The Study of Parsee Merchants
in Canton, Hong Kong and Macao

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Above: Entrance to Macao's Parsee Cemetery.
Following pages: Views of the gravestones.

One rarely comes across the term "Parsee" (or Parsi) in modern Chinese historical scholarship. However, the Parsees were of crucial importance to several aspects of the history of modern China, such as the opium trade and the Opium War, that are of great interest to historians in China and abroad. Despite the importance of the Parsees in China, their participation in these events is often neglected by Chinese scholars, while scholars overseas have never made a systematic study of them.

I have argued elsewhere that the main reason the Parsees have been neglected by contemporary scholars is that the historical records lack unity or clarity in referring to this group.[1] For this reason, when studying the Parsees in China, it is necessary first to examine the records in Western languages, sifting through,

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systematizing, and categorizing the different uses of the term "Parsee." Chinese-language sources and secondary literature from Guangzhou, Hong Kong and Macao can contribute significantly to this process.

CHINESE-LANGUAGE SOURCES IN CANTON, HONG KONG AND MACAO

Although there have been few studies that focus directly on the Parsee merchants in Guangzhou during the Qing Dynasty, studies on other topics often include references to the Parsees in China. On the whole, Western scholarship has tended to deal with the Parsees more often than Chinese scholarship.

There are two main distinguishing features of Western scholarship on the Parsees. First, it tends to

be based primarily on non-Chinese language sources. Second, there is far more scholarship on the Parsees in India than on those in China. In Chinese scholarship, there are many references to the Parsees in China before and after the Opium War, but very few studies that focus primarily on them. As far as I know, there have been no full-length studies on the Parsees' activities in China, yet there has been copious Chinese scholarship on aspects of history that involved the Parsees, including general histories of modern China, studies of the Opium War, biographies of Lin Zexu, histories of England and India, historical geography, histories of transportation and shipping between China and the West, and more general studies of the relationship between China and the West in modern times.

After reviewing the history of Chinese and Western scholarship on this subject,[2] it becomes clear that one important reason why Chinese scholarship has largely ignored the Parsees, and Western scholarship lacks systematicity in studying them, is due to a bottle-neck in the Qing dynasty source materials. If we want to fully understand the relevant Chinese language sources from the Qing dynasty, we must in turn examine the situation in Guangzhou, Hong Kong and Macao.

Of course we understand that many Western scholars may have lacked access to the Chinese-language materials or the ability to read Chinese. However, there are many Chinese scholars who can both read Western languages and are very familiar with Qing documents: why, for them, should this bottle-neck still exist? One reason is that there was a plethora of Chinese translations of "Parsee." Even after the Opium War there was no standardized way of referring to this group. Another reason is that Qing sources often did not specify different groups within the general appellation "yi" (foreigners), or they mislabelled the Parsees as "foreigners from Britain." Thus a crucial way—really, the only reliable way—to trace the history of the Parsees is to examine the sources in which the names of particular foreign families are mentioned. Until now, however, historians of this period generally tend to regard the events as more important than the names of the individual foreigners (especially foreigners who were not particularly prominent) involved in these events. This tendency is evident in the fact that, first, there has been virtually no study (let alone a systematic study) of foreign names mentioned in the Chinese sources, and second, despite the enormous effort that has been expended in

translating foreign-language materials into Chinese, the idea of translating a list of foreign names has always been considered unnecessary. For example, in Hu Bin's "Translations of Selected Documents on the Opium War from the British Archives" (Part I, p. 423), Hu writes, "the original document lists here the names of forty-two foreign 'factories'; I have deleted them in the interests of brevity." Yet on page 658 of the *British Parliamentary Papers: China. Vol. 30*, I discovered that Parsees owned or operated no less than 28 of these 42 factories. Thus we can see that in "the interests of brevity," an important source of information about the Parsees was overlooked.

Even when we have access to documents in which foreigners' names have been translated, there often exist significant discrepancies between the modern transliteration of Parsee names and the method of transcription used in Qing documents. There are two

reasons for these discrepancies: one is because modern translators use different standards for rendering foreign names into Chinese; and the second is a problem of dialect. Modern translators virtually always work in Mandarin, yet because the Parsees were most active in Guangzhou, Hong Kong and Macao, the documents that best record their activities were written by Cantonese speakers, who used different characters to transliterate the sounds of foreign names. This is a crucial point that is all too often overlooked by modern translators, but it is one of the main reasons why the names of Parsees in translated documents do not correspond to those in the Qing documents.

The Parsees resided along the Guangdong coast during an unusual period in history; for this reason, there are three main categories of documents that record their activities in the region.

The first category is Chinese and English documents translated by missionaries. Missionaries played an important role in the history of encounters between Chinese and the West. In Section Twelve of Yao Ying's *Kang you ji xing* 康辅纪行, the author states, "among the foreigners, aside from the English, the Italians put the most effort into [learning] Chinese, followed by the Prussians." In Section 8 of Fang Junshi's *Jiao xuan sui lu* 蕉轩随录, the author writes, "In the Daoguang period, the Britisher named Morrison could write Chinese..." Many of these missionaries mastered not only *guanhua*, the official language, but also the Cantonese dialect.[3] In this period, missionaries translated many official documents and publications into English. For example, Morrison translated Lin Zexu's proclamations and public statements prohibiting the opium trade; these documents are now part of the British Blue Books.[4] English-to-Chinese translations were published primarily in a variety of missionary periodicals, such as the *Eastern Western Monthly Magazine* (*Dong xi yang kao mei yue tong ji zhuan*东西洋考每月统记传). In these Chinese documents, missionaries most often used Cantonese transliterations to render Parsee names. English versions of these Chinese documents can be found in sources such as the British Blue Books and *The Chinese Repository*, and there is almost a perfect correspondence between the Chinese and English versions of the names, providing us with proof beyond conjecture of the original Cantonese transliterations. Such accurate and detailed sources are virtually unprecedented in the study of the history relations between China and the West.

However, there were also variations in the missionary sources. And when the people of the Qing

dynasty read, quoted or reorganized these documents, even if their sources were reliable, mistakes and omissions were made, which complicates the attempt to establish correspondences between the different versions. Guo Shili's two books *Gu jin wan guo gang jian* 古今万国纲鉴 (Nations through the Ages) and *Wan guo dili quan ji* 万国地理全集(Geographies of All Nations); Elijah Bridbman's *Meilige he sheng guo zhilue* 美理哥合省国志略 (A Sketch of the United States of America); Wei Yuan's *Hai Guo Tu Zhi* 海国图志 (Maps of Maritime Nations), and Liang Tingnan's *Hai guo si shuo* 海国四说 (On Maritime Nations) drew heavily upon the missionary literature.[5] These "value-added" sources often have more references to the Parsees.

The second category of documents is the journals kept by men working on the "front lines" of the trade along the Guangdong coast. These are the most "primitive" Chinese-language documents about the Parsees. Naturally, these documents also record Parsees' names in Cantonese transliteration. Many Chinese-language documents, especially those of Ye Mingshen, now kept in the archives of the British Foreign Office, provide information about every foreign trader who arrived and departed during the trading season, many of whom were Parsees.[6]

The third category of documents is Chinese documents that did not pass through the hands of missionaries or Chinese linguists. These documents are far more plentiful than the other two categories, and the kinds of information provided in the diaries or poems written by Qing officials are often neglected in other sources. However, it is difficult to evaluate these sources. When using these sources, it is best to compare the information in them with Western sources, or to cross-check it with sources in the two above-mentioned categories.

In the rest of this article, I will discuss how these sources for the history of the Guangzhou, Hong Kong and Macao regions may contribute to the study of the Parsees in China.

CHINESE TERMS FOR "PARSEE'

Modern Chinese scholars usually transliterate the name "Parsee" as 帕西 (*pa xi*), 帕尔西 (*pa er xi*), 波尔西 (*bo er xi*), or refer to Parsees by their religion: 印度祆教徒 (*yindu xianjiaotu*, Indian Zoroastrians), 火祆教徒 (*huoxian jiaotu*, lit. followers of Ormazd), or 拜

火教徒 (*baihuo jiaotu*, lit. fire-worshipers).[7] These translations are not found in Qing documents and are, therefore, not useful to the study of Parsees in Chinese history. According to western sources and secondary materials, before the Opium War, Parsees comprised one-third of the foreign merchants in Canton—more numerous than the British or the Americans.[8] So we must ask how the Qing sources refer to this important ethnic group.

In English, they are referred to as Parsis or Parsees; but there is some dispute as to the origin of this name. Some say that it derives from "Parsa," the name of a province in Persia.[9] Others say it derives from the word "Pars" (or Persia).[10] Still others argue that the name has its origins in the word "Parasiks," which in turn is derived from the word "Parshavas" in ancient Indian literature.[11]

The Chinese Repository, published in English in Guangzhou during the nineteenth century, lists the names of all the foreigners who came to China each

year before and after the Opium War. One especially notable characteristic of the Parsee names listed here is that they usually end in "jee" or "bhoy." "Jee" could also be spelled "ji"; in the Guzarattee [Gujarati] language, "jee" means "Mr."[12] Although methods used to translate foreign documents into Chinese varied widely in the Qing, depending on the dialect of the writer, whether the documents were personal or official in nature, and so on, there was a remarkable degree of consistency in translating this last syllable of Parsee names: it was usually translated as " 治 " [Mandarin "zhi," Cantonese "ji"]. Evidence of this can be found in Western-language documents, official documents of the Qing government, diaries, and other sources.

One document in the *British Parliamentary Papers* shows some common ways of rendering Parsee names in Chinese[13] (Table 1 overleaf).

Hong Kong's Ruttonjee Hospital was established by Parsees, and its name is now rendered as " 律敦治 " [Mandarin *lü dun zhi*, Cantonese *leuht dun ji*] Hospital, providing yet more irrefutable proof of the most common Chinese transliteration of "jee."

The final syllable "-bhoy" (also "-bhai") was rendered as " 皮 " [Mandarin "*pi,*" Cantonese "*pei*"] in the Qing dynasty; two examples are the famous opium smugglers Dadabhoy (打打皮 or *da-da-pi*) and Jeejeebhoy (噫之皮 or *yi-zhi-pi*).[14]

Thus there was a relatively standardized way of translating Parsee names into Chinese; but what about the word "Parsee" (Parsi) itself? The variety of translations for this term can be divided into five main categories:

1. Transliterations

According to standardized phonetic symbols adopted by the International Phonetic Association, "Parsee" and "Parsi" are both pronounced /ˈpär-(ˌ)sē/.[15] Following this pronunciation, the people of the Qing Dynasty used a variety of characters to transliterate the name "Parsee": 巴斯 [*ba si*], 八思 [*ba si*], 八师 [*ba shi*], 叭史 [*ba shi*], 巴史 [*ba shi*], 巴社 [*ba she*], 包社 [*bao she*] and 巴西 [*ba xi*].

a. 巴斯 [*ba si*]

On Changzhou Island in the Huangpu district of Guangzhou, there is a cemetery that is surrounded by stone tablets inscribed in English and Chinese. The English inscription reads "Parsee Ground" and the Chinese reads " 巴斯墓界 " [*Ba Si* Graveyard]. Since this translation was made by the Parsees themselves, in this article I have chosen to use "巴斯" [*ba si*] as the standard Chinese rendering of the term "Parsee."

b. 八思 , 八师 [*ba si, ba shi*]

In 1830, three Parsees—Framjee, Nowrojee, and Jamsetjee—killed a Dutch man named Mackenzie. The Chinese documents in the British Foreign Office list these three murderers as Parsees, or " 八思 " [*ba si*].[16] Another Parsee who appears in these documents, Hormusjee (also called Aomatchee), who defaulted on a loan made to him by the factories, was called "八思夷人 [*ba shi yi ren*]," a "Parsee foreigner."[17]

c. 叭史 [*ba shi*], 巴史 [*ba shi*], 巴西 [*ba xi*]

In the *Hailu* 海录 (Records of the Seas), author Xie Qinggao mentions "there is a town with barbarians called 'ba-shi' [叭史], whose countenances

are fairly white in colour." In the book *Hailu Zhu* 海录注 (Notes on 'Records of the Seas') by Fang Chengjun, the author explains that Xie's "叭史" [*ba shi*] refers to Parsees. In Lin Zexu's *Si Zhou Zhi* 四洲志 (Annals of the Four Continents), which is based largely on the *Hailu*, he refers to the Parsees as "巴史" [*ba shi*]. Finally, in the book *Hai Guo Tu Zhi* 海国图志 (Maps of Maritime Nations), Parsees are referred to as "巴西" [*ba xi*].[18]

d. 巴社 [*ba she*], 包社 [*bao she*]

In Qing documents, the characters "巴社" [*ba she*] and "包社" [*bao she*] usually refer to Persia. The reason for transliterating Persia in this way is explained in Xu Jiyu's book *Ying Huan Zhi Lue* 瀛环志略 (A Sketch of the World), in which he asserts that people of the Qing dynasty often could not distinguish between the terms "Parsee," "巴社" [*ba she*] and "包社" [*bao she*]. Liang Tingnan, in his book *Ying Ji Li Guo Ji* 英吉利国记 (Chronicles of England), argues that "巴社" [*ba she*] refers to Persia; however, he also states that "the 巴社 [*ba she*] are an Islamic people, commonly referred to as 'white-headed barbarians;' they engage in trade at Hong Kong, and their ships sail under British flags."[19] Thus we can see that the term "Parsee" was often confused with the term "包社" [*bao she*]. Ma Jianzhong, in his book *Nan xing ji* 南行记 (Chronicles of an Expedition to the South), states that during the Qing, "Parsee" was also transliterated as "包社" [*bao she*].[20]

2. Descriptive Terms: "White-head people" (*bai tou ren*), "white-head foreigners" (*bai tou yi*), or "white-head devils" (*bai tou gui*)

The term "white-head" (白头 *bai tou)* was used in two different ways in Qing documents: first, as a geographical term referring to the regions of India and Iran, and second, to refer to Parsees in China, who were noted for wearing white turbans. Why was this term used to refer to India and Iraq, two places with which the Parsees had close historical ties? The book *Ying Huan Zhi Lue* 瀛环志略 (A Sketch of the World) states that "Persia is called the 'Great White-Head' and India is called the 'Lesser White-Head.' They are referred to in this way because in both regions it is customary for men to wear white turbans on their heads."[21] Other written works of the era, including *Qing chao xu wenxian tong kao* 清朝续文献通考 (More Documents of the Qing Dynasty),[22] *yue hai guan zhi*粤海关志 (Annals of the Guangdong Customshouse)[23] and *Yindu kao lüe* 印度考略 (A Brief Study of India)[24] also make reference to this fact.

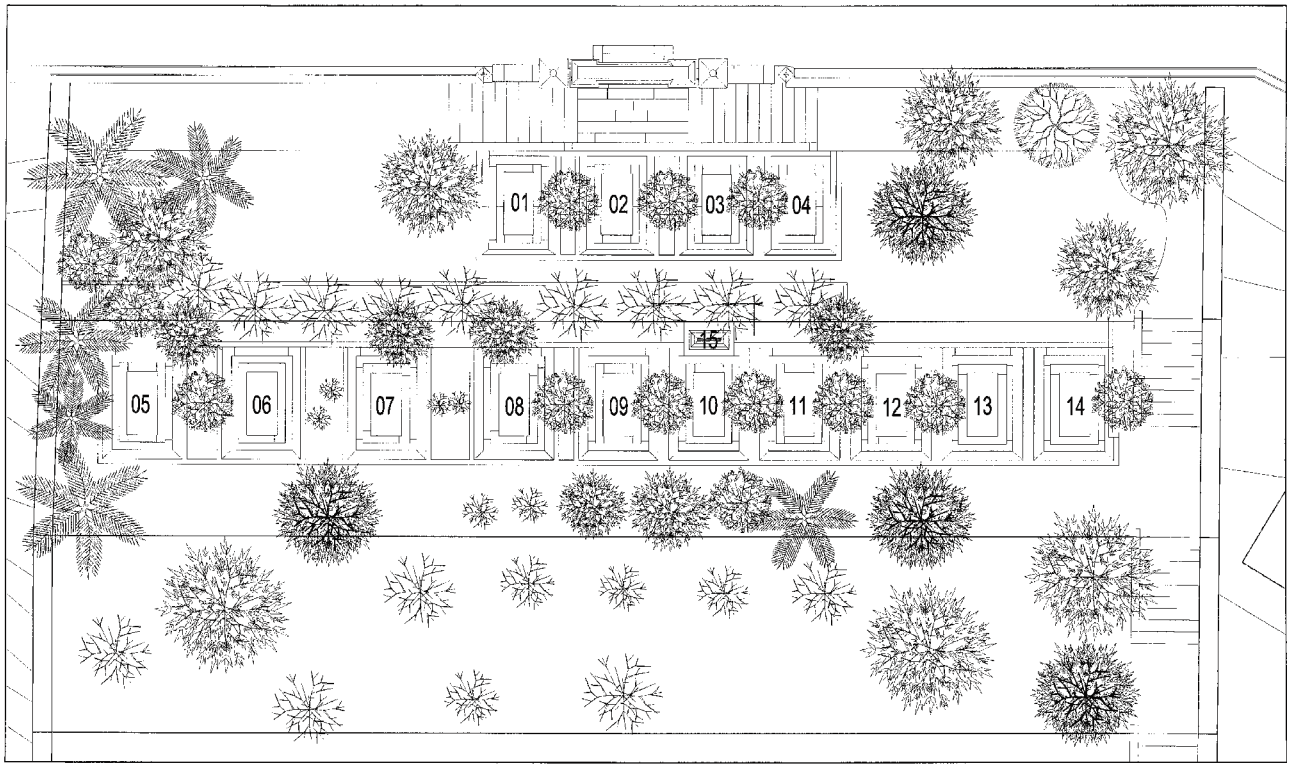
That the term "white-head people" refers to Parsees can be demonstrated both from textual sources and material objects. In the textual sources, we can look to the records of Li Hongbing, then Governor of Guangdong and Guangxi, who referred to the three Parsees who killed a Dutch merchant in 1830 as "white-head foreigners" (白头夷*bai tou yi*). The British Foreign Office Records translated Li's phrase "白头夷" [*bai tou yi*] as "white-head (Parsee) Foreigners."[25]

As for historical objects, evidence can be found in the Parsee Cemetery that was built in Macao in 1829. Even today, this cemetery is referred to in Chinese as the "white-head cemetery" (白头坟场 *bai tou fen chang*). There is also a street in Macao that was once inhabited by Parsees, which is called "White-Head Road" (白头马路 *bai tou ma lu*); in Portuguese, it is called "Estrada dos Parses." Finally, the Parsee Church in Shanghai is called either the "Parsee Church" (巴斯教堂 *ba si jiao tang*) or the "White-Head Hall of Worship" (白头礼拜堂 *bai tou li bai tang*).[26]

The image of "white-heads" can also be found in both Chinese and western paintings. British traveller Toogood Downing, in his book *The Fan-qui's Visit to the Celestial Empire in 1836-1837*, writes that during his visit to the studio of Lamqua (a well-known Chinese painter), he noted that the walls were covered with large portrait paintings. Among these, Downing found one that depicted an obviously wealthy man dressed stylishly and wearing the formal headgear of a Parsee gentleman.[27] For

Table 1

H. & N. Cursetjee	架赊治	[Mandarin *jia she zhi*, Cantonese *ga se ji*]
Tamooljee Rustomjee, esq.	担姆治・罗心治	[M. *dan mu zhi* ・ *luo xin zhi,* C. *dan mou ji* ・ *loh sun ji*]
Nasserwanjee Biccajee, esq.	拿舍湾治・别歌治	[M. *na she wan zhi* ・ *bie ge zhi*, C. *na sa wan ji* ・ *bit goh ji*]



Parsee cemetery in Macao.

historical reasons, in Hong Kong today Parsees are still referred to in common parlance as 'white-head Moors' (白头摩罗 *bai tou mo luo*), and this appellation is related to a local slang term for "loanshark."

In Chinese-language documents, Parsees are most often referred to as "white-heads" because they were so easily distinguishable by this aspect of their attire. Although most people in the Qing Dynasty would not have known what a "Parsi" was, they certainly would have known that there was a group of people called the "white-heads." Knowing this certainly assits in our attempt to mine the Chinese documents for references to this heretofore neglected group.

PARSEES AND THE CHINESE FROM CANTON, HONG KONG AND MACAO

Before the Opium War, the Parsees were active primarily in the cities of Guangzhou and Macao, and they dealt almost exclusively with Chinese merchants.[28] After the Opium War, however, they moved most of their activities to Hong Kong.

Article Three of the Treaty of Nanjing stipulates that "It being obviously necessary and desirable that British subjects should have some port whereat they may [maintain] and refit their ships when required, and keep stores for that purpose, His Majesty the Emperor of China cedes to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., the Island of Hong-Kong, to be possessed in perpetuity by Her Britannic Majesty, her heirs and successors, and to be governed by such laws and regulations as Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., shall see fit to direct."[29]

In fact, some Parsees had moved to Hong Kong before the end of the Opium War. When the British military occupied Hong Kong on 26 January 1841, there were already 2,700 Indian soldiers and four Parsee merchants in Hong Kong. The four Parsees were Dhunjibhoy Ruttonjee Bisney, Hirjibhoy Rustomjee, Pestonji Cawasji and Framjee Jamsetjee.[30] By 1860, there was a total of 73 foreign factories on Hong Kong, of which 17 were owned by Parsees.[31]

The following are the names of some important Parsee merchants and businesses in Hong Kong:

Messrs. Cawasjee Pallanjee & Co.

Messrs. Cawasjee Pallanjee & Co. was a long-established and well-known Indian firm in Hong Kong

"Parsee Ground". According to most translations of Qing documents, the standard translation for "Parsee" is *ba si* 巴斯. This translation has retained historical significance since it was made by the Parsees themselves.

and was the first Indian company to open an office in Hong Kong. It was originally a subsidiary of Cursetjee Bomanjee & Co. Mr. Cawasjee Pallanjee first established this company in 1794 in Guangzhou, where it prospered. After the Opium War began, the company was forced to move to Macao. However, the Portuguese in Macao did not welcome competition from other foreign firms, so in 1841, it relocated to Hong Kong. Cawasjee Pallanjee died in 1842 and was buried in Macao, at which point his son Pestonjee Caswasjee inherited the business.

Pestonjee Caswasjee was a talented businessman and the firm reached new heights of prosperity under his leadership. The firm dealt mainly in opium, spices, and silk; later on, it began dealing in yarn and became one of Hong Kong's most important yarn companies. The firm became so successful that a popular saying arose: "Whatever Cawasjee says, Hong Kong does." And indeed, Hong Kong soon became a major producer of cotton yarn. In 1874, Sorabjee Dhumjeebhoy inherited the firm from Pestonjee Cawasjee, and as business continued to expand, he opened a branch was opened in Shanghai. Over successive generations, the firm was run by S. C. Khan and D. H. Sethna. But after the First World War, the business went into decline; by the middle of the twentieth century, it had been largely forgotten.[32]

F. M. Talati and Co.

F. M. Talati and Co. was another Parsee firm that was relocated from Guangzhou to Hong Kong in 1842. The company's founder, F.M. Talati (or Talatee), had been a businessman in Guangzhou as early as 1827. In 1868, F.M Talati passed away; his son, P. F. Talati, inherited the firm and expanded its business in new directions. F. M. Talati and Co. was known throughout Hong Kong and beyond for its fine quality gems, jewellery, silks and oil. In the mid-twentieth century, the company moved its headquarters to Surat, India. M. P. Talati was the most famous member of the family, and was very much respected by Parsees, Indians, Europeans and Chinese alike.[33]

Mody and Paul Chater

Another famous Parsee firm in Hong Kong was Mody and Paul Chater. One of the co-founders of this firm, H. N. Mody, made a fortune in real estate in Kowloon.[34]

Rustomji Cawasji Banaji

Rustomji Cawasji Banaji was one of the most influential shareholders in the firm of Rustomji, Turner & Co, which owned 27 ships that plied the route between London, Calcutta and the China coast.[35]

Framjee Jamsetjee

Framjee Jamsetjee established a business in Guangzhou in 1830. He was among the first to buy land in Hong Kong in 1841. However, his name is not listed in the Hong Kong registry of names in 1846. It is possible that he remained with his firm in Guangzhou.[36]

Other famous Parsee merchants in Hong Kong included Mr. Dorabji Naorojee, Mr. Dhunjibhoy Bisney and the Ruttonjee family.[37]

The Board of Directors of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank was established in 1864. Of the 13

members of the Board, three were Parsees from India: Mr. Pallanjee Framjee, of Messrs. P. & A. Camaji & Co.; Mr. Rustomjee Dhunjeeshaw, of P. F. Cama & Co; and Mr. Arthur Sassoon of Messrs. D. Sassoon Sons & Co. Later, Mr Belilios, an Indian, was chosen to be the bank's chairman, a position which he held for quite a long time.[38]

Other Parsees based in Shanghai or overseas also engaged in trade in Hong Kong. For example, the Tatas, Ferozeshaw B. Petit, and R. S. Kermani were Parsees from Shanghai who traded in Hong Kong.

Although there were only a few Parsee merchants in Hong Kong, their influence was far greater than their numbers. Along with Messrs. Cawasjee Pallanjee & Co. mentioned above, Mody and Chater also had an enormous impact on the development of Hong Kong's stock market and construction industry.[39]

What is particularly noteworthy is the fact that the historical record is full of references to associations not only between Chinese merchants and Parsee merchants, but also between Chinese literati and Parsee merchants. The records of these associations are quite different from the categories of documents mentioned above, in that the literati who compiled them were either conversant in English themselves or had people around them who were. Men who had received this kind of education were thus quite different from their predecessors, and the barriers of language and culture that had hindered their forebears' communication with foreigners were less of a problem for them. Thus their writings are often rich and colourful, and provide a more vivid and realistic portrayal of the lives of Parsee merchants in China after the Treaty of Nanjing. For this reason, these accounts are extremely important historical sources. However, academics in China have yet to work in any systematic way with these documents. In what follows, I will use the example of novelist Zhang Ailing's encounter with a Parsee merchant to discuss the relationship between Parsees and Chinese people in Canton, Hong Kong and Macao in the modern era.

Zhang Ailing (also known as Eileen Chang) is one of the best-known Chinese writers of the modern era. She received an excellent English-language education, and translated many works of Western literature into Chinese.[40] In 1938, Zhang received the highest score in the Far East regional entrance examination for the University of London. However, because of the outbreak of World War II, she studied at the University of Hong Kong instead. Her good friend Yan Ying was also studying at the university. One day in 1939, an old friend of Yan's father, a man from India, invited Yan to the cinema. At Yan's request, Zhang accompanied her to the cinema. The Indian fellow, who did not know in advance that Zhang would also be there, found himself without enough money to pay for an extra ticket. In the end, the Indian gave his ticket to Zhang, and she and Yan watched the movie. Later, on their way out, Yan told Zhang, "he's a 帕西人 (*pa xi ren*, or Parsee)—his ancestors were Indian Zoroastrians."

As we have seen above, the present-day Chinese term for Parsee is "帕西人 [*pa xi ren*]," which, in the Mandarin pronunciation of these characters, is a direct transliteration. But in the post-Opium War period, Qing literati usually used the term " 巴斯 " (*ba si*) which, in the Cantonese pronunciation (*ba see*), was a closer approximation of the word "Parsee."[41] Although

"Panyu delimitation". After the Opium War, the Panyu district government gave this area to the Parsees merchants as a cemetery according to the negotiation between the Chinese and the British.

Parsee Building, Changzhou. Nowadays, local people call it *bosilou* 波斯楼 (Persian Building).

Zhang Ailing only met this Parsee man once, "the story of Mrs. MacDonald, her daughter, and the Parsee, stayed with me for many years." In 1976, when she wrote her autobiography *Zhang Kan* 张看, she recounted this incident in some detail. Although this 2700-word autobiographical sketch describes the Parsees in Hong Kong in the late 1930s, it reveals the changes that the Parsee community had undergone in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

1. Mutual Recognition: Parsees Are Accepted into Chinese Society

It took a long time for Parsees to be accepted by the Chinese community. From the time the first Parsee merchant arrived in China in 1756 until the beginning of the Opium War, Parsees generally dealt only with Chinese merchants, and then only on a relatively superficial level. The Chinese and Parsee communities in Shanghai and Hong Kong started to forge stronger ties with each other only long after the Treaty of Nanjing was signed. A sign of the extent of this mutual acceptance the growing practice of intermarriage. In her autobiography, Zhang Ailing provides a good example: the marriage of Mi Ni, a Chinese woman, and a Parsee named Banaji. In China as elsewhere, intermarriage between people of different nationalities is an age-old practice; there is nothing surprising in this fact itself. But in the early twentieth century, and even earlier, marriages between Chinese and Parsees were not marriages of convenience; they served no political purpose. They were the results of a process of the two communities getting to know and appreciate each other over a long period of time—a period in which Chinese people came to understand the Parsees, who in turn had to adapt themselves to the dominant Chinese culture. From what we can tell about how this adjustment process unfolded, it was not an easy one for either side. In what follows I will examine this question from both perspectives.

From the Chinese perspective, both before and after the Opium War, the Parsees were known only as

"white-head foreigners;"[42] and since the social rank of any foreigner was below that of any Chinese, they had little to do with each other outside of the business environment. It would have been almost impossible for a Parsee and a Chinese person to become friends, let alone marriage partners. As Zhang Ailing says, in that era, "Chinese people were very conservative – men would never think of marrying a person of mixed blood, not even as a concubine." However, after the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing, the Parsees' sphere of activities in China expanded, and they had more opportunities to interact with Chinese people. Language barriers gradually diminished, as more Chinese learned to speak English and more Parsees learned Chinese. For example, Zhang Ailing mentions that Banaji could speak fluent Chinese. Slowly, social conventions changed to the point that Chinese women could have the choice of marrying foreigners. This "choice," it should be mentioned, referred only to choosing foreigners wealthy enough to match the woman's social standing – in those days, no one would have thought of marrying a "poor black devil." But over many years, as understanding and acceptance grew between the Chinese and Parsee communities, marrying a Parsee came to be viewed as an acceptable option for the Chinese.

The marriage between Banaji and Mi Ni was not a happy one, but the problems that they experienced were those that any married couple might have. This, in effect, reflects the extent to which the idea of marrying a Parsee was accepted as normal in Chinese society. To develop this point, let us examine Zhang Ailing's description of the marriage between Mi Ni and Banaji:

"She [Yan Ying] lived in Hong Kong when she was small. There was a [Chinese] woman called Mrs. MacDonald, who had been the foster daughter of a Guangdong family; she had originally lived with an Indian man. The third time she lived with a man it was with a Scot named MacDonald, so she called herself Mrs. MacDonald. They had many children. She knew a Parsee man and was always making a big deal about how she would be a matchmaker for him. She insisted that he marry her eldest daughter, Mi Ni. And he liked Mi Ni well enough. But at that time, she was 15 years old and still in school, and she refused to marry him. Her mother beat her and forced her to marry him. By age 22, she had divorced him; they had one child, but she insisted on keeping custody of him, and wouldn't even let her ex-husband see him."

Mrs. MacDonald had herself been married to an Indian, and she appreciated Banaji, "always making a big deal about how she would be a matchmaker for him. She insisted that he marry her eldest daughter, Mi Ni... at that time, she was 15 years old and still in school, and she refused to marry him. Her mother beat her and forced her to marry him." Mrs. MacDonald's insistence that her daughter marry Banaji suggests that the Parsees had been accepted by Chinese society – marrying a Parsee was a worthwhile thing to do; at the very least, it would not lose face for the family, because at that time, Parsees on the whole were wealthier than most Chinese. As for Banaji himself, everyone around Mi Ni knew him quite well: Mi Ni's mother was clearly very fond of him; Yan Ying's father was "an old friend" of his; and young Yan Ying had the impression that Banaji had been "very successful in business." It was precisely because Mrs. MacDonald's friends and family knew Banaji as "an old friend" who was "very successful in business" that she wanted her daughter to marry him. The fact that Mi Ni did not want to marry Banaji does not suggest that Chinese people as a whole could not accept Parsees at that time. From this sea change in Chinese attitudes—from "never think of marrying a person of mixed blood, not even as a concubine" to wanting to be the mother-in-law of a Parsee—we can see the process by which Parsees began to be accepted into Chinese society.

As for the Parsee perspective, Zhang Ailing wrote only one line about Banaji's attitude toward marrying a Chinese woman: "he liked Mi Ni well enough." We can see from Mrs. MacDonald's high regard for Banaji that he was quite wealthy, and it was his choice whether or not he would accept this offer of marriage. But the laws of Banaji's homeland would not have allowed him

Foreigners' cemetery in Changzhou Island, Huangpo.

this choice, for Parsees practiced ethnic endogamy. Anyone who married outside the group would be ostracized by society, family and the religious community. In fact, in 1865, the "Parsee Marriage and Divorce Act" was amended to include an "Endogamy Law." In 1936, precisely when Banaji was in China, the Parsees revised the law in a way that reaffirmed endogamy with the following stipulations:

"In the context of this law, ... "husband" means a Parsi husband; "marriage" means a marriage between Parsis, whether contracted before or after the commencement of this Act; a "Parsi" means a Parsi Zoroastrian; and "wife" means a Parsi wife."[43]

Parsee law did not permit Banaji to marry a woman from a different ethnic group; nor did he personally have any obligation to marry a Chinese woman. Thus the fact that "he liked Mi Ni," he married her and they had a son, demonstrates that because of his many years of residence in China (and in a way similar to many other Parsees in Britain and America[44]), bucked what must have been enormous pressure from Parsee society, rebelled against traditional ideas, and dared to marry a woman he liked despite the fact that she was not a Parsee.

Such enormous changes in the traditional attitudes of both Parsees and Chinese are powerful evidence of the extent to which Parsees were accepted into Chinese society.

2. From Prosperity to Decline. The Demise of Parsee Merchants in China

In Zhang Ailing's description, Banaji had fallen on hard times. This is a realistic reflection of the decline of the Parsees' "Golden Age" in China. Recall that Banaji did not have enough money to buy an extra movie ticket for Zhang Ailing; from Zhang's description of what they got for the two cheap tickets that he could afford, we can see how down and out he was:

"It was a cinema in Central, housed in an old building that looked a bit like the early Australian-style buildings one saw in pictures. Dark and dirty, large but ungainly, these buildings made the surrounding streets seem narrow and crowded by comparison. The cinema's billboard was plastered with huge posters of gory scenes from one of the latest films – really a big gruesome mess – but anyway, that wasn't the movie we wanted to see, and there was already too much for the eyes to take in. [...]

Our tickets were for balcony seats – the cheapest seats in the very last row at the back. In this old cinema, the balcony was large and banked at what seemed to be a dangerously precipitous angle such as I had never seen before. In the dim yellow light of the lamps, we followed the usher as he clambered up to the summit of the steep, narrow staircase whose steps were covered in palm grass mats that looked like burlap sacking. Looking down, we saw the densely packed rows of balcony seats spread out like a fan below us, so steeply it seemed they would topple over at any minute. Along the edge of the balcony ran a railing, which appeared to be suspended in midair against an even lower backdrop; the whole effect was dizzying. Even after I sat down, I was afraid that I would tumble out of my seat, and gripped the armrests for dear life. When the movie started, the screen was so small that it was hard to see much of anything, and we couldn't hear very well either. In the darkness, she [Yan Ying] handed me a little piece of fried bread to eat. Holding it in my hand, I was afraid that the oil from the bread might drip on my dress and stain it, so I ate it right away. It wasn't bad, but I couldn't appreciate it in such an environment. After we finished eating, we sat there doggedly trying to watch the movie; but after a while, we said to each other, 'Let's get out of here.'"

According to Zhang Ailing's description, not only was Mr. Banaji able to afford only the cheapest movie tickets, but he was also hardly as well-dressed as his Parsee ancestors (once described by Zhang Deyi):

"... [He was] a tall man over fifty, but as thin as a skeleton. He wore a white suit, yellowed with age, in a style that had been popular ten or twenty years before but had gone extinct almost immediately. He gave the overall impression of a character in one of Maugham's novels, a Westerner adrift in the Orient or the South Pacific. His hair and skin were sallow; his large eyes, bloodshot and jaundiced, were the only things about him that looked Indian."

Why did Mrs. MacDonald force her daughter to marry a man in such a state of decrepitude? Yan Ying provides a hint: namely, that Banaji had been "very successful in business." In point of fact, the Banaji family had enjoyed a stellar reputation in the China trade community for over a hundred years.

Banaji (or Banajee) is a common Parsee family name. From inscriptions in Macao's Parsee Cemetery

and other original source materials, we may find the names of some of the more illustrious members of the family who ran the China trade enterprise during the Qing dynasty, such as K. C. Banaji (1812) and R. C. Banaji (1829).[45] In general, Parsi names are comprised of three parts, the last of which is the surname.[46] In the custom of the Parsis themselves, therefore, the correct polite form of address would be "Mr. Banaji," rather than simply "Jeejeebhoy" or "Framjee," which was how they were addressed in the Opium War era. But exactly how well-off was the Banaji family? The following is not a full accounting of their trade activities in China, but it highlights the importance of this family:

- "In the first half of the 19th century, the Banajis were leading in the Bombay-China opium trade; this earned them enormous profits, and was one of the two factors that made the Parsees 'succeed in placing their mark upon the economic development of Bombay and India.'"[47]
- "The Parsees were closely allied in business with the British firms in the early days, especially in the ownership of the clippers. Often many sixty-fourths were held by Jardine, Matheson and Company in ships which were nominally under the ownership of the Banajees or the Camas, and vice versa."[48]
- In 1831, the Banaji family's 305-ton ship *Sylph* was built in Calcutta. It could get from India to Macao in only sixteen days, and so became one of the most famous clippers of the era.[49]
- In October 1839, on the eve of the Opium War, after receiving Lin Zexu's expulsion order, and after agreeing to return to their homeland immediately, they instead lingered on the coast at Guangzhou to continue their opium trading. The British were willing to pay an inflated price for the Banajees' clipper *Sylph*, but the family would not sell. Instead, they used the boat to continue smuggling opium during the War, in order to earn more money.[50]
- The Banajis were very powerful in Hong Kong after the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing. Rustomji Cawasji Banaji was a major shareholder in the firm of Rustomji, Turner & Co, which owned 27 ships that plied the route between London, Calcutta and the China coast.[51]

The Banaji family thus epitomized the rise and fall of the Parsee merchant community in China. After the end of the Parsees' "Golden Age" of trade with China, for a variety of reasons, they had little choice but to slowly retreat from the world of commerce in China.[52]

PARSEE HERITAGE TODAY

In the study of the Parsees in China, we are aided by the existence of an abundance not only of textual records, but also of material history—parts of the Parsee heritage such as cemeteries and buildings. In the past, the lack of attention to the problems of terminology in the textual sources hindered any systematic study of the Parsees in China. Likewise, little serious research has been done on the Parsees' heritage in Guangzhou, Hong Kong and Macao. But in order to begin this task, we must consult textual sources from all three cities to aid in our interpretation. In what follows, I will take the Parsee Cemetery in Huangpu, Guangzhou, as an example to demonstrate the importance of this method of analysis.

International scholars of Zoroastrianism generally agree that a major distinguishing characteristic of Zoroastrianism was the practice of leaving corpses exposed to birds and animals of prey.[53] However, in the Qing Dynasty, the Parsee Zoroastrians in Guangzhou buried their dead underground. It is reasonable to assume that this change took place because the Parsis, far from home, were forced to adopt the customs of the Chinese communities in which they settled. But when we compare the style and form of the graves in the Parsee Cemetery in with their traditional methods of exposure, and when we further examine textual sources about the cemetery, we may come to the following conclusion: Parsees living in the environs of Guangzhou adopted flexible burial methods that respected the main tenets of their religion, and reflected the continuing influence of the tradition of Parsee funerary customs.

1. Description of the tombs

The "Parsee Ground" is located on the Parsee Hill, also called "White-Head Point" (白头斑 *bai tou ban*) or "Golden Rooster Drinks Water" (金鸡饮水 *jin ji yin shui*), on Changzhou Island in Huangpu, which lies 38.9 metres above sea level.

Today in the Parsee Cemetery there remain at least nine tombs that we may safely conclude are the resting places of adults, arranged in line from north to

south. The earliest and northernmost tomb dates from 1847, and the latest and southernmost from 1852. All that is left of the second tomb is three damaged pieces of the tombstone, one of which is inscribed in English, while the other two have Gujarati inscriptions. Although there are not many undamaged tombstones left, from the structure of their foundations it appears that all the adults' tombs were originally the same size. The ninth tombstone is complete, and measures 90 centimetres wide by 55 centimetres high. Each tombstone is carved with two inscriptions, two meters in length, in English and Gujarati. English was the *lingua franca* adopted by the Parsees after they arrived in Bombay in the wake of the British; it was also the *lingua franca* of all India at the time. Gujarati was the language the Parsees learned when they fled Iran some 1300 years ago and found safe haven in Gujarat, India. The Parsees have continued to use Gujarati ever since.[54]

Each tombstone recorded the deceased's name, religion, date of death, and age at death (or date of birth). For example, the fourth tombstone is engraved with the following inscription:

To the Memory
of
Burjorjee Eduljee Kotwal
Parsee Inhabitant of Bombay
Who Departed His Life at Canton
On the 1st Day of August 1850
and
The 9th Day of the 11th Month
of
Yazdezerd 1219
In the 36th Year of His Age

The people buried in these tombs were all Parsees resident in Bombay. This indicates that the Parsee community in Guangdong province was comprised mainly of Parsees from Bombay, and provides evidence that trade between Guangzhou and Bombay occupied an important position in the Parsee trade. It is interesting to note that dates on the tombstones are recorded according to both the Christian calendar and the Persian calendar (Yazdezerd or Yerdejerdy). Yazdezerd was the reign title of the Persian king Yazdegerd III, the last king of the Sassanid dynasty.

To the west of the sixth adult tomb lie the tombs of a newborn baby and a girl, dated 1918 and 1923, respectively. However, these two tombs have been badly damaged, and only the upright tombstones remain. To the west of the adult tombs lies the tomb of a stillborn baby who was buried in 1919. The area occupied by this tomb is the same as that of the adult tombs and is made of granite, but the tomb itself is smaller than the adult tombs, and an upright tombstone stands at one end. The inscriptions on the tombstones of the three children are in English only, and record simply the names of their parents.

At the boundary of the cemetery stands a tablet engraved with English and Chinese inscriptions that read "Parsee Ground" and "巴斯墓界" (*ba si mu jie*, or Parsee Cemetery). On the southern side of the cemetery stands a boundary stone, engraved, on the front, with the Chinese characters "番禺县正堂定界" (*Panyu xian zheng tang ding jie*, Boundary of Panyu District), and on the back with the characters "南界" (*Nan jie*, Southern Boundary). These inscriptions prove that in the Qing dynasty, the Panyu district government gave this plot to the Parsee community in Guangzhou to be used as a cemetery.

At the northern foot of Parsee Hill stands a two-storey building, which the locals call "Parsee Building." This building was a branch of the Parsee factory in Guangzhou during the Qing Dynasty.[55]

2. Parsee Religious Beliefs as Revealed by the Cemetery

From the records of the Chinese and British negotiations with the Parsees over the question of renting land for a cemetery,[56] it becomes clear that the main stumbling block was the fact that the Parsees, "in accordance with the teachings of Zoroastrianism, insisted on building a wall around the cemetery."[57]

But this was not just any wall. According to Avesta, the sacred book of Zoroastrianism, it was called a Dakhma. Europeans called it the "Tower of Silence;" in Chinese, it was translated as the "Tower of Silence," the "Tower of Rest" or the "Tower of Loneliness."

Parsees are devoutly religious. The reason that their ancestors fled from Persia to India in the eighth century was so that they would be able to continue practicing their Zoroastrian faith. India's ex-prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru once wrote that most of the Parsees in India no longer had any connection to Persia, but were completely Indian; nevertheless, they stayed close to their traditions, and never forgot their homeland.[58]

Thus in the 19th century, when the terms of the Treaty of Nanjing stipulated that foreigners would have the right to rent land in China in which to bury their dead, the Parsees wanted to erect a Dakhma on this land. However, due to the above-mentioned conflicts that arose in the negotiations around this problem, they were forced to build bamboo fences instead of stone walls. Bamboo fences fulfilled, to the minimal extent, the burial requirements in the Vendidad [part of the Avesta]: "the worshippers of Mazda shall erect a building out of the reach of the dog, of the fox, and of the wolf, and wherein rain-water cannot stay." This is evidence that, when circumstances did not permit them to observe their religious beliefs properly, the Parsees managed to use flexible ways to express their continued faith and devotion to the religion of their ancestors.

From our investigation of the Parsee cemetery in Huangpu, we can see that in building the cemetery, the Parsees referred both to their scriptures and to their own traditional customs, rather than just building a cemetery in any haphazard way. This conclusion is also borne out in the following examples (and here, in explaining the heritage of the Parsees in Guangzhou, Hong Kong and Macao, textual sources from these three cities plays a crucial role).

A. All Tombs Should Face East

Verses 13 to 18 of Chapter 5 of the Vendidad taught followers that "the worshippers of Mazda shall lay down the dead (on the Dakhma) with his eyes towards the sun."[59] This is because the sun is the source of light. The Parsee Ground in Huangpu faces East, so it can receive the first ray of sunlight in the morning. We can understand this as a fulfilment of the teachings of the Avesta.

The layout of the Parsee Ground in Huangpu is the same as that of the Parsee Cemetery in Macao, which was built slightly earlier. The first Parsee tomb in Macao was erected in 1829, for Cursetjee Framjee. At the top of the tomb is a granite slab, engraved with the following text in English:

> "Truly the light is sweet,
> And a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun,
> But if a man lives many years and rejoices in them all,
> Yet let him remember the days of darkness.
> For they shall be many,
> All that cometh is vanity."[60]

The Parsee cemeteries in Huangpu and Macao have the same layout; the same text in Macao also reflects the religious beliefs of the Parsees in Huangpu. They believed that light and fire were the origins of goodness; thus the line, "Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun." Although the Parsees in Huangpu could not lay out their dead upon the Dakhma with their eyes facing the sun, by orienting the tombs towards the east, they were able to achieve a similar goal of "enjoying the light."

B. Lack of Western Influence

The Parsees in Guangzhou had long-term dealings with Europeans; does this mean that their burial practices were influenced by Christian burial practices? Research shows that Parsee society and lifestyle did begin to become westernized early on, but their religious beliefs were not in the least influenced by Christianity. This holds true also for their cemetery, even though the British helped them acquire the land for the Parsee Ground.

A poem in Wang Zhaoyong's book *Aomen Za Shi* 澳门杂诗 (Some Macao Poems) describes the differences among foreign cemeteries in Macao. In the poem, he notes that there are separate cemeteries for "Westerners" [in this case, probably Portuguese], for "red-hairs" [Dutch and other northern Europeans], and for "white-heads;" the tombs in all three are richly adorned with fine engravings, sculptures, statues, or crosses, but the styles and symbols in each cemetery are different. Sometimes, he remarks, visitors come in just to admire the atmosphere.

Although this is a description of the cemeteries in Macao, it also holds true for Huangpu. Today the Western cemetery on Changzhou Island in Huangpu has been restored, and we can see several obvious differences with the Parsee Ground:

1. Separate locations

There are no Parsee tombs inside the Christian cemetery, just as Parsee cemeteries are reserved solely for practitioners of Zoroastrianism. Through the process of "westernization," the Parsee lived and conducted business quite harmoniously with Europeans, especially the British. However, there was a strict separation when it came to the construction of cemeteries. In Macao, there are cemeteries for "Westerners," "red-hairs," and "white-heads." Likewise, in Guangzhou there are also separate cemeteries for Parsees and Westerners.

2. Different religious elements

As I have mentioned above, according to the teachings of Zoroastrianism, the Parsees were supposed to build walls around their cemeteries. However, the Westerners had no such requirement when they built their cemetery near the Parsee Ground in Changzhou. This much is evident in Qi Ying's negotiations with John Francis Davis: "The westerners' cemetery, located on nearby Ma On Shan Hill, is not surrounded by a wall, yet none of the more than fifty graves there have been damaged."[61]

Europeans do not believe in Zoroastrianism, so naturally they do not feel the need to build walls around their cemeteries. Conversely, statues and crosses are important symbols in Christian cemeteries, and they are very much in evidence in the Christian cemetery on Changzhou; but the Parsee Ground has no such symbols.

3. Differentiation between rich and poor

In Christian cemeteries, the appearance of the tombs is a very good marker of the gap between the rich and the poor;[62] yet in the Parsee Ground, all the tombs are the same size. Indeed, the Portuguese Count of Arnoso, who accompanied Tomás de Sousa Rosa to the capital to sign the first Sino-Portuguese Treaty, made the following comment in his book *Jornadas pelo Mundo*:

"There are three cemeteries in Macao: the Catholic cemetery, the British cemetery, and the Muslim cemetery [author's note: in fact he is referring to the Parsee cemetery]. In the latter, the tombs are all exactly the same size; in other words, there is no way of knowing which tombs are for the wealthy and which for the poor. This is what we may consider a truly egalitarian cemetery."[63]

This egalitarian attitude so evident in the Macao Parsee Cemetery can also be found in what remains of the Parsee Ground in Huangpu today – the size and the materials used to build all nine of the adults' tombs are almost exactly the same.

These differences between the Parsee and Christian cemeteries are very much rooted in the background of conflict between these two religions in India.[64] RC

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Tradução de Kuan Wai Pan 关慧斌, and Cathryn Hope Clayton.

NOTES

1 In Guo Deyan 郭德焱, 2001, Vol. 3.

2 For more detail, see Chapter One of my dissertation, Guo Deyan [n.d.].

3 For example, Robert Morrison compiled the six-volume *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language* in Macao between 1815-1823, and published his *Vocabulary of the Cantonese Dialect* in 1812. In 1841, he published both Chinese and English versions of the Cantonese language teaching materials written by American missionary Elijah Bridgman, entitled *Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton Dialect* (*Guangzhou fanyan zhongwen wenxuan* 广州方言中文文选). See Wu Yixiong, 2000: p. 426.

4 See the first appendix to Vol. 91 of the British Blue Books; this document mentions Parsee merchants Framjee, Merwanjee, and Dadabhoy. The original version also mentions that it was translated from Chinese by Robert Morrison (*British Parliamentary Papers: China,* Vol. 30, pp. 420-421). According to research done by Prof. Wu Yixiong, between 1836 and 1840, no less than 48 articles about the opium trade were published in the *Chinese Repository*. John Robert Morrison was the principal translator; he translated twelve documents written on the topic by Chinese officials. See Wu Yixiong 2000: p. 236.

5 See Chen Shenglin, 鸦片战争前后中国人对美国的了解和介绍 *Yapian zhanzheng qianhou zhongguo ren dui meiguo de liaojie he jieshao* / Chinese Understandings of America after the Opium War", in Chen, 1990, pp. 296-300; Wang Lixin, 1997: pp. 296-302; Wu Yixiong, 2000: p. 426.

6 Some of the British Foreign Office's Chinese documents have been published in Sasaki 1977 and 1983. Liu Guangjing 刘广京 made use of the documents of Jardine, Matheson and Company to investigate the question of competition between Russell & Co, Jardine's, and the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company 轮船招商局. See also Yang Liansheng, 1958. J. Y. Wong, 1983, introduces some relevant information in English. Yang Guozhen also used some of these documents in his research, viz. Yang 1996 and 1997. Dr. Cheng Chunsheng 陈春声 and Dr. Liu Zhiwei 刘志伟 of the History Faculty of Zhongshan University are currently editing and revising for publication a collection of Ye Mingchen's 叶名琛 documents from the British Foreign Office.

7 Lin Wushu, 1995: p. 11.

8 See the list of foreigners resident in China published in *The Chinese Repository*. According to Gulick, "In the 1930s, there were approximately 150 foreigners in Canton, 1/3 of which were Parsees." Gulick, 1973: 29.

9 The *World Book Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 15, p. 161.

10 *Collier's Encyclopedia,* Vol. 18, p. 462; see also *The Dictionary of Phrase and Fable,* p. 945.

11 See Nehru 1956: pp. 175-176, and Kulke 1974: p. 23.

12 *The Chinese Repository*, Vol.10, p. 661.

13 British Parliamentary Papers: China, Vol. 31, p. 273.

14 Lin, Zexu, 1946: p. 32-33; British Parliamentary Papers: China, Vol. 30, p. 638.

15 *Encyclopedia International*, Vol.14, p. 103.

16 Sasaki Masaya, 1977: 147.

17 Sasaki Masaya, 1977: 70.

18 *Xiao fang hu zhai yu di cong chao, Vol. 12* 小方壶斋舆地丛钞一第十二帙.

19 Gugong Bowuyuan 故宫博物院 Vol 52, p. 69.

20 X*iao fang hu zhai yu di cong chao zai bu bian* , Vol 10. 小方壶斋舆地丛钞再补编.
21 Xu Jiyu, 1995-99, Vol. 3.
22 See Liu Jinzao, 1935, volume 333: *Si yi san*四裔三.
23 Liang Tingnan, 1995-99, vol. 30. See also Chen Lunjiong, 1994 and 1990.
24 Gong Chai, 1877: pp. 408A-410A. See also Gutzlaff 1997, p. 39: in the September 1833 issue of *Eastern Western Monthly*, it states that 大清一统全图说，……包社，即是大白头 ("A Qing dynasty map explains that Parsee means 'White-head'").
25 *British Parliamentary Papers: China*, Vol. 36, pp. 476-7; see also Gugong Bowuyuan 1933: p. 40.
26 This church no longer exists. Thanks to Gong Fangzhen for this information.
27 Downing, Toogood, quoted in Hu Guanghua 1998.
28 Guo Deyan, 1997.
29 Wang Tieya, 1957-62, Vol. 1; see also Guo Tingyi,1989: p. 478.
30 Bard, 1993: pp. 85-6.
31 Bard, 1993: pp. 85-6.
32 Bard, 1993: p. 86; see also K. N. Vaid, 1972: pp. 15, 53.
33 Vaid, 1972: p. 54; Bard, 1993: p. 88.
34 Vaid, 1972: p. 54; Bard, 1993. p. 87.
35 Vaid, 1972: p. 55.
36 Bard, 1993, p. 87.
37 Vaid, 1972. p. 55.
38 Vaid, 1972. p. 58.
39 Vaid, 1972. p. 57.
40 Zhang Ailing received an excellent English education. She studied at the Huang Shi Primary School (黄氏小学) established with funds from the U.S. Congress, and then at St. Mary's in Shanghai (上海圣玛利亚女校) for her secondary education. Her English-language works include: *Naked Earth, Pink Tears* and *The Shanghai Loafer*, among others, and her translations (into Chinese) include *The Old Man and the Sea*, *The Portable Emerson*, the *Flowers of Shanghai* series, and *Seven Modern American Novelists.*
41 Nowadays, 帕西人[*pa xi ren*] is the most common Chinese translation for "Parsee." Zhang Ailing and others in her literary circles, such as Yan Ying, may have been among the earliest writers to use this translation. In the 1930s, when Liang Jiabin wrote his book *Guangdong shisan hang kao* (Study of the Thirteen Factories of Canton), he often came across information about the Parsees, but did not translate the word "Parsee" (see Liang, 1999: p. 292). Thus we can see that scholars in those days had yet to find a suitable Chinese version of the appellation "Parsee."
42 See Chapter Three of my doctoral dissertation (Guo n.d.).
43 Quoted from Gong Fangzhen and Yan Kejia, 1998: p. 350. In this book, "Parsee" was rendered as"帕尔西人"[*pa er xi ren*]. In the interests of standardization within the text of this article, I have changed the Chinese translation from "帕尔西" [*pa er xi*] to "巴斯" [*ba si*].
44 The American and British perceptions of marriage are dealt with in Gong Fangzhen and Yan Kejia, 1998: pp. 349-351.
45 See Endacott, 1962, Wright, 1908, and Vaid 1972: p. 51.
46 Guo, Deyan, 2000, Vol. 3.
47 Kulke, 1974: pp. 53-54, 121.
48 Lubbock, 1984: p. 34.
49 Lubbock, 1984: p. 14.
50 See Lubbock, 1984: p. 14.
51 See Vaid, 1972: p. 55.
52 For specifics, see my doctoral dissertation (Guo, n.d.).
53 Lin Wushu, 1995: p. 124.
54 Nehru, 1956: p. 434. After the Parsees migrated to the western coast of India, they learned the local Indian language, Gujarati. However, Nehru mentions that they also spoke a special Persian language, usually called Parsee language. This language is unlike modern Persian, which has absorbed many Arabic words. Linguistically, then, we can see that the Muslim religion did not affect the Parsees because they left Persia. Later on, the Parsees translated the scriptures of the Avesta into Gujarati, and wrote Gujarati prayers. Among Parsees today, English is equally as popular as Gujarati, and many of their publications are in English. See Lin Wushu, 1995: p. 19.
55 Please refer to my doctoral dissertation, Chapter 3, Section 3.
56 See Guo Deyan, 1997.
57 F.O. 682/1382.
58 Nehru, 1956: p. 179.
59 *Sacred Books of the East Series*, Vol. IV, *The Zend-Avesta*, Part I, pp. 52-54.
60 *The Chinese Repository*, Vol XI, p. 51.
61 F.O. 682/1380.
62 The Christian tombs of the Beale brothers are a significant example of how this gap between the rich and the poor was expressed even in death. Daniel Beale died in 1827; because he died a wealthy man, his grave is large and richly decorated. However, because his brother's opium smuggling ventures failed and he went bankrupt, his tomb was very plain – a stark contrast to Daniel's final resting place. (See Hunter 1992: pp. 80-87).
63 Quoted from Teixeira 1989: pp. 68-69.
64 Please refer to Chapter 6 of my doctoral dissertation (Guo, n.d.).

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