

A HISTORY OF CHINESE PERCEPTIONS OF THE 'JEWS' AND JUDAISM

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ABSTRACT

While prejudice against Jews has been regarded as a real and ongoing category in Western culture, little attention has been paid to the myths of the 'Jews' and their impact in countries outside the West. My work draws on a wide variety of source material from the past two centuries to examine the images of the 'Jews' as constructed in China. However, my interest here does not lie in the determination of the boundary between the *real* and *fictional* aspects of these images. Rather, it lies in the implications associated with the 'Jew' as an 'other', which remains a distant mirror in the construction of the 'self' amongst various social groups in modern China.

In China, representations of the 'Jews' and Judaism are very complex. Although these representations seem to correspond to images of the 'Jews' in Europe, it would be superficial to reduce them to purely 'Western influence'. Representations of the 'Jews' have been endowed with indigenous meaning by modernizing élites since the late nineteenth-century. Unlike anti-Semites of Europe who used the language of Jews as the mark of their inferiority, in China the *difference* of the 'Jews' has been marked by their 'non-Chineseness'.

By creating the 'Jews' as a homogenous group, which acts as a constitutive outsider which embodies all the negative, as well as positive qualities, which were feared or desired by various social groups in China, these Chinese could thus identify themselves as a integrated reference group: a homogenous 'in-group'. They are thus able to project their own anxieties onto outsiders like the 'Jews'. In this respect, it corresponds to a widespread fear, as well as need of an 'other', which can be found

in many cultures and societies.

The present thesis does not, however, supply the final answer. It is meant to be a historical study in order to point out that the prejudice about the 'Jews' is not merely a 'western problem', it exists in China. It therefore opens a field for general and wider discussions, not only about the 'Jews', but also about other 'marginalised' groups, such as 'blacks' and 'homosexuals'.

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'An old Chinese man and a Rabbi'

An old Chinese man went to see a Jewish Rabbi and expressed his wish of becoming a Jew. The Rabbi asked: 'Oh, but why? Do you know anything about Judaism?'

The Chinese man: 'No. I know nothing about Judaism and I am not a religious man.'

The Rabbi: 'Then do you know anything about Jewish traditions?'

The Chinese man: 'I am afraid I don't.'

The Rabbi (rather curiously): 'So, tell me why you want to become a Jew?'

The Chinese man: 'Well, Rabbi, you see I have been so poor all my life ...'

---- A Story told by Dr S. Lowy in Leeds

INTRODUCTION

In a statement of the early 1990s, Jing Yingzhong, the Secretary-General of the Shanghai Judaica Studies Association and Deputy Director of the Centre of Israel and Jewish Studies of Peace and Development, together with Zu Weilei - Jing's co-editor of the book *A major review of the field of Jewish studies in China in the 1990s* - claimed that 'China is at the time of reform and opening to the world; Jewish studies amongst the Chinese academic community are also blossoming and becoming mature.'¹ Another of Jing's colleagues and the Director of the Centre of Israel and Jewish Studies of Peace and Development, Hu Gang, wrote in the spring of 1991 that Jewish studies in China had long been a 'forbidden territory' and the Chinese scholars in such a field were like the Israeli pioneers determined to make the desert bloom.² Ironical and problematic as these statements might seem to be, and one might be puzzled about the connection between China's reforms and opening up to the world and Jewish studies in China, this 'Jewish study phenomenon' in China however challenged the predominant position that Jewish studies are exclusively of 'Western'/'Christian' and of 'Jewish' interests. In 'Eastern' countries, such as China, people have traditionally been regarded as not only being tolerant towards the 'Jews',

¹ Zu Weilei and Jing Yingzhong, '90 *Zhongguo Youtaixue yanjiu zonghui* (A major review of the field of the Jewish studies in the 1990s), as in *Yutai wenhua congshu* (Jewish culture series), ed. by Gu Xiaomin, Shanghai: Sanlian Shudian, 1992, p. 1.

² Hu Gang, 'Preface', in Pan Guang and Jing Yingzhong, ed., *Yiselle, Youtaixue yanjiu* (Researches on Israel and Jewish studies), *Heping yu fazhan congshu* (Peace and development series), Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Keixue Yuan chubanshe (Shanghai Social Academy Press), 1990.

but also ignorant about the 'Jews'.

Indeed, the dichotomy between Christian and Jews, or later in the 19th century between the Aryan and Semitic races - as defined by 'racial scientists' - , may not be applicable in China. There exists a different dichotomy between the 'yellow' and the 'white' races. The latter often including both 'Christians' and 'Aryans', as well as the marginalised 'Jews': who are neither 'Yellow' nor 'Aryan'.³ However, the mystique about the 'Jews', or the pervasive images and constructions thereof, as well as perceptions of what 'Jewishness' meant, is just as apparent, if not even more so, in China as it has been in the West. In other words, preconceptions about the mythical 'Jew' exist not only in the 'West' but also in China. The myth about the 'Jews' in China is anything but simple.

In an attempt to reconsider and to have a better understanding of the above problematic issue, the present work draws on a wide variety of source material from the past two centuries to examine the images of the 'Jew' as constructed in China. However, my interest here does not lie in the determination of the boundary between the *real* and *fictional* aspects of these images.⁴ In other words, this work is not a history of the Jewish communities in China. Rather, it lies in the implications associated with the 'Jew' as a racialised and culturally constructed/reconstructed 'other', which remains a distant mirror in the construction of the 'self' amongst various social groups in modern China.

However, before going any further in examining what the Chinese

³ For further discussions see the following chapters of this thesis.

⁴ cf. Neil Blain, Reymond Boyle and Hugh O'Donnell, *Sports and national identity in the European media*, Leicester, London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1993, p. 2.

understanding of the 'Jews' is, it might be instructive first to try to define the meaning of the term 'Chinese' here. It has been rather unfortunate that the term 'Chinese' or 'Chineseness' has often been loosely used by many scholars of 'Chinese studies' without a clear definition. The 'Chinese' have been perceived, or constructed, as an homogenous 'racial', 'cultural', as well as a 'political' entity in contrast to another homogenous entity: the 'West' or the 'Westeners'. In his recent enlightening study *The discourse of race in modern China*, Frank Dikötter has clearly illustrated that the so-called 'pure Chinese race' is no more than a socially and culturally constructed category.⁵ The 'Chinese', in reality, are constituted by groups of biologically different, ethnically very complex and culturally diverse people who have come from various backgrounds and origins, and who have inter-mixed and inter-married for generations. In China today, what really binds its people together is their citizenship. Outside China, there is a bigger problem of how to define the now so-called 'overseas Chinese', or, the 'Diaspora Chinese'.

'Diaspora' is a rather problematic and often mis-used term. It evokes a negative sense of being 'second class' in contrast to the so-called 'proper', or the 'indigenous' community from which the 'Diaspora' groups had supposedly originated. The word is derived from the Greek verb 'to disperse'. It was first used during biblical times to refer to the Jews outside the land of Israel and Judah, or later Palestine. Recently, it has also been used in a wider context. Thus, one reads terms such as the 'Black Diaspora', the 'Diaspora Sikhs', and so on.

As the present thesis is not dedicated to addressing this problem, it will not,

⁵ Frank Dikötter, *The discourse of race in modern China*, London: Hurst and Co., 1992.

therefore, devote too much time to the argument. It is, however, an issue which should be dealt with, perhaps by some other scholars, at another time, but rather urgently. To have pointed out the problem, it is also important to make clear that in this thesis, the term 'Chinese' refers not to the mass population in China, but mainly to the intellectual community, including scholars, reformers, as well as young students, or 'modernising élites' (*zhishifenzi*) - as they addressed themselves. Many of them had either gone to study abroad at the turn of the twentieth-century or had received a modern education, and have been responsible for constructing the 'Chinese race' and modern 'Chinese culture'. Many of them have also been responsible not only for introducing and appropriating 'Western' science and knowledge into China, but for introducing the 'Western' images of the 'Jews', as well as for reconstructing these images.

The 'Jew' as Defined in Modern China

In the same way in which it is problematic to try to define the term 'Chinese' or 'Chineseness'⁶, it is almost impossible to find 'a' definition for the term 'Jew' or 'Jewishness'. As Sander Gilman rightly puts it: 'it has been widely noted in the course of the twentieth century, from fin-de-siècle Vienna to Poland in the winter of 1990, that the label "Jew" could be applied to virtually anyone one wished to stigmatize whatever their religious, ethnic, or political identity or background.'⁷ In modern China,

⁶ For discussion see Frank Dikötter, 'Introduction', in *Racialised identities in China and Japan*, ed. by Frank Dikötter, London: Hurst & Company, 1997.

⁷ Gilman, *The Jew's body*, New York: Routledge, 1991, p. 6.

definitions of 'Jew' or 'Jewishness' are very complex. It is a symbol for money, deviousness and meanness; it can also represent poverty, trustworthiness and warmheartedness. It has religious as well as secular meanings. While it represents individualism, it also stands for a collective spirit. On the one hand it symbolizes tradition, on the other hand it can equally invoke modernity. One day the 'Jew' is a stateless slave, another day the 'Jew' is the dominant power in the world. The 'Jew' is nationalist and at the same time cosmopolitan. He can be a filthy capitalist or an ardent communist, a committed revolutionary or a spineless loser. In other words, anything which is not Chinese is Jewish, at the same time anything which is Chinese is also Jewish; anything which the Chinese aspired to is Jewish, at the same time anything which the Chinese despise is Jewish.

Although these representations seem to correspond to images of the 'Jew' in Europe, it would be superficial to reduce them purely to 'Western influence'. Representations of the 'Jew' have been endowed with indigenous meaning by modernizing élites at the turn of the century. The images of the 'Jews', were for instance, and still are, generated by the *difference* of the 'Jewish' race, which is marked by its 'non-Chineseness', but more specifically because Jews are seen not to be direct descendants of the Yellow Emperor. As a matter of fact, the animal radical of *Youtai*, the received character for 'Jew' or 'Jewish' in Chinese, indicates the *imagined* physical difference between the 'Chinese' and the 'Jews', which is rooted in the tradition of 'picturing the alien groups living outside the pale of Chinese society as distant savages hovering on the edge of bestiality.'⁸

⁸ Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, p. 4. For more discussion on the use of the word *Youtai* see chapter one of this thesis.

By creating the 'Jew' as a homogenous group, which acts as a constitutive outsider and embodies all the negative, as well as positive, qualities which were feared or desired, various social groups in China could thus identify themselves as an integrated reference group - a homogenous 'in-group', or 'Chinese' in this case. They are able to project their own anxieties onto outsiders like the 'Jews'. In this respect, it corresponds to a widespread fear as well as need of an 'other', which can be found in many cultures and societies.

Although it has been noted by a few scholars, such as Jerome Ch'en, that the use of the 'Jews' as a category was important to many thinkers of modern China in the construction of their nationalistic and socio-political ideologies, no systematic study in the field had ever been done.⁹ The first chapter of this volume will trace the historical background to the early awareness, or the non-awareness, of the 'Jews' in China. It will also present the early history of both the Catholic and the Protestant missionaries' efforts, as well as their motives, in introducing images of the 'Jews' to China. The second half of the chapter will examine how knowledge of the 'Jews', as introduced by Christian missionaries, was received, perceived and represented in the works of early Chinese reformers during the latter half of the nineteenth-century. Chapter two begins by studying the first group of Chinese students and reformers who went abroad and their reaction to the 'western' prejudice towards the 'Jews' and their perceptions of the images of the 'Jews' in the West. It will then discuss the emergence of the discourse of the 'Jews' amongst the reformers at the turn of the century. It will in particular analyze how images of the 'Jews' were perpetuated by the revolutionaries

⁹ Jerome Ch'en, *China and the West: society and culture 1815-1937*, London: Hutchinson, 1979, p. 160.

and how these images were central to the formation of the concept of their own nationalistic ideology at the beginning to the twentieth-century. Chapter three illustrates the images of the 'Jews' as reconstructed and reconfigured by modernising élites during the New Culture Movement since 1915. It will not only study how these images were central to them in their effort in modernising China, it will also examine the influences of Yiddish literature and the Jewish theatre on literary reform during this period. Chapter four concentrates on the role of the 'Jews', as a race, in the invention and construction of the 'science of race' amongst the academic community since the New Culture Movement. Chapter five concerns the problem of Zionism and its perceptions by intellectuals, nationalists and communists in China during the republican period (1911-1949). It examines the ironic images of the 'Jews' / 'Zionists' as 'nationalists', as well as 'imperialists'. Chapter six will be devoted to a discussion of the Japanese anti-Jewish policy in occupied China during the war. It will also examine the role played by Wang Jingwei's pro-Japanese government and by other pro-Japanese parties, as well as individuals, in carrying out such a policy. The epilogue will briefly study the discourse of the 'Jews' in communist China since 1949. It shows the myth of the 'Jews' continues to haunt, or to distort, the minds of many Chinese.

The present work does not, however, supply the final answer. It is meant to be a historical study intending to point out that prejudice about the 'Jews' is not merely a 'category within the Western culture',¹⁰ but also exists in China. It therefore opens a field for general and wider discussions, not only about the 'Jews', but also about other 'marginalised' groups, such as the 'black' and the 'homosexual'.

¹⁰ Gilman, *The Jew's body*, p. 5.

CHAPTER ONE

CHINA, MISSIONARIES AND 'JEWS': 1605 - 1870

The Unknown 'Jews' of China

Ever since the 'Jewish' settlers arrived in the vast land of China, they had lived a comparatively peaceful life. The Chinese practically knew little of these 'Jewish' people's origins, their history, their great culture and their ancient religion. Like the Hebrews before the Babylonian Exile in 586 BCE, for centuries, the majority of the Chinese did not think there could be any other great cultures, philosophies and civilizations existing apart from their own. Like the Jews who referred to, and still refer to, themselves as the chosen people of God, the ancient Chinese thought that China was in the middle of the universe, it was the cradle of world civilization. They regarded Chinese culture as the only pure, original and superior one, and so were the Chinese people. Foreigners were considered to be barbarians, or *Huawairen* (people outside of Chinese civilisation), their cultures were bad for the virtuous Chinese.¹ Thus, there is no reason to expect the 'superior' Chinese to consider the Jews to be somehow different from other barbarians. In fact, the earliest received official Chinese reference to the 'Jewish' migrants *Zhuhu*, did not appear in any Chinese Imperial

¹ K. Ch'en, 'Anti-Buddhist propaganda during the Nan-Ch'ao', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 15 (1952), p. 172; *Buddhism in China: a historical survey*, Princeton University Press, 1964, pp. 137-8.

decrees until as late as the 13th century, under the rule of the Mongols.² Even then they were only mentioned for taxation and military purposes.³

Though, locally, in Kaifeng, there was an oral tradition that the 'Jewish' residents there were thought by the Chinese as people from the west regions and were given the name *Lanmaohuihui* (People of the west who wear blue hats),⁴ no one today knows exactly when, why and how this tradition started. The 'Jewish' residents themselves knew very little about their own origins and religion except they had learnt from their fathers that they were the descendants of Abraham, and Moses was the founder of their religion. As far as all the available information about and from the

² It is generally agreed that the earliest Chinese reference to the Jews, *Zhuhu*, was in *Yuandianzhang* (The laws and regulations of the Yuan dynasty), 57. 16-17a and it was dated 1280. However, this view was challenged by Hong Jun, a late Qing scholar official and historian of the Mongol period. According to Hong, *Wotuo* was also a Chinese term for the Jews, and the reference to *Wotuo* in the chapter 29 of *Jingshidadian* (Administrative code of the Yuan dynasty) was dated 1263. See Hong Jun, 'Yuanshi gejiamin kao' (a study of the various religious sects during the Yuan dynasty), as in *Yuanshi yiwenzhengbu* (A supplement to the translation of the history of the Yuan dynasty), republished by Commercial Press in Shanghai, 2 vols, 1937, vol 2, ch. 29, pp. 451f. Weng Dujian, a historian of the republican period, however disagree with Hong. See Weng Dujian, 'Wotuo zakao' (A study on 'Wotuo'), in *Yanjing xuebao* (An academic journal of Beijing), Beiping (Beijing), June, 1941, pp. 201-18. Also cf. R Lowenthal, 'The Jews in China: An annotated bibliography', as in *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, English, Beijing, vol 24, no. 2 (1940), pp. 130-132; Pan Guangdan, *Zhongguo jingnei Youtairen de ruogan lishi wenti* (Jews in China: A historical survey), revised, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983, pp. 9-10, 108-111; etc. There will be more discussions on Hong Jun in a later chapter.

³ See *Yuanshi* (History of the Yuan dynasty), *bainaben*, 33/7, 43/10b, etc.

⁴ The term *Lanmaohuihui* has been commonly yet loosely translated as 'Blue hat muslims'. Although, *Huihui* is now the Chinese term for Muslims, historically this term also referred to Christians (*Shizihuihui*) and 'people of the coloured/various categories' (*semuhuihui*). For study on the origin of the term *Huihui* see Chen Yuan, *Yuan Xiyuren huahua kao* (A study on the acculturation of the Westerners into Chinese culture), first published in 1934, republished as a part of *Chen Yuan xueshulunwenji* (Chen Yuan's academic theses), 2 vols, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980.

'Jewish' communities in Kaifeng is concerned, they had almost no knowledge about other Jewish groups all over the world. And in 1605, when one of the prominent figures of the Kaifeng 'Jewish' community encountered a Jesuit priest named Matteo Ricci, he saw practically no difference between the Catholic religion and his own religion.⁵

Thus, correctly speaking, the 'Jewish' immigrants who settled in China, though they brought with them their religion, which was sometimes referred to as 'Chinese Judaism', did not, or did not manage to, introduce their faith to the Chinese. A Chinese scholar, Zhang Sui, in his recent book, *Youtaijiao yu Zhongguo Kaifeng Youtairen* (Judaism and the Chinese Jews of Kaifeng), has put forward some very interesting arguments on this issue. Obviously, as Zhang and many scholars believe, intermarriage has played an important role in the assimilation of the 'Jewish' communities in China.⁶ But the whole problem cannot be addressed in such an uncomplicated way, or by simply demonstrating that the Chinese gene is somehow stronger than the Jewish gene.⁷ There are some very important aspects which one should not ignore when studying the 'Jewish Diaspora': firstly, it is important to bear in mind that it was not until the second century CE, that so-called 'normative' Judaism

⁵ See Charles W. White, *The Chinese Jews*, part II, second ed., 3 vols, New York: Paragon Book, 1966, pp. 31-8.

⁶ See Zhang Sui, *Youtaijiao yu Zhongguo Kaifeng Youtairen* (Judaism and the Chinese Jews of Kaifeng), Shanghai: Sanlianshudian, 1990, pp. 114-9..

⁷ The late Dr George Wu, the foremost cancer research expert in China, believed that biologically, the Chinese gene was much stronger and more active than the Jewish gene. As results of intermarriage, the Jewish gene of the Jewish descendants in China became inactive. It is also said that amongst the Jewish descendants in Kaifeng, the remains of their semitic gene is only $1/2^n$ ('n' being an indefinite number); cf. *ibid*, p. 117.

was born.⁸ Yet it is known that the Jewish people had already gone into 'Diaspora' long before this time. Secondly, though today most branches of Judaism would claim that their religion is a non-proselytizing religion, it was also true that before and during the Roman period, there were many people and communities, especially in the then so-called Asia Minor, who were proselytized into the Jewish faith.⁹ In fact, one of the greatest sages of Jewish history, master Hillel, was well known for having converted a large number of Gentiles into the Jewish faith.¹⁰

As for the 'Jewish' groups in China, even though both Western and Chinese scholars have tried very hard to find out the date/s and the route/s of their entering China, largely due to the lack of historical documents and archaeological evidence, so far, all we have are no more than just a few hypotheses.¹¹

⁸ For the term 'normative Judaism' see Jacob Neusner, *Judaism in the beginning of Christianity*, London: SPCK, 1984, pp. 29-30. According to Neusner, before the period of Rabbinic Judaism (after 70 CE), 'no such thing as normative Judaism existed ... [the Jewish religion was] without a clear and widely accepted view of what was required of each individual, apart from acceptance of Mosaic revelation. And this could mean whatever you wanted.' Also cf. a work of the same author, 'Varieties of Judaism in the formative age', as in *Jewish spirituality: from the Bible through the Middle Ages*, ed. by Arthur Green, 2 vols, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986, vol 1, pp. 171-198. For a detailed study on the subject see E. Shürer, *The history of Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ*, a new English ed. by G. Vermes & F. Millar, revised, 3 vols, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973-1986.

⁹ See E. Shürer, *ibid.*, vol. 3; also see Martin Goodman, 'Jewish proselytizing in the first century', as in *The Jews among pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*, ed. by Judith Lieu, London & New York: John North & Tessa Rajak, Routledge, 1992, pp.79-97.

¹⁰ See *Babylonian Talmud*, or as TB, English version, ed. by I. Epstein, 35 vols, London: Soncino, Shab., 1938, 30bf. For the life of Hillel see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, or as *EJ*, 1972 ed., vol 8, under 'Hillel (the Elder)', also N. Glatzer, *Hillel the elder*, revised, PB, New York: Schocken Books, 1966.

¹¹ Pan Guangdan, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-39; Zhang Sui, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-42; S. M. Perlmann, 'The Jews in China', as in *North China Herald*, Shanghai, January 2, 1909, pp. 35-8.

Thus, before we can find any more factual and satisfactory evidence, we must bear in mind the possibilities that the 'Jewish' groups in China might have left their homeland after the destruction of the northern kingdom of Israel (721 BCE), or after the destruction of the First Temple and the southern kingdom of Judah (586 BCE), or even soon after the destruction of the Second Temple (70 CE) and they had carried with them into exile a rather unsophisticated monotheistic faith. So when they eventually ended up in China, they were most likely overwhelmed by the then already well developed Chinese civilization and culture, and it is not surprising that they had been eventually assimilated into Chinese society. As a matter of fact, except for the Pharisees, after the destruction of the second Temple all other sects of the Jewish religion disappeared; and the sect headed by the followers of Jesus of Nazareth, was assimilated into pagan culture (Roman and Greek) and became a religion of the Gentiles. And it is very likely that in order to survive, the Chinese Jewish groups also assimilated into the culture they were in.

There is also another possibility that the 'Jewish' group, or groups, in China were originally the so-called pagans, or Gentiles, of Asia Minor or of north Africa; after they were converted into the Jewish monotheistic faith, they then migrated to central Asia and later to China. During the time of their migration, their adopted faith did not manage to flourish. So when they reached China, their formally adopted faith became no more than just a distant memory and the Chinese culture thus filled this vacuum.

Thirdly, China was a great distance from the two major centres of the Jewish faith, Jerusalem and Baghdad, so even if the above two possibilities did not exist, geographically it was clearly very difficult, almost impossible, for the 'Jewish'

communities in China to send out envoys regularly to either of the two centres to seek religious instructions.¹² Therefore, it does not take too much imagination to presume that these 'Jewish' groups eventually lost their ability to read the Torah in Hebrew, and then adopted the Chinese Confucian ideology. It has been said that Ricci had kindled a small light of hope for the 'Jewish' community in Kaifeng to restore their ancestors' religion, or 'Judaism' (it is also problematic whether the two are interchangeable), but in reality nothing happened.¹³ As matter of fact, no matter how sensational and exciting Ricci's discovery of the Chinese 'Jews' was for Christendom,¹⁴ it had almost no significance for both Chinese society and the 'Jewish' community in China.

For the local Chinese, the 'Jewish' community continued to be a small local ethnic group in Kaifeng;¹⁵ on a larger scale, the 'Jews' and Judaism remained an unknown subject to the majority of Chinese; even when Yu Zhengxi (1775-1840), an outstanding and extremely liberal minded scholar of the late 18th and early 19th century, noted from Muslim material that Islam, *Tiaojinjiao* (the name for the Jewish religion in Kaifeng) and the Catholic religion shared a common origin, he did not know there was also a Western name - 'Judaism' - for *Tiaojinjiao* and he was

¹² See H. H. Ben-Sasson, *History of the Jewish people*, English Edition, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.

¹³ See M. Pollak, *Mandarins, Jews and Missionaries*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1980, part one, pp. 100-130.

¹⁴ Ibid, part one, pp. 15-130, etc.

¹⁵ See *Rumenglu*, a 17th century account of the social and economic life of Kaifeng. The original edition of the book had been lost when Chang Maolai compiled his commentary on the book in 1852. And Chang's commentary was not published till 1921. For the references to the Kaifeng 'Tiaojinjiao' (Jewish) community see the 1984 edition by Kong Xianyi, p. 47, 65.

completely ignorant of the fact that the Catholic religion used the scripture of *Tiaojinjiao*, or *Tola* (a Chinese Muslim transliterate for Torah), as part of their canon.¹⁶ And for the 'Jewish' community themselves, the meeting with Ricci did not bring any change into their religious life, the hope (mostly of the Jewish groups of the West and Christians)¹⁷ of a religious revival continued to be no more than a dream.

The Map of Ricci and the Chinese 'Discovery' of the World

So when did the Chinese discovery, or understanding, or misrepresentation of Judaism begin? Any attempt to set a date for the beginning of Chinese consciousness of Jews and Judaism would be arbitrary. So far, the earliest received document we have on the Jews of Kaifeng is a western source: the writings by the the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci in 1605.¹⁸

Before Matteo Ricci was permitted to present a map of the world to Emperor Wanli, the Chinese people had almost no idea about 'the existence of the five

¹⁶ Yu Zhengxi, 'Huihuijiao' (Islam) as in *Kuisi cungao*, from *Lianyunyi* series, comp. by Yang Shangwen, 1848, ben 18, vol. 13, p. 24. There is a strong indication that Yu's note on Islam was influenced by Liu Zi's *Tianfang Zhisheng shilu* (The Arabian Prophet). Liu was a Chinese Muslim who lived between 1664-1730. His work was completed in 1724, but it was not published until 1778. For an English translation of Liu's work see Isaac Mason's 1921 version, published by the Commercial Press in Shanghai.

¹⁷ Pollak, *Mandarins, Jews and Missionaries*, pp. 113-234.

¹⁸ Matteo Ricci, *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S. I.* Edite a cura del Comitato per le Onoranze Nazionali con prolegomeni note e tavole dal P. Pietro Tacchi-Venturi S.I. 2 vols. Macerata, 1911-1913. Vol. I, 'I commentari della China', vol. II, 'Le lettere dalla China'.

continents on which people of different races and cultures lived.’¹⁹ This experience of revelation was similar to Europe’s ‘discovery’ of grand civilizations in the 16th century. In other words, the Chinese Emperor and his court did not simply believe what Ricci had shown them or had told them, they ‘discovered’ the world outside of China themselves through Ricci’s map. The Chinese thus did not base their knowledge of the world on the information which was provided by the Jesuits. It is evident that since then all Chinese works (very small in number) on world geography only ‘changed the soup but not the medicine’: though they began to adopt the mode that the world consisted of five continents; nevertheless, their portraits of the non-Chinese world continued to be ‘based on the traditional barbarian imagery that had been passed down for hundreds of years.’²⁰ And to many Chinese scholar officials, Judea, or *Rudeya* in Chinese, with which they had become acquainted, first through Ricci’s map, later through Jesuit writings on world geography and history, meant no more than a land of barbarians where Christianity, the ‘barbaric’ or ‘heterodox’ religion, originated. It was unthinkable for them to accept the Western monogenism, which was based on the Judeo-Christian tradition, that all human beings descended from Adam. When the Chinese Catholic convert, Li Zubai (*d.* 1665), absorbed this monogenism and attempted to present in his writing in 1663, entitled *Tianxue chuangai* (History of the Catholic Church in China),²¹ the assertion that the Chinese Christian church originated

¹⁹ Jerome Ch’en, *China and the West*, p. 59.

²⁰ Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, p. 48.

²¹ Li Zubai, *Tianxue chuangai* as in *Tianzhujiao dongchuan wenxian xubian* (Facsimiles of Jesuits publications in Chinese), compiled by Wu Xiangxiang, from copies in the Vatican Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale, 3 vols, Taipei, 1965 - 1972, vol. 2.

from Judea, Li's work was viciously attacked by the prominent scholar official, Yang Guangxian (1579-1669). To respond, in 1665, Yang wrote his famous anti-Christian work, also the first traceable anti-Jewish literature in Chinese, *Budeyi* (I could not do otherwise).²² According to Yang, Judea was a barbarian land and it was out of the question that the Chinese, the descendants of Fuxi (a legendary figure who was considered to be the ancestor of the Chinese), in other words the civilized people, had come from a barbarian origin.

Though Yang's *Budeyi* may be regarded as the first traceable piece of Chinese anti-Jewish literature, Yang himself did not have any knowledge regarding the Jews and Judaism nor did he have any intention of attacking them. His interest was to get the Christian missionaries, or the 'barbarians', out of China. When reading Yang's work one must bear in mind that Yang considered the Bible to be heretical not because it was written by the Jews, but simply because it was not Chinese. The threat for him was not anything Jewish but the whole world outside of China, which he did not know, and was not bothered to know either, or perhaps afraid of knowing.

So it is therefore correct to assume that though the Jesuits made some impact on Chinese society and impressed some Chinese scholars of the 17th century, such as Xu Guangqi, they did not attract mass numbers of Chinese: though for the first time the Jesuits opened the eyes of the Chinese and showed them that China was not in the centre of the universe, China was not yet ready to embrace the world. Though the

²² Yang Guangxian, *Budeyi*, re-ed. by Liu Aicheng, 2 vols, China, 1929. For a study on Yang and *Budeyi* see Harriet T. Zurndorfer, 'One Adam having driven us out of paradise, another has driven us out of China: Yang Kuang-hsien's challenge of Adam Schall von Bell', *Conflict and accommodation in early modern East Asia: essays in honour of Erik Zürcher*, ed. by Leonard Blussé & Harriet T. Zurndorfer, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993, pp. 141-168.

Jesuits brought to China the advanced technologies and sciences of the West, they, however, failed to change the traditional Chinese view of the cosmos. China was still as closed as ever. In the same way it is also appropriate to suggest that though the Jesuits did introduce to the Chinese a certain knowledge about Judaism, mainly within the Christian religion, the Chinese scholars officials of the 17th century were not at all interested.²³

After the so-called 'Nanjing Incident' in 1616 and the fatal 'Rites Controversy' (1700 -1725), the activities of the Jesuits in China were gradually restricted.²⁴ By 1773, the Jesuit mission was finally suppressed by the Church in Rome. The discourse of the Bible, as well as of Judaism and the Jews, did not emerge in China until the arrival of the Protestant missionaries in the 19th century.

The Entering of the Protestant Missions

As far as conversion and literary expansion were concerned, the Protestant missionaries of the 19th century accomplished much greater achievements in China than the Jesuits did in the 17th century. This is not saying that the Jesuits were less literary or intelligent. Indeed, it is a well known fact that most of the Jesuits who went to China, or all over the world, were either great literary men, linguists or scientists. But for reasons, both external and internal, which have been discussed above, they did not manage to achieve the goal of the 'Great Commission' though they stirred up a

²³ For more information on Jesuits in China, cf. K. S. Latourette, *A history of Christian missions in China*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. 102-185.

²⁴ See Wang Yousa, *Zhongguo zongjiao shi* (A history of Chinese religions), 1991, vol 2, p. 887f.

great deal of interest in China.

Regarding the success of Protestant expansion, many present day Chinese scholars believe it was mainly due to the support of 'Western imperialists'; or in other words, the Western Protestant missions forced themselves into China under the protection of the gun fire of foreign troops, especially the British.²⁵ However, it is also important to bear in mind that the Chinese world which the Protestants entered into was very different from the 17th century.

Internally, by the end of the 18th century, many of the Chinese literary élite became less and less content with the Manchu rule and the dominant Neo-Confucian ideology. A few, who were inspired or intrigued by the knowledge which was brought into China by the Jesuits, began to take a great interest in astronomy, geography, linguistics and many other subjects. At the same time, what is called *Kaozhengxue* (evidential research) was launched into a full scale. However, it is important to note that the roots of *Kaozhengxue* can be seen in the late Ming period (beginning of the seventeenth century) independently of western influence.²⁶ While condemning Neo-Confucian scholarship for restricting Chinese thought, the scholars of the evidential research school adopted the 'proto-scientific' approach: instead of simply accepting the traditional views, they 'recognized the need to evaluate information from a broad range of sources and examine it critically, ... [and they] realised the importance of

²⁵ See Gu Changsheng, *Chuanjiaoshi yu jindai Zhongguo* (Missionaries and modern China), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1981; *Jindai Zhongguo jiaoan yanjiu* (A study on the anti-Christian incidents in modern China), Chengdu: Sichuan Academy of Social Science, 1987.

²⁶ B. A. Elman, *From philosophy to philology: intellectual and social aspects of change in late imperial China*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984.

collecting useful facts whatever their origins.'²⁷

The other important factor was printing. As Benedict Anderson has demonstrated in his book, *Imagined communities*, the Reformation in 16th century Europe 'owed much of its success to print-capitalism.'²⁸ Printing also played a very important role in the expansion of Protestantism in China. Between 1807 and 1842, in such a short expanse of time, the Protestant missionaries in China had already successfully 'built up an extensive mission press with facilities in Canton, Malacca, Batavia, and Singapore.'²⁹ According to Jerome Ch'en, between 1833 and 1914, the Bible, the Old and New Testaments, and portions of them together reached the incredible circulation of 20,088,736 copies.³⁰ And it was through these printed pages the Chinese began to gain a knowledge about Judaism and the Jewish people, probably in a very unrealistic and biased fashion.

The first Protestant missionary entered China in 1807. His name was Robert Morrison, a young Englishman, seconded by the London Missionary Society (LMS).³¹ Morrison's main task was to bring the 'Good news', or to translate the Holy Bible into

²⁷ Fred W. Drake, *China charts the world: Hsu Chi-yü and his geography of 1848*, London & Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975, p. 190.

²⁸ B. Anderson, *Imagined communities*, revised ed., London & New York: Verso, 1991, p. 39.

²⁹ Suzanne Wilson Barnett, 'Protestant expansion and Chinese view of the West', in *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 6, part 2 (April 1972), p. 129. Also cf. Latourette, *A history of Christian missions in China*, pp. 210-228.

³⁰ Jerome Ch'en, *China and the West*, p. 103.

³¹ On LMS, see Stock, *A history of the Church Missionary Society*, vols. I, III, 1899-1916. On Robert Morrison, see Mrs. M. Morrison, *Memoirs of Robert Morrison*, 2 vols, 1839. For a recent study on the life of Morrison see Murray A. Rubinstein, *The origins of the Anglo-American missionary enterprise in China 1807 - 1840*, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1996.

Chinese, so that the 'unsaved' Chinese people could read the Scriptures in their own language.³² Morrison's version of the Chinese Bible was completed in 1819. Apart from translating the Bible, Morrison also produced a Chinese-English Dictionary (1814) and some small Christian tracts in Chinese. Among those tracts, a short Jewish history, or more correctly speaking a short history of the Old Testament, entitled 'Gushi Rudeyaguo lidai luechuan' (A short history of ancient Judah) was produced in 1815.³³ This was probably the first piece of literature in the Chinese language on the subject of Judaism and the history of the Israelites in antiquity. It is clear that Morrison's real interest was not in the history of Jewish people but in bringing his evangelistic message to the Chinese. Thus his work began by describing:

Now there is a place in the world called Rudeya (Judea). This place is about 20,000 li west of China. The people there in ancient times were a bit different from others. So I want to introduce their history to you according to their Bible. In the first sentence of their Bible, it says that in the beginning God created Heaven and earth and everything else. This God is the one and only eternal God. Heaven and earth, including man, animals, *etc.*, [they] were all His creation. According to their Bible, God created Heaven and earth and Man about five thousand and eight hundred years ago. In the beginning God created mankind, male and female. All mankind from every country in the world all come from these two persons.

³² See M. Broomhall, *The Bible in China*, 1934, pp. 50-9.

³³ A copy is kept in the British Library.

So All men orginated from one ancestor. Logically, everyone should be brothers and should not hate each other, [also they] should not look down on each other.³⁴

The rest of this work is more or less an abstract of biblical history. The work ends in the traditional Western Christian fashion by accusing the 'Jews' as 'murderers' of Christ:

Jesus lived on the earth for thirty three years, then he was abused, mocked and put on the cross by the Jews and their chief monk [priest].³⁵

Largely due to the limited copies produced in those days, the work was not widely circulated amongst the Chinese. Also, those very few Chinese who had managed to obtain a copy of the tract, or later on, a copy of Morrison's Bible, found Morrison's style difficult to read, and many of the terms which he used did not make any sense to them.³⁶ One other particular problem with Morrison's 'A short history of ancient Judah' was that he began the work by pointing out that Judea was a country 20,000 li (about 10,000 kilometres) west of China. It is hard to imagine that in the beginning

³⁴ Robert Morrison, 'Gushi Rudeyaguo lidai luechuan', p.1.

³⁵ Ibid. p. 5

³⁶ See W. H. Medhurst, 'Memorial addressed to the British Foreign Bible Society on a new version of Chinese scripture', 1836. The work was printed as a separate pamphlet and a copy of it is now kept in the CWM Library's China pamphlets collection, vol .V.

of the 19th century, any Chinese would be very enthusiastic about a country which was so far away from his or her home.

A pioneer maybe, Robert Morrison, however, was not a great scholar nor a linguist. Also he was only given a very limited time to master the Chinese language and to translate the Bible.³⁷ His translation of the New Testament and his Chinese tract on the short history of the Jews, clearly show that he had borrowed an excessive amount of terminology from the Jesuits.³⁸ The other fact which is worth noting is that in those days, in fear of heresy, the Bible was only permitted to be circulated without note or comment. So it is not surprising that most Chinese, who never had any biblical knowledge, found Morrison's Bible 'very strange, and the reading of it disagreeable to a Chinese ear'.³⁹

But the situation was soon changed. By the time W. H. Medhurst and K. F. A. Gützlaff began to produce a new version of the Chinese Bible in the 1830s, they were already well aware of all the problems with Morrison's version.⁴⁰ In fact, *Youtai*, the current Chinese term for the Jews, first appeared in Medhurst and Gützlaff's 1837 version.⁴¹ Walter Henry Medhurst entered China in 1817. He was a printer himself and

³⁷ There was a scandal during that time: a missionary in India, named Marshman, was said to have been 'racing' Morrison in translating the Bible into Chinese. Cf. Bromhall, *Bible in China*, and Latourette, *A History*, p. 210.

³⁸ See Morrison's Chinese translation of the Bible (1819). The term Morrison used for the Jews was *Rudeya*, which was the same as in the Jesuits NT in Chinese. As Morrison had already read the Jesuits' translation in the British Museum, it is not surprising that he borrowed the term.

³⁹ See Medhurst, 'Memorial', pp. 5-6.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ R. Loewenthal was wrong to say that the term *Youtai* was first used by Ricci in his *Tianzhu shiyi*. See Loewenthal, 'The Nomenclature of Jews in China' as in

it was through him the Protestant mission, or LMS, established their 'extensive mission press'.⁴² Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff got to China around 1827. He had a rather independent and adventurous spirit. After two years as the representative of the Netherlands Missionary Society, he resigned and became a 'freelance' evangelist and translator. He was often regarded as 'having had a natural ability for foreign languages, and he developed a high level of proficiency in the use of Chinese.'⁴³ And it was precisely for this reason that he was employed by LMS press as the co-translator of the 1837 version of the Chinese Bible.⁴⁴

There is no clear indication as to why Medhurst and Gützlaff used *Youtai* instead of *Rudeya*. However, several possibilities may be considered: one is that Medhurst had felt very strongly about not using any Catholic terms in this new translation;⁴⁵ the other is that Medhurst and Gützlaff probably used the Hebrew or

Kublin, *Studies*. pp. 53-84. The old Chinese books did not use punctuation, Loewenthal probably mis-read the sentence where it says 'You taiyang ...', which means 'from the sun...', and put the word *You* and *Tai* together. According to him, this is the earliest reference to the term *Youtai*. However, *Youtai*, the current Chinese term for the 'Jews', was first used in Medhurst and Gützlaff's 1837 version of the Chinese Bible. Cf. Samuel Kidd, 'Remarks on the memorial addressed to the British and Foreign Bible Society in a new version of the Chinese scripture', December 23, 1836, p. 25. A copy of this work is collected in the CWM Library's China pamphlets collection, vol. XLVI (46).

⁴² See W. H. Medhurst, *China: Its state and prospects*, pp. 251-2. Also cf. Jane Kate Leonard, 'W H Medhurst: Rewriting the missionary message' as in *Christianity in China: early Protestant missionary writings*, ed. by S. Barnett and J. Fairbank, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985, ch. 4, pp. 47-60.

⁴³ S. Barnett, 'Protestant expansion and Chinese views of the West', p. 131. Also see Jessie G. Lutz, 'Karl F A Gützlaff: Mission entrepreneur', as in Barnett & Fairbank, ed., *Christianity in China*, pp. 61-87.

⁴⁴ See Medhurst, 'Memorial', p. 6.

⁴⁵ See Medhurst, 'Memorial', p. 10, footnote no. 10.

Greek sound for 'Judah' and 'Jews', which is *Yehudi*, in their translation. Thus *Youtai*, which sounded more like *Yehudi*, was used instead of *Rudeya*. Also, as Medhurst reasoned:

In the old version [Morrison's 1818 version] words have been coined for them, which are not readily understood by the Chinese; in the new, however, native terms have been employed, which come as near to what is intended as any that could be found... The word 'Gentiles' has been rendered in the old version 'all nations', which does not convey to the mind of a Chinese any of that feeling which a Jew had when he pronounced the term: the translators of the new version have therefore employed a phrase signifying 'foreign tribes'.⁴⁶

One may therefore presume that *Rudeya* was considered by Medhurst as one of those terms which did not express its full original meaning in Chinese. For the same reason he employed a new phrase for the word 'Gentiles' in order to emphasise its 'foreignness' in the mind of a 'Jew', he could well have employed a new Chinese term *Youtai* for the word 'Jew': because he felt it more closely corresponded to his idea of 'Jews': devious, suspicious and untrustworthy characters. In fact, in his 1837 *Chinese-English Dictionary*, he specially pointed out the very same character *You* in

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 11.

Chinese was so often used for a person who was 'doubtful' and 'suspicious'.⁴⁷ It is rather interesting that even at this very early date, missionaries like Morrison and Medhurst had already attempted, consciously, or unconsciously, to inject their images of the 'Jews' into their Chinese 'subjects'. One other small point worth mentioning is that when Medhurst chose the character *You*, written with an animal radical, he was possibly aware that the Chinese themselves used characters with animal radicals for alien groups, and he therefore felt it was more appropriate to adopt the Chinese 'habit'.⁴⁸

Though not all missionaries saw the necessity of changing the term for 'Jew' in Chinese, nevertheless, people like Samuel Kidd felt there should be unified translations in Chinese for proper names, such as 'Jew', in the Bible. So he suggested that 'the present mode [in Medhurst and Gützlaff's 1837 version] of spelling proper names in the Scriptures ought not to be disturbed without ample necessity'.⁴⁹ Samuel Kidd's suggestion was obviously accepted by most of the missionary groups in China. Since 1837, the word *Youtai* has been widely used by missionaries in China instead of *Rudeya*.

It is worth mentioning that quite a few other present Chinese forms concerning the Jews and Judaism, such as *Yiselie* (Israel), *Xilai* (Sinai), also were first introduced

⁴⁷ W. H. Medhurst, *Chinese-English Dictionary*, 1837, see entry under the character *You*.

⁴⁸ It is known that Medhurst had felt very strongly that the Bible, including all the terms, should be communicated to the Chinese through the medium of their own language and customs. See Medhurst, 'Memorial', pp. 5-14; also S. Kidd, op. cit. p. 2. Cf. Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, p. 4.

⁴⁹ S. Kidd, op. cit., p. 25.

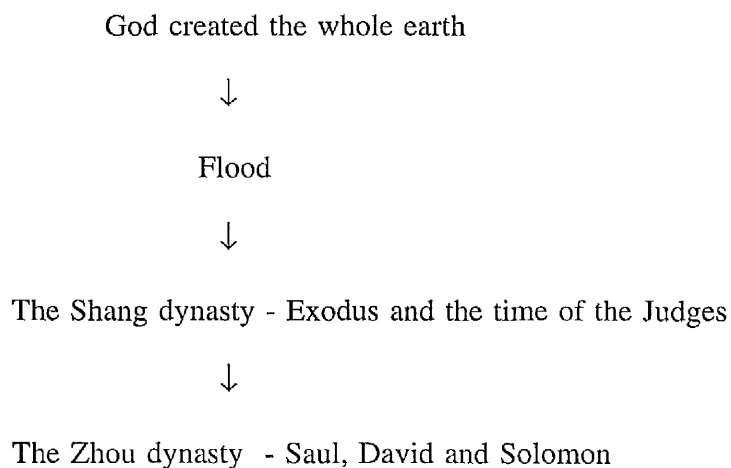
to the Chinese by Medhurst and Gützlaff in their 1837 version.⁵⁰ It is also worth noting that, as a result of the advance of printing within the LMS press since the arrival of Medhurst, many more copies of the 1837 version Chinese Bible were produced than Morrison's translation and it was more widely circulated amongst the Chinese. Not only the Scripture, but also a large amount of Christian tracts were produced, and most of all, Medhurst became increasingly emphatic about introducing secular subjects, such as geography and history, to the Chinese.⁵¹ After the death of William Milne in 1822, Medhurst took over the editorship of the LMS press' monthly magazine in Chinese, *Cha shishu meiyue tongji chuan* (A Monthly Record Examining the Affairs of the World), the first Protestant periodical in the Chinese language. This periodical is characterised by Jane Kate Leonard as 'a compendium of miscellaneous information, ranging from current affairs to historical essays, geographical notes, and moral-religious stories.'⁵² It was very well received by many Chinese readers in its day. In other words, this monthly magazine was a major medium through which many Chinese readers became conscious of the existence of the outside world, and through which these Chinese began to get a view of world affairs; it was the medium also through which these Chinese began to learn *a story* of the Jews.

⁵⁰ See W. H. Medhurst, 'Pamphlets issued by the Chinese insurgents at Nan-king to which it adds a history of the Kwang-si rebellion', 1851, collected in the CWM China pamphlets collection, vol. V. For discussions on Biblical terms in Chinese see Irene Eber, 'The interminable term question', in *Bible in modern China: the literary and intellectual impact*, ed. by I. Eber, Sze-Kar Wan, Knut Walf in collaboration with Roman Malek, *Monumenta Serica Monograph Series*, Vol. XLIII, Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, forthcoming.

⁵¹ See Jane Kate Leonard, 'W H Medhurst: rewriting the missionary message', in Barnett and Fairbank, ed., *Christianity in China*, ch. 4, pp. 55-9.

⁵² *Ibid*, p. 56.

Apart from the LMS press' monthly magazine, in 1833 under the editorship and authorship of Gützlaff, a monthly magazine in the Chinese language entitled *Dong Xi yang kao meiyue tongjichuan* (A Monthly Record Examining the Eastern and Western Oceans), was also brought to the Chinese readers. It has generally been regarded as the first modern periodical published in China. The dominant content of its early issues was a series of articles entitled 'Dong Xi shiji hehe' (A Comparative Study of Eastern and Western history). In order to make his articles appeal to the Chinese audience, Gützlaff deliberately traced the history of ancient Israel and the West in accordance with traditional Chinese chronology. Even more important, he could therefore incorporate the Chinese traditional view of history into the Christian one as shown below:



Here, according to Gützlaff, the whole earth, including China, was created by the Judeo- Christian God; thus, he joined up the Chinese with the rest of the human race, who according to Gützlaff and the Christian tradition, were all descendants of Adam. Though this method did not manage to convince many Chinese that they were

descended from Adam, nevertheless, it stimulated some, especially the evidential research scholars and later the reformers, to become interested in the history of the Jews: for Jewish history was, as Gützlaff demonstrated, the antiquity of the West and its culture was as great and as old as the Chinese one.⁵³ This method was also much adopted by both Protestant and Chinese compilers of material on the subjects of world history and geography in later years.⁵⁴ On the basis of this series of articles, in 1840 Gützlaff compiled a work entitled *Wanguo diliquantuji* (An Illustrated World Geography). It soon became one of the main sources for Chinese scholars. It was widely cited by both Wei Yuan and Xu Jiyu, two prominent scholar officials of the late Qing China, in their works.⁵⁵

After the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) opened its mission field in China around 1830, 'the Protestant evangelists staged a more active campaign to open China to the gospel through secular missions.'⁵⁶ Apart from opening more schools and hospitals, missionaries also expanded the publication of educational literature and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDK) was given birth to. SDK was formed by Elijah Coleman Bridgeman, an ABCFM missionary, with support from a few rich Western merchants.⁵⁷ According to

⁵³ This shall be discussed in more detail later.

⁵⁴ See Xu Jiyu, *Yinghanzhilue*, vol. 3. p. 30f.

⁵⁵ Cf. Suzanne Barnett, 'Wei Yuan and Westerners' in *Ch'ing-shih wenti*, 2:1-20 (November, 1970); Drake, op. cit., p. 53, 96, 146. There will also be more discussions on the works of Wei Yuan and Xu Jiyu in the next section of this chapter.

⁵⁶ Suzanne Barnett, 'Protestant expansion', p. 130.

⁵⁷ For Bridgeman and SDK see Fred W. Drake, 'E C Bridgeman's portrayal of the west' in Barnett and Fairbank, ed., *Christianity in China*, pp. 90-5.

Bridgeman, the purpose of SDK was 'to publish such books as may enlighten the minds of the Chinese, and to communicate to them the arts and sciences of the West.'⁵⁸ As a result, amongst the over 700 Protestant publications in Chinese which were listed by Alexander Wylie, more than one third were on secular subjects such as world history and geography. And most of these works had either a section, or sections, on the history of ancient Israel.⁵⁹

However, it is important to bear in mind that, though these works were supposedly secular, they were all written or translated by Protestant missionaries. For most of them, as the result of their own educational experience, their knowledge of world history and geography was overshadowed by their theological viewpoint, which regarded everything on earth as God's creation and their mission to convert as their vocation. The history of the world was marginalized by them simply as what was portrayed or prophesied in the Bible. Similarly, their perception of the history of the Jewish people was also dominated by this ideology. In most missionary works, the whole of Jewish history was reduced to a preamble to Church history and in them the Jewish people were merely used, both positively and negatively, to illustrate God's divine plan: Jews like Abraham, Moses and David were 'good' by obeying God; they therefore received God's blessing. But 'bad' Jews, who rejected God and Christ, who

⁵⁸ *Chinese Repository*, 3:380 (1834). A Protestant English language periodical in China between 1832-1851, which was edited by Bridgeman. A complete collection is available in The University Library, Cambridge. SOAS library also has a set of reprints. For discussions on SDK's purpose see Murray A. Rubinstein, 'Propagating the Democratic Gospel: Western missionaries and the diffusion of Western thought in China 1830-1848', as in *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica* 11:251-272 (July, 1982).

⁵⁹ A. Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant missionaries to the Chinese: giving a list of their publications, and obituary notices of the deceased, with copious indexes*, Shanhai, 1867.

broke the covenant which God made with their fathers (the 'good' Jews), brought upon themselves their destruction. For example, in *Gujin wanguo gangkan lu* (A survey of ancient and modern history of the world), another work of Gützlaff which was first published in 1838, then reprinted by the American Presbyterian Press at Ningbo in 1850, the section on the Northern Kingdom of Israel was clearly based on the above dichotomy:

The House of David ruled Judah. The King of Israel liked power and force. People in Jerusalem, the capital of Judah, worshipped the one and true God. The king of Israel set up a golden bull and forced many to worship it. [Therefore], the king of Judah glorified the goodness of its former kings [David and Solomon]; [in contrast], the king of Israel destroyed it [...] Though the good man [Elisha] tried so hard to persuade ordinary people to return to the true God, [they] would not listen. [Elisha] cried day and night for the country, so he was killed by a 'bad' man... From that day on, people of Israel did not [only] disobey God, they also did all kinds of bad things without restriction. These bad men's sins were so big that God had to punish them. The king of Assyria conquered [Israel], killed the king [of Israel] and sent its people into exile. The true God was kind to His people, but they did not listen to Him, so they had to be punished in order to warn the world.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Gützlaff, *Gujin wanguo gangkan lu*, 1850 edition, Ningbo, pp. 8-9

And, according to some missionaries, it was the 'bad' Jews who failed God's covenant with the 'good' Jews such as Abraham, and for this reason God, through Christ, had chosen the Church (instead of the 'bad' Jews) and renewed His covenant with all who believed in Him; in other words, as St. Augustine stated, 'the Old Testament [covenant] is revealed in the New'.⁶¹ Thus, the missionary activities in China and other parts of the world were justified through the 'failures' of the 'bad' Jews. Even more, the 'failures', or the 'blindness', of the Jews were also manifested in their rejection of Christ and this had caused the final destruction of the Jewish state in 70 CE. As Gützlaff put it in *Wanguo shichuan*, one of his other important works in Chinese:

Because of their hard-heartedness and their hatred towards Jesus,
God punished the Jews. Therefore, the Roman army seized
Jerusalem and destroyed it completely. Its people were either
slaughtered or sold as slaves all over the world.⁶²

And according to William A P Martin, this characteristic of the Jews was caused by their 'exclusiveness':

The Old Testament is the law book of the Jews. [The life of Christ]
was prophesied a few hundred years before Jesus. [So] where did

⁶¹ St. Augustine, *The first Catechetical instruction*, transl. Joseph Christopher, Newman Bookshop, Westminster, MD, 1946, p. 134.

⁶² Gützlaff, *Wanguo shichuan* (History of the world), in a single volume, 5:12 (1838). A copy is kept in SOAS library without any date or publication details. For the details of the original edition, see Wylie, *Memorials*.

the accusation that this was a fabrication come from? Or why did the Jews not believe [in Christ]? [The Jews] said that Jesus was not the one who had been prophesied by the prophets... [The Jews] were like the monstrous tenant in Luke chapter 20. They first killed the prophets, then they crucified Jesus... [Thus] God destroyed the Jewish state and brought His word to the Gentiles [...] The mistake of the Jews was that they only wanted a king for themselves and failed to understand that Jesus was King of kings and Lord of all nations.⁶³

Interestingly, the image of the 'unbelieving Jews' was utilized by the leaders of the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864) as an anti-image, in order to justify their own 'anointment' by the 'Heavenly Power'. In one of his letters, Rev. I. J. Roberts, who had visited the Taiping army during the rebellion, wrote that Hong Xiuquan, the founder of the Taiping religion, 'making himself equal with Jesus Christ, who, with God the Father, himself, and his own son, consitute one Lord over all! Nor is any missionary who will not believe in his divine appointment to this high equality, and promulgate his political religion accordingly, safe among these rebels, in life, servants, or property. He told me soon after I arrived that if I did not believe in him I would perish, like the Jews did for not believing in the Saviour.'⁶⁴ Hong Rengan, another

⁶³ William A. P. Martin, *Tiandao suoyuan* (Origins of Christianity), 1867, Shanghai, pp. 32-4.

⁶⁴ 'A letter from Rev. I J Roberts', *North China Herald*, 4 Feb., 1862; also in *British Parliamentary Papers (BBP)*, 1862, c. 2976, pp. 142-3. Republished in Prescott Clarke and J. S. Gregory, *Western reports on the Taiping: a selection of documents*, London: Croom Helm, 1982, pp. 314-5.

famous leader of the Taiping, also criticised the Jews for rejecting Jesus Christ as their messiah.⁶⁵

By the second half of the 19th century, the images of solely 'Biblical Jews' however changed slightly. With the arrival of the so-called modernists amongst the Protestant missionaries, such as Young J. Allen and Timothy Richard, the emphasis of the secular literature expanded from the former historical and geographical subjects to politics, science, technology, medicine, education and so on. 'Current Affairs' became a more and more essential column in various Protestant periodicals. In Young J Allen and Timothy Richard's *Wanguo Gongbao* (WGGB, Globe Magazine, 1875-1883)⁶⁶, one of the most important and influential Protestant publications in Chinese, apart from the Bible, in the latter half of the 19th century, the current situation of the Jewish people was frequently brought to the attention of its Chinese readers. For example, the persecution and revolts of the Jews in Russia were mentioned regularly.⁶⁷

At the same time, while continuing the old tradition of introducing Judaism and the Jews within the Biblical context,⁶⁸ WGGB also brought some more 'up-dated'

⁶⁵ Luo Ergang, *Taiping Tianguo wenxuan* (Selected documents of Taiping, the Heavenly kingdom), Shanghai: Shanghai renming chubanshe, 1956. For an English translation see J. C. Cheng, *Chinese sources for the Taiping Rebellion*, Hong Kong, 1963, p. 50.

⁶⁶ Formerly the *Jiaohui xinbao* (Church News), 1868-1874, it was later revived under the name *Shiwubao* (Review of the Times), 1889-1907. According to Jerome Ch'en, 'In seven years this long-surviving magazine leapt from a circulation of 200 to 96000 copies'. See Ch'en, *China and the West*, pp. 116-7.

⁶⁷ WGGB, 13:431b (July 16, 1881); 14:151 (December 3, 1881); 15:35 (September 21, 1882); *etc.*

⁶⁸ WGGB, 'Sanlun Youtairen bing Luomaguo qiyoyuan' (The Jews and the Roman empire), 11:102b-103 (September 28, 1878); A. Williamson, 'Yesu shiji zhaozhuyi Xianzhi kao' (Jesus as prophesied in the Prophets), 491-3 (1878); *etc.*

versions of Jewish stereotypes. In a series of articles entitled 'Lun Youtairen shanxun buyi benxin' (The unity and unchangeable character of the Jewish people),⁶⁹ the Jews were charged as:

very arrogant ever since the time of King David. No matter where they are, in Europe or in Asia, and no matter what profession they are in, even 'Jewish' shop keepers call themselves the 'Chosen people of God'.⁷⁰

According to these articles, it was this arrogance which caused the hatred of the 'Jews' among the 'Gentiles'; it was also this arrogance which separated Jews from the rest of world. Not only so, the Jews were also portrayed as very rich and unreliable, in other words, they were a bunch of liars and crooks, they made their money by cheating everybody:

In recent years, the Jews have become financiers in many countries
[...] the Jews regard all Gentiles as dogs and they therefore use
every opportunity to cheat many innocent non-Jews.⁷¹

⁶⁹ *WGGB*, 10:305-6 (January 12, 1878); 10:418-9b (March 16, 1878). These articles were originally in English and they were first published in *Minsheng huibao* (News of Fujian, 1876-1881), a short-lived missionary publication in the English language. During the 1870s, the articles in *Minsheng huibao* were very often re-used by other Protestant publications in Chinese, such as *WGGB*.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 10:305.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

Furthermore, these articles claimed that the 'Jews' were 'recognisable' and 'unchangeable':

In London, New York, Paris, San Francisco and many other big cities, one can easily tell who is a Jew. [If one has a] look at the statue of Abraham, which was carved by an ancient Jew [or Jews] and was dug up a few years ago on the site of the ancient city of Nineveh, then [one] can immediately tell the Jews of our time are the descendants of Abraham⁷²

Because 'all Jews were unchangeable', therefore none of them could dispose of their bad character. Thus, in these articles the Jews were labelled as 'bad'. However, according to these articles, through conversion to Christianity, the 'bad' Jews could be saved and became 'good Hebrew Christians'.⁷³ Thus, the old dichotomy was brought forward to modern times.

Like *WGGB*, Young J. Allen's other periodical, *Zhongxi Jiaohuibao* (Church News of the East and West, 1892-1910) repeated these subjects on Judaism, the Jewish people, their history and modern Jewish affairs in a similar fashion. However, more impressively, in this periodical, Allen even brought out a real life story of how a 'bad' Jew through accepting Christ had been saved and became a 'good' Jew, in other words: a 'true' child of God.⁷⁴ Here, the old dichotomy was not only up-dated,

⁷² Ibid., 10:306.

⁷³ Ibid., 10:418-9b.

⁷⁴ *Zhongxi Jiaohui bao*, 1-3 (1895).

it was also personalised. For any Chinese reader who read this story, the 'Jews' were not merely fictional figures in the Bible, but also real people. It is also worth mentioning that this dichotomy was even introduced to Chinese children through the literature which was designed for them. For example, a story about the twelve Apostles in *Yuebao* (Child's paper) in 1884,⁷⁵ classified the Jews into two categories: one was the 'good' Jews or 'the Jews who believed in Jesus', the other was the 'bad' or 'the unbelieving Jews'.

Not only did the Chinese learn about the 'good' and 'bad', the 'believing' and 'unbelieving' Jews, or the 'blind', 'exclusive', 'arrogant', 'unchangeable' and 'wandering' Jews; through the sensational propaganda of the Protestant missions, some Chinese also began to hear about the 'Kaifeng Jews' in China.

As already mentioned, though the Jesuits were the first ones to discover the 'Jews' in Kaifeng, they never managed nor bothered to communicate the news to the Chinese world. However, the Protestant missionaries acted differently: first of all, they used indigenous Chinese, two converts, to carry out their mission to the Jews. The one, named Chui Tiansheng, was educated in Medhurst's mission school at Batavia. The other, named Jiang Rongji, was a language teacher to the missionaries. They were probably the first Chinese who visited the Kaifeng Jewish community with some knowledge about the 'background' of these people.⁷⁶ In 1851, their reports of the trip were published as a booklet in Shanghai, with an introduction by Bishop G. Smith and an imposing title, 'The Jews at Kaifengfu: being a narrative of a mission of inquiry

⁷⁵ *Yuebao*, 11:9:2, *etc.*

⁷⁶ For more information about their trip and the Protestants' mission to the Kaifeng 'Jews', see Pollak, *op. cit.*, part one. Also cf. White, *op. cit.*, part II; *etc.*

to the Jewish synagogue at Kaifengfu, on behalf of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews'.⁷⁷ It was reprinted in *The Chinese Repository* in the same year. Additionally, the media coverage on the Kaifeng Jews was overwhelming; not only in Europe and America, where many stories were made up and reported about the life of Israelites in China,⁷⁸ but also in China itself. There the missionaries published numerous articles about the 'Jews' of Kaifeng in their Chinese periodicals.⁷⁹ By the end of the 19th century, the story about the 'Jews' of Kaifeng was no longer alien, as it once had been, to the Chinese world.

Xu Jiyu, Wei Yuan and their Geographies of the World

Though it is incorrect to conclude therefore that the Chinese understanding of Judaism and the Jewish people would be dominated by notions of the Protestant missionaries, the impact of missionary writings on the early Chinese understanding of such issues cannot be underestimated. In other words, it was on the basis of the knowledge which was supplied by the missionaries, that the Chinese early 'understanding', or images, or perceptions, as well as representations, of Judaism and the Jewish people began to emerge.

⁷⁷ Collected by White, in *The Chinese Jews*, Part I.

⁷⁸ See *Asmonean*, May 9, 1851, New York. Title of the article 'From a letter in the *south China advocate*', dated Shanghai, China, Jan. 14, 1851 and addressed to the Rev. M. Wightman, D. D., by Rev. D. Jenkins of the American China Mission. See also, C. Dickens, 'The Jews in China', *Household words*, 2nd of August, 1851, England, pp.452-6.

⁷⁹ *WGGB*, 11:434b-435 (March-April, 1879); *Zhongxi Jihuibao*, June, 1891; July, 1893; December, 1902; *etc.*

As far as we know, Xu Jiyu (1795-1873) was the first Chinese who produced a detailed written work on Judaism and Jewish history. However, Xu himself was no scholar in Judaism, nor a historian (except during his later years, when he did engage in compiling a local gazetteer). Although many scholars after him often described him as a geographer, Xu was in fact a Chinese official and like other civil servants, basically a scholar in the Chinese classics.⁸⁰ His interests in world geography was in many ways similar to his near contemporaries, such as Lin Zexu (1785-1850), the Qing government Commissioner to Canton and China's anti-opium hero, and Wei Yuan (1794-1856), also a famous late Qing official scholar.⁸¹

After 'thousands of years sleep', the Opium War in 1840 had 'woken' millions of Chinese, and the door of China was opened. For the first time, China saw an irresistible and dangerous world outside. Reformers like Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan realised that China could not continue to hide away from the world: in order to avoid being ripped asunder by the West, China had to learn from the West their advanced technologies and science; China was compelled to acquire knowledge about those so-called 'foreign devils'. With this motive, Lin Zexu, Wei Yuan and Xu Jiyu compiled

⁸⁰ Before Xu's interest in foreign geography developed, he seems to have been making a career as a financial specialist in the civil service. For the life of Xu see Drake, *China charts the world*.

⁸¹ Ibid., chs. I -III, V, etc. For Wei Yuan and his *Haiguotuzhi* see Jane K. Leonard, 'Chinese overlordship and western penetration in maritime Asia: a late Qing re-appraisal of Chinese maritime relations' as in *Modern Asian Studies*, London: Cambridge University Press, vol. 6, part 2 (April, 1972), pp.151-174. By the same author, *Wei Yuan and China's rediscovery of the maritime world*, Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984. Also cf. Peter M. Mitchell, 'The limits of reformation: Wei Yuan's reaction to Western intrusion' in the same issue.



geographies of the outside world.⁸²

Of the three of them, Xu Jiyu was the first one to include a section on the history and geography of ancient Israel.⁸³ Both Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan did not touch on either of these subjects at all in the original version of their works. Later on, most likely in 1852,⁸⁴ a volume (vol.26) on the geography and history of ancient Israel, entitled *Xiyindu zhi Rudeyaguo yuange* (A history of Judea to the west of India) was inserted by Wei Yuan in his *Haiguotuzhi*. According to Wei Yuan, the purpose of supplementing this volume was in order to trace the history of the Catholic religion.⁸⁵ This supplement was largely a collection of some already available Catholic material; in many places it also referred to Xu Jiyu's work.⁸⁶

Like Wei Yuan, Xu Jiyu and his *Yinghuanzhilue* was also strongly influenced by Western materials, especially those of Christian origin. The reason for this was because, before 1840, there were very few works on world geography and history

⁸² Soon after 1840, Lin Zexu compiled *Sizhouzhi* (Annals of the four continents). Wei Yuan on the basis of Lin's work, compiled the first 50 vols of *Haiguotuzhi* in 1845. The 1847 edition of *Haiguotuzhi* (Annals and atlas of maritime countries) includes 60 vols and the 1852 edition has 100 vols. However some volumes of the later versions were the works of Western missionaries. Xu Jiyu's *Yinghuanzhilue* (Brief account of the maritime circuit) was compiled in 1848 and was printed in 1850.

⁸³ Xu Jiyu, 'Four countries to the West of India' in *Yinghuanzhilue*, revised, 10 vols., 1861, Osaka, vol. 3, p. 30f.

⁸⁴ Because in Wei Yuan's section on the history of ancient Israel (vol. 26), the author quoted Xu Jiyu's *Yinghuanzhilue* quite a few times. As *Yinghuanzhilue* was not completed till 1848, there is little possibility that Wei could have supplemented his vol. 26 before then.

⁸⁵ See *Haiguotuzhi*, vol. 26, 'introduction'.

⁸⁶ Ibid. Also see Li Hanwu, *Wei Yuan zhuan* (The biography of Wei Yuan), Hunan: Hunan daxue chubanshe, 1988, pp. 100-14. Also see Wang Jiajian, *Wei Yuan dui Xifang de renshi jiqi haifang sixiang* (Wei Yuan's understanding of the west and his ideology of the maritime defence), Taipei: Dali Press, 1984.

written by the Chinese and they were often written in a very bizarre, unrealistic fashion.⁸⁷ The rest of the material on this subject in the Chinese language was written by Western missionaries and they inevitably became Xu's main source for his works.⁸⁸

There is hardly any doubt that Xu Jiyu, though he reserved a fair amount of space for the history of ancient Israel in his *Yinghuanzhilue*, nevertheless, had very little direct interest in either Judaism itself or the Jewish people. For him the most significant thing about the ancient Israelite religion and culture was not that Judaism was far superior and unique compared with other pagan religions of its time; it was significant because it was considered by him as part of Christian history and Christian civilization. In other words, Israel/Judah was perceived as a part of Western history and Western civilization. It was Western civilization which Xu was really interested in. As the result of his wide interests and extensive study of Western history, he then came to 'one of his major discoveries ... that European power was based on ancient development'⁸⁹

The other important fact to bear in mind is that, at that time, like most of his contemporaries, Xu Jiyu had never encountered any so-called 'Jews' by then, nor had he had any first hand knowledge about Judaism. What he had learnt about Judaism or Jewish culture was largely based on Christian missionary sources. For example, Xu's way of tracing the history of ancient Israel according to the Chinese calendar was no

⁸⁷ See Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, p. 48.

⁸⁸ For more discussion on the Western Christian influences on Xu's *Yinghuanzhilue*, see Drake, *China charts the world*. And for more on the impact of Protestant writings in China, see Suzanne Barnett's article, also see Barnett and Fairbank, ed., *Christianity in China*.

⁸⁹ Drake, *China charts the world*, p. 117.

doubt based on Gützlaff's dual chronological method.⁹⁰ Occasionally, he also followed other Christian methods by using the birth of Jesus as the landmark and described events which happened in the Jewish history as to how many years it preceded the time of Christ.⁹¹ Geographically, Xu borrowed the practice of P Michael Benoist,⁹² a Catholic missionary of the 18th century, and divided Palestine into three parts: Judea, Samaria and Galilee.⁹³ Strongly influenced by the Christians, Xu only paid attention to the significance of Palestine to the Christians as the birth place of Jesus: this fact he took as the reason for the 200 years of Crusades into the land of Palestine.⁹⁴

In fact, in *Yinghuanzhilue*, Xu actually mentioned that he had often discussed the Jews with a missionary - George Tradescant Lay⁹⁵ - and had learnt from this missionary that the Jews were the most talented people in the West: 'All kinds of books in the West are translated by the Jews.'⁹⁶ Xu therefore concludes that '[Judea] is one district within the European Cultural Region.'⁹⁷

Thus, it is no surprise to find that on the one hand, Xu's account of ancient

⁹⁰ *Yinghuanzhilue*, vol. 6, p. 13f. Also, see above section on Gützlaff.

⁹¹ Ibid. vol. 3, p. 33, *etc.*

⁹² P. Michael Benoist, *Wanguo dituji* (The atlas of the world), 18th century.

⁹³ Xu followed Benoist's mistake here by using the city Samaria instead of the Samaritan lands. See Ibid. Also cf. *EJ* under the entry 'Erez Israel'.

⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 14.

⁹⁵ George Tradescant Lay, Chinese name Li Taige, who was married to Lord Nelson's niece Mary. Lay went to China in 1836 as a representative of the British and Foreign Bible society. For more information about the man and his life see A. C. Hyde Lay, *Four generations in China, Japan and Korea*, Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd, 1952, pp. 3-6.

⁹⁶ *Yinghuanzhilue*, vol. 6, pp. 16a-b.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

history of the 'West' was more or a less a repetition of Biblical information; on the other hand, according to him, the history of Israel was only a minor history within the major European history and his detailed narrative on the history of Israel was blended into his sections on the Roman Empire and Ottoman Empire.⁹⁸ He also called the formation of the Israelite religion 'the beginning of the West's religion.'⁹⁹

When writing about the history and religion of ancient Israel in his *Haiguotuzhi* a few years later, Wei Yuan more or less viewed the subject from the same angle as Xu. So did many reformers after Xu and Wei, as both of their works had been the main sources of inspiration to these reformers.¹⁰⁰

At this point one is left with little option but to conclude that by the mid 19th century, Judaism and Jewish culture was primarily understood by a small number of Chinese reformers, who were eager and willing to learn about the world outside the Great Wall of China, within the context of Christianity and Western culture. And the missionary texts on these subjects act as guideposts to this early phase of the Chinese understanding of Judaism.

However, as various missionary sources differed in detail, plus the fact that Chinese reformers like Xu Jiyu had not any first hand knowledge about Judaism or Jewish history before, it is therefore not surprising that the history of ancient Israel

⁹⁸ Ibid., vols. 6 and 7.

⁹⁹ Ibid., vol. 6, pp. 14-15.

¹⁰⁰ Reformers, such as Guo Songtao, often spoke very highly of Xu's *Yinghuanzhilue*, see Guo's *Lundeng yu Bali riji* (Diary of London and Paris), Hunan: Yuelu shushe, 1984, p. 45, 54, 63, 73, 482, etc. Cf. Jerome Ch'en, *China and the West*, p. 66.

as portrayed by these people was sometimes inconsistent and incorrect.¹⁰¹ For example, in the third section of *Yinghuanzhilue*, Xu Jiyu obviously confused the country Judah with Israel as a tribal religious group, for he names Moses as the founder of the country Judah.¹⁰² Then in section six, though full of mistakes, he nevertheless stated very clearly the process of development from the tribe Israel (*Yiseliezu*) to the united monarchy of Israel and then to the divided kingdoms of Judah and Israel:

Abraham was born between two rivers: the Euphrates and Tigris. Then he went to [the land of] Canaan. His descendants were called the Israelites. The generations went on till Jacob. He had twelve sons, the youngest son named Joseph [Xu was wrong here as Benjamin was the youngest son of Jacob]. He [Joseph] was exceptionally clever and his brothers were jealous of him, so they sold him to Egypt [...] The Pharaoh of Egypt set Joseph up as the prime minister. All the Israelites went to Egypt to stay with Joseph. There were only seventy of them in the beginning, then they multiplied to sixty thousand [...] Moses led the Israelites back to the land of Canaan [Xu was wrong again for Moses never got to Canaan himself, it was Joshua who led the Children of Israel to Canaan]... After the death of Moses, Joshua succeeded him and

¹⁰¹ For discussions see Drake, *China charts the world*, p. 57.

¹⁰² *Yinghuanzhilue*, vol. 3, p. 33. Here, Xu had missed out the facts that Judah as a state did not exist until the death of Solomon (980 BCE) and the Hebrews became a monotheistic community before the time of Judah. Also Moses was not the founder of the state Judah but the founder of the Israelite religion.

divided the Israelites into 10 tribes [According to the Bible, there were in fact twelve tribes. Xu was probably confused here with the ten lost tribes. Also the Israelites were not divided into tribes by Joshua, they were divided according to the twelve sons of Jacob when they were still in Egypt (see Genesis chapter 49). Joshua only divided the land amongst the twelve tribes when they got to Canaan.] They then united in Jerusalem. By the tenth year of the reign of Duke Zhao of Zhou (1010 BCE), David became the king [of Israel] ... By the time of Duke Mu of Zhou (930 BCE), Rehoboam became the king and this was the beginning of the country Judah ¹⁰³

Sometimes, Xu also made up events of Jewish history in his book which were not known to any historians in the world. For example, when describing the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE, he wrote:

The Roman army seized Jerusalem and killed many Jews. The rest [of the Jews] went into exile. [They] then re-established their country. It was later taken over by the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰⁴

The 'Diaspora' of the Jewish people, according to Xu, only happened after the

¹⁰³ Ibid. vol. 6, p. 13f.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., vol. 6, p. 7. Wei Yuan in his *Haiguotuzhi* dropped this subject when he was quoting Xu. See *Haiguotuzhi*, vol. 27, p. 10.

invasion of the Turks. He also noted that the Jews then were everywhere in the world and were keen to preserve their Jewish identity.¹⁰⁵

When encountering the problem of fitting foreign information into already existing terms in Chinese history books, Xu would occasionally invent ideas which he thought were the intended meanings. For example, in section three of his work, Xu synthesized the view of Jules Aleni¹⁰⁶ by suggesting that the country *Fulin*, which occurred in *Tangshu* (the History of the Tang dynasty, *Songshi* (the History of the Song dynasty) and *Mingshi* (the History of the Ming dynasty), was the same country as *Youtaiguo* (Judah), or Judea as known in the West.¹⁰⁷ In order to justify this interpretation, Xu then went on to explain why the name *Fulin* was used for Judah by the Chinese. According to him, *Fulin* was the transliteration of *Yelushaleng* (Jerusalem), the capital of Judah, because the two words sounded alike.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ In his *Zifangwaiji* (Geography of the world), J. Aleni held the view that *Fulin* in *Tangshu* was another name for *Daqin* and *Daqin* was the ancient name for Judea. *Zifangwaiji* was completed in Chinese in 1621. See the 1935 edition, Shanghai: Commercial Press, p. 24.

¹⁰⁷ Xu Jiyu, 'Four countries to the west of India' in *Yinghuanzhilue*, vol. 3, p. 22.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 22. It is quite unthinkable how Xu could come up with this idea that *Fulin* sounded like *Yelushaleng* (Jerusalem). In a later edition of *Haiguotuzhi*, the author agreed with Xu but changed it slightly by saying that *Fulin* sounded like *shaleng*. However this suggestion is still not satisfactory. Because *Yelushaleng* came from Hebrew *Yerushalaim*, it consists of three parts: *Yeru*+*Shalom*+*im*. 'im' in Hebrew is normally used as a suffix for plural endings; but in this case, its normal function has been changed and it is used to emphase the glory of the city Jerusalem. Therefore *Yeru* and *shalaim* should not be seperated here. Grammatically, it was incorrect to suggest that *Fulin* was the transliteration of *shaleng*. For discussion on the origin of the name *Fulin* see Fang Hao, *Zhongxi jiaotong shi* (History of communications between China and the West), Taipei, 5 vols, 1953, vol. 2, ch.15, pp. 149-161; Zhang Xinliang, *Zhongxi jiaotong shiliao hubian*, vol. 1, pp. 141-8; Feng Chengjun, *Jinjaobei kao*, appendix, 'Fulin kao' (A study on Fulin).

The other characteristic of the early Chinese presentation of Judaism and Jewish history was dualism: on one hand, they described the Jewish law (or the law of Moses) as 'just and without defect' and it was as good as the rules of the Confucians;¹⁰⁹ on the other hand, they regarded it as very 'shallow',¹¹⁰ and even untrue. For example, Xu Jiyu noted in his work that the story about Moses receiving the law tablets from his God on Mt. Sinai was merely a claim to gain his people's respect.¹¹¹ And this image of Judaism as fictional was later adopted by different Chinese for various purposes in different periods.¹¹²

As most of these early reformers' view of 'outsiders was deeply influenced by stereotypes',¹¹³ their images of the 'Jews' were also formed within this notion. Apart from his description of the Jews as 'very talented', as mentioned above, Xu Jiyu also portrayed the Jewish women as:

beautiful and entrancing; they are quiet and perceptive by nature.

They are completely different from [the women] of other areas. If

one marries a Jewish girl, she will bring dignity to one's home.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ *Yinghuanzhilue*, vol. 3, p. 33.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid., vol. 6, p. 13f.

¹¹² More will be discussed in later chapters.

¹¹³ Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, p. 49.

¹¹⁴ *Yinghuanzhilue*, vol. 6, p. 15.

The 'Eastern Jews'

It is noteworthy here, though, as mentioned earlier, that by the mid 19th century, Judaism and the Jewish culture were primarily understood by the Chinese reformers like Xu Jiyu as part of Western civilization; at the same time, they also began to acquire the idea, mainly from the missionaries, that the Jews were somehow 'different' from other Westerners. This noted 'difference' of the Jewish people was later more specifically defined by some Chinese as their 'Eastern root'. And this 'Eastern root' of the Jewish people was extremely important for Chinese converts and reformers of the latter half of the 19th century.

The Taiping Rebellion (1850-1863) and the second Opium War (1856-1860) had strengthened the fears, amongst members of the conservative party in China, of the disruptive power of the West. For the liberal minded reformers and Chinese converts, it was thus a necessity to present Western or Christian culture in such a way, so that it would eventually become acceptable to the conservative party. By stressing the 'Eastern root' of the Jewish people and their culture, Western culture, which was regarded as having been derived from Jewish culture, was thus proved to be originally an Eastern one. In other words, Western culture and Chinese culture were basically the same. Hence, there was no need for the conservative party to be fearful of Western or Christian culture. As the result, one finds that articles like '*Tian-Dao hechan*' (A comparison of Dao in Confucianism and Christianity), which was written by a Chinese named He Yuquan, claim that:

The Dao of God was first given to the Jews. However, China was

also in Asia, so the Chinese were also given the Dao by God. The rites practised by the ancient Chinese were the same as those practised by the Jews [...] The God of Israel and the Taoist Jade emperor (*Yuhuangdadi*) are the same.¹¹⁵

Even more, He Yuquan also pointed out that if students studied the Bible and the Chinese classics together, they would then find there was virtually no difference between the two.¹¹⁶

A variation of this argument was used by Wang Tao (1828-97),¹¹⁷ in his 'A study of the ancient Jewish calendar'.¹¹⁸ According to Wang, the ancient Jewish calendar was very similar to the ancient Chinese calendar, especially the way of calculating the days and hours. Thus, he concluded that though present Chinese astronomy was not as advanced as in the Western, the ancient Chinese calendar was very advanced in its day. In other words, the ancient Chinese had just as much wisdom as the Israelites - the creators of Western civilization.

¹¹⁵ *WGGB*, 29: 866-88, (Sept. 1877).

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ For study on Wang Tao, see Paul Cohen, *Between tradition and modernity: Wang Tao and reform in late imperial China*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 19741. In his book, Cohen described Wang Tao as a cultural intermediary who stood between tradition and modernity. However, more recently, during a cause of discussion, Cohen has expressed the view that Wang Tao was probably more a marginal figure than a cultural intermediary. Further study on Wang Tao has now been carried out by Elizabeth Sinn at the Department of History, University of Hong Kong.

¹¹⁸ See Wang Tao, *Wengyu yutan* (Collection of essays), vol. 5, the essay entitled 'A Study of the ancient Jewish calendar'.

In a step further, through his study of ancient Hebrew writings¹¹⁹, Wang Tao also discovered that Hebrew letters, which were said to be the most ancient of the West, were only formed about five thousand years ago, which was much later than the formation of Chinese characters. And regarding Jewish literature, Wang wrote:

The literary quality of the Jewish writings are said to be the very best in the Western world. I had an opportunity to read some of the translations, and found that apart from some religious writings, the rest are not as sophisticated as Chinese literature.¹²⁰

Thus, for the conservatives, the message of Wang Tao was even more powerful and convincing as it showed Chinese culture far better and superior to western culture; the latter could never become a threat to the former.

Intermingling the above view with his study of the ancient Jewish and other foreign histories, Wang Tao was then able to project a constantly changing world:

My study of the ancient history of the West shows that in those days there were many Western countries that achieved renown. The large ones, numbering more than ten, alternately flourished and declined, contesting with each other for mastery. Sometimes one would rise and another perish; sometimes they would unite and

¹¹⁹ See Wang Tao, *Taoyuan wenglu waibian* (Essays of Wang Tao, supplement), vol. 1, pp.3-4, 1883.

¹²⁰ Translated from *ibid.* p. 3.

then divide. Examples are Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Macedonia, Syria, Judea, Palestine, Phoenicia, Tyre, India and Persia. In the remote past all these places were famous for their civilization. [...] They supplied ancient models for writing, institutions, rites and music, laws and punishments, astronomy, calendar, technology and natural science. And yet, how often they collapsed in the wake of barbarian subjugation, the cultures that had been handed down from generation to generation were now utterly destroyed and the people reduced to barbarity!¹²¹

‘Can a state long hold on to its strength and prosperity or a people to its wisdom and intelligence?’¹²² Wang Tao’s question was also his answer: as the Chinese culture was once as advanced as the culture of the ancient Israelites, or the ancient culture of the west; therefore, in this constantly changing world, China would one day be powerful again.¹²³

At this point, it is very clear that Wang Tao’s interests in Judaism, Jewish culture and history had diverged from the interest which was shared by the earlier reformers like Xu Jiyu and Wei Yuan. For Wang Tao, the focus was far beyond his interests in western culture; in order to preach his message that the world is constantly changing and recycling, he needed the ‘Jews’ and their history. Just like Martin Luther

¹²¹ Wang Tao, *Xixue yuanshi kao* (A study on the origin of western science), pp. 7a-b.

¹²² Ibid., p. 7.

¹²³ *Taoyuan wenglu waibian*, vol. 1, pp. 10-11.

needed the 'Jews' to show the evils of the Catholic church, or the Protestant missionaries needed the 'bad' Jews to justify their activities in China,¹²⁴ Wang Tao needed the 'Jewish past' to show the weakness of the West and, even more, to prophecy a glorious future for China.

¹²⁴ See above section on Protestant missions.

CHAPTER TWO

ENCOUNTERING AND REINVENTING THE 'JEWS': 1870-1915

Journey to the West

From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, travel to the West provided opportunities for Chinese intellectuals to encounter Jews in person. However, although one of the first Chinese who went abroad and one of the first Chinese who had met European Jews, Wang Tao in his entire *Manyou suilu* (Travel diaries) mentioned only one Jew, Stanislas Julien (1796-1873), a leading European scholar in Chinese studies in the 19th century.¹ For Wang, the thrilling fact was not that Julien was a 'Jew', but Julien was a 'Jew' who highly admired and appreciated the Chinese classics and culture.² Julien's 'Jewish' origin was vital to Wang Tao because: although a Jew, Julien, with his glorious historical cultural roots, from which the dominant Western culture was derived, devoted his life to Sinology instead of Judaica. For Wang, this clearly indicated that Chinese culture and history were of higher value than those of the West. The 'Jew' Julien thus served as a living testimony for Wang Tao's chauvinism.

¹ Wang Tao, *Manyou suilu* (Travel diaries), Hunan: Yuelu shushe, 1985, p. 82. For more remarks about Julien by Wang Tao see *Taoyuan wenlu waibian*, vol. 12.

² In fact, in Europe, Julien was more famous for his contributions in Chinese studies and was less known for his Jewish origin.

This characteristic of perceiving the Jews not as who they were, but as who Wang Tao wanted them to be was also quite common amongst other early Chinese travellers to the West. Zhang Deyi, one of the very early Chinese envoys to Europe, amongst hundreds of stories concerning the Jews which he must have encountered while he was in Europe, only chose to cite the one about the 'Jews' and opium in his diary of 1879:

There is a kind of small black bean [opium] which grows in the Antarctic [...] When a Jew travelled there, he began to obtain it [in a form of soup]. This soup can heal the sick, the sick can be cured instantly, but one can also become [easily] addicted to it and can not live without it. Then the more one drinks [it], the weaker one becomes [...] It was forbidden by the local ruler, and it was only allowed in very small quantities as a medicine... This Jew tried to transport [the bean soup] to many countries, but he was not allowed to go in. Then [the Jew] brought it to Turkey when the plague was raging, and all who drank the soup were healed. Therefore its name was changed to magic bean soup, and the price also went up [...] Turkey used to be a wealthy country with a strong military force, but since the arrival of the black bean, the country became poor, the people became weaker, because after drinking this soup for a while, one became frail and looked like a skeleton. And whoever drank it, from ordinary people to the officials to the soldiers, all became addicted to it [...] There was a

wise man who challenged the Jew face to face and [told him] it was immoral to smuggle in the opium. This Jew then answered: 'Anyone, who is trying to make a living, always emphasises profits. If your countrymen would not drink it, then I, a Jew, would not be able to sell it.' ³

It is quite obvious in this story that Zhang Deyi's primary concern was opium: one of the major problems in his own country. In the second half of the story, Zhang concentrated on how the Turkish government dealt with the problem. This was his real interest: may China follow the example of the Turkish government and stop the damages caused by opium. However, the 'Jew' in this story was not insignificant. In fact, he was symbolic here. For Zhang, this was not a particular or individual Jew, this 'Jew' symbolised all 'bad' Westerners who had originally brought opium to his country. And to associate the 'Jew' and 'bad' Westerners was not the pure invention of Zhang, it was the synthesis of Christian teachings and European anti-Semitism. The former, which Zhang had perceived from the teachings of Protestant missionaries and the works of Wei Yuan and Xu Jiyu, portrayed the 'Jews' as the ancestors of Western society; the latter, which Zhang had encountered in Europe, claimed that all the 'evils' of the world began with the 'Jews'. So, for Zhang, if the Jews can be seen as 'evil', then the Europeans who had 'Jewish' roots must also have inherited the 'evils' of the 'Jews'. More specifically, the 'evil' of the Westerners who brought opium to the Chinese was rooted in the 'evil' of the 'Jew' who first brought opium to Turkey.

³ Zhang Deyi, *Suishi Ying E ji* (Diary of the mission to England and Russia), Hunan: Yuelu shushe, 1986, pp. 740-2.

The 'evil' of the 'Jew', in the above story was further defined as 'immorality' and 'avariciousness'. In the eyes of Zhang and many other Chinese, these negative qualities were exactly the perception of Western opium traders. Now if the 'Jew' can be seen as Western opium traders, then the 'Jew' must possess these negative qualities. Thus, the Western anti-Semitic image of greedy, immoral and money-loving 'Jews' was adopted by Zhang Deyi and his Chinese readers.

Needless to say, anti-Semitic propaganda in nineteenth-century Europe also distorted Chinese perceptions of Jews. Evolutionary theories and racial anthropology provided anti-Semitic discourse with a pseudo-scientific legitimacy in nineteenth-century Europe. At the same time, the 'Jew' also figured as a scapegoat in the socialist struggle against capitalism. The 'Jewish hatred' in Medieval Europe, which was basically an expression of religious prejudice, shifted to struggles between the 'Aryan' race against the 'Semitic' race, the nationalists against the 'Jewish' outsiders, the socialists against the rich 'Jewish' capitalists. The portrait of the 'Jew' was no longer just the one who killed Christ or the leeches who sucked the blood of the Christians: 'The perversity of the Jew's nature in betraying Christ over and over again throughout history becomes the biologically determined quality of the Jew which leads to the Jew's heartless role in the rise of capitalism or communism.'⁴ Thus, in the eyes of many anti-Semites in nineteenth-century Europe, the 'Jew' was 'born' to be a Rothschild, dominant in the world of finance and the stock exchange, a Disraeli, who dominated of the world of politics, or a Marx, the revolutionary fighting against established social order. Eventually, as claimed, the 'Jews' would take over the whole world and destroy the 'Aryan' culture completely in order to build a 'Jewish' empire

⁴ Gilman, *The Jew's body*, p. 18.

on earth. These anti-Semitic images of the 'Jews' in many ways reinforced the Protestant representations of the 'Jews', with which the Chinese had already become acquainted within China. For example, in England, Xue Fucheng was even given the opportunity to re-encounter the 'dishonest' 'Jews' in a real historical setting:

I was told [the story] of how the Jews became rich in England: During Napoleon's first European expedition, the Duke of Wellington of England joined up with the Austrian and Russian armies to resist Napoleon and neither side was winning. Many Jews like to keep pigeons, and they took them to the battle, waiting to see which side was winning. When the English army caught Napoleon, the Jews sent their pigeons back with their messages. In those messages, they deliberately lied and said that the Duke of Wellington was caught by the French. In those days, there was no telegraph, so the whole country [England] believed the messages sent by the Jews and was greatly shocked. All the English companies' shares went down drastically; though they were down to less than one tenth, no one wanted to buy them. [However], the Jews had raised ten million pounds and bought as many shares as they could. Three days later, when the news of the victory of Wellington finally reached [England], more than half the shares of the best companies in the country were now in the hands of the

Jews.⁵

However, as every stereotype is Janus-faced, the Western anti-Semitic images of the Jews were not always perceived by the Chinese, who were in Europe during the 19th century, as negative. In the same diary where he recalled the story of the 'dishonest' 'Jews', Xue Fucheng, who regarded commercial industry as essential for the reform of China,⁶ also saw the rich Western 'Jews' as a good illustration for his theory:

For example, England is one of the richest countries in the world, but the richest people in London are the Jews. Even the royal family in England could not compete with the Jews [...] Nowadays, no country dares to compete with the wealthy Jews; every country, which wants to take several million pound loans, has to discuss it with the Jews; otherwise, it cannot be done. The Jews have eventually become the patrons for many nations' loans. No matter peace or insecurity, rich or poor, and all the secrets of governments, on this earth there is nothing the Jews do not know.

The Jews also have shares in every big bank in the world. Though

⁵ Xue Fucheng, *Chushi Ying Fa Yi Bi siguo riji: 1890-94* (Diaries of mission to England, France, Italy and Belgium: 1890-94), it was first published in 1898 as part of *Yougan quanji* (The complete works of Xue Fucheng), publication details unknown. It was re-published as a part of the series *From the East to the West*, Hunan: Yuelu shushe, 1985, pp. 792-3.

⁶ Xue Fucheng, op. cit., pp. 82-3, 121-2, 132-3, 586, etc. Also cf. the comments by Zhong Shuhe in the same volume, pp. 33-9.

one regards the English as good at commerce, they themselves admit that they cannot compete with the Jews. Thus, the Jews are truly the most powerful.⁷

In other words, if China was as rich as the 'Jews', then China would be the most powerful country in the world. Thus, according to Xue, China must develop its commerce first. Although, China did not become rich, as Xue had wished, Chinese merchants overseas sometimes did. Ironically, early this century in Southeast Asia, the Chinese were sometimes disparaged as the 'Jews of the Orient'.⁸

While European anti-Semitism has distorted many Chinese travellers' perceptions of the 'Jews', the notion of the exclusive 'Jewish race', which was first introduced by the Protestants in China, also continued to haunt their construction/reconstruction of the 'Jews'. Apart from Wang Tao's meeting with Julien, Guo Songtao, the first Chinese diplomat to Europe, and his assistant Liu Xihong also wrote about their contacts with the Sassoon family in London.⁹ However, their encounters with individual Jews from different countries did nothing to restrain them from classifying the Jews as one type of people.¹⁰ The word *Youtai zhong* (the Jewish

⁷ Ibid. p. 793.

⁸ This term was first introduced by Wachirawut (r. 1910-1925, son of Chulalongkorn of Siam), in *The Jews of the Orient* (an anti-Chinese pamphlet), Siam, 1914, no other publication details. Cf. Anderson, *Imagined communities* (revised edn.), pp. 100-1. Even until very recently, in many South East Asian countries, the Chinese are still referred to as the 'Jews of the Orient'.

⁹ See Guo Songtao, *Lundeng yu Bali riji* (Diaries of Paris and London), collected in *From the East to the West*, Hunan: Yuelu shushe, 1984, p. 128. Liu Xihong, *Yingzhaosiji* (Private diary of England), Hunan: Yuelu shushe, p. 104.

¹⁰ For further reading see Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, pp. 53-7.

kind or type) was constantly used by many of them¹¹ and Xue Fucheng, in his diary remarked:

The Jewish race has been living in different countries in the West for one thousand and a few hundred years ... [they] still keep their traditions, they will not intermarry with any other races¹²

The integration of the Jews into European society was not mentioned at all. In fact, the Chinese overseas regularly referred to the Jews as Asians and the 'Eastern roots' of the Jews also became important to them, but in a different context. When Hong Jun was irritated by the customs of the Western church, he proudly referred to the fact that Jesus, the Jew, was an Asian with black hair and eyes like his own; therefore, Jesus would not impose European customs upon his Asian fellow men.¹³

In Russia, Zhang Deyi specified that the Jews were one of the 'nomadic' Asiatic tribes within the Khazars Empire.¹⁴ It is worth noting that Zhang did not use the traditional Western term 'wandering Jews', instead he applied the adjective 'nomadic' to them. Clearly, Zhang did not grasp the historical significance of the stereotype 'wandering Jews' - the rootless and immoral 'outsiders' - within the

¹¹ Xue Fucheng, op. cit., p. 430.

¹² Ibid., pp. 792-3.

¹³ Hong Jun, *Yuanshi yiwen zhengbu*, p. 455.

¹⁴ Zhang Deyi, op. cit., p. 783.

Christian tradition;¹⁵ for him, the vital word 'wandering' here corresponded with 'nomadic' and it simply meant going from place to place under one's own volition (whereas the Jews mostly wandered under the duress of others). The image of 'wandering Jews' however became essential to many nationalistic thinkers in China at the turn of the century. It was one from which the image of the 'stateless Jews' evolved.¹⁶

The discrimination against Jews in the 19th century Europe also began to make some impression upon the Chinese travellers. However, at this stage it was often misrepresented by these Chinese merely as the result of the intolerance of the Christian religion towards non-Christians. Zhang Deyi noted that in Russia the Jews were not allowed to become citizens because of their religion.¹⁷ Xue Fucheng, when discussing the corruption of the Pope, also mentioned that the Jews were persecuted because they were not Catholics.¹⁸

Clearly, for these Chinese the suffering of the Jews was not the real issue, their target was Western Christianity. The recognition of this was found in Martin Luther's *Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe* of 1533, in which he used the case of 'that poor Jew [Rapp] who was burned at Halle on the Moritzburg' to condemn the inhumanity of the Catholic church and to demonstrate the necessity to reform the

¹⁵ For general reading on the subject see *EJ*, vol. 12, under 'Wandering Jew'; also cf. J. Gaer, *Legend of the wandering Jew*, 1961; G. K. Anderson, *Legend of the wandering Jew*, 1965.

¹⁶ This will be discussed further in a later section.

¹⁷ Zhang Deyi, op. cit., p. 783.

¹⁸ Xue Fucheng, op. cit., pp. 332-3.

church.¹⁹ Though these Chinese of the 19th century had probably no intention to reform Western Christianity, however, they had a 'burden' of replacing Christianity with Confucianism. The idea was first introduced by Wang Kaiyun (1833-1916), a well known scholar and a friend of Guo Songtao. After reading Guo's diary of his time in Europe, Wang wrote to Guo and suggested that Guo should introduce Confucian philosophy to the West.²⁰ This idea was well received amongst many anti-Christian reformers, such as Xue Fucheng. Their problem about Christianity was rooted in their 'strong emotional and intellectual commitment to Confucianism'.²¹ For them, 'Westernization' was necessary because it offered the hope of saving China from destruction. However, their idea of 'Westernization' was marginalized, it was only allowed as long as it did not intrude on Confucian philosophy. And Christianity was opposed because it challenged the authority of Confucianism. Now, Wang Kaiyun's suggestion was for them the best solution: if they could replace Christianity with Confucian philosophy, then they could solve the problem of how to carry out Westernization and at the same time remain Chinese. Inspired by Wang, Xue Fucheng wrote in England:

I happened to meet a Western scholar and [I] talked about the teachings of Christianity with him, and I had the feeling that he

¹⁹ See Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luther Werke*, 58 vols, Herrmann Böhlau, Weimar, 1883-1972, 38:213.

²⁰ Wang Kaiyun, 'Five addresses to Guo Songtao', as in *Xiangyilou jianqi* (Collected essays of Wang), Shanghai, 1910, 8 vols, vol. 2, pp. 76-80.

²¹ Yen-ping Hao & Erh-min Wang, 'Changing Chinese views of western relations, 1840-95', as in *The Cambridge History of China*, ed. by John K. Fairbank, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, vol. 11, p. 201.

was quite ambivalent about it. However, he mentioned that in one or two hundred years time, as the result of advancement in science and technology, fewer and fewer people will want to read Christian literature. [But] when we talked about Confucianism, he gave full praise to it without hesitation... The teachings of our holy man (Confucius) are true and deep, they are well loved by all. Comparing Christianity with Confucianism is like comparing crystal with jade. Even Westerners know this... Confucianism is like the sun and moon in the sky, the longer it has been there, the brighter it becomes. No matter whether in Europe or in Asia [...] once they have begun communication with China, all have adopted Confucianism. So I know that Christianity is withering and Confucianism is going to replace it in the West.²²

To further uphold this view, Xue and others showed that Christianity was blemished and the suffering 'Jews' of Europe played a positive role in the Chinese condemnation of Western Christianity. However, at the same time, Jewish scripture was minimized together with Christianity. Zeng Jize, the successor of Guo Songtao and the son of the famous general, scholar and reformer Zeng Guofan (1811-1872), in his *Diaries of England, France and Russia* described the Old Testament as 'ludicrous'.²³ Xue Fucheng regarded the Bible as:

²² Xue Fucheng, op. cit., p. 125.

²³ Zeng Jize, *Chushi Ying Fa E riji* (Diaries of mission to England, France, Russia), Hunan: Yuelu shushe, p. 873.

a bunch of fiction stories; even the Chinese classic novels, such as *Fengshen yianyi* (Legend of various gods), *Xiyouji* (Journey to the West), etc. are not as superficial as it [the Bible]. Even a three feet tall child knows that the Bible stories are untrue.²⁴

After he had observed the power of the Church in Europe and found little sign of the decline of Christianity in the West, Xue then advanced the view of Guo Songtao by saying that 'the commandments of Moses were intended to teach people to restrain their evil desires and to be good. It is the same as Confucianism' and 'Jesus' teaching was derived from the teachings of Mozi'.²⁵ The 'Eastern roots' of Judaism, the mother religion of Christianity, once more proved to be useful in Xue's dubious discussion:

In Chinese history, there were numerous holy men [...] In Europe before the time of Jesus, Moses was considered to be the holy man; then Jesus became the holy man [...] Buddha was born in India, Jesus was born in Judea, Mohammed was born in Arabia, all in Asia. Europe and America never produced a holy man.²⁶

In other words, the wisdom of the world had originated from the East, and China had the most of the world's wisdom. Thus, western science and institutions had in fact originated in ancient China and the strength of the West at the present time 'lay in its

²⁴ Xue Fucheng, op. cit., p. 125.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 163, 252.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 508-9.

ability to develop ancient Chinese scholarship whereas the weakness of China originated from neglecting her own tradition.'²⁷

Though, as demonstrated above, Xue Fucheng and other Chinese abroad used the Jews and Judaism as a weapon to attack the Christian church for their own ideological reasons, however, it was the Christian missionaries' representations of Judaism and the Jews, as already discussed, that supplied the original model for these Chinese. As a matter of fact, in the West, Christian material continued to serve as the main source of information for the Chinese understanding of Judaism and the Jews.²⁸ And together with the images of the 'Jews' as represented by the anti-Semites of Europe, the Chinese abroad found reification, verification and justification for their perceptions of Judaism and the Jews.

The last decades of the nineteenth-century and the beginning of the twentieth-century have so often been described as a period of profound social transformation in China. The fragility of China's geopolitical security since the Opium War in 1840 and the increasing discontent with the traditional Confucian universe, as shown by many late Qing literati such as Liang Qichao (1837-1929), created a socio-political vacuum. Together with the western political, cultural and economical intrusions, reform, or 'modernization', was perceived by many reformers and modernizing élites as the key for national survival. 'Western learning' was encouraged as an essential part of the 'modernization'. As a result, many study societies were founded in the southern and

²⁷ Jerome Ch'en, *China and the West*, p. 68.

²⁸ Zeng Jize, op. cit., p. 134, 711; Guo Songtao, op. cit., p. 258, 289, 932, 936, pp. 921-3; etc.

coastal areas.²⁹ The key function of this kind of society was to promote reformist ideas and one of their tasks was to translate foreign books, which had formerly been done solely by western missionaries and their employees. Through the effort of those who had come back from the west, translations on a wide variety of subjects, especially of world politics, history and economy, became available. At the same time, in much the same way by which the Protestant missionaries achieved their literary expansion in China, the further development of print-capitalism in urban centres at the end of the nineteenth-century made it possible to spread 'western knowledge'. It helped reformers like Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei (1858-1927), to promote their ideas to the reading public through the printed page. For instance, *Shiwubao* (Current affairs), one of the reformers' periodicals, according to estimate, had reached a circulation of 10,000 in 1898.³⁰ Other reformist papers, such as *Qiangxuebao* (National strength) and *Xinmin congbao* (New people's journal), 'like the reform itself, profoundly influenced the political life of China in the closing years of the nineteenth century.'³¹

Having already been perceived as an integral part of Western society,³² the 'Jews' continued to interest many Chinese reformers and modernizing élites. However, it is important to bear in mind that for many reformers and modernizing élites, 'Western learning' did not mean a passive 'exposure to Western influences'; in fact,

²⁹ For more information regarding these study societies see Tang Zhijun, *Wuxubianfa shi* (A History of Hundred Days Reform), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1984, chs. 3-4.

³⁰ R S Britton, *The Chinese periodical press, 1800-1912*, Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1933, p. 93. Also see Jerome Ch'en, *China and West*, pp. 227-8.

³¹ Jerome, Ch'en, *China and the West*, p. 228.

³² For a detailed discussion see chapter one of this thesis.

foreign ideas were often carefully selected and representations of the 'Jews' continued to be endowed with indigenous meanings.

The 'Jews' as a 'Historical Race'

The already existing notion of '*Youtai zhong*' was finally legitimised by reformers such as Jiang Guanyun at the beginning of this century. The 'Jews' as a race became an integral part of their newly invented racial taxonomies. A collaborator of Liang Qichao, Jiang published a series of articles entitled '*Zhongguo renzhong kao*' (Inquiry into the Chinese race) in Liang's *Xinmin congbao* between 1903-1905.³³ Influenced by Terrien de Lacouperie's *Western origins of the early Chinese civilisation*, Jiang traced the origin of the 'Chinese', a 'historical yellow race' according to him, back to the Sumero-Akkadians. At the same time, the 'Jews', who were believed to have descended from the Semites, were described as a 'historical Caucasian race'.³⁴

Standing in symbolic contradistinction to the 'historical yellow race', as the reformers now referred to the Chinese, the 'Jews' shifted from a cultural group to a racial group. The difference of the 'Jews' was now marked by their physical features, such as oval faces, big eyes and convex noses.³⁵ For many years, these descriptions prevailed in representations of the 'Jews' in China. For instance, when Zhang Xiangwen, a historian and geographer, visited the assimilated Kaifeng 'Jewish'

³³ See Jiang Guanyun, '*Zhongguo renzhong kao*', *Xinmin congbao*, nos. 38-9 (Oct., 1903) to no. 60 (Jan., 1905); cf. Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, p. 74, 119f.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, nos. 40-41 (1903-4), pp. 4-5.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

for which they had found the 'Jews' of great interest:

For thousands of years, Jews have been stateless. But they survived as a race in the world with an enormous power, and they have also kept their own racial identities. In comparison, many other ancient people such as Babylonians, Philistines, Greeks and Romans did not survive ...⁴⁰

During his tour to the New World (America) in 1903, he saw the 'powerful Jews' in America as an anti-image of the backwardness of the 'Chinese'. He found them to be a perfect example for his call for a 'new people' (*xinmin*), or a collective nationalistic spirit, which he believed to be essential to the progress and social well-being of China:

Jews are the most powerful and influential group among the immigrants in America. I heard that four tenths of the American banks are Jewish, and more than half the bankers in America are Jewish [...] Jews completely control the local government of New York. No other groups in the city can compete with the power of the Jews. The situation is very similar in other big cities [...] The reason that Jews can be so powerful is because they are very united. In this respect, no other races can compare with the Jews. I heard that there is a Jewish society which is very secret and no

⁴⁰ Liang Qichao, 'Xindalu youji' (Travel diary of America), first published in *Xinmin congbao*, special supplement (1903), section 12, p. 51.

one outside the Jewish community knows anything about it. When any Jew comes to America, this society would give him a loan and help him to start a business [...] When I first came to America, it happened to be the time when the massacre of Jews took place in Russia. All the newspapers in New York criticised the Russian government and reported the terrible situation of the Jews in Russia. However, no more than 400 Jews were killed. When Russians killed 7,000 Chinese in one day by the river Heilong, there were only a few newspapers asking for justice for us Chinese. Look now, because New York is Jewish, all New York must help Jews; if New York is doing so, the whole of America must also do so; if America is doing so, then the whole world must be doing so as well [...] In the modern era, Jews are the most famous people. For example, Disraeli, the former prime minister of England, was Jewish [...]; Schiff, the financial tycoon of New York, is Jewish [...] And amongst all the famous people of the world as reported by New York's *Monthly Journal*, there were forty eight Jews ... ⁴¹

Therefore, according to Liang, if the 'Chinese race' was going to survive, they would have to learn from the 'Jews'; or even better, to become like the 'Jews' and control all the world economy and global politics. Hence, the future of China was projected onto the 'powerful Jews'.

⁴¹ Ibid.

The 'Jews' as Inferior

However, Liang Qichao's attitude towards Jews was rather ambiguous at times. On the one hand 'the powerful Jews' were a mirror of his idealised images for Chinese people, on the other hand they were a negative representation of Western immorality. While admiring the power and solidarity of American Jewry, he also spoke of the 'Jews' as avaricious and dishonest: 'In the West, the word "Jew" is a symbol for deviousness. Jewish morality is limited only to their own race and they are immoral to all other races.'⁴² Even more so, by dividing the 'white race' into the less advanced Hamites and Semites and the more advanced Aryan, Liang thus classified the 'Jews' as outsiders in American society and he described them as inferior and unclean.⁴³

Jiang Guanyun on the other hand contrasted the inferiority of the 'Jews' with the superiority of the 'yellow race' who were, according to Jiang, the initiators of world civilization. In his 'Inquiry into the Chinese race', Jiang Guanyun claimed that it was the Sumero-Akkadians, the ancestor of the 'yellow race' according to Jiang, who invented writing and the earliest human civilization, whereas the Semites were merely uncultured nomads who overwhelmed the Sumero-Akkadians and adopted their civilization.⁴⁴ In order to support his view, about the same time and again in *Xinmin congbao*, Jiang published his translation of the German Assyriologist Friedrich

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid. For detailed discussion on Liang Qichao's classification of races, see Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, ch. 3.

⁴⁴ Jiang, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

community in 1910, he perpetuated these stereotypes by claiming that some of the 'Jewish' descendants had big noses and deep eyes and it was claimed that one could still distinguish them by their 'Caucasian' physical features from genuine Chinese.³⁶ In order to construct the 'Jews' as a biologically descended racial group, Jiang Guanyun also traced the Western anti-Semitic image of the 'Jews' as financiers back to their Semitic ancestry.³⁷ For many years, such images inspired many historians to identify some commercial groups, who had been engaged in money lending in the past in the western regions of China, as 'Jews'.³⁸

As a 'historical race' (*you lishi de zhongzu*), the 'Jews' (and all other Semites), like the 'yellow race' were claimed to be racially stronger and more united than the other 'ahistorical races' (*fei lishi de zhongzu*). Therefore, they had survived on the world stage while other races - the 'red', the 'brown' and the 'black' - were subjugated by them.³⁹ However, simply classifying the Chinese as a 'historical race' did not minimise the internal fragility of China. While pondering over the survival of the Chinese, reformers like Liang Qichao began to draw lessons from other 'races',

³⁶ Zhang Xiangwen, 'Daliang fangbeiji' (A report on the visit to the stone tablets in Kaifeng), *Nanyuan congkao*, in *Contemporary Chinese Historical Documents Series*, no. 30, Wenhai chubanshe, vol. 1, n.d., p. 282.

³⁷ Jiang Guanyun, op. cit., p. 4-5.

³⁸ Zhang Xingliang, 'Gudai Zhongguo yu Yutai zhi jiaotong' (Communications between China and the Jews in antiquity), *Zhongxi jiaotong shiliao huibian* (A collection of documents concerning communications between China and the West), Beijing (Beijing): Furen University, 1930, vol. 4, pp. 1-20. Also see Hong Jun, op. cit., pp. 454-5. Tao Xisheng, 'Yuandai xiyu ji Yutairen de gaolidai yu toukou shoushuo' (The high-interests money lending and the poll-tax of the western regions of China in the Yuan dynasty and of the Jews), *Shihuo* (Harvest, half monthly), Shanghai, 1:7 (1935), pp. 54-5.

³⁹ Jiang Guanyun, op. cit., nos. 40-1 (1904), pp. 2-7. For more detailed discussion on 'racial war' see Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, pp. 67-71.

Delitzsch's *Babel oder Bible*?⁴⁵ The original work was known to be anti-Semitic and was rather popular in its day. By using the then fashionable 'biblical higher criticism' approach, the author claimed that the Mosaic law was neither a divine revelation nor the oldest law code of human society. Although Jiang was not interested in either the 'biblical higher criticism' or European anti-Semitism, Delitzsch's work served his purpose as it demonstrated that the Mosaic law was not the oldest law code in the world and the Hebrew culture was not the most superior one in the world. Even further, Jiang remarked that the moral code of Confucius antedated the law code of Moses.⁴⁶

From another angle, Kang Youwei's misinterpretation of Mosaic law echoed such an image of the 'Jews'. The leading reformer of the 'Hundred Days Reform' in 1898 - a reform which attempted to bring changes under the Qing monarchy - Kang projected a golden age into the future and believed that Confucianism was the only moral principal for his ideal future world (*Datong*). Thus, Confucianism was described by him as a historically advanced faith, 'free of the superstition and super-naturalism of more primitive beliefs'.⁴⁷ In comparison, Judaism and many other religions were described as much less advanced. In his *Datong shu* (One world), he criticised

⁴⁵ The translation in Chinese was given the title 'Shijie zuigu zhi fadian' (The oldest law code of the world). It was published in *Xinmin congbao* between 1901-3. See especially nos. 33, 43, etc.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ See Charlotte Furth, 'Intellectual change: from the reform movement to the May Fourth movement, 1895-1920', *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 12, 1983, pp. 328-332.

Judaism as a religion which oppressed women.⁴⁸ Even further, in order to support his view that the disciplining of individual sexual conduct and the regulation of the population's reproduction were the key to wealth and power, he used the 'Jews' as a negative testimony. According to him, 'Jewish women used to have sexual intercourse with animals, that was why Moses set the law to forbid this practice.'⁴⁹ Thus, according to Kang, the 'Jewish race', were an unhealthy and inferior 'race'.

The 'Stateless Jew'

For the revolutionary nationalists at the beginning of the twentieth-century, the inferiority of the 'Jews' was however manifested in their 'statelessness'. The failure of the 1898 reform had thrown modernization into question. Radical groups, mainly consisting of students returned from Japan and the new officials in the modernized army, began to spread revolutionary ideas, which spoke of the overthrow of the Qing dynasty and the establishment of a republic, while preservation of race and the state (*baozhong* and *baoguo*) was perceived by these revolutionaries as the sole generator of the survival of China. The treaty of Xincho in 1901, in which Russia declared its occupation of the northeast of China, and the extension of the Russo-Japanese war to

⁴⁸ See Kang Youwei, *Datong shu* (One world), Beijing: Guji chubanshe, 1956, Jiabu, p. 7.

⁴⁹ Ibid, Xinbu, p. 282. For the source see the book of Leviticus in the Hebrew Bible or English Bible. Here, the source suggests that as the practice of man-animal sexual intercourse was found amongst pagans, and the ancient Israelites were living side by side with the pagans, Moses set the law to forbid the practice in order to protect his people. It does not however suggesting that such a practice was carried out by the Israelites in the ancient world. For discussion on Kang's view on sexual practice see Frank Dikötter, *Sex, culture and modernity in China*, London: Hurst and Company, 1995, p. 108.

the area in 1903 - 1905, was seen as a potential threat to China and a cause for the revolutionary movement. Articles on the pogroms in Russia began to appear in Chinese newspapers and journals.⁵⁰ The Jewish problem, which was once little known and uninteresting, suddenly became of great relevance to many of China's revolutionary nationalists. As mentioned before, the image of the 'stateless Jews' evolved from the image of 'wandering Jews'.⁵¹ The lamentation of the 'stateless Jew' became a powerful warning to the Chinese and it was summed up by the author of 'Alas, the Jew!':

Alas! How could I falsely pity the Jew? I cannot but pity the Jew.
I do not pity the Jew of the past, I pity the Jew of the future. Jew!
Jew! Tiny reflection of the prospect of our own country [China].
The old Jew goes, the new Jew comes, but the misery of the new
Jew surpasses the misery of the old Jew. Alas, when I write these
words, the tear stains want to father traces of blood [*sic*], the traces
of blood want to dry up in black marks [...] The past of the Jews
is China's today, the present of the Jews will be the future of
China.⁵²

⁵⁰ See 'Youtairen zhi canzhuang' (The miserable condition of the Jews) in *Xinmin congbao*, 20 (1903); 'Wuhu Youtai' (Alas, the Jews!) in *Zhejiang chao* (The tide of Zhejiang), 7 (1903); 'Youtai yimin' (The stateless Jews) in *DFZZ*, 4 (1904), 'Eren luesha Youtairen' (The slaughtering of the Jews by the Russians), in *Jiangsu*, 4 (1903); Liang Qichao, *Xindalu youji*, p. 52; 'Diao Youtai wen' in *Guomin riribao huibian* (National people's daily magazine), 4 (1904); etc.

⁵¹ Cf. above section for discussion on Zhang Deyi.

⁵² 'Wuhu Youtai' (Alas, the Jew!), p. 165; cf. Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, p. 114.

According to these revolutionary nationalists, statelessness was the cause of the Jewish tragedy. In contrary to Liang Qichao's representation of the 'powerful Jews' in America, the 'Jews' were now portrayed as lacking nationalistic spirit and collective responsibility. The 'Jewish race' was categorised as an ugly 'inferior race' (*feizhong*) because they did not have a country of their own.⁵³ They were described not only as the victims of materialism and individualism, they were also thought to have deserved their terrible fate. The huge loan by Schiff - a New York financial tycoon - to the Japanese during the Russo-Japanese war in 1904 was understood as a bribe the 'Jews' used to save themselves from the yoke of the Russians. The author of an article entitled 'The stateless Jews' commented on such action negatively: 'Stateless, though [they] have money, it cannot save them [the Jews].'⁵⁴ Clearly here the author's criticism was not only toward the 'Jews' but also toward the modernizing reformers who had hoped and were still hoping that wealth might be one of the solutions for the well being of Chinese people. The reformist idea of preserving Confucianism and the emperor (*baojiao* and *baohuang*) was also attacked. By demonstrating that the past glory of the Jews did not save them from their present suffering, the revolutionary nationalists pointed out that one day Chinese people might end up like the Jews: 'who have ancestors but can not have any descendants, who have fathers but can have no

⁵³ 'Nuli yuyan' (On slavery), *Guomin riribao huibian* (National people's daily magazine), 4 (1904), p. 18. This image of 'stateless Jews' corresponded with the image of the 'wandering Jews' amongst the nationalists in the 19th century Europe: 'the Jew' without any goal, without any spirit and without a country. According to Jan Goldstein the western image of the 'wandering Jew' was also linked with the image of the 'Jews' as 'psyches'. See Goldstein, 'The wandering Jew and the problem of psychiatric anti-semitism in fin-de-siècle France', *Journal of Contemporary History* 20 (1985), pp. 521-552; also see Gilman, *The Jew's body*, pp. 72-5.

⁵⁴ See 'Youtaiyimin'.

sons.⁵⁵

While stirring up the fear of becoming like the 'stateless Jews', many revolutionary nationalists reasoned: 'we are not like the Jews! We still have a country of our own!' However, they also claimed that 'if [one] cannot protect one's country [*baoguo*], then one cannot preserve one's race [*baozhong*].'⁵⁶ Thus, according to them, in order to avoid being like the 'stateless Jews' and to preserve the 'Chinese race', China must promote nationalism first.

The 'Jews' as a Victim of the 'White Race'

The 'stateless Jews' were not just a warning, they also served as a reflection of humiliations which many Chinese faced overseas. Both the Jews and the Chinese were seen as victims of the 'white race' (*baizhong ren*). Dan Sili, one of the first female intellectuals who went to Europe, was not only one of the first Chinese to study Judaism and Jewish history in depth, she was also probably the first Chinese to see with her own eyes the suffering of Jewish people in Europe. The wife of the famous late Qing diplomat Qian Xun, who had initiated the programme of sending students to Japan, Dan was herself a well educated scholar in both Chinese classics and Western knowledge. While admiring Western science and technology, Dan often found the morals of 'Westerners' (*Xifang ren*) rather unacceptable. However, what Dan found most unacceptable in the West was the humiliation she and many other Chinese faced. When crossing through Vladivostok in 1903, Dan discovered that 'Easterners'

⁵⁵ See 'Diao Youtai wen'.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

(*Dongfang ren*) were checked specially. On China's own territory, the Chinese were also humiliated by Russian officers. Dan thus wrote: 'Being a Chinese woman who used to be locked indoors, I did not know the meaning of country [...] Crossing the border today, my love for my country suddenly arose.'⁵⁷ After visiting the ghetto in Rome, she profoundly questioned and criticised the brutal treatment received by Jewish people under the 'white race' in her travel diary of 1910.⁵⁸ According to Dan, the suffering of the Jewish people was not only caused by the difference of their religion, but also by their racial difference:

Although many [Jews] are intellectuals and rich financiers [many key figure of Europe and America's financial world are Jews], still they are oppressed by the white race [...] Though, in comparison to pantheism, Moses's religion could be called a religious reformation, comparing Jesus' religion to Moses', one could hardly call it a reformation. If there is no fundamental change between the two, then the view of religious hatred does not have any foundation. Thus, it is clear that [the Jewish problem] is caused by racial hatred.⁵⁹

While using the suffering of the Jewish people to 'expose the brutality which stateless

⁵⁷ Dan Sili, *Guimao luxingji* (Travel diary of Japan), Hunan: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1981, p. 74.

⁵⁸ Dan, *Guijianji* (Diary of Italy), Hunan: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1981, p. 196f.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

people faced under the whites', Dan also demonstrated the freedom which the Jewish community and Judaism enjoyed in China under the rule of the 'yellow race'.⁶⁰ The dichotomy between 'Aryan' and 'Semitic' races was thus projected onto a more fundamental opposition between the 'white' and 'yellow' races. Furthermore, Dan encouraged her Chinese countrymen to think about the suffering of the Jewish people very carefully, because 'in a hundred years, we [Chinese] could end up like them [the Jews]'.⁶¹ As Zhong Suhe, the latest editor of Dan Sili's diary, recently pointed out: 'This statement was obviously a warning to the Chinese: the tragedy of the Jewish people could fall upon the heads of the Chinese if they do not protect their country and race.'⁶²

Although, as observed above, representations of the 'Jews' were constantly reconfigured by various Chinese social groups at the turn of the century, being constructed as a homogenous 'other', the 'Jews' remained a distant mirror in the construction of the 'self' amongst all these groups, from modernizing reformers to revolutionary nationalists. Such representations were further consolidated by some translations of foreign literature - such as *The merchant of Venice* - and were introduced to the wider sphere of the reading public in China.

⁶⁰ Dan, 'Moxijiao liuxing Zhongguo ji' (The history of Moses' religion in China), *ibid*, p. 196. For a translation of this work and Dan's writing about the Jewish ghetto in Rome, see the appendix of this thesis.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 211.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p.19.

The 'Jews' in Literature

The first Chinese translation of *The merchant of Venice* was taken from Charles Lamb's *Tales of Shakespeare* and was completed by Lin Shu and Wei Yi in 1904.⁶³ Lin Shu (1852-1924), though he had never been outside of China and spoke no word of any foreign language, was one of the most productive and well known translators of his day.⁶⁴ All together Lin translated 180 works and till today they (*Lin yi xiaoshuo*) are still highly regarded in China. Lin began his career as a translator in 1899 and he was offered a position at the Translation Bureau in Beijing in 1903. It was at the Bureau where he met up with Wei Yi, who became his co-translator for many years. While Wei first translated foreign works into Chinese orally, Lin then carefully rendered them into classical Chinese prose by writing. Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that, instead of simply translating, Lin re-created these works. Shakespeare's Shylock, was portrayed by Lin not merely as the 'Jew' (*Youtai*) who embodied all the negative qualities of the materialistic West, he was also the 'Jew' who was suppressed and victimised by Christendom, or the 'white' West. On the one hand, Shylock was a mean, dishonest, heartless and hateful Jewish money grabber; on the other hand, he was a sufferer under the rule of the 'whites': 'the Romans see we

⁶³ Lin Shu and Wei Yi, transl., 'Roujuan' (The pound of flesh), *Zhongguo jindai wenxue daxi fanyi wenxue ji* (A collection of modern Chinese literature translations), 3 vols., vol. 3, pp. 336-41. Also cf. A Ying, *Yuwaiwenxue yiwenjian* (Selected translations of foreign literature), 4 vols., as in *Wanqing wenxue congchao* (Collections of late Qing literature), series, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961, vol. 1, 'introduction', p. 1.

⁶⁴ For detailed study on Lin Shu see Leo Ou-fan Lee, *The romantic generation of modern Chinese writers*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973, ch. 4.

Jews as dogs.’⁶⁵ Though Lin Shu can hardly be described as a political thinker, like many other intellectuals of his day, he was deeply concerned about the national survival of his country. His reproduction of Shylock, the Jewish money lender, had much in common with the image of the ‘stateless Jews’ as represented by the revolutionary nationalists. For Lin, both Shylock the Jew and the blacks in *Uncle Tom’s cabin*, which was translated by him in 1905, were clearly the reflection of the humiliation which Chinese faced under the ‘whites’.⁶⁶

It was through Lin Shu’s translation that Shylock, the Jewish money lender, became a household caricature in China. Although, in subsequent years, many different versions of *The merchant of Venice* - from play to short story, from Heyes’ 1600 version to Charles Lamb’s *Tales* - were translated by different Chinese authors, the stereotypical image of Shylock, the greedy, cruel and deceitful money-loving ‘Jew’, as portrayed in Lin Shu’s translation remained vivid amongst Chinese readers. In 1927, Yu Songhua, a left wing intellectual of the 1920s and 30s, wrote: ‘The image that Jews love materialism and they would render their morals for money is not only wide-spread in Europe, but also well known amongst Chinese readers who have read ‘The pound of flesh’ [Lin’s translation of *The merchant of Venice*].’⁶⁷ More recently, Wu Zelin, a renowned anthropologist, wrote that ‘one finds Jews despicable [because

⁶⁵ ‘Roujuan’, *Zhongguo jindai wenxue*, p. 337.

⁶⁶ For the implications of the translation of *Uncle Tom’s cabin* see Lin Shi, ‘Du “Helu hutian lu”’(Reflection on reading Uncle Tom’s cabin), *Xinhai geminqian shinianjian shilun xuanji* (Selected essays from the ten years before the Republic of China), Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1960, vol. 1, p. 870.

⁶⁷ Yu Songhua, ‘Youtairen yu Youtai fuxing yundong’ (Jewish people and Jewish renaissance movement), *DFZZ*, 24:17 (1927), p. 27.

of] the image of Shylock, the heartless and cruel money lender.’⁶⁸

On the other hand, Shylock ‘the Jew’, the representative of oppressed people, continued to carry the messages of the nationalists and later of the left wing intellectuals from the 1920s. The image of the ‘oppressed Jew’ was further enforced by Wu Sou’s translation of Maxim Gorky’s short story ‘Cain and Artyom’ in 1907.⁶⁹ Gorky was one of the very few Russian writers who were sympathetic towards Jewish people. The story was written in 1903 at the height of the pogroms. It is about the bitter life of a homeless (or stateless in the opinion of Chinese nationalists) Russian Jew, named Cain, under the Tsarist regime. The story was first translated into Japanese by Hasegawa during the Russo-Japanese war as a condemnation of the Russian aggression against Japan. It was however rendered into Chinese by Wu Sou to spread the message of nationalism. Again here, in the eyes of Wu and his readers, Cain was not just a poor Russian Jew; he stood as the symbol of the seven thousands Chinese who were slaughtered by the Russian army in Manchuria; he was also a warning for the 400,000,000 Chinese who were, as described by the nationalists, about to become homeless (or stateless) like Cain.

⁶⁸ Wu Zelin, ‘Preface’ for Pan Guangdan’s *Zhongguo jinlei Youtairen de ruogan lishi wenti*, p. 1.

⁶⁹ Wu Sou, transl., ‘Youhuanyusheng’, translated originally from Gorky’s short story ‘Cain and Artyom’. This story was first translated into Japanese under the title ‘The life of a Jew’ and was re-translated into Chinese by Wu. It was first published in *DFZZ*, nos. 1-4 (1907). Regarding the original work and its English translation cf. Joshua Kunitz, *Russian literature and the Jews*, New York, 1929, under the entry ‘M. Gorky’.

Japan's Impact

At this point, it also is important to point out that at the beginning of the twentieth century, Japanese translations of Western works, such as 'Cain and Artyom', and works by Japanese intellectuals themselves served as one of the most important, if not the most important, source materials for Chinese reformers and revolutionary nationalists.⁷⁰ Having long been regarded as culturally inferior, Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5 shocked many Chinese social groups, from the traditional to the modernizing élites. While pondering over the survival of China, the latter, such as Kang Youwei, found inspirations in the Meiji reformation. It was perceived by them as the key to Japan's recent success: 'Japan used to be closed too. However, as the result of the reformation and sending students overseas, they are much stronger than us.' Therefore, according to Kang, China must learn from Japan by 'translating their books in order to know their way of governing the country. As China is so big and has a huge population, she can easily become stronger than Japan.'⁷¹ In 1896, the first thirteen Chinese students were sent to Japan. The number increased over the years and by 1906 the total number of Chinese students who were studying in Japan went up to 20,000. It was regarded as the biggest overseas study

⁷⁰ For background reading see Marius Jansen, 'Japan and the Chinese revolution of 1911', *The Cambridge History of China*, 15 vols, vol. 11, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, ch. 6. Also see Wang Xiaoqiu, *Jindai Zhong-Ri wenhuaqiaoliu* (A modern history of China and Japan's cultural exchange), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992, ch.12.

⁷¹ Kang Youwei, 'Qin guangyi Riben shupai youxue zhe' (Please widely translate Japanese intellectuals' translations of Western works), *Wuxu bianfa* (Hundred Days Reform), vol. 2, p. 223.

programme of the world at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁷² Amongst these students, numerous societies were organised. While many of them were engaged in publishing reformist and revolutionary journals, they were also committed to translating Western and Japanese works. According to the *Catalogue of Chinese translation of Japanese books*, between 1896 and 1911, 988 Japanese works had been translated into Chinese.⁷³ Thus, it is not surprising to find that many of the Chinese articles on Jews were drawn from Japanese sources. Apart from 'Cain and Arytom', many articles by revolutionary nationalists concerning the 'stateless Jews', as already mentioned before, were also either published in Japan or came from a Japanese source.⁷⁴ It is also evident that some Japanese scholars also brought the subject of Chinese Judaism to the attention of Chinese scholars. Wen Tingshi (1856-1904), a famous scholar-official of the late Qing period, in his 1898 *Diary of Japan* described that he often discussed with Japanese scholars Chinese Judaism and the Nestorian religion.⁷⁵

Hence, when considering Chinese understanding of Judaism and Jews at the turn of this century, one cannot ignore the important place of Japanese sources.⁷⁶

⁷² For detailed discussion see Marius Jasen, op, cit.

⁷³ Tan Ruqian, ed., *Zhongguo yi Ribenshu zonghe mulu* (Catalogue of Chinese translation of Japanese books), Hongkong: Hongkong University press, 1980, table 2.

⁷⁴ Both 'Wuhu Youtai' in *Zhejiang chao* and 'Eren luesha Youtairen' in *Jiangsu* were published in Japan. 'Eguo luesha Youtairen' in *Youxue yibian* clearly state its source came from Japanese newspapers. For more information on these articles see the section and notes on the 'stateless Jews'.

⁷⁵ Wen Tingshi, *Dongyou riji* (Diary of Japan), *Wen Tingshi quanji* (A complete work of Wen Tingshi), Taipei, 1969, 10 vols, vol. 1, pp. 60-2.

⁷⁶ On the subject of Japanese understanding of Judaism and Jews see David Goodman and Masanori Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese Mind: the history and uses*

However, although the tradition of borrowing Japanese source material on Jews continued in China after World War One, one can hardly say that Chinese nationalists and left wing intellectuals shared the same interests as those of the so-called 'Jewish experts' in Japan. While Japan became increasingly interested in sharing the power of the 'rich Jews' in the world, Chinese nationalists were much more concerned about Zionism, which was by now perceived as the form of nationalism for the Jewish people.

The 'Jews' as Nationalists

With the fall of the Qing dynasty and the establishment of the Republic in 1911, racial nationalism was furthered by Sun Yatsen (1866-1925). In his *Sanmin zhuyi* (Three people's principles), nationalism was portrayed by Sun and his followers as the sole generator of the rise and fall of any 'race'. Zionism was often perceived as Jewish nationalism (*Youtai minzu zhuyi*). According to Sun Yatsen, though the 'Jewish race' had been stateless for two thousands years, their nationalism had always survived.⁷⁷ The nationalistic spirit of Zionism was thought to be the key which held the 'Jewish race' together. Thus, many Chinese nationalists found inspiration in the so-called

of a cultural stereotype, New York: The Free Press, 1995. Also see David Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jews: The Jewish Refugee Community of Shanghai, 1938-1945*, New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1976. Other material on this subject may be available through Japan's Jewish cultural study centre. For more discussions see chapter 6 of this thesis.

⁷⁷ Sun Yatsen, 'Minzu zhuyi' (Nationalism), *Sanmin zhuyi* (Three people's principles), Tokyo: Longwen shuju, 1946, p. 38.

‘Jewish nationalistic spirit’ (*Youtai minzu jingsheng*).⁷⁸ The image of the ugly ‘stateless Jews’ shifted to that of the ‘wonderful and historical race’. On April 24, 1920, Sun Yatsen, then the president of the Republic of China and the founder of the Chinese nationalist party (GMD), issued a letter to support the Zionist movement:

And I wish to assure you of my sympathy for this movement - which is one of the greatest movements of the present time. All lovers of democracy cannot help but support whole-heartedly and welcome with enthusiasm the movement to restore your wonderful and historical nation, which has contributed so much to the civilization of the world and which rightly deserves an honourable place in the family of nations.

I am yours very truly

Sun Yatsen ⁷⁹

In the same way in which the so-called ‘Han Chinese’ were portrayed as a pure biological entity, Sun and many of his contemporaries perceived the Jewish nation-race (*Youtai minzu*) as a homogenous racial group characterized by common blood, living habits, language, religion and culture. It was thought by Sun that Judaism also

⁷⁸ Yin Qing, ‘Minzu jingsheng’ (Nationals spirit), *DFZZ*, 16:12 (1919), p. 11. Also cf. Sun, ‘Nationalism’.

⁷⁹ A copy of this letter is now kept in the archive of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

played a very important role in the survival of the 'Jewish race': 'The Jewish race are innately intelligent and always maintain their religious belief. So, although they are dispersed to different countries, they can always survive as a race.'⁸⁰ Since the 'Jews' were perceived as a nation, with a common ancestor and a territory, Palestine was accepted by many Chinese nationalists as 'the national home of the Jewish people' (*Youtai minzu de guxiang*).⁸¹

The 'Jews' as Imperialists

Together with nationalism, the newly founded Republic of China also provided the ground for an increasingly growing anti-imperialism. The revulsion against imperialism first emerged as a response to foreign aggression in the treaty ports at the beginning of the century. In 1902, Liang Qichao's *Xinmin congbao* published an article entitled 'Lun shijie jingji jingzheng zhi dashi' (The big issue of the world's economic competition), which explored the origins of imperialism, the current situation of the world economy and its impact on the future of China. According to this article, anti-imperialism should be an important element of China's nationalism.⁸² Yan Tuseng, a revolutionary nationalist and a student of Waseda University in Tokyo, in 1903 warned that if his countrymen did not fight against imperialism, they would

⁸⁰ Sun, 'Nationalism', p. 5.

⁸¹ This will be discussed in detail in later chapters.

⁸² 'Lun shijie jingji jingzheng zhi dashi', *Xinmin congbao*, nos. 2 & 14 (July and August, 1902).

end up like the red Indians in America and the people of Hawaii.⁸³ For Sun Yatsen, his anti-imperialist sentiment in the early days was often mixed up with his strong anti-Manchu attitude.⁸⁴ After the fall of Manchu rule in 1911, the main target of Sun's anti-imperialism became the Westerners, or the 'white race'. In his *Principles*, Sun wrote:

There are four hundred million whites in Europe and America, they are the strongest and most prosperous [race]. Therefore, they have started to swallow all other coloured races. For example, the red aborigines of America have been wiped out; the blacks of Africa will soon be destroyed; the browns of India are in the process of dissolution and the yellows of Asia are also oppressed by the whites.⁸⁵

Furthermore, Sun claimed that 'white imperialism' often went hand in hand with capitalism. According to him, when the 'whites' were not able to conquer other races with their political power, they would use their economic power instead. Thus, the 'Jews', who were portrayed by the anti-Semites in Europe and in Japan as the epitome of imperialism and the driving force of evil in the capitalistic world, began to attract

⁸³ Yan Tuseng, 'Hunan zhi Hunanren' (The Hunanese in Hunan), *Xin Hunan* (New Hunan), Tokyo, (1903).

⁸⁴ For discussion on Sun Yatsen and anti-imperialism see Sidney H. Chang & Leonard H. D. Gordon, *All under heaven ... Sun Yatsen and his revolutionary thought*, Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1991, pp. 99-102.

⁸⁵ Sun, 'Nationalism', p. 49.

the attentions of some anti-imperialists in China. In November 1911, a month after the establishment of the Republic of China, the author of an article entitled 'The Jewish Empire' claimed that 'If one does not know the truth about the Jews [Jewish imperialism], how could one say that one understands the truth about the West [Western imperialism]'.⁸⁶ According to this article, the 'Jews' were an unseen economic empire within Western society and they 'have the power to control world finance.' Therefore, it was thought that the 'Jews' were the ones who determined whether there would be war or peace in the world. Imperialism was described as the tool for the 'Jews' to expand their economic power and capital. Freemasonry was also conflated as a Jewish plot to control the whole world.⁸⁷ In order to show the 'truth about Jewish imperialism', several articles were published to demonstrate the power of the 'Jews' behind the Western imperialists. The American government's numerous official complaints to Russia, over the issue of the permission for the free entrance of American Jews into Russia, was perceived as an illustration of Jewish power in America.⁸⁸ It was also said that 'although the 'Jews' have been deprived of their power in politics, they still have the power to manipulate politics.'⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Qian Liu, transl. 'Youtairen zhi diguo' (The Jewish empire), *DFZZ*, 8:9 (Nov., 1911), p. 17.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 17-19.

⁸⁸ Xu Jiaqin, 'Mei E guanyu Youtairen wenti zhi jiaoshe' (Negotiations between America and Russia over the problem of the Jews), *DFZZ*, 8/11 (May, 1912), pp. 5-7.

⁸⁹ Qian Zhixiu, 'Youtairen yu Zhongguoren' (The Jews and the Chinese), *DFZZ*, 8/12 (June, 1912), pp. 40-46.

Jewish Merchants in Shanghai

Needless to say, the privileges of certain British Jews in Shanghai, such as Sir Victor Sassoon, on the other hand induced the construction of the 'Jews' as 'imperialists'. The Sassoons and a few other Sephardic Jewish families arrived in Shanghai in the 1870s. Being associated with the British East India Company in the early years, most of them at one time or another had engaged in the opium trading business. As opium had been seen as a destructive power which the foreign imperialists had used to destroy the 'yellow race' and China, these British Jews did not gain a very good reputation amongst Chinese nationalists. Even today, for instance, Silas Hardoon (1851-1937) is still referred to by some Chinese as the 'evil opium trader', the 'blood sucker of the Chinese people', or the 'British imperialist'.⁹⁰ Apart from opium trading, they also engaged in economic activities such as banking and property business. Amongst them, Victor Sassoon and Hardoon became two of the most dominant figures in Shanghai's financial as well as political world early in this century.⁹¹ Both of them

⁹⁰ Xu Zhucheng, *Hatong waizhuan* (Unauthorized biography of Hardoon), Hong Kong: Wuxinji chubanshe, 1982. Li Chandao, *Damaoxianjia Hatong* (Hardoon, the adventurer), Beijing: Qunzhong chubanshe, 1979. For a more recent publication see Liu Xinhua, 'Xuanton Huangdi de lao zhangbei: "xixuegui" shi jinying de damoxianjia Hatong' (Emperor Xuanton's senior: the 'blood sucker' and adventurer Hardoon), *Langman chuanqi de zhengshang kuangren* (the romantic and legendary political and business maniacs), in *Youtairen chaofan zhihui jiemi* (the revelation on the Jews' superior intelligence), series, ed. by He Xiongfei, Beijing: Hualing chubanshe, 1995, pp. 183-195. For discussions on the above series see the epilogue of this thesis. For the representations of Hardoon in China, see Chiara Betta, 'Silas A Hardoon, 1851-1931: a case of cross-cultural adaptation amongst Sephardic Jews in Shanghai', PhD thesis, London: SOAS, University of London, 1997, ch. 7.

⁹¹ For a study on the Sassoons in Shanghai see Maisie J. Meyer, 'The Sephardi Jewish Community of Shanghai', PhD thesis, London: LSE, University of London, 1995. For Hardoon see Betta, op. cit.

lived rather luxurious and corrupt lives. While Sir Victor Sassoon was described as being famous for his land speculation, having a lavish building named after him, and his high style living,⁹² the Hardoon garden was known as one of the most spectacular and expensive places of its day in Shanghai. It has been noted that in the 1960s, when Mao Zedong was arranged to stay in one of Hardoon's former residencies in Shanghai, he criticised Hardoon's lavish life style. Instead, Mao stayed on his private train.⁹³

However, it is important to note that for the majority of local Chinese before the 1930s, Jewish merchants such as Victor Sassoon and Hardoon were simply representatives of the foreign population in Shanghai. The construction of images of the 'Jews' in China was limited to the educated sectors of the reading public. For them, images of the 'Jews' had very little to do with the Jewish population in China. The significance of the 'Jews', as already mentioned, was in the seeking of their own identities amongst various social groups in China at the turn of the century. Such a symbolic role of the 'Jews' continued with the advent of the New Culture Movement and the May Fourth Movement between 1915 and 1930.

⁹² Jerome Ch'en, *China and the West*, p. 213.

⁹³ Li Zhisui, *The private life of chairman Mao: the inside story of the man who made modern China*, transl. by Tai Hungchao, London: Chatto & Windus, 1994, p. 193.

CHAPTER THREE

THE 'JEWS' IN THE MAY FOURTH PERIOD: 1915 - 1930s

As the First World War had finally brought the age of high dynasticism to an end, the European 'super power' (imperial power) began to decline in most parts of the world. While European countries re-dressed their identities in nationalistic uniforms, many of their colonial territories, such as India, Africa and Asia, also began step by step to transform into national states. Thus, construction, or reconstruction, of a national identity became a vital aspect of the socio-cultural life of these newly emerged, or independent, countries. As in many of these countries, the intelligentsia was central to the reconstruction of a national identity in China. They, unlike their parents' generations and the earlier reformers, had in one degree or another acquired a modern education in the West or in Japan. For them, to construct their nation's 'new' identity meant to break away from the 'old' traditional ethics and superstitions; instead, they introduced modern Western democracy, science and culture. This led to the emergence of the New Culture Movement around 1915. It was a movement of intellectual renewal, or a 'cultural renaissance' as claimed by the leaders of the movement, such as Hu Shi and Chen Duxiu.¹ The movement was highlighted by political demonstrations on the fourth of May, 1919 to protest against the resolution of the Versailles Peace Conference, which granted Japan rights in Shangdong province. The

¹ For further reading see Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement: intellectual revolution in modern China*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, first published in 1960, fourth print, 1974, pp. 338-342.

demonstrations later became more widely known as the May Fourth Movement and the period of the New Culture movement became known as the May Fourth period.

Although, as often understood, Western thought had played a central role in this movement of cultural reconstruction, Western knowledge was often reinterpreted and selectively introduced by the young intellectuals to project their anxieties or to support their own ideologies. Images of the 'Jews' were also constructed or re-constructed by them as part of the same process.

The 'Jew' as 'Old'

Invariably, as in the nationalistic movements of many other parts of the colonies, 'young' and 'youth' were essential polarities of the New Cultural and May Fourth Movement.² As a matter of fact, it was the establishment of Chen Duxiu's *Xin Qingnian / La Jeunesse* (New Youth) magazine in September, 1915 which marked the start of the New Cultural movement. It became one of the most important publications of the May Fourth period. Chen Duxiu (1879-1942) was an exiled revolutionary leader who had returned from Japan.³ For him, 'youth' signified progress, dynamism and revolution. In the first issue of *Xin Qingnian*, Chen wrote: 'Youth is like early spring, like the rising sun, like trees and grass in bud, like a newly sharpened blade. It is the most valuable period of life. The function of youth in society is the same as that of a fresh and vital cell in a human body. In the processes of metabolism, the old and

² For more reading see Anderson, *Imagined communities*, ch. 7.

³ For further readings on both Chen and *Xin Qingnian* see Chow Tse-tsung, op. cit., pp. 42-8. Also see Charlotte Furth, op. cit., pp. 396-403.

the rotten are incessantly eliminated to be replaced by the fresh and living'.⁴ Therefore, according to Chen, the future of his country was in the hands of the 'young' (and Western educated) Chinese and they should 'be independent not servile; be progressive, not conservative; be aggressive, not retiring; be cosmopolitan, not isolationist; be utilitarian, not formalistic; be scientific, not fictitious ...'⁵

In contrast to Liang Qichao, who saw the 'historical' and 'powerful' 'Jewish race' as a perfect model for his call for a 'new people', the 'Jewish race' was frequently perceived as 'old' and 'dead' by the 'youth' of the New Culture Movement. The fate of the 'Jews' was for them a negative reflection of the 'old' and 'dying' 'Confucian' China. In 1916, Li Dazhao (1888 b.), a graduate of Waseda University in Japan, a close collaborator of Chen Duxiu and a founder of the communist party in China - who also had strong influence on Mao Zedong in the early 1920s - compared the 'old' 'Jewish race' with 'Confucian' China. Judah in the time of Jesus and China in the time of Confucius were described as the 'white haired yesterdays'.⁶ According to Li, the 'Jewish nation' was now dead and the 'Confucian China' was dying. But China must not be like the 'Jews', 'China must be reborn', so to be 'young' again and to 'use the springlike self of today to kill the white-haired self of yesterday' in order to 'be able to stand amongst nations.'⁷ Hu Yuzhi (1896-1986), a student who was greatly influenced by the leaders of New Culture movement such as

⁴ Chen Duxiu, 'Jinggao qingnian' (a call to youth), *Xin Qingnian* (the New Youth), 1:1 (Sept., 1915). p. 1

⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

⁶ For a study on Li Dazhao see M. Meisner, *Li Ta-chao and the origins of Chinese Marxism*, New York: Atheneum, 1970.

⁷ Li Dazhao, 'Qingchun' (Youth), *Xin Qingnian*, 2:1(1 Sept., 1916), p. 16.

Cai Yuanpei, became actively involved in the movement for the vernacular in literary writing. Later he was also known as a Marxist publisher and journalist.⁸ He claimed that 'any race and its culture after its vigorous years, or after being oppressed for too long, begin to display signs of senility. Obsession with money, materialism, cowardice and heartlessness are characteristics of all old races. In their vigorous years, the Indians, the Egyptians, the Turks and the Jews all had their glorious history, but now they are old. The Jewish race, after more than a thousand years of being oppressed by other races, has become very mean and is hated by the whole world.'⁹ Here, the image of the 'stateless Jews' was reconfigured as the 'oppressed Jews'. Once again it served as a warning to the Chinese people that, if China was not going to be reborn, if Chinese culture was not going to be reformed and if Chinese people would not stand up to support China's nationalistic movement, the 'Chinese race' would end up like the 'Jews'.

At the same time, Judaism was perceived by the 'youth' of the New Culture movement as an 'unalterable principle', old superstition and fantasy, and it was often under attack. However, it is important to bear in mind that Judaism was not the only religion which was despised during the May Fourth period; in fact, the first and ultimate target was Confucianism, and it was this anti-Confucian attitude which eventually led to the Anti-Religious Movement in the years to follow.

As already mentioned the leaders of the New Culture Movement were mainly western educated. They believed that Western democracy, science and culture were

⁸ For further readings on Hu see Hu Yuzhi, *Wode huiyi* (My memories), Nanjing: Jiangshu renmin chubanshe, 1990.

⁹ Hua Lu (Hu Yuzhi), 'Minzu yi laole ma?' (Have races already become old?), *DFZZ*, 19:23 (Dec., 10, 1922), p. 2.

the ultimate model for a future China. 'Traditional indigenous culture' was in contrast perceived as 'old' and unacceptable for the modern world. Also Kang Youwei's attempt to make Confucianism the state cult of China was in many ways unacceptable to the 'youth' of the New Culture movement, who had agreed that western democracy was the only political system for modern China. According to Chen Duxiu, 'in order to support Mr. D. [democracy], [one] must fight against Confucianism, ritual, virtues, old ideology and politics.'¹⁰ Thus, Confucianism and many other conventional religions were forced to become the antithesis of the 'modern western' thought and systems. As Chen claimed, 'they are to be classed together with the other discarded idols of a past age'.¹¹ Between 1918 and 1919, *Xin Qingnian* published numerous articles attacking superstition, belief in gods or a god, belief in ghosts and those promoting natural science and democracy. Sheng Tingyi, a leading figure of the May Fourth demonstrations and the Anti-Religious movement, went even further in declaring that 'in the life of our future society, we are going to reject all religions.'¹² In September 1920, the first organised Anti-Religious movement was launched by the Young China Association. Subsequently, an intellectual discourse over religion began to take place amongst the May Fourth 'youth'. The European school of 'Biblical Higher Criticism' was introduced. The Hebrew Bible, or the Old Testament which was known to the Chinese, was perceived as a collection of legendary stories; it was

¹⁰ Chen Duxiu, 'Xin Qingnian zuian zhi dabianshu' (Refutation on the charges over the New Youth), *Xin Qingnian*, 1919, 6/1.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Shen Xuanlu (Ting yi), 'Duyu "Jidujiao yu Zhongguoren" de Huaiyi' (Doubts on 'Christianity and the Chinese'), *Xingqi Pinglun* (Weekly Review), Shanghai, 1920, no. 36.

portrayed as unscientific and superstitious. According to Jiang Shaoyuan, an educator and historian of religions, neither Abraham nor Jacob, nor any of the heroic characters of Jewish history ever existed. They were created by the Israelites, as Jiang claimed, in order to invent a glorious history for themselves and their religion:

As described by the Old Testament, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were ancestors of the Israelites' Religion and were characters well loved by the God of Israel. However, amongst the oldest Israelites, they were only names without significance. Later when the Israelites began to clash with other population groups, which caused their racial and religious awakening, they began to seek those ancient insignificant names and to set them up as their ancient heroes ...¹³

While the Hebrew Bible was thought to be inauthentic and superstitious, the God of Israel, or Yahweh, according to some Chinese intelligentsia, was a cruel, merciless, jealous god of war, a God without respect for humanity.¹⁴ Some years later, Zhou Zuoren, a famous writer of the May Fourth period, recalled a friend's impression of the God of Israel as being 'very ferocious, killing everything everywhere so that even

¹³ Jiang Shaoyuan, 'Yesu yiqian de Jidu' (Christology before Jesus), in *Xinchao* (New Tide), 2:3-4 (1920), Peking.

¹⁴ See Chuan Zhengxia, 'Zongjiao yu geming' (Religion and revolution), in *Xinyue* (New moon), 1:3, 1930. also see Zhou Zouren's 'Yindu yu Yiselie' (India and Israel), in *Renmin wenxue* (People's literature), July, 1957.

dogs and chickens could not escape'.¹⁵ According to this friend, the reason Westerners were so revolting was that they believed in this terrible God.¹⁶ Zhou Zuoren himself also had much prejudice against the God of Israel and the Jewish people. Even in the 1950s, he still called the God of Israel 'the terrorist God' and according to him David Ben Gurion was a terrorist like his God.¹⁷ Thus, the God of Israel was perceived as the source of suppression of free thinking and democratic ideology in the West, and the power behind 'white imperialist' aggression in China. Zhou went on to challenge the Chinese Christian church: 'How can we [Chinese] discard our own ancestry and become the descendants of Adam?' In order to support this view, he used the failure of the Taiping Rebellion as a negative outcome of believing in a terrible foreign God.¹⁸ Even more so, he found unacceptable that the 'Jews' called themselves 'the chosen people of God'. In 1925, *Yu Si* (Silken strips of conversation), a weekly publication which was edited by Zhou Zuoren and his brother Lu Xun, a famous writer of the May Fourth period and the 1930s, published a poem entitled 'The Lament of a Jewish Leper'.¹⁹ The theme of the poem was mainly based on the Gospels. For the poet of the twentieth-century China, the Pharisaic sect of first century Judaism represented all the hypocrisy and inhumanity of religions in his time, while

¹⁵ Qimin (Zhou Zuoren), 'Yukuai de gongzuo' (Joy of my work), in *Xinwanbao* (New Evening Standard), Hongkong, 5:10, 1964.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Qimin (Zhou Zuoren), 'Yindu yu Yiselie' (India and Israel), in *Renmin wenxue* (People's literature), July, 1957.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Jian Youwen, 'Youtai yige laizhe de aige' (A lament of a Jewish leper), in *Yu Si*, Peking, no. 56 (December, 1925).

the 'Jewish leper' was a potrait of his fellow countrymen who were thought to be suffering from various diseases of the 'old' China:

I am a leper in Jerusalem,
I did not contract the disease from just anywhere,
I inherited it from my ancestors;
Why do I have to carry this burden of my forefathers?
When people see me, they despise me and keep away from me!
...
The City of God, the Holy City,
What's good about it? Though there is a glorious temple,
It is only for those so-called 'clean' people
Even Yahweh, the God of love and justice is for them alone!²⁰

The poem ended with the argument that righteousness was crucified by hypocritic religions and the latter certainly could not save China from its social injustice:

But he was put on the cross by them [Pharisees or the conservative
parties in China] yesterday,
Oh! my disease has come back again! How painful!²¹

Later in 1930s, Sholem Asch's play *The God of Vengeance* was brought to the

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

Chinese theatre.²² For the translator and its audience, the play was used as anti-religious material, for it affirmed the view that Judaism was a hypocritical and inhuman prevalent faith.

The 'Jew' as Spiritual

The artificial dichotomy between 'old' Judaism / 'traditional' Jewish culture and modern western science and democracy became entrenched by the outstanding conservative thinker Liang Souming during the discourse over Western and Eastern civilisations. Liang was a neo-Confucianist, a student of Indian philosophy and also a product of modern education. In his series of lectures on the subject of 'Eastern and Western civilisations and their philosophies',²³ which he used to defend Confucianism and many other ancient 'Eastern religions', he proclaimed that the East was spiritual and the West was materialistic. According to Liang, Western civilisation originated from two 'H'ism: Hellenism and Hebrewism. The former, as Liang believed, emphasised struggle, rationalism, worship of beauty, humanism and happiness in this world. The latter, as he argued, had come from the East and was completely different from the Hellenistic way of life:

They [the Hebrews] do not look for happiness in this world - they
almost oppose happiness in this world - this is their so-called

²² Tang Xuzi, transl., *Fuchou Shen* (God of Vengeance, original in Yiddish by Sholem Asch), Shanghai: Shangwu chubanshe, 1936.

²³ Liang Souming, the lectures were later published as a book under the same title.

austerity. They believe in another world - the kingdom of God - and want to escape from this world in order to enter the other world. They do not go forward in life, instead, they go backwards.²⁴

Having classified world civilisations into three categories, or 'three ways' (the Hellenistic way, the modern Western way - a society built on science and democracy - and the Hebraic way), Liang then went on to show that the Hellenistic way of life was the 'first way'; that was, according to him, the 'Western way', which was based on materialism. On the other hand, he associated the Hebraic way of life with Indian civilisation, called the 'third way', which as he described was fully spiritual and religious. To support his view that the 'third way' was the ultimate way to life, Liang continued:

The Greeks chose the first way and produced science, arts and culture. Their achievement was very great. The Romans followed in their footsteps and achieved much in politics and law; but later they became selfish and morally corrupt, leading to complete chaos. They therefore needed Hebrew religion - Christianity - to help out.²⁵

²⁴ Liang Souming, *Dong Xi wenhua ji qi zhexue* (Eastern and Western civilisations and their philosophies), p. 56.

²⁵ Ibid. For works on Liang see Guy Alitto, *The last Confucian: Liang Shu-ming (Souming) and the Chinese dilemma of modernity*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

Although an opponent of Liang Souming, Hu Shi - a student of Dewey at Columbia University and a leading philosopher of the New Culture movement - in his *Outline of the history of Chinese philosophy* appraised the Confucian heritage positively. According to Hu, instead of discarding the traditional heritage, one should 're-organise' it. Chinese philosophy, as understood by Hu, at one stage had been joined by Indian philosophy, just as Medieval European philosophy was influenced by Jewish thought. However, differing from Liang Souming, Hu did not see the Indian or Hebraic 'way of life' as the ultimate way; instead, Hu believed that in the future the European and Chinese philosophies should join together after they had both been freed from Jewish and Indian influences.²⁶ Thus, in Hu Shi's 'reorganisation' programme, the union between the Western and Chinese philosophies became the representation of the future for both societies, whereas Indian and Jewish philosophies became the representation of the past. The dichotomy between the East and the West was diversified to the dichotomy between the future Chinese-Western philosophy and the medieval Jewish Europe as well as the medieval Indian-Chinese philosophy.

To answer both Liang Souming, Hu Shi and other 'modernising elites', Tu Zhengshu - another philosopher of the May Fourth period - argued that the West was not unspiritual nor had it been completely freed from Jewish, or Hebraic, influences. According to Tu, modern European philosophy, science and arts had benefited from the ancient Greeks, their political and legal systems had been inherited from the Romans and their morality was basically Hebraic. The success of modern Europe was described as the fruit of the harmonisation of these three great civilisations. To justify

²⁶ Hu Shi, *Zhongguo zhexue shi dagang* (Outline of the history of Chinese philosophy), Shanghai: Shangwu chubanshe, 1919, p. 1.

his view, Tu went on to say that although modern European society had reached a higher material standard than the ancient Romans, it however managed to avoid being morally corrupt like the Romans. The reason for this was, as Tu believed, the influence of Jewish, or Hebraic morality:

Western morality was profoundly influenced by Hebraic thought
[...] Therefore, loving kindness and righteousness become very
important elements in European ethics.²⁷

Here for Tu, Hebraic thought represented Western morality. It was, according to him, an important element which sustained Western society. Whereas for China, Tu pointed out that it had to learn from the success of Europe: there was no need to discard religions in the process of modernisation or to fear that Westernisation might destroy China's Confucian heritage.²⁸

Yiddish as the 'New'

While the introduction of 'Western thought' and the re-evaluation of the traditional heritage is often regarded as one important development of the New Culture movement, what was called the literary revolution is also said to be another equally notable innovation. Although at the turn of the century vernacular language (*Baihua*)

²⁷ Tu Zhengshu, 'Tu Zhengshu xiansheng dalun Xibolai sixiang shu' (Mr. Tu's answer to Hebraic thought), published in Liang Suoming's *Dong Xi wenhuan ji qi zhexue*, append., pp. 58-9.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 55-9.

had already been adopted by reformers, such as Liang Qichao, and some foreign missionaries in their writings and translations, and also ideas for literary reform had already developed, they were however confined to the work of a small circle of reformers and scholars. Only during the May Fourth period, generated by the New Culture movement, did the full scale of literary reform and advocacy of the vernacular in literary writings begin to reach a much wider audience in China. During this reform, or literary revolution, the literary Chinese language (*wenyanwen*) was regarded as an 'old' and 'dead' language 'because it is no longer spoken by people';²⁹ traditional literature was thought to be 'lifeless' as it was written in a 'dead' language and did not convey real life and people; the traditional literary theory was regarded as being too restrictive and no longer suitable to modern China. Instead, the vernacular language, *Baihua*, was said to be the 'living' Chinese language, as it was spoken by the people, and that only through it one could create a new and living literature, a literature of the people.³⁰ During this reform period, Yiddish, like many other vernacular languages, was often portrayed as a model for the vernacularisation of the written Chinese language; Yiddish literature, at the same time, was advocated as a 'new' literature, a literature of the masses.

Yiddish is a language which evolved during the tenth-century amongst the Jewish populations in central Europe and had gradually spread to the east to become the most popular language of Eastern European Jewry after the fourteenth-century. Though it uses the Hebrew alphabet, its grammar is similar to that of German, while

²⁹ Hu Shi, 'The problem of the Chinese language', *The Chinese students monthly*, XI, 8 (June, 1916), p. 567.

³⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 567-8.

its vocabulary is a blend of German, Polish, Russian and other Slavonic languages. It also consists of many dialects, such as Polish, Lithuanian and so on. As Yiddish was the spoken language amongst the majority of central and Eastern European Jewry, which includes the less educated population, women and children, it was used by *maskilim* (the enlightened), during the Eastern European *Haskalah* (enlightenment) movement in the early nineteenth-century, in their desire to reach the masses. The *Haskalah* movement, or the Jewish enlightenment, was an offshoot of the European renaissance movement. It began with Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), the philosopher who believed that Judaism should be a 'natural' not a dogmatic religion; it should be a religion of tolerance which allowed the widest possible freedom of opinion. An 'enlightened Jew', according to Mendelssohn, should come out from the dead ghetto, should study science, philosophy and Western secular literature. As German secular culture was the main surrounding culture of the Western *Haskalah* movement, German became the main language for the *maskilim*. When the movement spread to Eastern Europe in the early nineteenth century, *maskilim* such as Israel Axenfeld and Solomon Ettiger also began to write in Yiddish for a larger audience. Instead of translating Western secular literature, these *maskilim* created their own secular literature in Yiddish to propagate their ideas and to expose the defects of Jewish society.³¹ By the second half of the nineteenth-century, the increasing level of persecution had forced many Jews into a new exile from countries and villages where they had lived for generations. This accelerated the emergence of the Jewish national and labour movement, alongside a wide spread of nationalistic and labour movements

³¹ For further reading on Haskalah movement and Yiddish literature see Sander L. Gilman, *Inscribing the Other*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991, pp. 51-9.

which were happening in other parts of the world at the time. Yiddish, the language which was labelled by the anti-Semites as the language of the 'Jews', was used by both Jewish nationalist and socialist writers to communicate their nationalistic and revolutionary messages. Yiddish literature thus became an expression of the internal changes which were happening within the Jewish communities and persecutions, catastrophes and pressures inflicted by hostile external forces. This development marked a new era for Yiddish literature. This had also become an inspiration for many Chinese 'new' literary reformists during the May Fourth period. The roles, which were played by Yiddish writers in transforming Yiddish and its literature into a primary element of the Jewish national and spiritual hopes, became what these Chinese literary reformists were aspiring to in the New Culture movement, or the 'Chinese renaissance' as it was often viewed by these reformers themselves.³²

Shen Yanbin (1896-1981), also known as Mao Dun, a well known writer and translator, also one of the leaders of the literary reform, was known to be the first to introduce Yiddish literature to the Chinese reading public. As the editor of the new *Xiaoshuo yuebao* (Short stories monthly), one of the prominent periodicals of literary reform, Shen published many articles on Yiddish literature, Yiddish authors and translations of Yiddish works. He also encouraged others to study and translate Yiddish literature.³³ According to Shen, Yiddish, like the vernacular Chinese language (*baihua*), was a spoken language; it was also a new literary language which was born as the result of the 'language revolution' amongst the Jewish writers. Hebrew, on the

³² For the discussion see Chow Tse-tsung, *op. cit.*, conclusion, p. 338f.

³³ Yanbin, 'Yanjiu Youtai xinwenxue de sanzong xinchuyiben (Study on three new English translations of Yiddish works), *Xiaoshuo yuebao* (Short story monthly), Shanghai, 12:1(Jan., 1921).

other hand, was perceived by him as an 'old' 'dead' language like the 'old' classical Chinese (*jiu wenyan*). The struggle between Yiddish and Hebrew writers was considered to be parallel to the battle between the Chinese literary reformists and the traditionalists:

Amongst the Jewish communities, those old fashioned ones, who were used to using Hebrew, often regarded Yiddish as an unintelligent rustic language. Their attitude is exactly the same as that of those traditionalists in our country. Twenty years ago, when Yiddish writers, such as Peretz, suggested promoting Yiddish, the spoken language (*baihua wen*), and using it to write articles, novels and poetry, [they] were opposed vigorously by those loyalists of the Hebrew language. Their battle was no less than the battle between us and those traditionalists today.³⁴

The 'victory' of Yiddish writers was seen by Shen as an aspiration for literary reform in China. Even more, Wang Luyan, another writer of the May Fourth period, who had worked closely with Shen, claimed that Yiddish was the 'national language' of the Jewish people. According to him and many other literary reformists of the May Fourth period, China also needed a 'national language' like Yiddish, which was spoken by the majority of the people.³⁵ In 1927, Wang Luyan published the first collection of

³⁴ Yan Bin (Shen Yanbin), 'Zagan' (Miscellany), *Shisi xinbao - wenxue xunkan* (New Times literary supplement, quarterly), no. 70 (April 12, 1923).

³⁵ Wang Luyan, *Yutai xiaoshuoji* (A collection of Jewish [Yiddish] short stories), preface, Shanghai: Kaimin shudian, 1927.

Yiddish literature in China.³⁶ Yiddish literature was defined by Shen Yanbin as the 'new Jewish literature' (*xin Youtai wenxue*) for it was written in Yiddish - the 'new' 'living' language of the Jewish people.³⁷ According to Shen, it was a 'new literature' like the Yiddish literature which China needed because 'literature is the reflection of life [...] it [should help to] enlarge joy and compassion of the human world, it should be the mirror of society and time'³⁸ and it was only through the language which was spoken by the people that an author 'could stimulate his people's intelligence and comfort their sorrows'.³⁹ Yiddish literature was therefore classified by Shen and Wang Luyan as a literature of humanity, the literature of the Jewish people and a literature which reflected modern Jewish society. Hence, it is not surprising that many of the Yiddish works which Shen and Wang translated fell into the above category and the Yiddish writers which Shen introduced, such as David Pinski, Shalom Asch or Shalom Aleichim, were all described as 'writers of the Jewish people'.

Shalom Aleichim in particular was often remarked as a writer 'who came from the people and who wrote about small places and small people, of oppression and the oppressed'.⁴⁰ Born in Czarist Russia, Shalom Aleichim (1859-1916), otherwise known as Solomon J. Rabinovitch, became involved in both the Jewish national and labour

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Shen Bin (Shen Yanbin), 'Xin Youtai wenxue gainian' (Definition of new Jewish literature), *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, 12:10 (Oct., 1921), pp. 61-9.

³⁸ Shen Yanbin, 'Wenxue he rensheng de guanxi ji Zhongguo gulai duyu wenxue zhe shenfen de wureng' (The relations of literature to man and ancient China's mistaken ideas on the position of men of letters), *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, 12:1 (Jan., 1921).

³⁹ Shen Bin, *Xin Youtai wenxue gainian*, p. 61.

⁴⁰ Cf. Irene Eber, 'Voices from afar', *Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies*, Ann Arbor: Centre for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, no. 38, 1980, xxiv, p. 80.

movements in his youth. In 1898, he published the first part of a nationalistic novel *Mashiekhs Tsaytu* (The times of the Messiah). Soon after, he also became an enthusiastic contributor to the prominent Yiddish nationalist weekly, *Der Yid*. However, Shalom Aleichim was best known for his short stories on the life of Jewish people in Czarist Russia. His 'Milkman Tevya' was put on stage in *Fiddler on the roof*, and Tevya, the milkman, became a well loved character amongst many, even until today. Like Tevya, most of Shalom Aleichim's characters were small, every day people and yet they were often universal. His humorous style is well noted and his works have attained comic depth by combining humour with an element of sorrow, dread and suffering. Shen Yanbin called him 'the Jewish Mark Twain', 'the greatest writer of modern Yiddish literature.' Between 1920 - 1949, about ten of his short stories were translated into Chinese.⁴¹ After 1949, he was even more greatly praised for his activities in the Jewish labour movement and he has been described as a 'socialist writer' as well as a 'people's writer'.⁴² On June 18, 1959, a commemoration of one hundred year since his birth was held in Shanghai. Many of his works were also translated into Chinese in conjunction with the event.⁴³

⁴¹ A list of Shalom Aleichim's works which were translated into Chinese before 1949: 'A man from Buenos Aires', *Xiaoshou yuebao*, 1921; 'Rabchik', *DFZZ*, May, 1924; 'A pity for living' and 'Passover in a village' in 1929; 'The passover guest', *Wenxue*, May, 1934; 'Gymnazya', 'The treasure' and 'A woman in wrath', in the 1940s.

⁴² Cf. Xiao Yun, 'Yutai renmin zuojia Xiaolomu-Alaihanmu' (The Jewish people's writer Shalom Aleichim), *Wenhui bao*, Shanghai, March 2, 1959; 'Yaouxuehui reai renmin' (Learn to love the people), *Dushu*, no.3, 1980; etc.

⁴³ 'Eternal life' and 'Three lift the heads', *Yiwen* (Translation), July, 1957; 'Menachem Mendel', 'Poor and happy', 'If I were Rothschild', 'Bad luck', 'Boaz the teacher', 'Methusala', 'Joseph', 'Song of songs', all in *Yiwen*. Also, 'The great fair', *Renmin* (People), Beijing, 1959 and 'Tit for tat', *Shijiewenxue* (World literature), March, 1959.

Shalom Asch, on the other hand, was highly thought of by Shen Yanbin for the 'strong Jewishness' in his works:

The background of his [Asch's] works are Jewish; the idea of his works are also Jewish. His works expose the weakness of the Jews, which is also universal. However, his solution [for human problem] comes only from Jewish concepts ... The Jews are a very spiritual and mythical race. This is also a characteristic of [other] eastern races. It is well known that ancient Jewish literature was very spiritual and mythical. [However], due to contacts between the Jewish literature and world literatures in modern time, this spiritual and mythical characteristic began to cease. But many of Asch's works still have such characteristics.⁴⁴

According to Shen, this 'Jewish racial characteristic', which was said to be so typical in Asch's works, was one of the important elements of any new literature:

Different races have different sentiments in their literature. A particular race has its particular type of literature, just like it has a particular type of skin, hair and eyes. Every race has its own characteristic. Eastern races are normally very spiritual, therefore their literature is often supernatural. Racial characteristics are thus

⁴⁴ Shen Bin, *Xin Youtai wenxue gaiguan*, p. 67.

an element of [any] literature.⁴⁵

As for the new literature in China, Shen believed that it should be essentially Chinese, it should be a mirror of the Chinese race, society and bear the personalities of Chinese writers. In 1921, Asch's play *Winter* was translated by Shen, from an English translation, into Chinese and was published in *Short stories monthly*. The play was described as very 'Jewish' for it portrayed an elder sister who sacrificed her youth and happiness for the marriage of her younger sister. 'Such action', as understood by Shen, 'was obligated by the typical self-sacrificial spirit of the Jewish people.'⁴⁶ While the theme of self-sacrifice was perceived as 'Jewish', the suffering which was experienced by the sister was however understood to be 'universally' significant as it symbolised the sufferings of women and all 'oppressed' people in the world. Thus, 'to win equality and sympathy from all mankind in the world' was claimed to be another important achievement of 'the Jewish new literature movement' [Yiddish literature movement], and according to Shen, the Chinese new literature movement should also have this characteristic.⁴⁷ In contrast to Asch's 'racialistic' writings, David Pinski's works were described as being outstandingly 'universal' and Pinski was regarded as a writer of all 'fourth class people' (*disi jieji renmin*), or 'proletarian class' (*wuchan*

⁴⁵ Shen Yanbin, 'Wenxue yu rensheng' (Literature and life), *Xueshu yanjianglu* (A collection of academic theses), *Shongjiang*, no. 1, 1923.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 67.

⁴⁷ Lang Shun (Shen Yanbin), 'Xin wenxue yanjiuzhe de zeren yu nuli' (Duties and efforts of researchers in the New literature movement), *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, 12:2 (Feb., 1921).

jiēji)⁴⁸:

His [Pinski's] works deal with the depth of human souls. [They] go beyond the mask of modern civilization and expose the hidden pains inside society [...] He points out the diseases of modern men and he questions modern civilization and human power. Although he uses the life of Jewish people from his home town as his material, his works however speak for all mankind.⁴⁹

Here, more than just an inspiration, Pinski and his works provided a sense of solidarity for these Chinese new literary writers in their effort to create a so-called indigenous 'literature of blood and tears'. While the sufferings of the Chinese were identified with the sufferings of the 'Jews' and all other 'proletarians' in the world, these Chinese writers were also able to identify themselves with all other writers of naturalism and realism in the world, such as Pinski, who claimed to write for the 'proletarian class'.

Having addressed themselves as the writers of the 'proletarian class', they also needed to reconfigure their roles as such writers. Thus, an idea that literature must serve a purpose beyond itself, that literature should provide hope in the world of suffering, that literature should not simply be a mirror but a compass, had subsequently developed during the later period of the Chinese new literary reform.

⁴⁸ Yan Bin, 'Meini fuji' (Appendix on the translation of *The beautiful nun*), *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, 12:8 (July 13, 1921), p. 27.

⁴⁹ Shen Bin, *Xin Youtai wenxue gailun*, p. 67.

This idea was further consolidated by Shen Yanbin, who had been greatly attracted by Communist ideals and had later become an important member of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). According to him:

The urgent task for writers should be to capture the revolutionary spirit of the oppressed races and class, then to articulate it in a profound and great literature and to spread such a spirit to the furthest corners of society, so that it will make a deep impact amongst the oppressed people in order to [help them to] keep up with their desire for freedom and also to stimulate them to a greater and more passionate revolutionary movement! Not only so, but a writer should understand the different ways of thinking, the great creativity and organising abilities amongst the oppressed proletarian class, then to articulate them correctly and to promote them as the literature of the proletarian class. Only this kind of literature can be called the literature which reflects life, as well as [the literature which] provides hope. This is the new task of writers.⁵⁰

Having been classified as a writer of the 'proletarian class', David Pinski's works were described as 'not only exposing sufferings in life, they also deal with the hopes

⁵⁰ Shen Yanbin, 'Wenxue zhe de xinshiming' (The new task of writers), *Wenxue* (Literature), weekly, no. 190 (Sept. 13, 1925).

of those who suffer.'⁵¹ Pinski's short play *Poland 1919* was translated by Shen Yanbin in 1922 and was interpreted as a voice which 'curses capitalism and criticizes materialism'; a light through which one sees hope.⁵² In order to support Shen's own socialist view, Pinski was further praised by him as a writer 'who was influenced by socialism and longed for a World Utopia'.⁵³

Even so, one might point out that, as most of the Chinese translations of Yiddish works were not directly from the Yiddish originals but from their English translations, especially the ones by Isaac Goldberg,⁵⁴ the Chinese writers' perceptions of Yiddish literature and its writers were in this way limited and influenced by these English translations. For example, descriptions such as the 'writer of the fourth class people' had been borrowed from Isaac Goldberg. However, one must also bear in mind that it was the image of 'the writer of the people' (or of 'oppressed people', or of 'the proletarian class'), the Chinese writers, such as Shen Yanbin, found attractive and aspired to. This characteristic of projection was one of the important features in their introduction and understanding of the 'Jews' (as well as the 'West') amongst Chinese intellectuals during the New Culture movement.⁵⁵ This characteristic is also evident in their interests in the Jewish theatre and in the 'Jewish' actor, George

⁵¹ Yan Bin, 'Meini fuji', p. 27.

⁵² Cf. Tian Benxiang, *Zhongguo xiandai bijiao xijiu shi* (A comparative history of modern Chinese theatre), Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1993, p. 260.

⁵³ Shen Bin, *Xin Youtai wenxue gaiguan*, p. 67.

⁵⁴ Works by Isaac Goldberg which were used by Chinese writers: *Temptations, a book of short stories by D. Pinski*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1919; *Ten plays by D. Pinski*, New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1920; *Six plays of the Yiddish theatre*, Boston: John W. Luce & Co., 1916.

⁵⁵ Cf. Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, pp. 128-9.

Sidney.

The Jewish Theatre, George Sidney and the Theatre 'Revolution'

Alongside the 'new' poetry and 'new' novel movement, the 'new' theatre movement was another important aspect of the literary reform during the May Fourth period. Generally speaking, before the second half of the nineteenth-century, Chinese theatre was largely dominated by traditional operas. Having reached a highly sophisticated form during the Yuan period (1271-1368) and having continued to flourish in the Ming (1368-1644) and the early Qing (1644-1800) periods, traditional operas, especially the Peking opera, began to decline during the late Qing period (1800-1911). Traditional folk stories together with strict forms of physical movement, outlandish make up and cumbersome costumes became hindrances to the further development of Chinese operatic theatre. The need to reform the Chinese theatre and the rise of nationalism had led to the emergence of spoken drama in China in the late nineteenth-century.

Spoken drama was first introduced to China by foreign missionaries, as a form of religious education and English language practice in their schools. In urban centres, such as Shanghai, foreign residents also began to put on performances of 'Western' drama as a form of entertainment. Some Chinese students, especially the ones of the missionary schools, began to be attracted by this form of performance. Amongst the Chinese students in Japan, under the supervision of Japanese artists, the Spring Willow (*Chunliu*) group was formed in 1906. The Spring Willow was the first Chinese theatrical group which engaged itself in performing spoken drama. It first emerged

under the strong influence of the Revolutionary Alliance (*Tongmeng hui*), a Chinese nationalistic society which was formed in Tokyo in 1905 under the leadership of Sun Yatsen. While carrying out the message of nationalism and anti-Manchuism, they began to perform Western dramas, such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, on a modern stage and using modern scenery. Such performances became known as 'civilized plays' (*Wenming xi*) and it was these 'civilized plays' which laid the foundation for the development of the 'new' drama during the May Fourth period.⁵⁶

Having perceived 'naturalism' as the dominant force of the modern literary movement in Europe, having also advocated Ibsen and Wilde as the two greatest literary men of modern time, many Chinese literary reformists of the May Fourth period, such as Chen Duxiu, believed that world literature had by then entered the 'drama period', which was led by Ibsen. 'Modern' drama was regarded as one of the most important and appropriate forms of 'modern' literature. Therefore, the 'revolution' of the Chinese theatre was seen as the main task of the new literary reform movement.⁵⁷ 'Ibsenism', or 'realism' as it was defined by Hu Shi, was thus represented as the model for the May Fourth 'theatre revolution'. According to Hu, 'the cause of the human disease was that one does not want to open one's eyes to see the reality in the world, [...] The supremacy of Ibsen was that he dared to speak the

⁵⁶ For further readings see Ruth Herd's Ph.D thesis on the early Chinese spoken drama and the 'civilized plays', in progress, Oxford: Oxford University.

⁵⁷ Chen Duxiu, 'Xiandai Ouzhou wenyishi tan' (A discussion of the history of modern European literature), *Xin Qingnian*, 1:3 (Nov., 1915); Shen Yanbin, 'Jindai wenxue de fanliu - Aierlan de xinwenxue' (An opposition to modern literature - Irish new literary movement), *DFZZ*, 17:6 (Mar., 1920); Qian Xiantong, 'Ji Chen Duxiu' (To Chen Duxiu), *Xin Qingnian*, 3:1 (Mar., 1917); Zi Fei, 'Jindai wenxue shang xiju zhi weizhi' (Drama in modern literature), *Xin Qingnian*, 6:1 (Jan., 1918).

truth and to show every one all the ugliness of society through his writing.'⁵⁸ Thus, the new drama in China, as believed by many literary reformists, should reflect contemporary Chinese society, and should portray real human characters in real life situations and details.⁵⁹ Traditional Chinese operas were portrayed as opposition to 'Ibsenism' and were harshly attacked by the leading figures of the New Culture movement, such as Hu Shi, Fu Nianhua and Qian Xiantong. The heavy facial make up, which was characteristic in traditional operas, was regarded as a 'survival' or 'rudiment', a perversion of humanity which should be discarded from the Chinese theatre forever. As Qian Xiantong puts it:

If [one] wants China to have real plays, it must be the Western style play, not the "facial mask" style play. If [we] would not completely sweep away and vigorously oppose those characters, who do not look like human beings, as well as those dialogues, which do not sound like conversation, how would [we] be able to promote real drama?⁶⁰

The 'Jewish' actor George Sidney became a positive inspiration in this discourse of the 'new' Chinese theatre. George Sidney began his acting career as a 'Jewish'

⁵⁸ Hu Shi, 'Yipushen zhuyi'(Ibsenism), *Xin Qingnian*, 5:4 (Oct., 1918).

⁵⁹ Fu Nianhua, 'Zailun xiju gailiang' (Re-discussing the theatre reform), *Xin Qingnian*, 5:4 (Oct., 1918).

⁶⁰ Qian Xiantong, 'Shuigan lu' (Reflections), *Xin Qingnian*, 5:1 (July, 1918). Also cf. various articles by Hu Shi and Fu Sinian in the special edition on theatre reform, *Xin Qingnian*, 5:3 (Oct., 1919).

comedian in America early this century. At that time, 'Jewish' comedians were stereotyped by American society as 'clowns' or 'fools', who could be easily identified by the thick beard over their chins and the strong Yiddish accent in their speech. George Sidney was said to be the first 'Jewish' comedian who broke away from such a stereotype and began to act as a real human being on stage. He was portrayed in the *Morning post*, a leading paper of the New Culture movement, as a hero and a model for the new drama movement in China:

George Sidney is a pioneer. He opened a new path for Jewish comedians in theatre history. Mr. Sidney played the main part in a play called 'Welcome Stranger', which was put on by the Cohan and Harris theatre company. [In this play] he showed his real face and how handsome he was. [He] also [showed] his excellent ability to act like all other human beings and even made some small, common human mistakes. He presented, on stage, a new model of Jewish people for the audience. [He] acted very well and very naturally. [His acting] completely belongs to the school of realism, there is no overacting in it.⁶¹

More than being a hero and model, George Sidney was also advocated as 'the

⁶¹ Wang Zhongxian, 'Youtairen juran yeneng banyan renlei' (A Jew can also act like a real human being), *Chenbao fukan* (Morning post supplement), Nov. 6, 1921. The play 'Welcome Stranger' was first put on at the Cohan and Harris Theatre on September 13, 1920. It ran to 309 performances altogether. It is listed in *Who's Who in the Theatre*, ed. by John Parker, seventh edition, Bath: Pitman Press, 1952, p. 1885.

ambassador who propagates the culture of his race'.⁶² Such was the prospective role for Chinese actors or actresses of the new drama movement. However, the implication for such a role as a 'cultural ambassador' was twofold. On the one hand, it enforced the view that 'naturalism' and 'realism' were the only quintessential expressions for modern Chinese culture. Just as the Jewish culture, it was believed, could only be fully presented through George Sidney's 'naturalistic' and 'realistic' style performance, Chinese culture, as declared by these theatre reformists, could thus only survive by adopting 'naturalism' and 'realism'. Additionally, it provided a solution and hope in the face of the deep humiliation, which many Chinese intellectuals felt or faced with regard to the Hollywood stereotype of the 'evil Chinaman':

On the American stages, the Jews only play clowns to make the audience laugh; [while] in American films, the Chinese only play evil men to be cursed by everyone. To make people laugh means to bring joy to people's life. But Americans do not treat them as human beings but as toys. Whereas the ugly faces of the 'evil Chinamen', in the American films or on the American stages, are probably better than being treated not as human beings. Now the Jews have awakened, [they] are willing to discard their only tool which makes people laugh - [their] long beard and [Yiddish] accent - and to make an effort to create a pure and probably not always popular new drama. In my opinion, Sidney's success is not only to his honour but also to the honour of the Jewish race. Because of

⁶² Ibid.

him, many Americans learnt that the Jews were not without human spirits. Like all other people, they are of love, of compassion and have sympathy towards the weak. The achievement of him [Sidney] is far greater than those politicians who go abroad to propagandize with their empty words.⁶³

While the tears of the 'Jewish' people, such as George Sidney, were identified with the humiliation which 'the Chinese' had experienced in America; having been portrayed as a 'culture ambassador', George Sidney also became the positive embodiment of the new theatre movement. The future existence of the 'Chinese race' was thus regarded as the sole responsibility of the Chinese intellectuals and not of the politicians. In other words, only through cultural reconstructions, such as theatre reform, could the 'Chinese race' survive and could Chinese culture be restored:

Amongst the audience in the theatre, there are people from all three classes: the upper, middle and lower; therefore, compared to other forms of propaganda, the message of a play is much more powerful, much more popular and can make a much deeper impression in the audience's heads. [As] the Jews used to play laughable characters, the Americans thus thought all their [Jewish] people were like Charlie Chaplin. After the appearance of Sidney, they [Americans] turned around and began to recognise that the

⁶³ Wang Zhongxian, 'Youtai xiaohualian yu Zhongguo eren' (Little Jewish clans and evil Chinamen), *Chenbao fukan*, Nov., 6, 1921.

Jews were also human beings like themselves. So you see how powerful the potential of the theatre is!⁶⁴

Thus, to unmask the image of the 'evil Chinaman' and to reconstruct the 'real' and 'natural' image of the 'Chinese' were seen as important aspects of the reviving of the 'Chinese race':

If Americans could regard all Jewish people as the same as the soulless Charlie Chaplin, why should they not treat us like barbaric evil men and robbers?⁶⁵

To introduce 'naturalism' and 'realism' in the theatres and possibly in the newly emerged film industry, was thought to be the most powerful way to 'wash out' the shameful image of the 'evil Chinaman'. Therefore, according to the May Fourth intellectuals, such as Wang Zhongxian, the urgent need for Chinese theatre was 'the spirit of George Sidney'; in other words, the spirit of 'naturalism' and 'realism'. The outcry for a theatre 'revolution' in China was hence paraphrased as 'When will the Chinese Sidney be born?'⁶⁶

Just as the 'Jewish' George Sidney was represented as the inspiration for the May Fourth 'theatre revolution', the Yiddish theatre, which was understood as the true expression of 'naturalism' and 'realism', was seen as another positive example of the

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

new theatre movement. Having constructed the history of theatres as a process of evolution, having traced the history of the 'Jewish theatre' from the time of King Herod to the modern period, having proclaimed that Yiddish theatre, like Yiddish literature, was the main generator of the future prospect of the 'Jewish race', the Chinese theatre, an important part of the New Culture movement, or the 'culture renaissance' in China, was thus said to be in need of urgent reform. Such reform meant to evolve from the traditional form of operatic plays to the 'Western' style of 'naturalistic' and 'realistic' dramas.⁶⁷

Modern Hebrew Poetry and the New Poetry Movement

If 'naturalism' and 'realism' were the main aspects of the Yiddish theatre movement which had attracted the Chinese literary reformists of the May Fourth period, then it was the prophetic role which many modern Hebrew poets played in the 'Jewish national awakening', or Zionist movement, which had been mirrored by some of the May Fourth 'new' poets in China.⁶⁸

Modern Hebrew poetry, as an important feature of modern Hebrew literature, emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century in step with the 'Jewish national renaissance movement'. While Yiddish had become the language of the Jewish masses, Zionists believed that only Hebrew, the language of their ancestors, could be

⁶⁷ See Hu Shi, 'Wenxue jinhua guannian yu xiju gailiang' (Literary evolution theory and theatre reform), *Xin Qingnian*, 5:4 (Oct., 1919); Hua Sichang, trans., 'Yutai juyuan' (The Jewish theatre), translated from English version by C. Madison, *Chenbao fukan*, March 16-28, 1923.

⁶⁸ Cf. Marián Gálik, 'Mythopoeic Warrior and femme fatale: Mao Dun's version of Samson and Delilah', *Bible in Modern China*, forthcoming.

the language of a reborn Jewish nation. Hebrew literature thus became the main foundation of the Zionist 'national renaissance' and the Hebrew language was transformed by Zionists, such as Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, into a living language. Zion became the main theme in much modern Hebrew poetry, particular in the poems by M. Dultzki, Naphtali Herz Imber and Mani. Amongst modern Hebrew poets, Chaim Nachman Bialik (1873-1934), in Hebrew known as Hayyim Nahman Bialik, was often regarded as the greatest national poet of his era. His works have been described as a 'fused delicate lyrical force with the tremendous power of poetic fury, in the tradition of the prophets'. They are also thought to be spiritually unique as they reflected the main trend in the 'Jewish national renaissance'.⁶⁹ In China, during the May Fourth period, modern Hebrew poets, such as Bialik, were portrayed as the modern prophets and psalmists, the modern mediators of the Jewish people. It was such a role as the mediators of their people, or as the prophets for their country, which many of the May Fourth new poets had laid upon themselves.

Almost contemporary with modern Hebrew poetry, China's new style poetry also emerged, amongst the late Qing reformers and students in Japan, with a strong nationalistic and revolutionary spirit. Such a spirit continued to be the main feature of the new poetry movement during the May Fourth period. The new poetry movement is often regarded as the earliest, or the pioneer, in comparison with the May Fourth new novel, new theatre and new prose movements. According to many literary reformists of the May Fourth period, such as Hu Shi, poetry was one of the

⁶⁹ S. Ettinger, 'The growth of the new Jewish culture: the strengthening of ties between Jewish communities and their increasing role in gentile society', *A history of the Jewish people*, ed. H. H. Ben-Sasson, p. 933. Also see Leon I. Yudkin, *Escape into siege: a survey of Israeli literature today*, London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974, pp. 19-38.

oldest and probably most influential forms of literature in Chinese history. While studying in Columbia under the supervision of Dewey, Hu Shi also took an interest in the history of Chinese poetry. As the result of such an interest, Hu believed that poetry and poets, such as Su Dongpo, had played an important part in the construction of 'Chineseness', or the national identity, in various periods of Chinese history. This had also led him to believe that modern China urgently needed a new form of poetry, written in the vernacular; also many 'vernacular Dongpo', or new poets, to take up the task of the reconstruction of China's 'new' national identity.⁷⁰ While little response was shown by his fellow Chinese students, Hu took up the task himself and began to write 'new' poems in vernacular Chinese. Many of his poems were first introduced by Chen Duxiu in *Xin qingnian* in order to advocate the literary reform. In 1920, they were put together as *Changshiji* (Experiments) and became the first collection of the May Fourth new poetry.

The next and also the most influential collection of May Fourth new poetry was Guo Moro's *The Goddess* (Nushen). Guo (1891-1978) was born in the mountainous Leshan-Emei region of Sichuan province, an area which had produced many famous poets in Chinese history. In his youth, Guo studied traditional Chinese poetry and was deeply impressed by ancient poets, such as Tao Yuanming, Wang Wei and Li Bai. In 1914, Guo joined many young Chinese intellectuals to study in Japan, where he had the opportunity to study Western poetry, especially the poems of Shelley, Heine and Goethe. An adherent of Sun's nationalism in his youth, Guo returned to China in 1915, after Japan had forced the 'Twenty-One Demands' upon

⁷⁰ Hu Shi, 'Changshiji zishu' (An autobiographical note on the collection *Experiments*), *Experiments*, revised ed., Shanghai, 1922.

the Chinese government. Having become deeply disappointed with the result of the 1911 revolution, the May Fourth demonstrations had re-kindled Guo's spirit of nationalism. Poetry was seen by him as a powerful tool to promote a nationalistic and revolutionary spirit. Becoming a poet was for him a way to 'fire off' 'the sorrows of individuals and the nation'.⁷¹ As the result, in 1921 *The Goddess* was born and it marked the beginning of 'romanticism' in the May Fourth new poetry. Unlike the believers of 'naturalism' and 'realism', who perceived literature as 'the reflection of life and society', Guo and many other May Fourth writers of 'romanticism' advocated 'art for art's sake' and encouraged individual freedom. However, differing from the meaning of 'art for art's sake' in Europe, Guo saw it as a spirit of rebellion against the present backward Chinese society and Western 'imperialism'. The 'I' in his '*The Goddess*' was a nationalist, a wrecker as well as a creator of a 'new' China. Thus, Guo, like many of his fellow poets, took upon himself the role of a prophet for his country and the society in which he lived.

Having taken up the role of prophet, many of these May Fourth new poets began to identify themselves with the modern Hebrew poets. While seeing themselves as the inevitable product of the May Fourth, or the 'Chinese renaissance', the modern Hebrew poets were perceived by these new Chinese poets as the fruit of the 'Jewish national awakening'.⁷² The modern Hebrew poets were described as the ones who 'spoke of the dignity of individuals and their race' by using the 'new' 'revolutionary' 'fire'. Their poems were said to be full of a feeling of *fin de siècle* as

⁷¹ Guo Moro, 'Xu wode shi' (Preface to my poems), *Nushen*, Shanghai, 1921.

⁷² Ci Cheng, 'Xiandai de Xibolai shi' (Modern Hebrew poetry), *Xiaoshuo yuebao*, 14:5 (1923).

well as the spirit of revolution and nationalism. During the time of confusion, disappointment and hope, many May Fourth intellectuals began to wonder: 'Where should they stand? Where should they go? What should they do?'⁷³ The development of modern Hebrew poetry and the path of modern Hebrew poets seemed to provide the answer, or a model, for many frustrated 'young' Chinese poets. A. B. Levensohn (1794-1880) and his son Joseph were thus portrayed as mourners who used their poems to cry for their people. Judah Leon Gordon (1830-1892) on the other hand was described as being deeply distressed by the situation which his people had faced, and it was the cries of the Levensohns which had inspired him to turn the feeling of pessimism into the spirit of rebellion. Such a spirit of rebellion was thought to have eventually developed into the spirit of hope and it was manifested through Zionism - 'the Jewish national renaissance'.⁷⁴ From the feeling of pessimism to the spirit of rebellion and then to the spirit of revolution and nationalism, that was the path which many May Fourth poets, such as Guo Moro, had taken; being the mediator, or the prophet, for their people, that was the role which many of them took. While modern Hebrew poetry was perceived as more than a form of literature, but a message of revolution and nationalism, Guo and many of his fellow poets began to write 'revolutionary' poetry as a battle cry against 'imperialism' and 'warlordism'. Hence, Bialik's 'spirit of fire', as in his poem 'The city of slaughter', became the inspiration for these revolutionary poets in China and Bialik's words became an expression of their own beliefs:

⁷³ See Chow Tse-tsung, *op. cit.* p. 286.

⁷⁴ Ci Cheng, 'Xiandai de Xibolai shi'.

Poetry will never disappear. The hot-blooded spirit of the poet
[Bialik], framed with gold, wrapped by frost, will burst out as
majestic as the roar of the sea! ⁷⁵

Such roles of the 'Jews' as an inspiration and an aspiration, were not only manifested in the May Fourth literary reform, they also played a significant part in the development of the 'science' of race during and after the New Culture movement.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 7. For Hayyim N. Bialik's 'The city of slaughter' see Israel Efros, ed., *Selected poems of Hayyim Nahman Bialik*, revised ed., New York: Bloch Publishing Company for Histadruth Ivrit of America, 1965, pp. 114-128. For its incomplete Chinese translation see *ibid.*

CHAPTER FOUR

THE 'JEWS' AND THE 'SCIENCE OF RACE' : 1915-1949

Although, as mentioned above, pseudo-scientific arguments in anti-Semitic discourse had already reached China as early as the end of the last century, they were not widely explored until the New Cultural Movement after 1915. Together with Western learning, the 'science of race' was introduced to a larger audience. The appropriation of the language of science, however, was limited to the educated sectors of the reading public.¹ While indigenous folk notions were revived through the selective use of new scientific vocabularies, elements of European anti-Semitic discourse were selectively introduced mainly in order to accommodate the ideas and anxieties of the intellectuals. On the one hand, for example, the circumcised penis - one of the most crucial 'racial' marks of the Western image of the male 'Jew'² - was understood as a purely religious practice which had nothing to do with 'racial inheritance':

[Abraham] instituted a religious rule - circumcision - for his family
as [a part] of the covenant with this one and only God.

¹ For further reading see Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, Chs. 5&6.

² For further reading on the meaning of circumcision within the Western culture see Sander Gilman, 'Jewish writing in a reunified German: questions of gender and identification' in Hazel Kahn Keimowitz & Wolfgang Mieder, *The Jewish experience of European anti-Semitism*, Harry H. Kahn memorial lectures (1990-1994), Vermont: The centre for Holocaust studies, the University of Vermont, 1995, pp. 48-111. Also see, by the same author, *The Jew's body*.

Circumcision is to cut off the male foreskin in order to abandon sexual desires ... It was the opposite of the ancient Babylonian and Canaanites religious practices: they indulged sexual immorality between male and female gods in their religious ceremonies. Because of this, promiscuity was very popular in the land of Canaan at that time. Abraham wondered how one could worship God in such an immoral human society: as the morality of God was higher than any human standard, one should therefore worship God from a higher level of morality. This was the reason for setting up the practice of circumcision.³

The 'eagle-nose' on the other hand, became the quintessential symbol of the 'money-loving Jew'. The nasal index was regarded by anthropologists, such as Yan Yin, as the best criterion of racial characteristics.⁴ Apart from the distinctive 'Jewish nose', the 'drifting eyes', the 'thick and drooping lower-lip' and the 'heavy curly hair without gleam' were also described by Lin Huixiang, a well-respected anthropology professor at the University of Xiamen, as physical characteristics of the 'Jews'.⁵ For many of these Chinese 'young' intellectuals, or modernizing élite (*zhishifenzi*), it was

³ Yuan Dingan, *Youtai jiao gailun* (Introduction to Judaism), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935, pp. 8-9.

⁴ Yan Yin, 'Zhongguoren bigu zhi chubu yanjiu' (Preliminary study of the Chinese Nasal skeleton with special reference to the Kunming specimens), *Renleixue jikan*, 2 (Collected papers on anthropology), Beijing: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1941, pp. 21-40.

⁵ Lin Huixiang, *Shijie renzhong zhi* (Records on the races of the world), the third edition, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1947 (1st edn 1932), p. 131.

blood, hair, colour, nose, the shape of face and other phenotypical features that were perceived to indicate the racial distinctiveness of the 'Chinese' from the 'non-Chinese' and the more profound differences between 'superior' and 'inferior' races.⁶

The 'Jews' as a 'Superior Race'

If, as already mentioned, the 'Jewish race' could be classified as a branch of the 'white race' by the reformers at the turn of the century,⁷ then, according to some amongst the modernizing élite of the New Cultural movement, it was also a biologically 'superior' race, alongside the 'yellow race', in contrast to the inferior 'red', 'black' and 'brown' races. The image of the 'Jews' as a 'wonderful and historical nation' was thus further defined as a 'superior race' (*youxiu minzu*) and it was claimed that such superiority was manifested in the intellectual ability of the 'Jews'. According to Lin Huixiang, the superiority of the 'Jewish race' was manifested in their ability in science, literature, economy, diplomacy, music and so on.⁸ Thus, it was suggested by him that, one of the reasons for the 'Arabs' to be able to achieve the Golden Age of Islamic culture during the Middle Ages, was because the 'Arabs' had allowed the 'Jews' to live amongst them. In comparison, Lin claimed that the *Inquisition* in fifteenth-century Spain and Portugal had brought great loss to the

⁶ Ibid., pp. 11-18. Also see Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, pp. 136-149.

⁷ See the section on 'The "Jews" as a "historical race"' in ch. 2 of this thesis.

⁸ Cf. Sander L. Gilman, *Smart Jews: the construction of the idea of Jewish superior intelligence at the other end of the Bell Curve*, Nebraska: The University of Nebraska Press, 1996.

cultural development of these two countries.⁹ Hu Shi, as one of the leading figures of the New Cultural movement as well as a celebrated scholar and philosopher of modern China, stereotyped the 'Jews' as an 'intellectual race' with impressive academic ability and adventurous spirit:

I had very close contact with some Jews. [My] Jewish friends include professors and students, first in Cornell, then in Colombia. Jewish people's scholarship together with their intrepid and upwards spirit have made a very deep impression on me.¹⁰

Here, for Hu Shi, the 'Jews' represented intellectuals like himself. As a matter of fact, Hu Shi was later referred to as 'Hu Shi the Jew' by the editor of his autobiography. Apart from Hu Shi, some other famous scholars in Chinese history, such as Zhu Xi (1130-1200) and Dai Zen (1724-1777), were also described by some of their twentieth-century biographers as 'the Jews'.¹¹ The term 'Jew' became almost interchangeable with the term 'intellectuals'.

The need to create such a representation was obviously rooted in the anxiety

⁹ Lin Huixiang, op. cit., p. 131.

¹⁰ Hu Shi, *Hu Shi koushu zizhuan* (An oral autobiography of Hu Shi), ed. by Tang Degang, Beijing: Wenhua Press, 1989, p. 33. It has however been pointed out by Irene Eber, who is now a professor in Chinese Studies at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem and has done extensive studies on Hu Shi, that Hu had sometimes invented his early memories in this oral autobiography. It is therefore important to bear in mind, when reading the above text, that Hu's impression about 'Jews' could have been his later inventions.

¹¹ Ibid, footnote no. 9, p. 58.

over the backwardness of China and the belief, shared by many of the Chinese modernizing élite in the New Culture Movement, that the intellectual class was the only hope for the reconstruction of their chaotic country. The reason the 'Jews' were able to control world politics, world finance and the world in general was that the 'Jewish race', according to You Xiong, 'has the intellectual gifts of quick understanding, rational thinking, good judgement, good organization and fast action' and that they produced more superior lawyers, philosophers, thinkers, politicians, doctors, scientists, musicians and even chess players than any other race in the world.¹² Albert Einstein was often regarded to be such an example *par excellence*. It was suggested that 'before Einstein invented the theory of relativity, his life had been miserable and he had constantly lived under mockery because he was a Jew.'¹³ If Einstein's intellectual achievement could be seen as the 'armour' which protected him as a 'Jew' in an anti-Semitic Europe, then the 'Jewish' intellectuals such as Einstein became a major reason and hope for the existence of the 'Jewish race'. In December 1922, a special issue on Albert Einstein was published by the *Eastern Miscellany*, China's most influential and longest running periodical before 1949, in conjunction with Einstein's brief stop-over in Shanghai en-route to Japan.¹⁴ Alongside the images of the 'Jewish financiers', the 'Jewish intellectuals' became another powerful and positive image which was perceived by members of modernizing élite, such as Tao Juyin, as the essence behind the survival and vitality of the 'Jewish race':

¹² You Xiong, 'Yutai minzu zhi xianzhuang jiqi qianli' (The present situation of the Jewish race and its potential), *DFZZ*, 18:12 (1921), p. 23.

¹³ Wei Zhi, 'Aiyinsitan xiaozhuan' (A short biography of Einstein), *DFZZ*, 19:24 (Dec., 1922), p. 95.

¹⁴ 'Aiyinsitan zhuanhao' (A special issue on Einstein), *DFZZ*, 19:24 (Dec., 1922).

In the middle of a strong anti-Jewish atmosphere, the Jews recognised that there were only two ways for them: one was to gather wealth; the second was to have knowledge and to develop intellectual ability. Once they have money then they can run from one country to another and make their home everywhere, [because] money can buy them freedom and happiness. Once they have knowledge and intellectual ability, [they can therefore enjoy] equality of intellect. Scientists, such as Einstein, are admired by everybody. It is more important to gain knowledge than money; therefore, most Jews entered academia.¹⁵

In the same way as Liang Qichao had used the 'Jews' as an example in his call for a 'new people', members of modernizing élite, such as Yu Songhua, also found in the 'Jews' a model for the restoration of the 'Chinese race':

From antiquity to modern time, the Jewish race has produced many of the world's first class geniuses. But in China, although a few [famous people] in history have attracted the admiration of the world, in modern times, no matter whether it is in academics, in politics or in commerce, China has not produced any talent able to compete in the world. How shameful we are when compared with

¹⁵ Tao Juyin, *Meiguo tansu* (Social aspects of the United States of America), in *Juyin congtan* (series), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1941, p. 93. The essays on the Jews in America were written in 1936.

the Jewish people and how disgraceful we are to our ancestors.¹⁶

The present backwardness of the 'Chinese race', or more correctly the self-hatred and anxiety within these 'young' intellectuals themselves, was explained as the result of a lack of talent in China. This did not, however, indicate that the 'Chinese race' was less superior than the 'Jewish race', since China had also produced world-class geniuses in the past. Furthermore, Qian Zhixiu was able to prove that although the 'Jewish race' and the 'Chinese race' had very different characteristics, the latter shared all the advantages of the former, including intellectual ability:

Every one knows that the Chinese are the most ancient civilisation of the East. It is totally wrong to presume the Chinese are barbarians without knowledge. China has China's [own] history. If one tries to understand its history, then one will also be able to understand its people. They [the Chinese] are born with high intelligence, higher than all other people. They are more crafty than the Jews and their intellectual ability is far higher than the Americans. Like the Hebrews [Jews], they are also good at gathering wealth and money; they are rich and know what to buy. No other people can compare with their ability in business.¹⁷

¹⁶ Yu Songhua, 'Youtairen yu Youtai fuxing yundong' (Jewish people and the Jewish renaissance movement), *DFZZ*, 24:17 (1927), p. 27.

¹⁷ Qian Zhixiu, 'Youtairen yu Zhongguoren' (The Jews and the Chinese), *DFZZ*, 8:12 (1912), pp. 40-6.

On the other hand, Qian demonstrated that 'the Chinese' did not share the disadvantages of 'the Jews', such as being 'stateless', being 'aggressive', being 'unalterable' and therefore 'hateful'; instead, 'the Chinese', according to Qian, possessed a spirit of 'nationalism' and 'collectiveness'. By further comparing the 'Jews' with the 'Chinese', Qian claimed:

Even more, [the Jews] do not have poetry, arts, moral principles and science. The glory of their race, their success, is clearly past, whereas for the Chinese, who stand in solidarity, [also] have an amazing history of arts and virtues, and their literature and science is world-famous.¹⁸

In hope and conclusion, Qian proclaimed: 'the Chinese will be the Jews [world power] of the future' and 'China is the giant yet to be awakened.' Here, not only the future of the 'Chinese race' was projected onto the present success of the 'Jews' as an intellectual and superior race; here, China, it was prophesied, would one day become the greatest and the most splendid above all nations; in other words, China would be the future of the world. The negative Western image of the 'yellow peril' was thus shifted into a positive future role for the 'Chinese nation-race' (*Zhonghua minzu*). In order to construct such a positive role for the 'Chinese race', it became the necessary to reconfigure the image of the 'Jews' as the intellectual race to a less positive one; in other words, in order to construct a superior 'self', Qian and some other members of the modernizing élite in China had to create an inferior 'other'. While Qian himself

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 45.

continued to dwell on the traditional negative images of the 'Jews' as 'stateless', the 'Jews' as 'unchangeable', the 'Jews' as being 'individualistic' or the 'Jews' as being 'hateful', Zan Ming had expanded the arena by exploring and introducing the image of the 'Jews' as the 'diseased'.

The 'Jews' as the 'Diseased'

Having already perceived the 'Jews' as a race, who therefore were, like the Chinese race and any races, a 'unique' entity and therefore a 'different' homogenous group, such a 'difference' of the 'Jewish race' was seen by Chinese reformers as both positive and negative. On the one hand, as already discussed above, the 'Jews' were defined as a 'superior race' compared with many other inferior racial groups. On the other hand, compared with the 'superior Chinese race', the 'superior Jewish race' became 'inferior'. Such 'inferiority' was not only manifested through the old existant images of the 'Jews' as 'stateless' and so on, but also through 'new' and 'scientific' studies on the 'Jewish race' and 'disease'. According to Zan Ming, the 'difference' of the 'Jewish race' was not in their pheontotypical features, such as the eagle nose, the curly hair and the bearded chins, nor was it a psychological one, such as their peculiar behaviour, insularity and self-centredness; instead, the 'difference' of the 'Jews' was evident in their diseases:

Until recently, someone used human statistics to show clearly the uniqueness of the Jews in physical health. The evidence tells us, the Jews have different diseases from all other races. Although

these health statistics are only a piece of the contemporary records, they nevertheless show us the physical characteristics of the Jewish people - small in physical build and mentally emotional.¹⁹

The image of the 'Jews' as the 'diseased', has had a long tradition in Europe and it had functioned as the one of the markers of the 'Jews' as being 'different' or being 'abnormal'.²⁰ Such images were introduced to the 'scientific-minded' reading public in China during the New Life movement (*Xinshenghuo yundong*) in the 1930s. The New Life movement was officially launched by the Chinese Nationalist Party (*Guomindang*) on February 19, 1934, with the attempt to revitalise China through reconstructing the Chinese 'race' with the Confucian heritage.²¹ It was, at least in this aspect, an antithesis to the New Culture movement during the May Fourth period. In order to emphasise that the Confucian spirit was the sole channel for gathering the four hundred million Chinese souls, or 'the scattered grains of sand'; the 'material West' was once again forced into an artificial dichotomy with the 'spiritual East'. The image of the diseased 'Jews' was used as a powerful negative image which

¹⁹ Zan Ming, 'Youtairen de qite' (Uniqueness of the Jewish people), *Kexue de Zhongguo* (Scientific China), half monthly, Nanjing: Zhongguo kexuehua xiehui, June 1, 1935, p. 36.

²⁰ See Sander Gilman, *Disease and representation: images of illness from madness to Aids*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988; also by the same author, *The Jew's body*, especially, chs. 5, 7, 9.

²¹ See Jiang Jieshi, 'Xinshenghuo yundong zhi yaoyi' (The essence of the New Life Movement), the speech was first delivered on Feb., 19, 1934, was published as *Jiang zongtong yanlun huibian* (Collected speeches and writings of Jiang Jieshi), 28 vols., Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1956, vol. 15, pp. 108-119. For a view on the movement see John Israel, *Student nationalism in China: 1927-1937*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1966, p. 95ff.

represented the 'material West'.

Unlike the Western image of the 'diseased Jews', which was often associated with the dark skin colour of the 'Jews' - the external manifestation which marked the 'Jews' as different was 'black' and therefore 'diseased'²² - in China, having categorised the 'Jewish race' as 'white', the 'Jews' could therefore not be seen as 'black', and so the 'Jewish' disease could no longer be signalled through the darkness or blackness of their skin. Rather, the 'Jewish' disease was perceived as associated with their being racially 'white'. Like their racial 'whiteness', the Jewish 'disease' was also seen as hereditary. For example, diabetes and mental illness, which were described by Zan Ming as two typical 'Jewish diseases', were regarded as: 'having been transmitted from their [Jewish] ancestors two thousand years ago.'²³ The 'Jews', a historically 'intellectual race', it was believed, had always chosen the professions which used the brain, such as engaging in business:

Everyone knows that the Jews are the most 'shrewd' race. They chase after benefits and profits; fight with each other in order to get the best out. They often use too much of their brains, upsetting the regular mental pattern and therefore become mentally ill. There are also several reasons why the Jews easily get diabetes.

Commonly, there are two main causes for people getting diabetes:

²² For further reading on this topic see Gilman, *The Jew's body*, pp. 99-101, 172-4; 'The Jewish noses', Laurence J. Silberstein and Robert L. Cohn, ed., *The other in Jewish thought and history: constructions of Jewish culture and identity*, New York & London: New York University Press, 1994, pp. 369-370.

²³ Zan Ming, op. cit., p. 37.

overweight and a profession which requires sitting for too long. The Jews have both [problems]. Anxiety and uneasiness can also cause diabetes. Therefore in the past, every time when there was a recession in business, the percentage of diabetics went up. There is a good Jewish saying: 'On Park Avenue, whenever business goes down, diabetics go up - Park Avenue is a place in New York where all the rich live, especially the Jews.'²⁴

Even more so, the 'Jewish disease' could also be seen as the disease of the Westerners, or the 'whites', who were perceived as materialistic, money orientated and very competitive. In contrast, the Chinese, or the 'yellow' race, described as being more spiritual and preferring tranquillity, were thought to have less risk with regard to the above diseases and therefore were more superior to the 'white' race. Thus, for Zan Ming and other Chinese nationalists, Western science or education could not be seen as the solution for China's problems and the future of Chinese 'race' could not be projected onto the diseased 'intellectual Jewish race'; instead, nationalism was the foundation for building a healthy 'strong race and strong nation'. This fantasy of a 'strong Chinese nation-race' became one inspiration for the New Life Movement. While the 'Jewish disease' was thought to be associated with Western materialism, it was also regarded as the outcome of the 'statelessness' of the Jewish race. According to Zan Ming, 'in 70 BCE, when the Hebrews left their homeland, they had already begun to plant the seed of these [diseases] for their offspring.'²⁵ Being 'stateless', the

²⁴ Ibid, pp. 39-40.

²⁵ Ibid.

cause, as understood by many Chinese nationalistic intellectuals, for the sufferings and oppression of the 'Jews', was perceived by Zan Ming as, if not the ultimate, at least an important cause for the 'Jewish disease':

Why are [the Jews] closely associated with diabetes and mental illness? To answer such a question, we must study their racial history first. From their standard living conditions we can observe a few causes for their disease. Since ancient time, as the Jews are an intelligent race, they therefore have been oppressed everywhere, so they had to live together with their own kind. The Europeans call the Jewish living quarters 'Ghetto'. [In the Ghettos], the Jews live very close to each other amongst their own race. Especially in marriage, they never intermarry with other races. [...] There are two main reasons for many Jews to have mental illness: the first is a result of living together only within their own race. They therefore developed strong family ties and a hatred towards outsiders. Their way of thinking is highly restricted by their families, thus many Jewish youths cannot get used to the social life outside. The more they cannot get used to it, the more they are afraid to join in the normal social life. Eventually, they have unconsciously developed an 'inner oppression' within their personalities.²⁶

However, as already suggested, the image of the Jews as different could be seen both

²⁶ Ibid., p. 39.

as negative and positive. While the 'diseased Jews' were the negative manifestation of this 'difference', the 'immunity' of the 'Jews' to many other 'Western diseases' was, on the other hand, perceived as a positive result of the 'Jews' being 'different' from the 'Westerners'. It was used by some Chinese nationalistic intellectuals as a powerful inspiration for the development of eugenics in China.

The 'Jews' and Eugenics

The pseudo-science of eugenics - a belief that the genes could be controlled by human intervention - or the myth of racial improvement through selective breeding, which became important in many industrialized countries in the 1920s and 30s, reached China at the turn of the century.²⁷ Intermingled with traditional knowledge about selective breeding and 'prenatal education' (*taijiao*), it played a vital role in the discourse of race amongst many Chinese intellectuals as well as revolutionaries. Since the New Culture Movement, it had been introduced to the reading public together with the science of 'race'. It was defined by Chen Yinghuang (1877 b.), the first professor of physical anthropology at Beijing University, as the 'science of superior birth' (*Yousheng xue*).²⁸ By the middle of the 1920s, it became a household word in China through the effort of China's foremost eugenicist Pan Guangdan (1898-1967). As the founder of 'The Chinese Eugenics Institute' (*Zhongguo yousheng xuehui*) - the first eugenic organization in China - Pan strongly believed that the Eugenic movement

²⁷ For a detailed discussion see Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, chs. 5 & 6.

²⁸ Chen Yinghuang, *Renleixue* (Anthropology), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1928 (1st edn. 1918), p. 242.

should be 'citizenised' (*gongminhua*), racial improvement should be the responsibility of the state and nationalism should be closely linked with the vitality of the race. During the New Life movement, eugenic ideas were officially supported by the Nationalist Party. Eugenics was seen as an important aspect in the Nationalist Party's effort to build a 'strong and healthy nation race'. The images of the 'Jews', both as 'superior' and 'immutable', were constantly perceived as inspirations for developing 'positive eugenics' in China.

According to Yu Songhua, a left-wing intellectual who was educated in Germany in the 1920s, eugenically the 'Jewish race' were the happiest race in the world because for generations they were able constantly to produce many of the world's best talents:

Geographically speaking, the most miserable race is the one who have lost their own land and cannot form a country of their own, and therefore have to make other countries their depositories. Then from the eugenic point of view, the happiest race in this world has to be the one who is able to endlessly and constantly produce offspring with various extraordinary talents. Thus, the Jewish race may be seen as the most miserable, yet at the same time, the happiest race. Because although the Jewish people do not have a country of their own, however, throughout history most of the world's eminent philosophers, scientists, thinkers, economists, politicians, developers and revolutionaries have been Jewish.²⁹

²⁹ Yu Songhua, op. cit., p. 21.

Yu and many other intellectuals also compared the Jewish civilization with many other great civilizations, such as those of Babylon, Greece, Rome, Spain and Turkey. While the latter had collapsed as a consequence of racial decrepitude, the former, though described as 'stateless', did not only survive discrimination and persecutions for centuries, but also succeeded in keeping the vitality of their race.³⁰ Thus, the testimony of the 'Jewish survival' became the quintessential expression of the belief that in racial struggles, 'the superior win and the inferior lose' (*youshengliebai*). The 'superior Jewish race' was regarded as the model *par excellence* for the future development of the 'superior Chinese race' (*youxiu de Zhonghua minzu*). China, it was thought, had to tackle the issue of racial improvement and develop the ability to survive and progress like the 'Jewish race'.

Having believed that the family/kinship (*jiazuzhuyi*) was the essence of racial improvement in China, Pan Guangdan attributed the 'Jewish race's superiority, their strong ability to survive, to their 'Jewish' stock, strain, or breed (*xuetong*), which was regarded by him as the same as family.³¹ 'Jewish race' was therefore a 'family race' (*jiazu*). According to him, in the process of both natural and cultural selection, the Jewish family had played a vital role in the survival of the Jewish race. Judaism was regarded by him as a family religion, Yahweh was therefore a family God and the

³⁰ Yu Songhua, op. cit., p. 25, 27; also cf. Chen Changheng and Zhou Jianren, *Jinhualun yu shanzhongxue* (Evolution and eugenics), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1925, 1st edn. 1923, pp. 5-10.

³¹ See Pan Guangdan, *Zhongguo zhi jiating wenti* (Problems of the Chinese family), Shanghai: Xinyue shudian, 1940, 1st edn. 1928, pp. 316-8. Also, by the same author, 'Renwen xuanze - zongjiao zhili' (Cultural selection - examples of religions), in *Yousheng yuanli* (Basic eugenics), *Guancha congshu*, Shanghai, 1939, first published in 1935 under the title *Zongjiao yu yousheng* (Religion and eugenics), pp. 229-231.

‘Jewish race’ had benefited greatly from their family religion:

There is no race that is without a religious belief. Thus, there too isn’t a race which does not benefit from or suffer from its religion in terms of health. However, there are some differences. Amongst the three major races in the ancient Western world, the Greeks had more disadvantages [from their religion] than advantages; the Romans had first benefited [from their religion], but were damaged by it later on; the Hebrews were the only ones who had benefited greatly [from their religion] even until today [...] Amongst all the ancient Near-Eastern races, [the Jewish race] was the only positive example in the lesson of the relationship between religion and eugenics [...] The Hebrew [Jewish] race is a race of religious brilliance, its culture is a culture of religion. Today, when reading the Old Testament, one feels that for the Hebrews their religion is almost equivalent to their whole culture. In this religious culture, family is especially important.³²

Ancestor worship was seen by Pan as inseparable from the worship of Yahweh, and it was for him an important manifestation of Judaism as a family religion, which he regarded as the spiritual strength which upholds the ‘Jewish race’:

In name and system, Judaism is merely a monotheism; spiritually,

³² Pan Guangdan, *Yousheng yuanli*, pp. 224-230.

it has long included ancestor worship. Yahweh was a tribal god. In reality, he was really the chief of the [Jewish] race. No matter whether in celebration or facing danger, whenever they [Jews] plead and reply to, or praise Yahweh, don't they always list the names of their ancestors - Abraham, Isaac, Jacob? After the Jews were expelled by the Romans, they scattered amongst many other races all over Europe. Every time when they faced persecution or slaughter, didn't they always go to the graves of their ancestors to fortify themselves for a final defence? If the Hebrew race has such a strong sense of family, together with the strength of their religion which preserves it, why doubt that in the struggle for survival, [they] always have the advantage?³³

In contrast to Christianity, which regarded God as the 'Heavenly Father', Pan believed that Yahweh was not the 'Father' of the 'Jewish race'; instead, he was regarded as their overseer who constantly reminded them of their ancestors, of their blood, their breed, their strain or stock. Thus, according to Pan, the 'Jewish race' does not need to practice celibacy and they are, therefore, able to maintain their normal family life and family development without hindrance.³⁴ If ancestor worship, as well as respect for one's parents, could be seen as a positive element within Judaism which had played a progressive role in the survival of the Jews as a race, then, according to Pan, China, which also had such a practice and similar moral virtues, should carry the

³³ Ibid., p. 230.

³⁴ Pan Guangdan, *Zhongguo zhi jiating wenti*, p. 317.

practice forward and not restrain its development in the movement for racial improvement.

However, according to Pan, 'family sentiment' (*jiating qingchao*) should have dual aspects: 'On the one hand, it reminded a race of their past, on the other hand, it should provide the hope for the future of the race. One may also say that as [a race] remembers its past, therefore, also [they should] look into the future.' As for the 'Jewish race', Pan claimed that, because they had such a strong sense of 'blood kinship', they therefore stressed its transmission within the family in order to pass on their blood, their stock or their strain to future generations. The practice that a widow should marry her dead husband's brother in order that the family name 'will not be blotted out from Israel'³⁵ was valued positively by Pan:

It was regarded to be the most unfortunate thing when one dies with no offspring to inherit the family name; in order to avoid such misfortune [...] the Jews have the tradition of marriage between widows and their brothers in-law.³⁶

Such a practice was viewed by Pan as one method which enabled the 'Jewish race' to survive and to pass on their family 'blood' to their offsprings. As for China, Pan believed that bigamy was not necessarily negative as it could provide the same 'positive' solution to keep the family name, with the same 'blood' running through generations without breach.

³⁵ Deut., 25:6.

³⁶ Pan Guangdan, *Yousheng yuanli*, p. 230.

Moreover, Pan praised the Jewish race's positive attitude towards sex as another advantage of Judaism as a family religion. According to him, Judaism did not regard sex as a sin and did not forbid it as many other religions did. This was seen by him as one of the important reasons why the 'Jews' managed to keep up the quantity of their race:

We can therefore imagine that at least in quantity, there is no fear for the maintenance of the Jewish race. Reality has proved this: of the six to seven million population in New York, more than one quarter are Jewish.³⁷

Apart from advocating the idea of keeping a high reproduction rate, Pan also pointed out that keeping the high quality of the newborn, in other words the improvement of the genetic inheritance of the family, was another important instrument for 'struggle for survival in the universe'.³⁸ As for the 'Jewish race', according to Pan, they were not only able to achieve high quantity in their reproduction rate, but also were noted for the high quality of their population. Pan attributed this high quality of the 'Jewish race' to their 'good' marriage and breeding traditions:

They [the Jews] have many good practices in both marriage and breeding. A small part of these have been recorded in what we now call the Old Testament, the larger part has been included in their

³⁷ Ibid, p. 231.

³⁸ Pan Guangdan, *Zhongguo zhi jiating wenti*, p. 111.

law code. This law code is called Talmud. It is one of the major collections of experiences of the Hebrew race and it includes a longer time span than the Old Testament [...] It is a work which belongs to the Hebrew race only. Amongst many of the customs [in the Talmud], the most notable one is its solemnity towards marriage selection. The Hebrews are a race with religious talent and those who are called rabbis are the most outstanding priests amongst them. A rabbi is both the religious and intellectual leader [of the Jews]. The above Talmudic laws are the collection of many rabbis' thoughts, sermons and arguments. Because the [Jewish] race has these outstanding people, the standard of their marriage selection is the highest. This is one of the reasons why the Jewish race has a very high IQ and has produced many very intelligent people.³⁹

While the 'Jewish race' became a positive testimony to Pan's concepts of eugenics, which underlined the inherent superiority of the intellectual class and exalted the family as the basic unit of the nation-race, birth control, late marriage and female independence were opposed by him. For they, according to Pan, would restrain China's population growth. Instead, Pan pointing out that the traditional marriage system in China was in many ways similar to that of the Jews: it contained many

³⁹ Ibid.

aspects combining both a high reproduction rate and high morality standards.⁴⁰

If for Pan Guangdan, the 'healthy' marriage traditions of the 'Jewish race' were the major makers of the 'Jews' as a 'superior race', then, for Zan Ming the 'resistance' of the 'Jews' to many 'modern diseases', especially infectious ones such as tuberculosis, was also mainly due to such traditions. Having perceived the 'Jews' as diseased who carried the 'disease' of the 'materialistic West', Zan Ming on the other hand demonstrated that the 'Jews' however were immune to many of the most 'harmful' and 'infectious' 'modern diseases'. According to him, the 'Jews' had been living in the city amongst disease for generations and they therefore had developed resistance against all kinds of infectious disease; their strict marriage regulation which forbade them to marry out, had helped them to pass on such an 'immunity' to their offspring:

They [the Jews] will never marry other races. After a few generations, almost all the Jews who lived inside the ghetto became relatives. They are, using the biological terminology, 'pure Jews'. As a result of marriage within their own kind, they are able to keep all the advantages of their race.⁴¹

However, Zan Ming also pointed out that as the result of becoming less conservative in keeping their tradition, amongst the Jews, intermarriage was no longer a rarity for

⁴⁰ Pan Guangdan, 'Youtaiminzu yu xuanze' (Jewish race and selection), part three, *Huanian zhoukan* (Huanian weekly), eugenic supplement, Shanghai, no. 48 (Dec. 12, 1936).

⁴¹ Zan Ming, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

them. According to him, the 'immunity' of the 'Jews' therefore began to disappear as the result of intermarriage and racial assimilation. Here, according to Zan Ming, racial health - which was also relevant to the future of China as a nation - was closely linked with marriage selection. For Zan and many other Chinese eugenicists of the 1930s, marriages between the 'healthy', the 'beautiful', the 'intelligent' and the 'superior' men and women should be encouraged, whereas marriages between the 'superior' and 'inferior', between the 'diseased' and 'healthy', between the 'intelligent' and the 'stupid' and so on should be prevented.⁴² The danger to the 'Jewish race' of losing their 'immunity' as the result of intermarriage was used, if not as a warning, at least as a lesson for marriage practice in China.

While marriage selection was perceived as the key element to maintain a 'pure', 'healthy', 'intelligent' and 'superior' 'Han-Chinese race', it was also thought that a 'healthy' life style would contribute greatly to maintain the vitality of the race. Apart from their family heredity, Zan Ming regarded the healthy dietary and living habits of the 'Jews' as the other reasons which helped the Jews to develop their resistance against many diseases:

Jewish people like clean food, also they are very restricted in drinking. When it's very hot or very cold, they refuse to go outside to work. Whenever they feel slightly ill, even if it just a small discomfort in their body, they always go to see the doctors immediately. Thus, they never need to face very serious illness. From this one may see that living habits and environment are also

⁴² For further reading see Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, pp. 177-190.

closely related to the immunity of the Jews.⁴³

The concept of the correct life style as a vital contribution to the vitality of the race became an important aspect of the New Life Movement. According to Jiang Jieshi, 'dressing, eating, living and behaviour' (*yishizhuxing*) were closely linked with a national spirit. Dressing tidily, eating healthy and clean food, non-smoking, not spitting and so on were all regarded by him as essentials to the revival of the country and the Chinese race.⁴⁴

Although, some of China's eugenicists, such as Zhang Junjun, became interested in Hitler and Nazi eugenic policies, anti-semitism and racism in general, which had played an essential part in Nazi eugenic propaganda, however received relatively little attention in the discourse of eugenics in China.⁴⁵ As matter of fact, the 'Jews', who were represented as both 'negative' and 'inferior' in Nazi Germany, had played a rather positive role in the eugenic discourse in China. Such a positive image of the 'Jews' was later reconfigured and used by left-wing intellectuals in China in their fight against Fascism - namely the Japanese invaders.

The 'Jews' as Products of Racial Discrimination

It would be an oversimplification to presume that all intellectuals in modern China articulated racial discourse in the same way. While the notion of 'one homogenous

⁴³ Zan Ming, op. cit., p. 40.

⁴⁴ Jiang, op. cit., pp. 112-9.

⁴⁵ For discussion see Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, pp. 185-7.

race' prevailed among many Chinese intellectuals with regard to the 'Jews', a few divergent voices, such as He Ziheng and Wu Qinyou, challenged such a view. In his article entitled 'The So-called Jewish People', He Ziheng used scientific methods to undermine the idea of the 'Jewish race'.⁴⁶ By using various statistics, he showed that a large percentage of Jews in different countries did not have the so-called 'Semitic' nose, shape of head, deep dark eyes or black hair, and 'no one can tell a Jew from an American or a European unless the Jews write the word "Jew" on their forehead.' He also dismissed the idea that all Jews shared 'common blood', pointing out instead that intermarriage between Jews and other 'races' was commonly practised throughout history. According to him, the 'Jews' were not a special nor a pure 'race', instead, they were merely products and victims of racial discrimination:

If the Jews were not oppressed nor discriminated against by external forces, then most of them would no doubt be assimilated and become members of other races [...] In present day Germany, they still regard the Jews as a special race marked with different features and they are unable to assimilate them into [the German race], they therefore have to be expelled from Germany. This is truly a mistake.⁴⁷

Even more, He Ziheng pointed out that the term 'Jew' could be used for any one

⁴⁶ He Ziheng, 'Shijieshang you chuncui de minzu ma?' (Is there any pure race in the world), *Xueshu jie* (Academic circle), 1:2 (1943), pp. 12-6.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 16.

without a country of his or her own:

As in the case of present-day in Shanghai, there are many stateless refugees who want to be accepted into Chinese society and become Chinese citizen. These stateless people, no matter what races they are from, all become 'Jews' over night.⁴⁸

Thus, the 'Jews' became an embodiment of all the stateless and the oppressed people. And for many left-wing intellectuals of the 1930s in their struggle against the immediate enemy - the Japanese 'imperialists' - and their imagined enemy - the 'white' imperialists of the West, the representation of the 'Jews' as an oppressed people had a much more profound and symbolic implication, than the 'Jews' as a race. As Wu Qinyou put it: 'The significance of the Jewish people lies not in whether they can be seen as a race or not, but in their common goal to unite together with all the oppressed people of the world and to liberate the human race.'⁴⁹ The old dichotomy between the 'white' and 'yellow' races was reconstructed by merging the social notion of 'class' with the biological myth of 'race'. As the problem of 'race' was reconfigured into a question of 'class', the symbolic role of the 'Jew' was remodelled: 'the tears, blood and death of the Jewish people have awakened the oppressed Chinese.'⁵⁰ The oppressed 'Jews' had become the comrades of the oppressed 'Chinese'

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 15.

⁴⁹ Wu Qinyou, 'Yutai minzu wenti' (Problems regarding the Jewish race), *Xin Zhonghua zazhi* (New China miscellany), 4:4 (1936), p. 7.

⁵⁰ Li Zheng, 'Guanyu pai-You' (Regarding anti-Semitism), *Yibao zhoukan* (Translation weekly), 7 Dec., 1938, p. 235.

in their struggle against all oppressors.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHINESE PERCEPTIONS OF ZIONISM: 1915-1949

Having perceived the oppressed 'Jews' as comrades of the oppressed 'Chinese', the 'Jews', as a 'race', were reclassified as one of the 'weak and small nation/races' (*ruoxiao minzu*)¹. The discourse of the 'weak and small nation' began to emerge in China after World War I as the result of the breakdown of the big imperial powers and the increasingly growing nationalistic movements in various parts of the colonial world. It was amplified as a consequence of the Japanese invasion in the 1930s.

It had once been hoped the same 'yellow skinned' Japanese would fully sympathize with the Chinese in their struggle against the 'white skinned' westerners. It had once been advocated that Pan-Asianism would insure the survival of the 'yellow race'. Many Chinese intellectuals suddenly found 'their' 'Chinese race' (*Zhonghua minzu*) not being slaughtered by the 'white' Westerners but by the 'yellow' Japanese, and 'their' country was in danger of losing its independence. In anguish and desperation, many left wing intellectuals restarted their search for the survival of the 'Chinese nation' (*Zhonghua minzu*). Many became convinced that the only hope for China was to fight against the Japanese 'imperialist' and to restore China's freedom from the yoke of the Japanese.

Thus, the Chinese as a 'nation' (*minzu*), in their struggle against the 'yellow skinned' Japanese, had to re-identify themselves not according to the colour of their

¹ The term *minzu* in Chinese has the dual meaning of both 'nation' and 'race'. For a discussion on the term *minzu* see Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, pp. 108-9.

skin, but with all people in the world who were fighting for their freedom. 'Race' or 'blood stock' was no longer thought to be the sole criterion which separated one group from another. As the result, so called nationality studies (*minzu xue*) were activated in China. The 'nation' came to be seen as the basic unit for the classification of human society. It was suggested by Wei Huilin, an advocator of nationality studies, that a 'nation' was much more complex than a 'race', for it consisted of people not only with common blood, but also people who share a common language, culture and more importantly a common land.² He then divided human society into four groups: the 'strong nations', the 'independent nations', the 'weak and small nations' and the 'primitive nations'. The 'weak and small nations' were portrayed as victims of imperialism.³

According to Wu Qinyu, all the 'weak and small nations' of the world shared three common characteristics: first, they had been deprived of their right of livelihood in the land where they were living through invasions by various imperial powers; secondly, they had been enslaved under the imperial powers' economic might; thirdly, most of them had suffered genocide.⁴

For Hu Yuzhi, by then an active communist and the editor of *Eastern Miscellany*, the small and weak nations included all the oppressed nations who were under partial colonial and white domination; all those minority people who were

² Wei Huilin, 'Lun shijie wenhua yu minzu guanxi zhi qiantu' (A discussion on the future of the relationship between cultures and nations of the world), *Minzuxue yanjiu jikan* (Nationality studies quarterly), 6 (1936), p. 4.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Wu Qinyu, 'Huoguan bengfa zhong de shijie ruoxiao minzu wenti' (The problem of the weak and small nation/races of the world under the bursting of fire), *Xin Zhonghua zazhi* (New China miscellany), 4:1 (1936), p. 33.

neither politically independent nor assimilated by the culture of the country in which they were living; and all small countries which had emerged after World War I.⁵ Thus, alongside the Chinese under the invasion of the Japanese, and the Jews under the oppression of the Germans, as well as the Koreans, the Malays, the Palestinians and many other groups under colonial rule were listed as the 'weak and small nation/races'.⁶

As the role of the 'Jews' had been endowed with universal significance, it seemed that the Zionist movement, which was perceived by Sun Yatsen and his followers as the nationalistic movement of the Jewish people,⁷ and Zionism, an inspiration for the Chinese nationalists, also needed to be redefined in a wider context; in other words, it could no longer be seen as merely the movement of the Jewish people but as a part of the worldwide liberation movement of the 'weak and small nations'. However, the task of redefining the Zionist movement or Zionism was a problematic one.

In China, just as the term the 'Jews' or 'Jewishness', the definition/s of Zionism was/were and still is/are very complex, often confusing and even contradictory. While it was acclaimed by many nationalists, such as Sun Yatsen, as the 'Jewish nationalism', it was also disparaged by nationalists like Dai Jitao, an

⁵ Hu Yuzhi, 'Xian shijie de ruoxiao minzu jiqi gaikuang', *Wenxue* (Literature), special supplement for the weak and small nations literature, no. 5 (May 1934), p. 789f.

⁶ Zheng Chang, *Shijie ruoxiao minzu wenti* (Problems of the weak and small nation/races of the world), Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1936. Also, Wei Huilin, 'Lun shijie wenhua yu minzu guanxi zhi qiantu', pp. 1-7; Baimang, 'Ruoxiao minzu jieshao' (A survey of weak and small nations), *Dushu shenghuo* (Life of reading), 4:7 (August 10, 1936).

⁷ Cf. the section on 'The Jews as Nationalists' in chapter two of this thesis.

advocator of Sun's 'Three people's principles', as the epitome of 'Western imperialism'. On the other hand, the Zionist movement had been perceived by many intellectuals of the May Fourth period, also of the 1930s and 40s, as the 'Jewish renaissance movement' or the 'Jewish national reconstruction movement'.

Such a complexity was however not surprising. As a matter of fact, the term Zionism was and still is as problematic amongst Zionists and Jewish intellectuals as it is in modern China. There was never an unified definition of Zionism and it could mean almost anything to anybody.⁸ For Theodor Herzl, the accepted founder of Zionist ideology, and his audiences, Zionism was about establishing a Jewish homeland, and as far they understood, the site of this homeland was not in Palestine but in Uganda. However, as David Goldberg suggested in his recent book *To the Promised Land*, 'Zionism's founders were as spectacularly mistaken about the course that their movement would take as was Karl Marx about the future of Communism ... Whatever they proposed was beyond their powers to control - at the mercy of larger historical currents and subject to the fluctuations of international politics.'⁹ Therefore, as to the Chinese intellectuals, they were not obliged to be consistent about how they interpreted Zionism. Secondly, many of them were not really interested in the essence of Zionism. There were no organised, systematic or extensive studies on the ideology and the movement itself. Most of them took any material which appealed to them.

⁸ For a general view see *EJ*, 1972 ed., vol 16, under 'Zionism'. Also see David Vita, *The origins of Zionism*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975; also, *Zionism: the formative years*, 1982, and *Zionism: the crucial phase*, 1987, Oxford: Clarendon Press. For a more recent and controversial discussion see Alexander Baron, *All Jews are Zionists: nailing the lie*, London: Anglo-Hebrew Publishing, 1993. Also cf. Robert S. Wistrich, ed., *Anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism in the contemporary world*, England: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1990.

⁹ David J. Goldberg, *To the promised land*, London: Penguin, 1996, p. 245.

Thirdly, from the collapse of the Qing government till the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, there was never a single voice in China, thus it is not surprising to find that there were different views about Zionism.

Zionism and the Jewish 'Homeland'

The Zionist movement began to reach China as early as in 1903 when a rich Sephardic Jewish merchant, N. E. B. Ezra (died in 1936), established the first Zionist organisation in Shanghai. In order to spread Zionist ideology and also to protect the rights of the Shanghai Jews, in 1904 Ezra also began to publish *Israel Messenger*, a monthly publication in the English language. Although Ezra had made an active effort to win the understanding and support for the Zionist movement from Chinese nationalists, such as Sun Yatsen, the Zionist movement in Shanghai was largely confined to Jewish circles both locally and globally. There was very little contact between them and the Chinese. *Israel Messenger*, which was closed in 1910 and re-issued in 1917, was mainly circulated amongst the Shanghai Jewish community. Thus, it is appropriate to suggest that Zionism was primarily introduced to the Chinese readers via Japan and America during World War I. It was often regarded as the movement to re-establish a Jewish state. According to a Japanese source entitled 'The future of the Jews', from the *Rising Sun Magazine*, which was translated into Chinese in 1918 and was published in the *Eastern Miscellany*, Zionist ideology was based on the 'aged Jewish ideology' of rebuilding the ancient Jewish Temple:

The so-called Zionists are the believers in Yahweh who are

planning to rebuild the temple of Yahweh. The temple of Yahweh was built during the time of king David one thousand years before the birth of Christ. It was in fact a state temple for the Jews. Although, to rebuild a three thousand year old temple seems to be an old idea, it is in truth [an ideology] to rebuild the ancient Jewish state.¹⁰

It was suggested that this ideology of rebuilding a Jewish state emerged as the result of the anti-Semitism in Europe:

Because of the anti-Semitism, as described above, the Jews had to find a way of self-defence. [The Jews] regarded the reason for their oppression was that they had lost their land and had no home to return to. Thus, unless they could possess a piece of land and build a country, they wouldn't be able to fight against anti-Semitism.¹¹

Here, the future of Jewish people was thus projected onto Zionism. Zionism, which was perceived as the 'Jewish nationalism', was considered to be the sole solution for the survival of the 'great Jewish people' (*weida zhi Youtairen*). Such a perception was appropriated by Sun Yatsen, and some other Chinese nationalists of his time, who saw

¹⁰ Jun Shi, 'Youtairen zhi weilai' (The future of the Jews), *DFZZ*, 15:10 (October 5, 1918), p. 50.

¹¹ Ibid.

Zionism as an inspiration for promoting their own racial nationalism.¹²

To promote nationalism, according to Sun, China had to secure its territories and avoid being colonised by imperial powers both politically and economically; internally, China should end tangled conflicts amongst the various warlords in different regions and the Chinese people should unite as one race to build a 'Great Republic of China' (*Da Zhonghua minguo*). The concept of 'homeland' (*jiaoxiang/gutu*) was seen as an important element, alongside a common blood, language, religion and custom, which bound the 'Han' race, or any races, together, because, as Sun articulated, it was 'homeland' which had nursed (*runyu*) a race and culture and it was upon which a country was built. Without a 'homeland' and a country, it was thought that four hundred million Chinese people were like 'a handful of scattered sand'.¹³ It was reasoned by nationalists such as Hu Xuyu, that without their 'homeland', without a country of their own, even the 'Jewish race', who had survived for centuries, was in danger of disappearing in an overwhelmingly anti-Semitic Europe; the 'Jewish nationalistic spirit' (*Youtai minzu jingshen*) was believed to be facing a severe threat under the rule of the imperial powers. According to Hu, the Jews of Europe, without a country of their own, without a central leadership, and scattered under various imperial powers, when the War broke out, were forced by these imperial powers to fight their own fellow men (*tongbao*) and to be destroyed by their own kind (*tonglei*). 'No other tragedies in the world can compare with this one of being brutalised by their own kind and being slaughtered by their own race (*tongzhong*)', commented Hu, who regarded the splitting within a race as the greatest

¹² See the section on 'the Jews as Nationalists' in chapter two of this thesis.

¹³ Sun, *Sanmin zhuyi*, pp. 64-8.

menace for the survival of any race.¹⁴ In other words, the 'Chinese' must not follow the example of the 'Jews' and not kill their own people; Chinese people had to learn from the misfortune of the 'Jews'. Once again, the lament of the 'Jewish' present served as a negative warning for the future prospect which awaited the Chinese. In order to survive, it was believed, China had to unite and the Jews to rebuild a Jewish state.¹⁵

When British Zionists, such as Weizmann, hoped that the outbreak of World War I would result in Palestine coming under the trusteeship of the British empire, therefore in 1916 the Zionist Chief Bureau submitted a memorandum to the British government demanding the rights of the Jewish people in Palestine: that free immigration be permitted and the status of the Zionist institution be legalised after the 'liberation' of Palestine. Hu Xueyu and a few other nationalists in China supported such an action. According to Hu, if the Jewish race was to survive, they desperately needed to build an independent Jewish state of their own where all Jewish people from various parts of the world could live together; where they no longer needed to be slaves or subjects, but citizens of their own country; where 'being brutalised by their own kind (*tonglei xiang can*) and being slaughtered by their own race (*tongzhong xiang sha*)' would no longer happen again. Therefore, as Hu believed, the Jewish people should not lose the opportunity of the War to reclaim their homeland and to rebuild their country. Here, the 'Jewish homeland', or Palestine, was regarded as significant. Just as Sun Yatsen claimed that the region of the Pearl River was vital to

¹⁴ Hu Xuyü, transl. 'Youtairen zhi hudasheng' (The voices of the Jewish people), *DFZZ*, 13:5 (Oct., 1916), pp. 36-7.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

the development of the Chinese race and culture, it was also believed that it was from Palestine where the ancestors of the Jewish people had come, where the 'great Jewish culture' had developed and it was with Palestine, 'the Jewish homeland', that all the Jews in various parts of world could currently be identified. 'Homeland' was thus seen as a material representation of racial heredity; 'homeland' was thought to be the root of any race. Without it, a race was regarded to be 'rootless' or 'stateless' like the Jews. The future of the Jews was thus projected onto the returning of their homeland, their roots. It was thought that only by returning to their roots could the Jewish race be preserved. Just as the Zionists' call for the returning to the 'Jewish homeland' was seen as the 'Jewish awakening', it was also believed that the task of the Chinese nationalists was to wake the 'four hundred million fellow Chinese still asleep'.

However, for many Chinese intellectuals of the May Fourth era, Zionism was more than just an ideology of rebuilding a Jewish homeland, it was often perceived as a 'Jewish renaissance movement' (*Youtai fuxin yundong*).

Zionism and the Chinese Renaissance

Although, many today will argue about the real nature of the May Fourth movement, it was regarded by many leaders of the movement, such as Chen Duxiu and Hu Shi, as a 'Chinese renaissance' in its early stage.¹⁶ Also, according to Chow Tse-tsung, later in the 1920s 'many liberal authors took this view when writing about the movement.'¹⁷ Thus, it is not surprising to find that during this period many of these

¹⁶ For the discussion see Chow Tse-tsung, op. cit., conclusion, p. 338f.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Chinese authors also took an interest in the renaissance movements in other parts of the world. Alongside literature on the European renaissance and Japanese reformation, one also finds that Zionism was often applauded as a Jewish cultural and political renaissance. In her article 'Voices from Afar', Irene Eber suggests that such a perception of Zionism was a misunderstanding by Chinese intellectuals, which was due to their being misled by their sources.¹⁸ However, it is also important to take into consideration that the real interests of these Chinese intellectuals was not Zionism, but the 'Jewish renaissance'. In other words, it was not Zionism itself, but the renaissance elements within Zionism which attracted many Chinese authors and their readers. It was precisely for this reason that, although much of the material which these Chinese authors used seemed to be fairly anti-Semitic, and in many cases Zionism and Freemasonry were confused by them, their attitudes towards Zionism were generally rather positive. It is therefore more accurate to suggest that these Chinese authors twisted their anti-Semitic sources to support their views, rather than that they were misled by their sources.

Having proclaimed that cultural renaissance, or intellectual renewal, was essential to the future survival of the Chinese nation/race, Zionism was portrayed as an international movement of restoring the Jewish cultural heritage in order to save the Jewish race:

The Jewish people's unique culture has been assimilated by Western culture. The reason for this is because the Jews are scattered in various countries and have been influenced by the

¹⁸ Eber, 'Voices from afar', pp. 26-9.

changing environment. Therefore, to sustain their [Jewish] identity, they must establish their own country in order to preserve and develop their culture. Clearly, Zionism is not to blindly uphold national pride, but to make a final effort for the survival of the Jewish race [...] If the Jews could use their innate ability and potential power to develop step by step, then it will be easy for the Jewish state to obtain an important position on the map of the world.¹⁹

Here, cultural assimilation was described as a form of anti-Semitism, and it was thought to threaten the survival of the 'great and talented Jewish race'. Zionism was thus perceived to be a renaissance movement to perpetuate and restore the special Jewish culture in order to resist assimilation by others. To achieve such a cultural, also political, renaissance, as Yu Songhua indicated, the Zionist party in Palestine had launched an extensive programme in Jewish education in the process of Jewish cultural restoration. Yu was a left wing intellectual who was educated in Germany in the 1920s and was said to have become increasingly sympathetic towards this Jewish renaissance movement after having encountered the brutal anti-Semitism which the Jewish people faced in Germany. Furthermore, Yu noted that to popularize the modern Hebrew language was the prime object of the cultural restoration programme. According to Yu, to restore the superior Jewish culture, to avoid the reoccurrence of cultural assimilation, it was necessary for the Jewish people to revive the Hebrew

¹⁹ You Xiong, 'Yutai minzu zhi xianzhuang jiqi qianli' (The present situation of the Jewish race and their potential), *DFZZ*, 18:12 (June, 1921), p. 24.

language - the language of their ancestors and their Jewish cultural heritage - and to make it the living language of the 'rebuilt Jewish state'; also, to reconstruct a Jewish national identity, the Jews of various parts of the world, with different tongues, must have an unified language of their own, an official language (*guanhua*) of the Jews.²⁰ Clearly, such an interpretation echoed the call to promote the national language (*guoyu*) in China during the New Culture Movement.

The programme to advocate a national language was first proposed in 1906 by the Alliance of Students in Shanghai from all Provinces (*Gesheng liu-Hu xuesheng zhonghui*). The alliance was organised mainly by students returning from Japan and it attempted to act on behalf of all students from the various provinces of the Qing empire who were studying in Shanghai. Alongside the China Public Institute (*Zhongguo gongxue*), another organisation established by returning students from abroad, it promoted new learning. According to Chow Tse-tung, this 'was the first time modern Chinese students made an effort to unite on a nation-wide basis and to pay attention to the social, cultural, and political reform of China.'²¹ With its main aim to 'unite student groups of all the schools in order to lead to the establishment of a Parliament in the future', the alliance launched twelve programmes including 'to train people to speak the national language in order to eliminate the dialects of the provinces.' These programmes, as suggested by Chow Tse-tung, were 'a reflection of

²⁰ Yu Songhua, 'Balesitan difang Yalabuoren yu Youtairen de minzuyundong' (The Arabs and Jewish national movement in Palestine), *DFZZ*, Shanghai, 25:8 (April, 1928), pp. 27-19.

²¹ Chow, op. cit. p. 34. For more studies on the language reform see Bonnie S. McDougall, *The introduction of Western literary theories into modern China*, 1919-1925, Tokyo: The Centre for East Asia Cultural Studies, 1971; also Merle Goldman, ed., *Modern Chinese literature in the May Fourth era*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977.

the national aspirations of patriotic students at the time.²²

Although, the alliance was short-lived due to poor organisation, the programme of promoting the national language lived on and it became an intrinsic part of the cultural reconstruction discourse during the New Culture Movement. The national language of China, as represented by leaders of the New Culture Movement, such as Hu Shi, should be the vernacular, the language of the masses, the language of the living, the new literature and renaissance.²³ While Hu found the replacement of Latin by Italian inspiring, others, like Yu Songhua, saw the creation of modern Hebrew and the Zionist ideology behind its creation equally thrilling and perhaps more contemporary. As Italian was understood as the language of the European renaissance, modern Hebrew, as already mentioned, was perceived to be the language of 'the Jewish renaissance'.²⁴

Having perceived education as essential to cultural reconstruction in China, it was therefore understood to be necessary to introduce the vernacular as the language of the modern education system. In October 1919, the National Alliance of Education Associations submitted a proposal demanding that the government promote the vernacular officially. The proposal was granted in the following year. By 1921, the vernacular was officially recognised as the national language of China and it began to be widely adopted in school education instead of classical Chinese.²⁵ A similar

²² Chow, op. cit., p. 34.

²³ Hu Shi, 'A discussion on constructive revolution in Chinese literature' (Jianshe de wenxue geming lun), *Xin Qingnian*, 5:3 (April, 1918).

²⁴ See the section on modern Hebrew poetry in chapter three of this thesis.

²⁵ Chow, op. cit. p. 34.

programme, as indicated by Yu Songhua, was also carried out by Zionists in Palestine: in order to achieve the Jewish cultural reconstruction programme, they first established schools and made sure every Jew, after returning to the Jewish homeland, spoke the modern Hebrew language - the language of the new Jewish state. Apart from his interest in the revival of the Hebrew language and its use in education - which he had perceived as a vital aspect in the Jewish renaissance/rebirth - Yu Songhua also regarded the effort which Zionists made to establish public schools, nurseries and entertainment places as essential to the Jewish renaissance. Having becoming increasingly attracted by socialist and communist ideologies, Yu was further convinced that Kibbutzism, or socialism, was necessary for the rebuilding of the Jewish state and its culture. However, above all, the most overwhelming thing for Yu was the enthusiasm which Zionists and Jewish people had shown in the Jewish renaissance movement:

Although the Jews are stateless people, ill treated and discriminated against everywhere, who still struggle, no matter how hard it is, to carry out the renaissance movement in their homeland, amongst their race, anyone, who has [any kind of] ability, is always happy to help in order to achieve their common goal [...] I believe if we Chinese people would have the enthusiasm and the perseverance which Jewish people have about their renaissance movement, then we would no doubt be able to achieve even more than what the Jews have achieved in their renaissance movement. Therefore, our

Chinese countrymen must consider this very carefully.²⁶

In other words, according to Yu, it was the duty of every Chinese to support and to be involved in the renaissance movement, which was launched by intellectuals like himself and the 'Jewish enthusiasm' over the Jewish renaissance should be the inspiration for the Chinese people.

Zionism as 'Imperialism'

While Zionism was seen as an inspiration for the Chinese renaissance by intellectuals of the May Fourth period, it also served as a target of the anti-imperialism campaign. The campaign was further intensified by Nationalist Party (Guomindang or GMD) members, particularly by Dai Jitao, from the end of the 1920s.²⁷ Dai was then the policy advisor for Jiang Jieshi and the GMD government. He strongly believed that the main task of the GMD should be to interpret and enforce in China Sun Yatsen's 'Three Principles of the People'.²⁸ This meant securing China's international equality and national liberty, in order to fight against 'imperialism'. As a result, Dai and his followers found the ideologies of French nationalists, such as Edouard Drumont and Charles Maurras, which had very strong anti-Semitic overtones, appealing and

²⁶ Yu Songhua, 'Youtairen yu Yutai de fuxing yundong', p. 28.

²⁷ See Ke-wen Wang, 'The Kuomintang in transition: ideology and factionalism in the "National Revolution", 1924-1932', Ph.D thesis, Michigan: UMI, 1988.

²⁸ See Dai Jitao, *Guomin geming yu Zhongguo Guomindang* (The national revolution and the GMD of China), Shanghai: Dai Jitao's Office, 1925. Also see articles on political ideology of Dai in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Nov., 1974.

interesting.

Edouard Drumont was the president of La Jeunesse Nationale et Anti-semite and Charles Maurras was one of the founders of Action Française. Both La Jeunesse Nationale and Action Française were prominent anti-Semitic organisations in France which arose about the same time as the Dreyfus affair in 1898.²⁹

Zionism, which was portrayed by Drumont, Maurras and their supporters as a destructive danger to French nationalism, was thus perceived as the epitome of 'Western imperialism', or the foreign threat. It was feared and fought against by Chinese nationalists, such as Dai Jitao. Under Dai's editorship, *Xin shengming* (New Life, which first came out in 1928 and only survived till the early 1930s), one of the nationalists' periodicals with its main purpose to discuss and promote Sun Yatsen's 'Principles', began to publish works introducing Drumont and Maurras' nationalistic ideologies. At the same time, Zionism was disparaged as an antithesis of French nationalism. In 1929, *Xin shengming* published an article entitled 'Jews and Zionism'. It was largely based on the translation of a work by Roger Lambelin, a vigorous supporter of Maurras. Lambelin was the author of *Le règne d' Israel Chez les Anglo-Saxon* (The reign of Israel over the Anglo-Saxons) and the translator of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* into French.³⁰ The article coined the term '*Youtai zhuyi*' for Zionism, which literally means 'Jewish Ideology'. This '*Youtai zhuyi*' was described to be both historical and current, both religious and racialistic, both obvious and

²⁹ For more information about Maurras and Drumont, see Poliakov, op. cit., vol. IV, part 1, section 2 on France (1870-1914) and part 2, section 8, on France (1914-1933).

³⁰ Zhuochao, transl., '*Youtairen yu Youtai zhuyi*' (The Jews and Zionism), in *Xin shengming*, monthly, Shanghai, 2:9 (1929).

mysterious. The whole world, both Eastern and Western, were described as being ruled by Jewish power, Jewish money, Jewish religion. The Jewish race was claimed to have invaded all other races. Zionism was seen as a new plot which the Jewish imperialists played in order to control the whole world. It was suggested that, in order to limit this dangerous and destructive 'Jewish power', to avoid being 'Judaized' and becoming the slave of Jewish imperialism, one must watch out and fight against Zionism.³¹

However, it is perhaps worth noting that not only Zionism, but also Fascism, in its early years, was often conflated with 'imperialism' by these Chinese nationalists. As a matter of fact, the anti-Zionism articles often appeared side by side with articles which discussed the rise of Fascism in Europe.³² As with their misconception and misrepresentation of Zionism, they never really understood, nor made any active effort to understand, Fascism. To promote nationalism, either Zionism or Fascism was at one stage artificially forced into opposition. In reality, such an opposition was however less clear than it seemed to be. Amongst GMD members, the attitudes towards both Zionism and Fascism were often quite ambiguous. While they never dismissed the nationalistic element of Zionism, in the early 1930s some of them also considered that the spirit of 'national essence' (*guocui jingsheng*) was the true characteristic of German Fascism and they found great attraction in Hitler and his Fascist party. It was also believed that to build a strong Chinese nation and to fulfil Sun Yatsen's 'Three Principles of People' in China, the GMD needed a charismatic leader like Adolf

³¹ Ibid.

³² Cf. Xiong Kangshen, 'Faxisidang de duchai zhengzhi' (The Totalitarian politics of Fascists), *Xin shengming*, Shanghai, 2:9 (1929).

Hitler. Consequently, a Fascist party, the Blue Shirt Society, emerged within GMD.³³

Although they admired Germany's National Socialism and its racial policy, Hitler's anti-Semitism did not attract much attention and was rarely discussed amongst GMD members. On the contrary, in 1939 GMD member Sun Fo, son of Sun Yatsen, proposed a plan to establish a Jewish settlement on China's South-West frontier. According to Sun Fo, such a plan could on the one hand help solve the increasingly growing Jewish refugee problem, it could, on the other hand, help China to gain the support of the English and American governments, who were thought to be pro-Jewish. Even more so, as Sun pointed out, if Jews came to settle in China, then China could benefit greatly from the rich and intelligent Jewish race.³⁴ In March 1939, the GMD government in Chongqing accepted Sun's proposal but as China was then at war with Japan and the Chongqing government was desperately short of funds, the proposal was never carried out. By contrast, together with Japan and its German allies, Wang Jingwei's pro-Japanese government in Nanjing began making anti-Jewish statements and continued the rhetoric by attacking the Jews as the evil force behind the American and British 'imperialists'.³⁵

³³ For further discussion, see L. E. Eastman, 'Fascism in Guomindang China: The Blue Shirt', in *The China Quarterly*, no. 49, 1-3 (1972). Also, Maria Hsia Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirts Society*, Institute of East Asia Studies, Berkeley: University of California, 1985; also W. F. Elkins, 'Fascism in China: The Blue Shirts Society', in *Science and Society*, 33, no. 4 (1969), pp. 426-33. For a more recent work, see De-eum Chung, 'The Blue Shirts Society in Guomindang China: 1932-1938', Ph.D thesis, 1996, SOAS, University of London, England.

³⁴ GMD Chongqing government archive, no. 025, March 7, 1939. It is now collected in the Second National Archive, Nanjing.

³⁵ Wang Jingwei's government's anti-Jewish policy will be discussed in detail at the chapter six of this thesis.

Zionists as 'Capitalists'

For the communists and many Chinese intellectuals who were studying in the West, 'imperialism' was however not simply seen as an antithesis of nationalism, but as the 'doom of capitalism'. As Jerome Ch'en pointed out, between 1918 and 1936, 'it was the period in which the democratic West had been harshly criticised by China'. One of the reasons for this was that, as a result of the depression, capitalist society seemed to become less and less functional: it did not protect the rights of the majority of people. The democratic system, in reality, began to show its deficiencies: wastefulness, unrestrained life style and corruption were all regarded to be the signs of the final death of capitalism.³⁶ Whereas, as the consequence of the success of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, more and more Chinese intellectuals began to be drawn towards communism. It replaced the ideals of 'science' and 'democracy' of the New Culture Movement, and came to be seen by many as the 'magic pill which would save the country' (*Jiuguo danjing*). Even Hu Shi, the foremost advocator of democracy and individual rights in China, in 1928 declared that he would support the 'red revolutionaries' in China if communism would bring progress to China.³⁷ In 1926, while touring around Europe, Hu Shi wrote about the Soviet system, something which was even more puzzling:

³⁶ Jerome Ch'en, 'Alienation and estrangement overseas: the changing attitudes and behaviours amongst Chinese students in English speaking countries during the two world wars', working draft, unpublished.

³⁷ Lady Hosie, *Portrait of a Chinese lady and certain of her contemporaries*, London, 1929, p. 223.

Although the Soviet regime is totalitarian, it makes full effort to promote new education and tries to produce a socialist new era. To conscientiously pursue this tendency, it will in the future move from the totalitarian system to the socialist democratic system.³⁸

Like Hu Shi, many other intellectuals also wrote articles in praise of the new Soviet system. The 'new and liberated life' of the Jewish people under the Soviets, in comparison with the persecution which they faced in the rest of Europe, was often used as a positive example of this 'new socialist era.'³⁹ While the socialist Soviet Union was regarded to be the saviour of the 'oppressed Jewish people', it was also believed by many that the future liberation of the oppressed Chinese would only be fulfilled through a communist revolution. According to Li Dazhao, one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and a mentor of Mao Zedong, the Bolshevik Revolution in 1918 marked the dawn of a 'new era' (*xin jiyuan*). For him, the pattern of progress from now on would be generated by the system of economic production as it had been foretold by Karl Marx:

From now on all knew that the productive systems can be reformed, national boundaries can be, as if, struck down, and humankind can all enjoy the right to work [...] Now the productive

³⁸ Hu Shi, *Wenchun* (Miscellany writings), 1936 edition, 3 vols, Shanghai, vol. 1, pp. 74-5.

³⁹ Yugan, 'Eguo Youtairen de yizhi yudong' (The settlement of the Jews in Russia), *DFZZ*, 25:11 (June, 1928), pp. 4-5; Qicheng, 'Youtairen zizhi yinxiang ji' (An impression of the Jewish self-ruled area), *DFZZ*, 32:15 (Aug., 1935), pp. 73-7; *etc.*

system is giving rise to a great movement. The united working class and their comrades all over the world will assemble rational production unions, break down national barriers and overthrow the world capitalist class.⁴⁰

Thus, in this new era, in which national boundaries, it was thought, would no longer be valued, 'imperialism' was forced into opposition with 'communism', the 'capitalist class' became the imagined enemy of the 'working class'. In 1930s, Zionism, which was once regarded as the epitome of Western imperialism by members of the nationalist party, was also perceived or reconfigured by some communists and leftwing intellectuals, such as Hu Yimo, as a manifestation of 'capitalism', the final struggle of imperialists in the oppressed and colonised Palestine. Zionists, or the 'Jews', who were once regarded as the power behind the 'materialistic West', were now represented as 'upper middle class capitalists'.⁴¹ On the other hand, the Palestinians, who were in conflict with Zionists, were classified as the 'working class'.⁴² In his article 'The truth about the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine', Hu sketched an awful picture of Arab labour being oppressed by Jewish capitalists in Palestine:

⁴⁰ Li Dazhao, 'Xin jiyuan' (A new era), *Meizhou pinglun* (Weekly review), 15 Jan., 1919.

⁴¹ Ibid. For a study on Zionism and British Imperialism see A. W. Kayyali, 'The historical roots of the imperialist-Zionist alliance' and Regina Sharif 'Non-Jewish Zionism: its roots and origins in England in relation to British imperialism, 1600-1919', as in A. W. Kayyali, ed., *Zionism, imperialism and racism*, London: Croom Helm, 1979, pp. 9-26, 56-70.

⁴² Hu Yimo, 'Balesitan zhi A You shikuang', *Xin Zhonghua zazhi*, 4:18 (1936), pp. 29-32.

Although Jews in the middle and eastern Europe are the oppressed people, Zionists would not however give up their racial prejudice and oppressive character; the social reason for this is that they are mainly from the conservative upper class. Because they belong to the upper class, they are, therefore, deeply imbued with capitalism. They look down on the semi-colonised Arab people [...] Zionists did not only impose on the Arab people their racial prejudice, they also deepened the social problem [in Palestine]. The Jewish immigrants brought with them huge funds to Palestine and covered this undeveloped area with a capitalistic coat [...] The Jewish capitalists need Arab labourers but treat them unfairly [...] Jews use the blood and sweat of the Arab labours to bring prosperity to Palestine, but for the Arab people there is only poverty ... ⁴³

Thus, the territory and 'racial' disputes between the Palestinians and Zionists were projected onto the more fundamental opposition between the working class and the capitalist class. The Palestinian problem was enlarged into a world problem: a problem which would later be regarded by Mao Zedong as a 'life and death struggle' (*nisi-wohuo de douzheng*). The 'Jewish nationalist movement' was redefined as an 'act of imperialism'. To advocate communism as the only 'justifiable' future system of the world, Liu Shimu, a communist and an author for *Shijie zhishi* (The World Knowledge Magazine) - one of the popular left wing publications during the 1930s and 40s and still continuing to be printed today - claimed that the future survival of the 'Jewish

⁴³ Ibid.

race' did not lie in the hands of capitalist Zionists, for Zionism was not the solution for the Jewish problem. According to him, the 'freedom' which the Jewish people 'enjoyed' in the communist Soviet Union set the perfect model for the future of the Jewish race: anti-Semitism would only vanish under communism and only communism would save the Jews and all oppressed peoples.⁴⁴

Additionally, Zionists, or the 'capitalists' in Palestine were also compared with German Nazis. As claimed by Hu Yimo, the Zionists treatment towards Arabs was no better than Hitler's treatment towards the Jews.⁴⁵ However, Hu was less inclined to address the Zionists as 'imperialists'. Like many others who had regarded the British as the 'imperialist power' behind the Jewish-Palestinian conflict, Hu called the Zionists an 'instrument of Western imperialists (*Diguo zhuyi de gongju*)'. This representation of Zionists as an 'instrument of imperialists', or the 'running dog of Western imperialists' (a term coined by Zhou Zuoren, who was thought to be pro-Japanese and anti-Western), continued and intensified during the 1950s and 1960s under communist rule.⁴⁶

Zionists as Victims of 'Imperialism' and 'Fascism'

Although, many Chinese intellectuals agreed that the conflict in Palestine was a struggle between 'imperialists' and 'oppressed people' and the British were the

⁴⁴ Shimu, 'Yutai minzu de beiai' (The sorrow of the Jewish race), *Shijie zhishi*, 4:6 (June, 1936), pp. 312-7.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 30.

⁴⁶ Qimin (Zhou Zuoren), 'Yindu yu Yiselle' (India and Israel), in *Renmin wenxue*, July, 1957.

'imperialist power' who were ultimately responsible for this conflict, not all regarded the Zionists as the 'instrument of British imperialists'. Rather, many saw Zionists together with Palestinians, alongside the 'oppressed' (*bei yapo de*) Chinese themselves, as victims of 'imperialism' and 'Facsism'.

Again, 'imperialism' was frequently conflated with 'fascism' by these Chinese intellectuals. For instance, the 'Japanese invaders' were often referred to as the 'Japanese imperialist fascists' (*Riben diguo zhuyi faxisi*) or 'Japanese fascist imperialists' (*Riben faxisi diguo zhuyi*). At the same time, the term 'fascist imperialists' was also constantly used to refer to the Nazi Germans. While China's resistance towards the Japanese invasion was regarded as a part of the world's anti-imperialists movement, the Zionist movement in Europe was often interpreted as the 'Jewish people's anti-German-Fascist-imperialists movement' (*Youtai renmin fan Deguo faxisi diguo zhuyi yundong*) and was also seen as a part of the same movement.⁴⁷ According to Ji Xianlin, China's foremost indologist who was studying in Germany shortly before and during World War II, Hitler had classified both the Chinese and the Jews as inferior races, in contrast to the Aryan race, and therefore, they (the Chinese and the Jews) were 'suffering brothers' (*nanxiong nandi*).⁴⁸ At the same time, the Palestinian struggle in the Middle-East was described as the movement of the Palestinian people against the 'British imperialists'. By identifying their national struggle with the racial struggles of the Zionists and the Palestinians, the Chinese 'nationalistic intellectuals' (*aiguo zhishi fenzi*), as they often referred to themselves,

⁴⁷ Cf. the section on 'The "Jews" as victims of racial discrimination' in chapter four of this thesis.

⁴⁸ Ji Xianlin, *Liu-De shinian* (Ten years of studying in Germany), Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 1992, p. 34.

believed they would therefore be able to obtain the support and sympathy of the world in their war against the Japanese invasion and their anti-Japanese course would thus be universally justified.

As for the conflict between the Zionists and the Palestinians in Palestine, it was described as a 'trap' which was set up by the 'British imperialists' in order to sustain their imperial rule in the Middle-East:

In the past ten years, although on the surface the Arab and Jewish conflict in Palestine seemed to be purely a racial conflict and the British seemed to be only the third person in the middle, the reality is very different. Behind this so called racial conflict, there lies a much more critical international background. Clearly, the British imperialists are the evil hands which direct and conduct the Zionists. [However], the real motive of the British was not to help the Jews to establish their 'national home', but to use the Jewish nationalistic movement to stir up the anger of the Arabs and to cause the bloodshed between the two people. The British could thus break down the independence movement of the Arab people and secure their own rule over the Near-East.⁴⁹

The Palestinian struggle was therefore portrayed to be basically anti-British. The concept of a 'historical hatred' between the Jews and Arabs was dismissed; instead

⁴⁹ Zhang Xi, 'Balesitan wenti yu Jin-Dong de guoji menzheng' (The problem of Palestine and the international struggle in the Near-East), *Shijie zhishi*, 8:10 (Nov., 1938), pp. 313-4.

it was pointed out that the Jews and the Arabs originally belonged to the same Semitic race, and for centuries they had been living together in harmony in the land of Palestine. It was also suggested that, at the beginning, the Arabs were very sympathetic towards the Zionist movement and even Prince Feisal admitted to Weizmann in 1918 that the Zionist movement was not an imperialistic movement but a nationalistic movement. On the other hand, it was claimed that Zionists had brought much benefit to an under-developed Palestine. Contrary to Hu Yimo's description of the Zionist exploitation of Palestinians, Zionists were praised for having introduced new technology, built new cities and brought with them much capital to Palestine. It was believed that the Zionists had improved social and economic life in Palestine. Therefore, it was suggested that there should not be any conflict between the Jews and Arabs. To solve the current Palestinian problem, an article in *New China Miscellany* declared:

We sincerely hope that the Jewish and Arab people would separate good from evil, benefit from harm. They should be aware not to be deceived by the imperialists and should avoid becoming like two 'racial crickets'; instead, they should unite. The small and the weak should give each other a hand, pointing the knife towards their common enemy to find a way to survive together.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Yanming, 'Dongluan de Balesitan minzu jiufen wenti' (The problem of the racial conflict in the tormented Palestine), *Xin Zhonghua zazhi*, 4:12 (1936), p. 36. Also cf. Geng Danru, 'Baleshitan shijian zhi poushi' (Discussing the Palestinian affair), in *DFZZ*, 33:15 (1936), pp. 15-24;

Similar sentiment and phrases could also be found amongst those voices who supported and encouraged the formation the 'United Front' between the GMD and the CCP at the time of 'national crisis': the Japanese invasion. In December, 1936, Zhang Xueliang, the exiled warlord from northeastern China, which was then under Japanese occupation, arrested the GMD president Jiang Jieshi in Xi'an. By taking Jiang as his hostage, Zhang demanded talks between the GMD and their main opposition, the CCP, with the object of uniting both parties to fight against their 'common enemy' (*gongtong de diren*) - the Japanese. This became known as the 'Xi'an incident' (*Xi'an shibian*). It was a very significant moment for China, both nationally and internationally. Nationally, for the first time in ten years, China had achieved internal peace. Various social groups in China were never more united over the issue of China's future survival against external forces. As in their perception of the Zionists and Arabs, many intellectuals, who supported the unification, often affirmed that the GMD and the CCP came from the same stock and that they shared the same 'Chinese blood'. In comparison with China's present 'national urgency' - the danger of becoming stateless (*wangguo*) - the conflict between the two parties was said to be a nullity.

Thus, it was believed by many that the two parties should put their country, their national survival first and unite as one to fight against the 'Japanese fascist imperialists'. The situation in Palestine was, therefore, a reflection of China's own crisis, whereas the resolution of 'surviving together', as suggested to the Zionists and Palestinians, was further reified as the major solution for the survival of China. Internationally, the 'Xi'an incident' was used by the world's major powers, especially the Soviet Union (In November 1936, Japan and Germany had passed an anti-

Communist agreement), as an opportunity to pull China into their ideological war against the German and the Japanese. Thus, on a larger scale, China's war against their Japanese invaders was no longer just a war for 'national survival', but China now had a major role to play in international politics.

China at the UN and its Attitude Towards the Partition of Palestine

By 1943, the War, both in Europe and Asia, had almost come to the end. Japan's defeat in China seemed only a matter of time. Now, one of the main tasks for the GMD was to reconstruct and to secure the role of China on the stage of international politics during the War. To stress China's international importance, Jiang Jieshi pointed out that:

The nations of the world are now so interdependent that China cannot get along without the co-operation of the West, and the West cannot get along without China. China is fulfilling her obligations in the cause of international justice. She expects that every peace-loving nation will contribute an equal share toward that end.⁵¹

To fulfil its 'obligations' to 'international justice', the post-war Republican government of China took an active role in the preparatory work for the formation the

⁵¹ Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi), *Resistance and reconstruction*, New York: Harper & Bros., 1943.

United Nations. On October 31, 1942, at a meeting of the People's Political Council, Jiang Jieshi declared that 'No difficulties or sacrifices must deter us from the fulfilment of duties as one unit of the United Nations.'⁵² Although he had constantly denied the suggestion that China was attempting to replace the role of Japan as the dominant power of Asia, by stressing the GMD's anti-imperialism policy, Jiang did not suppress the GMD's desire that China, now the strongest nation in Asia, should become the leader of the region.⁵³ In order to alleviate any suspicion that China was hoping to become the 'super imperialist power' of Asia, Jiang went on to explain this leadership role, which China was about to take, as 'not for us boastfully to talk of our right to a position of leadership in Asia. In the spirit of the saying in our country that all men are brothers, we must treat all peoples in Asia and elsewhere as equals.' Furthermore, in a statement to the *Herald Tribune*, Jiang claimed that 'Having herself been a victim of exploitation, China has infinite sympathy for submerged nations of Asia, and toward them China feels she has only responsibilities - not rights.'⁵⁴ This self-appointed 'peace making' leadership role had led China to play an indisputable part in the UN's resolution over the partition of Palestine.

The Palestine question was first brought before the UN on April 2, 1947 by the United Kingdom's representative who asked that the question be placed on the

⁵² Jiang Jieshi's speech to the People's Political Council on October 31, 1942. Also cf. *China and the United Nations*, by China Institute of International Affairs, Connecticut: Green Press for Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1975, pp. 20-23.

⁵³ See Jiang's statement published by *New York Herald Tribune*, November 18, 1942; also Jiang's speech to People's Political Council on October 31, 1942. Cf. Dr. Qiu Taichi's statement on behalf of the GMD in 'Chinese News Service', *Contemporary China*, New York, vol. 1, no. 18 (Jan. 26, 1942).

⁵⁴ *Herald Tribune*, November 18, 1942.

agenda of the General Assembly and a special session of the Assembly be convened to constitute a special committee to prepare for the consideration of the question. The Assembly met in special session on April 28 and on May 15 of the same year and established the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. As the result of its work, the Special Committee submitted a report recommending a plan of partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states within an economic union. The report was discussed by the General Assembly at its second regular session, at which it adopted a resolution approving the plan of partition.

To uphold China's role as the 'peace-maker' of Asia, as well as for the whole world, Chinese delegate Liu Chieh constantly stressed that China's position over the Palestine question was that the ultimate peace of the region must come first:

The Chinese delegation has made it clear that in the formulation of such a plan, the welfare of the inhabitants of Palestine must be considered of paramount importance, and that the decision of the General Assembly must take into account not one or two individual factors, but all the factors which have given rise to the present situation. Above all, the ultimate aim of peace in the Middle East, and consequently in the whole world, should be given the greater possible assurance. From the point of view of the United Nations, the yardstick in the measurement of any proposal must be the extent to which peace and tranquillity in that part of the world may

be assured by its adoption ...⁵⁵

On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly passed the resolution which approved the decision to partition Palestine into two states by a majority of thirty-three to thirteen. China abstained from voting as the Chinese delegation pointed out that the plan of partition did not provide adequately the assurances for peace and tranquillity. China's fear had become reality in May 1948, when the new state of Israel was proclaimed upon the termination of the British mandate on the basis of the 1947 General Assembly resolution. Widespread armed hostility ensued between the Israeli army and the Palestinian Arab militia. It was obvious that the General Assembly's resolution on 29th of November, 1947, did not achieve its goal of bringing 'peace and tranquillity' to prevail in Palestine; instead, violations of the armistice repeatedly occurred and the situation seemed worse than ever. With the attempt to solve the Middle East problem and to maintain, if not the peace, then the precarious truce of the region, the Security Council had held various discussions. Throughout these discussions, Tsiang Tinfu, the Chinese representative, had made known his country's views over the issue. Regarding the partition plan, Tsiang strongly opposed the suggestion that the Security Council should authorize the use of force to overcome 'the existing vigorous Arab resistance to partition':

It is my profound conviction that the Security Council should not
furnish such force and should not authorize such use of force.

⁵⁵ General Assembly, Official Records (G.A.O.R): 2nd session, 126th plenary Mtg., November 1947, pp. 1379-80.

Instead of furnishing such force or authorizing such use of force, we should, consistent with our primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, order a truce, both military and political. By this time it is clear that a simple military truce cannot be secured without a simultaneous political truce or moratorium.⁵⁶

To reinforce the above view, Tsiang went on to point out that 'the United Nations was created mainly for the maintenance of international peace. It would be tragic indeed if the United Nations, by attempting a political settlement, should be the cause of a war.'⁵⁷

Two months later, at the Security Council's 296th meeting, Tsiang again upheld China's position for peace and stressed its opposition towards the partition plan:

In connection with the situation in Palestine, my delegation can envisage two kinds of peace. One kind is simple peace - peace without prejudice to the rights, claims and legal position of the two parties concerned. The other type of peace which we can envisage is peace with partition ... [We have] always urged the United Nations to promote peace - simple peace - above everything else.

⁵⁶ Security Council Official Records (S.C.O.R.): 3rd Yrs., 271 st Mtg., March 19, 1948, pp. 170-1.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 171.

We think that a simple peace is a more just peace. We also think that simple peace is an easier achievement than a peace with partition.⁵⁸

As for the truce, it was suggested that China had believed 'the truce must be strictly observed to achieve a peaceful settlement in Palestine':

formal peace cannot be achieved if, in the meantime, the truce is not observed. Up to the present time in this arduous task which we have undertaken in Palestine, it appears to this delegation that the most substantial achievement has been the truce, and it is on the truce that we build what we hope to build; that is the rock on which we really must build the final peace.⁵⁹

For the Chinese delegation, the peaceful settlement in Palestine was its ultimate goal. On July 14th, following the United States' draft resolution ordering an immediate and unconditional cease-fire in Palestine, the Chinese representative stated two objections to the draft: In the first place, the Chinese representative pointed out that the juridical question pertaining to the status of Palestine was of considerable importance, and an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice would be extremely helpful. In the second place, it was suggested that the United States draft resolution offered the Arabs no alternative to war, nor a substitute for it. Under its terms, one party would

⁵⁸ S.C.O.R.: 296th Mtg., May 1948.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

retain all its gains and would not be urged to start negotiation which would result in a compromise.

Being 'unreservedly in favour of peace', the Chinese delegation proposed an amendment to the U.S. draft as an addition, which, it was thought, would provide some principles to give 'the two parties to the dispute the assurance that the eventual solution would result from mutual concession.'⁶⁰ The Israeli representative strongly criticized the Chinese amendment since it claimed that the Arabs should receive a reward for refraining from hostilities. France also objected to the Chinese amendment.

However, the amendment (S/897), later revised by the United States with the agreement of China, as a part of the United States draft resolution, was adopted by the Security Council. Even France was amongst the seven countries - Belgium, Canada, China, Colombia, France, United Kingdom and the United States - which voted for it. The revised amendment read as follows:

Reiterates the appeal to the parties contained in the last paragraph of the resolution of 22 May and urges upon the parties that they continue conversations with the Mediator in a spirit of conciliation and mutual concession in order that all points under dispute may be settled peacefully.⁶¹

While the Chinese delegation to the UN maintained China's image as the 'peace-maker' over the Palestine question, internally some voices, such as Chen Zhonghao

⁶⁰ See G.A.O.R. supplement, vol. 2, p. 106.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 110.

and Zhou Binchun, continued to portray the Arab and Jewish conflict in Palestine as a result of imperialism. Palestine was described as the battle field of the post-war power struggle amongst various imperialist powers; in contrast, China was presented as the only member within the UN who was genuine in wanting to keep the world peace.⁶²

Recreation, Restoration and Reconstruction (1937-1945)

Towards the end of the war against Japan, while China began to become more and more active in world politics - which had eventually led to China playing an important role in the UN's resolution on the Palestinian issue - internally, the more urgent task was the effort of reconstruction and restoration following the war against Japan. The CCP in particular saw wartime recreation and postwar reconstruction as one of the important strategies to strengthen their power and to replace the GMD leadership in China eventually.

In the CCP controlled areas (*genjudi*) various reconstruction and reform programmes were launched. These programmes included land reform and cultural development. A CCP university was built in Yan'an - the stronghold and the HQ of the CCP since the 1930s. A CCP newspaper, the *Liberation Daily* (*Jiefang ribao*), was launched and a revolutionary 'Yan'an literature' (*Yan'an wenxue*) was developed. In order to enrich the life of its residents, to 'uplift' the spirit of people, to fill their mind

⁶² Zhou Bincun, 'Lianheguo huiyizhong de Balesitan wenti' (The Palestine question in the UN conference), *DFZZ*, 43:1 (Nov., 1947), pp. 13-8; Chen Zhonghao, 'Lun Balesitan de fenzi' (A discussion on the partition of Palestine), *DFZZ*, 44:3 (Mar., 1948), pp. 16-8.

with the 'new', 'red' and 'revolutionary' ideologies and to liberate them from the 'old' and 'rotten' bondage, Yan'an even built 'revolutionary' theatres to put on 'revolutionary' plays and to hold 'revolutionary' concerts. In May, 1942, at the famous Yan'an Arts Conference, Mao Zedong, who by then had secured his leadership within the CCP, pointed out that 'arts should well become a part of the revolutionary weaponry. [It should be] the weapon to unite and educate people, to attack and defeat enemies, and to help people whole-heartedly fight against enemies.'⁶³

For many intellectuals and revolutionary youth, who had become increasingly discontented with the GMD's leadership and their internal corruption, who had suffered greatly as the result of the 'white terror' (which the GMD had launched in order to clamp down on the Communist influence amongst intellectuals), Yan'an exerted great attraction and was regarded as the 'Holy Land of the Revolution' (*geming de shengdi*). Huge numbers of intellectuals, both young and old, began to pay pilgrimage to Yan'an in search for the future hope for their 'beloved country' - China. Many of them were impressed with the CCP's reconstruction programmes.

Apart from Yan'an, in many of the still occupied areas, such as Shanghai, as well as in Chongqing - the war time capital of the GMD government - cultural recreation and reconstruction were seen by many intellectuals as their weapon for fighting the war and a method for survival. Between 1942 - 1943, about thirty plays were put on stage in Chongqing alone, most of them were about the war. The so-called 'iron-blood patriotic literature' (*tiexue aiguo wenxue*) was developed in various

⁶³ Mao Zedong, 'Zai Yan'an wenyi zhaotanhui shang de jianghua' (A speech at the Yan'an arts conference), *Mao Zedong xuanji* (Selected works of Mao), Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, vol. 3, 1966, p. 850. For an English translation of Mao's work see *The writings of Ma Zedong*, ed. by John. K. Leung and Michael Y. M. Kan, 2 vols, New York: M. E. Sharp, 1992.

parts of China. Some of the most popular novels and plays in modern China were produced during this period. Music, on the other hand, was believed by some to have the power to give people courage and peace at a time of great upheaval. Palestine, described as the music centre of the world, was used as an example.

In 1937, Shanghai's *Daily News* (*Xinwenbao*) reported about a 'world class' concert, which was held in Palestine and organised by Toscanini and Huberman. This concert was said to have brought a spirit of courage to the suffering people and Zionists in Palestine. It was also believed that the power of the music had swept away all their fears of the war and brought them much comfort. Furthermore, the success of this concert was described as the victory of Zionism over Hitler's anti-Semitism.

The fact that Toscanini and Adolph Busch refused invitations by the German government and went to perform for Palestine's Zionists was praised as a righteous act. The high standard of the concert was attributed to the music talent of the Jewish people. It was also thought that such a world class concert had brought a great honour to the Zionists in Palestine.⁶⁴ Palestine, the 'Holy Land' (*Shengdi*. As mentioned above, Yan'an was also referred to as *shengdi*.) of the three major religions of the world was perceived to be also the 'Holy Land of world music'. According to Lu Xizen, the author of this report, while the British Royal Commission could do nothing to ease the conflict in Palestine, music had brought peace, joy and the hope of freedom to the people of this tortured land. It was suggested that the plan of holding further world class concerts in cities other than Jerusalem, such as Haifa and Tel Aviv, would attract even greater numbers of talented musicians and other intellectuals to the

⁶⁴ Lu Xizen, 'Balesitan chenle shijie yinyue de zhongxin', *Xinwenbao*, 1937, 1:3 (1937),

Holy land. Music, as Lu declared, would not only bring peace, joy and hope to the people in suffering, it would also promote restoration of the Jewish race.

Although Lu did not articulate in his report that music would also bring the restoration of the Chinese race, many musicians of the same period in China did. Xian Xinghai, for example, one of the most celebrated composers in modern China, wrote his famous *March (Yiyongjun jinxinqu)* in order to awaken his 'four hundred million suffering fellow Chinese': 'Awaken, my fellows who no longer wish to be slaves! Let us build a new great wall with our blood and flesh ...' It is believed that these words and the music of this *March* had brought great courage to millions of Chinese during their war against Japan. It has often been compared with *La Marseillaise* of France. In 1949, when the People's Republic of China was established, it was made the National Anthem (*guoge*) of the 'new China'.

As a country on the whole, the war with Japan had brought great devastation and destruction to China. Some GMD members hoped that the reform and reconstruction of the GMD would bring about the restoration of China. General Tang Wu, a respected army commander of the GMD during the War, and his wife Madame Tang Chengjin were amongst them. During their trip to Palestine after the War, they were rather attracted to the Zionist reconstruction and restoration programmes in the land and found them inspiring.

General and Madame Tang, as representatives of the GMD government, were invited to a meeting - held by the Allied countries - in Palestine during February 1944, to give an account of China's war against Japan and its contribution to the final victory of the World War II on the whole. While being thrilled by the history and culture of the Holy Land, Madame Tang, in particular, was very impressed by the

various reconstruction programmes, such as building settlements in the desert, turning the Dead sea from the 'dead salt dump' into a treasure bowl and the establishment of the Hebrew university, which was introduced by the Zionists to 're-build' their 'homeland'. As she wrote, their week in Palestine had brought them great excitement, both spiritually and materially. Even more, according to Madame Tang:

The fifty years of suffering (in the anti-Semitic Russia, Poland and under Hitler) has brought the Jewish people a great determination to re-build their homeland ... such a perseverance and determination is very moving. I therefore wrote down what I had observed [in Palestine] to share it with my country men.⁶⁵

In other words, the Zionist's spirit in their rebuilding of 'the Jewish national home' should be an inspiration and an example for the Chinese people in their own post-war restoration and reconstruction.

Although Jiang Jieshi admitted that the postwar reconstruction and restoration was the most important and desperate task for his party and government,⁶⁶ he did not manage to carry out that task. Instead, he became involved in the civil war with the CCP, which eventually drove him and the GMD government out of mainland China. In early 1949, Jiang fled with China's gold reserves to the island of Taiwan and left the CCP a devastated China. The postwar reconstruction and restoration of the country

⁶⁵ Tang Chengjin, 'Cong Balesitan guilai', *DFZZ*, 40:21 (Nov. 15, 1944), p. 44-9.

⁶⁶ See the speech by Jiang's spokesman Qiu Taichi to Chinese News Service, in *Contemporary China*, New York, vol. 1, no. 18 (26 Jan., 1942).

was left entirely to Mao's newly established communist government.

CHAPTER SIX

ANTI-JEWISH POLICY IN JAPANESE OCCUPIED CHINA DURING THE WAR PERIOD: 1937-1945

It has often been claimed by historians of the field of Sino-Jewish studies, both Western as well as Chinese, that 'anti-Semitism' never existed in China.¹ Unfortunately, such statements were often superficially made with no reference to what was meant by 'anti-Semitism'. Therefore, it may be instructive to clarify firstly what is understood by this problematic term 'anti-Semitism'. Coined by Wilhelm Marr as a part of the scientific discourse of race in the nineteenth century, 'anti-Semitism' was, as Sander Gilman put it, 'half of the dichotomy of "Aryan" and "Semite" which haunted the pseudoscience of ethnology during this period and beyond.'² According to Maurice Olender, both the terms 'Aryan' and 'Semite' were taken from nineteenth-century linguistics and were socially constructed categories.³ Based on Olender's study, Gilman then defined 'anti-Semitism' as a 'real and on-going category in

¹ Leon Poliakov, *The history of anti-Semitism*, 4 vols, Oxford: Oxford University Press, vol. 3, 1985, p. 467. Also, Lawrence Kramer, 'The Kaifeng Jews: a disappearing community', in *Studies of the Chinese Jews*, comp. by Hyman Kublin, New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1971, pp. 3-22; Donald Leslie, *The survival of the Chinese Jews*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972, pp. 103-111; Rudolf Loewenthal, 'The Jews in China: annotated bibliographies', first published in *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, English version, Peking, vol. 24, no. 2 (1940), more recently it was published in *The Sino-Judaic bibliographies of Rudolf Loewenthal*, comp. by Michael Pollak, Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, in association with The Sino-Judaic Institute, California, 1988.

² Gilman, *The Jews' body*, p. 5.

³ Maurice Olender, *Les Langues du Paradis: Aryens et Semites - un couple providentiel*, Paris: Gallimard, 1989.

Western culture', evoking 'a specific stage in the history of Western Jew-hatred.'⁴ If Gilman's 'half dichotomy' theory is anything to go by, then the claim of the non-existence of 'anti-Semitism' in China is justifiable, for it is, according to Gilman, 'a category in Western culture'. However, this doesn't eliminate the existence of 'Jew-hatred' outside western culture. In his recent book *Jews in the Japanese mind*, David Goodman has demonstrated that 'Jew-hatred' certainly existed in Japan. Such hatred might not be directly corresponding to the dichotomy of 'Aryan' and 'Semite', but 'Western anti-Semitism' certainly provided the raw material for it. It was also socially constructed. Further more, it is half of the dichotomy of 'East' and 'West', of 'Japan' and 'America' and of 'tradition' and 'modernity. It is still apparent in Japan today.'⁵ Such hatred may seem less political and less damaging than 'Western anti-Semitism' for there was a considerably smaller presence of Jewish population in the East. It, however, played an integral part in Japan's attempt to build a 'Great East Asia Sphere'. It did not result in mass genocide of the Jewish population, or a holocaust, but it did affect thousands of Jewish refugees' lives in the Japanese occupied territories, especially in Shanghai. As studies have been done on the history of the Jewish refugees in Shanghai,⁶ my chapter will therefore focus on material concerning Wang Jingwei's 'pro-Japanese' government in Nanjing and other pro-Japanese organisations in China and examine their attitudes and policies towards the Jewish population/reality in China and towards the imagined 'Jews', as well as their responses

⁴ Gilman, *The Jews' body*, p. 5.

⁵ David Goodman & Masanori Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese mind*.

⁶ David Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jews*. Also by the same author, 'How Japan saved Jews from Hitler', *Washington Post*, November 14, 1982. Tang Peiji, ed., *Shanghai Youtairen* (Jews in Shanghai), Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 1992.

to Hitler's anti-Jewish policy.

A special policy towards the 'Jews' was enforced by some of Japan's so-called 'Jewish experts' and the pro-Japanese parties in China after the incident at Marco Polo Bridge on July the 7th, 1937. It was, however, by no means 'pro-Jewish' as suggested by some,⁷ but was meant to serve Japan's own interests in China. It was largely based on the traditional mystique about the 'Jews', as well as 'freshly gathered' anti-Jewish material. It is therefore no surprise that in the Japanese-occupied regions a fair amount of anti-Jewish publications appeared. Recently, Bernard Wasserstein has developed a 'revisionist' theory of the 'White Russian influence' over Japan's anti-Jewish policy to challenge David Kranzler's 'long arm of the Gestapo' theory.⁸ However, it would be an oversimplification to conclude that Japan's policy towards the Jews resulted from influences of either the German or the White Russians. Rather, it was Japan's highest policy-making body, the Five Ministers' Conference - consisting of the prime minister, the foreign minister, the ministers of army, navy and treasury - together with their 'Jewish experts', who had used both Germans and White Russians to gather anti-Jewish material for them. As discussed above, 'Jew-hatred' had an intrinsic part to play in modern Japan's plan to build a 'Great East Asia Sphere'. This was one of the driving forces behind Japan's anti-Jewish policy-making in occupied China, especially in Shanghai. Also, according to Goodman, myths or xenophobia about Jews - to avoid

⁷ For discussion Gao Hong and Dan Fuliang, 'Lun Riben Erzhan shiqi de dui-You zhengce' (A study on Japan's policy towards the Jews during the World War II), *Shijieshi yanjiu dongtai* (Study of world history), no. 3 (1990), pp. 14-20. Also cf. Goodman, op. cit., pp. 109-115.

⁸ For Kranzler's view see Kranzler, op. cit.; for Wasserstein's view, cf. Bernard Wasserstein, 'Jewish refugees in Shanghai: a revisionist view', a public lecture gave at the Institute of Jewish Studies, University College London, on the 25th of Feb., 1997.

the two problematic terms 'antisemitism' and 'philosemitism' which he uses - existed in Japan long before their alliance with Nazi Germany, as well as long before they came into contact with the White Russian community in occupied Shanghai. This does not, however, exclude the fact that both German Nazis and White Russians supplied a large amount of anti-Jewish material which was essential in Japan's anti-Jewish policy-making in China. As a matter of fact, it is known that a pamphlet entitled *Der Kampf zwischen Juda und Japan* by Alfred Stoss, a retired German naval commander and an anti-Semite, was one of the most important sources, which some of Japan's 'Jewish experts' used to demonstrate that 'the Jews' were a threat to Japan's rule over China. According to this pamphlet, the rich Jews in Shanghai were plotting against Japan by attempting to control Jiang Jieshi's nationalist party. This work had obviously deepened and strengthened Japan's xenophobia about the 'mysterious Jew'.⁹ In addition, the influx of Jewish refugees from Europe into Shanghai after 1939 was regarded as a disruption and a potential threat to Japanese control over the city. White Russians were therefore often employed by the Japanese governing body in Shanghai to spy on the Jewish refugees.

In order to eliminate the purported 'Jewish threat' to the building of a 'Great East Asia Sphere', as well as to draw Chinese attention away from Japanese aggression, some of the Japanese 'Jewish experts' also co-operated with Wang Jingwei's pro-Japanese nationalist government and the Xinmin Hui (People's Renovation Society). Together they engaged in publishing anti-Jewish literature in

⁹ See *Youtai yu Riben zhi zhan* (The war between the Jews and Japan), translated from Alfred Stoss's work in German entitled *Der Kampf zwischen Juda und Japan*. The original work was first published in Munich in 1934. It was translated into Chinese and published by the Xinmin Hui (People's Renovation Society) after 1939.

China.

The Xinmin Hui, established on December 24, 1937, with its headquarters in Peking, was Japan's main propaganda organ in north China during the war period.¹⁰ Its main task was to promote an ideology of 'Asia self-awakening', which was claimed to be rooted in the Chinese classics, particularly in the *Da Xue* (The Great Learning). It attempted to justify Japan's aggression over China by declaring that Japan had come to China in order to help the Chinese to rediscover their own 'cultural heritage', their 'Asian traditional values', and to enable them to 'return to Asia'. 'Western' values, such as liberalism, individualism, capitalism and communism - often represented as in opposition to the 'Asian' or the Xinmin virtues - came under heavy attack. The British and the American 'imperialists', as well as the Soviet 'communists', were the main targets of the attack. The 'Jews', who were portrayed as the epitome of 'Western' capitalism and imperialism, as well as the founders of communism, could not and did not escape this attack. As a matter of fact, an 'anti-Jewish' campaign was launched in occupied China, as a part of an anti-British movement which was organised by the Xinmin Hui, in 1939. During this campaign, the 'Jews' were accused of being the biggest hindrance to the 'Great East Asia Sphere'. The sufferings of the Chinese people were charged to 'the British imperialists', who were, it was claimed, controlled by 'Jewish' power. Actually, what the Chinese masses at the time experienced was not British cruelty, but slaughter by the Japanese army; they did not understand the meaning of 'imperialists' nor did they

¹⁰ For discussion on the Xinmin Hui see Akira Iriye, 'Toward a cultural order: the Hsin-min Hui (Xinmin Hui)', as in *The Chinese and the Japanese: essays in political and cultural interactions*, ed. by A. Iriye, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980, pp. 254-274.

encounter any dangerous 'Jewish demons'. They knew however 'Japanese devils' (*Riben guizi*). Before 1949, apart from a small number of intellectuals, including nationalists and communists, hardly any Chinese people were familiar with the term 'imperialist'. The term which it might be considered comparable to is *guizi*, which literally means devil or devils. While *guizi* has been used to refer to 'the Japanese', 'the Americans', 'the British' and many others, it has never been used to refer to 'the Jews'.

At the same time, the majority Chinese press were unimpressed by the Xinmin Hui's anti-British and anti-Jewish propaganda. According to a special report of Beijing's *Dalu Bao* (Continental News), Japan's anti-Jewish attempts were as dubious and unsuccessful as their anti-British movement:

There are very few Jewish refugees in China [...] It is unbelievable that Japan should expand the anti-Jewish campaign and waste so much energy to publicise the invisible 'Jewish power' in the Xinmin papers. This campaign will only end up unsuccessfully like the anti-British movement, because the majority of Chinese people don't believe that their hardships are caused by either the British or 'Jewish power'.¹¹

Although the Xinmin anti-Jewish campaign proved to be unsuccessful in occupied

¹¹ 'Riben gaibian gangzheng: fan-Ying bucheng erfan-You' (Japan's changing policy: anti-Jewish while unsuccessful as anti-British), special report, *Dalu bao*, Beiping (Beijing), February 19, Monday, 1940; also see *Xinwen bao* (News digest), Shanghai, Tue., 20 Feb., 1940, p. 4.

China, the Xinmin principle did penetrate the minds of some Chinese leaders and intellectuals who might not necessarily have approved of the Japanese aggression over Chinese soil (also over India and Indo-China).

As a matter of fact, the ideology of 'Pan-Asianism' existed long before the Japanese army entered China. Already in 1924 Sun Yatsen had articulated his theory of Pan-Asianism within the context of the 'Three Principles of the People'. It was Sun who suggested that China should follow the model of Japan to compete with the West. It was also Sun who proposed that the 'yellow races' should unite together to fight against the 'white imperialist' incursions. Again, it was Sun who wrote in his Principles that the 'world's most famous thinkers, such as Marx and Einstein, are Jewish. Also, all the capital and power in Britain and America are controlled by the Jews.'¹² Clearly, during the War period, many who appeared to be pro-Japanese, or who were later accused of being the puppets of 'Japanese imperialists', such as Wang Jingwei and Zhou Fuhai, were also adherents of Sun's 'Principles'.¹³

Wang Jingwei, a long-time disciple of Sun Yatsen, was also a vigorous champion of the anti-Japanese movement after Japan had forced the Chinese cabinet to sign the 'Twenty-One Demands' in May 1915, in order to secure their control over Shandong province. A great speaker, Wang's impressive and persuasive propaganda campaigns to denounce Japan and its Chinese collaborators, namely the northern warlords, and to support Sun and the Nationalist party's northern expedition had gained himself a good reputation and had secured his role in the party; it had also

¹² Sun, *Principles*, p. 5; also see the section on 'racial nationalism'.

¹³ See Susan H. Marsh, 'Chou Fo-hai (Zhou Fuhai): the making of a collaborator', in *The Chinese and the Japanese*, ch. xv, pp. 304-327.

won him favour with Sun Yatsen. After Sun's death, Wang, who fancied himself as the legitimate successor of Sun, began his long-time rivalry with Jiang Jieshi. Unable to achieve his political fantasy and to upset Jiang's power within the Nationalist party, or perhaps, as Boorman suggested, due to 'his romantic craving for martyrdom', frustration finally led Wang to leave the party in Chongqing in 1938 and to pursue a different policy towards his one-time enemies: the 'Japanese imperialists' and northern warlords, such as Wu Peifu.¹⁴

The final breach with Jiang Jieshi was, however, by no means the result of Wang's abandonment of Sun's nationalism and the Nationalist party. Instead, with the help of the Japanese government, Wang set up his 'pro-Japanese' Nationalist party, and established a rival government in occupied Nanjing, the former capital of the Republic of China. (Also the city was raped at the hands of the Japanese army in 1937.) However, the relationship between Japan and Wang's Nanjing regime was much more ambiguous than it seemed to be. While the Japanese leaders did not take Nanjing and Wang very seriously, Wang and his followers had hoped to build a new central government and to free China from 'Western' imperialism and communism with the help of Japan. According to Wang, it was a true cooperation, not a subjugation, which his party had expected from Japan.¹⁵ It has been suggested that Wang Jingwei and his wartime regime in Nanjing had adopted an anti-Jewish policy

¹⁴ Howard L. Boorman, 'Wang Ching-wei: China's romantic radical', *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 79, no.4 (Dec., 1964).

¹⁵ Wang Jingwei, 'Gao quanguo guomin' (To all citizens of the state), published by the propaganda department of Nanjing Nationalist government, December 30, 1942.

on behalf of Japan and that this happened under the influence of the Nazis.¹⁶ However, as with his notions of nationalism and Asianism, Wang's perception of the 'powerful Jews' shared much more affinity with that of his predecessor Sun Yatsen. His argument against the 'Jews' was largely designed to defend his nationalistic ideology, to which the Xinmin's anti-Jewish propaganda provided the framework. According to Wang, the 'Jews' were the antithesis of nationalism and a representation of the 'evil imperialistic West'; the 'Jews' were the ancestors of all anarchists and communists:

The Jews do not have a country of their own, therefore, they hate all nationalists; the Jews lost their own culture and morality, so they detest all cultures and moralities; and anarchism and communism is a product of this enmity.¹⁷

Although, he had made several statements supporting Germany's anti-Jewish policy, Wang did not share Hitler's anti-Semitism, or the dichotomy between 'Aryans' and 'Semites'. In his official declaration to the German government news representative on January 21, 1943, Wang clearly stated that it was Germany's anti-'British-American-Jewish imperialistic economic alliance' policy which he supported:

I am giving my full sympathy and support to your war against the

¹⁶ 'Anti-American Nanking: Wang regime adopts cantankerous course on behalf of Japan's grievances; Nazi influence is seen', editorial article, *China Weekly Review*, English language, Shanghai, Nov. 27, 1940.

¹⁷ *Nanjing minguo ribao* (Nanjing republican daily), Nanjing, 25 Feb., 1943.

British-American-Jewish imperialistic economic powers ... to build a new Europe in the West and to liberate the world from the yoke of Anglo-Saxon Jewish control; also in the East to build a Great Eastern Sphere, not under the colonial rule of the British, the Americans and the Dutch, but on the basis of political independence, military and economic cooperation, as well as cultural communication ...¹⁸

Also, to justify Wang's statement that China and Japan should 'share the responsibility in establishing the New Order in East Asia, their foreign policies must, therefore, be identical', Wang's Nanjing regime, especially one of its subdivisions, the 'Chinese League Against U.S. Aggression', supported Japan's anti-Jewish campaign. The league was headed by Tang Liangli, the chief of Wang's department of international publicity. Born in the Dutch Indies, educated in England and Germany, Tang's true identity is rather obscure. After the founding of the anti-American league, some American and German sources in Shanghai suggested he was a Nazi, on the grounds that Tang possessed a Dutch or German nationality and he had taken a special course in Nazi propaganda methods in Germany in 1935. As a matter of fact, according to an article he wrote for the *Ostasiatische Rundschau*, a pro-Nazi magazine published by Chinese students in Germany during the 1930s,

¹⁸ Wang, 'Declaration to German citizens', in *Waijiao gongbao* (Diplomatic bulletin), Njing Republican Government, special supplement, no. 58 (Januray, 1943), pp. 18-20. Republished in 1991 by the Second National Archive in Nanjing, China.

Tang appeared to have been a great admirer of Germany's Nazi regime.¹⁹ However, there is as yet hardly any documentation to provide evidence that Tang was a member of the National Socialist Party, nor is there any evidence suggesting that he was involved with the Nazis in Shanghai. For example, on October 26, 1941, while hundreds of people were watching a football match between the Shanghai Jewish team and the Lusitan (Portuguese) team opposite the Park Hotel (*Guoji Fandian*) in Shanghai, a great number of anti-Jewish pamphlets were suddenly thrown to the crowds on the ground from the sky. These pamphlets were in English and their contents were full of Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda, stating for instance that the Jews in Shanghai were killing the Aryan whites and they were taking over the trade in the city which was once owned by the Aryans. This was the first large-scale anti-Jewish activity in Shanghai. These pamphlets were published by the city's Nazi organisation called the 'Aryan Association'. Tang Liangli was not, at least officially, associated with this organisation nor was he involved in any of their anti-Jewish activities. As the founder and head of the anti-American League, Tang was very active in Shanghai and made many special efforts to recruit students and labour unions to promote the League's aims. He organised numerous mass meetings and demonstrations to 'enlighten' the Chinese people about American aggression against China. During his anti-American campaign, he also published many pamphlets/articles attacking the 'Jews' as the power behind the American imperialists. A term 'Jewish-Americanism' was constantly adopted by Tang in his works and speeches. It is, however, most absurd to read Tang's declaration that one

¹⁹ Tang Liangli, 'über meine Eindrücke in Deutschland' (my impression of Germany), *Ostasiatische Rundschau*, Germany, 1936, 2 (17 Jan., 1936), pp. 47-9.

of the manifestations of 'Jewish-Americanism' was the 'invasion' and pollution against China, especially in cities like Shanghai, by Christianity.²⁰

In early 1943, almost a year after Roosevelt - the 'puppet of the Jews', a term which had been coined by Japanese liberal historians, such as Irokawa Daikichi,²¹ and had been regularly used by Tang in his anti-'Jewish Americanism' campaign - had declared war on Japan, Tang Liangli began to publish articles in the Nanjing Republican Daily, the official organ of Wang's government, to testify on the 'Jewish-American danger' in China. In an article entitled 'The Jewish Imperialism in Shanghai', Tang claimed that:

The modern history of the Jewish invasion of China began in 1832, when a group of Jews, headed by the Sassoon family and seconded by the East India Company, entered China to become involved in the opium trade. Soon, these Jews, especially in Shanghai, built up an unshakable foundation in Chinese commercial business. However, they only engaged in illegal business, and never brought any benefits to [Chinese] society. Their names are only associated with the opium trade, smuggling, or the nefarious property business. They use their banks and similar organisations to defraud money, or they control the stock market and use their lying skills to make huge profits [...] A

²⁰ Tang Liangli, 'Declaration of the founding of Chinese League Against U. S. Aggression', Nanjing, 1939. Also cf. *German Transocean Service*, October 4, 1939.

²¹ See Goodman, op. cit., p. 110.

good example is the Ravens of the American-Oriental Banking Corporation. Their actual leader is Starr, who has a Jewish father or mother and is a typical Jew. He first went to Japan in 1920 in the hope of making big money in the East, but because of the Japanese people's nationalistic spirit and Japanese law, he was not able to use his innate skills and therefore came to Shanghai. After he arrived in Shanghai, Starr got together with Raven [...] He [Starr] opposes peace and supports Chongqing's terrorist activities; he continuously tries to deepen the hatred between China and Japan; he attempts to interfere in the harmony between China and Japan, and the achievements of the New Great Asia Sphere.²²

For Wang and his regime, the danger of 'Jewish-Americanism', however, went beyond the 'Jewish-American violation' to threaten 'Sino-Japanese' cooperation. As Wang had believed that 'Jewish-American imperialist' power was the force behind his rival Jiang Jieshi and his Chongqing government, to weaken the 'Jewish-American' power in China was therefore seen as a means to weaken the power of Jiang and Chongqing. Hence, Wang thought it was necessary for his Nanjing regime to cooperate with the Japanese government and to restrain the Jewish refugees from Europe - 'the Jewish influence' - from entering Japanese occupied China, especially in cities, such as Shanghai, which had long been regarded as strongholds of the 'Western imperialist powers'. On August 8, 1940, Wang's foreign office submitted

²² Ibid.

a decree to the legislation department regarding the regulations to control 'third country nationals' (*disan guomin*) - non-Alien and non-Axis nationals - in China. Although, Jewish refugees as 'stateless people' (*wuguo zhimin*) could only be categorised as 'third country nationals', they were still singled out as 'the instrument of the imperialist invasion of China' (*Diguozhuyi qinhua de gongju*). In this decree, the Jewish people were described as 'enemies of the New Order':

The Jews, rejected by Germany and many other countries in Europe, entered Shanghai and other areas. They disturb economic and political order, and involve themselves in illegal activities. They make the life of the Chinese people more and more difficult. The legal cases against these people increase sharply each day. They are enemies of the New Order, the instrument of the British-American imperialists. They are also defenders of the old order.²³

Furthermore, it was suggested that some of the Jews, using their stateless status, were spying for Jiang's government.²⁴ Like Starr, they were considered to be 'dangerous conspirators'. If the Jews were so dangerous, then it seemed to be appropriate for Wang's regime to help the Japanese government to restrict the Jewish refugees's activities in Shanghai in order to restore and to protect the New Order,

²³ *Guomin zhengfu Xinzhengyuan Waijiaobu gao* (Nanjing Republican government Foreign office document), no. 106, drafted on August 8 and sealed on December 13, 1940. It is now kept at the Second National Archive, Nanjing.

²⁴ Ibid.

as well as to restrain them from helping Jiang and Chongqing.

Between 1940 and 1943, various operations against the Jewish immigrants were carried out by the Japanese military office in Shanghai. In October 1940, just before Yom Kippur - the Day of Atonement in the Jewish calendar - more than two thousand Jewish refugees in the Hongkou area were forced to return all their properties and to move out from the area. In August 1941, the Japanese Navy office in Shanghai declared that there were more than four thousand Jewish refugees in Shanghai who had not registered with the Japanese officials and they should therefore be deported from the city. In early 1943, the Jewish refugees in Shanghai were finally chased into concentration camps. To support Japan's anti-Jewish action, Nanjing's official paper, as well as various unofficial pro-Nanjing papers in Shanghai, such as the Shanghai People's News and New China Evening Paper, began to publish an extensive amount of articles against the Jewish refugees. Interestingly enough, many of these articles echoed the anti-Jewish coverage in the Japanese press during the same period.²⁵ The image of 'the Jews' as 'parasites' (*Youtai jisheng*) was constructed and was widely used in these papers:

since they have been kicked out of Europe and moved into Hongkou in Shanghai, for six years they have clearly lived a parasitic life-style here [...] In recent years, on this happy land, the Jewish population has grown and expanded like fleas. They use every possibility to get their evil hands on this place. In the past,

²⁵ For a full account of Japanese press coverage of the Jewish refugees, see Miyazawa Masanori, 'Nihon e hinan Yudayajin to shimbun' (The Jewish refugees and newspapers in Japan), *Yudaya-Isuraeru kenkyu*, 10 (October, 1988), pp. 43-9.

they controlled the commercial business and showed off on the stock market. Now they have even got their hands on economic life in the slum areas. As long as they can make money, no matter whether it is bad for the majority of citizens, they always try their best to get hold of it. This is the Jewish golden rule for survival.²⁶

To further justify Japan's anti-Jewish policy, the 'Jews' were often described as evil and immoral:

Ordinarily, the Jewish face looks very miserable. The Jews hardly ever smile and even if they do, they are usually very bitter. However, when the Jews see money, their eyes suddenly open, and a smile comes onto their faces. They can change their faces according to different circumstances and even the clowns in Beijing operas cannot imitate them. In business, a Jew only recognises money, not people. As long as one pays money, he will do anything, even lose his dignity [...] The Jews are always scheming, lying, indecent and avaricious pretenders. In their business, morality means nothing.²⁷

In order to 'reveal' the 'true danger' of the 'Jews', many of these papers used

²⁶ 'Wuguo zhi min de lianpu: Youtairen zai Shanghai de jisheng quanmao' (The mask of the stateless people: the Jews' parasitic life in Shanghai), *Shanghai guomin xinwen* (Shanghai People's News), 15 March, 1943, Shanghai.

²⁷ Ibid.

Germany as an example. It was often suggested that the Jews in Germany were very destructive to that country's social and political system. According to Tang Liangli, Germany had no choice but to throw them out. Now, in Shanghai, it was claimed that they were causing the same destruction to the life of the Chinese people and the social order of Shanghai. Each Shanghainese was warned to watch out for 'the dangerous Jews'. Japan's decision to restrict the Jewish refugees' activities in Shanghai was praised as a meaningful and wise step forward:

although the Jews do not look extraordinary from outside, their ambitions are overwhelming. They are like parasites, once they settle in a place, then they grow massively underground and suck everybody's blood. The European Jews are like this! The American Jews are like this! Now, the Jewish immigrants in China are also like this! That is why the Japanese army has to designate a restricted area [concentration camp] for the Jews [...] The future settlement of the Jews in Shanghai must be dealt with urgently!²⁸

Outside Wang's Nanjing regime, there were other individuals, as well as groups of intellectuals, in China who also became closely involved with Japan and the Xinmin Hui, and were drawn to the mystique of the 'Jews'. Due to the internal struggle between Jiang Jieshi and Hu Hanmin on the left wing of the GMD (this inclination resulted in Hu being put under house arrest by Jiang), Miao Ping, once a prominent official of the GMD and a close friend of Jiang, became estranged and eventually left

²⁸ Ibid.

for Beijing to help with the formation of a Provisional government in 1937. Disappointed with Jiang's regime, Miao, who was educated in Japan yet had resisted Japan's aggression over China in his student days, began to believe that the only salvation for China was to cooperate with Japan. To support the founding of the Xinminhui, Miao wrote his famous booklet entitled *Xinmin zhuyi* (New people's principles) in January 1938. In his work, Miao attacked 'western' individualism, capitalism and industrialism, as well as communism. While he pointed out that 'western' democracy would not work within Chinese culture, he also rejected Jiang Jieshi's dictatorship. Instead of a 'narrow nationalism', he called for China, Japan and other Asian countries to unite and to form a 'great league of Asia'. According to him, this was the only future for China and the world.²⁹ To quite a number of Chinese 'patriotic' intellectuals, Miao's *Xinmin zhuyi*, as Akira Iriye pointed out, 'appeared to be an acceptable ideological framework, sufficiently feasible to enable them to appear both patriotic and desirous of peace.'³⁰

Under these Xinmin principles, many publications were produced in Beijing by these Chinese intellectuals to promote 'Sino-Japanese cooperation'. The 'Jews', who had been introduced and been perceived as the epitome of all 'Western' values - which were attacked in the Xinmin principles - were further raided and charged as enemies of 'Sino-Japanese cooperation' and 'world peace'. In an article entitled 'The world crisis in relation to the secret plans of the Jews' in *Zhongguo gonglun* (Chinese public opinion) - a prominent publication in Beijing during the war period - the 'Jews' were blamed as responsible for the current world crisis, as well as the devastating

²⁹ Miao Ping, *Xinmin zhuyi*, Beiping (Beijing), 1938.

³⁰ Iriye, op. cit., p. 270.

Sino-Japanese war.³¹ Again in *Zhongguo gonglun*, a forty page article by Hu Hanxiang went into great detail to 'expose' the 'danger of the Jewish parasites' in the world as well as in China.³² According to Hu, statelessness was the main cause of the parasitic life style of the 'Jews' and it could be traced back to 70CE when they were driven out of their homeland by the Romans. Thus, claimed Hu, being Jewish was being a parasite: to devour other races' goodness and to take advantage of the others. To Hu, the negative stereotypical images of the 'Jews' as being 'mean, avaricious, money-obsessed and business-orientated' were all associated with 'the Jewish racial character' (*Youtai minzuxin*), or the parasitic life style. Even 'the Jewish marriage tradition' was described as a manifestation of this character:

In the beginning, the Jews encouraged inter-racial marriage, so that they could absorb the advantages of all other races, in order to patch up their own shortcomings, and to form an unique Jewishness. After they fulfilled this purpose, they then forbade any more intermarriage in order to protect their 'pure blood'. However, this doesn't apply to females. According to them, when [Jewish] women married with other races, they could continue to absorb the advantages of the others; but if [Jewish] men married other races, then there is a danger they might pass on their

³¹ Chen Qian, 'Shijie donglun yu Youtainren zhi guoji yinmo', *Zhongguo gonglun*, Beiping (Beijing), 2:5, 1940, pp. 13-24, see specially section 9, entitled 'Youtai yu Zhong-Ri shibian zhi guanxi' (The Jews and the Sino-Japanese War), pp. 23-4.

³² Hu Hanxiang, 'Youtainren wenti' (The problems about the Jews), *Zhongguo gonglun*, no. 5, pp. 22-36; no. 6, pp. 42-57.

superior seeds to others; it is therefore not allowed. How dangerous and mean they are!³³

However, the main harmful manifestation of the parasitic 'Jewish racial character', according to Hu, was the 'Jewish conspiracy of controlling the world of politics and the economy.' The 'Jews', wrote Hu, were now all over the world; they were the driving force behind all 'evils' of the Western world, such as capitalism, materialism, communism and imperialism. Every major catastrophe in the world was linked to the 'Jews'. At present, as Hu claimed, the 'Jews' had not only mastered Europe through 'the Jew Rothschild', they were also trying to get their hands on Asia and on China through the 'rich Sephardic' merchants, and more recently through the thousands of Jewish refugees. These 'Jews' in China, explained Hu, were just as dangerous as 'the ancient oriental Jews' and the 'Jews of the West'. 'Their parasitic racial character has never changed!' They have, warned Hu, become a real problem and a threat to China and the Chinese people.³⁴

The purported 'Jewish threat', however, never became a reality, nor did the so-called 'Jewish imperialists' mean much to the bulk of the Chinese population. As a matter of fact, the majority of Chinese at that time had never even heard of the 'Jews' and also had no idea who they were. For most people in China the most immediate enemy was Japan. In cities where there was a Jewish presence, such as the so-called Isolated Island (*Gudao*) Shanghai, the Jewish refugees together with millions of Shanghailanders, both Chinese and foreign, suffered side by side under

³³ Hu Hanxiang, 'Youtai wenti', *Zhongguo gonglun*, no. 5, p. 22.

³⁴ Ibid., no. 5, pp. 22-36; no. 6. pp. 42-57.

the Japanese aggression. For some anti-Japanese intellectuals in China, the situation and the news about the Jews under Hitler's regime became an increasingly interesting topic, not because they were concerned about the Jews, but because they could identify themselves with the Jewish people as the victims of Fascism. An image of the 'smart and educated Jews', in a rather positive sense (such an image was often understood to be anti-Semitic in the West), was at this time reconstructed by them in contrast to the image of the 'barbarian and uneducated Japanese'. For instance, on his journey back to China, Wang Lixi, an European-educated intellectual, wrote that he had encountered many races on the boat. According to him, amongst these different races, the Jews were the ones he as a Chinese could best identify with because they were 'suffering comrades' (*shoulán tongbào*) as well as equally 'superior races' (*youxiu minzu*).³⁵ For Wang, here the racial superiority is no longer determined by lineage, blood, or the colours of skins, but according to political status, class, as well as professions. Such an ideology echoed Mao's discourse of class struggle under the communist rule since 1949, only 5 years after the War.

³⁵ Wang Lixi, 'Zai huiguo de tushang' (on the journey back to my country), *Shijie zhishi* (World knowledge), Shanghai, 8:11 (December 1, 1938), pp. 350-1.

EPILOGUE

OLD MYTHS AND NEW PHENOMENA (1949-1997)

With the official banishment of racial discourse by the communist government after 1949, the myth of the 'Jews' as a 'race' seemed no longer to be current in communist China. The notion of 'race', however, did not disappear completely. Mao Zedong, for instance, defined nation as a distinct racial and cultural group. By the same token, Israel was perceived in China as the 'Jewish nation state': the old 'Jewish' race with its *new* country and *new* language. Like the left-wing intellectuals of the 1930s and 40s, Mao also conflated the notions of 'class' and 'race' into a vision of 'the life and death struggle' (*nisi-wohuo de douzheng*) of the 'coloured people' against 'white imperialism'. China's political role in Afro-Asian solidarity since the 1960s meant that the Jews in Israel, as the enemy of the oppressed Palestinians, could no longer be defined as the oppressed people; instead, their image was therefore reconfigured/reconstructed into 'the instrument' of 'the American imperialists' and into the image of 'the poisoned knife which the American imperialists pushed into the heart of Palestine.'¹ Closely associated with the PLO (the Palestine Liberation Organisation), 'Mao Zedong thought', or Maoism, had been styled as the 'compass for the suffering Palestinians'; Communist China terminated all official diplomatic contacts with the

¹ 'Mao Zedong sixiang shi Balesitan renmin de zhinan' (Mao's ideology is the compass for the Palestinians), *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily), Beijing, Tuesday, 16 May, 1967, p. 5. For further readings on relationships between China and the Middle East see Lillian Craig Harris, *China considers the Middle East*, London: Tauris, 1993; John Calabrese, *China's changing relation with the Middle East*, London: Printer, 1991.

state of Israel. By then, the last group of Jewish residents together with the rest of the remaining foreign population had left China. Generally speaking, largely due to the influence of official media propaganda, the 'Jew' was no more than an imagery and distant 'enemy', who was associated with one of China's most dangerous enemies - the Americans - as well as one of China's closest allies - the PLO.

However, amongst intellectuals, the image of the 'superior Jewish race' continued to fascinate scholars, such as Pan Guangdan. By then, Pan had switched his academic career from China's foremost eugenicist to become a professor of ethnicity studies, focusing his research on the 'ethnic minorities' of the People's Republic of China (the PRC). His eugenic theories, however, continued to play an important part in his approach to ethnicity studies.² For instance, Pan put great emphasis on the assimilation between the Han and other 'highly intellectual' ethnic groups, such as the *tujia*: the indigous people of central China. He therefore opposed the government proposal of an ethnic self-rule policy, which was carried out in the Soviet Union. However, to be politically correct and to stand in line with Mao's 'class struggle' ideology, Pan developed a theory in his studies on ethnic groups in China that the 'self-rule' policy might result in class hatred between the Han and other so-called minority groups. In order to build a 'great superior Chinese race' (*weida youxiu de Zhonghua minzu*) as commissioned by Mao, Pan pointed out that the 'Han' must live in harmony with other minority groups in order to absorb the 'goodness' (*youdian*) of these groups and pass on to them the 'superiority' (*changchu*) of the Han, so that they would eventually form a 'great superior Chinese race'. While taking up field research into the case of the *tujia* group, Pan also wrote his famous case study on the 'Jewish

² See Dikötter, *The discourse of race*, Chs. 5& 6. Also cf. ch. 4 of this thesis.

ethnic group' in ancient China.³ The assimilation of the 'Jews' into the 'Han' became his example *par excellence* of his 'ethnic harmony' (*Minzu tuanjie*) theory. Although, attempting to stand in line with Mao's 'class struggle' and 'ethnic harmony' theory, like many other intellectuals, Pan did not escape during the 'anti-rightist' campaign in the late 50s. Being labelled one of the ten members of the 'anti-Party group' (*fandang jituan*) and 'a poison seed planted by imperialism' (*diguozhuyi saxia de eduzhongzi*), Pan's academic career and research came to an end. The Soviet model of 'ethnic self-rule' (*minzu zizhi*) was implemented in China under the banner of 'ethnic harmony'. Pan died in 1967, at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. His work and theories on eugenics and ethnic studies were officially banned until the end of the 1970s, when the Cultural Revolution finally came to its end.

After the death of Mao and the collapse of the Cultural Revolution at the end of the 1970s, the 'class' hatred between the 'Jewish Israel' and the 'Chinese' people also came to a close. However, the myth of the 'Jew' in China did not stop there. On the contrary, interest in the present state of Israel and the 'Jew' have reached unprecedented levels since the 1980s. Professor Pan Guang, the director of the Centre of Israel and Judaic studies in Shanghai, comments that 'China's Jewish-Israel studies have reached a new and exciting stage.'⁴ However, more recently *Asia Week* in Paris

³ Pan Guangdan, *Zhongguo jingnei Youtairen de ruogan lishi wenti: Kaifeng de Zhongguo Youtairen* (Jews in China: a historical survey), first published in 1953 by Zhongyang Minzhu xueyuan (Central Academy of Ethnic Studies) as reference reading; it was then republished in *Zhongguo shehui kexue* (Journal of Chinese Social Sciences), no. 3, 1981. It was re-edited by Pan's two sons and re-published by Beijing daxue chubanshe in 1983.

⁴ Pan Guang, *The development of Jewish and Israel studies in China*, occasional papers of the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, no.2, the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1992, p. 3.

puts it in a slightly different tone: 'Chinese scholars are conjuring up the ghosts of the city's once-vibrant Jewish community.'⁵ Apart from the sprouting of numerous Jewish study centres in Shanghai, Harbin, Nanjing, Tianjin, Jinan and many other Chinese cities, a huge number of publications on Jewish subjects, especially in relation to 'the Chinese Jews', have been published and republished. Amongst these, in 1980, for instance, Chen Yuan's well known essay 'Kaifeng Yixileyejiao kao' (A study on Kaifeng's Israelite religion), which was first published in early 20s, was republished amongst Chen's other academic papers.⁶ Then in 1982, Jiang Wenhan, a historian of religions, also published a well received book on *Zhongguo gudai jidujiao ji Kaifeng Youtairen* (Christianity and Kaifeng Jews in ancient China). Pan Guangdan's essay on 'the ancient Chinese Jews' was re-edited several times, first published in the *Journal of China Social Sciences* in 1981, then re-published as a book in 1983. Apart from Pan's essay, the book also inserted a preface by one of the China's most celebrated anthropologists Wu Zelin. It is interesting that according to Wu, in his youth, he regarded the 'Jews' as 'laughable, despicable, pitiable, admirable, enviable, and hateful'.⁷ Although, Wu admitted such impressions were unobjective and shallow, his understanding of 'the Jews' continued to be within the images, or frameworks, of the 'Jews' as 'money lenders', the 'Jews' as 'oppressed', the 'Jews' as 'smart', the 'Jews' as 'capitalists' and most of all, the 'Jews' as a 'race'.

⁵ *Asia Week*, vol. 23. no. 22 (June 6, 1997), Paris, p. 30.

⁶ Chen Yuan, *Chen Yuan xueshu lunwenji* (A collection of Chen Yuan's academic thesis), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju. 2 vols, 1980.

⁷ Wu Zelin, 'Preface' for Pan Guangdan's *Zhongguo jingnei Youtairen de ruogan lishi wenti* (The Jews in China: a historical survey), Beijing: Beijing Daxue chubanshe, 1983, p. 11.

More generally, the old myth of the 'Jews' also continues to distort the perceptions of many people in China. With the appearance of a new market economy, particularly in cities such as Shanghai, the symbolic link between the 'Jews' and money has again emerged. While Shanghai eagerly opened its arm to welcome 'Jewish' investments from all over the world, Kaifeng, the city which once had a small Jewish presence, also declared itself to be a 'Jewish economic zone' (*Youtai jingji tequ*) in order to attract 'Jewish' money.⁸ Even more striking to note: since the re-establishment of diplomatic links between China and the state of Israel in 1992, Israel has become the second most important trading partner of China. The sale of Israeli army and military know-how to China has played the major part in this ever growing trade. The man behind all this was the late Shoul Eisenberg (1921-1997).

Born in Munich, Germany, Eisenberg, at age of seventeen, joined thousands of Jewish refugees across Europe to Shanghai in 1938 to escape the Nazi persecution. In 1940, he left Shanghai for Japan and was the president of the Tokyo Jewish community from 1964-69. During his time in Japan, Eisenberg turned his scrap-metal business into a leading supplier to Japan's steel industry. After his meeting with Pinhas Sapir, Israel's then Finance Minister, in 1965, Eisenberg became a major investor in Israel and created the Israel Corporation in the wake of the Six-Day war. In the 1980s, he began to facilitate the military deals between Israel and China. From his office in Beijing, over 280 Chinese factories were supplied with equipment. It is believed that it was his close ties with the Chinese leadership which paved the way

⁸ Li Li, 'The Jewish economic zone in Kaifeng' in *Xianggang lianhebao* (Union Paper), 9 Jan., 1995, Hongkong.

for diplomatic links between China and Israel in 1992.⁹

However, China's recent interest in Jewish issues is not exclusively economic. In recent years, especially in the post-Tiananmen era, interest in Jewish studies as shown by some intellectuals, such as Zhang Sui, is a response to efforts to reconfigure indigenous identities of race and nation. As Zhang Sui puts it: 'In order to have a real deep understanding of the vitality of Chinese culture, one must first study the interesting anthropological fact that the Hebrew race, well known for its immutability, was assimilated by the Han race and adopted a 'Chinese-Jewish identity' after entering China.'¹⁰ The superiority of the Han race and Chinese culture, it is claimed, seems to be manifest by the assimilation of the 'Jewish' race.

Such dubious studies are also encouraged in order to cover up discrimination against so-called 'minority' groups. Thus, the assimilation of the 'Jewish' community in China is portrayed by scholars like Wu Zelin, as a demonstration of 'the traditional magnanimity and the tolerant spirit of the Chinese race, not only towards the Jewish people, but also towards all other races. Therefore, she [the Chinese race] can always live in harmony with all other races.'¹¹ More recently, the so-called 'Jewish' descendants in Kaifeng have been given a monthly allowance from Beijing and have been freed from China's birth control policy.¹² In other words, an entire new 'Jewish' minority is about to be invented in China.

⁹ See *Jewish Chronicle*, London, May 23, 1997, p. 21.

¹⁰ Zhang Sui, *Youtaijiao yu Zhongguo Kaifeng Youtairen* (Judaism and the Chinese Jews of Kaifeng), Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 1990, p. 1.

¹¹ Wu, op. cit.

¹² Li Li, op. cit.

At the same time, the representation of 'the Jews' as a 'superior race' has been re-translated into the image of 'the Jews' as an 'eternal nation/race' (*bumie minzu*).¹³ To redefine, or to reconstruct, China's national identity and re-interpret the nation's future, the 'eternal Jewish race', together with 'the super American nation', 'the strong German spirit' and 'the long and mysterious Indian culture', again became an inspiration for many intellectuals of a new generation at the end of the twentieth century.¹⁴ Since the 1980s, especially in recent years, more works on Judaica studies, no longer exclusively on the subject the Jews of China, have been produced by the academic community and have become widely available to a larger audience. Apart from the publication of the one volume Chinese version of the *Encyclopedia Judaica* in the early 1990s by a group of scholars, headed by professor Xu Xin from Nanjing University, a Hebrew and Chinese dictionary has also been produced. A Jewish culture study series (*Youtai wenhua congshu*), all together eighteen books, under the editorship of Gu Xiaomin, was launched at the end of the 80s as one of the most major academic projects in contemporary China.¹⁵ According to Gu, the 'Jewish culture' is the only surviving culture which is 'comparable to that of our own Chinese one in the world'.¹⁶

More recently, in 1996, the late Irene Roth, a few days before her death, had also approved the publication of a Chinese translation of *A Short History of the Jewish People*, a work by her late husband Cecil Roth - a celebrated Jewish historian. The

¹³ Zhang Hefu and Kong Shenggen, *Youtain minzu bumie zhimi* (The secret of eternal Jewish race), Beijing: Jiefangjun wenyi chubanshe, 1994.

¹⁴ All the terms are from the same series entitled *Huanqiu renlei wenmin tanmi* (Revelation of the mysteries of the world's civilisations). Publication details see *ibid*.

¹⁵ Gu Xiaomin, *Youtai wenhua congshu*, Shanghai: Sanlian shushe, 1989-1994.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 'The general introduction', pp. 2-3.

first major international conference in China on Jewish studies, organised by the Hebrew University, Tel Aviv University and Nanjing University also took place in Nanjing in October 1996, attended by many well-known historians in the field of Jewish studies from all over the world.

Outside the academic communities, for millions of young Chinese who are desperately seeking for success and money in a rapidly changing society, images of 'successful and rich Jews' have become their inspirations. A popular series entitled *Youtairen chaofan zhihui jiemi* (Revelations on the Jews' superior intelligence) was launched in 1995.¹⁷ It is claimed to be the first popular literature on the subject of 'the Jews' ever published in China. The editor of the series, He Xiongfei (b. 1969), a product of the Cultural Revolution, is also a new generation millionaire produced by Deng's economic reform. Graduating in economics in 1991, He began his career as the chief director of Xiongfei Limited in Hainan - China's striving Special Economic Zone (*tequ*). Between 1991 and 1995, in four years, he has published more than 40 works. Subjects range from business management to a housewives handbook to private scandals of world-class celebrities. Apart from his current series on 'the Jews', he has also planed to publish two more series: one will be entitled *The business bible of Jewish tycoons*, another *The mysteries of the Jews*.¹⁸ The current series is divided into four books with subtitles such as: *The romantic and legendary political and business maniacs* (*Langman chuanqi de zhengshang kuangren*), *The extraordinary and unconventional artists and men of letters* (*Chaofan tuosu de yishujianke*), *The*

¹⁷ He Xiongfei, ed., *Youtairen chaofan zhihui jiemi*, series, Beijing: Hualing chubanshe, January, 1995.

¹⁸ Both series have already been published.

ingenious and creative scientific giants (Xiangru feifei de kexue jujiang) and The mysterious and eccentric thinkers (Shenmi qiyi de sixiang dashi). Even more amazing, each back cover of the four books has the same statement declaring that 'this is a good book which will probably change your life'. From the editor's page, these are the quotes which tell the readers why these books may change their lives:

The Jews are the smartest, the most mysterious and the richest nation/race in the world. If one does not know anything about the Jews, then one will not understand the world.

When a Jew sneezes at home, every bank in the world will catch the cold.

When three Jews are together, they can deal with the global currency market.¹⁹

The 'Jews', according to the editor, have two characteristics: the first is that they are good at managing money. To explain this point further, the editor describes the term 'Jews' as standing for 'money lenders and business men who never cease to lose any opportunity', or as 'being just like the mean and evil Jew Shylock in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*.'²⁰ The second characteristic of the 'Jews' is that they are well educated. He then goes on to list some the most famous Jewish politicians, business men, artists, scientists and thinkers. Amongst the well known 'the Jew Karl Marx',

¹⁹ *Youtairen chaofan zhihui jiemi*, pp. 1-2.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

‘the Jew Freud’, the ‘Jew Einstein’ and others, he also added some new candidates to the list, such as ‘the Jew Beethoven’ and ‘the Jew Charlie Chaplin’. He was however very regretful that he did not have the space in the current series for ‘the Jew Lenin’ as well as ‘the Jew Roosevelt’. According to an estimate quoted by him:

Seventeen percent of Nobel prize winners in science are Jewish; twenty percent of millionaires in America are Jewish; amongst the twenty-four members of the former Soviet cabinet, sixteen were Jewish; amongst the ten great philosophers of the world, eight are Jewish. The Jewish artists are almost numberless. ²¹

Furthermore, the editor claims that:

It is even more mysterious and hard to understand how the Jews in Israel could easily beat the Arabs during the various wars in the Middle East. Hence, don’t you want to understand where their [the Jews] superior intelligence came from?²²

Clearly, to the readership of such popular literature, their interest is beyond the ‘Jews’. To them, the term ‘Jew’ represented ‘money’, ‘power’ and ‘success’; these are the objects which many of them are dreaming of and seeking after. In other words, being ‘rich’, being ‘successful’, or being ‘a Jew’, is a new identity which many young

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

Chinese are aspiring to. While one may claim that about fifty years ago, the 'Jews' were still an unfamiliar term to the majority of Chinese, today, due to the efforts of He Xiongfei and others, even a taxi driver on the streets of Beijing would tell you that 'Jewish people are very rich and clever'.

The death of Deng, as well as the handing over of Hong Kong, brings China the opportunity of, if not greater, but further changes. Great speculation from both inside and outside is currently haunting the country. However, no matter what the change/s may be, the myth of the 'Jews' will carry on in China as it has done in the West, as well as in other Eastern countries. Such myths form an intrinsic part of the politics of identity in which one group's power, privilege and status are based on the exclusion of other groups. Although the images and representations of the 'Jews' might transmute from negative to positive, from 'inferior' to 'superior', from 'ahistorical' to 'historical', from 'stateless' to 'nationalistic', from 'rich' to 'smart' or to 'eternal' in the course of history, the 'Jews' as the 'other', or as the mirror, to the construction/reconstruction of the 'self' will always remain. This 'other', may be anybody, from the 'Jew', the 'Muslim', the 'black' to the 'homosexual', but the attempt to draw racially defined boundaries between people has been and still is an important part of many contemporary cultures and societies.

APPENDIX

Dan Sili was the wife of Qian Xun. Qian was a famous diplomat for the late Qing government. At the turn of the century, they had spent many years working in the Qing embassies of London, Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Tokyo, Amsterdam and Rome. Dan was one of the first Chinese females to go to the west. A well educated scholar herself, she was also eager to embrace new ideas, new thought and to break away from the old traditions in which she was brought up. Not only so, Dan was one of the earliest Chinese intellectuals who became interested in the 'Jews' and attempted to introduce the 'Jews' to her Chinese readers through her travel diary. The following are her two works: one dealing with the 'Jews' of the east, one with those of the west.

'The History of the Religion of Moses in China'¹

In the boat returning [to China], I read newspapers from Germany and Japan claiming that there were Jews in China. I therefore collected much information from Japanese and German sources, as well as making many inquiries of several scholars of the subject. As a result I wrote this work. Ever since the beginning of Nestorian religion, all moral traditions have come from the ancient religion of Moses. Both the New Testament and the Nestorian Bible are from Old Testament teachings. Thus, if one discusses the Nestorian religion without studying Judaism first, one would not really

¹ *Moxijiao liuxing Zhongguo ji*, written in 1918. For the bibliographical details see chapter two of this volume.

understand the former. According to the Nestorian tablet [in China], it came into our country in the Tang Dynasty. In reality, the ancient religion of Moses came to China even earlier. There are reasons for which the Jews of Kaifeng claim it came to China during the Han Dynasty ... Together with the article about the Jewish ghetto in Rome - one discusses the common origin of the Nestorian religion and Judaism; another shows the two could not co-exist in harmony - they testify to the suffering of the stateless people under white rule, their freedom under the yellow people.

The *Tiaojin Jiao* of Kaifengfu

In Henan province's Kaifengfu, there is a community of people who have a different religion: *Tiaojin jiao* (the religion which plucks out sinews) - it is a branch of the religion of Moses, or Judaism before the time of Jesus. According to their tablet, they came to China at the time of the Han Dynasty. They were first mentioned in a travel account to the Tartar land, by a westener, in the 11th century.² Then in the *Travels of Marco Polo the Venetian*.³ (I remember a few years ago, there was a short report

² It's not clear to whom Dan referred here. There was an Arab merchant (Sulaiman), named Abu Zaid, who travelled to the land of the Great Khan around the ninth century and who had written a travel account in Arabic. The work was translated into French by Eusebius Renaudot in 1718, *Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine de deux voyageurs mahometans qui y allerent dans le IXe siecle*, Paris, 1718. In the English translation of Renaudot's French version, there was a reference to the Jews discovered in China, pp. 183-99. Part of the work was also translated into Chinese in 1937 by Liu Bannong and Liu Xiaohui, *Sulaiman dongyu ji* (Travel to the East by an Arab merchant), Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1937.

³ In Colonel Sir Henry Yule's 3rd revised edition of his translation of Marco Polo's *The Book of Ser Maco Polo the Venetian*, which was published in London in 1903, there is an account regarding the enmity of the Jews towards the Christians who had supported Nayan in his rebellion against his nephew Kublai Khan, pp. 343-4. There is also a record of the Jewish community in Kaifeng, pp. 346-7. In A. J. H.

about the Kaifeng Jewish religion, but it was not very detailed.)

According to an account written in 1704 by the Jesuit priest Gozani [Jean-Paul], there was a population of two to three thousand Jews. The Chinese didn't call them Hebrew, neither were they called Jews. Instead, they were called the followers of the *Tiaojin jiao*. It had an association with their profession as lamb and beef butchers. (There were other reasons for the name *tiaojin*; it doesn't necessarily have to do with their profession as butchers. Also, *tiaojin* means to pluck out the sinews from the beef and lamb, but Gozani regarded it as meaning to pluck out the muscle of animal's heads. I don't know where his evidence came from, unless the Jews whom he met plucked out the animals' head muscles instead of their sinews?). This community set up their own place for worship (It has been normally known as the temple of worship, but I don't know what name this community would use today? The original Jewish name for it is synagogue). Every worship day, [they] gathered together for prayer. There was a high chair in the temple, called the 'Chair of Moses'. It was covered with a silk cover and was said to be used to display the Bible while the teacher of their religion was giving his sermons.

The west of the temple faced Jerusalem and there was an indicator. (To face Jerusalem also means it faces the temple of Solomon. It is the same for Muslim mosques, which have one side facing the tomb of Muhammad. The Nestorian church must face west; it is also a semicircle with its centre facing the east. It uses yellow glass to bring in the light, symbolising the coming of Jesus. These represent the same

Charignon's 1926 Peking version of *Le livre de Marco Polo*, there was a reference to the Jews at the court of the Great Khan alongside the Muslims and the Buddhists, vol 2, ch. 79, pp. 27-8. However, the authenticity of Marco Polo's account of China maybe questionable. Cf. Frances Wood, *Did Marco Polo go to China?* London: Secker & Warburg, 1995.

sort of symbolism.) Ordinarily, when the teacher of the religion was out, no one was allowed to enter the temple. There was a square north of the temple, which was the place for plucking out sinews. An elder amongst the followers of the religion was responsible for this activity (he is also called 'the master' amongst the Muslims). Nearby there was also a temple for ancestor worship. Each year, two sacrifices were offered during the spring and autumn seasons. This was like the Chinese custom. There was no image nor idol in the temple. Traditionally, they still practice circumcision: an ancient Jewish religious tradition and it is carried out by following the ancient Jewish calendar.

The above were what Gozani had seen in the forty-first year of the Kangxi period (1704). Since then, especially after the flood during the reign of emperor Daoguang and the war during the time of Xianfeng, many community members fled. Not only has the temple been deserted, the family traditions have also been lost; the community population has been reduced to nearly zero and the Hebrew language has been forgotten.

In the fifth year of the reign of Emperor Tongzhi (1866), an English priest (also a teacher at the SDK)⁴, also a Jew, visited his fellows in Kaifeng. But no one knew the common [Hebrew] language; the children were no longer circumcised; the temple had completely vanished. He saw a black board with Hebrew writings on it (it did not state what language it was) hanging inside a Muslim mosque, members of the Jewish community went to this mosque to pray. Did they regard their religion as the same [as Islam]?

⁴ As a matter of fact, A. W. Martin, the Protestant missionary who visited Kaifeng in 1866 was not English but an American. Although he read some Hebrew, there is no evidence to suggest, nor did he claim that he was Jewish.

According to his report, there was a stone tablet left at the ruin of the old synagogue. According to the tablet, the synagogue was first built in 1164 (the second year of the Emperor Xiaozong of the Song Dynasty); it was then rebuilt in 1468 (the fourth year of the Emperor Xianzong of the Ming Dynasty). It reads: the Jewish religion originated from Adam, Abraham was their ancestor. It was passed down to Moses and he was given the Bible; it began entering China in the time of the Han dynasty. The synagogue was built in Kaifeng in the second year of the Emperor Xiaozong during the Southern Song period. Idolatry was regarded as foolish and useless; they only believed in the Bible and followed the law. The latter was regarded as the order of the universe and the Bible was thought to be the wisdom of their God. It was said to contain the knowledge about the origin of human lives; it taught one to do good, to avoid evil, and so on. There was also another tablet which was erected in 1511 (the sixth year of the Emperor Wuzong). It contained the teachings of the religion and claimed that Yahweh was the Tao. They used the term 'tao' for Yahweh which shows they were more or less assimilated into the Chinese way. The above is the report from this priest (it came via a German translation). Although the two tablets were written in Chinese, I have not had the opportunity to read them. What a shame!

Hong Jun claims: the 'Wotuo' in the imperial decree of the Yuan Dynasty are the Jews. The Westerners claimed there were Jews in China, but the Chinese didn't know and mistook them for the Muslims; tablets have been discovered, the contents are in the appendix for the 29th book of the *Critical translation of the Yuan History* [by Hong].⁵ The present edition of Hong's book doesn't have the contents of the tablets, they were lost during the publication. There was commercial contact with the

⁵ For publication details cf. chapter one of this thesis.

west during the Han period. Central Asia was on the way to the west, so there is no doubt that some Jews came from there. Therefore, Judaism entered into China before the Nestorian religion and Buddhism.

The German Reports

One German claimed (in 1910, about eight years ago): there were European Jews in China who brought with them a few Jews from Kaifeng to Shanghai, intending to teach them their religion and save the community. Apart from eating no pork and plucking out the sinews from the beef, the Jews of Kaifeng had been living like the Chinese (even their features look like the Chinese). When asked about circumcision, no one knew what it was all about. They had merely heard about the writings on the tablets. When [the German] showed them the Bible and asked them to read, they read that Adonai was the heaven and Adonai had created the heaven. When they were questioned about the difference between the two heavens, they answered that the heaven above was the lord of all creation, the heaven below was the sky one saw. This was the knowledge they just had acquired from the European Jews, they had more or less forgotten about their ancestors. This German was a Christian who was not too familiar with Judaism himself and was very happy about his discovery. He did not however ask them anything about the Pharisees and the Sadducees: were they practising the same religion as Moses's sect?

The Hebrew Tablets

According to Yang Rongzi's study on the *Tiaojin jiao* community, there was a Long Life tablet in the Jewish temple of Kaifeng. On the left of the tablet there were Hebrew scripts which came from the Book of Deuteronomy, which read: 'Hear Oh Israel, I am the Lord your God (the singular ending should be the letter *h* and the plural ending is *im*. Grammatically here the ending should be singular, but to emphasis the glory of God, as he was said to be the Lord of lords, therefore the plural ending was used instead) Yahweh, the one and only.' (In the old Latin version, Deus and Dominus were both used. But in today's popular Chinese version of the Old Testament, it translates: 'I am your God Yahweh the one and only.' In the rest, it uses the term Adonai for God.) The right of the tablet also had Hebrew scripts from the Book of Deuteronomy, which read: 'I am the lord your God, the Lord of lords, the King of kings. (Today's Chinese translations is: 'God of gods, Lord of lords.' If translated according to the original, it should be: 'Enoheim above Enoheim, Yahews's Yahweh', it doesn't make sense. So all the translations use other terms instead and the readers know what they stand for.) The all powerful and awesome God, who treats all people equal and doesn't accept any private offerings (today it generally translates as 'not taking any bribery). There were also Hebrew scripts on the wall, which came from The Book of Exodus.

Ten Commandments:

They read: 'I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of Egypt, out of the land

of slavery. You shall have no other gods before me. You shall not make for yourself an idol in the form of anything in heaven above or on the earth beneath or in the waters below. You shall not bow down to them or worship them. For I am the Lord your God, I will not allow any false gods to compare with me (the popular translation uses the term other gods, which is more suitable.) Whoever curses me will be condemned from the father to the third to the fourth generations to come. Whoever loves me and obeys my commandment will be blessed for hundreds and thousands of generations (The first commandment). You shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God, whoever misuses his name will be punished (The second commandment). Make the day of rest the holy day and do not forget to observe it. You shall work for six days. Then you shall rest on the seventh day for it is the day when the Lord your God rested. On this day, you, your children, your slaves, your animals and all the people who are in your house shall not work. Because during the six days Yahweh has created the heaven and earth, the sea and all creatures, but [he] stopped on the seventh day. Therefore, Yahweh made the day of rest the holy day without any fault (The third commandment). Respect your parents, so that you may enjoy a long and good life in the land which the Lord your God has given to you (The fourth commandment). Do not kill people (The fifth commandment). Do not commit adultery (The sixth commandment). Do not steal or commit any robbery (The seventh commandment). Do not give any false witness (The eighth commandment). Do not covet someone else's house, wife, slaves, ox and donkey and anything which belongs to them (The ninth and tenth commandments. Amongst Moses' ten commandments, the first three are the major ones, the other seven are the supplements. Not only did Moses deliver these commandments, even Jesus continued to teach them and repeated that 'I am your

Lord. Don't worship the idols but whoever believes in me will have the eternal life.' It is obviously the same teaching. Only the rule of no work on the Sabbath day was not strictly observed). The above are what Yang has heard from the old Nestorian's [it should be Jesuits'] reports. Today, the situation is different and also the tablet has been lost, how can one know what was really on it?

The Story of *Tiaojin*

About plucking out sinews, there is a story in the Book of Genesis about Jacob taking Rachel and returning home. He had with him two wives, two slave girls and eleven sons. After crossing the river (Chapter thirty one, Rachel had stolen her father's gods when escaping, and putting them inside the camel saddle, sat on them and said: 'In the presence of heaven, I cannot stand up.' The word for God is *Theos* in Greek; it is *Idol* in French, not *Dieu*, just to note), Jacob was left alone. He met someone (commentators thought he was an angel) who wrestled with him till the dawn. While wrestling, this person knew he would not win, so he broke Jacob's hip and hurt him, then said: 'the day is about to break and please let me go.' Jacob answered: 'I will not let you go until you have blessed me.' This man then asked: 'What is your name?' Jacob answered: 'Jacob.' This man then said: 'From now on, your name will not be Jacob, but Israel (This is where the word Israel has come from. Jacob was the father of the Jews). Because you have struggled with God, you will always win when fighting with people.' Jacob said: 'Please let me know your name.' The man asked: 'Why do you want to know my name?' Then he blessed him. So Jacob named this place Peniel, which means: 'I saw God face to face, yet my life was spared.' When

the sun came out, Jacob passed Peniel. He was limping because his hip was broken. Because that man hurt Jacob's hip and broke his sinews, so until today, the Israelites don't eat sinews.

All Jewish People Don't Eat Sinews

Because of this, not only the Jews of Kaifeng, but all the Jewish people don't eat sinews. But nowadays, the Jewish people who are scattered around in different countries, quite often follow the eating habits of the country [they live in]. When I was travelling in Italy, the Jewish neighborhood there still observes the tradition of sprinkling the blood all over the floor (see the Book of Leviticus), and eat animals after slaughtering them. The gentiles who hate them, forbid them to slaughter, forcing them to eat the meat from the market. Therefore, they cannot always keep their law.

The Christian First Letter to the Corinthians (chapter ten) forbids the consumption of food which has been used as a sacrifice before an idol and it says: 'If a non-believer invites you to a meal and you want to go, eat whatever is put in front of you without asking or raising suspicion. But if you are told the food has been used for sacrifice to the idols, then you shall not eat them.' Also (in chapter ten), it says: 'If you buy food from the market, eat it and don't ask any questions or raise any doubt.' About one thousand and eight hundred years ago, there was already the idea of not refusing any food, so why not continue it today? Why not continue it in far away places, such as in Kaifeng, China? The Jewish decedents still call their religion the 'religion which plucks out the sinews', which came from the tradition that any sinews must be plucked out. They strictly observe this tradition, it shows their loyalty

to their beliefs. In recent years, there have been many Westerners who visited Kaifeng. All of them record that the Jews in China, unlike the Jews in many other countries, have enjoyed much religious freedom. They were used to seeing Jews being persecuted in the west and thought that was the only way to treat the Jews. They don't recognise China's benevolence [towards the Jews], but regard it as China's carelessness. Don't they know that China doesn't hate people from other religions, and that China also doesn't look down on stateless people?

Synagogue

The Jewish temple is called a synagogue (the Christian Bible calls it a church, as in Matthew chapter twenty three, Mark chapter one, Luke chapters four and eleven, John chapter six). It came from the Greek word *Synagogue*, which means to gather. It is formed by two parts: *syn* and *agein*. *Syn* means to; *agein* [should be *ágo*] means bring. 'To bring' becomes 'to assemble', thus synagogue becomes [the place of gathering]. It may be that the Jews who were taken into exile by the Babylonians, far away from Jerusalem, could not go to worship in the Temple of Solomon. Therefore they built other places of gathering and observance. However, historically, there are different stories. If one reads the Book of Isaiah 8:16 and following, then one could see the ancient traditions of sacrifice and observance have changed gradually; by the time of Ezra, the temple had become a Jewish teaching place (the synagogue which Ezra built was the first Jewish temple outside Jerusalem).

After Ezra reformed Judaism, there also emerged a structure for synagogues. After Ezra, the Jews only follow the law. The so-called schools [Yeshiva] are for

teaching the law and to produce excellent students, not for teaching ordinary people. The duty of teaching the masses has been left to the synagogues. Every Sabbath day, in the synagogue, the law will be read out, this can be seen in Acts, chapter fifteen. From the time of the author of Psalm seventy four (or during the time of the Persian empire), there was one synagogue in every place where the Jews lived; by the time of Acts chapter fifteen, we find there were synagogues in every city and every synagogue had its own history. During the second Talmudic period (Talmudic is a historical Jewish period)⁶, not only in Palestine, but every place where Jews went, there had to be a synagogue. The word synagogue gradually acquired the meaning of prayer. But if one studies its original use, it has always been the place for gathering and studying the law.

The Structure of Judaism

There are normally one to three leaders within a synagogue. Amongst them, one has the highest position. In Luke and Acts chapter thirteen, he is called the archisynagogue. He is responsible for reading the Law, for praying, for teaching and so on. When it comes to planning, then it should be done with all the leaders, at least done with two leaders. There is also a minister (or *Hazzan* in Hebrew. In Luke chapter four, he was called the minister. He looks after the Bible (which is kept in the Ark) and carries out other daily duties. He also teaches children to read [the Bible]. For the members of the synagogue, there are two rules of exclusion and temporary

⁶ The author was not quite clear here. The second Talmudic period was around 300-400 CE. It was during this period the second Talmud, also known as the Babylonian Talmud, was produced.

exclusion. They are used to strengthen the authority. The corporal punishment consists of lashes and is carried out by the *Hazzan* (as in Matthew chapter ten). The authority of the synagogue is controlled by the *Presbyterons*. The *Presbyterons* are normally *Archontes*.

The Prayer Services

Apart from the Sabbath and festivals, the gathering days include every Monday, Wednesday and each new moon; prayers are offered on all these days. On Sabbath mornings, the morning prayer session is carried out. First, Schema (includes Deuteronomy 6:4-9, 11:13-21; and Numbers 15:37-41) is read out; then there is Benediction (Numbers 6:24-26); then prayer and reading the Law, the books of the Prophets. When praying, the members must stand facing Jerusalem. At the end of each prayer, they must loudly sing Amen. There are seven people who read the Law and are appointed by the head of the synagogue; each person reads at least three paragraphs (with translations). After reading the books of the Prophets, there should be Benediction again (as in Acts 13:15), with which the service ends. There is no reading of the books of the Prophets in the prayer services on Sabbath afternoons and Monday and Wednesday's gatherings.

Synagogues are normally built near the water. This is for the sake of convenience for the ritual bath (see Acts chapter 16). There is still an ancient synagogue building near the Sea of Galilee. It is south-north facing. There are three gates on the south side; some of the gates have pillars on each side. There is a central *bema*, as well as the right and left *bema*. It has two sections: one for men, one for

women. The ark is situated at the end of the synagogue facing Jerusalem; it is called *Theba* in Hebrew. On the ark, there is a chest, called holy cabin, in which the Law book is kept. The five books of Moses are called the holy scrolls. It is wrapped up in a cloth, then put into a scroll and locked inside of the cabin. There is a veil in front of the cabin. It is called the 'holy of holies' and is a reference to the temple in Jerusalem. In the centre of the ark, in front of the cabin, there is a chair which is called 'Moses' chair'.

'Ghetto - The Jewish Quarter in Rome'⁷

Prejudice Against the Jews

Driving through the European continent, passing by each city, one has the feeling that they are rather alike. However, there are also exceptions. In some areas, [we] saw a slightly different picture with rather different customs [from the rest]. We were always told that these were the Jewish quarters. They [the Jews] have lost their country and are scattered around all over the world. They have been ill-treated everywhere they went. It's become a serious problem (especially in Russia). Although, most of them are intellectuals and financiers (the financial power of Europe and America is mainly controlled by the Jews), the white people are very jealous of them, but no one likes them. There is a fundamental breach between the two, or the so-called religious difference between the two. Comparing Moses with polytheists, one might call him a religious reformer; yet, compared with Moses, Jesus cannot be called a reformer. If

⁷ For bibliographical details cf. chapter 2 of this volume.

the religion has not been reformed, why should the difference between the two be so big and deep? This is really a difference between two races.

Since the middle of the nineteenth-century, the Jewish ghetto in Rome has formed its own border. But from 1885, due to the rebuilding of the city, the greater part of it [the ghetto] has been destroyed, only a small part has been left. The word ghetto is derived from the Hebrew word *chat*, which literally means being destroyed, or being thrown away (see Isaiah in the Hebrew Bible chapters fourteen and fifteen, Jeremiah chapter forty eight, Ezekiel chapter eleven); it has been widely used by those who don't like the Jews. Its real meaning came from the word *borghetto*. It was the place where the Jewish slaves lived in Rome during the time of the Roman empire. These Jews who came to Rome not for the reason of immigration, nor for the reason of labouring, but because Pompey (a Roman general) had destroyed Jerusalem and forced his way into the holy of holies inside of Solomon's temple (apart from the high priest, no one was allowed to enter into the holy of holies in the Temple; whoever entered would be regarded as unrespectable). Therefore, the Jews were very angry and rebelled. Pompey enslaved many of them and brought them back to Rome. This was how the history of the Jews in Rome began.

The History of the Jews in Rome

It was customary in ancient Rome that all captives were made slaves. When the king of the Jews Herod and afterwards Agrippa were taken to Rome, even though they lived inside the palace and were treated as aristocracy, yet they were kings in exile without a country. What was the difference between them and the stateless slaves?

(Herod was the last king of ancient Israel.) In the time of the Rome empire, the Jews lived on the banks of the river. There was no such thing as a ghetto. (According to Christian tradition: Peter came to Rome, lived with Aquila and Priscilla at the foothill of the Aventine. Peter, who came to preach the Christian message, did not live with the Jews who were already there.) The Emperors Julius Caesar and Augustus were tolerant towards the Jews. During the reign of the emperor Caligula, the persecution [of the Jews] began. Caligula wanted to set up a statue of himself at the site of the Temple where the holy of the holies stood. The Jews could not allow this. Caligula got angry and began to persecute the Jews. Although he persecuted the Jews, he did not interfere with Jewish internal affairs. The Jewish problem really began with their internal problems. Since the time of John the Baptist, many Jews followed him. The opposition regarded John's sect as heresy. The fighting between the two began and eventually [John's sect] had become the Christians. [Both sides] went to the Roman court, but the Romans [regarded both of them as Jews and] expelled the whole Jewish race. Therefore, the interference in the Jewish affairs by the Romans was really caused by the Jews themselves.

The Slaves of Jerusalem

After Emperor Titus destroyed Jerusalem, he captured thousands more Jewish slaves to build his theatre. They were harshly treated. [Then], Emperor Vespasian allowed the Jews to enjoy their religious freedom if they paid two gold drachmae as the tax (before that, the Jews were forced to believe in the Roman gods and to pay tax to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. But now the Jews did not need to pay the temple tax.

They were also given the freedom to believe in one God). This two drachmae gold taxation system was adopted as the Capitoline's annual taxation system.

By the time of the Emperor Domitianus, because the Jews kept on rebelling, they were expelled to the bottom of the Caelian (one of the seven hills). The Jews began to make their own livelihood. Many of them engaged in various professions such as fortune telling, match making (was allowed then), magic and healing. Since then, the Jews had lived a reasonably peaceful life for a thousand and more years.

In the twelfth century AD, there was a Christian sect headed by Arnold (about 1138)⁸, of the Brescia family. They were a very rich family and had been very powerful in Rome for a long time. Their ancestors had received baptism from the Jews. When Arnold was the leader [of the Christians], he was very tolerant towards the Jews. He let the Jews live side by side [with the Romans] in harmony. He encouraged the Jewish culture to flourish. Also, many Israelites knew the ancient languages, were able to read the classics, and no white people compared with them in this skill. Therefore, the Christians needed the Jews to help with their literature. This continued till the time of Martin V (1417-1431), when there were many Israelites inside the Christian church.

The Jews were Forced to Walk with Animals

When Eugenius IV was the head of the Church (1431-9), he became the enemy of the Jews. He forbade the Christians to trade, to eat and to live with the Jews. He also forbade the Jews to build any more synagogues and to join the civil service. In 1468

⁸ As a matter of fact, Arnold Brescia died in 1135.

during the carnival celebration, Paul II forced the Jews to race with animals, such as the horses, so that other citizens could laugh at them. Such humiliation continued for two hundred years. During the race, the donkeys ran ahead, the Jews behind. Apart from wearing a robe around their waist, they were almost naked. Behind the Jews were the buffaloes; behind the buffaloes were the wild horses (the fiercest horses from Africa). The Jews were not treated as human beings. The Jews bore this indignity and did not dare to rebel. Until the time of Clement IX, they were allowed to pay gold to escape this.

The first day of the carnival was the Sabbath. All the leaders of the Jewish communities in Rome had to go in front of the elder of the Capitolinus as the representative of the Jews, to kneel down and offer twenty scudi (money) and flowers. Also they were asked to provide the flowers as part of the decoration for the people's square. Then he went to kneel down in front of the elder. The elder put his foot on the Jews's head, answered with a pre-fabricated statement such as: 'The Jews are not allowed to live in Rome, but through my tolerance you are allowed to live here.' Today, although, this tradition is no longer kept, on the first day of the carnival, the Jews still go to Capitolinus to pay tribute to the horse. [They do this] to remember their history and to thank the horse for taking on the task of entertaining the Romans, instead of themselves.

Penned inside the 'Mourning Square'

On September 9, 1553, during the time of the new year (probably the Jewish new year), all the Hebrew bibles and Talmudic books were confiscated and burned in front

of the citizens. When the Jews first came to Rome, they used to live by the river Tiber. After the twelfth century, they were forced into the ghetto. Then, beginning in the time of Pope Paul IV (1555-1559) - a religious fanatic - the Jews were penned behind the walls of the ghetto. Also the men were ordered to wear yellow hats and the women to wear yellow scarves before they were allowed to leave the ghetto.

At the beginning, the ghetto was called the Jewish street. It was walled all around, from the Fourheads bridge to the 'Mourning Square'. The so-called 'Mourning Square' originated from July the 25th, 1556, when the Jews were forced into prison. Since then it became a symbol of endurance for their sufferings.⁹

The ghetto Jews had no right and freedom over anything. The properties in this area originally all belonged to the Romans. Some of them used to be the houses where some big families had lived. As they had moved away, the houses had also changed owners. Some Jews leased these properties. However, if any Jew wished to live on the street for a longer period, they then had to hold the freehold in order to avoid two dangers: the one was that if the landlords went broke or lost the ownership, then the Jews would not lose the right to live there; the other was that the landlord could not raise the rent.

Jus Gazzaga

Then, a law was passed: all Jewish property now belonged to the Romans. However, apart from receiving the rent, the Romans did not bother about their other rights as the owners, so the Jews were able to hold a very long leasehold. Even if, occasionally,

⁹ The incident is known as the Ancona affair.

the owner went broke, the Jewish tenant would not lose the place. Also, as long as the Jews paid their annual deposit, they did not need to worry about rent rises for the rest of the year. Even more, the Jews were allowed to make higher or to expand the houses as they wished. This is what was called the *Jus Gazzaga* (a Greek term. *Gazzaga* was a name of a place in the east. The term *Jus Gazzaga* therefore came to be called 'the eastern rights').

Under *Jus Gazzaga*, the Jews could not only lease the properties, they could also buy and sell the lease, or became sub-landlords to rent out the properties. Many Jewish women used such rights as the dowry for their wedding. It was widely welcomed. Under this law, the Jews could almost call the places where they were living their own properties.

Sixtus V, who believed that Jesus was a Jew, was therefore very tolerant towards the Jews. He allowed the Jews to engage in various trades and to be in contact with the Christians. He also built houses and libraries, or synagogues for the Jews. Clement VIII (1591-1605) abolished the privileges which were given to the Jews by Sixtus V. In the time of Innocent XIII (1721-1724), the situation worsened. Apart from dealing in scrap irons and fabric materials, the Jews were not allowed to engage in any other business. By the time of Benedict XIV (1740-1758), the Jews were allowed to enter the carpet trading business. This is why until today, such business is still very popular amongst the Jews.

Forced to Listen to Christian Teachings

During the time of Gregory XIII (1572-1585), the Jews were forced to go to church

once a week to listen to the sermons. First they were taken to the Church of Benedict, then to the Church of Angelica. Every Sabbath (the Jewish day of worship), the police came to the ghetto, wielding sticks to force the Jewish men and women, young and old to go to church. Anyone, who was slightly slow, would be beaten up. It was not that the Jews wanted to listen to the Christian teachings, but they were forced to listen to them in order to be humiliated. The sermons consisted of a lot of parables. The main theme was that Christianity was a religion of love and would save everyone, including the dying hungry ones, the Jews who lived in Rome and the blind. They must be saved in order to share the heavenly blessings. This was the regular message to the Jews. Such a tradition reappeared during the time of Leo XII (1823). During the time of Pius IX, in 1848 an elder from the Sardinian Kingdom went to the Pope and asked him to abolish this regulation.

Pre-Pius IX, the ghetto gate had to be locked in the night. Pius IX reformed this rule and abolished all the laws which were unbeneficial to the Jews. From his action, one could see that Pius IX was very tolerant towards this long suffering race: one day, he gave a large sum of money to a beggar. His servant told him the beggar was a Jew. Pius IX became angry and said: 'What's wrong with the Jews? Aren't they human too?' But a year after, under the pressure of some Christians, the situation of the Jews grew worse, the restrictions were re-enforced. At his funeral, the Jews threw stones at his coffin. They [the Jews] were grateful to him for what he had done for them at the beginning, yet what he did later on was regrettable. His curse was caused by himself.

Humiliating the Jews

Opposite the ghetto, near the Four-heads Bridge (The name of the bridge has been changed), there is a Hebrew Christian church. On the church wall, there is a picture of the Cross. When the Jews emerged out from the ghetto, they would see it. Under the Cross, there is the verse from Isaiah 65:2, written in Hebrew and Greek, which says: 'All day long I have held out my hands to an obstinate people, who walk in a way not good, pursuing their own imaginations.' There is a covered stream in the ghetto, near the river Tiber. Each spring, when the snow melts down from the mountain, the water level would rise, which caused a lot of suffering [for the ghetto Jews]. The Jews are known to have big families and they lived in these small and damp streets, so many of them caught various diseases and became very ill. Yet, smallpox and flu were rare cases amongst the ghetto Jews in Rome. This was because the Jews cleaned their houses during each festival; also they had very hygienic food regulations. There was no Jewish hospital in Rome and the Jews were not allowed to go to ordinary hospitals unless they hung a cross on their beds.

The heart of the Jewish ghetto is the Porta Octaviana. After the Emperors Vespasian and Titus destroyed Jerusalem, the celebrations began here. The celebrations were to commemorate the destruction of Jerusalem. They were already hard for the Jews to bear. Yet the Roman Emperors were determined to humiliate these stateless people and began the procession of the celebration from where the Jews lived. On the walls of the small streets [inside the ghetto], even today, one can still see the pictures of Menorah everywhere. This is a symbol of the Jewish religion.

The Shops in the Jewish Ghetto

There were many shops inside the ghetto. They sold anything from diamonds to haberdasheries to domestic things. There were also craft works from Algeria, Constantinople and Spanish fabrics. But all the goods were hidden inside the shops, they were not on display. When customers walked into a shop, the shop keeper would ask what he/she wanted and would try to persuade them to buy. Each shop had the same sort of goods. By sunset, all the shops closed and would begin to bake the bread for the Sabbath. All the goods would be stored inside their houses. The Jews would then go to the synagogues. On the way home, they would greet everyone on the streets: Shabbat shalom.

There were five schools in the ghetto and they were all in the same building. They were called Scuola del Tempio, Scuola Catilana, Scuola Castigliana, Scuola Siciliana and Scuola Nuova. They were all Hebrew schools. These five schools divided the ghetto into five areas. Although they were all Jews, they belonged to different communities. Most of the Jews in Rome were originally Roman Jews. Then some came from Spain, some came from Sicily. As for the so called Tempio Jews, they were the Jewish decedents from the time of Tempio. There was a Great Synagogue amongst the schools. It used to be the biggest and most glorious one before the New Synagogue. The New Synagogue was built in 1903 near Arco. Now the Great Synagogue is no longer spectacular, but it is still famous for its carvings and gold decorations. The façade consists of carvings of the holy menorah, the harp of David, and so on. It is even more beautiful inside. Every festival, it is full of hanging carpets. The inner railing consists of carvings of Solomon's temple. There is a round

window on the north wall with twelve different color glass panes, which symbolise the twelve tribes of Israel. The west side is the platform for the choir. There is an organ for the cantor. Opposite the east wall is the 'holy of holies'. On the Corinthian pillar (one of the three Greek pillars) there are tablets with the ten commandments (they are on two tablets like the stone tablets which Moses had received). There is a veil full of flower embroidery. The sewing is in Arabic style and was known to have been copied after the style of Solomon's temple. The sewing is all in a golden color. On the centre top, there is a Minorah. Inside the 'holy of holies', the Five books of Moses are kept. They are wrapped inside a huge sheepskin and are called the holy scroll. Every festival, the scroll would be carried around inside the synagogue. After one circle, it would be placed on the organ. Everyone inside the synagogue would be able to see it. All the Jews would then raise their hands and sing loudly.

I hope the readers will read my work on the ghetto carefully. Maybe after a hundred years, my people [Chinese people] will understand the [Jews].

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Abbreviations

DFZZ *Dongfang zazhi*

WGGB *Wanguo gongbao*

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CHARACTER LIST

Balesitan 巴勒斯坦

Budeyi 不得已

bumie minzhu 不灭民族

Chen Duxiu 陳独秀

Chen Yuan 陳垣

Dai Jitao 戴季陶

Dan Sili 单士厘

Daqin 大秦

diguo zhuyi 帝國主義

Dong Xi yang kao 東西洋考

Dongfang zazhi 東方雜誌

faxisi 法西斯

fei lishi de zhongzu 非历史的種族

geming de shengdi 革命的聖地

guizi 鬼子

Guoge 國歌

Guomindang 國民黨
 Gujin wanguo gangkan lu 古今萬國綱

Haiguotuzhi 海國圖誌
 Hong Jun 洪鈞
 Hong Rengan 洪仁干
 Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全
 Huihui 回回
 Huihuijiao 回回教
 Hu Shi 胡適

Jiang Guanyun 蔣觀雲
 Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石

Kaifeng 开封
 Kang Youwei 康有为
 Kaozhengxue 考證學

Lanmaohuihui 藍帽回回
 Li Dazhao 李大釗
 Li Zubai 李祖白
 Liang Qichao 梁啟超
 Liang Suoming 梁漱溟
 Lianheguo 聯合國

Lin Zexu	林則徐
Mao Zedong sixiang	毛澤東思想
Miao Ping	苗平
minzu	民族
minzu tuanjie	民族團結
minzu xue	民族學
Moxi	摩西
nisi-wohuo de douzheng	你死我活的斗争
Pan Guangdan	潘光旦
Riben	日本
Rudeya	如得亞
ruoxiao minzu	弱小民族
Rumenglu	如夢錄
Sanmin zhuyi	三民主義
Semuhuihui	色目回回
Sun Fo	孫科
Sun Yatsen	孫逸仙
Shijie zhishi	世界誌識
Shizihuihui	十字回回

Sizhouzhi	四洲誌
Taiping tianguo	太平天國
Tang Liangli	湯良禮
Tiandao suoyuan	天道溯源
Tianzhujiao	天主教
Tiaojin jiao	挑筋教
tongbao	同胞
tongzhong	同種
Xi'an shibian	西安事變
Xilai	西賴
Xin Qingnian	新青年
Xin Shenghou yundong	新生活運動
Xin Shengming	新生命
Xin Youtai wenxu	新猶太文學
Xin Zhonghua zazi	新中華雜誌
Xinmin congbao	新民叢報
Xinmin Hui	新民會
Xinmin zhuyi	新民主義
Xu Jiyu	徐繼畲
Xue Fucheng	薛富成
Wang Jingwei	汪精衛

Wang Tao	王韜
Wanguo gongbao	萬國公報
Wanguo dituji	萬國地圖集
Wanguo shichuan	萬國史傳
Wei Yuan	魏源
wenxue	文學
Wotuo	韋脫
Wu Zelin	吳澤霖
wuguo zhimin	萬國國民
Yan'an	延安
Yanjing xuebao	燕京學報
Yang Guangxian	楊光先
Yesu	耶穌
Yesujiao	耶穌教
Yinghuanzhilue	瀛環志略
Yiselle	以色列
you lishi de zhongzu	有歷史的種族
Youtai	猶太
Youtai fuxin yundong	猶太復興運動
Youtai guo	猶太國
Youtai jingji tequ	猶太經濟特區
Youtai jisheng	猶太寄生
Youtai minzu	猶太民族

Youtai minzu jingshen	猶太民族精神
Youtai minzu yundong	猶太民族運動
Youtai minzuxin	猶太民族性
Youtaijiao	猶太教
Youtairen	猶太人
Youtaixue	猶太學
youxiu minzu	優秀民族
Yu Songhua	俞頌華
Yuandianzhang	元典章
Yuanshi yiwen zhengbu	元史譯文增補
Zhang Deyi	張德彝
Zhang Xingliang	張星娘
Zhejiangchao	浙江潮
zhishifenzi	知識分子
Zhongguo	中國
Zhonghua minzu	中華民族
Zhongxi jiaohui bao	中西教會報
Zhou Zouren	周作人
Zhuhu	朱忽

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. 'Struggle for survival: the new born Israel', by unknown artist, *Shije zhishi*, 18:2 (July, 1938), p. 1.
2. In 1946, Ye Qianyu, a famous Chinese cartoonist, took his first trip to America. On the boat to America, he met many different people, including Jews. In 1948, after his return to China, he published in Beiping's (now Beijing) *Xinmin Bao* a cartoon series of his experiences in America. It was entitled *Tiantangji* (Trip to Paradise). In which he included his portrait of 'a Jew'.

好，平和，呵



在麥琪將軍號上

有職業旅行家

有大學教授

有尼姑

有猶太人

有富家小姐

有將軍

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