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Religious Rhetoric during the Egyptian Revolution of 25 January 2011

Abstract

The present paper aims at showing some rhetorical devices applied in political discourse during the Egyptian revolution of 25 January 2011. The debate is based on combination of classic rhetoric- *balāġa* and religious sermons- *ḫuṭba*. Rhetorical figures and tropes concern particular epithets and words related to positive and negative symbols appearing among demonstrators in Taḥrīr Square. Moreover, the revolutionary meanings are attributed to some religious ideas and demands regarding implementation of sharia law and other Islamic values. Moreover, the religious context of the speech is also intensified by citation of quranic verses adapted to suitable political message. The research also focuses on metaphors, which replace literal meanings with different expressions containing some semantic relations with replaced significations. The metaphors refer to symbolic slogans and demands from Tahir Square as well as different religious connotations. The analyses also demonstrates that Taḥrīr discourse often contains positive descriptions glorifying the demonstrators and their demands as well as negative opinions blaming Mubārak's regime and showing its immorality and brutality. Besides, the research stresses that the rhetorical devices become a useful background for religious representatives, who use particular rhetorical techniques to achieve political goals in the context of transition process in Egypt. Besides, different rhetorical techniques affect emotions and sentiments of the audience as well as they express and strengthen messages of the sermons. However, the study on rhetorical devices illustrates progressive reactions and emotions of the Egyptian society according to developing situation and political circumstances. Enthusiasm, hopes and changes in the first step of the revolution were replaced by some doubts and sorrows.

Introduction

The present paper aims at showing that political debate during the Egyptian revolution of 25 January 2011 was based on classic rhetoric- *balāġa* and religious sermons- *ḫuṭba*. Theological and rhetorical features applied in religious sermons become a useful background for different political leaders and organizations. In fact, different forms of *balāġa* influence on expectations, emotions and sentiments of the audience and they play a crucial role in persuasion.

It should be pointed out that social and political slogans appearing among demonstrators during the first period of protests in Egypt did not contain religious connotations. They usually reflected spontaneous reactions regarding freedom, democracy and regime's oppression. However, the collapse of Mubārak's regime opened new challenges for different organizations and political forces, which started the debate about post-revolutionary system. The ideas expressed in Taḥrīr Square were very fast adapted by preachers and theologians who combined them with religious message and stylistic features applied in *balāġa* and *ḫuṭba*.

The first part of the analysis concerns the presentation of essential theories about Arabic classic rhetoric. The second part is concerned with the concept of the sermon. The last part points out the analysis of the rhetoric in the political sermons during the Egyptian revolution and following transition process.

Arabic classic rhetoric

Arabic rhetoric was studied by classic philologists such as Abū 'Uṯmān al-Ǧāḥiẓ (d. 869), 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Ǧurǧānī (d. 1078), As-Sakkākī (d. 1229) or Ibn al-Aṯīr (d. 1239). The word *balāġa* meant at first to achieve the step of beautiful speech (the verb: *balaġa* means to reach, to achieve). The further studies of the rhetoricians indicated that *balāġa* signified the persuasion and the influence on emotions sentiments and expectations of the audience.

However, the Arabic rhetoric includes three main categories such as *'ilm al-ma'ānī* ('study of meaning- semantics'), *bayān* (beautiful lucid expression) and *badī'* ('good style, ornamental expressions').

The first category *'ilm al-ma'ānī* regards application of clear, lucid words and sentences, which express different semantic features of particular meanings. *'ilm al-ma'ānī* is usually related to the terms *īǧāz* (concision) and *iṭnāb* (prolixity), which play an important role in the composition of texts and speeches. The first notion regards briefness and condensation of words and sentences in order to express and precise the main ideas presented in orations. *Iṭnāb* is an opposite term, which reflects application of additional descriptions and evidences describing the main subject. Those notions enable to understand some difficult ideas discussed in discourse. *'Ilm al-ma'ānī* also includes *ḫabar* (informative and affirmative utterances) and *inšā'* (performative emotional utterances), which reflect

different techniques of composition based on imperative, prohibition or interrogative and vocative sentences[1].

Besides, *bayān* consists of the rhetorical tropes such as *tašbīh* (comparison) and many types of metaphors (ar. *maǧāz*) such as *istiʿāra* (metonymy) and *kināya* (periphrasis) or *maǧāz mursal* (synecdoche). The Arabic rhetorical tropes and figures are similar to their Western structure and application. However, the Arabic metaphors contain some important indications. The main sense of the term *istiʿāra* concerns the replacement of literal meanings by other words linked semantically with those meanings like in the example: *raʾaytu asadan* ('I saw a lion') describing real values of a person who is brave and dominant. In this regard, the symbol of the lion was often attributed to distinguished personalities of the Caliphate. *Kināya* means in turn the substitute of literal significations for descriptive expressions and words. The Arabic synecdoche is similar to the Western definition and it refers to parts or qualities of meanings[2].

The third category regards *badīʿ* and includes the rhetorical figures like *takrār* (repetition of particular words or expressions in the text), *ṭibāq* (antonym), *muqābala* (contraposition, antithesis) or *mubālaġa* (exaggeration in description of the facts). *Badīʿ* enables to express essential meanings and it influences sentiments of the audiences. The rhetorical figures also include an interesting term called *iqtibās*, which concerns appeal to Quranic verses and application of religious style in the discourse different in order to diversify the style and authenticate message of the speech[3].

Besides, the rhetoricians stressed that all figures and stylistic tropes should cover realistic features as well as expectations and tastes of the audiences. It was the condition of successful explanation of issues considered in the discourse as well good preservation of particular meanings.

It should be pointed out that Arabic modern interpretation of *balāġa* is usually based on classic studies of the rhetoricians mentioned above. However, *balāġa* regards some new ideas like the term *ḥiǧāǧ*, which concerns different methods of persuasion and arguments. Apart from different linguistic and stylistic devices, *ḥiǧāǧ* includes additional rhetorical techniques of persuasion such as studies of body language, convincing role of colors, images, signs, sounds or music. In fact, *ḥiǧāǧ* is not widespread among modern Arabic rhetoricians and scholars who consider medieval theories of *balāġa* as the main model for further studies. Besides, they underline that *balāġa* must be limited to the literary criticism and it should not cover other fields such as commercial, media, politics or propaganda[4].

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[1]   Aš-Šāhid al-Bušayḫī, *Muṣṭalāḥat naqdiyya wa balāġiyya fī Kitāb al-bayān wa at-tabyīn*, Dār al-Afāq al-Ǧadīda, Bayūt 1982.

[2]   Aḥmad al-Hāšimī, *Ǧawāhir al-balāġa*, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, Bayrūt 2012, pp. 153–211.

[3]   Hussein Abdul-Raof, *Arabic rhetoric, a pragmatic analysis*, Taylor and Francis Group, New York 2006, pp. 91–95.

[4]   Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭalba, *Al-Ḥiǧāǧ fī al-balāġa al-muʿāṣira*, Dār al-Kitāb al-Ǧadīd, Banġāzī 2008.

Concept of *ḫuṭba*

Ḫuṭba is one of the oldest narrative and oratory forms in the Arab and Muslim world. It is usually presented by religious scholars called *ḫaṭīb* in mosques during Friday's prayer or on special occasions of feasts and holidays like Īd al-Aḍḥā or Īd al-Fiṭr, which enable to express and explain customs and obligations related to particular ceremonies[5].

In fact, the importance of the sermon is related to religious speeches presented by the Prophet Mohammad who explained theological issues and formed the morality of Muslim society. *Ḫuṭba* was also delivered by first Caliphs and then during the power of other religious leaders. *Ḫuṭba* also reflected Muslim holidays as well as special occasions important to believers[6].

However, the sermon still plays a significant role in today's Muslim society and it's still important for traditional communities separated from governmental institutions and westernised ways of life. Some traditional societies appreciate *ḫuṭba* because it concerns everyday life as well as religious, ethical and social issues.

The sermon includes particular principles and structures, which determine their general concepts appreciated by Muslim scholars and theologians. The basic patterns of the sermon contain a short prayer called *duʿāʾ*, some verses of the Quran and religious invocations. Afterwards, the *ḫaṭīb* goes to the *minbar* (a podium) to welcome the congregation. People gathered in the mosque listen to *muʾaḏḏin* (a person calling for prayer) who delivers a short invocation and then *ḫaṭīb* starts his speech[7].

The sermon consists of two parts. The first usually starts with religious invocations such as: *bi-ismi-Allāhi ar-Raḥmāni ar-Raḥīm* (In the name of God the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful), *aṣ-ṣalātu wa-as-salāmu ʿalà an-Nabiyyi* (Prayer and peace be upon the Prophet), *as-salāmu ʿalà man ittabaʿa al-hudà* (Peace be upon those who follow the right way) or *aʿūḏu bi-Allāhi min aš-šay āni ar-raǧīmi* (I seek protection in Allah from the accursed Satan). The invocations are followed by the expression: *wa-baʿd* (and then, afterwards), which begins the second part of the speech. The sermon is usually concluded by other religious citations such as: *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwa illā bi-Allāhi* (There is no power nor might save in Allah) or *li-takūna kalimat Allāhi hiya al-ʿulyā* (The Word of Allah is the Supreme).

The second part of the sermon is delivered after a short break of *ḫaṭīb*. It usually concerns religious questions such as piety, *hudà* (the right way in life) as well as good behaviour and morality. Muslim scholars usually focus on universal moral values, symptoms of sinful life, some moralistic stories and historical examples demonstrating glorious events of first Muslim communities and heroic deeds of great Muslim leaders. *Ḫaṭīb* also refers to current events and issues of local community, some social questions as well as existential problems.

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[5]   Fawzī Zayd, *Al-Ḫuṭab al-ilhāmiyya*, Dār al-Imān wa-al-Hayāt, Al-Qāhira 2009, pp. 274–277.

[6]   Patrick Gaffney, *Islamic preaching in contemporary Egypt*, University of California Press, Berkley 1994.

[7]   ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Mahdī, *Ḫuṭab al-ǧumʿa*, Dār al-Amal li-aṭ-Ṭibāʿa wa-an-Našr wa-at-Tawzīʿ, Al-Ǧazāʾir 2008.

Application of the rhetoric in political sermons

As highlighted in the previous paragraphs sermons are often delivered in special occasions and unique, historic moments. In this context, *ḫuṭba* played an important role during the revolution in Egypt. The discourse was often presented by preachers who supported protesters and demonstrations in Taḥrīr Square in Cairo and other places in the country.

Religious leaders used the structure of *ḫuṭba* regarding some invocations presented at the beginning and the end of the speech as well as quranic verses or hadiths glorifying Islamic values and giving greetings to the audience. However, the essential message of the Taḥrīr discourse is elaborated in the second part of the discourse after the expression *wa-baʿd*. In fact, persuasion of the message presented in the sermon rests on particular rhetorical figures and tropes.

The revolutionary debate was often based on rhetorical *iqtibās*, which included some religious references typical for the structure of *ḫuṭba*. It is evident in the fragment from sura *Āl ʿImrān* (3:103) applied by different representatives of the revolution: *Iʿtaṣimū bi-ḥabli Allāhi ǧamīʿan wa-lā tafarraqū wa-uḏkurū niʿmata Allāhi ʿalaykum iḏ kuntum aʿdāʾa fa-allafa bayna qulūbikum fa-aṣbaḥtum bi-niʿmatihi iḫwānan.* ("And hold firmly to the rope of Allah all together and do not become divided. And remember the favour of Allah upon you – when you were enemies and He brought your hearts together and you became, by His favour, brothers")[8].

The metaphorical sense of the expression *iʿtaṣimū bi-ḥabli Allāhi* ("Hold firmly to the rope of Allah") emphasizes the support and strong relationship between Allah and believers[9]. Moreover, the fragment points out the unity and brotherhood between people. It corresponds with the modern context of the Arab spring and feelings among demonstrators.

Iqtibās is also applied by the radical salafi *šayḫ* Muḥammad Ḥassān[10], who refers to political activities after Mubārak's resignation and modification of Egyptian constitution as well as implementation of secular laws and freedom. *Šayḫ* Ḥassān stresses: *Inna Allāha lā yaǧayyiru mā bi-qawmin ḥattà yuǧayyirū mā bi-anfusihim.* ("Indeed, Allah will not change the condition of a people until they change their souls")[11]. The preacher applies the fragment from sura *Ar-Raʿd* (13:11). It points out the importance of some moral values such as obedience, belief or goodness of Allah. However, the fragment warns of

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[8] Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qurʾān. Text and translation*, Islamic Book Trust, Kuala Lumpur 2007, p. 124. see also: http://quran.com/5 (accessed 15.06.2013). The application of sura by revolutionary leaders see: "Ash-Shorouk", 30.07.2011, p. 6, http://shorouknews.com (accessed 15.06.2013).

[9] Abū ʿAbd Allāh as-Saʿdī, *Taysīr al-Karīm ar-Raḥmān fī tafsīr kalām al-mannān*, Šabakat Abnāʾ Šarīf al-Anṣārī, Bayrūt 2012, pp. 106–107.

[10] Muḥammad Ḥassān – influential Islamic preacher and a leader of salafi movements. He criticized Mubārak and supported political campaigns of Islamists after the collapse of the regime. See: http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/facebook-page-supports-salafi-cleric-presidency (accessed 15.06.2013).

[11] Abdullah Yusuf Ali, op. cit., p. 195. see also: http://quran.com/5 (accessed 15.06.2013). The application of the verse by *šayḫ* Muḥammad Ḥassān see: "Al-Youm as-Sabi", 02.10.2011, p. 3, http://www.youm7.com (accessed 15.06.2013).

infidelity, disobedience and wantonness[12]. However, the verse is attributed to political gaols regarding implementation of Islamic values in future decisions and laws.

Revolutionary sermons also contain the rhetorical concept of *ma'ānī* and *inshā'* based on imperative, prohibition or interrogative and vocative sentences. The speech of the preacher Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī[13] is a good example of that rhetorical technique. The theologian claims: *Ayyuhā al-Miṣriyyūna: muslimūn wa-aqbāṭ, ḥāfiẓū ʿalā hāḏihi aṯ-ṯawrati, wa-iyyākum an yasrikahā minkum aḥadun.* ("Egyptians! – Muslims and Copts, preserve that revolution and beware of those who want to steel it")[14].

First, it should be remarked that the sermon was delivered after a long exile of *šayḫ* Al-Qaraḍāwī in Qatar. It became an important step in the religious discourse in post-Mubārak Egypt because it was the first prayer after resignation of the dictator. The speech was followed by great enthusiasm and optimism of the whole population. The circumstances influenced on pathetic and sublime style of the debate. The vocative expression *ayyuhā* and imperative verb *ḥāfiẓū* ("preserve") as well as prohibition phrase *iyyākum* (beware) demonstrate the specific social and political atmosphere in Egypt.

The application of *ma'ānī* also regards precise words including symbolic and revolutionary atmosphere during protests in Taḥrīr Square. After welcoming invocations Al-Qaraḍāwī starts his speech with the following example:

Lā tataʿaǧǧab min dumūʿī, li-annī arà abnāʾī wa-hum yaḥmilūna al-aʿlāma wasaṭa al-mīdāni al-laḏī huwa mīdānu al-miṣriyyīna, tahniʾatī li-hāḏā aš-šababi aṯ-ṯāʾiri al-laḏī awaddu an aqbala aydīhim wāḥidan wāḥidan li-annahum rafaʿū ruʾūsanā wa-hum ṣunnāʿu hāḏihi aṯ-ṯawrati wa aʿtabirahum al-anṣār al-laḏīna ḏakarahum Allāhu fī kitābihi. Irādatu aš-šababi min irādati Allāhi. ("Do not be surprised at my tears because I see my sons holding banners and flags in the Square- The Square of Egyptians. My regards to this revolutionary youth. I would like to kiss their hands one by one because they raised our heads. They are constructors of that revolution and they are The Prophet Muhammad's followers who were mentioned in the Quran. The wish of the youth is coming from the wish of Allah")[15].

The theologian sympathizes with revolutionaries, their feelings and demands. The expression *awaddu an aqbala aydīhim wāḥidan wāḥidan* ("I would like to kiss their hands one by one") demonstrates the identification of emotions and slogans appearing during the protests. Moreover, the precise words such as *mīdān* (The Square or Taḥrīr

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[12] Abū ʿAbd Allāh as-Saʿdī, op. cit., pp. 362–363.

[13] Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī – one of the important Egyptian theologians known for his programme *Aš-Šarīʿa wa-al-ḥayāt* ("Sharia and Life"), broadcast on *Al-Jazeera*. He is also the Head of the European Council for Fatwa and Research and the chairman of International Union for Muslim Scholars as well as teacher in the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies. Al-Qaraḍāwī encouraged and supported the Egyptian revolution and then the Arab Spring. See: Bettina Gräf. Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen, *Global mufti: the phenomenon of Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwi,* Columbia University Press, New York, 2009.

[14] http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/1724A7E2-C521-41B7-8A02-CAD see also: http://www.ilmaroc.com/vb/t13893.html (accessed 15.06.2013).

[15] http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/1724A7E2-C521-41B7-8A02-CAD see also: http://www.ilmaroc.com/vb/t13893.html (accessed 15.06.2013).

Square), *šabāb* (youth) or *ṯawra* (revolution) express essential meanings and symbols appearing among demonstrators in Taḥrīr Square.

Al-Qaraḍāwī adds some religious expressions like *al-anṣār al-laḏīna ḏakarahum Allāhu fī kitābihi* ("The supporters of Muhammad, who were mentioned in the Quran") or *irādatu aš-šabābi min irādati Allāhi* ("the wish of the youth is coming from the wish of Allah"). The phrases are combined with the revolutionary symbols well rooted in the society and recent events. However, the additional words regarding theological meanings demonstrate Islamic character of the transition process.

The revolutionary sermons also contain rhetorical antithesis concerning application of opposite images. The positive description of the Egyptian revolution is contrasted with negative vision of Mubārak's regime. The antithesis is applied by *šayḫ* Al-Qaraḍāwī in his first speech from Taḥrīr Square. He presents various remarks glorifying positive reaction of the society and then critical opinions about the past authorities in Egypt:

Al-Munāfiqūna al-laḏīna yalbasūna kulla yawmin waǧhan ǧadīdan, fa-lā tanḫadiʿū bihim, wa-iʿlamū annakum intaṣartum ʿalà al-bāṭili ʿalà al-taʿḏībi wa amni al-dawlati wa-al-balṭaǧiyyati wa-Ǧamāl wa-al-fāsidīna. ("Don't be misled and deceived by the religious hypocrites, who adapt every day a new face. You should know that you have defeated the void and you have conquered tortures, secret police and hooligans as well as Ǧamāl [Mubārak] and corrupts")[16].

The positive meanings reflecting symbolic connotations of Taḥrīr Square and the revolutionary youth are faced with negative substitutes describing Mubārak's apparatus such as *munāfiqūn* (religious hypocrites) or *balṭaǧiyya* (hooligans) and *fāsidūn* (corrupts).

The similar concept of the sermon was presented during the manifestations, which occurred on the 26th of February 2011. They focused on the success of the revolution, its peaceful character as well as hope and optimism of the society. One of the Taḥrīr representatives ʿAmrū Ḫālid states:

Raḥmatu tanazalat ʿalà ṯawrati 25 yanāyari, fa-kānat bayḍaʾa lam tasil fīhā ad-dimāʿa miṯla ṯawrati lībiyā, wa-taḥaqqaqa fīhā al-ḥubbu wa-al-ulfatu bayna aš-šaʿbi wa-al-ǧayši. Hunāka ašḫāṣun min an-niẓāmi as-sābiqi yurāhinūna ʿalà ḫirābi al-baladi baʿda aṯ-ṯawrati. ("The Blessing came trough the revolution of 25 January, which was white and wasn't bloodstained like Libyan revolution. The Egyptian revolution has realized love and harmony among people and army. However, there are persons from the past regime, who want to destroy the country after the revolution")[17].

ʿAmrū Ḫālid emphasizes positive meanings such as *ḥubb* (love), *ulfa* (harmony) or *šaʿb* (people) and *ṯawra* (revolution), which are adapted to symbolic signs of Taḥrīr. Moreover, the peaceful character of the revolution is underlined by comparing events in Egypt with tragic fights in Libya during the uprising against Muʿammar al-Qaḏḏafī's

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[16] http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/1724A7E2-C521-41B7-8A02-CAD see also: http://www.ilmaroc.com/vb/t13893.html (accessed 15.06.2013).

[17] http://www.almasry-alyoum.com/article2.aspx?ArticleID=288983&Issue (accessed 15.09.2013).

regime. Besides, the Egyptian revolution is defined by metaphorical expression: *ṯawra bayḍa'* (white revolution), which creates the image of innocence and purity.

Rhetorical forms also enable to strengthen and preserve particular meanings related to the revolution. It's evident in *ḫuṭba* of the preacher Ṣafwat al-Ḥiǧāzī[18], who applies *takrār* during the demonstrations that occurred on the 13th of May 2011:

Miṣru laysa ladayhā šaʿbun muslimun wa-āḫarūn masīḥiyyūn wa-lakin šaʿbun wāḥidun yasʿà li-iḫtiyāri raʾīsin wāḥidin wa-sanaẓallu īd waḥda wa-risālatunā li-šaʿbi Miṣri annanā mā zilnā īd waḥda wa-lan naḥdaʿa li-al-balṭaǧiyyati. ("In Egypt there is not Muslim people and other Christians but there is one nation striving for one president and we will stay together hand in hand. Our message to the Egyptian nation is that we will keep together hand in hand and we wouldn't submit to hooligans")[19].

Takrār concerns serial repetition of the word: *wāḥid* (one) in different configurations, including the dialectal form *īd waḥda* (hand in hand) popularised among demonstrators in Taḥrīr. The phrase emphasizes unity and cooperation between people who are unified in front of the same demands and expectations regarding departure of Mubārak's regime and future of free Egypt.

The idea of unity and solidarity is also considered in the sermon of *šayḫ* Maẓhar Šāhīn who participated in Taḥrīr demonstrations on different occasions. He also joined the manifestation, which took place on the 29th of July 2011 under the idea of sharia law and other Islamic values. Šāhīn claims: *Miṣru sa-taẓallu islāmiyyatan fī qulūbina, rāsiḫatan ka-al-ǧibāli wa-lā aḥadun yurīdu taġyīr huwiyyatahā.* (Egypt will be Islamic in our hearts, it will be solid and strong like a mountain. Nobody will change its identity)[20].

The sublime speech of *šayḫ* Šāhīn rests on comparison regarding a solid mountain attributed to Muslim identity of Egyptian society. The rhetorical trope indicates fastness and durability of the revolutionaries who stand and fight for Islamic values like justice, equality and morality.

Complicated economic and social situation after Mubārak affected the character of sermons. The demonstrations, which took place on the 29th July 2011, included some radical speeches separating the idea of unity and solidarity among the whole society. It's obvious in the sermon of *šayḫ* Ḥāfiẓ Salāma[21]: *ʿAlaynā ǧamīʿan at-tawaḥḥuda taḥta rāyati Miṣra qabla kulli ar-rāyāti al-uḫrà al-latī yarfaʿuhā al-ʿalmāniyyūna wa-ġayrahum fī al-mīdāni.* ("We must all unite under the banner of Egypt instead of other banners raised by secularists")[22].

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[18] Ṣafwat al-Ḥiǧāzī – an Egyptian imam and television preacher. He played an important role during the Taḥrīr protests when he delivered different sermons regarding social and political issues. He was arrested after dismissal of Muḥammad Mursī in 2013.

[19] http://www.egynews.net/wps/portal/print?params=124434 (accessed 15.09.2013).

[20] *Al-Masry al-youm*, 30.07.2011, p. 6.

[21] Ḥāfiẓ Salāma – radical leader of the popular resistance in Suez. He played an important spiritual role in Suez during 2011 Revolution.

[22] "Al-Masry al-youm", 30.07.2011, p. 6.

Salāma usurps Taḥrīr ideas described by metaphoric expression *rāyat Miṣr* ("Egyptian banner, flag") and confront them with demands responding to sharia law and restriction of Western influences in Egypt detailed by the word *ʿalmāniyyūn* (secularists), which became afterwards a crucial definition and icon of dispute and conflict between Islamic and laic forces.

Pessimistic and radical opinions of Šayḫ Salāma are also considered in his sermon from September 2011. He criticizes slow transfer of power by army to civilian authorities: *Lam nara ayya šayyin ǧadīdin wa-ka-anna mā zilnā mutaʿāyyišīn maʿa an-niẓāmi al-qadīmi, fa-al-maǧlisu al-ʿaskariyyu ḥattà al-ān lam yuwaffir ḥattà raǧīfa al-ʿayši*. ("We don't see anything new and it seems that we are still living with the past regime. In fact, the military council did not supply even with a loaf of bread")[23].

Apart from precise words concerning the past regime, the sermon regards application of metaphoric expression *raǧīf al-ʿayš* ("a loaf of bread") illustrating the tragic social situation in Egypt after Mubārak. The metaphor is combined with exaggeration demonstrating lack of supplies among people. In fact, the Egyptian bread called *ʿayš* is the minimal food, usually available for most of the citizens. The metaphorical and exaggerated description shows degradation of social and economic conditions in Egypt. Moreover, it influences emotions of the public opinion and encourages supporters to react against the bad situation.

Doubts and impatience caused by slow transition process in Egypt are also described by rhetorical *inshā'* and some interrogative sentences. *Šayḫ* Maẓhar Šahīn expresses his pessimism in the sermon from October 2011: *Hal intahat aṯ-ṯawratu, wa-ayna muḥākamatu al-fāsidīna wa-li-māḏā at-tabāṭ'u fa-lā-budda min al-ʿadālati al-ʿāǧilati li-man afsadū ḥayātanā wa-saraqū Miṣra*. ("Did the revolution finish? Where is the sentencing of corrupt persons? What is the reason of that slowdown? The fast justice is needed for those, who destroyed, corrupted and stole Egypt")[24].

The interrogative particles demonstrate negative feelings of *šayḫ* Šahīn who condemns the complicated situation in the country and political stagnation after the revolution. Moreover, his questions suggest the end of the revolution and victory of worst symptoms and symbols of the past regime defined by the precise word *fāsid* (corrupt). Besides, the pessimism of the leader is intensified by synecdoche, which refers to definition of corruption compared to theft of whole Egypt. In fact, it concerns robbery of common goods by representatives of the regime.

The same message is included in the speech of salafi leader and candidate for the presidency Ḥāzim Abū Ismāʿīl, who states: *Immā an yaltazima al-maǧlisu al-ʿaskarī bi-mā barāhu an-nāsa aw yuṣbiḥu fī mahabbi ar-rīḥi*. ("Either the military council maintains of what it promised or they will stick in habitat of the wind")[25].

The metaphorical expression *mahabbu ar-rīḥ* (habitat of the wind) regards distinctive features of the wind like strength, destruction or unpredictability. The meanings are

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[23] "Al.Masry al-youm", 01.10.2011, p. 5.
[24] "Al-Ahrām", 29.10.2011, p. 5.
[25] "Al-Youm as-Sabi", 02.10.2011, p. 3, http://www.youm7.com (accessed 15.06.2013).

attributed to military authorities, which are pressed to fast and immediate transition of the power.

Conclusion

The analysis presented in the paper shows that the rhetorical figures and tropes included in *ʿilm al-maʿānī*, *bayān* and *badīʿ* play an important role in the religious and political discourse in revolutionary Egypt. The research also stresses that the rhetorical devices become a useful background for religious leaders, who use particular rhetorical techniques to achieve political goals in the context of transition process in Egypt. Besides, different rhetorical techniques affect emotions and sentiments of the audience as well as they express and strengthen messages of the sermons. The rhetorical figures and tropes applied in the sermons concern particular epithets and words related to positive and negative symbols appearing among demonstrators in Taḥrīr Square. Moreover, the revolutionary meanings are attributed to some religious ideas and demands regarding implementation of sharia law and other Islamic values. It's an effective technique, which influences the auditorium and convince of the message. The religious context of the speech is also intensified by *iqtibās*, which refers to citation of quranic verses adapted to suitable political message. The strategy authenticates the message and expresses its importance in revolutionary Egypt.

My research also shows some metaphors, which replace literal meanings with different expressions containing some semantic relations with replaced significations. For example, the phrase *rāyat Miṣr* (Egyptian banner, flag) is confronted with patriotism and demands appearing in Taḥrīr Square. Besides, the metaphorical expression: *ṯawra bayḍaʾ* (white revolution) symbolizes the innocence and purity of protesters.

The application of rhetorical features also concerns antithesis, which plays a crucial role in creation of two opposite images. The research demonstrates that Taḥrīr sermons often contain positive descriptions glorifying revolutionaries and their demands as well as negative opinions blaming Mubārak's regime and showing its immorality and brutality.

The analysis shows another important issue. The rhetorical devices illustrate progressive reactions and emotions of the Egyptian society according to developing situation and political circumstances. Enthusiasm, hopes and changes in the first step of the revolution were replaced by some doubts and sorrows. Afterwards the debate contained impatience and more violent discussions. The final step of the discourse influenced other events such as first free elections, transition of the power to civilians and victory of Islamic organizations and leaders symbolised by the presidency of Muslim Brotherhood candidate Mohammad Mursi.