



# ON THE MOUNT OF INTERTWINED SERPENTS

The Pictorial History of Power,  
Rule, and Land on Lienzo Seler II

Edited by Viola König



Ethnologisches Museum  
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MICHAEL IMHOF VERLAG

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## *Lienzo Seler II (Coixtlahuaca II): A Biography and History of Research*

VIOLA KÖNIG

CA. 1556–CA. 1890. LIENZO SELER II IN COIXTLAHUACA

While the content documented on Lienzo Seler II reaches back to the twelfth century and thus to the pre-Hispanic era, the lienzo was not made before the second half of the sixteenth century, that is, in early colonial times. This becomes apparent from the overall structure of the cotton cloth (Spanish: *lienzo*) which measures 375 x 425 centimeters, from the course of the border shown on it, and from the fact that the images include Spaniards and Christian church buildings.<sup>1</sup> According to Doesburg (see Doesburg, this volume), Lienzo Seler II was made later than both the Lienzo of Coixtlahuaca I (fig. 7.7) and Lienzo A. Earlier, the same author and others stated that the very last entry on Lienzo Seler II was made in 1556 when the images of the two Spanish friars Antonio de la Serna and Domingo de Salazar and their names were added to the lienzo in Latin letters (Doesburg 2003: 20–21; König 1984: 286–87; Lehmann 1905: 279). However, these images show a completely different style and script obviously to be dated later than all the other images in the typical pre-Conquest style on this document. In addition, the physico-chemical analyses by the Rathgen-Forschungslabor showed that different black inks were used for the scripts (glosses) and the drawings (see Reiche and Marten, this volume). Thus, our lienzo is more than 460 years old.

Until now we lack any information about the lienzo's use during the following 300 years. However, we can assume that it was kept in the town of Coixtlahuaca itself, where it may have been consulted in local matters such as land ownership, municipal history and family history.<sup>2</sup> From a short note by its last collector Eduard Seler we know that Lienzo Seler II remained in Coixtlahuaca's town hall until the 1890s:

“A piece of cotton cloth measuring about 16 square meters, with historical and geographical depictions in picture writing, from the town hall (*cabildo*) of Coaixtlahuacan in the Mixteca Alta.” (SMB-PK, EM Pars I B 26: Acta betreffend die Reisen des Dr. Seler nach Amerika in den Jahren 1895/96 und 1904/05, E 934/97)<sup>3</sup>

The lienzo was named after Seler, the renowned German scholar, who gave it to the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde, today Ethnologisches Museum (EM), in 1897.<sup>4</sup> Some scholars prefer the name of the place of origin, Coixtlahuaca. The first reference to both these names is given by Walter Lehmann:

“V. The Chocho-Popoloca paintings. 1. Lienzo Seler II (Lienzo de Cohaixtlahuaca). Length: 4 ½ meters, height: 3 ¾ meters; = circa 16 square meters. On cotton cloth, damaged in several places. Kept at the Royal Museum of Ethnography Berlin.” (Lehmann 1905: 278)<sup>5</sup>

In the so-called Coixtlahuaca Group of lienzos, Seler II is the largest work both in size and contents with its overall “global” context. Seler mentions its provenance, information he probably received from Manuel Martínez Gracida (1847–1924) who was one of the lienzo’s former owners (on Martínez Gracida see Rojas Martínez, this volume, and Sellen 2015).

Martínez Gracida had access to local cacique’s documents such as codices, lienzos, and *mapas* all over the state of Oaxaca, which used to be guarded in private collections and family archives. He held close contact to the descendants of the old noble families, who at that time were transforming into “caciques capitalistas” or were in complete dissolution (Oudijk and Jansen 1998: 17). Around 1878–1880, Martínez Gracida had compiled his famous collection *Cuadros sinópticos de los pueblos, haciendas y ranchos del Estado libre y soberano de Oaxaca* including elaborate details on Oaxaca history and territories.

The 1880s to 1890s was the period when Martínez Gracida ordered copies of codices, lienzos and *mapas* from local communities of Oaxaca, but he also got access to originals (Swanton and Doesburg 1996: 360, 361). In recognition of his previous work, he got appointed *oficial segundo* in charge of the government’s *Secretaría de Estadística y Registro Civil* in 1881 (Hernández Bolaños 2010: 24). Doesburg, who has studied such cases, illustrates the routes typically taken by originals using the example of the history of the *Codex Porfirio Díaz*:

“Manuel Martínez Gracida encountered the codex in 1891, when it was in the possession of the Spanish hacienda administrator of Tecomaxtlahuac, José Pérez Calderón, who was then living in Oaxaca. The latter reported to have purchased the codex in 1886 from the last caciques of Tutepetongo, probably Manuel and Felipe Avendaño, the sons of Juan José de los Angeles Avendaño.” (Doesburg 2001a: 426–427, note 4)

#### CA. 1890–1895. OUTSIDE COIXTLAHUACA AND STOPOVERS IN MEXICO

Around 1890 at least three lienzos were kept at the town of Coixtlahuaca: the Lienzos of Coixtlahuaca I and II, and the lost original of Lienzo A (Doesburg 2015: 38). In a telegram of September 30, 1891 to President Porfirio Díaz, the governor of Oaxaca, Gregorio Chávez, mentions a lienzo in Coixtlahuaca which Doesburg believes to be Lienzo Seler II, acquired by Martínez Gracida shortly after 1892 (Doesburg 1998a: 104–105). He must have made use of Lienzo Seler II between 1892 and 1895, because he provides a full-colored image of the central place sign “Hill of Entwined Serpents” in his unpublished manuscript “Los Indios Oaxaqueños,” subtitled the “Civilización Chuchonteca, Geroglífico de Coixtlahuaca, Codice del Pueblo” (fig. 4.3).<sup>6</sup> Sabino Soriano, who produced a large number of plates in Manuel Martínez Gracida’s work, signed that image.<sup>7</sup> Soriano probably drew his many plates for Manuel Martínez Gracida in the state’s capital of Oaxaca before 1895, where he seems to have had access to the material used in “Los Indios Oaxaqueños,” including Lienzo Seler II.<sup>8</sup> This is confirmed by another such image showing the double place sign of the town of Coixtlahuaca on Lienzo Seler II, in just the same style, format and handwriting (fig. 2.1).<sup>9</sup> It is subtitled there as:

“Mexican Codices & Lienzos. Drawing, ink & watercolor, titled ‘Lienzo de Coixtlahuaca/ copia de una lamina made for Manuel Martínez Gracida in Oaxaca.’ Secured by Marshall H. Saville in 1900.”

In the Saville biography provided by Belinda Kaye, included in the same American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) archive, we find some explanation. Obviously Saville “secured” the plate during his stay at Oaxaca in 1900.<sup>10</sup> But in 1900, Martínez Gracida was working at the Marítima de Acapulco where he began to compile the *Nomenclatura geográfica del estado de Guerrero* (Hernández Bolaños 2010: 38). The plate in Saville’s archive seems to be a copy of the illustrations Sabino Soriano had made before 1895, which can be inferred from the subtitle’s handwriting. Somehow Saville was able to “secure” the drawing in 1900.

But let us return to the original’s odyssey. We do not know the circumstances of how Lienzo Seler II left its home community, which and how many middlemen were involved, before it was passed over to Martínez Gracida. What were the terms: was it a gift, a sale or some other kind of conveyance? For the most part Martínez Gracida used originals for gathering information only. He then gave them to people he thought worthy of having them, such as Dr. Antonio Peñafiel, a very renowned Mexican historian who for some time was his superior at the Secretaría de Estadística y Registro Civil and who had tremendous influence on Martínez Gracida (Swanton and Doesburg 1996: 359; Hernández Bolaños 2010: 28).

During that time, Martínez Gracida was introduced to the intellectual circles of Mexico City. He became a member of the “club arqueológico” of Oaxaca (Doesburg 1998b: 52), and met with visiting scholars from abroad (Sellen 2006: 10<sup>11</sup> and 2015: 167; Hernández Bolaños 2010: 28–29), among them the Selers who were already close friends with Peñafiel since their first trip to Mexico in 1888 (Seler 1889: 264, 256).<sup>12</sup> Martínez Gracida must have met them during their second trip in 1895 at the latest, when they participated in the International Congress of Americanists. On that occasion Antonio Peñafiel showed a “Plano de Coixtlahuaca” to the visitors of the congress (Glass and Robertson 1975: 110). The congress acta tell us that on October 16, 1895, some of the most notable scholars of the time visited a special exhibition installed for the congress participants in the Museo Nacional in Mexico City presenting new finds. On the list of exhibits appears “El Dr. D. Antonio Peñafiel: Códice Fernández Leal, original, copia en lienzo del plano de Coixtlahuaca (Oaxaca).”<sup>13</sup>

Peñafiel was able to publish the Codex Fernández Leal in the same year of 1895, but no other information is given on the “Plano de Coixtlahuaca.” Doesburg considers the possibility that it was Lienzo Seler II (Doesburg 2015: 88, note 12). If so, some questions arise: why did Peñafiel present a copy? From what original was it made? Where did it come from? Where was the original then, in October 1895? If the original was Lienzo Seler II, was it already being shipped to Berlin? Was the lienzo really sold directly to Seler by Martínez Gracida, or did it pass before to Antonio Peñafiel?

Peñafiel needed the documents for reproduction and publication of his own work. The Codice Fernández Leal from the Cuicatec area that Peñafiel had presented at the Congress



FIG. 2.1 Lienzo of Coixtlahuaca II, copy of a plate made for Manuel Martínez Gracida in Oaxaca. Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, Saville Box 2, Folder 16.



exhibition in the Museo Nacional together with the “Plano de Coixtlahuaca” is such a case described by Lehmann:

“The codex was property of Mr. Benjamin Guevara, a direct descendant of the princes of Quiotepec, who were allies of the lordly family of Cuicatlan. D. Manuel Martínez Gracida, a distinguished archaeologist and former state secretary in Oaxaca, gave the document to Mr. Ant. Peñafiel. The latter published it in 1895 under the title ‘Codice Fernandez Leal’ in honor of the Minister of Public Works.” (Lehmann 1905: 278)<sup>14</sup>

Doesburg specifies that Martínez Gracida received Codex Fernández Leal as well as the Mapa de Quiotepec in 1893 from the abovementioned local D. Benjamín Guevara as a gift (Doesburg 1996, vol. 1: 74; see also Oudijk and Jansen 1998: 15, note 35).

As to Lienzo Seler II, we have far less of information on its acquisition. Elsewhere I have studied the Seler’s journeys and stays in Oaxaca (König 2003); however, the only short reference to the acquisition of the lienzo is found in Caecilie Seler-Sachs’ 1895–1897 travel report *Auf alten Wegen in Mexiko und Guatemala*: “Due to a fortunate coincidence we were able to acquire such a painted linen cloth measuring 4 m in the square, which comes from the village of Coaixtlahuaca” (Seler-Sachs 1900: 90, footnote; see Gaida, this volume).<sup>15</sup>

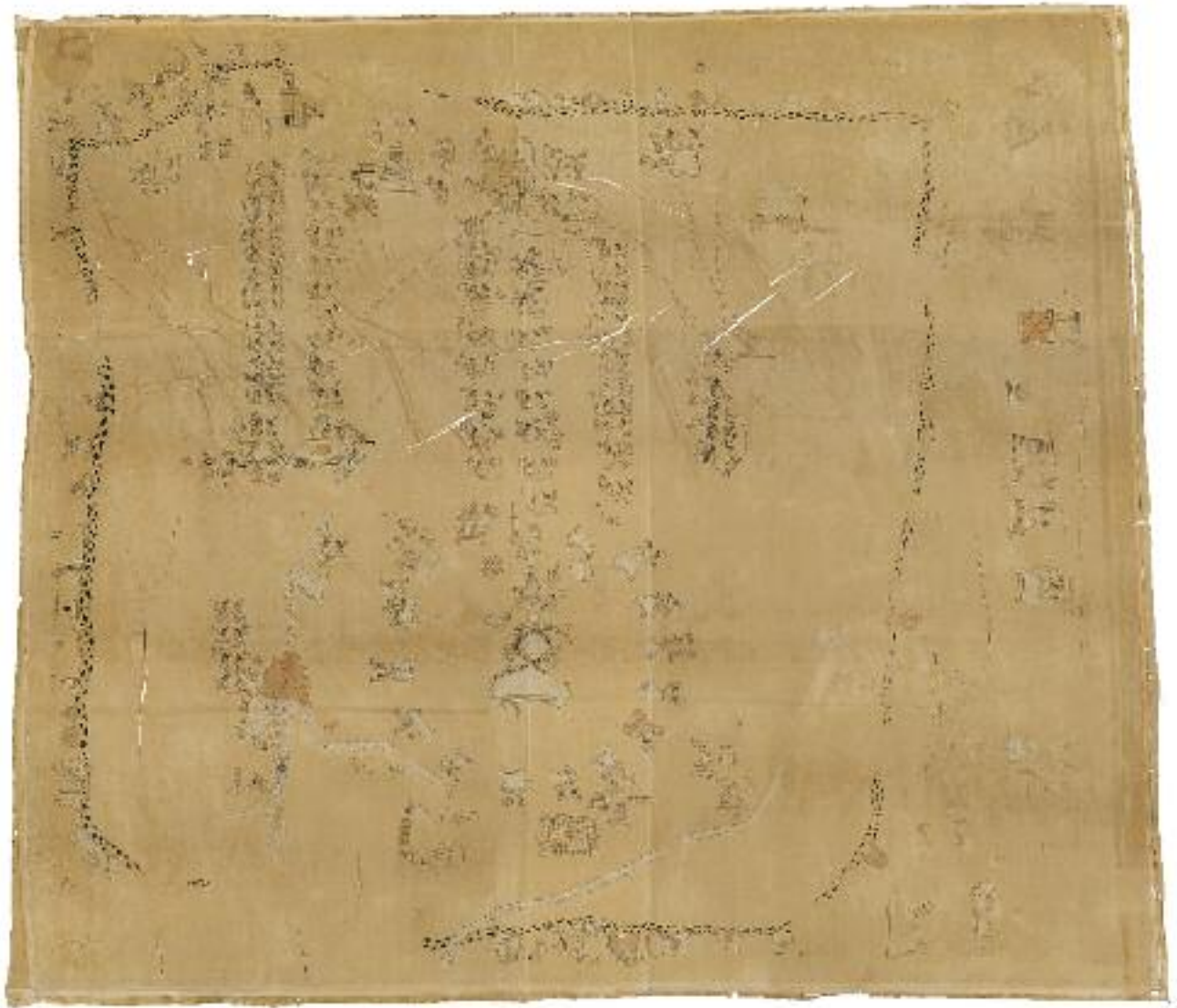
Their acquisition of the lienzo was most probably a purchase, but not necessarily so; it may well have been a gift, for example from either Martínez Gracida or the Seler’s close friend Peñafiel. Both men used to give the documents away after finishing their own work. It remains one of the open questions what Caecilie precisely meant by a “fortunate coincidence.”

In his information on Lienzo Seler II, Walter Lehmann, Seler’s student and colleague, writes the lienzo “also came from Mr. Martínez Gracida” and “was brought to Europe by Mr. Seler (around 1897)” (Lehmann 1905: 279).

To sum up we can isolate two time periods for the Seler’s acquisition of Lienzo Seler II:

1. 1895 in Mexico City when they participated in the Congress of Americanists together with Antonio Peñafiel and perhaps Martínez Gracida, who worked with Peñafiel in the Secretaría de Estadística and who might have had the original of Lienzo Seler II at the time (Swanton and Doesburg 1996: 359, note 3).
2. Oaxaca City from November 14, 1895 up to the end of the year when they left to continue their trip. Caecilie mentions collecting activities and packing (Seler-Sachs 1900: 21).<sup>16</sup> Sellen refers to the acquisition of the “bulk” of Martínez Gracida’s holdings (Sellen 2006: 17). In that case, they would have received the lienzo from Martínez Gracida personally. As can be seen on a photograph published by Caecilie, they participated in an outing of the “archaeological club” (Sellen 2006: 10) to Monte Albán on December 27, 1895 (fig. 4.4, see Rojas Martínez, this volume).<sup>17</sup>

Still the question remains why Martínez Gracida and/or Peñafiel, who worked actively to build up the Mexican nation and documented and reconstructed its local history, would have had any interest to see these valuable documents leave the country. Everybody knew about the value of such kinds of documents to the local families and communities. For whatever reasons, Seler himself never published the lienzo but allowed Lehmann to publish the information given in his acquisition list for the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde. To that information, Lehmann added some details such as the presence of churches and priests, whose names are written on the lienzo in sixteenth-century script, as well as “some



strange words in one of the languages spoken in the state of Oaxaca.<sup>18</sup> He also transcribed some of the place glyphs (Lehmann 1905: 279).

#### 1895–1897. ARRIVAL AND REGISTRATION OF THE MARTÍNEZ GRACIDA-SELER COLLECTION AT THE KÖNIGLICHES MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE BERLIN

Next we find the abovementioned reference to the lienzo in the archive of the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. Seler mentions four boxes arriving in Berlin in July 1897, which had been packed in Oaxaca and shipped from there.<sup>19</sup> In his report to the museum, Seler does not explicitly note that Lienzo Seler is part of the collection of archaeological artifacts he had bought from Martínez Gracida, but the entry of the lienzo in Seler's acquisition list appears among all the other pieces from that collection.<sup>20</sup>

Adam Sellen has studied the Berlin Martínez Gracida collection putting it into the context of early collecting activities in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Mexico, or more

FIG. 2.2 Copy of Lienzo Seler II (Coixtlahuaca II) by Wilhelm von den Steinen, 1899. Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, cat. no. MCAA/0975.

precisely during “the *Porfiriato*, a political period lasting three decades that saw a concerted government effort to conserve and to recuperate the pre-Hispanic past” (Sellen 2006: 5).

“During this time, a group of Mexican professionals schooled in the positivist scientific tradition, and with interests in archaeology and the origins of the American Indian, were highly active exploring the ruins in their home states. Through direct excavation, and trade with local indigenous peoples, they amassed huge archaeological collections, many of which went on to form the basis for the state and federal museums in México, while others were sold to foreign interests.” (Sellen 2006: 5)

The Mexican president and Oaxaqueño by origin, Porfirio Díaz, supported all these ventures including those of foreign scholars. Thus the Selers who traveled to Mexico twice were able to meet with Porfirio Díaz in person and to receive recommendation letters from him (König 2003: 328).<sup>21</sup> As Sellen correctly states, “in published sources, they do not mention any of these collectors’ names, however the accession information at the EM indicates that a large quantity of material was bought from Manuel Martínez Gracida” (Sellen 2006: 16–17). Sellen further specifies:

“At the end of the nineteenth century, Martínez Gracida was divesting his entire collection to different buyers, and an undated inventory list shows that at one point, it had almost 500 objects. Many of the large and spectacular Zapotec urns were sold to different foreign collectors, and in 1895, the Selers bought the bulk of the holding, including many of the smaller items. As part of an agreement with the Duke of Loubat who funded his work, E. Seler sent approximately half of these materials to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, while the other half was sent to the museum in Berlin.” (Sellen 2006: 17)<sup>22</sup>

Sellen does not give the number of objects because it is not possible to verify a Martínez Gracida origin for all of his objects within the EM’s Seler collection. However, Hernández Bolaños mentions a document in the Martínez Gracida papers of Oaxaca talking about 183 archaeological objects he sold to Seler, which are still kept in the EM’s storerooms today (Hernández Bolaños 2010: 37).<sup>23</sup>

#### AFTER 1895. COPIES AND FILES AT THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY (AMNH) NEW YORK

In Seler’s time, the scholarly community was small and its members were in close contact with each other. There was a busy exchange of written correspondence; unfortunately, however, copies were rarely made of outgoing mail. In the case of the Selers’ acquisitions sponsored by the Duke of Loubat, it is known that he obliged them to send part of the collections to the AMNH in New York. The budget managed by Seler was to be used, among other things, for making copies of the originals (for example, plaster casts) for the respective other museum. This explains why the Berlin-based illustrator Wilhelm von den Steinen made a copy of the lienzo in its original size, which was commissioned by Seler in 1899 (Johnson 2015a: 147, note 17). According to the correspondence kept at the AMNH, Seler announced shipment of the copy on May 8, 1899. However, the copy disappeared in the museum’s storerooms and did not resurface until 1991. It had no number and was inventoried after its rediscovery (fig. 2.2).<sup>24</sup>



FIG. 2.3 Lienzo Seler II. Drawing by Eduard Seler. Nachlass Eduard Seler. Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut SPK, Berlin

#### 1898–1970. SURVIVAL OF TWO WORLD WARS AND A NEW PLACE OF LOCATION

With the exception of Lehmann's publication of 1905 and a sketch made by Seler himself, clearly no one studied Lienzo Seler II before 1969 (fig. 2.3). However, it did survive the two World Wars and when the new museum buildings at Berlin Dahlem were designed it was decided to exhibit the lienzo full-size under glass on the wall in the Mesoamerica Galleries. The lienzo, which up to then had slumbered in the textile storage room of the Museum's department of American Archaeology, was photographed in black and white and then underwent thorough restoration between October, 1969 and May, 1970.<sup>25</sup> In 1970 the new galleries were opened, and from then visitors could see the lienzo. However, scholars had a hard time subjecting the glass-framed lienzo to a careful examination: due to its position on the wall, details in the upper parts were not visible at all (fig. 2.4).

#### 1970–2016. HANGING ON THE WALL

For purposes of study, the museum provided researchers with color photographs of the individual parts of the lienzo but it was not possible to make new pictures of the lienzo behind its glass pane. From 2007 onward it became apparent that the lienzo would have to be taken off the wall, comprehensively photographed, restored, and physically analyzed before moving to the new Humboldt Forum. However, the move ended up being postponed by ten years. The concrete preparatory measures eventually began in January 2016, and the glass pane was removed. The restorers of the museum and of the Rathgen-Forschungslabor began with their analyses (see Reiche and Marten, this volume). This made it possible to take new professional photos (fig. 2.4).

#### 1975–2016. RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

As mentioned above, Walter Lehmann included Seler's information in his short 1905 paragraph. For 70 years no attempts had been made to study the document when I began my research on it as a young student at the University of Hamburg. I presented the study at the XLII Congress of Americanists 1976 in Paris in the name of the professor and student group of our seminar on lienzos. However, due to the incompleteness of our study we decided not to submit anything for the Congress acta. I distributed our first draft to the young international group of researchers on the Mixtec pictorial manuscripts.<sup>26</sup> Soon after the congress, the group split. I resumed my study on Lienzo Seler II and eventually completed a book-length manuscript which Dieter Eisleb, who was then curator of the EM's Mesoamerican collection and editor of the museum's journal *Baessler Archiv*, agreed to publish (König 1984). In the meantime Ross Parmenter had published his important study *Four Lienzoes of the Coixtlahuaca Valley* (Parmenter 1982), and I was able to include his study in my article. In the years following publication of my article, the Coixtlahuaca Group of lienzos received more scholarly attention as more lienzos and valuable sources were discovered, stimulating research and publications and advancing our knowledge of this multiethnic transfer region of Mesoamerica.

Only few scholars were able to read the introductory methodological part of my study in German. Hence, I published a revised version of that first part in English (König 1999).



FIG. 2.4 Lienzo Seler II in the Mesoamerica Hall at the Ethnologisches Museum, SMB-PK, with author Viola König included for scale. Photo by Bernd Wannemacher.

FIG. 2.5 Special event for the public organized by the Cluster of Excellence “TOPOI” to examine Lienzo Seler II after removal out of its glass frame, August 2016. Photo by Nina Diezemann.



As a consequence of this, however, the results presented in the second part of the study have been rarely quoted, and sometimes even been “reinvented,” in the more recent literature.

The scholars who have studied the documents of the Coixtlahuaca Group in general and Lienzo Seler II in particular include R. Parmenter, S. van Doesburg, C. Rincón Mautner, and N. Johnson. In her comprehensive publication on Mesoamerican pictorial manuscripts including the Coixtlahuaca Group, E. Boone published the old black-and-white photographs (2000: 143, fig. 86). The most recent publication dealing with the Coixtlahuaca Group and Lienzo Seler II is the collection of essays on the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec edited by A. Brownstone (2015).

#### CLUSTER OF EXCELLENCE “TOPOI” AND LIENZO SELER II

In Berlin, a new opportunity of doing further research on Lienzo Seler II on the basis of the most recent state of research emerged from 2012 onward. The Cluster of Excellence “TOPOI” of the German Research Foundation granted two research projects on the subject of “Perception and the Presentation of Space in Mesoamerica,” including a dissertation project on Lienzo Seler II (<https://www.topoi.org/project/c-5-8-1>). In October 25–29, 2013, “TOPOI” held the conference “The Coixtlahuaca Valley in Oaxaca, Mexico. Current Research in Archaeology, History, Ethnology and Document Analysis” at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin. The participants agreed to publish their contributions, thus complementing the publication of the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec which was already in preparation at the time (fig. 2.5).

#### LOOKING INTO THE FUTURE—LIENZO SELER II AT THE HUMBOLDT FORUM

It is planned to move Lienzo Seler II to the new Humboldt Forum at the Schlossplatz in the heart of Berlin, and to exhibit it there on the second floor. From about 2019 onward it will be accessible to the public again. Within sight of the Humboldt Forum is the “cabildo” of Berlin, the “Rotes Rathaus” (“Red City Hall”), and the rebuilt castle itself is doubtlessly a worthy new home for Lienzo Seler II. However, thought must be given to the question of how the descendants of the lienzo’s authors in the Coixtlahuaca Valley can take an active part in the further fate of their village’s founding document.

NOTES

- 1 The lienzo is made of eight vertical bands sewn together, each of approximately 60 cm width, woven on a backstrap loom (König 1984).
- 2 Other such documents were taken to towns such as Puebla, Oaxaca or Mexico City as evidence in lawsuits. For a general overview see Ruiz Medrano (2010).
- 3 “Ein ungefähr 16 Meter Quadrat großes Stück Baumwollstoff mit historischen und geographischen Darstellungen in Bilderschrift aus dem Gemeindehause (Cabildo) von Coaixtlahuacan in der Mixteca Alta stammend” (SMB-PK, EM Pars I B 26: Acta betreffend die Reisen des Dr. Seler nach Amerika in den Jahren 1895/96 und 1904/05, E 934/97).
- 4 Eduard Seler traveled and worked with his wife Caecilie Seler-Sachs who published some of the results of their trips (see Gaida, this volume).
- 5 “V. Les peintures Chochos-Popolocas. 1. Lienzo Seler II (Lienzo de Coaixtlahuaca). Longueur, 4 1/4 m.; hauteur, 3 3/4 m.; = environ 16 m. sur étoffe de coton, endommagée en plusieurs endroits. Conservé au Musée royal d’Ethnographie de Berlin” (Lehmann 1905: 278).
- 6 “In 1892, Martínez Gracida started his ambitious opus “Los Indios Oaxaqueños y sus Monumentos Arqueológicos,” which he never finished and which is kept inedited in the Biblioteca Publica de Oaxaca” (Swanton and Doesburg 1996: 361).
- 7 “A talented local artist, Sabino Soriano, whose work illustrates much of Los Indios Oaxaqueños” (Sellen 2006: 19; 2015: 218).
- 8 Martínez Gracida also shows the full-colored place glyph of Tlapiltepec on the following plate 44, but this drawing was signed by a schoolteacher called Fidel López, who copied the glyph from the original lienzo in its home town of Tlapiltepec in 1892 (Parmenter 1982: 22–27; Doesburg 2015: 36).
- 9 It is kept today in the Saville Box 2, Folder 16 at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), New York.
- 10 Saville brought with him Seler’s former patron, the Duke of Loubat, to Mitla in February, 1900, who now “offered to fund Saville’s future Mexican fieldwork out of his own pocket” (Belinda Kaye, 2005–2007, Collection: Saville, Marshall Howard (June 24, 1867–May 7, 1935) Papers Collection number: S285. AMNH, Division of Anthropology Archives, Courtesy Charles S. Spencer, Kristen Mable, August 2016).
- 11 “The innermost circle consisted of four men: Fernando Sologuren, Francisco Belmar, Manuel Martínez Gracida, and Abraham Castellanos.”
- 12 In his “Reisebriefe” (1889: 264–265), Eduard, maybe ghostwritten by Caecilie, sings his praises on Peñafiel: “Most importantly [...], Dr. Peñafiel [...], the man who has advised and supported me in all my endeavors as if this was the most natural thing in the world, even though I never addressed his continuous, untiring, indeed touching friendship for us. As a matter of fact, since those late evening hours hardly a day has passed in which he has not taken care of us in some way, has not done something for us in thoughts, words, or actions. [...]. He has won my friendship by realizing that I am a sincere colleague in this field [of research]—and that friendship still lasts today.” (“Vor allem [...]. Dr. Peñafiel [...], dem Mann, als des selbstverständlichen Berathers und Förderers all meiner Unternehmungen, ohne dass ich indes seiner andauernden, unermüdlchen, wirklich rührenden Freundschaft für uns näher Erwähnung gethan hatte. In der That, seit jener späten Abendstunde, [...] ist kaum ein Tag vergangen, wo er nicht in irgend einer Weise für uns gesorgt, in Gedanken, Wort oder Werk für uns thätig gewesen ist. [...] Dass er mich als ernsthaften Mitarbeiter auf diesem Felde erkannte, das hat mir seine Freundschaft verschafft, und –bis zum heutigen Tage erhalten.”)
- 13 *Actas de la undécima reunión* 1895: 38 (88).
- 14 “Le Codex était la propriété de M. Benjamin Guevara, descendant des princes de Quiotepec en ligne directe, et dont les aïeux étaient alliés à la famille des seigneurs de Cuicatlan. D. Manuel Martínez Gracida, savant archéologue et ex-secrétaire d’état en Oaxaca, remit le document a M. Ant. Peñafiel. En 1895, celui-ci l’a publié sous le titre de *Codice Fernandez Leal*, en l’honneur du ministre de Fomento” (Lehmann 1905: 278).
- 15 “Durch einen günstigen Zufall konnten wir eine solche bemalte Leinwand von 4 m im Quadrat erwerben, die aus dem Dorfe Coaixtlahuaca stammt” (Seler-Sachs 1900: 90 footnote). Caecilie’s note refers to the special event of getting access to the Lienzo of Huilotepec in 1896 (see also Seler 1908).
- 16 Caecilie mentions that they had to come back to Oaxaca in 1897 once again before their return journey to Berlin because of unpacked collections they had left there, probably in 1895 (Seler-Sachs 1900: 269).
- 17 Reproduction from Seler-Sachs 1900: plate VII, “Eine Landpartie auf dem Monte Albán.”
- 18 “einige seltsame Bezeichnungen in einer Sprache des Staates Oaxaca” (Lehmann 1905: 279).
- 19 More boxes were sent from Colima, all probably via Veracruz, and others from Guatemala.
- 20 In his report Acta no. 934/97 of July 29, 1897 Seler introduces: “The collections, compiled with the support of his Excellency the Duke of Loubat on my journey in 1895–97.” The collections nos. 3–6 refer explicitly to the name of Martínez Gracida.
- 21 For an overview of the collecting activities by the Selers and other early German collectors in Oaxaca see König and Sellen 2015.
- 22 For Seler’s Martínez Gracida collection see also Sellen 2015: 211.
- 23 Rojas Martínez Gracida and Jansen, “Introducción a los manuscritos de Manuel Martínez Gracida,” n.d.: 4.
- 24 Information by Kristen Mable, AMNH, 2016. Shortly after, around 1900, the Duke of Loubat apparently favored exclusively Saville and the AMNH.
- 25 Information compiled by Maria Gaida (August 2016).
- 26 Quoted as “König, Viola n.d., ‘Der Lienzo Seler II (Coixtlahuaca II) und seine Stellung innerhalb der Coixtlahuaca-Gruppe.’ Paper presented at the XLII International Congress of Americanists, Paris 1976.” For “Mixtec Codex Group” see König 2015: 84f.