LINEAGE CONTINUITY IN THE TRADITION OF POLYGAMY AMONG KYAI OF ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOLS IN MADURA

Abdul Mukti Thabrani*, Ah. Kusairi**
Faculty of Syariah, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Madura, Pamekasan, Indonesia
email: *abuahlawi@yahoo.com,**ahkusairi@iainmadura.ac.id

ABSTRACT

Polygamy is one of the problems in the marriage that many Islamic scholars often discuss. The case of polygamy is still considered taboo; however, others consider it a good and necessary practice as a solution and social alternative, as it is also mentioned in verse Qur'an about polygamy. This research examines and explores the spiritual values of polygamy in polygamous marriages by Kiai, who cares for Islamic boarding schools in Madura, which provides an overview of polygamous household life based on spiritual values. There are two main problems (1) What is the nature of polygamy in the view of the Madurese kiai: (2) What is the spiritual meaning for the Madurese kiai? The study was written by collecting data using the social definition paradigm, also known as the interpretive sociology paradigm. The study results explain that the family and the community highly guard the descendants of the Kiai to continue leadership and preach religious knowledge so that if a Kiai marries who does not have children, then a Kiai will practice polygamy. It is accepted by a wife to protect the descendants of the Kiai.

ABSTRAK

Poligami merupakan salah satu masalah dalam perkawinan yang sering dibicarakan oleh banyak ulama Islam. Kasus poligami masih dianggap tabu; Namun, sebagian berpandangan sebagai praktik yang baik dan perlu sebagai solusi dan alternatif sosial, sebagaimana juga disebutkan dalam ayat al-Qur'an tentang poligami. Fokus penelitian ini pada dua hal: Pertama, Praktik poligami dikalangan Kiyai pengasuh pondok pesantren di Madura. Kedua, mengungkap tentang orientasi praktik poligami Kiyai di Madura guna menjaga ketersambungan nasab (keturunan) dan kelestarian keilmuan. Penelitian merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan jenis penelitian fenomenologis. Data-data dalam penelitian ini ditulis dengan mengumpulkan data menggunakan paradigma definisi sosial atau dikenal juga dengan paradigma sosiologi interpretatif dengan teknik wawancara. Adapun hasil penelitian ini: pertama: praktik poligami adalah suatu hal yang biasa terjadi dikalangan Kiyai pengasuh pondok pesantren di Madura. Pada praktiknya poligami dilakukan dengan seorang yang masih ada keterikatan nasab guna menjaga keturunan Kiai untuk meneruskan estafet kepemimpinan dan mendakwahkan ilmu agama. Kedua, Praktik poligami juga bertujuan untuk menjaga kelestarian dan sanad keilmuan. sehingga jika seorang Kiai menikah dengan yang tidak memiliki anak, maka seorang Kiai akan berpoligami. Hal itu diterima oleh seorang istri untuk melindungi keturunan Kiai.

Introduction

Polygamy is a tradition of ulema (religious leader) among Islamic boarding school which is considered a portrait of maturity, character and religious and social leadership. In the area where ulema becomes role model , such as in Madura and the some areas of East Java, polygamy greatly determines the authority, legitimacy and power of ulema in the point of view of society. In Madura, polygamy is not only practiced by ulema who cares for Islamic boarding schools, but is also common and commonly practiced by head village and hoodlums. In contrast to other groups, which have more social status nuances, Islamic boarding school, polygamy is carried out on theological, normative and social grounds, showing more spiritual nuances that have an impact on the continuity of harmonious household life. Discourse and research on polygamy has so far been dominated by discourses about injustice, gender bias, patriarchal culture, human rights violations and feminism.[1] So that, it conveys that polygamy is negative, haram(proscribed) and not worth doing. In the reality, the practice of polygamy that occurs, the spiritual values that underlie the practice of polygamy among ulema have a positive impact on social life and a spiritual atmosphere that leads to a harmonious and dynamic life. The fact that, polygamy was legalized in Islam not as a command or prohibition, but as a social solution, in line with the context of the revelation of the verse about polygamy.[2]

Polygamy has been practiced from ancient times by many different countries worldwide. Islam, on the other hand, sets reasonable and appropriate boundaries, with a maximum of four wives. The revelation of the verse about polygamy was motivated by social reasons for the sake of justice and preventing abuse as often occurred at that time. Islam allows polygamy with strict conditions. In other words, neither recommends nor prohibits.[3]

Therefore, the topics of polygamy are always fascinating to study, discuss and practice conferring to each perspective, socio-cultural setting and interpretation. Including the practice of polygamy carried out by Ulema in Madura, an entity that also has its own uniqueness. Thus, in this research the researcher only focuses on the practice of polygamy carried out by Ulema in Madura within the framework of spiritual values.

---

[1] Abdur Rozaki, *Menabur Kharisma Menuai Kuasa,Kiprah Kiai dan Blater Sebagai Rezim Kembar di Madura* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Marwa, 2004), 35.

[2] Vita Agustina, "Hegemoni Kiai Terhadap Praktek Poligami," *Musāwa Journal of Gender Studies and Islam* 13, no. 2 (2014): 127–40, https://doi.org/10.14421/musawa.2014.132.127-140.

[3] Sayyid Sabiq, *Fiqh Sunnah*, Juz II (Kairo: Daar Al Fath Li Al 'Ilam Al 'Araby, 2021), 2–4.

Polygamy, apart from being carried out by ulema, containing spiritual values, is also carried out by other groups in Madura such as village heads, hoodlums or bosses and rich people. From a normative perspective, Husain assumed, polygamy carried out by ulema is not only a matter of sex and lust, nor is it just to show off power and wealth as carried out and become the motive of other perpetrators, but also contains a number of very valuable spiritual values as like Maintaining purity or "iffah", increasing fortune, descent, age, dignity , and other values, which lead to one purpose called worship, those are the concerns and objectives of the practice of polygamy carried out by ulema in Madura. [4] In al-Dahlawi's view, marriage that is oriented towards spiritual values or worship is a great purpose in religion.[5]

Islamic boarding school leader (Ulema or Kyai) in Madura pay serious attention toward their descent or lineage. In term of etimology, Nasab (lineage) means relatives/descentants. [6] Abi Husain Ahmad Ibnu Faris Zakaria argued that the meaning of "nasab is ittishâlu syai'in bi syai'in" (the relationship between something with something else) [7] which assumes that when you establish relationships with other Ulema or kyai you will get descent who can maintain religious knowledge, and can also strengthen your relationship with other ulema or kyai. The public's trust toward Islamic boarding school will be stronger if there is a marriage between Ulema or kyai eventhough, in the context of polygamy. In spite of that, the belief of many descentants also has implications obtaining better and more fortune. [8] Those become base for Madurese society, especially for ulema or kyai, to increase their descent through polygamy.

For Madurese people, ulema or kyai is considered perfect if he has committed polygamy[9] and it is also a necessity for a kyai to have male descent in order to be able to carry on the leadership of Islamic boarding school he manages. Because in the world of Islamic boarding school, male descent has a central position, as preparation for continuing the struggle of their

---

[4] Imaduddin Husain, *Zaujatun Wahidah La Takfi* (Kairo: Maktaba Qur'an, 1990), 56.

[5] Syah Waliyyullah al-Dahlawi, *Hujjatullah Al-Baligahah* (Beirut: Dar al-kutub al-ilmiyyah, 2001), 81.

[6] Ibn Mandzur, *Lisân Al-'Arab* (Kairo: Dâr al-Ma'ârif, n.d.), 4405.

[7] Abi Husain Ahmad Ibnu Faris Zakaria, *Maqâyis Al-Lughah*, V (Beirut: Dâr al-Fikr, n.d.), 423.

[8] Mohtazul Farid and Medhy Aginta Hidayat, "Perlawanan Perempuan Pesantren Terhadap Poligami Kiai di Madura," *Edukasi Islami: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 10, no. 2 (October 10, 2022): 992–1009, https://doi.org/10.30868/ei.v10i01.1805.

[9] Ah. Kusairi and Abdul Mukti Thabrani, "Poligami Kiai Madura (Kajian Fenomenologis Hakikat Poligami dalam Pandangan Kiai Madura)," *Al-Manhaj: Journal of Indonesian Islamic Family Law* 4, no. 2 (July 15, 2022): 107–23, https://doi.org/10.19105/al-manhaj.v4i2.6058.

elder fathers (kyai) to preach[10]. for society has a patriarchal ideology that leadership falls to male descent, so it is not surprising that for this reason many kyai want male descent to maintain the lineage (nasab).

In the field of genealogy, social structures conform to several frameworks, such as:

a. The structure of Patrilineal society, it is a societal structure that draws lineages in relation to others through the male line. In marriage practices, matrinial societies can usually be recognized by the characteristics of honest marriages which adhere to exogamy and patrilocality. As it happens in the traditions of the Goya, Batak, Bali and Ambon communities

b. The structure of a matrilineal society, it is the structure of a society that draws the lineage in its relationships with others through the female line. For example, semendo marriages adhere to exogamy and matrilocality. For instance, marriage in the traditions of the Minangkabau and Kerinci communities.

c. The structure of patrilineal society, it is the structure of society which draws lineages in one's relationships with other people by alternating based on the form of marriage experienced by the parents. For example, such hereditary ties occur in the traditions of the Rejang Lebong and Lampung Pepadon communities.

d. the structure of Parental or bilateral community, it is hereditary ties are drawn based on the lineage of the mother and father. In bilateral societies there is no special marriage, nor is residence for in this tradition it is not clearly determined.[11]

This study uses the paradigm of social definition which is also known as the paradigm of interpretive sociology. Focusing on subjective individual social behaviour as a meaningful unity. Every social behaviour is always related to rationality and subjectivity which has a certain purpose and meaning. This dual paradigm aims to comprehend perceptions and interaction patterns as social phenomena in order to be understandable as a perspective.[12]

The subjects of this study were 4 Islamic boarding school leader (Kyai or Ulema) carried out polygamy. The demographics subjects of this study are shown in the following table:

---

[10] Shofiyullah Muzzammil et al., "Motif, Konstruksi, dan Keadilan Semu dalam Praktik Poligami Kiai Pesantren di Madura," *Jurnal SMART (Studi Masyarakat, Religi, dan Tradisi)* 7, no. 1 (2021): 132, https://doi.org/10.18784/smart.v7i01.1207.

[11] Yulia, *Buku Ajar Hukum Adat* (Sulawesi: UNIMAL Press, 2016), 21–25.

[12] Deddy Mulyana, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: Remaja Rosda Karya, 2003), 25.

Tabel 1.
Demografi Subjek Penelitian

No	Initial	Age	Number of Wives
1	AFF	57	4
2	MJA	62	3
3	ISM	90	3
4	MBA	65	3

The researchers also use a constructivist paradigm to understand and explore the experiences of Madurese kiai or ulema regarding the spiritual values of polygamy and look for meaning in it. In general, a paradigm or point of view toward a problem is very significant to provide epistemological considerations in understanding the problem. Mulyana argued that to understand the reality and complexity of problems, a paradigm or perspective is needed, because a paradigm that is firmly rooted in the image of its adherents will provide guidance towards the significant meaning and logical.[13]

As Patton claimed, researchers used the constructivist paradigm study various realities constructed by individuals and their implications for other people. In this kind of paradigm, individuals are considered to have their own interesting and unique experiences, to see the world as it is, realistic, and respects other people's views.[14]

Neuman assumed that the constructivist paradigm is different from other paradigms in terms of its ontology, epistemology and methodology. At the ontological level, this paradigm views reality as something existed, compounding, and different in individual meaning. In the epistemological level, users of the constructivist paradigm use a subjective approach, however at the methodological level, use the construction of meaning in a combination of consensus. In order that communication and interaction harmony runs optimally, this process combines hermeunetics and dialectics[15]

The simple stages of phenomenological analysis data in this research are as follows:

Tabel 2.
Tahapan Data Analisis Fenomenologis

No	Analisis	Analisis Fenomenologis
1	Data processing	Collecting and writing down all existing data to obtain a complete description about polygamy carried out by Madurese kyai or ulema

---

[13] Mulyana, 25.

[14] Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods: Integrating Theory and Practice*, 3rd edition (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2022), 45.

[15] W. Lawrence Neuman, *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial:Pendekatan Kualitatif Dan Kuantitatif*, trans. Edina T. Sofia, 7th ed., vol. 3 (Jakarta: PT. Indeks, 2017), 20.

2	Rereading Data	Reading the entire interview transcript conducted with informants.
3	Data illustration	Creating a description of meaning of events and experiences
4	Data classification	creating lists and group of meanings or clusters in certain units.
5	Data interpretation	Developing textual, structural descriptions and creating a complete and comprehensive picture using question key of what, how and why.
6	Data visualization and presentation	Clearly narrating the essence of the meaning of polygamy for Madurese kyai, from the descriptions presented in the units

Result and Discussion

The Kyai's Practice of Polygamy in Madura;   The Motives Of Kiai's For Polygamy in Madura

In practice, polygamy is commonplace for Kiai in society, including Madura. There are normative reasons given by the perpetrators of polygamy and almost every perpetrator is based on the legitimacy of the verse in the Qur'an which explicitly allows polygamy, Q.S An Nisa' verse 3.[16] As stated by the perpetrators with the initials AFF,[17] MJA,[18] and ISM[19] that polygamy is a right according to religion, there are no prohibitions or even orders. Apart from the normative reasons, there are also sociological reasons given by the perpetrator, as MBA said that he was practicing polygamy as nothing more than an attempt to show love to a family member (cousin) whose husband had died with 5 children.[20] beside the two motivations, there are also other motives for perpetrators of polygamy, namely, the child factor or derivation of lineages is the dominant reason why Kyai commit polygamy. Amir Syarifuddin provides the meaning of lineagee (nasab) as a form of legal family relationship,[21] from this law it can be concluded that marriage and inheritance becomes basis of family law applied in society

---

[16] Ayat ini menjelaskan tentang perintah syariat bagi laki-laki untuk menikahi perempuan dengan jumlah satu, dua, tiga atau empat jika, kwatir berperilaku dzolim terhadap hak-hak perempuan yatim (dalam ampuannya) apabila dinikahi. Sehingga sebagai alternatif quran menganjurkan bagi seorang laki-laki untuk menikahi perempuan lain dengan jumlah tertentu maksimal sampai empat orang istri dalam waktu yang bersamaan. Sebagian yang lain menilai ayat ini bukanlah anjuran (sunnah apalagi wajib) melainkan hanya mubah saja.

[17] Interview with AFF, conducted on 17 JulI, 2021.

[18] Interview with MJA, conducted on , 8 Juli 2021.

[19] Interview with ISM, conducted on , 6 Juli 2021.

[20] Interview with MBA, conducted on 21 Agustus 2021.

[21] Sakirman Sakirman, "Telaah Hukum Islam terhadap Nasab Anak," *Hunafa: Jurnal Studia Islamika* 12, no. 2 (2015): 357–75, https://doi.org/10.24239/jsi.v12i2.398.357-375.

therefore, the form of kinship has its roots in the hereditary system. because the descend of a kyai are considered to have more value due to religious factors and the social structure. Descend of kyai have strong legal status, especially sons, due to the patriarchal culture of Islamic boarding schools, especially in Madura, leadership will fall to sons. [22] The above patriarchal culture becomes big motivation for kyai to obtain quality descend, for having quality descend is crucial for the continuity of education in the Islamic boarding school and because of "Gus" (Son of kyai) is considered capable of inheriting the advantages possessed by a kyai. beside, having good descend brings peace to the life of parents, both in this world and in hereafter.

The way to increase number of descend is practicing polygamy, MJA confirmed that he practiced poligamy to increase number of his descend by the purpose of making the Prophet Muhammad proud. In his view, polygamy is a medium to make the Prophet SAW proud in front of other prophets. As he said below:

> "My intention for polygamy is to increase the number of Prophet Muhammad SAW follower. Because it is mentioned in one of the hadith that the Prophet Muhammad SAW would later be proud of the large number of follower (mubahin bikumul umam yaumal qiyamah). Therefore, when I marry another women, I do not ask permission from the old wife, until I have children from the young wife, then I tell the old one, and I collect them in one house."[23]

MJA stated that if we are able to do something, we must do it based on our abilities. In terms of polygamy, not everyone is able to do it. So if someone is able to do it, then it should be done well. If the intention is to increase descend, then it must be do it well. Up to now, MJA has married 16 women. And many of them were divorced because after being married for three years, they had not given birth to children. Meanwhile, his intention was to have many children.

> "up to now, if you want to count from the beginning, I have married sixteen women. But I only live with three of them now. If I do not have children, I will divorce them. I have twelve children now from three wives. I divorced the others because they had no children. Thus, my motivation was to increase the number of children as followers of the Prophet. And if you have lots of children, of course you will have lots of luck."[24]

In line with what MJA expressed, MBA added that his desire is also to have many descend. He comes from a small family, expect to have many descend., he said::

---

[22] Muzzammil et al., "Motif, Konstruksi, dan Keadilan Semu dalam Praktik Poligami Kiai Pesantren di Madura."

[23] MJA, Wawancara Langsung, 8 Juli 2021.

[24] MJA, Wawancara Langsung, 8 JulI 2021.

"I come from a small family. So my mother really wanted lots of grandchildren. that's why polygamy is the best way to make it happening. otherwise, it will toture my wife for I demand her to always be pregnant. another reason, I have heard the Arabic proverb "jaddid hayataka bil Jadiidah", renew your life with a new wife. So that you have new dreams, new enthusiasm, and of course a new life".[25]

The Purpose Of Kyai Practiced Polygamy in Madura

Islamic boarding schools are a place to explore various Islamic knowledge, therefore Islamic boarding school graduation will be supplied with various fields of expertise and many figures are alumni from Islamic boarding schools. Islamic boarding schools carry out various roles that makes Islamic boarding schools are able to produce creative people with complex knowledge and morals. Hence, Islamic boarding schools need to carry out various innovations to be able to produce quality figures. Muhammad Hasan propused[26] that innovation and modernization of Islamic boarding school education refers to three aspects, methods, material content, and management which indicate the acceptance of innovation and modernization in Islamic boarding schools. Innovation is marked by the acceptance of observing something new and then modernizing the process from traditional to modern.

Islamic boarding schools as a repository of religious knowledge in Indonesia keep on maintaining the scientific knowledge, therefore, when Kyai and his descend want to get married are commonly different from people outside their circle, kyai and his family pay a serious attention to the quality of the candidate of wife lineage. One of the traditional values of Islamic boarding school families that exists to this day is the tradition of choosing prospective in-laws who must be equal to them. The concept of "kafaah" (equal) is strictly adhered in order to preserve scientific knowledge and descend. Hence, their orientation in their polygamous behavior do not deviate from that orientation. As the author will explain the research findings data as follows:

MBA stated that having many children (family members) has a good impact on the spirit of life. As if feeling new life. In terms of quantity, he refers to the hadith of the Prophet, as well as the context of its implementation, specifically someone must start to implement it immediately. And he intended all of this to be able to help with da'wah and education matters which were his daily work. As he said::

---

[25] MBA, Wawancara Langsung, 21 Agustus 2021.
[26] Muhammad Hasan, "Inovasi dan Modernisasi Pendidikan Pondok Pesantren," *Karsa: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture* 23, no. 2 (2015): 296–306, https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v23i2.728.

"My purpose doing polygamy is to implement the hadith of the Prophet, "inni mubaahin bikumul umam", I am proud to have a many follower. Who else will implement this hadith if not us. The principle is as Aa' Gym said, start from small things, from yourself, and start from now. Quality matters. But quantity is also important. Because to look for quality, we choose from the existing quantity. Then secondly, expanding networks in da'wah, education and social affairs. This is my goal"[27]

The motivation to maintain lineage affiliation was also expressed by AFF. The reason of doing polygamy was because he did not have children with his first wife after waiting for so long. So after asking permission from his mother and also his wife, he decided to marry another women. AFF claimed that the existence of nasals or dzurriyah (descend) is very important to maintain the generation. In addition, there is information from religious teachings about the importance of pious children in making parents' lives peaceful in this world and hereafter. As he said as follows:

"The reason why I committed polygamy was because I had no children for long time. For me, descend ia important, because they will help me entering heaven. So my first wife did not give me children. And my parents support polygamy so I can have children. That was my motivation. And after I experienced it, it turned out that polygamy provided values that I had not expected before".[28]

Based on AFF statement, the motivation to obtain descend is a good reason for doing polygamy. Because after doing polygamy, he felt something he had never imagined before. These are extraordinary spiritual values which then encourage polygamy again. The reason for the motivation to have more children was also expressed by ISM. This Kiai even wants to have 41 children. From a young age he was inspired by that number. He said:

"Second, I want lots of children. I have always been happy with the number 41. That's why I want to have forty-one children. But Allah gave only 19 children from three wives. My first wife passed away. And gave me no descend. I intend all of this to be worship. All of this is to support my activities in khidmatul ummah (serving the people)".[29]

Based on the description above, the practice of polygamy among Islamic boarding school leader (Kyai or Ulema) in Madura cannot be separated from the construction islamic law, sociological and cultural values as motivation. For this reason, some consider that polygamy is part of islamic law because it is considered a religious recommendation, however, some practice

---

[27] MBA. Wawancara Langsung, 21 Agustus 2021.
[28] AFF, Wawancara Langsung, 17 Juli, 2021.
[29] ISM, Wawancara Langsung, 6 Juli 2021.

polygamy because of other purpose, such as to preserve the lineage and continuity of the Islamic boarding school leadership. What is the concept of polygamy in Islam? This question is fundamental to review therefore we can comprehend the extent to how Islam actually views polygamy. Below the author explains the Islamic concept related to polygamy.

Etymologically, fiqh, which is identical to Islamic law, has meaning understanding. And terminologically, it means the result of understanding and developing human reasoning interpretations of syari'ah or islamic law (al-Quran and al-Sunnah) in accordance with the needs and developments of time. Syari'ah is permanent while fiqh is dynamic. In the integration of these two dimensions, Islamic law can survive and develop in various situations and conditions.[30]

In Islam Marriage, including polygamy, has broad dimensions, namely religious, legal and social. The dimension of worship is because marriage is a religious recommendation in accordance with nature, from a legal perspective because marriage is a strong bond and agreement (mitsaqon ghalidzo) which must involve interested parties in accordance with their respective terms, harmony, procedures and obligations. Meanwhile, from a social perspective, marriage is a means of creating a family which is full of love to produce descend that will becomel future generations.

Even though the principle of marriage in Islam is monogamy but it allows polygamy. The revelation of the polygamy verse in the Qur'an is based more on the social context in order to ensure justice in marriage and to preserve the purpose of marriage. The lowering of polygamy verse only limits the maximum number of times a husband can practice polygamy. This verse does not bring any new rules, because previously polygamy was already widely known and practiced in religion and culture. And because this verse (QS an-Nisaa': 4) neither requires nor prohibits it, then as Quraish Shihab said, this verse is a small emergency door that can only be passed if necessary, consisting some requirements that are not easy. For example, if the wife is barren, has a serious illness, or other reasons that require polygamy. In such this case, husband knows the ideal solution, which is suitable with conditions and mutual benefit.[31]

Some interpreters have different opinions regarding the law, maximum limits and justice in it. Muhammad ibn Idris or better known as Imam al-Syafii argued that polygamy is permissible

---

[30] Satria Efendi, *Ushul Fiqh : Dasar-Dasar Hukum Islam* (Jakarta: Lipia, 1991), 24.
[31] Quraish Shihab, *Poligami Ibarat Pintu Emergensi* (Tabloid Republika: Dialog Jumat, 2006), 12.

only for free men, not slaves, as the verse confirms. If you are worried that it will not be fair, then marry only one woman or the slaves you own. He added, only free men owned slaves (of course in a context when there was still slavery period).[32] The maximum number of wives is four, and the rest are not allowed, except for slaves who are used as mistress which is unlimited.[33] In al-Thabari's view, the permission of polygamy must be based on the husband's ability to do justice. otherwise, polygamy is allowed for him.[34] In terms of the maximum number of wives, almost all classical jurisprudence books provide the opportunity to marry up to four wives, thus, there is no difference in the number, jurisprudence scholars only differ on the issue of whether polygamy is permissible or sunnah.[35]

In Madura, Islam is an inseparable part of the pulse of life. Islam as a religion, culture and way of life has become a standard barometer for the daily behavior of the Madurese people. Religion is a very sacred thing in people's lives, as consequence they will be angry if religion is "disturbed" or Madurese will defend their religion to the death by sacrificing their lives as a defense of their self-respect.[36] Likewise with the defense and respect for kiai as central figures in religion.

In traditional societies, kiai have enormous charisma. This is because of their emotional relation to their community as religious leaders, role models and central figures who become references on various issues. In short, Madurese cannot be separated from the kiai. This fanaticism then makes kiai more famous and respected than formal leaders such as regents and sub-district heads. Especially kiai who have Islamic boarding schools with thousands of students.[37]

Polygamy among the Madurese kyai is a natural practice if religious leaders uphold their social status and carry out their teachings. Philips stated that polygamy is a reality that is widely practiced and has good theological legality. This is an embodiment of the noble teachings of religion which respects an order of life and women's rights. In accordance with the culture of Madurese society which is religious and submissive to kyai. In contemporary society or modern society, which does not care about religious teachings and submission to religious figures,

---

[32] Ahmad Musthafa al-Farran, *Tafsir Al-Imam al-Syafii* (Riyadh: Dar al-Turmudziyah, 2006), 94.

[33] Iffah Qanita Nailiyya, *Poligami, Berkah Atau Musibah* (Riyadh: Diva Press, 2006), 48.

[34] Muhammad Ibn Jarir al-Thabari, *Jami' al-Bayan Fi Tafsir al-Quran* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1990), 78.

[35] Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Atas Pandangan Hidup Kyai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982), 36.

[36] Pelly Usman, *Teori-Teori Sosial Budaya* (Jakarta: Depdikbud, 1994), 35.

[37] Lik Mansurnoor, *Islam-Indonesia-Ulama Madura* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1990), 20.

polygamy has reaped many objections and reactions because it has been constructed that polygamy ignores justice. This happens because there are factors that are not linear with the spiritual values that exist in polygamy.[38]

Conclusions

Polygamy still become a tradition for some kyai circles in Madura. Polygamy is considered a symbol of maturity, character and leadership of a kyai in Madura. As a result, polygamy is a frequent practice that adorns the life of a kyai. There are several factors behind the practice of polygamy practiced by kyai in Madura, one of which is to increase descend, because the descends of a kyai have strong legality in social life. Moreover, a son born to an Islamic boarding school family is a matter of pride for his family, for the presence of a male will be the successor of the previous kyai, patriarchal culture says that leadership will fall to male descend. And Because son of kyai is considered capable of inheriting the advantages of a kyai.

In preserving education in the world of Islamic boarding schools, there are at least three innovations that an educational institution must have, including: methods, material content and management which are characterized by the existence of equivalence to maintain the descend and scientific knowledge they have. Where son of kyai is required to marry daughter of kyai, because it has implications for the central position of the kyai to increase the trust of societies.

References

Agustina, Vita. "Hegemoni Kiai Terhadap Praktek Poligami." *Musāwa Journal of Gender Studies and Islam* 13, no. 2 (2014): 127–40. https://doi.org/10.14421/musawa.2014.132.127-140.

Ah. Kusairi and Abdul Mukti Thabrani. "Poligami Kiai Madura (Kajian Fenomenologis Hakikat Poligami dalam Pandangan Kiai Madura)." *Al-Manhaj: Journal of Indonesian Islamic Family Law* 4, no. 2 (July 15, 2022): 107–23. https://doi.org/10.19105/al-manhaj.v4i2.6058.

Dahlawi, Syah Waliyyullah al-. *Hujjatullah Al-Baligahah*. Beirut: Dar al-kutub al-ilmiyyah, 2001.

Dhofier, Zamakhsyari. *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Atas Pandangan Hidup Kyai*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982.

Efendi, Satria. *Ushul Fiqh : Dasar-Dasar Hukum Islam*. Jakarta: Lipia, 1991.

---

[38] Philips, Abu Ameenah Bilal, *Poligamy in Islam* (Riyadh: IIPH, 2005), 45.

Farid, Mohtazul, and Medhy Aginta Hidayat. "Perlawanan Perempuan Pesantren Terhadap Poligami Kiai di Madura." *Edukasi Islami: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 10, no. 2 (October 10, 2022): 992–1009. https://doi.org/10.30868/ei.v10i01.1805.

Farran, Ahmad Musthafa al-. *Tafsir Al-Imam al-Syafii*. Riyadh: Dar al-Turmudziyah, 2006.

Hasan, Muhammad. "Inovasi Dan Modernisasi Pendidikan Pondok Pesantren." *Karsa: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture* 23, no. 2 (December 1, 2015): 296–306. https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v23i2.728.

Husain, Imaduddin. *Zaujatun Wahidah La Takfi*. Kairo: Maktaba Qur'an, 1990.

Mandzur, Ibn. *Lisân Al-'Arab*. Kairo: Dâr al-Ma'ârif, n.d.

Mansurnoor, Lik. *Islam-Indonesia-Ulama Madura*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1990.

Mulyana, Deddy. *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Remaja Rosda Karya, 2003.

Muzzammil, Shofiyullah, Mohammad Affan, Muhammad Alwi Hs, and Masturiyah Masturiyah. "Motif, Konstruksi, Dan Keadilan Semu dalam Praktik Poligami Kiai Pesantren di Madura." *Jurnal SMART (Studi Masyarakat, Religi, dan Tradisi)* 7, no. 1 (June 22, 2021): 129–42. https://doi.org/10.18784/smart.v7i01.1207.

Nailiyya, Iffah Qanita. *Poligami, Berkah Atau Musibah*. Riyadh: Diva Press, 2006.

Neuman, W. Lawrence. *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial:Pendekatan Kualitatif Dan Kuantitatif*. Translated by Edina T. Sofia. 7th ed. Vol. 3. Jakarta: PT. Indeks, 2017.

Patton, Michael Quinn. *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods: Integrating Theory and Practice*. 3rd edition. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2022.

Philips, Abu Ameenah Bilal. *Poligamy in Islam*. Riyadh: IIPH, 2005.

Rozaki, Abdur. *Menabur Kharisma Menuai Kuasa,Kiprah Kiai Dan Blater Sebagai Rezim Kembar Di Madura*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Marwa, 2004.

Sabiq, Sayyid. *Fiqh Sunnah*. Juz II. Kairo: Daar Al Fath Li Al 'Ilam Al 'Araby, 2021.

Sakirman, Sakirman. "Telaah Hukum Islam terhadap Nasab Anak." *Hunafa: Jurnal Studia Islamika* 12, no. 2 (2015): 357–75. https://doi.org/10.24239/jsi.v12i2.398.357-375.

Shihab, Quraish. *Poligami Ibarat Pintu Emergensi*. Tabloid Republika: Dialog Jumat, 2006.

Thabari, Muhammad Ibn Jarir al-. *Jami' al-Bayan Fi Tafsir al-Quran*. Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1990.

Usman, Pelly. *Teori-Teori Sosial Budaya*. Jakarta: Depdikbud, 1994.

Yulia. *Buku Ajar Hukum Adat*. Sulawesi: UNIMAL Press, 2016.

Zakaria, Abi Husain Ahmad Ibnu Faris. *Maqâyis Al-Lughah*. V. Beirut: Dâr al-Fikr, n.d.

Wawancara

AFF. Wawancara Langsung, 17 Juli 2021.

ISM. Wawancara Langsung, 6 Juli 2021.

MBA. Wawancara Langsung, 21 Agustus 2021.

MJA. Wawancara Langsung, 8 Juli 2021.