cultures was also noticeable in the United States and in several European countries. Several museum directors, archaeologists and art collectors wanted to acquire artifacts to illustrate the craftsmanship of pre-Hispanic indigenous cultures. Sometimes they would seek formal permission from the Mexican government to direct research at archaeological sites. At times they would simply purchase antiquities from local farmers and antiques dealers.

In response to this growing interest, local craftsmen and artists quickly began to produce large numbers of copies and falsifications of different kinds of Mexican

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había sido vendido a un extranjero y que había sido extraído del país para Europa en el año de 1913. Nunca supe los nombres ni del propietario ni del comprador.”

40 This period of Mexican history is known by the name of Porfiriato and lasted from 1876 till 1911.

antiquities (Batres 1910). Faked pre-Hispanic antiquities in Mexico were of such high quality that even the most renowned archaeologists and art collectors were easily deceived. Many of them were under the impression that they were adding genuine pieces to their collections, only later to find out that they had purchased a faked artifact. It is against this background that Dorenberg's activities as a collector of pre-Hispanic objects in Mexico have to be evaluated.

### 10. Fake or copy?

So is the *Codex Moguntiacus* just a badly executed copy of the *Codex Colombino* or a fake manuscript? Everything seems to indicate that it is a falsified pictorial manuscript that was deliberately manufactured by a forger for commercial purposes. Given the ever-increasing demand for Mexican antiquities, the *Codex Moguntiacus* was probably intended for sale on the international art market as a genuine manuscript. To give it an even more authentic look, the forger decided to use coconut fiber pages; a material that closest resembled pre-Hispanic bark paper.<sup>41</sup> However, the forger betrayed himself when he thought himself capable of creating six new codex pages in the pre-Hispanic Mixtec writing style. Although he was clever enough to use already existing scenes and motives taken from different pages of the original *Codex Colombino*, he clearly lacked the intimate knowledge necessary to create logical and coherent scenes according to native templates. Finally, in a clear attempt to enhance the authenticity of the codex even further, the forger apparently used a comb-like instrument to scratch the surface of some of its pages on purpose.<sup>42</sup>

Although the necessary documentary proof is lacking, we cannot completely rule out the possibility that during his last years of residence in Mexico, Dorenberg had become involved with the commercialization of falsified pictorial manuscripts and other Mexican antiquities. For that purpose he could have purchased, or even commissioned, such manuscripts directly from local craftsmen and artists in the city of Puebla. As a well-known businessman and collector, Dorenberg could lay claim to a large network of potential suppliers of such objects from the city of Puebla and surrounding areas.

As a collector Dorenberg knew very well that the export of Mexican antiquities had been prohibited by law since 1891. This was why he had been forced to sell his first archaeological collection, comprising no less than 2,777 pieces, to the Mexican government (Van Meer 2010). Notwithstanding the ban on the export of Mexican antiquities, Dorenberg still managed to take his second archaeological collection

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41 No doubt the forger decided to use a material that looked similar to the handmade bark paper used, in addition to deer skins, in pre-Hispanic times for the elaboration of pictorial manuscripts.

42 An identical pattern of scratch marks is visible on a page of the falsified Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Compare Figure 1 (page at bottom right) and Figure 6 (page on the right side of the middle row).

(approx. 1,250 pieces) out of the country in 1901. These objects, carefully packed and registered as personal effects, travelled with him from the port of Veracruz to New York City. There he quickly delivered his second collection of Mexican antiquities to the American Museum of Natural History (Van Meer 2010).

Since the pictorial manuscripts that Dorenberg possessed were small and pliable documents, it must have been easy for Dorenberg to smuggle these documents out of Mexico. Enjoying diplomatic status as consul for Belgium, it would have been easy for him to transport them by diplomatic pouch, out of reach of Mexican customs authorities.

Shortly after his return to Germany, Dorenberg asked Walter Lehmann to give him his expert opinion on his collection of five pictorial manuscripts. Although Lehmann had informed Dorenberg that *Codex Dorenberg* No. 5 was a falsification, this did not stop Dorenberg from including it in the auction sale. When the codex was later confirmed as a falsification, Dorenberg reimbursed the money without a murmur to the City Council of Freiburg im Breisgau. All of this seems to indicate that Dorenberg was well aware of the fact that his codex was indeed a fake.

Another pictorial manuscript from Dorenberg's collection, likewise included in the auction sale (Bangel 1911: 21 and plate VIII) is a falsification as well. It concerns a pictorial genealogy painted on a single panel of coconut fiber that measures 83.5 x 59 cm.<sup>43</sup> This manuscript again combines pictorial scenes copied from pre-Hispanic and colonial sources. A gloss, written in Spanish on the trunk of the "genealogical" tree, wants us to believe that this document was originally painted at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century: "3<sup>th</sup> descendance of Mictlantecutli of the year 1607". On the reverse of the wooden mounting board, now separated, a written text provides detailed information on the document's alleged provenance (see Appendix I). But conclusive evidence that this pictorial manuscript is another falsification comes from the depiction of a pre-Hispanic Mixtec place sign on top of which a "genealogical" tree is depicted. The forger copied this place sign directly from page XXIV of the *Codex Colombino*. The resulting painting is a hybrid document mixing elements and styles from a pre-Hispanic Mixtec pictorial manuscript with those from an early colonial manuscript from Tlaxcala.<sup>44</sup>

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43 This pictorial manuscript is known by the name of *Cuadro Genealógico de Tulantzinco*. For a brief description see Glass (1975: census number 946, 308-309). At present this document forms part of the collections of the Hispanic Society of America in New York.

44 Lehmann did not consider this pictorial manuscript to be a falsification. This shows that even for experts like him it was not always possible to distinguish authentic from falsified pictorial manuscripts. However, at that time research on pictorial manuscripts from Mexico had only just started and much had yet to be learned about the provenience and contents of these documents (Lehmann 1905).



### 11. The forger's identity

In his catalog of falsified Middle American pictorial manuscripts, Glass (1975: 297-310) briefly touches upon the subject of the possible identity of one or more of the forgers involved with the manufacturing of falsified pictorial manuscripts in Mexico. He identified a group of no less than seven falsified pictorial manuscripts, all of which have in common that they were painted on a surface made out of coconut fiber, just like the *Codex Moguntiacus* and the copy of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*.

According to Glass one forger possibly responsible for the manufacturing of manuscripts belonging to this so-called "coconut fiber group" could have been Mexican artist Genaro López. On several occasions López was officially hired by the Mexican government as copyist and lithographer to prepare the publication of a number of pictorial manuscripts. What is particularly noteworthy is the fact that he was, among other pictorial copiers, responsible for the reproductions of both the *Codex Colombino* and the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* for the 1892 publication (Chavero 1892). This of course provided him with the unique opportunity to work intensively with both manuscripts for a substantial amount of time.

However, two unresolved questions remain. If López was indeed responsible for manufacturing the *Codex Moguntiacus* and other falsifications, how is it that his style is so sloppy and his drawings contain so many inaccuracies? And, more importantly, why did López not make use of his excellent drawing and copying skills but instead produce rather poor quality copies that eventually would prove far easier to detect as falsifications?

Further research will be necessary before we can confirm the identity of the forger responsible for the manufacturing of *Codex Moguntiacus*. Some of the pictorial manuscripts of this "coconut fiber group" were no doubt manufactured by local artisans, probably very skilled indigenous craftsmen and artists, who worked as forgers in the states of Oaxaca and Puebla.

For the time being, it is impossible to determine if Dorenberg had knowingly bought these pictorial manuscripts as fakes to sell them afterwards at profit to interested collectors in Europe or not. Maybe he simply had bought them in good faith and was ignorant of the fact that he had been cheated by a falsifier or art dealer.

However, one disturbing fact remains. Quickly after his final return to Germany, Dorenberg decided to sell his last collection of Mexican antiquities by auction, including five pictorial manuscripts. Although Lehmann had informed Dorenberg on two occasions that *Codex Dorenberg* No. 5 was a falsification, this apparently did not prevent Dorenberg from putting it up for sale. According to Lehmann, Dorenberg was in desperate need of money around this time. So we cannot exclude the possibility that Dorenberg's precarious financial situation had compelled him to take up bad ways.

## 12. Conclusions

The rediscovery of the *Codex Moguntiacus* in 1954, and its subsequent disclosure by Ernst Mengin at the XXII<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Americanists in Copenhagen (1956), brought this codex once again to the attention of a wider circle of researchers. Although Mexican scholar Alfonso Caso (1966) rightly concluded that the Mixtec-style part of the *Codex Moguntiacus* was a sheer falsification based on scenes from the original *Codex Colombino*, very little was known about its history and whereabouts prior to the 1950s.

New documentary evidence has allowed me to trace the *Codex Moguntiacus* back to its country of origin where it was created by one or more artists/forgers who thought they were capable of creating a pre-Hispanic pictorial manuscript in accordance with the Mixtec pictorial tradition. But history has proven them wrong.

We should credit Walter Lehmann for having been the first codex scholar to correctly identify the two falsified pictorial manuscripts – the *Codex Moguntiacus* and the copy of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* – back in 1910. Somewhere after the auction sale these two pictorial manuscripts were joined together, producing a new hybrid pictorial manuscript that had not existed previously in this form.

We have also shown that the watercolor copy made by Manuel de Velasco (Velasco 1916) and now housed at the Tozzer Library, was copied directly from the *Codex Moguntiacus* when the manuscript was in Mexico. A comparison of this copy and the *Codex Moguntiacus* shows that it is a very accurate copy. Should the *Codex Moguntiacus* never surface again then this copy will become even more important because it was executed in color and therefore provides important information as to the colors used in the original but fake *Codex Moguntiacus*.

Since color lithographs of the *Codex Colombino* and the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* were published for the first time at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Chavero 1892), we can assume that the artists/forgers relied heavily on these publications to be able to manufacture copies/falsifications.

But where is the *Codex Moguntiacus* now? Its present location is unknown and its very existence is in doubt,<sup>45</sup> but perhaps it is still in the hands of a private collector in Mainz, Germany, or someplace else. My wish is that the present owner will read this article and make the material available for further study.

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45 With the exception of a vertical strip of one page from the *Codex Moguntiacus* that can be found among the Ernst Mengin papers at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark.

**Acknowledgments**

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### Appendix I

Walter Lehmann (ms. 1910): *Codices Dorenbergenses. Gruppe B*. Unpublished manuscript. Berlin: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut [Y464, Nachlass Lehmann].<sup>46</sup>

F.1r

#### Die neueren Codices Dorenbergenses

1. Pergamentblatt 50½ x 62,8 cm (Fälschung?)
- 2.) descendencia de Mictlantecutli del año de 1607 (echt!)
- 3.) Zwei Blatt Pergament mit Darstellungen von 6 Fürsten aus span. Zeit (echt)
- 4.) Codex auf Cocosfaser-papier; Spiegeldarstellungen aus Lienzo de Tlaxcala (Fälschung)
- 5.) Codex auf Cocosfaser, Nachbildung des echten "Codex Dorenberg = Codex Colombinus (im Mus. Nac. de México)" (Fälschung)

wurden mir November 1910 zur Begutachtung vom Herrn Konsul Dorenberg nach München gesandt, wo ich sie genau prüfte u. mich darüber schriftlich an Dorenberg äußerte; hierbei wies ich eingehend nach, daß 5) eine Fälschung. Ich wiederholte das bei einem Besuche im Dorenberg'schen Hause in Freiburg i. /Br. (Maria-Theresia-Str. No. 13). Dorenberg, der früher gut gesammelt hatte u. Originale besaß, hat sich in letzter Zeit verspekuliert, namentlich durch Ankauf wertloser alter Bilder in Mexico. Er braucht, wie er mir sagte Geld, u. will daher obige Ms. veräußern.

Herr Ficke, der Direktor des Freiburger Mus. erwarb den Codex Dorenberg No. 5) für sein Mus. um 2000 Mark. Als er von mir hörte, daß sie doch eine glatte Fälschung sei, machte Stadtrat Ficke den Kauf schleunigst rückgängig. Seitdem hörte ich länger nichts von den Ms., bis ich Jan. 1916 in Leipzig bei K.W. Hiersemann den unglückseligen Codex No. 5) wiedertraf, den mir Hiersemann, der ihn auch sehr "bedenklich" fand, zeigte, wobei ich mein früheres Urteil wiederholte.

No. 1) ist stark Fälschung verdächtig, namentlich wegen der Stilvermischungen. Aber auf welche Vorlage geht das Blatt zurück. Auch No. 4) ist geschickt gefälscht im engsten Anschluss an das bekannte Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Als echt bleiben nur 2) u. 3) übrig, die aber durchaus sekundären Wertes sind u. daher auch keinen hohen Preis verdienen.

Dr. Walter Lehmann  
München 4. April 1916.

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46 Lehmann's notes from F.2r. to F.8r are not included here. On these pages Lehmann copied earlier descriptions made by Eduard Seler of both the *Codex Colombino* (Puebla, 1888) and of the so-called *Fragment Dorenberg* (Leipzig, 1899). These descriptions will be discussed in another article the author is currently preparing on Dorenberg's collection of Mexican pictorial manuscripts (originals and falsifications).

F.9r

Gruppe B

Die neueren Codices Dorenbergenses

1. Pergamentblatt 50½ x 62,8 cm (Fälschung?)
2. descendencia de Mictlantecutli de año de 1607 (echt!)
3. zwei Blatt Pergament mit Darstellungen von 6 Fürsten aus span. Zeit (echt!)
4. Codex auf Cocosfaser-papier = Spiegeldarstellungen am Lienzo de Tlaxcala (Fälschung)
5. Codex auf Cocosfaser. Nachbildung des echten "Codex Dorenberg" = Codex Colombino (im Mus. Nac. de Mexico) (Fälschung).

wurden Lehmann Nov. 1910 zur Begutachtung von Herrn Konsul Dorenberg nach München gesandt, wo er sie genau prüfte und sich darüber schriftlich an Dorenberg äußerte; hierbei wies er nachgehend aus, dass 5) eine Fälschung. Er wiederholte das bei einem Besuche im Dorenberg'schen Hause in Freiburg i./Br. (Marie-Theresiastr. 13). Dorenberg, der früher gut gesammelt hatte und Originale besaß, hat sich in der letzten Zeit verspekuliert, namentlich durch den Kauf wertloser alter Bilder in Mexico. Er brauchte, wie er sagte, Geld, und wollte daher obrige Mss. verkaufen.

Herr Ficke, der Direktor des Freiburger Mus., erwarb den Cod. Dorenberg No. 5 für sein Museum um 2000 M. Als er von Lehmann hörte, dass die Handschrift eine glatte Fälschung sei, machte Stadtrat Ficke den Kauf schleunigst rückgängig. Seitdem hörte Lehmann länger nichts von dem Ms., bis er Jan 1916 in Leipzig bei K. W. Hiersemann den unglücklichen Codex No. 5 wiedertraf, den Hiersemann, der ihn erst so sehr "bedenklich" fand, ihm zeigte.

F.10r

No. 1 ist stark der Fälschung verdächtig, namentlich wegen der Stilvermischungen. Aber auf welche Vorlage geht das Blatt zurück?

No. 4 ist auch geschickt gefälscht im engsten Anschluß an das bekannte Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Als echt bleiben nur 2 u. 3. übrig, die aber durchaus sekundären Wertes sind und daher auch keinen festen/hohen Preis verdienen.

F.11r

Bemerkungen zu den mexikanischen Handschriften der Slg. J. Dorenberg, Freiburg i. Br., November 1910.

1) ein Blatt Pergament. 50½ cm. h. 62,8 cm. lang; war lange Zeit in der Länge und Breite zusammengefaltet, so daß das Pergament brüchig geworden ist, namentlich in der Mitte des ausgebreiteten Blattes (ähnlich wie bei dem Ms. Aubin No. 20, der Bibl. Nat. Paris).

Das Pergament ist sehr dünn, außen und hinten stark beschmutzt, durch alten Staub. Die Darstellung zeigt einen großen Ballspielplatz (tlachtli) in vier Feldern mit den Farben gelb, rot, grün, blau.

Auf diesem Ballspielplatz sind 5 Ballspieler (ollamaninaê) in lebhafter Bewegung gemalt mit Quetzalfedern am Kopf, Ohr und Halsschmuck (Kette mit Brustscheibe, die dem Maya- Zeichen Kin "Sonne" ähnelt). Kurze Hosen, Sandalen. Bart mit Schellen. Hinten über dem Steißbein ein rundes Gestell mit dem Kautschukball. Ober- und Unterarm mit Bändern. Fuß mit Riemen u. Sandalen. Der Typus des Gesichtes erinnert mehr an Maya- Darstellungen.

#### F.11 Bis r

Oben, unten, l. u. r. sind in gelben Kreisen die Hieroglyphen der Jahre gezeichnet: tecpatl, tochtli, acatl, calli.

Der Ballspielplatz ist umgeben zwischen diesen Kreisen von den Tageszeichen, deren Grund oben abwechselnd gelb, blau, grün, rot ist, unten dagegen grün, gelb, blau, rot.

Die Reihenfolge der Tageszeichen ist eine sehr merkwürdige u. hat vielleicht Bezug auf Anfänge von Venusperioden. Eine bestimmte Deutung ist mir noch nicht gelungen.

Den äußersten Kreis bilden flammenähnliche Gebilde (Rauchwolken), die nach Art der Haare der Ballspieler schraffiert sind auf gelben Grund und ein Sternensaum mit Augen auf blauem Grunde.

Vermutlich ist dies die Kopie einer sonst nicht bekannten Bilderschrift, die vielleicht auf Leon y Gama oder Pichard zurück geht u. deren Original denn vielleicht der Slg. Boturini's angehört haben könnte; ~~wobei man etwa an f. 30 No 4 seines Catálogo del Museo. Ind. (Madrid 1746) denken könnte~~ — Inventar VI. No. 25.

#### F.12r

ad Cod. Dorenberg. (Genealogia mexicana):

Abschrift des vom Fray Juan Alcantara auf der hölzernen Rückwand des Stammbaumes abgegebenen handschriftlichen Meinung über dieses Dokument. Dbg.

Este cuadro genealógico fué hallado en la casa de Antonio José Tototla del canton de Tulantzingo en compañía de otros objetos históricos, pues buscando datos para los límites de Apitzaco y Chantempan lo encontramos, llevándolo despues á la sala de Cabildos de Chololla.

Yo: Juan de Dios Alcantara, de la orden de San Francisco y misiones de el convento de San Lorenzo Escorial de España doy una vaga explicación á mi poco entender:

Dize así: En el centro del árbol: 3ª Descendencia de Mictlantecutli en el año de 1607. Alrededor del Arbol se ve los personajes de la descendencia con los siguientes nombres:

Cohuac, Mazatlinatzin, Tototlatzin, Tlacotzin, Apolco, Tlatenatzin, Tonacacatzin, Tecohuatlatzin, Zuclitla, Xonacotlatzin, Xocamaxtil, Ychcatla, Tollipatla, huayatzin, Azhayatzin, Cluamatlatzin.

Arriba se ve el Aguila Austriaca que encabeza el plano, dicha Aguila pertenece al reinado de Carlos V.

## F.12 Bis r

Habiendo usurpado los Españoles sus propiedades y terrenos se destruyó dicha rama y á mi entender, este cuadro fué hecho como un Recuerdo de su nobleza.

Abajo se ven los seros (cerros de Nopalapan, Miquichtetl y Caahue.

La dueña de este plano y los demás objetos es la Sra. Josefa Maria Tototla, madre de Antonio José. Escribo esto para su reconocimiento.

Yo: Fray Juan Alcantara de la orden de San Francisco.

Año de 1705. Nueva España.

Nach Zusendung von Herrn Konsul Dorenberg (Freiburg i. Br.) Kopiert von Dr. Walter Lehmann, München, den 24. Oktober 1910.

## F.13r

## 2) Genealogia.

Descendencia de Mictlantecutli del año de 1607.

Agavefaserstoff mit Stuckschicht, darauf die Darstellungen gemalt. 84 cm. H., 60 cm. breit. Zus. gesetzt aus 4 Streifen (in der ~~Höhe~~ Breite), die der Höhe nach wieder aus kleineren stücken zus. gesetzt sind.

Auf der Rückseite des Holzbrettes, auf dem das Blatt mit Reiszwecken befestigt ist, befindet sich die Notiz des Fray Juan Alcantara vom Jahre 1705.

Wo der Stuck frisch abgesprungen ist, erscheint der Agavestoff braun mit glänzender, wie gummierter Oberfläche, ohne daß die Fasern besonders deutlich zutage treten.

bei älteren Stellen, wo der Stuck schon lange abgeplatzt ist, erscheint der Faserstoff mit derben Agavefasern.

## F.14r

## 3). Zwei Blatt Pergament mit Darstellung von 6 Königen.

31 cm. lang; 21,3 cm. h., aus spanischer Zeit. Ähnelt einem Ms. des Museo Nac. de Mexico.

1. El Emperador Tezomoxi Señor que fue de Escapusalco de quien descendieron los Reyes de S<sup>n</sup> Tiago y Mexico.
2. Quaquavitsahuar Primero Rey de Santiago. Hijo de Tezocomexti.
3. El Monarca .....Moctezuma que fué de el Imperio Mexicano.
4. Don Fernando Cortes Moctezuma Huichilihuil, nieto del Emperador Ayacayacatzin.
5. Dn Diego de Mendoza Austria y Moctezuma. Hijo legitimo de Dn Fernando Cortes Huichiliguila.
6. D. Baltasar de Mendoza y Moctezuma, hijo legitimo de D. Diego de Mendoza Austria Moctezuma, nieto del Emperador Moctezuma Sr. De Tesontepeque, descendente por linea recta de Nezagualcoyotli huichiliguil, y demás Reyes de este Reyno.

Vete!

F.1v

Auf der Rückseite von Blatt 1 in verblaßter alter Schrift die Zahl 121.

Auf der Rückseite von Blatt 2 in alter Schrift:

En 19 fols. Con los <sup>Rei</sup>os

Y pintura de los Reyes

F.15r

4) Codex aus spanischer Zeit, Spiegelbild eines Teiles des Lienzo de Tlaxcallan.

auf braunes, grobes (Agave) <sup>Cocos-faser</sup> papier, das mit Stuck bedeckt ist, gemalt. 21x21 cm.

Rückseite A. schließt mit Blatt 16 des Lienzo de Tlaxcallan.

16, 17, 15, 13, 11, 10, 9, 8, 5, 1.

Seite B.

32, 24, 26, 25, 23, 22, 21, 20, 19,

Blatt 1 Vorderseite Tlaxcallan = 1 des Lienzo;

Blatt 1 Rückseite Quecholac. 32 des Lienzo.

Die Zeichnungen sind besser und kleiner als in dem Lienzo de Tlaxcallan.

F.16r

5.) Codex Mixtekischen Stiles.

aufs engste anschließend an den Codex Colombinus des Museo Nacional de Mexico. Auf (Agave) Cocos papier (braun u. grobfaserig) mittels Stuckschicht gemalt. Mit roten horizontalen Trennungslinien.

Aus inneren Gründen, bei sorgfältigem Vergleich mit dem Cod. Colomb. ergibt sich soviel Bedenken, daß ich mich genötigt sehe, die Bilderschrift als eine raffinierte Fälschung anzusehen, da sie keine alte Kopie sein kann.

Die Handschrift beginnt auf Blatt 1. r.

= 4 Cod. Colomb. Eine Fülle von Ungenauigkeiten u. missverstandenen Details. Die Figur unt. 1. hat z. bl. doppelte Conturen. Die Zahlen neben dem Haus unt. Mitte fehlen.

Blatt 2 = Cod. Col. 3.

Blatt 3 = Cod. Col. 5. Zahl unt. 1. falsch (nur 3 atl). Hierogl. atl verzeichnet.

Blatt 4 = Cod. Col. 6.

Ein Wasserstrom hinzugefügt zu dem Gefäß ob. Mitte. Ganz vortrefflich gezeichnet, so daß man das Blatt für echt halten könnte!

Blatt 5 = Cod. Col. 1.

1. ob. eine Figur hinzugefügt.

1. unt. statt des Kopfes einer Figur das Zeichen olin.



## F.17r

Blatt 6 = Cod. Col. 2.

Die Hälfte des Berges (unt. r. von Bl. 5) ist wiederholt!

Blatt 7 = Cod. Col. 13.

unt. r. ein Berg hinzugefügt, setzt olin-Datum, während im Cod. Col., Teil eines Hauses noch zu erkennen ist.

Blatt 8 = Cod. Col. 14.

Blatt 9 = Cod. Col. 15. Mitte l. Gestell mit Rändel statt Haus.

Mitte r. 1 olin statt 4 olin!

Untere Reihe Figuren sehr schlecht ergänzt.

Blatt 10. = Cod. Col. 16. Seite l. olin hinzugefügt.

Blatt 11 = Cod. Col. 18, Unt. Mitte ein Symbol rechts von der Jahreshierogl. fortgelassen.

Blatt 12. = Cod. Col. 11, aber nur teilweise.

Statt der Fächerträger aber Schildträger, entlehnt aus Cod. Col., Bl. 6 (unt. l.). Der Lanzenwerfer nach Cod. Col. Bl. 6 (ob. Mitte) etc.!

beweist die Fälschung!

Blatt 13. = frei erfunden.

Blatt 14. = Cod. Col. 20. Statt des Hierogl. acatl. (l. unt.) eine Reihe von Zahlkreisen.

Rückseite Cod. Col. 22. Blatt 14. Im Schild Jaguarflecke hinzugefügt.

Das Auge des Rachens (l. unt.) frei vom Kiefer (etwas entfernt) gezeichnet!

## F.18r

Rückseite Bl. 1. = Cod. Col. ~~22~~ 23.

„ „ 2. = Cod. Col. 8. unt. l. fehlen Zahlkreise.

„ „ 3. = Cod. Col. 24. unt. r. Figur hat abgeschnittenen Kopf der benachbarten Figur hinzugefügt erhalten. Mitte Mitte fehlt Zahl 4 neben dem Pfeil (acatl).

„ „ 4. = Cod. Col. Bl. 7. Mitte l. fehlt Hierogl. über der Zahl 3. Unt. l. ist im Schild ein tecpatl konstruiert.

„ „ 5. erfunden. angelehnt an Col. Bl. 7 u. Bl. 4.

„ „ 6. erfunden. Hierogl. l. ob. = Cod. Col. 13, unt. m.

„ „ 7. erfunden.

„ „ 8. erfunden.

„ „ 9. = Cod. Col. 19. Viele Ungenauigkeiten

„ „ 10. = Cod. Col. 21.

„ „ 11. = Cod. 12. ob. l. fehlt sitzende Figur. Mitte r. statt Figur mit Stab 7 olin u. Zahl 3 die im Orig. mit d. Kopf des Wanderers verbunden ist, ist stehen geblieben!

„ „ 12. = Cod. Col. 11. Bei der Fig. in der Mitte des Tlachtli (rechts) fehlt die schwarze Gesichtsmaske.

F.19r

Rückseite Bl. 13 = Cod. Col. 17. Mitte Mitte Tempel mit Totenkopf ganz mißverstanden,  
etc.

„ „ Bl. 14 = Cod. Col. 22.

Durchschnittl. Länge 27, 8 cm.

„ Höhe 20 cm.

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- AHMNA Archivo Histórico del Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City.
- BM/CA The British Museum, Central Archives, London.
- HSA/HC Hispanic Society of America, Hiersemann correspondence, New York.
- IAI Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Berlin.
- StFr Stadtarchiv Freiburg im Breisgau, Freiburg im Breisgau.
- TL/SC Tozzer Library, Special Collections, Harvard.
- KU/MP Københavns Universitet, Ernst Mengin papers, Department of American Indian Languages and Cultures, Copenhagen.
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