

# HIDDEN IMAGES, VISIBLE PREJUDICES. REPRESENTATIONS OF JEWS IN THE *LIBRI JUDEORUM* FROM THE EPISCOPAL ARCHIVE AND LIBRARY OF VIC IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

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## ABSTRACT

The research on the Jewish community of Vic has been based mainly on the study of the *Libri Judeorum* preserved in the Episcopal Archive and Library of Vic (ABEV). However, there is one element of this series that has not been studied: the images of the Jews drawn on the covers or inside the sheets of this notarial records. A total of 21 drawings of Jews have been located, all of them from 1310 to 1354. These representations evolved as the fourteenth century progresses and allow a reflection on the perception that Christian society had of this group, and how stereotypes and an iconography about “the Jews” were created and consolidated.

## KEYWORDS

Iconography, stereotype Jew, notarial records, usury.

## CAPITALIA VERBA

Iconographia, Iudaei (stereotypia), documenta notariorum, usura.

## 1. Introduction

It is a well-known fact that drawings of different subjects can be found in notarial books. Geometric designs, castles, real or imaginary animals, erotic and eschatological images... distractions of the scribes who made these drawings spontaneously in the flyleaves or in the marginal spaces of the serious and rigid notarial documentation.<sup>1</sup> Among these pictures there were also some representations of Jews, a character recognizable through a series of elements that identify this group with stereotypes. These drawings in the notarial sources were hidden, traced in the notarial records without any artistic intention, as well as they make visible the prejudices towards a minority society.

The notarial fonds section of the Episcopal Archive and Library of Vic preserves records that document the history of a Jewish community that was established in Vic at the beginning of the thirteenth century and was part of the city for almost 200 years.<sup>2</sup>

The studies of the Jewish community in Vic are based primarily on the study of the *Libri Judeorum*. However, the representations of the Jews found on the covers or inside the sheets of these books have never been studied, images drawn in a documentary series that generated the same Jewish community that was caricatured.

## 2. Jewish community of Vic and notarial fonds

Notarial documentation is one of the most important sources to study the history of the medieval Jewish communities in Catalonia. In the case of the Jewish community of Vic, documents from the *Libri Judeorum* along with other notarial records preserved in the ABEV shine a light on the history of the Jewish community of Vic.<sup>3</sup>

- *Manual*: The thirteenth century saw the development of Catalan notaries, and the ABEV preserved notarial records from that early period. The generic name

1. An example of this is the exhibition *Els ninots de l'escrivà*, which grouped 150 drawings from the notarial documentation of the Girona Historical Archive between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The exhibition went from physical to itinerant exposure and finally become virtual. *Els ninots de l'escrivà: dibuixats frívolament en seriosos documents notariais: Catàleg de l'exposició*. Girona: Arxiu Històric de Girona, 1999, <<http://continguts.cultura.gencat.cat/arxius/ahg/ninotsescriva/webescriva.html>>.

2. The Episcopal Archive and Library of Vic (Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic, ABEV) is an institution that groups a diverse and heterogeneous set of archival and bibliographic collections around the ecclesiastical archives of the bishopric and the Episcopal Library in Vic gathered over a thousand years of history. Among of all of them, Smoked Curia Archive (Arxiu de la Cúria Fumada, ACF) stands out. This fonds contains the documentation of the ecclesiastical notary's office in the city of Vic, derived from the exclusive right of notary who had the Bishop of Vic within the city limits, the term, and the parish of Vic. Ginebra, Rafel. "Els arxius de l'Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic. Onze segles d'història i cent anys de concentració de fons". *Lligall*, 16 (2000): 11-83.

3. Llop, Irene. *Vides i veus del call. Orígens i consolidació de la comunitat jueva de Vic (1231-1315)*. Vic: Patronat d'Estudis Osonencs, 2019: 25-40.



of *Manual* refers to common notarial copies of the originals that were given to the interested parties. These are general books, with a great diversity in type of documents, that synthetically contained the basic details of the legal act they set out. The first manual of the series contains the first reference of the presence of a Jew acting in Vic in the year 1231.<sup>4</sup>

- *Libri Judeorum*: The evolution of the notary institutions led to a specialization of books, which were grouped by type. The specialization of general manuals according to the series first appeared in the notary's office in Vic in 1238, with the appearance of books exclusively of agreements and books of wills. Among these special series, the *Libri Judeorum* is a unique and singular typology. This series has the same formal characteristics as the rest of the notarial manuals from the same period, but with the difference that the granting or receiving part belongs to the Jewish community. Within ABEV, this series stands out for its early and continued presence as well as for its size: 28 books from 1264-1354. The series begins at the time when the number of Jews in Vic was stabilized, and credit activity increased. The last volume in the series is important because it was written in the period of the Great Plague and the death of the main Jews of the Vic *aljama* (ABEV, ACF-4606).



ILLUSTRATION 1. ARCHIVE OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL NOTARY OF VIC (ARXIU DE LA CÚRIA FUMADA, ABEV). ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.

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4. ABEV, ACF-1, f. 49v.



The notarial documentation records the activities carried out by a part of the Jewish community, generally the one with the greatest economic power, and does not document all economic activities but focuses on loans. Despite these limitations, the sources deepen our knowledge of the Jewish community with news about its origins, consolidation, changes and decline of the community to its end.

At the moment of the arrival and consolidation of the Jewish community, Vic was a town in full expansion that had a significant economic and commercial growth and was a centre of attraction of population. The information of the thirteenth century points out that, from the first written evidence on Jewish activity in Vic until 1260, the establishment of Jews was discreet and constant. They came from places with strong and old Jewish communities, mainly Barcelona and Girona, where conserved properties, and economic and family ties were maintained within these communities.<sup>5</sup> In the first decades of Jewish presence in the town, Christian rented them houses in different points of the town. But at the end of the century and specially in the fourteenth century, the Jewish population went from being scattered to concentrating around Guiu street, which became the centre of a Jewish quarter that continued to be inhabited not exclusively by Jews, but where the Jewish presence was very strong.<sup>6</sup> Exactly on this street was located the synagogue and a probable Jewish ritual bath (*mikveh*).<sup>7</sup> The most documented economic activity of this group is the loan, which was made at a family level, very intense due to the high demand of all social classes, especially for peasants. For that indebted society, the only source of financing was the Jewish credit.<sup>8</sup>

The fourteenth century was a time of great change for the community. In 1315 part of the community came under royal rule and the *aljama* of the Jews of Vic was organized.<sup>9</sup> Shortly afterwards, the community acquired a piece of land to build a Jewish cemetery. After a few decades of vitality, in the middle of the century there was a real hard crisis, which reached its peak with the arrival of the Black Death and

5. Llop, Irene. "The settlement of Jews in Vic: Origin, provenance and mobility of the Jewish community". *Imago Temporis, Medium Aevum*, 12 (2018): 253-284.

6. The contrast of documentary and archaeological data improves the knowledge of the Jewish quarter (or call) of Vic. Ollich, Imma and Llop, Irene. "Espais públics i espais privats del call jueu de Vic: evidències documentals i arqueològiques". *Ausa*, 27/177 (2016): 65-111; Llop, Irene and Ollich, Imma. "Els espais de la comunitat jueva de Vic, entre la documentació escrita i l'arqueologia". *Tamid. Revista Catalana Anual d'Estudis Hebraics*, 12 (2016-2017): 65-111.

7. In 1277 a patio was established for the construction of the community synagogue. ABEV, ACF-4586, f. 43<sup>r</sup>.

8. In the thirteenth century there were loans in kind and in cash, in small amounts and with short repayment terms, with an interest rate of around 20%, linked to the agricultural cycle and lent to all social classes, mainly farmers. As the fourteenth century progressed, the number of loans increased, becoming only cash, and foreign lenders declined. Llop, Irene. *Vides i veus del call...*: 121-220, 251-252.

9. The jurisdiction of the Jews was divided between the bishop and the nobleman of Montcada, the two jurisdictional lords of Vic. This situation changed in 1315, when Bishop Berenguer çà Guardia gave episcopal rights to King James II. The duality continued until 1450, when King Alfonso the Magnanimous bought the other part of the city. Since then, Vic remained under royal jurisdiction. Paul Freedman. *Diocese of Vic: Tradition and Regeneration in Medieval Catalonia*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983: 7-8; Ollich, Imma. *Camp i ciutat a la Catalunya del segle XIII*. Vic: Eumo Editorial, 1988: 30-32.



the death of some of the leading Jews in the community. This led to a gradual and inexorable decline of the population. The community, with changes, mobility, and conversions, resisted until 1391, the time of the attacks on the Jewish communities in Catalonia. At that time, the last remaining Jews in the city were baptised, putting an end to a story that had begun nearly two hundred years before.<sup>10</sup>

## 2. Jews in the Christian imaginary in medieval Catalonia

### 2.1. The visual image of medieval Catalan Jews

In medieval Catalonia, Jews were a social minority, a group that differed from the Christian majority because they professed a different religion. Being of Jewish culture, tradition, and religion was a key, differentiating and defining aspect of their identity. Jews depended legally on the King (their legal status was *servi regis*), and despite being at the mercy of the will and political needs of the monarch, in fact this legal difference and politics allowed them to live as Jews while protecting their Jewish life.<sup>11</sup> Jewish society was not homogeneous, but different religious sensibilities and social tensions were evident. The idea of a diverse community is not what was transmitted, but certain attributing physical or character traits to the entire group, without distinctions. The image of the medieval Jew was not static, and it changed as the view that Christians had of the Jews evolved. Therefore, rather than corresponding to an objective description, the attributes reflected the subjective conceptions of those who make it up.<sup>12</sup>

The coding of an image of the Jew using specific features created an iconographic model.<sup>13</sup> In addition, it had to be an iconography that could be understood by illiterate people, which was most of the population. This image of the medieval Jew had similar features in different areas of Western Europe and was formed around the thirteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

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10. Llop, Irene. "La fi de la comunitat jueva de Vic. Béns i conversió dels últims jueus". *Tamid. Revista Catalana Anual d'Estudis Hebraics*, 9 (2013): 85-106.

11. Planas considers that in medieval Girona there was multiculturalism but little interculturality and explores the convergence and divergence between Jewish and Christian societies. Planas, Sílvia. "Una pretesa interculturalitat: la comunitat jueva de Girona i la seva relació amb la societat cristiana". *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, 42 (2001): 180-185.

12. Barkai, Ron. *Cristianos y musulmanes en la España medieval. El enemigo en el espejo*. Madrid: Rialp, 1984: 11. Cited by Cantera, Enrique. "La imagen del judío en la España medieval". *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, 11 (1998): 13.

13. *The Lost Mirror. Jews and Conversos in Medieval Spain* is the exhibition curated by Joan Molina that shows how Christians portrayed Jews and Jewish converts to Christianity in Spain from 1285 to 1492 (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, 10/10/2023 - 1/14/ 2024 and National Art Museum of Catalonia, Barcelona, 22/02/2024 - 26/05/2024). The exhibition catalogue publishes 11 articles written by specialists such as David Nirenberg, Javier Castaño or Pamela A. Patton.

14. Cantera states that the image of the Jew in the last medieval centuries shows greater homogeneity between different geohistorical areas in relation to the image of other diverse groups of social or religious



The Jews represented some vices attributed to them, as the usury, the hypocrisy, the treason... It was easier to represent these vices through an iconographic model perfectly fixed.<sup>15</sup> Iconography causes a character's category to be recognized by attributes. However, the representation of the Jew may serve as a reflection of a Christian state of being rather than a Jewish one. With these visual representations of the Jews, Christians identified them with a "dark" reflection of everything that worried them about themselves and their society. Visual stereotypes, rather than a reflection of medieval prejudices or Christian theology, would be more complex. There would be a complex relationship between the religious ideas of medieval Christians, social changes, and the development of artistic practices.<sup>16</sup> This iconography corresponded to the appearance of an unfavourable mentality towards the Jews, and the artists intended not to express ethnic characteristics, but a theological idea: it was a religious hate.<sup>17</sup> In this sense, the imaginary representations of Jews in medieval times went around three issues: accusation of deicide, denial of Christ as the Messiah (blindness of the Jews) and Jewish perversity (personification of evil).<sup>18</sup> Among the most significant features that are repeated in male characters identified as Jews are those that refer to physical traits (prominent nose and hook, long beard), attitudes (evil look, cynical smile) and the practice of specific activities (loan with usury).<sup>19</sup> Distorted representations of Jews may include vulgar gestures, such as sticking out their tongue, or appearing as beings close to the devil, physically and morally.<sup>20</sup> The most satirical facial feature is the nose, related to the sin of usury attributed to the Jews for their work as lenders. Nevertheless, this resource was not systematically used to represent them.<sup>21</sup>

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marginality. Cantera, Enrique. "La imagen del judío...": 35. Lipton points out that the iconographical identifiable Jew appears around 1080, with a vertiginous proliferation of images of Jews in the following centuries. Lipton, Sarah. *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2014.

15. Paulino Rodríguez studies the iconographic repertoire of Jewish characters and addresses the study of this iconography from the analysis of the projection of a series of thematic motifs around which the image of Judaism was built in its most negatives: spiritual blindness, the accusation of deicide, the accusation of desecration of hostages, that of ritual crime or that of followers of the Antichrist. Rodríguez, Paulino. *La imagen del judío en la España medieval: el conflicto entre cristianismo y judaísmo en las artes visuales*. Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2009.

16. Lipton, Sarah. *Dark Mirror* ....

17. Blumenkranz, Bernhard. *Le Juif médiéval au miroir de l'art chrétien*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1966.

18. Cantera, Enrique. "La imagen del judío...": 36.

19. Cantera analyses the arguments of a religious, psychological, economic and physical nature. Cantera, Enrique. "La imagen del judío...": 35: 19-38.

20. Lara, Emilio Luis. "El friso gótico de la catedral de Jaén. Una demonización de los judíos a través de la iconografía". *Elucidario: Seminario bio-bibliográfico Manuel Caballero Venzalá*, 8 (2009): 21-43.

21. Whether iconographic or other features are used depending on the time or region will depend on the historical-artistic context, the artist's choice, or the influence of tradition: representations of medieval Christian figurative art would be a mirror of Jewish destiny. Blumenkranz, Bernard. *Le Juif médiéval* ....



The context that accompanies the image is fundamental.<sup>22</sup> The altarpieces of desecration of wafers had a representation of the Jews that does not correspond to the caricature seen in works of the same period but in other contexts far removed from official art. A good example would be that of the notarial documentation, in which there are spontaneous drawings in which the Jews present a great deformation of features.<sup>23</sup> It is important not only to describe the images but to observe the functions and effects among contemporary audiences. Many studies underline the role of images as an instrument that is capable of generating opinion or arousing hatred towards Jews. These are studies that establish a direct relationship between the production of images that denigrate the Jews, seen as the enemies of the Christian faith (cause) and the creation of violent movements against them (effect). According to this premise, images would be the engine of medieval anti-Semitic violence. This propagandistic and militant nature of anti-Jewish representations must be questioned to improve the understanding of their true meaning, as the objective that determined the conception of the works or the status itself and the spectators.<sup>24</sup>

## ***2.2. Jews: stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination***

All these elements previously mentioned are concretized in a visual image of the Jews associated with an iconographic repertoire that reflected the Christian imaginary about them. Many authors consider that this visual image of the Jews in the Middle Ages was a powerful vehicle of anti-Jewish propaganda and that it promotes legal and social discrimination of the Jews as it increases the hatred of the Christian population towards them with the transmission of a deliberately distorted image of Jews. For this reason, most works on the visual image of Jews in the Middle Ages talk about stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination without

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22. Molina analysed an altarpiece designed for a small and specific audience, part of a program of Eucharistic exaltation designed to be viewed from an emotional and visionary point of view by a female audience. Molina, Joan. "La imagen y su contexto. Perfiles de la iconografía antijudía en la España medieval". *Els jueus a la Girona medieval. Cicle de conferències Girona a l'Abast, XII*. Girona: Bell-lloc, 2008: 49-51.

23. Espí, Carlos. "Érase un hombre a una nariz pegado. La fisionomía del judío en la Baja Edad Media". *Congreso Internacional Imagen y Apariencia, 2008*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia - Servicio de Publicaciones, 2009.

24. Molina, Joan. "La imagen y su contexto...": 36-37. Burke claims the use of images as an historical document, and states that it is essential to consider different methods and historiographical trends: iconography or iconology, psychoanalysis applied to the study of the image, the poststructuralism that considers the image as a set of signs integrated into a given code, cultural studies, gender perspective, theory of reception... He also remembers that images are the result of individual interest that sometimes manifests itself in a conscious or unconscious desire to satirize or idealize, of a space-time context with the own cultural codes, and of an inner process of repetition or alteration of the own artistic conventions of the corresponding aesthetic tradition. Burke, Peter. *Visto y no visto. El uso de la imagen como documento histórico*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2001.



explaining what they consist of and how they relate to each other, even when they are concepts that are closely linked.<sup>25</sup>

A stereotype is a set of beliefs and cultural constructions about the personal characteristics and traits that members of a group possess. This causes qualities to be attributed to a person as a member of a group, rather than judged by their individuality. These unfounded generalizations are socially shared and accepted by a group that transmits them, so they persist over time, ignoring heterogeneity (generalizing to all members of the community), often without contact with the prejudiced group. The stereotypes that globally define the behaviour of a social group can be positive (overestimated) or negative (prejudiced). Stereotypes are useful in that they simplify a very complex reality, thus simplifying its interpretation. Unfortunately, this set of shared beliefs can easily degenerate into prejudice.

Therefore, prejudices are always based on a negative stereotype based on an emotional assessment, social judgment, and behavioural guidance. They involve a hostile attitude toward someone due to their membership in a particular social group or a group with negative stereotypes. It must be remembered that prejudices are transmitted within the social group to which they belong and involve viewing individuals outside the group as a threat.

Discrimination is the result of behaviour conditioned by prejudice. It consists of different and contemptuous treatment of a person or group because of who they are. Discrimination can take many forms: blatant, subtle, micro-aggression, or covert. Blatant discrimination is flagrant, intentional, and obvious. Subtle discrimination is less visible and obvious than blatant discrimination, often unintentional, and derived from people who have internalized discriminatory customs and social norms. Microaggressions are large-scale everyday verbal and nonverbal behaviours, usually by members of the majority group, that degrade other social groups or individual members of those groups. Covert discrimination is hidden but intentional, and often motivated by malice.<sup>26</sup>

While prejudice can motivate discrimination, the fact is that various factors must influence the relationship between prejudice and discrimination.<sup>27</sup> Stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination are always closely related cognitively and affectively. People can go from the stereotype understood as a belief (“Jews are usurers and evil”), to prejudice as an attitude (“I feel concerned”), and finally to discrimination, in this case a behaviour (attacks, conversion).

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25. Kite, Mary E.; Whitley, Bernard E. Jr.; Wagner, Lisa S. “Introducing the Concepts of Stereotyping, Prejudice, and Discrimination”, *Psychology of Prejudice and Discrimination*, Mary E. Kite, Bernard E. Whitley, eds. New York: Routledge, 2022: 1-45.

26. Kite, Mary E.; Whitley, Bernard E. Jr. “From Prejudice to Discrimination”, *Psychology of Prejudice and Discrimination*, Mary E. Kite, Bernard E. Whitley, eds. New York: Routledge, 2022: 343-391.

27. “Prejudice is more likely to manifest itself in discrimination when the target of the discrimination matches the prejudiced individual’s personal stereotype of the outgroup. Implicit prejudice is most likely to result in automatic, uncontrollable behaviours, whereas explicit prejudice is most likely to affect controllable behaviours. Finally, people are more likely to act on their prejudice when they believe that other people agree with them”. Kite, Mary E.; Whitley, Bernard E. “From Prejudice to Discrimination ...”: 385.



### 3. Representations of the Jews in the *Libri Judeorum* from the ABEV

#### 3.1. Authorship of the pictures

The names of the authors of the drawings are unknown, as are the notaries of the *Libri Judeorum* that have been preserved. The drawings were made by notaries in the notary's office, by individuals who had varying artistic abilities. Thus, while some images are rich in realism and detail, others are very simple, or clumsy or rude.

There is another element that should be considered: these were men drawing men –notary men drawing Jewish men. To what extent was the masculinization of credit practices real? Medieval women, both Jewish and Christian, lived in a patriarchal system. However, control over Jewish women by the community was not only sustained by this patriarchal system, but other elements were also needed. One aspect that is critical for understanding the situation of Jewish women is the great concern to avoid and control their contact with Christian men, along with the existence of a strong concept of modesty. The notarial credit system itself also played a role in the marginalization of women, both Jewish creditors and Christian debtors. Loans were made in the public spaces of the notary, and contact with Christian men (the debtor or debtors and the notary himself) was inevitable. In this context, a woman's honour could be affected, and a Jewish man would be required to accompany the Jewish woman.<sup>28</sup>

Despite this ideology, women participated in the loan process, and not just as widows recovering debts from their late husbands. Family groups in the Jewish community of Vic acted jointly in economic activities, especially lending. Different members of the same family did not always come together, but the family origin is always stated. During the thirteenth century, the most prominent lending families were those who had lived in Vic for the longest time, and in the fourteenth century it became a monopoly of the family of Mallorca, which also controlled the most important community posts of the *aljama*.<sup>29</sup> The family also included the women, who fully participated in the loan process. Husbands and wives made loans individually or jointly to increase family economic resources. The role of married Jewish women in economic transactions from the notarial documentation of Barcelona, Girona, Castelló d'Empúries and Vic reveals that quantitatively there is an unusual encouragement of wives' economic activities in Vic; a greater role for Jewish wives went hand in hand with a greater role for Jewish women more broadly.<sup>30</sup>

28. Ifft Decker, Sarah. "Jewish Woman, Christian Woman and Credit in Thirteenth-Century Catalonia". *The Haskins Society Journal. Studies in Medieval History*, 27 (2015): 161-172.

29. Ollich, Imma. "Aspectes econòmics de l'activitat dels jueus de Vic segons els *Libri Judeorum*, 1266-1278". *Miscel·lània de Textos Medievals*, 3 (1985): 30-42; Llop, Irene. *Vides i veus del call...*: 155-156, 163-165, 246-247.

30. Ifft Decker, Sarah. "The public economic role of Catalan Jewish wives, 1250-1350". *Tamid. Revista Catalana Anual d'Estudis Hebraics*, 11 (2015): 45-46.



In sum, these were Christian men who caricatured Jewish men with stereotypes and prejudices, and who made invisible and erased the presence of Jewish women.

### 3.2. Chronology of the images

The drawings are contemporary with the writing and use of notarial documents, dating from between 1310 and 1347.

Although the first *Libri Judeorum* are from the thirteenth century, there are no representations from this first period. The only graphic elements are a circle with Hebrew letters on the cover (“Book of memories”, ABEV, ACF-4585) and marginal notes in Hebrew character that correspond to the name of the Christian debtor.<sup>31</sup> Most of the loans were made to Eretó, a Jew from Vic, or, to a lesser extent, his son Astruc, who were possibly the authors of the 41 inscriptions, with the permission or consent of the notary.

It is clearly seen that the appearance and increase of the representations of the Jews appear at a very concrete moment: the fourteenth century. At that time there are two key factors in understanding the change in society’s perception of Jews, internal and external elements.

On the one hand, the situation in the area was complicated.<sup>32</sup> From the 1330s onwards, a period characterized by a general crisis began. Not in vain the year 1333 was called by contemporaries “the bad first year”, yet it saw increased credit activity by the Jewish community, concentrated in a family that had the economic and social control of the community. After all, the crisis translated into increased lending and problems with repayment. But with the arrival of the bubonic plague pandemic and the death of some prominent members of the community, the economic, social, and organizational collapse of the community marked the beginning of the end of the *aljama*, which ended in 1391.

On the other hand, in 1315 there was a change in the jurisdiction of a part of the Jewish community of Vic. Until then, the lords of the Jews were the bishop or the lord of Montcada, and the *call* itself was located between the headquarters of its two jurisdictional lords, between the cathedral and Montcada Castle. The jurisdictional lords had to protect the Jews as they were their property, and they received a payment. Despite their rivalries, neither bishops nor nobles used the Jewish population against their rival, because they were both lords. However, from 1315, the episcopal part became royal, and the Jews became property of the King. The value and usefulness of the Jewish community changed substantially.

A third important element is community consolidation. The presence of the Jewish community in the city for generations was fully consolidated. From the last third of the thirteenth century, the synagogue made the group visible and brought

31. Llop, Irene. “Aportacions a l’estudi de l’aljama de jueus al segle XIII”. *Ausa*, 152 (2003): 143-150; Llop, Irene. *Vides i veus del call...*: 240-246.

32. Puigferrat, Carles. *Sant Julià de Vilatorrada després de la Pesta Negra de 1348. Mortaldats, fams i altres tribulacions d’una parròquia osonenca*. Vic: Patronat d’Estudis Osonencs, 2004.



together the previously scattered Jewish population. In 1317, the existence of a legal entity, the *aljama*, was documented for the first time, and ten years later, the community acquired land to house the cemetery.<sup>33</sup> The Vidal-Mallorca family led the community and controlled the economy. Brothers Jucef and Salomó Vidal were very wealthy, served as secretaries of the *aljama*, and were ubiquitous in the notarial books of the fourteenth century.<sup>34</sup> Only one of the representations is associated with a name: Salomó Vidal.<sup>35</sup>

### 3.3. Location and position in the volumes

The entire number of representations are in *Libri Judeorum*. The general notarial manuals, which also contain documentation relating to the Jews of Vic, have no drawings of any kind.

The 21 drawings identified are divided into 11 notarial volumes dated between 1310 and 1347 as shown in the following table:

**Table 1. Location and number of drawings in the Liber Judeorum**

<i>Liber Judeorum</i>	Location	Number of drawings
ABEV, ACF-4593	F. 18 <sup>v</sup>	1
ABEV, ACF-4594	F. 11 <sup>v</sup>	3
ABEV, ACF-4595	Back cover	2
ABEV, ACF-4596	Cover + back cover	2
ABEV, ACF-4598	Cover + back cover	3
ABEV, ACF-4599	Cover	2
ABEV, ACF-4600	Back cover	1
ABEV, ACF-4602	Cover	2
ABEV, ACF-4604	Cover	1
ABEV, ACF-4605	Cover	1
ABEV, ACF-4606	Cover + f. 118 <sup>v</sup>	3

33. Llop, Irene. *Vides i veus del call...*: 224-225, 254-255.

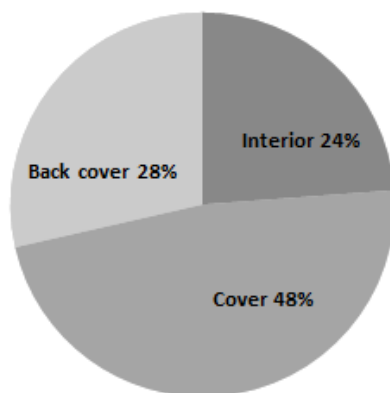
34. Llop, Irene. "Matrimonial strategies and dowry of the Jewish community in Vic. The case of Mallorca family (13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century)." Workshop. *A Jewish Model of Devolution? The Inheritance in Medieval and Early Modern Jewish Mediterranean Societies*. Madrid, 2018: 1-22.

35. See annex number 17.



Most volumes have more than one drawing: 36.4% have two drawings and 36.2% have three, and 27.2% have one.

Regarding the situation of the drawing, the 5 drawings that are in the internal sheets of the volumes are small heads: 3 distributed in a folio (2, 3 and 4) and two that take advantage of the box of the date (1, 21). The remaining 16 drawings are distributed on the cover (7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20) and the back cover (5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 14).



GRAPHIC 1. LOCATION OF THE DRAWINGS IN THE NOTARIAL VOLUMES. ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.

### 3.4. Description of the drawings

The earliest surviving representations of Jewish men have very different characteristics from the rest of the images. These consist of 4 head drawings, divided into two consecutive manuals. It is common for drawings of faces as decorative elements incorporated into a capital letter to depict men on the left side of the face with exaggerated features or grotesque hair.<sup>36</sup> In the *Libri Judeorum*, there are elements that identify them as Jews.

The first figure uses the margin of the year's reference (1310). It consists of a profile head, with an exaggeratedly large nose and eyes, a long beard, and a very pointed hat. The following manual contains three small heads of Jews in profile on

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36. *Els ninots de l'escrivà...*: 17.

the first folio. These are very simple drawings, featuring a hood and large almond-shaped eyes, without a beard.

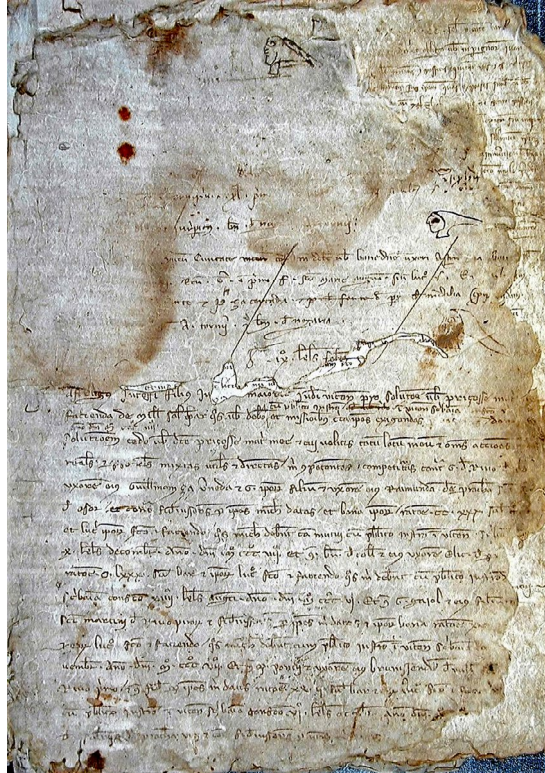


ILLUSTRATION 2. FOLIO WITH REPRESENTATIONS OF JEWISH HEADS. ABEV, ACF-4594, FOL. 11R. ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.

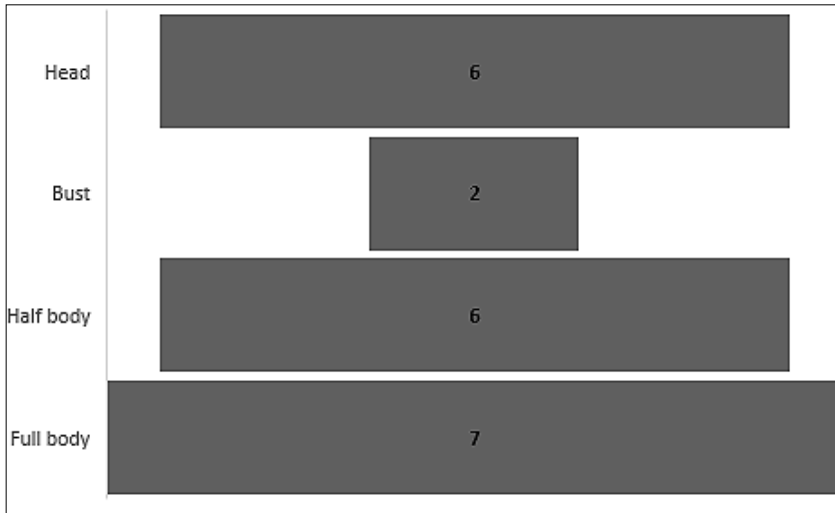
The last drawing of the books is, as in the first example, a head located at the top left border framing the date in the folio.

Only one head has been located on the cover of a volume, and it is quite different from the drawings we have seen so far. This head is drawn on the right margin of the cover, shows the head and part of the hood, but its most prominent feature is his long beard that reaches the end of the cover (number 13).

These representations from the first decade of the fourteenth century are found inside the volume and are limited to the head, with features that will be repeated later. As the century progresses, the number of drawings increases considerably.



What are the differences between these later drawings and the first ones? Subsequent representations appear on the covers of Jewish books, and are not limited to depicting the head, but busts and bodies, whole or ore partial, are also found.<sup>37</sup>



GRAPHIC 2. TYPE OF DRAWING. ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.

Despite the varying artistic quality of the drawings, some common features exist. Men are always depicted in profile (with a single frontal drawing) and with a specific physical appearance and clothing that identifies the figure as Jewish: large eyes and nose, beard, long cloak, and hood.

- Eyes: Most drawings are in profile, so only one eye can be seen, with the exception of drawing number 20.<sup>38</sup> They are large and almond-shaped, not always with an eyebrow, and when there is one, it is thin.
- Nose: The nose is prominent but does not always have exaggerated dimensions. Sometimes it is sharp.
- Beard: The beard is a characteristic element, there are few representations of Jewish men without a beard, which could correspond to a young person (10, 11, 15). Its shape can vary: pointed, curly or long. While the beard is always present, the same is not true of the mustache, which accompanies the beard only in 3 cases (drawings 19, 20 21). It is not very leafy.

37. "Head" includes only the subject's head; "bust" represents a person's head, neck, chest, and shoulders; "half-body" involves from the waist up; "full body" or "full-length body" means the entire body.

38. In the front drawing number 14 it is not possible to appreciate the face.



- Hood: It is usually long and falls down, but can end up pricked or twisted and be higher. It can be very simple, line-based, or feature details, such as number 15 with collar. The most detailed one is that of drawing number 17, with wavy lines that culminate with two spirals. Images numbered 7, 14, 21 do not wear a hood.
- Tunic: The long tunic sometimes has marked folds, and one or two hands can come out of the sleeves. These drawings do not show if they wore a *rodella*, a distinctive symbol.

In addition to these common elements, there are others:

- Hair: The hood covers the hair completely or partially. When visible, it is curly, with a very marked curl.
- Hand: When the hand is shown, the fingers are not well defined. Out of the sleeve emerges a hand (10, 12, 14), only in one case (20) two arms and two hands are visible (tunic two unequally arms, as the right arm is a black chalk while the one on the left has the fingers with the index finger pointing). Occasionally, the hand is associated with other items, as they can hold a scroll (6, 8, 17) or a plate (19).
- Shoes: Three shoe designs have been preserved, always in profile and with the gesture of walking. Drawings number 14 and 20 show very schematic shoes, and number 17 has more detail.
- Smile: In the examples of men smiling, the smile is between ironic and evil (6, 8, 9, 17).
- Name legend: Only one drawing is associated with a name, and it is the most famous drawing, notable for its quality and details. Representation number 17 is named *Salamon Vidal*, the largest lender in the community.



ILLUSTRATION 3. DETAIL OF THE DEFORMED IMAGE OF A JEW, SUPPOSEDLY SALOMÓ VIDAL. ABEV-4605, COVER. ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.



In these drawings it is not shown whether the figures wore a *rodella*, a visible distinctive sign that differentiated Jews from Christians at first sight. From 1215 onward, the Fourth Lateran Council required Jews to wear a special model consisting of a hooded cloak, and, in addition, they had to wear a *rodella* in a prominent place.<sup>39</sup>

Among the many drawings three are particularly noteworthy for their singularity:

- Demonization: Drawings 7 and 8 are clear examples of the demonization of the image of the Jews. They have in common the characteristic of black lips from which a screwed tongue emerges. Both are from the same volume, and while the one on the cover also has serrated teeth, the one on the back cover smiles and holds a scroll.



ILLUSTRATION 4. DETAIL OF AN EVIL FACE. ABEV, ACF-4596 COVER. ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.

- Urinating Jew: In the same volume but on the back cover is the clumsy drawing of a full-bodied Jew, with open legs showing a large urinating penis. This is, without a doubt, a very unusual image in the iconographic repertoire.

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39. The Jews of Barcelona were compelled to wear a *rodella* made of yellow or red cloth as wide as a palm in 1268. The information of how the Jews of Vic were to dress is known because in 1340 the king commanded his officers, to supplications of the Jews of Vic, that these are not forced to carry a greater knee than the one that carried the Jews of Barcelona. On the other hand, a manuscript from the second quarter of the fourteenth century that is preserved in the Municipal Archive of Vic obliges Jews to wear the red or yellow knee on the chest the width of a silver croat and that the fine for hiding it was 20 solidos. Cunill, Segimon. "Ordinacions sobre bans i penes a Vich en el segle XIV". *Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Vich*, V (1927-1928): 23-27.

### 3.5. The reasons for the representations

The drawings found in the notarial documentation were not made to be exhibited or seen, they were made at leisure in the notary and had no specific use. Does that mean they were innocent drawings? Not by any means. First, because the representations reflect the stereotypes and prejudices that Christian society held towards Jewish men within a much broader framework than Vic; it was a shared mental image that had crystallized in Europe. And, on the other hand, the images, even without arguments, make sense in their context: loan books, during a period in which the relationship between Jews and loans was consolidated.<sup>40</sup>

Usurious and demonized Jews were drawn in the notarial volumes that contain mostly loans from that Jewish community, a community that continued to go to the notary to register legal acts in the volumes containing their cartoons.

In addition, despite the assertions of many authors who consider images as a fundamental tool in the popular spread of anti-Semitism and one of the main drivers of assaults and massacres in the streets, the study of the context of images based in uses, location and audience dismantles this idea. Therefore, their power as an image with an ideological charge for the general public is very limited and cannot be related to episodes of religious violence.<sup>41</sup>

## 4. Conclusions

Among the documentation of the *Libri Judeorum* of the fourteenth century, representations of the Jews are found, with an iconography that identifies the drawn character as Jewish. There are no drawings in the thirteenth-century volumes, and it is not until the early fourteenth century that we find a first representation. It is worth noting that most volumes of the fourteenth century contain drawings of Jewish men: 21 drawings distributed in 11 volumes between 1310 and 1354. Representations of Jews have not been located in the general manuals or in any other documentary series, they are only present in notarial documentation directly involving Jews.

The Jewish community of Vic went from a period of coexistence with some tensions in the thirteenth century to a more conflictive stage in the fourteenth

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40. Drawings as an unreflective, spontaneous, rage or even hatred aroused by the Jews as lenders and usurers. Molina, Joan. "La imagen y su contexto...": 42. On usurious and Jewish associations, a classic work: Le Goff, Jacques. *La bolsa y la vida. Economía y religión en la Edad Media*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 1985.

41. Molina considers that the most explicit visual stigmatization of Jews, programs, and images with the greatest ideological charge, are found in works conceived by small or select audiences, as is the case of the images of the altarpieces in Vallbona de les Monges of Sixena, confined to convents reserved for nuns. He also observes that the representations of sacrilegious desecrations took place in the fourteenth century, the period of appearance and diffusion of the Eucharistic feast and the diffusion of its worship through Corpus Christi. Molina, Joan. "La imagen y su contexto...": 38-39, 46-47.



century. In the first half of the fourteenth century, there was an economic and social crisis, the protection of the bishops of Vic was lost. However, this was also a high point for the Jewish community, which was strong and very economically active, especially in terms of the lending activity of the members of the Jewish community, including the Vidal family.

As the image of the Jew degraded among Christians, negative attributes were assigned to him, and visual and mental stereotypes emerged, responding to the image of the usurious Jew that had crystallized in society. The stereotype of the Jewish usurer is what is represented in the notarial manuals of the ABEV, with identifying features that are repeated: men in profile with large eyes and noses, curly hair, beard, tunic and hood. Two depictions show demonized Jews, with black lips and viper tongues, one with pointed teeth, and some with an ambiguous smile.

These are drawings without arguments, simple and direct compositions that have been spontaneously generated, created in notaries without the intention of being exhibited, and not intended for any audience. The context in which they were created helps to understand the meaning of the drawing. The drawings show a visual and mental stereotype even though they were not created to be viewed; moreover, they were included in the documentation generated by the Jewish community. However, this is not an example of anti-Jewish or anti-Semitic propaganda, nor can it be considered to have had an impact on the Christian imagination, as they were hidden. These hidden drawings show prejudices against Jews, usurious lenders with very negative connotations, but it is necessary to distinguish between prejudice against Jews and active discrimination. This is not to say that they are inoffensive or harmless, as they have a strong ideological charge and are evidence that the distance between the reality of the Jewish minority and the perception that Christian society had of it had increased. However, the role of these cartoons as a cause of anti-Jewish movements needs to be reviewed (and limited).

The last drawings are in the final *Liber Judeorum*, which was made at the time of the Black Death. There are little news of the Jewish community during the second half of the fourteenth century, a few disastrous decades for the Jews who lived in Vic. The latest document from the Jewish community comes from a general notarial manual. This is the baptism of the 4 Jews and 2 Jewish women who remained in Vic on August 11, 1391. The document includes a drawing in the right margin: she is a full-length woman, with a long dress and a large neckline. She is a converted, and no element identifies her with the Jewish community she came from.

The history of the Jews of Vic ended at this point, and their memory faded away. The records of the archives reconstruct a past, which also includes drawings that recall stereotypes, prejudices that the passage of time has not always erased.



## Appendix

Catalogue of the representation of Jews in notarial records from the ABEV, in chronological order.



### Number 1

**Description:** Small profile head of a Jewish man. His eyes are quite big, and he has a pointed beard. He is wearing a long, very straight hood.

**Dimensions:** 35 x 25 mm

**Conservation:** Excellent.

**Position/Location:** The drawing is located on the top left border that frames the date in the folio.

**Date:** 1310

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4593, f. 18v



**Number 2**

**Description:** Jewish man's small profile head. His eyes are big, and he has a long hood.

**Dimensions:** 25 x 15 mm.

**Conservation:** Excellent.

**Position/Location:** It is one of the three heads drawn in the same page. This drawing is located at the top of the folio, in the middle of the page.

**Date:** 1311

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4594, f. 11v

**Number 3**

**Description:** Jewish man's small profile head. His eyes look closed, and his hood is large and perpendicular. There is a stain drawn in his cheek.

**Dimensions:** 20 x 10 mm

**Conservation:** Very good, except the end of the hood.

**Position/Location:** This is one of the three drawings in the folio and it is located on the first half of the folio, on the right side.

**Date:** 1311

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4594, f. 11v

**Number 4**

**Description:** Small profile head of a Jewish man who wears a long hood.

**Dimensions:** 28 x 15 mm

**Conservation:** Bad. There is a hole in the place of the face and only the hood can be seen.

**Position/Location:** This is one of the three drawings in the folio, and is located three lines under drawing number 3, on the right side.

**Date:** 1311

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4594, f. 11v

**Number 5**

**Description:** Simple image of a Jew's half body silhouette. Big eyes and hood are clear, but the nose, beard, tunic, and hand is almost vanished.

**Dimensions:** 35 x 96 mm.

**Conservation:** Poor. The ink of closest part to the spine of the book has run, and the parchment has many folds.

**Position/Location:** Back cover, near the spine, next to picture number 6.

**Date:** 1311-1315 (volume dates)

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4595.



**Number 6**

**Description:** Drawing of a full body Jew in profile. His nose, large eyes and hood are clear and better marked than the rest of the body. He wears a long tunic with very marked pleats. One arm is clearly visible, and he grabs a scroll with some lines drawn on it. This picture is very similar to number 8, especially regarding the folded tunic and the scroll.

**Dimensions:** 73 x 194 mm.

**Conservation:** Poor. The parchment is cut on all sides except the spine and has many folds.

**Position/Location:** Back cover besides drawing number 5.

**Date:** 1311-1315 (volume dates)

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4595.

**Number 7**

**Description:** Drawing of a Jew's upper body in profile. His head is clearly visible, but the trunk is not. His head has big eyes, and his curly hair is drawn in detail, as is the hair of his beard. But what stands out most about this drawing is the mouth, with black lips and serrated teeth, from which a viperous tongue emerges. He wears no hood, and what looks like a tunic lacks the precision of the head's design.

**Dimensions:** 60 x 125 mm.

**Conservation:** Good.

**Position/Location:** Cover.

**Date:** 1315-1320 (volume dates)

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4596

**Notes:** His black lips and screwed tongue are similar to the drawing in the back cover in the same volume (number 8).

**Number 8**

**Description:** Image of Jew's upper body in profile. The head has a big nose. Out of his mouth with black lips comes a screwed tongue, the most remarkable feature of the drawing. His hood ends in a screw, and he wears a long tunic with very neat folds, from which emerges an arm that carries a scroll with some lines drawn on it.

**Dimensions:** 90 x 160 mm.

**Conservation:** Regular. The drawing on the top left and especially the bottom is cut off because the parchment is mutilated.

**Position/Location:** Back cover.

**Date:** 1315-1320 (volume dates).

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4596

**Notes:** This picture, like the one in the frontal cover in the same volume (number 7) has a twisted tongue. In general, it is very similar to number 6, especially regarding the folded tunic and the scroll.

**Number 9**

**Description:** Bust of a Jewish man in profile. He has a pointed nose and big eyes. He smiles and his beard ends in a spiral. From his wide neck come two lines that draw the beginning of a tunic.

**Dimensions:** 52 x 61 mm.

**Conservation:** Poor. The parchment is darkened and does not allow the left side of the drawing to be seen.

**Position/Location:** Cover

**Date:** 1321-1333 (volume dates).

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4598



**Number 10**

**Description:** Representation of a Jew in profile, half body traced with few lines and lacking detail. The head has thick lips, but neither the eyes nor the top of the hood are visible. The neck is very wide, and the upper part of the trunk is visible, with two folded arms, of which the right one is raised.

**Dimensions:** 77 x 90 mm.

**Conservation:** Poor due to parchment folds and faded ink.

**Position/Location:** Back cover, next to drawing number 11.

**Date:** 1321-1333 (volume dates)

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4598

**Number 11**

**Description:** Unusual representation of a Jewish man urinating. The drawing consists of a large head and neck that go directly to the testicles and legs. From the head is seen a pointed nose, a black dot representing an eye and the hood, but in general the ink is faded. The legs are open, the calf muscle is visible, and the ankles can be intuited, as well as the testicles. The penis and the three drops of urine are clearly visible.

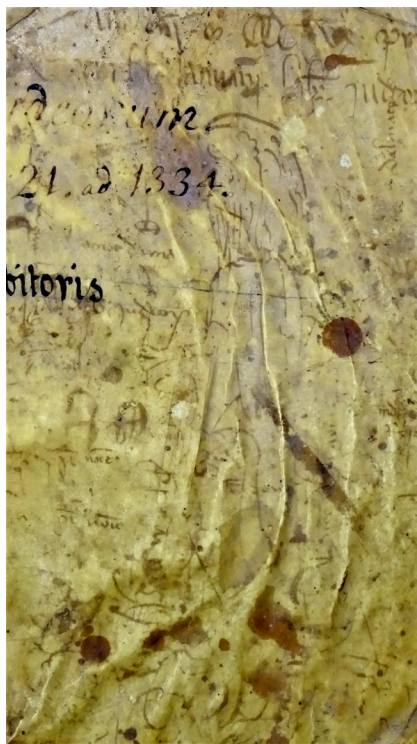
**Dimensions:** 43 x 82 mm.

**Conservation:** Bad because of parchment folds and very faded ink.

**Position/Location:** Back cover besides picture number 10.

**Date:** 1321-1333 (volume dates)

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4598

**Number 12**

**Description:** Very simple representation of a full-length Jewish man in profile. The face lacks detail, only the beard and hood are visible. From the long robe comes an arm, the hand seems to carry nothing.

**Dimensions:** 40 x 90 mm.

**Conservation:** Regular.

**Position/Location:** Central part of the cover, next to drawing number 13.

**Date:** 1321 – 1334 (volume dates)

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4599.

**Number 13**

**Description:** Head of a Jew in profile. His eyes and nose are big, and only part of the hood is visible because the parchment is torn. What stands out most from the drawing is his long beard, which reaches the end of the cover.

**Dimensions:** 25 x 120 mm.

**Conservation:** Regular.

**Position/Location:** Right margin of the cover, next to drawing number 12.

**Date:** 1321 -1334 (volume dates)

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4599.



**Number 14**

**Description:** Plain and incomplete drawing of a full-body Jew in a frontal position. The head is not visible. From the wide neck comes a tunic, formed by straight lines in the shape of a trapezoid, with two unnatural arms and hands. At the bottom are two side shoes.

**Dimensions:** 49 x 60 mm.

**Conservation:** Poor.

**Position/Location:** Back cover.

**Date:** 1323-1329 (volume dates)

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4600.

**Note:** Above the image is a strange drawing that looks alien to the drawing.

**Number 15**

**Description:** Bust of a young Jewish man on profile. The eyes and nose are rather big, and the hood is sharply drawn with a more marked line at the bottom of the hood.

**Dimensions:** 95 x 115 mm.

**Conservation:** Excellent.

**Position/Location:** Cover, over drawing number 16.

**Date:** 1334-1336 (volume dates)

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4602.

**Number 16**

**Description:** Picture of a half-length Jew in profile positioned below the drawing above it. The man, with a big nose and a large and pointed beard, wears a simple hood and a tunic. The figure is incomplete because the parchment is torn.

**Dimensions:** 63 x 135 mm.

**Conservation:** Excellent.

**Position/Location:** Cover, below drawing number 15.

**Date:** 1334-1336 (volume dates)

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4602

**Number 17**

**Description:** The most famous figure of a Jew from Vic is the one featuring a full-length Jew with the inscription "Salamon Vidal" at the top left of the drawing. It is a very detailed and precise representation that shows a hunchbacked Jew with a deformed, grotesque face. The head has a big nose and a prominent forehead, with large eyes. The beard, not very full, is curly. The hood shows wavy lines and curves upward, ending in two spirals. From the tunic emerges an arm bearing a scroll. The shoes depict his movement, represented by a few diagonal lines.

**Dimensions:** 60 x 147 mm.

**Conservation:** Excellent.

**Position/Location:** Cover.

**Date:** 1334-1340 (volume dates)

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4603



**Number 18**

**Description:** Blurred image, practically only the dark silhouette of a full-length Jew with a long hood is visible, big eyes and a nose are intuited.

**Dimensions:** 72 x 150 mm.

**Conservation:** Poor due to the ink and pleats of the parchment.

**Position/Location:** Cover.

**Date:** 1334-1343 (volume dates)

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4604.

**Number 19**

**Description:** Highly visible drawing of a half-length Jew in profile. The head has very big eyes and a slightly large, pointed nose, and it has a beard. The hood is painted black. The tunic shows well-marked folds, and a hand is raised showing the fingers above a plate or tray.

**Dimensions:** 118 x 139 mm.

**Conservation:** Good. The rip of the parchment does not seem to affect the drawing.

**Position/Location:** Cover.

**Date:** 1341-1354 (volume dates)

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4606.

**Number 20**

**Description:** Very schematic representation of a full-length Jew in profile, drawn with few strokes and lacking detail. The face shows the two eyes (the only case) and the beard, with well-defined eyebrows. The hood is black, it shows the whole tunic from which come out two unequal arms. The right arm is drawn in black chalk, while the left arm has defined fingers, with the index finger pointing. Ankles and shoes, in walking position, are also visible.

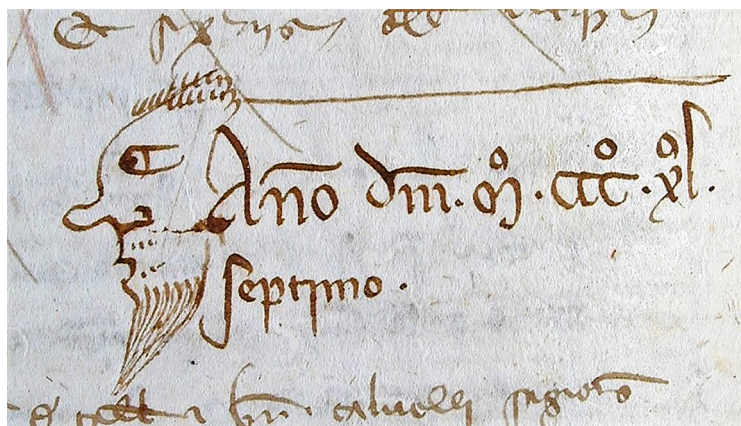
**Dimensions:** 67 x 95 mm.

**Conservation:** Excellent.

**Position/Location:** Back of the cover.

**Date:** 1341-1354 (volume dates)

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4606.

**Number 21**

**Description:** The last representation of the *Libri Judeorum* is, like the first one, a head that appears in the left margin of a date. Very rich in detail, it shows a Jew's head in profile with a big nose and eyes, a pointed beard, and a half-open mouth. The moustache consists of a line and dots. His hair is curly, and he does not wear a hood.

**Dimensions:** 25 x 37 mm.

**Conservation:** Excellent.

**Position/Location:** The drawing is located at the top left of the border that frames the date on the folio.

**Date:** 1347

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-4606, f. 118v.



**Number 22**

**Description:** Figure of a full-body woman in profile. The nose and chin are prominent, the eyes are big and the hair, with curls, is gathered. She wears a long dress with a very generous neckline. Her arms look disproportionately large, reaching the knees, and one is longer than the other, her right arm points with its index finger. The shoes are indistinguishable. No element identifies her as a Jewish person, she is a convert.

**Dimensions:** 38 x 85 mm.

**Conservation:** Excellent.

**Position/Location:** Right margin of the document at the bottom of the folio, touching the fold of the sheet.

**Date:** 1391

**Signature:** ABEV, ACF-505, f. 199v.

**Notes:** Only representation of a person related to Judaism outside the *Libri Judeorum*. In this case it is drawn in the left margin of a document that registers the baptism of the last Jews of the city of Vic. It is also the only representation of a woman and is the only convert drawn in the notarial documentation.