



上海社会科学院上海犹太研究中心《犹太·以色列研究论丛》第一辑

CJSS Jewish & Israeli Studies Series Vol.I

猶太人在亞洲： 比較研究

היהודים באסיה – מחקרים השוואתיים

主编 潘光

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Associate Editors

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序 一

中华民族和犹太民族都有五千多年悠久历史，在世界上最古老文明之列。两者都是刻苦耐劳、酷爱自由、富有优秀历史遗产的民族，两种文明有着许多相同、相似之处，对世界文明发展都有重大的贡献。

自 1840 年起，由于帝国主义的入侵，中国沦为半殖民地半封建社会。中华民族不断地表现出不甘屈服于内外压迫的抵抗精神和革命意志，1911 年在孙中山领导下推翻了统治中国几千年的君主专制制度，到 1949 年在中国共产党和毛泽东的领导下取得了新民主主义革命的彻底胜利，建立了中华人民共和国。建国后，尤其是 1978 年以来，在邓小平理论的指导下，我国取得了社会主义革命和建设的巨大成就。

犹太民族在公元前 13 世纪曾在巴勒斯坦居住，公元前 11 世纪建立以色列—犹太王国，创犹太教。公元 1—2 世纪罗马帝国统治时期，犹太民族绝大部分被赶出住地。在古代，犹太人沿着丝绸之路来到中国，在中国开封等地建立起繁荣的犹太社团，并最终逐渐与当地居民融合，这已成为中犹人民交流史中的佳话。中世纪在欧洲的犹太人多从事放贷和商业，进入 19 世纪后，部分人因从事金融和实业而致富。

中华民族和犹太民族都曾在近代遭遇到世界上罕见的厄运。第二次世界大战时犹太人遭纳粹大屠杀的人数骇人听闻，约有六百多万。在此期间，上海成了全球唯一敞开大门接纳了近三万犹太难民的大城市。这是中犹交流史上的又一佳话。1937 年日本侵略南京时，制造了骇人听闻的“南京大屠杀”，平民死亡人数高达三十万之多。中国抗日战争时期，日军对中国抗日根据地进行“扫荡”时，还定下了“杀光、烧光、抢光”的“三光”政策。

以上仅是对中华民族和犹太民族两大文明的渊源、发展、交流和遭遇的非常扼要的描述，需要更深入挖掘资料、推出新视野、提出新观点之处，实在不胜枚举。可以说，潘光博士领导的上海犹太研究中心是“任重道远、大有可为”。

我本人在 20 世纪 80 年代初，作为上海社会科学院经济研究所副所长与陈曾年一起花了三年时间，查阅了上海收藏的“沙逊洋行”档案，写成了《沙逊集团在旧中国》一书，由人民出版社于 1985 年出版。此书较全面地研讨了英籍犹太巨商在旧中国一百多年的经营活动，因此我在上海也被认为是一位研究犹太人的学者，并被潘光博士在 1988 年筹建“上海犹太研究中心”时邀请担任中

心顾问。可以指出的是,我1988年时已担任上海社会科学院院长,我当然支持院里有这样一个中心,因为这也符合我当时的设想,上海社会科学院应该有些“人无我有、人有我优”的研究中心,而建立上海犹太研究中心,这正是“全国第一”、“人无我有”。

潘光博士的专业是世界史,他学贯古今中外,博学多才,治学严谨,精通外语,善于组织重要的学术活动。他现任上海社会科学院世界经济与政治研究院副院长、欧亚所所长、上海国际问题研究中心主任等职务,有一批优秀中青年学者与他合作。回忆起1993年我率领上海社会科学院国际问题研究代表团访美,当时我就发现他在美国犹太人中交友广阔,涉及政治、学术、宗教、企业等各方人士。当然,潘光也多次访问过以色列,认识不少亚洲地方的犹太各界人士。去年还首次成功组织了“犹太人在亚洲:比较研究”国际学术研讨会,会后大家提出了出版“以色列·犹太学研究论丛”的想法并将去年会议的成果作为论丛第一辑的主题。这是上海犹太研究中心的一件大事,也是所有从事和关心犹太研究的人所乐以见成的。谨祝论丛第一辑顺利出版,祝中国犹太学研究与时俱进、进一步繁荣。

张仲礼

2006年11月15日

Preface I

Both Chinese and Jewish nations have a long history of more than 5 000 years and are listed among the great ancient civilizations of the world. These two civilizations have many similarities in common. Both are hard working, freedom-loving, and, full of outstanding national heritage, having made significant contributions to the development of world civilization.

Since 1840, with the imperialist invasion, China became a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. The Chinese nation, unwilling to succumb, has continually demonstrated its spirit of resistance to oppression and its revolutionary will. In 1911, under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen, the Chinese people overthrew the autocratic monarchy that ruled China for thousands of years; until 1949 under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Mao Zedong, the Chinese people won the complete victory of the New Democratic Revolution. And after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, especially since 1978, under the guidance of Deng Xiaoping Theory, China made tremendous achievements in socialist revolution and construction.

Jewish people were living in Palestine in the 13th century BC, the establishment of Israel — Judea Kingdom of the 11th century BC created Judaism. 1 - 2 century AD, during the rule of Roman Empire, the majority of the Jewish people were expelled from their residence. In ancient times, Jews came to China along the Silk Road, and established a prosperous Jewish community in Kaifeng in China. They gradually integrated with the locals and eventually, it has become a much-told tale in the communication history between the Chinese and Jewish people for the first time. Most of Jews in the Middle Age in Europe engaged in lending and commercial activities. Ushering into the 19th century, some people engaged in industrial and financial work and became rich merchants.

Both of the Chinese and Jewish people in modern times have suffered exceptionally serious misfortunes. Jews killed in the Nazi Holocaust during World War II were about the shocking number — more than 6 millions. In the

meantime, Shanghai had become the world's only port opened the door to the nearly 30 000 Jewish refugees in the city. This is still another much-told tale in Sino-Jewish communication history. In 1937, the shocking Nanking massacre, commonly known as "The Rape of Nanking", is an infamous war crime committed by the Japanese invaders. The civilian death toll was as high as 300 000. During China's Anti-Japanese War, the Chinese anti-Japanese bases were "mopped-up" by the Japanese troops who adopted the policy of "burning all, killing all, looting all".

The above mentioned are only a very brief description of the Jewish origins, development, exchange and bitter experience of two civilizations of the Chinese nation and Jewish nation. But, the need for further data excavation, the introduction of new visions, new viewpoints, are too numerous to mention. It can be said that the Center of Jewish Studies Shanghai (CJSS) under the leadership of Dr. Pan Guang are shouldering heavy responsibilities while their road ahead is very long, and there are plenty of opportunities for them. In the early 1980s, I was deputy director of the Research Institute of Economics of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (SASS). Together with Mr. Chen Zengnian we had spent three years to look up the files of "Sassoon Co. Ltd.", while having compiled the book *Sassoon Group in Old China* which was published by the People's Publishing House in 1985. This book made a more comprehensive study of 100 years of British Jewish magnates' business in old China. Thus I also was looked as a scholar on Jewish Studies. CJSS was initiated and established by Dr. Pan Guang in 1988. I was invited to serve as an advisor to the Center. It may be noted that in 1988 when I was president of the SASS, I certainly supported such a center under the SASS, because it is consistent with my vision. The SASS should not only have research centers, but those with best qualities among the same discipline in China. The establishment of CJSS is the realization of my personal vision of "First One" and "Only One" in a certain research area at that time.

Dr. Pan Guang majored in the world history while he learned through the times, became a learned scholar with a rigorous academic approach, and proficient in foreign languages and good at organizing important academic activities. He is now the Vice Dean of the School of World Economy and Politics, Director of Institute of Euro-Asia Studies, SASS, and Director of the Shanghai Center for International Studies, while he cooperates well with a group of outstanding young scholars. Recalling in 1993 when I led a SASS delegation

of International Studies to visit the United State, I found that Dr. Pan has a lot of Jewish friends in the United States including the people from political, academic, religious, business and other parties. Of course, Dr. Pan Guang has repeatedly visited Israel, while having got acquainted with the Jewish people from all walks of life in many Asian countries. After successfully held the *International Symposium on Jews in Asia: A Comparative Study* for the first time last year, we suggested the idea that we should publish paper of the symposium as first volume of CJSS *Jewish-Israeli Studies Series*. This is a major event for CJSS, which all those who engage in the Jewish Studies have expected. I wish the smooth publication of this first volume, while wishing the Jewish Studies in China progress with the passing time and enjoy a more bright future.

Prof. Dr. Zhang Zhongli

Honorary Dean, CJSS

Former President, SASS

November 15, 2006

序二：为了共同的理想

——为“犹太-以色列研究论丛”出版而写

以色列-犹太研究是上海社科院的一个非常有特色、有活力、有影响的学科。以论丛的形式积累成果、加强交往、扩大影响，标志着这个学科站到了一个新的高度。不仅对于上海社科院，不仅对于中国的以色列-犹太研究事业，而且对于更加深入地参与各大文明之间的对话，相信这套论丛都将发生重要影响。

像中华文明一样，犹太文明也属于德国哲学家卡尔·雅斯贝斯所说的“轴心文明”的行列。雅斯贝斯认为，在公元前600年左右，在中国、印度和包括犹太-以色列地区在内的“西方”同时出现了一些大宗教的创始人；尽管这些地区彼此之间并没有任何了解，但在这些地区人们不约而同地意识到作为一个整体的（大写的）存在，这一方面意味着人们意识到自己的局限性，另一方面也意味着人们为自己确立了一些至高的目标。用以色列当代著名社会学家S. N. 艾森斯塔的话来说，“在轴心文明中，发展出了一种在平凡的世界和超凡的世界之间的尖锐分离。与此相伴的是强调存在着一种较高的、超越的、处在任何给定的此世实在或来世实在之外的道德秩序或形上秩序。”根据我的理解，雅斯贝斯和艾森斯塔所说的“轴心文明”的根本特点，实际上就是明确形成了理想和现实的范畴区分、明确作出了理想世界和现实世界的视域分化、明确提出了理想和现实之间的关系问题。

理想和现实的关系问题无论在两千多年以前的轴心时期，还是在我们目前的全球化和信息化时代，都是人类生活的头等大事。对于人类来说，理想是不可能完全实现的，但也是不可须臾离开的。康德把理念的“范导性”与范畴的“构成性”区分开来；比方说，对于科学知识来说，“因果性”、“实体性”等范畴具有构成性的意义，也就是说是人类知识不可缺少的内在成分，而“物自体”、“世界”等理念则是具有范导性的意义，引导人们不断突破现有知识的界限，不断使知识更具有系统性、完整性。借用西方哲学中的这个范畴区分，我们可以说：理想是范导性的，但对范导性的东西的预设，对于我们的生活作为人类生活来说则具有构成性的意义。马克思说：“最蹩足的建筑师从一开始就比最灵巧的蜜蜂高明的地方，是他在用蜂蜡建筑蜂房前，已经在自己的头脑中把它建成了。”其实每个人都是自己生活的建筑师，哪怕他的水平再低，作为人来说他

或多或少都对自己的生活有一个设想,或多或少都对未来目标有一个追求。用鲁迅的话来说,“人类总有一种理想,一种希望。虽然高下不同,必须有个意义。”用爱因斯坦的话来说,“每个人都有一定的理想,这种理想决定着他的努力和判断的方向。”

理想之为理想,当然是不同于现实的,有些理想似乎还离现实很远,但理想会通过对持有理想的人的思想的影响、进而对他的行动的影响,而在现实世界产生重要影响。一个典型例子是司马迁。《史记·孔子世家》篇末写道:“诗有之:‘高山仰止,景行行止。’虽不能至,然心向往之。”司马迁虽然承认孔子对他来说是一个“不能至”的理想,但他并没有因为这个理想的“不能至”而放弃这个理想,相反,他仍然“心向往之”。这“心向往之”的对象远在一个理想世界,但“向往”之此“心”、此心之“向往”,却是实实在在地存在于、发生于我们这个经验世界中的。司马迁对这个“不能至”的理想的向往,并没有使他成为孔子,但这种向往使他成了司马迁,成了我们所知道的司马迁。一个超越的理想能起到如此实在的作用,我们就不能说它是一个虚幻的东西。事实上,雅斯贝斯所说的“轴心突破”对各个“轴心文明”的意义,“轴心文明”对于整个人类历史的意义,都与理想和现实之间的这种关系密切相关。

理想有各种类型、各个层次;在人与世界的终极关系这最高层面来说,理想世界和现实世界的关系也有不同类型。雅斯贝斯所强调的“超越性”在不同民族有不同形态。同样属于“轴心文明”,同样追求“超越的存在”,犹太文明和中华文明可分别被作为“外在超越”传统和“内在超越”传统的典型。“外在超越”的传统设定的上帝和天国是在此世之外、此生之后的,而“内在超越”传统设定的天命、天理则是在此世之中、此心之内的。与“外在超越”传统相比,“内在超越”传统在启蒙的时代、世俗化时代似乎有明显的优势,因为在这个传统中,不容易发生“上帝死了”的悲观和绝望;但这个传统在现代社会里也面临明显的挑战:在传统世界观瓦解的情况下,这种传统中的“内在性”更容易压倒“超越性”,物质欲望更容易完全取代精神追求。正因为这样,曾对中国文化传统的“内在超越”特点作出系统梳理并高度评价的汤一介先生,也认为必须在发扬内在超越传统以提升自我、超凡入圣的同时,发扬外在超越传统,以建立客观有效的政治法律制度。

当然,不同文明和文化传统的结合,并非易事。美国学者亨廷顿的“文明冲突论”所谈到的几大文明,基本上都属于广义的轴心文明;“9·11”以后的国际形势表明,在世界上的有些地区,甚至可以说在全世界范围之内,不同文明之间、甚至同一文明的不同分支之间,连彼此宽容、相安无事都还只是一种过于奢侈的理想。但正如前面所说,理想尽管不同于现实,有些理想尽管离现实很远,但理想还是能对现实产生重要影响的。不仅不同文明相互宽容的理想,而且不同文明相互尊重、相互对话、相互学习甚至相互融合的理想,只要没有

一条逻辑规律和客观规律说明它是不可能实现的,就应该成为人们行动的指导,就可以在接受这种理想的人们那里变成现实的行动动力,直至变成现实的历史进程。

不同文明之间相互尊重、彼此学习,是全世界热爱和平、热爱真理的民族共同理想,也是中国学者从事犹太—以色列文化研究的重要目标。中华民族和犹太民族,这两个最早提出理想和现实关系问题的民族,这两个以各自特有途径解决这个问题的民族,相信它们会通过这样的研究更加接近不同文明间相互尊重、相互学习这个共同理想,会让这个共同理想在现实的国际生活和国内生活中发挥更重要的作用。

童世骏

2006年12月25日

Preface II

To Our Common Ideal

Jewish-Israeli Studies is a very special, dynamic and influential research field in Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences. Accumulating academic achievements in the form of the studies series is a good way to strengthen academic exchanges and expand scholarly influences, and marks a new height and new beginning for the research work in this field. I believe that the publication of these research collections will not only be of great significance to the cause of Jewish-Israeli Studies of the Academy, but also of great help to our deeper involvement in the dialogues among civilizations.

Like the Chinese civilization, the Jewish civilization also belongs to the rank of what the German philosopher Karl Jaspers called "Axial Civilizations". Jaspers argued that in around 600 B. C. there emerged founders of major religions in China, India and the "West" including the area where Jews lived. Without knowing each other, different peoples in these areas were nevertheless aware of Existence as a whole almost at the same time. This means that these peoples were aware of their own limitations on the one hand, and set lofty goals for themselves on the other hand. In the words of the contemporary Israel renowned sociologist S. N. Eisenstaedt, "in the Axial Age civilizations the perception of a sharp disjunction between the mundane and transmundane worlds developed. There was a concomitant stress on the existence of a higher transcendental moral or metaphysical order which is beyond any given this-or other-worldly reality." According to my understanding, the essential feature of the Axial Civilizations mentioned by Jaspers and Eisenstaedt is actually the clear differentiation between the categories of the ideal and the real, the clear division between the ideal world and the real world, and the clear awareness of the question of the relationship between the ideal and the reality.

The relationship between the ideal and the reality, whether in the Axial Age more than 2 000 years ago, or at the present age of globalization and informatization, is an issue of top importance for the human beings. For human

beings, no ideal world can be fully accomplished, but neither can they survive as human beings without it. Kant made a distinction between the “regulative” ideas and the “constitutive” categories: the latter are constitutive to human knowledge in the sense that no human knowledge is possible without categories such as “causality” and “substance”, while the former are regulative to human knowledge in the sense that although ideas like “the world” or “thing-in-itself” are not integral elements of human knowledge, they play an important role in guiding people to overcome the current boundaries of knowledge and search for its further advance. Borrowing this famous categorical distinction in Western philosophy, we can say that although the ideal is itself regulative to human life, the presupposition of the ideal is constitutive to our lives as human life. Karl Marx said, “What distinguishes the worst architect from the best of bees is this, that the architect raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality.” In fact, everybody is an architect of his or her own life. Even if one has only scanty knowledge, as human being, he more or less has a vision for his own life, or pursues a goal for the future. As Lu Xun said, “all human beings have their ideals and hopes; all human lives, high or low, need to have a meaning.” Or in Einstein’s words, “everyone has certain ideals, and these ideals determine their efforts and direct their judgments.”

Ideals, of course, are different from the reality, and some ideals seem to be very far away from the reality. But ideals will have a major impact upon the real world through their influence on the people who hold them, and through these people’s actions in the real world. A typical example here is the famous historian Sima Qian^①. At the end of Honorable Biography of Confucius in *Shih Ch*, or *Records of the Historian*, Sima Qian wrote, “As a poem goes, the high hill is looked up to, the great road is easy to be traveled on. Though unable to reach the level of him [Confucius], I admire him from my heart.” Sima Qian confessed that Confucius was to him only an ideal figure, and that it was impossible for him to reach the level of Confucius; but this impossibility did not

① Sima Qian (about 145 – 90 BC), inherited from his father the position of grand historian to the Emperor. However, Sima Qian also took on an ambitious project started by his father’s production of the first full history of China. This broad ranging work extending over 130 chapters is not in historical sequence but divided into particular subjects, including annals, chronicles, treatises in music, ceremonies, calendars, religion, economics and extended biographies. In this way, *Records of the Historian*, covers the period from the Five Sages of prehistoric times, through the Xia, Shang, Zhou, and Qin dynasties to the Han dynasty of Sima Qian’s own time.

prevent him from persistently following the model of Confucius. On the contrary, he still admired Confucius from the bottom of his heart. The ideal was far away from the real world where he stayed, but the aspiration of the heart, and the heart that is aspiring are both something very real in this world. Sima Qian's admiration for the unobtainable ideal did not help him to be a Confucius, but it did help him to be Sima Qian, a Sima Qian as we know. A transcendent ideal that can play such a realistic role should not be regarded as a hollow thing. In fact, the significance of what Jaspers called Axial breakthroughs to the Axial civilizations, and the significance of the Axial civilizations to the history of whole mankind, are both closely related to the relation between the ideal and the reality in the above sense.

There are different types of ideals and different levels of ideals; and at the highest level of the ultimate relation between man and the world there are also different types of the relation between the ideal world and the real world. The transcendence stressed by Jaspers has different patterns in different peoples. Both being an "Axial Civilization" and pursuing the "Transcendent Existence", the Chinese civilization and Jewish civilization are regarded as typical of the tradition of "external transcendence" and the tradition of "immanent transcendence" respectively. According to the tradition of "External Transcendence" God and Paradise are supposed to be outside of this world and after this life, while according to the tradition of "Immanent Transcendence" Heavenly Mandate and Heavenly Principle reside in this world and within one's heart. Compared with the tradition of External Transcendence, the tradition of "Immanent Transcendence" seems to have an obvious advantage at the times of Enlightenment and secularization, because people in this tradition cannot succumb easily to pessimism and despair as a result of "God is dead". But in modern society, this tradition faces significant challenges as well. With the collapse of the traditional worldview, the side of "immanence" of this tradition tends to overwhelm more easily the side of "transcendence" of it, and the material pursuit can more easily replace the spiritual pursuit. It is for this reason that even Mr. Tang Yijie, who had made systemic studies and spoke highly of the Chinese tradition of "immanent transcendence", also said that when we carry forward the tradition of immanent transcendence for the sake of self-improvement to the level of the sage, we should also learn from and give an important play to the tradition of external transcendence in order to establish an objective and effective political and legal system.

To combine different civilizations and cultural traditions, of course, is not an easy task. The great civilizations mentioned by the American scholar Samuel P. Huntington who advocates the thesis of *Clash of Civilizations*, are basically all among the Axial Civilizations. The international situation after 9 • 11 has shown that in some parts of the world, perhaps even in the whole world, even the tolerance and peaceful co-existence among the different civilizations, and even among different factions within the same civilization, are still a luxury ideal. As I mentioned above, however, although the ideal is different from the reality, although some ideals are still very far away from the reality, the ideal can produce significant influences upon the reality. Not only the ideal of mutual tolerance among different civilizations, but also the ideal of mutual respect, mutual dialogues, and even mutual convergence among different civilizations, as long as no logical rules or objective laws can prove it is impossible to achieve, should become the guide to people's action, and become the real driving force in those who hold this ideal until it is turned into a real historical process.

Mutual respect and learning among different civilizations is not only the common ideal of all peace-loving and truth-pursuing nations in the world, but also the important goal shared by Chinese scholars engaged in Jewish-Israeli culture studies. The Chinese nation and the Jewish nation are two of the first nations which raised the question of the relationship between the ideal and the reality, and which have attempted to solve this problem in their respectively unique ways. I am sure that both of them will benefit from these studies in their efforts to pursue the ideal of mutual respect and mutual learning of different civilizations, and to give a more important role to this ideal in the real life at the international as well as domestic levels.

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前言和导论

1988年,我们在上海社会科学院建立了上海犹太历史研究中心,后改名为上海犹太研究中心,主要目的就是想构筑我们中国自己的犹太·以色列研究框架。近二十年来,中心发展迅速,涌现出一批青年学者,逐渐形成一个团结的研究集体和自己的研究特色,并推出了一系列有分量的著述。同时,中心与国内外犹太·以色列研究机构的合作交流获得长足发展,也产生了丰硕成果。正是在这样的形势下,我们逐渐萌生了编撰出版我们自己的犹太·以色列研究论丛的想法。2005年8月,我们中心在国内首次举办了“犹太人在亚洲:比较研究”国际学术研讨会,与会者均是在该领域成果卓著的一流专家,提交了一批高质量的学术论文。会议产生了巨大反响,国内外同行纷纷要求将会议成果编辑出版,我们也觉得这是会议组织者的应尽责任,于是决定将推出犹太·以色列研究论丛的想法付诸实施,并将“犹太人在亚洲:比较研究”作为犹太·以色列研究论丛第一辑的主题。

发端于五千多年前的犹太文明是世界上最古老的文明之一,也是世界上两个主体精神从古至今一脉相承的文明之一(另一个是汉儒文明)。不过,与汉儒文明乃至世界上大多数文明都不同的是:它是一个在近两千年里失去了故土和家园,没有固定的主体活动地域,因而流散并渗入世界各地域的文明。正因为此,在漫长的岁月里,犹太文明常常被视为“外来”的甚至“异端”的东西,以至受到客居地主体文明的强烈冲击乃至挤压。在这种艰难困苦的状况之中,犹太民族居然顽强地生存了下来,而且不仅能不断发展自身,还对人类社会的发展做出了巨大贡献。内中的原因十分复杂,但主要是因为犹太文明具有超乎寻常的内聚力和生命力,而这种力量来源于犹太文明的三大支柱:以犹太文化传统为主体的民族认同感,以犹太教为纽带的共同信仰和价值观,以家庭为基础、犹太会堂为核心的社团网络。这三大支柱,正是我们这些年进行犹太·以色列研究的重点。犹太人早在离散初期就经西亚和中亚辗转来到了南亚,后又经陆上丝绸之路和海上丝绸之路进入东亚和东南亚。本书所说的“亚洲”,主要就是指南亚、东亚和东南亚。犹太人在那里同样形成了具有坚强内聚力的社团,体现出世界各地流散犹太人的共同点。同时,在亚洲特殊的人文地理环境中,他们身上又出现了与其他地方犹太人不同的特殊性。本书的作者们均试图通过比较的方法来考察和研究南亚、东亚和东南亚犹太社团或群