RECONSTRUCTION OF POWER LEGITIMACY: IBN ZUBAIR'S STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF ISLAMIC CALIPHATE

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Abstract

This paper aims to reconstruct the history of the Islamic caliphate with a focus on Ibn Zubair's conception of leadership selection and power legitimacy. The key issues discussed include how Ibn Zubair obtained his legitimacy and the principles he adhered to in selecting leaders, as well as the impact of his views on the political and social developments of the time. The research employs a qualitative method with a descriptive-analytical approach, involving literature reviews and text analysis. The primary sources consist of historical literature and records in the form of classical Islamic texts, while secondary sources are used to provide broader context. The findings reveal that Ibn Zubair had a deep understanding of leadership selection, which involved consultation and specific criteria for a just leader. The study concludes that Ibn Zubair supported the election of leaders through consensus within the Muslim community, prioritizing leadership quality and legitimacy from society, rather than hereditary succession as practiced by the Umayyad Dynasty, which tended to pass power from one generation to the next. Ibn Zubair's thoughts significantly contribute to our understanding of power legitimacy in the history of the Islamic caliphate and its relevance to the current political and social context.

Keywords: Caliph; Ibn zubair; Leader selection; Legitimacy of power.

INTRODUCTION

In the history of Islam, the issue of the legitimacy of the caliphate has been a long and complex subject of debate. Since the passing of Prophet Muhammad saw, in 632 CE, Muslims have faced significant challenges in determining who is entitled to lead them. The question of who is entitled to succeed the Prophet as caliph, both politically and spiritually, has been a central focus in early Islamic history. Following the Prophet's passing, disputes arose among Muslim groups regarding who should be the next caliph. Two major groups emerged Sunni and Shia, with differing opinions on the first caliphate nominee. Sunnis chose Abu Bakr Siddiq as the first caliph, while Shia believed that Ali bin Abi Thalib, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, was the most deserving .

During the caliphate of Usman ibn Affan, a period marked by darkness in the history of the Muslim community, the achievements and advancements of Islamic civilization built by the previous Caliph, Umar ibn Khattab, seemed to be threatened as chaos and division spread among Muslims during this time. Dissatisfaction with Usman's policies, which tended to favor his relatives in the administration of the government, led to strong feelings of discontent towards the Umayyad dynasty, which dominated the circles of power at that time, becoming the main trigger for conflict and rebellion. Usman ibn Affan was accused of practicing nepotism by appointing many of his relatives to positions within the government system. This action generated dissatisfaction among the Muslim populace. Usman's policies, perceived as favoring his family, especially the Umayyad dynasty, which held sway in the corridors of power at that time, resulted in increased negative sentiment towards them (Maryam et al., 2009).

Ali bin Abi Talib, who assumed power amid chaos, also appeared to face similar challenges in maintaining the stability of the Islamic government (Hamzah & Hamriana, 2023). Moreover, with

Usman's death, the political situation became increasingly complex and diverse (Ali, 2022; Lapidus. Ira M., 1999). Tensions arose not only from rebel groups but also from those seeking revenge for Usman's death. Faced with a difficult situation, Ali chose to prioritize the stabilization of governance over engaging in conflict and revenge. However, this decision did not satisfy the groups seeking vengeance against Usman, leading to attacks on the Islamic caliphate. Meanwhile, Muawiyah opted to separate his region in Syria from the central government's influence, while the Kharijites began to emerge. History records that Ali ibn Abi Talib's reign was marked by several civil wars within the Muslim community, such as the Battle of the Camel and the Battle of Siffin. Nevertheless, despite the turmoil and chaos that characterized much of that period, eventually, the flames of disorder subsided.

In the year 41 Hijri, following the death of Ali bin Abi Thalib a few months earlier, a significant event occurred in Islamic history. Hasan bin Ali, who was considered the legitimate Amir al-Mu'minin, decided to relinquish his authority to Muawiyyah bin Abi Sufyan, who was ruling over the region of Sham at that time (Ekaviana, 2021). With this action, Muawiyyah ultimately secured the position of the unified Islamic Caliph. Reconciliation occurred among various factions of Muslims that were previously divided, and policies halted due to disintegration since the end of Usman bin Affan's caliphate were revived. The year that symbolizes this period later became known as the Year of Unity or Am Jamaah, as it marked a time when the Muslim community reunited under one leadership. From another perspective, this year also marked the beginning of the Umayyad dynasty, a significant dynasty in Islamic history. Muawiyyah's reign lasted for twenty years, until the year 60 Hijriah (Nur, 2015).

Unfortunately, the wheels of history turned once again. After the death of Muawiyah, the legitimacy as Amir al-Mu'minin was unilaterally passed down to Yazid bin Muawiyah (Setiawan, 2020). The perplexing decision seemed to trigger protests from various sectors of Islamic society in Mecca, Medina, and other regions. Consequently, rejection, coup attempts, assassinations, destruction, and civil wars among fellow Muslims became characteristic of Yazid bin Muawiyah's rule. From the various oppositions that emerged at that time, the movement of Abdullah bin Zubair centered in Mecca posed a significant threat to the authority. Yazid ordered an attack on the holy city of Mecca under the command of General Husain bin Namir to counter this threat, but before successfully defeating Ibn Zubair, Yazid passed away.

After the era of Yazid, the Umayyad dynasty experienced significant internal turmoil. Within a few months, there was a rapid turnover of power. Muawiyyah II, who was still a child, succeeded his father, Yazid, but only held control for 40 days. Marwan bin Hakam was later appointed as the successor of the Umayyad dynasty by some of the inhabitants of Syria, replacing Khalid, the son of Yazid. Despite Muawiyyah II and Marwan bin Hakam being blood relatives separated by five generations, Marwan succeeded in obtaining power. On the other hand, Ibn Zubair, who had gained political influence since the time of Yazid, received allegiance in Mecca and several other regions. When Yazid passed away, Ibn Zubair's authority expanded effectively in the Hijaz and other areas, while the Umayyad dynasty experienced internal turmoil. Ibn Zubair's movement persisted for nine years until it was crushed in Mecca in the year 73 Hijriah by Abdul Malik bin Marwan.

Unfortunately, there is a tendency among historians to overlook clearly revealed facts, and this seems to be a pattern followed by many subsequent historians without adequate reevaluation. In commonly known historical works, Ibn Zubair is often portrayed as a rebel against Umayyad authority, including figures such as Yazid bin Mu'awiyah, Marwan bin Hakam, and Abdul Malik. The author suspects that such narratives are believed to have grown due to the subjective sentiments of previous historians towards Ibn Zubair, as well as the lack of caution and adequate criticism from subsequent historians.

In the era of the caliphate, the selection of leaders was a highly vital matter in determining the political, social, and religious direction of a state. One pivotal period in the history of the Islamic caliphate was the time of Ibn Zubair, which marked a significant shift in thinking regarding the

conception of leadership selection and the legitimacy of power. Ibn Zubair, as a figure holding sway over the caliphate during that period, raised important questions about the nature and criteria used to establish the position of a leader within Islamic society. This political struggle became more intricate with the emergence of major dynasties in Islamic history, such as the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties. The caliphate, initially an institution led by Muslim leaders chosen through consensus or recognition from within the Muslim community, began to evolve into a hereditary monarchy system. This gave rise to new questions regarding the legitimacy of the caliphate, sparking debates about the validity of the caliph's authority derived from Allah versus worldly-based legitimacy.

Over time, Islamic scholars began to develop theories about the legitimacy of the caliphate. Among these theories is the concept of the Rashidun Caliphate, which emphasizes that the ideal caliph should be chosen based on moral qualities and strong leadership, as well as having legitimacy from the Muslim community (Yusuf, 2015). This theory is reinforced by references to the era of the first four caliphs, which is regarded as the pinnacle of Islamic leadership excellence (Adhayanto, 2011). However, the thought regarding the legitimacy of the caliphate is not static. Alongside the political, social, and cultural changes within the Islamic world, this concept continues to evolve. For instance, with the fall of the Ottoman Caliphate in the early 20th century, new questions emerged about the ideal form of caliphate in the modern context. Some groups, such as Hizb ut-Tahrir, advocate for the restoration of the caliphate system based on a model they perceive as pure Islamic legitimacy (Yusuf, 2015).

In the complex context of the modern world, the issue of the legitimacy of the caliphate remains a relevant topic. Political changes, globalization, and economic challenges have prompted new thinking on how Islam can adapt to the demands of the times. Some contemporary Islamic thinkers argue that the legitimacy of the caliphate should encompass democratic aspects in line with Islamic principles, while others emphasize the need to maintain religious authority in political affairs. Thus, discussions on the reconstruction of the legitimacy of the Islamic caliphate not only reflect theological and historical debates but also mirror the complexities of our era. Understanding of this concept continues to evolve in tandem with the evolution of Islamic thought and the contemporary challenges faced by Muslims worldwide.

In this paper, we will undertake a reconstruction of the history of the caliphate, focusing on the conception of leadership selection and power legitimacy as articulated by Ibn Zubair. Through a thorough examination of primary and secondary sources, we will endeavor to gain a better understanding of how Ibn Zubair attained legitimacy in his authority, what principles he adhered to in selecting leaders, and how this conception influenced the political and social developments of the time.

This research is expected to make a significant contribution to our understanding of the history of the Islamic caliphate, as well as to unearth relevant lessons within the current political and social context. By comprehending Ibn Zubair's role in the history of the caliphate, we can delve deeper into insights on how the selection of leaders and the legitimacy of power shape the political and social structures within the Islamic tradition, and its implications on the changes occurring within Muslim societies.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research employs qualitative method to delve into the conceptions of leadership selection and power legitimacy proposed by Ibn Zubair in the history of Islamic caliphate (Mack, Woodsong, Macqueen, Guest, & Namey, 2005). The qualitative method enables researchers to understand the historical and cultural context underlying Ibn Zubair's thoughts. This research design is descriptive-analytical, where the researcher will reconstruct the history of the caliphate with a focus on the conception of leadership selection and the legitimacy of power proposed by Ibn Zubair. The study will utilize primary and secondary sources to support the analysis. The primary data source for this research is historical literature in the form of classical Islamic texts and historical records. Secondary data sources will also be used to provide broader context related to

Ibn Zubair's thoughts. Data collection techniques will include literature review and textual analysis. Literature review will be conducted to gather information from various reliable sources. The collected data will be qualitatively analyzed using a descriptive-analytical approach. The analysis will involve comparing and interpreting classical texts and historical records to uncover Ibn Zubair's conception of leadership selection and the legitimacy of power (Hakim, 2020). To ensure the validity and reliability of the research, the researcher will use data triangulation by comparing information from various sources. Additionally, the researcher will transparently document the data analysis process to ensure the validity of the findings. By employing qualitative method, descriptive-analytical design, relevant data sources, appropriate data collection techniques, and considering the validity, reliability, and ethics of the research, it is expected that this study will provide a profound understanding of Ibn Zubair's conception in the context of leadership selection and legitimacy of power in the history of Islamic caliphate.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Concept of Leadership Selection in Islam

Governance or leadership is a crucial element in replacing the role of the Prophet in maintaining the unity of religion and politics. Maintaining the continuity of the governance system as the successor of the Prophet's caliphate is considered an obligation according to the consensus of scholars (ijma'). Although there are differences of opinion among scholars regarding whether this obligation to maintain leadership is Sharia-based or non-Sharia-based (rational) , however, leadership remains an inevitable element in any civilization. No society can be said to have a civilization without the presence of leaders in its social structure, whether in the form of kingdoms, federations, republics, or other forms of governance. Although the Quran and Hadith do not specifically determine the structure of leadership, the only requirement stipulated is that the leader (ulul Amri) must be a Muslim.

Imam al-Mawardi, in his book Al-Ahkam Al-Sultaniyyah, formulated seven criteria that a leader must possess (Al-Bashari, 2007; Anam Khoirudin & Mawardi, 2023). The seven criteria encompass: Justice, Wisdom, Integrity of the Five Senses, Physical Health, Sagacity, Courage, and Affiliation with the Quraysh Tribe. The criteria mentioned by al-Mawardi are largely based on interpreting the general characteristics of the Rashidun Caliphs, namely Abu Bakr, Umar ibn Khattab, Usman ibn Affan, and Ali ibn Abi Talib. These Rashidun Caliphs are considered to represent the teachings and values of Islam because they were not only close to the Prophet personally but also recognized as his closest senior companions. This is in line with the Prophet's command to follow in their footsteps.

During his lifetime, the Prophet Muhammad saw, did not explicitly mention who would succeed him after his passing. When news of his death spread, his companions were perplexed about who would assume both his political and spiritual leadership roles. At the Saqifah Bani Sa'idah, Sa'ad bin Ubadah al-Ansari, a leader of the Bani Sa'idah tribe, declared himself as the caliph, but this proposal was rejected by most of the companions, particularly from the Muhajirin, who preferred to appoint Abu Bakar, the closest companion of the Prophet, as the caliph (Watt, 1988). Initially, only five people supported Abu Bakar: Umar bin Khattab, Abu Ubaidah bin al-Jarrah, Basyr bin Sa'ad, Usaid bin Khudair, and Salim, the freed slave of Abu Huzaifah. However, this decision was later embraced by the entire Muslim community (R. Massi, 2020).

After two years in office, Abu Bakar fell ill and bequeathed his leadership to Umar bin Khattab. However, Abu Bakar's appointment was not unilateral but rather after consultation with several other companions, where they agreed that Umar would be his successor. After the agreement was reached, in the month of Jumadil Ula in the 13th year of Hijri, Abu Bakar requested Usman to write a decree appointing Umar bin Khattab as his successor. Usman then read the decree to the Muslim community in Medina, and they collectively pledged allegiance to Umar (Al-Buthi, 2001).

Unlike Abu Bakr's direct approach in selecting his successor, Umar bin Khattab appointed six members of a council known as Ahlu al-Shura as his potential successors. This council served as the highest governing body responsible for administrative affairs. They were also tasked with choosing one among themselves as the caliph. The six individuals included: Ali bin Abi Talib, Zubair bin Awam, Abdurrahman bin Auf, Sa'ad bin Abi Waqash, Usman bin Affan, and Talhah bin Ubaidillah.

During the selection process, the six Shura councils encountered difficulties in determining the next Khalifah. There was a balance of votes between Zubair, who supported Ali, Talhah, who supported Usman, and Sa'ad, who supported Abdurrahman. Abdurrahman bin Auf then proposed involving the entire Muslim community in the selection between Ali and Usman, but the result remained controversial. After four days of inconclusive voting, Abdurrahman invited the Muslim residents to witness the inauguration of the new Khalifah. Although initially asked by Ali to inaugurate him, Ali refused. However, Usman agreed to inaugurate Abdurrahman when asked. Surprisingly, Abdurrahman bin Auf then pledged his support to Usman and urged the entire Muslim community to inaugurate him (Al-Buthi, 2001).

Lastly, amidst the challenging circumstances in the Islamic world, Ali bin Abi Talib was appointed as the caliph (Rasyid, 2015). All the companions from the Muhajirin and Ansar groups, along with the residents of Kufah, approached Ali and requested him to assume leadership in succession to Uthman. Among the first to pledge allegiance to Ali were Talhah bin Ubaidillah, Zubair bin Awam, Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, and the people of Kufah (Baghdadi, 1999). This loyalty was then followed by other Muslims. From the explanation, it can be concluded that the process of selecting the caliphs, starting from Abu Bakr, 'Umar, Uthman, to 'Ali, involved significant methodological differences. Abu Bakr was chosen through collective agreement, 'Umar based on recommendation from the previous caliph, Uthman after consultation with the Shura council, and 'Ali was selected based on appointment by the companions and residents of Kufah.

Thus, the Islamic governance system has undergone significant development since the time of Prophet Muhammad saw. During the Prophet's era, Medina served as an example of a bureaucratic system that integrated both state and religion. Prophet Muhammad saw, not only led as a religious figure but also as a head of state, uniting both powers within himself. In strengthening the new state of Medina, he laid the foundations of societal life, including the construction of mosques as centers of governance, fostering brotherhood among Muslims, and managing relationships with non-Muslims (Yatim, 2002).

During the Rashidun Caliphate, the succession of leaders of the Muslim community after the death of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) was carried out through a process of consultation. Abu Bakr, as the first Caliph, continued the responsibilities of leadership by governing and facing internal and external challenges. This period was characterized by unity between the leaders and the community, as well as principles of democratic leadership. However, the era of the Rashidun Caliphate was short-lived, as after Abu Bakr, various upheavals occurred in the selection of leaders. Nonetheless, the Rashidun Caliphate is still regarded as a period where Islamic leaders followed the example of Prophet Muhammad, consulted with the elders, and did not act in an authoritarian manner (Sunandar, 2017). This period marks the early phase in Islamic history that illustrates the unity between religion and state, and its influence on the development of Arab civilization.

While there are variations in the practice of selection, there are commonalities that connect them. One such similarity mentioned by Al-Mawardhi is the seven criteria for a leader to be just, wise, courageous, without defect, and so on. Furthermore, all these selection practices involve consultation to reach consensus among the Muslim community. Although Umar was appointed as the Khalifah before, the appointment process involved discussions between Abu Bakar and several other companions. In other words, the element of consultation becomes a principle in the selection of Islamic leaders, regardless of its form, whether through general elections, representation from tribal councils, or other methods.

The Basis of the Legitimacy of Abdullah bin Zubair's

Briefly, the Umayyad system of government, also known as patrimonialism, allowed the leader to view the state as his personal property that could be passed down to his family, while the people were treated as subordinates who had to obey and comply. This concept asserted the absolute power of the leader, which could not be challenged, even by constitutional law (Hitti, 2006). The Umayyad dynasty adopted this model from their experiences in Iran, where rulers were seen as shepherds and the people as their flock. Additionally, the Umayyad leaders used Islam to support their authority, claiming to be the "Vicegerent of God" and successors of the Prophet. They even claimed full control over the crucial functions of enforcing and establishing Sharia law. To strengthen their legitimacy, they employed various means, including pressure and violence against those who disagreed (Malik, 2017).

The significant difference is evident between the democratic leadership of the al-Khulafa al-Rashidun and the monarchical rule of the Umayyad Dynasty . The al-Khulafa al-Rashidun ruled democratically with respect for Islamic law, while the Umayyad Dynasty based their power on domination and force, disregarding the voice of the people and treating the bait al-mal as the personal property of the caliph. This shift created a transition from a government obtained through trust to a power struggle filled with bloodshed, marking a significant change in the history of Islamic governance following the era of the al-Khulafa al-Rashidun (Watt, 1988).

In the year 60 AH, after ruling for approximately twenty years, Muawiyah bin Abi Sufyan, a key figure in early Islamic history, made the significant decision to transfer his power to his son, Yazid. This decision raised questions among the Muslim community about the reasons behind choosing Yazid as his successor and marked the beginning of a new tradition in Islamic politics that resembled a monarchy more than a leadership system based on the principles of shura (consultation). Although there was no explicit explanation for Muawiyah's motives, his decision was seen as an authoritarian move taken unilaterally. However, the reaction to this decision was not uniform among the Muslim community (Baghdadi, 1999).

Yazid found himself facing significant rejection from various segments of the Muslim community, including influential figures such as Husain bin Ali, Ibn Zubair in Mecca, and a large number of the inhabitants of Medina. Despite Yazid's envoy, Walid bin Utbah, coming to seek their allegiance, they firmly refused to pledge their loyalty to Yazid. This marked the beginning of political tension and instability among Muslims and spurred the development of opposition groups against Yazid's rule (Mahfudin et al., 2019).

The efforts implemented by Yazid bin Muawiyah to consolidate his leadership were almost akin to the colonization of Arab lands. During his four-year reign (60-64 AH), there were at least three major incidents involving bloodshed among the Muslim community. These incidents included the Battle of Karbala, the Battle of Hirah in Medina, and the assault on Mecca. These events are considered one of the darkest chapters in the history of the Muslim Ummah. The descendants of the Prophet and his family were killed, the holy cities of Mecca and Medina were stained with blood, their inhabitants were massacred, their women were dishonored, and the Kaaba was damaged by projectiles hurled by Yazid's forces (Rachman, 2018).

Apart from the shortcomings in the regulatory process of Yazid's appointment, researchers believe that the strong sentiment among Muslims towards the Umayyad dynasty has reinforced the widespread rejection of Yazid's leadership by the Muslim community. The widespread rejection of Yazid's leadership by the Muslim community was not solely due to shortcomings in his appointment process, but also because of the strong sentiments against the Umayyad dynasty. Researchers believe that several factors contributed to these sentiments. First, most members of the Umayyad family embraced Islam only during the later phase of the Prophet's life. Although Islam was first introduced in Mecca in 611 AD, only a few responded to the Prophet's call at that time. Those who accepted Islam faced persecution and even death threats. Meanwhile, many members of the Umayyad group remained secure in their positions for a significant period. They only embraced Islam after the conquest of Mecca (Fathu Makkah), with some converting even after

the Prophet's death. In the view of the Muhajirin and Ansar, these individuals were not seen as deserving of great respect. Instead, honor was due to the Muhajirin and Ansar who had long struggled alongside the Prophet (Katsir, 1988).

Second, unresolved issues with Muawiyah continued to shape perceptions of Yazid. Although Muawiyah had gained Hasan bin Ali's approval to become caliph, dissatisfaction with Muawiyah, who fought against Ali in the Battle of Siffin, remained a deep wound in the hearts of many Muslims, particularly the Shia. Those who supported Muawiyah during the Battle of Siffin were disliked by the followers of *Ahlul Bayt*. For instance, Abdullah bin Amr, due to his participation on Muawiyah's side in the Battle of Siffin, was shunned by Hussein bin Ali and his followers . As a result, when Muawiyah passed away, the Muslim community collectively chose their own leader, reflecting their rejection of Yazid's legitimacy.

Undeniably, since the emergence of Islam, it has become customary among the Arabs that a Muslim who has a close relationship with the Prophet Muhammad, is considered pious, and possesses extensive knowledge, would be highly esteemed by fellow Muslims. The closer someone is to the Prophet, the greater the respect they receive from others. This is especially true if the individual is also known for their devotion to worship and profound knowledge. The four Rightly Guided Caliphs (Khulafa al-Rashidun) indeed met these criteria. Ali ibn Abi Talib, for instance, not only had a close familial relationship with the Prophet but was also renowned as a skilled warrior, devoted in worship, and highly knowledgeable (Muir, 1858).

Abdullah bin Zubair was a highly respected companion. In terms of age, Ibn Zubair belonged to the very young generation of companions. Historical records indicate that Ibn Zubair was the first baby born after the Hijrah in the year 1 AH. His birth brought joy among the Muslims, considering that the Jews of Medina had previously claimed to have cast a spell on the Muslims, rendering them unable to have children. With the birth of Ibn Zubair, this claim of sorcery was disproven. In terms of lineage, his father, Zubair bin Awam, was a highly esteemed companion. Zubair was among the first group to embrace Islam. He also had a family connection to the Prophet Muhammad, as the son of Awam bin Khuwailid, who was a cousin of Khadijah, and Safiyyah bint Abdul Muttalib, the Prophet's aunt. On the other hand, his mother, Asma, was the daughter of Abu Bakr and the sister of Aisha, the wife of the Prophet.

In a broader context, Ibn Zubair had close familial ties to the family of the Prophet Muhammad. His father, Zubair, his mother named Asma, his grandfather was Abu Bakar, his aunts were Khadijah and Aisyah, and his grandmother was Safiah binti Abdul Muthalib (Al Atsir, 2003). With this perspective, Ibn Zubair can be considered as part of the Ahlul Bait of the Prophet. As a figure with a strong leadership appeal, Ibn Zubair is widely known as an individual diligent in performing religious duties. His life is marked by his consistent fasting, earnest and diligent prayers, and his strong willingness to share with others. In the realm of struggle through Jihad, Ibn Zubair is recorded as one of the participants in various conflicts of Islamic expansion, including his leadership in the battle of Muslims against the Juraijir forces in North Africa (Atsir, 1994).

His noble lineage, kinship with the Prophet Muhammad, high dedication to worship, and significant role in Islam all contributed to widespread acceptance among the people. This acceptance became a fundamental basis for supporting the legitimacy of Ibn Zubair's movement. Before declaring himself as Caliph, Ibn Zubair had long been a leader and prominent figure in Mecca. One of his achievements was ordering the reconstruction of the Ka'bah and expanding the Masjid al-Haram by adding a roof. Information regarding Ibn Zubair's policies towards these two holy sites reflects the broad acceptance of his leadership by the people of Mecca (Azraqi, 1980).

After Yazid came to power, he sent a request to Ibn Zubair, who at that time held political influence in Mecca, to pledge allegiance to Yazid as the Islamic Caliph. However, Ibn Zubair firmly refused the request and even swore not to submit to Yazid. As a result of this refusal, Yazid sent Muslim bin Uqbah to attack and confront Ibn Zubair in Mecca. After Muslim bin Uqbah fell, this task was continued by Husain bin Namir al-Kindi. However, before he could resume his attack on Ibn Zubair, Yazid suddenly died, which led to the cessation of the assault.

Three months after the death of Yazid, in the month of Rajab in the year 64 H, Ibn Zubair finally seized the opportunity to announce his leadership. Ibn Zubair's announcement garnered a positive response from Muslims in various regions across the Islamic world. Support for his leadership spread widely, encompassing Mecca, the Hijaz region, Kufa, Basra, Hims, Khurasan, Palestine, and Egypt.

The Comparison of The Legitimacy of Power Between Marwan and Ibn Zubair

The following is a comparison between the legitimacy of Ibn Zubair and Marwan bin Hakam as two influential figures in politics after the downfall of Muawiyah II. This comparison includes various aspects such as history, lineage, socio-cultural context, and normative aspects. Knowledge of lineage is part of the distinctive tradition of the Arab people that has been passed down from generation to generation. Arab society generally forms groups and bonds based on blood relations, which serve as the foundation for uniting their community. In other words, maintaining lineage among Arabs holds significant meaning in preserving their identity. Moreover, for some individuals, nurturing lineage also signifies preserving their pride, especially if their ancestors held prominent positions in history. Therefore, a high degree of tribal loyalty and the existence of barriers between tribes are common phenomena within Arab society (Hitti, 2006).

After Islam arrived, the restrictions of those tribes were removed. Kinship relations based on tribal affiliations were replaced by kinship relations based on faith. Nevertheless, Arab practices in preserving lineage did not completely disappear but were integrated with Islamic practices. Although Islam introduced new values of individualism to Muslims, the ideas of community and brotherhood remained important. The general view of the nobility of lineage also underwent changes, where those who had familial connections with the Prophet and his companions were esteemed.

Based on that idea, the noble lineage of Ibn Zubair stands out prominently. His close connection with the Prophet Muhammad and his esteemed status within the Muslim community is remarkable. His father, Zubair bin Awam, was a highly respected companion and among the early converts to Islam. Zubair also had familial ties to the Prophet Muhammad through his paternal lineage from Awam bin Khuwailid, who was a paternal cousin of Khadijah, and Safiah binti Abdul Mutalib, the aunt of the Prophet. On the other hand, his mother, Asma, was the daughter of Abu Bakar and a paternal cousin of Aisyah, the wife of the Prophet Muhammad.

In a broader context, the familial relationship of Ibn Zubair is closely tied to the family of the Prophet Muhammad. His father's name was Zubair, his mother was Asma, his grandfather was Abu Bakr, his aunts were Khadijah and Aisyah, and his grandmother was Safiah binti Abdul Muthalib.

Figure 1. Genealogical diagram of the Golden Era by Ibn Zubair
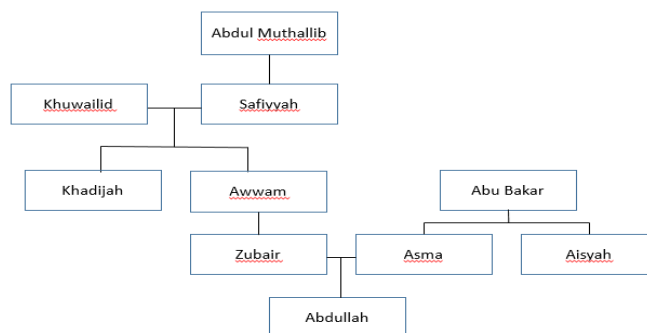
Unlike Ibn Zubair, who had a respected lineage within the Muslim community, Marwan bin Hakam descended from Hakam bin Abu al-As, a prominent leader of the Quraysh known for his negative reputation among Muslims. Throughout his life, Hakam bin Abu al-As staunchly opposed Islamic teachings and was exiled from Mecca following the Conquest of Mecca in 630, until his

death. Hakam's poor reputation as an opponent of Islam also influenced perceptions of his son, Marwan, who initially opposed Islam as well. The negative sentiments among Muslims towards Marwan are reflected in the spread of fabricated hadiths condemning the descendants of Hakam bin Ash. Generally, most Muslims tended to have aversions towards the Umayyad family involved in governance during the reign of Usman bin Affan.

From Marwan's perspective as the heir of the Bani Umayyah family's power, genealogically, Marwan does not have a direct lineage to Muawiyah, who founded the Umayyad dynasty. The blood relationship between Muawiyah and Marwan is connected through Umayyah, who is their common grandfather. Therefore, the blood relationship between Marwan and Muawiyah II can be considered distant based on their lineage (Karim, 2011).

The upheaval that shook the Umayyad dynasty government began during the reign of Yazid bin Muawiyah. During his rule, Yazid was preoccupied with suppressing political rivals threatening his position, such as Hussein and his supporters in Kufa, opposition in Medina, and Ibn Zubair who refused to submit to Yazid in Mecca. In the year 64 Hijriah, Yazid passed away, leaving Ibn Zubair as the primary political rival who controlled Hijaz generally. Muawiyah II, Yazid's son, then succeeded him as the Umayyad caliph, but Muawiyah II resigned after approximately 40 days. Muawiyah II's resignation underscores an important aspect: he never designated a successor, including Marwan, who was considered the heir of the Umayyad dynasty, and Ibn Zubair. Both of them, in this case, equally declared that their caliphates were not based on the previous ruler's testament (A. Syalabi, 1986).

Manipulation of historical facts can be clearly seen when we conclude that Marwan ibn Hakam was the successor to Muawiyah II, while Ibn Zubair is considered a rebel against Marwan. However, it should be emphasized that Muawiyah II's statement allowing Muslims to choose their own caliph actually indicates that during that period, Islamic authority was in a phase of void unaffected by any particular caliphate. Muawiyah II's statement suggests that at that time, the Muslim community had the freedom to determine their leader without influence from any specific party.

In this context, the positions of Ibn Zubair and Marwan should be considered equal, as both emerged in a situation where the Muslim community had the authority to choose a caliph without interference from established caliphates that existed before. Therefore, understanding that Islamic authority during that period was in a state of vacancy can help avoid misunderstandings regarding the roles of Marwan bin Hakam and Ibn Zubair. Both should be viewed as figures emerging within the context of the Muslim community's freedom to elect leaders, rather than merely as successors or rebels in that sequence of events.

As mentioned earlier, Muawiyah II granted succession rights to his rule to the general populace. If during Yazid's time, Islamic cities refused to legitimize the Umayyad dynasty as the united rulers of the Caliphate for them, then during Muawiyah II's time, especially after Muawiyah II stepped down, it seemed to assert the loss of Umayyad dynasty authority over leadership in the Islamic world. In other words, whoever is widely chosen by the Muslim community is entitled to be the legitimate caliph.

In the context of this discussion, historical data indicates that the allegiance (*bay'ah*) of Marwan bin Hakam took place in the month of Dhu al-Qa'dah in the year 64 H. This event occurred several months after Ibn Zubair declared himself as the caliph in the month of Rajab in the year 64 H . Therefore, the statement regarding the mistakes announced by Marwan and also followed by Abdul Malik constitutes an attempt to rebel against the caliphal government of Ibn Zubair, not the other way around.

In the years 64-65 AH, a series of significant events unfolded during the power struggle within the Islamic world, starting with the death of Yazid bin Muawiyah in the month of Rabi'ul Awal, 64 AH. Following Yazid's death, the Umayyad forces led by Husain bin Namir halted their siege of Ibn Zubair's movement in Mecca and withdrew back to the region of Syria . This event marked the beginning of a new phase in the political dynamics of the time. Around one and a half

months later, in mid-Rabi'ul Akhir, Muawiyah II, Yazid's successor, announced his resignation from the caliphate. In his decision, he openly delegated the responsibility of choosing the next caliph to the Muslim community. However, a few months after his resignation, Muawiyah II mysteriously passed away, leaving a leadership vacuum in the Umayyad dynasty (Al-Thabari, 1991). In the month of Rajab of the same year, Ibn Zubair declared himself the Caliph of Islam. This declaration gained widespread support from Muslims in the regions of Hijaz, Yemen, Iraq, and Khurasan. Additionally, Ibn Zubair initiated the project to reconstruct the Ka'bah, a symbolic move in his leadership.

Meanwhile, within the Umayyad camp, internal debates arose over who would succeed the leadership of the dynasty after Muawiyah II's resignation. Three main factions emerged: the supporters of Khalid bin Yazid, backed by Hasan bin Malik al-Kalbi; the supporters of Marwan, backed by the generals; and a group supporting Amr bin Sa'ad bin Ash. After a series of negotiations, the Umayyad leaders agreed to appoint Marwan bin Hakam as the new caliph. In Dhu al-Qa'dah, 64 AH, after successfully quelling the rebellion of the Qais tribe in Damascus, Marwan bin Hakam took the oath of office as caliph in the region of Syria. However, Marwan's reign was short-lived. In the month of Ramadan, 65 AH, Marwan bin Hakam passed away, and leadership of the Umayyad dynasty was succeeded by his son, Abdul Malik, who would rule until 86 AH. These events reflect a turbulent period of transition in the early history of the Islamic caliphate, with various factions vying for power and influence in a rapidly changing political landscape (At-Tabari, 1977).

Leadership in Islam is mandated as fardu kifayah, an obligation that must be fulfilled by a portion of the Muslim community in a particular region. More explicitly, there should be no vacuum of leadership in any area, and this duty is based on verses of the Qur'an, implicitly obligatory hadiths, and the consensus of scholars on the importance of leadership. Despite being obligatory, Islamic Sharia does not provide specific guidance on the definition, form, model, and other provisions regarding Islamic leadership. Therefore, some early scholars, such as al-Mawardhi, analyzed models of leadership consistent with Islamic teachings, referring to the leadership model of the Khulafau ar-Rasyidin as an ideal portrayal of leadership in Islam.

Among the intersections connecting Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman, and Ali as ideal leadership models, as viewed by al-Mawardi, is that all four were highly respected companions of the Prophet Muhammad. In this context, both Ibn Zubair and Marwan ibn Hakam held respected social statuses within the Muslim community. However, Marwan ibn Hakam's status as a "companion" of the Prophet Muhammad is contested by some, such as Ibn Sa'ad, who classified Marwan as an elder Tabi'in. On the other hand, there is no doubt about Ibn Zubair's position as a "companion" of the Prophet. It is mentioned that the Prophet kissed Ibn Zubair when he was still a baby (Atsir, 1994).

In al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyyah, al-Farra outlines four essential criteria that he believes a leader must possess. Firstly, the prospective leader must hail from the Quraysh tribe. Secondly, they must demonstrate leadership abilities characterized by maturity, both physically and mentally. Thirdly, the candidate should also have sufficient experience in military affairs. Furthermore, al-Farra highlights that a leader must have reached adulthood (*baligh*), possess sound judgment, and maintain physical health. His final criterion emphasizes the necessity for the leader to have significant experience in warfare. Moreover, al-Farra adds an additional criterion: a high level of religious knowledge. Thus, according to al-Farra, an ideal leader not only possesses physical qualities and practical experience but also profound religious wisdom.

Detailing Ibn Zubair's experience as a leader in Mecca and his role, alongside highlighting Marwan ibn Hakam's position as a state official during Usman ibn Affan's leadership, it can be concluded that both fulfilled the criteria mentioned by al-Farra. However, based on historical data, Ibn Zubair particularly stood out in religious and scholarly aspects compared to Marwan. This indicates that Ibn Zubair had an advantage in these respects based on existing historical evidence.

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CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this paper asserts that the reconstruction of Islamic caliphate history with a focus on Ibn Zubair provides profound insights into his pivotal role in reshaping the concepts of leadership selection and legitimacy of power. As a key figure during the caliphate era, Ibn Zubair raises crucial questions about the criteria and characteristics of a leader in Islamic society. Through analysis of primary and secondary sources, this research reveals how Ibn Zubair attained his legitimacy and its impact on political and social developments at that time.

Ibn Zubair's excellence in religious aspects and knowledge, alongside his contributions to the paradigm of leadership selection within Islamic tradition, offer valuable insights into how leadership selection and legitimacy of power shape political and social structures in Muslim societies. The implications of this research underscore the importance of understanding Ibn Zubair's history in shaping Islamic political traditions and its relevance in comprehending current political and social dynamics. Thus, this study significantly contributes to our understanding of Islamic caliphate history and extracts valuable lessons applicable to contemporary political and social contexts. By deepening our understanding of Ibn Zubair's role, we can contemplate how leadership selection and legitimacy of power influence political and social structures within Islamic tradition, and their implications for societal change among Muslim communities.

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