E-revista de estudos interculturais do CEI–ISCAP
N.º 7, maio de 2019

MUSLIM WOMEN IN MAINLAND CHINA AND MACAU
OLD BARRIERS, NEW SOLUTIONS

Joseph Abraham Levi 雷祖善博士[1]
George Washington University, Estados Unidos
josephlevi21@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT:

Using as a springboard the wide spectrum of Chinese racial groups and ethno-linguistic, "foreign" (sub)groups residing in the Celestial Empire, this study concentrates on the last one hundred and six years of Chinese history (1912-2018), thus analyzing how some Chinese cities and/or regions, including the Macau Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, have managed to reconcile past with present, thus transforming once-troubled or troublesome issues, as in the case of Muslim presence within China, into a positive and reinvigorating force.

Besides the obvious economic drive, there appears to have been a sincere desire to include and integrate this "foreign" element into the daily life of the new Republic of China **中華民國** *Zhōnghuá Mínguó*, (1912-1949). Thus, particular attention will be given to the role played by Chinese women within these post-1912, "foreign" communities and, as for **澳門** Macau, the post-1999 handover to China by the Portuguese on December 20, 1999.

Though oftentimes considered as mere "consumers" and not "makers;" hence, allegedly not contributing to the overall "welfare" of the Country, Chinese women of "foreign" ethnicity who also happened to be Muslim, were eventually able to show the New Republic that the **女工**, *nǚ gōng*—work done by women, in and outside the household—should instead be considered "productive" and, better yet, it should be seen as a positive sign within the new vision of Chinese nationalism where social class, race, ethnicity, language/dialect, religion, and gender all contributed to the welfare of the Country, or rather, the then-young Republic of China **中華民國**, *Zhōnghuá Mínguó*. Finally, I will look at Muslim women of Uighur **維吾爾**, *wéi wúěr*, and Huí **回** background who also contributed to this new vision.

KEYWORDS: Chinese, ethnic, Islam, Islamic, minorities, Macau, Muslim, religion, women

摘 要：

作為一個中國的種族群和民族語言的廣闊跳板，”外族”這個詞已存在於遠古時期的中國，這項研究會集中在中國歷史的最後一百年（1912 年至 2012 年），從而分析一些中國的城市和/或區域怎樣以現在調和到過去地管治，尤其是以中國境內的穆斯林作為事例，如何將過去曾經困擾的和現在的繁鎖問題轉化至正面和有振興性的貢獻。

除了在經濟上有明顯的驅動外，他們的出現亦曾真誠渴望去包括及整合這個 “外族” 元素到新的中華民國（1912-1949）之中， 而且特別會著重在這個 “外族” 社區內， 女人在 1912 年時期被給予扮演的角色。

在通常的情況下， 他們都只會被認為是 “消費者” 而不是 “生產者”，他們並沒有對國家作出過任何 “福利式的” 貢獻， 這些 “外族” 的中國女人種族，尤其是穆斯林， 過去偶然會展示出新中國的女工 (在家務以外完成工作的女人)，是應被考慮取代成 “有生產力” 或甚至更好的，他們在社會地位、民族地位、種族地位、語言(方言)、宗教及性別這些貢獻到當今中國甚至是中華民國初期的福利上，應被視為中華民族主義視野內一個正面的標誌； 最後，我會著重於穆斯林中的維吾爾人及回族人對這個新視野下帶來貢獻的背景。

關鍵詞： 中華，民族，少數民族，穆斯林，宗教，女人

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More than anywhere else in the world, being a woman in Asia implies being faced with many hardships and obstacles. Though this has always been the case, this is particularly true for the last three decades of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century (1870-1950), a time troubled by the two world wars (1914-1928; 1939-1945) and, though beginning in the last two decades of the 18th century, modern Western Imperialism.

Moreover, because of their specific status within and outside their communities, women from ethnic and religious minority groups living in Central Asia and in China proper should thus be considered as a sub-community in constant transformation or evolution whose main objective is to try to grow in as well as outside their own specific community/communities.

Almost always History made a point of excluding women since, notwithstanding their pivotal role in sustaining societies, nations, and empires, they did not "conquer," or rather, they did not "go to war" and they did not "impose" themselves on others as men did. In other words, given that Patriarchy is endemic worldwide, across time and cultures women were not given opportunities to assert themselves as their male counterparts had been doing since the beginning of time.

Despite the fact that the Song **宋朝**, *Sòng Cháo*, (960-1279), Yuan **元朝**, *Yuán Cháo*, (1279-1368), Ming **明朝**, *Míng Cháo*, (1368-1644), and Qing **清朝**, *Qīng Cháo*, (1644-1912; 1917), dynasties were extremely mobile societies—thus being able to bestow upon women and other "minorities" some powers that by and large they were "not entitled to have," some more than others—Chinese women usually fell into the typical roles dictated by the patriarchal mold, i.e., a subaltern being confined to the hearth and, if allowed by their husbands or any other (male) family member, to be of service to their own community.

In order to write a true History of Chinese women, then, one must look at their double role within Chinese society, since women's public and private contributions to the Nation were at times completely different than those accomplished by their male counterparts, either by choice or, as often it was the case, by force.

Hence, just like anywhere else in the world when it comes to Women's History, a chronology of Chinese women history would have to include a history of daily-life activities performed by women, at all levels and hailing from all socioeconomic strata. However, even within the vast Chinese empire, mainly due to its size, the multitude of ethnic, racial, and linguistic groups will perforce have an impact on the different ways women's issues should be approached.

Being a woman in China would thus also mean belonging to a specific "minority" group, even within the Han **漢族**, *hànzú*, majority group. In other words, being a woman in China implied/implies belonging to a different group, or subgroup if you will, regardless of her own ethnic, racial, and linguistic subdivision. Belonging to the Han **漢族**, *hànzú*, "majority" group in fact did not automatically open the doors to women's emancipation and equality with men.

Oftentimes functioning within the parameters established by Universal Patriarchy[2]—at times finding themselves on the other size of the (local/national) System, hence being in a position to question their role imposed by men—Chinese women have thus been promoting change or at least an "amendment" to the *status quo*, particularly when the latter appeared to be the best resolution among all other negative solutions. In other words, Chinese women always sought to find the best choice when the end results would benefit their family, their children, and/or their local community, be it their ethnic, racial, religious, mainstream Han **漢族**, *hànzú*, or minority-group neighborhood.

Even if, just like in other parts of Asia, there have been areas in China where matrilineal societies were the norm, this does not necessarily mean that these communities were matriarchal, given that generally speaking matrilineal lineage occurs within Patriarchy. Hence, even though these (local) Chinese societies were operating within a patriarchal/matrilineal-lineage mold, power was still in the hands of men.

There are very few documents extant today that offer a generic overview of women's condition before the Zhou Dynasty **周朝**, *Zhōu Cháo*, (1046-256 b. C.E.), the latter already imbued with the Confucian ideals of what women should be and how they should behave. In fact, the famous scholar Liu Hsiang **劉向**, *Liú Xiàng*, (79-8 b. C.E.), who lived during the Han Dynasty **漢朝**, *Hàn Cháo*, (206 b. C.E.-220 C.E.), stated that:

> […] [a] woman's duties are to cook the five grains, heat the wine, look after her parents-in-law, make clothes and that is all! Therefore, she cultivates the skills required in the women's quarters and has no ambition to manage affairs outside of her house. […] a woman's duty is not to control or to take charge. Instead, she must follow the 'three submissions.' When she is young, she must submit to her parents. After marriage, she must submit to her husband. When is widowed, she must submit to her son.[3]

In other words, a Chinese woman had to be selfless, chaste, generous, and loyal; she had to be at the constant service of her parents (i.e., her father), husband and, were she to become a widow, of her son. Needless to say, a Chinese woman had to obey her monarch at all times.[4]

2

In Confucianism, Family is the pillar of the State; hence, given the role of women within their society, Chinese women are viewed as subaltern beings within Chinese society.[5] Nevertheless, with the gradual change of women's role within the Celestial Empire, Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism were gradually able to adapt to the needs of the times, yet always tied to the socioeconomic level: the higher, the stronger its adherence to Confucian ideals. Ironically, though, women from a lower socioeconomic level, because of their important/vital role within their family, were able to enjoy some "progress" (yet not emancipation) since they were forced to support their husbands, sons, daughters, grandsons, granddaughters, and other family members.[6]

As stated above then, between the 16th to the 20th centuries Chinese women gradually went from mere subaltern beings to persons with equal standing with men. New external and internal factors as commercialization, modernization, and urbanization opened the doors to literacy for men and women, thus revolutionizing the entire notion of Chinese citizenship.

During the following two centuries China thus witnessed great internal movements which eventually influenced Chinese Women across the board, from the majority group (Han, **漢族**, *hànzú*) to the religious, ethnic, and cultural subgroups, as in the case of Uighur **維吾爾**, *wéi wú ěr*, and Huí **回** Muslim women.[7]

During the first decades of the 18th century, Chinese women played an increasingly more decisive role within Chinese society. China and the rest of the world were in fact changing rapidly: revolutions and wars, Western Imperialism, and modern industrialization were sweeping all across Asia (including Southeast Asia).

Due to the demand of labor caused by the absence of male workers in their communities, Chinese women and, though to a lesser degree, also Korean, Japanese, and Southeast Asian women were able to raise their families and support their own local communities. Men who were forced to migrate to different areas or regions were thus being replaced by women in most parts of Asia and Southeast Asia. In China, women's

work indeed opened the doors to the Industrial Revolution, thus giving more impetus to the new political ideals of freedom, or better yet, women's active role within Chinese society accelerated something which had already been set in motion.

In other words, Chinese women were the first feminists and socialists who fought for equality within Chinese society as well as among their fellow party members. The many Qing **清朝**, *Qīng Cháo* (1644-1912), dynastic crises thus accelerated a process that had already begun; hence, Chinese women (and men) had set in motion a gender revolution that could not any longer be stopped:

> […] by the mid-nineteenth century, Chinese society was facing something more than cyclical dynastic decline. […] the family and by definition, women, became an even larger part of the state's agenda in the nineteenth century and beyond.[8]

Actually, the last three decades of the 19th century could be seen as the forerunners of the major changes that occurred in 20th-century China. Additionally, the end of the 19th century also witnessed the gradual district, regional, ethnic, racial, and religious diversification of the then-ailing Chinese Empire.[9]

Chinese men, influenced by the ideals of general reform which could also benefit the family, particularly women, thus began defending and advocating for women's rights, mainly at the local, district, and regional level. This change in attitudes had its positive repercussions on the different ethnic and religious communities throughout China.

The Hakka **客家**, *Kèjiā*, are thus a great indication that the ethnic, linguistic, and religious map of China was actually changing, thus opening the doors to new opportunities for women in a new, multicultural, multi-religious, and multilingual China:

> [Hakka **客家**, *Kèjiā*] men therefore found employment outside the villages and the women shouldered the burden of cultivating the land as well as managing the household. In these virtually propertyless families, the men had no cause to dominate the women and the women in turn had no reason to be dependent on the men. Hakka [**客家**, *Kèjiā*] women also did not practice footbinding, the symbol of "the cultivated woman." With their bare, natural

> feet, they spent their days in demanding physical labor, sometimes in the company of men and sometimes in place of men who worked away from the villages.[10]

The Hakka 客家, *Kèjiā*, were originally a Han 漢族, *hànzú*, group that spread throughout southern China. Due to the lack of resources, the Hakka 客家, *Kèjiā*, were forced to emigrate/migrate to other areas of China. It is thanks to this geographical mobility that, owing to the physical absence of their husbands, Hakka 客家, *Kèjiā,* women soon enjoyed a privileged role within the family.

3

The establishment or, better yet, the consolidation of western presence in China between ca. 1850-1911, also contributed, alas not always in a positive way, to a change in women's condition. Oftentimes the burgeoning Chinese liberation movements were not very sympathetic towards their feminist, or rather, proto-feminist colleagues. Furthermore, given that there was not a consensus or a common goal that united men and women, it was extremely hard to find a consensus among Chinese women of different social, ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural background:

> Imperialism presented special challenges to women […] it changed the nature of the productive work they did and often immeasurably worsened the conditions under which they did that work. […] combining goals of "women's liberation" […] with nationalism and revolution proved as difficult as it was promising […] Forging alliances with other women in the face of class differences, or facing the unrelenting pressure confronting all women who attempted to move beyond the narrow, socially approved confines of their particular circumstances, also

provided significant barriers in this period.[11]

The Republican movement against the Manchu 滿族, *Mănzú*, of the Qing Dynasty 清朝, *Qīng Cháo*, also had men interested in the complete emancipation of Chinese women since they thought that they could all fight against the corrupt and ailing royal family while, at the same time, stop the encroachment of foreign imperialism on Chinese soil.

In 1897, the Germans were successful at gaining Qingdao 青岛, *Qīngdăo*, in the Shandong 山東, *Shāndōng*, province, for ninety-nine years; the French also received the bay of Guangzhou 廣州市,*Guăng zhōu shì*, for ninety-nine years; the British received the New Territories 新界, *Xīnjiè*, which soon were integrated to Hong Kong 香港, *Xiānggăng*, the latter under British rule since August 29, 1842:

> Britain engaged in war with China (1839-42), emerged victorious and signed the treaty of Nanking [南京, *Nánjīng*] whereby Hong Kong [香港, *Xiānggăng*] was ceded to Britain in perpetuity. As a result of the Arrow War (1850-60), the Kowloon Peninsula [九龍半島, Jĭ*ulŏng Bàndăo*] was annexed to Hong Kong [香港, *Xiānggăng*][12].

The Nanjing Treaty (August 29, 1842), which put an end to the First Opium War (1839-1842) between England and the Qing Dynasty 清朝, *Qīng Cháo*, also opened up five Chinese ports to international trade, namely, Canton 广东省, *Guăngdōng Shĕng*, Xiamen 廈門, *Xiàmén*, (also known as Amoy), Fuzhou 福 州, *Fúzhōu*, Ningbo 宁波, *Níngbō*, and Shanghai 沪, *Hù*. Shanghai 沪 *Hù*, in fact soon became a place of interest for British, American, French, Russian, and other western countries interested in maintaining extraterritorial concessions on Chinese soil. Even though Shanghai 沪, *Hù*, was a Chinese city it was also extraterritorial, or rather, foreigners residing in this newly-born international municipality were subject to the laws of their respective nations of origin. With the end of the First Sino-Japanese War, (1894-1895), Japan began the construction of the first factories in Shanghai 沪, *Hù*, thus opening the doors to the first foreign investments in the city, all located in the international area.[13]

In 1912, the Qing Dynasty 清朝, *Qīng Cháo*, eventually fell apart, mainly because of the overall dissatisfaction with the royal family, starting from the members of the Court down to the commoners. Even though women were involved in the political scene immediately before and right after the establishment of the Republic of China 中華民國 *Zhōnghuá Mínguó*, (1912-1949), already by 1913 the rights that women from a certain social class had previously gained were abruptly revoked by leaders more interested in reestablishing the old patriarchal values.

Only in 1919, with the May 4 Anarchist Movement, which marked the beginning of many changes in the entire country, the status of women within Chinese society, placed within the grater scheme of the Revolution (Homeland and Family), was once again one of the cards used against foreign presence on Chinese soil.

Yet, the social divide was a major factor in separating women, mainly those who had had the opportunity of moving to big cities vs. women in the rest of the country who had no choice but to stay in their village, town, or rural community. Unexpected help came from the nationalist movements that served as a springboard to underscore awareness for and an urgent need to address women's issues in Republican China.

Two years later, in 1921, the Communist Party of China 中国共產黨, *Zhōngguó Gòngchǎndǎng*, was formed; yet, in 1923, it fused with the Kuomintang (KMT, or rather, the Nationalist Party) 中國國民黨, *Zhōngguó Guómíndǎng*. However, also this newly-born party showed extreme male chauvinistic attitudes towards women, at times taking more radical and sexist stances than their predecessors. In fact, the KMT was never sympathetic with the female/feminist question. Many were the cases of abuse of power against women who "dared" affirm their previously-gained rights.

The 1930 Civil Code put an end to all discrimination, thus granting Chinese women the same rights of their husbands, fathers, and sons. The birth of the Peoples' Republic of China 中华人民共和国, *Zhōnghuá Rénmín Gònghéguó*, in 1949 opened the doors to the creation of China Women's Federation (1949), as well as the Marriage Law (1950), the latter an amendment to women's rights when it came to Family Law.

The Cultural Revolution 文化大革命, *Wénhuà Dàgémìng,* (1966-1977), with its emphasis on the advancement of Socialism automatically brought Chinese women at the same level of men since both had the "duty" of modernizing and improve their Homeland. Yet, notwithstanding this considerable progress, there were still many discrepancies between Chinese women who lived in rural areas or in the outer provinces

and their urban counterparts. It is against this background that most Chinese ethnic and religious minorities should be placed, studied, and analyzed.

1912: End of the Qing Dynasty

1913: Loss of the rights of "equality"

1919: May 4 Movement and the women question

1921: Chinese Communist Party

1923: Chinese Communist Party + Kuomintang (KMT, Nationalist Party)

1930: Civil Code

1949: Chinese Federation of Women

1950: Law of Marriage

1966-1977: Cultural Revolution

4

Seek Knowledge, even if you have to go all the way to China

طلب الْعِلْم حَتّى إذَا كَان لديك للذهَاب إلىَ الصِّينِ

حَدِيث *Hadīth* attributed to the Prophet Muhammad.[14]

Eighteen years after the death of the prophet Muhammad (ca. 570-632), namely in 650-651, Islam reached China along the Silk Road routes uniting the Mediterranean Sea basin to the Middle East and beyond (East African Coast, the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia, Central Asia, and Imperial China). Yet, there was Muslim presence in Chinese soil already during the last years of the Sui Dynasty 隋朝, *Suí cháo*, (518-618), specifically in 609.[15]

Traditionally, the first Muslim presence in the Canton area is believed to date back to 650, during the reign of Emperor 唐高宗 Li Zhi Gaozong of Tang (649-683), when one of Prophet Muhammad's first companions, Hazrat Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqās (595-674), "made Canton his headquarter for his missionary activities," eventually "succeeding in bringing many Chinese to the fold of Islam." Upon his death, his tomb at the local Muslim cemetery became a regular stop for many Muslims passing through the area. Incidentally, today the "tomb is still visited by many Muslims."[16]

During the Golden Age of Islam (ca. 632-ca. 1258) and the first years of Portuguese exploration, expansion, and presence in Africa, the Americas, and Asia (1415-1999), the most important goods transported via land and sea routes to, from, and passing by the Middle East were: mercury, sugar, wine and wool (Iberian Peninsula); cotton, gold, ivory, salt and slaves (Maghreb); gold, ivory, precious wood and slaves (Swahili Coast and vicinity); animals, carpets, copper, iron, manufactures, naphtha, paper and textiles (Arabian Peninsula); camels, gold, horses, iron, manufacturers and precious stones (Central Asia); carpets, copper, drugs, gold, indigo, iron, manufactures, precious stones, precious wood and textiles (South Central Asia); amber, flax, fur, hemp, honey, slaves, tallow, timber, wax and whalebone (northwest Russia); ambergris, aromatics, drugs, indigo, ivory, precious stones, spices, textiles and tortoise shells (Indian Ocean basin); aromatics, drugs, gold, precious wood, spices and tin (Southeast Asia); brocade, camphor, porcelain, satin, silk, sugar, taffeta and tea (South China Sea basin); brocade, jade, rhubarb, silk and slaves (Northern China).[17]

As we can see then the different arteries that made up the Silk Route passed through and were connected to Central Asia. During the Umayyad (661-750) and the Abbāsid dynasties (749-1258), Central Asia was a great economic corridor for Muslim or at least Islamic influence in the area. It was through this Muslim presence in Central Asia that Islam, latent in the region as early as 650-651, began to consolidate itself in different parts of China, mainly in the adjacent areas that link East and West.

The Battle of Talas (751), in present-day Kyrgyzstan,[18] between the Abbāsids (749-1258) and the Tang Dynasty 唐朝 *Táng Cháo*, (618-907), and the ensuing Muslim victory over the Chinese, can thus be chosen as the official date of the gradual and ever-growing Muslim presence in Central Asia and adjacent areas,[19] as well as parts of the Chinese Empire, particularly the present-day autonomous regions of Xinjiang 新疆, *Xīnjiāng*, Ningxia Huí 宁夏回族自治区, and *Níngxià Huízú Zìzhìqū*, including the Gansu 甘肅, *Gānsù*, and Yunnan 雲南, *Yúnnán*, provinces, once important centers of

Islamic culture. Genghis Khan’s Muslim troops (1162-1227) further reinforced Islamic presence in Chinese soil. This time Islam reached all areas of the Celestial Empire: traders, imams, قُضَاة *quḍāt* (judges), عُلَمَاء *‘ulamā’* (Islamic scholars), the army, and entire populations embraced Islam or were Islamized (mainly for economic and/or cultural reasons).

Primarily tied to the world of commerce and trade, as in the case of the import and export of important products of highly lucrative goods, Islam gradually branched off to the political sector, soon having ramifications at the royal palace in Beijing **北京**, *Běijīng*. Yeheidie'erding **也黑迭兒丁**, *Yěhēidié'érdīng*, (d. 1312), Lan Yu **蓝玉**, *Lán Yù*, (d. 1393), and Zheng He **鄭和**, *Zhèng Hé* (1371-1435) were in fact tied to the commercial links that connected the Chinese Empire to the rest of the then-known world.

Also known by his nickname أمِير الّدين *Amīr al-Dīn* (the Emir of the Faith), *Yeheidie'erding* **也黑迭兒丁**, *Yěhēidié'érdīng*, was a famous Muslim architect responsible for the construction of Khanbalik (also known as Dadu/Ta-Tu/Daidu **大都**, *Dàdū*, Big Capital), present-day Beijing **北京**, *Běijīng*, then Capital of the Yuan Dynasty **元朝**, Yuán Cháo, later renovated by the fifth Khan (1260-1294) of the Mongol Empire, Kublai Khan **忽必烈**, *Hūbìliè*, (1215-1294), grandson of the legendary Genghis Khan (ca. 1162-1227) of Marco Polo’s *Voyages* (ca. 1298), and founder of the Yuan Dynasty **元朝**, *Yuán Cháo* (1279-1368).

General Lan Yu, of Han **漢族**, *hànzú*, ethnicity, was instrumental for founding the Ming Dynasty **明朝**, *Míng Cháo*, and for finally defeating the Mongolians, thus putting an end to their dream of regaining China.

Zheng He, **鄭和**, *Zhèng Hé*, also known as حَاجي مَحْمُود شَمْس الدِّين *Hājī Mahmūd Shams al-Dīn*, was a Chinese diplomat, admiral, and explorer of Huí **回** ethnicity, famous for his travels through Southeast Asia, southern Asia, and the East Coast of Africa, the latter also known as the Swahili Coast (1405-1433), almost sixty-five years before the arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean basin area (1498).

5

> Since the founding of the People's Republic of China [中华人民共和国, *Zhōnghuá Rénmín Gònghéguó*], in 1949, special autonomous "Huí" [回] regions were established—prefectures and counties in which these people can live together in communities and follow their own traditions. This is the case in places like Ningxia [宁夏回族自治区, *Níngxià Huízú Zìzhìqū*], Gansu [甘肅, *Gānsù*] Xinjang [Xinjiang 新疆, *Xīnjiāng*], Hebei [河北, *Héběi*], Qinghai [青海, *Qīnghǎi*], Yunnan [雲南, *Yúnnán*] and Guizhou [貴州, *Guìzhōu*].[20]

Until the Yuan Dynasty 元朝, *Yuán Cháo*, (1271-1368), Chinese Muslims were called Huí Ch'i 回智. Later they were known as Huí Huí 回族 or Huí Jiao 回嬌 *Huí Jiào*, regardless of their race, ethnicity and/or language. However, Chinese Muslims referred to themselves as 清代陳 Ch'ieng Chen or 回漢子, Hui Hanzi, and their word for Islam was 清代陳嬌 *Ch'ing Chen Jiào*, or rather, the "Clean and Pure Religion." Yet, they also used the expression Dungan 東干語, *Dōnggān yǔ*, also spelled/pronounced Tungan, with the possible, original meaning of "the return to Islam."[21]

The Dungan 東干語, *Dōnggān yǔ*, entered China during the Tang Dynasty 唐朝 *Táng Cháo*. Despite their undeniable Uighur 維吾爾, *wéi wú ěr*, origin, thus belonging to the Turkic ethno-linguistic family, as the centuries went by the Dungan 東干語, *Dōnggān yǔ*, mixed with other races and ethnic groups, e.g., the Chinese Hsiung-nu 匈奴, *Xiōngnú*, Ti/Di 氐, *Dǐ*, and Qiang 羌族, *qiāng zú*, as well as with Persians and Arabs.[22] Given their complete assimilation to the local culture, this "mixed", or rather, "miscigenized" population (Dungan 東干語, *Dōnggān yǔ*) was known as the Huí Huí 回族, whereas the Uighur 維吾爾, *wéi wú ěr*, were nicknamed Huí Huí 回族 or simply 頭巾回, Ch'antou Huí, namely, "Muslims with a turban" from Turkestan 突厥斯坦 *Tū jué sī tǎn*, and Xinjiang 新疆, *Xīnjiāng*.

Even though Muslims in the People's Republic of China **中华人民共和国**, *Zhōnghuá Rénmín Gònghéguó* now amount to over twenty million people, given the size of the country and the total number of inhabitants—over 1,339,724,852 people according to the Sixth National Population Census of The People's Republic of China, also known as the **第六次全国人口普查** 2010 Chinese Census[23]—preserving one's ethnic and religious identity was and still is reason for preoccupation, since, like any other minority group in China, they are at risk of being marginalized[24] or, even worse, assimilated to mainstream Chinese society.

The Xinjiang **新疆**, *Xīnjiāng*, autonomous region is predominantly Muslim (ca. 80% Uighur **維吾爾**, *wéi wú ěr*, ethnic-religious group), whereas the Gansu **甘肅**, *Gānsù*, and Ningxia **宁夏回族自治区**, *Níngxià Huízú Zìzhìqū*, regions also boast a considerable size of Muslims in their midst. Though considerably less in number, the Yunnan **雲南**, *Yúnnán* and Henan **河南** *Hénán*, provinces also have Muslims in their prefectures.

- Xinjiang (ca. 80% Uighur ethnic-religious group)
- Gansu and Ningxia, Yunnan and Henan.
- Hui (ca. 10 million)
- Uighur (ca. 9 million)
- Kazaks (+ 1 million)
- Dongxiangs (+ ½ million)
- Kyrgyz (+ 150 thousand)
- Salars (+ 100 thousand)
- Tajiks (+ 40 thousand)
- Uzbeks and Bonans (+ 17,000 each)
- Tatars (5,000)

As for Chinese ethnic/national groups (**民族** *mí nzú* in Chinese), the Huí **回** (ca. 10 million) and the Uyghur **維吾爾**, *wéi wú ěr*, (ca. 9 million) are the majority, followed by the Kazaks **哈萨克族**, *Hāsàkè Zú*, (+ 1 million), the Dongxiang **東鄉族**, *Dōngxiāngzú*, (+ ½ million), the Kirgiz (+ 150 thousand), the Salar **撒拉族**, *Sālāzú*, (+

100 thousand), the Tajiks **塔吉克族**, *Tăjíkè Zú*, (+ 40 thousand), the Uzbeks **乌孜别克**, *Wū zī bié kè*, the Bonans **保安族**, *Băo'ān zú*, (+ 17,000 each) and the Tatars **塔塔爾族**, *Tătăĕrzú*, (5,000):

> China's 55 "official" minority groups include 10 Muslim nationalities located primarily on China's borders with Russia and the new Central Asian states, whose majority populations are mainly Muslim. With a total Muslim population of at least 20 million, this places China among the most numerous of Muslim nations (more than Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Libya, or Syria).[25]

The Huí **回** make up half of the Muslim population of China, followed by the Uighur **維吾爾**, *wéi wú ĕr*, and the Kirgiz **柯爾克孜族**, *Kēĕrkèzī zú*. Officially there are Muslim nationalities everywhere in China, namely: the Huí **回**, the Uyghur **維吾爾**, *wéi wú ĕr*, the Kazaks **哈萨克族**, *Hāsàkè Zú*, the Dongxiang **東鄉族**, *Dōngxiāngzú*, the Kirgiz **柯爾克孜族**, *Kēĕrkèzī zú*, the Salar **撒拉族**, *Sālāzú*, the Tajiks **塔吉克族**, *Tăjíkè Zú*, the Uzbeks **乌孜别克**, *Wū zī bié kè*,, the Bonans **保安族**, *Băo'ān zú*, and the Tatars **塔塔爾族**, *Tătăĕrzú*.

Ten Muslim Nationalities in China

- Hui (Hui Mim, Hui Zu [Chinese of Hui nationality])
- Uyghur
- Kazak
- Dongxiang
- Kyrgyz
- Salar
- Tajik
- Uzbek
- Baoan
- Tatar

There are also Muslim minorities in Inner Mongolia **内蒙古**, *Nèi Měnggŭ*, Sichuan **四川**, *Sìchuān*, Tibet **藏區**, *Zàngqū*, and Yunnan **雲南**, *Yúnnán*. However, given that these Muslims speak Chinese and that they are not very numerous, they were conveniently placed within the greater Huí **回** family.

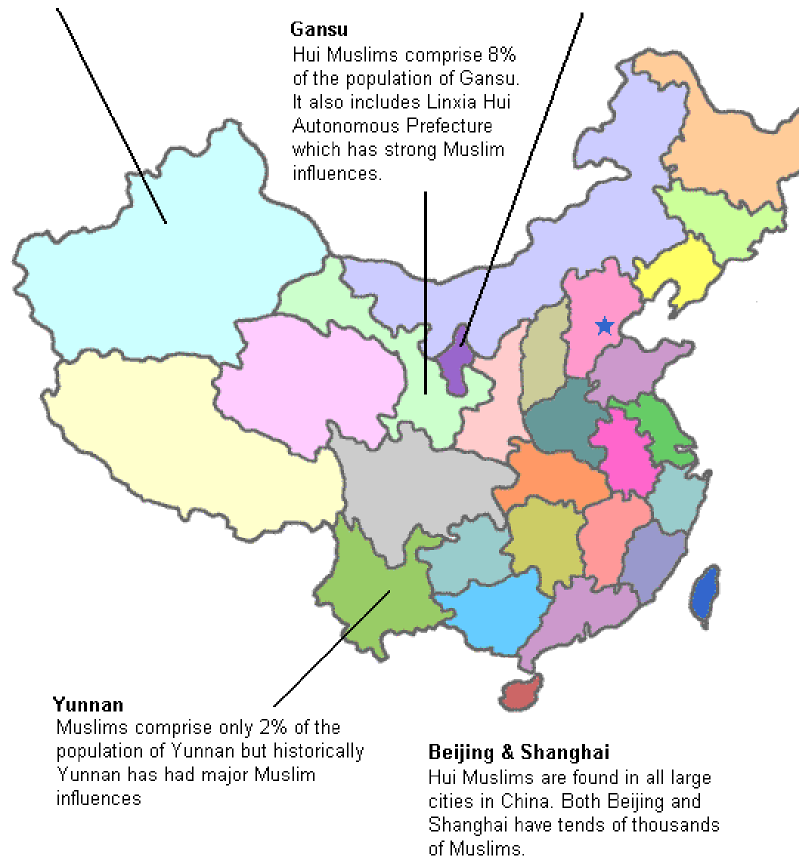
The Huí **回** prefer to be called Huí Mín **回民** or also Huí Zú **回族**, namely, Chinese with Huí **回** nationality, or also **信徒 嬌** Yisilan Jiào, i.e., followers of Islam.

The case is different for the Uighur **維吾爾**, *wi wú ĕr*. Despite the fact that the Uighur Kingdom (300 b.C.E.-745 C.E.)—covering the Pre-Imperial (300 b.C.E.-630 C.E.) and parts of the Imperial eras (630-850)—was originally in Outer Mongolia **外蒙古**, *Wài Měnggŭ*, today the Uighur **維吾爾**, *wi wú ĕr*, swear that they are originally from Xinjiang **新疆**, *Xīnjiāng*, thus emphasizing the fact of being "legitimately native."

6

> […] the state protects the lawful rights and interests of the minority nationalities and upholds and develops the relationship of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all of China's nationalities. Discrimination against and oppression of any nationality are prohibited; any acts that undermine the unity of the nationalities or instigate their secession are prohibited[26].

Regions in China with Large Number of Muslims



Wang Daiyu. "Regions in China with Large Number of Muslims." *Islam in China. A Project on Sino-Islamic Art, History, Culture. Past & Present*. February 6, 2009. <http://islaminchina.info/map-chinese-muslims/>.

As a minority group, Chinese Muslims, just like any other minority group in the world, face many adversities in order to preserve their cultural and religious identity. Hence, Chinese Muslim women had to devise many strategies in order to overcome and prevent these problems from occurring in their midst.

For instance, the Huí 回, have used a very particular tactic, or rather, they have accommodated Islam and Muslim culture to the dominant Chinese society. In other words, the Huí 回 believe that it is indeed possible to reconcile Islam with Chinese lifestyle and thought. A key factor in this was having full access to Islamic education: by so doing they were guaranteeing and preserving Islamic values.

The creation of mosques and Qur'ānic schools in Muslim areas with female teachers and female imams, usually known as 师娘, *Shiniang*, thus opened the door to further opportunities for Huí 回 women,[27] despite pressure from the Chinese Government and the wider Muslim world, both very conservative when it comes to women's rights, particularly within religion, regardless of its denomination (سُنَّه *Sunnah* or شِيعه *Shiā'*).

Though guaranteeing by law full equality to women and all ethnic and religious minorities, the Chinese Government is still very ambivalent when it comes to religion especially when the latter, being dominated by men, aims at limiting women's rights guaranteed by the Constitution, regardless of their ethnic origin and/or of their religious affiliation.

One of the positive effects of globalization and of Mass Media perhaps is the fact of allowing Muslim women from all over the world to connect with one another. In doing so, Huí 回 women were thus able to question Muslim orthodox authority, especially Sunni, as well as the obstacles and the limitations that the Chinese State imposed on them.

It is important to mention that in the Muslim world, including the Islamic areas on Chinese soil, the mosque is also a resource center, or school if you will, where people learn different subjects, religious as well as secular, namely, the مَدْرَسَه *madrasa*, (Qur'ānic school), most of the time attached to or not very far from the mosque. Moreover, the مَدْرَسَه *madrasa* is also a place believers can use for communitarian purposes, as in the case of local meetings that involve all types of negotiations, private as well as public.

Given their double role of diplomats and traders/merchants between the Islamic world and Chinese society, Muslims residing in the Celestial Empire almost always enjoyed a special status during their lifetime: they were guaranteed full freedom of religion as well as they were given many socio-economic opportunities. The winds of change came with the Ming Dynasty 明朝, *Míng Cháo*.

In their attempt at underscoring the supremacy of Han 漢族, *hànzú*, ethnicity, civilization and culture, the Ming 明朝, *Míng Cháo*, forcibly assimilated the other "foreign" cultures, including the Muslims, into the wider Chinese mold. Chinese Muslims were thus physically unable to move to other areas populated by other

Muslims, on Chinese soil as well as abroad (as in the case of the great centers of Islamic cultures in Central Asia and the Middle East). Chinese Muslims were thus forced to remain in the geographical areas where they resided. Fortunately though, always during the Ming Dynasty **明朝**, *Míng Cháo*, these restrictions were abolished and Muslims began to establish contacts with the rest of the Islamic world. Yet, despite this Renaissance of Islamic Studies, there were still cases of violent discrimination against and intolerance toward Muslim minorities within Chinese society.

With the advent of the Qing Dynasty **清朝**, *Qīng Cháo*, things improved and Muslims obtained their rights, as in the case of being able to go to Mecca and Medina for **حَجّ** *hajj* as well as study at Islamic centers throughout the Muslim world (e.g., Central Asia and the Middle East). Upon their return to China, these Muslim scholars founded Islamic centers in many parts of China. This contributed to the fact that, at least in the Northeast, there were cases of religious and ethnic intolerance towards this "foreign" presence on Chinese soil.

Unfortunately, this attitude towards the "other" lingered for many centuries. It was still present during the Cultural Revolution **文化大革命**, *Wénhuà Dàgémìng*, (1966-1976) when Chinese Muslims were the target of anti-religious and anti-ethnic attacks, as in the case of assaults and massacres of Muslim clerics.

In 1982, the Communist Party of China **中国共産黨**, *Zhōngguó Gòngchǎndǎng*, declared full freedom of religious choice: ethnic and religious minorities were now able to express their "difference" without fear of retaliation.

In proposing this compromise the Huí **回**, as well as all the Muslim groups residing in China, were following a typical feature of one of the four Sunni Law Schools, i.e., the **حَنَفي** *Hanafī*, the more "open-minded" of the four Sunni Law Schools, when it comes to accommodating to local customs.[28] Chinese Muslims were thus promoting tolerance between the Muslim community, the **أُمَّة** *ummah*, and the State. In a sense then the bridge between the Muslim world and China was thus reopened:

> In 1991, Xinjiang [**新疆**, *Xīnjiāng*] became linked directly to Kazakhstan by rail, and overland roads to Pakistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and

> Kirgizia are becoming much more open to cross-border travel. […] Through cross-border trade and increased foreign trade relations with the Middle East […] China has become closely tied to the Muslim Middle East.[29]

As we have seen then, Islam reached the Chinese Empire through Muslim traders. In time, Islam was influenced by Chinese culture, imbued with Confucian ideals, as well as by the teachings of صُوف *sūfi* (17th century) missionaries and وَحَّابي *Wahhābī* (19th century- beginning of the 20th century) reformists[30]. As a whole, Islam in China always tried to reconcile the different Muslim tendencies of the time with Chinese tradition.

7

Islamic culture spread throughout China; yet, it was mainly confined to the commercial areas that corresponded to the economic-commercial routes linking the Empire to the rest of Eurasia and Southeast Asia. Exogamic unions increased the number of believers also because Islam is transmitted through the male line: i.e., a child born to a Muslim father and a non-Muslim mother is automatically Muslim. As for Chinese women married to Muslim men, most of them converted to Islam, yet they retained the abovementioned Confucian parameters of obedience to the male figure; hence, unlike most Muslim women in the rest of the Islamic world, Chinese Muslim women were not encouraged to receive nor were they encouraged to seek an education.

Getting an education, in religious as well as in secular matters, was by far the best way for young Chinese Muslim women to find opportunities to improve the quality of their lives. As young graduates, these lower-class Chinese women from ethnic and religious minority groups were thus finally able to overcome sexual and gender discrimination.

Despite their number, more than twenty million believers, Chinese Muslims are dispersed throughout the country, divided by ethnicity, languages, and customs. Chinese Muslim women then, because of double male chauvinism—Chinese as well as Muslim—were even more detached from daily life. Hence, it was the gradual opening

and inclusion of women in the Muslim religious educational system that gave Chinese women like the Huí 回 the possibility of being part of and participating to, though oftentimes marginalized, the local Muslim community.

According to the Constitution of the Peoples' Republic of China (article 36), freedom of religion—"limited" to the five religions/religious denominations recognized by the State (Buddhism, Catholicism, Daoism, Islam, and Protestantism)—does not imply that the religious leaders of these five religions can interfere in the educational system.[31] Yet, this does not apply to private institutions.

The creation of mosques and Qur'ānic schools tied to Islamic centers thus allowed Huí 回 men and women to: "fit into the environment without compromising their core beliefs"[32] pertaining to their religious beliefs as well as their loyalty to their Homeland. Hence, the 翻譯 教育, *jintang jiào yù* (education in translation), was established which offered classes to men and women using texts translated from Farsi and Arabic.

Mosques and Qur'ānic schools also had texts with the phonetic transcription in Arabic as well as in شِیَوْعَرڭِ *Xiao'erjing*, (children's writing), or rather, in Chinese but written in Arabic/Farsi characters.[33]

The practice of writing a language in Arabic characters was/is common in many areas once dominated by Muslims or that are currently part of an Islamic country. This procedure is known as عَجَمِي *'Ajamī*—from the Arabic *'Ajamiyyah* عَجَمِيّ, Persian/Iranian, i.e., a foreigner—and it means writing the local language (considered "foreign" by the Arabs) in Arabic script. *Aljamia* or *Aljamiado* are the terms used in English to denote texts and corresponding literary corpora using Arabic script (though a bit modified) to represent a language other than Arabic.[34] In Chinese, the abovementioned شِیَوْعَرڭِ *Xiao'erjing*, (children's writing), is an example of *aljamia*, in this case, Chinese yet written in Arabic/Farsi characters.

The establishment of 清真女寺 *Qingzhen nusi*, or simply 女寺, *nusi* (mosques for women), and 女学 *nǚ xué* (Qur'ānic schools for women), which first began during the 17th century, was thus a way of departing from the Confucian patriarchal culture. With its emphasis on education and knowledge, Islam brought together Chinese ethnic groups thus giving them the possibility of affirming their religious and socio-cultural identity.

It should be remembered the fact that Muslim communities in China were and are enclaves situated in the middle of a vast territory; hence, they had and have no choice but to face the reality of the majority group: the Han 漢族, *hànzú*. Chinese Muslim communities were/are always aware of the political agenda of the State and its local representatives. Consequently, Muslim women played and play an important role in keeping and preserving Islamic culture within and outside the hearth, as in the case of the Islamic community that interacts with non-Muslim families.[35]

The central areas of the vast Chinese Empire will in fact be the foci of this Renaissance of Islamic Studies initiated by Muslim clerics—e.g., the إِمَام imam and the مُفْتي mufti—and eventually carried out by Muslim women themselves, the 阿訇 *Ā hōng* (religious leaders), or better yet, the 女红 *nǚ hóng* (women religious leaders) who served as the true mentors for women in these Muslim communities.

Obviously, besides offering instruction on the basic Islamic tenets—i.e., the الْقُرْآن Qur'ān, the أَحَادِيث *Ahādīth* of the Prophet Muhammad, the exegesis of the Qur'ān (تَفْسِير *tafsīr*) and Islamic Law (فِقه *fiqh*)—as well as Farsi language and culture, Muslim women of all ages, particularly young adults, still gravitated around two patriarchal molds (Islam and Confucianism) that placed and wanted to keep women in a subaltern role within Chinese society.[36] Later, though, women also started to learn subjects as History of China, History of Islam, Computer Science, and Law.[37]

Despite the fact that they were formed a little after the founding of Qur'ānic schools for women, Huí 回 mosques for women also had the 女红 *nǚ hóng* (religious leaders). Unlike their fellow Muslim women throughout the Islamic world, Huí 回 women included in their repertoire items that focused on local Muslim women. In order to legitimize and give value to their studies and their message, Huí 回 women used female models sacred to Islam, as in the case of خَدِيجَة Khadījah and عَيشَة ʻAishah, Prophet Muhammad's wives and his daughter فَاطِمَة Fātimah, married to Muhammad's cousin and fourth Caliph, عَلِي ʻAly, future progenitor of the Shīʻah denomination within Islam.[38]

However, despite this success, not all the Islamic communities in Chinese soil accepted this "new Huí 回 approach" to Islamic studies which, according to the

orthodoxy of some Muslims, was "threatening" or also "challenging" the power that men had inside and outside the hearth, the latter a Muslim woman's ultimate domain.[39]

Transmitting Muslim culture and Islamic values was seen by all as women's obligation; yet, the very existence of **女寺**, *nusi* (mosques for women), and **女学** *nǚ xué* (Qur'ānic schools for women), was seen as bestowing upon them more than the "typical" or "expected" role that women had within their local community, particularly in the central provinces of the Chinese Empire.

Whereas a few orthodox Muslim men "accepted" or even "tolerated" the existence of Qur'ānic schools for women, the **女学** *nǚ xué*—given that these women would then teach basic religious practices and precepts, as well as reinforce women's role within the Islamic canon, thus reaffirming the transmittal of Islamic values to the new generations—the fact that there were also mosques for women, **女寺**, *nusi*, was indeed considered as a challenge to Muslim/Confucian patriarchy, as well as to Islamic orthodoxy, particularly when the mosques were imposing or wanting to impose their "modern" views on religious or doctrinal matters.[40]

In Islam, Sunni as well as Shīʿah, women cannot serve as chiefs of state, nor can they be appointed as religious leaders. Hence, there was no problem from the Chinese point of view. China at this time had granted its citizens, men and women alike, full equality in all respects. The problem was from the Islamic side since it could not allow that women, Huí **回** as well as hailing from other Muslim ethnic groups, be given these dogmatic "liberties" which are not contemplated by Islamic Law, Sunni as well as Shii: "[…] questions of purity and legitimacy became paramount when the Huí **回** are faced with radical internal socioeconomic and political change and exposed to different interpretations of Islam from the outside world."[41]

As we have seen then, as years went by and with the gradual growth of the movement for the emancipation of women within Chinese society, Muslim women began to incorporate the new ideals of equality for all, men and women alike, from the Communist agenda as well as the burgeoning suffragist movements around the world. Hence, the **女寺**, *nusi*, should be considered as the only institutions in China where women could learn from other women not only the basic tenets of Islam but also other secular disciplines that could help them adapt to the new socioeconomic demands of the time.[42] Furthermore, the **女寺**, *nusi*, served as springboards for further study and investigation in China as well as the rest of the world, particularly in the Muslim world, thus opening the doors to better work possibilities. In remote areas of China, for

example, the 女寺, *nusi*, were the only means through which women could receive an education, religious as well as secular.[43]

Starting from the 17th century then, thanks to the creation of 女寺, *nusi*, and 女学 *nǚ xué*, Muslim women slowly began entering the socio-economic life of the young Chinese Republic, thus offering a model for the integration of all citizens, regardless of their ethnic or religious background, eventually contributing to the welfare of all, women as well as men, and to the advancement of China.

Muslim Women in Macau

> [O] Brasil, Timor-Leste e Macau também têm experiências históricas particulares e contam com uma comunidade muçulmana cujas características diferem significativamente.[44]

Muslims made their home in Macau even before the Portuguese were given rights to establish themselves in this enclave in 1557. Indeed, it appears that during the Ming Dynasty 明朝, *Míng Cháo*, (1368-1644), Muslims hailing from the Middle East, eventually made Macau their home. These Muslim men were traders who ultimately settled in the area and intermarried with local Cantonese women. As it happened along the Swahili Coast, Muslims merchants came from the Arab and the Persian world, though in this case there were also traders of Turkic and Mongolian origin.

Officially, European presence in Macau dates back to 1577 when the Portuguese were allowed to have a permanent settlement in exchange of 500 *taels* of silver per year. Yet, the first European to set foot in Macau was the Portuguese explorer Jorge Álvares (d. 1521), hailing from Malacca (May 1513).[45] Soon after, the Portuguese were allowed to trade in the area; yet, they did not have the right to remain onshore. Only in ca. 1552 the Portuguese were allowed to store their goods offshore in what is now Lake Nam Van 南灣湖, one of Macau's two, man-made lakes, located at the southern end of Macau Peninsula, the other one being Lake Sai Van 西灣湖, positioned at the southern tip of Macau Peninsula.

Being a Portuguese area, Macau thus saw the comings and goings of many people associated with the then-vast Portuguese Empire: people from all walks of life, including Muslims, the latter mainly enlisted in the Army.

In order to compensate the lack of men, the Portuguese frequently recruited soldiers in India (particularly southern India) and Southeast Asia. Indeed, the first

mosque in Macau "was built in the 1880s for soldiers of the Portuguese army from south India."[46] Despite the Portuguese prohibition of public worship of a religion or religious denomination other than Catholicism, Macau Muslims, like foreign Protestants[47] residing in the Portuguese enclave, were allowed to pray at home and have their own cemetery, on their own land.

During World War II (1939-1945), because of Portugal's neutral position in the conflict, many Muslims from Hong Kong, the Middle East, Central Asia, and the sub-Indian continent made Macau their new abode.

As of 2015, there are 10,000 Muslims living in Macau. The Islamic Association of Macau, originally founded in 1935, reopened its doors in 1980; yet, due to economic difficulties, the Islamic Union of Hong Kong contributes with annual donations for its maintenance. The Islamic Association of Macau is in charge of the Macau Mosque and Cemetery (澳門伊斯蘭清真寺及墳場; *Mesquita e Cemitério de Macau*), located at the *Freguesia de Nossa Senhora de Fátima* in Macau. The cemetery was built in 1854. It has tombstones written in Arabic, Chinese, English, and Portuguese.[48] Currently, it is Macau's only Muslim cemetery and mosque. The mosque "has separate rooms for men and women and has covered space for about 100 people."[49]

Most of Macau's Muslims are "migrant workers coming from Indonesia."[50] The great bulk of these migrant workers is made up of Indonesian women who work as domestic help. There are also Muslims men and women from Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan, as well as sub-Saharan African countries where Islam is the major religion, particularly Francophone Africa.

Given their skills in English, Anglophone Asians are readily employed by the casino industry and the construction business, the latter obviously tied to the gambling business where knowledge of English is paramount.

There are also Muslims in the technology field as well as other academic subjects. Hence, it is no surprise that the University of Macau has a high percentage of Muslim faculty, particularly from former British colonies. Other members of the Muslim community come from the Middle East, Central Asia, India, Pakistan, and/or Lusophone areas of the world where Islam has a significant presence, as in the case of Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

Besides the Southeast Asian Muslims mentioned above, there are today in Macau Muslim communities hailing from the Arab world, Iran, Central Asia, India, and Pakistan, for example, that are involved in the trading industry.

Understandably, given their "recent" presence in Macau and, more importantly, because Muslim men from these communities usually do not assimilate to the local culture and/or do not usually intermarry with local Chinese women, the situation of Muslim women in Macau is strikingly different from their counterparts in Mainland China. Hence, Muslim women in Macau follow the traditions of their homeland. In other words, given that Macau never had a homogenous Muslim ethnic group living in the area, it could never create its own traditions and mores as it occurred with the 回 Hui and the 維吾爾, *wéi wúĕr*, Uighur Muslims in Mainland China.

The "private" hearth, dominated by Muslim women from Southeast Asia employed as domestic helpers, and the "public" kitchen, in this case, co-ownership or assistance in the culinary art catering to the Muslim palate and, as of the new millennium, tourists hailing from the entire world, are perhaps the two avenues where Muslim women in Macau are marking their presence. Yet, this is a "secular" presence; hence, it fails to compare to the advancements that Muslim women have reached in Mainland China, as the 回 Hui women mentioned above.

In the wake of the casino boom in Macau, since 2002 there has been an increasing demand for حَلال *halāl* (allowed) food in Macau. Currently, there are in Macau seven restaurants where one can eat حَلال *halāl* food, owned by Chinese (Muslims or non-Muslims) or by Muslims from the Asian Diaspora, or rather, (1.) *Golden Peacock*, located at the Venetian Macau Resort, Shoppe 1037, Cotai Strip, Taipa, Macau; (2.) *Café Panorama*, located at the Grand Coloane Resort, Ground level, Grand Coloane Beach Resort, 1918 Estrada de Hac Sa., Coloane, Macau; (3.) *Lou Lan Islam Restaurant*, located at the Largo do Senado, at the intersection of the Avenida de Almeida and the Rua de Cinco de Outubro N.º 169, Longzhouwan Garden, Ground Floor, Shop A, Macau; (4.) *Taste of India*, located at the Macau Fisherman's Wharf, Shop 06-07, G/F, Macau Fisherman's Wharf, Avenida Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, S/N, Macau; (5.) *India Spice*, opposite lot of the Kun-Iam Statue at Peninsula Macau, 39, Alameda Dr. Carlos D'Assumpção, Vista Magnífica Court, BG/RC, Macau; (6.) *Indian Spice Express*, Food Court, Venetian Macau, 2513 Grand Canal Shoppes, The Venetian Macau-Resort Hotel, Macau; and (7.) *Indian Garden*, Nova Taipa Garden, Flores, Shop 18, G/F, Bloco 27, Rua de Seng Tou, Taipa, Macau.

It is my understanding that currently there is no "Halal certification authority in Macau." Hence, "the information on حَلال *halāl* food in Macau is based purely on the

information provided by the restaurants,"[51] which may not necessarily mean that the restaurant was officially declared حَلال *halāl* by a Muslim cleric.

Though these restaurants are owned and/or operated by Muslim men, Muslim women in Macau who are associated with these restaurants do have a voice in how Muslim cuisine hailing from the entire Islamic world is made and presented to the public. As it can be surmised then, Muslim women are at the core of these restaurants in the former Portuguese enclave in China, particularly the family-owned establishments. Yet, this "leading position" within Macau's Muslim community is a far cry from the "advancement" that their Huí 回 sisters have achieved within Chinese society. Alas, unlike Mainland China, the "old barriers" of the Universal Patriarchy still persist in Macau.

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[1] Dr. Joseph A. Levi 雷祖善博士 holds a Ph.D. in Romance Philology/Linguistics (Portuguese, Italian, and Medieval Spanish) from the University of Wisconsin at Madison; a *Laurea* in ESL, Swahili, Arabic, and Islamic Studies, from the *Istituto Universitario Orientale*, Naples, Italy; and a *Licenciatura* in Portuguese Language and Lusophone Studies/History of the Portuguese Discoveries, from the *Universidade de Lisboa*, Lisbon, Portugal. Dr. Levi's publications, research, and academic interest cover: Portuguese language; Lusophone studies: special emphasis on Lusophone Africa and Asia; Romance Philology, Linguistics, and Dialectology; ESL; Medieval studies; Italian; Sephardic Jewry; Missionaries in Africa and Asia (16th-18th centuries); Protestantism in the Lusophone world; African and Islamic Studies. Dr. Joseph Levi taught at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, the University of Georgia, the University of Iowa, Rhode Island College, the University of Hong Kong, and the *Universidade de São José* in Macau. Since fall 2010, Joseph Levi is affiliated with the George Washington University in Washington, D.C. He is a Visiting Scholar and Researcher in African, Islamic, Sephardic, and Lusophone Studies.

[2] On the endemic nature of Universal Patriarchy, see: Kate Millett. *Sexual Politics*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970, particularly chapters 1 and 2, namely: "Sexual Politics" and "Historical Background." Even though during the last forty-eight years many studies have analyzed Universal Patriarchy and its negative impact on world societies, I strongly believe that Kate Millett's work is still to be considered the pillar of Women and Gender Studies.

[3] Liu Hsiang. *Biographies of Admirable Women*. Document 8, in "Confucian Inspired Sayings." *Women in World History Curriculum*. 1996-2010. <http://www.womeninworldhistory.com/lesson3plus.html>.
[4] Albert H. O'Hara. *The Bibliographies of Chinese Women*. Hong Kong: Orient Press, 1955.
[5] Mark Elvin. "Female Virtue and the State in China." *Past and Present* 104 (1984): 111-152; Kathryn Bernhardt. "A Ming-Qin Transition in Chinese Women's History?," in *Remapping China: Fissures in Historical Terrain*. Eds. Gail Hershatter, Emily Honing, Jonathan N. Lipman, and Randall Stross. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
[6] Susan Mann. "Widow in the Kinship, Class, and Community Structures of Qing Dynasty China." *Journal of Asian Studies* 46.1.2 (1987): 37-56; Susan Mann. "'Fuxue' (Women's Learning) by Zhang Xuecheng (1738-1801)." *NWSA Journal* 2.3 (Summer, 1992): 435-49.
[7] Susan Nanquin, and Evelyn S. Rawski. *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.
[8] Sharon Sievers. "Women in East Asia. Women in China, Japan, and Korea," in *Women in Asia. Restoring Women to History* Eds. Barbara N. Ramusak, and Sharon Sievers. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999. 143-254, especially: 195-96.
[9] On Northwest China, see: Jing Jun. "Dams and Dreams. A Return-to-Homeland Movement in Northwest China," in *Living with Separation in China. Anthropological Accounts*. Ed. Charles Stafford. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003. 113-129.
[10] Kazuko Ono. *Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989. 2.
[11] Sharon Sievers. "Women in East Asia. Women in China, Japan, and Korea," in *Women in Asia. Restoring Women to History*. Eds. Barbara N. Ramusak, and Sharon Sievers. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999. 143-254.
[12] Felipe B. Nery. *The Transitions. A Novel*. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2006. 33-4.
[13] On January 28, 1932—at the dawn of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1931-1945)—Shanghai 沪 (*Hù*) was bombarded by the Japanese Air Force. In 1937, the Shanghai Battle ended Japanese occupation of the city. On December 8 1941, the international area of Shanghai 沪 (*Hù*) was occupied by the Japanese only to be relinquished at the end of World War II (1945).
[14] *Hadīth Za'īf*: By many considered false, this حَدِيث *hadīth* (tradition, narrative, guide), is still used by Muslims to teach their young ones to seek knowledge and wisdom, at all costs, hence the metaphor of going to China in order to reach this goal. A *hadīth* is an account or phrase uttered by the Prophet Muhammad or transmitted by one of his closest companions, first transmitted orally and then written down and eventually gathered in volumes (the *Ahādīth* أَحَادِيث). Failing the إِسْنَاد *isnād*, an uninterrupted chain of eye witnesses who saw or heard the Prophet Muhammad say the *hadīth*, the *hadīth* is thus to be considered false or fabricated by someone. Even though this "Chinese" *hadīth* is not اِتِّصَال *ittisāl*, or rather, it does not have this uninterrupted chain of witnesses, it is frequently cited by many Muslims throughout the world, including members of the clergy, in order to highlight the importance of education and knowledge in general.
[15] Jielian Liu, and Isaac Mason. *The Arabian Prophet: A Life of Mohammed from Chinese and Arabic Sources. A Chinese-Moslem Work*. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1921.
[16] Syed Minhaj ul Hassan. "The Muslims of Hong Kong and their Religious Symbols." *Peshawar Islamicus* 7.1 (Jan.-June, 2016): 43-54. 44. For the early presence of Islam in the Canton area, see: Lianmao Wang. *Return to the City of Light: Quanzhou, an Eastern City Shining with the Splendour of Medieval Culture*. Fujian: Fujian People's Publishing House, 2000.
[17] Joseph Abraham Levi. *Middle East History*. Boca Raton: BarCharts, 2011. 5.
[18] Also spelled Kirghizstan or Kirghizia.
[19] Present-day Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, as well as northern Afghanistan, India, Iran, and Pakistan.
[20] Shujianf Li, and Karl W. Luckert. *Mythology and Folklore of the Huí, a Muslim Chinese People*. Trans. Fenglan Yu, Zhilin Hou, and GanHuí Wang. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994. 3.
[21] Martin Hartmann. "China," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam: A Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples*. Eds. M. T. Houtsma, Thomas W. Arnold, René Bassett, Richard Hartmann, A.J. Wensinck, Willi Heffening, Evariste Lévi-Provençal, and H.A.R. Gibb. 4 vols. Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1936. 2: 850.
[22] William F. Mayers, and George M. H. Playfair. *The Chinese Government ... Third Edition. Revised by G.M.H. Playfair*. Pp. vi. 196. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1897. 101-102; Eugene Schuyler, and Geoffrey Wheeler. 1896. *Turkistan*. vol. 2. London: Sampson Law, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1897. 2: 170-73.
[23] "Tabulation on the 2010 Population Census of The People's Republic of China." <http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/Statisticaldata/CensusData/rkpc2010/indexch.htm>.
[24] Perhaps the neologism *peripherized* is the best way of describing this concept.
[25] Dru C. Gladney. *Ethnic Identity in China. The Making of a Muslim Minority Nationality*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College, 1998. 170.

[26] *The Constitution of the People's Republic of China: (Adopted on December 4, 1982, by the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China at its Fifth Session)*. New York; Pergamon Press, 1983. Article 4.
[27] Maria Jaschok, and Jingjun Shuí. *The History of Women's Mosques in Chinese Islam: A Mosque of Their Own*. Richmond, UK: Curzon, 2000. 15.
[28] "There are four main Sunni Muslim schools of thought, مذاهِب *madhāhib*, singular مَذْهَب *madhhab*. The Arabic meaning of *madhhab* is not "school" per se, but rather "creed, doctrine, and ideological denomination" and, by extension, "movement." However, within Sunni jurisprudence, *madhhab* stands for any of the four, canonically recognized law schools, namely, the *Hanafī*, the *Hanbali*, the *Māliki*, and the *Shafi'i*, all named after their founders even if it was only their students/disciples and followers who actually either founded the school or kept the tradition of its founder alive, thus resuming where it was left at the death of their leader. On the other hand, most Shiite Muslims follow the *Ja'farī* school of thought, from Ja'far al-Sādiq (702-765)." Joseph Abraham Levi. "Islam in Mozambique: A Not-So-Silent Presence," in *The City and the Ocean: Urbanity, (Im)migration, Memory, and Imagination. Proceedings of the 2010 International Conference of the Center for the Humanities and Social Sciences. National Sun Yat-sen University. Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2010*. Eds. Jonathan White, and I-Chun Wang. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholar Press, 2012. 96-121. 105.
[29] Dru C. Gladney. *Ethnic Identity in China. The Making of a Muslim Minority Nationality*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College, 1998. 170.
[30] Upon his return from Mecca, Medina, and particularly Basra, where he apparently studied with famous Muslim scholars (1740), Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1792), trained in the Hanbāli tradition, proclaimed the Uniqueness and Unity of God, *al-Tawhīd*, as the principal theory of his movement, which bears his name, *Wahabbism*. Aḥmad ibn Ḥajar Āl Bū Ṭāmī Āl ibn 'Alī. *Al-Shaikh Muhammad ibn 'Abd Al-Wahhab His Life and Reformatory Movement*. Lahore: N'umani Kutub Khana, 1981. 17-19; Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb. *Kitāb at-Tauḥīd*. Riyadh: Dar-us-Salam Publications, 1996.
[31] *The Constitution of the People's Republic of China: (Adopted on December 4, 1982, by the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China at its Fifth Session)*. New York; Pergamon Press, 1983. Article 36.
[32] Maria Jaschok, and Jingjun Shuí. *The History of Women's Mosques in Chinese Islam: A Mosque of Their Own*. Richmond, UK: Curzon, 2000. 78.
[33] Jonathan N. Lipman. *Familiar Strangers: A History of Muslims in Northwest China*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997. 50-51.
[34] The term *aljamia* (*aljamiado*) is used to designate not only a language of the current or former Islamic world written in Arabic script but also a language that contains lexical and, at times, morphosyntactic interferences from the Arabic language. All languages that had a direct or indirect contact with the Islamic world thus show a wide variety of lexical borrowings from Arabic and, through this language, of other languages—as in the case of فارسی *fārsī* (Persian) and *Osmanlī* Turkish عُثْمَانِيَّ—which, due to their high sociopolitical and cultural status, influenced considerably the Arabic language. The term *Osmalī* comes from عُثْمَانِيَّ *'uthmāniyyah*, or rather, Ottoman Turkish written in *aljamia* during the Ottoman Empire (ca. 1288-1922).
[35] Maria Jaschok, and Jingjun Shuí. *The History of Women's Mosques in Chinese Islam: A Mosque of Their Own*. Richmond, UK: Curzon, 2000. 90-93.
[36] Maria Jaschok, and Jingjun Shuí. *The History of Women's Mosques in Chinese Islam: A Mosque of Their Own*. Richmond, UK: Curzon, 2000. 488.
[37] Elizabeth Alles. "Muslim Religious Education in China." *China Perspectives* 2003 <http://chinaperspectives.revues.org/document230.html>.
[38] Maria Jaschok, and Jingjun Shuí. *The History of Women's Mosques in Chinese Islam: A Mosque of Their Own*. Richmond, UK: Curzon, 2000. 201.
[39] Dru C. Gladney. *Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the People's Republic*. Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1991.
[40] Maria Jaschok, and Jingjun Shuí. *The History of Women's Mosques in Chinese Islam: A Mosque of Their Own*. Richmond, UK: Curzon, 2000. 93; 113.
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