

your graduate thesis and I told you what my father told me. I'm willing to offer you those things which I saw them do. These kinds of things are of interest. For example, honestly if you asked about believing in something, I feel there is no need . . .

**Descendant #4 (Shi Yulian)
(Age 50)**

D4: Since all written records of Kaifeng's Jews have been lost, the main way we know we are descendants of the Jews is by relying on word of mouth. For example, when I was young my father told us we were Jews who had come from the West originally. We probably came during the Northern Song dynasty . . .

When we came to China it was to pay tribute. This is one theory. Another is that we actually didn't come in the Song Dynasty, but rather during the Tang dynasty. We came via Xi'an, because communication and transportation at that time were quite difficult. You needed to walk. This way, to come from the original land of the Jews to Kaifeng, for example, one needed a lot of time. So by the time they arrived China naturally had already changed dynasties . . .

The Tang capital at that time was Xi'an. But the emperor at that time during the Northern Song dynasty was in Kaifeng, so we came to Kaifeng. After arriving we paid tribute to the emperor. The Northern Song Emperor said "When you came to China the dynasties had already changed. It's been a long time since you left your homeland. You have no idea about the conditions in your own land, even. Simply stay here." So at that time those Jews just stayed in China. And we set up the original synagogue right there.

Following the passage of time, we mostly left. At that time we established the synagogue, but it went through floods when the Yellow River overflowed, and the synagogue no longer stood. Then we dispersed. The original temple had scriptures and genealogies for each family. After the synagogue was no longer standing, the genealogies were kept by each family individually. Now even these family registers no longer exist. So we can only rely on telling stories.

D4: There were eight of us. I have three younger brothers, three older brothers and one younger sister. My father told all of us that we were Jews. Later on when we had our own families . . . they told us about the kinds of customs and habits we had in the past

WA: What sorts of customs? . . .
D4: For example, we don't eat pork. Another was we had to pluck the sinews from mutton or beef. Perhaps Descendant #3 already knew about the practice of circumcision.
WA: Was your father circumcised?
D4: No, mine wasn't. Neither was Descendant 3's. But his grandfather was . . .

WA: How about holidays?
D4: Holidays we spoke very little about. Since we were in China we already celebrated the Chinese holidays, and knew little about Jewish holidays. Our surnames in China posed a problem. After we came to China the Chinese Emperor personally gave us surnames. The Emperor at that time in Kaifeng let us take seven surnames and called us the "Seven surnames, eight families" . . .

You asked about any customs or traditions of our family. Our family hasn't retained too many of the Jewish traditions. For example, circumcision basically no longer exists. We also have different beliefs in the religion. Jews in China are different from Jews in other part of the world, because Western European countries often discriminated against the Jews, and sometimes violently slaughtered them. This problem never existed in China. Ever since the Jews entered China they were protected and cared for by the State. Whether from the stories passed down by our ancestors or what we feel today, our lives are quite good.

Since Liberation, after the founding of New China, we were treated like all the other national minorities . . . We had a distinct political position and never experienced discrimination. Because we've been in China for so long, our particular customs have slowly declined . . . Because we've been here for so long so we gradually became accustomed to China . . . It wasn't only we Jews who were influ-

enced by the Han Chinese. In the Qing dynasty the (rulers were) Manchus . . . After they entered even though they were the imperial powers they took on Chinese customs—their life, their customs, their stories and legends also slowly became Sinicized and they assimilated, to say nothing of the Jews who came in far fewer numbers.

**Descendant #5 (Ai Fengmian)
(Age 71)**

D5: I'm 71 years old . . . I'm not the oldest Chinese Jew in Kaifeng, but among the Ai clan I am . . . In the old society, if you said I was Jewish I didn't dare to acknowledge it. I know about things from 60 to 70 years ago . . . I know that my own father was a carpenter. He was in Yao Wu Hospital, which used to be an American hospital, and worked there. When he was there someone said "Lao Ai, you're Jewish." What he would say was "Why mention this?" He was scared to be discriminated against. So he pretended to be Han, like the rest. Not like now. We can participate in national celebration ceremonies. We are politically recognized with policies for nationalities, and can see our country's leaders. At banquets the Chairman toasted us and shook hands (with me).

WA: When was this?
D5: In 1952. In the old society Jews may have been discriminated against because they weren't Han. Regardless, now they have political status and aren't discriminated against . . . After Liberation the government said Jews would be taken good care of. But some Jews were still afraid. They were all capitalists. They all had money. There are still many in Kaifeng but they don't acknowledge their Jewishness. Only poor people dared to do so.

In 1952 I took part in the National Day Ceremony in Beijing. After it was over I was going to return and they wanted me to take photos with some cadres from the Public Relations Bureau. They asked how many Jews there were, how many men and women, and where they lived. They asked if we would take a photo. I was taken on a visit to Shanghai. Once someone asked me where I was from. I said I'm a Jew from Henan. He said,

"Oh, there are Jews in China?" I said "Yes. There are Jews everywhere, but nowhere more than in Kaifeng." Kaifeng's South Teaching Scripture Lane used to have a synagogue.

I still remember my grandfather and my grandmother. Life then was very difficult. We had to spend every day looking for food and work. According to stories they couldn't go to synagogue daily because there were more pressing matters. Basically the Jews stood up for themselves. They were no longer discriminated against.
WA: Did your family celebrate any Jewish holidays or customs?
D5: For the most part there were no more observances. Very few of these customs and traditions were left . . . Prayer and work are incompatible.
WA: Yesterday you said you went to Beijing as a representative of the Jews, no? . . . May I ask you to describe it again?

D5: At that time they asked me to go, but I didn't want to. However, many trade union organizations and neighborhood committees persuaded me. I was a construction worker. They told me to go to Beijing to meet Mao and take part in the National Day Celebration. I told them I was uneducated. And if I went, who was going to feed my family? They said the government would provide for them. So I went to Beijing and shook hands with people it was impossible to shake hands with: Chairman Mao, Zhu De, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, these people. In 1952 I even saw Chen Yun. I spent three months travelling to Beijing and other places. In the new society I was made a representative of the Jews . . .

WA: Fascinating. On another topic, around 1933 I know there were some Europeans who came to Kaifeng to hold a conference for all the Chinese Jews. Did you know about this?
D5: No.

* * *

WA: Is there any particular relationship between Kaifeng's Muslims and Jews?

D5: When there are special meetings they're all considered minorities. Muslims are national minorities. Jews are Jews. They're a minority, but not as much of one as the Muslims. The reason for this is because the Muslims have their own written language. We

have nothing left now. They are numerous and we are few . . .

WA: Do you hope your children will still consider themselves Jewish?
D5: On our household registry we're all listed as being Jewish, but they tried to change this. The household registry police once told me not to write "Jewish." When I took the registry book, I said "Comrade, this isn't quite right. My father was Jewish. The children are Han. How could this be?" He acknowledged that this was a mistake, and changed it back to note "Jewish" . . .

WA: How many Jewish descendants do you estimate Kaifeng has?
D5: Now? I really don't know.
WA: And when you were young?
D5: When I was young I didn't care about this . . .

**Descendant #6 (Li Rongxin)
(Age 75)**

D6: . . . my entire family is from Shanghai . . . We lived not far from the synagogue . . . on Museum Road . . . It was still a synagogue during the Japanese occupation, at Beijing Road and Museum Road.

WA: At that time when you were growing up how many Chinese Jews were in Shanghai?

D6: At that time we didn't have too much contact with each other, since my father worked in a foreign business firm as an employee, so most of them were foreign Jews, mainly from England.

WA: At that time did you have much contact with them?

D6: No. At that time I was in school in Shanghai and very young.

WA: Did you ever go to this synagogue to pray?

D6: We did go to this one near us, but not to the one far away. The further one was on "Ximo" (Seymour?) Road . . . In Shanghai there's a cemetery . . . there are two Jewish cemeteries. My paternal grandfather is buried there. My younger sister is also in the same place . . . I also have two younger brothers buried in the newer cemetery. The new one is on the Temple of Tranquility Street. . . The cemeteries are already demolished.

WA: When did you leave Shanghai?
D6: After 1945.

WA: So these are things which you saw before 1945? Are there still any

Jews living there?

D6: There were, but we didn't have too much contact with them so I don't know . . .

WA: What did your family do there?

D6: My father worked in a foreign business firm. He was in the export trade.

WA: When you were young did you hear of any Jewish stories? Or any family stories? Anything about being Jewish?

D6: When we were in Shanghai I was in school and I didn't pay attention to these things.

WA: So they didn't tell you anything about being Jewish? Or about celebrating Jewish holidays?

D6: Yes, I remember something. That English man in my father's firm had a house to himself with a big garden, a Western-style house . . . In Shanghai most people didn't work on Sundays, but he rested on Saturday, because he was Jewish . . . My father went to Shanghai when he was very young, 11 or 12.

WA: What was his native place?

D6: Kaifeng. He went together with his father.

WA: So you never heard your parents talk of their own Jewish backgrounds?

D6: No, but I know about most Jewish rituals.

WA: For example?

D6: For example, from Friday night to Saturday night for a whole day we don't eat anything or even drink anything . . . This is according to Jewish custom . . . When they ate in Shanghai they didn't eat things they themselves had not cut with a knife . . .

WA: What aspect of Jewish things are you most interested in?

D6: . . . When my father went to Shanghai he was a young man and he didn't know much about being Jewish. So even though I say I'm Jewish, I know very little about being Jewish. But we still retain some differences in eating habits from them.

WA: For example?

D6: First, we don't eat pork. Second, when we eat we must have a special person slaughter (the meat) . . . I don't know of anything else.

PRESIDENT HERZOG IN SHANGHAI

by Pan Guang

On December 27, 1993 Israeli President Chaim Herzog arrived in Shanghai where the biggest Jewish community in the Far East had once existed for nearly a century and thirty thousand Jewish refugees from Hitler's Europe had survived during World War II. It is the first visit to Shanghai and China by a President of Jewish State in history.

At 7:00 p.m. that evening, mayor of Shanghai, Mr. Huang Ju, met President Herzog. I was present for the meeting and had the honour of receiving a precious gift from President Herzog—his book "Heroes of Israel". The President told the mayor that his uncle had lived and died in Shanghai. On behalf of Israeli people, Mr. Herzog expressed his heartfelt thanks to Shanghai for providing vital haven for the Holocaust survivors. After meeting, we attended the banquet by the mayor for Israeli guests.

Among Israeli visitors, Mr. Shaul Eisenberg was the most conspicuous one. Before the establishment of the diplomatic relations between China and Israel, he had been an important middleman between both sides. Now his U.D.I. group has set up twelve offices in China. The Y.P. glass factory, one of his investments in Pu Dong area of Shanghai, is one of the most successful joint ventures in China.

Mr. Herzog visited Pu Dong Economic Development Zone with great pleasure on December 28. When he looked around Mr. Eisenberg's factory, he expressed his support for Mr. Eisenberg's plan of further expanding his investment in China. At night, Mr. President enjoyed music at Shanghai Conservatory (former Jewish Club). Then he and his wife went dancing at the Peace Hotel (former Sassoon Hall). The President and his wife walked along Bund until 11:00 p.m.

In the morning of December 29, I was very happy to accompany Mr. President to visit two former syna-

gogues, Ohel Moshe Synagogue and Ohel Rachel Synagogue. He listened attentively to my brief introduction about the history of Ohel Moshe Synagogue. When I mentioned Rabbi Meir Ashkenazi, Mr. Eisenberg told me the said Rabbi was a close friend of his family. The area around former Ohel Moshe Synagogue is the Hongkew District where many Jewish refugees had lived during wartime. Mr. President was very excited when he walked about the former "Hongkew Ghetto" and talked with local residents. At the Ohel Rachel Synagogue, Mr. Herzog presided over the unveiling ceremony for the memorial plaque. Many journalists were busy reporting this historic event. After the ceremony, I briefed Israeli visitors on history of Ohel Rachel Synagogue. Then the President and his wife took pictures in front of the altar with Hebrew players. Mr. Herzog also visited the former Shanghai Jewish School next to synagogue. He was interested in everything about his friend Yosef Tekoah's life in Shanghai that I beat my brains to tell him relevant matters as much as possible.

At 10:00 a.m. we said good-bye to President Herzog and all Israeli guests at Shanghai airport. The plane flew to the last stop of his China tour—Xian.

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE CHINESE ENCYCLOPEDIA JUDAICA

by Xu Xin

Without either Chinese or Jewish cultures, world civilization as we know it today would be diminished. These two major existing, living societies developed into highly civilized forms in ancient times and kept continuous recorded histories of their origins which impacted upon world civilization.

Those who have been exposed to both cultures (in some depth) are often struck by the realization that—while the historical evolution is quite dissimilar—they nevertheless contain many commonalities in terms of basic values and world outlooks:

Both are based on traditions of wisdom, learning and family values

which has enabled these values to be transmitted from generation to generation for millennia.

Both cultures have contributed to the civilization of human society and spread their great influence to other cultures with which they have had contact.

Both share strong family traditions with respect for elders, honored roles for women and close interaction between young and old.

Both value education. No matter how poor and how difficult the lives, Jewish and Chinese parents want their children to learn, to absorb as much education as possible, and make great sacrifices to insure their children's opportunity. As a result, teachers and scholars—though not rich—are highly respected.

Both cultures survived in spite of severe setbacks and evolved and flourished while other civilizations rose, fell, or even disappeared into oblivion.

In modern times, both have undergone many rapid changes while they creatively engaged in adapting their ancient traditions and political systems to the dictates of a rapidly changing modern world.

Unfortunately, these great, rich civilizations seldom met historically. As a result, until very recently, little was known about Jewish culture in China. Moreover, what the Chinese did know never went beyond the abstract and superficial and (by and large) negative. This is not only because of the lack of direct contact between the two over the centuries, but also because there were few, if any, materials available to the Chinese in studying Jewish culture.

While China has recently introduced a few Jewish programs: Hebrew language courses at Beijing University, Jewish culture courses at Nanjing University, Israeli studies at Yunan University, history studies in Shanghai and elsewhere, they all are in early stages, still greatly limited in scope and do not fulfill the need for basic reference materials which would permit extensive research and wider understanding.

The primary research and study tool for Judaic studies throughout the world is the Encyclopedia Judaica, which has been published only in

D3: Wang Yisha already mentioned that the predecessors of the Chinese Jews and those other Chinese of the same place (Kaifeng) together had a plot of land . . . These situations with Han Chinese made them combine so that later on they intermarried with the Han. Because they married together, their funerals were held and their graves were in the plots of our own family. They weren't square. My aunt said that our graves—I don't know if this is true, I'm just repeating what she said—she said, "If you're talking about the kinds of graves Muslims have . . . ours are also flat-top, rectangular." I don't know if it really was this way. Now our graves are round . . .

WA: Do you remember any kind of funeral ceremonies? Were there any that you remember?

D3: I know the ceremonies of the Chinese, but not of the Jews . . . It's said that the gravestones of the Li family are not with those of the Han. Supposedly they were square, not like those of the Han. This is what my aunt said. But I don't know.

WA: Was any Hebrew written on them?

D3: Yes. I heard that a long time ago after Jews died, when they were going to be buried there were rabbis (who) were religiously prestigious in the Jewish synagogue and knew some of the Jewish scriptures. Those people were learned . . . These rabbis were asked to write Hebrew on the gravestones. WA: Did they ever speak of any other ceremonies, such as weddings?

D3: No, no. My aunt told me when I was young that (when) the first male child (was) three days old . . . he would undergo circumcision.

WA: Oh, at three days old? Isn't it at eight days old?

D3: I didn't understand . . . The eldest son was to be circumcised at three days old, although I've never gone through it. I don't know why there must be circumcision. But this isn't just what she told me. Afterwards I heard them say it had something to do with man and God uniting? Is this true? . . .

WA: I'd like to ask you about Muslims. Have there ever been any unpeaceful events between them since the time you were young or that 1919 event?

D3: Not between Han and Muslims. My neighbors don't know we're Jewish descendants . . . If I told them I was

a Jewish descendant they'd say "Comrade Shi, how could you be Jewish? You're no different from me." It's hard for me to explain in one word. Afterwards we talked at greater length. He asked how long we had been around. I said since the Song dynasty. That's close to a thousand years ago. That's several generations—about 15 or 16. He became very curious. "What kind of customs or habits do you have?" I said now we haven't any at all.

* * *

D3: In the synagogue there was a placard proclaiming the greatness of the Qing Emperor. Aside from "monuments" to Moses and David and other great Jewish leaders, there had to be one to the Qing Emperor. It was something that was required. If not, he could say "these Jews, these foreigners don't respect me."

The Chinese Jews under other circumstances began to believe in Buddhism. Later on they no longer had a synagogue. Before the Ming dynasty, probably the 1600's, the synagogue was destroyed in a flood. After it was destroyed . . . the Jews had no place to congregate. They just met in individual homes . . . Just think. No one knows from what generation they started intermarrying with Han Chinese but those were few. As soon as they intermarried . . . Why did they assimilate? How did they assimilate in this way? This is a new subject . . . I would like to know why it is that Kaifeng's Jews assimilated so easily with the Han Chinese . . . Judaism and Confucianism are very similar. According to what I know, Confucianism came about over 300 years after Judaism . . . But they agree on the ethics, not the religion per se.

* * *

WA: I'd like to know if you hope your children—rather, what are your hopes for them being Jewish? Do you have any special wishes for your descendants? . . .

D3: My children ask me to tell them Jewish stories so I tell them some. But I don't expect anything else of them. My daughter herself very naturally, for example, when she fills in personal data forms she automatically writes "youtai" (Jewish) on it. Yes, it was just natural for her to do so.

WA: For example, Descendant #1

said that even though he has . . . daughters he hopes they can all be considered Jews, so he already agreed with them that their children must . . . D3: Oh, this. I only hope that, for example, my grandson should know he is Jewish and this way we keep passing along this knowledge from generation to generation. Aside from this I don't have any need for us to assemble when we're together, for example. Actually we have no need for this. I just hope my son and daughter know they are Jewish descendants.

WA: Do you want them to study anything about the religion?

D3: No, they haven't asked to do this. As for myself, I also don't need this. If I can speak frankly, there's really no interest in this. This is really how it is. But if you ask if I'd like to know about this or do some research on it—for example if you say you'd like to find out about the Jewish New Year's, I would very much like to take a look at this. But if you say "this is how we celebrate the New Year's," I simply have no desire for it . . . Now our neighbors, if you say you believe in something, they would say in our Kaifeng dialect: "This is all nonsense! If I don't work I won't have bread to eat."

WA: Yes, this is very practical.

D3: It's not just me who feels this way, we all feel this way. For example, my neighbors used to believe in Buddhism—it's not because the Communists wouldn't let them believe in Buddhism after Liberation. Please believe me. That's not the way it was at all. But they are simply no longer interested in Buddhism now. They don't nowadays burn incense on New Year's Day or other festive occasions. No, no. On New Year's you can come to our home and visit our neighbors. There's no burning of incense or kowtowing. No, none . . .

Now I don't know anything about other places, since I rarely go anywhere, but I know at least in Kaifeng it is like this. So the reason I gave this example was because . . . I am not interested in this. I'm very honest with you. I love to do research. Actually, you mentioned you were going to do

and such, the fifth day, so and so, the sixth day God created such and such, etc. So because of this the prayer hat has six or seven parts. I heard this from my mother. It's really regrettable we no longer have these things.

WA: What happened to them?

D3: I don't know. You know, I'm 62 this year. What I'm talking about happened 40 or 50 years ago. There's nothing left now.

* * *

D3: . . . I wasn't here when the Japanese took over. I graduated from Public High School #3. I never attended college. It was only after Liberation that I went to college at the Minorities Institute.

In the early period of Liberation the Communist Party treated me as a national minority. The Bureau of the United Front held a meeting where I gave a report about my previous mistreatment in the High School by the principal when I was young, because on all forms I wrote "Jewish" next to "nationality." He said "That's ridiculous!" Finally, with the help of some friends I got into that High School. So at that conference when I told them this story they considered me very progressive and recommended me for admission to the National Minorities Institute . . .

In 1937 or 1938 I was transferred to the West along with the school faculty. As a student from places taken over by the Japanese, I was supported by the Guomindang government, provided with food, clothing and shelter. When my mother was in Japanese-occupied Kaifeng, probably the second year I was gone, in 1938 or 1938, she died. It wasn't until Japan surrendered that I came back to Kaifeng. I heard this from my uncle's wife when I returned.

WA: Do you have any other paternal male relatives? Your mother wasn't Jewish, is that correct?

D3: No, she wasn't. She was Han. Like me, I don't know of any others. For example, Descendant #4 and I didn't know each other. We're just of the same surname.

WA: . . . Do you still remember other things? For example, stories told by your parents or by their parents?

D3: Only these things that I've told you.

WA: Aside from these, anything you have personally observed?

D3: No, only these. Nothing else. Just the prayer hats that we saw—six or seven of them.

WA: When you were young did you have any contact with other Chinese Jews?

D3: Yes.

WA: In Kaifeng or in other places?

D3: Yes. Not with other Jews, but with relatives with surnames of Shi, Gao and Li. We Jews didn't marry with Han Chinese early on. We only had close and frequent contact with other Jews . . . Now our contacts with each other have stopped. For example, not only don't I have any contact with the Li's and the Gao's, but at this point not even with other Shi's. It was only when we talked that I . . . realized we were relatives. I am the oldest in the Shi clan. He is third brother's family . . .

In Kaifeng, we Jews have virtually no contact with each other. Walking on the street I also can't tell if someone is Jewish or a Jewish descendant. Only if someone says "My name is Li. I've heard my grandfather say I'm also a Jewish descendant."

WA: Only this?

D3: Yes. There's no special signs.

WA: I've heard that in the 1930's or 1920's there were some European Jews who sponsored a conference for the Chinese Jews.

D3: Yes.

WA: Descendant #1 mentioned that he remembers this event. Perhaps he was seven at the time. Do you remember this, too?

D3: This I remember. Perhaps it was called . . . Actually I don't remember it, but I heard my aunt talk of it. At that time she spoke of Westerners . . . These old Westerners invited my aunt, my father's brother's wife and my older sister. It's unfortunate that my aunt and father's brother's wife have both died. But my older sister is still living . . . You probably heard of "White?"

WA: Bishop White?

D3: "Huai Liguang." . . . That's his Chinese name . . . This White compiled a book. If I remember correctly, please turn to page 130 of this book . . . On the left side of p. 130 . . . there was (a photo of) a kind of a long bench

. . . On the left side were three men. On the right side were three women. On p. 130 if you see this photo, on the right side you will see my aunt, my father's brother's wife and my older sister.

WA: Did he give this book to you as a gift?

D3: No, I saw it on the street. The first time I saw this it was a shock! . . . All of a sudden I saw my aunt, my father's brother's wife and my sister!

WA: So Bishop White himself took this picture?

D3: Yes. He took the picture. My aunt, she said this old Westerner invited her to eat once. While they were eating, at that time she heard it was a conference of Jews . . . When they went, the synagogue was no longer a building. It was just a piece of land. There was no longer any structure on the earth, but it still had Jewish relics. Descendant #1's second uncle sold these things.

WA: He sold these?

D3: Even though he sold them he didn't dare use the money he got for himself so he invited Shi, Li, Gao, Ai, Jin, and Zhang, all the older ones to sign their names. After he asked them to sign their names to this agreement, this Westerner took it and said that the Jews sold it to him.

WA: Did these others agree to it in the end?

D3: I heard that probably they had no money so this Westerner invited them to eat. he also asked "Do you want to return to the 'Jewish country' for a look?" This was one request. "If you need any financial aid we can help you." Probably at that time they didn't respond. I'm just going by what my aunt said.

At that time when I heard this it was after the Sino-Japanese War. My mother told me all of this. My father had died by then. She said the Jews did such and such and this old Westerner did such and such. At that point I was in my 20's. But when I was young I also heard her tell me of this Westerner who invited them for a meal, but that never left an impression on me. I personally did not participate. I don't know about Descendant #1 having said he knows of this.

WA: When these Jews died were they buried anywhere in particular? I've heard that there was a special Jewish cemetery.

English, Hebrew and Russian.

This compilation of an Encyclopedia Judaica in Chinese will fill this lacuna and provide the first systematic and comprehensive source of information in Chinese on a whole range of topics within the field of Judaica. It also has the potential to promote broader understanding of Jewish history, religion, culture, philosophy, literature, traditions and customs, ethics, Zionism, communities and the State of Israel. This will provide scholars and readers with a handy and readily available reference work of a kind which does not now exist in China. To achieve this, the project was started in 1990, and the result is now in the hands of the reader.

This Chinese edition of the Encyclopedia Judaica has its own, unique features. It is entirely a work by Chinese scholars, though other versions are its chief sources and basic facts are the same. Therefore, it inevitably reflects a Chinese view of various Jewish subjects.

Since the work began in 1990, much later than the other versions, updated data, new discoveries, and current achievements augment and replace information from earlier editions.

It is a concise, one-volume reference book. The selection of entries and materials is entirely our own and reflects the following principles:

- 1) Essential information.
- 2) Emphasis on modern entries.
- 3) Emphasis on material not easily available elsewhere: (*For example, the entry on Albert Einstein stresses his connection with the Jewish revival movement rather than his far better known academic achievements.*)

The entries regarding Jewish Diasporas in China, most of which cannot be found in any other language editions, make up a unique part of this edition.

Because this work is the first Chinese language version, it is, of necessity, imperfect. Therefore we look forward to, and seek, advice and suggestions for improvement from our readers.

When we initiated the project in 1990, one of our goals was to lay an intellectual foundation for a normalization of relations on all levels be-

tween the two peoples: the Chinese and the Jews; and between two countries: China and Israel—through greater understanding of Jewish culture. Because of the remarkable recent political changes on this planet, including relations between China and Israel, the long awaited improvement in state and individual relations has come far sooner than anyone could have expected.

In June 1990, the Liaison Office of the Israel Academy of Science and Humanities was opened in Beijing, the capital of China. This marked a first step towards normalization of relations between the two countries.

In January, 1992, China and Israel signed an agreement to establish full diplomatic ties with each other.

In April, 1992, a successful Chinese-Jewish Colloquium: "Cultures Old and New," co-sponsored by the China International Culture Exchange Center and the World Jewish Congress was held in Beijing. It was the first time in history that Chinese and Jewish scholars gathered formally in China's capital to share and compare the harvest of their respective cultures, to exchange insights and to learn about each other. The dialogue also marks the official ties between the Chinese and world Jewry.

Under these circumstances, one may well ask whether the need for a reference book of this nature has been overshadowed by events. On the contrary, there is a greater need now than ever. As a Chinese speaker said at the closing session of the Chinese-Jewish Colloquium, the unfamiliarity of the Chinese with Hebrew scholarship and Jewish affairs is still profound and great. However, we have started something to fill this gap, to strengthen the friendship between the two peoples and to improve further relations between the two countries. We should spare no time and effort to reach better understanding of each other's cultures. Thus, in order to have a sustained, well-grounded political alliance between our two peoples, it is only through a deep and genuine mutual understanding of and respect for our respective cultures that this relationship between our two peoples will acquire the strength and resilience to withstand the changing dictates of ephemeral politics.

As we enter the 21st Century, Chinese are facing a challenge to move towards a more active world role. To understand Jewish culture is an essential step in preparation for the challenge before us because the whole world has been stirred by Jewish thought. Virtually no civilization has been untouched, no history of western civilization can be recounted without considering the Jewish component: what Jews have thought, felt, written and achieved. Not to understand the Jewish culture is not to understand the world. Not to understand our fellowman is ultimately not to understand ourselves.

It is in this spirit that we humbly and respectfully present this reference work as our small but necessary contribution to our fellow countrymen. . . **Entries concerning Jewish Diasporas in China in the Encyclopedia:**

Jews in China, Jews in Shanghai, Jews in Harbin, Jews in Tienjing, Jews in Kaifeng, Jews in Hong Kong, Jews in Taiwan, Yicileye Jiao, Synagogue in Kaifeng, Steles of the Kaifeng Synagogue, Stele of a Record of Rebuilding the Purity and Truth Synagogue, Stele of a Record of the Synagogue Respecting the Scriptures, Commandments of the Israelite Religion in Kaifeng, Customs of the Kaifeng Jews, Descendants of the Kaifeng Jews, Jewish Cemeteries in Kaifeng, Special Terminology Used by the Kaifeng Jews, Family Trees of the Kaifeng Jews, Legends from the Kaifeng Jews, Eight Clans with Seven Surnames, Ten Ancestors of the Israelite Religion in Kaifeng, Study of the Israelite Religion in Kaifeng, Chinese Jews, Teaching the Torah Lane, Chinese Terms for Jews, Horizontal Inscribed Boards in Kaifeng Synagogue, Couplets in Kaifeng Synagogue, Zhao Yingcheng, An San, Zhao Chengqi, Ai Yingkue, Li Qitang, Shi Pu, Shi Dui, Shi Weixun, Jewish Organizations in Shanghai, The Sassoon Family, The Kadoorie Family, Silas A. Hardoon, Israel's Messenger, Zionism in Shanghai, Sun Yat-Sen's Letter, Yeshivas in Shanghai, Central European Association, Jewish Communities in Shanghai, Jewish Refugees in Shanghai, Synagogues in Shanghai, HongKou Ghetto, Far East Jewish Community Congress, Jewish Schools in Shanghai.

TWO YEARS IN CHANGSHA

by Michael Wampold

Living in the People's Republic of China for the past two years has been interesting and frustrating. As the Chinese love to remind you, China is a complex country that is difficult for the foreigner to figure out. I've spent a good portion of my time there scratching my head and thinking about the cue I've missed or the laugh I didn't understand. Furthermore, being a foreigner in a homogenous, xenophobic, insular country like China has not been easy. The city I have been living in, Changsha, has two million inhabitants and less than forty foreign residents. When I walk the streets, my white face and big nose draw lots of stares and more than a few chants of "lao wai". (Literally the term means "venerable foreigner" but most of the foreigners I've spoken with in China agree that it has a more sinister connotation along the lines of "hey, there goes a foreign devil.") I have been told by well-educated Chinese people my own age that China was a paradise before the Westerners arrived on the scene bearing the gifts of prostitution, drugs and crime. It's difficult at times to single-handedly defend the entire Western Hemisphere not to mention the problem I have dealing with the insensitive and ignorant comments that are made to me about my religion: Judaism.

Not surprisingly, ignorance about the Jews and Judaism abounds. When I tell the Chinese that I am Jewish, I invariably get one of the following responses: "You must be very clever." "Karl Marx was a Jew" "You must really hate that guy Hitler." The high school text books tell the Chinese that the Jews are very clever and good with money. Like other places in the world, popular opinion has it that Jews are conniving and that they control the world's finances. Obviously there is a long way to go towards educating the Chinese about foreigners in general and the Jews in particular.

Given the lack of contact that Chinese people have with foreigners, it is

not surprising that they are ignorant. All high school students and most professionals are learning English and yet they have almost no opportunity to use the language with native speakers. People routinely stop me on the street trying to befriend me or just get me to teach them English. A local hospital bribed me with a free dinner to come and lecture a few times a semester to their doctors. The last time I was invited to speak, I decided that it was a good opportunity to teach them about the Jews.

Since most of the Americans working in China are Christian missionaries, I started off my lecture explaining that Judaism is not a proselytizing religion and that I was not going to try and convert them. They seemed relieved. In order to keep their interest and allow them to understand better, I tried as often as possible to compare the Jews to the Chinese. This technique worked better than I had hoped and the hour lecture ended up being an enlightening, revealing hour for me and for them.

In Chinese, China is called "Zhongguo" or "The Middle Kingdom" which reflects the Chinese belief that they are at the center of the universe and all others are barbarians. I often feel that the Chinese do not consider me a fellow human being; they treat me as a zoo animal and in a way that they would never treat another Chinese person. By comparing the Chinese to the Jews, I think I made a connection with them. Maybe for the first time they saw that we too suffer, love our children, and work hard to keep our culture alive. In short, they saw us as fellow humans.

I started the lecture appropriately enough at the beginning. The Jews began initially as a nation state like China, France or the United States. It was only when the Jews were forced by war and political turmoil to move to the Diaspora that the religion, Judaism, began to flourish. By adhering to a strict set of religious beliefs, sharing a common language and educating their youth, the Jews have managed to maintain their culture despite not having their own nation for most of their history. The Chinese have not had an altogether different experience. Although the Chinese have had

a nation for thousands of years, due to economic conditions and political turmoil they have also had their own Diaspora to such places as Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, the United States and Canada. Although they have not been held together by a common religion, they have been unified in the Diaspora by common languages and cultural traditions.

Unfortunately positive factors have not been the only reason for the Jews staying together. As with the Chinese, the Jews have suffered persecution and discrimination in the Diaspora. Although most Chinese know about the Holocaust, they don't grasp the magnitude of evil that was involved. Many Chinese still view Hitler as a great nationalist leader who organized the country and strengthened the military. To make them understand the Holocaust better, I explained that the suffering of the Jews at the hands of the Nazis was not very different to the suffering of the Chinese under Japanese occupation during World War II. While to the Chinese the Holocaust is a nebulous fact from a text book, the rape, torture, and mass murders of the Chinese during the Japanese occupation is a vivid, violent, living memory. When I stood before them, my eyes moist with tears explaining that my people suffered in a similar fashion and that 30% of the world's Jews were murdered, I sensed that they felt compassion for the Holocaust victims.

I ended the lecture by telling them myths about Jews that I had heard since arriving in China and trying to explain where they came from and why they weren't quite true. The Jews are not pulling the strings controlling the world economy and not all Jews are rich and clever. However, it is true that the Jews have done well financially and that many are well educated. As with the Chinese, the Jews highly value education. Through education Jews have been able to move into the upper classes of society and to wield a lot of political and financial power.

Usually, after a lecture, the doctors proceed to ask many questions that have nothing to do with what I had been talking about. Instead they ask mundane questions about my per-

Jewish things. I don't know any of the Jewish holidays . . . My father spoke of the "Eight Families, Seven Surnames." . . . I heard of this. This I know, but concerning the number of Jewish descendants there are and their whereabouts, I'm not too clear.

WA: Did he ever talk about other Jews?

D2: No.

WA: Or their history in Kaifeng?

D2: My father wasn't too knowledgeable about this either . . .

WA: Do (you) want to know each other?

D2: Yes, we'd all like to. That would be better. But the problem is there's no one to organize it . . . We don't know who among us are Jews . . .

Son: We didn't know where we were from or anything about our backgrounds. The older generation knew, but until recently we didn't know.

WA: Do your young ones have any particular feeling about being Jewish?

Son: No, nothing special.

WA: You also don't know much about Jewish history?

Son: I'm not a great reader and anyway there aren't many books on this subject . . .

Descendant #3 (Shi Zhongyu) **(Age 63)**

D3: Take, for example, my father. He remembered some original customs and habits of the Jews. He heard my grandfather say these things, so he knows them. But these habits and customs have already changed. This doesn't refer to all the customs, because they have changed so much. What we're talking about is only some traces of how the Jews celebrated Passover.

Jewish Passover has been confused with the local Han Chinese New Year's festival . . . During Passover . . . Jehovah expects us to kill a paschal lamb and spread the lamb's blood over the door. But in my father's time this was changed to use rooster's blood. In case a rooster's blood was not available we'd use cinnabar mixed with water and would use a new writing brush to spread it over the doorpost. So the custom had changed in this way. If there wasn't any time for this we didn't use rooster's blood, but would use a replacement of a red colored paint. This just represents

blood . . . This is a trace of Jewish Passover which is mixed up with the Han's New Year's festival. This I saw.

WA: When was that?

D3: When I was seven years old.

WA: What year was that?

D3: In 1928. Why? I remember because in 1929 he died.

WA: After he died you didn't carry on those customs?

D3: No. After he died, no one did that any more. This is one (custom). Another one was—I don't know what your custom is in the West, but every May in the lunar calendar we'd eat some cakes. These cakes contained no yeast . . . We'd make round cakes about this big. And we'd first dip them into sugar then eat them. We didn't eat them with salt. But since I don't like to eat sweets and he wanted me to celebrate the festival with him, he wasn't so strict with me. He told me to dip it into soy sauce before eating it. My mother ate along with him in his way.

You know, every year I remember seeing these two festivals. One was Passover, in which he put rooster's blood on the doorpost. Then there was the wheat festival in which we ate cakes without yeast. These are all things I personally saw. But they all changed.

When the Han celebrated new Year's Festival—in the morning my father dressed in very neat and clean clothes. These clothes had "never seen pork." In other words, never seen pork before and never been stained with anything while eating. Very clean clothes. We did not worship idols. When the Han celebrated New Year's they had some Buddhist icons which they would worship. We didn't have those icons in our family. We only had the memorial tablets for our ancestors.

In front of it my father would cook a big bowl of sweet mutton, without salt, and respectfully place it in front of the ancestor's memorial tablet. This is a mixture of Chinese and Jewish custom. Why did he do that? Just to show that the Jews didn't eat pork, otherwise they would have put pork, not mutton . . . Now in our daily lives this custom doesn't exist. Everyone eats pork. But the first day of Spring Festival we'd cook one bowl of mutton to

put in front of the ancestral tablet. This showed that the Kaifeng Jews knew they shouldn't eat pork. Now I've already eaten pork, but during festivals I tell my wife I will eat mutton to show my respect for my ancestors. This is one way of showing we are Jewish descendants. By using mutton as a sign of respect to our ancestors, rather than pork . . .

I'd like to speak about something else in our family. I remember that there were either six or seven prayer hats. (Shows plain black yarmulka.) This was given to me by a gentleman from Jerusalem, Israel, named "Mayou." (Meyer?) . . . But the yarmulkas I saw in my family were not made up of four pieces (like this one), but were composed of six pieces . . . The traditional Chinese hats which were worn by the Chinese during the Qing dynasty were very different. They had a red dot on them. They weren't like this. They had ridges to them. Have you ever seen the Uighur's hats? Like the Uighurs of Xinjiang Province.

WA: You mean hats worn by Muslims? . . .

D3: Similar, but the edges were different from the Uighurs. They were blue, the hats in our family. Dark blue. Darker than this. Even darker than this. Prettier than this. Blue with black rims. There was Hebrew writing embroidered on it. They used yellow thread to embroider it with. I didn't recognize any of the Hebrew writing . . . The embroidery was very elaborate, and looked very nice when it was worn . . . This belonged to my ancestors from the previous generation. It was always kept in the closet. When they aired the clothes in the sun to dry I sometimes saw them. There were six or seven of these. Later on my mother—she wasn't a common Chinese woman—she had an education and she could paint, especially fans. She remembered stories from my father and passed them down to me. She explained why the hats had six or seven edges.

As I recall now, the number of edges had something to do with the Sabbath. The story goes that on the first day God created such and such, on the second day God created such

D1: Most of them don't. Like our family. We don't eat certain things. We have certain customs, for example my grandfather already didn't care about this. Why? Because at that time in his generation he already believed in Buddhism.

WA: Were there also some who believed in Islam?

D1: No, none were Muslim. A lot of people say many Kaifeng Jews because Muslim, but that's not so. Actually it's just a rumor. Not the Kaifeng Jews. The ones who really because Muslim were from Hangzhou, Suzhou, Shanghai, those places—the Jews who had dispersed.

WA: I had heard that many had converted to Islam.

D1: No. Even the present day Muslims don't agree with this. Even Kaifeng's Muslims would agree.

WA: Do Kaifeng's Jews have any problems with the Muslims?

D1: No, we live together very well. Why? Well, neither of us eat pork. We are both from Arab lands, so we're called "blue-capped Muslims." In our family there was Zhao Yunzhong who could sell all the things in our family's possession because at that time he had what the Jews called a hero's style. One of my grandfather's brothers did away with another Jew by killing him. Why did he kill him? They were fighting over the things left in the Jewish temple. After this, my grandfather and Zhao Yunzhong killed that man in order to avenge this. After the killing, Zhao Yunzhong voluntarily gave himself up to the police. This made everyone look up to him as a hero. On the one hand he took revenge and on the other he wasn't scared to die himself.

He wasn't in prison for long before he was released. After that he had a certain stature in our family. So no one would dare say anything when he sold anything he liked in the family's possession. . .

* * *

D1: Our Jewish Temple was different from the Chinese Temple or the Mosque only in the direction it faced. Because the Chinese temple was made facing north, the main entrance was in the north. But the synagogue

was made facing east. The main door was facing east. This is a custom for synagogues around the world. They're all like this.

WA: Do you have any books in Kaifeng about Kaifeng's Jews?

D1: No. My father wrote one in the past. I had kept some material but it was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution.

WA: So now you have nothing.

D1: I'd be willing to write something. Now I still remember some things. In a few years, though, I won't be able to recall anything. I'm now 63 years old.

* * *

D1: We can do some historical research on the special characteristics of our religion, but we don't believe in any religion. I think researching historical and religious material and believing in a religion are two different things . . . Most people simply don't believe in religion. For example, Christianity, Catholicism or other religions—except for Islam! . . . But other religions didn't survive . . . In general, the basic problem is that whoever believes in Judaism must be Jewish. We don't proselytize to non-Jews.

WA: But you still consider yourselves to be Jewish, no?

D1: Yes, we consider ourselves Jewish but we don't believe in Judaism. I don't believe in Judaism either. Because now in Chinese society the average educated person doesn't believe in any religion at all. Neither do we . . . We are a kind of Jewish people, or Jewish descendants. Why? Because when Jewish people visit . . . their purpose is to write a book or understand some situations, like some historians. After they arrive, we just give them a general briefing and the usual reception from beginning to end. But if a Jewish person comes to visit our home, we do have a closer feeling. WA: The other question I have concerns becoming a national minority. I've heard that the possibility for this is rather small.

D1: It's not that it's unlikely, it's just that we're already a national minority. It's like this. To be a minority you must possess the characteristics of a minority: For example, have specific religious customs and practices, have a particular location and a distinctive

language. But amongst us Jews, we haven't retained our knowledge of a language and haven't retained specific religious practices, so we don't qualify for minority status. But the present government agreed to view us a minority.

For example, according to official policies, even though the Jews aren't numerous they have an official representative at the People's Congress. Also, in the city of Kaifeng, people receive government subsidies for meat. Most Han Chinese get 1.7 yuan every three months. But for minorities we receive 3 yuan . . .

On official notices we write "national minority." Muslims and Jews alike are known as "jin zhu minzu"—in other words, "those who don't eat pork." This way they include Jews as well.

WA: So in this way the government acknowledges Jews as a national minority?

D1: But they can't call us a minority because we don't officially qualify. Other minorities which aren't bigger than the Jews can also become minorities. Why? They intermarry, the language is the same, but the lifestyle is special, so they become a minority. But it's difficult to call us a minority because we've dispersed into several groups. If we're not an official minority it's not because there was a discriminatory attitude toward the Jews. Absolutely not.

Descendant #2 (Ai Dianyuan) (Age 64)

WA: I'd like to ask you some questions about Chinese Jewish history. Do you remember anything about being Jewish from when you were young?

D2: No. In fact, you mentioned Friday as being special. If you hadn't told me I wouldn't have known . . .

WA: Did you ever see a Jewish star?

D2: What is that? . . .

WA: Do you recognize Hebrew?

D2: No . . .

WA: Can I ask how it is that you know you are Jewish?

D2: I heard my father say we were, so we know we are Jews.

WA: But you never saw them do anything relating to Judaism?

D2: No. I never saw anything. Kaifeng's Jews aren't numerous, and there's no organization, so I'm not clear about

sonal life, my adjustment to China and current events in the United States. This time they asked only questions about my speech and their questions were interesting, thought-provoking and revealed that they were truly interested in my topic. They wanted to know if it was important for me to marry a Jew, what the Wailing Wall was all about, what I thought about the problems on the West Bank and what claim the Jews had to the land of Israel. I was delighted that they knew so much and that were interested in knowing more.

Standing in front of those doctors, I realized that the frustrations I have experienced living in China are worth it if I can make this kind of connection with people. The goal of all humanity is to embrace our differences and see our similarities. Somehow I know that none of those doctors will ever approach a Jewish person and say, smiling, "You must really hate that guy Hitler."

CRITIQUE OF DAVID S. KATZ'S "THE CHINESE JEWS AND THE PROBLEM OF BIBLICAL AUTHORITY IN EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND."

by Michael Pollak

[In his article, which appeared in the *English Historical Review* (October 1990):893-919, and excerpted in *Points East*, October 1992)], Katz discusses, inter alia, the role played by Emanuel Mendes da Costa, a distinguished Jewish scholar and a fellow of the Royal Society (as well as an adviser on Jewish subjects to his Christian colleagues), in the ongoing search for lost Jewish communities and old Jewish texts. In 1760, Katz states, "da Costa wrote to a man well acquainted with Chinese matters who had been recommended to him by David Salomons of the London Sephardi community," requesting that this man convey to the Jews of China a Hebrew letter, a copy of which was enclosed, that had that year been composed by (in da Costa's words) "some of our Preists[sic] and Scribes."

Cf., however, Samuel Sokobin's privately printed study, *A China-London Jewish Literary Mystery*, in which Sokobin concludes that the English-language letter supposedly written in 1760 was actually composed at a much later time. This letter, a facsimile of which is provided in Sokobin's essay, is unsigned and undated, and does not contain any indication regarding the identity of the individual to whom it was addressed. Nor does Sokobin even mention da Costa, let alone point to him as the writer of the letter. In fact, although Sokobin has no clue as to the identity of the writer, he insists that the letter could not have been written as early as 1760, and that a more acceptable dating for its composition would fall between 1816 and 1833. His reasoning is essentially as follow:

1) The letter not only mentions David Salomons, but leaves the impression that this David Salomons was a man of standing in the Anglo-Jewish community. This is anomalous, says Sokobin, for "in Anglo-Jewish history there is but one David Salomons." He then describes Salomons, quite properly, as a "great fighter for Jewish political emancipation who was born in 1797 (six years, by the way, after da Costa's death), elected Sheriff of London (1835), Alderman (1847), and Lord Mayor (1855)." Salomons' date of birth thus precludes any possibility that the letter was written in 1760. Sokobin nevertheless sees the year 1816, when Salomons was only nineteen, as the earliest possible date for its composition, for the missionary Robert Morrison reports meeting a Chinese Muslim in October 1816 who told him that a letter which had come to China from "some Jewish gentlemen in London" had very recently been delivered to a Jewish community in Honan Province, but that "because of rumours of rebellion, the messenger became apprehensive and left" — without waiting for the answer that was to be prepared by the recipients.

2) Alluding to the fact that the letter also speaks of benefits that could be expected to accrue from an opening of relationships with the Chi-

nese Jews to "the Hono(u)rable Company, the name by which the East India Company Trading to China was known," Sokobin observes that the Company went out of business in 1833, its charter having been revoked that year by an Act of Parliament.

After looking at the careers of several Englishmen who might have possessed the capability of transmitting a letter to the Jews of Kaifeng between 1816 and 1833, Sokobin comes up with two candidates to whom the Jews of London could have turned with a request to undertake such an assignment, John Francis Davis and Sir George Staunton, with the former as the more likely choice. (Davis, incidentally, refers briefly to the Jews of Kaifeng on pp. 24-25, vol. 1, of his book, *The Chinese*, published in New York in 1836.)

The bibliographical reference in Katz's study to the letter in question (p. 904, n.1) reads "(Da Costa) to ?, n.d. (1760), autograph letter: BL, Add. MS 29,868, fo. 4^{r-v}," thereby confirming the fact that the letter lacks a date, the name of the person to whom it was addressed, and a signature. Katz, however, also provides references to several other items of correspondence bearing da Costa's signature (but not connected with the "1760" letter) which are preserved in the British Library. It would appear, accordingly, that the simplest way to determine whether Katz was correct in identifying the writer of the "1760" letter as da Costa would entail no greater challenge than to compare its penmanship with that of the signed da Costa letters in the British Library's holdings. Of course, if da Costa's letters were dictated to a succession of secretaries, such a procedure might prove nothing. The determination of the time of the letter's writing would then call for a study of its literary stylisms, the shaping of its individual alphabetical characters, the kind of paper on which it was written, and perhaps the ink which was used. In any case, even if it were in the end shown that da Costa was unquestionably the author of the letter, and even if its dating could be restricted to a reasonably narrow time span, two

questions would still remain unanswered: 1) to whom was the letter addressed?; and 2) could there have been an earlier David Salomons in England than the David Salomons who was to become the first Jewish Lord Mayor of the country's capital city?

The answer to the first question remains moot, but the answer to the second, it is worth noting, turns out to be in the affirmative. Pp. 1-3 of Albert M. Hyamson's David Salomons (London: 1939) indicate that David Salomons' paternal grandfather, who emigrated to England from the Continent during the first half of the 18th century and died there in 1788, was known both as David Emden and as David Salomons. Hyamson reports, moreover, that in a number of other 18th-century English Jewish families which bore the surname Salomons, the personal names David, Levy, Barend, and Benedictur "recur frequently." "It would seem," Hyamson informs his readers, "that all these Salomons . . . were men of substance, merchants, or brokers of standing. Many of them left estates that were large for those days." It is therefore quite possible that the David Salomons alluded to in the "1760" letter may have been the grandfather of the still unborn Lord Mayor. But it is equally possible, of course, that the David Salomons who figures in that letter was an 18th-century English Jew of whom we know little or nothing beyond the fact that he happened to have the same family and personal names as those that would in the course of time be borne by a Lord Mayor of London.

Excerpted from the forthcoming The Jews of Dynastic China: A Critical Bibliography, by the author, to be published by Hebrew Union College Press and the S.J.I.

"WE ARE THE JEWS OF ..."

(continued from page 4)

In the excerpts of the poem in front of us, we see a contrast between Jew and citizen, just as "citizen of Asian extraction" is made to seem like a contradiction in terms. The term, Jew, here means being member of a wandering homeless people.

Sometimes, of course, the use of the analogy between a presumably victimized group and the Jews is used by the spokespeople of those in question for gaining sympathy in the West.

This variety of "Jewishness" appears among the Chinese of Southeast Asia as well. Chinese intellectuals in countries like Indonesia and Malaysia, like their non-Chinese counterparts, are sophisticated and well-read in the sociology of minorities. For instance, in 1960 Yap Thiam Hien, an Indonesian Protestant of Chinese descent, wrote an article analyzing the situation of the Chinese. In his article, Yap cited well-known Western social scientists, including Louis Wirth, Arnold Rose, John Dollard and Claude Levi-Strauss. He also used examples from Western Europe, the United States, and the Soviet Union to support his arguments for the integration of the Chinese minority into general Indonesian society. (See L. Suryadinta Pol. Thinking of the Indonesian Chinese, Singapore UP, 1979).

Yap Thiam Hien was not alone in discussing integration. In the 1950s and early 1960s, Sino-Indonesians vigorously debated the relative merits of assimilation and structural pluralism in terms familiar to European Jews. Some advocated wholesale assimilation through adoption of Indonesian citizenship, Indonesian names, and even conversion to Islam, while others argued that Indonesian citizens of Chinese descent should be recognized as an Indonesian ethnic group comparable to the Sundanese, the Javanese, and the Balinese. Consciousness of European precedents is evident. The predominantly Chinese Baperki party was noteworthy for its pluralistic approach. It was a leftist party often identified with the Communists and the Sukarno regime. Baperki favored maintaining Chinese identity within Indonesia, comparable to the way in which other Indonesian ethnic groups would maintain their separate identities as part of a greater Indonesian nation. In a party resolution, which argued that Indonesian Chinese could not deny their identity, a reference was made to Edith Stein, whom Pope John Paul II has beatified. She was described in this party document as "a Jewish girl with a

German name who had assimilated to the extent of joining a Catholic order as a nun, yet met her death in a Nazi gas chamber" (Charles Coppel, Indonesian Chinese in Crisis, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford UP, 1983:44, 186 n.37).

The message they draw from this is that adoption of symbols of assimilation is an inadequate protection against "racism" and discrimination. After the failure of the Communist coup and the resultant military takeover, this pluralist approach was discredited by the association of Baperki with the Communists. After 1965, there were anti-Communist massacres and apprehension among the Chinese. While there were some violence and looting against Chinese, the extent to this was relatively limited. Yet writing about this period, Charles Coppel notes:

"An anti-Chinese *pogrom* must have seemed a grim possibility."

The italics are Coppel's and the obvious parallel between Indonesian Chinese and East European Jews is stressed through the word, *pogrom*. Since the intellectual leadership of Indonesian Chinese, no doubt, spoke with Coppel and would read his work, we can see this as a product of interaction.

The analogy between Chinese and Jews was most clearly drawn from an Overseas Chinese perspective (as opposed to a non-Chinese viewpoint) by Alice Tay Erh Soon, a Singaporean barrister. Soon begins her 1962 article in Race, published by the Institute of Race Relations in London, with a portrayal of the fourteen million Chinese as less than 9% of the total population, but as economically powerful. She portrays the economic power quite vividly:

"Numerically, the Chinese may seem weak; economically they have appeared to themselves and to their enemies close to all-powerful. In South Vietnam, they have been claimed to control 75 per cent (sic!) of the country's economic activities; in Thailand today they appear to hold 90 per cent of the retail shops and 70 per cent of the timber mills; in the Philippines two thirds of the copra trade—the largest in the world—is claimed to be in Chinese hands. When the Chinese

CONVERSATIONS WITH KAIFENG'S JEWISH DESCENDANTS

August, 1985 (Excerpts)

(continued from page 1)

WA: You still celebrate it?

D1: Yes. Chinese New Year is the second month on the solar calendar. It's about the same time as Passover, but sometimes Passover comes during the fourth or fifth month. Since the Han are used to celebrate New Year's Spring Festival at this time, we follow the Han in celebrating their Spring Festival. But our characteristic is that while they celebrate Spring Festival by eating a lot of fish and pork, we eat flat cakes.

* * *

. . . During the Passover season we eat luobin (?) in our homes. In the past, in Descendant #3's home, they had the tradition of eating mutton during New Year's. That way they could also put lamb's blood over the doorpost. These are all Jewish customs. But only since we researched a bit about Judaism did we realize these were Jewish customs. Before we learned about this, all we knew was that others ate (something else) — and we ate luobin, without knowing its significance. Naturally, I know about all this because my father studied this. He said eating luobin was a meal commemorating hardship. This means to commemorate the Jewish people's leaving Egypt, since on the road they had no means of cooking bread. There were no ovens, only the sun to bake food and eat on the road. So we often eat luobin to recollect our past.

* * *

D1: There are so many reasons why the synagogue no longer exists. It's not a simple answer . . . It was destroyed in the flood of the Yellow River. After the flood many Jews fled to other parts of the country. They went north, south, east and west, scattering in all directions. After they left they managed to make a living where they were and never bothered to return. So some of them now don't even know they are Jewish. At that time we also left. We had no choice. But we couldn't make a living so we can back. After this we had no house

and no way to make a living, so we just set up a house next to the original synagogue and slowly made our living again. That's how we came to remain on this street.

When it came to our generation we didn't know what the history of this synagogue was nor did anyone know Hebrew to read the Bible to us . . . Since that time I heard some stories from my parents. We know nothing else. Why do I know more? Because my father's original teacher used to be a professor at Henan University before Liberation. They both worked together researching the history of the Chinese Jews and things pertaining to Judaism. The materials they used were hard to come by, though. I still

remember this because I was seven or eight years old. Some things I read myself because I was already in school
WA: When you were young did you see any Jewish "artifacts" of any sort?
D1: Yes, there were some in our house that remained. But now there are none.
WA: What happened to them?
D1: Afterwards I went to school in Beijing. After my father died it was a difficult time. Our family possessions were dispersed. Why were they dispersed? Because there were many things whose value were not understood and were just thrown out. They didn't realize they had historical value.

Another thing. During the beginning of the Republic of China I had an uncle, my father's older brother, named Zhao Yunzhong. His family possessed many Jewish things that they sold to foreigners. For example, he sold a piece of Bible parchment to London for two yuan because he was very poor and didn't realize how valuable they were.

WA: Are these now in a museum in London?

D1: Yes.

WA: I've heard there are also many Jewish artifacts in Canada.

D1: Yes. In Canada there are many that were also sold by my uncle. Why? Because Bishop White, who wrote that book Chinese Jews, was the middle man in this.

WA: Is there any possibility of getting these things back for your museum here?

D1: We don't need it. We sold the original stelaes to Bishop White. Since

Liberation they have been kept in the Kaifeng Museum . . . Kaifeng's stelaes I've already seen. There isn't very much of the writing which is still legible. At most maybe only 15-20%. I plan to make rubbings of the stelaes and have already bought two pieces of stone to prepare for this purpose. If you don't write these down, the text is the only historical evidence we have, so I'd like to preserve what is written there to pass down to the next generation, which is of the utmost importance. Therefore I've already bought the stones. Later on I'll find someone to do the carving.

* * *

WA: Do you still remember any particularly Jewish customs which may have been done by your parents? Or when you were young? Were both your parents Jewish?

D1: My father and grandfather were.
WA: So when you were young they told you you were Jewish?

D1: Yes, of course. In America in that book by Bishop White you see a photograph . . . There is a photograph of me when I was seven years old. There's a man in America named "Bolan." ["Bolan" is most likely David A. Brown, the American Jewish visitor to Kaifeng in the 1930's.] He took the photograph of my father, my grandfather, all three of us.

WA: Did you ever see him?

D1: Yes, when I was young—about six or seven. In the past we also observed rules of what we could and couldn't eat. We could eat beef and mutton. What we could eat, though, had to be drained of blood. This problem with blood, or this plucking the sinews, we Chinese Jews also had a more special explanation. This is what my father at that time once spoke about because I asked him why we don't eat the sinews or the blood. He gave a simple explanation. "You should know that blood and sinew are the origin of the life source. So because of this we shouldn't eat it." My grandfather's explanation when I asked him was that it was just out of commemoration for our ancestors' God.

WA: Do most Chinese Jews today still not eat these things? Or do they not care about this?

Jewish moneybags, laid back Malays, and almond-eyed Chinese who are good at business. He was preceded in this by President Sukarno of Indonesia. Coppel (The Indonesian Chinese in Crisis, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1983: p. 49) paraphrases the latter's Independence Day address in August 1964:

"The President also explained his dream of a nation in which all suku (Indonesian term for indigenous ethnic groups) 'including peranakan (native) suku or those of foreign descent—whether Arab, European, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, or Jewish could be united and should be achieved by means of both integration and assimilation."

It is notable that Europeans are considered collectively and subdivided between Dutch, German, British, etc., The Arabs are a substantial Muslim minority, while there are large numbers of Indians and Pakistanis in the region, while Jews are insignificant. Sukarno and Mahathir have thus exaggerated the importance of Jews.

Identification as a Result of Labelling

As indicated elsewhere, trading minorities have often been labelled as the "Jews of X" or the "Scots of Y". Other groups who are seen as bearing some resemblance to these groups on other grounds may be so labelled, such as groups who succeed in gaining higher status through education. While Asians in the United States can be analyzed as "middleman minorities", their main comparability to the Jews today stems from the use of higher education as a ladder for social mobility, their disproportionate representation in higher education, and possible use of quotas to discriminate against them.

The comparison of Jews and such groups can, of course, lead to going beyond the data. The assumption that all Jews or all Asians are high achievers educationally is mistaking a statistical construct for an essence of the group. It also dulls us to differences between these groups. Maurice Freedman, a British social anthropologist who specialized in the study of Chinese and who also served as Managing Editor of the Jewish Journal of

Sociology warned us against this (1975).

In an article entitled "An Epicycle of Cathay, or the Southward Expansion of the Sinologists," he criticizes several views of both scholars and the general public. One is the view that Southeast Asia is a zone of conflict between the civilizations of China and India. The second view holds that China has an inner drive to expand southward and the Overseas Chinese are then the "fifth column" of this imperialist thrust. As a variant of the "Yellow Peril" thesis, such stereotyping also includes finding similarities between Jews and Chinese.

Freedman concedes that a serious comparison between Jews and Chinese can be made on the basis of similar niches occupied by Jews in medieval Europe (and elsewhere) and by the Chinese in Southeast Asia, we find that the rhetoric goes beyond this. For instance, one scholar suggests that the Nanyang ("South Seas") Chinese are in many countries, "a peculiar people, separate nation within the nation". Freedman attacks these "less thoughtful versions" which rest upon a "broader conception ... of common features:"

*"Jews/Chinese wander about the earth;
they are people of an ancient culture;*

*for the most part they work their way into intermediate positions in economy and society, constrained to do so by restrictions placed upon them;
they are disliked and persecuted;
and, rootless cosmopolitans, they look to Zion/China." (The format is my own, WPZ).*

He finds that the latter points, which utilize Biblical rhetoric, break the comparison. The Chinese are not a "Chosen People" having a Covenant with God nor does their diaspora have deep historical roots. In fact, he practically denies that there is "an organized Chinese diaspora." Most Chinese communities outside of China were formed during the past century or so. Many of the early Chinese residents no longer have descendants identifying as Chinese. Even many of those who still are identified as Chinese have become "desinicized" and speak languages other than Chinese.

He thus rejects the analogies often drawn between Jews and Chinese.

Recently, Tu Wei-ming has contrasted the Jewish and Chinese diasporas in a fashion akin to Freedman. He points out that the Jewish diaspora until the establishment of Israel as a nation-state on European model was based on faith in One God and observing His Law. The Chinese, on the other hand, always had a homeland; not only that, their homeland was a huge "civilization-state". Many, indeed, did return home and many had dual citizenship. ("Cultural China: The Periphery as Center," Daedalus 120 (1991):2:1-32.)

Notwithstanding Freedman's and Tu's critiques, the particular role in society, that of being an immigrant who remains a stranger and is neither part of the elite or the masses is what makes the Chinese in Southeast Asia comparable to the Jews.

This is true of minorities specialized in trade besides the Chinese. South Asians who settled in East Africa were sometimes called "the Jews of East Africa." In the late 1960s and early 1970s, when many of these Asians were expelled from Kenya and Uganda, a Sikh named Jagjit Singh wrote a poem entitled "Brown Jew" in which he encapsulates his understanding of this identification.

After a reference to the sweat which the Asians had expended in building the railways, he wrote:

"And you will see it always

In back alleys & government offices

My subordinate Asian smile of friendship

That proclaims the Jew is also citizen

And the state of past hostility replying:

Citizen? . . . Perhaps so,

But of Asian extraction!"

In this, Singh sees African ingratitude, as well as humiliation of Asians by both British and Africans. He finally adds:

"And soon we shall be flying

Unwelcome vultures all over the world

Only to unsheathe the fresh wrath

Each time we land."

(Quoted by Denys Hill, The White Pumpkin. London, Allen, Unwin, 1975, pp. 183-5.)

(continued on page 16)

community in South Vietnam responded to political discrimination with economic reprisals, the country's exports of rice came to a virtual halt."

She then proceeds to present how the majority populations in Southeast Asia view the Chinese. She points to various policies of governmental discrimination, control, repression, expulsion and forced assimilation. In some cases this took the form of locally born Chinese being forced to take local (Vietnamese, Thai, Khmer) names, pay certain taxes, and register for military service, while other Chinese (those born outside the country) were barred from certain trades and professions. Chinese in certain countries were prohibited from owning land. Nationals were discouraged from marrying Chinese, while children of Chinese mothers in Thailand were declared foreigners regardless of the nationality of the father (Thai Nationality Law of 1953). In Malaya (this was written before the establishment of the Malaysian Federation), the government had a policy favoring the Malay majority over the 43 per cent of the population which was Chinese. Alice Tay continues:

"All these events have readily suggested a parallel with the world's most experienced second-class citizens. In 1957, when Chinese in Saigon were rioting against the Taiwan Government's failure to lend them effective support against Vietnamese pressure and discrimination, the Chinese Nationalist Foreign Minister, Mr. George Yeh stood helpless before a press conference in Taipei. 'We Chinese,' he said, 'are looked on as the Jews of Asia.'

She then goes on:

"The Chinese see themselves as suffering the discrimination directed against the Jews; their enemies see them as calling it upon themselves. Racialism in one country helps to create the armory for racialism in another." She then proposes that there is a connection between Warrington Smothers comparison of Chinese and Jews with the later tract by King Vajiravudh.

She writes:

"The European colonizer with his own anti-Semitic prejudices, his romanticization of the 'sons of the soil' (a

term used for the Malay ethnic group in Malaysia, WPZ) and his tendency to value primitive (and pliable) 'honesty' against commercial 'cunning' provided the native nationalist with the justification and with the terminology of the Sinophobic campaign. Charges of Chinese cunning, social separation, arrogance, usury, dual loyalty, refusal to assimilate and readiness to help only Chinese became the stock-in-trade of militant Asian racism."

As proof of this, she quotes President Sukarno of Indonesia who makes such accusation of the Chinese. Tay then deals with the reasons for this and the parallels between the role of the Chinese in Southeast Asia since medieval times and that of Jews in Europe.

The parallels like in such factors as the "semi-feudal societies" of Europe and Southeast Asia to which the Jews and Chinese respectively provided commercial services, their strong in-group solidarity, mutual trust, which was useful in establishing international credit networks, their reliance on officials for protection, and their social mobility.

Alice Tay then points to the history of national reawakening in Southeast Asia. In the course of the rise of national consciousness, the Chinese and to a lesser extent the Indians were seen as aliens. Except for Thailand, most of Southeast Asia was under colonial rule until the end of World War II. However, under the Japanese occupation, nationalism was encouraged and the Japanese themselves saw the Chinese as enemies. Therefore the native population could humiliate the Chinese with impunity.

She then reviews the situation of the Chinese (in the early 1960s). There is discrimination in most Southeast Asian countries. At the same time, there has been competition for their loyalty by Communist and Nationalist Chinese governments. She concludes that the Chinese in this region do not wish to return to China and most, even the wealthy, are excluded from countries to which they would want to go, namely the United States, Canada and Australia. Consequently they must accommodate, however difficult this is. She concludes:

"Much depends . . . on the economic situation. Where political independence coincides with increasing poverty and economic chaos—as in Indonesia—seizing Chinese wealth will seem as easy a solution as seizing the Jews' wealth seemed to the Ukrainian pogromshchik. The Chinese will have to hope desperately for the economic prosperity of his non-Chinese neighbours, meanwhile doing nothing to offend an alien majority, striving to accommodate himself to rulers and nations whose ideal society contains no Chinese. If he fails, he will become perforce a Communist, but he will have to go to China to be one."

Many Chinese from various Southeast Asian countries in fact did just that, though they had great difficulties in adjusting to Chinese conditions. Others have gone to Australia, Canada and the United States, many as part of the Vietnamese "boat people," especially during the Sino-Vietnamese war in 1979. Still the problem continues.

In 1979, at the time of that war, a headline appeared in the New York Times, stating "Indonesia's Chinese: 'Real Rulers' or Harried Minority?" The article points out that the four million strong minority was subject to discriminatory measures, but was also disliked for collaboration with the Suharto regime and profiting from it. Ironically, as noted above, when Suharto came to power, his regime was accompanied by anti-Chinese actions. In addition to their business activity and their portrayal as exploiters and profiteers, the Chinese value of education was said to create their feeling of superiority and an exclusivity typical of an elite. This was followed by the following:

"They call us the Jews of the East,' Mr. M. H. Husino, an elderly lawyer, said with a wry smile." The implication of the article's author is that both commercial specialization and educational achievement lead to comparison with the Jews (H. Kamm, NY Times May 31, 1979, p. A2). While who the "they" are is not specified, Henry Kamm, the New York Times correspondent, and possibly Husino see all elements of this situation as justifying the comparison between

Chinese and Jews. The article is accompanied by a photograph showing ethnic Chinese in Indonesia boarding a ship for China in 1966.

While Indonesian Chinese in the Suharto era have continued to maintain a fairly high position in society, they and their compatriots in Malaysia have continued to feel insecure. In the early 1980s, when I attended the rather small number of deportation and exclusion hearings in the monthly sessions of the U.S. Immigration Court in Albany NY, there were several cases of Chinese from Indonesia and Malaysia who claimed the right to political asylum in the United States. Families of Indonesian Chinese professionals continue to emigrate.

Members of the Chinese diaspora still see themselves as similar to the Jews. Lynn Pann in her recent book, Sons of the Yellow Emperor: A History of the Chinese Diaspora (Boston, Little, Brown, 1990) calls one chapter, "The Jews of the East" (pp. 128-152). This chapter traces the history of this label in its application to the Chinese early on by Europeans. She sees it as the diffusion of a European stereotype of crafty businessmen and successful entrepreneurs. In this chapter, she shows how many Overseas Chinese lived up to this stereotype. Her book as a whole shows that the varieties of Chinese accommodation to the countries in which they are settled is similar to the many ways in which Jews have.

In a recent issue of Daedalus devoted the changing meaning of Chinese identity, there were a number of references to Jews in comparison with Chinese (Spring 1991, Vol. 120:2). One particularly common analogy is to the existence of a diaspora.

Jews and Asians as Model Minorities in North America

While the similarity between Chinese and Jews in the United States is related to the fact that both have utilized the small-business route to accommodation to this society. Some other features also mark their comparability. In the past, the Chinese and the Jews followed different paths into American society. Despite discrimination, the Jews in North America

were generally accepted as part of the European white race who were generally welcomed as immigrants and allowed to succeed with few restraints. During the 1880s, which marked the beginning of mass Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe, the Chinese were legally excluded as immigrants.

Large scale Asian immigration to the United States began in the 1960s and has continued. In this period, the Chinese and several other Asian immigrant groups have demonstrated traits which make them comparable to those Jews in early decades of this century. The Chinese, together with other immigrants, have even succeeded the Jews as entrepreneurs in the garment industry of New York and Los Angeles. Most, but not all, groups of Asian immigrants have also become noted for success in school.

The remarkable educational achievements of many Asians has led to the labeling of the Asians as a model minority. This distinction is a dubious one. On the one hand, the Chinese and other Asians are admired by many. On the other hand, they, like the Jews in the early part of the 20th Century, are feared as unfair competitors who must be held back, perhaps by exclusionary quotas. Like Jews in an earlier period, Asian-American leaders must decide if the best strategy is to stress success or point out that many Asians are actually in a needy position.

Conclusion

In this essay, I have traced the identification of Chinese with Jews in a number of situations in Southeast Asia and North America. An important element in this has been the export of anti-Semitic and other racist stereotypes from Europe to Asia. This was followed by those so labelled adopting the rubric themselves and using it to analyze their own plight.

The fact that many Chinese in the diaspora see themselves as "Jew" in a sociological sense should not be over-interpreted. Chinese absorb anti-Semitic stereotypes and views from the general world culture, just as Jews have absorbed anti-Asian views. But a certain sympathy between these two peoples has developed as a result of certain convergent changes in mod-

ern times. The encounters between Jews and Chinese has not been limited to interactions in China and the diaspora but it has included a meeting of the images of both groups in the minds of their neighbors. It now influences their relationship with each other.

Bibliographical Note

In addition to the references fully cited in the text, readers wishing to follow up on this topic will find further discussion of this topic in Walter P. Zenner, Minorities in the Middle: A Cross-Cultural Analysis (Albany NY, State University of New York Press, 1991, especially Chapters 3 and 4). This includes background on the Chinese in Southeast Asia. The full text of Vajiravudh's Jews of the East is found in Kenneth P. Landon, The Chinese in Thailand (London, Oxford University Press, 1941), pp. 32-47. For a biography of Vajiravudh, see William F. Vella, Chaiyo! King Vajiravudh and the Development of Thai Nationalism (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1978). For recent discussion of the changing identities of Chinese in China and in the diaspora, see "The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese," Daedalus 120 (1991), No. 2.

I wish to acknowledge the assistance of the Annenberg Research Institute in Philadelphia where I did the research on which this paper is based.

CHINESE AND JEWS: PERCEPTIONS AND SIMILARITIES

by Albert E. Dien
excerpted from Emunah,
Spring/Summer 1993

I first went to Taiwan in 1956 to study Chinese at a university there, and I remember how incredulous my student-tutor was when I told her I was a Jew. She knew, of course, that there were Jews, but she found it hard to believe that she had actually met one. In the absence of personal contact, the perception of Jews among the Chinese (and I speak of the educated ones) has been based entirely on Western sources. The enormous impact of the West on modern China has brought the bad with the good, and

newsletters and bulletins no matter how irregularly published or limited in distribution they might be. Contribution of back files of publications which can help fill in gaps in existing holdings will always be welcome." All files in the Archives are open by appointment and requests for a limited number of xerox copies of individual issues of newsletters are filled at cost whenever possible. Please direct all correspondence to:

Frank Joseph Shulman
Asian Studies Newsletter Archives
9225 Limestone Place
College Park, Maryland 20740-3943, USA
Tel: (301) 935-5614 (evenings and weekends)

• CHINESE MUSICIAN STUDIES IN ISRAEL

Lu Li Yu is the first music student from China to study in Israel. Now at the Jerusalem Rubin Academy of Music and Dance, she is studying composition and conducting. A videotaped performance of one of her own compositions gained her entry to the Academy and she got a jump-start on Hebrew by studying the language at Beijing University along with eight other students.

• PUBLICATIONS

Both SJI president Al Dien and SJI board member Marvin Tokayer had articles published in the Spring/Summer 1993 issue of Emunah. The articles are "Chinese and Jews: Perceptions and Similarities" and "Pepper, Silk and Ivory—The Exotic Jews of the Far East" respectively. See page 18 of this issue for an excerpt of Al Dien's article.

Congratulations to SJI member Lillian Loewenthal of Dover, NJ on the publication of her book The Search for Isadora: The Legend and Legacy of Isadora Duncan. Pennington, NJ: Princeton Book Co.

Congratulations also to SJI member, Prof. Nathan Katz who, with Ellen Goldberg, published The Last Jews of Cochin: Jewish Identity in Hindu India. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press. Announcement and order form are enclosed in this issue.

• NEW JUDAICA SERIES PUBLISHED IN SHANGHAI

The Sanlian Press, under the editorship of Gu Xiaoming of Fudan University is publishing a series of twenty titles of Judaica under the name Youtai Wenhua Congshu (Series on Jewish Culture). The following volumes have already been published (in addition to two supplementary volumes also listed below):

Youtairen, Feng Wei, transl. (Chaim Bermant, The Jews, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977)

Shanghai Youtairen nanmin shequ, Xu Buzeng, transl. (David Kranzler, Japanese, Nazis and Jews: The Jewish Refugee Community of Shanghai, 1938-1945, Hoboken: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1976.)

Jindai Xibolai wenxue jianshi, Lu Peiyong, transl., Zhu Weilie, ed. (Josef Klausner, Kitsur Toldot Hasifrut Haivrit Hachadasha, Acre, 1986.)

Youtairen he qian. (Transl. Jews and Money)

Shengjingzhong di Youtai xingji. (Transl. Traces of the Jews in the Scriptures).

In addition:

Xu Xin, ed. and transl. Xiandai Xibolai xiaoshuo xuan (Added Engl. title: Anthology of Modern Hebrew Short Stories). Guilin: Guangxi Xinhua shudian, 1992.

Pan Guang and Jin Yingzhong, eds., Yiselie - Youtaixue yanjiu 1990 (Added Engl. title: Israel-Judaic Studies 1990). Shanghai: Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, 1991.

"WE ARE THE JEWS OF ..."

(continued from page 1)

A particularly influential individual in connecting the European images of both Jews and Chinese with the Chinese population in Thailand was King Vajiravudh. Vajiravudh was the grandson and son respectively of Kings Mongkut and Chulalongkorn (familiar to Americans through the musical, The King and I, the former being the king who hired Anna Leonowens to tutor the latter). Vajiravudh ruled from 1910 to 1925. The growing numbers of Chinese in Thailand and their perceived privileges and economic power were seen as a threat to Thai sovereignty.

In 1914, Vajiravudh published a pamphlet, called The Jews of the East, in which he compared the Chinese to Jews in Europe as a threat to public order. Both groups were worshippers of one god, the god Money, and were willing to undertake the most degrading work in order to gain wealth. The Chinese and the Jews, according to Vajiravudh writing under a penname, were both disloyal to the countries in which they lived and in which they made their money. To support his arguments he even cites a play by the

then renowned British Jewish writer, Israel Zangwill.

Vajiravudh set out to restrict Chinese privileges and to assimilate resident Chinese in Thailand by restrictions on Chinese schools. In the 1930s, when military officers influenced by European fascism came to power, anti-Chinese sentiment became stronger. Restrictions on the rights of Chinese-born residents of Thailand were implemented. The genocidal racism of Germany, however, never took root in Thailand. In fact, many of those who promoted anti-Semitic nationalism were known to have Chinese ancestry, including Vajiravudh. Thus while Vajiravudh's pamphlet harnessed anti-Semitic rhetoric against the Chinese, his work did not have the same consequences.

In Muslim Southeast Asia today, political leaders have awareness of Jews as a separate group. In his short book, The Malay Dilemma, (Singapore, Asia Pacific Press, 1970) Mahathir bin Mohammed, now Prime Minister of Malaysia, contrasts Europeans and Jews and then Malays and Chinese. Of all the peoples of the world, the relatively small Jewish minority is singled out. In the passages where he compares these groups, he employs stereotypes of the hooknosed

From the editor:

In this issue, we have a number of articles which begin to explore the similarities and differences between Chinese and Jewish cultures (if culture is the right word). Obviously it is very hard to generalize with two such ancient and geographically diverse nations, but the articles are fascinating, sure to be thought-provoking and possibly even capable of motivating a few letters. I personally found Prof. Zenner's piece fascinating.

Also, as promised, we are publishing SJI board member Wendy Abraham's transcribed and translated interviews with descendants of the Kaifeng Jews. This is the stuff of which history is made and well worth saving — as if any of you would ever think of chucking Points East in the "circular file."

Next issue, we will focus on the immigrant Jewish communities in China by featuring several first-hand accounts, a review of SJI board member Reena Krasno's recently published book and more.

Have a pleasant summer — or winter — on whichever side of the equator you'll find yourself in July and August.

Anson Laytner

Points East:**A Publication of the Sino-Judaic Institute**

Anson Laytner, **Editor**

Editorial Office: Tel: (206) 726-9791

Fax: (206) 323-4768

1200 17th Avenue East, Seattle, WA 98112

ISSN 1063-6269

The Sino-Judaic Institute

2316 Blueridge Ave, Menlo Park, CA 94025

(415) 323-1769

Points East is published by the Sino-Judaic Institute, a tax exempt, non-profit organization. The opinions and views expressed by the contributors and editor are their own and do not necessarily express the viewpoints and positions of the Sino-Judaic Institute.

President, Prof. Albert E. Dien; **1st Vice-President**, Rabbi Joshua Stampfer; **2nd Vice-President**, Michael Pollak; **Editor**, Rabbi Anson Laytner; **Public Affairs**, Rena Krasno; **Treasurer**, Norman Fishman; **Board of Directors**, Arthur H. Rosen, Chair, Wendy Abraham Ed.D., Rabbi Arnold Belzer, Marshall Denenberg, Leo Gabow, M.D., Phyllis Horal, Frederic Kaplan, Ronald L. Kaye, M.D., Prof. Donald D. Leslie, Dennis Leventhal, Kenneth Lubowich, Prof. Andrew Plaks, Harriet Rosenson, Vera Schwarcz, Prof. Louis Schwartz, Nigel Thomas, Rabbi Marvin Tokayer, Wu Yuan-li; **Counsel**, Robert Grodsky

IN THE FIELD**•NEW CHINESE INSTITUTE ON CHINESE JEWS FOUNDED**

Prof. Zhao Xiang-ru reports that on November 17, Henan University formally established the Henan University Research Center of the History of the Chinese Jews. The Center is made up of specialists, professors and mature scholars of that university who are well-known for their research on the history of the Song, Ming, Qing, ancient history and world history. Visiting scholars to Kaifeng are encouraged to contact the Center so that proper arrangements are made for their reception. It also hopes to work with the SJI to set up a "Jewish exhibit" in the Material Culture Hall.

Zhao, Wu Xueli and Wang Yisha are advisors to the Center; Zhang Fangtao is the honorary head and Tang Jiahong is the head of the Center. The Center may be contacted c/of the History Department of Henan University, Minglun Street, Kaifeng, Henan, China. Tel: 558833-548 or 561 or 562.

•UPDATE ON CHINESE JEWS

Prof. Zhao also reports that there are not more than 5,000 Jews living in China today, mostly in Kaifeng, but also in Hangzhou, Yangzhou, Ningbo and Beijing.

Recently, a number of people surnamed Ying have come from Ningbo to Kaifeng to seek their roots and ancestry, claiming that they are descendants of ancient Chinese Jews. There is in that area a village named Yingjiacun (Literally "Village of the Ying Family"), which has an ancestral temple for the Ying family. They remember that when a child reaches its first month, the households send noodles and cakes in celebration. The stele of 1489 says, "during the Tianshun reign (1457-64), Zhao Ying of Ningbo respectfully brought this copy of the Scriptures to the Synagogue at Pien-liang (Kaifeng)." Zhao believes this proves that Ningbo had a settlement of Jews and urges that this clan's claim be studied seriously.

• CHINESE JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO ISRAEL

According to the Jerusalem Post, February 7, 1993, a Jewish Agency spokesman stated that there were 27 immigrants from China to Israel in 1991, most from Shanghai (!) but a few from Kaifeng.

•WANG YISHA'S BOOK AND CHINESE ENCYCLOPEDIA JUDAICA AVAILABLE

Wang Yisha's history of the Jews in China, entitled Zhongguo Youtai Chunqiu (Annals of the Chinese Jews) has been published. The cost per copy is \$2 in paperback and \$5 for hardcover, with \$2 for postage and handling. Requests with payment may be sent to the SJI, 232 Lexington Drive, Menlo Park, CA 94025. These will be sent to Prof. Xu Xin who will handle distribution from China.

A similar arrangement is available for the Chinese Encyclopedia Judaica. The price of the book is \$30 plus \$10 for handling and shipping. The book runs about 1000 pages and is available only in hardcover. See a portion of Xu's preface on page 12 of this issue.

•BOMBAY SYNAGOGUE RAZED IN RECENT RIOTS

According to the Indian Express (2 February 1993), the Rodef Shalom building, which houses the synagogue, was torched on January 10 by "destructive elements during the recent communal carnage in the metropolis." The building, which is owned by the Jewish Religious Union, on Dadoji Kondev Road, near the Victoria Gardens, Byculla, was reduced to a mass of rubble and all the religious scriptures and other articles were charred beyond recognition. Many Muslims live in the same area and some blame this proximity (i.e. the anti-Muslim rioting) for the disaster).

•NEWSLETTERS SOUGHT

Frank Joseph Shulman writes "We would be grateful to have the Asian Studies Newsletter Archives added on a complimentary basis to mailing lists for appropriate

one finds all the usual stereotypes: Jews are seen as very powerful and rich, but also as stingy and cheap. Whatever one finds in the West turns up in the East as well, differing only in the naive and disingenuous manner in which these opinions are expressed. What would be calculated insults in the West are voiced in a tentative way to see what effect there might be, in an experimental way, as it were. While a Westerner instinctively knows who is a Jew, that is not so in China. Isaac Stern, whose trip to Shanghai to conduct classes at the Shanghai Academy of Music (now housed in what was formerly the Shanghai Jewish Club), on which the film "From Mozart to Mao," was based, would not have been identified by most Chinese to be Jewish. It is always a surprise and a puzzle to Chinese academics to learn that so many of the Western scholars of China are Jewish. At the same time, the sense that the Jews are a separate breed includes an appreciation of their accomplishments, and what seems to drive the interest in China concerning Jewish history and culture is the attempt to understand how this minority people was able to produce such towering figures as Einstein, Freud and Marx; these names are always mentioned in one breath.

What is striking are the many parallels which may be drawn between Jews and Chinese, especially those who are the so-called "overseas" Chinese, that is, those who, like the Jews, find themselves living as minorities. There is the central importance of the family ("clannish" is often applied by outsiders to both groups), extended kinship ties (*mishpucha*) have nothing on the Chinese), the emphasis given to study and social mobility, on self-improvement, and the willing sacrifice of parents for the sake of their children.

One finds communities of Chinese scattered about the world, traditionally forced out of their homeland by poverty and brought to these foreign lands in search of economic well-being. In more recent years, the victory of Communism in China and now the imminent takeover of Hong Kong have caused severe dislocations. Economics historically also played a part in the movement of Jews, but persecution and unfavorable treatment have likewise become the more significant factors. Whatever the motivation, the

end results are surprisingly similar. In both cases, the result has been communities of immigrants, often living in severe poverty, having to work long hours at menial tasks, eking out a living in a hostile environment. By dint of hard work, organizational ability, close kinship ties and perseverance, members of these communities, Chinese and Jewish, have enjoyed significant degrees of success.

These similarities are underlined by the Chinese in southeast Asia (Thailand, Indonesia, Vietnam, Malaysia and the Philippines) who are known as "the Jews of Asia." Like the Jews elsewhere, the Chinese immigrants in those countries have suffered from pogroms. The leading businessmen in the southeastern Asian countries are usually Chinese. As a result, some of the countries have passed laws requiring that native nationals must hold half of the shares of large businesses, in an effort to prevent complete domination by the Chinese. In the United States, there is some evidence of secret quotas in the universities to offset the high percentage of successful Asian applicants, something familiar in the past to the Jews.

Another area of similarity of experience is the fear of assimilation. Both peoples have a long history and tradition of which they are proud and in which they find their identity. Yet, increasingly, they find the younger generation in danger of becoming estranged. Night schools and weekend classes equally show meager results. More successful have been programs which bring the youngsters back to their homeland, Israel and China, respectively. But this tendency toward assimilation is a common problem for both.

In the end, the two peoples, the Jews and the Chinese (including those in China as well) both face a similar problem, though given the numbers involved, it is perhaps on a different scale. This is the dilemma of preserving one's identity in the face of the dominant industrial and secular culture. As Jews in this modern world, we are familiar enough with what this means. China, too, despite its enormous population, faces a similar situation on a macro level. What is to be preserved of the traditional culture which gave to the Chinese their sense of identity, of pride in being Chinese? How is one to be both Chinese and

modern? It may be even more difficult in their case because for them for the most part there is no divinity in whom one places one's faith, a truth which transcends the particular set of customs, foods, and way of life. Whatever the case, both Jews and Chinese have much in common, and both need to respect the effort of the other to overcome this modern dilemma.

BOOK NOOK
TRIBES: How Race, Religion, and Identity Determine Success in the New Global Economy

by Joel Kotkin,

New York: Random House, 1993.

reviewed by Gary Y. Okihiro

excerpted from The New York Times Book Review, Feb. 28, 1993

... As Mr. Kotkin sees it, the modern world is a vast network crisscrossed by labor and capital, markets and ideas, goods and services. This network, which connects the farthest reaches of the globe into a unified system, makes a shambles of state borders and national identities. And the people who best negotiate this complicated web, he believes, are the ethnic groups that are dispersed around the world. These "global tribes," as Mr. Kotkin calls them, are able to work the economic currents. "As the conventional barriers of nation-states and regions become less meaningful under the weight of global economic forces," he predicts, "it is likely such dispersed peoples—and their worldwide business and cultural networks—will increasingly shape the economic destiny of mankind."

The end of the cold war did not bring an end to history, Mr. Kotkin argues. Rather, new forces came into play, reconfiguring history's face. Communism's collapse, he believes, boosted the prospects for global tribes, and positioned ethnicity as "a defining factor in the evolution of the global economy."

Although Mr. Kotkin's global tribes — the Jews, the British, the Japanese, the Chinese and the Asian Indians — occupy different corners of the world and have very different histories, all hold in common a strong sense

of ethnic identity and solidarity, a belief in scientific progress and "historically conditioned values" that help them succeed economically. "In the post-cold-war era, where ideology has faded and peoples seek definition from the collective past," Mr. Kotkin writes, "dispersed groups such as global tribes seem particularly well adapted to succeed within today's progressively more integrated worldwide economic system."

The paradox of global tribes, he notes, is that though they conjure up images of anachronistic, chauvinistic, insular and regressive social tendencies, the members of global tribes are quite the opposite — quintessential cosmopolitans, scientists and capitalists whose values of self-sufficiency, hard work, thrift, education and family solidarity enable them to succeed economically. Their values set the global tribes apart from others; they aspire to achieve a universal world order based on technological determinism. And that, Mr. Kotkin says, is "the road that can lead, ultimately, toward a workable cosmopolis." . . .

In what sense do the Jews, British, Japanese, Chinese and Asian Indians constitute tribes, kinship groups with a common ancestor? Each of Mr. Kotkin's global tribes features a huge range of national, ethnic and racial differences. And those who share the cultural values that supposedly enable prosperity are not only the very rich but also the laborers. Members of global tribes, in other words, are not uniformly affluent, and this indicates that culture alone does not determine economic success. Unless one can demonstrate the unity of the economic activities of each ethnic group, one cannot credit the financial achievements of individuals like Vinny Gupta and families like the Rothschilds to their ethnic affiliation. Besides, even if one supposes that these so-called tribal economies do exist, they would not be the exclusive entities that Mr. Kotkin imagines. Chinese capital flows as easily through British as Chinese hands.

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of Mr. Kotkin's analysis is his tendency to gloss over or omit complex historical and social realities. Some of the population dispersions that led to the formation of these so-

called tribes were voluntary migrations, part of grand imperial designs, but others were forced migrations brought about, for instance, by the slave and coolie trades. The lives of people who planted themselves in strange soil are not simple economic success stories or parts of business expansions; they are a complicated mix of continuities and changes, some good and some bad, involving the migrant and indigenous populations alike . . .

The historical lesson he draws from the Jews, Japanese, Chinese, British and Asian Indians is that their ascen-

dancy is built upon "Anglo-Saxon standards of business, science and political economy." Insofar as they subscribe to Anglo-Saxon morality and values, they have become cultures of plenty. (Asians, accordingly, are called the "new Calvinists.") Conversely, those who have failed to conform to Anglo-Saxon standards have become cultures of poverty that must be pacified and "tamed". "The only alternative" to taming those who do not hold to such standards, Mr. Kotkin dramatically writes, "is chaos, the total breakdown of civilized society." History, I believe, offers other lessons.

Join The Sino-Judaic Institute

The Sino-Judaic Institute is a non-denominational, non-profit, and non-political organization which was founded in 1985 by an international group of scholars and laypersons.

Membership in the Institute is open and we cordially invite you to join in supporting our endeavor. Our annual dues structure is as follows:

Benefactor	\$1,000
Patron	\$ 500
Sponsor	\$ 100
Regular membership	\$ 50
Academic	\$ 25
Senior citizens & students	\$ 20
Corporate Patron	\$ 500 & up
Corporate Sponsor	\$ 250 to \$ 499
Corporate membership	\$ 250
Libraries	\$ 50

I wish to become a member of the Sino-Judaic Institute and to receive **Points East**. Enclosed is my cheque for \$ _____ .

PLEASE PRINT

Name _____

Address _____

Phone # _____

Mail to the Sino-Judaic Institute, 2316 Blueridge Ave., Menlo Park, CA 94025



"WE ARE THE JEWS OF ..." The Symbolic Encounter of Diaspora Chinese with Jews

by Walter P. Zenner
Professor of Anthropology, State
University of New York, Albany.

A significant factor in the relationship between the Chinese and the Jewish peoples has been the similarities which others, initially Europeans, found between these two groups. A result of these analogies has been the identification of Overseas Chinese with Jews. The source of the analogies made between these two peoples was the fact that both played important roles as traders and moneylenders in different parts of the world. This metaphorical relationship plays an important role in the way in which the Chinese diaspora is seen by others and the way in which it has come to see itself.

Europeans saw similarities between Jews and Chinese as early as the beginning of the Seventeenth Century. Edmund Scot, an English trader who was in Java, in the first decade of that century, contrasted the proud and rather indolent Javanese with the hard-working, crafty Chinese traders who "rob them of their wealth of the land, and send it to China." The Chinese he likens to Jews. Like Shakespeare, he came from a country which had expelled its Jews centuries ago.

At the turn of the Nineteenth to Twentieth Century we find another Britisher, H. Warrington Smythe, call the Chinese "the Jews of Siam." Smythe, an advisor to the Thai government, wrote:

"By the judicious use of their business faculties and their powers of combination, they hold the Siamese in the palms of their hands."

These comparisons were made by Europeans. It is hard to know how much of this was communicated to the Asians with whom the European sojourners interacted. By the end of the 19th Century, however, this had changed, as we shall see.

Consciousness of Jews as a Group

A question must be asked as to what degree are peoples in countries where few Jews live conscious of Jews as a group in the modern world? Anthropologists who have studied villages and other communities in remote corners of the world have discovered that peoples have a very mixed consciousness of Jews. For instance, Stephen Pastner found that some Baluch tribesmen in Pakistan knew enough about Israel so that a Baluch chief with one eye was nicknamed "Moshe Dayan." On the other hand, Carol Laderman in the 1970s studying Malay Muslim villagers saw that to them Jews were a nearly mythical group. They found the Jewish anthropologist and her family a novelty, practicing a religion close to Islam. A few years later, however, a Muslim imam who was conscious of world events was hostile to Jews as representatives of the state of Israel.

Among the Thais, the Jews as a collectivity were unknown before contact with Europeans. While comparing the Chinese to Jews was meaningful to Warrington Smythe and his compatriots, such a comparison would not have meant much to the Thais of the Chinese around 1900. With increasing European-style education by missionaries and others, more and more Asians absorbed European images of Jews, both positive and negative. While those exposed to such education were small in number, by virtue of their positions in the ruling elite they could exert great influence.

(continued on page 3)

CONVERSATIONS WITH KAIFENG'S JEWISH DESCENDANTS August, 1985 (Excerpts)

by Wendy Abraham

Descendant #1 (Zhao Pingyu) (Age 63)

D1: Now we are the only Jewish family left on this original street. The others have all gone elsewhere, and don't know as much about (Chinese) Jewish history as I do. I plan to research my own family's history. In the course of researching the history of the Zhao clan it is necessary to understand things pertaining to the original Jewish faith. At least this will enable me to pass this knowledge on to my own descendants so that they will understand their history. During my research I discovered that the last restoration of this synagogue was undertaken by my family. I have a complete picture of my ancestors' contributions in this regard.

D1: On New Year's Eve we must eat "luomo." In the Bible it's called unleavened bread. We mix the dough without leavening it, and on some we add oil. The whole significance of luomo is to remember the bitter experience of the Exodus, when the Jews left Egypt and had nothing to eat. They only carried some flour and had no ovens to bake them, so they were baked by the sun into a very thin, flat cake.

WA: How do you know all these stories?

D1: They were handed down orally. Why do we eat luomo? To commemorate the bitterness of this experience. But we also add some salt. There used to be many holiday celebrations. Passover, or "Shuzhuijie" (The Feast of Redemption). These we all celebrate . . . During spring we celebrate it together with the New Year's Spring Festival.

(continued on page 5)