

ARTICLE

## Genealogy, Symbolic Capital, and Power Reproduction in the Bani Qomaruddin Pesantren Community

Published 2025-10-14

**Ahmad Farid Wajdi**

Universitas Airlangga  
Surabaya, Indonesia  
Email:  
faridswajdi@gmail.com

**Muttaqin Khabibullah**

Universitas  
Qomaruddin Gresik,  
Indonesia  
Email:  
averoos13@gmail.com

**Article History:**

Submitted: June 28, 2025

Reviewed: September 11,  
2025

Accepted: October 10, 2025

© 2025. Author. Published by  
Laboratorium of  
Sociology, UIN Sunan  
Kalijaga Yogyakarta. Authors  
retain copyright and grant  
the journal right of first  
publication with the work  
simultaneously licensed  
under a Creative Commons  
Attribution License that  
allows others to share the  
work with an  
acknowledgement of  
the work's authorship and  
initial publication in this  
journal.

**How to Cite:**

Genealogy, Symbolic Capital,  
and Power Reproduction in  
the Bani Qomaruddin  
Pesantren Community.  
(2025). *Jurnal Sosiologi  
Reflektif*, 20(1), 139-  
160. <https://doi.org/10.14421/13mn9259>

**Abstract**

Genealogical documentation has long been a central tradition in Javanese *pesantren* communities, serving not only to trace lineage but also to preserve spiritual authority and cultural continuity. In Bani Qomaruddin, genealogy plays a significant role in shaping social relations, moral legitimacy, and institutional leadership. This research aims to examine how genealogical practice is capitalized as symbolic capital in socio-religious, economic, and political domains. Using a qualitative case study approach, data were collected through in-depth interviews with key figures across sub-lineages, selected via purposive and snowball sampling. The data were analyzed using Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña's interactive model, with Bourdieu's theory of capital and field serving as the theoretical framework. Findings show that genealogy in Bani Qomaruddin operates as a dynamic field where various forms of capital—social, symbolic, economic, and political—are produced, converted, and contested. It also reveals that genealogical legitimacy functions as both a spiritual ethos and a mechanism for structuring authority and resource distribution. The implication of this study is that genealogical practice serves as a key instrument in the reproduction of power, solidarity, and identity within Indonesian Muslim society.

**Keywords:** Muslim Society; Genealogy; Symbolic Capital; *Pesantren*; Bourdieu

*Tradisi pencatatan silsilah telah lama menjadi bagian penting dalam masyarakat pesantren Jawa, tidak hanya untuk melacak garis keturunan, tetapi juga menjaga otoritas spiritual dan kesinambungan budaya. Di komunitas Bani Qomaruddin, praktik genealogis berperan besar dalam membentuk hubungan sosial, legitimasi moral, dan kepemimpinan kelembagaan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji bagaimana praktik genealogis dikapitalisasi sebagai modal simbolik dalam ranah sosial-religius, ekonomi, dan politik. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif studi kasus, dengan teknik pengumpulan data melalui wawancara mendalam terhadap tokoh-tokoh kunci yang dipilih dengan teknik purposive dan snowball sampling. Data dianalisis dengan model interaktif Miles, Huberman, dan Saldaña, dan menggunakan teori modal dan ranah dari Pierre Bourdieu sebagai kerangka teoritik. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa genealogis di Bani Qomaruddin merupakan arena dinamis tempat berbagai bentuk modal diproduksi, dikonversi, dan diperebutkan. Legitimasi genealogis juga berfungsi sebagai etos spiritual sekaligus mekanisme dalam pengelolaan otoritas dan distribusi sumber daya. Implikasi dari penelitian ini adalah bahwa praktik genealogis menjadi instrumen penting dalam reproduksi kekuasaan, solidaritas, dan identitas dalam masyarakat Muslim Indonesia.*

## A. INTRODUCTION

The tradition of genealogical documentation has long been a central practice within Javanese *pesantren* communities. Beyond tracing biological lineage, it serves as a vital mechanism for sustaining spiritual authority, preserving scholarly continuity (*sanad*), and maintaining socio-cultural ties among community members (Bruinessen 1994, 1999; Howell 2016). Within *pesantren* society, *nasab* (genealogy) is often positioned as a symbol of moral validity and scholarly credentials – playing a critical role in shaping social structure, the transmission of authority, and the distribution of honor (Jamaludin et al. 2024; Nawawi 2024; Nurjaman, Muttaqin, and Putra 2023). The function of genealogy becomes even more complex when it is not only treated as collective memory, but also as symbolic capital that can be mobilized socially, politically, and religiously (Bourdieu 1986). Thus, genealogical practices extend beyond their cultural function and are actively used to gain socio-religious legitimacy, access to economic resources, and even political leverage within *pesantren* networks.

A compelling example of this complexity can be seen in the Bani Qomaruddin community – a large genealogical lineage rooted in the *pesantren* networks of East Java, particularly *Pondok Pesantren Qomaruddin* in Bungah, Gresik. Genealogical traditions in this community range from formal documentation of family lineage to more performative acts such as cross-regional *silaturrahim* (ritual visits), the symbolic attribution of honor across sub-lineages, and the guarded control of access to genealogical records. These practices reflect a distinctive social and symbolic reproduction mechanism that emphasizes kinship bonds, ancestral knowledge, and reverence for forebears as both a spiritual ethic and a social praxis.

Despite the centrality of genealogy in *pesantren* culture, previous studies exploring its connection to social capital remain scarce. Most

genealogical research in Indonesia has focused on narrative historical approaches or classical anthropology, without sufficiently exploring how genealogy operates as a symbolic field of contestation or a strategy for social and cultural mobility within *pesantren* networks (Bruinessen and Howell 2007; Howell 2001; Abdurrahman 2020; Amrozi, Maskuri, and Renaningtyas 2021; Abdurrahman 2020; Maufiroh 2023). Several other studies have shown that genealogy plays a significant role in shaping identity (Fuadi 2022; Suryanto 2020; Carsten 2019), yet these works generally do not engage with the concepts of social capital or symbolic structure in a deeper theoretical sense.

In contrast to these earlier works, which largely emphasize historical, identitarian, or *sanad* based authority, this study aims to analyze how genealogical knowledge is capitalized as symbolic capital across three domains: socio-religious, economic, and political. The three research questions posed here do not represent separate types of capital but rather three forms of capitalization stemming from the same symbolic capital. Furthermore, few studies have employed a Bourdieusian perspective to examine how institutionalized cultural capital—such as genealogy—is managed exclusively and used to shape internal structures of distinction, especially in Javanese *pesantren*'s highly symbolic and spiritual social world.

The Bani Qomaruddin case was selected due to its particularly complex genealogical practices compared to other *bani* in Indonesia. This complexity is evident in: (1) its expansive network spanning beyond a single *pesantren*; (2) its tradition of *sowan* (visiting kin) that crosses regions—even outside Java; (3) the practice of endogamy among sub-lineages as a strategy for maintaining authority; and (4) the guardedness and selectivity in granting access to genealogical documents. These factors position Bani Qomaruddin as a unique and representative case for exploring the capitalization of genealogy within *pesantren* society. By addressing these

questions, this study contributes to the discourse on the sociology of knowledge and the anthropology of genealogy and deepens our understanding of how Indonesian Muslim communities manage religious authority, maintain social cohesion, and negotiate cultural identity in the context of Islam Nusantara.

## B. METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative method with a case study approach, selected for its suitability in unpacking the rich and complex meanings embedded within the genealogical practices of Bani Qomaruddin—practices that reflect the distinct socio-cultural relations characteristic of traditional Javanese *pesantren* (Stake 1995). This approach allows for an in-depth exploration of social phenomena that cannot be reduced to quantitative data or statistical generalizations, instead requiring a holistic and contextual understanding of particular social practices.

Bani Qomaruddin was chosen as the case study due to its genealogical practices that stand out from other *bani* communities in Indonesia. This community maintains a systematic tradition of lineage documentation dating back to the earliest generations, conducts *silaturrahim* (ritual visits) across regions and outside Java, practices endogamy among sub-lineages to preserve authority, and exercises strict control and selective access to genealogical records. These characteristics make Bani Qomaruddin an ideal case for understanding genealogy not merely as family memory, but as symbolic capital actively mobilized within socio-religious, economic, and political domains.

The primary data were collected through in-depth interviews with key figures in the Bani Qomaruddin community, using purposive and snowball sampling techniques. Informants included lineage memorisers (*penghafal nasab*), genealogical record keepers, and cultural representatives from various sub-lineages. They shared personal and collective narratives

about the role of genealogy in shaping kinship relations, social authority, and spiritual symbolism within the *pesantren* environment. The interviews captured rich, authentic accounts of *sowan* journeys, genealogical documentation practices, conflicts over symbolic authority, and spiritual interpretations of genealogy. These conversations were conducted naturally, using everyday language filled with local idioms, metaphors, and culturally embedded reflections.

Eight informants participated in the study, grouped into three categories to capture the diverse dimensions of genealogical practice – though some individuals represented more than one category. Lineage memorisers offered spiritual and socio-religious perspectives; documentation actors revealed mechanisms of secrecy and symbolic-political distribution; and cultural figures from sub-lineages demonstrated how genealogy is enacted in everyday life, including within economic cooperation networks. This composition ensured a balanced representation of voices capable of addressing the study's core questions on the capitalization of genealogy across social-religious, economic, and political fields.

Table 1.

List of Informant

No	Informant	Category
1	AG	Lineage Memoriser
2	FT	Lineage Memoriser
3	AB	Cultural Figure
4	TT	Lineage Memoriser
5	MF	Lineage Memoriser / Documentation Actor / Cultural Figure
6	LD	Cultural Figure
7	SM	Cultural Figure
8	IA	Documentation Actor

Data analysis followed the interactive model proposed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014), which includes data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. Bourdieu's theoretical framework was employed as the analytical lens, with particular attention to how symbolic genealogical capital is produced, capitalized, converted, and preserved within the social structure of Bani Qomaruddin. Triangulation was used to compare insights from different informants within the same community to ensure the validity of both data and analysis, allowing the researcher to identify consistencies, contradictions, and interpretive variations (Patton 2015). In addition, member checking was conducted to validate the interpretive findings by presenting them to key participants for feedback, clarification, and confirmation of meaning.

### ***Theoretical Framework***

This study uses Pierre Bourdieu's theory of capital, habitus, and field as its main analytical framework to examine genealogical practices in the Bani Qomaruddin community. Bourdieu (1986) conceptualizes capital in economic terms, and as social, cultural, and symbolic forms—each of which can be accumulated, exchanged, and converted within a given social context. In this view, symbolic capital—such as honor, recognition, or spiritual legitimacy—is a powerful form of capital because it is perceived as natural and legitimate by the community. In the case of Bani Qomaruddin, genealogy functions as symbolic capital that gives legitimacy to leadership, strengthens moral authority, and defines social hierarchy.

Bourdieu's concept of field helps explain how genealogical practices become part of a larger arena of competition for capital. A field is a structured social space with its own rules, power relations, and positions that actors occupy and contest. In the genealogical field of Bani Qomaruddin, individuals and families struggle over access to lineage documents, positions of religious leadership, and recognition of

genealogical legitimacy. These struggles reflect the distribution of symbolic capital and how it shapes political and economic authority in the *pesantren* context. Thus, genealogy is not simply about remembering the past – but also about positioning oneself in the present.

Lastly, the notion of *habitus*—a system of embodied dispositions shaped by history and social context—offers insight into how genealogical knowledge is internalized and reproduced. In Bani Qomaruddin, practices such as *silaturrahim*, lineage memorization, and ritual visits to ancestral graves are part of a religious *habitus* that links individuals to broader structures of authority and belonging. These practices are not always consciously strategized but reflect deeply rooted social norms and expectations that guide behavior. By combining capital, field, and *habitus*, Bourdieu's framework allows us to understand genealogy not merely as cultural heritage, but as a dynamic mechanism for the reproduction of power, solidarity, and identity in *Muslim Nusantara*.

## **C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

This section presents the study's main findings regarding the role of genealogical practices in the Bani Qomaruddin community. The results are organized into four thematic areas: the capitalization of genealogy as socio-religious capital, as economic capital, as political capital, and the dynamic interaction and conversion among these different forms of capital. Each subsection describes how genealogy is practiced, perceived, and utilized by community members in various aspects of social, religious, economic, and institutional life.

### **1. *Genealogy as Religious Symbolic Capital in Bani Qomaruddin***

The findings of this study indicate that genealogy in the Bani Qomaruddin community functions as symbolic capital that is actively capitalized within the socio-religious sphere. Rather than serving merely as

a record of familial lineage or a repository of collective memory, genealogical practices are mobilized as a source of *barakah* (divine blessings), moral legitimacy, and spiritual authority. These practices are enacted through *silaturrahim* (ritual visits), *sowan* (visiting elders or ancestors), *haul* (commemorative gatherings), pilgrimages to ancestral graves, and the memorization of lineagemechanisms through which symbolic capital is converted into socio-religious recognition.

AF explained, '*silaturrahim* brings blessings for one's lifespan, livelihood, and health.' This statement reflects the collective belief that genealogical practices carry spiritual consequences. Participation in family gatherings, *haul*, or visits to relatives is seen not merely as a social duty but as a path to a prosperous life. In this way, *silaturrahim* becomes a means of capitalizing symbolic capital, whereby relational networks formed through kinship rituals are transformed into religious recognition and moral status within the community.

Practices such as *sowan* and *haul* add a layer of religiosity to these genealogical performances. AD noted, 'When we visit ancestral graves, it's not just for blessings—it's *sowan*, because ancestors still bestow grace.' Here, ancestors are perceived as spiritually present in communal life. By framing pilgrimage as *sowan*, the Bani Qomaruddin community affirms a continuing spiritual relationship with their forebears, not merely a symbolic act of respect. Genealogy, functions doubly: it reinforces horizontal solidarity among kin and legitimizes vertical ties with ancestors as sources of spiritual authority.

The memorization of lineage also illustrates the capitalization of symbolic capital. TT remarked, "Memorizing lineage isn't just about names—it must be accompanied by *tasawuf*, *adab*, and spiritual discipline". In Bourdieu's (1990) terms, this represents incorporated cultural capital—religious habitus embodied in the individual, strengthening their symbolic status. A lineage memorizer thus gains moral authority not only because of



their knowledge but also due to their perceived ethical comportment, effectively doubling their symbolic capital.

Pilgrimage to ancestral graves reflects a similar logic. AG explained, “When we visit our ancestors’ graves, it’s not just placing flowers – it’s *adab*, respect, and a way to seek blessings”. These values function as *doxa* (Bourdieu 2013) – deep-seated beliefs taken for granted, such as honoring one’s ancestors as both a moral obligation and a path to divine favor. This shows how spiritual habitus is internalized, making genealogy learned and lived – as a mode of reinforcing religious symbolic capital.

However, access to genealogical documents is not universally granted. Several informants shared that ‘not everyone is allowed to see the lineage records – only those considered worthy and respectful.’ This secrecy preserves the sanctity of the documents while also reinforcing internal hierarchies. Those who hold such documents gain prestige and symbolic power, distinguishing them from other members. As Swartz (1998) points out, symbolic capital becomes effective when the possession of a resource is socially recognized as honorable. In this case, control over genealogical knowledge becomes a source of legitimacy – even as it sometimes provokes envy. TT acknowledged that ‘being a lineage memorizer often causes tension among members.’ Thus, genealogy functions as a tool for solidarity and as a contested arena where socio-religious symbolic capital is negotiated.

Viewed through Bourdieu’s theoretical lens, genealogical practices in Bani Qomaruddin illustrate the simultaneous conversion of various forms of capital. Social capital derived from *silaturrahim* and *sowan* is transformed into religious symbolic capital through moral legitimacy. Incorporated cultural capital – rooted in *tasawuf* and lineage memorization – enhances the authority of the memorizer. Symbolic capital, accrued through prestige as a genealogical custodian, reinforces internal hierarchy.

Importantly, this phenomenon extends beyond Bani Qomaruddin. The use of genealogy as a socio-religious instrument is found in many Javanese *pesantren* and broader Muslim communities in the Indonesian archipelago. Bruinessen (1994; 1999) has shown that scholarly transmission (*sanad*) and family lineage are sources of *pesantren* authority. This study affirms that, while further emphasizing that genealogy is not merely a static inheritance – it can be actively capitalized as religious capital to strengthen social legitimacy. Thus, the genealogical practices of Bani Qomaruddin reflect broader patterns among Indonesian Muslims, where *barakah*, *adab*, and reverence for ancestors serve as mechanisms for reproducing religious authority.

The sociological implications of these findings are significant. First, they reveal how Javanese Muslim communities manage identity and authority through genealogical tradition. Second, they demonstrate that religious legitimacy is not built solely on knowledge (*sanad*), but also lineage (*nasab*). Third, the study extends Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital by incorporating a spiritual dimension unique to the Indonesian Islamic context. In this sense, the socio-religious capitalization of genealogy in Bani Qomaruddin is not only locally relevant, but also contributes to a broader understanding of how authority and identity operate within the symbolic economies of Muslim societies in Southeast Asia.

## **2. *Genealogy as Economic Capital and the Materialization of Kinship Solidarity***

Beyond its role as socio-religious capital, genealogy in the Bani Qomaruddin community is also capitalized as economic capital. Kinship networks maintained through genealogical ties extend beyond the spiritual realm to become a vehicle for resource redistribution, mutual assistance, and economic collaboration. In other words, genealogy is an instrument for converting symbolic capital into material gain. One of the most striking

findings is the belief that *silaturrahim* (ritual visiting) opens access to practical support. TT remarked, 'Whenever there's a problem, there's always somewhere to go—someone ready to help.' This statement illustrates how genealogical networks operate as mechanisms of material solidarity. Thus, *silaturrahim* is not merely an ethical ritual but a strategy for capitalizing social capital that offers the security of an informal 'social insurance' grounded in extended kinship.

Another aspect of economic capitalization is the practice of endogamous marriage. FT explained that 'marrying cousins, like misanan or mindhoan, is important for maintaining kinship ties'. Endogamy is not just a cultural preference but a deliberate strategy to reinforce internal networks and retain the distribution of resources within genealogical lines. In this context, endogamous marriage transforms symbolic capital—the sanctity of lineage—into economic capital through guaranteed material solidarity among sub-lineages.

Genealogical ties also facilitate interregional economic collaboration. AG shared stories of visiting relatives in Aceh, Kalimantan, and Sumatra—trips initially intended to update genealogical records, which incidentally expanded familial networks. These long-distance *sowan* visits reveal that genealogical rituals do more than maintain spiritual bonds; they also open pathways for new economic opportunities, including employment, business ventures, and financial support. Moreover, genealogy is often the basis for legitimacy in managing *pesantren*-owned assets. Several informants emphasized that land ownership or family assets are frequently linked to one's genealogical legitimacy. This suggests a direct transformation of symbolic capital into economic capital, where lineage recognition becomes a prerequisite for earning trust in the management of material resources.

However, the economic capitalization of genealogy is not without tension. TT hinted that access to support often depends on genealogical

proximity or moral reputation. This indicates a degree of exclusivity, where not all family members enjoy equal access to economic benefits, as symbolic legitimacy determines material distribution rights. Theoretically, the economic dimension of genealogy in Bani Qomaruddin demonstrates the complex dynamics of capital conversion. Social capital—through *silaturrahim*, endogamy, and *sowan*—generates material opportunities, while symbolic capital—such as the status of being a lineage memorizer or custodian—reinforces one's legitimacy in controlling assets. This aligns with Bourdieu's principle that different forms of capital are interconnected and convertible.

This phenomenon is not unique to Bani Qomaruddin. Many Javanese *pesantren* communities similarly leverage genealogy to manage economic solidarity through mutual aid, funding support, or kinship-based business collaborations. Bruinessen (1999) noted that a *kyai*'s family lineage often forms the foundation of social and economic strength. The findings of this study reinforce that observation, showing how genealogical legitimacy can be mobilized as a mechanism of economic redistribution within Muslim communities in the Indonesian archipelago.

Therefore, the economic capitalization of genealogy illuminates the local practices of Bani Qomaruddin but also contributes conceptually to the understanding that symbolic capital in the context of Islam *Nusantara* carries a distinct economic dimension. Genealogical tradition serves as both a religious and economic instrument, revealing how material solidarity in Indonesian Muslim society is often mediated through cultural and spiritual mechanisms rather than solely through formal institutions.

### **3. Genealogy as Political Capital in Bani Qomaruddin**

In addition to its role in the socio-religious and economic domains, genealogy in the Bani Qomaruddin community is also capitalized as political capital. Genealogical ties serve as the basis for leadership

legitimacy within *pesantren*, the management of communal assets, and the structuring of social hierarchies. In other words, political authority is not determined solely by personal merit or religious knowledge but also by socially recognized genealogical legitimacy.

MF emphasized that *pesantren* leadership is typically passed down through lineage. He stated, ‘The *kyai* here is usually chosen from among the descendants—because lineage determines legitimacy. Not every *santri*, even if highly knowledgeable, can become a caretaker unless they have a genealogical connection.’ This assertion demonstrates that genealogy acts as symbolic capital transformed into political capital, where social recognition of lineage provides formal legitimacy for leadership—even when scholarly qualifications alone are insufficient.

The ownership and control of genealogical records also carry political significance. Another informant noted, “Not everyone can access lineage documents—only those deemed trustworthy”. This mechanism of secrecy underscores the political power embedded in genealogical knowledge: whoever holds the documents holds the authority to determine who is recognized as part of the *trah* (lineage), and by extension, who is eligible for strategic positions. In Bourdieu’s framework, control over genealogical knowledge represents a form of symbolic capital that can be directly converted into political authority.

Informant TT shared that being a memorizer of the family lineage often causes envy among members, “If someone memorizes the lineage, they’re respected—but it also makes others jealous”. This illustrates that mastery of genealogical knowledge is a source of moral prestige and a tool for political differentiation. Those who control genealogical narratives gain greater access to social networks and leadership legitimacy, while others may be sidelined.

In everyday practice, genealogy is a criterion for determining rights and responsibilities within *pesantren* management. Several informants

emphasized that lineage is used to decide who may become a caretaker, manage assets, or occupy key positions in the educational institution. In this way, genealogy serves as an internal rule of the game in the field of *pesantren*—a site where actors compete for symbolic and political capital. The rules are clear: genealogical legitimacy is a primary requirement for holding strategic roles.

This form of political capitalization reflects a broader pattern in Javanese *pesantren* and the wider Indonesian Muslim community. Bruinessen (1994; 1999) has noted that both *sanad* (scholarly chains of transmission) and *nasab* (genealogical descent) serve as sources of *pesantren* legitimacy. The findings of this study reinforce that claim and add further nuance: genealogy is not merely a symbolic marker of honor, but a concrete tool for the reproduction of political power. It highlights the close relationship between symbolic and political capital, where genealogical mastery confers symbolic prestige that can be converted into leadership positions. In Bourdieu's terms, the genealogical field of the *pesantren* is a site of symbolic struggle, the outcome of which determines the distribution of power. However, this pattern also creates exclusivity, where only those with genealogical legitimacy can access leadership roles—while other *santri*, regardless of intellectual or spiritual capability, are often marginalized.

Therefore, the political capitalization of genealogy in Bani Qomaruddin explains internal institutional practices and contributes conceptually to the sociology of Islam. Empirically, it demonstrates how *pesantren* authority is managed through genealogical mechanisms. Theoretically, it extends Bourdieu's framework by showing that symbolic capital in the Islam *Nusantara* context is not limited to secular domains, but also serves as a foundational mechanism for distributing religious power.

#### **4. *Intersections and Conversions of Capital in Genealogical Practice***

The findings of this study reveal that social-religious, economic, and political capital within the genealogical practices of Bani Qomaruddin do not operate in isolation, but rather interact and convert into one another. In other words, genealogy is not a static symbolic resource, but a dynamic arena in which various forms of capital are produced, transformed, and contested daily aligning with Bourdieu's theory of capital conversion (Bourdieu 1986).

This interaction is most clearly visible in the practice of *silaturrahim* (ritual visiting). As FT remarked, "*Silaturrahim* brings blessings for life, sustenance, and health". Initially, *silaturrahim* functions as social capital by reinforcing kinship networks across sub-lineages. However the belief that it brings divine blessings signals a shift toward the religious domain, where this social capital simultaneously becomes symbolic-religious capital, lending moral legitimacy. Furthermore, *silaturrahim* often opens access to material support and resource redistribution, effectively converting social capital into economic capital. Even in internal political contexts, regular presence in *silaturrahim* gatherings strengthens a person's moral legitimacy to assume leadership roles within the *pesantren*. Thus, a single practice can generate multidirectional capital conversions—across social, religious, economic, and political realms.

Endogamous marriage practices reflect similar interactions. FT explained, 'Marrying cousins like misanan or mindhoan is important to maintain kinship ties.' On one hand, endogamy preserves the sanctity of lineage and reinforces religious legitimacy (symbolic capital). On the other, it consolidates internal economic networks by ensuring that resources remain within the extended family. Moreover, endogamy reinforces genealogical claims as a basis for *pesantren* leadership. Marriage here is not simply a cultural choice, but a strategic mechanism for reproducing capital

across fields – blending social, economic, and political interests into a single practice.

The secrecy surrounding genealogical documents also reveals the mechanics of capital conversion. Several informants stressed that ‘not everyone is allowed to access lineage records – only those deemed worthy and respectful.’ This restricted access demonstrates how control over genealogical documents becomes symbolic capital, which is then capitalized politically: document holders possess the power to determine who is officially recognized as part of the lineage and who is eligible for leadership roles. At the same time, this status as a document custodian opens greater access to both social support and material benefits. In this way, control over genealogical knowledge is not just a source of prestige, but also a political-economic instrument that reinforces internal hierarchies.

From Bourdieu’s perspective, the genealogical field in Bani Qomaruddin can be seen as a site of symbolic struggle, where various forms of capital are continuously converted. Social capital in the form of *silaturrahim* networks is not limited to horizontal relationships, but is capitalized into symbolic capital that confers moral legitimacy. Incorporated cultural capital, through memorization of lineage and adherence to *tasawuf* ethics, strengthens religious legitimacy, which may then be converted into claims for political leadership. This interplay demonstrates that genealogy is not a static traditional structure, but a constantly moving mechanism for reproducing capital.

In a broader reflection, this pattern of capital interaction is not unique to Bani Qomaruddin, but mirrors a more general dynamic in Muslim *Nusantara* society. Practices such as *haul* (commemorative gatherings), *sowan*, endogamy, and secrecy around lineage are found across many Javanese *pesantren* and serve as spiritual traditions and mechanisms for reinforcing social-economic networks and legitimizing political authority. Genealogical practice, then, is a dual-purpose instrument – on



one hand, reinforcing horizontal solidarity rooted in *barokah* and *adab*; on the other, reproducing vertical hierarchies through genealogical legitimacy.

These findings' theoretical contribution lies in expanding Bourdieu's framework. While Bourdieu emphasized capital conversion in secular contexts (e.g., education, class, culture), this study shows that in Islam *Nusantara*, symbolic capital also encompasses an inseparable spiritual dimension. *Barokah*, *adab*, and religious legitimacy are not merely cultural values but function as symbolic capital that can be capitalized socially, economically, and politically. This study offers a conceptual innovation by proposing that any analysis of capital in Muslim societies must account for the religious-spiritual domain, as it is precisely here that capital conversion operates most intensely.

The sociological and theoretical implications of this study affirm that genealogy functions as symbolic capital that is actively capitalized across fields. Genealogical practice not only preserves the identity of *pesantren* lineages but also serves as an instrument for managing authority, distributing resources, and reproducing religious identity in Indonesian Muslim society. As such, this study contributes not only to the understanding of the Bani Qomaruddin community, but also broadens the discourse in the sociology of knowledge and Islamic sociology by demonstrating that genealogical practice is a foundational pillar in the socio-religious structure of Muslim *Nusantara*.

From a sociological perspective, the traditions of *sowan*, *haul*, endogamy, and lineage memorization within Bani Qomaruddin show how Muslims in the archipelago interpret *barokah*, *adab*, and ancestral reverence as a collective ethos. These practices strengthen horizontal solidarity among lineage members through *silaturahmi* and mutual aid, while simultaneously affirming vertical legitimacy through the spiritual authority of *kiai* and ancestral figures. More broadly, this reflects a wider pattern in Indonesian Muslim society, where religious identity is preserved through

scholarly transmission (*sanad*) and lineage (*nasab*). In this sense, genealogy functions as a dual mechanism: maintaining social cohesion and reproducing authority hierarchies.

However, the secrecy and selective access to genealogical information reflect a more exclusive side. Not all members enjoy equal access to documents or genealogical legitimacy. This creates a boundary between those deemed 'worthy' and those not, in terms of accessing religious authority. The sociological implication of this exclusivity is significant: it suggests that genealogical hierarchies are not only specific to Bani Qomaruddin but are also replicated in other *pesantren* and even in broader religious authority discourses at the national level. Therefore, this study confirms that genealogy offers critical insights into how authority, cohesion, and identity are constructed and maintained in Indonesian Muslim society.

Theoretically, this research expands Bourdieu's capital framework. While Bourdieu (1986, 2013); Bourdieu and Ferguson (2000) emphasized symbolic capital in secular domains—such as education, social class, and culture—these findings demonstrate that in Islam *Nusantara*, symbolic capital also involves a distinct spiritual dimension. Barokah, *adab*, and religious legitimacy are not merely cultural values, but forms of symbolic capital that can be capitalized across social, economic, and political domains. Thus, this study offers a conceptual refinement: analyses of capital must account for the religious and spiritual dynamics at the heart of Muslim communities, where capital conversion occurs most visibly.

In conclusion, this research's sociological and theoretical implications confirm that genealogical practice functions as symbolic capital capitalized across multiple fields. Far from being merely a family record, genealogy in *pesantren* communities is an active instrument for managing authority, allocating resources, and reproducing religious identity. As such, this study not only enriches the understanding of Bani

Qomaruddin but also contributes to broader debates in the sociology of knowledge and Islamic sociology—demonstrating that genealogical practice remains a central pillar in the social and religious architecture of Muslim *Nusantara*.

#### **D. CONCLUSION**

This study found that genealogical practice in the Bani Qomaruddin community is not merely a form of lineage preservation but a dynamic and strategic resource actively capitalized across multiple domains. Genealogy functions as socio-religious capital that legitimizes moral and spiritual authority, as economic capital through kinship-based resource distribution, and as political capital that structures leadership and institutional legitimacy. These forms of capital do not operate in isolation; they interact and convert into one another through everyday practices such as *silaturrahim*, endogamous marriage, and the control of genealogical knowledge.

These findings reflect how genealogical tradition in Muslim *Nusantara* communities carries meanings far beyond ancestry. It serves as a cultural mechanism through which authority, solidarity, and identity are continuously reproduced. Practices such as *haul*, *sowan*, and lineage memorization embody spiritual devotion, social cohesion and symbolic power. This suggests that in many *pesantren* communities, religious legitimacy is shaped not only by scholarly credentials (*sanad*) but also by genealogical ties (*nasab*), pointing to the deeply rooted cultural ethos of *barokah* and *adab* in the formation of Islamic authority.

This study is limited to one *pesantren*-based lineage and does not cover the broader variations of genealogical practices across different regions or types of Muslim communities in Indonesia. Future research could explore comparative cases, examine women's roles in genealogical transmission, or analyze digital transformations of genealogical authority.

Conceptually, this study contributes to the sociology of Islam and Bourdieu's theory of capital by highlighting the importance of spiritual-symbolic dimensions in capital conversion. It affirms that genealogy, as practiced in Bani Qomaruddin, remains a key pillar in understanding the reproduction of authority, knowledge, and identity in *Muslim Nusantara*.

## REFERENCES

- Abdurrahman. 2020. 'Genealogi Metode Sorogan: Telisik Historis Metode Pembelajaran Dalam Tradisi *Pesantren*.' *Jurnal Studi Pesantren* 1(1):1-14. [doi: 10.35897/STUDIPESANTREN.V1I1.392](https://doi.org/10.35897/STUDIPESANTREN.V1I1.392).
- Abdurrahman, Abdurrahman. 2020. 'Sejarah *Pesantren* Di Indonesia: Sebuah Pelacakan Genealogis.' *Jurnal Penelitian Ilmiah INTAJ* 4(1):84-105. [doi: 10.35897/intaj.v4i1.388](https://doi.org/10.35897/intaj.v4i1.388).
- Alatas, Ismail Fajrie. 2014. "Pilgrimage and Network Formation in Two Contemporary Ba 'Alawī Ḥawl in Central Java." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 25(3):298-324. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jis/etu037>.
- Amrozi, Shoni Rahmatullah, Maskuri, and Peni Catur Renaningtyas. 2021. 'Genealogi Pengajaran Islam Dan Nasionalisme Agama KH. Zaini Mun'im Dan KHR. As'ad Syamsul Arifin.' *Islamika Inside: Jurnal Keislaman Dan Humaniora* 6(2):140-62. [doi: 10.35719/islamikainside.v6i2.108](https://doi.org/10.35719/islamikainside.v6i2.108).
- Birchok, Daniel Andrew. 2015. "Putting Habib Abdurrahim in His Place: Genealogy, Scale, and Islamization in Seunagan, Indonesia." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 57(2):497-527. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417515000110>.
- Birchok, Daniel Andrew. 2016. "Women, Genealogical Inheritance, and Sufi Authority: The Female Saints of Seunagan, Indonesia." *Asian Studies Review* 40(4):583-599. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2016.1224999>.
- Bourdieu, P. 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. California: Stanford University Press.

- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. 'The Forms of Capital.' Pp. 241–58 in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. Richardson. New York: Greenwood.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 2013. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, and Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson. 2000. *Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Societies*. Stanford University Press.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. 1994. *Pesantren and Kitab Kuning: Continuity and Change in a Tradition of Religious Learning*. University of Berne.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. 1999. *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, Dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia*. Mizan.
- Bruinessen, Martin van, and Julia Day Howell. 2007. *Sufism and the Modern in Islam*. I.B.Tauris.
- Canbakal, Hülya. 2009. "The Ottoman State and Descendants of the Prophet in Anatolia and the Balkans (c. 1500–1700)." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 52(3):542–578. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156852009X458241>.
- Carsten, Janet. 2019. *Blood Work: Life and Laboratories in Penang*. Duke University Press.
- Fuadi, Moh Ashif. 2022. 'Historical Review of Gebang Tinatar Tegalsari Pesantren and Its Genealogy Relationship with Kediri's Pesantren.' *Jurnal Tamaddun: Jurnal Sejarah Dan Kebudayaan Islam* 10(1). [doi: 10.24235/TAMADDUN.V10I1.10312](https://doi.org/10.24235/TAMADDUN.V10I1.10312).
- Howell, Julia Day. 2001. 'Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival.' *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60(3):701–29.
- Howell, Signe. 2016. 'Battle of Cosmologies: The Catholic Church, Adat, and 'Inculturation' among Northern Lio, Indonesia.' *Social Analysis* 60(4):21–39. [doi: 10.3167/SA.2016.600402](https://doi.org/10.3167/SA.2016.600402).
- Jamaludin, Muhamad, Nur Sa'idah, Firdaus, and Muhammad Hisyam

- Malik. 2024. 'Hybrid Authority Management of *Nasab*-Based Religious Leadership among the Habaib in Indonesia: Tradition, Modernity, and Digital Transformation.' *HEUTAGOGIA: Journal of Islamic Education* 4(2):269–86. [doi: 10.14421/HJIE.2024.42-09](https://doi.org/10.14421/HJIE.2024.42-09).
- Maufiroh, Lailatul. 2023. 'Tipologi Social Capital Dalam Membangun Jaringan Ikatan Alumni *Pondok Pesantren* Di Kabupaten Pamekasan.'
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. 2014. *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*. SAGE Publications Inc.
- Nawawi, Ruston. 2024. 'Genealogi Kiai Jampes Kediri: Studi *Sanad* Keilmuan Dan *Nasab* Kiai *Pondok Pesantren* Jampes Kediri.' *Jurnal Kajian Islam Interdisipliner* 9(1). [doi: 10.14421/JKII.V9I1.1365](https://doi.org/10.14421/JKII.V9I1.1365).
- Nurjaman, Ilham Muhammad, Fajriudin Muttaqin, and Trio Nurul Fajri Putra. 2023. 'Perkembangan Penulisan Sejarah *Nasab* Dari Pra-Islam Hingga Islam Dan Pengaruhnya Di Nusantara.' *Definisi: Jurnal Agama Dan Sosial Humaniora* 2(3):151–62. [doi: 10.1557/DJASH.V2I3.34155](https://doi.org/10.1557/DJASH.V2I3.34155).
- Patton, Michael Quinn. 2015. *Qualitative Research & Evaluation 4th Edition*. United States of America: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Rijal, Syamsul. 2020. "Revitalizing Hadhrami Authority: New Networks, Figures and Institutions among Ḥabā'ib in Indonesia." *Studia Islamika* A27(2):239–272. <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v27i2.9382>.
- Stake, Robert. 1995. *The Art of Case Study*. California: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Suryanto, Ardiansyah Bagus. 2020. 'Genealogi *Pesantren* Dalam Manuskrip Tantu Panggelaran.' *Journal of Islamic Civilization* 2(1):1–17. [doi: 10.33086/JIC.V2I1.1513](https://doi.org/10.33086/JIC.V2I1.1513).
- Swartz, David. 1998. *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. University of Chicago Press.