

# Shajar Al-Durr and Women's Leadership in the Abbasid Caliphate: Not Easily Accepted!

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**Abstract.** Women leadership in Muslim countries, particularly appointing women as the highest leader of the state, is something almost unheard of. This study discusses and analyses the leadership of Shajar Al-Durr, the highest leader of Egypt during the Abbasid era. This research is a literature study in which the main data is obtained from the book written by Al-Maqrizi entitled *As-Suluk*. This study supports Fitriani's (2015) statement which stated that women leaders also have leadership qualities that enable them to lead, and these qualities are found in Shajar Al-Durr. However, some literature suggested that Muslim societies, at that time, tend to reject female leaders. Therefore, the history recorded that Shajar Al-Durr was replaced because the Abbasid Caliph believed that Egypt should be led by men. This research also suggests that Shajar Al-Durr was chosen to become the Supreme Leader because she was an important figure who was able to bridge the interests of Mamalik leaders and Saladin's family. Shajar Al-Durr paved the way for the Mamalik Bahriyah dynasty to rule, replacing the Ayyubid dynasty. This study also supports Norma Dg Siame (2012), who argued that women who have sufficient abilities and qualities are able to become leaders in Muslim countries.

**Keywords:** Shajar Al-Durr, women leadership, Mamalik

## 1 Introduction

Several studies have been published on women's leadership, such as women's leadership styles that have been published by A. Fitriani [1]. In her research, Fitriani revealed that female leaders in general also have certain characteristics that are generally owned by leaders. They are confident, passionate, charismatic, and risk takers. In general, Fitriani argued that there are two styles of women's leadership: feminism-masculine and transformational-transactional. Feminism-masculine means that female leaders have a tendency to show their feminist attitude in leadership, such as being dependent on others, emotional, irritable, gentle, and so on [2]. On the other hand, transformational-transactional leadership is a leadership style that changes most of the features on an organization in the past.

Ida Novianti (2008) highlights that Islam, both in terms of culture and religion in general, prefers women to stay at home. However, nowadays, women have similar opportunities as men to play their roles in various fields of life, including becoming leaders [3]. Many countries have imposed a secular system that separates religious and political leadership, especially in this era.

However, of course, eliminating the popular belief that leaders in a Muslim society should be a man is not an easy matter. In addition, Maria Ulfa (2008) revealed that there are many challenges faced by female leaders [4]. For example, when Megawati participated in the 2004 Indonesian Presidential Election, some religious leaders who supported Solahuddin Wahid as President stated that it was illegal to vote for a female president. Sonja Van Wehelen (2006) revealed that Megawati's leadership and candidacy did cause debate in the media. The debate revolved around three main discussions: nationalism, religion, and feminism [5]. The debate took place among religious leaders, scholars, feminist enthusiasts, and politicians. All of that, of course, is a lesson in itself for Indonesia as a nation state, and also for the rest of the Muslim world.

The above matter brings us to a further study of a fundamental question: is it permissible for a woman to be a leader in Islam? To answer this question, we need to look at the research of Dr. Afaf Yunus 'Id Hajij (2012). In this study, he revealed that Islam is a religion of justice. So, in Islam, women and men are treated fairly. Both have their respective rights and obligations. In Islam, women are brothers to men. However, Allah SWT has basically created men and women as two different creatures. Allah SWT says in Surah Ali Imran verse 36, "And men are not the same as women". And in another verse, Allah SWT says "And for men there are several degrees above women." This means that, according to Dr. Afaf Yunus, there are some advantages that Allah SWT has given to men and not to women. According to Dr. Afaf Yunus, these advantages are divided into 6 categories, namely: mind, body, religion, leadership, livelihood, and inheritance [6].

He further explained that leadership is the right of men. Women are not allowed to lead, either as general leaders or as assistants such as ministers. Some of the arguments used are verse 34 of Surah An-Nisa, which means, "Men are straighteners for women, with what Allah has made some of them above others, and with what they spend from their wealth." And also the hadith in Sahih Bukhari number 1423, which means "a group of people will not be lucky if they give their leadership to women". From this, we can conclude that in a Muslim society, women's leadership will forever face a dilemma because there are religious texts that clearly state that women's leadership is not recommended. In other words, male leaders are more easily accepted than female leaders in Muslim societies. In addition, Dr. Asar Abdul Karim (2017) mentioned a similar matter. He stated that, in general, the rule of choosing a leader in Islam is to prioritize the leadership of someone who is capable of maintaining the interest of people. Thus, it does not matter if the leader is male or female, as long as the leader is able to maintain the interest of the people. Dr. Asar stated that this opinion is a moderate opinion. It seems that the moderate way of thinking sometimes does not match the radical one [7].

However, we also need to mention other studies that have different conclusions, including research by Norma Dg Siame (2012). Norma stated that the opinion which states that a woman cannot be a leader is the opinion of the Muslim Scholars who are genderly biased. He stated that Rasulullah PBUH praises the dignity of women, and there is not a single verse in the Qur'an that forbids women from being a leader. He added that if a woman has the ability and capacity to lead, then there is nothing wrong with a woman leading and contributing to the Islamic Society [8].

By looking at the studies above, we can conclude that women's leadership in Muslim countries is always debateable. On the one hand, women are considered not to have the capacity to lead a country, while on the other hand, we can see in real life that there are female figures who have excellent leadership abilities, and are actually capable of leading Muslim countries. These Female Leaders were not only encountered in modern times, but also in medieval times. History recorded that there were several Women Leaders who led Muslim Countries in the Middle Ages. Among them are Rodhiyat Ad-Din (in some references written Raziya Ad-Din);

the queen of the kingdom of Delhi who reigned in 1236-1240 AD[9]. Arwa bint Ahmad As-Sulayhi who led the Yemen region in 1098-1138 AD[10]. Arwa As-Sulayhi is also considered the first Queen in the history of Islam, especially in the Arabian Peninsula. Lastly, Shajar Al-Durr who led Egypt in 1250 AD. The last mentioned one will be the locus of this study.

Research on Shajar Al-Durr is unique, at some levels. Her name has indeed been mentioned in several studies by academics such as ND Siame (2012), A Hadi (2017), and several other articles. Although there have been studies which specifically discussed the leadership of Shajar Al-Durr by Meirison (2009) from the perspective of Islamic law, the author, however, saw that the discussion about the leadership of Shajar Al-Durr from political and historical perspective is also important. It has never been covered in the previous studies because Shajar Al-Durr marked the end of the Ayyubid dynasty and the start of the Mamluk dynasty in Egypt[11]. The author also seeks to reveal, why did Egypt (which was one of the centres of Islamic civilization) accept the leadership of a woman named Shajar Al-Durr[12]? Answering the above question would be main aim of this article.

## 2 Methodology

The previous studies, that have been mentioned, serve as the basis and also the framework used by the authors in analyzing Shajar Al-Durr's leadership. The research carried out by the authors is a literature study, using references related to women's leadership in Islam and the history of the Mamluk Dynasty under the leadership of Shajar Al-Durr. Several books were used as the main references in this study, including "*Aqdu Al-Juman fi Tarikh Ahli Az-Zaman*" by Badrudin Mahmud Al-'Aini (died 1451 AD), then "*As-Suluk fi Ma'rifat Duwal Al-Muluk*" by Al-Maqrizi (died 1442 AD). Apart from that, other references in the form of articles, encyclopedias, and reference books were also used.

This study uses historical and political approach. Using theories related to leadership, politics, and history, researchers analyze the available resources using analytical descriptive pattern.

## 3 Results

### 3.1 The Relationship Between Shajar Al-Durr, the Ayyubid Dynasty and the Mamalik Dynasty

Shajar Al-Durr's origin is not very clear and no clear explanation upon her lineage can be found. Al-Maqrizi, for example, explained that she was from Turkey. Some people believed that she came from Armenia [14]. Shajar Al-Durr was a slave bought by Sultan Najm Ad-Din As-Salih, the King of Egypt during the Ayyubid State. Sultan Najm Ad-Din As-Salih loved Shajar Ad-Durr so much, she was later freed from slavery, and legally married. From this marriage, Khalil was born, son of Najm Ad-Din As-Salih and Shajar Al-Durr [15]. However, Khalil died when he was a kid. Nevertheless, the name of his son was still pinned to Syajarat Ad-Durr, so she was often called as Umm Al-Khalil, or the mother of Khalil.

When Sultan As-Shalih, the husband of Shajar Al-Durr, led Egypt, a war between Muslims and Christians broke out [16]. Egypt was attacked by the Crusaders from France. French forces launched a military campaign into Islamic territory. At that time, the Crusaders began to enter

the territory of *Dimyat* and *Mansuroh* in Egypt. In the midst of war, Sultan As-Shalih suddenly died. However, in order to maintain political stability in Egypt, Shajar Al-Durr hid the news of her husband's death. It was only after the Muslims had won and managed to repulse the French forces, Shajar Al-Durr finally announced the news of her husband's death. Sultan As-Shalih had not appointed a successor before he died. Nevertheless, Shajar Al-Durr, together with Jamal Ad-Din Muhsin At-Tawasyi and Fakhru Ad-Din, the Amir at that time, agreed to hand over power to Turonsyah, the son of Sultan As-Shalih.

Not so long after that, Turonsyah moved from Kifa to the fortress in Damascus [14]. And there, Turonsyah was officially appointed as the Sultan of the Ayyubid Dynasty and the successor of his father, Sulta As-Shalih. It was only then that Sultan As-Shalih was officially announced as deceased. After being appointed as King, Turonsyah immediately unleashed his best ability to defeat the crusaders. He and his army finally managed to hit the crusaders, so they were forced to retreat. Even then, the king of France was captured and became a prisoner. Sultan Al-Mu'azzhom Turonsyah finally made a deal with the crusaders and obliged the French people to pay large fines as a requirement of releasing the King of France. After a long debate, the Muslims finally got the fine, and the King of France was returned to the Crusaders [17]. After Sultan Turonsyah managed to secure his territory from the Crusaders, he began to govern his country. In his time, Turonsyah removed officials who had previously served in his father's time. He filled government posts with new people close to him. The Turonsyah also showed hostility to the Generals of Mamalik Bahriyah [14], namely the Turkish slaves who became the Ayyubid Dynasty Army, which Sholahuddin al-Ayyubi brought to Egypt and helped him to establish a dynasty in Egypt and Syria [18].

It should be noted that historians divide the Turkish army community brought by Sholahuddin Al-Ayyubi into two, namely Mamalik Bahriyah and Mamalik Burjiyah [19]. Mamalik Bahriyah are people from the ethnic group of Turks. They came from the region around the Mediterranean Sea. The area is now part of Turkey and its surroundings. While the Burjiyah Mamalik are also from the ethnic group of Turks, they are from the Central Asian region, the border of Russia. Some argue that they are from the Kaukas region of Russia. Turonsyah's hostile attitude toward Mamalik Bahriyah, who was then very strong in influence, eventually caused political tensions in Egypt. The tension led to a conspiracy carried out by Mamalik Bahriyah to kill Turonsyah. Mamalik Bahriyah is from the same ethnicity as Shajar Ad-Durr, and she certainly supported Mamalik Bahriyah. Moreover, Sultan Turonsyah also showed his hostility toward Shajar Al-Durr.

Sultan Turonsyah considered that Shajar Al-Durr hid the treasure of Sultan As-Shalih and did not want to hand it over to Sultan Turonsyah. However, Shajar Ad-Durr claimed that all the treasures had been used to cover the expenses of war. Finally, the Mamalik Bahriyah Army carried out their plan. They killed Turonsyah while he was in Cairo [14]. With the death of Sultan Al-Mu'azzhom Turonsyah, the Ayyubid Dynasty in Egypt ended. The Ayyubid Dynasty lasted for about 81 years. After Turonsyah's death, the Mamalik Bahriyah immediately gathered then decided to choose Shajar Al-Durr Ummu Khalil as Turonsyah's successor, to become the Queen of Egypt. They also chose Izzu Ad-Din Aybak as warlord. Then, a new era called the era of the Mamalik Bahriyah Dynasty began. This incident occurred in 648 H on the 10th of Safar, which coincided with the year 1250 on May 21. The signature of Syajarat Ad-Durr was also inaugurated, with the title "Walidat Al-Kholil", or "Mother of Al-Kholil". The name of Shajar Al-Durr was also mentioned in the Friday sermon, and her name is engraved on Egyptian currency [20].

The title held by Syajarat Ad-Durr is "Ashomatu Ad-Din." which means the sanctity of religion. If we look at the title pinned to Shajar Al-Durr, we can draw a conclusion that Shajar

Al-Durr actually got her charisma and influence from her husband and child. Her name was related to her husband and son. She is also referred to as Um Al-Malik Al-Manshur Kholil, mother of King Al-Manshur Kholil. Although her son died before reaching adulthood, he was still considered king, while the role of the son was represented by his mother, Shajar Al-Durr.

During the time of Shajar Al-Durr, there were negotiations with France so that France would withdraw and cede the territory of Dimyat to the Muslims. Dimyat is an Egyptian territory that includes a coastal region with Mediterranean Sea as the borders. After a tough negotiation, finally the Muslim forces moved in, carrying the flag of Islam while the French army was desperate to withdraw. The French retreated from Dimyat. They also paid a large fine for releasing the King of France from the captivity of Muslims; about 400,000 dinars [14]. The King was released along with all of the prisoners captured in the past, totalling 12,100 male prisoners and 10 female prisoners. They moved towards the west coast and boarded the ship for Aka, which was a Crusader base in the Palestinian territories at the time. So Dimyat was free from the occupation of the Crusaders. For about eight months, Dimyat was under the control of the Crusaders. The French troops then tried to attack Tunis, but they suffered defeat, and the French King, Luis IX, died in that attack [21].

### **3.2 Power Transfer from Shajar Al-Durr to Al-Muizz Izzuddin Aybak**

After the death of Al-Mu'azzhom Turonsyah, the news of the death spread to the region of Sham. The news finally came to the supporters of Turonsyah in Damascus. The figures in Damasukus then sent the news of Turonsyah's death and the rise of Shajar Al-Durr as The Queen of Egypt to Sultan An-Nashir the ruler of Aleppo region who is also a descendant of Shalahudin Al-Ayyubi. Sultan An-Nashir seemed to dislike the news, he then moved towards the fortress of Damascus, and took over the leadership of the fort. The remaining Ayyubids faithful troops in the fort then welcomed An-Nashir and then the fort was fully occupied easily under the control of An-Nashir[14].

The development that took place in Damascus was finally known by the Egyptian Authorities. They began to prepare the possibility of An-Nashir moving to Egypt and attack the Mamalik State[22]. Because An-Nashir is one of the descendents of Saladin Al-Ayyubi who wants the Ayyubid Dynasty to remain in power in Egypt and Sham. To make the situation more stable, the Generals of Mamalik Dynasty decided to replace Shajar Al-Durr with Izzuddin Aybak who was previously the warlord of Mamalik State. Prior to the transfer of power was carried out, Shajar Al-Durr was married to Izzuddin Aybak. In addition, Shajar Al-Durr obliged Izzuddin no to go to his first wife and also the children of his first wife. This requirement was finally accepted by Izzuddin Aybak, so there was a marriage between the two. After the two were married, Shajar Al-Durr stepped down from her position as the Ruler of Egypt, and then the highest power in Egypt was handed over to her husband, Izzuddin Aybak who was entitled as Sultan Al-Mu'izz. This transfer of power took place on the 19th of the Month of Rabi'ul at the end of 648 H which coincided with July 28, 1250 AD.

Before Izzuddin was appointed king, there were many people who opposed the leadership of Shajar Al-Durr, even the Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad. Al-Musta'shim sent a letter to the Ruler of Egypt about the leadership of Shajar Ad-Durr. The letter was sent by Caliph Al-Musta'shim after knowing that Shajar Al-Durr was appointed as the queen of Egypt. The letter stated: "If the Men are no longer exist among you, let us know, so that we can send you a man[14]." This letter is, of course, a clear statement from the Caliph that he wants Egypt to be led by a man, and not by a woman. It is important to note that the Abbasid Caliph at that time was still recognized as the highest ruler in the Islamic Region, but the Caliph did not have absolute

political power because each region had its autonomous Government [23], and could not be intervened directly by the Caliph. It was this ongoing wave of rejection that drove the Military Leaders in Egypt to opt for Shajar Ad-Durr to step down and hand the authority over to Izzuddin Aybak. The reign of Shajar Al-Durr lasted very short, which was about 80 days.

### **3.3 The Life of Syajarat Ad-Durr After Abdication**

Shajar Al-Durr still plays an important role in the government of Daulah Mamalik [14]. This situation made Shajar Al-Durr's influence in the government stronger than that of her husband. Although she has been abdicated, in reality Shajar Al-Durr is still in power. Shajar Al-Durr still had a high spirit to contribute to the management of the government of the Mamalik State. This continued during the reign of Sultan Al-Mu'izz Izzuddin Aybak from 648–655 H or 1250–1257 AD. The role of Shajar Al-Durr, who was so dominant in the government, turned out to make Izzuddin uncomfortable. Izzuddin secretly wanted to kill Shajar Al-Durr. Izzuddin became increasingly unhappy with Syajarat Ad-Durr because he once asked a shaman about the cause of his death. And it turned out that the shaman said that Izzuddin would be killed by Shajar Al-Durr.

This information made Izzuddin even more disliked Shajar Al-Durr. Finally, Izzuddin decided to propose the daughter of the Ruler of Moushol to marriage. This proposal of marriage offended Shajar Al-Durr. He felt that Izzuddin was trying to reduce her influence within the Kingdom. Shajarat Ad-Durr finally sent a letter to her husband, Sultan Al-Mu'izz, asking him to come to his room at the Citadel in Cairo, where Shajar Al-Durr lived. In addition, Shajar Al-Durr also sent a letter to Sultan An-Nashir, the ruler of Aleppo, informing him that Shajar Al-Durr wanted to kill Al-Mu'izz Izzuddin Aybak. Shajar Ad-Durr also offered An-Nashir if he would marry Shajar Al-Durr, and thus An-Nashir would become the King in Egypt. An-Nashir thought that the offer was just a trap, and he did not take Shajar Al-Durr's letter seriously. After Shajar Al-Durr asked Al-Mu'izz several times for him to come to see Shajar Al-Durr, while persuading and apologizing for all the mistakes she had made, finally Al-Mu'izz was willing to meet Shajar Al-Durr. It turned out that Shajar Al-Durr had prepared some of his men to kill Al-Mu'izz, so Al-Mu'izz died in the room where he met Shajar Ad-Durr.

Shajar Al-Durr later made the story that Al-Mu'izz died suddenly at night. And then the story was told to the leaders of the Mamalik State Leaders. Mamalik's leaders did not believe the story told by Shajar Al-Durr. Then they looked for information about what really happened. Finally, it was known that Shajar Al-Durr had killed Al-Mu'izz Izzuddin Aybak. The leaders of Mamalik Bahriyah then brought together Shajar Al-Durr with al-Mu'izz's first wife. The first wife of Al-Mu'izz also brought her female slaves. Al-Mu'izz's first wife was very vengeful with Shajar Al-Durr because Shajar Al-Durr forbade Al-Mu'izz Izzuddin Aybak to meet his first wife, since Al-Mu'izz married Shajar Al-Durr. During the meeting, Al-Mu'izz's first wife and her slave girls beat Syajarat Ad-Durr to death. Shajar Al-Durr was even thrown from the window of the fort and her body fell into the trench naked. Shajar Al-Durr's body was left for several days until it decomposed, and then the body was buried. Shajar Al-Durr died in 655 AD, coincided with 1257 AD [14]. After the death of Sultan Al-Mu'izz Izzuddin Aybak and his wife Shajar Al-Durr, Mamalik Bahriyah then chose al-Mu'izz's son Al-Manshur as the new King of Egypt. Thus the power of Shajar Al-Durr and Al-Mu'izz Izzuddin Aybak ended. The leadership of Shajar Al-Durr and Al-Mu'izz was the beginning of a new era, in which Egypt was no longer ruled by the descendants of Saladin Al-Ayyubi. Egypt was finally ruled by rulers of Turkish origin, namely the Mamalik Bahriyah group.

### 3.4 Analysing the Leadership of Shajar Al-Durr

There is an interesting question that we need to ask, which is why was Shajar Al-Durr chosen as the ruler of Egypt by the Mamalik Bahriah Leaders in Egypt? The authors argue that Shajar Al-Durr seems to have pretty good fortune, namely marrying Sultan As-Shalih Najm Ad-Din. This marriage made Shajar Al-Durr the closest person to Sultan As-Shalih. So Shajar Al-Durr became part of the large family of the Ayyubid Dynasty. Family relationships are elements that are very important for the survival of a party. Ibn Khaldun declared that power could not stand without fanaticism. The fanaticism mentioned by Ibn Khaldun is a national fanaticism that comes from ancestors, family, and descendants [13]. Therefore, Shajar Al-Durr became quite strong because Shajar Al-Durr was the wife of the King in the Ayyubid Dynasty and also the mother of the Sultan's son. If Shajar Al-Durr had not married King As-Shalih, then, of course, she would not have had the qualifications to become a ruler in Egypt. The authors also argue that the selection of Shajar Al-Durr as the ruler of Egypt could also happen because Shajar Al-Durr has ethnic similarities with Mamalik Bahriyah. They are from the Turks. Thus, Mamalik Bahriyah would have a stronger influence because they are of the same Turkish ethnicity.

The leadership of Shajar Al-Durr also seemed to add power to the strong influence of Turks in Egypt. For the first time, the Bahriyah, who came from Turks, only played a role in the military. For the first time, a supreme leader in Egypt came from the Turkish Ethnic [24]. On the other hand, there is also the possibility that Mamalik Bahriyah wanted to find a leader they could control, as well as a leader who would not disturb Mamalik Bahriyah's position as an important element in power, so that the leaders of Mamalik Bahriyah could maintain and strengthen their influence in Egypt. It is mainly because the previous leader, Turonsyah, who is a descendant of Sultan As-Shalih, was difficult to control and wanted to eliminate the influence of Mamalik Bahriyah, and finally King Turonsyah was killed by Mamalik Bahriyah [22]. Although his ancestors in the past highly appreciated the Mamalik Bahriyah,

The election of Syajarat Ad-Durr showed that Shajar Al-Durr has the general traits of a leader, as revealed by Fitriani [1], that a female leader in general has charisma, confidence, courage, and spirit, so that the members of the people who were led feel that the female leader deserves to lead and they, as followers, are willing to carry out the direction of the leader. The authors argue that Shajar Al-Durr has the qualities of a leader, so Shajar Al-Durr is considered suitable and capable of leading Egypt. Her charisma and spirit were also seen when she asked Mamalik Bahriyah to swear allegiance to Turonsyah, and the majority of Mamalik Bahriyah figures obeyed and carried out the order. From there, we can see that Shajar Al-Durr is a figure who is respected and obeyed by Mamalik Bahriyah [25].

Another proof that Shajar Al-Durr has prominent leadership qualities is that Shajar Al-Durr still plays an important role in the government even though she has been demoted from office. This means that the spirit of Shajar Al-Durr to contribute to her people is still very high. The courage of Shajar Al-Durr to lead the Muslim Society should also be appreciated because, of course, Shajar Al-Durr has the right to refuse to be a leader if she does not have the courage; as leading a great country like Egypt and Sham requires tremendous courage and energy. It can be stated that Shajar Al-Durr seemed to have high courage and confidence, so she was able to carry out her role as the Supreme Leader in Egypt. If we want to analyse the cause of the descent of Syajarat Ad-Durr, then the authors argue that the main cause of the fall of Shajar Al-Durr is religious affairs. Because Islam, in some of its texts, does not encourage women to lead. Especially at the level of a state, while there are still adult men who can carry out the leadership of the country.

The authors argue that women's leadership was a very big problem at the time because Egypt was part of the Abbasid Caliphate based in Baghdad [26]. The Abbasid Caliphate certainly maintained the value of Islam, especially regarding leadership. A leader in a region is a symbol that will be seen by everyone, both outsiders and Muslims. Thus, the mainstream clerical opinion that women should not lead will be the main rule in political and state activities because the Abbasid Caliphate is a Religious State, which stands on the basis of Islam to carry out the leadership of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Therefore, a protest emerged to remove Shajar Al-Durr and to replace her with Al-Mu'izz Izzuddin Aybak. Another question that is also interesting for us to analyze is the cause of the conflict that occurred between Shajar Al-Durr and Al-Mu'izz Izzuddin Aybak. Shajar Al-Durr appeared to be too powerful in Egyptian government, making King Al-Mu'izz Izzuddin Aybak feel unappreciated. According to Ibn Khaldun, a ruler has a tendency to defeat rivals who interfere and rival himself. Nature and instinct to be the only supreme ruler, according to Ibn Khaldun, is the original nature possessed by all rulers of the world, wherever they are and at whatever age they rule. This was revealed by Ibn Khaldun in his book *Muqoddimah* [13]. This natural instinct seems to be owned by Al-Mu'izz Izzuddin Aybak as well, so Al-Mu'izz was driven to antagonize Shajar Al-Durr, and even start to think of finishing off his wife. This led to the conflict between Shajar Al-Durr and her husband, Al-Mu'izz Izzuddin Aybak. Finally, Al-Mu'izz Izzuddin Aybak was killed first by his wife, and then Shajar Al-Durr also had to end her life very tragically.

#### 4 Conclusion

The leadership of Shajar Al-Durr is an important lesson in history about how a female leader can take part in and contribute to the political life of Muslims in Egypt. Her marriage to Sultan As-Shalih and her status as the Sultan's wife seemed to make Shajar Al-Durr considered suitable to be the leader of Egypt. Mamalik Bahriyah leaders also seemed to choose Shajar Al-Durr because she was considered quite close to the leaders of Mamalik Bahriyah and she was able to cooperate with them. Existing historical data shows that Shajar Al-Durr has outstanding leadership qualities both in terms of courage, spirit, and intelligence. However, the condition of Egyptian Muslims at that time, who were still within the scope of the Abbasid Caliphate and who prioritized Islamic values in political life, demanded that the female leader should be replaced with a male leader. So, Shajar Al-Durr had to end his 80-day reign. Shajar Al-Durr made an important contribution to the political development of Egypt. Shajar Al-Durr helped the Muslim community to maintain political stability in Egypt so that Egypt could expel the Crusaders from Egypt. Shajar Al-Durr also became a facilitator for Mamalik Bahriyah to play a more important role in the Egyptian Government so that a new Dynasty was formed in Egypt, namely the Mamalik Dynasty. With the leadership of Syajarat Ad-Durr, the history of the Ayyubid Dynasty in Egypt was ended. More research is needed to investigate the role of women during the Abbasid Caliphate, as well as the roles of other female political leaders in other parts of the Muslim world.

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