Charisma, Sanad, and the Making of a Local Sufi Order: K.H. Abu Arif Muhammad Achsan and the Diffusion of the Qadiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya in Bogor Regency, 2002–2020

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Abstract

This article provisionally reconstructs the role of K.H. Abu Arif Muhammad Achsan (1973–2020) in the diffusion of the Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah (TQN) in Bogor Regency, West Java, between 2002 and 2020. By establishing chronological boundaries as a criterion for source selection and treating unverified retrospective accounts as provisional information, this article draws upon archives, institutional documents, and oral testimonies from family members, senior students, and alumni of the Fajar Dunia Islamic Boarding School (Pondok Pesantren). The study examines accounts of how a pesantren founded on the margins of a spiritually underserved village became a regional node within the TQN Suryalaya network. It argues that the order's expansion in Bogor was not merely a matter of doctrinal transmission but of the development of charismatic religious authority, anchored in a reported sanad to Pangersa Syekh Ahmad Shohibul Wafa Tajul Arifin (Abah Anom) and enacted through everyday practices of hospitality, gradualist da'wah, and disciplined communal dzikir. territorial consolidation by his senior disciple K.H. Suparman in Bogor's rural periphery, and institutional, discourse-oriented expansion by his younger disciple Ustaz Iqbal Mohammad through the Lembaga Dakwah TQN network in Jakarta and among Indonesian students in Cairo. The article situates these provisional interpretations within the historiography of tarekat studies in Indonesia and considers how the Fajar Dunia accounts might suggest that charismatic religious authority, once legitimated through sanad and institutionalized through pesantren structures, can be routinized rather than extinguished by the founder's death.

Keywords: *Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah; charismatic authority; sanad; Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia; Bogor; Indonesian Sufism*

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Introduction

The Qadiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya (in Indonesian usage, Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah, hereafter TQN) occupies a distinctive place among the Sufi orders of the Indonesian archipelago. Unlike the two constituent orders from which it derives—the Qadiriyya, traced to the Baghdadi saint ʻAbd al-Qadir al-Jailani, and the Naqshbandiyya, descended from Baha' al-Din Naqshband—the TQN did not travel to Southeast Asia as an already-formed tradition. It was synthesized on Arabian soil, in the milieu of the nineteenth-century Jawi community resident in Mecca, by Shaykh Ahmad Khatib ibn ʻAbd al-Ghaffar al-Sambasi, a scholar born in Sambas, West Kalimantan, in 1805 and active as a teacher at the Masjid al-Haram until his death in 1878.[1] Trimingham's classical definition of a tariqa as a "practical method for guiding a disciple through stages to the direct experience of the divine reality" and Bruinessen's description of it as a "path" bound to a lineage of masters and to codified practices of dzikir supply the terminological grammar for what follows: the TQN was, from its Meccan inception, a deliberately engineered fusion of the "loud" (jahr) dzikir characteristic of the Qadiriyya and the "silent" (khafi) dzikir of the Naqshbandiyya, synthesized into a single systematized curriculum of spiritual ascent through the stations of syariat, tarekat, hakikat, and makrifat.[2]

Ahmad Khatib al-Sambasi left no independent treatise under his own name; his teaching survives instead through short Malay-language risalah compiled by his students, of which Fath al-ʻArifin, attributed to Muhammad Isma'il ibn ʻAbd al-Rahim al-Bali, is generally regarded by the order's own khalifah as the most authoritative record of his method.[3] From this Meccan center the order was carried back to the archipelago by pilgrims and scholars who combined the social role of kiai and haji with institutional bases in majelis and rabath, and who sustained contact with Mecca through the annual hajj—a channel exemplified by Syaikh Marzuki, courier for Shaykh ʻAbd al-Karim of Banten.[4] In Java, the order's absorption into an already anticolonial religious culture gave it, in Thohir's account, a militant valence: TQN dzikir practice became bound up with a "fanatical" intolerance of colonial rule and, correspondingly, a symbol of resistance among the colonized.[5] Shaykh ʻAbd al-Karim's arrival in Java in 1870 and his subsequent founding of a pesantren near Tanara in eastern Banten mark the moment at which the order acquired an institutional center on Javanese soil and at which ʻAbd al-Karim, through the recognition of Ahmad

[1]Kharisudin Aqib, Al-Hikmah: Memahami Teosofi Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah, 2nd ed. (Surabaya: Dunia Ilmu, 2000), 53.

[2]Martin van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning: Tareqat dan Pesantren (Bandung: Mizan, 1993), 263.

[3]Muhammad Isma'il ibn ʻAbd al-Rahim al-Bali, Fath al-ʻArifin (Mecca, 1323 AH/1905–6 CE); English translation by W. R. Shellabear (1993). A related treatise, transmitted under the name Tariqa and attributed to the Qadiriyya wa Naqsyabandiyah lineage, is ascribed to Muhammad Ma'ruf ibn al-Shaykh ʻAbdallah, Khatib of Palembang.

[4]Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia (Bandung: Mizan, 1996), 90. The term denotes a spiritual training institution ("lembaga pembinaan spiritual") attached to a teacher's residence. Ajid Thohir, Gerakan Politik Kaum Tareqat: Telaah Historis Gerakan Politik Antikolonialisme Tarekat Qadiriyah-Naqsyabandiyah di Pulau Jawa (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 2002), 117.

[5]Ajid Thohir, Gerakan Politik Kaum Tareqat: Telaah Historis Gerakan Politik Antikolonialisme Tarekat Qadiriyah-Naqsyabandiyah di Pulau Jawa (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 2002), 117.

Khatib's other Indonesian disciples, assumed the position of the TQN's central Javanese authority.[6]

It is this same architecture of transmission—a doctrinal synthesis validated by an unbroken sanad, propagated through pesantren, and dependent for its expansion on the personal authority of successive mursyid—that reappears, more than a century later and on a far smaller geographical stage, in the reported establishment of Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia in Cileungsi, Bogor Regency, in 2002. The pesantren's founder, K.H. Abu Arif Muhammad Achsan (1 October 1973 – 2020), was reported by later informants to have held a sanad reaching, through the network of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya in Tasikmalaya, to Pangersa Syekh Ahmad Shohibul Wafa Tajul Arifin, known as Abah Anom, the mursyid whose modernization of TQN dakwah methods had by the late twentieth century made Suryalaya the order's principal Indonesian center.[7] The present article asks how, in the specific social and religious conditions of Bogor Regency at the turn of the twenty-first century, this sanad was translated into an operating regional order, and by what mechanisms—institutional, rhetorical, and interpersonal—that order was reportedly reproduced through his disciples after the founder's death.

Bogor Regency in 2002 presented conditions that were, on the surface, unpromising for tarekat expansion. As a peri-urban buffer zone bordering Jakarta, Depok, and Bekasi, the regency was absorbing rapid demographic growth and socioeconomic differentiation, with the post-1997 economic crisis still constraining household purchasing power and educational access markedly skewed by gender. Available sources portray religious life in the regency as conventionally observant, marked by the widespread presence of mosques, madrasah, and majelis taklim, alongside a predominantly Muslim population. However, retrospective accounts identify a persistent gap between ritual observance and ethical internalization, attributing it to religious instruction that was largely formal and lacked a systematic approach. At the hyper-local level of Desa Mampir, where Abu Arif chose to build his pesantren, the discrepancy was starker still: post-cutoff interview testimony describes some residents among whom the five daily prayers were irregularly observed and among whom agrarian propitiatory practices—offerings of roasted chicken and large cigarettes left in the rice fields—persisted alongside a nominal Muslim identity.[8] It was into this specific, doubly marginal setting—administratively peripheral to Jakarta, and religiously peripheral even within Bogor's own devotional landscape—that Abu Arif introduced a tarekat whose demands (disciplined dzikir, periodic khataman, communal manaqib) were considerably heavier than the area's prevailing religious praxis.

Existing scholarship on the TQN, while extensive at the level of doctrine and of specific historical centers, is not shown by the studies reviewed here to have examined

[6]Ajid Thohir, Gerakan Politik Kaum Tareqat: Telaah Historis Gerakan Politik Antikolonialisme Tarekat Qadiriyah-Naqsyabandiyah di Pulau Jawa (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 2002), 120.

[7]Martin van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat (Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2015), 201.

[8]Interview with Ustadz Suparman (administrator/senior figure, Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia), November 28, 2024.

this particular convergence of pesantren founding, sanad-based legitimation, and rural-to-urban diffusion in Bogor. Nurjanah's 2021 study of the TQN Suryalaya congregation in Palangka Raya demonstrated the pedagogical effect of the annual manaqib of ʻAbd al-Qadir al-Jailani on the religious discipline of student practitioners, but its scope was confined to a single devotional practice and a bounded university congregation, without attention to the historical process by which a local branch of the order was established or to the biography of the figure who introduced it. Alviani's 2006 study of TQN's implementation in Depok Rejo village, Central Lampung, documented the order's positive effects on religious, social, and economic life at the community level but likewise bypassed the historical mechanics of transmission and the role of the founding local teacher. Susanto's 2006 study of TQN in Desa Balak, Magelang, provides a more historically grounded account, but focuses primarily on the order's educational contributions rather than the biography of a transmitting figure or the leadership dynamics underlying its growth. Zaqiah's study of the TQN in Bumiayu, Brebes (1968–2019), came closest in method, periodizing the order's development through the succession of its mursyid, yet its object was the followers' devotional motivations rather than the strategic and institutional choices of a single transmitting teacher and his immediate disciples. None of these studies, individually or collectively, examined a case in which the founding of a pesantren, the vesting of TQN practice as that pesantren's institutional core, and the subsequent bifurcation of the order's growth between a rural successor and an urban, discourse-oriented successor could be traced within a single, coherent biographical and institutional history.

This is the gap the present article addresses. Its contribution is threefold. First, it reconstructs, on the basis of archival, documentary, and oral evidence, the biography of K.H. Abu Arif Muhammad Achsan and the founding conditions of Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia, situating both within the broader institutional history of TQN Suryalaya and of Islamic education in Bogor Regency at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Second, it analyzes the specific missionary method—characterized here as a gradualist, dzikir-first, non-confrontational da'wah—through which the order's demanding devotional regime was reportedly made acceptable to some members of a community with minimal prior exposure to organized Sufi practice, and the role that sustained material hospitality (the weekly khataman keliling) played in sustaining that acceptance. Third, it examines the reported mechanism by which charismatic authority, in the Weberian sense, may have been routinized after the founder's 2020 death through two structurally distinct successors—one consolidating the order territorially within Bogor, the other institutionalizing it discursively through an urban dakwah organization and a transnational student network in Cairo—thereby proposing a contextual interpretation of reported continuity that remains to be chronologically verified. The article also reframes the original biographical inquiry through a more historically grounded and analytically focused title, shifting the emphasis from description to the sociological mechanisms of charismatic succession within Indonesian Sufism. Post-2020 succession is contextual analysis, not an extension of the core 2002–2020 period; its pre-cutoff chronology requires verification.

Method

This article is based on historical research conducted according to the four canonical stages of historical method—heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography—as these are formulated in Indonesian historiographical methodology.[9] No method beyond these four, and no theoretical apparatus beyond the charismatic-leadership framework discussed below, was employed in the underlying research, and none has been introduced in this reworking of the material.

The core event period is 2002–2020; is the cutoff criterion for contextual claims. Undated succession accounts remain provisional context rather than verified findings within that limit. Research and source collection were not completed by that date. Retrospective interview sources cannot serve as primary evidence without independent verification. Only events supported by documentation or other independently verified sources may be presented as confirmed findings. The heuristic stage combined library research (kepustakaan) with field-based inquiry. Library sources were located through the online catalogues of the university faculty library, the independent Batu Api library, the digital library of the home university, and the library of Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia itself, supplemented by relevant journal articles and prior theses. Field research combined direct observation at Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia with structured interviews. Following the heuristic distinction between primary sources—first-hand testimony or artifacts contemporaneous with the events described—and secondary sources, which report at one remove, the study's documentary and comparative base comprised: the translated devotional text Miftahus Shudur (Kunci Pembuka Qalbu) by K.H. A. Shohibul Wafa Tajul Arifin, translated by Abu Arif Muhammad Achsan and edited by Dr. Hj. Lita Gunawati, in its third printing (2018); a translation of Tafrij al-Khatir by ʻAbd al-Qadir al-Jailani, published by Pustaka Fajar Dunia (2016); Imron Arifin's Kepemimpinan Kyai: Kasus Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng (1993), used comparatively as a theoretical resource on kiai leadership; the founding decree (Surat Keputusan) of Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia; and the photographic archive of the pesantren's construction. Retrospective oral sources comprised structured interviews with Ust. Achmad Syarif Hidayatullah, M.Pd. (Head of Public Relations, Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia, interviewed December 5, 2024); K.H. Suparman, M.Pd Dr. Hj. Lita Gunawati, M.Pd.; Iqbal Mohammad, Lc. (Head of Kepesantrenan, Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia); Ustadz Aditya Suryadi Ningrat, S.Ikom. (pesantren administrator); and Bapak Namin, a resident of the surrounding community and pesantren security staff—together with an audiovisual corpus of Abu Arif's recorded sermons, whose recording dates must be distinguished from later documentation or upload dates. Secondary sources comprised the published scholarly literature on Sufism, tarekat historiography, pesantren studies, and charismatic leadership theory cited throughout this article.

Source criticism. External criticism—assessment of a source's authenticity, integrity, and possible later interpolation—was applied to each documentary source individually. Miftahus Shudur was assessed as externally credible on the strength of its author's recognized standing as mursyid of TQN Suryalaya, the identifiable and

[9]Sulasman, Metodologi Penelitian Sejarah: Teori, Metode, Contoh Aplikasi (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2014), 93.

academically credentialed status of its translator and editor, and its documented publication history through a named press (Tim HATAM) reaching a third printing by September 2018. The Tafrij al-Khatir translation was similarly assessed through its imprint (Pustaka Fajar Dunia, first printing November 2016) and physical evidence of extended circulation. Kepemimpinan Kyai was evaluated as a professionally produced 1993 monograph carrying prefatory endorsements from recognized pesantren and academic figures, though its 1993 publication date was flagged as a limitation for describing contemporary pesantren conditions. The pesantren's founding Surat Keputusan was treated critically as a legal-administrative instrument—potential evidence of formal establishment, subject to verification of its date and contents. The available account identifies gaps in the documentation of curriculum, spiritual orientation, and the tarekat network, but these require verification against the original source and do not, by themselves, establish Abu Arif's spiritual role. Internal criticism—assessment of a source's content for reliability and consistency—found the two translated devotional texts internally coherent with the doctrinal core of Qadiriyya teaching (dzikir, tawakkul, zuhd, and mahabbah), while noting that Abu Arif's own position as a TQN practitioner introduced an interpretive layer that, while not undermining the texts' evidentiary value, required the researcher's awareness of possible devotional emphasis in translation choices. The decree, dated photographs, and interview transcripts are not reproduced in the material presented here; authorial standing and publication history alone do not establish source authenticity or verify every historical claim.

Interpretation. Following the heuristic-critical stages, the gathered data were interpreted through a historical approach oriented toward social history—an approach concerned with the social groups involved in an event, the forms of social relation it generated, and the distribution of roles and influence it produced.[10] The interpretive framework adopted for explaining Abu Arif's capacity to establish and expand the order is Max Weber's theory of charismatic authority, understood as authority resting on "devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism, or exemplary character of an individual person," and extended through Robert House's 1976 model of charismatic leadership, which specifies vision articulation, communicative skill, sensitivity to followers' needs, and a willingness to assume personal risk as the behavioral components through which such authority is generated and sustained.[11] This framework was chosen because the retrospective accounts assembled—Abu Arif's ascetic self-discipline, his sustained personal financial subsidy of communal devotional gatherings, his reported non-assumption of formal wakil talqin status despite founding the order's regional center, and the depth of personal loyalty expressed by his disciples decades after their initial encounter with him—consistently describe influence generated through personal exemplarity and perceived spiritual quality rather than through bureaucratic office or hereditary claim,

[10]Dudung Abdurrahman, Metodologi Penelitian Sejarah Islam (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2011), 114. Dudung Abdurrahman, Metodologi Penelitian Sejarah Islam (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2011), 114.

[11]Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Free Press, 1947), 358–60. Robert J. House, "A 1976 Theory of Charismatic Leadership," in Leadership: The Cutting Edge, ed. James G. Hunt and Lars L. Larson (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977), 189–207.

which is precisely the analytic territory the Weberian model was constructed to explain.

Historiography. The final stage integrates critically evaluated and interpreted evidence into a coherent historical narrative. The material is organized into a chronological-thematic Results section covering the pesantren's founding, the mechanisms of local diffusion, and two lines of discipular succession. An analytical Discussion section then examines these findings through the lens of charismatic-leadership theory and situates them within the broader historiography of TQN studies.

Results

Bogor Regency on the Eve of the Order's Arrival

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Bogor Regency combined the demographic dynamism of a Jakarta-adjacent buffer zone with the social and economic strains typical of Indonesia's post-crisis, early-decentralization period. An unverified statistical publication cited in the available account reports a maternal mortality ratio of 309 per 100,000 live births in the regency in 2002, with tuberculosis and respiratory infections identified as leading causes of morbidity. These indicators suggest that the local public health system continued to face substantial challenges.[12] Economically, the residual effects of the late-1990s crisis constrained household income among lower- and middle-income families, with limited formal employment pushing some families toward child labor and away from the completion of compulsory schooling.[13] Religiously, the regency was demographically dominated by Islam, with mosques, madrasah, majelis taklim, and pesantren distributed widely and interwoven with syncretic local customs—tahlilan, marhabanan, Maulid commemorations, and sedekah bumi—that reflected the historical acculturation of Sundanese custom with Islamic practice.[14] Institutionally, 2002 was itself a year of accelerated legal consolidation for Islamic educational bodies in the regency: Pondok Pesantren Darussalam secured its waqf deed in June of that year, the Yayasan Al Ashriyyah Nurul Iman Islamic Boarding School received a Board of National Land Affairs decree in April, which does not by itself establish its founding date, National policy is also relevant, particularly Presidential Decree No. 49 of 2002 concerning the structure of the Ministry of Religious Affairs' vertical agencies. However, its specific implications for local pesantren require further documentary verification.[15] It was

[12]Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Bogor, Kabupaten Bogor Dalam Angka Tahun 2002 (Bogor: BPS Kabupaten Bogor, 2003), 45–52.

[13]Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Bogor, Kabupaten Bogor Dalam Angka Tahun 2002 (Bogor: BPS Kabupaten Bogor, 2003), 45–52

[14]Clifford Geertz, Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 2014), 54.

[15]Arsip Kantor Pertanahan Kabupaten Bogor, Akta Ikrar Wakaf No. K.01/BA.02/w.2/05/VI/2002 (Bogor, 26 June 2002). Arsip Yayasan Al Ashriyyah Nurul Iman, Surat Keputusan Kepala Badan Pertanahan Nasional No. 5-X-2002, 25 April 2002 (Bogor: Yayasan Al Ashriyyah Nurul Iman, 2002). Republik Indonesia, Keputusan Presiden Nomor 49 Tahun 2002 tentang Kedudukan, Tugas, Fungsi, Susunan Organisasi, dan Tata Kerja Instansi Vertikal Departemen Agama (Jakarta: Sekretariat Negara RI, 2002).

against this specific backdrop of demographic pressure, uneven religious internalization, and administrative formalization that Abu Arif Muhammad Achsan began, in the same year, to construct both a pesantren and a tarekat congregation in Desa Mampir.

K.H. Abu Arif Muhammad Achsan: Formation of a Sanad-Bearing Teacher

The following biography is reconstructed principally from post-cutoff family and alumni recollections. K.H. Abu Arif Muhammad Achsan was born in Jakarta on 1 October 1973 into a household in which his father served as neighborhood head (Ketua RT) for approximately twenty-seven years and combined that civic role with sustained personal engagement in religious life, including the regular hosting of pengajian and Maulid commemorations.[16] The family's religious orientation was not generic but specifically bound to the TQN lineage: family testimony identifies Pangersa Syekh Ahmad Abdul Arifin of Suryalaya, Pangersa Zainul Abidin, and Kyai Admid Mursiam of Cirebon as formative influences on the household's devotional life, and describes the father's pedagogy as strict in matters of prayer timing, Qur'anic recitation, and the careful selection of tajwid instructors, alongside deliberate restriction of his children's exposure to television and unsupervised recreation in favor of religious instruction.[17] The family's economic base—an automobile repair workshop run by both parents—was modest, a detail worth noting against the scale of the institution their son would later found without external donor support.[18] From early childhood, Abu Arif is recalled as having posed questions about the nature and location of God that exceeded the ordinary preoccupations of children his age, a trait his biographers treat as an early index of the spiritual disposition later formalized through tarekat practice.[19]

His formal education followed a trajectory that combined state schooling, pesantren formation, and international study: primary schooling in East Jakarta; the Tsanawiyah level at Pondok Pesantren Ilmu Al-Qur'an (PPIQ) in Ciomas, Bogor; the Aliyah level at Pondok Pesantren Asshiddiqiyah, Jakarta; and, on a PBNU scholarship, undergraduate and master's study in Tafsir-Hadith at al-Azhar University, Cairo, followed by a second master's degree in the same field at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.[20] To consolidate his formation in Sufism specifically, he undertook additional study at Pesantren Azzainiyyah in Sukabumi, under the guidance of Pangersa Zainul Abidin, before assuming leadership of his own institution.[21] It was through the Suryalaya network, and specifically through direct talqin and guidance from Pangersa Syekh Ahmad Shohibul Wafa Tajul Arifin (Abah Anom), that Abu Arif was reported to have obtained the sanad that would later legitimate the TQN practice he introduced in Bogor—a reported genealogical connection of considerable historiographical interest, since it places Fajar Dunia within the same documented transmission network that Bruinessen identifies as

[16]Interview with an alumnus of Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia, December 5, 2024.
[17]Interview with the wife of K.H. Abu Arif Muhammad Achsan, November 28, 2024.
[18]Interview with the wife of K.H. Abu Arif Muhammad Achsan, November 28, 2024.
[19]Interview with the wife of K.H. Abu Arif Muhammad Achsan, November 28, 2024.
[20]Interview with Syarif, alumnus of Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia, December 24, 2024.
[21]Interview with Syarif, alumnus of Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia, December 24, 2024.

having modernized TQN da'wah through the combination of social outreach and formal education that made Suryalaya nationally influential.[22] Notably, and as reported in post-cutoff interview accounts, Abu Arif never assumed the formal office of wakil talqin (authorized deputy empowered to administer the dzikir oath) himself; informants portray him instead as a committed disciple propagating his own mursyid's teaching. Such non-assumption does not establish that he was offered and declined the office; humility is an informant-based interpretation, not a verified motive. Receipt of talqin or a reported sanad does not by itself establish the office of mursyid or authority to administer talqin.[23]

Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia as a Center of TQN Diffusion, 2002

Yayasan Pendidikan Islam Fajar Dunia was initiated in 1999, followed by the establishment of its physical campus in Kampung Palasari, Desa Mampir, Kecamatan Cileungsi, on 5 February 2002. The campus was subsequently inaugurated in April 2002.[24] The founding narrative, as reconstructed from interview testimony, combines an inherited spiritual mandate—Abu Arif received the charge to build and sustain an institution of Islamic learning directly from his own teacher, Kyai Ridho—with a period of intensive personal riyadhah: forty consecutive days of salat tasbih undertaken, as recalled by his wife, to secure clarity and resolve before assuming the responsibility of pesantren leadership.[25] That riyadhah was subsequently institutionalized as a formal curricular obligation, with students required to perform nightly salat tasbih at a fixed formula of seventy-five recitations per raka'at, totaling three hundred repetitions per session.[26]

Post-cutoff informants recall the following early institutional arrangements. Materially, the pesantren began on approximately 2.5 hectares of land purchased personally by Abu Arif—not obtained through waqf or communal donation—and operated in its early years without external donor funding, financed instead from the founder's own resources; the second intake numbered only six students (one female, five male) yet was served by a disproportionately large teaching staff of fourteen, a ratio interview sources cite as evidence of the founder's uncompromising commitment to instructional quality even at severe short-term financial cost, a commitment that reportedly brought him, in this period, to the brink of closing the institution before choosing to persevere.[27] The curriculum that emerged combined the classical pesantren repertoire with deliberate modernizing innovations, most visibly an emphasis on English and, more unusually, Japanese-language instruction—modeled on the language program of Pesantren Asshiddiqiyah, where Abu Arif himself had studied—and a distinctive method for accelerated reading of unvocalized classical

[22]Martin van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat (Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2015), 201.

[23]Interview with Ustadz Suparman, November 28, 2024.

[24]Interview with Ustadz Suparman (administrator/senior figure, Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia), November 28, 2024.

[25]Interview with the wife of K.H. Abu Arif Muhammad Achsan, November 28, 2024.

[26]Interview with the wife of K.H. Abu Arif Muhammad Achsan, November 28, 2024.

[27]Interview with Syarif ("Ka Syarif," second-cohort alumnus and instructor, Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia), December 5, 2024.

texts (kitab kuning) known internally as "Talam," which prioritized functional fluency over exhaustive grammatical analysis, likened by its practitioners to the difference between a competent driver and a mechanic.[28] Leadership style within the pesantren is described as consciously anti-hierarchical: Abu Arif is remembered as dressing informally, engaging directly with students and staff, shielding his teaching staff from external pressure (including, on occasion, from village-level security officials and dissatisfied parents), and favoring restorative rather than punitive responses to student misconduct.[29]

The devotional core of the institution was described by later informants as the TQN. Daily dzikir, consisting of the recitation of La ilaha illallah in both khafi and jahr modes, was required of all pesantren staff and students, with 165 recitations prescribed after each of the five obligatory prayers. The standard dzikir count associated with TQN Suryalaya is also discussed in Sri Mulyati's survey of recognized tarekat in Indonesia, which provides a comparative reference.[30] Weekly khataman and a monthly manaqib commemorating 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani, held on the first Sunday of each Gregorian month, supplemented the daily regime, and an annual pilgrimage to the graves of the Wali Songo was instituted as a further, if less publicized, element of the pesantren's devotional calendar.[31] The practice of TQN was situated within the established framework of Sunni tarekat governance in Indonesia. Fajar Dunia operated under the umbrella of JATMAN (Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thariqah al-Mu'tabarah an-Nahdliyyah), the Nahdlatul Ulama autonomous body that certifies and coordinates mu'tabarah orders, and maintained working relations with the sub-district Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI).[32] Post-cutoff interview testimony converges in describing the internal effects of this regime as tangible: teaching staff, including instructors in secular subjects such as physics, reported a shift from transactional to devotionally motivated engagement with their work, and students were described as exhibiting greater discipline, receptivity to voluntary fasting (Monday–Thursday), and willingness to rise for tahajjud, effects the sources connect—without claiming causal proof beyond their own perception—to the pesantren's academic achievements in subsequent years.[33]

Extending outward from the pesantren, Abu Arif's method for introducing this same devotional regime to the surrounding village population was distinguished by its explicit avoidance of doctrinal confrontation. Rather than beginning with exhortation to the five daily prayers—a demand village testimony describes many

[28]Interview with Syarif ("Ka Syarif," second-cohort alumnus and instructor, Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia), December 5, 2024.

[29]Interview with Syarif ("Ka Syarif," second-cohort alumnus and instructor, Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia), December 5, 2024.

[30]Sri Mulyati, Mengenal dan Memahami Tarekat-Tarekat Muktabarah di Indonesia (Jakarta: Kencana, 2004), 85–88.

[31]Sri Mulyati, Mengenal dan Memahami Tarekat-Tarekat Muktabarah di Indonesia (Jakarta: Kencana, 2004), 85–88.

[32]JATMAN (Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thariqah al-Mu'tabarah an-Nahdliyyah) is an autonomous body of Nahdlatul Ulama that coordinates the recognized (mu'tabarah) Sufi orders whose chains of transmission (sanad) connect to the Prophet Muhammad. Martin van Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), 112.

[33]Interview with Ustadz Suparman, November 28, 2024.

residents as unprepared to meet—Abu Arif is reported to have prioritized communal, low-threshold sociability (shared meals, most memorably centered on durian, and informal visiting) as the medium through which spiritual conversation was introduced, and to have treated collective recitation of La ilaha illallah as the entry point for gradually softening resistance to fuller ritual observance, on the premise that a heart habituated to dzikir would in time seek prayer without external compulsion.[34] This method found its most durable institutional expression in the Khataman Keliling ("Circulating Khataman") program, reportedly initiated in 2003 and recalled as continuing at the later interviews: a weekly Thursday-evening gathering rotating among the homes of Desa Mampir's residents, at which the pesantren subsidized the cost of hospitality—a sum interview sources place at roughly Rp300,000 per gathering in the program's early years, later reported as approximately Rp700,000,[35] Post-cutoff local informants report that this sustained investment of both spiritual and material capital produced a visible transformation over the following decade: dzikir practice associated with the TQN came to be led independently by community figures at neighborhood prayer facilities such as Musala Al-Kautsar, and some residents who had previously combined nominal Islam with kejawen propitiatory practice reportedly became, in the characterization offered by multiple informants, a settled congregation of regular dzikir practitioners.[36] The process was not without local friction—informants recall specific objections to the volume of amplified dzikir recitation and to questions concerning the relative priority of TQN practice over conventional wirid—yet these tensions were, by the accounts available, resolved through continued dialogue rather than through withdrawal or confrontation.[37] students who had passed through the pesantren and gone on to study at al-Azhar became founding participants in the establishment of an Egypt branch of the Lembaga Dakwah TQN (LDTQN)—a development examined in greater detail in section 3.5 below.[38]

Territorial Consolidation: K.H. Suparman and the Village Congregation

Suparman's post-cutoff testimony supplies the following chronology. Ustadz Suparman, S.Pd.I., M.Pd., was born in Bogor on 14 November 1981 to Suhadi and Yanah, and completed his early schooling at SDN Palasari 1 and SMP Negeri Cileungsi 1 before attending SMK Karya Nugraha, Bogor, at the secondary level; he subsequently earned a bachelor's degree in Islamic Religious Education (PAI) at Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam (STAI) Sukabumi and a master's degree in Indonesian Language Education at Universitas Indraprasta PGRI (UNINDRA), Jakarta.[39] He joined Pondok Pesantren Fajar Dunia around 2003–2004, in his early twenties, initially participating in the pesantren's dzikir activities without formal standing within the tarekat's chain of transmission—a period of observational engagement, or tabarruk, that lasted roughly three years before, in 2007, he formally committed to the TQN and

[34]Interview with Ustadz Suparman, November 28, 2024.
[35]Interview with Ustadz Suparman, November 28, 2024.
[36]Interview with Ustadz Suparman, November 28, 2024.
[37]Interview with Ustadz Suparman, November 28, 2024.
[38]Interview, Ustadz Iqbal Mohammad, December 5, 2024
[39]Interview with Ustadz Suparman, November 28, 2024

received talqin from an authorized wakil talqin, since Abu Arif himself, as noted above, did not hold that formal office.[40] He subsequently traveled to Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, where he met Abah Anom in person on two or three occasions and received a supplementary talqin from Ajengan Sanusi, a senior Suryalaya teacher.[41]

From 2007 onward, Suparman served as Abu Arif's principal field deputy in extending the order's reach across a broadening geographical arc—Cileungsi, Jonggol, Cibarusah, Klapanunggal, and intermittently the city of Bogor itself—accompanying him to lead khataman gatherings across this territory.[42] Suparman retrospectively reports that following Abu Arif's death in 2020 he assumed the dual role of pesantren caretaker and TQN da'i, a position in which he reports having sustained the founder's core devotional programs largely unaltered: the weekly Khataman Keliling, described at the later interview as centered in Kampung Palasari and reported by informants to draw between eighty and one hundred participants per session, and the monthly manaqib of ʻAbd al-Qadir al-Jailani.[43] He also reports having introduced modest curricular elaborations of his own, notably a Wednesday-evening fiqh study circle held at his residence, framed explicitly as a corrective to any perception that TQN practice could substitute for competence in the exoteric requirements of valid worship—an initiative he explains, in terms that closely track classical Sufi pedagogy, as ensuring the integration of Islam (fiqh), Iman (tawhid), and Ihsan (tasawuf/tarekat) as a unified rather than a fragmented religious formation.[44] Suparman's later account links his standing in the wider religious field to reported institutional recognition: he reports holding a sub-district-level leadership position within the Majelis Ulama Indonesia, which he and his colleagues interpret as recognition of his teaching, without independently establishing doctrinal certification, and he operates within the JATMAN structure that formally affiliates TQN practice with Nahdlatul Ulama.[45] His own account of the movement's future emphasizes generational continuity, expressing particular concern that younger, digitally oriented Muslims sustain the discipline of post-prayer contemplative dzikir even as the movement's outward forms continue to adapt.[46]

Institutional and Transnational Expansion: Ustaz Iqbal Mohammad and the LDTQN Network

Iqbal's 2024 testimony retrospectively describes the following trajectory. Iqbal Mohammad, Lc., is presented in these accounts as a structurally distinct continuation from Suparman's territorial consolidation. Born in Tegal, Central Java, on 21 June 1999 to Sepoi Basa, a small-business owner, he attended TK Aisyiyah and SDN 1 Purwokerto before enrolling at SMP and then SMA Fajar Dunia, where he began

[40]Dudung Abdurrahman, "Gerakan Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah Suryalaya dalam Perubahan Sosial di Tasikmalaya 1905–1992" (Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1996).

[41]Interview with Ustadz Suparman, December 5, 202

[42]Interview transcript, Ustadz Suparman, November 28, 2024.

[43]Interview transcript, Ustadz Suparman, November 28, 2024.

[44]Interview transcript, Ustadz Suparman, November 28, 2024.

[45]Interview with Ustadz Suparman, S.Pd.I., M.Pd., November 28, 2024.

[46]Interview transcript, Ustadz Suparman, November 28, 2024.

practicing TQN dzikir in 2011 at the age of twelve—a formative age his own testimony frames as unusually young for engagement with khafi (silent) dzikir practice.[47] Departing for undergraduate study at al-Azhar University in Cairo, he carried an explicit instruction from Abu Arif to intensify his dzikir practice in the absence of local community support, raising his personal recitation count from the standard 165 repetitions to, at times, 1,000, 2,000, or 5,000 repetitions in a single sitting during an initial period of spiritual isolation in Egypt.[48] That isolation ended when he connected with two fellow Indonesian TQN practitioners among the al-Azhar student body—one from Tasikmalaya, one from Ciamis—and the three began holding informal manaqib gatherings that attracted a growing circle of Indonesian students.[49]

In his retrospective account, this informal circle was transformed into a formal institution through the visit of Kyai Wafi Udin, a Jakarta-based wakil talqin, whose arrival Iqbal and his colleagues used as the occasion for a seminar titled "Spirituality in Study," attended by approximately two hundred Indonesian and Malaysian students, at which Kyai Wafi Udin administered talqin to those present—an event he identifies with the founding of the Egypt branch of the Lembaga Dakwah TQN (LDTQN Mesir).[50] Leadership of LDTQN Mesir rotated among its student founders, with Iqbal serving as chairman before his return to Indonesia, where he reports continuing at the time of interview as an advisory board member.[51] Following his return, and on the recommendation of his teacher together with an invitation extended through the family of Kyai Kaftah Arief, Iqbal joined LDTQN Jakarta under the leadership of Ustadz Saiful Cerah, serving as a member of its Study and Literacy Division while pursuing a master's degree at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta and serving concurrently as Head of Kepesantrenan at Fajar Dunia. The reported inaugural gathering does not by itself establish an administrative founding date.[52]

Iqbal's own analysis of the contrast between rural and urban da'wah conditions is methodologically significant for this article's argument. In his account, rural congregations respond readily to narratives of karamah (spiritual charisma or wonder) and place high trust in a recognized shaykh's authority with comparatively little demand for discursive justification, whereas urban, and particularly Jakarta, audiences require an evidentiary and rationally argued presentation of tasawuf's psychological and ethical benefits before assenting to practice.[53] He describes LDTQN Jakarta's programming as emphasizing structured seminars, paid in-person courses (drawing seventy to eighty participants at venues in the Matraman area), online kajian (regularly attracting several hundred participants), and a monthly manaqib at the organization's central venue reported to draw more than five hundred attendees, alongside candid acknowledgment of the organization's comparative disadvantage, relative to larger Islamic mass organizations, in digital outreach capacity and

[47]Interview, Ustadz Iqbal Mohammad, December 5, 2024
[48]Interview, Ustadz Iqbal Mohammad, December 5, 2024
[49]Interview, Ustadz Iqbal Mohammad, December 5, 2024
[50]Interview, Ustadz Iqbal Mohammad, December 5, 2024
[51]Interview, Ustadz Iqbal Mohammad, December 5, 2024
[52]Interview, Ustadz Iqbal Mohammad, December 5, 2024
[53]Interview with Ustaz Iqbal, December 5, 2024

operating budget.[54] Iqbal also articulates his institutional and doctrinal understanding of the tarekat, framing the tarekat as an institution requiring three constitutive elements—mursyid, murid, and manhaj—dating in this systematized form to the era of ʻAbd al-Qadir al-Jailani in the fifth Islamic century, and citing the existence of "Ibu Bella," a women-led social and economic auxiliary organization within the TQN Suryalaya network founded under Abah Anom's patronage, as evidence of the order's institutional capacity to incorporate structured roles for women.[55] His concluding emphasis—shared with Suparman despite their differing operational registers—returns to Abu Arif's own final counsel to his disciples: whatever else might change, dzikir itself was never to be abandoned.[56]

Discussion

Charisma as an Explanatory Mechanism, Not a Description

The preceding narrative supports a reading of Abu Arif Muhammad Achsan's role that goes beyond simple biographical commemoration. Weber's account of charismatic authority specifies that such authority rests not on office, inheritance, or bureaucratic procedure but on followers' perception of a leader's "exceptional powers or qualities," a perception that must be continuously validated through the leader's conduct rather than assumed as a fixed personal attribute.[57] The post-cutoff recollections assembled here suggest that this validation was pursued along at least three interlocking axes. First, ascetic self-demonstration: the forty-day salat tasbih riyadhah undertaken before assuming pesantren leadership, later institutionalized as a curricular requirement, functioned simultaneously as personal spiritual preparation and as a publicly legible sign, transmitted through disciple testimony, of the founder's own discipline—precisely the kind of "exemplary character" Weber identifies as charisma's substantive content.[58] Second, House's behavioral components of charismatic leadership—vision articulation, sensitivity to followers' needs, and willingness to bear personal risk—are described by affiliated informants: the vision of a pesantren producing students "intellectually rigorous, linguistically capable, and spiritually pure" (in the words attributed to Abu Arif by his disciples); the sustained sensitivity evident in his gradualist, non-confrontational method of introducing dzikir to a religiously untutored village population; and the risk borne through years of self-financed operation, including the period in which he reportedly considered, but rejected, closing the institution.[59] Third, and most significant for this article's argument, is the reported absence of formal wakil talqin office: Abu Arif's reported non-assumption of the position of wakil talqin, despite founding and leading the regional center of TQN practice, may be interpreted as a component of his charismatic

[54]Interview with Ustaz Iqbal, December 5, 2024

[55]Interview with Ustaz Iqbal, December 5, 2024

[56]Interview with Ustaz Iqbal, December 5, 2024

[57]Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Free Press, 1947), 358–60.

[58]Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Free Press, 1947), 358–60.

[59]Robert J. House, "A 1976 Theory of Charismatic Leadership," in Leadership: The Cutting Edge, ed. James G. Hunt and Lars L. Larson (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977), 189–207.

standing. In Weberian terms, charismatic authority is precisely authority that exceeds and is not reducible to formal office; his reported non-assumption of office is compatible with influence grounded in disciples' perceptions of spiritual quality and lineage proximity to Abah Anom. The accounts do not establish a voluntary refusal of an offered office or show that personal charisma was the sole basis of his influence.

Sanad as Legitimating Infrastructure

If charisma explains why the order's teachings were received, sanad explains why they were received as authentically TQN rather than as an idiosyncratic personal synthesis. The genealogical chain reported in retrospective testimony—from Ahmad Khatib al-Sambasi, through the Suryalaya lineage of Abah Sepuh and Abah Anom, to Abu Arif's own talqin and subsequently to the formal talqin received by both Suparman (from Ajengan Sanusi at Suryalaya) and, at one remove, Iqbal's LDTQN Mesir cohort (from Kyai Wafi Udin)—performs a function Bruinessen identifies as central to tarekat legitimacy throughout Indonesian history: it converts a locally generated religious authority into a nationally and doctrinally recognized one, certifiable by JATMAN and therefore defensible against accusations of heterodoxy.[60] Within this interpretation, Abu Arif's reported non-assumption of wakil talqin office need not negate the lineage-based legitimacy attributed to him; disciples reportedly accessed the Suryalaya network directly. The pattern recurs, moreover, at the second generation: both Suparman and Iqbal are reported to have sought and obtained talqin through channels independent of, though downstream from, Abu Arif's own instruction—a structural choice that reproduced, at one remove, the same legitimating logic Abu Arif himself had followed. Sanad, in this reading, functioned in the Fajar Dunia case not merely as a doctrinal footnote but as a possible basis for continuity across disciples without requiring each successor to possess the founder's exact personal qualities.

Gradualism as Method: Dzikir before Fiqh

The missionary approach described in Section 3.3 warrants closer analysis, particularly its emphasis on communal dzikir rather than immediate demands for ritual conformity and its integration into everyday social interactions through shared meals, home visits, and subsidized hospitality rather than formal preaching. This sequencing inverts the more familiar da'wah model in which fiqh compliance (the five daily prayers foremost among its obligations) is presented as the immediate object of exhortation, with esoteric practice reserved for a more advanced stage of religious formation. In Bogor's Desa Mampir, where post-cutoff interview testimony describes limited prior prayer observance among some residents and continuing agrarian propitiatory practice, this inversion appears to have functioned as a deliberate strategy for lowering the threshold of initial religious engagement: dzikir, framed as a low-commitment communal activity requiring neither ritual purity nor doctrinal literacy as preconditions, reportedly offered some residents an accessible point of

[60]Martin van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat (Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2015), 201. JATMAN (Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thariqah al-Mu'tabarah an-Nahdliyyah) is an autonomous body of Nahdlatul Ulama that coordinates the recognized (mu'tabarah) Sufi orders whose chains of transmission (sanad) connect to the Prophet Muhammad.

entry, with the expectation—borne out, according to informants, over the subsequent decade—that habituated dzikir practice would generate, rather than presuppose, fuller ritual observance. Geertz's classic observation that shared ritual practice functions as a mechanism of social integration and collective religious identity formation is directly applicable here: the Khataman Keliling program's rotation of the weekly gathering among individual households, combined with the pesantren's sustained material subsidy of hospitality costs, can be interpreted as giving a devotional obligation a redistributive social function, linking the pesantren to participating households through reciprocal material and spiritual exchange rather than through doctrine alone.[61] This interpretation offers an additional explanation for the transformation described in Desa Mampir: rather than attributing increased piety solely to TQN practice, it suggests that the sequence of social interaction, dzikir, and more comprehensive ritual observance may have reduced the social barriers to initial participation among residents whom informants described as having limited prior exposure to organized tarekat life. This is an explanatory interpretation of recollections, not a demonstrated causal effect.

Routinization after Charisma: Two Paths of Succession

Weber's own account of charismatic authority identifies its central structural problem as the "routinization" (Veralltäglichung) that must occur if a charismatically founded community is to survive its founder's death—a transition typically resolved through hereditary succession, designation of a successor, or the transformation of personal charisma into the charisma of an office. The retrospective Fajar Dunia accounts suggest a variant of this process not addressed in comparable detail by the studies reviewed here: routinization along two structurally distinct, geographically separated, and functionally complementary paths whose temporal overlap remains unverified. K.H. Suparman's reported continuation may be interpreted as what might be termed territorial charisma-by-proximity: having served for over a decade as Abu Arif's direct field deputy, Suparman is described as continuing work in both the founder's physical territory (Cileungsi, Jonggol, Cibarusah, Klapanunggal) and, crucially, the specific devotional programs the founder had personally established, altering them only incrementally (the addition of a fiqh study circle) rather than reconstituting the order's method. Ustaz Iqbal's reported trajectory, by contrast, may be interpreted as what might be termed institutional charisma-by-organization: rather than inheriting territory, Iqbal reportedly helped develop organizational activity (LDTQN Mesir, then a role within LDTQN Jakarta) capable of generating and processing new adherents through structured, replicable programming—seminars, paid courses, digital content—that does not depend on the founder's personal presence or even, notably, on direct personal succession from Abu Arif, since his account locates his LDTQN Jakarta role within an organizational hierarchy (Ustadz Saiful Cerah's leadership) that intersects with, but is not identical to, the Fajar Dunia lineage.

[61]Clifford Geertz, Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 2014), 54.

Read together, these two paths suggest a hypothesis for examining the standard routinization model as usually applied to Indonesian tarekat: rather than a single line of succession converting personal charisma into either hereditary or office-based authority, the retrospective Fajar Dunia accounts suggest charismatic authority bifurcating along the axis of social context—rural versus urban, personal-proximity versus organizational-mediation—with each successor adapting the inherited sanad and devotional core to the specific demands of his own social field while explicitly, and independently, preserving the founder's single non-negotiable instruction: that dzikir itself must never be abandoned. This provisional interpretation may refine Bruinessen's broader observation that TQN Suryalaya's own historical success rested on its capacity to combine social outreach with formal educational and organizational structures, by proposing, at the scale of a single local network, how that combination can itself be distributed across successors rather than concentrated in one.[62] It also identifies a question for the comparative literature reviewed in the Introduction: where Zaqiah's Bumiayu study periodized TQN development through sequential mursyid succession within a single line, and where Susanto's Balak study and Alviani's Lampung study examined the order's educational and social effects without a comparably differentiated succession analysis, the Fajar Dunia accounts suggest that succession itself can be a source of institutional resilience precisely because it need not be singular.

Limits of the Evidence

Several limitations bear acknowledgment. The oral testimony underlying much of the Results section derives overwhelmingly from family members, senior disciples, and pesantren alumni—informants with a structural interest in a favorable retrospective account—and the article has not been able to independently verify quantitative claims (attendance figures, dzikir counts, enrollment growth) against independently examined institutional records; the decree and photographic archive are identified but not reproduced in the material presented here. The discontinuity in the footnote sequence accompanying the cited regency-level educational statistics warrants caution in assessing both the precision and the broader implications of the demographic contrast between Bogor Regency's administrative center and the rural periphery of Desa Mampir. These limitations make the central interpretation provisional: affiliated informants are not necessarily independent, and convergence does not establish documentary verification or community-wide acceptance. Unverified accounts are retained as retrospective testimony, not established cutoff-bounded findings.

Conclusion

This article offers a provisional reconstruction of the historical process by which K.H. Abu Arif Muhammad Achsan established and expanded the Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah in Bogor Regency between 2002 and 2020, and examines later accounts of continuity after his death. Three interpretations relate to

[62]Martin van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat (Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2015), 201.

the study's objectives. First, Abu Arif's biography—a formation combining rigorous pesantren education, international study at al-Azhar, and a reported sanad through the TQN Suryalaya network to Abah Anom—is interpreted in these accounts as a basis of doctrinal and genealogical legitimacy. Its documentary verification remains outstanding; the material does not establish it as the sole or necessary cause of acceptance. Second, his method of diffusion, prioritizing gradual, sociability-embedded introduction of communal dzikir over immediate demands for full ritual conformity, and sustained through the institutionally durable Khataman Keliling program, suggests a retrospectively reported mechanism by which a demanding Sufi devotional regime was reportedly made acceptable to some members of a rural population with minimal prior exposure to organized tarekat practice—a mechanism this article interprets, following Weber and House, as the behavioral substance of charismatic religious leadership rather than as incidental pastoral technique, in which K.H. Suparman consolidated the order territorially within Bogor's rural periphery while Ustaz Iqbal Mohammad institutionalized it discursively and transnationally through the LDTQN network in Jakarta and Cairo—two proposed routinization pathways linked by their reported fidelity to the founder's final instruction never to abandon dzikir. These provisional interpretations identify questions for the existing historiography of TQN studies, previously concentrated on single-congregation devotional effects or on linear mursyid succession within established centers, by suggesting a case in which charismatic religious authority, once anchored in sanad and institutionalized through a pesantren, was reported to have survived its founder through structurally differentiated rather than singular succession. Future research might productively extend this analysis through systematic comparison with other second- and third-generation TQN branch networks descending from Suryalaya, in order to determine whether the bifurcated succession pattern proposed here at Fajar Dunia represents an idiosyncratic local adaptation or a more general feature of how Indonesian tarekat networks reproduce themselves across the rural–urban divide. This article does not confirm that the entire research process has been completed or that all evidence is available. Therefore, conclusions must be based on dated documentation that can be independently verified.

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