

SHEIKH YŪSUF AL-QARAḌĀWĪ IN CYBERSPACE¹

BY

BETTINA GRÄF*

Berlin

Abstract

The article introduces and analyses the homepage of the Azhar-trained Egyptian scholar Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī. This includes not only the analysis of the website's content but also of its context of production, i.e. Doha, a place that can be described as a hub of media-produced reality of Arabic-speaking Muslims since the mid-1990s. The author, Bettina Gräf, states that Qaraḍāwī was one of the first scholars to realise that the cooperation with journalists, editors, and producers of new media institutions would help to restore the influence of Muslim scholars in Muslim societies and worldwide. She identifies the techniques by which Qaraḍāwī's self-proclaimed position as a global Islamic authority is implemented on his website. The potential of Qaraḍāwī being recognised as a global authority, however, is questioned. The author argues that the relationships constitutive of his almost translocal authority were and still are negotiated in special sets of actions, namely in Qaṭar, Egypt, Palestine, Europe and, on the occasion of various conferences with a Sunni Islamist agenda, around the world. Although Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī's worldwide popularity, based on his activities in both the traditional and the new media, is beyond dispute, the author points to the necessity of distinguishing between popularity and authority.

The authority of a religious scholar (*‘ālim*) is by no means taken for granted today. On the contrary, it is subjected to competition by lay preachers, intellectuals, scientists, politicians and journalists, all of whom confer information as to what Islam is and how it should properly be put into practice.² How do scholars respond to these challenges and which strategies do they employ for coping with this competition?

* Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin.

¹ Paper presented at the 5th Annual Media Conference: "Religion, Media, and the Middle East", Beirut, 2–5 October 2005. I am grateful to Nadja-Christina Schneider and Alexandre Caeiro for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

² Eickelman and Piscatori call this phenomenon "fragmentation of sacred authority", see Dale Eickelman, and James Piscatori, *Muslim Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1996), p. 131. Following the German sociologist Wolfgang Sofsky I use the term authority for a mutual but asymmetrical relationship of recognition, being always negotiated, and not attainable by force. See Wolfgang Sofsky, *Figurationen sozialer Macht. Autorität—Stellvertretung—Koalition* (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1994), pp. 22–42.

In the present article, the website of the Qaṭar-based Egyptian scholar Yūsuf ‘Abdallāh al-Qaraḏāwī serves as a case study of such a response. This website, which forms part of his media activities, was the object of observation over a number of years. The ensuing examination intends to scrutinize both the image of Qaraḏāwī as conveyed by his website and the target groups for which this image is constructed. To this end, the following procedure will be employed: First, an overview of his website will be given. Subsequently, it will be argued that Qaraḏāwī’s website serves as a platform for his aspiration to recognition as a worldwide religious authority for Muslims. To a certain extent, this contradicts the theses of some researchers who have analysed Qaraḏāwī’s website purely in the context of a “Cyber Islamic Environment”, as Gary Bunt has done, or who conceive of it as part of a “Communauté virtuelle”, as proposed e. g. by Jon Anderson.³ The approach followed in this article is close to Ermete Mariani’s thesis that online *fatāwā* (legal opinions) and similar resources can be assessed only in connection with the technical and organisational context of the websites which present them. This seems to be the only way to avoid the perception of cyberspace as disconnected from the off-line world and also to understand the role which an ‘*ālim* can acquire in contemporary society.⁴

Yūsuf Qaraḏāwī, born in 1926 in the village of Saṭṭ Turāb in Egypt, can be described as an Azhar scholar who, in his younger days, was an active member of the Muslim Brotherhood and who has never given up his engagement as a *dā‘iya* for what he has called “the contemporary

³ Gary Bunt, *Islam in the Digital Age: E-Jihad, Online Fatwas and Cyber Islamic Environments* (London: Pluto Press, 2003); Jon Anderson, “Des communautés virtuelles? Vers une théorie ‘techno-pratique’ d’Internet dans le monde arabe”, in: *Maghreb-Machrek*, no. 178 (Hiver 2003-2004), pp. 45-105; for an overview before 2000, see Rüdiger Lohlker, *Islam im Internet: neue Formen der Religion im Cyberspace* (CD-ROM) (Hamburg: Deutsches Orient-Institut, 2000); see also the special issue: Yves Gonzalez-Quijano, “L’Internet Arabe. Introduction”, in: *Maghreb-Machrek*, no. 178 (Hiver 2003-2004), pp. 7-10, and Albrecht Hofheinz, “Das Internet und sein Beitrag zum Wertewandel in arabischen Gesellschaften”, in: *Politische und gesellschaftliche Debatten in Nordafrika, Nah- und Mittelost. Inhalte, Träger, Perspektiven*, ed. Sigrid Faath (Hamburg: Deutsches Orient-Institut, 2004), pp. 449-472.

⁴ Ermete Mariani, “Fatwa on-line: Proposition pour une méthode de lecture”, unpublished paper presented at the Fourth Mediterranean Social and Political Research Meeting, Florence & Montecatini Terme 19-23 March 2003, organised by the Mediterranean Programme of the Robert Schumann Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute.

message of Islam” (*al-fikr al-islāmī al-mu‘āṣir*).⁵ Living in Doha, the capital of Qaṭar, since the beginning of the 1960s, he has maintained close contacts to Islamist intellectuals and activists.⁶ QaraḌāwī’s political activities as a preacher have always transcended the local context of Doha and this also explains why he has, over time, been open to using a great variety of media channels.⁷

QaraḌāwī has not been involved in any political or juridical activities on a national level in Qaṭar.⁸ His mission is the dissemination of a contemporary Islam of balance and moderation (*al-wasaṭiyya wa-l-ʾiṭidāl*)⁹

⁵ Yūsuf QaraḌāwī, *Sāḥim fī taṭwīr al-mawqīʿ*, <http://www.qaradawi.net> (accessed Aug. 29, 2005).

⁶ See his three-part autobiography that covers his life up until 1977: Yūsuf al-QaraḌāwī, *Ibn al-qarya wa-l-kuttāb. Malāmiḥ sīra wa-masīra*, vol. 1-3 (Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq, 2002-2005). Armando Salvatore considers QaraḌāwī to be one of the most representative theorists of *al-ṣaḥwa al-islāmiyya*, see his *Islam and the Political Discourse of Modernity* (Berkshire: Ithaca Press, 1997), pp. 197-217. For further literature on QaraḌāwī, see the bibliography in the appendix.

⁷ For QaraḌāwī in different media, see Anne-Sofie Roald, “The Wise Men: Democratization and Gender Equalization in the Islamic Message: Yūsuf QaraḌāwī and Aḥmad al-Kubayshī on the Air”, in: *Encounters* 7, no. 1 (2001), pp. 29-55; Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen, “The Global Mufti”, in: *Globalization and the Muslim world: culture, religion, and modernity*, eds. Birgit Schaebler, and Leif Stenberg (Syracuse, N.Y.: University Press, 2004), pp. 153-165 and Barbara Stowasser, “Old Shaykhs, Young Women, and the Internet: The Rewriting of Women’s Political Rights in Islam”, in: *The Muslim World*, no. 91 (2001), pp. 99-119.

⁸ A successful strategy for scholars to gain recognition as religious authorities (and demonstrate it in terms of censorship) in the context of nation states is through (institutionalized) legitimisation of state politics as can be seen in Egypt under Ḥusnī Mubārak, see Gilles Kepel, *Der Prophet und der Pharao* (München, Zürich: Piper, 1995; 1993), p. 18.

⁹ *Wasaṭiyya* is an ideological term supported not only by QaraḌāwī, but by many others especially after 9/11. The term was coined by QaraḌāwī since the 1970s. It refers to the maintenance of balance between old and new as well as between the different Islamic legal schools and doctrines (including the *shīʿa*) based on the *ummātān wasaṭān* concept in the Koran (2/143). *Iṭidāl* is the opposite term to extremism (*taṭarruf*), which, according to QaraḌāwī, can include both secular and radical trends. Out of his more than 120 books, see his *al-Ṣaḥwa al-islāmiyya bayna l-juḥūd wa-l-taṭarruf* (Qaṭar, 1982) or recently his *Khiṭābunā al-islāmī fī ‘aṣr al-ʿawlama* (Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq, 2004), p. 9. See also Raymond William Baker, “Building the World in a Global Age”, in: *Religion, Social Practice, and Contested Hegemonies. Reconstructing the Public Sphere in Muslim Majority Societies*, eds. Armando Salvatore, and Mark Le Vine (New York: Palgrave, 2005), pp. 109-131. Baker relates *wasaṭiyya* to Islamic mainstream or mainstream centrist intellectuals (cf. *ibid.*, p. 111). In 2005 a conference was held in Kuwait, organised by the Ministry for Religious Affairs, with the title *al-Wasaṭiyya...minḥaj al-ḥayāt*. In the following year a second conference, also organized by the Ministry, took place in Washington. Also in 2006 a global *wasaṭiyya* centre was founded in Kuwait (*al-Markaz al-ʿālāmī li-l-wasaṭiyya*). This centre has strong relations to Yūsuf al-QaraḌāwī as becomes obvious from a conference organised in honour of QaraḌāwī in July 2007 in Doha (*Multaqā*

that can be adopted and accommodated by many, both elites and a broader public, to their own purposes. Qaraḏāwī's first and most influential book *The Lawful and the Prohibited in Islam* was first published in 1959, and has since been reprinted more than fifteen times and translated into many languages.¹⁰

Meanwhile he has become a very popular scholar. This is no doubt due to his presence in print and the electronic media. Qaraḏāwī as a media figure is attributed different functions in different contexts. For many organised European Muslims his views count as an important reference point for questions of religious practice. In these contexts his name serves as a legitimisation of their identity as Muslims.¹¹ For non-Muslims the name Qaraḏāwī operates (increasingly) either as a symbol of the Muslim other, from which one has to distinguish oneself, or as an example for non-violent action and a partner for dialogue.¹²

It is certainly no coincidence that one of the most popular contemporary Muslim scholars lives in Doha, a place that can be described as the hub of media production for Arabic-speaking Muslims since the foundation of the satellite TV station al-Jazīra in 1996, the Internet

al-imām al-Qaraḏāwī). Other conferences, differing in protagonists and aims, are organized. These include, for example, a conference in Bahrain by *Muntadā al-fikr al-ʿarabī* with the title *al-Waṣāṭiyya bayna l-tanzīr wa-t-taḥḏīr* (conference volume published in Amman, 2006).

¹⁰ *Al-halāl wa-l-ḥarām fī l-islām*, 15th edition, (Beirut, Damascus, Amman: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1994; ¹1959).

¹¹ For example, together with Tāriq Ramaḏān and ʿAmr Khālīd, al-Qaraḏāwī was invited to the highly publicised annual conference of the Muslim Association of Britain (MAB) in London, 2004.

¹² As an example of the latter, see Greater London Authority, *Why the Mayor of London will Maintain Dialogues with all of London's Faiths and Communities. A Reply to the Dossier against the Mayor's Meeting with Dr. Yūsuf al-Qaraḏāwī* (London, 2005). For an opposite view, see how Qaraḏāwī is portrayed at the Internet portal of the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), <http://www.memri.org>, or recently Alexander Dietrich, "Scheich Yussuf Mustafa al-Kardawi schürt im Karikaturen-Streit Hass. Seine Worte gelten vielen Moslems mehr als die ihrer Staatschefs", in: *Die Welt* (February 7, 2006). For the complex relationship between identity and media, see Carsten Winter, Tanja Thomas, Andreas Hepp, "Medienidentitäten. Eine Hinführung zu den Diskussionen", in: *Medienidentitäten. Identität im Kontext von Globalisierung und Medienkultur*, eds. Carsten Winter, Tanja Thomas, Andreas Hepp (Köln: Herbert von Halem Verlag, 2003), pp. 7-26.

portals *IslamOnline*¹³ and *IslamWeb*,¹⁴ as well as of Internet technology companies like *iHorizons*.¹⁵ The question to which extent Qaraḍāwī's worldwide popularity has not only increased his renown but also strengthened his position as a religious authority is vital and touches on the general possibility of gaining media-produced religious authority.

I

Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī's website with the domain name *Qaradawi.net* has been on the Web since January 9, 1997. It was the first personal site of an 'ālim in Arabic.¹⁶ The site is produced in Doha, the capital of Qaṭar, by the Internet company *iHorizons*. Its founder, the Qaṭari-born Palestinian Muḥammad at-Takrītī, is a graduate of the Faculty of Engineering at Qaṭar University. It was he who had the idea of creating a website for Yūsuf Qaraḍāwī in 1996. The result, *www.qaradawi.net*, was

¹³ *IslamOnline.net* (IOL) has been online since 1999 in Arabic and English. It counts as one of the most visited Islamic sites. The body behind the website is the Al-Balāgh Cultural Society which was established in 1997 on the initiative of the Qaṭari Maryam Ḥasan al-Ḥajārī, an IT student from the University of Qaṭar, and the Qaṭari Dr. Ḥamid al-Anṣārī, a scholar at the Shari'a Faculty, University of Qaṭar. In the beginning, the project was supported by the University of Qaṭar and especially by Yūsuf Qaraḍāwī, who is still the chairman of the Al-Balāgh Society today. The headquarters and IT development of IOL are based in Doha, while most of the content is produced by more than 150 employees at the IOL offices in Cairo. IOL is mainly financed by donations and by selling its technical know-how to other Islamic institutions. Personal communication with Maryam Ḥasan al-Ḥajārī, Doha, Dec. 4, 2005.

¹⁴ See <http://www.islamweb.net>. *IslamWeb* has been online since 1999. It is produced by the ministry of *awqāf* in Doha in Arabic, English and French and is financed by the Qaṭari state.

¹⁵ Today *iHorizons* is the biggest IT company in Qaṭar and is also very successful in the other Gulf countries. Along with Qaraḍāwī, this company's clients include, among others, two private Qaṭari daily newspapers (*al-Rāya* and *al-Sharq*), the television channel al-Jazīra as well as the official information site of the state of Qaṭar (<http://www.qatarinfo.net>).

¹⁶ In comparison, <http://www.bayynat.org>, the website of the Lebanese Ayatollah Muḥammad Ḥusayn Faḍlallāh has been online since Nov. 17, 1999 and that of the Syrian Sheikh Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Būṭī (<http://www.bouti.net>) since July 20, 2000. This information is retrievable from <http://www.alexa.com> and <http://www.archive.org>. I would like to thank Dr. Albrecht Hofheinz who was the first to provide me with information on Internet statistics. As of the mid-1980s religious sources are digitalised in Qom and made accessible for internal use, see Stefan Rosiny, "Internet et la *marja'iyya*. L'autorité religieuse au défi des nouveaux médias", in: *Maghreb-Machrek*, no. 178 (Hiver 2003-2004), p. 61. For the website of al-Būṭī, see Sandra Houtot, "Culture religieuse et média électronique: Le cas du cheikh Muḥammad al-Būṭī", in: *Maghreb-Machrek*, no. 178 (Hiver 2003-2004), pp. 75-88.

and remains his *zakāt* in service to the Muslim community and, at the same time, an advertisement for his company.¹⁷ As of 2001, the web address is registered in Toronto, Canada, while previously, from 1997 to 2001, the host-provider was in the United States.¹⁸

The site was initially composed in Arabic and English. It opened with an elaborately designed picture, in which Qaraḍāwī was portrayed as a preacher of a just Islamic order in a global context. Qaraḍāwī was presented in the following way: He stood on a podium to the right wearing a white *jallabiyya*, a brown *quṭiān* and a red-and-white *‘imma* on his head, which is the attire of the Azhar scholars. His right index finger was raised. The centre of the picture was filled by a golden scale and a revolving globe. To the left, a mosque with a green dome and minaret could be seen. Above the globe there was a Koran with a sword behind it. From right to left the following Koranic verse ran in Kufic script: *Wa-kadhālika ja‘alnākum ummatan wasaṭan li-takūnū shuhadā’a ‘alā l-nāsi wa-yakūna al-rasūlu ‘alaykum shahīdan* (“Thus, have We made of you an Umma justly balanced, that ye might be witnesses over the nations, and the Messenger a witness over yourselves”).¹⁹ The top of the picture was framed by the sentence *Ṣafahāt al-Qaraḍāwī ‘alā l-intirniṭ*, while its English translation “Qaraḍawi’s pages on the Internet” ran along the bottom of the picture.²⁰ The website had little structure and did not provide very much content until it was redesigned and restructured in June 2001 and became a highly elaborate site.²¹

The layout has since been simplified. The site now uses only Arabic. The new header is divided into three parts and consists of Qaraḍāwī’s name (calligraphically written in red and orange) and a periodically changing slogan next to a portrait of Qaraḍāwī. Slogans selected for the

¹⁷ See <http://www.ihorizons.com>; accessed on Aug. 30, 2005 and personal communication with Dr. Hāmid al-Anṣārī, the co-founder of the Internet portal *IslamOnline.net*, Doha, Dec. 6, 2005.

¹⁸ <http://www.allwhois.com> (accessed Aug. 29, 2005).

¹⁹ Koran 2/143, Yūsuf ‘Alī translation.

²⁰ <http://www.archive.org/web/20010105183700/http://qaradawi.net> (accessed Aug. 25, 2005).

²¹ The reasons for this were largely technical. Up until 1999 no browser software was able to visualise Arabic characters. The first browser to solve the problem was Internet Explorer 5.0 (Microsoft). This technology also enabled for the first time Arabic-language websites to contain and offer interactive features and dynamic linking.

website include, for instance, *Muqāwamat al-ẓulm lā takūn illā bi-l-wasā'il al-mashrū'iyya* (Resist injustice only with legal means) in August 2005, or *Mahrajān munāṣarat al-shaykh al-QaraḌāwī* (Celebration in support of Sheikh QaraḌāwī) in February 2005.²² The Koranic verse 2/143 in Kufic script can still be seen in yellow script against a blue background.²³

Below the header follow the site's contents, divided into three columns. To the right are the links to the individual categories, 21 in total. In the centre the current news items of and about QaraḌāwī with respective dates are presented. Every news item is complemented by a picture, mostly QaraḌāwī's portrait or QaraḌāwī preaching. The left side provides the internal search engine, a box for regular opinion polls, a section offering the opportunity to join the email lists (which unfortunately do not work), as well as three promotional links. The first of these is directly linked to QaraḌāwī's own site, to the column *Sāhim fī taṭwīr al-mawqī'* (Participate in the development of the website). The second link leads to the home page of a campaign established by QaraḌāwī in 2001: "In solidarity with the people of Palestine to ease the effects of the blockade imposed by the occupying forces and in support of their steadfastness". The campaign is titled *I'tilāf al-khayr* (Union for Good).²⁴ Finally, the third promotional link advertises the Qaṭari-based IT company *iHorizons*. On the *iHorizons* company page, QaraḌāwī's Internet entry reads as follows:

Horizons, the leading Internet software and content management solution provider in the region, has launched the new website of Dr. Yousef Al Qaradawi (www.qaradawi.net) using the advanced technologies of PublishArabia.com (...) Horizons originally created Qaradawi.net about four years ago as a non-profit project that aims to convey Dr. Qaradawi's moderate and contemporary Islamic views to the whole world through the Internet, which is becoming a more dominant communication medium in this era. (...).²⁵

As previously mentioned, the extensive contents of the website are structured in 21 categories. These can be subdivided into content-related (13), organisational (6) and interactive (2).

²² *Ṣafha ra'ṣiyya*, <http://www.qaradawi.net> (accessed Aug. 30, 2005 and Feb. 22, 2005).

²³ Also in the following: <http://www.qaradawi.net> (accessed Aug. 30, 2005).

²⁴ <http://www.101days.org> (accessed Aug. 30, 2005). According to *Alexa.com* the homepage is produced in Belgium, <http://www.alexa.com> (accessed Aug. 30, 2005).

²⁵ http://www.ihorizons.com/site/topics/article.asp?cu_no=2&item_no=36&version=1&template_id=43#undefined (accessed Aug. 30, 2005).

The interactive category contains “Discussion forums” (*Muntadayāt al-niqāsh*) and “Opinion polls” (*Taṣwīt*). The discussion forums have been available since 2003. They invite users to voice their opinion, with express reference to the protection of freedom of speech on the one hand and libel on the other. By August 2005 there were six forums.²⁶

The organisational category comprises “Statistical information about the site” (*Li-l-īlān fī l-mawqīʿ*), another invitation to (financially) support the development of the page (*Sāhim fī taṭwīr al-mawqīʿ*), an announcement for Qaraḏāwī’s two weekly television shows *Al-sharīʿa wa-l-ḥayāt* on the satellite television channel al-Jazīra²⁷ and *Hādī l-islām* on Qaṭar television²⁸ (*Mawāʿid al-barāmij al-tilifīziyūniyya*), the invitation to link Qaraḏāwī’s website with one’s own page (*Irbaṭ mawqīʿak bi-ṣafāḥāt al-Qaraḏāwī*), a “Service Centre” (*Markaz al-musāʿada*) and the contact address (*Itṭaṣil binā*).

Unlike comparable Islamic websites, such as *Bouti.net*, the page of the Syrian scholar Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Būṭī, or *Bayyinat.org*, the webpage of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Faḏlallāh from Lebanon,²⁹ the organisational part of Qaraḏāwī’s page lays emphasis on the promotion and networking of Qaraḏāwī’s website. It is described as a non-profit civilizational project (*mashrūʿ ḥaḏārī khayrī*). Thus, the aim of the Qaraḏāwī project is the dissemination of a contemporary version of Islamic thought that is characterised by three principles advocated by him: balance (*al-wasaṭiyya*), moderation (*al-ītidāl*) and ease (*al-taysīr*).³⁰ Qaraḏāwī’s homepage could

²⁶ “The reason for our crisis towards our enemy!” (since July 19, 2003, 121 entries, 18 discussions), “Unemployment and job opportunities” (since Aug. 24, 2004, 22 entries, one discussion), “Open contact between man and woman” (since Oct. 2, 2004, 79 entries, 15 discussions), “How to prepare for Ramadan” (since Oct. 11, 2004, 8 entries, one discussion), “Why is Qaraḏāwī criticised?” (since Feb. 15, 2005, 17 entries, no discussion), “The benefits of the trade boycott against America and Israel” (since June 26, 2005, 95 entries, nine discussions) (accessed Aug. 29, 2005). There was no development of the discussion forums since then.

²⁷ Since 1996 Qaraḏāwī has been a regular guest on this programme. Al-Jazīra’s estimated audience lies between 35 and 45 millions, see Abdo Jamil Al-Mikhlaḥ, *Al-Jazeera. Ein regionaler Spieler auf globaler Bühne* (Marburg: Schüren Verlag, 2006), pp. 112ff.

²⁸ This programme began in the early 1970s and runs to this day. See S. Abdallah Schleifer, “Interview with Sheikh Yūsuf Qaraḏāwī, 17 Oct., 2004 in Doha, Qatar”, in: *TBS Journal* 13, no. 3 (2004), available from <http://www.tbsjournal.com/Archives/Fall04/interview-yusufqaradawi.htm> and Qaraḏāwī, *Ibn al-qarya wa-l-kuttāb*, vol. 3, p. 240.

²⁹ <http://www.bouti.net> and <http://www.bayyinat.org> (accessed Aug. 30, 2005).

³⁰ *Sāhim fī taṭwīr al-mawqīʿ*, <http://www.qaradawi.net> (accessed Aug. 29, 2005).

be seen as part of what William Baker has called “(...) an Islamist project of peaceful resistance, intellectual reform, and gradual social transformation in the unprecedented conditions of a globalized world”.

Baker also states that these mainstream centrist intellectuals

explain patiently that in contemporary conditions the realization of the *maṣlaḥa ʿamma* is tied not so much to particular arenas of civic and political action but rather to the strengthening of an Islamic civilizational identity without which neither effective resistance nor self-directed reform is possible.³¹

The content-related part does not only revolve around Qaraḍāwī's texts and doctrine, but also focuses to a great extent on himself and his activities. Accordingly, the 13 content-related categories could also be subdivided as follows: written and spoken texts, activities, and news. Beginning with the texts, the user can read the introductions of at least 20 of Qaraḍāwī's published books, some 150 legal opinions (*fatāwā*) and his last 15 sermons from the ʿUmar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb mosque in Doha. The header for the legal opinions is not titled *Fatāwā*, as on al-Būṭī's and Faḍlallāh's pages, but *Fatāwā wa-aḥkām* and includes legal opinions as well as political comments. The questions of the *mustaḥṣin* are often not included.³² The title to the Sermons category is not *Khuṭab*, as is the case with al-Būṭī or *Khuṭbat al-jumʿa* as with Faḍlallāh, but *Khuṭab wa-muḥāḍarāt*. In addition to Friday sermons from Doha, this category contains sermons on special occasions and general lectures given before different audiences at different locations on the subjects of reform and law, women, the environment, and the Islamic community (*umma*). Also included are the categories “Poems and literature” (*Shiʿr wa-adab*) and “Articles” (*Maqālāt*), consisting of texts about Qaraḍāwī, mainly from the three Qaṭari daily newspapers *al-Waṭan*, *al-Sharq* and *al-Rāya*, as well as from the above-mentioned website *IslamOnline.net*.

Users can gain insight into Qaraḍāwī's activities under the following headings: “Palestine under siege” (*Filasṭīn taḥta l-ḥiṣār*), “Conventions and conferences” (*Nadawāt wa-muʿtamarāt*), “Television programmes and meetings” (*Barāmij wa-liqāʾāt*), and, as of 2005, “Documents and declara-

³¹ Baker, *Building the World*, pp. 111f.

³² For research on *fatāwā* and Internet, see Gary Bunt, “Interface Dialogues and the Online Fatwā”, in: *ISIM Newsletter*, no. 6 (2000), p. 12, *idem*: *Islam in the Digital Age*, and Matthias Brückner, *Fatwas zum Alkohol unter dem Einfluss neuer Medien im 20. Jahrhundert*, Arbeitsmaterialien zum Orient, Band 7 (Würzburg: Ergon, 2001).

tions" (*Wathā'iq wa-bayānāt*). These are not mere announcements of such events, but include the full original contributions by Qaraḏāwī. Of particular interest here is the TV programme *Al-shar'ā wa-l-hayāt*, the contents of which, including viewers' questions and comments, are fully transcribed and available on the Net within 48 hours of the first transmission.³³

The homepage thus shows Yūsuf Qaraḏāwī's range of activity. According to the website, Yūsuf Qaraḏāwī annually participates in approximately 15 conferences in Asia, Europe, Africa, and on the Arabian Peninsula. Among the hosts are, for instance, the *Fiqh Academy of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference*, the Cairo-based *Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies*, various universities and dialogue forums, as well as the *European Council for Fatwa and Research* (ECFR)³⁴ and the *International Association of Muslim Scholars* (IAMS)³⁵. The latter two are Dublin-based organizations of which he was a co-founder. The subjects range from Islamic law (*shar'ā*) with respect to issues like medicine, family, women and economy, to democracy, terrorism and inter-religious dialogue. The global Islamic community (*al-umma al-islāmiyya al-ʿālamīyya*) is always the core issue that must be protected and defended.

II

In the following it will be argued that Yūsuf al-Qaraḏāwī's website serves as a means of enhancing his claim to global Islamic authority.

³³ This service is provided by <http://www.aljazeera.net>, the website of the Qatari-based satellite channel al-Jazīra. Since the beginning of *Aljazeera.net* in 1998 every one of its at least seven weekly live programmes has been transcribed. The chief editor of *Aljazeera.net* 'Abd al-Azīz Ibrāhīm Āl Maḥmūd is still reflecting on the usefulness of this work, because it is far from clear who is going to read all these texts. Personal communication with 'Abd al-Azīz Āl Maḥmūd, Doha, Dec. 11, 2005.

³⁴ See their website <http://www.e-cfr.org> and Alexandre Caeiro, "Transnational 'Ulama, European Fatwas, and Islamic Authority: A Case Study of the European Council for Fatwa and Research", in: *Production and Dissemination of Islamic Knowledge in Western Europe*, ed. Martin van Bruinessen (London: Routledge, 2008).

³⁵ See Bettina Gräf, "In Search of Global Islamic Authority", in: *ISIM Review*, no. 15 (Spring 2005). The association has had a website since Nov. 2005 (<http://www.iuonline.net>). Since then the English translation of the Arabic title has been changed to International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS). The technical work on the site was carried out by *IslamOnline* in Cairo.

The cyberspace as a computer-generated channel of communication is commonly based on interaction and networking. Interaction means that everybody can simultaneously be producer and recipient, being enabled not only to consume but also to act and react. With the cross-linking of computers it is possible to bridge geographical and political boundaries. With respect to the three criteria of interaction, networking and localization, it has been observed that Qaraḍāwī's website widely ignores the potentially global range of interaction offered by the Internet. The possibilities of cross-linking and of constructing a global profile, however, have been used to the full.

1. Interaction

In his article on the "Internet and the *Marja'iyya*" Stefan Rosiny raises the question of the purpose which the personal websites of a *marja'* (religious authority within a *shī'i* context) like Shaykh Faḍlallāh may serve.³⁶ Apart from the possibilities of crossing national boundaries and bypassing censorship as well as conveying a positive picture of the authentic Islamic culture, he emphasises the communication with the *imām* via e-mail. This service and therefore the virtual contact are not available on Qaraḍāwī's page. In the category *Fatāwā wa-aḥkām*, the user is referred to the Internet portal *IslamOnline.net*.³⁷ The category *Fatāwā wa-aḥkām* otherwise includes *fatāwā* that have a relation to current affairs (with information on the various sources) as well as unsolicited comments by Qaraḍāwī, such as his condemnation of terrorist attacks written on October 2, 2001, shortly after 9/11. It equally includes a *fatwā* that calls for the boycott of American and Israeli products as from April 14, 2002 in support of the second Intifada.³⁸

³⁶ Rosiny, "Internet et la marja'iyya", p. 67.

³⁷ Here *fatāwā* can be requested ("Ask the Scholar")—although the *mustafī* does not know which *muftī* will answer—or one can attend the "Live Fatwa" meetings or use the "Fatwa Bank", where *fatāwā* by different scholars are archived, see <http://www.islamonline.net>. Addressing Qaraḍāwī directly is therefore not possible in this portal either.

³⁸ The last mentioned *fatwā* was taken from a Friday prayer by Qaraḍāwī. Quoted as follows: "*Al-maṣḍar: Khuṭbat al-jum'a bi-taṣarruf*," see *Fatāwā wa-aḥkām*, <http://www.qaradawi.net> (accessed Nov. 5, 2002). The IT company *iHorizons* works together with the US's Microsoft Corporation. Microsoft has been investing in the Arab-speaking software market since the early 1990s, first in Kuwait and later also in Bahrain and Qaṭar. Taking into consider-

The presentation of *fatāwā* was altered and systematised in 2004³⁹ by the Egyptian scholar Akram Kassāb, Yūsuf Qaraḏāwī's new secretary, who is responsible for the selection of *fatāwā* to be placed on the Net. He also cooperates with *IslamOnline* in Cairo, who since 2005 have taken over the technical and organisational support of *Qaradawi.net* from *iHorizons*.⁴⁰ Now, the user can retrieve Qaraḏāwī's *fatāwā* on 12 different subjects. Among these are the four religious duties (apart from the *shahāda*), religious dogmas and metaphysics, festivities, social relationships, women issues, banking and loans, current affairs, religious knowledge, propaganda, and *jihād*, as well as general *fatāwā*.⁴¹ They are now almost exclusively quoted from the archives of the Internet portal *IslamOnline.net*. While before the systematisation the number of accessible *fatāwā* was under 40, it has now risen to 144.⁴² Contact with the public is probably no less important to Qaraḏāwī than to Faḏlallāh or al-Būṭī, but he does not use the website to establish it. Discussion groups and opinion polls on the website do not serve the purpose of interacting with him. For Qaraḏāwī himself the Internet, like other media, is just another channel for the distribution of knowledge. He himself does not use computers at all. On the question why he publishes *fatāwā* on the Internet, he says that by this he is meeting people's demand for answers to their questions. First he only issued *fatwās* in the mosque after prayer, then on Qaṭar radio, on Qaṭar TV and later on satellite TV, and then on the Internet. In this respect, however, he does not discuss the qualitative difference between a *fatwā* given face-to-face and an online *fatwā*, or the implications of these different channels for questions of authority, scope and validity.⁴³ Qaraḏāwī, in fact, concerns himself with *fatāwā* as tools for a renewal within the Islamic tradition. He

ation the technical requirements in soft and hardware, the boycott on US products seems inconsistent, to say the least.

³⁹ *Fatāwā wa-aḥkām*, <http://www.qaradawi.net> (accessed Nov. 15, 2004 and Nov. 29, 2004).

⁴⁰ Personal communication with Akram Kassāb, Doha, Dec. 14, 2005 and with the Egyptian journalist at *IslamOnline* Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Jawād, Cairo, March 24, 2007.

⁴¹ *Al-ḥajj wa-l-'umra*, *al-ṣalāt*, *al-ṣiyām*, *al-zakāt*, *al-'aḳā'id wa-l-ghaybiyyāt*, *al-'alāqāt al-ijtimā'iyya*, *al-mar'a*, *al-bunūk wa-l-qurūd*, *aḥdāth mu'āṣira*, *al-'id*, *al-'ilm wa-l-da'wa wa-l-jihād*, *fatāwā 'amma*.

⁴² *Fatāwā wa-aḥkām*, <http://www.qaradawi.net> (accessed Aug. 14, 2005).

⁴³ Personal communication with Yūsuf al-Qaraḏāwī, Doha, Dec. 23, 2005.

indicates that *fatāwā* always change depending on time, place, customs and circumstances (*inna l-fatwā tataghayyar bi-taghayyur al-zamān wa-l-makān wa-l-ʿurf wa-l-ḥāl*); Islam itself, however, does not change. Why *fatāwā* should now have worldwide validity, he does not say.⁴⁴

2. Networking

Qaradāwī's website is very well connected, particularly with that of the Qaṭar-based TV broadcasting station al-Jazīra (www.aljazeera.net) and with the portal *IslamOnline.net*, but also with the website of the *European Council for Fatwa and Research* (www.e-cfr.org). The example of the establishment of the *International Union of Muslim Scholars* (IUMS) shows that *Qaradawi.net* is not the only platform to present him as a global authority. The idea is equally supported by other media. The foundation of the IUMS on July 14, 2004 was announced both on *IslamOnline.net* (in English and Arabic) as well as on *Qaradawi.net*, including links to several files reporting on its inaugural meeting, Qaradāwī's speeches, the mission statement, etc. Among other things, the mission statement of July 11, 2005 declared that the establishment of the association had the function of forming a global Islamic authority (*takwīn al-marjiʿiyya al-islāmiyya al-ʿālamīyya*).⁴⁵ A few days later a whole programme on al-Jazīra's *Al-sharīʿa wa-l-ḥayāt* was dedicated to the forming of the IUMS. This programme was published

⁴⁴ For Qaradāwī's reflections on contemporary *fatāwā*, see the introductory parts of his *Fatāwā muʿāshira*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Dār al-Qalam, 1981 (second edition, 1979), vol. 2 (al-Manṣūra: Dār al-Wafāʾ, 1994 (third edition, 1993), vol. 3 (Kuwait: Dār al-Qalam, 2002 (second edition, 2001) as well as the booklet *Al-fatwā bayna l-īdībāt wa-l-tasayyub* (Beirut, Damascus, Amman: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1995 (third edition, 1988). See also his two essays in the periodical *al-Muslim al-Muʿāshir*: "Al-fatwā bayna l-māḍī wa-l-ḥāḍir" (1), no. 5 (1976), pp. 53-75 and Part 2 in no. 6 (1976), pp. 65-85. I would like to thank Lutz Rogler for providing me with copies. The topic "Change of Fatwa" has also been brought up in the programme *Al-sharīʿa wa-l-ḥayāt*. One can find the transcripts under: *Barāmij wa-liqāʾāt*, <http://www.qaradawi.net> (of Apr. 25, 2004, May 2, 2004, May 9, 2004, Nov. 14, 2004, Jan. 2, 2005 and May 21, 2006). The role of *muftīs* acting in the context of a nation-state is discussed, for example, by Brinkley Messick, see his "Media muftis: radio fatwas in Yemen", in: *Islamic legal interpretation: muftis and their fatwas*, eds. Muhammad Khalid Masud, Brinkley Messick, and David Powers (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard Univ. Press, 1996).

⁴⁵ *Nadawāt wa-muʿtamarāt: Naṣṣ al-bayān al-taʾsīs li-l-ittihād al-ʿālamī li-ʿulamāʾ al-muslimīn*, <http://www.qaradawi.net> (accessed July 27, 2004).

on the Net (on *Aljazeera.net* and *Qaradawi.net*) on July 27, 2005.⁴⁶ In addition, from that day on, Qaraḍāwī has always been referred to as the chairman of the IUMS in the above-mentioned media and also in Qaṭar's three daily newspapers. Through the continuous use of this title in these media, facts are not only reported but also created. Other media have likewise adopted the use of the title and consequently, irrespective of the IUMS's actual activities, Qaraḍāwī is now always associated with a body of scholars that supposedly has a global influence. In addition, he has occasionally been described as *imām al-umma al-akbar* (the great Imam of the Islamic community).⁴⁷ Seen from this angle, the invitation to the user to link his page with Qaraḍāwī's website, conspicuously placed on *Qaradawi.net*, appears to be a well-devised PR strategy. Qaraḍāwī's claim of being an *ʿālim* with global authority can thus increase its credibility. The strategy was successful.⁴⁸ A total of 117 other websites now offer a link to Qaraḍāwī's site, whereas, in comparison, *Bouti.net* has only two links and *Bayyinat.org* thirty-nine.⁴⁹

3. Localization

Looking at the main frame of Qaraḍāwī's homepage a little more closely, we notice that Qaṭar is an important location for Qaraḍāwī's activities. Not only do many academic and theological events take place there, but the country itself also gains in importance. In one of his essays, for instance, Qaraḍāwī writes that no one in Qaṭar has ever dictated to him what he may or may not say. In another article he describes Qaṭar as a peaceful society.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ *Barāmij wa-liqā'āt: Al-sharī'a wa-l-ḥayāt: Al-ittihād al-ʿālamī li-ʿulamā' al-muslimīn*, <http://www.qaradawi.net> (accessed July 27, 2004).

⁴⁷ For example in the Qaṭari dailies *al-Rāya* (Sept. 18, 2006) and *al-Sharq* (Jan. 30, 2007).

⁴⁸ This is probably not left to chance. Besides his cross-linking in the media, institutional cross-linking as well as his personal network play an important part in the propagation of his name and his project.

⁴⁹ <http://www.alexa.com> (accessed Aug. 30, 2005). The sites cover a wide spectrum, ranging from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (<http://www.web.mit.edu>) and the Berkman Centre for Internet and Society (<http://www.cyber.law.harvard.edu>) to Young Muslims UK (<http://www.ymuk.net>), the ECFR (<http://www.e-cfr.org>) or the Syrian Muslim Brothers (<http://www.ikhwan-muslimoon-syria.org>).

⁵⁰ *Nadawāt wa-mu'tamarāt: Nuthamminu mawāqif Qaṭar fī musānadat al-ʿulamā'*, <http://www>.

In addition, Qaradāwī turns to Muslims all around the world, to *al-umma al-islāmiyya al-‘ālamīyya*. The continuously changing opinion polls deal repeatedly with questions concerning the state of the Islamic community, for example: “Who is responsible for the crisis of the *umma* in Iraq?” or “Is such a solidarity event useful for the *umma*?”⁵¹ Thus, the *umma islāmiyya* is a continuous point of reference in a variety of sections of *Qaradawi.net*.⁵² The fight for independence in Palestine and, later, the resistance to the invasion of Iraq are allotted special prominence. The expressed solidarity with the “brothers and sisters” in Palestine and in Iraq articulates a concern and a responsibility for a common cause, giving individual Muslims the impression of being connected to an imagined Islamic community. This idea of a worldwide Islamic *umma* is reinforced by the IUMS, who claim to stand for all Muslims, irrespective of their different denominations.⁵³

European Muslims are not focused upon in any particular manner on *Qaradawi.net*. Despite the fact that Qaradāwī is the chairman of the *European Council* and has, for example, committed himself to the release of French and Italian hostages in Iraq⁵⁴ or joined the debate about the *hijāb* in France⁵⁵, he is by no means presented as a scholar for Europe. His extensive collection of *fatāwā* concerning a jurisprudence of

qaradawi.net of Feb. 20, 2005, and *Akhbār al-Qaradāwī: Al-mujtama‘ al-qatari‘ amn*, <http://www.qaradawi.net> of Mar. 21, 2005, (accessed Aug. 25, 2005). This expression has certainly a special meaning for members or ex-members of the Muslim Brotherhood who had to go to exile after Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir took power in Egypt. Many of them, with Qaradāwī being a famous example, are still living in Qaṭar. They also constitute part of his supporters in Qaṭar and beyond.

⁵¹ *Aḥḍa ra‘ṣiyya: ‘Alā man taqā‘u mas’ūliyyat haẓīmat al-umma al-islāmiyya al-yawm fī l-‘Irāq?*, <http://www.qaradawi.net> of June 14, 2003 (accessed June 17, 2003) and *aḥḍa ra‘ṣiyya*, <http://www.qaradawi.net> of Mar. 21, 2005 (accessed Apr. 18, 2005).

⁵² For instance, in a prayer in June 2003 with the title “Six lessons from the last events the *umma* has witnessed”, see *Khuṭab wa-muḥāḍarāt: Al-durūs al-sitta min al-aḥdāth al-akhīra allatī marrat bi-l-umma*, <http://www.qaradawi.net> (accessed July 8, 2005).

⁵³ Fred Halliday and others have already demonstrated that the term *umma* always implies a combination of discursive construction and social practice in different local and historical contexts, see his “The Politics of the Umma: State and Community in Islamic Movements”, in: *Shaping the Current Islamic Reformation*, ed. B.A. Roberson (London, Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003), pp. 20-41.

⁵⁴ *Wathā‘iq wa-bayānāt*, <http://www.qaradawi.net> (accessed Aug. 30, 2005).

⁵⁵ *Akhbār al-Qaradāwī: Al-rābi‘ min sabtambir al-muqbil yawman dawliyyan li-l-taḍammun ma‘a al-muḥājibāt al-urubīyyāt*, <http://www.qaradawi.net> (accessed Sep. 21, 2004).

minorities (*fiqh al-aqalliyyāt*), for instance, published in the third volume of his *Contemporary Legal Opinions* in 2001, cannot be found on his page.⁵⁶

Looking at Internet users, it becomes evident that the Arabic Internet has long ceased to be used only by a minority in the Diaspora. Although the numbers in 2001 still corresponded to the customary assumption that most users of the Arabic-language Web come from the USA, followed by Europe and the Arab countries, things had changed by 2004. The bulk of the users today come from the Gulf States and Egypt.⁵⁷

III Conclusion

On his website, Yūsuf Qaraḍāwī presents himself as a scholar bearing responsibility for Muslims in the whole world.

There is a clear starting point for his activities: without the basis of the location in Qaṭar his activities would not be conceivable, neither on an intellectual nor on an organisational and financial level. There are further places that are important hubs for his thoughts and actions, such as Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, Ireland, Britain and others, as is evident from his website. In this respect he could be described neither as a global nor as a Qaṭari scholar, but as a scholar whose authority is

⁵⁶ al-Qaraḍāwī, *Fatāwā mu'āṣira*, vol. 3, 2002. The introductory part at least is available under *Kutub*, <http://www.qaradawi.net>.

⁵⁷ According to the Global Internet Statistics by Language, among all Internet users in September 2004, 35.8% were English-speaking, 37.9% were allotted to other European languages and 1.4% to Arabic languages (corresponding to approx. 13.5 million users). In comparison, the German-speaking share was 7.3% or 52.9 million users. Of the 13.5 million Arabic-speaking Internet users in 2004, 5.1 million were from the Gulf States, 2.7 million from Egypt, 1.9 million from Northern Africa, 1.8 million from the other Islamic countries, 1.6 million from Europe and 0.4 million from the US, <http://www.global-reach.biz/globstats/index.php3> (accessed Aug. 30, 2005). See the 2001 figures in Melinda Patterson Grenier, "Aljazeera.net offers Arab News to Wider Audience through Net", in: *The Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 23, 2001. In April 2007 the highest percentage of users who entered Qaraḍāwī's website came from Egypt (20%), followed by Saudi Arabia (10.7%) and Palestine (9.1%). Another 5.1% were based in Qaṭar, which is proportionally high given the country's small population. Among non-Arab-speaking countries, 2.4% of the users were in the USA, 2.0% in Israel and 1.4% in Germany. See under http://www.alexa.com/data/details/traffic_details?url=qaradawi.net (accessed April 10, 2007). The users in Israel are likely to be Palestinians or of Palestinian origin.

established translocally.⁵⁸ The relationships that are crucial for his authority were and still are negotiated in special sets of actions outside cyberspace. Certain activities of QaraḌāwī, such as consultancy in various international banks or his work for Islamist periodicals, are surely important in this context but mostly ignored on the website.⁵⁹

The actions of ‘*ulamā*’ have often been shaped, not only since modern times, by a translocal setting. To make a name for oneself in the religious field today requires, however, a different technical and organisational effort. QaraḌāwī did not only adapt to such transformations, he also participated in shaping them from an early stage. His strategy in this respect is the cooperation not only with other scholars and Islamist intellectuals, but with specialists from different professional areas such as journalists, editors, publishers, television presenters and managers of media institutions. They mostly share QaraḌāwī’s attitudes and see themselves in the framework of the Wasāṭiyya school as exemplified by *IslamOnline.net*.⁶⁰

However, we should obviously distinguish between QaraḌāwī’s popularity and his authority as a scholar. QaraḌāwī merely claims global authority rather than actually possessing it. Operating with him in the same field, there are too many interests, voices, practices and institutions among Muslims worldwide for him to be acknowledged as a scholar

⁵⁸ As a result of research work done on globalisation, the concept of translocality has been a research topic at the Centre for Modern Oriental Studies (ZMO) in Berlin since 2000, see <http://www.zmo.de>. Translocality is understood here as describing conditions that transcend (and transform) local circumstances, regardless of whether the local is determined geographically, socially or politically, see Dyala Hamzah, and Katrin Bromber, “Translocality Reloaded”, in: *Internal paper ZMO*, Feb. 2005. Translocal authority would thus be a social relationship of recognition that functions beyond (but not without) a local frame (which is, in this case, Doha). See also Ulrike Freitag, and Achim von Oppen, *Translokali-tät als ein Zugang zur Geschichte globaler Verflechtungen*, <http://geschichte-transnational.clio-online.net/forum/type=artikel&id=632> (accessed June 10, 2005).

⁵⁹ On Islamic periodicals, such as *al-Muslim al-Mu‘āṣir*, which was established in 1974 in Beirut (many of the founders used to live in Qatar at this time), and of which QaraḌāwī is a co-publisher, or *al-Manār al-Jadīd*, established in 1998 with QaraḌāwī on its advisory council, see Lutz Rogler, “*Suche nach einem ‘progressiven Islamverständnis’: Untersuchungen zu Diskurs und Praxis einer Gruppe islamischer Intellektueller in Tunesien*”. (Unpubl. Dissertation, Universität Leipzig, 2004), pp. 83-99, 192-199. For Islamic financing, see Ermete Mariani, “Youssef al-QaraḌāwī: pouvoir médiatique, économique et symbolique”, in: *Mondialisation et nouveaux médias dans l’espace arabe*, ed. Franck Mermier (Lyon: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2003).

⁶⁰ Personal communication with Ṭawfiq Ghānim, general manager of *IslamOnline.net*, Doha, Dec. 7, 2005.

of global recognition. Whether he will finally manage to surpass his competitors such as lay preachers, intellectuals, scientists, and politicians, or to include them in his mission remains to be seen. At any rate, according to Alexa Traffic Rank, his website was at position 53,101 in August 2005. With this result he fared better than Faḍlallāh (at position 103,696) and al-Būṭī (181,260), but considerably worse than the Egyptian lay preacher ‘Amr Khālīd, who, in position 618, can compete with the Internet portals *IslamOnline.net* (at position 596) and *Aljazeera.net* (at position 275).⁶¹

Further research on Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī

- ‘Ammāra, Muḥammad (1997): *ad-Duktūr Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī: al-madrasa al-fikrīya wa-’l-mashrū’ al-fikrī*. Cairo: Nahḍat Miṣr (Fī ’t-tanwīr al-islāmī; 10).
- Baker, Raymond W. (2003): *Islam Without Fear: Egypt and the New Islamists*. Cambridge Mass., London: Harvard University Press.
- al-Bishrī, Tāriq (2001): “Fī ṣubḥat al-Qaraḍāwī. Bayna ‘ulūm ad-dīn wa-d-dunyā”, in: *al-Hilāl*, (2001) 4, 86-99.
- Caeiro, Alexandre (2006): “The Shifting Moral Universes of the Islamic Tradition of Iftā’: A Diachronic Study of Four Adab al-Fatwa Manuals”, in: *The Muslim World* 96 (2006), Special Issue: Authorizing Islam in Europe, 661-685.
- Gräf, Bettina (2003): “Islamische Gelehrte als politische Akteure im globalen Kontext. Eine Fatwa von Yusuf ‘Abdallah al-Qaradawī”, in: Dieter Weiss und Steffen Wippel (eds.), *Diskussionspapiere der FU Berlin*, 93.
- Kassāb, Akram (2007): *al-Manhaj ad-da’wī ‘inda ‘l-Qaraḍāwī: mawāhibuhū wa-ada-wātuhū, wasā’iluhū wa-asālibuhū, simātuhū wa-ātharuhū. Taqḍīm ‘Abd-al-‘Azīm ad-Dīb, ‘Abd-as-Salām al-Basyūnī*. al-Qāhira: Maktabat Wahba.
- Krämer, Gudrun (2006): “Drawing Boundaries: Yusuf al-Qaradawi on Apostasy”, in: *idem.* and Sabine Schmidtke (eds.), *Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies*. Leiden: Brill, 181-217.
- Kursawe, Janet: “Yusuf Abdallah al-Qaradawī”, in: *Orient* 44 (2003) 4, 523-530.
- Kurzman, Charles (1998): “Yusuf al-Qaradawī”, in: *idem.* (ed.), *Liberal Islam*. A Sourcebook. N.Y., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 96-204.
- Nafi, Basheer M. (2004): “Fatwa and War: On the Allegiance of the American

⁶¹ <http://www.alexa.com/data/details/?url=qaradawi.net> (accessed on Aug. 30, 2005), <http://www.alexa.com/data/details/?url=www.bayynat.org> (accessed on Sep. 7, 2005), <http://www.alexa.com/data/details/?url=www.bouti.net> (accessed on Aug. 30, 2005) and <http://www.alexa.com/data/details/?url=www.amrkhalel.net> (accessed Nov. 11, 2005). The high ranking of Amr Khālīd may reflect the fact that mainly the younger generation use the Internet, see Hofheinz, “Das Internet”, p. 454. In April 2007 Qaraḍāwī’s site ranked largely unchanged at position 51.277.

- Muslim Soldiers in the Aftermath of September 11”, in: *Islamic Law and Society* 11 (2004) 1, 78-116.
- Polka, Sagi: “The Centrist Stream in Egypt and its Role in the Public Discourse Surrounding the Shaping of the Country’s Cultural Identity“, in: *Middle Eastern Studies*, 39 (2003) 3, 39–64.
- al-Shaykh Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī (2001): *Shakhṣiyyat al-‘ālam al-islāmīyya 1461h/2000m*. Cairo: Maktabat Wahba.
- Talīma, Iṣām (2000): *al-Qaraḍāwī faqīhan*. Kairo: Dār at-Tauzī‘ wa-n-Nashr al-Islāmīya.
- Talīma, Iṣām (2001): *Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī: faqīh ad-du‘āt wa-dā‘iyat al-fuqahā’*. Beirut: ad-Dār ash-Shāmīya/Damaskus: Dār al-Qalam (‘Ulamā’ wa-mufakkirūn mu‘āṣirūn; 15).
- Wenzel-Teuber, Wendelin (2005): *Islamische Ethik und moderne Gesellschaft im Islamismus von Yūsuf al-Qaradawi*. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovac.
- Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī: *Kalimāt fī takrīmihi wa-buḥūth fī fikrihi wa-fiqhihi muḥdāt ilayhi bi-munāsabat bulūghīhi al-sab‘īna*, Doha, 1996, in book-form, Kairo: Dār al-Salām, 2003, (with papers by Salīm al-Awwā, Ṭāriq al-Bishrī, Rāshid al-Ghannūshi, ‘Ādil Ḥusayn, Ru’f Hubba ‘Izzat, Aḥmed Rayṣūnī and others).
- Zaman, Muhammad Q. (2004): “The Ulama of Contemporary Islam and their Conception of the Common Good”, in: Armando Salvatore and Dale Eickelman (eds.), *Public Islam and the Common Good*. Leiden: Brill, 129-156.
- Zaman, Muhammad Q. (2006): “Consensus and Religious Authority in Modern Islam: the Discourse of the ‘Ulama”, in: Gudrun Krämer and Sabine Schmidtke (eds.), *Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies*. Leiden: Brill, 153-180.