

**TRADITION OF KIAI'S KINSHIP AT PESANTREN
(ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL) IN MADURA**
(A Study on Trah, Kiai Kinship, and Pesantren in Sumenep)

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to know deeply about social network of kinship tradition or Trah in Madurese tradition which is defined as "toronan / na' poto" in which written sequence lineage from a family on kiyai kinship tradition in Madura. Some of Pesantren (Islamic boarding school) in Madura are still linkage of genealogy or trah from other pesantren families. The kiyai kinship tradition in some pesantren in Madura is closely related to the history of their founders or ancestors who were called "old kiyai" the pioneers of pesantren. The elderly chaplain or founder of pesantren who deliberately matches his grandchildren to another family of pesantren who is still one family/one of the closest kiyai family such as the child of his sister, the son of his uncle etc. thus giving birth to new Trah that grow and develop to this day. The method used in this study is field research, which is conducted to collect primary data in the field using observation, interviews and documentation. In addition, this data collection is also complemented by library research, which is the use of references in the form of reading books related to research themes to support field data, especially sociological, social and cultural anthropological theories such as functional structural theories in social institutions, symbolic theories, system theories, religion theories and documents related to the tradition of kiyai kinship in Madura.

Keywords: *Trah, Patron-Client Social Relations, Communication Model, Kinship.*

Abstrak

Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui secara mendalam tentang jejaring sosial tradisi kekerabatan atau *Trah* dalam tradisi Madura yang didefinisikan sebagai “*toronan/nak potoh*” (keturunan/cucu) di mana garis keturunan tertulis dari keluarga tentang tradisi kekerabatan kiyai di Madura. Pesantren di Madura rata-rata masih memiliki keterkaitan silsilah atau keturunan dari keluarga pesantren lainnya. Tradisi kekerabatan kiyai di beberapa pesantren di Madura terkait erat dengan masa lalu pendiri atau leluhur mereka yang disebut sebagai “kiyai tua” pendiri pesantren pertama. Pendeta tua atau pendiri pesantren yang sengaja mencocokkan cucu-cucunya dengan pesantren lain yang masih satu keluarga/salah satu keluarga terdekat kiyai sama tuanya dengan anak saudara perempuannya, anak pamannya, dll. Sehingga melahirkan keturunan baru yang tumbuh dan berkembang hingga hari ini. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah penelitian lapangan, yaitu penelitian lapangan yang dilakukan untuk mengumpulkan data primer di lapangan dengan menggunakan observasi, wawancara dan dokumentasi. Selain itu, pengumpulan data ini juga dilengkapi dengan library research, yang merupakan penggunaan referensi berupa buku bacaan terkait tema penelitian untuk mendukung data lapangan, terutama teori sosiologis, sosial dan budaya antropologi seperti teori struktural fungsional di lembaga sosial, teori simbolik, teori sistem, teori agama dan dokumen yang berkaitan dengan tradisi kekerabatan kiyai di Madura.

Kata kunci: *Trah, Hubungan Sosial Pelindung-Klien, Pola Komunikasi, Kekerabatan.*

A. Introduction

Trah in the tradition of Madura society is defined as the “*toronan/nak potoh*” (generation/descendants) which is the genealogy from the oldest of Father’s family. As time goes by, this genealogy term then called by *Trah*.

On the other hands, the roles of Kiyai in Madura has its own long stories and histories to be learned about. Nevertheless,

there's still untold perspectives of this issue that even the Madurase itself need to know it. Pesantren (Islamic Boarding Schools) and kiyai (the priest in islam) are inseparable especially in kiyai's social networks of kinship. The term of Kiyai in Madura has an important meaning of the society. There are respects and honours within the term. Kiyai are regarded as important religious figure of the social strata of the society.

The tradition of Kiyai's kinship in some Pesantren in Madura has been related with the ancestors who the first ones built the Pesantren. This ancestors who are then called Kiyai Sepuh deliberately betroth their children with the closest family such as their nieces or nephews or their cousins from another Pesantren that crate the new generations. This kind of trah or genealogy of Kiyai's kinship in Pesantren has become such a tradition in most Pesantren in Madura. This kind of tradition is interesting to be observed and to preserve of the trah and genealogy of Kiyai in Madura. This aims to completing the knowledge of genealogy of Kiyai's kinship histories and how it develop nowadays.

In postmodern, Kiyai had strong impact and what they do became a tradition among the society. The advices of the kiyai was considered as command that should be obeyed. The society believed that Kiyai was God's gift to protect them from perils. They also believed that Kiyai's prayers had powerful impact to their lives.

Nowadays, in linewith the growth of pesantren in Madura, the Kiyai's social networking especially in Pesantren community has been decreased. There's alterations in meaning and the genealogy of the Kiyai's kinship. This is the reason why we, as Madurase, should be able to retain what had been before. The problem that usually occure is misunderstanding and different perspectives among the grandchildren who refuse to be betrothed. Other problem is the tendencyof some Kiyai interest in political field.This then bring up the jelaousy to each other.

Another relationship in tradition of Kiyai's kinship in Madura is the relation with their students in their Pesantren. Pesantren that will be observed in this reseach are Pondok Pesantren Al Karawi Karay, Pondok Pesantren Al-Amin and Pondok Pesantren Annuqayah in the district of Sumenep.

B. Discussion

1. Literature

a. Kinship Study

Kinship system is the set of the rules that arrange and classify people of the specific relation. It includes rights and obligations in various level that distinguish the members of the relationship with the non-members. The smallest group of the kinship is they who have blood-relatives to each other whom come from the mutual parents and ancestors. In other case, there are also some people who are related by marriage (Simanjuntak, 2015). The marriage from each region will create a kinship system with the different cultures of each region. One of them is cultures of the kinship in Madura.

A kinship relationship can be seen either by blood-relative (genes) or marriage relationship between the relative. The most important transition of the community is from the teen life to the marriage life, in specific is the marriage of two people from different cultures. This kind of marriage can be the tools to control each spouse. The marriage can keep the good relationship of the group of family as well

Family is the immediate relative that consist of Father, Mother, and children. In other words, a family consist of the men as husbands, and the women as wives and they live with their children in a home. This kind of family is also called the main family or *keluarga batih*. This main family is exist as long as the children have not make other main family yet. The main family is a group of people that have blood relation or marriage relation. The roles of building a family is giving birth of offspring as a family identities and to be the place of cultural and kinship transition of the generations be done (Simanjuntak, 2015).

There are rules that control the particular rights and obligations of member in the kinship ties. For examples in heritance rights, title inheritance, and the rights for special positions, the obligation to do joint activities, and the obligation to undertake the productive activities (Koetjaraningrat, 2005). This kinship tie is closely related to the term kinship system.

The system of kinship are all customs, norms, and human behavior in social relationship that united by blood relation or by

marriage. Through this symbols, the kinship expands the family blood line, the brother hood ties, and introducing oneself to each other to build the pedigree of a family and their offsprings (Subandiroso, 1987).

G.P. Murdock in Koentjaraningrat(Koentjaraningrat, 2005) categorizes the kinship into 3 groups: (1) Corporate kingroups, which are exclusive and usually have the sixth element that is the common right to a certain amount of property in a group like this is usually limited; (2) Occasional kingroups, this group only has some of the 6 elements. This type of group is usually made up of many members, instead of continuous and intensive interaction, the member do gathering occasionally. (3) Circumscriptive kingroups, which usually have no elements on the 4.5 and 6 and even these three. This groups have been so large, so that their member often do not know each other. They generally only know about the existence of a person (as a citizen of the group) based on the signs set by the custom. The sense of the group's personality is often also determined by the customary signs

b. Genealogy of Leadership Based on Kinship Relationship in Pesantren (Islamic boarding school)

Geneologically, in preserving Pesantren traditions kiyai build strong solidarity and cooperation. In the view of Zamakhsyari Zhofier(Zhofier, 2016) there are three ways to do as follows: (1) Developing a tradition that the immediate family is a substitute in Pesantren leadership; (2) Developing a network of marriage alliances among Kiyai families; (3) Developing the transmission of knowledge with intellectual transmission between fellow kiai by strengthen kinship relationship by marriage. This can strengthen the network of kiyai trah more closely, because basically the cultural and religious heritage of pesantren will be more solid and not lost or extinct.

According Azra's perspective(Azra, 2004) there are two connections or networks,that is vertical and horizontal. Horizontal networks built from teacher-student academic relationships, while vertical ones occur in the hierarchical structure that can occur in teachers (kiai-kiai) however, this Azra network is not limited by ethnic and geographical. Bizawie(Bizawie, 2016) said that networking in the form of good relationships between personal and invidu institutions

and networks between institutions. While social networking is a dimension that requires another dimension based on mutual trust formed from the nodes of both individual and organization tied in a specific type of relationship such as the vision-mission value of ideas, friends or other.

c. Bani; Building Geneology Based On Religion

Kiai in Madura, in preserving the kinship tie and for the sake of strengthening their trah, creates kinship organization (kinship association) known as the *Kompolan Bani*. This kind of association is for the families who have the same trah with the same descendants (Rachman, 2016).

Kinship associations (also known as the Bani / family ties); is a family organization that grows and develops in the midst of society that consist of member that have kinship relation or blood relation from one generation who become the religious figure (central figure) because of karomah and their roles in social life is recognized by the society. The term *Kompolan* comes from the word assembly and association which in Madurese means; polong, kompol, kamrat, and kolom.

All of behavior and actions of the main characters then become the character of their life that can be emulated and imitated by the community, especially the successor generation, so that all their actions can be used as a way of thinking and behave that is typical of each individual (especially for their generation) to behave in the family, nation and State, which it manifests in everyday life (Rachman, 2016).

Here is some *Kompolan Bani* in Madura, in Sumenep there is Bani Syarqawi (Guluk Sumenep), Bani Gung Saudagar, in which there are the children of Mubayyin and Andawiyah (Gapura Sumenep), the process of formation of *Kompolan Bani* in building the first tarah of the kiai is to establish the elders and various administrators, as well as chairman and members team as needed in the preparation of genealogies so that members know about their own order and position on each generation level. There are many positive benefits from the association in preserving the trah of the kiai in Madura.

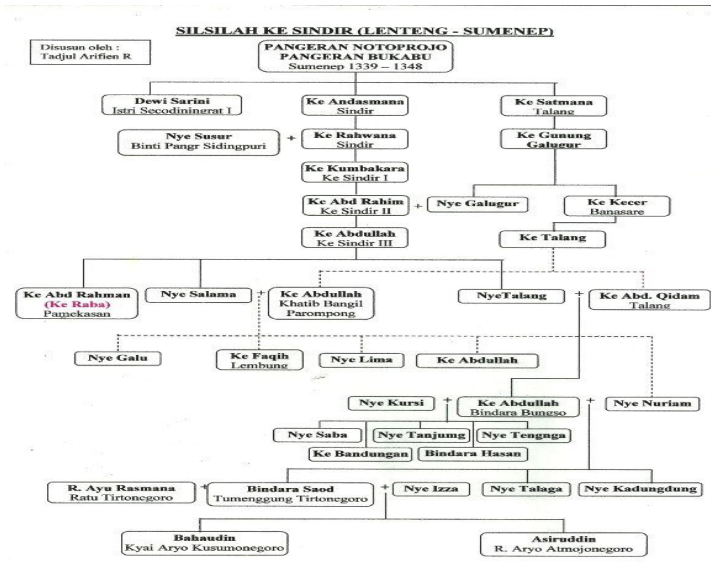
First benefit is to strengthen the social ties of kinship by blood relations (genes) and common interests. This can make social

relationships are not easily divisible. The proof says that there are much the growing number of relatives and trah that must be managed and well so that there is no unilateral and individual interest.

Secondly, it becomes the settlement mean when come up conflict that are caused by different background and diverse. Thus, by taking action in the form of settlement based on kinship approach can awaken collective consciousness according to human nature as social creature which closely activity with others.

Third, building and expanding the network. This is important in accommodating the growth of family in a community container that has a common purpose and interests. This can develop a social order that can decreasing the changes of social structure itself as a symbolic modalities. It's like this example of trah on kyai Sindir (LontarMadura, 2017)

Image 1. Family Tree



d. Family and Social Group

Family is the first social group where people start to learning and recognizing themselves as social beings by interacting with their group. The Kiyai's family or kiyai's kinship system in Madura is associative which the religious values become a main law in pesantren

cultures. This kind of system is different with the common tradition in general society. The kiyai's social kinship in Madura always relate with the kingdom genealogy. It depenson Jana (Havigerova, 2013) family is a bounded social unit, it has share place and it has emotional ties. as an example of the family tree below(Ii, 1935)

Image 2. KHS. Abdullah Sahal from Father Tree

Silsilah KHS. Abdullah-Schal Dari Jalur Ayah

| | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Rusulullah SAW | S. Ahmad Syah | Kanjeng Tumenggung |
| S. Fatimah az-Zahra' | S. Bin Nasyru' Abad | Wid Menggolo alias |
| S. Husain Assibthi | S. Ahmad Syah Jalal | Pangeran Purwa Nopo |
| S. Ali Zainal Abidin | Syahrif Jamaluddin | ra/Bupati Sumenep |
| S. Muhammad al-Baqir | Husain/Maklum | Tumenggung Reben |
| S. Ja'far as-Shadiq | Ibrahim Assamar | Arya Negero II |
| S. Ali al-Uraidli | qandU Maulana | Bupati Pamekasan |
| S. Muhammad al-Nabi | Ibrahim Asmara | R. Imam |
| S. Isa al-Rumi | S. Fajol Ali Mustadlo | R. Ajiunung/ |
| S. Ahmad al-Munajjib | Raja Pandita Gresik | R.Kabool Sempang |
| S. Ubaidillah | Sutan Kembangung | R. Ahmad Kial |
| S. Alawi | Haji Utman | Sumber Jaranguan |
| S. Muhammad | Raja Pandita Sunan | Omben Sempang |
| S. Alawi | Mawana Mundaka | R. Muhammad |
| S. Ali Khalik Qasim | R. Tulus Pangeran | R. Yasin |
| S. Muhammad | Batu Putih Sumenep | R. Abd. Jafri |
| Shahibul Marbath | Kecamatan Manding | Bujuk Lgr Jubarat |
| S. Alawi | R. Arya Pangeran | R. Sa'juddin |
| Amal Faqih | Zahra Jemberingan | R. Kial |
| S. Amir Abdul Malik | Pangeran Mertoean | R. Syaifi |
| S. Amir Abdulah | Jemberingan Proppo | R. Nur |
| Adhimah Khan | Pangeran Megot | R. Bahullah |
| | sari Jemberingan | R. H. Zahrawi |
| | Pangeran Winosari/ | KHS. Abdallah Sahal |
| | Pangeran Sepuh | |

e. Trah and The Pesantren Culture

Trah is the kinship of groups or individuals from a family or relatives. The Trah of the Madurese is a system of familial kinship sorted from the male family of the father. Kinship in society aims to maintain social status, social pride status, preservation of certain social layers, nobility, and so on. The trah tradition is very good, especially on the momentum / event of Idul Fitri for example. At the event can be used as a moment to know each other, mutually solidify kinship and forgiving to each other. It is preferred that the activity of the trah is rooted in the family tree of a large family in its entirety.

f. Relevant Research

Research on social network and kiyai kinship traditions in Madura that can be used for comparative data are: Social origin and Political Power Blater in Madura by Abdur Rozaki, Islamic State University of Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. In his work Abdur Rozaki

explains that his existence always in linier with the power relations and interests between actors within the social structure of society (Rozaki, 2016). This social dynamic makes religion has its roots in the social and cultural structure of society so that it undergoes a process of unification of identity. Similarly, kiyai, with its capacity and ability to interpret religious discourse capable of hegemony of the deepest structure in the inner space, thoughts and behavior of Madura society.

2. Research Methods

This research method is descriptive qualitative with Library Research design based on Field Research that is done in order to collect primary data from responder (Albi Anggito, 2018). The implementation of this field study will involve observation techniques, interviews, and documentation relating to kiyai kinship traditions in Madura, especially in Sumenep region in terms of the Trah and kiai kinship.

The type of data collected in this study is qualitative. Qualitative data is data related to the categorical, characteristic, nature of the variables studied. Data collection techniques through observation, interview, study and documentation. The place of this research are some Pesantren (Islamic boarding school) in Madura especially in Sumenep and some hereditary lineage in Madura as object in this research. Pesantren of Al karawi Karay, Pesantren Alamin Prenduan and Pesantren An-Nuqayah Guluk- Guluk Sumenep.

Although it is sometimes difficult to arrange the time to meet Kiyai in Madura, with any particular reasons, researcher will try to take focus on problem solving effectively in time. This research takes 3-4 months from April until July 2017. As considered that the tradition of familiy assembly of Kiyai usually do during Ramadhan until Idl Fitri and Idl Adha 1 Syawal 1438 H in which it occurs in May, June until September 2017.

3. Result and Discussions

a. Kiai and Pesantren (Islamic boarding school)

Kiai and pesantren are something that cannot be separated from each other. The role of a kiai in pesantren is very important

especially in socializing the teachings of Islam in Madura. Progress and development of Islamic education institutions and pesantren can be seen from the era of the new order up to now both in terms of physical development of buildings and scientific development. Islamic educational institutions and pesantren are definitely led by a kiyai whose existence is certainly very closely with the community.

In Madura society, kiyai as regarded as religious leaders, and become the role models for the Ummah (community). To get glory and ridho from the kiyai, most of Madura people put their children to study and gain knowledge in Pesantren with the hope that their son can go deep into the science of religion in pesantren.

b. The ancestors from Kembang Koneng, Patapan and Sampang

At the beginning of the 19 th century, in a village called Patapan (Madurese; a place of worship), which is located in the corner of Guluk-guluk village, dwells with a simple Kiai Idris, later known as Kiai Idris Patapan. He is known as a sufi who has a far-sighted vision, always hoping that his future children will become good people and have positive impact for religion and society.

Kiai Idris has descendants of Wagung Ru'yat and Ny. Purnama and from this couple who then blessed with the son of K. Irawan and daughter named Raden Ayu Saini also known as Potre Koneng. Potre Koneng then had a son named Jokotole and Banyak Wedi/Wide.

While K. Irawan then had a son named Raden Kumbara (K. Sendir I), then Raden Kumbara have descendants K. Abdurrahim or K. Sendir II (husband in Gelugur daughter), in addition K. Abdurrahim blessed K. Abdullah descendants. Princess K. Abdullah then married with K. Abdul Qidam or K. Tellu, then from this marriage was born K. Ibrahim in the other words is Bindara Bungso who settled in Batoampar Temor.

Kiyai Ibrahim offsprings then then born 'Ulama and Umara' in the midst of Madurese society. Bindara Bungso has two wives, first one is Ny. Chair and the second one is Ny. Narima. The marriage had been blessed with several sons and daughters, among them; K. Saba, K. Talang, K. Bandungan, Bindara Hasan, Ny. Tanjung, Ny. Tengnga, Ny. Kadungdung, Bindara Saot, K. Nuruddin and K. Nurgrahan.

Some of K. Ibrahim's children who lead the government is Ny. Sendir / Ny. Tengnga (wife of K. Tengnga) and Bindara Saod. While the offspring of Kiai Ibrahim who plunged into the world of religious education and da'wah are K. Nuruddin, Nong Tenggi (Nasab kiai Tijani Djauhari) and K. Nugrahan also known as K. Abdul Akhir. Then K. Nuruddin was gifted a son named K. Abdul Qarib (K. Abdullah / later known as Buju 'Damar, Barakas Tiaga Pakamban Daja), then K. Abdul Qarib was blessed with four sons and daughters: Ny. Stage,

K. Ismail, Ny. Murdiah, and Ny. Rif'ah. The children of Ny. Murdiah then became a liaison kinship between Patapan and Kembang Koneng. While Ny. Murdiah (Ny. Beluh) is blessed with the son of Idris Patapan. This trah had been written completely in *Biografi KH. A. Djauhari Chotib* by Jamaluddin, (Hasyim, 2007) Meanwhile, Kiai Chotib who is the pioneer of Pesantren Al-Amien Prenduan is the offspring of Kiai Idris Patapan. Then there is Ny. Mariah (the wife of Kiai Syarqawi from Kudus) who is the pioneer of Pesantren An-Nuqayah in Guluk-Guluk.

K. Ismail (brother of Ny. Murdiah) has a son named Abdullah. When Abdullah grew older, he became one of the 'ulama' in Sampang that later migrated to Mecca and become one of the muthawib jama'ah pilgrims. After this pilgrims, he earned the nickname Sheikh Abdullah Ismail Mandura. He mated with Ny. Shofiyah bint K. Jamaluddin and has thirteen children who live in Mecca. One of her daughters Ny. Maryam married to Kiai Djauhari Chotib.

While K. Jamaluddin (the father of Mrs. Shofiyah, wife of Sheikh Abdullah) himself is the son of K. Ruham (Banyuanyar) with his wife Ny. Nursari. In Sampang. K. Jamaluddin (Banyuanyar), K. Ruham also has other sons, among others; K. Syamsul Arifin (Sukerejo, father of Kiai's As'ad Syamsul Arifin), K. Zainuddin (Sumber Nangka), K. Munawwar (Bangkoneng), K. Musyaffa (Bangkoneng), K. Abdul Madjid (Bajulmati), and K. Abdul Lathif (Bangkoneng).

c. The Kiyai Gema's Testament on Kiyai Syarqowi

One of the anticipatory steps of Kiai Idris Patapan for his generation's future is to send one of his sons named Ahmad Chotib with his sister named Mariyah to Prenduan to learn and study islam

intensely to Kiai Syarqowi. Kiai Syarqowi is the religious figure from Kudus who came to Parenduan for his bestfriend's mandate, Kiai Gemma, who died in Mecca early 1880 AD. Kiai Gemma whose real name is "Sheikh Abuddin" wished that after his reutn from Mecca, Kiai Syarqowi would continue the Kiai Gemma's role in Parenduan. The another testament delivered by Kiai Gemma for Kiai Syarqowi was to marry the wife of Kiai Gemma named Nyai Khotijah.

After Kiai Syarqowi fulfilled Kiai Gemma's second request that was marry Ny. Khotijah, then subsequently fulfilling the other request that was migrate to Parenduan to foster the parenduan society that Kiai Gemma left a few years after his departure to Mecca. Kiai Syarqowi with his wife, Ny. Khodijah, came to Parenduan. After many time Kiai Syarqowi lived in Parenduan, he dreamed that the village of parenduan would become a city. After the dream was declared, he decided to move out of parenduan village. However, according to another source, the reason of Kiai Syarqowi moving because he was unable to face the lifestyle of prenduan society. Eventually, he moved to Guluk-Guluk in 1887. Before Kiai Syarqowi moved, there were two requests from his wife, Nyai Khodijah. First, his wife advised him not to return to Kudus, but to stay around Sumenep. Second, his wife suggested that he marry one of his students, Nyai Mariayah, the younger sister of KH. Chotib, and they ended up living in Guluk-Guluk in 1887(Hasyim, 2007).

d. The pioneer of "Congkop"

After 14 years in Parenduan, Kiai Syarqowi along with his two wives and Kiai Bukhari (son of first wife) moved to Guluk-guluk to build a pesantren. So in 1887 AD, he succeeded in establishing PesantrenAn-Nuqoyyah located in Guluk-guluk. Before heading to Guluk-guluk, Kiai Syarqowi asked his disciple and brother-in-law, Kiai Chotib, to replace him to guide the parenduan community, after got married to one of the Parenduan girls named Aisyah or Nyai Robbani (cousin of Mrs. Khodijah) in 1890 M. Kiai Chotib received the request with pleasure (Hasyim, 2007).

Over the past 40 years, Kiai Chatib has been raising his sons and daughters as well as educating youth generation in Parenduan and surrounding of Congkop with simple educational facilities and systems. Congkop itself is a term used as the name of the langgar

founded by Kiai Chotib. The reason for naming the Congkop because the building is like congkop or joglo. The establishment of this langgar became a brand new for the parenduan community after being left by Kiai Syarqowi for about 12 years.

Al-Amien Islamic Boarding School was founded around the beginning of the 20th century, Kyai Chotib started to establish a pesantren by establishing a small Langgar known as Congkop. Congkop Pesantren, that is how the community knows this educational institution, because the building that first stood at this boarding school is a Congkop-shaped building (a square building like Joglo). This building stands on an arid and narrow land surrounded by burial ground and shrubs, approximately 200 meters from the langgar erected by Kyai Syarqowi. Since then, Congkop has become an old song from young people and their surroundings which are hungry for knowledge. Ngaji, mondok, nyantri in Congkop and several other terms. It is from this congkop that actually the forerunner to the existing Al-Amien Islamic Boarding School, and the kyai Chotib himself, are designated as pioneers (Sri Kurrotuh Aini, Ayu Puji Utami, Moh. Sholihin, 2016).

Kiai Syarqowi with his first wife, Khatijah or known as Nyai Tuan blessed with sons and daughters, namely Nyai Shalihah, Nyai Zubaidah, Kiai Zainal Abidin, Kiai Saduddin, Nyai Jauharatun Naqiyah, Rahmah, Jawahir, Yahya, Kiai Bukhari, Kiai Muhammad Idris, Muhammad Asad, M. Qamariyah. From the sons and daughters of Kiai Syarqawi, five people have offspring and 7 others died before having offspring. Nyai Zubaidah was married by Kiai Bakri Tamim, but after Kiai Bakri Tamim died Nyai Zubaidah married by Sayyid Ibrahim bin Hamid Al-hinduan. After Nyai Zubaidah sought by Sayyid Ibrahim bin Hamid Al- Hinduan, Nyai Zubaidah was married by Kiai Imam Hafidzuddin bin Mahmud who was then blessed with three children, namely Nurdinatul Ahdiyah, Salamah, and Rabiah.

Nyai Nurdinatul Ahdiyah then married with Kiai Ali Wafa and settled in the Village East Ambunten, Ambunten District, and therein established Pesantren Aswaj. Nyai Nurdinatul Ahdiyah with Kiai Ali Wafa endowed with a child named Shiddiqah, Fatima/Hj. Rahmah, Muammah/Hj. Zubaidah and Ali Hisham.

Nyai Shiddiqah married Muhammad Kamaluddin and settled in Srigading, Sugihan, Ambunten, and that was where he founded

the Pesantren Diyaut Thalibin. While Nyai Fatimah Hj. Rahmah married M. Imam bin Dahlan bin Imam bin Mahmud and settled in East Ambunten. There they set up Pesantren Lapang. Grandson of Fatimah/Hj. Rahmah from his son Khalil through his marriage to Umduhah, that is Abdullah who married Faizah settled in Ambunten Timur, and there founded Pesantren Tenggara, with his uncle, his father's younger brother, Kiai Junaidi.

Muammah / Hj. Zubaidah, who married Asad bin Dhlhan bin Imam bin Mahmud and settled in Sombor Sokon, Ketawang, Ganding, and there he managed Pesantren Karay. Ali Wasyam, the eldest son of Nyai Nurdinatul Ahdiyah and Kiai Ali Wafa, married Farhah Syawbawi, and helped to manage the pesantren that run by his parents at Aswaj Ambunten Timur Ambunten, and then blessed with a son who until now also participated in the Pesantren Aswaj. Some of his sons are Zainab Hisham, Nur Faizah Hisham, M. Unais Hisham, Abd Adhim Hisham, Naufal Hisham. Therefore, some pesantren scattered in Sumenep still have close kinship between the caretakers, who are the descendants of Kiai Syarqowi's grandson that is Nyai Nurdinatul Ahdiyah with Kiai Ali Wafa.

Nyai Jauharatun Naqiyah, the fifth daughter of Kiai Muhamamd Syarqowi, married to Kiai Musikan or H. Tabrani bin Samauddin bin Harun. He has four children, Moh. Bahrudin, Tsuwaibah, Khalilah, and Kiai Hashim. Nyai Khalilah was married to Kiai Anwar, and he was blessed with the son of M. Khalil, Mukhlisah, Tahah Anwari.

Kiai Thaha Anwari is married to Hudaifah and he is blessed with the sons of Abd Fata, Abd Karim Thoha, Helmi, Mahfudzah, Barokah, Khatimah, and Kafilah. Nyai Kafilah is married to M. Waris Habibullah Rois, he then run pesantren in Al-Isaf Kalabaan.

Kiai Hasyim, the youngest son of Nyai Jauharatun Naqiyah was married to Maimudah who then manages the pesantren in Sumber Payung Ganding. The tenth son of Kiai Syarqawi with Nyai Khatijah or Nyai Tuan, Kiai Muhammad Idris. Kiai Muhammad Idris married Nyai Muniah, has children, namely Aisha, Rashidah, Salhah, Huzaimah, Tukhfah, Noer Shidqie, Abd Muies, Abd. Muqshit, Halimatussadiyah.

Nyai Aisyah was married to Kiai Hasbullah bin Mun'im bin Tamhidun, and he was blessed with four sons, Madzurah, Ach. Baihaqi, M. Bazzah, and A. Nafi. Kiai A.Nafi was then married to

Nyai Mamduhah who then manage Pesantren Raudhah Najiyah in Lengkonng, Brakung, Guluk-Guluk.

While the youngest daughter of Kiai Muhammad Idris, namely Nyai Halimatus Sa'diyah married Kiai Athoullah and founded pesantren in Ging- Ging Village, Bluto, Sumenep. Kiai Muhammad Syarqowi's marriage with Nyai Mariyah (Nyai Seppo) has seven sons, Muhammad Yasin, Muhammed Ilyas, Abdullah Sirajd, R. Abdullah Sajjad, S Abdullah Malik, T. Aisyah and U. Namimah.

Kiai Muhammad Ilyas, the second son of Kiai Muhammad Syarqawi, married Nyai Arifah binti Zainuddin bin Ruhan bin Ihsan. He is blessed with seven sons namely, M. Khazin, Mahfudzah, Shidqah, Mamduhah, Moh Amir, Moh. Ashiem and Badiah.

Kiai M Khazin, the first son of Kiai Ilyas married Muadzah and has seven sons, among them M. Thabit, M. Waqid, and Nyai Ummal Farad. Nyai Ummal Farad, the youngest daughter of Kiai M. Khazin, married Kiai Abbasi Ali, and had the sons of Ali Khazin, Rifhah, Ahmad Azizi, Ahmad Khalid, Ahmad Faidi, Wusatul Bahiyah, and Mayyizah. Kiai Ahmad Azizi, the third son of Nyai Ummal Farad, married Nyai Naimah and managed the Pesantren Al - Muqri, Prenduan, Pragaan. While Nyai Badiah, the youngest daughter of Kiai Muhammad Ilyas bin Syarqawi, married Kiai Nawawi, but after Kiai Nawawi died he was married by Kiai M. Sirajuddin. He founded Pesantren Nurul Islam, Karang Cempaka, Bluto.

C. Conclusion

The research shows the importance of tracking kinship and trah especially the kiyai's social networks and kinship in Madura. The suggestions can be provided as follows: digging deeper into social networks and kiyai kinship traditions in Madurese that have begun untraceable to help families in pesantren in Madura; to establish a study institute observer of trah/genealogy in Madura especially in various pesantren; the support from all stakeholders especially the academics as part of observers of kinship tradition/kyai genealogy in Madura. There should be synergy in order to build harmony between pesantren as an asset of the Muslims in Madura.

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