



DYNAMICS OF POLITICAL POLICY IN THE CLASSICAL PERIOD: THE CONVERSION OF REPUBLIC-MONARCHY-ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

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Abstract

Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui apa saja sistem pemerintahan yang berlangsung pada masa klasik. Selain itu juga menganalisis perkembangan kebijakan politik yang terjadi pada masa klasik. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian adalah kualitatif-deskriptif dengan menggunakan pendekatan study pustaka. Sehingga diharapkan dalam penelitian tersebut mendapatkan data yang valid sesuai dengan topik penelitian. Hasil yang didapatkan ialah bahwasanya beragama perintahan yang terjadi pada masa klasik, yaitu republik dan monarki. Selain itu terdapat juga unsur-unsur penting di dalam pemerintahan, yaitu khalifah, musyawarah, bai'at, dan putera mahkota. Sedangkan dalam dinamika sistem perpolitikan Islam pada masa klasik terdapat Al-Khulafa Al-Rasyidun hingga pada masa daulah/ dinasti. Pemaparan mengenai dinamika sistem pemerintahan Islam menunjukkan adanya perubahan. Pada masa al-Khulafa al-Rasyidun sistem pemerintahan yang diterapkan adalah republik demokrasi dengan menjadikan khalifah yang empat sebagai pemimpin tertinggi umat Islam dan menjunjung tinggi asas musyawarah. Sedangkan pada masa dinasti/ daulah sistem pemerintahan Islam mulai mengalami perubahan yang signifikan. Semula berbentuk republik dengan menjunjung asas demokrasi, kemudian berganti menjadi sistem monarki.

Keywords: Dinamika; Kebijakan politik; Periode klasik.

Abstrak

The purpose of this study is to find out what government systems were in place during the classical period. In addition, it also analyzes the development of political policies that occurred during the classical period. The method used in the study is qualitative-descriptive using a literature study approach. So that it is expected that the study will obtain valid data in accordance with the research topic. The results obtained are that there are various orders that occurred during the classical period, namely the republic and monarchy. In addition, there are also important elements in the government, namely the caliph, deliberation, allegiance, and crown prince. While in the dynamics of the Islamic political system during the classical period there were Al-Khulafa Al-Rasyidun until the daulah/dynasty period. The explanation of the dynamics of the Islamic government system shows changes. During the al-Khulafa al-Rasyidun era, the government system implemented was a democratic republic by making the four caliphs the highest leaders of Muslims and upholding the principle of deliberation. While during the dynasty/daulah era, the Islamic government system began to experience significant changes. Initially it was in the form of a republic upholding democratic principles, then changed to a monarchy system.

Kata Kunci: Dynamics; Political policy; Classical period.

INTRODUCTION

The classical period in the history of human civilization refers to the years 650-1250 CE. The classical period is divided into two periods, namely the period of progress and decline of the Muslim community. The first period is marked by the extensive expansion of Islamic territory, integration, and consolidation of Islamic political power, and is believed to be the golden age of Islam. This period lasted around 650-1000 CE. The second period is called the era of political

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disintegration of the Muslim community, marked by the degradation of public trust in the political system of that time, which ultimately resulted in many Islamic regions being divided and choosing to stand alone¹.

The classical period was also marked by the advancement of Arabic literature, various Islamic teachings, and the origins of Islamic civilization, a blend of three cultural elements (ethnic-tribal, religious, and aristocratic). The development of Islamic civilization had its own distinctive characteristics, namely the fusion of Islamic civilization with previously established Middle Eastern imperial, economic, and monotheistic institutional patterns. During this phase, Islam also formed a new state and a number of social institutions².

Developments during the classical period also included political aspects, including the system of government. After the death of the Prophet Muhammad, political aspects related to the prophet's successor became a major aspect that emerged among Muslims. Historical facts show that there was a conversion that occurred in the system of government of Muslims throughout the classical period. At least there was a republic or democracy system, and a monarchy that later developed into an absolute monarchy system.

The dynamics of the government system that occurred during the classical period can be seen during the reigns of the al-Khulafa al-Rasyidun, the Umayyad Caliphate, the Abbasid Caliphate, and the Fatimid Caliphate. The dynamics of the governing system indicate changes in political aspects during the classical period. These changes were undoubtedly influenced by numerous factors and also had their own impact on Islamic civilization. Therefore, this paper will attempt to examine the dynamics of political policy that occurred throughout the classical period, focusing on the transformation of the governmental system during that period. In general, this paper will discuss the development of political policy during the classical period of Islam, focusing on changes in the system of government among Muslims.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a historical method with a political history approach and literature study. The historical method was chosen because this research aims to reconstruct the dynamics of changes in the Islamic government system during the classical period, starting from the republican system during the Caliphate of Rashidun to the development of a monarchy and absolute monarchy during the Umayyad, Abbasid, and Fatimid dynasties. The political history approach is used to analyze changes in political policy, leadership succession mechanisms, and factors that influenced the transformation of the Islamic government system during the 7th to 13th centuries AD.

The research stages follow historical methods that include heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography³. In the heuristic stage, the author collected various primary and secondary sources related to the development of the classical Islamic political system. Primary sources were classical historical works, such as *Tarikh al-Khulafa'* by As-Suyuthi, as well as several other classical works discussing the history of the Islamic caliphate. Meanwhile, secondary sources

¹ Yusuf Fadli, "Pemikiran Politik Islam Klasik (Studi Awal Atas Perspektif Kalangan Sunni)," *Journal of Government and Civil Society* 2, no. 1 (June 28, 2018): 89, <https://doi.org/10.31000/jgcs.v2i1.777>.

² Ira. M. Lapidus, *Sejarah Sosial Ummat Islam*, trans. Ghufroon A. Mas'adi, 3rd ed. (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 1999).

³ Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2013); Louis Gottschalk, *Mengerti Sejarah*, trans. Nugroho Notosusanto (Jakarta: UI Press, 1985).

were obtained from books, scientific journal articles, encyclopedias, and previous research results on Islamic political history, government systems, and the development of Islamic dynasties.

The next stage is source criticism, which is carried out through external criticism and internal criticism to test the validity of historical data⁴. External criticism is carried out by examining the authenticity of sources based on the identity of the author, the time of writing, the publisher, and the background of the compiler of the work. Internal criticism is carried out by comparing the contents of various historical sources to obtain more objective information regarding changes in the Islamic government system and to identify possible subjectivity or bias in historical writing⁵. Next, interpretation is carried out, namely the process of interpreting historical facts that have been verified through source criticism to explain the dynamics of changes in the Islamic government system. The analysis focuses on changes in the mechanism of leadership succession, the transformation of political legitimacy, government policies, as well as social, economic, and political factors that drove the change from a republican system to a monarchy and absolute monarchy. The analysis is carried out descriptively and analytically so as not only to reconstruct the chronology of events, but also explain the cause and effect relationships of the changes in the political system⁶.

The final stage is historiography, namely the systematic, chronological, and analytical compilation of research results in the form of a scientific paper⁷. The presentation of research results is done by reconstructing the development of the Islamic government system from the time of the Caliphate, the Umayyad Dynasty, the Abbasid Dynasty, to the Fatimid Dynasty. Through the compilation of this historiography, it is hoped that it will provide a comprehensive picture of the dynamics of classical Islamic political policy and the changes in the concept of power that took place from a republican system to a monarchy and absolute monarchy.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Variety of Government

Machiavelli argued that kingdoms or dynasties are formed based on the will of one person. A republic, on the other hand, is formed based on law or the consent of the people. This is the fundamental difference between a republic and a monarchy. Based on this understanding, it can be seen that a republic upholds the principles of democracy and mutual consent. This is because the formation of a republican state must be agreed upon by the people or based on a clear legal basis.

Monarchy is a form of government in which supreme power rests with a single person, either a king or queen⁸. Monarchies are divided into two types: absolute monarchy and constitutional monarchy. Absolute monarchy is a form of government in which supreme power rests with a single king or queen. Constitutional monarchy is a form of government in which the head of state is a prime minister and is limited by the provisions of the country's constitution. The implementation of the monarchy system in Islam is manifested in the ruling dynasties following

⁴ Gottschalk, *Mengerti Sejarah*.

⁵ Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*.

⁶ Ira M. Lapidus, *Islamic Societies to the Nineteenth Century* (California: Cambridge University Press, 2012), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139027670>.

⁷ Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*.

⁸ Muhammad Fadil, "Bentuk Pemerintahan Dalam Pandangan Aristoteles (Sebuah Pengantar Filsafat Politik Klasik)," *Jurnal Kybernan* 3, no. 1 (2012): 6.

the fall of the Caliphate of the Rashidun. The monarchy system also requires hereditary leadership within a single family.

Elements in Government

Caliph

The position of caliph or state leader in Muslim countries is an important position that contains the responsibility of the leader to maintain religion and worldly politics. A caliph is obliged to protect the rights of the people and must be able to realize justice among them as a whole without exception. Imam al-Mawardi established seven criteria that must be met by a caliph, namely⁹: justice with comprehensive requirements, competent to perform *ijtihad*, have healthy senses, be free from physical disabilities that hinder his movements and speed to rise, have brilliant ideas, have courage, and should come from the Quraysh tribe. The models for selecting leaders, especially during the era of al-Khulafa al-Rasyidun, are as follows: the election model of *al-Ikhtiar Ash-Sya'bi al-Mubasyir* (direct election of the people), the model of direct appointment and appointment, the methodological nomination model, the method of open allegiance.

Consultation

The process of selecting leaders, particularly during the era of the Khulafa al-Rasyidun, was closely linked to deliberation. *Asy-Shura*, or deliberation, is defined as seeking the opinions of those competent in a particular matter. Deliberation can also be interpreted as the activity of soliciting the opinions of the people or their representatives on general matters related to them. Deliberation in Islam is mandated to certain groups of Muslims known as *Ahl al-Shura*, or the People's Representative Council¹⁰.

Bai'at

Another uniqueness of the Islamic government system is related to the oath of allegiance. The oath of allegiance is a promise of loyalty and obedience from the people to their leader, as well as the implementation of the leader's duties more perfectly. The conditions that must be met in the oath of allegiance process, namely¹¹: first, the person being sworn in must meet the criteria as required in leadership. Second, the person who swears allegiance must be the people's representative council, both from intellectuals and leaders and the people as a whole. Third, the person being sworn in must be willing, if he refuses then his leadership is invalid. Fourth, testimony in the oath of allegiance if there is only one person who swears allegiance. If there are many people who enter into a contract or swear allegiance, then no testimony is required. Fifth, the person being sworn in must be one person, so it is not valid to swear allegiance to more than one person.

Crown Prince

The crown prince is one of the most important elements in the latest innovations in the Islamic political system. A crown prince is a figure appointed by the caliph or the ruling government to assume the position after his death, either through an official document for one person or for more than one person in succession. Some schools of Islamic jurisprudence approve of the oath of allegiance by a caliph to a crown prince, whether his son or his parent. The pioneer of the appointment of a crown prince in Islam was Mu'awiyah ibn Abu Sufyan. He appointed his

⁹ Raghil As-Sirjani, *Sumbangan Peradaban Islam Pada Dunia* (Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Kautsar, 2009), 426.

¹⁰ As-Sirjani, 484–85.

¹¹ As-Sirjani, *Sumbangan Peradaban Islam Pada Dunia*.

son, Yazid. This marked the beginning of the monarchical system of government, which would later evolve into absolute monarchy.

Dynamics of the Islamic Political System in the Classical Period

Al-Khulafa Al-Rasyidun

After the Prophet Muhammad Sawdied, the leadership of the Muslim community was replaced by four caliphs known as the Khulafa al-Rasyidun. During the reign of the Khulafa al-Rasyidun¹², fundamental changes occurred, one of which was in the aspect of government. During the time of the Prophet Muhammad Saw, the Muslim community's government was a theocracy, oriented towards sovereignty based on God. This theocratic system of government was then transformed into a non-theocratic system of government during the Khulafa al-Rasyidun era. This new system of government prioritized the use of reason in running the government. However, it still referred to sharia policies applied through deliberation and consensus in making policies and running the government. This situation led many political writers in Islam to argue that the system of government implemented during the Khulafa al-Rasyidun era was an ideal system¹³.

Asghar Ali called it an Islamic "republic." The caliphate system has many similarities with the republican system in the modern world today. This is evidenced by the election of the head of state, who is elected by the people simultaneously, and the state is also accountable to the people. The difference lies in the aspect of the position of power. In a caliphate system, a caliph remains a leader as long as he or she adheres to Islamic law, but in a republican system, a leader's term of office is predetermined¹⁴.

The government system implemented during the Khulafa al-Rasyidun era was based on the Qur'an, hadith, and ijma'. This is as exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) during his leadership, who based his leadership on the Qur'an and Hadith. Furthermore, during the Khulafa al-Rasyidun era, the caliphs positioned themselves as servants of the people, not as authoritarian leaders. Therefore, the people gave their full support to the caliphs. Furthermore, the caliphs did not discriminate against their people and did not grant privileges to certain tribes.

The government system implemented during the Khulafa al-Rasyidun era was a democracy or republic, which prioritized the voices and aspirations of the people. This situation resulted in the people always being involved in all aspects of government. Ownership of the Bait al-Mal (house of wealth) was also not controlled by the caliphs, but rather prioritized for the needs of the people. Besides being leaders, the caliphs during the reign of the Khulafa al-Rasyidun also served as legal and religious experts, and paid great attention to the existence of ulama. This situation resulted in the decline of the influence of the Jahiliyyah (Islamic period) during the reign of the Khulafa al-Rasyidun. The lives of the caliphs were closely tied to sharia, so they were far from luxury¹⁵. The highest power in the government system during the reign of Abu Bakr was centralized, as it had been during the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Executive, legislative, and judicial powers were concentrated in one hand. During the reign of Caliph Umar, changes occurred. The judiciary became independent. He also established a perfect civil government network. In addition, two advisory bodies were established: a council that met upon public notice and a council that only

¹² Siti Maryam et al., *Sejarah Peradaban Islam* (Yogyakarta: LESFI, 2002), 43.

¹³ M N Sunandar, "Konsep Agama Dan Sistem Pemerintahan Dalam Perspektif Islam," *Mizan: Journal of Islamic Law*, 2017.

¹⁴ Usri and Hamzah S Fathani, "Pembaharuan Sistem Pemerintahan Pada Dinasti Umayyah Dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Peradaban Islam," *Al-Mutsla: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keisaman Dan Kemasyarakatan* 4, no. 1 (2022): 67–76.

¹⁵ M. Abdul Karim, *Sejarah Pemikiran Dan Peradaban Islam* (Yogyakarta: Bagaskara, 2012).

discussed matters of paramount importance. Every citizen had one vote in the country's governance¹⁶.

The democratic values that existed during the era of the Khulafa al-Rasyidun can also be seen in the election process for each caliph. The first caliph, Abu Bakr as-Siddiq, was chosen based on the consensus of the Muslims at the Saqifah Bani Sa'idah after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. Everyone present agreed to pledge allegiance to Abu Bakr, including Ali. When Abu Bakr felt his death was near, he discussed his successor with several companions and decided on Umar ibn al-Khattab as his successor. After experiencing the tragedy of being stabbed while performing prayer, Umar then gave a signal regarding his successor. He gave several choices: Abdurrahman ibn 'Auf, Ali, Uthman, Zubayr, Talhah, and Sa'ad. After Umar's death, the six men then gathered and finally came to an agreement that Uthman was appointed as caliph to replace Umar. The process of appointing Ali as caliph resulted from the oath of allegiance of the Muhajirin, Anshor, and all those present at the time except Mua'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan¹⁷. Based on the process of electing the four caliphs to succeed the Prophet Muhammad, the application of the values of deliberation, democracy, and consensus can be seen, so it is not wrong to call the leadership of the al-Khulafa al-Rasyidun a period that implemented a democratic system, or republic in the course of Islamic governance.

Umayyad Caliphate

After the end of Ali ibn Abi Thalib's reign, a complicated process led to the emergence of the Umayyad Caliphate, centered in Damascus¹⁸. This 90-year-old caliphate was spearheaded by Mu'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan, led by 14 caliphs who served under a hereditary monarchy system, which was not achieved through elections or majority vote. The pioneer was Mu'awiyah, who appointed his son, Yazid, as crown prince. This attitude was influenced by the conditions in Syria during his tenure as governor. Mu'awiyah wanted to emulate the system of government in Persia and the Byzantine Empire, namely hereditary monarchy¹⁹.

The Umayyad Caliphate period is divided into three periods: the early period marked by Mu'awiyah's efforts to lay the foundations of government and the orientation of power, the assassination of Husayn ibn Ali, the seizure of Medina, the invasion of Mecca during the reign of Yazid I, and the conflict that occurred between Arab tribes during the reign of Mu'awiyah II. The golden age began during the reign of Abdul Malik, who successfully prevented the disintegration that had occurred since Marwan's reign. This golden age ended during the reign of Umar ibn Abdul Aziz. The following period was a period of decline²⁰.

The monarchical system that was implemented created a gap between the people and the rulers. The people had no opportunity to express their opinions. This situation was different from the previous government, namely the era of the Khulafa al-Rasyidun. Furthermore, during Mu'awiyah's reign, he formed a spear-bearing guard for the king and built a special section inside the mosque for his security while he prayed there. He also introduced official stamps used for sending the caliph's memorandums. Mu'awiyah also paid great attention to the postal system. During his reign, he established the Council of Secretaries of State (*Diwan al-Kitabah*) which was

¹⁶ Maryam et al., *Sejarah Peradaban Islam*.

¹⁷ Qasim A. Ibrahim and Muhammad A. Saleh, *Buku Pintar Sejarah Islam*, trans. . Zainal Arifin (Jakarta: Zaman, 2014).

¹⁸ Suhaimi Suhaimi, "Meretas Sistem Pemerintahan Islam Dalam Lintas Sejarah," *Jurnal Yustitia* 20, no. 1 (2019): 63, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.53712/yustitia.v20i1.563>.

¹⁹ Karim, *Sejarah Pemikiran Dan Peradaban Islam*, 113; Hasan Ibrahim Hasan, *Sejarah Dan Kebudayaan Islam* (Jakarta: Kalam Mulia, 2002).

²⁰ Maryam et al., *Sejarah Peradaban Islam*, 69–70.

tasked with managing various government affairs²¹. During the reign of Abdul Malik ibn Marwan, the government is regulated by four departments, namely the Ministry of Land Tax (*Diwan al-Kharraj*), the Ministry of Khatam (*Diwan al-Khatam*), the Ministry of Correspondence (*Diwan ar-Rasail*), and the Ministry of Taxation Affairs (*Diwan al-Mustagallat*).

The Umayyad Empire adhered to a feudal system of government which is a form of government system ruled by certain individuals, namely the king or emperor who has the highest power and owns wealth. Therefore, the structure of this feudal system is in the form of a pyramid consisting of the ruling and ruled groups. This system persisted from the beginning of the Umayyad Dynasty until the reign of Umar bin Abdul Aziz who tended to choose a simple life. Through this explanation, it is clear that there has been a shift in the government system in Islamic civilization, from the original democratic system to a monarchical system²².

Abbasid Caliphate

The Abbasid Caliphate was the longest-ruling Caliphate in classical Islamic civilization. The history of the Abbasid Caliphate's founding cannot be separated from the existence of the Banu Hashim, the closest descendant of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). The Banu Hashim believed they were worthy of being the leaders of the Muslim community, citing their ancestry. Their desire to become leaders of the Muslim community had existed for a long time, but began to develop into an opposition movement when the Umayyad Caliphate, led by Mu'awiyah, succeeded in overthrowing Ali ibn Abi Talib. Furthermore, the Umayyad Caliphate's harsh and arbitrary attitude towards the descendants of the Banu Hashim made them increasingly determined to take over the leadership of the Muslim community at that time. Abbasid propaganda began during the reign of Umar ibn Abdul Aziz during the Umayyad Caliphate. The stable situation gave them the opportunity to formulate plans to overthrow the Umayyad Caliphate, centered in the city of al-Humayyah. The initial movement was led by Abdullah bin Abbas who was later replaced by his son, Muhammad, who designated the city of al-Humayyah, the city of Kuffah, and the city of Khurasan as the center of their movement.

After Muhammad died, he was succeeded by his son, Ibrahim al-Imam. This camp had Abu Muslim al-Khurasani who was a famous warlord and succeeded in capturing the city of Khurasan and was followed by other victories. Ibrahim al-Imam was captured by the Umayyad Daula and imprisoned until he died. This movement was then controlled by Abu Abbas who then succeeded in winning the battle with the Umayyad Daulah camp in the Djab II river area in February 750 AD. This event was then used as the beginning of the establishment of a new government in the Islamic world known as the Abbasid Daulah. The name Abbasid is attributed to its founder, namely Abu Abbas, who later had the title as-Saffah²³.

After overthrowing the Umayyad Dynasty, the Abbasid Caliphs considered their power to be of divine origin and to be the true guides for the Muslim community. They considered their presence an effort to save the community. The titles al-Mansur, al-Mahdi, al-Hadi, and al-Rashid indicated that they claimed to be guided by God on the straight path to bring enlightenment and to return the Muslim community to the right path. The caliphs became protectors of scholars and scientists. During the Umayyad Dynasty, the caliphs were titled Caliphs of the Messenger of Allah, but during the Abbasid Dynasty, their caliphs were titled Caliphs of Allah, considered "Shadows

²¹ Maryam et al., *Sejarah Peradaban Islam*.

²² M. Nasihudin Ali, "Kebijakan Umar Ibn Abdul Aziz Dalam Pemberantasan Korupsi," *Warisan: Journal of History and Cultural Heritage* 1, no. 2 (October 21, 2020): 37–45, <https://doi.org/10.34007/warisan.v1i2.305>.

²³ Kiki Muhammad Hakiki, "Mengkaji Ulang Sejarah Politik Kekuasaan Dinasti Abbasiyah," *Jurnal Tapis: Jurnal Teropong Aspirasi Politik Islam* 8, no. 1 (2012): 115, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24042/TPS.V8I1.1547>.

of God on Earth." The caliphs were considered to implement God's law by seeking legitimacy from the scholars, thus claiming a sacred right to hold power.

Similar to the Umayyad Dynasty, the Abbasid Dynasty also adopted a monarchical system of government. This is evident in the system of succession of caliphs during the Abbasid Dynasty. As was done by the Caliph al-Mansur who appointed his son, al-Mahdi, and so on²⁴. The peak of the glory of the Abbasid Daulah occurred during the reign of Caliph Harun ar-Rasyid (170 AH / 786 CE). The peak of glory can be seen from the progress achieved during his reign. Science experienced significant progress, many scientists and scholars emerged, the translation of foreign language books into Arabic, and other physical and non-physical developments are benchmarks of the progress achieved. Progress during the leadership of Caliph Harun ar-Rasyid is also reflected in the many territorial expansions he successfully carried out, including the Roman territory which he successfully conquered and recognized his existence and leadership in the Islamic world.

The existence of the Abbasid Empire and its contribution to Islamic civilization cannot be denied. The dynamics of the Abbasid Empire are globally recognized by the world. The destruction of Baghdad and the Abbasid Empire occurred at the hands of the Mongols. However, long before that, the fragility within the Abbasid Empire made them even weaker. The existence of Turkish slaves who transformed into bodyguards (232-334 AH/850-945 AD) was also a factor that led to the collapse of the Abbasid Empire.

Experts divide the power of the Abbasid Dynasty into three periods, namely²⁵: during the time of Abu Abbas Ash-Saffah, the Buwaihi, and during the Seljuk period. The first period began in 132 AH/750 AD until 232 AH/847 AD. The beginning of this period was marked from the leadership of the caliph Abu Abbas as-Saffah until the leadership of the tenth caliph. This period is also called the golden age of the Abbasid Empire.

The next period, namely the year 847 AD-945 AD. The beginning of this period began with the death of Caliph al-Watsiq and ended with the rise of Bani Buwaihi (847-932 AD). After the death of Caliph al-Watsiq, the leadership of the Abbasid Empire was continued by Caliph al-Mutawakil, with the beginning of Turkish influence. In addition, there was also military competition in Baghdad and Samarra. Throughout this period, there were several people who claimed to be descendants of Ali who wished to become caliph. There were 13 caliphs who led during this period. Buwaihi Period (945-1055 AD)²⁶. This period started from the beginning of the rise of Bani Buwaihi which was then followed by Bani Saljuk. Bani Buwaihi territory includes Iraq and Western Persia. De facto, the authority of the caliphate of the Abbasid Dynasty is held by Bani Buwaihi. At this time there was a difference in the madhhab that was followed. This happened because Bani Buwaihi adheres to the Shia sect and the Abbasid dynasty adheres to the Sunni sect.

The Seljuq Period (448-552 H/1055-1157 AD). In 447 H/1055 AD, the Seljuqs began to show their existence by taking over the government and controlling the Abbasid Caliphate. The Seljuqs' existence over the Abbasid Caliphate ended when the Mongols expanded to Baghdad and succeeded in destroying the Abbasid Dynasty in 656/1258 AD.

The following are some factors that influenced the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate, namely: competition between nations, economic decline, inter-religious conflict, and external threats. During the reign of the Abbasid Caliphate, they tended to side with the Persians more than the Arabs. They did this on the grounds that the Arabs tended to find it difficult to forget the

²⁴ Maryam et al., *Sejarah Peradaban Islam*, 100–101.

²⁵ Badri Yatim, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2002).

²⁶ Maryam et al., *Sejarah Peradaban Islam*; Nurul Hak, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam: Rekayasa Sejarah Islam Daulah Bani Umayyah* (Yogyakarta: Gosyen Publishing, 2012).

Umayyad Caliphate. In addition, the Arabs who highly upheld 'ashabiyyah tended to be more easily divided. Meanwhile, the Persians tended to view the Arabs as a nation that was not superior to them. The vast territory achieved during the Abbasid Caliphate led to the involvement of many nations during its leadership. This situation then triggered the emergence of fanaticism that gave birth to the Shu'ubiyyah movement.

The shrinking territory of the Abbasid Caliphate before its collapse had a major impact on the state's economic situation. This impact resulted in a reduction in the jizyah, one of its main sources of income. Furthermore, the numerous unrest that occurred necessitated the implementation of agricultural tax relief. Small dynasties that broke free and no longer paid tribute also impacted the economic situation. The increasingly depleted economy was inversely proportional to the lifestyle of the caliphs. Before its collapse, the caliphs and officials continued to live luxuriously and many engaged in corruption. This further worsened the situation of the Abbasid Caliphate.

Towards the end of the Abbasid Empire, religious conflicts were not only oriented between the Zindiq (Sunni) and Shia, but also between Islamic sects, such as the Mu'tazilah, who were accused of heresy by the Salaf. This was related to the long-running Crusades. Furthermore, the Mongol invasion under the leadership of Khulagu Khan ultimately became the direct cause of the collapse of the Abbasid Empire²⁷. The Abbasid Empire had different characteristics from the Umayyad Empire. The Abbasid Empire was more influenced by the Persians than the Arabs. This influence turned out to have a positive impact on the Abbasid Empire, namely the development of science. The aspect of Arabism was maintained in two areas: Islam as a religion and Arabic as the official language of the state²⁸.

Fatimid Caliphate

The Fatimid dynasty was a Shiite dynasty. The name of this dynasty is attributed to the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad, Fatimah al-Zahra. Initially, the center of government was in Tunisia with the capital Qairuwan (909-971 AD), then moved to Cairo, Egypt (972-1171 AD). This dynasty emerged during the Abbasid dynasty's reign. The Fatimid dynasty originated from the Ismaili Shiite group, which arose due to a dispute over the successor to Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq (700-756 AD)²⁹. The Ismaili Shiites promoted the theory or concept of al-Istiqrar (the true imam) and al-Istida' (the entrusted imam) after a dispute arose between them and the Musawiyah Shiites, followers of Musa al-Kazhim. They considered that Musa al-Kazhim was a mustauda' (entrusted) imam, so he had no right to pass on the imamate to his son. Isma'il ibn Ja'far ash-Sadiq was the original imam (mustaqir) so he had the right to pass on the imamate to his son³⁰. This situation shows that this daulah also adhered to an absolute monarchy system of government. The Fatimid Daulah emerged as a rival to the existence of the Abbasid Daulah which did not recognize the Fatimid caliphate as a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad Saw.

In 909 AD, Said ibn Husayn, who was the leader of the Ismaili sect, succeeded in expelling Ziadatullah, the last ruler of the Aghlabiyah Dynasty³¹. Said proclaimed himself as the first imam of the Fatimid Daulah with the title Ubaidillah al-Mahdi. This event marked the beginning of the

²⁷ Nurcholish Madjid, *Khazanah Intelektual Islam* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984).

²⁸ Dkk Daulay, Haidar Putra, "Masa Keemasan Dinasti Umayyah Dan Dinasti Abbasiyah," *Jurnal Kajian Islam Kontemporer (JURKAM)* 1, no. 2 (2020): 72–77.

²⁹ Abdullah Taufik, *Ensiklopedia Tematis Dalam Dunia Islam* (Jakarta: Ichtiar Baru Van Hoeve, 2003).

³⁰ Muhammad Suhail Thaqqus, *Bangkit Dan Runtuhnya Dinasti Mamluk* (Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Kautsar, 2018).

³¹ Dr. Muhammad Suhail Thaqqusy, *Bangkit Dan Runtuhnya Daulah Fathimiyah* (Jakarta: Pustaka Al Kautsar, 2015).

establishment of the Fatimid Daulah which was centered in Raqqadah, al-Qayrawan area. Since its official establishment, the Fatimid Daulah has continued to expand its territory. Some of the regions they have succeeded in controlling are Syria, Malta, Sardinia, Cosrica, the island of Betrix, and others. During the reign of Imam al-Muiz, this dynasty had a brilliant general, Jauhar, who would later conquer Fustat (Old Cairo) and make Cairo the center of the dynasty's government. This event occurred in 973 CE.

The Fatimid Caliphate, led by 14 imams, deeply wounded followers of other religions and Sunnis. During their reign in Egypt, they reportedly committed numerous acts of intolerance against followers of other religions. They frequently destroyed Jewish and Christian places of worship. This occurred during the reign of Imam al-Hakim ibn Amrillah (996-1021 CE). All churches in Jerusalem were closed or even destroyed. Many Jews and Christians had to pretend to follow the teachings of the Ismaili Shia to save their lives. Furthermore, during the Fatimid Caliphate, Sunnis were severely oppressed. They were prohibited from visiting Jerusalem and forced to constantly mention the name of the Ismaili Shia Imam in Friday sermons.

The Fatimid Caliphate made significant contributions to Islamic civilization. In politics and government, this dynasty had a distinctive characteristic: the use of the term "imam" for its leaders. They believed that this term was a reference to leaders exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad. In this caliphate, the Imamate was passed down from a father to his eldest son. This demonstrates the implementation of an absolute monarchy in the government system. Furthermore, a will from the previous Imam was also required for a change of leadership. The Imam in the Fatimid Caliphate was considered the incarnation of God Almighty on earth and served as the primary reference in sharia matters³².

The system of government implemented during the Fatimid Caliphate was a new one in the history of the Islamic world in Egypt. The leadership of an Imam was both temporal and spiritual. Furthermore, the Caliph also had the authority to appoint and dismiss high-ranking state officials. The Fatimid Caliphate also established viziers and councils within its government³³. Furthermore, during the reign of this Shia caliphate, developments in thought and philosophy, education and science and technology, the economy, and other sectors also occurred. During the reign of Imam Abu Abdullah ad-Dai, he minted official currency coins and created symbols of power featuring Shia images and symbols. In addition, he also called for adding the phrase, "*Hayya 'Ala Khair al-Amal*" in the call to prayer.

CONCLUSION

The presentation of the dynamics of the Islamic government system shows changes. These changes can be seen from the reign of the al-Khulafa al-Rasyidun to the leadership of the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt. The foundation of Muslim leadership was established during the time of the Prophet Muhammad, then continued in subsequent periods, namely the al-Khulafa al-Rasyidun, the Umayyad Caliphate, the Abbasid Caliphate, and the Fatimid Caliphate. The al-Khulafa al-Rasyidun period is the period closest to the Prophet's leadership. Therefore, the government system implemented was a democratic republic with four caliphs as the supreme leaders of the Muslim community and upholding the principle of deliberation. The implementation of this democratic system can be seen through the process of appointing the caliphs and the policies they implemented, particularly in the political field. After the end of the leadership of Caliph Ali ibn

³² M Rofiqoh, "Dinasti Fatimiyyah: Sejarah Dan Perkembangan Peradaban Islam Di Mesir," *COMSERVA: Jurnal Penelitian Dan ...*, 2022.

³³ Irwan Supriadin J, "Dinasti Fatimiyah: Analisis Kemajuan Dan Runtuhnya Peradaban Islam Di Mesir," *FiTUA: Jurnal Studi Islam* 2, no. 1 (2021): 101–16, <https://doi.org/10.47625/fitua.v2i1.321>.

Abi Talib, the Islamic government system began to undergo significant changes. Initially a republic that upholds the principles of democracy, it later changed to a monarchy. The characteristic that occurs is that leadership must come from one family which is replaced by hereditary means, as was implemented during the Umayyad Daula, Abbasid Daula and Fatimid Daula. This leadership, which was carried out from generation to generation, was transformed into an absolute system, which made the caliph's policies and decisions absolute things that had to be carried out. The absolute monarchy system can also be seen from the policies of the caliphs which did not provide much space for the people to participate in religious activities. The Imamate will be passed down to the family, especially children. The caliph's decision is an absolute thing that must be carried out. The people's pledge of allegiance to the appointed caliph is no longer important.

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