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## LAUDATIO

It is a great honor for us to welcome Fayza Haikal, not only because of her extraordinary academic standing in Egyptology but also since our esteemed colleague, Prof. Haikal, is the obvious, in fact the only possible speaker to introduce this conference devoted to turning points in the history of Egypt. We are very pleased indeed and grateful that she accepted our invitation to come to Berlin on this occasion.

Fayza Haikal, professor of Egyptology at the American University in Cairo, graduated from Cairo University in 1960 and went on to obtain her PhD in 1965 at Oxford University. Jaroslav Černý, a nearly mythical figure in Egyptology nowadays, was her Doktorvater. Prof. Haikal's career has included several teaching positions: she has been a professor at her alma mater and visiting professor at the Sorbonne in Paris, Karls-University in Prague, and la Sapienza in Rome. Her eminent scholarship has led to invitations to lecture extensively throughout the world, and she is regularly asked by universities abroad to serve as an external examiner.

Scholarly committees and panels, both inside and outside Egypt, have benefited immensely from Fayza Haikal's participation. And she has been granted honorary memberships in and awards by many international institutions. (I recall with pride that Fayza Haikal is also a corresponding member of the German Archaeological Institute.)

Fayza Haikal's impact as a teacher can hardly be over-estimated. The current generation of Egyptian Egyptologists is made up of her students. At the heart of this formative influence lies Fayza Haikal's excellent scholarship.

It goes without saying that as a student of Jaroslav Černý she is an expert philologist and hieratic scholar. Many publications – for example, her two volume edition of the funerary papyri of Nesmin – bear witness to her original work in this specialized area of scholarship.

But Prof. Haikal is by no means an »armchair scholar«. In the early 1960s, she participated actively in the Nubian salvage campaigns, and in the 1990s she headed the North Sinai salvage project. The publication of the tomb of Pennut at Aniba is exemplary of her meticulous work in the field. Her interests, however, extend far beyond the traditional (western) understanding of Egyptology – and this is what makes her so important and so influential.

Fayza Haikal's primary focus – at least this is my impression, documented by a large number of thought – provoking and indeed inspiring articles – is on the transformations and continuities of Egyptian culture through the centuries and across the boundaries of classical academic disciplines – on survivals of pharaonic Egypt in modern folk culture, and on the profound linkage of Egyptian culture, society, and thought spanning millennia. Her research is highly productive and original. It recognizes the importance of compiling and assessing data which traditional Egyptology has a tendency to marginalize – folk culture and the village setting, for instance, working toward integrating anthropology and Egyptology.

In fact, Prof. Haikal's approach addresses the very heart of research into cultural history, namely the meaning that the culture and history of the past hold for present day society and its identity. The answer to the crucial question of the meaning of Egypt's past for Egypt's present can be answered only by Egyptian scholarship. This is the direction in which Fayza Haikal's example leads, and this is why her example is so particularly attractive and inspiring for the younger generation of Egyptian Egyptologists.

Her extensive scholarly work on the transformation and continuities of Egypt's past makes Fayza Haikal the ideal person to introduce this conference. But that is not the only reason. As a citizen of the world as well as of Egypt, Fayza Haikal herself witnessed and took part in the social and cultural transformation her native country

experienced not just during the last few years but for decades past. I vividly recall a lecture she gave in April 2009 at Aswan about her own participation and that of other female scholars in the field work of the Nubian salvage campaigns in the early 1960s. With a good measure of humor, Prof. Haikal described the difficulties which these women had to overcome to be allowed to work in the field – even in distant Nubia – and their success!

Fayza Haikal, not only as a scholar, but as an intellectual and a citizen, through her life and her work, is an expert on the turning points as well as the continuities in the long history of Egypt.

STEPHAN SEIDLMAYER



## Foreword

We are very pleased to be able to publish this volume with Prof. Fayza Haikal's keynote address that opened the 44th annual meeting of German-speaking Egyptologists (SÄK/Ständige Ägyptologenkonferenz) which took place in Berlin, June 13–15, 2012. The date of her lecture, which was received with a standing ovation of the more than 400 Egyptologists in attendance, could not have been better chosen. With her »Reflections on turning points: Egypt between January 25th 2011 and June 30th 2012« Prof. Haikal shared with us her very own personal experience of the events of the »Arab Spring« – or »the Arab Revolution« as we are nowadays inclined to term the changes that occurred in Egypt during that period of upheaval.

## Vorwort

*Es ist uns eine besondere Freude mit diesem Band den Festvortrag von Frau Professor Dr. Fayza Haikal (Kairo) publizieren zu können, den sie anlässlich der 44. Ständigen Ägyptologenkonferenz (SÄK) gehalten hat, die vom 13. bis 15. Juli 2012 in Berlin stattfand. Sie erntete dafür standing ovations von über 400 Ägyptologen des Landes. Der Zeitpunkt für ihren Vortrag hätte nicht besser sein können. Unter dem Eindruck des »Arabischen Frühlings«, oder wie wir diese Phase des Umbruchs heute eher nennen »der Arabischen Revolution« in Ägypten, hat Frau Haikal einen Einblick gewährt in ihre ganz persönliche ägyptische Sichtweise der »Reflections on Turning Points: Egypt between January 25th 2011 and June 30th 2012«.*

For the first time in more than two decades, the SÄK was held in Berlin. The program was organized jointly by all the Egyptological institutions in the city –

Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection of the National Museums of Berlin,  
Free University,  
Humboldt University,  
German Archaeological Institute and Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Science and Humanities

Following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and unification in 1990, Egyptology in Berlin became successfully reunited. The organization of the 44th SÄK 2012 under the sponsorship of these five institutions can be understood as the result of the changes that occurred not only in Berlin but in Germany as a whole during the past two decades. Therefore »Turning Points« was an entirely appropriate choice as the overall theme of the meeting.

The years 2011 and 2012 have demonstrated equally well in Arab countries how dramatic and with what speed changes can occur – to all appearances quickly, on the one hand, but yet, on the other, slowly and, in the last analysis, open-ended. It has also become clear what wide-ranging forms change make take – from non-violent phases through brief episodes of violence

*Nach über zwanzig Jahren fand 2012 die SÄK erstmals wieder in Berlin statt. Sie wurde ausgetragen als gemeinsame Konferenz aller ägyptologischen Institutionen der Stadt:*

*Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin,  
Freie Universität Berlin,  
Humboldt Universität zu Berlin,  
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut und Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften.*

*Nach der Wende von 1989 ist auch für die Ägyptologie eine Wiedervereinigung gelungen. Unter der Schirmherrschaft der fünf genannten Einrichtungen Berlins, kann die Ausrichtung der 44. SÄK 2012 als Ergebnis des Wandels der vergangenen zwei Jahrzehnte nicht nur in Berlin sondern in Deutschland betrachtet werden. Die SÄK 2012 stand auch daher unter dem Motto »Wendepunkte«.*

*Die Jahre 2011 und 2012 haben nun ebenso in den arabischen Ländern gezeigt, wie dramatisch und mit welchen Geschwindigkeiten Wenden verlaufen können: einerseits suggestiv schnell, andererseits aber doch wieder langsam und letztendlich richtungslos. Auch wurde deutlich, wie groß die Spannbreite zwischen gewaltfreien, kurzzeitig gewaltsamen und in Bürgerkrieg mündenden Wendeprozessen sein*



and even civil war – and the significant effects on politics, society, religion, art, scholarship, and science. But change must not always be brought about by radical breaks; cultures are also continually subject to undercurrents of change.

What appears to be continuity reveals itself on closer examination to be processes of change. And change is not something modern. Pre-modern societies were always subject to change. The many lectures on the program of this SÄK demonstrate this, especially as they relate to ancient Egyptian culture in all its aspects as well as to contemporary interest in the history of Egyptology, helping us to approach the »turning points« of global politics and trends in scholarship.

As editors of this volume, we would like to express our thanks not only to the institutions of which we are representatives, but Mercedes Benz in Berlin as well for generously providing support for this publication and the SÄK.

Sebastian Falk reviewed the extensive illustrative material and organized the volume; the responsibility for English-language editing lay with Marianne Eaton-Krauss. We are indebted to Wolfram Burckhardt, head of Kulturverlag Kadmos Berlin which produced

*kann; wie sehr Politik, Gesellschaft, Religion, Kunst und Wissenschaft davon betroffen sind. Doch Wenden müssen nicht immer offenkundig durch radikale Brüche vollzogen werden, auch unterschwellig sind Kulturen stets im Wandel begriffen.*

*Kontinuitätsimaginationen erweisen sich bei näherer Betrachtung ebenfalls als Wandelprozesse. Und Wandel ist nichts Modernes: Bereits vormoderne Gesellschaften waren stetem Wandel ausgesetzt. Davon zeugten die verschiedenen ägyptologischen Vorträge, die zu diesem Thema bei der SÄK gehalten wurden – gerade im Hinblick auf die gesamte Bandbreite der altägyptischen Kultur und auch auf die moderne Wissenschaftsgeschichte. Den weltpolitischen wie wissenschaftlichen Strömungen der Auseinandersetzung mit »Wenden« konnten wir uns dabei nähern.*

*Neben den ägyptologischen Institutionen in Berlin, die wir als Herausgeber vertreten, möchten wir abschließend der Mercedes Benz Niederlassung Berlin für die großzügige Unterstützung der SÄK und dieser Folge-Publikation danken.*

*Für die Sichtung des umfangreichen Bildmaterials und die Zusammenstellung der Publikation danken wir Sebastian Falk. Die englischen Fassungen wur-*

the volume, and Claudia Oestmann for their professional cooperation which ensured the attractive layout of the impressive photographic documentation.

But above all, we are indebted to Prof. Fayza Haikal who immediately agreed to the timely publication of her lecture in book form. Also meriting our thanks are all those who gave permission to include the large number of illustrations in this volume. It should not go unmentioned that many of the graffiti included here no longer exist.

Especially in view of the most recent, post 2012 events in Egypt, we consider it imperative to preserve for posterity this historical testimony from the pen of the professor of Egyptology at Cairo's American University to serve as a reminiscence for the present and as a reminder for the future.

Berlin, February 1, 2014

*den freundlicherweise von Marianne Eaton-Krauss verfasst bzw. durchgesehen. Die Herstellung dieses Bandes besorgte der Kulturverlag Kadmos Berlin. Wir danken dem Verlagsleiter Wolfram Burckhardt und Claudia Oestmann für die professionelle Zusammenarbeit, wodurch das beeindruckende Fotomaterial ein attraktives Layout erhalten hat.*

*Unser vörderster Dank gilt jedoch der Autorin dieses Bandes, die sich sofort bereit erklärt hat, ihren Vortrag entsprechend in Buchform zeitnah zu fixieren. Zu danken ist auch all denen, die die Publikations-erlaubnis für die umfangreichen Abbildungen dieses Buches gewährt haben. Hierbei sollte erwähnt werden, dass viele der hier gezeigten Graffiti heute vor Ort nicht mehr existieren.*

*Gerade angesichts der jüngsten Entwicklungen nach 2012 in Ägypten halten wir es für besonders geboten, diese historische Momentaufnahme der Ägyptologie-Professorin an der Amerikanischen Universität Kairo festzuhalten, als Erinnerung an die Gegenwart und gleichsam ebenso als Mahnung für die Zukunft.*

*Berlin, den 1. Februar 2014*



Fayza Haikal

# Reflections on Turning Points

Egypt between January 25, 2011 and June 30, 2012



Since January 25, 2011 Egypt has been experiencing one of the most crucial moments in its modern history. Are we really witnessing a major turning point? The Oxford dictionary defines a turning point as a time when a decisive change in a situation occurs, especially one with beneficial results such as Mubarak's resignation and, possibly, the end of a regime.

How often have there been such turning points in Egyptian history? Practically with each change of dynasty, if not necessarily at the accession of a new king; with each new conqueror; with every change in religion, initially at Akhenaten's behest; then with the advent of Christianity; and once more with the arrival of Islam – time and again in the country's more recent history.

This brings to my mind the ancient Egyptian conceptions of time *Nehet* and *Djet*, cyclical and longitudinal, repetitious but still progressing, and progressing because of the impetus these turning points provided. I wonder whether the ancient Egyptian phrase *wehem mesut* might not express something close to »turning point«, or perhaps there was a more specific term for such a concept.

One of the first major turning points recorded in the history of the country after the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt, a process which probably extended over too long a time to be considered a turning point properly speaking, is the foundation of the state and the coronation of the first king of Upper and Lower Egypt. Later, the fall of the Old Kingdom, another major turning point, has often been attributed by historians to environmental conditions, such as economically disastrous droughts that impoverished the country, leading to the central authority's loss of power. That may have been the case, but perhaps corruption and oppression also played a role then





**Plate 1:**

Khaled Said's sister Zahra and their uncle Aly on a balcony overlooking Tahrir Square. Aly is wearing a T-shirt with Khaled's image.

as now! Since earliest times, allusions to corruption among high officials occur repeatedly in didactic, religious, and literary texts. Didn't Ptahhotep exhort the sons of the elite, the future administrators of the country, saying: »Guard against the vice of greed: a grievous sickness without cure, there is no treatment for it... it is a compound of all evils, a bundle of all hateful things«<sup>1</sup>, and didn't Kheti in his instructions to Merikare,<sup>2</sup> and later Thutmose III in the famous text of the installation of his vizir Rekhmire, warn against injustice and partiality?<sup>3</sup> Amenemope repeated a similar injunction in his Instructions: »Do not accept any reward from a strong man, bleeding out the weak for his benefit«.<sup>4</sup> Time and again throughout Egypt's history, the same warnings against corruption were expressed, and time and again high officials in their autobiographies defended themselves against accusations of such vices because greed and injustice were the »abomination of the God«, who would punish the guilty. For example, the Old Kingdom official Hetepherakhet says: »I made this tomb from my own real property, I never took anybody's property«<sup>5</sup>, while an approximately contemporaneous official from Hawawish asserts: »I was indeed someone who spoke good and repeated good, who acquired rightfully«.<sup>6</sup> Unambiguous indictments occur less frequently, but the Eloquent Peasant clearly accuses the high official Rensi of being a brother of anyone »who comes and brings to him«, and of being a »hawk to the people, living on the poor birds«.<sup>7</sup>

Texts like the decree of Horemheb at Karnak Temple and that of Seti I from Nauri<sup>8</sup> that describe punishment for those who disobey the law and commit acts of corruption against the personnel and properties of the temple are

<sup>1</sup> Lichtheim, M., »Ancient Egyptian Literature. A book of readings vol. I The Old and Middle Kingdom«, (Berkeley, University of California Press 1975), pp. 68–69.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 99–101.

<sup>3</sup> Eadem, »Ancient Egyptian Literature. A book of readings vol. II The New Kingdom«, (Berkeley, University of California Press 1976), pp. 21–24.

<sup>4</sup> Gnirs, A., »The Language of Corruption: On Rich and Poor in The Eloquent Peasant«, *Lingua Aegyptia* 8 (2000), p. 148.

<sup>5</sup> Eyre, C., »Patronage, Power and Corruption in Pharaonic Egypt«, *International Journal of Public Administration* 34 (2011), p. 705.

<sup>6</sup> Gnirs, A., op. cit., p. 128.

<sup>7</sup> Gnirs, A., op. cit., pp. 137, 142.

<sup>8</sup> Valbelle, D., »Horemheb« and »Nauri«, in Leclant, J. (ed.) *Dictionnaire de l'Antiquité* (Quadrige/PUF 2005), pp. 1099 and 1507, respectively.





هل بصير دمي

بين عينيك

ماء

اتنسى ردائي

الملطخ

بالدماء

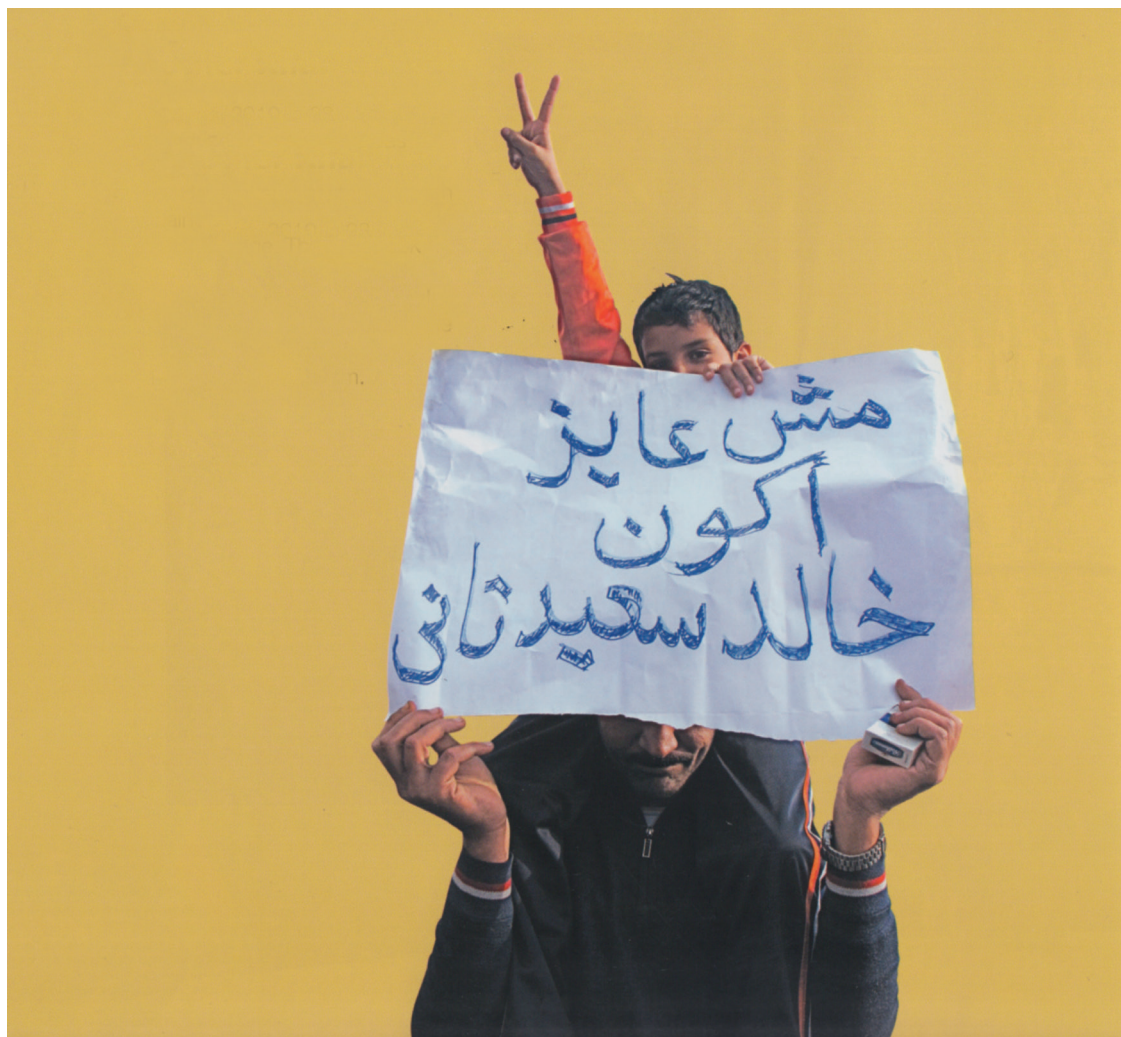


**Plate 2 (Page 19):**

Khaled Said: »Shall my blood turn into water between your eyes? Will you forget my clothes drenched in blood?«

**Plate 3:**

»I don't want to be another Khaled Said!«





rare. But these texts concern temple property, not private property; the »crime« is sacrilege to be punished by God immediately and the divine king has to interfere. Nowadays we still talk about corruption as haram, i.e. forbidden by God, as if it was a moral concern to be punished by God, rather than a social one, in spite of laws clearly enacted against corruption. Perhaps we have inherited this attitude from our ancient Egyptian forebears and remain yet unable to alter this way of thinking.

Many of the complaints in the *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* could be indicative of the revolt of people against oppression by the ruling class in ancient Egypt, if the text is viewed from the perspective of modern ideas about human rights. We read, for example: »Scribes of the revenue, their writings have been suppressed; the food-grain of Egypt is ›I-go-and-I-take.‹ The rules of the Great Enclosure are put outside; they are walked on in the road; the lowest classes tear them up in the street«,<sup>9</sup> since, according to Christopher Eyre, »Egyptian central government justified itself as guarantor of social order. Its bureaucracy was concerned essentially with revenues, and the exercise of hierarchy, not with the provision of any form of public service....«<sup>10</sup> A review of major revolts in ancient Egypt, their causes and consequences, such as the strikes and demonstrations of the Deir el-Medina workers in Dynasty XX, is beyond the scope of this paper, but it is clear that popular frustration at the rulers' oppression, corruption, and mismanagement must have been among the causes. In Year 29 of Ramesses III, for example, a scribe informs his superior that workers in the royal necropolis were not given their monthly rations, saying: »My master must find us means of subsistence because we are dying, we are not alive really anymore.«<sup>11</sup> Later demonstrations reached the point where workers breached the limits of their village and assembled with their families in front of the royal memorial temples to demand that their rations be sent to them.

But let us return to more recent events.

<sup>9</sup> Eyre, C., op.cit., 703.

<sup>10</sup> Eyre, C., op.cit., 710.

<sup>11</sup> Vernus, P., »Affaires et scandales sous les Ramsès. La crise des valeurs dans l'Égypte du Nouvel Empire«, (Pygmalion Gérard Watelet 1993), p. 81. (Translated from the French by the author.)