

Tracing Judaism in China

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Abstract

China is the only country in Far East in which Jews have lived continuously for over 1,000 years. The practice of Judaism has existed in China since Jews first set their foot on the Chinese territory though Judaism is not on the list of so called “five recognized religions” in contemporary China. This paper intends to trace the very existence of Judaism in China by focusing on the presence of Jews in Chinese society to provide the background, and their daily life such as rituals, holiday celebrations, and customs to demonstrate the actual practices and observance of Judaism. In addition, the paper addresses briefly Chinese official attitudes toward Judaism.

Keywords: Judaism, Chinese society, Diaspora, religious policy

The practice of Judaism in China is a unique experience for Jewish religion as China is the only country in the Far East that has had Jews living in its society for at least over 1,000 years.

Historically speaking, Jewish Diaspora in China in general has a continuing history over the past 1,000 years though various Jewish communities existed in various places at different times. Since Judaism is not a proselytizing religion, there was no evidence which could show activities of converting any Chinese into Judaism except those resulted from intermarriages between Jews and Chinese. Therefore, “Chinese Judaism” refers only to the religious belief and practices of Jews who had lived or are now living in Chinese society.

In order to understand or present the theme of this paper, it is necessary to briefly explain the relationship between the Jewish people and the Jewish religion, because this relationship is different from that of any other religions and their believers. As is well known, the Jewish religion is one founded by the Jewish people. The object of their devotion is God and the devotees in their worship a monotheistic deity. The Jewish religion now has a history of over 3,000 years. It is the earliest monotheistic religion and had a great impact on the rise of both Christianity and Islam which are also monotheistic. Because of the uniqueness of the history and culture developments of the Jews the nuances of the term “Judaism” are very broad. Its basic meaning is “all Jewish,” in other word, it includes the whole of Jewish civilization. So the Jewish religion does not merely refer to the religious beliefs of the Jews but also—maybe more importantly—

the visible shape of the daily life of the Jewish people, and so it is frequently used to indicate generally Jewish culture or the kernel of Jewish culture. This is similar to the term “Confucianism” which in reality points to the heart of Chinese culture and daily life.

Further, in the course of a very long history, Jewish thought, spirit, religion, and culture—all aspects of the people were bound together and it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to separate them. It is often said that the Jewish people cannot be separated from their religion, at least before modern times, for if they were then there would be no Jewish people. Moreover, Judaism is for Jews the manner of their life. The life of the Jews, observant or not, is inextricably bound to their religion, from their eating and drinking to marriage and death, all are connected with their religion. Whether the New Year, Passover, or other holidays, all are seen as religious festivals, and can also be seen as a part of their cultural life and customs. Therefore, in order to trace and present the practices of Judaism in China, this paper will focus on two issues: the presence of Jews in China to provide the background and their daily life such as holiday rituals, education, *Kashrut* (the Jewish dietary laws), burial customs. In addition, the paper addresses Chinese policy, if any, toward Judaism.

The presence of Jews in China obviously brought the practice of Judaism into Chinese society. To trace any specific practice, we need to further address the history of Jewish communities in China, as the practice of Judaism, in a real sense, is by and large collective activities of the Jews.

Historical research shows that a number of Chinese cities such as Kaifeng, Hangzhou, Ningpo, Yangzhou, Ningxia and so on had Jews and their communities. Unfortunately, except the Kaifeng Jewry, all other communities vanished without trace due to the lack of substantial documents and information. Therefore, we almost have no idea how practice of Judaism was conducted in those Jewish communities. Therefore, we now have to concentrate on the Kaifeng Jewry and their religious practices as we address the issue in pre-modern China.¹⁾

According to their own recollection²⁾ Kaifeng Jews came to China in the Song dynasty (960-1279). In 1163, after they felt comfortable and secure with the city of Kaifeng and were economically better off, they constructed a building to be used specifically as a house of worship in the city though Jews could pray anywhere as their religion became “portable” after the destruction of the Second Temple. The synagogue built by Kaifeng Jewry is a hard evidence that practice of Judaism started in China.

Religious life was no doubt the most important part of the inner life of Kaifeng Jewry before modern times. In fact, it is their practice of Judaism that made it Jewish and made people aware of their very existence. Therefore, it is not a surprise that most documents or materials handed down today were related with their house of prayer.

Generally speaking, the dietary laws were carefully observed. Then as now, it is possible that not everyone in the *Kehillah* observed the law. Exceptions always exist. And sometimes it was difficult to obey, especially for those who became Chinese officials and were assigned to the posts far away from Kaifeng. Those who were invited to attend imperial banquets had to eat Chinese food.³⁾ What is amazing is not that some broke the dietary laws, but that so many obeyed them.

The community's adherence to the dietary laws is illustrated by one of the names applied to Kaifeng Jewry by the Chinese, *Tiao Jin Jiao* (挑筋教), literally, "The Sect That Plucks out the Sinews." Based on the story of Jacob wrestling with the angel in *Genesis*, Jews are forbidden to eat the sinew of the sciatic nerve that runs in the hollow of the thigh. In accordance with this long-standing Jewish custom, the Kaifeng Jews always plucked out the sinew when they slaughtered an animal for food. Their Chinese neighbors, who saw them doing this but did not understand the reason, began referring to them as *Tiao Jin Jiao*. The Kaifeng Jews never resented this Chinese name for their religion. In fact, they appreciated it because it differentiated them from their Muslim neighbors in Kaifeng, who were much larger in number than Kaifeng Jews, and who also claimed Abraham and other biblical figures as patriarchs and abstained from pork.⁴⁾

Judaism in modern China has a much clearer beginning. It started in the second half of the 19th century when China was forced to open her doors to Western powers. From 1725 when Chinese emperor, Yungcheng, decided to order all foreign missionaries to leave China, to 1840 by which time China was more or less a closed society where foreign people were not allowed to live. The major event for this change is the First Opium War between China and the Great Britain from 1839-1842 over the issue of the trade of opium in China. China was defeated and was forced to sign *The Treaty of Nanjing* in 1842 to bring the war to its end. According to the Treaty and its supplementary protocols (1843), China agreed to surrender Hong Kong to the British and open five major port cities in China to British trade and settlements, which soon led to the establishment of territorial enclaves under the British flag. Other imperial powers followed suit and many foreign adventurers came to China since then. Among them were Jews. In next 100 years, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and later Harbin, Tianjin and many other cities became centers of Jewish communal life in China.

There were a few waves that brought Jews to China.

First came Sephardic Jews, originally from Baghdad and Bombay, to look for business opportunities in newly-opened Chinese cities such as Shanghai and Hong Kong in the second half of the 19th century. By the beginning of the 20th century they had built up solid Jewish communities in those cities. The second wave was the arrival of Ashkenazi Jews from Russia and other East European countries. Most of them first arrived in Harbin and contiguous zone in Northeast China. Later many of them moved to southern regions of China. Although a few

came in search of better economic opportunities, the majority was either fleeing from pogroms or revolutions in Russia in the early 20th century. The third wave was the arrival of European Jewish refugees. During 1937-1940 about 20,000 European Jewish refugees swarmed into Shanghai, which became a refuge for thousands of Jews fleeing from countries under Nazi control. The last wave was the arrival of some 1,000 Jews from Kobe, Japan, in the early 1940s. They were Jews originated from Poland and other Eastern European countries and escaped the Holocaust with transit visa issued by Chiune Sugihara, Japanese Consul of Lithuania during WWII.

In general, in the period of 1845-1945 more than 40,000 Jews came to China for business development or for a safer haven. The arrival of Jews in modern China greatly strengthened the practice of Judaism in China. More than a dozen synagogues were constructed in the Chinese cities where Jews resided. This paper takes Shanghai as an example to illustrate the practices of Judaism in modern China.

Jewish communal life in Shanghai started with the Sephardic Jews shortly after they settled in the city in 1840s. In 1862, the Sassoons endowed land for use as a Jewish cemetery.⁵⁾ It was the first communal project established in Shanghai.

As Orthodox Jews, the Sephardim regarded the practice of religion as a considerable part in their lives. Their religious observances and the use of Judeo-Arabic written in a cursive Hebrew script as their *lingua franca* reflected their radically separate ethnicity in China. Judaism strictly disciplined their life circle such as birth, circumcision, *Bar Mitzvah*, marriage, and death.

Synagogue rituals and attendance are strong forces of Judaism. To meet their religious need, the community set up its first synagogue in 1887. It was named as Beth El. In 1899, Shearith Israel started in use and served as house of worship and of Torah study in Shanghai.⁶⁾

The growing of the size of the congregation warranted a larger place for worship in the 1910s. Sir Jacob Sassoon and his brother Sir Edward endowed Ohel Rachel. It was named after Sir Jacob Sassoon's late wife, Rachel. It was the first purpose-built edifice for divine worship in Shanghai and was consecrated on January 23, 1921. It has a capacity to hold up to 700 people in its cavernous sanctuary. Marble pillars flanked a walk-in ark and wide balconies overlooked the sanctuary. As many as 30 Torah scrolls were held in the ark. The synagogue was considered as "second to none in the East." Now the building still stands intact in Shanghai.

In 1932 the Sephardic community appointed Rev. Brown, an Ashkenazi rabbi, as the rabbi of the congregation. The appointment of Ashkenazi rabbis implied a reduced commitment to the preservation of Sephardic traditions. Some traditions altered and innovations such as a choir, a few Ashkenazi melodies, a sermon, and prayer books with the English translation alongside the Hebrew, were introduced. Other than those, there was no intrinsic change in the form of the Sephardic service.

The Ashkenazi Community followed its own traditions and rituals. They had their own house of worship. In 1902, a synagogue committee was formed in Shanghai by Russian Jews and inaugurated in 1907 in a rented premise. The synagogue was named Ohel Moishe after Moshe Greenberg, a leading Russian Jewish personage.

In 1925 Rabbi Meir Ashkenazi, a Lubavicher Hassid, was invited to become the Shanghai Russian Jews' spiritual leader. He served the Chief Rabbi of Shanghai from 1926-1949 and was the able spokesman for the Ashkenazi community, directing its relief, educational, and religious affairs. He found the small rented synagogue inadequate for the growing community's requirements. With his efforts, a building was remodeled into a synagogue for the congregation in 1927. The second floor was removed and pillars were erected to support its roof. A mezzanine was constructed for women to pray separately from men as required by orthodox Jews. Ohel Moishe served as an early religious center for the Russian Jewish community for many years. In April 1941, a modern Ashkenazi Jewish synagogue was built, which provided seats for 1,000 people. Russian Jews called it New Synagogue. The services in this synagogue continued until 1956.

Education is an essential element of Jewish identity and is one of the brightest aspects of the Jewish experience for the young. In early time in Shanghai, Jews adopted the traditional method of imparting instructor from father to son, or hiring a private tutor. The children learnt to recite prayers and read Biblical Hebrew. As their number grew, Shearith Israel incorporated in 1902 a Talmud Torah (Jewish religious school), where six boys were enrolled and taught Hebrew and religious studies through the medium of Judeo-Arabic in the first year. Later when European refugees came, this school was attended by many refugees' children. In 1944, there were as many as 300 students at the school, which had its sub-campuses in different districts of Shanghai. The Shanghai Jewish Youth Association, better known as the Kadoorie School, was founded specially for the refugees. The Ismar Freysinger School was a smaller but more religiously-oriented school for the refugees. Those schools and other educational groups played a very important role in providing basic education of Judaism to the younger generation during the War. Hebrew classes and traditional orientation to Jewish education stressed that Jews are a distinct national group, bound together by a connection of Judaism.⁷⁾

Jews in Post-War China

The surrender of Japan brought some hopes for Jews in China. For the European refugees, the first positive change was the complete resumption of communication with outside world and the flow of much-needed money into the community. The arrival of the American armed forces provided jobs and opportunities for them. Moreover, they were able to move around and had opportunities to go to a third country to join their family or relatives. The majority started to plan to leave. It was quite natural for them to do so because they had never planned to come

to China. They ended up in China simply because they did not have any other choices. Though they survived the Holocaust, China was not the place they wanted to settle permanently. Countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia and many others became their choices of destination if visa could be obtained. However, the doors of most countries were still not widely open for them. The founding of the State of Israel appeared to be another choice. In 1948, right after its establishment, Israel opened an office in Shanghai⁸⁾ to welcome Jews to Israel. About 10,000 Jews found a home in Israel.

For the Sephardim and Russians, China had been home for a generation or more. Many of them considered to stay on. Some started to invest and others started to rebuild their business. But their hopes were short-lived. Civil War broke out between the Nationalists and the Communists in 1946. They too began to leave. Those well-established Jewish families in the city, such as the Sassoons, the Kadoories, had transferred their business elsewhere. The Sassoons established their business in Bahamas. The Kadoories made Hong Kong as its permanent residence and built up their enterprises there.

By the time the Communists took over the power of the country in 1949, most Jews had already left China. However, a few thousands remained and lived in Chinese cities for another 10 years before their final departure from China.

The 1950s was a special period of the history of the Jewish Diaspora in China. It was the end of a period rather than a period of its continuity. Radical changes within Chinese society made it difficult for Jews to lead a meaningful life or to build up their business in China. Jews who came to China at different times for various purposes believed that it was time for them to leave and left by thousands annually. Therefore, the declining of Jewish population in China was an inevitable tendency in the 1950s. By the mid-1950s the total number was less than 1,000. Because of the declining of Jewish population, various Jewish organizations established in early time were either diminished or merged. The Council of the Jewish Community, which was first created in Shanghai in 1949 after the founding of the People's Republic of China and registered with the Foreign Affairs Department of the Shanghai Military Committee on September 1, 1950 as a voluntary charitable organization for the welfare of China Jewry, took over the responsibility of administrative work in connection with the repatriation and resettlement of Jews residing in China to all parts of the world when the American Joint Distribution Committee closed its Shanghai office in 1951. The Council became the instrumental organization of the remaining Jews responsible for their welfare. By July 1956, the centralized management of the properties and the internal affairs of both the Ashkenazi and the Sephardic Communal Associations, which had been handling its own affairs separately for the last 50 years, had finally merged into the Council's office. The Council not only represented the Shanghai Jewish community but also represented the Jewish communities in Tianjin and Harbin. It was in charge of the general budget and migration affairs of those communities and its annual reports include all the communities. It took over the complete responsibility of the

welfare of remaining Jews in Tianjin after the liquidation of the Tianjin Hebrew Association in 1958.⁹⁾

The economic and financial status of the majority of the remaining Jews steadily worsened during the 1950s because most of them were planning to leave. Their priority concern was no longer to establish their life and business in China but how and when to leave the country.

The departure rate remained high, over 25% each year. For instance, from 1955 to June 1956, 283 Jews left China. Among them, 113 were from Shanghai, 139 from Harbin, 15 from Tianjin, 7 from Dalian, and 10 from Qingdao. Though destinations for them were varied (13 countries plus Hong Kong), statistics showed that the number one destination was Israel (131 Jews), followed by the USSR (90 Jews).¹⁰⁾

By June 30, 1956, the exact remaining Jewish population in China was 519 according to the number given by the Council of the Jewish Community in China.¹¹⁾ With the shrinking of the community size, the religious life was interfered inevitably. Though religious life in general continued, it became difficult for them to keep the cost of synagogues.

In Shanghai, the New Synagogue on Chao Yang Road, which was built in 1941, served as the only living synagogue in Shanghai for years. However, because the expense of maintaining the large premises in the face of dwindling attendance and growing financial need among the local Jewish population could no longer be justified, it was decided to dispose of the synagogue building. The transaction was concluded in July 1956 and the buyer was the House and Land Control Bureau of the Chinese People's Government.¹²⁾ The reason to sell it to the Bureau was the Bureau offered high price. Several Torah Scrolls and a quantity of religious books owned by the local community were shipped to the Ministry for Religion of Israel as a gift.

However, religious services continued on Sabbath and holidays in the prayer hall established at the Jewish Center after the disposal of the synagogue building. Matzoth were prepared in accordance with Jewish rituals and distributed free of charge to all needy Jews in Shanghai. They even sent Matzoth (by hundred pounds) by train for remaining Jews in Tianjin prior to Passover.¹³⁾

We could see clearly that the Jewish Diaspora in Modern China, which had lasted for about 100 years, faded away gradually by the end of 1950s. Once the most dynamic Jewish communities in the Far East were no longer active. By 1966 when China started its Cultural Revolution, only a few elderly Jews remained and eventually died in China. The practice of Judaism in Mainland China ceased completely.

Revival

However, the history of Jewish Diaspora does not end in China; neither does the practice of Judaism. Thanks to China's reform and "Open Door Policy" since 1979, of which the goals were to attract foreign investments to China and to establish ties with the rest of the World,

especially with the Western countries, Jewish presence in China revived. Nowadays there are not a small number of Jews living in Chinese cities such as Beijing and Shanghai. With more and more Jews come to work, invest, study, and live in China, the practice of Judaism once again become part of life in Chinese society.

As Shanghai became more and more cosmopolitan, Jewish presence in the city became more visible. In the mid-1990s, they organized and established the contemporary Shanghai Jewish Community. Shortly after, Rabbi Shalom Greenberg from Chabad-Lubavitch in New York arrived in Shanghai to serve this community in August 1998. His commitment has infused new life into the growing Jewish community. Rabbi Arthur Schneier, President of the Appeal of Conscience Foundation from New York, donated a Sefer Torah to the community in 1998. Now the size of the community reaches a few hundreds. Regular Shabbat services and kosher meals have been implemented in Shanghai. Jewish education also started. Child and adult education classes, bar and bat mitzvah training and social brunches are conducted. On the first day of Rosh Hashanah, in September 1999, a Jewish New Year service was held at Ohel Rachel for the first time since 1952 when the synagogue was closed.¹⁴⁾

In 2001, the Community started to build its office center. Now the Center, located at 1720 Hongqiao Road, Villa #2, Shanghai, has a synagogue, kosher kitchen, mikvah, and school.¹⁵⁾

Chinese Policy toward Judaism

Given what has been discussed, Judaism has existed in China continuously for such a long time. What, if there was any, has been official policy of China toward the Jews and their religious practice historically? Looking at the historical sources, though no documents related directly to this issue were ever found, a liberal policy of “respecting their religion and changing not their customs and traditions”¹⁶⁾ was obviously carried out by Chinese governments through history. The policy applies not only toward Jews and Judaism but also toward all foreign aliens and their faith. Accordingly, the dynasties or the governments have instituted lenient policies toward the Jews, permitting them to live within the country and to practice normal religious activities, including erecting synagogues.

That policy was very well reflected in the case of Kaifeng Jews. The Kaifeng Jewish stele records that the Song dynasty emperor gave permission for Jews to live in the then capital of China and to follow their own traditions.¹⁷⁾

The best expression of that policy is perhaps a horizontal inscribed plaque granted by a Qing emperor, as well as vertical plaques and scrolls with couplets given by local officials for the dedication of the newly completed synagogue that replaced the one destroyed in the Yellow River flood of 1642.¹⁸⁾

The local government once enacted a regulation that “strangers and carriers of pork cannot pass near the synagogue.”¹⁹⁾ This shows that the Jews of Kaifeng had absolutely full

freedom of religion and that their customs are respected. There is no period in the entire history of the Diaspora where the Jews enjoyed similar respect.

In the Republican period (1912-1949) of China, the fact that a large number of Jews (more than 40,000 totally) from Europe arrived and lived in China seem to tell us indirectly that Chinese authorities carried out a relaxed policy towards Jews and their religion. Jews received permissions to stay, to establish organizations, and to build synagogues. Jewish life, including religious life, went on. The Chinese government issued a number of statements to endorse Zionism, which should be viewed as Chinese policy towards Jews or Judaism, as Jews, Judaism and Zionism are directly related. For instance, in 1920, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founding father for the Republic of China, wrote a letter to N. E. B. Ezra, then secretary of the Shanghai Zionist Association, to express his support for the Jewish national cause. His letter reads: "I have read your letter and copy of Israel's Messenger with much interest and 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 the movement to restore your wonderful and historic nation which has contributed so much to the civilization of the world and which rightly deserves an honorable place in the family of nations."²⁰⁾

During World War II, the Chinese government was particularly sympathetic to the plight of Jews in Europe and took an action to assist them by proposing a plan to set up a settlement in Southwest China to replace those who were suffering in German occupied countries in Europe in 1939. According to the plan, the Chinese government would offer Jewish refugees the same rights of residence, work and governmental protection as Chinese citizens. The plan was proposed after a series of 1938 events spurred the victimization of helpless Jews: the annexation of Austria to the Reich in March, the fruitless Evian Conference on Jewish Refugees in July, "Crystal Night" in November, and the attempt on the life of Secretary of the Legation von Rath in Paris, which resulted in massive persecution on German Jews, unleashing furies raged without bounds and restraint all over Germany and Austria.²¹⁾

Although the program was never implemented, due to the complicated situation of WWII, the very idea shows that Chinese and their government were sympathetic to the Jewish situation and tried to assist in time of need.

After the Communists took over power of the country in 1949, the Chinese government, especially the local governments of the cities where Jews lived, instituted a liberal policy toward the Jewish religion, permitting the Jews to maintain their synagogues and to carry on their regular activities if we examined the history. The Jewish religion was recognized at that time by the government as one of the approved religions in such cities as Shanghai, Tianjin, and Harbin. For instance, the Shanghai New Synagogue remained open, and Jewish rituals were continuously observed until it was closed in 1956 because the number of Jews had decreased.²²⁾ The Harbin Synagogue remained open until 1960s.

The Jewish experience in China merits its good reputation because no documents show that China has ever persecuted Jews. The Chinese government seems to realize that it is necessary to create a positive cultural environment for foreigners if China wants to keep and attract them. This kind of cultural environment includes due respect for religions.

Special consideration and respect have been shown to Jewish religious requirements by the authorities. For instance, in 1993, to mark the historic visit of Israeli President Chaim Herzog to China after China and Israel established full diplomatic relations, the Shanghai government turned the original building of Ohel Moishe into a museum. In 2007 it underwent a thorough renovation and is restored to its original 1920s style. It now receives visitors by the thousands annually.

In 1998, the Shanghai municipal government spent over \$60,000 to restore Ohel Rachel, which was first constructed in 1920 and was one of two still standing today, as a historic site. Permission to use the building for Jewish holiday celebrations is frequently granted.²³⁾

Many buildings that relate to Jewish life still exist in Shanghai. The political implications of choosing and renovating original synagogues are very clear: the Chinese government understands that a site for religious services is the core part of Jewish life.

In Harbin, the Jewish cemetery with 876 graves—the best-preserved Jewish cemetery in Mainland China—is well taken care of by Chinese authorities. In fall of 1996, at the expenses of the Chinese government, a new fence and gate were completed to better protect the cemetery. Now the city government is taking additional steps to preserve the heritage handed down by the Harbin Jewish community since it began at the end of the 19th century.²⁴⁾

In sum, the practice of Judaism has existed in China since Jews first set their feet on the Chinese territory. As long as there are Jews who choose to live in China, the practice of Judaism will continue regardless whether they are observant or secular. It could be foreseen more and more Jews will come to work, study, or live in China with the continuity of the Chinese Open-door policy. Therefore, it is absolutely essential and important for us to understand the uniqueness of Judaism, which means that Judaism is indigenous to the Jewish people and is inconceivable without it as Judaism and the Jews entered history simultaneously, and adopt a constructive and positive policy toward it.

Notes

- 1) This paper defines pre-modern China by the Opium War between the Britain and China around 1840 in modern history. It is considered that modern times started since 1840-1842.
- 2) By this we refer to three stone inscriptions produced by the Kaifeng Jewish commu-

- nity in 1489, 1512, and 1663 respectively. They are considered as first hand documents to study the Kaifeng Jewry. Two stelae of 1489 and 1512 survive and are stored at Kaifeng Municipal Museum today. The 1663 stele is no longer extant; however, the rubbing of the inscription survives.
- 3) See Wang Yisha, *Spring and Autumn of the Chinese Jews* [《中国犹太春秋》], Qingdao: Ocean Press, 1984, p.184.
 - 4) A number of books in English give various details of the Kaifeng Jewish life and their observance. See, *inter alia*, William C. White, *Chinese Jews*, University of Toronto Press, 1942; Donald Daniel Leslie, *The Survival of the Chinese Jews: the Jewish Community of Kaifeng*, Leiden, 1972; Michael Pollak, *Mandarins, Jews, and Missionaries*, the Jewish Publication Society of American, 1980; Xu Xin, *The Jews of Kaifeng, China: History, Culture, and Religion*, KTAV Publishing House, 2003.
 - 5) C. E. Darwent, *Shanghai: a Handbook for Travelers and Residents*, Shanghai, 1920, p. 30.
 - 6) Maisie J. Meyer, *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Whangpoo: A Century of Sephardi Jewish Life in Shanghai*, Lanham MD: University Press of America, 2003, p. 96.
 - 7) A number of books give various details of the Shanghai Jewish Community. See, *inter alia*, David Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jews: The Jewish Refugee Community of Shanghai 1938-1945*, New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1976; Maisie J. Meyer, *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Whangpoo*; Pan Guang and Wang Jian, *Jews in Shanghai since 1840s: An Oriental Page in the Annals of Jewish Diaspora*, Beijing: Social Sciences Documentation Publishing House, 2002.
 - 8) Isador A. Magid, "I Was There," in *China and Israel, 1948-1998: A Fifty Year Retrospective*, ed. Jonathan Goldstein, Westport CT: Praeger, 1999, p. 43.
 - 9) *Annual Report of the Council of the Jewish Community (1958-1959)*, Shanghai, Hoover Institution Archives, p. 16.
 - 10) *Annual Report of the Council of the Jewish Community (1955-1956)*, Shanghai, Hoover Institution Archives, p. 11.
 - 11) *Ibid.*, p. 15.
 - 12) *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
 - 13) *Ibid.*, p. 5.
 - 14) <http://www.chinajewish.org> (accessed on 28 June 2003).
 - 15) See its website: www.chinajewish.org.
 - 16) “尊其教而不易其俗” in Chinese characters.
 - 17) The 1489 stele records “the three-points covenants” made by Chinese emperor with the Kaifeng Jewry: “Become part of Chinese, honor and preserve the customs of your ancestors, and remain and hand them down in Kaifeng.”
 - 18) To read the full text of them, please refer to William C. White, *op. cit.*

- 19) *Ibid.*, p. 80.
- 20) Sun Yat-Sen, "To N.E.B. Ezra," *The Collected Works of Sun Yan-Sen* Vol. 5, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1985, pp. 256-57.
- 21) "Chungking National Government Programme for the Placement on the Jews in China," *Republican Archives*, No. 3, 1993, pp. 17-21. Also refer to Xu Xin, "Sun Fo's Plan to Establish A Jewish Settlement in China During World War II Revealed," *Points East* 15: 3 (March 2001), pp. 1, 7-8.
- 22) "Report of Council of the Jewish Community Shanghai of July, 1955-July 1956," The Hoover Institution Archives, Hoover Institution.
- 23) Seth Kaplan and Matthew Trusch, *Ohel Rachel Synagogue*, Shanghai: The Jewish Community of Shanghai, 2000.
- 24) Letter from Xiao Tongyan to Mr. Kaufman, *Israel-China Voice of Friendship* (published by the Israel-China Friendship Society in Tel-Aviv), No. 17, p. 11.