

**THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION
OF “RACE”:
IMPLICATIONS FOR JEWISH
IDENTITY & SELF DEFINITION**

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AGENDA

- **Assumptions**
- **Defining Key Terms**
- **The Construction & Deconstruction of Judaism as “Race”**

ASSUMPTIONS

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- The notion of “race” is discursively constructed.
- The *concept* of “race” arose concurrently with the advent of European exploration as a justification and rationale for conquest and domination of the globe beginning in the 15th century of the Common Era.
- “Race” is an historical, “scientific,” and biological myth. It is an *idea*.
- Geneticists tell us that there is often more variability *within* a given so-called “race” than between “races,” and that there are no essential *genetic* markers linked specifically to “race.”

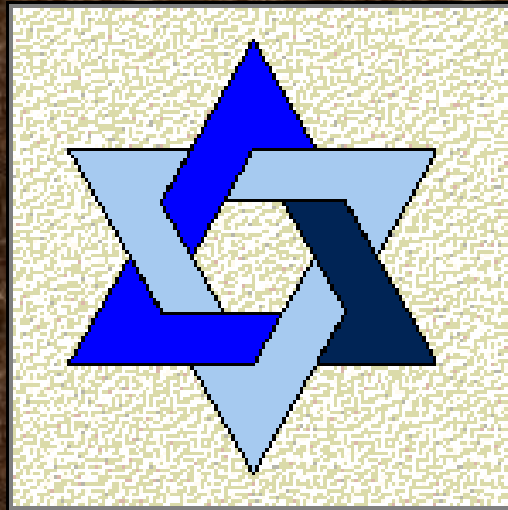
ASSUMPTIONS

- Although Jews are members of every so-called "race," dominant groups have constructed Jews across a wide spectrum/continuum upon the racial divide.
- Many U.S. Jews often find themselves questioning the racial space they occupy, given that most European-heritage Jews are afforded White-skinned privilege, but understand that Jews have been historically seen as racialized others.
- Jews confound established notions of identity because of the complexity of Jewish identity.

ASSUMPTIONS

- Dominant groups have “racialized” Jews and Judaism, along with other ethnic and religious categories.
- Within a European and United States context, Christianity and Christians are privileged by a **system** of seemingly invisible, unearned, and largely unacknowledged constellations of benefits conferring dominance on Christians while subordinating members of other faith communities as well as non-believers. These systemic inequities are pervasive throughout the society (“Christian Privilege”).

DEFINING KEY TERMS



“ASHKENAZIM”

- **Jews of primarily Eastern, Central, or Western European heritage,**
- **Their primary European language is / was Yiddish.**

“SEPHARDIM”

- **Jews originally from Portugal and Spain (Iberian Peninsula), and expelled to the Mediterranean region in 1492.**
- **Their primary language is / was Ladino (also called “Judezmo” or “Judeo-Spanish”).**

“MIZRACHIM”

- **Jews who lived or are living in Islamic countries, except for Sephardim who settled in these regions after 1492.**
- **Their primary language is / was Judeo-Arabic.**

“ORTHODOX JUDAISM”

- **Jewish identity is based on heredity, descent of the mother, and adherence to traditional ritual observance with few accommodations to the secular world.**
- **Divided into Hasidic and non-Hasidic.**
 - **Hasidic: numerous sects,**
 - **Founded by the Baal Shem Tov in Poland in the 18th Century of the Common Era (CE),**
 - **Emphasis on Jewish mysticism and strict adherence to Jewish ritual.**

“REFORM JUDAISM”

- **Organized within the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in the U.S. in the 1870s CE,**
- **Jewish identity is based on heredity from either the mother or the father,**
- **While many rituals are observed, it emphasizes universal Jewish humanitarian principles and cultural pluralism.**

“CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM”

- **Organized in the United States in the early 20th century CE,**
- **Maintain adherence to Jewish law as binding, but contemporary Rabbis may reinterpret Jewish law to meet the needs of the times.**

“RECONSTRUCTIONIST JUDAISM”

- **Organized in the U.S. beginning in the 1930s.**
- **Based on the understanding that Judaism is the evolving religious civilization of the Jewish people.**

“JEWISH RENEWAL”

- **Organized in the U.S. around the 1980s.**
- **A worldwide, “transdenominational movement” based on Judaism’s prophetic and mystical traditions.**

“SECULAR JUDAISM”

- **Jewish identity based on historical and cultural connections to the Jewish people, rather than on religious traditions or rituals.**

“RACIALIZATION” OF RELIGION

- **A process whereby a specific religion becomes identified by a direct or indirect reference to a real or imagined physical appearance or ethnic/racial characteristic. Certain phenotypical features associated with a group and attached to race in popular discourse become associated with a particular religion or religions. Race thereby becomes a proxy for religious affiliation in the U.S.-American visual library (Joshi, 2006).**

“ETHNORACIAL ASSIGNMENT”

- The construction / invention of ethnicity and “race” by dominant groups: what other groups call us.

“ETHNORACIAL IDENTITY”

- The meanings of ethnicity and “race” shared within a community: what we call ourselves.

Brodkin, 1998

**THE
CONSTRUCTION
AND
DECONSTRUCTION
OF JUDAISM
AS “RACE”**

THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING

- The theory that there exists a hierarchy in the world and universe.
 - God is atop this hierarchy,
 - Then humans,
 - Other animal forms,
 - Plants,
 - Inanimate objects.
- A fixed and static structure with each link in a “Great Chain.”

(Brace, 2005)

THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING

Under “Human” Category:

- **Monogenism Theory:**
 - All people are descendants from an “original pair”: Adam & Eve
- **Polygenism Theory:**
 - The numerous human populations of the world have descended from different “original pairs” created in different places: different genetic strains, multiple human origins, “non-Adamical man.”

(Brace, 2005)

PHILIPPUS AUREOLUS PARACELSUS (1493-1541)

- Born Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, in Switzerland
- Changed name to Philippus Aureolus Paracelsus
- Studied medicine but never earned a degree
- Early polygenist



(Brace, 2005)

ISAAC DE LA PEYRERE (1594-1676)



- Born in Bordeaux to a noble family of “Marrano” Calvinists.
- Book: *Systemema Theologica ex Praeadamitarium Hypothesi* (A Theological System upon the Presupposition that Men Were before Adam).
- Assertion: Adam & Eve were the ancestors of the Jews but not the Gentiles who descended from people who had lived *before* Adam.

(Brace, 2005)

VOLTAIRE (1664-1778)



- French Philosopher, Deist:

“Only the blind could doubt” the original distinction between the human “races.”

CARL LINNAEUS (1707-1778)



- Born Carl Linné
- Swedish Botanist, Physician, and Zoologist.
- “Father of Modern Taxonomy”
- Book: *Systema Naturae*
- “Linnaean Taxonomy”: System of Scientific Hierarchical Classification.
- Kingdoms; Classes; Orders; Genera (Genus); Species.

(Wikipedia)

CARL LINNAEUS (1707-1778)

- He is also known as “The Father of Scientific Racism.”
- Five levels under *Homo sapiens*, based initially on place of origin, then on skin color:
 - Europeanus
 - Asiaticus
 - Americanus
 - Monstrosus
 - Africanus



CARL LINNAEUS (1707-1778)

- **Europeanus:** sanguine, pale, muscular, swift, clever, inventive, governed by laws.
- **Asiaticus:** melancholic, yellow, inflexible, severe, avaricious, dark-eyed, governed by opinions.
- **Americanus** (Native Americans): choleric, copper-colored, straightforward, eager, combative, governed by customs.
- **Monstrosus** (dwarfs of the Alps, the Patagonian giant, the monorchid Hottentot): agile, fainthearted.
- **Africanus:** phlegmatic, black, slow, relaxed, negligent, governed by impulse.

POST-LINNAEUS TAXONOMY

- Later European scientists separated *Homo sapiens* in six different categories:
 1. **Caucasoid:** Europe, North Africa, Southwest Asia
 2. **Mongoloid:** East Asia, Siberia, the Americas
 3. **Polynesians:**
 4. **Native Americans:**
 5. **Australoid:** indigenous Australians
 6. **Negroid:** Central and Southern Africa

(Ramon)

COLONEL JEAN BAPTISTE BORY DE SAINT-VINCENT (1778-1846)

- Chief of the Scientific Commission in Algeria.
- Book: *L'Homme (Homo: Essai Zoologique sur le Genre Humain)*, 1825
- Polygenist.
- He recognized 15 human groups each of which he regarded as a proper “species.”
- He mentioned the “certainty” that “each Adam” had to have had his own particular locale or “cradle.”



(Brace, 2005)

LOUIS-ANTOINE DESMOULINS

(1796-1828)

- French physiologist
- Book: *Histoire Naturelle des Races Humaines*
- 16 “species” & 25 human “races”
- He rejected the possibility that environmental circumstances or climate could produce any changes in the observed spectrum of human biological differences.
- Human “species” & “races” preserve all the traits that they “indubitably had since the beginning” wherever they have remained “pure and without mixture.”

(Brace, 2005)

JOHANN FRIEDRICH BLUMENBACH

(1752-1840)

- German, Professor of Medicine
- Coined the term “**Caucasian**” to refer to people of European origin.
- From Sir John Chardin (1643-1713)
 - French Protestant traveler
 - He proclaimed that inhabitants of the Republic of Georgia, situated in the Caucasus Mountains, were the most beautiful people in the world.



(Brace, 2005)

JOHANN FRIEDRICH BLUMENBACH

(1752-1840)

- He was a monogenist.
- The *nisus formativus*, or vital force, caused by differences in climate, nutrition, or mode of life over many generation had led to changes in form from that present in the beginning, represented by Caucasians.
- Caucasians represented the closest approximation of God's intent for the human form.



JOHANN FRIEDRICH BLUMENBACH

(1752-1840)

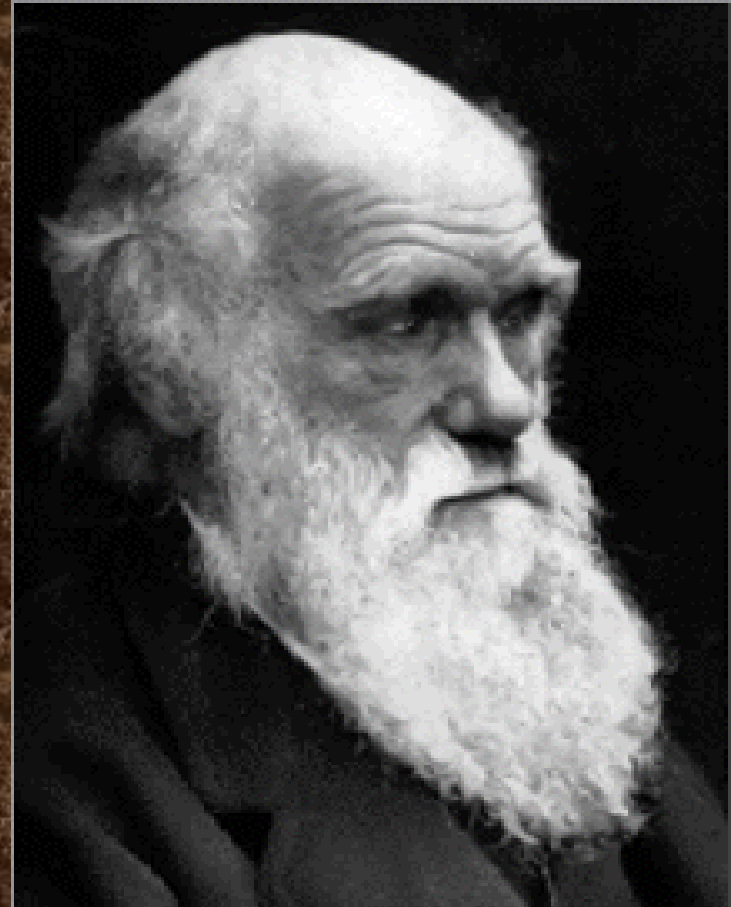
- Changes from the assumed original Caucasians he labeled “*degenerations*.”
- Other human populations were “degenerate” to the extent that they departed from that original.
- *Degeneris*: Latin – “removed from one’s origin.”



CHARLES DARWIN

1809-1882

- *On the Origin of Species* (1859), he posited an evolutionary theory of plant and animal development.
- Physical, mental, & moral characteristics of humans evolved over time from our ape-like ancestors.



CHARLES DARWIN

- **“Biological Determinism”:**
Essentialist or biological bases for human behavior.
- **Jews have a “uniform appearance”**
independent of their geographic locations.

“SOCIAL DARWINISTS”

- **Extended Darwin’s theories:**
 - Jews no longer simply a separate religious, ethnic, or political group.
 - Jews, black Africans, homosexuals are lower / earlier forms of human species.
 - They are all distinct lower “racial” types with immutable biological characteristics.
 - Jews are of a separate “race”: a “mixed” or “bastard race.”
 - Jews crossed “racial” barriers by interbreeding with black Africans during the Jewish Diaspora.

JEWISH & BLACK “RACIAL” CONNECTION

- In European society, Jews were socially constructed as the “white Negroes” by the prevailing dominant culture (Gilman, 1999).

“In the eyes of the non-Jew who defined them in Western [European] society, the Jews became the blacks” (Gilman, 1999).

“[T]he male Jew and the male African were conceived of as equivalent threats to the white race” (Thandeka, 1999).

JOSEPH-ARTHUR DE GOBINEAU, 1816-1882

- French diplomat & essayist.
- Polygenist.
- 1853, in *Essays on the Inequality of the Human Races*, posited a supposed “Aryan” race: an “original tribe” that resided in the Himalayas, which was the “cradle of the Caucasian race.”
- Jews were not a part of this tribe.

JOSEPH-ARTHUR DE GOBINEAU

“the...French, German, and Polish Jews—they all look alike. I have had the opportunity of examining closely one of the last kind. His features and profile clearly betrayed his origin. His eyes especially were unforgettable.”

ERNEST RENAN

1823-1892



- French historian and writer.
- Posited that the Jewish or “Semitic” mind is superficial, while the “Aryan” mind is natural and wise.

FRANCIS GALTON

1822-1911

- A cousin of Charles Darwin.
- British psychologist.
- A founder of the “Eugenics Movement.”
- He coined the term “*eugenics*” in 1883 from the Greek, “well born” or “good origins or breeding.”
- The science of improving qualities of a “race” by controlling human breeding.



FRANCIS GALTON

1822-1911

- **Book: *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into Its Laws and Consequences* (1869)**
- **Book: *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development* (1883).**
- **He claimed that the purpose of eugenics was to promote “judicious mating in order to give the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable” (Galton, 1883, p. 25).**
- **Assessed the relative intellectual capabilities of the so-called “races,” including Africans, Australians, Chinese, Jews, and others.**



FRANCIS GALTON

1822-1911

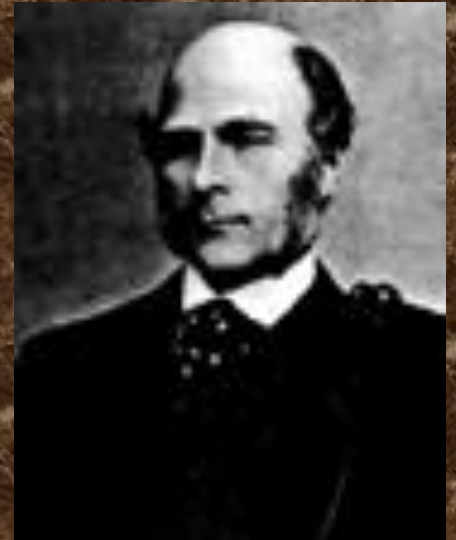
- “Degenerates”: deterioration to a level below the acceptable standards that were implicit in the Great Chain of Being hierarchy of worth (in Brace, p. 178).
- His work influenced mandatory sterilization laws in U.S. & Germany.
- Elites in the British Isles most intelligent.
- *“The average intellectual standard of the Negro race is some two grades below our own” [Anglo-Saxons]* (Galton, 1869, p. 327).



FRANCIS GALTON

1822-1911

- *“The Australian type is at least one grade below the African Negro”*
- *“The Jews are specialized for a parasitical existence upon other nations.”*
- **Jews are easily identifiable by their “Jewish physiognomy.”**



FRANCIS GALTON

“Who has not heard people characterize such and such a man or woman they see in the streets as Jewish without in the least knowing anything about them? The street Arab who calls out ‘Jew’ as some child hurries on to school is unconsciously giving the best and most disinterested proof that there is a reality in the Jewish expression.”

“JEWISH PHYSIOGNOMY”

- **Eyes (large, bulbous)**
- **Gaze (pathological, searing, cunning, cold, piercing)**
- **Nose (hooked, large, curling nasal folds)**
- **Lips (prominent, thick)**
- **Forehead (receding)**
- **Chin (receding)**
- **Ears (large)**
- **Hair (curly, black)**
- **Skin (dark, “swarthy”)**
- **Shoulders (stooping)**
- **Feet (weak, flat)**
- **Rump (deflated)**

JEWISH “RACIAL” SPEECH

- Some viewed the supposed way Jews spoke as proof of their racial otherness.

“The so-called Jewish accent (mauscheln) is a Jewish race trait, as ineradicable in them as the Jewish type itself....This is very decidedly a race trait, since it is found among the Jews of all countries” (Andree, 1881).

JEWISH “RACIAL” SPEECH

- Richard Wagner
- German composer
- Early exponent of Jewish racialization.
- Essay: *Das Judentum in der Musik* (*The Jews in Music*) (1850).
- He attacked the Jewish influence on German culture in general, and on music in particular.



**Richard
Wagner**

JEWISH “RACIAL” SPEECH

“Of decisive importance is the nature of the influence of the Jew’s pronunciation upon us; particularly, this is the essential point of departure in a study of the Jewish influence on music. Particularly repulsive to us is the purely sensual manifestation of the Jewish language...in the matter of the Semitic mode of pronunciation...”

JEWISH “RACIAL” SPEECH

“Our ear feels the absolutely foreign and unpleasant sound of a certain hissing, strident, lisping, and choking pronunciation in the Jewish speech; a distortion and peculiar rearrangement of the words and of phrase constructions [which] imparts to this pronunciation the character of a confused babbling...[and a] repulsive manner of the Jewish speech....” (Wagner, 1850).

PHRENOLOGY

- **An stream of Eugenics.**
- **The study of the shape & size of the human skull.**
- **Based on the belief that the size and shape of the skull indicates human mental facilities and moral character.**
- **A section of the Jewish skull and brain are “abnormally developed” indicating that Jews are highly concerned with money and finances.**

MADISON GRANT

1865-1937

- U.S. Lawyer, Eugenicist
- Co-founder, with Henry Fairfield Osborn, of the Galton Society for the Study of the Origin and Evolution of Man, 1918.
- Grant Influential in Immigration Restriction and Anti-Miscegenation Policies.
- Book: *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916) detailing the so-called “racial” history of Europe: in fact, a work of “scientific racism.”



MADISON GRANT

1865-1937



- “Racialization” of Jews codified in *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916)
- European “Racial” Hierarchy:
 - “**Nordics**” (Northwestern Europe—superior)
 - “**Alpines**” (Central Europe—somewhat inferior)
 - “**Mediterraneans**” (Southern and Eastern Europe—
inferior)
 - **Jews** (most inferior)

MADISON GRANT

1865-1937

- **Nordics:** natural rulers & administrators, which accounted for England's "extraordinary ability to govern justly & firmly the lower races" (Grant, 1916, p. 207).
- **Alpines:** "...always and everywhere a race of peasants" with a tendency toward "democracy" although submissive to authority. (p. 227).
- **Mediterraneans:** inferior to both Nordics & Alpines in "bodily stamina," but superior in "the field of art." Also, superior to the Alpines in "intellectual attainments," but far behind Nordics "in literature and in scientific research and discovery" (p. 229)

MADISON GRANT

1865-1937

- **Polish Jews:** “...the Polish Jew, whose dwarf stature, peculiar mentality and ruthless concentration on self-interest....(p. 16), present themselves in “swarms” (p. 63).
“The result of the mixture of two races, in the long run, gives us a race reverting to the more ancient generalization and lower type. The cross between a white man and an Indian is an Indian, the cross between a white man and a Negro is a Negro, the cross between a white man and a Hindu is a Hindu, and the cross between any of the three European races and a Jew is a Jew” (p. 18).

MADISON GRANT

1865-1937

- Former President Teddy Roosevelt, of Grant's book: "*the work of an American scholar and gentleman; and all Americans should be sincerely grateful to you for writing it*" (Roosevelt, 1933, in Brace, p. 177).
- Grant's book translated in German and provided added justification to Adolph Hitler in the writing of *Mein Kampf* (Brace, 2005).
- Hitler wrote to Grant and referred to Grant's book as his "Bible" (Kühl, 1994, p. 85).
- Grant's book impacted U.S. immigration legislation of 1924.

JEWS & “RACE”

“[T]he whole world is interested in the subject of the Jews as a race....Moreover, the perennial problem whether it is possible to assimilate the vast number of Southern and Eastern immigrants to the United States and British colonies has been applied more to the Jews than to any other white people. It has even been questioned whether there is ever a probability of incorporating the Jews into the body politic of Anglo-Saxon communities” (Fishberg, 1911, p. xviii).

IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

- 1924, United States Congress,
- Johnson-Reed Immigration Act: a.k.a. “National Origins Quota Act,” or “National Quota Act”
- Restricted immigration from Eastern Europe, and further restricted immigration from Africa and Asia.
- Specifically restricted immigrants of the “Hebrew Race.”
- On the other hand, permitted large numbers of immigrants from England, Ireland, and Germany.

IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

- **The National Origins Act of 1924 established quota percentages based on the census population in 1890. The number of immigrants to be admitted annually was limited to 2% of the foreign-born individuals of each nationality living in the U.S. in 1890.**
 - **Restricted immigration rights almost exclusively to northwestern Europeans in order to “protect our values ... [as] a Western Christian civilization.” (Feagin 1997, p.35).**
 - **Functioned to prevent Catholics, Jews, and other non-Protestant groups from immigrating to the United States.**

“Jews were called Asiatic and Mongoloid, as well as ‘primitive, tribal, Oriental.’ Immigration laws were changed in 1924 in response to the influx of these undesirable ‘Asiatic elements’” (Gilman, 1991).

CHARLES BENEDICT DAVENPORT

(1866-1944)

- Instructor of Zoology, Harvard University
- 1910, Director of the Cold Springs Laboratory, Long Island, NY
- Founded Eugenics Record Office
- Books: *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics* (1911); *Race Crossing in Jamaica* (1929).



CHARLES BENEDICT DAVENPORT

(1866-1944)

- Argued against miscegenation, mixing of Whites and Blacks resulted in cultural and biological “degradation.”
- Favored mandatory sterilization of “the unfit.”
- Elected chair of Galton Society for the Study of the Origin and Evolution of Man, 1918.
- Maintained connections with Nazi Germany before and during WWII, and held editorial position in two Nazi journals founded in 1935 (Kühl, 1994).



Harry Hamilton Laughlin

(1880-1943)

- U.S. Eugenicist
- Davenport hired Laughlin to become superintendent of the Eugenics Record Office in 1910 - 1939.
- Advocate with Davenport for mandatory sterilization of “the unfit.”
- Crafted his “model sterilization law” for the “uprooting of inborn defectiveness” (Laughlin, 1914, p. 13).



Harry Hamilton Laughlin

(1880-1943)

- His law included involuntary sterilization for “the feeble minded, the insane, criminals, epileptics, alcoholics, blind persons, deaf persons, deformed persons, and indigent persons.”
- Majority of U.S. states passed sterilizations laws, and as late as 1992, 22 still had them on their books.



(Brace, 2005)

Harry Hamilton Laughlin

(1880-1943)

- 1927, Germany passed sterilization law, and in 1933, Hitler made it compulsory by passing the *Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Offspring*.
- Hitler's law loosely based on Laughlin's model.
- Over 350,000 persons involuntarily sterilized in Nazi Germany.
- Laughlin awarded honorary degree by the University of Heidelberg in 1936 for his work on behalf of the "science of racial cleansing."

NAZI “RACIAL” PHILOSOPHY

- “Racial” arguments were the cornerstone for justification of persecution of Jews (as well as most people of color and people with disabilities).
- Jews and others were descendants from inferior “**racial** stands.”





- **My great-grandfather Wolf Mahler and family's butcher shop, Krosno, Poland.**



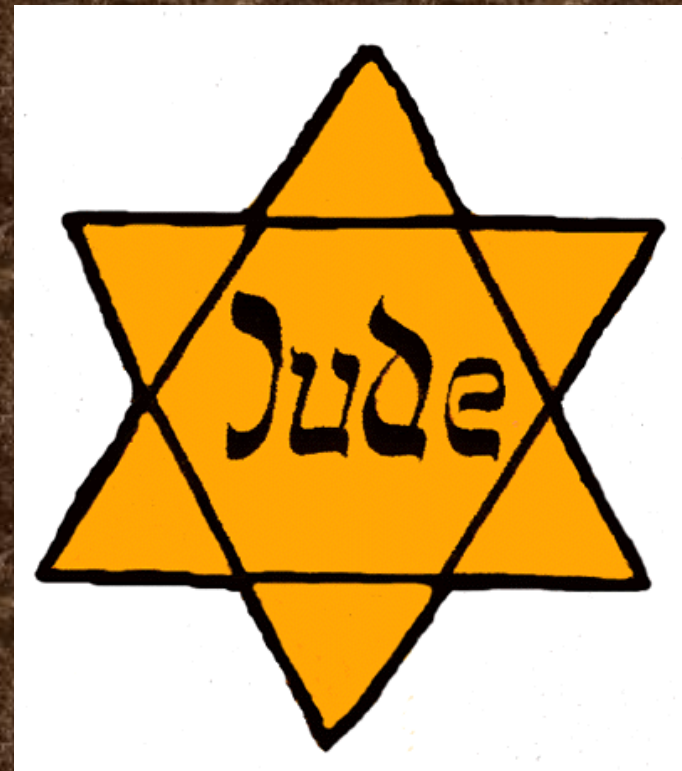
- **My cousins, Lilian & Armand Mahler Bushel 1942, Antwerp Ghetto, Belgium, wearing the yellow Star of David.**

NAZI “RACIAL” PHILOSOPHY

- Germany lost WWI because of its internal enemies: the Jews.
- Nazi campaign of “moral, racial, and sexual purity” led to an intense and violent campaign against Jews and other groups.
- Estimated 6 million Jews were murdered: equal to two-thirds of European Jewry, and one-third of the entire world-wide Jewish population.

NAZI “RACIAL” PHILOSOPHY

- The Nazis asserted that Jews were polluting the Aryan “race.” They forced Jews to wear the **Yellow** Star of David patches, a sign of “race pollution.”



ADOLPH HITLER



- Foreseeing the claim that Judaism is simply a religion, he condemned “this first and greatest lie, that the Jews are not a race but a religion. The Jew has always been a people with a definite racial characteristic and never a religion” (Hitler, 1943, pp. 306-307).

UNITED STATES

- 1939, Congress refused to pass Wagner-Rogers Bill, which would have permitted entry of 20,000 children from Eastern Europe over existing quotas.

“20,000 charming children would, all too soon, grow into 20,000 ugly adults.”

Laura Delano, cousin of F.D.R.

UNITED STATES

OPINION POLL, 1942

“Which groups menace the U.S. most?”

1. Germans
2. Japanese
3. Jews

KAREN BRODKIN

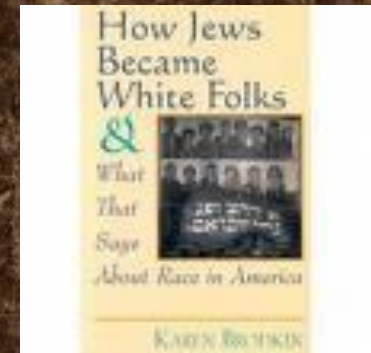
- Professor,
Anthropology &
Women's Studies,
UCLA.
- Book: *How Jews
became White Folks
and What That Says
about Race in America.*



HISTORICAL SHIFT IN JEWISH ETHNORACIAL ASSIGNMENT:

From “White Negroes” to
“Off-White” Whites

“Jews were granted many institutional privileges of white racial assignment after World War II. They were also among the economically most upwardly mobile of the European ethnic groups.”



Brodtkin, 1998, p. 3.

KAREN BRODKIN

1998, *How Jews Became White Folks & What That Says About Race in America*

“[T]he Jews’ unwhitening and whitening were not of their own making” (p. 175). “

Rather, changes in Jews’ ethnoracial assignment following the War were the result of the nation’s “economic, institutional, and political practices, as well as by changes in scientific and public discourses about race in general and Jews in particular” (p. 175).

MAURIANNE ADAMS & JOHN BRACEY

**Jews may constitute
“a race-bending
‘white’ category of
people who are still
considered by some
to be ‘not quite
white’”**

(Adams & Bracey,
2000, p. B10).



**Maurianne
Adams**



**John
Bracey**

“STATISTICAL DIRECTIVE NUMBER FIFTEEN”

U.S. Office of Management and Budget, 1973

Official Racial Categories

- 1. African American**
- 2. Asian American**
- 3. Puerto Rican / Latino**
- 4. Native American / Pacific Islander**
- 5. Non-Hispanic White**

JEWISH “RACIAL” MIDDLENESS

Changes in Jewish ethnoracial assignments over the past 100 years have affected the ways Jews of different generation construct their ethnoracial identities:

“Those changes give us a kind of double vision that comes from racial middleness: of an experience of marginality vis-à-vis whiteness, and an experience of whiteness and belonging vis-à-vis blackness.”

Brodkin, 1998, pp. 1-2

COLLECTIVE MEMORY OF JEWISH PERSECUTION

- Psychologically, a collective remembrance of the long history of Jewish persecution for many Jews informs their identity and subsequent perceptions of their “race” and issues of “white privilege.”
- Many Jews retain what Shelby Steele (quoted in Berman 1994, p. 7) termed “enemy memory,” or a “siege mentality” (Hertzberg, in Feagin and Feagin, 1993, p. 167), developed over the long history of Jewish oppression culminating in the German Holocaust. This “memory” continually reminds them that anti-Jewish oppression could surface again at any time, regardless of how “good” conditions for Jews appeared at a given point in time.

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